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**Kings, Crowns and Festivals: the Origins of Gloucester as a Royal
Ceremonial Centre**

by M. Hare
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Kings, Crowns and Festivals: the Origins of Gloucester as a Royal Ceremonial Centre

By MICHAEL HARE

Introduction

The 'E' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for the year 1087 contains a celebrated passage with a long obituary notice for William the Conqueror. In the course of the obituary the annalist, who had lived at William's court, remarks:¹

Also he was very dignified: three times every year he wore his crown, as often as he was in England. At Easter he wore it at Winchester, at Whitsuntide at Westminster, and at Christmas at Gloucester, and then there were with him all the powerful men over all England, archbishops and bishops, abbots and earls, thegns and knights.

There are other sources which refer to the three crown-wearing centres in similar vein. William of Malmesbury, writing between c. 1118 and 1125, described the splendour of the feasts held by William the Conqueror on the principal festivals at Gloucester, Winchester and Westminster.² In addition Henry I, in a writ issued on the day of his coronation in 1100,³ ordered

that the convents of Westminster, Winchester and Gloucester shall have full allowance, and their singers one ounce of gold, on all those feasts at which I shall wear my crown (*coronatus fuero*) in their churches, as Maurice, bishop of London, testifies that they had in the time of my predecessors

In the central Middle Ages the custom of ceremonial crown-wearing can be found in most of the countries of Latin Christendom which had a fully-developed coronation ritual. By the second half of the 11th century, crown-wearing is found not only in England, but also in France, the German Empire and the kingdoms emerging to the east in Bohemia and Hungary.⁴ Just how far crown-wearing was a normal part of western kingship can be seen from the new Latin kingdoms established in the Mediterranean in the 12th century, the Crusader kingdom of Jerusalem and the Norman kingdom of Sicily; in both cases crown-wearing seems to have been introduced at an early stage.⁵

The Origin and Development of the Crown-Wearing Ceremony on the Continent

The origin of the crown-wearing ceremony has been hotly debated. However Carlrichard Brühl, in placing the ceremony firmly in the context of the development of coronation ritual, has made a convincing case for an origin under the first Carolingian kings, either Pippin III (751–68) or Charlemagne (768–814); Brühl is inclined to see festival crown-wearing as having developed in the 750s and in any event no later than 781.⁶

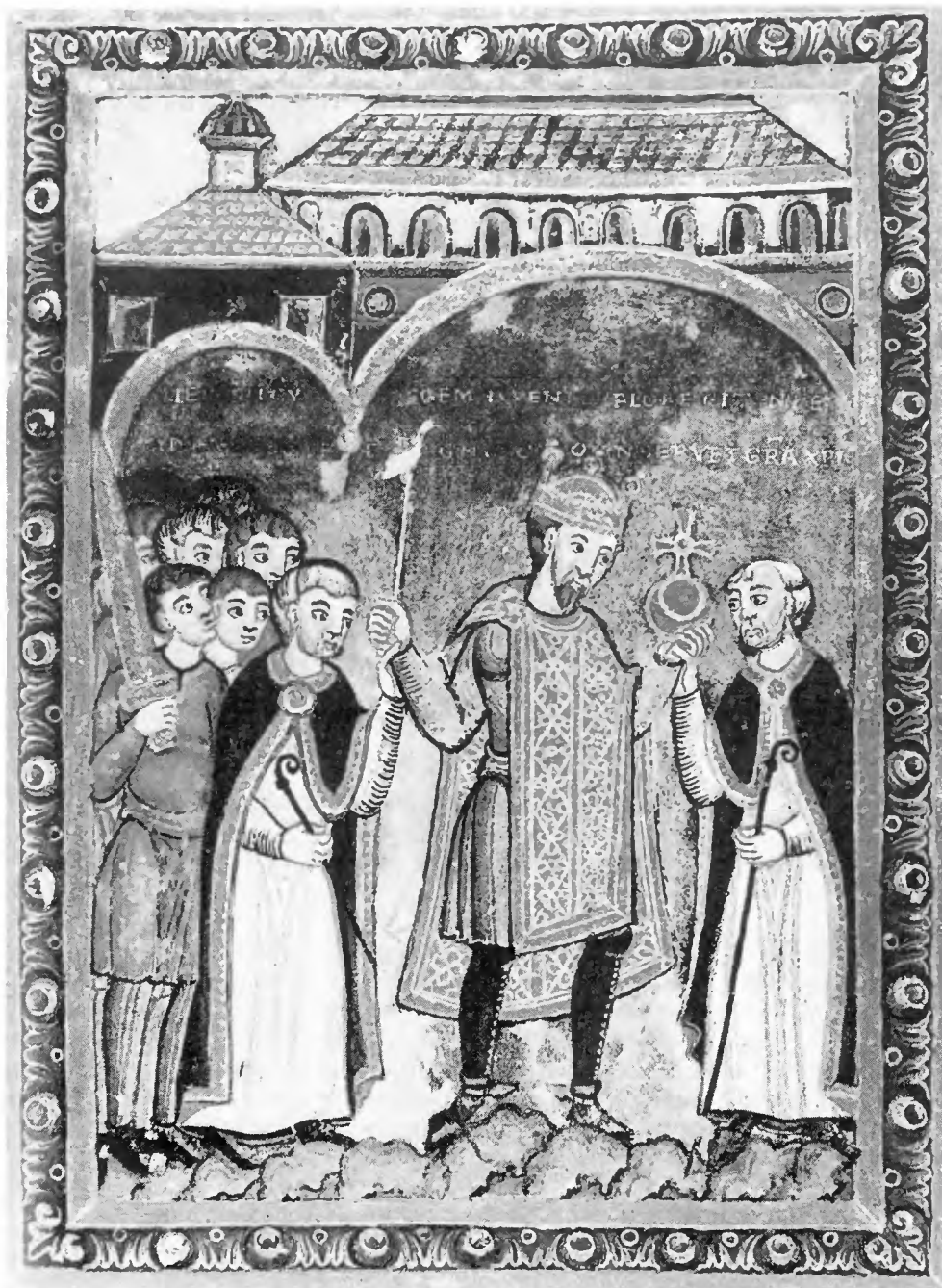


Fig. 1 King Henry III of Germany at the entry to a church, Bremen, Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek MS. b.21, f.3v. (Echternach, 1039–43), reproduced from the colour photograph in *Das Reich der Salier 1024–1125* (Sigmaringen, 1992), 298. © Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag Wiesbaden.

Little is known of the details of Carolingian crown-wearings. It was in the East Frankish or German successor kingdom that the ceremony was developed and elaborated, first under the Ottonian kings and emperors in the 10th century and then under the Salians in the 11th century. The ceremony assumed increasingly religious aspects and, apart from the concluding banquet, took place within an intensely liturgical framework. It is recorded that before crown-wearings Otto the Great (936–73) was accustomed to fast and Henry III (1039–56) to confess.⁷

In 10th-century Germany crown-wearings took place mainly on the principal Christian feasts of Christmas and Easter; Whitsun was added to the crown-wearing cycle c. 1000, perhaps under Henry II (1002–24).⁸ Crown-wearings were not, however, restricted to the three principal feasts and could take place on other special occasions; for instance Henry III wore his crown in the ancient Lombard capital of Pavia in 1046 on the occasion of his birthday (the feast of St. Simon and St. Jude).⁹

The 10th-century German kings and emperors spent most of the great festivals at palaces sited in the regions in which they held extensive lands, that is to say in Lower Lotharingia, Franconia and above all their native Saxony. The size of the kingdom was such that three fixed crown-wearing centres would not have been practical, but Quedlinburg in Saxony was especially favoured, particularly as an Easter residence.¹⁰ From the time of Henry II the royal itinerary was expanded and began to include more regular visits to areas such as Bavaria and Swabia. In these areas the kings did not have extensive landholdings and the great festivals were often celebrated in episcopal cities.¹¹ The traditional centres remained in use in the 11th century, and in Saxony a major new palace complex was also developed at Goslar in the Harz mountains by Henry III; Goslar was much favoured as a Christmas residence.¹²

No German source provides a detailed account of the crown-wearing ceremony, for contemporary chroniclers took knowledge of it for granted. Details of the ceremony thus only emerge when chroniclers recorded some feature of special significance or some unusual detail. This important methodological point has been stressed by both Klewitz and Brühl¹³ and will be relevant in the discussion of the English evidence.

There is for instance just one source which makes it clear that two churches were required for the full performance of the crown-wearing ceremony. In 1081 the German army under Henry IV (1056–1106) was encamped outside Rome at Whitsun and the necessary two churches were not available. A lively debate ensued, recounted in detail by one of the participants, Bishop Benzo of Alba.¹⁴ Benzo records that the participants debated the issue in the following terms,

What, brothers, shall we do today? For we do not have two churches here in order that our lord king may be robed and crowned in one church, then processing under the crown to the other church in which mass is celebrated. This is the ancient custom of the royal crown. . . .

The ceremony in 1081 finally went ahead using tented pavilions.

The act of crowning the king in the first church was reserved to a spiritual *coronator*, a privilege jealously guarded by the episcopacy and usually exercised by a senior archbishop. In France the archbishop of Reims obtained a papal privilege in 1089, which included a provision reserving to Reims the right to crown the king at festivals.¹⁵ In 1091 Vratislav II of Bohemia (1061–92), who acquired the status of a king in 1085, had himself crowned by Abbot Božetěch of Sázava on the occasion of a festival; there was a furious reaction on the part of Bishop Cosmas of Prague, by whom the abbot was forced to go on pilgrimage to Rome, carrying a cross on his back.¹⁶

By the late 11th century the involvement of a spiritual *coronator* was the norm, but in the Carolingian period, kings may frequently have placed the crown on their own heads when celebrating the major festivals.¹⁷ Kantorowicz drew a distinction between festival ‘coronations’ and

festival 'crown-wearings'.¹⁸ The distinction is indeed significant and will be relevant in the discussion of the English evidence. However Kantorowicz's terminology is not followed in this paper, since it is usually impossible in individual cases to ascertain whether a 'coronation' or a 'crown-wearing' took place.¹⁹

After the king had been robed, crowned, and vested with the royal insignia, he processed in state to the principal church; these processions are amply attested in the German literature.²⁰ In the procession the royal sword-bearer had a place of special importance. It seems that the sword-bearer was usually one of the great magnates of the kingdom, but occasionally a subsidiary ruler (such as a Polish duke or a Danish king) would bear the king's sword before him.²¹ The Pericopes Book of Henry III, a manuscript produced at Echternach between 1039 and 1043, has a portrayal of the king at the entrance to a church (Fig. 1). He is royally clad, crowned and bears the orb and sceptre; he is being led by two abbots and is also accompanied by a sword-bearer at the head of a throng of people. Werner Noack maintained that the manuscript illustrated a festival crown-wearing.²² That may be too specific an interpretation, but the illustration certainly shows the German ruler as he would have appeared on such an occasion in the mid 11th century.

On his arrival in the principal church the king was led to a throne, and a festival mass was celebrated. In the course of the mass, usually between the collect and the epistle, the litany-like acclamations known to modern scholarship as the *laudes regiae* (royal acclamations) were sung; the performance of the *laudes* was the highlight of the whole ceremony. The *laudes* originated, like the crown-wearing ceremony itself, in the early part of the Carolingian period and they derived ultimately from the ruler acclamations of the Roman Empire. More often known to contemporaries as the *Christus vincit*, they were addressed to the victorious Christ and they besought his aid for the powerful upon earth — pope, king, royal family, bishops, clergy, lay magnates and warriors.²³

The celebration of the mass was followed by a further procession, and the proceedings would be concluded by a banquet (similar to a coronation banquet) at which the king would be served by his dukes.²⁴ In addition to two churches the crown-wearing ceremony thus required a residence or palace equipped to stage a major feast; the first of the two churches may often have been a palace chapel, as seems to have been the case at Goslar.²⁵

In the words of John Cowdrey, 'While crown-wearings gave the king no new status, they displayed him publicly in the regality that he had acquired in his first coronation. . . He appeared as the manifest ruler of his subjects both ecclesiastical and lay, within a single, divinely-ordered pattern of heavenly and earthly dominion. As thus presented, crown-wearings were the occasion of a solemn renewal of loyalty and solidarity between the ruler and his subjects'.²⁶

Crown-Wearing in Anglo-Saxon England before the Reign of Edward the Confessor

In this paper it is suggested that crown-wearing existed in Anglo-Saxon England long before the Norman Conquest, certainly by the 10th century and possibly by the late 8th century. It is then argued that during the reign of Edward the Confessor the ceremony was refashioned under German influence transmitted through Bishop Ealdred of Worcester.

By the time that crown-wearings are well attested in post-Conquest England, the ceremony had existed for some 300 years in the Carolingian Empire and in Germany, the most influential of the Carolingian successor kingdoms.²⁷ It is unlikely that continental custom would be without influence on English practice over such a long period. It is true that there are no references to crown-wearing in the Anglo-Saxon narrative sources, but the argument from silence is hardly significant. The brief annals, which are all that we have for most of the period before Edward

the Confessor, mention the councils of kings rarely enough and give us no information on the ceremonies which accompanied them.²⁸ As noted above, it is only from chronicles with rich circumstantial detail that the crown-wearing ceremony is known on the continent.

Fortunately other types of source material throw some light on the matter. The dating clause of a charter of King Eadred issued in 949 states that 'regalia sublimavit diademata paschali sollempnitate' at the vill of Somerton (Somerset).²⁹ The charter, which is preserved in the 13th-century cartulary of Burton Abbey, belongs to the alliterative series and there seem to be no reasons to doubt its authenticity.³⁰ Here then is unequivocal evidence for an Easter crown-wearing in the mid 10th century.³¹

A reason for the explicit statement in Eadred's charter can be advanced. The witnesses to the charter include Bishop Coenwald of Worcester, who was in all likelihood the composer of the alliterative series.³² Coenwald had himself been on a diplomatic mission to Germany on behalf of King Æthelstan in 929, and he was presumably familiar with continental practice.³³ Moreover at Easter 949 there was an Anglo-Saxon embassy to the court held by Otto I at Aachen.³⁴ Such embassies were probably infrequent events,³⁵ and continental affairs were presumably on the minds of those gathered at Somerton. It is unlikely to be coincidence that Coenwald, or whoever else composed Eadred's charter, chose this occasion to make explicit reference to the *regalia...diademata*.

A hagiographical source, Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi* written between 997 and 1002, also provides valuable evidence. The well-known passage describing an Easter assembly begins, 'Rex autem armipotens Eadgar, sceptris et diadematis pollens...' (King Edgar powerful in arms, mighty with sceptres and diadems...).³⁶ Michael Lapidge has recently shown how little concern Byrhtferth had for historical accuracy.³⁷ It would therefore be unsafe to use this passage as evidence that Edgar (959–75) wore his crown on any specific occasion, and the date of Edgar's Easter assembly is not relevant to the present discussion. It is, however, instructive to compare the account of Edgar's assembly with a similar passage in another work of Byrhtferth, the *Vita S. Ecgwini*, describing an assembly of King Coenred of Mercia (704–9).³⁸ There are close verbal parallels, for the description of the assembly begins 'Rex autem armipotens Coenred...' and here too the theme of the king adorned with crown and sceptre is deployed (*regali diademate ornatus sceproque redimitus*). In the case of Coenred the theme of the king adorned with crown and sceptre is with little doubt anachronistic.

Byrhtferth had a particular interest in displays of royal power and splendour.⁴⁰ It is evident that in his set-piece descriptions of royal power and majesty as manifested at formal assemblies he had a clear concept of how a king should appear on such an occasion. For all that Byrhtferth's concepts may have been shaped more by literary models than by personal knowledge of contemporary ceremonial, it is unlikely that his portrayal of Edgar at an Easter assembly was wholly inappropriate in the context of 10th-century England.⁴¹

These references are the only explicit statements in pre-Conquest sources, but in the light of what has been said about the nature of the sources, it is perhaps fortunate that we have even this much. Various sources of the late 11th and 12th centuries have sometimes been deployed in favour of pre-Conquest crown-wearing,⁴² but their testimony does not form part of the present argument. However, comment is necessary on the explicit statement by William of Malmesbury in the *Vita Wulfstani* that festival courts were an innovation of William the Conqueror.⁴³ William was writing some 60 years or more after the Conquest, and it is likely that he was himself misled by the absence of references in his own sources. William does moreover contradict himself on this point, for elsewhere he refers to a crown-wearing of Edward the Confessor at Christmas 1065.⁴⁴ It will be argued below that the English crown-wearing ceremony was

refashioned shortly before the Norman Conquest, and the change in practice during the Confessor's reign may well have added to William's confusion.

In his study of crown-wearing, Martin Biddle supplied four invaluable appendices, providing a comprehensive festival itinerary for the kings of England between 900 and 1135.⁴⁵ For the period before the beginning of the reign of Edward the Confessor in 1042, the evidence seems at first sight extremely meagre with only 27 entries. Moreover three of these entries are of uncertain authority,⁴⁶ while a further six are based on charters to which varying degrees of suspicion attach.⁴⁷ Two further entries (Shropshire in 1006 and the Isle of Wight in 1012) arise from the exceptional circumstances of the later years of Æthelred II (978–1016) and do not provide evidence for assemblies. Of the later crown-wearing centres Winchester occurs three times (once dubiously), Westminster not at all (though London is found three times, two of the references being dubious), while Gloucester is represented only by the *Altitonantis* charter, now considered to be a 12th-century forgery not based on a pre-Conquest document (for further discussion see the Appendix).

It would however be mistaken to draw the conclusion that festival courts were a rarity in late Saxon England. Here again it is the nature of the sources which determines the picture, for there are remarkably few late Saxon charters which provide precise dates and locations.⁴⁸ In this connection Patrick Wormald has recently drawn attention to the important evidence provided by the draftsman known as 'Æthelstan A', operating between c. 928 and c. 935.⁴⁹ In the charters which he produced 'Æthelstan A' consistently provided both the precise calendar date and the place of issue; in Wormald's words he 'permits what is never otherwise possible in Anglo-Saxon history: the outlines of a royal itinerary'. It is no coincidence that five of Biddle's entries come from charters issued during this part of Æthelstan's reign (Exeter, Easter 928; Amesbury, Christmas 933; Dorchester, Easter 934; Winchester, Whitsun 934; Dorchester, Christmas ?935⁵⁰). The evidence provided by 'Æthelstan A' for festival court-holding shows how little store should be set by the silence of other sources during the period from 900 to 1042.

It has already been noted that crown-wearing originated in the early part of the Carolingian period, and it was associated with the holding of regular Christmas and Easter courts.⁵¹ It is therefore worthwhile extending Biddle's tables back to the beginning of the Carolingian period. The table on p. 47 sets out the available evidence for the festival itinerary of the kings of the two principal English kingdoms, Mercia and Wessex, in the period from 751 to 899.⁵² It is at once apparent that the quality of the surviving records is rather better than for the period 900–1042, at least between c. 800 and the arrival of the Great Danish Army in 866; the quality of the evidence reflects the higher proportion of accurately dated charters from the 9th century as compared to the 10th and early 11th centuries.

What survives is sufficient to suggest that regular festival courts were held in Mercia from the time of Coenwulf (796–821) and were possibly first introduced in the reign of Offa (757–96). For Wessex the evidence suggests an origin during the reign of Ecgberht (802–39).⁵³ The exchanges between England and the Carolingian world in the second half of the 8th century and the early 9th century are sufficiently well documented not to need elaboration here.⁵⁴ The contacts between the courts of Offa and Charlemagne were particularly close, but it is also worth noting that, before his accession, Ecgberht of Wessex spent three years in exile in the Frankish kingdom,⁵⁵ in all likelihood at Charlemagne's court.

As much else in Anglo-Saxon governmental practice followed the example of the Carolingians,⁵⁶ the introduction of festival court-holding is surely likely to have been based on the Carolingian example. And if the Mercian and West Saxon kings introduced festival court-holding, it is likely that they also took over something of Carolingian ceremonial practices on such occasions. Whether or not this actually involved the wearing of crowns in England is a

TABLE

Places where the kings of Mercia and Wessex celebrated the three great festivals, 751–899

MERCIA

Year	Easter	Whitsun	Christmas	Source ^a
'781' (780)	—	—	Tamworth	S120 (B239)
801	Canterbury	—	—	S157 ^b
808	Tamworth	—	—	S163 (B326)
'814' (813)	—	—	Tamworth	S172 (B350)
823	—	<i>Werbunging wic</i>	—	S187 (B373)
840	Tamworth	—	—	S192 (B430)
'841' (?840)	—	—	Tamworth	S193, 195–6 ^c
'845' (844)	—	—	Tamworth	S198 (B450)
857	Tamworth	—	—	S208 (B492)

WESSEX

Year	Easter	Whitsun	Christmas	Source
'826' (825)	—	—	Southampton	S272–3 (B390, 389)
833 (?)	—	—	Dorchester	S277 ^d
'841' (?840)	—	—	<i>Æscantun</i>	S290 ^e
'847' (846)	—	—	Dorchester	S298 (B451)
854	Wilton	—	—	S302–5, 307–8, 1862 ^f
'864' (863)	—	—	Dorchester	S333 ^g
864	Sherborne	—	—	S333 ^g
878	Athelney	—	—	<i>ASC</i>

Notes

Places in italics are unidentified. There is not space here for discussion of questions of authenticity of the charter material (from which all except one of the references come), but it seems likely that all the documents cited contain at least a core of authentic material: the West Saxon material is conveniently discussed by S. Keynes, 'The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and his Sons', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* **109** (1994), 1109–49. As the year seems normally to have begun at Christmas, it is likely that most documents issued at the Christmas feast are dated one year too late by modern reckoning; in such cases the stated year is given in inverted commas and the actual year in brackets.

^aFor the abbreviations in this column, see below p. 67.

^b*Charters of Rochester*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1973), no. 16. This festival was celebrated jointly by Coenwulf, king of Mercia and his brother Cuthred, king of Kent.

^cB434, 433, 432. The problematic dating of these texts is discussed by M.A. O'Donovan, 'An interim revision of episcopal dates for the province of Canterbury, 850–950: part I', *Anglo-Saxon England* **1** (1972), 43–4.

^d*Charters of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. S.E. Kelly (Oxford, 1996), no. 2. The Dorchester references are all with little doubt to Dorchester (Dorset) rather than to Dorchester-on-Thames (Oxfordshire).

^e*Charters of Sherborne*, ed. M.A. O'Donovan (Oxford, 1988), no. 3.

^fB471, 472, 468, 470, 474, 469, 480.

^g*Charters of Sherborne*, no. 6.

moot point, for there is some evidence to suggest that until c. 900 the helmet rather than the crown was the prime royal headgear of English kings.⁵⁷ It is conceivable that the 9th-century Anglo-Saxon kings wore their helmets at the great festivals. It is not until the later years of the reign of Æthelstan (924–39) that depictions of the crowned king appear in the coin sequence.⁵⁸ Be that as it may, it is clear enough that by the early 9th century the framework for future developments was in place.

The high profile of Tamworth in Mercian festival court-holding deserves special mention. There must have been many more festival courts at Tamworth, and it is likely that it had a special symbolic significance for the Mercian kings. It is surely this symbolic significance which led to Tamworth being (symbolically) dismembered in the 10th century by the West Saxon kings, who ran the boundary between Staffordshire and Warwickshire through the heart of the borough.⁵⁹

Little can be said about the details of the crown-wearing ceremony in pre-Conquest England, given the scantiness of the sources. The degree of elaboration of the ceremony may well have varied greatly; the ceremony was perhaps at its grandest under kings with imperial pretensions such as Æthelstan and Edgar.⁶⁰ The westwork at the Old Minster in Winchester, constructed between 974 and 980, should perhaps be seen in this context, if the Biddles are right that it contained a royal throne.⁶¹ The reign of Cnut (1016–35), for which the sources are particularly thin, may also have seen elaborate crown-wearings; Cnut attended the imperial coronation of Conrad II at Rome in 1027 and will thus have become familiar with contemporary Romano-German ceremonial.⁶²

It may, however, be doubted whether the crown-wearing ceremony in 10th and early 11th century England incorporated the same degree of liturgical elaboration as in Ottonian Germany. Karl Leyser and Janet Nelson have both made the point that the high ritual profile of the Liudolfing kings was a reflection of political weakness, and they have contrasted it with the relative security of the Carolingians.⁶³ The absence of texts of the *laudes regiae* from pre-Conquest England is probably a pointer.⁶⁴ It is also probable that episcopal 'coronation' was not a feature, or at least not a regular feature, of 10th- and early 11th-century crown-wearings in England.⁶⁵ It is suggested below that at Windsor the kings of the Norman period placed the crown on their own head at crown-wearings; if so, they were probably continuing a pre-Conquest custom.

The suggestion that the liturgical element was less marked in English than in German crown-wearings is reinforced by a comparison of the topographical settings of the festival courts of the English and German kings in the 10th and early 11th centuries.⁶⁶ Some English festival courts were indeed celebrated at places like Winchester, London and Exeter, which probably provided splendid settings for such ceremonies. However we also learn of festival courts at Amesbury (Christmas 932 and Easter 995), Somerton (Easter 949), Cheddar (Easter 968), Woolmer (Easter 970) and Enham (Whitsun 1008). As only a small percentage of festival courts is represented in the surviving records, many more must in practice have been held at rural royal villas such as these.⁶⁷ Nothing is known to survive above ground from an Anglo-Saxon royal vill, perhaps in itself an indication that they did not normally possess grand stone buildings. Cheddar, where king Edgar celebrated Easter 968, has been excavated⁶⁸ and, with its series of timber halls, is likely to have been typical. Such places cannot compare with the grand architectural settings of contemporary Ottonian festival courts.⁶⁹ The contrast between Otto the Great at Aachen and Eadred at Somerton at Easter 949 is striking.

Crown-Wearing under Edward the Confessor and the Early Norman Kings

English chroniclers of the early Norman period have preserved few details of the crown-wearings of William the Conqueror (1066–87) and William Rufus (1087–1100). Nevertheless there

is sufficient information to show that at this period the English ceremony was broadly similar to the ceremony staged in the German Empire.

As in Germany, the English crown-wearings were staged on the principal feasts of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun.⁷⁰ A spiritual *coronator* is first recorded at the Easter festival at Winchester in 1070. There were no English archbishops available, for Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury had just been deposed, while Archbishop Ealdred of York had died the previous autumn. The 'coronation' was carried out by the papal legates, Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and his colleagues.⁷¹ By the early 12th century the privilege of crowning the king at the principal festivals was reserved to the archbishop of Canterbury. At Christmas 1109, when Canterbury was vacant, there was an unseemly dispute between the archbishop of York and the bishop of London as to who should crown the king and celebrate mass in Canterbury's absence; it was the bishop of London, as dean of the church of Canterbury, who carried the day.⁷² The status of Canterbury is probably reflected in the ideal plan drawn up c. 1110 for the Irish church by Bishop Gilbert of Limerick, a friend and correspondent of Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury (1093–1109); according to Gilbert a primate was distinguished from an archbishop in that a primate alone might ordain the king and crown him on the three principal festivals.⁷³

For processions at early Norman crown-wearings we have the evidence that at Whitsun 1099 King Edgar of Scotland carried the sword before William Rufus,⁷⁴ presumably much as Danish and Polish rulers did in Germany and as later Scottish kings were also to do. Confirmation that the *laudes regiae* were performed in a major church is provided by Henry I's writ of 1100 mentioned above and by the survival of *laudes* texts from this period.⁷⁵ The great feasts which followed are vouched for by William of Malmesbury and by the *Life* of Lanfranc attributed to Milo Crispin. In addition we know of the splendid feast held by William Rufus at Whitsun 1099 on the occasion of the inauguration of his new hall at Westminster.⁷⁶

One point which is not specifically mentioned in the English context is the need for a second church. The one source to provide information on this point is the *consilium* (protocol) preserved by Gervase of Canterbury.⁷⁷ This *consilium* records the proceedings adopted for the 'second coronations' of King Stephen in 1142 and of King Richard I in 1194, coronations designed in each case to reinforce their status following a period of imprisonment. Both 'coronations' took the form of crown-wearings on a grand scale. Gervase's *consilium* makes it clear that the king was indeed robed and crowned before processing to the principal church for mass, but the ceremony is stated to have taken place in the king's chamber (*cubiculum regis*).⁷⁸ English practice may not therefore have followed German custom in this respect, but two points should be made. First, by the middle of the 12th century many royal chambers are likely to have had adjacent private chapels, which could well have provided the actual setting for the ceremony. Secondly, the crown-wearing ceremony was considerably reduced in scale by Henry I after 1110 (see below) and Gervase's *consilium* may reflect the practice of the 12th century rather than that of the late 11th century.

It is evident that by the early Norman period, English crown-wearings had assumed the intensely liturgical character of contemporary German ceremonial. It is possible that this merely reflects the better quality of the narrative sources from the middle of the 11th century onwards, but it seems more probable that at some stage there was a fresh introduction of continental influence.

The similarities between the English and German ceremonies do not establish a direct German ancestry for the English ceremony, as the practices of the German court were being widely copied in the 11th century. William of Malmesbury's statement that crown-wearing was introduced by William the Conqueror has already been discussed. If he was at least on the right track in seeing the hand of the Conqueror at work, it might be argued that the practice of the French court could have been more influential than that of the German Empire.⁷⁹ However, recent

research into other aspects of royal ceremonial enables a much more specific context to be suggested for the introduction of the full crown-wearing ceremony. It will be argued below that the key personality in this development was Ealdred, bishop of Worcester (1046–62) and archbishop of York (1060–69); it will also be suggested that in all likelihood Ealdred's rebuilding of Gloucester Abbey in 1058 was closely linked to this development.

Ealdred's career is of importance to us.⁸⁰ He was trained as a monk at the Old Minster at Winchester and was appointed abbot of Tavistock in 1027. He became bishop of Worcester in 1046, but may well have been acting as a suffragan to his predecessor at Worcester since earlier in the 1040s. In 1060 he was appointed archbishop of York, and it seems to have been Ealdred who presided at the two coronations of 1066, first Harold and then William.⁸¹ He died three years later in 1069.

In the course of his career Ealdred made a number of visits abroad and he became one of the leading diplomats of his day. He made two visits to Rome, in 1050 and in 1061. Most importantly for present purposes, in 1054 he undertook a diplomatic mission to Germany in order to negotiate the return of English princes living in exile in Hungary with the succession to Edward the Confessor in mind. According to the 'D' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Ealdred 'was received with great honour by the emperor, and he stayed there for nearly a year, and the bishop of Cologne and the emperor both gave him entertainment'. John of Worcester records the visit in similar terms, mentioning by name the archbishop of Cologne, Herimann.⁸² Archbishop Herimann (1036–56) was one of the leading prelates of his day in Germany, a kinsman of Emperor Henry III (1039–56) and a member of the Ezzonian family which was pre-eminent in the Lower Rhineland in the first half of the 11th century.⁸³ Herimann was well-placed to help Ealdred, for he had family contacts at the Hungarian court.⁸⁴ Herimann had reason to have especial interest in royal ceremonial, for the archbishops of Cologne had recently ousted the archbishops of Mainz from the right to preside at the coronations of German kings. In 1052 Herimann had obtained a papal privilege which confirmed the right of coronation to the archbishops of Cologne within their province, the important point being that the traditional coronation church at Aachen lay within the province.⁸⁵

Ealdred's departure for Germany would seem to have taken place between 17 July 1054, when he appointed Godric as abbot of Winchcombe, and October 1054, when he allowed Bishop Leofwine of Lichfield to consecrate the new church at Evesham.⁸⁶ It is thus not possible that Ealdred could have been present at the coronation at Aachen of the infant Henry IV in the presence of his father Henry III on 17 July 1054, as has been suggested;⁸⁷ however, he would undoubtedly have heard about the event, for Archbishop Herimann presided at the ceremony. What is much more likely is that Ealdred attended the Christmas court, which in 1054 was held at Goslar.⁸⁸ In 1058 Ealdred must have journeyed through Germany again, for he is recorded to have gone on pilgrimage to Jerusalem that year, travelling by way of Hungary.⁸⁹

There is evidence that Ealdred was much influenced by his visits to Germany. He seems to have returned with both books and relics,⁹⁰ and a crucifix commissioned by him at Beverley is stated to have been of German workmanship (see below). It is, however, Ealdred's liturgical interests which are of particular relevance. Folcard of Saint Bertin, a member of Ealdred's household, wrote of his liturgical reforms at York, while an account of Ealdred written at York in the 12th century relates that in Germany he learned 'many things which pertain to the character of religious observance, and many things which pertain to the authority of ecclesiastical discipline he heard, saw and committed to memory, things which afterwards he caused to be adopted by the English churches'.⁹¹ Ealdred took steps at York Minster, Beverley and Southwell to introduce the communal life for the clergy, doubtless according to a continental rule.⁹² At Worcester

the presence of the continental monk Winrich, who clashed with Wulfstan on a liturgical issue, is in all likelihood a reflection of Ealdred's liturgical interests.⁹³

What is of especial interest to us is the association between Ealdred and the *laudes regiae*. The earliest surviving English text of the *laudes regiae* can be dated 1068 or 1069 on internal evidence; in all likelihood it was composed for use at Whitsun 1068, when William the Conqueror's queen, Matilda, was crowned by Ealdred in Westminster Abbey.⁹⁴ The *laudes* of 1068–9 are preserved in a collection of miscellaneous liturgical texts added as a supplement to a manuscript of a Romano-German pontifical (London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vitellius E.xii). In a marvellous piece of detective work, Michael Lapidge has shown 'that the nature and contents of this book are best explained as having been the property (and hence reflecting the interests) of Ealdred of York'.⁹⁵ Lapidge was even able to establish a specific connection with the cathedral church of Cologne.⁹⁶

Almost simultaneously with Lapidge's paper, another scholar, Janet Nelson, made a strong case for Ealdred having composed the third English coronation *ordo* (the liturgical rite used in the service of coronation). Nelson suggested that this *ordo* was used for the first time at the two coronations of 1066.⁹⁷ As she demonstrated, 'the Third English Ordo is a splicing together of forms from the Second English Ordo with forms from the king's ordo in the *Pontificale Romano-Germanicum*';⁹⁸ if Nelson's case is accepted, it shows us that, much as he may have been influenced by Germany, Ealdred was no slavish imitator.

There is thus a considerable body of evidence to suggest that Ealdred had a lively interest in royal ceremonial and was responsible for the introduction of the *laudes regiae* and for the composition of the third English coronation *ordo*, in both cases on a German model.⁹⁹ The question then arises as to whether Ealdred was also responsible for remodelling the crown-wearing ceremony along German lines. It needs first to be emphasised that the *laudes regiae* and crown-wearing are not synonymous, for *laudes* were sung on occasions other than crown-wearings (e.g. coronations) and indeed they were sung in some countries even when the king was not present.¹⁰⁰ The point is made clear by the position of William the Conqueror in Normandy, where he was duke rather than king and where he owed allegiance, however nominal, to the king of France. The *laudes* were in fact introduced to Normandy at much the same time as they were introduced to England; the date 1067 has been suggested for their first performance in Normandy.¹⁰¹ The *laudes* were evidently sung amid much pomp in Normandy, but not as part of the crown-wearing ceremony.

Nelson's argument for Ealdred having composed the third English coronation *ordo* is however an important pointer, for crown-wearing is not an isolated phenomenon but an integral part of the coronation ritual of the central Middle Ages.¹⁰² A case for Ealdred might therefore be made on the basis of economy of hypothesis alone. However a little-noticed record relating to Gloucester adds some flesh to the argument. According to the 'D' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* annal for 1058, 'Bishop Ealdred consecrated the minster at Gloucester which he himself had furthered (*geforðode*) to the glory of God and St. Peter'.¹⁰³ The purpose of Ealdred's rebuilding or remodelling is not recorded in the *Chronicle* or in any other source. What can however be said with confidence is that it was in the church rebuilt or remodelled by Ealdred that William the Conqueror wore his crown on great festivals, for instance at Christmas 1085 when Domesday Book was commissioned.¹⁰⁴

Although it can be no more than hypothesis on present knowledge, it seems reasonable to associate Ealdred's rebuilding of Gloucester with his known interest in royal ceremonial. It is certainly difficult to suggest any other reason why Ealdred might have undertaken the rebuilding of the abbey church at Gloucester. It is true that after he became archbishop of York in 1060,

Ealdred carried out building works in the diocese of York at Beverley and Southwell.¹⁰⁵ However, Beverley and Southwell were episcopal minsters which were important for the administration of the huge northern see of York. There is no hint in either Gloucester or Worcester sources to suggest that Gloucester ever played a similar role in the diocese of Worcester.

The most likely scenario is that Ealdred began work at Gloucester soon after his German visit of 1054 with the specific object of adapting the building to serve as a setting for the performance of the *laudes regiae* in the context of the crown-wearing ceremony. The fact that the earliest *laudes* text dates from just after the Norman Conquest does not invalidate such a conclusion; versions slightly earlier than that of 1068–9 may well have existed. A remodelling of the crown-wearing ceremony in the last decade or so of Edward the Confessor's reign would also go some way towards explaining the confusion which is to be found in chronicles and other sources of late 11th- and 12th-century date.¹⁰⁶

Iconographical developments lend weight to the case. It is in the 1050s that the theme of the crowned king enthroned in majesty first appears on seals and coins, influenced in part at least by German models; a date of *c.* 1057 for this development has recently been proposed by Brigitte Bedos Rezak.¹⁰⁷ Also of interest is the appearance *c.* 1059 of a closed imperial crown on Edward the Confessor's coins.¹⁰⁸

One final point may be made in support of the general thesis outlined above. Reference has already been made to the *consilium* for crown-wearing preserved by Gervase of Canterbury. There are some remarkable similarities, both in general form and in liturgical detail, between Gervase's *consilium* and the 12th-century Sicilian *ordo* for crown-wearing. These similarities have traditionally been ascribed to the close connections between the churches of Norman England and Norman Sicily. However, more recently, Reinhard Elze has pointed out that some at least of these similarities may be due to the common Romano-German roots of both the English and the Sicilian ceremonies.¹⁰⁹

In the last resort the case which has been made for Ealdred in this section is circumstantial, but the weight of circumstantial evidence is considerable.

Gloucester, Westminster and Winchester in the Festival Itinerary

We must now consider the extent to which the kings of the period spent the three great feasts at Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester, as suggested by the 1087 annal and other sources. This aspect can be considered briefly, for it has been studied in detail by Martin Biddle.¹¹⁰

As already noted we only rarely know where the late Saxon kings spent the three great festivals, but there is rather better information about the whereabouts of the king at the principal festivals during the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), especially in the last decade of his reign, though there are still many gaps and uncertainties. For Gloucester, Christmas visits are recorded in 1052, 1062 and possibly 1059,¹¹¹ with Easter visits in 1058 and possibly 1062. Winchester and Windsor also feature in Edward's festival itinerary. Westminster occurs for the first time at Christmas 1065 on the occasion of the consecration of the new abbey church there; King Harold also held his only Easter court at Westminster in 1066. The three locations which were to become traditional thus began to emerge (together with Windsor) in Edward's reign. Biddle concluded that Edward 'may also have anticipated, at least on occasion, the more developed practice of the Conqueror'.¹¹²

William the Conqueror and William Rufus both spent much time in Normandy. Out of perhaps 61 festivals which they celebrated in England, we know their whereabouts on 31 occasions. Apart from one visit to York (in the exceptional circumstances of 1069) the recorded festivals all took place at Winchester, Westminster, Gloucester or Windsor. Between 1066 and

1100 the two Williams spent 8 festivals at Winchester (7 at Easter, 1 at Whitsun), 11 at Westminster (5 at Whitsun, 6 at Christmas), 5 at Gloucester (all at Christmas)¹¹³ and 6 at Windsor (4 at Whitsun and 1 each at Easter and Christmas). The pattern followed in practice was thus not nearly as regular as the 1087 annal and other sources suggest; although Gloucester was used as a Christmas residence, other centres were also frequented, particularly Westminster. It is possible (but far from certain) that the regularity implied by the annalist did obtain in the years 1082–86. As Martin Biddle also notes, 'It is possible that celebrations at Westminster, Winchester and Gloucester are under-represented in these reigns because the normal usage was too commonplace to be recorded';¹¹⁴ the two Williams spent perhaps 8 Christmas festivals in England at unrecorded locations.

For Henry I (1100–35) a much fuller festival itinerary is available, and there are only a handful of gaps. Gloucester does not feature in Henry's festival itinerary and was rarely visited by him at other times.¹¹⁵ However for the first 10 years of his reign, Westminster, Winchester and Windsor continued to be visited at festivals on a regular basis. In 1111 the 'E' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records 'In this year King Henry did not wear his crown at Christmas [1110] nor Easter nor Whitsuntide'.¹¹⁶ Thereafter Henry mostly spent the principal festivals at lesser centres, and the ceremony must have been on a much reduced scale. It is probable, as Judith Green has noted, that the main reasons for Henry's change in practice were first to reduce the enormous expense of the festival courts and secondly to avoid the likelihood of unseemly disputes between bishops over the privilege of placing the crown on the king's head.¹¹⁷ The subsequent, rather erratic, history of crown-wearing in England is outside the scope of this paper.¹¹⁸

The Reasons for the Choice of Gloucester

This section considers the reasons for the choice of Gloucester, along with Westminster and Winchester, as a crown-wearing centre; the role of Windsor is discussed separately below. The first point to be made is a logistical one. As already noted, the German ceremony required a palace and two churches, one of them a major church. The English requirements will have been broadly similar, though it is uncertain whether a second church was essential in England. Moreover, as Martin Biddle has pointed out, the size of the gatherings at the principal feasts and the accommodation required were on an immense scale.¹¹⁹ It is certainly no coincidence that Gloucester and Winchester were both towns, and that Westminster was adjacent to London. As David Hill has noted, it was precisely at this period that 'English and Norman kings made the towns central to the governance of England'.¹²⁰ It may also be noted that London, Winchester and Gloucester were all towns of Roman origin, and the backdrop of *romanitas* is something which would still in all likelihood have appealed to kings in the central Middle Ages.

In the context of the political history of late Saxon England, the choice of Winchester and of Westminster is easier to explain than that of Gloucester. Winchester had long royal associations, having served as a major royal centre throughout the late Saxon period. It is uncertain when Westminster was first developed as a royal residence, but London was a centre of major national importance and the late Saxon kings are regularly recorded there or in nearby villas such as Chelsea, Kingston-on-Thames and Lambeth.¹²¹ Similar royal associations are sought in vain for Gloucester.

Gloucester had been a royal centre for the short period from the mid 880s to 918, when Mercia was ruled by Ealdorman Æthelred and his wife Æthelflæd; royal associations seem to have been maintained during the reign of King Æthelstan (924–39).¹²² However for the following century there is no satisfactory evidence to show that the kings of England ever visited Gloucester and scant evidence for their presence elsewhere in Gloucestershire; the detailed

materials for Gloucestershire in the royal itinerary between 918 and 1042 are set out in the Appendix. The sources for the royal itinerary during this period are extremely sketchy and it is unlikely that there were no royal visits at all between 939 and 1040. However it would appear that Gloucester was outside the area regularly frequented by the late Saxon kings during this century.

From the early 1040s Gloucester does begin to appear again in the royal itinerary. At least one visit to Gloucester was made by Harthacnut (1040–42). Edward the Confessor (1042–66) is recorded more frequently at Gloucester than at any other place except Westminster. He regularly visited Gloucester before Ealdred introduced the full crown-wearing ceremony, as he is already recorded there in 1043, 1051 and 1052.¹²³ The hunting facilities offered by the Forest of Dean were doubtless one of the town's attractions.

Gloucester's prominent place in the royal itinerary between 1040 and 1100 had no precedent in the late Saxon period, and it also seems to have had little impact on the practice of kings in the following centuries. It has already been noted that Henry I rarely visited Gloucester. Among later kings only John (1199–1216) in the later years of his reign and Henry III (1216–72) in the first half of his were regular visitors.¹²⁴

The evidence of the royal itinerary is mirrored by the pattern of patronage towards Gloucester's religious establishments, in particular to St. Peter's Abbey. After Æthelstan's death in 939, there is no evidence for royal patronage to either of Gloucester's two Anglo-Saxon minsters until the reign of Edward the Confessor,¹²⁵ and even Edward is only recorded as having given half a fishery to St. Peter's Abbey.¹²⁶ Under William I and William II the abbey did, however, attract patronage on a major scale, receiving grants both from the kings and from other prestigious benefactors, some of whom had no local connections. Under Henry I the pattern of grants continued initially, but by his death in 1135 the level of grants had already dropped substantially.¹²⁷

The prominence of Gloucester in the royal itinerary of the later 11th century probably did owe something to the fact that Gloucester had once been a Mercian royal centre. It may also have owed something to Gloucester's proximity to Wales. The English kings of this period often had Welsh affairs (and commonly aggression against Wales) on their minds when at Gloucester. There was a series of military campaigns against the Welsh in the 1050s,¹²⁸ while under William Rufus the invasions of Brycheiniog and of Glamorgan seem to have been first planned at Gloucester.¹²⁹ Bishop Ealdred of Worcester played a prominent role in the defence of the Welsh marches, and the choice of Gloucester as a ceremonial centre may have been in part designed to impress the Welsh.¹³⁰ It is possible that Welsh rulers could have been expected to act as the king's sword-bearer at Gloucester, as we know that King Edgar of Scotland did at Westminster in 1099 and as Danish and Polish rulers are recorded to have done in Germany. Geoffrey Gaimar's account of William Rufus' crown-wearing at Westminster at Whitsun 1099 suggests the possibility that Welsh rulers may have played a role on such occasions, but there is no surviving evidence to show whether Welsh rulers were involved in the Gloucester crown-wearings.¹³¹

It seems probable that the personal role of Ealdred was a major factor in the choice of Gloucester as a crown-wearing centre. Gloucester was in Ealdred's diocese while he was bishop of Worcester (1046–62) and Gloucester Abbey presumably came into his control at some stage in the 1050s, as did the abbacy of Winchcombe in 1053.¹³² Ealdred also had close connections with Winchester, having been trained there. It is likely that he knew Westminster well, considering how often Edward the Confessor was there, but there is no reliable evidence to suggest any involvement on his part in Edward the Confessor's building works at Westminster Abbey.¹³³

Ealdred himself was a monk, and Gloucester, Westminster and Winchester (Old Minster) were all Benedictine monasteries, the Old Minster at Winchester serving also as a cathedral. The pre-eminent role of Benedictine establishments is not taken from German practice.¹³⁴ In England the situation may have been largely determined by the existence of monasteries in close proximity to major royal residences, something which ultimately reflects the exceptional role of the English monarchy in the 10th-century Benedictine reform movement.¹³⁵ The choice of three Benedictine houses may also be associated with the performance of the *laudes regiae*, for a high standard of musicianship would be expected. It is possible that Ealdred's appointment of a Worcester monk, Wiltan, to the abbacy of Gloucester in 1058¹³⁶ was connected with the furtherance of the musical tradition at Gloucester.

It is thus possible to point to a number of factors which may have been influential in the choice of Gloucester; there were doubtless other factors which are now beyond our reach. What is evident is that Gloucester was not chosen because of deep-rooted historical connections with the Anglo-Saxon monarchy. The lack of such deep-rooted connections may help to explain why Gloucester went out of use so suddenly after 1100, not just as a ceremonial centre but also as a centre at which the king personally exercised political power on a regular basis.

The Role of Windsor

Martin Biddle first drew attention to the prominent place of Windsor in the festival itinerary.¹³⁷ Anglo-Saxon Windsor was at Old Windsor, about 3 km. from the present castle. Windsor first appears in documentary sources in the early 1060s, but archaeological excavation has produced evidence for a major settlement (presumably a royal vill) at Old Windsor several centuries earlier.¹³⁸ William the Conqueror built a castle at New Windsor, but the festival courts seem to have been held at Old Windsor until 1110, when it is recorded that at Whitsun Henry I held his court for the first time at New Windsor.¹³⁹

In contrast to the other regular crown-wearing centres, there was not a major town at Windsor. There was also no Benedictine monastery nor any other sort of major religious establishment.¹⁴⁰ If the *laudes regiae* were sung for the king at Windsor on the principal festivals, they were presumably sung by the royal chaplains, as they were in later centuries.¹⁴¹

An intriguing incident occurred at Windsor on the occasion of the marriage of Henry I to Adelisa in January 1121. In the course of the ceremony Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury noticed that Henry was already wearing his crown; the service only continued after the crown was removed and the archbishop had been prevailed upon to replace it himself.¹⁴² It seems likely that Henry had placed the crown on his own head.

This incident may shed some light on the Windsor crown-wearings. It is possible that in placing the crown on his own head in 1121, Henry was following the traditional practice at Windsor crown-wearings. It would hardly be surprising if at Windsor the liturgical framework of the crown-wearings was less elaborate than elsewhere. Of the eight festivals celebrated at Windsor before 1100, six took place at Whitsun which was comfortably the least important of the three great feasts; one of the two exceptions (Easter 1097) resulted from a last-minute change in plan caused by bad weather in the English Channel.¹⁴³ Thus at Windsor traditional Anglo-Saxon practice may have been maintained alongside the new practice followed at Gloucester, Westminster and Winchester.

If kings were accustomed to do without a spiritual *coronator* at Windsor, that may shed some light on the reasons for the choice of Windsor for particular festivals. For instance, the Whitsun court at Windsor in 1072 was the occasion of the formal confirmation of the agreement between Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury and Archbishop Thomas of York;¹⁴⁴ one reason for the

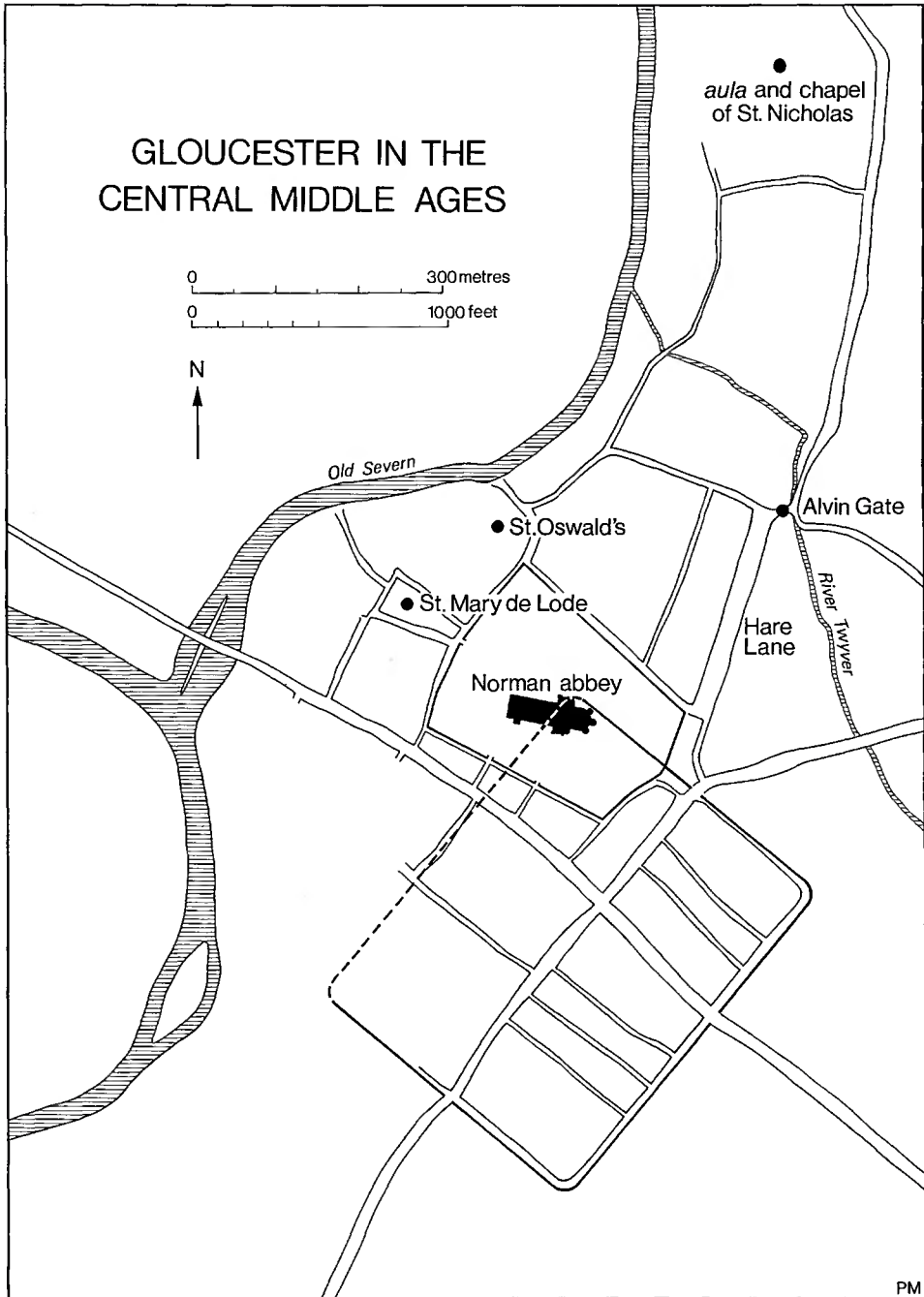


Fig. 2 Plan of Gloucester in the central Middle Ages.

choice of Windsor could have been to avoid a point of friction. Likewise, the regular use of Windsor in the mid 1090s could owe something to the tensions between William Rufus and Archbishop Anselm.¹⁴⁵

The lack of a spiritual *coronator* at Windsor might also offer some explanation for the absence of any reference to Windsor in sources such as the 1087 annal. In the ecclesiastical circles from which our sources come, Windsor may not have been considered as a crown-wearing centre in the same sense as Gloucester, Westminster and Winchester.

The Topographical Setting of the Gloucester Crown-Wearings

In this final section an attempt is made to define the topographical setting within which the Gloucester crown-wearings were held and the archaeological implications are considered. As noted above, the full performance of the crown-wearing ceremony in Germany required a palace, two churches and a processional route; the English requirements are likely to have been broadly similar.

A palace at Gloucester is mentioned in only one source. The *Life of King Edward* refers to an assembly in the royal palace (*regio palatio*) at Gloucester in connection with the events of 1051.¹⁴⁶ The assembly of 1051 is well-attested in other sources,¹⁴⁷ but the reference to a palace needs to be treated with some care. The author of the *Life* was a foreign clerk (probably writing in 1065–6) whose knowledge of English history and geography was limited;¹⁴⁸ it is quite likely that the author had never visited Gloucester.

Nevertheless, there was certainly a major residence just outside Gloucester, the king's hall (*aula regis*) at Kingsholm (Fig. 2). An excavation in 1972 by Henry Hurst produced evidence of a substantial timber hall building which was plausibly identified as part of the late Saxon or early Norman royal residence.¹⁴⁹ It seems that by the early 12th century the Kingsholm site was already being superseded by Gloucester Castle. The last recorded use of Kingsholm as a royal residence seems to have taken place at the coronation of Henry III in 1216 (see below). Even on that occasion the use of Kingsholm may have been largely ceremonial; the serious business discussions concerning the governance of the kingdom during Henry's minority took place at the castle.¹⁵⁰

It is uncertain whether a second church should be regarded as an essential part of the crown-wearing ceremony in 11th-century England. If we do need to identify a second church, there are three potential candidates. The first is the parish church of St. Mary de Lode, not recorded until the mid 12th century, but known to have been of much older foundation;¹⁵¹ churches dedicated to St. Mary were particularly favoured as coronation churches in the German Empire.¹⁵² The second is the 'new minster' of St. Oswald, established by Æthelred and Æthelflæd of Mercia c. 900; the new minster, though prominent in the 10th century, seems to have been in decline as early as the 1030s.¹⁵³ However, the best candidate is probably the chapel of St. Nicholas which is known to have stood at the king's hall. A case can be made to suggest that this building was a major 'palace chapel', perhaps built in the second half of the 11th century in Early Romanesque style.

The chapel is first recorded by name in the early 13th century.¹⁵⁴ By this period the chapel was the responsibility of the priory of St. Oswald which had received (before 1216) a grant of 49 acres of land for its maintenance. By the mid 14th century the building was derelict, and the priory petitioned that, on account of its great length and breadth, it could not be repaired without serious expense; permission was sought to replace it with a smaller building. In 1394 the priory was finally relieved of its obligations with regard to the chapel; the chapel was presumably then demolished or allowed to fall into decay.

The substantial size of the chapel, as recorded in the 14th century, suggests the likelihood of a date of construction in the period before 1100 when Kingsholm was still in regular use as a royal residence; after 1100 royal resources seem to have been devoted to Gloucester Castle. On the other hand, the dedication to St. Nicholas, a cult introduced to England in the course of the 11th century, implies that the chapel is not likely to antedate by very much the Norman Conquest.¹⁵⁵ The evidence is not unequivocal, but the indications would best suit a date of origin in the second half of the 11th century.

At least one important ceremony probably took place in the chapel of St. Nicholas. This ceremony is recorded in Eadmer's account of the events which took place at court at Gloucester in 1093 on the occasion of the appointment of Anselm as archbishop of Canterbury. Eadmer recounts at great length Anselm's resistance to all inducements to make him accept the archbishopric, but finally the pastoral staff was literally forced into his hand in the king's bed-chamber (the king was ill at the time). The story can be taken up in Eadmer's own words:¹⁵⁶

Then while the crowd cried, 'Long live the bishop; long may he live', the bishops and clergy began with uplifted voices to chant the *Te Deum*; and so the archbishop elect was carried, rather than led, into the neighbouring church (*in vicinam ecclesiam*), all the time resisting to the utmost of his power and saying, 'It is a nullity, a nullity, all this that you are doing'. When all the ritual which on such occasions it is the custom to have performed in the church had been performed, Anselm returned to the king. . .

It is difficult to envisage a struggling and protesting Anselm being carried all the way from Kingsholm to Gloucester Abbey.¹⁵⁷ The customary rituals, whatever they were, for the whole event was thoroughly uncanonical, probably took place in the chapel of St. Nicholas.

The dedication of the chapel to St. Nicholas could even point, once again, in the direction of Bishop Ealdred. The cult of St. Nicholas reached Germany in the late 10th century and became extremely popular there. The cult was much favoured by the Ezzonian family, to which Archbishop Herimann of Cologne belonged, and the family monastery of Brauweiler (near Cologne), dedicated in 1028, had St. Nicholas as its principal patron saint.¹⁵⁸ There is good evidence to show that the cult of St. Nicholas was introduced to Worcester around the middle of the 11th century,¹⁵⁹ and it is also noteworthy that Ealdred's gift of relics to Waltham included a relic of St. Nicholas.¹⁶⁰ It is thus not impossible that it was under Ealdred's influence that a palace chapel dedicated to St. Nicholas was established at Kingsholm.

There is no surviving evidence for 11th-century processions at Gloucester. However a procession from the abbey to Kingsholm is attested on the occasion of the triumphal entry of King Stephen to Gloucester in 1138.¹⁶¹ Processions to and from the abbey are also recorded by Roger of Wendover as having taken place in 1216,¹⁶² when the coronation of Henry III took place at Gloucester in exceptional circumstances. Roger's contemporary chronicle does not mention the other pole of these processions; however Robert of Gloucester's metrical chronicle, written about half a century later but with the benefit of local knowledge, mentions Kingsholm in this connection.¹⁶³

Processional routes are notoriously hard to establish. The German scholar Werner Noack maintained that some of the great market streets in medieval German cities (notably Augsburg, Speyer and Würzburg) were laid out in the first half of the 11th century specifically to serve as processional routes for crown-wearings.¹⁶⁴ Noack's arguments have been coolly received by later historians of German urban development, who have preferred to lay much greater stress on the economic factors. There is little doubt that Noack over-stated the case, but most of his critics allow the possibility that some of these market-streets may have been used as processional routes

at an early date.¹⁶⁵ Similar suggestions have also been made for other cities. Perhaps the most convincing example of a planned ceremonial way of this kind is the Zadelstraat at Utrecht;¹⁶⁶ this example is of particular interest for Archbishop Herimann of Cologne is thought to have played a major role in the design of the Utrecht 'cross of churches'.¹⁶⁷

At Gloucester there seem to have been two routes between Kingsholm and the medieval town (Fig. 2). A minor route ran close to the eastern branch of the Severn, entering the town near St. Oswald's. However the principal route lay further east and led to the north gate of the town; it followed (if only approximately) the line of the Roman road from Worcester. Between the Alvin gate (an outer gate at the crossing of the River Twyver) and the north gate, there was a long rectilinear street, to all appearances a market street, known as Hare Lane. A detailed analysis of this area has fortunately been carried out recently by Nigel Baker and Richard Holt.¹⁶⁸ They have demonstrated that this area was apparently laid out under a joint initiative by the Crown and by the new minster of St. Oswald's. The date of this initiative remains unclear but in all likelihood it is to be assigned to the 10th or more probably the 11th century. There is no surviving documentary evidence for the use of Hare Lane as a market; by the early 13th century the area is known to have been occupied by tanners. Baker and Holt suggest the possibility that, as an urban development, Hare Lane was not a great success, and they speculate that it might have been intended to accommodate seasonal events such as a fair. One such seasonal event could perhaps have been the formal processions at the great crown-wearing festivals in the second half of the 11th century. It should be emphasised that, on present knowledge, the possibility can only be put forward as a tentative hypothesis, to be re-evaluated as and when more accurate archaeological information becomes available about the origins of the Hare Lane development.¹⁶⁹ It must also be related to the still unsolved problem of the location of the late Saxon abbey church.

It is for the abbey church itself and specifically for Ealdred's rebuilding of 1058 that the most interesting implications of crown-wearing arise. A brief survey of Ealdred's activities elsewhere as a patron of art and architecture is illuminating. Nothing is known of the pre-Conquest buildings at Tavistock. However at Worcester one building project is known to have taken place during Ealdred's episcopate, though it was associated, at least by William of Malmesbury, with Wulfstan as prior rather than with Ealdred as bishop.¹⁷⁰ The various Worcester chroniclers had mixed feelings towards Ealdred because of his abstraction of lands belonging to the see following his appointment to York in 1060;¹⁷¹ it would not be surprising if building projects associated with Ealdred had gone unrecorded. It is interesting that Philip Barker and Chris Guy have recently concluded that many of the columns and cushion capitals in the present crypt of Worcester Cathedral (begun 1084) show signs of re-use from an earlier structure.¹⁷² The cushion capital was widely used in German architecture in the first half of the 11th century, and seems to have been introduced to England at a date close to the Norman Conquest;¹⁷³ it is tempting to suggest that the columns and cushion capitals may derive from a building project of Ealdred. In manuscript art Richard Gameson has detected possible Ottonian influence in the decoration of initials in Worcester manuscripts of the later 11th century, and he has conjectured that such influence may have been transmitted by Ealdred.¹⁷⁴ Ealdred has also been suggested as the patron responsible for the production at Worcester c. 1060 of the Cotton-Corpus legendary, a major collection of saints' lives based on a collection originally compiled somewhere in northern France or in Flanders.¹⁷⁵

There is also good evidence to suggest that Ealdred gave funds to the Old Minster at Winchester to provide a statue of St. Swithun, probably soon after his German visit of 1054.¹⁷⁶ Apart from Gloucester, Ealdred is not known to have carried out work elsewhere in the diocese of Worcester, though his role in dedicating Odda's chapel at Deerhurst on 12 April 1056 should

be noted.¹⁷⁷ Between 1056 and 1060 Ealdred held the see of Hereford in plurality with Worcester, and Vanessa King has plausibly suggested that Ealdred must have been concerned with the restoration of the cathedral at Hereford, necessitated by the serious fire damage caused by Welsh invaders in 1055.¹⁷⁸ On the occasion of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1058, Ealdred gave to the Holy Sepulchre 'a golden chalice worth 5 marks, of very wonderful workmanship'.¹⁷⁹

The most detailed records of Ealdred as a patron of the arts come from his period as archbishop of York (1060–9). At York and Southwell Ealdred established refectories, a record which probably indicates building work.¹⁸⁰ However his most notable activities were concerned with Beverley. He commissioned the Flemish clerk Folcard of Saint Bertin to write a *Life of St. John of Beverley* and to compose responsories for his cult.¹⁸¹ The anonymous 12th-century *Chronicle of the Archbishops of York* recounts in detail Ealdred's works at Beverley Minster.¹⁸² He completed the refectory and dormitory begun by his predecessors. He also built a new presbytery adjoining the old church and dedicated it to St. John the Evangelist. The church was richly decorated by Ealdred with paintings, and at the entrance to the choir he installed a new *pulpitum* of bronze, gold and silver workmanship; above the *pulpitum* there was a crucifix made of the same materials and of German workmanship (*opere Theutonico*).

Three points arising from Ealdred's work at Beverley may be mentioned. First, it is evident that he remodelled and enlarged an existing structure. Secondly, the emphasis is on the lavishness of the decorations rather than on the scale of the work. Thirdly, in at least one respect, German influence was present.

We should certainly expect to see German influence in Ealdred's work at Gloucester. In Germany Ealdred would have seen many recent building projects. In the Cologne area most of the major projects in the mid 11th century were in the hands of the Ezzonian family,¹⁸³ Archbishop Herimann and his formidable array of sisters (five abbesses and an ex-queen of Poland). Herimann is thought to have been a 'theoreticus architectus',¹⁸⁴ and it has also recently been argued that he undertook a major remodelling of the Cologne cathedral precinct, including the enlargement of the Carolingian cathedral from three aisles to five.¹⁸⁵ However it is perhaps at Goslar in Saxony that we can come closest in spirit to what is likely to have inspired Ealdred's work at Gloucester. Goslar first came to prominence in the 10th century following the discovery of silver on the nearby Rammelsberg, but it was under Henry III (1039–56) that it became the most important royal centre in Germany. In the words of Gerhard Streich, 'Goslar was by no means just a palace for routine political business but in equal measure the location which was unequivocally preferred for festivals, especially Christmas, and thus it was also the centrepiece of the sacral manifestation of kingship'.¹⁸⁶

It seems likely that, if Ealdred visited Goslar at Christmas 1054, he would have seen the main elements of the complex already in place¹⁸⁷ (Fig. 3). The palace itself consisted of a grandiose two-storied hall building, together with ancillary accommodation; on the north side there was a chapel (probably also of two stories) built by Henry III's predecessor, Conrad II (1024–39). About 130 m to the east stood the great collegiate church of St. Simon and St. Jude with its west door aligned on the principal entry to the palace. The church (destroyed in 1819) comprised an aisled nave, transepts with eastern apses and an aisleless choir with an apsidal east end and a hall crypt beneath; at the west end there was a grand, if rather old-fashioned, 'Saxon facade'.¹⁸⁸ The church was consecrated in 1051 by Archbishop Herimann, and must have been designed expressly with crown-wearing and the performance of the *laudes regiae* in mind.¹⁸⁹

It is unlikely that Ealdred's works at Gloucester were planned on such a grand scale. Indeed it is uncertain whether he rebuilt the abbey church or merely remodelled an existing structure. The chronicle of John of Worcester, written in the 1120s, does state that Ealdred rebuilt the church from the foundations,¹⁹⁰ and John is followed by various other later Latin chronicles



Fig. 3 Model of the royal palace at Goslar in the mid 11th century. Reproduced from *Das Reich der Salier 1024–1125* (Sigmaringen, 1992), 250, by kind permission of the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum Mainz.

including Gloucester Abbey's own *Historia*.¹⁹¹ However it is far from certain that the original source used by John contained such explicit information. The phrase *construxit a fundamentis* was a commonplace of monastic chroniclers, and in this case it may be based on little more than an assumption on John's part.

The earliest surviving record of Ealdred's work at Gloucester is the Old English 'D' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. This source deserves detailed attention for it was closely associated with Ealdred and was probably written under his patronage;¹⁹² the annalist is likely to have known exactly what Ealdred's works at Gloucester entailed. The 'D' text merely relates that 'Bishop Ealdred consecrated the minster at Gloucester which he himself had furthered (*geforðode*) to the glory of God and St. Peter'.¹⁹³ The use of the verb *geforðian* 'to further' or 'to advance' rather than the more common Old English verb *getimbrian* 'to build' is curious, and I have suggested elsewhere that the annalist may have intended to suggest a remodelling rather than a rebuilding.¹⁹⁴

If so, Ealdred was acting at Gloucester in the Anglo-Saxon tradition, as he did at Beverley. Total rebuildings were rare in Anglo-Saxon England; normally, existing structures were extended and modified to meet new requirements.¹⁹⁵ The major exception was Edward the Confessor's new church at Westminster which was being built at precisely this time¹⁹⁶ and which heralded the numerous complete rebuildings of the Norman period.

Two additional arguments can however be adduced to support the view that Ealdred is more likely to have remodelled the abbey church at Gloucester than to have carried out a complete rebuilding. First, if the arguments in this paper are soundly based, it is a logical inference that work is unlikely to have begun before Ealdred's return from Germany in (probably) 1055. What could be accomplished in three or four building seasons is likely to have been relatively limited in extent.¹⁹⁷ Secondly, Abbot Serlo began the construction of a new church at Gloucester Abbey in 1089. If a major Romanesque building had been completed in 1058, it is improbable that Serlo would have found it necessary to make a fresh start.¹⁹⁸

The precise nature of Ealdred's works at Gloucester Abbey must remain uncertain, but three tentative suggestions can be put forward. First, it may have been necessary to enlarge the congregational area of the church to cater for the large numbers expected at the crown-wearing festivals. Secondly, a monumental west facade (as at Goslar) could have been added to provide more

impressive surroundings for the crown-wearing ceremony. Thirdly, Ealdred's work is likely to have included the provision of suitable accommodation within the church for the king himself, a setting in which the king could receive the *laudes regiae*.

The appropriate setting probably included a throne, but where it was sited must for the moment remain speculation. In the 9th century great westworks were built on the Continent, one of the functions of which was to house the king (or emperor); Ealdred will have known not only some of the continental examples, but also the late 10th-century westwork at the Old Minster at Winchester.¹⁹⁹ However, there is some evidence to suggest that by the mid 12th century English kings and German emperors were commonly enthroned in the chancel during festival crown-wearings.²⁰⁰ It is uncertain where the king was seated in the minster at Goslar; there was not space for suitable accommodation within the 'Saxon facade'. The magnificent bronze arms of a throne (usually dated 1060–80) do survive from Goslar.²⁰¹ From about 1220 this throne was placed in the eastern bay of the nave adjoining a rood screen; it stood on a stone base to the south of the nave altar. It is possible that this setting follows an 11th-century precedent, and it thus provides a further alternative for the arrangements at Gloucester.

It is also possible to make some suggestions about the furnishings of Ealdred's church. The collection of documents associated with Ealdred in Vitellius E.xii includes blessings for statues of St. Swithun and St. Peter. The blessing for a statue of St. Swithun can be associated with Ealdred's known gift of a statue of the saint to Winchester. Michael Lapidge therefore suggested that 'Ealdred, who was ever a man for lavish display, could well have donated funds for a statue of St. Peter at the church of St. Peter in Gloucester built by him'.²⁰² Ealdred did in fact have connections with quite a number of churches dedicated to St. Peter,²⁰³ not least the church of his own archiepiscopal see at York, but equally he may have commissioned more than one image of St. Peter. I have suggested elsewhere that the surviving statue of St. Peter at Daglingworth is possibly a rustic imitation of a major image of St. Peter at Gloucester.²⁰⁴

At this point it is worth reflecting on the Gloucester candlestick, certainly the most famous work of art to survive from Gloucester Abbey and described recently as 'one of the great masterpieces of European Romanesque art'.²⁰⁵ The candlestick, which is now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, bears an inscription which associates it with Abbot Peter (1107–13) and it is probable that it was made in his time. There are remarkable similarities between the candlestick and the pair of candlesticks from Hildesheim in Germany produced about a century earlier for Bishop Bernward (993–1022). After a careful discussion of the similarities, Alan Borg considered it most likely 'that the maker of the Gloucester candlestick had seen an earlier example of the Hildesheim type, which was arguably also German'.²⁰⁶ Ealdred's lavish metalwork fittings at Beverley (in part at least of German workmanship) have already been noted. There were close artistic links between Hildesheim and Cologne in the 11th century, particularly in the field of metalworking.²⁰⁷ It is thus an intriguing possibility that the exemplar for the Gloucester candlestick may have been a candlestick of German type introduced to Gloucester by Ealdred at the time of his works in 1058. This line of thought perhaps finds support in the fact, also noted by Borg, that in 11th-century Cluniac usage, candles on altars (and hence candlesticks) played an important and specialised role at the festivals of Christmas, Easter and Whitsun.²⁰⁸ A context could even be suggested for the commissioning of Abbot Peter's candlestick; it could have been a replacement for a candlestick destroyed or damaged in the fire which occurred at Gloucester Abbey in 1101 or 1102.²⁰⁹

Although it is unlikely that Ealdred's activities at Gloucester were on the scale of Goslar, the scope — and perhaps even more the lavishness — of his work should not lightly be underestimated. Ealdred acquired control of three of Gloucester Abbey's most valuable manors and transferred them to the see of York; the ensuing dispute between the abbey and the archbishops of

York lasted until 1157.²¹⁰ Gloucester Abbey preserved three slightly different versions of Ealdred's motives, but two of these records relate Ealdred's control of these manors to his building works.²¹¹ If so, the value of the manors concerned (which were rated at 49 hides worth £40 in 1066²¹²) indicates work on a substantial scale.

Much of what has been said about Ealdred's church is capable of being tested by archaeology. Unfortunately it is not yet known where the Anglo-Saxon old minster of Gloucester stood. No medieval documentary source provides any information on this point,²¹³ and there has been little excavation within the cathedral close.²¹⁴ The Norman abbey church straddles the north-west corner of the Roman town (Fig. 2). It is unclear whether the Anglo-Saxon church stood within the north-west corner of the Roman town and expanded westwards over the Roman wall in the Norman period or whether it stood further west (perhaps in association with the church of St. Mary de Lode) and expanded eastwards across the Roman wall.²¹⁵

Ealdred's church did not survive for long. In 1088 it seems to have suffered damage in the civil war of that year, though it is not clear how serious the damage may have been.²¹⁶ As William Rufus (1087–1100) celebrated Christmas at Gloucester on at least two occasions during his reign, it is likely that Ealdred's church remained in use during the last decade of the century.

It is likely to have been the damage of 1088 which caused Abbot Serlo to begin the rebuilding of Gloucester Abbey in 1089; the new church was dedicated in 1100 and much of Serlo's church survives in the present building of Gloucester Cathedral.²¹⁷ Gloucester was still in use as a crown-wearing centre while Serlo's church was being built, even though it was not used as such following William Rufus' death in 1100. The crown-wearing ceremony must have been a factor in the design of the church, and Serlo's church, like Ealdred's, will have provided suitable royal accommodation, perhaps in the form of a fixed throne; unfortunately there is no evidence known at present to show where such a throne might have stood.

In this section it has been possible to offer much in the way of hypothesis as to the 'sacral topography' of 11th-century Gloucester, but solid facts are in short supply. Research into these questions should be high on the agenda for Gloucester archaeologists in the 21st century. What was perhaps the greatest of all English crown-wearings took place in Gloucester at the Christmas court of 1085, when Domesday Book was commissioned. It is to be hoped that by the time antiquaries come to celebrate the millennium of the origins of Domesday Book in 2085, it will be possible to place the Gloucester crown-wearings in a much more solid topographical framework than can be done at present.

Conclusion

Traditionally, debate about the origins of crown-wearing in England has centred on the extent to which William the Conqueror was following Anglo-Saxon precedent. A broader focus is permitted by the greater understanding which now exists of the roots of the crown-wearing ceremony in the Carolingian era and of its elaboration in Ottonian and Salian Germany. It is argued in this paper that crown-wearing was first introduced to England on the Carolingian model, perhaps c. 800 and in any event no later than the first half of the 10th century.

The German kings and emperors of the 10th and 11th centuries 'built up the representation of their kingship as something God-given, sacrosanct and awe-demanding',²¹⁸ and the crown-wearing ceremony was one of the most striking outward manifestations of this 'sacral' kingship. It is argued that the elaborate German ceremony, along with other aspects of royal ceremonial, was introduced to England by Bishop Ealdred in the late 1050s following his visit to Germany in 1054. It is suggested that Ealdred's building works at Gloucester Abbey are likely to have been an important element in this process. The choice of Gloucester as a crown-wearing centre

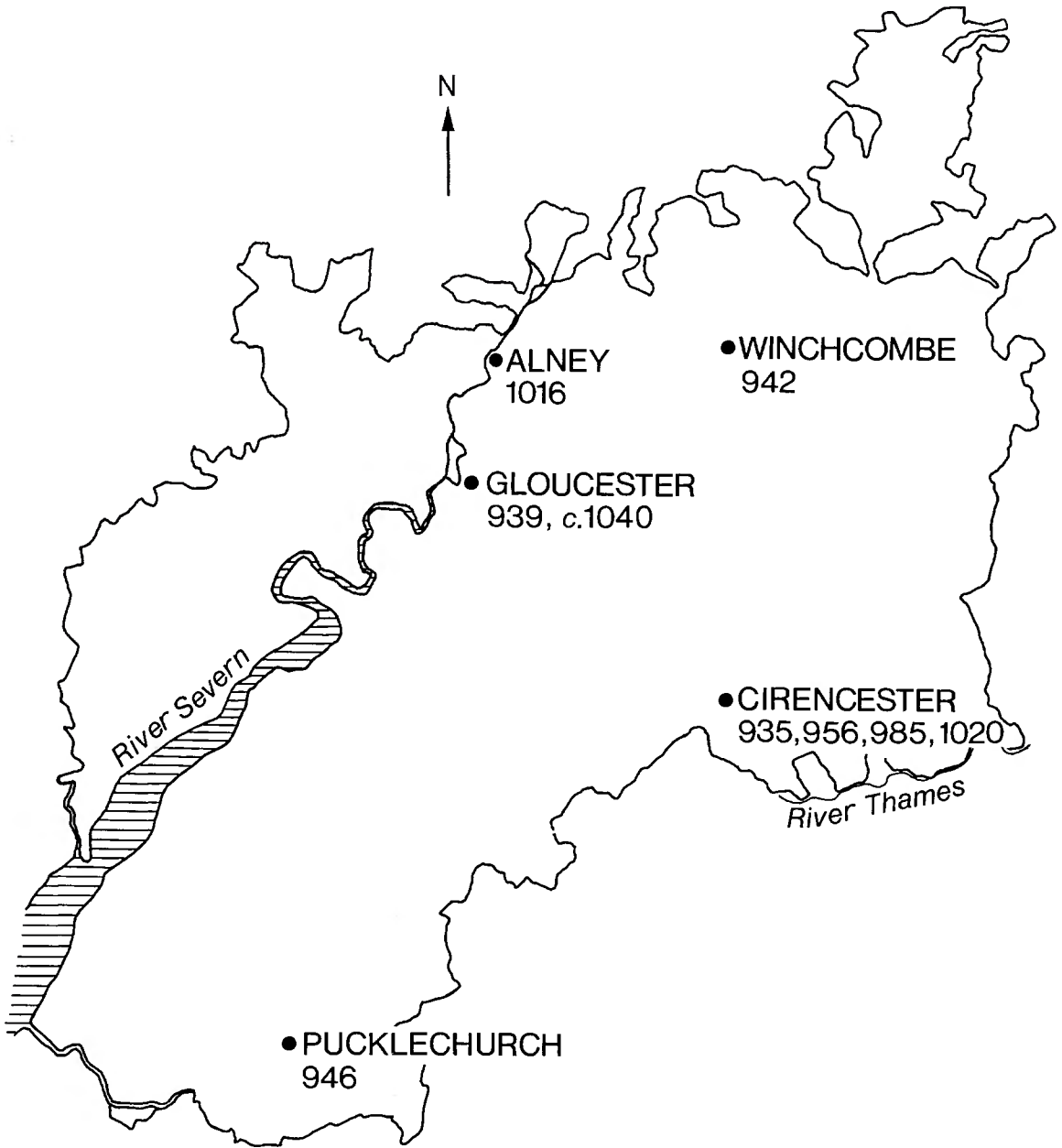


Fig. 4 Gloucestershire in the royal itinerary 918–1042. Only reliably attested visits have been included.

probably owed more to Ealdred's personal involvement than to deep-rooted connections with the English monarchy; the lack of such connections probably explains why the use of Gloucester as a royal ceremonial centre ended so suddenly after 1100.

By the second half of the 11th century, kings throughout western Europe were following the imperial example. In adopting the full crown-wearing ceremony, Edward the Confessor (in his later years) and William the Conqueror were practising a custom which by this date was a normal expression of Latin kingship.

APPENDIX

Gloucestershire in the Itinerary of the Kings of England 918–1042

This Appendix aims to list all surviving references to visits to Gloucestershire by the English kings between 918, when the West Saxon dynasty took over direct control of western Mercia, and 1042. Gloucestershire is defined as the county as it appears in Domesday Book in 1086; the area covered thus includes much or all of the territory of the short-lived county of Winchcombeshire.²¹⁹

Edward the Elder (899–924) assumed responsibility for the western midlands soon after the death of his sister, Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians, in 918; there are no surviving records of visits to Gloucestershire by Edward either before or after 918. Edward's son, Æthelstan (924–39), probably knew Gloucester well, for he is reported by William of Malmesbury to have been educated in the household of Æthelred and Æthelflæd,²²⁰ whose principal centre was at Gloucester. Only two visits to Gloucestershire by Æthelstan are recorded. In 935 he issued a charter at Cirencester (*in civitate a Romanis olim constructa quae Cirnecester dicitur*);²²¹ the witness-list, which includes Scottish and Welsh sub-kings, shows that this was a major assembly. In 939 Æthelstan was at Gloucester when he died. Only the 'D' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and John of Worcester give Æthelstan's place of death;²²² these sources provide local information throughout the period.

Æthelstan's brother, Edmund (939–46) issued a charter in 942 at Winchcombe (*in loco celeberrimo qui Wincelcumb nuncupatur*).²²³ Edmund also died in Gloucestershire, being murdered at Pucklechurch in 946.²²⁴ Again it is only the 'D' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and John of Worcester which give Edmund's place of death, John providing the additional information that Pucklechurch was a royal vill.

For Eadred (946–55), the younger brother of Æthelstan and Edmund, no visits to Gloucestershire are recorded. Eadwig (955–9), the elder son of Edmund, issued a charter at Cirencester in 956.²²⁵ In 957 the kingdom was temporarily divided, Eadwig retaining control of Wessex, with Mercia and Northumbria passing to his younger brother, Edgar. The story of the division was elaborated at Canterbury after the Norman Conquest by Eadmer and Osbern in their *Lives* of St. Dunstan. They claimed that the division was the result of a full-scale rising in which the impious Eadwig was driven out of Mercia and his 'wicked harlot' put to a gruesome death at Gloucester;²²⁶ however, this story is a fabrication which has no value for 10th-century history.²²⁷

There is only one reference to be considered for Eadwig's younger brother, Edgar (king of Mercia and Northumbria from 957, king of England from 959 to 975). A famous Worcester forgery of the 12th century, the charter known as *Altitonantis*,²²⁸ purports to have been issued on 28 December 964 by Edgar at Gloucester (*in regia urbe quae ab incolis Gleaweceastre nominatur*). Scholars have long argued as to whether this charter contains any original core, but recent scholarship favours the view that it is in all respects a forgery not based on an underlying 10th-century document.²²⁹ It seems likely that the forger was trying to give his document added credibility by attributing to the 10th-century King Edgar the 11th-century custom of seasonal residence at Gloucester.²³⁰

No visits by Edgar's elder son, Edward the Martyr (975–8) are known, and there is only one certain reference for the long reign of his younger son, Æthelred (978–1016). In 985 a 'synodal council' was held at Cirencester (*in uilla regia, quae Anglica appellatione Cirneceastre dicitur*). The council is recorded in two slightly later documents, probably both to be dated to 999, and was concerned with the banishment of Ealdorman Ælfric of Mercia.²³¹

In 1007 Æthelred issued a charter in a new town in an unidentified region called *Beorchore* (*in nouo uidelicet oppido, quod regio uocatur uocabulo Beorchore*).²³² David Hill has suggested that the new town is probably an emergency *burh* of Æthelred, and that it may perhaps be located within the territory of the Berkeley Hernesse in Gloucestershire;²³³ he implies a possible link with the mint which existed at Berkeley itself in the reign of Edward the Confessor. However the location of *Beorchore* in Gloucestershire remains to be established; other locations are possible and some have been noted by Simon Keynes.²³⁴

Little notice should be paid to a story in the Gloucester Abbey *Historia* of c. 1400, which relates the gift of an estate at Hinton-on-the-Green by a sister of Æthelred, purportedly in 982.²³⁵ This story refers to a Christmas feast held by Æthelred, the location of which is not stated, but which is perhaps implicitly Gloucester. The story presents a number of difficulties and seems to be a post-Conquest fiction,²³⁶ perhaps to be dated to the 12th century. Æthelred's Christmas feast is probably another anachronism, similar to that in *Altitonantis*.

The year of Æthelred's death, 1016, saw events of major importance in Gloucestershire. Following Æthelred's death in April, there was a series of battles between the English forces led by Edmund Ironside, Æthelred's son and successor, and the Danish armies. One of these battles took place in a Wiltshire parish (Sherston) adjoining the Gloucestershire border.²³⁷ The decisive Danish victory took place at *Assandun* in Essex on 18 October 1016. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* relates that, 'Then after this battle King Cnut went inland with his army to Gloucestershire, where he had learnt that King Edmund was. . . And the kings met at Alney and established their friendship there both with pledge and with oath, and fixed the payment for the Danish army. And with this reconciliation they separated, and Edmund succeeded to Wessex and Cnut to Mercia'.²³⁸ The invaluable 'D' text vouchsafes the crucial information that Alney was 'by Deerhurst' (*æt Olanige wið Deorhyrste*).²³⁹ John of Worcester, who also locates the meeting at Deerhurst, gives more detailed topographical information. He relates that 'Edmund was stationed with his men on the west bank of the River Severn, and Cnut on the east with his. Then each king went in fishing boats to the island called *Olanege*, situate in the middle of the river'.²⁴⁰ James Harris has recently shown, on the basis of map evidence, that there was formerly an island in the Severn just south of Deerhurst village.²⁴¹

William of Malmesbury tells a slightly different story,²⁴² recounting that Edmund travelled to Gloucester after the battle of *Assandun*; neither Alney nor Deerhurst are mentioned. William's account is most probably a careless rendition of the *Chronicle's* statement that Cnut followed Edmund to Gloucestershire. This report has caused much confusion, for there is an Alney Island in the Severn at Gloucester; however, the local knowledge of the 'D' text annalist and of John of Worcester is certainly to be preferred.

It is possible that there was in fact another battle in Gloucestershire between the battle of *Assandun* and the peace meeting at Alney. This suggestion has been made on the basis of Ottar the Black's *Knútsdrápa*, a skaldic verse account written after 1025 and preserved in the *Knýtlinga saga*, a mid 13th-century Icelandic historical compilation on the kings of Denmark. It is largely concerned with the campaigns of 1015–16 and seemingly refers to the battle of *Assandun* being followed by another 'near the northern side of the great *Danaskógar*'.²⁴³ It has been suggested that this may be the Forest of Dean (*skógr* = wood, forest), though Ottar himself thought that *Danaskógar* was near *Assandun*. If there was a battle in or near the Forest of Dean, it would, as Russell Poole has pointed out, explain how it came about that Cnut and Edmund eventually came to terms in Gloucestershire.²⁴⁴

Edmund Ironside died soon after the Alney meeting on 30 November 1016, and the kingdom was then reunited under Cnut (1016–35). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that at Easter 1020 there was a great assembly (*micel gemot*) at Cirencester,²⁴⁵ which resulted in Ealdorman Æthelred of Wessex being outlawed. No further visits to Gloucestershire by Cnut are recorded, nor is there any notice of visits by the first of his sons to succeed, Harold I (1035–40). However, a visit by Harthacnut (1040–2) is recorded. The 12th-century chronicler, Simeon of Durham, recounts that Bishop Edmund of Durham died when he was with Harthacnut at Gloucester.²⁴⁶ There are considerable problems over the chronology of the bishops of Durham at this period, and the year of Edmund's death is uncertain.²⁴⁷

When the reliable references to royal visits to Gloucestershire are plotted in map form (Fig. 4), the most striking feature is the use of Cirencester on four occasions.²⁴⁸ Moreover, all four visits to Cirencester involved formal assemblies; neither of the two visits to Gloucester was necessarily the occasion of a formal assembly. An added hint of the administrative importance of Cirencester at this period is provided by the Welsh poem, *Armes Prydein*, probably written in the middle years of the 10th century; the poem refers to

the stewards of Cirencester (*Kaer Geri*) in a fashion which suggests that they were responsible for the collection of Welsh taxes.²⁴⁹

The Gloucestershire pattern acquires added significance when the wider picture is examined. Although there are few enough references to Gloucestershire in the royal itinerary in the period 918 to 1042, Gloucestershire is nevertheless a great deal more prominent than the counties to the north. In the same period there is not a single visit recorded for Warwickshire and for Worcestershire and only one visit for Herefordshire²⁵⁰ (where Æthelstan received the submission of the Welsh kings at a date which is not precisely recorded²⁵¹). As David Hill has commented, 'it is remarkable how rarely he [the king] is to be seen travelling outside of the south of England, and more particularly the four heartland shires of Wessex'.²⁵²

It is interesting to note that the county which has the closest profile to Gloucestershire at this period is Oxfordshire; a number of visits to Oxford (and its surrounding vills of Headington, Kirtlington and Woodstock) are recorded.²⁵³ When the kings of England did venture into Mercia at this period, they apparently rarely went much further than places such as Cirencester and Oxford close to the Thames border.

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Notes

Abbreviations

ASC	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a revised translation</i> , ed. D. Whitelock, D.C. Douglas and S.I. Tucker (London, 1965). For the Old English texts: <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> , ed. J. Earle and C. Plummer (Oxford 1892–9, 2 vols.)
B	<i>Cartularium Saxonicum</i> , ed. W. de Gray Birch (London, 1885–93, 3 vols.)
BAACT	British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions
Cart. Glos.	<i>Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae</i> , ed. W.H. Hart (Rolls Ser. 1863–7, 3 vols.)
Gesta Regum	<i>Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi De Gestis Regum Anglorum</i> , ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Ser. 1887–9, 2 vols.)
HCY	<i>The historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops</i> , ed. J. Raine (Rolls Ser. 1879–94, 3 vols.)
HN	<i>Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia</i> , ed. M. Rule (Rolls Ser. 1884)
JW	For pre 1066 annals see: <i>The Chronicle of John of Worcester</i> , ii, <i>The annals from 450 to 1066</i> , ed. R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk (Oxford, 1995). For post 1066 annals, <i>Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis</i> , ii, ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1849)
K	<i>Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici</i> , ed. J.M. Kemble (London, 1839–48, 6 vols.)
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae Historica</i>
PL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> , ed. J.P. Migne (Paris, 1844–64, 221 vols.)
S	P.H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London, 1968)

1. ASC 'E' s.a. 1086 (*recte* 1087).
2. *Gesta Regum*, ii, 335. A version of the 'E' text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* was one of William's sources; but it is evident that his knowledge of crown-wearing was not based on 'E' alone.
3. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, ii, ed. C. Johnson and H.A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956), no. 490.
4. The fundamental work on crown-wearing remains H.-W. Klewitz, 'Die Festkrönungen der deutschen Könige', *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* 59, *Kanonistische Abteilung* 28 (1939), 48–96 (also published separately, Darmstadt, 1966). Klewitz's study has been superseded as regards the origins of crown-wearing by Brühl's two papers (see n. 6 below); Klewitz's paper is based largely on German evidence, with references to Bohemia on pp. 58 and 71. For France, P.E. Schramm, *Der König von Frankreich*, 2nd ed., i (Weimar, 1960), 120–4; C. Brühl, *Fodrum, gistum, servitium regis*, i (Cologne, 1968), 258–60. For Hungary, A. Kralovány, 'The settlement history of Veszprém and Székesfehérvár in the Middle Ages', in *Towns in Medieval Hungary*, ed. L. Gerevich (Boulder, Colorado, 1990) (*Atlantic Studies on Society in Change* 65), 59.
5. For the Crusader kingdom, H.E. Mayer, 'Das Pontifikale von Tyrus und die Krönung der lateinischen Könige von Jerusalem', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 21 (1967), 141–232, reprinted in H.E. Mayer, *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem* (London, 1983). For Sicily a complete liturgical ordo for crown-wearing survives, edited by R. Elze, 'Tre ordines per l'incoronazione di un re e di una regina del regno normanno di Sicilia', in *Atti del Congresso Internazionale di Studi sulla Sicilia Normanna* (Istituto di Storia Medievale, Palermo, 1973), 438–59; the ordo is undated, but Elze argues persuasively for an origin in the reign of the first king, Roger I (1130–54).
6. C. Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch und das Problem der "Festkrönungen"', *Historische Zeitschrift* 194 (1962), 265–326; 'Kronen- und Krönungsbrauch im frühen und hohen Mittelalter', *Historische Zeitschrift* 234 (1982), 1–31, esp. 27–30; both papers are reprinted in C. Brühl, *Aus Mittelalter und Diplomatie: Gesammelte Aufsätze*, i (1989), 351–443.
7. Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 51, 54.
8. *Ibid.* 65–6, 78–9, 86.
9. *Ibid.* 54; *ibid.* 50–66 also cites various other examples. See also Brühl, 'Kronen- und Krönungsbrauch', 6–9.
10. Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 80–2; for recent work on the patterns of the royal itinerary, J.W. Bernhardt, *Itinerant kingship and royal monasteries in early medieval Germany* (Cambridge, 1993), 62–4.
11. Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 85–6; Bernhardt, *Itinerant kingship*, 42, 235.
12. Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 86–7; J. Dahlhaus, 'Zu den Anfängen von Pfalz und Stiften in Goslar', in *Die Salier und das Reich*, ii, *Die Reichskirche in der Salierzeit*, ed. S. Weinfurter (Sigmaringen, 1991), 373–428.
13. Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 50–1; Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch', 274–5; Brühl, 'Kronen- und Krönungsbrauch', 9–10.
14. Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 73–4; *Benzo von Alba: Sieben Bücher an Kaiser Heinrich IV.*, ed. H. Seyffert (MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannover, 1996), 504–15 (with parallel translation into German).
15. *PL* 151, col. 310.
16. Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 70–1; Brühl, 'Kronen- und Krönungsbrauch', 9.
17. Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch', 271–2, 319–20.
18. E.H. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae: A Study in Liturgical Acclamations and Medieval Ruler Worship* (Berkeley, California, 1946), 92. Likewise German scholarship distinguishes between 'Festkrönungen' and simple 'Unter Krone Gehen': Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch', 267–9; *idem*, 'Kronen- und Krönungsbrauch', 2, 12–13.
19. This difficulty was recognised by Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*, 92.
20. Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 71–2.
21. *Ibid.* 52, 57.
22. W. Noack, 'Stadtbaukunst und geistlich-weltliche Repräsentation im XI. Jahrhundert', in *Festschrift Kurt Bauch*, ed. B. Hackelsberger, G. Himmelheber and M. Meier (Munich, 1957), 33.

23. The fundamental study of the *laudes regiae* remains Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*; for the *laudes* and crown-wearings, *ibid.* 92–101.
24. Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 80, 82.
25. Noack, 'Stadtbaukunst', 43–4.
26. H.E.J. Cowdrey, 'The Anglo-Norman *Laudes Regiae*', *Viator* 12 (1981), 47–8.
27. Brühl, *Fodrum, gistum*, 260, also considers it probable (despite the lack of evidence from the 10th century) that there was a continuous tradition of ceremonial crown-wearing in the West Frankish/French kingdom from Carolingian times through to the 12th century.
28. I owe this point to Patrick Wormald (pers. comm. dated 7 April 1996).
29. S549; *Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (Oxford, 1979), no. 8.
30. The alliterative charters are discussed in *Charters of Burton*, ed. Sawyer, pp. xlvii–xlix; S. Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books', in *Learning and literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge, 1985), 157–9.
31. The evidence provided by this charter for a crown-wearing has been noted by C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975), 105; D.Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), map 158. For *diadema* and *corona* as virtually synonyms in this period, P.E. Schramm, 'Vom Kronenbrauch des Mittelalters', in *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, iii, ed. P.E. Schramm (Schriften der MGH XIII/3, Stuttgart, 1956), 912.
32. *Charters of Burton*, ed. Sawyer, pp. xlvii–xlix; Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books', 158–9.
33. For Coenwald's visit to Germany, Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books', 198–201; W. Georgi, 'Bischof Keonwald von Worcester und die Heirat Ottos I. mit Edgitha im Jahre 929', *Historisches Jahrbuch* 115 (1995), 1–40.
34. The Anglo-Saxon embassy at Easter 949 is recorded in the annals of Flodoard: *Les Annales de Flodoard*, ed. P. Lauer (Collection de textes pour servir à l'étude et à l'enseignement de l'histoire 39, Paris, 1905), 122. For comment, K. Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', in K. Leyser (ed. posthumously by T. Reuter), *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Carolingian and Ottonian Centuries* (London, 1994), 94.
35. Leyser, 'The Ottonians and Wessex', 103.
36. *HCY*, i, 425. The Easter assembly is often termed a synod, but as Hanna Vollrath has shown, what is portrayed is a normal *witenagemot*: H. Vollrath, 'König Edgar und die Klosterreform in England: die "Ostersynode" der "Vita s. Oswaldi auctore anonymo"', *Annuarium Historiae Conciliorum* 10 (1978), 79. For comment on the imagery of multiple sceptres and diadems, R. Deshman, *The Benedictinal of Æthelwold* (Princeton, 1995), 195, 208–9.
37. M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and influence*, ed. N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (Leicester, 1996), 64–83.
38. *Vita Quorundam Anglo-Saxonum*, ed. J.A. Giles (Caxton Soc. 1854), 378–80. For Byrhtferth's authorship, M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*', *Mediaeval Studies* 41 (1979), 331–53.
39. The verbal parallel was noted by Lapidge, '*Vita S. Ecgwini*', 334.
40. M. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the early sections of the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham', *Anglo-Saxon England* 10 (1982), 108.
41. H.G. Richardson and G.O. Sayles, *The Governance of Medieval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), 407–9 noted some verbal parallels between the panegyric of Edgar at his Easter court and West Frankish *laudes* texts. They concluded that *laudes* were sung in honour of Edgar at the Easter assembly; it is however probable that any such parallels merely reflect Byrhtferth's working method with its extensive literary borrowings (on which see Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald').
42. Some of these sources are discussed by Richardson and Sayles, *Governance of Medieval England*, 405–12, while others are critically considered by Cowdrey, 'Laudes Regiae', 50 n. 46. See also n. 62 below for a further source of late 11th-century date.
43. *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R.R. Darlington (Camden 3rd ser. 40, 1928), 34.
44. *Gesta Regum*, i, 280.
45. M. Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals and residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the tenth to twelfth centuries', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 8 (1986), 51–72.

46. As noted by question-marks in Biddle's table.
47. Five of these are noted in the footnotes to Biddle's table. In addition see n. 50 below.
48. P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Norman Conquest* (forthcoming), chapter 6, section 2. This work will include tables with details of all gatherings of the period 900–1066 whose dating and/or location is known.
49. Wormald, *Making of English Law*. The existence of the 'Æthelstan A' draftsman was established by R. Drögeleit, 'Gab es eine angelsächsische Königskanzlei?', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 13 (1933–5), 335–436.
50. The 935 reference is based on three Malmesbury charters (S434–6) of spurious character, all dated 21 December 937; for arguments that they go back to a common original dated 21 December 935, S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready'* (Cambridge, 1980), 44 n. 78. The date of 21 December does not provide conclusive evidence for a Christmas assembly, but it may be noted that 9th-century West Saxon kings sometimes held Christmas assemblies at Dorchester (see Table).
51. Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch', 319–20; Brühl, *Fodrum, gistum*, 27 where he notes that the custom of festival court-holding had at least some precedent in the Merovingian period.
52. The Table is based largely on a footnote in Wormald, *Making of English Law*. From the other English kingdoms the only reference which has been found is the record of the expulsion of King Alhred of Northumbria from York at Easter 774 (*ASC* 'D' s.a. 774).
53. It should however be noted that there is only a small amount of charter material from Wessex dating to the second half of the 8th century and to the early part of Ecgbert's reign: S. Keynes, 'The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and his Sons', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 109 (1994), 1110.
54. In general on this theme, P. Wormald, 'The Age of Offa and Alcuin' in J. Campbell, E. John and P. Wormald, *The Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford, 1982), 101–28.
55. *ASC* 'A' s.a. 836 (*recte* 839).
56. Wormald, 'Age of Offa', 118–22; J. Campbell, 'Observations on English Government from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century', *Trans. Royal Hist. Soc.* 5th ser. 25 (1975), 39–54, reprinted in J. Campbell, *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), 155–70.
57. J.L. Nelson, *Politics and Ritual in Early Medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 356–8.
58. C.E. Blunt, 'The coinage of Athelstan, King of England 924–939', *British Numismatic Jnl.* 42 (1974), 47–8, 56–7. Æthelstan is also the first king to appear crowned in manuscript illumination, being illustrated in the frontispiece to a collection of texts celebrating the life of St. Cuthbert written in the mid 930s (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS. 183, f. lv.). For the date, Keynes, 'King Athelstan's books', 180–5, and for a colour reproduction, D.M. Wilson, *Anglo-Saxon Art* (Woodstock, 1984), 161 (plate 203).
59. The county boundary is mapped in M. Gelling, *The West Midlands in the Early Middle Ages* (Leicester, 1992), 152; for comment, S. Bassett, 'The administrative landscape of the diocese of Worcester in the tenth century', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. Brooks and Cubitt, 155–6. On the archaeology of Tamworth, P. Rahtz and R. Meeson, *An Anglo-Saxon Watermill at Tamworth* (CBA Research Rep. 83, 1992).
60. On the imperial pretensions of Æthelstan and Edgar, D.N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar* (Woodbridge, 1992), 144–5, 149.
61. B. Kjølbbye-Biddle, 'Old Minster, St Swithun's Day 1093', in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093–1993*, ed. J. Crook (Chichester, 1993), 16.
62. On Cnut's visit to Rome in 1027, M.K. Lawson, *Cnut: the Danes in England in the early eleventh century* (London, 1993), 100, 108–9. In the *Translation and Miracles of St. Mildrith*, Goscelin of Canterbury recounts that Cnut refused to wear his crown at Winchester one Easter, placing it instead on the head of a crucifix with the explanation that the king of kings was more worthy than he: D.W. Rollason, 'Goscelin of Canterbury's account of the Translation and Miracles of St. Mildrith', *Mediaeval Studies* 48 (1986), 163. Goscelin wrote this account in 1087–91 and it is clearly influenced by the crown-wearings of that period; nevertheless the story could contain a kernel of truth.
63. K.J. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in an Early Medieval Society* (Oxford, 1979), 82, 105–7; J.L. Nelson, 'The Lord's anointed and the people's choice: Carolingian royal ritual', in *Rituals of Royalty: Power and Ceremonial in Traditional Societies*, ed. D. Cannadine and S. Price (Cambridge, 1987), 177–9.

64. Cowdrey, 'Laudes Regiae', 50.
65. It is indeed far from clear when episcopal 'coronation' became the norm in the German kingdom; it is not well documented until the later 11th century. Both Klewitz ('Festkrönungen', 84-7) and Brühl ('Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch', 320 n.3) are inclined to see the 'decisive ecclesiasticalisation' ('endgültige Verkirklichung') of the crown-wearing ceremony as having taken place around the year 1000.
66. The itineraries may be compared from the appendices in Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals', 64-72; Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 87-96.
67. The evidence for Anglo-Saxon royal villis is reviewed by P. Sawyer, 'The Royal *Tun* in Pre-Conquest England', in *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies presented to J.M. Wallace-Hadrill*, ed. P. Wormald with D. Bullough and R. Collins (Oxford, 1983), 273-99.
68. P. Rahtz, *The Saxon and Medieval Palaces at Cheddar* (BAR British Ser. 65, Oxford, 1979).
69. An overview of the sites can be obtained from G. Streich, *Burg und Kirche während des deutschen Mittelalters: Untersuchungen zur Sakraltopographie von Pfälzen, Burgen und Herrensitzen* (Sigmaringen, 1984, 2 vols.); G. Binding, *Deutsche Königspfalzen* (Darmstadt, 1996).
70. See the sources quoted in the Introduction and Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals'.
71. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ii, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969), 236.
72. *HN*, 212.
73. *PL* 159, col. 1003.
74. This is recorded in the Winchester annals: *Annales Monastici*, ii, ed. H.R. Luard (Rolls Ser. 1865), 40. Geoffrey Gaimar's account of the same event has Welsh kings in dispute with four Norman earls over the right to bear swords before the king: *L'Estoire des Engleis*, ed. A. Bell (Anglo-Norman Text Society, Oxford 1960), lines 5999-6008 (I owe this reference to John Gillingham). However, Gaimar here owes much to Geoffrey of Monmouth and his portrayal of the court of King Arthur, as noted by F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (London, 1983), 396-7, 400-1.
75. Cowdrey, 'Laudes Regiae', 37-78.
76. For William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum*, ii, 335. For the *Vita Lanfranci*, *PL* 150, cols. 53-4. For a full discussion of the Whitsun 1099 feast, Barlow, *William Rufus*, 399-401.
77. *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, i, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Ser. 1879), 524-7, discussed in detail by H.G. Richardson, 'The coronation in medieval England', *Traditio* 16 (1960), 129-31.
78. Roger of Howden, describing Richard's 'coronation' in 1194, likewise says that the king *processit de thalamo suo coronatus*: *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, iii, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Ser. 1870), 247.
79. It should be noted however that crown-wearing in France is itself only well-attested from the late 11th century: Schramm, *König von Frankreich*, 120-4.
80. There are good accounts of Ealdred's career in J.M. Cooper, *The last four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York* (Borthwick Papers 38, York, 1970), 23-9; F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (London, 1979), 86-90. For a detailed study of Ealdred as bishop of Worcester, V. King, 'Ealdred, Archbishop of York: the Worcester years', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 18 (1996), 123-37.
81. J.L. Nelson, 'The rites of the Conqueror', *Proc. Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies* 4 (1982), 124-8, reprinted in J.L. Nelson, *Politics and ritual in early medieval Europe* (London, 1986), 388-95.
82. *ASC* 'D' s.a. 1054; *JW* s.a. 1054.
83. There is an extensive literature on Archbishop Herimann and the Ezzonians. A useful brief account of Herimann is provided by R. Schieffer, 'Erzbischöfe und Bischofskirche von Köln' in *Die Salier und das Reich*, ii, ed. Weinfurter, 5-8. There is a detailed study of the family with special reference to their artistic patronage by K.G. Beuckers, *Die Ezzonen und ihre Stiftungen: eine Untersuchung zur Stiftungstätigkeit im 11. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1993). See also H. Kluger, 'Propter claritatem generis: Genealogisches zur Familie der Ezzonen', in *Köln - Stadt und Bistum in Kirche und Reich des Mittelalters: Festschrift für Odilo Engels zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. H. Vollrath and S. Weinfurter (Kölner Historische Abhandlungen 39, Cologne, 1993), 223-58. In English one aspect of the family is considered by J. Rotondo-McCord, 'Locum sepulturae meae...elegi: Property, Graves and Sacral Power in Eleventh-Century Germany', *Viator* 26 (1995), 77-106.
84. For Herimann's family contacts with Hungary, Beuckers, *Die Ezzonen*, 25, 36, 223, 226-7.

85. E. Boshof, 'Köln, Mainz, Trier – Die Auseinandersetzung um die Spitzenstellung im deutschen Episkopat in ottonisch-salischer Zeit', *Jahrbuch des kölnischen Geschichtsvereins* 49 (1978), 41–3.
86. *JW* s.a. 1054; *ASC* 'D' s.a. 1054; King, 'Ealdred: the Worcester years', 127–8.
87. Nelson, 'The rites of the Conqueror', 126.
88. E. Müller, *Das Itinerar Kaiser Heinrichs III. (1039 bis 1056)* (Historische Studien 26, Berlin, 1901), 104. Archbishop Herimann was in all likelihood present at Goslar, for it was probably the occasion of discussions concerning Henry's forthcoming Italian campaign, and Herimann had been much involved with Italian affairs in the course of his career. Ealdred could not have attended any other crown-wearings, for Henry was in Italy from March to November 1055 (Müller, *Itinerar*, 105–10).
89. *ASC* 'D' s.a. 1058.
90. For books, *Vita Wulfstani*, ed. Darlington, 5, 16. A small collection of relics was given by Ealdred to Harold's church at Waltham and shows clear evidence of his foreign travels, especially to Germany and Rome: N. Rogers, 'The Waltham Abbey Relic-list', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proc. 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), 171; P.G. Schmidt, 'König Harold und die Reliquien von Waltham Abbey, Essex: Die Reliquienliste in B.L. MS Harley 3776', in *Anglo-Saxonica: Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der englischen Sprache und zur altenglischen Literatur*, ed. K.R. Grinda and C.-D. Wetzel (Munich, 1993), 77.
91. For Folcard, *HCY*, i, 241; for the anonymous 12th-century account, *ibid.* ii, 345.
92. *Ibid.* ii, 353–4; J. Barrow, 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and the Eleventh Centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. D.W. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), 33.
93. *Vita Wulfstani*, 13–15. This event occurred after Wulfstan became prior, thus no earlier than c. 1053. Winrich is perhaps to be identified with Abbot Winrich I of Kornelimünster, who occurs in documents of 1059 and 1064. The monastery of Kornelimünster was in the diocese of Cologne and had close links with the Ezzonian family: N. Kühn, *Die Reichsabtei Kornelimünster im Mittelalter* (Aachen, 1982), *passim*.
94. Cowdrey, 'Laudes Regiae', 50–2.
95. M. Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E.xii', *Yorkshire Archaeol. Jnl.* 55 (1983), 24, reprinted in M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900–1066* (London, 1993), 466.
96. Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', 21–2.
97. Nelson, 'Rites of the Conqueror', 127–8.
98. *Ibid.* 122.
99. The possibility of Byzantine influence on Ealdred's interest in royal ceremonial should also be noted, as suggested by K.N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople: The West and Byzantium, 962–1204* (Leiden, 1996), 139. Ealdred probably visited Constantinople on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1058.
100. Kantorowicz, *Laudes regiae*, *passim*.
101. Nelson, 'Rites of the Conqueror', 128–9; for the *laudes* texts from Normandy, Cowdrey, 'Laudes Regiae'.
102. This point emerges with particular clarity from the two studies by Brühl cited in n. 6 above.
103. *ASC* 'D' s.a. 1058.
104. *ASC* 'E' s.a. 1085.
105. Cooper, *Archbishops of York*, 27.
106. See n. 42 above for these sources.
107. B. Bedos Rezak, 'The king enthroned, a new theme in Anglo-Saxon royal iconography: the seal of Edward the Confessor and its political implications', in *Kings and Kingship*, ed. J. Rosenthal (*Acta* 11, 1984), 53–87.
108. *The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art*, ed. J. Backhouse, D.H. Turner and L. Webster (London, 1984), 185.
109. R. Elze, 'Zum Königtum Rogers II. von Sizilien', in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, i, ed. P. Classen and P. Scheibert (Wiesbaden, 1964), 114–15; for the *ordo* itself, Elze, 'Tre ordines', 452–5, with references to the older literature at 438.
110. Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals'.

111. The possible visit at Christmas 1059 is not sufficiently well attested to feature in Biddle's tables, but is noted by him ('Seasonal festivals', 72 n. 27); it is based on the (undated) reception by Edward the Confessor of Malcolm III, king of Scots, at Gloucester in the course of 1059. Biddle also notes (*loc. cit.*) a 12th-century Evesham story about the relics of St. Odulf, which places Edward and his queen at Gloucester at Christmas at an uncertain date; however the tale may be a later fiction woven round memories of Christmas courts at Gloucester (for other examples of such fictions see the Appendix).
112. Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals', 59.
113. The recorded Christmas courts at Gloucester took place in 1080, 1082, 1085, 1093 and 1099.
114. Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals', 55.
115. Only four visits to Gloucester by Henry I seem to be recorded, in 1107/8 (?June 1107), May 1114, February 1123 and 1129–33 (?1130): *Regesta Regum*, ii, pp. xxix–xxx; W. Farrer, 'An outline itinerary of King Henry the First', *Eng. Hist. Rev.* 34 (1919), 303–82, 505–79.
116. *ASC 'E' s.a.* 1111.
117. J. A. Green, *The Government of England under Henry I* (Cambridge, 1986, 20–1); see also Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals', 57.
118. Richardson, 'Coronation in medieval England', 126–36; there is scope for more work on the later history of crown-wearing.
119. Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals', 57.
120. D. Hill, 'An urban policy for Cnut?', in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A.R. Rumble (London, 1994), 101–5. The choice of Winchester as an Easter residence may owe something to royal concern with the treasury accounts: F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London, 1970), 186.
121. See the itineraries in D. Hill, *An Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1981), maps 154–69.
122. M. Hare, *The two Anglo-Saxon minsters of Gloucester* (Deerhurst Lecture 1992, 1993), 2–7. A more detailed discussion of late Saxon Gloucester will appear in C.M. Heighway and R.M. Bryant, *The Anglo-Saxon Minster and Later Medieval Priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester* (forthcoming).
123. For Edward's itinerary see T. J. Oleson, *The Witenagemot in the Reign of Edward the Confessor* (Toronto, 1955), 170–1; Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 209 n. 3, 340–3.
124. *V.C.H.Glos.* 4, 18–22.
125. Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 8–17.
126. *Cart. Glos.* iii, 276.
127. These comments are based on E. Cownie, 'Gloucester Abbey, 1066–1135: An Illustration of Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England', in *England and Normandy in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry (London, 1994), 143–57; see *ibid.* 146 for the comparative poverty of Gloucester as against Westminster and Winchester.
128. For an account of Welsh affairs at this period, Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 204–12; W. Davies, *Patterns of Power in Early Wales* (Oxford, 1990), 61–79.
129. C.N.L. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 1986), 51–65.
130. William the Conqueror's crown-wearing at York at Christmas 1069 is an example of a crown-wearing held with the specific intention of impressing. William was at the time in the middle of suppressing the northern revolt and sent to Winchester for his crown and other regalia: *Eccl. Hist. of Orderic Vitalis*, ii, 232.
131. See n. 74 above.
132. *ASC 'D' s.a.* 1053.
133. Ealdred is ascribed a role (as negotiator with the pope) in Edward's works at Westminster by Osbert of Clare, writing in 1138: M. Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare', *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923), 78–80, 87–91. However this story is certainly a Westminster fiction, based on Ealdred's known travels (*ibid.* 47–52).
134. Although monasteries did have an important role in the royal itinerary in 11th-century Germany (Bernhardt, *Itinerant kingship, passim*), they were hardly ever used as crown-wearing centres at the great festivals: see Klewitz, 'Festkrönungen', 93–6.

135. At Gloucester the Benedictine reform is inadequately recorded, but seems to have taken place no later than 1022: Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 14–17.
136. *JW* s.a. 1058. For music at Worcester, S. Rankin, 'Some reflections on liturgical music at late Anglo-Saxon Worcester', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, ed. Brooks and Cubitt, 325–48.
137. Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals', *passim*.
138. The excavations are unpublished: for a brief account, *Medieval Archaeol.* 2 (1958), 183–5; also *ibid.* 28 (1984), 119–20 and G. Astill, 'The Towns of Berkshire', in *Anglo-Saxon Towns in Southern England*, ed. J. Haslam (Chichester, 1984), 79.
139. *ASC* 'E' s.a. 1110.
140. It has been suggested that there may once have been a minster at Old Windsor, but it seems clear that there was not an establishment there of any importance in the later 11th century: J. Blair, 'The Minsters of the Thames', in *The cloister and the world: essays in medieval history in honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. J. Blair and B. Golding (Oxford, 1996), 23–4.
141. I. Bent, 'The English Chapel Royal before 1300', *Proc. Royal Musical Assoc.* 90 (1963–4), 77–95.
142. *HN*, 292–3.
143. For the details of Windsor crown-wearings, Biddle, 'Seasonal festivals', 64–72. In 1097 the Easter court must have been celebrated late (probably on the octave), as William did not arrive in England until Easter Eve: *ASC* 'E' s.a. 1097.
144. M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), 118–20. It is also worth noting that the first recorded use of Windsor (Whitsun 1061) may well coincide with Ealdred's visit to Rome to collect his *pallium* following his appointment as archbishop of York (*ASC* 'D' s.a. 1061).
145. For William Rufus and Anselm, F. Barlow, *William Rufus*, *passim*.
146. *The Life of King Edward who rests at Westminster*, ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 1992), 34.
147. *ASC* 'D' 'E' s.a. 1051.
148. *Life of King Edward*, pp. xxx–xxxii, xlv–xlv.
149. H.R. Hurst, *Kingsholm* (Cambridge, 1985), 18–20; for an account of the documentary evidence, *idem*, 'Excavations at Gloucester, Third Interim Report: Kingsholm 1966–75', *Antiq. Jnl.* 55 (1975), 284–7.
150. *L'Histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal*, ii, ed. P. Meyer (Paris, 1894), line 15401 ff.
151. S. Bassett, 'Church and diocese in the West Midlands: the transition from British to Anglo-Saxon control', in *Pastoral Care Before the Parish*, ed. J. Blair and R. Sharpe (Leicester, 1992), 26–9.
152. A.J.J. Mekking, 'A Cross of Churches around Conrad's Heart', in *Utrecht: Britain and the Continent*, ed. E. de Bièvre (BAACT 18, 1996), 110 n. 38.
153. For a full account of St. Oswald's, Heighway and Bryant, *Minster of St Oswald* (forthcoming); the documentary evidence is summarised in Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*.
154. A useful account (with full references) of the evidence for the chapel of St. Nicholas is to be found in A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Jurisdiction of the Archbishops of York in Glos.' *TBGAS* 43 (1921), 113–15.
155. This argument assumes that there was no change in dedication, something which cannot be ruled out. On the introduction of the cult of St. Nicholas, V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Oxford, 1992), 71–3.
156. *HN*, 35; translation is from G. Bosanquet, *Eadmer's History of Recent Events in England* (London, 1964), 36. Eadmer was not an eye-witness of this event, but was appointed Anselm's secretary soon afterwards and quickly began collecting materials for his projected *Life*. Eadmer probably was with Anselm at Gloucester later in the same year for the Christmas festival, and in all likelihood became acquainted with the topography on this occasion.
157. I suggested the abbey church in *Minsters of Gloucester*, 27, but I now consider that this is improbable.
158. Beuckers, *Die Ezzonen*, 269–72.
159. Ortenberg, *English Church*, 72–3. As regards the office for the feast of St. Nicholas in the Worcester legendary, account should be taken of the complexities noted by C. Hohler, 'The proper office of St. Nicholas and related matters with reference to a recent book', *Medium Ævum* 36 (1967), 40–8.
160. Rogers, 'Waltham Abbey Relic-list', 171; Schmidt, 'Reliquien von Waltham Abbey', 77.

161. *JW s.a.* 1138 which relates that Miles of Gloucester led Stephen from the abbey to the 'royal hall'; this entry is only found in the Gloucester continuation of John of Worcester: *The Chronicle of John of Worcester 1118–1140*, ed. J.R.H. Weaver (Oxford, 1908), 48.
162. *The Flowers of History* by Roger de Wendover, ii, ed. H.G. Hewlett (Rolls Ser. 1887), 197–8.
163. *The metrical chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, ii, ed. W.A. Wright (Rolls Ser. 1887), line 10569.
164. Noack, 'Stadtbaukunst', 29–49.
165. See the review by A. Doll in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 76 (1959), 506–8, and the comments of T. Hall, *Mittelalterliche Stadtgrundrisse: Versuch einer Übersicht der Entwicklung in Deutschland und Frankreich* (Stockholm, 1978), 99 n.58.
166. Mekking, 'Cross of Churches', 105–6.
167. A.J.J. Mekking, 'De zogenoemde Bernold-kerken in het sticht Utrecht', in *Utrecht tussen Kerk en Staat*, ed. R. Stuip and C. Vellekoop (Hilversum, 1991), 103–51.
168. N.J. Baker and R.A. Holt, *Medieval Towns and the Church: The Origins and Development of Worcester and Gloucester* (forthcoming).
169. Patrick Garrod of the Gloucester City Excavation Unit tells me that there is evidence which suggests that the layout of Hare Lane may have been influenced by Roman buildings on the same alignment; there is as yet no evidence for medieval occupation earlier than the Saxo-Norman period. I am grateful to Patrick Garrod for discussing the archaeology of this area with me.
170. *Vita Wulfstani*, 15; for comment, R.D.H. Gem, 'Bishop Wulfstan II and the Romanesque Cathedral Church of Worcester', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral* (BAACT 1978), 16.
171. King, 'Ealdred: the Worcester years', 130–7.
172. P. Barker, *A short architectural history of Worcester Cathedral* (Worcester, 1994), 32; C. Guy, 'Excavations at Worcester Cathedral, 1981–1991', *Trans. Worcs. Archaeol. Soc.* 3rd ser. 14 (1994), 24–6.
173. For the introduction of the cushion capital, R. Gem, 'Canterbury and the Cushion Capital', in *Romanesque and Gothic: Essays for George Zarnecki*, i (Woodbridge, 1987), 83–101. Gem argues that cushion capitals were first introduced to Canterbury c. 1070. However given the German interests of Ealdred and the presence in England of no less than four bishops of German or Lotharingian origin in the later years of Edward the Confessor, a slightly earlier date of introduction is not impossible; it is a feature which may well have been diffused from more than one centre. Archbishop Herimann of Cologne is credited with the design of a particular type of cushion capital, used as his personal 'signature': Mekking, 'Bernold-kerken', 112–16.
174. R. Gameson, 'Book production and decoration at Worcester in the tenth and eleventh centuries', in *St Oswald of Worcester*, 222.
175. M. Brett, 'The Use of Universal Chronicle at Worcester', in *L'historiographie médiévale en Europe*, ed. J.-P. Genet (Paris, 1991), 282–3. For a general account of the legendary, P. Jackson and M. Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts* (Albany, 1996), 131–46.
176. Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', 19.
177. E. Okasha, *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions* (Cambridge, 1971), 63–4. The chapel, which stands about 160m south-west of the Anglo-Saxon minster church, probably adjoined the residence of Earl Odda, who was a kinsman of Edward the Confessor. The inscription relates that Ealdred dedicated 'this royal church' (*hanc regiam aulam*) in honour of the Holy Trinity (the word *aula* often has the meaning 'church' in inscriptions). One could speculate on the possibility that this building is another example of the second church required by the full crown-wearing ceremony; might the earliest English experiments in the full crown-wearing ceremony have taken place on the rural estate of a royal kinsman away from public gaze? If so, the chapel was presumably constructed in a single building season after Ealdred's return from his visit to Germany in 1054–5.
178. King, 'Ealdred: the Worcester years', 129.
179. *ASC 'D'* s.a. 1058.
180. *HCY*, ii, 353. It has recently been 'very hesitantly' suggested that the Judith gospelbooks could have been produced at York in the early 1060s: P. McGurk and J. Rosenthal, 'The Anglo-Saxon gospelbooks of Judith, countess of Flanders: their text, make-up and function', *Anglo-Saxon England* 24 (1995), 287.

181. Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', 17–18. Ealdred has also been suggested as the patron of the unprovenanced ivory crozier-head in the British Museum, thought to depict scenes of St. John of Beverley: J. Beckwith, *Ivory carvings in early medieval England* (London, 1972), 58–60, 127–8, but for reservations as to the iconography, E. Okasha, 'A supplement to *Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions*', *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1982), 91–2.
182. HCY, ii, 353–4; see R. Morris and E. Cambridge, 'Beverley Minster before the Early Thirteenth Century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. C. Wilson (BAACT 9, 1989), 12–13, 19–20. Morris and Cambridge suggest that the church at Kirkdale (N. Yorks.), which is dated by an inscription to 1055–65 and shows advanced features for this period, may have been influenced by Ealdred's works; it is not unlikely that the building was dedicated by Ealdred.
183. The family's building projects are surveyed by Beuckers, *Die Ezzonen*. The most striking surviving remains of Ezzonian building activity are the minster at Essen and the church of St. Maria im Kapitol in Cologne. Also of interest in the context of this paper is the (now destroyed) church of St. Maria ad Gradus in Cologne, which lay immediately east of the cathedral. It was arguably established by Archbishop Herimann with royal ceremonial in mind, but it is uncertain how far work had progressed in 1054: Kluger, 'Propter claritatem generis', 254–8.
184. Mekking, 'Bernold-kerken', 108–10.
185. K.G. Beuckers, 'Die Erweiterung des alten Kölner Domes', in *Kunstgeschichtliche Studien: Hugo Borger zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. K.G. Beuckers, H. Brülls and A. Preiss (Weimar, 1995), 8–67; K.G. Beuckers, 'Die päpstliche Privilegienbestätigung von 1052 und die Stiftungstätigkeit Erzbischofs Hermann II. im Kölner Dombereich', in *Für irdischen Ruhm und himmlischen Lohn*, ed. H.-R. Meier, C. Jäggi and P. Büttner (Berlin, 1995), 91–107.
186. Streich, *Burg und Kirche*, ii, 428 (my translation from the German).
187. Dahlhaus, 'Pfalz und Stiften in Goslar'.
188. In *Minsters of Gloucester*, 22, I wrongly described the 'Saxon facade' at Goslar as a westwork.
189. A point emphasised by Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 97.
190. *JW s.a.* 1058.
191. *Cart. Glos.* i, 9.
192. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: a collaborative edition*, vi, *MS D*, ed. G.P. Cubbin (Cambridge, 1996), pp. lxxviii–lxxix.
193. *ASC 'D' s.a.* 1058.
194. Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 17–20.
195. R.D.H. Gem, 'Reconstructions of St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, in the Anglo-Saxon Period', in *St Dunstan: his life, times and cult*, ed. N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), 71.
196. R.D.H. Gem, 'The Romanesque rebuilding of Westminster Abbey', *Proc. Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980), 33–60.
197. The date of consecration is given by the Gloucester Abbey *Historia* as 15 October 1058 (*Cart. Glos.* i, 9). The *Historia* was written c. 1400 and the source of this information is uncertain; in *Minsters of Gloucester*, 23, I suggested the possibility of an inscription. If Ealdred's departure for Jerusalem by way of Hungary immediately followed his consecration of Gloucester Abbey (as the texts perhaps imply), the October date is not improbable, for in the 11th century the autumn was a common time of departure for pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the intention being to arrive at Jerusalem in time for Easter. An example is the chronicler, Lampert of Hersfeld, who also went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the autumn of 1058: *Lamperti monachi Hersfeldensis Opera*, ed. O. Holder-Egger (MGH, *Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum scholarum*, Hannover, 1894), 74–5.
198. The view that Serlo incorporated some of Ealdred's church in the crypt of the building begun in 1089 has little to commend it: Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 23.
199. Kjølbbye-Biddle, 'Old Minster', 13–20.
200. P.E. Schramm, 'Die Throne des deutschen Königs', in *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, i, ed. P.E. Schramm (Schriften der MGH XIII/1, Stuttgart, 1954), 363–4.
201. Illustrated and described in *Das Reich der Salier 1024–1125: Katalog zur Ausstellung* (Sigmaringen, 1992), 254–7.

202. Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York', 20.
203. One of the two principal churches at Worcester was dedicated to St. Peter, and the Old Minster at Winchester included St. Peter in its dedication: A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066-1216* (Woodbridge, 1989), 90-1.
204. Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 23-5.
205. N. Stratford in *English Romanesque Art, 1066-1200* (Hayward Gallery, 1984), 249.
206. A. Borg, 'The Gloucester Candlestick', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Gloucester and Tewkesbury*, ed. T.A. Heslop and V.A. Sekules (BAACT 1985), 90.
207. R. Wesenberg, *Bernwardinische Plastik* (Berlin, 1955), 44-5, 56, 99-100; Beuckers, 'Die Erweiterung', 31-5.
208. Borg, 'Gloucester Candlestick', 87.
209. John of Worcester gives a date of 1101 (*JW s.a.* 1101), while the Gloucester Abbey *Historia* gives 1102 (*Cart. Gos.* i, 12).
210. For a brief account of this dispute, Brooke, *Church and the Welsh Border*, 60-1.
211. *Cart. Gos.* i, 9; ii, 112, 115.
212. *Domesday Book seu liber censualis Willelmi primi regis Angliae*, i, ed. A. Farley (Rec. Com., 1783), f. 164b. See also Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 25.
213. The Gloucester *Memoriale* (an account of the Abbey's history written in 1608) purports to give information about the site of Ealdred's church and of its predecessor. I have given reasons elsewhere for believing that this source is of no value for the early medieval topography of Gloucester: Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 30-1.
214. For the results of various watching briefs, A. P. Garrod and C.M. Heighway, *Garrod's Gloucester* (Gloucester, 1984), *passim*.
215. This point is briefly discussed in Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 27-8. Baker and Holt, *Medieval Towns and the Church*, favour a site within the Roman walls.
216. *Cart. Gos.* i, 80. For discussion of this record Brooke, *Church and the Welsh Border*, 53-4; Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 26-7.
217. *Cart. Gos.* i, 11-12. On Serlo's church, C. Wilson, 'Abbot Serlo's Church at Gloucester, 1089-1100: Its Place in Romanesque Architecture', in *Art and Architecture at Gloucester*, ed. Heslop and Sekules, 52-83.
218. Leyser, *Rule and Conflict*, 90; *ibid.* 75-107 for a brilliant introduction to the nature of sacral kingship.
219. Hill, *Atlas*, map 178.
220. *Gesta Regum*, i, 145.
221. S1792; only a short extract of early 17th-century date survives, printed in *Early Charters of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, London*, ed. M. Gibbs (Camden 3rd ser. 58, 1939), 5. The document is probably to be ascribed to the 'Æthelstan A' charter draftsman (see n. 49 above).
222. ASC 'D' s.a. 940 (=October 939); *JW s.a.* 940.
223. S479; printed in *Charters of Burton Abbey*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (Oxford, 1979), no. 5.
224. ASC 'D' s.a. 946; *JW s.a.* 946. For the location of Pucklechurch within the early medieval forest of Kingswood, J.S. Moore, 'The medieval forest of Kingswood', *Avon Past* 7 (1982), 6-16.
225. S633; printed B937.
226. *Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Ser. 1874), 102, 194.
227. N. Brooks, 'The Career of St Dunstan', in *St Dunstan*, ed. Ramsay and others, 20.
228. S731; printed B1135.
229. J. Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino (London, 1992), 69-71.
230. M. Deanesly, *The pre-Conquest Church in England* (London, 1963), 316, quotes Florence (John) of Worcester as referring to a great synodal witan at Gloucester at Christmas 963, but there is in fact no evidence for any such gathering.
231. S896 and S937; printed K703 and K1312. For comment, Keynes, *Diplomas*, 256.
232. S915; printed K1303.
233. D. Hill, 'Trends in the development of Towns during the reign of Ethelred II', in *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, ed. D. Hill (Oxford, 1978), 225.

234. Keynes, *Diplomas*, 127 n.139.
235. *Cart. Glos.* i, 87.
236. Hare, *Minsters of Gloucester*, 12–13.
237. ASC 'C' 'D' 'E' s.a. 1016. *JW* s.a. 1016 states that the battle took place in *Hwiccia*, and the battle may well have taken place on the Gloucestershire/Wiltshire border, the former boundary between Mercia and Wessex.
238. ASC 'C' 'D' 'E' s.a. 1016.
239. ASC 'D' s.a. 1016.
240. *JW* s.a. 1016. In their translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Whitelock *et al.* note that John of Worcester says that the kings met at Deerhurst before going to Alney (ASC, p. 96 n.13), but John's text does not seem to me to bear this interpretation.
241. J. D. Harris, 'The Site of Alney – AD 1016', *Glevensis* 26 (1992), 11–12.
242. *Gesta Regum*, i, 217.
243. *Danakonunga Sögur*, ed. B. Guðnason (Íslenzk fornrit 35, Reykjavik, 1982), 112–13.
244. R. Poole, 'Skaldic Verse and Anglo-Saxon History: Some Aspects of the Period 1009–1016', *Speculum* 62 (1987), 275; see also Lawson, *Cnut*, 79.
245. ASC 'C' 'D' 'E' s.a. 1020.
246. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, i, ed. T. Arnold (Rolls Ser. 1882), 91.
247. J. Cooper, 'The Dates of the Bishops of Durham in the first half of the eleventh century', *Durham University Jnl.* 60 (1967–8), 131–7.
248. For Anglo-Saxon Cirencester, C. Gerrard, 'Cyrnceastre: a Royal/Ecclesiastical Centre in the early medieval period', in T. Darvill and C. Gerrard, *Cirencester: Town and Landscape* (Cirencester, 1994), 87–97.
249. *Armes Prydein: The Prophecy of Britain*, ed. I. Williams and trans. R. Bromwich (Dublin, 1972), 6–7; for the date, D. N. Dumville, 'Brittany and "Armes Prydein Vawr"', *Études celtiques* 20 (1983), 145–59.
250. Hill, *Atlas*, maps 154–68.
251. *Gesta Regum*, i, 148.
252. Hill, *Atlas*, p. 85.
253. *Ibid.* maps 154–68.