

MONASTIC RESEARCH BULLETIN

Published at the end of each calendar year. Annual Subscription £3 (*Please note that from 2003 the annual subscription will be £4*). Subscriptions and correspondence to the Borthwick Institute, University of York, St Anthony's Hall, York YO1 7PW. All enquiries and contributions should be sent to the Borthwick Institute at the above address (e-mail: mrvh1@york.ac.uk; dms6@york.ac.uk). © University of York.

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The Cartulary of the Priory of North Ferriby: a guide to the contents

Little is known of the house of Augustinian Canons of North Ferriby located in the East Riding of Yorkshire. Dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary, the house was originally a cell of the Augustinian monastery of 'The Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem'.¹ The foundation of the Priory is also unclear although the founder was probably Eustace Fitz John (d. 1157) or one of his Vescy descendants through his wife Beatrice de Vescy.² The surviving fragment of a fourteenth-century cartulary indicates land and property were granted in North Ferriby, Anlaby, Tranby, Hessle, all in the East Riding of Yorkshire, and South Ferriby, in Lincolnshire. The house was small, with a net income was £60 in 1535 and housed a small community varying between three and eight canons.³ When suppressed on 13 August 1536 the house contained the prior and six canons and 34 servants, boys and other poor people.⁴

¹ M. D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses of England and Wales*, 2nd edn (London, 1971), p. 168.

² J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069-1215*, (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 91-2.

³ Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, p. 168

⁴ *Victoria History of the County of York* (London, 1913), vol. 3, p. 241. Cf. the dispensations list printed in C. Cross & N. Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns in sixteenth century Yorkshire* (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 150, 1995), pp. 326-7, where the prior and seven canons are listed.

The priory was briefly re-opened during the Pilgrimage of Grace.⁵

The fragment of the cartulary is a quire of eight folios measuring 11⁷/₈ x 7³/₈ in., catalogued as Oxford, Bodleian ms Add. C51. Especial thanks are due to the Western Manuscripts Department of the Bodleian Library for their assistance and permission to publish this calendar.

Thirty-seven of the forty-three charters in the cartulary fragment were published in the *Early Yorkshire Charters*⁶ and are calendered below; the six unpublished charters are edited below.

Judith A. Frost

Editorial Method

Spelling is retained except 'i' is used for 'i' and 'j' in the text. In numbers 'j' is retained as used. Also 'v' is used for a consonant and 'u' as a vowel. The use of 'c' or 't' is retained as used. Modern usage of capitals and punctuation is used and the tironian sign is read as 'et'. All normal abbreviations are extended. Conjectural readings or damaged or unreadable text is indicated by square brackets [] and dots [. . .]. Editorial corrections are provided in the text and lettered notes indicating the manuscript reading is provided where appropriate. Place name spellings and proper names are retained in the original suspended form with an apostrophe. Names indicated by initials are not extended.

Layout

The charters are numbered (in arabic numerals) sequentially in the order of the current manuscript quire. The folio on which the charter begins

⁵ M. Dodds and R. Dodds, *The Pilgrimage of Grace and the Exeter Conspiracy* 1538 (2 vols. London, 1971), vol. 2, p. 20.

⁶ C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters Vol. XII: The Tison Fee*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (Extra Series), 1965 and C. T. Clay, *Early Yorkshire Charters Vol. IX: The Stuteville Fee*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (Extra Series), 1952.

is indicated in the margin. Folio references [f.6r] are provided at the precise point of turn in the text. Forty of the charters are marginally noted by geographical area (Tranby, Hessle, and South Ferriby) and each charter in the Tranby and Hessle sections are sequentially numbered in the margin of the manuscript. Each folio is headed with a rubric of the geographical area and this is noted at the first charter of each new folio. The rubrics (all in red ink) provide a descriptive heading for the individual charter. English captions are provided in *italic*. The citation for charters already published is provided in abbreviated form at the end of each charter (see list of abbreviations below). Lettered footnotes are used to include supplementary information. Many of the locations named probably represent field or farm names in the North Ferriby, Tranby, Hessle or South Ferriby areas and cannot be identified positively.

Abbreviations used:

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| <i>Complete Peerage</i> | <i>The Complete Peerage or a History of the House of Lords and all its members from the earliest times</i> , eds. H. A. Doubleday, V. Gibbs and H. de Walden (London, 1932-36) vols VIII and IX. |
| <i>CPR</i> | <i>Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office</i> (PRO, 1903). |
| <i>DNB</i> | <i>Dictionary of National Biography</i> , eds. L. Stephen and S. Lee, (63 vols., Oxford, 1885-1900). |
| <i>EYC</i> | C. T. Clay ed., <i>Early Yorkshire Charters Vol. IX: The Stuteville Fee</i> , Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (Extra Series vol VII), 1952; and C. T. Clay ed., |

Early Yorkshire Charters Vol. XII: The Tison Fee, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series (Extra Series vol X), 1965.

EYF C. Clay, illus. D. E. Greenway, *Early Yorkshire Families*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 135, 1973.

Heads II D. M. Smith and V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales II: 1216-1377*, (Cambridge, 2001).

Place-names A. H. Smith, *The Place-names of the East Riding of Yorkshire and York*, English Place-names Society, 14, 1937.

Yorkshire Inquisitions *Yorkshire Inquisitions* ed. W. Brown, Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series 23, 1898.

1 f.1r [rubric] Confirmacio domini Johannis de Moubray' de omnibus tenementis in feodo suo.

Confirmation by John de Mowbray^A, Lord of the Isle of Axholme, of the grants in his fee of North Ferriby, Swanland, Anlaby^B and elsewhere, to the Priory of North Ferriby. [c. 1317-1331]

Universis Cristi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum p[ervenerit] Johannes de Moubray dominus Insule de Haxholme [*damage* ?salutem in domino sem?]piternam. Noveritis me pro salute anime [et? *damage*] animarum

antecessorum meorum. [Sci]atis me [damage] confirmasse et [. . . alic . . .] priori de North Fer[iby] [damage . . . dis'] Templi Domini Jerlie' [?canonicis et?] fratribus ibidem Deo [one word damage] imperpetuum omnes terras et tenement[a] red[d]itus et [words damaged] et habent de feodo meo in North Feriby', Swanlond, Anlaby [. . . et . . . multiple words damage] vel alibi ubicumque. Tenend' in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam, ita quod predicti religiosi et eorum successores ab omni seculari servicio districtione quacumque et demanda de me et heredibus meis imperpetuum sint quieti et penitu[s] absoluti. In cuius rei testamentum huic presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus et cetera.

^A John de Mowbray (I) was appointed by letters patent 'Keeper of the Isle of Haxholme' on 30 November 1317 [*CPR 1317-1321*, p. 63] and by 9 June 1318 he was noted styled 'Lord of the Isle of Axholme' [*ibid.*]. He was executed on 23 March 1322 as a result of, amongst other things, a disagreement with Hugh Despenser the younger over John's rights to his father-in-law's lands in Gower, Wales, [*Complete Peerage*, ix, p. 379]. His son, John de Mowbray (II) was freed from the Tower by Edward III and succeeded to the livery of his father's lands in January 1327 while still in his minority [*ibid.*, p. 380]. After his mother's death in July, 1331 he styled himself 'Lord of the Isle of Axholme and of the Honors of Gower and Bramber'. He died in 1361. (*DNB*, 13, p. 1116). Thus, this charter may be of either John (I) (between 30 November 1317 and March 1321/2) or of John (II) (between January 1327 and July 1331). There are earlier indications of the Mowbray family's interest in the Priory of North Feriby: in 1293 John (I)'s father, Roger de Mowbray's assent was sought in a grant of land in Swanland and Feriby and rent of the passage of the Humber to the priory by William de Vescy [*Yorkshire Inquisitions*, 2:157].

^B All are located in the Wapentake of Harthill, the East Riding of Yorkshire: the parish of North Feriby includes Swanland and the parish of Kirk Ella includes Anlaby. (*Place-names*, pp. 216-19.)

Confirmation by Peter de Mauley, IV,^A Lord of Mulgrave, of all grants of land in his fee, to the Priory of North Ferriby, free from secular service. Dated at Lockington 21 June 1318.

Omnibus et cetera. Petrus de Malo Lacu quartus dominus de Mulgreue salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noveritis nos concessisse et hoc presenti scripto nostro confirmasse et quietum clamasse priori de North Feriby super Humbr' ordinis Templi Domini Jerl'm [damage ?canon?]icis et fratribus eiusdem domus et [?suis?] successoribus imperpetuum omnes et singulas terras possessiones et eciam omnia tenementa que vel quas predicti prior, canonici et fratres tempore [damage] presentis scripti habent et tenent de feodo nostro ubicumque fuerint. Tenend' et habend' in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam quiete ab omni seculari servicio et demanda adeo libere et quiete sicut aliqua elemosina, liberius et quietius [?dari?] potest et teneri. Ita videlicet quod nec nos Petrus de Malo Lacu nec heredes nostri nec aliquis ministrorum nostrorum aliquam districcionem in supradictis terris redditibus possessionibus seu tenementis vel aliqua parte earundem pro aliquo servicio seu demanda quecumque fuerint decetero facere poterimus imperpetuum [?In cuius rei?] testimonium presenti scripto sigillum meum est appositum. Hiis testibus Domino Alexandro de Caue et aliis. Dat' apud Lokynghon' die Mercurii proxima post festum Sancte Trinitatis Anno Domini millesimo ccc^{mo} decimo octavo.

^A Peter de Mauley IV (b. 1280/1) entered his inheritance at his father's (Peter III) death in September 1309. In 1313 he was granted pardon, with Thomas of Lancaster's party, for the death of Gaveston. He was styled one of the 'Majores Barones' in 1318. In this same time he was seriously in debt (21,700 l.) from which he was not given partial respite until 1327. [*Complete Peerage*, viii, p. 564]. He granted land in 1315-16 to the Franciscans in Doncaster and in 1320-21 to the convent of Grosmont. [*CPR 1313-1317* p. 385, *CPR 1317-21*, p. 559]. He died in 1348.

- 3 f.1v [rubric] Tranby
Tranby j [rubric] Carta Henrici de Tranby de una acra terre in eadem.

Gift by Henry of Tranby of an acre of land in Tranby^A in the cultura called 'Wellundes'.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 86, dated c. 1192 x 1218.

^A Tranby is within the parish of Hessle in Harthill Wapentake in the East Riding of Yorkshire. (*Place-names*, p. 215)

- 4 Tranby ij [rubric] Carta eiusdem Henrici de una acra et dimidia terre cum comuna in Tranby

Confirmation by Henry of Tranby of the gift of William Crassus of 8½ acres of land and pasture in Tranby 6½ acres at 'Bradedayle' and 2 acres at 'Wellundis'.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 87, dated c. 1192 x 1218.

- 5 Tranby iij [rubric] Carta eiusdem Henrici de uno tofto et una cultura

Gift by Henry of Tranby of a toft and a croft in Tranby near the Chapel of St Leonard and a cultura of land in the same village. [ff.1v-2r]

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 88, dated c. 1192 x 1218.

- 6 f.2r [rubric] Tranby
Tranby iiij [rubric] Carta eiusdem Henrici de una bovata terre Hesell' cum Radulpho nativo eiusdem

Gift by Henry of Tranby of a bovate of land in Hessle^A and quitclaim of his villein, Ralph son of Alger, who held the land,

together with his issue.

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 89, dated c. 1192 x 1218.

^A Hessle parish is in the Wapentake of Harthill in the East Riding of Yorkshire. (*Place-names*, pp. 215-16)

- 7 Tranby v [*rubric*] Carta Henrici filii Hugonis de Tranby de sex acris terre.

Gift by Henry, son of Hugh of Tranby, of 6 acres of land, less three selions, in Tranby.

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 90, dated c. 1192 x 1218.

- 8 Tranby vj [*rubric*] Carta eiusdem iij acris terre.

Gift by Henry, son of Hugh of Tranby, of 3 acres of land lying towards the north of the six acres given previously. [c. 1192 x 1218]

Sciant et cetera quod ego Henricus filius Hugonis de Tranby concessi et dedi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et Templo Domini de Jerl'm et fratribus eiusdem Templi apud North Feriby conversantibus pro salute anime mee et antecessorum meorum tres acras terre in territorio de Tranby versus viam que tendit de Hesell' apud Feriby, iacentes iuxta sex acras quas similiter habent de dono meo versus aquilonem; habend' et tenend' imperpetuum libere solute et quiete ab omni seculari servicio et consuetudine et demanda in puram et liberam et perpetuam elemosinam. Ego vero Henricus [f.2v] et heredes mei warantizabimus Deo et fratribus prenominatis terram prenominatam contra omnes homines et defendemus. Hiis testibus et cetera [*no witnesses given*].

- 9 f.2v [rubric] Tranby
Tranby vij [rubric] Carta eiusdem de ij acris terre

Gift by Henry, son of Hugh of Tranby, of two acres of land in Tranby, one held by Hugh Huntman and the other acre in 'Wellund'.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 91, dated c. 1192 x 1218.

- 10 Tranby viij [rubric] Carta eiusdem de Hugone filio Henrici
Huntmane nativo suo.

Gift by Henry of Tranby of his villein, Henry, son of Hugh Huntman, and his issue.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 92, dated c. 1192 x 1218.

- 11 Tranby ix [rubric] Carta Alani filii Henrici de Tranby de uno
selione in perpetuam elemosinam

Gift by Alan, son of Henry of Tranby, of a selion of land in 'Littelongis' [?in Hessle].

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 93, dated early Henry III.

- 12 f.3r [rubric] Tranby
Tranby x [rubric] Carta Alani de Tranby de una bovata terre in
Hesell' in perpetuam elemosinam

Gift of Alan of Tranby of a bovate of land in Hessle and an acre of meadow in 'Littelenges'.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 94, dated early Henry III.

- 13 Tranby xj [rubric] Carta eiusdem Alani de tercia parte nemoris de
Hesell' cum confirmacione duarum culturarum iuxta
nemus predictum

*Gift by Alan of Tranby to Prior Robert^A and the priory, of his
third share in the wood of Hessle, with the right of enclosure,
and quitclaim of two culture by the wood given by John of
Hessle, his ancestor, and Robert of Hessle, his uncle.*

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 95, dated early Henry III.

^ARobert occurs as Prior in 12 Nov. 1234 [*Heads II*, p. 435].

- 14 Tranby xij [rubric] Carta eiusdem Alani de confirmacione
donorum suorum et predecessorum

*Confirmation by Alan of Tranby of all lands, possessions and
gifts of his fee. [f.3r-v]*

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 96, dated early Henry III.

- 15 f.3v [rubric] Tranby
Tranby xiiij [rubric] Carta Ade de Tranby de dimidia bovata terre et
uno pare cerotecarum

*Gift by Adam of Tranby of a half a bovate of land in Tranby
and quitclaim of the service of Ralph le Gras of one pair of
white gloves.*

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 97, dated mid-13th century.

- 16 Tranby xiiij [rubric] Carta confirmacionis Ade de Tranby de
omnibus donacionibus feodi sui

Confirmation by Adam of Tranby, son of Alan, of all the lands, possessions and gifts of his fee including his right and claim in the wood of Hessle. [early Henry III]

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Adam filius Alani de Tranby concessi et hac presenti carta mea confirmavi Deo et beate Marie et canonicis et fratribus Templi Domini apud North Feriby conversantibus, pro salute anime mee et antecessorum et successorum meorum omnes terras et possessiones et donaciones quas habent de feodo meo in puram et perpetuam elemosinam secundum tenorem, cartarum donatorum suorum et maxime omne jus et clamium quod habui vel quod habere potui in nemore de Hesell'. Ego vero Adam et heredes mei predictas terras et possessiones atque donaciones et dictum nemus sicut preditum est warantizabimus contra omnes homines et defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium. Testibus Johanne de Anlaby et cetera. [f.4r blank]

- 17 f.4v [rubric] Hesell'
Hesell' j [rubric] Carta Johannis de Hesell' de xi acris pratis in prato de Hesell' in perpetuam elemosinam

Gift by John of Hessle of 11 acres in the meadow of Hessle.

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 22 dated c. 1160-1193.

- 18 Hesell' ij [rubric] Carta Johannis de Hesell' de tota terra sua et hominum suorum in Holflete Wra et grovos [sic] in perpetuam elemosinam

Gift by John of Hessle of all his land and that of his men in 'Holflet Wra'⁴ and woodland of the same breadth extending to the Humber River.

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 23, dated c. 1160 x 1183.

^Probably near Hessele and the confluence of the Rivers Hull and Humber.

- 19 Hesell' iij [rubric] Confirmacio Roberti de Stoteuilla super donacione predicta.

Confirmation by Robert de Stuteville [III]^A of the gift made by John of Hessele of all his land and that of his men in Holflet Wria [in Hessele] and woodland of the same breadth extending to the Humber.

Printed: *EYC*, IX, no. 18, dated c. 1164 x 1183.

^ARobert de Stuteville III (d. 1183) received his grandfather's lands, which had been forfeited, from Roger de Mowbray. He probably founded Keldholme Priory in Yorkshire and was a benefactor of Rievaulx Abbey, Yorkshire, among many other monastic houses. (*DNB*, xix, p. 139 and *EYF*, p. 85)

- 20 Hesell' iiij [rubric] Carta Johannis de Hesell' de uno tofto in perpetuum elemosinam

Gift by John of Hessele of the toft of Herbert Rith' and an acre of land near the wood in Hessele.

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 24, dated c. 1160 x 1193. [ff.4v-5r]

- 21 f.5r [rubric] Hesell'
Hessele v [rubric] Carta confirmacionis Johannis de Hesell' de uno tofto cum domo in eadem villa in perpetuum elemosinam

Confirmation by John of Hessele of the gift made by Geoffrey, son of Saxelin, of a toft with a house in the village of Hessele

which his father ordered him to give.

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 25, dated c. 1160-1193.

- 22 Hesell' vj [rubric] Carta Johannis de Hesell' de uno tofto et
pastura cc ovium et de una perticata terre in Holmis

Gift by John of Hessle of a toft and a pasture for 200 sheep in Hessle and one perch of land in 'Holmis', for making a sheepfold, together with common pasture throughout the vill.

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 26, dated c. 1160-1193.

- 23 Hesell' vij [rubric] Carta confirmacionis Johannis de Hesell' de
duobus toftis et ij acris terre

Confirmation by John of Hessle of the gift made by Maxelinus when he came to monastic life [venit ad conversionem], of 2 tofts and 2 acres of land in Hessle. [f.5r-v]

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 27, dated c.1160-1193.

- 24 f.5v [rubric] Hesell'
Hesell' viij [rubric] Carta Johannis de Hesell' de una cultura que
vocatur Westdayle nemus de Hesell' versus occidentem
in perpetuam elemosinam

Gift by John of Hessle of a cultura between the woods of Hessle and Ferriby with common pasture pertaining to 20 acres, handing over the charter to Petribricius, prior of the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem. At the seige of Acre. [1190-91]

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 28; *English Historical Review* 68 (1953), pp. 57-8.

- 25 f.6r [rubric] Hesell'
Hesell' ix Carta Roberti de Hesell' et confirmacio eiusdem de
Holfler Wra et [f.6r] grovos [sic] et xj acris prati et j
tofto et pastura cc ovium in perpetuam elemosiam

Confirmation by Robert of Hessle of gifts made by his father John and by Hugh of Tranby and Henry his son and by Saxelin and Geoffrey his son; and gift of other land in Hessle and land in exchange. [ff.5v-6r]

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 29, dated 1192-1218.

- 26 Hesell' x [rubric] Confirmacio Roberti filii dicti Johannis super dicto dono
patris sui

Confirmation of Robert of Hessle of the gift of his father, John of Hessle, of the cultura called Westdayle. [c. 1192 x 1218]

Sciunt omnes tam presentes^A quam futuri hanc cartam visuri vel audituri quod ego Robertus filius Johannis de Hesell' concessi et confirmavi Deo et Sancto Templo Domini quod est in Jerl'm et canonicis ibidem Deo servientibus donum Johannis patris mei prenominati scilicet culturam illam que est extra nemus de Hesell' de vers le West que dicitur Westdayle cum pertinentiis suis tenendam tam libere pacifice et absolute ab omni seculari servicio et exactione prout carta Johannis patris mei predicti testatur. Et ut hec mea concessio et confirmacio rata et stabilis permaneat, ego eam sigilli mei appositione corroboravi. Testibus Guarino de Heluelleia.

^A ms presententes

- 27 Hesell' xj [rubric] Carta dicti Roberti de ix acris terre et ij acris
prati in perpetuam elemosinam

Gift by Robert of Hessle of his body and nine acres of land, within 'Wodriding', and two acres of meadow in Sculholm.
[f.6r-v]

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 30, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 28 f.6v [rubric] Hesell'
Hesell' xij [rubric] Carta eiusdem Roberti de uno tofto et dimidia
bovata terre in perpetuam elemosinam

Gift by Robert of Hessle of the toft of Bond in Hessle, and half of a bovate of land in Hessle which William, son of Robert son of Bond, received with his wife in marriage.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 31, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 29 Hesell' xiiij [rubric] Carta eiusdem Roberti de uno tofto et j acra et
dimidia terre in perpetuam elemosinam

Gift by Robert of Hessle of a toft held by Herbert the carpenter, and 1½ acres of land in Hessle at 'Wra'.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 32, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 30 Hesell' xiiij [rubric] Carta eiusdem Roberti de iij acris prati in
perpetuam elemosinam

Gift by Robert of Hessle of 3 acres of meadow in Sculholme in Hessle. [ff.6v-7r]

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 33, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 31 f.7r [rubric] Hesell'
Hesell' xv [rubric] Carta Roberti de Hesell' de ij toftis et ij acris
terre in perpetuam elemosinam

*Confirmation by Robert of Hessle of two tofts and two acres of
land in Hessle which William de Redburne gave.*

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 34, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 32 Hesell' xvj [rubric] Carta confirmacionis Roberti de Hesell' super
donacionem Willelmi de Hesell' filii Galfridi de
quinque acris prati

*Confirmation by Robert of Hessle of the gift of William of
Hessle, son of Geoffrey, of five acres of meadow.*

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 35, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 33 Hesell' xvij [rubric] Quia clamacio eiusdem Roberti de Roberto
filio Gunnes et sequela sua

*Quitclaim by Robert, son of John of Hessle of his villein
Robert, son of Robert son of Gunne and his issue.*

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 36, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 34 Hesell' xviii [rubric] Confirmacio Roberti de Hesell' de uno tofto.

*Confirmation and quitclaim by Robert, son of John of Hessle,
of a toft in Hessle that was given by Cecily, daughter of Hucca
of Hessle. [f.7r-v]*

- 35 f.7v [rubric] Hesell'
Hesell' xix [rubric] Confirmacio Roberti filius Johannis de Hesell'
super tofto quod fuit Mordoc et pastura cc ovium^A et una
percata ad faciendum ovile.^B

Confirmation by Robert, son of John of Hessle, of a toft in Hessle, pasture for 200 sheep and a perch of land for making a sheepfold together with common pasture throughout the vill. [1192 x 1218]

Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis visuris vel auditoris litteras has Robertus filius Johannis de Hesell' in Cristo salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et sancte Marie et Templo Domini de Jerl'm unum toftum in villa de Hesell' quod fuit Mordoc et pasturam cc ovium in campo eisdem ville et unam perticatam terre in Holmis ad faciendum ovile predictis ovibus in omnibus sensibus predicti ovilis cum communi pastura tocius ville de Hesell' a Deo libere et quiete sicut continetur in carta patris mei. Hiis testibus Henrico de Graunt, Briano Capellano, et cetera.

^A ms ovum; ^B Confirmation of his father's gift, no. 22 above.

- 36 Hesell' xx [rubric] Carta Roberti de Hesell' de iij perticatis terre
Gift by Robert of Hessle of 3 perches of land in Hessle at 'Lintoftis'.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 38, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 37 Hesell' xxj [rubric] Carta Roberti de Hesell de Rad[ulpho] filio Swain cum catallis suis traditis Templo Domini in perpetuam elemosinam

Gift by Robert of Hessle of his villein Ralph, son of Swain, and his chattels, to whom he granted common pasture as long as he lived in [North] Ferriby. [ff. 7v-8r]

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 39, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 38 f.8r [rubric] Hesell'
Hesell' xxij [rubric] Carta dicti Roberti de iiii acris terre et dimidia in perpetuam elemosinam

Confirmation by Robert of Hessle of 4½ acres of land in Hessle, given by Alan son of Erneis of Hessle and Robert, son of Hubert.

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 40, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 39 South Ferriby [marginal rubric]
Hesell' xxiiij [rubric] Carta eiusdem Roberti de dimidia carucata terre et de donacionibus suis in South Ferriby

Gift of Robert of Hessle of a half a carucate of land in South Ferriby, namely 2 bovates of land which Galiena, his aunt, had held and 2 bovates of land which William Puer, his uncle, had held.

Printed: *EYC*, XII, no. 100, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 40 Hesell' xxiiij [rubric] Carta eiusdem Roberti de duabus acris terre in South Ferriby

Gift by Robert of Hessle of 2 acres of land in the field of South Ferriby, lying between the land of the prior of Thornholme and

that of the canons of North Ferriby. [f.8r-v]

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 101, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 41 f.8v [rubric] South Ferriby
Hesell' xxv [rubric] Carta eiusdem Roberti de j tofto et j bovata terre

Gift by Robert of Hessle of a toft and a bovate of land in South Ferriby, quitclaiming his villien, Henry Futerik, and his issue.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 102, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 42 Hesell' xxvj [rubric] Carta eiusdem Roberti ij acris terre

Gift by Robert of Hessle of 2 acres of land in the territory of South Ferriby.

Printed: EYC, XII, no. 103, dated 1192 x 1218.

- 43 unnumbered [rubric] Carta eiusdem Roberti de una acra et dimidia terre

Gift by Robert of Hessle of 1½ acres of land [The rest of the charter is not available.]

[catchword] **Omnibus**

Late Medieval English and Welsh Monasteries and their Patrons, c.1300-1540

Lay patronage and lay involvement in the affairs of religious houses have long attracted scholars of medieval monasticism and of the English aristocracy alike. It is a topic well studied (most notably by Susan M. Wood) for the original founders and earlier patrons of monasteries and nunneries, but to date somewhat neglected as far as later medieval patrons are concerned, when it has been generally supposed, mistakenly, that patronage no longer mattered.

There were already nearly 1,000 monasteries and nunneries in England and Wales by the year 1300, and very few more were to be established. Many of the oldest and greatest were of pre-Conquest and/or royal foundation. The rest were smaller in scale, the majority founded by the aristocracy in the 12th and 13th centuries, when religious houses could be endowed with property of little value to the donor by aristocrats of decidedly modest means. These new monasteries generally outlived their founders and also their heirs, and their patronage often passed either through the female line to the families of (co-) heiresses, to more distant relatives, or to the crown.

This study seeks to establish the role of the later patrons of these monasteries and nunneries, and to establish the nature of the residual relationship with reference to the market in such patronage. What did patronage mean to a lay patron during the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries? How important was this for him? How active were the laity as monastic patrons during this period? What did their patronage entail? Has the phenomenon of lay patronage during this period been underestimated?

One of the primary aims of the project has been to establish the descent of the patronage of the English and Welsh monasteries from the original foundation up to the Dissolution in the sixteenth century. Wherever possible, the heirs of the original founders have been identified for the entire period, and certain characteristics of late medieval lay

patronage have emerged. It has been established that the proportion of religious houses with lay patrons diminished sharply during this period, as rights of patronage passed to the crown or were united by inheritance; that monasteries which remained in lay hands were concentrated on fewer families, generally of a higher rank; and that these houses did not normally include the most prosperous or prestigious monasteries and nunneries. Some families, such as the Dukes of Norfolk, became patrons of a dozen and more houses; yet others belonged to founders for which the patronage of a monastery was of enduring importance.

Among the topics studied in greater detail are the changing burial preferences of patronal families. Despite the general trend among the aristocracy to move their burial places to alternative locations, notably parish churches and secular colleges, an assessment of the burial preferences of the lay patrons of English and Welsh religious houses has shown that significant numbers still sought burial in their abbeys and priories which, in many cases, housed the mausolea of their ancestors. Indeed, some monasteries are full of such graves.

Furthermore, a range of other aspects of lay patronage have been discussed. These include an assessment of patrons and intervention, examining the many manifestations of patronage as evident in wills, episcopal registers, monastic chronicles and so forth. Among the various types of contact between religious houses and their lay patrons were bequests to houses, made both in life and death, participation in elections of abbots and priors, commissioning of building work, also visits to and other personal contacts with their houses. Relationships between religious houses and their patrons varied greatly and might range from friendly, personal contact in some cases, and estrangement or lack of interest in others, to direct exploitation of the monastery or nunnery, occasionally culminating in serious conflict.

Finally, questions of bias and discrimination by patrons have been addressed as part of an assessment of the treatment by patrons of the male, compared with the female houses of which they were patrons. The results of this study will add to our understanding not only of the role

of monasticism and lay piety during this period, but also of aristocratic society and, not least, of the Dissolution itself.

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The Revival of Monasticism in England during the reign of Mary I

The subject of my PhD thesis is the revival of monasticism in England during the reign of Queen Mary I. The reconstruction of the system of religious houses in England, destroyed during the Dissolution of the late 1530s, was an important priority for the Marian régime, which, as Thomas Mayer has noted in his recent biography of Cardinal Pole, "had big plans for the restoration of the monasteries". Moreover, because the revival of monasticism started relatively late in the reign and made little progress by the time of Mary's death, it has often been viewed by historians as short-term and trivial; the Marian government, however, without foreknowledge of its own brief lifespan, saw monasticism through a different prism.

I am trying to examine the philosophical underpinnings of the revival of monasticism; how important was the religious life for Catholic reformers of the 1550s? Where did monasticism fit into a wider view of post-Reformation Catholicism? What was the rôle of the spiritual clergy in rebuilding Catholicism, and how were they to interact with the 'new orders' of the mid-sixteenth century?

I am also attempting to examine the practical aspects of the monastic revival; who owned alienated monastic lands in 1553? How far was it possible to regain these lands? What other sources of revenue could be used to re-endow religious houses, and how expensive a process was this likely to be? I am also hoping to examine the religious clergy

themselves; where had the dispossessed monks and nuns gone after the Dissolution? How many wished to return to their monasteries and convents? Where were new recruits to be found? Which orders were particularly prominent in the revival of monasticism?

In addition, I hope to set the revival of monasticism in the context of wider governmental policy towards the rebuilding of the Catholic Church. The Queen herself was a keen supporter of the monastic life, as was Cardinal Pole; the latter also had many contacts within Continental monasticism after his exile in Italy following the Reformation. In this respect, the State Papers of the Marian government and correspondence between its leading members will reveal something of the monastic revival from a top-down perspective.

The opposite perspective, from the ground up, may be visible through examination of the records of those houses which were re-established under Mary, especially the great Benedictine abbey at Westminster, but also other less prominent houses such as the Sheen Charterhouse and the Bridgettine convent at Syon.

All of these questions and issues will, I hope, cast valuable new light on the revival of monasticism in England between 1553 and 1558; its scale, its nature, its purpose and its place in the wider Counter-Reformation

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New discoveries among the Cotton manuscripts

The following list details a number of newly-identified items among the Cottonian collection in the British Library, London, together with corrections of a handful of printed notices. The existing catalogues of the Cotton manuscripts -the most recent of which was published in 1802 -are

notoriously inadequate for modern purposes: in order to determine the origin and date of any medieval text in that collection, it is necessary to consult the volume in person. Certain surveys enhance our knowledge of the contents of the library acquired principally by Sir Robert Cotton (d. 1631). Of primary importance is Nigel Ramsay's *Cotton Manuscripts: Draft Descriptions and Bibliographies*, a set of looseleaf volumes on open access in the BL Manuscripts Room. This is the fruits of a project undertaken in 1991-1996 with the support of the Leverhulme Trust: its coverage is limited to individual items rather than entire manuscripts. Equally fundamental promises to be Colin Tite's *The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library: Formation, Cataloguing, Use*, scheduled to be published by the British Library in the near future. Finally, ongoing research remains essential: mention may be made here of a fourteenth-century chronicle whose provenance has been attributed to Holme St Benets Abbey (Norfolk) by Julian M. Luxford, 'A forgotten medieval Benedictine manuscript: the annals in British Library Cotton MS. Vitellius D. IX', *Scriptorium*, 55 (2001), 298-306.

I am alone responsible for these identifications, unless otherwise stated. I should be extremely grateful to receive further additions/corrections/amendments, which will be acknowledged in any future publication.

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Abbreviations

Gameson, *The Manuscripts*: Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford, 1999)

Harrison, 'The English reception': Julian Harrison, 'The English reception of Hugh of Saint-Victor's *Chronicle*', *electronic British Library Journal* (2002), Article 1 [<http://www.bl.uk/eblj>]

MLGB: N. R. Ker, ed., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books* (London, 2nd ed., 1964)

MLGB Supplement: N. R. Ker & Andrew G. Watson, eds., *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books. Supplement* (London, 1987)

Watson, *Catalogue*: Andrew G. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in The Department of Manuscripts The British Library*, 2 vols (London, 1979)

Julius B.XIII

I/2r-40v Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Chronicle* (Harrison, 'The English reception', pp. 7-8)

I/41r-47v annalistic chronicle A.D. 1-249 (ends incomplete)

origin: Melrose Abbey (Roxburghshire)

provenance: Deeping Priory (Lincolnshire)

date: probably 1173 x 1174 with continuation c. 1208 (40r/v)

The principal scribe of Hugh's tables (4r-40r) has recently been identified by Dauvit Broun as responsible for the annals A.D. 1017-1171 in the Melrose Chronicle, BL Cotton Faustina B.IX, fos 2r-75v ('Hand C1', 12r-21r), edited in facsimile by Alan Orr & Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, *The Chronicle of Melrose* (London, 1936). Broun has also noticed that the scribe who continued Hugh's work (40r/v) made additions to Faustina B.IX, fos 10v, 11r, 12r, 17r, 18r. The scribe of the annalistic text is 'Hand A' of the Melrose Chronicle (A.D. 731-956, 2r-8r), as first recognized by Joseph Stevenson, *Chronica de Mailros* (Edinburgh, 1835), p. xv, n. §. Confirmation that Julius B.XIII, fos 2-47, once formed part of the Melrose Chronicle-manuscript is provided by a colophon in

Faustina B.IX (11v) describing that book's physical extent *c.* 1280. This supersedes Harrison, 'The English reception', p. 7, where these items are treated as of independent origin. The Chronicle of Melrose is currently being edited by Dr Broun for the Scottish History Society.

Julius D.I

2r/v fragment of a psalter (Ps 7 and beginning of Ps 8: medieval fly-leaf)

origin: (?)France

provenance: (?)Rievaulx Abbey (Yorkshire)

date: *saec.* xii¹

Precedes the Rievaulx cartulary (5r-193v) to which it probably belonged, but now divided by an early modern fly-leaf (unpaginated), the Cottonian contents-page (3r) and a sixteenth-century genealogy of the Ros family (4r). Another page from the same psalter (spanning Pss 20-21) prefaces BL Royal 13 A.VI, an otherwise unprovenanced copy of *Historia post Bedam* (*saec.* xii²). A full description is in preparation.

Tiberius E.IV

I/1r-27v *Annals of Winchcombe* A.D. 1-1181

origin: Winchcombe Abbey (Gloucestershire)

date: *saec.* xii¹ with additions 1172 x *c.* 1181

The first hand terminates in the annal for 1122 (22r), as noted by Michael Gullick, 'The English-owned manuscripts of the *Collectio Lanfranci* (s. xi/xii)', in *The Legacy of M. R. James*, ed. Lynda Dennison (Donington, 2001), p. 113 and n. 44, and Gameson, *The Manuscripts*,

provenance: Worcester Cathedral Priory

date: saec. xii^{ex}

Shares an exemplar with BL Royal 4 B.VD, fos 199v-218v (Rochester, saec. xii^{ex}, containing Hugh's *Chronicle* and the annalistic text continued to 1178). Dated (?)1171 by Watson, *Catalogue*, no.519; instead, the exemplar from which Claudius C.IX and Royal 4 B. VII are descended was arguably transcribed in 1171.

II/18r-102v William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*

II/102v-103r Award of Norham, addressed to the abbot and convent of Battle Abbey

origin: England

provenance: Battle Abbey (Sussex)

date: saec. xiii¹ (102v-103r, c. 1291)

The Award of Norham is in much later hand than the main text, contrary to the statement by R. A. B. Mynors *et al.*, *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum* (Oxford, 1998), I, p. xvi, n. 15.

III/105r-203r *Liber terrarum* of Abingdon Abbey

origin: Abingdon Abbey (Berkshire)

date: saec. xii^{3/4} (probably 1166 x c. 1170) with saec. xii^{ex}-xivⁱⁿ additions

This item has sometimes been dated as late as saec. xiii¹, as summarized by S. E. Kelly, *Charters of Abingdon Abbey* (Oxford, 2000-01), I, pp. liv-iv. The principal scribe's handwriting is clearly saec. xii^{3/4}, feasibly as early as 1166.

Vespasian A.XXII

contents include:

- 2r-8v chronicle A.M. 1-A.D. 738 (Harrison, 'The English reception', pp. 17,19)
- 9r-34r *Annals of Rochester* A.D. 1-1380
- 60r-129v register of Rochester Cathedral Priory
 origin: Rochester Cathedral Priory (Kent)
 date: *saec.* xiii^m with later additions

The scribe responsible for most of the first chronicle (2v-6r), the *Annals of Rochester* to A.D. 1225 (9r- 33v) and much of the register was demonstrably active 1214x1225.

Vespasian B.XIX

- 1r-231 v historical works of Gervase of Canterbury (*Tractatus de combustione et reparatione Cantuariensis ecclesie*, 1r-10r; *Imaginatio contra monachos Cantuariensis ecclesie*, 10r-11r; *Imaginatio contra Baldwinum archiepiscopum*, 11r-13v; *Persecutio cause contra Baldwinum archiepiscopum*, 13v-17r; *Replicatio operum Baldewini archiepiscopi*, 17r-24r; *Imaginatio contra Rogerum abbatem sancti Augustini quasi in consistorio pape Alexandri*, 24v-28v; *Imaginatio cause quasi pro abbate*, 28v-30r; *Chronica* A.D. 1100-1199, 30v-231v)
- 232v list of archbishops of Canterbury from Augustine (d. 604x 609) to Richard Bancroft (1604-1610)

origin: Christ Church, Canterbury (Kent)

date: *saec.* xiiiⁱⁿ (232v, *saec.* xiii²-xviⁱⁿ)

Contemporary with the lifetime of Gervase (d. c. 1210). This revises the dating proposed by William Stubbs, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury* (London, 1879-80), I, p. 1, who described this as 'a fine MS. of the age of archbishop Boniface, that is, between the years 1245 and 1270, and probably about halfway between those dates', on the mistaken assumption that the principal scribe was the same who began the list of archbishops, concluding with Boniface (d. 1270). Stubbs likewise assigned the transcription of Gervase's works to a single scribe, whereas a second takes over from fo 193r (quires xxv- xxix). The reference to *Vespasian B.XIX*, fos 83-163, belonging to the Austin friars of York (*MLGB Supplement*, p. 71), should read *Vespasian D.XIX*.

Vespasian D.XIX

II/53r- 70v *Annals of Ely* A.M. 5220-A.D. 1217

origin: England

provenance: Ely Cathedral Priory (Cambridgeshire)

date: c. 1133x1140 with *saec.* xii^{med}-xiiiⁱⁿ additions

Detailed study/edition in preparation.

III/71r-82r Easter-table chronicle (first five cycles lost), replicating the prefatory material of Marianus Scotus' *Chronicle* (or its derivatives by Robert Losinga/ the Lotharingian and John of Worcester)

origin: (?)England, but Continental in appearance

date: *saec.* xiiⁱⁿ

Compare with Marianus Scotus' *Chronicle* (notably BL Cotton Nero C.V, fos 19v-26r); Robert Losinga's *Excerptio de chronica Mariani* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Auct. F3.14, fos 120^av-132v); the preliminary matter in MSS. C & B of John of Worcester's *Chronica chronicarum*; and the Easter-table chronicles in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. 0.7.41 (1369), fos 9r-22v, and Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS. Hunter 100, fos 27v-41r.

§§ II-III together with fos 83r-163v (letters and sermons of Hildebert of Lavardin: Austin friars, York) were assigned erroneously to Christ Church, Canterbury, in *MLGB*, p. 36: this applies solely to fos 1r-52v, as noted in *MLGB Supplement*, p. 11. For the contents of this Christ Church section, see I. H. Mozley, 'The unprinted poems of Nigel Wireker', *Speculum*, 7 (1932), 398-423; and for the make-up and history of this composite volume, Andrew G. Watson, *The Manuscripts of Henry Savile of Banke* (London, 1969), pp. 45, 53-54, and K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars' Libraries* (London, 1990), pp. 30-31.

Faustina A. VIII

II/40r-178r contents include:

44v-50r	calendar
52r-101v	Ralph de Diceto, <i>Opuscula</i>
102r-110v	Ralph de Diceto, <i>Abbreviationes chronicorum</i> (excerpts)
110v-115v	<i>Prophetia Merlini</i> (Geoffrey of Monmouth, <i>Historia regum Britannie</i> , §§111-118)
120v-146v	<i>Annals of Southwark A.D. 1-1240</i>

- 151r-178r register of Southwark Priory
origin: Southwark Priory (Surrey)
date: *saec.* xiiiⁱⁿ (c. 1209) with *saec.* xiii-xiv additions
(40r-150v); *saec.* xiv-xvi (151r- 178r)

This witness to Ralph's *Abbreviationes chronicorum* was overlooked by William Stubbs, *Radulphi de Diceto Decani Londoniensis Opera Historica* (London, 1876), I, p. xcix.

Faustina B. VII

- 1/2r-17v miscellaneous ecclesiastical lists, based in part on
Ralph de Diceto, *Opuscula*, and the preliminary
matter of John of Worcester, *Chronica chronicarum*

origin: England
provenance: (?) Evesham Abbey
(Worcestershire)
date: *saec.* xiiiⁱⁿ (rubricator active as late as 1226)
with *saec.* xiii^{med}-xiv² additions

Contains marginal annotation relating to Evesham (6r, 7r, 9r).

- II/18r-35v Hugh of Saint-Victor, *Chronicle* (Harrison, 'The
English reception', pp. 21-23)

origin: England
date: *saec.* xv¹

- III/36r-39v catalogue of Cistercian abbeys
origin: England

date: saec. xii/xiii (36r-38v, presumably 1190x1214)
with saec. xivⁱⁿ continuation (39r/v)

Previously stated incorrectly to have been produced in France: W. de G. Birch, 'On the date of foundation ascribed to the Cistercian abbeys in Great Britain', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 26 (1870), p. 281.

IV/40v account of kings of Wessex and England from Ine (d. c. 726) to Henry III (d. 1272)

origin: England

date: saec. xv¹

V/41r-71v universal chronicle incorporating Peter of Poitiers, *Compendium historie in genealogia Christi*

origin: England

provenance: eastern England, perhaps Peterborough Abbey (Northamptonshire)

date: c. 1216 (41r-70r) with saec. xiv continuation to 1327 (70r- 71v)

Marginal annotations refer to eastern England, the most significant of which has unfortunately been cropped (65r). Dated 1208x1215 by Watson, *Catalogue*, no.530; but the first two scribes (41r-69v, 69v- 70r) were writing no earlier than 16 John (1214-1215) and 16 July 1216 respectively.

Faustina B.IX

1/2r-75v Chronicle of Melrose Abbey

see under Julius B.XIII

The Patronage of Benedictine Art and Architecture in the West of England during the Later Middle Ages (1340-1540)

This study surveys the patronage of the Benedictine order's art and architecture between 1300 and 1540 within the 'greater' west of England (nine counties are covered) with reference to the historical circumstances of which it was part and parcel. Chapter one provides a guide to surviving materials that rationalizes the approach to sources adopted throughout, and underlines the topic's importance. In the interests of historical accuracy, written primary sources require more searching scrutiny than they have often received. Moreover, surviving examples of Benedictine art and architecture of the period - the products of patronage - represent a sizeable percentage of England's later medieval artistic heritage, and include such diverse and important phenomena as the earliest (surviving) examples of Perpendicular tracery, fan vaulting, the hammerbeam roof, the monumental alabaster effigy, the stone-cage chantry chapel, etc.

Chapters two through four (section two) deal with the patronage of Benedictine art and architecture by Benedictines ('internal' patronage). Examination of the conditions necessary for the practice of internal patronage during a challenging period for English monasticism generally, and the ways in which these were fulfilled (chapter two), precedes a detailed analysis of the patronage of superiors (chapter three) and lower-status monks and nuns (chapter four). Collectively, Benedictine superiors were the most prolific class of individual patron, although modern scholarship, often following the lead of medieval chroniclers, has too readily attributed many communally patronized projects to their munificence. Bath, Evesham, Sherborne, Winchester, and Worcester all provide cases of inaccurate attribution of patronage to superiors. The bulk of art and architecture owed its existence to the 'official' patronage practised by various classes of obedientiary (not least the priorate). Obedientiaries and cloister monks and nuns also practised 'unofficial' or

private patronage not linked to their official responsibilities, a subject the surface of which has never been more than scratched for England.

Chapters five and six (section three) deal with patronage by non-Benedictines ('external' patronage). The main challenges influencing external patronage and the ways in which these were met differed from those concerning internal patronage substantially. These are surveyed (chapter five) prior to an analysis of external patronage, which is divided into that of royalty, nobility and sub-nobility (chapter six). (The main problems inherent in such stratification during an extraordinarily flexible period for the English nobility are acknowledged.) The Crown practised disappointingly little patronage of Benedictine art and architecture during the later Middle Ages. It can be linked to projects at Gloucester and Worcester, but otherwise seems to have dispensed only slight gifts that are classifiable as art. The nobility were slightly more active: Abbotsbury (Dorset), Cowick (Devon), Dunster (Somerset), Tewkesbury (Gloucestershire) and to a limited extent Winchcomb (Gloucestershire) all benefited from noble munificence, although on the whole, aristocratic gift-giving, linked as it was to burial and commemoration, was rarely pronounced after 1300. The sub-nobility were, in relative terms, the most active class of external patron. There is evidence that their benefactions to Benedictine houses increased towards the end of the Middle Ages, although the subject is complicated by uneven documentary survivals pre- and post-1300.

The threads of the study are drawn together in a conclusion that spells out what the data presented tells us about changing patronage patterns over the later Middle Ages, about Benedictine art and architecture intrinsically, about the Benedictine order, and about general perceptions of the order in the period leading up to its dissolution. The issue of whether the topic has anything to tell us about the Dissolution is also canvassed. The general aim of the dissertation is to provide a deeper, more nuanced consideration of a topic that to date has not received anything like its due, yet which has the potential to tell us a great deal about the vital signs of (medieval) English Benedictinism during its final 240 years. The dissertation, which has been researched and written

during a postgraduate studentship at King's College Cambridge, and supervised by Dr Paul Binski, will be submitted on October 1, 2002. Any correspondence may be sent to the author c/o Clare College Cambridge, CB2 1TA.

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Authority and Power in the Writings of St Bernard of Clairvaux

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This thesis focuses upon the vocabulary used to express the clusters of concepts concerning authority and power in the writings of St Bernard of Clairvaux. In English, the terms 'authority' and 'power' are often used interchangeably. Translators often find it difficult to achieve consistency in English renderings when translating from the original Latin text. This is a particular problem when dealing with terms which convey very specific meanings in their own language and context. The Latin words which Bernard uses to express authority, *auctoritas* and power, *potestas* are distinct and separate within Bernard's writing. The nature of this work is technical and attempts to highlight linguistic distinctions which reflect conceptual divisions.

By the careful examination of these two terms within their original context, we may gain insight into Bernard's ideas concerning the scope of influence, function and relationship between pope and king.⁷ In the twelfth century, it is often difficult to delineate the boundaries which separate the two institutions. While definitive absolutes are hard to achieve, there are pivotal writers who assist our understanding of the issues and discussions surrounding the sacred vs. temporal debates. As a major contributor to the twelfth century discourse, St Bernard of Clairvaux is a figure whose work provides insight into the multifaceted questions faced by those in the late eleventh to the mid-twelfth centuries.

⁷ Here I am following Christopher Holdsworth, understanding the eleventh and twelfth century debates as priest vs. king rather than empire vs. papacy, see, Holdsworth's article, "The Past and Monastic Debate in the Time of Bernard of Clairvaux," in *The Church Retrospective* (Woodbridge, 1997), 91.

For Bernard, the church possesses *auctoritas* which is sacred and reflects consecrated authority; it is the sole possession of the church and her ministers. Bernard uses *auctoritas* to express an element of grave spiritual obligation which contains an apostolic connection, thus, separating it from *potestas*. *Auctoritas* is the overarching principle, the conceptual framework which encompasses and shapes the church. Under this umbrella of *auctoritas*, the church employs her practical functions connected to the term, *potestas*.⁸ *Auctoritas* is ontologically higher than *potestas* and *potestas* puts into practice the theoretical concepts of *auctoritas*. Therefore, *auctoritas* holds a higher position in the scheme of *rectus ordo*.⁹ Matters of faith, ecclesiastical order, conversion of unbelievers and correction of the heretic fall within its jurisdiction¹⁰. All the functions of *auctoritas* belong to the church alone and hence are restricted from exercise by the king.

In contrast, *potestas* is used not only to describe the functions within the church but also to describe the duties of the king. Although there is no connection with consecrated authority, *potestas* is equally given and conferred by God and thus is not a pejorative term.¹¹

This distinction between *auctoritas* and *potestas* already existed for Bernard and other twelfth century writers to develop. As early as the fifth century, the distinction between the two concepts emerged. In a now famous letter to Emperor Anastasius I in 494, Pope Gelasius I drew a distinction between the 'two swords' given by God for earthly leadership, the *auctoritas sacra* of the bishops and the *potestas regalis* of the king.¹²

⁸ Csi. I.7.

⁹ Bernard follows in the tradition of *rectus ordo* as taught by St Anselm who also believed that creation possessed 'right order' and was properly ordered to God.

¹⁰ The word 'jurisdiction' does not equate to the Latin term 'jurisdictio' here.

¹¹ See Csi. III.17.

¹² *Epistola VIII Ad Anastasium Imperatorem*, ed. J.P. Migne, PL 59 (Paris, 1853), col. 41. Based on Luke 22:38. "At illi dixerunt Domine ecce gladii duo hic at ille dixit eis satis est." *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, (Stuttgart, 1983). The

Bernard follows this distinction and maintains the division between the two terms.

The thesis will explore the facets of *auctoritas* and *potestas* with relationship to *rectus ordo*, apostolic office, two-swords, and questions of person and office. Bernard's ideas and distinctions can provide needed clarification and understanding of the sacred and temporal debates which occupied the west in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

initial formulation of the two swords theory is often ascribed to Gelasius, but see, Gerard E. Caspary, *Origen and the Two Swords*, (University of California Press: Berkeley, Los Angeles and London, 1979), especially Chapter II. The distinction between the 'spiritual' and 'material' swords was subsequently developed by Bernard and later by Giles of Rome.