

# MONASTIC RESEARCH BULLETIN

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## THE MUSEUM OF LONDON ARCHAEOLOGY SERVICE MONOGRAPH SERIES ON LONDON'S RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The Museum of London Archaeology Service is currently working on a series of monographs on archaeological excavations of London's monastic houses funded in part by English Heritage and in part by individual developers. A new approach has been taken to the archaeological reporting of these sites with all the strands of evidence synthesised to provide a single chronological account. This has been designed to produce a fuller account of the sites in a more readable format, and to allow current research debates to be addressed in thematic sections.

The first in this series was produced in 1997 and is entitled *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital, London* (Thomas, Sloane & Phillpotts 1997. MoLAS). This hospital was founded as a modest hospital on the fringes of the City of London in 1197 and the cemetery associated with that initial foundation was partially excavated. The extensive refoundation in 1235 marked the beginning of a complete rebuilding of the priory and hospital. A stone infirmary and chapel at right angles to each other were constructed, and an associated cemetery laid out to the west; the population of this 13th-century cemetery has been analysed and is notable for the high numbers of adolescents contained within it. A new infirmary was built at the end of the 13th century, and the northern end of its predecessor was used as a chapel. In the garden of the infirmary lay a large waterlogged pit containing ceramic, wooden and leather artefacts. The monastic cloister was also built at the end of the 13th century and evidence of timber buildings, possibly for the lay sisters, was found. During the 14th century the infirmary was extended and stone buildings were built for the lay sisters and new drainage systems were laid out and latrines built. Tenements for wealthy residents were constructed during the latter years of the

establishment's history.

The remainder of the monastic houses are in varying stages of preparation and will be produced over the next three years.

The Augustinian nunnery of **St Mary Clerkenwell** has proved to be a fascinating site; its church, cloisters and service courtyard were constructed in stone in 1180-1200 after 40 years of timber buildings. The poverty of the house in the 13th-15th centuries appears to be reflected in the piecemeal development which included three tile kilns constructed only 40m from the church door. Documentary research has revealed that in the late 12th century the nunnery may have functioned as a quasi-double house, occupied by perhaps twelve brethren as well as the nuns themselves. By the 16th century, the once-more profitable nunnery was reconstructing its cloisters in fine style, and was renting out over 20 tenements within the precinct to lay folk.

The priory of **St John Clerkenwell** (the English headquarters of the Knights of St John) can be shown to have developed from a preceptory (a Hospitaller estate) in the 12th century to a palatial residence sharing more of the characteristics of a bishop's palace than a monastic convent. The church was probably one of the more lavishly painted in London in the late 12th century. Through the 14th century, parts of the outer precinct exploited the nearby meat markets of Smithfield and Cowcross; pits filled with cattle skulls and horncores were found in one slaughter yard.

Analysis of excavations at the Cluniac abbey at **Bermondsey** (founded in the 1080s) has indicated several areas of interest. One of these concerns the eastern end of the church, the apparent northern half of which was recorded by W. F. Grimes in 1956. Published representations of the church have indicated a structure with an east end comprising three

apsidal chapels and two further flanking chapels to north and south. Recent analysis suggests that the foundation representing the northern apse belongs to a different building phase and that a large trench, some 4m to the south of the north presbytery wall, may have removed the foundation of a north aisle arcade within the chancel. The hitherto accepted width of 10m for the presbytery seems out of proportion to its recorded length. Moreover, an apsidal structure discovered during the 1984-8 excavations 20m south of Grimes' excavations may prove to be part of the eastern arm of the abbey church.

Initial analysis of **Merton** Priory in Surrey has indicated that there was a major rebuilding programme of the infirmary in the mid 13th century, later than previously thought. The documentary research has also revealed that during this period this large Augustinian priory achieved national prominence with frequent visits by Henry III in the 1240s, 1250s and early 1270s and it may be that much of the rebuilding work was instigated by him. Environmental analysis has revealed information about the canons' diet with hazel nuts, plum, cherry, grape, wheat, and charred barley seeds recovered. Also, close to the infirmary, a single sample of over 1000 black mustard seeds was found suggesting the importation of plants probably to be used in medicines. Initial observations from one third of the skeletons indicate an adult male bias. Although this may be predictable for a priory site, such a marked bias is surprising in a cemetery also used for lay burials from the parish. Many interesting examples of pathology have been recovered, including a high number of cases of diffuse idiopathic skeletal hyperostosis (DISH) which may be a condition associated with an opulent diet.

Research on the five excavations within the Cistercian abbey of **St Mary Stratford Langthorne**, founded in 1135, have revealed parts of the abbey church, cloister, infirmary cloister, great drain, and cemetery and a substantial medieval masonry building surrounded by a moat near the

abbey gatehouse. The overall size of the eastern arm of the church makes it comparable in scale to that at Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, founded three years earlier, and its plan bears similarities with Abbey Dore, Herefordshire. The architectural fragments suggest a similar development to Merton. Few can be dated to the period of the abbey's foundation; instead, a large group from the late 12th and early 13th century suggest that the masonry church may have replaced an earlier, timber one. The cemetery may have been divided by a ditch into zones with the lay cemetery on one side and the monks' on the other. Burials were also recovered from within the church, some of which were accompanied by chalices and patens suggesting burials of priests. It will be important to compare the evidence of medieval burial customs and skeletal pathology with the evidence from Merton. Analysis of a sub-sample of 270 of the burials has shown a similar preponderance of male burials to Merton. These figures may alter when the entire sample of 669 burials is analysed in detail. The prevalence of dietary deficiency diseases appears low and this, taken in conjunction with a high incidence of DISH (as at Merton), may indicate a relaxation of the normally strict Cistercian Rule.

A second much later Cistercian abbey has also been excavated, that of **St Mary Graces**, founded in 1350 on the site of the East Smithfield Black Death cemetery. This work revealed substantial parts of the east end of the church, the main cloister, chapter house, dormitory/infirmary, refectory, kitchen, and a smaller cloister. Analysis of the construction of these buildings suggests that the Cistercians first attempted to build the smaller cloister to the south of a pre-existing Black Death chapel, before abandoning this modest scheme in favour of a larger church and cloister to the north-east. The abbey was however a small one, with a maximum of 12 monks. Its documented poverty is indicated by the modest scale and utilitarian construction of many of the buildings, and the failure to complete the north cloister walkway in stone. The general ground plan of the abbey contains many elements of the classic Cistercian layout, but

also suggests the influence of contemporary friaries, particularly with regards to the church and the second cloister. A total of 130 burials were found in the church, some of them likely to be those of abbots, monks or documented nobles. One decapitated skeleton near the high altar is likely to be that of Sir Simon Burley, a favourite of Richard II executed in 1388. As with Stratford Langthorne a number of individuals clearly suffered from DISH. To the north, the churchyard, laid out in part over the excavated Black Death cemetery of 1348-9, produced 315 lay burials.

The eighth house in this series is the only one of this group to be within the walls of the medieval City of London: **Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate**, founded by Queen Matilda in 1108. The site now lies under several streets north of Aldgate, at its junction with Leadenhall Street; Mitre Street bisects the line of the priory church and Mitre Square is based on the monastic cloister. A number of excavations here in 1979-1984 have elucidated parts of the church of the Augustinian canons, the prior's range and an adjacent great tower or belfry, and their private door through the adjacent city wall. The excavations have three special features: plans of about 1586 of all the monastic buildings, a few decades after the Dissolution, have survived, and they will be interpreted for the first time and stretched on the modern map by computer. Secondly, a wealth of engravings and lease-plans shows how the buildings gradually disappeared into housing during the 17th to 19th centuries; and thirdly, two fragments of the church have been found and restored inside a present building on the site.

Two other London monastic houses also have post-excavation analysis currently being undertaken. A monograph on Benedictine **Westminster** will include works carried out within the precincts of the Abbey including the rediscovery of the 'Great Drain' which survives in places complete, and a 13th century merchant's house associated with the October Fair which was held in the northern precinct. MoLAS will also be publishing

its excavations at the **London Charterhouse**, the Carthusian monastery founded in 1371. Previous works by Professor Grimes and the Museum of London have identified the church, little cloister and great cloister (including some of the monastic cells). Recently excavation has been carried out on the western side of the precinct revealing two phases of medieval buildings against the precinct wall and evidence for timber and stone drains.

*The publication of the last of these sites (Merton) will be complete by Summer 2001, and the series will represent a huge stride forward in the understanding of the physical and historical evidence for London's religious houses. Each monograph will comprise full details of the archaeological sequence and finds as well as detailed historical sections. All will be fully illustrated. If you are interested in details of how to obtain the monographs as they are published, please contact:*

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**MEDIEVAL CARTULARIES: Further Additions**  
Nicholas Vincent

The following items have come to light since the publication of the more substantial list of additions in last year's *Bulletin*. For my

knowledge of the Dunwich Hospital charters I am indebted to Christopher Harper-Bill. For a list of Wiltshire cartularies compiled by John Aubrey, not used by Davis, providing additional details on the provenance of Davis nos.435, 514, 523-4, 1292, 1332 etc., see *Wiltshire: The Topographical Collections of John Aubrey* ed. J. E. Jackson (Devizes, 1862) p.2, section headed 'Antiquaria', drawn to my attention by Simon Keynes. From the previous list, in *Bulletin* 3 (1997), it is sad to report that the references to Jesus College Cambridge ms.77, listed under St Albans, appear to be incorrect and should be deleted. I am presently working on a brief list of Irish medieval cartularies and enrolments, complementary to the listings by Davis, to be published, hopefully, in a forthcoming *Bulletin* and for which I would be grateful for any supplementary references.

#### ENGLAND AND WALES:

**Anglesey** (Cambs., Augustinian Priory, f. c. 1212), a schedule of 7 episcopal and other charters, s.xiii-xiv, now London, PRO E41/380, and cf. E. Hailstone *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Bottisham and the Priory of Anglesey* (Cambridge Antiquarian Society 1873), for others of the priory's evidences.

**Athelney** (Davis no.15), the former Phillipps mss.4810-11 are said to have been deposited in the library of Downside Abbey, together with a large quantity of other unsorted material from the estate of the late David Rogers, and note that there is a further copy (made in 1900) of this portion of Harbin's transcript at Taunton, Somerset Record Office ms. DD/SAS/C795/PR44.

**Bristol, St Augustine** (Davis no.77), pd. *The Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, ed. David Walker (Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, Gloucestershire records series



10, 1998).

**Bruern** (Oxon, Cistercian Abbey, f. 1147), a schedule of 6 private and episcopal charters rel. the abbey's lands at Ablington, Gloucs., s. xiii: PRO E210/8778, s. xiii with one addition s. xv.

**Canons Ashby** (Davis no.157), add PRO E210/8769, a schedule of 7 charters s. xiii.

**Chester** (Davis nos.228-33), add Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales ms. Bodewyrd (Sotheby deposit 1932) 16, book of transcripts s.xvi in 36ff., including copies of Davis no.232 and of an inspeximus by Henry VIII reciting royal and comital charters from the s.xii.

**Croxton** (Davis nos.291-3), add Belvoir Castle, Duke of Rutland ms. Add.1, a formulary, after 1509, including copies of a large number of letters dating to the time of abbot Elias 1476-1534, 106ff.

**Dieulacres** (Davis nos.308-10), extensive extracts from one or other of the cartularies by John Booth of Twemlow (d. 1659), Chester City Archives ms. CR63/2/24 (Booth Liber D), and note that there are many original charters amongst the collection of the Duke of Westminster at Eaton Hall.

**Dodnash** (Suffolk, Augustinian Priory, f. c. 1188) see *Dodnash Priory Charters*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, Suffolk Charters xvi (1998), editing the priory's muniments mostly from originals at Helmingham Hall and Ipswich.

**Dover** (Davis no.312), add London, PRO E41/377, 8ff. of inquisitions and copies of royal charters s.xii-, temp. Edward III.

**Dunwich** (Suffolk, Hospital, f. before 1199), copies of the hospital's early muniments produced in litigation, PRO E315/128/82-3, s. xvi, drawn to my attention by Christopher Harper-Bill.

**Ely, See of** (Davis nos.357-79), add PRO E41/241, booklet reciting an inspeximus of Henry VIII of royal charters from King Edgar onwards, s.xvi.

**Freiston** (Lincs., Benedictine Priory, f. c. 1114), see Ros family cartulary listed below.

**Lesnes** (Davis nos.555-6), add London, PRO E41/379 and E41/396, enrolled evidences s.xiv/xv including various charters relating to Dartford, London and Walkingstead (Surrey).

**Lowcross** (N. Yorks., Leper Hospital, f. c. 1220), cartulary roll, s.xiv, of about 20 deeds s.xiii-, Durham University Library, Special Collections ms. Loc.3 no.6, cf. *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne i*, ed. W. Brown, Surtees Society, lxxxvi (1889) 171-96.

**Marrick** (N. Yorks., Benedictine nuns, f. 1154-8), no cartulary recorded, but a substantial collection of original charters pd in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica* v (1838), from charters now mostly at Hull University Library, Beaumont of Carlton DDCA(2), with a few strays at Leeds University, Brotherton Library, and others sold at Sothebys 11 December 1979 lot 17.

**Newent** (Davis nos.688-9), add enrolled copies of royal writs and instructions, concerning custody of the priory temp. Edward III, PRO E163/4/51, s.xiv med.

**Nunkeeling** (Davis no.728), further extracts from the fire-damaged BL

ms. Cotton Otho C viii, in the Liber C of Charles Fairfax (1597-1673), formerly Phillipps ms. 10300, now Chatsworth House, Duke of Devonshire ms. Hardwick 21 pp.33-5.

**Pentney** (Davis nos.751-2), the lost cartulary listed as Davis no.752, is almost certainly to be identified as Belvoir Castle, Duke of Rutland ms. Grants no.6014, a parchment schedule, s.xv/xvi, including copies of two s.xii charters of the Vaux family, and a list of benefactors, further copied in *ibid.* ms. Add.3 (Ros family cartulary) fos.30v-31v, s.xvi. There is a substantial collection of original charters for the priory, s.xii-, in Dublin, Trinity College ms. 1208 nos.324, 329-31 etc.

**Ripon** (Davis no.814), the chapter act book listed by Davis no.814 is probably to be identified as Leeds University, Brotherton Library ms. D. & C. Ripon ms. 39. In addition see *ibid.* ms.35b, a court book and cartulary s.xvi containing copies of charters from the s.xii-, noted in *Memorials of the church of SS. Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, ed. J.T. Fowler, 4 vols., Surtees Society lxxiv, lxxviii, lxxxii, cxv (1882-1908), i, p.299, *ibid.* ms.468, enrolment of charters rel. the chantry of St Andrew, 1410 (pd *Memorials* i 189-96). A further volume, formerly Ripon Cathedral Library ms.359, copies of papal and royal privileges to Ripon and Fountains, s.xvi, remains untraced, apparently not deposited at Leeds, and not now to be found at Ripon.

**Royston** (Davis no.827), add London, PRO E41/237, enrolled copies of royal, episcopal and other charters, s.xii-, s.xiv.

**St Mary-de-Pre** (Hertfordshire, hospital, f. 1194), enrolled copies of 6 charters, mostly of the Gorham family, PRO E40/14572, s.xii/xiii.

**Sandwich**, St Bartholomew's Hospital (Kent, f. before 1227), parchment cartulary in 31 ff., s.xv, reciting deeds from the s.xiii-, Maidstone, Kent

Record Office ms. Ch10b, with a paper copy from the same in 38ff, s.xvi including a rental, *ibid*.

**Slebech** (Pembrokeshire, Hospitallers, f. c. 1170), a schedule s.xvi of c.40 charters s.xii-, and a notarial inspeximus 1308 of a further 7 episcopal and comital charters s.xii-, and later paper copies now Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales mss. Slebech 247, 3144, 11477, with further copies in Cardiff, Central Library ms. 4.83 (formerly Phillipps ms. 19880), for which see B. G. Charles, 'The Records of Slebech', *The National Library of Wales Journal* v (1948) 179-98, esp. 190-95; *St Davids Episcopal Acta 1085-1280*, ed. J. Barrow, South Wales Record Society xiii (1998).

**Trentham** (Staffs., Augustinian Priory, f. c. 1153), a schedule of 8 episcopal and archidiaconal charters relating to the church of Sutton, s.xii, London, PRO E326/9007.

**Westminster** (Davis nos.1010-22) a roll (roughly 8ft in length), listing rents acquired and alienated by the abbot s.xvi in., Huntingdon, Huntingdonshire Record Office ms. Acc. 1 Manchester M37/6/7.

#### **SECULAR CARTULARIES:**

**Baskerville** family of Shropshire, enrolled copy s.xv of 8 grants by and to the family, Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales ms. Pitchford 907.

**Bassingbourne** family of Cambridgeshire, enrolled schedule of 9 charters s.xii/xiii, London, PRO C146/9292.

**Braybrooke** Additional cartulary mentioned in *MRB* 3, p. 33 (formerly

Phillipps ms. 24256, sold at Sotheby's 30 November 1976, lot no. 784) is now Cambridge University Library, Add. ms. 9527 (ex inf. Jayne Ringrose, CUL).

**Dispenser** (Davis no. 1234), add London, PRO E41/243, enrolled copies in 5 membranes of charters, s.xiii-, made in 1341.

**Eccleshall Castle**, Staffordshire, an inventory of s. xiv charters found at Eccleshall 1348, PRO E210/10092.

**Ford**, Adam de la, of Stawell and Bawdrip, Somerset, enrolled copies in 4 membranes of 33 deeds, s.xiv- 1475, Taunton, Somerset Record Office ms. DD/AH Box 65 no. 11.

**Hose family** of Wiltshire and Somerset, various copies of early deeds at Taunton, Somerset Record Office mss. DD/WHb3089-94.

**Montfort family**, of Beaudesert, Warwicks., enrolled copies of 10 deeds temp. Edward III, PRO E41/375.

**Montfort family**, earls of Leicester, a famous collection of original evidences and extracts relating to both France and England, s.xii-xvii, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. Clairambault 1188, used extensively by C. Bémont *Simon de Montfort* (Paris 1884) appendices.

**Ros family** of Beivoir, a cartulary including inquisitions and some charters, s.xii-, in 98ff, s.xvi, Belvoir, Duke of Rutland ms. Add.3, including (fos. 45r-46r) the earliest charters of Freiston Priory, as *Monasticon* iv 125, but here with full witness lists.

**St Omer family** of Wiltshire, a schedule of 10 charters s. xiii-, PRO E210/9962, s. xv.

**Stafford**, Humphrey earl of, duke of Buckingham (1402-60) (Davis nos. 1322-3), add Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales ms. Peniarth 280 pp.1-56, the so-called 'Red Book of Caures Castle', copies by Robert Vaughan s.xvi from an earlier register of charters, memoranda etc. in 148ff.

**Thornhaugh**, Cambridgeshire, a parchment roll in 5 membranes, s.xiv, including copies of c.50 deeds, s.xiii-, relating to Thornhaugh, Peterborough and the St Medard family, now Bedford, Bedfordshire Record Office ms. Russell of Woburn Box 290.

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## WORCESTERSHIRE NUNNERIES

For some time I have been working on the three nunneries of medieval Worcestershire: Cookhill, Westwood and Whiston Priors. My aim has been simple: to uncover and study all the relevant source material and then construct a history of each house.

Later it may be possible to concentrate further research on particular aspects of an house, such as Westwood's links with the local salt industry at nearby Droitwich or the same priory's relationship with its mother house at Fontevrault in France. Whiston or Whistones Priory just outside Worcester, was as often called White Ladies. Why? They had no formal connection with the Cistercian order but rather, in their origins, they may well have included a group called the *penitentes sorores* of Worcester. Were these women a part of Pope Gregory IX's order for erstwhile prostitutes who wore penitential white robes and were often known as White Ladies? This and other questions remain to be

researched and much further work is needed on the extensive Westwood archive and Cookhill Priory.

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## THE HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION'S PROJECT ON THE RECORDS OF MEDIEVAL RELIGIOUS HOUSES

**a project to enhance the coverage of religious houses in the indexes  
to the National Register of Archives**

### **PROGRESS:**

The last edition of the *Monastic Research Bulletin*, contained an introductory note on the Commission's project to load information about surviving records of medieval religious houses on to the indexes to the National Register of Archives (NRA). Since then, progress has been as follows: So far, records noted in lists and catalogues in the NRA relating to some 133 of 725 collections previously reported on in the HMC's *Reports and Calendars* series have been added to the indexes; and a further 132 of the original *Reports* have been examined. As a result, the NRA's Organisations Index now has some 609 entries assigned to **Code 8: 'pre-reformation institutions'**, divided as follows among the following sub-codes:

- 1: Augustinian Canons 133
- 2: Benedictine monks 109
- 3: Cistercian monks 70
- 4: Cluniac monks 21
- 5: Premonstratensian canons 23
- 6: Other monastic orders 20 (comprising 2

- Bonhommes, 3 Carthusian, 7 Gilbertine, 3  
Order of Tiron, 5 Trinitarians)  
7: Friars 24 (comprising 2 Augustinians, 9  
Carmelites, 1 Crutched Friars, 4 Dominicans,  
7 Franciscans)  
8: Military orders 23  
9: Nuns 57 (comprising 8 Augustinian, 28  
Benedictine, 1 Bridgettine, 11 Cistercian, 2  
Dominican, 5 Gilbertine, 2 Order of St John)  
10: Collegiate churches 49  
11: Chantries and fraternities 92

An individual entry may have only one sub-entry or (in the case of Bury St Edmunds, for example) more than 70.

As will be obvious, the project still has a long way to go, and the index will not yet contain a complete set of references for most individual institutions. Nevertheless, its fruits are immediately available to researchers wishing to use the indexes to the NRA. These are available either at HMC's public search room or via our web site at <<http://www.hmc.gov.uk/>>. From there you can gain access to the NRA indexes. Once into the indexes you can either search on 'Easy access methods', by the name of the institution you are researching, or on 'More complex searches', by code and other qualifiers if required.

## **CARTULARIES:**

As part of the Religious Houses Project, we are endeavouring to ensure that information contained in G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies* (1958), and subsequent amendments, is also loaded on to the indexes. We are most fortunate in being able to use Dr Davis's own interleaved



copy of *Medieval Cartularies*. It is hoped that Dr Nigel Ramsay will be able to spend some time working on this project with us towards the end of this year. All new discoveries will be communicated in the next edition of the *Monastic Research Bulletin*.

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## **THE DEPENDENT PRIORIES AND CELLS OF THE BENEDICTINE MONASTERIES OF MEDIEVAL ENGLAND**

The English dependencies of French religious houses, the so-called alien priories, are a phenomenon well-known to medieval historians; less familiar are those small religious houses subject to English abbeys and priories. Of about 130 denizen Benedictine monasteries in late medieval England, 29 possessed at least one tributary and a further 79 were themselves satellites. Most of these houses were small cells with six monks or fewer, and have rarely been regarded by historians as worthy subjects of study. Nevertheless, as the above figures indicate, the dependencies of English abbeys and priories were an important feature of the monastic landscape of medieval England. To provide a detailed survey of this neglected category of monastery is the aim of my doctoral research.

The practice of sending a handful of monks to a cell was periodically denounced by medieval reformers, but this arrangement has attracted no

sterner critic than Dom David Knowles. Knowles thought small dependencies to be a travesty of the Benedictine ideal, stunted entities which 'served no religious purpose whatever, and were a source of weakness to the house that owned them', in time becoming 'the most considerable of all the elements of spiritual decay in the monastic life of the country.' As with so many areas of monastic history, Knowles's depiction of the dependent house still holds sway.

This wholly negative assessment is, however, unsatisfactory for a number of reasons. In particular, it fails to distinguish sufficiently between different types of satellite or to seek to understand the various functions these houses performed. Unlike the alien priories, few denizen dependencies were founded as mere bailiwicks, but were instead intended to be either fully-fledged priories or what might be described as free-standing chantries. Mother houses found a number of uses for their satellites - as rest-homes, training grounds for aspirant superiors, outlets for troublesome inmates or as bases for the administration of more distant estates - and several dependencies had sizeable incomes to be tapped when required. Equally, although their inhabitants must have followed an abbreviated monastic observance, there is no evidence to suggest that dependent houses were commonly centres of vice or scandal.

The study of this group of monasteries is also valuable for the window it provides into the obscure history of the small religious house in medieval England. Whatever the value of the monastery-cell relationship, it has resulted in a happy documentary consequence; that is, that records pertaining to the dependency have sometimes survived in the archive of the mother house. For the cells of Norwich and Durham Cathedral Priories, hundreds of account rolls are preserved in those monasteries' voluminous archives, giving much information about some of the tiniest religious houses in medieval England. I hope that the examination of these and similar records will permit some general conclusions about the

functioning of lesser monasteries and the particular issues and problems which they faced.

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## **COMPELLE INTRARE: MONASTIC REFORM MOVEMENTS IN TWELFTH-CENTURY NORTHWESTERN EUROPE**

Exploring the constitutional history and institutional development of five monastic reform movements in England and France during the twelfth century, this thesis was prepared under the supervision of Professor Bernard Hamilton at the University of Nottingham and was the basis for a PhD awarded in July 1997. It examines the founders, constitutional history, development, and expansion of five distinct twelfth-century monastic reform movements: Fontevrault, Tiron, Savigny, the Paraclete and Sempringham. The first three have their origins in the forests of northern France in the last decade of the eleventh century, spreading throughout the Anglo-Norman world during the twelfth. The other two groups discussed, the Paraclete and Sempringham, have been chosen to demonstrate the wide-ranging appeal of the twelfth-century monastic reform; whilst both began differently from the foundations established by Robert, Bernard, and Vitalis, by the end of the twelfth century they had much in common with the others.

The degree of response the five monastic reformers evoked shows the real need they were addressing. By combining their twin vocations of apostolic preaching and eremiticism, they - perhaps more by accident than by design - attracted a large number of followers and a wide range of patrons, which ensured the success of the monastic foundations they

established to house their followers under a rule. Most notable about these new monasteries was that they at least initially rejected the traditional aristocratic dominance of monastic life, and opened the doors to - indeed, founded new monasteries for - those of all ages and every condition.

The backgrounds - social, ecclesiastical, and educational - of the monastic reformers discussed in this thesis were varied, yet all turned to the Benedictine tradition when it came to organise their followers under a rule. Whilst the social, economic, and intellectual ferment of the eleventh century created a climate conducive to the success of the subsequent ecclesiastical reform movements; their success proved inimical to their original eremitical ideals and led to division both within individual communities and within the order as a whole. These divisions may have been the result of outside interference in monastic affairs, as with Savigny, or, as in the case of Tiron, the result of internal political disputes.

All five of these monastic reformers sought to live the eremitical life, but as the fame of their holy lives spread they were forced by necessity to incorporate them into a community. St Romuald of Ravenna wanted to make the whole world a hermitage; in many ways, Robert of Arbrissel, Bernard of Tiron, Vitalis of Savigny, Peter Abelard, and Gilbert of Sempringham brought the hermitage to the world. Their monasteries came into being in order that their followers could dwell together in peace, scrupulously and without a hint of scandal; their successes paved the way for a new form of religious expression in the century that followed.

The last of the twelfth century monastic reformers, Gilbert of Sempringham, died on 4 February 1189. In many ways his death marked the end of a monastic century, for he was canonised by the same pope,

Innocent III, that authorised the activities of the Franciscans, the first of the new orders of mendicant friars that, like the eremitical monastic groups of the twelfth century, so marked the thirteenth. The new mendicant groups found different solutions to the same social and religious problems faced by the monastic reformers I have discussed in this thesis; the arrival of the friars marks the natural end to a century of monastic ascendancy.

This research has led to three recently published articles; I am currently collaborating with Bernard Hamilton on an article placing the career of the twelfth-century heretic Eudo of Brittany in the context of the contemporary apostolic and reforming movements and his progression to heresy.

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### SHAP ABBEY

I am assembling all the material which is available on Shap Abbey (Premonstratensian) (Westmorland), with a view to identifying the Abbey's land holdings, compiling a history and writing a guide for local use. I am also interested in the land holdings of other religious houses in the Eden and Upper Lune Valleys.

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### MONASTIC BREWHOUSES

Mr Andrew Davison, whose main research is centred on the Cistercian abbey of Jervaulx in Yorkshire and its estates, writes that he has a

subsidiary interest in the development of brewing and malting technology in the medieval period. Even the smallest monastic establishment had a brewhouse, and those of the larger monasteries were brewing on a larger scale than most contemporary secular producers. He would be particularly interested in:

a) details of the physical remains of brewhouses or malthouses, whether as standing structures or (particularly) those located in excavations. Palaeoenvironmental information, for example, on types of grain recovered from excavated brewhouses or malthouses, would also be of interest.

b) documentary references (especially from unpublished sources) to brewhouses and malthouses. Areas of particular interest include references to construction of and repairs to the building, details of equipment, details of the numbers of people employed in brewing and malting, and of materials used (information on quantities of malt supplied to a brewhouse, for example, is very useful in trying to calculate the scale of production).

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