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JAMES TORRE'S COLLECTION OF YORKSHIRE MONASTIC CHARTERS[1]

Amongst the Yorkshire antiquaries of the seventeenth century who were unable, or disinclined, to publish the fruits of their researches, the name of James Torre (1649–1699) stands pre-eminent.[2] Torre's two major works survive in manuscript. His 'Ecclesiastical Collections', in several volumes compiled in the first half of the 1690s, includes details of religious houses, parish and conventual churches in York and the archdeaconries of the West Riding, East Riding, Nottingham, and Cleveland. York Minster and the peculiars in the diocese of York are also covered, as are the antiquities of York city and its civil government. Torre's other main work, his 'Supplemental Collections' to Dugdale's *Baronage*, runs to five volumes and an appendix.[3]

The 'Ecclesiastical Collections' in particular have been extensively quarried by later historians, and abstracts have frequently appeared in print. Ralph Thoresby used the manuscripts of his 'late dear friend James Torre' for the lists of abbots, rectors, and vicars in the *Ducatus Leodiensis*, first published in 1715.[4] Francis Drake acknowledged that his *Eboracum* of 1736 was 'in church matters … only a key or index to some part of Mr Torre's collections, as his

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[1] I am grateful to Peter Young, of York Minster Library, and the staff of the Bodleian Library, Oxford, for their assistance during the preparation of this paper.

[2] The group includes such men as Richard Gascoigne, Charles Fairfax, Nathaniel Johnston and John Hopkinson, but not Roger Dodsworth, whose *Monasticon Anglicanum* was published after his death, through the efforts of his friend William Dugdale. For the life of James Torre, see Francis Drake, *Eboracum, or the History and Antiquities of the City of York* (London, 1736), unpaginated preface; O(xford) D(ictionary) of N(ational) B(iography), sn. Torre.

[3] Now Y(ork) M(inster) L(ibrary), MS L1 (6–10) and Additional MSS 57–64. I have found no comprehensive description of Torre's manuscripts; most of what has been stated depends on Drake, *Eboracum*, unpaginated preface. It is intended that the next issue of *Monastic Research Bulletin* will include a more detailed description of Torre's surviving manuscripts, together with a transcript of his index to the charters which are the subject of this paper.

[4] Ralph Thoresby, *Ducatus Leodiensis*, 2nd edn with additions by T. D. Whitaker (Leeds and Wakefield, 1816), p. xvi.

are to the records themselves'.[5] John Burton's *Monasticon Eboracense* of 1758 may justly be seen as an improved edition of parts of the 'Ecclesiastical Collections'. But Burton characteristically declined to admit his debt to Torre, stating rather that his perusal of the 'Ecclesiastical Collections' 'certainly … must render my work very valuable', and printed a long list of the manuscripts Torre had examined.[6] Torre's lists of incumbents have found their way into all the major topographical studies of Yorkshire published during the nineteenth and early twentieth century, including Whitaker's *Craven* (1805), Hunter's *South Yorkshire* (1828–31), Poulson's *Seigniory of Holderness* (1840–41), and the various works of Harry Speight.

Although many of Torre's lists have been revised by modern scholarship,[7] his work has enduring value, not least because several of the manuscripts he used are now missing. Amongst the lost records are a large number of medieval monastic charters which had been stored in St Mary's Tower in York after the Dissolution. The destruction of the tower by Parliamentary forces during the siege of York in June 1644, and the resultant loss of countless monastic charters and other documents, have often been described, but the survival of several thousand deeds has frequently been overlooked.[8] Roger Dodsworth copied two thousand or more in the later months of 1644 and afterwards, most of which seem then to have been in his own hands.[9]

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[5] Drake, *Eboracum*, unpaginated preface.

[6] J. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. vii.

[7] See in particular the *Fasti Parochiales* volumes in the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series.

[8] See B. A. English and C. B. L. Barr, 'The Records formerly in St Mary's Tower, York', *Y(orkshire) A(rchaeological) J(ournal)*, 42 (1971), pp. 198–235, 359–86, 465–518, esp. pp. 9–10, and n. 9, which lists several accounts. This long and detailed study includes many references to the Torre deeds, and has been of great value in the preparation of the present paper. See also Peter Wenham, *The Great and Close Siege of York, 1644* (York, 1970), pp. 57–74; Barbara English and Richard Hoyle 'What was in St Mary's Tower: an Inventory of 1610', *YAJ*, 65 (1993), pp. 91–4.

[9] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Dodsw. 7, 8 and 95 are largely composed of copies or abstracts of charters previously in the tower, made not long after the explosion.

THE FORMATION OF THE COLLECTION: TORRE'S CATALOGUE AND INDEX

Torre's catalogue, or abbreviated calendar, of approximately 1850 mainly monastic deeds,[10] entitled 'Ancient writings belonging to religious houses in the province of York, lately bundled up and numbered from amongst those confused heaps that lie dispersed in the old abbey of St Mary's, York',[11] was drawn up in the 1670s or 1680s. The nature of the collection, and the houses represented, leave little doubt that the deeds had been in St Mary's tower.[12] Drake says that Torre himself made up the bundles.[13] Elsewhere Torre refers to the deeds as the 'original charters contained in thirty bundles, selected from the same which some time ago had been deposited in York manor, or St Mary's abbey, in the hands of [blank] Godfrey'. This was probably Stephen

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[10] There are very occasional duplicates and omissions, so the exact number is uncertain. Adding the number in each bundle from Torre's catalogue gives 1851; Burton, who counts 45 rather than 46 in bundle 1 despite providing a transcript of B1 N46 (3.125), arrives at 1850 (1.f.26v). In 1769 he gave the total as 1868 (see below). For an explanation of the references to Burton's transcripts used here and subsequently, see the introductory notes in the 'Index to Burton's Transcripts' below.

[11] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tops. Yorks. b.14, ff. 214v–261r (spelling modernised).

[12] The institutions, which correlate well with those listed in the inventory of 1610, are indicated in English and Barr, Appendix X, 'No. of Charters in Torre's Index'. Richmondshire houses, other than St Martin's, Richmond, a cell of St Mary's in York, are represented only by a few strays, as the Dissolution receipts from the archdeaconry of Richmond were administered separately from the rest of Yorkshire until 1552: English and Barr, p. 210.

[13] 'For it was here [the chamber where St Mary's court was usually kept] they were seen by the late industrious Mr Torre, who set himself about to separate the legible ones from the other that were defaced. To collect them into different rolls, or bundles; each grant, as well as the bundle, numerically marked. And then to make a register, or catalogue, of the whole; so that the religious houses, and towns that belonged to them, being alphabetically disposed, any of the originals may be found in an instant': Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 575. But Drake and Torre were not contemporaries, so this was probably Drake's deduction from the bundles, catalogue, and index.

Godfrey, bailiff of St Mary's from about 1663 until 1703.[14] Torre's descriptions indicate the bundles were only a proportion of the deeds in the 'confused heaps', but no subsequent reference to any residue has been found, and so it is probable the remaining deeds were dispersed or destroyed not long afterwards.[15]

Torre assigned a number to each of the bundles, and another number to each deed in the bundle, so references are of the form 'B5 N7'. After some hesitation at the beginning, his catalogue proceeds methodically from 'B1 N1' to 'B30 N31'. The catalogue is in Torre's distinctive style, with the page divided into four narrow columns. Entries for most deeds include the grantor, beneficiary, and a description of the property. Witnesses are seldom given. Occasionally, where Torre found a deed of particular interest, he made a fuller abstract which might include some witnesses. Frequently he added a rough drawing of an armorial seal, with a description. The deeds for a particular religious house or location are scattered throughout the catalogue, reflecting the disorganisation of the 'confused heaps' from which the documents were taken.[16] To overcome this problem Torre compiled an index to the catalogue, by location within religious house.[17] York houses were omitted from this index. As well as the monastic deeds, which form by far the largest part of the collection, there are many deeds which do not name a particular house. These were, in the main, transactions concerning property later granted to monastic institutions. A few deeds belonging to chantries were possibly monastic muniments, or perhaps came from a separate archive arising from the abolition

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[14] 'Chartae originales in 30 bundellis contentae ex eisdem selectae quae olim in manerio Ebor' vel abbathia sanctae Mariae ibid' fuerant repositae penes … Godfrey': English and Barr, p. 220, citing the York Minster volume of Torre's 'Ecclesiastical Collections', YML L1 (7), p. viii.

[15] The court of the liberty of St Mary's, which belonged to the Crown, appears to have held the deeds, but did not survive long into the eighteenth century. The last steward of St Mary's, Thomas Adams, died in 1722. The court was discontinued, and the buildings fell into disrepair: English and Barr, p. 223; Drake, *Eboracum*, pp. 574–5.

[16] Bundles 26–30, which are almost entirely composed of Guisborough deeds, are the exception.

[17] YML, MS L1(3). It is intended to include a transcript of this index in the next issue of *MRB*.

of chantries in accordance with the acts of 1545 and 1547.[18] The deeds range in date from the twelfth to the fifteenth century, but the great majority are from the thirteenth century. Many had been copied previously by Dodsworth. Extrapolation from a small sample suggests that about a fifth of the deeds in the Torre collection had been copied by Dodsworth after the explosion at St Mary's tower, far too many to be accounted for by duplicates, or by the odd transcript made by Dodsworth before 1644.[19] As both men seem to have been selecting from a rather larger volume of material, this shows only that at least some of the deeds in Dodsworth's hands in 1644 found their way back to St Mary's later in the century.

Torre may have had his two great works in view when he selected the deeds and made his notes from them. His index by house, rather than by grantor, indicates they were intended mainly for the 'Ecclesiastical Collections', rather than the 'Supplemental Collections'. The 'Ecclesiastical Collections' has an entry for each religious house, which includes an alphabetical list of the lands held, followed by a table of heads of the house, and 'testamentary burials'. Brief notes of deeds, taken from various sources, are given in the list of landholdings. Those from the catalogue are readily identified by their B N references.

James Torre died in July 1699 at the age of forty-nine. It is not surprising that, as far as can be ascertained, he had made no attempt to publish his 'Collections'. Their detail and extent were too great for there to be any

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[18] B1 N7, B1 N31, B16 N64, B29 N33, B30 N28, B30 N29.

[19] Denholm-Young asserted that MS Dodsw. 7 and 8 contained transcripts of all the Torre charters: N. Denholm-Young, 'Yorkshire Monastic Archives', *Bodleian Quarterly Record*, 8 (1935–36), pp. 97–8; but this is far from being the case. English and Barr note fourteen Rievaulx and two Guisborough deeds present in both collections: English and Barr, 'St Mary's Tower', pp. 232–3. Between them, Roche, Appleton and Healaugh account for about 160 deeds in MS Dodsw. 7 and 8, and approximately 142 in Torre's catalogue. Some twenty-nine deeds for these three houses are common to both collections. The remarks made by English and Barr following the statement that Dodsworth's and Torre's collections were 'quite distinct' are based on the misconception that a great many of the deeds in MS Dodsw. 7 and 8 were copied before the explosion at the tower, and cannot be accepted: ibid., pp. 232–3).

realistic hope of recouping the cost of printing.[20] The 'Ecclesiastical Collections', with the index to Torre's catalogue, went to Archbishop John Sharp on Torre's death, and on Sharp's death in 1714 to York Minster Library, where they remain. The 'Supplemental Collections' were inherited by Torre's son Nicholas, of Snydall near Pontefract, and afterwards by Nicholas's son the Rev. James Torre of Snydall, who had them in 1778. In 1898 they were in the possession of the Rev. Henry J. Torre, of Norton Curlieu, Warwick, but in the last century they were reunited with the 'Ecclesiastical Collections' in York Minster Library.[21] Torre's catalogue was in Drake's hands in the 1750s,[22] later passing to Burton, and eventually to the Bodleian library.

THE WORK OF DRAKE AND BURTON

The year 1736, some thirty-seven years after Torre's death, saw the publication of the texts of seventy-five deeds from his collection. The deeds, belonging to St Mary's abbey and its dependencies at St Bees, Richmond, and Lincoln, were printed in Drake's *Eboracum* from the originals.[23] Drake also printed almost verbatim transcripts of Torre's 'Ecclesiastical Collections' for St Mary's, Clementhorpe nunnery, St Andrew's priory, Holy Trinity priory, and St Leonard's hospital.[24] According to Drake, the Torre deeds were then in the hands of 'a gentleman in York, whose name I am not allowed to mention', to

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[20] Burton's claim that '£500 had been offered [for the 'Ecclesiastical Collections'] … in order to print them' is scarcely credible: Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. vii.

[21] Drake, *Eboracum*, unpaginated preface; R. Gough, *Anecdotes of British Topography* (1768), p. 549; R. Gough, *British Topography* (1780), II, p. 421; *ODNB* (old edn), sn. Torre; *ODNB*, sn. Torre, Sharp.

[22] Burton, in the index of houses in his first volume of transcripts, notes a deed for the hospital of St Nicholas in Pontefract as 'B7 N44. See Torr's index [i.e. the catalogue] penes F. Drake': Burton, 1.f.16r.

[23] Drake's access to the originals is shown by his note to the first transcription: 'This, as well as many of the rest, is in so beautiful a character as deserves engraving': Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 601n. The St Mary deeds did not return to the collection. Burton wrote 'wanting' against the corresponding entries in Torre's catalogue, and the deeds are not found in his transcripts.

[24] Drake, *Eboracum*, pp. 247–50, 334–6, 582–95, 601–22.

whom they had passed after the court of St Mary's fell into disuse and the last steward of the court, Thomas Adams, had died.[25] As the deeds properly belonged to the Crown, it is not surprising that their keeper desired anonymity. In 1758, John Burton[26] published his *Monasticon Eboracense*, containing notes taken from his own transcripts of more than a thousand Torre deeds. In his preface, Burton stated that the deeds 'gathered out of the rubbish [of St Mary's tower] … after passing through several hands, are now become the property of William Roundel esquire, an eminent physician at this city [of York]'.[27] English and Barr conjectured that Roundel may have acquired them from his father-in-law, John Tomlinson, who had petitioned unsuccessfully to succeed Adams as steward of St Mary's.[28]

The *Monasticon Eboracense* provides, for each religious house, an alphabetical list of its lands, with details of deeds abstracted from the Torre collection, various cartularies, the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, and other sources, including manuscripts of Roger Dodsworth and Nathaniel Johnston. The list of holdings is followed by a catalogue of the heads of the house, and a list of testamentary burials. Although the format and contents of the *Monasticon Eboracense* are heavily dependent on Torre's 'Ecclesiastical Collections', Burton returned to the texts of the charters rather than relying on Torre's notes. Not all religious houses in Yorkshire were included, and a second volume for them was envisaged, which would also include details of all the parish churches. Burton intended to print over a thousand Torre deeds as an appendix to the proposed second volume, together with an even greater number of cartulary texts. Thus Burton's references to Torre deeds are generally in the form 'Appendix, no. 23'.[29] Sometimes he notes the appropriate volume of his

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[25] Ibid., p. 575.

[26] For John Burton, see *Illustrations of the Literary History of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. John Nichols, III (1818), pp. 375–77; Robert Davies, 'A Memoir of John Burton, M.D., F.S.A.', *YAJ*, 2 (1871–72), 403–40; *ODNB*.

[27] Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. vi.

[28] English and Barr, 'St Mary's Tower', p. 224.

[29] An eight page sample of the projected appendix, entitled *The Appendix: containing Charters, Grants, and other Original Writing referred to in the Preceeding Volume*, containing the Latin texts of thirty-eight Whitby deeds, all from the cartulary (Davis

transcripts,[30] and occasionally provides fuller references.[31] Some Torre deeds he intended to omit from the appendix: these are referenced by the B N number.[32] Deeds already available in the *Monasticon Anglicanum* were to be omitted, so occasionally Burton's footnotes include both *Monasticon Anglicanum* and B N references.[33]

As part of his preparatory work for the *Monasticon Eboracense*, Burton copied almost all the Torre deeds which mentioned specific religious houses into six quarto volumes, now in the Bodleian library.[34] Although Burton acknowledged Roundel's ownership of the deeds both in the *Monasticon Eboracense* and in his copies, he had practical possession in 1754. By July of that year he had completed the first two volumes of his transcripts and was working on the third. A note in this third volume, stating a deed was 'now (1754) penes Dr R[oundel]', is the only internal indication of date.[35] Correspondence of July 1754 between Burton and Andrew Coltée Ducarel, later to be the archbishop of Canterbury's librarian at Lambeth palace, shows that Burton had issued a prospectus for the *Monasticon Eboracense*.[36] As proof of his endeavours Burton sent Ducarel the first two volumes of the transcripts, which Ducarel displayed at a meeting of the Society of

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1032), was printed at York in 1759. It is often found bound with the *Monasticon Eboracense*.

[30] See e.g. pp. 92–93, Monk Bretton, 'Cop. Cart. v. 2. app. no. 10', 'Cop. Cart. v. 3. app. no. 20'.

[31] E.g. p. 381 (Keldholme), 'Cop. cart. v. 1, p. 144; B. 20, no. 97; append. no. 4'.

[32] E.g. p. 95, Monk Bretton, 'B. 13. n. 61.', 'B. 14. n. 22. penes William Roundel, M.D.'.

[33] E.g. p. 326 (Synningthwaite), 'M. a. v. 1, p. 828; Cop. cart. v. 1, p. 233; B. 19, no. 30'; p. 380 (Keldholme), 'Cop. cart. v. 3, p. 222; B. 23, no. 63; M. a. v. i, p. 915'.

[34] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tops. Yorks. e. 7–12. The comprehensive coverage is shown by the fact that of the approximately 266 deeds in Torre's catalogue for St Leonard's in York, Roche, Appleton and Healaugh, Burton gives the texts of, or otherwise notes, approximately 261.

[35] B17 N58, 3.225. As this deed is singled out, we must assume it had been retained by Roundel for some reason.

[36] For Ducarel, see *ODNB*. I have been unable to locate a copy of the prospectus.

Antiquaries.[37] On 12 July 1754 Burton wrote to Ducarel requesting their return, and describing his perusal that morning of the deed numbered B1 N45 by which Archbishop Melton licensed the move of Cottingham priory to Haltemprice.[38] This is transcribed in Burton's third volume,[39] and so provides another indication of his progress. In October 1754 Burton acknowledged the return of the two volumes, having been in 'a great panic about them', and sent Ducarel the 'grant (instead of extracts) of William earl of Aumale to the abbey of Aumale, which please to return when you have done with it'. This deed too appears in the third volume of transcripts.[40] Burton had recently been to the Fountains abbey estate, and related that Mr Messenger, the owner, had let him see 'near 300 charters, the best preserved I ever saw, most of the seals being entire … part of the register, and the chartulary complete and also another volume of charters …'. Burton was to copy 253 Fountains deeds from these originals.[41] Under the same cover he sent a deed of 'St Nicholas's hospital inter Holcham and Burnham' (i.e. Peterstone priory, in North Norfolk) and a deed of John, prior of Holy Trinity, London, from the reign of Henry VI, from which he detached the seal 'lest it should be broke'.[42] Burton's notes of this seal, which appear in the unpaginated preliminaries to his third volume, appear

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[37] Nichols, *Illustrations*, III, pp. 377–8. On 22 July 1754 the Rev. William Cole wrote to Ducarel having heard from him that Burton was 'near publishing his Monasticon Eboracense' and promising to subscribe: *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. John Nichols, II (1812), p. 710.

[38] Nichols, *Illustrations*, IV (1822), p. 589.

[39] 3.99.

[40] B1 N46, 3.125.

[41] For the cartularies, see fn. 45. The original deeds were copied at 1.6, 3.160–3.199, 3.224–3.335. The majority of these are doubtless to be found amongst the Vyner papers in Leeds archives. Burton's texts include several which have been printed subsequently from Vyner originals, i.e. *Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107–1191*, ed. Diana E. Greenway, Records of Social and Economic History, ns, I (1972), nos. 94, 98, 105, 108, 145, 146; *English Episcopal Acta*, V, no. 44; ibid., XX, no. 28. There were just two Fountains deeds in the Torre collection, both of which appear in Burton's transcripts: B22 N27, 1.6; B10 N53, 5.160.

[42] Nichols, *Illustrations*, III, pp. 380–2.

to have been made shortly afterwards, as he could give no details of the deed.[43] In May 1755 Burton wrote to Ducarel from Lincolnshire, where he was attending a pregnancy and lying-in, stating that he had 'about two hundred charters with me, so shall in a day or two finish all the copies of my collection'.[44]

      Also included in Burton's transcripts were abstracts from cartularies of Whitby, Fountains, Drax, St Wilfred in Ripon, Monk Bretton, Bridlington and St Mary's in York.[45] Other sources include 'Smaile's pedigrees penes Mr Constable of Holderness, no. 242, p. 123', from which two Drax deeds were copied, and a manuscript of Nathaniel Johnston.[46] Burton's transcripts also contain some fifty-six deeds which have bundle and number references in the same format as Torre's deeds, but which are not from the Torre collection. These are usually described as 'penes M.F. et F.D.'[47] and once as 'penes M.F. and F. Drake'.[48] Occasionally possession is ascribed solely to 'M.F.' or 'M.F. armig[erum]'.[49] 'M.F.' was Marmaduke Fothergill, son of the non-juring rector of Skipwith of the same name.[50] The older Marmaduke, a well known collector of manuscripts who had died in 1731, was uncle to Francis Drake. His manuscript collections, but not his deeds, were acquired by York Minster

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[43] 'Nota bene B1 N42 is a grant from the prior of St Trinity in London of [blank] to [blank] in Oxford': 3.f.13v.

[44] Nichols, *Illustrations*, III, p. 383.

[45] Whitby (Davis 1032): 5.1–5.127; Fountains (various): 3.336–3.358, 4.f.2v–4.f.15v, 4.1–4.344, 6.93–6.96, 6.115–6.125; Drax (Davis 315): 6.161–6.208; Monk Bretton (Davis 675): 6.97–6.114; St Mary's (Davis 1102): 5.184–5.232; St Mary's (Davis 1101): 5.233–5.255; Bridlington (Davis 73): 1.17, 5.143–5.144, 5.256–5.259, 5.276–5.368; St Wilfred (not in Davis, see *MRB*, III, p. 25): 5.260–5.275.

[46] 3.150, 6.126–6.131.

[47] E.g. 3.75, 5.140, 5.146

[48] 2.161.

[49] E.g. 1.209, 5.139, 2.313, 2.337

[50] Burton refers to him in the *Monasticon Eboracense*. See ibid., p. 96, where a deed of Roger de Montbegon giving land in Mexborough, with a mediety of the church, to Monk Bretton is referenced 'Cop. Cart. v. 2. app. no. 70 ex autogr. penes Marmad. Fothergil. armig. B. 6. n. 4.'. The deed is described as 'penes M.F. armig[erum]' in the transcripts (2.313).

Library.[51] No doubt the Fothergill/Drake deeds had also once been in St Mary's tower, and had perhaps been amongst the 'confused heaps'. Dodsworth had copied at least two of them late in 1644 or shortly afterwards.[52] Burton was later to assume ownership. To a description 'penes F.D. or M.F.' he added 'vel me'; and he stated a Sinningthwaite deed from the Fothergill/Drake collection to be 'penes me'.[53] On many occasions Burton has written 'penes J.B.' over 'M.F. et F.D.' in such a way as to almost obliterate the original initials.[54] He was attempting, rather ineffectually, to remove all evidence of their previous ownership. Burton also had a small collection of his own. Five deeds, with references comprising two letters separated by a dash, Burton states to be 'penes me'.[55] A couple more, without reference number, were also 'penes me'.[56] Only one deed from Torre's collection Burton specifically stated to be 'penes me'. This concerned the legacy of Peter de Mauley, mentioning Watton and Meaux.[57] The deed is omitted from Torre's catalogue, which suggests it may have become separated from the main collection at an early date.

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[51] For the elder Marmaduke, see Drake, *Eboracum*, pp. 379–80; for his interest in charters, see English and Barr, 'St Mary's Tower', pp. 218, 516. He was married to Dorothy, daughter of John Dickson, lawyer of Pontefract: Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 380. Drake's mother, Elizabeth Dickson, was Dorothy's sister: *ODNB*, sn. Drake.

[52] B3 N1, 6.137, Yeddingham (*Litelmersh*) to Guisborough, noted *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 287n 'from a cart. B. 3, no. 1, penes F. Drake R.S.S. cop. cart. v. 9 [sic], p. 137'; also at MS Dodsw. 7, f. 186v, whence printed *Cartularium Prioratus de Gyseburne...*, ed. W. Brown, 2 vols., Surtees Soc., 86 and 99 (1889–94), II, 306, no. 1122. B6 N5, 2.337, King Stephen to Bridlington, church of Horncastle, noted Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 233 'penes Marmad. Fothergil, armig., append. no. 335'; also at MS Dodsw. 7, f. 329v, whence printed *E(arly) Y(orkshire) C(harters)*, ed. W. Farrer and C. Clay, 12 vols (1914–65), III, no. 1147.

[53] 5.154, 5.129.

[54] E.g. 5.140, 5.146, 6.89.

[55] A-q: 3.130; a-x: 2.186; a-y: 2.205; a-z: 2.76–2.77; b-z: 3.70.

[56] A deed of Brother Richard, abbot of Meaux, dated 1274 (1.136); and a grant of Robert Fossard to Byland of 12 bovates in *Martherbi* (1.238).

[57] B6 N37, 2.73. It is improbable that this deed came from the Fothergill/Drake collection, as no other deed from that collection has a number higher than 20.

Altogether Burton copied about 1680 B N deeds in his six volumes. Fifty-six of these were from the Fothergill/Drake collection, so the total from Torre's collection is about 1625. There are approximately 1850 deeds in Torre's catalogue, so some 225 deeds were not copied by Burton. Seventy-five of these are accounted for by the St Mary deeds printed by Drake. It can be assumed that the majority of the remaining 150 did not name a monastic house, though Burton was sometimes able to assign such deeds to the appropriate foundation.[58]

THE FATE OF THE COLLECTION

According to the pedigree in Whitaker's *Craven*, which appears authoritative, William Roundel died on 31 May 1762 and was buried in the church of St Crux in York. He left a daughter Margaret, baptised on 9 December 1744, the wife of John Toke, of Goldingham in Kent.[59] As we have seen, Roundel's deeds were in Burton's hands in 1754–5, though he acknowledged Roundel as their owner in 1758. Some time subsequently, possibly after Roundel's death, Burton claimed ownership, and annotated his summary of the numbers of deeds in each bundle, under the note 'penes William Roundel M.D.', 'nunc penes J. Burton M.D.'.[60]

The deeds were still in Burton's hands on 24 January 1769, when he wrote two letters to Ducarel. He was troubled by what would become of his

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[58] See e.g. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 95, where details are given of deeds concerning to the advowson of Hickelton church, which was later granted to Monk Bretton. But Burton did not realise Jordan de St-Marie's gift of land in Wombwell to William Folenfaunt (B19 N32) was a Healaugh muniment, so did not copy it: cf. Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 283; *The Chartulary of the Augustinian Priory of St John the Evangelist of the Park of Healaugh*, ed. J. S. Purvis, YASRS, 92 (1936), pp. 61–2. Similarly, the gift of four acres in Appleton made by Philip de Faucunberg, son of Walter de Faucunberg, to Robert son of Walter of Skegness (B19 N78), which was associated with the St Mary's abbey Appleton deeds, was not copied by Drake or Burton, so the brief entry in Torre's catalogue is the only record we have of it.

[59] T. D. Whitaker, *Craven*, 3rd edn (1878), with additions by A. W. Mourant, Roundel pedigree facing p. 94.

[60] 1.f.26v.

manuscripts after his death, and may have been short of money. He asked for Ducarel's advice, and asked him to lay the enclosed handwritten catalogue of his manuscripts before the trustees of the British Museum, with a view to sale. 'If I cannot dispose of them at a reasonable price, I will … burn them, as the world's being unworthy of them; for I cannot bear the thoughts of any other persons having the profits of my labour for near forty years, and at several hundred pounds expense', he continued.[61] This was not the only such letter penned by Burton. On 22 February 1769, he wrote to the archbishop of York in similar vein. His catalogue was enclosed, which noted: 'I have the original charters gathered out of the ruins of St Mary's abbey at York (a list of which is in the 15 vol. in folio above mentioned)[62] amounting to 1868 in number, contained in 30 bundles. I have also of my own collecting nine bundles containing 81 charters'.[63]

Later Burton printed his catalogue of manuscripts, sending several copies to Ducarel for distribution in March 1769. He sent another to Richard Gough in June 1769, adding a note of a further manuscript volume, no. XVI. Also included in the letter was a list of corrections and additions to Gough's *Anecdotes of British Topography*, published the previous year, to be used 'when you favour the world with a new edition or print any addenda'. Amongst them was the instruction to change the description of the deeds 'saved out of the rubbish' from 'now the property of Dr William R.' to 'late the property of Dr William R. and now of doctor John Burton of York'.[64] Burton's statement of June 1769 that the deeds were in his possession is the last definite indication we have of their whereabouts. Before April 1770 Burton made an agreement, written on a printed version of the catalogue, to sell his entire collection, presumably including the deeds, to William

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[61] Nichols, *Illustrations*, III, pp. 387–90.

[62] I.e. Torre's catalogue.

[63] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tops. Yorks c.14, f.16r–20r. The letter, but not the catalogue, is printed at Davies, 'Burton', pp. 432–4 and Denholm-Young, 'Yorkshire Monastic Archives', pp. 98–100.

[64] Nichols, *Illustrations*, IV, pp. 591–93; the original letter is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Don. d.87, f. 282; Gough, *Anecdotes*, p. 543. Gough based his list of Burton's manuscripts in *British Topography* on the catalogue: Gough, *British Topography*, II, pp. 409–16.

Constable (1721–91), of Burton Constable, for an annuity for his wife of £55.[65] Burton died on 19 January 1771, and his widow on 28 October the same year.[66] Whether the deeds were Burton's to sell is another matter. His matter-of-fact statement to Gough that the deeds were now his suggests his possession was legitimate, or at least that he did not expect it to be challenged. But a story circulated that this was not so, and was repeated by Gough: 'Upon Danson Roundell, esq., the doctor's brother and executor, applying for them after Burton's death, Mr. Constable is said to have politely returned for answer, that if it could be told which had belonged to Dr Roundell, they should be returned, but that being impossible, they continue in his hands.'[67]

As Danson Roundel had died on 30 May 1770,[68] some seven months before Burton, little credence can be attached to the story. But there is no doubt that Danson's son William Roundel thought that the deeds had been misappropriated, writing that 'the doctor … sold all my grants and the MS copy of the second volume to Mr C[onstable] for the sum of £2,000'.[69] A little

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[65] The agreement was sold with Burton's manuscripts in 1889, but is no longer with the collection. No copy of the printed catalogue has so far come to light.

[66] English and Barr, 'St Mary's Tower', pp. 226–7. Gough noted the circumstances of Burton's death in his copy of the *Monasticon Eboracense*: 'His very voluminous collections in not less than 50 volumes were afterwards put into the hands of [blank] Constable esq. of [blank] in consideration of an annuity of £50 to be by him paid to the author's widow if she survived her husband. The doctor, broken down by age and infirmities, came at last to an untimely end [blank] 1771 by a fall from the top of his staircase as he was going to bed without a servant who always used to attend him. He received a violent contusion in the back of his head of which he languisht a short time. His widow survived him but a few days <weeks> by which the whole of his collections with the 2nd volume of this work ready for press are now in the hands of Mr Constable.': Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Yorks 55, p. ii.

[67] Gough, *British Topgraphy*, II, pp. 415n–416n.

[68] Roundel was buried at Marton-in-Craven on 4 June: Roundel pedigree, Whitaker, *Craven*, p. 94.

[69] English and Barr, 'St Mary's Tower', p. 226n, citing National Register of Archives report, *Yorke Additional MSS* III (1962), no. 49, pt. 5. In 1805 Whitaker printed facsimiles of two Bolton deeds then owned by Danson Richardson Currer, a son of this William Roundel, but they were not from the Torre deeds: Whitaker, *Craven*, pp. ix,

further light on Burton's disposal of his manuscripts is provided by the notes made by Gough in his own copy of *British Topography*, intended to assist in the preparation of the third edition, which never appeared. Gough corrected his previous statement that Burton had sold his collections for 'a sum of money and an annuity for himself and wife' to read 'an annuity for his wife', and cited a letter Burton wrote to Ducarel on 6 April 1770 complaining that the matter was 'not to his satisfaction except that they are in the custody of Mr. C. who will keep them together: whereas had he died in possession they would have been dispersed, the fear of which prevailed on him to sell where they are likely to be preserved for some time'.[70]

Did the Torre deeds go with Burton's manuscripts to Burton Constable? It would seem so, but the evidence is less unequivocal than we might wish. William Dade (*c*.1741–1790) frequently visited the library at Burton Constable whilst preparing his history of Holderness.[71] In 1784 or later a few plates and proof sheets were printed for a small part of the planned work. On one page a deed of Peter Peitevin to Nunkeeling pertaining to Barmston is cited from 'the original grant in possession of William Constable esq., bundle 8, no. 19'.[72] This was undoubtedly a Torre deed, and is found both in Torre's catalogue and in Burton's transcripts.[73] But Dade died before his work could be printed, and this appears to be the only evidence that he saw the Torre

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449. Burton cites one from the *Monasticon Anglicanum*: the other he does not mention: Burton, *Monasticon Eboracense*, p. 119, cf. *EYC*, VII, nos 4, 12.

[70] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Gen. Top. 366, f. 49r. Gough makes no modification to the Danson Roundel story in his annotated copy.

[71] For Dade, see *ODNB*. In a prospectus for the 'History and Antiquities of Holderness', dated 19 June 1783, Dade acknowledged 'the most liberal access to the library at Burton Constable; a repository replete with not only original matter, but with most ample informations, collected from the Bodleian Library at Oxford, from the Tower, from the Rolls Chapel and Augmentation Office in London, and from the whole voluminous manuscripts of the late Dr. Burton, of York.' A list of the existing subscribers was attached, representing perhaps three-quarters of the 240 which were required, and suggesting the work was well advanced.

[72] London, British Library, 504.I.15, p. 9.

[73] 1.160.

deeds.[74] Half a century later, George Poulson made substantial use of the Burton Constable library in the compilation of his *History and antiquities of the Seigniory of Holderness, in the East Riding of the County of York*, published at Hull in two volumes in 1840–1.[75] Much of the work in the library was done on Poulson's behalf by the Rev. Robert Hogarth, of Marton. Poulson's history owed a great deal to the manuscripts resulting from Dade's previous efforts, which were kept there.[76] The *Seigniory of Holderness* makes frequent reference to Burton's manuscripts and the Torre deeds. But it is difficult to gauge from Poulson's references which documents he had seen himself, which had been seen by Hogarth, and which were noted in Dade's manuscripts. The most unequivocal statement for the deeds being at Burton Constable is Poulson's reference to 'the original grant at Burton Constable library. Bundle 8, No. 19'.[77] But this is the single deed noted by Dade, and Poulson's reference was probably cribbed from a manuscript of Dade's, or perhaps his page proofs. Poulson gives brief descriptions, not given in Torre's catalogue or Burton's transcripts, of some Nun Keeling deeds: 'B.C. Lib. B. 20. No. 28, seal lost, hand fair'; 'B.C. Lib., B. 2, No. 1, hand very fair, seal lost'; 'B.C. Lib. B. 7. No. 19 hand fair, small charter injured by damp'.[78] Another Nun Keeling deed is cited from Burton's transcripts: 'Copies of Charters, B.C. Lib. v. 1, p. 161'.[79] Some Swine deeds are cited from Burton's transcripts as 'Copies of Charters, in the possession of Sir C. Constable' with Burton's volume and page number. Others are referenced to 'Original grants, ibid. [i.e. in the possession of Sir. C. Constable]' with B N references and an

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[74] Dade's twenty-two 'copy-books' containing his collections for the history of Holderness would doubtless shed light on the problem. They were purchased by E. J. Wilson [of Melton, near Brough, a subscriber to the Surtees Society] at the Burton Constable sale of June 1889, but their present whereabouts is unknown.

[75] Poulson's *Beverlac* (1830) makes no mention of Dade's work on Beverley, the Burton MSS, or the Torre deeds, and there is no sign that Poulson had visited Burton Constable library.

[76] Poulson, *Holderness*, I, pp. vii–x.

[77] Ibid., I, p. 191. The deed is erroneously assigned to Bridlington.

[78] Ibid., I, 374–6.

[79] Ibid., II, 156.

occasional description, e.g. 'hand fair, seal lost'.[80] Another Swine deed is referenced as 'B. C., b. 22, No. 55'.[81] The source for a St Mary's abbey deed concerning Appleton, referenced to B14 N7, was probably the transcript in Drake's *Eboracum*.[82] Three other St Mary deeds concerning Southorpe and Wassand, for which no references are given, were doubtless derived from the same source.[83] But confidence in the references is eroded by others, which refer to Dr Roundel and Burton as if they were still living. A note of a deed of Sir Amandus de Ruda, knight, to William de Brunby, concerning a plot in Beverley, is referenced as 'B.1 p. 16 (*sic*), penes Dr R.'.[84] Adam, lord of Marfleet's gift to the church of St Giles of Marfleet is said to be 'Penes Dr W.R. B. 12, No. 15, Dr. Burton's MSS';[85] and a deed of Sayer de Sutton to his brother William is given reference 'B. 20, No. 46, penes nuper W.R. M.D.'.[86] Elsewhere reference is made to escheats from 'MSS penes J. Burton M.D.'.[87] Six deeds from the Bridlington cartulary were cited from 'Burton's MSS. 3 vol. pp. 232, 233';[88] but these are not in the third volume of Burton's transcripts, nor are they likely to be in the abstracts of escheats which Burton called his 'third volume'. We are left in a state of confusion and it is impossible to say with certainty what was seen by whom, and where and when they saw it. So some slight doubt remains as to whether the original deeds ever reached Burton Constable, and it is far from certain that Poulson saw them.

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[80] Ibid., II, 203.

[81] Ibid., I, 246.

[82] Ibid., I, 404; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 611.

[83] Poulson, *Holderness*, I, pp. 340, 435; Drake, *Eboracum*, pp. 606, 608, 617. English and Barr point out that Poulson could not have obtained the details given from Drake's abstracts from the 'Ecclesiastical Collections', but overlooked Drake's transcripts of the deeds: English and Barr, 'St Mary's Tower', pp. 229–30, 512.

[84] Poulson, *Holderness* I, p. 392.

[85] Ibid., II, p. 320. The reference is apparently in error, as Torre B12 N15 is a Templar deed.

[86] Ibid., II, p. 324.

[87] Ibid., II, p. 239; presumably from Burton's MS no. 3, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tops. Yorks. b.4., extracts from Yorkshire escheats in the Tower of London.

[88] Poulson, *Holderness*, II, p. 277.

They were not amongst the Burton Constable manuscripts which were sold at Sotheby's in June 1889 and November 1899. The majority of Burton's manuscripts were purchased by Marmaduke Constable-Maxwell, Lord Herries at the first of these sales,[89] but returned to Burton Constable when Lieutenant-Colonel Raleigh Chichester-Constable, who had inherited the Burton Constable estate from a cousin in 1894, purchased them privately from the same Lord Herries, or more probably, from his heir or executors.[90] Burton's papers were auctioned again in 1937, when they were purchased by the Bodleian library, where they remain. The Torre deeds, the Fothergill/Drake/Burton deeds, as well as several volumes of Burton's notes, remain unaccounted for.[91]

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[89] The auctioneer's copies of Sotheby's sales catalogues are available on microfilm at the British Library and elsewhere. Burton's MS 6, 8, and 16 were not included in the sale, substitutions being made for the first two of these items, which may have little connection with Burton. Four lots of deeds, totalling over four hundred items, were stated to be from Burton's collection, or 'important for the continuation of Burton's Monasticon'. These were printed in 'Yorkshire Deeds', ed. A.S. Ellis [introduction by Canon Raine: *YAJ*, 16 (1902), p. 85)], *YAJ*, 12 (1893), pp. 92–115, 230–62, 289–308; ibid. 12 (1895), pp. 44–83. It is quite clear that they are not monastic deeds and not from the Torre collection.

[90] Marmaduke Francis Constable-Maxwell, Lord Herries, who purchased the manuscripts in 1889, died in 1908, and was succeeded by his daughter Gwendolen. The sale catalogue of 1937 stated that the Burton's manuscripts had been purchased by Lt. Col. R. Chichester-Constable from Lord Herries, but Solloway, writing in 1910, stated that Burton's transcripts were 'preserved among the archives of the late Lord Herries at Everingham Park': English and Barr, 'St Mary's Tower', pp. 230–1, citing J. Solloway, *The Alien Benedictines of York*, p. 62.

[91] The missing volumes are: MS 2 'contains everything in the Pipe-rolls relating to Yorkshire … consisting in the whole of 363 pages'; MS 6 'the part of the Monasticon Eboracense for the 2nd volume … the addenda to many religious houses and parishes, collected since Mr Torr's time by J. Burton … a continuation of the religious houses etc. being part of the 2nd volume of Monasticon Eboracense … the history of churches, parochial and conventual, within the county of York, collected out of records, charters etc. by Nicholas Torr esq., and continued down to this time by J. Burton … all this volume containing 1073 pages were wrote by J. Burton …'; MS 8 'contains the pedigrees of 300 of the old East Riding families … in 300 pages'; MS 16

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Although the approximately 1850 deeds collected by Torre are now lost, his efforts in numbering and cataloguing them were not in vain. Burton made notes of about 1625, and for the overwhelming majority of those provided a full transcription or something close to it. The texts of seventy-five deeds belonging to St Mary's abbey were printed by Drake. Briefer details of the remaining 150, naming the grantor, beneficiary, and property concerned, are to be found in Torre's catalogue. Burton's great project to print most of the Torre deeds in a second volume of the Monasticon Eboracense was not accomplished, but his work preserved the texts of the majority of them. Although few indeed have been printed from the Burton transcripts,[92] a proportion of the texts are available in print from other sources, including cartulary texts, and transcripts by Dodsworth. The majority, however, remain unpublished. The publication of the whole would be a daunting task, but a more manageable approach can be suggested. Printing the surviving texts for an individual house, from Burton, Dodsworth (for which Tanner's *Notitia Monastica* provides a useful guide), and other sources would be particularly valuable for those institutions for which little other material is available in print. In this way, progress could be made towards the completion of Burton's 'Appendix'. It is hoped that the index to Burton's transcripts which follows, and the transcription of Torre's index intended for the next issue of *Monastic*

'a folio of the largest paper, intitled tenures of lands etc. in Yorkshire …'. Of these only MS 2 appears in the 1889 sale: Gough, *British Topography*, II, pp. 409–15; cf. *Summary Catalogue of Post-Medieval Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford, Acquisitions 1916–1975*, comp. M. Clapinson, T. D. Rogers (1991), pp. 1332–7; Denholm-Young, 'Yorkshire Monastic Archives', p. 97; English and Barr, 'St Mary's Tower', pp. 230–1).

[92] Several were calendared in *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. Janet Burton, Surtees Soc., 208 (2004). Others will be printed in my edition of the charters of St Leonard's hospital.

Research Bulletin, will facilitate such projects, and encourage greater use of the Burton transcripts.[93]

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[93] This approach would, of course, miss many deeds which do not mention a religious house, and so are omitted from Torre's index, and rarely transcribed by Burton.

Appendix: Index to Burton's transcripts of the Torre collection of charters, Bodleian Library MS Tops. Yorks. e.7–e.12

The following index is a modern construct consolidating Burton's own indexes which preface each volume of his transcripts. Spelling has been modernised. Burton's transcripts often include a series of deeds for the same house over several pages. Only the first page of such entries appears in the index. I have added a few entries and these are distinguished by square brackets; but it should not be assumed that the index is entirely comprehensive. Most entries use Burton's own volume and page number. Thus 1.260 is MS Tops. Yorks. e.7, page 260; 3.69 is MS Tops. Yorks. e.9, page 69. For additional entries from the preliminary pages to each volume, which were not paginated by Burton, the modern folio number is used, e.g. 3.f.2v.

THE MEDIEVAL PRIOR'S CHAPEL AT DURHAM: ITS DEVELOPMENT AND USE

INTRODUCTION

Although the medieval Prior's Chapel at Durham, part of the present Deanery, contains a major cycle of wall-paintings and extensive graffiti, no systematic study of either has been undertaken since their discovery in the 1970s. The most recent work on the history of the Deanery is the monograph *The Story of the Deanery, Durham 1070-1912*, by Dean Kitchin, published in 1912. Our involvement in and development of this project have come about largely as a result of the interest and enthusiasm of the present Dean of Durham, the Very Rev. Michael Sadgrove, who, wanting to know more about the medieval paintings and more particularly the extensive medieval graffiti which adorn the entrance hall of his home, approached us to think of beginning a project to record and study them. The graffiti includes, quite unusually, a large number of names, and in trawling the priory archive to try to begin identifying the people whose names were scratched onto the wall of the Chapel we became aware that this extensive body of material could be used to illuminate not just the architectural development of the Chapel and the Lodgings but also how those buildings were used and by whom.

What follows is a brief description of the Lodgings, our work in progress on the Chapel and our plans for publication and future research.

THE PRIOR'S LODGINGS

The buildings of the present Deanery at Durham which developed out of the medieval Prior's Lodgings of the Benedictine monastery stand to the south and east of the medieval cloister (Fig. 1). They incorporate some of the oldest structures to survive on the site, including the southern part of the eleventh-century monastic dormitory, its

Fig. 1. General view of the Deanery from the west.

undercroft and reredorter.[94] Recent archaeological work close to the Deanery has uncovered a late Anglo-Saxon burial suggesting that the site overlies a cemetery associated with the pre-Conquest church and community.

By the later middle ages the Prior's Lodgings (Fig.2) consisted of several apartments, mostly raised over a series of vaulted basements, including the Prior's *solarium* (labelled 'Drawing Room' and 'Lobby' on the plan) and two further rooms to the east of it (labelled 'Library' and 'King James's Room' on the plan) and, at the

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[94] K. W. Markuson, 'Recent Investigations in the East Range of the Cathedral Monastery, Durham', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, ed. N. Coldstream and P. Draper, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, III (1980), pp. 37-48.

Fig. 2. Plan of the Deanery buildings from Kitchin, *The Story of the Deanery, Durham 1070-1912* (1912), p. 21.

south-east corner of the complex, the chapel. Below the *solarium* on the ground floor was the *camera inferior*, which linked to the chapel undercroft. The Lodgings also incorporated the southern portion of the first monastic dormitory, now known as the Prior's Hall (labelled 'Dining Room' and 'Hall' on the plan).

The history, development, and indeed the full extent of the Lodgings are at present very imperfectly understood. A passing reference in the eleventh-century *Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, the monastic customary in use at Durham, suggests that even at this date the head of the community had private accommodation. The *Constitutions*, in giving details of the reception of a novice into the community mention the abbot's chapel, saying that the novice should receive the tonsure before he is clothed in his monastic habit, and that 'this shall be done either in the church before the introit of the Mass on the step where the brethren ordinarily receive blessings, or in the chapel of the infirmary, or in the abbot's chapel, according as the abbot thinks fit.'[95] If the prior of Durham did indeed have lodgings and a chapel at this date there are no obvious architectural survivals in the present buildings of the Deanery, although the fragmentary painting of drapery visible under the fifteenth-century cycle of paintings in the chapel has been compared to the late-twelfth century painting surviving in the Galilee chapel in the cathedral.[96]

We do know from the documents that Prior Bertram Middleton (1244-54) had a chapel dedicated to St Nicholas built in the Prior's Lodgings. The surviving architectural details of the existing chapel - its western doorway, the fragmentary lancets on the south and east and west exterior walls and undercroft vault - would fit well with this date. We also know that the lodgings were extensively remodelled in the later middle ages: first by Prior Fosser (1341-74), who renovated or reconstructed the high and low chambers and had work

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[95] D. Knowles and C. N. L. Brooke (eds) *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, *Oxford Medieval Texts* (Oxford, 2002), p. 157.

[96] F. Allardyce, L. Medhurst and T. Organ, 'The Deanery Wall Painting, Durham', The Wall Paintings Workshop, Canterbury Cathedral (1983).

carried out on the chapel; and, secondly by Prior Wessington between 1424 and 1436, at a cost of over £400.[97] The surviving structures show much evidence of these later works, for the King James Room and the Library still retain their medieval ceilings, one beamed and panelled, the other ribbed and panelled with an elaborately carved cornice and cresting of the fifteenth century.

These medieval spaces have repeatedly undergone major modifications since the Dissolution and this is most obvious in the case of the Prior's Chapel, the main space of which is currently divided into two floors with several rooms on each floor and provided with eighteenth-century windows in its south wall. Not all changes to the fabric have been detrimental to our understanding of the medieval arrangements, however, as relatively recent work has been the means by which important elements of the late medieval decoration of the Chapel have been recovered. In 1912, when the plan illustrating this paper was prepared for Dean Kitchin's *Story*, entry to the Deanery as via a door and staircase to the first floor from the Cathedral Close (labelled 'the College' on the plan), but in the 1970s this arrangement was revised. A new external staircase was built in the Deanery garden adjacent to the west end of the Chapel and its blocked west door was reopened to create a new main entrance so that the western part of the Chapel, the former Study, came to form the large entrance hall of the house (Fig. 3). It was during these changes, which apparently included the removal of some wall-panelling, that the incomplete cycle of wall paintings on the north wall of the room, showing the Joys of the Virgin, were discovered and conserved (Fig. 4).

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[97] M. G. Snape, 'Documentary Evidence for the Building of Durham Cathedral and its Monastic Buildings', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, ed. N. Coldstream and P. Draper, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, III (1980), pp. 25-6, 27, 31.
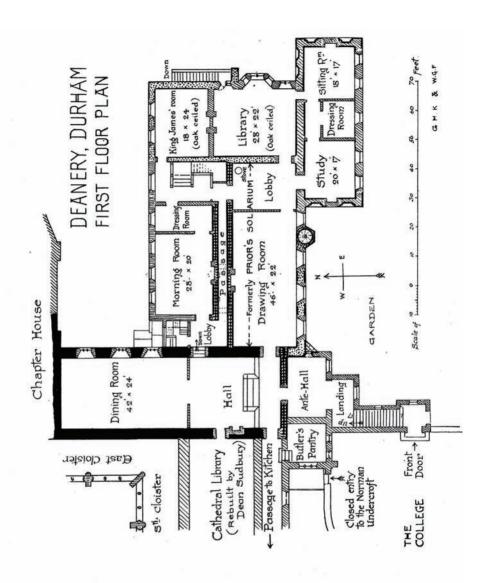
Fig. 3 The former Prior's Chapel from the west

THE PAINTINGS AND THE GRAFFITI

The paintings, dated on the basis of the costumes and armour to *c*.1470,[98] are impressive even in their damaged state, and were obviously of high quality when first executed (Fig. 5). The paintings occupy the upper part of the north wall of the present entrance-hall and, as can be seen from the illustration, their upper parts are now lost in the space taken up by the inserted floor/ceiling, but enough survives below this to show that each scene was arranged under an elaborate canopy, and divided from the next by the supporting columns (Fig. 6). Three scenes of the cycle survive, beginning at the west end of the wall. They are: the Annunciation, which is very damaged with only

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[98] Allardyce, Medhurst and Organ, 'The Deanery Wall Painting, Durham', p. 2, n. 1.

Fig. 4. The entrance Hall of the Deanery, the western end of the medieval Prior's Chapel.

small fragments remaining; the Nativity; and the Resurrection of Christ. Below each scene is a text, surrounded by a geometric border, detailing the relevant Joy. There must have been further scenes to the east beyond the present cross-wall to complete the cycle but no trace of them survives today.

Although the surviving paintings dominate the wall, they are not the only feature of it. The paintings were executed over a thin layer of whitewash applied to the wall to level an older plaster surface, which in places has fallen away revealing the older surface and a series of features which pre-date the fifteenth-century paintings. The

Fig. 5. Detail of the head of the Virgin from the nativity painting

Fig. 6. Reconstruction of the painted cycle.

features associated with this surface fall into two groups: first there are those features which relate to the layout/design/decoration of an early phase or phases of the chapel: and, secondly, the added graffiti.

The features relating to the early phase(s) of the decoration of the chapel are: a dado/string course; two consecration crosses; and fragments of an earlier painted scheme or schemes. The string course is fragmentary having been cut back roughly level with the wall surface. This may have been done at the point that the wall was panelled. A line of rectangular putlog holes intended to secure this panelling, which cut through the medieval graffiti, can be seen below the paintings on the illustration (Fig. 4). There are others higher up the wall but they were filled in and disguised with coloured stippling when the wall-paintings were conserved. The consecration crosses are partly obscured by the later paintings. One cross is to the east of the door through the north wall, the other is further east, near to the later north-south cross wall which divides the original chapel space. They consist of a four armed compass drawn cross inside a double circle (Fig. 7).

The early painted decoration consists of faint outlines of drapery executed in yellow pigment. It has been suggested that this scheme has stylistic parallels with the drapery painted on the east wall of the Galilee Chapel in the cathedral, which dates from the late twelfth century. If this is so it suggests a remodelling in the mid-thirteenth century of an existing chapel by Prior Bertram rather than a new build. These works may be associated with a large coat of arms, at present unidentified, located at the east end of the north wall of the Entrance-Hall, that is approximately mid-way along the Chapel north wall (Fig.8).

Fig. 7. Graffiti and the consecration cross

Fig. 8. An unidentified coat of arms.

The graffiti is found both in the area of the wall covered by the fifteenth-century painting and in the area of blank plaster below the painting, both above and below the string-course. The lowest area of the wall is covered by later panelling and elements of the graffiti extend down behind this panelling and are lost to view. Where it appears within the area of the wall covered by the wall-painting, it is clear that the graffiti is covered by the late-fifteenth-century work, and is only visible where the whitewash over which the painting was done has come away and further that it is written into and over the earlier painting. The graffiti in this area must therefore date to after the late twelfth century but to before *c.*1470. The graffiti below the painted area is undated, but at present we are assuming it to be contemporary with that within the painted area. It is obvious on general inspection that several hands have been responsible for different elements of the script and images, and that in the areas where the graffiti is densest

that the elements overlap one another so that the graffiti consists of several phases.

Amongst the graffiti, there is a variety of motifs that are common to such surfaces: the six-petalled daisy; the ragged staff; the 'swastika-pelta' or 'Solomon's knot'; and drawings of harps. There are other motifs which are perhaps less common: free-hand drawings of animals and plants motifs, including a very spirited drawing of a boar or pig (Fig. 9); an achievement of arms (Fig. 10) and various shields of arms; text in English and in Latin; music (Fig. 11) and large numbers of names (Fig. 7).

Fig. 9. Drawing of a hog.

Fig. 10. An achievement of arms.

Fig. 12. Music.

WORK TO DATE

Our work to date consists of:

- an architectural survey of the structure and the surviving medieval features of the chapel. This work has been carried out by Zoe McAuley of the Department of Archaeology, Durham University, as part of her Masters degree. The cathedral archaeologist, Mr Norman Emery, has completed a survey and stone by stone drawing of the Chapel Undercroft, ahead of work to re-establish this space as a small chapel.

- full digital photographic survey of the western end of the north

wall of the chapel, carried out in October 2009 by Dr Anthony Masinton, and Sarah Duffy of Department of Archaeology, University of York. This survey consisted of the following:

- o A series of over 600 overlapping photographs were taken parallel to the wall. These have been 'stitched' together by computer to produce a gigapixel image at 1:1 scale, creating a visual copy of the wall surface.

- o Further multiple exposures of each area of the wall under varying light conditions, linked to coordinates taken with a theodolite. Dr Masington is using these images to trial computer software he has devised to produce: a map of the wall to locate each graffito; and a composite optimum image of each graffito together with line drawings for study and ultimately for publication

- o additional specialised photography of small areas of the wall. These were selected for by Sarah Duffy to trial a technique called polynominal texture mapping (PTM) to create enhanced images of the surface with lightly scratched or damaged graffiti, which would otherwise be unreadable; and to help disentangle the phases of the graffiti in areas of the densest concentrations of overlapping elements.

- initial documentary research to begin to identify the persons named in the graffiti and to contextualise its production if possible.

Preliminary conclusions

Examination of the graffiti has shown that much of what was done was quite carefully executed. In several examples a compass was employed to create the design, or lines were scratched into the plaster surface to

enable a name or text to be positioned. Several of the names on the wall are not merely scratched but deeply incised, whilst some of the designs, for example the pig, are complex and would have required time to execute. Further, although concentrated in the area below the wall-painting and above the string course, the graffiti are in fact widely spread across the wall surface. Some examples are low on the wall and disappear behind the wood panelling whilst others are drawn high on the wall as much as 190 cms above the present floor level. It is difficult to imagine that much of what survives was created surreptitiously, especially when the status of those whose names are inscribed is taken into account.

Work to identify those named in the graffiti is in its early stages but at least some were members of the Durham Cathedral Priory, members of the prior's council, or notaries public employed by the Priory to make official copies of documents and notarised accounts of the proceedings. To take just one example, the name Thomas Ryhale (modern form Ryall) is written repeatedly on the wall. There were two men called Thomas Ryall in Durham in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries whose activities are known from the priory archive. Thomas Ryall, the elder, was a clerk and notary employed by Durham Cathedral Priory from at least 1397. Between 1408 and 1413 he was several times appointed as a proctor by the Prior and Convent and also acted as a trustee in the transferral of property He was rewarded for his services, receiving a number of benefices in the Priory's gift, including a canonry and prebend in the collegiate church of Lanchester in 1416. When he died in 1427 Thomas desired to be buried in the Cathedral cemetery, and he left property in Durham to the Sacrist.[99]

Thomas Ryall was obviously a professional man of position and standing with the Priory. It is further clear that his activities would

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[99] D. Rollason and L. Rollason (eds), *The Durham Liber Vitae (London, British Library, MS Cotton Domitian A.VII) Edition and digital facsimile with introduction, codicological, prosopographical, and linguistic commentary, and indexes*, 3 vols (London, 2007), III, p. 115.

have included his attendance in the Prior's Chapel on a regular basis. The documentary evidence shows that both the Prior's Chamber in the Lodgings and his Chapel of St Nicholas was being used for the conduct of official business from *c.*1300, the date of the earliest surviving document to name the Chapel as the place where the business was done. From this time both the Lodgings and the Chapel were regularly used for meetings when the business concerned the Prior and his affairs as distinct from that concerning the convent as a whole when the Chapter House was used. It was here for example that the Prior accepted the fealty of his knights and caused documents to be read and signed, copied and authorised, or written. Thus it is recorded that in September 1437, in the prior's chapel before witnesses, Nicholas Blakeston of Blakiston did homage and fealty to Prior Wessington for the lands and tenements he held of the prior in chief by homage, suit of court and other services.[100] Much of the business being conducted in the prior's chapel was of the most serious and formal character. Thus it was here that Master John Norton DD, vicar-general and commissary of the Bishop of Durham, with Master John Lound LL.B. '...seated in a tribunal...' accepted the resignation of the then prior, William Ebchester, on 5 October 1456.[101]

The diverse nature of the prior's business transacted in the chapel may account for both the names inscribed on the wall and also the shields and achievement of arms, although these have yet to be identified. It is possible that the uses to which the Chapel was put account for further elements in the graffiti. Apparently the chapel, was the place in which the secular singing men and boys practised their music, assigned to them after there were complaints from within the community over their use of the Chapter House for this purpose. The staves of music on the wall may be associated with their activities (pers. comm. Dr Brian Crosby). What is of interest is that much of the

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[100] J. Raine (ed.) *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Society, 9 (1839), p. cclii.
[101] Durham, Durham Cathedral Muniments, Loc.XIII:13.4; Register copy: Durham, DCM, Reg. IV, f. 110v.

graffiti would have required time to execute; would have been visible to visitors to the Chapel; and those named are as far as we can see men of standing within the Priory.

FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS AND PLANS FOR PUBLICATION

We are expecting that the results of our study of the graffiti and the Chapel will eventually be published first and most completely in a classic academic monograph. However the circumstances make additional, more popular publication desirable. Although the buildings of which the medieval Chapel is an element are part of the private residence of the Dean of Durham and so not open to the public, they are also part of the Durham World Heritage site and thus potentially of interest to increasing numbers of visitors to the cathedral and the city. With this in mind our project has from the beginning been conceived to include a major out-reach element. We wish to make the Chapel, the paintings and the graffiti available to the public via a walk-through 3D digital visualisation, which would allow visitors the opportunity to explore the building and its history. The architectural survey has been carried out with this in mind, collecting data in such a way as to make a reconstruction possible. Further we have discussed with experts how the pictures and the high resolution detail can be accessed online and a commentary created to explain individual names, motifs etc to the viewer.

Our study of the medieval Prior's Chapel in general and the graffiti in particular is ongoing, but we have been persuaded by the initial results of our work that a full architectural and documentary study of the development and use of the medieval Lodgings as a whole is desirable. As it is also clear, from the stray documentary references uncovered in the course of our work to date, that the private chapels and lodgings of the Prior outside Durham, and also those of the Bishop, were regularly used for the conduct of business we are

convinced that a study comparing the Lodgings at Durham with well documented examples elsewhere would be potentially illuminating.[102]

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EXCAVATIONS AT ST MARY MAGDALEN, WINCHESTER, 2008-2010

Little archaeological work has been conducted on medieval leprosaria, an instituition that accounts for almost a quarter of all medieval hospital foundations.[103] Thus our knowledge of these establishments, particularly their buildings and layout, is limited.[104] Furthermore, in England, it is often the assumption that leper hospitals were a post-Conquest phenomena, the majority founded in the late eleventh to thirteenth centuries. [105] However, recent excavations at the medieval

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[102] R. Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: the Evolution of the Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 156-64; A. Emery, *Greater Medieval Houses of England and Wales, 1300-1500. Vol. 2: East Anglia, Central England, and Wales* (Cambridge, 2000); M. Wood, *The English Medieval House* (London, 1965); H. Brakspear, 'The Abbot's House at Battle', *Archaeologia*, 83 (1933), pp. 139-66.

[103] R. Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action. The Other Monasticism* (Leicester, 1995), pp. 10-11; C. Rawcliffe, *Leprosy in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 107-8.

[104] In contrast, a little more work has been carried out on the cemeteries, most notably that at St Mary's and St James's, Chichester: see G. Magilton, F. Lee and A. Boylston (eds), *'Lepers Outside the Gate': Excavations at the Cemetery of the Hospital of St James and St Mary Magdalene, Chichester, 1986–87 and 1993*, Council for British Archaeology Research Report 158 (York, 2008).

[105] Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, p. 38.

leper hospital of St Mary Magdalen, Winchester, have revealed a range of buildings and, more significantly, convincing evidence for a foundation in the tenth century.

In 2007 the department of archaeology at the University of Winchester initiated the Magdalen Hill Archaeological Research Project (MHARP) with the aim of studying the history and development of the former medieval leper hospital and almshouse of St Mary Magdalen, Winchester, Hampshire. The site is relatively undisturbed by later urban encroachment and is presently used for arable farming. Typical of many leper hospitals the site was located on the outskirts of the medieval town suburbs, presently some 1.6 km (1 mile) east of the City at NGR: SU 506 295. Despite its importance, and our lack of knowledge relating to early hospital foundations, little work had formerly been carried out on the site. In 2000 it was the focus of a small excavation televised by Channel Four's Time Team. However work was not completed due to adverse weather conditions and information concerning the earlier phases of the hospital was thus largely inconclusive at this time.[106] In late 2007 and early 2008 MHARP carried out an evaluation and desk-based assessment of the site including field and geophysical surveys, together with an assessment of primary and secondary documentation. This was combined with a re-analysis of the Time Team material. The resistivity survey located the existence of several structures as well as evidence for a precinct wall and earlier boundary ditches. With reference to eighteenth-century drawings, these structures were identified as the former chapel, almshouse range, master's lodge and gatehouse as well as other ancillary structures. These results provided the basis for a planned long term excavation project by MHARP directed by Dr Simon Roffey and Dr Phil Marter.

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[106] B. Gallagher, *St Mary Magdalen Hospital, Winchester: an Archaeological Evaluation by Time Team. Archive Report* (L-P Archaeology for Time Team, 2002).

BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SITE:

The site is first referred to as a community of lepers in the twelfth-century Winton Domesday and it was likely (re)founded by Henry de Blois, Bishop of Winchester (1129-71), as a leper hospital sometime around 1148.[107] It was still functioning, to some extent, as a leprosaria during the fourteenth century, as it is referred to as such in the Bishop's Register of 1325.[108] By the mid-fourteenth century the hospital was reported as being 'slenderly endowed'.[109] It is likely that this led to a possible re-foundation and a programme of re-building. In the sixteenth century St Mary Magdalen appears to have escaped official dissolution and it was still receiving endowments throughout this period. Both the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and Chantry Certificates further indicate a reasonably healthy income and the institution successfully appealed to the king in 1552 for a continuation of the priest's stipend.[110] Around this time, the masonry buildings of the hospital were replaced with brick-built almshouses, with only the medieval chapel left intact. By the end of the seventeenth century the institution had been variously used as a Civil War camp and a prison for Dutch prisoners of war, the latter forcing the permanent removal of the hospital residents and the destruction of much of the buildings.[111] By 1789 the remaining buildings were ruinous and were finally

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[107] Both Keene and James refer to de Blois as the likely founder. However, in the context of the results presented below, there was probably a hospital already in existence (although it may not have been necessarily operational at this time): D. Keene, 'Early Middle Ages 1066–circa 1300', *Hampshire Treasures*, 4 (1980), pp. 19-21, at 19; T. B. James, *Winchester: From Prehistory to Present* (Stroud, 2006), p. 75.

[108] *Victoria County History: A History of the County of Hampshire*, II (HMSO, 1973), p. 197.

[109] Ibid., II, p. 197.

[110] Ibid., II, p. 200; Hampshire Record Office, St Mary Magdalen Archive, HRO 51M48/2/2.

[111] Hampshire Record Office, St Mary Magdalen Archive, HRO 21M65/32/2/2/1.

dismantled. Fortunately, the remnants of the almshouse and chapel were drawn by the antiquarian Jacob Schnebbelie and a description of the buildings provided by the last hospital master, William Wavell.[112]

EXCAVATIONS 2008-10:

The excavations revealed evidence for a series of occupation phases. In 2008/9 the post-medieval brick-built almshouse range was excavated together with an adjoining Master's lodge. Underlying these were the remains of a large masonry aisled hall with evidence at its western end for partitioned cells with hearths. This building was likely the leper hospital infirmary. Archaeological evidence also suggested that the aisles were added at a later date. Attached to the south side of the infirmary hall was a building dating to the fourteenth century with a hearth toward its eastern end. This structure may represent an earlier master's lodge, and both this and the infirmary aisles were likely added as part of the fourteenth century refoundation. Parallel to the infirmary, and to the south, was the medieval chapel. Here excavations revealed flint-faced walls with rubble cores and the flint bases of former buttresses. Significantly, two phases of chapel construction were identified: an earlier wall that had been partially re-used by a later medieval wall (the latter built on a slightly different alignment). Depictions of the aisle in Schnebellie's drawings clearly show that it was Norman in character, with no signs of later rebuilding, apart from the insertion of a later window. This evidence thus suggests that the earlier wall (and therefore its building) is of pre-Norman date, an assumption supported by the burials detailed below.

Between 2009 and 2010, a series of graves were uncovered around the site. In the main cemetery, to the south of the chapel, at least one individual presented evidence for leprosy. Inside the south aisle of the chapel itself further graves were excavated including a plaster-lined tomb with Purbeck marble slab, the contents of which had been later 'robbed'. The earliest of these has been recently Radio-

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[112] *Vetusta Monumenta*, III, p. 1796.

Carbon dated to the fourteenth century and may therefore be indicative of re-foundation, noted above, and a consequent increase in patronage and related lay burial.[113] Significantly, a large group of burials (at least fifteen) were also found to the north of the chapel between the chapel and infirmary (and underlying the later medieval phases). They were also aligned differently from the chapel. Several of these burials showed indications of leprosy.[114] Moreover, the two burials sampled for Radio Carbon analysis provided a date of between c. AD 970-1030. This was later backed up by a further dating sample. A number of pits, postholes and what appeared to be a large 'cellared' or sunken-featured structure (underlying the medieval infirmary) may also relate to this phase.

The excavations at St Mary Magdalen have provided a valuable insight into the buildings and layout of a medieval leper hospital and its later transformations. Furthermore, it is clear from the archaeological evidence that an institution for lepers was founded in Winchester sometime before the Norman Conquest. Radio Carbon analysis of some of the earliest human remains on the site, which also present evidence for leprosy, suggest that this institution was founded in the later tenth century. It is possible that a chapel, among other structures, also formed part of this early foundation. Within a wider context, it was this period that witnessed widespread religious reform, with Winchester and its bishop, Aethelwold (d.984), at its heart. This was a reform that included the enclosure of monastic spaces in the city and the tighter regulation of religious life.[115]

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[113] Radio Carbon analysis for this, and the other burials referred to, was undertaken by the Radio-Carbon Dating Laboratory at the University of Waikato, New Zealand.

[114] The remains are currently being analysed at the Department of Archaeology, University of Winchester.

[115] A. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and Its Minsters* (Oxford, 2003), p. 25.

Fig 1 West end of medieval infirmary detailing the south aisle: notice dark floor surfaces and partitions.

Fig 2 Site looking east. Note burials on right of trench and 'cellared' structure in bottom left corner. The remains of the later medieval phases can also be seen.

It is possible that such changes also led to the foundation and enclosure of a religious community of lepers on the outskirts of the city. It is tempting to think so, and if this is the case it may be interesting to surmise further a possible founder for this institution. A single reference in Byrhtferth's Life of St Oswald, a contemporary of Aethelwold, refers to the young monk founding 'a monastery in Winchester'.[116] As both Lapidge and Biddle and Keene note, the location of this monastery is unknown.[117] It may, indeed, still remain to be found, but the dates would certainly tally with that of St Mary Magdalen and offers intriguing possibilities for the continuing work at the site.

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MEDIEVAL CARTULARIES OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

We are delighted to announce the publication of the second edition of *Medieval Cartularies*. Amendments to the original edition (1958) were published in the *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 2–5 (1996–1999), and we should like to take this opportunity to thank all those who contributed to the updated version.

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[116] M. Lapidge (ed), *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009), p. 35. We are grateful to Professor Barbara Yorke for drawing our attention to this.

[117] M. Biddle and D. Keene, 'Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries' in M. Biddle (ed), *Winchester Studies I: Winchester in the Early Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1976), p. 330, n. 8; Lapidge (ed.), *Byrhtferth of Ramsey*, p. 35.

G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, revised by Claire Breay, Julian Harrison & David M. Smith (London, The British Library, 2010), xxx + 331 pages; 8 black-and-white illustrations; £50; ISBN 9780712350389

Copies can be ordered via http://shop.bl.uk/

Readers are invited to send any additions and corrections to the following address, with a view to being included in a future issue of the *MRB*:

Lead Curator, Medieval and Earlier Manuscripts, Department of History and Classical Studies, The British Library, 96 Euston Road, London NW1 2DB.

CLAIRE BREAY, JULIAN HARRISON AND DAVID M. SMITH

CISTERCIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE IN NORTHERN ENGLAND IN THE LATE MIDDLE AGES, C.1350-1540

This PhD is supervised by Prof. David Park. It will provide an art historical analysis of the art and architecture of the Cistercians in northern England in the later Middle Ages. A substantial corpus of physical and documentary material relating to the Order's art and architecture in this period is unexplored. The Order's monasteries in northern England varied in status, size, and wealth, providing a diverse yet representative sample of the Order's houses in England. The art and architecture of the Cistercian nunneries in the region, a largely neglected subject, will also be analysed.

The later Middle Ages has been regarded as a period of spiritual decline for the English Cistercians. Their art and architecture is often cited as evidence of this malaise, especially as it is perceived to deviate from the Order's detailed regulations on these matters

Starting as a part-time student in 2008, I first developed a bibliography and identified physical and documentary source material, which was then analysed. In 2009 I changed my registration status to full-time. From 2010 it has AHRC PhD funding.

My thesis will explore themes including patronage, the importance of the liturgy and devotions, the use of ornament, material culture, the art of death and remembrance, and destruction and survival.

The evidence has been examined according to media: architecture, sculpture, vestments, illuminated and printed books, and monuments. In many respects, the Order's art and architecture in the later Middle Ages was typical of that found in the wider English church. However, it also has some distinctive characteristics.

The most famous example of late Cistercian architecture is arguably the great bell tower built by Abbot Marmaduke Huby at Fountains Abbey (1495-1526). This is often cited as evidence of late medieval deviation from the early architectural ideals of the Cistercians. However, the inscriptions and saints' statues that decorate the tower can be closely related to the liturgy and devotions of the Order. My research on the tower is the subject of a forthcoming article in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.

This is also the case with the relief sculptures of the Annunciation to the Virgin at Fountains and Rievaulx which were placed above the entrance to the abbots' lodgings. There were a multitude of images in northern Cistercian churches in the later Middle Ages. These were the focus of cults, devotion, and affection. Of note, the saints honoured at the Order's houses were those with feasts and offices its official liturgy. That is not to deny that the Cistercians were permeable to local devotions and the development of new liturgical feasts. For example, the inscriptions on Huby's tower include reference to the Holy Name, a cult not formally adopted by the Order until the seventeenth century. This devotion was strong in northern England, and its early proponents included notable Cistercians. Preliminary findings on the relationship between the Order's devotions

and its art and architecture were presented to the Leeds International Medieval Congress in 2010.

Extracts from the Cistercian liturgy can also be found embroidered onto a late medieval mourning vestment in the V&A. that is embroidered with the rebus of Abbot Robert Thornton of Jervaulx (1510-33). The vestment is also decorated with imagery that can be closely related it contemporary depictions of the Last Judgement and it is analysed in my paper, 'Remembrance, Liturgy and Status in a Late Medieval English Cistercian Abbey: the Mourning Vestment of Abbot Robert Thornton of Jervaulx (1510-33)', *Textile History*, 41 (2010), pp. 3-18.

Cistercian patrons such as Chamber appear to have had conservative artistic tastes. However, high quality Parisian illuminations in the Breviary of Abbot Huby are in the French Renaissance style. Like many of the surviving objects from Cistercian abbeys the Breviary, and a printed Missal from Jervaulx Abbey survived because it was valued by recusants. Both volumes also provide interesting evidence of Cistercian resistance to the Reformation (see M. Carter, 'The Breviary of Abbot Marmaduke Huby: Renaissance Design and Religious Change in Early Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire, *Bodleian Library Record*, 22 (2009), pp. 17-34; and M. Carter, 'Renaissance, Reformation, Devotion and Recusancy in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire: a Missal Printed for the Cistercian Rite in the Cambridge University Library (SSS. 8.3)', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* (forthcoming)).

With Dr Jessica Berenbeim I am organising a symposium on the art and architecture of the religious orders in late medieval England (see link below). This will be held at the Courtauld Institute of Art, London, on 17 May, 2011. Proposals for papers are invited from established scholars and doctoral students.

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TORRE ABBEY: LOCALITY, COMMUNITY, AND SOCIETY IN MEDIEVAL DEVON

My thesis (submitted Sept. 2010) seeks to explore the manner in which the Premonstratensian abbey of Torre, in south-east Devon, interacted with the society around it. There are a variety of approaches to this topic, although they are largely dictated by the quality and quantity of the source material. In order to allow for as full a discussion as possible, therefore, a wide chronological range has been adopted, 1196-1539, the entire lifespan of the medieval abbey, and a wide range of sources have been utilised.

The survival of two cartularies from the house allows an in-depth analysis of the benefactors of the abbey in the first two centuries. The initial endowment of the monastery, a period lasting from 1196 to 1207, was almost entirely dependent on the familial and tenurial links of the founder, the great Angevin administrator William Brewer. Following the death of his son in 1232, the abbey's patronage passed to the Mohun family of Dunster, who, initially at least, showed little interest in the abbey. This void in patronage was filled by local knightly families in the mid-thirteenth century, and through their charters their motives, spiritual, financial, and social, may be understood. After 1260, however, donations to Torre effectively ceased. The exception to this was the grant of their capital manor of Torre in 1370 by their patron, John de Mohun, shortly before his death. The process of acquisition took over two decades, however, and the involvement of large numbers of the local laity reveals a great deal about the dispensing and receipt of patronage by the abbey in the fourteenth century. Furthermore, the thorough excavation of areas of the abbey church between 1986 and 1989 provides an excellent basis for a study of the alternative methods by which the laity could patronise the abbey. The vast majority of burials in the abbey church

were those of the laity, and, while the general picture is one of decline in numbers through the history of the house, it is clear that even after landed donations had ceased, the laity continued to be interested in the spiritual returns offered by Torre.

The second section looks at the social activity of the abbey in its locality. Most of the records for a study of the abbey as landlord unfortunately do not survive. The episcopal registers, however, allow an analysis of the abbey's role as a provider of spiritual services in its eight appropriated churches. One of these was Townstal, the parish church of the busy port of Dartmouth, and its awkward position on the hills above the town led to a protracted conflict between the burgesses and the canons in the mid-fourteenth century. Concurrently, the abbey was troubled by a disputed abbatial election. The importance of the abbacy as a dispenser of patronage to the locality is underlined by the violent intervention of a number of important and well-connected local figures to restore their favoured candidate. These and other disputes in which the canons were involved reveal both the friends and enemies of the abbey throughout the period, and allow a glimpse into an otherwise obscured picture of the social networks of the abbey.

Not all conflict could be controlled by the canons through social means. The unusual position of the abbey directly on the coast left them prone to raids from the sea, especially during times of war with France. Architectural evidence supplements the meagre documentary sources in this respect, allowing a reconstruction of the threat faced by the abbey and the measures taken to defend the precinct, in the context of situations at other houses. Periods of increased domestic strife could also pose a threat to the canons, and Devon in the early stages of the Wars of the Roses was greatly affected by local violence. Here, however, an understanding of local political developments is paramount. I have conducted a preliminary, and perhaps unique, study into some of the effects of the Wars on monasteries in Devon, although focusing on Torre, utilising architectural and iconographic sources to supplement somewhat euphemistic documentary evidence.

Finally, the canons themselves are examined in the light of Torre's involvement in lay society. 121 full names of canons can be recovered from throughout the history of the house. Following a methodology of the prosopography involved, I reconstruct the geographic and social background of the community, and attempt preliminary comparison with the other Devon houses. It is also possible, from the late-fourteenth century, to give an understanding of the average community size, as well as provide some evidence of demographics for the late-fifteenth century. Following this, an overview of communal life at the abbey, based on both architectural and documentary sources, notes the presence, in the early years, of previously undetected lay brothers at the house. From the late-fourteenth century the canons increasingly appear acting individually outside the cloister, and combined with the routine staffing of a number of the abbey's churches with canons this left the numbers in choir severely depleted. However, the late-fifteenth century visitation records reveal that the house was generally well-disciplined, although a number of minor faults and secular influences had apparently become routine.

My thesis concludes that the points of contact with between the abbey and lay society were multifarious and ubiquitous, and this hopefully adds to the growing literature on the social relations of monasteries as a study unique amongst the English Premonstratensians, although perhaps not representative of the norm. In the course of my work I have researched a number of areas, including the architecture of the Premonstratensians, the landscape of the abbey's Devon holdings, and the history of the other Devon abbeys, which I have not been able to include in the final thesis, but hope to expand on in the future. I would welcome correspondence on these or related topics.

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PILGRIMAGE AND THE ROYAL FAMILY IN ENGLAND, 1272-1377

The cult of saints played an integral part in the daily devotions of medieval society. The practice of pilgrimage functioned not only as an expression of belief, but was also thought to secure various benefits. This thesis investigates the ways in which the royal family sought to avail themselves of these benefits. In doing so they not only hoped to display an image of righteousness but also to validate both their worthiness as kings and their policies. By the period in question, England boasted many important centres of national and local devotion. Indeed in the Shrine of St Thomas of Canterbury, England could also take pride in a centre of international repute. Within this setting Edwards I, II and III expressed their devotional intentions and obligations.

This thesis analyses royal pilgrimage using a variety of source materials. The day-to-day devotions of the kings in question are analysed chiefly using royal household accounts. Devotional activity was a key feature these kings' progresses. Particularly revealing are the accounts of the kings' almoners. These records exist within surviving Wardrobe Books (and also in the form of many various draft accounts). These records reveal much about these kings' devotions on a day-to-day basis. They recorded money given in alms to the poor, and oblations made to various shrines and altars, which were located within the religious institutions visited. Moreover, the public devotions of kings were not without political intent. Edward I and Edward III, in particular, used the church as a means to spread propaganda for their military ambitions, as has been analysed in studies by other historians.[118] This thesis suggests that the public devotions of the royal

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[118] See D. W. Burton, 'Requests for Prayers and Royal Propaganda under Edward I', in *Thirteenth Century England*, vol. III, ed. P. R. Cross and S. D. Lloyd (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 25-35; D. S. Bachrach, 'The Organisation of Military Religion in the Armies of King Edward I of England (1272-1307)', *Journal of Medieval History*, 29:4 (2003), pp. 265-86; D. S. Bachrach, 'The Ecclesia Anglicana goes to War: Prayers, Propaganda, and Conquest during

family were a means of aiding this propaganda through the cultivation of a pious royal image.

The greater part of these devotions was expressed within the surroundings of England's great religious institutions. The role of other members of the royal family in bolstering the royal image, through their own expressions of piety, shall also be explored. Monasteries housed many of the greatest shrines in England and, as is well known, attracted hordes of pilgrims wishing to venerate the relics of their saints. What is less well known is the increasingly overt way in which kings and the royal family also depended upon monasteries to promote royal and national interests.

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BARNWELL PRIORY, CAMBRIDGE: AN EARLY NORMAN FOUNDATION

The history of the canons regular and their introduction into England is complicated and it is not until the early decades of the eleventh century that they appear in the form that can be recognized in Augustinian houses such as Barnwell Priory.[119] Until this time they existed as a number of groups of secular canons with similar precepts following a full common life under holy orders but having no

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the Reign of Edward I of England, 1272-1307', *Albion*, 36:3 (2004) pp. 393-406; A. K. McHardy, 'The English Clergy and the Hundred Years War', in *The Church and War*, ed. W. J. Sheils, Studies in Church History, 20 (Oxford, 1983), pp. 171-8; and A. K. McHardy, 'Liturgy and Propaganda in the Diocese of Lincoln during the Hundred Years' War', in *Religion and National Identity*, ed. S. Mews, Studies in Church History, 18, (Oxford, 1982), pp. 215-27.

[119] J. C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950).

recognized rule. By considering Barnwell as an early example of the adoption of the Augustinian Rule in England I hope to be able to comment on its status both locally and within the hierarchy of the order.[120]

Barnwell was founded in *c*.1092 by the Norman sheriff of Cambridgeshire, Picot, and his wife Hugolina and dedicated to the saints Giles and Andrew, the former of which was to give the community its first name. The original buildings stood beneath the walls of castle, close to the Granta or Cam, and it was not until 1112 when it was confirmed in its endowment by its second patron, Pain (Pagan) Peverell, that it moved to its permanent site in the eastern or Barnwell fields.[121]

In thinking about the two roles of Picot de Grantebrugge, that of patron and that of sheriff, I plan to consider the question previously addressed by Matthew Strickland, of how the Normans reconciled their violence and their piety and of how these extremes of behaviour coexisted as part of the warrior code.[122] What can Picot and his founding of Barnwell add to our existing knowledge of this, and of the Norman power network at the end of the eleventh century? A direct local comparison to be investigated is that of Eustace de Lovetot, sheriff of Huntingdonshire, who founded St Mary's Priory, Huntingdon, early in the twelfth century. It was from this community that Geoffrey, the first "prior" of St Giles was to be chosen.

Central to the study of Barnwell is Harleian 3601 which dates from *c*.1294-5. The manuscript was edited by the Cambridge antiquarian John Willis Clark in two volumes: the first containing only book eight was published in 1897 as *The Observances in use at the*

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[120] H. E. Salter (ed.), *Chapters of the Augustinian* (Oxford, 1922).

[121] *Victoria Count History*: *A History of Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely* (London, 1948), II, pp. 234-5; J. W. Clark, *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* (Cambridge, 1907), pp. 40-1. Sanders implies that Pain was Picot's son-in-law although I have found no other evidence, to date, to corroborate this suggestion: I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies a Study of their Origin and Descent* (Oxford, 1960), p.19.

[122] M. Strickland, *War and Chivalry* (Cambridge, 1996), pp. 55-91.

Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire[123] and the second, containing books one to seven, was published in 1907 as the *Liber memorandorum ecclesie de Bernewelle*.[124] By bringing this manuscript together with other surviving primary source material, the evidence from Barnwell can be placed within its wider historical context.

In doing so I hope to be able to achieve two things: firstly, to contribute to the debate on early Augustinian foundations and their popularity among the lesser Norman nobility in England and secondly, by considering how the priory related to various groups in society, to increase current understanding of religious and secular relationships in the early medieval period.[125]

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'THE PRELATE IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND REFORMATION ENGLAND', UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL, 8-9 SEP 2011

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[123] J. W. Clark, *The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1897).

[124] Clark, *Liber Memorandorum*.

[125] Dealings with the town of Chesterton are particularly well documented.

Elizabeth New, Natalia Nowakowska, Brigitte Resl, Benjamin Thompson and Chris Woolgar.

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