

## MONASTIC RESEARCH BULLETIN

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## MONASTIC-PAROCHIAL CHURCHES IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1066-1540

In 1884-5, Revd J. F. Hodgson published a list of monasteries which shared their churches with parochial congregations (J. F. Hodgson, 'On the Difference of Plan alleged to exist between Churches of Austin Canons and those of Monks; and the Frequency with which such Churches were Parochial', *Archaeological Journal*, 41 1884, pp. 374-414, 42, 1885, pp. 96-119, 215-46, 331-69, 440-68). Hodgson calculated that there were 37 Augustinian houses inhabiting monastic-parochial churches and a further 119 Benedictine monasteries of one kind or another. This total figure of 156 churches has remained in circulation ever since, but no-one has had the temerity in the intervening 120 years to attempt to produce another such list.

Once the many complications of determining the status of individual churches are appreciated, this reticence is hardly surprising. Hodgson relied heavily on church dedications and surviving parish churches, but in fact neither are entirely reliable indicators. It is common to find shared churches with separate dedications for the monastic and parochial sections, as well as separate (and often contiguous) churches with the same dedication. Equally, post-medieval usage of priory churches is not necessarily a sound guide to previous arrangements, particularly with the common uncertainty over whether the religious used the existing church or not. Furthermore, medieval practice was very far from static. In numerous cases, a new home was found for one of the parties as a result of the inconvenience of co-habitation (though with the parish sometimes retaining rights in the conventual church). And it was not unknown, particularly in the north, for monastic churches to be adopted by lay worshippers, either acquiring full parochial status or serving as parochial chapels.

In the light of these and other complexities, not to mention the inevitably numerous lacunae in the sources, to produce an

exhaustive list may be an impossible undertaking; and it is certainly beyond the ability of a single researcher. Topographical and archaeological discoveries are required alongside documentary findings, and minute detail often known only to the local historian must be sought from scores of houses. What is tentatively presented here, therefore, is no more than a highly imperfect starting point. It is hoped that this list will prompt further researches, allowing the publication of a more authoritative list as a later date. Shortage of space has unfortunately permitted only the briefest of references; and I have in general sought to point to the most conclusive rather than the most accessible source. Yet still in many cases there remains considerable room for doubt.

If nothing else, this list suggests two important conclusions. Firstly, the great fluidity of medieval arrangements – although much needs to be done to firm up the chronology of re-location. And secondly, the surprisingly high number of monasteries which seem to have co-habited with parishioners at some point in their history – by this rendering around 284 houses, approaching double the number Hodgson suggested. Any amendments, or further information, would be very gratefully received. Equally, I would be very happy to share further references regarding particular houses on request.

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## **BENEDICTINES: INDEPENDENT (21)**

**Abbotsbury Abbey** (*RCHME West Dorset*, pp. 1-4) Until early C14?

**Bardney Abbey** (A. H. Thompson, *Visitations of Religious Houses in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1420-1449*, 3 vols, Linc. Rec. Soc., 7, 14, 21, 1914-29, I, pp. 2-5). Until C12 or C13? (n.b. This document shows the parishioners of Bardney worshipping in a small church within the precinct of the abbey until the early fifteenth century. It is quite possible,

by analogy with Rochester, that they had previously been housed in the conventual church.)

- Battle Abbey** (E. Searle (ed.), *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, Oxford, 1980, pp. 124-7, 55n) Until c.1102-7.
- Burton Abbey** (I. Atherton, 'Burton Abbey Church: a reconsideration of its built form', *Staffs. Arch. and Hist. Soc. Trans.*, 37, 1995-6, pp. 105-18)
- Bury St Edmunds** (G. Cook, *The English Mediaeval Parish Church*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn, London, 1961, p. 68) Until 1125?
- Chester Abbey** (*VCH Cheshire*, II, p. 138)
- Crowland Abbey** (J. C. Dickinson, *Monastic Life in Medieval England*, London, 1961, p. 19)
- Ely Cathedral Priory** (M. Franklin, 'The cathedral as parish church: the case of southern England', in *Church and City 1000-1500*, ed. D. Abulafia et al, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 192-4) St Mary's parish until -1208; Holy Cross parish until c.1362.
- Humberston Abbey** (A. Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066-1216*, Woodbridge, 1989, p. 76)
- Milton Abbey** (J. P. Traskey, *Milton Abbey*, Tisbury, 1978, pp. 151-2; but see *RCHME Central Dorset* II, p. 182)
- Pershore Abbey** (*VCH Worcs.*, II, p. 129)
- Ramsey Abbey** (*RCHME Huntingdonshire*, pp. 204-5) Until C14?
- Rochester Cathedral Priory** (Franklin, 'Cathedral as parish church', pp. 178-82) Until 1423.
- St Albans Abbey** (P. Binski, 'The murals in the nave of St Albans Abbey', in Abulafia et al, *Church and City*, pp. 274-5) Until early C12, though parish may have retained rights in nave.
- Sherborne Abbey** (*Leland's Itinerary in England and Wales*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith, 5 vols, London, paperback edn, 1964, I, p. 152)
- Shrewsbury Abbey** (*VCH, Shropshire*, II, p. 30)
- Stow Abbey** (Hodgson, p. 239) Until 1094-5.
- Tewkesbury Abbey** (E. A. Freeman, 'The Case of the Collegiate Church of Arundel', *Arch. Jnl*, 37, 1880, pp. 254-5)
- Thorney Abbey** (R. Graham, *An Essay on English Monasteries*, London, 1939, p. 36)

**Upholland Priory** (*VCH Lancashire*, II, p. 112) Parochial chapel?  
**Winchcombe Abbey** (*Leland's Itinerary*, II, pp. 54-5) Until c. 1460.

**BENEDICTINES: DEPENDENT (48)**

**Aldeby Priory** (C. Messent, *The Monastic Remains of Norfolk and Suffolk*, Norwich, 1934, p. 9)

**Bassaleg Priory** (J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (eds), *William Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols, London, 1817-30, IV, pp.633-4, no. 1)

**Belvoir Priory** (*Dugdale, Mon. Ang.*, III, p. 289, no. 2)

**Binham Priory** (E. B. Burstall, 'A monastic agreement of the fourteenth century', *Norfolk Arch.*, 31, 1955-7, pp. 211-18)

**Brecon Priory** (D. Gwynn-Jones, 'Brecon Cathedral c. 1093-1537: the church of the Holy Rood', *Brycheiniog*, 24, 1990-2, pp. 23-37)

**Bristol, St James' Priory** (W. Barrett, *The History and Antiquities of the City of Bristol*, Bristol, 1789, pp. 385-6)

**Bromfield Priory** (D. Cranage, *An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire*, 2 vols, Wellington, 1901, I, p. 71)

**Cardiff Priory** (W. Rees, 'The Priory of Cardiff, and other Possessions of the Abbey of Tewkesbury in Glamorgan', *South Wales and Monmouth Rec. Soc.*, 2, 1950, pp. 148-9)

**Cardigan Priory** (Hodgson, p. 220)

**Colne Priory** (*Cartularium Prioratus de Colne*, ed. J. Fisher, Essex Arch. Soc., Occasional Publs, I (1946), nos. 1, 23, pp. 1-2, 13-14) Until 1148.

**Cranborne Priory** (*RCHME East Dorset*, pp. 5-6)

**Deeping St James Priory** (*CCIR, 1500-1509*, no. 770 (vii), p. 292)

**Dunster Priory** (K. L. French, 'Competing for space: medieval religious conflict in the monastic-parochial church at Dunster', *Jnl of Med. and Early Mod. Studies*, 27, 1997, pp.215-44)

**Edwardstone Priory** (J. Stevenson (ed.), *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, 2 vols, Rolls Ser., 2, 1858, II, pp. 61-2, 288)

**Ewenny Priory** (C. Ralegh Radford, *Ewenny Priory*, HMSO, 1952)

- Ewyas Harold Priory** (D. Walker, *A Register of the Churches of the Monastery of St Peter's Gloucester*, in *An Ecclesiastical Miscellany*, *Publs of the Bristol and Gloucs Arch. Soc.*, Record Ser., 11, 1976, nos 99-100, p. 39) Until c.1120x c.1150?
- Felixstowe/Walton Priory** (S. West, 'The Excavation of Walton Priory', *Procs of the Suffolk Inst. of Archaeology*, 33, 1975) At least from c. 1369.
- Freiston Priory** (Thompson, *Visitations of Religious Houses*, I, p. 38n)
- Hackness Priory** (A. H. Thompson, 'The Monastic Settlement at Hackness and its relation to the Abbey of Whitby', *Yorks Arch. Jnl*, 27, 1924, pp. 388-405). Until early C12?
- Hatfield Peverel Priory** (*RCHME Essex*, II, pp. 122-6)
- Hereford, St Peter's Priory** (*English Episcopal Acta VII*, nos 19, 21) Until 1143.
- Hertford Priory** (F. Davis et al (ed.), *Rotuli Ricardi Gravesend, Diocesis Lincolniensis, 1258-1279*, *Cant. & York Soc.*, 31, 1925, p. 176)
- Horton Priory** (*RCHME Dorset*, V, pp. 34-5)
- Hurley Priory** (*VCH Berkshire*, III, pp. 152-60)
- Jarrow Priory** (A. Piper, *The Durham Monks at Jarrow*, Jarrow Lecture, 1986, p. 6)
- Kidwelly Priory** (*Leland's Itinerary*, III, p. 51)
- Kilpeck Priory** (R. Shoesmith, 'Excavations at Kilpeck, Herefordshire', *Trans. of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 47, 1992, pp. 162-209)?
- Leominster Priory** (R. Griffiths (ed.), *Registrum Thome de Cantilupo, Episcopi Herefordensis, AD 1275-1282*, *Cant. & York Soc.*, 2, 1907, pp. 46-8)
- Leonard Stanley Priory** (J. Middleton, 'Stanley St Leonards: The College of Canons and the Collegiate Church', *Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucs Arch. Soc.*, 5, 1880-1, pp. 122-3)
- Llanbadarn Fawr Priory** ('N. Chadwick, 'Intellectual Life in West Wales in the Last Days of the Celtic Church', in Chadwick (ed.), *Studies in the Early British Church*, Cambridge, 1958, pp. 162-4, 177)

- Lynn Priory** (D. Owen, *The Making of King's Lynn*, British Academy Records of Soc. and Ec. History, new ser., 9, 1984, no. 151, pp. 146-7)
- Lytham Priory** (*VCH Lancashire*, VII, pp. 216-17)
- Middlesbrough Priory** (J. Burton, 'Monasteries and Parish Churches in Eleventh- and Twelfth- Century Yorkshire', *Northern History*, 23, 1987, p. 49) From 1130s.
- Morville Priory** (*VCH, Shropshire*, II, p. 29)
- Penwortham Priory** (*Leland's Itinerary*, IV, p. 9)
- Pilton Priory** (*Registrum Malmesburiense*, ed. J. S. Brewer and C. T. Martin, 2 vols, Rolls Ser., 72, 1879-80, II, cap. 304, pp. 171-2)
- Rumburgh Priory** (P. Pobst (ed.), *The Register of William Bateman Bishop of Norwich, 1344-1355*, 2 vols, Cant. & York Soc., II, 90, 2000, p. 146)
- St Bees Priory** (J. Wilson (ed.), *The Register of the Priory of St Bees*, Surtees Soc., 126, 1915, p. iv)
- Scilly Priory** (Private info. from Prof. Nicholas Orme – *VCH Cornwall* forthcoming)
- Snaith Priory** (E. Barker (ed.), *The Register of Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York, 1480-1500*, vol. I, Cant. & York Soc., 69, 1976, pp. 194-5)
- Tynemouth Priory** (H. Riley (ed.), *Gesta Abbatum Mon. Sancti Albani*, 3 vols, Rolls Ser., 28(4), 1867-9, I, pp. 390-1)
- Wallingford Priory** (*GASA*, I, p. 56; W. Turner and H. Coxe (eds), *Calendar of Charters and Rolls preserved in the Bodleian Library*, Oxford, 1878, Berks. ch. 66, p. 18)
- Wearmouth Priory** (J. Raine (ed.), *Jarrow and Monk-Wearmouth*, Surtees Soc., 29, 1854, p. xxv)
- Westbury-upon-Trym Priory** (*VCH Gloucs.*, II, pp. 106-8)
- Wetheral Priory** (J. Prescott (ed.), *The Register of the Priory of Wetherhal*, Cumberland and Westmorland Antiq. and Arch. Soc., Extra Ser., I, 1897, p. xxxv)
- Wymondham Priory** (H. Harrod, 'Some particulars relating to the history of the abbey church of Wymondham in Norfolk', *Archaeologia*, 43, 1890, pp. 263-72)

**Yarmouth Priory** (G. Thurlow, *Great Yarmouth Priory and Parish Church*, Pitkin Guide, 1970, p. 14)

**York, All Saints' Priory Fishergate** (D. Palliser, 'The Unions of Parishes at York, 1547-1586', *Yorks. Arch. Jnl*, 46, 1974, pp. 88, 95)

#### **BENEDICTINES: ALIEN PRIORIES (74)**

The difficulties in ascertaining whether or not the religious were housed in a parish church are most pronounced for this category of monastery. Very often it is not clear where the monastic buildings were, nor if the religious used the local parish church for their services where it was situated a short distance from their house. As a result, considerable conjecture is unavoidable, and a number of priories have been included below where the mother house is known to have held the advowson of the parish church and where no evidence for a separate conventual church has been found.

**Abergavenny Priory** (R. Graham, 'Four Alien Priors in Monmouthshire', *Journal of British Arch. Assoc.*, new ser., 35, 1929, pp. 101-21)

**Allerton Mauleverer Priory** (J. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215*, Cambridge, 1999, p. 48)

**Andover Priory** (*VCH Hampshire*, II, p. 219)

**Arundel Priory** (Freeman, 'Collegiate Church of Arundel', pp. 244-70)

**Astley Priory** (Hodgson, pp. 216-17)

**Birstall Priory** (Hodgson, p. 218)

**Blyth Priory** (J. Raine, *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Blyth*, Westminster, 1860, pp. 53-7)

**Boxgrove Priory** (*VCH Sussex*, II, 56)

**Burwell Priory** (Hodgson, p. 219)

**Carisbrooke Priory** (Hodgson, p. 220)

**Chepstow Priory** (Graham, 'Four Alien Priors in Monmouthshire', pp. 101-21)



- Cogges Priory** (J. Blair & J. Steane, 'Investigations at Cogges, Oxfordshire, 1978-81: The Priory and Parish Church', *Oxoniensia*, 47, 1982, p. 103)
- Corsham Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: D. Knowles & R. Hadcock (eds), *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn, London, 1971, p. 87)?
- Covenham Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 96)?
- Cowick Priory** (G. Yeo, *The Monks of Cowick*, Exeter, 1987, pp. 9-11)
- Deerhurst Priory** (*VCH Gloucs.*, VIII, pp. 34-49)
- Dunwich Priory** (Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, pp. 96-7)?
- Ecclesfield Priory** (*VCH Yorks.*, III, p. 388)
- Edith Weston Priory** (Hodgson, p. 223)
- Ellingham Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Knowles & Hadcock, p. 88)?
- Everdon Priory** (Hodgson, p. 223)
- Eye Priory** (V. Brown (ed.), *Eye Priory Cartulary and Charters*, 2 vols, Suffolk Records Soc., Suffolk Charters, 12-13, 1992-4, II, p. 14) Until c.1119.
- Folkestone Priory** (Hodgson, p. 224)?
- Frampton Priory** (Hodgson, p. 224)?
- Goldcliff Priory** (D. Williams, 'Goldcliff Priory', *The Monmouthshire Antiquary*, 3, 1970-1, p. 37)
- Hamble Priory** (T. Kirby, 'The alien priory of St Andrew, Hamble, and its transfer to Winchester College in 1391', *Archaeologia*, 50, 1887, pp. 251-62)
- Harmondsworth Priory** (*RCHME Middlesex*, pp. 60-2)
- Hatfield Regis Priory** (F. Galpin, 'The history of the church of Hatfield Regis', *Trans. of Essex Arch. Soc.*, 6, 1898, pp. 326-45)
- Haugham Priory** (D. Owen, *Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire*, Lincoln, 1971, p. 47)?
- Hinckley Priory** (Hodgson, p. 226)

- Horsley Priory** (D. Matthew, *The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions*, Oxford, 1962, p. 61)
- Ippleden Priory** (Hodgson, p. 227)
- Lancaster Priory** (W. Roper (ed.), *Materials for the History of the Church of Lancaster*, 2 vols, Chetham Soc., 2<sup>nd</sup> ser., 26, 31, 1892-4, I, pp. 144-6)
- Lapley Priory** (*VCH Staffs.*, III, p. 341)
- Llangennith Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, pp. 100-1)?
- Llangua Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 101)?
- Loders Priory** (*RCHME West Dorset*, pp. 137-40)
- Minster Priory** (Knowles & Hadcock, p. 89)?
- Minster Lovell Priory** (A. J. Taylor, 'The Alien Priory of Minster Lovell', *Oxoniensia*, 2, 1937, pp. 103-17)
- Minting Priory** (Hodgson, pp. 229-30)
- Modbury Priory** (J. James, 'The Norman Benedictine Alien Priory of St George, Modbury, AD c.1135-1480', *Trans. of Devonshire Assoc.*, 131, 1999, pp. 81-103)
- Monk Sherborne Priory** (Cook, *English Mediaeval Parish Church*, p. 274)?
- Monkland Priory** (Hodgson, p. 230)?
- Monks Kirby Priory** (*VCH Warks.*, VI, pp. 177-80)
- Monmouth Priory** (Graham, 'Four Alien Priors in Monmouthshire', pp. 101-21)
- Newent Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 102)?
- Ogbourne St George Priory** (Hodgson, p. 232)?
- Ottertton Priory** (Hodgson, p. 232)
- Pembroke Priory** (Freeman, 'Collegiate Church of Arundel', p. 253)
- Runcton Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Knowles & Hadcock, p. 91)
- Sele Priory** (L. Salzman (ed.), *The Chartulary of the Priory of St Peter at Sele*, Cambridge, 1923, p. 15)

- Spalding Priory** (*Dugdale, Mon. Ang.*, III, pp. 228-9) Until C13?  
(n.b. This document implies that the parishioners were already worshipping in their own building within the monastic precinct by the 1280s. Nevertheless, it is possible, by analogy with Rochester, that they had previously worshipped in the conventual church)
- Spettisbury Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 105)?
- Sporle Priory** (Hodgson, p. 236)
- Steventon Priory** (Hodgson, p. 236)
- Stogursey Priory** (T. Tremlett and N. Blakiston (eds), *Stogursey Charters*, Somerset Rec. Soc., 61, 1946, pp. 13-15)
- Stoke by Clare Priory** (C. Harper-Bill & R. Mortimer (eds), *Stoke by Clare Cartulary*, 3 vols, Suffolk Records Soc., Suffolk Charters, 4-6, 1982-4, p. 16) Until c.1139x1143.
- Swavesey Priory** (*VCH Cambs.*, IX, pp. 393-6)
- Throwley Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 107)?
- Titley Priory** (*RCHME North West Herefordshire*, p. 190)
- Toft Monks Priory** (Hodgson, p. 241)?
- Totnes Priory** (H. Watkin, *The History of Totnes Priory and Medieval Town*, 2 vols, Torquay, 1914-17, I, p. 607)
- Tutbury Priory** (*VCH Staffs.*, III, p. 339)
- Upavon Priory** (Hodgson, p. 241)?
- Ware Priory** (*VCH Herts.*, III, p. 394)
- Wareham Priory** (*RCHME South-East Dorset*, part II, pp. 305-9)
- Warmington Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 108)?
- Wath Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 108)?
- Weedon Beck Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 108)?
- Weedon Lois Priory** (Hodgson, p. 243)?

- Wilmington Priory** (W. Godfrey, 'Wilmington Priory: an architectural description', *Sussex Arch. Collections*, 69, 1928, pp. 1-27)
- Wing Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Knowles & Hadcock, p. 94)?
- Wootton Wawen Priory** (Matthew, *Norman Monasteries*, p. 60)?
- York, Holy Trinity Priory** (R. Skaife (ed.), *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York*, Surtees Soc., 57, 1872, pp. 273-4n)

#### AUGUSTINIANS (75)

**Aldgate**, see London

**Bamburgh Priory** (BL, Cotton MS Vesp. E.xix, f. 120v)

**Barnwell Priory** (*VCH Cambs.*, I, pp. 244, 248) Parochial chapel.

**Beddgelert Priory** (*RCHM Central Caernarvonshire*, pp. 16-18)

**Blackmore Priory** (*RCHME Central and South West Essex*, p. 15)

**Blythburgh Priory** (C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Blythburgh Priory Cartulary*, 2 parts, Suffolk Records Soc., Suffolk Charters, 2-3, 1980-1, I, pp. 1-2) For short time in C12?

**Bolton Priory** (A. H. Thompson, *History and Architectural Description of the Priory of St Mary, Bolton-in-Wharfedale*, Thoresby Soc., 30, 1928, p. 112) Parochial chapel.

**Bourne Abbey** (J. Dickinson, 'The Buildings of the English Austin Canons after the Dissolution of the Monasteries', *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 31, 1968, p. 66)

**Breedon Priory** (*Archaeological Journal*, 71, 1914, pp. 394-7)

**Bridlington Priory** (J. A. Franklin, 'Bridlington Priory: an Augustinian Church and Cloister In the Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, ed. C. Wilson, British Arch. Assoc. Conf. Trans., 9, 1989, pp. 44-61)

**Bristol, St Augustine's Abbey** (D. Walker (ed.), *The Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc., Gloucs. Rec. Ser., 10, 1998, pp. xiv-xxii) Until 1158x1160?

- Bruton Priory** (*Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute in the co. of Somerset*, ed. T. S. Holmes et al, Somerset Record Society, 8, 1894, pp. xxxix-xliii)
- Butley Priory** (Dickinson, 'Buildings of English Austin Canons', p. 66) In C12?
- Cambridge, St Giles' Priory** (C. Brooke, 'The churches of medieval Cambridge', in *History, Society and the Churches*, ed. D. Beales and G. Best, Cambridge, 1985, p. 71)
- Canons Ashby Priory** (Hodgson, p. 101)
- Carham Priory** (Hodgson, p. 101)
- Carlisle Cathedral Priory** (*VCH Cumberland*, II, pp. 136-7)
- Cartmel Priory** (J. Dickinson, *The Priory of Cartmel*, Milnthorpe, 1991, p. 12)
- Chacombe Priory** (D. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 2 parts, British Arch. Reports, British Ser., 80, 1980, I, p. 45; but see Hodgson, p. 385)
- Chetwode Priory** (*RCHME Buckinghamshire*, II, p. 85) At least from c.1480.
- Chirbury Priory** (*VCH Salop.*, II, pp. 59-61)
- Christchurch Priory** (*VCH Hants*, II, pp. 152-3)
- Church Gresley Priory** (Dickinson, 'Buildings of English Austin Canons', p. 66)
- Cockerham Priory** (*VCH Lancs.*, II, pp. 152-3)
- Colchester, St Botolph's Priory** (Dickinson, 'Buildings of English Austin Canons', p. 66)
- Dorchester Abbey** (*VCH Oxon.*, II, p. 87)
- Dunstable Priory** (A. Vallance, *Greater English Church Screens*, London, 1947, pp. 21-2)
- East Rudham Priory** (Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, I, pp. 80-1) Until c.1216.
- Gloucester, St Oswald's Priory** (C. Heighway et al, 'Excavations at Gloucester: St Oswald's Priory, Gloucester, 1975-6', *The Antiquaries Journal*, 58, 1978, pp.103-32)
- Guisborough Priory** (Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 93) For short time in C12?

- Haughmond Abbey** (J. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*, London, 1950, p. 150) Parochial chapel.
- Hexham Priory** (H. Craster (ed.), *A History of Northumberland*, 15 vols, Newcastle, 1893-1940, III(i), p. 203)
- Hood Priory** (R. Hill et al. (eds), *The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317-1340*, 4 vols, Cant. & York Soc., 70-1, 76, 85 (1977-97), II, no. 411, p. 154). Parochial chapel.
- Huntingdon Priory** (Dickinson, *Origins of Austin Canons*, pp. 149-50) For short time before moving to new site, early C12.
- Ipswich, Holy Trinity Priory** (Seems to have been founded in existing church: Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 137)?
- Ipswich, SS Peter & Paul** (*VCH Suffolk*, II, p. 102)?
- Ivychurch Priory** (*VCH Wilts.*, III, p. 289-94) Parochial chapel.
- Ixworth Priory** (Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, I, p. 39) Until mid-C12?
- Kenilworth Abbey** (E. Carey-Hill, 'Kenilworth Abbey', *Trans. of the Birmingham Arch. Soc.*, 52, 1927, p. 198) Until late C13?
- Kirkham Priory** (J. Burton, 'Priory and Parish: Kirkham and its parishioners 1496-7', in B. Thompson (ed), *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain*, Stamford, 1999, pp. 329-47)
- Kyme Priory** (Dickinson, 'Buildings of English Austin Canons', p. 66)
- Lanercost Priory** (Dickinson, 'Buildings of English Austin Canons', p. 65) Parochial chapel.
- Launde Priory** (Dickinson, 'Buildings of English Austin Canons', p. 65) Parochial chapel.
- Letheringham Priory** (Hodgson, p. 105)
- Little Dunmow Priory** (A. Clapham, 'The Augustinian Priory Church of Little Dunmow', *Trans. of the Essex Arch. Soc.*, new ser., 13, 1915, pp. 285-92)

- London, Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate** (*VCH London*, I, p. 465; but see also A. H. Thompson, *English Monasteries*, Cambridge, 1913, pp.54-5)?
- London, St Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield** (Cook, *English Mediaeval Parish Church*, pp. 63-4)
- Markby Priory** (Owen, *Church and Society*, p. 151)
- Marton Priory** (Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 92; but see Thompson, *History and Architectural Description of Bolton*, p. 36, and Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses*, p. 142)?
- Maxstoke Priory** (*VCH Warks.*, II, p. 91)
- Mobberley Priory** (Hodgson, pp. 105-6)
- Ovingham Priory** (Hodgson, p. 106)
- Owston Abbey** (Dickinson, 'Buildings of English Austin Canons', p. 66)
- Oxford, St Frideswide's Priory** (J. Blair, 'St Frideswide's Monastery: Problems and Possibilities', *Oxoniensia*, 53, 1988, pp. 255-8) Until 1298.
- Penmon Priory** (*RCHM Anglesey*, pp. 119-23)
- Ratlinghope Priory** (*VCH Salop.*, II, 80) Parochial chapel?
- Royston Priory** (*Leland's Itinerary*, I, p. 328) Parochial chapel.
- St Anthony-in-Roseland Priory** (G. Trinick, *St Anthony's Church, St Anthony-in-Roseland*, Churches Conservation Trust, 1999)
- St Germans Priory** (*Leland's Itinerary*, I, p. 324)
- Sheringham Priory** (Hodgson, p. 107)
- Shobdon Priory** (Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, I, p. 82) Until c.1172.
- Smithfield**, see London
- Southwark Priory** (*VCH London*, I, pp. 480-2)
- Stone Priory** (*VCH Staffs.*, III, pp. 240-4)
- Thurgarton Priory** (T. Foulds (ed.), *The Thurgarton Cartulary*, Stamford, 1994, pp. 571-2)
- Torksey Priory** (*Leland's Itinerary*, I, p. 32)
- Tregoney Priory** (The mother house held the advowson of the parish church: Knowles & Hadcock, p. 182)?
- Trentham Priory** (Hodgson, p. 107)?

- Waltham Abbey** (*RCHME Central and South West Essex*, pp. 237-9)
- Warter Priory** (Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 92; but see Thompson, *History and Architectural Description of Bolton*, p. 36)?
- West Acre Priory** (N. Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: North East Norfolk and Norwich*, London, 1997, pp. 370-1) Until C14?
- Weybourne Priory** (F. Fairweather, 'The Augustinian Priory of Weybourne, Norfolk', *Norfolk Arch.*, 24, 1932, pp. 201-28)
- Wigmore Abbey** (Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, I, p. 82) 1131-5?
- Wombridge Priory** (Hodgson, p. 108)
- Woodbridge Priory** (Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, I, p. 39) Until early C15?
- Woodkirk Priory** (W. Brown (ed.) *The Register of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York, 1286-1296*, 2 vols, Surtees Soc., 123, 128 (1913-17), I, no. 125, pp. 53-4)
- Worksop Priory** (M. Thurlby, 'Worksop Priory Church: The Romanesque and Early Gothic Fabric', in *Southwell and Nottinghamshire. Medieval Art, Architecture, and Industry*, ed. J. S. Alexander, British Arch. Assoc. Conf. Trans., 21, 1998, pp. 101-9)

## CLUNIACS (9)

- Church Preen Priory** (*VCH Salop.*, II, p. 38)
- Daventry Priory** (M. Franklin (ed.), *The Cartulary of Daventry Priory*, Northants Rec. Soc., 35, 1988, pp. xxx-xxxvii)
- Horkesley Priory** (*RCHME North-East Essex*, p. 169)
- Malpas Priory** (R. Graham, 'A history of the buildings of the English Province of the Order of Cluny after the suppression of some priories and the general Dissolution of the Monasteries', *Journal of the British Arch. Assoc.*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 15, 1952, p. 26)
- Newton Longville Priory** (Hodgson, p. 231)



- Preston Capes Priory** (Hodgson, pp. 232-3) Until 1107-8?  
**St Clears Priory** (*RCHM Carmarthen*, pp. 238-9)  
**St Helen's Priory** (Graham, 'History of buildings', p. 14)  
**Wangford Priory** (Hodgson, p. 242)

#### **GILBERTINES (4)**

- Ellerton Priory** (R. Graham, *St Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines*, London, 1903, p. 213)  
**Malton Priory** (*Leland's Itinerary*, I, p. 57)  
**Sempringham Priory** (B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c.1130-1300*, Oxford, 1995, p. 363) Until c.1147.  
**York, St Andrew's Priory** (Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp. 91-2; but see *VCH City of York*, p. 376)?

#### **PREMONSTRATIENSIS (2)**

- Langley Abbey** (H. Colvin, *The White Canons in England*, Oxford, 1951, pp. 272-3) For a short time from 1195.  
**West Dereham Abbey** (Colvin, *White Canons*, pp. 272-3) For a short time from 1188.

#### **CISTERCIANS (1)**

- Scarborough** (C. Talbot, 'Cîteaux and Scarborough', *Studia Monastica*, 2, 1960, pp. 95-158)

#### **BONHOMMES (1)**

- Edington Priory** (J. Stevenson (ed.), *The Edington Cartulary*, Wilts. Rec. Soc., 42, 1987, pp. 9-14)

## NUNNERIES (49)

- Aconbury Priory** (*RCHME South West Herefordshire*, p. 12)?
- Amesbury Priory** (*RCHME Churches of South East Wiltshire*, pp. 233-5) Used by canons rather than nuns, it appears.
- Barking Abbey** (*RCHME Central and South West Essex*, pp. 4, 7) Until early C13?
- Barrow Gurney Priory** (Hodgson, p. 217)
- Bishopsgate**, see London
- Bungay Priory** (R. Gilchrist & M. Oliva, *Religious Women in Medieval East Anglia*, Studies in East Anglian History 1, Norwich, 1993, pp. 24, 40, 89-90)
- Cambridge, St Radegund's Priory** (A. Gray, *The Priory of Saint Radegund Cambridge*, Cambridge Antiq. Soc., Octavo Pubs, 31, 1898, pp. 20-4)
- Cannington Priory** (*Leland's Itinerary*, I, p. 163)
- Canterbury, Holy Sepulchre Priory** (S. Thompson, *Women Religious. The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest*, Oxford, 1991, p. 36)
- Carrow Priory** (Gilchrist & Oliva, *Religious Women*, p. 38)
- Chatteris Abbey** (C. Breay (ed.), *The Cartulary of Chatteris Abbey*, Woodbridge, 1999, p. 87)
- Clerkenwell**, see London
- Crabhouse Priory** (Gilchrist & Oliva, *Religious Women*, pp. 40, 63)
- Davington Priory** (P. Tester, 'A plan and architectural description of the medieval remains of Davington priory', *Arch. Cantiana*, 95, 1980, pp. 205-12)
- Easebourne Priory** (R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture. The archaeology of religious women*, London, 1994, pp. 104-6)
- Elstow Abbey** (*VCH Beds.*, I, pp. 353-4) Until 1345?
- Farewell Priory** (*VCH Staffs.*, III, p. 224)
- Fotheringhay Priory** (*Leland's Itinerary*, I, p. 4) Until c.1145.
- Godstow Abbey** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 94)
- Goring Priory** (J. Blair, 'The Foundation of Goring Priory', *Oxoniensia*, 51, 1986, pp. 194-7)

- Guisnes/Guyzance Priory** (Colvin, *White Canons*, pp. 333-4)  
**Haliwell**, *see* London
- Heynings Priory** (Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, p. 120)
- Higham Priory** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 104;  
 but see P. Tester, 'Excavations on the site of Higham  
 Priory', *Arch Cantiana*, 82, 1967, pp. 143-61)?
- Holystone Priory** (Hodgson, p. 225)?
- Ickleton Priory** (C. Raleigh Radford, 'Ickleton Church', *Arch.  
 Journal*, 124, 1967, pp. 228-9)
- London, Haliwell Priory** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*,  
 p. 102)
- London, St Helen's Priory, Bishopsgate** (M. Reddan & A.  
 Clapham, *The Survey of London*, IX, *The Parish of St  
 Helen, Bishopsgate (part i)*, London, 1924, pp. 31-5)
- London, St Mary's Priory, Clerkenwell** (W. Hassall (ed.),  
*Cartulary of St Mary Clerkenwell*, Camden 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., 71,  
 1949, p. vii)
- Lyminster Priory** (Hodgson, pp. 228-9)
- Marham Abbey** (Gilchrist & Oliva, *Religious Women*, pp. 63, 86-  
 7)
- Marrick Priory** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 102)
- Minster in Sheppey Priory** (M. Walcott, 'Inventory of the  
 Benedictine priory of SS Mary and Sexburga, in the island  
 for Sheppey, for nuns', *Arch. Cantiana*, 7, 1868, pp. 287-  
 306)
- Nun Monkton Priory** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p.  
 101)
- Nuneaton Priory** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 103)
- Nunkeeling Priory** (W. Brown, 'Description of the buildings of  
 twelve small Yorkshire priories at the Reformation', *Yorks.  
 Arch. Jnl*, 9, 1886, p. 209)
- Polesworth Abbey** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 101)
- Redlingfield Priory** (*VCH Suffolk*, II, p. 83)
- Romsey Abbey** (I. Scott, 'Romsey Abbey: Benedictine nunnery and  
 parish church' in *Monastic Archaeology. Papers on the  
 Study of Medieval Monasteries*, ed. G. Keevill et al, Oxford,  
 2002, pp. 150-60)

- Shaftesbury Abbey** (*CPR, 1364-7*, pp.402-3) Until c.1364.
- Stratford-at-Bow Priory** (*VCH Middlesex*, I, p. 156)
- Swaffham Bulbeck Priory** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 121; but see *RCHME Cambridgeshire*, II, p. 97)?
- Swine Priory** (J. Burton, 'The "Chariot of Aminadab" and the Yorkshire priory of Swine', in *Pragmatic Utopias*, ed. R. Horrox & S. Rees Jones, Cambridge, 2001, pp. 26-42)
- Thetford, St George's Priory** (Gilchrist & Oliva, *Religious Women*, p. 40)
- Usk Priory** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 101)
- Wherwell Abbey** (D. Coldicott, *Hampshire Nunneries*, Chichester, 1989, pp. 55-6, 61). Until C14?
- Wilberfoss Priory** (Brown, 'Description of buildings', p. 204)
- Wix Priory** (Hodgson, p. 244)
- Wothorpe Priory** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 121)
- Wroxall Priory** (Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture*, p. 104)
- Wykeham Priory** (Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p. 140)
- York, Clementhorpe Priory** (R. B. Dobson and Sara Donoghue, *The History of Clementhorpe Nunnery*, York Archaeological Trust, 1984)

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## **The *Compendium Compertorum* and the making of the Suppression Act of 1536.**

University of Warwick PhD

This thesis investigates the relationship between the Royal Visitation of 1535 – 1536, the *Compendium Compertorum* and the Suppression Act of 1536. Through the extensive examination of new and corrected manuscript evidence and by the updating of previous analysis, the Royal Visitation has been identified as more

extensive, geographically and conceptually, than has hitherto been recognised.

This work identifies for the first time all the Commissioners and their regions of responsibility in England and Wales. This discovery has enabled a thorough review of their visiting itineraries to be made and has allowed their actions to be examined relative to a central, emerging policy. The Royal Commissioners understood they had a reforming responsibility at the institutions they visited. This has not been previously recognised by historians who have seen the Royal Visitation as purely a means of collecting damaging evidence of monastic corruption. This work makes clear that the principal purpose of the Visitation, however, was to gain the wide acceptance of the Royal Supremacy among a range of ecclesiastical institutions, including religious houses.

It is demonstrated that although Thomas Cromwell co-ordinated the Commissioners, he can occasionally be identified bending to the royal will. The emergence of the core Injunctions in August 1535, for example, was a result of King Henry's intervention. The Commissioners had occasional direct contact with the king to discuss the progress of the Visitation. This work identifies that the decision to widen the definition of sexual crime in the Visitation was made in September 1535, when the court was at Winchester. Thereafter, Cromwell can be seen considering various policies for possible monastic reform.

On the eve of the passing of the Suppression Act Cromwell's chosen monastic reform policy was overruled. The Suppression Act in its final form was the preferred choice of King Henry. The data obtained on monastic crime was edited and manipulated from the Visitors' Act Book into the *Compendium Compertorum* to assist the passing of the Act. The Royal Visitation information was also used to evaluate the likely effects of the Act's implementation.

This work outlines why the Crown invested seven months in undertaking the Royal Visitation. It helps explain the first assault in

the 1530s, by the government, on the English and Welsh monasteries. The widely held view that the Suppression Act was formulated by Cromwell must be revised. Cromwell certainly supervised the Royal Visitation but the king defined the final monastic suppression policy.

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## **Cartulary of Alvingham Priory**

The aim of my part-time Ph. D. thesis is to produce an edition of the cartulary of Alvingham Priory (Oxford, Bodleian, MS Laud Misc. 642). Only two Gilbertine cartularies are known to exist, and of these Alvingham was the only 'double' house. Founded between 1148 and 1154, it is unclear who the original founder or founders were, although there are several candidates. Most of the charters relate to lands in Lincolnshire. There is a 16<sup>th</sup> century copy in English translation of part of the Alvingham cartulary in Louth Museum and this will be compared.

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## Resting in Pieces: Division of the Aristocratic Body and Multiple Burial

My research<sup>1</sup> involves an exploration of the perceptions of the aristocratic divided corpse in England c. 1150 – c. 1350, in particular within the contexts of judicial executions and the preparation of the body for funerals. In both circumstances, the body was opened, dismembered, divided and dispersed to different locations. In the case of an execution, body parts were put on display; in the case of a funeral, body parts were buried at different monastic sites, which in my opinion clearly reveals an attitude towards the body as a signifier of aristocratic identity or lack thereof. In the context of multiple burial,<sup>2</sup> it also sheds light on the relationship between the aristocracy and monastic houses transcending religious elements. The aristocratic dead body becomes an instrument to express familial and monastic allegiance, religious patronage as well as personal piety. In my thesis, one chapter will be devoted to these relationships between patron/benefactor and monastic house with the body of the deceased aristocrat at the centre.

The burial of body parts at more than one site has often been interpreted as a need for more personal intercession. Sources seem to indicate an increase in popularity of the practice towards the end of the thirteenth century, while at the same time the first requests for chantries appear. Chantry requests at first were nothing more than special occasions at which the deceased would be remembered and would be prayed for by a priest appointed for the purpose. Multiple

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<sup>1</sup> The working title of my PhD thesis for which this research is done is at present: *Incisions and Fragmentations: The Division and Dismemberment of Aristocratic Bodies in England c. 1150 - c. 1350.*

<sup>2</sup> I use the phrase 'multiple burial' in the sense of burial at more than one site, rather than in the archaeological sense of burial of more than one body at the same site.

burial provided the deceased with a physical presence in more than one monastery and in more than one prominent position within the religious house, which may seem to subscribe to the argument for a multiplication of prayers. However, when we look more closely at the relative positioning of graves and the relationships between the deceased and the particular monasteries selected for the burial of body parts, it becomes clear that family relationships receive prominence, as well as personal religious and even political attachment to a monastery. Several generations of heads of the family were interred beside each other, as was the case with the de Clares at Tewkesbury. Burial in the Chapter House was as frequent as burial in front of an altar. Hugh Lupus, Earl of Chester, who refounded St Werburgh's in Chester, was at first interred within the cemetery, but his grandson had his remains translated to the Abbey's Chapter House, thus establishing the physical presence of the abbey's founder in the space used for monastic government.<sup>3</sup>

When examining cases of multiple burial, we see that the various allegiances formed during life could be extended in death. For example, in 1232 Earl Ranulph III of Chester decided to be buried among his ancestors at St Werburgh, but his heart was interred at his foundation of Dieulacres.<sup>4</sup> The heart of Isabella Marshal, widow of Gilbert de Clare and wife of Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall, was donated to the Abbey of Tewkesbury where it was reunited with the remains of her first husband.<sup>5</sup> There are many more examples to be found of the expression of family ties, personal piety, conjugal bonds, and wider political messages by means of separate heart burials and even interment of entrails. The aristocratic body in pieces thus becomes a

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<sup>3</sup> W. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley *et al.* (London, 1846), 2: 371-372; for the de Clares see *ibid.*, 2: 54-55.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 5: 629. With his heart he donated his manor at Leek 'with all appurtenances and liberties'.

<sup>5</sup> 'Annales de Theokesberia', in H.R. Luard (ed.) *Annales Monastici*, Rolls Series 36 (1864-1869), 1: 113-114.



site of socio-political negotiation on a grander scale than has previously been asserted.

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## **Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales**

Following upon the publication of the revised edition of *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, I: 940-1216*, eds. David Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and Vera C. M. London (Cambridge, 2001) and of *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, II: 1216-1377*, eds. David M. Smith and Vera C. M. London (Cambridge, 2001), readers may be interested to know that work is proceeding apace on the final volume in the series, covering the years 1377 to 1540.

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## Cistercian women in medieval England, twelfth to sixteenth centuries

The traditional view of Cistercian nuns is that there were only two 'official' Cistercian convents in medieval England, namely Tarrant in Dorset and Marham in Norfolk. Rather than official women's houses formally incorporated into the Cistercian order, the English scene was allegedly characterised by 'unofficial' houses of nuns. The defining feature of these two dozen or so unofficial houses is that they were communities of religious women who claimed a Cistercian identity yet whose claims were either ignored or rejected by the Cistercian hierarchy.

My research has suggested that a good number of these unofficial houses were indeed accepted as Cistercian by such various institutional power-brokers as bishops, kings, popes, laity, and even Cistercian abbots. My goal then is to examine what it meant for women in England to be part of the Cistercian monastic order – it seems that the relationship of women to this monastic order was more informal than the formal incorporation sought by men. So far I have examined four topics. First, the official statements of the Cistercian order regarding women, ie the legislative *statuta*. These prescriptive and proscriptive documents provide the classic centre-focussed approach that used to dominate our view of the Cistercians. Second, I have concentrated on the more local level in order to identify the degree to which official pronouncements concerning nuns seem to have carried weight at the local level. Here I have focussed on debates over membership of the Cistercian order, with so-called 'unofficial' nuns in Lincolnshire in the 1270s making assertive claims for their Cistercian affiliation and indeed gaining local support in these claims. Third, I have examined Tarrant abbey in Salisbury diocese, particularly its interactions with bishops, royalty, and male Cistercian houses, with a view to identifying whether anything in this 'official' house's history distinguishes it from the Cistercian convents on the continent and/or from the 'unofficial' Cistercian convents in England. Finally, I am

currently researching English Cistercian women in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. In the period around 1500 there was an upsurge in the number of female houses claiming Cistercian identity. There was also an upsurge in the male Cistercian abbots who were prepared to take responsibility for these houses. Even though many of the houses seem to have had no prior relationships with Cistercian monks there is evidence (eg from Fountains) of abbots welcoming female houses into the Cistercian family and indeed granting the women's houses a retrospective Cistercian history.

Overall, I hope that this project will enable me to identify the different ways that women could experience the Cistercian monastic life at different periods in history. This will make a small contribution to the current reassessment of the Cistercian order away from a 'top-down' centre-focussed model of direction from the male centre at Cîteaux. The histories of Cistercian nuns demonstrate that this seemingly monolithic trans-European order was just as prone to change, regional variation from the 'bottom up', and development as was any other institution. I also hope to reassess and refine the all-embracing term 'English unofficial Cistercian houses' in order to highlight that there were different ways in which women could relate to the Cistercian hierarchy – that 'unofficial' houses in the 1270s were different from 'unofficial' houses in 1500 – and that female religious life was often at its most vibrant even when the 'official' monastic order seemed to deny it. Finally, many assessments of Cistercian women have been derived from continental case studies, and it is timely to include English women in our vision of medieval Cistercian nuns.

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## **Cistercian ironworking at Rievaulx and Bilsdale, North York Moors: Fuel supply and woodland management**

The PhD research project offers an historical comparative for the impact of social and technological changes on the natural environment at Rievaulx and the adjoining valley of Bilsdale, North York Moors, England, UK. This inter-disciplinary study combines historical, archaeological and palaeoecological investigations to question the environmental impacts of the arrival of the Cistercian community at Rievaulx *circa* 1131, and the developing associated industry (in particular ironworking) on the local natural resources and economy.

Key to the research is the examination and re-evaluation of primary documentary sources from an environmental perspective, to establish an evidenced chronology of specific historic events at precise locations. This reassessment of the documentary sources, subsuming maps, will provide a comparative model of historical activity that may support or challenge the scientific results, providing a match or mis-match between the written sources and the science.

Sub-fossil pollen will provide a general picture of vegetation change, which may be related to conflicting land uses of pastoral land, and woodlands managed to produce fuelwood for the iron furnaces in a combined economy. Archaeological charcoal will provide a variety of woody taxa to enable species and woodland management cycles to be identified, and provide evidence of local vegetation usage and natural resource management.

Prolonged and extensive iron production required not only significant labour to prepare the fuelwood, but also woodland management strategies such as coppicing and pollarding to sustain

adequate wood supplies. This point raises important implications as to the extent and species composition of the woodland in the environs of the Cistercian abbey at Rievaulx and the local satellite granges. The project will test the hypothesis that particular woods were managed and phased for coppicing and timber, with changing management strategies and specific historical events impacting wittingly and unwittingly on the natural environment.

The research has been funded jointly by the Natural Environmental Research Council and the Economic and Social Research Council. Additional financial support has been provided by the Leeds Philosophical Society towards the archival work.

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## **CARTHUSIAN SESSIONS AT LEEDS 2004**

Joan Greatrex and Julian Luxford are organizing several sessions on the history of the Carthusian order as our contribution to the International Medieval Congress at Leeds, from 12 –15 July, 2004. Individual charterhouses, Carthusian manuscripts and writers, and life in a late medieval English charterhouse will be among the themes presented. Participants will include young scholars, whose current research in Carthusian studies has begun to bear fruit, as well as those who are among the most senior and renowned in the field today.

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## The Monasteries of Late Medieval Scotland

The editor has kindly invited me to outline my work on Scottish monasteries and share some thoughts. Having completed a thesis for Edinburgh university in 1968 on the Scots Benedictine monasteries in Germany (Schottenkloster) in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries, I began work on monasteries in Scotland. The aim was roughly twofold: to establish the superiors and the communities after the Great Schism. Monastic sources being sparse, superiors were chiefly known through public records, and important questions had to be answered. Were they monks before their promotion or non-monks promoted by agreement between the holy see and the Scottish crown?

The legalities and the appointments were considered in 'The commendator system in Scotland' submitted to the Royal Historical Society for its David Berry prize and printed in the *Innes Review (IR)* in 1986. There were three categories: men who were monks before their promotion, those who were (mostly) secular clerics but became monks, and those who never became monks. Only the last category were commendators but Scottish historians usually used the term for the two latter classes. Monasteries were unduly influenced by powerful local families, whose members became their hereditary bailies or superiors.

There were forty monasteries with a community. Monks are usually recorded, not in monastic sources but documents feuing monastic lands to local magnates, with monks signing to indicate their consent. These charters, rare before 1500, become gradually more plentiful. They show, with local variations, some drop in recruitment followed by modest increase in the 1550s.

The Scottish Reformation, the last in time in Europe, was enacted in the parliament of August 1560. Though recruitment ceased, monastic communities mostly remained *in situ*, for monks had a legal right to their quarters and upkeep. Some worked actively in the Protestant Church, whereas a few were actively Catholic. My main work was establishing communities before 1560, the stance of monks after 1560 and their work in either Church. About 16 articles were published, mostly in *IR* or *Records of the Scottish Church History Society (RSCHS)*. A pilot article, 'Monks and Ministers after 1560', appeared in *RSCHS* in 1974.

Two opportunities came for more concentrated work. Giving the Rhind Lectures resulted in a slim volume, *Scottish monasteries in the later middle ages* (Edinburgh, 1995). Of the 39 articles (no theological significance!) written for the new *Dictionary of National Biography*, more than half were on monks or monastic superiors, mostly 16<sup>th</sup> century though a few were later.

More recent work has included the relations of the three Valliscaulian priories and two Cluniac houses to the mother-house in France, and the role of some houses and their noble commendators in the strife after 1560, with Queen Mary Stewart held captive in England. This is being prepared for publication. An article, 'Dunfermline, Duries and the Reformation' appeared in *RSCHS*, 31 (2001).

I have been constantly surprised by how much Scottish monasticism differed from the norm in other countries. The two Cluniac houses were both abbeys. The two cathedral priories belonged to canons regular: Augustinian St Andrews (the primatial see) and Premonstratensian Whithorn. No constitution was extant and their functioning could only be established by putting together isolated details. This resulted in 'The Augustinian Chapter of St Andrews' in *IR* in 1974. Commendation came into Scotland late and

gradually, without the devastating effect seen on the Continent, and never became the universal norm. Commendators had to be in major orders. I would be grateful for information about non-monks in other countries being clothed and professed and receiving abbatial blessing after their promotion, for monastic historians do not seem to mention this.

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## HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

Colleagues may know that, because of my husband's move to Edinburgh, I had to leave the Historical Manuscripts Commission in the autumn of 2000. This meant that the project on records of medieval religious houses fell into abeyance. However, in the first three months of both 2002 and 2003 I returned on a part-time, freelance, basis and managed to add a considerable number of entries to the indexes of the National Register of Archives. Although the project is probably only at the half-way stage, the indexes already contain entries on the records of 865 medieval monasteries, nunneries, friaries, colleges and fraternities, together with some 50 medieval hospitals and 250 medieval charities.

NB. For further details on this project, see *MRB* 3, pp. 39-42, 4, pp. 14-16, 5, pp. 1-26, 6, pp. 38-9. To search the indexes, go to [www.hmc.gov.uk](http://www.hmc.gov.uk)

Rosemary C. E. Hayes

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