

## **Saints, Monks and Bishops; cult and authority in the diocese of Wells (England) before the Norman Conquest**

Michael Costen, University of Bristol, UK

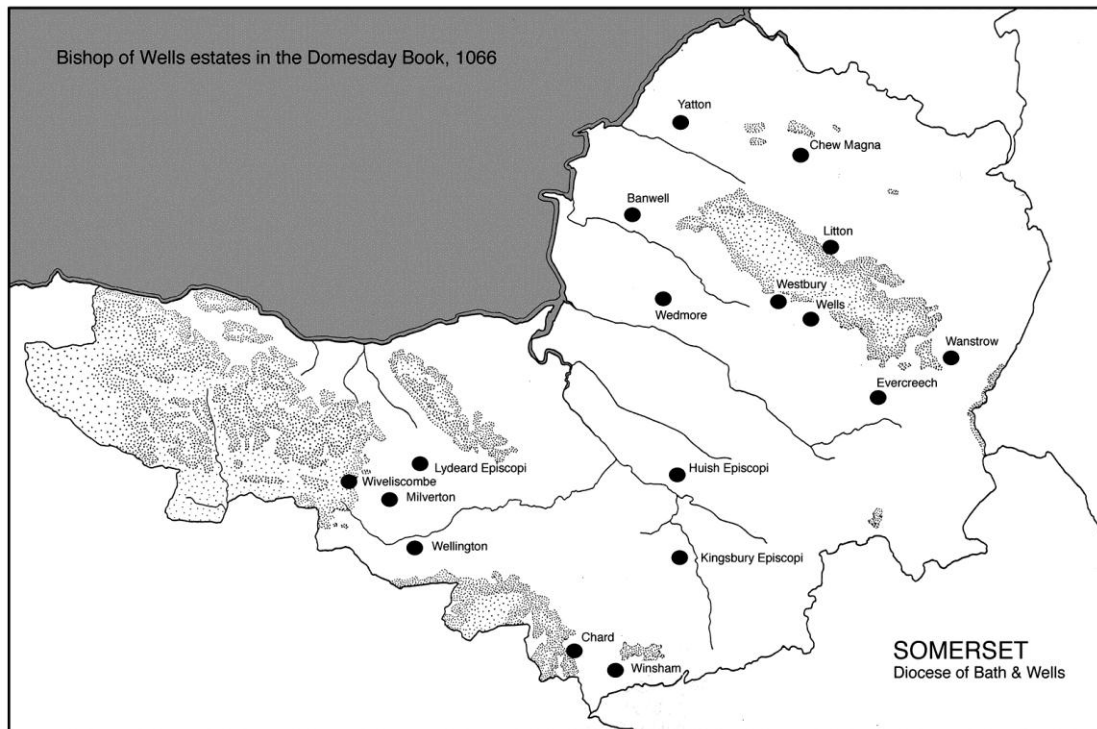
### **Introduction**

This paper is founded upon a database, assembled by the writer, of some 3300 instances of dedications to saints and of other cult objects in the Diocese of Bath and Wells. The database makes it possible to order references to an object in many ways including in terms of dedication, location, date, and possible authenticity, and it makes data available to derive some history of the object in order to assess the reliability of the information it presents.

Using the data, combined with other historical and archaeological evidence, this paper attempts to analyse the dedication policies, if any, followed by bishops and monasteries in the diocese in the tenth and eleventh centuries in order to ascertain whether or not this throws any light on the relationship between the secular and the regular branches of the Church in this period. This was a time when the newly founded diocese with its headquarters at the minster at Wells was seeking to establish itself, while the mid-tenth century also saw the revival and growth of a group of monasteries in Somerset, of which Glastonbury and Bath were by far the most important, as part of the wider tenth-century resurgence of monasticism throughout Europe. (**fig. 1**)



**Figure 1.** Map of Diocese of Somerset. Map: author.



**Figure 2a** Map of Bishop of Wells Estates in the Domesday Book, 1066. Map: author.



**Figure 2b** Wells Cathedral, 13<sup>th</sup> century, England. Photo:author.

## Wells Cathedral

We will first examine the bishop's churches and the estates within which they were found and then those of the monastery of Glastonbury in an attempt to assess the possible origins of the dedications.

King Alfred's confidant and biographer, Asser, was elevated to the see of Sherborne between 892 and 900. When he died in 908 or 909 his old diocese "West of the Wood," which covered the shires of Devon, Dorset, and Somerset, was divided into the three smaller dioceses of Wells (later called Bath and Wells) which covered the shire of Somerset, Crediton which served Devon, and Sherborne which retained Dorset (Stenton 1947, 433). At the time of the division concerning the monastery at Sherborne, the bishop seated there held extensive lands in Dorset, Somerset, and Devon. Land near Priddy, "apud Menedip," Congresbury, Wellow, "iuxta Pedridun," Chesterblade and Chard (Somerset), or Chardstock, in Devon, are all mentioned in the two fourteenth-century lists from Sherborne (O'Donovan 1988). These lands in Somerset, formerly held by Sherborne, seem to have passed to the new bishopric at Wells as its endowment and their identification is discussed by O'Donovan (1988, pp. xxxvii-xlvii). There are no charters extant for most of the land and it may be that none were ever made to authenticate grants which had been made initially to Sherborne, perhaps at the beginning of the eighth century (Robinson 1918). However, the estates recorded as belonging to the Bishop of Wells and to his chapter in 1066 were extensive and deserve detailed examination (they are listed in detail with the dedications of their churches in **Appendix 1**). The bishop's lands were set out in the charter S 1042 of 1065 and this document, which cannot be reconciled with the property detailed in the Domesday Book, has been accepted as a post-Conquest forgery (Sawyer 1968).<sup>1</sup> Simon Keynes suggested that it should be seen as part of the campaign by Bishop Giso to recover the estates which he believed the Church of St. Andrew at Wells should rightly hold (Keynes 1997). (**figures 2a, 2b**)

Of Wells itself, there is no authentic early evidence of its existence. It is named in the charter of AD 766 X 774, S262, but this is probably a later, tenth- or eleventh-century reworking of an earlier charter issued to Sherborne, where the old diocese was based (Edwards 1988, 259-61; Levinson 1946, 262). Assuming that such a reworked charter dates from some time in the tenth century, it is clear that the dedication of the Minster there to St. Andrew was already established; given that the Wells estate itself had originally belonged to Sherborne, it probably came to it at the time of the creation of the diocese "West of the Wood." It was at the center of a very large estate, which was still measured as a fifty-hide unit in 1086 (DB 6,1).

Whether Wells was originally a minster center with the large estate as an endowment prior to its elevation into the cathedral, or merely a large estate belonging to Sherborne, is not clear, but it seems very likely that such an estate would have been provided with a church from early in the Anglo-Saxon annexation of the region in the mid-seventh century, if it were ecclesiastical in origin. In any case, the archaeological work of Dr. Warwick Rodwell clearly points to Wells, with its powerful spring, *St. Andrews Well*, on the ecclesiastical site, as a locus of cult which may have been linked to the Roman past (Rodwell 2001, vol 1, 40-9 & 55-60), though a contrary view about the continuity of cult is expressed by John Blair (2004). The church of *St. Cuthbert*, situated c. 750 meters away from the cathedral, acted as the parish church for the estate. (**figure 3**) The parish of St. Cuthbert Without came to cover many thousands of acres, included several settlements which never became parishes, although they had chapels. The area still shown on the surviving vast tithe map as the parish of St. Cuthbert Without most likely marks the core of that estate (Costen 1992, 145-7). *St. Cuthbert's* church itself may well mark the center of the early secular rural settlement at Wells, separated as it is from the cathedral by the later town of Wells.

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<sup>1</sup> The Anglo-Saxon charters are referred to throughout by their number in Sawyer's list.





**Figure 3** St. Cuthbert's Parish Church, Wells, 13<sup>th</sup> -16<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

There is as yet no indication that *St. Cuthbert* had a cult anywhere else in the diocese. Bishop Robert in the mid-twelfth century confirmed a gift of half a hide of land given to the church of *St. Cuthbert* at its dedication by Bishop Godfrey at the beginning of the twelfth century (Bird 1907, 33). It seems unlikely that the church was really new at this time. Instead we may have a record of a rebuilding. The most likely source of the cult is an interest in *Cuthbert* generated by King Athelstan of Wessex's campaigns in the north of Britain from AD 927. In AD 934, on his expedition to Scotland, he made a gift, which included a copy of the Gospels, perhaps written at Glastonbury, to *St. Cuthbert* at Durham. The circumstances of this gift have been discussed by Dr. Luisella Simpson and she has shown how the community at Durham had an interest in the support of the up-and-coming royal house of Wessex in the time of Athelstan and how the king, in turn, replied with devotion to the saint (Simpson 1989). Professor David Rollason has argued that the devotion of King Athelstan to *St. Cuthbert* helps to explain Cuthbert's cult in Wessex and it is probable that it is to this connection that we owe the dedication (Rollason 1989, 419). Was the king actually administering and benefiting from the Wells estate at this time and hence endowing the church and giving it a relic associated with *St. Cuthbert*? The

Minster certainly commemorated *St. Cuthbert* since there is a form of the Mass for him found in the *Sacramentary of Bishop Giso* dating from the mid-eleventh century, so the cult was clearly established by his time (Rollason 1989, 419). It may be that this was the period when the parish church was established for secular use, allowing the Head Minster of St. Andrews to concentrate on its diocese-wide functions and separating the bishop and his clerks from the everyday work of the *parochia*.

Another very important site connected with the bishop deserves detailed attention. The estate at Congresbury was first mentioned in Asser's "Life of King Alfred," where Asser relates that the king gave him the monasteries "called Congresbury and Banwell in English" (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 97). The "Life" was written in AD 893 and the gift must therefore have taken place shortly before, perhaps in AD 886 (Keynes 1999, 48-50). The gift did not last and it is very unlikely that the estate passed to the new bishop of Wells in AD 909. A charter of AD 904, S373, shows the property in the hands of the bishop of Winchester and by AD 968 Banwell was described as having been given by King Edgar, to the community at Cheddar, where there was also a minster, in exchange for land at Carhampton (S 806). However, the priest Dudoc, who became bishop of Wells in 1033, was given both Banwell and Congresbury by King Cnut before he became bishop (Robinson 1918). Dudoc had been a clerk in the royal house and the gift of a monastery or minster church and its estate would have been a suitable reward for such a man. He was probably a Saxon or a Thuringian (Hunter 1840 & Keynes 1997). Although his successor suggested that he left the diocese in poor shape, he may have been a man who cared about his cathedral, for when he died in 1060 he tried to leave it vestments, relics, altar vases, and books as well as his estates at Congresbury and Banwell. However Archbishop Stigand and Earl Harold persuaded King Edward to annul Dudoc's will in 1061 and Congresbury and its minster came back into royal hands from whence it passed to Earl Harold. This was no doubt the intended aim of the maneuver. It was only after the Norman Conquest that the bishop recovered the land and the church which went with it. (For a much fuller discussion of the likely sequence of events relating to this property and other lands during Bishop Giso's reign see Simon Keynes' essay on Giso 1997). There was clearly a church here at the end of the ninth century and there is no reason to doubt that the dedication to *St. Andrew* is ancient, but its importance to the bishop lay in its role as a major cult site of the Celtic saint *Cyngar*.

The legend of *St. Cyngar* was studied by Canon Doble (1945-6). He suggested that he was one of a group of Old Welsh missionaries who worked in the west of Britain in the later fifth and early sixth centuries and that the *Cyngar* commemorated in north Wales is a different saint, since he does not share a feast with the Somerset *Cyngar* (27<sup>th</sup> November). Current scholarship now discounts the idea of a major missionary movement from Southern Wales into the south-western peninsula of England. A more plausible explanation is that the commercial and political connections across the Bristol Channel in the post-Roman period were enough to carry the cults of local churchmen and saints across into Somerset. The Somerset *Cyngar* does not have a cult outside the shire, since he is not mentioned in either the Breton or the Cornish Kalendars. There is another dedication to *St. Cyngar* in Somerset at Badgworth to the south, on the edge of the Wedmore island, but there is nothing to suggest that this low-status community had a very early church site and this may be a secondary dedication.

We have seen that information provided by Asser shows that a church existed at Congresbury at the end of the ninth century and further evidence of its importance is provided by the document entitled "*Secgan be pam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston.*" *St. Cyngar* is recorded as resting at Congresbury: "*Ðonne restedð*



**Figure 4** Congresbury Christ, Anglo-Saxon, 1033-1060, Somerset England. Possibly once part of a shrine to Welsh missionary St. Cyngar. Photo: author.



*sanctus Congarus confessor on Cungresbyrig.*” Professor Rollason dates the compilation of this document to in or about 1031, noting that it contains material up to 1013 (1978). This mention of the saint places him in the company of nearly 90 others throughout England and such a list was clearly intended to document saints whose cults were active and who could be regarded as potentially attractive to pilgrims as well as being objects of interest, veneration, and cultivation by monks and clerks. It seems clear, therefore, that the cult of *St. Cyngar* at Congresbury was active at the beginning of the eleventh century, although we do not know when the cult first developed.

In recent years some physical evidence of the cult has come to light with the discovery of substantial fragments of figurative carving from what is believed to be the eleventh century shrine of the saint. The quality of the carving is very high and it shares stylistic influences with the carvings at Bradford-upon-Avon (Wiltshire), the Beverstone Christ (Gloucestershire), and the Bristol Christ, all of which can be related to the figures in the Sherborne Pontifical, now in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Oakes and Costen 2003). **(fig. 4)** This was a cult center backed by the diocese and probably visited by sophisticated members of the clergy and the aristocracy.

In the mid-fourteenth century the cult was still alive, as there is a reference in Harley MS 3776 that “*apud Congresbery que distat a Bristollia x mil. iacet Sts Congarus*” (Doble 145-6 34). In 1411, William Felawe, also known as William “Congresbury,” the rector of Portishead, left a bequest in his will to the lights in the church at Congresbury, including one to *St. Cyngar*, suggesting there was still an image at least, at that date (Weaver 1901, 46). In 1501, the church was mentioned in a will as dedicated to *St Cyngar*, although it is now dedicated to *St. Andrew* (Weaver 1901, 46). A re-dedication of the church took place in 1216-17 when Bishop Joscelyn also endowed it (Bird 1907, 241). The endowment must mark the point at which the church and the estate of Congresbury were finally parted, with the estates going to the bishop, who gave some of the land to the church, and the church to the Dean and Chapter. It may be at this time that the dedication to *St. Andrew* was first established, replacing *Cyngar*, and the mention of the dedication to *Cyngar* in 1502 might therefore be a mark of the tenacity of the cult. However, since there is strong evidence to suggest that the present church site is one established by the seventh or early eighth-century Wessex kings, the balance of probabilities is that *Andrew* was the original dedicatee, often displaced in medieval minds by the local saint (Oakes and Costen 2003, 287). *Congresbury Church* was still the site of pilgrimage as late as 1513, but to *the Rood* and not to *St. Cyngar* (Weaver 1903, 173). The fair mentioned in 1227 was held on the feast of *The Holy Cross* (14<sup>th</sup> September), so it seems likely that this is an additional cult which was already established by that date.

At Wells, the cult of *Cyngar* was important enough for him to merit a place in the Kalendar of the Cathedral in the second half of the eleventh century (Wormald 1988) and in the twelfth-century history of the bishopric the story was maintained that Congresbury had been the earliest seat of the bishop (Hunter 1840, 10-11). This history is usually quoted for its embedded information taken from an account written by Bishop Giso, Dudoc’s successor, but the story of Congresbury as the bishop’s seat is not part of Giso’s account and is clearly legendary. It may however contain a memory of a time when the Minster at Congresbury was of major importance or even of a time when a Celtic bishop was sited there. Even if that idea is too speculative to entertain, nevertheless the story suggests that Wells was anxious to emphasize the importance of its connection with Congresbury in the twelfth century, at a time when the memory of Dudoc’s gift and its loss was still strong. The *Vita* of the saint, also from this period, contains considerable detail about the supposed misfortunes of two

kings (they went blind) and the “liquefaction” of a prince, all of whom crossed the saint (Horstman 1901, 248-54). Congresbury had been withheld by kings and princes so perhaps the community at Wells were indulging in a little wishful thinking. In addition the cult was well known in other parts of Somerset, since both Muchelney Abbey and Dunster Priory commemorated his feast in their Kalendars (Wormald 1988).

Turning to the churches of the estates which formed the ancient core of the endowment at Wells, besides Wells itself, we find that Kingsbury Episcopi, Chard, Huish, Wiveliscombe, Evercreech, Chew Magna, Wanstrow, and Litton did not generally follow the Head Minster in their dedications. (See **Appendix 2**) The churches of four smaller estates, Chard, Huish, Wanstrow, and Litton were all dedicated to the *Virgin*, Evercreech to *St. Peter*, Kingsbury to *St. Martin*, Wiveliscombe to the *Trinity*, and only Chew Magna to *St. Andrew*. All these properties were provided with churches at an early date, some of which may even pre-date the arrival of the West Saxon kings in the mid-seventh century. We perhaps might therefore look to the influence of Sherborne in the dedications or possibly that of *St. Aldhelm* or his eighth-century successors. In each case the dedications which might be expected for early churches at important centers, the *Virgin Mary*, *St. Peter*, *The Trinity*, and *St. Andrew* are all central dedications. Only *St. Martin* is just a little outside the Anglo-Saxon mainstream, but again his dedications are often ancient. The later additions to the patrimony of Wells, at Banwell and Congresbury, long claimed by bishop and chapter, were indeed dedicated to *St. Andrew*. The existence of four great church centers, on large estates, with the same patron, so close to one another certainly points to some co-ordination of dedication. There is every possibility that all four sites were possessions of the West Saxon kings before they became the property of Sherborne, since both Banwell and Congresbury belonged to King Alfred in the later ninth century (see above), and Wells and Chew were probably very early grants to Sherborne by the West Saxon kings or royal grants to the Bishop Aldhelm when the new diocese “West of the Wood” was created in 706. The *St. Andrew* examples therefore stand out as unusual and the roots of those dedications must lie in a period before the creation of the diocese. The *monasterium* of Sherborne and its bishop seem not to have had dependent churches dedicated to Andrew outside Somerset. *Peter*, *Peter and Paul*, *Mary*, and *Matthew* were all dedications associated with *St. Aldhelm* (Levinson 1946, 259-65), who, in any case, seems not to have worked much in Somerset apart from along the eastern border (Hamilton 1870). He does not seem to have been associated with “Andrew” dedications. It may be that instead we should look to the early West Saxon kings and their clerical advisers as major influences. Other major royal estates in Somerset also had churches dedicated to *St. Andrew*. These were at Cheddar, halfway between Wells and Congresbury, at Curry Rivel, and at Old Cleeve -- all places named as royal land in Domesday Book. A major church dedicated to *St. Andrew* existed at Northover, just outside Ilchester, and in 1066 it belonged to Glastonbury Abbey. It has been suggested that it came to Glastonbury as a gift from the West Saxon kings and that it started as a part of the Somerton estate (Dunning 1974, 244-9). This church was the mother church for the estate, although it lay far from the estate center. Dr. Dunning has suggested that it may have started as an extra-mural church for the Roman town of Ilchester, just outside which it stands, close to an extra-mural cemetery of Roman and post-Roman origin. A final candidate would be the church at Aller, where Guthrum famously took his oath to Alfred and received baptism. This site may have been chosen for the ceremony because it was a royal estate, although this was no longer the case by 1066. The church here was also dedicated to *St. Andrew*. (**fig. 5**)





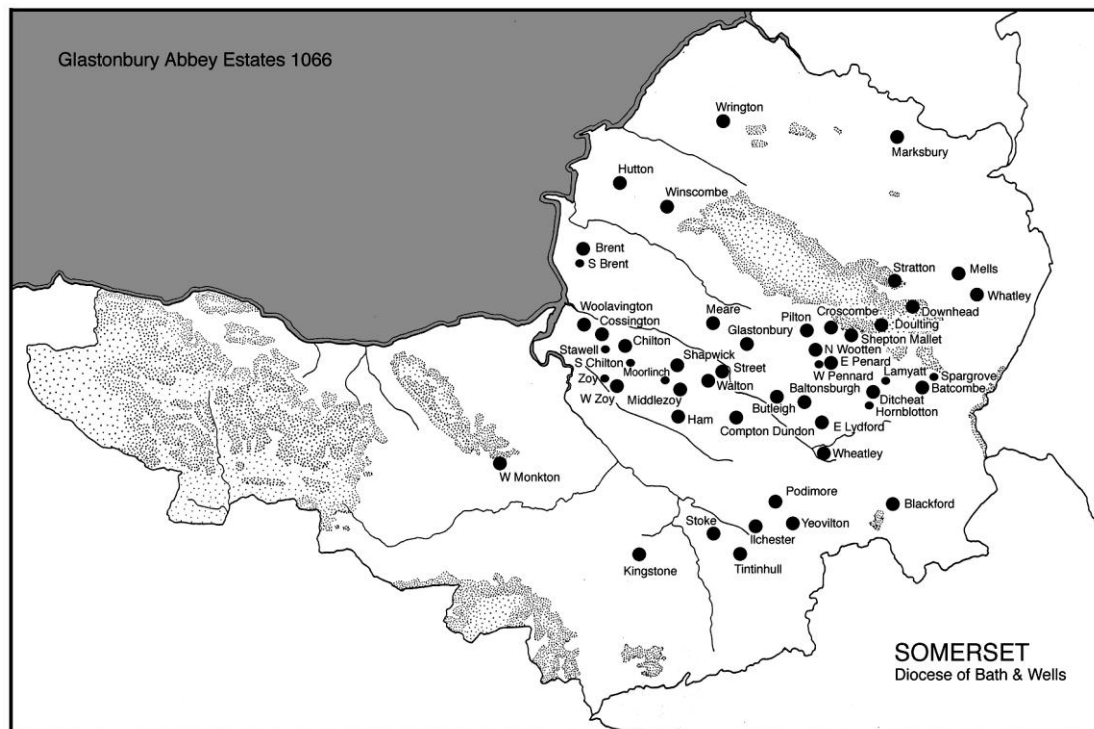
**Figure 5** St. Andrew's Church, Banwell, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

It would appear then, that the bishop of Wells did not pursue a coherent policy with regard to estate church dedications prior to the Conquest. In particular, the St. Andrew dedications, often assumed to be the result of connection to the church at Wells, seem to be due to the influence of the kings of Wessex, not the bishop. Instead he inherited a large number of the dedications, most of which may have been the result of policy or preference on the part of earlier West Saxon kings and their advisers, as part of their drive to integrate the pre-existing Old Welsh church in the conquered areas into their Gallican oriented scheme.

### **Glastonbury Abbey**

What was the position for the Abbey of Glastonbury in the tenth and the eleventh centuries? Glastonbury held far more estates in Somerset than the bishop. The monastery undoubtedly had a very ancient origin, and leaving to one side the

possibility of an Old Welsh origin, it was probably founded or re-founded by the West Saxon kings towards the later part of the seventh century (Costen 1992). (**fig. 6**)



**Figure 6** Map of Glastonbury Estates. Map: author.

It is not the purpose of this paper to discuss the physical extent of the Glastonbury Twelve Hides, its core estate, especially since this grew throughout the Middle Ages according to the monks' estimation, as a result of its privileged status. Dr. Abrams made a detailed examination of the difficult and contentious issues surrounding the foundation of the monastery and the development of its endowment (Abrams 1996 123-31). Within the entry for Glastonbury in the Domesday Book we can discern Glastonbury Abbey itself, (subject of further discussion below), and surrounding settlements, mostly "islands" in the marshes, some of which are mentioned in early documents. (**fig. 7**) At Glastonbury the abbey had settled on its dedication to *St. Mary* by the late tenth century (Whitelock 1955, 231). If the charter S 791 of AD 973 is authentic then the monastery was undoubtedly dedicated to *St. Mary* at that date, but the dedication is almost certainly very much earlier. The problematic nature of the early Glastonbury charters, with so much interpolated material among a basis of older fact makes evidence from earlier sources difficult to assess. The charter for West Pennard of AD 681, S 236, for instance, although quoted by Levison (1946, 263), is almost certainly interpolated with a reference to both *St. Patrick* and to *St. Mary* and cannot be used as evidence (Edwards 1988, 14). However, the dedication to *St. Bridget* at Beckery is almost certainly early, since it was a focal point for Irish monks traveling to and from the continent in the early eighth century (Rahtz and Hirst 1974). The chapel of *St. Martin* at Marchey, a few miles to the north-west of Glastonbury was named in the early charter S 1253 of AD 712 (Edwards 1988, 36). Since this was named in a grant there is nothing to suggest that the abbey founded this chapel, rather they received it from the bishop "west of the wood" in the early eighth century and it certainly looks like a possible pre-English foundation. Its remote and isolated situation would make it a possible hermitage or retreat.

Closer to the abbey itself was the church of *St. John the Baptist* which was the parish church provided for the lay community, which was certainly in existence by c.1160 (Bird 1907, 26). The church of *St. Michael* stood on the Tor close to a site which had been occupied during the post-Roman period (Rahtz 1991, 3-38), but the dedication of the church cannot be taken further back than c. 1100. The second town church dedicated to *St. Benedict* is also medieval in origin, but cannot be traced to an early date.



**Figure 7** Glastonbury Abbey, late 12<sup>th</sup>-14<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

Glastonbury clearly did have a more coherent approach to its churches than the bishop did to his. **(See Appendix 3)** Sixteen of their churches were dedicated to *St. Mary*. **(Appendix 4)** In two cases at least, *St. Mary* replaced an earlier dedication, at Meare and at Shapwick. At Lamyatt a dedication to *St. John and St. Mary* suggests that *St. John* had been the earlier dedication which had been supplemented at some point, perhaps on the occasion of a rebuilding. Five churches had been dedicated to *St. Andrew*. Northover (mentioned above) and Shapwick were important estates given to the monastery at an early date by the West Saxon Kings. Mells and High Ham also came from the king in the tenth century: only Compton Dundon was a small estate, where the dedication may be a late one. This seems to support the suggestion made above that the *St. Andrew* dedications were the work of the early West Saxon kings or their ecclesiastical advisers. In the tenth and the eleventh centuries the abbey was content to accept them and only occasionally moved to change the dedication, when, much later, post-Conquest, a church was rebuilt or moved to a new site, as at Shapwick (Costen 2006, 1051-3). **(fig. 8)**





**Figure 8** Ruins, Shipwick Church, Somerset, England. Note parch marks that outline the walls of the church in the center. The dark line is of the graveyard ditch. There are traces of several other buildings in the graveyard that date from the Bronze Age to the twelfth century. Photo: author.

Close to the monastery, and within its ancient core estate, lay the church at Marchey, dedicated to *St. Martin* and the church of *St. Bridget* at Beckery, as noted above. These ancient dedications may point to a stratum of cult which takes us back to the earliest days of the monastery and may connect to a period before the arrival of the West Saxons. It is noteworthy that the estate at Brent, one of the earliest acquisitions of the seventh century monastery (S 238), also had a church dedicated to *Bridget*, at Brean, a subsidiary settlement within the estate. It may also be significant that the name of the estate, which is derived from a large hill-fort which dominates an otherwise flat landscape, has been derived from British "*Brigantia*." This is connected with the Old Irish *Brigit*. The name may mean "the place where Brigantia is worshipped" or "a high place" (Turner 1951, 150-151 and Ekwall 1960).

However, other dedications suggest a rather more eclectic approach to the process. *St. John the Baptist* has two dedications, at Glastonbury and at Pilton. *St. Michael* at South Brent was appropriate for a church beside a hill-fort and *St. Leonard* fitted a wooded site at Butleigh where hunting might take place. Yet a few dedications suggest the interest of the monks in the history of the region. In *Benignus* they had a local saint whose cult they could promote, while *St. Gildas*, at Street, connected them with a distant and mythical past. *St. Aldhelm* was both a bishop and a monk and the monks paid homage to him by maintaining the church at Doultong, where he died and which was dedicated to him. But the man himself was buried at Malmesbury Abbey, which he founded and thus could hardly become the object of a major cult. He did, though, attract a popular following at the church he had built. His is the only holy well in Somerset which is connected with a historically verifiable figure. The well is situated at the foot of a steep bank to the west of the church and the siting of the





**Figure 9** Well, St. Aldhelm's, Doultling, wellhead dates from the late 19<sup>th</sup> century.  
Photo: author

church built by Aldhelm, may be the result of a “Christianization” of an earlier cult (Preest 2002, 260). (**fig. 9**)

We might then, tentatively distinguish three phases in the history of cult in the countryside, as it applies to Glastonbury Abbey. The first phase was probably an early period in the mid-seventh century when the monastery relied upon its core estates, which may have already possessed some chapels with dedications from a post-Roman

past. Little of this now remains. The second phase included the estates acquired in the early eighth century and which came from the royal court. Churches may already have existed on some of these and clearly re-dedication would not have been a politic activity. Third and finally, re-acquired or newly granted estates in the tenth century may often have lacked churches and where these were founded the rejuvenated monastery often promoted *Mary*, their own patron as the appropriate dedicatee. Such a policy did not preclude the possible antiquarianism of *Benignus* and *Gildas* mentioned above.

## Conclusion

For both bishop and monastery the evidence points towards a past which was dominated by the West Saxon Kings rather than local religious interests. This would fit well with the view that the early West Saxon kings, in the seventh and early eighth centuries, were anxious to use the new alliance with the Roman church to strengthen their control of society in the western parts of Britain which they had so recently taken over. The foundation of new churches on their recently acquired estates enabled them to assert their relationship with the Roman Church by the dedications to universal saints, among whom Andrew was particularly favoured in the mid-to late seventh century (Farmer 1987, 18-19). Of the 391 dedications of Anglo-Saxon churches listed in Taylor and Taylor (1980), 9 per cent were dedicated to Andrew, a frequency exceeded only by St. Peter (9.6 per cent), All Saints (11 per cent) and the Virgin (23 per cent).

There is little evidence that the bishop was anxious to venture into a coherent policy of dedication on his own estates. He was probably more concerned with building up his estates to provide a sound economic base for his bishopric. The monastery also seems to have been connected to its landscape through cults which it had either inherited from benefactors or which it had instituted itself as the extent of its estates grew rapidly in the later tenth century. The bishop and the monastery moved in two separate worlds of their own. However, competition between the two may have existed through the medium of saints' remains. Glastonbury, of course, made considerable claims before the Conquest to the remains of many important saints. *St. Patrick*, *St. David*, *St. Cuthbert*, and *St. Dunstan* were all claimed, but the presence of their bodies at Glastonbury cannot be realistically entertained (Blair 2002, 405-565). These men were in three cases ancient saints and there is little evidence that Glastonbury could ever have had any connection with them, while the Dunstan former abbot and re-founder of the house had moved on to become Archbishop of Canterbury, where he was buried. Indeed the very antiquity of the monastery was something which later writers and the monks themselves, were to spend much time and effort in trying to establish (Crick 1991, 217-243). Yet, when revived in the tenth century the monastery did take an interest in its local saints and had enshrined the remains of *St. Indracht* within the monastery itself, after a possible time at Shapwick (Lapidge 1982 179-212). *St. Benignus* was enshrined at Meare but was moved to the monastery after the Conquest. Otherwise, the monastery may have contained the relics of *Aidan*, Bishop of Lindisfarne, d. 651 and *Ceolfrith*, Abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow (d. 716), both of whom were moved as a result of the disturbances and uncertainties caused by the Danish incursions of the ninth century (Blair 2002).

Wells was at a slight disadvantage, though its tenth-century foundation preceded the revival of Glastonbury. It is possible that the cult of *St. Cyngar* at Congresbury should be seen as a parallel to the cult of *St. Benignus*. By the early eleventh century, the saint at Congresbury had a prominent shrine, worthy of his

status as a nationally known saint. There is evidence to suggest that this was part of a conscious policy by the bishop, Dudoc, who must have spent a great deal of money on the construction of a fitting shrine (Oakes and Costen 2003). The cathedral could not boast the relics of a saint within its walls and certainly did not contain a shrine, but the dedication to *St. Cuthbert* at the parish church, which must have needed a relic of some sort, may well have been intended as a way of raising the status of the bishop's seat. The early eleventh-century bishop and his canons could look to a modest, but distinguished cult landscape, close to the minster and at a subordinate minster site within its estates. Glastonbury could also claim its local saint – *Indracht*, with *Benignus* also on its estates. Its additional possession of no less than two northern saints meant that, in numbers of bodies, Glastonbury outdid its near neighbour. However, it may well be that in terms of status the saints of the Cathedral counted for more. *Cyngar* and *Cuthbert* both had a national following, but the same could not be said for *Indracht* and *Benignus*, who never reached that status. Here may be one reason why the bodies of so many other famous saints were said to rest at Glastonbury.

## **Appendix 1. The Bishop of Wells estates and their churches**

### Kingsbury Episcopi

This twenty-hide estate in 1086 (DB 6,3) was probably part of the ancient endowment, although it does not appear in early documentation at Sherborne (O'Donovan 1988, xxxix). It is only mentioned otherwise in the charter S 1042, while the bounds only survive in the Chartulary of Muchelney Abbey, and are clearly late medieval in their form (Bates 1899, 99). The church was dedicated to *St. Martin*.

### Chard

Although only an eight-hide estate in 1086, Chard grew throughout the Middle Ages, eventually to be a substantial property. Again this manor was probably part of the endowment of 909 and the church was dedicated to *The Virgin* (O'Donovan 1988, xxxix).

### “Litelande”/ Huish Episcopi

The Domesday Book Entry for “Litelande” probably covers Huish Episcopi (Thorn and Thorn 1980, p 354, notes to 6,5). It was a small estate of only two hides, but was conveniently situated, close to Somerton and also to the Anglo-Saxon fort at Langport. The church was dedicated to *The Virgin*.

### Wiveliscombe

A manor of fifteen hides, this was probably part of the early endowment. The church is dedicated to *St. Andrew* and the *Holy Trinity* but the fact that a fair in 1285 took place on Trinity Sunday suggests strongly that *The Holy Trinity* is the earlier dedicatee.

### Wellington

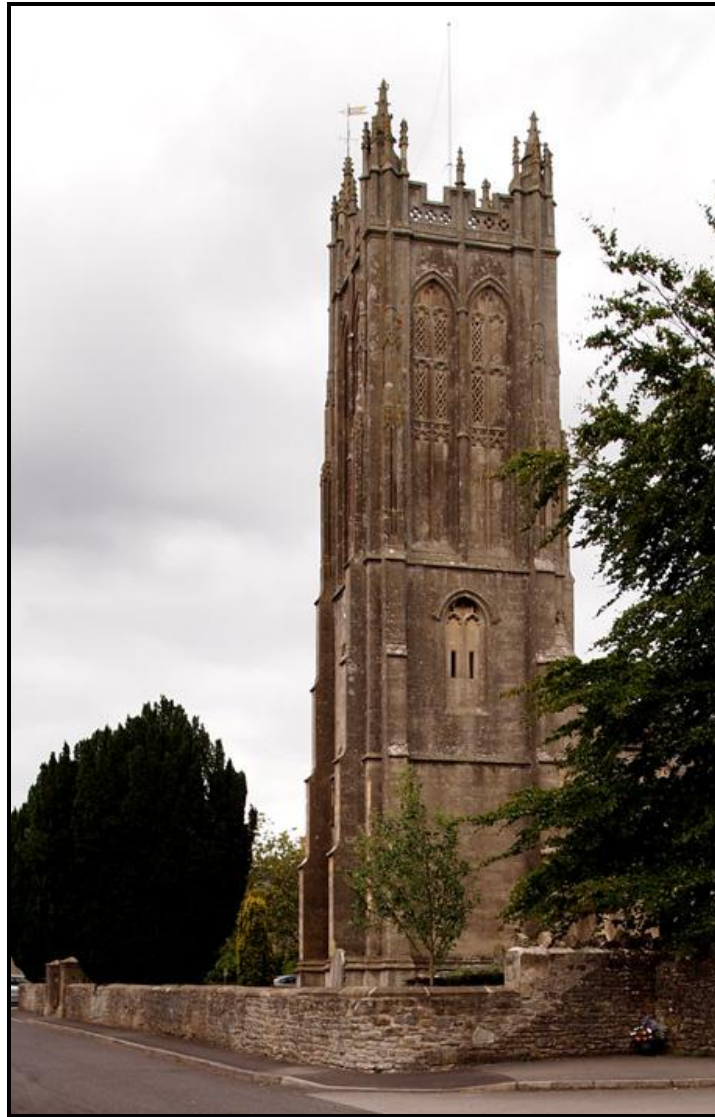
This fourteen-hide estate included the manor of West Buckland (DB 6,7). The charter S 380 of 899 X 909 is a grant by King Edward the Elder to Asser, bishop of Sherborne, in which the estates at Wellington, West Buckland, and Bishops Lydeard were exchanged for the minster at Plympton in Devon. This does appear to be a charter which has a genuine basis, although the property does not appear in King Alfred's Will (Keynes and Lapidge 1983). It is likely that there was already a church



on what was a fairly large royal estate. The church was dedicated to *St. Mary and St. John Baptist* 1174-84. The church at West Buckland is dedicated to the *Virgin*.

#### Bishops Lydeard

A ten-hide estate, this was also part of the grant in S 380 noted above. The church was dedicated to the *Virgin* in 1281.



**Figure 10** Church of St. Peter, Evercreech, 14<sup>th</sup> -15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England.  
Photo: author.

#### Banwell

The first certain mention we have of Banwell comes from Asser's "Life of King Alfred," where he relates that the king gave him the monasteries "called Congresbury and Banwell in English" (Keynes and Lapidge 1983, 97). The "Life" was written in 893 and the gift must therefore have taken place shortly before, perhaps in 886 (Keynes 1999, 48-50). The gift did not last and it is very unlikely that the estate passed to the new bishop of Wells in c. 909. A charter of AD 904, S 373, shows the property in the hands of the bishop of Winchester and by 968 Banwell was described as having been given to the community at Cheddar in exchange for land at Carhampton (S 806). The priest Dudoc, who became bishop of Wells in 1033, was



given Banwell and Congresbury by King Cnut prior to his appointment (Robinson, 1918). He had been a clerk in the royal house and the gift of a monastery or minster church and its estate would have been a suitable reward for such a man. There was clearly a church here at the end of the ninth century and there is no reason to doubt that the dedication to *St. Andrew* is ancient.

#### Evercreech

This twenty-hide estate held by the bishop in 1066 (DB 6,10) was almost certainly part of the ancient endowment, since there are no references to it except in the charter S 1042 and there is no sign that it ever passed into other hands before the Conquest. Regrettably, early references to the dedication of the church do not occur, but in early modern times the dedication was to *St. Peter*. Its outlying settlement at Chesterblade had a chapel dedicated to *St. Mary*.

#### Westbury-sub-Mendip

This manor of six hides abutted the estate of Wells on the west side and may once have formed part of it. The church was dedicated to *St. Lawrence*.

#### Winsham

This was an estate which Bishop Giso persuaded William the Conqueror to return to him. In 1066 it belonged to Alfsi, but had been wrongfully detained by him, according to Giso (Keynes 1997). Its church was dedicated to the *Virgin*.



**Figure 11** St. Andrew Church, Chew Magna, 1190-1500, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

### Chew Magna

This large estate of 30 hides had land for fifty ploughs (DB 6,3). It, too, was included in the charter S1042. Chew Magna had probably been an endowment of the church at Wells from its foundation and a property of Sherborne before that (O'Donovan 1988, xxxix). The church was dedicated to *St. Andrew*. Its subsidiary settlements at Dundry, Chew Stoke and Stowey all had chapels, dedicated respectively to *St. Giles*, *St. Andrew*, and *SS. Mary and Nicholas*.



**Figure 12** Church of St. Mary, Wedmore, mostly 15<sup>th</sup> century with some 12<sup>th</sup>-13<sup>th</sup> century features, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

### Yatton

This estate did not appear in the charter S 1042 and had probably never belonged to Wells in the pre-Conquest period. In 1066 it belonged to John the Dane and may represent a grant originally made by Cnut to a follower. The church was dedicated to the *Virgin* and the subsidiary chapel at Claverham was dedicated to *St. Swithun*. In the medieval period the chapel at Claverham was described as a free chapel. There are good reasons to think that the free chapels, of which there were about 20 in the diocese, were originally minor Anglo-Saxon field churches, churches without

graveyards, mostly founded in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, rather than later chapels of ease, in which case the dedication is certainly of interest, since it is probably pre-Conquest.

#### Wedmore

The bishop certainly held a part of Wedmore in 1086 and the land had been the subject of a grant to Giso by Edward the Confessor (S 1115 of 1061-6). This had been royal land, unhidated and untaxed prior to King Edward's gift. As ancient demesne it is likely that there was a church already there before the gift, and although it had slipped from Giso's grasp after the Conquest it was restored in 1068 - 1083 by a writ of Queen Mathilda (Bird 1907, 66). The church was dedicated to the *Virgin*. The church at Mark, a subsidiary estate added to Wedmore, was dedicated to *The Holy Cross*.

#### Wanstrow

This estate belonged to the canons of Wells in 1086. It was only a small estate of four hides, but seems to have belonged to Wells from before the Conquest. The church was dedicated to the *Virgin*.

#### Litton

Simon Keynes points out that the wording of the king's writ which announced that Litton had been purchased by Giso suggests that Wells may once have owned the place (Keynes 1997, 229). It was an eight-and-a-half hide estate (DB 6,17) and the church was dedicated to the *Virgin*.

#### Milverton

This estate was held by the king in 1086 (DB 6,18), but it was claimed by Wells in 1066, and although Queen Edith was recorded as the holder, she had earlier given the estate to Wells (Bird 1907, 16 and Harmer 1952, no. 70). Although an estate with a low hideage it was still a substantial property with eleven ploughlands (DB 1,26). It was clearly not part of the ancient endowment. The church was dedicated to *St. Michael*.

## Appendix 2; Summary list of dedications of parish churches on estates belonging to Wells Cathedral in 1086

Ash Priors	Holy Trinity
Banwell	St. Andrew
Chard	BVM
Chew Magna	St. Andrew
Evercreech	St. Peter
Huish Episcopi	BVM
Kingsbury Episcopi	St. Martin
Litton	BVM
Lydeard Episcopi	BVM
Milverton	St. Michael
Wanstrow	BVM
Wedmore	BVM
Wellington	BVM & St. John Baptist
Wells	St. Cuthbert
Westbury-sub-Mendip	St. Lawrence
Winsham	BVM
Wiveliscombe	St. Andrew
Yatton	BVM

## Appendix 3. Glastonbury Abbey Estates and their Churches

### Baltonsborough

This estate of five hides probably came to Glastonbury in the mid-eighth century and was a five-hide estate (S 1410). However, the dedication of the church, a chapel of Butleigh, to *St. Dunstan* must be post-tenth-century (Weaver 1901, 372 and Bird 1907, 393).

### Batcombe

The charter S 462 of 940 for Batcombe was for a grant by of King Edmund to a layperson, but the land had reached Glastonbury by *c.* 971 (Abrams 1996, 55). This was an estate of 20 hides in total. There were two churches within the estate. The church at Batcombe itself was dedicated to *St. Mary* and the chapel at Spargrove was dedicated to *St. Lawrence*. This last was a free chapel, not a chapel of ease of Batcombe. It is likely therefore to have been a pre-Conquest foundation as a field-church without a graveyard.

### Berrow

This five-hide estate, originally part of the Brent estate, was not recorded separately in the Domesday Book, although it had already emerged as a separate entity in the later tenth century when a charter named it (S 793). It was probably a part of the Brent estate which had been granted away and was then recovered. The church was dedicated to *St. Mary*.

### Brent

This was originally a ten-hide estate granted to Glastonbury as early as 693 (S 238; Abrams 1996, 69 and Edwards 1988, 23). It was still regarded as a single unit for administrative purposes in 1086, although there are now several parishes within it (DB 8, 23). The inclusion of a reference in the Domesday entry to a priest holding



land there suggests that there was a church with land, probably based at the modern East Brent which seems to have been the medieval administrative centre. The church was dedicated to *St. Mary*. At nearby South Brent (now called Brent Knoll), the church was dedicated to *St. Michael*. Also within the estate were three other parishes: Lympsham, with a modern dedication to *St. Christopher*, Berrow, discuss above, and Brean dedicated to *St. Bridget*.



**Figure 13** St. Bridget Church, Brean, 13<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

#### Butleigh

This estate of twenty hides may have come to Glastonbury in the early ninth century (S 270a). The dedication to *St. Leonard* is almost certainly post-Conquest (Farmer 1987, 264).

#### Camerton

This estate was not held by Glastonbury in 1066, but it was obtained by exchange with the count of Mortain for Tintinhull before 1086 (Abrams 1996, 229-31). Its church is dedicated to *St. Peter*, but it is not known if this was an early dedication.

#### Compton Dundon

This modern parish comprises two manors belonging to the abbey. How the two parts came together is not clear (Abrams 1996, 94-5), but they shared a church dedicated to *St. Andrew*.

#### Cossington

This three-hide estate was held from the abbey by a tenant in 1066 (DB, 8,7), but there are some grounds for believing that it formed part of the early endowment of the Abbey (Abrams 1996, 98). Its church was dedicated to *St. Mary*.

### Cranmore

This place now exists as two parishes, East and West Cranmore. Caroline and Frank Thorn consider that the split which formed the two manors occurred after 1086 and that there was a single estate of Cranmore in 1066 (DB, notes p. 356 and Bird 1907, 393). Unfortunately there is no medieval evidence for the dedications of the churches here, both of which were chapels of the church at Doultong. Currently the church at West Cranmore is dedicated to *St. Bartholomew* and that at East Cranmore to *St. James*.

### Ditcheat

This was a large estate which the abbey had probably held from the mid-tenth century (S 292). The now separate parishes of Hornblotton and Lamyatt were parts of the Ditcheat estate in 1086. The church at Ditcheat was dedicated to *St. Mary Magdalene*, the church at Lamyatt to *Saints Mary and John* and the church at Hornblotton to *St. Peter*.



**Figure 14** St. Mary Magdalene Church, Ditcheat, 12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

### Doultong

This was a twenty-hide estate in 1086 (DB 8,23). It is recorded that *St. Aldhelm* died here in the wooden church in 709 or 710 and the abbey was supposed to have built a stone church here as a memorial to the saint (Hamilton 1870, 282-3). The church was dedicated to him.



**Figure 15** St. Aldhelm Church, Doultling, 12<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England.  
Photo: author.

#### Downhead

This estate close to Doultling was very small, three hides, in 1086 (DB 8,35). Its church was a chapel of Doultling and was dedicated to *St. Nicholas* in 1480.

#### Durborough

This small estate was later part of Stogursey parish. It had a chapel in 1316, but its dedication is unknown (Hobhouse 1887, 8).

#### Glastonbury

Glastonbury and its core estate are discussed in the main text above.

### High Ham

This property came to the abbey in 973 by exchange with King Edgar for a property in Devon (S 791). Its church was dedicated to *St. Andrew*.

### Northover (Ilchester)

The church of *St. Andrew*, was in Glastonbury's hands in 1066, when it was held by one of their thegns, Brictric (DB 8,37). This church owned an estate of three hides, which later formed the basis of the parish of Northover. As noted above it stood close to the extra-mural graveyards of the Roman town of Ilchester, alongside the Fosse Way, the Roman road running from Devon to Lincoln. It was probably the mother church of the royal estate of Somerton.

### Kingstone

This estate belonged to Glastonbury and possibly came to the abbey in the tenth century from King Edmund (Abrams 1996, 220-2). Its church was dedicated to *St. John the Evangelist and All Saints*, but the patronal festival corresponded with that of *St. Bridget* before 1450 (Maxwell-Lyte & Dawes 1934, 149).

### Marksbury

This estate came to the abbey in the later tenth century, though the circumstances are somewhat obscure. The charter S 431 of 936 was to a layman and the land must have come to Glastonbury with its charters at a later date. The modern dedication of the church is to *St. Peter*.

### Meare

Meare was an early acquisition of the abbey, lying only five kilometres to the west, on the far side of the large lake which gave it its name (Abrams 1996, 169-71). The church here was dedicated to *The Blessed Virgin Mary, All Saints, and St. Benignus* in 1323 (Hobhouse 1887, 219). *St. Benignus* was believed to be an Irish abbot of Glastonbury, successor to *St. Patrick* (Scott 1981, chaps. 13 & 33). He was translated to Glastonbury Abbey in 1091. Little else is known about this obscure and possibly mythical saint. The abbey had held the land since perhaps the eighth century, but we cannot know if *Benignus* was the primary dedication. It is note-worthy that the abbey did change dedications when churches were rebuilt (see Shapwick below). It may be that the addition of both the *Virgin* and *All Saints* marked successive rebuilding campaigns at the church, with the earliest dedication preserved because of the survival of the cult at Glastonbury but it is perhaps more likely that the earliest dedication was to the *Virgin* and that *Benignus* at least, was added at about the time of his translation or during the century before, when the monastery was promoting his cult.

### West Monkton

This was an estate of fifteen hides (DB 8, 28). It lay near Taunton, well away from the monastery. Its church was dedicated to *St. Augustine*.

### Mells

This twenty-hide estate came to the abbey in the mid-tenth century and was theirs in 1066 (DB 8, 25). Its church was dedicated to *St. Andrew*.

### North Wootton

This was a part of the estate of Pilton in 1066 (DB 8, 20), but was recognised as a separate estate in the tenth century (S 509 of AD 946). A small estate of five hides, its modern church dedication is to *St. Peter*.



### Pennard East and West.

These two estates lay close to Glastonbury and have charters with very early dates. Their histories as land units are obscure and only “Pennard” is mentioned in the Domesday Book, where it was a ten-hide estate, with twenty hides actually in existence (DB 8, 21). The editors of the 1980 edition used here considered that West Pennard was included with East Pennard (DB, notes p.356), but Lesley Abrams is less certain (Abrams 1996, 195-198). What is clear is that Domesday Book names the estate as “Pennarminstre” – Pennard Minster. Lesley Abrams suggests that this may simply mean that prior to the grant to Glastonbury of East Pennard the estate had belonged to an ecclesiastical body. It was apparently granted in S 563 of 955 to a nun at Wilton who subsequently granted it to Glastonbury, while West Pennard may have been granted as early as 681 (S 236). The church at East Pennard was dedicated to *All Saints*. It was the mother church of a group of chapels. At West Pennard the chapel was dedicated to *St. Nicholas*, at West Bradley the chapel dedication is unknown while at Stone the dedication was to *St. James*.



**Figure 16** Church of All Saints, East Pennard, 14<sup>th</sup> century, Somerset, England.  
Photo: author.

### Pilton

The large Domesday estate of Pilton included the settlements of Pilton, Croscombe, Shepton Mallet, North Wootton and Pylle (DB 8, 20). The estate was regarded as part of the early endowment of the abbey, but as so often with Glastonbury the documentation is suspect (Abrams 1996, 200-4). At Pilton itself the church was dedicated *St. John the Baptist* and on its subsidiary manors, at Shepton Mallet to *Saints Peter and Paul*, at Croscombe the *Virgin Mary*, at Pylle the modern dedication is to *St. Thomas Becket*. North Wootton is covered above.



**Figure 17** Interior of St. John the Baptist Church, Pilton, 11<sup>th</sup>-15<sup>th</sup> centuries, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

#### Podimore

This small estate belonged to Glastonbury in 1066 (DB 8, 3), and had a church with a modern dedication to *St. Peter*.

#### Shapwick

This estate, probably in the monastery's hands from the early eighth century onwards, has been the subject of extensive study (Gerrard and Aston 2006). The central part of the Domesday estate lay at Shapwick and the church here was certainly pre-Conquest and dedicated to *St. Andrew*. That dedication was changed to the *Virgin Mary* when the original church was abandoned and its successor rebuilt on a site some 800 metres away in 1331 (Costen 1991, 48). Ashcott, not part of the Domesday estate of Shapwick, although a Glastonbury property, was a chapelry of Shapwick and its church was dedicated to *All Saints* and the small chantry at Pedwell, a dependency of Ashcott, was dedicated to *St. Martin*. Other subsidiary settlements had their own



churches in the post-Conquest period, but there is no evidence about the pre-Conquest period. Moorlinch, evidently part of the central Shapwick estate in 1086, had a church dedicated to *St. Mary*. Moorlinch was one of the “seven churches.” A charter S 250, of King Ine dated AD 725 purported to make a grant of lands in Somerset to Glastonbury and to affirm a grant of privileges to the seven churches of Glastonbury Abbey, including Moorlinch. With its reference to the Bishop and Chapter of Wells (the bishopric was founded *c.* 909) everyone is agreed this is an egregious forgery of the post-Conquest period, probably early twelfth century (Abrams 1991, 125-6). This charter named seven churches Middlezoy, Brent, Moorlinch, Shapwick, Street, Butleigh, and Pilton which were the subject of a long dispute between the bishop of Bath and the Abbey over jurisdiction. The whole issue was judged by Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter *c.* 1174 (Morey 1937, 132-3). However, the forged diploma does enable us to know that *St. Mary*’s church at Moorlinch and the other churches, existed by the early twelfth century as did the dependent chapels.



**Figure 18** *St. Mary*’s Church, Moorlinch, 13<sup>th</sup> century, Somerset, England. Photo: author.

#### Sowi

At Domesday this estate probably included the whole of the “Zoyland” island which embraced the later parishes of Middlezoy, Westonzoyland, and Othery (DB 8,6). The whole island was probably an ancient possession of the abbey. The church at Middlezoy seems to have been the central estate church and in *c.*1220 was dedicated to *St. Lawrence* (Watkins 1947-56, vol 2, 501). Of the dependent churches, Othery was dedicated to *St. Michael* and *St. Mary* is the modern dedication at Westonzoyland.

#### Stawell

This small holding was possibly an early part of the Shapwick estate which had become detached. Its modern dedication is to *Mary Magdalene*.

### Stratton on the Fosse

This was an estate part of which was held by the abbey in 1066 (8,38). The modern dedication of the church is to *St. Vigor*, but in 1736 it was to *St. Laurence*. There is a reference of 1281 to the grant of a fair to Thomas de Sancte Vigore (Hulbert 1936, 99). Here surely we have the origin of the dedication of the church which probably ought to be to the *Blessed Virgin*, since 8th September, the date of the fair, is the feast of her Nativity. Note that the real St. Vigor (d. c. 537) was bishop of Bayeux and founded a monastery at St-Vigour-le-Grand, near Bayeux (Farmer 1987, 424).

### Street

This is probably represented by the Domesday manor of Overleigh (DB 8, 6). The church was dedicated to *St. Gildas*, (*floruit* c.500-c.570) the author of *De excidio Britanniae* (Farmer 1987, 184). Knowledge of his writings was widespread in late Anglo-Saxon England and it is likely that his work was well known to the monks of Glastonbury. They certainly claimed to have his remains, although there are no grounds for believing that this was true (Carley 1978, 20). The name of the settlement in the earliest charter was Lantokay and there are good grounds for regarding this as a post-Roman dedication to an Old Welsh saint (Calder 2004, 1-28).



**Figure 19** St. James the Great Church, Winscombe, 15<sup>th</sup> century, Somerset, England.  
Photo: author.

### Whatley

This manor was in Glastonbury hands in 1066. Its church was dedicated to *All Saints*.



#### Winscombe

This large manor seems to have come to Glastonbury in the tenth century (Abrams 1996, 248). Its church was dedicated to *St. James the Great*. As a dedication this is unlikely to have occurred before the later tenth century at the earliest and is probably of the eleventh or even twelfth century as the pilgrimage to Santiago became popular.

#### Woolavington

This estate was a part of Shapwick for the purposes of Domesday, but was separate parish in the later medieval period. Its church was dedicated to the *Blessed Virgin*.

#### Wrington

This was a large, twenty-hide estate which came to the abbey during the tenth century (Abrams 1996, 254). Its church was dedicated to *All Saints*.

#### **Appendix 4. Glastonbury Parish Church dedications**

Baltonsborough	St. Dunstan
Batcombe	BVM
Blackford	St. Michael
Butleigh	St. Leonard
Chilton Polden	St. Edward
Compton Dundon	St. Andrew
Cossington	BVM
Croscombe	BVM
Ditcheat	St. Mary Magdalene
Doulting	St. Aldhelm
Downhead	All Saints
East Brent	BVM
East Lydford	BVM
East Pennard	All Saints
Glastonbury	St. Benedict
Glastonbury	St. John Baptist
Glastonbury	St Michael
Greinton	St. Michael
High Ham	St. Andrew
Hornblotton	St. Peter
Hutton	BVM
Kingstone	St. John Evangelist & All Saints
Lamyatt	BVM & St. John
Limington	BVM
Marksbury	St. Peter
Meare	BVM, All Saints & St. Benignus
Mells	St. Andrew
Middlezoy	St. Lawrence
Moorlinch	BVM
North Wootton	St. Peter
Northover	St. Andrew
Pilton	BVM
Podimore Milton	St. Peter
Shapwick	BVM

Shapwick	St. Andrew
Shepton Mallett	SS. Peter & Paul
South Brent	St. Michael
Spargrove	St. Lawrence
Stawell	St. Mary Magdalene
Stoke sub Hamdon	SS. Denys, Andrew & Mary
Stratton on the Fosse	BVM
Street	St. Gildas
Sutton Mallett	Unknown
Tintinhull	St. Margaret
Walton	Trinity
West Monkton	St. Augustine
West Pennard	St. Nicholas
Westonzoyland	BVM
Whatley	St. George
Wheathill	St. John Baptist
Winscombe	St. James the Apostle
Woolavington	BVM
Wrington	All Saints

### Abbreviations

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