

THE NEW MONASTICON HIBERNICUM AND INQUIRY INTO THE EARLY CHRISTIAN AND MEDIEVAL CHURCH IN IRELAND

Launched in October 2003 under the auspices of the Irish Research Council for the Humanities and Social Sciences, the ‘Monasticon Hibernicum’ project is based in the Department of Old and Middle Irish at the National University of Ireland, Maynooth, Co. Kildare. Central to the project is a database of the native Early Christian and Medieval (5th to 12th centuries AD) ecclesiastical foundations of Ireland - managed by research fellows Ailbhe MacShamhráin and Aidan Breen, under the general direction of Kim McCone, professor of Old and Middle Irish. A longer-term goal is to produce a dictionary of the Early Christian churches, cathedrals, monasteries, convents and hermitages of Ireland for which historical, archaeological or placename evidence survives. The title of the project pays tribute to Mervyn Archdall’s *Monasticon Hibernicum*; but what is envisaged here goes beyond revision of such antiquarian classics.¹ The comprehensive character of this new *Monasticon* (the database already features a number of sites which are indicated solely by historical, or by archaeological, or placename evidence), along with its structure and referencing, will make for more than a general reference book. It is envisaged as a research-tool to further inquiry in the fields of history (helping to illuminate, for example, ecclesiastico-political relationships, pre-reform church organisation, the dissemination of saints’ cults and gender-politics in the Irish church) and settlement studies - as illustrated below with reference to some of the Leinster data.

The first phase of the project, carried out during the academic year 2003-04, has focused on the ecclesiastical province of Dublin – which includes the dioceses of Dublin itself, Glendalough, Ferns, Kildare, Leighlin and Ossory. This corresponds to the south-eastern region of Ireland – covering (in effect) the counties of Dublin, Wicklow, Wexford, Kildare, Offaly, Laois, Carlow and Kilkenny. The procedure has involved

¹ Mervyn Archdall, *Monasticon Hibernicum* (Dublin, 1786); reissued in an incomplete form, edited by P.F. Moran (Dublin, 1873).

a systematic combing of written sources (hagiographical, annalistic, genealogical and charter – as explained below) for data relating to the topography of relevant sites and historical personages associated with them. To this has been added archaeological and placename data, where available, along with reference to any noteworthy discussion of individual sites in the historical or archaeological literature.

Having planned from the outset to store this data on computer – for ease of access and manageability – consultation with several computer consultants and with academics (especially historians) whose work has involved computer-database eventually led to the adoption of Microsoft Access as a database management system. At this point it is fitting, on behalf of the project, to record our collective thanks to all who have assisted us so far in selecting a database management system, in planning an appropriate relational structure, in coping with problems of data management and in developing the presentational side of the database to improve its accessibility and user-friendliness.²

It must be acknowledged that the availability of data on early and medieval ecclesiastical settlement in many parts of Ireland has increased steadily – albeit slowly - over the years. In regard to the south-east, however, Archdall's pioneering work, commendable as it is in many respects, has marked limitations; its geographical scope is restricted (for county Dublin it includes merely seven sites,³ while its coverage does not

² Computer consultants Tamas Reminick and Francis Hobbs, along with Brian Donovan of Eneclann Ltd., assisted us greatly in the early stages – introducing us to database management systems, helping us to construct record tables and planning for a relational database. Tony Fingleton alerted us to many of the problems of database management, while Jim Cumiskey of Cambio played an invaluable role in overcoming software difficulties and improving the presentational dimension of the database. Declan Curran of Computer Support Services, NUI Maynooth, has been most attentive in addressing day-to-day problems with the project.

³ The sites in question are Baldongan, Ballymadun, Castleknock, Clondalkin, Clontarf and the urban foundations of St. Mary's and Holy Trinity (Christ

extend into Wexford at all) and, for some areas, the sites listed might not unfairly be described as a subjective selection. The modern general survey by Gwynn and Hadcock concerns itself more (as the title indeed suggests) with the medieval monasteries of Continental religious orders; early Irish foundations are (aside from a handful of high-profile sites most of which became diocesan sees) dealt with briefly in a prologue and in an appendix.⁴ The late-nineteenth/early-twentieth century saw the production of diocesan histories for Kildare and Leighlin, Ossory and Ferns – all of which accord considerable attention to ecclesiastical antiquities – and several antiquarian histories, notably of Co. Dublin.⁵ In recent decades, a plethora of publications has appeared which deal on a local basis with the archaeology and history of the early church in south-eastern Ireland. To date, Dúchas (the state agency with responsibility for national monuments) has produced archaeological inventories for Cos. Carlow, Wicklow, Wexford, Offaly and Laois.⁶ Meanwhile, the ‘History

Church); it must be noted, however, that only the first two parts of Archdall’s book (see above, n. 3) were re-published in the 1873 edition - and that is not widely accessible.

⁴ Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval religious houses: Ireland* (London, 1970); it might be added that the authors concentrate mainly on sites which feature prominently in the ‘mainstream’ historical record, and take little account of entire categories of evidence such as hagiography (the ‘lives’ of the saints and related material) or placenames.

⁵ Comerford, Michael. *Collections relating to the dioceses of Kildare and Leighlin*. 3 vols. (Dublin, 1886); Carrigan, William *History and antiquities of the diocese of Ossory*, 4 vols, (Dublin, 1905; facsimile reprint with introduction by John Bradley, Kilkenny, 1981); Flood, W.H. Grattan, *The history of the diocese of Ferns*, (Waterford, 1916); Hore, P.H. *History of the town and county of Wexford*, 6 vols, (London, 1901-11); Ball, Francis Elrington, *A history of the county of Dublin*, 6 vols, (Dublin, 1902-20; reprint Dublin 1979; lithographic reprint Dublin, 1995).

⁶ Brindley, A. & Kilfeather, A. *Archaeological inventory of Co. Carlow* (Dublin, 1993); Sweetman, P.D., Alcock, O. & Moran, B. *Archaeological inventory of Co. Laois* (Dublin, 1995); Moore, M.J. *Archaeological Inventory of Co. Wexford* (Dublin, 1996); Grogan, E. & Kilfeather, A. *Archaeological inventory of Co.*

and Society' series of county histories has covered Wexford, Kilkenny, Dublin, Wicklow, Offaly and Laois. It may be noted that the medieval component of these volumes – much less any coverage of early ecclesiastical settlement – varies considerably in range and in depth.⁷ There are, however, monographs and other publications of recent date dealing specifically with Early Christian and medieval settlement in counties Offaly, Wexford, Laois, Wicklow and Dublin,⁸ while ecclesiastical sites within urban areas are featured in fascicles of the Irish

Wicklow (Dublin, 1997); O'Brien, C. & Sweetman, P.D. *Archaeological inventory of Co. Offaly* (Dublin, 1997).

⁷ Whelan, K. & Nolan, W. (eds.), *Wexford: History and Society* (Dublin, 1987), contains a paper by de Val on placenames pp. 40-64, and another by Colfer on Anglo-Norman settlement, pp. 65-101, which discusses parishes and deaneries; Nolan, W. & Whelan, K. (eds.), *Kilkenny: History and Society* (Dublin, 1990) includes Edwards on crosses of Co. Kilkenny, pp. 33-61; Aalen, F.H.A. & Whelan, K. (eds.), *Dublin city and county from prehistory to the present: studies in honour of J.H. Andrews* (Dublin, 1992) has a survey of antiquities by Stout & Stout which covers early ecclesiastical sites, appendix v; Hannigan, K. & Nolan, W. (eds.), *Wicklow: History and Society* (Dublin, 1993) has Smyth on Kings, saints and sagas, pp. 41-112, and MacShamhrain on a covenant involving Glendalough, pp. 139-50; Nolan, W. & O'Neill, T.P. (eds.), *Offaly: History and Society* (Dublin, 1998) includes Stout on Early Christian settlement, pp. 29-92, Fitzpatrick on the early church, pp. 93-130, and Sperber on the Life of St. Ciaran, pp. 131-52; Lane, W. & Nolan, W. (eds.), *Laois: History and Society* (Dublin, 1999) includes Johnston on Timahoe, pp. 63-88.

⁸ Elizabeth Fitzpatrick & Caimin O'Brien, *The medieval churches of Co Offaly* (Dublin, 1998) and Edward Culleton, *Celtic and Early Christian Wexford AD 400-1166*. (Dublin, 2000), are both commendable publications; less critical but still useful is Joseph Kennedy, *The Monastic heritage and folklore of County Laois*. (Roscrea, 2003); see also Ailbhe MacShamhrain, *Church and Polity in pre-Norman Ireland: the case of Glendalough* (Maynooth, 1996), and Ailbhe MacShamhrain (ed), *The Island of St. Patrick: church and ruling dynasties in Fingal and Meath 400-1148* (Dublin, 2004), especially the contributions by Thomas, MacShamhrain, Swift, Ryan et al., and Clarke.

historic towns atlas produced to date for Kildare, Kilkenny and Dublin.⁹ Published surveys for counties Dublin and Wexford give, respectively, 67 and 114 sites¹⁰; corresponding database figures from the present project (including a number of doubtful cases) are 181 and 148 respectively. But the concern here is not solely with number-crunching. It is not merely a question of who can produce the longest list of sites – but of how information relating to them can be classified, arranged and retrieved. It is a matter of creating data-fields so that diagnostic characteristics of sites can be ascertained – insofar as such information is available – and they can be recognized as (for example) having been associated with certain religious persons, with having been male or female foundations, with having been abbatial or episcopal in status, with having been (perhaps) part of a certain ecclesiastical grouping, and with having certain physical remains in the landscape. If such information can be retrieved on a region-by-region basis, patterns may emerge – and comparisons perhaps made – and our understanding of pre-Norman Irish ecclesiastical organization and settlement furthered as a result.

In regard to documentary sources for early ecclesiastical settlement in the south-east, or indeed in any part of Ireland, it certainly appears that a wide range of material is available, with ecclesiastical sites finding mention in the annals, the genealogies, and in various hagiographical tracts. On closer inspection, however, it emerges that annal-coverage is disappointingly thin. Whatever the merit of arguments that a contemporary chronicle – traceable in the compilation known as the Annals of Ulster – was kept at Clonard in the eighth century,¹¹ and that

⁹ J.H. Andrews, *Kildare*. Irish historic towns atlas, no. 1. (Dublin, 1986); John Bradley, *Kilkenny*. Irish historic towns atlas, no. 10. (Dublin, 2000); H.B. Clarke, *Dublin. Part I, to 1610*. Irish historic towns atlas, no. 11. (Dublin, 2002).

¹⁰ Geraldine Stout & Matthew Stout, 'Patterns in the past: Co. Dublin 5000 BC to 1000 AD', in F.H.A. Aalen & K. Whelan (eds), *Dublin city and county from prehistory to the present: studies in honour of J.H. Andrews* (Dublin, 1992), appendix v, 33; E. Culleton, *Celtic and Early Christian Wexford*, passim.

¹¹ Alfred P. Smyth, 'The earliest Irish annals: their first contemporary entries and the earliest centres of recording', *Roy. Ir. Acad. Proc.*, 72C (1972), 1-48, advances such a view.

later entries were made perhaps at some other recording-centre in the midlands or in western Leinster, annal-coverage for pre-Norman Leinster is relatively sparse. Only a few major centres (typically those which became diocesan sees) have anything approaching a complete succession-list, the number of foundations with a record which could fairly be described as substantial is undeniably small while a further scattering of sites are accorded one or two isolated references each. The scanty 'topographical coverage' of the annal-record – the (generally isolated) references to minor foundations in the hinterlands of major ecclesiastical settlements – is supplemented to a small degree by the pre-Norman secular genealogies. In the compilations known as Rawlinson B 502 and the Book of Leinster, genealogical tracts make occasional reference to ecclesiastical families which lived on church properties. For example, some of the Uí Rónáin (an offshoot of the Uí Bairrche dynasty which features prominently in ecclesiastical affairs) resided at Tech Mo-Sacru (Tassagart, or Saggart, Co Dublin), while Cenél Chobthaig (a lineage of the Uí Chennselaig dynasty) lived at Ard Ladrann (Ardamine, Co. Wexford).¹²

Of the documentary source-material available to us, however, it seems fair to suggest that hagiography (that genre of literature which – in an Irish context - includes the 'lives' of church-founders who were considered saints 'in the Irish tradition',¹³ but also martyrologies, genealogies of the saints and a variety of lists) has particular topographical value. The earliest Patrician hagiography – dating to the seventh century – pays at least some attention to the region here considered. Bishop Tírechán, whose surviving work is not a 'life' of

¹² For Uí Rónáin see Rawl. B 502, 121b 16; M.A. O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus genealogiarum Hiberniae* (Dublin, 1962), p. 48; A. MacShamhráin, *Church and polity*, pp. 152, 158 166 nn.3, 4; for Cenél Chobthaig see LL 316c; O'Brien (ed.), *Corpus geneal. Hib.*, p. 346; A. O'Sullivan (ed), *The Book of Leinster*, vol. 6 (Dublin, 1983), p. 1360.

¹³ The term 'saints in the Irish tradition' is used by the *Dictionary of Irish Biography* (forthcoming) in relation to these (mainly native) church founders of the Early Christian period, none of whom were canonised or internationally recognised as persons of sanctity.

Patrick but an account of his alleged travels in Ireland, places the saint's first landfall in Ireland at Inis Pátraic (St. Patrick's Island), near Skerries in the diocese and county of Dublin. The episode, in fact, probably related to Palladius – the bishop sent in 431 by Pope Celestine.¹⁴ A subsequent itinerary brings Patrick to Cell Usailli and Cell Chuilinn (Kilashee and Kilcullen, Co. Kildare), where he places Auxilius and Mac-Táil allegedly his disciples, and on to Slébtíu (Sleaty, Co. Laois) where he is said to have ordained Bishop Fiacc.¹⁵ The entire sequence is a paradigm of the extension of Patrician ecclesiastical authority into the realm of the Leinstermen – whose particular patron saint was Brigit. By comparison, Brigidine hagiography (although assuming that the saint's principal centre was at Kildare) is disappointing in its coverage of the later historical Leinster – its compilers directing their main attentions to the midlands where, in the seventh century (and perhaps into the eighth?), Kildare was disputing ecclesiastical supremacy with Armagh. The Irish 'life' of St. Brigit (seemingly an eighth-century product) places two of its episodes in Co. Dublin; at Cell Laisre (Kilossery, Barony of Nethercross, or Killester, Barony of Coolock) and at Cell Shuird – which was probably adjacent to Swords.¹⁶ It may be significant that the Latin 'life' of Dar-Erca – alias Mo-Nenna – of Killeavy (in its present form a twelfth-century work, but which likely incorporates much older material) makes Cell Shuird the location of a dispute said to have taken place with Cóemgen of Glendalough concerning territorial possessions near her caput in Co. Armagh.¹⁷ An earlier episode claims that Mo-Nenna studied under Bishop Íbar, at his south Leinster see of Becc Ériu (Beggary Island,

¹⁴ Tírechán, *Collectanea*; Ludwig Bieler, *Patrician texts in the Book of Armagh* (Dublin, 1979), 125-7; see Charles Thomas, 'Palladius and Patrick', in A. MacShamhráin (ed.), *The Island of St Patrick* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 13-37; esp. 15, 29, 37.

¹⁵ *Bethu Phátraic*, ed. Kathleen Mulchrone (Dublin, 1939), pp. 19-20, 112-17.

¹⁶ *Bethu Brigti*, ed. Donncha Ó hAodha (Dublin 1978), §§ 42, 44-5, see commentary pp. xii, 61 n.531, 90.

¹⁷ Ulster Society for Medieval Latin Studies (eds), 'The Life of Mo-Nenna by Conchobranus', *Seanchas Ardmacha*, 9 no. 2 (1979-80), 266-8; MacShamhráin, *Church and polity*, p. 189.

Wexford Harbour) and established a community nearby at Ard Chonais (location uncertain – perhaps at or near Kilmannon, Barony of Bargy).¹⁸

A number of other saints, whose origins are traced to Laigin (Leinster) lineages or who are otherwise closely associated with south-eastern Ireland, are accorded Latin ‘lives’ (surviving in twelfth-century versions, but in many cases incorporating material as old as the eighth century) which are richer in topographical content than the late-medieval Irish lives. Included here are ‘lives’ of Cóemgen of Glendalough (Co. Wicklow), Fintan of Clonenagh (Co. Laois), Mo-Ling of St Mullins and Mo-Laisse of Leighlin (both in Co. Carlow) M’áedóc of Ferns, Munnu of Taghmon, and Abbán of Moyarney (all three in Co. Wexford). Other saintly figures whose principal foundations lie outside the historical overkingdom of Leinster are accorded close connections with the area; Finnian of Clonard (Co. Meath) is traced to a Leinster lineage and is said to have established his first church at Aghowle (Co. Wicklow). Mo-Chóemóg of Leaghmore (Co. Tipperary) is claimed as the founder of Annatrim (Co. Laois), and as the teacher of Dagán of Ennereilly (Co. Wicklow). Significantly, there are other sources which claim that Annatrim and Ennereilly were both under the authority of Glendalough.¹⁹ By the same token, Cainnech of Aghaboe (Co. Laois) – whose foundation was, for a time, the diocesan see of Ossory under the metropolitan jurisdiction of Dublin – has an involvement with Killeigh (Co. Offaly) and is said to have placed Leth-dumae (in Co. Kildare) in the charge of

¹⁸ Ulster Society (eds), ‘Life of Mo-Nenna’, 266-8; the episode is noted by Culleton.

¹⁹ Vita Sancti Mo-Choemog, §§ 11, 26; Charles Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), ii, pp. 168, 178; elsewhere (Rawlinson B 502, 120b) Cóemán (= Mo-Chóemóc) of Enach Truim is claimed as a kinsman of Cóemgen and is listed among the saints of Dál Messin Corb (LL 350a), Dagán is likewise linked to Ceoemgen’s kin of Dál Messin Corb (LL 351f, 372c, 373a), while his foundation of Inber Daeile was among the possessions of the abbacy of Glendalough in the twelfth century; MacShamhráin, *Church and polity*, pp. 174, 180, 191, 193.

Mo-Libbo, a saint also claimed as a disciple of Cóemgen of Glendalough.²⁰

In addition to the sources considered above, the available body of topographical data is further supplemented by the martyrologies – or by the extensive notes, which are particularly a feature of the ninth-century Martyrology of Óengus, having been added at various stages up to and including the twelfth century. There are also (as noted above) a variety of lists, including catalogues of bishops, priests, holy men and women, in addition to litanies and hymns, and comments on the genealogies of the saints – many of which associate saintly figures with otherwise unknown foundations, or elaborate on the location of sites named in other sources.²¹ Finally, there is a range of post-Norman sources, including charters and papal letters. All such documents are not only later in chronology than the period covered by the present project – but relate to a church which had changed in composition and in organization since the twelfth century. Nonetheless, a case can be made for making appeal to them in at least some situations, on the grounds that they may preserve the only historical witness to a site, which – by virtue of its native dedication or even placename – may validly be considered as a pre-reform foundation.²²

²⁰ Vita Sancti Cainnici, §§ 15, 32; Charles Plummer (ed.), *Vitae Sanctorum Hiberniae* (Oxford, 1910), i, pp. 158, 164; a litany (LL 373b) includes Mo-Libbo in the *familia* of Cóemgen, while genealogical notes (LL 372c, 373a) overlook his tribal designation of moccu Araide (=> Dál nAraide) and endeavour to represent him as an immediate kinsman – a nephew – of the Glendalough saint; Cell Mo-Libbo (unlocated, but perhaps in the par. Dunganstown, Bar. Arklow, Co. Wicklow) was among the twelfth-century possessions of the abbacy of Glendalough; MacShamhráin, *Church and polity*, pp. 116-17, 118, 193.

²¹ On these lists and their value to the historian, along with references to further discussion, see Mac Shamhráin, *Church and polity*, chap 1.

²² A papal letter (Eugene IV to archbishop of Dublin, Id. April 1443; *Lateran Regesta*, CCCV, 59); J.A. Twemlow, *Calendar of Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, IX, AD 1431-47 (London, 1912), p. 393, attests that Drumkay church (par Rathnew, Bar. Newcastle, Co. Wicklow) carried a medieval dedication to St. Berchán, who is assigned Dál Messin Corb ancestry

Of course there are substantial numbers of sites across the region – as there are throughout Ireland as a whole – which do not feature in the historical record at all, in addition to many (often assumed to be minor, but not always with justification) which find fleeting mention in the sources but remain unidentified. In pursuit of non-documentary evidence to further their inquiry, it is probably fair to say that historians resort most often to archaeology for help in relation to the many identifiable ecclesiastical sites that dot the landscape. While few of Ireland’s better-known church remains have been excavated, field survey (especially with improved methodologies of recent decades) has made an important contribution. Understanding of the morphology of early ecclesiastical settlements has advanced over time, as perimeter boundaries and even internal features have been discovered at a number of locations. As it is generally accepted by Irish archaeologists that circular enclosures are characteristically pre-Norman, sites such as Killabeg (Par. Clane, Bar. Scarawalsh) and Ballycanew (Par. Ballyoughter, Bar. Gorey), both located in Co. Wexford, although completely undocumented and unexcavated, are included in the database as ‘possible’ early foundations. In regard to standing church remains, clear evidence of pre-twelfth century construction is rare enough in Ireland as a whole – and even rarer in the region considered here.²³ Debate on the chronology of round

and had close Glendalough connections. A Cistercian charter of 1186 preserves mention of the placename ‘Douenachbinn’, since lost but which was apparently in the parish of Dalkey, Co. Dublin; John T. Gilbert (ed), *Chartularies of St. Mary’s Abbey, Dublin* (London, 1884). The survival of extinct placenames in later medieval and early modern sources has implications not only for site-distribution, but for the distribution of specific classes of foundation – in this instance the ‘domnach’ class. See MacShamhráin, *Church and polity*, 200; idem, ‘The Monasticon Hibernicum Project: the diocese of Dublin’, Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin*, VI (Dublin, 2005, forthcoming)

²³ Peter Harbison, ‘Early Irish Churches’, in H. Löwe (ed.), *Die Iren und Europa in früheren Mittelalter*. I (Stuttgart, 1982), pp. 618-29, discusses the dating of early church remains; Conleth Manning, ‘References to church buildings in the annals’, in A. P. Smyth (ed.), *Seanchas: Studies in Early and Medieval Irish archaeology, history and literature in honour of Francis J. Byrne*

towers continues but, although it is accepted that at least some are pre twelfth-century there is little to suggest that any of the towers in the south-east belong to the earliest (tenth or eleventh-century) group.²⁴ In a great many cases, material remains which may indicate a pre-Norman date for a site – even where such has come to light – will take modest forms such as crosses (the simpler forms), burial slabs or bullaun stones. But aside from helping to date sites which are already identified as features in the landscape, archaeology (especially through aerial and geophysical survey) has increased the volume of available evidence through revealing sites hitherto unknown. In Co. Dublin alone during 2003, two double enclosures – in each case with an outer circle some 200m in diameter - were discovered; one surrounding a small complex of ecclesiastical remains, but the other in a Greenfield site devoid of surface indications.²⁵

Other academic disciplines relevant to the study of historical settlement include toponymy (or placename-study) and the study of folk tradition. From the historian's point of view, however, there are difficulties here. While it can be argued that some placename elements indicative of ecclesiastical settlement are datable – in broad terms – others are less so. Flanagan's argument that the element *domnach* (from the British Latin *dominicum*, a church; Anglicised as Donagh- or Donny-) ceased to be used for coining placenames c.600 AD has gained widespread acceptance – along with its distributional implications for

(Dublin, 2000), pp. 37-52; 49, considers that the walls of the *damliacc* (stone church) of Kilcullen (Co. Kildare), mentioned in the annals at 1037, may be incorporated into the surviving remains.

²⁴ For recent listings and discussion of round towers see Brian Lalor, *The Irish round tower* (Cork, 1999), and Tadhg O'Keeffe, *Ireland's round towers* (London, 2003).

²⁵ In both instances the geophysical survey was carried out by John Nicholls; see A. MacShamhráin 'An ecclesiastical enclosure in the townland of Grange, parish of Holmpatrick', A. MacShamhráin (ed.), *The Island of St. Patrick*. (Dublin, 2004), 52-60; Christine Baker, 'A lost ecclesiastical site in Fingal: Oldtown, Swords, Co. Dublin', *Archaeology Ireland*, 18 no. 3 (Autumn, 2004), 14-17.

early Christianity in Ireland.²⁶ Certain other placename elements are, however, more problematic. One difficulty with Cell (from the Latin cella) is the scope for confusion between its Anglicised form (generally Kil[l], but sometimes Kyle) and that of Cail (a wood; usually Kyle but occasionally Kil[l]). Another issue – of an entirely different order - is that of datability; although the spelling cell was superseded by cill in the Middle Irish period, the term continued to be used in placename coinage into Early Modern times – so (potential) ecclesiastical sites commencing with Kil[l] need not be pre-Norman (or strictly speaking, even medieval) on the basis of their placename alone. Concerns regarding datability also apply to folk custom and belief. Oral traditions associating Irish saints (even some of the less well-known personages) with church sites or holy wells, or the practice of a ‘saint’s pattern-day’ at a well, or the survival of indented stones upon which the saint supposedly stood or knelt are essentially undatable. They may merely reflect popular devotion of (early) modern times, and so have no bearing on early or medieval ecclesiastical relationships. As a general rule, placenames or folk traditions, which are unsupported by historical or archaeological testimony, do not provide good evidence for early churches or their associations but are merely ‘indicators’ to sites which (if included in the database at all) might be classed as ‘possible’ or ‘doubtful’.

Aside from consideration of sources (documentary or otherwise), other issues of concern to the project include the structuring of data. Clearly, many lines of inquiry which relate to the early church in Ireland – including cult dissemination, gender politics, ecclesiastical organization and settlement – have a spatial dimension. This has prompted arrangement of the database so that ecclesiastical sites are located in accordance with the ‘traditional’ administrative divisions of townland, civil parish, barony and county - arranged in ascending order. Of course the civil administrative divisions have ecclesiastical parallels, in the form of parish, deanery and diocese. The object is that data can be retrieved

²⁶ Deirdre Flanagan, ‘The Christian impact on early Ireland: the placenames evidence’, P. Ní Chatháin & M. Richter (eds), *Ireland and Europe: the early church* (Stuttgart, 1984), pp. 25-51.

relating to specific classes of site in any division (or group of divisions) within the country.

As the database stands, it does not facilitate many firm conclusions. So far confined to the south-east (which might or might not be typical of the rest of the country), there are still areas even within that region for which data-collection is not yet complete. Nonetheless, certain broad trends can already be observed – including the dissemination of saints' cults at local level. It is interesting to note, for example, that sites with Brigidine associations (both historically documented sites and 'traditional' dedications) are almost equally numerous in north Co. Dublin (which lay outside the Leinster overkingdom), where there are eight, as in the south of the county (which was within the historical realm of the Leinstermen), where there are nine. It is curious to contrast this with Co. Kildare; the north of the county (where St. Brigit's caput is located) is well endowed with Brigidine sites, whereas the south is devoid of them. By the same token, in Co. Wexford, sites associated with St. Abban tend to cluster in the south-west of the county, in the Barony of Bantry and in the adjacent baronies of Shelbourne and Shelmaliere West. It must, of course, be allowed that cult-dissemination patterns (or indeed any other ostensible trends) extrapolated from the data may be more apparent than real; but their very observation raises questions which call for further investigation.

Amongst other issues, debates concerning gender politics and ecclesiastical organization in the early Irish church have featured prominently in the historical literature of recent years. As it happens, general observations to the effect that women's foundations were relatively few in number and tended to be located in close proximity to men's houses,²⁷ find broad support in the data collected so far. What has yet to emerge, with expansion of the database, are overall numbers of sites or indications of the frequency with which they adjoin male foundations. There are, however, more fundamental questions relating to Ireland's ecclesiastical organization in the period before diocesan reform

²⁷ Lisa Bitel, *Land of women* (Ithaca & London, 1996), p. 174; Christina Harrington, *Women in a Celtic Church* (Oxford, 2002), p. 105ff.

– including those concerning models of authority and the delineation of episcopal and coarbial spheres of jurisdiction.²⁸ One difficulty here is that constructs (although formed in the light of surviving ecclesiastical legislation) have been based for expedience on a limited selection of sites identified from hagiographical or annalistic sources. The expansion of data on sites, and their arrangement in a regional framework, will better facilitate apprehension of distribution patterns, spheres of overlap and – most importantly - dynastic political contexts.

An example, which may be considered briefly here, is Becc Ériu (Beggary Island, Wexford Harbour) and its founder St. Íbar, who allegedly was involved in conflict with St. Patrick. As noted above, the seventh-century work of Tírechán leaves off its Leinster itinerary at Sleaty (in south-eastern Co. Laois), with Patrick proceeding some distance down the Nore Valley (as is implied) before making a westbound exit from Leinster through the Pass of Gowran. However, later Patrician material including ‘additamenta’ to the Book of Armagh and the Tripartite Life (dating to c.900), bring Patrick further south-east to Domnach Mór Maige Críathair (Donaghmore, Barony of Ballaghkeen, Co. Wexford) and on to Inis Fáil and Inis Becc (islands, now vanished, formerly located in Wexford Harbour).²⁹ At these last-mentioned sites he left Mo-Chattóc, Mo-Chonnóc and Augustin as his representatives. Presumably, these episodes reflect an extension of Patrician authority, into the areas now represented by the baronies of Ballaghkeen and Shelmaliere, which took place after Tírechán’s time - perhaps in the eighth century. There are problems here if Armagh’s claims are viewed purely in episcopal/territorial terms. Just as Tírechán himself referred to disputes with Clonmacnois and the Columban community, which seem to have involved property rather than notional obedience, so there are indications that Armagh disputed possessions with Becc Ériu. Perhaps there was an assumption that the bishop of Becc Ériu was subject to the

²⁸ For a comprehensive overview of recent thinking on such matters, see Colmán Etchingham, *Church organization in Ireland A.D. 650 to 1000* (Maynooth, 1999).

²⁹ *Bethu Phátraic*, ed. Kathleen Mulchrone (Dublin, 1939), pp. 19-20, 112-17.

bishop of Armagh – although there is no express claim that Íbar was appointed by Patrick or submitted to him. Nor is there an explicit claim upon Íbar’s see – unless Becc Ériu is to be identified with Inis Becc (as Gwynn and Hadcock suggest) although this is not at all certain. At the very least, though, Armagh is laying claim to sites on the doorstep of Beggary Island. It can further be inferred from various fragments of hagiographical data in the Book of Leinster that Armagh appropriated sites in south Co. Wexford associated with St. Cóemán – and that such privileges were disputed by Becc Ériu. A prose list of Armagh dependents includes (with something of a pun) Cóemán as Patrick’s *maccóem* (‘fair son’ = fosterling); although the immediate connection here is with Cell Riatae, it emerges from the Tripartite Life that the Armagh community identified Cóemán as the son of Talán of Dál nAraide, who is elsewhere associated with Airdne Chóemáin.³⁰ It is not clear if this claim related only to Airdne (Ardcavan, Barony of Shelmaliere East, Co. Wexford), or if it extended to other sites associated with Cóemán (there are several Kilcavans in Co Wexford). Other material in the Book of Leinster, however, and notes in the Martyrology of Óengus, reveal counter-claims (presumably of Becc Ériu provenance) to the effect that Cóemán was a kinsman of Íbar, had been liberated from servitude through his efforts, and that physical conflict with Armagh supporters had taken place.³¹

Hagiographical material of this order, it must be acknowledged, poses its own difficulties for the historian. Not least among these are issues of dating. As the Book of Leinster is a twelfth-century compilation, and notes were added to the ninth-century Martyrology of Óengus over a span of some three hundred years, it might be suggested that these sources reflect a conflict between Becc Ériu and Armagh in the context of the

³⁰ LL 349b, 353d; *Bk Leinster*, VI, pp. 1547, 1584; *Vita Trip.* ii, §108; *Bethu Phátraic*, p. 67.

³¹ LL 371d (a prologue for a Life of Íbar, which does not survive), 372a; *Bk Leinster*, VI, pp. 1690-1, 1692; see notes at 23 April, 12 June, *Féilire Óengusso Céili Dé: the Martyrology of Oengus the Culdee*, ed. Whitley Stokes, Henry Bradshaw Society (London, 1905), pp. 118, 119, 148, 149.

diocesan reform. However, there is nothing to suggest that Becc Ériu even prospered – much less was being advanced as an Episcopal see as late as the twelfth century. The site was plundered by Vikings in 821, and a subsequent transfer of relics from Wexford Harbour locations to Sleaty suggests that the area fell into decline.³² On balance, therefore, the conflict with Armagh is more likely to have occurred at an earlier date. The scope for debate, however, serves to illustrate the potential role of this database in future historical inquiry – especially if the many sites recorded therein are viewed in the context of political geography. But that, it must be said, is another task.

Ailbhe MacShamhráin
National University of Ireland, Maynooth
macsh@elivfree.net

³² *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, ed. John O'Donovan, 7 vols (Dublin 1851; reprint New York, 1966), at A.D. 819 = 821; *Bethu Phátraic*, p. 117.

CATALOGUING THE COTTON MANUSCRIPTS

1. Scope and aims of the cataloguing project

Thanks to a grant from the Neil Ker Memorial Fund, the contents and make-up of 25 Cotton manuscripts in The British Library, London, have recently been described according to modern standards. The Cottonian collection is justifiably renowned as a medieval treasure-trove, home (among other items) to the Lindisfarne Gospels, the *Beowulf*-manuscript, and numerous monastic chronicles and cartularies. It comprises more than 1,000 manuscripts, together with innumerable rolls, maps and single-sheet charters, the vast majority of which were collected by the antiquarian scholar and Parliamentarian Sir Robert Cotton (d. 1631). Cotton's manuscript-library was bequeathed to the nation by his grandson, Sir John (d. 1702), and formed one of the foundation-collections of the British Museum in 1753, before becoming part of the new British Library in 1973.

Sir Robert and his heirs drew up handwritten catalogues of their manuscripts, and typically affixed a list of the respective contents at the front of each volume. These records were utilized to produce the two printed catalogues of the Cottonian collection, published by Thomas Smith in 1696, and under the direction of Joseph Planta in 1802. (A subject-catalogue based on Smith, and including the Cotton charters, was published by Samuel Hooper in 1777.) Smith's catalogue effectively reproduces the research assembled by the Cotton family; while Planta copied Smith's work largely verbatim, although adding notes of foliation, and providing more detailed inventories of the early modern volumes on paper. Curiously, Planta abbreviated some of Smith's descriptions of the medieval manuscripts, which is to be greatly regretted because his catalogue is more widely available than its counterpart, and more frequently consulted by modern users.

The published catalogues of the Cottonian collection are deficient in certain respects. Some medieval texts are identified incorrectly or imperfectly, or even ignored completely. The catalogue entries seldom report the medieval ownership of these manuscripts, and those dates

which are supplied are often inaccurate. A substantial proportion of the manuscripts comprise two or more items of independent origin, bound together in the seventeenth century; but the existing catalogues invariably fail to differentiate between the separate parts of a volume. In 1731, a fire broke out while the Cotton library remained in storage at Ashburnham House in London, with many items being damaged and a few entirely destroyed. Planta elected not to describe these mutilated manuscripts, recording them as lost or beyond salvation; most were nonetheless restored during the nineteenth century, and can still be consulted today. The foliation reported by Planta is also now redundant; while the order of certain Cotton manuscripts has been rearranged since the compilation of the 1802 catalogue, with new items occasionally added.

Much of our knowledge of the Cottonian collection is dependent directly on the research conducted by Sir Robert and his family in the late-sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, at a time when the study of handwriting and illumination was in its infancy, and when the majority of medieval texts had still to be published (many early editions were taken from copies in Cotton's library, which frequently remain the unique witnesses of the works in question). Ongoing study continues to reveal the information available to the Cotton family, and the activities of those who gained access to the library in its early years. However, it must be admitted that modern understanding of medieval book-collections and production, and of the lives and works of particular authors, has advanced considerably since the seventeenth century, to which period the existing Cotton catalogues are indebted. The time is therefore ripe to produce new descriptions of the Cotton manuscripts, a resource of immense importance for anyone interested in medieval history, literature and culture.

The current project has aimed to catalogue all those Cotton manuscripts in which a major component is a work by the following twelfth-century historians: Gervase of Canterbury, Henry of Huntingdon, Ralph de Diceto, Symeon of Durham and William of Malmesbury. Each manuscript has been described in its entirety, reporting for every item its origin and provenance, its date, language, script and decoration, and the existence of editions and photographic reproductions. These descriptions

are to be made available for public consultation, via the British Library's online catalogue, with a printed version (supplying additional information) being provided in the BL Manuscripts Reading Room. For those whose interests extend to other areas, trial descriptions have also been prepared of Cotton manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England (Vitellius A. XIX) and Wales (Cleopatra B. V), a monastic cartulary (Julius D. I), and items damaged in the 1731 fire, and consequently omitted in the 1802 catalogue (Tiberius E. IV & Vitellius D. V). Each manuscript has been sub-divided according to its individual components, as listed below.

The medieval ownership of certain Cotton manuscripts has been established for the first time (updating N. R. Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* and the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues), while previously unrecorded copies of some texts have been discovered. However, many items remain unprovenanced, and in a few instances are still unidentified, for which any further information would be gratefully received. The British Library will also be pleased to learn of important scholarly discussions, editions or facsimiles of the manuscripts described, which may have inadvertently escaped attention. It is intended that these new Cotton descriptions be updatable, a major advantage of online publication. It is also hoped that entries may be added for other Cotton manuscripts on a progressive basis, as funding allows and as public demand warrants. If you find this new catalogue useful, or you can suggest means for its improvement, do not hesitate to contact Rachel Stockdale (Head of Manuscripts Cataloguing and Collection Management) at the British Library: all feedback will be welcomed.

Attention should be drawn here to other recent publications and related projects on the Cotton collection, all of particular benefit to monastic historians.

1. Comprehensive descriptions of Cotton manuscripts which contain Old English (as recorded in N. R. Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*) are currently being compiled by Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile (project director Professor A. N.

Doane, University of Wisconsin). A full list is available on the ASMMF website:

<http://mendota.english.wisc.edu/~ASMMF/index.htm>

25 descriptions have already been published, including Vitellius A. XIX, Vespasian A. XXII & Faustina A. V (all catalogued separately for the current project to take account of recent publications and editions).

2. Cotton manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon or early Norman origin and provenance are recorded by Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001), with a supplement in *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), and Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford, 1999).

3. For the Anglo-Saxon charters in the Cottonian collection, including facsimiles of selected examples, see the Revised Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters:

<http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww>

4. Descriptions of 11 Cotton manuscripts, vastly superior to those in the published catalogues, have been supplied by Julia C. Crick, *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth*, 3, *A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1989).

5. Nigel Ramsay's 'Cotton Manuscripts: Draft Descriptions and Bibliographies', compiled in the 1990s and treating individual items in selected volumes, is available in two versions, in loose-leaf binders in the Manuscripts Reading Room of the British Library, and online:

<http://www.sheffield.ac.uk/hri/cotton.htm>

6. A survey of the early modern owners and users of manuscripts in the Cottonian collection is provided by Colin G. C. Tite, *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use* (London, 2003).

2. How to access the descriptions

The new descriptions of these 25 Cotton manuscripts will be made available from November 2004 as part of the British Library's online catalogue, and in more detailed form as separate print-outs in the BL

Manuscripts Reading Room. (For opening times and transport details, see the British Library website: www.bl.uk)

The British Library Manuscripts Online Catalogue is accessible at: <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts.html>

Select the 'Main Manuscripts Catalogue'; click on 'Descriptions Search'; enter a keyword (such as the name of an author or religious house), or choose 'Find a specific manuscript', selecting Cotton as the collection.

If citing one of the new descriptions in print, please use the wording of the following example, including the URL:

British Library Manuscripts Online Catalogue (Revised Cotton Descriptions), Cotton Julius B. XIII

<<http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts.html>>

(Please note: the other Cotton entries in the BL's online catalogue are taken directly from Planta's 1802 catalogue, and are easily recognizable, being written in Latin.)

Any questions, or recommendations of manuscripts which deserve to be catalogued, should be sent to:

julianpharrison@hotmail.com

All additions and corrections should be directed to:

Rachel Stockdale,
Head of Manuscripts Cataloguing and Collection Management,
Department of Manuscripts, The British Library,
96 Euston Road, London NW1 2DB
Rachel.Stockdale@bl.uk

3. Manuscripts catalogued

Julius B. XIII (§I Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Chronicle*; Melrose Chronicle;
§II Gerald of Wales, *De principis instructione*)

Julius D. I (§I Psalter-fragment; §II Ros family pedigree; §III Rievaulx
cartulary)

- Tiberius A. IX (§I Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Prophetie Merlini*; Ralph de Diceto, *Opuscula*; Osney Chronicle, etc; §II Thomas Sprott, *Chronicle*)
- Tiberius A. XII (§I William of Malmesbury, *Commentary on Lamentations*; §II Alexander Nequam, *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*)
- Tiberius E. IV (Winchcombe Chronicle; calendar; Bede, *De temporum ratione*, etc)
- Caligula A. VIII (§I Beauchief obituary calendar; §II *Libellus de primo Saxonum uel Normannorum aduentu*; *Historia Brittonum*, etc; §IIIa Eadmer of Canterbury, *Uita sancti Wilfridi*; Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, *Uita sancte Werburge*, etc; §IIIb *Uita sancti Birini*; Wulfstan of Winchester, *Uita sancti Æthelwoldi*; §IIIc Adrevald of Fleury, *Miracula sancti Benedicti*; *Passio sancte Katerine*; Vision of the Monk of Eynsham, etc)
- Claudius A. V (§I Peterborough Chronicle; §II William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum & Uita sancti Aldhelmi*; §III *Uita sancti Erkenwaldi*; *Uita et miracula sancte Wenfrede*; *Uita sancti Neoti*; William of Malmesbury, *Uita sancti Wulfstani*)
- Claudius C. IX (§I Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Chronicle*; §II William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*; §III Abingdon *Liber terrarum*; §IV Abingdon indices)
- Claudius E. III (§I Ralph de Diceto, *Abbreuiationes chronicorum & Ymages historiarum*; Winchester Chronicle; §II Henry Knighton, *Chronicle*; Ps.-Rishanger, *Chronicle*; Titus Livius, *Uita Henrici quinti*)
- Otho B. XIV (§I Sheen inventory; §II Pipewell register; §III Chronicles of English history, AD 597-1535 & Brutus-AD 1143/4; §IV Ramsey registers); former Otho B. XIV (Lenton cartulary)
- Otho D. VII (Ralph de Diceto, *Abbreuiationes chronicorum & Ymages historiarum*; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Genealogia regum Anglorum*; Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*)
- Vitellius A. XIX (Bede, *Lives of St Cuthbert*)
- Vitellius D. V (York decrees)
- Vespasian A. VI (§I Genealogy & history of kings of France; §II

- Cistercian foundation-list; §III Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*; §IV Ely almoner's cartulary; §V *De spiritu Guydonis*; Henry of Sawtry, *De purgatorio sancti Patricii*; miracles of Simon de Montfort, etc)
- Vespasian A. XVIII (§I Henry of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*; Aelred of Rievaulx, *Genealogia regum Anglorum*; §II Ramsey register; §III Letter-book of Simon de Eye, abbot of Ramsey; §IV Ecclesiastical lists; §V *Quedam exceptiones de hystoria Normannorum et Anglorum*; §VI Medieval endleaves of §I)
- Vespasian A. XXII (Rochester chronicles & register)
- Vespasian B. XIX (Gervase of Canterbury, *Chronicles*)
- Vespasian D. XIX (§I Nigel Witeker, *Poems*, etc; §II Ely Chronicle; §III Easter-table chronicle; §IV Hildebert of Le Mans, letters & sermons)
- Vespasian E. IX (§I Westwood cartulary; §II *Uita sancti Wulfstani*; *Uita sancti Hugonis episcopi Lincolnensis*; §III Chronicle from Noah to AD 1334; §IV *The Nouble of Weyghtes*; §V John of Worcester, *Chronicle*, AD 1118-1131, transcribed *saec. xvi*; §VI Old Welsh glossary; §VII Early modern index)
- Titus A. II (Durham chronicles including Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*)
- Domitian A. VIII (§I *Libellus de primo Saxonum uel Normannorum aduentu*; §II Chronicle from Noah to Louis the Pious; §III Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, F-text; §IV Robert de Torigni, *Chronicle*; §V *Quadripartitus*; §VI Henry of Huntingdon, *De contemptu mundi*; §VII Welsh cantrefi; genealogical chronicle of kings of England; §VIII Gloucester Chronicle & record of donations; §IX *Scutum Dei triangulum*; abecedarium; calendar)
- Cleopatra B. V (§I *Brut y Brenhinedd*; *Brenhinedd y Saesson*; §II Welsh laws; §III *Ystoria Dared*)
- Cleopatra C. X (§I Ralph Niger, *Chronicle*; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Prophetie Merlini*; §II Rules for electing the city office-holders of Norwich; §III Glastonbury Chronicle; §IV *Liber miraculorum sancte uirginis Marie*; Ralph d'Escures, *Homilia de assumptione Marie*; §V

- Prester John, *Epistola ad Manuelem imperatorem*; *Descriptio sanctorum locorum*; Joachimite prophecy, etc)
- Faustina A. V (§I Letters & sermons; §II Richard Rolle, *Emendatio uite*; §III Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*; §IV *De signis*; Ps.-Anselm, *De Antichristo*; §V Sermons)
- Faustina A. VIII (§I Bartholomew of Exeter, *De penitencia*, etc; §II Ralph de Diceto, *Opuscula*; Southwark Chronicle; Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Prophetie Merlini*; Southwark register, etc)

4. Authors

- Abbo of Fleury (Tiberius E. IV)
- Adrevald of Fleury (Caligula A. VIII)
- Aelred of Rievaulx (Otho D. VII; Vespasian A. XVIII)
- Alexander Nequam (Tiberius A. XII)
- Bartholomew of Exeter (Faustina A. VIII)
- Bede (Tiberius E. IV; Vitellius A. XIX)
- Dionysius Exiguus (Tiberius E. IV)
- Eadmer of Canterbury (Caligula A. VIII)
- Geoffrey of Coldingham (Titus A. II)
- Geoffrey of Monmouth (Tiberius A. IX; Cleopatra C. X; Faustina A. VIII)
- Gerald of Wales (Julius B. XIII)
- Gervase of Canterbury (Vespasian B. XIX)
- Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (Caligula A. VIII)
- Helperic of Grandval (Tiberius E. IV)
- Henry of Huntingdon (Otho D. VII; Vespasian A. XVIII; Domitian A. VIII)
- Henry Knighton (Claudius E. III)
- Henry of Sawtry (Vespasian A. VI)
- Hildebert of Le Mans (Vespasian D. XIX)
- Hugh of Saint-Victor (Julius B. XIII; Claudius C. IX)
- John of Worcester (Vespasian E. IX)
- Nigel Witeker (Vespasian D. XIX)
- Ralph de Diceto (Tiberius A. IX; Claudius E. III; Otho D. VII;

Vespasian A. XXII; Faustina A. VIII)
 Ralph d'Escures (Cleopatra C. X)
 Ralph Niger (Cleopatra C. X)
 Richard Rolle (Faustina A. V)
 Robert Graystanes (Titus A. II)
 Robert of Hereford (Tiberius E. IV)
 Robert de Torigni (Domitian A. VIII)
 Symeon of Durham (Caligula A. VIII; Vespasian A. VI; Titus A. II;
 Faustina A. V)
 Thierry of Fleury (Caligula A. VIII)
 Thomas Sprott (Tiberius A. IX)
 Titus Livius (Claudius E. III)
 Walcher of Great Malvern (Tiberius E. IV)
 Walter de Bibbesworth (Vespasian A. VI)
 William of Jumièges (Vespasian A. XVIII)
 William of Malmesbury (Tiberius A. XII; Claudius A. V; Claudius C.
 IX; Cleopatra C. X)
 Wulfstan of Winchester (Caligula A. VIII)

5. Medieval origin and provenance

Benedictine:

Abingdon (Claudius C. IX)
 Battle (Claudius C. IX)
 Belvoir (Claudius A. V)
 Christ Church, Canterbury (Vespasian B. XIX; Vespasian D. XIX;
 Domitian A. VIII)
 St Augustine's, Canterbury (Tiberius A. IX; ?Vitellius A. XIX;
 Vespasian A. XVIII)
 Deeping (Julius B. XIII)
 Durham (?Vespasian A. VI; ?Titus A. II; Faustina A. V)
 Ely (Caligula A. VIII; Vespasian A. VI; Vespasian D. XIX)
 Evesham (?Vespasian A. VI)
 Eynsham (Tiberius A. XII)
 Glastonbury (?Cleopatra C. X)

Gloucester (Domitian A. VIII)
St Guthlac's, Hereford (?Domitian A. VIII)
Peterborough (Claudius A. V)
Ramsey (Otho B. XIV; Vespasian A. XVIII)
Rochester (Vespasian A. XXII)
Thorney (Vitellius D. V)
Winchcombe (Tiberius E. IV)
Winchester (?Caligula A. VIII; Claudius E. III; ?Faustina A. V)
Worcester (Claudius C. IX)

Cluniac:

Lenton (former Otho B. XIV)
Lewes (?Otho D. VII)

Cistercian:

Fountains (Faustina A. V)
Grace Dieu (Vespasian A. VI)
Holme Cultram (Claudius A. V)
Long Bennington (Domitian A. VIII)
Melrose (Julius B. XIII)
Pipewell (Otho B. XIV)
Rievaulx (Julius D. I; Vitellius D. V)
Valle Crucis (Cleopatra B. V)

Carthusian:

Sheen (Otho B. XIV)

Augustinian:

Osney (Tiberius A. IX)
Southwark (Faustina A. VIII)

Premonstratensian:

Beauchief (Caligula A. VIII)

Austin friars

York (Vespasian D. XIX)

Benedictine nuns

Westwood (Vespasian E. IX)

6. Medieval cartularies and registers (G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain*)

- Davis 3 (Abingdon: Claudius C. IX)
- Davis 204 (St Augustine's, Canterbury: Tiberius A. IX)
- Davis 373 (Ely: Vespasian A. VI)
- Davis 458 (Gloucester: Domitian A. VIII)
- Davis 551 (Lenton: former Otho B. XIV)
- Davis 778 (Pipewell: Otho B. XIV)
- Davis 795 (Ramsey: Otho B. XIV)
- Davis 796 (Ramsey: Vespasian A. XVIII)
- Davis 811 (Rievaulx: Julius D. I)
- Davis 821 (Rochester: Vespasian A. XXII)
- Davis 891 (Sheen: Otho B. XIV)
- Davis 909 (Southwark: Faustina A. VIII)
- Davis 965 (Thorney: Vitellius D. V)
- Davis 1024 (Westwood: Vespasian E. IX)

Julian Harrison
julianpharrison@hotmail.com

RECENT RESEARCH ON THE CARMELITE ORDER

Even medievalists would be forgiven for thinking that the Carmelite Order consists solely of nuns! This is because Doctors of the Church such as Teresa of Jesus (of Avila) and Thérèse of Lisieux are the better known faces of the ancient tradition. However, in recent years increasing scholarly attention has been given to the medieval Order's hermits and friars. This article briefly highlights selected academic projects and publications.³³

The Carmelite Order dates from at least the thirteenth century, its official title – *The Brethren of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Mount Carmel* – deriving from the mountain ridge overlooking the Palestinian port of Haifa. It was in this area hallowed by the memory of the prophet Elijah that a group of hermits gathered for prayer; when exactly is unclear, but they requested a *formula vitae* from Albert, the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, sometime between 1205 and 1214.

Little is known about the early existence of the Order, but by the fourteenth century the 'Whitefriars' had composed a number of documents relating to their origins. This self-fashioning was the subject of a monograph published in 2002 by Andrew Jotischky of Lancaster University: *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages*. In his introduction to this important contribution to the field of Carmelite studies, Jotischky celebrates the fact that 'scholars from outside the order have begun to tap the enormous potential of Carmelite sources, and to restore the order to the greater prominence it

³³ For an annotated bibliography on the medieval Anglo-Welsh Carmelite Province, up to 1992, see that compiled by Richard Copsey, in Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain Volume 1: People and Places* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992), pp. 205-50. There are plans to make an updated bibliography available online in the heritage section of the website of the British Province of Carmelites: www.carmelite.org/origin.htm

deserves in the history of medieval religious, social, and cultural history.³⁴

Until recently, the thrust of Carmelite studies has come from friars themselves. The most comprehensive history of the Order worldwide remains Joachim Smet, O.Carm.'s *The Carmelites*.³⁵ Research into the medieval provinces of the British Isles has been spearheaded by another friar, the current prior of the Order's student house in London, Dr. Richard Copsey, O.Carm. For the past decade Fr. Copsey – a member of one of several Carmelite Institutes³⁶ – has scoured archives and record offices to compile a *Biographical Register of Medieval Carmelites in England*, which will hopefully be published within the next two or three years. His *Early Carmelite Documents* will likewise be published by the end of 2005, bringing together for the first time some of the most important documents of the Order in translation. Articles by Fr. Copsey have appeared in a variety of scholarly journals – including the Order's own *Carmelus* – and some have recently been collated in *Carmel in Britain Volume 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel*.³⁷

Carmel in Britain 4 is currently in preparation, and will collate essays (by Anne Hudson, Mishtooni Bose, Margaret Harvey and others) on the influential Prior Provincial, theologian, and diplomat of the fifteenth century, Thomas Netter, O.Carm. Thomas Netter's theology is the subject of a Ph.D. currently being researched by the Order's Secretary General, Fr. Kevin Alban, O.Carm., supervised by Prof. Norman Tanner.

³⁴ Andrew Jotischky, *The Carmelites and Antiquity: Mendicants and their Pasts in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 7.

³⁵ Joachim Smet, *The Carmelites – A History of the Brothers of Our Lady of Mount Carmel*, [four volumes in five parts] (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, Revised edition 1988).

³⁶ Institutes exist in Rome, Washington D.C., and Nijmegen. A nascent Institute is building in the Philippines.

³⁷ Richard Copsey, *Carmel in Britain Volume 3: The Hermits from Mount Carmel* (Faversham, Kent: Saint Albert's Press, 2004).

The *Carmel in Britain* series – begun a decade ago³⁸ – is being developed by Saint Albert’s Press, the recently revived publishing house of the British Province of Carmelites. The Press – which publishes both academic and ‘devotional’ titles – operates from the Carmelite Projects & Publications Office which was established in York in 2003. I am employed part-time by the Province to develop the Press, and also to raise the profile of the Carmelite Family through heritage, cultural, and academic projects.

Last year the British Province organised a symposium on Carmelite history and spirituality in conjunction with the University of York’s Centre for Medieval Studies. Papers from this conference (by such scholars as Claire Cross, Nicky Hallett, and Patrick McMahon, O.Carm.) will hopefully be published as *Carmel in Britain 5*. This year the Province co-sponsored a roundtable discussion at the Leeds *International Medieval Congress* with the *Monastic Research Bulletin*. It is hoped that at next year’s Congress, Saint Albert’s Press will have a selection of its academic titles on display.

Being employed part-time by the Province allows me to carry out my own doctoral research, supervised by Dr. Denis Renevey at the Swiss Université de Fribourg. Building upon the M.Phil. thesis I completed in Oxford in 2002 with Prof. Vincent Gillespie (available online at: www.carmelite.org/jnbba/thesis.htm), I am investigating the role played by Carmelite friars in the production of literature in late medieval England. I am looking at the bibliographic culture which allowed the Carmelites to produce, copy, read, and circulate vernacular (which in this context means English) theological writings in the two centuries preceding their suppression in England.

David Knowles claimed that Carmelite friars were the most prolific writers among the mendicant orders in the later Middle Ages.³⁹

³⁸ Patrick Fitzgerald-Lombard (ed.), *Carmel in Britain Volume 1: People and Places, Volume 2: Theology and Writing* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1992).

³⁹ David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, Volume II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955), p. 152.

Scholars are gradually waking up to this fact, though it was remarked upon as early as 1536 by the antiquarian (and one-time Carmelite) John Bale: “That so many learned divines and erudite writers should have followed each other so quickly and within so short a time and from within such a small fraternity seems almost miraculous, like the rhinoceros’s nose!”⁴⁰ Highlights in the impressive corpus of 1,200 surviving Carmelite titles include: Roger Alban’s chronological tracing of descent from Adam to the popes, emperors, and kings of England; *Questiones* between Carmelites and other scholars at Oxford and Cambridge; John Avon (d. 1349) and Nicholas of Lynn’s (fl. 1386) astronomical writings; John Baconthorpe’s (d. 1348) commentaries on the scriptures and histories of the Order; Nicholas Cantelupe’s (d. 1441) legendary history of Cambridge University; John Haynton’s (fl. 1446) sermons; John Hothby’s (d. 1487) music and treatises on counterpoint; John Keninghale’s (d. 1451) sermon at the Council of Basle; John Kynyngham’s (d. 1399) statements against Wyclif; Alan of Lynn’s (d. 1432+) tables and indices; Richard Tenet’s (fl. 1421) tractate on the medicinal uses of herbs; and Thomas Netter’s (d. 1430) magisterial *Doctrinale*.⁴¹

Of these surviving 1,200 titles, less than ten are in English. However, though outnumbered, these vernacular writings are among the most interesting. ‘Vernacularity’ – that is, the issues arising from the use of one’s vulgar or mother tongue – has come to the forefront of literary scholarship in recent years.⁴² Much of the recent research in Carmelite

⁴⁰ ‘Miraculo namque aseribi poterit rhinocerontis nasum habentibus tot Theologos totque eruditos Scriptores, in tam parva morula, tempore tam stricto, tamque exiguo familiaritio floruisse.’ British Library, Ms. Harley 3838 (*Anglorum Heliades*), f. 5. A complete translation of the *Anglorum Heliades* has been prepared by Richard Copsey for his forthcoming series, *Early Carmelite Writers*.

⁴¹ For a complete listing, see Richard Copsey, ‘The Carmelites in England 1242-1540: Surviving Writings’, *Carmelus*, 43 (Rome: Edizioni Carmelitane, 1996), pp. 175-224, along with ‘Additions and Corrections 1’, *Carmelus*, 44 (1997), pp. 188-202; reprinted in *Carmel in Britain 3*.

⁴² My interest in Carmelite vernacular writings has been greatly influenced by *The Idea of the Vernacular: An Anthology of Middle English Literary Theory*,

vernacular writings has been spearheaded by Dr. Valerie Edden of the University of Birmingham's Centre for the Editing of Texts in Religion, who has edited the verse *Penitential Psalms* composed by the fourteenth-century English Carmelite Richard Maidstone. This summer Dr. Edden presented a fascinating paper on *The Book of the First Monks*, one of the most intriguing texts to have been produced by a religious order before the Reformation, the Middle English translation of which Dr. Edden is currently editing.⁴³ The neglect of *The Book of the First Monks* by scholars outside the Order will no doubt be rectified when Saint Albert's Press publishes Richard Copsey's Modern English translation of the entire work early next year, as part of a series on *Early Carmelite Writers*. Interest in the Carmelites' literary activities has also been sparked recently by a chapter of Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa's thesis on the influence of Carmelite spirituality on the 'infancy meditations' of Margery Kempe.⁴⁴

Listed alphabetically, the titles written in English by known medieval Carmelite authors are:

? Thomas Ashburne's (fl. 1384) short allegorical poem beginning *Lyst you all gret and smale, I shall yow tell a lytell tale*⁴⁵

? Richard Lavenham's (d. 1399+) *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins*⁴⁶

? Richard Maidstone's (d. 1396) *The Seven Penitential Psalms*⁴⁷

1280-1520, (eds.) Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, Nicholas Watson, Andrew Taylor, & Ruth Evans (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 1999).

⁴³ Valerie Edden, 'The Prophetycal lyf of an heremyte': Elijah as the Model of the Contemplative Life in *The Book of the First Monks*', in E. A. Jones (ed.), *The Medieval Mystical Tradition in England: Exeter Symposium VII* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), pp. 149-61.

⁴⁴ Naoë Kukita Yoshikawa, 'The Book of Margery Kempe: A Study of the Meditations in the Context of Late Medieval Devotional Literature, Liturgy, and Iconography', unpublished Ph.D. Thesis (University of Exeter, 2001).

⁴⁵ British Library Ms. Cotton App. vii.

⁴⁶ *A Litil Tretys on the Seven Deadly Sins* (ed.) J. P. V. M. van Zutphen, (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1956).

? Richard Misyn's (d. 1462) *The Mendynge of Lyfe* and *The Fyre of Love* (translations of Richard Rolle) ⁴⁸

? Thomas Scrope's (d. 1491) *The Ten Bookys of the Instytucyone and Specyal Dedys of Relygyows Carmelitys* (a translation of Philip Ribot's *Institutione Primi Monachorum*) ⁴⁹

? Richard Spalding's (fl. c.1399) alliterative hymn to Saint Katherine ⁵⁰

My hope in studying these texts is to illuminate further our understanding of the role played by literature in late medieval religious communities, borrowing from the pioneering research conducted into the Carthusian and Bridgettine Orders. I intend to highlight a diverse and complicated network of writers and readers, and show how much of the wider contexts of medieval Carmelite literature are still to be properly explored.

Johan Bergström-Allen
Carmelite Projects & Publications Office
More House, Heslington
York, YO10 5DX
projects@carmelite.org

THE HISTORY AND CARTULARY OF GODSTOW ABBEY

My current work on Godstow Abbey in Oxfordshire includes both a book-length history of the convent and an edition of its Latin cartulary.

⁴⁷ Valerie Edden (ed.), *Richard Maidstone's Penitential Psalms*, Middle English Texts 22 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, Universitätsverlag, 1990).

⁴⁸ Ralph Harvey (ed.), *The Fire of Love & The Mending of Life or The Rule of Living*, Early English Text Society, Original Series 106 (London: Kegan Paul, 1896).

⁴⁹ London, Lambeth Palace Library, Ms. 192.

⁵⁰ Ruth Kennedy (ed.), *Three Alliterative Saints' Hymns*, EETS OS 321, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Godstow was founded in the 1130s, by the widow Ediva de Launceleve, to house 24 Benedictine nuns. It was dedicated in 1139 with King Stephen and Archbishop Theobald in attendance, and before the end of the century it had achieved both royal patronage and some notoriety as the burial place of Henry II's mistress, Rosamund de Clifford. The surviving sources for Godstow's history include two versions of its cartulary (Latin and English respectively), scattered original deeds, mentions in chronicles and royal records, and some lengthy episcopal injunctions. The abbey built up a considerable amount of property for a nunnery, but the disasters of the fourteenth century hit Godstow hard; financial difficulties continued through the fourteenth century. The fifteenth century saw the convent's economic recovery, and there is evidence for both literacy and a lively devotional life among the nuns. Godstow successfully resisted dissolution in 1538 but surrendered a year later, in November 1539. I am currently tracing the ex-nuns as they merged into lay society.

Godstow is known for its 'English Register', the Middle English cartulary translation made for the nuns in the mid-fifteenth century and edited by Andrew Clark for the Early English Text Society in 1905-11. Less well known is the Latin original (London, The National Archives, E164/20), written in 1404 and consisting of more than 825 documents. I am currently editing this volume for the Records of Social and Economic History series of the British Academy. One intriguing aspect of the book is the possibility that its scribe may have been Godstow's prioress, Alice of Eton, who was, at any rate, deeply involved in its production. Other interesting features include the names or family identities of most of the twelfth-century nuns, the names of many of the abbey's male clergy and officials, and quite a bit of information about pittances and anniversaries.

One puzzle that has emerged from my work so far concerns one S. Hubert Burke, a Victorian writer. In *The Monastic Houses of England, Their Accusers and Defenders* (London, 1869) and in *The Men and Women of the English Reformation* (London, 1871), Burke cited material about Godstow from numerous sources that are now unknown. The most important of these items were (1) letters from Thomas Cranmer to the abbess of Godstow, (2) 'a MS. Chronicle in the possession of ... [an]

Anglican Incumbent in the diocese of Norwich', (3) 'Henry Griffin's Chronicle', (4) letters from one Henri Ambere, who supposedly visited Godstow *temp.* Henry VIII, and (5) an early printed work called 'Memorials of (the) English Abbeys', by one Thorndale (d. 1560), a.k.a. Dominic Baptist Julian Cricitelli, 'a Flemish architect, who resided many years in England'. Burke also identified several supposed ex-nuns of Godstow by name, none of whom appears on the pension lists. Much of this material, if not all, appears to be fictitious. I have been unable to locate any information about Burke himself or any of these sources, and would be very grateful if any readers can provide clues to his identity or leads to the sources he claims to have used.

Dr Emilie Amt
Hood College
Frederick, MD 21701
USA
eamt@hood.edu

**MONASTICISM IN CONTEXT. A REGIONAL STUDY
OF MONASTIC HOUSES IN NORFOLK,
1080-1260**

In the study of post-Conquest monasticism, East Anglia has received very little attention compared to the North of England, for which Janet Burton's recent monograph on Yorkshire has shown how much our knowledge can be increased by a county study. Yet in the early eleventh century East Anglia too was almost devoid of monastic foundations, and the religious, social and landscape history of the region was transformed by the Norman plantation. Norfolk, however, unlike Yorkshire, was a prosperous and well-populated county, so the monastic impact was bound to be rather different from the 'desert' of the North. There has been no serious published study of monasticism in Norfolk since the VCH in

1906, and, apart from the cathedral priory and Walsingham, precious little on individual houses. Whilst there is meagre chronicle evidence, there survives for Norfolk a great abundance of charter material, nearly all unprinted, and hardly exploited since Francis Blomefield produced his great study of Norfolk in the 18th century. The main themes being examined in my doctoral research are the patterns of foundations and patronage, both by new Norman lords and the native-born population; relationships between individual houses of different orders; the monastic contribution to economic development and to the landscape; and the acquisition and management of parish churches, which is particularly significant in the most densely parochialised county in England in Domesday. My analysis, so far, of the large body of 12th- and early to mid 13th-century charters, including the cartularies of Castle Acre, Walsingham, Blackborough and West Dereham, has revealed intricate patterns of local patronage and exchange arrangements, of tithes and lands, for monastic houses that were founded in succession within a few miles of each other.

One of the most promising directions for monastic studies, in its social and religious contexts, is through regional studies, and I have been keen to examine further the ways in which regional influences were more significant than affiliation to a particular order in determining the patronage and the ethos of individual houses. In considering North-West Norfolk, in particular, my research is beginning to reveal a fuller picture of the religious life in a distinctive region: neither dominated by ancient foundations like the West Country, nor with the opportunities for territorial expansion enjoyed by the Cistercians in the North, but rather populated by numerous smaller houses of modest wealth and status, but nonetheless tremendously influential within their locality.

Terrie Colk
University of East Anglia
terrie@colklync.worldonline.co.uk

MONASTIC CHARTERS IN LEEDS: EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY TRANSCRIPTS

Eighteenth-century Leeds was rich in medieval deeds including monastic charters. Many went through the hands of Thomas Wilson, antiquarian and master of the Charity School (died 1761), who was in part responsible for their dispersal. (He sent the documents to Dr Richard Rawlinson and others, some at least of these being now in the Bodleian.)

Wilson obtained part of the collection of Ralph Thoresby, the Leeds historian. He also had access to other things, including a chest of documents once part of the archives of Kirkstall Abbey. These had been lodged in the chapel of Allerton (now Chapel Allerton) after the Elizabethan acquisition of that manor by a group of local men.

Besides the genealogical manuscripts for which he is best known Wilson copied many early deeds, including those which he was enthusiastically dispatching to his friends. The older local historians knew one of his volumes which he called *Chartularium Kirkstallense*. This was in private hands until 1955 when it was bought by the City. Other volumes, of which one includes much early material, passed to the Leeds Archives as part of a solicitor's deposit in 1959. Wilson was neither accurate nor systematic but his work should not be ignored.

The originals of some items in these volumes can be found today in the Leeds Archives or elsewhere and Wilson's not always reliable versions of them are of interest mainly as a record of the descent of manuscripts. Other items copied by him and not now easy to trace are more valuable. Much of what he copied relates to the Cistercian house of Kirkstall, in large part though not exclusively concerning Allerton in Leeds. Besides deeds there are a version of the *Little Register of Kirkstall* (see *Monastic Research Bulletin* 3 (1997), p. 19) and a fragmentary fifteenth-century rental. Of other deeds some concern the Templars' interests in Campsall and Osmondthorpe (Yorks. W.R.), some of the Hospitallers' acquisitions in Chevet, Lotherton, Cookridge, Adel and Eccup (all W.R.), also in Cuckney and Cotgrave (Notts.). The Hospital of St Leonard, York and the priory of Haverholm (Lincs.), which transferred a local acquisition to Kirkstall, are also represented. There is a Byland

item concerning Osgodby (N.R.), possibly misplaced amongst the Allerton deeds after the Dissolution.

When collecting medieval deeds concerning certain townships I went through Wilson's manuscripts in both the library and the archives. Hoping that the work may be of use to others I have produced a 'rough calendar' with a place index. This will be available in word-processed form (59 pp.) at both places. The *Chartularium* has at times drifted between the Central Library and different parts of the Museum. It is now, however, firmly anchored in the Local Studies Library, Central Library, Leeds, LS1 3AB. It is there classified as a strong room item and is produced for supervised study by students after proper identification. The material in the archives, which has the reference WYL160/204, otherwise DB204, may be seen by appointment at WYAS, Leeds, 2 Chapeltown Road, Sheepscar, Leeds, LS7 3AP.

Michael Collinson
100 Becketts Park Drive
Leeds LS6 3PL

INSTRUMENTS IN CONTEXT: TELLING THE TIME IN ENGLAND, 1350-1500

John Whethamstede, Abbot of St Albans, (d. 1465) listed all the astronomical instruments he knew in a section of his encyclopaedic work, the *Granarium*, compiled c. 1440, explaining that there are so many of them as to be almost infinite. Among the instruments he lists, over half are designed for, or can be used for, telling the time. Of these time-telling instruments, the majority are portable: a quadrant or a cylinder dial could be carried around so that someone did not have to be able to hear the chimes of the town or church clock to know what time it was.

Fortunately, some medieval timekeeping instruments survive, as well as a large number of texts about their construction and use. Yet despite the resources available, little detailed work has considered the surviving instruments along with the texts about them, and references to their use in letters, inventories and images. My PhD thesis (Department of History and Philosophy of Science, University of Cambridge) begins this essential work by studying a number of instruments for telling the time in England, 1350-1500.

In the first chapter I considered why astronomical instruments were in medieval monastic and university libraries, through close analysis of a text about the invention of the liberal arts and their instruments that was written by John Whethamstede, Abbot of St Albans. I showed how the instruments Whethamstede discusses can be seen as sources of astronomical knowledge, as sources of information about the achievements of great astronomers, as well as practical objects.

In the second chapter, on a group of quadrants linked to King Richard II, I analysed a reference in an inventory of the treasure at the Tower of London, compiled in c. 1400, to consider the reasons why a king and his supporters might own quadrants. These instruments can be linked to the turbulent political situation in the late 1390s, and they can be fruitfully considered as objects of a gift exchange, as symbols both of astronomical knowledge and of political events.

The third chapter focused on a group of surviving medieval astrolabes bearing a striking resemblance to the illustrations in copies of

Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe*. Obviously, not all of them can have been 'Chaucer's own astrolabe,' from which the diagrams were drawn. In most copies of the treatise containing diagrams, the same distinctive design of astrolabe is shown, and I argued that this links to a wide variety of intellectual traditions including navigation and numerology, in which there is evidence that Chaucer had an interest. I considered Chaucer's fifteenth-century reputation and readership and the links between the instruments and the manuscript images and text of the *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, concluding that it is most likely that the instruments were made according to the design shown in the texts, rather than vice versa.

The final three chapters considered an instrument that seems to have been specifically English – the navicula sundial. I analysed thirteen previously unnoticed manuscript copies of five texts on the construction and use of the instrument, along with its appearance in booklists, and reconsidered the late-medieval popularity of the navicula, arguing that it was much more commonly made and owned than has been appreciated. Moving into the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I ended by showing how the impact of printing, and in particular the influence of German astronomers, combined to end the popularity of the navicula. It became a novelty, a collectable instrument rather than a useful one.

The concluding argument of my thesis was that instruments for telling the time were much more common in late medieval England than has usually been supposed. They were owned by monks, churchmen, and scholars, who were interested in sundials, astrolabes and quadrants because of the fundamental relationship between instruments and astronomical theory. Using an astronomical instrument was about much more than simply being able to tell the time or measure the height of a tower: it was also about knowing geometry and astronomy, and about understanding the structure of the celestial sphere. Instruments, therefore, could be sources of astronomical knowledge to fifteenth-century scholars, to be used alongside – or even in place of – texts and diagrams.

Catherine Eagleton
The British Museum, London
katie@eagleton.net

THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE MENDICANT ORDERS IN THE WARS OF IRELAND, SCOTLAND AND WALES, 1230- 1415

As the working title of my thesis suggests, the aim is to investigate the participation of the mendicant orders in all aspects of war within the time-frame proposed. I have chosen 1230 as the starting point because this is believed to be when the Franciscans arrived in Ireland, and is just a year before they entered Scotland. My initial proposal was an examination of the activities of just the Friars Minor, but it soon became apparent that it was not practical to ignore the other mendicant orders - especially the Dominicans - and in some cases even monastic orders such as the Cistercians. Because the purpose of this thesis is to provide a thorough investigation of religious activities on both sides of the political divide in these countries it seemed to limit the scope of the thesis if only the Franciscans were examined. However it would appear from the research I have done so far that it is, in fact, the Franciscan friars who were most involved in all aspects of the wars throughout these three countries. The other orders are more, or less, involved in certain areas at certain times but the Franciscans are the most consistently involved on both sides of the political divide.

I have divided the thesis into five chapters and a lengthy epilogue, and have mainly taken a chronological approach. The initial chapter, by necessity, is a broad discussion of the arrival of the Franciscans into Ireland, Scotland and Wales. I restricted this chapter to the Franciscans only because a chapter examining the arrival of all four mendicant orders into the British Isles would be a thesis in itself. The second chapter is also quite broad in its scope, looking at the reception the mendicants received upon their arrival – how they fitted into the political arena and were popularly regarded, their quarrel with the monastic orders and, in the fourteenth century, their struggle to defend themselves against the papacy of John XXII, the archbishop of Armagh Richard FitzRalph and the

assertions of the Wyclifites. The final three chapters deal with the Conquest of Wales, the Scottish Wars of Independence and the Bruce invasion of Ireland respectively, drawing upon the commonality of the friars' experiences in each of these countries during periods of war. The final chapter, or epilogue, discusses the friars in the fourteenth century up to the revolt of Owain Glyn Dwr circa 1400-1415, taking into consideration events such as the Black Death, the Peasants' Revolt and the beginnings of the Observantine reform.

The major task of my thesis is to bring together the political experiences of the friars across the British Isles, from their arrival to their final involvement in the politics of the medieval world. Although this approach to the history of Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England is still a controversial one, I believe it can offer a greater insight into the history of the two islands but only if the conclusions are not forced. When examining the Franciscans, I am considering them as friars first, and English, Irish, Scots or Welshmen second. However, how they reacted to the wars in their countries ultimately reveals less about them as religious and more regarding their national sympathies.

Franciscan involvement in the wars of the thirteenth and fourteenth century was not a uniform experience. From the impartiality of the Welsh friars in the late thirteenth century to the destruction of the house at Llanfaes in 1400 because of their support for Owain Glyn Dwr, even their reactions in one country changed over the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. What, then, can be said for the commonality of their behaviour during England's wars with Ireland, Scotland and Wales? It seems fair to say that the longer the friars were established in each of these countries, the more inclined they were to support the nativist cause. It was English friars who initiated the expansion of the order into the other countries of the British Isles but the further away in time those foundations moved from their original provenance, the less inclined they were to consider themselves as Franciscans rather than Welsh, Scottish or Irishmen. Welsh friars were mostly neutral during Edward I's war with Llywelyn yet were cited as among Owain Glyn Dwr's staunchest supporters just over a century later. Scottish friars maintained a dual identity throughout the thirteenth century, seeking to establish an

independent province whilst maintaining a neutral stance during the course of the Edward I's deposition of John Balliol. It was only in the fourteenth century that their identity was clearly established as Scottish, and they were declared rebels by the English king. Finally, the Irish friars were, perhaps, the most conflicted of the brethren in all three countries. From their foundation, Irish Franciscans consisted of two nations co-existing as a single order. While it was not inevitable that they would clash, the Franciscan order in Ireland came to embody the political divide that was present from the arrival of the Normans in 1169. Edward Bruce's invasion merely clarified for Irish friars where their loyalties lay – not with the Franciscan order or the English government, but with other Irishmen who supported Bruce in his bid to become king of Ireland.

Niav Gallagher
Trinity College, Dublin
niaver@hotmail.com

“GREED, GLUTTONY AND INTEMPERANCE”? TESTING THE STEREOTYPE OF THE ‘OBESE MEDIEVAL MONK’

The ‘fat monk’ is an enduring image in the modern conceptualisation of the medieval period. He is a ‘larger than life’ character, both in physical form and actions. The ‘fat monk’ stereotype is certainly memorable, but this doctoral study aims to explore whether he is a medieval or later construct, and more importantly, whether this stereotype was based in truth. Focussing on England in the period *c.* AD 1066-1540, the insights provided by variety of sources of evidence are explored, and the relative strengths and weaknesses of the different approaches appraised:

- Iconography: depictions of monks
- Monastic documents regarding expenditure on food
- Medieval social commentary regarding monastic lifestyle, including literary works

- Archaeological evidence for monastic diet: faunal and botanical remains
- Skeletal remains of monks and their secular counterparts, exploring differences in rates for obesity-related skeletal pathology and proxies for physique

Changing attitudes towards monks from the Norman Conquest to the Dissolution are explored, and related to the socio-religious climate of the time, and the foundation of accusations of gluttony are related to archaeological evidence and records such as monastic accounts and visitation records, which give an insight into monastic lifestyle and the degree to which the ideal rules were being adhered to. A surprisingly little amount of previous work has been carried out on monks in medieval art, but the brief review carried out for the present study revealed that depiction of monks tended to be relatively formulaic, and they were not on the whole depicted as being fat. However, there are certain issues to bear in mind with this respect: not least the fact that the church controlled a great deal of medieval art production. Given the bagginess of monastic habits, two chief elements were identified for exploring whether monks were depicted as fat: firstly the shape of the face, and secondly any activities the monk may be involved in, as wall paintings of the Seven Deadly Sins tend to show Gluttony as being of average physique but indulging in gluttonous acts: drinking is a particularly common action.

From a survey of social commentary on monastic diet and lifestyle, it is possible to see that there were complaints about monastic diet from other religious sources from a very early stage, notably the debate surrounding Cluniac diet between Bernard of Clairvaux and Peter the Venerable. Criticism of monastic demeanours continued throughout the medieval period, through to the Dissolution, in the form of comments made in visitation records, and the complaints made to visitors serve as an important reminder of the social role of food within the monastic community, with substandard or insufficient food often criticised as well as cases of overindulgence. Secular criticism, on the other hand, came to the fore after the fourteenth century crisis of the Great Famine and the Black Death, with the emergence of an educated and vocal middle class.

The osteological study investigates rates for obesity-related skeletal lesions: osteoarthritis (OA) of the knee, hip and distal interphalangeal joints of the fingers, and diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH) in monastic and secular assemblages from three archaeological sites in modern day Greater London: Bermondsey Abbey, Merton Priory, and the Royal Mint Site (which incorporated St Mary Graces Abbey and the Black Death Cemetery of Holy Trinity East Smithfield). Monks had higher prevalence rates for all three obesity-related diseases, and had a significantly greater chance of developing DISH, OA of the distal interphalangeal joints and OA of the knee than their secular counterparts, suggesting that monastic lifestyle did increase the chance of becoming obese. A further aim of the osteological study was to reconstruct the relative physique of monks and their secular counterparts. Although there were some problems in terms of accurate quantification of weight, the study found that monks tended to have a larger physique both at age 18 and at death compared with their secular counterparts.

In general, the study suggested that monastic lifestyle did present an increased opportunity of obesity because food was often plentiful and varied. Archaeological and historical evidence attest to a diet that was high in dietary fats and palatable, both of which could increase the likelihood of overindulgence and consequent overweight. Furthermore, the relatively sedentary nature of monastic life would have contributed to an imbalance between energy intake and energy expenditure. Commentary regarding monks testifies to the 'fat monk' stereotype having some considerable antiquity, and the findings of this research project furthermore suggest that the stereotype was founded in an element of truth.

Philippa Patrick
Institute of Archaeology
University College, London
tcnpjp@ucl.ac.uk

RELIGIOUS WOMEN AND THEIR COMMUNITIES IN SCOTLAND, 1100-1560

The traditional view of medieval historians is that Scottish female religious establishments were not worthy of study due to the 'scanty' resources available about these women, by these women or their convents. Scottish historians have disregarded them altogether claiming that they were 'too poor' economically to be seen as important in the overall success of medieval monasticism in Scotland. These claims, however, can no longer be justified.

My research of Scottish female religious communities and their inhabitants has challenged this preconceived notion that Scottish female religious were unimportant to the overall study of monasticism in Scotland. There were fifteen female religious houses in Scotland from the period of 1100 to the secularisation of the monasteries in 1560, many of which were successful economically and locally.⁵¹ My goal is to examine the significance of family, local and social connections and their local convents and how each community (both internal and external) was intertwined with one another because of these connections. My research is divided into 2 parts: one spanning the period of 1100-1350, and the other from 1350-1560.

The first part discusses the early history of Scottish female religious communities and most especially the foundations of these houses from the mid-12th century until 1300. A comparison of Scottish female houses and others in Britain, primarily those in Northern England where there were a larger proportion of Cistercian houses (much like Scotland), is also made. This has shown that although Scottish houses may be 'different' simply because they were Scottish, the founders of these houses were behaving in a similar fashion as their counterparts elsewhere. This leads to a further evaluation of the how founders and patrons

⁵¹ Lincluden (O.S.B.); Berwick Upon Tweed, Coldstream, Eccles, Elcho, Haddington, Manuel, North Berwick, Abbey St. Bothans, St. Evoca (O.Cist.); Iona, St. Leonard's [Perth] (O.S.A); Aberdour, Dundee (Franciscan Nuns, Tertiaries); St. Katherine's [Sciennes, Edinburgh] (Dominican Nuns).

became intricately connected to convents and the vital role that these convents played in their local community. Case studies have been done for the priory of Coldstream and its relationship with the Earls of Dunbar, the priory of North Berwick with the Earls of Fife, and the priory of Haddington with their founder Countess Ada using twelfth and thirteenth century charters and documents. These have shown that female convents were vitally important to families and local communities with donations coming, not only from the descendants of the original founder but also from local families.

A brief discussion has been made on enclosure and convent buildings using the Augustinian convent of Iona, since it is the most well preserved medieval conventual building in Britain, and the remains of the Cistercian priory of North Berwick. This is followed by an assessment of the idea of the 'permeable' cloister and monastic charity. For example, North Berwick provided care for pilgrims on their way to the shrine of St. Andrew and there was a hospital for the sick and poor at St. Leonard's, Perth making both convents important in their surrounding community. Lastly, there is a brief analysis of the connections between convents and their local communities and how their relationship may have changed over time. This is done by looking at the challenges to the rights and privileges of female convents, especially from their neighbours or patrons, and also how external conflict, like the Wars of Independence, affected female convents and their relationships with local communities.

The second part concentrates on the later medieval period, roughly 1350-1560 and emphasizes how certain changes within Scotland, like landholding and attitudes towards monasteries, may have affected female religious life and their connections to the secular world. It briefly discusses the role of monasteries in the later Middle Ages, attitudes towards nuns and convents in late medieval literature and how the last wave of religious foundations for women may have shown some religious enthusiasm. The primary goal of this part is to discuss the origins of Scottish nuns and to discern whether or not they have any link to local families, former patrons or founders or if they were related to one another. And, to see if the changes happening in the later middle ages and

attitudes towards monasteries affected recruitment or the success of convents in this period.

This is done by prosopographical analysis of the inhabitants of late medieval Scottish convents. A database of all known religious women has been compiled and, if possible, the nuns have been identified with families of the same surname. In some cases, they can be identified fully based on family records but in many cases they cannot be linked to any family in particular. Identifying the inhabitants of Scottish convents highlights the importance that local families placed on convents and how locality was the most important factor in determining which house a woman may have entered. Some of the larger convents like North Berwick, Haddington and St. Katherine's (Sciennes) have yielded a great deal of names of nuns and a more detailed analysis of the nuns in these houses has been done. However, the nuns at the convents of Elcho, Eccles, Coldstream and Abbey St. Bothan's have also been looked at in some depth.⁵²

The next part of this section looks at the organization and governance of Scottish convents by examining the role of Scottish prioresses in their religious and secular communities. The office of the prioress has yet to be fully evaluated as an important role in the monastery or in her local community. She was often a good administrator, leader and influential landlord - much like her male counterparts - and should be seen as contributing to the success of female monasticism. This section also concentrates on identifying these women, if possible. For Scotland, many of the prioresses were linked to successful lairds in the locality and having control of a monastery, whatever the size, made lairds successful and influential. For example, the family of Hoppringle were influential in the Scottish Borders and the prioresses of Coldstream from 1475-1588 were from this family. Also, many of the inhabitants of monasteries were related or connected to the prioress or her family in some way and that

⁵² Aberdour, Dundee, Iona, Manuel have not yielded a great deal of nuns for this period. However, the names of the prioresses of the place have been identified and are discussed in the following section.

may have affected recruitment patterns or whether or not the convent was successful in the locality.

Overall, I hope that this study will enable me to highlight the importance of Scottish female religious establishments and allow them to be considered as 'successful' in the world of female monasticism. It will identify individual nuns and prioresses and finally show how the connection to family and locality were vital in order for a convent to survive. This research will make a contribution the study of monasticism in Britain, but also to the study of medieval women (particularly religious women) as a whole. It will show that although 'Scottish' may have been different, nuns and convents in Scotland were similar to their counterparts throughout Europe.

Kimm Perkins-Curran
School of History and Archaeology , University of Glasgow
Medieval & Scottish History Area
10 University Gardens, Glasgow, G12 8QQ
kimm5466@yahoo.com

CHOICE WORDS: THE LITURGY OF THE ORDER OF SEMPRINGHAM

The medieval Christian West experimented with different kinds of religious life. One such experiment was the Order of Sempringham, known also as the Gilbertines, founded in 1131 by Gilbert of Sempringham, becoming eventually a mixed order of women and men. The new religious communities differed considerably in wealth, geopolitical and social culture. All, however, shared common functions as they exploited their endowment, established internal operational structures, safeguarded their essential spiritual vocation, arranged social (including gender) relations, negotiated external relations, and performed their primary function of worship.

Modern monastic studies concentrate on the first five of the above tasks as they relate to institutional organization. By contrast, medieval liturgy, which concerns the primary function of worship, has been relatively neglected. Each monastic house, nevertheless, had to obtain its own set of liturgical books. Liturgy varied from house to house, and medieval liturgical studies have shown that the specific distribution of prayer forms can function like a fingerprint in establishing liturgical identity.

My research investigates three pairs of contradictory trends that emerge from the liturgies of new monastic foundations in twelfth/thirteenth-century Europe:

- 1a. Eclecticism and evidence of conscious choice in preparation of liturgical books
- 1b. Slavish dependence for sources on a small group of monasteries, principally Cistercian and Cluniac

- 2a. Hundreds of females entering convents & the foundation of double monasteries
- 2b. Increased legal restriction on the interactions between men and women in religious foundations

- 3a. Rapid, diffuse establishment of religious vocations to achieve the “apostolic life”
- 3b. Organization of religious into formal orders with specific group institutional patterns

With regard to the first contradiction, St. Gilbert’s *vita* stated that he “chose for his order statutes and customs from many different churches and monasteries.”⁵³ The Gilbertine liturgical manuscripts generally support this claim, yet Gilbert clearly followed the Cistercians as his model for strict, reformed religious life. Secondly, St Gilbert began by providing a religious life for seven women in his parish, yet the Gilbertine *Ecclesiastical offices* and *Institutes* illustrate how a double monastery integrated the worship of the two sexes in one institution. Finally, the Gilbertine liturgical customs show a reversal of the third trend in that they reveal stricter, more tightly regulated liturgical expectations that later unfolded into a unique liturgical identity.

I am editing the liturgical manuscripts belonging to the Order of Sempringham together with the liturgical customs in the *Institutes* to learn how the order negotiated these contradictions. Previous editions of the Gilbertine material are now quite old. Dugdale published the *Institutes* in his *Monasticon Anglicanum*. R.M. Woolley edited the liturgical manuscripts in the 1920s before the blossoming of liturgical and monastic scholarship in the twentieth century. My new edition will incorporate a broad range of comparative material for the critical apparatus. The research includes a database in which are recorded incipits of prayers, chants and other liturgical forms from each of the Gilbertine manuscripts and from a select cohort of comparable manuscripts from the Cistercian, Premonstratensian and Arrouaisian Orders. The database makes possible printed tables that compare the incipits. I plan to add incipits from liturgical manuscripts from double monasteries such as those associated with Fontevault and the Paraclete.

⁵³ *Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. Raymonde Foreville, transl. Gillian Keir (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987): 48-49.

A careful study of the evolution of the Gilbertine liturgical customs is an important step to understanding the diversity of religious life. The inherent eclecticism and patterns of borrowing reveal characteristics common to all new monastic organizations as well as characteristics unique to the Gilbertines.

Dr. Janet Tierney Sorrentino
Washington College, 300 Washington Ave.,
Chestertown, MD 21620, USA
jsorrentino2@washcoll.edu

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Coppack, Martin Heale and Maureen Jurkowski**

For further details please contact:

Dr. Janet Burton, University of Wales, Lampeter
(j.burton@lamp.ac.uk)

or Dr. Karen Stöber, University of Wales,
Aberystwyth (kes@aber.ac.uk)