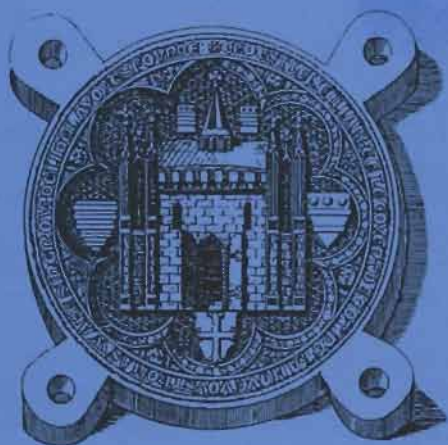


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*Monastic Research
Bulletin*

1



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EDITORIAL

This first issue of the *Monastic Research Bulletin* reveals the range and extent of the research of individual scholars in the field of monasticism in Britain, and the thanks of the Standing Committee must be expressed to those who readily provided notes and reports on their current research work. The success of the *Bulletin* depends very much upon the co-operation of scholars working in the field and I hope that they will continue to send such material and notes on research projects, theses, publications, conferences, excavations etc. The prime aim of the *Bulletin* is to provide a point of contact and information between individuals interested in a variety of aspects of monastic studies in Britain.

It is planned to issue the *Bulletin* each year in late autumn and all enquiries and contributions should be sent to the Borthwick Institute, St Anthony's Hall, York YO1 2PW (E-mail: dms6@york.ac.uk.).

David Smith
September 1995

A BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF THE EX-RELIGIOUS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, c.1530-1603

Peter Cunich

When writing more than a century ago Cardinal Gasquet felt that it was not possible for historians to uncover the fate of the majority of ex-religious after the dissolution of the monasteries because little evidence of their lives had been left in the documentary records of the Tudor period. Geoffrey Baskerville proved him wrong by publishing several detailed studies of the whereabouts and activities of the dispossessed monks, nuns and friars in the years after the dissolution. More recently, scholars such as Claire Cross and Joan Greatrex have demonstrated just how much archival material still awaits close analysis in piecing together the later careers of the ex-religious. While such studies have certainly increased our knowledge of the ex-religious, the data which they have made available to researchers is not always easily accessible to those who are unfamiliar with the growing scholarly literature

but nevertheless wish to find some detailed information about the life of an individual ex-religious. It is for this reason in particular that a new prosopographical project has been launched which aims at producing a *Biographical Register of the Ex-religious in England and Wales c.1530-1603*.

This register has three principal aims. First, it will provide a compilation of the information which is already available in the scattered articles which have appeared in books and journals over the last hundred years. The second objective is to provide a vehicle for those scholars involved in new research which is under way at present to make their findings available to a wider audience than would normally be possible. These researchers are using previously underexploited archival materials in collections throughout the United Kingdom and abroad. These materials range from the account rolls of the Court of Augmentations preserved at the Public Record Office, to the bishops' registers and wills which are to be found in most county record offices, and a host of other materials in local and private collections. This project therefore hopes to provide an outlet for the many scholars of sixteenth-century England who regularly come across important fragments of biographical information about ex-religious but who have no other way of sharing this information with their colleagues. A third objective of the project is to provide a reliable data base for demographers, social and religious historians and others who can use the raw data for their research interests.

Researchers who are interested in sharing data which they have collected about the ex-religious (no matter how insignificant they may appear to be) are encouraged to make contact and find out more about this co-operative project which already involves scholars in Europe, America, and Australasia. The first stage of the project is well under way. It aims at producing a *Working List of Ex-religious* which will provide a nominal index containing basic biographical data concerning all the ex-religious who have so far been identified. This list is currently running at approximately twelve thousand names and is fully cross-referenced to include all the aliases used by individual religious. It is hoped that this *Working List* will be ready for despatch by the end of 1996. It will be the principal reference tool for all who elect to participate in the project and it is hoped that it will be possible to provide complimentary copies to those who decide to make contributions to the data base. Scholars who would like to receive further information about the project, those who already have contributions to make or anyone

with suggestions as to how the project should be pursued are invited to contact Dr Peter Cunich at the Department of History, University of Hong Kong, Pokfulam Road, Hong Kong (Telephone +852-2859-7049; Facsimile +852-2858-9755).

Mick Aston

**Reader in Archaeology, Department for Continuing Education,
University of Bristol, 8-10 Berkeley Square, Clifton, Bristol BS8 1HH**
E-mail: cont-ed@uk.ac.bristol

My main interests in monasteries can be summarized under three headings:

1. I am interested in the 'new orders' of the eleventh/twelfth/thirteenth centuries mainly. I am working on a paper for an Oxbow Monograph to be published sometime this year.
2. I am interested in the landscape aspects of sites, their precincts, water supplies, estates and granges. I have published *Monasteries* (BT Batsford) in 1993.
3. I am interested in the identification and characterization of pre-Norman Conquest sites, especially the earliest monastic sites in Britain, the seventh-century foundations and those developed in the tenth century. The latter seem largely unknown from an archaeological perspective.

Carthusian Sites in Britain

I am currently involved with Glyn Coppack (English Heritage) and Chris Dunn and Paul Everson (RCHM England) in a study of the Carthusian sites in England. This has involved detailed surveys of earthworks on each site, together with geophysical surveys of some (others to follow), together with site reports. There will be an introductory chapter(s) by myself and thematic chapters by Glyn Coppack. I will be dealing with the Scottish house at Perth and the Irish house. The aim is to produce a study of one order in one country from an archaeological/topographical point of view which will serve as a model for any order in any country. There is the possibility of similar

studies, through English Heritage and RCHME, of studies of Premonstratensian, Cistercian and Augustinian sites.

Research Students

LEE PROSSER is just completing his work on Keynsham Abbey (Avon, formerly Somerset) and its estates.

JENNI BUTTERWORTH is looking at monastic estates in the West Country (Wiltshire, Gloucestershire and Somerset) [see p.6 below]

Another student, ANDREW EDEN, will be looking at pre-Conquest sites around the Severn Estuary, south-east Wales and Somerset from this autumn.

Christopher Cannon: "Monastic Productions" (chapter 12) in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature: Writing in Britain 1066-1547*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, forthcoming, 1996?).

In a chapter on "monastic productions" for the forthcoming *Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* I describe the role monastic writers played in helping to shape, sustain, and, finally, restrictively define a tradition in Middle English writing between the Conquest and the Dissolution. The chapter suggests, first, that, up until the fifteenth century, where the record of Middle English writing is generally thought to be generally rent by gaps, the resilient and successful institutional continuities that monasteries provided helped to forge a tradition. In this earlier period, an archival sensibility emerging directly from the provisions for reading and writing in monastic rules made the preservation of textual remains as well as the writing of new English texts (in imitation of and as a contribution to those remains) a constitutive feature of monastic life. The continuation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* at Peterborough even after the Conquest, and the careful preservation and imitation of Old English writing at Worcester into the thirteenth century are cited as evidence of this tendency. The chapter also situates the early Middle English writing often described as "isolated" within the multi-lingual milieu of monastic literacy where it is a simple "turn" (in

the words of the Augustinian canon Orm) from the abundant writing in Latin and Anglo-Norman (similar claims are made for texts that "turn" from Latin and French to Welsh and Scots). Monastic productions in this early period are also shown to form a tradition by their common purpose. The *A enbite of Inwit* by Michael of Northgate which W. P. Ker called "mere educational paraphrase" is seen to stand, instead, in a resolute line with other similar "paraphrases": such texts are seen to form an English tradition by way of their common aim, forming a kind of integument around a core of doctrine in Latin and French, making that doctrine visible to those who otherwise had no means to see it.

The second part of the chapter focuses on the way monastic writing after 1400 helped to confound our ability to discern these earlier continuities by the restrictive definitions of "literature" it helped to install. These definitions are clearly visible in works by John Lydgate, Henry Bradshaw, and Alexander Barclay, where an attempt to sanction a lineage of privileged forebears in order to annex the *imprimatur* of that line to their own writing tended to erase the very idea of precisely the kind of writing the monasteries had earlier been committed to preserving. The creation of the category of "literature" in this period - in Lydgate's phrase, a "poetrye moost enteer" - was not exclusively a monastic process, but Lydgate and his followers played a key role in its success. Lydgate, in particular, seems to have caught from his role as a Lancastrian apologist the habit of authorizing current endeavour in terms of privileged, historic lines; just as he sought to secure the dynastic claims of Henry VI "by just successioun," Lydgate sought to secure his own place in a "laureate" dynasty by justifying his own claim to a numinous poetic ancestry. For Lydgate and all his monastic imitators success in the world by means of writing transformed their understanding of writing's function. The tendency for monks in the fifteenth century to succeed - as Chaucer would have put it - as "outriders", meant that their writing was adapted, both in its sensibilities and the logic of its claims, to the tastes of non-monastic readers. The success of this move outward, was, however, at a direct cost to the archival sensibility that had made monasteries so central to Middle English literary traditions in earlier centuries.

The chapter begins with a brief survey of the varieties of monastic life (and monastic rules) common in Britain between 1066 and the Dissolution, and suggests that the Augustinian canons should be assimilated to a "monastic" literary history (as they are in this chapter) because of the emphasis on the

bonds of community and the "regular life" in their rule.

Christopher Cannon
Girton College, Cambridge (1995-1996)
University of California, Los Angeles (from September 1996)

THESES IN PROGRESS

Jenni Butterworth:

Monastic influence on landscape development in the south west region

The area covered by my study consists of Gloucestershire, Wiltshire and Somerset and aims to reconstruct the impact of monastic activity across the region. The role played by the houses in the local economy and landscape will be considered, using both historical and archaeological techniques, and an assessment created of the factors which exercised a controlling influence in determining their effect. Hopefully, this study will produce a method for tackling the impact of monasticism over a given area which could then be applied to any database.

Charlotte Foster:

The estates of Meaux Abbey in the East Riding of Yorkshire

As part of my doctoral research on the estates of Meaux Abbey, I am currently, with the help of many undergraduate and masters students, recording the extant earthworks of the Abbey and its properties and undertaking limited resistivity and magnetic susceptibility surveys. The properties include several moated sites all which are under threat due to the falling water table in the area and some have recently been lost to modern agriculture and development. So far six sites have been recorded, two have been found to be destroyed since 1969 and two others are too altered to be worth surveying. Using the surveys and Meaux's excellent documentary

sources I am attempting to apply post processual theories of landscape/monument interpretation to Cistercian concepts of isolation, economics and land management. I am also particularly interested in their exploitation of the wetlands. At the Abbey site itself, where no buildings are extant, I am undertaking geophysical survey - so far 200,000 square metres have been covered. Using this I hope to be able to draw together and test the plans and archive produced by the late Mr G.K. Beulah FSA during excavation between 1920 and 1970. Future work may include extended earthwork surveys and environmental sampling. I would be interested to hear from anyone undertaking research into Cistercian wetland management.

Charlotte Foster University of Sheffield Departments of Archaeology and History
E.mail user name HI938439 Address C.L.Foster@Sheffield.ac.uk

Claire Breay:

The Cartulary of Chatteris Abbey

Supervised by Dr D E Greenway

Institute of Historical Research, University of London

This thesis will be a critical edition of the cartulary of Chatteris Abbey (BL Cotton Julius A.i). The cartulary was written towards the middle of the fifteenth century and there is some internal evidence to suggest that it is a copy of two earlier cartularies, now lost, with additional documents added at the end. It contains documents issued both to and by the abbey, between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. A short foundation narrative, taken from the *Liber Eliensis*, and a bull of Innocent IV at the beginning of the cartulary are followed by the royal and episcopal charters. Next comes the main, topographically arranged section of the cartulary after which, at the end of the manuscript, is a diverse collection of documents relating to the abbey.

The abbey, which lay in the Cambridgeshire fens, was a Benedictine nunnery founded in the early eleventh century and was the poorest of the pre-conquest houses for women. Its property was not widely scattered, but was concentrated in Cambridgeshire with other holdings in Hertfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Suffolk. The thesis will use the

cartulary to investigate the nature of the patronage received by the nunnery, looking both at the benefactors - their social status, geographical spread and gender - and at the gifts made - their nature, size, location and chronology. Evidence for gifts associated with the entry of women into the nunnery will be analysed, as will that for other family links between nuns and benefactors. The thesis will also examine the nature of the abbey's relationship with the bishop of Ely, who was made its patron by Henry I, and the material relating to the administration of the abbey's estates. A list of all the known abbesses and nuns will be included in the appendix.

Kevin G Beachus
University of Wales, Cardiff

The importance of the **Knights Templars** (1120-1312) to Medieval society and its economy cannot be understated. Their immense wealth led them to be patronised by kings and the nobility of their day as bankers and money lenders. With their vast land holdings they must have been one of the largest 'employers' of the period within the country. The Order must have been organised and structured in such a way to allow the continued control of these large resources. One only needs to look at other monastic sites, their trade routes, labour usage and commerce to build an image of the Templars' activity in England. Yet unlike other religious orders of the same period, we know very little of the Templar 'empire'.

I am researching into the lands and holdings of the Order - the intention is to compile as complete a list as is possible of the Order's lands, with a secondary aim of an illustrated catalogue of all the standing remains still extant. At present I have managed to compile a gazetteer of some 400+ sites in England ranging from mill sites to full preceptories, from fields to churches. At present they are listed by county with the intention to convert this to 'by preceptory'.

The object of all this research is to try and set forward a realistic overview of the Order's trade routes, the scale of their farming production and market viability. Further, it is hoped that this will allow an appraisal of the Order's wealth, for it is unknown at present if they were at a point of stasis or decline at the time of their suppression.

Kate MacDonald:

Women and the Monastic Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire

In essence this thesis, planned to be completed by Christmas 1996, is less an attempt to prove a specific hypothesis than a straightforward socio-economic study of the twenty-four nunneries existing in Yorkshire between the Black Death and the Dissolution. The main sources on which it is based are largely - of necessity - at one remove from the nuns themselves: they include the York and Richmond probate registers, the archiepiscopal registers and the governmental Dissolution papers.

Specifically, the areas covered in the thesis include the finances and funding of the nunneries, their relations with lay society and their suppression in the sixteenth century. One chapter is devoted to a comparative case study of the priories of Esholt and Marrick, from which houses a number of rentals and account rolls survive. The theme of connections between the nunneries and the secular world recurs throughout the thesis, being examined in a number of aspects. Land ownership and tenancy, testamentary bequests, religious confraternities and the education of children are all examples of areas of life in which the worlds of the religious and the laity overlapped: it is hoped that the study of such areas will help to reveal the attitudes of lay society to local religious houses in the two centuries before the Reformation, and the level of significance of the two bodies to each other. Thus it may be determined whether anyone, secular or religious, had a motive for wanting the nunneries to survive the Henrician reforms.

It is intended that the thesis as a whole will not only help to illuminate this small corner of medieval monasticism, but will also offer a critical reappraisal of some contemporary and modern interpretations of the same.

Kate MacDonald
Corpus Christi College
Oxford

PhD Projects in English Medieval Monasticism at the Australian National University, Canberra

Three PhD students are engaged on projects in the History Department at ANU:

Yvonne Parrey's thesis *Books of Spiritual Formation for English Nuns 1350-1540*, now nearing completion, is a study of the content and nature of extant books of spiritual guidance that were available to English nuns in the last century and a half before the Dissolution. The study has been coupled with a consideration of related materials, including printed wills, visitation reports, and copies of Rules, to allow consideration of the principles that shaped the spirituality of the nuns and an appreciation of the diverse genres of literature from which spiritual support could be drawn.

Linda Rasmussen's thesis *Small Monastic Houses in their Local Community in the Medieval Diocese of Lincoln*, also well advanced, examines nine monastic houses (5 male and 4 female) with an annual income under £200, beginning with the foundation of each house in the 12th-13th centuries and continuing to the Dissolution. The nature of their endowment made it impossible for the religious to live completely enclosed lives, and the thesis explores some of the ways in which the convents interacted with their local communities. This is a comparative study, in which a systematic analysis of male and female houses within roughly the same economic and geographical area will seek to identify real gender differences and the similarities in their existence and circumstances.

Valerie Spear's thesis, entitled *Distaff and Crozier*, is designed to address the subject of leadership in medieval English nunneries. In order to provide a suitable context for examining the responses of female superiors to the demands of their role, the study focuses on 15 houses ranging from relatively well-endowed convents to small, low-budget nunneries. The selection is aimed at achieving a sample which offers insights into the problems and challenges faced by communities located in geographically and socially diverse areas.

John Tillotson, Australian National University

SYLLABUS OF SCOTTISH CARTULARIES

Ian Cunningham

This is a project of The Scottish Medievalists (formerly the Conference of Scottish Medieval Historical Research). Its origin goes back as far as 1964, when Professor Donald Watt and Mr John Todd put forward a proposal which describes the need and the methodology for it, and which remains totally valid. Progress has been intermittent, largely because the work has to be done by volunteers and fitted into all the other preoccupations of busy people. I have been the coordinator for the last two years.

The idea is to provide lists of the documents in older printed Scottish cartularies (produced in the 19th century by the historical clubs), with dates - exact, approximate, possible - for each. There are 35 such cartularies, each with a varying number of documents, but mostly some hundreds. A considerable proportion of these are either not dated at all, or not fully, or not in a way that is immediately intelligible. At present people using these have to work out the date for themselves, as the editors (unlike those of more recent editions) generally provide no assistance; the "Syllabus" will remove the need for this repeated labour.

For each document will be given: reference (number in or page of the printed work), grantor, subject (very briefly), date in modern form and as exactly as possible, and notes (in the first place the evidence for dating, but also some bibliography and other relevant comments). Each cartulary will have a short introduction, describing the edition and the manuscript(s) on which it was based, and any particular difficulties or general points.

To date 14 lists are more or less complete, though most need checking or revision; another 15 have been assigned to various scholars; and 6 remain to be started. In the beginning of course only printed copy was envisaged as the end product; now some form of electronic publication in addition is inevitable. It is still too early to be precise about this, or to give any timetable.

Any comments or queries should be addressed to me at the National Library of Scotland, George IV Bridge, Edinburgh EH1 1EW
Ian C Cunningham

THE ARCHIVES OF SELBY ABBEY: A DESCRIPTIVE LIST

John Tillotson

The surviving archives of Selby Abbey, Yorkshire, are of exceptional interest from a monastery of moderate size, providing a significant resource for the study of Benedictine monasticism and of the late medieval economy and society of the Humberside region. With an annual income of around £800 and situated in a small town whose life it dominated, the abbey was involved in a network of relations with all levels of regional society whose members supplied its goods, services and revenues. In reconstructing that network the accounts of the abbey's obedientiaries and its manorial servants are crucial, and it is here that a particular strength of the archives lies: approximately 140 accounts are still extant, of which 111 are the records of monk-officials. As well, there are some 400 court rolls from the abbey's manors, together with 24 extents and rentals. A cartulary, three registers or parts thereof, and a seventeenth-century transcript of a cartulary have also been preserved. Almost all of this material dates from the last two centuries of the community's existence, a fact that may owe something to a fourteenth century fire at Selby Abbey.

As a result of a transfer of documents on permanent loan from the Westminster Diocesan Archives in 1993, the bulk of surviving account rolls from Selby Abbey are now located in the Brynmor Jones Library at Hull University. The other types of surviving manuscripts remain widely dispersed, however; and the needs of a potential researcher are not well served by my existing catalogue in *Monastery and Society in the Late Middle Ages: Selected Account Rolls from Selby Abbey, Yorkshire, 1398-1537*, which is neither detailed nor complete. At the suggestion of Professor David Smith, I have undertaken the compilation of a full descriptive list of extant cartularies, registers, accounts, and other manorial documents, including court rolls. Charters will not be included in this volume, as the additional work involved in locating and recording widely scattered documents would extend the project too far with no guarantee that the additional gain in information would justify the effort.

Two short research trips to England in 1993 and 1994 with the aid of grants from the Australian Research Council, have provided the means to examine most of the documents and to instigate a limited search for further manuscripts. In the event no new collections have been added to those already known; but my earlier list has been corrected and extended, with the addition of eight account books from the 1520s and 1530s in the Londesborough collection at Hull University. As well, it has become apparent that some documents belonging to the Londesborough collection in the late nineteenth century are now missing. Thus, for example, a book of extracts in York City Libraries written in 1888 lists five pittancer's rolls "fastened together" for 1402-3, 1409-12 and 1414-15, and transcribes the pittance list (consisting of the abbot, the prior and 25 monks) for the first account. None of the five accounts is now in the Londesborough collection at Hull University. The transcribed list for 1402-3 may well provide interesting evidence of the recruitment practices of the abbey, since it lacks the names of five novices listed in the pittancer's roll for 1403-4; presumably they were admitted for training in a group the following year.

The first part of the projected volume, a list of obedientary and manorial accounts, has now reached completion. I have used as models for this project the published works of Janet Martin at Peterborough and Rodney Thomson at Bury St Edmunds, but have sought to provide additional information on the structure of the accounts as a guide to their contents. For each monastic office (almoner, bursar, etc) the list of documents in chronological order is preceded by a brief description of the obedientiary's functions and level of income, and by notes on the value of his records. Then, for each document all internal headings on the Receipts and Expenditure sides of the accounts have been transcribed and translated, and the total for each section added. Where they also contain Stock and Grain Accounts, section headings are transcribed and translated, and the total number of animals or quantities of grains that were accounted for by the official are recorded.

The next stage in the project will be to edit my existing lists of other estate documents, the court rolls that survive in numbers for Selby and Crowle in particular, and the twenty-four extents and rentals. The approach will be similar to that adopted for accounts, with an emphasis on providing information about the contents of the documents. The calendaring of cartularies and registers will follow, a process assisted by the fact that for three manuscripts much of the work has been done. The early fourteenth

century cartulary has been published as *The Coucher Book of Selby*, with an appendix in volume II containing a calendar of the register of Abbot Geoffrey de Gaddesby, 1342-68; whilst the archives department of Leeds Public Libraries has prepared a typescript calendar of the seventeenth century transcript. Sometime next year I hope to reach the final part of the project, when the whole catalogue will be supplied with a substantial introduction and an index.

John Tillotson, Australian National University, Canberra ACT 0200

HEADS OF RELIGIOUS HOUSES: ENGLAND AND WALES

David M. Smith and Vera C.M. London

Following upon the publication of *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216*, eds. David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and Vera C.M. London in 1972, Miss London began to amass material from printed sources for a continuation of the work. She was joined in this endeavour in the mid-1980s by David Smith who concentrated on original archival sources. Obviously many other scholars have given unstinting help. It was decided to tackle the remaining work in two chronological volumes: 1216-1377; and 1377-1540. A decision was made early on, partly on account of separate research being undertaken on the mendicant orders, to omit the friars from the later volumes and the arrangement by orders has followed precisely the first volume. It is pleasing to report that work on the 1216-1377 is nearing completion and hopefully may be ready to go to the printers in 1996. The basis for the final volume has also been laid. The 1216-1377 volume will contain an appendix of addenda and corrigenda to the 940-1216 volume prepared by Christopher Brooke. If anyone has any material for this appendix the editors would be very pleased to learn of it.

Borthwick Institute, University of York, St Anthony's Hall, York YO1 2PW

HEADS OF SCOTTISH RELIGIOUS HOUSES

The Scottish Medievalists (the Colloquium of Scottish Medieval and Renaissance Studies) who meet every year in January have set up a working group to produce lists of the heads of Scottish religious houses. The same organisation produced the fasti of the bishops, cathedrals and collegiate churches down to 1637 under my editorship in the 1960s. Since then the late Professor I. B. Cowan did some preparatory work on monastic heads which was incomplete at his death in 1990. The working group aim to carry this forward by allocating responsibility for various monasteries among themselves and circulating draft lists to anyone who can help to improve them. At the end of 1994 some twelve lists were circulated as a start, and others are being prepared during 1995.

This is a long-term project to which members of the working group are giving some of their time while busy with other things. At present they are concentrating on printed sources with the help of extensive unpublished notes compiled within the National Library in Edinburgh by Julian Russell. At a later stage study will have to be made of the very extensive microfilm collections of material relating to Scotland before 1560 extracted from the Vatican Archives and kept in the Department of Scottish History in Glasgow University. The period covered extends from the twelfth century to the early seventeenth century when many monastic headships were converted into secular lordships.

This group is informal in composition; but the acting secretary is Norman Shead, 8 Whittliemuir Avenue, Muirend, Glasgow G44 3HU, to whom any enquiries should be addressed.

D. E. R. Watt

Marilyn Oliva

I have an article out in the most recent issue of *Medieval Prosopography* about the social status of the nuns who lived in the diocese of Norwich between

1350 and 1540. The article is entitled "Counting Nuns: A Prosopography of Late Medieval English Nuns in the Diocese of Norwich". This work is part of a larger study on the nuns in this part of England which I am currently working on. Boydell and Brewer will be publishing my book on these nuns in 1996. The working title for this book is *Habits of Faith*.

I am also working on a volume for the Suffolk Monastic Record series which includes all of the charters which survive for the female monasteries in the county of Suffolk. This book will count among the documents calendared household accounts from a few of these houses and will hopefully be ready in 1996 or early 1997.

In addition to the above I am compiling a list of all of the books which were owned by individual nuns or their convents in the Middle Ages.

A REGISTER OF THE DURHAM MONKS

Alan Piper

The medieval muniments of Durham Cathedral have long been recognised as representing one of the most complete monastic archives to survive in Britain, or indeed Europe. Thanks to the presence of a large quantity of financial material and of the current registers containing copies of documents issued in the name of the cathedral's Benedictine community, covering the period 1300-1539, there is much evidence for the individual lives of the later monks, particularly the offices that they held, their movements between Durham and its many dependent cells, and the year in which they died. This evidence can be set against the list of the monks maintained through most of the community's existence, 1083-1539, in the *Liber Vitae*, and a current project aims to test its value as demographic data.

During the Second World War the late Canon Prof. S.L. Greenslade created a card index of Durham monks which he subsequently deposited with the muniments. A.B. Emden published much information on Durham monks, since many attended Oxford as students based at Durham College. Both Greenslade and Emden worked before the extended programme for conserving

the medieval accounting material had been put in hand. Completion of this opened the way for more precise dating of a significant amount of the material. At this stage a full examination of every medieval document in the cathedral's muniments was made and references to Durham monks sought in collections elsewhere, notably in the Borthwick Institute at York and the episcopal registers in Lincoln; other material cited by Emden was checked. The results were typed and now await scanning to create machine-readable files; publication is then envisaged as one of the Surtees Society's companion volumes to the *Durham Liber Vitae*. Before this can happen it remains to expand the details of the many surviving books connected with individual Durham monks, presented in very summary form in the *Supplement* ed. A.G. Watson to N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*.

A. J. Piper
Durham University

ESHOLT PRIORY CHARTER 1485

W J Connor

The Esholt Priory Charter of 1485, which was purchased in 1990 by the West Yorkshire Archive Service with assistance from the Museums and Galleries Commission Purchase Grant Fund, the National Art Collections Fund and other charities, is the subject of a paper being prepared by Bill Connor, Principal District Archivist at Leeds. The charter is a grant under the Statute of Mortmain by Richard III to Margaret Clifford, permitting her to endow the Priory with the advowson of Belton in Axholme. The document is elaborately decorated in the style of the "Master of the Decorated Documents" and of the "Caxton Master" with strapwork initials and a miniature of the prioress and nuns at prayer before the Virgin. The paper attempts to explore the archival history of this charter, its significance both to Esholt and to Margaret Clifford, its iconography and its art-historical background.

Mr Connor would be pleased to hear from others with an interest in this field and would welcome suggestions of likely publishers of such a paper of about 7,500 words plus illustrations (West Yorkshire Archive Service, Leeds, Chapeltown Road, Sheepscar, Leeds LS7 3AP).

A BIOGRAPHICAL REGISTER OF THE ENGLISH CATHEDRAL PRIORIES

Joan Greatrex

Individual biographies are among the most essential building blocks for all historians. For medievalists, however, whose interests are focused on the lives of ordinary men and women rather than on the great and noble, the kind of information required is usually in short supply. And yet as is becoming increasingly clear, medieval archives can provide an abundance of factual details that are waiting to be extracted and reassembled. If prosopography is defined in terms of the description of external characteristics and activities of the individual members of a chosen group, as distinct from biography which aims to reveal the inner man, my register belongs in the former category. The same is true of Dr A.B. Emden's biographical register of the medieval universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where the Benedictine presence was continuous for two and a half centuries, as indicated by the impressive numbers of monk students, some unknown to Emden, in my register.

My volume will consist of all the evidence that has come to light during an extensive and prolonged search through a wide range of manuscript and printed source materials; the eight cathedral priories of the province of Canterbury are included, viz. Bath, Canterbury, Coventry, Ely, Norwich, Rochester, Winchester and Worcester. I have been able to provide entries for over 5,000 black monks who made their profession in one or other of these communities between c.1066 and 1540, and have estimated that this number lies somewhere between two-thirds and three-quarters of the total monastic population of the eight houses.

This project began on a small scale as an aid to a proposed comparative study of the English cathedral priories in the later Middle Ages (of which Professor R.B. Dobson will be writing one volume). However, when its importance as an independent work of reference was first suggested to me, I was persuaded to enlarge and complete it before continuing with the comparative study. If all goes well the register should be delivered to the Oxford University Press by the end of this year (1995). Its publication should prove to be a valuable contribution to medieval studies in general since its chronologically based data reveal multifarious activity on the part of the monks in the world beyond the

cloister. These should provide material conducive to analysis for a variety of purposes, such as the interaction of a religious community and the surrounding urban and rural communities on, for example, an economic and social level. In addition, the dates of profession, ordination and death are sufficiently numerous to serve as a basis for statistical computation to further our knowledge of the length of working lives and of age expectancy among the English Black monks.

Joan Greatrex

RESEARCH ON ENGLISH FRANCISCANS

Michael Robson

I. Register of Franciscans in Medieval England

The Rt Revd. Dr. John Moorman, bishop of Ripon (1959-75), spent much of his life patiently gathering information about the Franciscans from a wide range of manuscripts and published sources. The vast majority of the friars' names were collected from the ordination lists in the bishops' registers. Licences to preach and hear confessions in the two centuries following the promulgation of Boniface VIII's *Super cathedram* were carefully noted as well as the royal grants to friars and friaries in the Public Record Office. The medieval wills published in the Canterbury and York Society, the Surtees Society and local historical societies were scanned for details on friars.

In one of his last articles Bishop Moorman quoted the estimate of David Knowles and Neville Hadcock that there were 10,000 friars in medieval England and he announced that he had gathered 9,050 names. Since the episcopal registers serve as the largest single source of information the gaps in that collection suggest that an estimate in excess of 10,000 friars is justifiable. The friars' greatest expansion between 1224 and 1290 generally precedes the period covered by the ordination lists. I have identified over 500 friars at Canterbury between 1224 and 1499, when the friary passed to the Observant reform. The absence of ordination records before 1282, the incomplete lists of ordinations, the loss of other registers in the fourteenth

century and the inadequate documentation upon non-ordained friars lead me to estimate that approximately 150-200 names have perished.

Further names will be brought to light by the gradual publication of all the episcopal registers and other texts. New names and further information about the *studia generalia* are contained in the *Regesta Fratrum Minorum Conventualium (1484-1494)* which was published in 1989. Occasionally friars' names appear in unexpected places, such as the list of institutions. Unpublished wills yield a small crop of additional names, some of which do not figure in the extant episcopal registers and monastic archives constitute a very significant reservoir of information on the friars. Apart from a solitary reference in Eccleston's *De adventu fratrum minorum in Angliam*, the only record of the friars' intellectual activities in Canterbury comes from the archives of Christ Church, where several texts describe how the friars supplied the monks with lectors in theology between 1275 and 1314. In recent months I have been very happy to receive information on friars' monastic links from the research of Professor Joan Greatrex on the cathedral priories of Canterbury and Worcester and Miss Barbara Harvey on Westminster Abbey.

My initial intention was to transcribe Bishop Moorman's files and this vast project should be completed by the end of 1995. A great deal of work remains to be done on the bishops' registers in order to give precise dates and ample bibliographical references. A model register has already been provided by A.B. Emden's *A Survey of Dominicans in England based on the ordination lists in episcopal registers (1269-1538)*, Rome, 1967. Even though new names are coming to light, I would hope to complete an edition within the next few years and would be very happy to receive information about friars, especially from unpublished wills and other sources.

II. Register of Franciscan Bishops in Medieval England

By the time that Thomas of Celano had composed his second life of Saint Francis about 1246/48 he felt it necessary to record the founder's wishes that the friars should not become bishops. Already by this stage there was a small knot of Franciscan bishops, including Leo de Vavassori da Perego, archbishop of Milan (1241-57), and Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen (1246/48-75). While Gregory IX had respected Francis's wishes in this matter, Innocent IV and Alexander IV were under no such constraints and turned increasingly to

the mendicants for bishops whose number increased sharply from the second half of the thirteenth century. The general constitutions of Narbonne in 1260 regulated the relationship between the fraternity and those friars who became bishops.

Few Franciscans were appointed to bishoprics in England and John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury (1279-92), and William Gainsborough, bishop of Worcester (1302-07), were exceptions. Several friars associated with England were appointed to bishoprics in the Crusading states, in Ireland and Wales and *in partibus infidelium*; a handful of friars were appointed to dioceses in Italy and France. Some of the foreign friars lecturing at Oxford and Cambridge were appointed to dioceses in France and Italy. In fourteenth and fifteenth century England there were numerous Franciscan bishops who served as suffragans.

Augustine of Nottingham, bishop of Laodicea, and Hugh, bishop of Byblos, were driven from their dioceses and found hospitality at the courts of Henry III and Edward I and both served as suffragans in the diocese of Durham. Peter of Bologna, bishop of Corbavia, came to England as part of the papal legation to establish peace between Edward II and Robert Bruce and stayed in the country as suffragan in the diocese of York, London, Winchester, Canterbury and Lincoln. Gilbert O'Tigernach, bishop of Annaghdown, travelled to England to gain the support of Edward II against his metropolitan and to find work as a suffragan; he served in at least nine dioceses. By the end of the fourteenth century the majority of English friars appointed to the dioceses in Ireland or *in partibus infidelium* spent most of their time in England.

This register began with my work on Bishop Moorman's index and A.G. Little's biographical notes on Franciscan prelates built on that foundation. My own work on further printed and manuscript materials has added to the information collected by these two luminaries in the world of Franciscan scholarship. The register contains biographical details of some 92 friars, about 40% of whom lived outside their dioceses and found work as suffragans in English dioceses. The bishops' registers constitute a primary source and in some cases the detail is so plentiful that it permits the reconstruction of a pastoral diary. A small number of extant wills provide an insight into the household and lifestyle of these prelates. Once again monastic sources are an important witness and are supplemented by a variety of sources from the papal

archives. It is my intention to compile a 150 page register of these bishops and this should serve as a work of reference for those working on the history of the Franciscans in England.

Michael Robson, O.F.M.Conv., St Edmund's College, Cambridge, CB3 0BN

Professor Donald Logan (Boston, Mass.)

Runaway Religious in Medieval England c. 1240-1540, by Donald Logan will appear in 1996 (Cambridge University Press). It is a study of apostasy from the religious life by monks, canons, friars and nuns from the period of the arrival of the friars to the dissolution. In addition to examining the canonical requirements for valid profession, it indicates the alternatives available for unhappy religious and, these failing, the reasons for apostasy. Also, the use of the secular arm to enforce the return of runaways to their houses by the use of the writ *de apostata capiendo* is described in detail. The return of apostates, whether freely or by coercion, and their reconciliation to their communities are treated from rituals and specific cases. Finally, the turbulent years of the 1530s close with thousands of religious leaving their houses without benefit of dispensation from their vows and, thus, in technical apostasy.

Ramsay Abbey: the last days and after, by Donald Logan, studies the final decades in the history of this wealthy midlands monastery, with emphasis on the visitations by the bishops of Lincoln and the runup to its closing on 22 November 1539. It describes the pensions given to the monks and their subsequent careers, ending with the arrest of a former monk for saying Mass in Westminster for recusants at Easter 1576. The article will appear late in 1995 in a volume entitled *The Salt of the Common Life: Individuality and Choice in the Medieval Town, Countryside, and Church: Essays presented to J. Ambrose Rafiis*, edited by Edwin Brezette De Windt.

THE MONASTIC ORDER IN YORKSHIRE IN THE LATE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES

Janet Burton

(Department of History, University of Wales, Lampeter)

By the time of the Norman Conquest of England organized monasticism had long been dead. The tenth-century monastic revival which revitalised monasticism in the South did not touch the North, where the authority of the English king was weak. With the Norman settlement north of the Humber things changed, though not all on the initiative of the newcomers: through a variety of channels and impulses - a French monk turned hermit, a Norman soldier turned monk, a flowering of Anglo-Saxon sentiment for the past, and the conquerors' realization of the political power of stone abbeys - the monastic order returned to the North. At first expansion was dominated by the Black Monks, but in their wake came the Augustinian canons, sponsored by the archbishops of York and by the lay baronage, the Cistercian monks, religious women, and Knights Templar and Hospitaller. Within a century of the demise of the Anglo-Saxon regime Yorkshire boasted over fifty religious houses, and thus witnessed one of the most vibrant and dramatic areas of monastic growth in Britain.

The particular study on which I am engaged at present explores the rebirth of the monastic order in Yorkshire and its growth up to 1215, the year in which the Fourth Lateran Council attempted to stem the outburst of new religious orders and groups. It therefore stops short of the revolutionary impact wrought by the coming of the friars. It will trace in detail the foundation and endowment of individual religious houses, and explore in depth the relationship between them and their founders and subsequent patrons and benefactors. It will also assess the impact which the religious orders had on the landscape and economy of the northern counties, and on the life of parish and diocese.

Within the general area of Yorkshire monasticism my special interests lie in two groups: the Cistercians and religious women. In connection with the first of these, I am working on a longer term project to calendar the cartulary of Byland Abbey (British Library, Egerton MS. 2823); this will include identifying and editing all known original charters. I am also extending my work on the Yorkshire nunneries into the later medieval period. I have conducted a preliminary survey into aspects of recruitment into nunneries in

the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and aim eventually to work towards a prosopographical study and database of women who entered the monastic life in Yorkshire. The preliminary study is entitled 'Yorkshire nunneries in the Middle Ages: recruitment and resources' to appear in the forthcoming *Government, Society, and Religion in Northern England 1000-1700*, edited by John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Alan Sutton, Gloucester).

Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire

Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire, edited by Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series CL, pp. 676, was published in June 1995. In addition to an introductory essay, it contains details of the ordination of male religious from 1480 until the dissolution arranged under the Yorkshire houses of their respective orders, the dates of suppression, the valuation and the appropriations of each community, either lists of dispensations to hold secular livings or pension lists and particulars of the subsequent careers of former monks, friars and nuns taken from both national and local records.

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