THE ARCHIVE OF BERMONDSEY ABBEY

Readers of the *Monastic Research Bulletin* will be familiar with the English Monastic Archives Project, on which a progress report was published in the last issue. It is my purpose here to provide readers with a concrete demonstration of how a well-scattered archive can be reconstructed using our database, for which I have chosen the example of Bermondsey Abbey in Surrey.

The abbey of Bermondsey was founded as a dependent priory of the Cluniac monastery of La Charité-sur-Loire (in Nevers) in the late eleventh century, allegedly by King William Rufus. It asserted its independence of its mother house in 1381, when it secured a charter of denization from King Richard II, who was also responsible for its elevation to the status of abbey in 1399. Patronised by several English kings, the abbey housed a relic of the Holy Rood, which attracted many pilgrims to its magnificent church. Its substantial buildings made it a suitable venue for large assemblies and councils of state, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and in the fifteenth century two dowager queens retired to the royal lodgings within its precinct to spend their last months.[1] Bermondsey could thus justly claim to have been an important urban monastery. There is, however, little evidence of its former splendour today, its church and monastic buildings having been pulled down soon after its dissolution in 1538. Its archive suffered a similar fate; it was broken up with its estates and dispersed at that same time, and much of it was believed to have been lost. Our reconstruction

[1] R. Graham, 'Priory of La Charité-sur-Loire and the Monastery of Bermondsey', in her *English Ecclesiastical Studies* (London, 1929), pp. 91-124 (first published in *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, new series, xxxii (1926), 157-91); *Victoria County History, Surrey* (hereafter VCH, *Surr*.), ii. 64-77. The two dowager queens were Katherine Valois (d. 1437), Henry V's widow, and Elizabeth Woodville (d. 1497), Edward IV's widow: Graham, 'Priory of La Charité-sur-Loire', p. 117.

has shown, however, that more survives than previous historians of the abbey have suspected, although in some rather unexpected places.

The Bermondsey annals, compiled in 1432, are, of course, a well-known source for the abbey's history, even if they have been shown to be rather unreliable. In the absence of an authentic foundation charter, they provide what little information we have about the abbey's foundation and early history.[2] They record that the monastery owed its origins to an obscure merchant named Ailwin Child, who granted rents in London to the priory of La Charité-sur-Loire in 1082, for reasons unknown. The French house subsequently sent four monks to establish a cell at Bermondsey, but only after William Rufus had granted the priory his manor of Bermondsey. The annals give the date of this grant as 1089, but his charter, which survives only in an early modern copy and was believed by Rose Graham to be spurious, has been more recently dated to between 1093 and 1097.[3]

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[2] The annals, now British Library (henceforth BL), MS Harleian 231, an MS of 76 folios, were edited and published by H.R. Luard in 1864-9: *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols. (Rolls Series, 1864-9), III, *Bermondsey (1042-1432)*, pp. 423-87. The manuscript was owned in 1590 by Lord William Howard of Naworth and was in the library of Sir Simond D'Ewes by 1647. It was purchased from Lady D'Ewes by Robert Harley, 1st earl of Oxford in 1705: A.G. Watson, *The Library of Sir Simonds D'Ewes* (London, 1966), pp. 61-2, 210. There are extracts (16th-18th century) from the annals in Oxford, Bodleian Library (henceforth Bodl. Libr.), MS Top. gen. d.36 [*SC* 54212], pp. 223-228; Bodl. Libr., MS Dodsworth 55 [*SC* 4197], ff. 97-111; BL, MS Add. 4783, f. 51; BL, MS Harl. 6016, ff. 81-82; BL, MS Harl. 2044, ff. 88-91; London, Society of Antiquaries MS 189 bis, ff. 130-134v. On the historical inaccuracy of the annals, see Graham, 'Priory of La Charité-sur-Loire', pp. 91-124.

[3] Graham, 'Priory of La Charité-sur-Loire', pp. 94-6; B. Golding, 'The Coming of the Cluniacs', *Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1980*, iii (1981), p. 75. William Rufus' charter is printed, from the copy in the now-lost cartulary (see below), in W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, rev. edn., ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (London, 1830), 6 vols. (London, 1825), V, p. 100, no. II, and calendared in: *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154*, I, *1066-1100*, ed. H.W.C. Davis and R.J. Whitwell (Oxford, 1913), no. 398. Three 17th-century copies are in

The abbey's cartulary, compiled in the fourteenth century, was another source for its early history, but this volume disappeared in the seventeenth century and is now known only from a series of transcripts made before it vanished. Seven of these have been discovered, all dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[4] I will be discussing them, together with the cartulary and its fate, elsewhere, and do not propose to say anything further about them here, but will instead concentrate on extant original documents from the archive. Unsurprisingly, most of these concern the abbey's landed estate, which was considerable. It extended throughout seven southern counties, mostly in the southeast, but as far west as Somerset and Gloucestershire. The abbey owned some 32 manors and granges at various times throughout its history, nine of which had been lost, sold or infeudated before the abbey's dissolution, as well as valuable rents and tenements in London. It also held the patronage of 23 churches and chapels, seven of which it had appropriated.[5] The abbey's total annual income was valued in 1535 at £474 14*s*. 4¾*d*.

Disappointingly few documents from the abbey's archive survive relating to either its London property or its manors at Bermondsey and nearby Rotherhithe. It is chiefly archival material for its outlying manors in Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent and Surrey which we have

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BL, MS Lansdowne 447, f. 16; MS Lansdowne 863, f. 92; Bodl. Libr., MS Dodsworth 66 [*SC* 5008], ff. 132v-133r.

4 London, College of Arms, MS Glover B, ff. 106r-116v; BL, MS Harleian 4757, ff. 2r-15v; Bodl. Libr., MS Top. gen. c.90, ff. 110-111; BL, MS Cotton Claudius A.viii, ff. 115-122v; Bodl. Libr., MS Dodsworth 78 [*SC* 5019], ff. 23v-29r; MS Dodsworth 102 [*SC* 5043], ff. 97r-102v; MS Dugdale 18, ff. 65vb-67b. Two charters and a memorandum from the original cartulary were also printed by Sir William Dugdale in the first edition of his *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 2 vols. (London, 1655), I, pp. 642-3. They also appear in the revised edition, V, p. 100, nos. II-IV.

5 For a list of its estates, see the English Monastic Archives database (www.ucl.ac.uk/history/englishmonasticarchives) or *English Monastic Estates*, ed. M. Jurkowski, N.L. Ramsay and S. Renton (List & Index Society, forthcoming, 2007).

been able to trace. The earliest estate records are court rolls for the period 1274-81 from three of these manors - Widford, in Hertfordshire, Quickbury or Cowickbury, in Sheering, Essex, and Monkbury in Little Hallingbury, Essex - now in The National Archives, Public Record Office (henceforth PRO). These rolls – rather early survivals of this genre of document – also contain an extent of the lands of one tenant (John the Miller) in Quickbury and Little Hallingbury and a list of the expenses incurred by Bermondsey's steward in holding these courts.[6]

There are also some sixteen charters, leases and deeds in the PRO, spread among several series (or classes) - mostly of Ancient Deeds - dating from the twelfth to the sixteenth century. Five of these can be found among the records of the Court of Augmentations: two (a lease, 1397, and a charter, 30 Edw. III) relating to the manor of Rotherhithe (Surrey), a grant to the monks of the manor of Bengeo (Hertfordshire), 1272, and two sixteenth-century leases (and the recital of a third lease) of lands in Warlingham (Surrey) and Charlton (Kent).[7] An early thirteenth-century charter from the almoner of Bermondsey is among the records of the King's Remembrancer's Office, as is a royal confirmation of the house's possessions, dating from 1378.[8] Four of the eight charters and leases spread between two series of records of the Treasury of Receipt relate to mortgages and loans which the house arranged in the 1270s with the royal administrator and notorious moneylender Adam de Stratton, to whom it became greatly indebted,[9] and the remaining four comprise a twelfth-century lease of land in London, a lease to the house of land in

[6] PRO, Special Collections, Court Rolls, SC 2/174/30.

[7] PRO, Exchequer, Court of Augmentations, Ancient Deeds, Series B, E 326/4529; Series BS, E 329/328; Miscellaneous Books, E 315/37, no. 224; Conventual Leases, E 303/17, nos. 1-3.

[8] PRO, Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Series D, E 210/3279; Transcripts of Deeds and Charters, E 132/3/33.

[9] PRO, Treasury of Receipt, Ancient Deeds, Series A, E 40/767; Series AS, E 42/324, 397. They include a charter from the prior and convent of La Charité-sur-Loire, confirming all grants made by Bermondsey to Stratton up to 1279: PRO, E 42/336; and see Stratton's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

Stapleford, Essex, in 1377, an arbitrated award of tithes in Upton (in Blewbury, Berkshire), 1256, and a draft charter from Abbot Robert Shuldam (1516-25) giving licence to a tenant to sub-let a house in the churchyard of Bermondsey.[10] Finally, among the Duchy of Lancaster records is a paper roll which contains an early sixteenth century transcript, probably from the Bermondsey archive, of five charters dating from the twelfth century, by which the de Vere earls of Oxford granted the house lands in Cockenach in Barkway, Hertfordshire.[11]

A significant cache of documents relating to the abbey's manor of Dulwich (in Camberwell, Surrey) is now among the muniments of Dulwich College. These were undoubtedly acquired from the crown in 1544 by the London goldsmith Thomas Calton, when he purchased the manor of Dulwich from Henry VIII. Calton's descendants sold the estate to Edward Alleyn, founder of Dulwich College, who endowed the college with the manor in 1620.[12] These documents include a lease of the manor granted by the abbot in 1530, about 135 charters, leases and deeds of the abbey's tenants, dating from 1323-1538,[13] and numerous court rolls, from the years 1333-5, 1399-1411, 1428-45, 1468-72, 1486-97 and 1519-38.[14]

A number of court rolls from two other Bermondsey manors are now in the Lambeth Archives Department in the Minet Library in Camberwell (i.e., the repository of the archives of the borough of Lambeth). From the manor of Leigham Court (in Streatham, Surrey) court rolls survive dating from 1412, 1414, 1427, 1434-41, 1446, 1469-

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[10] Respectively, PRO, E 42/396; E 40/817; E 40/14261; E 40/14692.

[11] PRO, Duchy of Lancaster, Miscellanea, DL 41/171.

[12] G.W. Warner, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts and Muniments of Alleyn's College of God's Gift at Dulwich* (London, 1881), pp. xxiii-xxiv; VCH, *Surr*., iv. 33.

[13] Dulwich College Muniments, nos. 185-279, 282-310, 312-323. These are calendared in Warner, *Catalogue of the MSS at Dulwich*, pp. 272-93.

[14] Dulwich College Muniments, Dulwich Manor Court Rolls, A-E. The earliest roll (with facsimile) and long extracts from the other court rolls are printed in F.B. Bickley, 'Court-Rolls of the Manor of Dulwich', in W. Young, *The History of Dulwich College*, 2 vols. (London, 1889), I, pp. 272-95.

70, 1472, 1480-1, 1486, 1488-90, 1493-6, 1502-4 and 1506.[15] There are also court rolls from the manor of Wideflete (or Paris Garden) in Southwark from the years 1460-74, 1477-9, 1484, 1489-1519 and 1528-33.[16] This estate was owned by Bermondsey from the twelfth century until the abbey's dissolution. All of the Paris Garden court rolls date, however, from the period during which the manor was let by the abbey to the priory of St John of Jerusalem.[17] The courts were held by the priory's steward, and the rolls may thus have come from the priory's, rather than Bermondsey Abbey's, archive. More certainly from the Bermondsey archive is an interesting parchment booklet of six folios, written in the mid-fourteenth century. The first three folios contain a copy of a custumal, rental and extent of the manor of Leigham Court, made on 5 February 1341, and a terrier of the demesne lands of the neighbouring manor of Balham - also one of Bermondsey's possessions - of probably the same date. A survey of Charlton marsh, which was part of Bermondsey's manor of Charlton (Kent), appears on the sixth folio, and the rest of the leaves are taken up with copies of about twelve royal and episcopal charters, relating to the abbey's estates in Surrey and Kent, all dating from the years 1339-43.[18]

Further documents relating to the abbey's estate in Charlton are now in the London Metropolitan Archives (formerly the Greater London Record Office), where they were deposited in 1956 by Sir Percy Maryon-Wilson and Viscountess Gough, to whom the manor of Charlton had descended after its purchase from the crown in 1603 by John Erskine, earl of Mar. These consist of a memorandum of 1538, sixteenth-century copies of three of the house's charters (1314-1462), and 74 charters,

[15] Lambeth Archives Dept., Minet Library, VI/61-65.

[16] Lambeth Archives Dept., Minet Library, VI/1-3. These rolls were deposited in the Minet Library by the solicitors to the manor in 1948.

[17] In 1434 it was held by the priory of St John at an annual rent of 10 marks 4*s*. In the 16th century the priory sub-let the property to a series of farmers, the last recorded lease having been made in 1524: VCH, *Surr*., iv. 149-50.

[18] Lambeth Archives Dept., Minet Library, VI/60.

leases and deeds of the abbey's tenants, mostly fifteenth century, but covering the period 1381-1530.[19]

Court rolls from the manor of East Chalk (in Chalk), another of Bermondsey's estates in Kent, are now in the archive of the Marquess of Salisbury at Hatfield House in Hertfordshire, where they have probably been housed since the early seventeenth century. They had been acquired from the crown by George Brooke, Lord Cobham after the abbey's dissolution, with his purchase of the manor of East Chalk. This manor passed with the rest of the Cobham estates in Kent to Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury, in 1603, following the attainder and execution of Henry Brooke, Lord Cobham, in 1603.[20] The court rolls date from 1341-6, 1349, 1351-3, 1362-3, 1375/6-7, 1380, 1383, 1386-7, 1393, 1395, 1401, 1403-4, 1414, 1425, 1452 and 1502.[21]

The abbey's relationship with the Cobhams went back a long way. As rectors of the church of Cobham (Kent), the monks of Bermondsey agreed to John, Lord Cobham's foundation of a chantry college there in the fourteenth century, and their interesting and informative charter of 1370, giving licence to the master and fellows of Cobham College to extend the church for their use, is now among the archives of the college re-founded there in 1597 by William Brooke, Lord Cobham. Another charter in the same archive records the sale by Richard de Duntone, lately prior of Bermondsey (resigned 1390), to John, Lord Cobham, and others of a bed with fittings, cloths of gold, rings and a fret of pearls in 1391.[22]

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[19] London Metropolitan Archives, Maryon-Wilson Estate, E/MW/C/1-4, 251-308, 310-32, 337-8, 1358.

[20] E. Hasted, *The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent*, 12 vols. (Canterbury, 1797-1801), III, p. 459; L. Stone, *Family and Fortune, Studies in Aristocratic Finance in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 43-4.

[21] Hatfield, Hatfield House, Herts., Marquess of Salisbury MSS, Court Rolls 14/3, 14/19.

[22] Rochester, Rochester Bridge Trust, Archives of the New College of Cobham, E1/1/4; E1/1/7. A wholly-legible facsimile of the 1370 charter, with an English translation, is in: A.A. Arnold, 'Cobham College', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, xxvii

Three of the five charters and leases from the abbey's archive, now among the Harleian Charters in the BL, were also at some point in the possession of the Cobham family. They comprise a bond, given in 1531 by George, Lord Cobham and another man of Chalk to the abbot and convent, for £20, guaranteeing payments related to the parsonage there, a receipt to John, Lord Cobham from the prior of Bermondsey in 1391, and a transcript of three twelfth and thirteenth century charters, also regarding the advowson of Chalk.[23] Of the remaining two documents, one is a papal letter, addressed to the priors of Bermondsey and St Bartholomew, London, granting protection to the priory of Haliwell in regard to a pension which the latter house received from the church of Welwyn (Hertfordshire), and the second is a lease by the abbot of a London tenement, dated 1439.[24]

An account roll, which is, sadly, the only one known to survive from the Bermondsey archive, is also in the Harleian collection. This appears to be an expense account submitted by the bailiff or receiver of the almoner and/or sub-almoner, which records money spent mostly on building works and repairs in the almonry, sub-almonry and the church, but also on the distribution of alms to the poor, from Easter 1391 to Michaelmas 1392.[25] There is another account roll – of receipts from the issues of all the abbey's temporal possessions, rendered to the king for the period 18 May-29 June 1423, during which the abbacy was vacant and in the king's hands - but this document was probably always in the custody of the crown.[26]

(1905), 72-3 (inserted plate), 99-100. See also J.M. Gibson, 'The Chantry College of Cobham', *idem.*, cxxv (2005), pl. III.

[23] BL, Harleian Charters 46 I. 10; 48 E. 40; 53 H. 13.

[24] BL, Harleian Charters 43 A. 37; 44 A. 16. The papal letter, perhaps from Haliwell's archive rather than Bermondsey's, was printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, revised edn., IV, p. 393, no. IV, and calendared in J.E. Sayers, *Original Papal Documents in England and Wales (1198-1304)* (Oxford, 1999), no. 222.

[25] BL, Harleian Roll A. 20.

[26] PRO, SC 6/1107/11.

Finally, a rent book for all the abbey's estates is now in the library of Canterbury Cathedral, among the archives of the dean and chapter, which they probably acquired from the crown with some of Bermondsey's former possessions in 1541.[27] It is described in the archives catalogue as a paper book of 47 folios, arranged by county and then individual estate, and containing many miscellaneous memoranda, covering the period 1473 to 1480. This book was discovered by my colleague from the English Monastic Archives project, Dr. Nigel Ramsay. He was unable to see it, however, since, unfortunately, it has been classed as 'unfit for production', and the description provided here and in the database relies on the catalogue. One can only hope that the library can be persuaded to have this rare document repaired so that it can be made available for consultation.[28]

We cannot claim to have reconstructed the Bermondsey archive in its entirety; clearly much of it has perished, although there may, of course, be more than our efforts have uncovered. The documents which we have discovered, however, give new hope to students and researchers wishing to study this once-important abbey. From the surviving documentation much can be learned, certainly, about the administration of its estates - especially in the fifteenth century - and gaps in information about its London properties can perhaps be filled from evidence in crown records, and in testamentary wills and other London archival sources.[29] Bermondsey's archive is not the richest example that could be chosen from our reconstruction of extant archives, but it does provide a good illustration of how a monastic archive might be scattered among a host of public and private repositories (albeit, in this case, all

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[27] Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Dean & Chapter Archive, ChAnt/C/161, ChAnt/C/1316.

[28] Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Dean & Chapter Archive, Rental 5.

[29] For example, a 16th-century abbot of Bermondsey's lease now among the records of the Bridge House Estates: London, Corporation of London Record Office, Bridge House Estates, CLA/007/EM/01/007. For the location of the abbey's London property, see: *A Survey of Documentary Sources for Property Holding in London Before the Great Fire*, ed. D. Keene and V. Harding (London Record Society, xxii, 1985), no. 115.

still within the south east of England), and how fruitful an exercise the reconstruction of England's monastic archives undertaken by the English Monastic Archives project can be. We hope that readers will find other archival reconstructions in our database just as, if not even more, valuable.

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MEDIEVAL FRIENDSHIP NETWORKS: AN INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH PROJECT

Medieval Friendship Networks is the title of a British Academy-funded project which is of particular relevance to, and great interest for, monastic studies. The project brings together, over a five year period, scholars working on different aspects of friendship and friendship networks in the Middle Ages. It is structured to include those working in traditionally relatively disparate research areas – Byzantium, the Latin West, the vernacular literatures, as well as on the lay, ecclesiastical and monastic cultures of friendship. The shared premise behind the project is that expressions of friendship, including affective language and gesture, are both formative and indicative of important social and political bonds governing and shaping medieval society. This interpretation of the culture of friendship has marked an important contribution to medieval historiography in recent years (see below, s. iii). A principal aim of the British Academy project is to create a forum for meaningful interdisciplinary research (a term often used in a rather vague sense) in this area through workshops focused on research methods and source-critical issues and through joint publications (see below, s. ii). Finally, while this project is not concerned exclusively with monastic history, it has, partly because of the way in which monastic friendship has traditionally been approached, particularly significant implications for the future of monastic studies (see below, s. iii).

i Friendship studies and monastic friendship

The study of monastic friendship has, generally speaking, lagged behind other areas of friendship and network studies in some important respects. This may sound surprising given the amount written each year on the subject, but much of this work addresses traditional concerns about the spiritual ideals associated with friendship or explores particular individual relationships. The social and political aspects of monastic friendship have not enjoyed anything like the concentration of research devoted to friendship bonds and networks in other contexts, such as among the lay aristocracy. Rather studies of monastic friendship have been dominated by two older approaches, which I label the 'spiritual' and the 'psychological', and which will be discussed below[30] (all of the points raised in this section are discussed in more detail and referenced in section iii below).

There have been two key developments in friendship studies over the last two decades. Firstly, we have seen the establishment of a body of work demonstrating, for different regions and periods, the importance of friendship as a formal, social bond and source of political obligation. Secondly, there has been the dramatic growth, in almost all academic disciplines, arts and sciences alike, of the phenomenon of network studies, and this has been applied also to medieval friendship. These are, however, discrete, if related, objects of study. The first concerns the interpretation of the language and other cultural expressions of friendship, such as physical gestures, rituals and social interactions like feasting. It also means identifying and rejecting anachronistic assumptions about language and gesture which to modern observers seems affective, intimate or erotic. This allows us to assess the actual nature of the relationships and attendant obligations indicated by such language or actions, which are usually very different from what we mean when we call someone a "friend". The second area, networks, concerns the recognition of broader models or paradigms for human relations. In

[30] The opinions expressed here are my own and not the agreed formulations of the project members.

some cases sociologists have even proposed that human social interactions universally conform to specific mathematical formulae, but in any case all network studies involve making sense in some way of the patterns of relationships uncovered by the empirical research. The first question is thus logically precedent: we cannot trace circles or networks of "friendship" unless we can define "friendship" satisfactorily, that is to say unless we know what the relationships we are tracing were – do our sources provide evidence of personal affections, for example, or of carefully contracted allegiances? It is the focus on these two fundamental questions, i) the detection of relationships through the close analysis of language and other cultural expressions, and ii) the detection of networks through the analysis of those relationships, which provides a common basis for comparative study between the different research traditions represented in the *Medieval Friendship Networks* project.[31]

This approach, as I noted above, has received less attention among western monastic historians than elsewhere, and it is one of the aims of the British Academy project to encourage and develop this line of research. The project thus offers two specific advantages for the study of monastic friendship. Firstly, it brings together those of us who have been working outside the traditional areas of monastic friendship research, developing new interpretations of the phenomenon as part of a wider set of social and political, individual and communal, bonds. Secondly, it gives us the opportunity to work closely with those who have explored this aspect of friendship in other contexts, particularly among the lay aristocracy. This will include not just the exchange of ideas but also joint publications arising out of the current project and dealing specifically with comparative methods and source-critical problems. Ultimately it is hoped that this will lead to larger collaborative studies beyond the scope of the present project.

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[31] The general problem is most concisely expressed in M.E. Mullett, 'The detection of relationship in Middle Byzantine literary texts: the case of letters and letter-networks,' in *L'Épistolographie et la poésie épigrammatique: Actes de la 16è Table Ronde du XXè Congrès international des Études byzantines*, ed. W. Hörander and M. Grünbart (Dossiers Byzantines 3, Paris 2003), pp. 63-74.

ii. *The British Academy project*

Medieval Friendship Networks is funded by the British Academy's *Networks* scheme.[32] The core of the project is a programme of ten workshops held over five years in different European countries, running from January 2005 to December 2009. The project is now less than half way through, and we are able to report a number of related initiatives, including a contracted series of publications, a website, and full conferences to complement the workshops. The project directors are Margaret Mullett (Queen's University Belfast), Jón-Viðar Sigurðsson (Universitetet i Oslo) and myself (University of Hull), with a standing committee comprising Walter Ysebaert (Vrije Universiteit, Brussel), Michael Grünbart (Universität Wien) and Emilia Jamroziak (University of Leeds), as well as a group of regular participants and contributors. Naturally the project has been guided in its early stages by the research interests of its founder members: Byzantine epistolography (Mullett, Grünbart), Scandinavian friendship and the sagas (Sigurðsson) and Latin epistolography and western religious history (myself, Ysebaert, Jamroziak). Nor can it pretend to be comprehensive: other aspects of medieval friendship are currently the subject of other collaborative initiatives, conferences and ongoing research projects across Europe. However, by contacting other groups active in friendship studies, by inviting individual scholars to participate in our workshops, by publicising their activities and, in the future, by commissioning contributions to our publication series (see below) from beyond our own network, and by putting together volumes in that series which focus explicitly on current developments in historiography and methodology, we hope to provide a forum for the convenient and accessible exchange of ideas and information on new developments across this area.

Workshops:

[32] British Academy, International Collaborative Activities: *Networks* scheme. This gives rise to the semantic infelicity of a network to study networks – a circumstance which itself reflects the now pervasive intellectual agenda of network studies.

Particular care has been taken to develop and make best use of the workshop format. Rather than read papers in the manner of a mini-conference, speakers are invited to make short presentations, or to comment on short texts (copies of which are distributed), to initiate discussion. The remit is to focus on problems of methodology or source criticism and thus to raise or identify common problems in the interpretation of friendly language in different sources and genres of source. Most of the time is allocated to discussion. Each workshop takes place over one day, divided into two sessions, with on average three speakers in each session. The workshops themselves have been divided into two types. Half will deal with specific genres of source (e.g. letters, charters, narrative sources etc.) and with the problems of the interpretation of friendly language in that genre. The other half will be concerned with evaluating a series of broader methodological or interdisciplinary approaches or technical advances which have been applied to friendship studies, ranging from the debated applicability of sociological or anthropological models through to techniques for computer-based network modelling. For the technical sessions in particular, we plan to invite outside experts to address the workshops. The first workshop in the series had as its theme an overview of current research.

workshops held in the first two years of the project:

- Hull, April 2005 [introductory workshop]: Problems and perspectives: methods and theoretical approaches to the study of friendship in the Middle Ages.
- Leeds, July 2005 [source critical workshop]: Letters and letter collections.
- Brussels, March 2006 [research methods workshop]: 'Actor, agency, network': Personal relations as structuring elements in the formation of broader networks.
- Oslo, September 2006 [research methods workshop]: Social network analysis and medieval friendship.

While it is within our remit to hold small workshops, they are not intended to be exclusive to the members of the network. Anyone interested in participating is most welcome to contact the organisers (see *website*, below) and to join our e-mail list through which details of future workshops and conferences will be circulated.

Publications:
We have a contract with Brepols to publish a series of themed volumes on medieval friendship, under the imprint *Philicitia: Studies in Medieval Friendship and Networks*. The volumes will not be proceedings of the workshops or associated conferences but will be commissioned separately on the basis of work presented at our workshops, at the conferences, and from outside the project, as explained above. Each volume will have a coherent focus on one aspect of friendship studies. This will include volumes surveying the current state of research in various sub-disciplines (setting together, for example, Byzantine studies, the Latin West, vernacular literatures, the lay aristocracy, monastic and religious friendship, etc.); volumes containing critiques of, and case-studies based on, new techniques and methodologies; volumes covering different genres of sources, which will deliberately combine Byzantine and western subjects (two such epistolography volumes are planned for example); and collections of new research articles. The series will also accept relevant monographs and critical editions. The aim is thus to build up a series which can offer firstly an accessible and coherent overview of new research in the area, including new methodological developments, secondly comprehensive surveys of relevant sources and finally a forum for new research.

Website:
The *Medieval Friendship Networks* website is designed and maintained by Michael Grünbart. It includes contact details of the project organisers, a news and archive section for the project, and notices of related publications and relevant links. A bibliography of medieval friendship is currently under construction. The site can be accessed at www.univie.ac.at/amicitia.

Conferences:
We also organise occasional conferences in addition to the sponsored workshops. The most recent, *Friends and Networks in Medieval Europe, East and West*, took place in Belfast in August 2004. Publications related to this and other conferences which preceded the British Academy project are referenced on the website, where future conferences will also be advertised.

iii. *Monastic friendship –the problem and a new approach*.
The remainder of this article will concentrate on those aspects of the project directly relevant to monastic studies, to show how the project contributes to recent developments in the study of monastic friendship. I will briefly discuss the broader context of friendship studies, the traditional approaches which have dominated the study of monastic friendship, and the new methods and approaches being developed and the role of the British Academy project in this.

The importance of examining the social and political context of monastic friendship has been underlined by the widespread recognition, in recent years, of friendship more generally as a major political institution in the medieval west – a development which has been called a 'new constitutional history'.[33] The best known exponent and pioneer of this approach is Gerd Althoff, but similar advances have been made in Scandinavian historiography, in the work, for example, of Jón-Viðar Sigurðsson, and elsewhere.[34] Thus, however creative and unique the

[33] T. Reuter, 'Pre-Gregorian Mentalities', review article, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 45 (1994), 465-74, p. 467, citing Fried.
[34] G. Althoff, *Verwandte, Freunde und Getreue. Zum politischen Stellenwert der Gruppenbindungen im früheren Mittelalter* (Darmstadt, 1990); J.V. Sigurðsson, *Chieftains and Power in the Icelandic Commonwealth*, transl. J. Lundskaer-Nielsen (Odense, 1999). The literature is now very extensive – see e.g. the references and bibliography in J.P. Haseldine ed., *Friendship in Medieval Europe* (Sutton, Stroud, 1999); two important recent contributions are C. Garnier, *Amicus amicis, Inimicus inimicis: Politische Freundschaft und Fürstliche Netzwerke im 13. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 2000); and H. Legros,

specific content of their individual letters and treatises might have been, monastic writers, like all writers in all periods, worked within the framework of a wider social and cultural context and drew on a common set of meanings and assumptions.

The two approaches which have traditionally dominated monastic friendship, which I would term the 'spiritual' and, perhaps more controversially, the 'psychological', have each to some extent treated friendship in isolation from its social and political context. Part of the reason why these approaches have dominated is the sophistication of the expression of friendship in monastic letters and treatises, which contrasts with the lists of names or bare references to bonds and obligations, without elaboration or explanation, which are common to many other types of source. This can create the illusion that monastic friendships were of an entirely different order from the pragmatic manipulations of political life.

The first of these two approaches has explored medieval understandings of friendship as a spiritual ideal in which the bond of friendship is seen primarily as an extension of divine grace in the world, uniting the good for the advancement of the faith or in pursuit of spiritual goals. Thus friendship is not essentially a matter of personal affection, even if such affections, transformed, can be the basis for spiritual friendships of a higher order. This tradition embodies the classical distinction between true and false friendship made on the basis not of depth of intimacy or authenticity of personal affection, but of the ends of the friendship: that which is for private gain is false, and that which works for the "public" good (in classical terms) or the faith, is true. A considerable literature now also exists on the Christianisation of this classical ideal of disinterested friendship.[35] The 'spiritual' approach to

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L'amitié dans les chansons de geste à l'époque romane (Université de Provence, 2001).

[35] For an introduction to medieval friendship and the classical tradition with extensive references see J. McEvoy, 'The Theory of Friendship in the Latin Middle Ages: Hermeneutics, contextualization and the transmission and reception of ancient texts and ideas, from c. AD 350 to c. 1500' in Haseldine ed., *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, pp. 3-44; on spiritual friendship see especially

monastic friendship is a valuable complement to political or network analyses because it elucidates the ideological content of, and shared assumptions behind, the discourse of friendship, without which it would not have been able to function as a vehicle for the expression of shared interests or the cultivation of allegiances.

The second approach, best exemplified in the work of Brian Patrick McGuire, seeks evidence for personal, intimate emotional bonds in – indeed behind – the formalised rhetorical language of friendship.[36] Here the development of a language of friendship is seen as reflecting a growing interest in the personal and emotional aspects of human experience for their own sake. This approach distinguishes between, on the one hand, an instrumental or pragmatic use of friendly language and, on the other, genuine expressions of true inner feelings. The well-known erotic reading of friendly language proposed by Boswell[37] (which McGuire rejects[38]) is logically a subset of this approach, based as it must be on the position that medieval expressions of friendship are accessible to interpretation as evidence of personal intimacy – only the degree or type of intimacy is debated. However, the premise that medieval expressions of friendship can in principle be read as evidence of personal affections of any sort was long ago called into question by R.W. Southern's now famous studies of St Anselm. Southern made two observations which potentially undermine this approach: that identical expressions of friendship in letters are addressed to strangers and

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A.M. Fiske, *Friends and Friendship in the Monastic Tradition*, Cidoc Cuaderno no. 51 (Cuernavaca, Mexico, 1970); C. White, *Christian Friendship in the Fourth Century* (Cambridge, 1992).

36 E.g. B.P. McGuire, *Friendship and Community: The monastic experience, 350-1250*, Cistercian Studies Series 95 (Kalamazoo, 1988). In the introduction McGuire asks 'How does one get behind the abundant literary commonplaces or *topoi* about friendship to the people who formed them and to their feelings for each other?' (p. xii.)

37 J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality: Gay people in Western Europe from the beginning of the Christian era to the fourteenth century* (Chicago, 1980).

38 McGuire, *Friendship and Community*, pp. xlix-l.

acquaintances, to communities and to individuals, alike; and that expressions of friendship are directed not only to the recipients of letters but to others less well known to the writer with no diminution of the emotional content of the language.[39] One implication of this is that any attempt to distinguish between degrees of affection, and so between instrumentality and affectivity, on the basis of the language employed can only be subjective, based on psychological inference rather than on conclusive linguistic or contextual evidence.[40] But if Southern's observations cast doubt on the instrumental/affective interpretation of monastic friendship, he did not replace it with an explanation of the phenomenon generally; rather he treated some of Anselm's letters, those of spiritual friendship mostly addressed to his former monks at Bec, in isolation and as distinct from the other, more pragmatic references to friendships in the collection.

An alternative approach to friendship, exploring its potential as evidence for 'circles' or 'networks' of allegiance or common interest, and thus as central to monastic and ecclesiastical politics, has been developing slowly. It began with John McLoughlin's work on John of Salisbury, my own early studies of Peter of Celle, and then with Walter Ysebaert's work on Stephen of Tournai – all influenced more or less directly by Margaret Mullett's work on Byzantine friendship.[41] These

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[39] R.W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A study of monastic life and thought 1059-c.1130* (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 67-76; ibid. *Saint Anselm: A portrait in a landscape*, (Cambridge, 1990), pp. 138-65.

[40] These points are discussed in detail in my forthcoming 'The Monastic Culture of Friendship' in J. Clark and J. Greatrex eds, *Monastic Culture in Medieval England*, (Boydell, forthcoming).

[41] J. McLoughlin, '*Amicitia* in Practice: John of Salisbury (c.1120-1180) and his Circle,' in *England in the Twelfth Century, Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990); J.P. Haseldine, 'Understanding the language of *amicitia*. The friendship circle of Peter of Celle (c.1115-1183)', *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), 237-60; W. Ysebaert, 'Ami, client et intermédiaire: Étienne de Tournai et ses réseaux de relations (1167-1192), *Sacris Erudiri* 40 (2001), 415-67; M.E. Mullett, 'Byzantium: A Friendly Society?', *Past and Present* 118 (1988).

were not the first to call attention to the potential importance of friendship networks in ecclesiastical and monastic contexts, but they were the first to attempt to develop new methods for correlating systematically the language and vocabulary of friendship in letters with the contexts in which it was used, and for surveying the incidence of this language across whole letter collections rather than (as has been more traditional) to comment on particularly richly articulated examples of individual relationships. They have all turned the focus from the ideological content of the discourse of friendship - the theory of friendship - to the deployment of that language in life, and have attempted to create working definitions of friendship in practice. This has of course has shed new light back on the medieval ideal of friendship. In the process this work has also further called into question the fundamental division of expressions of friendship into 'instrumental' and 'affective'; there does not have to be a basic level at which friendship, in modern terms, is true (i.e. expressive of personal affections or intimacy), against which 'lesser', pragmatic instances can be judged – this is merely a modern cultural construct which obscures our understanding of medieval *amicitia*. This is a significant re-orientation of thought about monastic friendship, but it does of course propose an interpretation of friendship which is more consistent with explicit medieval (and classical) ideals of friendship than with modern romantic conventions.

This work is still in its early stages; we have the results of a few case studies of individual letter collections, and the increasing availability of searchable databases is making the process of surveying the uses of friendly language across a wider range of texts more feasible. Some tentative conclusions are beginning to emerge: all of the studies cited point to a use of friendly language in predominantly pragmatic contexts, requests and appeals and especially disputes or where a relationship is under stress; friendship is routinely entered into formally; status seems to be more important than acquaintance, let alone liking: *amici* are far more likely to be high-ranking and well-placed allies than intimates or companions. By contrast, letters to close associates or letters whose content is primarily spiritual seem to eschew professions of friendship. But the picture is a complex one: different case studies have related friendly language to the social status of the recipients of letters, to the typology of letters, to the contexts in which the letters were written, as well as to the later principles of selection governing the letter collections in which most of them survive – edited, censored and, it may be, re-drafted for posterity. In addition, each have adopted different criteria for what constitutes friendly language, different definitions of social status, different typologies of letters. Above all, and partly because of this lack of consensus on the precise basis for analysis, we have as yet no systematic comparisons between different letter collections. This is one area in which the British Academy project, by bringing together previously isolated researchers, has seen a real advance.

And of course letters are far from the whole story of monastic friendship. The illusion of the separateness of monastic friendship, which I noted above, arises partly from the tendency of many of those who have worked on spiritual friendship to pay little attention to legal, administrative and memorial sources, which must be an integral part of the picture. An important recent contribution in this area has been made by another key member of the network, Emilia Jamroziak, whose network study of Rievaulx and current work on monastic networks is developing an equally important line of research for the understanding of monastic friendship.[42]

The British Academy project has therefore been able to bring together scholars previously working in isolation not just to exchange ideas but to develop specific research methods and to discuss source-critical problems. We also propose to use the workshop format in the near future to evaluate and share knowledge about relevant technical advances, in data base construction, for example, and network modelling software. The aims of the project in the longer term are to consolidate these advances in comparative research through the *Philicitia* series

[42] E. Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132-1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks* (Brepols, Turnhout, 2005); and 'Strategies of survival and success on the borders,' *Monastic Research Bulletin* 11 (2005), pp. 30-33.

described above and, we hope, to lay the basis for larger scale collaborative research projects in the future.

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TITHE INCOME AND MANAGEMENT IN SOUTHERN ENGLAND, 1280-1480

Economic and Social Research Council (grant number RES-000-23-0005)

Directors:
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Tithe was an ecclesiastical tax levied for several centuries at a rate of approximately 10 per cent on all types of production. Tithes were used by the Church for the maintenance of clergy and church buildings and alms for the poor. During the middle ages, however, it became common for monasteries to appropriate tithe income for their own use. A system developed by which monasteries collected the tithes from a particular parish, becoming the titular rector, ensuring the performance of the cure of souls by appointing a stipendiary vicar. From the end of the twelfth century, monastic appropriation of tithes became common and a very important source of revenue for many religious houses. It is likely that tithe receipts made up approximately one-third of the income of the wealthy Benedictine house of Durham Priory, for example. Although many parishes were not appropriated, and their tithes were collected and disposed of by parish priests, large quantities of surviving records concerning medieval tithes derive from monasteries.

It has been the aim of this research project to collect and analyse tithe receipts from largely monastic sources. Hitherto not intensively studied by historians of England in the middle ages, tithe data have a number of potential uses. The ecclesiastical and monastic historian is likely to be concerned with the way in which such an important source of income was managed. The collection of one-tenth of all types of output represented a considerable administrative challenge for which sophisticated procedures of tithe collection and record-keeping were developed. Just as medieval landlords changed the way in which they used their landed resources according to economic circumstances, so the tithe owner had to respond to various pressures in collecting tithes. Tithe data also have potential uses for the economic and agricultural historian. A lot is known about seigneurial agriculture in medieval England because of the exceptional survival of thousands of manorial accounts. These documents record the way in which lords managed land under their direct control. However, seigneurial production only ever accounted for a small proportion of total output and much less is known about the economy of the peasant and tenant sector. It will never be possible to reconstruct the day-to-day decision-making on peasant farms in the way in which it has been possible for manorial demesnes. However, tithe was levied on seigneurial and non-seigneurial production alike and therefore provides some much-needed hints about agriculture outside the manorial demesnes.

The researchers identified five institutions from which the survival of accounting material giving information on tithe receipts is unusually good. Four of these were monastic and comprise the Benedictine houses of Durham, Westminster, Canterbury and Glastonbury. The fifth is the bishopric of Winchester which, although not a monastic institution, had appropriated two parishes in Hampshire. There were a number of ways in which ecclesiastical institutions with appropriated parishes could manage and dispose of their tithe income.

Most obvious was the direct collection of tithes through agents and collectors employed in the parishes. Tithe collection was laborious because of the variety of types of income and the number of ways in which tithe payers attempted to lighten the burden of the tax. It was not uncommon, for example, for those owing grain tithes to remove their sheaves before the arrival of the tithe collectors, leaving only the tenth sheaf, possibly rather small and poor in quality by comparison with the others. The direct collection of tithes could be useful for monastic officers in charge of supplying the community with bread and beer. However, appropriated parishes were often some distance from the institution which owned the tithes and the cost of transport made it impractical to collect tithe grain directly. Under these circumstances, some form of tithe sale was opted for. One option was to lease tithes for one or more years in return for fixed payments in cash or kind. This had the advantage of ease: the tithe buyer would take over the complicated process of tithe collection. However, leasing also deprived the tithe owner of income if tithe output increased over the period of the lease. The alternative was to sell grain tithes on an annual basis, perhaps by a process of bidding shortly before the harvest, when both tithe buyer and seller could estimate the likely yield of tithes.

In practice, monasteries with a number of appropriated parishes tended to adopt a variety of methods of tithe collection. Tithes from nearby parishes, especially those containing a manor owned by the monks, were often collected directly. Those from parishes further afield were leased or sold. For example, the monks of Finchale, a dependent cell of Durham Priory situated a few miles from the mother house, often collected the tithes from Bishop Middleham parish directly. Bishop Middleham was around ten miles from the cell. They also owned the tithes of Giggleswick in North Yorkshire, which was situated around sixty miles away, and these were always sold or leased. Written accounts presented to the chapter give details of tithes disposed of in these various ways, sometimes even providing the names of tithe buyers and quantities of grain and produce received as tithe.

The best series of receipts from tithes sold for cash so far discovered is from Durham Priory. The monks of Durham and its dependent cells received tithes from thirty-five parishes during the late middle ages, although not all at the same time. They sold large numbers of tithes each year. These data, available for an exceptionally long period from 1270 to 1540, provide a useful index of the monks' income. Indeed, faced with a crisis in the internal administration of their house during the 1430s, the monks themselves tabulated tithe income over the previous century and a half in order to demonstrate to visiting authorities how greatly their revenues had diminished, through no fault of their own. Cash tithe receipts can also be used to estimate tithe output in the parishes in question and therefore provide an index of changing production levels across a long period of time. The Durham data reveal the very serious impact on the agrarian economy of conflict with Scotland in the early fourteenth century, followed by the crisis caused by the Black Death. Following a brief phase of recovery, production levels appear to have plummeted even further during the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and showed scarcely any sign of recovery before the dissolution of the monastery.

The datasets from the other archives used in this project are made up largely of grain tithe receipts, that is from tithes collected directly by agents of the tithe owners. Grain tithe receipts provide details of the relative quantities of different cereals and legumes produced over long periods of time. The different topography of the parishes, along with varying commercial links, led to contrasting patterns of output. In the highly fertile and commercialised parishes of Monkton and Eastry in Kent, which belonged to Canterbury Cathedral Priory, very large quantities of barley were grown. By contrast, in the more isolated and less fertile Hampshire parishes, the tithes of which were collected by the bishops of Winchester, greater quantities of oats were grown. Analysis of this extensive body of grain tithe data is still under way but it is hoped that it will be possible to define changing patterns of non-seigneurial arable cultivation over a long and interesting period of English history, extending from the mid-thirteenth to the mid-sixteenth centuries.

One final aspect of the project, another ongoing side of the research, is the possibility of comparison with other European countries. Desirable though comparative institutional and economic histories are, differences in source material often render detailed analysis impossible. Tithe, however, was levied almost everywhere in western Europe and, as such, raises the possibility of comparison. Extensive work was conducted on tithe data, largely from the early modern period, by scholars associated with the Annales School during the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Although most of the data they collected are from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is possible to use them to examine the impact of factors such as commercialisation and mortality crises in different parts of pre-industrial Europe. Preliminary work has begun on a remarkable series of tithe data from all the parishes of the diocese of Toledo in Castile La Mancha in Spain from the seventeenth century. It is hoped that these data will permit the testing of ideas on the importance of markets, the size of peasant holdings and demographic trends developed using the English medieval tithe data collected as part of this project.

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Neil Rushton. 'Peasant agrarian output in late medieval England: measuring tithe and demesne production, c. 1250-1430.' February 2005. University of Cambridge.

Ben Dodds. 'The Black Death in perspective: grain production in the Northeast, 1250-1348.' April 2005. Economic History Society Conference.

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A MONASTIC HISTORY OF WALES

In the writing of history, the religious houses of medieval Wales have long been overshadowed by their more numerous, generally more prosperous, and normally better documented neighbours east of Offa's Dyke. Yet their history is inseparable from the religious, cultural, economic, political, literary and urban history of Wales during the period between the arrival of the Normans in the late eleventh century, and the Dissolution of the Monasteries in the sixteenth. In an attempt to identify more firmly Wales' place on the monastic map of Europe, a new large-scale project seeks to establish a comprehensive monastic history of medieval Wales.

The principal aim of this project is twofold. It attempts to bring together the various strands of current and recent research on aspects of Welsh monastic history, and it aims to consider previously neglected areas of scholarship in the field. For the first time all the religious orders which were active in Wales during this period will be considered together, including the mendicant and the military as well as the regular orders, male and female, and hospitals.

To date the history of the Welsh monasteries is somewhat tainted by the uneven nature of the evidence and the consequent, perhaps inevitable, imbalance in the attention the different religious orders have received. Best documented and most numerous of all, the Welsh Cistercians have long attracted the scholarship of archaeologists and historians alike, while the unique relationship which developed between some later medieval Cistercian abbots and the Welsh bards has not escaped the notice of literary scholars.[43] The two Welsh nunneries of the order have recently been lifted from comparative obscurity.[44] The spread of the Benedictine order, which in Wales took the shape mostly of small priories dependent on mother houses in England or France, has tended to be regarded as largely synonymous with the spread of Norman settlement in the south of Wales and the Marches, and discussion of the Augustinian settlements has focused on their replacement of the ancient Welsh *clas* communities with regular canons, and on the extent of their estates.[45] The lesser represented of the enclosed religious orders, the Cluniacs, Premonstratensians and Tironians, have to date occupied a rather more marginal space in the religious history of Wales, as have the mendicants and the military orders, and this project seeks to remedy this imbalance. All of the main groups of friars were present in later medieval Wales (and Monmouthshire), although they were perhaps not what can be called a prominent or numerically strong presence in the Principality.

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[43] On the Welsh Cistercian, note D. Robinson, *The Cistercians in Wales* (London, 2006); D.H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (Leominster, 2001), *White Monks in Gwent and the Border* (Pontypool, 1976) and *Atlas of Cistercian Lands in Wales* (Cardiff, 1990); J.F. O'Sullivan, *Cistercian Settlements in Wales and Monmouthshire, 1140-1540* (New York, 1947), E. Roberts, 'The Impact of the Cistercians on Welsh Life and Culture in North and Mid Wales', *Denbighshire Historical Society Transactions* (2001), pp.12-23; F.R. Lewis, 'Racial sympathies of Welsh Cistercians', *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion*, (1938), pp.103-118; M. Gray and P. Webster (eds.), *The Cistercians in Wales and the West* (forthcoming). On the Cistercian abbots as patrons of the Welsh bards, see C.T. Beynon Davies, 'Y Cerddi i'r Tai Crefydd fel Ffynhonnell Hanesyddol', *National Library of Wales Journal* XVIII (1974), pp.268-86.

[44] Note especially the work of J. Cartwright, *Y Forwyn Fair, Santesau a Lleianod* (Cardiff, 1999) and 'The Desire to Corrupt: Convents and Community in Medieval Wales' in D. Watt (ed.), *Medieval Women in their Communities* (Cardiff, 1997), pp.20-48. See also D.H. Williams, 'Cistercian Nunneries in Medieval Wales' in *Cîteaux: comentarii cistercienses* 26 (1975), pp.155-174.

[45] E.g. D. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*, 2 vols, British Archaeological Review, British Series, lxxx (1980).

Assessing their contribution to the shaping of Welsh culture and society between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries will further our understanding of the development of Welsh religious and urban life during this period.

Particular focus will also be on the many and varied links and contacts between the Welsh religious communities and society, both the immediate, local lay community and wider society, including kings and popes,[46] as well as religious communities beyond Wales and trading links with the wider world. Considering Wales's geographical location, the project will further examine issues of frontier communities and border conflict and the involvement, political and otherwise, of the various religious groups located on these borders.

In order to approach a comprehensive monastic history of Wales, this project will systematically assess the documentary, archaeological, hagiographical, literary and etymological evidence available in Wales and beyond, as well as drawing on the expertise of scholars already working in the field. At present in its infancy, it is hoped that this effort will promote an unduly neglected area to a rather more prominent and accessible position in the monastic history of medieval Europe.

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THE CHURCH AND COMMUNITIES: CLUNY AND ITS LOCAL PATRONS, 900-1050

My University of Birmingham thesis centred on the abbey of Cluny, founded near Mâcon in 909 by Duke William I of Aquitaine, which grew to prominence as a great reforming house in European monasticism. The

[46] In this context, the dealings of the Welsh communities with the Roman Curia, e.g. through canonisations of Welsh saints, will be revisited.

Cluny archives are unusually rich[47] and offer an opportunity to examine many aspects of the growth of the abbey and the society around it across the whole social spectrum and over a 300-year period after foundation. The abbey's initial growth was slow, making the first 150 years of that period very interesting in terms of growth patterns for donation and landholding.

Georges Duby's great study from 1953[48] produced a detailed picture of society in the Mâconnais between 900 and 1200. Since then other historians have built successfully upon his work[49], often studying aristocrats or peasants but rarely together. The work of Barbara H. Rosenwein, in particular, has shed light on the nature of social relationships in and around Cluny and how relationships with Cluny were viewed, and my thesis aimed to build upon this work looking at relationships in two specific geographical areas around Cluny. By examining all the documents relating to these two areas and contrasting the findings both between the places and across the social spectrum, I

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47 Over 5000 documents cover a period of more than 300 years. There are some original documents, some eleventh- to thirteenth-century copies from cartularies and further sixteenth- and seventeenth-century copies taken prior to the French Revolution. These are kept at the Biblioteque Nationale. The charters are also edited and published as Bernard, A., and Bruel, A., *Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny*, Paris 1876-1903. Facsimiles of some of the charters are also available in Atsma, Hartmut, and Vezin, Jean, *Les plus anciens documents originaux de l'abbaye de Cluny*, *Monumenta Palaeographica Medii Aevi*, 3 volumes, Turnhout, 1997-

48 Duby, G., *La Société aux Ixe et XIIe sièc;es dans la région mâconnaise*, Paris 1953.

49 Rosenwein, Barbara H., *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century*, Philadelphia 1982; *To Be The Neighbor of St Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property 909-1049*, London 1989; *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe*, New York 1999; Bouchard, Constance Brittain, *Sword, Miter and Cloister – Nobility and the Church in Burgundy 980-1198*, London, 1987; Bois, Guy, *La Mutation de l'an mil: Lournand, village mâconnais de l'antiquité au féodalisme*, Paris, 1989; Barthélemy, Dominique, "La mutation féodale a-t-elle eu lieu?" in *Annales ESC*, 47, 1992, pp. 767-77.

hoped to be able to draw conclusions regarding how different relationships with Cluny developed.

As well as examining the effects of geography on relationships with Cluny, the scope of the thesis also included the nature of land transactions with Cluny, be they gifts, sales, exchanges or precarial grants; and the different motivations for such transactions that could be discerned through the documents. In particular, the thesis examines the role of women in relationships with Cluny – not just in terms of when and how women undertook donations to the abbey, but how they came to hold land in order to donate it, other ways in which they could be involved in relationships with Cluny and a detailed examination of the gendered nature of memorial activity at Cluny. The starting point for much of this work must be the work of Rosenwein, Regine Le Jan, and Constance Brittain Bouchard.

The conclusions of this work have been unexpectedly interesting. Taking two specific settlements within 30km of Cluny as points of focus, it is clear that memorial donation is a gendered activity, in that women approached it differently and undertook it differently from men; and that women in different locations behaved differently from each other. Women were also remembered differently from their menfolk.

I have also questioned the role of witnesses in constructing, promoting and safeguarding the relationship between donors and Cluny. In particular, the evidence suggests that women played a far greater role than previously thought in the shaping and maintenance of family patronage strategies and land management.

Finally, I have been able to partially reconstruct the social and patronage networks in and around the two settlement areas upon which the thesis focuses, to show how Cluny formed different relationships in different areas and came to hold a different place in each of these two communities. By then comparing these communities with other evidence from different parts of France, from Italy, and from Barcelona, the true distinctiveness of the two relationships with Cluny emerges.

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ENGLAND'S HERMITS, 970-1220

'England's hermits, 970-1220' (unpublished University of Cambridge PhD thesis, 2006) is a study of the eremitical life in England across the two hundred and fifty years in which it made its greatest impact. At the beginning of this period monastic reformers were starting to align themselves with existing hermit cults. By its end the last of the great hermits culted in medieval England was dead. My introduction assesses three topics definitive of hermit studies: the nature and utility of the documentation; the fluid and evolving terminology applied to hermits, and the historiography. Appraising the latter identifies a present deficiency: that, to date, hermits have been viewed against their Anglo-Norman backdrop with insufficient enquiry into Anglo-Saxon precedents and continental parallels. My object in response has been to produce a synthesis which fills in this missing context, while at the same time updating Rotha Clay's *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London, 1914): a task overdue.

Following this introduction the study's four-part structure reflects the transformation hermits underwent, as paragons of holiness, from emulators to exemplars: by patterning their lives on model predecessors hermits became saints even in their lifetimes. Part 1: 'The paradigm' argues that hermits of late antiquity as well as native models were venerated and emulated in Anglo-Saxon England - most visibly in its eastern, south western and northerly regions, and that established local hermit cults gave fuel to monastic reform. Where there was a drive towards cenobitism, eremitism proved a countervailing inspiration, and as it spread in Italy, France, Normandy and the Rhineland during the eleventh century, in England it invigorated native esteem for the paradigm to the extent that bolstering a saint's career with eremitical credentials became a commonplace of hagiography. Part 2: 'The vocation' contends that out of this burgeoning asceticism, about the third quarter of the eleventh century, two new types of eremite emerged: 'new hermits' (a type originally identified by Henrietta Leyser, but here shown to have been as evident in England as on the continent) and 'new *inclusi*' (a category of my creation). Less introspective than their solitary forbears, both looked or were pressured to serve the souls of others: the former by founding religious communities, the latter by anchoring themselves in villages, towns and cities. Until this point eremitism had been mainly monastic and associated with the ultimate penance of exile, but from here, more lay and extroverted, its saving power came increasingly to be understood in the context of Christomimesis.

Part 3: 'The hermits' presents these figures in three vocational capacities: as ascetics, intercessors and seers. As ascetics they sought to create a purgatory on earth that their sins might be offloaded before death. Though primarily penitential, ascetic exertions served no less to quell temptations in a twofold war against the flesh and the devil. As intercessors hermits bore special authority and outranked other religious in the spiritual hierarchy. Absorbed in a dialogue with heaven, they interpreted divine visitations as answers and prompts to prayer, relaying Delphic messages to wondering supplicants. As seers they saw through space, time and hidden dimensions of creation. Part 4: 'The saints' demonstrates, by examining twelfth-century England's great concatenation of hermit cults, the effectiveness of the formula 'from emulator to exemplar' (*aemulatio aemulationem parit*). Ten hermits alive in this century earned hagiographies (*vitae*, *miracula* or both) – a culting of solitaries on an unprecedented and since unequalled scale. Monasteries culted them to harness a paradigm of monastic spirituality and lay devotion in an era marked by competition among religious orders. The written memorials these hermits generated were the final attestation to the power of renunciation in eleventh- and twelfth-century England.

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THE MONASTIC PATRONAGE OF HENRY II IN ENGLAND, 1154-1189

Henry II of England, unlike his contemporary King Louis VII of France, was not viewed as a particularly religious King. He put off going on Crusade, contributing financial resources instead of personal involvement. He was not known as a zealous founder of monasteries, even after the death of Thomas Becket. Despite this rather dim view of Henry's religious piety, his monastic patronage is of importance and can provide insight into this multi-faceted King.

Henry's religious patronage is the subject of my doctoral thesis entitled, 'The Monastic Patronage of Henry II in England, 1154-1189', which will be completed in 2007. Originally, the thesis was to include Henry II's patronage in France but it soon became clear that there was too much information. The thesis is based around several important questions. Was Henry a religious individual? Were there patterns to his religious patronage based on familial history, preference of religious order or events? Was Henry as a patron affected more by political events than personal piety? Henry's reign was towards the end of a period of monastic expansion. New orders were forming and slowly being introduced into England. These formative years would determine the monastic and religious landscape of England for centuries to come.

There is a wide range of sources for the study of Henry's patronage. From the developed vitriol of Gerald of Wales to the comparatively gentle criticism of Walter Map, the contemporary chronicles provide the necessary background to Henry and the events of his reign. Charters and Pipe Rolls contain the bulk of information about Henry's monastic patronage. There were roughly 1,700 charters issued by Henry regarding these English institutions. The charters provide information on the form and recipients of Henry's patronage. The Pipe Rolls, a continuous series from 1155, were a vast resource of a portion of Henry's financial transactions. These three sources work together, supplementing each other as well as providing independent information.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter examines the sources used, addressing their short comings as well as their usefulness. The second chapter looks at Henry's grants of land and money, supported by charter and Pipe Roll evidence. The third chapter examines Henry's grants of fairs, quittances and warren. The fourth chapter isolates the Pipe Roll data pertaining to grants of pardons and outstanding debts. The fifth chapter concentrates on Henry's confirmation charters. The sixth chapter examines Henry's writs of protection while the seventh, and final, chapter looks at Henry's involvement in the disputes concerning the monasteries.

Analysis suggests that Henry was not a particularly pious individual. He most likely had an average concern for the health of his soul but his patronage does not indicate an overly strong devotion. Despite this, there are patterns to his patronage. He often acted similarly to his mother, Matilda, and grandfather, Henry I but was also influenced by his father in Anjou and his wife in Aquitaine. The charters and Pipe Rolls suggest that the Benedictine Houses were receiving the greatest amount of patronage but Henry was also patronizing newer orders namely the Augustinians, Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians. While certain events did affect his patronage, there is no true break in his levels of patronage, even after the martyrdom of Thomas Becket. It is more difficult to answer the question regarding the political nature of Henry's patronage. It could be argued that after the death of Becket, Henry had to acknowledge that politics and religion were poor bedfellows.

Although the idea of being able to assign an exact motive to Henry's monastic patronage is dubious, his patronage can be used to help understand his actions and decisions in relation to the church and his realm. While not an overtly religious King, Henry did not shirk in his duty towards the religious institutions of England.

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THE PHANTOM PRIOR OF MOUNT GRACE

In my researches for *Heads of Religious Houses III: England and Wales 1377-1540* I have had, understandably, several puzzling problems regarding the succession of particular heads. One house that has caused a great deal of trouble is the Yorkshire charterhouse of Mount Grace and in particular the occurrence of a Prior Robert Layton. Hopefully the situation has now been resolved but the whole episode is a salutary example of the sort of error that can initially arise and is then compounded by later historians. The earliest reference I have come across to Robert Layton is to be found in Dr John Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense*, published in 1758.[50] In his list of priors of Mount Grace he lists Robert Layton as the fifth known superior of the house placing him in the sequence between Nicholas Love and Thomas Lockington and noting that he occurs in 142[-] (*sic*), citing in a footnote a testamentary reference, which at the outset proved very difficult to track down. This sequence of priors, with the same uncertainty about the precise year in the 1420s, is repeated by William Brown in his *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* article on Mount Grace in 1905,[51] but a change occurs in Beatrice Barstow's list in the religious history section of the third volume of the *Victoria County History of Yorkshire* (1913), when she assigns Robert Layton the precise year of 1421, but still citing Burton's *Monasticon* as the source.[52] A further complication then arises with the publication of Dr W.A. Pantin's magisterial three-volume edition of *Documents illustrative of the activities of the general and provincial chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540* (Camden Society, 3rd series, 45, 47, 54, 1931-7). In the second volume Dr Pantin discusses in detail the extra-ordinary meeting of the Benedictines at Westminster in May 1421, convoked by Henry V acting upon certain complaints against the order, and citing the Crowland chronicle continuation which claimed that foremost among the complainants was the Carthusian prior of Mount

[50] John Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense* (York, 1758), p. 258.
[51] *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XVIII, 264.
[52] *Victoria History of the County of York*, III, 193.

Grace (unnamed), who had previously been a Benedictine.[53] Dr Pantin (no doubt taking his cue from the list in the *Victoria County History*) identifies this unnamed prior of Mountgrace involved with the 1421 Benedictine General Chapter as Robert Layton. There the situation rested until it became essential that I needed to try to track down Burton's original testamentary reference for Prior Layton, since no other surviving sources appeared to name him as prior. In my researches for *Heads III* I had discovered that Nicholas Love was still prior in 1423,[54] which made the 1421 date for Robert a little dubious. Furthermore, according to Carthusian sources Love was described as 4th rector and 1st prior of Mount Grace and Thomas Lockington as 2nd prior, and there was no Robert Layton mentioned: nor did he occur in any Carthusian obituaries.[55] A preliminary search of the York probate records for the year 1421 also proved fruitless (it seemed slightly odd in any case that Burton had been so imprecise about the year when the archival source he was using generally had the date of the will and the subsequent date of probate). Furthermore, in none of the chronicle sources describing the 1421 General Chapter could I find the prior of Mount Grace actually named. A more exhaustive search of the York probate registers eventually ran what I presume was Burton's reference to ground, although the year in question turned out to be 1432[/3], not the 1420s. Experience has shown that John Burton could be somewhat lackadaisical when it came to dates and references, and I suspect very strongly that this 1433 source is the one he used. It is the will of William Authorp, rector of Kirk Deighton, dated 20 February 1432/3 and proved on 10 March following.[56] The appointment of the testamentary executors reads as follows: *Et ad istud testamentum exequendum constituo et ordinos [sic] executores meos Robertum Laton' rectorem ecclesie parochialis de Crofton' priorem Montis Gracie et Thomam Swyne capellanum* [fo.

[53] *English Black Monks*, II, 98, 107; for the Crowland material see W. Fulman, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum veterum* (Oxford, 1684), I, 513-14.
[54] TNA, E101/81/11.
[55] See J. Hogg, 'The pre-Reformation priors of the *Provincia Angliae*', *Analecta Cartusiana*, new ser. I(1) (1989), 25-58, at 29, 55 n. 161 and 56, n. 163.
[56] York, Borthwick Institute, Prob. Reg. 3, f. 351r-v.

351v] *ad faciendum et perimplendum omnia premissa in forma predicta*. There is no punctuation mark preceding the title of the prior of Mount Grace and I suspect that John Burton identified Layton the rector of Crofton and the prior as one individual. That of course the will is referring to *three* executors is made clear by the probate clause: *Decimo die mensis Martii anno domini millesimo CCCC^{mo} tricesimo secundo probatum fuit prescriptum testamentum et commissa administracio dominis Roberto Laton' rectori de Crofton' et Thome Swyne capellano executoribus in eodem nominatis et iuratis in forma iuris, reservata potestate consimilem administracionem committendi venerabili et religioso viro priori Montis Gracie coexecutori eciam in eodem testamento nominato cum venerit eam in forma iuris recepturus* [fo. 351v]. This, I fear, is the source of the prior who never was. Robert Layton (Laton) was presented by the duchy of Lancaster to Crofton rectory in the West Riding on 3 May 1429 and was instituted on 18 May.[57] He exchanged it for the rectory of Adel, also in the York diocese, and his successor was instituted on 14 August 1433.[58] His name must be excised from the list of priors of Mount Grace charterhouse.

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57 *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, XVIII (1940-1), 55; York, Borthwick Institute, Reg. 19, f. 342v).
58 York, Borthwick Institute, Reg. 19, ff. 371v-371Ar.

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