

The Origins and Development of the Religious Orders in
Yorkshire c1069 to c1200

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ABSTRACT.

This thesis aims to discuss the origins and growth of the religious orders within a given geographical area, Yorkshire, a region chosen partly because, as the largest English shire it was an area in which could be found, in the twelfth century, representatives of all the major religious orders except the Carthusian; and because in the Yorkshire of 1066 there appears to have been a complete absence of monastic houses. The foundation, in the century and a half which followed the Norman Conquest, of over fifty religious houses, bears witness that the new movement was rapid and powerful. The time span chosen was determined by the foundation of the first Norman abbey in c1069 and by the fact that after c1200 the source material undergoes a change with the addition of sources such as archiepiscopal registers. The evidence on which this thesis is based comprises mostly charter material, and detailed analysis of the reliability of sources, both in manuscript form and in printed editions is provided at various stages in the text. Chapters 1-5 deal with the history of the Benedictine houses; the Cluniac and Alien Priories; the Canons Regular; the Cistercians (to whom two chapters are devoted), and, as the evidence is extensive, the history of each house in these orders has been treated separately. Conversely, as sources for the history of individual nunneries and houses of the Military Orders, are sparse, these orders are discussed as a whole in chapters 6-7. Chapters 8-12 consider more general aspects of the monastic history of Yorkshire: the monasteries and their lay patrons; their relations with members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy; their involvement in the parochial life of the diocese; their economic and literary activities. The appendices consider the documentary evidence for monastic building, and some unpublished charters which illustrate various aspects of the monastic history of twelfth-century Yorkshire.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.

- A.S.O.C. Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis.
- B.I. Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York.
- B.L. British Library.
- Cal. Ch. R. Calendar of Charter Rolls.
- Cart. Brid. Abstracts of Charters and Other Documents contained
in the Cartulary of Bridlington, ed. W.T.
Lancaster. Leeds, 1912.
- Cart.Foun. An Abstract of Charters and Other Documents
contained in the Cartulary of Fountains, ed. W.T.
Lancaster, Leeds, 1915.
- Cart.Guis. The Cartulary of Guisborough, ed. W.Brown.
Surt. Soc. 86, 89 (1889-94).
- Cart.Monk Bretton. Abstracts of the Chartularies of Monk Bretton,
ed. J.W.Walker, Y.A.S.R.S. 66 (1924).
- Cart.Pont. The Chartulary of St.John of Pontefract, ed.
R.Holmes. Y.A.S.R.S. 25,30 (1899-1902).
- Cart.Riev. The Chartulary of Rievaulx, ed. J.C.Atkinson.
Surt. Soc. 83 (1889).
- Cart.Sallay. The Cartulary of Sallay in Craven, ed. J.McNulty.
Y.A.S.R.S. 87, 90 (1933-34).
- Cart.Whitby. The Cartulary of Whitby, ed. J.C.Atkinson,
Surt. Soc. 69,72 (1879-81).
- Chron. Melsa. Chronica Monasterii de Melsa, ed. E.A.Bond. R.S.
43 (1866-8).
- Domesday Book. Domesday Book, ed. A.Farley. Record Commission,
London, 1783-1816.
- E.H.R. English Historical Review.
- E.P.N.S. English Place Name Society.
- E.Y.C. Early Yorkshire Charters, ed. W.Farrer and C.T.
Clay. Y.A.S.R.S. (extra series) (1914-65).

- Fundacio...de Kyrkestall. 'The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey', ed. E.K. Clark. Thoresby Soc. 4 (1895), pp.169-209.
- H.C.Y. Historians of the Church of York, ed. J.Raine. R.S. 71 (1879-94).
- H.M.C. Historical Manuscripts Commission.
- Howden. Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hoveden, ed. T.Stubbs. R.S. 51 (1868-71).
- J.E.H. Journal of Ecclesiastical History.
- John of Hexham. John of Hexham, Historia Regum, in vol.2 of Symeon of Durham Opera Omnia, ed. T.Arnold. R.S. 75 (1882-85).
- Kirkstall Coucher. The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall, ed. W.T.Lancaster and W.P.Baildon. Thoresby Soc. 18 (1904).
- Mem. Ftms. Memorials of the Abbey of Fountains, ed. J.R. Walbran. vol.1. Surt. Soc. 42 (1863).
- Mon. Ang. Monasticon Anglicanum, ed. W.Dugdale. Rev. edn. J.Caley, H.Ellis, B.Bandinel. London, 1817-30.
- Mowbray Charters. Charters of the Honour of Mowbray, 1107-1191. ed. D.E.Greenway. British Academy Records of Social and Economic History, ns 1 (1972).
- Newburgh. William of Newburgh, Historia Rerum Anglicarum, in vols. 1-2 of Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, ed. R.Howlett. R.S.82 (1884-89).
- P.R. Pipe Rolls.
- P.U.E. Papsturkunden in England, ed. W.Holtzmann. Berlin, 1932-52.
- Pat. Lat. Patrologia Latina, ed. J.Migne. Paris, 1844-55.
- R.S. Rolls Series.
- R.S.B. The Rule of St.Benedict, ed. J.McCann. London, 1952.

- Reg. Giffard. The Register of Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, ed. W.Brown. Surt. Soc. 109 (1904).
- Reg. Gray. The Register of Walter Gray, Archbishop of York, ed. J.Raine. Surt. Soc. 56 (1872).
- Reg. Greenfield. The Register of William Greenfield, Archbishop of York, ed. W.Brown and A.Hamilton Thompson, Surt. Soc. 145,149,151-53 (1931-40).
- Reg. le Romeyn. The Register of John le Romeyn, Archbishop of York, ed. W.Brown. Surt.Soc.123,128 (1913-17).
- Reg. Wickwane. The Register of William Wickwane, Archbishop of York, ed. W.Brown. Surt. Soc.114 (1907).
- Regesta. Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154, ed. H.W.C.Davis (vol.1), C.Johnson and H.A.Cronne (2), H.A.Cronne and R.H.C.Davis (3-4). Oxford,1913-69.
- Relatio de Standardo. Ailred of Rievaulx, Relatio de Standardo , in vol. 3 of Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, ed. R.Howlett, R.S. 82 (1884-9).
- Richard of Hexham. Richard of Hexham, Historia de gestis regis Stephani, in vol.3. of Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen etc. (above).
- Selby Coucher. The Coucher Book of Selby Abbey, ed. J.T.Fowler, Y.A.S.R.S. 10,13 (1891-93).
- Surt. Soc. Surtees Society.
- T.C.W.A.A.S. Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society,
- T.R.H.S. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
- Taxatio Papae Nicholae. Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate Papae Nicholai IV. ed. T.Astle, S. Ayscough, J.Caley, Record Commission, 1802.
- V.C.H. Victoria County History.
- Valor Ecclesiasticus. Valor Ecclesiasticus, ed. J.Caley, and J.Hunter.

Record Commission, 1810-34, vol.5. (cited
without vol. number).

Vita Ailredi.

Walter Daniel, The Life of Ailred of Rievaulx,
ed. F.M.Powicke. London, 1950.

Y.A.J.

Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,

Y.A.S.R.S.

Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series.

INTRODUCTION

The history of monasticism has always held a particular fascination for historians; indeed recent years have seen that fascination increasing rather than the reverse. The recent voluminous literature on the subject has been concerned not only with the various religious orders and individual monastic houses but also with such more specialized topics as the economic activities of the monks, lay patronage and monastic literature and learning. The present thesis takes a different approach in that it examines the rise and development of monastic life as a whole in a particular geographical area, Yorkshire.

Yorkshire has been selected for two reasons. Firstly, as the largest English shire, it was a region in which there could be found in the twelfth century, representatives of all the major religious orders with the exception of the Carthusian (an order which enjoyed a late flowering in England as a whole). Secondly, in the Yorkshire of 1066 there was, as far as is known, a complete absence of monastic houses. Some form of regular or quasi-regular life may have existed in the Saxon minsters of the north, but no organized monastic life such as persisted in the south of England. The foundation, in the century and a half which followed the Norman Conquest, of over fifty religious houses, makes Yorkshire one of the most remarkable areas of monastic expansion in twelfth-century Christendom.

The opening date for this survey, c1069 (the date of the foundation of Selby) needs no explanation. The closing date, 1200, was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly it did indeed mark the end of the 'monastic expansion'; after the close of the twelfth century very few houses came into existence in the county. Although, on the whole, the expansion period of the monasteries, as opposed to nunneries, was over by c1150, it seemed appropriate to set the closing date for this survey at the end of the

twelfth century in order to allow sufficient scope to examine the development of the various houses which came into existence in the middle of that century. Finally, after c.1200, the source material for the study of the Yorkshire monasteries undergoes a change with the addition of archbishops' registers (beginning at York in 1225) and of more detailed and varied governmental and economic records.

It is obvious that a work of this nature must rely heavily on past literature of monasticism. To Professor David Knowles' pioneering and detailed survey of monastic life in England between the times of St Dunstan and the Fourth Lateran Council, The Monastic Order in England 943-1216 (2nd edition, Cambridge, 1963), any student of English monasticism obviously owes a great debt. Studies such as J.C. Dickinson's The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England (London, 1950) and H.M. Colvin's The White Canons in England (Oxford, 1951) have done much to elucidate the history of individual orders in this country. The researches of scholars like Alexander Hamilton Thompson and L.G.D. Baker have explored the problems connected with the foundation and development of individual monasteries within Yorkshire.

The sources for this survey comprise mostly material drawn from charters. This has meant a material bias in the thesis which is inevitable in work on the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In a survey of this scope the sources are obviously many and varied, and I have therefore deferred detailed discussion of their technical problems until the relevant sections of the text. In the area of source material the Yorkshire historian is fortunate to have at his disposal the monumental collection compiled by Farrer and Clay, Early Yorkshire Charters (12 vols. Y.A.S.R.S. Extra Series, 1914-65). In addition C.T. Clay's elucidation of problems connected with the genealogy of the Yorkshire baronage which has appeared, not only in Early Yorkshire Charters and in volumes of the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, but also more recently in his Early Yorkshire Families (Y.A.S.R.S. 135, 1973) has proved invaluable. Several cartularies of Yorkshire

religious houses have attracted the attention of local antiquaries and editions of several have appeared over the last century, not infrequently in the volumes of the Surtees Society publications and the Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series. Needless to say editions vary a great deal in the accuracy of transcription and standard of edition: an attempt has accordingly been made to check and consult the original manuscripts. In cases where abstracts of charters only have appeared in print the original Latin of the manuscript has been examined and the relevant sections quoted.

The plan of this thesis is probably self-explanatory. Despite detailed treatment of a few individual Yorkshire houses in past works, it was nevertheless decided to include a brief survey of all monasteries order by order within the county before turning to problems of more general application. Chapters 1-5 deal with the Benedictines, Cluniacs and Alien Priories, the Canons Regular and the Cistercian houses (to which two chapters are devoted) on the lines suggested by Colvin's White Canons. The volume of material seemed to demand, for clarification, that individual houses should be treated separately, rather than the orders discussed as a whole. The latter approach has been taken, however, in chapters 6-7, which deal with the nunneries, and the military orders, since the sources are very scanty and provide little information on certain houses.

The last five chapters have drawn upon a variety of sources to discuss various aspects of monastic life in Yorkshire. Chapter 8 considers the relations between the monasteries and their lay patrons. Chapters 9-10 take up the involvement of the monasteries with members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy and the parochial life of the diocese of York. The final chapters deal with the economic and literary activities of the monks. The subject of monastic building I have left for the appendix for two reasons. Firstly, a vast amount of literature has been produced on the subject of monastic architecture; secondly this aspect of the thesis has been limited to a consideration of the documentary evidence for the building

programme in Yorkshire, rather than the architectural features of those buildings, themselves now a matter for increasingly technical study. As such, the discussion of this topic has been confined to a fairly brief summary. Appendices II and III are editions of unpublished charters from the Byland Abbey cartulary, which themselves illustrate the powerful influence of the religious houses of twelfth-century Yorkshire. During the course of researching this thesis, this influence has proved to be a real and vital factor in both the material and spiritual development of the county.

CHAPTER ONE: THE BENEDICTINE HOUSES.

The foundation of Selby Abbey in 1069 marked the reintroduction of regular life into the North of England after a long absence apparently caused, among other factors, by the Viking raids on the Northumbrian monasteries in the late eighth and ninth centuries.¹ This chapter will examine the circumstances of the foundation and the development of the three independent Benedictine houses founded in Yorkshire in the reigns of William I and William II: Selby, Whitby and St Mary's, York. These three were the only autonomous Benedictine houses founded in medieval Yorkshire, indeed three of only five such houses in the North of England. Though small in number these Yorkshire houses were among the largest and most influential monasteries in the county.

Two of these houses, Selby and Whitby share at least one aspect in common, the eremitical nature of their foundations. The foundation of Selby was the outcome of the wanderings of a French monk; Whitby was the product of a deliberate attempt to recreate as hermitages, the centres of Northumbrian monasticism, well-known to the monastic pioneers from the pages of Bede. The foundation of the urban monastery of St Mary's (an offshoot of Whitby) therefore marked a change in the nature of these early monastic foundations. In two cases the initiative for the foundation came, not from a lay patron, but from the monks themselves. Despite this fact the effect of the establishment of these religious houses on the nobility of the region was immediate. All three houses received generous and extensive benefactions; all three received considerable prestige from their contact with the king.

1. It is possible that some form of regular life survived, undocumented, in the North after the Viking invasions. There may, for instance, have been a pre-Conquest religious house served by canons at Holy Trinity (previously Christ Church), York; see below, pp. 47-49. On the fate of the Northumbrian monasteries, and the colleges of secular canons between the Danish invasions and the Norman Conquest, see A. Hamilton Thompson, 'Northumbrian Monasticism', in Bede, His Life, Times and Writings, ed. A. Hamilton Thompson (Oxford, 1935), pp. 60-101.

Following his conquest of England William I had been at pains to draw the existing monasteries in the south under the same kind of control he had exercised over the religious houses of the duchy of Normandy. Common sense dictated that he should take steps to ensure the loyalty of institutions which controlled so considerable an amount of land and wealth; using the royal right to appoint to vacant abbeys William introduced Norman monks and abbots into the upper ranks of English houses.¹ Monastic estates were held directly of the king, abbots being treated in the same way as members of the lay baronage. Clearly the North of England presented a different problem for the Normans than the South. In the North there were no religious houses to bring into line or to revitalize. William did, however, begin to take an interest in the religious life of the North. He helped to foster the young community of Selby; he and his son, William II, offered protection to the monks of Whitby and fostered the development of St Mary's, York.

The immediate rise to importance of the Yorkshire Benedictines may have been in part due to this royal interest. Their supremacy and popularity continued until c.1130 when the combined forces of the new orders, and particularly the Cistercians drew benefactions from the older houses. Nevertheless the Benedictines had had time to consolidate their land holdings, and all three enjoyed considerable prosperity. St Mary's was the richest house in the county by the sixteenth century; Selby and Whitby less wealthy but nevertheless of considerable importance.

1. The appointment of loyal abbots was particularly important since many of the monasteries were Anglo-Saxon in sympathy; some abbots, notably Ealdred of Abingdon, Thurstan of Ely and Fritheric of St Albans, actually became involved in uprisings against William I: M.D. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (2nd ed. Cambridge, 1963), pp.103-106.

Selby Abbey

In common with the other Yorkshire Benedictine abbeys Selby was founded near an existing settlement.¹ Much of the nave of the abbey church, now the seat of the diocese of Selby, dates from the time of Hugh, second abbot of the house (1097-1122/23). Fortunately the early history of this, the first house to be founded north of the Trent after the Conquest, is comparatively well-documented. In the 'Historia Selebiensis Monasterii' we have a detailed account of the internal development of the abbey up to 1174, while much information concerning the growth of monastic estates is preserved in the cartulary of the house.²

The 'Historia Selebiensis Monasterii', written by a monk of Selby, was completed in 1174.³ The single surviving manuscript of the 'Historia', preserved in Paris, is not the original text; it has been shown to be of a late twelfth-century date, and non-English in provenance. It may well have been copied in France, more specifically at the abbey of St Germain d'Auxerre, where Benedict, founder of Selby is said to have been a monk.⁴ The 'Historia', like the thirteenth-century 'Narratio de Fundatione' of Fountains Abbey, is a long piece of work compared to analogous histories of monastic foundations. Its author writes in good Latin and in a sophisticated style. His work is

-
1. See below, p. 6 n.2.
 2. For a description of the cartulary, see below, p. 4.
 3. In the preface to the 'Historia' the author states that he completed the work in 1184 (MCLXXXIV). This is probably a scribal error for 1174, the fourteenth year of the abbacy of Gilbert de Vere, the date given at the conclusion of the text.
 4. P. Janin, 'Note sur le manuscrit Latin 10940 de la Bibliotheque Nationale de Paris, contenant l'Historia Selebiensis Monasterii' et les 'Gesta Abbatum Sancti Germani Autissiodorensis', Bibliotheque de L'Ecole des Chartes, 127, (1969), pp.216-24. There is apparently a new edition of the 'Historia' in progress: see C. Hohl, 'Une fille de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre?', Bulletin des Soc. Sciences Yonne, 106 (1974) p.38 n.1. The argument that the scribe was not English rests on his obvious unfamiliarity with English words such as 'infangantheof'. The text of the 'Historia' was edited by J.T. Fowler from a transcript made by the Jesuit historian Philippe Labbe in 1657 (the original manuscript was then lost until its recent rediscovery), and published in Selby Coucher, I, pp. (1)-(54).

liberally scattered with quotations from and allusions to the Bible and classical works, and contains Latin verses composed by the author in honour of certain abbots.¹

The 'Historia' contains a good deal of hagiographical material, and the author is careful to include edifying tales of the intervention of St Germanus in human affairs.² This naturally renders the acceptance of the 'Historia' at face value, impossible, but leaving aside such legendary material one is left with a convincing narrative of the origins of Selby. The story told of Benedict's adventures explains, for instance, the dedication of a post-Conquest church in the North of England, to St Germanus;³ it is, in many places, corroborated by independent historical evidence and it makes no extravagant claims.⁴ Moreover if the attribution of the manuscript of the 'Historia' to Auxerre is correct, then the author's account of Benedict's connection with, and flight from, the French house, is likely to be authentic, since such a tradition would surely have been preserved at Auxerre. However much the history of Benedict's adventures may have been furnished with incidental material, the account clearly preserves contemporary knowledge, indicated by references to eleventh-century personalities such as Edward of Salisbury.⁵

Much less dramatic than the 'Historia' but essential for a comprehensive study of the abbey is its cartulary, a thirteenth or fourteenth-century compilation.⁶ It is a large volume, written in one major and several secondary hands. A contemporary table of contents occupies the first six folios; the charters of the abbey occupy folios 8-222v (new foliation). The text is decorated with red and blue capital letters.

1. On the style of the 'Historia' see below, pp. 463, 465, 467.

2. Citing as his authority for so doing the opinions of Gregory the Great on the subject of miracles: Selby Coucher pp.(34)-(35).

3. R.B. Dobson, 'The First Norman Abbey in Northern England', Ampleforth Journal, 74 (1969) pp.161-176, especially 167.

4. For instance, although Selby was the first post-Conquest foundation, the author mistakenly attributes this honour to Durham: Selby Coucher p.(14).

5. See below, pp. 5-6.

6. B.L. Additional MS 37771; printed in Selby Coucher.

The cartulary proper begins with a collection of royal charters and thereafter the material is arranged topographically. There are over seven hundred charters relating to the estates of Selby, many of which are unfortunately hard to date, since individual donors and witnesses cannot be easily identified. In the fifteenth century an index of places, a few copies of papal bulls and several episcopal charters were added to the text.

Selby Abbey was an irregular offshoot of the great Benedictine abbey of St Germain d'Auxerre, which was situated about one hundred miles south-east of Paris. The 'Historia' records how Benedict entered the house about the time the Conqueror invaded England, and how, by reason of his virtues he rose to the office of sub-sacrist with special responsibility for guarding the abbey's relics. Some time later he was reputed to have been visited, in a vision, by St Germanus:

Egretere, inquit, de terra tua, et de cognatione tua et de hac domo patris tui, et veni in terram quam monstravero tibi. Est locus in Anglia, vocaturque Selebia, meo provisus honori, meae laudis praedestinatus obsequijs, mei nominis tituli celebris futurus et gloria:

Benedict ignored both this and a second command: but Germanus appeared a third time threatening him with dire consequences if he continued to disobey him. Benedict accordingly asked permission of his superiors to leave his abbey. Not unnaturally this was refused, and Benedict fled from the abbey at dead of night, carrying with him the precious relic, the finger of Germanus, as the saint had ordered. With his fellow monks allegedly hot on his heels, Benedict reached the channel and took ship for England.

When he reached England, having misheard or misunderstood the command of Germanus, Benedict began to inquire for Salisbury. Here he was befriended by a local magnate, Edward, possibly to be identified with the

1. Selby Coucher, pp. (6)-(7). Benedict is here compared to Abraham: Genesis, chapter 12.

sheriff of Wiltshire of that name, who gave many gifts to Benedict including a gold phylactery which was said to be at Selby in 1174.¹ Soon however, Benedict became anxious; Germanus had told him that the place ordained for his abbey was in the vicinity of York and the river Ouse, but try as he might Benedict could find neither. A further vision advised him of his mistake, and once more he set out, taking with him Theobald, a clerk, to act as his interpreter. He set sail for York from 'Lyna' and as his ship proceeded up the Yorkshire Ouse Benedict recognised the place ordained for his abbey, a place which the natives called 'Strihac'.²

The author of the 'Historia' describes with conventional enthusiasm the amenities of the site; there were woods for timber, fish in the rivers, stones for building. 'Quid plura?' he asks. Benedict constructed a small oratory, and a dwelling, and soon began to attract attention. Most important was the notice taken of the settlement by Hugh fitz Baldric, sheriff of Yorkshire.³ It was Hugh

1. Edward of Salisbury appears as a witness to several charters of Henry I: Regesta II nos. 1012, 1183, 1222, 1246, 1255, 1284, 1648. An individual of the same name has been identified as sheriff of Wiltshire: H.E. Salter, 'A dated charter of Henry I, 1105', E.H.R. 26 (1911), pp.487-91. However, it is unlikely that all the individuals of this common name of Edward are identical with the man who befriended Benedict in 1069, since one of the charters which he witnessed is dated as late as 1130.
2. Selby Coucher pp.(10)-(12). On the identification of 'Lyna' with King's Lynn, or less probably, Lyme Regis, see R.B. Dobson, 'The First Norman Abbey', p.165, n.13. Selby was an existing settlement at the time of the Conquest: W.H. Stevenson, 'Yorkshire Surveys and other eleventh-century documents in the York Gospels', E.H.R. 27 (1912), pp.1-25, especially 15, notes 'ufer Seleby eal'. The 'Historia' gives 1069 as the date of Benedict's landing; A twelfth-century set of annals from Selby (B.L.Additional MS 36652) gives 1070 (fo.5.).
3. This meeting possible took place in 1069, although the chronology of the 'Historia' is rather vague.

who advised Benedict to seek out William I, on whose land he had settled, and who conducted Benedict to the king, perhaps during one of his visits to York. William, in addition to confirming the site of the hermitage, gave to Benedict the vill of Selby, the vill of Radcliffe, land in Snaith and Brayton, the wood of Flaxley and the fishery of Whitgift. At a later date Benedict travelled to London to obtain a royal charter confirming these and other lands.¹

Benedict had thus received royal assent for his foundation; and his benediction as abbot by Thomas I, archbishop of York, followed shortly afterwards.² New buildings were begun and 'infra breue tempus conuentum sibi fratrum congregauit.'³ Many gifts of land were received by the new foundation. The vill of Selby was held before the Conquest by the king and archbishop of York. Archbishop Thomas followed William I in donating the vills of Lesser Selby and Monk Fryston to the monks, at the same time confirming them in possession of land in Hillam.⁴ Erneis de Burun, who had succeeded Hugh fitz Baldric as sheriff of Yorkshire, gave one hundred marks to the abbey when his son was healed of an illness, reputedly by means of the relic of Germanus.⁵ Geoffrey de la Wirche gave land in Crowle (Isle of Axholme), Guy de Rannelcurt the manor of Stamford (Lincolnshire) and Ilbert de Lacy I, the manor of Hambleton.⁶

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1. Selby Coucher, pp. (15) and (19). William's charter is copied ibid I, no.1
 2. ibid. p. (17)
 3. ibid. p. (16). There follow after this two chapters devoted to miracles performed by Germanus.
 4. E.Y.C. I no. 42.
 5. Selby Coucher, p. (17).
 6. No charter of Geoffrey de la Wirche survives; his gift (or rather sale) of Crowle was confirmed by Nigel d'Aubigny (Mowbray Charters no.1). Both his gift, and that of Guy are mentioned in Selby Coucher pp.(17)-(18), and were held by the Abbot of Selby in 1086 (Domesday Book, I fo.369v.) Hambleton was confirmed by Robert de Lacy in the period 1094-1115: E.Y.C. III no. 1484. It was confirmed at later dates; see E.Y.C. III nos. 1423, 1506.

The well-being of the abbey was soon shattered by a scandal which spread to the ears of the king, William II, and resulted in serious demoralization within the abbey. Benedict earned the hatred of his monks by his cruel punishment of two monks who had stolen money from the church treasury.¹ He was denounced as a tyrant, and William ordered his arrest, sending the abbot of the newly-founded abbey of St Mary's, York, to perform the task. Abbot Stephen failed to arrest Benedict, but the hostility of his monks forced his resignation. Benedict ended his days as a hermit, according to tradition at Rochester, but was buried in the chapter house of Selby. He had ruled the house for twenty-seven years, from 1069-1096.

The origins of Selby are based on an account which combines the credible with the supernatural. It was stated earlier that, if we left aside the latter features, the 'Historia' presented a 'convincing narrative' of the foundation of Selby. Even so many features of the account are still puzzling. Among the foremost of these problems is the reason for the choice of Selby as a site for a monastery, indeed the reason for Benedict's journey to England. The foundation of Selby did not apparently take place under the auspices of any king, prelate or noble. Benedict may have been tempted to journey to England by the example of a number of French monks who were doing just that at the invitation of William I.² This does still not explain his choice of Selby, and it is tempting to assume that it was accidental; that Benedict had heard, in the course of his sojourn at Salisbury, that Yorkshire was as yet untouched by monasticism, and considered it a suitable place for his venture. Approaching the county by sea, and then by river, he would accordingly come across Selby by chance.³

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1. Selby Coucher p.(20) '... Tantum iracundiae, tantum furoris ex eorum iniquitate concepit, ut discretionis et aequitatis moderamine derelicto. .'
 2. C.Hohl, 'une fille de St Germain d'Auxerre?', Bulletin des Soc. Sciences Yonne, 106 (1947) p.36. See also Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.106-119, and D. Matthew, Norman Monasteries and their English possessions, (Oxford 1962), pp.27-44, for discussions of the 'Norman Plantation' in England.
 3. As Professor Dobson has indicated, if Benedict was seeking a deserted site, his 'isolation when he landed at Selby can .. only have been relative'. 'The First Norman Abbey', p.171.

What, however, was the nature of Benedict's venture? Like many monastic pioneers he remains an enigmatic figure. Was he aiming to establish a hermitage (as his first foundation at Selby appears to have been), or did he intend to found an autonomous Benedictine abbey, the end-product of his expedition? There may well have been a confusion between Benedict's aims and his actual achievements, and an analogy is presented by the founders of the Benedictine abbeys of Jarrow and Whitby. The pioneers of the 'Northern Revival' had first intended to establish hermitages, not abbeys, but the enthusiastic reception of their ideas led to the foundation of the latter.¹ If one were to search for a continental analogy to Benedict, the case of Bernard of Tiron would perhaps prove a suitable choice.² Bernard had a 'troubled and varied career', at times a hermit, at others an abbot of a Benedictine house. He twice retired from the latter post, and then founded the house, and eventually the order, of Tiron. As Dr. Brooke has recently written 'in some ways his chequered career is symptomatic of the efforts of a man searching to include in his life a combination of religious endeavours and experience which though they could be found separately were not at that time catered for in combination in existing institutions'.³

This may have been the case with Benedict, but by the time of his death the intervention of William I and Archbishop Thomas had determined the way in which the foundation was to develop. There have been several legends attached to William's 'foundation' of Selby;⁴ the most convincing argument is to postulate a political motive. The recent rebellions in the North of England must have been fresh in William's mind when he encountered Benedict and his small band, and the creation of a religious house in the area, dependent on royal favour and faithful to the king would be of undisputed political benefit.⁵

1. On Whitby see below pp. 22-23.

2. For Bernard's career, see Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.200-202.

3. R.B. Brooke, The Coming of the Friars (London, 1975) p.56.

4. One tradition, recorded by Matthew Paris, Historia Anglorum (R.S.1866-9), I, pp.30-34, is that Selby was founded in expiation of the killing of his kinsman by William; the second suggested that William's son, later Henry I, was born at Selby. These traditions cannot be traced back beyond the fourteenth and sixteenth century respectively: see R.B. Dobson, 'The First Norman Abbey' p.172.

5. Compare this with Henry I's refoundation of Nostell, see below pp. 87-92.

Yet William must not take all the credit for the foundation of Selby. as the initiative of the sheriff of Yorkshire, Hugh fitz Baldric, was evidently equally important.

The favour shown to Benedict by William I was not continued by his son, William Rufus. We have seen how Benedict himself was condemned by William, who was not notably sympathetic to the monastic cause.¹ In 1093 he granted Selby abbey to the archbishop of York to hold, 'sicut archiepiscopus Cantuariensis habet episcopatum Rofensem'.² This gift was evidently intended as a bribe, to persuade the archbishop to relinquish his claims to jurisdiction over the diocese of Lincoln.³ The grant of Selby to the archbishop is a rather obscure episode in the history of the abbey, but it seems to have given the archbishop, in theory at least, the rights of patronage over the abbey, including the prerogative of nominating the abbot. The episode illustrates well the power which the king might expect to wield over what was regarded as a royal foundation.⁴

Tradition has linked the second abbot of Selby, Hugh, to a family whose history in the eleventh and twelfth century demonstrates the importance of royal favour, the Lacy family, holders of the important Honour of Pontefract. Hugh's connection with the family cannot however be traced back to a medieval source.⁵ At the time of his election in 1097, which he obtained 'congregationis electione, Regis favore, Archiepiscopi Giraldi approbatione' Hugh was prior of Selby.⁶ He is greatly praised by the author of the 'Historia' as a man of piety, a god-fearing and humble abbot. The description is not just one of conventional admiration, for the author is not at pains to excuse abbots whom he feels unworthy of their charge. Under Abbot Hugh the monastery of Selby

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1. See Knowles, Monastic Order, p.144, and below p.36. for William's attitude to St Mary's Abbey, York.
 2. Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, 1, Lincoln Record Society, 27 (1931), pp.11-12.
 3. Hugh the Chantor, History of the Church of York, ed. C. Johnson (London, 1961) p.9; see also R.B. Dobson, 'The First Norman Abbey' p.174.
 4. See below p17 for a further discussion of this incident.
 5. C. Hohl, 'Une fille de Saint-Germain d'Auxerre', p.37, accepts the traditional identification. For the opposite view see W.E. Wightman, The Lacy Family in England and Normandy (Oxford, 1966) p.58.
 6. Selby Coucher pp.(22)-(23). Gerard is an error for Thomas(I) who died in 1100.

prospered:

Vigebat probitas, bonitas enitebat, valor et virtus conregnabant honorabantur serui Dei, religio devote colebatur, et vt hanc exaltarent certatim sua studia singuli conferebant. Tantum denique se quisque lucratum fuisse gaudebat, quantum pro Dei amore Dei seruis beneficii contulisset.¹

Hugh undertook the rebuilding of the abbey, moving the site further away from the waters of the Ouse. It is recorded that Hugh himself joined the workmen in the construction of the buildings, queuing up alongside them to collect his wages. Much of the nave and transepts of the church he built still stands.² His own personality seems to have enhanced the reputation of Selby. In addition to promoting a high standard of observance he extended its material possessions, acquiring land in Amcotes (Axholme) with a fishery in Crasgarth, Acaster Selby, Burton Hall and Thorpe Willoughby, Duffield, Gunby and Lund.³ Finally, from a confirmation charter issued in favour of Selby by Archbishop Thomas II we learn that by 1109 the monks were in possession of lands in Monk Fryston, Haystead, Hillam, Clementhorpe, Stalinburgh, Snaith, Thorpe and Wistow.⁴

This age of territorial expansion came to an end with the resignation of Hugh. In 1122, after twenty-six years of high office Hugh felt that he was unable to continue as abbot. With the reluctant permission of Archbishop Thurstan he resigned. The author of the 'Historia' leaves us in no doubt that his decision was a great blow both to his monks and to the ecclesiastical dignitaries of the north of England. In the remaining two years of his life Hugh visited many shrines in England, including St Albans. On his death

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1. ibid. p.(22)
 2. Hugh's activities are cited by L.F. Salzman, Building in England down to 1540 (Oxford, 1952), p.3. In the period 1100-1108 Henry I had expressly forbidden the monks to move the site of their house, and this probably indicates that a total abandonment of the site in favour of more congenial surroundings - a not uncommon occurrence - was being contemplated at this time E.Y.C. I.no.471.
 3. Given respectively by Nigel d'Aubigny, Osbert sheriff of Yorkshire, Gamel Barrett and Gilbert Tison: Mowbray Charters, nos. 2,3,9; E.Y.C.I.no. 462; III no.1622; XII no.15.
 4. Given respectively by Thomas himself, Robert de Belleme Nigel provost, Thurstan de Lumley and his son Geoffrey, Archbishop Gerard, 'Clamarhoth' and Robert: E.Y.C.I.nos.42-3 and 45-6.

in 1124 he was interred alongside Benedict in the chapter house of Selby.¹

Hugh's successor was short-lived, and like both Benedict and Hugh he was destined to resign. Herbert, 'vir valde Monachus, et ordinis obseruatione probatissimus' was a monk of St Alban's at the time of his election, and was apparently known to the king, Henry I. The impression he left to the monks, as portrayed by the author of the 'Historia' is one of a quiet man who loved the contemplative life. So devoted was he to prayer and contemplation that he forsook the responsibilities of administration. He would sit in the cloister studying the bible and reciting psalms, and was reputedly always the first in and the last out of the church when the offices were sung. That this is a fairly accurate description of Herbert may be substantiated by the fact that no record of any grant of land survives which can be assigned to his period of office.² The house fell into financial difficulties:

Et hoc accidit, vt res exteriores certo procuratore carentes non bene coeperint administrari, inculti agri, horrea demolita, mansionum extirpata pecuaria, summam inopiam Monachis pollicebantur imminere, consuliter ille, sed consulentibus se consulere nesciebat, queremoniis huiusmodi frequenter eius corrumpitur Lectio, praepeditur oratio, contemplatio defraudatur, et ad haec accessit afflictionis grauioris incommodum, quia nec apud cum querela solatium, nec necessitas inuenit remedium.³

After scarcely four years Herbert rid himself of his burden of responsibility and resigned his office to John of Cremona, cardinal legate, who visited York in 1125. Herbert returned to St Albans, and his action, unlike that of his predecessor, caused no stir among the Selby monks.

In sharp contrast to Herbert was his successor, Durand, monk of St Mary's York, who was elected abbot in 1125 and ruled until 1135.⁴

1. Selby Coucher p.(25).

2. It is possible that the grant of land in Thorpe Willoughby mentioned above, dates from the time of Herbert rather than Hugh. The date assigned by Farrer (E.Y.C.III.no.1622) is 1110-30. It is important to remember, however, that the portrayal of an abbot as a contemplative who hated the burden of his office, is a very common stereotype.

3. Selby Coucher p.(26). Herbert is compared to Martha, an allusion to the Gospel of St Luke, chapter 10, who is taken to represent the contemplative rather than the active life. This parallel is a common one in monastic writings.

4. The description of Durand is contained in Selby Coucher pp.(27)-(8), where a serious flood is recorded during his abbacy.

'Erat . . . vir in exterioribus valde prudens, sed in interioribus et sibi et aliis longe plusquam oportuit negligentior'. We know little of Durand beyond the fact that his downfall was caused by his association with women. This made him an object of notoriety throughout the province: 'per provinciam laicis fuit scandalum, ordinatis opprobium'. The monks sought the help of Archbishop Thurstan, and Durand was deprived of his office.¹

After his resignation the abbacy of Selby remained vacant for two years, the interregnum apparently being caused by the inability of the monks to agree on a successor. There were many in the house, we are told, who desired the honour.² In 1136 Thurstan received a letter from Pope Innocent II enjoining him to see that a good and suitable pastor be elected at Selby.³ Accordingly under the direction of Thurstan the monks elected Walter, prior of the Cluniac house of Pontefract, to which Thurstan was himself to retire three years later. This abbot, 'moribus et aetate bene maturus, artium liberalium assertione praecipuus' appears to have been yet another individual whose interests lay in contemplation rather than in administration.⁴ Throughout his term of office he left the day to day running of the house to William 'Grandus', a monk of Selby. The only recorded benefaction made to the abbey while Walter was abbot was the land in Kelkefield, given by Hermer.⁵ Walter died in 1143, the first abbot of Selby to do so while still in possession of his office.

As so frequently happened at Selby, his successor proved to be a great contrast. Elias Paynel (1143-52), formerly prior of Holy Trinity, York, was a man of noble origins, possibly the son of Ralph Paynel of Drax, founder

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1. Selby Coucher, p.(28). Durand retired to Cluny, where he was professed as a Cluniac monk. He later reformed his life, and became prior of an English Cluniac house, perhaps Montacute; D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, V. London, Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales, 940-1216 (Cambridge, 1972), p.69.
 2. Selby Coucher, p.(31)
 3. H.C.Y. III p.66.
 4. Again the parallel of Mary and Martha is used to illustrate the difference between the active and contemplative life. Selby Coucher, pp.(31)-(32).
 5. E.Y.C. V no.162 is a confirmation of this gift by Gundreda, daughter of Hermer. ibid. IV no.16 and V no. 163 are confirmations of the same by Earl Alan of Richmond and Archdeacon Osbert de Bayeux, respectively.

of Holy Trinity and a benefactor of Selby. The author of the 'Historia' admits that he was 'omnino pene laicus, excepta psalmodiarum recordatione'. Nevertheless for the times he was a suitable abbot. Much of the narrative devoted to his period of office contains references to the effects of the disturbances which accompanied the reign of King Stephen. These are included by the author primarily to illustrate the efficacy of the relic of St Germanus, but they afford a graphic account of the sufferings of a religious house during civil disturbances. We learn, for instance, that Henry de Lacy constructed an adulterine castle at Selby which was besieged by Earl William; when the castle was captured and the town fired, the inhabitants crowded into the abbey church for refuge.¹

After ruling Selby for nine years Elias became the fourth abbot to resign his office, although for completely different reasons than his predecessors. His removal was apparently due to the intervention of Archbishop Henry Murdac. According to the author of the 'Historia' Murdac's objection lay in the alleged opposition of Elias to his election to the see of York in 1147. Apparently finding 'nihil reprehensionis' in the abbot's character or conduct, Murdac was forced to rely on cunning.² Elias refused to resign as Murdac demanded, but the monks elected one of their number, William, as abbot.³ Murdac annulled the election, and ordered the election of his own candidate, German, formerly a monk of St Albans and at that time prior of Tynemouth. Under threat of anathema the monks elected German, but soon afterwards their efforts, combined with those of the chapter of York Minster and Archdeacon Osbert of Bayeux succeeded in securing the deposition of German and the reinstatement of Elias. Six months later (presumably after the death of Archbishop William, restored to the see of York briefly in 1154) Elias was

1. Selby Coucher pp. (33)-(44).

2. 'artis callidae fretus astutia fraudulenter interceptit improvidum'. p.(44).

3. Perhaps the William 'Grandus' who had achieved prominence under Abbot Walter.

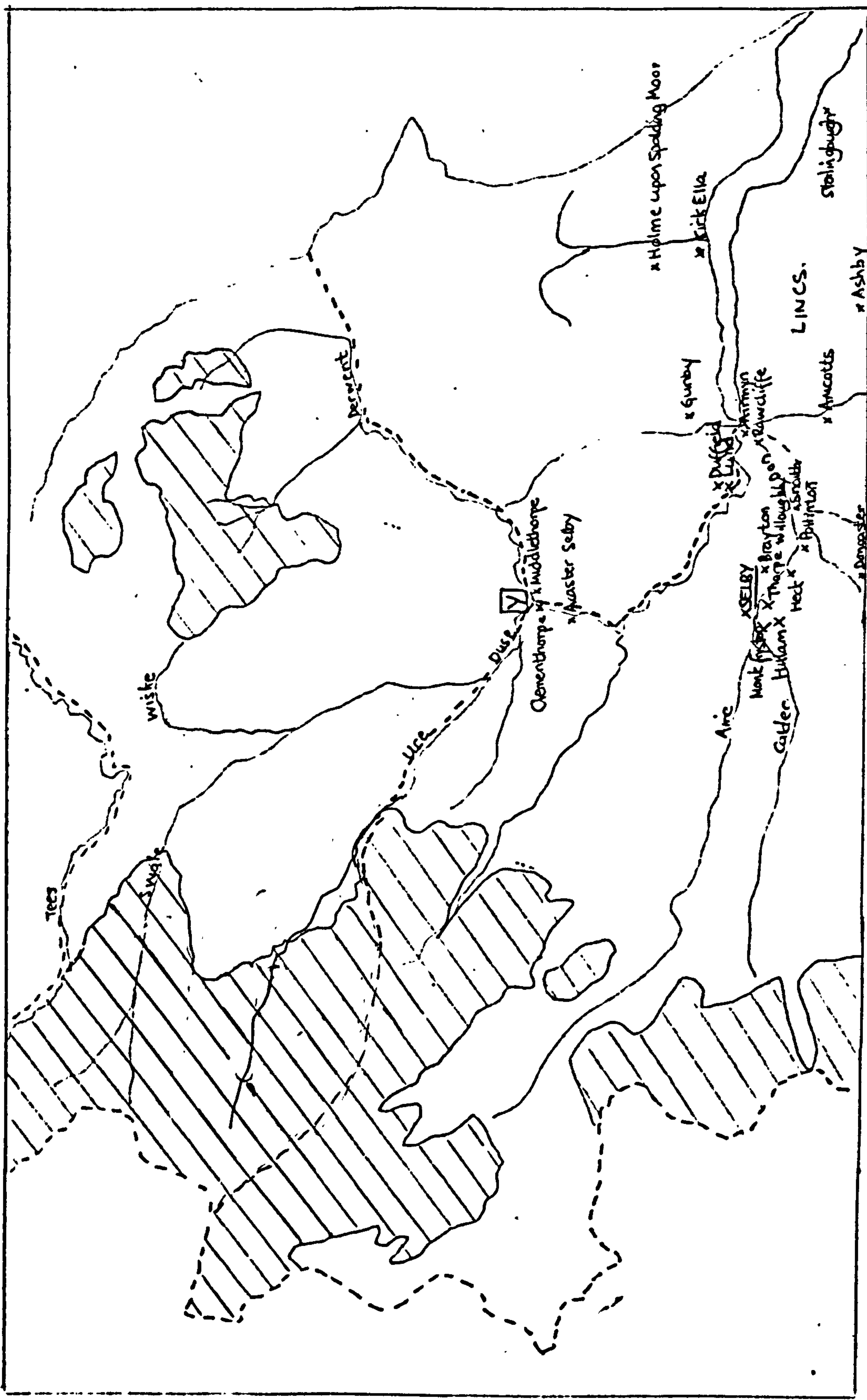
again deposed, this time by Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, and German restored.¹

Such is the account of the affair as presented by the 'Historia'. Doubt is cast on its veracity, however, by a second source, admittedly a later compilation, the 'Gesta Abbatum Sancti Albani'. It calls Elias 'pastor nescius et remissus' and states that German was appointed 'ad reformationem ordinis, qui ibidem deperierat', and adds that after the deposition of German he was sent to Rome to present his case to the Pope, who personally ordered the removal of Elias and the degradation of Osbert, the 'hujus rei incentorem'.² The repeated deposition by Theobald suggests that the St Albans source, rather than the 'Historia' presents a more accurate version of the episode. Murdac was known to be high-handed, but it is unlikely that he would depose an abbot merely on the pretext offered by the 'Historia'. This is one instance where the author, usually judicious in his accounts of various abbots, comes in danger of being accused of prejudice.

'Pastor nescius et remissus' Elias may have been in spiritual matters but he was not lax in extending the territorial possessions of Selby, despite the pressures due to civil unrest. He managed to extend land holdings in Acaster Selby, Brayton and Monk Fryston and perhaps encouraged Roger de Mowbray to grant to the abbey the manor of Middlethorpe in restitution for damage which he had done to the monastery.³ By 1154, when on the occasion of the seige of Drax King Stephen issued a confirmation charter to the monks, they had come into possession of lands in Bramwick and Doncaster, and the churches of Ashby and Redburn.⁴ Land in Holme upon Spalding Moor was granted by Adam Tison, and it is possible that lands in Thorpe Willoughby and the mill of Sitlington were obtained in the period 1143-52.⁵

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1. Theobald degraded Osbert de Bayeux not long afterwards for his part in the disputed election in the see of York. On Osbert's connections with the religious houses of Yorkshire, see below pp. 380-82, 385.
 2. Gesta Abbatum Sancti Albani, (R.S. 1867-69), I p. 120.
 3. Mowbray Charters, nos. 254 and 256; E.Y.C. III, nos. 1543, 1547; Mowbray Charters, no. 255. Mowbray later gave the manor to Byland. See below p. 183.
 4. Selby Coucher, no. 4.
 5. E.Y.C. XII, no. 44; III, nos. 1623, 1721.

Fig.2. The Estates of Selby Abbey c1200.



Yorkshire. Y = York. Scale approx. 15m to 1".

After the dispute of 1152-4 German was received at Selby 'cum honore et reverentia tali viro digna'.¹ Despite the manner of his election the 'Historia' appears favourably disposed towards German, calling him an honourable man, a source of virtue and integrity, an example of perfection to his monks. Little more than details of his character are preserved in the 'Historia', and only a few grants of land can be safely assigned to his period of office. He seems to have enlarged the abbey's estates in Acaster Selby and Thorpe Willoughby; he acquired the vill of Stainton in Craven from Hugh son of Everard, which he immediately farmed out to the Cistercian abbey of Sallay.² A further grant was that of land in Pollinton, which the monks improved by clearing and assarting.³

German's death is recorded as occurring on 23 November 1160.⁴ After this date the character of the 'Historia' changes somewhat. Abbot Gilbert de Vere is only mentioned twice, and the last twelve chapters of the text are concerned only with miracles of St Germanus.⁵ Our detailed knowledge of the internal life of the house and the characters of its abbots comes to an end, and for the history of Selby from 1160-1200 we are dependent on the evidence of charters alone.

Under Gilbert (1160-83) and Roger de London, former prior of Selby (1189-95) there was a modest expansion of estates.⁶ Between 1160 and 1184 Roger de Mowbray gave lands in the Isle of Axholme to the abbey.⁷ Adam, son of Peter de Birkin endowed the monks with lands in Langley, Tranmoor and Brayton, with one villein and his land.⁸ Further acquisitions included

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1. Selby Coucher, p.(45).
 2. Selby Coucher, I, no. 556; E.Y.C. III, no. 1623 and XI, nos. 123-4. The grant to Stainton was no doubt due to the fact that Selby held no other lands in Craven, thus making it uneconomical to exploit.
 3. E.Y.C. I, no. 484.
 4. Selby Coucher pp.(45)-(6), and the Selby Annals, B.L. Additional MS 36, 652 fo.6.
 5. Selby Coucher pp.(50) and (54), where it is merely recorded that the seventh year of Gilbert's abbacy was 1167, and the fourteenth year, 1174, the year in which the 'Historia' was completed.
 6. The years 1183-89 saw a prolonged vacancy in the abbacy.
 7. Mowbray Charters nos. 258-59.
 8. E.Y.C. III, no. 1738. For a further donation in Brayton see no. 1545.

assarts in Holme upon Spalding Moor, the lordship and advowson of Kirk Ella church, an annual rent from land in Brackenhill and the service of a tenant in Heck.¹

The history of Selby in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is of particular fascination. As the first foundation in Yorkshire after a long absence of monasticism Selby must in any case occupy a special place in the history of religious developments in Yorkshire, but there are several features of its history which are of special interest. Firstly the office of abbot and its occupants are exceptionally well-recorded. Nine abbots ruled the house in the period from 1069-1200; of these five are known to have resigned and only one of them voluntarily. Excluding Benedict and Gilbert de Vere (whose monastic career prior to his election as abbot is unknown) only two of the remaining seven abbots were monks of Selby.² It would be rash to conclude that there were no Selby monks worth of high office; we know, for instance, that the monk William 'Grandus' was a capable administrator. For some reason, however, few of Selby's own monks attained the status of abbot.

One possible explanation is the influence of the archbishops of York. As we have seen Selby was granted by the king, William II, to Archbishop Thomas.³ The conveyance of the patronage of the abbey to the see of York enabled the archbishop to intervene in the abbatial election. It was Thurstan who suggested the election of Walter of Pontefract at the end of a two-year vacancy. After deposing Elias Paynel, Henry Murdac nominated his successor. In the first case it could be argued that Thurstan was merely acting as ordinary of the diocese (he had received a papal mandate to see that the position was filled), rather than as patron. On the other hand, in the case of Murdac,

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1. Ibid. XII, nos. 45 and 58; I, p.387. The donors were William Tison and his wife Emma, Hugh de Milford and Henry de l'Isle. In addition to Kirk Ella church Selby gained possession of the churches of Snaith (which later became a cell), Ashby and Redburn. For a general discussion of monastic interests in parish churches see below, pp. 388-416.
 2. Herbert and German were monks of St Albans, Durand a monk of St Mary's, York, Walter prior of Pontefract and Elias prior of Holy Trinity, York.
 3. See above p.10.

his authority in his diocese was apparently weak, and it is much more likely that he was acting as patron, both in his deposition of Elias and his recommendation of German.¹

Apart from these two instances of archiepiscopal intervention in Selby elections there is little evidence of how the royal gift was exploited. It is likely, however, that full rights of patronage were assumed.² If so, this might explain the diversity of origins of the various abbots, since the archbishop would have a wider field of prospective candidates from the religious houses both inside and outside his diocese. The promotion of outsiders would prevent the undue influence of any local faction emerging: Elias Paynel and Gilbert de Vere at least are known to have been of Yorkshire aristocratic families.³

The endowments of Selby were subject to great fluctuations of fortune. It is not surprising that in the period between 1069 and the foundation of St Mary's, York (1088) Selby received many benefactions. Apart from Whitby it was the only religious house in Yorkshire and no doubt enjoyed prestige from its early association with William I. The foundation of two later Benedictine abbeys does not seem to have detracted from Selby's prosperity immediately; the abbacy of Hugh (1096/7-1122) was a period in which many benefactions were received, and saw the apogee of territorial expansion. Between 1122 and 1143 the number of benefactions dropped considerably and indeed almost ceased completely. This was undoubtedly due in part to the increase in the number of religious houses in the county: in the 1120's and 1130's there was an expansion in the number of Augustinian foundations, while 1132 saw the beginning of the Cistercian foundations. The existence of these

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1. German was also recommended by Murdac to be abbot of Whitby in 1148, and one of the alternative candidates offered was Murdac's nephew, also a monk of St Albans. See below p.30.
 2. See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p.631, and the review of the first edition of this by A. Hamilton Thompson, in *E.H.R.* 56 (1941) pp.647-51, especially p.649.
 3. Elias was elected in 1143 when there was no effective archbishop of York. It has been suggested that a similar reason was responsible for the prolonged vacancy from 1183-8.

new houses no doubt had a detrimental effect on the endowments of Selby. In addition the first ten years of the reign of King Stephen were years of disorder, and the confusion in the Selby area may have undermined the wealth of the house. However neither of these arguments are entirely satisfactory. The other established houses of Whitby and St Mary's did, it is true, suffer a decrease in the number of endowments as a result of the monastic expansion, but not nearly as seriously as Selby, itself still the only major house in the area south of York. Furthermore, the disorders of Stephen's reign tended to heighten, rather than decrease the number of benefactions to religious houses.¹ The almost total lack of benefactions under Herbert, Durand and Walter must have been due to other factors. Possibly the lack of a powerful lay patron was a contributory reason. Moreover what we know of these abbots from the 'Historia' makes it unlikely that they actively pursued endowments. Since grants of land to monasteries were not always spontaneous acts of piety, but rather conscious acts of consolidation of existing land holdings, the character of an abbot or prior could have considerable effect on the material fortunes of his house. Under the energetic, if brief, rule of Abbot Elias Paynel benefactions began to recover, but the time of great expansion was long since over, and in the last half of the twelfth century the policy seems to have been one of consolidation, rather than widespread extension of estates.²

Selby enjoyed considerable prestige: from William I the house received the liberties of sac and soc, toll and theam, and infangtheof, and in addition all the liberties enjoyed by the cathedral church of York.³ The abbot of Selby received the pontificalia in 1256 and was in later times occasionally summoned to Parliament. The house was a wealthy one; at the Dissolution (the house was surrendered on 6 December 1539) it was valued at £819 2s. 6d.

1. e.g. Mowbray's grant of Middlethorpe, made in restitution for damage he had done to the house. (see above p.15.).

2. see below pp.417-58, for a discussion of the exploitation of monastic estates.

3. Selby Coucher, no.1.

(£729 12s. 10d. clear)per annum.¹ Despite this fact Selby, in later centuries, was perhaps overshadowed by the more spectacular monastic foundations; in fact 'Selby's later history never quite lived up to the remarkable circumstances of its beginnings'.²

Whitby Abbey

The abbey of Whitby is probably more famous for its pre-Conquest rather than its post-Conquest history. The famous Anglo-Saxon double monastery, with its aristocratic connections, was founded at 'Strenaeshalc' or 'Streoneshalch' in the 650's with Hilda as its abbess. It acquired repute as a house where the standard of observance was high, where several future bishops received their education, and as the scene of the famous synod of 664 which decided the Easter question. Probably destroyed by the Viking invasions of the ninth century there are now no visible remains of the Anglian monastery,³ but Whitby's role in the 'golden age' of Northumbrian monasticism remains enshrined in Bede's Ecclesiastical History.⁴

The evidence for the refoundation and development of post-Conquest Whitby is scattered. Undoubtedly the fullest source is the cartulary of the abbey, of which there are two copies. The first, B.L. Additional MS 4715, is of a mid-thirteenth century date; the second, which is still in private hands, was compiled over a long period from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.⁵ Both cartularies are arranged under sections, royal, papal and episcopal documents, and thereafter topographically.⁶

1. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.14.

2. R.B. Dobson, 'The First Norman Abbey', p.162. On the later history of Selby, see W.W. Morrell, The History and Antiquities of Selby (London, 1867); J.C. Atkinson 'Account Roll of Selby Abbey, 1397-8', YAJ 15 (1900) pp. 408-19.

3. For the results of excavations of the Anglo-Saxon monastery in the 1920s, see C. Peers and C.A. Raleigh Radford, 'The Saxon Monastery of Whitby', Archaeologia, 89, (1943), pp.27-28.

4. Baedae Opera Historica, ed. C. Plummer (Oxford 1896) pp.252-6.

5. See G.R.C. Davis, Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain (London, 1958), pp.118-119.

6. Both cartularies are printed in Cart. Whitby.

For the actual foundation there are five sources: the Memorial of Benefactions, apparently compiled at Whitby c1160, and now preserved in the cartulary; the 'Historia Regum' attributed to Symeon of Durham; the narrative ascribed to Abbot Stephen of St Mary's; a Dodsworth transcript of a manuscript formerly in the possession of the Cholmley family of which the original no longer survives; and finally the evidence of Domesday Book. These sources are so scanty and so often confused and contradictory as to render any explanation of the early history of Whitby speculative, and in the last resort, inconclusive.

Of the sources mentioned undoubtedly the most difficult is the narrative ascribed to Abbot Stephen of St Mary's, an abbey which was founded, in circumstances which are far from clear, from Whitby. The narrative has been the subject of much suspicion, largely because the manuscript from which Dugdale took his transcript is suspect in form (being incorporated into a later work) and of a later date (thirteenth-century) and because it appears to contradict the evidence of other sources.¹ J.C. Atkinson considered its statements 'incredible, perhaps even ... fictions, if not falsehoods', and Professor Knowles was inclined to agree: 'the Memorial is a fairly reliable document, whereas the account ... purporting to be written by Stephen, first abbot of York, is quite untrustworthy.'² W. Farrer was, however, inclined to treat the narrative as more reliable.³

The technical reasons for regarding the narrative as spurious, that is, its inclusion in a later work, and its heading ascribing the authorship to Simon of Warwick, are overcome by the existence of an earlier unpublished manuscript of the narrative, of a twelfth-century date.⁴ The manuscript

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1. The text of the Narrative is printed in Mon.Ang. III, pp.544-46.
 2. Knowles, Monastic Order, p.168, n.5; Heads of Religious Houses, p.77, includes Stephen among the list of priors of Whitby.
 3. E.Y.C. II, pp.198-200.
 4. B.L. Additional MS 38, 816, noted by Davis, Medieval Cartularies, p.127; D. Bethell, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey and the State of St Mary's, York in 1132', J.E.H. 17 (1966), pp.11-27, especially 19.

itself is a miscellaneous collection of twelfth-century material from Hexham, Byland, and St Mary's, the latter occupying fos. 21-34v. The earliest date at which the text of the narrative could have been copied is 1156-57, the date of a charter of Henry II (written in the same hand) which is included in the collection.¹ This manuscript, although it may date from some eighty or ninety years after its composition by Stephen, is not suspect in form; the only objections which can be raised are ones of plausibility, and these, as we shall see, are not insurmountable.²

The refoundation of Whitby was the outcome of the efforts and aspirations of three men. The first, Reinfrid, was reputed to have been a knight of William I, who had visited Whitby and been distressed at the desolate condition of the monastery. Shortly afterwards he entered the monastic life at Evesham.³ The second was Aldwin, prior of Winchcombe, according to Symeon a man well-read in the history of his country.⁴ The third member of the trio was Alfwig, who, like Reinfrid, was a monk of Evesham. Under the guidance of Aldwin the three travelled north with the intention of visiting the lost centres of Northumbrian monasticism, there to dwell as hermits. So enthusiastic was the reception of these men that the 'Northern Revival' blossomed into the establishment of full Benedictine abbeys at Melrose, Durham, Whitby and York.⁵

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1. The St Mary's material comprises: a charter of William II (fos.21-22); charters of Henry I (fos. 22v-24v) and Henry II (fos.24v-28v); conclusion of the Rule of St Benedict (fo.29); the narrative of Stephen (fos.29v-34v); a grant of an anniversary for Abbot Stephen (fo.34v) and Earl Stephen (fo.34v); later anniversaries and a list of abbeys affiliated to St Mary's c.1180 (fos.35-39).
 2. Although textual differences between Dugdale's transcription of the later manuscript and the earlier version are slight (with the obvious and important omission of the later material from the conclusion of the text) I have cited the earlier and less corrupt version of the text. On the foundation of Whitby, see Knowles, Monastic Order, p.168; A.Hamilton Thompson, 'The Monastic Settlement at Hackness', Y.A.J. 27 (1924), pp.388-405; Cart.Whitby, pp.xii-xc; G. Young, A History of Whitby and Streoneshal Abbey, I (Whitby, 1817), pp.238-470.
 3. Cart. Whitby, p.1.
 4. Symeon of Durham, Historia Regum (R.S. 1882-85), II, pp.201-202.
 5. Ibid. p.202: 'Sed praedictis tribus viris intereos habitare incipientibus, incipiebant et ipsi de bestiali vita mores in melius commutare, illis ad restauranda sancta loca opem impendere, ipsi per se semirutas ecclesias restaurare et renovare, vel etiam in quibus antea non erant locis novas aedificare'

The first decisive event of the expedition was the encounter, at Newcastle, with Bishop Walcher of Durham, who gave the monks the site of the monastery of Jarrow. Here the trio attracted both attention and recruits, and possibly as a result Reinfrid left Jarrow and journeyed alone to Whitby. He was received favourably by William de Percy who held Whitby of the king, and who gave Reinfrid the site of the ruined abbey and land in 'Prestebi'. The latter began to restore the abbey where 'monasteria vel oratoria paene quadraginta; tantum parietes et altaria vacua et discooperta remanserant propter destructione exercitus piratum.' He gathered a number of followers, but was killed accidentally a few years later and buried at Hackness.¹ The 'Memorial of Benefactions' records Reinfrid's successors as Serlo de Percy (brother of William) and their nephew William, who became the first abbot of the house in 1109 - a remarkably late date for the elevation of the house to the status of abbey.² Symeon merely records that after the death of Reinfrid some of the monks moved from Whitby to found the abbey of St Mary's, York.

Thus the combined evidence of Symeon and the 'Memorial' give us an outline of the events which led up to the refoundation of Whitby. After 1079, however, the picture becomes more confused and difficult to unravel; we become largely dependent on the narrative of Abbot Stephen. When dealing with the events which led up to the foundation, Stephen does not say anything which is inconsistent with either Symeon or the 'Memorial'.³ After this,

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1. Cart. Whitby, I. pp. 1-2. (from the cartulary still at Whitby). The burial of Reinfrid at Hackness indicates that a cell of Whitby had probably already been established; William de Percy is said to have had a castle at Hackness. For details of his life and career see Dictionary of National Biography, 44 (1895) pp. 439-40.
 2. On the possible significance of this, see below, pp. 27-28.
 3. i.e. he states that when he (Stephen) entered Whitby there were a group of anchorites there, led by Reinfrid, who had previously restored the monastery of Jarrow, and who had retired to Whitby 'solitariam vitam ducendi gratia'. As at Jarrow, so too at Whitby, Reinfrid attracted so many followers that the solitary life became an impossibility. One of Atkinson's reasons for doubting the authenticity of Stephen lay in the assertion that 'the alleged Stephen makes him (i.e. Reinfrid) go there, (Whitby)... simply out of special desire to lead a solitary life, and with no reference to any ulterior monastic project at all'. (Cart. Whitby, p. lii.) However, as Dr Baker has indicated, this was precisely the aim of monastic restorers. (below, p. 26 n. 3.)

however, the first contradiction occurs; it is stated that Stephen, who had entered the house a short while before, was elected abbot on the advice of Reinfrid, with the assent of the whole convent and at the precept of the king and both archbishops.¹ No mention is made of his alleged election either by Symeon or by the 'Memorial'.

Stephen then goes on to describe the hostility which he says he encountered from the founder of the abbey, William de Percy, who 'videns locum nostrum nuper desertum in multis meliorari' tried to revoke the grant of land which he had made. This trouble, combined with piratical attacks on the coast, forced the monks to appeal to the king for aid. They were granted a new site at Lastingham, in ancient times the monastery of St Cedd, where the buildings began to be restored. Not long afterwards Stephen is said to have been blessed as abbot by Archbishop Thomas. The author of the account then states that, as the wrath of William de Percy had not abated, a further appeal to the king resulted in permission to transfer the convent to Lastingham. Soon afterwards Earl Alan of Richmond granted the monks the church of St Olave, York. The community moved again, and not long afterwards the abbey of St Mary's was founded under Abbot Stephen.

The account ascribed to Stephen, if authentic, adds greatly to our knowledge of the development of the abbey in those first crucial years. Can its statements, however, be reconciled with the two preceding accounts? Symeon, it will be remembered, records the foundation under Reinfrid and the fact that it was after his death that the migration to York took place.² His story possibly suffers from omissions due to a lack of intimate knowledge of Whitby affairs. Whitby was not the central theme of his work, nor even of this particular passage. Symeon undoubtedly thought the foundation of

1. B.L. Additional MS 38, 816 fo.30v.

2. This latter point contradicts 'Stephen', since in this account Reinfrid reassumes the leadership of Whitby after the foundation of York.

Whitby worth recording, but possibly as part of the revivalist movement which gave rise to his own house of Durham. The Memorial of Benefactions, on the other hand, was compiled at Whitby itself, although nearly a century after the foundation. The lack of any mention of Stephen, or of the alleged hostility of William de Percy could, however, be explained by the fact that by c1160 Whitby had very close connections with the Percy family, and any account which included adverse reference to its ancestor might well have been suppressed. It should be remembered too that the prime purpose of the compilation was to record the endowments of the house, not to narrate the history of the foundation in full. A concise summary might be thought to fulfill the requirements, and fear of offending a powerful patron might be compelling enough to cause the omission of all mention of Stephen.

There are features of Stephen's narrative which accord with the impression of Reinfrid acquired from the pages of Symeon. Stephen's assertion that Reinfrid left Jarrow in order to live a more solitary life makes his resignation as head of Whitby plausible, even if we are sceptical about his statement that he became abbot after only a few days in the monastery. Further points raised by Stephen appear to receive corroboration from the two remaining sources, the Dodsworth fragment, mentioned briefly above, and the Domesday survey. Unfortunately the authenticity of the first is impossible to establish.¹ As J.C. Atkinson remarks, the fact that the original manuscript is lost and its date unknown makes any evaluation of its reliability impossible. It was evidently a Whitby source, since Reinfrid is called 'prior noster'. This source relates the hardships encountered by the monastery during the reign of William II, but there are two points of special interest for the earlier history of the house.

1. Dodsworth MS 159 fo,115v. Printed in Cart. Whitby, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

Firstly the author speaks of the 'magna tribulatio' of pirate attacks suffered during the time in which Reinfrid was prior.¹ Secondly he relates how a dispute arose between William de Percy, patron of Whitby, and his brother Serlo, prior of the house, when the former wished to grant to Ralph de Everlay certain lands which he had previously given to the monks. The grant was prevented by William II, described as a friend of Serlo. Thus, if this source is authentic, 'Stephen's' narrative receives corroboration on two counts, the pirate attacks and the vindictiveness of William de Percy.

That the former were responsible for the move to Lastingham, i.e. the transfer from a coastal to an inland site, is likely. Nowhere is the date of the transfer recorded, but a date of c1080, as suggested by A. Hamilton Thompson, is the most probable.² Is there a plausible explanation, however, for the further transfer of the convent to York? It is necessary here to depart from the scanty written sources into the realms of conjecture. There is a strong implication in the written sources that the monastic ideals of Reinfrid and Stephen differed considerably. Stephen was an organizer, as his subsequent career at York demonstrates, and his probable ambitions to develop Whitby as a formal monastery, rich in lands, may well have been repugnant to the anchorite Reinfrid.³ If tension grew during the sojourn at Lastingham, this could well have produced the split which resulted in part of the convent going to York with Stephen and the remainder returning to Whitby with Reinfrid. That York, given the opportune grant of Earl Alan, was chosen, is not difficult to explain.

1. Cart. Whitby, pp. xxxviii-xxxix.

2. A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Monastic Settlement at Hackness,' Y.A.J. 27, (1924) pp.388-405.

3. This is the view expressed by D. Baker, 'The Desert in the North', Northern History, 5, (1970) pp. 1-12', especially p.6.

Lastingham was, and still is, a remote site. York, as yet, boasted no monastic foundations, and the possibilities of acquiring benefactions from townsmen and visitors, the advantages of being situated near the centre of the ecclesiastical life of the north of England, were great.

The hostility of the founder of Whitby, as illustrated both by Stephen and the author of the Dodsworth fragment, is more difficult to explain. Is it feasible that the man who, c1078, refounded the abbey, should within a few years oppress the monks and reclaim lands which he had given? Are the statements of his wickedness, moreover, reconcilable with the munificent grants which he made to the convent, as recorded in his charter? Difficult to credit though Stephen's story may be, it is not impossible. It is significant that William's charter was granted in the years 1091-96. It is not known whether the grants contained therein represent the original donation of 1078, or whether additions were made later. It is possible that the charter was issued just before 1096, when William de Percy departed on crusade, a journey from which he was destined never to return. He was not a young man, and knowing the rigours of the expedition he was about to undertake, he might well have envisaged the possibility of not surviving. What should be more likely or usual than that before his departure he should make peace with the monks whom he had oppressed and make reparation in the form of an extended endowment?

Such a hypothetical sequence of events may explain two puzzling features of Whitby's history. Firstly there is the reference in the Domesday survey to the holdings of the Abbot of York in 'Prestebi' and Sowerby (lands which, as we have seen, formed the original endowment of Whitby).¹ Secondly there is the curious fact that, whereas according to Stephen he was blessed as abbot, Serlo de Perci is always called prior of the house, and that it was only in 1109 that William de Percy, nephew of

1. Domesday Book fo. 305.

the founder, assumed the title of abbot.¹ The indications are that there was considerable uncertainty about the constitutional status of the two convents. It is possible that Stephen's hostility to the founder of Whitby came about when the latter tried to take away certain lands from the York monastery (which could argue that it was, in fact, the legitimate abbey of 'Whitby') and return them to the community at Whitby which was by now under the leadership of his brother, Serlo.²

The acceptance of the narrative ascribed to Stephen as authentic is far from being free from difficulty, but the events there portrayed can be accommodated in the broad outline of events supplied by Symeon and the 'Memorial of Benefactions'. If the whole narrative is spurious it is difficult to imagine who might have fabricated it and, even more to the point, why. It makes no claims either to lands or to any form of jurisdiction over Whitby. It is certainly unfavourably disposed towards the Percy family, and here its evidence is corroborated, if only in a vague way, by the Dodsworth fragment, but again the supposed hostility is not beyond the bounds of possibility.

If the Dodsworth fragment is to be trusted, the troubles of Whitby did not end when the community reoccupied Whitby. Further pirate attacks forced the community to withdraw to Hackness, which had probably been a cell of Whitby since its foundation.³ At a date between 1086 and 1092 Reinfrid was succeeded as prior by Serlo de Percy, who apparently subsequently quarrelled with his brother and patron. He remained in office until his death in 1109.⁴ Whatever the obscurities of the internal history of Whitby,

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1. The exact date of the abbacy of Stephen is not known. According to the Anonimale Chronicle (which is not reliable for this early period) he died in 1112, but his last definite appearance is in 1108 (Selby Coucher I, no. 492).
 2. Though dissimilar in detail, one could draw a parallel with the case of Byland. A convent left Furness and founded an abbey at Calder, later migrating to Byland. A second convent was established at Calder some years later, which made an unsuccessful attempt to establish jurisdiction over the original 'Calder' abbey, now at Byland.
 3. A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Monastic Settlement at Hackness', Y.A.J. 27 (1924) pp.403-5, argues that Hackness was among the first endowments of Whitby and was a cell which had become an outlying manor by 1160.
 4. Heads of Religious Houses, p.78.

one aspect which can be discussed with a fair amount of certainty is the growth of the abbey's estates up to 1109. The grants of William de Percy by his charter of 1091-96 were extremely generous. They included the churches of Hackness, the vill and port of Whitby, the vills of Newholm and Stainsacre, the churches of Northfield, Suffield, Everlay, Broxa and Thirley Cotes (all in the parishes of Whitby and Hackness), and the tithes of Upleatham, Wilton, Seamer, Kirmond le Mire, Ludford, Covenham, Immingham and Sowerby (Lincs.)¹ In addition, before 1109, the monks received lands in Cayton from Uctred de Alverstein and the cell of All Saints, Fishergate, York from William II.²

The sources for the period in which William de Percy (1109-25) Nicholas (1125-39) and Benedict (1139-48) ruled Whitby are sparse, except for the evidence for the territorial expansion of the monastic estates. Lands were obtained in 'Brenestona', Brokesay, Hinderwell, Hood and Butterwick, Isleham (co. Cambridge) Lofthouse, Scampston, Toulston, Wykeham and York.³ Tancred the Fleming sold to the monks the vills of Hawsker, Normanby and Fylingdales.⁴ Several churches were given to the house: Great Ayton, Hutton Bushell, Kirkby in Cleveland, the chapels of Hawsker and Sneton, and two cells, Goathland and Middlesbrough.⁵ It is possible that this period saw the grant of the church of Crosby Ravensworth and lands in Seamer and Westcroft.⁶

In 1148 the evidence for the internal history of the house becomes, momentarily, more plentiful. Abbot Benedict, 'non ferens molestias a quibusdam suis adversariis sibi illatas' sought Archbishop Henry Murdac at Beverley, asking permission to resign. The chapter at Whitby supported his decision to retire to the cell of All Saints, Fishergate. Murdac allowed the resignation only on condition that the monks elect a candidate of his nomination; accordingly he asked them to choose either Thomas 'Grammaticus',

1. Cart. Whitby, p.3; E.Y.C. XI no.1.

2. E.Y.C. I no. 384 and II no. 863.

3. Ibid. II nos. 868, 905-6. Hood was granted to the Savigniac abbey established there in 1138 (later Byland Abbey) in exchange for land in Butterwick, E.Y.C. II no. 1071; I nos. 530-32; I nos. 313, 279; IX no. 116.

4. Confirmed by Alan de Percy I, ibid. II no.859.

5. E.Y.C. II no. 1043; I no. 376; Cart. Whitby, no. 86, E.Y.C. II no. 884; Cart. Whitby, no. 180, E.Y.C. I no. 398, Cart. Whitby, I no. 111.

6. Cart. Whitby, no. 32; E.Y.C. XI no.9, and I no. 373.

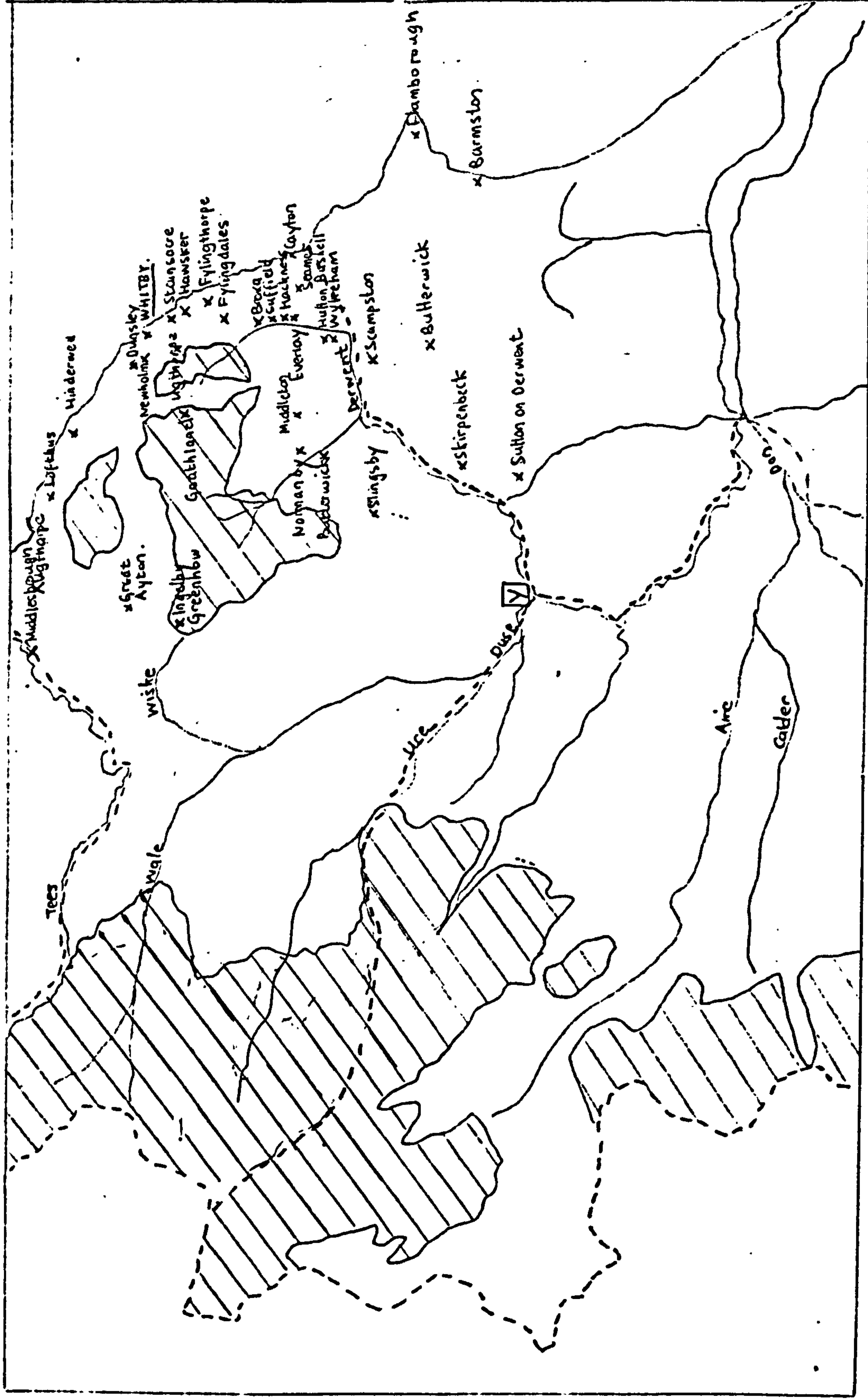
monk of St Albans and nephew of Murdac, Richard prior of Peterborough or German prior of Tynemouth.¹ Richard of Peterborough was chosen and his brethren were persuaded, with some difficulty, to allow him to take up this appointment. Escorted back to Whitby by prior Walter and brother Martin, Richard was welcomed at Whitby by thirty-eight monks.²

Richard ruled Whitby for twenty-six years (1148-75) 'Itaque qualiter vixerit, vel domum Domini correxit in redditibus, et in aedificiis, et ecclesiis, possessionibusque acquirendis; quam benignus, quam humilis, quam largus quam discretus, quam misericors exstitit, penitus referre non possumus'³ He is recorded as having rebuilt the chapter-house, possibly destroyed when the town of Whitby was devastated by a Viking fleet. The 'Heimskringla' of Snorri Sturlason (c1250) places this, the last recorded Viking attack on England, in the reign of King Stephen (1135-54) and Hugh Candidus, chronicler of Peterborough dates it to the period of office of Abbot Richard, thus giving us a date of 1148-54.⁴

Both Richard I and his successor and namesake who ruled from 1177-81, were successful in obtaining considerable endowments for the abbey. Further acquisitions were made in York, Cayton, Great Ayton, Middlesbrough, and South Fyling, where the monks already held lands.⁵ Further churches were given to the monks: Barmston, whose donor is unknown, but which was confirmed to the monks by Roger de Pont l'Evêque; Huntington, given by the abbot of Evesham to be held for ten shillings per annum; Ingleby Greenhow. with its lands

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1. The latter was later abbot of Selby: see above, pp.14-15.
 2. Cart. Whitby, pp. 8-10. The election of Richard is also noted by Hugh Candidus, the Peterborough chronicler, The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, ed. W.T. Mellows, Rev.ed. (Peterborough, 1966), pp.65-7.
 3. Cart. Whitby, p.9.
 4. Hugh Candidus, p.67. Snorri Sturlason, Heimskringla, ed. E. Monsen and trans. A.H. Smith and E. Monsen (Cambridge, 1932). p.679.
 5. E.Y.C. I, nos. 279, 249, 331; IX, nos. 186-8; II, nos. 1044, 709, 888. For a full list of the possessions of the abbey by 1153, see the papal bull of protection issued by Eugenius III (1145-53): Cart. Whitby, no. 149.

Fig.3. The Estates of Whitby Abbey c1200.



Yorkshire. Y = York. Scale approx. 15m to 1".

and a mill, as well as Kirkby in Cleveland both of which were given by Guy and Bernard de Balliol; Saxby, given by Robert son of William de Aketon; Skirpenbeck, Slingsby, and Sutton on Derwent, given by Walter de Gant, Robert Chambord and Robert de Percy I respectively.¹ In addition, by 1165 the monks were serving the chapel of Ugglebarnby.² Lands were obtained from a variety of benefactors in Boythorpe, Dunsley, Linthorpe, Middlesbrough, Oxenham and Hutton, Upleatham, Wold Newton and York, with tithes from Newton Rocheforth, given for the roofing of the abbey church.³

It would seem as if, unlike Selby, Whitby had a fairly even pattern of endowments throughout the period from the foundation up to c.1180. The initial endowment of William de Percy was a very generous one.⁴ Although in its early years few benefactors came from outside the Percy family, Whitby soon attracted wider attention. The advent of the new orders in the 1120's and 1130's does not appear, from the evidence of the Whitby charters, to have had an adverse effect on the abbey's endowments. A constant stream of benefactions flowed into the house; again unlike the abbots of Selby the heads of Whitby were continually seeking gifts of land in new, unexploited areas, rather than merely consolidating estates already held.

In common with other Benedictine houses Whitby possessed a few entire vills or manors, such as Whitby itself, Newholm, Stainsacre, Hawsker, Normanby and Fylingdales; in other places the monks owned only a modest

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1. E.Y.C. II nos. 882, 1059; I nos. 568, 571; Cart. Whitby, I no. 86; E.Y.C. II no. 887; VI no. 99; XI no.104.
 2. Ibid. II no. 885. Ralph de Ugglebarnby granted land for the use of the brethren serving the chapel there. Although the problem of parish churches served by monks and canons will be discussed more fully in chapter 10, it is perhaps worth noting here the importance of churches in the endowments of Whitby in the twelfth century. Twenty-seven churches and chapels were granted to Whitby in the period up to c.1200: two churches, Hackness and Whitby, were appropriated in the mid-twelfth century. (E.Y.C. II no.881); Four, Hackness, Goathland, Middlesbrough and All Saints, Fishergate, York, were cells (although Hackness may have been an outlying manor by 1160 - see above p.28 n. 3.) In addition hermitages were evidently established at Westcroft and Mulgrave. (E.Y.C. I no.373 and II no. 899)
 3. E.Y.C. II no.760; 896; III no.1852; Cart. Whitby, I nos. 59, 61-2; E.Y.C. II no.902; XI no.10; Mowbray Charters, no.290.
 4. see above p.29.

amount of land.¹ Most of the abbey's estates lay in four areas. The majority lay in the immediate vicinity of the abbey itself, on the lowland boulder clay. A concentrated group lay to the south of Whitby, around Scarborough and Robin Hood's Bay. A third group was situated further south still in the Yorkshire Wolds, and the last group in Cleveland.² This latter group was the smallest, probably because the foundation of the powerful Augustinian priory of Guisborough c1119 prevented Whitby from obtaining a strong foothold in this region. In York property was acquired in Fishergate, Walmgate, Blake Street, and in the vicinity of the Minster.

Like Selby and St Mary's, Whitby Abbey was granted many privileges. Archbishop Thurstan granted the house the privileges enjoyed by Beverley and Ripon;³ the abbot had the right to use the pastoral ring and is recorded as having occasionally attended Parliament. The only recorded comperta following a diocesan visitation of Whitby date from October 1320, when Archbishop Melton found the house to be deeply in debt.⁴ A detailed visitation of the house by fellow Benedictines survives from the fourteenth century.⁵ At the Dissolution of the religious houses Whitby was valued at an annual sum of £505 5s 1d almost half the value of St Mary's, York, and less than some of the Yorkshire Augustinian houses.⁶ The abbey was surrendered on 14 December 1539.

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1. On the evidence we have (which may be misleading) it would seem as if the majority of Whitby's estates were administered by the monks, and not farmed out. There are records of lands being farmed out by Abbot William (c1109-25) in Hawsker and Normanby (E.Y.C. II no.883); in Hinderwell and Sneton (the advowson of the chapel) by Benedict (1139-48) (E.Y.C. II no. 905; Cart. Whitby, no. 180;) and in Rouseby and Middlethorpe by Richard (1148-75/6) (E.Y.C. II no.1048; Cart. Whitby nos. 283-84.)
On the administration of Benedictine estates see below, pp. 438-40.
 2. See B. Waites, 'The Monastic Settlement of North-East Yorkshire', Y.A.J. 40, (1962) pp. 478-95, especially 483-87.
 3. E.Y.C. II no.876.
 4. B.I. Reg.9 (Reg. Melton) fo.235. For account rolls of the period 1394-96 see Cart. Whitby II, nos. 589-92.
 5. The system of visitation of Benedictine houses was inaugurated at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. For the Whitby visitations see W.A. Pantin, Chapters of the English Black Monks 1215-1540, I Camden Soc. 45 (1931) pp.242-3, 248, 252-3.
 6. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p. 83.

St Mary's Abbey, York.

St Mary's was undoubtedly one of the grandest, richest and most impressive of all Yorkshire abbeys in the Middle Ages. Situated as it was just outside the city walls of York on the banks of the busy river Ouse, it must have commanded the attention of any visitor to the medieval city. Though little of the abbey, apart from the fine nave wall, remains, the monastic precinct walls are the best-surviving of their kind in England; they clearly demonstrate the extent of the monastic site, from St Olave's church, Marygate on the north side to St Leonard's hospital on the south, and in length from the river bank to the King's Manor, formerly the abbot's house, in the east.

The reliability of the fullest source for the foundation of St Mary's, the narrative attributed to Abbot Stephen, has already been discussed. A later St Mary's compilation, the Anonimalle Chronicle, has some sparse and rather unreliable information about the first abbots of the house.¹ Our knowledge of the first century of St Mary's history must come from a series of cartularies, which throw light on the economic rather than the constitutional or spiritual development of the house. There are five major cartularies; B.L. Harleian MS 236 is a general cartulary of a fourteenth-century date; York Dean and Chapter MSS A1-A2 and John Rylands Library Latin MS 220-221 form a set, the first two volumes containing charters relating to land holdings in the North Riding, the latter, material concerning the East and West Ridings and the City of York.²

The foundation of St Mary's is inextricably bound up with the history of Whitby Abbey; details of this connection, given above, will not

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1. Anonimalle Chronicle 1333-1381, ed. V.H. Galbraith (Manchester, 1927, repr. 1970), p.xlvii.
See also The Chronicle of St Mary's Abbey, York, from Bodley MS. 39, ed. H.H.E. Craster and M.E. Thornton, Surt. Soc. 148 (1933) p.1
 2. None of the cartularies have been edited in their entirety. Many of the early charters appear in the volumes of E.Y.C., but a good deal of twelfth-century material still remains unpublished. See below, p.40 for a description of some unpublished charters relating to the city of York.

be repeated here, save to say that the Abbey of York came into existence as the result of a schism in the Whitby community, which had recently moved to Lastingham. At a date before 1087 (when the Abbot of York appears as a Domesday Book tenant)¹ part of the community moved from Lastingham to York under Abbot Stephen.

As in the case of Whitby, we are dependent for knowledge of the circumstances of the foundation of St Mary's on the account ascribed to Abbot Stephen himself. As mentioned earlier, the authenticity of the source has been questioned; however there are fewer difficulties than there are for Whitby in reconciling Stephen's account of the history of St Mary's with other sources.² According to Stephen the initiative for the transfer to York came from the powerful earl of Richmond, Alan I, who offered the monks the church of St Olave, York.³ To Stephen the opportunity to move from the isolated site of Lastingham, on the edge of the North Yorkshire moors, to the busy city where the monks would attract attention and endowments, must have been appealing, as Earl Alan himself allegedly pointed out, 'asserens etiam cives urbis ad quaeque agenda nobis spe in auxilium fore'.⁴

Although Earl Alan was the source of initiative for the transfer to York, William I and William II played a prominent role in the development of the abbey. Royal approval was obtained for the transfer from Lastingham, itself situated on royal domain; ('imprimis licentia a rege accepta'). According to Stephen the Conqueror's motive was a pious one: wickedness abounded in the city and the king had been forced to shed blood there;⁵

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1. He held lands in 'Prestebi', Sowerby, Lastingham and Spaunton and Dalby. On the tenure of the first two see above, p. 27 : Domesday Book f.380v.
 2. See above, pp. 21-25.
 3. St Olave's church was founded ante 1055 by Earl Siward of Northumbria. By 1161-1184 St Mary's obtained parochial rights over parishioners living in Gillygate. (E.Y.C. I no. 276). The church was later appropriated to the office of sacrist at the abbey: V.C.H. Yorkshire: City of York, p.397.
 4. B.L. Additional MS 38, 816 fo. 32.
 5. An allusion to the rebellions in York in 1069 and the subsequent 'harrying of the North'.

the inhabitants would profit by the example of holy men, by the 'divinae lumen religionis'.¹ It is probable that William would indeed attempt to atone for atrocities committed in his name by the foundation of a religious house on the very scene of these crimes. He may also have envisaged the same political benefits as his fostering of Selby had apparently been intended to provide.² William I accordingly donated lands in Lastingham, Appleton le Moor, Normanby, Spaunton, Uncleby and the churches of St Michael and St Saviour, York, to the monks of St Mary's.³

After the death of the Conqueror, his son, William II, continued his patronage of the York monks, and, on a visit to York provided an expanded site (where the ruins now stand), more spacious than St Olave's.⁴ In addition Stephen records that 'terras etiam quas hic inserere non est necessarium ... tradidit'; independent charter evidence has preserved record of his grants in Grimston and Emswell.⁵ He protected the monks when the dispute between them and Archbishop Thomas I of York flared up once more (it had first arisen during the reign of his father), satisfying the archbishop with the grant of St Stephen's church, York.⁶ In 1088 a formal foundation ceremony took place, William II according to tradition laying the foundation stone, in the presence of many nobles and prelates.⁷

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1. B.L. Additional MS 38,816, fo. 32v.
 2. See above, pp.9-10.
 3. These endowments were confirmed by William II (E.Y.C. I no.350). No charter of William I in favour of the abbey has survived.
 4. 'vidensque quia brevis et angusta nobis ad habitandum esset': B.L. Additional MS 38,816 fo.33. Quite what buildings, if any, occupied the site of the abbey before 1088 presents a genuine problem. On the earliest buildings of the abbey (the church was probably nearing completion in 1125-30) see the Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: City of York, IV (London, 1975) p.3.
 5. E.Y.C. I no. 350.
 6. Stephen's claim that a dispute occurred between the monks and Thomas receives confirmation from the charter of William II (above, n. 5.) which refers to Thomas 'qui aliquando inde movit questionem'. The church of St Stephen has been identified as that of St Stephen, Fishergate: V.C.H. City of York, p.403; E.Y.C. I p.267. It was demolished in the fourteenth century. The grant of St Stephen's to Thomas is printed from Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 63, fo.8v, in Regesta I, no. 338 (dated 25 December 1093).
 7. Stephen records the presence of Odo of Bayeux, Geoffrey, bishop of Coutances, William (of St Calais) bishop of Durham, Earl Alan (of Richmond), Odo count of Champagne, William de Warenne, Henry de Beaumont: B.L. Additional MS 38,816 fos. 33-33v.

According to Stephen, just before he died Earl Alan of Richmond surrendered the advowson of the abbey to William II: 'advocationem abbatiae nostrae in manus regis tradens, ut deinceps defensor et advocatus noster existeret'.¹ William himself acknowledged this gift when he spoke of Earl Alan as 'post me et patrem meum hujus abbatie inceptor et institutor'; Henry II spoke of William II, qui etiam abbatiam illam in loco ubi modo sita est, .. fundavit'.² St Mary's was clearly regarded by the kings of England as a royal foundation.

There are some indications that the abbot of St Mary's developed a fairly close connection with William II. The latter entrusted to Abbot Stephen the task of arresting the abbot of Selby, and at a later date Hugh the Chantor related how Archbishop Thomas of York (1100-1108), at a time when he was embroiled in the primacy dispute with Canterbury, requested Stephen to use his influence with Henry I on his behalf.³ The connection with the first three Norman kings may in part account for the immediate success of the monks of St Mary's in attracting benefactions. In its first fifty years, between 1088 and the death of Abbot Geoffrey in 1138, the growth of the estates of the abbey was spectacular, far outdoing the expansion of either Whitby or Selby. As well as the kings of England⁴ the monks numbered among their benefactors members of the most important families of the county.

1. B.L. Additional MS 38,816 fo.33.

2. E.Y.C. I, nos. 350 and 354 (a different version of William II's charter, with a very inflated preamble, is in B.L. Additional MS 38,816 fos.21-22). William II's interest in St Mary's is somewhat unusual. It is well known that he was not an enthusiastic founder or benefactor of monasteries. As Professor C.N.L. Brooke has said 'For the most part William II regarded abbeys ... as pieces of property which had unfortunately been alienated by his predecessors to greedy and useless communities of monks; but which could be taxed for their true purpose - to provide William with money for his military adventures - on the happy event of the abbots dying.' 'Princes and Kings as Patrons of Monasteries', Il Monachesimo e la Riforma Ecclesiastica (1049-1122) (Milan, 1971), pp.125-44 especially p.135.

3. For the episode at Selby see above p. 8. Hugh the Chantor, History of the Church of York, ed. C. Johnson (London 1961) pp.19, 25.

4. Henry I was also a benefactor of the monks, giving lands between Airmyn and Ousefleet, and in Haldenby. E.Y.C. I no. 470.

From the time when Earl Alan gave the church of St Olave to the monks, the earls of Richmond retained a lively interest in the York convent. In addition to St Olaves, Earl Alan Rufus gave the churches of Catterick, Gilling and Boston (Lincolnshire), and lands in Clifton and Overton.¹ His brother and successor Alan Niger confirmed the monks in possession of these lands, adding his own gifts of three carucates of land in Skelton, in the parish of Overton.² His son Stephen gave to the abbey lands in Gate Fulford, Foston, Shipton, Escrick, Acaster Selby, Water Fulford, Thornton le Clay and Flaxton.³ In addition he confirmed gifts made by his tenants in Richmond, where a cell of St Mary's was established, Bolton on Swale, Forcett, South Cowton, Eryholme, Ravensworth, Croft, Great Smeaton, Patrick Brompton, Thornton Steward, and elsewhere in his demesne.⁴ Earl Conan, who succeeded to the honour in 1147 issued a general charter confirming all the gifts made by his ancestors, including the cell of Rumburgh, Suffolk, which had been given by his father Earl Alan.⁵

Many other noble families followed the example of the Earls of Richmond. Nigel Fossard, for instance, was a generous benefactor, donating to the monks the churches of St Crux, York, Doncaster, Hutton Cranswick, and Bainton, with lands in Doncaster, 'Kymundersdale', Marr, Warmsworth, West Cottingwith, Thornton le Clay and Caythorpe.⁶ The Stuteville family were responsible for lands acquired by the abbey in Buttercrambe, Coxwold, Harton, Hovingham, Hutton le Hole, Kirkby Moorside, and Scrayingham.⁷ From Robert de Brus came the gifts of the manor of Appleton Wiske and the church of Burton Agnes, lands in Hornby, Middleton and Sunderlandwick.⁸ The families of

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1. These gifts were confirmed by William II. E.Y.C. I.no. 350.
 2. E.Y.C. IV no.2.
 3. ibid. IV no.4.
 4. ibid. no.8.
 5. ibid. no.33.
 6. ibid. II no. 1001. This gift was made in the period 1100-15.
 7. E.Y.C. IX nos. 1 and 6.
 8. E.Y.C. II nos. 648 and 680.

Taillebois and Balliol, Arches, Tison and Lacy, and the important Domesday tenants Hugh fitz Baldric and Berengar de Todenai, all figure in the list of benefactors of St Mary's.¹

It is not possible to enumerate all the endowments received by St Mary's in the period up to 1138, or even beyond that date. A convenient summary of grants made up to 1093 can be gained from the charter issued by William II, which reveals the speed with which endowments began to flood in to the monastery.² A confirmation charter of Henry II, issued in 1155, further indicates that the rapid expansion up to c1138 did not abate, even in the face of Cistercian opposition and popularity.³ In the last years of the twelfth century, it is true, there was a general decline in the number of endowments received. The decline is, however, less marked in the case of St Mary's than at Selby, and only follows the general trend in monastic endowments in the twelfth century.

The wealth of St Mary's in the twelfth century was based on land, with some additional revenue being derived from the possession of mills or fisheries. As far as we can tell the land was administered directly by the abbot and convent, or through intermediate stewards. The estates in other counties were probably administered through dependencies, of which St Mary's had seven.⁴ There is little record of how estates were administered in the twelfth century, but one fact which does emerge clearly from the cartularies is that during the twelfth century the economy of St Mary's underwent a significant change, from direct exploitation of estates to a policy of farming out lands.⁵

1. See, for instance, the charter of Henry II (below note 3).

2. E.Y.C. I no. 350; B.L. Additional MS 38,816 fos. 21-22.

3. ibid. I no. 354.

4. One of these cells only, St Martin's Richmond (founded by the earls of Richmond) lay in Yorkshire. The others were St Bees and Wetheral, Cumberland (founded by Ranulf de Meschin) St Mary Magdalen, Lincoln, (founder Roger de Mowbray), Sandtoft and Haines, Lincolnshire (founder also Roger de Mowbray. These two formed a single, tiny cell, housing one monk), and Rumburgh, Suffolk (again a Richmond foundation).

5. The economic exploitation of estates is treated generally on pp 47-58, below where the relative importance of sources of revenue is also discussed. The particular subject of the farming out of St Mary's estates is discussed more fully here, since there is far more information surviving than for any other religious house (except for the Templar preceptories, on which see below, pp. 287-97.)

The farming out of estates was not unknown under Abbot Geoffrey; he had allowed individuals to rent lands in York (Fossgate), Caythorpe, Dalby, Fimber, Foston, Fulford, Hutton and East Lilling for a fixed amount of money per annum.¹ After his death the trend became even more pronounced. There are at least two dozen records of transactions whereby Abbot Savaric leased lands outside the city of York. All the abbey's estates in Appleton Roebuck, Fimber, Kirkby Misperton, Raisthorpe, Scackleton, Caythorpe, Acaster Selby, Gilmonby, Croft on Tees, Sutton, Foggathorp and Ruswick were leased out to various individuals for a yearly rent.² A portion of the estates in Clifton (York), Emswell, Fulford, Garton, Hessay, Hovingham, Rudstan, Scampston, Yapham, Harpham, Millington, Myton on Swale, Thixendale and Escrick were disposed of in a similar way.³ Each lease was held in the lifetime of the lessee only, after which time it reverted to the abbey, to be leased out again if so desired.⁴

This same pattern, of enfeoffing the 'franctenentes' with land in direct exchange for an annual rent was followed by Abbot Clement (1161-84)⁵.

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1. E.Y.C. I nos. 310-12; II no. 1063; I nos. 637, 460; IV no. 105; I no. 340; York D. & C. MS A2 fo. 159; E.Y.C. I. no. 460.
 2. E.Y.C. I nos. 540, 627-30, 602-6, 461, 638; IV nos. 87, 106; V no. 219; IX no. 5; XII no. 11; B.L. Harleian MS 236, fo. 39v; York D. & C. A1 fo. 42.
 3. D. & C. MS A1 fo. 63; E.Y.C. I nos. 441, 325, 341, 441, 528, 638, 455, 621, 442; J.R.L. Latin MS 220-221 fo. 270v; E.Y.C. II nos. 679, 1242, 793, 847; IV no. 102.
 4. The usual formula employed by Savaric was: 'Ego Savaricus ... concessi (terram) tenere in vita sua (or 'in feudo et hereditate') ... reddet autem nobis unoquoque anno pro ipsa x. denarios, dimidium ad Pentecosten et dimidium ad festum Sancti Martini ... Hoc ei concedimus quamdiu se legaliter ergo nos et bene reddiderit predictum censum'. The variation in the amount of rent paid was considerable. See, for instance E.Y.C. II no. 1050; IV no. 87, B.L. Harleian MS 236 fo. 39v.
 5. See E.Y.C. I nos. 330, 342-4 (Fulford); 423 (Skelton); 563 (Stokesley); II nos. 794-5 (Myton); 681 (Sunderlandwick); III nos. 1878-80 (Gilling); 1302 (Hornsea); IV nos. 88 (Acaster Selby); 119 (Shipton); V nos. 189 (Bolton); 331 (Burneston); 219 (Croft); 355-6 (Danby); 226 (Easby); 281 (Finghall); 107-8 (Gilmonby); 349 (Hornby) 281 (Langthorn); XII nos. 12 (Foggathorpe); 20 (Hessle); and B.L. Stowe charter 444, an unpublished charter of Clement leasing to William the cleric, son of Richard, the churches of Foxholes and Butterwick, with the tithes, for seven silver marks per annum and hospitality for the abbot when he should visit these places.

There seems to have been a substantial differential in the amount of rent paid. One shilling per bovate was the rate for land in Fimber, and two shillings for the same amount of land in Gilmonby. When the lessee, Warin, was enfeoffed with the latter the additional clause was added: 'duas quidem bovatas quas in manu nostra retinemus, si alicui ad firmam dimittere voluerimus, idem W(arinus) eas sicut ceteras tenebit pro quatuor solidos donec iterum illas in manu nostra velimus habere ...'¹ Thomas de Lascelles paid four and a half pence per bovate in Langthorne and Fingall, and the mill of Sunderlandwick brought in twenty shillings per annum from the convent of Watton.²

Of particular significance is the fortune of the property owned by the abbey within the city of York. By the mid-twelfth century St Mary's had been given, or had acquired property in many areas of the city, with special concentrations in the areas of Bootham, Gillygate, Ousegate, Walmgate and Marygate. Much of this property was leased to tenants after the middle of the century. Abbot Geoffrey had begun this policy by renting out land in Fossgate.³ After him Savaric granted to tenants several properties in Ousegate, a single messuage usually bringing in a rent of one shilling.⁴ Messuages in Fossgate, Bretgate and St Saviourgate brought in a total of seven shillings per annum.⁵ Bootham and Gillygate were important areas, and Savaric issued at least four charters granting tenements here.⁶

It was, however, under Abbot Clement (1161-84) that most of the land in York appears to have been leased to tenants. In the period of his abbacy charters were issued leasing land all over York; the abbey evidently owned tenements in Walmgate, Fossgate, Ousegate, Hungate, Spurriergate,

1. E.Y.C. I no. 628 and IV no.107.

2. ibid. V no. 281 and II no. 681.

3. For 3s per annum, E.Y.C. I no. 310, and two ores p.a. no.311. Farrer notes the possibility that the land in Fossgate formed part of the endowment of Nigel Fossard.

4. ibid. I nos. 223-4.

5. ibid. I nos. 312, 329, 307.

6. E.Y.C. I nos. 260, 264-5, 275.

Micklegate, Fishergate, the parish of St Benet, St Andrewgate, Marygate and the parish of St Saviour.¹ The rent paid by lessees varied between six and twelve pence per toft per annum, though Jocey the Jew paid four shillings per annum for one messuage in Fossgate, and Gerard son of Lewin sixteen shillings for one messuage in the churchyard of St Michael.²

As with property outside York, these grants were made for the lifetime of the lessee only. A few charters preserved the custom of service as well as monetary rents. When William de Bretgate received from Abbot Clement the lease of property in Bootham the latter specified 'Reddent autem nobis predictus Willelmus et heredes eius nominatim pro eadem tenura xij denarios dimidium ad Pentecosten et dimidium in festo Sancti Martini. Et insuper unum hominem nobis annuatim in autumpmo invenient uno die tantum ad sena (?) nostra colliganda'. Similar injunctions were laid on other tenants in Bootham.³ The demand for traditional labour services is not common, and appears only to occur in relation to property in Bootham.⁴

Thus by the death of Clement in 1184 the economy of St Mary's had altered radically, relying on financial income as well as on the direct exploitation of lands. This was possibly inevitable, for the vast amount of land and property controlled by the abbey could never have been effectively administered from St Mary's. The leasing of property must have seemed the obvious solution to this problem. As far as we know, St Mary's was the first house to undertake this policy on a large scale.

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1. J.R.L. Latin MSS 220-221 fos. 96v-98v, 100-103, 106-106v, 107v.
 2. J.R.L. Latin MSS 220-221 fos. 100-101. The church of St Michael is that in Spurriergate, which was owned by the abbey. It is usually called the 'monasterium' of St Michael in these charters, possibly in the sense of 'minster'.
 3. The Bootham charters are on fos. 123-25v of J.R.L. Latin MS 220-221.
 4. These labour services should be compared to those owed by certain of the tenants of the Knights Templar, see below pp.292,297.

The economic side of St Mary's history in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is well-recorded; but its constitutional development is unfortunately less well-documented. The latter part of the abbacy of Geoffrey (1119-38) is less shrouded in mystery than that of his predecessor, Richard (1113-18), since in 1132 there took place the famous secession from St Mary's to Fountains Abbey.¹ The recent researches of Dr. Bethell and Dr. Baker have modified the traditional view of the degeneracy of St Mary's by the 1130's.² In particular it has been indicated that one of the primary sources for the state of St Mary's, the 'Letter of Thurstan', is probably a forgery, and the bitter accounts of the degeneracy of the Benedictine house can no longer be regarded as an accurate portrait.³ The point of the discontented monks seems to have been to reform their monastery on the lines of Cistercian observance; in terms of Cistercian ideals the York abbey may have been considered lacking, but by Benedictine standards it was not corrupt.⁴ There was a world of difference between the two ideals. St Mary's was founded in the eleventh century when 'it seemed a natural thing to plant an abbey close to the heart of a great city'.⁵ The Cistercian ideal was, of course, one of solitude; the crisis through which the reforming monks passed was due to a clash of ideals, a clash which, it will be remembered, precipitated the foundation of St Mary's from Lastingham fifty years earlier.

This episode is the only glimpse we are afforded of the internal affairs of the monastery in the period under review. The cartularies clearly reveal the economic strengths of the house, but the personalities which led the monastery to success are often no more than names on charters.

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1. See below, pp. 159-61.
 2. D. Bethell, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey and the State of St Mary's York in 1132', J.E.H. 17, (1966) pp. 11-27; L.G.D. Baker, 'The Genesis of English Cistercian Chronicles; the Foundation of Fountains Abbey, I', A.S.O.C. 25, (1969) pp.14-41, especially pp.20-21; D. Nicholl, Thurstan, p.155-61.
 3. p.15 of Baker's article (cited n.2.) refers to a forthcoming study of the Letter of Thurstan.
 4. The possession of tithes, for instance, was standard Benedictine practice, but rejected by the Cistercians. See below, pp. 411-13.
 5. C.N.L. Brooke, 'Princes and Kings as Patrons of Monasteries', p.130.

Yet there is no doubt that they had raised St Mary's to a position of prestige and influence. The abbot was mitred and in later centuries attended Parliament. A list of abbeys in confraternity with St Mary's, drawn up c1180, indicates the wide contacts enjoyed by the monks not only in England, but also throughout the continent.¹

To try and discover the reasons for the success of St Mary's is not easy. The interest shown in the foundation by the first three Norman kings cannot fully explain its popularity. St Mary's had begun to attract attention even in the short time before its foundation (on its present site) by William II. The kings rarely visited York; moreover the other royal 'foundation' of Nostell, while enjoying immediate success in attracting endowments from among the Yorkshire nobles, did not sustain this success and was eventually outstripped in wealth by another Augustinian foundation with no royal connections, Guisborough.

It is likely that the urban situation of St Mary's contributed to its success. It would have been a centre of hospitality for nobles visiting York and might have gained donations in this way. Again it had the backing of powerful nobles, especially the earls of Richmond, who retained an interest in the abbey even after relinquishing the patronage. There were, too, the patrons of the numerous cells of St Mary's, who encouraged benefactions among local tenants. This could well help to explain the wide divergence of the estates of the abbey, which could be found in the counties of Cambridge, Norfolk, Lincoln, Leicester, Westmorland and Durham. The reason for the abbey's success is still, however, elusive. In general the monasteries of the North never achieved wealth comparable to the pre-Conquest monasteries of the South. St Mary's, was wealthy by southern standards, and exceptional among Northern houses. Yet it had no obvious ideological advantage; no local saint, no relics to encourage the pilgrim traffic, no long tradition

1. B.L. Additional MS 38,816, fos. 37-39.

as a holy place, in fact little which could place it on a higher level than other Yorkshire houses.

Like all Yorkshire houses, however, St Mary's suffered varied fortunes after 1200. In 1206 it was the subject of criticism on both moral and financial grounds.¹ Throughout the thirteenth century its relations with the city of York fluctuated and at times abbey servants and property were subjected to violent attacks. Melton's visitation of 1319 discovered the house in debt to the tune of £4000.² Despite financial difficulties, suffered by all Yorkshire monasteries at one time or another, St Mary's was the most wealthy house in the county, indeed one of the richest in the whole of England, at the Dissolution, being assessed at a value of £2091 per annum.³ After the surrender of the abbey in 1539 the site passed into the hands of the crown and in the sixteenth century housed the Council of the North.

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1. C.R. Cheney, 'The Papal Legate and English Monasteries in 1206.' E.H.R. 46, (1931) pp. 443-452, especially pp. 449-52.
 2. B.I. Reg.9 (Reg. Melton), fos. 133-34.
 3. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.11. This was the gross value; the clear value was £1650 7s. 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ d.

CHAPTER TWO: THE ALIEN BENEDICTINE AND THE CLUNIAN HOUSES.

A major innovation in the English monastic world after the Norman Conquest was the creation of a host of small religious houses directly dependent on continental monasteries. Before 1066 the only English contacts with the latter had been cultural or personal, rather than constitutional. By the close of the twelfth century over two hundred small monastic cells had been established in England. Some of these were admittedly cells of larger English monasteries,¹ but most were constitutionally bound to houses on the continent.²

The proliferation of these alien dependencies was the result of the partition of English lands among the Norman barons after the Conquest. Many Normans felt allegiance or affection towards the religious houses of their native land and shared their rewards with them. Thus the acquisition of English estates by French monasteries led to the establishment of small groups of monks in England for the purpose of administration. In Yorkshire several estates were obtained by four houses in particular: Marmoutier, Aumale, St Wandrille and Mont st Michel. Cells of these monasteries were established at Holy Trinity, York, Headley and Allerton Mauleverer (Marmoutier), Birstall (Aumale), Ecclesfield (St Wandrille) and Wath (Mont st Michel).³

The alien cells were generally founded in the period between the accession of William I and the death of Henry I, that is, when the Anglo-Norman barons no doubt still regarded Normandy as their native land.⁴ At the same time a second, more important class of dependencies was being established

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1. Like the cells of St Mary's, York: see above, pp.38, 43.
 2. Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.134-36; D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales (2nd ed. London, 1971), pp. 83-95; D. Matthew, The Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions (Oxford 1962); M. Chibnall, The English Lands of the Abbey of Bec (repr. Oxford 1968).
 3. The latter is to be identified with Wath near Ripon, not Wath on Dearne: see below, pp. 58-59.
 4. Matthew, Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions, p.28.

in England, the Cluniac houses. The Burgundian abbey of Cluny, founded in 909-910 quickly established a wide reputation, not at first as the head, or even the representative of a new 'order', but simply as a monastery concerned to impart to others the great essentials of the liturgical monastic life as they were conceived and expressed by her. It was not until the eleventh century that Cluny began to emerge as the head of a network of dependent monasteries which eventually spread over the whole of Europe.¹ England, although affected by the reforming ideas of Cluny and other continental monasteries in the tenth century, saw no actual Cluniac foundations until after the Conquest.

In 1077 Abbot Hugh of Cluny, somewhat against his will, was persuaded to send a colony of monks to Lewes (Sussex), which was endowed by William de Warenne. After this the Cluniac houses multiplied fairly rapidly. Lewes sent a colony to Castle Acre in 1089; the French house of La Charité sur Loire, probably the most important Cluniac foundation apart from Cluny itself, sent colonies to Wenlock (1079), Bermondsey (1089), Daventry (1090), Pontefract (1090-98) and Northampton (1093-1100).² These and the many foundations that followed, never achieved the status of abbey. All were dependent, through their mother houses, on Cluny, whose abbot had, in theory, supreme power over all the dependencies. Some houses, like Lewes and Bermondsey, became rich and powerful establishments; others, like the Yorkshire houses of Pontefract and Monk Bretton (1153-4), never achieved such wealth or stature.

In the long term the Cluniac houses of England were to fare better than the alien dependencies, since the French wars of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries made the latter (although probably by that time inhabited by English monks) objects of hostility and suspicion, and many were then

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1. Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.145-58, especially 145. On the (now modified) view of the significance of the foundation of Cluny for the monastic constitution, see Tenth-century Studies, ed. D. Parsons (London, 1975), pp.1-36. On Cluny itself, see J. Evans, Monastic Life at Cluny, 910-1157. (London, 1931); N. Hunt, Cluny under St. Hugh, 1049-1109 (London, 1967) and (ed.) Cluniac Monasticism in the Central Middle Ages (London, 1971). R. Graham, 'Life at Cluny in the Eleventh Century', in English Ecclesiastical Studies (London, 1929) pp.30-45.
 2. Knowles and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, pp.96-103.

suppressed. In Yorkshire the priory of Holy Trinity, York was the only such house to survive until the Dissolution of the sixteenth century. The difficulties against which many alien cells had struggled - their smallness, poverty, and the distance from the mother house - were great. Not surprisingly the alien cells have been seen as 'the most considerable of all the elements of spiritual decay in the monastic life of the country.'¹

Holy Trinity, York, and its Yorkshire cells, Allerton Mauleverer and Headley.

Very little in the way of either material or documentary evidence remains for the monastery of Holy Trinity. Part of the nave of the present parish church belonged to the priory church, and in the surrounding gardens traces of the walls of the choir and a boundary wall have been discovered. It has been conjectured that the monastic precinct covered a considerable area; from the priory gateway (now demolished) on Micklegate to Trinity Lane on the north east, thence via the churchyard of St Mary Bishophill Junior to the city wall on the south east.² The priory has no surviving cartulary, and information concerning its endowments is obtained from scattered charters in the records of other religious houses or in governmental records.³

It would be more correct to speak of the refoundation, rather than the foundation of Holy Trinity, since there are indications of a pre-Conquest church on the site served by secular canons, and apparently known as Christ Church. In the Domesday Survey of 1086 it was recorded that Richard, son of Erfast held three dwellings (those of Alchemont, Gospatrick and Bernulf) and the church of the Holy Trinity.⁴ Several of Richard's other possessions,

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1. Knowles, Monastic Order, p.136. See also M.M. Morgan (Chibnall), 'The Suppression of the Alien Priories', History, 26 (1941), pp.204-12.
 2. V.C.H. City of York, p.360. On Holy Trinity, see J. Solloway, The Alien Benedictines of York (Leeds, 1910).
 3. B.L. Additional Charter 11292 contains several charters of Holy Trinity written in a twelfth-century hand, concerning the Lincolnshire church of West Rasen. C.T. Clay has suggested that, as the document is endorsed in a French hand, it might well have been dispatched from Holy Trinity to Marmoutier: E.Y.C. VI, pp.71-72.
 4. Domesday Book, fo.298.

Bustardthorpe, Bilbrough, Moor Monkton, Hessay and Knapton, are followed, in the survey, by the name 'Christ Church', indicating that all these places belonged at one time to the church and had passed to Richard.¹ The clearest piece of evidence for the character of the pre-Conquest foundation is the charter of the founder himself, Ralph Paynel, issued at the time of the refoundation.² Ralph described the condition of the church of the Holy Trinity:

habens apud Eboraci civitatem de feudo regis Anglorum quandam ecclesiam in honorem Sancte Trinitatis constructam olim canonicis ac prediorum redditibus atque ornamentis ecclesiasticis decoratam, nunc vero peccatis exigentibus pene ad nichilum redactam ...³

The description is one of a house, formerly rich and important, now decayed and empty.⁴

The priory which came into existence c.1089 was of a different nature, for it was a monastic foundation served by monks of the French abbey of Marmoutier, near Tours. The precise date of the refoundation is unknown, since the surviving 'foundation' charter was issued between 1090 and 1100, and not at the time of the foundation itself. In this charter Ralph expresses his desire to restore the church of the Holy Trinity to the service of God:

cupiens in ea servicium Dei quod depierat reformare, tradidi eam beato Martino Majoris Monasterii ejusque monachis perpetuo possidendam.

The charter possesses several intriguing features. Firstly its style is unusual; the long preamble, full of Old Testament references, though its Latin is conventional, is more reminiscent of a late Anglo-Saxon charter than an eleventh-century monastic foundation charter. Secondly it has been suggested that all the places named in Domesday Book as endowments of Christ

1. Domesday Book, fo. 327.

2. On Ralph, see below, pp. 308, 310.

3. E.Y.C. VI no.1: This charter survives in a twelfth-century copy: see above p. 47 n.3.

4. It has been suggested that the church was destroyed either in the Viking invasions of 1066 or during the harrying of the North. The character of the pre-Conquest church presents a genuine problem. The implications of Domesday Book are that the house was fairly wealthy. It is most likely to have been served by secular canons: Solloway, Alien Benedictines, pp.1-10.

Church were transferred to the refoundation of Holy Trinity.¹ However of the five places named in Domesday Book only one, Moor Monkton, appears in the foundation charter of Holy Trinity. Land in Hessay was confirmed to the monks at a later date, but there is no indication that Holy Trinity ever held land in Knapton, Bustardthorpe or Bilbrough.

Finally, Paynel's charter included the grant of no less than twelve parish churches and a moiety of a thirteenth. At its foundation Holy Trinity thus came into possession of the churches of Irnham, West Rasen, Broughton and Roxby (Lincolnshire) and Thurnscoe, Adel, Newton on Ouse, Moor Monkton, Leeds, Hooton Pagnell, Barton le Street, St Helen, Fishergate, York and a moiety of Crambe (Yorkshire). Tithes were included in most of these grants, as well as the tithes of Ashby de la Laund, Scawby, Tealby (Lincolnshire), Sturton, Arthington and Fadmoor (Yorkshire). These grants were not unusual in their character, since the grant of churches to religious houses was a common feature of monastic endowments in the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, but the number transferred to Holy Trinity is quite startling.² In addition Ralph's benefactions included a fishery with a tithe of fish at Drax; very little was given to the priory in the way of lands.

The name of the prior who led the colony from Marmoutier in the late eleventh century is unknown. Two priors occur before 1114, Seward who died before 1113,³ and Hincmar, who witnessed a charter of the period 1109-1114.⁴ After that date the first record of a prior of Holy Trinity is the

1. Solloway, Alien Benedictines, pp.40-41.

2. For the grants of churches to monasteries and their significance, see below, pp.388-416. The number of churches controlled by Holy Trinity should be compared with those 'owned' by Pontefract: see below pp.64,68. Ralph Paynel, although granted many lands in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, was not one of the major landowners in England; see Complete Peerage, ed. H.A. Doubleday, G.H. White, H. de Walden, 10 (London, 1945), p.319.

3. Rouleaux des Morts du IX au XV siècle, ed. L.V. Delisle, Société de L'Histoire de France (Paris, 1866), p.194.

4. E.Y.C. II no.729. See also Heads of Religious Houses, p.113.

elevation of Elias Paynel, relative of the founder, to the abbacy of Selby in 1143.¹ The 'Historia Selebiensis', whence this information derives, has nothing to say of Elias as prior of Holy Trinity, but despite his aristocratic lineage he was evidently held in high regard at Selby.²

During the period before the promotion of Elias in 1143 Holy Trinity attracted several benefactions, and acquired charters confirming the estates already held. Henry I issued three such charters, two very general ones, and one specifically confirming the donations of the Paynel family.³ King Stephen issued a comprehensive confirmation charter, released the monks from the payment of husgable on their tenements in York, and granted them the chapel of St James outside Micklegate.⁴ Archbishop Thomas II ordered that the monks of Holy Trinity were to hold their church in peace, and he or his successor confirmed the appropriation of the churches of Leeds, Adel, Barton le Street and Hooton Pagnell 'in proprios usus ... salva competenta vicaria ei qui ipsa ministrabit assignanda'.⁵ Jordan Paynel, son of the founder, endowed the monks with the vill of Coneysthorpe.⁶

In the early years of the twelfth century Holy Trinity founded its first cell, that of Allerton Mauleverer, situated roughly four miles from Knaresborough. The foundation charter of this cell, issued by Richard Mauleverer, indicates that he made the gift of the chapel of Allerton with one carucate of land, and tithes to 'Deo et ecclesie Sancte Trinitatis Eboraci et monachis Sancti Martini Majoris Monasterii ibidem Deo famulantibus'

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1. An unnamed prior of Holy Trinity was called in by Abbot Geoffrey of St Mary's to lend his support against the thirteen monks who had invoked the aid of Archbishop Thurstan against the abbot (1132): see below p. 161.
 2. See above, pp. 13-15 for the abbacy of Elias Paynel at Selby.
 3. E.Y.C. VI nos. 2-4.
 4. Regesta, III nos. 985-87. No. 988 is a grant by Stephen to the chapel of St James, founded by Roger the priest, of land where the gallows used to stand.
 5. E.Y.C. VI nos. 8-11. In the latter the archbishop's name is abbreviated to Th. so that a positive identification is impossible. For further discussion of this charter see below pp. 394, 399.
 6. Confirmed by Henry I and Alexander Paynel, brother of the donor, E.Y.C. VI nos. 4 and 86.

at Marmoutier on his return from Compostella: 'a Sancto Jacobo regresso et apud Majus Monasterium excepto, ejus monasterii abbate presente Hulgodio, dona prefata super altare Beati Martini posui.'¹ The original gift was made before 1105,² but the 'foundation charter' which mentions Archbishop Thomas II must date from the years 1109-1114. It includes further benefactions - the mill pond of Allerton, land in Grafton and tithes - 'positisque monachis in Alvertonia ex precepto abbatis Majoris Monasterii postea augmentando eleemosynam'³.

Little is known of the history of Allerton Mauleverer in the remaining years of the twelfth century. Henry II confirmed the gifts of Richard Mauleverer, which also included land and meadow in Dunsforth.⁴ An omission in this later charter is the grant of tithes and customs from parishes other than Allerton.⁵ The wording of the charter (the grants were made to 'monachis Majoris Monasterii in Alvertona') suggests that by its date of issue (1180-89) Allerton Mauleverer had severed its connections with Holy Trinity and had become, like the latter, directly dependent on Marmoutier.

It was probably also in the reign of Henry I that Holy Trinity acquired its second cell, Headley in the parish of Bramham. It is likely that the founder was a member of the Fossard family, who held Bramham in the twelfth century and gave extensive lands and rights in the parish to the Augustinian priory of Nostell.⁶ The first mention of a cell there occurs in a papal bull of 1166-79, when Alexander III confirmed to Holy Trinity the 'cellula' of Headley.⁷ Recorded benefactors of Headley were Apolitus de

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1. E.Y.C. II no. 729.
 2. The year in which Abbot Helgot of Marmoutier died. Helgot is mentioned by Orderic Vitalis, Ecclesiastical History II ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969) p.193.
 3. Richard's charter further indicates that between c1105 and 1109-1114 the chapel of Allerton had been raised to the status of mother church 'et confirmatur ab archiepiscopo Thoma Eboracensis ecclesie'.
 4. E.Y.C. II no.730.
 5. Arrangements had been made to compensate the priests of the various parishes for their losses.
 6. see below p. 91 . Headley (or Hedley) is represented by the modern Headley Hall: E.P.N.S. Yorkshire, West Riding, IV, p83.
 7. E.Y.C. VI no.12.

Bramham, who gave land and pasture in Middleton (par. Ilkley) in the period 1175-85, and Adam son of Peter de Birkin, donor of land in Smithalls.¹ Brief mention is made of Headley in connection with St Robert of Knaresborough, who is recorded as having spent some time at the cell in the early years of the thirteenth century.²

At the mother house of Holy Trinity itself, Elias Paynel had returned after being deposed from the abbacy of Selby. Prior Gilbert of Holy Trinity (occ. 1143-53) had evidently been replaced by 1154, by Philip, who ruled over the house for a considerable period, his last recorded appearance being in 1176.³ So few charters of the priory survive that it is difficult to trace the growth of Holy Trinity's estates between c1150 and c1175. Evidently the monks had added to their rights in the church of West Rasen (Lincolnshire), which was appropriated at this period: the appropriation of Leeds church was also confirmed.⁴ The bull of Alexander III, mentioned above, confirmed the monks in possession of the churches of All Saints, North Street and St Gregory, Micklegate (York), the chapel of Holbeck and lands in Ryther, Dringhouses, Potter Newton, Sheepscar, Seacroft, Hampole, Hessay and Ouseburn.⁵ A charter of Henry II, issued before 1188, confirmed among other benefactions a tithe of the mills of York, given by Nigel d'Aubigny and confirmed by Roger de Mowbray, as well as land in Swinesgarth given by William son of Gerold.⁶

Surviving documents relating to the growth of the priory estates during the priorates of Philip's successors, Bernard and Robert (c1175-1208) contain mainly leases and quitclaims granted by the convent.⁷ All claims to the church of Newton on Ouse were released to William de Plaiz, the priory

1. Mon. Ang. IV, pp.686-7.

2. Mem. Ftns. I p.167 (from the Life of St Robert a fifteenth-century manuscript among the archives of the Duke of Newcastle.)

3. For the deposition of Elias, see above, pp.14-15. Gilbert occ. in E.Y.C. I no.450; Philip's last recorded appearance is in Cart. Foun. I pp.206-7.

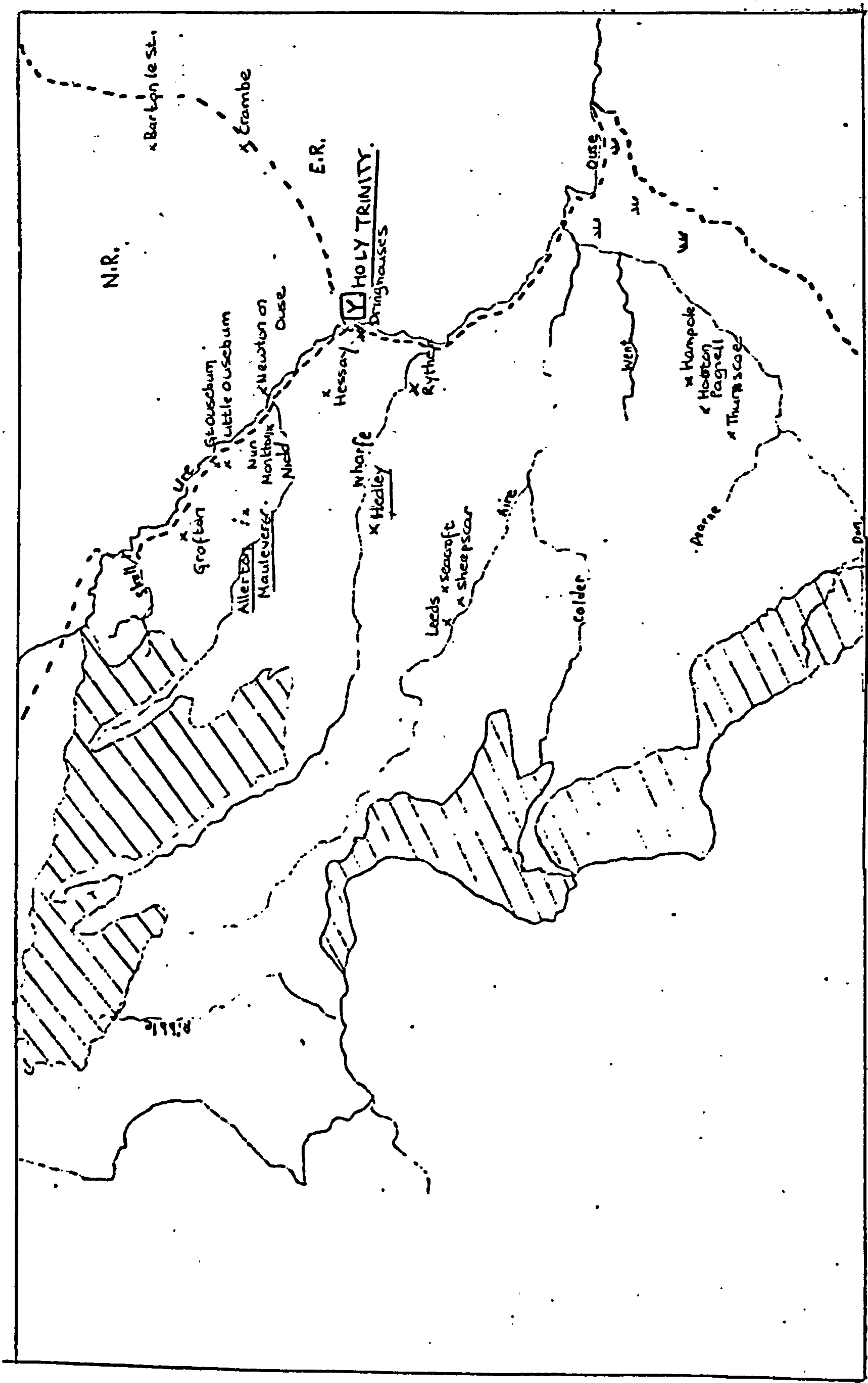
4. The former was confirmed to the monks by Robert de Gant and his wife 'ita ut in prefata ecclesia vicarium quem voluerint, ponant' and by Robert, bishop of Lincoln, E.Y.C. VI nos. 49-50. The latter was confirmed by Archbishop Roger, VI no.82.

5. see above, p. 51n. 7.

6. E.Y.C. VI no.6; For d'Aubigny's gift, see Mowbray Charters no.3.

7. Heads of Religious Houses, p.113. Bernard occurs in the period 1175-86, and Robert ?1175-c1185 and 1208.

Fig.5. The Estates of Holy Trinity Priory, York, c1200, with its cells of Allerton Mauleverer and Hedley.



Yorkshire: West Riding. Y = York. Scale approx. 10m. to 1".

retaining two thirds of the tithe.¹ The moiety of the church of Crambe which Holy Trinity held was released to the Augustinian priory of Kirkham, owner of the other half of the church. The canons of Kirkham promised to pay to Holy Trinity the sum of ten shillings per annum during the lifetime of Gilbert, then rector, and after his demise, twenty shillings per annum.² Land in the marshes outside York, given to Holy Trinity by Stephen the priest, was leased to Walter Orfèvre, son of Lodwin, for two shillings rent per annum, and the payment of 'husgable'.³

Thus by 1200 Holy Trinity had accumulated modest endowments. The majority of these were grants of churches, and much of the revenue of the priory must have come from churches, particularly its appropriated ones, (Leeds, Adel, Barton le Street, Hooton Pagnell and West Rasen) as well as from tithes. However it is evident that the monks of Holy Trinity encountered difficulties in retaining possession both of their churches and their lands. When William Paynel founded the Augustinian priory of Drax, c1130-39, he included in its endowments the churches of Irnham, Roxby (Lincolnshire) and Hooton Pagnell (Yorkshire), all of which had been given by Ralph Paynel to Holy Trinity. William Paynel further complicated matters by granting rights in Irnham to a third religious house, Bardney. In the period 1150-66 Drax priory was granted licence to appropriate the church, and Holy Trinity lost all claim. Roxby church was also granted to a third house, Roche, and the conflicting claims led to an assize of presentment in 1201, after which the church was appropriated to Drax.⁴ Holy Trinity, Drax and Nostell all claimed the church of Hooton Pagnell where the York monks did manage to retain some interest; but Newton on Ouse was lost to William de Plaiz, and the rights of

1. E.Y.C. VI no.54.

2. This grant was made subject to the approval of the abbot and convent of Marmoutier, ibid. VI no.149.

3. ibid. I no.296.

4. ibid. VI nos. 74-5 and 13.

the monks to the church of Broughton were limited.¹

Three documents were issued by ecclesiastical officials concerning the church of Leeds; Archbishop Roger confirming the earlier appropriation of the church; Dean Simon and the chapter of York testified that two thirds of the church did indeed belong to Holy Trinity, and the remaining third to their vicar; finally Walter de Gray's charter indicates that there had been considerable dispute about the proportion of tithes and revenues to be allotted to the monks.² When the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstall acquired lands in West and East Headingley, Allerton, Linley and Mickley a conflict about tithes ensued, which was settled in 1154 by agreement between both parties. It was decided that Kirkstall should pay Holy Trinity twenty shillings per annum as compensation for the loss of tithes from the parish of Adel, and that 'si monachi de Kirkestal amplius terre culte in predicta parrochia adquisierint, garbas reddant; quod si forte terre ille predictae aliquo casu decreverint, rationali intuitu redditus decrescat'. Nevertheless the agreement had to be enforced by papal mandate in 1205.³ The further acquisition of land in the parish of Adel led to monks of Kirkstall to question the right of Holy Trinity to the advowson of the church.⁴ The church of Thurnscoe was lost to the abbey of Sallay before the end of the twelfth century.⁵

The Taxatio of Pope Nicolas IV (1291) suggests that the monks then received pensions from Tealby, West Rasen, All Saints North Street, Adel, Hooton Pagnell and Crambe.⁶ An inquisition made in 1379-80 into the churches and endowments of the priory indicates that of the churches granted to Holy Trinity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries pensions were received from only six, Leeds, Adel, All Saints North Street, Crambe, Newton on Ouse and

1. E.Y.C. VI no.102.

2. E.Y.C. VI nos. 82, 84-5. Printed from original charters then in the possession of Messrs. Morrell, Peel & Gamley, Oxford).

3. Kirkstall Coucher nos. 134, 349.

4. In 1237 the abbot and convent of Kirkstall quitclaimed the advowson: Kirkstall Coucher no.19

5. Cart. Sallay II no.623.

6. Taxatio Papae Nicholae, pp. 298-301, 303. Holy Trinity was valued at £60 10. 5. p.a. (p.305).

Hooton Pagnell.¹ It is not certain at what date and under what circumstances the other churches were lost, but by the end of the twelfth century Holy Trinity may not have been as wealthy as the fairly long list of benefactors would suggest.

Part of the difficulty which the priory encountered in retaining lands might have been due to its position as an alien house. Closer relations were maintained between Holy Trinity and Marmoutier than between, for example, Pontefract and La Charité.² As mentioned earlier many grants were made to 'ecclesia Sante Trinitatis et monachi Majoris Monasterii ibidem Deo famulantes', and any transactions undertaken by Holy Trinity had to be ratified at Marmoutier.³ Holy Trinity was clearly associated with France, an association which was to prove uncomfortable for the monks at certain times in its history. As an alien house it suffered during the French wars of the fourteenth century both from local unpopularity and from confiscation of its assets by the crown.

Holy Trinity did fare better than Allerton Mauleverer and Headley, both of which were suppressed in 1414; the lands of the latter going to Holy Trinity.⁴ However links with Marmoutier were gradually weakened. In 1426 the monks managed to obtain a grant of denization, and were conceded the right to elect their own prior, with licence from the crown (which had assumed the right of presenting the prior). In 1441 the question of election was tested. The monks elected a prior of their choice, without obtaining royal licence; Henry VI collated a monk of Durham, Richard Bell, to the same office. Despite the support of the Abbot of Marmoutier for the royal nominee, Henry VI gave way to the monks and allowed their candidate to succeed.⁵ Even so

1. Mon.Ang. IV p.684.

2. see below pp. 60-70.

3. e.g. E.Y.C. VI nos. 102, 149.

4. Over fifty small alien cells were suppressed in the years 1413-1415: Knowles and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, pp. 83-86.

5. R.B. Dobson, 'Richard Bell, prior of Durham (1464-78) and bishop of Carlisle (1478-95)', T.C.W.A.A.S. 65 (1965), pp.182-221, especially 187-190. For some later documents relating to Holy Trinity, see W.P. Baildon, Monastic Notes, Y.A.S.R.S. 17 (1895), p.26.

ties with Marmoutier were not sundered completely, and in 1460 the spiritual authority of Marmoutier was still being recognised. The priory continued its existence unchallenged until 1536, when, under the 'Lesser Monasteries Act' of 1535-6 it became due for suppression, being valued at less than the £200 minimum required to escape closure; the house was accordingly surrendered, but some monks apparently lived on there for another two years. The last prior took part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, and the priory was surrendered in 1538.¹

The Alien Cells of Birstall, Ecclesfield and Wath.

Like many alien cells, the priories of Birstall, Ecclesfield and Wath appear to have come into existence for the purpose of providing personell to administer the estates acquired by continental monasteries in England. The sources for the history of all three cells are meagre in the extreme; and in each case the precise date at which the cell was founded cannot be established. Only a few grants of land are recorded in the twelfth century, and the history of the cells remains obscure until the time of their suppression.

In 1115 Earl Stephen of Aumale made considerable grants of land in the East Riding to the Norman monastery of Aumale, about thirty miles north-east of Rouen. These benefactions included the chapel of Birstall and the churches of Paull, Preston in Holderness, Skeckling, Withernsea, Owthorne, Wawne, North Frodingham, Skipsea, Mappleton, Tunstall, Easington, Kilnsea, Aldbrough, Keyingham and Withernwick - a remarkable endowment.²

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1. A. Stacpoole, 'The Monastic and Religious Orders in York, 660-1540', in The Noble City of York, ed. A. Stacpoole and others (Yorks, 1972), pp. 611-78, especially 667.
 2. E.Y.C. III no. 1304. The grant to Aumale also included several Lincolnshire churches.

At a subsequent date monks were sent to Aumale to reside in Birstall (near Skeffling, only a few miles from Spurn Head) and to administer the East Riding property. In 1175-95 a grant was made by Simon de Skeffling to 'ecclesie Sancti Martini de Albemarla et Sancte Elene de Birstal' et monachis de Albemarla ibidem Deo servientibus'. This comprised land in Skeffling, pasture in West Mareis and Foss, and half the donor's meadow in the close of Foss with the closes and service of four tenants and their families.¹ In 1228 Archbishop Walter de Gray ordained incumbents in the East Riding churches of Aumale, (Preston, Mappleton, Withernewick, Burton Pidsea, Wawne, Albrough, Skeckling, Kilnsea and Tunstall) and at the same time confirmed the independence of the chapel of Birstall from the mother church of Easington. The parish chaplain was to be nominated to the rural dean by the prior of Birstall, and was removable at his, the prior's, will.²

The priory of Ecclesfield, situated approximately four miles from Sheffield, came into existence in much the same way. Again the foundation date is unknown, but according to information obtained by Archbishop Melton the priory was founded by Richard de Luvetot, Lord of Hallamshire.³ Since Melton's register further records the existence of a bull of Innocent II (1130-43) appropriating the church to St Wandrille, the founder is probably to be identified with Richard de Luvetot I, nephew of the Domesday Book tenant Roger, who occurs c1116 and was dead before 1130.⁴ His initial endowments are not recorded; but his grandson, a later Richard de Luvetot, reached an agreement with St Wandrille in 1161 concerning land between Ecclesfield and Sheffield. The assarts lying to the right of the road between these two places were judged to belong to the abbey, and those to the left 'sicuti sepes antiquitus ante combustionem fuerunt' to Richard. Various rights of pasture and pannage were negotiated and Richard gave Ecclesfield a tithe of all his venison in Hallamshire.⁵

1. E.Y.C. III no. 1401.

2. Reg. Gray pp.22-23

3. B.I., Reg. 9 (Reg. Melton), fo. 175v.

4. In 1130 Richard's son William accounted for the farm of Blythe. He was the founder of the Augustinian priory of Radford, later Worksop.

5. E.Y.C. III no. 1268; see also Monastic Notes, I p.50.

The possession of the church of Ecclesfield became the subject of a dispute which was terminated by the issue of a royal charter in 1180-88. Jeremiah, clerk of Ecclesfield had claimed the church with its chapels of Sheffield, 'Wradefeld' and 'Wiltan', and the abbot's lay fee in Ecclesfield. He agreed to quitclaim the latter and the 'personatus' of the church to St Wandrille whereupon the abbot and convent granted him the office of perpetual vicar with one third of the tithes and offerings, together with the remaining two thirds to hold for life for payment of twenty marks per annum.¹ In this document there is no mention of the cell of the abbey, and there is thus only one contemporary reference in the twelfth century.² It is likely, however, that the cell was established not long after Luvetot's grant, since most alien cells date from before the accession of King Stephen.

The cell of Wath near Ripon³ was in existence by 1184, possibly sooner, although there is no earlier reference to it. Earl Conan of Richmond confirmed to the monks of Mont St Michel the manor of Wath which his ancestors had given, and the church.⁴ These gifts were confirmed by Hadrian IV in 1155-56 and by Henry II.⁵ In 1184 Abbot Robert of Mont St Michel granted the church of Wath to Walter, clerk of Picale in return for two thirds of the offerings of the church, and land in 'Winburgeam' to Alan son of Hervey for one mark per annum payable to the prior of Wath.⁶ A few

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1. Calendar of Documents preserved in France, I, ed. J.H. Round (London, 1899,) no.178.
 2. It is therefore possible that the reference in Melton's register to the 'foundation' by Richard de Luvetot is to the initial endowment on which the cell was later established.
 3. As the cell was founded by the Richmond family the site must be Wath near Ripon, not Wath on Dearne as suggested in the index to Cal.Doc.France, I.
 4. E.Y.C. IV nos. 54 and 72.
 5. Cal.Doc.France, I, nos.736, 752; The latter is also printed in the appendix to the Chronicle of Robert de Torigny (abbot of Mont St Michel): Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I (RS 1884-89), IV, pp.357-58.
 6. Cal.Doc.France, I, no.760. This is also included in the Chronicle of Robert de Torigny (above n.5) p.358.

years later William de Chimeli, archdeacon of Richmond confirmed a pension of five marks per annum from Wath church to Mont St Michel as its patron, and in 1196 Abbot Jordan granted the church to Roger of Richmond, saving the rights of Odo de Picale as vicar.¹ A prior of Wath, Richard, occurs c1200.²

The evidence for the history of the Yorkshire cells continues to be meagre after c1200. The indications from the evidence which does survive are that Wath was always very small; a petition of 1239 stated that there were only two monks besides the prior.³ Birstall was perhaps larger; in 1295 (when the convent was forced by Edward I's fear of a French invasion to move to the inland monastery of Ecclesfield) there were at Birstall twelve monks and a prior.⁴ In Yorkshire as elsewhere the French wars placed the survival of the alien cells in jeopardy. In the late fourteenth century St Wandrille made an unsuccessful attempt to farm the cell of Ecclesfield to Sir John Luvetot, descendant of the founder;⁵ but it was granted by Richard II to the Carthusian house of St Anne, Coventry. Richard II was also in possession of Birstall by 1380-81; in 1395 the site was sold by the abbot of Aumale to the Cistercian monks of Kirkstall. The ultimate fate of Wath is not recorded.

The sources for the Yorkshire alien cells are certainly too inadequate to agree conclusively with the general statements made, among others, by Professor Knowles, namely that the alien cells were 'unfortunate by-products of the Conquest', and that 'save for a few of the larger priories, they served no religious purpose whatever'.⁶ It is true that many factors inhibited the development of these houses, not least that they were in origin units of administration for overseas estates of distant abbeys. This fact in itself, the endowment of continental abbeys with English lands, became outmoded as the twelfth century wore on, and the cohesion of Anglo-Norman

1. E.Y.C. V no.318.

2. ibid. V no. 141.

3. Reg. Gray, pp. 182-83.

4. D. Matthew, Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions, p.83.

5. ibid. pp.161-62 (a draft of the proposal).

6. Knowles, Monastic Order, p.136.

estates disintegrated. In the eleventh and early twelfth centuries, however, they exemplified an important feature of the attitude of the Norman baronage towards monastic foundations in England.¹ There is no concrete evidence of corruption of these houses, or of spiritual decay; nor do the alien cells appear to have played a negative role in the development of monastic life in Yorkshire, even though their contribution may have been small compared to the houses of other orders.

Pontefract Priory

Of the first Cluniac priory in Yorkshire, that of St John of Pontefract, there are no visible remains. In the middle ages, however, it occupied an important position in the centre of Pontefract near to the castle of the founders, the Lacy family. Excavations carried out in the 1950's revealed the character and extent of two churches of a date before 1200: a late eleventh-century 'Benedictine type' apsed church, and a mid-twelfth century square-ended structure betraying considerable Cistercian influence.² Pontefract, founded c1099, was the sixth Cluniac foundation in the country. The events which led up to its foundation are far from clear. The only major source for the early history of the priory is its cartulary, and this inevitably contains little information concerning the motives for the establishment of the house by Robert de Lacy.³

The Lacy family, and more specifically Ilbert I, was enfeoffed with vast areas of land in south-west Yorkshire by the Conqueror. The deliberate creation of the great concentrated block of estates which came to be known as the Honour of Pontefract was, as Wightman has indicated, an

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1. See below, pp. 307-14.
 2. On the architectural history of Pontefract, see below, pp.504,514.
 3. The cartulary, formerly at Wooley Hall, is now deposited at Leeds Y.A.S. Library MS DD 57B.

unusual policy for William I: for it could, and did allow the concentration of local power and influence in the hands of one family.¹ In addition Ilbert I received manors in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire from Odo, bishop of Bayeux, from whose Norman estates he had come.² Under Ilbert and his son Robert, who succeeded him between 1091 and 1099, the vill of Pontefract grew to considerable importance; the latter was responsible for the construction of a castle there.

It is clear from the early charters of the priory that this same Robert founded the priory of Pontefract in the reign of William II.³ A more precise date cannot be assigned to the foundation, for the 'foundation charters' themselves present certain difficulties. The first charter included in the cartulary, headed 'Carta Roberti de Laceio primi fundatoris (loci hujus)', contains a confirmation of the gifts of Robert and his tenants. Items two and seven in the cartulary are confirmations, with detailed land boundaries, of the vill of Dodworth. Both Farrer and Wightman have discussed the authenticity of these documents. Farrer considered number one to be 'undoubtedly spurious', and numbers two and seven possibly spurious 'but number seven may be based upon a genuine charter in which several clauses were subsequently interpolated, notably that of the boundaries, which may have been considerably extended'. He further notes that the priory might have been founded by Ilbert de Lacy I, and that the first monks received no charter from Ilbert, a discrepancy which was rectified by a later generation of monks.⁴ More particularly objections to items two and seven rest on the fact that the detailed land boundary clause is not a common feature of late eleventh-century charters, and that the charters mention both Henry I and Archbishop T. of York; if the archbishop in question is Thurstan, the date

1. W.E. Wightman, The Lacy Family in England and Normandy (Oxford, 1966) pp. 17-54.

2. ibid. pp. 31-37.

3. See especially the charter of Archbishop Theobald, Cart. Pont. I, no. 57.

4. E.Y.C. III no. 1485n.

of the charter must be after 1114, although Robert de Lacy was in exile by this date. However, as Wightman has indicated, this obstacle can be removed if T. is taken to represent Archbishop Thomas I, who was still alive in the first two months of the reign of Henry I.¹

That charters number two and number seven have the appearance of forgeries, or of later interpolation, is clear. If they are later fabrications a possible circumstance of the loss of the original charters could be the destruction of the priory in the reign of King Stephen. In this case it is possible that the first charter is also a forgery, although it makes no obvious errors. However, as Wightman has pointed out, the fact that the early charters may not be genuine in themselves does not necessarily impair their historical value, for it can be shown from later charters of confirmation that they do represent a title to authentic gifts made by Robert to the priory.

The first charter was not issued at the 'foundation', that is when the plan to constitute the priory was first agreed by Robert and the priory of La Charité. In this charter Robert stated that with the advice of archbishop T(homas) he has founded a religious house in Kirkby (Pontefract) in honour of St John the Evangelist, which he had subjected to the house of La Charité of the order of Cluny.² Accordingly with the assent of his chapter, Prior Wilencus of La Charité had dispatched certain brethren to England, and ratified the foundation. The monks were evidently first resident in the hospital of St Nicholas, in Pontefract, for Robert confirms 'plenariam custodiam hospitalis de sancto Nicholao ubi prius habitaverunt'.

1. Wightman, The Lacy Family, p.61 n.4.

2. On the relationship of La Charité with one of its English daughter houses, Bermondsey, see R. Graham, 'The Priory of La Charité-sur-Loire and the monastery of Bermondsey', English Ecclesiastical Studies (London, 1929) pp. 91-124.

He further confirms his own gifts to the monks: land in Brackenhill, Marr, Ledston, Whitewell, Dodworth, Altofts and the churches of Kippax, Darrington and Kirkby, and a moiety of the church of Ledsham. The endowments of two tenants, William Foliot and Swain son of Ailric, of land in Kirkby and the church of Silkstone are confirmed to the monks. Robert's final gift to his new foundation was the chapel of St Clement in the castle of Pontefract, 'ne alteri religioni detur quam predictae ecclesie Sancti Johannis'. It may be suggested that this charter was issued some time after the 'foundation' when the monks moved from their temporary home in the hospital of St Nicholas to the newly-built priory. During this period the monks would have had time to accrue the gifts from the Lacy tenants. Despite the dubious appearance of the other two charters of Robert there is no obvious reason to regard this as a forgery, or to question the traditional identification of Robert de Lacy I as the founder of Pontefract.¹

The reasons for Robert's choice of the Cluniac house of La Charité as the mother house of his new foundation is expressed only in conventional terms in his charter: 'propter bonum odorem et honestam famam ordinis Cluniacensis'. However the Cluniac order was by the 1090's becoming well known in England, and it had considerable influence in Normandy where Lacy held estates. All the Cluniac houses founded in England before the end of the eleventh century owed their origin to noble families, Lewes to William de Warenne, Lacy's neighbour in South Yorkshire, Montacute to Robert Count of Mortmain, Northampton to Simon de Senlis Earl of Northampton, while William II himself gave land to Alwin Child's foundation of Bermondsey. The Cluniac order was apparently as much in fashion at the end of the eleventh century as the Cistercian was in the twelfth.

1. The chapel of St Clements was founded by Ilbert de Lacy I in the reign of the Conqueror. See E.Y.C. III no.1492. The identification of Robert as founder is substantiated by the wording of the charter in which Henry de Lacy confirms Kippax church to Pontefract, which gift his father had made when the priory was founded. Cart. Pont. I no.13.

The name of the prior under whom the priory was established is unknown. The first recorded prior is Walter, who was promoted to the abbacy of Selby in 1137.¹ The endowments Pontefract received in the reign of William II were mostly gifts of churches, Ledsham, Ledston, Kippax, Darrington, Kirkby, Silkstone and Cawthorne.² Wightman has remarked: 'This illustrates again the fondness of the early founders for endowing their houses with churches',³ and it had the advantage of representing a relatively small financial loss to the donor. In this respect Pontefract can clearly be compared to Holy Trinity, York.

The priory of Pontefract fared better in its fortunes than did its patrons. Circa 1114 Robert I, who had been a major baron and important administrator of William II and Henry I fell from favour, for reasons unknown, and was exiled from his English lands. The Honour of Pontefract passed to Hugh de Laval, a Norman baron of secondary importance. However the priory did not lose from this change in tenure, for Hugh proved a generous benefactor, endowing the monks with his tithes and rents of Kirkby the churches of Slaidburn in Bowland, Whalley, Clitheroe, Burnley and Colne, and the castle chapel of Clitheroe. He confirmed the 'privilegium de capella Sancti Clementis ... ut alteri ecclesie non possit dari ...'⁴ In the period of Hugh's lordship other gifts were received. William de Warenne granted land in Middleton⁵ for a rent of three shillings per annum, and the canons of Nostell demised the church of All Saints, Featherstone in exchange for half the church of St Mary of the castle of Pontefract.⁶ Ralph de Cattingwick

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1. Selby Coucher, pp.(31) - (32): See C.T. Clay, 'The Early Priors of Pontefract', Y.A.J. 38 (1955) pp.456-64. Walter is recorded in Cart. Pont.I, no.38, (c1122), but this charter is of doubtful authenticity.
 2. Cawthorne was given by Swain son of Ailric. (E.Y.C. III no.1663). In the confirmation charter of Ilbert II Brackenhill church includes the dependent chapel of Knottingley. (E.Y.C. III no. 1493).
 3. Wightman, The Lacy Family, p.62.
 4. Cart. Pont. I no.3.
 5. Formerly known as Middle Sitlington.
 6. E.Y.C. VIII no.11; E.Y.C. III nos. 1429, 1431. (confirmations issued by Odo prior of La Charité and Henry I). The exchange was apparently made in the years 1108-14, when it was confirmed by Archbishop Thomas II: E.Y.C. III no. 1465.

and his son Simon gave half the church of Catwick.

In 1129 Laval died, and was succeeded by William Maltravers, who paid a considerable sum of money for both Laval's estates and his widow. Maltravers gave one bovate of land in Thorpe to the monks, and paid one mark per annum in exchange for the surrender of the monks' rights in the church of Whalley.¹ The Honour of Pontefract was restored to the Lacy family in the person of Ilbert II, the son of Robert I when in 1135 on the accession of Henry I Maltravers was murdered by a knight of the honour.² Ilbert made no new gifts to the priory, merely issuing a charter confirming all the previous donations of his family.³ He disappears from record after the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, and was succeeded soon afterwards by his brother Henry.

The history of Pontefract in the period 1135 to 1154 illustrates exceptionally well how the fortunes of a religious house could be bound up with those of their patrons. Henry de Lacy became deeply involved in local warfare, probably the result of personal intrigue as much as involvement in the war between King Stephen and the Empress Mathilda. During these years the priory of Pontefract, like the estates of Lacy, suffered devastation at the hands of his enemies. The details of the destruction of the houses are not recorded, but the damage necessitated the rebuilding and re-dedication of the priory church c1159. One of the culprits was evidently Gilbert de Gant, Earl of Lincoln, whose sister was formerly married to Ilbert II. In 1154 Gilbert made a grant to Pontefract of a ferry at South Ferriby, with land and fourteen messuages in the same vill, six acres of land in Barton

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1. Cart. Pont. nos. 57 and 423. The surrender of Whalley was stipulated as not prejudicing any future claim by the monks.
 2. John of Hexham, p.294; Richard of Hexham, p.140. The latter records that the wounded Maltravers took the habit at Pontefract. See also E.Y.C. III no. 1440, King Stephen's pardon to Ilbert de Lacy and his knights.
 3. E.Y.C. III no. 1493. Out of the Laval gifts only the church of Slaidburn is confirmed to the monks. As Wightman has indicated, (Lacy family, p.75) this was probably due to an unwillingness to recognize grants made by an interloper.

and nine in 'Horkestoue'. This grant was made:

pro maximis dampnis que predictis ecclesie et monachis culpis meis exigentibus intuli in guerra illa que fuit inter me et H, de Lacy. Et ipsi monachi fecerunt me absolvi de excommunicacione que fecerint me excommunicari et susceperint me in plenariam fraternitatem ecclesie sue et totius ordinis sui.¹

The priory church, rebuilt in the middle years of the twelfth century, was re-dedicated in the years 1154-9. Henry de Lacy issued a notification to this effect.

Sciatis omnes quod ego Henricus de Laschi, pro amore Dei et pro salute anime mee et patris mei Roberti de Laschi et Matildis matris mee et pro animabus omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum, feci dedicari ecclesiam Sancti Johannis evangeliste in Pontefracto per consilium Rogeri venerabilis Ebgracensis archiepiscopi qui eandem ecclesiam consecravit.²

Archbishop Roger released all those visiting the monastery on the anniversary of its consecration from twenty days penance.³

The period 1135-54 was, however, not only one of destruction, for several benefactions were received. Henry de Lacy gave land in Kellingley, a tithe of the venison of his lands, and was associated with Ralph de Chevre-court in the grant of the vill of Barnsley.⁴ Alice de Gant, widow of Ilbert II and her husband Roger de Mowbray endowed the priory with lands in 'Ingolesmells' and Alice de Rumilly gave one carucate of land in Broughton.⁵ The churches of St Sampson and St Benet, York, make their first appearance in history in a charter of King Stephen granting them to Pontefract.⁶ The land which was to be the site of Monk Bretton priory, only daughter house of

1. Cart. Pont. II, no. 400.

2. E.Y.C. III, nos. 1499, 1504.

3. ibid. no. 1477. The results of the excavations at the priory in 1956 revealed that the east end of the church had been rebuilt c 1150: C.V. Bellamy, Pontefract Priory Excavations, Thoresby Soc. 49 (1965).

4. E.Y.C. III, nos. 1501, 1496; Cart. Pont. I, nos. 15, 387.

5. Mon. Ang. V, p. 125.

6. E.Y.C. III no. 1448. The grant was probably not effective, as the churches do not appear in the confirmation charter of Henry II: ibid. no. 1451.

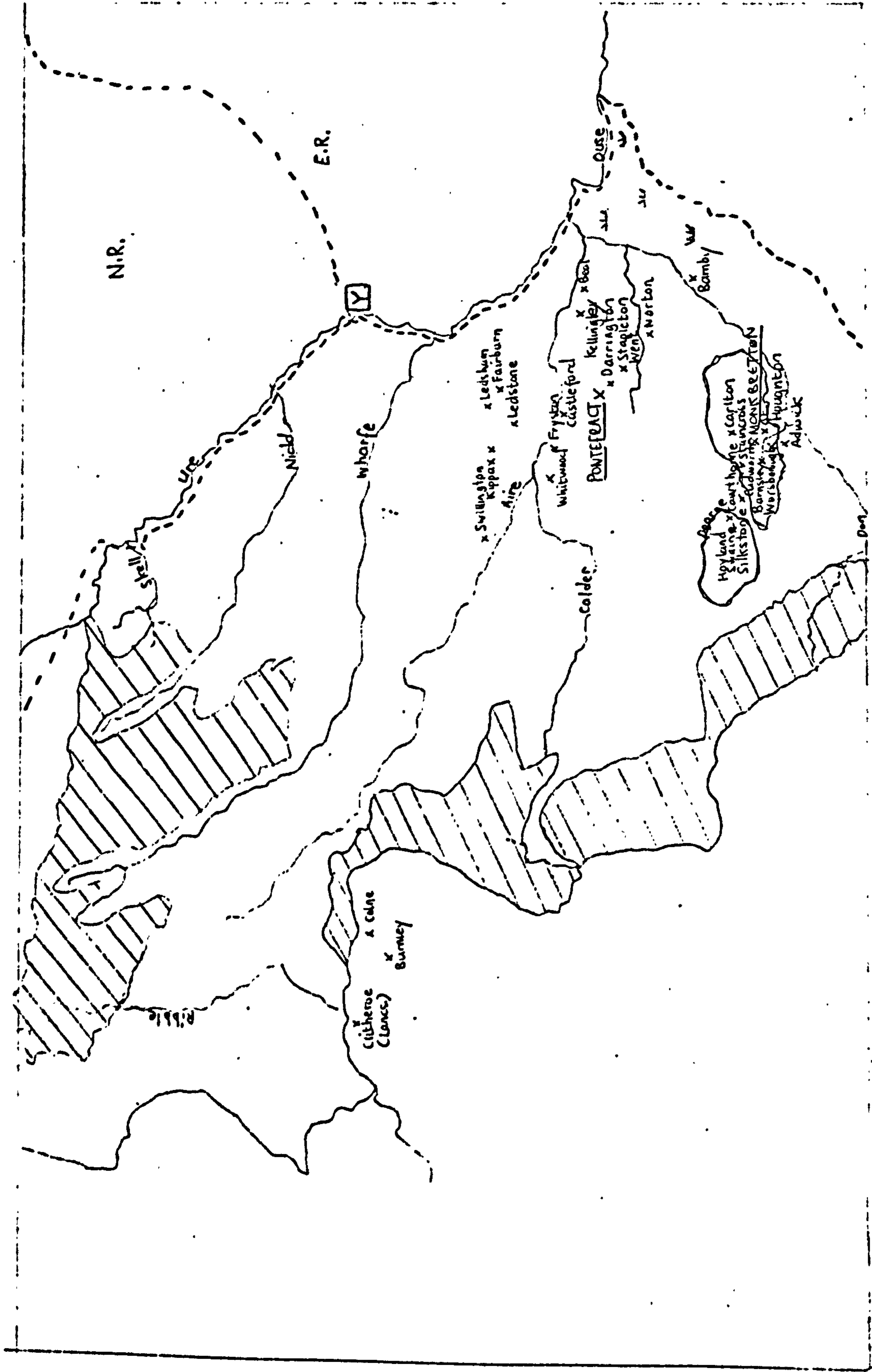
Pontefract was given in this period by Adam son of Swane.¹ Finally the dean and chapter of York released half the vill of Ledsham to the monks.² From the evidence of the confirmation charter of Archbishop Theobald it is clear that by 1153/4 Pontefract priory had come into the possession of land in 'Pecchefeld', Friston, Ravensfield, 'Cosehist', Cawthorne, and land and messuages in Pontefract.³ Before 1154-9 Adam, prior of Pontefract issued a charter conveying land to Matthew son of Saxe to hold for six shillings per annum and service.⁴

Unlike some religious houses Pontefract does not appear to have suffered a marked decrease in endowments after the first half century of its existence. Benefactions continued to be made to the monks, mostly by Lacy tenants. Lands in (Ferry) Friston, Skelbrook, Burghwallis, Pontefract, Smeaton, Tanshelf, Toulston, Middle Haddlesey, Darrington, Norton (for a rent of half a mark per annum), Barnby (for one mark per annum) and Catton were acquired.⁵ The family of Adam son of Peter de Birkin endowed the monks with land in Midgely, Smithalls and Stainborough.⁶ Two leases of land by the priory are recorded in the period 1160-80. Prior Bertram granted land in Catwick to William, priest of Catwick, and Prior Henry leased land in Skelbrook to Walter son of Hugh de Coppelai for a yearly rent of twelve pence.⁷

As can be seen from a map of the Pontefract estates, the monastic lands lay almost exclusively in two areas, one to the north and south of the river Aire, and the other in the basin of the river Dearne, around Barnsley and Dodworth. This geographical concentration reflects the fact that the

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1. Confirmed by Archbishop Theobald: E.Y.C. III, no.1475.
 2. ibid. no.1472.
 3. ibid. no.1475.
 4. Cart. Pont. I, no.582.
 5. ibid. I, nos. 167, 206, 242, 101, 239; E.Y.C. III no. 1612; Cart. Pont. nos. 427, 313-14, 89-90.
 6. E.Y.C. III, nos. 1730-31, 1734, 1739-41.
 7. ibid. nos. 1323, 1549.

Fig.6. The Estates of Pontefract Priory and its daughter house of Monk Bretton c1200.



Yorkshire: West Riding. Y = York. Scale approx. 10m to 1".

benefactors of Pontefract were, with the exception of Alice de Rumilly, tenants of the Lacy family, or related to the family in some other way.

The outstanding feature of the endowments of Pontefract is however, the number of churches which the priory received. Including the gifts of Hugh de Laval fourteen churches and five dependent chapels were controlled by the monks. How far these provided a source of revenue, indeed how long they remained in the hands of Pontefract is not altogether clear. Only Royston, Silkstone, Cawthorne, Ledsham, Kippax and Darrington are included in a bull of Alexander III, dated 1161, although the churches given by Hugh de Laval had been confirmed to the priory by Henry II some years before.¹ The interest of Pontefract in one of their churches was illustrated by an agreement reached between Reginald the prior and the convent of Pontefract, and Robert, chaplain of Darrington. On the death of G. the father of Robert, the monks promised to lease the church to Robert for three years, at a yearly rent of twenty-one shillings. The monks were to keep control of the lands and tithes of Darrington and its dependent chapel of Stapleton, in return for which they were to place a resident chaplain in the chapel.² A charter of Archbishop Roger relating to Kippax indicates that the monks received a rent of two bezants per annum from the church.³

Henry de Lacy continued to hold the patronage of the priory until his death in 1177. His son Robert II died without heirs in 1193, and his lands then passed to Roger, Constable of Chester and descendant of Aubrey the sister of Ilbert II and Henry I. Closer relations were

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1. E.Y.C. III nos. 1482, 1451. Royston church is confirmed to Pontefract but it did, in fact, form part of the initial endowment of Monk Bretton priory, being the gift of Adam son of Swane.
 2. Cart. Pont. I no.40. The agreement was to be renewed after three years, if so desired.
 3. E.Y.C. III no. 1479. For a general discussion of monastic possession of parish churches, see below, pp.388-416.

probably maintained with the patrons of the house than with the mother house of La Charité. The English priors probably visited France from time to time, but their visits are not recorded. Peter the Venerable, Abbot of Cluny, visited the English Cluniac houses in 1130;¹ and Knowles has suggested that Thurstan's familiarity with reforms at Cluny in 1131/2 was due to his contact with the prior of Pontefract.²

The priory makes brief appearances in the records of the thirteenth century. In 1268 some of the monks were suspended by legantine authority, and in 1277 the prior was accused of complicity in the deaths of certain of his monks. In 1322 the body of Thomas Earl of Lancaster was interred in the priory church. The prior of La Charité continued, in theory at least, to appoint the prior of Pontefract and to receive a yearly payment from its daughter house. This payment was suspended during the reign of Edward III, and the priory was granted denization in 1393.³ In 1535 it was valued at £335 12s. 10d. (clear) per annum.⁴

Pontefract was one of the more important Cluniac houses in England. It was a feature of this order that there was little contact between individual houses, and certainly little contact beyond formality, with houses on the other side of the channel. And, as Professor Knowles has remarked: 'The sporadic and gradual evolution of the group in England, its isolation from public, national life, and the insignificance of the majority of its houses prevented it from exerting any noticeable influence, as a group, upon English monastic history.'⁵ Herein lay its contrast to other orders;

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1. Anglo Saxon Chronicle, ed. G.N. Garmondswey (Revised ed. London, 1954), p. 261.
 2. Knowles, Monastic Order, p.232; D. Nicholl, Thurstan, Archbishop of York 1114-40 (York, 1964), p.169.
 3. On the Cluniac priories in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries see R. Graham, 'The Papal Schism of 1378 and the English Province of the Order of Cluny', and 'The English Province of the Order of Cluny in the fifteenth century' in English Ecclesiastical Studies (London, 1929) pp. 46-61 and 62-90. See also W.P. Baildon, Monastic Notes, I, Y.A.S.R.S. 17 (1895) pp. 166-72.
 4. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.66.
 5. Knowles, Monastic Order, p.153.

the Augustinians who contributed so much to parochial developments in Yorkshire, the Benedictines and Cistercians who took such decisive action in the disputed election of 1143-1147.

Yet Pontefract's importance should not be underestimated. It was situated in one of the more important vills in Yorkshire and, as we have seen, figured significantly both in local politics, and in the ecclesiastical affairs of the diocese. Overshadowed in wealth, magnificence and size by the Benedictine houses it may have been, but it was to Pontefract, among others, that the abbot of St Mary's turned during the crisis of 1132; and the great prelate, Thurstan, deemed it worthy to spend his last days at Pontefract.¹

Monk Bretton Priory.

Of far less importance than Pontefract was its daughter house of Monk Bretton, situated on the outskirts of Barnsley, in the twelfth century in the wood of Lund.² The house, founded before 1153-54, has two surviving cartularies; the former, compiled in the fourteenth century contains mainly thirteenth and fourteenth-century deeds. Only fifty folios of this manuscript survive; it appears to have been written in one main and two or more subsidiary hands. It contains red rubrics and marginal decoration.³ The second cartulary, formerly at Wooley Hall, is of a sixteenth-century date, and contains mostly late medieval deeds.⁴

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1. John of Hexham, pp.304-05. John recorded the tradition that as a young man Thurstan had vowed to end his life as a Cluniac monk.
 2. Lund was the alternative name for the priory in the middle ages.
 3. B.L. Landsdowne MS 405, fos. 51v-100 (old foliation); 3-65v (new). A note at the beginning of the cartulary indicates that in 1633 the manuscript belonged to Sir William Ayrmine; in 1709 to Walter Clavell and in 1763 to James West. Fos. 3-12, 13-18v, 19-22, 24-35, 36-38, 38v-40 and 42-46 are written in the principal hand.
 4. Leeds Y.A.S. Library MS DD 57A. See J.S. Purvis, 'New Light on the Cartularies of Monkbretton Priory', Y.A.J. 37 (1951), pp.67-71.

The priory of Monk Bretton makes its first appearance in a confirmation charter of Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury to Pontefract Priory, which was presumably issued in the period between the death of William fitz Herbert (Whitsuntide 1154) and the consecration of Roger de Pont L'Eve[^]que as archbishop of York (October 1154).¹ In this charter Theobald confirmed to Pontefract 'ex dono Ade filii Suani situm monasterii beate Marie Magdelene de Lunda'. It seems clear that Adam intended his new foundation to be dependent in some way upon Pontefract, founded by his feudal lords, the Lacy family. Adam's family were long-established tenants of the Lacys. His grandfather, Ailric, held lands of Ilbert de Lacy at the time of the Domesday survey (some of which he had held in the time of the Confessor).² Both his son Swane, and his grandson Adam were benefactors of the Lacy foundations of Nostell and Pontefract. It was natural that, when Adam decided to found a religious house he should turn for aid to Pontefract. His grant of the new site was confirmed to the latter, but his charters are not altogether explicit about the future relationship of the two houses. It was the uncertain constitutional status of Monk Bretton which was to become the outstanding feature of its history.

There are several surviving documents which relate to the question of the election of the prior of Monk Bretton. As mentioned above, the normal practice in the Cluniac order was for the prior of the mother house to appoint the head of a dependent priory. A letter sent by G. prior of La Charité, dated 1154-59 and addressed to 'amico speciali ... Ade filio Swani' lays down the principles for the election of the head of Monk Bretton:

1. Cart. Pont. I, no. 57.

2. E.Y.C. III, p. 317.

Est igitur ut per latores presentium didicimus vestra voluntas ut priorem illi domui de Bretton et ceteros qui ordinis strenui propugnatores existant ex fratribus nostris tam de Pontefracto quam de aliis domibus nostris per Angliam constitutis fratres idoneos eligatis, prior autem qui ibidem semel constitutus fuerit nequaquam inde summoveatur. Concedimus vero imperpetuum monachis de Brettone ibidem Deo famulantibus post decessum prioris sui consilio capituli sui de Bretton priorem de domo suo eligere qui secundum Deum ordinem monasticum et Beati Benedicti regulam in domo de Bretton observabit. Prior vero de Pontefracto si fuerit requisitus a conventu de Bretton veniet in propria persona apud Bretton (et) in capitulum intrabit cum advocatis eiusdem domus de Bretton ad electionem prioris et creationem.¹

The opening sentence of this extract would seem to indicate that its date of issue was not long after Adam's gift of the land of Bretton for a monastery. It would seem that Adam is being enjoined by Prior G. to choose, not only a suitable prior, but also a suitable convent. The divergence from the normal Cluniac practice, that is the guarantee of free election, and the limiting of the authority of the prior of Pontefract to occasions when he was 'requisitus' is therefore puzzling. It is even more perplexing when taken in conjunction with two further charters relating to the question of elections.

The notification of Adam son of Swane of the foundation of Monk Bretton, issued at a date between 1153-4 and 1159, the year of his death specifies that the prior of Monk Bretton is to be chosen by the prior of Pontefract, with the consent of Adam or his heirs:

post cujus decessum prior de Pontefracto et monachi ejusdem loci consilio meo et heredum meorum alios qui idonei sint in loco ejus substituent.

The priory of Monk Bretton was to pay to Pontefract one silver mark per annum 'ad recognitionem'. This was confirmed in almost the same words by Archbishop Roger.² Here is a clear intention that the election should proceed along traditional lines. It would seem reasonable to suppose that the letter of Prior G. superseded the specifications of Adam son of Swane.

1. E.Y.C. III no. 1671; Abstract in Cart. Monk Bretton, pp.218-19 from Dodsworth MS VIII, fo. 257.

2. E.Y.C. III no. 1669. See also no. 1670, a confirmation of Archbishop Roger.

Yet the wording of the former seems to suggest a date very soon after Adam had expressed his desire to found a Cluniac house. Whatever the order of their issue and the circumstances of the change of direction expressed in the letter of the Prior of La Charité, in practice the specification of Adam son of Swane won the day. The hundred and thirty years after the foundation saw the monks of Bretton strenuously attempting to uphold their right to free election against the encroachments of the prior of Pontefract, who insisted on participating in the election, whether 'requisitus' or not.

There was little difficulty in the appointment of the first prior, since Adam, prior of Pontefract decided to take responsibility for the new house himself. The early charters of Monk Bretton imply that the foundation was the result of close co-operation between Adam and Adam son of Swane. Both the founder and Archbishop Roger speak of the prior of Pontefract as 'ejusdem loci adquisitor et primus fundator' and the prior of La Charité reminds the patron of Monk Bretton of his debt to Prior Adam, 'cujus consilio tam salubre opus incepistis'. Adam procured a generous foundation grant from the founder. In addition to the site Adam son of Swane endowed the new foundation with lands in Newhill, Rainborough, Linthwaite, Brampton Bierlaw, the mills of Dearne, the grove which had belonged to his father, and the land lying between Dearne and Staincliffe as far as Merebrook.¹ Before his death in 1159 Adam had added to these benefactions a tithe of colts on his demesne, wherever mares were kept, the annual rent due from Raven de Halcton to his father, Cayton and the church of Royston.²

A close relationship developed between the monastery and the family of the patron. Henry son of Swane became a benefactor of his brother's foundation; in the period 1159-72 he donated rent due from land

1. Mon.Ang. V, p.136, no.1.

2. E.Y.C. III nos. 1666, 1668. Royston was confirmed as appropriated to Monk Bretton by Walter de Grey. B.M. Lansdowne MS 405 fo.16v. Abstract in Cart. Monk Bretton p.207.

in Wrangbrook which Ellis son of Hervey held of him.¹ Adam de Montbegon and his wife Matilda, daughter of Swane, confirmed the monks in possession of Cayton and Royston church in the period 1159-71, quit-claiming the right they had in half the latter.² Matilda and her second husband John Malherbe issued a similar confirmation.³ At a slightly later date Roger de Montbegon, a descendant of the founder, gave the monks four bovates of land in Wrangbrook.⁴

Apart from the family of the patron of Monk Bretton the only benefactor of the house of any standing was Adam son of Peter de Birkin. From him the monks received the mill of Havercroft, saving the fish in the vivary, the service of Roger de Montbegon (four shillings) for land in Worsborough, land in Smithalls lying next to the land of the monks of Pontefract, and a vivary between Royston and Carlton.⁵ Apart from these endowments a few minor benefactions from landowners in south Yorkshire were all that Monk Bretton acquired: a toft in Great Houghton from Jordan de L'Isle, land in Cudworth from William de Stapleton, several acres in Swallow Hill and a ridding in Swaithe Hall (Darfield).⁶

A confirmation charter of Urban III issued in the year 1186 specifies the gifts of Adam son of Swane, land in Cudworth (from Robert de Stapleton, Adam son of Orm and Adam de Flinthil), Henry son of Swane's gift of Wrangbrook and the gift of William de Neville and Amabel his wife of 'Longedenesdale'.⁷ In 1200 the same pope issued a further bull confirming Monk Bretton in possession of their lands. Estates previously not mentioned

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1. ibid. III no. 1676.
 2. Mon.Ang V, p.138 no, 6.
 3. E.Y.C. III no. 1679.
 4. ibid. III no. 1677. (dated 1180-98).
 5. E.Y.C. III nos. 1729, 1735, 1747.
 6. E.Y.C. VI no.124, III nos. 1686-7, 1691.
 7. B.L. Lansdowne MS 405, fo.62v. Abstract in Cart.Monk Bretton, pp.11-12.

are 'Phasam' given by Henry the Almoner, the gifts of Adam son of Peter, and the service of William the smith of 'Swalewehil'.¹ Neither of these bulls are comprehensive charters of confirmation since there are certain omissions, but it is clear that by the end of the twelfth century Monk Bretton had achieved nowhere near as many benefactions as its mother house.

This was probably due to the fact that the benefactors of Monk Bretton were not from the highest class of society. It had no Roger de Mowbray, William de Percy or Henry de Lacy encouraging loyal tenants to endow a family foundation with lands. Consequently Monk Bretton attracted little attention. It was a small house, and its interests were purely local, as the distribution of its estates indicates. The priory was dependent for the most part on the gifts of its patrons and from minor landowners in the immediate vicinity of the house.

Yet though Monk Bretton appears to acquire only modest endowments in the twelfth century it was far from being the poorest house in the county in later centuries. In 1291 it was assessed at an annual value of £25 1s. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.² At the Reformation it had achieved an annual net income of £239 3s. 6d. (clear) and thus escaped the early suppression of monasteries valued at under £200 per annum.³

The history of Monk Bretton in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was dominated by the struggle to assert the independence of the priory from Pontefract. In 1255 Alexander IV issued a mandate to the dean and archdeacon of Lincoln to decide whether Monk Bretton was a cell of Pontefract or an independent house, the right to elect the prior being a crucial question.

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1. Swain de Wath also gave eight acres of land in Ardsley: E.Y.C. VII no. 125. (B.L. Harleian Charter 84 B13.) A further grant was made by Humphrey de Lascelles, who gave his body for burial and Geoffrey son of Gamel, with four acres of land: E.Y.C. III no. 1546.
 2. Taxatio Papae Nicholae, 1291, p.305. Pontefract was assessed at £51. 17s. 11 $\frac{1}{2}$ d.
 3. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp.42-3. This value was substantially higher than that of many nunneries and some of the Augustinian priories.

In 1267 the sub-prior of Monk Bretton reported that there had been no prior for fifteen years, since the convent refused to accept the nomination put forward by the prior of Pontefract. In 1269 it was agreed that, on payment of twenty shillings per annum, to Pontefract, the latter would quitclaim its right in the elections at Monk Bretton. However relations between the two houses continued to deteriorate, and the problem of the constitutional status of Monk Bretton was only solved when the priory decided to leave the Cluniac order altogether. In 1279-80 it declared itself to be a Benedictine house, and soon afterwards was struck off the role of Cluniac houses.¹

1. As a Benedictine house, Monk Bretton accordingly figures in Chapters of the English Black Monks 1215-1540, ed. W.A. Pantin, 3 vols, Camden Society 45, 47, 54 (1931-37). See especially the visitation returns: II, p.92; III, pp. 223, 226-7, 240, 242, 247, 249, 251, 253.

Apart from the nunneries, the houses of regular canons formed the most numerous class of religious houses in Yorkshire in the Middle Ages. In the twelfth century thirteen such houses were founded: the Augustinian priories of Bridlington (c1113); Nostell (1114-19); Guisborough (1119-24); Kirkham (1122); Embsay, later Bolton (1121-22); Warter (c1132); Drax (1130-39); Newburgh (1142); Marton (ante 1147-53); the Premonstratensian abbeys of Easby (1151); Swainby, later Coverham (ante 1187); Egglestone (ante 1198); and finally the priory of North Ferriby of the Order of the Temple of the Lord in Jerusalem.¹ This chapter will examine, individually, the early history of these houses.

Canons regular were distinguished from monks by their adherence to the Rule of St Augustine, a document which enjoyed much success in the twelfth century largely because of its 'practical sense and vagueness, which allowed a pile of useful customs to be attached to it, and several quite different ways of life to be based on it.'² In due course the way of life of the canons seemed to many to represent the true successor of the 'vita apostolica'; the twelfth-century author of the 'Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus que sunt in Ecclesia' (himself a regular canon) sought to reconcile this view with those who regarded the monks in the same light.³ He drew a distinction, not between canon and monks so much as between those of both 'orders' who dwelt in cities and in the wilderness. In time canons and monks grew less distinct in their observances and activities.

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1. Only one house of regular canons came into existence after 1200; this was Healaugh Park. In the mid-twelfth century Bertram Haget had donated land in Healaugh to Gilbert, monk of Marmoutier, a hermit (Gilbert may well have been a renegade monk from Holy Trinity, York). The hermitage was converted into an Augustinian house by Walter de Gray in 1218: See The Chartulary of the Augustinian Priory of St John the Evangelist of the Park of Healaugh, ed. J.S. Purvis, Y.A.S.R.S. 92 (1936).
 2. C. Brooke, The Monastic World (London, 1974), pp.125-34, especially 125-26.
 3. Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus qui sunt in Ecclesia, ed. G. Constable and B. Smith (Oxford, 1972).

The Augustinian order was the first to reach Yorkshire.¹ It had spread rapidly on the continent in the eleventh century, largely due to the backing of the reforming popes of that era, but only a few English houses could claim to have been founded as early as 1100.² The great impulse in England came after the foundation of Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate in 1107. The patronage of the order by Henry I and his queen (founder of Aldgate) ensured its immediate popularity among the barons and royal officials. Henry's connection with the barons of Yorkshire no doubt also produced its effect; and in c1113 under royal auspices, the foundation of Bridlington took place. The rapid expansion of the order in Yorkshire came when to royal patronage was added the zeal of an energetic archbishop, Thurstan. The combined influence of king and archbishop is evident in the foundations of Nostell, Guisborough and Kirkham.

After Thurstan's death in 1140 the number of Augustinian foundations in Yorkshire abated dramatically, only two foundations taking place between 1140 and 1200. In the chronology of its Augustinian foundations Yorkshire exhibits a trend different from England as a whole, where the expansion of such houses continued without slackening up to 1170 and beyond. The loss of favour in Yorkshire was no doubt due in part to the popularity of the Cistercian order. As the Cistercian expansion was more marked in Yorkshire than elsewhere, the decrease in the number of Augustinian foundations is not, perhaps, surprising.³

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1. On the Augustinians in England, see J.C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons and their introduction into England (London, 1950), and 'English Regular Canons and the Continent in the Twelfth Century', T.R.H.S. 5th series, I, (1951), pp.71-89; H.E. Salter, Chapters of the Augustinian Canons, Oxford Historical Society, 74, (1920).
 2. St Giles, Canterbury; Huntingdon, Colchester: see Dickinson, Austin Canons, pp.99-107.
 3. See below, pp. 143-237.

After the Cistercian General Chapter prohibited further foundations (1152) the regular canons once again achieved popularity in Yorkshire, but this time in the form of the Premonstratensian order (established by St Norbert in c1121), whose observances owed much to the Rule of St Augustine and the Cistercian customs.¹ Introduced into England fairly late, the earliest foundation was that of Newhouse (Lincolnshire) in 1145; in 1147-8 a colony was sent from Newhouse to Alwick (Northumberland) and in 1151 a second colony was dispatched to Easby in Yorkshire. The second Yorkshire foundation, Coverham, was a daughter house of Welbeck and a 'grandaughter' of Newhouse. Egglestone was a daughter house of Easby.

The number of houses of canons, in particular Augustinians, bears witness to their exceptional popularity in the period 1114-45. It may well be that part of the reason for their success lay in the fact that they were expected to perform parochial duties and so to enhance the spiritual life of the diocese at grass roots level. This was probably a powerful influence behind the rise of the order in Yorkshire; the number of churches granted to Yorkshire houses (especially those founded under Thurstan) point to a deliberate policy on the part of the archbishop to foster a religious order which could play a useful part in the cure of souls in a still primitive see.² It has also been suggested that the Augustinians achieved popularity among the lay lords because their houses were cheap to found.³ Although it is true that several Yorkshire houses were founded on parochial sites, thus presumably keeping the cost to a minimum, the Yorkshire evidence does not indicate that cost was a major factor in the choice of the barons to found Augustinian houses.

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1. On Prémontré see H.M. Colvin, The White Canons in England (Oxford 1951); F.A. Gasquet 'The English Premonstratensians', T.R.H.S. n.s.17 (1903) pp.1-22; C.J. Kirkfleet, The White Canons of St Norbert. A History of the Premonstratensian Order in the British Isles and America. (St Norbert Abbey, West de Père, Wisconsin, 1943).
 2. On Thurstan's influence on monastic foundations, see below pp. 361-63.
 3. R.W. Southern, 'The Place of Henry I in English History' Raleigh Lecture, in Proceedings of the British Academy, 48, (1962), pp.127-56; revised and reprinted in R.W. Southern, Medieval Humanism (Oxford, 1970), pp. 206-33, especially 216.

On the contrary many of the early foundations in particular received generous benefactions, and at the Reformation Nostell and Guisborough were among the richer houses in the county.¹

All the houses of regular canons enjoyed close connections with their patrons. It seems likely that family connections between the various founders and patrons assisted the expansion of the order.² Roger de Mowbray, founder of Newburgh was, for example, connected by marriage to the Gant family, patrons of Bridlington; the patrons of Bolton and Drax, the Rumillys and the Paynels, were also related by marriage. Prominent among the founders were royal officials like Bertram de Bulmer, sheriff of Yorkshire, the founder of Marton Priory and Walter Espec, royal justice, the founder of Kirkham.³

The Yorkshire houses of canons, like their counterparts in the rest of England varied in size, wealth and importance. In the twelfth century their influence was considerable, but perhaps not as great as it might have been had it not been for the impact made by the Cistercians in the 1130s. Before the coming of the White Monks monasticism in Yorkshire had been moving towards the establishment of bodies of regular canons with a definite pastoral aim. In the 1130s the emphasis swung towards austerity, towards a life of hardship remote from the outside world. This trend is paralleled by the departure of noted Augustinians like Waldef of Kirkham from their houses for the sterner life of a Cistercian monastery.

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1. See below, pp. 94-95, 101. Dickinson, (Austin Canons, p.140) noted that of the monasteries founded before 1135 the average value in 1535 was £360 per annum. Of these houses only twenty-five were 'greater monasteries'. Yorkshire included five of the latter: Guisborough, Nostell, Bridlington, Kirkham and Warter. The average value of the houses founded after 1135 was under £200 per annum. In Yorkshire Newburgh (£437 13 5) exceeded the national average and Marton (£151) fell below it.
 2. Compare this with a similar feature among the Yorkshire nunneries: see below, pp. 270-71.
 3. For family connections among the Premonstratensian patrons, see Colvin, White Canons, pp. 33-36.

Bridlington Priory.

Bridlington Priory, occupying a site on the North Sea Coast, was the earliest Augustinian foundation in the county of Yorkshire. Founded by the powerful baron Walter de Gant in the centre of his Yorkshire lands, there is evidence that Bridlington Priory was established by 1114. This date derives from memoranda inserted in a Bridlington 'book of devotions' (dated 1510-1512); but for the early period of Bridlington's history there is only one major contemporary source, the cartulary of the priory, B.L. Additional MS 40008 fos.1-344v. Written in double columns in a clear book hand the cartulary is of a fourteenth-century date. Its arrangement is mainly topographical.¹

Two entries in the Bridlington 'book of devotions', which is preserved at Durham, (Durham University Library Cosin U.V.19, fo.53) relate to the foundation of Bridlington. The first reads:

Anno domini xiiij regni regis Henrici primi ... anno 9 vite vero penultimo, ex assensu et precepto ejusdem Henrici regis Anglie fundata est domus de Brydlyngton, per Walterum de Gant filium Gisbricti ... Ipse vero Walterus favente Thoma Ebor. archiepiscopo canonicis regulares in ecclesia de Brydlyngton fecit institui, et ipsam terris et possessionibus et ecclesiis dotavit.²

The second entry is very similar, with the exception that the date is more clearly expressed: 'Anno incarnationis dominice Mil.C^oxiii^o regni regis Henrici primi xiiij ... anno IX etc..' Thus the evidence suggests that Bridlington was established with the consent of Henry I and Thomas II, and combined, the two memoranda furnish a date of 1113. The early date of foundation is confirmed by a charter of Thomas II (d.1114) himself in favour

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1. Abstracts of the contents of the cartulary are printed in Cart. Brid. Fos. 1-10 of the cartulary are occupied by copies of royal charters.
 2. These two memoranda are printed, with notes, by J.S. Purvis, 'The Foundation of Bridlington Priory', Y.A.J. 29 (1929) pp.241-42. In both cases there is a phrase, '(pontificatus Thome secundi archiepiscopi) anno IX' partially erased. Purvis commented that 'an over-conscientious hand, apparently confusing Thomas II Archbishop of York ... with Thomas à Becket has struck out part of the reference to Thomas ...'. The reference to his 9th year of office may be an error for the 6th year (i.e.1113-4). The document, however, still presents some problems.

of the parish church of Bridlington and the brethren serving God there.¹

The part played by Henry I in the foundation (expressed in the Durham manuscript as 'ex precepto et concensu regis') is substantiated by Walter de Gant's foundation charter, in which he stated that the foundation had been made 'ex praecepto et concensu Regis Henrici'²; Henry himself confirmed the establishment of the canons and gave land in Hilderthorpe and Easton.³ It is a feature of the earliest Yorkshire Augustinian houses such as Guisborough and Kirkham, that they were extremely well-endowed by their founders. Bridlington was no exception. To the canons Walter granted all his land in the vill of Bridlington (amounting to thirteen carucates), the mills of the vill and the churches of Edenham (Lincs) Witham, Filey, Grinton in Swaledale, Ilkeston (Derbyshire) and a moiety of the church of South Ferriby.⁴ By the time this charter was issued (1125-30) lands had been acquired from Gant tenants in the Bridlington area: William the Constable donated one carucate of land in Bessingby; Forne two bovates in the same place; Kathermus two bovates in Hilderthorpe; Ralph Buc and his son Jocelin two bovates in Easton and Grindale; Gozo four bovates in Buckton and Malger four bovates in Reighton. Finally Alvered the hunter is recorded as the donor of the churches of Willerby and Ganton.⁵

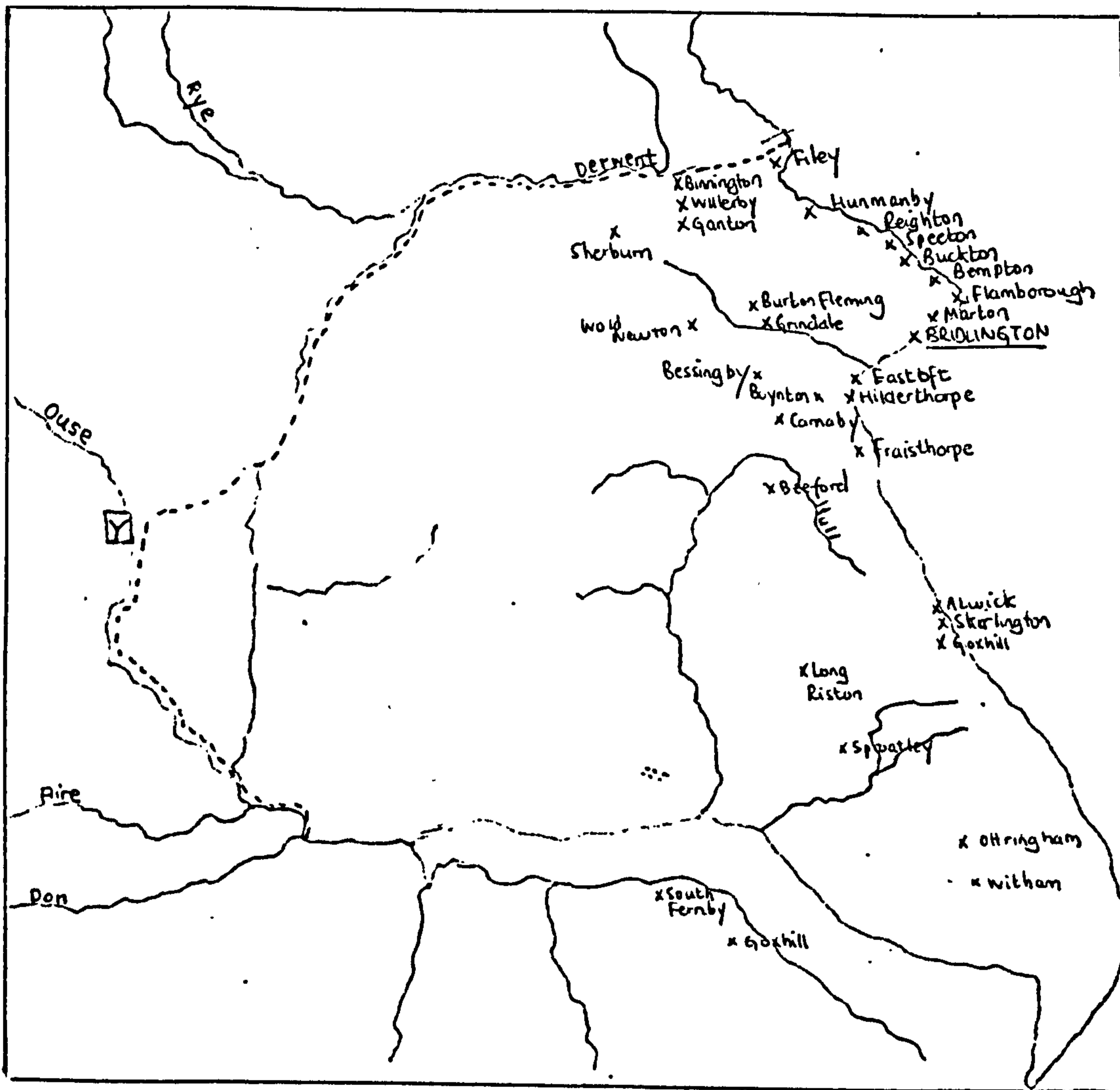
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1. B.L. Additional MS 40008, fo.321: abstract Cart. Brid. p.430.
 2. E.Y.C. II no. 1135.
 3. J.S. Purvis, 'A Foundation Charter of Bridlington Priory', Y.A.J. 29 (1929), p.395; B.L. Additional MS 40,008 fo.19 (abstract in Cart. Brid. p.24.)
 4. The possession of South Ferriby church led to a dispute with Thornholme Priory: see E.Y.C. XII no. 99. The canons of Bridlington complained to Pope Innocent III about undue hardship caused by archidiaconal visitation of Grinton church: see below, p. 384.
 5. For charters pertaining to Willerby and Ganton see B.L. Additional MS 40,008, fos. 76-102.

Further evidence of land acquisition in the period up to 1135-9 is furnished by a charter of confirmation issued to the canons of Bridlington by King Stephen.¹ In addition to endowments already mentioned the canons had by that time acquired further lands in Bridlington from Jordan Paynel.² Stephen, Earl of Aumale had given the church of Boynton, William Fitz Neal the church of Flamborough, Eustace Fitz John the church of East Cowton.³ Further churches - Atwick, Sproatley and Whichford were granted by Everard de Ros, Ralph de Gosla and William de Moion. Emma de Percy, wife of Alan de Percy, gave land in Wold Newton.⁴

In addition to these substantial grants Bridlington received endowments from Gilbert de Gant when he succeeded his father Walter as patron of the house; these comprised the vill of Bessingby (where the canons held the church) and Speeton, land in Burton Fleming and pasture in Hunmanby sufficient for five hundred sheep.⁵ The canons controlled the harbour of the vill, and by 1140 had come to favourable agreements concerning the tithes of Grinton in Swaledale, and the thraves due in the parishes of Bridlington and Hunmanby.⁶ Before 1150 Roger de Mowbray had granted the canons land in Fraisthorpe and Marton.⁷

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1. Regesta, III no. 119. For further charters granted by Stephen to Bridlington, see ibid. nos. 120-125.
 2. E.Y.C. II no. 805.
 3. On a (spurious) charter granting Flamborough to Whitby, see ibid. II no. 854, and note.
 4. Other grants made before 1139 but not included in Stephen's charter were: Ansketil d'Escures gift of four bovates in Long Riston; Scalby church, the gift of Eustace Fitz John; land in Binnington, given by Morcar and confirmed by Robert de Brus: E.Y.C. II no. 826; Regesta III, no.120; E.Y.C. II no. 647.
 5. ibid. II nos. 1156-57; 1166, 1184, 1219 and 1222. Archbishop Thurstan had confirmed the canons in possession of Bessingby church 'in usus eorundem fratrum': ibid. II no.1151.
 6. In 1066 and 1086 the Cathedral church of St Peter, York, had held four carucates of land in Grinton. The church (a dependent chapel of Bridlington church) was controlled by the canons. Serlo, canon of the Minster, promised to quitclaim to the canons of Bridlington all the tithes and other dues of Grinton to which he had claim: (E.Y.C. I nos.152-53). The canons of Beverley ceded to the priory two thraves or 2d. from every plough team in the parishes of Bridlington and Hunmanby in return for prayers to be said for their dead at Bridlington: ibid. I no.102.
 7. Mowbray Charters, no. 21.

Fig.7. The Estates of Bridlington Priory c.1200.



Yorkshire: East. Riding.

Y. = York.

Scale approx. 12m. to 1".

The sources for the early history of Bridlington by their nature shed light mostly on the acquisition of estates by the canons. Little else can be gleaned. The first prior of the house may well have been Wicheman (Guikeman), to whom the papal bull of confirmation issued by Calixtus II (1119-24) was addressed. He was still prior in 1125, but no other head of the house is recorded until Bernard, who occurs in 1141-3 and again in 1148.¹ Roger occurred in the late 1140s and early 1150s.² He may well have been the prior who received a comprehensive bull of confirmation from Eugenius III.³ It is not known which individual was prior when an episode occurred which, for once, affords a glance of a feature of Bridlington's history other than that of land acquisition. This was the attack on the priory by William of Aumale, Earl of York, who, in the words of William of Newburgh 'exclusis regularibus canonicis ecclesiam invasit et polluit Brelingoniensem' (1143-44).⁴ John of Hexham explained that the reason for this outrage was William's enmity towards Gilbert de Gant.⁵ John, too, recorded the sequel: (William) 'clementiae divinae respectu compunctus, largis crebisque eleemosyna in pauperes expensis, et non ignobilium constructione expiant excessum'.⁶

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1. P.U.E. III no. 11; E.Y.C. II no. 874; Cart. Whitby I no. 296; Mon. Ang. VI p. 319.
 2. See Heads of Religious Houses, p. 154.
 3. P.U.E. III no. 87. This confirmed, in addition to endowments already mentioned, the churches of Baumber, Ottringham, Horncastle, Ashby (by Partney?) Tissington, (Co. Derby), Merring (Notts.), Anderby, and Mareham (Lincs.). It was issued in the period 1145-53. The donors of Ottringham church (William and his brother Richard) stated that canons from Bridlington were to be placed in the church: '... canonici ... ponent ibi tot canonicos quot secundum considerationem capituli locus sustenare poterit': E.Y.C. III no. 1366.
 4. Newburgh, I p. 47.
 5. John of Hexham, p. 315.
 6. William confirmed to the canons the liberty over his lands in Ottringham, Skirlington, Sproatley, Atwick, Beeford and Boynton, 'pro restauratione dampni quod eis feci' and pasture land in Hayburn (Cloughton): E.Y.C. III no. 1306; I no. 362.

Perhaps the most famous prior of Bridlington in the twelfth century was the man known as Robert the Scribe, author of a number of biblical commentaries and the tract 'Colloquium magistri et discipuli in regulam Sancti Augustini de vita clericorum'.¹ This latter work has been described as 'parochial in the extreme' but 'a vigorous, very practical treatise'.² Little is known of Robert beyond his writings. He was evidently prior only a short time and had certainly resigned in 1159, and perhaps as early as 1154.³ The periods of office of his successors at Bridlington, Gregory and Hugh, are again obscure.

The last half of the century saw considerable advances in the acquisition and consolidation of estates. Henry II granted the canons quittance of pannage in Scalby forest;⁴ Beeford church was acquired from Ernald de Montbegon.⁵ The Fribois family donated lands in the borough of Skipsea castle and in Barrow on Humber.⁶ In the last two decades of the century lands were acquired in Little Hill, Thornekar, Out Newton and Swaledale.⁷ The estates of the priory continued to expand, and new areas were exploited by the canons. Much of Bridlington's income came from the many churches the priory had been granted and in 1194 Celestine III granted the canons licence to appropriate twenty such churches when they became vacant.⁸

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1. For a further discussion of Robert's work and bibliographical notes, see below pp. 481-82.
 2. J.C. Dickinson, Austin Canons, p.66.
 3. See Heads of Religious Houses, p. 154.
 4. E.Y.C. I no. 363.
 5. ibid. III nos. 1358-59.
 6. ibid. III nos. 1356-57. The latter gift, made by Peter of Fribois was in exchange for one bovate of land in Beeford, which Peter son of Toke had given to the canons when he took the habit at Bridlington.
 7. ibid. III no. 1353; 1355; V nos. 392, 394.
 8. P.U.E. III no. 467.

The priory clearly owed much of its success to the Gant family; relations between monastery and patron here seem to have been particularly strong. In addition to making grants of land and confirming the gifts of his tenants, Walter de Gant, the founder, presented to the canons the phylactery and relics which his brother Baldwin had sent him from Jerusalem.¹ He evidently placed his son Gilbert in the priory in order to be educated; Gilbert referred in one charter to the canons 'inter quos ab annis infantie coalueram'.² He expressed a desire to be buried in the priory church, and in the years 1156-57 Robert de Gant issued a notification to the effect that he had been present when his brother Gilbert, during his last illness gave his body to be buried at Bridlington.³ Robert himself was a generous benefactor of the house; in their charters both he and Gilbert talk of 'canonici mei' of Bridlington. Gilbert's daughter Alice issued charters of confirmation to the priory and was the donor of land in Swaledale.⁴

The later history of the priory of Bridlington is reasonably well-documented; its economic activities are recorded in the cartulary, and light is thrown on the internal discipline of the priory by a series of injunctions issued by archbishops following visitations.⁵ Bridlington had the distinction of producing its own saint, a former prior John of Thweng.⁶ It was evidently a house of some importance; the prior was twice summoned to Parliament (in 1295 and 1299) and in 1409 received the right to use the pontifical insignia from Pope Alexander V. The last prior, William Wood, was put to

1. E.Y.C. II no. 1136.

2. ibid. no. 1138.

3. ibid. ' .. ut ubi in hunc mundum ingressus sum de ventre matris mee, ibi de hoc mundo egrediar in matrem omnium et per eorum exemplum atque doctrinam Christo merear in bonis operibus conformis fieri per quorum ministerium Christum baptisate indui'; ibid. II no. 1166.

4. ibid. no. 1140; V no. 391.

5. Reg. Wickwane, p.87; B.I. Reg. 9 (Reg. Melton) fo. 273.

6. D. Knowles, The Religious Orders in England, II (Cambridge, 1961) pp.117-18.

death for his part in the Pilgrimage of Grace, although he appears to have joined the rebels unwillingly. The priory and its estates (valued in 1535 at £547 6s. 11½d. per annum)¹ were accordingly confiscated by the Crown.² Immediately the dismantling of the house began; jewels and plate were sent to London to enrich the royal treasury. The roofing lead which, at a value of nearly £1000 had so aroused the admiration of the Duke of Norfolk, was sold.³ The priory church alone (now the parish church of Bridlington) has survived of this, the earliest and one of the more influential Augustinian foundations in Yorkshire.

Nostell Priory

Nostell Priory, now a fine stately house, lay a few miles from the important castle of Pontefract, seat of the founder of the original hermitage of Nostell, Robert de Lacy.⁴ In many ways it was one of the most important, perhaps the most important, Augustinian house in Yorkshire.⁵ There are two major sources for the early history of the priory, its cartulary and a fifteenth-century Act Book of the Priors of Nostell which is still preserved at Nostell.⁶ The former is of a thirteenth-century date, and its considerable length (187 folios) bears witness to the amount of land accumulated by the canons in the first two centuries or so of the priory's existence. The handwriting is clear and regular, but the first and last few folios are damaged. After a contemporary index (fos. 1-2v) the charters are arranged

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1. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 120-21. This was the clear annual value; the gross value was £682 13s. 9d.
 2. G.W.O. Woodward, The Dissolution of the Monasteries (London, 1966), pp. 98-100.
 3. ibid. p.106; M.D. Knowles, Religious Orders, III, p. 384.
 4. On the Lacy family see W.E. Wightman, The Lacy Family in England and Normandy (Oxford, 1966), pp. 55-86.
 5. For discussion of the foundation of Nostell see W.E. Wightman 'Henry I and the Foundation of Nostell Priory', Y.A.J. 41 (1966), pp. 57-60; Nicholl, Thurstan, pp.129-37; J. Wilson 'The Foundation of the Austin Priors of Nostell and Scone', Scottish Historical Review, 7, (1910) pp. 141-49; A. Hamilton Thompson, The Priory of St Mary, Bolton in Wharfedale (Thoresby Soc. 30, 1924) pp. 34-38.
 6. B.L. Cotton MS Vespasian E XIX; Nostell Priory MS C/A/1.

in sections: royal charters, final concords, further royal charters and charters of the patrons. From fo.18 onwards the charters are arranged topographically.

The Act Book 'De Gestis et Actibus Priorum Monasterii Sancti Oswaldi de Nostell' was written during the priorate of Robert de Quyxlay (1393-1428) and copied at Nostell in the period 1489-1505; a list of the priors who ruled until 1524 was added at a later date still.¹ The extremely late date of the composition of the Act Book inevitably raises the question of its accuracy. It may well be that the author 'tells a romantic tale of the coming of the Augustinians to St Oswald's, which may be regarded as pious endeavour to reconcile documentary facts with a vague tradition';² the author was preserving the traditions of the foundation as current at Nostell in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century. How far these traditions had been embroidered by time we cannot tell. Unfortunately the Act Book is the only full account of the circumstances which led to the interest of Henry I in the priory and its subsequent fame, and many details which the author gives cannot be confirmed by any other source. On the other hand, as Nicholl has indicated the inclusion of two papal bulls in the narrative makes it clear 'that the compiler ... was working from respectable authorities.'³

One thing is certain: the author of the Act Book did not present the full story of the foundation. His story really began in 1121-2, the date he gave as the date of foundation. He admitted that there was already a group of hermits living at Nostell ('locum illum ubi capella Sancti Oswaldi

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1. The beginning of the Act Book (fo.84) is reminiscent of the opening paragraphs of the histories of the abbeys of Byland and St Mary's, written in the twelfth century (on which see below, pp.463-4): 'Ad exemplum servorum Dei, illustrium gesta virorum recitare constat necessarium, quatinus de factis bonorum virtutes imitando colligant, et malorum vitia diligentius deserendo devitent. Quamobrem modum et formam foundationis ... prioratus Sancti Oswaldi de Nostell ... ad presens commendare dispono.'
 2. Wilson, 'The Foundation of Nostell and Scone', p. 153.
 3. Nicholl, Thurstan, p. 134, n. 103.

regis et martiris modo sita est).¹ Evidence independent of the Act Book tends to indicate that this may well have been a community, not just of hermits, but of Augustinian canons. Certainly the inhabitants are referred to as 'clerici' in a charter of Archbishop Thomas II (d. 1114),² and a bull of Calixtus I, dated to the first year of his pontificate (1119-20) and printed by Wilson from the Act Book, called the community Augustinian.³ Moreover, the Scottish Augustinian priory of Scone was colonized from Nostell ante 1122 (the date of the death of the founder, King Alexander I).⁴ Nostell was clearly well-established as an Augustinian house before 1122.

How reliable, then, is the additional material preserved in the Act Book, namely that the hermits of Nostell were discovered by Ralph, surnamed Adlave, a royal chaplain and confessor to Henry I, who himself entered the community, took the Augustinian habit and became 'magister et rector' of the house?⁵ Is this account pure fabrication ingeniously devised to explain Henry I's interest in the house? Perhaps the greatest single problem lies in identifying Ralph Adlave and Athelwulf, whom the Act Book designated as first and second rulers of the house respectively. There is evidence for the occurrence of the latter, who was raised to the new see of Carlisle by Henry I, in 1122, thus contradicting the Act Book which stated that Adlave became head of the house in that year.⁶ It has been suggested, therefore,

1. Nostell Priory MS C/A/1, fo. 85.

2. E.Y.C. III no. 1465 (nos. 1429-32 are related charters). By this charter the agreement was ratified whereby the monks of Pontefract ceded to Nostell the church of Featherstone, with burial rights in their church of St Oswald ('ita quod canonici regulariter Deo ibidem seruiant'), in return for the moiety held by Nostell of the church of St Mary, Pontefract. In addition to this evidence it is likely that Tockwith, a cell of Nostell was founded by 1114, and other grants of land had certainly been received: Nicholl, Thurstan, p.130 n. 81.

3. Wilson, 'The Foundation of Nostell and Scone' pp. 154-55. An undated bull is printed on p.156.

4. ibid. pp. 141-53.

5. Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fo. 85.

6. For these references see Heads of Religious Houses, p.178.

that Ralph did not exist, that his surname Adlave is a corruption of Athelwulf.¹ On the other hand, as Farrer suggested, Ralph may have existed; he may have been the canon of Nostell, named Ralph, to whom Nigel D'Aubigny granted the cell of Hirst.² It is significant that nowhere in the Act Book is Ralph called prior; his title is twice given as 'rector' and 'magister'. It may well be that the confusion of the author arose from the fact that there was a previous head of the house called Ralph, who ruled before the adoption of the Augustinian rule. This would explain, firstly his curious title; secondly the author's insistence that there were two heads of the house, Ralph and Athelwulf;³ and thirdly the fact that Ralph is designated head of the 'vetus locus', the site from which Athelwulf transferred the house during his priorate.⁴

The Act Book, despite its probable confusion between Ralph and Athelwulf may have been recording a genuine tradition when he spoke of the discovery by a royal confessor of a religious community at Nostell. Even if the author was incorrect in supposing that this marked the beginning of the house as an Augustinian priory, he was correct in thinking that it was a major turning point in the history of the priory.⁵ The guiding influences

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1. Nicholl, Thurstan, p. 134, n. 103.
 2. A. Hamilton Thompson, Bolton Priory, p.25; E.Y.C. III, pp. 167-68.
 3. Ralph is said to have been buried at the 'old place' the 'vetus locus', Athelwulf at Carlisle (Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fos. 87v, 88v).
 4. Farrer (E.Y.C. III pp. 167-8) suggested that the old place was Nostell, and that Ralph, whom he identified with Ralph of Hirst, was taken back to Nostell for burial. The implication of the Act Book, however, is that the 'vetus locus' is the site now occupied by Wragby church, only a few hundred yards from Nostell Priory. On fo.84 it is stated that Ralph (or Athelwulf) discovered hermits living near the chapel of St Oswald. Ralph was buried at the old place (fo. 87v). Athelwulf 'transtulit se et socios suos eo quod prope est stagnum de veteri loco quo modo ecclesia parochialis est ad locum ubi nunc manemus'. The original dedication of the church of Wragby was to St Oswald, and it seems not unlikely that this is the church of St Oswald referred to in the charters of Thomas II and the Prior of La Charité, mentioned above, and the original site of the house. See A. Hamilton Thompson, Bolton Priory p.26.
 5. It is impossible to establish with any certainty the date at which Nostell did in fact become Augustinian. It may possibly have been 1119; Thurstan was clearly the logical person to influence such a decision, and although Wilson is correct in saying that he might have done so before he became archbishop ('The Foundation of Nostell and Scone', p.143) it could be suggested that the foundation is tied up with that of Guisborough. The latter was formally ratified by Calixtus II, as was the foundation of Nostell, the latter in 1119-20. This bull could mark the formal foundation of Nostell as Augustinian even if the idea had been in Thurstan's mind for some time.

behind the emergence of the monastery were Thurstan (to whom the Act Book accords due respect), the royal chaplain and Henry I; the latter 'provided the backing which enabled his chaplain to turn the hermitage (?) into one of the most important houses of Augustinian houses.¹

Following the account of Ralph's admission to Nostell, the author of the Act Book included a charter of Henry I, printed by Farrer from the cartulary.² It enumerated the gifts made by Henry and his barons, but also included grants which were made at a later date. However, as the existence of these grants can be substantiated from other charter evidence the charter need not be dismissed as without value.³ From this charter we learn of original gifts of Robert de Lacy to the hermits;⁴ of the grants of the churches of Weaverthorpe (made by William and Herbert Fitz Herbert), Bolton Percy (from Picot de Percy), Woodkirk (from William de Warenne and Ralph de L'Isle), Bramham, Wharram and Lythe (from Robert Fossard).⁵ Lands were rapidly acquired in Burton Fleming, Buckton, Kirk Hammerton, 'Thorp' (unidentified), Beal, Featherstone, Halton, Warmfield and Tockwith.⁶ Prominent among the benefactors of Nostell were Swain Fitz Ailric, (father of the founder of Monk Bretton,)⁷ Stephen Count of Mortmain, (later king)⁸ and Archbishop Thurstan.⁹ Undoubtedly

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1. W.E. Wightman, 'The Foundation of Nostell Priory' p.57. The author outlined convincing reasons for the interest of Henry I in creating a loyal religious house in the centre of the Pontefract Honour, (pp.59-60).
 2. E.Y.C. III no. 1428.
 3. For a similar problem charter (issued to Rievaulx) see below p.154 n.3.
 4. This consisted of the wood around the fishpond at Nostell.
 5. For confirmations, or the original charters making these gifts, see E.Y.C. I no. 27; XI no.97; VIII no. 31; III no. 1466. (A different text of the last charter (a confirmation of Thurstan of the prebend of Bramham,) exists in B.I. Cause Paper CP.E51/8. which also contains copies of charters of Archbishops Roger, Geoffrey and Walter de Gray: (see below p. 94).
 6. The donors were William Fitz Neal, Henry de Muscamp, Adam de Reineville, William de Arches and others. Nostell also acquired mills at Norton and Shafton.
 7. Swain granted the manor of Wintersett and the churches of Felkirk, Adwick on Dearne and a moiety of Mexborough.
 8. Donor of the church of St Oswald, Winwick in Makerfield, (Lancs.).
 9. Thurstan granted the church of Tickhill, although this gift is often ascribed to Henry I (see above, n. 2.).

the most important lay benefactor in these early years was Hugh de Laval, holder of the Honour of Pontefract until c1130. Hugh granted to the priory the churches of Rothwell, Batley, Ackworth, Featherstone, South Kirkby; and Huddersfield.¹ It was probably due to this generosity that the canons came to regard Hugh as the founder of the monastery.²

The picture of Nostell's history in the period up to the death of Henry I is one of remarkable success. The priory had grown from a group of hermits to a community of clerks, and had then emerged as an Augustinian priory through the influence of Thurstan. More than that, the patronage of Henry I had ensured the predominance of the house, not only in the region of Pontefract but among the existing Augustinian houses. The rapidity of the rise of Nostell, and its popularity among the members of the Norman baronage was unparalleled among other Yorkshire houses of its order.

Henry I's royal chaplain, Athelwulf, became his first bishop of Carlisle;³ he retained the priorate of Nostell, only resigning in 1153 when the two charges became too burdensome.⁴ His period of office after the death of Henry I up to 1153 saw a continued expansion of the Nostell estates. David I of Scotland and his son Henry gave rents from their lands in Bedford and from their silver mines of Carlisle;⁵ lands in Barnborough, Swinton, Thurnscoe and Crofton were acquired.⁶ In addition the successors of the early generation of benefactors, men like Adam Fitz Swain, William and Agnes Fossard, Bertram de Bulmer and William de Warenne, issued charters confirming previous grants made

1. E.Y.C. III no. 1488.

2. See W.E. Wightman, 'The Foundation of Nostell', p.57.

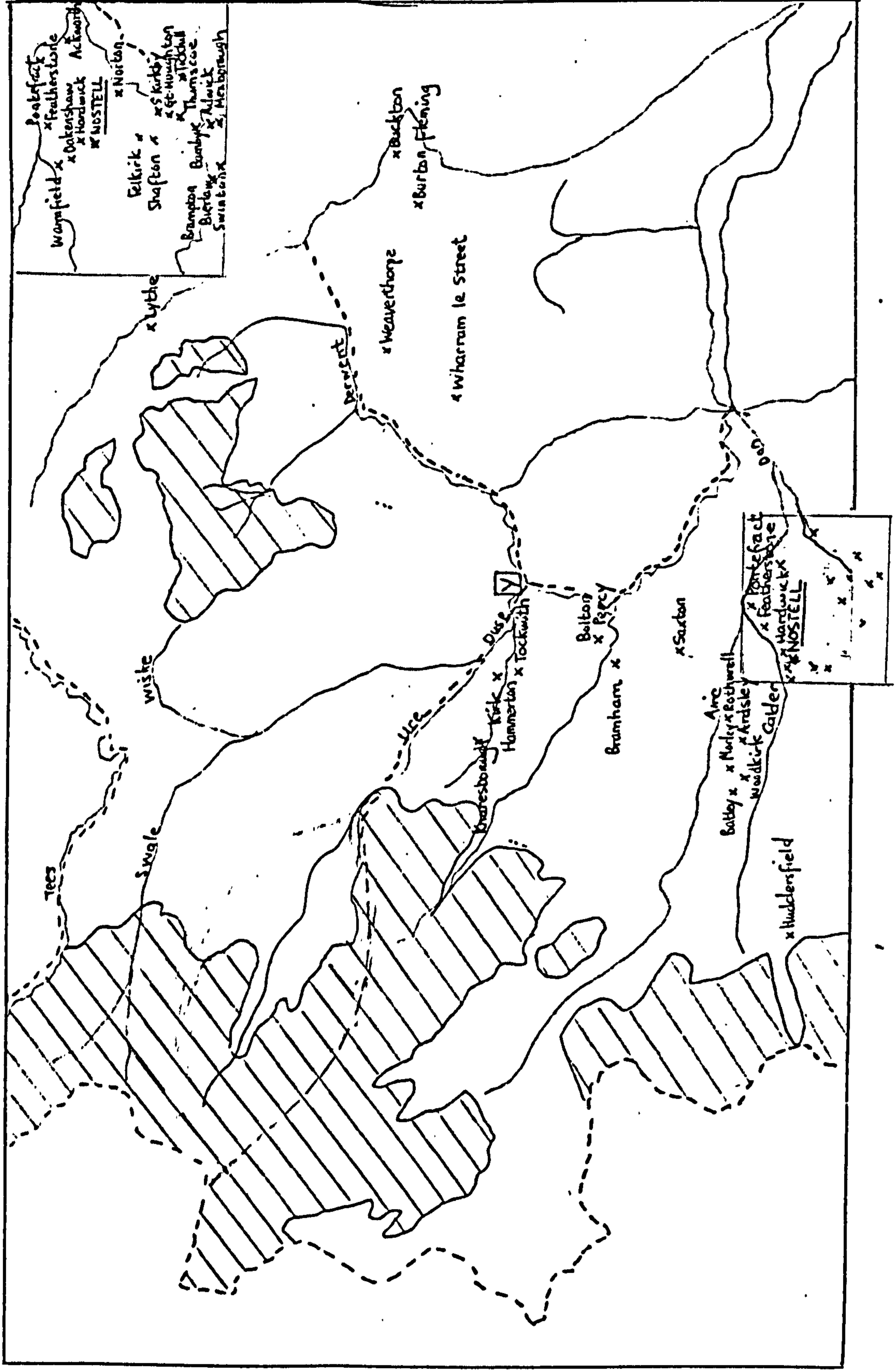
3. On Carlisle see J.C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of Carlisle Cathedral', T.C.W.A.A.S. 45, (1946) pp. 134-43. According to the Act Book Athelwulf was buried at Carlisle (Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fo. 87v-88).

4. E.Y.C. III nos. 1473-74.

5. Regesta Regum Scottorum, I, ed. G.W.S. Barrow, (Edinburgh, 1960), pp.155-6.

6. E.Y.C. VIII no.5; XII nos. 74-6, 81; VI no. 126; III no. 1672.

Fig.8. The Estates of Nostell Priory c1200.



Yorkshire. Y = York. Scale approx. 15m to 1".

to the canons. This was perhaps an indication that the troubles of King Stephen's reign were affecting the religious houses of the area.¹

Under Athelwulf's successor, Savard, a dispute occurred with the patron of the priory, Henry de Lacy, whose brother Ilbert II had been restored to the Pontefract estates by King Stephen.² The contention appeared to centre on two carucates of land 'super vivarium de feudo dicto Henrici ubi edificaverunt ecclesiam suam'.³ It is likely that the rights of the canons were challenged because the lands had been granted during the time of the Lacy's banishment by Hugh de Laval. In a charter addressed to Archbishop Roger Henry stated that 'Sauardus prior et canonici..absolverunt me ab omnibus malis que eis feci, et quod condonaverunt mihi predas quas eis abstuli et capturas hominum suorum et omnia que cepi de terra eorum tempore guerre'.⁴ This indicated that the dispute was of long standing, going back to the priorate of Athelwulf. The canons also took this opportunity to extract a promise of free election from Henry.⁵

The date at which Savard died is not recorded; the Act Book states that Adlave, Athelwulf, Savard and Geoffrey ruled between them fifty-four years, Geoffrey dying in 1175.⁶ The compiler of the work became more certain of his facts after 1175; he stated that Ansketil 'vir ut (fertur deleted) traditur etate juvenis ingenio pollens et moribus' ruled from 1175 to 1196. Thereafter the dates of the priors who ruled from

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1. For these charters see E.Y.C. III no. 1664; II nos. 1015, 1018; II no. 1017; VIII no. 31. For the damage sustained by Pontefract Priory in the reign of Stephen, see above, pp. 65-66.
 2. On the restoration of the Lacy family, see W.E. Wightman, The Lacy Family, pp. 72-5.
 3. Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fos. 88v-89.
 4. E.Y.C. III no. 1497.
 5. '... dedi et concessi ... liberam suam electionem ad priores suos eligendos ... sine omni contradictione de me et heredibus meis'. On the question of lay intervention in elections, see below, pp. 335-37.
 6. Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fo. 89. There is still some confusion about the chronology of the priors who succeeded Athelwulf: Heads of Religious Houses, p.179; C.T. Clay, York Minster Fasti, II, Y.A.S.R.S. 124 (1959) pp. 13-15.

1196 to 1504 are recorded. Although under these last two priors the great age of land-expansion had ended, there is evidence of a steady consolidation of estates.

Archbishop Roger de Pont L'Evêque, for instance, licensed the appropriation of the churches of Featherstone, Felkirk, Batley and Warmfield, thus ensuring considerable financial advantage for the canons; in addition he confirmed the priory in possession of its other churches.¹ The canons themselves granted to Robert de Preston the right to have a chantry in his chapel of Purston Jaglin, while carefully ensuring that no detriment would thereby be caused to the mother church of Featherstone, which they had appropriated.² The Lacy family continued to endow the house, albeit with somewhat meagre donations. Robert de Lacy II, the last of the first line of Lacys (died 1177), issued a charter of confirmation and added some new land in Sharston.³ Existing estates in Bramham and Shafton were also extended; a mill was acquired in Woolley and messuages in the vill of Pontefract.⁴

The estates of Nostell were very considerable; the priory, no doubt partly due to the influence of Henry I and Thurstan, acquired benefactions from leading nobles both inside and outside the Pontefract area. The estates and influence of the canons of Nostell extended beyond Yorkshire: to Nottinghamshire, Northumberland, Lancashire, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire and Staffordshire.⁵ By the sixteenth-century Nostell was among the wealthiest

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1. E.Y.C. III no. 1481; further archiepiscopal charters confirming Nostell in possession of its churches are preserved in a fourteenth-century cause paper: B.I. Cause Paper C.P.E 51/8. These include charters of Thurstan, Roger, Geoffrey and Walter de Gray. The case arose between Prior Thomas of Nostell and the rural dean of Cleveland about the payment of tithes in the parish of Lythe.
 2. E.Y.C. III no. 1595. Robert also gave the canons tillage in Hardwick on the occasion of his son's entry into the house as a canon: ibid. no. 1596.
 3. ibid. III no. 1516.
 4. ibid. II nos. 1012, 1032; III no. 1533; III no. 1787 and no. 1579.
 5. The canons held lands in Sookholme and Market Warsop (Notts.) of the gift of Henry I (see above, p. 91 n.2); in Lancashire the church of Winwick (see above, p. 91); in Warwickshire the churches of Newbold Pacey, Leamington Hastings and Whitnash; in Oxfordshire the church of Haseley and in Staffordshire the church of Chebsey. The last five churches were given by Aitropius and Anfrid, sons of Humphrey Hastings: see E.Y.C. III nos. 1427, 1444.

houses of the county, being assessed in the Valor Ecclesiasticus at £516 9s 3½d (gross) and £492 18s 2d (clear).¹

Nostell was also the only Yorkshire Augustinian house known to have developed a system of cells. Of these there were five: Woodkirk (Erdeslaw) and Tockwith (Scokirk) in Yorkshire, Bamburgh in Northumberland, Breedon in Leicestershire and Hirst in Lincolnshire.² These varied in size. Hirst contained only one or two canons; Bamburgh, on the other hand, was valued at £116 12s 5d in the Valor Ecclesiasticus. The cell of Tockwith was important enough to have had its own cartulary.³ The reason for the development of the cell system may have been an economic one, enabling canons to supervise the administration of the distant estates of the house.⁴ It is more likely to have been influenced by a hope that the members of a cell would serve the parish churches in the neighbourhood.⁵ Woodkirk, for instant, at a distance of about ten miles from the mother house of Nostell would have been well-placed to dispatch canons to serve the churches of Rothwell and Batley.

The history of Nostell in the twelfth century is of particular interest for it may 'be taken to reflect the ideal that Thurstan had in mind for the Augustinian houses he favoured, and may act as a reminder of the shape that Yorkshire monasticism might have assumed had it not been for the Cistercian revolution'.⁶ Every feature of Nostell's history seems to

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1. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp.62-64 (Guisborough was the only Yorkshire Augustinian house to surpass Nostell in wealth). Nostell's cells were assessed at £178 2s 10d. gross, £164 11s 3d. clear.
 2. See E.Y.C. III, pp.167-68; Mowbray Charters, nos. 215-18. For twelfth and thirteenth-century charters relating to these cells, see B.L. Cotton MS Vespasian E XIX fos. 118v-25 (Bamburgh); 125-7 (Breedon); 127-31 (Tockwith); 131-33 (Hirst).
 3. The Cartulary of Tockwith alias Scokirk, ed. G.C. Ransome, in Miscellanea III, Y.A.S.R.S. 80 (1931).
 4. For the use of cells, especially by the Cluniacs, see below, pp. 438-40.
 5. Nicholl, Thurstan, pp. 135-36 and below, pp. 361-63.
 6. ibid. p.129.

support this view. If it was due to the backing of the king that Nostell acquired vast lands, it was Thurstan who probably influenced the granting of churches to the canons. It was he who brought the priors of the house into the centre of the life of the diocese by his creation of the prebend of Bramham.¹ Nostell's wide influence (in addition to its cells Nostell had considerable contact with the Scottish court, colonizing the priory of Scone on the invitation of King Alexander I) made it unique among the Yorkshire Augustinians.

The history of Nostell was, understandably, never as spectacular again as it was in the early part of the twelfth century. As an Augustinian house it became less and less unlike its Yorkshire counterparts. Although it received no injunctions after the visitation of Wickwane in 1280 because 'omnia bene',² the later medieval sources bear witness to the usual allegation of poverty and the occasional complaint of mismanagement.³ There can be no doubt, however, as to Nostell's contribution to the development of the monastic ideal in twelfth century Yorkshire, or to the continued contribution of the canons of the later middle Ages in areas such as parochial work.⁴ The house continued to be not only wealthier than most, but also larger; when it was surrendered on 20 November 1540 and the site transferred to Dr Legh, one of Henry VIII's commissioners, there were twenty-eight canons resident in the house, making Nostell the largest community of regular canons in Yorkshire.

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1. C.T. Clay, York Minster Fasti, II, pp. 12-15. A prebend was also created for the Augustinian house of Hexham (Northumberland): ibid. p.68.
 2. Reg. Wickwane, p.137, no.1.
 3. For a late rental of Nostell see W.T. Lancaster, 'A fifteenth-century Rental of Nostell Priory', in Miscellanea, I, Y.A.S.R.S. 61 (1920), pp.108-35.
 4. On the canons and parochial work, see below, pp. 394-98.

Guisborough Priory

The priory of Guisborough lay less than three miles from the castle of its founder Robert de Brus, a prominent Yorkshire baron in the reigns of Henry I and Stephen, at Skelton, in the extreme north-east of the county of Yorkshire.¹ The first priory church was destroyed, according to the chronicler of the house, Walter of Hemingburgh, in 1289;² but the remains of the church built to replace it still survive. The sources for the early history of this immensely important house consist of its cartulary, a mid-thirteenth century compilation. The cartulary occupies fos. 112-332 of B.L. Cotton MS Cleopatra DII, and has been edited by William Brown for the Surtees Society.

Although Walter of Hemingburgh, writing two hundred years or so after the establishment of Guisborough, stated that the foundation took place in 1129, the actual date of foundation may well have been 1119.³ Certainly it fell within the period 1119-24 since, in the words of Brus' charter the house was established 'consilio et ammonitione Calixti Papae secundi et Turstini Eboracensis Archiepiscopi'.⁴ 1119 is a likely date, since Calixtus and Thurstan had met at the Council of Rheims in that year; moreover Hemingburgh was aware of the influence of these two men behind Brus' foundation. It is likely therefore, that 1129 (MCXXIX) was a scribal error for 1119 (MCXIX). The prior of the new establishment was William de Brus, brother of the founder, who was still ruling the house in 1132, and possibly in 1139.⁵

1. On Brus, see below, p. 311.

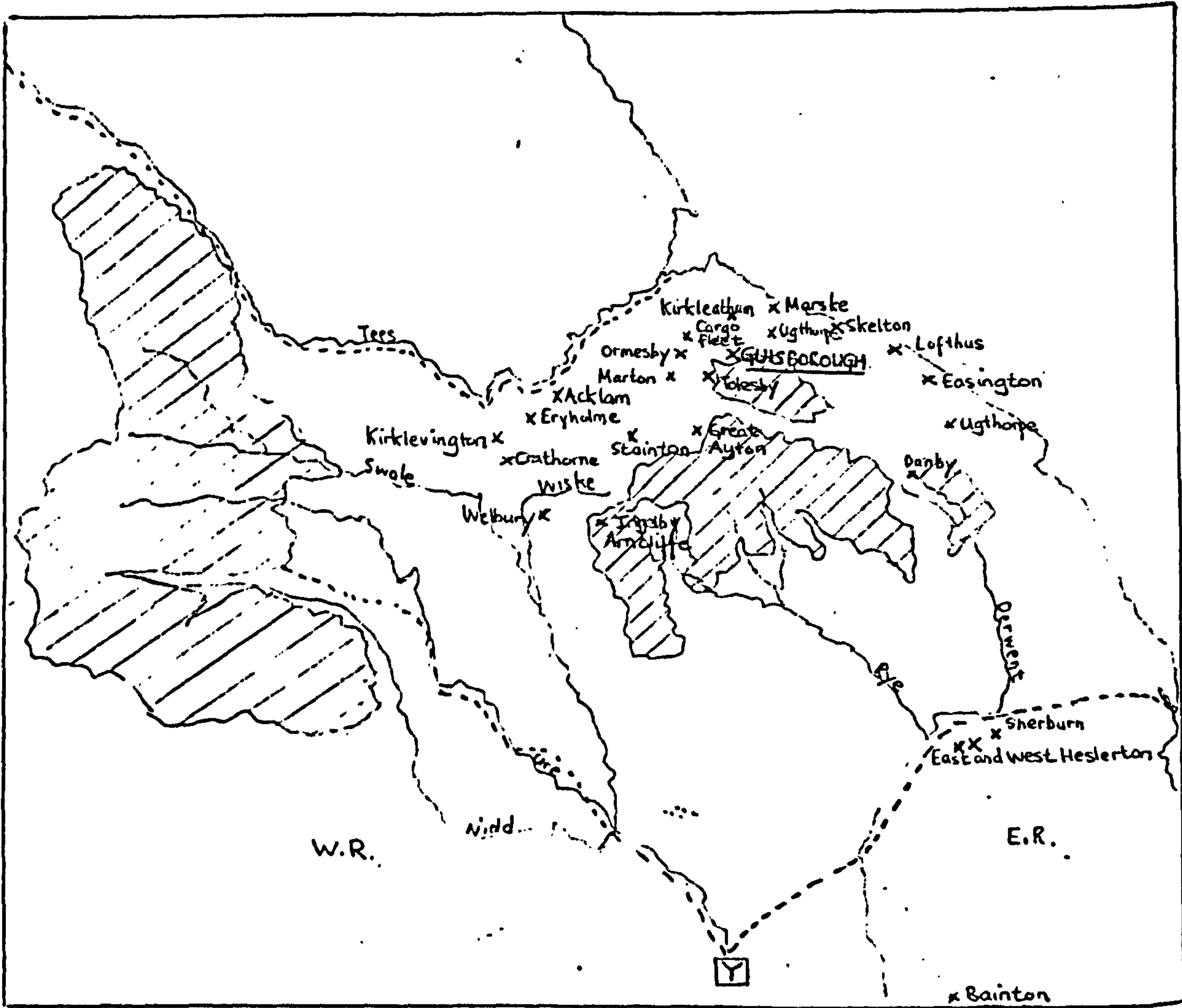
2. Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh ed. H.C. Hamilton (London, 1848), II, p.19.

3. ibid. I, p.52.

4. Cart. Guis. I nos. 1-2.

5. It was not unusual for a relative of the founder of a monastery to occupy the position of head of the house in the early years; see below, p.335. On William see Mem.Ftns. I, p.24; Cart. Whitby, I, no.271; Heads of Religious Houses, p.164.

Fig.9. The Estates of Guisborough Priory c1200.



Yorkshire: North Riding.

Y = York.

Scale approx. 12m to 1".

The endowment made by Brus to his canons was indeed magnificent. The extensive lands and rights which he granted ensured the dominance of the house in the Cleveland area; apart from the house of Whitby to the south-east, Guisborough was the only house in the area and received extensive grants from those who held land in that region. Robert granted to the canons the whole vill of Guisborough 'excepta Haia et Asadala' and certain tracts of marsh and woodland in the vicinity of the vill. He further gave all his mills of Guisborough, with soke and multure, and a monopoly of milling in the region. The canons were moreover to have free service on the lands of certain tenants as Robert had enjoyed. The whole of Kirleatham (nine carucates) and the adjacent parts of Coatham were given to the canons as well as the churches of Marske, Danby, Upleatham, Kirklevington, Skelton (Cleveland), Kirkburn, Stranton and Hart (County Durham).¹

The Brus tenants were evidently not slow in following the example set by Robert. His foundation charter indicates that the canons has received Ormesby church and Caldecotes mill from Ernald de Percy, a moiety of the church of Marton in Cleveland from Robert d'Esturmy, Acklam church from Alvered, and land in Ayresome, Lofthus and Easington.² In addition to these lands, the canons received from Brus permission to take whatever they required in the way of building materials from his forest of Eskdale. Thus before the end of Henry I's reign Guisborough was in control of considerable tracts of land, services of tenants and eleven churches.

There was a modest expansion of lands during the reign of King Stephen under William de Brus and his successor Cuthbert, who was noted by John of Hexham as a leading figure among the Yorkshire religious in the

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1. Cart. Guis. nos. 1-2. The two charters are not attested in the cartulary copies; the second is less detailed than the first, and may have been the first to be issued. The foundation was confirmed by Thurstan, the Dean and Chapter of St Peter's, York, Calixtus II and Henry I; ibid. nos. 3-7, 14-15.
 2. The canons later received the church of Easington: E.Y.C. II nos. 770-71. Ernald de Percy's charter is printed ibid. no. 746.

disputed election of 1143-7.¹ New areas were exploited; lands in Bainton were granted by William Fossard, in Tolesby. by Robert d'Esturmy.² Fisheries were acquired on the river Tees at Ayresome.³ Further churches came into the possession of the canons: Ingleby Arncliffe, Welbury, Crathorne, West Heslerton with the chapel of East Heslerton.⁴ From Robert de Brus II the canons also received considerable lands in Annandale, (Scotland), the church of Hartlepool and land in Castle Eden.⁵

During the last forty-five years or so of the twelfth century the estates of Guisborough, unlike those of many Yorkshire houses, continued to expand fairly rapidly. This was undoubtedly due in part to the dominance of the priory in the region of Cleveland and the absence of other houses in the immediate vicinity. It continued, too, to receive the patronage of churches. Ivo de Karkeni for instance, donated the church of Hessele, saving the tenure of his nephew, John, then rector of the church.⁶ From Thurstan de Montfort the canons received a yearly rent from the mills of Great Ayton;⁷ Peter de Cordanville gave the church of Sherburn with one carucate of land in Ugthorpe (in the parish of Lythe). In his charter he revoked an earlier agreement with the canons whereby he was allowed to nominate a clerk to be received at the priory on each vacancy.⁸

In addition to expanding their estates in the immediate vicinity of the priory (further lands were acquired in Moredale (Guisborough) and in places where land was already held, such as Ugthorpe),⁹ the canons were eagerly

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1. John of Hexham, p. 311.
 2. E.Y.C. II no. 1097; ibid. no. 686, 689.
 3. ibid. II no. 707.
 4. ibid. II nos. 711, 687
 5. Cart. Guis. II nos. 1176-79: see also nos. 1148-1150 for charters relating to Hartlepool and Castle Eden.
 6. E.Y.C. IX no. 101. This was confirmed by Ivo's son, John; no. 102.
 7. ibid. II no. 1045.
 8. ibid. IX nos. 94-5; the latter charter is the earlier agreement, an unusual one, which was confirmed by the Dean and Chapter of York.
 9. ibid. II no. 755, I no. 619; II nos. 1061-2.

exploiting new areas. Lands were acquired in vills such as Barnaby, Sinnington, Tibthorpe, Hutton Lowcross.¹ The useful benefit of passage (free of charge) over the river Humber at Hessle was conferred upon the monks by John de Hesel in the period 1180-95.² Furthermore, to the Brus family and tenants were added new benefactors like the nephews of Prior Cuthbert and his successor and brother Ralph, who gave lands to the priory.³ In the years up to the close of the century the momentum in land expansion was well-sustained.

After the death of Robert de Brus in 1141-2 the patronage of the abbey passed, along with his estates, to his son Adam de Brus I, who survived him only by a year, dying in 1143.⁴ Thence the patronage passed to Adam II while he was still a minor. Relations between Adam II and Guisborough were, on the whole, good. He issued a few charters of confirmation to the priory;⁵ he also donated yet another church, that of Yarm.⁶ Yet there are suggestions, not uncommon, that the relationship was not without its points of conflict. Adam, at one stage, felt it necessary to issue a notification to Archbishop Roger stating that he had restored the grant which he had forcibly extorted from the canons, namely ten marks per annum which he had forced them to pay to Adam his chaplain until the church of Skelton should fall vacant. The promise which he exacted in return was that the canons should present Adam to the living of Skelton as soon as it fell vacant.⁷ The church was then confirmed to the monks by Roger de Pont L'Evêque.⁸

1. ibid. II no. 702; I no. 596; II no. 678; II nos. 697-8.

2. ibid. II no. 764.

3. See ibid. II nos. 699-700.

4. C.T. Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, Y.A.S.R.S. 135 (1973), p.8; E.Y.C. II p.15.

5. E.Y.C. II nos. 656, 659.

6. ibid. no. 654.

7. ibid. nos. 660, 675.

8. For the disputes over this church, and that of Kirklevington, see below, p. 371.

The Brus family was one of the few to hold the patronage of a Yorkshire monastery right through its history from foundation to dissolution.

The later evidence for the history of Guisborough, mostly gleaned from the registers of the archbishops of York indicates that the priory, naturally enough considering its geographical location, suffered badly from invasions by the Scots. The only set of injunctions to survive from an archiepiscopal visitation comes from the register of Archbishop Wickwane (1280)¹. Nine years later the canons suffered a disaster when the priory church was destroyed by fire and as a result the canons were given licence to appropriate several churches. The series of disasters did not, however, seriously affect the eventual wealth of the house, since at the Dissolution it was valued at £712 6s. 6¹/₂d (gross) and £628 3s. 4d (clear) per annum.² Much of this wealth was owed to the patronage of the Brus family, who were duly repaid by the canons by the performance of obits.³

Guisborough's considerable wealth (it was the richest Augustinian house in the county) meant that although the priors do not appear to have played any great part in national or diocesan affairs, they were dominant in the Cleveland area.⁴ Not only were they immensely important landowners but the convent, in its capacity as patron or corporate rector of a number of local churches, collected the tithes from these parishes. By March 1540 when the house was surrendered, there were still twenty-five canons at Guisborough, thus making it the second largest Augustinian priory in the county. As in the case of Bridlington and Nostell the basis of Guisborough's wealth and prestige was laid in the twelfth century. The position of influence to which

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1. Wickwane found the priory in need of correction. See Reg. Wickwane, p.56, and Cart. Guis. II, p.360.
 2. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 80-81.
 3. On the Guisborough obits see F. Wormald, 'A Liturgical Calendar from Guisborough Priory with some Obits', Y.A.J. 31, (1934), pp. 5-35.
 4. B. Waites, 'The Monastic Settlement in North-East Yorkshire', Y.A.J. 40 (1962), pp.478-95, especially 487-88.

the patrons and benefactors of the twelfth century had raised Guisborough by their endowments of lands, churches and privileges persisted until the Dissolution. These three early foundations were not only the richest Augustinian houses in Yorkshire, but they were also probably always the most influential.

Kirkham Priory

The ruins of Kirkham lie in a delightful setting in the valley of the River Derwent a few miles to the south of Malton and roughly twelve miles from Helmsley castle, seat of the founder of the monastery, Walter Espec, a royal official who had been raised to a position of wealth and prominence by Henry I. Kirkham was the first of Espec's religious foundations; he was later responsible for the establishment of the Cistercians of Rievaulx and Warden¹. The sources for the history of the priory in the twelfth century consist of brief chronicle references, papal bulls and a late fifteenth-century register, Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 7, which contains abstracts of charters pertaining to the estates of the house. The register is written in a legible and quite neat hand.

There is now general agreement that Kirkham was founded c1122, not 1130 as was previously suggested.² J.C. Dickinson indicated that this is the date given in a note in Cambridge Emmanuel College MS 65 (fo.2) and it is corroborated by the fact that letters of protection issued by Henry I to the priory have been dated to that year.³ If further proof were needed of the earlier date of foundation, then this is supplied by the abstract, contained in the register, of a bull of Pope Calixtus II (1119-24).⁴ The same pope had issued confirmatory charters to Nostell, Guisborough and Bridlington.

1. On Espec see below, pp. 312-13.

2. V.C.H. York, III, p.219 gives the later date. For the acceptance of the date of 1122 see Dickinson, Austin Canons, p.123; Knowles and Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses, p.141; Heads of Religious Houses, p.168.

3. Dickinson, Austin Canons, p.123; Regesta, II, no. 1334.

4. P.U.E. III no. 10.

J.C. Atkinson included in his edition of the Rievaulx cartulary a transcript of a manuscript (its provenance unknown) containing a description of the foundations of Kirkham, Rievaulx and Warden.¹ This document presents several problems.² It is stated that Espec founded Kirkham on the advice of his uncle, William, rector of Garton, in memory of his son who was killed while out riding. Whilst it is quite possible that his uncle (who became first prior of Kirkham) did exercise some influence over Espec, it is not likely that the foundation of the priory was made in memory of a son.³ There seems to be no other basis for this tradition; Espec's charter of foundation makes no specific mention of any son, such as one might expect if there was any truth in the account. Moreover Ailred of Rievaulx, who was well-acquainted with the deeds of Espec in his brief account of the foundation of Kirkham did not attribute its establishment to such a motive, although he does state that Espec 'made Christ his heir' because he lacked heirs himself.⁴

More plausible is the suggestion, contained in the Vitellius manuscript that William, Espec's uncle who became first prior of Kirkham, and who ruled only sixteen months, received instruction at Nostell. The latter house had come into existence as an Augustinian house only two years previously; at that time it was one of three such houses in the diocese (the other two being Bridlington and Guisborough). Being under the special protection and favour of Archbishop Thurstan and Henry I, Nostell was therefore a likely place for William to go to seek instruction.

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1. B.L. Cotton MS Vitellius 64; Cart. Riev. no. 370.
 2. See D. Baker, 'Patronage in the Early Twelfth-Century Church: Walter Espec, Kirkham and Rievaulx', Festschrift Winfried Zeller, ed. B. Jaspert and R. Mohr. (Marburg, 1976), pp.92-100, especially 95, n.30.
 3. This is a tradition suspiciously like that attached to the transfer of the canons of Embsay to Bolton, on which see below, pp.112-13.
 4. 'cum liberis careret haeredibus': Ailred of Rievaulx, Relatio de Standardo, p.183. Espec's estates passed to his three daughters.

Evidence for the foundation and early years of Kirkham comes from documents preserved not in the register of the house, but in the cartulary of Rievaulx. Both 'foundation charters' of Espec are of a later date, and were assigned by Atkinson to the years 1131-40 and 1133-40.¹ The charters, both addressed to Thurstan and one to Bishop Geoffrey of Durham, record the grants made by Espec to Kirkham. There are, however, some differences, and a recent article by Dr Baker has thrown new light on the probable circumstances of their late issue.² As he indicated, it is likely that an earlier charter was issued by Espec and confirmed by Calixtus II. The issue of the two surviving documents is considered in relation to the curious agreement by which Kirkham was to be refounded at Linton, and its site transferred to the Cistercians of Rievaulx.³

The text of this agreement contains no date; it has been suggested that it might date from the priorate of Waldef (Waltheof);⁴ since it contained a provision for certain of the Kirkham brethren becoming Cistercian, and since Waldef himself later became a Cistercian.⁵ Dr Baker has argued against this identification. His arguments may be briefly summarised as follows: the first 'foundation charter' contains references to grants of land formerly in the possession of Kirkham, but at that time belonging to Rievaulx, for which loss the canons were compensated by Espec. It is likely that the land was transferred at the foundation of Rievaulx and, therefore, that the charter was issued not long after 1132. The second charter indicates that by the time of its issue Kirkham held eight carucates of land in Thixendale, four of which, in the first charter were still held

1. Cart. Riev. nos. 216, 347.

2. D. Baker, 'Patronage in the Early Twelfth-Century Church, pp. 92-100.

3. Cart. Riev. no. 149.

4. ibid. p.xxix.

5. Baker ('Patronage in the Early Twelfth-Century Church' p.94) indicates that the failure of the agreement and Waldef's departure from Kirkham makes it unlikely that the document dates from his time.

by Walter Espec. This suggests that the second charter was issued after the agreement had been made concerning the removal of the canons of Kirkham, (in which the same situation as regards land-holding pertained as in the first charter). The second charter may date from the years 1132-5, since the grants were made 'concessu Regis Henrici Anglorum';¹ 'Against this background it is not altogether wrong to refer to these two charters as "foundation charters", related as they are to changes made, or proposed, in Kirkham's initial endowment and position.'²

This convincing re-interpretation of the early Kirkham documents sheds considerable light, not only on the relations between Espec and his two Yorkshire monasteries, but also on the precarious nature of Kirkham's original endowment. It makes it impossible to say with any certainty which lands were actually held by Kirkham between the foundation and 1135. The second foundation charter, however, gives a clear indication of the nature and extent of Espec's final settlement on the Kirkham canons. His grants were considerable; in addition to the parish church of Kirkham and the entire manor, the priory received four vills, the eight carucates of land in Thixendale (in the parish of Wharram Percy) mentioned above, tithes and fisheries, and five churches.³ As in the case of Bridlington and Guisborough the endowment made by the founder was remarkably munificent; it was certainly far more generous than the grant made by Espec to Rievaulx.⁴

The succession of priors at Kirkham is not easy to establish. It is not even certain if the tradition that Walter Espec's uncle, William of Garton became first prior, is correct. If the document which contains this information is authentic, then it is possible that William ruled the

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1. This does not, of course, necessarily imply that the grant was made during Henry's lifetime; Espec may have been making a retrospective statement.
 2. Baker, 'Patronage in the Early Twelfth-Century Church', p.96.
 3. The vills were Carham on Tweed and Titlington (Northumberland), Whitewell and Westow (in the vicinity of the priory). The churches were Helmsley, Kirby Grindalythe, Garton, Hilaraton and Newton in Glendale (Northumberland).
 4. See below, pp. 151-52.

house for just over a year. Prior D. or O. occurs in a charter relating to tithes which has been dated to c.1135;¹ he was probably succeeded by St Waldef (Waltheof) shortly afterwards.² During the priorate of the latter Kirkham entered briefly into the ecclesiastical politics of the York diocese. Waldef, the son of Simon de Senlis, Earl of Huntingdon had been educated in the court of his stepfather King David of Scotland. He entered the religious life at Nostell and at an unknown date became prior of Kirkham. He evidently attracted considerable attention, for in 1141 he was chosen as candidate for the vacant see of York.³ Waldef was rejected by King Stephen, who feared his connections with Scotland. Afterwards Waldef lent his support to the anti-Fitz Herbert party and, along with some of his fellow Augustinian priors and some Cistercian abbots he was active in denouncing the archbishop to the Pope.⁴ At a date which has not been established Waldef left Kirkham for the austerities of the Cistercian life, entering Espec's third religious foundation of Wardon. Later still he joined his friend, Ailred at Rievaulx, and eventually (in 1148) became abbot of Rievaulx's daughter house of Melrose. During his priorate at Kirkham he reached an agreement with the monks of Rievaulx concerning tithes, and received benefactions for the house from the son of King David of Scotland, Henry.⁵

Waldef was probably succeeded at Kirkham by Geoffrey, who was presented to Archbishop Henry Murdac at Beverley.⁶ It may have been

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1. Baker, 'Patronage in the Twelfth-Century Church', pp.96-7. 'O' or 'D' is not included in the list of priors in Heads of Religious Houses, p.168; He was probably the prior at the time of the proposed transfer.
 2. Baker, 'Patronage in the Twelfth-Century Church', p.92 no.5. refers to a forthcoming article by Dr Baker on the subject of Waldef of Melrose. For the thirteenth-century biography of Waldef, see Jocelin of Furness, Vita Waldeni, Acta Sanctorum 3 Aug. I (vol. 35).
 3. ibid. 'hujus hausta attracti clerici Eboracensis ecclesie et diocesani magnates illius provinciae, cum vacaret episcopalis sedes, in archiepiscopatum libenter eligerent, si principis assensum haberet'.
 4. John of Hexham, p.311.
 5. Vita Waldeni, chapter 2.
 6. See E.Y.C. X nos. 105-6 and below, p. 336.

Geoffrey who received for the canons of his house several charters from King Stephen, granting confirmation of the lands which the priory held, freedom from tolls and dead wood in the forest of Huby and elsewhere.¹ In 1153-4 Geoffrey was granted a charter of confirmation by Archbishop William on the latter's restoration to the see of York, in which were enumerated the churches of Helmsley, Kirkham, Kirby Grindalythe, Garton and a moiety of the church of St Peter, Walmgate, York. William also confirmed the gifts of William Esturmi (four carucates in Crambe), Robert de Percy and Richard de Langatwerch (land in Woodhouse).² Esturmi was also the donor of the church of Crambe.³

Further estates were accumulated after c1150. In the period 1150-60 land in Monkgate, York (leased by the canons from Walter son of Stephen) was rented to the brethren of the hospital of St Peter (St Leonard's).⁴ Rent was also paid yearly by the hospital to the canons of Kirkham for land which Walter Faganulf had given to the brethren.⁵ Agnes de Percy gave a moiety of the church of St Mary, Castlegate, York; Mascy de Curcy (who later entered Kirkham as a canon) donated land in Newton near Wintringham, with pasture for one hundred sheep.⁶ Henry II himself gave a turbary in the royal forest of Galtres.⁷

1. Regesta III, nos. 421-6.

2. This charter of William is preserved in a fifteenth-century cause paper (B.I. CP F 307), concerning the contributions to be paid towards the upkeep of the belfry of the priory church (whose nave was parochial). The charter of William measures approximately 11½" x 5½" and is written in a neat, regular hand. It is accompanied by bulls of Celestine III and Innocent III, on which see below, p. 398. As the charter of William was witnessed, among others, by Bishop Hugh of Durham (consecrated December 1153) it must date to the period Dec. 1153-June 1154. Percy's grant of land in Woodhouse is recorded in Oxford Bodleian Fairfax MS 7, fo. 23v. It is possible that the churches confirmed by Fitz Herbert were also confirmed by Murdac (ibid. fo. 63v, a confirmation by Archbishop H.)

3. ibid. fo. 9.

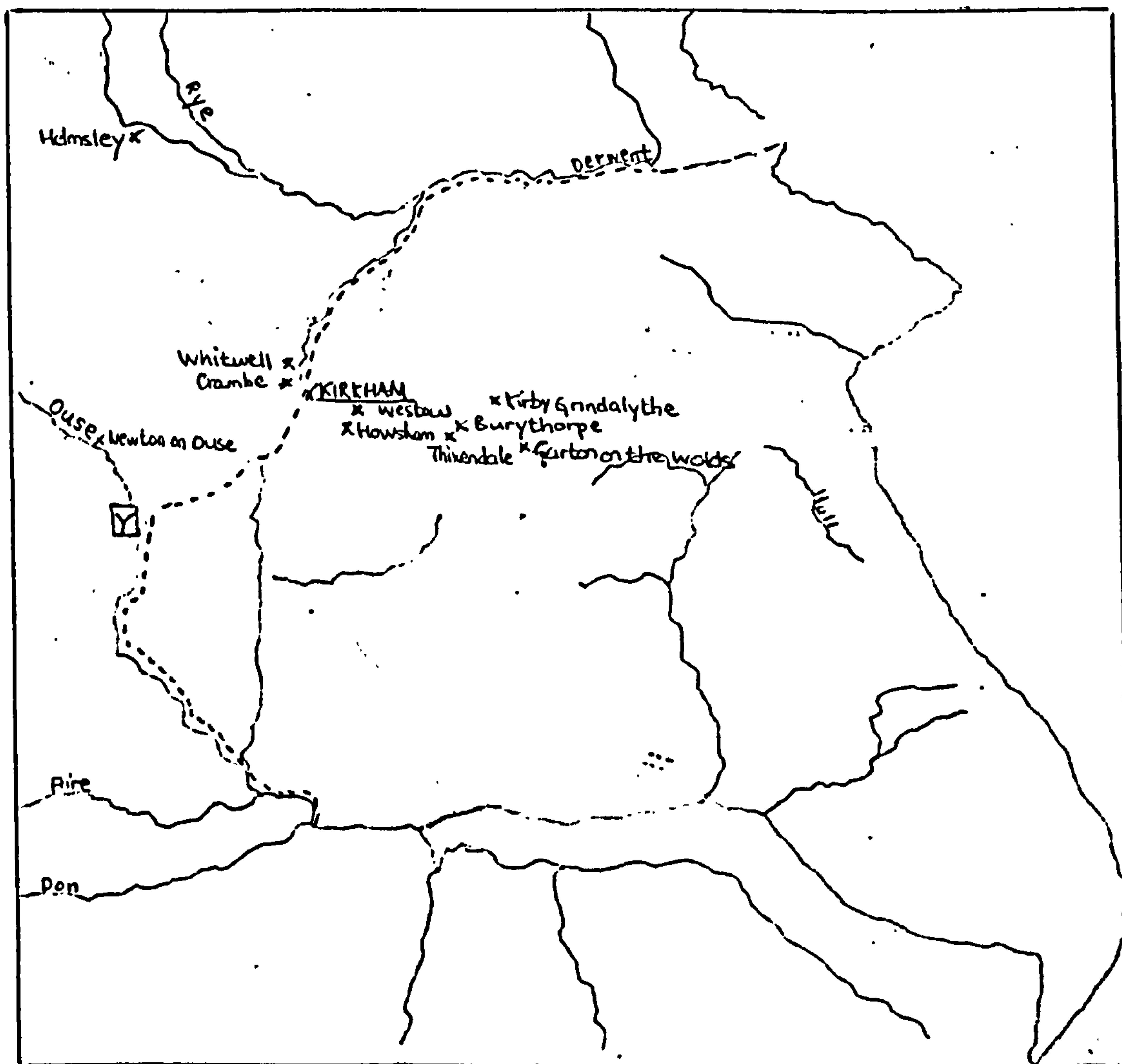
4. E.Y.C. I no, 288.

5. Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 7 fo. 9. There is a cyrograph agreement concerning the same on fo. 10.

6. E.Y.C. VI nos. 92-3.

7. ibid. I no. 421.

Fig.10. The Estates of Kirkham Priory c1200.



Yorkshire: East. Riding.

Y. = York.

Scale approx. 12m to 1".

Little more is known of Prior Geoffrey; indeed there is a problem in identifying his successor. Attention has recently been drawn to the long gap in the sequence of priors following Geoffrey (who occurs in the period 1147-53), and also to a letter addressed by one Prior Maurice of Kirkham to Archbishop Roger, thus suggesting that the latter's priorate fell in the period 1154-81.¹ However there are still problems about establishing the date of Maurice's priorate. In two letters written by Nicholas de Tailli, canon of York and grandson of Walter Espec, and Ernisius, prior of Marton, the method of election at Kirkham as used at the election of the last ('extremus') prior, Geoffrey, was described.² Nicholas' letter cannot have been written earlier than c1179, since it was addressed to Ranulf Glanville, royal justiciar.³ The difficulty in associating these letters with the election of Maurice lies in the fact that, in his letter to Archbishop Roger Maurice gives his age as 65, but he also states that he learned Hewbrew at York under Archbishop Gerard (1100-08). Thus, if his latter statement is correct, his date of birth must have been c1090, and he would have been about ninety years of age in 1179. In view of the difficulties of reconciling Maurice's two statements, his identification as a prior of Kirkham must remain somewhat tentative.⁴

Until the end of the century Kirkham continued to receive further benefactions, although far more modest in size than earlier donations. The canons received, for instance, the advowson of the chapel of Hinderskelfe (in the parish of Crambe).⁵ Several tenants in Kirby Grindalythe made minor

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1. R.B. Dobson, The Jews of Medieval York and the massacre of March 1190 (York, Borthwick Paper 45, 1974), p.4. See also Vita Ailredi, pp. xxx-xi.
 2. E.Y.C. X nos. 105-6.
 3. Glanville became chief justiciar in 1179; he was an itinerant justice from 1174: Dictionary of National Biography, 21, pp.113-15.
 4. The manuscript of Maurice's letter, which accompanied his tract Contra Salomitas, is of a fifteenth-century date (Oxford Bodleian Hatton MS 92, fos. 4-30, 30-37). It is possible, therefore, that there was a scribal error. Maurice may, for instance, have been subprior, rather than prior. Of course, it was not beyond the bounds of possibility for a prior to have been aged 90 (cf. Roger of Byland) but it would have perhaps been unusual for a man to have been elected at that age.
 5. E.Y.C. I no. 633.

benefactions which combined to give Kirkham a substantial hold in that vill.¹ The advowson of the churches of Burythorpe and Cold Overton (Leicestershire) was transferred to the canons.² By c1200 the canons of Kirkham had accumulated considerable estates, but their influence was not as widespread as that of the larger houses; most of their lands were confined to the vicinity of the priory and, because the two houses shared the same patron, the lands of Kirkham frequently bordered on those of Rievaulx.³

Kirkham was apparently the 'family monastery' of the descendants of Espec. It was here, rather than Rievaulx, that members of the Ros family chose to be buried. A close connection existed between priory and patron, though this is less evident in the centuries after 1200. Various sets of injunctions survive from archiepiscopal visitations to indicate that the priory was not always free from problems of discipline and of finance. In the mid-fourteenth century, for instance, the house was badly in debt.⁴ By the early fifteenth century it had recuperated from its losses sufficiently to be valued at £269 5s. 9d. (clear) per annum.⁵ Thus it was less wealthy than the earlier Augustinian foundations of the county. The house was surrendered on 8 November 1539 by the prior and eighteen canons.

Bolton Priory⁶

Bolton Priory, known locally as Bolton Abbey is famed as one of the most picturesque monastic ruins in the county of Yorkshire. The priory church still stands; like Bridlington it was retained at the Dissolution of the monasteries as a parish church. Beyond the east end of the monastic precinct lies the river Wharfe, about one mile from the notorious Strid,

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1. See, for instance, the grants of Gerald of Kirkby Grindalythe, Ingram Aguillon, Thomas Boniface and others; ibid. II nos. 1078, 1080, 1082-83.
 2. ibid. II nos. 623-4; Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 9, fo.34.
 3. On this general problem of encroachment of lands, see below pp. 449-55.
 4. Reg. Wickwane, pp. 88-90; B.I. Reg.9, (Reg. Melton) fo. 269v.
 5. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp.103-4.
 6. The history of Bolton Priory has received more treatment than any of the other Yorkshire Augustinian houses. See A. Hamilton Thompson, Bolton Priory; I. Kershaw, Bolton Priory, The Economy of a Northern Monastery 1286-1325 (Oxford, 1973).

where it is alleged that the Boy of Egremont, the grandson of the founder of the priory drowned. Information about the early history of this house, which was originally founded at Emsay some miles to the west, derives solely from a sixteenth-centuryoucher book, and from the cartulary, once lost but recently re-discovered.¹ A transcript of the latter, now Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 144, fos. 1-77v, was made by Roger Dodsworth in August 1634. Dodsworth noted that the cartulary was at that time in the possession of William Ingelby, 'armiger' of Ripley.²

Around the year 1120 William Meschin, Lord of Copeland and his wife, Cecily de Rumilly, Lady of Skipton, two of the most powerful magnates in the north of England, granted the church of Holy Trinity, Skipton, to the Augustinian priory of Huntingdon, of which William was already a benefactor.³ In c1127 the same church was granted to Prior Reginald and the canons of Emsay.⁴ This however was not merely a familiar case of a 'double grant' of a church; a deeper bond existed between Emsay and Huntingdon. There is no explicit statement of the nature of this connection in the early twelfth-century records. Such does not occur until the period 1191-98, when the priors of Guisborough and Marton issued a charter to Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet, in which they declared that Pope Celestine II (1191-8) had declared Bolton free of subjection to Huntingdon Priory.⁵ Although this does not explain the nature of the obligation, it can be suggested that Emsay was originally colonized from Huntingdon, which attempted to retain some form of control over the new foundation.⁶

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1. The Coucher Book and the cartulary are now preserved at Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.
 2. Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 144, fo.1.
 3. This was confirmed by Henry I after 1124: E.Y.C. VII no. 1.
 4. ibid. no.2. Reginald ruled Emsay until 1135 at least, possibly until 1140: ibid. nos. 2, 8.
 5. Mon.Ang. VI, pp.205-6.
 6. Dickinson, Austin Canons, p.116; A.Hamilton Thompson, Bolton Priory pp. 50-52.

Such a hypothesis may explain the dual grant of the church of Skipton. The grant would originally have been made to Huntingdon for the foundation of a new house, and subsequently transferred to the colony. The date at which this transfer took place cannot be established precisely from charter evidence, but a memorandum preserved in the cartulary gives the date as 1121, almost immediately after the gift of the church to Huntingdon:

Memorandum quod in anno Domini milesimo centesimo vicesimo fundatum est monasterium canonicorum apud Emmesey per dominum Willielmum Meschines et dominam Ceciliam uxorem suam, dominam et haeredem Honoris de Skipton' in honorem Beate Marie semper Virginis et Sancti Cuthberti pontificis ... 1

The church of Skipton which together with the vill of Embsay formed the initial endowment of the canons, was appropriated by Thurstan to the house in the period 1135-40.² Indeed literal reading of Thurstan's charter might be taken to indicate that the foundation was intended originally to be at Skipton ('inde') within sight of the Rumilly castle. As it was the canons chose to settle at Embsay, some six miles distant.

Cecily de Rumilly quickly added new grants to her initial gifts. Firstly she donated to the canons the mills of Silsden and Harewood with lucrative monopolies of milling in those vills. There followed a grant of land in Stirton (Skipton) and the entire vill of Kildwick with all its appurtenances, in addition to the church of St Andrew there. Cecily's generosity was emulated by her tenants, notably in this early period Helto Mauleverer, donor of land in Beamsley (Skipton) and Malham (twelve miles north of Skipton).³

1. Printed in Mon.Ang. VI p.203.

2. E.Y.C. VII no.3. It is stated that the church was given 'ad fundandam et construendam inde ecclesiam canonicorum regularium'. Skipton church was again appropriated to the priory by Archbishop Greenfield: Reg. Greenfield, II, pp.83-84.

3. For these grants, see E.Y.C. VII nos. 4 and III no. 1861; VII nos. 7-9. Kildwick was confirmed to the canons by Cecily and her second husband, Henry de Tracy, her son in law, William son of Duncan and by her daughter Alice: E.Y.C. VII nos. 10-12, 23, 57, 5-6, 13. Thurstan appropriated Kildwick to the canons 'eorum inopie commiserantes', (ibid. no.8). A vicarage was ordained in Kildwick church by Archbishop Melton in 1321-2: B.I. Reg.9A (Reg. Melton) fo. 152v.

On Cecily's death in 1151-54 her Yorkshire lands were divided between her two daughters Alice and Avice. The former, who married firstly William son of Duncan and secondly Alexander son of Gerold, inherited the Craven estates of her mother and the patronage of Embsay. Her first husband appears to have been jointly associated with Cecily de Rumilly in the gift of Stirton and Kildwick; and he later gave to the canons the church of All Saints in Broughton, near Skipton, with land and tithes there.¹ It was Alice de Rumilly who was responsible for the transfer of the canons from Embsay to Bolton in 1155. The date of this migration has been somewhat confused, as a memorandum printed by Dugdale from Dodsworth's manuscript contained the information that it took place in 1151, the first year of the reign of Henry II (1155).² However an alternate version of the memorandum (also in Dodsworth), reads:

Memorandum quod in A.D. MC quinquagesimo quinto in anno regis Henrici secundi primo translati ferunt dicti canonici per assensum voluntatem et ordinationem domina Alicie de Romeli tunc advocati usque Boulton.³

This transfer of 1155 was confirmed by Henry II.⁴

The reason which underlay the move to Bolton is not stated. It was certainly unconnected with the death of Alice's son, William, the Boy of Egremont, in the Strid, since the latter occurs, alive and well, at a date subsequent to the migration.⁵ It is more likely to have been connected with climatic conditions in the region. In the 1180s Sallay Abbey complained bitterly of the incessant rain which prevented the crops ever ripening, and

1. ibid. no.15.

2. Mon.Ang. VI p.203.

3. Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 144 fo. 58.

4. E.Y.C. VII no. 19.

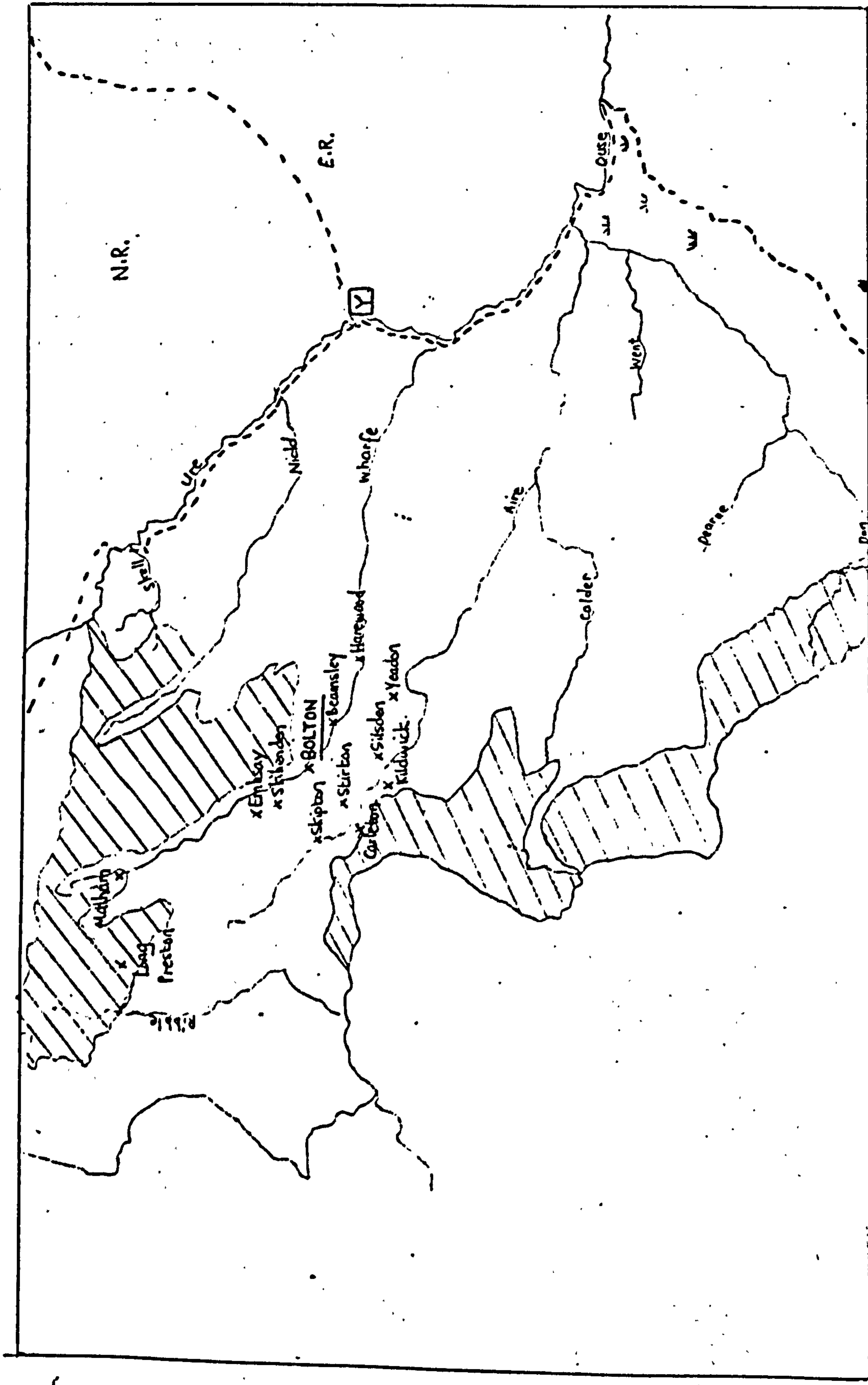
5. See Kershaw, Bolton Priory, pp.6-7; A. Hamilton Thompson, Bolton Priory, pp.59-60. The source of this legend has not been traced.

Sallay lay not far from the original site of Embsay.¹ There is a suggestion in the charter of Thurstan granting permission for the appropriation of Kildwick church that by 1140 the convent was in financial distress, and this may well have been connected with the inability to grow crops successfully in that region.

By 1155, however, the canons under Prior Reginald and his successor Prior Robert had succeeded in acquiring several grants of land. They had evidently come into possession of the manors of Stirton and Skibenden, since these were surrendered to Alice de Rumilly in exchange for the manor of Bolton.² To this gift Alice later added the right of free chase in her lands and woods, and a tithe of beasts taken on her demesne.³ The majority of remaining recorded benefactions in the twelfth century appear to have come from tenants of the Honour of Skipton. William le Fleming gave a villein named Ligulf and his land in Wentworth, a mill, the land of Bernulf Peda and the riddings of Swain de la Streta.⁴ Robert son of Malger granted land in Yeadon, and Walter de Amunderville the church of Long Preston.⁵ Elias de Stiveton donated land in Stiveton.⁶ In the last decades of the twelfth century land was acquired in Went Bridge (near Pontefract) and Hellifield (in Long Preston);⁷ Peter de Pinkeny and Constance his wife donated the church of Keighley and William de Marton the church of Marton.⁸ Property in Blake Street, York was held of St Leonard's hospital for an annual rent of one

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1. On Sallay's complaint, see below, p. 225 . For the financial effects on the economy of the priory of the appropriation of the church of Long Preston in the early fourteenth century, and the fluctuations in Bolton's fortunes in that period, see Kershaw, Bolton Priory, pp. 71-78.
 2. E.Y.C. VII no. 17. Prior Robert occurs in the period 1146-53 and 1155-64; ibid. nos. 14, 24.
 3. ibid. no. 18.
 4. ibid. nos. 129-30 (dated 1152-55).
 5. ibid. XI nos. 120, 150. The church of Long Preston was confirmed to the canons by Henry Murdac (no. 151) but was not appropriated until 1303-4.
 6. Chatsworth House MS (cartulary of Bolton) fo. 552.
 7. E.Y.C. VII nos. 87-88; III no. 1642.
 8. ibid. VII nos. 148, 153. Marton church had previously been granted to Kirkstall Abbey but the grant was ineffective: see below, pp. 206, 392.

Fig.11. The Estates of Bolton Priory c1200.



Yorkshire: West Riding. Y = York. Scale approx. 12m. to 1".

shilling and hushable.¹ The chronology of the priors of the late twelfth century is not easy to establish. Prior Geoffrey occurred in the period 1170-90; Walter in the years 1186 and 1178-97.² Little is known of them, and it is not known in which order they ruled.

The history of Bolton in the twelfth century is of particular interest for the way in which it illustrates the peculiarly and exceptionally close relations between a patron and an Augustinian house. Virtually no grants of land were received outside the Honour of Skipton; indeed so loyal were the Rumillys to their foundation that only Sallay Abbey (itself situated in Craven) and Fountains Abbey ever acquired significant estates in the Craven district.³ The history of Bolton in the later Middle Ages is remarkable for the amount of documentation concerning the estates and economy of the house, which was subject to many fluctuations in fortune.⁴ Details of life within the priory are recorded in the proceedings of several visitations, notably those of Archbishops Giffard, Wickwane, le Romeyn and Rotherham.⁵ The priory, although suffering setbacks in its economy, was moderately wealthy compared with some of the other houses of the order. Assessed in the Valor Ecclesiasticus at an annual value of £212 3s. 4d., Bolton escaped the first round of suppressions in 1536 and was surrendered on 29 January 1540.⁶

Walter Priory.

There are now no remains of this Augustinian priory which was situated in the East Riding of Yorkshire, about five miles from Pocklington and twelve from Beverley, and which, for a long period in the twelfth century

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1. ibid. I nos. 252-53.
 2. E.Y.C. VII no. 86; VI nos. 148, 29; Heads of Religious Houses, p.152.
 3. On the estates of Fountains in this area, see below p.167.
 4. I. Kershaw, Bolton Priory, pp.19-188 and (ed.) Bolton Priory Rentals and Ministers Accounts, 1473-1539, Y.A.S.R.S. 132 (1970).
 5. Reg. Giffard, pp.145-46, 302-04; Reg. Wickwane, pp.32-34; Reg. le Romeyn, I, pp. 56-59; B.I. Reg. 23 (Reg. Rotherham), fo. 20v.
 6. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.144.

was affiliated to the order of Arrouaise.¹ There is documentary evidence for the history of the house, however, in its cartulary, Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 9, which was formerly owned by Roger Dodsworth and Sir Thomas Widdrington.² A fourteenth-century compilation of 106 folios in length, the cartulary is written in a number of hands, the main one being regular and reasonably clear. The charters are arranged topographically the longest section being that connected with lands in the township of Warter (fos.7-20). At a later date, probably in the fifteenth century, various additions were made to the cartulary.

It has been indicated on a number of occasions that 'extraordinary confusion' has existed about the foundation of Warter.³ The somewhat exiguous sources comprise a fifteenth-century memorandum inserted into the cartulary,⁴ as well as charters of William de Roumare (who was regarded as the founder of the abbey) and Henry Murdac, archbishop of York.⁵ The variance of these sources arises from the fact that in the memorandum Geoffrey Fitz Pain (alias Trussebut) is spoken of as founder of the abbey, whereas the charter of Murdac refers to Roumare as the founder.

These two statements are not, of course, irreconcilable. It is not unknown for a patron to speak of himself as founder of a monastery, even if this was not technically correct.⁶ The most likely explanation of the early history of the priory, as indicated by C.T. Clay, is that Geoffrey Fitz Pain did in fact found the priory at Warter in 1132, as the Memorandum suggests.⁷ Although inaccurate in supplying the alias to Geoffrey, the

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1. On the order of Arrouaise, whose customs were strongly influenced by St Bernard, see L. Milis, L'Ordre des Chanoines Reguliers d'Arrouaise (Bruges, 1969), especially pp. 275-337.
 2. Davis, Medieval Cartularies, p.115.
 3. N. Denholm Young, 'The Foundation of Warter Priory', Y.A.J. 31 (1934), pp.208-13; see also E.Y.C. X, pp. 107, 110-12.
 4. Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 9 fo. 105v.
 5. Printed in E.Y.C. X nos. 66-67 and N. Denholm Young, 'Warter Priory', pp.211-13.
 6. For example see Earl Conan's statement that he founded the abbey of Jervaulx; see below, p. 338.
 7. E.Y.C. X p. 111.

Memorandum may well have been correct in the date. Geoffrey was in possession of the fee of Warter, formerly held by Roger Fitz Gerold, in 1132; and he retained it until his death in 1139, when the estates were restored to Fitz Gerold's son, William de Roumare.¹ There is no doubt that the priory was in existence by 1139, for William himself stated that he gave the canons ten marks' worth of land in Warter in the year in which he became Earl of Lincoln (1139-40).²

The earliest extant document issued to the canons of Warter appears to be the papal bull issued in favour of the house by Innocent II in 1140.³ In this, the Pope enjoining 'ut in vestra Beati Jacobi ecclesia canonicus ordo secundum Beati Augustini regulam inviolabiter perpetuo conservetur', confirmed the church of Askham (Westmorland) and five bovates of land in Seaton Ross. Some time in the period January 1140 - January 1142 came the decision to affiliate with Arrouaise, a decision which may well have been influenced by the visit to the North of England of St Malachy (1140) who had recently come into contact with and been impressed by the order.⁴ The precise

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1. William was famous for his foundation of the Cistercian monastery of Revesby (Lincs.) colonized from Rievaulx in 1143 whose first abbot was Ailred, later abbot of Rievaulx. On his career, see Complete Peerage, VII, ed. H.A. Doubleday and H. de Walden (London, 1929) pp.667-70.
 2. For the date of William's creation as earl, see N. Denholm-Young, 'Warter Priory', p.209. There does not seem to be sufficient evidence to 'show conclusively that ... Warter was served by canons before 1100', ibid. p.208. William's charter stated that he gave to the canons 'ecclesiam Sancti Jacobi de Wartria ... cum omnibus sibi adiacentibus et consuetudinibus quas habet vel melius habuit in diebus patris mei Rogeri filii Gyroldi liberam et quietam ab omni exactione seculari et servicio sicut vicine ecclesie congregacionum que liberiores sunt'. If the scribe was correct in copying 'habet' and 'habuit' (i.e. in the singular) then the charter signifies that Roumare gave the church with the customs it had enjoyed in the time of his father, but it does not necessarily imply the presence of canons in the time of Fitz Gerold (i.e. ante 1100).
 3. P.U.E. III no.34. The donor of Askham church has not been identified; it may, however, have been Gamel the priest. William's charter mentions the 'ecclesias etiam Gamelli presbiteri de Ascom'.
 4. See L. Milis, L'Ordre des Chanoines, pp.281-2; J.C. Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons and the Continent in the Twelfth Century', T.R.H.S. 5th series, I (1951) pp. 71-89. Warter was the only northern house (apart from Carlisle) to become Arrouaisian.

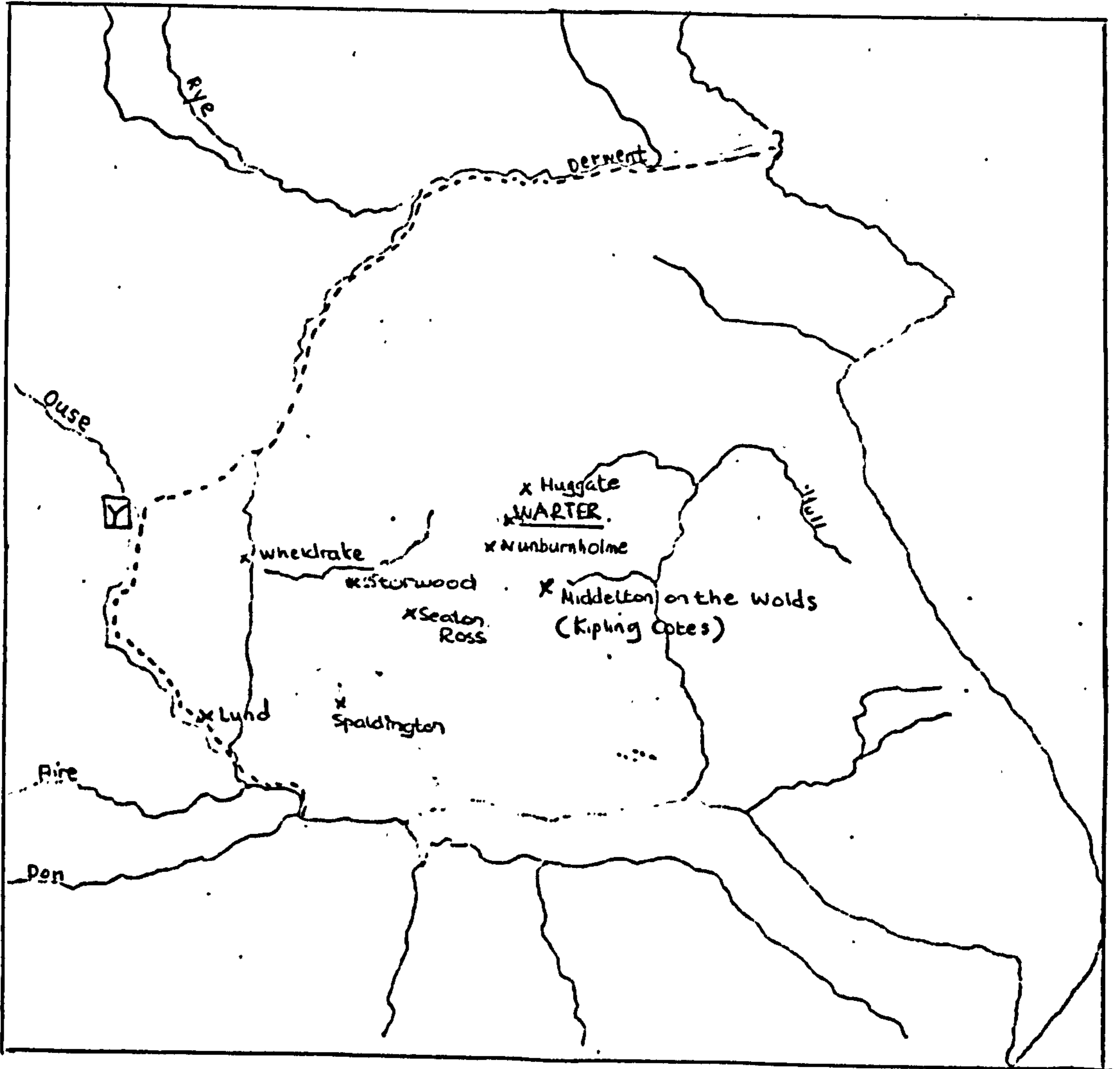
date of the transfer is not known; but the dean and chapter of York (sede vacante) were petitioned to confirm the proposal in the period 1140-41, and the transfer had taken place by January 1142.¹ The affiliation with Arrouaise lasted until 1181-5.²

William de Roumare's charter, dated January 1142, gives an impression of the estates that Warter had managed to accumulate by that date. William himself, in addition to the land already mentioned, gave the messuage of the court of his father; one carucate of land in Howald; the onset of all the mills on his demesne; half a carucate of land with William's share of the waste in Seaton Ross. He also confirmed the churches of Barton in Westmorland as well as Nunburnholme in the East Riding which was quitclaimed by Ivo son of Forne.³ Some years later (1147-51) Archbishop Henry Murdac confirmed to the priory the gifts of William and his son William ('advocati') and gave permission to transfer the site of the abbey to Seaton Ross ('locum abbacie mutasse de Wartr(i)a in Setonam') - a project which was never carried out.⁴

During the decade after the issue of Roumare's charter, the canons acquired lands in Spaldington (in the parish of Bubwith), in Kipling Cotes (Middleton on the Wolds), and the hermitage of Storwood (in Thornton, deanery of Harthill).⁵ Before 1159 the canons had come into possession of the church

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1. E.Y.C. X nos. 64-65. The fact that Innocent II's bull of September 1140 does not mention the Arrouaisian affiliation does not mean that the transfer had definitely not taken place, since later papal bulls (dating from the Arrouaisian period) also omit to mention it. (e.g. E.Y.C. X no. 68); Milis, L'Ordre des Chanoines, p. 281.
 2. In a papal bull of 1181-85 (E.Y.C. X no. 73) the head of the house was still an abbot; in 1191-7 he was a prior (Cart. Guis. II no.923) signifying that the house was no longer Arrouaisian. For a list of the priors and abbots of Warter see Heads of Religious Houses, pp.188-89. Milis, L'Ordre des Chanoines, p.282: 'L'abandon a donc eu lieu à un moment ou Arrouaise était la victime d'une crise violente, que l'abbé Gauthier essayait en vain de surmonter.' See ibid. p. 130, 232.
 3. Denholm-Young, 'Warter Priory', pp. 211-2.
 4. ibid. pp.212-3.
 5. These were confirmed to the priory by Pope Anastasius III; E.Y.C. X no.68.

Fig. 12. The Estates of Warter Priory c1200.



Yorkshire: East. Riding.

Y. = York.

Scale approx. 12m to 1".

of Clifton (Westmorland); and a charter of Roger de Pont L'Evêque confirmed, in addition to lands already mentioned, the churches of Wheldrake and Lund, given by the Darel family.¹ A papal bull of confirmation, issued by Alexander III in 1178 indicates that the canons had expanded their estates to include land in Wilberfoss, Barf Hill and Bealeys (Lockington); the estates in Warter itself were extended through the gifts of Henry the knight and William son of Ansketil.²

The Warter lands passed from William de Roumare (who was predeceased by his son) to Geoffrey Trussebut; the Meaux chronicle states that Henry II gave the fee to Geoffrey Trussbut (who was again confused with Fitz Pain), uncle of Robert de Ros.³ Geoffrey was an active benefactor of Warter, donating half the church of Ulceby (Lincs.) and other endowments.⁴ His brother Robert was the donor of the church of Melton Ross, which the canons failed to retain, losing it to the canons of Lincoln Cathedral.⁵ For this loss they were generously compensated. Robert de Ros, mentioned in the Meaux chronicle, occurred as patron of Warter in 1219, thus suggesting that after the death of Geoffrey and Robert without male heirs, the lands of Warter and the patronage of the priory passed to the descendants of their sister, who had married Everard de Ros.

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1. ibid. no. 70 no. (Clifton was given by Ralph Engaine, who died in 1159); ibid. no. 69. A further grant of Geoffrey Darel, of ten acres in Warter can be found in Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 9, fo.10. These gifts were confirmed by Maud, Countess of Warwick, (fo.11v).
 2. P.U.E. III no. 247. This bull does not specify the location of the land given by William son of Ansketil; a charter of his father Ansketil granted land in 'Westris' (Warter) and in Prestow (E.Y.C. X no.80); William himself granted an orchard and croft in Warter (Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 9 fo.9).
Barf Hill and Bealeys were confirmed to the canons by Henry II as the gift of the canons of Merton (E.Y.C. II no. 1120); for the interest of Meaux in these places, see below, pp.231,236.
 3. Chron. Melsa, I p.172 and pp.210-11; the date of Trussbut's entry into the fee lay between 1154 (the last recorded appearance of Roumare) and 1166.
 4. E.Y.C. X no.40 (a confirmation by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln).
 5. ibid. X nos. 32-33. The arrangement reached between Warter and Lincoln (that the former should cede the church for 100s. compensation) was confirmed by Bishop Hugh of Lincoln (no.33).

There is little evidence for the history of Warter in the later Middle Ages, beyond familiar entries in archiepiscopal registers, which recorded occasional complaints of poverty. In 1280, however, like Nostell, Warter received no injunctions following the visitation of Wickwane 'quia omnia bene se habuerunt'. The same was true of the visitation of 1292-93.¹ Warter was never a wealthy house; the Valor Ecclesiasticus assessed its yearly value at only £143 7s 8d.² It was therefore included as one of the lesser monasteries and was accordingly suppressed in 1536-37. The site passed to the Duke of Rutland.

Drax Priory

There are now no remains of this priory, which lay in the West Riding of Yorkshire about seven miles south-east of Selby below the confluence of the rivers Ouse and Derwent. Drax was, like many houses, apparently not sufficiently noteworthy to attract the attention of chroniclers; nor do its priors appear to have played any prominent part in local ecclesiastical affairs, as did the Augustinian priors of Guisborough, Kirkham and Nostell. Drax does, however, have an extant cartulary, Oxford Bodleian Top. Yorkshire C 72, a manuscript of a fourteenth-century date. Unfortunately, as in the case of the Kirkstall Coucher the scribe who copied the original documents often failed to include the names of witnesses, merely noting that the charter had indeed been attested. Thus it is frequently impossible to date grants of land, or even to identify the donor.³

1. Reg. Wickwane, p. 137; Reg. le Romeyn, p. 226.

2. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p. 126.

3. A similar disadvantage is to be found in the cartulary of Kirkstall: see below, pp. 204-205.

Drax Priory was founded in the period 1130-39, by William Paynel of Drax, son of the founder of Holy Trinity, York, and second husband of Avice de Rumilly, patron of the Augustinian house of Bolton.¹ In his charter of foundation William acknowledged the help and encouragement which he had received from Thurstan; Drax had been founded, he stated, 'monitu et consilio Turstini Eboracensis archiepiscopi'.² This foundation, which can be dated to the last decade of Thurstan's archiepiscopate, was probably the last which the energetic archbishop had influenced.

Between the establishment of Drax and the end of King Stephen's reign (1154) the canons appear to have attracted few endowments outside the initial benefaction of Paynel. This itself contained various types of grant; the site of the house, 'insulam que dicitur Helmholt et Midelholm ubi fundata est ecclesia Sancti Nicholai prioratus de Drax', in which was included the land of Horm and Hadde and their services with 'a terra jam dicti Horm terram cum nemore et marisco et prato usque ad ulteriorem partem nove truncate';³ lands in Potter Newton and Beeston (both formerly in the parish of Leeds), in Barlow, near Selby, Fawether (parish of Bingley), Roxby (Lincolnshire) and finally Saltby (Leicestershire). The canons further received the mill of Hunsfleet, the tithes of the mill of Leeds, a draft of nets on the river Ouse, and, less usual in the middle decades of the twelfth century, a tithe of food stuffs of Paynel's household.⁴ Finally Paynel gave to his new foundation seven churches: Drax and Bingley (Yorkshire), Roxby, Middle Rasen, Irnham and Swinstead (Lincolnshire) and Saltby (Leicestershire). All Paynel's gifts

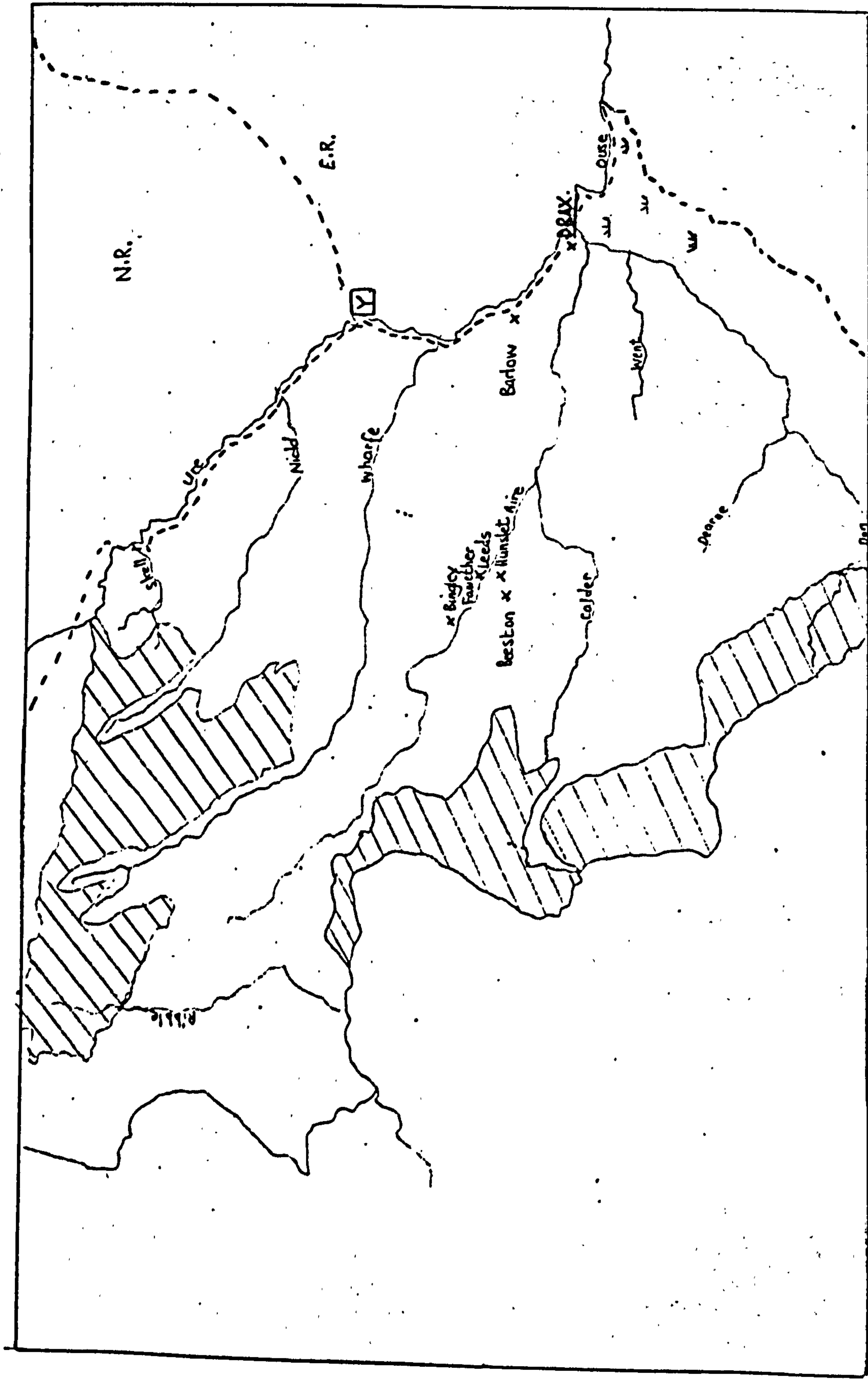
1. E.Y.C. VI, p.6.

2. ibid. no. 13.

3. Helmholt remained an alternative name for the priory. A charter of the period 1147-53 refers to 'canonici de Heilho': E.Y.C. VI no. 48.

4. Other instances of such grants occur in the initial benefactions of Holy Trinity, York (founded by William's father) and Byland (Roger de Mowbray). See below, p. 433.

Fig.13. The Estates of Drax Priory c1200.



Yorkshire: West Riding. Y = York. Scale approx. 10m to 1".

were confirmed by his son Fulk Paynel and by the two husbands of his daughter Alice, Richard de Curcy and Robert de Gant.¹

After the death of William Paynel in 1145-47, the advowson of Drax passed to his daughter Alice, who succeeded him in his Yorkshire lands.² Her brother Fulk granted to the canons land in Camblesforth and the church of Garthorpe in Lincolnshire.³ Her second husband, Robert de Gant, granted lands in Saltby.⁴ A few minor benefactions were received from tenants of the Paynel fee: land in 'Colleshaia' from Simon, a tenant of Avise Paynel, and three acres of land 'de prato meo iuxta gardinium de Drax' from Achard the marshall.⁵ Osbert de Bayeux, the notorious archdeacon of York, donated the vill of Priesthorpe with arable land; and later in the century Walter de Scoteny endowed the canons with six bovates of villeins' land in Roxby (Lincolnshire).⁶ Alan Wastehose made a useful grant of a ferry over the river Don.⁷ Between c1180 and c1200 the estates of the priory were extended to include lands in Newhay (in Drax), Haworth (near Bradford) and Brackenholme (in the East Riding, not far from Selby.)⁸

Probably the best-recorded feature of the history of Drax in the twelfth century is the inability of the canons to retain firm control of the churches which they were granted. An explanation of this failure

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1. E.Y.C. VI nos. 21, 45-46.
 2. William's son by his first marriage succeeded to his Norman lands and thus obtained the patronage of the third Paynel foundation, the Norman abbey of Hambye (fd. c1145). C.T. Clay has suggested that William Paynel may have been involved in the early stages of the conspiracy of Philip de Coleville who held the adulterine castle of Drax against King Stephen until 1154. (Newburgh, I, pp.94). This could account for the unusual division of lands which left the Norman lands to the eldest son, and the English lands to the daughter and her husbands.
 3. E.Y.C. VI nos. 21-2.
 4. ibid. no.65.
 5. E.Y.C. VI nos. 48, 34.
 6. ibid. nos. 68, 77
 7. ibid. I no. 489. Geoffrey, cleric of Folkerby quitclaimed the ferry for two marks and free passage over the Don: ibid. no. 490.
 8. The donors were Henry de Stonegrave and Richard son of Nicholas Russell, Osbert de Haworth and Ralph de Babbethorp I; E.Y.C. VI nos. 40, 42, 71; II no. 997.

at Drax as elsewhere will be offered later;¹ here it may be sufficient to note the main features. Two of the churches which formed the initial endowment of Drax - Irnham and Roxby - had previously been given to Holy Trinity Priory by Ralph Paynel.² Irnham was later granted to the monks of Bardney, and only retained by Drax after a long struggle.³ Similarly the possession of Roxby was contested by Roche Abbey in 1201, but retained by Drax.⁴ Swinstead was regranted to a clerk named Guy, and retained only after the canons had had recourse to papal justice.⁵

In the case of the remaining three churches granted to Drax the canons fared better. Bingley was appropriated to the canons together with the church of Foston, by Archbishop Roger in the period 1164-75⁶. The precise location of the latter has not been established; C.T. Clay suggested that it may have been Foston on the Wolds. If so, the appropriation was ultimately ineffective, as Archbishop Neville (1374-88) later appropriated this church to the Carthusians of Hull.⁷ The origin of the gift of Foston church to Drax is similarly unknown. The appropriation of Bingley seems to have been effective; in the period 1199-1203 the monks of Rievaulx agreed to pay Drax three shillings per annum as tithes on land which they possessed in Fawether, in the parish of Bingley.⁸ The parish church of Drax itself is not recorded as being appropriated until 1314.⁹

1. See below, pp. 408-10.

2. E.Y.C. VI no.1.

3. E.Y.C. VI no.74.

4. Curia Regis Rolls I, p.431.

5. P.U.E. III no. 320.

6. E.Y.C. VI no.23.

7. B.I. Reg. 12 (Reg. Neville), fo. 48v.

8. Oxford Bodleian Top. Yorks. C72, fo.47. The witnesses Richard, abbot of Selby and William, archdeacon of Nottingham identify the grantor of the charter as Abbot William de Punchardon of Rievaulx, and thus date the charter to the years 1199-1203. Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet confirmed to the canons a pension of three marks from Bingley church: ibid. fo. 44.

9. Reg. Greenfield, II, p.211.

The history of Drax in the twelfth century, scant though the sources may be, appears undistinguished. It does, however, highlight some of the problems of the monasteries in the years after the wave of foundations, not the least of these features being the need for litigation to enable the canons to retain possession of their lands. Its later history is slightly better recorded, largely through the medium of the archiepiscopal registers. A series of injunctions survive, for instance, from the visitation of Archbishop Wickwane in 1280;¹ in 1324 Archbishop Melton inquired into the poverty of the house, finding it to be caused by the flooding of the Ouse and the Aire, the invasion of the Scots and the loss of cattle.² Drax achieved moderate wealth, for in the Valor Ecclesiasticus it was assessed at £329 2s. 11d. gross per annum.³ Apart from Marton it was the poorest of the Augustinian houses in the county. It was suppressed on 24 August 1535, when it was surrendered by ten canons and twenty-nine servants.

Newburgh Priory

The chief fame of this Augustinian house in the twelfth century probably lies in the literary skill and achievements of one of its canons, William of Newburgh.⁴ However, William's chronicle, written c1197, contains disappointingly little information about the origins of the house which, in William's words 'me in Christo a puero aluit'.⁵ It merely records that Newburgh, like its near neighbour Byland Abbey, was founded by Roger de Mowbray.⁶

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1. Reg. Wickwane, pp. 134-37.
 2. B.I. Reg. 9A (Reg. Melton) fo. 161v.
 3. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.15.
 4. On William, see below, pp. 471-72, 478-79.
 5. Newburgh, p.51.
 6. ibid. p.52.

Practically all the evidence for the history of Newburgh in the twelfth century comes from transcripts of charters of the house which were formerly deposited in St Mary's Tower, York, made by Roger Dodsworth in June 1636. These transcripts, written in a fairly legible hand, are now to be found among the Dodsworth collection in the Bodleian Library, Oxford.¹ Unless they can be corroborated from other sources, therefore, the grants of land contained in these charters must be treated with caution, as must all such late transcripts.

Mowbray's two foundations of Byland and Newburgh were intimately connected from the very beginning of their history. The monks who eventually settled at Byland were originally established at Hood, a site which they vacated in 1142-3.² Almost immediately Roger applied to Bridlington Priory (the patronage of which belonged to his wife's brother, Gilbert de Gant) for a convent of Augustinian canons to colonize the site of Hood. In a charter issued to Byland Roger granted certain rents in exchange for Hood which, on Roger's request, the monks demised 'canonicis qui venerunt de Brellingtona ad construendum cenobium suum'.³ This arrangement was confirmed by a mutual agreement reached between Byland and the canons of Hood, 'ea condicione quod in eodem loco fundabitur abbatia eorum canonicorum et ibi perpetuo permanebit'.⁴ The canons did not, however, build a permanent house at Hood, but within a few years, probably c1145, moved to Newburgh. Their reason for moving may well have been the same as that put forward by the monks of Byland, namely that the site of Hood was too restricted for the construction of a full abbey.⁵ Hood was retained and developed into a grange.

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1. Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 91, fos.1-67. On fo.67v there is a note: 'Hinc usque ex cartis in turri Beate Marie iuxta Ebor' referat' transcriptum est ... Jun' 1636 per me R.D.'
 2. See below, pp. 177-80.
 3. E.Y.C. IX no.119.
 4. E.Y.C. IX no. 120.
 5. Mon.Ang. V.p.350: '...nimis arctus fuit ad abbaciam construendam'.

Roger de Mowbray gave to his new foundation and its prior, Augustine, a handsome endowment.¹ Most of his gifts consisted of churches; Thirsk, Hovingham, Kirkby Moorside, Coxwold, Kirkby Hill, Cundall, St Andrew, Fishergate (York); The canons also received various lands and rents; six bovates of land in Welburn and six in Wombleton; land in Little Wildon which, Roger specified, 'Bartolomeus Gigator reddidit mihi'; one carucate of land in Thirsk and one in Hovingham (the latter the gift of Roger's mother, Gundreda de Mowbray); a rent of twenty shillings from the income of his mill at Thirsk, given for acquittance to Byland Abbey 'donec eis in perpetuam elemosinam dedero dimidiam carucate terre in Brigeshalam'.² Roger later (in the period 1154-57) added to this endowment the church of Welburn (St Gregory's Minster, Kirkdale) and the chapel of Wombleton.³

The canons of Newburgh also received generous gifts from Roger's relative, Sampson d'Aubigny who himself later became a canon of this house. Sampson donated the churches of Haxey, Owston, Epworth, Belton in Axholme (all Lincolnshire), Langford (Nottinghamshire), Masham and Kirkby Malzeard (Yorkshire).⁴ Detailed instructions were, however, attached to these gifts: the churches were not to pass to the canons immediately; Sampson was to hold the churches for life, or until he entered a religious house; after his death,

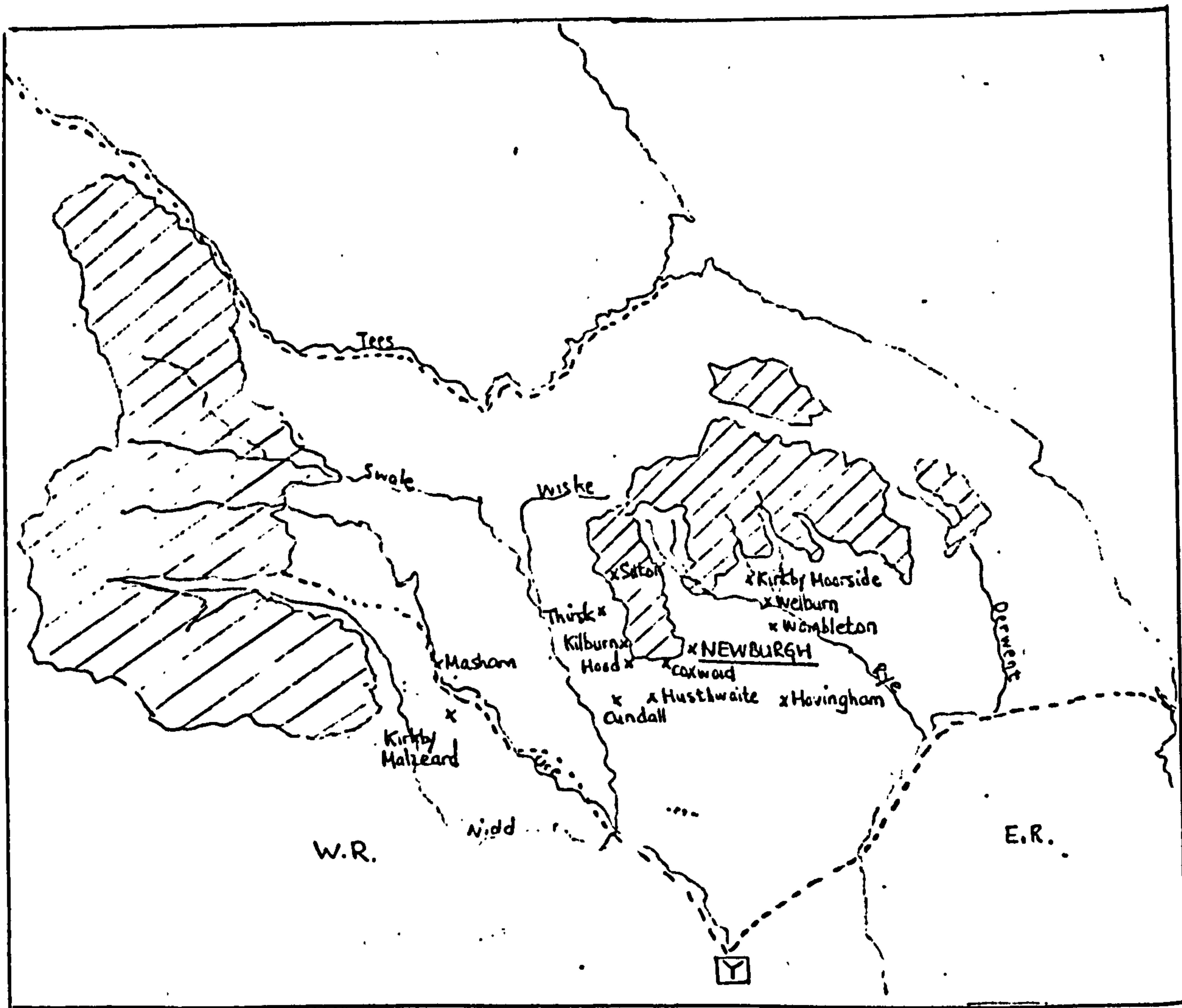
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1. Augustine ruled the house until c1154, when he was succeeded by Prior Richard (1155-c86). The final prior to rule in the twelfth century was Bernard (1186-99): Heads of Religious Houses, pp. 176-77.
 2. Thirsk, Hovingham and Kirkby Moorside were first offered to the abbot of Byland, who refused the gift; (Mon.Ang. V, p.351); Mowbray Charters, no.203; E.Y.C. IX no.118. (this grant, the church of St Andrew, Fishergate, was not retained. Before the end of the century it had passed to Hugh Murdac, who founded there a Gilbertine convent.); ibid. IX nos. 163, 165; Mowbray Charters, nos. 198 and 201. The gift to the canons of Kirkby Moorside church meant that when, later in the century, William de Stuteville wished to present a resident chaplain to Husthwaite (a dependent chapel of Kirkby Moorside), it was to the convent of Newburgh that he addressed his petition: (E.Y.C. IX no.23 and see I no. 157).
 3. Mowbray Charters, no.202.
 4. These gifts were confirmed by Roger de Mowbray, ibid. no. 196. The author of the Byland 'Historia' refers to Sampson as 'consanguineus' of Roger, and adds that the former 'seipsum Deo reddidit et habitum suscepit canonicæ regularis' at Newburgh; Mon.Ang. V, p.351. Dr Greenway suggests that the two men were cousins; Mowbray Charters, p.260.

his son Roger was to hold the four Lincolnshire churches and Langford for five shillings a year, payable to the prior of Newburgh. The provisions extended still further. Masham church was also to be held by Roger from the prior 'sicut de me tenuit liberam et solutam et quietam', and Kirkby Malzeard in a similar way. In the case of the latter, on Roger's death the church was to pass to his brother Uctred. The rights of the prior of Newburgh, apart from the pension mentioned above, were defined as supervision over the five churches situated in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire; only if Sampson's son should predecease him were the churches to be held 'libere et quiete' by the canons. With such detailed provisions as these, which delayed the transfer of patronage, it is not surprising that priories so frequently failed to retain possession of the churches they were granted.¹

Outside the immediate family of Mowbray, benefactions flowed into the priory from the tenants of the Honour. Walter and Henry de Riparia donated lands in Brandsby and the latter, the advowson of Brafferton church; Roger de Cundy gave half a carucate of land in Bagby. All these were confirmed by Roger de Mowbray.² Donations were made from further afield still. Geoffrey Darel gave the canons land called 'Summerledeholm' in Wheldrake.³ William de Percy II confirmed a grant made by Theobald of Dalton of four bovates in Dalton (in the parish of Topcliffe) with four tofts and seven acres.⁴ Theobald's brother, Helias, was also evidently a benefactor of Newburgh, since Robert de Hou confirmed a grant of two bovates of land in Dalton made by him.⁵

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1. This is precisely what happened in the case of Masham, Kirkby Malzeard and Langford. As early as the period 1154-57 Roger de Mowbray granted these churches, along with Haxey and Owston, to St Peter's, York. A dispute ensued, and the case was referred to Pope Alexander III. Newburgh retained Haxey and Owston, but the other churches remained in the possession of York Minster, and were combined to form the prebend of Masham: Mowbray Charters, no.325 and note; C.T. Clay, York Minster Fasti, II, pp.51-52.
 2. Mowbray Charters, nos. 204-6, 209.
 3. E.Y.C. XI, no.163.
 4. ibid. XI, no. 32.
 5. Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 91. fo.5.

Fig. 14. The Estates of Newburgh Priory c1200.



Yorkshire: North Riding.

Y = York.

Scale approx. 12m. to 1".

Also in Dalton grants of land were made by William son of William son of Osbert, William son of Richard Singe and Richard Burgh.¹ Modest though the amount of land contained in these grants may have been they combined to give the priory a substantial land holding in Dalton.

It is evident from one of the Dodsworth transcripts, that the priory enjoyed rights in the chapel of Ampleforth. Roger de Pont L'Evêque, archbishop of York (1154-81) issued a notification to the effect that the controversy between Newburgh and Alan, canon of York over the chapel had been terminated.² Newburgh's rights stemmed from its possession of Coxwold church on which Ampleforth was dependent. The canons agreed to quitclaim the chapel to Alan for a yearly sum of ten shillings.

This case was not the only contact which the canons of Newburgh had with the officials of York Minster. As mentioned earlier, there arose between the two a dispute over several parish churches. Other indications, however, suggest that regulations were friendly. The dean and chapter donated, or more properly leased to Newburgh several pieces of land. One carucate of land in Skirpenbeck was leased to the priory for three shillings per annum; further land and tofts, also in Skirpenbeck for two shillings per annum; one carucate in Hooton Pagnell with woodland, for three shillings per annum.³

The canons of Newburgh were generally quite successful in attracting benefactions. Before the end of the century they had come into possession of estates in Kirby Grindalythe and a mill in Ainderby Quernhow, rents in Skirlington and land in Huggate (the latter demised by the abbot of Oseney 'quia terra illa a domo nostra nimis erat remota et ideo nimis utilis'⁴)

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1. E.Y.C. XI nos. 233-34; Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 91, fo.8.
 2. Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 91, fo.7v. It is not easy to date this charter with precision. Since Roger uses his legantine style, it must date to the years after 1164. None of the witnesses can date the charter earlier than 1181, the date of Roger's death.
 3. E.Y.C. II nos. 842-3; VI no.135.
 4. E.Y.C. II no. 1077; V no. 327; III no. 1408; II no. 1257.

Nevertheless they do not appear to have drawn their benefactors from such a wide circle as some of the Augustinian houses, notably Nostell and Guisborough. The house was very much dependent on the lords of Mowbray, their family and tenants, for their grants of land. The estates of the priory were for the most part situated in the vicinity of the house; this inevitably led to clashes with the monks of Byland who were acquiring land in the same area. Detailed arrangements of rights and land boundaries had to be reached to preserve harmony between the two.¹ Nevertheless Newburgh achieved, by Yorkshire standards, considerable wealth, and in the Valor Ecclesiasticus was assessed at £437 13s. 5d. (gross) per annum.²

The patronage of the priory passed, on the death of Roger de Mowbray, to his son Nigel who during his four year lordship of the Honour (1186-90) issued a charter of confirmation to the canons.³ In its close dependence on its patrons Newburgh exhibited one of the most dominant features of the Augustinian houses in general. The house is typical, too, for its possession of a number of churches in its vicinity. Although outstanding for its harbouring of one of the foremost chroniclers of twelfth-century England, in the years after 1200 the history of Newburgh (on the evidence which survives) follows a somewhat common pattern. Successive archbishops of York discovered during visitation that the house was in debt or that minor corrections were necessary in its internal discipline.⁴ Such occurrences were far from unusual. The priory escaped the first suppressions, and was surrendered in 1539 by the prior and seventeen canons, who all received pensions.

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1. For further discussion of these agreements, see below, pp. 533-39.
 2. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p. 92.
 3. Mowbray Charters, no. 213.
 4. Reg. Giffard, pp. 328-30; Reg. Wickwane pp. 55-56.

Marston Priory

The priory of Marston lay in the forest of Galtres a mile north of Stillington and some ten miles to the north of York. Although as yet unexcavated, the outlines of the priory buildings can easily be discerned. Marston in the twelfth century is the least well-documented of all the Yorkshire Augustinian houses; it has no cartulary and only a handful of original charters have survived. This is particularly unfortunate, because Marston bears the distinction of having been the only Augustinian house to be founded as a double house for both men and women, thus anticipating to a certain extent the spread of the Gilbertine order in the county. This arrangement was short-lived, as the nuns soon moved to nearby Moxby, to form an independent establishment.¹ Regrettably nothing is known of the character of the early foundation of Marston, or of the motives for its establishment as a double house.²

The founder of Marston was Bertram de Bulmer, lord of the castle of Sheriff Hutton and a prominent sheriff of York during the reigns of Henry I and Henry II. No foundation charter has survived and in the absence of other evidence it is impossible to ascertain the date at which the priory was established. The nuns evidently moved to Moxby in 1157-58; this indicates that Marston may well have been founded during the reign of Stephen. A Hexham charter, dated 1141, contains reference to Ernisius, prior of Marston, but it has recently been suggested that, in view of the fact that an individual of the same name and rank occurs as late as 1185-91, the date of the Hexham charter, 1141, may well be a scribal error for 1161.³ If this is the case, then the charter sheds no further light on the date of foundation.

1. See below, pp.241,250.

2. A. Hamilton Thompson (Bolton Priory, p.24, n.6) attributed the double foundation to the influence of Arrouaise rather than Sempringham.

3. Heads of Religious Houses, p.175.

However, Prior Ernisius occurred as a witness to a charter of Archbishop William FitzHerbert, which can be dated to 1154.¹ Moreover, his attestation, c.1181, that he was present when Geoffrey, prior of Kirkham, was presented for benediction to Archbishop Henry Murdac, indicates that he may well have been prior of Marton as early as 1147.² The acceptance of the date of 1141 for the Hexham charter, on these grounds, is therefore not impossible. It would indicate that Ernisius ruled Marton for forty, possibly fifty years, but such a feat was not unknown among the heads of religious houses.³

As Marton was situated in the royal forest of Galtres the priory not unnaturally came to the notice of Henry II, who granted the canons and nuns land worth forty shillings in Huby.⁴ This charter presents slight problems since, issued in 1180-81, it nevertheless refers to the canons and nuns. As C.T. Clay pointed out, the grant was evidently made considerably earlier, since the pipe rolls from 1167 onwards record the relaxation of geld on this land.⁵ There is no obvious explanation for this discrepancy; Henry's own charter dated 1158 indicates that the double house had already divided.⁶

Although no foundation charter has survived, a charter of Henry de Nevill, grandson of Bertram de Bulmer, enumerated the gifts which the founder had made to Marton: the town and church of Marton, thirty acres of land in Burnsall and Thorpe in Craven with pasture sufficient for three

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1. B.I. Cause Paper, CP F 307 (the charter of William in favour of Kirkham). For the reasons for dating this charter to 1154 see above, p.101, n.2.
 2. E.Y.C. X, no.106.
 3. cf. Ernisius' contemporary, Roger of Byland, who ruled from 1142-96.
 4. E.Y.C. I, no. 420.
 5. ibid; see also Pipe Roll 13 Henry II, p.78 and successive rolls.
 6. E.Y.C. I, no.419.

hundred sheep and thirty cows.¹ At the end of the twelfth or in the early thirteenth century the canons received a grant of arable land in Cawthorne from William de Nevill.² Unfortunately no more can be said of the endowments of Marton in the twelfth century. Bertram de Bulmer died without male issue and the patronage of the priory passed to the descendants of his daughter, Emma de Nevill.

Far more information survives concerning Marton's history in the later middle ages, from a variety of sources notably the registers of successive archbishops of York. Archbishop Wickwane found the house in dire financial distress in 1280;³ Archbishops le Romeyn, Greenfield, Corbridge, Melton and Zouche all intervened to deal with troublesome or criminous canons, or to quash unsuitable elections.⁴ There is certainly little to indicate that Marton ever achieved any distinction. As a lesser monastery (being assessed at a gross annual value of £183 4s. 4d., £151 5s. 4d. clear) it was surrendered by the prior and fifteen canons on 9 February 1535/6⁵.

Easby Abbey.⁶

Easby, lying in a delightful setting on the banks of the river Swale, approximately one and a half miles from Richmond, was the third Premonstratensian house in England, and the first of three such houses in Yorkshire. Its early history has recently been examined by H. H. Colvin.⁷

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1. Printed in E.Y.C. II no. 784 from B.L. original Cotton charter XI. 42.
 2. E.Y.C. III, no. 1683, copied from an original charter; now Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS VII fo. 177v.
 3. Reg. Wickwane, pp. 151-53.
 4. Reg. le Romeyn, I, p.162; Reg. Greenfield III, pp.28-29, 88-89; Reg. Corbridge, I, p.99; B.I. Reg. 9 (Reg. Melton) fos.227v-28; B.I. Reg. 10 (Reg. Zouche), fo. 171.
 5. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 93-94
 6. All the Premonstratensian houses had the status of abbey, unlike most (in fact all of the Yorkshire) Augustinian houses, which remained priories.
 7. Colvin, White Canons, especially pp. 56-63.

Founded in 1151-52 by Roald, the constable of Richmond there survives much information concerning the estates of the Easby Abbey in its cartulary B.L. Egerton MS 2827. This is a general cartulary of a thirteenth-century date. Its arrangement is mostly topographical, although certain charters are arranged in sections: final concords, for instance, are grouped together on fos. 282-28; papal charters on fos. 307-20; the charters of the earls of Richmond and some royal charters on fos. 321-24. The cartulary is a long document comprising 325 folios, and a further thirty folios of miscellaneous material. It is written in an irregular rather untidy hand.

The founder of Easby, Roald, had succeeded to the office of constable of Richmond by 1145-6; he had died before September 1158.¹ He was one of the few founders of monastic houses not of the class of tenants-in-chief of the crown.² As is usually the case with foundation charters, Roald's charter gives no hint as to the reason for his choice to found a house for Premonstatensian canons. There was no obvious connection between him and Eustace fitz John, founder of Alnwick, or with Peter of Goxhill, founder of the Lincolnshire house of Newhouse, the abbey from which Easby was colonized. It may be that Roald was following the general trend by which the White Canons received the patronage which had previously been bestowed on the White Monks. If Roald were unaware of the limit on further Cistercian foundations imposed by the General Chapter of the Order in the very year in which he founded Easby, he would undoubtedly have been made aware of the fact by the Cistercian archbishop Henry Murdac, to whom his foundation charter was addressed, and who confirmed the foundation.

1. E.Y.C. V, p.89.

2. The only other non-baronial founder of a monastery was Adam Fitz Swain founder of Monk Bretton: some founders of nunneries, however, came from the lower strata of society: See below, pp. 307-18.

Roald's charter reveals that the initial endowment of Easby comprised the parish church (the 'monasterium' of St Agatha) 'ad abbaciam construendam' with two carucates of land.¹ As C.T. Clay indicated the word 'monasterium' suggests that there had been at one time, a college of secular canons at Easby, though not necessarily still in existence in 1151-2.² The parish church of St Agatha, lying within the monastic precinct, was always served by a canon of Easby, although it does not appear to have been formally appropriated until the late thirteenth century.³ The foundation was ratified by Henry Murdac, archbishop of York, and also by Roald's overlord, Conan, Earl of Richmond.⁴

The Earls of Richmond appear to have taken considerable interest in the religious foundations of their tenants. Earl Alan had fostered the young community at Fors (later Jervaulx); so too had Conan, even before he assumed the patronage of the monastery.⁵ Similarly Conan not only confirmed the foundation of Easby and offered protection to the canons, but he donated a carucate of land of his own demesne. Later he added new endowments: land in Hutton (in the parish of Wycliffe); land in Scales formerly belonging to Warin the archer; twenty acres of land in Gilling Moor; and quitclaim of the service they owed on lands in Hessleton, Carperby and Brompton on Swale.⁶ Without these increments the initial endowment of Easby would have been poor indeed.

1. E.Y.C. V no. 231.

2. A similar use of the word occurs in the cartulary of St Mary's, York, J.R.L. Latin MS 220-221, fos. 100-101, where it is applied to the church of St Michael, Spurriergate, York.

A grant of tithes in Thorndale was made by Nisan son of Other to the parish church of St Agatha in 1135, many years before the foundation of Easby Abbey. This grant was made for fifteen years and confirmed in 1151. The evidence is not strong enough, however, to prove that in 1135 there was an establishment of secular canons at St Agatha's. See E.Y.C. V no. 169.

3. Reg. le Romeyn, I, p. 340.

4. E.Y.C. no. 232 and IV no. 36.

5. See below, pp. 194-95, 199.

6. E.Y.C. IV nos. 36, 38-39.

The estates of the abbey were extended still further after the death of Roald by his son, Alan, and his daughters. Alan, also Constable of Richmond (who inherited the patronage of the abbey) donated to the canons the patronage of the church of Stanwick St John;¹ Theophania gave all her land in Warth (High and Low Wath Cote, Easby) and issued an undertaking that she would obtain for the abbey confirmation of the gift from her brother Alan and her son (Conan), or else return the twenty silver marks which the canons had granted her.² Ismania was the donor of the church of St Wilfrid, Great Langton, which was confirmed by Alan the constable and Thomas de Burgh, son of Ismania.³

A further member of Roald's family to endow the abbey was Richard de Rollos II. In 1166 Richard and Alan son of Roald held the lands which had, in 1086, been in the hands of Enisand Musard. C.T. Clay has suggested that Roald and Richard de Rollos I had married the two daughters of Enisand, and thus inherited his fee.⁴ This would explain Richard de Rollos II's statement that he gave the church of St Agatha to the canons, his confirmation of the abbey estates and his reference to its inhabitants as 'my canons'.⁵ Richard also added further gifts to the abbey's patrimony; land in Brompton on Swale, Skeeby and Bradwath.⁶

A papal bull issued by Alexander III to Abbot Ralph of Easby enumerated the possessions acquired by 1162.⁷ In addition to the grants of Roald, Richard de Rollos, Earl Conan and Alan, mentioned above, the pope

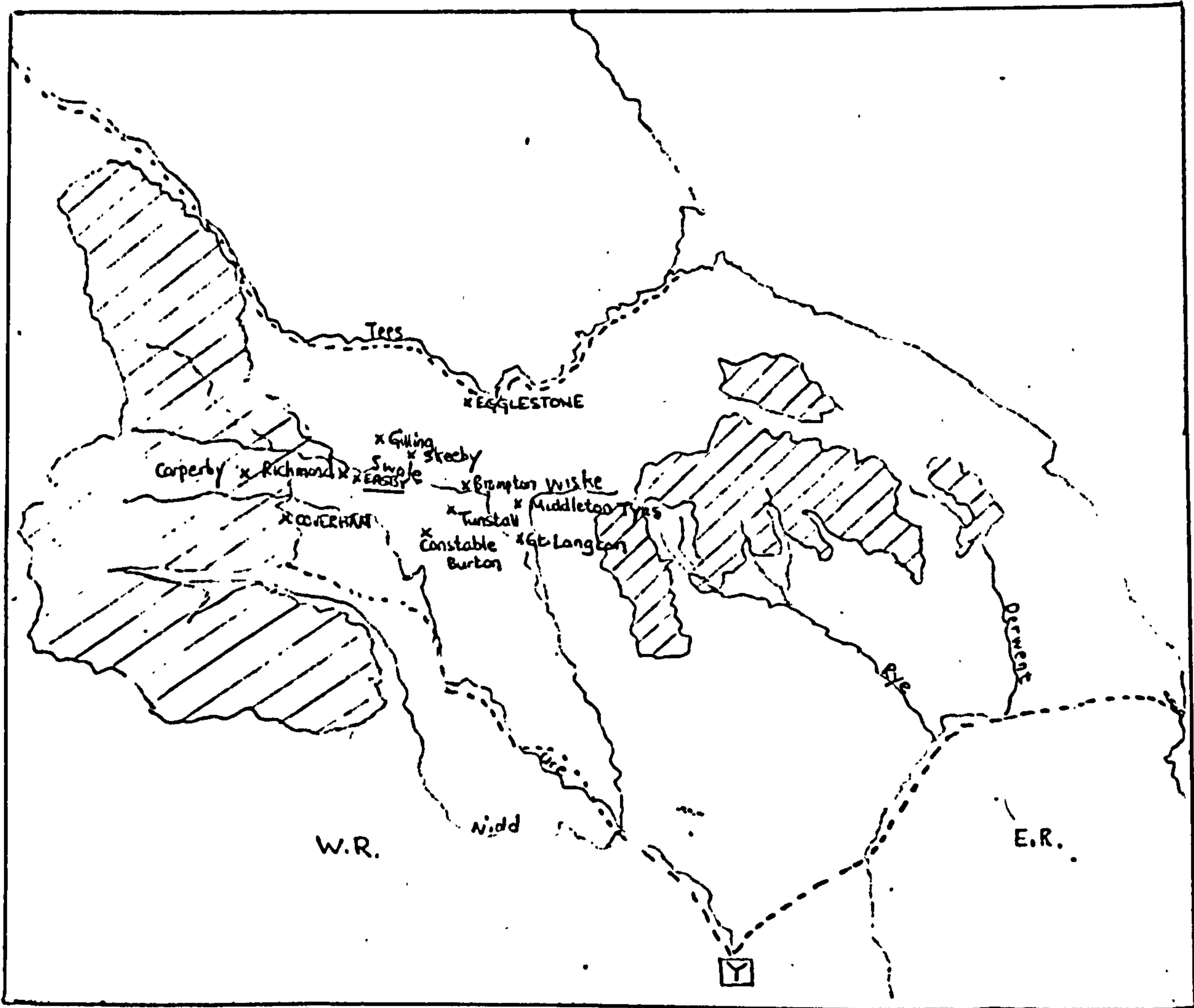
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1. E.Y.C. V no.269. The church was appropriated and a vicarage ordained: see ibid. no.270 and B.L. Egerton MS 2827 fo. 290.
 2. E.Y.C. V nos. 227-28; nos. 229-30 are confirmations by Conan and Alan.
 3. ibid. nos. 256-61. Thomas de Burgh evidently succeeded in revoking the grant but later restored the church to the canons. It was appropriated and a vicarage ordained; B.L. Egerton MS 2827 fo. 274.
 4. E.Y.C. V p.84.
 5. ibid. no.235; no. 194.
 6. ibid. no.239 (a confirmation charter of Henry II).
 7. P.U.E. I no. 92.

confirmed the gifts of Ralph Carbunel (two carucates of land in Hessleton); Picot de Lascelles (one carucate in Carperby); Ailsi, Meldred and Gilomichael (land in Middleton Moor); Warin the archer (ten bovates of land in Brompton on Swale); Alexander Musard and Wigan son of Cades (rent from Barton mill). The pope also confirmed to Easby the general privileges of the Premonstratensian order, such as freedom from tithes on land newly brought into cultivation.¹ After 1162 the canons continued to increase their estates, and a particularly generous benefactor was Torfin son of Robert, holder of the Manfield fee. Torfin donated woodland and quarried in Easby, five acres of land near Brompton on Swale, a mill and its onset 'unde inter nos querela fuerat' and a barn in Easby in which to store tithes. In view of his generosity the canons allowed Torfin to establish a chapel in his house at Easby, at the same time taking care to safeguard the rights of the mother church of Easby.²

There were, apart from these major benefactors, a host of individuals who gave very modest amounts of land to the abbey, men such as Hamo son of Wynoch, Thomas son of Robert de Barton, and Wimar the rector of Downholme.³ Certain exchanges of land took place: Clement, abbot of St Mary's, York, leased the tithes of Brompton in Swale to the canons for one silver mark per annum; the abbot and convent of the Norman abbey of Hambye donated forty acres of their land with pasture for two hundred sheep and twenty cows in Brompton 'de qua antea vel nullam vel modicam habuimus utilitatem'⁴. On the whole, however, the endowments of Easby were modest, and in no way compared to the lands and revenues received by the major

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1. A previous bull of protection was issued to Easby (under Abbot Martin) by Hadrian IV in the period 1157-59; P.U.E. I no. 75. Further bulls were issued by Urban III, Clement III and Celestine III: ibid. nos. 240, 265, 278.
 2. E.Y.C. V nos. 149-54. Torfin was also a benefactor of Byland Abbey and of the Knights Templar: see below, p. 290. His daughters, Agnes and Maud, granted the canons the church of Warcop (Westmorland), which Torfin had previously granted to Byland: B.L. Egerton MS 2827, fos. 2-6. For the grant to Byland, see below, pp. 518-32.
 3. E.Y.C. V nos. 200, 205, 210.
 4. ibid. no. 226 and no. 193.

Fig. 15. The Estates of Easby Abbey c1200, showing the sites of Coverham and Egglestone.



Yorkshire: North Riding.

Y = York.

Scale: approx. 12m to 1".

Cistercian, Benedictine and Augustinian houses. Like the monks of Jervaulx, the canons of Easby held lands mostly in the area of Richmondshire. Here their influence, by the end of the twelfth century, was quite considerable, and in the course of the later centuries it grew still greater as more land was acquired. The abbey depended to a great extent for its benefactions on the patrons and their family, on the lords of Richmond and on local landowners both great and modest.¹

Some time in, or just before, the reign of Edward III the abbey received generous benefactions from the family of Scrope, to whom the descendant of Roald sold the patronage. Henry, Lord Scrope was particularly generous; in the years 1385-90 the canons gave evidence in his armorial controversy with Lord Grosvenor.² Easby was never an excessively wealthy house. Its income in 1526 was assessed at £188 16s. 2d. gross;³ and it is unlikely that the abbey was ever important outside its own locality. The royal visitors to the abbey reported much alleged immorality, and the house was suppressed in 1536.

Coverham Abbey

The second Yorkshire Premonstratensian house, Coverham, lay approximately two miles to the south-west of Middleham castle. It has no surviving cartulary and the sources for the history of the house are extremely meagre.⁴ The abbey was originally founded at Swainby, probably

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1. For later material relating to Easby, see Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia, II, ed. F.A. Gasquet, Camden Soc. 3rd series 10, (1906) pp.1-14.
 2. The Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy: De controversia in curia militari inter Ricardum le Scrope et Robertum Grosvenor, 1385-90, ed. N.H. Nicolas, 2 vols (London, 1832).
 3. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 235-36. The clear value was only £111 17s. 11d. per annum.
 4. On Coverham, see Colvin, White Canons, pp. 126-29.

in or shortly before 1187, for in that year Ellis, rector of Pickhill, granted to the brethren of the house of Swainby, situated in his parish, the right to have a burial ground and a chapel.¹ The foundation was, as Colvin has pointed out, unusual in that the founders were not the patrons of the church in whose parish the house was sited, and could not, therefore, grant the church or its patronage to the canons.²

In the later middle ages the tradition preserved in the abbey associated its foundation with Helewise, daughter of the royal justiciar Rannulf Glanville and widow of Robert son of Ralph de Middleham.³ Although she is not specially called founder in a charter of Henry II, issued soon afterwards, Helewise's grants to the abbey are recorded.⁴ Henry's charter was issued at the request of Helewise's son, Waleran, and the two may well have been joint founders of the abbey. Henry confirmed the canons in possession of St Mary, Swainby, and land there; the church of Coverham; extensive pasture land in Kettlewell (Craven); the tithes of the Norfolk villis of Hethersett and Pickenham, and lands in Theakston and Newbiggin which Helewise had purchased.

The only other recorded benefactions to the abbey in the twelfth and early thirteenth century are the grants of Ralph son of Robert of Middleham, Theobald de Valognes, Robert son of Hervey de Sutton, and Michael de Leyburn, the latter comprising the church of Downholme.⁵ The transfer of the site of the abbey from Swainby to Coverham had evidently taken place

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1. E.Y.C. V no. 263; no. 262 refers to Pickhill church as a 'monasterium' - the same nomenclature as was applied to St Agatha, Easby. This, too could indicate that Pickhill was at one time served by secular canons.
 2. Colvin, White Canons, p.127.
 3. ibid. p.126, n.1, contains a suggestion that the fifteenth-century pedigree of the family of Middleham was compiled at the abbey.
 4. Henry charter is preserved in an inspeximus of 22 Edward II: Cal. Ch.Roll V, 1341-1417, p.76.
 5. Cal. Ch. Rolls, V, 1341-1417, pp.76-77; E.Y.C. V no.124.

before 1202, in which year Abbot Philip of Coverham occurred.¹ The reason for the move is not documented; it is most likely to have been associated with the difficulties encountered by a house situated in a parish over which it had no control.

The later history of Coverham appears to have been undistinguished. An element of confusion about the origins of the house was introduced when both Welbeck and Durford claimed to be the mother house of Coverham.² A series of agreements ended the dispute, with Welbeck established as the mother house. In 1380-81 there were apparently fifteen canons besides the abbot at Coverham and almost a century later, in 1475 the number had risen by one.³ Coverham suffered, as did many northern houses of Yorkshire, from the Scottish invasions, and in 1331-32 it was allegedly impoverished because of raids across the border.⁴ Despite this the abbey was assessed in 1535 at a gross annual value of £207 14s. 8d. (£160 13s. 3d. clear).⁵

Egglestone Abbey

Egglestone Abbey, lying on the southern bank of the river Tees, a mile south-east of Barnard Castle, was the only daughter house of Easby. The cartulary of the house no longer exists, and the sources for the foundation are very meagre. Its founder was probably a member of the Multon family. The abbey was in existence by 1198, when Ralph de Muleton agreed to pay to Ralph de Lenham fifteen marks for his confirmation of the gifts which he (Muleton) had made to Egglestone. This suggests that the land on which

1. Pedes finium Ebor. regnante Johanne, A.D. MCXCIX - A.D. MCCXIV, ed. W. Brown, Surt. Soc. 94 (1897), p.72.

2. For details of this dispute, see Colvin, White Canons, p.129.

3. Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia, ed. F.A. Gasquet, II, Camden Soc. 3rd series, 10 (1906) p.129.

4. Mon.Ang. VI, p.921.

5. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.243.

Egglestone may have been held by Muleton of Lenham; thereafter the abbot held the site of the Lord of Richmond.¹

Very little indeed is known of Egglestone in the twelfth century. There were evidently two abbots in the period up to 1209, William and Nicholas, who ruled the house in that succession.² Abbot Stephen occurs in an agreement of the year 1209.³ The only benefactions made in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries which can be traced are the grant, made by Gilbert de Leya, of the manor of Kilvington, near Thirsk; and the gift of the patronage of Startforth church, made by Helen de Hastings.⁴ The church had been appropriated to the canons before 1291.⁵

Like Coverham, Egglestone suffered from the skirmishing with the Scots, and in 1348 Archbishop Zouche authorized the appropriation of another church, that of Great Ouseburn, which Sir Thomas Rokesby had granted the canons in restitution for damage done to their house by the royal army before the battle of Neville's Cross (1346).⁶ The house never achieved wealth or prominence, in fact 'poverty is the one constant factor in its history'.⁷ In the thirteenth century plans were considered for reducing the abbey to a status of priory. These proposals were not implemented. In 1535 the Valor Ecclesiasticus rated Egglestone at only £36 8s. 3d. clear per annum.⁸ It was the poorest house of the Premonstratensian order in the entire country, Egglestone was suppressed in 1535; it was refounded in 1537, only to be suppressed once more in 1540.

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1. On Egglestone, see Colvin, White Canons, pp.162-65; E.Y.C. V, p.316; J.F. Hodgson, 'Egglestone Abbey', Y.A.J. 18 (1905), pp.129-82.
 2. See Heads of Religious Houses, p.195.
 3. B.L. Cotton MS Nero D iii (Cart. St. Leonard's Hospital, York), fo. 52v.
 4. Gilbert's grant was confirmed by Bishop Philip of Durham (1197-1208): Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense: The Register of Richard de Kellawe, lord palatine and bishop of Durham, 1314-1316 (R.S. 1873-78) II, pp. 1158-59; E.Y.C. V no.313.
 5. Taxatio Papae Nicholae, p.306.
 6. See Collectanea Anglo-Premonstratensia, II, pp.202-22 especially no.397.
 7. Colvin, White Canons, p.164.
 8. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 236-37. The gross value of the house was £65 5s. 6d.

North Ferriby Priory.

The small house of North Ferriby, situated on the north bank of the river Humber about ten miles west of Hull was the only monastery in Yorkshire to belong to the abbey of the Temple of the Lord at Jerusalem.¹ It was, accordingly, like its mother house, served by Augustinian canons. The early history of the priory is obscure. Tanner stated that it was founded by William de Vescy and although there appears to be no documentary evidence to support this, it is highly likely that either Eustace fitz John, or one of the Vescy family was responsible for the foundation. North Ferriby appears to have formed part of the Yorkshire estates of Eustace fitz John, one of Henry I's 'novi homines' who married the heiress Beatrice de Vescy and who founded the Gilbertine houses of Malton and Watton. The vill and the church passed to his descendants, who took the name of Vescy.² The date of the establishment of the Augustinian canons at North Ferriby is similarly unknown. It may have been as early as 1160; and the house was definitely in existence by 1183.³

There is little evidence for the history of the house before the beginning of archiepiscopal registration at York; indeed even then it only makes brief appearances. The only source is a fragment (one quire) of a fourteenth-century cartulary, Oxford Bodleian Additional MS C 51, fos. 1-8v. The document is written in a clear legible hand, although fo.1. is slightly damaged. It is decorated throughout with red and purple capital letters and the charters are numbered in roman numerals in the margins. The

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1. See E. Beck, 'The Order of the Temple at North Ferriby', E.H.R. 26 (1911), pp.498-501. Beck was the first to point out that North Ferriby was not a Templar preceptory. See also V.C.H. York III p.241.
 2. E.Y.C. III, p.501.
 3. These are the terminal dates assigned by C.T. Clay for the charter of John de Hesse issued in favour of the house and printed in E.Y.C. XII no.23.

surviving folios contain charters relating to the canons' estates in Tranby and Hessle.¹

Little can therefore be said of the early history of the priory beyond the fact that the canons acquired lands in these places. Prominent in the fragment of the cartulary are the names of John de Hessle and his son Robert. The former made several gifts of land in Hessle; these included pasture for two hundred sheep and land for a sheepfold. John also confirmed the gifts made by his tenants Geoffrey son of Saxelin and Maxelinus - the latter granted land 'quando venit ad conversionem'.² Probably the last charter which John issued to the canons was that which he handed in person to Petribricus, prior of the order, on the occasion of the seige of Acre in 1190-91.³ John may well have failed to return from the third crusade since he does not appear again after that date.⁴

His son Robert continued to endow the priory with grants of land. He confirmed to the canons the gifts made by his father and others, including Saxelin and his son Geoffrey, William de Redburn, Cecilia daughter of Hucca of Hessle, Alan son of Erneis of Hessle and Robert son of Hubert.⁵ In addition he gave other lands and rights, such as the villeins Robert son of Robert son of Guile, Ralph son of Swain and their sequel.⁶ In one of these charters Robert confirmed the gifts of Henry de Tranby and Hugh his son. Their own charters, granted at the turn of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries, furnish further details of their grants which consisted of small

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1. The arrangement of the folios is as follows: fos. 1v-3v, 14 charters relating to Tranby; fo.4. blank; fos. 4v-8v, 26 charters relating to Hessle. Most of these charters have been printed by Clay in E.Y.C. XII, (see especially nos. 22-40; 86-103). Those which have not been printed are: a confirmatory charter of Adam de Tranby (fo. 3v no. 14); a grant of Henry son of Hugh de Tranby of three acres of land (fo.2v no. 6); a confirmation charter of Robert son of John de Hessle (fo.6 no.10) and a grant by the same of a toft in Hessle (fo.7v no.19).
 2. E.Y.C. XII nos. 22-27.
 3. ibid. no.28. A witness to this charter was Roger of Howden, the chronicler.
 4. For details of other Yorkshiremen who journeyed to the Holy Land either on crusade or on pilgrimage, see below, pp. 297-301.
 5. E.Y.C.XII nos. 29, 34, 37, 40 and Oxford Bodleian Additional MS C 51 fo.6 no.10.
 6. E.Y.C.XII nos. 36, 39; Oxford Bodleian Additional MS C 51 fo. 2v no. 19.

parcels of land in Tranby, two villeins and their sequel.¹

It is possible that the foundation of North Ferriby, like the establishment of the Knights Templar and Hospitaller, owed not a little to the crusading fervour, especially marked in the latter half of the twelfth century, and to the growing awareness of Englishmen of events in the Holy Land. A hint of this is provided by the appearance of John de Hesse in the third crusade. The fragmentary and extremely meagre sources for the history of the house can tell us little; however it is clear that in two places where the canons are known to have held lands, these were very modest endowments and the men who made them were men of the lower ranks of society. Eustace fitz John or William de Vescy may well have founded the priory, and they were men of major importance;² but the continuing poverty of the priory in the middle ages suggests that the evidence for the extent of the priory estates in Tranby and Hesse may be representative. The Valor Ecclesiasticus assessed the value of the priory at only £60 1s. 2d. clear per annum.³

The evidence for the later history of the house is suggestive of a continuing connection with the mother house in Jerusalem, at least until the end of the thirteenth century. In 1270, for instance, the prior was intending to journey abroad on the orders of the abbot.⁴ The register of Archbishop Melton testifies to the probable effects of the Black Death - the appearance of three priors within ten days of each other.⁵ As a lesser monastery the priory of North Ferriby was suppressed in 1536 (13 August) when there were resident in the house six canons and thirty-four servants.

1. E.Y.C. XII nos. 86-92.

2. On Eustace fitz John, see below, pp. 313, 321. On the Vescys see C.T. Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, Y.A.S.R.S. 135 (1973) pp. 99-100.

3. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 128-29.

4. Reg. Giffard, p. 251.

5. B.I. Reg. 9A (Reg. Melton) fo. 197v.

CHAPTER FOUR: THE CISTERCIAN ORDER (I).

In the hundred years that followed the foundation of the Burgundian monastery of Cîteaux (1098) the Cistercian order made a greater impact and wrought more changes in the monastic life of Western Christendom than any other contemporary movement. The development of the order has accordingly attracted much attention among modern historians, and many aspects of its history, customs and observances have been examined.¹ In addition close attention has been paid to the foundation and history of many houses within the order.² Some features of Cistercian history, however, remain to be explored; in particular the history of many small Cistercian houses deserves closer attention. This chapter and the one which follows will examine the history of the Cistercian order in the county of Yorkshire from the advent of the White Monks (1131) until the close of the twelfth century.

The various influences which led to the formation of the Cistercian customs, such as the desire to be removed as far as possible from the society of laymen; the wish to follow the Rule of St Benedict 'ad litteram'; the rejection of the artistic and liturgical developments of Cluny and of the seignorial revenues enjoyed by many Benedictine houses; the insistence of manual labour as an important part of the daily monastic

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1. For a general history of the order, see L.J. Lekai, The White Monks (Okauchee, Wisconsin, 1953) revised as Les Moines blancs: Histoire L'ordre cistercien (Paris, 1957). Other literature on the Cistercians is too vast to cite here, but there are two useful bibliographies: R.A. Donkin, A Check List of Printed Works Relating to the Cistercian Order as a whole and to the Houses of the British Isles in particular (Documentation cistercienne 2, Rochefort, 1969); G. Constable, Medieval Monasticism: a Select Bibliography (Toronto Medieval Bibliographies 6, Toronto, 1976), especially nos. 14-17, 239-59, 385-86, 674-84.
 2. See for instance the recent work on the Yorkshire abbey of Fountains; see below, pp.157-58.

routine, are well-known.¹ In essence the early Cistercians were not so much innovators as restorers of a primitive ideal. Novelty for them was represented by the various observances which had grown up around the Rule since its inception some five hundred years before.

Nevertheless the Cistercians themselves were forced to accept a genuinely innovating role. Although Robert of Molesme had had no thought to found a new order, the Cistercians in fact eventually formed the first monastic order in the strict sense of the word. It was characterized not only by its austerity and simplicity, but also by entirely new features: the economic development of the grange, the employment of 'conversi' or lay brethren, and a tightly-controlled system of supervision over the houses of the order by means of the annual visitation and general chapter. The Cistercians introduced a degree of organization hitherto unknown in the monastic world.

The advent of the Cistercians brought contention in its wake. The dominant figure in early Cistercian history, indeed in the western church of his day was St Bernard, who would no doubt have agreed in principle with the author of the 'Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus que sunt in Ecclesia' when he enjoined that the Cistercians should not 'look down on other orders of men in the church, even though they are less strong, not think themselves higher, but ... feel united with the humble'.² But try as he might to be personally humble Bernard's letters are pervaded by the certainty that the Cistercian way of life was the one which led to

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1. The 'Carta Caritatis' of Cîteaux is printed in Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis, I, ed. J.M. Canivez (Louvain, 1933), pp. xxvi-xxxi. It has been usefully translated in English Historical Documents, II, ed. D.C. Douglas (London, 1968), pp. 687-91, and discussed by D. Knowles: 'The Primitive Cistercian Documents', Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in Monastic History (London, 1962), pp. 199-222. For the statutes passed by the General Chapter in the twelfth century, see Canivez, Statuta, I.
 2. Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus, p. 55.

Eternal Life.¹ He was not the only one who thought in this way, and the Cistercians frequently became the target of resentment when Benedictine abbots found that their own monks were forsaking their houses for the rigours of the Cistercian cloister, as happened on a large scale at the abbey of St Mary's, York.² Some bishops disliked the degree of independence from episcopal control enjoyed by the White Monks. Archbishop Roger de Pont L'Evêque of York (1154-81), for instance, allegedly remarked that his predecessor Thurstan never made a worse mistake in his life than in founding the Cistercian abbey of Fountains.³ Both churchmen and laymen found cause to criticise the White Monks for their economic success, often interpreted as greed and acquisitiveness. In a famous passage Walter Map accused the Cistercians of destroying villages, and of placing more importance on sheep than of their fellow-men.⁴

Following the foundation of Cîteaux in 1098 the growth of the order was slow in comparison with the proportions which the expansion was to assume in later years. Its first four daughter houses (La Ferté, Pontigny, Clairvaux and Morimond) were in existence in 1115, and by 1119 there were in all fourteen Cistercian houses. Although the order did not reach England until 1128 its fame and that of its English abbot St Stephen Harding had gone before it. William of Malmesbury, writing before 1124, averred that the order was 'now both believed and asserted to be "the surest road to heaven"' and that 'the Cistercians at the present day are a model for all monks, a mirror for the diligent, a spur to the

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1. The Letters of St Bernard, ed. and trans. B. Scott James (London, 1953), especially nos. 3, 33-35, 68-71, 419.
 2. See below, pp. 157-61.
 3. Newburgh, I, p. 226. On Roger's attitude towards the monasteries of his diocese, see below, pp. 369-73.
 4. Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium, ed. and trans. M.R. James, Cymmrodorion Record Society. (1923), p. 49.

indolent'.¹ The first English foundation was Waverley (Surrey) established by William Giffard, bishop of Winchester, in 1128 and colonized from the French house of L'Aumône. The second English foundation was to be that of Rievaulx in Yorkshire (1132) which was closely followed by the establishment of another Yorkshire house, Fountains.²

In 1147 the number of monasteries affiliated to Cîteaux increased overnight as the result of the union of the orders of Cîteaux and Savigny. Since the foundation of the abbey of Savigny in 1105 by St Vitalis, the mother house had sent off a number of offshoots. In England the first house to be established was that of Tulketh (later Furness), Lancashire, in 1124. This particular monastery seems to have headed English opposition to the union, which itself has been ascribed to the personal admiration of the abbot of Savigny for the White Monks. This opposition was eventually to prove ineffective, and the English Savigniac houses, including the Yorkshire house of Byland (1138) became absorbed into the Cistercian order. By 1152, when the Cistercian General Chapter put an end to further foundations of their order, there were in England forty-one Cistercian and twelve Savigniac houses.³ Of these eight lay in Yorkshire. Between 1152 and 1200 nine further Cistercian monasteries were established, though none in Yorkshire.

In Yorkshire the Cistercian expansion was both rapid and dramatic. Writing in the 1190s the Yorkshire Augustinian chronicler, William of Newburgh had this to say of the first three Cistercian foundations in the county, Rievaulx, Fountains and Byland:

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1. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum (R.S. 1887-9), II, p.380, as translated in English Historical Documents, II, ed. D.C. Douglas (London, 1968), pp.694-97.
 2. On the Cistercian expansion in England see Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.227-66; A.M. Cooke, 'The Settlement of the Cistercians in England', E.H.R. 8 (1893), pp. 625-76 (this deals with foundations up to 1154).
 3. 'statutum est ... ne ulterius alicubi constuatur nova abbatia nostri ordinis ..'; Canivez, Statuta, I, p.45.

These three monasteries were joined together by the unity of monastic discipline and also by the stronger bond of souls and, as the three lights of our province reflected the excellence of holy religion.¹

The following pages will describe the single most remarkable monastic movement in twelfth-century Yorkshire.

Rievaulx Abbey.

It is unfortunate that precise details of the foundation of Rievaulx, the first and in many ways one of the most famous Cistercian houses in Yorkshire, are lacking. The origins of the abbey are as interesting as, if less dramatic, than those of Fountains or Byland, but unlike these houses Rievaulx preserved no foundation history compiled at the monastery. The only major source for the early history of Rievaulx is its cartulary, a late twelfth-century compilation.² A volume of fairly small dimensions written in a clear legible hand, the cartulary contains over two hundred charters relating to the growth of the abbey estates, together with a contemporary list of lands acquired under successive abbots.³ This document clearly illustrates the rapidity of Rievaulx's rise to prominence in the twelfth century, but apart from this source the story of Rievaulx can only be told from brief chronicle references and letters.

The foundation of Rievaulx in 1131-32 may be said to have been the result of the combined efforts of four men:- St Bernard, Thurstan

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1. Newburgh, I, p.53.
 2. B.L. Cotton MS Julius D1. The volume comprises 175 folios. It has been edited by J.C Atkinson for the Surtees Society (Cart. Riev.) This edition contains certain errors of transcription and omission. For example, see below, p. 154.
 3. B.L. Cotton MS Julius D1 fos. 19-26.

of York, Henry I and Walter Espec, Lord of Helmsley and founder of Kirkham Priory in 1122.¹ To appreciate the Cistercian impact on the North of England, however, the story must be taken back several years before 1131, when Englishmen began to migrate to the Cistercian monasteries of Burgundy. It is a tribute to the pervasive nature of the Cistercian ideal that Englishmen were attracted to its ranks even before there had taken place any Cistercian foundations in England. St Stephen Harding, an Englishman, was abbot of Cîteaux, and among Yorkshiremen to enter St Bernard's abbey of Clairvaux were William, first abbot of Rievaulx and Henry Murdac and Richard, who were later to become abbots of Fountains. Thus some of the most famous and influential Yorkshire Cistercians made their profession in the greatest of all Cistercian monasteries.²

These men laid the foundations for the rapid and exciting Cistercian expansion in Yorkshire, which began with the foundation of Rievaulx in 1131-2. For the decision to found a Cistercian monastery at Rievaulx only one strictly contemporary source survives; a letter sent by St Bernard to King Henry I of England, advising him of the purpose of the arrival of a group of his monks in England.

In your land there is an outpost of my Lord and your Lord, an outpost which he has preferred to die for than to lose. I have proposed to occupy it and I am sending men from my army who will, if it is not displeasing to you, claim it, recover it and restore it with a strong hand ... Help them as messengers of your lord and in their persons fulfil your duties as a vassal of their lord.³

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1. On Espec, see below, pp. 312-13.
 2. Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.228-29; Nicholl, Thurstan, pp.151-53.
 3. James, Letters of St Bernard, no.95 (Latin version: Pat.Lat. 182, no. 92).

It is possible that an undated writ of Henry I, enjoining his subjects to protect the monks of Cîteaux, was a direct result of this missive of St Bernard.¹

The outpost was to be the abbey of Rievaulx, granted to the monks by Walter Espec, which lay less than three miles from his castle of Helmsley. It is curious that the location of the abbey is not mentioned in Bernard's letter; in fact, the word 'praeda' (in St Bernard's familiar military imagery, booty or spoils of war) translated as 'outpost' has no connotations of place whatsoever. Nor does Hugh de Kirkstall, the chronicler of Fountains (admittedly writing in the thirteenth century) state that the Clairvaux monks were actually sent to Rievaulx. He merely states that Bernard 'instinctu divino' sent monks to England 'querens fructum in gente illa'.² This vagueness naturally raises the issue of the nature of the expedition from Clairvaux. What degree of organization was involved? and had the site of Rievaulx actually been selected before the Cistercian monks reached England?

As Professor Knowles has already pointed out 'nothing is known of the previous negotiations, but it is natural to suppose that the group of Yorkshiremen round Bernard had had their share in forwarding the project.'³ Clearly there had been close contact with Archbishop Thurstan. Not only was his permission necessary for the plantation of a monastery in his diocese, but he was a well-known patron of monks. It is possible that he and Bernard had discussed the plan as long ago as 1119, when they met at the Council of Rheims, at which assembly Thurstan negotiated with Pope

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1. Regesta, II no. 1720 (dated by the editor to c.1131).
 2. Mem. Ftns. I, p.3.
 3. Knowles, Monastic Order, p.230; Nicholl, Thurstan, p.153.

Calixtus II for the foundation of Guisborough.¹ Thurstan's part in the foundation of Rievaulx is reasonably well-documented; he was sympathetic to the Cistercian cause, as is shown by his patronage of the Fountains monks, and he clearly co-operated closely with Bernard over the foundation of the earlier Cistercian house.²

What is not so clear is the stage at which Espec, a powerful landowner and royal justiciar, became involved.³ As we have seen, neither Bernard's letter nor the narrative of Hugh de Kirkstall mentions Espec in connection with the actual expedition from Clairvaux. John of Hexham notes that Espec 'monachos Cisterciensis observantiae directos a Bernardo, abbate Clarevallis, recepit et posuit in solitudine Blachoumos'.⁴ Of the twelfth-century sources William of Newburgh alone states that Espec sent out a direct invitation to Bernard to send him monks, and that the site was therefore, presumably already selected:

a nobili viro Waltero Espec invitati, et a felicis memoriae abbate Bernardo directi, monachi Clarevallenses in Eboracensem provinciam venerant, et in loco qui nunc dicitur Rievallis, tunc autem locus erat horroris, et vastae solitudinis, mansionem acceperant, praefato viro tradente, et venerabili Turstino episcopalem cum affectu paterno favorem praebente.⁶

This probably represents the true sequence of events. It does not seem likely that Bernard and Thurstan, who had presumably been making arrangements for some time, should send monks ahead with no definite site for the abbey in mind, or without an invitation from a lay patron. However it is possible that the colony was dispatched while Thurstan was concluding arrangements with Espec, already well-known to the archbishop as the founder of Kirkham, or even that the archbishop undertook to sustain the monks until

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1. See above, pp.97-98. ; For correspondence between Bernard and Thurstan, see James, Letters of St Bernard, nos. 170, 175.
 2. See below, pp.160-63.
 3. See below, pp. 312-13.
 4. John of Hexham, p.285.
 5. Newburgh, I, p.50.

he had found a site and a patron. The lack of any mention in Bernard's letter of a patron or of a site is, of course, very inconclusive, but the tone of the letter might seem to suggest that the latter was the case. After stating that he has sent monks to recover the 'praeda' for the Lord, Bernard continues 'For this purpose I have sent ahead these men who now stand before you to reconnoitre. They will investigate the situation carefully and report back to me faithfully'. ('hos quos praesentes cernistis exploratores, qui esse rei indagent sagaciter')¹ This indicates that at the very least careful consideration and examination of conditions would be necessary before Bernard gave his final consent to the establishment of an abbey. Nevertheless an interpretation of the letter, charged as it is with military metaphor is very difficult, and it may well be that Espec was a party to the negotiations from the very start and that, as has recently been stated 'it was no haphazard enterprise that the Rievaulx colony had embarked upon, but a well-planned expedition organised from Clairvaux with the detailed precision of a military campaign.'²

After spending some time at the court of Henry I the monks, led by the Yorkshireman William, journeyed north to Rievaulx via York. The foundation of the abbey was dated to 5 March 1132, by which date the primitive offices would have been constructed.³ Espec's initial, indeed his only endowment of the abbey was not generous. The nine carucates of land which he granted the monks in Griff and 'Thilestona', and a further gift of Bildersdale lay in the vicinity of the abbey in the Yorkshire moorland and were of poor quality.⁴ Compared with Espec's initial

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1. James, Letters of St Bernard, no.95. (Pat. Lat. 182, no.92)
 2. Nicholl, Thurstan, p.154.
 3. L. Janauschek, Originum Cisterciensium (Vienna, 1877) p.22. The date of 1132 is supplied by Ailred of Rievaulx (Relatio de Standardo, p.184) and John of Hexham (John of Hexham, p.285)
 4. Cart. Riev. no. 42. C.T. Clay followed Farrer in suggesting that this is a composite document probably issued just before Espec entered Rievaulx in 1156: E.Y.C. X, p.147. Bildersdale is not included in the charter, but in the list of acquisitions at the close of the cartulary. (p.260).

benefaction to his Augustinian foundation of Kirkham this was a modest endowment indeed.¹ It would seem therefore, when one takes into account the similarly poor initial endowments obtained by both Fountains and Byland, that the first generation of Cistercian foundations in Yorkshire (1131-8) were not so enthusiastically received by their patrons and by other landowners as their later success would suggest.

For the first fifteen years of its existence Rievaulx was ruled by Prior Richard, close friend of St Bernard. He is described by John of Hexham as 'vir consummatae virtutis et excellentis memoriae apud omnes posteros.'² He was conspicuous among the abbots and priors who led the opposition to Archbishop William Fitzherbert and was instrumental in bringing about his downfall.³ Letters exchanged between St Bernard and William on the subject of the disputed election imply that William was deeply involved in the affair and that he was capable of rash behaviour. On one occasion Bernard wrote: 'Your zeal is well known to me and it would not help your house if it were to flare up beyond the bounds of prudence and discretion.'⁴

William died on 2 August 1145 and was succeeded by Maurice formerly subcellarer at Durham Priory, who had evidently been attracted to the Cistercian way of life by its austerity.⁵ After only a short while he resigned his office, as he was to do at Fountains two years later. During the term of office of these abbots (1132-47) the abbey grew not only in fame but in wealth. The precise chronology of the development of the Rievaulx estates cannot be charted, but it would seem that by c1147 the monks had received donations in the following places:

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1. See above, p.105.
 2. John of Hexham, p.285.
 3. M.D. Knowles 'The Case of St William of York', in The Historian and Character (Cambridge, 1963), pp.76-97; John of Hexham, pp.313-15.
 4. Letters of St Bernard, nos. 199-201.
 5. John of Hexham p.317; Mem. Ftms.I, p.104; Walter Daniel, Life of Ailred of Rievaulx, ed. F.M. Powicke (London, 1950) (Vita Ailredi), p.33.

Hesketh and Boltby, where waste land was given by Odo de Boltby with common pasture of the vills; Hunmanby, where Gilbert de Gant gave pasture land; Rook Barugh; Skiplam, where Gundreda de Mowbray gave cultivated land.¹ In addition lands were obtained in Wombleton and a considerable grant by Gundreda in Welburn formed the basis of the abbey's future large estates there.² A grant of land in Stainton was intended for the foundation of a Cistercian abbey, but this project never came to fruition.³ These donations were evidently sizeable, and profitable enough for the monks of Rievaulx to be able to begin building the abbey in stone by the 1140's.⁴

In 1147 there became abbot of Rievaulx a man whose name was destined to become one of the most famous of all English Cistercians, Ailred.⁵ This man, renowned for his great piety and gentleness, his vast store of learning and his great sufferings, could be spoken of as 'similis Bernardo'⁶. Like his predecessor Maurice, Ailred was immediately attracted by the sincerity and piety of the Rievaulx monks, although unlike Maurice, Ailred's background was apparently completely secular.⁷ 'As he (Walter Espec) told him more about the life of the monks Ailred's spirit burned more and more with inexpressible joy'.⁸ From his entry into Rievaulx in 1134 he attracted attention, becoming master of the novices at Rievaulx, and later abbot of Revesby.

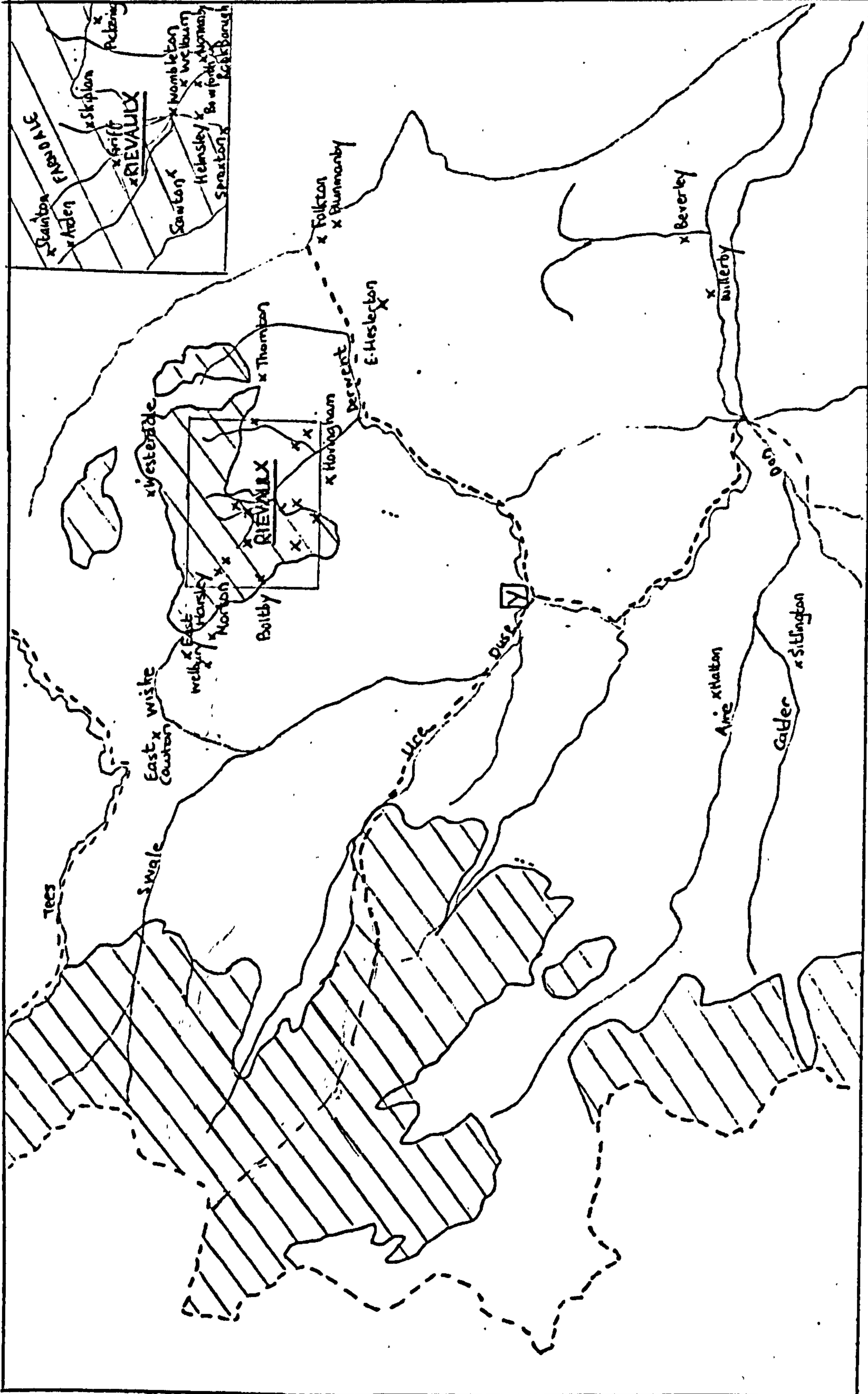
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1. E.Y.C. IX no. 89; II no. 1182; IX nos. 143, 150.
 2. ibid. IX no. 145; Cart. Riev. no. 66. For other Welburn charters see Cart. Riev. nos. 67, 155, 130-31, 350, 104-5, 61.
 3. Confirmed by Henry II: ibid. no. 205. For a similar grant to Fountains, see below, p. 164.
 4. See below, pp. 506-7.
 5. See in particular Vita Ailredi; F.M. Powicke, 'Ailred of Rievaulx and his biographer Walter Daniel', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, 6 (1922), pp. 310-51, 452-521; A. Squire, Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study (London, 1969).
 6. A phrase used by Matthew of Rievaulx in his eulogy on Ailred, quoted in Vita Ailredi, p. xxxiv.
 7. Vita Ailredi, pp. xxxiv-xlvii.
 8. ibid. p. 14.

In 1147 Ailred was recalled from Revesby to take charge of the house he had first entered. Undoubtedly the fame of Ailred contributed to both the internal and external success of the house, gaining both recruits and benefactors. Part of his attraction to the former lay in his tolerance and patience, his unwillingness to turn anyone from his door. These qualities were not without their critics. Daniel describes Rievaulx under Ailred as 'the home of piety and peace, the abode of perfect love of God and neighbour' and continues, 'Who was there, however despised and rejected, who did not find in it a place of rest? ... When was anyone, feeble in body and character, ever expelled from that house, unless his iniquity was an offence to the community or had destroyed all hope of his salvation?'¹ Furthermore Daniel states that on Ailred's death in 1167 the numbers in the house had swelled to one hundred and forty monks, and five hundred laymen and conversi. Even allowing for a pardonable exaggeration on the part of Daniel this is an impressive figure for an abbey not yet thirty-five years in existence.²

During the abbacy of Ailred the landed estates of the house grew to considerable proportions - understandably if Ailred had six hundred mouths to feed. The expansion up to 1157 is indicated by a confirmation charter of Henry II.³ From this source we learn of the gifts of Bishop Hugh of Durham, of land in Crosby, of acquisitions in Reighton and Hesketh, and of further gifts of land in Welburn by Roger

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1. Vita Ailredi, p.37. See also Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.257-62.
 2. Vita Ailredi, p.38. no.2.
 3. B.L. Cotton MS Julius D I. fos. 127v-129. Printed with errors and omissions in Rievaulx Cart. no.197. In particular lines 29 and 30 should read 'Radulpho de Novavilla' and 'Idem Radulphus' for 'Roberto' and 'Robertus'. The charter must date to ante 1157, for Eustace fitz John the last witness died in that year. Another charter of Henry II presents certain difficulties; B.L. Cotton MS Julius D 1, fos. 136-139v. Printed in Cart. Riev. no. 212. Up to line 33 of the printed text the second charter is much the same as the first. The witnesses are exactly the same, with a few differences in spelling. However this charter cannot date to before 1157. After line 33 the charter confirms other benefactions to Rievaulx. Of these, eleven gifts cannot possibly be dated ante 1157. The charter is therefore not authentic. It was possibly fabricated using the earlier charter as a guideline, to prove the monks title to various pieces of land.

Fig. 16. The Estates of Rievaulx Abbey c1200.



Yorkshire. Y = York. Scale approx. 10m to 1".

de Mowbray and Bernard de Balliol. From the evidence of individual charters issued before c.1167 the picture becomes even clearer. It appears that before the death of Ailred lands were acquired in Allerston, Bowforth Moor, Cowton, Hesketh and Boltby, Farndale, East Heselton and Folkton.¹ Estates in 'Houeton' and Welburn were extended through the generosity of Godwin, priest of St Mary's hospital, Whitby and various inhabitants of Welburn.² Notable among these was the grant by Roger de Mowbray of all his villeins ('rustici') in Welburn, the acceptance of which contravened the Cistercian regulations.³ New vills, Morton, Pilley, Scawton and Sitlington began to be exploited by the monks; and an important acquisition was made from Henry II of waste land near Pickering.⁴

The expansion of estates in no way ended with the death of Ailred in 1167. Under his successors Sylvanus (1167-89) and Ernald (1189-99)⁵ land holdings were increased, although apparently with little aid from the patrons of the abbey, the Ros family, who were content merely to issue charters of confirmation from time to time.⁶ The emphasis appears to have shifted from the acquisition of land in or around vills previously unexploited by the monks, to the consolidation and expansion of existing estates. Some new lands were obtained, particularly in Normanby by the generosity of Richard son of Thurstan, Robert son of Richard and Richard Lost;⁷ modest amounts of land were also obtained in Newsam, Sproxton and Layerthorpe, and a stone house in Beverley.⁸

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1. Cart. Riev. nos. 86, 61; E.Y.C.V no. 344; Mowbray Charters, no. 238. (The latter contains a reference to a hermit named Edmund, living in Farndale.); Cart. Riev. no.85; E.Y.C. II nos. 1247-50.
 2. E.Y.C. IX nos. 124, 129-31.
 3. Canivez, Statuta, p.15. (no.IX).
 4. Cart. Riev. no.87; E.Y.C. VI no. 158; III nos. 1830 and 1728; Cart. Riev. no.210.
 5. Formerly abbots of Dundrennan and Melrose respectively: Heads of Religious Houses, p.140.
 6. see Cart. Riev. nos. 43-48.
 7. ibid. nos. 116-118.
 8. ibid. nos. 76-78, 166, 135.

Attention appears to have been focussed, however, on existing land holdings. For example, estates in Welbury and Wombleton were extended; and there appears to have been, behind the actions of the monks, a conscious policy of consolidation by the acquisition of charters of quitclaim. This feature can be illustrated by reference to the abbey's estates in and around Pickering. As mentioned earlier, Henry II made an important grant of waste land near this vill; in the mid- to late-twelfth century the monks of Rievaulx succeeded in obtaining both further donations of land and quitclaims of rights from William de Mandeville, Jocelin d'Arcy, Peter and William de Surdeval, William son of Levoch, Walter Bardolf, William of Aumale, Asketin of Thornton, Alan the Forester, Hugh Brun, William de Vescy and Stephen Mangevilain.¹ In addition a jury appointed by royal justiciars investigated and ratified the boundaries of the possessions of Rievaulx in that region.²

Rievaulx's vast estates soon necessitated the creation of twelve granges.³ Success inevitably brought its problems. Charters such as that of Roger de Mowbray settling the dispute between the monks and Alan de Ridale, indicate that the expansion of Rievaulx's estates brought the abbey into conflict with neighbouring landowners.⁴ Further evidence of such disputes and contentions comes from certain papal bulls issued in favour of Rievaulx. The monks evidently went to considerable expense and time to prove their title to lands and to prevent encroachment.⁵

The evidence for the history of Rievaulx in the twelfth century indicates that the abbey enjoyed both prestige and wealth. The reputation

1. Cart. Riev. nos. 165, 181-88, 190-91.

2. ibid. no. 189.

3. See below, pp. 423-42, for discussion of the granges of Rievaulx, and its sources of wealth.

4. E.Y.C. IX, no. 157.

5. see below pp. 355-57.

established by the first monks of Clairvaux, the 'viri sancti et religiosi gloriantes in paupertate', the desire to emulate whom 'provocavit multos et adjunxerunt se eis "quorum tetigerat corda Deus"',¹ was later enhanced by the presence in the abbey of Ailred; in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries Rievaulx became the centre of literary activity among the Yorkshire monasteries. How its reputation survived among contemporaries of the later Middle Ages we do not know. It certainly continued to grow in wealth; in 1291 it was valued at £241 10s. 0d. per annum.² At the Dissolution, however, it was valued at the surprisingly low sum of £278 10s. 2d. (clear) per annum, far below the value of Fountains and on a level with the smaller Cistercian and Augustinian houses.³ One can only assume, in the absence of other evidence, that something may have gone seriously wrong with the administration of the abbey in its last years.⁴ The abbey was surrendered on 3 December 1538 and the site passed to the descendants of Walter Espec, whose family had held the patronage from foundation to Dissolution.

Fountains Abbey.

Of all the religious houses in Yorkshire, Fountains has attracted the most attention from modern scholars.⁵ Situated in the valley of the river Skell, three miles from the present cathedral city of Ripon, not only are the events of the foundation of the abbey dramatically and fully documented, but the architectural remains are, with Rievaulx, justly numbered among the finest in the country.

1. Mem. Ftns. I pp.4-5.

2. Taxatio Papae Nicholae p.305.

3. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.144.

4. There are indications that the buildings of Rievaulx were being reduced in size (notably the chapter house) on the eve of the Dissolution.

5. Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.231-39; Nicholl, Thurstan, pp.151-91; D. Bethell, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey and the State of St Mary's Abbey, York in 1132', J.E.H. 17 (1966), pp.11-27, and the works of L.G.D. Baker, cited below, p.158 n.1.

The major source for the foundation of Fountains, the 'Narratio de Fundatione' has been discussed in recent years by L.G.D. Baker, who has examined fully the sources, date of composition and reliability of the work.¹ Of the nine surviving manuscripts of the 'Narratio', both in its full and curtailed versions, the earliest and the only medieval version dates from the fifteenth century.² The author of the 'Narratio', Hugh a monk of Kirkstall, probably also the author of the foundation narrative of his own house,³ was commissioned to write the Fountains 'Narratio' by Abbot John (1203-11), and he composed it between 1204 and 1246.⁴ It is a long piece of work, and fraught with problems; as Baker has pointed out, once the work is stripped of various literary modes and traditions, in particular the 'Vita Prima' of St Bernard, and of the accounts of the foundations of various daughter houses, we are left with relatively little information about Fountains itself. As well as questioning the statement of Hugh that the narrative was based on the eyewitness accounts of Serlo, an aged monk of Fountains, Baker has further suggested that the section of the 'Narratio' which has been thought in the past to shed the most light on the state of St Mary's in 1132, the 'Letter of Thurstan' is, in fact, not authentic.⁵ Thus the 'Narratio' and in consequence other monastic foundation histories of the same type, must be treated with great caution.

The second major source for the history of Fountains is its series of cartularies. The earliest of these was compiled in the thirteenth century. Written in a neat hand the cartulary contains charters arranged under granges.⁶ In the fifteenth century this earlier material was copied

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1. L.G.D. Baker, 'Studies in the 'Narratio de Fundatione Monasterii Fontanis' (Oxford, B.Litt. thesis, 1967); 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey', Northern History, 4 (1967), pp. 29-43; 'The Genesis of English Cistercian Chronicles: The Foundation History of Fountains Abbey', I and II, Analecta Cisterciensa, 25 (1969), pp. 14-41, and 31 (1975), pp. 180-212.
 2. Cambridge Trinity College Gale MS O.1.79. On the surviving MSS and their relationship, see Baker, 'The Foundation History of Fountains Abbey', II, pp.179-209.
 3. See below, pp.461-62,466-68.
 4. Baker, 'The Foundation History of Fountains Abbey', I, pp.15, 39.
 5. Baker, 'The Foundation History of Fountains Abbey', III (forthcoming).
 6. Oxford Bodleian MS Rawlinson B449, continued in Oxford University College MS 170, deposited at the Bodleian Library.

again, and with the supplementary charters this second compilation ran to five volumes. Of these lengthy manuscripts only four survive; three in the British Library, one in the John Rylands Library, Manchester. In all four volumes the charters are arranged topographically.¹ Fortunately information contained in the missing volume can be supplemented by a sixteenth century register, a vast tome, which contains abstracts, in Latin, of the charters in all five volumes.² The size of all these volumes bears witness to the vast amount of documentation which the administration of the Fountains estates necessitated; by c1200 the monks held lands in over eighty places in Yorkshire.

The history of the origins of Fountains has been told many times. The circumstances of the foundation of the abbey earned it the title of the English Cîteaux, for like Cîteaux, and ironically like St Mary's, York itself, Fountains came into being as the result of a schism in a Benedictine monastery. As in the case of Molesme, there is little to suggest that there was anything inordinately corrupt about St Mary's in 1132;³ on the contrary it produced men of great spiritual fervour. It was, however, undoubtedly rich and relied on sources of revenue which the Cistercians sought to expunge from monastic observance. Hugh de Kirkstall himself was in no doubt as to what occasioned the unrest among various monks of St Mary's - the arrival of monks of Clairvaux in York en route for Rievaulx in 1131-2:

Horum nonnulli audita puritate ordinis, pia quadam emulatione adducti sunt, accusantibus eos conscienciis suis, quod minus adimpleverunt suam professionem et ex aliorum profectu suum metientes defectum. Cepit eos subito taedere a tepore pristino, erubescere ad imperfectionem, damnare delicias et consuetas fastidire coctiones.⁴

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1. B.L. Cotton MS Tiberius C XII; Additional MSS 40009 and 37770; John Rylands Library Latin MS 224. Abstracts (in English) of the cartularies in Cart. Fount.
 2. B.L. Additional MS 18276.
 3. Bethell, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey', pp.11-27.
 4. Mem. Ftns, I, p.5.

Together a group of monks interested in reform, led by Richard the sacrist of the house, approached the prior, another Richard, and gained his sympathy for their desire for reform. Their original plan was apparently to reform their house from within on lines of stricter observance, rather than to found a new monastery.

Placet omnibus Cisterciensis ordinis (sancta simplicitas) inseri illius olivae pinguedini, paupertatis experiri profectum, et sacratis illis gressibus associari.¹

The dubious 'Letter of Thurstan' contains a fuller description of the demands of the reformers, including stricter observance of the Rule of St Benedict and the abolition of the possession of tithes. A curious and suspicious feature of the 'Narratio' is that the passage immediately following the description of the reformers' plans implies that departure from the house was already contemplated at this time.

Tractant mutuo de egressione sua, de modo egressionis; non paupertatem veriti, non hyemis asperitatem, solum id cogitantes, quomodo, salva pace fratrum et sine scandalo, res ad effectum possit produci.²

It may be that the reformers were planning to leave St Mary's if their plans were not accepted, but it seems more likely that such an intention was erroneously inserted by Hugh de Kirkstall, writing so much later than the event. When rumours of possible reform spread through the monastery the monks were forced to declare their intentions. Abbot Geoffrey, 'vir grandaevus et etate confectus' was horrified 'ad rei novitatem' which he allegedly believed would lead to the notoriety of the house and to subversion among its brethren.³

At this point Archbishop Thurstan appeared on the scene. He received a visit from the prior, who is described earlier in the 'Narratio' as 'familiaris et notus Pontifici qui tunc metropoli Eboracensi praesidebat'.

1. Mem. Ftns. I, p.7.
2. ibid. p.7.
3. ibid. p.7.

The purpose of the prior's visit was to ask for the help and advice, and to also press for episcopal intervention in the affair. He realised, Hugh tells us, that nothing could be achieved 'nec posse rem ad effectum produci nisi episcopalis auctoritas interveniat'.¹ The subsequent events - the attempted visit by Thurstan and the objections raised by Abbot Geoffrey, the riot which led to the placing of the house under an interdict by Thurstan and the hasty retreat of the archbishop's party and the thirteen monks are well-known. On October 6, 1132 Thurstan and Prior Richard clearly found themselves in a position they had not bargained for. The foundation was, in this respect, an entirely accidental event.²

After spending two or three months in the household of the archbishop, the monks accompanied Thurstan to his episcopal estate at Ripon where he celebrated Christmas that year.³ During the Christmas period Thurstan gave to the monks the site for a new house in Skeldale, on the banks of the river, three miles from Ripon. The monks also received the nearby hamlet of Sutton. The name given to the new monastic foundation was Fountains, a name of somewhat obscure origin.⁴ Prior Richard was elected as the first abbot.

The course of events immediately after the first settlement at Fountains are somewhat confused. At some point the monks approached St Bernard, and asked to be accepted into the order of Cîteaux. It is most likely that, as Baker has suggested, this appeal took place late in 1133,

1. ibid. p.8.

2. See Baker, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey', p.37.

3. Mem. Ftns. I, p.31.

4. A. Butler, 'The Origin of the Name of Fountains Abbey', Y.A.J. 26 (1922), pp. 346-52; J.T. Fowler, 'The Origin of the Name of Fountains Abbey', Y.A.J. 27 (1924), pp. 110-11. Both these attribute the name to the presence of springs of water in the vicinity of the abbey, either in Skeldale or Knaresborough. William of Newburgh (Newburgh, I, p.50) attributed the name to the reputation of the house as the fountain of true knowledge.

since charters earlier than this refer to Fountains as a Benedictine community.¹ The negotiations were conducted through an intermediary, probably William, abbot of Rievaulx,² and Bernard sent one of his own monks, a certain Geoffrey, to instruct the brethren in the tenets of the Cistercian order. Bernard wrote to the new abbot, Richard, in terms of glowing admiration:

Your progress from good to better is no less wonderful, no less gratifying than a conversion from evil to good ... your most salutary and remarkable action has not only given great joy to myself ... but also to the whole church.³

Fountains was received into the Cistercian order as a daughter house of Clairvaux.

It was probably during the period immediately before Fountains became Cistercian that Gervase and Ralph, two of the monks of St Mary's who had taken part in the egression, decided to return to their former house.⁴ Their return caused great anxiety to Abbot Geoffrey, for he wrote to St Bernard for advice. It seems as if their departure from Fountains was occasioned by the great hardship which the monks were suffering in Skeldale. According to the 'Narratio' their reception into

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1. A charter of Henry I, dated 1131-33, refers to the monks living according to the Rule of St Benedict: E.Y.C.I, no.61. Although strictly speaking the Cistercians did follow the Rule of St Benedict it is more common to find reference to the monks 'ordinis Cisterciensis'. (cf. E.Y.C. I no.63).
 2. William is one of the most likely emissaries, as he would have been travelling between Yorkshire and Cîteaux for the purpose of attending the General Chapter.
 3. James, Letters of St Bernard, no.171.
 4. Although the implication in the 'Narratio' is that the two monks returned almost immediately after the egression from St Mary's, (October 1132), Dr Baker has argued convincingly for placing their return somewhat later: Baker, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey', p.39.
Abbot Geoffrey of St Mary's was undecided about how to treat the two monks who returned, and wrote for advice to St Bernard. For the latter's replies see James, Letters of St Bernard, nos. 168-69.

the Cistercian order initially made little material difference to the monks. Certainly there is no charter evidence suggesting that the community received many benefactions immediately after the foundation. They still suffered hunger and cold, taking shelter under an elm tree, and even at times being forced to eat the leaves of the same tree.¹ This is a graphic description included by Hugh de Kirkstall in the 'Narratio', but it is worth pointing out that when the monks were reputedly on the point of starvation and down to their last loaf of bread, the community evidently had constructed buildings, including a guest house.² A timely gift of bread was sent by Eustace fitz John and the convent was saved from extinction. Their lack of resources, however, led the abbot and convent to petition St Bernard to allow them to leave Fountains altogether, and establish themselves in a French grange of Clairvaux. The request was on the point of being granted when the fortunes of the monks changed. Two new recruits, Dean Hugh of York, and Serlo, a canon, arrived at the house, bringing with them money, books and other goods.³

The entry of such prominent men into the community of Fountains added considerably to its prestige, and from this point until the death of Abbot Richard in 1139 sufficient endowments were received to ensure the survival of the house. The 'Narratio' records that Thurstan gave the hamlet of Sutton to the monks; and charter evidence further indicates that he was the donor of arable land belonging to a rustic in Sutton as well as woodland in 'Herleshow'.⁴ The statement in the 'Narratio' that Robert de Sarz and Raghild his wife gave 'Herleshow' and Warsill, both parts of

1. Mem. Ftns. I, pp.48-9.

2. Mem. Ftns. I, pp.49-50. This passage refers to a "portarius" and to carpenters at work.

3. For a similar occurrence at Byland see below, p.179. This could indicate that men of social prominence were soon attracted by the monastic life.

4. E.Y.C. I. nos. 61-2.

Raghild's dowry, is substantiated by their charters.¹ The vill of Cayton was given to the monks by Serlo de Pembroke during a serious illness; and earl Alan of Brittany gave lands in Masham and Aldburgh for the foundation of an abbey. The project was not carried out, and Aldburgh became a grange.² By 1139 Fountains had sufficient men and resources to found its first daughter house at Newminster.

On April 30, 1139 Richard, first abbot of Fountains died in Rome, where he had gone in the company of Alberic, the papal legate.³ Richard was succeeded by his namesake, former sacrist of St Mary's and leader of the original reforming party there. To this man Hugh de Kirkstall devotes a long section.⁴ Much of it may seem the conventional description of a pious abbot, yet nevertheless a clear sense of his spirituality emerges from the pages of the 'Narratio'. Like so many of his contemporaries he appears to have accepted the high office of abbot, with all its attendant responsibilities and involvement in administration, unwillingly, 'invitus'. These responsibilities lay upon him. 'Partes Marthae pro necessitate exequitur, ad Mariae tamen otium ex animo suspirabat'.⁴

'Gemens sub sarcina quam invitus gestabat', Richard three times appealed to St Bernard to release him from his burden of office, and to allow him to enter Clairvaux as a simple monk. Three times his plea was refused, and he remained abbot until he died on October 12 1143. His death occurred while he was journeying to Cîteaux to attend the annual general chapter. He fell ill, ironically, at Clairvaux itself, where he

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1. Mem. Ftns, I. p.54; E.Y.C. I. no. 64. Also given by the same individuals were lands in Bishop Thornton and Morker. E.Y.C. nos. 64-5.
 2. Also associated in the gift of Cayton was Eustace fitz John: E.Y.C. I. no. 502. Earl Alan's charter is printed in E.Y.C. IV. no.18
 3. All the dates of the abbots of Fountains here follow C.T. Clay ('Early Abbots of the Yorkshire Cistercian Houses', Y.A.J. 38 (1955), pp.13-21), whose calculations are based on the President Book of Fountains. Richard's death is noted in the 'Narratio' (Mem.Ftns.I, pp.71-73) and by John of Hexham (John of Hexham, pp.300-301). See also Heads of Religious Houses, pp.132-33.
 4. Although it has to be remembered that such unwillingness was a common trait accorded to many abbots, and must therefore be treated with caution.

received the last rites in the presence of St Bernard.¹

Richard was succeeded by a man whose temperament was a complete contrast to his own quiet spirituality. On his death Bernard immediately sent his representative, Henry Murdac, Abbot of Vauclair, to assist and supervise the election of a new abbot. 'Receive him, dearest brothers' he wrote, 'with the love and honour he deserves, and listen to him in all things, as you would to myself'.² The brethren elected Henry himself as third abbot of their house. For four years Murdac ruled as sole abbot, during which time he worked hard to improve the internal, spiritual life of the abbey:

Hic primus Fontes nostros ad perfectam ordinis puritatem redegit, et erasa rubigine vitae prioris, secundum Clarevallis ritus monasterii salutaris inibi disciplinae formam intituit. Ab illa die et deinceps emulata est filia matris perfectionem, in regularibus exercitiis et sancta conversatione.³

In 1147, the same year in which Ailred assumed his responsibilities as abbot of Rievaulx, Murdac was elected archbishop of York at Richmond, in place of the deposed William fitz Herbert. This election was to cause notorious strife in Murdac's native Yorkshire.⁴ From 1147 until his death in 1153, Fountains was ruled by a succession of suffragan abbots. The first of these, Maurice, former monk and abbot of Rievaulx, resigned after only two months.⁵ His successor was also a monk of Rievaulx. Thorald is described by Hugh de Kirkstall as 'homo, in scripturis sacris, non mediocriter edoctus, et in liberalibus studiis apprime eruditus'. He ruled the house for two years, after which he too resigned, apparently as a result of a quarrel with Murdac. '... contra consilium et potestatem venerabilis archiepiscopi praesumens ... resignato officio, Rievallem

1. Mem. Ftns, I, pp. 73-78.

2. James, Letters of St Bernard, no.173. (See also no.174).

3. Mem. Ftns, I, p.85.

4. D. Knowles, 'The Case of St William of York'. C.H.J. 5, no.2 (1936), pp.162-77 and 212-14, reprinted in The Historian and Character (Cambridge, 1963) pp.76-97.

5. Mem. Ftns. I, p.104; See F.M. Powicke, 'Maurice of Rievaulx', E.H.R. 36 (1921), pp.17-29.

reversus est'. We are given no details as to the cause of the disagreement.¹

In 1150 the abbacy was again vacant and for the second time Bernard supplied an abbot for his flock. This was Richard, like Murdac both a native of Yorkshire and a former abbot of Vauclair. At the time of his dispatch to Fountains he had relinquished his office as abbot of Vauclair to become precentor of Clairvaux. This 'vir vitae probatae et religionis consummatae, familiaris pro vita merito' survived Murdac to rule for a further seventeen years as sole abbot of Fountains.

When Murdac was elected archbishop of York in 1147 the troubles that ensued rebounded on his monastery. Hugh de Kirkstall (probably at this point in the 'Narratio' relying on ey-witness accounts) described in a graphic way the burning of the monastery by the followers of Fitz Herbert. When an envoy of the deposed archbishop was murdered by some of the Murdac faction, Fitz Herbert's followers stormed to Fountains in search of Murdac:

Veniunt Fontes in manu armata, et, effractis foribus, ingrediuntur sanctuarium cum superbia, irruunt per officinas, diripiunt spolia, et non invento quem quaerebant abbate, sancta aedificia grandi labore constructa, subjectis ignibus, redigunt in favillam.²

Murdac, being prostrate before the altar in prayer, escaped the wrath of the despoilers. On his restoration to the see of York in 1153-54 Archbishop William made restitution to the monks of Fountains for the outrages committed in his name.

However the period of Murdac's rule at Fountains was also a constructive one. It was certainly a period of growth. The 'Narratio' records that 'aucta est domus in diebus eius intus et extra; et adjectae sunt ei grangiae tres, Cuton, Kilneseia et Marton'.³ Cowton was given

1. Mem. Ftns. I. p.105.
2. Mem. Ftns. I. p.101.
3. ibid. I, pp. 85-86.

by Earl Alan of Brittany before 1146, Kilnsey by William son of Duncan, and Marton by Alan de Meering.¹ From the evidence of their charters it appears that further endowments were received by the monks of Fountains in this period. Eugenius III confirmed the monks in possession of land in Brampton Bierlaw in 1145-46; Bertram Haget, an important tenant of the Mowbray Honour, gave lands in Dacre which were to form the nucleus of an important grange there. Roger de Mowbray confirmed lands in Swanley, Littley and Winksley.²

However by far the greatest period of territorial expansion in the twelfth century occurred during the sole abbacy of Richard III (1153-1170):

*Floruit, per idem tempus, sancta Fontanensis ecclesia, foris et intus, spiritualibus pariter ac temporalibus bonis ampliata.*³

Important acquisitions were made in the period up to 1170, and part of this expansion was due to deliberate policy on the part of the monks. Some lands, like those in Aismunderby and Hutton, are stated to have been bought by the monks.⁴ Benefactions were received by the abbey from Roger de Mowbray and his tenants in Azerley, Brimham, Caldwell, Kirkby Malzeard, Redley, Nidderdale, Birstwith (where the monks were given permission to build houses) and Marton.⁵ From another important baron, William de Percy, came estates in Baldersby, Malham Moor and Tarn, and Markinfield (near Ripon).⁶ Earl Conan of Brittany and Richmond, who had

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1. E.Y.C. IV no. 116; I no. 76; VII no. 14; XI no. 20. In the period 1171-84 the grange of Kilnsey was augmented by a grant of land made by John Malherbe and his wife: B.L. Additional MS 37770, fos. 117v-18. William, Bertram and Geoffrey Haget all gave or confirmed land in Marton: B.L. Additional MS 37770, fos. 209-11. Roger son of Gurwant, Ralph son of Pagan and Ralph son of Ulkil gave land in Cowton: B.L. Cotton MS Tiberius C XII, fos. 287-88v.
 2. E.Y.C. I no. 79; Mowbray Charters, nos. 96, 99, 101, 115.
 3. Mem. Ftns. I, p. 111.
 4. E.Y.C. I, no. 82.
 5. Mowbray Charters, nos. 115-18, 102-07, 114; B.L. Additional MS 37770, fos. 210-12.
 6. E.Y.C. XI, nos. 18, 23-25, 20-21, 17.

succeeded Alan in 1147, followed his father's example in endowing the monks with land in Moulton.¹ New vills were exploited, such as Bordley, Dishforth, and South Stainley;² existing estates in Aldburgh and Cowton were expanded, and a messuage in York was obtained.³

Richard was supposedly a successful administrator ('Multa strenue suscepta administratione gessit'), but he does appear to have encountered some problems in the internal running of the house. Details of this crisis of authority are lacking, but the terms used in the 'Narratio' imply that the disagreement was a serious one:

In abbatem tota conflatur indignatio, seditio concitatur,
et insurgunt filii contra patrem, oves in pastorem, ecclesiae
in scandalum, adversariis in derisum.⁴

Whatever the crisis, Richard seems to have restored order and authority to his house.

Summoned to take charge of Fountains after the death of Richard in 1170 was Robert, abbot of Pipewell, a daughter house of Fountains. The 'Narratio' speaks of him as 'dispensator fidelis et prudens; providus in consiliis, judiciis discretus'.⁵ Of him we know little. He ruled for nine years, dying at Woburn on his return from the General Chapter of 1179-80. For his successor the monks turned again to a daughter house of Fountains, this time choosing as abbot, William, then abbot of Newminster and formerly a canon of Guisborough. Despite his great age at the time of his election, William ruled Fountains for nearly ten years, from 1180-

1. ibid. IV, no.45.

2. Given respectively by William de Rilston, Baldwin de Bramhope, and Alan son of Rainald: ibid. VII no.118; XI no. 216; I no. 507.

3. For charters pertaining to Aldburgh, see Oxford Bodleian Rawlinson MS B 449, fos. 20-28 and B.L. Cotton MS Tiberius C XII fos. 26-27. An original charter of Walter de Buher confirming gifts of Turgis son of Malger survives as B.L. Additional Charter 7491. For the York charters, see B.L. Additional MSS 40009, fos. 109v-113. Grants were made by Walter son of Turgis and Geoffrey de Rouen and confirmed by the dean and chapter of York Minster and the prior and convent of Holy Trinity, York.

4. Mem. Ftns. I, p.113.

5. Mem. Ftns. I, p.114.

-1189/90.¹ These two abbots secured for the house a considerable number of further benefactions. Notable among the endowments were lands in Kirby Wiske, Bradley, Galphay, and Wheldrake, where granges were established before the end of the century.² Estates were also expanded in Marton, Acaster Malbis, Ainderby Quernhow, Aisenby, Baldersby, Dromonby, Greenberry and Grisethorp.³

The last abbot to rule Fountains in the twelfth century was Ralph Haget, of especial interest as being one of the few abbots whose secular origin we can trace. He was a son of Bertram Haget, who held lands of Roger de Mowbray in the region of Healaugh Park, near Tadcaster. This Bertram (the first recorded member of his family) was the founder of the priory of Sinningthwaite and of the hermitage of Healaugh Park.⁴ He had numerous children, of whom Bertram became a noted monastic benefactor, Geoffrey a justice of Henry II and Gundreda a nun of Sinningthwaite. Ralph, according to Hugh de Kirkstall, who probably knew him personally, entered Fountains as a monk in c1170 and was professed by Abbot Robert.⁵ In 1182 he became abbot of a daughter house of Fountains, Kirkstall Abbey, where his term of office saw many misfortunes for the monks.⁶ In 1190/1 he returned to Fountains as ninth abbot, and ruled the house for thirteen years.

1. Mem. Ftns. I, pp.114-5.

2. E.Y.C. V no. 285; III nos. 1762-3; Mowbray Charters, nos. 148-9; E.Y.C. XI no.164. On the granges of Fountains, see below, pp.

3. B.L. Additional MS 37770, fos. 209, 216v; B.L. Cotton MS Tiberius C XII fos. 4-4v, 5-6, 20v-21, 177v. B.L. Additional MS 40009, fos. 89v, 228v-229, 243v-244.

4. Healaugh Park was granted by Bertram Haget to Gilbert, monk of Marmoutier, (probably of the priory of Holy Trinity, York.) At the beginning of the thirteenth century it became an Augustinian house.

5. Hugh says that Ralph entered Fountains aged 30 "ut putabatur". (Mem. Ftns. I. p.117) and that he became abbot of Kirkstall in the 13th year of his conversion. As he was elected abbot in 1182 he probably entered Fountains in 1169/70. This would place his birth c.1139-40.

6. See below, p.210-12.

The account of Ralph Haget in the 'Narratio' is mainly concerned with his spiritual life, but it does provide some information on his administration of the house. He gained more endowments for the monks, notably the gifts of his brother, Geoffrey, of lands in Thorpe Underwood and Elwicks.¹

By the time Haget died in 1203 Fountains had amassed considerable wealth; its development, however, was far from smooth. Between 1132 and 1152 comparatively few benefactions were received; the apogee of territorial expansion comes in the abbacy of Richard III 1150-70; thereafter the benefactions continued at a rapid rate. The reason for the rather slow start that Fountains made in the territorial expansion of its estates could have been due to the fact that Fountains was in the rather anomalous position of having no lay patron. After the death of Thurstan there was no one to oversee the material development of the abbey. Murdac certainly had his own problems as archbishop, and his successor, St William, lived only long enough to make restitution for the burning of Fountains by his followers. Archbishop Roger de Pont L'Evêque was reputedly hostile to monks, and if there is any truth in Newburgh's statement, to Fountains in particular.² A lay patron need not always be generous himself. The Lacy family gave very little land to Nostell Priory, and the descendants of Walter Espec, the Ros family, did little more than issue charters of confirmation to Reivaulx. However a lay patron could, and frequently did, use his influence to encourage his tenants and friends to endow his foundation with lands. Fountains had, after the initial attention the secession from St Mary's must have caused, to establish its own reputation, and a small, struggling community buried in the heart of Skeldale, may not have been in a position to do so. It is possible that the fame of Henry

1. Mem. Ftns. I, pp. 123-4.

2. Newburgh, p.225-6.

Murdac might have put Fountains on the monastic map. When Fountains did establish a reputation it found benefactors among the noblest of Yorkshire families.

Fountains' wealth was based on various assets. It was, of course, important in sheep-farming, especially in areas such as Craven and Arncliffe, and, to a lesser extent, Nidderdale.¹ The latter was in the thirteenth century almost entirely devoted to cattle farming, and, although there is no documentary evidence to show if this was the case in the twelfth century, cattle were evidently being kept in Nidderdale in 1176.² A charter of Roger de Mowbray granted to the monks a road between Aldburgh to the moor between Swinton and Nidderdale for their cattle: 'unam viam tante latitudinis quantum necesse fuerit per quam averia sua de Audeburg exire possint ad pascendum ad pasturam suam in mora de Suintun et Niderdala'.³ Numerous granges were established in the course of the century in order to facilitate the administration of their vast estates. Twenty-six granges are identified by Donkin as being in existence by c1200. Most of these lay, as did the majority of the estates of Fountains, in the North Riding of Yorkshire.⁴

Unlike many Yorkshire religious houses, Fountains does not disappear into comparative oblivion in the centuries after its foundation. We know that in the thirteenth century the convent was in financial difficulties; details of the latter survive in the cartularies, in official government records and in the visitation records of the archbishops of York.⁵ The trouble persisted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and in the years after 1410 the spiritual life of the abbey

1. See below, pp. 426, 428.

2. R.A. Donkin, 'Cattle on the estates of Medieval Cistercian monasteries in England and Wales', Econ.H.R. 2nd series, XV. (1962), pp. 31-53.

3. Mowbray Charters, no. 129.

4. See Fig.17. Fountains did not gain any lands in Cumberland until the early years of the thirteenth century, unlike Byland, whose interests in the region of Westmorland began in the mid twelfth century. For a further discussion of Fountains' economy, especially with regard to exploitation of land, and rents paid or received, see below, pp. 341, 441-42.

5. See, for example, B.I. Reg. 9 (Reg. Melton), fo. 129.

was seriously undermined by a protracted disputed election.¹ At the beginning of the sixteenth century the abbot of Fountains, Marmeduke Huby, embellished his monastery by the addition of a fine new tower off the north transept of the abbey church.² His successor, William Thirsk, was hanged at Tyburn for his part in the pilgrimage of Grace; the abbey was surrendered a few years later, on 26 November 1539, by Abbot Marmeduke Bradley, the prior and 30 monks, the abbey having been assessed in 1535 at a gross annual value of £1173 0s. 8½d. (£998 6s. 7½d. clear), by far the most wealthy Cistercian house in Yorkshire, indeed the second wealthiest house in the county.³

Byland Abbey

About one and a half miles to the north-east of the village of Coxwold lies the ruins of Byland Abbey with the imposing west end of the church still standing to a considerable height. There are two main sources for the early and somewhat turbulent history of the abbey: the history of the foundation, the 'Historia Fundationis', formerly contained in the cartulary of the house and the cartulary itself.⁴ In the seventeenth century this was in the possession of John Rushworth Esq. of Lincolns Inn, and from it Roger Dodsworth transcribed the whole of the 'Historia' and several charters pertaining to the abbey's estates.⁵ He and others completed this work in the years 1642-49. So was fortunately preserved

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1. E.F. Jacob, 'One of Swan's Cases: The Disputed Election at Fountains Abbey 1410-16', Essays in Later Medieval History (Manchester, 1968), pp. 79-97.
 2. For some correspondence from, and concerning, Huby, see Letters from the English Abbots to the General Chapter of Cîteaux, 1442-1521, ed. C.H. Talbot (Camden Soc. 4th series, 4, 1967), pp. 128-30, 181-83, 242-46, 254, 258-60.
 3. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 253-54.
 4. B.L. Egerton MS 2823.
 5. The text of the 'Historia' is contained in Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 63, fos. 9-31. It is printed in Mon.Ang. V, pp. 349-53, although several charters inserted in the text of the 'Historia' are omitted in the printed version. On the style of 'Historia' see below, pp.464-67.

the history of the foundation of Byland, now lost in its original text.

The 'Historia Fundationis' was compiled in the year 1197 by the third abbot of Byland, Philip, who relied largely on the reminiscences of the long-lived second abbot, Roger (1142-96). The purpose of the work was, in the author's words, 'successoribus nostris ... innotescere causam, formam et modum sive processum fundationis domus nostrae de Bellalanda'.¹ The loss of the original manuscript and the preservation of the text in a seventeenth-century manuscript only, makes any evaluation of its authenticity difficult in the extreme. The researches of Dr Baker, with regard to the Fountains 'Narratio' has indicated that a twelfth-century monastic history could enshrine a good deal of extraneous and indeed misleading information.

On applying similar criteria to those used by Dr Baker, to the Byland 'Historia' the latter emerges in a favourable light. Although it demonstrates the limitations of memory of the man who was eye-witness to most of the events described, but whose recollections are blurred by the passage of time and the onset of old age, and is consequently in places tantalizingly vague; on points of detail the accuracy of the 'Historia' is impressive. For example, the author places the destruction of the abbey of Calder (Cumberland) in 1137, and identifies the chief force of the Scottish army as the men of Galloway. This agrees with both Ailred of Rievaulx and Richard of Hexham.² The date given in the 'Historia' for the emergence of Roger de Mowbray from his minority (1138) accords with the description of Roger as 'adhuc puerulus' at the Battle of the Standard in August of that year.³

1. Mon.Ang. V, p.349.

2. Relatio de Standardo, pp.189, 193; Richard of Hexham, p.152. It is not clear whether, in composing the 'Historia' Abbot Philip had access to any external source, or whether he relied solely on the traditions preserved at his house. Despite the proximity of Byland to Newburgh, and the fact that close connections existed between the two houses by virtue of their mutual patrons, the Mowbrays, Philip was not apparently using the chronicle written by William of Newburgh in the same year (1197). Nor does Newburgh mention the destruction of Calder Abbey, nor indeed the devastation of Cumberland. He has a short note on the foundation of Byland and refers to Abbot Roger in terms of great respect ('vir... mirandae sinceritatis'), but had no apparent knowledge of Byland's history before 1138: Newburgh, I, pp.50-53.

3. Relatio de Standardo, p.183; see below, pp.177-79.

The 'Historia' contains incidental, and correct, references to events and personalities: to the visit of Roger de Mowbray to Normandy in 1147; to the plea brought forward by Robert de Stuteville against Mowbray in the king's court in that same year; to Hugh Malebisse as steward of Roger de Mowbray in 1147. There is one place, however, in which the chronology of the 'Historia' appears to be at fault. In a list of grants which the author implies were made between 1142 and 1147 there are included some benefactions which were made at a later date.¹ However there appear to be in the Byland 'Historia' none of the literary borrowings which characterize parts of the Fountains 'Narratio'. Nor is the author at pains to provide a clear-cut sequence of events. The use of phrases such as 'ut quibusdam dicitur', 'ceterum secundum aliorum estimationem' and 'caeterum ut quorundam relationi' suggest an inclination to discriminate between facts known to be correct by the author and those which relied on hearsay.²

Far more suspect than the 'Historia' are some of the entries in the second major source, the cartulary of the abbey.³ Written in a regular hand, the manuscript of the cartulary is extensively damaged in parts. Difficulties concerning individual charters will be discussed below, but, as Dr Greenway has pointed out, a number of charters are suspect in form, although they may and in some cases almost certainly do refer to authentic grants of land.⁴ Some charters are probably entirely spurious; others show signs of later interpolation. The earliest grants, made while the monks were still at Hood, refer to 'monachi de Bellalanda' or 'Abbas Geroldus de Beghlanda'.⁵ This indicates a date for the issue of the

1. Mon. Ang. V, p.352.

2. ibid. pp. 249-50.

3. B.L. Egerton MS 2823. The cartulary is unpublished. Many charters have however been printed in E.Y.C. and Mowbray Charters.

4. Mowbray Charters, pp.lxxv and notes to individual charters.

5. ibid. nos. 33-7.

charters of 1142-7. It is possible of course to offer one explanation: that the charters were issued just prior to the move to Old Byland, when the site had been granted and while the buildings were being constructed.

The circumstances of the foundation of Byland are not unique in every respect, but they do form a dramatic and remarkable story. The final settlement was made thirty-three years after the original convent had been dispatched from Furness, and the monks had occupied no less than four temporary homes. The events of the first foundation at Calder (Cumberland), its destruction by the Scots and the haphazard circumstances which led to the final establishment of the monastery of New Byland, accordingly figure among the better-known histories of religious foundations in Yorkshire.¹

The initial impetus behind the original foundation of Calder was far from unusual. The Savigniac order, like the Cistercian, practised the system of colonization from mother houses. Furness, the mother house of Calder, was the first Savigniac foundation on English soil. It was founded at Tulketh (Lancashire) from Savigny in 1124 and the site was moved to Furness in 1127. Calder was the first colony of Furness.² In form - the invitation of a lay patron, in this instance Ranulf Meschin, and the dispatch of thirteen monks, the foundation was conventional. The new house was occupied in 1134, and it was during the fourth year of its existence, 1137, that events took an unconventional turn. For the first time in post-Conquest England a religious house was utterly wiped out by an invading force.³ The Scots under William son of Gerold, nephew of the

1. For recent discussions of the foundation of Byland see Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 249-51; B.D. Hill, English Cistercian monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century. (Illinois, 1968) pp.98-9; Nicholl, Thurstan, pp. 201-4.

2. The others were Rushen, Isle of Man (1134) and Swineshead, Lincolnshire (1135).

3. Hill, Cistercian monasteries, p.98 wrongly identifies the founder of Calder as Ranulf de Gernons, Earl of Chester. It is clear from a charter of Henry III and a bull of Eugenius II (1152) that the founder was Ranulf Meschin, as noted in E.Y.C. VII, p.7. Ranulf was the son of William Meschin founder of St Bees and joint founder, with his wife, Cecily de Rumilly, of Embsay, later Bolton Priory. The list of monks who formed the convent of Calder, which is included in the 'Historia' at this point, indicates that not all of them came from the area of Furness. Although it is true that Calder was the first abbey in/

see over

Scottish king, swept through Cumberland, leaving in their wake a trail of destruction. The 'Historia' suggests that the monks were already suffering considerable hardships when the invasion occurred, prompting the return to Furness.¹

The reception which the refugee monks received at the gates of Furness could hardly have constituted the welcome they might have anticipated. For reasons which Abbot Roger could not entirely recall the monks were refused entry. This was either, 'ut a quibusdam dicebatur'; because Abbot Gerold of Calder refused to resign his abbatial status and 'inconueniens esset ... quod duo abbates cum conventibus suis in una morarentur abbatia', or 'ceterum secundum aliorum estimationem', because the monks of Furness, under threat of similar devastation from the Scots were unwilling to share their material resources with their former colleagues. They berated the Calder monks 'quasi desides et effeminatos' for having abandoned their house 'pro modico', in order to return to return to Furness to live 'in majori copia'.² Either of these reasons, or even a combination of both, makes it difficult to comprehend either the fact that the monks were not even allowed to set foot in the abbey, or the seeming bitterness which their return engendered - the Furness monks are said to have spoken 'immo miserrime et spiritu vehementer accerime'. Nicholl remarks that 'there must have been deeper reasons for the unbending attitude of the Furness community; probably it was another case of the conservatives who stayed at home feeling that the high-minded reformers ... should now put up cheerfully with the consequences of their idealism!'³

3. cont. from p. 175.

England to be destroyed after 1066, Richard of Hexham does refer to a Scottish attack on the monastery of Newminster. This does not, however, seem to have led to an abandonment of the site. Richard of Hexham, p.153.

1. Mon. Ang. V. p.349. 'in magno labore et defectu vixissent'.

2. ibid. V. p.349.

3. Nicholl, Thurstan, p.202.

There is no evidence, as his remark may suggest, for a reform movement leading to a secession, as at St Mary's, York, but it is certainly compelling to assume some undercurrent of dissent, the details of which are lost to us but the results of which are very apparent.¹

Following their rejection the Calder monks departed immediately, 'statim, sine mora', and by common consent they decided to journey across the Pennines to York, in order to ask the advice of Archbishop Thurstan, of whose assistance to the refugee monks of St Mary's the monks were said to have been well aware.² They set off with only a few clothes and books, one cart and eight oxen. At this point in the 'Historia' Roger's memory again fails, and he cannot remember the true sequence of events. He tells two different stories. In the first the monks are said to have journeyed direct to York where they were received by Thurstan 'satis liberaliter'. Shortly afterwards they were sent by Thurstan, on the advice of some of his clerics, to Roger de Mowbray, who was to provide for them from his patrimony 'quod erat amplissimum'. Roger sent the monks to Hood where a former monk of Whitby and a relative of Roger's mother, Gundreda d'Aubigny, was living as a hermit.³

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1. The nearest parallel is the situation at St Mary's Abbey, York, after the departure of the convent which was to found Fountains. It is possible that the abandonment of Calder and the return to Furness were regarded as apostacy. Abbot Geoffrey of St Mary's constantly urged his renegade flock to return to the fold, but when two monks did, he expressed some disquiet. His anxiety caused him to write to St Bernard for advice on how to deal with the situation. His actual letter is lost, but the reply of St Bernard is preserved: James, Letters of St Bernard, nos. 168-69.
 2. It is interesting that no approach was made to the lay patron of Calder, or to a member of his family. Ranulf Meschin is known to have died before 1140, and could well have been dead by 1137/8. He was the last surviving son of a marriage which had united the two honours of Copeland and Skipton, and he was succeeded in his Cumberland estates by his sister Avice de Rumilly. Her sister, Alice however, was married to William fitz Gerold, the very man whose troops had devastated Calder. The 'Historia' states quite definitely that the example of Thurstan's aid to Fountains stimulated the decision to appeal to the archbishop.
 3. Roger is stated as just having attained his majority: 'qui de novo cingulum susceperat militare': Mon. Ang. V. p.349. The second version places his majority after the move to Hood. The latter is probably correct. See below, p.179 n.3.

The alternative version, recounts how the monks passed through Thirsk on their way to York and were met 'casualiter' by the steward of Gundreda. As he was conducting the monks to the castle they were seen by Gundreda from a high window, and she was suitably overcome with sympathy for their wretched plight. It was Gundreda who offered help 'tam habitationis quam sustentationis' and sent the monks to her relative at Hood.¹ The two versions differ only in detail, and the latter may read 'like an episode out of a romance', but it is feasible.² If we accept this version as plausible we admit a considerable role played by Gundreda as virtual founder of Byland. In a document from St Mary's Tower, York, Gundreda is described as 'fundatrix abbathiae de Bellalanda'. Although the same document twice describes Roger as 'fundator' this could refer to his energetic role as patron of the house.³ Whichever variation represents the true sequence of events, it is to Thurstan or Gundreda or both that the establishment of the new religious house is to be credited.

It was the same two individuals who persuaded Roger to supplement the gift of Hood with a further donation. The grant which he made is unusual even among the varied types of endowments received by monks in the twelfth century. He granted them a tenth of all the food of his household and a 'conversus' named Ligulf was deputed to follow in the wake of the Mowbray household to collect the food.⁴ The clumsiness of this arrangement,

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1. Mon. Ang. V. p.350. Robert is described as 'avunculum suum sive nepotem'. Whitby Abbey was granted land in Butterwick in recompense for the loss of Hood: E.Y.C. IX. nos. 115-7.
 2. Nicholl, Thurstan, p.202. No mention is made of the discrepancy in the two accounts.
 3. The document is printed in Mon. Ang. V. p.346. The erroneous description of a patron as founder is not uncommon. Earl Conan describes himself as founder of Jervaulx (E.Y.C. IV. no.67) although this was not strictly accurate: See below, pp.338-39.
 4. This refers to a tradition which had died out almost everywhere by this period. It is interesting that Greenway notes the survival of food rents in the Isle of Axholme, part of the Mowbray estates, until this period: Mowbray Charters, pp. xlvi-vii.

particularly when Roger was visiting the remote parts of his estates, was eventually pointed out to Roger by one of his stewards, George. Again at the instigation of Thurstan and Gundreda, he agreed to give the monks land to the value of the food. In 1140 the house received the vaccary of Cam, and land in Wildon, Scackleton and Airyholme.¹

On February 24 1142 Abbot Gerold died and was succeeded by Roger, who had been sub-cellarer at Calder and master of novices ('nec haberet nisi unum novicium') at Hood. He was presented to the archbishop of York for consecration by Roger de Mowbray at Easter 1142.² During the last four years the community at Hood had attracted as 'conversi' several prominent figures from the Mowbray household, notably Landric de Agys, Henry de Wasprey and Henry Bugge. As in the case of Fountains the entry into the abbey of men of substance and position marked a turning point in the history of the struggling community, for they brought with them gifts of land, and attracted donations from their acquaintances. With the aid of these resources it became possible for the monks to create their first grange at Wildon.

The site of Hood was never intended to be a permanent home. Though suitable for one hermit it was too confined to support a sizeable community. William of Newburgh describes Hood as 'locus angustus' and the canons of Bridlington who settled there in 1143 were forced to move away for the same reason.³ The increase in numbers at Hood led Gundreda to petition her son on behalf of the monks for a new site. In September

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1. For the charters relating to these grants see Mowbray Charters, nos. 33-7. It is likely that pasture in Rose Hill and Hovingham was also granted at this time.
 2. Mon. Ang. V. p.350. The archbishop would have been William fitz Herbert.
 3. Newburgh, I, p.52. The 'Historia' twice makes the point that Hood was only a temporary site. 'quousque locum ipsis competentiore alibi assignaret' (p.349) and 'quousque ... Rogerus de Molbray venit ad terras suas de custodia regis Stephani' (p.350).

1142 the monks were granted the vill and church of Byland on the Moor, (Old Byland) and the site of the abbey was moved.¹ The continued reference to the part played by Gundreda and the fact that Byland was part of her dower strengthens the argument that she, rather than her son, was the creative force behind the new foundation.

It was from this site, which became known as Old Byland, that the abbey took the name which it was to retain throughout its existence both at Stocking and at the site which was known as New Byland. The name of 'Beghland' is to be found in Domesday Book.² Byland, unlike Rievaulx and Fountains, took the name of an existing settlement, and the occupation of the site probably involved some depopulation. The abbey appears to be called alternatively 'Beghlanda' or 'Bellalanda', though the latter is more common.

The site of Old Byland, too, proved unsatisfactory, due to its proximity to the abbey of Rievaulx. The 'Historia' tells of the confusion caused by the bells of the two abbeys.³ The monks stayed here only five years, after which Old Byland was made into a grange.⁴ During these five years further donations of land were made by Roger de Mowbray in Fawdington, Ampleforth and North Cave.⁵ Hugh Malebisse, Roger's steward gave the vill of Murton, and a relative of Roger, Sampson d'Aubigny, granted twenty shillings per annum from his mill at Coxwold in recompense for the loss of Hood, which was demised to the canons of Bridlington.⁶ In 1147 Roger

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1. Mon.Ang. V. p.350. The 'Historia' dates the move to Byland on the Moor to 1143. However the correct date is probably 1142, since the 'Historia' states that the site was occupied for five years and abandoned in 1147. See C.T. Clay, 'Early Abbots of the Yorkshire Cistercian Houses', Y.A.J. 38. (1955) p.9. It should be noted that in 1142 Byland was not yet a Cistercian house, and therefore not bound by any statutes forbidding the acceptance of gifts of churches.
 2. Domesday Book, fo. 320v.
 3. Mon.Ang. V. p.351.
 4. 'redacta est in grangiam'. ibid. p.351.
 5. ibid. V. p.352. In this list of benefactions it is implied that the gifts were made in the period 1142-7. However individual charters suggest that some of the gifts were made later. The grants made in the years 1142-7 are recorded as follows: Fawdington, Mowbray Charters, no. 43; North Cave and Ampleforth, Mowbray Charters, nos. 41 and 44.
 6. Mon.Ang. p.351; E.Y.C. IX nos. 119-120. See above, p.124.

gave waste land at Stocking (Kilburn), which became the third conventual site of the monks.

Before the monks had even left Hood there were sown the seeds of a dispute which 'must have been the monastic cause célèbre of the mid-century'.¹ Both Byland and its daughter house of Jervaulx suffered from the fact that the order of Savigny seems to have had an ill-defined constitution, particularly in relation to the system of filiation. The particular difficulty of Byland was that in one sense it had no mother house, since Furness could be thought to have shed all responsibility for its colony in 1137/8.² In 1141 Abbot Gerold, fearing that the growing wealth of his community might lead to a claim of jurisdiction over his house on the part of Furness, attended the annual General Chapter and gained its assent to his plan to subject Byland directly to Savigny.

Some time after 1142 Furness sent out a second colony to Calder under Abbot Hardred.³ In the early 1150's Hardred visited Byland and claimed jurisdiction over the house, because, the 'Historia' says, his own house was poor and Furness 'parum aut nihil de eorum curavit destitutione'.⁴ Abbot Roger managed to persuade him to drop his claim, and the following year the abbot of Calder formally relaxed his claim in the presence of the general chapter. The abbot of Furness, however, did not let the matter drop without protest and put forward a claim against the abbot of Savigny over the possession of Byland. The case was referred

1. Hill, Cistercian Monasteries, p.100.

2. In this sense, i.e. the lack of a mother house, Byland can be compared to Jervaulx, whose cause Byland had championed in the Savigniac general chapter between 1145 and 1150, before Byland's own troubles had really begun.

3. The date of the refoundation is not given in the 'Historia' but it is placed by implication soon after the move to Old Byland.

4. Mon.Ang.V.p.352. The date of Hardred's claim is not given, but it is placed after the consecration of John de Kinstan as abbot of Jervaulx, in 1150. The remark of Hardred about the attitude of Furness, if it is authentic, seems to vindicate Abbot Roger's earlier remarks. See p. 176.

to the Cistercian abbot, Ailred of Rievaulx. On the basis of the witnesses brought forward by the abbot of Savigny Ailred rejected the claims of Furness. Byland was to be subject to Savigny and the monks of Furness were to accept this decree, 'cum omni humilitate et patentia reverentissime sustinente.'¹

This decree marked the end of the dispute over the subjection of Byland, and fully absorbed into the Cistercian order the monks spent the next half century in comparative peace. The monks were successful in gaining lands and benefactors. By 1147 when the convent moved to Stocking all their estates, with the exception of Cave, lay within a short distance of the abbey. During the next fifty years the convent acquired lands on a scale which rivalled Rievaulx. These acquisitions can be discussed in three broad categories: the most numerous grants, those made by Mowbray and his tenants; the donations made by other major lords; and those relating to Westmorland.

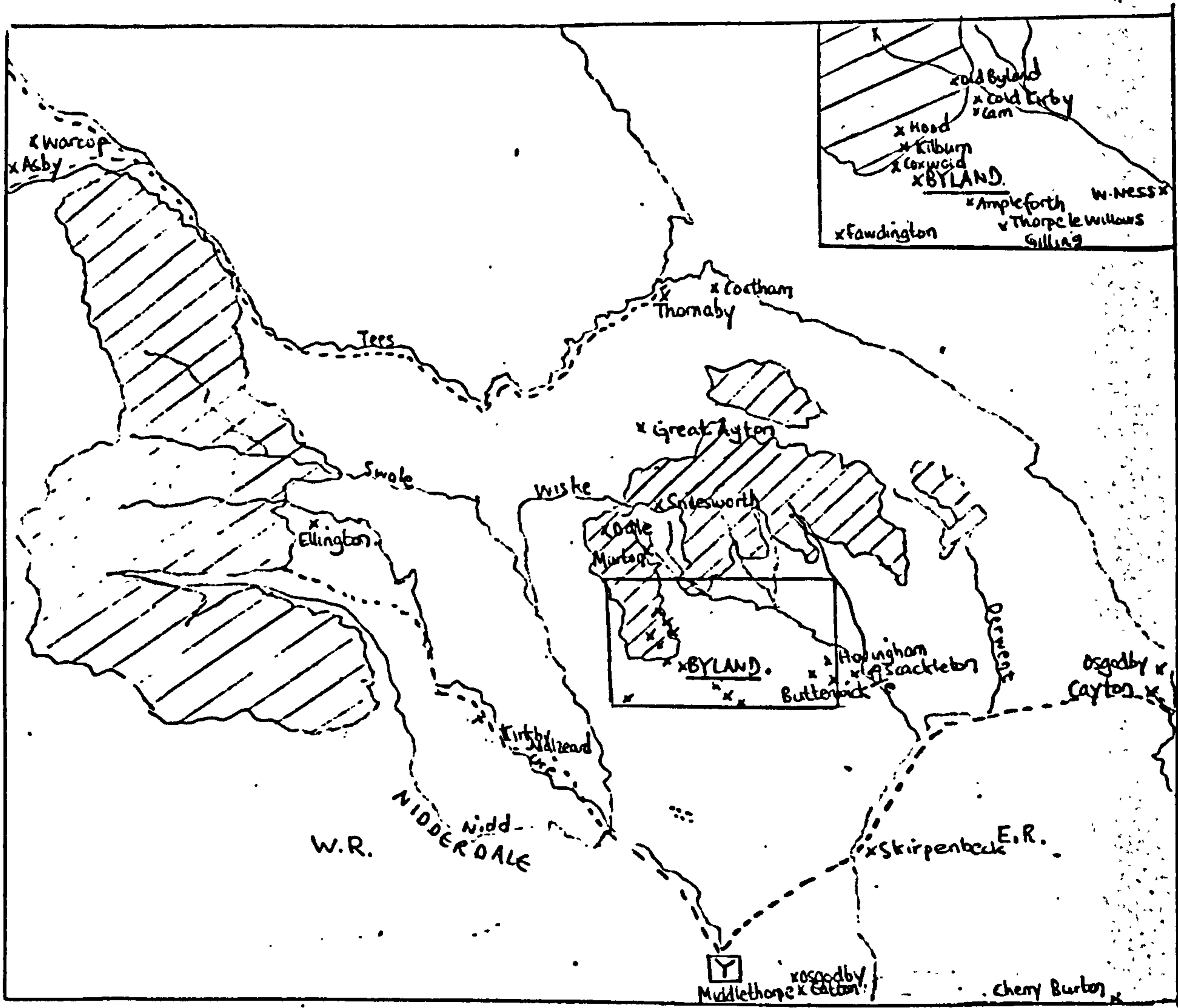
Within a few years of the move to Stocking Gundreda d'Aubigny and Hamo Beler gave several acres of meadow in Hovingham.² Roger de Mowbray issued three charters endowing the abbey with iron and lead mines, a villein Alnaf, and ten acres of land in Kirkby Malzeard.³ In Nidderdale he granted two stags and three hinds every year 'ad opus infirmorum suorum'

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1. Mon. Ang. V. p. 353. The date is probably 1154/5. Immediately after the description of the dispute there is a reference to a charter issued by Archbishop Roger in 1155. The bitterness between Savigny and Furness over the possession of Byland should be seen against the background of discontent among English Savigniac houses at the merger with the Cistercians in 1147. The English houses - and Furness was one of the most important - had tended to develop autonomously, and resented the control imposed by their adoption by Cîteaux. On these problems see Hill, Cistercian Monasteries pp. 80-115; Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 250-1.
 2. Mowbray Charters, no. 47; B.L. Egerton MS 2823, fo. 43v. The latter can only be dated to the period 1154-86, the priorate of Richard of Newburgh who appears as a witness.
 3. ibid. nos. 48, 66-7.

and extensive pasture land.¹ Two knights of the Mowbray household mentioned in the 'Historia' as opponents of the monks appear also in the list of benefactors. Robert de Daiville 'senior' gave the monks land in Wildon in exchange for which the monks quitclaimed a fishery in Kilburn to Robert. This gift was supplemented by his son.² Hugh Malebisse, Lord of Scawton added Snilesworth to his previous gift of Murton, and his son Hugh gave the vill of Marton.³ The land which the monks had acquired from Serlo the cook when he entered the house as a 'conversus', namely ten bovates of land in Ellington, was given to Jervaulx Abbey in c1155 to alleviate the distress of the house.⁴ Other Mowbray tenants, Roger de Carlton, Maud de Stonegrave, William de Mainilhermer and

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1. Mowbray Charters, nos. 60, 52-4, 56. No. 49 is probably a later version of no. 60 with interpolations. A further grant purporting to be a gift of Roger de Mowbray, of the manor of Middlethorpe, near York, is, as Greenway has indicated, probably a forgery. The most likely explanation for its existence is the dispute between Byland and William de Maltby over the possession of Middlethorpe in the mid-thirteenth century: See Mowbray Charters, no. 55 and note.
 2. Mon. Ang. V. pp. 351-2. Roger de Mowbray was forced to write from Normandy to Hugh Malebisse, Robert de Daiville and Guy de Boltby protesting about their harrassment of the monks. The question of opposition to the monastic expansion will be discussed more fully in a later chapter. The Daiville grants are contained in B.L. Egerton MS 2823, fo. 52v. That of Robert the younger is printed in E.Y.C. IX. no. 168.
 3. There is some confusion concerning the Malebisse grants. Three charters exist concerning Murton (E.Y.C. III, no. 1836), Snilesworth (E.Y.C. III no. 1846) and Marton (E.Y.C. III no. 1849). All are ascribed by Farrer to Hugh Malebisse II and are dated 1165-85, 1150-70 and 1170-88 respectively. However the 'Historia' assigns the grant of Murton and Snilesworth to Hugh Malebisse I, and dates both to c1147. There is no difficulty in dating the Murton charter c1147. The Snilesworth charter must have been issued after 1150 since it is witnessed by John, abbot of Jervaulx, presumably Abbot John de Kinstan, who was consecrated in 1150. The grant itself was made before 1154, when Hadrian IV confirmed the gift. (P.U.E. III no.96), and the witnesses of Hugh's charter accord with a date of 1150-54. The 'Historia' was in error over the date of the gift, but evidently correct in associating the gift to Hugh Malebisse I. The gift of Marton was made by Hugh II since he refers to his wife, Matilda. The chronology of the grants now reads: Murton c1147 (before Hugh's quarrel with the monks), Snilesworth 1150-4, (possibly made to appease both the monks and Roger de Mowbray) and Marton 1170-80.
 4. Mon. Ang. V. p. 571.

Fig. 18. The Estates of Byland Abbey c1200.



Yorkshire: North Riding.

Y = York.

Scale approx. 12m to 1".

William de Wyville gave lands in Islebeck, Thorpefield and Thorpe-le-Willows.¹

At the same time as the monks were acquiring widespread lands throughout the honour of Mowbray, donations were being made which extended the estates of the abbey to all parts of Yorkshire. In the East Riding they acquired lands of the Percy fee; in Catton, from William de Percy, in Killerby, Deepdale and Osgodby from his tenants.² In the north-east of the county of Yorkshire lay the Brus fee, where the monks received several endowments, mainly in the form of fisheries on the river Tees. Two of these lay in Gaterigg (Linthorpe) and included tofts, and licence to build houses.³ Adam de Brus acquitted the monks of all tolls on fish bought at Coatham for the use of the monks and sick people of the abbey.⁴ Estates in West Ness, Skirpenbeck, Raskelf and York were also acquired.⁵

It was not only in the county of Yorkshire that the monks were acquiring estates. There are three groups of charters granting lands in Westmorland, in Shap, Asby and Warcop.⁶ Westmorland was in the mid-twelfth century an area ripe for monastic exploitation. There was no important religious foundation in the region; Furness lay well to the south and the cathedral priory of Carlisle to the north. No original charter

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1. The charters are as follows: Islebeck, B.L.Egerton MS 2823, fo.46v; Thorpefield, B.L. Egerton MS 2823, fo. 93v; Thorpe-le-Willows, H.M.C. Various Collections, II (1903) p.4. (This is the grant of William le Mainilhermer and is dated 1160-70), William was, however, succeeded in Thorpe by Ralph de Wyville by c1147, so the charter must date to c1147. Ralph was succeeded by his brother William de Wyville, whose charter is confirmed to the monks by Roger de Mowbray in 1147-54 (Mowbray Charters, no.50). Thomas de Coleville also had an interest in the vill, and made an agreement with the monks: B.L. Egerton MS 2823 fo. 36v.
 2. E.Y.C. II no. 910 and XI no. 194; XI nos. 193, 189, 22; XI nos. 22, 195; Yorks. Deeds, IX.p.195.
 3. E.Y.C. II no. 703 and III no. 1851.
 4. ibid. II no.657.
 5. ibid. VI nos. 56 and 58; II nos. 837-8; Raskelf was confirmed to the monks by Hadrian IV (P.U.E. III no. 96) and Geoffrey de Nevill (E.Y.C. II no. 790; I.no.250).
 6. The Asby charters are printed by F.W. Ragg, 'Charters to St Peters, York and to Byland Abbey', T.C.W.A.A.S. IX (1909) pp. 236-70. For the Warcop charters (B.L. Egerton MS 2823 fos. 11-15) see appendix II. The entries relating to Shap are illegible in the cartulary, but survive in a sixteenth century transcript, Dodsworth MS 63, fo. 70.

survives for Asby, but it appears that Alan and Gerard de Lascelles, and Hugh de Morville gave lands here,¹ which formed the nucleus of a grange by 1189. Similarly granges were established at Shap and Warcop by 1189.² The establishment of three granges all within a fairly short distance of each other suggests that the Westmorland estates of Byland attained an importance that has not hitherto been recognized.

After the final settlement of the monks at New Byland in 1177 until c.1200 the grants of land continued, and land was acquired in Dale, Bagby, Daby, Thornaby and Moskwith and East Ayton.³ In the 1180's and 1190's Roger de Mowbray and his son Nigel issued charters of confirmation to the monks, securing their interests and property.⁴ Confirmation charters were also issued by the lords of the fees of Percy, Brus, Ros and Lacy.⁵

The estates of Byland covered a vast area of Yorkshire, and extended south into Lincolnshire and north-west into Westmorland. The indications are that a considerable proportion of the lands given to Byland was pasture, moor and meadow suitable for sheep farming. Vast tracts of land on the North Yorkshire Moors and particularly in Nidderdale were acquired for this purpose. We know that sheep were not the only animals to be kept. Charters refer to pasture granted for horses, oxen, cows and pigs.⁶ Reference is made to waste land in Coxwold and Osgodby owned by the monks, and to arable land in Kirkby Malzeard, Marton, Catton and Deepdale. The outlying estates of Byland were administered by the normal Cistercian system of granges. The first of these, Wildon, was

1. Ragg, Byland Abbey Charters, p.253.

2. Cal.Ch.Roll 1226-57, p.314. The granges are confirmed by Henry III as they had been confirmed by Richard I and Henry II.

3. E.Y.C. III, no. 1840; Yorks. Deeds, II, nos. 32, 35, 36; E.Y.C. III, no. 1850; XI. no. 175.

4. Mowbray Charters, nos. 69-75.

5. E.Y.C. XI.no.87; II no.670; X no. 95; III no. 1525.

6. For instance the charter of Geoffrey de Nevill relating to Raskelf. E.Y.C. II.no.790.

For further indications of the type of lands owned by Byland, and their administration, see below, pp. 423,427-28,443.

created in 1140-42. By 1189 the monks had created seven further granges; the three in Westmorland mentioned above, and Old Byland (1147), Murton, Denby, Osgodby and Thorpe, all of which lay fairly near to Byland itself.

As in the case of Rievaulx and Fountains not all gifts to Byland were made 'in puram et perpetuam elemosinam'. Four donors at least demanded fraternity rights for themselves and their families. In terms of monetary compensation the monks of Byland did not involve themselves as heavily as Rievaulx or Fountains in the commitments they made. As far as we can tell no outright payments were made by the monks at the time they received a gift. Payments were in the form of yearly rents, and from the existing charters it would seem as if the monks were paying out the comparatively modest sum of £6 per annum for their lands. However there were occasionally exceptional circumstances. In 1172 an agreement was made between the house and Roger de Mowbray, by which the latter mortgaged a vast area of Nidderdale to the monks for three hundred marks. If after ten years Roger could not repay the money, the monks were to keep the lands.¹ As in the rather extreme case of Fountains cited below, this suggests that the monks had a certain amount of capital available.²

Throughout their thirty years at Stocking the monks were engaged in building activities, first at Stocking itself (ubi ... aedificaverunt unam parvam ecclesiam lapideam, claustrum, et caeteras domos et officinas...³) and at their fourth conventual site, which became known as New Byland:

Cum vero dictus abbas R. cum monachis suis in occidentale parte territorii de Cukwald, ut supradictum est, mansissent, viriliter extirpare coeperunt de nemore, et per fossas longas et latas magnas aquas de paludibus extrahere: ac postquam apparuit solida terra paraverunt sibi locum latum, ydoneum et honestum in orientali parte ejusdem territorii inter Whiteker et pedem montis de Cambe ... ubi de novo ecclesiam suam pulchram et magnam construxerunt, sicut patet in praesenti ...' ⁴

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1. Mowbray Charters, no.54.
 2. See below, p.341.
 3. Mon.Ang. V, p.351.
 4. ibid. V, p.353.

The reason for the move, which took place in October 1177, is not known. It is possible that the third site, like the first and second, was considered too restricted, although this does not fully explain the monks' decision to build in stone at Stocking (only the church is definitely specified as being of stone, however). The extremely long period of residence at the third temporary site may have been due to the monks' wish to see most of the buildings constructed at the fourth site before the transfer finally took place. Abbot Roger continued to rule the house after 1177. His extraordinarily long abbacy of fifty-four years ended in 1196 when he was allowed to resign his office. He was succeeded by Philip, former abbot of Briostel (Beauvais) from whose pen the 'Historia Foundationis' emanated. Philip was evidently dead by 1198 when his successor Hamo was consecrated by the bishop of Durham.

The early history of Byland is a fascinating one, and even after an examination of the sources there remain questions unanswered. On problems such as the reason for the animosity of the Furness monks towards their erstwhile colleagues; the sequence of events between the departure of the Calder monks from Furness and their arrival at Hood; the factors which led to the abandonment of Stocking in favour of New Byland; the 'Historia' is tantalizingly vague. On the other hand the 'Historia' indicates some interesting aspects of Byland's history; for instance its insistence on the influence of Gundreda D'Aubigny behind Roger de Mowbray's endowments to the monks makes it likely that she, rather than her more famous son, should be credited with the foundation of Byland, even if the land on which the monks settled formed part of Roger's demesne.¹

Perhaps because of its proximity to Rievaulx Byland never acquired comparable wealth. It was, however, a house of considerable importance. The Mowbrays continued to hold the patronage of the abbey and

1. Byland on the Moor (Old Byland) did in fact form part of Gundreda's estate: see above, p.180.

proved generous benefactors. In 1538, having been assessed at £238 9s. 4d. clear per annum, the abbey of Byland was dissolved, the abbot claiming that 'no house in these parts is more charged with hospitality'.¹ To try and assess the relative importance of Byland in the centuries from foundation to dissolution, in terms other than landed wealth, is difficult, if not impossible. However, if the only criterion which we can use with some degree of confidence is that of wealth, then we can say that of the three monasteries which William of Newburgh termed the 'tria lumina' of Yorkshire Byland fell well below the wealth and prestige of Rievaulx and Fountains.

Nevertheless the emergence of all three houses marked the apogee of Cistercian expansion in Yorkshire, if not in terms of number, certainly in importance. None of the five second and third generation Cistercian houses in Yorkshire ever attained such popularity and eminence as these three. Indeed it could be said that the establishment of Rievaulx, Fountains and Byland marked the summit of monastic achievement in Yorkshire in the twelfth century. The few monastic foundations which took place after 1138 lacked the drama and obvious spiritual fervour of the 1130s.

1. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.93; G.W.O. Woodward, The Dissolution of the Monasteries, p.111.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE CISTERCIAN ORDER (II)

After the first phase of Cistercian and Savigniac foundations in Yorkshire, which ended in 1138, five further houses of these orders were established in the county: Jervaulx, Kirkstall, Roche, Sallay and Meaux. In the years between 1138 and 1152 the three earlier houses, Rievaulx, Fountains and Byland had been active in dispatching new colonies of monks to all parts of England, Scotland and even further afield, between them producing fourteen daughter houses and many houses of the third generation. Rievaulx sent colonies to Melrose and Dundrennan (founded by the Scottish king in 1136 and 1142 respectively), Warden (established by Walter Espec in 1136), Revesby (1143) and Rufford (1146).¹ Fountains Abbey was responsible for sending convents to Newminster, Kirkstead and Louth Park (1139), Woburn (1145), Lysa, Norway (1146), Kirkstall and Vaudey (1147) and Meaux (1151). The two Yorkshire houses of Sallay and Roche (1147) were daughter houses of Newminster. After initial uncertainties about its future the Savigniac monastery of Jervaulx became a daughter house of Byland. As mentioned earlier no further foundations took place in Yorkshire after the ban imposed by the General Chapter of 1152.²

The establishment of these later Cistercian foundations, with the notable exception of Jervaulx, seem to have been more conventional than the earlier ones of the 1130s. This was no doubt due, in part, to the detailed regulations governing the foundation of houses of the order, which were laid down by the General Chapter of 1134:

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1. It is possible that Rievaulx was chosen to colonize the Scottish abbeys because of the close connections which existed between Ailred of Rievaulx, who entered the abbey in 1134, and the Scottish court: F.M. Powicke, 'The Dispensator of King David I', Scottish Historical Review, 23 (1925), pp. 34-41.
 2. See above, p. 146.

Duodecim monachi cum abbate terciodecimo ad coenobia nova transmittantur; nec tamen illuc destinantur donec locus libris, domibus et necessariis aptetur ... ut et vivere, et regulam ibidem statim valeant observare.¹

How much the nature of the foundations of the 1140s and 1150s were due to this decree, supervised by the abbots of existing Cistercian abbeys; how much it perhaps owed to a changed religious climate following the pioneering era of the 1130s, is an open question. Conventional though most of these later foundations were, however, they nevertheless aptly illustrate the variety of motives behind the foundation of religious houses.²

As is well-known the close relations maintained between the various monasteries of the Cistercian order contrasted sharply with the autonomy of the Benedictine and Cluniac houses. To try and demonstrate the methods of Cistercian supervision of discipline and order in its far-flung family, with particular regard to Yorkshire, is, of course, more difficult. However there are various instances which illustrate the system of administration in action. There is evidence, for instance, that Yorkshire abbots attended the General Chapter at Cîteaux. Roger of Byland was at Cîteaux in 1149 and 1150;³ Richard, second abbot of Fountains of that name, died at Clairvaux on his way to the Chapter of 1143;⁴ Abbot Robert of Fountains died at Woburn on his return from Cîteaux in 1180.⁵ These, often incidental, references, illustrate that the Cistercian observances in respect of the General Chapter were being fulfilled at least on occasion, although there is obviously no way of

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1. Canivez, Statuta, I, p.15; Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 212-16; Lekai, White Monks, pp.25-26.
 2. For further discussion of motivation behind the foundation of religious houses, see below, pp. 318-29.
 3. See below, p. 198.
 4. See above, p. 164.
 5. See above, p. 168.

telling how frequently Yorkshire abbots did in fact attend. Neither are the sources plentiful enough to assess the regularity of visitations. Distance obviously hindered the visitation of daughter houses by abbots of continental houses (there is no evidence for instance, that St Bernard ever visited any of the English daughter houses of Clairvaux). There is evidence for the visitation of Jervaulx by the abbot of Byland, and of the latter's aid to the daughter house when faced with extinction.¹

The second and third generation Cistercian houses with which this chapter is concerned present, in many ways, a different picture from those founded in the pioneering decade of the 1130s. Not perhaps surprisingly as their foundations were less dramatic than those of the earlier houses, they appear to have attracted less attention initially. Nevertheless as a group they were far from unimportant, and achieved considerable success in attracting benefactions, and, in some cases, considerable wealth.

Jervaulx Abbey.

The Savigniac abbey founded in 1145 by Acaris son of Bardolph was known alternatively as the abbey of Fors, Wensleydale, 'de Charitate' and finally as Jervaulx.² The site of the house was moved from Fors in 1156 to the plateau above the right bank of the river Ure, where the monastic ruins still stand. The site of the house, about four miles from Masham, has been called an untypical Cistercian site.³ Compared with the type of location exemplified by Rievaulx or Fountains, in a narrow deep valley, the site of Jervaulx is certainly unusual, although not unique. Of the remains of the abbey there are a few of twelfth-century date. The western range where, according to Cistercian custom

1. See below, p.199.

2. Mon.Ang.V.p.568. In 1150 the abbey was entered on the Cistercian roll under the name of 'Jorevallis', six years before the move to the site which is now called Jervaulx. L.Januschek, Originum Cisterciensium pp. 119-20.

3. W.H. St.John Hope and H. Brakespear, 'Jervaulx Abbey', Y.A.J.21 (1911), pp.303-44.

the lay brethren were housed, is of a mid twelfth-century date, and parts of the nave and transepts have been assigned to c.1200.¹ The remains of Jervaulx, though on the whole they do not stand to any considerable height, are still impressive.

If there are fewer surviving architectural remains of Jervaulx than of Byland or Fountains, the written sources for the former are also less plentiful. For the foundation and early history of Jervaulx the only source is the 'Historia Foundationis'; as Jervaulx has no surviving cartulary the evidence is otherwise very sparse. The 'Historia' itself presents several difficulties. Not only are its author and its date of composition unknown, but the text itself survives only in a seventeenth-century transcript made by Roger Dodsworth from the cartulary of Byland Abbey.² In form the Jervaulx 'Historia' shows many similarities to the 'Historia' of Byland, in particular the insertion of charters at various points in the text, but it lacks any explanatory note on its composition such as is found at the beginning of the Byland history.

Since no original manuscript of the Jervaulx history survives, there are no grounds for establishing the authenticity or otherwise of the history on palaeographical evidence. On internal evidence there are indications that the author had a fairly detailed knowledge of events at Jervaulx, since there are no known written sources on which he could have drawn. The abbey was apparently not sufficiently important to attract the notice of chroniclers such as William of Newburgh. This supposition, taken in conjunction with the similar format of the Byland history suggests that the author may have been Philip of Byland, writing once again from the

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1. N. Pevsner, The Buildings of England: Yorkshire North Riding (1966), pp.203-5.
 2. Oxford Bodleian MS Dodsworth 63, fos. 42-66. The 'Historia' of Jervaulx is printed in Mon.Ang. V.pp.568-74. For further details of the 'Historia' see below, pp.464-67.

recollections of Abbot Roger. The author, and his sources, show a less intimate knowledge of affairs at Jervaulx than at Byland, but Roger was closely associated with the abbey of Jervaulx from 1146-7; he spoke for the latter in the General Chapter, and it was due to his action that Byland became the mother house of Jervaulx. On more than one occasion he saved the abbey of Jervaulx from extinction.

If the Jervaulx 'Historia' was compiled at Byland, it would account for some discrepancies in the history, for the confusion of places and events, as well as chronological errors which undermine the historical value of the source.¹ In addition, one section of the 'Historia' contains hagiographical material.² Can the history, therefore, be relied upon at all as a source for the foundation of Jervaulx? First of all it must be said that although the indications are that it is a twelfth-century composition, there is no way of verifying this date.³ Furthermore there are obvious errors which prevent too much reliance being placed on the chronology presented in the text. On the other hand, there are features of the text which stand up well to close examination. As C.T. Clay indicated, there is satisfactory evidence that two charters of Earl Alan, preserved only in the 'Historia' were copied from originals.⁴ Furthermore, the early history of Jervaulx is closely related to the union of the orders of Cîteaux and Savigny in 1147; here the sequence of events, known from other sources, vindicates the testimony of the Jervaulx 'Historia' even if at times the exact year given by the author is incorrect. It is therefore likely that the text, though unreliable in some of its details, is credible in its broad outlines of the early history of the house.

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1. e.g. Mon. Ang. V, p.569, the reference to Earl Conan is clearly an error for Alan, as is the date of 1146 for the consecration of Henry Murdac as Archbishop of York. See E.Y.C. IV. pp.xvi-xvii for a discussion of some of these problems.
 2. Mon. Ang. V. pp. 573-74.
 3. The history of Jervaulx is only taken as far as c1156.
 4. See E.Y.C. IV nos. 23-24 and pp.xvi-xvii.

The author of the 'Historia' introduces the history of Jervaulx with these words:

Tempore regis Stephani ... fuit quidam miles generosae prosapiae, nomine Akarius filius Bardolphi, magnus dominus terrarum et possessionum in comitatu Eboracensi. Divina gratia inspiratus, hic dedit cuidam monacho servienti Deo, Petro de Quinciaco, in arte medicae valde subtili et bene experto, et quibusdam aliis monachis de Savigneio, quandam partem terrae suae in Wandesleydale, ... ubi praedictus frater Petrus et socii sui ... initium cujusdam abbathiae ordinare coeperunt.¹

The somewhat surprising occurrence of the monks from the Norman abbey of Savigny in Richmondshire is not explained by the author.² He himself did not know the reason for their presence ('Qualiter autem aut quibus ex causis idem frater Petrus ... in Angliam venit, incertum habetur') but he records a tradition that Peter was present at the court of Earl Alan of Richmond and Brittany to care for the sick and distribute alms to the poor. The initial benefaction of Acaris consisted of land in Fors, where the house was built, and Worton.³ Following this brief account there are included two charters of Earl Alan, the feudal lord of Acaris son of Bardolph. The first of these is a charter of confirmation, technically necessary for the alienation of land by a tenant; in addition Alan gave to the monks rights of common pasture throughout his estates wherever the monks might have animals: a remarkably munificent grant.⁴ As Clay has indicated, this charter was issued by Earl Alan in 1145, when the first building at Fors, a wooden oratory, was erected.⁵ It seems that Earl Alan had expressed a desire to be present on this occasion, and took the

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1. Mon. Ang. V, p.568. The foundation of Jervaulx is discussed briefly in E.Y.C. IV, pp.24-26.
 2. The Savigniacs were already well-established in Yorkshire at Byland, and also in the archdeaconry of Richmond at Furness, and it is possible that Peter was a member of one of these convents.
 3. The confirmation charter of Earl Alan specified Burton as part of the initial endowment of Acaris: E.Y.C. IV. no. 23.
 4. Mon. Ang. V, pp. 568-69; E.Y.C. IV no.23.
 5. It has been suggested that 'it is possible that a small place near... Fors was destroyed' to make way for the abbey: R.A. Donkin, 'Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries Especially in Yorkshire', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, 33 (1960), pp.141-165, especially 146.

opportunity to suggest to four or five knights who had accompanied him that they too should become benefactors of the new house. This he said 'jocundo vultu quasi in ludendo', although not all his knights shared his sense of humour: 'Cui suggestioni, quidam eorum satis bene consenserunt, et alii consentire noluerunt, nisi per conditionem'.¹

It is likely that these gifts, made willingly or grudgingly by certain of Alan's knights, were those confirmed to the abbey by Alan in his second charter. By the time the latter was issued the monks had received lands from Roger and Warner, the sons of Wimar and from Hugh son of Jernegan.² The charter probably dates from after the foundation, but evidently from before Alan left England on his final journey to Brittany. It is therefore misplaced in the chronological sequence of the 'Historia'.

Returning to the 'Historia' we take up the story with the departure of Earl Alan for France, where he visited the abbey of Savigny in order to inform the abbot of the new foundation.³ This section is of particular interest for the information which it gives about the attitude of Savigny's abbot, Serlo, towards the infant foundation. Far from being pleased at the initiative and good fortune of the brethren now at Fors, Serlo was angry; he refused to ratify the foundation, and ordered the monks home to Savigny. His opposition and hesitation were based, it appears, on the hardships and dangers encountered by other colonies sent from Savigny to England.⁴

1. Mon. Ang. V, p.569.

2. ibid., p.569; E.Y.C. IV, no. 24.

3. He was evidently accompanied by Peter de Quiniaco, whose presence in Normandy is mentioned in the third charter of Earl Alan in favour of Jervaulx issued at Rennes on 6 January 1145/46: E.Y.C. IV, no.27 (from the Cartulaire de Basse Normandie).

4. As was mentioned earlier in connection with Byland, the Savigniac foundations in England had developed independently, and had apparently little regard for the wishes of the abbot of Savigny. It was no doubt this subordination which occasioned Serlo's alleged attitude, and which, along with his own personal admiration of Cîteaux, which led to the union of the two orders only two years after the foundation of Fors. By 1145 there were nine houses directly dependent on Savigny in England and Wales: Furness (1124), Neath (1130), Basingwerk (1131), Quarr (1132), Stratford (1135), Buildwas (1135), Buckfast (1136), Combermere (1133) and Coggleshall (1140). Byland (1138) was declared a daughter house of Savigny only after the union: Medieval Religious Houses, pp. 113-15.

Sed abbas Savign. in animo suo revolvens pericula, labores, et defectus quos monachi sui sustinuerant qui in Angliam diversis in locis alias missi fuerant de Savign. ad abbatias incipiendas, et construendas, a quibus saepius hortabatur ut ipsos domi revocaret, ...juravit...quod nunquam voluit ibidem conventum destinare, et gratissimum haberet, si de donatione ejusdem loci bono in modo totaliter posset exui et liberari.

Serlo then wrote to Peter and, telling him that 'stultissime egit in hoc, quod abbatiam inceperant sine consilio domus Savign.' he ordered him and his comrades to return to Savigny.¹ This is important for it shows that the foundation of Jervaulx was clearly not part of a planned colonization programme from Savigny, but rather a spontaneous event.

Brother Peter and his fellow monks were, however, not prepared to give up their new home without a struggle, and sought the aid of Abbot Roger of Byland, who was preparing to attend the General Chapter of Savigny (which was held on the feast of the Trinity²). The date of this chapter is not clear from the text; it may have been 1146 or 1147.³ Roger agreed to help, and on the second day of the Chapter with Serlo still opposed to the foundation of Jervaulx, Roger spoke for the monks and suggested that his own house of Byland should become the mother house of Jervaulx and assume responsibility for its wellbeing. This offer was accepted, and

1. Mon. Ang. V, p.569.

2. Knowles, Monastic Order, p.202.

3. The 'Historia' is clearly in error somewhere, as the date is given as 1146, the year in which Murdac was consecrated archbishop of York, which was, of course, 1147. C.T. Clay favoured 1147 as the date of the chapter (E.Y.C. IV, pp. 24-25) but there are some arguments for 1146. If Peter received an unfavourable reply from Serlo, (following the approach of Earl Alan) in late 1145 or early 1146, he would scarcely have waited until the early summer of 1147 to ask the aid of Roger of Byland. Moreover Abbot Roger is stated to have journeyed to Normandy not only for the General Chapter but also to visit Byland's patron, Roger de Mowbray. The latter was on crusade in 1147, but may well have been in Normandy in June or July of 1146. Nevertheless, the acceptance of the date of 1146 is not without problems: the 'Historia' states that this was the same General Chapter at which the union with Cîteaux was discussed, and this may have been in 1147. The author states that the ratification of the union at the Council of Rheims (1148) took place one or two years after the General Chapter in question, thus leaving the date open to question: Mon. Ang. V, pp. 569-70.

final details were completed by Serlo and the abbot of Quarr, Roger being forced to depart immediately after the Chapter.¹ Even now, Serlo was not disposed to accept the arrangements unconditionally. He ordered the abbot of Quarr to visit Fors, and only if he thought that the site was adequate for the maintenance of a convent, would the house be allowed to continue in existence. Otherwise the lands were to pass to the abbey of Savigny.

In the company of a monk of Savigny named Matthew, the abbot of Quarr visited Peter and informed him of the decision of the General Chapter.² Matthew was evidently not impressed by the site of Fors for he advised the transfer of the lands to the abbey of Savigny.³ Peter and his two fellow monks (Conan and Himbert) were not prepared to surrender without a struggle and enumerating the possessions they had by now acquired, they persuaded Matthew to allow the convent to continue.⁴ They then made profession of obedience to the abbot of Byland.

The next recorded event in the 'Historia' is the union of the orders of Savigny and Cîteaux which took place in 1147 and was ratified by the pope at the Council of Rheims in 1148.⁵ The news of the union

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1. Mon. Ang. V, pp. 569-70.
 2. The wording 'praedictus frater Petrus duxit secum abbatem de Quarera et abbatem nostrum usque Jorevallem' suggests that the monks had been staying at Byland. As elsewhere in the 'Historia' the abbey is called 'Jorevallis' even before 1156.
 3. '... locus ille, cum pertinentiis et substantia, tanquam minus sufficiens abbati et conventui, remaneret abbathiae Savign. in proprios usus' (Mon. Ang. V, p.570).
 4. The abbot of Quarr then allegedly handed the monks of Jervaulx a charter of Serlo which he had presumably brought with him from the General Chapter. The charter of Serlo which is included in the text at this point cannot be the same charter. The content is probably similar (it ordered that Jervaulx was to be subject to Byland 'sicut filia matri') but the witnesses. Henry Murdac, archbishop of York; Turolde, abbot of Fountains; Ailred, abbot of Rievaulx, indicate a date of 1148-50 for the issue of the charter included in the text. It is most likely that Serlo issued the charter while in England in c1150. He witnessed a charter in favour of Jervaulx around that date: E.Y.C. V, no.308.
 5. Here again the author is somewhat confused about dates. First of all he dated the Council of Rheims to 1147; then he admitted that he did not know when the Savigniac houses in England heard of the union, whether it was one or two years after the events he had just described (the visit of the abbot of Quarr to Jervaulx in late 1146 or late 1147): 'post circulum unius anni secundum dictum Amphredi prioris, et secundum dominum Walkelynum post duos annos'; Mon. Ang. V, p.570. The date is therefore once more open to question.

disturbed Abbot Roger of Byland, who was worried as to the possible effect which the union might have on the position of Jervaulx as his daughter house, and, on the advice of friends he decided to go to Savigny to ask the aid of the abbot. This he did (1149) and it is clear from the abbot's response that he had not yet implemented the conditions of the agreement, that is, he had not yet sent a full convent to Wensleydale, and the dispatch of such a convent within one year was a condition of Savigny's support for the continuation of the abbey of Jervaulx.

Accordingly Roger and Serlo set off for Cîteaux for the General Chapter (9 August) and on their way they visited Clairvaux in order to obtain the help of St Bernard, who proclaimed that 'omnia quae in capitulo Savign, ordinata et stabilita fuerunt, in Cisterciensi capitulo non debent aliquo modo retractari'.¹ On the third day of the Cistercian General Chapter the time came for the names of the new foundations to be entered on the Cistercian roll.² Yet again 'jam quatuor annis elapsis' Serlo gave the abbey to Byland as a daughter house, and the arrangement was accepted by the Cistercians, (though not without some dissent); the name of Jervaulx being entered on the roll of Cistercian houses.³

Roger returned to Byland on 30 October 1149 until 1 January 1150, when he departed for Fors, remaining there until 2 February. He ordered the monks and conversi to be present at Byland on the first Sunday in Lent, with which order they duly complied. On this day he appointed John de Kinstan, (one of the original party from Calder which had accompanied Abbot Gerold to Byland), to be abbot of the daughter house, 'et tunc tradidit illi in manibus regulam sancti Benedicti, et parvulam tecum cum reliquiis.'⁴

1. ibid. p.571.

2. This would have been on 16 September.

3. The meaning of the sentence 'Unde abbas Robertus de Jorevall aut Willielmus exortus, quibusdam simultatibus aliquando secrete causabatur a latere obloquendo, quod minus habuimus pro nobis in munimentis ad visitandum domum suam' is not altogether clear. In particular the identification of the individual concerned presents problems. It seems to express concern that Jervaulx would slip from Cistercian control: Mon. Ang. V, p.571.

4. ibid. p.571.

A full convent was chosen to accompany Abbot John, and on Wednesday 8 March 1150 they set out for Fors.¹

On their return to Fors the monks were met by Acaris son of Bardolph and other nobles who offered them help 'humillime petendo participationem orationum et beneficiorum suorum spiritualium'.² The monks suffered great hardship during their first four years at Fors, and in the fifth year, 1154-5, their crops failed through heavy rainfall: 'tanta pluvia extitit, in partibus illis, circa festum sancti Michaelis, cum metere deberent, et in horreum congregare; quod omnes segetes eorum perierunt, ita quod nullum semen de proprio habuerunt'. The convent was saved from extinction by the intervention of the abbot of Byland, who gave grain and land in Ellington. This, however, offered temporary relief only. The basic problem encountered was the poor quality, the 'sterilitas', of the land. Earl Conan was approached, and agreed to a transfer of the site of the house.³ This was effected when Conan returned to England. 'Cum vidisset quod locus ille (Fors) ineptus et insufficiens fuit ad abbatiam construendam dedit ... terram vastam et incultam in territorio de Estwitton'.⁴ The migration took place in or shortly after 1156, and was confirmed by Hervey, son of the original founder Acaris, and by the General Chapter of Cîteaux.⁵

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1. The story of their journey is narrated right at the end of the 'Historia'. (ibid. pp. 573-74). Abbot John is alleged to have had a vision of the boy Christ, whom he asked to direct him to the place ordained for the monks. He was led to a place 'horridum nimis et incultum'. When he awoke Abbot John realised that the convent was destined not to remain at Fors. Compare this account of divine guidance in the choice of a monastic site with the tradition of the foundations of Selby (see above, pp. 5-6) and Kirkstall (below, p. 207).
 2. Mon. Ang. V, p.571.
 3. The 'Historia' persistently calls Conan Alan, though this is clearly in error, for Alan died in 1146.
 4. Mon. Ang. V, p.572.
 5. The date given in the 'Historia' for the move is 1156. We are told that the crops failed in the fifth year at Fors, i.e. 1154. Conan did not return to England until 1156. If the new site was not chosen until his return then the migration would have taken place some time after 1156. The charters of confirmation are printed in Mon. Ang. V, p.572.

Little is known of the history of Jervaulx after 1156, apart from information concerning the growth of the abbey's estates. In view of the limited nature of the material it is difficult to trace the full development of the land holdings of Jervaulx. However the surviving evidence suggests that the majority of the grants in the twelfth century were made between 1145 and 1160, that is immediately after the foundation and the move to Jervaulx.

In 1145 the monks received a very generous grant from Earl Alan, comprising common pasture of all his estates, and pasture in Wensleydale.¹ Roger de Mowbray gave lands in Masham.² By 1146/7, when the abbot of Quarr visited the house, the possessions of Jervaulx were enumerated thus:

.. habemus carucatas quinque arantes, vaccas quadraginta cum secta, equas sexdecim cum sequela, de dono comitis, sues quinque cum secta, oves trecentas, et triginta coria in tanno, et plus ceram et oleum pro duobus annis ...³

Throughout the rest of the century Jervaulx gained lands in East Witton, Worton, Colsterdale, Hessleton, Thornton Steward and Myton, from a variety of benefactors, mainly from the tenants of the Richmond honour, and in particular the Steward fee.⁴ Even taking into account the incomplete nature of the evidence, the benefactions received by Jervaulx appear very modest when compared to other Cistercian houses. The limitations of the benefactors of Jervaulx - apart from the earls of Richmond, the only other great lord to give lands to the house was Roger de Mowbray - is reflected in the geographical distribution of the estates of Jervaulx. All their lands of the abbey lay within a fairly compact area around Fors and Jervaulx itself.

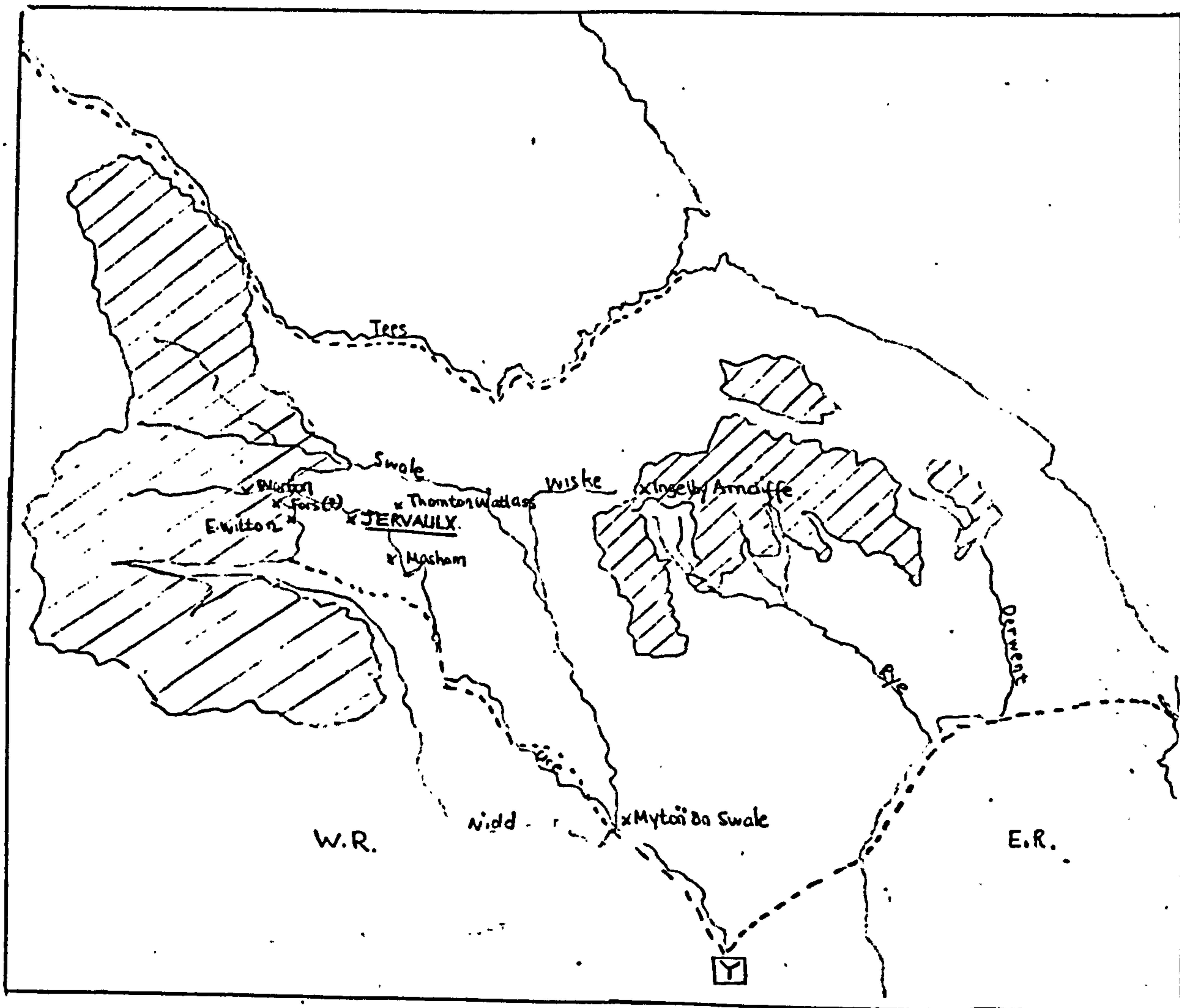
1. ibid. V, p.568; E.Y.C. V, no. 373.

2. Mowbray Charters, nos. 172 and 174.

3. Mon. Ang. V, p.570.

4. Mon. Ang. V, p.572; Mowbray Charters, no.173; E.Y.C.V. no. 246. (This land in Hessleton was given to Jervaulx by the abbey of Easby); E.Y.C. V. no. 326; E.Y.C. II, p.139. The donor of land in Myton, Abraham, is probably the individual known as Abraham the sergeant who was enfeoffed of land in Myton by the abbot of St Mary's. (E.Y.C. II, no. 793.)

Fig. 19. The Estates of Jervaulx Abbey c1200.



Yorkshire: North Riding.

Y = York.

Scale approx. 12m to 1".

The modest scale of Jervaulx's endowments are reflected by the fact that by c.1200 the abbey had established only one grange, on the previous site of the abbey at Fors. The grange was known as Dale grange and comprised six carucates of land.¹ Either the lack of financial resources or manpower, or the geographical proximity of the land holdings of the monks limited their creation of the outlying farmsteads which were so common a feature of the economy of the White Monks. It is likely that Jervaulx's economy was largely based on animal farming. As mentioned above, the monks had acquired considerable areas of pasture in Richmondshire, in Thornton Steward, in Rookwith and in Wensleydale. The monks also had the right to mine lead in Wensleydale. They received no revenue from the possession of churches.

In addition to giving lands Earl Alan granted the monks certain liberties and exemptions, liberties of toll and team for example. Henry II ordered the monks to be quit of ferry tolls and pontage throughout England and Normandy. Earl Conan, however, reserved certain rights for himself. He confirmed all the lands of the monks 'in perpetuam elemosinam habendas . . . salvo servicio meo'.² Although the absence of a cartulary makes it impossible to get a full picture of the growth of the abbey's estates, or of the return demanded by benefactors, it would appear that few donors of land required any return for their generosity. There are only two records of money rents paid by the monks. Easby Abbey received eighteen pence per annum for land in Hessleton, and Jernagan son of Hugh, twenty-three shillings per annum for land in Worton. Burial rights were demanded by Earl Conan and Hervey son of Acaris in their capacity as patrons of the house.

There is very little evidence for the later history of Jervaulx. The patronage remained with the earls of Richmond, who had assumed these responsibilities when the monks moved, in 1156, to a site on the lands

1. Mon. Ang. V, p.571.

2. Mon. Ang. V, p. 569; E.Y.C.V, no.374; Mon. Ang. V, p.572.

of Earl Conan. The history of Jervaulx in the twelfth century illustrates the close relationship between a patron and his convent, and the mutual responsibilities and benefits which such a relationship involved. Earl Alan championed the interests of the monks at Savigny, and both he and Conan encouraged endowments from among their tenants. A close analysis of the benefactors reveals an intimate relationship between the monks and the members of the Steward fee. Six out of the nine benefactors of the abbey who are known to us had a connection with the office of steward of the Richmond honour. Scolland, father of the first benefactor Brian, was steward before 1145; Hugh son of Jernagan was steward from 1138-45; Wimar was steward in 1086, and his sons Roger and Warner held the office c.1130 and ante 1158 respectively, and the son of the former, Ralph held the office in 1145-6. This reinforces the argument that the benefactors, as well as being tenants of the earls, were intimately connected with what might be called the 'household' of the earl, that is they were those tenants who held some kind of responsibility for the running of the business of the Honour of Richmond, especially in the absence of the earls in their estates in Brittany. It is clear that the house of Jervaulx had a very close connection with the Honour of Richmond, its feudal lord and its officials.¹

The description of the foundation of Jervaulx in the 'Historia' illustrates well that the foundation of a religious house was not always the simple matter it would sometimes appear. The wish of a layman to found and endow a house, was, in this case, only the first stage in a long and often complex series of events, including attempts to fit the monastery into the established pattern of monastic filiation. Hampered also by the physical conditions of their situation, and involved in tedious negotiations

1. The details of the officials of the Honour of Richmond are taken from E.Y.C. V, pp.353-4.

conducted on the other side of the channel, Peter de Quinciaco and his brethren had indeed to fight for the very existence of their abbey.

Despite its difficulties in the early stages of its history, Jervaulx abbey achieved modest wealth. In 1291 it was valued at £200 per annum, and in 1536 at £455 10s. 5d. gross, £234 18s. 5d. clear.¹ Many of its features, the close relationship with its patrons, for instance, are more akin to the smaller Augustinian houses than the great Cistercian abbeys. We know little of the house after 1200. It did, however, achieve great fame at the time of the Dissolution; the last abbot of Jervaulx became involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace and, as a result of his activities he was tried for treason and executed in 1537. The moveable assets of the abbey were taken by the Duke of Norfolk, and the site leased to tenants in January 1538/9.²

Kirkstall Abbey

Of all the surviving Cistercian sites in the county of Yorkshire the present prospect of Kirkstall is probably the most disconcerting to the modern visitor. The ruins lie in the south-west of the industrial city of Leeds, the walls begrimed by the smoke of a modern city. Yet in 1152 when the present site of Kirkstall was occupied, Leeds was but a hamlet, and the site of Kirkstall was considered to be remote and far from the habitation of men. Like Fountains, Byland and Jervaulx the origins of the abbey of Kirkstall are known to us from two sources, its foundation history and its cartulary. The former was originally written in the early thirteenth century, although the text as it stands now includes later additions. As Baker has pointed out, similarities with parts of

¹ Taxatio Papae Nicholae, p. 309; Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 241-42.
² G.W.O. Woodward, The Dissolution of the Monasteries, pp. 98-100.

the 'Narratio de Fundatione' of Fountains makes it likely that the same man, Hugh de Kirkstall, was the author of both histories. The history of Kirkstall is a much shorter compilation than the Fountains narrative. It survives only in a fifteenth-century manuscript, written in a clear hand on small pages.¹ The first four folios (129-32v) contain Hugh's history; the rest of the text contains the names of the abbots who ruled the house from 1210 to 1284 (fo. 132v), an account of the possessions of the abbey under the fifteenth abbot (fos. 132-7) letters of protection granted to the abbey by Henry III in 1261 (fo. 137) and a letter of the sixteenth abbot (fo. 138). A note written in a later hand states that the manuscript was discovered among the chronicles of Kirkstall.

The 'Historia' is exclusively concerned with the affairs of the monastery. Rarely do affairs of the outside world intrude upon its pages. The accounts of the land acquisitions made by the early abbots of Kirkstall can be corroborated by charters existing in the cartulary. The account of the creation of the chapels of Bracewell and Marton can similarly be proved authentic, in the latter case by a charter of Henry Murdac, the document being the earliest original charter in the possession of the Minster Library, York.² There are no obvious errors which might throw doubt on the authenticity or reliability of the text. In fact there are only two inconsistencies in an otherwise straightforward account; one is the explanation of the name of the monastery, the other a confusion between Archbishops Henry and Roger.³

The cartulary of Kirkstall is also of a thirteenth-century date.⁴

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1. Oxford Bodleian Laud MS Miscellaneous 722, fos. 129-38, printed as 'The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey', ed. E.K. Clark, Thoresby Soc., 4 (1895) pp. 169-208 (Fundacio.. de Kyrkestall). For Baker's identification of the author, see L.G.D. Baker, 'The Foundation History of Fountains' I, p.19.
 2. York Minster Library, Zouche Chapel MS P.1. (2) i; printed E.Y.C. III no. 1471.
 3. Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall, pp.176, 178, 179.
 4. P.R.O. Duchy of Lancaster Miscellaneous Books, 7, printed as Kirkstall Coucher.

Unfortunately its significance as a source is impaired by the fact that the scribe who copied the original charters into the cartulary omitted the names of most of the witnesses, but contented himself by adding the word 'testes' to indicate that the charter had indeed been attested. This naturally makes it difficult to date many of the charters, or indeed to assign them with any certainty to a particular individual.

Like all the second generation Cistercian houses in Yorkshire, with the exception of Jervaulx, Kirkstall had an orthodox origin. The 'Historia' records that during the reign of King Stephen, a leading Yorkshire baron, Henry de Lacy, fell ill. Apparently stricken with fear for his soul, he made a vow that should God spare his life he would found a monastery dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary. When he recovered, 'voti sui non immemor' he hastened to the abbot of Fountains and offered him land for the foundation of a colony from his house. He gave a certain vill by the name of Barnoldswick, situated in the extreme west of Yorkshire, about ten miles from Skipton.¹ It is likely that his choice of Barnoldswick as a site for the house was influenced by the fact that the vill did not in fact belong to him. He held it of Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk, for a yearly rent which he had long since ceased to pay. The foundation was made with no reference to Hugh Bigod, a consideration which was later to involve the monks in a tedious law suit.²

In accordance with the Cistercian statutes the abbot of Fountains sent out lay brethren to construct the necessary buildings. The prior of Fountains, Alexander, was appointed as abbot of the new house, and the site was formally occupied on May 19 1147.³ The new house took the name

1. Fundacio de Kyrkestall, pp. 173-4.

2. See below, p. 208.

3. Fundacio de Kyrkestall, p. 174. The abbot who supervised the foundation of Kirkstall must have been Henry Murdac. He was not elected archbishop of York until July, and consecrated in December of 1147.

of Mount St Mary.¹ Barnoldswick was recorded as a vill in Domesday Book, and the advent of the Cistercian monks caused considerable disturbance to the native population. The chronicle narrates the events which followed the foundation of Barnoldswick in a light which is none too favourable to the Cistercian monks, and in particular, to Abbot Alexander.

... there was a church at Barnoldswick, very ancient and founded long before, with four parochial vills, to wit, Marton and another Marton, Bracewell and Stock, besides the vill of Barnoldswick, and two small vills appertaining, Elfwynetrop to wit, and Brogden, of which the said monks were by this time in possession, after the removal of the inhabitants. On feast days the parishioners met at the church with the priest and clerks according to custom, and became a nuisance to the monastery and the brethren there residing. Desiring therefore to provide for the peace and quiet of the monks, the abbot it may be with some want of consideration, pulled the church down to its foundations, in the face of the protests of the clerks and parishioners. And so no small controversy arose concerning such an unusual and highhanded proceedings.²

The controversy was carried by the people of Barnoldswick to the metropolitan, the Cistercian, Henry Murdac. He refused to give a ruling and directed the matter to the Pope. Eugenius III, ex-monk of Clairvaux and protege of St Bernard echoed the views of his mentor, and declared that 'the less good should yield to the greater, and that the case be gained by the party which would bring forth richer fruits of piety', the latter being the Cistercians.³ After this decision had been given, the chronicle reports that 'peace was restored and litigation laid to rest', though it is doubtful if the people of Barnoldswick accepted the presence of the monks without some bitterness. Arrangements were made, and approved by Murdac, for the redistribution of parishes. Bracewell and Marton were raised to the status of mother churches, and the advowson of both was given to the abbot and convent.⁴

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1. The name of Mount St Mary is a fairly common name which was adopted by Cistercian convents. Meaux also shared this name.
 2. Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall, pp. 174-75. On other Cistercian depopulation see R.A. Donkin, 'Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates' p.146. It was incidents such as the one at Barnoldswick which gave rise to the violent criticisms of the Cistercians by men such as Walter Map.
 3. Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall, p.175.
 4. E.Y.C. III no. 1471 (from York Minster Library Zouche Chapel MS p.1 (2)i.

This matter being settled, the monks had other problems to face. Like other convents they suffered from the disorder which accompanied the sporadic fighting of the reign of Stephen. They were troubled by plunderers, and hampered by bad weather and continual rains. This seems to have been a hazard of living in the Craven district of Yorkshire. Sallay abbey, which lies about six miles from Barnoldswick, complained that the rain was so bad that the crops rotted on their stalks.¹ The poverty of the convent led Abbot Alexander to ponder the possibility of moving the house to a more congenial site. Soon his opportunity came to translate this idea into practice, and he seems to have shown the same ruthlessness as in his dealings with the parishioners of Barnoldswick. While he was away from his house on business he happened upon a group of hermits dwelling in the valley of the river Aire. Their leader, Seleth, explained to Alexander that he was a native of the south of England, and had been told in a vision to seek for a place called Kirkstall in the valley of the river Aire. This he had done, and had gathered a group of hermits with whom he had lived according to a rule.

Alexander was apparently much taken with the site, and considered it more than suitable for his own purposes. He began then gently to admonish the brethren about the health and progress of their souls, putting before them the danger of their individual wills, the small number of the brethren, that they were disciples without a master, laymen without a priest, calling them to greater perfection and a better form of religion'.² He then left them and hurried to Henry de Lacy, and gained his assent for moving his convent to the site in Airedale. Lacy settled an ancient feud with William Peitevin, the holder of the land in question. The latter agreed to let the monks have the land in return for a yearly rent. The

1. See below, p. 225.

2. Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall, pp. 177-78. Kirkstall therefore provides a further example of a religious house incorporating or springing from a group of hermits. Cf Nostell, Selby, and in the thirteenth century, Healaugh Park.

hermits were given the choice of joining the convent or departing, having been paid for yielding the home to Abbot Alexander. The convent is said in the chronicle to have moved to the new site on 19 May 1152, although it is stated elsewhere that the monks remained at Barnoldswick 'sex annis et amplius', and that the move took place during the episcopate of Roger de Pont L'Evêque (1154-81).¹ The site of Barnoldswick was reduced to a grange.

'A place covered with woods and unproductive of crops, a place well nigh destitute of good things save timber and stone and a pleasant valley with the water of a river which flowed down its centre.'² With this description it is difficult to see what attracted Abbot Alexander to the valley of the Aire. The author of the chronicle continues with a description of the labours of the monks, their attempts 'like the sons of Ephraim' to clear the ground and make the site fit for habitation. The monks were indebted to their founder for much help in the construction of the abbey, for he gave lands and money, and 'laid with his own hands the foundations of the church.' Lands of the south bank of the river Aire were acquired from William de Reinevill.³ The new convent began to prosper.

Their first setback came when Hugh Bigod, Earl of Norfolk and owner of the land of Barnoldswick, claimed the vill in the king's court. His claim was upheld, and the monks were dispossessed. Abbot Alexander hurried to the earl, and at length persuaded him to allow the monks to retain the grange for an annual rent of five marks and one hawk.⁴ This rent was later relaxed, apparently on the advice of King Henry II.

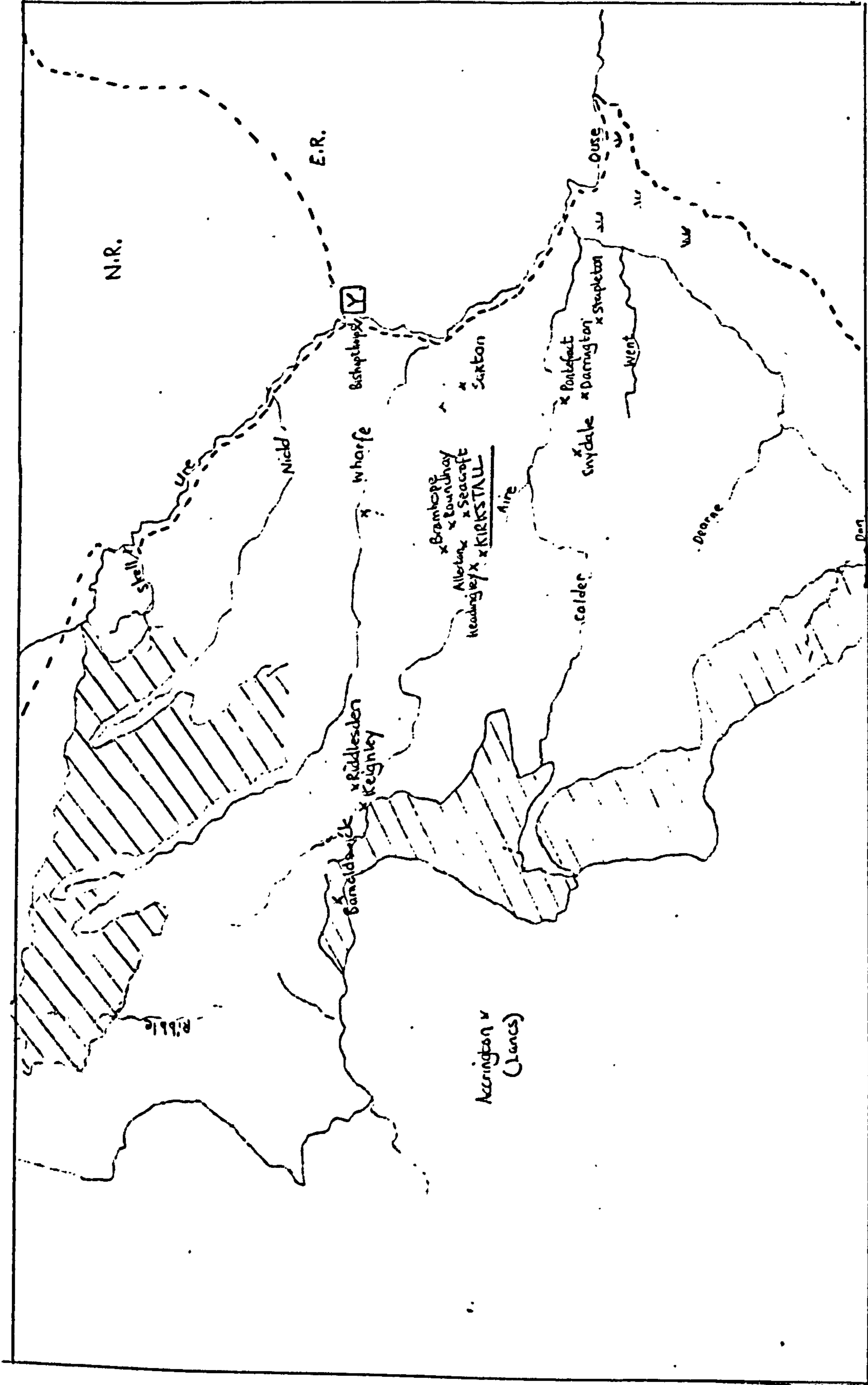
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1. Fundacio ...de Kyrkestall, pp. 177 and 179.
 2. ibid. p. 179.
 3. ibid. p.179-80. William's charter granting land in Bramley is printed in Kirkstall Coucher, no.83.
 4. A charter of Hugh Bigod, dated 1154-76 is printed in E.Y.C. I, no.642.

Abbot Alexander ruled the house for thirty five years, 'a true abbot in deed and name', from 1147 to 1182. During the period after 1152 he rebuilt the church, the dormitory of the monks and the lay brethren, the refectory, cloister and chapter house. In addition, we are told, he arranged the offices of the granges and 'ordained everything outside and inside with wisdom'. Alexander concerned himself with the acquisition of lands for the house. The author of the 'Fundacio' lists some of these: Cliviger, Oldfield, Cookridge, Breary, Horsforth, Allerton, Roundhay, Micklethwiate, Thorpe, York, Hooton, Bessacar.¹ Most of these gifts are substantiated by charter evidence. Micklethwaite and Roundhay, the latter being specified as a vaccary, together with the vaccary of Brakinley formed part of the original donations of Henry de Lacy.² The land in Cookridge, which was part of the Paynel fee was given by William Paynel, and his gift was supplemented by a donation of Roger Mustel.³ One carucate in Breary was given by Robert de Breary, and in Allerton many donations were received from Sampson de Allerton.⁴ It is clear from a final concord made in the year 1194 that the monks had obtained an interest in Bishopthorpe some time before; and lands in York, in particular outside Micklegate Bar, had been obtained by 1189.⁵ Finally there are a number of charters relating to Bessacar which show that the interest of the monks originated in the time of Abbot Alexander.⁶

In addition to these estates there were other endowments made during the period 1147-83 which are not specifically mentioned in the 'Fundacio'. The Coucher Book of Kirkstall contains charters which indicate that lands were acquired in several other places. Robert le

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1. 'Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall', p.181.
 2. The donations of Henry de Lacy are confirmed by his son Robert, E.Y.C. III nos. 1509-10. The donations also included yearly rents from the farm of Clitheroe to be used to clothe the abbot and provide an altar lamp.
 3. E.Y.C. VI. nos. 150-51.
 4. ibid. III. no. 1655; Kirkstall Coucher, no.109.
 5. E.Y.C. III. no. 1859; Kirkstall Coucher, nos. 204 and 308.
 6. E.Y.C. II. nos. 812, 822-23.

Fig. 20. The Estates of Kirkstall Abbey c1200.



Yorkshire: West Riding. Y = York. Scale approx. 10m to 1".

Peitevin, heir of the donor of the site of Kirkstall added the mill of Mickley and lands in 'Westrode' and 'Eschelerode', and he confirmed the gift of his tenant in Headingley. His sister and nephew also became benefactors of the abbey, giving further lands in Headingley.¹ Land in Arthington was acquired from Peter de Arthington, who may be the same individual who founded Arthington priory.² William de Reinevill and his heirs gave substantial lands in Bramley, and an important grange was created in Cliviger.³ In the area of Pontefract several important benefactions were received. In Pontefract itself Robert de Lacy gave a messuage, and Roger de Ledstone gave five acres 'in campo Pontisfracti ex occidentali parte chimini versus Darthington'.⁴ In Darrington the monks obtained two bovates, and further lands in Shadwell, Snydale and Stapleton were acquired.⁵ In the lands of the Brus fee the monks received estates in Horsforth, and in the Honour of Skipton, lands in Riddlesden, Keighley and Bramhope.⁶

When Abbot Alexander died in 1182 his house had been transformed from a struggling infant community into a house which, 'though not very wealthy was unhampered by debts, faring prosperously according to its means with prospects of vigour in the future.'⁷ Alexander was succeeded by Ralph Haget, former monk of Fountains' abbey, a 'man of piety and noteworthy for all holiness, a lover of justice and most ardent in rivalry for the good of the order'. Haget's abbacy seems to have been something of a disaster for the convent. This was not entirely his own fault. We are told that

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1. ibid. III. nos. 1556-7.
 2. Kirkstall Coucher, no. 129. As no witnesses are included it is uncertain if this is the individual concerned.
 3. ibid. no. 83; nos. 272 and 275.
 4. E.Y.C. III.no. 1511; Kirkstall Coucher, no. 215.
 5. Kirkstall Coucher, nos. 213-4; E.Y.C. III. no. 1586; Kirkstall Coucher, no. 207; ibid. no. 221.
 6. Kirkstall Coucher, nos. 99-103; E.Y.C. VII. no.162; VI. no.72; XI.no.214.
 7. 'Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall', p.182.

there was a mortality among the herds, a lack of necessities and a failure of the crops. More cryptically the author speaks of 'quarrels without, fears within.'¹ The first indication of trouble came when Henry II repossessed the grange of Micklethwaite, which had been given to the monks by Richard de Moreville, a tenant of Roger de Mowbray. The occasion of this was the rebellion of the young Henry against his father Henry II in which both Mowbray and Moreville were implicated.² Abbot Ralph was evidently blamed by the monks for this occurrence. Certainly his action in sending to Henry II a golden chalice and a gospel book, in an attempt to win royal favour, which failed disastrously, did not endear him to the monks. Neither the chalice nor the grange were returned to the house. The monks were dispersed to neighbouring Cistercian monasteries, partly because of the poverty of the house, 'yet above all because thus they hoped to turn the heart of the prince to pity, but even this was in vain.'³ The convent was reassembled and on the advice of his monks Abbot Ralph 'modifying expenses according to the exigencies of affairs, administered the cure of his house with enhanced attention.'

In view of the fact that the cartulary does not make it clear when and by whom many of the grants of land were made, it is difficult to get a clear picture of how the estates of Kirkstall expanded during the abbacy of Ralph Haget.⁴ It was probably under Ralph or his successor that Sampson de Allerton granted land in East Allerton in exchange for two carucates in West Allerton,⁵ and that Robert son of Ansketin gave lands

1. ibid. p.182.

2. The rebellion was defeated in 1174. It seems strange that the action over Micklethwaite did not take place until 1182. This is a possible error in the 'Fundacio'.

3. 'Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall', p.183.

4. see above p.205.

5. E.Y.C. III. no.1656.

and pasture in Austhorpe.¹ The existing estates of Kirkstall in Bessacar were considerably extended.² The Reinevill family, Adam 'Vetus' and his son Thomas continued to endow the monks with land in Bramley.³ Abbot Ralph demised to Reiner de Pontefract the messuage in that vill which had been given to the house by Robert de Lacy.⁴ In Seacroft Robert, son of Henry de Waleys gave one carucate of land.⁵

It would seem as if, in common with many other religious houses the greatest period of expansion of Kirkstall in landed estates was the first thirty or forty years of its existence. Although the evidence of the cartulary has its defects, it seems as if there is a marked 'falling off' in benefactions from the abbacy of Ralph Haget onwards. In 1190 Ralph was relieved of the responsibility of governing Kirkstall, in exchange for the rule of the mother house of Fountains. (His promotion was scarcely due, one might think, to his successful record as an administrator.) His successor was Lambert, one of the original convent which had founded Barnoldswick in 1147. By 1190 Lambert must therefore have been fairly aged. Described as 'a man of supreme innocence and singleness of mind', his three years of office (1190-3) were not untroubled, though Lambert himself was not interested in the external affairs of the house:

... he took no steps whatever in the administration of outside affairs. but ever living a cloistered life he sat with Mary at the feet of the Lord to hear His word. Appointed abbot he made no disposition on his own initiative with regard to outside affairs, but committing all to the care of God, relied on the counsels of the brethren...⁶

At some date between 1190 and 1193 the monks lost the important grange of Cliviger to Richard de Eland, son of the donor of the land. Abbot Lambert resigned the land, apparently without a struggle, to his

1. ibid. III. no. 1619.

2. ibid. II. nos. 817-20.

3. Kirkstall Coucher, nos. 359, 361.

4. E.Y.C. III no. 1512.

5. ibid. III. no. 1553.

6. 'Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall', pp. 183-4. Lambert is said to have been in the religious life forty two years, and if this is so he must have become a monk in 1147.

patron, Robert de Lacy, and accepted in exchange the vill of Accrington. Under his direction the inhabitants were expropriated and a grange created. 'Certain malignants' angered no doubt by the expulsion of the inhabitants, burnt the grange and slew three of the 'conversi'.¹ Robert de Lacy pursued the culprits and brought them to justice, but the grange had to be rebuilt.

Turgisius, fourth abbot of Kirkstall, was, according to the author of the 'Fundacio', 'a man of noteworthy self-restraint, sternest mortifier of his body, who ever wrapped in a hairshirt chastised the unlawful lusts of the flesh by the roughness of his garment', and the section of the 'Fundacio' devoted to Turgisius is almost exclusively concerned with his personal qualities, his ascetic practices; little information is gleaned of the external affairs of the house. Turgisius ruled the house until 1202, when he was succeeded by a monk of Roche, named Helias.

Kirkstall Abbey had a chequered career in the twelfth century, and if we are to believe the 'Fundacio', a variety of abbots; the somewhat ruthless Alexander, the inefficient Ralph, spiritually-minded Lambert and the ascetic Turgisius. These men acquired a considerable amount of land for their convent, though not all the estates of the abbey were held without a struggle. These controversies continued into the thirteenth century. Micklethwaite grange was finally restored by King John, but at a cost of £90 per annum. Hooton grange and lands in Bishopthorpe were lost.²

It is, therefore, perhaps not surprising that Kirkstall never achieved the wealth or prominence of the first generation Cistercian houses.

1. The 'conversi' are named at Humphrey, Norman and Robert.

2. 'Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall', p.187.

For the evidence for the type of land owned by Kirkstall and the administration of its estates, see below, pp.419,423,429,442-43.

In 1284 the house was deeply in debt, and in 1301, when most of the debt had been paid off, the possessions of the house were enumerated as 216 oxen, 160 cows, 152 yearlings or bullocks, 90 calves and 4000 sheep. A century later the abbey was awarded the possessions of the alien priory of Birstall in Holderness, which gave the abbey considerable lands and churches in the East Riding.¹ The wealth of Kirkstall on the eve of the Reformation cannot be estimated for the section of the Valor Ecclesiasticus which included Kirkstall is missing. The abbey was surrendered on 2 November 1540.

Roche Abbey.

The sources for the early history of Roche are undoubtedly more sparse than those for any other Cistercian house in the county of Yorkshire. It has no surviving cartulary, and no foundation narrative. Our knowledge of the foundation and the development of the house to c1200 is based solely on two sets of transcripts of charters which were formerly housed in St Mary's Tower, York; one set was made by Roger Dodsworth and used by Dugdale in the Monasticon, while the other, which in the late nineteenth century was deposited at Levett's Hall, was used by Addy in Charters of Roche Abbey.²

The abbey of Roche is situated in a valley, approximately one and a half miles from Maltby and five from Tickhill. It was a joint foundation by Richard de Busli (Builli) and Richard son of Turgis de Wykersley. The former was a descendent of Roger de Busli, founder of Blyth priory and Domesday tenant, who held lands of William I around Tickhill. His estates included Maltby and Wykersley.³ The precise

1. see above, pp.56-57.

2. Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 8. Mon. Ang. V. pp.502-5. S.O. Addy (ed) XVI Charters of Roche Abbey (Sheffield, 1878).

3. Domesday Book, fos. 319-19v.

relationship of Richard to Roger is not known, but he was possibly his grandson.¹

These two men offered lands on both sides of the river by which Roche now stands, to the abbot of Newminster, Robert, former monk of Whitby and Fountains, for the foundation of an abbey.² Fortunately the charters issued by both men makes the process of foundation quite clear. The land was granted to Newminster and confirmed by charter before any attempt was made to construct the abbey buildings. Both charters specify that:

... construant abbathiam suam ex qualibet parte aquae voluerint secundum quod situs loci melius condonabit, Richardo de Builli et Ricardo filio Turgis, inter se concordantibus et concedentibus, ut ambo fundatores abbathiae sint, in cujuscunque parte abbatia evenerit, in perpetuam elemosinam ...³

The exact site had not yet been selected, but both men were to be regarded as founders of the abbey. At some previous time an arrangement must have been made with the abbot of Newminster, and a few monks dispatched to reconnoitre for a suitable site. When this was chosen the site was secured by the acquisition of charters, and the buildings could be begun. The formal occupation of the abbey took place on 30 July 1147.⁴

It is often difficult to see any obvious connection between a patron and the monastery from which his foundation was colonized. Why, we might ask, with two illustrious Cistercian abbeys already in Yorkshire,

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1. Attempts to trace the family of Busli have not been altogether successful. Roger died c.1090. Thomas occurs in c1130 (E.Y.C. VIII. no.28) Richard first occurs in c1150-60 and died c1170-80. He was succeeded by his son John, about whom slightly more is known. He was constable of Scarborough castle and died c1220.
 2. There is little information in the Fountains sources about the foundation of Roche. There is just one reference, in the section devoted to Newminster: 'Domus (Newminster) ... foecunditatem matris suae emulata est. Conceptit et peperit de se tres filias faciens Pipewellam, Salleiam et Rupem': Mem. Ftns. I. p.61.
 3. Mon. Ang. V, pp.502-03. The quotation is drawn from the charter of Richard de Busli. There are slight textual differences in the charter of Richard Fitz Turgis. The witnesses are the same in both cases.
 4. See the many sources cited in Jānaushek, Originum Cisterciensium, p.95.

did de Busli and fitz Turgis turn to the distant, albeit famous, Northumbrian house of Newminster? The documents give us no clue. The two patrons may have been more familiar with Fountains or Rievaulx, although both abbeys lay a good fifty miles to the north of Maltby and Tickhill. However even if the abbots of Rievaulx and Fountains had been approached, it is likely that colonization of Roche from either of these places was not feasible at that time. It is worth remembering that by 1147 Fountains had sent out seven colonies and Rievaulx three.¹ Such prolific propagation must have been a strain on the sources of manpower in these houses, and it is likely that neither Rievaulx nor Fountains were in a position to send out yet another colony in 1147.

Although the foundation charters make it clear that at the time of their issue the site had not yet been chosen for the abbey, they nevertheless refer to 'monachi de Rupe'. We may be duly sceptical about the story current at the abbey in the later middle ages, that the name of the abbey was derived from a miraculous stone carving of the crucified Christ which was found by the monks of Newminster during their search for a suitable site for their house; so allegedly was determined the exact spot on which the monks later built. This legend was recorded by Dugdale, and although it cannot be traced back to the twelfth century it was evidently current at the time of the Dissolution, when Henry VIII's visitors claimed that the sculpture was the centre of idolatry.² The development of legends concerning miraculous interventions to determine the location of monastic sites was a common place of the twelfth century.³ It is much more likely that the abbey derived its name from the character of the landscape. There was no existing settlement recorded at Roche in Domesday

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1. Each new colony was supposed, by Cistercian statute, to comprise an abbot and twelve monks. On this, admittedly theoretical reckoning, Fountains and Rievaulx would have sent out 130 monks in fifteen years.
 2. Letters and Papers of Henry VIII, 10, p.138.
 3. As, for example, at Jervaulx, Selby and Kirkstall.

Book; there is a place called Stone not far from the abbey, which is first recorded in 1355, and it is probable that both places derived their name from the rocky nature of the terrain.

The initial endowments of the founders are clearly specified in their charters. Richard de Busli gave his woodland 'sicut media via vadit de Eilrichetorp usque ad Louuetueit, et sic usque ad aquam, quae est divisa inter Maltebi et Hoton', with two assarts and common pasture for one hundred sheep. His co-patron gave all his land within specified bounds: 'de divisio de Etrichetorp, usque ad supercilium montis ultra rivulum qui currit de Fogswelle et sic ad acervum lapidum qui jacet in sarta Elsi, et sic ultra viam usque ad Wlvepit, et sic per caput culturae de Herteshou, usque ad divisio de Slednotun', with materials from Wykersley wood.¹ With these resources the Newminster monks settled in the new abbey under the leadership of Abbot Durandus.

The successors of Durandus are known to us from a manuscript formerly in St Mary's Tower, York, on which Dugdale based his list.² Durandus is recorded as having ruled the house until 1159. He was followed by Denis (1159-71) about whom nothing is known, and then by two local men Roger of Tickhill (1171-9) and Hugh of Wadworth (1179-84). This might suggest that the two men were promoted from within the house. The last abbot of the twelfth century was Osmund, former cellarer of Fountains, who ruled the house until 1213.

The growth of the estates of Roche under these abbots cannot be assessed in details because of the scarcity of evidence. We can, however, build up quite a comprehensive picture from the following sources: a second charter of Richard de Busli, and one issued by his son John; a papal bull of Urban III (1186/7); and royal charters of Henry II and Richard I.

1. Mon. Ang. V, pp.502-03.

2. ibid. p. 501; Heads of Religious Houses, p.141.

In his second charter issued to Roche Richard de Busli confirmed his earlier gifts, and granted the monks the right to erect buildings and enclosures in Maltby wood and on Sandbeck plain. In addition he confirmed the land of William de Calez and Robert, Richard his knight, in Scalsby.¹ His son John de Busli issued a charter of confirmation.² The bull issued by Urban III gives us an indication of the expansion of the abbey's estates during the first forty years of its existence. The pope confirmed nineteen benefactions, the most important of which were the gifts of Henry II who gave one hundred acres in Lindrick, the grange of 'Aggacroft' (in Maltby), Brancliffe, Todwick, Roxby, Barnby and Bramwith Hood and Armthorpe.³ Of these 'Aggacroft', Bramwith, Barnby and Armthorpe are specified as granges. In the charter issued by Richard I as further nineteen benefactions are confirmed to the monks. This is surprising, for it indicates either that the bull of Urban III was not a comprehensive document, or that the decade between 1187 and 119 saw a massive expansion in the landed wealth of the house. Richard confirmed lands 'que sunt in comitatu Ebor' et Notingh' et Lincoln'' and specified donations which have been given in Tickhill, Doncaster and Conisburgh, among others.⁴

There is some indication in the Roche charters of the type of land given to the monks. Much of the land in the vicinity of the abbey seems to have been woodland. Two references are made to assarts, and five areas of common pasture were given to the monks, in Maltby, Todwick, Brancliffe and Armthorpe. Very few of the benefactors of Roche asked for any return for their endowments. John de Busli received a brood of sparrow hawks, 'eria sperueriorum' when he confirmed the lands of the monks;⁵ Nicholas de St Paul received a horse and ten marks per annum

1. Mon. Ang. V, p.503.

2. ibid. V, p.503.

3. Mon. Ang. V. p.505. See also E.Y.C. III. nos. 1411-3 and 1277; Cal. Ch. R. 1226-57, pp.146-47.

4. Addy, Roche Abbey Charters, pp.12-14; Cal.Ch.Rolls, 1226-57, pp.146-47.

5. Addy, Roche Abbey Charters, pp.19-20; E.Y.C. VI. no.111; III. no.1411; Mon. Ang. V. p.503.

for a confirmation of lands in Todwick;¹ Ralph Tortemains demanded a yearly rent of half a mark for his donation of land in Little Todwick;² and when Robert of Armthorpe demised roads of four and twelve perches through his lands for access to the common pasture, he was granted by the monks the right to make arable land and meadow of common pasture in Armthorpe.³

Land seems to have been the sole source of revenue of the abbey of Roche. As far as we know the monks were given no money rents or fishing rights and there are no references to mining activities on the part of the Roche monks. It seems as if, in common with most Cistercian houses, the basis of the economy of Roche was sheepfarming. In the time of Abbot Denis (1159-71) the monks were in debt to the financier William Cade for the remarkable amount of twentytwo pounds of wool and two thousand and two hundred fleeces.⁴ The estates of Roche were managed by the system of granges. By 1200 Roche had created seven granges, Armthorpe, Barnby and Bramwith, Brancliffe, Todwick, Corby, Roxby and 'Aggacroft' (Maltby).⁵ Unfortunately there is no evidence to indicate on what type of land, arable or pasture, the granges were constructed. All, with the exception of Roxby and Corby, lay within a fairly compact area near to the house of Roche itself.

Roche was never a wealthy house. B.D. Hill may be correct to suggest that 'the explanation for her small endowment in the period 1155-1215 may lie in the fact that Roche was situated on crown lands, and after her first foundation Henry II was unwilling to alienate any property to her.'⁶

1. E.Y.C. VI, no. 111.

2. ibid. VI, no. 112.

3. ibid. I, no. 499.

4. H. Jenkinson, 'William Cade, a Financier of the twelfth century', E.H.R. 28, (1913), pp. 209-27, especially 221.

5. See R.A. Donkin, 'Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates', p.165. In this article the grange of Barnby and Bramwith are treated as two separate granges. The confirmation charter of Urban III, however, refers to 'grangiam in Barneby et Brawith': Mon.Ang.V, p.505.

6. Hill, Cistercian Monasteries, p.72.

There is little way we can assess the wealth of Roche in the twelfth century: few charters remain, and these tell us little of the type or quantity of lands given to the monks. However, the long list of lands confirmed by Richard I suggests that Roche did not lack benefactors, modest though their gifts might have been. Nor was Henry II himself hostile to the convent. Apart from his own benefaction of land in Lindrick, he issued a charter of protection to the monks in which he ordered that the abbey and its lands were to be protected 'sicut meas dominicas', and that 'siquis super haec forisfacere praesumpserit plenariam eis justiciam sine dilatione fieri faciatis'.¹

By 1160-70, as we have seen, Roche was heavily in debt. The list of abbots records also that in the time of Abbot Hugh, 1179-84, the house was in further debts ('domus obligata in magnis debitis in Judaismo').² This may have been due to the difficulties of raising capital, or more probably, to expenses incurred through building activities. There is archaeological evidence to suggest that the stone buildings were erected towards the close of the twelfth century. In 1291 the estates of Roche were assessed for tax and found to total £271. 19s. 4d. The house escaped the first phase of the Dissolution, being worth over £200 per annum in 1535.³

After 1200 the history of Roche becomes even more obscure. The patronage passed, on the side of Richard fitz Turgis, to his son Roger, and thence to the heirs of his daughter, and her husband William Livet. In 1377 a descendant, John Livet, sold his rights in the advowson of Roche to one Richard de Barry, a merchant of London.⁴ The descent of the patronage in the Busli family cannot be traced. When the abbey was finally dissolved the abbot was given a large pension, and the books of

1. Addy, Roche Abbey Charters, pp. 14-5.

2. Mon. Ang. V. p. 505.

3. £261 19s. 4d. (£224 2s. 5d. clear): Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 41-42.

4. Mon. Ang. V. pp. 503-04.

the monastic library were reputed to have been used by local carters to mend holes in the canvas of their wagons. A moving account of the spoliation of Roche, written in 1591, portrays the final moments of this rather poor and in many ways undistinguished abbey.¹

Sallay Abbey²

The Cistercian abbey of St Mary, Sallay, lies in the extreme west of the county of Yorkshire, approximately twenty miles to the west of the town of Skipton. Most of our information about the early history of the monastery concerns the growth of its estates, for the only surviving record of the house is its cartulary.³ It is a fourteenth-century compilation, and in common with most monastic cartularies, is arranged topographically.

The cartulary proper is preceded by a memorandum:

Anno ab incarnatione domini m^oc^oxlviij kal. januar. emissus est conventus cum abbate Benedicto ad construendam abbaciam de Salleya petente et preparante eis locum nobili viro Willelmo de Percy. viij. Idus. Januar. fundata est, ipsa die luna prima.⁴

As Clay has pointed out, the year of foundation must be 1146/7 not 1147/8 as believed by the editor of the cartulary, since the sixth day of January fell on a Monday in the former rather than the latter year.⁵

The reason why Newminster rather than a Yorkshire house was chosen to colonize the new house is not known. Possibly Robert of Newminster, formerly rector of Gargrave, in Craven, was known to William de Percy. Perhaps it was Robert who first suggested that William should found a Cistercian house. On the question of the motives behind the foundation of Sallay the records are silent.

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1. G.W.V. Woodward, The Dissolution of the Monasteries, pp.129, 144; B.L. MS Cole XII, pp.1-49. Printed in H. Ellis, Original Letters illustrative of English History, 3rd series, III (London, 1846), pp.32-35.
 2. Alternatively spelt Sawley.
 3. B.L. Harleian MS 112; ed. as Cart. Sallay.
 4. Cart. Sallay, I, p.1.
 5. E.Y.C. XI p.27 and p.viii.

Although William de Percy is credited as the founder of Sallay, attention should be drawn to a document issued, presumably prior to the foundation, since it is addressed to the abbot of Newminster rather than of Sallay. In this charter Swane son of Swane, a tenant of William de Percy, sold to the abbot of Newminster two carucates of land in Sallay, and gave land and woods beyond Swanside to Clitheroe, for the building of an abbey of the Cistercian order.¹ Clay, quoting Farrer, suggests that 'it is indeed by no means improbable that some small religious settlement may have existed on Swane's land, near St Andrew's well, for many years anterior to 1147 and this may have been known to Benedict (first abbot)'.² This is possible; there are parallels for the foundation of an abbey on the site of an existing hermit community, as at Kirkstall and Nostell. On the other hand it may be that monks from Newminster selected Swane's land for the site of their abbey, as their colleagues selected the site of Roche. If this is the case it is possible that negotiations were conducted between Swane and William de Percy for the purchase of the land, which William could then give for the foundation of an abbey. An obvious analogy is provided by the foundation of Kirkstall on its present site: there it was Abbot Alexander who chose the desired location and his patron Henry de Lacy who arranged for the owner of the land, William de Peitevin, to donate the land in return for suitable compensation.³

Soon after the foundation William de Percy endowed the monks with the land known as the mount of St Andrew, Sallay and Dudland; and in addition he confirmed the gifts of his tenants, Norman son of Uctred and Robert the steward, in Rimington and Ilkley.⁴ In this charter the monastery

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1. ibid. XI, no. 13. The witness list dates this charter to the years 1140-1146.
 2. E.Y.C. XI. p.27.
 3. See above p.207.
 4. E.Y.C. XI. no. 12.

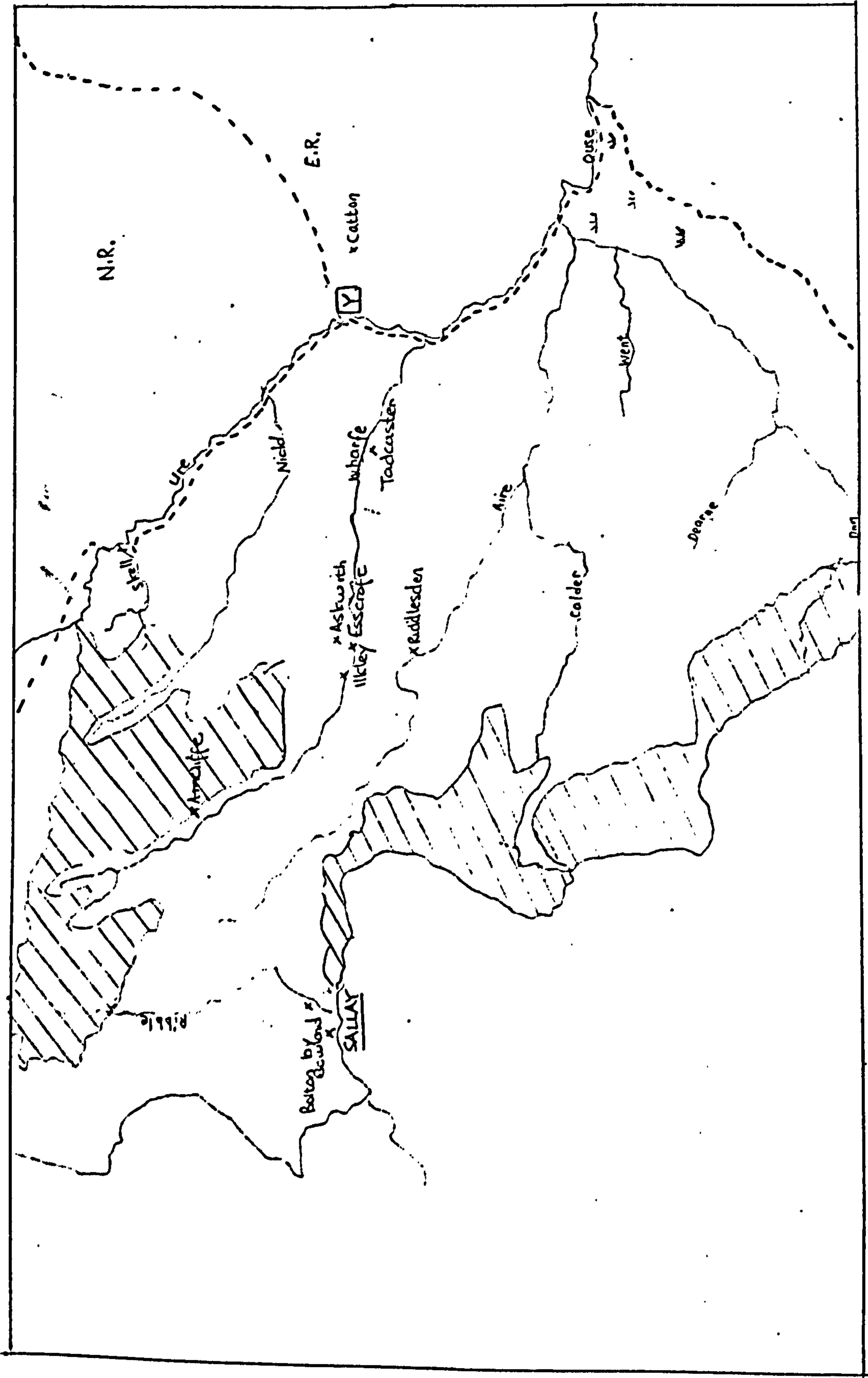
is referred to as 'abbatia de Monte Andree' but soon afterwards the monks took the name of the vill in which they lived. Sallay is not recorded in Domesday Book, but it has been suggested that a small hamlet was in existence by 1147, and that the foundation of an abbey may accordingly have involved some depopulation of the local people.¹

Apart from the acquisition of lands nothing is known of the abbacy of Benedict. He occurs only in the foundation charters, and even the date of his death is unknown. Abbot Gilbert occurs in 1172 and possibly as early as 1167. The next recorded abbots are Geoffrey (1181-1189/98), and Adam (1198).² Our main knowledge of the history of the abbey concerns the growth of its estates. The monks received a variety of endowments from their benefactors, most of whom were connected with the Percy Family. Clay notes: 'the non-existence at that time of any religious house in this part of Yorkshire ... accounts for the foundation of this house, and the welcome which it immediately received ... in the valley of the Ribble and the neighbouring parts of Craven'.³ While it is true that Sallay was the only Cistercian house in the area, the Augustinian priory of Bolton was already in existence about twenty miles away; and from 1147-52 there was also a Cistercian convent at Barnoldswick, not far from Sallay.

The lands granted to Sallay by the end of the twelfth century included three assarts in Clayton and Ilkley, arable land in Askwith, woodland in Bolton by Bowland, and pasture for one thousand sheep in Marton and Litton.⁴ A vaccary was granted in Potland.⁵ Other assets included a mill and fishpond in Acreland, a mill in Hunslet and timber

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1. R.A. Donkin, 'Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian estates', p.146.
 2. P.U.E. III no. 192; Cartularium Abbathiae de Novo Monasterio, ed. J.T. Fowler, Surt. Soc. 66 (1878), p.120; Chronica Rogeri de Houedene (R.S. 1868-71), IV, p.77; Heads of Religious Houses, pp. 141-42.
 3. E.Y.C. XI p.27.
 4. Cart. Sallay, I, no. 275; II no. 532; II no. 522; E.Y.C. XI no. 121; Cart. Sallay, I nos. 63-64; E.Y.C. XI no.80.
 5. ibid. no. 115.

Fig. 22. The Estates of Sallay Abbey c1200.



Yorkshire: West Riding. Y = York. Scale approx. 10m to 1".

from Hazlewood (near Tadcaster) and Meols (Lancashire).¹ Other notable grants made in the twelfth century were those of Barrowby, Ellenthorpe, Stainton (the whole vill was granted by the abbot and convent of Selby), Askwith and Sunderland (Lancashire) for in all these places granges were established in the twelfth century.² Sizeable grants were also made by the Vavassour family in Ouston and Oxton, near Tadcaster.

Quite a high proportion of the benefactors of Sallay required some form of return for the land and amenities they provided for the house.³ Forinsec service was demanded by Richard de Ottringham, Nigel de Stockeld, William Vavassour and Oliver Angevin. One of these demands for service, that of Nigel de Stockeld, was commuted to half a silver mark per annum, and his son later quitclaimed this service. Small monetary rents were paid for lands in Askwith, Barrowby and Bolton by Bowland.

The most common form of advantage requested by the benefactors of Sallay was not, however, money, but fraternity or burial rights. In return for a gift of land in Crooks House Robert Coc of Horton was admitted into the fraternity of the house: 'et sciendum quod ad hoc prefati monachi concesserunt michi plenaria beneficia domus illorum inperpetuum et ad finem meum inter eos ad sepulturam si voluero et servicium pro anima mea sicut pro fratre suo in omnibus'.⁴ Bernulf de Hellifield asked for similar benefits for himself and his wife when he quitclaimed land in Stainton to the monks: 'Hujus rei gracia concesserunt michi monachi et uxori mee fraternitatem domus sue et sepulturam in cimiterio suo si christiani mortui fuerimus et pro nobis facient servicium quantum pro duobus monachis sive ibi sive alibi sepulti fuerimus; quod si ad conversatōnem venire voluero recipient me'.⁵ On five

1. Cart. Sallay, I, nos. 204-05; II nos. 505-07; E.Y.C. XI no. 115; Cart. Sallay, I no. 255. The Cistercian statutes forbade the use of mills as a source of revenue. It seems that English houses were notoriously lax in observing this statute, which was reinforced at the General Chapter of 1157: Hill, Cistercian Monasteries, p. 73.
2. E.Y.C. XI nos. 184, 16, 124, 126-27; Cart. Sallay, I, no. 55; II nos. 520-24; I no. 222.
3. None of these are mentioned by Hill in Cistercian Monasteries, pp. 72-79.
4. E.Y.C. XI no. 231.
5. ibid. XI no. 127.

occasions burial rights were granted, not as one might expect to members of the family of the patron or to major benefactors, but to minor benefactors who gave only modest amounts of land.

It would seem that Sallay did not lack benefactors (most of whom were within the circle of tenants and friends of the Percy family), although it is impossible to estimate from their charters how much, and what type, of lands were given to the monks. It is therefore impossible to assess the wealth of Sallay in the years 1148-1200. By 1189, however, the convent appears to have been in serious financial difficulties. The monks were forced to ask for help from their patron, Matilda de Percy. It would seem that the main problem which the monks encountered was the infertility of the land and the bad climate:

'... pater meus abbaciam quandam Salleiam nomine fundavit in Cravena in terra nebulosa et pluviosa, ita quod segetes jam albe ad messem per consuetudinem in culmo computrescant et ubi conventus per XL annos et amplius propter aeris intemperiem tanta inedia et omnium necessariorum inopia attritus est quod paupertatis eorum immensitas in contumeliam et obprobrium patris mei et omnium heredum suorum redundabat.'¹

To help the monks Matilda made a gift of the church of Tadcaster, which was approved by the abbot of Clairvaux and the other Cistercian abbots who had visited the house as well as the rural dean and parson of Tadcaster. The grant also included the chapel of Hazlewood, an annual pension from the church of Newton Kyme, and one carucate in Catton, near Stamford Bridge, where Matilda was born. The grant of Tadcaster church had been preceded by the endowment of the monks with the hospital of Tadcaster, by Matilda and her husband William Earl of Warwick. The transference of the hospital was approved by the brethren serving there, on the understanding that 'abbas et conventus de Sallai nos in fratres receperunt nobisque sicut domesticis fratribus suis necessariis quamdiu vixerimus invenient nec nos in vita nostra a loco ubi modo sumus nisi ad voluntatem nostram amovebunt'.²

1. E.Y.C. XI, no. 50.

2. ibid. XI, no. 48; Cart. Sallay, II, no. 575.

Despite these advantages Sallay was always the poorest Cistercian monastery in Yorkshire. In 1291 the temporalities of the house were assessed at £54 10s per annum, and in 1536 the abbey was valued at £147 3s 10d per annum. The reasons for the poverty of Sallay are not altogether clear. Obviously the site of the abbey and the climatic conditions of the region contributed to a weak economy; in addition it would seem that in the twelfth century Sallay drew a large number of its benefactors from a lower social class than Byland, Fountains and even Jervaulx. Its lands were confined by the boundaries of the Percy fee, spreading roughly in an east/west^{line} from Stamford Bridge to Sallay. When William de Percy, founder of Sallay, died in the period 1169-75 his lands were partitioned between his two daughters, Matilda and Agnes, and their respective husbands, William de Warwick and Jocelin de Louvain. In the document relating to the partition of the lands Sallay was assigned to Maud and her husband: 'abbacia de Sallay tota ex parte comitis; Tadecastre, Linton', Wetherbi, Spofforth, Gisburn' in Cravena cum omnibus pertinenciis earum de parte comitis'. Percy's foundation of Stainfield priory was assigned to Jocelin de Louvain.¹ The descent of the patronage is a little confused. Matilda and the Earl of Warwick died without issue. In 1203 the lands of Agnes de Percy were the subject of a dispute between Richard, son of Agnes and William, son of Alan de Percy, son of William, who had predeceased his father. (William was probably illegitimate). Henry, son of Agnes de Percy and Jocelin de Louvain issued a charter to Sallay confirming its estates.

Of the subsequent history of Sallay little is known, although there is evidence of the strong objection of the monks to the construction of a new abbey at Whalley (about seven miles distant) in 1296. In 1306

1. E.Y.C. XI, no.89.

the abbot was excommunicated for various misdemeanours; and we know that the abbot of Sallay was summoned to Parliament on several occasions between 1294 and 1307. Sallay was the only Cistercian abbey in Yorkshire to be dissolved in the first wave of suppressions, for it was then valued at only £147 3s. 10d. clear per annum.¹ The house was accordingly surrendered in May 1536 and the monks dispersed. At the time of the Pilgrimage of Grace, in October of the same year, they returned and evicted the new owner, Sir Arthur D'Arcy. In defiance of the king they held the abbey until February 1537, when they took part in a further rebellion. The abbot was condemned to be executed at Lancaster; one of his monks was hanged at Whalley and the remaining monks dispersed.²

Meaux Abbey

In 1399 the nineteenth abbot of Meaux, Thomas Burton, resigned his office and until his death devoted himself to the compilation of the 'Chronica monasterii de Melsa'. It is this chronicle which forms the basis of our knowledge of the history of the last Cistercian house to be founded in Yorkshire. The chronicle covers the period from the foundation in 1150/1 until the abbacy of Burton, with a continuation covering the abbacy of his successor. It survives in two manuscripts;³ the Egerton MS is the shorter of the two, and in the opinion of the editor is a later redaction. The Philipps MS is much longer, but the additions are mainly concerned with the political history of England, for which Burton used earlier chronicles.

Much of the information contained in the Meaux chronicle concerns the growth of the abbey's estates. The authenticity and precision of detail of such passages are corroborated by the documents preserved in the

1. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.144.

2. G.W.O. Woodward, Dissolution of the Monasteries, pp.86-87 and 94-97.

3. B.L. Egerton MS 1141; Philipps MS 6478; edited as Chron. Melsa.

cartulary of the abbey.¹ Abbot Burton must have used either the cartulary, or a collection of original charters both for the 'Chronica' proper and for the table of lands acquired under successive abbots. The cartulary was compiled in the early fifteenth century, though probably not by Burton.²

In the tradition of the authors of the foundation narratives of Byland and Fountains, Burton states that the work was compiled in order to preserve the history of the house for future generations of monks, 'quia tot sapientes et scioli qui nos praecesserunt, thesaurum sapientiae suae condere nullatenus formidantes, laude dignus patrum suorum actus litteris tradere publicis minime curaverunt'.³ He gathered together all the ancient and neglected documents in order to preserve the history of his monastery.

In the reign of King Stephen one of the most powerful men in Yorkshire was William le Gros, Earl of Aumale and Lord of Holderness, whom Burton describes as 'vir ... nominatissimus et quasi dominus totius provinciae Eboracensis'.⁴ To Newburgh he was 'rex verior' in Yorkshire.⁵ He was indeed a powerful magnate, a noted patron yet allegedly an infamous despoiler of monasteries. He was the founder of the Augustinian house of Thornton in Lincolnshire, and of Vaudey, a daughter house of Fountains. He had also earned notoriety for his destruction of the priory of Bridlington and his expulsion of the canons.⁶ With two religious foundations behind him to compensate for his irreligious behaviour Aumale might never have considered the foundation of another house but for the intervention of Adam a monk of Fountains.

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1. B.L. Cotton MS Vitellian CVI. edited by G.V. Orange in an unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Hull, 1965. Henceforth referred to as Cart. Meaux.
 2. Cart. Meaux. p. viii.
 3. Chron. Melsa, p.71.
 4. ibid. p.76.
 5. Newburgh, I, p.103.
 6. ibid. I. p.47.

It was while Adam was supervising the construction of the monastic buildings at Vaudey that Aumale confided in him his perplexity concerning a vow he had made some time previously. He had sworn that before his death he would go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land, but his advancing years and corpulence made him less and less inclined to fulfil his vow. It must have seemed to Adam a golden opportunity to spread the Cistercian gospel even further, and accordingly he suggested to Aumale that the foundation of another Cistercian house would adequately compensate for a lost pilgrimage. Promising to obtain papal absolution from his vow Adam secured the approval of the Cistercian pope Eugenius III and of St Bernard.

The first problem was the selection of a site for the abbey. Adam was taken by the earl on a tour of his estates, and to the earl's consternation he chose a site called the 'collis beate Marie'.¹ This was precisely the land which Aumale had bought from John de Melsa not many days previously with the intention of enclosing it to form a hunting ground. To Aumale's pleas to change his mind Adam remained deaf: 'sed nequaquam hunc ab incepto proposito aliququaliter flectere praevalerat'. Adam's insistence on the site may have been due to the fact that it is on slightly higher ground than the surrounding countryside.² William submitted to Adam's choice and granted the site to God and St Mary for the foundation of a Cistercian house. Temporary buildings were erected: 'Fecit ergo aedificari quandam magnam domum, licet ex vili cenate ... fecit etiam quandam capellam juxta domum praedictam ...'. The site was occupied by a convent from Fountains under Abbot Adam on 1 January 1151.³

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1. For the incidence of the name Mount St Mary, applied to Cistercian houses, see above, p.206 n.1.
 2. Chron. Melsa, I, pp.77, 82; E.Y.C. III no. 1382.
 3. Chron. Melsa, I, p.82.

The convent took the name of Meaux, and Burton took a great interest in the derivation of the name. In the first section of the 'Chronica' he gives various interpretations: Melsa from 'mellis' honey; from 'messa', mass; from 'mensura salutis' a way to salvation. Later he attributes the name to Meaux in France, a less extravagant but still incorrect interpretation. In fact the name was that of an existing settlement near which the monks erected their abbey and which was converted into the North Grange of the house. 'Melse' is recorded in Domesday Book as forming part of the soke of the manor of Aldbrough.¹

To the people of Middle Holderness the sight of the white monks working in the fields must have appeared strange. It is a curious feature that the East Riding in general and Holderness in particular never boasted as many religious foundations as the rest of Yorkshire. Yet Holderness appears in Domesday Book to have been the most populous part of the East Riding and little waste land is recorded. In 1150/1, apart from the great collegiate church of St John, Beverley and the small Cistercian nunnery of Swine, Meaux was the only monastery in the area.

Adam ruled the house of Meaux for the first ten years of its existence. He erected new buildings, probably still in wood, to replace the temporary shacks; a new chapel, dormitory and hall. The material for the buildings came from the castle of 'Mountferaunt' near Birdsall, which had been destroyed by Aumale.² Aumale proved a generous benefactor to his latest convent. To his initial endowment he added woodland in Rowth; land in Wawne, pasture in Hutton on Whitby Strand (Hutton Mulgrave), and the hermitage of St Leonard's in Egton. Later he gave pasture land in Saltagh and Newland, arable and marsh land in Keyingham. For the latter the monks paid dearly, to the tune of sixty marks. A grange was established

1. Domesday Book, fo. 324.

2. The castle belonged to William Fossard, who had incurred Aumale's wrath by seducing his daughter. Fossard fled abroad, only returning after Aumale's death. Chron. Melsa, I, pp. 104-5.

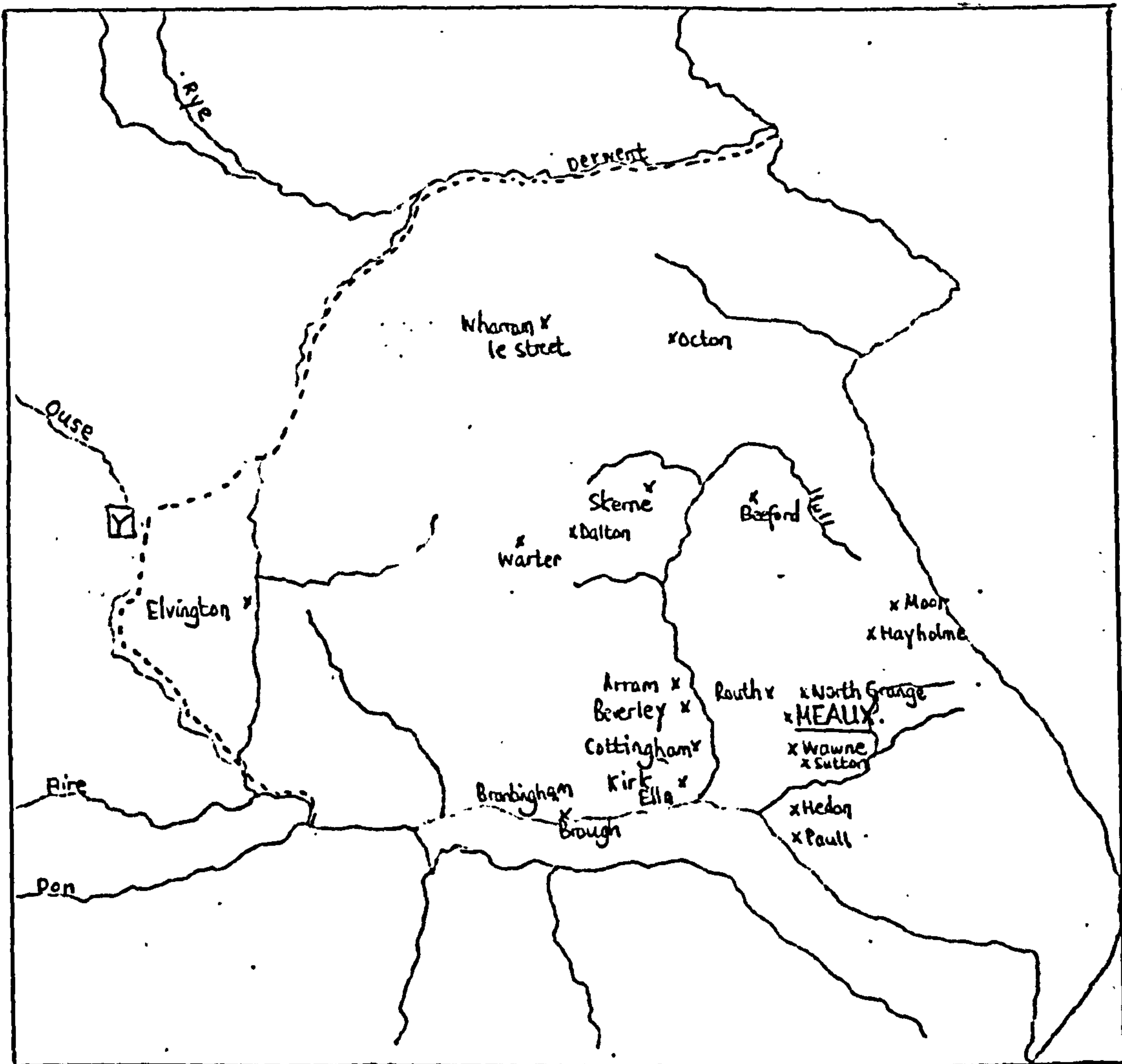
at Saltagh, and free passage across the river Hull at Paull was granted to the house.¹ During the same period Henry Murdac, archbishop of York and abbot of the mother house of Fountains, gave the monks land in Wawne of the patrimony of the archbishop, and donations were received in Sutton, Hayholme, Cottingham and Warter.² Further granges were created at Blanchemarle, Octon, Wharram and Beals.³

Despite Aumale's generosity the convent was forced to disperse on account of its poverty in 1160. Adam had intended to increase the numbers in the house to forty monks, but 'in tanta tamen paupertate degebant quod, cum novicios undecim una vice et alios undecunque reciperet, idem abbas non habens unde eos vestiret, tunicis propriis datis, ipse saepius ibat sola cuculla vestitus'.⁴ The monks disbanded and Adam, under the pretext of going to Rome over a lawsuit, retired to the nearby Gilbertine priory of Watton, where he lived as an anchorite.⁵ There he remained for seven years, before the convent burnt down. Returning to Meaux he lived as a monk for a further thirteen years. He died in 1180 and was buried in the chapter-house at Meaux.

On his own suggestion Adam was succeeded as abbot in 1160 by Philip, former prior of Kirkstead and abbot of Hovedoe in Norway. The 'aeris intemperies' had forced him to return to England. On his election to Meaux he found the convent poor;⁶ and he struggled for twenty two years to increase its endowments. In this he was quite successful. Robert de Melsa, Rainer de Sutton, Isaac de Skefling and Osbert de Frisamersc gave lands to the convent in Wawne, Myton, Sutton, Dodlington and Moor grange.⁷

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1. Chron. Melsa, I, pp.83-5; E.Y.C. III. no. 1381.
 2. Chron. Melsa, I, pp.93-9. Hayholm was given to the house by a novice, William de Scures, E.Y.C. IX no. 9 and no. 88.
 3. E.Y.C. X. no.87; II no. 1064; III no. 1383. Also given in the period up to 1160 were endowments by William de Roumare, William de Percy, and Peter de Fauconberg. (E.Y.C. III nos. 1385-6).
 4. Chron. Melsa, I, p.107.
 5. For details of the lawsuit, see below, pp.234-35.
 6. Chron. Melsa, I, p.159.
 7. ibid., pp. 161-63 and 168; E.Y.C. III nos. 1391-92.

Fig. 23. The Estates of Meaux Abbey c1200.



Yorkshire: East. Riding.

Y. = York.

Scale approx. 12m to 1".

Several pieces of land were acquired in Warter.¹ Grants of quarries in Brantingham and Burgh together with a water course for transportation enabled the monks to begin building in stone: 'in dictis villis scissae et perquisitae sunt petrae omnes praeter lapides quadros, de quibus monasterium nostrum aedificatum fuit et constructum'.²

Possibly the most interesting acquisition made in this period was that of Wharram le Street. William Fossard persuaded Abbot Philip 'licet invitus' to accept land in Wharram in return for discharging William's debts to the Jews. These debts amounted to over eighteen hundred marks so it was small wonder that Philip was troubled:

Ad quod abbas, primo non modicum perturbatus, quasi attonitus factus est et stupefactus, tum quia pauper erat et debitum immensum, tum quia Judaeis in aliquo communicare tutum non esse certissime sciebat, sicut et postea comperit et expertus fuit.

Aaron the Jew of Lincoln promised that if the convent would take responsibility for the debt he would relax his claim to five hundred of the marks. This left the convent with thirteen hundred marks to find, but Philip was tempted by the offer of Wharram, and also Bainton and Nesswyk which Fossard had offered as pledges, and he agreed to pay the debt at the rate of forty marks per annum. It was most fortunate for the convent that Aaron died shortly afterwards and that his debts were claimed by the crown. The five hundred marks which Aaron had relaxed his claim to were demanded from Fossard, who claimed that the abbey had sole responsibility for the debt. The monks finally won their case in the king's court, but only 'post multa dispendia et expensas'.³

Despite these expenses Abbot Philip began to rebuild the abbey in stone, and in particular the church and the monks' dormitory. When Philip died in 1182 he was succeeded by the prior of Meaux, Thomas (1182-97).

1. Chron. Melsa, I, p.172; E.Y.C. X nos. 89-90.

2. Chron. Melsa, I, p.171.

3. Chron. Melsa, I, pp. 173-78. For further instances of this practice of monasteries taking over debts to the Jews, see H.G. Richardson, The English Jewry under Angevin Kings (London, 1960), pp.83-108, and below, pp.457-58.

He managed in a very modest way to increase the temporal goods of the house. He acquired further lands in Sutton, Hayholm, Beeforth and Moor Grange, as well as two messuages in York.¹ Another stone quarry was given to the monks, this time in Hessle, and with this resource Abbot Thomas carried on the task of rebuilding. He began Philip's church again: 'et quicquid antea in ea constructum fuerat prostravit, quia minus congruenter quam deceret disposita erat et constructa'.²

Under Abbot Thomas the second dispersal of the monks took place. This was occasioned by a series of disasters; the loss of their lands of Wharram; the failure of the crops; the low market value of the grain; the financial burden felt by all religious houses in helping to raise money for the ransom of King Richard. The convent was reassembled after a short time, when William Rule, parson of Cottingham and Rule, entered the convent as a novice and gave twenty pounds to the monks.³ Abbot Thomas blamed himself for the disastrous state of affairs: 'in claustro magis expertus quam in curia, praescriptis malis undique perturbatus, vidensque quod ipse insufficiens erat propellere monasterio ex ipsis adhuc imminere, accito patre abbate de Fontibus, officium abbatiatus sui ei resignavit....'⁴

His resignation occurred in 1197 and he lived on until 1202.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of Meaux in the twelfth century was its poverty. Jervaulx and Sallay both suffered from the same complaint, but at Meaux the problem seems to have been acute. Twice the convent had to be disbanded. Yet by 1200 the monastery did not lack benefactors or lands. It had ten granges, all within a fairly short distance from the abbey. It had considerable pasture lands and two vaccaries.

1. Chron. Melsa, I, pp. 220-24 and 228.

2. ibid. I, p.234. It is noted here that Alexander, the successor of Abbot Thomas pulled down his church to erect a new one.

3. Chron. Melsa, I, p.233.

4. ibid. I, pp. 233-4.

The estates of Meaux were compact and therefore theoretically easier to exploit than the far flung estates of some abbeys. Nor are there any indications that the land given to the monks was unproductive. In fact Holderness was in 1086 the most populous part of the East Riding, with a greater density of plough teams than elsewhere.¹ Unattractive though the site of Meaux may be, the soils on which most of the abbey's estates lay were rich in alluvial deposits and good for arable farming. Holderness was a prosperous area.

Why, then, did Meaux not prosper? Not so much, it would seem, because of a lack of endowments, but rather because of the difficulties the monks encountered in exploiting them. A combination of ill luck and bad management kept Meaux poverty-stricken throughout the twelfth century. Firstly it is likely that Meaux suffered from a lack of manpower. We are not told how many lay brethren entered the house, but Abbot Adam's target of forty monks had only just been reached in 1182.² The monks suffered unfortunate accidents: their mill and granary at Cottingham containing 'centum aut eo amplius ... sextaria bladi' was completely destroyed by fire; the price of grain fell so that the monks received only twenty shillings for a sester of corn and one mark for a quarter of corn; for Richard I's ransom Meaux had to find three hundred marks, wool, chalices and other ornaments.

These last two misfortunes were, of course, suffered by other monastic houses. Peculiar to Meaux, it seems however, was the difficulty the monks experienced in proving their title to the lands they had been given. This feature can be demonstrated by reference to two pieces of land, Wawne and Wharram le Street. Land in Wawne was given to the house by

1. M.C. Darby & I.S. Maxwell, The Domesday Geography of Northern England (Cambridge, 1962) pp. 179-200.

2. Chron. Melsa, I, p.178. It could be argued, of course, that the fewer monks there were, the fewer resources were needed. However it might have been that ambition led the early abbots of Meaux, and others, to accept more land than they could adequately exploit without recourse to hired labour.

Henry Murdac. This was part of the patrimony of the archbishop, so Roger de Pont L'Eve[^]que felt justified in claiming back the lands. The convent possessed two charters of Murdac, and a confirmation of the gift issued by the dean and chapter of York. Archbishop Roger was sent one of each of the charters, in order to prove the title of the monks. His response was quite simple. He burnt them. Later according to the chronicler of Meaux, his conscience impelled him to pay the monks thirty marks compensation, but he did not restore the lands (this money, incidentally, was used to buy off troublemakers who were encroaching on the abbey's lands in Saltagh). Abbot Adam considered journeying to Rome to put the case before the papal court, but he failed to do so, and the monks failed to prove their claim.¹ During the abbacy of Thomas (1182-97) a further dispute arose over the tithes of Wawne. Papal judgement on the matter determined that the convent should pay to the rector of Wawne two pounds of wax per annum for the tithes. The monks then tried to appropriate the church by virtue of their claim on the advowson. Accordingly they paid to the monks of St Martin of Aumale, who also had a claim to the advowson, the sum of ten marks per year in return for their assent to the appropriation. This was, however, another project which never got off the ground, 'obstantibus multis causis'.²

The property at Wharram le Street proved equally difficult to retain.³ In the period 1182-97 Norman son of Walter laid claim to two bovates belonging to the monks, and had to be paid two marks per annum, which was awarded to him in the king's court. More serious was the claim to the land made by Beatrice, widow of the donor of the land, William Fossard, who wished to secure the land for her daughter's dowry. She was

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1. The monks still had a charter of Henry Murdac which they could have produced to substantiate their claims.
 2. Chron. Melsa, I, pp.94-95, 217-18.
 3. Details of acquisitions in Wharram are given above, p.232.

supported by her son-in-law Robert de Turnham and several knights. Peace was made between the two parties, but Meaux was forced to pay the sum of ten pounds per annum to retain the land.¹

These are apparently not isolated incidents. All Meaux's fisheries on the river Hull were lost.² Blanchemarle grange was seized by Geoffrey Trussebut, the monks were expelled and the grange was only repossessed on the payment of one hundred marks.³ The grange of Beals, which was granted to the house of Meaux by William Fossard, had previously been given by the same individual to Merton priory (Surrey) and Meaux was forced into another lawsuit.⁴ William de Stuteville disregarded his father's gifts of a mill and a croft in Cottingham. He seized both and forced the monks to accept the site of another mill, and to surrender two other crofts in return for the original one.⁵

That the monks of Meaux were in almost continual financial difficulties was clearly not due entirely to bad management. The monks were certainly unlucky in the type of endowments and 'benefactors' they encountered. However the abbots of Meaux did not always prove wise stewards of their possessions. The decision taken by Abbot Philip to undertake responsibility for Fossard's Jewish debt was rash in the extreme, and the rebuilding programmes of both Philip and Thomas could be called extravagant. True Abbot Philip had at some point to erect buildings of a more permanent nature, but the decision to rebuild the work so far completed on the grounds that it was old-fashioned was perhaps not wise, in view of the economic circumstances. In keeping with many of their Cistercian contemporaries the early abbots of Meaux were not apparently astute in financial matters.

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1. Despite this agreement the grange was later seized by Robert de Turnham. It was recovered much later by the monks: Chron. Melsa, I, pp.231-32.
 2. ibid. p.110.
 3. ibid. I, p.172.
 4. ibid. I, pp. 103-04.
 5. ibid. I, p.227.

After the close of the twelfth century the monks of Meaux continued to face many problems. During the reign of King John the abbot of Meaux led the opposition to the royal attacks on the Cistercian houses, and for his pains was deprived of his office. The convent was disbanded yet again. From its reassembly in 1211 the monks faced continual debts. In the fourteenth century the convent was troubled by a protracted disputed election. Yet despite its debts Meaux was not the poorest Cistercian house. Henry VIII's visitors assessed the abbey at £445 10s. 5½d. per annum (£299 6s. 4d. clear).¹ The abbey was surrendered on December 11 1539. It is ironic that the Yorkshire Cistercian house which has bequeathed us the most information on its history from foundation to dissolution should have left no material remains. Of the monastic church and buildings which once dominated Holderness nothing at all survives.

1. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 108-109.

CHAPTER SIX: THE NUNNERIES.

And so all we handmaids of Christ ... demand with supplication two things ... whereof the former is that thou wilt instruct us by what origin the order of nuns began and what is the authority for our profession. And the other is that thou wilt institute some rule for us and set it forth in writing, which shall be proper for women and shall definitely describe the state and habit of our conversation; which we do not find to have been at any time done by the holy Fathers. Through the default and indigence whereof it now arises that to the profession of the same Rule men and women alike are received into monasteries, and the same yoke of monastic institution is imposed on the feeble sex equally with the strong.¹

The problem which beset Heloise and compelled her thus to write for advice to Abelard must have been a familiar one all over Europe in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Abelard, in his reply to this letter, attempted an adaptation of existing monastic ordinances, such as Heloise requested, drawing on scriptural and patristic writings as well as the Rules of SS. Basil, Pachomius and Benedict. Yet the problem was not immediately faced, and the majority of new foundations in the twelfth century continued to adhere to the Rule of St Benedict or an adaptation of it.

At the beginning of the eleventh century monasteries vastly outnumbered nunneries both in England and elsewhere in Europe. This reflected a society in which the male element was dominant, in which endowments for religious houses were provided, for the most part, by men who accordingly founded monasteries both for political and social reasons as well as from a prejudice against woman in the religious life.² The twelfth century therefore witnessed something of a clash between this still prevalent attitude among lay benefactors and the growing numbers of women

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1. The letters of Abelard and Heloise have been edited by J.T. Muckle and T.P. McLaughlin in Medieval Studies, 12, pp. 163-213; 15, pp.47-94; 17, pp.240-81; 18, pp.241-92 (1950-56). The quotation is from The Letters of Abelard and Heloise ed. and tr. C.K. Scott Moncrieff (London, 1925), p.89.
 2. This was manifest not so much in a belief that women should not, or could not lead their lives in monastic institutions, (which has indeed happened since the very early days of the church) but rather in the attitude that their prayers were less effective than those of men. For a discussion of the attitude of lay benefactors towards nunneries see C.N.L. Brooke, The Monastic World, pp.167-80.

wishing to enter the religious life. This is not to say that there was not an awareness among men that existing monastic institutions were, as Heloise indicated, inadequate for the convents of nuns which were coming into existence. Indeed many notable churchmen and monastic founders set their minds to cope with this problem; Robert of Arbrissel founded the double monastery of Fontevrault in the Forest of Craon in 1096-99, in which an abbess was placed to preside over both men and women. Archbishop Thurstan of York encouraged the anchoress Christina of Markyate, whose life represents the 'difficulties and frustrations - and ultimate success - of an intelligent girl who wished to find her own vocation as a nun' to make her profession.¹

The most influential monastic order of all in the twelfth century, the Cistercian, whilst individuals within it might encourage various nuns and convents to pursue their vocations,² steadfastly refused to open the doors of the General Chapter to women until 1218. This stern, uncompromising official attitude did not, however, prevent the widespread adoption of Cistercian customs at nunneries throughout Europe and, especially (in the first instance) in Spain.³ These convents were not, however, officially Cistercian houses. In Yorkshire ten nunneries are known to have been Cistercian at a date post 1218; it is possible that they, like other convents, used an adapted form of the Cistercian customs in the twelfth century; this seems to have been the case at Sinningthwaite and at Swine.⁴

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1. C. Brooke, The Monastic World, p.173.
 2. e.g. St Bernard's encouragement of the Gilbertine houses in England: see below, p.240.
 3. As Professor Brooke indicates (Monastic World, p.173), the adoption of Cistercian customs, the desire to become Cistercian, at such a large number of nunneries is one of the most puzzling features of the twelfth century nunneries.
 4. Both these houses are called Cistercian in twelfth century papal bulls: E.Y.C. I no. 200; Mon. Ang.V, p.494. In view of the fact that there were no official Cistercian convents, and also because there is no way of telling, from the meagre evidence which survives, how the everyday life of 'unofficial Cistercian nunneries' such as the two mentioned differed from the other houses, no distinction is made in this chapter between the various nunneries, except, of course, in the case of the Gilbertines.

The greatest single contribution to the development of nunneries in England owed much, in the form it was to take, to the Cistercians and more especially to St Bernard, who helped to foster the work of St Gilbert of Sempringham, founder of the only monastic order to come out of England, the Gilbertine order. Gilbert was the son of a wealthy Norman, Jocelin, a tenant of Gilbert de Gant. After having spent time in France and in the households of Robert Bloet and Alexander the Magnificent, bishops of Lincoln, Gilbert returned as parish priest to the churches with which his father had presented him, Sempringham and West Torrington.¹ He had, by this time, acquired a reputation as a teacher; so great was his success in preaching that several women of the village, whom he had taught wished to devote themselves to the service of God. Gilbert built for them a house and a cloister off the church of Sempringham, arranging for their needs to be ministered to by women of the village, whom he later made lay sisters. Subsequently lay brothers were added to the number to attend to the manual labour.

Soon Gilbert's convent attracted attention, and in 1139 Gilbert de Gant gave land near Sempringham for the construction of a priory. The responsibility for his convent weighed heavily upon St Gilbert, and in 1147 he approached St Bernard to ask if his new convent could be taken under the Cistercian wing. The Cistercians, naturally, refused, but Gilbert's journey was not in vain, for with the help of St Bernard the statutes of the Gilbertine order were drawn up, and later confirmed by Pope Eugenius III. In form these owed much to the Cistercian statutes, adopting, for example, the annual visitation and the grange system, but Gilbert also borrowed from the Rule of St Benedict for the nuns and from

1. Gilbert was instituted by Bloet and priested by Alexander, on whose insistence he returned to Sempringham. For biographical details of Gilbert see R. Graham, St Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertines (London, 1904) pp. 1-28.

the Rule of St Augustine and the statutes of Prémontré for the brethren.¹ Gilbertine houses were of two types, double houses, and houses for canons only. The order enjoyed considerable success in England, more particularly in the eastern regions of the country. It was held in high esteem by kings, prelates and even the notorious hater of monks, Walter Map.

Yorkshire is outstanding for the number of nunneries which came into existence in the twelfth century. In the years before 1200 there were twenty-three foundations, as well as two Gilbertine establishments. These were St Clements, York (c1130), Handale* (1133), Kirklees* (c1138 or 1166-90, Nun Appleton* (1144-50), Nun Monkton (1147-53), Arden (1147-69), Nunkeeling (1143-7 or 1153-4), Old Malton (Gilbertine, canons only, 1151-53), Watton (Gilbertine, double house, 1150-53), Wilberfoss (c.1153), Wykeham* (c1153), Swine* (1153), Sinningthwaite* (ante 1155), Arthington (Cluniac c.1154-5), Marrick (1154-58) Moxby (ante 1158), Hampole* (ante 1156), Rosendale* (ante 1158), Yedingham (ante 1158), Keldholme* (1154-66), Hutton Rudby* (c1162)², Thicket (c1180), Nunburnholme (ante 1188), Esholt* (ante 1180-84), Ellerton in Swaledale* (late twelfth century).

Any attempt to reconstruct the pattern of life in these nunneries or to estimate their religious, social or economic significance in the twelfth century is hampered by the familiar problem of lack of evidence. This feature is even more pronounced in the case of the nunneries than for most monasteries. Of the twenty five Yorkshire houses, only two, Nunkeeling and the Gilbertine house of Malton, have surviving cartularies.³ The former cartulary was severely damaged during the fire of 1731 which destroyed and mutilated many of the Cottonian manuscripts. Written between

1. See R. Graham, St Gilbert, pp. 48-77.

2. This convent later moved to Nunthorpe and finally to Baysdale.

3. B.L. Cotton MSS OthoCVIII and Claudius D XI.

* denotes nunneries which later became Cistercian.

1521 and 1536 for Prioress Joan Alanson the document consists of thirty folios, with charters arranged topographically. The cartulary of Old Malton is much earlier, being of a thirteenth-century date. It is a large volume, decorated with red and blue initial letters. It is arranged in some seventy sections comprising episcopal, papal and royal charters and charters issued by the patrons of the house, the Vescy family. The remaining charters are arranged topographically.

Apart from these two sources, and the transcripts of charters now lost, made by Dodsworth and his circle in the seventeenth century, there are very few sources for the history of the Yorkshire nunneries. In common with nunneries all over the country, no Yorkshire nunnery is known to have produced a chronicle, and few monastic or clerical chroniclers thought it worthwhile to record events in these small, poor, and, as they might have seemed to contemporaries unimportant religious houses. Archiepiscopal registration begins at York in 1225 and while visitation material recorded in these registers provides a valuable insight into the life of communities of women in the religious life in the later middle ages, this source is of little use for the early history of the nunneries.¹ Medieval wills, which are a valuable guide in any attempt to analyse the social classes which were predominant in the nunneries are again available only at a date later than the twelfth century.

It is therefore solely on the formal and often cryptic evidence of charters that any tentative conclusions for this early period must be based. This evidence is so scattered that the approach taken in this chapter differs from that adopted in previous ones, in that the nunneries are treated as a class, rather than examining the history of individual houses. The following pages not only seek to analyse the evidence for

1. For later visitations of Yorkshire nunneries see, for example, Reg. Wickwane, p.113 (Nunkeeling); Reg. Greenfield, V, p.240 (Wykeham); B.I. Reg. 28 (Reg. Lee) fos. 95-96v and 99 (Esholt, Sinningthwaite, Nun Appleton).

the foundation of the houses, the growth of their estates and the nature of patronage, but also to discuss the reasons for the success of these houses, and their astonishing number, in twelfth-century Yorkshire.

The Chronology of the Foundations.

The particular problem associated with establishing the chronology of the Yorkshire foundations for women is the lack of many of the actual charters of foundation. Often a charter confirming the foundation, or other additional material has to be used to establish the latest possible date for the foundation. Whilst the south of England boasted several wealthy convents in the eleventh century, houses such as Shaftesbury, Barking and Wilton, no nunneries were apparently established in the north after the demise of Anglo-Saxon monasticism until around the year 1130.¹ It was during the last decade of his career as archbishop of York that Thurstan established the nunnery of St Clement's, situated just to the south of the city walls of York. Thurstan had always been noted for his encouragement of women who wished to follow a religious vocation. It was on his advice, for instance, that Adela of Blois took vows at Marcigny, and that the renowned Christina of Markyate achieved her ambition to take the veil. That the latter declined to place herself at the head of Thurstan's new establishment may have been a bitter blow to the prelate.²

Thurstan's endowment to the nuns of St Clement's reflects the scattered nature of the domain of the archbishop.³ In York itself, and in addition to the site of the house, Thurstan gave to the priory two

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1. On the nunneries between 1066 and 1100 see Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 136-39.
 2. On Thurstan as 'promoter of holy vocations' especially among women, see Nicholl, Thurstan, pp. 194-201.
 3. E.Y.C. I, no. 357.

carucates of land with a proportion of his farm of the city. In Southwell the nuns acquired six perches of land on which to build a guest house for their own use; rents and tithes from the archbishops' mills; two acres of land inside and outside the city. In addition lands were received from Thurstan in Otley and Cawood, and rents and tithes in Bishop Monkton and Bishop Wilton. The patronage of the priory evidently remained in the hands of the archbishops of York, since in 1192 Geoffrey Plantagenet made an unsuccessful attempt to subject the house to Godstow abbey.¹

St Clements was the only nunnery in the county which owed its origins to an ecclesiastic; soon, however, laymen began to follow Thurstan's example. The decade 1130-1140 saw the foundation of only one, possibly two nunneries, Handale (pa. Lofthus, 12 miles from Whitby) and Kirklees (pa. Dewsbury). In the case of the former we are fortunate that a memorandum contained in the cartulary of the nearby abbey of Whitby has preserved both the identity of the founder and the date of foundation: 'Willelmus de Percy filius Ricardi fundavit domum de Gredall (que) nunc vocatur Handal, in honore Beate Marie Virginis tempore Henrici regis Anglie, filii Willelmi conquestoris, anno Domini MCXXXIII.'² The founder is to be identified with William de Percy of Dunsley, a noted benefactor of Whitby Abbey. The memorandum further recorded his benefaction to his new foundation: two tofts by the sea in Dunsley, ten acres of land in Deepdale and pasture land in Handale and Dunsley.

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1. 'Eodem anno (1192) Gaufridus Eboracensis archiepiscopus dedit ... abbatiae de Godestaue prioratum Sancti Clementis in Eboraco; sed moniales Sancti Clementis, quae semper ab ipsis ecclesiae suae fundamentis liberae extiterant, noluerunt obedire abbatiae de Godestaue, facta appellatione ad dominum papam pro libertatibus ecclesie': Roger of Howden, III, p.188.
 2. E.Y.C. II no. 897.

Unfortunately the foundation of Kirklees cannot be dated with such precision. The earliest surviving charter of the priory was issued by Reiner the Fleming in the period 1170-1190.¹ Although this charter confirmed the site of the house and defined the boundaries of the nuns' land ('scilicet Kuthelayam et Hednesleyam sicut aqua de Kelder vadit usque ad vetus molendinum') this is evidently, as Clay has indicated, not a charter of foundation, but a later one. Reiner the Fleming II, who came into possession of his estates in Wath on Dearne just before 1166, did not die until 1205-18. Thus if the traditional identification of Reiner as founder of Kirklees is accepted, the date of foundation must be between 1166 and 1170/90. There is, however, a complication in accepting this later date; there is an extant twelfth-century seal of the priory which C.T. Clay assigned on stylistic grounds, to the late 1130's.² This would give a much earlier date of foundation for the priory, and signify that the founder was either William the Fleming, Reiner's father (died ante 1166) or, more probably, his grandfather Reiner the first of that name, who died c1148. If we question the assumption that because the priory seal is of a style popular in the earlier part of the twelfth century it must of necessity date from that period, then there is little difficulty in accepting the traditional identification of Reiner II as founder of Kirklees, and in assigning the foundation to a date before 1190. In the absence of other evidence, the question, however, must remain an open one.

Only one foundation, Nun Appleton, can safely be assigned to the decade 1140-50. It is possible, however, that Nunkeeling, Nun Monkton and Arden were also founded in the 1140s. The founder of Nun Appleton, Alice of St Quintin issued a charter to her new foundation, whose witness clause dates the document to the years between 1144 and 1150.³ The site

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1. E.Y.C. VIII no.145. On Kirklees, see S.J. Chadwick, 'Kirklees Priory', YAJ 16 (1902), pp.319-68.
 2. C.T. Clay, 'Seals of the Religious Houses of Yorkshire', Archaeologia, 78 (1928), pp.1-36, especially 23.
 3. E.Y.C. I, no.541. The patronage of Nun Appleton descended to Alice's son of her first marriage, Robert son of Robert son of Fulk.

of the house was the 'locum quem Juliana tenuit iuxta Appeltonam', and the 'terram circa locum, partim sartatam et partim non sartatam' and two bovates of land in Thorp Arch were added to the endowment.

The foundation of Nunkeeling is dated by a confirmation of the same by Archbishop William Fitz Herbert of York to either 1143-7, or to the brief period in 1153-4 when Fitz Herbert was restored following the death of Murdac.¹ The foundation was endowed with the church of the vill of Nunkeeling together with a croft on the western side of the wood of Bewholme, three carucates of land and a rent of twelve pence per annum.

The convent of Nun Monkton was evidently founded either just before or just after the establishment of the nuns of Nunkeeling. The charter of foundation is addressed to Archbishop Henry Murdac, and therefore dates to the years 1147-53.² This document provides a clue to the possible motive for the foundation of the nunnery. William de Arches and his wife Juetta stated that they made their gift 'Deo et Sancte Marie et Mathilde filie sue et sanctimonialibus de Munketon'. It would seem, then, that the daughter of the founders became the prioress of their new foundation, and it is possible that the house was established for the purpose of providing Matilda with a career. The initial grant made by her parents was slightly unusual compared to the endowments of other Yorkshire nunneries in the number of churches - Thorp Arch, Kirk Hammerton and Askham Richard - which were granted to the nuns. To these churches were added six carucates of land in Monkton and half a carucate in Kirk Hammerton.

The founder of Arden Priory, Peter de Hoton, has been identified by Dr Greenway as Peter of Sand Hutton, otherwise known as Peter of Thirsk.³

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1. ibid. III no. 1332.
 2. ibid. I no. 535. See below pp. 266-7 for discussion of several archiepiscopal charters issued to Nun Monkton in the twelfth century.
 3. Mowbray Charters, p. 21.

There is no foundation charter of this house, only a charter of Roger de Mowbray, feudal overlord of Peter of Thirsk in which he confirmed the foundation.¹ This charter can be dated to the period 1147-69; the actual date of the foundation of the nunnery is unknown. Knowles and Hadcock suggested a date prior to 1147, on the grounds that Arden was a Benedictine nunnery, whereas nearby Byland Abbey, a Mowbray foundation became Cistercian in 1147. Had the nunnery been founded after 1147, they suggest, it would possibly have been Cistercian.² However, as mentioned earlier, there were no official Cistercian nunneries in the twelfth century. It seems therefore that the foundation date of Arden cannot be narrowed down beyond the wider dates of 1147-69. The initial endowment of Peter to the nuns is not known, since no lands are specified in the charter of Roger de Mowbray.

The decade 1150-60 saw the high point in the foundation of religious houses for women in twelfth-century Yorkshire, for these ten years witnessed the foundation of ten, possibly eleven, nunneries, in addition to the two Gilbertine foundations of Old Malton and Watton. Both the latter were founded by Eustace Fitz John, Lord of Knaresborough and Malton. These houses indeed form a special case among the nunneries, by reason of their belonging to a distinct monastic order which, like the Cistercian order from which it drew its inspiration, was a closely-knit order, which preserved its unity and integrity by means of an annual general chapter and by a visitation process.

Dugdale recorded the tradition that Malton and Watton were founded by Fitz John in recompense for having fought against his fellow Yorkshire barons in the reign of Stephen. Although his actions in the

1. ibid. no.20.

2. Medieval Religious Houses, p.255. On Arden, see also L. Beckett, 'Arden Priory', The Rydale Historian, 8 (1976), pp.10-18.

Battle of the Standard and after are well-documented, there is no evidence that this was his motive for the foundations.¹ Both priories were established in the period before 1153. The foundation charter of Watton can be dated to the years 1150-1153. In this Eustace and his wife granted to the order of Sempringham and the convent of Watton the whole vill of Watton, Orm de Feriby and his messuage and three bovates of land, possible in North Ferriby.² The foundation charter of Old Malton which, from the presence in the witness clause of Henry Murdac and Adam, abbot of Meaux, can be dated to the years 1151-53, indicates that Eustace granted to the 'canonicis de ordine de Sempligham qui Deo serviant secundum regulam sancti Augustini et apostolicam doctrinam' the site of the house ('locum religionis aptum') within the church of Wintringham, two mills, the village of Linton.³ Malton was a house for canons only, unlike Watton which was a double house.

At roughly the same date as Malton and Watton were founded the priories of Wilberfoss, Wykeham and Swine. The first of these was established ante 1153 by Alan de Catton. In a confirmation charter issued by Henry II we learn that Alan's initial endowment consisted of the chapel of 'Wictona'.⁴ The date of the foundation of Wilberfoss (c1153) derives from a charter of George, Duke of Clarence reciting various gifts and confirmations made to the nuns. These include a confirmation charter of William de Percy which is addressed to Archbishop Henry Murdac.⁵ Wykeham Priory was founded at roughly the same date. Its founder was Pain Fitz Osbert, but no further details of the foundation survive. Swine Priory was founded by Robert de Verli. There is no

1. Richard of Hexham, pp. 158-59.

2. E.Y.C. II no. 1107.

3. B.L. Cotton MS Claudius D XI fo. 34. Linton may be Linton on Ouse: see E.P.N.S. Yorkshire, North Riding, p.20.

4. Mon. Ang. IV p.355.

5. ibid. IV p.356.

foundation charter, but the gifts of the founder were confirmed to the nuns by Hugh du Puiset while still archdeacon of the East Riding, and treasurer of York. As Hugh became bishop of Durham in late 1153, the foundation of Swine can be dated before that time.¹

The middle years of the 1150s saw the foundation of the three nunneries of Sinningthwaite, Arthington and Marrick. The first, Sinningthwaite, was founded by Bertram Haget, a tenant of the Arches sub-tenancy of the Mowbray Honour. Bertram was the founder of the hermitage of Healaugh Park, and the father of Ralph Haget, future abbot of Kirkstall and Fountains. No foundation charter has survived, but the foundation was confirmed by Henry II in 1155, thus giving a terminal date for the foundation.² No details survive concerning the endowments made by Haget to the priory. It was evidently one house which, although it did not (and could not) become Cistercian until a later date, emulated the order in the twelfth century. Two bulls of Pope Alexander III, dated 1172, refer to the lay brethren of the house who were following the rule of St Benedict and the Cistercian customs.³

Marrick Priory owed its foundation to Roger de Aske, a tenant of the Honour of Richmond. His foundation charter, addressed to Archbishop Roger de Pont L'Evêque, dates from the years 1154-58.⁴ It is clear from this document that the initial endowment of Marrick included one carucate of land in Marrick with assarts and woodland 'juxta divisiones suas scilicet ab Alimepol in Suala per Threllesgata usque Wechnesberg ... et inde latum silve per capita croftorum ville usque ad rivulum defluentem in via veniente de Bacetaingrave et inde per rivulum usque in Suale'. In addition Roger granted the tithes of his mills and quittance from multure.

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1. E.Y.C. III, no. 1360; G. Duckett, 'Charters of the Priory of Swine, Y.A.J. 6 (1881), pp.113-24.
 2. Mon. Ang. V, p.468; R.W. Eyton, Court, Household and Itinerary of Henry II, (London, 1878) pp.10-11.
 3. Mon. Ang. V, pp.465-66 (not included in P.U.E.)
 4. E.Y.C. V, No. 173.

The evidence for the foundation of Arthington is sparse. A charter in the possession of Henry Arthington at the time at which Dugdale compiled the Monasticon, dated 1449-50 reveals that the founder was Peter of Arthington.¹ He lived in the middle years of the twelfth century, and his foundation of Arthington (a Cluniac house) was confirmed by his son Serlo son of Peter. Beyond this nothing is known of the circumstances of the foundation. The nunnery of Moxby was an offshoot of the Augustinian house of Marton in the Forest, founded during the reign of King Stephen by Bertram de Bulmer, lord of Sheriff Hutton.² Marton was originally a double house for men and women, either on the lines of the Gilbertine order or the customs of Arrouaise. Before 1158, however, the nuns had moved from Marton to Moxby. The reason for the migration is nowhere explained, but it is clear that it had occurred before 1158 when Henry II confirmed to the nuns of St John of Moxby the site of their house and land in 'Risebergh', together with other gifts which the nuns had received.³ It is curious that a much later charter of Henry II, dated 1180-81, refers to a gift made to the canons and nuns of Marton.⁴ The explanation behind this wording is not easily explained, but it is possible that Moxby retained close links with Marton; the two may even have been regarded as a 'double house' even after the transfer of the nuns to another site. Whether the nuns continued to adhere to the Rule of St Augustine after this transfer is not known. However in 1310 it was noted that the nuns of Moxby belonged to the order of St Benedict.⁵

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1. Mon. Ang. IV, p.520. See also W.T. Lancaster 'Four Early Charters of Arthington Nunnery', Thoresby Soc. 22 (1915) pp.118-28.
 2. See above, pp.129-31.
 3. E.Y.C. I no. 419.
 4. ibid. I no. 420.
 5. Reg. Greenfield, 3, p.1.

The final foundations to take place in the 1150s were those of Hampole, Rosedale, Yedingham and possibly Keldholme. Hampole was thought by Dugdale to have been founded c1170, but Knowles and Hadcock, in the revised edition of Medieval Religious Houses indicated that Holtzmann had printed an abstract of a bull of Hadrian IV in favour of the nuns of Hampole, thus bringing the foundation date forward to before 1156.¹ It is now clear from a charter of King John that Rosedale Priory was not a Stuteville foundation, as had once been thought, but probably the establishment of William son of Turgis of Rosedale.² William appears to have been succeeded by his son in the late 1150's, and thus the foundation may well have taken place in the early years of the reign of Henry II.

Yedingham Priory was established by Helewise de Clere, probably the wife of Roger de Clere I; she later married Jocelin D'Arcy. As C.T. Clay has indicated, the latest date for the foundation of this priory, also known as Little Mareis, is provided by a confirmation charter of Henry II to the nunnery.³ This is witnessed by John treasurer of York, who was consecrated bishop of Poitiers in 1162; as Henry II was out of England from August 1158 until after that date, his charter must have been issued prior to August 1158, possibly on his visit to York in January of that year.⁴ The initial endowment of Yedingham comprised lands in Little Mareis (Yedingham) and two bovates of land in Wilton with pasture for one hundred sheep.⁵

Keldholme was founded by Robert de Stuteville III after he had succeeded in establishing his claim to the lands which had been forfeited by his grandfather and annexed to the honour of Mowbray. The date of

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1. Medieval Religious Houses, p.273; P.U.E. III, p.16.
 2. E.Y.C. IX no. 111 (dated 1200-01). See also p.197.
 3. E.Y.C. I, no.613. (here dated c1180 but revised by Clay: see n.4).
 4. C.T. Clay, Notes on the family of Clere (privately printed, 1975), p.16.
 5. Mon. Ang. IV, p.275.

foundation of Keldholme must therefore be post 1154, but is probably before 1166, in which year Geoffrey 'magister monialium de Duva' witnessed a charter.¹ There is no evidence to support the statement by Dugdale that the house was founded in the reign of Henry I. It would have been impossible for Stuteville to found a house at this time, as he was not in possession of his English estates; moreover, Dugdale's information was based on the answers given by the nuns themselves in reply to a visitation of 1278-81, namely that there was a prioress called Sybil in the reign of Henry I and that the latter had issued a charter to the nuns. As C.T. Clay has indicated the confusion may have arisen because there is an extant charter of Henry II, and a prioress named Sybil occurs at a later date.² Stuteville's charter of foundation, or one issued soon after the foundation, has survived. Datable to the period 1154-66, the charter confirmed the site of the priory on the river Dove with land to the north 'per semitam que ducit a molendino per Hauerbergam usque ad nemus quod cadit in Rumesdale et Wymbelthwayt et Arkelcroft'; the mill and multure of Kirkby Moorside; land to the south of the house; and pasture within specified boundaries in Ravenswyke. Stuteville further granted pasture and a vaccary in Bransdale with materials from Farndale 'ad edificia sua facienda et reficienda et lignum ad focaria et clausturam ad sepes suas restituendas'.³

Keldholme was, therefore, founded before 1166. The 1160s also saw the establishment of the priory of Hutton Rudby, founded by Ralph de Neville of Muston, son-in-law of Ernald de Percy. The actual date of foundation is not known, but the nuns soon moved to Nunthorpe. As this land had formed part of the dower of Ralph's wife the transfer as confirmed by Ernald de Percy, and also by Adam de Brus.⁴ One of those

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1. E.Y.C. II no. 718. IX nos. 10, 121. Knowles and Hadcock (Medieval Religious Houses, p.274) date the appearance of Geoffrey to c.1142, but C.T. Clay's revision of the date is the more convincing.
 2. E.Y.C. IX, p.93. See also J.H. Rushton, 'Keldholme Priory: the early years', The Rydale Historian, 1 (1965) pp.15-23.
 3. E.Y.C. IX, no.12.
 4. Mon.Ang. V, p.508.

who witnessed Ernald's charter was an Archdeacon Ralph, who is probably to be identified with Ralph d'Aunay. It is most likely that Ralph witnessed this charter while archdeacon of Cleveland, an office which he held from 1165-72. Adam de Brus died in 1170, and therefore the transfer of the nuns to Nunthorpe must date from the period 1165-70. It is likely, therefore, that the original foundation took place sometime in the early 1160s - the traditional date is 1162. The site of Nunthorpe was occupied for about thirty years, after which the nuns again moved, this time to Baysdale. No foundation charter of Ralph has survived, but it is clear that the nuns retained both of the former sites of their house.

Between the 1160s and the end of the twelfth century only four nunneries were founded. At a date before c1180 (when he appears to have been succeeded by his son)¹ Roger son of Roger founded the house of Thicket, which he endowed with lands in Thicket and Goodmanham.² The priory of Esholt was evidently in existence by the period 1180-84 when it was the recipient of a grant made by Adam son of Peter.³ Its founder is not known, but it may well have been a member of the Ward family, later patrons of the house, and the donors in the twelfth century of land in Esholt to the nuns of Sinningthwaite.⁴ This latter fact led Dugdale to believe that Esholt was in some way dependent on Sinningthwaite, but there is no evidence to support this view. All that is known of the priories of Nunburnholme and Ellerton in Swaledale is that they were in existence in the twelfth century; their founders and dates of foundation are unknown.

By 1200 the period of expansion in the Yorkshire nunneries was all but over. After that date there was only one more foundation, Foulkeholme, probably founded during the reign of King John, which

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1. E.Y.C. II, p.423. The founder, Roger son of Roger held Goodmanham in 1166. His son was Thomas Hay who died ante 1190.
 2. ibid. no. 1131 (a confirmation charter of King John).
 3. E.Y.C. VI, no.67.
 4. see below, p. 259.

disappeared completely during the Black Death.¹ The later Gilbertine foundations of St Andrew, Fishergate, York (founded in 1200 by Hugh Murdac), and Ellerton on Spalding Moor (founded ante 1212 by William Fitz Peter) were both foundations for canons only.² The rise of these institutions in Yorkshire in the twelfth century was indeed remarkable, and a comparison with the chronology of foundations for women elsewhere in England may prove instructive.

By the year 1100 there were about twenty nunneries in England, all situated in the south and midlands.³ In the first decade of the century only a couple of new foundations took place, in Kent and Cambridgeshire. The decade 1120-30 saw the establishment of six nunneries (situated in Northumberland, Suffolk, Essex, Hertfordshire, Warwickshire and Middlesex). From 1130 to 1140 there were nine foundations (in Northumberland, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, Middlesex, Essex, Warwickshire and Lincolnshire). From 1140-1150 fourteen foundations took place all over the country (this is excluding the Yorkshire foundations), and in the decade 1150-1160 fifteen houses were established. The 1160's and 1170s saw the establishment of six nunneries in each decade. After 1180 the numbers fall still further.

Thus a clear pattern of the chronology of the foundation of nunneries in England, excluding Yorkshire, emerges. There were few foundations in the first few decades of the century; the momentum began to build up in the 1130s, reaching a climax in the 1150s and thereafter quickly falling off. In Yorkshire the pattern is much the same. The 1130s and, as far as we can tell, the 1140s were periods in which comparatively few foundations took place. The number of foundations rose steeply in the 1150's - ten years during which nearly

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1. Its last appearance is recorded in 1349: B.I. Reg. 10 (Reg. Zouche) fo. 168.
 2. Mon.Ang. VI pp.962, 975.
 3. These were situated in Hampshire (3), Wiltshire (2), Cambridge (2) Kent (2), Sussex (2), Warwickshire (2), Essex (1), Cheshire (1), Worcestershire (1), Huntingdonshire (1), Hertfordshire (1), and Northumberland (1). For the foundation dates of the nunneries, see Medieval Religious Houses, pp.253-77.

half the Yorkshire nunneries were founded. The most expansionist period in Yorkshire was, therefore, almost parallel with that of the whole of England.

The spread of the Gilbertine houses began at the end of the 1130s. This order was always almost exclusively confined to the eastern regions of England, and never spread abroad. After the foundation of Sempringham itself, there followed the foundation of the Lincolnshire house of Haverholme (1139), and the order spread rapidly in Lincolnshire and the diocese of Lincoln in the 1140s and early 1150s. Apart from the Bedfordshire house of Chicksand, founded c1150, Malton and Watton were the only houses to be founded outside Lincolnshire until the latter part of the twelfth century, when foundations took place in Nottinghamshire (Mattersey Priory), Norfolk (Shouldham), Cambridgeshire (Marmont) and Wiltshire (Marlborough). In no way could the impact of the Gilbertines in Yorkshire be called remarkable.

Everywhere in England in the twelfth century more opportunities were being created for women to follow a religious vocation. That houses of nuns should flourish in Yorkshire in the same way as did monasteries in this period is not perhaps surprising, nor does the chronology of the Yorkshire foundations call for much comment since, on the whole, it presents a similar picture to the rest of the country. What is remarkable is the number of nunneries which came into existence in the years between 1130 and 1200. Even given the large area which is covered by the county of Yorkshire, the number of convents is unusually high. The only county with a similar number of foundations (24) was Lincolnshire. Here, as one might expect, the emphasis was on the Gilbertine houses, which accounted for fourteen of these foundations.

The picture of the growth of the non-Yorkshire Gilbertine houses, one of a rapid expansion of small nunneries springing up piecemeal on the estates of the tenants of major barons contrasts sharply with the history of the Gilbertines in Yorkshire. There was no tremendous

enthusiasm for these latter houses among the Yorkshire patrons. There were only two houses of the order in the county (and only one for women), both founded by the same man and largely endowed by him and his family. Both, especially Watton, were rich houses, ranking in wealth with the Augustinian and some of the Cistercian houses. Clearly in many ways they belong to the class of monasteries rather than nunneries.

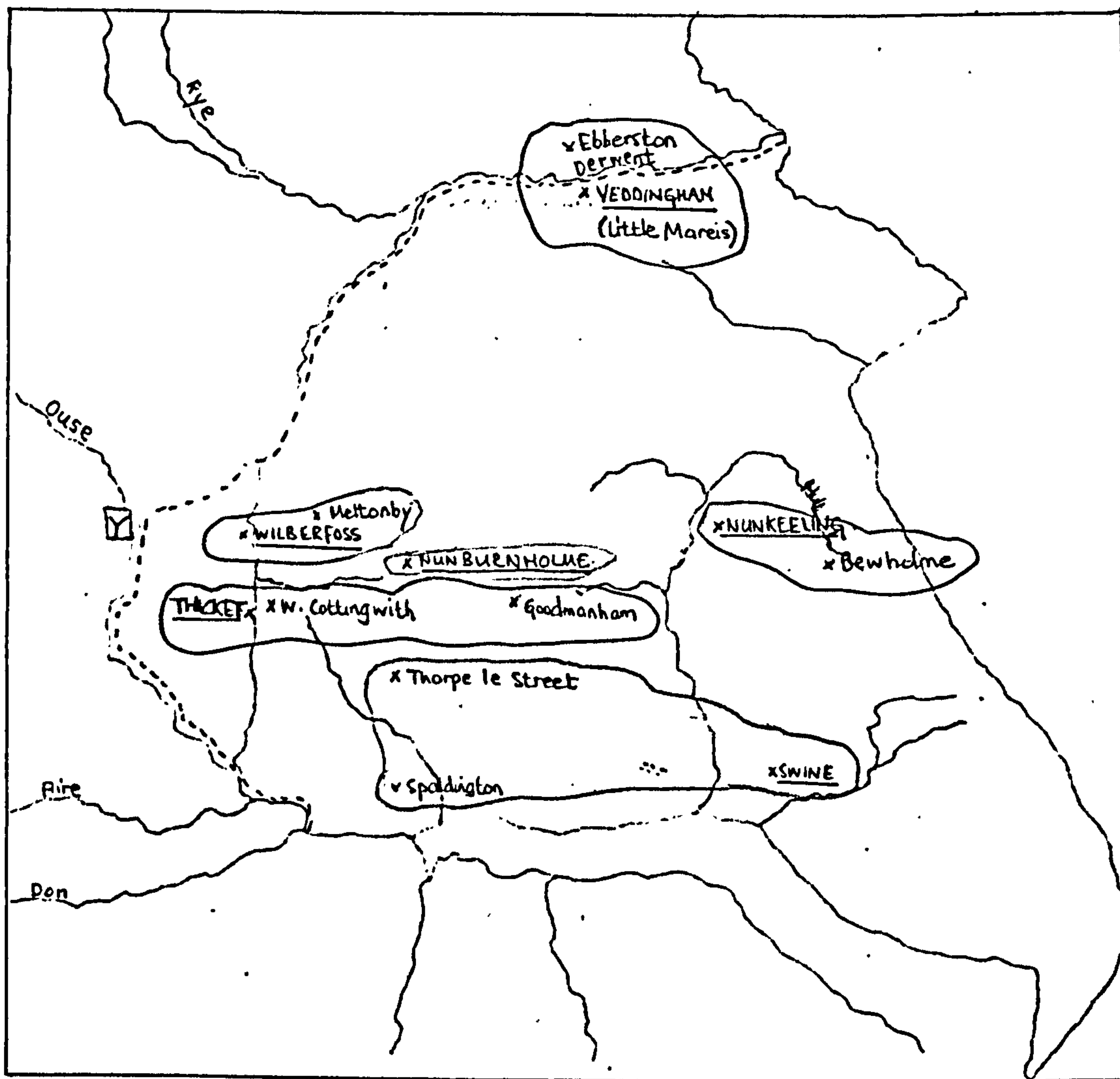
The answer to the problem of why so many nunneries were founded in Yorkshire in the twelfth century may well lie in an examination of their endowments and their benefactors. Certainly analysis of the charters of the latter may reveal the motives behind the foundation and endowment of these houses. A close look at the (admittedly meagre) sources for the estates of the nunneries will indicate that all these houses were extremely poor, and it may be that many were incapable of supporting a large community, and therefore of satisfying the obvious demand for places in their communities. The very existence of so many houses leaves us in no doubt that such a demand existed.

Endowments.

Even the incomplete and extremely sparse nature of the sources for the Yorkshire nunneries in the twelfth century cannot conceal the fact that, apart from the Gilbertine houses, they were extremely poor. This is evident not only from the reports of financial distress in the later middle ages, indicated in such sources as the archbishops' registers, but also from the assessments of the values of the houses in the Taxatio of 1291 and the Valor of 1535.¹ Such poverty seems to have been a condition common to most of the Northern nunneries, as opposed to older, pre-Conquest foundations of the South. The evidence for the incidental

1. On the financial problems of nunneries in the later middle ages, see E. Power, Medieval Nunneries, (Cambridge, 1922) pp.161-228.

Fig. 24. The Estates of the Nunneries of Swine, Thicket, Nunburnholme, Nunkeeling, Yedingham and Wilberfoss c1200.



Yorkshire: East Riding.

Y. = York.

Scale = approx. 12m. to 1".

benefactions acquired by the nuns of the various houses is admittedly sparse. Consequently very little can be said of the growth of their estates or about the type of land which was given by benefactors. However some evidence may be gleaned from the two surviving cartularies and transcripts of charters.

In the East Riding lay the houses of Swine, Wilberfoss, Nunkeeling, Yedingham, Thicket and Nunburnholme. There are a few recorded benefactions to Swine. These consisted of grants of land in Spaldington with a dwelling place, given by Ralph de la Hay 'pro fraternitate ecclesie nostre';¹ the mill of Thorpe le Street with one toft, given by Ralph de Amurderville, a grant which Ralph made in exchange for his previous gift of land in Long Preston.² Since the latter lies in Craven, in the extreme west of Yorkshire, the exchange was obviously to the advantage of Swine. The family of Sutton were apparently generous benefactors of this priory. Stephen Fitz William de Sutton gave to the nuns land in Sutton formerly belonging to Rayner de Sutton. His charter can be dated to the reign of Henry II.³ Apart from the initial endowment of Wilberfoss (the chapel of 'Wictona') the only grant that the priory is known to have received in the twelfth century was that made by Ralph de Meltonby, consisting of a half carucate of land in Meltonby.⁴ In the same way only one grant is recorded for Yedingham, the gift of land in Ebberston made by Agnes Punchardun.⁵ It is possible that the church of Yedingham came into the possession of the nuns by the gift of Ansketil de Hesslererton in the twelfth century. Nunkeeling received additional lands in Bewholme, given by Walter de Fauconberg and Robert Jordan, and confirmed by Alice of St Quintin, daughter of the founder, Agnes de Arches.⁶

1. E.Y.C. XII no. 65.

2. ibid. no. 83.

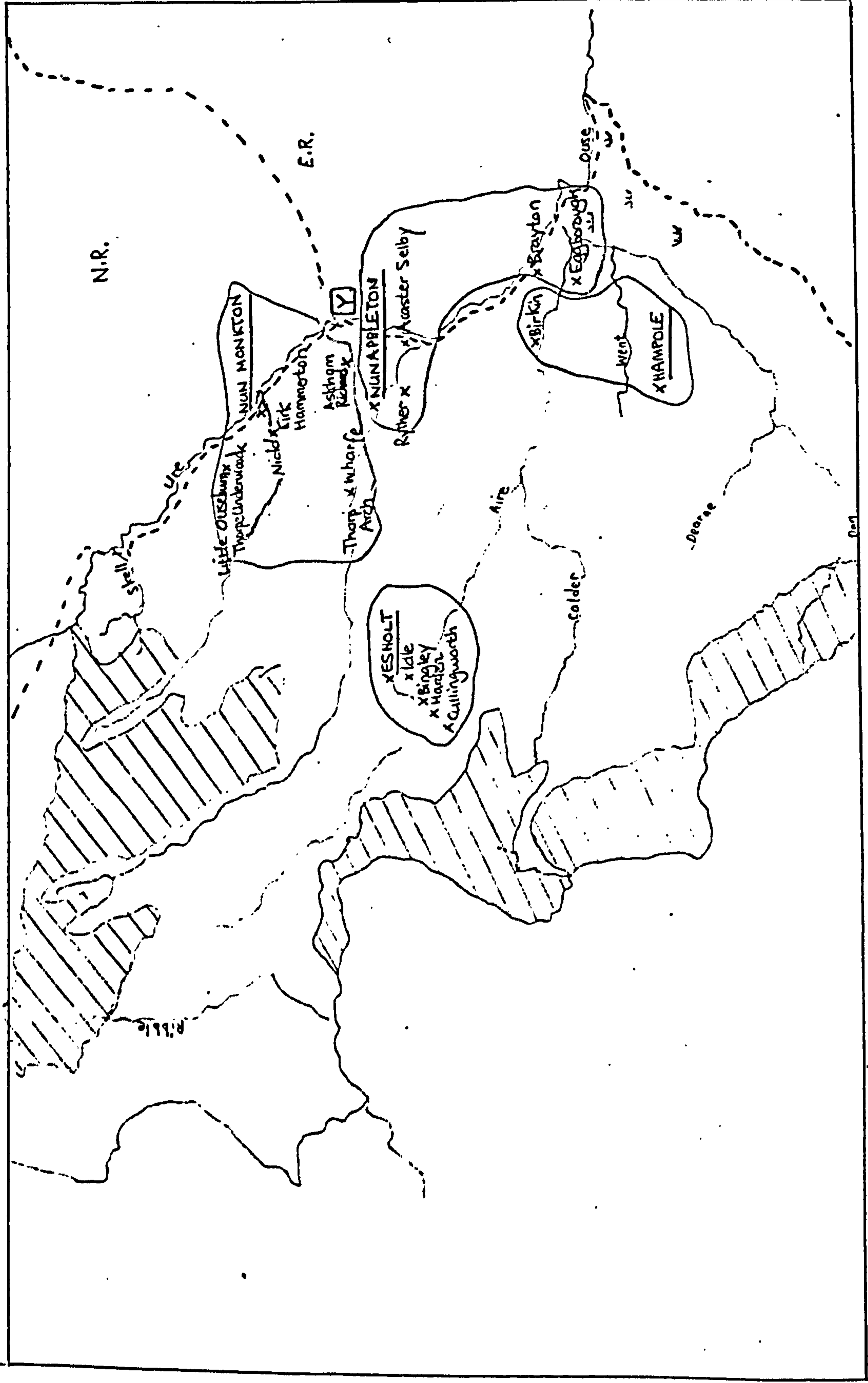
3. G. Duckett 'Charters of the Priory of Swine', Y.A.J. 6. (1881) pp. 113-24, especially p.115-17.

4. This was subject to a yearly rent of 5s, to be paid by the nuns. The donor was the nephew of Tosti, canon of York: E.Y.C. I no. 444.

5. ibid. no. 395

6. Mon. Ang. IV p.187. Confirmation charters were also issued to Nunkeeling by William de Fortibus and Archbishop William Fitz Herbert: ibid. pp. 187.

Fig. 25. The Estates of the Nunneries of Nun Monkton, Nun Appleton, Esholt and Hampole, c1200.



Yorkshire: West Riding. Y = York. Scale approx. 12m. to 1".

The confirmation charter issued by King John in favour of Thicket Priory mentioned further benefactions to the house, comprising lands in West Cottingwith, Goodmanham and Wheldrake.¹ No charters survive for the priory of Nunburnholme for this period.

In addition to the scattered endowments received from Thurstan St Clements, the only York convent at this date, received several other pieces of land. In York itself William Malesours gave land in Bichill (Bishophill), and Audoen and Romilda land in Ketmangergate (Ketmongergate), and Hertergate.² Further afield, but still within the county of Yorkshire the nuns acquired land in Monkhaid (? Monk Hay) in the parish of Bramham from Agnes Fossard and Thomas Malesours.³ By the date at which Henry II issued a confirmation charter to the nuns (1175) they had also obtained estates in Saxton,⁴ Grimston,⁵ and rents from Long Preston.

With regard to the West Riding houses, it has already been noted that the initial endowment of Nun Monkton comprised the churches of Askham Richard, Thorp Arch and Kirk Hammerton; in addition the nuns received the church of Little Ouseburn, given by Elias de Ho, kinsman of the founders.⁶ The sister of the first prioress, Matilda, Juetta who had married Adam de Brus I made a grant to the priory of land in Stainton, county Durham.⁷ In addition to its initial endowment Nun Appleton, founded by Agnes de Arches, received lands in Immingham, Lincolnshire with the church, and the church of Holme on the Wolds. These were the gifts of Robert son of Fulk, the son of the founder, and were confirmed to the nuns by Agnes and her husband Eustace de Mersc.⁸ Henry de Vernoil

1. E.Y.C. II no. 1131.

2. F. Drake, Eboracum (London, 1736), p. 247; E.Y.C. I no. 359.

3. ibid. II nos. 1037-38; E.P.N.S. Yorks, West Riding, IV, p.84;

4. Land in Saxton was given by Alexander and Robert de Reinevill: E.Y.C. I, no.359.

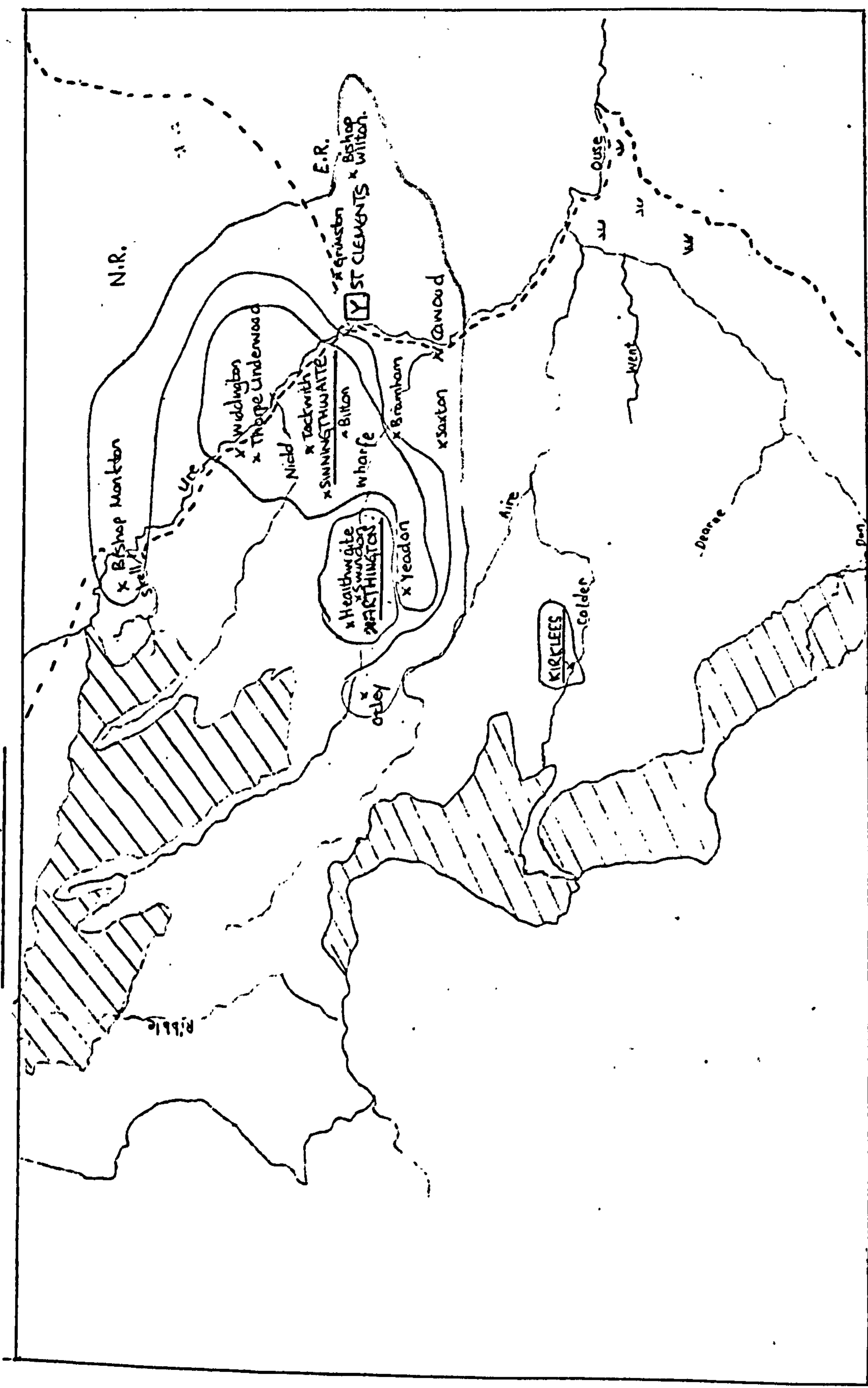
5. Given by Walter de Rideford and Eda his wife.

6. E.Y.C. I no. 535. Little Ouseburn is the more common name for Kirkby Ouseburn, the name which occurs in this charter. E.P.N.S. West Riding, V p.4.

7. E.Y.C. I, p.415.

8. ibid. no. 543.

Fig.26. The Estates of the Nunneries of St. Clement's, York, Sinningthwaite, Arthington
and Kirklees, c1200.



Yorkshire: West Riding. Y = York. Scale=approx. 12m. to 1".

gave twenty acres of land in 'Wichinglund' lying in the fields of Egborough, together with pasture for sheep, swine and goats.¹ Finally Robert son of Alan de Thorpe donated two bovates in Brayton with tofts and crofts, and Jocelin d'Arecy two bovates in Acaster Selby.²

For the estates of Sinningthwaite there is slightly more evidence. The charter in which Roger de Mowbray confirmed Bertram Haget's foundation specified the gifts made to the nuns by his son Geoffrey. These comprised land in Bilton, Thorpe Underwood, Widdington and Elwicks totalling three and a half carucates.³ William Ward confirmed to the nuns the land which his father had given Esholt.⁴ No further grants to the house were recorded in the papal bull of protection issued by Pope Alexander III in 1172;⁵ after this date, but before 1185, Simon de Mohaut gave to the priory lands in Tockwith and Rossehirst.⁶

For Hampole Priory the sole recorded benefaction in the twelfth century was the grant of land in Smithalls, in the parish of Birkin, which was given by Adam son of Peter.⁷ We know that the priory of Esholt acquired lands in Idle from Nigel de Plumpton in the period 1185-1195, and a ridding in 'Esfaghe' (probably Yeadon) from Hugh son of Waldeve. In addition Adam son of Peter de Birkin donated three bovates of land in Cullingworth and Harden, in the parish of Bingley.⁸ By 1171 the nuns of Arthington had acquired land in Helthwaite and pasture rights in the wood of Swinden of the gift of Avice de Curcy.⁹

1. ibid. III no. 1631.

2. ibid. nos. 1744, 1854.

3. Mowbray Charters, no. 265.

4. E.Y.C. I nos. 52, 201.

5. ibid. no. 200.

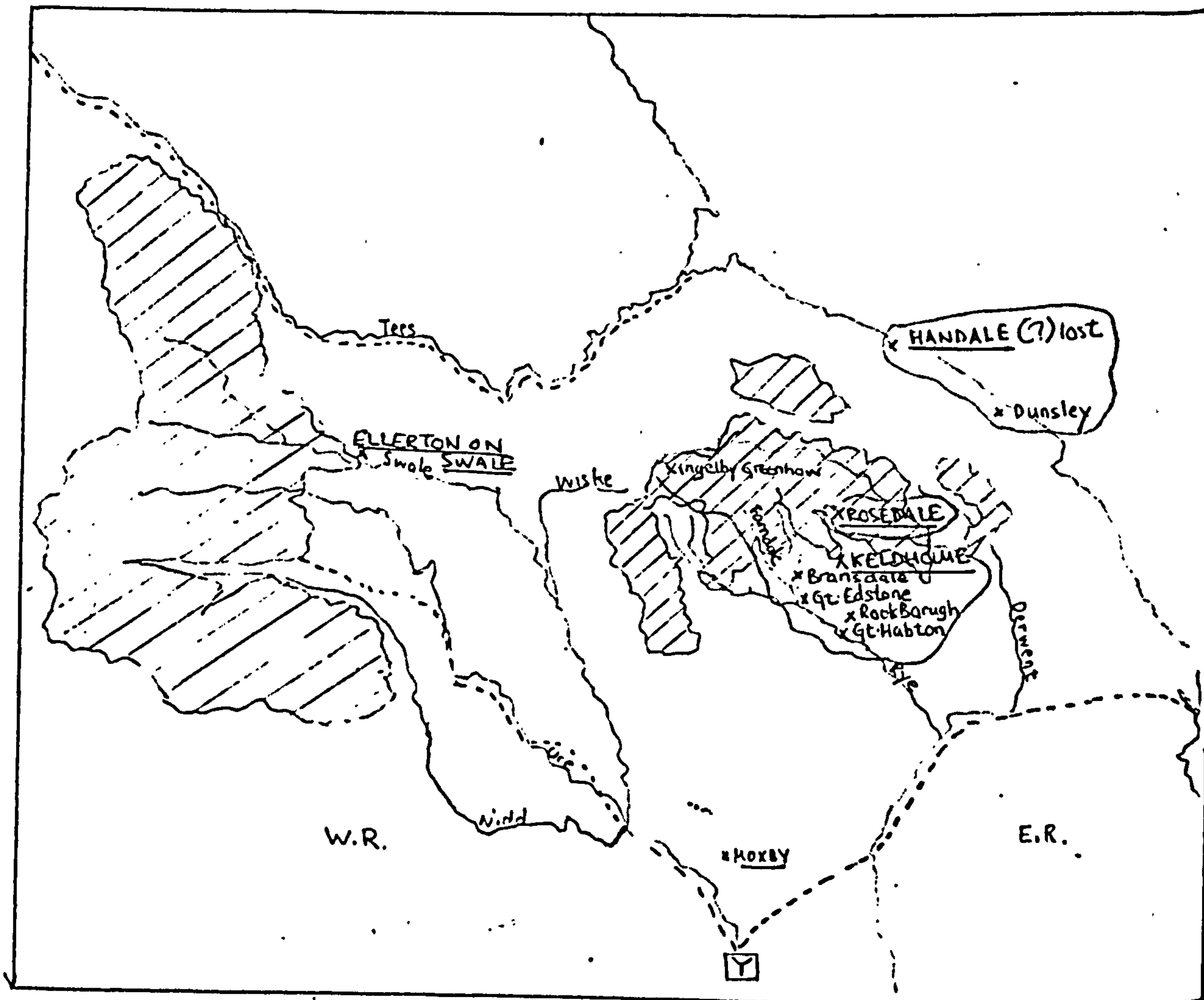
6. ibid. III no. 1867. Rossehirst is here identified as situated in Wyke or East Keswick.

7. ibid. no. 1732.

8. E.Y.C. III nos. 1785, 1874; VI no. 67.

9. This gift was confirmed by Avice's son William de Curcy. ibid. III no. 1863.

Fig.27. The Estates of the Nunneries of Ellerton, Handale, Moxby, Rosedale and Keldholme, c1200.



Yorkshire: North Riding.

Y = York.

Scale = approx. 12m. to 1".

Of the houses which lay in the North Riding of Yorkshire - Marrick, Keldholme, Wykeham, Arden, Baysdale, Handale, Rosedale, Ellerton in Swaledale, and Moxby, nothing is known of the endowments of Rosedale and Ellerton. Very little evidence has survived for Baysdale, Arden, Wykeham, Keldholme and Moxby. Baysdale Priory is known to have retained its two former sites of Hutton Rudby and Nunthorpe, and in addition acquired land in Kildale from William, son of Fulk de Malteby.¹ Arden Priory succeeded in obtaining lands in Kirby Wiske, and a rent pertaining to one bovate of land in Sinderby.² The nuns of Wykeham received two bovates of land in Marton (Wykeham) to hold in farm of Theobald son of Uvieth, which was later released to be held in alms; in addition William of Octon donated one and a half carucates of land which had formed the dower of his sister Mabel.³ Of the endowments of Handale nothing is known beyond the contents of the foundation grant. Keldholme received a mill in Edston from Hugh del Tuit (d.1170), land in Little Habton from Eda, daughter of Ansketil of that vill and in Ingleby Greenhow from Adam de Engelby.⁴ Moxby Priory, as mentioned earlier, received confirmation of its site and of land in 'Risebergh' from Henry II, the latter to be quit of thirty shillings per annum rent.⁵

The house for which the most information has survived is Marrick; over one hundred and thirty charters of the priory have been preserved in Stapleton's collection 'Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica'. Earl Conan of Richmond confirmed the foundation by his tenant, Roger de Aske, and mentioned in his charter gifts made by other barons and tenants of the Richmond honour.⁶ Among such benefactors of the priory were Warner,

1. ibid. II no. 748.

2. Cal.Ch.Rolls 1226-57, p.382.

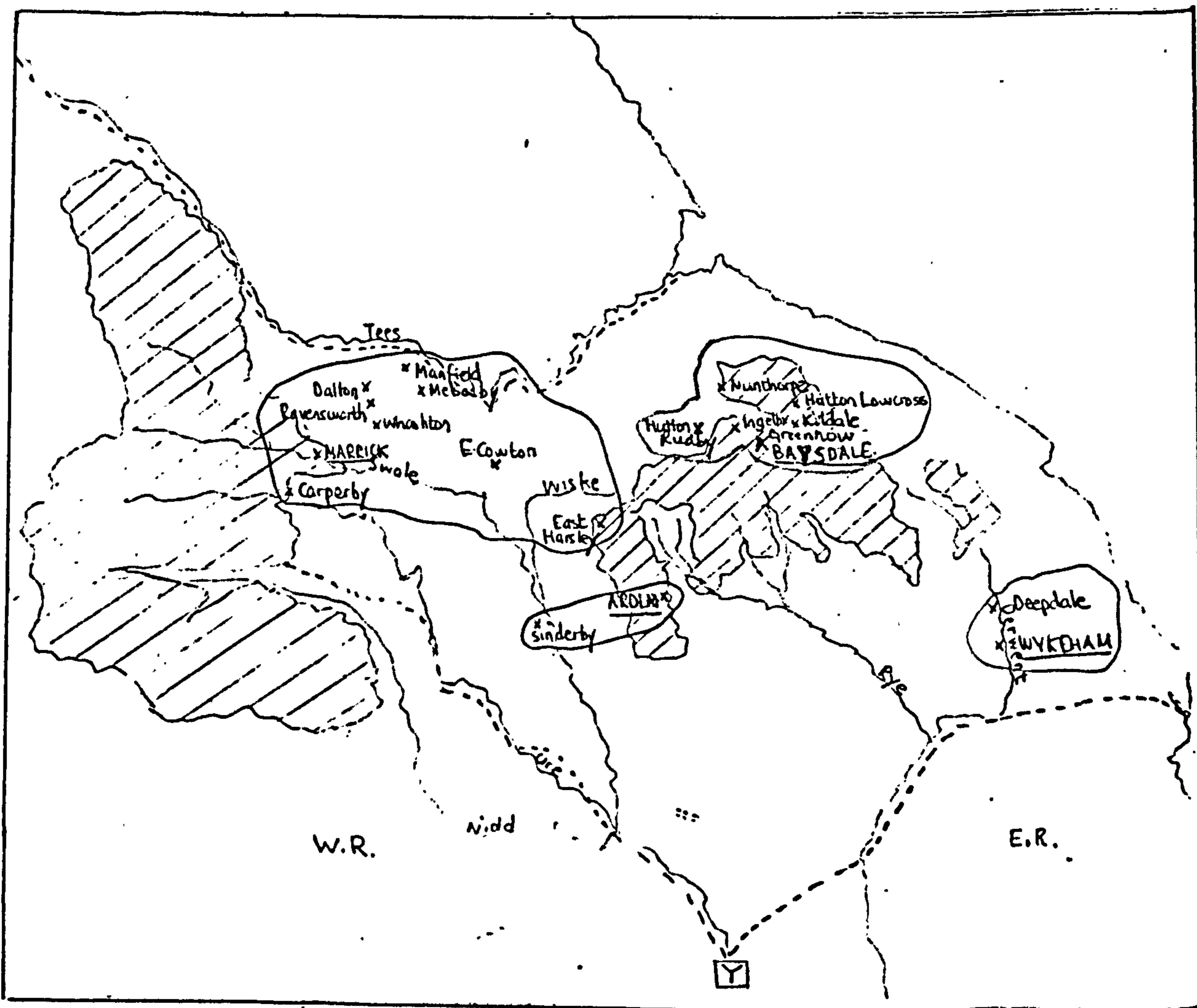
3. E.Y.C. I no. 383; II no. 1065.

4. ibid. I no. 598; II no. 781; I no. 574.

5. ibid. I no. 419.

6. E.Y.C. IV no. 53.

Fig.28. The Estates of the Nunneries of Marrick, Baysdale, Arden and Wykeham, c1200.



Yorkshire: North Riding.

Y = York.

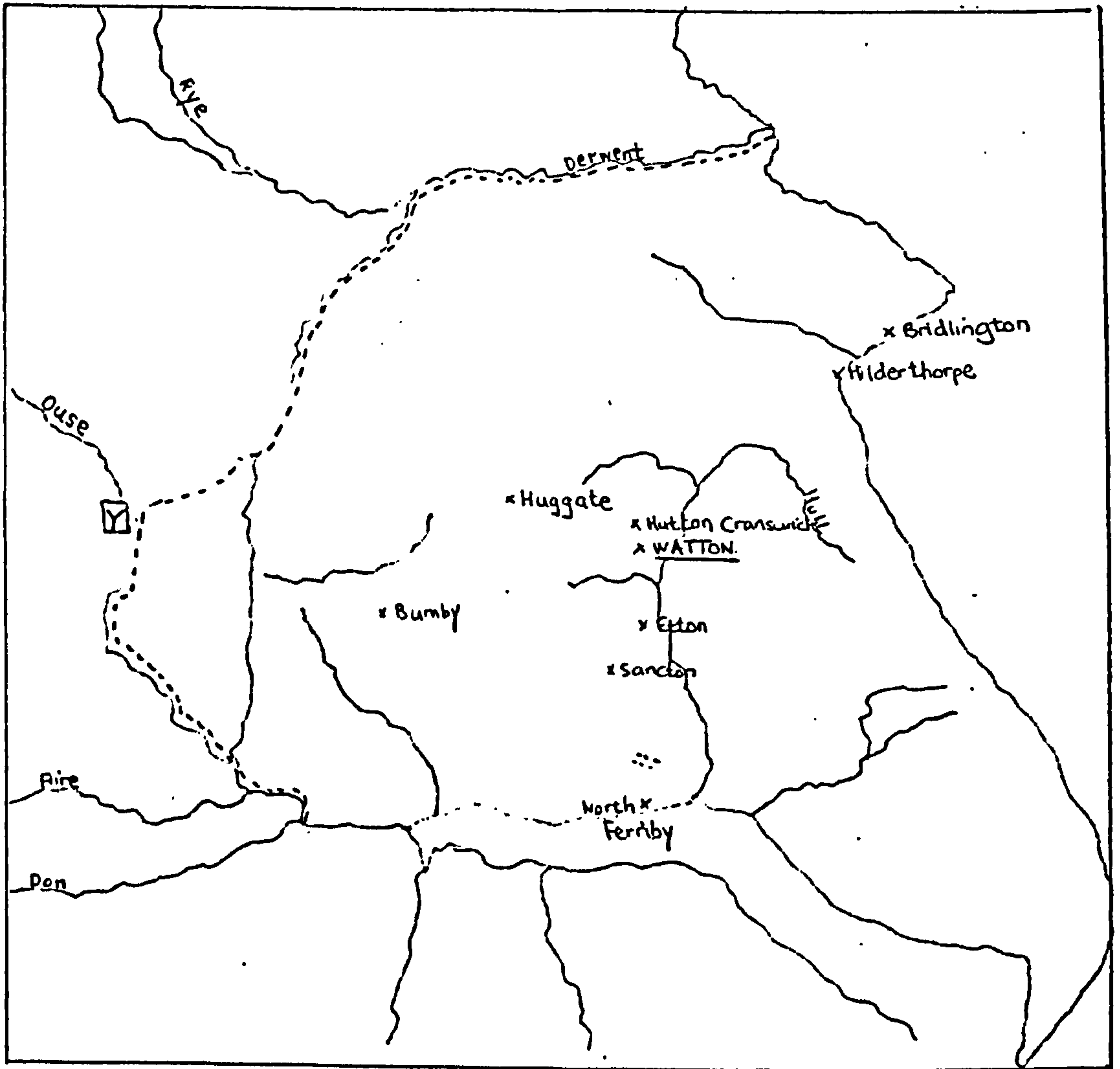
Scale = approx. 12m. to 1".

son of Wimar, who gave rent from the mills of Ellerton on Swale; Conan de Manfield, who gave two bovates of land in Manfield; Conan de Aske, donor of land in Dalton Travers; Peter son of Torphin de Askrigg, who gave land in Carperby and Alan de Lyng, donor of pasture land in Melsonby.¹ In addition Robert Chambord gave land in East Cowton and Hervey son of Acaris lands in Ravensworth and Kirby Ravensworth. Hervey's tenant, Bondo de Whashton gave land in that vill, and in rents the priory received every ninth sheaf of corn from the land of Hervey in Ravensworth, Patrick Brompton, Aiskew and Gamston with a croft and common of the vill of Little Leeming.² Finally the nuns held of the abbey of St Mary's, York the tithes of Ravensworth for forty shillings per annum.³

All these nunneries appear to have been surpassed in wealth by the two Gilbertine houses of Watton and Malton. As we have seen, the initial benefactions of both houses were reasonably generous. Watton received the entire vill of Watton, as well as the service of a tenant. The vill was confirmed to the nuns and thirteen canons by Agnes, wife of Eustace fitz John, William de Vescy their son and heir, and the son of the Constable of Chester, who received in return for this confirmation the vills of Loddington (Northamptonshire) and Hilderthorpe (Yorkshire).⁴ A dispute evidently arose between the nuns and St Mary's Abbey, York over one carucate of land in Watton, which was settled by the award of an annual rent of ten shillings to St Mary's.⁵ William de Vescy added to his father's benefactions by donating to the priory all his bondsmen of Watton whom he would not have removed from the town by a certain date; and he

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1. Mon. Ang. IV p.246; E.Y.C. V nos. 168, 170, 216, 312.
 2. ibid. nos. 343, 377, 384, 378.
 3. ibid. no. 379.
 4. E.Y.C. II nos. 1107-11.
 5. E.Y.C. II no. 1113.

Fig.29. The Estates of the Priory of Watton c1200.



Yorkshire: East Riding.

Y. = York.

Scale = approx. 12m to 1".

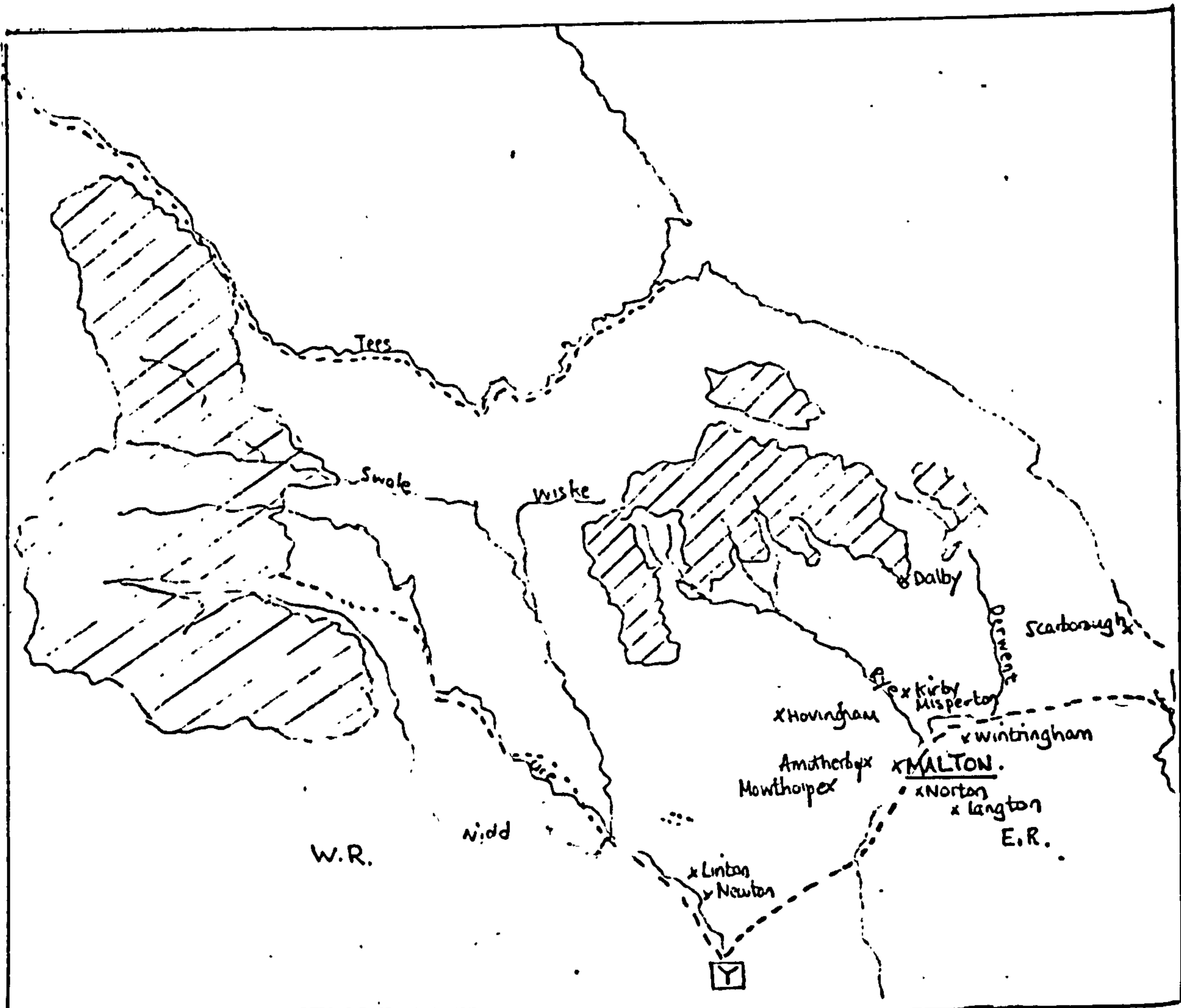
gave the priory land in Hutton Cranswick.¹

From benefactors outside the Vesey family the Watton nuns and canons received various endowments. Odard Camin donated the mill of 'Pouzthwaite', and a second mill, that of Sunderlandwick was leased from St Mary's Abbey, York for a yearly payment of twenty shillings.² Several endowments were received in Howald from Walter de Hugate and his wife and William Fossard I, and in Burnby from Walter de Boynton.³ Finally lands were acquired in Etton, North Ferriby, Hawold, York and Sancton.⁴ In the final years of the twelfth century Watton acquired two bovates of land in Birdsall, four bovates in Hilderthorpe with fletchers, land in Harthill and Everingham; the convent leased land to Peter de Cave in Houghton.⁵

The twin foundations of Watton, Malton, fared equally well. In a generous foundation grant Eustace fitz John donated the church of Malton and lands and mills there, the village of Linton and the church of Wintringham.⁶ In two further charters the founder added common pasture land, a turbary and a brewery, and endowed the canons with the church of Brompton 'ad sustentationem eorum'.⁷ His son and heir, William de Vesey issued fifteen charters to the canons, one of which was a confirmation charter addressed both to Malton and to Watton. In these charters William both confirmed lands, and added new benefactions, such as further

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1. ibid. nos. 1114, 1105. The latter is a charter of Peter de Ros, archdeacon of Carlisle, in which he explained that while in York as a justiciar in the year 1190 he had been holding the charter of Watton (in which William granted twelve bovates of land in Hutton Cranswick) but had been caught up in a mob, which had torn the charter. The purpose of his own charter, therefore, was to testify to the validity of the grant.
 2. ibid. nos. 1115 and 681.
 3. ibid. I no. 158 and XI no. 31.
 4. ibid. IX no. 105, II no. 1095-6, III nos. 1895-6, XII no. 54.
 5. ibid. I, no. 33, II no. 917 (the 'fletchers' referred to in this charter are timbers for the bows of ships), I no. 49, II no. 1128.
 6. B.L. Cotton MS Claudius DXI f.34.
 7. The charters of William are on fos. 34-35v of B.L. Cotton MS Claudius D XI. Several charters of his son Eustace (d. 1216) are on fos.35v-6. 'Brumtuna' is presumably Brompton in Pickering Lythe.

Fig.30. The Estates of Malton Priory c1200.



Yorkshire: North Riding.

Y = York.

Scale = approx. 12m to 1".

meadow in Malton, the church of Ancaster (Lincolnshire) and land in Dalby.¹ Several charters confirmed the gifts made by his tenants - Roald and Robert son of Alred.² William's wife, Burga de Vescy also became a benefactor of Malton, donating the church of Langton.³

From Roger de Flammaville the canons received the church of Marton, and with his wife Juetta de Arches Roger gave the church and the hospital of Norton.⁴ Roger de Mowbray donated lands in Dalby, Philip de Billingham, land in Hovingham and William de Aguilon I land in Mowthorpe.⁵ Finally lands and tenements were obtained in Scarborough, Kirby Misperton, Amotherby, Easthorpe, Newton (pa. Wintringham), and in Skeldergate, York.⁶ Some dispute occurred over the tithes of two mills in Newton, in the parish of Wintringham; at a date after 1166 the Pope appointed Abbot Clement of St Mary's, York and master William de Gilling to investigate the refusal of Robert of Bayeux, William de Plaiz and Maud de Rouellé to pay the tithes. A compromise was reached whereby the three individuals concerned agreed to pay six shillings per annum to Malton, and four shillings to the priory of Holy Trinity, York.⁷

The sources available for the history of the Yorkshire nunneries are not full enough to permit any assessment of their economic affairs.

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1. B.L. Cotton Claudius MS D XI fos. 34v-35.
 2. ibid. They gave lands in Mowthorpe.
 3. E.Y.C. IX no. 98. Langton had formed part of the marriage dowry of Burga.
 4. B.L. Cotton MS Claudius D XI f.57v. Norton was confirmed to the canons by Roger de Mowbray. (Mowbray Charters, nos. 183-84). The grant of the hospital included land in Welham.
 5. Mowbray Charters, no. 187. No. 188 is a confirmation of the gift of Philip de Billingham: E.Y.C. II no. 1084.
 6. Given respectively by Haldan de Scarzeburg (E.Y.C. I no. 366), Alan de Kirkeby (ibid. no. 603), Richard de Amotherby (ibid. VI no. 26), William de Balliol (ibid. VI no. 81), William de Plaiz I (ibid. VI no.96) and Osbert de Thorp (ibid. I no. 214).
 7. ibid. VI, no. 95.

It is certainly impossible, from the scant evidence, to draw any conclusions about how these estates were administered, and how much profit, in the twelfth century, they provided for the various houses. However, a few tentative suggestions may be made:- Firstly, as the maps (figs. 24-30) indicate, for the most part the recorded estates of the nunneries were situated within a fairly short distance of the houses. The exceptions to this are the cases where the founder was a wealthy landowner whose own estates were widely scattered:- Archbishop Thurstan, Eustace fitz John, the family of St Quintin. Thus the estates of St Clement's, Malton and Watton, and Nun Appleton were more dispersed than those of other houses.

Only three houses seem to have held lands outside Yorkshire. St Clement's, as we have seen, was granted land in Southwell (the Archbishop of York's manor); Nun Appleton received lands and churches in Lincolnshire from the members of the founder's family who held lands there; Nun Monkton received a donation of land in county Durham from the daughter of the founders, who had married Adam de Brus I. Quite how these far-flung estates were managed is not a question that can be easily answered. However it is clear that the Lincolnshire estates of Nun Appleton produced some profit, since in 1291 they rendered a yearly income of £13 13s. 10d.¹

From the evidence at our disposal it would seem that nunneries attracted donations mostly from the founder's family, sometimes his feudal lord, and his fellow tenants. An excellent example of this pattern is afforded by the priory of Marrick, which received a charter of confirmation from the earl of Richmond and several donations from Richmondshire tenants who would have been well-known to Roger de Aske. Only in the cases of

1. Taxatio Papae Nicholae, p.74.

Malton and Watton, and St Clement's, York do 'outsiders' appear to have counted for a number of benefactions; these houses probably attracted wider attention because of the fame of their founders.

We have some indications from charter evidence, of the type of lands given in these donations. Occasionally assarts or riddings (lands requiring clearance, or having just been cleared) are specified. Assarts were granted to Marrick by Roger de Aske; land 'partim sartatam et partim non sartatam' along with the riddings of John, Lambert and Richard were given to Nun Appleton; Esholt received a ridding in Idle.¹ Moorland is specified as forming part of one donation to the nuns of Marrick.² However the most common reference in the charters is to grants of pasture land. Keldholme, for example, was given pasture 'ad nutrienda animalia sua et oves et porcos cum vaccaria sua'; Nun Appleton received pasture for four hundred sheep to graze; Swine was given land in Spaldington for the grazing of cows, sheep, mares and foals together with twelve acres of woodland to erect a grange; Malton Priory acquired considerable pasture land in Newton, in the parish of Wintringham, and grazing land for oxen, cows, mares and foals in Kirkby Misperton.³ Indeed in the thirteenth century it is clear that Malton relied heavily on sheep farming. The extant account rolls of the mid-thirteenth century indicate that about two thirds of the revenue of the priory was derived from the sale of wool; on the other hand considerable sums were expended on the purchase of corn, indicating that the arable land of the priory was nowhere near sufficient for the sustenance of the bréthren.⁴

1. E.Y.C. V no. 173; I no. 545; III no. 1785.

2. ibid. V no. 377.

3. ibid. IX no. 12; I no. 544; XII no. 65; VI no. 90; I no. 604.

4. see R. Graham, 'The Finance of Malton Priory 1244-1257', English Ecclesiastical Studies (London, 1929) pp. 247-270. See also H.G. Richardson, The English Jewry under Angevin Kings (London, 1960), pp. 281-84.

Undoubtedly the greater part of the revenue of nunneries came from the possession and exploitation of land. Other sources of revenue existed, such as the possession of parish churches.¹ Sometimes, as in the case of Nunkeeling or Swine, the parish church of the vill was granted to the priory. Otherwise there is evidence of the gifts of nine churches and one chapel to the nunneries, and five to the Gilbertines of Malton. To Nun Monkton William and Juetta de Arches gave the churches of Askham Richard, Thorp Arch and Kirk Hammerton, to which was added the church of Little Ouseburn, given by their kinsman Elias de Ho. Burton noted that the church of Askham Richard was appropriated to the priory by Henry Murdac (1147-53) and that the archbishop reserved for himself a pension of two shillings per annum from the church; he further notes that this was done in compensation for damage done to York 'Cathedral'.² No reference is given to support this latter statement. There is evidence that Murdac intended the churches to be appropriated. In a charter preserved in the register of Archbishop Melton Murdac confirmed to the nuns all four churches to hold 'in proprios usus'.³ Archbishop Roger de Pont L'Evêque ordered the institution of vicarages in the churches of Askham Richard, Thorp Arch and Kirk Hammerton: 'Notum sit ... nos ... confirmasse ecclesias de Thorp et de Hamertona et de Askham cum omnibus pertinentiis suis ... imperpetuum possidendas et earum usibus ... constituentur in eisdem ecclesiis vicarii quibus a predictis monialibus providebitur unde honeste sustentari possint'.⁴ This injunction was repeated by Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet, to be implemented in the case of Kirk Hammerton after the death of Eustace de Fauconberg.⁵ The appropriations did not, however, take place. The nuns

1. see below, pp. 388-416.

2. J. Burton, Monasticon Eboracense (York, 1758), pp. 87-88.

3. B.I. Reg. 9A (Reg. Melton), fo. 181. Another charter of Murdac (fo. 180v) merely confirms the gifts of William and Juetta de Arches.

4. ibid. fo. 180v. The appearance in the witness list of John (de Belesmains), treasurer of York, who became bishop of Poitiers in 1162 dates Roger's charter to the period 1154-62.

5. ibid. fo. 181.

had lost possession of Askham Richard by 1175-77 when it was granted to William de Tickhill by Roger de Mowbray.¹ The church of Little Ouseburn was quitclaimed to Fountains Abbey ante 1217, and in 1221-22 the monks of Fountains in turn granted it to Walter de Gray, who annexed it to the precentorship of York Minster.² Thorp Arch too was lost when Juetta, daughter of William and Juetta de Arches and wife of Adam de Brus granted it to Roger de Pont L'Evêque's foundation of St Mary and All Angels, York.³ Thus Nun Monkton appears to have retained possession of only one church of its original endowment in the twelfth century.

Nun Appleton Priory was more fortunate. The annual pension of five shillings per annum which William de Rither granted to the house from Ryther church was paid right through till the Dissolution. A confirmation charter of Henry II, and also one issued by John, stated that the same man gave the church to Nun Appleton. However it is certain that the nuns never acted as patrons; the incumbents of Ryther were, until the early sixteenth century, presented by the family of Ryther.⁴ The nuns also acquired interests in the churches of Immingham and North Elkington (both in Lincolnshire), given to them by Eustace de Mersc and Alice of St Quintin, and Robert son of Robert son of Fulk respectively. Eustace and Alice also granted to the nuns the church of Holme on the Wolds.⁵ Finally the priory of Wilberfoss received the chapel of 'Wictona', presumably a chapel dependent on the mother church of Wilberfoss, and Sinningthwaite Priory the advowson of Bilton church, granted by Gundreda Haget, daughter of the founder of the priory and later a nun there.⁶

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1. Mowbray Charters, no. 388. In his confirmation of the gift, Roger's son Nigel stated that the church had been bought from Juetta de Arches: ibid. no. 389. It was, however, appropriated to Nun Monkton by Melton.
 2. Reg. Gray, p.131, 141-2.
 3. Reg. Greenfield, I, p.9.
 4. See for instance, B.I. Reg. 16 (Reg. Scrope) fo. 33; Reg. 18 (Reg. Bowet), fos. 3v, 175v, 18; Reg. 19 (Reg. Kempe) fos. 367-67v; Reg. 22 (Reg. Neville), fo. 144.
 5. E.Y.C. I nos. 543-44.
 6. Mon. Ang. IV, p.355; Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS 94, fo. 113v. The appearance of Abbot Elias of Kirkstall in the witness list dates it to the years 1202-04.

The interest of the nuns in these churches was probably limited to their advowson. There is no record of any being appropriated to the various priories beyond the evidence for Murdac's intention that certain churches held by Nun Monkton should be appropriated. Of the many churches granted to the Gilbertine house of Old Malton, those of Malton, Norton and Wintringham, had been appropriated to the priory at a later date,¹ but in the twelfth century presumably the canons' rights in this, and the churches of Norton, Marton, 'Ancaster' and Langton (also granted to the canons) were limited to the right to present. These churches must have formed a minor source of revenue for the nunneries.²

The exploitation of these estates, and the system of collection of revenues must have varied from house to house. The only methods we can talk about with any certainty are those of the Gilbertine houses.³ The statutes of the order had provided the lay brethren to take care of the manual labour, and canons to have charge of administration. Moreover the introduction of the grange system (Malton had three granges in the twelfth century) gave the Gilbertine economy a striking resemblance to that of the Cistercians. The remaining nunneries may have been very little different. We know, for instance, that Swine Priory was given land on which to construct a grange in the late twelfth century.⁴ Moreover there are references to brethren at Wykeham and to a 'magister monialium de Duva' (Keldholme)⁵. This suggests that at some convents, at least, some form of 'conversi' were employed to assist in the management of the estates.

1. Reg. Greenfield, 3, p.32.

2. One other church granted to a nunnery (Nun Appleton) was that of Covenham, Lincolnshire. This was given by Eustace de Merse 'ad construendum et fundandum ibidem monasterium cuidam conventui sanctimonialium ... et hoc nominatim de congregatione et de professione et de ordine sanctimonialium de Apeltuna'. (E.Y.C. I no. 546). As far as we can tell this attempt to colonize from Nun Appleton was never implemented.

3. see below, pp. 445-46, for the Gilbertine economy.

4. E.Y.C. XII, no. 65.

5. see above, p. 252.

The absence of evidence for the further acquisition and consolidation of estates in the later middle ages by the nunneries (with the exception of Malton), makes any attempt to relate the values of these houses in the late thirteenth and sixteenth century to their possible value in the twelfth, extremely delicate. There is no way of telling how much expansion in estates took place. Nevertheless, given that by 1200 the great era of expansion for the monasteries was over, it is likely that those houses which, in 1535, appear to have been the poorest houses, were also among the poorest in the twelfth century. A few houses are assessed in the 'Taxatio' of 1291: Watton at £240 17s. 6d. followed by Malton at £170. Far lower down on the scale Marrick was assessed at £66 10s. 11d., Swine at £48, Yedingham at £35 18s. 2d., Nun Appleton at £23 15s. 0d., Wykeham £22 15s. 0d., Rosedale £22. Three houses were assessed at under £20: Hampole (£16 10s. 0d.), Arden (£10), Baysdale (£5 6s. 6d.).¹ The Valor Ecclesiasticus assessed the houses as follows: again the Gilbertine houses were by far the richest, Watton being worth £360 18s. 10d. clear and Malton £197 10s. 0d. clear.² Of the remaining nunneries five had incomes between £50 and £100 per annum - Sinningthwaite, Swine, Hampole, Nun Monkton and St Clement's.³ Moxby, Baysdale, Keldholme, Rosedale, Wykeham, Marrick, Nunkeeling, Thicket, Wilberfoss and Yedingham all had incomes ranging between £20 and £50 per annum.⁴ All the remaining houses were assessed at under £20 a year, and one, Nunburnholme, had an income of under £10.⁵

1. Taxatio Papae Nicholae, pp. 305, 329.

2. Valor Ecclesiasticus, pp. 126, 144.

3. ibid. pp. 4, 114, 44, 255, 2-3.

4. ibid. pp. 94-5, 87, 145, 144, 145, 237, 115, 94, 144.

5. ibid. pp. 16 (Arthington and Esholt), 67 (Kirklees), 86 (Arden) 87 (Handale), 129 (Nunburnholme). Nun Appleton appears to have been omitted from the Valor.

Patrons and Benefactors

So far three main conclusions about the Yorkshire nunneries have emerged: the first is their remarkable number; the second the rather surprising scarcity of Gilbertine convents in comparison with neighbouring Lincolnshire; the third is the poverty from which it is evident that all but the Gilbertine houses suffered. In an attempt to discover what conditions produced these characteristics, the answer may well be found to lie in the attitude of patrons and benefactors of the houses.

It is well known that Yorkshire produced more religious houses as a whole in the twelfth century than anywhere else in the country, even taking into account its large size. It is not, perhaps surprising, therefore, that there should be more nunneries also. Apart from perhaps representing part of the enthusiasm for monastic foundations in the north, there was obviously more scope for expansion by houses of all orders than in the south, where several old foundations had gained a substantial foothold.

It is perhaps significant too, that the first foundation of a nunnery was by Archbishop Thurstan. Although this was the only foundation he made, Thurstan was active in encouraging others to found religious houses also.¹ This feature of his activities is evident from charters pertaining to Guisborough, Byland, Fountains and Rievaulx. Although there is no written evidence to suggest that foundations of nunneries took place under the auspices of this prelate, it is quite possible and indeed probable.

Once the expansion of religious houses for women began, the idea of founding such a house would quickly spread. One method by which the new fashion could travel was by means of family connections. As

1. On Thurstan as monastic patron, see below, pp. 361-63.

mentioned earlier, the priories of Nun Monkton, Nunkeeling and Nun Appleton came into existence in the period 1147-53, 1143-54 and 1144-50 respectively - possibly within a very short space of time. It is significant, therefore, that the founders were William and Juetta de Arches, Agnes de Arches, sister of William, and Alice of St Quintin, daughter of Agnes.¹ Such close family contact explains the proliferation of at least some of the priories.

On a different social level word could spread among the tenants of certain honours. William himself was a tenant of Roger de Mowbray; a near neighbour was Bertram Haget, founder of Sinningthwaite, and a fellow Mowbray tenant, whose lands lay further away, was the founder of Arden, Peter of Sand Hutton. It is clear that monastic foundations were influenced by fashion; otherwise one could scarcely explain the chronological sequence of monastic foundations in the twelfth century. It is clear, too, that in Yorkshire we do not have to look far to discover concrete examples of how this fashion could be transmitted. However, this cannot be the full story; the enthusiasm for Cistercian foundations in the 1130s and 1140s was, to a certain extent, based on their reputation for asceticism and piety. For the nunneries to have become so popular they must have been considered to fulfil a certain need. Perhaps the most familiar reason for the foundation of a nunnery was the desire of a father to provide for an unmarried daughter. In this way the nunneries were seen to fulfil a definite social function. For women of the noble class there was no practical alternative to marriage but to enter the religious life. For a landowner handicapped by a large number of daughters, or by one who was in some way unfit for marriage, the foundation or endowment of a religious house could have seemed an attractive solution.

1. Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.1-2, 79-80.

Unfortunately the nature of the evidence prevents any solid conclusions being drawn about the motives for the foundation of nunneries. However, in two cases we have indications that the foundations took place in order to provide the daughter of the founders with a means of fulfilling a religious vocation. As mentioned above, William and Juetta de Arches referred in their foundation charter to their daughter Matilda as a nun, or possibly prioress of Nun Monkton.¹ In the same way, although the foundation charter of Marrick mentioned none of the founder's family, a confirmation charter issued by Wimar, the steward of Earl Conan indicated that the daughters of the founder, Roger de Aske, had entered the house.²

Although there is no written evidence to indicate that any other nunneries apart from these two were founded for this reason, the possibility that this was the case is increased by a similar attitude on the part of subsequent benefactors, who appear to have endowed nunneries simply because they wished to procure the entry into that house of a female relative. We have indications of the identity of about sixteen women who entered Yorkshire nunneries in the twelfth century, for several charters which have been examined include in the grant of land a member of the donor's family. Warin, son of Peter de Dalton, for instance, granted two bovates of land to Marrick Priory with his aunt Wihtmai, the gift being confirmed by Conan de Aske, son of the founder of Marrick (and also nephew of Wihtmai).³ Marrick also received two bovates of land from Peter son of Torfin de Askrigg when his sister Amabel became a nun there; this grant was confirmed by Amabel's nephew Alan son of Adam.⁴ Marrick again was the recipient of

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1. see above p.246.
 2. E.Y.C. V no. 174.
 3. E.Y.C. V nos. 170-71.
 4. ibid. nos. 216-7.

a yearly money rent, granted by Geoffrey de Lascelles on the entry into the house of his sister Agnes.¹ Thus within a few years of the foundation of Marrick four gifts of land had been received from relatives of women who wished to enter the house. All the donors were tenants of the Richmond honour.

A similar pattern emerges elsewhere. Robert Jordan, for instance, granted land to Nunkeeling with his wife, and Walter de Fauconberg three bovates of land with his mother.² Wilberfoss received one and a half carucates of land from Ralph de Meltonby when his daughter Alice became a nun there, and Yedingham the same amount of land from Baldwin de Alverstain with his daughter Lecia.³ Sinningthwaite priory was the recipient of land in Tockwith, given by Simon de Mohaut I granted when his daughters entered the priory; finally when Lecia, daughter of Theobald son of Uvieth, and the nephews of William de Octon were received into the priory of Swine, both fathers granted lands to the priories concerned.⁴

It is obvious that, given the deficiency of evidence, it is impossible to estimate how common were such endowments to accompany the entry of a woman into a religious house. It can be said with some confidence however, that such grants appear more common in nunneries than monasteries. A more common type of provision attached to an endowment of the latter was a request for fraternity rights, or a promise of acceptance in the house if he, the donor, should ever wish to become a monk or canon. There exists one grant of this type in the charters of Malton Priory; William de Aguilin I stated that on his gift of land to the canons 'Ipsi vero canonici receperunt me in specialem fratrem omnium domorum ordinis de Semplingham et facient me canonicum quandocumque

1. ibid. no. 375.

2. ibid. III no. 1337 (this is a confirmation charter of Alice of St Quintin).

3. ibid. I nos. 444 and 390.

4. Oxford Bodleian Dodsworth MS VIII fo. 142; E.Y.C. I no. 383. For a similar case of a 'dowry' given to a religious house (in London) with a nun, see C.N.L. Brooke and G. Keir, London 800-1216. The Shaping of a City (London, 1975) p. 329, 330.

canonicus esse rationabilior voluero.¹

It is tempting to suppose that these grants to the nunneries almost appear the equivalent of entry fees. It was strictly against canon law for fees to be demanded from novices; there are however indications that at a later date the Yorkshire nunneries were doing just that. In the early years of the fourteenth century, for instance, Archbishop Greenfield found it necessary to warn the nuns of Arden that they were to receive novices not 'pro pecunia ... aut ex pacto sed intuitu caritatis'; the injunction was repeated to the nuns of Wilberfoss.² The problem obviously arose earlier in England as a whole, since the council of Westminster in 1175 ruled against the practice.³ This ruling was repeated in 1200, and again on a European scale at the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215. That such a practice emerged suggests that the nunneries were from an early date regarded as a social convenience as well as a place for those with a true religious vocation.

It is quite likely that patrons and benefactors would regard the nunnery which they endowed as a place in which their children would be educated. A few known examples exist for the monasteries; unfortunately none for the nunneries.⁴ There is therefore no evidence to suggest how many girls, educated in nunneries might have gone on to take the veil, or at what age they might have done so. The canonical age of profession was sixteen, and it is evident from records of the later middle ages that girls were then being placed in religious houses with a view to being educated and then becoming nuns. Although such young girls might subsequently choose to leave the house rather than take the veil, the church always tended to regard this as apostacy, even in the case of a

1. E.Y.C. II no. 1084.

2. Reg. Greenfield, 3, pp. 8, 42.

3. D. Wilkins, Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae (London, 1737), I, p.477.

4. see below, pp. 338-39.

girl who had entered the house very young and had no religious vocation.¹

The only scrap of evidence from a Yorkshire house in the twelfth century comes from the Gilbertine house of Watton. The case of the novice in the 1150s has been passed down in the writing of Ailred of Rievaulx, and, in a corrupt form as one of the 'ghost stories' attached to the priory.² Apparently Archbishop Henry Murdac (1147-53) had placed a young girl in the house to be educated, and later to take the veil. Her fame actually rests on her subsequent misdemeanors, punishment and miraculous delivery from death by the late archbishop. However the historical interest of the story is that a very young girl was placed in the convent of Watton in order to be educated to be a nun at an age before religious vocation was possible. If this could happen at Watton, it could presumably have happened at any of the Yorkshire nunneries, and would, if later evidence is anything to go by, be an ideal solution to the problems of either illegitimate or physically and mentally deficient children.

The general reasons for the popularity of nunneries in the twelfth century, indeed in the middle ages generally are not really surprising. Some women, like Christina of Markyate had a genuine religious vocation. Rich noblewomen, wishing to provide for their retirement might enter religion. Fathers might place in nunneries girls who for some reason were unsuited to marriage. Yet can the popularity of nunneries in general explain the proliferation of houses in Yorkshire? Possibly the answer to this problem may be partially explained by the obvious poverty of the non-Gilbertine nunneries in the north of England.

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1. See the cases cited by Power in Medieval Nunneries, pp. 35-38.
 2. Ailred of Rievaulx, De Sanctimoniali de Wattun, Pat. Lat. 195, col. 790-96.

That the houses were poverty-stricken was partly a consequence of their late date of foundation. None of the twelfth-century nunneries ever achieved wealth comparable to that of the pre-Conquest houses. This is true of both nunneries and monasteries; while it is true that houses like St Mary's, York, and Fountains did become rich, their assessments in 1535 while high compared to the rest of the northern houses were not outstanding when compared to the pre-Conquest abbeys such as Peterborough. In the case of the nunneries there is probably an additional factor to be taken into consideration, the social class and wealth from which the founders were generally drawn. William de Percy is really the only representative of the baronial class to appear among the list of founders. The others - Pain fitz Osbert, William de Arches, Ralph de Neville, Bertram Haget and so on were fairly important men, but they definitely came from the second order of society. Here the nunneries present a sharp contrast to the monasteries, all of whose founders (with the exception of the founders of Monk Bretton and Jervaulx) came from the class of tenants in chief.¹

The result of this difference in status among the founders was that the nunneries were extremely meagrely endowed compared to many of the monasteries. A few of them, it is true, received the support of the feudal lords of their founders, but seldom in a practical way. Earl Conan of Richmond confirmed the foundation of Marrick, Adam de Brus and Ernald de Percy confirmed that of Baysdale, William de Warenne, Roger de Mowbray and William de Fortibus those of Kirklees, Arden and Sinningthwaite, and Nunkeeling respectively.² Yet none of these barons supplemented

1. see below, pp. 307-18.

2. E.Y.C. IV no. 53, Mon. Ang. V p.508, E.Y.C. VIII no. 89, Mowbray Charters nos. 20, 265, E.Y.C. III no. 1334.

the income of the nuns by an additional grant of land. The only feudal lord who did make such a grant was Avice de Rumilly who granted land in Helthwaite to Arthington Priory. There was however a provision attached to the grant, a right which was expressed in a charter of Avice's son William de Curcy: 'semper erit in domo de Ardintune quedam sanctimonialis quam domina Avicia posuerit; matre defuncta ego filius suus et heres et heredes mei eandem dignitatem in predicta domo de Ardintune imperpetuum habebimus'.¹ Frequently, far from aiding the nunnery, the overlord of the founder added to their burdens. Thus the Valor Ecclesiasticus indicates that in the sixteenth century Roger de Mowbray was still being commemorated at Arden Priory: 'Elemosina annuatim distribut' et dat' pauperibus diebus obit' Rogeri de Mowbray ibidem fundator' ad quod tenent' imperpetuum per fundacorem suam p.a. 10s.'²

The nunneries, accordingly, received poor endowments from their founders, and, although charter evidence is very meagre, the values of the houses in the late thirteenth and early sixteenth century suggest that they received very little in the way of additional benefactions. This would probably mean that they would have been able to support relatively small convents by comparison with the rich southern houses. It is fairly clear, both from the general history of nunneries in the middle ages, and from the particular instances relating to Yorkshire which were quoted above, that there was pressure for places in convents. The scarcity of existing nunneries might well have prompted the establishment of new houses, and led to that growth in houses for women which was such a remarkable feature of the monastic history of Yorkshire. This pressure may well have continued into later centuries. In the late thirteenth and early fourteenth

1. E.Y.C. III no. 1863.
2. Valor Ecclesiasticus, p.86.

century, for example, Archbishop Greenfield had to warn the priories of Arden and Rosedale not to accept any more novices without special licence, on account of the poorness of their resources.¹

Religious houses catered for the needs both of those who entered them and those who endowed them. For the women who became nuns, the convents provided the way to fulfil a religious vocation, the alternative to marriage or a place of retirement in reasonable comfort. For the founders and patrons they provided an outlet for unattached female members of the family, a place perhaps to educate their children and, not least, the prayers of a religious community and a considerable amount of prestige. Many houses came too to serve a useful role in society, by providing hospitality or by serving in nearby hospitals.² From the evidence that has survived for the twelfth century it is impossible to say how far one might be able to call these institutions 'aristocratic'; the kind of source whence this information derives for the later period, notably wills and archbishops' registers, is lacking for the twelfth century. There are only indications such as the presumed appointment of Juetta de Arches as prioress of Nun Monkton, but these are too few to prevent any conclusions being drawn. However, if the payment of entry fees was a common occurrence it would obviously restrict entry into nunneries to those of moderate means.

The records of the thirteenth century and later show a marked deterioration in the standard of observance in the nunneries, particularly the non-Gilbertine houses. Successive archbishops of York were constantly obliged to admonish one convent or another to improve the behaviour of its members. Charges ranged from immorality to disobedience, from quarrelsome behaviour to neglect and mismanagement. This is perhaps not surprising

1. Reg. Greenfield, 3, pp.8-9.

2. Marrick Priory, for instance, served the hospital of Rerecross, given by Ralph son of Ralph de Moulton c1171, and Malton, the hospitals of Wheelgate, Norton and Broughton.

in houses which were poor, struggling to survive, and thereby forced to rely on such conveniences as the granting of corrodies to raise money; these might have provided ready cash, but they also introduced into the convent a number of lay people which could well have an adverse effect on the spiritual life of the nuns. This decline could also well have been due to the presence in the nunneries of women who lacked the religious vocation, the result of the use of these houses as social conveniences and of the mixed motives for which they were founded.

The activities of the Knights Templar and Knights Hospitaller are often omitted in accounts of medieval English monasticism. This is understandable, for attention is naturally focussed on the role of the two orders in the twelfth-century Holy Land. Yet the Templars and Hospitallers were religious just as much as they were knights, and the constitutions of both orders were influenced by monastic trends of the West in the twelfth century. The sources for the foundation of the orders, for their important role in the development of the ideals and practice of warfare in the Crusades, and of the Latin states of the East, are plentiful if at times confusing. No contemporary source failed to mention the part the Templars and Hospitallers played in the victories, and the disasters, of the Crusades. Less well documented is the spread of the influence of the Knights in Western Europe, where the evidence is mainly charter material. Information concerning the endowments of both the Templars and the Hospitallers is contained in the general cartularies of both orders, but detailed information about England is sadly lacking.¹ In the case of the Templars the reasons for the non-survival of material is clear, for the suppression of the order in the early years of the fourteenth century resulted in the destruction of many of their records. A fortunate, but unusual, survival is the Inquest of lands and estates under the control of the English Templars, compiled c.1185.²

An appreciation of the role of the Templars and Hospitallers in England as a whole, and Yorkshire in particular, demands a brief mention of the foundation of the two orders. The earliest source is the 'Historia Rerum in Partibus

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1. Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S.Jean de Jerusalem, ed. J.N.A.Delaville Le Roulx, 1 (1100-1200) (Paris, 1894); Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre du Temple, 1119-1150, ed. Marquis d'Albon (Paris, 1813). On the two orders see also, J.Riley-Smith, The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c.1050-1310 (London, 1967); B.A.Lees, The Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century (The British Academy, Records of Social and Economic History, ix, London, 1935); T.W.Parker, The Knights Templar in England (Tucson, Arizona, 1963); E.J.Martin, 'The Templars in Yorkshire', Y.A.J. 29 (1929) pp.336-85, and 30 (1931) pp.135-55; E.J.King, The Rule, Statutes and Customs of the Hospitallers 1099-1310 (London, 1934).
 2. The Inquest has been edited by B.A.Lees in Records of the Templars in England (see n.1 above).

Transmarinis Gestarum', written by William, archbishop of Tyre. ¹ On the origin of the Hospitallers William tells how certain men of Amalfi, wishing protection while visiting the holy places of the Christian religion, sought aid from the Caliph of Egypt, and obtained from him a house in Jerusalem. They built a church dedicated to St John the Almoner, and the brethren who staffed this and the hospital took monastic vows, and subjected themselves to the Benedictine authorities in Jerusalem. ² After the capture of Jerusalem the master of the order, Gerald, who had given valuable help to the Crusaders, received several endowments from Franks who had settled in the Holy Land.

The Hospital of St John was raised to be an order in its own right, independent of the Benedictines, in 1113, by which date five more hospitals had been created on the route to Jerusalem. ³ The Papal Bull 'Pie Postulatio Voluntatis' (1113) offered the Hospital papal protection, guaranteed freedom from tithes on certain categories of lands and gave the brethren the right to elect their own master when a vacancy should occur. ⁴ A further bull, issued by Calixtus II (1119-24) urged the clergy and faithful of Europe to aid the Hospitallers and their grand master, and successor of Gerald, Raymond of Le Puy. ⁵ Under Raymond the conception of the function of the order was widened to include armed protection for pilgrims on the road as well as further protection once they had reached their destination.

Such a project occurred not only to Raymond of Le Puy, but also to Hugh de Payens, a Frankish knight and founder of the order of the Temple. William of

1. Recueil des Historiens des Croisades, Historiens Occidentaux, I (Paris, 1844).

2. William of Tyre, pp. 822-26.

3. These were St Gilles, Bari, Asti, Tarento and Messina.

4. Cartulaire des Hospitaliers, no. 30. The spread of the order is envisaged; Paschal confirmed all that had been given 'ad sustendendas peregrinorum et pauperum necessitates, vel in Hierosolymitane ecclesie vel aliarum ecclesiarum parrochiis et civitatum territoriis...'

5. Cartulaire des Hospitaliers, no. 47. 'Idem enim R(aimundus) omnium . . . testimonio commendatur quod sincere, devote, assidue peregrinorum et pauperum curam gerat. Et nunc pro eorum necessitatibus sublevandis vestre caritatis implorat auxilium'.

Tyre recorded that in 1118 'quidem nobiles viri de equestri ordine' took monastic vows as regular canons and pledged themselves to the defence of pilgrims.¹ The knights were granted the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem (whence they took their name) by King Baldwin of Jerusalem. The next nine years appear to have been ones of crises for the knights, and in 1127 Hugh approached St Bernard of Clairvaux for advice, and on the latter's suggestion the Council of Troyes ratified the creation of the order of the Temple, which was to be free from all but papal control. St Bernard himself was an ardent supporter of the Military Orders, and it was at a time when the Templars lacked recruits that the abbot of Clairvaux wrote the tract 'De laude novae militiae ad milites Templi liber'.² In this Bernard defended the concept of Christian warfare, in fact the raison d'être of the Templars.³

This combination of Christian knight and Christian monk was the unique conception of the two orders. The rule of the Hospitaliers, attributed to Raymond of Le Puy, but in form a later composite document, owed much to the rule of St Augustine; while the Templars, under the influence of St Bernard, not unnaturally, developed a rule akin to the Cistercian constitutions.⁴ Both rules clearly define the monastic discipline of the orders.

The history of the Military Orders became significant for the history of English monasticism when the Knights began to acquire lands in Western Europe. As has been seen, endowments to the Orders were encouraged by Pope Calixtus II, and by the 1120s the process of land acquisition was under way. At this date, too, houses of both orders began to be established in England, with the dual purpose of recruitment from the local populace and the administration of estates.

1. William of Tyre, pp.520-21.

2. It was addressed to Hugh de Payens. Pat.Lat. 182, col.922-40. See also E.Vacandard, Vie de St Bernard (Paris, 1927), I, pp.232-55.

3. e.g. 'Sane cum occidit malefactorem, non homicida sed, ut ita dixerim, malicida, et plane Christi vindex in his qui male agunt, et defensor Christianorum reputatur': Pat.Lat. 182, col.924. Bernard was, of course, instrumental in the preaching of the second crusade (1147). He was adamant, however, that those who joined the venture should not be Cistercian monks. See his letter to his fellow Cistercian abbots, James, Letters of St Bernard no.396.

4. H. de Curzon, La Règle du Temple (Paris, 1886); Cartulaire-des Hospitaliers no.70.

Although founded later than the Hospitallers, the order of the Temple was the first to reach England. The Old Temple in London was founded c.1128 by Hugh de Payens, the founder of the order, who visited England in the 1120s. At roughly the same date the houses of Dover (Kent) and Shipley (Sussex) came into existence.¹ The order of the Hospital reached England c.1144 with the foundation by Jordan Briset of the priory of Clerkenwell, London.² Although precise dates cannot be assigned to many of the foundations, it is likely that by c.1200 there were in England and Wales thirty-four houses of each order. For both the Templars and the Hospitallers the greatest periods of expansion were the years 1130-1160 and 1180-1200; in the former period, there were eighteen Templar and ten Hospitaller foundations; in the latter, nine Templar and twenty Hospitaller houses came into existence. In the intervening years, between 1160 and 1180 there were only eleven foundations, four by the Hospitallers and seven by the Templars. The first foundations were probably influenced by the personal visits to Europe of the grand masters of the orders, Hugh de Payens in the 1120s and Raymond of Le Puy in the 1150s. It is likely that the sentiment aroused by the preaching of the third crusade contributed to the outburst of foundations in the 1190s.³

By 1200 there was therefore a total of sixty-eight Templar and Hospitaller houses in England and Wales.⁴ The geographical distribution of the houses is itself significant. In the case of the Hospitallers, only one county (Derbyshire) had three foundations; Berkshire, Cambridgeshire, Middlesex, Yorkshire and

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1. On the Temple, see C.N.L. Brooke and G. Keir, London 800-1216. The Shaping of a City (London, 1975), pp. 231-33. The founder of Dover has not been identified. Shipley was founded by Philip de Harcourt. These and the following dates of foundation rely on Medieval Religious Houses, pp. 292-309, with the exception of some of the Yorkshire houses, on which see below, pp. 287-88.
 2. Brooke and Keir, London, pp. 331-2.
 3. For the influence of the crusading movement on the rise of the Knights in England, see below, pp. 297-300.
 4. After 1200 there were twenty further Templar, and twenty-nine Hospitaller foundations in England (the latter including thirteen Templar houses which passed to the Hospitallers at the time of the suppression of the Templars in 1308-14), a number far in excess of foundations of houses of other orders after 1200.

Nottinghamshire had two foundations each; the remaining twenty-one houses were evenly distributed among the other counties of England and Wales. Yorkshire and Lincolnshire boasted the greatest number of Templar foundations, with five each; and London, Warwickshire, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Kent, Hertfordshire and Oxfordshire each had two foundations. The remaining houses were evenly distributed. If both orders are taken together, Yorkshire had the greatest number of houses (7), but there was no extreme geographical concentration of foundations anywhere in England.

By the thirteenth century the order of the Hospital of St John had developed a highly efficient administrative system.¹ The heads of regional priories, representing the preceptories of their area, met annually at a general chapter presided over by the Grand Master. By 1200 these priories were: St Gilles, France, Messina, Barletta, Lombardy, Venice, Pisa, Aragon, Navarre, Castile and Leon, Portugal, England, Ireland, Bohemia, Germany and Constantinople. The priory of England was in existence by 1160. Within the area controlled by a particular priory individual preceptories were administered by commanders, whose function it was to run the estates and collect the 'responsions' or financial offerings for the upkeep of the hospitals of the East.

In Yorkshire the first preceptory to be founded was that of Mount St John (pa. Felixkirk) about three miles to the north-east of Thirsk, which may have come into existence soon after the order was introduced into England. Tradition has ascribed the foundation to William de Percy although a list of benefactions to the order, compiled in 1434 by Brother John de Stillingflete, states that the founder was Robert de Ros.² Knowles and Hadcock followed the antiquarian Tanner in ascribing the foundation to William de Percy, but stated that it was William de Percy II, not his grandfather, who founded the preceptory.³ The parish of Felixkirk, in which Mount St John lay, was, however, never in Percy hands. Nor, on the other hand, is it known to have formed part of the Ros fee.

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1. On the administration of the Order of the Hospital, see J. Riley-Smith, The Knights of St John, pp. 353-71.
 2. Printed in Mon. Ang. VI (II), pp. 831-40, especially 838.
 3. Tanner was clearly mistaken in thinking that William de Percy I (d. 1098) founded Mount St John in the reign of Henry I (1100-35).

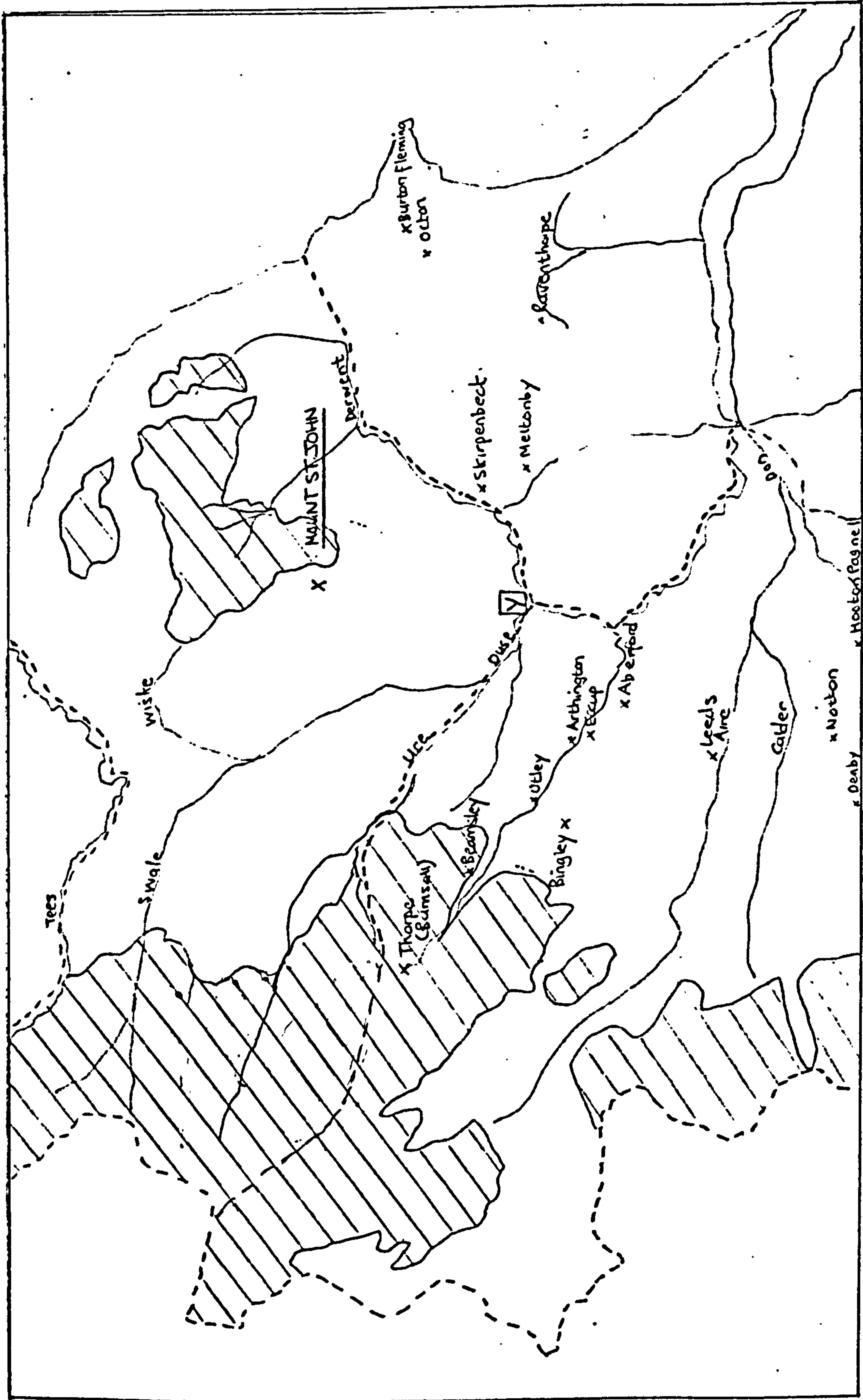
In 1086 the parish lay in the fee of Hugh fitz Baldric, sheriff of York and on his death, passed to the Stuteville family. In 1106 Robert de Stuteville forfeited his lands, which passed to the crown; the estates were recovered at the beginning of Henry II's reign by the family. The identity of the founder of Mount St John must therefore remain something of a mystery. However it is certain that until c.1199, when the commandery of Staintondale was founded by King John, Mount St John was the sole Hospitaller house in Yorkshire.

All lands acquired before 1199 must, therefore, have been administered from Mount St John. The earliest recorded benefaction to the Hospitallers in Yorkshire is the grant, c.1138, of one mark per annum from York, which was made by Roger de Mowbray.¹ Some time after 1156 Osbert de Bayeux, former archdeacon, donated one toft in Bingley, and before 1165 the brethren were holding land in Walmgate, York. Between 1165 and 1180 land and a messuage in Leeds, with pasture for four oxen, four cows, two swine and twenty sheep were acquired from Robert de Gant and Alice Paynel his wife.² In 1186 land in Arthington was received from Peter de Arthington, founder of the Cluniac priory in that vill, and before 1188 Richard le Grammaire gave land in Aberford.³ Estates were acquired by c.1200, in Notton, Lead, Beamsley, Thorpe Burnsall and Otley, and rent from land in Leeds.⁴ William de Octon granted to his nephew John one bovate of land in Octon to hold of the Hospital of St John for a rent of one penny per annum, and there are chance references to land holdings of the Hospitallers elsewhere in the East Riding, namely in Burton Fleming and Raventhorpe.⁵

Undoubtedly the most generous recorded benefactor of the Hospitallers in Yorkshire was William Paynel of Hooton Pagnell, who made eight separate grants to

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1. Mowbray Charters, no.170. See also no.171 for grants made by Mowbray outside Yorkshire.
 2. E.Y.C.VI,no.69; I,no.328; III,no.1768; VII,no.134.
 3. ibid. VI,no.148; C.T.Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, no.11 (This is a confirmation by the son of the donor.).
 4. E.Y.C.III,nos.1649,1717,1615; VII, nos.60,64; VII, no.94; I,no.54; III, no.1746.
 5. ibid.II,nos.1068,1172,1117.

Fig.31. The Estates of the Knights Hospitaller in Yorkshire c1200.



Yorkshire. Y = York. Scale = approx. 15m. to 1".

the order: land in Hooton Pagnell 'sicuti divisum fuit in wapentac', with pasture for one hundred sheep, the mill and multure of the vill, with boon work for the repair of the mill, two villeins, Gamel son of Arthur and his family (in default of which gift the brethren were to receive William the reeve), further land for the obit of the donor's wife, Frethesant, and land and rents in Cookridge, Adel and Eccup, for a rent of eight shillings per annum.¹

The latter grant is the only specific record of rent paid by the Yorkshire Hospitallers for lands they were granted, although the brethren issued a charter acknowledging their responsibility to pay twelve pence per annum to Alan son of Elisant from the alms of Barton.² Only one record survives of the Hospitallers themselves leasing lands to their own tenants. The endowment of Hugh son of Ailsi of land in Wentworth and Scholes was granted to Swain son of Westmund and his brothers for thirty pence per annum.³ An agreement of particular interest was made between the brethren of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem and the chapter of St Peter's cathedral church, York, in the years 1181-6. This concerned, a chapel which had recently been constructed in the parish of St Margaret, Walmgate (York). The canons of St Peter's, with the consent of those in charge of the archbishopric during its vacancy, granted to the brethren permission to celebrate in the chapel, provided that no detriment to the mother church was involved: 'tali conditione quod nec memorata ecclesia Sancte Margarete nec persona ejusdem ecclesie ullo tempore aliquod dampnum habebit sepedicte capelle'.⁴ This suggests that there were brethren of the Hospital living in York, presumably in the Walmgate property given by Walter son of Faganulf.

These scant records probably do not represent the entire landed estates of the Hospitallers in Yorkshire by 1200. The surviving records suggest that most of the Hospitaller property lay in the West Riding of Yorkshire, with only outlying estates in the North and East Ridings. The records suggest that, in

1. E.Y.C.VI, nos. 139-44, 154-5.

2. ibid.V, no. 182.

3. ibid.VII, no. 134.

4. ibid.I, no. 319.

contrast to the Templars, the Hospitallers kept their estates in their own hands, and that the leasing of land to tenants was not their usual policy. Even less information survives concerning the internal history of the preceptory of Mount St John. Only the names of Brother Warin, who occurs as commander of Mount St John in the period 1160-80, and three brethren, Geoffrey Brito, John and Helto, are recorded.¹ It may or may not be significant that Walter de Percy is referred to as proctor of the house in 1186. If Mount St John was indeed a Percy foundation, this may indicate that the family of the founder retained some form of control over, or responsibility towards, the preceptory.²

Far surpassing the meagre documentary sources for the activities of the Hospitallers in Yorkshire are the records of the Templars. Although few original charters or transcripts survived the suppression of the order in the fourteenth century, the Inquest of 1185 provides a valuable insight into the administration of the Templar lands. By 1185 there were apparently five preceptories in Yorkshire: Penhill, Stanhowe and Cowton in the North Riding; and Temple Hirst and Temple Newsam in the West Riding. The precise date at which these houses came into existence is not known. The foundation of Temple Hirst (situated in the parish of Birkin, roughly five miles to the south-west of Selby) can be dated with some accuracy to c.1152 when Ralph Hastings (brother of Richard Hastings, master of the Temple in London) gave land in Hirst to the order, his gift being ratified by his lord, Henry de Lacy.³ Another Lacy tenant, William de Villiers, was the donor of lands in Newsam which formed the basis of the preceptory of Temple Newsam, which lay about four and a half miles to the east of Leeds. His gift can be dated to the years between 1154 and 1165.⁴

The lands which formed the nuclei of the preceptories of Stanhowe, Penhill and Cowton were given by Richard de Rollos II, William son of Hervey and Robert

1. E.Y.C.VII, no.134; V, no.182.

2. ibid.VI, no.148. The word 'procurator' later signified a representative of the Hospitallers who was present at Rome in case litigation arose concerning the order. Its significance in the twelfth century is not clear. See J.Riley Smith, The Knight of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, pp.379-80.

3. E.Y.C.III, no.1769.

4. ibid.III, no.1770. It is stated in the Inquest (Lees, Records, p.117) but not in the charter, that William sold, rather than gave the land.

Chambord respectively; so much is clear from the Inquest of 1185. However, only one charter, that of Robert son of Hugh de Tateshale, confirming the gifts of William son of Hervey (and dated 1155-77) has survived.¹ Since this confirmation was issued to Brother Walter Ruffus, the preceptory of Penhill (in the parish of West Witton, four miles from Middleham) was evidently already in existence, with Ruffus as its commander.

All three houses had definitely been established by 1170-84 when Roger de Mowbray gave materials for building from the forest of Nidderdale.² This raises the question of whether the houses were actually founded by the donors of land, or by Mowbray himself. As we have seen, in the case of Penhill Mowbray was not the founder; in the case of Stanhowe (in the parish of Kiplin) and Cowton, he might have been.³ The grant of land, made to the order, may not in fact signify the foundation of a house, since this may have been created by the Order at any date, when the accumulation of lands in that particular area necessitated a further administrative unit. In many cases the record of houses in the Inquest of 1185 is the earliest reference to those houses. We know that Penhill was already in existence before Mowbray's grant of building materials, and it is possible that Stanhowe and Cowton had been founded too. They may, on the other hand, have been founded after, and on the basis of, Mowbray's grant.

The Inquest of c.1185 which is now deposited in the Public Record Office, is one of the eleven or twelve such surveys extant from the twelfth century, and was used to famous effect by Professor M.M.Postan in a celebrated article of 1937.⁴

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1. E.Y.C.V, no.389. Permission was given to the Templars to alienate the land to anyone 'exceptis albis monachis'- an unusual prohibition. Brother Walter may be identifiable with Walter de Templo, who occurs as a witness in Mowbray Charters, nos.122-24 and 291, in the period 1150-70.
 2. Mowbray Charters, no.272.
 3. The 'Stamhou' of the Inquest was identified by Lees as Stanghow, but both C.T. Clay (E.Y.C.V, p.97) and E.J.Martin ('The Templars in Yorkshire' p.378) preferred Stanhowe, in the parish of Kiplin. See also E.P.N.S. North Riding of Yorkshire, p.278.
 4. M.M.Postan, 'Chronology of Labour Services', reprinted from T.R.H.S. 4th series, 20 (1937), pp.169-93, in Essays in Agrarian History, ed. W.E.Minchinton (British Agricultural History Society, 1968), I, pp.73-92.

It is likely that the Inquest was compiled to indicate to the officials of the order of the Templars how much rent could be expected from Templar estates throughout the country. A considerable portion of the survey (8½ folios) is devoted to the Yorkshire estates. Within the Yorkshire section the arrangement of material is somewhat confused, with certain entries being transposed. However, the general arrangement is the division of estates into the North, East and West Ridings with subdivisions of the estates of the preceptories of Penhill, Temple Hirst and Temple Newsam. Each entry gave details of the amount of land held in a particular place, the donor, whether the land was held in demesne or leased and, in the case of the latter, the name of the lessee and the rent and services which he owed.¹

In the North Riding the estates of the Templars were divided into three financial units, although these do not correspond with the preceptories. Group I consisted of lands in Penhill, Temple Cowton, South Cowton, Stanhowe and Langton.² That these lands were regarded as a single fiscal unit is indicated by the fact that there is a single 'summa' (33s 2d). Of these lands, two carucates in Penhill as well as four out of the six bovates in Temple Cowton were retained in demesne, whilst the remainder of the estates were leased to tenants.

Group II of the North Riding estates consisted of lands in Linthorpe and Hauxwell.³ In the former place the brethren held two tofts, in Ingleby one toft and two bovates of land, in Yarm three tofts and in Barton six acres of land, all of which were leased to tenants.⁴ Lands in Leyburn had evidently been acquired from Michael de Leyburn; in Kirklington and Sinderby from Robert de Musters; in Yarnwick and 'Lundhouse' from William the sheriff.⁵ Roger de Nowbray had made

1. A typical entry might read: 'Apud Stamhou, j carrucata, ex dono Ricardi Rollous, que est in dominio. In Langetun, j toftum ex dono Alexandri filii Iordani quod Radulfus tenet pro xij d pro omni servicio': Lees, Records, p.120.

2. ibid. pp.119-20.

3. This is a vast group of 37 places. Its 'summa' was £19 2s 4d. Several entries are transposed (ibid. pp.120-23,127-29). I have here followed the rearrangements suggested by Lees in the introduction to Records.

4. The donors were John Ingelram, William de Acclum, Adam de Brus and Wigan son of Cades.

5. 'Lundhouse' is identified by Lees as Upsland (Lees, Records, p.121) but by Martin ('The Templars in Yorkshire', Y.A.J. 29, p.378) as Lunds (pa.Hawes). This place could also have been Lund Forest, in the parish of Kirby Misperton, which occurs as Lund(e) in the twelfth century, but as Loundhouse in 1577: (E.P.N.S. North Riding of Yorkshire, p.76)

several benefactions in Langthorpe, Bagby and Thirsk.¹ The Templars had further acquired estates in the following places: Thornton Watlass, Aldfield, Brimham, Scruton, Leeming, Kirkby Fleetham, Appleton, Burrill and Crakenhall.² The Inquest indicates that notable monastic benefactors in this area, such as Earl Conan of Richmond, Torfin son of Robert, Hugh Malebisse, William de Percy of Kildale, Hugh de Morville, Gilbert de Meinhill and Thomas de Coleville had given lands in Richmond, Burgh, Great Broughton, Kildale, Sowerby, Osgodby and Coxwold.

Without exception all the lands in Group II were leased to tenants. All the rents were paid in the form of money, and there was considerable variation in the amount due. For instance, in the case of Linthorpe, Ingelby, Yarm and Leyburn, the rent due for one toft was 12d. For one acre of land the rent was 4d per annum in Barton, 6d in Thornton Watlass, 1s in Bagby rising to 2s in Patrick Brompton. Tenants holding one bovate of land generally paid between 1s and 2s in rent. The men of Sowerby held the entire vill of the Templars for the payment of £10 per annum. Hugh Malebisse appears to have been the only benefactor who reserved rent for himself, claiming 20s per annum from land in Great Broughton which he had given the brethren. The variations in rent were possibly conditioned by the type and quality of the lands which were held by their tenants. It is likely, too, as Professor Postan has indicated, that the payment of monetary rents rather than labour services was more common in the North, which was less manorialized than the South, and thus there had developed local customs of rents on particular lands.

Group III of the North Riding estates were concentrated geographically around Ampleforth, and consisted of lands in Ampleforth, Cold Kirby, Cawton, Nunnington, Wombleton, Helmsley and Scawton. In Cold Kirby six carucates were given by Richard Cruer, of which thirty acres were held in demesne and the rest rented to tenants, at a rate of 20d per bovate, 5d per acre and 8d per toft. These lands in Cold Kirby had a separate 'summa' of £5 0s 8d (recte £5 2s 11d).³

1. Mowbray Charters, nos. 273-74.

2. Given by Hervey, Ralph son of Harchill, Picot de Lascelles, Acaris de Tunstall and others. Land in Brimham was confirmed to the Templars by Roger de Mowbray: Mowbray Charters, no. 270.

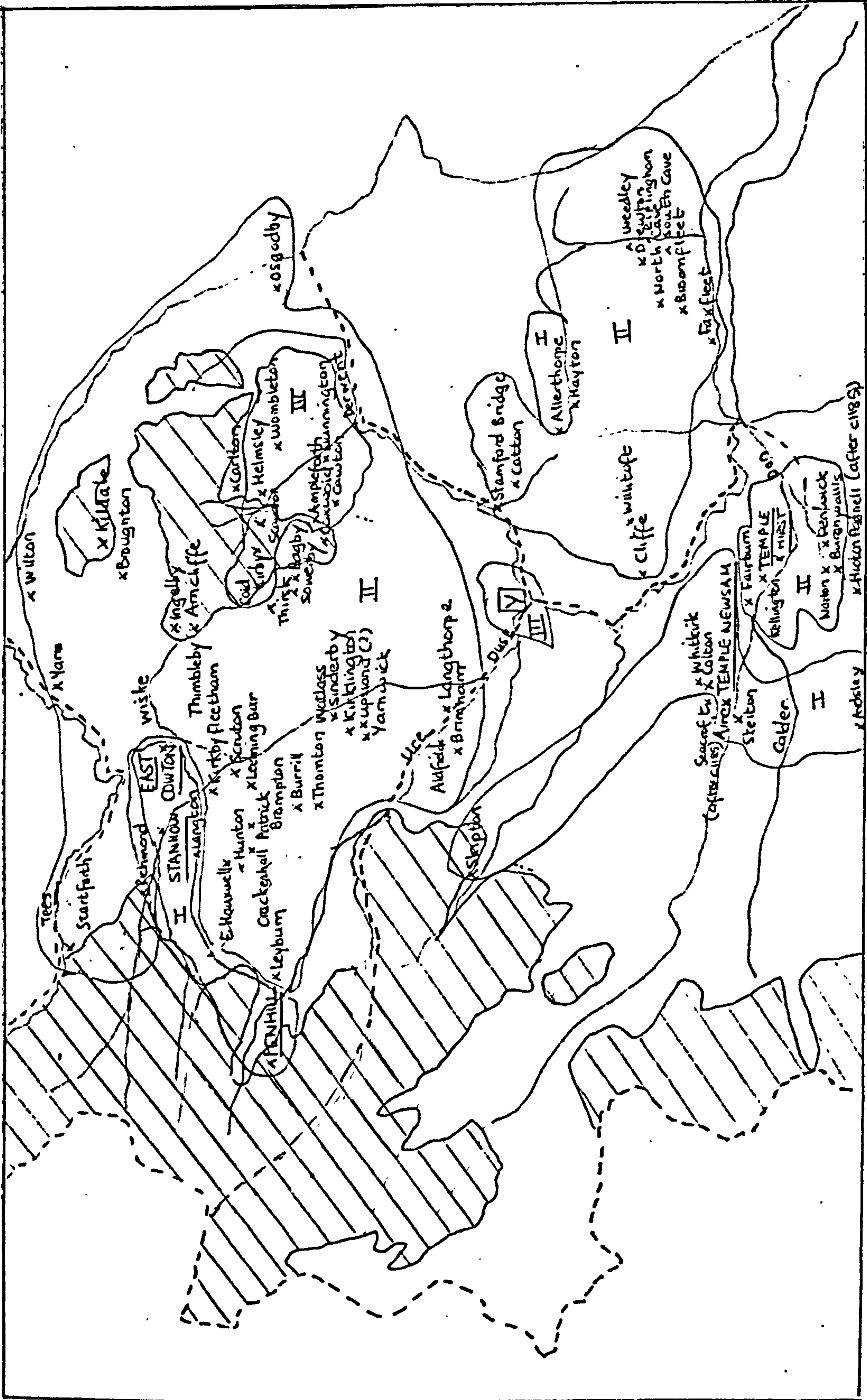
3. Lees, Records, pp. 129-31.

Three acres of land in Ampleforth, given by William de Surdeval, were leased for 3s; one acre in Cawton, given by Richard Cruer for 1s; and one acre in Wombleton, given by Gervase of that vill was leased for the same amount. The land in Nunnington and Scawton was leased at a rate of one shilling per bovat, and thirty acres in Helmsley brought in three shillings, that is a rate of just over one penny per acre. The 'summa' of the Ampleforth group was 15s 4d. The total rent received from the North Riding lands is given as 38½ marks, 3s 1d, or £51 9s 9d, but this appears to be in error. The total of the four North Riding 'summae' appears to be about half this sum. ¹

The estates held by the Templars in the West Riding of Yorkshire were divided into two groups centred on the preceptories of Temple Newsam and Temple Hirst. In the case of the former a proportion of the land in Newsam itself, six carucates and three bovates, was held in demesne, and the rest was leased to tenants. Thirteen bovates of land in Newbiggin were also rented out. These lands brought in an annual rent of 35s 6d (recte 36s). All the land held in Skelton was leased, for a rent of 5 marks and three shillings (recte 5 marks 2s 11½d). ² The estates in Colton brought in a rent of 10s 6d per annum, and those of Osmundthorpe, Ardsley, Dalton, Skipton and Brinsworth 23s 6d (recte 16s 6d). ³ This group of estates was completed by the church of Whitkirk, which was held in demesne by the Templars 'preter altare quod Paulinus sacerdos tenet pro iij marcis'. The two mills of Newsam were held in demesne by the brethren, and the other mill by the men of Skelton for one pound per annum. ⁴ The total rent for Newsam and its

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1. For the probable reason why the compiler of the Inquest arrived at this figure, see Lees, Records, p.123, note 12.
 2. For Newsam, Newbiggin and Skelton, see Lees, pp.117-19. As Lees has indicated, although the Newsam entry begins 'Apud Newhus habentur xvj carucate' this amount of land includes the holdings in Newbiggin, Skelton, Colton and Whitkirk. See Lees, Records, p.117, note 1.
 3. The remaining entries of the Newsam lands are on pp.126-7 of the Inquest, being headed by the marginal note 'Istud transpositum est'. The donors of these lands were Cecily de Campeus, Peter de Osmundthorpe, Thomas de Everingham, Reiner and Henry Flandrensis, Osbert (de Bayeux) archdeacon and Ralph de Normanville.
 4. The 'summa' of Whitkirk and the mills of Newsam is given correctly as 4½ marks, or £3.

Fig.32. The Estates of the Yorkshire Knight Templar, c1200.



Yorkshire. Y = York. Scale = approx. 15m. to 1".

appurtenances was 14 marks 11s 6d, or £9 18s 2d (recte £9 17s 2d).

The record of the estates of Newsam is particularly informative in preserving the record of service as well as yearly rent. At Newbiggin, for instance, a typical entry reads:

Baldwinus j bovata[m] pro ij sol. et dim. et ij gallinas et xx ova et iiij precarias et in autumpno cum j homine bis arare, bis herciare semel falcare, semel fenum levare, et cum opus fuerit, stangnum (sic) reparare et molas attrahere, et oves uno die lavare et altera (sic) tondere. 1

This seems to have been the standard rate of service for men holding one or two bovates of land. For the 'cottarii' who held one or two acres of land the annual service required was to provide one hen and ten eggs, to perform four boon works and service sowing hay, washing and shearing sheep and repairing the mill pond. Similar service was due from tenants of Colton and Skelton, and some of the places connected with the second group of West Riding lands.

This second group of estates, administered from Temple Hirst, included estates in Kellington, Fenwick, Norton, Fairburn and Burghwallis.² In Hirst itself two mills were held in demesne. In Kellington eight bovates given by Adam son of Swane were leased to tenants for money and service, for example, 'Raimundus j bovata[m] pro iiij sol. et iiij gallinas et xl ova, si pastus fuerit, et porcos habuerit, de v porcis, i porcum.'³ The church of Kellington, given by Henry de Lacy, was held by John de Kellington, 'nichil inde reddens'. All the lands in Fenwick, Norton and Fairburn, given by Jordan Foliot, Otto de Tilli and Adam son of Peter de Birkin were leased for money rents. The mill of Burghwallis was held by Robert Walensis for 15s per annum.⁴

In the case of the East Riding estates the entries in the Inquest are less clear. There are no recorded preceptories in this area before 1185, and the estates

1. Lees, Records, pp.117-8.

2. The estates of Temple Hirst are given on pp.133-4 of the Inquest. For a charter of Jordan Foliot granting land in Norton to the Templars, see E.Y.C.III, no.1531.

3. Lees, Records, p.133.

4. There are two 'summae' connected with Hirst: £5 3s 11d (Lees, Records, p.133) and £4 5s 5d (ibid. p.135). As Lees has indicated (p.133, note 10) their significance is not altogether clear. The first total may represent the combined annual rents for the whole of the West Riding, or they may be independent.

of the Inquest are arranged in three categories. The first concerns only Allerthorpe, where six carucates of land were given by Richard de Moreville.¹ One carucate was held in demesne, while the rest was let to tenants for money and service. There were nineteen principal tenants in Allerthorpe, holding anything from two carucates to one bovate of land, and eight 'cottarii' holding one toft and croft.² The rent from Allerthorpe amounted to £4 2s 1d (recte £4 2s 2d) per annum.

The second East Riding group is extensive, including lands in Hayton, Willitoft, Catton, Stamford Bridge, Weedley, North and South Cave, Cliff, Houghton, Drewton, Broomfleet, Riplingham and Wauldby.³ Most notable among the benefactors were Humphrey de Gunby, Peter Basset, the bishop of Durham and William de Stuteville. All these lands, with the exception of three carucates in Weedley were granted to tenants, mostly for money, but occasionally for service as well. Again there is a considerable variation in amount of rent paid. One toft in Hayton, for instance, would bring in either 18d or 2s per annum, while in Willitoft the rent would be 2s 6d. In South Cave and Houghton services were demanded from tenants, though in general these were lighter than the service demanded of tenants in the West Riding. The mills of Broomfleet and Drewton were held for two marks each, and in the case of the latter £1 per annum was paid to the donor, Alexander de Hibaldestov. The Templars had control of two further mills, at Weedley and Faxfleet, which were leased for eight and fifteen shillings respectively. There is no 'summa' for this group of estates.⁴

Finally there is a group of lands which in the Inquest are connected with York. The absence of any recorded preceptory in the East Riding has led Lees to suggest that there was such an establishment at York, although there is no direct

1. Lees, Records, pp.123-24.

2. A typical tenant might perform the following services: '...ij bovatas, pro v. solidos et ij gallinas et iiiij precarias, bis falcare, ij homines quam diu fenum fuerit leuandum inuenire et domui ducendum, et j die bladum/ carriare, et ter auerare in anno, qualibet bouata ad xij leucas ad Eboracum, uel ad Flaxflet, uel ad Witheleiam, ad pannagium scilicet jd. ij precarias carrucate, per annum'. (ibid. p.123).

3. ibid. pp.125-26, 131-32.

4. The sum of the rents for the E.R.Group II estates appears to be £11 3s 11d.

evidence of this. It is recorded that the Templars held the castle mills of York, of the gift of Roger de Mowbray, and these were held of the brethren by Henry de Fishergate for fifteen and a half marks per annum.¹ Four tofts (three of which the brethren had purchased and one of which was given by Thomas de Ultra Usam) were leased to Sylvester and Walter 'faber' for two shillings per year per toft.²

Following the York entries there are a number of short items which are probably unrelated to the former. Each of these statements seems to indicate the rent due from an individual tenant. The places concerned are Hovingham, Stittenham, Myton on Swale, Acklam (North Riding), Thixendale, Thoraldby and Goodmanham (?)³ (East Riding) and one unspecified place. The total rent due is 19s 4d.

Thus the Inquest of 1185 provides a valuable insight into the development of the Yorkshire Templar houses. Firstly it is clear that the order of the Temple received a vast number of endowments from a variety of benefactors, both great nobles and modest landowners. In the absence of original charters and later transcripts this is invaluable evidence. The Inquest also shows that the estates of the Templars spread over extensive areas of Yorkshire, in fact that hardly any region of the county was unaffected by the rise of the Order. In many cases a substantial portion of certain vills must have been in the lands of the Templars. Certainly the entire vill of Sowerby was under their control, and extensive estates were held in the vills of Cold Kirby, Skelton, and Allerthorpe. On the whole, however, it would seem as if the Templars relied on modest benefactions from many sources to build up their property and influence in the county.

Nevertheless the Inquest is not free from problems. In the absence of charter material it is impossible to estimate how accurate or comprehensive the survey is. A seeming, and surprising, omission from the Inquest is the grant of Eggborough, which charter evidence can show was made by Henry de Vernoil in the

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1. Both Henry de Fishergate and Thomas de Ultra Usam (see below) appear in the Pipe Roll of 1180. This is the earliest reference known to the castle mills of York, on which see R.C.H.M. City of York, II (The Defences), (1972), p.61.
 2. Lees, Records, p.132.
 3. So identified by Lees but 'Geddinham' is not a known form of 'Gudmundham' or 'Gudmandeham' (Goodmanham), see The Place Names of the East Riding of Yorkshire, E.P.N.S. xiv, p.320. Possibly Yedingham (?), ibid. p.121.

period 1175-77. This grant was followed by the gift of further lands in Eggborough and Hirst, made by Robert de Rohale in the years 1175-77.¹ There are also indications that the Templars had come into possessions of lands in Beeforth before 1185.² It is, of course, possible, that these lands had been lost or alienated by 1185. This was definitely the case in Beeforth, and may have been in Eggborough, although there is no direct evidence of alienation.

The second problem raised by the Inquest is the relation of the groups of estates to the preceptories, and the significance, if any, of the way the estates were arranged for the purpose of the Inquest. The West Riding arrangement is straightforward enough, for the estates are grouped around the two preceptories. In the North Riding the scheme of the Inquest is not so clear. It is not concerned with the preceptories, for all three are included in the same group. Nor does the arrangement appear to be geographical. Although the Cold Kirby group is concentrated in a small area, there are places in Group II which, on these grounds, would be included in Group III. The reason for the arrangement of the Inquest in this way, if there is any conscious scheme is obscure. The estates must have been administered and the rents collected from the houses of Penhill, Cowton and Stanhowe, where the brethren dwelt. The preceptories themselves probably relied for their livelihood on the land which was retained in demesne, and it is significant that the only places where this occurred were Cowton, Penhill, Stanhowe, Hirst and Newsam, where there were preceptories, and Cold Kirby where there was not.

The latter point would seem to be of significance for the suggestion, made by Lees, that there was a Templar preceptory at York. Certainly there was at the time of the suppression of the order, but there is no evidence for this in the twelfth century. If the Inquest is taken to be a comprehensive survey, it appears that land in the immediate vicinity of a preceptory remained in demesne; in York, all the recorded estates and tenements were leased to tenants. If there was a preceptory in the East Riding (and this is not certain) the only places where

1. E.Y.C.III, nos. 1626-9.

2. Chron.Nelsa, I, p. 162. It is clear that in the case of Beeforth the land had been lost to Meaux abbey, by the gift of Isaac de Skeftlying and Ernald de Montbegon. This gift is said to have been confirmed by the Templars 'qui jus in ipsa terra quondam ... habuerunt', in the period 1160-82.

property was retained in demesne, which could support a community, were Allerthorpe and Weedley.¹ It seems that between 1185 and 1200 benefactions certainly continued to be made, notably in Great Houghton, Seacroft, Skelton and Hooton Pagnell.² These benefactions continued well into the thirteenth century.

Although relatively little information is available concerning the estates of the Yorkshire Hospitallers, the evidence which survives suggests that the two orders relied on different methods of exploiting lands: the Templars on rents, the Hospitallers on direct exploitation. This evidence is, however, so meagre that it may well be misleading. Certainly the Hospitallers farmed out lands in the thirteenth century, for the General Chapter of the Hospital complained that the prevalent system of farming out lands had led to a depreciation in revenue.³ This practice, widespread in the thirteenth, may or may not have been so prevalent in the twelfth century. The sparsity of Hospitaller material does not allow any comparison between the economic methods and activities of the two orders. It is more than likely, however, that the Hospitallers, like the Templars, were few in number, and that like the latter they relied heavily on the services of local villeins to effectively exploit their widespread estates.

The Templars certainly relied on labour services as well as rents, and Lees has painted a picture of 'an organized village life, a self-respecting peasantry, little burdened by compulsory service' developing under the guidance of the Templars.⁴ This may have been so. There is, however, evidence of one complaint against the order. Ernald de Montbegon revoked the grant made to the

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1. In the early fourteenth century, there were two East Riding houses, York and Faxfleet.
 2. E.Y.C.VI, no.118; Lees, Records, pp.265-66; E.Y.C.VI, no.145. The donor of the latter was the benefactor of the Hospitallers, William Paynel of Hooton Pagnell.
 3. Riley Smith, Knights of St John, p.346. The leasing of lands by the Hospital must have been more common than the records suggest. In 1935 an original charter of the Hospital was seen in a teapot (sic) in Rusland Hall, Lancashire. In this document Garner de Neapol', prior of the Hospital in England, granted to Robert son of Horn (?) one bovate of land in Stit'num for 2s per annum (12d at Easter and 12d at the feast of St Michael) and one third of his chattels at his death. It is dated 1184. Unfortunately the place name cannot be identified with any certainty; it could possibly be Stittenham in the parish of Sheriff Hutton (North Riding). Of course, it may not even be in Yorkshire. The charter was transcribed, and the transcript later presented to the Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, York, by Canon J.C.Dickinson in 1973, where it is now M.D.45. The original charter has since disappeared.
 4. Lees, Records, p.ccxiii.

Templars in Beeforth, giving as his reason the exactions demanded by the Knights: William Earl of Aumale had given to the Templars the service of Ernald on six carucates of land in Beeforth and six in Dodington. Ernald, however, 'dominium Templariorum aegre ferens et eorum exactionibus minus acquiescens' agreed to perform the service on some of the land in Beeforth 'ea saltem conditione quod de sex reliquis carucatis terre in Dodyntona nullum omnino servicium faeret ipse vel heredes ejus'. Consequently, before 1182 Ernald rid himself completely of service due to the order. ¹

The local commanders of both orders were responsible for the collection of revenue and its transmission to the head of their orders in this country. The provision of revenue from the West to the East was the primary function of the preceptories, though they no doubt acted as centres of recruitment for the order from the local populace. Unfortunately we know the names of only a handful of Yorkshiremen who entered the orders. Richard Hastings, brother of the founder of Hirst and Master of the Temple in London, had Yorkshire connections. The Hospitaller Geoffrey Brito bears the name of a Yorkshire family. ² Robert de Ros II died as a Templar in 1226. ³ William de Caux entered the same order in the period 1182-97. ⁴

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It is clear from the number of benefactions which the Knights received in Yorkshire that there was a great deal of interest in the military orders. Such interest is paralleled throughout England. The founders of preceptories of both orders appear to have come from a class of society which would be interested in, and know about, the crusades, and the part which the military orders played in them. The men and women who founded Templar and Hospitaller houses came from the upper echelons of society, both lay and ecclesiastical. Such patrons included King Stephen and his wife Matilda, Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, William de

1. Chron.Melsa, I, pp.161-2.

2. A Geoffrey Brito occurs as the holder of lands in Beeforth: Chron.Melsa, I, p.164; E.Y.C.V, no.182.

3. E.Y.C. X, p.15.

4. Chron.Melsa, II, p.45.

Mandeville, Earl of Essex, William Peverell, Roger de Busli, Lord of Tickhill, William fitz Herbert, Archbishop of York, and Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester.¹

In Yorkshire, however, those who endowed the Military Orders with lands did not come only from this class of society, but also from the lower orders. Lees has pointed out that 'the English province was remote, settled late, and on the whole less intimately involved in the crusading movement than its neighbours of France and Flanders',² but there are indications that considerable numbers of Yorkshiremen travelled to the Holy Land either as crusaders or as pilgrims.

William de Percy I, along with Stephen, Earl of Aumale, bears the distinction of being among those who fought in the First Crusade.³ Roger de Mowbray and William de Warenne joined the predominantly French expedition of 1147.⁴ Between 1150 and 1165 Henry de Lacy, Henry of Goxhill (East Riding), Elias de Bosville and William Fossard journeyed to the Holy Land, presumably on pilgrimage.⁵ In later decades their footsteps were followed by Hugh de Flammaville, Jocelin de Louvain and his wife Agnes de Percy, Walter de Scoteny, Ralph de Chall and Joslen de Neville (the two latter being tenants of the Honour of Richmond).⁶

English interest in the crusades revived in the 1190s when Richard I joined the Third Crusade, and it is perhaps significant that many Hospitaller and Templar houses were founded in the decade 1190-1200. Charter evidence reveals that a number of Yorkshiremen, such as Walter le Nair, Hugh le Peitevin, Roger son of

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1. Founders respectively of Eagle, Witham, Cressing and Temple Cowley; Lannock, Chippenham, Hogshaw, Willoughton, Ossington and Godsfield.
 2. Lees, Records, p.lx.
 3. Cart.Whitby,I,p.2: Willielmus de Perci Ierosolimam petens, apud locum qui vocatur Mons Gaudii, qui est in provincia Ierosolimitana, migravit ad Dominum, ibique honorifice sepultus est'; Roger of Howden,I, p.152. Stephen's successor, William le Gros, made a vow to go on crusade, but changed his mind 'propter aetatis et corporis gravitatem' and founded Meaux abbey instead: Chron.Melsa, I,p.76.
 4. John of Hexham,p.319: 'Periit...Willelmus de Waren comes a paganis interceptus ...Promuerit celebrem gubriam Rogerus de Mulbrai, singulari certamine de quodam pagano tyranno triumphans'. See also Mowbray Charters,nos.155,160,174 for references to Mowbray's expedition of 1147. William de Warenne was a benefactor of the Templars, giving land in Lewes, Sussex.
 5. E.Y.C. III,nos.1629,1342; VIII,no.102; II,no.1095. Henry de Lacy made a second journey to Jerusalem in c.1177, where he died.
 6. C.T.Clay,Early Yorkshire Families,no.8; E.Y.C. XI,no.68; VI, no.78; V,no.215 and p.156.

Richard Touche, John de Penigeston, William fitz Aldelin and John de Ferriby, took the road to the Holy Land around the year 1189.¹ Without doubt the most notable Yorkshire crusader of this period was Roger de Mowbray, who left his native land in 1186. In 1187 he was captured by the Saracens, ransomed by the Templars and Hospitallers, and died the following year.² In 1190 he was followed by his son, Nigel de Mowbray, who died at the siege of Acre.³ Roger of Howden, himself present at the siege, and the chronicler of the deeds of King Richard I both list those who died at Acre, among them men of Yorkshire, or with Yorkshire connections: John de Lacy, Constable of Chester, Robert the Constable of Holderness, Walter de Kyme, Walter de Ros, William de Forz, Earl of Aumale, Reginald de Suffeld, Osmund de Stuteville and Reiner the Sheriff of York.⁴

That there were considerably more Yorkshire crusaders and pilgrims whose names have not been recorded in the pages of the chronicles is certain. Popular support of the movement was encouraged by kings, popes and bishops. Acting on a mandate from Pope Celestine III, Hubert Walter, Archbishop of Canterbury wrote to the officials of the diocese of York in 1196, urging them to encourage those who had vowed to go on crusade to fulfil their vows: '... mandamus, quatenus per singulas parochiales ecclesias archiepiscopatus Eboraci, de hiis qui pro visitando sepulchro Domini crucem assumentes, vota sua Domini non solverunt, diligenter et sollicite inquiratis'. The names of such offenders were to be collected, and orders given for the taking of the cross before Passion Sunday (the papal mandate was dated 12 January). All those 'qui citra voti solutionem crucem abjectam infra terminum nominatum non receperint' were to be excluded from Easter Communion.⁵ No doubt the Military Orders played their part in encouraging the reluctant crusaders. It is even possible that foundations of preceptories, or their endowment, was used as a suitable method of commuting a crusader's vows to enable him to avoid

1. E.Y.C. III, nos. 1409, 1573, 1748, 1787, 1641; XII, no. 28.

2. Roger of Howden, II, p. 316. Mowbray first went on pilgrimage: 'Venit itaque (s.a. 1186) post pascha Jerosolimam copiosa militum caeterorumque peregrinorum multitudo; sed quia treuga elongatae fuerant, perpauci remanere volebant. Tamen Rogerus de Mulbrai et Hugo de Bello Campo remanserunt ibi in servitio Dei'.

3. Benedict of Peterborough, Chronicle of the Reigns of Henry II and Richard I, (R.S. 1867), II, p. 149.

4. Roger of Howden, III, pp. 87-89; Benedict of Peterborough, I, pp. 147-50.

5. The text of the papal mandate and Hubert Walter's letter are preserved in Roger of Howden, III, pp. 317-19.

a journey to the Holy Land. ¹

Though many in the diocese of York were evidently more willing to take a vow than to take the road to Jerusalem, there must have been a familiarity with the ideals and purposes of the crusading movement, if not with actual events. One might expect that Templar and Hospitaller houses would be founded by those who had visited the Holy Land, and survived the journey home. However this does not appear to be the case, though the evidence for pilgrims and crusaders is obviously limited. Remarkably few of those recorded pilgrims and crusaders, except Roger de Mowbray and Henry de Lacy, gave lands to the Knights. This task seems to have been left to those who remained behind. Nevertheless, after Mowbray's first visit to Jerusalem in 1147, many of his tenants and contacts, such as Hugh Malebisse, Gilbert de Meinill, Richard de Moreville, Richard Cruer, William de Surdeval and William de Stonegrave, began to endow their local Templar houses with lands. Similarly, two Lacy tenants were responsible for the foundations of Hirst and Newsam, and several important Lacy tenants, Adam son of Swane, Jordan Foliot and Adam son of Peter became benefactors of the Knights. ²

Unfortunately, the lack of charter material, which would enable us in the case of the Hospitallers to gain a clearer picture of endowments, and in the case of the Templars to assign more precise dates to the grants of land, makes any assessment of the effects of the crusading movement on the fortunes of the Military orders very difficult. The example set by a handful of Yorkshire crusaders mentioned above cannot fully explain why the orders achieved such popularity, but it does indicate perhaps why Yorkshiremen were familiar with two orders which were based in the Holy Land and operated thousands of miles from their homes. It may be, too, that the proximity of a preceptory to a man's estates, combined with the unusual, and doubtless, attractive combination of the knight/monk contributed to

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1. Meaux abbey was founded in recompense for a vow which William of Aumale had broken. See above, p. 229. Although there is no concrete evidence for similar motives behind the foundation of Templar and Hospitaller houses in Yorkshire, it is extremely likely. See also Brooke and Keir, London 800-1216, pp. 331-32.
 2. Other Lacy tenants, Walter le Nair, Hugh le Peitevin, John de Penigeston and Roger Touche also went on crusade.

the success of the orders. Successful they undoubtedly were.

The Yorkshire preceptories and commanderies benefitted, as did houses throughout England, from the patronage of the Kings of England. King Stephen issued a general charter of confirmation, adding privileges which were ratified by his successors.¹ A charter of Richard I specified these liberties:

Concessimus etiam eis et confirmavimus, quod omnia tenementa sua et ville et homines sui quieti sint de omnibus querelis et placitis, de Sciris et hundredis et Danegeldis, de Socha et Sacha, et Tholl, et Theam, et Infangenetheof, de murdro et latrocinio, et de omnibus aliis exactionibus. Salva tamen nobis et heredibus nostris Justicis mortis et membrorum. Et concedimus quod prefato fratres habeant omnes Exitus qui de supradictis omnibus poterunt provenire.²

Two marks per annum were paid to the Templars from the royal farm of Yorkshire.³

Both Henry II and King John issued charters of liberties to the Hospitallers.⁴

As well as enjoying royal support and liberties the military orders received active support from the Papacy, and possibly from the local bishops (although no evidence survives to throw light on the relations between the Yorkshire Knights and the archbishops of York). In the period 1166-79 Pope Alexander III ordered that no archbishop, bishop or bishop's Official was to place on the churches of the Templars 'indebitas exactiones' nor place them under interdict.⁵ In 1188 Clement III protected churches owned by the Hospitallers from bishops who 'ordinationem differunt et fructus in usus proprios pro sua voluntate convertunt'.

When churches became vacant, the Hospital was to retain them for twenty days 'sine contradictione' during which time they were to present a suitable rector to the diocesan for institution.⁶

It would accordingly appear that the Military Orders were a considerable power in Yorkshire by 1200, territorial powers, privileged institutions supported

1. Lees, Records, pp.137-44. Lees states that 'Henry (II) it seems was lavish of privileges, immunities and franchises, though he was somewhat sparing of grants of land to the Templars, and apparently, founded no preceptory in England. He ... strengthened the order as an administrative organization of a highly privileged kind, rather than as a great territorial power'. (p.lv). A charter of King John to the Hospitallers indicates that Henry was the donor of land and a church. See also E.M.Hallam, 'Henry II as a founder of monasteries', J.E.H.28 (1977), pp.113-32, especially pp.128-29.

2. Lees, Records, p.140.

3. See Pipe Rolls, 5 Henry II, p.29; 15 Henry II, p.31; 21 Henry II, p.164; 9 Richard I, p.41; 1 John, p.38.

4. Cartulaire Général...des Hospitaliers, nos.238, 1087-93.

5. P.U.E. 1, no.163.

6. ibid. 2, no.252.

by the English royal house, and by the Papacy. In Yorkshire both orders continued to attract endowments throughout the thirteenth century and seven further foundations were made.¹ At the beginning of the fourteenth century the order of the Temple came under attack, and in 1308 English members of the order were placed under arrest. An inquisition into the estates then held by the Templars in England revealed that the Yorkshire property was the most extensive in the country, being valued at £1,130 18s 11d per annum, almost a quarter of the total income of England and Wales, £4,720.² In 1312 the Order of the Temple was dissolved at the Council of Vienne, and orders were given for the transference of the Templar property to the Hospitallers.

The history of the Military Orders in twelfth-century Yorkshire, perhaps more than that of any other order, cannot be seen in isolation. They were, of course, not the only 'centralized orders', but the Cistercian order, dependent as it was on the strict bonds between mother house and daughter house right down the hierarchy of abbeys, did allow for the independent development of individual abbeys. An abbey would be bound to observe the Cistercian statutes, its abbot compelled to attend the annual General Chapter, but beyond this (with the exception of the visitation system), how the monks administered their lands, spent their money and arranged their domestic affairs was entirely their own business. Between Cluniac houses the bond was weaker still. The Military Orders present an entirely different picture, for the houses in Western Europe existed entirely to sustain war in the East. The priory of England and the Grand Master of the Templars were bound to raise a certain sum of money each year to finance

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1. Westerdale (N.R.) c.1203, Ribston (W.R.) c.1217, Faxfleet (E.R.) c.1220, Foulbridge (N.R.) c.1226, Wetherby (N.R.) c.1240 and Whitley (W.R.) c.1248, Templars; and Newland (1199), Beverley (1201) Hospitaller.
 2. E.J.Martin, 'The Templars in Yorkshire', Y.A.J. 29(1929), p.366. It seems as if there were ten preceptories, or administrative units when this survey was made, those not mentioned being Stanhowe and Whitley. On the later Yorkshire houses, see Knights Hospitaller in England being the Report of Prior Philip of Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for AD.1338, ed.L.B.Larking (Camden Soc. O.S. 65, 1857); R.V.Taylor, 'Ribston and the knights Templar', Y.A.J. 7 (1882), pp.429-52; 8 (1884), pp.259-99; 9 (1886), pp.71-98.

activities in the Holy Land. Of course individual houses might, and probably did, develop in detail along individual lines, but their personnel were probably mobile and changed frequently; in form and in function all the preceptories were part of an order with a single-minded purpose. It is significant that most grants are made to the order of the Temple of the Hospital of St John and not to individual houses; a man gave his land to 'Deo et Sancte Marie et fratribus Templi Salomonis' or to 'Deo et fratribus hospitalis Ierusalem' rather than to Penhill, Temple Hirst or Mount St John. The Yorkshire houses are to be seen as part of the priory of England, as part of the order as a whole. In the first century of the orders' existence the bond between East and West must have been at its strongest, for human and financial resources were obviously urgently needed at the time of the early Crusades, in a period before the crusading ideal itself began to show signs of marked deterioration.

The effect of this chapter has been to stress, perhaps unduly, the economic aspects of the military orders' presence within the regional context of Yorkshire. This is inevitable, for the only surviving records are those which are concerned with the landed estates of the two orders. Nevertheless, it ought not to be forgotten that the factor which enabled the Templars and Hospitallers to take their place in the monastic history of the county of Yorkshire was, above all, a spiritual ideal. Coloured though our view of the Knights may be by stories of the Battle of Hattin or the siege of Acre, they were monks. In the preceptories of Mount St John, Cowton and Stanhowe. the monks lived under the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, preserving the daily monastic routine and discipline. Nor is it to be forgotten that the powerful influence behind the rise of the Templars in their distinctive form was St Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux. The Knights Templar and Hospitaller made a unique contribution to the concept of the religious life, as the product of two strains which were current in the twelfth century; the 'new monasticism' which found expression in so many ways, and the popular, and ecclesiastically-backed movement which gave rise to the crusades.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE LAY PATRONS.

After their coming to England they revived the rule of religion which had there grown lifeless. You might see churches rise in every village, and, in the towns and cities, monasteries built after a style unknown before; you could watch the country flourishing with renewed religious observance; each wealthy man counted the day lost in which he had neglected to perform some outstanding benefaction.¹

Thus William of Malmesbury, writing in the 1120s characterized the effect of the coming of the Normans on the religious life of England. His statement about the revival of monastic life is particularly true with regard to Yorkshire. Within three or four years of the Conquest the monastery of Selby had been established; by 1100 there were four more religious houses in the county, and the number increased sharply in the twelfth century. The monastic expansion, noticeable everywhere in England as elsewhere in Europe in the twelfth century, took a particularly dramatic form in Yorkshire. Not only were a great number of houses founded, but several of the monasteries themselves became numbered among the most famous in England.

Monasteries, it has been written, 'did not exist solely or even mainly for the sake of the monks who sought within their walls a personal salvation...(they) were founded ... for political, social, and religious purposes of which we hear nothing in the Rule.'² Professor Southern's observation on the early centuries of Benedictine expansion applies equally well to the foundation of houses of other orders in other ages. It was generally understood that the founder (fundator) of a monastery accepted certain responsibilities on behalf of his monastery,

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1. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum (R.S. 1887-89) as translated in D.C. Douglas, English Historical Documents, II (London, 1968) p.291.
 2. R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (1970), p.224.

but he could also expect certain benefits by virtue of his special position. These rights were transmitted to later patrons who were generally (unless the patronage were sold or the site of the monastery transferred) the heirs of the founder.¹

The term 'rights of patronage' was carefully distinguished from 'advowson' within both English and canon law.² The former, 'ius patronatus' was seen as 'a privilege, a concession made by the church to the founder and his family' although 'it was in effect the feudal relation, not denied, but charged with obligations of defence'.³ The advocates, on the other hand, were 'chosen officials paid with privileges or a fief, in practice hereditary masters with numerous rights'.⁴ Despite this distinction, in England, in contrast to Germany, the offices of patron and advocate were in practice combined. In the German territories the reform of the monasteries in the eleventh century had led to the placing of many monasteries under the control of the Papacy, in order to escape the hereditary 'dominium' of the lay lords. The aristocracy, however, succeeded in gaining wide powers (such as control of monastic lands) as advocates. In practice advowson often became hereditary in the same way as 'dominium' had been.⁵

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1. The patronage of Roche Abbey was sold: see above, p.220. The patronage of Jervaulx was transferred to the earls of Richmond when the site of the house was moved onto their demesne: see above, p. 199.
 2. On the rights of patronage over English monasteries, see S. Wood, English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century (Oxford, 1955); Colvin, White Canons, pp. 291-306; Hill, English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons. This last work, despite its title deals more generally with relations between the White Monks and their benefactors, not solely with patrons in the strict sense.
 3. Wood, English Monasteries, p.16.
 4. ibid. p.17.
 5. On the German advocate see H. Hirsch, 'The Constitutional History of the Reformed Monasteries during the Investiture Contest' in Medieval Germany 911-1250, ed. G. Barraclough (Oxford, 1938), 2, pp. 131-73, especially 145-60; G. Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany (2nd. ed. Oxford, 1947), pp. 88-90, 143-46; A. Fliche and V. Martin, Histoire de L'Eglise, 7 (Paris, 1948), pp. 351-53.

In England this difference was not so apparent.¹ Indeed the words 'fundator', 'patronus' and 'advocatus' appear to have been used interchangeably. William de Percy II was described as 'advocatus' of Whitby, Henry de Lacy as 'advocatus' of Nostell; while Roger de Mowbray was the 'patronus' of Byland and Walter Espec, founder of Kirkham, was also its 'advocatus'.² The rights which these men, and other founders and patrons assumed, or attempted to assume over their houses must have varied, not only according to the order to which their house belonged, but also to the abilities and aspirations of the individuals themselves.³

The present chapter is therefore concerned with the material reasons for the remarkable increase in the number of religious houses in the period 1069-1200; whether the expansion was merely the effect of monastic ideas on hitherto barren land; or whether there were other factors connected with the social, political and ecclesiastical conditions of the North which particularly favoured this expansion. These problems will be approached firstly through a discussion of the various individuals who founded religious houses in Yorkshire; their family background, their social status and political affiliations. Secondly the evidence for the specific motives for their foundations will be examined. Finally discussion will centre on the nature of patronage in twelfth-century Yorkshire and the light which this sheds upon the possible motives of the men who founded monasteries.

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1. E.M. Hallam, 'Henry II as a founder of Monasteries', J.E.H. 28 (1977) pp. 113-32, especially 116: The 'founder-patron relationship included that of lay advocate in normal circumstances....'.
 2. Cart. Whitby, I, no. 209; Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fo. 85v; Newburgh, I, p.52; Cart. Riev, no.149.
 3. Generally patrons of the exempt orders (Cistercians, Premonstratensians and Military Orders) exercised fewer rights than Augustinian and Benedictine patrons.

The Founders.

The Yorkshire baronage was subject to great fluctuation in fortunes during the period from the Norman Conquest to the death of King Richard.¹ As C.T. Clay has pointed out recently in his study of early Yorkshire families, few of the Yorkshire Domesday families survived in unbroken male descent until the fourteenth century.² Some survived an even shorter length of time. Certain changes of land tenure occurred under Henry I after the battle of Tinchebrai (1106) and several of his notorious 'novi homines' acquired fiefs in Yorkshire.³ King Stephen brought about the restoration of several families exiled under his predecessor; while the reign of Henry II saw the degradation of certain nobles (such as Roger de Mowbray) for rebellion.

Under the Conqueror Yorkshire was partitioned between approximately fifteen major landowners, apart from the king himself and the archbishop of York.⁴ In the north of the county lay the palatine honour of Alan, Earl of Richmond and Count of Brittany, one of the most powerful and wealthy Domesday tenants in England.⁵ Further compact blocks of estates were created on the Yorkshire borders for Roger de Busli (in the extreme south and south-west of the county) and for William de Warenne around Conisbrough, and, at a date subsequent to the compilation of Domesday Book,

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1. In this section consideration is given firstly to the members of the baronial class who founded monasteries and, secondly, to those of a lower social status. The terms 'baron' and 'baronage' are notoriously difficult to define: see S. Painter, Studies in the History of the English Feudal Barony (2nd ed. Baltimore, 1953), pp. 14-19. The terms are here used to denote those who held lands as tenants in chief of the king in Yorkshire.
 2. C.T. Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, p. vii.
 3. On the 'Novi Homines' see R.W. Southern, 'King Henry I', in Medieval Humanism and Other Studies (Oxford, 1970), pp. 206-33.
 4. T.A.M. Bishop, 'The Norman Settlement of Yorkshire', in Studies in Medieval History presented to F.M. Powicke, ed. R. Hunt, W. Pantin and R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 1-14;
 5. Painter, English Feudal Barony, p.17; I.J. Sanders, English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent (Oxford, 1960), pp.140-41; Complete Peerage, 10, pp.779-97.

around the manor of Wakefield. Of surprising compactness, considering that it was not a palatine fief, was the honour of Pontefract, held by Ilbert de Lacy.¹ More diverse were the lands which formed the Yorkshire fiefs of William de Percy, Gilbert de Gant, Erneis de Burun and Nigel Fossard.²

It has been said of the first generation of Anglo-Norman barons that they were not as a class notable for monastic foundations. D.J.A. Matthew, for instance explained that 'the reason why they preferred to give lands to their Norman houses, rather than to found new monasteries in England, was because they continued to regard Normandy as their own land.'³ This is true to a certain extent in Yorkshire: c1115 Stephen of Aumale, Lord of Holderness, for example, granted the cell of Birstall and a considerable number of East Riding churches to the monastery of St Martin of Aumale.⁴ William de Percy, however, founded the monastery of Whitby as early as 1079, endowing it with vast estates before his departure on crusade in c1095; Ralph Paynel, landowner in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, founded Holy Trinity, York, in 1089; Robert de Lacy founded Pontefract in c1099 and may have established the hermitage of Nostell.⁵

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1. Wightman, Lacy Family, pp. 27-35.
 2. On the Domesday tenants of Yorkshire, see W. Farrer, 'Introduction to the Yorkshire Domesday' in V.C.H. York, II, pp. 133-87, especially 151-87.
 3. D.J.A. Matthew, Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions (Oxford, 1962), p.28.
 4. See above, p.56.
 5. On the Norman origins of these families see Complete Peerage, 10, pp. 435-48; C.T. Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.71, 68; Sanders, English Feudal Baronies, pp. 55, 148, 138; Wightman, Lacy Family, pp. 55-57.
On the establishment of alien cells by the magnates of neighbouring Lincolnshire, see D.M. Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire (History of Lincolnshire, 5, Lincolnshire Local History Society, 1971), pp. 47-48.

In other ways the early Yorkshire barons proved themselves friends of the infant monasteries of the county. Although Selby at first had no lay patron, being in essence a hermitage, it received endowments from men such as Erneis de Burun, Hugh Fitz Baldric and Ilbert de Lacy.¹ The two latter were also benefactors of St Mary's, York, which owed its site in York to the generosity of Earl Alan of Richmond. William II referred to Alan in his charter of confirmation as 'post me et patrem meum hujus abbacie inceptor et institutor'.²

It was to be expected that the early foundations should have a 'continental flavour'; and indeed two of those houses founded by laymen, Holy Trinity and Pontefract, were dependent on the French abbeys of Marmoutier and La Charité. Although they were not autonomous abbeys but sustained links with continental houses, both priories developed, as far as one can tell, as English houses from the beginning. Although initially staffed from French monasteries, as they had to be colonized from somewhere, they probably do not represent the desire of a founder to donate lands to a foreign monastery. Holy Trinity and Pontefract were not cells of Marmoutier and La Charité; they were English houses endowed with English lands.

It was during the reign of Henry I, however, that the pace of monastic foundations in Yorkshire accelerated.³ Some of the houses owed their origins to members of Domesday Book families, Walter de Gant, son of the Domesday tenant Gilbert de Gant received from Henry I the vill of Bridlington, and it was there that he founded the only Gant monastery in Yorkshire. The Augustinian priory was evidently in existence by 1114.

1. See above, pp.3-10.

2. E.Y.C. I no. 350.

3. The foundation of a number of important monasteries in Yorkshire in the period 1100-1130 should be compared to the foundations made in Lincolnshire in the same period, where the establishment of small alien cells 'was to be the pattern of foundation until after 1130': Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire, p.48. The two notable exceptions were the Benedictine house of Bardney and the Augustinian priory of Wellow.

Walter de Gant fought for King Stephen at the Battle of the Standard in 1138 and died the following year, having become a monk at the Gant foundation of Bardney (Lincolnshire). Walter was succeeded by his son Gilbert, who was created earl of Lincoln.¹

William Paynel, son and heir of the founder of Holy Trinity himself founded a religious house, Drax.² Like his father he endowed the house with lands and churches both in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire; moreover he created considerable confusion by granting to Drax certain churches which his father had given to Holy Trinity. On his death William's lands were partitioned between his sons Hugh and Fulk. The latter inherited the patronage of both Drax and his father's Norman foundation of Hambye.³

Although the Domesday Inquest made no mention of Robert de Rumilly, it is the opinion of C.T. Clay that Robert came into possession of the Honour of Skipton not long after 1086.⁴ By 1120 the honour had passed to Robert's daughter, Cecily, who in association with her husband William Meschin, Lord of Copeland, founded the priory of Embsay for Augustinian canons. Their foundation was probably colonized from Huntingdon Priory.⁵ Cecily's husband and brother in law (Ralph Meschin) were notable monastic benefactors, being associated in the foundation of the cells of St Mary's at St Bees and Wetheral. At Cecily's death (1151-54) her lands were partitioned between her two daughters of her marriage to Meschin. Avice (who married firstly William de Curcy II and secondly William Paynel of Drax) inherited estates in Wharfedale; Alice (who married

1. See E.Y.C. II pp. 432-36.

2. Drax was founded in the period 1130-39.

3. Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.68-69. As Clay indicated the partition of William's lands was unusual, in that both sons received Norman and English lands.

4. E.Y.C. VII, pp. 1-4.

5. See above, pp. 110-11; Sanders, English Feudal Baronies, pp.115, 142-43.

William son of Duncan and Alexander son of Gerold) inherited the Honour of Skipton and the patronage of Embsay. She was responsible for the transfer of the site of the monastery to Bolton in 1155.¹

Also notable among the men who founded Yorkshire monasteries in the reign of Henry I were several 'novi homines' raised to power by the king and endowed with fiefs, some of which were acquired through confiscation, others by advantageous marriages.² Such men were Robert de Brus, Hugh de Laval, Walter Espec and Bertram de Bulmer. The fee of Robert de Brus, for instance, was created in the first decade of the twelfth century, possibly after the battle of Tinchebrai, when Henry I granted to Brus eighty manors which in 1086 had been in the hands of the king and William of Mortain.³ Brus' land holdings dominated the extreme north-east of the county. Acquisitions of land in Scotland, which he held of King David forced Brus to a crisis of conscience in 1138 when he is recorded as having made a desperate attempt to avert David's invasion of Yorkshire. When this attempt failed Brus renounced his allegiance to David and joined the Yorkshire barons in defeating the Scottish army at the Battle of the Standard, an army which included in its ranks his own son Robert⁴. Brus made an important religious foundation, that of Guisborough, in 1119. The priory was richly endowed, and secured considerable influence in the Cleveland area. The patronage passed briefly to Robert's son Adam de Brus, who died only a year after his father (1143). He was in turn succeeded by his son Adam II, whose relations with the priory of Guisborough were frequently strained.⁵

1. See above, p.112.

2. See R.W. Southern, 'Henry I', pp. 211-233.

3. On the creation of the fee of Brus, see E.Y.C. II pp.11-19.

4. Ailred of Rievaulx, Relatio de Standardo, pp. 192-95.

5. See above, p.100.

Like Robert de Brus, Hugh de Laval came into possession of the estates of rebellious barons, and also like Robert he was associated with the foundation of an Augustinian house, that of Nostell. In the years 1109-1114, for reasons unknown, Robert de Lacy was banished by Henry I from his Yorkshire estates. He fled to his Norman lands, which he had been allowed to retain. The honour then passed by royal grant to Hugh, a Norman baron of minor importance.¹ The unusual circumstances of the foundation of Nostell make it particularly difficult to apportion the responsibility; certainly Henry I, his chaplain and Archbishop Thurstan were all instrumental in bringing about the foundation, but Hugh endowed the canons with considerable estates of the Honour of Pontefract. He was honoured at Nostell, and, as Wightman pointed out, the section of the Nostell cartulary headed 'Carte Advocatorum' begins with Hugh's generous grants.² Hugh was succeeded in 1130 by another royal nominee, William Maltravers, who was murdered by a knight of the honour on the death of Henry I in 1135. Henceforth the restored Lacy family assumed the patronage of Nostell.

A number of these men, raised from humble origins to positions of wealth, also acted as royal officials. Walter Espec, for instance, who was probably the son of William Spech who held land in Warden (Buckinghamshire) in 1086, rose to prominence as a royal justiciar.³ He was accordingly a frequent visitor to the court of the king, and it may have been on one such occasion that he encountered the monks of Clairvaux, sent to England by St Bernard, and granted the site of Rievaulx by Walter.⁴ This was Walter's most famous foundation, but a decade earlier he had founded an Augustinian house, Kirkham. In 1135 he made yet another foundation, that of Warden (Buckinghamshire) for Cistercian monks. Walter

1. Wightman, Lacy Family, pp. 66-69.

2. Wightman, 'Foundation of Nostell Priory', p. 57.

3. On Walter Espec's estates, see I.J. Sanders, English Baronies, pp. 52, 133, 148.

4. See above, pp. 147-50.

died c1156 and was succeeded by his son in law, Robert de Ros.¹

A further royal official and monastic patron was Bertram de Bulmer. Like the Brus fee, that of Bulmer originated in a grant of crown land to a faithful vassal by Henry I. Ansketil de Bulmer, recipient of this grant, was a benefactor of Nostell Priory, but he is overshadowed as a monastic benefactor by his son Bertram, sheriff of Yorkshire under Henry I and again under Henry II.² The reasons for Bertram's dismissal as sheriff under Stephen are not recorded, and little is heard of his activities in the period 1135-54 except for his foundation of Marton Priory.³ Bertram was also a benefactor of Byland and Rievaulx; he evidently forcibly appropriated tithes claimed by St Mary's Abbey.⁴ On his death his lands passed first to his son and then to his daughter, from whom were descended the Nevilles of Raby.⁵ Geoffrey son of Pain, a contemporary of Bertram and also a royal official, was responsible for the foundations of Warter and Tockwith, the latter a cell of Nostell.⁶

Finally Henry raised to power Eustace fitz John, who secured a favourable marriage to Beatrice de Vescy, a wealthy heiress. Fitz John acquired lands in Northumberland (Alnwick) and Yorkshire (Malton and Knaresborough). He achieved honourable mention in the 'Narratio Foundationis' of Fountains Abbey as the man who saved the community from extinction by his timely gift of bread. He is recorded as a benefactor of St Mary's and Bridlington, but is more famous for his foundation of Alnwick (Northumberland), the second Premonstratensian house in England, and of the Gilbertine foundations of Watton and Malton.⁷ His son and heir, who took his mother's name of Vescy, retained the patronage of these houses.

1. E.Y.C. X pp. 145-47.

2. On the family of Bulmer, see Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.8-9.

3. See above, pp.129-31.

4. E.Y.C. II no. 1052.

5. Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, p.67.

6. See above, pp. 115-16.

7. On Alnwick, see H.M. Colvin, White Canons, pp.53-56; on the possible reasons for the Gilbertine foundations see below, pp. 319-21. On Vescy see Sanders, English Feudal Baronies, pp.59, 103; Complete Peerage 12, pp. 268-76.

The reign of Henry I was a period of quite remarkable monastic expansion in Yorkshire especially of the Augustinian order, although this expansion was to be overshadowed by the more dramatic rise of the Cistercians in the reign of Henry's successor. Matthew suggested that the Norman barons did not endow or found English monasteries until they ceased to regard Normandy as their home and that 'this process of losing touch with Normandy is hardly noticeable before the death of Henry I'.¹ In Yorkshire, however, it was not only the 'novi homines' (who, as Professor Southern has shown were notable founders of Augustinian houses²) who were founding religious houses, but also the older families, who still retained close links with Normandy.

The reign of Stephen has always been singled out, and rightly so, as the high point in monastic expansion. By this time (1135-54) there was less distinctions between the new men of Henry I, the old Domesday families, and the restored families such as the Lacys and Stutevilles. In this period of civil strife it seems as if almost every baron of importance was associated with a monastic foundation. Many of the barons seemed to support King Stephen in his struggle against the Empress Matilda, although the political issues of the day seem often to have been lost in a welter of local feuds and faction. Stephen found gallant supporters at the Battle of the Standard in 1138, and among those who routed the Scots were Ilbert de Lacy II, newly-restored to the Honour of Pontefract; Walter Espec; William de Percy; Robert de Brus; Roger de Mowbray; William de Stuteville and William of Aumale.³ Roger de Mowbray distinguished himself at the Battle of Lincoln (1141) while fighting for Stephen, unlike Earl Alan of Richmond and William of Aumale, who allegedly fled the battlefield.⁴

1. Matthew, Norman Monasteries, p.28.

2. R.W. Southern, 'Henry I' pp. 216-17.

3. Ailred of Rievaulx, Relatio de Standardo, pp. 182-3; John of Hexham, p. 294. The latter added the names of Bernard de Balliol, Richard de Curcy and William Fossard.

4. John of Hexham, pp. 307-8.

Local feuds erupted, however, among those who joined together to beat the Scottish army in 1138: Henry de Lacy fought against Gilbert de Gant, and as a result the Lacy monastery of Pontefract was burnt.¹ Alan of Richmond quarrelled with William of Aumale.² The Mowbrays and the Stutevilles sued each other for lands which had been confiscated from Robert de Stuteville after the Battle of Tinchebrai and had passed to the Honour of Mowbray, created by Henry I. Henry de Lacy came into conflict with Earl William.³

Out of this unsettled period came a number of important monastic foundations: Henry de Lacy founded the Cistercian house of Kirkstall, and took an interest in Temple Hirst and Temple Newsam founded by his tenants.⁴ Earl Alan of Brittany, evidently no respecter of church property, nevertheless offered protection to the new monastery of Fors (Jervaulx) founded by his tenant.⁵ Richard de Busli and Richard son of Turgis de Wykersley established Cistercian monks at Roche in 1147; William de Percy II founded Sallay and the nunnery of Handale; Roger de Mowbray was responsible for the foundations of Byland, Newburgh and possibly the Templar houses of Cowton, Penhill and Stanhowe.⁶ Robert de Stuteville founded the nunnery of Keldholme. Finally perhaps the most important magnate in Yorkshire who was, indeed, described by William of Newburgh as 'rex verior', William of Aumale, Earl of York was responsible for the foundation of Meaux.⁷ Aumale also founded two Lincolnshire houses, Vaudey and Thornton.⁸

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1. See below, p.334.
 2. John of Hexham, p.312.
 3. Mowbray Charters, p.xxviii. On the identity of Earl William, see below, p. 339.
 4. Henry de Lacy twice visited Jerusalem on crusade or pilgrimage; see above, p. 298. With the death of his son Robert in 1193 the direct line of the Lacys came to an end.
 5. Alan allegedly ravaged the lands of the archbishop around Ripon and insulted Archbishop William in York Minster: John of Hexham pp.306, 315.
 6. See above, pp. 287-88.
 7. Newburgh, I, p.103. On Aumale see Complete Peerage, I, pp.350-55.
 8. The expansion of monastic houses in Yorkshire in the period 1135-54 was paralleled in Lincolnshire: Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire, p.48.

The majority of monastic founders in the period 1069-1154 were accordingly members of the nobility; they were high on the social ladder and intimately involved in the national politics. These tenants in chief did not, however, have a monopoly of monastic foundations, for some of their tenants and subtenants were also responsible for establishing religious houses. Among the more wealthy tenants of the major honours to found houses were Adam son of Swane, William de Arches, Bertram Haget, Roald, constable of Richmond, Acaris son of Bardolph, Reiner the Fleming and the family of Clere.

Adam son of Swane, was the grandson of Ailric who in 1086 held lands in Cawthorne of the Honour of Pontefract. A benefactor of the Lacy foundations of Pontefract and Nostell, Adam gave lands for the foundation of Monk Bretton as a daughter house of Pontefract.¹ William de Arches and Bertram Haget were both tenants of the Mowbray Honour; the former probably the son of Osbern de Arches, tenant in chief in 1086, whose lands had been granted by Henry I to the Mowbrays.² William de Arches and his wife Juetta founded the priory of Nun Monkton, the patronage of which passed to their daughter Juetta and her second husband William de Flammaville.³ William de Arches' sister Agnes was the founder of Nunkeeling, and her daughter Alice, of Nun Appleton. Bertram Haget is the first recorded member of the family who held land for the service of two knights in the region of Tadcaster. Bertram was the founder of Sinningthwaite Priory and of the hermitage of Healaugh Park. It was the second generation of Hagets that rose to prominence; Geoffrey (d.1199) as a royal justiciar and Ralph as abbot of Kirkstall and Fountains.⁴

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1. On the descendants of Ailric, see E.Y.C. III pp. 317-19.
 2. Clay, Early Yorkshire Families, pp.1-2.
 3. On the family of Flammaville, see ibid. pp.29-33. Juetta had previously married Adam de Brus I.
 4. Abbot of Kirkstall 1182-1190/1, and of Fountains 1190/1-1203. On Ralph's career see above, pp. 169-70, 210-12.

Further north two major tenants of the Honour of Richmond were responsible for religious foundations: Acaris son of Bardolph, steward of the honour who held lands of Earl Alan in Fors and Worton, lent his protection to Peter de Quinciaco and the monks of Savigny and granted them the site of an abbey at Fors.¹ Roald, constable of Richmond established the Premonstratensian house of Easby.² An important knight of the Honour of Skipton, Reiner the Fleming, founded Kirklees priory. The founders of Yedingham Priory, Helewise de Clere and her son Roger belonged to the family who appear to have come into the lands held in 1086 by Berengar and Robert de Todenai.³ In 1166 Roger de Clere held two knights fees of Hugh Bigod, of the fee of Aubrey de L'Isle. Finally Ralph de Neville, who held lands of Peterborough Abbey, was enfeoffed of land in Filey by Walter de Gant; he also held lands of Ernald de Percy, his father in law. The lands of Nunthorpe came to Ralph as the dowry of his wife, and it was to the vicinity of the vill of Nunthorpe that Ralph transferred the nunnery which he had earlier founded at Hutton Rudby.⁴

Below these men and women of the social scale were nine individuals responsible for the foundation of nunneries. Roger de Aske, founder of Marrick, held nine carucates of land of the Steward fee (Richmond), for which he was due to perform castle guard at Richmond in the months of August and September.⁵ Peter de Arthington, founder of Arthington Priory, was a tenant of the Paynels of Hooton Pagnell. He owed no knight service. Peter de Hoton, founder of Arden, was a subtenant of Hugh Malebisse, Lord of Scawton and a knight of the Mowbray household.⁶

1. E.Y.C. V, pp. 316-18.

2. ibid. pp.85-88.

3. On the family of Fleming, see E.Y.C. VII, pp.193-202; on Clere see C.T. Clay, The Family of Clere (privately printed 1975), especially p.16.

4. E.Y.C. II, pp. 462-65.

5. ibid. V, pp. 71-72.

6. Mowbray Charters, p.ix.

It can accordingly be seen that the majority of those who founded religious houses in Yorkshire were important landowners who could well afford to endow a monastery. Where there is a clear distinction in the class of founders, it occurs not between the patrons of different religious orders but between those who founded houses for men and for women. With the exception of Monk Bretton, Easby and Jervaulx, all monastic houses for men were founded by tenants in chief of the crown; with the exceptions of William de Percy, Robert de Stuteville and Eustace Fitz John, all those who founded nunneries were of a lower social status.

The predominance of the baronial class in the expansion of the monastic houses is not surprising.¹ They were the members of society with land to spare on which to establish houses. Nor is it surprising that the fashion for founding religious houses spread quickly among their ranks. Many of their families were related by marriage; the Gant family, for instance, were related to the Mowbrays, the Percys and the Paynels,² and the monks of Roger de Mowbray's foundation of Newburgh were drawn from the Gant monastery of Bridlington. Family as well as political connections fostered the spread of religious houses. The foundation of Nun Monkton by William and Juetta de Arches was, as we have seen, followed by the establishment of Nunkeeling by William's sister and Nun Appleton by his niece.³ Such family associations provided at the very least a medium by which ideas could travel.

Given that there existed obvious channels through which news about monastic foundations could travel, what other considerations lay behind the decision of a man to found a religious house? The nature of the evidence is such that a full analysis of the motives behind the

1. The same was true of Lincolnshire: Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire, pp.47-48.

2. Walter de Gant married the daughter of Stephen, Earl of Richmond; his (Walter's) sister Emma married Alan de Percy; Robert de Gant married Alice Paynel; Alice de Gant married firstly Ilbert de Lacy and secondly Roger de Mowbray: E.Y.C. II, p.433; Mowbray Charters, p.261.

3. See above, pp.245-46.

foundations is impossible. Rarely did founders venture beyond the formal language of the charter. Nevertheless there are in several cases indications of influences, devotional, social and political, which contributed to the monastic expansion in Yorkshire.

The foundation of a religious house by a layman was a personal matter. It was intended to contribute towards his salvation. Foundations and endowments were made 'pro salute anime mee' and for the souls of the founder's family, his ancestors, his heirs, occasionally his king and anyone else he might care to specify. There could, of course, be particular circumstances which prompted a man to consider his eventual fate: Henry de Lacy, for instance is recorded as having made a vow while seriously ill that if God spared his life he would found a religious house. He recovered, and in fulfilment of his vow he founded Kirkstall Abbey.¹ The consequences of breaking a vow to go on crusade evidently weighed heavily on the conscience of William of Aumale, since he seems to have readily acquiesced to a suggestion - put to him by a Cistercian monk - that he should found a Cistercian monastery instead.²

Tradition has similarly associated the desire to atone for particular sins with the foundation of Malton and Watton by Eustace Fitz John. Fitz John had allied with King David of Scotland in 1138 and had thus fought against his fellow Yorkshiremen at the Battle of the Standard. The origin of the legend that his foundations were made in recompense for this action is obscure; so is the tradition of Espec's foundation of Kirkham in memory of a deceased son.³ However, personal considerations such as these may well have accounted for individual foundations.

1. On Kirkstall see above, pp. 205-6.

2. On the foundation of Meaux, see above, pp. 228-29.

3. It is unlikely that there is any truth in the legend of the foundation of Kirkham, since no mention is made in any charter of Espec to Kirkham or his son. It is not even known whether Espec did in fact have a son. It seems that (as in the tradition that Alice de Rumilly transferred the site of Embsay to Bolton because her son drowned near the latter) the Kirkham tradition may be a conflation of two separate events. See above, pp. 103, 112.

Nor can there be any doubt that churchmen encouraged foundations for such motives of devotion. Thurstan was active in persuading the major landowners of his diocese to establish religious houses in atonement for their sins, and monks themselves (like Adam of Fountains) fostered the interests of their orders.¹ Personal considerations of a more practical nature lay behind the foundation of at least two of the Yorkshire nunneries. Matilda de Arches became prioress of her parents' foundation of Nun Monkton; the daughters of Roger de Aske are known to have entered his house of Marrick. The foundations themselves may have been prompted by a desire on the part of the daughters of the founders to enter religion.²

It did not escape the notice of the Yorkshire chronicler William of Newburgh, writing in the 1190s that more religious foundations took place during the reign of Stephen than at any other period:

*Denique multo plura sub brevitare temporis, quo Stephanus regnavit, vel potius nomen regis obtinuit, quam centum retro annis servorum et ancillarum Dei monasteria initium in Anglia sumpsisse noscuntur*³

In Yorkshire his observation was quite correct. Before 1135 there had been founded some thirteen or fourteen houses for men and two or three houses for women. In the period 1135-54 twelve or thirteen monasteries and ten or eleven nunneries were founded. Taken together the total of houses founded in Stephen's reign was higher, with a marked increase in the number of nunneries. It has often been suggested that the relationship between the nineteen years of disorder and the rise of the monasteries was twofold, namely that the religious houses provided havens of peace and security in times of external chaos, and further that monasteries were founded by the barons to atone for the many atrocities which they committed.

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1. On Thurstan's influence on monastic foundations see below, pp.361-63.
 2. See above, p. 272.
 3. Newburgh, I, p.53.

If the tradition of Eustace Fitz John and the foundations of Watton and Malton enshrines any truth, then this furnishes a concrete example. However this type of argument is difficult to substantiate by documentary evidence, and it is in the area of monastic endowments rather than foundations that we find more reliable evidence of grants made in compensation for violent actions.¹

The relationship between monastic growth and the disorders of Stephen's reign has been taken a step further by B.D. Hill, writing specifically of the Cistercian order: 'When the great barons assisted the Cistercians with landed endowments, with privileges and with rights, and the monks accepted these gifts, there was established between the two institutions, the feudal and the monastic, a strong, close and virtually indissoluble bond ... the barons realized that the monasteries posed no threat to feudal power or ambition; indeed the monasteries, by the very fact of their dependence on the nobles and by the fact of their close connection with the Holy See, implicitly supported the barons in their opposition to royal authority'.² A powerful argument supporting this thesis is that the Cistercians achieved their greatest power in areas where royal authority was weakest, not just in England but also in France and Germany.³

Here we may be attempting to answer, not the question 'why were monasteries founded' but 'why did a founder choose to endow one particular order'. H.M. Colvin has reminded us that 'in a world in which secular government depended so largely on personal relationships, it is not

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1. For examples of such gifts see below, pp. 334, 346.
 2. Hill, English Cistercian Monasteries, p.38.
 3. Thus the Cistercians obtained considerable power in Germany in Eastern Pomerania, in Mecklenberg and in Silesia, and in France in Burgundy, Normandy and Brittany. See H. Aubin, 'Medieval Agrarian Society in its Prime: The lands east of the Elbe and German colonisation eastwards', in Cambridge Economic History of Europe, ed. J.H. Clapham and E. Power, I (Cambridge, 1941) pp. 361-97; F. Lot and R. Fawtier, Histoire des Institutions Francaises au moyen âge, II (Paris, 1958) pp.210-11.

surprising that when the foundation of a monastery was first mediated in the castle, feudal connexions should often have determined the choice of one order rather than another within the Church, of one parent house rather than another within the order.¹ Colvin's own examples illustrate the kind of family and feudal connections which have been outlined earlier in this chapter rather than the more explicitly political considerations which Hill's remarks imply. Is the evidence for the Yorkshire Cistercian foundations strong enough to support the view that the last great phase of monastic expansion in the county was politically motivated?

Of the six Cistercian foundations in Yorkshire (for Byland and Jervaulx were founded as Savigniac houses) two, Fountains and Rievaulx were founded in the reign of Henry I, and both stemmed from ecclesiastical initiative. It could be argued that Meaux also came into existence as a result of the actions of an ecclesiastic, since the suggestion to found the house was made by a Cistercian monk. Were William de Percy, Richard de Busli, William of Aumale and Henry de Lacy seeking 'implicit support' from monks in establishing their opposition to royal authority? Such an argument encounters the objection that William of Aumale and Henry de Lacy in particular were staunch supporters of the king and owed much to his patronage.² Moreover it is difficult to see how the foundation of a Cistercian house would have benefitted them in practice. Hill maintained that the Cistercian patron desired powers of advocacy, including political control over monastic properties and estates.³ It is possible that the English founder of a Cistercian house had these privileges in view; if so, they must have been disappointed. The second section of this chapter will explore in more detail the rights which patrons enjoyed; and it emerges that the position of the Cistercian patron was weak in comparison with that of the patrons of other orders.

1. Colvin, White Canons, p.33.

2. Aumale was Stephen's earl of York; the Lacys had been restored by Stephen to Pontefract in 1135. See above, pp. 312, 314.

3. Hill, English Cistercian Monasteries, p.40.

In this respect England presented a contrast to the Continent:

'In the German Empire and sometimes in the French territories, the great princes and dukes were able to secure privileges which the English barons would certainly have wanted, but which the strength of the English monarchy prevented them from gaining - the rights of advocacy'.¹ Henry II may have been able to bring the Cistercians into the orbit of his authority; Stephen may have been unwilling or unable to prevent large grants of land to the Cistercians for fear of offending the church, but there is no evidence to suggest that the Yorkshire patrons ever attempted to use their theoretical powers to oppose the king. Indeed there was no reason why they should have done. Advocacy was nothing new in Germany; and the German princes of the twelfth century were only doing what the kings of the eleventh century had done, namely use the monastery as a means of political power. In England however, although there were royal abbeys over which the king wielded considerable power there was not the tradition of advocacy that there was in Germany.

The geographical concentration of Cistercian monasteries in those parts of England where royal authority was weakest may be of some significance, and account must accordingly be taken of the feudal and political conditions of that area. However there is not enough evidence to support fully Hill's thesis of political motivation behind the Cistercian foundations of Yorkshire, since only four, possibly only three of the foundations could have been made for such reasons. Moreover the fact that the Cistercian expansion in Yorkshire, indeed in England as a whole, was to coincide with the 'anarchy' was not only due to the succession of a strong king, Henry II, but also to the limits imposed on the expansion by the order itself. The Cistercians did not reach England until 1129, Yorkshire in 1131-32; in 1152 the Cistercian General Chapter itself banned any further foundations.²

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1. Hill, English Cistercian Monasteries, p.40; H. Hirsch, 'The Constitutional history of the Reformed Monasteries during the Investiture Contest', in Medieval Germany 911-1250, ed. G. Barraclough (Oxford, 1938) 2, pp. 131-73.
 2. Canivez, Statuta, I, p.45.

The Cistercian houses were no more numerous in the North of England than in the South or Midlands; they were certainly more powerful in the north, however, and their power was based on wealth, their vast lands and their economic abilities. The reason for their power, however, lies not in the connection between monastery and patron but in the ecclesiastical and economic background of the North. In the South old established Benedictine abbeys were numerous; they were also powerful landowners and the potentiality for monastic expansion was accordingly limited. In the north by 1130 there were still comparatively few large monasteries and there were large tracts of uncultivated land not yet efficiently exploited.¹ It was the ability of the Northern Cistercians to exploit these lands which brought them their ascendancy.²

A further reason has been advanced for the preference of the barons for Cistercian foundations:- that they were cheap to endow. According to Hill, 'there was a considerable difference between the materials necessary for the foundation of a Cistercian monastery and those required for the establishment of a Benedictine house'; and he goes on to suggest that the foundation of a house for White Monks entailed no great material sacrifice.³ R.W. Southern has suggested that the Augustinian order was popular for the same kind of reason: 'It was an Order of compromise - between the world and its rejection, between the splendours of Benedictinism and the trivialities of disorganized colleges of clergy. Its houses could be humble, yet satisfy the founder's desire for independence ... These modest and inexpensive virtues appealed to men like Henry I, Roger of Salisbury and Geoffrey de Clinton'.⁴

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1. On Cistercian economic activities in Yorkshire see below, pp. 441-43.
 2. This is the reason advanced for the ascendancy obtained by the Cistercians by R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (1970), pp.250-65.
 3. Hill, English Cistercian Monasteries, pp.44-45.
 4. R.W. Southern, 'Henry I', p.216.

The accompanying table (fig. 33) provides an impression of the endowments which were made to the Yorkshire houses at the time of their foundation, or shortly afterwards.¹ It is clear that when comparing these endowments one has to consider not only the amount of land given but also its quality. Some general conclusions may however, be drawn. Firstly, not all the Benedictine and Cluniac houses were well-endowed with lands by their founders, but both Holy Trinity and Pontefract received benefactions in the form of churches. This they shared in common with the Augustinians. As W.E. Wightman, among others, has indicated, churches were a popular form of endowment in the twelfth century because the lay patron of a church probably derived little revenue from it, certainly not as much as a monastery could do if it appropriated the church.² Consequently the foundation of several houses, such as Newburgh, may have been comparatively inexpensive.³ However several Augustinian houses, notably Guisborough, Kirkham, and Bridlington were generously endowed with lands substantial enough to support a sizeable community.

The Cistercians received an entirely different form of benefaction, and this was due to the limitations they themselves placed on the type of endowments they would accept. That the Cistercians received sites which had not previously been occupied, and lands previously unexploited seems on the whole true. The character of sites such as Rievaulx, Fountains and Roche bear witness to this fact to this very day.⁴ Did this feature contribute to their popularity? Probably it did considerably, but allowance must be made for the generosity of individual founders. After his initial failure to provide adequately for the monks of Byland, Roger de Mowbray

1. See fig. 33, pp. 326-28.

2. W.E. Wightman, The Lacy Family, p. 62.

3. On the appropriations of churches by Yorkshire monasteries, see below, pp. 394-99.

4. The site of Fors may have been depopulated to make way for the monastery, however, and similar depopulation took place at Meaux, and possibly Sallay; see below, pp. 441-443. However, as Dr Platt has recently and convincingly pointed out the reputation of the Cistercians as depopulators has to be modified. Frequently resettlement took place, often very close to the original peasant settlement, as happened at Morker and Griff: C. Platt, The Monastic Grange in Medieval England (London, 1969) pp. 91-93.

The Initial Endowments of the Yorkshire Religious Houses¹

<u>House</u>	<u>Founder</u>	<u>Endowment</u>
Selby (B) 1069	William I	1 carucate, 12 bovates.
Whitby (B) 1079	William de Percy	4 vills, 7 churches, tithes ²
St Mary's (B) 1088	Earl Alan/William I	1 vill, 12 carucates, 6 churches, tithes
Holy Trinity (AB) 1089	Ralph Paynel	12 churches and a mediety, tithes, half a carucate
Pontefract (CI) 1090-99	Robert de Lacy	3 churches and a mediety, unspecified land
Bridlington (A) c1114	Walter de Gant	vill (14 carucates), half a carucate, tithes, 6 churches
Nostell (A) c1119	Robert de Lacy/ Hugh de Laval	2 bovates/ 6 churches
Kirkham (A) c1122	Walter Espec	manor, 7 churches, 4 vills
Guisborough (A) 1119-24	Robert de Brus	vill, 9 churches
Bolton (A) 1121-27	Cecily de Rumilly	vill, 2 churches
St Clement's (N) c1130	Thurstan	2 carucates, tithes, rents
Rievaulx (C) 1132	Walter Espec	9 carucates, easments of forests
Fountains (C) 1132	Thurstan	200 acres of woodland, 2 carucates and arable.

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- Houses are given in chronological order of foundation. Those for which there is no evidence for the initial gifts are omitted from this list. Details of these and other endowments are discussed in chapters 1-6.
 - These grants were made between 1079 (the date of the foundation) and 1096 when William de Percy went on crusade.

<u>House</u>	<u>Founder</u>	<u>Endowment</u>
Warter (A) 1132	Geoffrey Fitz Pain	church
Handale (N) 1133	William de Percy II	2 tofts, 10 acres, pasture for 100 sheep
Drax (A) 1130-39	William Paynel	7 churches, 5½ carucates, tithes
Byland (S) 1138	Roger de Mowbray	tithes of food, site of Hood
Kirklees (N) c1138?	Reiner the Fleming	site and land surrounding
Newburgh (A) 1142-3	Roger de Mowbray	13 churches and chapels, 12 bovates
Jervaulx (S) 1145	Acaris son of Bardolph	3½ carucates
Roche (C) 1147	Richard de Busli and Richard Fitz Turgis	land and pasture for 100 sheep
Sallay (C) 1147	William de Percy	2 carucates, 3 vills
Kirkstall (C) 1147	Henry de Lacy	vill
Arden (N) 1147-69	Peter de Hoton	2 carucates
Nun Monkton (N) 1147-53	William and Juetta de Arches	6½ carucates, 3 churches
Meaux (C) 1150-51	William of Aumale	vill, woodland
Easby (P) 1152	Roald the constable	2 carucates and church
Nun Appleton (N) 1144-50	Agnes de Arches	assart and woodland
Nunkeeling (N) 1143-53	Alice of St Quintin	3 carucates and croft

<u>House</u>	<u>Founder</u>	<u>Endowment</u>
Malton (G) 1150-53	Eustace Fitz John	1 carucate, 1 church, 1 village
Watton (G) 1150-53	Eustace Fitz John	vill, 3 bovates, 1 villein
Wilberfoss (N) c1153	Alan de Catton	1 chapel
Marrick (N) 1154-8	Roger de Aske	woodland, assarts, 1 carucate, tithes
Monk Bretton (C1) 1153-4	Adam son of Swane	mills, land
Marton (A) 1135-54	Bertram de Bulmer	vill, churches, 30 acres, pasture for 100 sheep
Sinningthwaite (N) ante 1155	Bertram Haget	3½ carucates
Keldholme (N) 1154-66	Robert de Stuteville	park, mill, pasture, vaccary
Hutton (N) (Baysdale) c1162	Ralph de Neville	2 carucates, 1 bovat, 1 mill
Thicket (N) c1180	Roger son of Roger	5 bovates
Coverham (P) (Swainby) c1187	Helewise and Waleran de Glanville	church, 16 acres and pasture for 1000 sheep and 40 beasts, tithes

proved an extremely generous benefactor and within four years of the foundation of Byland granted to the monks a vaccary, woodland, six carucates of land, all Airyholme and several further tracts of land.¹ Conversely the Lacy family were never generous benefactors, either to Nostell or to Kirkstall (for the initial grant which Henry de Lacy made comprised the vill of Barnoldswick, which did not belong to him).²

Thus there were many influences at work promoting the expansion of monasticism in Yorkshire. A baron might be swayed by political considerations as well as by personal convictions and devotion. Ideas about monasticism would be spread by family connections as well as by social intercourse between members of the baronial class. It now remains to be seen how the relationship between monastery and patron developed after the foundation, what each party expected of the other, and if this relationship differed between patrons of different orders.

The Role of the Patron.

The responsibility of a patron might be described as protection of the monastery in the secular world, and the duties which this involved could be varied and manifold. As the following pages will describe, the way in which the role of the patron was interpreted could differ considerably according to the needs of individual houses, as well as the expectations of individual patrons. So, too, could the privileges and rewards which the patron might receive by virtue of his special position.

The first duty of the patron was obviously to provide lands for the support of his community. The initial endowments by the founders have already been described, and it was noted that these varied considerably.³

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1. See above, pp. 179-80.
 2. See above, pp. 205-6.
 3. See above, pp. 326-28.

As the community expanded, the patron might be expected to increase the endowments of a house. Thus Alan de Percy extended the possessions of Whitby Abbey, and Cecily de Rumilly added further lands to her initial gift to the priory of Embsay.¹ Matilda de Percy, patron of Sallay, granted the monks the church of Tadcaster in 1189 because 'paupertatis eorum immensitas in contumeliam et opprobium patris mei et omnium heredum eorum redundabat'. Thus by her gifts the abbey would be able to fulfil its function 'in servicio Dei ... et in pauperum et peregrinorum suscepcione caritative sustentandam'.² Roger de Mowbray made a total of twenty further grants to Byland.

If the monks were dissatisfied with a site, whether on account of the allegedly bad climate or the poor quality of the land, they could appeal to their patron for a new site. Roger de Mowbray provided four sites for Byland, and when the original site of the abbey (Hood) was demised to the canons of Bridlington, the Byland monks were adequately compensated.³ Alice de Rumilly provided a new site for Embsay priory at Bolton, and when the abbot of Barnoldswick, searching for a new site for his house had selected it, 'he departed to Henry de Lacy, founder of the monastery. Received by him with due honour he plies him about the matter of his house, the poverty of the brethren and the inconvenience of the place, ...adding that he had found a spot very suitable and pleasant, and that it was easily possible for that property to come into his lordship'. The holder of the land, William Peitevin was persuaded by Lacy to give the site to the monks.⁴

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1. On the gifts to Whitby and Embsay, see above, p. 113.
 2. Cart. Sallay, II, no. 615.
 3. See above, p. 124.
 4. Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall, p. 178.

In addition to providing lands himself a lay patron might be expected to encourage his tenants to do likewise. The dependence of several monasteries on the ability of the patron to promote endowments from his tenants is illustrated by the fact that they received virtually no benefactions outside the fee, or honour of the patron.¹ This is clear in the case of the nunneries, the Augustinian houses of Drax, Kirkham and Newburgh, the Premonstratensian monastery of Easby and the smaller Cistercian houses of Jervaulx and Sallay. Monasteries which do not exhibit this feature fall into three categories. Firstly, the early foundations, such as Whitby and Bridlington, which came into existence at a date when a prospective benefactor had few monasteries to choose from, could be cited. Secondly, there were those which received royal backing. In the cases of Selby, St Mary's and Nostell, benefactions by major landowners would be encouraged by a desire to emulate their royal master. Thirdly one might include those abbeys which for various reasons, such as the presence of notable figures like Ailred of Rievaulx or Henry Murdac, attracted public attention.

It could be argued that when a man gave lands to a monastery he normally chose the house which lay nearest to his own estates, and that there was, accordingly, little direct influence on the part of the patron in promoting endowments for his monastery. This might have been so in some cases, but an incident recorded in the narrative of Jervaulx abbey illustrates the influence of the lay patron at work:

Omnibus autem praeparatis ad erectionem primi aedificii, frater Petrus quaesivit comitem sicut praeceperat. Qui veniens ad locum illum ubi domus illa deberet levari, advocavit sibi nominatim quatuor vel quinque de militibus qui secum advenerant, et dixit illis, jocundo vultu, quasi in ludendo, 'Nos omnes habemus terras magnas et possessiones; nunc ergo propriis manibus adjuvemus, et erigamus istam domum in nomine Domini nostri, et unusquisque nostrum terram vel redditum exhibeat in perpetuam elemosinam et sustentationem partis quam levaverit.'²

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1. The same feature can be seen in the case of some Lincolnshire houses such as Crowland: Owen, Church and Society in Medieval Lincolnshire pp.49-50.
 2. Mon.Ang. V, p.569.

Some, at least, were said to have complied willingly with Earl Alan's suggestion, others only 'per conditionem'.

The rights which were granted to religious houses by their patrons were jealously guarded. Roger de Mowbray granted to Byland Abbey freedom of his seal so that they could receive confirmation on any gift 'absque alicujus exactione temporalis seu secularis impensionis'.¹ Following her grant to Embsay (Bolton) of the mill and multure of Silsden, Cecily de Rumilly took steps to ensure that the canons would benefit from the gift. Firstly she order 'quod aliut molendinum ab aliquo hominum sine voluntate et consensu canonicorum in eadem villa non fiat, nec etiam manu mola habeatur' and secondly 'si quis autem de predicta willa renuerit venire ad predictum molendinum ego et heredes mei compellemus eum illud sequi, ita quod si repertus fuerit veniens ab alio molendino saccus et bladus erunt canonicorum et equus et forisfactum erunt mea et heredum meorum'.² Similar provisions are attached to Cecily's grant of the mills of Harewood.³ Frequent injunctions were issued by patrons to their tenants commanding them to protect the monastic estates as they would the lands of their lord.

Monastic expansion did not take place without some opposition from laymen. Disputes were not unknown, and if the monastery was faced with the forcible reoccupation of their lands it could (like Meaux Abbey in the period 1182-97⁴) make recourse to law, or it could appeal to a lay patron. When Roger de Mowbray left England for Normandy in 1147 his infant foundation was subjected to encroachments by Robert and William de Stuteville, who, it will be remembered, were trying to regain their original family possessions which had passed to the honour of Mowbray. Similar

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1. Mowbray Charters, no. 64.
 2. E.Y.C. VII, no. 4.
 3. ibid. III, no. 1861.
 4. Chron. Melsa, I, pp. 231-32.

encroachments were being made by other Mowbray knights. Roger wrote to the offenders, stating his displeasure and outlining his proposed course of action:

Scriptis ... quod ipsi cessarent deinceps molestias facere monachis suis, et si quid factum fuisse injuste, ad reditum suum in Angliam per legales homines vicinos secundum legem terrae voluit emendari. Scriptis etiam matri suae, et dapifero suo, et omnibus ballivis suis in comitatu Eboracensi quod ipsi manutenerent, protegerent, et defenderent abbatem R. de Bellalanda, et monachos suos fratres, et terram eorum sicut suam propriam terram.¹

Roger was also called to defend the ecclesiastical status of the monks of Byland when both Savigny and Furness claimed rights of jurisdiction over Byland. When the case was debated in the General Chapter of Cîteaux, Ailred of Rievaulx was appointed to examine it and judged in favour of Savigny. The actual words used, cited by Ailred as the testimony of the abbot of Savigny are significant. The abbot maintained that Roger de Mowbray as 'fundator' of Byland had visited Cîteaux, and there, in the General Chapter, had given Byland to Savigny, and Roger was the man 'qui monasterium Bellelande assignare potuit et donare cujuscumque voluit subjectioni ...' This is, indeed, an expression of wide powers of lay patronage, but one has to say that it is probably not typical. The unorthodox origins of both Byland and Jervaulx led to exceptional confusion, and in each case the wishes of the lay patron were given untypically strong emphasis.²

Protection was therefore necessary against the encroachments both of laymen and ecclesiastics who might question the right and lands of the monks. Physical destruction of the monastery might also be feared; and it was no accident that abbeys and priories frequently lay near the centre of a patron's influence or the physical expression of his authority, his castle. Thus Nostell lay near the Lacy castle of Pontefract, Rievaulx near Espec's castle of Helmsley, Roche near Tickhill and Easby and Jervaulx

1. Mon. Ang. V, p.352.

2. ibid., p.353

not many miles from Richmond. Similarly Guisborough, Drax, Marton, Bolton, Byland and Newburgh were situated within fairly easy reach of the castles of Skelton (Brus), Drax (Paynel), Sheriff Hutton (Bulmer), Skipton (Rumilly) and Thirsk (Mowbray). Thus the patron would, in theory, by on hand to offer protection if required.

It was not unknown for monasteries to suffer violation, especially during the years of disorder, between 1135 and 1154: the violence was often due to the identification of the monastery with the interests of the patron. Wightman has suggested that the election of Elias Paynel, cousin of Henry de Lacy, as abbot of Selby, and the construction of a castle at Selby were intended to provide 'an outpost for the protection of the Pontefract estates on their weakest side, and to protect the lands of the abbey and the town itself.'¹ Thus, although Lacy was not actually patron of Selby, his enemy (whether William of Aumale, de Roumare or Warenne) would consider the abbey 'fair game' for attack. The rivalry between Gilbert de Gant and Henry de Lacy resulted in the destruction of Pontefract priory to such an extent that the church had to be reconsecrated, and the culprit, de Gant, was forced to make munificent grants to escape excommunication by the monks. Gant's own monastery of Bridlington suffered at the hands of William of Aumale, who 'exclusis regularibus clericis ecclesiam invasit et poluit'.² According to John of Hexham, Aumale made his camp in the monastic buildings.³ William later made grants of land in restitution for the damage. The protection offered by a patron to his monastery was by no means foolproof, but a patron could help out, as Lacy did at Pontefract, by further grants of land to mitigate the effects of the damage. It has been suggested in an earlier chapter that the reason for the dispersal of the original Calder convent lay in

1. Wightman, Lacy Family in England and Normandy, pp.76-77.

2. Newburgh, I, p.47. Newburgh here also noted the expulsion of the monks of Coventry by Robert Marmion.

3. John of Hexham, p.315.

the fact that Calder had no effective lay patron to whom the monks could appeal.¹

The role of the patron of an Augustinian or Benedictine house differed from his Cistercian or Premonstratensian counterpart in one important respect. The former enjoyed the protection of the temporalities of a monastery during a vacancy, and had the right to issue the cong  d' lire. The latter had no such rights.² To estimate the degree of influence which the patron exercised in the election of a new abbot or prior is, however, difficult. Many heads of monastic houses are known only by their first names, for example as Prior Philip of Holy Trinity or Abbot Savary of St Mary's; their origins and connections are unknown. In eleventh-century Whitby the influence of William de Percy I is evident. His brother Serlo occurs as prior in the late eleventh century and he was succeeded by their nephew, William de Percy. Elias Paynel appears as prior of his father's foundation of Holy Trinity, York, William, rector of Garton and uncle of Walter Espec as first prior of Kirkham, and William de Brus as first prior of Guisborough.³

Despite these instances which clearly indicate family interests at work, the evidence, inadequate though it is, suggests that lay intervention in elections did not occur on any vast scale. When we hear of depositions -- at Whitby and Selby -- the man responsible is Henry Murdac, archbishop of York. The clearest example of the promotion of an abbot by an outsider is the election of Walter as abbot of Selby -- again by an ecclesiastic, Archbishop Thurstan.⁴

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1. See above, p.177 n.2. Many monasteries situated in the West Midlands, Central Wessex and in the Fen district, suffered acutely during the period 1135-54. See Knowles, Monastic Order, pp.268-72 for a description of the attacks on houses such as Worcester, Tewkesbury, Wilton, Abingdon and Ramsey.
 2. Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 396-403; Hill, Cistercian Monasteries, p.44.
 3. See above, pp.49-50, 103, 97.
 4. Selby furnishes an untypical example since the archbishops of York were patrons of the abbey; see above, pp. 10-18.

A document of major interest for the consideration of elections does however, survive from the priory of Kirkham.¹ Around the year 1180 Nicholas de Trailli, nephew of Walter Espec, wrote to Ranulf de Glanville, justiciar of England, describing at the request of the canons the method of electing a prior. His testimony was as follows: at a vacancy the whole convent came together, and beginning with the most senior canon, each nominated his own candidate; if the canons were unanimous ('si concordēs inventi fuerunt') they sang the Te Deum before the altar. In this way it was shown 'quod nulla persona secularis intererit vel interesse debuerit'; the prior elect was then presented to the advocate, and by him and the canons, to the archbishop for ordination.²

Thus the procedure at Kirkham preserved, in theory, the right of free election, but there could be a world of difference between theory and practice. The document does not, for instance, state the procedure in cases when the election was not unanimous; and it would be at such times that the election would be most open to lay intervention. As Clay has indicated, the fact that the letter had to be written at all suggests that Everard de Ros was trying to exert undue and unwelcome pressure. A surviving letter of Prior Athelwulf of Nostell, on the other hand, suggests that the election of his successor, Savard, was canonical:

Notum sit ... me de cura ecclesie sancti Oswaldi ... dimisisse, illamque curam cum professionibus canonicorum cuidem fratri nostro Seuardo, consilio et assensu totius capituli in prioratum electo, commendasse....³

It is likely that the rights of the Cistercian and Premonstratensian patron were limited to the presentation of the abbot-elect to the archbishop.

1. See above, p. 108.

2. E.Y.C. X, nos. 105-6. The fourth Lateran Council (1215) later regularized the election procedure. See Knowles, Religious Orders, 2, pp.248-54.

3. E.Y.C. III, no. 1473.

Certainly Roger de Mowbray presented the abbot of Byland for ordination, but this was probably due to the precarious position of the infant community. An election could be made with no reference at all to a lay patron (like the election of John de Kinstan as abbot of Jervaulx), and the fact that Cistercian abbots could be drawn from houses all over England suggests that the opportunities for lay intervention were minimal.¹ As mentioned in an earlier chapter, the question of the election of the prior of Monk Bretton provoked a dispute which was to last for well over a century. The key point at issue was whether the prior of Pontefract should participate in the election of his counterpart at Monk Bretton. Early in the history of Monk Bretton the founder, Adam son of Swane, specified that the election of the prior should take place 'cum consilio meo et heredum meorum';² however, there is no evidence that this led to conflict, or indeed took place at all.

It would seem, then, that in theory the right of the lay patron was curtailed to a formal assent (at least implicitly by the right to present for benediction), and in practice the opportunities for lay intervention were greater in the Augustinian and Benedictine houses. As far as the evidence allows any generalization to be made, it can be said that the indications of lay intervention are slight. When it does occur, it occurs early in the period under review. For the nunneries the evidence is so slight -- the supposition that Matilda de Arches was first prioress of her father's foundation -- that any comments on the election of prioresses is clearly impossible.³ In later centuries it was quite a common practice for patrons to promote their female relatives as prioresses. This may have been so in the twelfth century but the evidence permits us to do no more than admit the possibility.⁴

1. Knowles, Monastic Order, p.636.

2. E.Y.C. III, nos. 1669-70, and see above, pp. 71-73.

3. See above, p.272

4. E. Power, Medieval English Nunneries (Cambridge, 1922), pp.42-95.

How then did a lay patron view his monastery? Not merely it would seem as an institution he had to endow with lands and protect. The foundation of a religious house was a reciprocal arrangement, with the patron expecting more than the right to present a prior for ordination. The position of patron was often an envied one. When Richard de Busli and Richard Fitz Tugis founded Roche Abbey, they stressed that both were to be regarded as founders, "ut ambo fundatores abbathiae sint".¹ They were undoubtedly more interested in sharing the benefits rather than the responsibilities of the patron.

The primary function of the monks was to pray. The foundation of a religious house was expected to increase the chances of salvation for the soul of the founder. No monastic charter is complete without its 'pro anima' clause. Monastic foundations and endowments were made for the salvation of the patron, his family, his friends, his ancestors and heirs, occasionally his king, and anyone else he might care to specify. We can detect behind the final endowment made to Jervaulx Abbey by Earl Conan a distinct uneasiness on the part of the donor about the state of his soul: 'Idcirco in vita degens, et saluti anime mee volens providere, Deo et Beate Marie, et abbathiae de Jorevalle Cisterciensis ordinis quam fundavi in honorem Domini nostri Jesu Christi et monachis meis ibi Deo servientibus et pro me orantibus....'²

A patron might ask to be commemorated by special prayers on the anniversary of his death, or he could request an obit, that is to be prayed for in the same way as a monk. He might request rights of fraternity, or burial at the monastery, or he might exact a promise that the monks or canons would receive him should he wish to renounce the world. Gilbert

1. Mon. Ang. V, p.502.

2. ibid., pp.573-4.

de Gant stated that:

pro redemptione peccatorum meorum et pro peculiari dilectione quam semper habui erga ecclesiam Sancte Marie Brellintone, mancipavi me ipsum eidem ecclesie, ea videlicet ratione ut ubicunque vixendi finem fecero in monasterio Bredlintonensi locum sepulture accipiam. Et si aliquando Deus per gratiam suam cor meum retigerit et opportunitatem dederit ut relicta seculari vanitate in paupertate Deo servire decernam, in predicto monasterio habitum religionis accipiam et in illorum consortio ultima vite mee spatia compleam inter quos ab annis infantie coalueram, conveniens quippe mihi visum est ut ubi in hunc mundum ingressus sum de ventre matris mee, ibi de hoc mundo egrediar in matrem omnium ...¹

On a more practical level the patron might expect monetary aid from his monastery in times of financial stringency. Roger de Mowbray granted to Byland Abbey freedom from fees of his seal, 'quod nichil -- dabunt pro sigillo meo vel heredum meorum habendo, quotiens ego sive heredes mei nec aliqui hominum nostrorum aliquam eis donationem seu elemonsiam contulerimus, set libere habebunt tam sigillum meum quam heredum meorum absque alicujus exactione temporalis seu secularis impensionis tam in donationibus quam in confirmationibus'.² This grant was reaffirmed by Nigel de Mowbray in the period 1186-90.³ However, the abbey aided Roger in raising money by agreeing to pay Roger £300 in return for holding pasture in Nidderdale in mortgage for ten years.⁴

It would seem as if lay patrons tended to assume what might be termed a 'proprietary' attitude towards their foundations. Although the reform programme of the Papacy in the late 11th century, and the constitutions of both Cluny and Cîteaux had aimed to minimize lay control, one can detect behind the charters issued to Yorkshire houses, an attitude

1. E.Y.C. II no. 1138.

2. Mowbray Charters no. 64.

3. ibid., no. 71.

4. ibid., no. 54; for Mowbray's financial dealings with other houses see below, p. 341.

which suggests that lay patrons regarded a religious foundation as family property.¹ Thus Gilbert and Robert de Gant could talk of 'my canons' of Bridlington, and Roger de Mowbray of 'my canons' of Newburgh. Similar terms were used by Henry de Lacy to describe the monks of Pontefract and Kirkstall, and by Eustace Fitz John to describe the canons of Malton. Richard de Rollos II, although not the patron of Easby, refers to 'my canons' - probably, as Clay indicates, because he and Roald, the founder of Easby, held joint interests in the land of Ernisan Musard.²

On the death of the patron, the patronage or advowson (advocatus) of a religious house passed to his heir with the rest of his estates. Thus Rievaulx and Kirkham passed from Walter Espec to the family of Ros, heirs to his Yorkshire estates; Pontefract, Nostell, and Kirkstall were inherited by the heirs of Aubrey de Lisours, cousin of Robert de Lacy II (d.s.p. 1193). The patronage of Embsay formed part of the inheritance of Alice de Rumilly, and at the partition of the barony of William de Percy II, the patronage of Sallay passed to his daughter Matilda. The patronage of Roche was held jointly, and in 1377 the heir of Richard Fitz Turgis sold his right in the advowson to a merchant of London.³

The interest of the patron was not always limited to his own family foundations. William de Percy II, for example, was a benefactor of Byland, Eustace Fitz John of Bridlington, William Paynel of Nostell, and Bertram de Bulmer of Byland and Rievaulx. Roger de Mowbray can only be described as an outstanding monastic benefactor. In addition to his two foundations of Byland and Newburgh he and his son Nigel endowed over

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1. On the use of advocacy in Germany as a means to extend family power, see G. Barraclough, The Origins of Modern Germany (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1947), pp.145-46. A specific example is provided by the family of Zähringen; see T. Mayer, 'The state of the Dukes of Zähringen', in Medieval Germany 911-1250, ed. G. Barraclough (Oxford, 1938), 2, pp.175-202 especially 185-86.
 2. E.Y.C. II, nos. 1156-7, 1141; Mowbray Charters, nos. 205, 208; Cart. Pont. I, no.15; E.Y.C. I, no. 643; B.L. Cotton MS Claudius D.XI, fo. 34; E.Y.C. V, pp.84-85.
 3. Mon. Ang. V, pp.503-4.

forty religious houses, seventeen of which were in Yorkshire. Roger was commemorated at Durham, Arden and by the Templars, and his wife, Alice de Gant, at Fountains and York Minster.¹ Mowbray was able to exact considerable financial advantages from houses he endowed. On at least four occasions he received money from Fountains Abbey - ten marks 'in testimonium et in memoriam' of his grant, three hundred and fifty marks for confirmation of the monks rights in Brimham, eighty-three marks 'in mea magna necessitate' and one hundred and twenty marks 'in adiutorium itineris sui Ierosol'.² Mowbray furnishes an extreme example, however. He was also exceptionally wealthy and could well afford the luxury of endowing many religious houses. It would appear that patrons were, on the whole, and as one would expect, most committed to their own foundations.

In conclusion, attention needs to be paid to the large number of benefactors who did not hold the patronage of any monastery, but augmented the foundations of others. Such benefactors are too numerous to discuss in detail; but it is clear that they came from every free class in society, ranging from major landowners like the Tisons and the Fossards, to the poorest landowner who could afford to donate meagre amounts of land towards atonement for his sins. A benefactor could, with certain qualifications, expect to enjoy some of the privileges offered to a patron. Earlier chapters have investigated individual cases of benefactors who received money for their grants, rendering the 'gift', in reality, a purchase or lease. The case of William Fossard, who gave land to Meaux Abbey in exchange for the monks accepting responsibility for a vast debt to Aaron of Lincoln, is perhaps the most striking example.³

1. Mowbray Charters, p. xli, n.8.

2. ibid. nos. 126, 120, 103, 111.

3. Chron. Melsa, I, pp. 173-75; and see above, p.232, and below, p. 457.

A benefactor would naturally expect some of the prayers of the monks to be diverted towards his own cause. Ralph de Chevrecurt and his sister Beatrice asked that one monk of Pontefract should pray for each of them.¹ William Fossard gave lands to Watton Priory 'maxime pro itinere quod facturus eram Ierosolimam, et pro remissione peccatorum meorum'.² Occasionally the provision of an anniversary for the donor or his relatives was specified. John de Lascelles requested this for his brother Robert, at Selby Abbey.³ Spiritual benefits are signified by the term 'fraternitas'. Benefactors frequently asked to be accepted into fraternity of a house, thus to be entitled to a share in the benefits of the prayers and good works of a monastery. Such rights were requested at Nostell, Guisborough, Pontefract, Easby, Watton, Byland, Kirkstall, Sallay and Fountains.⁴

Actual entry into the house was sometimes requested. Masey de Curcy, Sampson d'Aubigny, Peter son of Toke and Serlo the Cook, benefactors of Kirkham, Newburgh, Bridlington and Byland respectively, are known to have entered these houses; Osbert Salvain made a grant to 'fratribus meis canonicis regularibus' of Nostell.⁵ Promises that the community would receive the benefactor should he wish to enter the religious life were given by Fountains to Gurwald of Cowton, ('quum receptus ibi fui'); by Nostell to William de Preston ('si in vita mea ad religionem me conferre voluero apud sanctum Oswaldum habitum religionis suscipiam'); and by Malton to William de Aguillum ('ipsi vero canonici receperunt me in speciem fratrem omnium domorum ordinis de Semplingham et facient me canonicum quandocumque canonicus esse rationabiliter voluero').⁶ The monks of Pontefract

1. Cart. Pont. II, no. 387.

2. E.Y.C. II, no. 1095.

3. Selby Coucher no. 486.

4. See for e.g., E.Y.C. VI, no. 121; II no. 755; Cart. Pont. I, no. 159; E.Y.C. V, no. 197; ibid., IX, no. 105; IX no. 166; Kirkstall Coucher no. 93; Cart. Sallay I, no. 255; E.Y.C. III, no. 1692.

5. E.Y.C. VI, no. 93; Mowbray Charters nos. 196, 178 n.; E.Y.C. III, no. 1357; Mon. Ang. V, p. 571, B.L. Cotton MS Vespasian E XIX, fo. 53v.

6. E.Y.C. V, no. 296; III no. 1596; II, no. 1084.

undertook to give to Jordan de Chevrecurt each year the tunic and shoes of a monk and promised to accept him as a monk.¹ Richard son of Gleu, benefactor of Fountains Abbey received an undertaking from the monks that they would find food and clothing for his son until he came of age to be a monk; and Edulf de Kilnsey, also a benefactor of Fountains, specified that he should be admitted to the house as a 'conversus', his son as a monk, while his wife would be placed in a house of religious for women.²

There are several instances of men granting land to a monastery when a member of his family entered a religious house. Some of the grants of the Haget family to Fountains date from the period of office of Ralph Haget as abbot.³ Thomas son of Robert de Toulston gave land to Pontefract when his brother became a monk there.⁴ Walter de Boynton, benefactor of Watton stated that 'sanctimoniales vero susceperint duas filias meas in consortium earum in sanctimoniales ad serviendum Deo in habito suo'.⁵

Alice de Rumilly demanded for herself and her heirs the right to nominate one woman to be accepted as a nun at Arthington.⁶ Peter de Cordanville granted the church of Sherburn to the canons of Guisborough, stipulating that he should be afforded the right to nominate a clerk of eighteen years of age to be received as a canon at each vacancy, a right which he soon remitted.⁷ Grants of land made when a member of the donor's family entered the house also occur at the nunneries of Marrick, Nunkeeling, Wilberfoss, Yedingham, Sinningthwaite and Wykeham.⁸ In such cases it is clear what prompted the grant of land.

1. Cart. Pont. II, no. 387.

2. E.Y.C. V, no.288; VII, no.120; for further instances, see ibid., VII, no. 118, V, no.287.

3. ibid., I nos. 519-20; for some earlier Haget grants see B.L. Additional MS 37770, fos. 209-211.

4. E.Y.C. III, no. 1612.

5. ibid., XI, no.31.

6. Mon. Ang. IV, p.520.

7. E.Y.C. IX, nos. 94-95.

8. ibid. V, nos. 174, 170-71, 216-17, 375, 377; III, no. 1337; I, no. 444; I, no. 390; III no. 1867n; II no. 1065; I, no. 383. See above, pp.272-74 for further details of these grants to nunneries.

There is no evidence in the twelfth century for the granting of formal corrodies at the Yorkshire houses. On occasion, however, benefactors in this early period would demand rights of hospitality. William son of Walding, a benefactor of Pontefract Priory requested that he should be allowed to lodge at the monastery if he was required to perform castle duty.¹ Hugh son of Everard entered into a detailed arrangement with Selby Abbey whereby he received, for land which he had given to the monks, fifteen shillings per annum rent, a promise that he would be accepted as a monk whenever he wished, a messuage of land in Selby with a house and courtyard where he and his wife could lodge, and allowances of food and clothing for his wife.²

Finally burial rights could be requested: the cases are too numerous to discuss individually, but such rights were demanded from most religious houses.³ Maud de Percy and Alice de Rumilly the younger, for instance, chose to be buried at Fountains Abbey; William de Kilton requested burial at Guisborough and William Fossard at Meaux. Grants were frequently made 'cum corpore meo', or an undertaking given that 'si in seculari habitu obiero recipient corpus meum'. One such undertaking had an unusual provision: when Norman de Horton granted land to Sallay Abbey he stated 'sciendum quod recipient me ad sepulturam si christiano mor(t)e obiero'.⁴

The monastic expansion in Yorkshire left scarcely any level of society unaffected, from the tenants in chief, from within whose ranks most of the founders and patrons were drawn, down to the lowliest tenant

1. Cart Pont. I, no. 101.

2. Selby Coucher, II no. 1296.

3. Various cases are cited in the chapters concerned with the individual religious houses. For the implications of these grants on the parish churches, see below, pp. 413-14.

4. E.Y.C. XI no. 45; VII no. 32; II no. 724; Chron. Melsa I, p.104; Cart. Sallay I no.94.

who had title to land. At the highest level of all the kings of England took an interest in the development of the religious houses. Technically the consent of the king was needed for the alienation of land, and thus there are a vast number of charters of confirmation issued by successive kings; these were obviously highly-prized, as were papal bulls, and many houses were careful to secure new charters when a new king succeeded to the throne.¹ The interest of royal personages often extended beyond the ratification of gifts of others: the first three Norman kings took a strong interest in the development of the houses of Selby, St Mary's and Nostell, and also assumed the patronage of St Mary's.² King Stephen made grants to Bridlington and Henry II to Rievaulx and Bolton.³ In addition to land extensive privileges were often granted; freedom from tolls, liberties of sac and soc, toll and theam and infangentheof. Such franchises were extended to Benedictines, Cistercians and Templars.

It is clear that, however difficult to define, the religious and devotional motivation behind monastic foundations and endowments was very strong. The belief that this form of activity contributed towards atonement for sins was undoubtedly a genuine one; and evidence from twelfth-century Yorkshire accordingly supports the familiar view that monasticism eventually declined in appeal, less through a degeneration of a belief in vicarious intercession for the souls of the dead than because of the popularity of new forms of religious life in the thirteenth century. The relationship between a monastery and its patron was based on reciprocal agreements. Each party expected certain benefits. The relationship could become strained, as it did when Henry de Lacy requisitioned lands from Nostell Priory during his war with Gilbert de Gant, or when Adam de Brus forcibly

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1. On papal bulls issued to Yorkshire monasteries, see below, pp. 350-58.
 2. See above, pp. 34-36.
 3. Regesta III, nos. 119-125; Cart. Riev. no.205; E.Y.C. VII, no.20.

revoked a grant which he made to Guisborough Priory.¹ This was part of the ambiguous attitude of laymen towards monasteries; they were places of religion to be endowed and protected, yet they were not sacrosanct, and, as was mentioned earlier, the identification of a monastery and the patron often led to attacks on the former by the enemies of the latter. Even Roger de Mowbray, founder of two and benefactor of over forty monasteries, could be recorded as making a grant of land to Selby in restitution for damage which he had done to the abbey.² The monasteries could not exist outside the world; they inevitably became involved or identified with the interests of their patrons and benefactors.

The connection between a monastery and patron was probably strongest in the Augustinian and Benedictine orders, and also in the houses founded for women. This was in the nature of their rules and customs. The relationship was one which neither side could afford to neglect. It is an ironic yet obvious tribute to their popularity that twelfth-century religious houses outgrew the function envisaged by St Benedict and St Stephen Harding, and became institutions with diversified social, economic and political functions as well as being retreats from the world.

1. See above, p.93 and p.100.

2. Mowbray Charters, no. 255. The late twelfth century, as is well-known, witnessed some harsh attacks on the monastic life by members of the clergy such as the archdeacons Gerald of Wales and Walter Map. There seems to be no evidence to suggest that there existed a similar feeling on the part of the laity, although, if this did exist, one would expect it to be less well-documented than the criticism of the literate clergy. There does seem to have existed, however, a determination on the part of the laity in Yorkshire to oppose monastic territorial expansion when it affected their own land-holdings. For some instances of such opposition, see below, pp. 449-52.

In theory the church was still (1216) conceived of, in Hugh of St Victor's words, as 'the multitude of the Faithful, the whole community of Christians'. In fact the development of papal monarchy, with its centre in the curia, had in practice substituted for the church in the wider sense, a narrower hierarchical church, the clerical order in its ascending ranks, jealous of its privileges and insistent on its rights.¹

The twelfth century was the one in which the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the medieval church approached its final form. At no level, however, was this process absolutely continuous and without setback. The development of papal monarchy was frequently retarded, at the Curia itself by schism and a succession of anti-popes; and in individual European kingdoms by the opposition of various monarchs and by the 'Crisis of Church and State'.² Nor, in England, did the competing rights of the two archbishops become fully reconciled. The primacy dispute occupied successive archbishops throughout the century; and at York itself, after a period of progress under Thurstan (1114-40) the see was rent for seven years by a disputed election.³ Even after the election of Murdac in 1147 his authority as archbishop was far from strong. The offices on the lower rungs of the hierarchy - the cathedral staff, the archdeaconries, the rural deaneries - gradually took shape during the twelfth century, but again the process was a slow one.⁴

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1. G. Barraclough, The Medieval Papacy (London, 1968), p.117.
 2. See, for instance, W. Ullman, A Shorter History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages (London, repr. 1974), pp.173-200; B. Tierney, The Crisis of Church and State (New York, 1964).
 3. D. Knowles, The Episcopal Colleagues of Archbishop Thomas Becket (Cambridge, 1951); D. Knowles, 'The Case of St William of York', in The Historian and Character (Cambridge, 1963), pp.76-97.
 4. C.T. Clay, York Minster Fasti, Y.A.S.R.S. 123-24 (1958-59); 'Notes on the Early Archdeacons in the Church of York', Y.A.J. 36 (1947), pp.269-87, 409-34; 'The Early Treasurers of York', ibid. 35 (1943), pp.7-34; 'The Early Precentors and Chancellors of York', ibid. 35 (1943), pp.116-38; 'Notes on the Chronology of the Early Deans of York', ibid. 34 (1939), pp.361-78. On the office of rural dean, see A. Hamilton Thompson, Diocesan Organization in the Middle Ages; Archdeacons and Rural Deans (Oxford, 1943), reprinted from the Proceedings of the British Academy, 29 (1943), pp.153-94, especially 183-84, which discusses the Yorkshire deaneries.

This chapter is designed to examine the relations between the Yorkshire monasteries and the various members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy: the popes, the archbishops of York, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle and Lincoln, the dean and chapter of York Minster, the archdeacons of the archdiocese of York, and the part which all played in the development of the monastic order in Yorkshire. The period of rapid growth in the papal curia is reflected in the history of its relations with the monasteries of Yorkshire; in order to demonstrate that growth in contact it is proposed to examine the number, frequency and content of papal bulls dispatched to Yorkshire in the period 1119-98 as well as the methods by which papal authority was exercised within the county. Similarly the history of the relations between the monasteries and the archbishops of York, as demonstrated by their influence on monastic foundations, their benefactions, their confirmation of rights and privileges, their rights of visitation and their disputes, reflects a notable change during the twelfth century. Contact with the other diocesans and with the lesser officials of the archdiocese of York is only recorded in formal documents, yet these men who occupied the lowlier offices of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, were also important figures in the history of the rise of monasticism in Yorkshire.

The Papacy.

'The theory of papal supremacy is certainly one of the grandest, most integrated, and best developed systems that has ever been devised for the conduct of human life. But what matters in the end is its practical application.'¹ By 1130 the age of papal reform initiated by Leo IX (1049-54) was all but at an end. To the work of Leo, both Gregory VII (1073-85)

1. R.W. Southern, Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages (1970), p.105.

and Urban II (1088-99) had added much, the former to the theory of papal supremacy, the latter to matters of government and administration. However the practical application of the ideas of papal monarchy was the work of the popes of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was during this period that the effective tools of papal government-councils, legates, judges delegate and papal letters - increased dramatically. This was not only due to the desire of the popes to promote themselves as the universal ordinary, but also to an increased demand from churchmen, laymen and monasteries, for papal attention. The Decretum of Gratian (1140-41) illustrated the trend towards a clarification in the law of the church. Such developments also raised many new problems, one obvious result being an increase in the number of appeals to the Papacy on a variety of matters.¹

In addition to this growth of canon law and litigation, the rise in the number of monasteries led to increased contact with the papacy. Old established houses became eager to secure papal recognition of their rights and privileges; houses of the exempt orders, such as the Cistercians, Premonstratensians and Military Orders were anxious to maintain their status against both diocesans and other, non-exempt orders. As Duggan has indicated, the coming of the Cistercians to England was an event of great significance in the area of Anglo-papal relations, since the order was 'decisively conceived on a supra-national basis, and markedly detached from the structure of the feudal kingdom'.²

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1. For the background to papal reform, and the growth of papal government, especially in England, see ed. C.H. Lawrence, The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages (London, 1965) pp.63-115; Z.N. Brooke, The English Church and the Papacy (Cambridge, 1952 repr. 1968); C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton (Manchester, 1956 repr. 1965), pp.42-86. On the Anglo-Saxon background, see F. Barlow, The English Church, 1000-1066 (London, 1963).
 2. C.H. Lawrence, ed., The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, p.86.

The exercise of papal authority in England naturally depended on conditions both in England and in Rome. The general trends in papal fortunes appear to be reflected in the contacts between the Roman pontiff and the monasteries of Yorkshire. On the whole, as one might expect, the survival rate of copies of papal bulls issued to Yorkshire houses appears to have been fairly high. Such documents were expensive in time, effort and money; they were therefore extremely valuable.¹ Nevertheless where a Yorkshire cartulary has failed to survive, papal bulls have been lost. Only one of the Yorkshire nunneries, for instance has a cartulary; it is one of the few such houses therefore known to have received a papal bull.² There appear to be no surviving bulls for the houses of Marton, Jervaulx, Coverham, Egglestone or Watton. The evidence on which this study is based is therefore slightly distorted, but it is still possible, on the evidence which does survive, to trace the various trends in the relations between the Papacy and the Yorkshire monasteries in the twelfth century.

Between the accession of Calixtus II (1119) and the death of Celestine III (1198), a period of seventy-nine years, there are approximately one hundred and twenty extant copies of papal bulls which were dispatched to Yorkshire monasteries, or to papal judges delegate concerning their affairs. In the first half of this period, from the period 1119-59 some twenty-seven letters survive; and ninety-six from the period 1159-98. Calixtus II (1119-24) is known to have dispatched five bulls; Honorius II (1124-30), one; Innocent II (1130-43) four; Eugenius III (1145-53) seven bulls; Anastasius IV (1153) three; Hadrian IV (1154-59) seven. The long pontificate of Alexander III (1159-81) saw the dispatch of sixty-two

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1. Such papal bulls could be (and often were) produced in legal cases after the twelfth-century. In the fifteenth century, for example, the canons of Kirkham produced papal bulls of Celestine III and Innocent III proving their right to the parish church of Kirkham, in a case which they brought against the parishioners concerning the upkeep of the nave of the church. See B.I. Cause Paper, CP.F 307.
 2. This is Nunkeeling.

recorded letters and bulls to Yorkshire houses, an average of three every year. Lucius III (1181-85), Urban III (1185-87), Clement III (1187-91) and Celestine III (1191-98) are known to have issued four, six, ten and fourteen documents respectively.¹

These figures can, of course, only be regarded as a rough indication of the prevailing trend.² It is, however, likely that they are representative of the growth of contact with Rome. The first turning point seems to have been the pontificate of Eugenius III, the reason for the increased contact probably being the friendship of the pope and his ex-colleague of Clairvaux, Henry Murdac, who from 1147-53 was archbishop of York. This increased contact was apparently maintained during the pontificate of the English pope Hadrian IV. The significant rise in the number of papal bulls issued to Yorkshire houses came, however in the period of office of the lawyer pope, Alexander III, an increase which was maintained throughout the remainder of the twelfth century.

Of contact between the Yorkshire monasteries and the popes before the pontificate of Calixtus II (1119-24) little can be said. The reigns of William I and William II formed a period in which papal authority in England was weak; moreover both kings were anxious that it should not increase to any great extent.³ Papal concern with England was, on the whole, not related to its monastic houses, and no bulls to Yorkshire houses from this period have been identified. A new era began with the pontificate of Calixtus II. Calixtus himself, as archbishop of Vienne, had led the first of the five legantine missions to England in the reign

1. For extant papal bulls relating to England, see Holtzmann's collection, Papsturkunden in England (P.U.E.)

2. They should be compared to those noted by Professor Southern (Western Society, p.109) which demonstrate the growth in the number of papal letters generally: up to 1130, an average of 35 letters per annum; under Innocent II, an average of 72 per annum; under Hadrian IV, Alexander III and Innocent III, an average of 130, 179, 280 letters per annum respectively.

As Professor Southern remarked, the interpretation of these figures is 'subject to every kind of qualification, but it is quite unlikely that they exaggerate the rate of growth after 1050'.

3. On relations with the papacy in the period 1066-1100 see Z.N. Brooke, The English Church, pp.117-163; C.H. Lawrence, The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, pp.77-84.

of Henry I. He was acquainted with the affairs of the English church (particularly the primacy dispute between York and Canterbury); moreover he met Henry I at Gisors in 1119, and Thurstan at the Council of Rheims in the same year.¹ These were significant meetings, for Calixtus soon afterwards issued bulls of protection to Bridlington (in the foundation of which Henry I was concerned), and Nostell and Guisborough, to which houses both the king and the archbishop had lent their support. A further bull issued to the canons of Kirkham within a couple of years of the establishment of the house signified that the pope had offered protection to all the Yorkshire Augustinian houses so far founded. Thus the Augustinian expansion in Yorkshire took place under papal auspices, however formal and distant the nature of the connection.²

The pontificate of Calixtus' successor, Honorius II, saw a continuation of the extension of papal authority in England through the medium of legantine commissions. It was Honorius who sent to England the legate John of Crema, who held his important council at Westminster in 1125. The period of his pontificate saw several important cases being taken to Rome, and several papal privileges bestowed on English religious houses. Such privileges, for example, were afforded to the Benedictine abbey of Whitby under its abbot Nicholas.³

During the first eight years of his pontificate Innocent II (1130-43) was occupied in maintaining his own position in Rome in the face of the antipope Anacletus II. Contact with England was therefore limited until 1138; thereafter, however, his pontificate became important in the development of Anglo-papal relations, largely because it coincided with the advent of the powerful Cistercian faction in England, and in particular in

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1. See M. Brett, The English Church under Henry I, (Oxford, 1975) pp. 35-42. On the primacy dispute, see Hugh the Chantor, History of the Church of York, 1066-1127, ed. C. Johnson, (London, 1961); M. Dueball, Der Suprematstreit zwischen den Erzdiozesen Canterbury und York 1070-1126 (Historische Studien, 184, Berlin, 1929)
 2. P.U.E. III nos. 10-11; Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fos. 88-88v.
 3. Cart. Whitby, I, no. 148.

Yorkshire, and with the political weakness of King Stephen and the 'liberty of the church'.¹ The Cistercian order, being exempt, benefited most from papal bulls of protection issued by Innocent. General charters of confirmation of lands and privileges were obtained by the canons of Warter and by the monks of Fountains. In addition Innocent was requested by the latter to protect their interests against certain clerics; the pope rebuked the offenders and ordered the dean and chapter of York Minster to protect the Cistercians of Fountains.²

Though the surviving bulls of the pontificate relating to Yorkshire are few, it is significant that Innocent was apparently the first recorded pope to go beyond issuing general charters of confirmation, and to deal directly with a problem relating to the freedom of one of the exempt orders.³ Moreover he became embroiled in what was perhaps the most dramatic episode in the history of relations between the pope and the diocese of York in the twelfth century - the disputed election of 1141-47. This itself was symptomatic of the changing relations between the English church and the Papacy.

As Professor Knowles justly remarked, had Thurstan died a few years earlier 'the see would in all probability have been filled by a successor of the king's choice, and no controversy would have arisen'.⁴ The weakening of Stephen's political power and the rise of the star of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester and papal legate, left the way open for the election of William Fitz Herbert to be challenged by the new 'new orders'. Represented by the abbots of Fountains and Rievaulx, the

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1. Z.N. Brooke, The English Church, pp.175-90; C.H. Lawrence, The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, pp.84-88.
 2. P.U.E. III, nos. 34, 40.
 3. Innocent II was the first pope 'to reserve a whole class of cases - namely, violent assault against a cleric or monk - for the pope's own dispensation'. (G. Barraclough, The Medieval Papacy, p.102). The bull in favour of Fountains is an interesting example of this practice.
 4. D. Knowles, 'The Case of St William of York', The Historian and Character, (Cambridge, 1963), pp. 76-97. The quotation is from p.76. On the disputed election, see also D. Baker, 'Viri Religiosi and the York Election Dispute', Studies in Church History, 7, (1971), pp.87-100.

priors of Guisborough and Kirkham, they ranged themselves against the Benedictines of Whitby and St Mary's, insisting on the right and duty of the 'viri religiosi' of a diocese to assist in an episcopal election.¹ By the time of Innocent's death in September 1143 the appellants had appeared in person in the Roman curia, and the pope had issued precise instructions for the investigation of the charges by judges delegate.

The progress of the affair was retarded by Innocent's death; his successor Celestine II was an old man and an opponent of Henry of Blois. Lucius II (1144-45) also refused to take a stand, and it was left to the Cistercian pope Eugenius III (1145-53), under pressure from his ex-abbot St Bernard, to depose the archbishop. It may well have been Eugenius's connections with the Fitz William's successor, Henry Murdac of Fountains, which led to a more direct contact with the Yorkshire monasteries during his pontificate. Certainly the close relationship established with the new orders during the disputed election continued to benefit both monks and canons. Not unnaturally the Cistercians benefited most from Eugenius' attention. The possessions of Meaux Abbey were confirmed immediately after its foundation.² In addition Eugenius confirmed the possessions of Fountains Abbey and of the Benedictines of Whitby and the Augustinians of Bridlington. The injunction issued by his predecessor, Innocent II, concerning oppressions of the monks of Fountains was repeated.³ Similar general confirmations were issued by Anastasius IV and Hadrian IV.⁴

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1. This principle had been confirmed at the Lateran Council of 1139. On the role of the abbot of Whitby, see above, pp. 29-30.
 2. P.U.E. I no. 48.
 3. ibid. III no. 78; Cart. Whitby no. 149; P.U.E. III no. 87; ibid. III no. 54.
 4. See for instance, P.U.E. III no. 94, I no. 57; E.Y.C. X no. 68 (Anastasius to Kirkham, Meaux and Warter); P.U.E. III nos. 96, 116; I no. 63; III no. 130; I no. 75; E.Y.C. III no. 1384; Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fo. 89. (Hadrian IV to Byland, Meaux, Kirkham, Easby, Fountains and reference to a bull in favour of Nostell no longer extant.).

Although there is little evidence that litigation was a significant factor in the relations between Rome and the Yorkshire monasteries before 1159, the way had clearly been paved for such a development in the pontificate of Alexander III. Moreover the character of the pontiffs who occupied the see of Rome after 1159 itself changed; Alexander III, Gregory VIII and Innocent III were all lawyers by training. Accordingly, in his long pontificate, the former contributed much to the growth of ecclesiastical law and reinforced the papal chancery.¹ His relations with England fluctuated; while Henry II initially supported Alexander against the anti-pope, he was later at loggerheads with the pope over the Becket controversy. This became a serious threat to papal authority in England until the Compromise of Avranches in 1172.²

Alexander continued the practice of his predecessors in issuing general confirmations to religious houses in Yorkshire, but his pontificate saw an increased tendency on the part of the monasteries to pursue their disputes in the Roman curia. This feature can be demonstrated by reference to two Yorkshire houses, Fountains and Rievaulx. Even the most cursory glance through the documents issued by Alexander relating to Yorkshire cannot conceal the prominence of these two monasteries. In 1162 Fountains received a general bull of confirmation of agreements which they had reached with the parish churches of Topcliffe and Masham.³ Five bulls were issued during the years 1167-69, which in turn reminded Archbishop Roger of York and Bishop Hugh of Durham of their obligation to protect the monks; they upheld the decision of the abbot of Fountains to excommunicate the brethren of Newminster; and ordered Hugh to cease opposing the abbot in this matter.⁴

1. Barraclough, *Medieval Papacy*, p.105.

2. On the significance of the Compromise of Avranches, see M. Cheney, 'The Compromise of Avranches of 1172 and the Spread of Canon Law in England', *E.H.R.* 56 (1941), pp. 177-97.

3. *P.U.E.* III nos. 142, 144.

4. *ibid.* nos. 156-60.

Disputes between Fountains and Archbishop Roger were responsible for a set of bulls issued in 1173 from Anagni. In response to an appeal from the monks that their abbot had, without their consent, given Warsall grange to Roger in return for his 'favour', and furthermore that Roger had withheld his favour, Alexander ordered the restoration of the grange.¹ The pope also concerned himself with the matter of tithe exemption, by enjoining the archdeacons and prelates of the diocese of York to excommunicate priests who exacted tithes from the monks.² Litigation was not the sole point of contact, however; in a manner which indicates friendly relations between Alexander and Fountains the pope twice wrote recommending men for entry into the community of Fountains.³

Papal bulls issued to Rievaulx in this period follow much the same pattern. As well as general confirmation of lands and tithe agreements, Alexander dispatched bulls ordering the restoration of lands which had been forcibly taken from the monastery.⁴ Again the pope upheld the monks against the oppressions of Archbishop Roger, ordering the latter to cease exacting tithes and to perform his duty by preventing the encroachment by laymen on the abbey estates.⁵ The most significant feature of these bulls seems to be the constant willingness of the pope to uphold the rights of the exempt orders against the diocesans of York and Durham, particularly over the question of payment of tithes. The possible reasons for Roger's unbending attitude and his reluctance to recognize the rights and privileges of the Cistercian Order will be discussed at a later stage; but it clearly forced the abbots of these houses to look for justice to the spiritual head of Christendom. Nor is the chronology of these dealings with the papacy insignificant. Both Fountains and Rievaulx, as well as

1. ibid. nos. 193-4, 208.

2. ibid. nos. 244, 270-71, 322. The priest Taurinus was singled out as having exacted tithes 'armata manu'.

3. ibid. nos. 162, 273.

4. ibid. I nos. 82, 104-7.

5. P.U.E. I nos. 131-32, 134-5, 161, 188, 192-5.

other houses, had constant recourse to Rome throughout the difficult period of Henry II's quarrel with Thomas Becket.¹

Alexander III died in 1181; between that date and the accession of Innocent III in 1198, five popes occupied the see of Rome. Individually these men did little to expand the authority of the pope, and the period 1181-98 has been characterized as a 'more placid period' of papal history, one in which 'there was no serious interruption or reversal of the trends of papal policies already established'.² Contact with the Yorkshire monasteries was maintained, and the popes can be seen protecting the religious houses of the diocese of York, and ensuring that papal policy and canon law were observed there.³

The increasing tendency of the monasteries to send to Rome for confirmation of their lands and privileges and the growing desire for papal justice both created a problem for the popes of the late twelfth century. The machinery of government was insufficient to cope with the stream of litigants and supplicants who were happy to spend money, time and energy in order to fulfil their objectives.⁴ Efforts were made to improve the situation. Popes attempted to discourage appeals not of major importance. Several bulls issued to Yorkshire monasteries, for instance, specified that there was to be no further appeal; when Alexander III appointed judges delegate to terminate the dispute between Fountains Abbey and Archbishop Roger over Warsall grange he enjoined Roger 'appellatione remota non differas iusticie plenitudinem exhibere'.⁵ Alexander further approved the claim of the prior of Bridlington to hear any cases concerning the internal discipline of his house in chapter; if not settled there, the

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1. See Z.N. Brooke, The English Church, pp.191-229; C.H. Lawrence, The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages, pp.86-93.
 2. ibid. p. 93.
 3. Special attention was paid to the canons of the Third Lateran Council (1179) concerning Augustinian canons who served parish churches; see below, pp. 395-98.
 4. Southern, Western Society, pp.105-25.
 5. P.U.E. III no. 194.

dispute was to be heard by a neighbouring Augustinian house, then (if still unresolved) by the archbishop of York, and only if that too failed was appeal to the papacy allowed.¹ Similarly Clement III ordered that the complaints of the canons of Kirkham were to be heard by the bishops and archbishops of England.²

Such efforts were not always successful and appeals continued to flow into the curia. A second expedient was employed to ease the burden of the pope, the use of local men, judges delegate, to hear cases, a system which apparently evolved under Eugenius III and Hadrian IV.³ Heads of Yorkshire houses were frequently called upon to act in this way, particularly during the pontificate of Alexander III. In 1172 and 1173 Abbot Clement of St Mary's, York was ordered to investigate the conflicting claims of Durham Priory and St Albans to the church of Tynemouth; twice more he received mandates ordering him to settle disputes between the monks of St Albans and the bishop of Durham. His attention was also drawn to the problems of Rievaulx Abbey and he was enjoined to compel the restitution of lands plundered by Roger de Mowbray and others.⁴ Cistercian abbots were frequently called upon to dispense papal justice; the abbot of Rievaulx is recorded as having acted in the capacity of judge delegate in the twelfth century; the abbot of Fountains, twice; the abbot of Kirkstall once. The latter acted with the abbot of Swainby (later Coverham) and the prior of Old Malton. The prior of Newburgh and the abbot of Easby were also summoned as agents of papal policy.⁵

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1. ibid. no. 242, and see W. Ullman 'A Forgotten Dispute at Bridlington Priory and its canonistic setting', Y.A.J. 37 (1951), pp. 456-73; C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton, p. 70.
 2. P.U.E. III no. 427.
 3. Barraclough, Medieval Papacy, pp. 104-5.
 4. P.U.E. III nos. 190, 203, 330, 332; I no. 191. On the St Albans dispute see G.V. Scammell, Hugh du Puiset (Cambridge 1956) pp. 156-57.
 5. See P.U.E. III no. 320; I no. 324; III nos. 380 and 402. For a full list of English Cistercian abbots acting as judges delegate, see Hill, English Cistercian Monasteries, pp. 157-61.

The increased contact between Rome and the Yorkshire monasteries was mutually advantageous. The religious orders received papal protection for their lands and liberties; the popes found in the heads of religious houses agents to whom he could entrust local business. Both became overburdened. St Bernard wrote, in 1150, to Pope Eugenius: 'See where all this damnable business is leading you! You are wasting your time! I will speak to you as Jethro spoke to Moses and say "What is this thing that you are doing to the people? Why do you sit from morning till evening listening to litigants?" What fruit is there in these things? They can only create cobwebs'.¹ So too could the brethren of Fountains Abbey complain in 1185 of the inconvenience caused by the use of their abbot as a judge delegate. In his reply to their appeal Lucius III promised 'ne tibi a nobis negotia delegentur, nisi forte aliqua maiora emeruerint que non putemus sine te congrue terminari'.²

As a result of this closer contact with the papacy the study of canon law developed in England. The weakness of the monarchy in England in the period 1135-54 had encouraged the development of ecclesiastical law, and as a consequence 'Freedom had now come to mean both freedom from lay control and freedom to obey the laws of the Church, especially the new reforming decrees, freedom, in fact, to be as the rest of the Church was'.³ Of the fifteen decretal collections known to have been compiled in the twelfth century in England, one was compiled at Fountains Abbey.⁴ Knowledge of recent developments in canon law travelled through the medium of papal legates and legatine councils, as well as by more informal contact; Ailred

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1. Pat.Lat. 182 col. 731, as translated by R.W. Southern, Western Society, p.111.
 2. P.U.E. III no. 368; On the activities of papal legates in the diocese of York in the thirteenth century, see R. Bretano, York Metropolitan Jurisdiction and Papal Judges Delegate, (1279-1296) (University of California, 1959).
 3. Brooke, The English Church, pp. 176-77.
 4. C. Duggan, Twelfth Century Decretal Collections (London 1963), pp.66-117, especially pp. 80-81.

of Rievaulx, for instance, is known to have met the well-known Italian canonist and lawyer Vacarius, while the latter was at York.¹ The development of contact between the monasteries of Yorkshire and Papacy in the twelfth century is representative of the general trend in Anglo-papal relations in the period. From small beginnings - mere confirmations of religious foundations and possessions, the relationship developed to a state in which the Curia was directly concerned in the affairs of the monasteries. This concern was expressed both in the favour shown in maintaining the status of the monks and canons and in the reinforcement of recent papal decrees and canon law.

The Archbishops of York.

Between 1070, the year after the foundation of Selby, and 1200 eight archbishops occupied the see of York. Of these only one, Henry Murdac (1147-53), was himself a monk, although Thurstan (1114-40) was to end his life as a Cluniac monk of Pontefract.² Of the attitude of the first three Norman archbishops, Thomas I (1070-1100), Gerard (1100-1108) and Thomas II (1180-1114) towards monasticism, little is known, either from the monastic chronicles or from the archbishops' meagre surviving acta. Both William Fitz Herbert (1141-7 and 1153-4) and Geoffrey Plantagenet (1189-1212) were involved in protracted disputes, the former with the powerful faction which opposed his election, the latter with the dean and chapter of York Minster; again little evidence survives for their relations with the monasteries of their diocese. Attention naturally becomes focussed

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1. Hill, English Cistercian Monasteries, p.138. On Vacarius, see P. Stein 'Vacarius and the Civil Law', Church and Government in the Middle Ages (essays presented to C.R. Cheney) ed. C. Brooke, D. Luscombe, G. Martin and D. Owen (Cambridge 1976), pp. 119-137.
 2. John of Hexham, p.304; As Professor Knowles has remarked, few monks became bishops after the Conquest: 'For the century and a half after the Conquest, the number of monk-bishops in office rarely exceeded three or four and sank at times to zero': D. Knowles, The Episcopal Colleagues of Thomas Becket (Cambridge, 1951) p.30.

on the three outstanding prelates of the twelfth-century diocese of York, Thurstan, Henry Murdac and Roger de Pont L'Evêque (1154-81). Each in his own way has left a reputation which is of direct concern to monastic history. Thurstan was an undoubted champion of monasticism, whose reputation as a 'promoter of holy vocations', D. Nicholl's book has shown, is justly deserved. Murdac was the fierce uncompromising Cistercian, and although Ailred of Rievaulx earned the title of the 'Bernard of the North' for his scholarship, perhaps it is Murdac of Fountains who deserves the epithet even more for his allegedly scathing and outspoken manner. Roger de Pont L'Evêque's reputation as an opponent of monasticism arose from a remark which he is alleged to have made by William of Newburgh: it suggests that Roger regarded the foundation of Fountains Abbey as the worst mistake that his predecessor Thurstan had made in his entire life.¹

It is to the first of these three distinctive characters, Thurstan, that we must turn for discussion of ecclesiastical influence behind monastic foundations in Yorkshire. It is perhaps surprising that of over fifty religious houses founded in twelfth-century Yorkshire, only one owed its origins directly to an ecclesiastic. Yet this is the case; for Thurstan's foundation of St Clement's nunnery in York seems to have been the only house which was carefully planned and sponsored without any external pressure. The foundation - 1125-35 - came fairly late in Thurstan's career, but before this date he had been active in encouraging women like Christina of Markyate who wished to live the religious life.² His foundation of St Clement's was of great significance. It was the first nunnery to be founded in post-Conquest Yorkshire, an area so rich in Anglo-Saxon double houses. Furthermore there can be little doubt that Thurstan's act opened the flood gates, for after the foundation of St Clement's, foundations for women followed at an average rate of about one every three years until the close of the twelfth century.

1. Newburgh, I, p.226.

2. See Nicholl, Thurstan, pp.194-97; The Life of Christina of Markyate, ed. C.H. Talbot (Oxford, 1959) pp. 110-13, 127.

Perhaps the most important sponsorship offered by Thurstan to a religious house was his patronage of the refugee monks of St Mary's, who later founded the abbey of Fountains. Yet second place is deliberately given to this foundation here, although it was undoubtedly more important than St Clement's in every way. At the risk of repeating what has been discussed in an earlier chapter, it is important to remember that Thurstan's foundation of Fountains was entirely unplanned. The archbishop had been forced in October 1132, to take in the thirteen monks of St Mary's; however, they could not remain forever a drain on the resources of the household. Thurstan's initial endowment to Fountains was poor; no poorer, one might say, than Espec's to Rievaulx, or Mowbray's to Byland in 1138, but insubstantial nevertheless. Furthermore if the Narratio Fundationis of Fountains is to be relied on in its description of the poverty of the monks in those early years, it is to Thurstan's discredit that he failed to alleviate the distress of the community. Although his charter to the abbey, granting the site, and the land of 'Herleshow' is dated 1139, the 'Narratio' implies that this was his initial and only grant; the charter was issued prior to his retirement from public life. However, the fact that Thurstan's endowments to Fountains were not over-generous is probably a reflection of the poverty of his see rather than his own character. Thomas I is alleged to have diminished the revenue of his see by his grants of land; and similar accusations were made against Archbishop Gerard.¹

Despite these reservations Thurstan was undoubtedly one of the most important figures in the early history of Fountains, as he was in the formative years of Cistercian Rievaulx and Savigniac Byland. More indirectly, it is certain that Thurstan influenced the development of the Augustinian order in Yorkshire. At the time he became archbishop there was only one house of regular canons, Bridlington. Thurstan apparently

1. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum (R.S. 1870), pp. 257-58; Eadmer, Historia Novorum in Anglia (R.S. 1884), p.200. See Nicholl, Thurstan, pp.111-27 for a discussion of the financial situation of the see of York up to 1140.

aided the 'refoundation' of Nostell as an Augustinian house, and we may be sure that if, as Wightman suggests, the foundation of the house was the decision of Henry I, the practical arrangements were the work of the energetic archbishop. Thurstan's influence is also apparent in the foundation of Guisborough (1119-24) which was founded 'consilio et ammonitione ... Turstini' and in the origins of Kirkham, Drax and of Bolton.¹ As canons rather than monks, the Augustinians provided a practical solution to a problem which faced Thurstan in 1119, that is the inadequacy of existing parochial arrangements. Since the late eleventh century the black canons had been allowed to serve parish churches, and so could provide clergy from their 'spiritual power houses'. Although prelates were sharply divided in their attitude towards the possession of parish churches by the religious orders,² it is certain that Thurstan actively encouraged leading magnates to found Augustinian houses and endow them with churches.

With Thurstan's death in 1140 the documentary evidence for the participation of the archbishops of York in monastic foundations comes to an end. Thurstan may have been the only prelate of York to found a religious house, but nearly all the archbishops find their place as monastic benefactors. Thomas I had earlier granted to Selby Abbey land in Fryston and Selby Minor 'libere ... excepta Christianitatis causa et celebratione anniversarii ... pro peccatorum meorum remissione'; later he had added Hillam to these donations.³ His successor Gerard had granted to the same monks the church of Snaith.⁴ Thomas II apparently gave to the canons of Bridlington the church of Bessingby; in addition to his gifts to Fountains and St Clement's Thurstan granted to Whitby Abbey the liberties enjoyed by the churches of St Wilfrid, Ripon and St John, Beverley.⁵

1. On these foundations, see above, pp. 104, 120, 111.

2. See below, pp. 410-16.

3. E.Y.C. I nos. 41-42.

4. ibid. no. 472.

5. ibid. II nos. 1151, 876.

Before his promotion to the see of York, William Fitz Herbert granted to the canons of Nostell the church of Weaverthorpe.¹ The only recorded benefaction of Murdac was made, not surprisingly, to a Cistercian house, that of Meaux.² Of the forty or so extant 'acta' of Archbishop Roger relating to monasteries, not one records a donation or benefaction.

The remaining 'acta' of the archbishops are of two kinds, those which merely confirm grants of land, and those which concern their activities as diocesan. Thomas II, for instance, confirmed to Selby the donations of his two predecessors.³ Thurstan confirmed the foundations of Guisborough and Rievaulx and (implicitly) that of Bolton, and also issued charters of confirmation to Pontefract, Fountains and Whitby.⁴ Fitz Herbert confirmed lands to Nunkeeling (presumably at its foundation) and to Whitby and Pontefract.⁵ Similar charters were issued by Murdac to Warter (including ratification of the project for the foundation of a new abbey), to Rievaulx, and Fountains.⁶ Finally Roger confirmed the possessions of Marrick (at its foundation) and of Fountains, Easby, Drax, Rievaulx, Pontefract, Monk Bretton and Sallay.⁷

It seems likely, however many charters may have been lost, that the confirmation of property by a new archbishop was a normal procedure, as usual perhaps as royal confirmation of monastic estates when a new monarch succeeded to the throne. A confirmation could, of course be obtained for a more specific reason, either at the foundation (as in the cases of Bolton, Rievaulx, Guisborough, Nunkeeling, Monk Bretton, Warter, Easby and Marrick) or when particular circumstances made a confirmation of lands desirable. Archbishop Roger's confirmation charter to Pontefract,

1. ibid. I no. 28.

2. ibid. I no. 40.

3. ibid. I no. 43; see also no. 46, a confirmation of the gift of Nigel the provost.

4. Cart. Guis. nos. 1, 3, 4, 5; Cart. Riev. no. 218; E.Y.C. VII no. 3; III nos. 1468-69; I no. 66; II no. 877.

5. ibid. III no. 1332; II no. 879; III no. 1476.

6. ibid. X no. 67; Cart. Riev. no. 219; E.Y.C. I no. 67.

7. E.Y.C. V no. 175; IV no. 116; XI no. 270; V no. 233; VI no. 23; IX no. 127; Cart. Riev. nos. 220-24, 237-38; E.Y.C. III nos. 1477-79; III no. 1670; Cart. Sallay, I no. 52.

for instance, dates from the years 1154-61, and could well coincide with the reconsecration of the church in 1159, following the extensive damage done to the priory; it is likely that several of the priory's charters were lost at the time.¹

It was also normal for a religious house to obtain archiepiscopal confirmation of any parish church which it might possess. Thus Thomas II confirmed Snaith church to Selby Abbey; Thurstan the churches of Leeds (to Holy Trinity), Catwick (to Pontefract), Weaverthorpe (to Nostell), Marton and Crathorne (to Guisborough), Ottringham and Atwick (to Bridlington).² The latter also obtained a general charter confirming it in possession of all its churches.³ Fitz Herbert confirmed Nostell in possession of Weaverthorpe which he himself had given;⁴ Murdac confirmed churches to Bridlington, Bolton, and Whitby, and Roger to Warter, Selby, Guisborough, Whitby, Pontefract, Nostell, Byland, St Mary's, Kirkstall, Wilberfoss, Nunkeeling and Hampole.⁵

The ratification of the gifts of parish churches by the archbishop was of mutual benefit. Not only did it give the monastery security of tenure (especially in view of the multiple gifts of churches) but it gave the diocesan tighter control over the affairs of his diocese. The majority of surviving twelfth-century York archiepiscopal 'acta' relate specifically to parish churches: to their appropriation, to the ordination of vicarages and to tithe agreements. Little will be said here of parish churches, which are to be discussed more fully in the following chapter. It is sufficient here to stress that the earliest surviving document in this context dates from the time of Thomas II and is the instrument of

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1. See above, pp. 65-66.
 2. Selby Coucher, II no. 877; E.Y.C. VI no. 9; III no. 1319; I no. 27; II no. 687; III no. 1367.
 3. ibid. II no. 1152.
 4. ibid. I no. 28.
 5. ibid. XI nos. 101, 151; II no. 878; Cart. Whitby, no. 78; E.Y.C. X nos. 69-70; XII no. 7; II nos. 674-75 and 687; II nos. 880-82; III nos. 1479, 1481, 1834; Reg. Greenfield, V, pp. 229, 208, 231, 232, 213.

appropriation of the church of Leeds.¹ Thurstan later licensed the appropriation of churches to Bolton, Murdac to Kirkstall, Roger to Byland and Nostell, Geoffrey to Whitby.²

Any agreements made by religious houses, either with one another or with parish churches, were generally ratified by the diocesan. Thurstan confirmed the agreement made between Pontefract Priory and Robert the chaplain by which the latter succeeded to his father's church of Darrington.³ Agreements reached between Beverley and Bridlington concerning thraves due to the former, and between Bridlington and Whitby concerning the payment of tithes by the fishermen of Filey, were similarly ratified.⁴ Henry Murdac confirmed the tithes arrangement reached by Fountains Abbey and the church of Masham; Roger de Pont L'Evêque ratified various tithe arrangements made by Rievaulx.⁵

Besides the formal confirmation of lands, churches and tithe agreements, the archbishop of York, as ordinary of the diocese, had certain rights in the monastic houses; the right to visitation and the right to receive profession of obedience from the heads of religious houses. The former, however, did not apply to all houses, since the exempt order were freed from diocesan visitation. All heads of houses, were, however, required to profess obedience to their bishop or archbishop. Only the heads of the special category of exempt abbeys were freed from this requirement; in England there were seven such abbeys, all in the south or midlands.⁶

'The evidence which would allow one to understand what the obedience and subjection promised by a new abbot involved is far from satisfactory'.⁷ Dr Brett's observation on the sources for episcopal

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1. E.Y.C. VI no. 11; see also C.T. Clay 'A Worcester Charter of Thomas II, Archbishop of York; and its bearing on the Early History of the Church of Leeds', Y.A.J. 36 (1947), pp. 132-36. For a further discussion of this charter, see below, pp. 394, 396.
 2. E.Y.C. VII no. 8; III no. 1471; III nos. 1834, 1481; Cart. Whitby, I, no. 270.
 3. E.Y.C. III no. 1470.
 4. ibid. I no. 103; II no. 875.
 5. P.U.E. III no. 144; Cart. Riev. nos. 225, 221.
 6. These were Canterbury, Westminster, Battle, Evesham, St Albans, Bury St. Edmunds and Kamesbury. See Monastic Order, pp. 586-590.
 7. M. Brett, The English Church under Henry I. p.132.

activity in the affairs of the monasteries in the period 1100-1135 applies equally well to Yorkshire in the period 1135-1200. Instances of archiepiscopal intervention in monastic elections can be quoted from only four houses, Kirkham, Selby, Whitby and Byland; even in these cases, the sources are thin. The documents relating to the election of the Augustinian prior of Kirkham date from c.1180. The evidence of Nicholas de Trailli, grandson of the founder (transmitted at the request of the canons to the justiciar of England and corroborated by the prior of Marton) indicated that at a vacancy, the normal procedure was for the chapter to convene and, beginning with the senior canon, for each of the brethren to nominate his own candidate. If the election was unanimous (and the document does not state what the procedure was if there was a dispute), the canons were accustomed to present the elect to the patron of the house, and then to the archbishop for ordination and benediction.¹

This procedure was ideally, free from lay intervention.² It was probably that followed at every house, with the exception that it was not normal for Cistercian patrons to participate in the election. Roger de Mowbray did present Abbot Roger of Byland (then Savigniac) for ordination, but it is likely that the role of the Cistercian patron was severely limited. The instances of Kirkham and Byland, however, only tell us of procedure, not of the right which the archbishop claimed in the monastic houses. For this we have to rely on the evidence from two Benedictine houses, Selby and Whitby.

Reference has been made in an earlier chapter to the intervention of successive archbishops of York in the affairs of Selby:³ the election of Abbot Hugh 'Archiepiscopi Giraldi approbatione'; the deposition of Durand on

1. E.Y.C. X, nos. 105-6.

2. For lay intervention in abbatial elections see pp.335-37. The election of an abbot was, according to the Rule of St Benedict, free from both lay and episcopal intervention, being made by the chapter of a monastery, This became accepted in canon law. R.S.B. pp. 145-7.

3. For a fuller description of the following events, see above pp. 10-18.

the advice of Thurstan; the latter's promotion of Walter prior of Pontefract to the abbacy; the deposition of Elias Paynel by Henry Murdac. Was intervention on such a scale exceptional, or was it just that the Selby 'Historia' provides fuller evidence than elsewhere? It seems most probable that the special factor here was the unusual position of the archbishop of York as quasi-patron of the abbey. It will be remembered that William II had given the abbey to the archbishop of York, to hold as the archbishop of Canterbury held the see of Rochester. Although this, as it stands, is ambiguous, it seems to have been interpreted as powers of patronage by Thomas II, who confirmed various donations to the abbey 'quia ecclesia de Seleby Eboracensis ecclesie potestati ita subdita est quod Eboracensis archiepiscopus jure eam ubique patrocinari'.¹

The particular motives of Henry Murdac in deposing Abbot Elias Paynel were variously interpreted. The author of the Selby 'Historia' was in no doubt that it was occasioned by Paynel's opposition to the election of Murdac as archbishop. The St Albans source, on the other hand, explains Murdac's action on the grounds that Elias was a 'Pastor nescius et remissus'.² It might be argued that the Selby source is likely to put forward the argument least damaging to the reputation of Paynel (although the author is generally judicious in his comments on the abbots of his house). Weight is given to his interpretation, however, by the fact that Murdac acted in the same way at Whitby, deposing Abbot Benedict and forcing the monks to accept a candidate of his own nomination.³ Perhaps, however, both interpretations can be accommodated. It does not seem likely that Murdac would remove these men merely because they were political opponents. He

1. E.Y.C. I no. 43.

2. Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, (R.S. 1863-76,) 4/1, p.120.

3. Cart. Whitby, I. pp.8-9.

himself had whole-heartedly approved the deposition of Fitz Herbert for simony, intrusion and immorality. Were these men not his supporters, and therefore, in Murdac's eyes, equally culpable and unworthy of high office? The episodes at Selby and Whitby do, at least, give a clue as to how Murdac himself envisaged the responsibilities of the archbishop towards the monastic houses.

Remembering that Selby poses a particular problem, there is very little evidence for archiepiscopal intervention in abbatial elections and depositions.¹ The evidence for visitations is equally limited, the only instance being the intervention of Thurstan at St Mary's, York in 1131-2. It is clear from the 'Narratio Foundationis' of Fountains that Prior Richard and his companions appealed to the authority ('auctoritas') of the archbishop to visit the house and settle an internal, disciplinary problem.² Indeed the 'Narratio' alleges that Prior Richard realized that nothing could be achieved 'nisi episcopalis auctoritas interveniat'. The attempted visitation of Thurstan apparently led to a riot; it was evidently regarded by the monks not of the reforming party as unwarranted interference.

Apart from this one instance, relations between Thurstan and the monasteries were apparently extremely good, and the furore of 1131-2 was of short duration. With the accession of Roger de Pont L'Evêque in 1154 there was a marked change in the attitude of the archbishop towards the religious houses, and a deterioration in their relations. William of Newburgh was most scathing in his treatment of Roger. 'Christianos philosophantes, ... in tantum exhorruit, ut dixisse feratur, felicis memoriae Turstinum ... numquam gravius deliquisse, quam aedificando insigne illud Christianae philosophiae speculum, monasterium ... de Fontibus'.³

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1. One has to bear in mind that the sources for the twelfth-century monasteries in Yorkshire, are, for the most part, charters, and such a source is unlikely to furnish much information on questions such as episcopal visitation and intervention in elections.
 2. Mem. Ftns. I p.6, 8.
 3. Newburgh, I, p.226.

When Roger saw that his words created a scandal, he allegedly remarked 'Laici estis, nes percipere potestis vim verbi'. Newburgh's opposition to Roger is possibly explained by an anecdote which he included in his chronicle in order to emphasize Roger's failings. A certain prior, 'mihi notissimus' approached Roger during his last illness asking for a general confirmation of the possessions of the priory. Roger refused: 'en morior, et quia Deum timeo quod postulas, facere non praesumo'. If the prior in question, the 'vir bonus et simplex' was, in fact, Bernard of Newburgh, William's bias could be explained.¹ The possibility that the priory which fell foul of Roger was Newburgh is strengthened by the evidence of a letter from Thomas Becket to Pope Alexander III. In a virulent attack on Roger ('Quis eorum signifer sit, quis fuerit inter regnum et sacerdotium auctor discordiae, quis exstiterit rancoris et totius perversitatis inceptor perspicuum est ab operibus suis') Becket commended to the Pope the canons of Newburgh 'injuste oppressos' by Roger. 'Iterato' Becket concluded, 'contra Altissimum se Lucifer erexit'.²

There is no other evidence for the origins of the nature of this dispute with Newburgh. Sources independent of William, however, record conflicts between Roger and Guisborough, Meaux, Fountains and Rievaulx. Details of the disputes with the two latter houses were given above. The conflicts with Meaux and Guisborough, however, require further explanation. Between 1151 and 1153 Archbishop Henry Murdac had given to the monks of Meaux land in Wawne, which belonged to the patrimony of the see of York. Roger seems to have repossessed the land, in the eyes of the Meaux chronicler 'sine iudicio et justitia', and 'multas..molestias intulit'.³ In order to prove their title to the land the monks produced a charter of Murdac, and one issued by the dean and chapter of York Minster; these were burnt by Roger.

1. Newburgh, I, pp. 226-27.

2. Materials for the History of Thomas Becket (R.S.67, 1875-85) V, pp. 298-300.

3. Chron. Welsa, I, p.94.

Later he compensated the monks with the sum of thirty marks, but the land was not recovered by the abbey until the time of Abbot Alexander, 1197-1210.

The conflict with Guisborough centred on the parish churches of Kirklevington and Skelton, both given to the priory by the founder, Robert de Brus. In the period 1174-80, in reply to an appeal from Guisborough, Pope Alexander III issued a mandate for the investigation into the complaint made against Roger; the latter, it was claimed, had instituted W. de Ridale to the chapel of Eston (dependent on Kirklevington) and, when his action was opposed, had excommunicated the canons and placed their churches under interdict.¹ The dispute was resolved by the legates, Guisborough agreeing to grant Kirklevington church to Roger 'propter multas et magnas expensas quas pro predicta controuersia prenominatus archiepiscopus fecerat' to hold for life, the two dependent chapels being retained by the canons. After Roger's death the church was to return to the canons.² At Skelton the trouble appears to have been caused by Roger's institution of his own nephew, Ralph, also an archdeacon, to the church. Details of the origin of the dispute are lacking, but it was evidently of long standing by the period 1170-78 when Roger authorized the appropriation of the church by Guisborough after the death of his nephew Ralph, rector of the church.³

Prejudiced though William of Newburgh may have been against the archbishop, there is evidence to support his claim that Roger was no friend of at least some of the monasteries. In this he is not unique; several diocesans, such as Hugh du Puiset, came into conflict with religious houses.

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1. P.U.E. I no. 173. The judges delegate in this case were the bishop of Chichester and the abbots of Ford and Evesham.
 2. ibid. no. 180. It was specified that any minister appointed by Roger was to swear 'quod nichil machinabitur, per quod ecclesia de Levington(a) ab eis alienatur vel ius eorum pereat vel in aliquo minuatur'.
 3. E.Y.C. I no. 685.

The rapid growth in the number of monasteries (especially marked in Yorkshire) led to a certain amount of confusion. In the first half of the twelfth century many people had enthusiastically founded monasteries, endowed them with lands and churches and alienated tithes. In the latter part of the century attitudes were beginning to change, both among laymen and ecclesiastics. Walter Map and Gerald of Wales, for instance, criticized the Cistercians in particular for their greed and economic success.¹ Diocesans were faced with difficult problems of organization. They could not, for instance, exercise visitation rights over the exempt orders. Of particular significance was the problem of tithes. The Cistercian order was exempt from the payment of tithes on newly-cultivated lands, but it was not long before problems of definition arose.² Who, for instance, was to decide which lands were exempt and which liable for tithe? It seems clear that, in the cases of Rievaulx and Fountains, the payment of tithes was the basic issue over which Roger quarrelled with the monks; Roger seems to have consistently upheld the part of his parochial clergy and their right to receive the tithes which formed such a substantial part of their benefice.

Roger was probably anxious to see that the monastic houses did not become rich at the expense of the parish clergy since the efficient organization of the diocese could not be fully achieved unless, at parochial level, priests were adequately maintained. This is not to argue that Roger was entirely guided by altruistic motives. It is likely, for instance, that his repossession of Wawne was occasioned by a desire to prevent the diminution of his own archiepiscopal estates.³ Moreover,

1. See above, p. 145.

2. On the problem of monastic exemption from tithes see G. Constable, Monastic Tithes from their origin to the twelfth-century (Cambridge, 1964) pp. 220-306.

3. Particularly in view of the fact that they were probably seriously diminished already. See above, p. 362.

it is significant that his conflict with Guisborough was caused by his promotion to Skelton church of his own nephew. However, self-interest or plain mistrust of monks cannot fully account for his actions. Roger's career at York, his steadfast maintenance of the rights of his see against Canterbury, his securing of the office of papal legate, his relations with the bishops of the Northern province, all indicate a desire for the promotion of the glory of York. In this scheme the creation of order within the diocese was an integral part, and this order demanded that the religious houses should be brought firmly under episcopal control.

The evidence for the relations between the Yorkshire monasteries and their diocesan is far from satisfactory. In particular, and in the absence of archiepiscopal registers it is impossible to tell how often monasteries were visited by the ordinary or what visitation implied. At the beginning of our period when Thomas I arrived in York there was only one monastery, Selby. At the accession of Thurstan in 1114 there were still only a handful. By 1140 the monastic expansion was well under way; by 1154 it had all but ceased. A new type of prelate was needed to meet the changed circumstances, not so much a 'promoter of holy vocations', but a man who could reconcile the conflicting claims of secular and regular clergy, one who could protect the religious houses of his diocese yet preserve the fundamentals of diocesan and parochial life.

The archbishops of Canterbury and the bishops of Durham, Carlisle and Lincoln.

The widespread interests and land holdings of several of the Yorkshire monasteries brought their convents into contact with other spiritual lords, especially the diocesans of Durham, Carlisle and Lincoln and, to a lesser extent, the archbishop of Canterbury. The appearance of these prelates on the Yorkshire scene deserves brief mention. Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury (1139-61) issued four charters in favour of Yorkshire

monasteries. To St Mary's, York, he granted confirmation of their churches of Stokesley and Gainford, and of the possessions of the abbey in the southern province. Pontefract Priory received a very detailed confirmation of their lands and churches, and Nun Appleton Priory a confirmation of benefactions, probably on the occasion of its foundation.¹ Theobald may, of course, have issued more charters which have not survived; the ones he did issue probably date from the vacancy of the see of York which occurred between the death of Henry Murdac and the restoration of Fitz Herbert (1153). It seems less than likely that, in issuing these charters, Theobald was acting in his capacity as papal legate. The often-strained relations between the northern and southern prelates made intervention by the archbishop of Canterbury in the affairs of the province of York unlikely, undesirable and potentially inflammable.

It may well have been as papal legate, however, that Theobald did intervene in the affairs of Selby Abbey. After the deposition of Elias Paynel by Henry Murdac (1152) and his replacement by German of St Albans, the case was apparently referred to Rome. It was the efforts of Theobald which secured the second deposition of Paynel and the restoration of German. Again, however, the coincidence of the date of this event (1154) suggests the possibility that Theobald was once again acting in the absence of an archbishop of the northern province.² In general there is little evidence to suggest that the Yorkshire monasteries had anything but casual contact with the archbishops of Canterbury.

Connections with the prelates of the north was, however, inevitably likely to be closer, since several monasteries held lands and churches within the dioceses of Durham and Carlisle. In several cases therefore we find these bishops acting in the same way as the archbishops of York,

1. E.Y.C. I no. 560; Mon. Ang. III p.612; E.Y.C. III no. 1475; Mon. Ang. V, p.653. See also A. Saltman, Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury (London, 1956) pp. 518, 531-32, 423, 412.

2. For these events, see above, pp.14-15.

confirming churches, authorizing appropriations and ratifying agreements. Guisborough, Rievaulx, St Mary's, York, Nun Monkton and Kirkham all held lands in the diocese of Durham; and of these houses Rievaulx had the closest sustained relations with the bishops of the diocese.

Contact with the bishops of Durham became more pronounced in the period of office of Hugh du Puiset (1153-95); his predecessors did not, however neglect the Yorkshire houses. Bishop Rannulf Flambard (1099-1128) confirmed the possessions of Guisborough Priory; Bishop William of St Barbe (d.1152) became a benefactor of the pioneer Cistercians of Rievaulx, granting to them lands in Cowton.¹ Hugh du Puiset added lands in Crosby to this benefaction, and confirmed the grants made by landowners of his diocese, such as Geoffrey de Ottringham.² He issued confirmations of agreements made by Rievaulx concerning the tithes of Leake and Cowton.³ His close contacts with Rievaulx are recognized in successive papal bulls. In 1160 and again in the period 1167-69 and 1174-76, Bishop Hugh was the recipient of papal letters enjoining him to protect the monks against the parishioners of his diocese who had, it seems, been plundering the lands of the monastery.⁴ There is only one hint of conflict: in 1171-81 Alexander III wrote to Hugh reminding him that Ailred of Rievaulx had reached an agreement with him concerning the tithes of Cowton, and ordering him (Hugh) to cease exacting these tithes.⁵

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1. H.S. Offler, Durham Episcopal Charters, 1071-1152, Surt. Soc. 179 (1968) pp. 115-16.
 2. ibid. pp. 175-76; Cart. Riev. no. 49.
 3. ibid. no. 54; E.Y.C. II, no. 954.
 4. P.U.E. I, nos. 83, 106, 107, 135.
 5. G.V. Scammell, Hugh du Puiset, pp. 75-80 and 109-10. As Scammell remarks 'These frequent mandates ... reflect also something of a friendship with Rievaulx, whose monks perhaps regarded the bishop as a man of sufficient consequence and affluence to protect their interests and balance the suspected hostility of Roger of York'. (pp.79-80).

Relations between Hugh and Fountains Abbey were less happy; the former was repeatedly admonished in papal letters for encroaching on the rights of the monks. He was warned by Alexander III, for instance, to uphold Fountain's freedom from tithes on certain lands. Several years later both he and Roger of York were ordered to prevent the excommunication, by their clergy, of abbey servants who refused to pay such tithes.¹ Du Puiset's major clash with Fountains came, however, when the abbot excommunicated several of the brethren of Newminster (a daughter house of Fountains in the diocese of Durham) for rebellion. His sentence was upheld by the Pope, but Hugh lifted the ban. This action earned him a sharp rebuke from the Pope (1167-69).² Several minor 'acta' of Hugh record his confirmation of lands and churches to other religious houses. To St Mary's, York, he confirmed the very valuable churches held within his diocese, Stainton, Gainford, and the chapel of Barnard Castle.³ To Nostell he granted licence to appropriate the churches of Bamburgh; to Nun Monkton he confirmed a grant of land made by Juetta de Arches, wife of Adam de Brus.⁴ Finally he settled a dispute between the canons of Kirkham and Stephen of Newton in Glendale concerning tithes and parochial dues of the chapel of 'Mindrum'.⁵

In a way similar to Bishop Hugh, successive bishops of Carlisle (a see founded within the period under review) intervened in the affairs of Yorkshire houses, when their possessions touched on their own diocese. From the foundation of Carlisle Cathedral until 1157 the see was in fact held by a Yorkshire prior, Athelwulf of Nostell.⁶ During his term of

1. P.U.E. III nos. 156, 271.

2. ibid. no. 160.

3. See G.V. Scammell, 'Four Early Charters relating to York', Y.A.J. 39 (1956) pp. 86-90; York D & C MS AI fo. 305.

4. B.L. Cotton MS Vespasian E XIX fo. 118v; Feodarium Prioratus Dunelmensis, ed. W. Greenwell, Surt. Soc. 58 (1871) p. 163.

5. P.U.E. III nos. 426-7.

6. Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fo. 87; J.C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of the Cathedral of Carlisle', T.C.W.A.A.S. ns.45 (1946) pp.134-43, and see above, pp.89-92. Athelwulf resigned the priorate of Nostell in 1153.

office at Carlisle, indeed before that, several Yorkshire houses had begun to acquire lands and churches in the diocese. St Mary's, York, was particularly prominent, having established two cells, Wetheral and St Bees. Both these houses received confirmation of lands from Bishop Athelwulf.¹ The Benedictine monks of Whitby obtained from Athelwulf and his successor, Bernard, confirmation of their church of Crosby Ravensworth, the latter authorizing the appropriation.² The church of Warcop (Westmorland), originally given to (but not retained by) Byland Abbey, was confirmed to Easby by Bishop Bernard.³

Contact between the Yorkshire monasteries and the bishop of Lincoln was confined to those houses, notably Nostell, Drax and Holy Trinity, York, which had possessions in the diocese. All the grants made by Roger de Mowbray to the cell of Hirst were addressed to Bishop Alexander (1123-48)⁴. Bishop Robert de Chesney (1148-1166) assigned the church of West Rasen to Holy Trinity priory for appropriation.⁵ The majority of Drax charters relating to Lincolnshire churches were addressed to the diocesan. Bishop Hugh (1186-1200) ratified the grant of the church of Melton Ross to Water priory, and confirmed to Nostell the churches of Chedderton and Charwelton.⁶

The surviving evidence accordingly indicates that connections between the religious houses of the county of Yorkshire and neighbouring dioceses were limited to the formal confirmation of lands, and more particularly, churches within the diocese. Occasionally connections went further; in one instance at least a bishop-elect of Lincoln, Geoffrey

1. Mon. Ang. III pp. 584, 586.

2. Cart. Whitby, nos. 32, 35-37.

3. B.L. Egerton MS 2827, fo. 301v.

4. Mowbray Charters, nos. 215-17

5. E.Y.C. VI no. 50.

6. ibid. X, no. 33; Cart. Guis. I, no. 592; B.L. Cotton MS Vespasian E XIX fo. 112v.

acted as a papal judge delegate in a case concerning the Yorkshire house of Guisborough.¹ The prelate most closely involved in the affairs of the Yorkshire houses was undoubtedly Hugh du Puiset, alternatively a benefactor and an oppressor of the monasteries, as indeed seems to have been the case north as well as south of the Tees.²

The Dean and Chapter of St Peter's, York, and the Archdeacons of the diocese

When Thomas I succeeded to the see of York in 1070 he was faced by a series of problems not all of which were unique to his diocese. His position was particularly unenviable, since his cathedral church had recently been burnt; the revenue of the see was depleted, and there was an almost total lack of any diocesan administration. Thomas soon began reorganization; he introduced the system of prebends, increased the number of canons and then appointed a dean, treasurer, and precentor, endowing each of them as befitted the church, himself, and their individual dignities.³ In addition, following the decree of the Council of London, 1075 ('ut episcopi archidiaconos et ceteros sacri ordinis ministros in ecclesiis suis ordinent') he introduced three archdeacons to the archdiocese. By the time of Thurstan's death in 1140 the number of canons at the Minster had risen to somewhere in the region of fifteen to twenty and the number of archdeaconries to five (those of York, the East Riding, which was annexed to the treasurership until the early thirteenth century, Cleveland, Richmond and Nottingham).

1. Cart. Guis. I no. 592.

2. On Hugh's relations with his own cathedral priory of Durham, see G.V. Scammell, Hugh du Puiset, pp.128-67.

3. Hugh the Chantor, History of the Church of York, p.11.

The office of archdeacon is of obscure origin, but by the twelfth century their duties had come to include the induction of clergy, and the supervision of payments of tithes and synodals and, as the 'oculi episcopi' they became the instruments by which diocesan policy was implemented.¹

The duties of these, and lesser officials such as the rural deans, were gradually clarified. By 1135 'the bishops' agents ... not merely existed; they had evolved their own modes of action, a hierarchy and relatively distinct spheres of action.'² The Yorkshire monasteries inevitably came into contact with these lesser ecclesiastical dignitaries. Some of the latter are in fact recorded as having entered monastic foundations at the end of their career in the secular church. In c1135 Dean Hugh of York entered Fountains, and was closely followed by two of his canons, Serlo and Tosti.³ A decade or so earlier canon Gernagot had donated land near York Minster to the abbey of Whitby 'quando me ipsum reddidi abbati Ricardo'.⁴ Of course the nature of these connections varied with individual houses; Nostell priory was intimately connected with the Minster by reason of its tenure of the prebend of Bramham, granted to the canons by Thurstan in the period 1130-40.⁵ For the most part, however, recorded contact with the various officials of the archdiocese of York rarely rose above the level of formality. Yet this does not mean

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1. On the office of archdeacon see C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton (Manchester, 1956), pp.145-6; M. Brett, The English Church under Henry I, pp.204-5, 208-10; On the Yorkshire archdeacons see in particular C.T. Clay, 'Notes on the Early Archdeacons in the Church of York', pp.269-87, 409-34.
 2. M. Brett, The English Church under Henry I, p.215.
 3. Mem. Ftns. I pp. 52-53.
 4. E.Y.C. I no. 279.
 5. On Bramham, see C.T. Clay, York Minster Fasti, Y.A.S.R.S. 124 (1959) pp. 12-15. Two other Augustinian houses, Bridlington and Newburgh had dealings with York prebends, the former more successful than the latter. Bridlington held the church of Grindale, and in the period 1141-42 Serlo the canon quitclaimed to the priory 'calumpniam quam adversus ecclesie .. de Bridlingtona habui in decimis et oblationibus ceterisque prebende mee de Grendale'. This was ratified by the dean and chapter: E.Y.C. I nos. 152-3. Newburgh lost three of its churches, Masham, Kirby Malzeard and Langford (Notts.) when the prebend of Masham was created: see below, pp.409-10.

that the men of the lower rungs of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were insignificant figures in monastic history. On the contrary they often had an important role to play in safeguarding the rights of the religious houses.

Among the most notable benefactor of the monasteries was Archdeacon Osbert de Bayeaux, who was probably a nephew of Archbishop Thurstan. Osbert occurs as archdeacon (of Richmond or York) in the years 1135-6, an office which he retained until c1158, although his career was not without vicissitudes.¹ It was after his retirement that, still styled 'archidiaconus' he granted lands in Bingley to Drax priory and to the Military Orders.² Further recipients of his generosity were the priories of Pontefract and Guisborough, to which Osbert gave estates in Middle Haddlesey and Bradley (co. Lincs.)³ The remaining 'grants' by the dean and chapter and the archdeacons were in the nature of business transactions. In the period 1142-3 the dean and chapter granted to Pontefract Priory all the land which they held in Ledsham, specified as half the vill and sixty seven acres of land, to be held by the Cluniacs for a rent of ten marks per annum.⁴ This grant gave the monks control over the entire vill. Some years later the dean and chapter leased to Newburgh priory one carucate of land in Skirpenbeck and one carucate with twenty four acres of woodland in Hooton Pagnell, to hold for a total of six marks per annum.⁵ Jeremiah, Archdeacon of Cleveland, purchased land in the marsh district of York from Rievaulx Abbey, which he held at farm of St Mary's Abbey, York.⁶

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1. For Osbert's career see C.T. Clay, 'Notes on the Early Archdeacons in the Church of York', pp. 277-79. See also below, p.385
 2. E.Y.C. VI nos. 68-69.
 3. E.Y.C. III no. 1718; II no. 673.
 4. Cart. Pont. no. 42.
 5. E.Y.C. II nos. 842, 844; and VI no. 135.
 6. ibid. I no. 303. The marsh district lay to the south of the city beyond Pavement and Peaseholme Green.

Welcome though these benefactions or leases may have been to the respective monasteries they are few and far between. The main duty of the ecclesiastical officials towards the religious houses, was to protect their lands and rights. In consequence the vast majority of surviving charters issued by the dean and chapter and the archdeacons are ratifications and confirmations of monastic foundations, grants of land and churches, and of any agreements which were of immediate concern to the diocese. The foundations of Guisborough, Bolton and St Clement's, York, were confirmed by the dean and chapter, and Hugh du Puiset, as treasurer of York and archdeacon of the East Riding ratified the foundation of the nunnery of Swine.¹ When the canons of Warter decided to affiliate themselves to the order of Arrouaise their petition was addressed to the dean and chapter of York.²

It appears to have been even more common for the dean and chapter to have confirmed grants made by the archbishops of York. In the period 1109-1112 they ratified the gifts of churches, men and lands made by Archbishop Thomas II to Selby; in the years 1160-70 they confirmed to Fountains Abbey the lands of the fee of St Peter, which Thurstan had given.³ As well as confirming such gifts the dean and chapter, and the archdeacons are found attesting archiepiscopal charters. This is not surprising, since at this early date the archdeacon still formed part of the episcopal, or archiepiscopal household. Archdeacon Geoffrey Turcopole, for instant, witnessed a notification of Thomas II concerning Darrington church, Archdeacon Hugh a charter of Thurstan to Whitby, and Osbert de Bayeaux the grant of Henry Murdac to Meaux.⁴

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1. Cart. Guis. I nos. 6,8; E.Y.C. VII no. 3 and III no. 1360. In addition to issuing a charter confirming the foundation of St Clement's, a considerable number of the chapter attested Thurstan's charter of foundation.
 2. E.Y.C. X no. 65. The charter was issued during a vacancy in the see.
 3. E.Y.C. I nos. 44, 69.
 4. Cart. Pont. no. 40; E.Y.C. III no. 1470; ibid. II no. 876 and I no. 71. For further instances of archdeacons attesting archiepiscopal charters see C.T. Clay 'The Early Archdeacons', pp. 269-87, 409-34.

Nor was it unusual for a layman to secure the witness of an ecclesiastic to his grant, and it is likely that this was encouraged by the monasteries. It was of mutual benefit. In an age when most laymen would have been illiterate the ratification by an ecclesiastic would have been of great advantage. In 1160 for example, the dean and chapter issued a notification of the gift of Torphin de Allerston to Rievaulx. The charter is headed: 'Carta Capituli Sancti Petri de donatione Torphini de Alverstein de una carrucata terrae confirmata in hoc sigillo, quia ipse sigillo carebat.'¹ In an age when land was all important, and in consequence a subject of dispute, the securing of ecclesiastical approval, either in the form of a charter of confirmation, or of witnesses, was of importance to the monastic houses.² A whole galaxy of examples of attestation by the dean and chapter, or the archdeacons, could be quoted. Hugh Sottovagine, precentor of York and archdeacon until c1138, witnessed the grant of Hutton Bushell church to Whitby.³ Osbert de Bayeaux witnessed the charters of William de Percy, to Whitby; Ralph Baro, archdeacon of Cleveland attested a charter of Henry Murdac concerning the church of Kirkby in Cleveland (alias Kirby Broughton), situated in Ralph's area of jurisdiction.⁴

The dean and chapter also attested deeds by which laymen conveyed land to religious houses, thereby lending extra authority to the grant. When William, son of Theobald, gave land in Folkton to Rievaulx Abbey he stated: 'Hanc terram affidavi warantizare ... in manu Alexandri, presbiteri et canonici Sancti Petri Ebor' ...⁵ Robert II dean and the chapter

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1. Cart. Riev. no. 86.
 2. For example, see E.Y.C. II no. 1105. In this charter (dated 1190) Peter de Ros, archdeacon of Carlisle, issued a notification to the effect that a charter in favour of Watton Priory which was in his possession had accidentally been destroyed when he became involved in a riot in York. He testified that before the mishap the charter was intact and requested that its validity be upheld.
 3. E.Y.C. I no, 375.
 4. E.Y.C. II no. 1202; Cart. Whitby, I no.78. For further instances, see Cart. Foun. I p.434; E.Y.C. I nos. 541, III no. 1623; I no. 641.
 5. Cart. Riev. no. 84.

attested that Ralph son of Serlo had sworn in their presence to dismiss the claims he had made against the monks of Rievaulx.¹ Engelram, rural dean of Rydale and Pickering Lythe issued a notification to the effect that Sunnive, wife of Lambert and her daughters had quitclaimed land to Rievaulx 'et hoc legitime et firmiter tenendum in manu mea ... affidaverunt in ecclesia Omnium Sanctorum apud Helmeslai in presencia duorum archidiaconorum ...'²

The chapter of York Minster was also called upon on occasion to ratify the transfer of a parish church from a layman to a religious house. In the period 1121-38 they confirmed the church of Leeds to Holy Trinity Priory; much later in 1205 they certified that the same church did indeed belong to Holy Trinity, that it had been appropriated, and that Paulinus de Ledes had held the vicarage.³ They further approved the appropriation of the church of Old Byland to the monks of Byland, and confirmed to Guisborough the church of Kirklevington following the dispute between the canons and Archbishop Roger.⁴

The vexed question of tithes was one that called out for clarification by the ecclesiastical authorities. As has been noted the problem was exacerbated by the apparent hostility to the monks of Roger, and his unwillingness to allow certain houses exemption from the payment of tithes. This probably led to a desire on the part of the monasteries to have tithes agreements confirmed by a more impartial authority. Ralph Baro, for instance, ratified the agreement made between Rievaulx Abbey and Scawton parish church concerning the tithes of Scawton and 'Oswaldesengas';

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1. ibid. no. 227 (182). See also Ibid. nos. 228(183)-233(188); Cart. Foun. II p. 486 and I p.275.
 2. E.Y.C. IX no. 131, dated 1160-74. The archdeacons were John son of Letold and Ralph D'Aunai.
 3. ibid. VI nos. 10, 84.
 4. ibid. III no. 1835; Cart. Guis. no. 685.

the confirmation was made 'ne temere a quoquam violetur'.¹ In the early thirteenth century the dean and chapter of York, acting as papal judges delegate settled the dispute which had raged between the monks of Rievaulx and Alexander the clerk concerning the tithes of Bolton. Their charter concluded: 'Hanc etiam compositionem fideliter tenendam coram nobis promiserunt Abbas et monachi in verbo veritatis, et Alexander clericus in fidei religionie: et nos eam auctoritate, qua in eadem causa fungebamur, sigillis nostris confirmavimus'.²

Unlike the dean and chapter, at least in theory, the archdeacons were the officials of the Archbishop with responsibility for implementing his policy with regard to the diocese. As the 'oculus episcopi' the archdeacon had rights of visitation in his particular area of jurisdiction. There is only one piece of evidence for such visitations in twelfth-century Yorkshire. A bull of Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), addressed to all the prelates and officials of dioceses in which Bridlington priory held lands, informed them that the archdeacon of Richmond (possibly Honorius) had visited a parish church held by the priory:

Cum olim archidiaconus Richemundie parochiam suam visitac(i)onis gratia circumiret cum centum equis minus tribus, viginti canibus et uno, tribus avibus venatoriis, ad quandam ecclesiam .. accedens, tantum domum istam sumptu immoderato gravavit quod hora brevi dicitur consumpsisse quod toti familie longo tempore suffecisset.

Innocent ordered that no-one was again to oppress the priory in the course of a visitation by taking with him more animals and servants 'preter quam Later(a)nensis concilii statuta permittunt'. (i.e. for an archbishop, fifty horses, for a bishop thirty and for an archdeacon seven.)³

1. Cart. Riev. no. 226 (181).

2. ibid. no. 145u.

3. E.Y.C. V no. 396. As C.T. Clay indicates, Bridlington held two churches in Richmond, East Cowton and Grindale.

This is unfortunately the only instance of archidiaconal visitation of a monastery and its possessions. The other outstanding episode of intervention in monastic affairs by an archdeacon is the part played by Archdeacon Osbert de Bayeux in the struggle for the abbacy of Selby. After the deposition of Elias Paynel, abbot of Selby in 1152, the monks were forced to accept Murdac's nominee, German, monk of St Albans. Murdac died in 1153 and Osbert de Bayeux apparently with the support of the dean and chapter of York, restored Elias. A few months later Elias was again deposed, this time by Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury, and Elias was degraded for his part in the affair. The chronicler of St Albans, actually calls Osbert 'hujus rei incentorem'.¹ Osbert's part in the episode is curious. He was known to have been an active opponent of William fitz Herbert in 1140-1, and although this does not mean that he was a supporter of Murdac, at Selby he appears to have gone directly against the latter's policy. The motives for his intervention, however, are unknown.

Elsewhere we find the archdeacons and occasionally canons of the Minster acting as the deputy of the archbishop. Nicholas de Trailli, nephew of Walter Espec and canon of York stated in a document of c.1180 that he had, on behalf of the archbishop, instituted Geoffrey as prior of Kirkham.² Godfrey de Lucy, archdeacon of Richmond, confirmed to Easby Abbey the church of Stanwick St John 'salvis in omnibus antiquis consuetudinibus archidiacono Richem(undie) debitis; salvo etiam eo quod cum prefata ecclesia vacaverit predicti canonici vicarium idoneum archidiacono represent, cui de bonis ecclesie assignetur unde honeste possit sustentari et hospitalitatem exercere, et predictis canonicis in temporalibus archidiacono vero et suis officialibus de eorum justicia in spiritualibus valeat respondere'.³

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1. See above, pp. 14-15. Osbert was also implicated in the death of St William; see D. Knowles, 'The Case of St William of York', pp. 91-94.
 2. E.Y.C. X no. 105.
 3. E.Y.C. V no. 270.

His successor William de Chimeli confirmed to the canons, in almost the same words, the church of Great Langton.¹ It was his successor Honorius, who instituted the canons to Great Langton, and assigned the vicarage to Alan de Magneby.² He also confirmed the canons in possession of the patronage of the church of Manfield.³

Although their relations with the religious houses of Yorkshire were not as dramatic as those between the monasteries and the archbishops of York, the dean and chapter of York, and the archdeacons fulfilled a vital, if on the whole, unexciting role in the monastic expansion. That the transfer of lands and churches to the religious houses should take place under the auspices of the secular church was important; disputes and conflicts over the donations occurred even with this element of control, without it the situation could have become even more confused. In the days when the archbishop was a political as well as an ecclesiastical prelate, the cathedral chapter and the archdeacons provided a more stable and more accessible authority for the ratification of important documents. They were an important part of the process by which monastic benefactions were implemented.

The monastic expansion in Yorkshire was the result of many factors working together. It was not entirely ecclesiastically-inspired, and owed an immense debt to the piety and faith of the laymen who founded

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1. E.Y.C. V no. 261.
 2. B.L. Egerton MS 2827 fo. 295.
 3. E.Y.C. V no. 167. These examples of the activities of Archdeacons Honorius and William de Chimeli indicate that the archdeacons of Richmond were performing the duties normally belonging to the bishop, i.e. institution. William de Chimeli, created archdeacon by Richard I, quarrelled with the king's brother, Geoffrey, archbishop of York. The latter's disputes with the king and the dean and chapter of York may have provided the conditions which permitted the beginning of the development of the quasi-independence enjoyed by the archdeacons of Richmond; see A. Hamilton Thompson, 'The Registers of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, 1361-1442', Y.A.J. 25, (1920) pp.129-268, especially 129-135.

and endowed the religious houses. Nevertheless churchmen such as Thurstan played a significant part, not only in promoting such foundations but also in directing the way in which those monasteries developed. From the summit of the ecclesiastical hierarchy the popes encouraged dependence on their justice, and drew the heads of Yorkshire houses into the direct orbit of papal government by employing them as judges delegate. The archbishops of York, and their neighbouring diocesans as well, encouraged donations of churches to monasteries, a suitable type of grant which they saw as advantageous to their dioceses. At the end of the period under review, diocesan control became tighter; attempts were being made to integrate the religious houses into the system of diocesan government. At the lower level of the archdeaconries and rural deaneries the officials of the archdiocese afforded an accessible authority to whom the monks, canons and nuns could turn in the more mundane, but crucial matters of land holding, as well as everyday diocesan affairs. Yet it appears that by c1200 the monasteries were still comparatively isolated from the growing administrative machinery of the secular church.

CHAPTER TEN: THE MONASTERIES AND THE PARISH CHURCHES

Every historian of the Anglo-Norman church has noted that one of its most outstanding developments was the large-scale transfer of the patronage of parish churches from lay hands to the control of monastic houses.¹ Although there were precedents for the acceptance of gifts of churches by monasteries in the late Anglo-Saxon period, recorded examples are sporadic; and it was not until the twelfth century that monasteries came to control a significant number of parish churches.² As is well-known the monastic world was divided in its attitude towards the acceptance of such gifts: the Benedictines, Cluniacs and Augustinians were content, indeed eager, to accept grants of churches; the Cistercians and Premonstratensians, on the other hand, were forbidden to do so by the statutes of their orders, even if there are indications that in Yorkshire as elsewhere in England this rigid attitude was beginning to change by the mid-twelfth century.³

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1. See Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 592-606; M. Brett, The English Church under Henry I (Oxford, 1975), pp. 216-33; C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton (Ford Lectures, (Manchester, 1956), pp. 122-36. M. Chibnall 'Monks and Pastoral Work: a Problem in Anglo-Norman History', J.E.H. XVIII, (1967), pp. 165-72. On the history and development of the Yorkshire parishes in the Middle Ages, see G. Lawton, Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum de Dioecesi Eboracensi (London, 1842) and the four volumes of Fasti Parochiales so far published by the Yorkshire Archaeological Society: vols. 1-2 (deanery of Doncaster) ed. C.T. Clay and A. Hamilton Thompson, vol. 3 (Dickering deanery) ed. N.A.H. Lawrence, vol. 4 (Craven deanery) ed. N.K.M. Gurney and C.T. Clay, Y.A.S.R.S. 85, 107, 129, 133, (1933, 1943, 1967, 1971).
 2. G.W.O. Addleshaw, The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne (768-814) to Urban II (1088-99), Borthwick Paper, 6, 1954, pp. 15-16.
 3. Canivez, Statuta, I, p. 15; (this prohibition was enacted in 1134); 'Les Premiers Statuts de Prémontré', Analecta Premonstratensia IX (1913) p. 45. For the appropriation of churches by Premonstratensian Easby, see below, pp. 396, 401. Byland Abbey accepted the patronage of Warcop church (Westmorland) (B.L. Egerton MS 2823 fo. 11); Kirkstall appropriated Barnoldswick church (E.Y.C. III no. 1471); Sallay accepted the grant of Tadcaster church (Cart. Sallay II no. 615).

The cartularies of the Yorkshire monasteries bear witness to the willingness of houses of all orders to accept grants of churches, and attention has been paid to individual grants earlier in this thesis. To establish the fact that a transfer of patronage took place is not difficult. However, the intention of the present chapter is to explore various general and important problems related to such transfers. Evidence is drawn mostly from charter material, although use has also been made of the later York archiepiscopal registers. The limited source material for the twelfth century presents some difficulties, and many charters by their very nature fail to provide answers to the various questions involved. It seems most sensible to begin with a brief summary of the state of knowledge concerning the Yorkshire parish churches in 1066. Secondly an examination will be made of the evidence for the nature of the monastic interests in parish churches, such as the financial and other advantages which the tenure of the patronage of a parish church brought the monastery. Close attention will naturally be paid to the instances of appropriation of churches by monastic houses, and the evidence for the ordination of vicarages before 1200. Finally, discussion will centre on the effects (both on the monasteries and the churches they held) of this new and significant feature of monastic history.

One of the basic difficulties in assessing the impact of the monasteries on the parochial system of the county, in terms that is of the number of churches which came under 'monastic control', is the lack of definite evidence for the number of churches in Yorkshire in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Here reference must inevitably be made to the Domesday survey. Although 'in no sense can Domesday be used as a Norman diocesan calendar'¹, the survey is the only guideline we have

1. V.C.H. York III, p.12.

for the state of the parochial system in 1087.¹ The late Professor Hamilton Thompson calculated that in 1087 there were recorded eight parish churches in York; fifty in the East Riding; forty-nine in the North Riding; and seventy in the West Riding - a total of one hundred and seventy-seven.² In addition there were clergy noted in a dozen or so places where no church was recorded. Since the compilers of Domesday Book were, it seems, highly selective in their recording of churches, these estimates provide no more than a rough guide to the number of churches in Yorkshire in 1087.³

The evidence for the growth in the number of parish churches (though of what nature we do not know)⁴ in the years between 1087 and 1200 is sporadic. Evidence does exist, but not in sufficient quantity to allow us to state with precision how many churches there were in the county by the close of the twelfth century.⁵ Nevertheless, despite this lack of precision the grant of nearly two hundred Yorkshire churches to monasteries both inside and outside Yorkshire, bears witness to the popularity of this type of grant, and also (though not all gifts were effective) to the impact of the monastic expansion on the parish churches.⁶

In the majority of these numerous grants the donor stated that he had given a certain church ('ecclesia') to a monastery. At the risk of repeating the obvious, it should be remembered that the 'ecclesia' could mean a variety of things; for the parish church as a unit comprised not

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1. As has been pointed out the early medieval parochial 'system' was 'just about as unsystematic as the feudal system': C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton, p.125.
On the development of the parochial system see G.W.O. Addleshaw, The Beginnings of the Parochial System (Borthwick Paper, 3, repr. 1970) and The Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne to Urban II.
 2. V.C.H. York, III, p.12; see also H.C. Darby and I.S. Maxwell, The Domesday Geography of Northern England (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 74-75, 152-53, 224.
 3. R.W. Finn, An Introduction to Domesday Book (London, 1963), pp.190-91: 'the information we receive (about churches) is obviously incomplete and most unsatisfying'.
 4. See F. Barlow, The English Church 1000-1066 (London, 1963) pp.183-88, for a discussion of the status of various churches and chapels.
 5. e.g. the creation of the churches of Marton and Bracewell: see below, p.392.
 6. See below, p.408-10.

only the right of patronage (the advowson and the financial benefits) but also the spiritual obligations of the rector, as well as his living or 'beneficium'.¹ These distinctions gradually became clearer to the lawyers and canonists of the late-twelfth and thirteenth centuries; Pope Alexander III and the canonist Rufinus of Bologna, for instance, replaced the term lordship ('jus proprietatis' or 'dominium') by the phrase 'jus patronatus' ('ius quod est spirituali annexum') a term which excluded lay influence in the long-established sense of eigenkirchen.² Except in a few cases, however, it was precisely this distinction that the scribes of the eleventh and twelfth centuries failed to make. There are a few examples in Yorkshire of the grant of 'jus patronatus' to a religious house;³ a significant development of this idea of minimizing lay control is to be found in a charter of Roger de Flammaville, who granted to Malton Priory the church of Norton 'quantum fas est laici persone'.⁴

It is the widespread lack of definition which makes the implications of a grant of a church difficult to assess. Unless definitely specified that the monastery to whom the grant was made should receive a pension only, the gift of a church included the advowson. Some charters are quite specific. Alice Paynel gave to Drax Priory the 'advocacionem et dominium' of Irnham church (Lincolnshire) to hold freely after the death of Aky the parson.⁵ The rights of Selby Abbey in the church of Kirk Ella were limited to the advowson and an annual pension.⁶ The canons of Nostell are recorded

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1. The living was drawn from the glebe land, the tithes and other offerings of the parishioners: G.W.O. Addleshaw, Development of the Parochial System from Charlemagne to Urban II; F.M. Stenton, Transcripts of Charters Relating to Gilbertine Houses, Linc. Rec. Soc. 18, (1922), p.xxiii.
 2. Addleshaw, Rectors, Vicars and Patrons in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century (Borthwick Paper 9, 1956), p.18.
 3. See below, p. 392.
 4. B.L. Cotton MS Claudius D XI, fo. 55.
 5. E.Y.C. VI no. 73.
 6. ibid. XII nos. 5-9.

as patrons of Weaverthorpe and Adwick on Dearne.¹ Roger de Mowbray confirmed Newburgh Priory in possession of the 'ius patronatus' of Brafferton church; Easby was granted 'quicquid iuris et patronatus' Ismania, daughter of its founder, had enjoyed in the church of Great Langton, and the same phraseology is employed in the grant of Stanwick St John to the canons.² Similarly, Whitby Abbey held the advowson of Skirpenbeck church.³

An unusual case of the transfer of the patronage of a church to a monastery occurs in relation to the Cistercian abbey of Kirkstall. It will be remembered that the original settlement of the abbey was at Barnoldswick (Craven), and that the monks had destroyed the parish church when it was found to disrupt divine service at the abbey. Their action was upheld by the metropolitan, Henry Murdac and by Pope Eugenius III.⁴ Murdac later reached a settlement with the monks about the church of Barnoldswick; the church was appropriated by the monks and two of its dependent chapels, Bracewell and Marton, were raised to the status of parish church. Kirkstall was to hold the rights of advowson; ('perone ... per abbatem et monachos de Kirkestall legitime fuerint presentate,')⁵

When a patron surrendered the advowson of his church he was careful to safeguard either his own interests or those of the rector. An example of this practice survives in an original charter of Bolton Priory concerning the chapel of Carleton (Craven), granted to the priory by its founders.⁶ At a subsequent date the chapel had been raised to the

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1. E.Y.C. I no. 29; III no. 1682. The latter letter reveals that the advowson ('advocatio') of Adwick had been disputed. The Officials of the archbishop of York were ordered 'recipere idoneam personam quam ... canonici presentaverint vobis ad predictam ecclesiam'. The date of the letter is 1187-88.
 2. Mowbray Charters, no. 209; E.Y.C. V nos. 256-59, 269. The canons of Newburgh are recorded as patrons of Brafferton in 1216 (Reg. Gray, p.8). The two churches granted to Easby were later appropriated. See below, p. 396.
 3. E.Y.C. II no. 828.
 4. See above, pp. 205-6. The following information is derived from E.Y.C. III no. 1471.
 5. The monks presented the incumbent of Bracewell in 1230: Reg. Gray, p.33.
 6. B.L. Additional Charter 20562; printed in E.Y.C. VII no. 176. See also Fasti Parochiales, 4, pp.35-39.

status of a parish church. A final concord was made in York in 1184/5 between the canons and Peter son of Grent, whose family had presumably held some rights in the chapel. The document states that the canons 'prece Petri filii Grent' had granted the church to Alexander the clerk and had as advocates ('advocati') presented ('representabant') him as parson. The church was to be held as a perpetual vicarage by Adam son of Alban, who paid to Alexander the parson 30s 8d per annum.¹ The following points are of particular interest; if Alexander the parson were to outlive the vicar he was to hold the whole church for the rest of his life, and after his death the church was to remain free of all claim on the part of Peter and his heirs. If, on the other hand, the vicar outlived Alexander, the prior and convent were to receive another parson who would be acceptable to Peter and his heirs. Thus were safeguarded the rights of the priory, of Peter and of their respective candidates.

Such detailed provisions were far from uncommon. At Kirk Ella, granted by William Tison to Selby Abbey, Master Angot not only retained the parsonage, but appointed his nephew, Warin, to the vicarage.² When Sampson d'Aubigny granted seven churches to Newburgh he made several stipulations which safeguarded his own rights and those of his son:

ego ipsas ecclesias tenebo libere et quiete dum in laici habitu vivere voluero, et postquam ego habitum mutavero aut ex hac vita decessero Rogerus filius meus tenebit quatuor ecclesias de insula et quintam de Landeford pro quinque marcas annuatim reddendis priori de Novoburgo.³

If, however, Sampson's son predeceased him 'ipse ecclesie libere et quiete remanebunt ecclesie de Novoburgo'. Accordingly, until the death of

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1. For the financial interests in this church, see below, p.407.
 2. See E.Y.C. XII, nos. 5 and 9.
 3. Mowbray Charters, no. 196. The five churches were Haxey, Owston, Epworth, Belton (Lincolnshire) and Langford (Nottinghamshire).

Sampson and his son, the prior and convent were not to take full possession of the churches, but merely to receive a pension. The register of Archbishop Gray indicates that the following monasteries were acting in the capacity of patrons, and presenting to parish churches: St Mary's, York (Lastingham, Foston, Dalby, Stokesley, Huggate, Burton Agnes); Byland (Rillington); Whitby (Hutton Bushell, Seamer in the deanery of Dickering); Kirkham (a moiety of St Mary Castlegate, York); Bridlington (Sproatley, Scalby); Bolton (Long Preston); Guisborough (Crathorne); Holy Trinity, York, (All Saints! North Street and St Gregory, Micklegate, York) and Pontefract (Silkstone).¹

It is generally far from clear from the charters whether the gift merely comprised the advowson, or whether the monastery was intended to take full possession of the church, i.e. to appropriate it. Evidence for appropriation comes, not from the charters by which the original gift was made, but from archiepiscopal acta or papal bulls authorizing the appropriation. The earliest evidence for appropriation probably dates from the years of Archbishop Thomas II (1109-14), who may have granted Holy Trinity licence to appropriate the churches of Leeds, Adel, Barton-le-Street and Hooton Pagnell.² Before 1140 Thurstan had sanctioned the appropriation, by Bolton, of Skipton church and its dependent chapel of Carleton, and Kildwick, and by Bridlington of the church of Bessingby.³ Full control of a church's revenue would clearly bring the monastery considerable financial advantage, and the most common reason for granting

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1. Reg. Gray, pp. 28, 31, 55, 31-2, 97, 122; p.29; pp.31, 77; p.54; pp. 55, 75; p.60; p.63; pp.88, 110; p.118. From a charter issued by Archbishop Gray to Nostell, it is clear that the canons were patrons of South Kirkby church; B.L. Cotton MS Claudius BIII (cartulary of York Minster) fos. 14v-15v.
 2. There is some doubt as to whether the charter (which also granted licence for the ordination of vicarages in these four churches) was issued by Thomas II or Thurstan: see below, p.399. The churches were granted 'tenendas et habendas in proprios usus sibi et successoribus suis in perpetuum': E.Y.C. VI no. 11.
 3. E.Y.C. VII, nos. 3 and 8 (Carleton was not appropriated; see above, p. 393); ibid. II no. 1151.

licence to appropriate was the poverty of the house. Thus Thurstan approved the appropriation of Kildwick by the canons of Bolton 'eorum inopie commiserantes'.¹

Until c.1180 the phraseology of charters licensing appropriations is rather vague. When, for instance, Archbishop Roger granted permission for Nostell Priory to appropriate the churches of Featherstone, Batley, Felkirk, and Warmfield, he stated:

concessimus ... ad sustentationem suam et hospit(alit)atem augmentandam, ecclesias de Federstan, de Felkirke, de Bateleia, de Warnefelda ... ita ut liceat eis fructus et omnes obventiones et possessiones earumdem ecclesiarum cum vacaverint in proprios usus convertere.¹

After 1180 licences contained in papal bulls in particular become more precise; this development was, as J.C. Dickinson noted, due to an important canon of the Lateran Council of 1179. In order to reinforce the contrast Dickinson drew attention to two bulls authorizing appropriation, the first issued to Oseney in 1147, the second to Merton in 1179.² The former gave permission for the priory to place priests ('presbiteros') in its parish church, and to entrust to them the cure of souls. The latter gave licence for the same process, but only if there were sufficient brethren at the priory; 'si fratres superfuerint'. Later bulls specified even more clearly the tenor of the Lateran Council, which sought to counteract the dangers inherent in sending a canon away from the cloister. It was laid down that monks and canons were not to serve churches without some companions; (non singuli ... ad quascumque parochiales ponuntur ecclesias sed in majori conventu aut cum aliquibus fratribus maneant).³

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1. E.Y.C. III, no. 1481. Entries in the register of Archbishop Gray indicate that vicarages had been established by Nostell in Batley, Felkirk and Warmfield: Reg. Gray, p.112.
 2. J.C. Dickinson Austin Canons, p. 234.
 3. J.D. Mansi, Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio (1759-98 rep. 1962), 22, p.224.

The effects of this ruling can be observed in papal bulls authorizing appropriation by Yorkshire houses. To Warter Priory Pope Lucius III confirmed the churches of Barton, Askham, Clifton (Westmorland) and Nunburnholme (half the churches known to have been granted to the canons in the twelfth century), ordering that:

In parochialibus autem ecclesiis quas tenetis cum vacaverint liceat vobis quatuor aut tres ad minus de canonicis vestris ponere quorum unus dyocesano presentetur episcopo ut ei curam animarum committat ita quidem quod ei de spiritualibus vobis autem de temporalibus debeat respondere.¹

Similarly in the 1190's Celestine III granted licence to Bridlington:

ut liceat vobis in ecclesiis vestris cum vacaverint sine contradictione qualibet duos vel plures canonicorum vestrorum instituere, quarum unus diocesano episcopo presentetur, ut ei de spiritualibus, vobis de temporalibus ... debeat respondere.²

Nineteen and a mediety of a twentieth out of twenty-six churches granted to Bridlington before 1190 are specifically cited in this bull.

Most licences to appropriate appear to have been granted to Augustinian houses, although they were issued to other orders, for instance for the appropriation of Leeds, Adel, Barton-le-Street and Hooton Pagnell (by Holy Trinity, York); Stanwick and Great Langton (by Easby); Old Byland (by Byland); Hackness, Great Ayton and Ingleby Greenhow, (by Whitby); Royston (by Monk Bretton).³ Apart from the specific churches appropriated by the Augustinians of Nostell and Bolton (mentioned above) the canons of Drax and Guisborough were authorized to appropriate Bingley and Foston, and Skelton in Cleveland, respectively.⁴ With the two papal

1. E.Y.C. X, no. 73.

2. P.U.E. III, no. 467. See a similar bull of Celestine to Kirkham Priory: B.I. Cause Paper CP F.307: see below, p. 398.

3. E.Y.C. VI no. 11 (and see below, p. 399); V nos. 270 and 261 (and see below, p. 401); III no. 1834; II no. 881; B.L. Lansdowne MS 450 fo. 62 (licensed by Innocent III). It is possible that Gainford church was also intended to be appropriated by St Mary's Abbey: G.V. Scammell, 'Four Early Charters relating to York', Y.A.J. 39 (1958), pp. 86-90.

4. E.Y.C. VI nos. 23, 70; II no. 675. Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet granted to Drax 3 silver marks per annum from Bingley church on condition that they appointed a vicar. Oxford Bodleian MS Top. Yorks. C 72 fo. 44.

bulls mentioned above, however, we appear to be entering into a different era, when what amounts to 'blanket' permission to appropriate was granted. This is reinforced by a bull of Alexander III, addressed to Archbishop Roger of York stating that permission had been granted to the canons regular of the diocese to appropriate and serve parish churches in their charge - provided that the regulation regarding the number of canons to be placed in a parish church had not been contravened:

liceat tibi canonicos regulares, qui in episcopatu tuo habent ecclesias vel capellas, appellatione remota compellere ad ponendos in ipsis quatuor aut tres canonicos ibi continue servituros.¹

The issue that obviously emerges from these papal bulls is whether, at the outset, the religious houses and in particular the Augustinians, were intended to serve in the churches they had been granted. It is clear that as the twelfth century proceeded there was a marked increase in the number of licences to appropriate which were granted to Yorkshire houses. However, just as 'appropriation was not a necessary consequence of the grant of advowsons to monasteries'², so the act of appropriation did not automatically follow the grant of permission to do so. There were several practical considerations which rendered appropriation by monasteries a difficult matter.

In the first place, many churches were at considerable distances from the monastery to which they had been granted; thus, if the churches were to be appropriated the difficulties of enforcing monastic discipline at such a distance would have been considerable. If the institution of a vicarage were to be preferred, the benefice would have to be substantial enough to support a vicar, and leave a financial profit for the monks. Moreover, if the ruling of the Lateran Council were to be followed, a large surplus of canons would be needed. To give but one example: in

1. P.U.E. II no. 169.

2. A. Hamilton Thompson, Bolton Priory, p.35.

order to serve all the churches it had licence to appropriate, Bridlington Priory would have needed sixty canons to be absent from the house. Even if the ruling were ignored (as the papal bull to Roger suggests it may have been in certain cases) twenty canons would have to be absent from the priory in order to place just one in each church. The bull of Celestine III to Bridlington should clearly be interpreted as licence to appropriate any, but not all, of the churches named. This is undoubtedly the tenor of the papal bulls issued to Kirkham in the late twelfth and early thirteenth century. In 1198 Celestine III confirmed to the priory the churches of Kirkham, Kirkby in Crandale (Kirkby Grindalythe), Garton, Helmsley, Crambe and Carham on Tweed, and enjoined:

liceat vobis per vestros canonicos et idoneos capellanos
eisdem ecclesiis deservire, et per eis diocesanis episcopis
et eorum officialibus nullo mediante de episcopalibus respondere.

This injunction was repeated by Innocent III.¹

From the preceding discussion it can be seen that, towards the end of the twelfth century more licences to appropriate (especially 'blanket' licences) were being issued to Yorkshire monastic houses, in particular to Augustinian houses. How far the canons or monks themselves served the churches is a different problem, and one for which it is difficult to discover evidence. It was the opinion of J.C. Dickinson that 'English regular canons probably served fewer parish churches proportionately than their Continental contemporaries, chiefly because their mother-houses were less well staffed and a good proportion of their dependent churches less able to support the two or three brethren which officialdom regarded as the essential minimum in such cases.'²

1. B.I. Cause Paper, C.P. F.307. This fifteenth-century cause paper (which concerns the duty of the parishoners of Kirkham to repair the nave of the church) contains copies of these two bulls, which also refer to the special privileges of the churches of Kirkham and Carham. Abstracts of papal documents in favour of Kirkham are also printed from the abbreviated register of the house, Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 7, in P.U.E. III, no. 294.

These two bulls should be contrasted with the abstract of the privilege of Alexander III (printed in P.U.E.) which could be read as a grant, or confirmation of the advowsons of the churches; 'liberum sit nobis, clericis decentibus personam idoneam diocesano episcopo presentare.'

2. J.C. Dickinson, Austin Canons, p.240.

One solution, of course, to the problems of numerical weakness of the priories was the appropriation of the church, followed by the institution of a vicarage.¹ G.W.O. Addleshaw has concluded that 'it has often been too readily assumed that the vicarage system developed in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries to meet primarily the needs of parishes appropriated to monasteries and where, therefore, the rector was unable to exercise the cure of souls in person.'² However, while the vicarage system itself had long been recognized in the West, it is true that there are no records of the institution of English vicarages before the twelfth century, and furthermore that in Yorkshire the system does make its first appearance in connection with monastic houses.³

The earliest example of the practice of appointing a vicar while a monastery retained a proportion of the tithes dates either from the years of Archbishop Thomas II (1109-14) or Thurstan (1114-40). C.T. Clay favoured the former date, and if the charter in question is to be ascribed to Thomas, this provides an extremely early example.⁴ In this charter Holy Trinity, York, was confirmed in possession of the churches of Leeds, Adel, Barton-le-Street and Hooton Pagnell 'in proprios usus ... salva in eisdem ecclesiis competenti vicaria ei qui in ipsis ministrabit assignanda.'⁵

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1. The standard work on the vicarage is R.A.R. Hartridge, A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages (Cambridge, 1930); see also G.W.O. Addleshaw, Rectors, Vicars and Patrons.
 2. ibid. p. 12.
 3. Hartridge, Vicarages in the Middle Ages, pp.23-5.
 4. It is not unique in its early date, however. In the period 1107-23 Bishop Ralph Luffa of Chichester (1091-1123) licensed the ordination of a vicarage in Westfield church, held by Battle Abbey after the death of the incumbent: The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester, ed. H. Mayr-Harting, Canterbury and York Society, 56, (1964), p.57.
 5. E.Y.C. VI no. 11. See also C.T. Clay, 'A Worcester Charter of Thomas II Archbishop of York; and its bearing on the Early History of the Church of Leeds', Y.A.J. 36 (1947), pp. 132-36. As C.R. Cheney has remarked (From Becket to Langton, p.134) the wording of this charter 'is a most remarkable anticipation of later usage'.

In fact there is evidence to show that only one of these vicarages was established - that of Leeds. Roger de Pont L'Evêque, at the presentation of the priory, instituted Paulinus de Ledes as perpetual vicar (1164-75). Some twenty years later Paulinus was still in office, for Henry II confirmed to Paulinus (called his clerk) land in Leeds given by the abbot and convent of Marmoutier, the mother house of Holy Trinity. In 1205 the dean of York and Archbishop Walter de Gray certified that the whole church of Leeds belonged to Holy Trinity and was appropriated to the same, two thirds of the revenue being assigned to the rectory and one third to the perpetual vicarage.¹

The same proportion of the revenue was assigned to the vicarage of Ecclesfield. In a charter dated 1181-1188, Henry II made known that the dispute between the French Abbey of St Wandrille and Jeremiah, clerk of Ecclesfield, concerning the church of Ecclesfield and its dependent chapels of Sheffield, Bradfield and Whiston, had been terminated.² Jeremiah agreed to quitclaim to the abbey all the rights of parson (personatus) which he had in the said church and chapels, and all hereditary right in the lay fee. In return the abbot granted him the office of perpetual vicar of Ecclesfield with one third of the revenue; the remaining two thirds to be held by Jeremiah, with the lay fee, for 20 silver marks p.a. Thus it is clear that the value of the vicarage was one third of the total revenue of the church and that the church was appropriated by St Wandrille as corporate rector.³

1. E.Y.C. VI no. 82; III no. 1463; VI nos. 84-85.

2. The charter is printed in ibid. III no. 1278. An abstract is given in Cal. Doc. Fr. I, p.61.

3. The dispute probably arose from the grant of a church where there was a resident parson ... and the mention of Jeremiah's hereditary claim in the lay fee raises the suspicion that he was hereditary parson. The need for this arrangement is obvious. It has been noted how certain gifts of churches safeguarded the tenure of the parson. The situation at Ecclesfield arose when no such provision was made, and the result was the institution of Jeremiah as perpetual vicar. This could be compared with the case of Bolton priory and Carlton church mentioned above.

The institution of a vicarage was evidently intended at Seaton Ross, for William de Roumare granted to the priory of Warter the church and 'dimidiam carucatam et meam partem vasti ejusdem ville ad vicarium suum'.¹ At Wath near Ripon a vicarage was instituted for Walter, clerk of Pickhill; he was supported by one third of the revenue, the rest being reserved for the corporate rector, the abbey of Mont St Michael.² Robert de Gant granted to Drax priory the church of West Rasen (Lincs.) 'ita ut in predicta ecclesia vicarium quem voluerint ponant' and this proceeding was authorized by the bishop of Lincoln.³ Three churches were appropriated to Easby abbey. The first, the ancient minster of St Agatha, was served by a canon of the abbey.⁴ The two remaining churches were appropriated with the intention of instituting a vicarage. The grant of the 'ius patronatus' of Stanwick St John and Langton to Easby has been discussed already. Before 1189 Godfrey de Lucy archdeacon of Richmond confirmed the canons in possession of Stanwick and its chapels 'salvo etiam eo quod cum prefata ecclesia vacaverit predicti canonici vicarium idoneum archidiacono representent cui de bonis ecclesie assignetur unde honeste possit sustentari et hospitalitatem exercere ...'⁵ The same formula is repeated by William de Chimeli, a later archdeacon, with regard to the Church of Great Langton.⁶ His successor Honorius stated that he had instituted the canons of Easby to the church, reserving one hundred shillings from the restory for them, the rest being put aside to support the vicar, Alan de Magneby.⁷

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1. E.Y.C. X, no.66, the church of Seaton Ross was not actually named:- 'ecclesias ... Gamelli presbyteri de Ascom'. Here we have, presumably, an indication of pluralism.
 2. ibid. V, no. 316.
 3. ibid. VI, nos. 49-50 (1150-54).
 4. A vicarage was not instituted here until the last part of the fourteenth century.
 5. E.Y.C. V, no.270.
 6. ibid. V, no. 261.
 7. B.L. Egerton MS 2827 fo. 295.

Thus we have evidence for the institution, or the intention to institute, ten vicarages in churches belonging to Yorkshire and non-Yorkshire monasteries before 1200. The sophisticated phraseology of the charters suggests not, as Hartridge considered, that 'churches were served... by vicars under terms made locally without any reference to a general system,'¹ but that such a system, with the practice of assigning one third of the revenue to the vicarage had, in fact, emerged and become accepted. Indeed the researches of Professor Cheney have modified Hartridge's views considerably; on the evidence from the Lincoln diocese he has shown that fifty or so vicarages were ordained before 1209; in England before 1215 there were probably two to three hundred.² The evidence for Yorkshire churches in the twelfth century indicates that the way was then already being paved for the great number of vicarages ordained during the period of office of Archbishop Walter de Gray (1215-55).³

So far the evidence has been examined to try to answer the question of what monasteries did with the churches they were granted; how far they did in fact serve them themselves..questions to which there are no conclusive answers. All one can do is to indicate the trend in twelfth-century Yorkshire, as it appears from the available evidence. This seems to point to an increasing number of licences to appropriate issued especially to the Augustinians, with an appropriate (though less marked) rise in the number of recorded vicarages. Even so, full appropriation could be 'in temporals only', a chaplain being appointed to fulfil spiritual duties rather than the formal process of the institution of a vicarage. If we

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1. Hartridge, Vicarages in the Middle Ages, p.29.
 2. C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton, pp.130-36. See also the instances of recorded vicarages in the diocese of Chichester in the twelfth century: The Acta of the Bishops of Chichester, pp.57-60.
 3. See for example, the institutions of vicarages recorded in Reg.Gray; in the churches of Yedingham (patrons: the nuns of Yedingham), p.36; Warmfield and Felkirk (rectors: the canons of Nostell), p.112; South Kirkby (patrons: Nostell), p.35; Stainton (patrons: the canons of Guisborough), p.97; Scalby (patron: Bridlington Priory), p.75; Scarborough (patrons: the monks of Cîteaux), p.9; Hessle (patrons: Guisborough), p.110; Royston (patron: Monk Bretton) p.87; Rothwell (patrons: Nostell), p.117; Preston (E.R.), Mappleton, Withernewick, Burton Pidsea, Wawne, Aldborough, Skeckling, Kilnsea (E.R.) and Tunstall (Aumale), p.22. Many of these cases were noted by Professor Hamilton Thompson in V.C.H. York, III pp.25-26.

proceed, however, to ask how far grantors of churches intended their gifts to be used in this way, the problem becomes more complex still. The motives behind the grants of churches, the reason for their popularity, is the area on which charter evidence is at its most silent; any attempt to answer such questions does, however, involve trying to assess the attitude both of donors and recipients from precisely this type of evidence.

There can be no doubt that laymen were generally content to transfer the advowson of churches to the monasteries of the diocese; in this they were by no means unusual. The reasons for such an attitude have been interpreted in both spiritual and economic terms. Dr D.J.A. Matthew has inclined to the view that the grants were made because monks and canons could, and were expected to, serve at least some of the churches: 'If the monks of the late eleventh century did serve parish churches we have an explanation of the considerable gifts of churches ... they (the monks) were expected to serve in the principal church of the area of their endowment, where a 'priory' came into being.'¹ One can see that this type of situation might have been envisaged at the foundation of Holy Trinity, York (alien Benedictine), Pontefract (Cluniac), Kirkham, Guisborough and Bridlington (Augustinian). In each case the initial endowment comprised a number of churches in the vicinity of the house, or, as they have recently been termed 'satellite churches'.²

It is likely, too, that in many cases the economic motive behind the grant of a church was strong.³ There was a limit to the amount of revenue which a lay patron could hope to exact from a church; a monastery, on the other hand, could gain more revenue than a lay patron by appropriating

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1. D.J.A. Matthew, Norman Monasteries and their English Possessions (Oxford, 1962), pp. 59-61.
 2. D. Baker, 'Patronage in the Twelfth-Century Church: Walter Espec, Kirkham and Rievaulx, 'Traditio-Krisis-Renovatio aus theologischer Sicht, Festschrift Winfried Zeller, ed. B. Jaspert and R. Mohr (Marburg, 1976), p.98.
 3. See M. Brett, The English Church under Henry I (Oxford, 1975), p.231; G.Constable, 'Monastic Possession of Churches and 'Spiritualia' in the Age of Reform', Il Monachesimo e la Riforma Ecclesiastica (1049-1122) (Milan, 1971) pp.304-31, especially 311.

the church. The grant of a church to a religious house was, in its simplest form, a convenient way of providing money for a monastic house. It is possible that donors intended many of their churches to be appropriated, and expected their monasteries to secure maximum financial advantage in this way. When Robert de Brus founded Guisborough Priory, he granted to the canons the churches of Marske, Danby, Upleatham, Stainton (in Cleveland), Kirklevington, Stranton, Hart and Kirkburn, 'ut decentibus (clericis) qui quasdam de predictis ecclesiis tenent, habeant eas Canonici prefati ad sustentationem suam, ita libere et quiete sicut aliqua Abbacia liberius et melius tenet in toto Archiepiscopatu Ebor'. The significant words in this charter are 'ad sustentationem suam'; the churches were clearly expected to provide revenue.¹

It is quite likely that the donor of a church did not concern himself with the problem of whether the church was appropriated or served by a vicar, or whether the monks merely derived a pension from the benefice. This is the implication behind Brus's charter to Guisborough. A similar feature is found in a charter of Roger de Rosel to the same house; the canons were granted the church of Easington (Cleveland), with liberty to do as they pleased after the death of Roger priest of Easington.² Aschetin of Hawsker built a chapel at Hawsker which he gave to the abbey of Whitby. His charter specified 'Dominus vero Abbas et conventus de Wyteby de praedicta capella ... quod voluerunt, faciant, tantum ut ibi divinum officium assidue celebretur'.³ This sums up what was probably a common attitude among donors.

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1. Cart. Guis. I, nos. 1-2. The phrase 'ad sustentationem suam' is frequently used in licences to appropriate; see above, p. 395.
 2. E.Y.C. II, nos. 770-1; ibid., no. 895 is an agreement between Guisborough Priory and Roger de Rosel, and his brother Richard, whereby the latter quitclaimed their rights in the advowson.
 3. Cart. Whitby, I, no. 220.

A church was a convenient form of endowment. What the monastery was to do with it they did not specify. As long as divine service were not neglected, the donor had discharged his responsibility.

The attitudes of those who accepted gifts of churches are perhaps more difficult to assess. On the whole religious houses were pleased to accept gifts of churches; but how far did they wish to serve them directly? J.C. Dickinson, reviewing the evidence for the English Augustinians, wrote that 'the most notable fact that emerges from this is the absence of anything which suggests that the Augustinians had any intention of undertaking wholesale charge of their dependent churches.'¹ However, it would seem sensible to assume that the monastery preferred, where it was possible, to appropriate; and as Professor Hamilton Thompson has indicated, it is likely that a number of houses in the vicinity of Augustinian houses were served by canons.² The religious houses themselves may have seen the question of appropriation in practical terms, but a third factor in the process of the transfer of responsibility for parish churches to monasteries was the attitude of high-ranking ecclesiastics. A considerable amount of episcopal influence may have underlain the grants of churches to religious houses.

The late eleventh-century reformers, both popes and bishops, were aware of the dangerous problems facing the church, problems inherent in the system of 'eigenkirchen', which prevailed over much of western Christendom. It became clear that among the more pressing problems (apart from the need to distinguish between 'spiritualia' and 'temporalia') were the recovery of church property from lay hands, the prevention of hereditary ecclesiastical benefices, the enforcement of clerical celibacy and the diminution of the rights of the lay patrons. The monasteries could play a considerable part

1. Dickinson, Austin Canons, p.232.

2. A. Hamilton Thompson, Bolton Priory, p.34.

in solving these problems. 'While the church dared not disturb the legal right of lay patrons, she preferred to see patronage in ecclesiastical hands.'¹

In theory the church, and especially the bishops, would have been interested in encouraging donations of churches to monks and canons, who could be expected either to choose a suitable rector, without family connections, or to serve in them (thus establishing a non-hereditary priesthood) or provide a vicar without reducing the benefice by inordinate financial demands. Although it is probable that archbishops of York encouraged grants of churches for these reasons, it is not easy to find specific recorded examples of their activity. Nevertheless it is likely that Thurstan was an active agent in these transfers. His influence behind the Augustinian foundations has been noted elsewhere; and it seems probable that he further influenced the type of gift which the barons made.² Nostell, Guisborough, Bolton, Kirkham and Drax all received numerous churches as part of their initial endowment; the foundations of all were influenced to a greater or lesser degree by the archbishop. One of Thurstan's prime tasks was the reorganization and rejuvenation of parish life in the diocese. One would have thought that churchmen such as he would have applauded the results of the motives - social, economic or ecclesiastical - which led men to give the patronage of their churches to monasteries, even if in the long run, the church was, by sanctioning these gifts, making a rod for its own back. It would have needed a far-sighted bishop to envisage the long-term consequences of the transfer.³

Perhaps the most difficult problem of all is to try to assess, on the basis of so little evidence, the results of the transfer of patronage. This discussion will therefore be brief, and merely indicate the lines of enquiry which the evidence suggests. For the monasteries, first of all,

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1. C.R. Cheney, From Becket to Langton, p.124.
 2. See above, pp.361-63.
 3. See below, pp.410-16.

the immediate effect of grants of churches was financial gain, and it has been suggested that 'the motives of the monks in acquiring churches ... were primarily economic'.¹ Many examples could be given of specific pensions drawn from churches. Although the nuns of Nun Appleton did not hold the patronage of Ryther they drew five shillings per annum from the church.² Warter Priory received compensation amounting to 100s per annum when the canons lost possession of Melton Ross Church.³ The monks of St Mary's farmed the church of Thornton Steward to Vincent the priest for 5s 4d per annum for as long as 'se ut presbiterum decet honeste servaverit.'⁴ Similarly the monks farmed the churches of Stokesley and Foxholes and Buttercrambe for 50s and seven silver marks respectively.⁵ Selby Abbey received a yearly payment in respect of the position of the abbot and convent as patrons of Kirk Ella.⁶ Walter de Gray's register records that in 1229 Pontefract Priory received a total pension of twenty-eight marks and 104s from its churches of Pontefract, Darrington, Ledsham, Kippax, Silkstone, Slaidburn and Catwick.⁷ Finally, in the case of Carleton (Craven) church, the patrons (the prior and convent of Bolton) received four shillings per annum from the rector, the rector 30s 4d from the vicar, and the vicar the remainder of the revenue.⁸ Evidence from the taxation of Pope Nicholas (1291) and the Valor Ecclesiasticus indicates that churches remained an important source of revenue for the monasteries.⁹

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1. G. Constable, 'Monastic Possession of Churches and 'Spiritualia' in the Age of Reform', Il Monachesimo e la Riforma Ecclesiastica (1049-1122) (Milan, 1971), p.311.
 2. E.Y.C. III no. 1646. The pension was paid up to the Dissolution.
 3. ibid. X, no.33.
 4. ibid. V, no. 139.
 5. ibid. I, no.563; original charter B.L. Stowe Charter 444. The two latter churches were granted by Abbot Clement (1160-84) to William the cleric, son of Richard.
 6. E.Y.C. XII nos. 5-10.
 7. Reg. Gray, p.30. More examples could be cited; but for fuller details of churches, see the accounts of individual houses in chapters 1-6.
 8. B.L. Additional Charter 20562. Printed in E.Y.C. VII no. 176.
 9. To take just one example from the Taxatio Papae Nicolae: Whitby appears to have derived a total revenue of £90 16s 8d from the churches of Kirkby in Cleveland (alias Kirkby Broughton), Middlesbrough and Whitby (appropriated); Hutton Bushell, Slingsby, Seamer (Dickering), Nafferton and Foxholes (pp. 301-04). The temporal goods of the abbey were assessed at £109 10s 0d (p. 305).

Set beside this increase in revenue, however, was one form of expenditure which monasteries frequently encountered from the possession of churches - litigation. It is a striking feature of the history of the Yorkshire monasteries that many lawsuits were occasioned by ineffective grants of churches, so involving monks and canons in tedious and no doubt expensive attempts to prove their rights. Such a situation could occur in a number of ways. The grant could be revoked if the right of the donor to alienate the church was questioned. King Stephen, for instance, gave the York churches of St Sampson's and St Benet's to Pontefract Priory, but they do not appear in the list of possessions confirmed to the monks by Henry II.¹ Alternatively a grant could be contested by the heirs of the donor. The Ros family, for instance, questioned certain rights of Kirkham priory in the churches of Kirkham, Helmsley, Kirkby Grindalythe and Garton.² Disputes could occur between more than one religious house, when the acquisition of land in a certain vill by one house led to rival claims in the church. This latter feature can be demonstrated by reference to two churches, Thurnscoe and Adel. The former was granted to Holy Trinity Priory York, by the founder, Ralph Paynel, but was claimed by the Vavassour family who held land in the vill; they granted the church to Sallay Abbey. Moreover, extensive land acquisitions by Roche Abbey led the monks to put forward a claim to the church, and a three-way dispute occurred.³ A similar situation occurred at Adel church, which had been granted to Holy Trinity Priory York. William Paynel of Hooton Pagnell in 1174 pledged whatever he held in Adel to Robert de Gant. Perhaps due to the latter's uncertain position the monks of Kirkstall Abbey claimed the church by virtue of their possessions in the vill. Kirkstall failed to

1. The grant is printed in E.Y.C. III, no. 1448, and Henry II's confirmation charter in no. 1451.

2. P.U.E. III, no. 294.

3. E.Y.C. XI, no. 115; VI, pp.228-9. Sallay won the dispute, but failed to retain the advowson in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

establish their claim, but the dispute made it necessary for the monks of Holy Trinity to obtain a confirmation charter from Henry II.¹ Kirkstall itself failed to retain the advowson of Marton church which was granted to Bolton Priory.²

There is little doubt that situations such as the latter occurred through ignorance, particularly when we remember that it was usual for the tenure of the rector to be safeguarded and that there could be a considerable delay before the monastery took possession of the church. When William Paynell founded Drax Priory, part of his endowment consisted of the churches of West Rasen, Irnham, Roxby - all of which his father had given to Holy Trinity Priory. The latter recovered only West Rasen, which they appropriated. Drax soon lost Irnham and Swinstead; Robert de Gant gave Swinstead 'in ignorance' to Guy the clerk at the request of Eustace son of King Stephen. Robert's letter to the abbots of Fountains and Vaudey expresses his contrition:

unde valde penitet me sic temere fecisse. Quare sanctitate vestre provolutis supplico genibus ut consilium et auxilium predictis canonicis impendere curetis ne ecclesia prescripta pro defectu vestro ulterius injuste privetur³

Irnham church was for a short while disputed between Drax and Bardney Abbey, and retained by Drax.⁴

There was good reason for these misunderstandings; after all, the gifts were made to Drax in the decade 1130-40, and by 1170-80 the canons had evidently not taken possession of either church. Gant could be forgiven for forgetting about the grant. It is more difficult to make that excuse for Roger de Mowbray who, in the period 1154-7 confirmed to Newburgh priory Sampson d'Aubigny's gifts of Masham, Kirkby Malzeard, Haxey,

1. E.Y.C. VI, no. 7.

2. See Fasti Parochiales, 4, pp. 94-95.

3. E.Y.C. VI, no. 80. The decision of the two abbots was confirmed by Pope Alexander III.

4. Ibid. VI, no. 75. See above, p.122.

Owston, and Langford churches. In the same period he gave the same churches to the cathedral church of York. The ensuing dispute was referred to the papal curia; the canons of St Peter's retained Masham, Malzeard and Langford, which were established as a prebend.¹

The gift of a church to a monastery could therefore be something of a double-edged sword, bringing with it potential trouble as well as benefits. Clearly it was a prize worth taking some trouble over, but what of the other side of the coin? How did the monastic possession of churches affect the parish church and the diocese? It has been almost universally agreed by historians of the medieval church that the long-term effects were damaging as the development eventually got out of control. The reform movement of the late-eleventh century had aimed to re-establish episcopal control over the churches of the diocese. Instead it had succeeded, however indirectly, in sanctioning a movement which placed many churches potentially outside episcopal control. Appropriation was optional, informal and frequently carried out without episcopal licence. From the thirteenth century onwards there was an increasing strictness in the attitude of diocesans towards monastic houses, an insistence on the ordination of vicarages and their proper maintenance by the provision of adequate stipends for vicars. In the diocese of York this more rigid attitude becomes manifest in the activities of Archbishop Walter de Gray (1215-55).²

Perhaps less easy to assess are the short-term results of the transfer of patronage. If it is not possible even to say how many churches were served by canons and monks, it is clearly impossible to attempt to speak of the standard of their work. M. Chibnall has recently discussed the performance of pastoral and parochial work by monks and canons, distinguishing between serving altars, serving as private chaplains and

1. Mowbray Charters no. 203, 325; see also C.T. Clay, York Minster Fasti I (Y.A.S.R.S. 73, 1958), pp. 81-2 and vol. II (Y.A.S.R.S. 74, 1959), pp. 51-6.

2. See above, p. 402.

parochial work proper.¹ There is, as she has shown, adequate evidence for the two former activities, less for the latter. 'Since the structure of the parish was in process of transformation, the rights of the parish priest within his cure must have remained far from complete or explicit or generally understood in the late eleventh century and even, in places, up to the time of Gratian.'² In this period of transition monks and canons no doubt performed parochial work, but how, if at all, the parish was affected, is not documented.

Certainly there was room for abuse; the creation of a vicarage might be made without adequate provision for the vicar, indeed the monks might neglect to appoint a vicar.³ Houses of regular canons might place only one rather than the required number of three or four brethren in a church. There is evidence that some monks were tolerant of a hereditary priesthood, as the canons of Guisborough apparently were as late as 1196.⁴ More serious, however, was the usurpation of, or separation of revenues and rights from the parish church. This problem became manifest in two particular areas: tithes and other oblations such as burial fees.⁵

Until the reform movement of the late eleventh century, monasteries were able, with only spasmodic opposition from bishops, to obtain tithes. This was strictly uncanonical but had a long tradition behind it: 'by the middle of the eleventh century tithes were an established part of monastic revenue.'⁶ The aim of the papal reform movement was, as in the case of the

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1. M. Chibnall, 'Monks and Pastoral Work', pp.165-72.
 2. ibid. p. 170.
 3. C.R. Cheney (From Becket to Langton, p.135) discusses the complaints made by Bishop Roger of Worcester (1164-79) on this subject.
 4. Cart. Guis. II, no. 1102. Cheney (From Becket to Langton, p.127) cites the example of the monks of Battle Abbey, who promised to admit to Mendelsham church (Norfolk) the son of the existing priest on condition that the monks' annual pension was increased. Roger of Howden, the Yorkshire chronicler, was successor to his father in the benefice of Howden.
 5. The distinction between mother churches (to whom oblations were due) and other types of churches and chapels was far from clear in the twelfth century: C.N.L. Brooke, 'The Missionary at Home: the church in the towns, 1000-1250', Studies in Church History, 6 (1970), pp.59-83. This rather confused situation was exacerbated by the claims of certain monasteries.
 6. G. Constable, 'Monastic Possession of Churches and 'Spiritualia' in the Age of Reform', p.312. See also G. Constable, Monastic Tithes from their Origin to the Twelfth Century (Cambridge, 1964).

patronage of parish churches, to restore them to ecclesiastical authorities. Again the monasteries became the recipients of gifts which a patron might be content to make to a monastery (for spiritual benefits) but not to restore to the parish church.

It was to be expected that ecclesiastical opinion would be divided about the ethics of monastic possession of tithes. Often arguments were based on the concept of monks as clerics - a point which was hotly disputed. At the more practical level, problems arose from the separation of tithes from the parish church, thereby seriously diminishing the living of the incumbent. There are indications that this did in fact happen in Yorkshire. By the time Henry II issued a charter of confirmation to St Mary's Abbey the monks had been granted the tithes of over thirty parishes where they had no rights in the church.¹ Holy Trinity Priory, York, held the tithes of Fadmoor and Arthington - again without the churches.² In such cases an agreement might be reached with the patron of the church, either directly or through intermediaries.

One such agreement was made concerning the church of Kirklevington, held by Guisborough. Celestine III issued a mandate to the abbots of Kirkstall and Swainby, and the prior of Malton, requesting them to inquire into the case of the tithes of 'Wivelesich,' and land between 'Piketon' and Appleton, all belonging to the church of Kirklevington. The tithes had, however, been appropriated by two clerks on behalf of St Mary's Abbey. A compromise was reached whereby St Mary's retained the tithes in question but compensated the canons with the tithes of Hessele church (belonging to St Mary's) in return for a yearly rent of 1 lb. of cummin: 'ita tamen quod si contigerit in posterum aliquem parochianum ecclesie de Levington terram illam de Apelton ... jure hereditario optinere, canonici de Gyseburne eas habebunt et possidebunt, et decimae de dominico de Hesel praenominatae ad praedictos monachos revertentur.'³ Similar restitutions for the loss of

1. E.Y.C. I, no. 354.

2. ibid. VI no.1.

3. B.L. Stowe Charter 405 (original charter). Printed in Cart. Guis. II no. 673 from the cartulary copy.

church property were made by Richard Mauleverer when he granted the church of Allerton Mauleverer to the abbey of Marmoutier for a cell. The grant included tithes and customs of his land in other parishes. The priests were compensated with sheaves of corn 'ne ulterius capellam meam gravent.'¹

A further problem concerning tithes (though not one which arose directly from monastic possession of churches) was the immunity of the Cistercians and the Military Orders on lands which they themselves had brought into cultivation. At the end of the twelfth century the dean and chapter of York Minster were called in to settle a dispute between Alexander, clerk, and the abbey of Rievaulx concerning the tithes of East Bolton where the monks held extensive estates. Rievaulx was adjudged to pay three shillings per year for tithes.² Many similar agreements exist; gradually exempt houses came to pay tithes to the parish church, thereby contributing to the upkeep of the incumbent.³ The extant papal bulls for the period, however, reveal that tithes disputes were and remained perhaps the major source of litigation.

Sepulture fees were, like tithes a common source of contention between patrons of churches. A particularly significant example is that of the dispute between Whitby Abbey and Guisborough Priory in the 1130s. The monks of Whitby claimed to hold 'totam decimam et omnes parochianas consuetudines praeter corpora mortuorum' belonging to Middlesbrough church (once a chapel but by that date a cell of Whitby) and twelve carucates of land. The sepulture rights on this same land belonged to the canons of Guisborough by virtue of their possession of Stainton church. In addition the canons claimed 'ad jus predictae ecclesie' all the tithes and oblations of Middlesbrough.⁴ The compromise reached - significantly in the presence

1. E.Y.C. II, no. 729. 'Uterius' suggests that the dispute had been going on for some time. There are also examples of monasteries accepting the lease of tithes. See, for example, E.Y.C. V, no. 210.

2. ibid. IV no. 99.

3. See, for example, ibid. III no. 1838; IX no. 165; XI, no. 237.

4. E.Y.C. II no. 873. As Farrer pointed out in the note to this charter, the church recorded in this area in the Domesday Inquest was at Acklam, but the parochial centre had evidently moved to Stainton.

of Robert de Brus, donor of the two churches, rather than the archbishop .. was that the twelve carucates of land be divided equally, with their dues and oblations, between the two houses.¹ Permission was given for the chapel of Middlesbrough to be raised to the status of a parish church.²

In this case the sepulture and other rights contested between two parish churches and two abbeys were settled by the clear definition of parish boundaries. Confusion and dissent could also arise, however, when an abbey agreed to give burial at the abbey to certain benefactors. This was obviously not a consequence of monastic possession of churches, but it clearly indicates the undermining of the traditional due of the parish church, the removal of an important source of revenue, by religious houses. Reference to Chapter 8 concerning lay patrons will indicate how widespread this practice had become in the twelfth century.³

The relationship of a mother church to a dependent chapel (such as that between Stainton and Middlesbrough) was also a frequent point of contention. It has recently been suggested that a chapel 'might well .. be defined as one which answered to the bishop for these (episcopal charges) through the mother church. Indeed, this was one of the very few tests which could be applied consistently in determining status.'⁴ If a monastery came into the possession of a chapel care had to be taken that the rights of the mother church should not be disturbed. When, for instance, the canons of Nostell granted to William son of Robert of Preston, a chantry in the

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1. This case is quoted by Brett (The English Church under Henry I, p.228). Brett refers to Robert de Brus as patron of the two monasteries whereas, in fact, Whitby was a Percy foundation. Brus was erstwhile patron of the two churches.
 2. Middlesbrough never seems to have attained that status of parish church. It is recorded as a perpetual curacy by Lawton: Collectio Rerum Ecclesiasticarum, p.474. In 1452 Richard Godeale, prior of Middlesbrough, asked permission to serve the parish church himself (or one of his canons) to save the money paid to the secular chaplain: 'Ecclesiastical Middlesbrough in Medieval Times', Y.A.J. 18 (1905), pp. 68-73.
 3. See above, pp. 338-39, 344.
 4. M. Brett, English Church Under Henry I, p.228.

chapel of Purston Jaglin, they did so 'salvo jure matris ecclesie de Federstan' enjoining that 'episcopalia etiam jura adquietabit Willelmus, salva pace matris ecclesie de Federstan.'¹ No offerings were to be lost by the church of Featherstone.² Easby Abbey agreed to allow Torphin son of Robert and his heirs to have a chapel in their house in Easby 'ubi ipse et familia sua et qui illuc pro illo vel per illum venerint ... audiant divina!'³ It was specified that the parishioners of St Agatha, Easby were forbidden to use the chapel.⁴ In the cases just cited the interest of the monastery coincided with that of the parish church. The monastery, as patron or appropriator was concerned with the protection of the rights of the parish church against a chapel. Admittedly in the two cases cited above, the chapels concerned were private, as opposed to public chapels, but the principle was the same. The chapel was drawing, or potentially drawing revenue from the parish church. This was not always the case. In the time of Abbot Savaric of St Mary's (1138-61) the monks became involved in a dispute with the treasurer of York Minster, the former claiming that their chapel of Myton on Swale was no longer dependent on the mother church of Alne (held by the treasurer) but that it had been raised to the status of parish church by Henry Murdac.⁵ Thus they claimed to be entitled to sepulture fees and other dues. This particular dispute was not settled until 1250.

The transfer of parish churches into monastic hands was therefore far from being a trouble-free process. This was true, not just of Yorkshire, but of much of England. The patronage of churches appears to have been granted to monasteries with no single, easily-definable aim in mind on the part of the donors. It may well have gained momentum under the guidance of

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1. E.Y.C. III, no. 1595.
 2. 'Homines etiam de Prestona venient ad matricem ecclesiam de Federstan cum oblationibus suis in die Parasceve et in die Pasche et in die Natalis Domini et in Purificatione et festivitate Omnium Sanctorum'.
 3. E.Y.C. V, no. 154.
 4. The canons were to have 'quicquit beneficii in oblacionibus et aliis rebus eidem capelle evenerit', and the chantry priest was to swear fealty to the canons 'ita quod nichil usurpabit in parochia sua quod ad eos pertinet nisi per eos.'
 5. York Dean and Chapter MS M2/3a (Fragment of the cartulary of the treasurers of York) fos. 4-5.

Thurstan, who probably saw the transfer of churches into the care of monastic houses (especially Augustinians) as part of his re-ordering of the Christian life in the diocese.¹ The trend in the twelfth century appears to have been towards full appropriation by monasteries; moving towards the systematic ordination of vicarages by Archbishop Walter de Gray in the thirteenth.

In the long run the transfer of monasteries into monastic control was more to the advantage of the monasteries than the diocesans. Reference was made earlier in the chapter to the thirteenth-century bishops' attempts to impose stricter control on the appropriation of churches. In the twelfth century however, the transfer of patronage to the religious orders was a necessary step in the demolition of the proprietary church. Laymen might be persuaded to surrender rights of advowson or tithes in order to contribute to their own salvation where they would not be willing to give these rights directly to the bishop. The obscurity of the history of parish clergy in twelfth-century Yorkshire prevents any firm conclusions being drawn and leaves many problems, such as the parochial activity of monks and canons, unanswered.² However, with over two hundred and fifty parish churches both inside and outside Yorkshire granted to monasteries of the county, it is clear that monastic possession of churches played a vital role in the development of the parochial system. It has been argued, however, that the wholesale interest of the monasteries in parish churches led to the spiritual impoverishment of the parishioners, and that the whole process worked more in favour of the religious houses than the souls whose cure they undertook.³

1. Nicholl, Thurstan, pp. 111-50.

2. M. Chibnall, 'Monks and Pastoral Work: a Problem in Anglo-Norman History'.

3. See, for example E. Mason 'The Role of the English Parishoner, 1100-1500', J.E.H. 27 (1976), pp.17-29, especially 21: 'Parochial revenues diverted to religious houses normally produced no return for those who ultimately supplied them'.

'Then are they truly monks when they live by the labour of their hands, like our fathers and the apostles.'¹ The ideal of a self-sufficient community remained the aim of all the monastic reformers from St Benedict to St Stephen Harding.² Yet an ideal it was. Even in Benedict's time monastic estates were becoming widespread, monks were developing artistic crafts within the monastery, and manual labour came gradually to devolve (although never entirely) onto hired servants. The liturgical and artistic developments of Cluny and its dependants hastened these developments in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

It was, of course, against the decline of manual labour by the monks themselves, their use of servants and the excessive wealth of many established monasteries that the founder fathers of Cîteaux reacted. Wishing to observe 'ad litteram' Benedict's injunction that 'idleness is the enemy of the soul. . . . brethren, therefore, must be occupied at stated hours in manual labour,'³ the early Cistercians aimed to return to a completely self-sufficient economy. Accordingly the statutes forbade the acceptance of any revenue not derived by the work of the monks: revenue from churches, 'spiritualia', the possession of serfs, fairs, markets and rents.⁴ In turn, however, the Cistercians faced the same problems as the Benedictines before them - popularity and a flood of benefactions. They, too, moved out of the sphere of self-sufficiency into the position of rich landowners. This chapter will examine the sources of revenue enjoyed by the various religious orders in Yorkshire, the use to which they

1. R.S.B. p. 111.

2. The obvious exceptions to this general statement are the military orders, whose preceptories in the west existed in order to exploit estates for the use of the orders in the east.

3. R.S.B. p. 111.

4. Canivez, Statuta, I, pp. 14-15. See also C.N.L. Brooke, The Monastic World, pp. 135-150; C.V. Graves 'The Economic Activities of the Cistercians in Medieval England 1128-1307', A.S.O.C. 13 (1957) pp.3-60.

put their lands and the methods by which they administered their estates. In conclusion some attention will be paid to the special problems which arose from the very rapid expansion of the monastic estates.

The Sources of Wealth

The sources of wealth enjoyed by the monastic houses of Yorkshire were manifold. Land, was, of course, the major source of revenue; it need not be stressed that a vast amount of land was transferred to the monastic houses, and that this land was put to a variety of uses. Naturally it is not easy, from twelfth century sources, to ascertain what proportion of land belonging to a certain monastery was used for arable, sheep-farming or any other activity. There are not account rolls of the period, and the charters do not often specify what type of land was contained in a grant.

Since the aim of the monasteries was (with certain reservations) self-sufficiency, a certain amount of arable land was necessary, and with it a certain proportion of pasture land for the plough animals. The ability of a monastic house to produce its own grain naturally depended, however, on the location and type of land which it received in benefactions. Yorkshire is a county of contrasting soil and climatic conditions. Some areas, like the Holderness region of the East Riding, with its rich clay soils, and parts of the Vale of York were fertile, and suited to arable farming.¹ In other areas, notably Craven, and the Pennines, the climate was harsh, and in parts of all ridings there were poor soils which were unsuited to arable farming.²

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1. V.C.H. Yorkshire, II, pp.455-75 gives some account of the varying conditions and the agricultural activities in the county; see also H.C. Darby and I.S. Maxwell, The Domesday Geography of Northern England (Cambridge, 1962), pp.1-232. Although Holderness in the eleventh century was a marshy district it had a high density of population and ploughteams, and was a prosperous area.
 2. Especially the sandstone hills in the upper valleys of the Aire, Calder and Don; the Humberhead Levels (in the east of the West Riding); the North Yorkshire Moors; the chalk uplands of the Wolds: Domesday Geography, pp. 78-82, 159-61, 229-32. On the particular problem of 'waste' in the Survey, see ibid. pp. 59-71, 139-50, 212-21; R.W. Finn, The Norman Conquest and its effects on the economy (London, 1971) p.197.

Few of the charters of the Yorkshire monasteries of the period 1069-1200 are specific, but several indicate where some at least of the arable land of the various monasteries lay. Torfin son of Robert gave to Easby Abbey five acres 'in cultura mea de castro' and land for a barn in Easby to store grain and tithes.¹ One of the few surviving charters of Marton Priory indicates that the canons held some arable land in Cawthorne.² Nunkeeling Priory received three tillages ('culturas') of land.³ Among the Cistercian abbeys Sallay is known to have held arable land in Askwith (par. Weston), Kirkstall held 'terram arabilem' in West Headingley, Rievaulx a tillage of twelve acres in East Bolton, a culture 'que vocatur Ravensdale' in Folkton and in East Heselton 'xxx acris..de..culturis..decem de melioribus, decem de mediocribus, decem de deterioribus'.⁴ Rievaulx Abbey is also recorded as having held arable in Morton (fifteen acres), Normanby, Skiplam and 'Wiresdale' (Wombledon).⁵

Unfortunately we have no way of knowing, from charter evidence, how much grain the monasteries produced and how much had to be purchased. It is obvious that this ratio must have varied a great deal. The monks of Sallay, for instance, complained of the climate in their region which made it impossible to grow grain successfully.⁶ Jervaulx complained of the 'sterilitas terre' of their lands in Fors. On the other hand we know that, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the canons of Bolton were growing most of their own corn, while Malton produced none at all.⁷ There

1. E.Y.C. V, nos. 151-2.

2. ibid. III, no. 1683.

3. ibid. III, no. 1336.

4. Cart. Sallay, 2, no. 522; Kirkstall Coucher; no. 79, Cart. Riev. nos. 141, 82, 85.

5. Cart. Riev. nos. 87, 116; E.Y.C. IX, nos. 150, 145.

6. E.Y.C. XI, no. 50.

7. See I. Kershaw, Bolton Priory, The Economy of a Northern Monastery 1286-1325 (Oxford, 1973), p. 19. In the decade 1305-1315, for instance, 35% of the priory's income came from rents and tolls, 23% from wool sales, 17% from the sale of corn and 9% from the sale of hides and livestock. Of the income in corn 55%-65% was grown on demesne land, 30%-40% came from tithes and the rest was purchased. See also the Malton account rolls of the mid 13th C. discussed by R. Graham in 'The Finance of Malton Priory 1244-1257', English Ecclesiastical Studies (London, 1929) pp. 247-270, especially p. 258, 'The sum spent of corn shews to how great an extent this house devoted itself to sheep-farming instead of tillage.'

can be no doubt that as much grain as possible was grown, taking into account the type of lands which the monasteries received.

These references to arable farming by the monks bring us naturally to a further issue - the extension of cultivable land and the part played by the monastic houses in this process. The eleventh century has long been known as the 'great age of land clearance' when rising trends in population led to pressure on land, and thus to the opening up of hitherto unexploited regions of peripheral lands. The part played by the religious houses in the 'colonization programme' has also been recognized, and particularly the contribution of the orders of Prémontré and Cîteaux. Attention is always drawn to the desire of the founder fathers to 'seek their own wilderness', and there is ample evidence for their settlements, and subsequent colonizing activities in deserted regions. In Germany, for instance, intensive clearances took place in Bohemia, Mecklenburg, Pomerania and Silesia. The 'old' orders were busy too; the cartularies of the French houses of St Vincent du Mans, Marmoutier, St Aubin d'Angers and La Trinité de Vendôme abound with references to lands in the process of being cleared.¹

The eleventh and twelfth-century charters leave us in no doubt that land clearance continued in England after the Norman Conquest, and it is equally clear that monastic enterprise was a significant factor in the opening up of peripheral lands.² However, many recent scholars have been at pains to stress that the England of 1086 was well-settled and colonizable land was already well exploited. 'In a country as 'old' as the England of 1086, all subsequent reclamation was bound to be something of an aftermath'.³ Close attention accordingly needs to be paid to the

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1. R. Latouche, The Birth of Western Economy (London, 1961), p.274.
 2. See for instance E. King, Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310 (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 70-87, for the colonizing activities of the monks of Peterborough in Northamptonshire.
 3. M.M. Postan, The Medieval Economy and Society (London, 1972), p.20.

evidence for assarting by the monks of Yorkshire before agreeing that 'all (the Cistercian houses in Europe) had been set up 'in the wilderness': each meant a conquest over forest and marsh'.¹

Any attempt to assess the importance of the Yorkshire houses in this field must obviously take account of regional differences within this large county. Although there are many difficulties about using the Domesday Survey as an accurate guide to the settlement of Yorkshire in 1086, it is the only source of possible generalization about its population density, degree of cultivation and proportion of waste land. The Domesday Survey certainly suggests that population was unevenly distributed: in the East Riding the area of Holderness appears to have been well-settled. In the west of the county population was dense in the region contained within a line from York to Leeds south through Pontefract to Doncaster and Sheffield. In the north the most highly-populated area was in the Cleveland hills and the valley of the river Tees.²

In contrast there were areas with very sparse population. In the extreme West Riding there was very little recorded population in Craven;³ and very few inhabited vills in the upper Pennine regions and the marshy territory around the confluence of the valleys of the Aire, Ouse and Don. Low population was recorded in the area of the East Riding known as the Humberhead Levels (around Broomfleet) and in the North Riding in the Esk valley and the Pennines. Yorkshire was therefore a county of contrasts where in some regions settlements were little more than one mile apart, and in others recorded population low.

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1. Cambridge Economic History of Europe, I, ed. M.M. Postan (2nd ed. Cambridge, 1966) p.76.
 2. The Domesday Geography of Northern England, pp.7-48, 92-128; 170-203; R.W. Finn, The Making and Limitations of the Yorkshire Domesday, (Borthwick Paper 41, 1972).
 3. The problem of sparse population (and the reason for it) in the survey is obviously a difficult one. Craven presents a specific example. R.W. Finn suggests that the paucity of evidence may not only signify a scarcity of population, but a concern of the compiler to record only vills and landowners, thus distorting the picture: R.W. Finn, Making and Limitation of the Yorkshire Domesday, p.29.

It was no coincidence that it was in these areas of low population that the monastic houses gained the strongest foothold. Although not all abbeys could be situated in sparsely-populated regions, many of their estates were. In many of the less-cultivated regions villas make their first appearance in the twelfth century in charters of religious houses. Thus in the West Riding Ousefleet, Hook, Pollinton and Swinefleet are first recorded in the cartulary of Selby Abbey;¹ the Craven area was extensively cultivated by the houses of Bolton, Fountains and Sallay;² in the north of the county Goathland and Broxa are recorded as part of the estates of Whitby Abbey;³ Bilsdale, Farndale and Westerdale as belonging to the monks of Rievaulx while Colsterdale was granted to Jervaulx Abbey.⁴

Two main problems emerge: how valid is the Domesday survey as evidence for the population/cultivation density in 1130, that is, how far had both the population and the cultivated land expanded in the intervening decades; secondly, how far did the monks participate in the extension of arable land? Assarting was taking place in Yorkshire in the twelfth century - there are numerous references to assarts ('terrae noviter ibi exartae quae nova exarta vulgo dicuntur')⁵, to riddings and to 'terra novalis'. This was taking place in the three types of area indicated by Postan as the regions of land clearance: the 'technological margin' of marsh and fen in Holderness and the Aire valley; the forests and the regions of sparse population.⁶

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1. E.Y.C.I, no. 484; III nos. 1543-4; III no. 1738.
 2. See above, pp. 113-14. 167, 223-25.
 3. E.Y.C.I, no. 396; II no. 855; E.P.N.S. Yorkshire North Riding, pp. 81, 111.
 4. ibid. pp. 67, 63, 134, 230; Cart. Riev. nos. 368, 62, 115; Mowbray Charters no. 173.
 5. R. Latouche, The Birth of Western Economy (London, 1961), p. 274, quoting from a charter of 1071-1080 in the cartulary of Dunois de Marmoutier.
 6. M.M. Postan, The Medieval Economy and Society, pp. 21-24.

In the first place there is evidence to suggest that the monks themselves participated in the clearance of lands. To begin with the selected site of an abbey often required clearance, and this could have included the assarting of nearby land for cultivation. This type of activity is indicated at Meaux, Byland and Kirkstall.¹ Here, in the (admittedly eloquent) words of the Kirkstall chronicler the monks reduced 'the thick bush to cultivation and brought the niggard soil to grow rich with flourishing crops'.² Frequently permission was given to monks to assart land further away from their house. Rievaulx Abbey, for instance, was granted waste land below Pickering by Henry II, 'ut infra ipsas divisas domos et bercharias aedificent, et terram colant et exercent per totum, sicut eis placuerit!'³ In East Bolton the same monks received land 'de qua terra iij acre et dimidia sunt culte et xxj inculte et nemorose quas sartabunt monachi cum voluerint.'⁴ Byland Abbey received permission to assart in Nidderdale ('... sartabunt ... ubicunque voluerint.') and received a confirmation of land which they had cleared in Thirkleby (Osgodby).⁵ The monks of Fountains received land in Brimham 'ad sartandum' and had evidently been occupied in clearing waste in Aldburgh. A charter issued by Roger de Mowbray stated that the monks had (perhaps surprisingly) agreed to pay tithes to the parish church of Masham for land in Aldburgh 'quia non fuit ibi multum terre arabilis quando primum data est eis sed fere totum monachi postea sartauerunt.'⁶ Finally the monks of Sallay received from Robert de Lacy one hundred acres in Acreland 'ad sartandas cum ipsi voluerint.'⁷

1. See above pp. 230, 186, 208.

2. Fundacio .. de Kyrkestall, p. 179.

3. Cart. Riev. no. 210.

4. E.Y.C. IV, no. 91.

5. Mowbray Charters, no. 56; Yorkshire Deeds, IX, p. 195.

6. Mowbray Charters, nos. 119 and 97. For the insistence of Fountains on their tithe exemption on newly cultivated lands, see above, pp. 355-56.

7. Cart. Sallay I, no. 201.

The White Monks were not alone in clearing or instigating the clearance of land. The Augustinian house of Warter cleared waste land in Seaton Ross.¹ Alice de Gant confirmed to Bridlington priory 'quicquid essartaverunt in foresta mea (Swaledale) post obitum Walteri de Gaunt', and Roger de Mowbray confirmed to Newburgh 'omnia assarta quecunque assartaverunt homines sui in Kilburna'.² Selby Abbey cleared land in Pollinton.³ The foundation grant of Nun Appleton included 'locum ... partim sartatam partim non sartatam' and that of Marrick Priory 'sartas nemorum et nemora'.⁴ On the surviving evidence, however, it appears that the White Monks were, in accordance with the traditional view, foremost in the clearance of land and the extension of arable.

However, the colonizing activity of the monks must be set in a geographical context already modified by previous assarting. Some charters certainly indicate that the monks often benefited from the activities of others. To begin with the Cistercian abbeys again, in Clayton le Dale the monks of Sallay received an assart 'in Wingives holmh quod Eilsi sartavit', and from William Vavassour they acquired 'totum novum sartum et circa novum sartum'.⁵ in Bolton by Bowland. From H(elias?) de Boulton they acquired 'sartum Gaufridi', and from Rannulf son of Spracling 'assartum quod Siwardus sartavit'.⁶ Rievaulx Abbey obtained all the assart 'quod vocatur Oghtwait'. Roche Abbey received the assarts 'que fuerunt Gameli'.⁷

1. E.Y.C. X, no. 66.

2. ibid. IV, no. 391; IX, no. 165.

3. E.Y.C. I, no. 484.

4. ibid. I, no. 543; V no. 173.

5. Cart. Sallay I, nos. 275 and 124.

6. ibid. I, nos. 135 and 276.

7. Cart. Riev. no. 94; Mon. Ang. V, p. 502. The existence of a name for the assart granted to Rievaulx implies that the land had already been cleared.

The receipt of assarts which had already been cleared seems to be more prevalent among the non-Cistercian houses. Nostell Priory accepted a gift from Jordon de Lacy of an assart of sixty-eight acres which the latter had bought from Ralph.¹ Selby Abbey took possession of the 'sartas de Arnesest quas Alanus de Holme tenuit' in Kirk Ella, Nun Appleton the riddings of Lambert, John and Richard, and Esholt the ridding of Hugh son of Waldeve in Yeadun; Pontefract accepted a donation of five acres of land in the riddings of Birkin (probably already cleared).²

Although in many cases it is impossible to tell whether the land was cleared or not when the monks received it,³ it appears that a picture of the monks as the only 'pioneers' in assarting lands and bringing them to cultivation can be misleading. Frequently the assarts were created by a non-monastic community, the monks afterwards reaping the harvest of another man's labour. Assarting by the monks did take place, but apparently on a modest scale, and it was not without limitations imposed by their neighbours. Boundaries are always clearly defined and on more than one occasion attempts were made by the monks - and foiled by laymen - to overstep the mark. The monks of Byland were allegedly overzealous in their clearances around Kilburn and Thorpe, and as a consequence came into conflict with Robert de Daiville and Thomas de Coleville. The charter of both these men limited the activities of the monks.⁴ In Nidderdale Roger de Mowbray granted to Byland Abbey pasture lands, and added 'set ibi non arabunt neque seminabunt'.⁵

1. E.Y.C. VI, no. 127.

2. ibid.XII, no. 6; I, no. 543; III, no. 1874; III, no. 1739.

3. Eg. the grant of assarts to Sallay (in Ilkley, Cart. Sallay II, no. 532) and to Rievaulx (in Helmsley, Cart. Riev., no. 44).

4. One agreement with Thomas de Coleville has been published in the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Various Collections, vol. II, (1903), p. 3. Two of these charters are unpublished: see appendix III.

5. Mowbray Charters, no. 53.

Monastic enterprise in the clearing of lands was a considerable factor in the economic development of Yorkshire. In the strict sense of the extension of area under the plough it was perhaps limited, both by previous assarting and by geographical factors. However the monks and canons played an important role in bringing economic activity to areas such as the Pennines (Nidderdale and Swaledale), Craven, and in the Ouse and Aire basin which had previously been regions of sparse population and cultivation. The abbeys and priories which, on the surviving evidence, appear to have played the most significant part in the colonization of new lands were those which held lands in these three areas - Rievaulx, Byland, Sallay and Benedictine Selby.¹

Many of the lands granted to abbeys lay in the Pennine regions or in the Yorkshire Dales and Wolds; they were not suited to arable farming. The varying climatic and soil conditions in many regions where the monasteries held lands forced the monks to turn to other forms of farming. In the case of the Cistercians attention is naturally focussed on sheep-farming, but there is ample evidence to show that other animals were kept: cows for milk and hides, goats, pigs, horses and oxen for ploughing.

Pigs could be kept inexpensively in woodland areas: there is evidence that they were raised by Bridlington (in Scalby forest), by Sallay (in Clayton), by Byland (in Nidderdale).² Kirkham Priory received quittance of pannage (paid for the pasturage of pigs) in the forest of Helmsley.³ Cattle were raised by Marton Priory and Easby Abbey.⁴ There

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1. C.V. Graves, 'The Economic Activities of the Cistercians in Medieval England', pp.3-60, notes that the English Cistercians were not, on the whole, outstanding for their activities in clearing lands. Warden (also known as St Mary 'de sartis') and Dore were particularly famous.
 2. E.Y.C. I, no. 363; Cart. Sallay I no. 276; Mowbray Charters, no.53.
 3. Cart. Riev. no. 216.
 4. E.Y.C. II, no. 784; V, no. 213. Cattle were also kept by Meaux, in Warter (X, no.90) and had uncertain tenure of a vaccary at Akenbergh (Chron.Melsa I, p. 110).

are references to the establishment of vaccaries by Sallay (in Potland and Bolton by Bowland), by Kirkstall (in Roundhay) and by Byland (at Cam).¹ Rievaulx Abbey was granted pasturage in East Bolton for ten oxen, twenty-four cows and their calves, in Stainborough for eight oxen, five cows and twenty pigs, in Staincroft for sheep and two hundred other animals, and in Little Midgley, Emley and Eagleshope for cows, bulls, horses and oxen.² Horses were kept by Easby, Byland, Rievaulx and the nunnery of Swine.³

It was, however, sheep farming which became the mainstay of the Cistercian economy, and of many other religious houses in Yorkshire. Although the evidence for economic activity is nothing like as abundant for the twelfth century as it is for later periods, the charters of our period reveal that sheep farming became important very quickly. The following table records grants of pasturage to religious houses where the number of sheep which could be kept on the land is specified.⁴

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1. E.Y.C. XI, nos. 115, 121; III, no. 1509; Mowbray Charters, no. 37 Kirkstall also held pasture for cows in Riddlesden, and Byland in Moskwith (E.Y.C. XI, no. 75).
 2. E.Y.C. IV, no. 91; III, no. 1725; Cart. Riev., nos. 205, 45.
 3. In Carperby (E.Y.C. V, no. 213), Nidderdale (for eighty mares, Mowbray Charters no. 52), Sitlington (Cart. Riev. no. 95) and Spaldington. (E.Y.C. XII, no. 65).
 4. This table is only intended, and can only be used as, a rough indication. It is clear that a grant of pasture sufficient for five hundred sheep does not necessarily mean that that number were kept there. However, as only a small percentage of charters actually specify the size of the pasturage, the total amount of pasture land for sheep would have been considerably greater. In addition many abbeys held a share in common pasture land. The number of sheep recorded is therefore very much a minimum estimate.

Fig. 34.

ABBEY	LOCATION OF PASTURE	NUMBER OF SHEEP	DATE
I. Cistercian			
<u>Jervaulx</u> ¹	Rookwith	500	1170-81
	Thornton Steward	<u>50</u>	1145-95
	<u>Total</u>	550	
<u>Meaux</u> ²	Myton	400	1160-82
	Octon	(sheep fold)	1150-66
	Warter	360	1150-60
			and 1177-82
	Kirk Ella	200	1182-86
	Moor Grange	<u>300</u>	1160-72
	<u>Total</u>	1260	
<u>Byland</u> ³	Marton	100	1170-88
	Denby	200	1175-86
	Skirpenbeck	<u>400</u>	1160-67
	<u>Total</u>	700	
<u>Fountains</u> ⁴	Laverton	100	ante 1181
	Alne	200	1175-1203
	Kirby Wiske	300	1174-81
	Kettlewell	60	1180-94
	"	460	1175-90
	Marton le Moor	<u>40</u>	1156-62
	<u>Total</u>	1160	
<u>Rievaulx</u> ⁵	East Bolton	40	1173-74
	Morton	400	1170-76
	East Heslerton	1000	1160-70
	Hunmanby	500	1160-75
	Staincroft	300	1147-67
	Normanby	100	1175-85
	Welbury	600	1147-67
	Sproxton	200	1167-88
	Allerston	1000	1160
	Folkton	<u>1000</u>	1162-76
	<u>Total</u>	5140	

1. E.Y.C. V, no. 326; Mon. Ang. V, p. 576 (the latter is a confirmation charter of Henry III)
2. Chron. Melsa I, pp. 168-70; E.Y.C. II, no. 1064; Chron. Melsa, I, p. 101; E.Y.C. X, no. 91; Mowbray Charters, no. 190; Chron. Melsa, I, p. 163.
3. E.Y.C. III, nos. 1849, 1808; II, no. 838.
4. Mowbray Charters, no. 137; E.Y.C. II, no. 797; V, no. 285; XI, nos. 146, 141, 249.
5. ibid. IV, no. 92; Cart. Riev. nos. 88, 85, 80, 305, 118, 90, 127, 86 and 167, 161.

ABBEY	LOCATION OF PASTURE	NUMBER OF SHEEP	DATE
I. Cistercian (cont.)			
<u>Sallay</u> ¹	Litton	600	
	Marton	<u>400</u>	
	<u>Total</u>	1000	
<u>Kirkstall</u> ²	Austhorpe	200	1170-90
	Bessacar	1000	1175-90
	Horsforth	<u>100</u>	12th c.
	<u>Total</u>	1300	
II. Premonstratensian			
<u>Easby</u> ³	Middleton Tyas	100	1168-84
	Carperby	500	post 1182
	Brompton Moor	200	1164-81
	Skeeby	<u>100</u>	1172-81
	<u>Total</u>	900	
<u>Coverham</u> ⁴	Kettlewell	1000	t. Henry II
III. Augustinian			
<u>Warter</u> ⁵	Seaton Ross	1000	ante 1178
<u>Marton</u> ⁶	Burnsall or Thorpe in Craven	300	1155-66
IV. Cluniac and Benedictine			
<u>Pontefract</u> ⁷	Stapleton	100	1160-70
V. Gilbertine and Nunneries			
<u>Malton</u> ⁸	Newton	200	ante 1184
	Mowthorpe	<u>300</u>	1157-70
	<u>Total</u>	500	
<u>Handale</u> ⁹	Handale and Dunsley	200	1150-70
<u>Nun Appleton</u> ¹⁰	Spaldington	400	ante 1189
<u>Swine</u> ¹¹	Immington	400	ante 1189

1. Cart. Sallay II, no. 406; I, no. 63.
2. E.Y.C. III, no. 1619; II, no. 819; Kirkstall Coucher, no. 93.
3. E.Y.C. IV, no. 110; V, nos. 213, 193, 239.
4. ibid. V, no. 359.
5. ibid. X, no. 72.
6. ibid. II, no. 784.
7. ibid. III, no. 1633.
8. ibid. VI, no. 90; II, no. 1084.
9. ibid. II, no. 897.
10. ibid. I, no. 544.
11. ibid. XII, no. 65.

This evidence suggests that sheep farming did become a significant feature of the economy of many monasteries very quickly. When the monks of Jervaulx enumerated their possessions in c.1150 they had a mixed economy, but sheep were already dominant: 'habemus ... carucates quinque arantes, vaccas quadraginta cum secta, equas sexdecim cum sequela ... sues quinque cum secta, oves tre-centas et triginta coria in tano'.¹ When Roche Abbey, one of the less wealthy Cistercian houses, borrowed money from the financier William Cade in the 1160's they undertook to pay back the loan in wool and fleeces - twenty two sacks of wool and two thousand two hundred fleeces.² This indicates that the abbey - still only twenty years old - was already heavily involved in the rearing of sheep, and production of wool for a commercial market.³

Certainly there was no doubt in the minds of contemporaries that the Cistercians relied on sheep farming for their income. Their contribution to Richard I's ransom was levied at one year's supply of wool from each abbey. This was, as William of Newburgh explained 'quippe quod illis in substantia praecipuum esse noscitur, et quod fere pro omni reddito ad usus sumptusque necessarios habere videntur, lanam scilicet pecudum suarum, exacti coactique resignarunt'.⁴ Newburgh, a Yorkshire canon, was in a position to know of the economic activities of his neighbours, the monks of Byland and Rievaulx.

That the Cistercians of Yorkshire turned to sheep farming was the outcome of several circumstances. Many of the lands which they were given such as those on the Pennines or the Dales, were suited only to this type of farming. Moreover the popularity of the larger houses forced them to abandon a purely self-sufficient economy, and to turn to a wider field of

1. Mon. Ang. V, p. 570.

2. See above, p.219.

3. A Historical Geography of England before 1800, ed. H.C. Darby (Cambridge, 1936 repr. 1961) pp. 242-43.

4. Newburgh, I, p. 399; for Richard I's ransom Meaux Abbey raised 300 marks in wool, plate and money: A.L. Poole, From Domesday Book to Magna Carta (Oxford, 2nd ed. 1955) p.84. See also Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 353.

activity. Their activities were indeed wideranging; apart from the all-important land, the Yorkshire monks and canons enjoyed and developed other minor sources of revenue which proved of use in building up the monastic economy.

One source of income was that obtained from the appropriated churches which many of the houses, especially the non-Cistercians, had acquired.¹ Mills were a second source of revenue. The possession of a mill was necessary if the grain produced by a monastery were to be milled without charge, but it could also provide additional revenue from the charges levied on the villagers for the grinding of their corn. Thus the grant of a mill to a religious house carried with it, implicitly or explicitly the right of multure in the area which was served by the mill. It was this factor which led the Cistercian General Chapter to ban the possession of mills except where they were used solely by the abbey.² Other orders, however, were eager to accept such grants.

Walter de Gant's foundation grant to Bridlington Priory comprised, among other gifts, thirteen carucates of land in Bridlington, with the adjoining mills.³ William de Roumare gave to his foundation at Warter the onset of mills 'ubicunque in terra mea poterit inveniri' and quittance of multure in all his mills.⁴ Drax priory received from the founder certain rights in the mills of Leeds and the sequel of the mill of Drax.⁵ The founder of Bolton, Cecily de Rumilly provided several mills for the canons, and safeguarded their rights in them.⁶ Nostell Priory came into possession of the mills of Bramham, Saxton, Norton, Shafton, Harlington and

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1. For a discussion of the revenue derived from parish churches, see above, pp. 407-10.
 2. Canivez, Statuta, I, p. 64.
 3. The number is not specified; No mills are mentioned here in Domesday Book: E.Y.C. II no. 1135.
 4. ibid. X no. 66. Warter later acquired a mill on Westbeck and another in Warter: ibid. X no. 72; XI no. 166.
 5. ibid. VI no. 13.
 6. ibid. VII no. 4; see also no. 11 and III no. 1861. See above, p. 332.

'Culceneia'¹. Robert de Brus included in his initial grant to Guisborough 'molendina mea in Gyseburne cum soca et molta, sicut ea habui; et ita ut nullus faciat molendina in parochia ejusdem villae absque Canonincorum licentia et consensu'². Finally Easby received the mill of that vill from Torfin son of Robert.³

Thus all the houses of canons regular (with the exception of Marton which, however, has no surviving cartulary) possessed mills or rents derived from mills, and often these were included in the foundation endowment. Similarly the Benedictine houses came into possession of mills.⁴ Despite the Cistercian prohibition some houses did accept grants of mills: Kirkstall owned the mill of Mickley, Meaux that of Cottingham and Sallay that of Acreland; all these could have been used for the abbey's grain alone.⁵ The same argument cannot apply to the mill of Hunslet, owned by Sallay.⁶ Although it owned no mill, Rievaulx was granted milling rights in East Bolton; the donor stated 'concedo ... eis molere bladum suum ad molendinum meum pro vicesima mensura quamdiu bene molere potest.'⁷ The possession of mills, or the securing of rights to grind corn, was of obvious importance, but it could also provide additional revenue for the houses.⁸

Of similar importance to the provision of facilities for milling grain was the grant of fisheries and salt pans, since fish formed an important item in the monastic diet.⁹ Such grants were received by a wide

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1. ibid. II no. 1018; III nos. 1561, 1529, 1533 (Norton was to be held for life by the donor, Henry Poliot for 12d per annum); VIII nos. 100-101; B.L. Cotton MS Vespasian E XIX fo. 53v.
 2. Cart. Guis. I no. 1.
 3. E.Y.C. V no. 150.
 4. Selby Coucher II no. 1277; E.Y.C. III nos. 1541, 1740, 1527; 1665; Cart. Whitby, I, no. 51; E.Y.C. II no. 1071; I no. 527; II nos. 680-81; Mon. Ang. V p. 508; E.Y.C. IX no. 12.
 5. ibid. III no. 1556; Chron. Melsa I, p. 227; Cart. Sallay, I, no. 204.
 6. Cart. Sallay, II, no. 505.
 7. E.Y.C. V no. 92; The Cistercian General Chapter encountered difficulties in enforcing the provisions against holding mills: see Hill, Cistercian Monasteries, p. 73, for other examples of Cistercian houses acquiring mills.
 8. Domesday Geography, pp. 71-74, 150-52, 221-23; R.V. Lennard, Rural England, 1086-1135 (Oxford, 1959), pp. 6-7, 278-87.
 9. See Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 456-65 and 641-2.

range of monastic houses. Drax priory, for instance, was provided with a draft of nets on the river Ouse, Guisborough with a salt pan at Coatham, and sites for fish weirs on the river Tees.¹ Nostell and Pontefract both had fisheries at Beal; similarly Selby held fisheries at Crasgarth, Whitgift and Selby. St Mary's, York, gained fisheries at Haines, Bradmere and Wroot, and secured what amounted to a monopoly of the fishing on Hornsea Mere.² The Cistercian abbeys received numerous fisheries; Rievaulx at Newsham, Stainsby and Normanby (on Tees), Meaux along the rivers Hull and Humber and Byland at Gaterigg, Linthorpe and Coatham. From William de Stuteville, Fountains Abbey received a fishery on the Ure and Ouse from Boroughbridge to the city walls of York, with one fisherman and his servant, two boats, a seine and a net, provided that they made no fishgarth.³ Salt pans are less frequently recorded but were granted to Nun Appleton Priory and Guisborough.⁴

It was comparatively rare for food rents to be given to monasteries. The payment of rent in kind was becoming obsolete in the twelfth century, although it did persist in some regions.⁵ In an earlier chapter the initial benefaction of Roger de Mowbray to Byland - consisting of one tenth of the food he was granted in hospitality - was discussed.⁶ Although it was unusual, it was not unique. Mowbray himself granted to the Lincolnshire cell of Hirst eight sesters of malt and one thousand eels per annum.⁷ Holy Trinity Priory, York and Drax Priory both founded by a Paynel, received a tithe of their patrons' halls.⁸ Pontefract received a

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1. E.Y.C. VI no. 13; Cart. Guis. II nos. 781, 1117.
 2. E.Y.C. VIII, no. 30; I, no. 354; III, nos. 1299, 1302.
 3. Cart. Riev. nos. 114, 315, 116; Chron. Melsa I, p.100; E.Y.C. II, no. 703; III, no. 1851; II, no. 657; I, no. 517.
 4. E.Y.C. I, no. 545; II, no. 575. On salt pans and fisheries see R.V. Lennard, Rural England, pp. 243-52.
 5. ibid. pp. 128-41.
 6. See above, pp. 178-79.
 7. Mowbray Charters, no. 215.
 8. E.Y.C. VI, nos. 1 and 13.

food rent.¹ Occasionally, too, money rents were given to monasteries. Kirkstall, for example, received one mark per annum 'ad vestiendum abbatem suum' from the farm of Clitheroe; Nostell obtained a yearly rent from the mines of Carlisle and from Bedford.² Guisborough and Newburgh took yearly rents from various mills.³

These rents were only a minor source of income, yet they did have their use. So too did the grants of materials - wood, stone and ore. These resources aided the monasteries in the economic exploitation of their estates. Both Malton and Yedingham priories received a yearly cart load of wood, the first 'ad coquinam suam', the second for the making of ploughs.⁴ Easby and Sallay received quarries for building (see next chapter), and the latter also acquired timber from the wood of Meols.⁵ Nostell and Kirkstall obtained turbaries, at Great Houghton and Cranberimos respectively.⁶

Three of the Cistercian houses in particular gained important mining rights.⁷ Adam son of Peter granted to Rievaulx all his minerals and dead wood (for smelting) in Halghton, Shipley, Kirkheaton and 'Chelleslawe', with exclusive mining rights. In Sitlington he gave 'xv acras ad construendas favercas suas in quibus facient ferrum et utensilia necessaria ... et totum mineriam territorii de Sitlingtona et territorii de Flocton, ... et totum mortuum boscum earundem villarum ad usus predictarum favercarum.' Adam's

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1. E.Y.C. III, no. 1496 (grant by Henry de Lacy of a tithe of his venison in flesh and hides).
 2. ibid. III, no. 1510; Regesta Regum Scottorum, ed. G.W.S. Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960) I, nos. 37-40.
 3. ibid. II, no. 1045; Mowbray Charters no. 198. The preceding paragraph does not cover the practice of farming out lands for yearly rents, which will be discussed later in the chapter.
 4. Mowbray Charters, no. 185; E.Y.C. I, no. 392.
 5. Cart. Sallay I, no. 255.
 6. i.e. turves for burning. E.Y.C. VI, no. 122; I, no. 421; Oxford Bodleian MS Fairfax 7, fo. 5.
 7. On mining in medieval England see Historical Geography of England, pp. 226-27; Lennard, Rural England, pp. 241-42, and in Yorkshire, V.C.H. Yorkshire, II, pp. 341-54.

charter concluded with the proviso 'ut nullus alius favercam habeat ad ferrum faciendum in his predictis locis, nec mineriam nec carbonem asportet extra territorium predictarum villarum.' It was also Adam son of Peter de Birkin who donated to Rievaulx the site of a smithy ('faverca') in Stainborough, with all the minerals of the vill and 'in bosco meo ligna ad carbones'¹.

Byland Abbey's mining activities appear to have been centred on Kirkby Malzeard and Claverley. In the former place Roger de Mowbray granted 'materiam et mineriam ferri et decimam plumbarie mee'. In Claverley (WR) William son of Osbert de Denby granted his iron ore, and it is possible that the monks also received a furnace and fuel in Emley.² Fountains Abbey had a forge ('forgia') in Bradley, given by Ralph son of Nicholas.³ Thomas son of Peter de Ledes gave to the same all dead wood belonging to five bovates of land in Kirkheaton and iron ore wherever it be found 'excepto terra que culta fuerit postquam Henricus rex Anglie ... primo coronatus fuit.' The grant further included 'carbones ad forgas suas'.⁴ Roger de Mowbray granted to Fountains mineral rights (iron and lead) in Nidderdale and dead wood in his forests for the monks' forge at Aldburgh.⁵

All these rights were valuable to the religious houses concerned. They provided the raw materials for tools and ploughs, and the grant of minerals was always accompanied by that of dead wood or charcoal, which facilitated the smelting of ore. This contributed to the improvement of

1. Cart. Riev. nos. 100, 95, 91, 94.

2. Mowbray Charters, no. 48; E.Y.C. III, no. 1808. For 'Emmelay' see E.Y.C. III, pp. 335-6.

3. E.Y.C. III, no. 1762.

4. E.Y.C. III no. 1692.

5. Mowbray Charters, nos. 103-04, 115, 135. Jervaulx Abbey received permission to mine from Earl Alan of Richmond: 'Quod si mineria ferri vel plumbi in sua terra invenerint, concedo ut ad opus suum ea fodiant': Mon. Ang. V, p.569, but there is no evidence to suggest that mines were established. In the reign of Richard I Sallay Abbey received confirmation of 'totum miniterium ferri et mortuum boscum ad carbones', in Salesbury: Cart. Sallay, I no. 285.

the agrarian activities of the monastic houses. The development from a self-sufficient economy to a wider field of activity was rapid in Yorkshire. Soon many of the larger houses of all orders became intimately involved in the secular world of business and finance. Obviously these many sources of revenue demanded efficient exploitation, and the more complex the monastic estates became, the more sophisticated this administration had to be.

Estate Management

Both the Rule of St Benedict and the statutes of the Cistercian Order provided for the possibility of the estates of monasteries being spread over a wide area. In Yorkshire some abbeys and priories, notably St Mary's, Nostell, Fountains, Byland and Rievaulx held lands at a considerable distance from the mother house; others, such as Drax, Nun Monkton, Holy Trinity and Warter held lands or churches in other counties.¹ Thus for some monasteries administration of their estates was easier than for others. The forms of estate management used by the various orders differed considerably, but one feature common to many houses was a policy of consolidation of land holdings. This policy became more pronounced after c. 1200, that is, after the period of greatest expansion of estates, but its beginnings can be discerned in the twelfth century.

There are several instances of such consolidation of estates. In the last years of the twelfth century, for example, the monks of Fountains demised to Sallay Abbey pasture in Bowland, where the latter held considerable property.² To Fountains William de Arches confirmed the exchange made by him and his men with the abbey of land in Kettlewell which enabled the monks to acquire property adjacent to that which they had

1. See earlier chapters for detailed analysis of estates of individual houses, and the accompanying maps.

2. E.Y.C. XI, no. 47.

purchased of Walter de Fauconberg.¹ Easby Abbey leased land in Hessleton to the monks of Jervaulx, and Fountains held land in Malham of the canons of Bolton.² Rievaulx exchanged land in East Cowton for forty-four acres in East Harsley held by the nuns of Marrick and leased land in Willerby to the canons of Bridlington.³ Selby Abbey rented the entire vill of Stainton in Craven to the nearby abbey of Sallay.⁴

The reasons for such exchanges or leases are clear. A small amount of land in a far-off vill brought little or no profit. When the abbot of Osenev gave one mark's work of land in Huggate to Newburgh Priory he explained that he did so 'quia terra illa a domo nostra nimis erat remota et ideo minus utilis'.⁵ The Abbot of Hambye (Normandy) demised to Easby Abbey land in Brompton on Swale 'de qua antea vel nullam vel modicam habuimus utilitatem'.⁶ Finally Roger de Mowbray granted to his abbey of Byland license to make any exchanges of land they deemed necessary: 'escambiare aliquam terram pro suis terris hospitatis vel inhospitatis que terra propinquior et utilior ipsis monachis fuerit'.⁷ The process of consolidation was a recognized method of facilitating the exploitation of monastic estates. As mentioned earlier, the methods of administration varied from order to order. It is well-known that by their introduction of the grange system, the Cistercians transformed the exploitation of monastic estates, especially as their methods were eventually emulated by

1. E.Y.C. XI, no. 143.

2. ibid. V, no. 246; XI, no. 243. Fountains had acquired land in Malham from William de Percy.

3. Cart. Riev. no. 361; E.Y.C. II, no. 1230.

4. E.Y.C. XI, no. 124. Selby held Stainton of the gift of Hugh son of Everard.

5. ibid. II, no. 1257.

6. E.Y.C. V, no. 193.

7. Mowbray Charters, no. 45. As D.E. Greenway indicates it is possible that the charter relates specifically to Brignall, where both Mowbray and Eustace Fitz John (to whom it is addressed) held land.

houses of other orders. The difficulty of comparing this system with that employed by the Benedictines either before or after the advent of the Cistercians lies in the dearth of direct evidence for the economic activities of the Black Monks in Yorkshire.

However, sparse though the evidence is, a few general comments may be made about the traditional methods of administration used by the Yorkshire Benedictines and Cluniacs. Basically their exploitation of their estates relied on the possession of manors, on monastic cells, on labour services and on rents. From the early years of their history Benedictine houses in England had accepted the gift of manors which were, of course, not merely units of land but units of economic exploitation. When an abbot accepted the grant of a manor he became lord of that manor, thereby entitled to rents, customary dues, labour services and the profits of justice. The Yorkshire Benedictines came into possession of several manors and vills: Selby held the manors of Hambleton, Stamford and Selby,¹ St Mary's those of Appleton Wiske, Hornsea, Hutton le Hole, Myton on Swale, and half Skirpenbeck and Bugthorpe² and Whitby those of Stainsacre, Newholm, Stakesby and Whitby.³ The Clunian house of Pontefract appears to have held the vills of Kellingley and Barnsley.⁴ The administration of these manors differed little from those under lay control.

The supervision of a manor could be the responsibility of a monk or a lay bailiff appointed by the monks. The latter, however, were definitely in charge of the unit of administration known as the monastic cell.

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1. E.Y.C. III, no. 1484; Selby Chouer, II no. 1157; Regesta I, no. 178. This last charter may, however be spurious.
 2. E.Y.C. II no. 648; III no. 1299; IX, no. 6; II no. 792; I, no. 354.
 3. ibid. XI, no. 1.
 4. Cart. Pont. I, no. 57. For the administration of the estates of large Benedictine houses, see E. King, Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310 (Cambridge, 1973), pp. 126-167; E. Miller, The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely (Cambridge, 1951) pp. 248-79.

The monastery of Cluny appears to have been the originator of this system, which involved securing possession of a parish church in the centre of a bloc of estates and placing there choir monks to act as 'local agents'.¹ Cells were established by the Yorkshire houses - by Whitby at Goathland, Hackness, Middlesbrough and All Saints, Fishergate (York),² by Selby at Snaith,³ and by St Mary's at Wetherall and St Bees (Cumberland), Rumburgh (Suffolk), Sandtoft (Lincs.) and Richmond.⁴ In the case of St Mary's ties with Wetherall and St Bees gradually became weaker. Although the York Abbey received confirmations of its lands in Cumberland from successive bishops of Carlisle, both its cells acquired lands in their own right, and kept their own cartularies.⁵

In one sense the Yorkshire Benedictines, like their counterparts elsewhere, held too many lands to be exploited efficiently. This was particularly true in the case of St Mary's York. And so it soon became easier and more profitable for land to be farmed out to lay tenants in return for a yearly rent. These rents, nearly always in money, were collected at St Mary's twice yearly, usually at the feasts of Whitsuntide and St Martin.⁶ The practice of farming out lands at St Mary's appears to have gathered momentum after c1130, when the great age of expansion of its monastic estates was at an end. Not only did the 'new' orders attract the donations of land, they also drew recruits away from the Benedictine abbeys.

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1. On Cluny's cells see J. Evans, Monastic Life at Cluny (Oxford, 1931, rep. 1968), pp. 65-77, and Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 134-5, 432-3.
 2. On Hackness see above, pp. 26-28. Cart. Whitby I, nos. 195, 111; ibid. p.5.
 3. The Church of Snaith was confirmed to Selby by Innocent II (Selby Coucher, I, no. 878) but is first recorded as a cell in 1310 (Knowles and Hadcock, Med. Rel. Houses, p. 76).
 4. Mon. Ang. III, p. 583, 575-7, 612; Mowbray Charters, no. 317; Mon. Ang. III, p.602.
 5. e.g. Mon. Ang. III, pp.584-6; Register of the Priory of St Bees, ed. J. Wilson, Surt. Soc. 126 (1915); Register of the Priory of Wetherhal, ed. J.C. Prescott, C.W.A.A.S. Rec. Series (1897).
 6. For details of the nature of these leases see above pp. 39-41. E. King, Peterborough Abbey, p.145, notes that all the abbey's manors were farmed in 1176, and that the period 1177-93 saw the beginning of direct management.

Leasing lands to tenants was a practicable solution both to the problem of widespread estates and (although we have no direct evidence of this) to possible short-staffing. On the surviving evidence the practice appears to have been much more common at St Mary's than at Whitby or Selby. This may be a deficiency in the source materials; it may well be because St Mary's controlled far more lands than any other Benedictine or Cluniac house.¹

This is perhaps a convenient place to mention briefly the other religious order which practised the farming-out of lands on a large scale, the Order of the Knights Templar. Details of their economic practices, as contained in the inquest of 1185, were discussed in an earlier chapter.² It is sufficient here to reiterate that, except for estates in the immediate vicinity of the preceptories, which were retained in demesne, all lands were leased to tenants for a yearly rent, either in money or food rents, or in the form of labour services. This the Knights did for much the same reason as the Benedictines of St Mary's - their estates were widespread and the number of staff at each preceptory probably small.³

There is no doubt that by c1130 the Benedictines had acquired such widespread lands as to involve them in financial business to a degree which scandalized the White Monks. Yet in the economic sphere there was really no evidence of degeneracy or even of departure from the Rule of St Benedict, since the latter contains no precise rules as to economic practice. It was to the spirit, rather than to the letter of the Rule that the Cistercians returned, bringing in the wake of their foundations a new vigour and ascetism which in turn affected their economic activities. They determined to follow the precept of the statute of 1134: 'monachis nostri ordinis debet provenire victus de labore manuum.'⁴ Their solution to the problem of widespread estates was the grange.

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1. Whether landlords preferred, at this period, to act as 'rentiers' or to exploit lands directly is a vexed question. See M.M. Postan, Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy (Cambridge, 1973) pp.37-40, and (with particular reference to Glastonbury Abbey's estates) pp.268-74.
 2. See above, pp.287-97.
 3. Postan, Medieval Agriculture, pp. 98-99.
 4. Canivez, Statuta, I, p.14.

The monastic grange has been the subject of much research. In 1936 T.A.M. Bishop produced a pioneer study of Yorkshire grange farming which has been extended and amplified by the recent work of R.A. Donkin and C. Platt.¹ The grange, or outlying farm, consisted of an estate (primarily arable) and the grange buildings themselves;² in 1134 the Cistercian General Chapter laid down several rules for their management. Granges were to be staffed by the lay brethren, and were to be no more than one day's journey from the mother house, (thus enabling the 'conversi' to hear mass regularly); choir monks were allowed to visit the grange, but had to return to the abbey within the day (thus preserving the vow of 'stabilitas'); no women were allowed in the grange.³

The novelty of the grange system lay in the fact that it allowed for economic activity while preserving the internal discipline of the monastery, by removing all business from the hands of the professed monks. As soon as sufficient lands were acquired, a grange was established, and in some cases this process began early in the history of the house.⁴ Fountains Abbey appears to have established the most granges in the twelfth century, with a total of twenty-six. Before 1145-46 granges had been established at Warsill, Sutton, Cayton, Cowton, Dacre and Aldborough.

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1. T.A.M. Bishop, 'Monastic Granges in Yorkshire', E.H.R. 51, (1936) pp.193-214; R.A. Donkin, 'Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, Especially in Yorkshire', B.I.H.R. 33 (1960), pp. 141-165 and 'The Cistercian Grange in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries with Special Reference to Yorkshire', Studia Monastica, VI, (1964), pp.95-144; C. Platt, The Monastic Grange in Medieval England (London 1969).
 2. For what is known of actual grange buildings, see Platt, Monastic Grange, especially Appendix I, the results of the excavation of the Fountains grange of Cowton.
 3. Canivez Statuta, I, p.14.
 4. All references that follow are to the list of Yorkshire granges compiled by R.A. Donkin in 'Settlement and Depopulation' where original sources are quoted. Original sources are given here only when an earlier reference has been found. Donkin's article furnishes a useful table of these granges.

Morker and Kilnsey were in existence by 1156, Baldersby and Morton by c.1162, Kirk Hammerton by 1172. Before 1199 fifteen more were established.¹

By c1200 Meaux Abbey had thirteen granges.² The reduction of the vill of Meaux to form the North Grange appears to have begun immediately after the foundation of the abbey in 1151. And four years later (1153-4) Blanchmarle was established, and by 1160 there were granges at Hayholme, Octon and Wharram. Myton and Moor Grange were established before 1172, Saltaugh and Wawne by 1177 when they were confirmed to the abbey by Alexander III. By 1200 a further four granges had been created.³

Both Rievaulx and Kirkstall established nine granges, the former at Hunmanby (1147-67), Crosby (1152), Griff (1147-67), Hesketh (1147-54), Sitlington (1150-60), East Bolton (1167-88), Little Broughton (1180-88) and Newton (twelfth-thirteenth century).⁴ Kirkstall established its first grange at the original site of the monastery, in Barnoldswick, abandoned in 1152.

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1. These were Greenberry, Thorpe Underwood, Arnford, Brimham, Busby, Bradley, Kirkby Wiske, Stevingford, Bramley, Bordley, Bouthwaite, Galphay, Morgham, Long Marston and Wheldrake. (Donkin, pp. 159-61, 164). The earliest recorded dates given for Baldersby and Kirby Wiske are 1189-99. These could be revised to 1154-60 (a grant of land 'ad incrementum curtis grangie sue de Balderby', E.Y.C. XI, no.269) and 1174-81 (E.Y.C. V, no. 285).
 2. The grange of Beal, confirmed to Meaux in 1151, is not included here since it was the subject of continuous lawsuits, and was lost to Swine Priory. See Chron. Melsa, I, p.110.
 3. Donkin, pp. 159, 161, 165. The date for the establishment of Moor Grange is given as 1177, but it was confirmed by Alexander III in 1172 (E.Y.C. III, no. 1391). Blanchemarle was confirmed by Anastasius IV in 1153-4. The original grant of the site was made in 1150-3 (E.Y.C. X, no. 87). The remaining four granges were Tarlesthorne (1182-97), Wassand, Arras and Skerne (1197-1210).
 4. Donkin, pp. 159, 161, 165. The following dates could be revised: Hunmanby: as Donkin states the original grant of land was made in 1147, but we only know that a grange was established in the time of Abbot Ailred (1147-67): Griff: the date given is 1154, but the source quoted (Cart. Riev. no.243) is a document ratified in 1170 and originally made between Roger, Abbot of Byland (1142-96) and Ailred of Rievaulx (1147-67). As this appears to be the only twelfth-century reference the document cannot be dated more precisely than 1147-67. Hesketh: the date assigned to the charter which first records this grange has been revised by D.E. Greenway to 1147-54 (Mowbray Charters, no. 240), rather than c. 1147. East Bolton: 1167-88 (Cart. Riev. p.262) where it is assigned to the abbey of Sylvanus.

Further granges were established at Aldfield (1152-62), Micklethwaite (1167) Roundhay (ante 1177-85), and before 1200 at Bessacar, Cliviger and Accrington (Lancs.).¹ The abbey of Sallay had eight granges (Barrowby, Ellenthorpe, Sallay, Stainton and Sunderland (Lancs.) by 1172, Wolfinton, Askwith and 'Elum' by 1189)² that of Byland, seven, (Wildon (c. 1143), Old Byland (1147), Murton, Osgodby, and three in Westmorland: Bleatarn, Shap and Asby),³ and that of Roche, six (Brancliffe, (1179), Armthorpe (ante c.1186), Barnby and Bramwith (ante c.1186), Corby (1179-84), Roxby (1189-99) and Todwick (1186-1213)).⁴ The abbey of Jervaulx is known to have established only one grange, which, like Barnoldswick, lay at the site of the original abbey. Known as Dale grange it was created between 1156 and the date at which the 'Historia Foundationis' was compiled (probably late twelfth century).⁵

It is obvious that the siting of a grange to some extent depended on the land which benefactors were willing to donate.⁶ Thus it became difficult for the Cistercians to observe the ruling that granges should be only a day's journey away. It is clear that this regulation was often contravened. While monks of Meaux or Jervaulx could have managed to visit any of their granges within a day, at Roche and Byland, with granges in another county, this was impossible.

1. Donkin, pp. 159-60, 164.

2. ibid. pp. 161, 165. The site for the grange of Askwith was donated by Adam son of Norman c. 1176. (Cart. Sallay, II, no.549).

3. Donkin, pp. 159, 162-3. Wildon is merely dated to the twelfth century, but the implication of the Byland 'Historia Foundationis' is that the grange was established not long after the abandonment of Hood (1143). (Mon.Ang. V, p.350). A grange of Byland at Thorpe is also mentioned c. 1150. H.M.C. Various Collections II (1903), p.3.

4. Donkin, p.165. There is some confusion over the grange or granges of Barnby and Bramwith. The bull of Urban III (1186) refers to 'grangiam in Barenby et Brawith' implying a single grange. (Mon. Ang. V, p. 505).

5. Donkin, p.164.

6. On later, deliberate, consolidation see C. Platt, The Monastic Grange, pp. 49-75, where particular attention is devoted to the granges of Meaux.

One of the great differences between the Benedictines and the Cistercians was that the statutes of the latter forbade the possession of serfs.¹ All work done on the grange was to rely on hired labour. It is likely that where there is evidence of depopulation, where in the contemporary phrase a vill 'redacta est in grangiam', the residents were recruited by the 'conversi' of the grange to work for the abbey.² They were hired labourers. Nevertheless, despite the prohibition of the acceptance of serfs, there are indications that the Cistercians were accepting such gifts, and were possibly, therefore, relying on labour services as well as paid labour. Byland Abbey, for instance, accepted from Roger de Mowbray, Alnaf his man of Kirkby Malzeard, and from Fulk Paynel, the service of Robert son of Henry and his heirs of Nether Silton.³ The monks of Kirkstall received a donation of one carucate of land in Cliviger, with all the villeins there; from Nigel de Horsforth, they acquired Siward the carpenter 'cum tota sequela sua', and they accepted the services of Hugh son of David de Tong.⁴ Finally, Roger de Mowbray gave to Rievaulx all his villeins in Welburn, granting to the latter 'libertatem eundi et remanendi quocumque voluerint et ibi locum invenerint absque omni calumpnia in posterum.'⁵

Thus the exploitation of Cistercian estates relied on hired, or villein, labour as well as on the 'labour of their own hands'. So successful was their system that it was copied by three of the orders whose

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1. Canivez, Statuta, p.15.
 2. e.g. at Acreland (Sallay), Welburn (Rievaulx), Old Byland, Meaux. See R.A. Donkin, 'Settlement and Depopulation' pp. 141-163 and C. Platt, The Monastic Grange, pp. 76-93: 'And even where a depopulation is alleged to have occurred ... its effect can seldom have been complete'. (p. 83) Platt suggests, on archaeological evidence, the existence of peasant settlements on the site of the grange, e.g. Cayton (pp.87-91).
 3. Mowbray Charters, no. 66 and E.Y.C. VI, no. 43. The supposed grant by Mowbray to Byland of the vill of Middlethorpe 'cum omnibus nativis ejusdem ville et eorum sequelis' may not be genuine. See Mowbray Charters, no. 55.
 4. Kirkstall Coucher, nos. 275, 296. E.Y.C. III, no. 1766. See also B.D. Hill, Cistercian Monasteries, p.67 where this grant is noted, and the statement made that 'such a grant to a monastery in the second half of the twelfth century is indeed unique'.
 5. E.Y.C. IX, no. 152.

constitution was directly influenced by that of the Cistercians: the Templars, the Gilbertines and the Premonstratensians. The Templar preceptories were almost a duplicate of the Cistercian granges. Brethren served the preceptory, living on the estates nearby which were retained in demesne. From here they collected the money and food rents due from the remainder of their estates. Although few details of the administration of the estates of Premonstratensian Easby survive, it is clear that the canons there used the grange system. Easby had created granges at Middleton Tyas and Easby by 1168-84.¹

The earliest surviving manuscript of the constitutions of the order of Sempringham dates from the first half of the thirteenth century, and shows signs of interpolation in the original compilation. However, details of estate management, borrowed as they are from the statutes of Cîteaux, probably date from the first compilation. There was an attempt to prevent estates being too widespread: all lands had to be within one day's journey from the priory and to be administered from granges. Administration was in the hands of the council of four proctors (the prior, cellarer and two lay brethren) and accounts were submitted once a month to a scrutator. Absolute control was in the hands of no one individual; the system was a 'highly organized moderate democracy.'² There are few precise details of how the system worked in Yorkshire in the twelfth century, but Malton is known to have established three granges - Mowthorpe, Kirkby and Wintringham, by 1178.³ One of the few surviving Watton charters which throws light on the economy of the house refers to a gift of bondmen received by the priory. William de Vescy granted all the bondmen of Watton

1. E.Y.C. IV, no. 110 and V, no. 149.

2. R. Graham, 'The Finance of Malton Priory 1244-1257', English Ecclesiastical Studies (London, 1929), pp. 247-270.

3. P.U.E. I no. 154.

'quos non transtulero de eadem villa ante octavas Nativitatis sancti Johani Baptiste.. ut illos omnes habeant una cum suis catallis sine omni reclamatione mei vel heredum meorum, et de eis filiis que eorum'.¹

The economy of houses of the Augustinian order developed on varied lines, some features being adopted from the Cistercians and others emulating more traditional methods of administration. Manors and vills, for instance, were acquired, and the services which went with such a grant.² Labour services were acquired. Bridlington priory received from Isaac de Timbel land outside Blubberhouses together with Ralph his 'native', Godit his wife and his children and chattels. The initial endowment of Warter Priory included two herdsmen ('bulbici') and their land, and the 'residuum vero de rusticis' (twenty in all). Guisborough received from Robert de Brus 'liberum ... servitium quod michi debebatur' on certain lands, and Nostell acquired the services of three villeins in Crofton.³ It is not certain at what point the Augustinians began to adopt the 'grange system'. They had cells, on the lines of the Benedictines, at an early date.⁴ The site of Hood, occupied by the canons of Newburgh until 1145, was then turned into a cell, or grange. It emerges, too, from a complicated, and as yet unpublished agreement between Byland and Newburgh that by c.1157 the canons had established a grange 'Wlueshou'.⁵

Thus there can be no doubt of the significance of Cistercian grange farming. Its introduction affected not only the economy of other religious orders but also the agrarian development of the countryside.

1. E.Y.C. II, no. 1114.

2. The following manors and vills were acquired by the Augustinians: Bridlington, Bessingby, Speeton (Bridlington); Bolton, Embsay and Kildwick (Bolton); Westow and Whitwell (Kirkham). See E.Y.C. II, nos. 1135, 1140; E.Y.C. VII, nos. 17 and 18; Cart. Riev. no. 216.

3. E.Y.C. I, no. 512; X, no. 66; Cart. Guis. I, no. 2; E.Y.C. III, no. 1672.

4. e.g. Nostell at Hirst, Breedon, Skewkirk and Tockwith.

5. B.L. Egerton MS 2823 fos. 81-81v. See Appendix III for a transcription of this charter. 'Wlueshou' is not identifiable but was evidently in the region of Hood, Little Wildon, Oxendale and Deepdale.

'A new 'scientific' agriculture began with the Cistercians and their imitators, and it is to their initiative that we owe, among other things, the first establishment of many of those great farms on the hills and on the flood-plains of our rivers that have survived intact as units to this day. Here, indeed, lay the lasting significance of the entire grange experiment.'¹

The Cistercians and many others were successful farmers. The direction their economy came to take, however, demanded activities beyond the sphere of land-cultivation and sheep farming. It brought them into the sphere of overseas trade and commerce. The specialization in sheep farming in particular demanded an outlet for the sale of surplus products. Two religious houses at least, Nostell and Bolton, are known to have had their own fairs. To the former King Stephen confirmed a three-day fair at Nostell and at Woodkirk, and to the latter Henry II granted an annual fair.² St Mary's, York was, at an early date, granted (unspecified) trading rights at Boston fair.³

Little is known of the 'trading' activities of other houses. It is likely that these were, in the twelfth century, limited to local markets. Byland Abbey, for instance, was granted free passage through the Ros fee to Helmsley market where they enjoyed freedom from tolls.⁴ Other houses, such as Bolton, Nostell, Whitby, Malton and Fountains, were no doubt aided in their economic activities by the possession of property in York.⁵ A considerable number were aided by grants of free passage;

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1. Platt, Monastic Grange, p. 13.
 2. The fair at Nostell was held on the feast of St Oswald and the two preceding days, and that of Woodkirk on the feast of the Assumption and Nativity of the Blessed Virgin and the two days before; Regesta III, nos. 621-22. Bolton's fair was held for three days around the feast of the translation of St Cuthbert, i.e. 4 September, E.Y.C. VII, no. 20.
 3. E.Y.C. IV, no. 8.
 4. E.Y.C. X, no. 95.
 5. Bolton priory held property in Blake Street, Nostell in Aldwark, Malton in Skeldergate. The abbey of Whitby held messuages in Walmgate, Blake Street and Skeldergate, Fountains in Coney Street and St Mary's throughout the city (see above pp. 40-41).

the canons of Drax, for instance, had a ferry over the Don, the monks of Meaux, a ferry across the Humber at Wawne, and the canons of Guisborough passage at Hessle;¹ from Roger de Clere the monks of St Mary's, York, acquired 'liberam viam et congruam quadrigis et summagiis communere' from the ford on the road from Appleton to Sinnington.² To Fountains William son of Helto Mauleverer confirmed the foundation of two bridges over Skirfare and the Wharfe, and a road thirty feet wide joining them.³

The transportation of goods and their sale in markets and fairs was, in a sense, a new departure in the economy of the monastic orders. It marked the end of an era of self-sufficiency (if such ever existed) and the beginning of a wider, out-going economy. Yet it was not directly in contravention of any monastic statute. St Benedict recognised that commerce would take place; and the Cistercian statutes of 1134 ordered that all transactions were to be conducted by 'conversi'.⁴

The fifty years between 1151 (the date of the last Cistercian foundation) and 1200 saw considerable developments in the economic activities of all the religious orders in Yorkshire. From small beginnings they acquired vast lands, by gifts, sales, purchases, and exchanges. These lands were put to varied uses; some provided arable, some pasture, some were leased to bring in money. By 1200 the great expansion of the monasteries was at an end. Many houses had reached that pre-eminence which made them the noted landlords, farmers and business men of later centuries. Although the variety of evidence of the twelfth century cannot compare with later centuries, the period 1066-1200 was of crucial importance, since it was the era which determined the future of economic development of the monastic houses. Never again were the monasteries to achieve that popularity which took the form of considerable landed endowments and which made them among the foremost economic agents in the North of England.⁵

1. E.Y.C. I nos. 490, 40 (and Chron. Melsa. I p. 93) and 764.

2. E.Y.C. I no. 594.

3. ibid. VII, no. 86.

4. R.S.B., p. 129; Canivez, Statuta, p. 14.

5. These economic developments obviously brought their critics: see Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 355-56, 662-78. There is little evidence for such criticism from Yorkshire contemporaries, except scattered/

Some Effects of Monastic Expansion.

This pre-eminence, however, was not achieved without some problems. The 'road to success' was often far from smooth. Even though Yorkshire was one area of England in which expansion was possible, the rapid growth of monastic estates almost inevitably led to conflict. There were two potential problems. One lay in the difficulty of maintaining title to land in the face of lay opposition (usually either an heir or a tenant of the donor), the other in establishing the seigneurial rights of the various religious orders.

There is a considerable body of evidence for the former type of dispute. Often details are lost; Torphin son of Robert, for instance, merely quitclaimed to Easby Abbey the mill in Easby 'unde inter nos querela fuerat.'¹ A charter of William de Marton to Sallay Abbey granted the monks a road to Staincross, about which they had quarrelled.² Sometimes, however, it is clear that the problem arose from a lack of definite boundaries in the original grant. Following a grant to Rievaulx of common land belonging to the villas of Welburn, Houeton and Bowforth, the monks became embroiled in a dispute with Alan de Ryedale, who 'dicebat predictam moram et exitum .. quem in illa frussaverat sui juris esse et ad dominium suum pertinere seque duelli certamine fidem dictis facturum.' Gathering together his knights and villagers, Roger de Mowbray decided the case in favour of the monks.³ In the period 1160-65 Thomas son of Paulinus, canon of York, surrendered his claim to land in Welburn 'quia homines mei michi falso suggesserant quod pertinerent ad terram meam de Nagelt(ona) et de Wimbelt(ona),' and, he added, 'quoniam nolui predictos monachis injuste vexare.'⁴

note 5 cont...

indications of discontent. See above pp. 205-6 for a case from Kirkstall, and the following section of this chapter for some instances of lay opposition to monastic expansion.

1. E.Y.C. V, no. 150.
2. Cart. Sallay I, no. 65.
3. Cart. Riev. no. 153. Also printed in E.Y.C. IX, no. 157.
4. E.Y.C. I, no. 164.

The White Monks in particular became involved in this type of dispute, and often appear to have won their case. Osbert, son of Copsi disputed the possession of land in Kilnsey with Fountains Abbey.¹ A charter of Ralph son of Ribald (dated c1154) granted land to Fountains in Aldburgh 'pro qua inter nos contentio fuit aliquando.² One claim was evidently lost by the monks of Byland; at the termination of a controversy (c1150-53) they quitclaimed land in Cold Kirby to Richard Cruer, but were granted by him corn from the disputed land and one hundred acres near Old Byland.³ A few years later the monks had run into trouble with the Stuteville family (who claimed all Byland's land around Coxwold) and with Robert de Daiville (who 'labores monachorum multum impedivit et protestando dixit quod monachi includebant magnam partem de solo quod pertinebat ad villam suam de Kilburne'). Similar injuries are alleged to have been perpetrated by Hugh Malebisse and Odo de Boltby.⁴

Often, then, contention would occur when a layman disputed a grant or boundaries of a grant of land. This was evidently the case at Hillum and Fryston, a source of conflict between the monks of Selby and Hervey de Campeaux and his son Robert. In retribution for encroachment on the lands of the monks, Hervey and Robert had been cursed by bell, book and candle. A charter of their lord, Henry de Lacy, requested, in return for a confirmation of the land in question 'ut anima Hervei de Capell' quae vinculo anathematis erat innodata ... sit imperpetuum absoluta, et anima Rodberti de Capell' qui illam terram reddit et quietam clamavit ...

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1. Osbert quitclaimed the land and was compensated by the gift of a horse, his father receiving eight marks: ibid. I, no. 123.
 2. E.Y.C. V, no. 367. To the same Alan son of Richard de Stainley forfeited his right to land in Cayton 'de qua aliquando calumpniam eis movebamus': ibid. I, no. 506.
 3. E.Y.C. X, no. 76.
 4. Mon. Ang. V, pp.351-2. The monks of Kirkstall were forced to go to law to establish their claim to lands in Chapel Allerton, Bessacar, Bishopthorpe and Riddlesden: Kirkstall Coucher, no. 136; E.Y.C. II, no. 820; III, no. 1859; VII, no. 164. Roche Abbey became involved in a dispute over common pasture in Armthorpe (E.Y.C. I, no. 499) and Meaux over Beal and Akenbergh, which had previously been granted to Merton Priory. They were forced to take their case to Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury (Chron. Melsa, I, pp. 103-4).

sit in communione elemosinarii in eadem ecclesia faciendarum..!¹ Similar encroachments of land took place on the estate of Whitby. In the mid-twelfth century John Arundel granted the abbey two shillings per annum in compensation for land he had unjustly enclosed with a ditch.²

Contention would also arise, however, between a patron or benefactor of a monastery, or with his heirs, where an attempt was made to revoke an earlier grant. Adam de Brus II, for instance, admitted the illegality of a grant which he had extorted from his canons of Guisborough, and offered suitable compensation.³ At Nostell a controversy arose with the patron Henry de Lacy about land on which the actual monastery was built.⁴ On his departure for the Holy Land in 1177 Henry, we are told 'omnes sue temeritatis lites et contentiones in perpetuos usus regularium canonicorum, concessa et confirmata dicta dimedia carrucata terre pro se et heredibus suis inperpetuum remisit et relaxavit.' Meaux Abbey seemed to have suffered most of all, since several of the heirs of benefactors later withdrew the donations.⁵

It is obvious that the monastic expansion could not have taken place without some controversy. Those who gave lands were favourably disposed towards the monks, but there was no a priori reason why heirs, tenants and neighbours should be the same. Apart from general complaints about the economic activities of the monks (greed, land-hunger and depopulation)⁶ there were particular grievances. On the whole these seem to have been settled, if not amicably, efficiently, though not without great expense to the monks. Once the expansion had taken place, however, further problems arose, and one of these became manifest in a number of agreements made between religious houses.

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1. Selby Coucher, I, no. 510. Hervey held land of Ilbert de Lacy in 1086. As Farrer indicates, this suggests that the dispute was of long standing. (E.Y.C. III, pp. 228-9).
 2. Cart. Whitby I, no. 101.
 3. E.Y.C. II, no. 660.
 4. Nostell Priory MS C/A/1, fo. 89.
 5. See above pp. 234-36.
 6. e.g. by Walter Map and Gerald of Wales. See Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 662-78 on 'The Critics of the Monks'.

Once a monastery acquired land in a certain area the monks could become anxious that no other house should acquire land there. This desire to prevent conflict lay behind, for instance, the general agreement of 1164 between the orders of Cîteaux and Sempringham, which specified that no grange was to be constructed within two leagues of the grange or sheepfold of the other order. Provision was made for the settlement of quarrels. Houses of neither order were, for instance, to attract, or receive the servants of the other. There are more particular examples of this problem. When Roger de Mowbray granted land in North Cave to Byland Abbey he promised 'nec ego nec heredes mei recipiemus homines ordinis vel religionis alterius infra predictam villam vel territoriam ad gravamen monachorum'.¹

The problem of overlapping became even more acute when monasteries were situated in close proximity to one another (such as Byland and Rievaulx) or when they had the same patron, and thus acquired lands in the same vills (such as Newburgh and Byland). A number of agreements are extant between Rievaulx and Byland. One of the earliest documents dates from the period 1142-45 while the monks were resident at Old Byland. They demised to Rievaulx 'ut facient fossatum per terram nostram ad pedem Montis Escheberch, sicut eis expedire cognoverint, et ut habeant in suos usus terram quam ex eorum parte fossato includunt ...'²

The second document, ratified in 1170, but drawn up by Abbot Roger of Byland (1142-96) and Ailred of Rievaulx (1147-67) is more complex.³

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1. E.Y.C. III no. 1827. A similar promise is contained in a charter of Robert de Sproxton to Rievaulx: Cart. Riev. nos. 127-28.
 2. Cart. Riev. no. 244.
 3. B.L. Cotton MS Julius D I fos. 147v-151. Printed, with errors and omission, Cart. Riev. no. 243. In particular in lines 35-6 of the printed edition read 'stagna' for 'stagnum'; line 46, insert (after 'Grisethorpe') 'Ledr', Kutun, Gaiton, Ansgothebi, Scardeburgh and for 'Hwallisgrava' read 'Hwallegrava'; line 66, read 'nusquam' for 'numquam'; line 113, read 'exciditur' for 'acciderit'.

The agreement was concerned with the definition of boundaries and rights; we learn from it that the particular quarrels had been caused by Byland's claim to land in Welburn (where Rievaulx had a 'monopoly' of land acquisition) and 'Oswaldengas', to a ditch which they had made in Stainton, to minerals in Flockton and Stainton, and their complaint about a 'pons laqueatus' constructed by Rievaulx.¹ For their part the monks of Rievaulx claimed common pasture land in Morton.

In order to meet these problems the agreement carefully determined the boundaries between the lands of the two houses, transgression of which was to be punished. The monks of Byland conceded to Rievaulx their bridge across the Rye and a roadway across the fields belonging to Byland. To Byland the monks of Rievaulx conceded their (i.e. Byland's) houses in Deepdale and permission for land to be acquired in various places. Pasture rights in, and boundaries between, certain granges were defined. Lastly, confirming Rievaulx's forges at Sitlington and Byland's at Emley, it was agreed that the former house should take minerals from Flockton and the 'two Sitlingtons' of the fees of Adam son of Peter and Mathew son of Saxe; Byland was to take the minerals from Emley, 'Brectuna' (probably West Bretton), Sitlington (of the fee of Philip?), Denby, Briestfield and Thornhill.²

This agreement appears to have been successful, as no more disputes are recorded between the two houses.³ The problems arose as a

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1. The precise meaning of this phrase is unknown. The editor of the Cart. Riev. (p.177) suggests 'a water heck', i.e. 'A grating or frame of parallel bars in a river to obstruct the passage of fish, or other solid bodies, without obstructing the flow of the water' (O.E.D.)
 2. 'Brectuna' is a documented form of W. Bretton, E.P.N.S. West Riding, II, p.99. There were four places known as Sitlington or Shitlington: Sitlington itself, Middle, Nether and Over Sitlington. The last three are now known respectively as Middlestown, Netherton and Overton (pp. 205-6). The place in which Byland had mineral rights is referred to as 'Sitlintuna Philippi'. Briestfield was formerly known as Briestwistie ('Brerethuisi' in text) (p. 211).
 3. See P.U.E. I no.132 for controversies between Rievaulx and the canons of Malton and Kirkham over pasture rights, a case which was taken to the papal curia.

result of the proximity of the two houses of Rievaulx and Old Byland. The latter was vacated in 1147 and a new abbey established at Stocking. Here, however, the monks of Byland came into opposition with the canons of Newburgh.¹ This problem was exacerbated by the fact that both houses had the same patron, Roger de Mowbray. The sources of one particular dispute (in 1154-57) were Hood and Little Wildon, one carucate in Thirsk, land to the south of Whitaker between Deepdale and Oxendale and the grange which the canons had built above 'Wleshou' (all claimed by the monks).² The grange was confirmed to the canons, but the rights of the monks in the neighbourhood were preserved. From this document we learn, too, that Newburgh had claimed tithes on several tracts of land owned by Byland.³ These claims were settled to the satisfaction of both parties. Finally penalties were laid down for encroachment: 'si quis fratrum ex parte monachorum infra divisas canonicorum aliquid usurpaverit, rem usurpatam reportabit, et unam disciplinam in capitulo accipiet, et unum diem in pane et aqua reinuabit, (sic) et si conductivus hoc fecerit quatuor nummos de mercede sua amittet'.

The latter agreement and the arrangements reached by Byland and Rievaulx illustrate that hard work was often needed before a monastery could gain full control of their lands and begin to exploit them efficiently. Not only had they to combat lay opposition to their growing wealth, but, as estates grew larger the rights of various religious houses had to be carefully defined. Thus an element of business crept in to monastic economic affairs, a feature which could be misconstrued as greed. It was in this way that critics such as Walter Map and Gerald of Wales saw the

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1. The site of New Byland (1177) is only about two miles from Newburgh.
 2. B.L. Egerton MS 2823 fo. 81-81v. See below appendix III for a transcription of the agreement and reasons for dating it to 1154-57. The charter begins: 'Hec est conventio inter monachos Bellalandes et canonicos Neuburgenses qua remissunt calumpniis et querelis actenus inter utramque ecclesiam habitis'.
 3. Specifically Cam, the assarts formerly belonging to Acca and William, land north of Whitaker and 'Grasclint'.

activities of the White Monks in particular. The great popularity of all the religious orders, their accumulation of estates, their haste to safeguard their rights and lands all led to a suspicion that somehow the monastic ideal was beginning to degenerate, and the monks becoming anxious to amass wealth.

It is perhaps a truism to say that the term 'wealth' is really incompatible with the whole concept of monasticism. Not only were individual monks sworn to poverty, but collectively they were the 'pauperes Christi', the poor of Christ. It was only when the monasteries became too large to be self-sufficient that the need for 'wealth' arose. The 'success' of a monastic economy depended not on the ability to 'show a profit', so much as to provide for the sustenance of its inmates.

Nevertheless at some point one must ask, and attempt to answer the question 'how wealthy were the monastic houses of twelfth-century Yorkshire?' The short answer is that it is impossible to tell. There are no account rolls of the period, no 'balance sheets' such as those that survive from thirteenth-century Malton Priory.¹ Certainly there was no attempt to give a systematic valuation of the monastic houses until 1291 (the taxation of Nicholas IV) and 1535 (the 'Valor Ecclesiasticus'). For the twelfth century we have only a glimpse of the comparative values of certain Cistercian houses in the Danegeld assessment of 1161-2.²

Otherwise we are dependent for an overall impression of the wealth or poverty of individual houses on chance references in charters and chronicles. From such sources we cannot obviously even approach a

1. See R. Graham 'The Finance of Malton Priory 1244-1257, 'English Ecclesiastical Studies (London, 1929), pp. 247-270.

2. P.R. 8 Henry II, p.52. Rievaulx was assessed at one mark; Byland at 12s 8d; Fountains, 9s 10d; Meaux, 9s 8d; Jervaulx, 7s 5d; Sallay, 6s 9d; Kirkstall, 6s 8d. Premonstratensian Easby was assessed at 5s.

comparative evaluation of the wealth of the monasteries: it is even difficult to detect how far certain houses were able (or failed) to 'keep their heads above water'. To outward appearances many monasteries should have been wealthy, for they controlled many lands. The expansion in monastic estates was at its height in the twelfth century; donations flooded into the religious houses, and estates were reorganized in order to facilitate their exploitation. Against this picture of growth, however, has to be set considerable expenditure.

First of all - a rather obvious point, many of the monasteries were extremely large. Rievaulx Abbey, for instance, may have controlled considerable estates, but (even allowing for exaggeration on Walter Daniel's part) under Abbot Ailred it had a large staff to feed and clothe. And, of course, the monks and lay brethren had to be housed. The cost of the magnificent monastic buildings, which appear to have begun to spring up within a short period of time after the foundation of certain houses, may have been a vast drain on monastic resources in this early period.¹ Vestments, sacred vessels and books had also to be provided, and in addition many lands were bought by monasteries or held in return for a yearly rent.

There are more specific indications of the wealth or poverty of individual houses. It is possible that the ability to take on payment of yearly rents, or to buy lands, was an indication of wealth. Certainly if the monks of Fountains did (as the charters imply) pay over £500 to the Mowbray family alone within a few years, the obvious suggestion was that the house was considerably wealthy.² Rievaulx Abbey also purchased a considerable number of their 'donations'.

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1. See below, pp. 501-14; The ambitious building programme itself may suggest, however, that the monasteries had amassed considerable capital.
 2. Unless, of course, the monks were indulging in the habit (common in the later middle ages) of using future wool yield as a security for future payment: C.V. Graves, 'The economic activities of the Cistercians in Medieval England', *A.S.O.C.* 13 (1957), pp. 3-60. For details of Mowbray's financial dealings with monasteries, see above, pp. 339, 341

As the basis of the monastic economy was farming, it is not surprising to find the occasional account of poverty and debt caused by natural disasters. The Kirkstall Chronicler spoke of a serious mortality among the herds and flocks of the monastery.¹ The mill of Cottingham, which belonged to the monks of Meaux burnt down, apparently causing the monks to lose one hundred sacks of grain.² To such burdens were added the expense of lawsuits. Meaux fought several cases in the king's court, and the monks of Rievaulx and Fountains continually sent to Rome for papal justice.³ Elsewhere there is evidence of mismanagement by various abbots; Abbot Herbert of Selby, Ralph of Kirkstall,⁴ and Philip of Meaux, who apparently caused consternation among the brethren by contracting a considerable debt to the Jews.⁵

The debts which Philip and other heads of houses took on cannot be used as an indication that the monasteries in question were poor. In the case of Meaux the debt was that of William Fossard, and its transfer to the abbey allowed the monks to take over estates which Fossard had pledged as security. This kind of financial dealing, which allowed the monks to increase their land holdings fairly cheaply, was undoubtedly behind the large 'debt' owed by the Cistercians of Kirkstall, Rievaulx and Roche to Aaron of Lincoln.⁶ On other occasions debts might be contracted

1. Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall, p.182.

2. Chron. Melsa, I, p.233.

3. See above, pp.355-57.

4. Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall, p.182: 'Created Abbot he began to do many things according to his ability, with a good will indeed, but considering too little the narrowness of their possessions and that small means cannot be stretched very far'.

5. Chron. Melsa, I, pp. 173-78.

6. These abbeys, together with six other Cistercian houses, owed 6,400 marks to Aaron. This sum was commuted to a cash payment of 1000 marks by Richard I: R.B. Dobson, The Jews of Medieval York, p.17; H.G. Richardson, The English Jewry under Angevin Kings (London, 1960), pp. 90-91. The Jews were apparently happy to see debts transferred to religious houses; when Meaux agreed to take over Fossard's debt, Aaron relieved the house of payment of the first five hundred marks.

because the monks of a certain house needed capital for schemes such as building. The monks of Roche found themselves in debt to the usurer William Cade in the 1160s for the security of 22 pounds of wool and 2,200 fleeces. This transaction may have been connected with the monks' purchase of a new grange at that time.¹

It is impossible, therefore, to estimate which were the wealthiest monasteries in twelfth century Yorkshire, but the figures in the 'Taxatio' and the 'Valor', although so much later, may be of some use. They do give us a comparative picture of the values of the monasteries in the late thirteenth and early sixteenth-century, and, given that by 1200 the great period of monastic expansion was over, they may be representative of the comparative values in 1200.² In both these surveys St Mary's, York, Selby, Fountains and Guisborough appear high on the list. The poorest houses are (and probably always were) the nunneries.

The twelfth century was a period of progress in the monastic economy. It had not, by 1200, reached the sophisticated level it was to attain later in the sphere of commerce, but it was in the twelfth century that the foundations for this achievement were laid. It was an achievement that had profound effects, not only on the monasteries, but also on the character and development of the Yorkshire countryside.

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1. H. Jenkinson, 'William Cade, a Financier of the Twelfth Century', E.H.R. 28 (1913), pp. 209-227, especially p.221.
 2. This observation is naturally subject to the most stringent qualifications: it does not, for instance, allow for the unequal growth in later centuries, nor for periods of prosperity and poverty. However (except in the case of Rievaulx, which, surprisingly, shows a lower value than one would expect in the 'Valor'), it is unlikely that a house which was the wealthiest in 1291 and 1535 was not among the more wealthy by 1200. However, for the limitations of the Taxatio as a source, see R. Graham, 'The Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV', English Ecclesiastical Studies (London, 1929), pp. 271-301: 'It is clearly misleading to represent the assessment of the temporalities of a religious house as its income, either gross or net, from that source' (p. 294). It must therefore be stressed that the source is only being used here to suggest a comparative value.

The twelfth century was, of course, a period of immense intellectual and literary ferment, and after the reintroduction of monasticism into the North of England, the northern houses began to take their places as centres of literary production. The last four chapters have dealt with the external relationships of the monasteries; the purpose of the present chapter is to discuss some aspects of one feature of the internal activities of the religious houses, their literary activities. This is, or could be, a task of immense scope; the approach which has been taken is therefore to begin with a discussion of the type of literature which has survived from the Yorkshire monasteries from the period 1069-1200, and this has been divided into four categories: i) monastic chronicles and foundation histories; ii) works of a more general historical nature; iii) biography and hagiography and iv) theological and devotional writings.

It must be emphasized that it is not the aim of this chapter to discuss various literary aspects of these texts; it is rather to deal with the literature primarily as historical evidence. Attention will therefore be drawn to the evidence for the patronage of these works, to their sources and nature, to the contents of monastic libraries and to the evidence for the transmission of manuscripts. Finally a brief discussion will be devoted to the place of the Yorkshire writings in the monastic literature of England as a whole, and to the problems of using literature as historical evidence for the nature of monasticism in the period under review.

It need hardly be said that the production of books within a monastery was necessary in houses of any order, however small. Psalters and service books, for example, were in continual use, and the emphasis laid on both reading aloud at meal times and on education rendered necessary extensive copying of texts.¹ In the area of writing, rather than copying

1. The Cistercians, unlike the Benedictines, did not receive child oblates for education, but they did lay emphasis on the education of adult novices.

texts, it has often been pointed out that members of the 'old' monastic orders, the Benedictines and Cluniacs, were sympathetic towards literary activities, and that among the reformed orders the Cistercians were opposed to such activities in the cloister, which they felt obscured the true monastic vocation; in the statutes of Cîteaux, therefore, emphasis was laid on manual labour, and literary activity curtailed by the provision that books were only to be written in Cistercian houses after the express approval of the General Chapter had been obtained.¹

As Professor Knowles indicated, however, the entry of a man of the literary ability of St Bernard into the order, altered the Cistercian aim in this particular field.² Bernard not only wrote prolifically but encouraged others to do so as well; he was, for instance, the man who persuaded Ailred of Rievaulx to write the 'Speculum Caritatis'.³ In fact the literary activities of the latter, the 'Bernard of the North' and the fortunate survival of most of his writings means that, somewhat ironically, more writings of Cistercian origin survive from twelfth-century Yorkshire than from any other order.

i. Monastic Histories.

As Professor Knowles indicated the compilation of chronicles in English monastic houses became particularly popular after c1170, and by c1200 almost every monastery of size had written such a chronicle. Professor Knowles further distinguished between 'mere annals' (such as those of Burton, Tewkesbury, Worcester and Winchester); chronicles proper 'in other words, literary productions' (such as the principal Battle Chronicle)

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1. Canivez, Statuta, I, p.26.
 2. Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 643.
 3. see below, p. 479.

and a third group of histories 'no longer mere annals, or the official or corporate account of controversies, but the story of the years of a monastery's life as seen through the eyes of a private individual'.¹

The surviving evidence suggests that the monastic houses of twelfth-century Yorkshire produced no works of the first type, i.e. annals kept year by year over a long period. If they did, these have been lost without trace. All surviving works relate primarily to the foundation of the house, and in only two cases, Selby and Kirkstall, does the work deal at any length with the years which followed the foundation.² The earliest of these histories is the 'Historia Foundationis' of St Mary's Abbey, York, written by the first abbot, Stephen.³ Its date of composition is uncertain, but Stephen died c1112.⁴ No further work of this nature is recorded for another fifty or sixty years; the next compilation was the 'Historia Selebiensis Monasterii' written by a monk of Selby in 1174. In the last years of the century three Cistercian histories were produced, those of Byland, Jervaulx and Kirkstall. Only the author of the first can be positively identified. He was Philip, third abbot of Byland and his history was written in 1197. Philip may also have been the author of the Jervaulx history which was definitely written at Byland.⁵ The author of the Kirkstall chronicle may have been Hugh the monk of Kirkstall, famous

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1. Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 506-7; see also A. Gransden, Historical Writing in England c550-c1307 (London, 1974), pp. 269-95.
 2. The Selby history covers the period 1069-1174; the Kirkstall chronicle, in its initial stages, covered the period 1147-1203. (It has a fourteenth-century continuation). It is included in the present survey, for although its date of composition is uncertain, some of it may have been written in the twelfth century.
 3. As indicated in an earlier chapter I am using the unpublished twelfth-century manuscript of the history of St Mary's (B.L. Additional MS 38, 816, fos. 29v-34v) rather than the printed version (Mon. Ang. III pp. 544-46) since the latter is a corrupt thirteenth-century copy. See above, pp. 21-22.
 4. Heads of Religious Houses, p.84.
 5. See below, p.467. Philip was previously abbot of Lannoy (dioc. Beauvais); Heads of Religious Houses, p. 129.

for his later work, the 'Narratio de Fundatione' of Fountains Abbey.¹

Before turning to discuss the aims, style and sources of these works a few technical problems concerning the texts should be mentioned. These are mostly concerned with the date of the surviving manuscripts. The 'Historia Fundationis' of St Mary's survives in a twelfth-century manuscript, written some time after 1155.² It may well have been copied, therefore, within fifty years of the death of its author and since the manuscript contains (written in the same hand) copies of royal charters in favour of St Mary's, we may assume that it was copied there. It may accordingly preserve a reliable copy of the original.³

The histories of Selby, Byland, Jervaulx, and Kirkstall, on the other hand, present problems, since all the manuscripts are of a much later date. The printed text of the Selby history, for instance, was edited from a transcript of the original which then disappeared for many centuries until its recent rediscovery.⁴ The Byland and Jervaulx narratives exist only in seventeenth-century transcripts taken from the original, but their accuracy cannot be proved, since the originals have since perished.⁵ The Kirkstall chronicle exists only in a fifteenth-century manuscript, and the work of Dr Baker on the Fountains manuscripts has shown how an original could be altered and interpolations made. The late date of the majority of these histories makes any conclusion tentative for these reasons.

The first aspect of these works to be examined is the aim of their authors. We can safely say that all have one basic, common objective, that of edification. All the authors were concerned to record, in writing, for the benefit of future generations of monks, the early history of their monastery, and in particular the tribulations of the founder fathers.

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1. Written in the thirteenth century; for bibliography pertaining to the 'Narratio', see above, pp.157-58.
 2. The latest document in the collection is that of Henry II, dated 1155; see above, pp.21-22.
 3. Although, of course, its twelfth-century date does not preclude the possibility of interpolation, although this seems unlikely; see above pp. 24-28.
 4. See above, pp.1-2.
 5. See above, pp.172-74, 192-93.

Stephen of St Mary's explains: 'Ego .. abbas constitutus, qualiter ad hunc gradum perveneram, vel qualiter ecclesia Sanctae Marie Eboracensis .. fundata sit, ad posterorum memoriam litteris mandare curavi, ut sciant presentes et futuri posterum nostri, qui vel quales hujus nostre ecclesie fundatores vel quantas invidiorum turbinibus impulsa sustinuerunt perturbationes.'¹

Stephen's testimony is the major source for the early troubles of St Mary's, and suggests that the early history of the house was more troubled than many. Stephen follows his stated intention firmly. A future monk of St Mary's would be clearly aware of the circumstances of the foundation of his house (the 'Northern Revival' under Reinfrid and his companions, the foundation of Whitby and the secession to York). He would also understand to whom his ancestors owed a debt of gratitude, namely William I, William II, and the Earl of Richmond, and who were the 'villeins of the piece', William de Percy, and to a lesser extent, Archbishop Thomas of York.

An echo of Stephen's intentions is found in the later 'Historia Selebiensis Monasterii'. After stressing his own unwillingness and unsuitability to perform the task which has been set before him, the anonymous monk of Selby proceeds to outline his aims: 'Qualiterque Ecclesia Selebiensis fundata sit, quae causa, quis modus foundationis extitit, qui et fundatores fuerint... litteris insinuare curabo'.² There is little emphasis, as in the St Mary's history, on disputes directly concerned with the abbey (although some attention is given to the effects of the 'Anarchy' of 1135-54). Rather the author tells a straightforward (if at times puzzling) tale, interspersed with miracles and tales of intervention in human affairs on the part of St Germanus. Thus we can see in the work a secondary, didactic aim. As the author explains 'sicut dicit Gregorius, fiunt exteriora miracula ut mentes hominum ad interiora perducantur, quatinus per hoc, quod mirum visibiliter ostenditur, ea quae mirabilia sunt invisibilia credantur'.³

1. B.L. Additional MS 38,816, fo. 29v.

2. Selby Coucher, p. (1). All we know of the Selby author is what he tells us (p.2) i.e. that he was twenty-two years of age when he completed the work.

3. Selby Coucher, pp. (34) - (35).

Twenty two years after the Selby historian completed his task Philip succeeded the aged Roger as abbot of Byland, and began to plan a history of that house. The aims he puts forward are 'conventional' though more elaborately expressed: 'Humana memoria .. in tantum obfuscatum et obnubilatur, quod quicquid in hac vita temporali agitur vel contingit, nisi literis expresse commendatur, brevi processu temporis acsi nunquam fuisset vitio oblivionis dominante totaliter elabatur et evanescit: ideo oportu- fore duximus successoribus nostris brevi scriptura innotescere causam formam et modum sive processum foundationis domus nostrae ...'¹ As Philip indicates he is more concerned with the foundation of his house than its later history. He provides no details of events after c1155, beyond noting the move to New Byland in 1177. The early tribulations of the Calder monks are vividly described. 'But Philip's work has two principal themes which were not edificatory in intention: one was the abbey's debt and close connection with its lay patrons; the other was its relations with the abbey of Calder.'² The 'Historia' of Byland has therefore a secondary purpose; to record, in writing, once and for all, the independence of the monks of Byland from Calder and Furness.

The 'Historia Foundationis' of Jervaulx has a similar theme, the dependence of that house on Byland Abbey. It was indicated in an earlier chapter that the Savigniac abbey of Jervaulx had a far from orthodox origin.³ Indeed its foundation generated heated controversy, and for five years its very existence was in the balance. Although the status was secure from 1150 (it was a daughter house of Byland) the abbot of Byland might well have considered it worthwhile to have the early history of Jervaulx noted down and its constitutional status clarified. Unlike the authors of the histories of St Mary's, Selby and Byland, neither the Jervaulx nor the Kirkstall historians formally express any aim or intention in the text. The character of their compilations, however, make it clear that their aims were

1. Mon. Ang. V, p.349.

2. A. Gransden, Historical Writing p.290.

3. See above pp.191-203.

identical to the explicit intentions of the others.

The purpose of these works was, then, basically edification. They were written for the monks themselves. But it is possible that the initiative, the suggestion that the works be begun, came from a source other than the author. One author, of course, may have been influenced by the example of another (the Selby historian by Abbot Stephen, for example). Dr Gransden has suggested the possibility that 'Philip was stimulated to write history by the example of Ailred, who took an active interest in the affairs of Byland Abbey. And he could have been influenced by his contemporary, the chronicler William of Newburgh, for Byland had close connections with Newburgh priory.'¹ In one text, the 'Historia Selebiensis Monasterii' there is an explicit reference to a patron who commissioned its composition. This man, to whom the preface is addressed is unfortunately not named. He was evidently well-known to the author, who refers to him as 'virorum mihi Carissime' and 'amicus'.² The author, was, on his own admission, unwilling to undertake the writing, though this reluctance may have been a literary device.³ His patron, having entreated his co-operation and having been refused, sought the aid of the prior of Selby: 'tua sagacitas' (the author is addressing his patron) 'quod amica simplicitate non valuit impetrare per se, astuta calliditate pene violenter extorsit per alium; quippe dum tuis precibus illius domni scilicet Prioris imperia sociasti, cujus iussionibus obuiare nec patitur ratio, nec sinit institutio regularis'⁴ The Selby monk began his work, and was persuaded by his patron to extend the scope of the work (originally 1069-c1122) to cover the period up to 1174.⁵ We have no indication as to the possible identity of this patron. He was evidently not a member of the monastery of Selby, or at least not a high-ranking member, since it was necessary for him to seek the aid of the prior.

1. A. Gransden Historical Writing, p.290

2. Selby Coucher, p.(1).

3. For another example see Walter Daniel in the preface to his life of Ailred; Vita Ailredi, p.1.

4. Selby Coucher, p. (1).

5. ibid. p. (28). 'Superioris exaratione voluminis iam ex utraque parte scheda decursa praesentis opusculi proposueram finire laborem, quod me facere dum non permittitis'.

Despite the similarity in the purposes of all these works there was considerable difference in their source material and style. Stephen of St Mary's does not tell us whence he derived his information. Much of it, however, must have consisted of his own personal experiences and those of his contemporaries. He may also have used the early charters of the abbey; reference is made to these, but nowhere are they reproduced in the text.¹ The Selby author tells us that he intended to write his history 'sicut ex ipsius Domni Prioris caeterorumque seniore relatione inuestigare potuero', and he undoubtedly used the abbey's archives for information about the various benefactions which he records.² It is possible that some earlier record of Benedict's activities existed, though no reference is made to any. Details preserved about the early history, however, suggest that this might have been the case. The 'Historia' was compiled over one hundred years after the foundation, and this is a long time to preserve in oral tradition details such as the name of Edward of Salisbury who is recorded as having helped Benedict before he arrived at Selby.

Abbot Philip of Byland specifically named his source. He wrote 'prout ab antiquioribus frequenter audivimus qui a piae recordationis viro domino Rogero praedecessore nostro et pluribus aliis qui de Caldera venerunt, sufficienter fuerunt instructi'.³ The 'Historia' is not, however, merely a dictated account. Abbot Philip used the abbey's archives for details about endowments of land, and the settlement of the dispute between Byland and Calder.⁴ The authors of the Jervaulx and Kirkstall histories also used documentary evidence as well as relying on the recollections of the elders of the house.⁵

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1. e.g. B.L. Additional MS 38,816 fo. 33. '.. terras etiam quas hic inserere non est necessarium .. tradidit' (i.e. William II). It is likely that Stephen had the charter of William II before him.
 2. Selby Coucher, p. (1).
 3. Mon. Ang. V. p.349.
 4. ibid. V, pp. 352-3. It is possible that Philip also used a source such as Ailred of Rievaulx's 'Relatio de Standardo' for information about the Scottish invasions. see above p.173 n.2.
 5. Serlo, the aged monk of Kirkstall, from whom Hugh gained information about the early history of Fountains, would have been at Kirkstall at the time of the compilation of the Kirkstall chronicle, and would have been, one would think, an obvious source.

There is considerable variation in the style of the various narratives. Abbot Stephen's history is very short and concise. After explaining his purpose in writing, Stephen guides his reader through the various stages of the history of his abbey, indicating the major landmarks. Stephen's somewhat terse style is expanded by the Selby history, which is by far the most unusual of the group. The author writes in good and fluent latin; he has a good sense of rhetoric¹ and a considerable amount of eloquence. His denial of his own ability ('obedire rogatibus aetas immatura me vetuit, paruitas imperita prohibuit, ignorantia tenebrosa retraxit')² is contradicted by his obvious literary skill. The Selby history is a much longer piece of work than its counterparts; it is full of apt biblical and classical allusions³ and verses of rhyming hexameters are introduced as epitaphs for Abbots Hugh, Walter and Germanus.⁴ As mentioned above, the author digresses on several occasions to mention miracles performed at the abbey by St Germanus.⁵

It was mentioned earlier that Abbot Philip of Byland may have been the author of the 'Historia Foundationis' of Jervaulx Abbey. There is no doubt that the latter was written at Byland; Roger is called 'abbas noster' and Byland, 'domus nostra'. No sources are named in the Jervaulx history, but the format of both histories - text interspersed with charters, is precisely the same.⁶ This may indicate that Philip wrote both texts; in any case the two pieces of work are clearly closely related. The Kirkstall

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1. e.g. 'Sunt enim quamplurimi .. qui non quod, sed quis dicas, attendunt: qui peruersam metonymiam facientes non personam ex dictis, sed ex persona volunt approbare ...' : Selby Coucher, p. (28).
 2. ibid. p.1
 3. ibid. pp. 6, 16, 20, 28. The author also alludes to the works of St Augustine (p. 36) and St Gregory (pp. 34, 36).
 4. ibid. pp. 25-6, 32-3, 46.
 5. see above, p. 463.
 6. Mon. Ang. V, pp. 570-71; The similarity between the two texts is not so marked in the printed versions. The edition of the Byland 'Historia' (Mon. Ang. V. pp. 349-53) omits the charters which are included in the manuscript (Oxford Bodleian MS Dodsworth 63 fos. 9-30).

chronicle is a much more straightforward compilation than the author's later work, the 'Narratio de Fundatione' of Fountains Abbey.¹ There is no evidence in the former of the borrowings from the 'Vita Prima' of St Bernard and other sources whose presence has been noted in the latter.² The chronicle is a succinct account of the circumstances of the foundation at Barnoldswick, the move to Kirkstall and the careers of the various abbots of the house.

One can accordingly see that by c.1200 a tradition of writing histories of the foundation of a religious house had emerged in the monasteries of Yorkshire. It was a tradition which was to produce the 'Narratio' of Fountains in the thirteenth century, and the chronicle of Meaux in the fourteenth. It is likely that the history written by Abbot Stephen was a source of inspiration to the Selby author, and possible that these two exemplars were known to the Cistercian writers of the late twelfth century. Common themes begin to emerge: the guidance of monks to a predestined site by God, or by a patron saint;³ the representation of the monks 'like the sons of Ephraim' clearing the rocky ground;⁴ the use of the Martha and Mary contrast to depict an abbot's administrative or mystical qualities.⁵ Although we are able to discern textual borrowings which could well indicate borrowing of manuscripts, the five histories were probably written primarily for the inhabitants of the house whose history they portrayed. There is obviously no proof of this, but the insistence of, for instance, the Byland history, on the disputes of the early history of the abbey, and on its rights and privileges, which are given

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1. Assuming, that is, that Hugh was the author of the Kirkstall chronicle. For the reasons for identifying him as such, see L.G.D. Baker, 'Studies in the 'Narratio de Fundatione' of Fountains Abbey', Oxford B. Litt. Thesis, 1967.
 2. L.G.D. Baker, 'The Genesis of English Cistercian Chronicles: the Foundation of Fountains Abbey I', A.S.O.C. 25 (1969) pp. 14-41.
 3. Mon. Ang. V. p.573; Fundacio .. de Kyrkestall, p.176; Selby Coucher p. (12).
 4. Mon. Ang. V, p.353; Fundacio .. de Kyrkestall, p.179. Such themes were carried into later writings.
 5. Selby Coucher, p.(26); Fundacio .. de Kyrkestall, p.184.

full documentation, suggests that the history was written to clarify the history of the house, and to provide written evidence of their various rights.¹ On the other hand, such histories may have been of interest to, and read by the lay patron of a house; they may even have been aimed at the pilgrim traffic. All five, although they share common themes are nevertheless highly individual representations of a subject which was of obvious interest and importance to a monastic audience.

ii) Historical Writings.

The last twenty years or so of the reign of Henry II witnessed a large-scale production of historical works. It was the period which saw the composition of the works of four major monastic historians: Robert of Torigny, Gervase of Canterbury, Richard of Devizes and the Yorkshire chronicler, William of Newburgh, as well as the works of secular historians such as Ralph de Diceto and the Yorkshireman Roger of Howden.² William of Newburgh probably completed his most famous work, the 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum' in 1198.³ This is undoubtedly the most important historical work produced in Yorkshire at this time, indeed it ranks among the most impressive to be written in England. Before William, literary production in the northern monasteries was dominated by the 'Historia Regum' attributed to the monk Symeon of Durham, and the man who continued his chronicle, John, prior of Hexham.⁴ It is not surprising, therefore that the first Yorkshire writer to produce historical works was a man who had close connections with both Hexham and Durham, Ailred of Rievaulx.⁵

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1. For other instances of this use of monastic histories in the south of England, see Gransden, Historical Writing, pp. 269-86.
 2. On these writers see Gransden, Historical Writing, pp. 219-36. On Roger of Howden, see F. Barlow, 'Roger of Howden', E.H.R. 65 (1950), pp. 352-60; J. Taylor, Medieval Historical Writing in Yorkshire (York, Borthwick Paper 19, 1961), pp. 12-13; D.M. Stenton, 'Roger of Howden and Benedict', E.H.R. 68 (1953), pp. 572-82.
 3. This seems to be the general opinion, as the 'Historia' ends rather abruptly in 1198.
 4. Symeon of Durham, Omnia Opera (R.S. 1882-85).
 5. See 'Vita Ailredi', pp. xxxiv-ix and below, pp. 474-75.

Ailred's first 'historical' work was the 'Genealogia Regum Anglorum'¹. Walter Daniel recorded that 'in that abode (Rievaulx) he wrote many memorable works ... he published a life of David, king of Scotland, in the form of a lamentation, and added to it a genealogy of the king of England, the younger Henry'.² The work was addressed to Henry, duke of Normandy, and was therefore written between May 1153 (the death of King David) and the accession of Henry II in October 1154.³ The lament for David is strongly influenced by biblical tradition, and it is the second part of the work, the genealogy, which is of a historical nature.⁴ Using available chronicles, Ailred traced the descent of the English kings from Aethelwulf, stressing above all, their pious works and devotion to Rome. The work culminated with Prince Henry, Duke of Normandy and recognized heir of King Stephen. It is addressed to Henry as the 'hope of the English'⁵ and reflected Ailred's desire for harmony and peace after the reign of Stephen, a harmony which he hoped would result from the restoration of the old English line in the person of Henry II.

Ailred's close connections with King David may have caused him considerable pain when he wrote the account of the Scottish atrocities committed by his army in the campaign which culminated in the Battle of the Standard in 1138. Ailred had close connections, too, with a chief participant of the battle on the English side, Walter Espec, patron of Rievaulx. From Espec (whom Ailred describes vividly in this work) Ailred must have gleaned first-hand information about the battle. His 'Relatio de Standardo' written between 1155 and 1157, does not give much prominence to the political issues raised by the battle.⁶ Some historical material

1. Pat. Lat. 195 col. 711-738.

2. Vita Ailredi, p.41.

3. ibid. pp. xci-xcii.

4. A. Squire, Aelred of Rievaulx: A Study (London, 1969), pp. 82-89.

5. Pat. Lat. 195, col. 711-38.

6. The only manuscript which has been identified is Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 139.

is included, which may have been derived from Richard of Hexham or Henry of Huntingdon.¹ Ailred concentrates on the religious or spiritual aspects of the battle - the relics and banners under which the English marched to victory -, and diverges into discussion of Espec's religious foundations and the coming of the Cistercians to Yorkshire. Both Espec and King David's son Prince Henry, are spoken of in terms of high regard. This substantiates Dr Gransden's opinion that the 'Relatio' was not commissioned by one of Espec's heirs, but was written by Ailred for the enjoyment of the community of Rievaulx.²

It was a successor of Ailred at Rievaulx who encouraged William of Newburgh to undertake the writing of the 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum'.³ Addressing the preface to 'Reverendo patri ed domino Ernaldo, abbati Rievallis', William explains that Ernald (d. 1199) had requested him to write the history because his own monks could not do so without the consent of the General Chapter.⁴ The introduction to the works covers the period up to 1066, relies heavily on the Ecclesiastical History of Bede, and launches a scathing attack on Geoffrey of Monmouth and his 'fabulae' of Arthur.⁵ The main body of the works covers the period 1066-1198. It relies on, and indeed at times quotes extensively from the works of Symeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon, Jordan Fantosme, the author of the itinerary of Richard I, and Richard's biographer, Anselm.⁶ In addition, William evidences a wide knowledge of patristic literature.

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1. The latter suggested by A. Squire, Ailred of Rievaulx, pp. 76 and 82.
 2. A. Gransden, Historical Writing, pp. 212-16. A third work of Ailred may be included here among his historical works. This is the 'De Sanctimoniali de Watton' written c.1160 (Pat. Lat. 195; col. 789-796). The occasion of its compilation was as follows: Gilbert of Sempringham requested Ailred to investigate curious happenings at the Gilbertine priory of Watton. A nun, placed in the convent as a child by Henry Murdac, had conceived a child and had been placed chained hand and foot in a cell. The nuns had appealed to Gilbert for help when the chains had miraculously begun to fall off. Ailred visited the house at Gilbert's request and had found the nun, having been delivered of her bonds and her child. The tract represents Ailred's view of the case.
 3. The text of the 'Historia' is printed in Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I, (R.S. 1884-89), vols. 1 and 2.
 4. Newburgh, pp. 3-4.
 5. ibid. pp. 13-14.
 6. The latter is now lost.

Although William quoted extensively from other authors, he does add original touches. His interest was not confined to his own region, or even to the North of England as a whole. He was a judicious and impartial historian.¹ He was also a man of his time, and delighted in miracle stories, in the unusual and the inexplicable. In such tales, however, he combines a sense of scepticism and caution with a lively method of narrative.

Attempts have been made to uncover the background of the author of this outstanding history.² All that is known for certain is what William himself tells us in the 'Historia', namely that he received his early education at Newburgh, '(domus) quae me in Christo a puero aluit'.³ The 'Historia' was written at the end of William's life. It is possible, therefore, that his researches were done at Newburgh. If so, the library in this small priory contained a number of important historical works.⁴ It has been written that William 'was a man of outstanding ability and his chronicle is the most unusual and interesting produced in this period. Though he was indebted to both secular and monastic historiography, to some extent he transcended their limitations.'⁵ It is a tribute not only to William himself, but also to the relatively small monastic house which nurtured such an outstanding author.

iii. Saints' Lives and Biography

From the very beginnings of western monasticism, the writing of saints' lives formed a major part of monastic literary production.

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1. For examples of William's unbiased treatment of various subjects, see A. Gransden, Historical Writing, pp. 264-7, and R.B. Dobson, The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190, p.24. William may, however, have been prejudiced against Roger de Pont L'Evêque. See above, pp. 369-70.
 2. H.E. Salter, 'William of Newburgh', E.H.R. 22 (1907) pp. 510-14.
 3. Newburgh, p. 51.
 4. Cited above, p.471.
 5. Gransden, Historical Writing, p. 264.

Such works were not intended to provide an accurate account of the life of a particular saint; rather, by an account of a pious life, the author hoped to edify his audience. There could, of course, be more specific motives for the composition of a 'life'. A written account of a holy man's miracles might, for instance, increase his chance of canonization. Soon a stereotyped form of the saint's life began to emerge, dealing with three main themes: the portents of future glory which surrounded the birth or boyhood of a saint, his pious life and good works, and the 'post mortem' miracles.

The Anglo-Saxon monasteries had a long tradition of hagiography and after the Norman Conquest, an impetus was given to the writing of the lives of Anglo-Saxon saints by Lanfranc's revision of the liturgical calendar.¹ In the late eleventh and early twelfth century, for instance, Gocelin of St Bertin wrote as many as twenty lives of Old English saints.² The monasteries of Bury St Edmunds, Canterbury and Durham, among others, became centres of the production of this type of literature.³ Several saints' lives were produced in Yorkshire at this time; curiously all the surviving ones originate from Rievaulx Abbey.⁴ Foremost among the writers was Ailred of Rievaulx, who was responsible for the composition of the Lives of the Saints of Hexham, a Life of St Ninian, and his famous biography

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1. Several local saints were excluded from the calendar: See A. Gransden, Historical Writing, pp. 114-24.
 2. He may have been the author of the Vita Edwardi Regis. For a list of his writings see, A. Gransden, Historical Writing, pp. 107-11, and F. Barlow (ed) Vita Edwardi Regis (London, 1962), pp. 109-11.
 3. Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 498-9.
 4. This may, of course, be an accident of survival.

of St Edward the Confessor.¹ Ailred himself found a biographer in his friend and monk of Rievaulx, Walter Daniel.

Probably the earliest piece of hagiography from a Yorkshire monastery which survives is Ailred's De sanctis ecclesiae Hagulstedensis.² Ailred, it will be remembered, had very close connections with Hexham. His father, Eilaf, was hereditary priest there until his expulsion by Henry Murdac, and Ailred received his childhood education in Durham and Hexham.³ It was natural, therefore, that when the canons of Hexham wished to commemorate the translation of the bones of their saints (3rd March 1154-5) they should turn for the production of the lives of those saints, to Ailred. Ailred himself attended the translation and his work on the saints 'was probably based on a discourse delivered on the occasion of their translation.'⁴ It is clear from the text that the work was first read out aloud at the ceremony.⁵ As well as the accounts of the saints (Wilfrid, Acca, Alchmund, Frithbert, Tilbert, and Eata) and their miracles, and the

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1. In addition to these lives, Ailred apparently composed a life of St Cuthbert, which has not survived. Reginald of Durham, in his book on the miracles of Cuthbert (Reginaldi monachi Dunelmensis Libellus de admirandis Beati Cuthberti virtutibus quae novellis patratae sunt temporibus, Surt. Soc. 1, 1835) tells how Ailred composed this life: 'Dominus quidam Aethelredus, Rievallensis ecclesiae Abbas ... quodam tempore annali ordinis ipsorum dispositione ad Capitulum Cisterciensis ecclesiae invitatur ... Unde contigit quod Beati Cuthberti nomen de ejus mente non excideret; sed itinerando et vacando, quamvis etiam tacendo, eum crebuis ruminaret. Et ut saepius de hujus modi studio non quiesceret, prosam rithmico modulamine in Beati Cuthberti honore componendam instituit' (p. 176) Reginald's account opens with a letter to Ailred, who apparently encouraged him to undertake the work ('In hujus, tamen, Abbas Rievallensis, nostri timoris roboravit audaciam, qui saepius non nulla miracula nobis, beatum Cuthbertum magnificando, retulit'. p. 4), and provided material: 'Haec omnia quae, descripsimus, a ... Aetheldredo Abbate .. audivimus, ita, ipsius testimonio, membranulis insuerimus', p. 32.)
 2. Printed in The Priory of Hexham, I, The Historians and annals of the House, ed. J. Raine, Sur. Soc. 44 (1864), pp. 173-203.
 3. Vita Ailredi, pp. lviii and xc. Ailred refers to his boyhood at Hexham, both in The Hexham Lives and in 'De spirituali amicitia'.
 4. Vita Ailredi, p. xcii.
 5. It begins: 'Praesentis diei veneranda festivas ... tanto a nobis est suscipienda devotius, et festivius celebranda, quanto in specialius consolatio nostra, spes nostra, nostra insuper gloria commendatur', p. 173.

description of the translation with which the Lives close, Ailred includes a body of historical material, which may have been gleaned from a Hexham chronicle, and no doubt formed the basis of Ailred's 'Relatio de Standardo'.¹

Shortly after Ailred's attendance at Hexham for the translation, he embarked on his second venture into hagiography. The 'Vita Sancti Niniani' was probably written between 1154 and 1160.² Again, Ailred was well-equipped to write this life. He had spent some time in Scotland; Rievaulx was the mother house of two Scottish abbeys, Melrose and Dundrennan, which Ailred is known to have visited.³ It has been suggested that Ailred was requested to write the life of the saint who brought Christianity to Galloway, by Christian, the second bishop of the revived see of Whithorn.⁴ This life may be called a 'standard piece of hagiography' in that it is modelled on a favourite saint's life, that of St Martin of Tours by Sulcapius Severus. For information of St Ninian, Ailred seems to have used an earlier life (a 'sermo barbaricus') and, indirectly through this, an eighth-century poem on St Ninian.⁵

In 1162-3, Ailred produced his third and most famous biography, that of St Edward the Confessor. This was the third life of the saint⁶ and was requested by Ailred's kinsman, Abbot Laurence of Westminster following Edward's canonization by Pope Alexander III in 1161.⁷ For his

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1. E.g. pp.183-4 contain an account of the Scottish invasions under King David. The 'Lives' were written in 1154-5; the 'Relatio' in 1155-7.
 2. Vita Ailredi, p. xcvi. The 'Life' was edited by A.P. Forbes, The Historians of Scotland, 5 (Edinburgh, 1874), pp. 137-57.
 3. Vita Ailredi, pp. 45-6, 74.
 4. Revived c. 1128. For this suggestion see W. Levison, 'An eighth-century poem on St Ninian', Antiquity xiv (1940), pp. 280-91.
 5. Vita Ailredi, pp. liv and xcix.
 6. On the two previous lives of Edward (The Vita Edwardi Regis and the Vita Beati Edwardi) and that written by Ailred, see F. Barlow, Edward the Confessor (London, 1970), pp. 256-285. Ailred's life, the Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris is printed in Pat. Lat., 195, col. 737-790.
 7. F. Barlow, Edward the Confessor, pp. 274-81 deals with this, and an earlier attempt to have Edward canonized.

life of Edward, Ailred used the 'Vita Beati Edwardi' by Osbert de Clare, but 'strengthened the historical narrative, which Oswald had weakened, by taking material from the chronicles'.¹ Ailred attended the translation of Edward's relics in 1163, when he preached a sermon on the gospel 'Nemo accendit lucernam'. Ailred's life became the standard life of the Confessor. For the author, however, it was more than a piece of hagiography. As we have seen, Ailred's 'Genealogia Regum Anglorum' rejoiced in the union of the Old English and Norman kings in the person of Henry II. The Life of Edward presented Ailred with the opportunity to glorify the saintly ancestor of the present royal line. It was hagiography combined with 'patriotism', a theme of harmony and peace, and was written in 'a mood of quiet triumph'.²

The most famous biography produced in Yorkshire at this time must surely be Walter Daniel's life of his beloved Abbot, Ailred. Walter entered Rievaulx c1150, and knew and admired Ailred well.³ Remembering, however, that Walter Daniel's purpose was to eulogize Ailred, it is not surprising that there are omissions in the 'Life'; very few details of Ailred's government of Rievaulx were considered relevant in a work devoted to his sanctity. However vague Walter Daniel may be, his 'Vita Ailredi' vividly conveys the atmosphere of the early Cistercian world and its vitality.

The 'Vita' was written at the request of the Abbot H. whose identity cannot be established with certainty.⁴ It begins simply yet eloquently:

To Abbot H., dearest of men, his servant W. Daniel, greeting.
Our father is dead; he has vanished from our world like the morning sunshine, and many hearts long that this great light should flood with its brightness the memory of generations to come, and indeed of those still living for whom it shone in all its splendour.⁵

1. ibid. p. 281.

2. Vita Ailredi, p. xlvi.

3. For details of Walter Daniel, see ibid. pp. xi-xxvii.

4. Powicke suggests Hugh of Revesby or Henry of Waverley. Vita Ailredi pp. xxix - xxx.

5. Vita Ailredi, p. 1.

Walter's biography does, to a certain extent, rely on prototypes; he himself acknowledges his use of the life of St Martin of Tours.¹ But it is indisputably the Life of Ailred. It was subject to a certain amount of criticism. Walter's lengthy letter to Maurice is an apology for the 'Vita';² he reveals that 'the two prelates who strive to becloud what I have done in the mists of uncertainty, and use the force of their authority to cast it into the pit of their suspicion and besmirch it as untrustworthy, compel me to write at some length.'³ Walter defended his work by including the names of witnesses who had been the sources for his miracle stories, and by asserting that 'I had published nothing which I had not seen or heard, and that I had omitted very many fine things which I had confirmed by the verbal testimony of saintly monks.'

iv. Theological and Devotional Writings.

The English monasteries boasted no great tradition in theological writing. Writers of the Old English period, such as Aelfric were indeed concerned with the explanation of the Scriptures, but they did not contribute much to the development of dogma; they were embroiled in no great theological controversies. After the Conquest little changed: although Anselm's 'Cur Deus Homo' and the 'Proslogion' were influential and original works, on the whole English monastic writers of the twelfth century played a negligible role in the development of theological thought and discussion which became a feature of the twelfth-century renaissance.⁴

As Professor Knowles has observed, however, there was one exception to this general statement. Members of English houses played a considerable part in furthering the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception

1. ibid. pp. 62, n.4 and 77.

2. This may have been Maurice of Rievaulx, who would, however, have been very old, if indeed he was still alive in 1167. It is more likely to have been Maurice of Kirkham: Vita Ailredi, p. xxxi. The letter is on pp. 66-81 of the 'Vita'.

3. Vita Ailredi, p. 66.

4. See Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 509-14.

of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a doctrine which was a source of contention in the twelfth century.¹ In this period devotion to the Mother of Christ was, of course, a powerful force, but theologians were less united in their acceptance of the further doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, upheld in the early years of the twelfth century by Eadmer of Canterbury (Tractatus de Conceptione sanctae Mariae) and Osbert de Clare (Sermo de Conceptione). The doctrine was attacked by St Bernard in 1140, and a reply written by Nicholas, a monk of St Alban's.

How far members of Yorkshire monasteries entered into this debate is problematical. According to the antiquary Leland, he himself saw at Rievaulx several books written by Walter Daniel, only one of which has been identified.² Among these volumes were two books entitled De conceptione beatae Marie contra Nicholaum monachum. Leland's evidence cannot be corroborated; not only has the manuscript not survived (or not been identified), but the thirteenth-century library catalogue of Rievaulx does not mention it.³ If Leland was correct, however, Walter Daniel was involved in the mainstream of theological discussion in England. The stance which he evidently takes is what one might expect from a Cistercian who, through his friend and master Ailred, had had contact with St Bernard. Two further works cited by Leland, the tract De Virginitate Mariae and one entitled Expositio super 'Missus est angelus Gabrielus' suggest further discussion devoted to the same problem, although obviously nothing is known of their contents.⁴ They may merely be treatises devoted to the Virgin Mary. The latter theme characterizes the second identified work of William of Newburgh. The Explanatio Sacri Epithalamii in Matrem Sponsi is an interpretation of the

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1. Several Old English monasteries celebrated the feast of the Immaculate Conception in the liturgical calendar, and it was revived in the twelfth century at, for example, St Alban's, Bury St Edmund's and Reading: Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 511.
 2. For a list of these works and their significance see Vita Ailredi pp. xvii-xix. Only the Centum Sententiae (John Rylands Library Latin MS 196) has been identified. (The Vita Ailredi is not in Leland's list.)
 3. Nor, however, does it mention the Vita Ailredi. See below, p. 483.
 4. An exposition on the same gospel attributed to St Bernard, is in the Rievaulx catalogue. See below p. 483 n.5.

Song of Songs as a hymn to the Blessed Virgin.¹ As a work of doctrine it is unoriginal, and well in the mainstream of conventional theology.

These tracts on the question of the Immaculate Conception and expressing devotion to the Mother of Christ were 'main stream theology'. One Yorkshire writer to tackle a more unusual theme was Maurice of Kirkham. A fifteenth-century manuscript preserved in the Bodleian Library contains a tract entitled 'Mauricius prior de Kyrkeham contra Salomitas'.² The treatise was originally sent to Gilbert of Sempringham and was written because of Maurice's fear that some of the Gilbertine congregation were interested in the heresy of the Salomites. These were a group who believed that the woman Salome (who accompanied Mary the Mother of Christ and Mary Magdalan to the tomb³) to be a man, the husband of St Anne and the mother of the Virgin Mary.⁴ Maurice stresses his mastery of the Hebrew language, and uses the works of Josephus in order to discuss the various individuals by the name of Salome.⁵

When we turn from theological writings to devotional works we find that the field is once more dominated by the name of Ailred of Rievaulx. Ailred was not a theologian; as he himself tells us (via Walter Daniel) he had no formal training in the schools or in scholastic method.⁶ Yet his writings, devout and humane, deal with a wide range of monastic and human experience. In his earliest devotional work, the 'Speculum Caritatis', written in 1142-3 at the repeated and persistent requests of St Bernard, Ailred was concerned with true charity, and with the difficulties of

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1. ed. J.C. Gorman, in Spicilegium Friburgense (ed. G. Meersseman and A. Hänggi) 6 (1960); see also review by C.N.L. Brooke, in E.H.R. 77 (1962), p. 554. On the popularity of the Song of Songs in the twelfth century see C.J. Holdsworth, 'John of Ford and English Cistercian Writing 1167-1214', T.R.H.S. 5th series, 2, (1961) pp. 117-36 especially 120-24.
 2. Oxford Bodleian Hatton MS 92 fos. 4-30; fos. 30-37 contain a letter to Archbishop Roger on the same subject. On Maurice, see above, p.108.
 3. St Mark's Gospel, chptr. 16 v.1.
 4. M.R. James, 'The Salomites', Journal of Theological Studies, 35 (1934), pp. 287-97.
 5. On Maurice's mastery of Hebrew and the possibility that he learnt it from Jewish scholars at York in the time of Archbishop Gerard, see R.B. Dobson, The Jews of Medieval York and the Massacre of March 1190, pp.3-5; Nicholl, Thurstan, p.31.
 6. Vita Ailredi, p.26.

discovering and showing true love of God.¹ It was written while Ailred was master of the Rievaulx novices, and the second book is in the form of a dialogue between Ailred and one of the novices. In this work Ailred, by virtue of his own weaknesses and trials, was able to exhibit true understanding of the spiritual difficulties arising from the monastic profession. The monastic life was also the subject of the 'Disputatio contra cuiusdam epistolam de monachorum regula et professione'² and the 'De institutione inclusarum', 'in which he traced the course of this kind of profession from the ardour of the entrance into the same to its perfection.'³

Two of Ailred's works reflect the influence of writers whom he read a great deal at various stages in his life. As a youth (as Ailred tells us⁴) his favourite book was Cicero's 'De Amicitia'; ; about the year 1160 Ailred produced his 'De spirituali amicitia' in which he contemplated his own past friendships, the meaning of spiritual friendship and his feeling that it is only by the latter that one attains true love of God.⁵ Towards the end of his life Ailred was profoundly influenced by the Confessions of St Augustine (he kept a copy of this book in his cell, along with a glossed psalter and a copy of St John's Gospel). His last work, 'De anima', explored 'the soul, that is the nature, extent and quality and other matters relating to the soul'.⁶ Professor Powicke has indicated that this work owes much to SS. Augustine and Gregory, and in its approach to the subject

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1. For the manuscripts of the Speculum Caritatis, their location, and the printed editions, see A. Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, Instrumenta Patristica 2 (1962) pp. 41-6. The part played by St Bernard is discussed by A. Wilmart, 'L'Instigateur du Speculum Caritatis', Revue d'Ascetique et de Mystique, XIV (1933) pp. 369-94. Walter Daniel in the 'Vita Ailredi' (pp. 25-6) describes the 'Speculum' as 'what in my judgement is the best of all his works ... which contains as good a picture of the love of God and one's neighbour as a man can see of himself in a mirror'.
 2. Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp.46-7. The 'Disputatio' is printed in Pat.Lat. 195, col. 621-58.
 3. Written for his sister, a recluse. Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp. 74-80; C.H. Talbot, 'The De Institutis Inclusarum' of Ailred of Rievaulx', A.S.O.C. VII (1951) pp.167-217. This work was very influential, and appears in, for example, the 'Ancrene Wisse'. The quotation is from Walter Daniel, Vita Ailredi p.41.
 4. In 'De spirituali amicitia'.
 5. For MSS and editions see Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp.63-73.
 6. Walter Daniel, Vita Ailredi p.42; Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp.81-2. The 'De Anima' has been edited by C.H.Talbot, 'Ailred of Rievaulx, De Anima', Medieval and Renaissance Studies, supplement I, London, 1952).

has much in common with other Cistercian writers, Bernard, William of St Thierry, Alcher of Clairvaux and Isaac of Etiole.¹ Ailred's choice of subjects seems to have been immediately influential. Leland claimed to have seen a book by Walter Daniel whose title 'De Vera amicitia' recalls Ailred's 'De spirituali amicitia'.

Ailred produced a third major body of literature, sermons. His treatise, 'De Iesu puero duodenni', called by Walter Daniel 'a brilliant treatment of the threefold meaning, historical, moral and mystical' of the gospel was written in the years 1153-7 and addressed to Ivo, monk of Wardon.² In the period 1158-63 he produced the 'Sermones de Oneribus', commentaries on Isaiah;³ these were followed by the 'Oratio Pastoralis' and the 'Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis'.⁴ The indications were that these sermons were widely circulated. Walter Daniel may have produced works which emulated these; for example the book 'De onere iumentorum austri' (based on Isaiah chapter 30). Furthermore, although Walter had attended the schools, his 'Centum Sententiae' are not sentences in the scholastic sense, but were 'an exercise in edification' and were influenced by the methods of the preacher.⁵ A third writer interested in biblical exegesis was Robert the Scribe, prior of the Augustinian house of Bridlington in the mid twelfth-century. He achieved considerable popularity.⁶ His identified works include an exposition of the Epistles of Paul,⁷ glosses on the Pentateuch,⁸ and a commentary on the twelve Greater Prophets, and the Apocalypse.⁹

1. Vita Ailredi, pp. ci-cii.

2. Vita Ailredi, p.41; Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp.51-4.

3. Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp.55-61. The sermons are prefaced by a letter to Bishop Gilbert of London.

4. Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp.83-99. Other works attributed to Ailred, but as yet unidentified 'De Fasciculo Frondium' and the exposition of the gospel 'Nemo accendit lucernam' (see above, p.47. Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp. 100-101.

5. Vita Ailredi, pp. xix-xxvii.

6. Some of his works appear in the Rievaulx catalogue, see below, p. On Robert, see B. Smalley 'La Glossa Ordinaria', Recherches de Théologie Ancienne et Médiévale, 9 (1937), pp.365-400; and 'Gilbertus Universalis, Bishop of London (1128-34) and the Problem of the 'Glossa Ordinaria'', ibid. 7 (1935) pp. 235-62.

7. Cambridge University Library MS Dd viii 14 fos. 1-292. A twelfth-century MS. See C.H. Talbot, 'A list of Cistercian Manuscripts in Great Britain' Traditio, viii (1952) pp. 402-18 especially pp. 415-16.

8. Oxford Trinity College MS 70 fos. 1-132. A twelfth-century MS.

9. Commentarium super prophetas duodecim, Oxford, St. John's College MS 46, fos.1-155. A twelfth-century MS. The last two works are named in the Rievaulx library catalogue. See below p.486.

Robert was also the author of an interesting treatise, the 'Colloquium magistri et discipuli in regula beati Augustini', which arose out of a difference of opinion about the observation of the Rule. It is of interest as a contemporary view of monastic observance in the same way as the 'Libellus de Diversis Ordinibus et Professionibus que sunt in Ecclesia'.¹ It is just possible that the set of sermons, in middle English, known as the 'Ormulum' was produced in a Yorkshire Augustinian house. We know that the writer, Orm, was an Augustinian canon, and the dialect of the sermons suggest a northern or north midlands provenance. The question of their exact provenance is, however, an open question.²

The writers of twelfth-century Yorkshire monasteries have left a substantial body of theological and devotional writings, which doubtless do not represent the entire output. The works spread over a wide range of subjects, and they were mostly conventional. The spiritual climate was more suited to the production of mystical and spiritual writings, such as those of Ailred, than theology. Theological writings of the new style of the twelfth century were not to find ground in the monasteries in the north of England, for it was in the schools rather than the monasteries that the new discipline would emerge.

Monastic Libraries and the transmission of manuscripts.

'To know what books ... monks used is to illuminate to a certain extent their way of life and their interpretation of the monastic ideal'. The starting points for this inquiry are N. Ker's Medieval Libraries of

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1. J.C. Dickinson, Austin Canons p. 66, writes that 'the work is parochial in the extreme, giving no indication that a world outside Yorkshire was known to exist', but that it was vindicated by its extreme practicality.
 2. Dickinson (ibid. p.228) suggests Bridlington. A complete text of the 'Ormulum' was edited by R.M. White (1852) and revised by R. Holt (1878). Commentators have frequently criticized this work: (J.C. Dickinson, p. 228) 'it is doubtful whether regular clergy could have produced anything better calculated to induce widespread somnolence in their congregation.' See also J.A.W. Bennet and G.V. Smithers (Eds.) in Early Middle English Verse and Prose (2nd ed. Oxford 1968) p.174.

of Great Britain¹ and C.R. Cheney's essay 'English Cistercian Libraries: The first century', from which the above quotation is drawn.² As an area of inquiry the subject of monastic libraries is as both Dr Ker and Professor Cheney have shown, bristling with problems. The evidence comes mainly from surviving manuscripts, which are proved to have been in the possession of a certain monastery and secondly from the few surviving medieval library catalogues of religious houses. A few general problems may be indicated. To know that a manuscript written in a twelfth-century hand was at some time present in a certain monastic library does not necessarily indicate that it was in that library in the twelfth century. This can only be assumed when the 'ex libris' mark can be dated or internal evidence proves that the manuscript actually originated in the scriptorium. We have enough evidence of gifts of books to religious houses to know that it was not an uncommon practice, and such books may well have been some years old when they reached the monastic library. Secondly, with regard to the surviving library catalogues, there is no way of checking how accurately they were compiled. Books may have been overlooked entirely;³ they may have been entered more than once,⁴ or ascribed to the wrong author.⁵

Having in mind these general problems, this brief discussion follows three lines of inquiry. Firstly, there are two extant library catalogues, one of a twelfth-century date from Whitby, the other a thirteenth-century compilation from Rievaulx (a third catalogue, from Meaux, is of a late fourteenth-century date and consequently of little significance for the present inquiry). Several surviving manuscripts of the twelfth-century

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1. Printed for the Royal Historical Society, London, 1941, second ed. 1964.
 2. In Medieval Texts and Studies, (Oxford, 1973), pp. 328-45 (quotation from p. 328); F. Wormald and C.E. Wright (eds), The English Library before 1700 (London, 1958) especially pp. 15-31, and pp. 85-111.
 3. Is this perhaps the reason why the thirteenth-century Rievaulx catalogue makes no mention of the works of Walter Daniel, apart from the Centum Sententiae?
 4. e.g. 'Haymo super epistolas Pauli' appears twice in the Rievaulx catalogue (Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp. 149, 154).
 5. Is it possible that the exposition on 'Missus est angelus Gabrielus' ascribed by Leland to Walter Daniel is the exposition of that title, assigned in the catalogue to St Bernard.

which belonged to Yorkshire monasteries will be mentioned. Finally (and this on thinner ground still) the problem will be approached from the point of view of the source material which was available to the Yorkshire monastic writers of the twelfth-century, in order to examine the possibilities either of their presence in the monastic libraries, or of the borrowing of manuscripts.

The Whitby catalogue is by far the most reliable piece of evidence¹. Even bearing in mind the general problems mentioned above, the catalogue, being of a twelfth-century date, is of great value. It gives notice of some eighty-six volumes, some containing more than one work.² There was (as was likely in most monastic libraries) an emphasis on patristic writings and biblical commentaries.³ Bede was well represented; there were copies of 'De Temporibus', 'Historia' (Ecclesiastica) (Gentis Anglorum) and commentaries on the Apocalypse, the Proverbs, the canonical epistles, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Gospels of St Luke, and St Mark. Copies of works by Ambrose and Isidore of Seville were also included.⁴ It is perhaps surprising that no works of Augustine or Jerome,⁵ and only the 'Sermones' and the 'De conflictis vitiorum et virtutum' of Gregory are listed. Twelfth-century writers included Hugh of St Victor (The 'Sacramenta' and 'liber de archa Noe'), Peter Lombard, Ivo of Chartres ('Pannormiae') and St Bernard.⁶ There are many biblical glosses, and works on monastic observance.⁷ There are, in contrast, few historical works; only the

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1. The catalogue is written at the end of the cartulary, and is printed in Cart. Whitby, I. p. 341; for the date see Davis, Medieval Cartularies p.119.
 2. e.g. 'Omeliae Caesarii Episcopi et Eusebii et Basilii in uno volumine'.
 3. See C.R. Cheney, 'English Cistercian Libraries'. p. 333.
 4. 'Ambrosius de morte fratris sui. item Exameron', 'Isidoris super Vetus Testamentum. item Ysidorus Ethimologickum: item super Summum Bonum'.
 5. cf. The Rievaulx Catalogue. See below p. 485.
 6. 'Sententiae Abbatis Clarevallensis in uno volumine. Item liber de ecclesiasticis institutis, et micrologus de Missarum officiis'.
 7. e.g. John Cassian, 'Regula' and 'Decem Collationes'.

'Historia Ecclesiastica' of Bede and an unspecified work of Josephus being recorded. As one might expect, there are many saints' lives.¹ There are a few books of canon law,² two music books and one on arithmetic.³ Finally, there is a whole section entitled 'Isti sunt libri grammatici' which includes works of Prudentius, Boethius, Plato, Cicero, Oratius, Arianus, Maximianus, Donatus, Cato and others.

Two features in particular of the Whitby catalogue contrast with what we know of Cistercian libraries, in our case represented by the Rievaulx catalogue.⁴ These features are the lack of historical works and the evident emphasis on classical books, which were regarded as books of grammar. Rievaulx Abbey library apparently had only a handful of grammar books,⁵ but like the Whitby library it had a few law books.⁶ There were at Rievaulx, however, a number of histories; the 'Historia Ecclesiastica' of Bede, and another book of the same title (perhaps that of Eusebius). The 'Historia Egelipoi' (a summary of Josephus 'De bello iudaico'), the work of Henry of Huntingdon, a history of Jerusalem and a 'Historia Brittanum'.⁷ Also, unlike Whitby, Augustine is the best-represented author at Rievaulx; thirty-one volumes of his works are listed.⁸ There are works of Boethius, Ambrose, Jerome, Isidore, Bede and Cassian.⁹ The

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1. SS. Cuthbert, Mary, Andrew the Apostle, Margaret, Maclovius, Brendan, Mary Magdalan, Benedict, Katharine the Virgin, Firminius (?), Faith, Hilda, Mary of Egypt (verse life): 'Passionales mensis Novembris' and 'Passionalis mensis Januarii'.
 2. 'Decreta Pontificum' and 'Excerptiones Decretorum Gratiani'.
 3. 'Liber Guidonis monachi de Musica' and 'Proemium Arithmeticae et Musicae Proemium'.
 4. See, C.R. Cheney, 'English Cistercian Libraries'.
 5. The catalogue (Cambridge, Jesus College MS 34 (Q.B. 17) ff. 1r-6v) is printed by M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Jesus College (Cambridge, 1895) pp. 44-52, and A. Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, pp. 149-170 (The second list, a rearrangement of the first is on pp. 170-175). The references given below are to the more recent edition.
 6. Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, p.149, Codex iustiniani, Decreta Graciani, Iohannes super decreta.
 7. Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, p. 161.
 8. ibid. pp. 149-52, 170, 164, 155, 157.
 9. ibid. pp. 163, 166 (Boethius); 150, 156, 155 (Ambrose); 167-8 (Jerome); 156-7, 168 (Isidore); 160, 157, 168 (Bede); 164-5 (Cassian).

twelfth-century writers whose works were in the library at Rievaulx include Hugh of St Victor, Ivo of Chartres, Anselm and Bernard, the Yorkshire writer Robert of Bridlington, and, of course the Rievaulx writers Ailred, Maurice and Walter Daniel.¹ There were many biblical commentaries, and it was evidently the practice to retain the glossed psalter of ex-abbots in the abbey library.²

Only a few of the Rievaulx manuscripts survive. These, noted by Ker, are works of Rabanus Maurus (d. c. 856), William de Monte, Ambrose, Hugh of St Victor, De Officiis Ecclesiasticis, Peter Lombard, Grosseteste, Roger of Howden, Peter Abelard, Ailred, Hildebert, a gloss on Job and on the Apocalypse, P. Chrysologus, Ennodius, Orosius, Walter Daniel and Jerome.³ No twelfth-century Whitby manuscript has been identified. Other twelfth-century manuscripts which have been identified as formerly belonging to Yorkshire religious houses are: Bridlington: works of William of Malmesbury, Serlo, and glosses on the Apocalypse and Luke; Byland: 'Expositio Missae', works of Palladius, Possidius, Theodulfus Aurel; Henry of Huntingdon, William of Malmesbury, Gregory Nazianzenus, Bernard, Cicero, Robert of Bridlington, and 'Versus de contemptu mundi', letters of Alexander III and a life of St Alexis; Fountains: works of Ennodius, Augustine, Hugh of St Victor, Bede, Cyprian, Basil, Glosses on Mark and Ezechiel, 'Historia Dunelmensis', 'Itinerarium iii. Monachorum', and an exposition of the Mass; Guisborough: works of Alcuin and Bede; Jervaulx: works of Bede; Kirkham: Bede, Augustine and Possidius; Kirkstall: Bede, Smaragdus; Meaux: Augustine; Newburgh: Augustine, William of Newburgh; Roche: Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose and 'flores psalterii'; Swine: Ambrose; St Mary's York: Plato, Richard of St Victor, Hildeberte, Ralph de Diceto, Ovid,

1. ibid. pp. 151-68.

2. ibid. p. 165. The works contained in these two catalogues should be compared with the twelfth-century Durham catalogue: see Catalogi veteres Librorum ecclesie cathedralis Dunelm. Surt. Soc. 7, (1838), pp. 1-10.

3. Ker, Medieval Libraries, p. 159.

Boethius and a life of St Dunstan.¹

It is impossible, of course, in the absence of contemporary catalogues, to tell whether these books were in the respective libraries in the twelfth century. Setting the number of surviving Rievaulx books against the large library that was in existence there by the thirteenth century, one is immediately aware of the impossibility of drawing any conclusions, from the meagre remnants, about the library from which they come. Although survival is a matter of chance, it may be noted that the majority of surviving works are those of patristic writers or commentators. The classical works at St Mary's, York, might be compared with those of Whitby.

It is obvious that no conclusion may be drawn about the tastes of those monks who read, rather than wrote books. Even if we had full library catalogues from all abbeys, we would not be able to tell which works were read frequently, and which left on the shelf for years. The catalogues themselves are of limited value; the thirteenth-century Rievaulx list gives no indication, obviously, of how soon the library was amassed. A further point is raised: How did writers obtain access to the books they required for their work? We know that Ailred of Rievaulx, for example, used various sources: Symeon of Durham, Henry of Huntingdon or the Hexham chronicles; he certainly used Osbert de Clare's biography of Edward the Confessor. We need not assume that both these writers had all the books they needed in their abbey's library, and there is no indication in the Rievaulx catalogue that the library possessed a copy of Osbert de Clare. If Abbot Laurence of Westminster wanted Ailred to write Edward's biography, he would surely be willing to lend any material to which he had access. The same applies to Abbot Ernald of Rievaulx who preferred William of Newburgh, rather than a Rievaulx monk, to write the 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum'.²

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1. All these works cited by Ker, Medieval Libraries, pp. 12, 22-23, 88-89, 94, 105, 106, 107, 130, 133, 160, 184, 217.
 2. William used the work of Henry of Huntingdon of which there was a copy at Rievaulx in the 13th century: Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana, p.161.

Other evidence suggests that the possibilities for literary co-operation were great. Cistercian abbots met yearly at the General Chapter; heads of religious houses frequently witnessed charters together; houses such as Byland and Newburgh shared a common patron and held adjacent lands, which necessitated mutual agreements and conventions. Even the uneasy relations between Cistercian and Benedictine orders so manifest in 1132 and again in 1147, seem soon to have ameliorated. The climate was not one of hostility; it was, as far as one can gather, one of mutual co-operation. There was no reason why this co-operation should not have spread to the field of literary activity and the sharing of books.

The amassing of a library at a monastery would depend on several factors. One might be the literary interests of members of the house: we are told for example, that an early thirteenth-century abbot of Meaux, Alexander, was a 'librorum ... maximus perquisitor'.¹ Occasionally a monastery benefited from the entry of a man who in his previous career had collected a substantial number of books which he then devoted to the house; such a man was Dean Hugh of York who entered Fountains Abbey in 1134.² Occasionally too a benefactor might specify that a grant of land should be used to raise money to buy books.³

Given the evidence for the Yorkshire houses, we have to admit that what we know of their libraries in the twelfth century is very little. The Rievaulx Catalogue might indicate a more lively interest in history than at Whitby; the latter, proportionately, has more grammar books. Both have, as one might expect, a great number of patristic writings, biblical commentaries, and saints' lives. What we do know, however, was that men such as Ailred and William of Newburgh were apparently not hindered by lack of books, whether these were available from the monastic library or borrowed from elsewhere.

1. Chron. Melsa, 1. p. 326.

2. Mem. Ftms. 1. p.53; cf. Catalogi Veteras Librorum ... Dunelm. pp. 7-8.

3. E.Y.C. II, no. 898: a grant of land to Whitby Abbey made 'ad faciendum et scribendum libros ecclesie'.

Literary and theological works produced in Yorkshire monasteries in the twelfth century.

<u>SELBY:</u>	Anonymous monk of:	<u>Historia Monasterii Selebiensis</u> 1174.
<u>ST. MARY'S, YORK:</u>	Stephen Abbot of:	<u>Historia de Fundatione.</u> ante 1120.
<u>BYLAND:</u>	Abbot Philip of: ?	<u>Historia Fundationis.</u> 1196-8. <u>Historia Fundationis of</u> <u>Jervaulx Abbey.</u> 1196-8 ?
<u>RIEVAULX:</u>	Ailred of:	<u>Speculum Caritatis.</u> 1142-3. <u>Disputatio eiusdem contra</u> <u>cuiusdam epistolam de monachorum</u> <u>regula et professione.</u> <u>De Iesu puero duodenni.</u> 1153-7. <u>Sermones de Oneribus.</u> 1158-63. <u>De Spirituali Amicitia.</u> c1160. <u>De Institutione Inclusarum.</u> 1160-62. <u>De Anima.</u> 1165-6. <u>Oratio Pastoralis.</u> 1165-6. <u>Sermones de Tempore et de Sanctis.</u> <u>De Fasciculo Frondium</u> (untraced). <u>Nemo accendit lucernam.</u> (exposition). <u>Genealogia Regum Anglorum.</u> 1153-4. <u>De Sanctis Ecclesie Hagulsted-</u> <u>ensis.</u> c. 1155. <u>Metrical Life of St Cuthbert</u> (untraced) <u>Vita Sancti Nyniani.</u> 1154-60. <u>Relatio de Standardo</u> 1155-7. <u>De sanctimoniali de Watton.</u> 1158-65. <u>Vita sancti Edwardi.</u> 1162-3.
	Walter Daniel:	<u>Vita Ailredi.</u> c1167. <u>Centum Sententiae.</u> works seen by Leland: <u>Centum Homiliae.</u> <u>Epistolae.</u> <u>De Virginitate Mariae.</u> <u>Expositio: 'Missus est angelus</u> <u>Gabrielus'.</u> <u>De honesta virginis formula.</u> <u>De onere iumentorum austri,</u> libri ii. <u>De vera amicitia,</u> libri v. <u>De conceptione beate Marie</u> (all unidentified).
	Maurice of: ¹	<u>Sermones</u> (incipit, ' <u>festum super</u> <u>festum</u> '). <u>Epistole,</u> (i vol.) /cont. over

1. These works of Maurice listed in the Rievaulx catalogue. See F.M. Powicke, 'Maurice of Rievaulx', E.H.R. 36 (1921) pp. 17-29.

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<u>RIEVAULX:</u>	Maurice of:	<u>Liber Mauricii scilicet Specula Monastica religionis & Apologia eiusdem & itinerarium pacis & Rithmus eiusdem & de translatione corporis St. Cuthberti'.</u>
<u>KIRKSTALL:</u>	Hugh monk of (?)	Kirkstall chronicle (late twelfth-early thirteenth century).
<u>NEWBURGH:</u>	William of:	<u>Historia Rerum Anglicarum. c.1198? Explanation Sacri Epithalamii in Matrem sponsi.</u>
<u>KIRKHAM:</u>	Maurice prior of:	<u>Contra Salomites.</u>
<u>BRIDLINGTON:</u>	Robert the Scribe, prior of:	<u>Colloquium magistri et discipuli in regula Beati Augustini de vita clericorum.</u> exposition of the Epistles of Paul, glosses on the Pentateuch, commentaries on the twelve greater Prophets and the Apocalypse.

The evidence for the literary and intellectual activities of the Yorkshire monastic houses of the twelfth century is, then, fairly wideranging, and thus only the briefest of descriptions can be applied to each work. This inquiry began by asking the question: what can the literature produced in the monasteries of Yorkshire tell us of the nature of monasticism in this region, what, in other words, is its value as historical evidence?

One feature which stands out clearly is the traditional methods and tastes of the Yorkshire writers. Bearing in mind that the works that survive may not be representative, the evidence we have suggests a great interest in history and hagiography. This is indicated not only by the number of historical works produced, but also by the evidence of the Rievaulx library catalogue. In this respect the tastes of the Yorkshire monasteries were conventional, and differed little from other English houses.¹ The historical and hagiographical works produced had, however, a definite northern slant, largely, it would seem, dictated by the Durham and Hexham

1. Knowles, Monastic Order, p.501. '... practically the whole of the output of monastic learning between the Conquest and the reign of Stephen was devoted to hagiography and history'; Wormald, English Library before 1700, pp.93-94; Gransden, Historical Writing, p. 296.

connections of Ailred of Rievaulx. In the genre of monastic foundation histories the Yorkshire houses made a definite contribution. The Selby history is an outstanding and sophisticated example of this type of writing, and in the Byland narrative we find the earliest known English Cistercian example. As we have seen there were three Cistercian histories produced in Yorkshire in the twelfth century; these were followed by the more famous Fountains history and the Meaux chronicle. These five works were the most outstanding examples of this type of literature; similar works produced in Cistercian houses elsewhere in England (Furness, Iniscourcy, Ford, Thame, Kirkstead, Kingswood, Pipewell, Beaulieu and Vale Royal) were much shorter compilations, and sometimes confined to a brief statement of the foundation, followed by a genealogy of the family of the founder or patron.¹

In these Yorkshire works, as in the more general histories of Ailred of Rievaulx and William of Newburgh, the Yorkshire monasteries made an important contribution to the literary achievements of twelfth-century England. The same, of course, must be said of the devotional writings of Ailred of Rievaulx, whose great popularity and influence in the Middle Ages, attested both by the number of extant manuscripts of his works and by the way they were used by other writers, bear witness to contemporary recognition of his literary and spiritual qualities.² In the field of theology and biblical exegesis, as we have seen, little controversial was written, although interesting contributions were made by Robert of Bridlington. This again is true of most English monasteries. The new developments in theological exposition which characterized the twelfth century Renaissance, found expression in the schools rather than in the monasteries. There is some evidence of

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1. L.G.D. Baker, 'Studies in the 'Narratio de Fundatione Fontanis monasterii' Oxford B.Litt. thesis 1967, p.75.
 2. For the distribution of the known manuscripts of Ailred, and the use of his works by later writers, see A. Hoste, Bibliotheca Aelrediana.

interest in canon law in the Yorkshire houses; law books occur in the libraries of Rievaulx and Whitby, and a collection of decretals was made at Fountains.¹ There appears to have been no widespread interest in this subject; this is what one might expect, bearing in mind the predominance of the Cistercian order in Yorkshire, and their attitude towards this area of study.

It is striking that no Yorkshire house appears to have developed a lasting tradition of literary activity as at houses such as St Alban's and Bury St Edmunds. There are no surviving chronicles from Yorkshire houses, such as were numerous in the southern monasteries,² and no works in the vernacular.³ In Yorkshire the abbey which, on the evidence we have, appears to have come closest to a continuing literary tradition was Rievaulx, which produced men of the ability of Ailred and Maurice (early entrants into the house), 'magister' Walter Daniel and in the thirteenth century, Matthew and Nicholas. The reputation left by Ailred in 1167 was still strong some thirty years later. The preface to William of Newburgh's 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum' indicates that Abbot Ernald felt that there were, at Rievaulx, men capable of writing historical works. He was unwilling for them to do so, wishing to preserve the internal discipline of the house.⁴ In the late twelfth century Rievaulx ceased to dominate English Cistercian writing as it had under Ailred; this role seems to have passed to Ford.⁵

No other Yorkshire house appears to have produced the number of writers that Rievaulx did. Robert the Scribe of Bridlington and William of Newburgh are the only known representatives of literary activity in these houses before c1200. Compared to some Augustinian houses elsewhere this is a poor record: Aldgate priory had in its first two priors Norman and Ralph,

1. See above, p. 359.

2. The Kirkstall chronicle was continued in the fourteenth century; the Meaux chronicle (covering the period 1151-c1400) was a single compilation of the late fourteenth century.

3. See M.D. Legge, Anglo Norman in the Cloisters (Edinburgh, 1950) for works in the vernacular produced by monastic houses.

4. See above p. 471.

5. C.J. Holdsworth, 'John of Ford and English Cistercian Writing 1167-1215', p.132: 'This attempt to compare his (i.e. John's) achievement with that of his contemporaries shows very clearly that there was no Cistercian house so rich in writers as Ford, with the possible exception of Rievaulx.'

scholars of repute, in its fourth prior Peter of Cornwall, a famous teacher and in its fifth prior, Richard, the author of the Itinerarium Regis Ricardi; Merton priory nurtured writers such as Guy the Italian, Gervase, Rainald, Prior William and the canon who began the Dunstable Annals. The houses of St Osyth, Llanthony, Cirencester, St Frideswith and Hexham, produced more than one writer of note.¹

The literary activities of the Yorkshire monasteries were dominated by a handful of men. There are indications, however, of a wider circle of scholars whose works may not have survived. Maurice of Rievaulx (formerly a monk of Durham and for a brief time abbot of Fountains) 'had climbed so high as to be called by his companions a second Bede; and truly in his day, by his pre-eminence both in life and learning he alone could be compared with Bede'.² Alexander, fourth abbot of Meaux (1197-1210) left a reputation at Meaux as a man 'bonus et bene litteratus'.³ Thorald, like Maurice a monk of Rievaulx and for a short time abbot of Fountains, is described as 'homo, in scripturis sacris, non mediocriter edoctus, et in liberalibus studiis apprime eruditus'.⁴ Henry Murdac was a teacher at York before his entry into Clairvaux, and William, first abbot of Rievaulx, may have been his pupil.

Although the majority of monks in the houses of Yorkshire might have been untouched by this intellectual activity, there was a corpus of scholars in the Yorkshire monasteries capable of producing a variety of literary texts (of which perhaps only a proportion has survived or been identified.) Although not large, this intellectual elite was important. Professor Knowles expressed the view that nothing 'so far as can be gathered, was written for the benefit of those outside the walls of the monasteries'.⁵

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1. J.C. Dickinson, Austin Canons, pp. 187-89.
 2. Vita Ailredi, p.33.
 3. Chron. Melsa, I, p.289.
 4. Mem. Ftns. I, p.105.
 5. Knowles, Monastic Order, p. 501.

This is a debatable point; the 'Historia' of Byland may have been written for Roger de Mowbray for instance; certainly many of the works written in Yorkshire achieved wide popularity. Some were definitely intended for circulation; others were specifically requested by outsiders. We know that St Bernard persuaded Ailred to write the 'Speculum Caritatis'; Ernald of Rievaulx commissioned the 'Historia Rerum Anglicarum' and an unknown patron the 'Historia Selebiensis Monasterii'. Robert of Bridlington addressed one of his works to Gervase, abbot of Louth Park, Ailred his 'Sermones de Oneribus' to Gilbert, bishop of London. Ailred's saints' lives were requested by an abbot of Westminster and the canons of Hexham, and (possibly) by a bishop of Whithorn.

A considerable amount of co-operation assisted the literary work of the Yorkshire houses, and indicates that the reputation of various men was not confined to their own monastery, to their own order or to their own geographical region. That such works could be produced can tell us something of the nature of monasticism in Yorkshire in its pioneer century. One cannot argue for a total commitment on the part of individuals to contemplation or to writing. Such would have been impossible within the framework of organized monastic life. Ailred's mystical works grew out of the austere realities of monastic life in its early days, but Ailred was also a busy man, burdened with the cares of administration of a large monastery. So too, was Philip of Byland. One can, however, argue for a degree of flexibility in even the most stringent of monastic orders which enabled these men to write, and to write prolifically.

CONCLUSION.

The twelfth century was undoubtedly the most dramatic period of monastic history in England, as it was elsewhere in Europe. In Yorkshire foundations took place at an average rate of one every two to three years over the period c1069-1200, the most outstanding period of expansion being before 1150. To this rapid expansion an end obviously had to come; the Yorkshire of 1200 was well-nigh saturated with religious houses. Thereafter, apart from a few later foundations (the Gilbertine priory of St. Andrew, Fishergate, York; the Templar preceptories of Faxfleet, Ribston and Wetherby; the houses of friars in York, Hull, Beverley and Knaresborough, and the Charterhouses of Hull and Mount Grace), the religious devotion of the laity was generally diverted towards the endowment of existing houses as well as to new types of religious institution like the chantry. After 1200, with these few exceptions, the monastic map of Yorkshire was to remain virtually unchanged until the Dissolution, for all the houses whose origins have been discussed in this thesis (except certain alien cells ¹) survived until the 1530s.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries, the formative period of the monastic houses of Yorkshire, were centuries of infinite variety. Monastic foundations were, as we have seen, the result of many factors: the eremitical vocation of men like Benedict of Selby and Reinfrid of Whitby; the organizing ability and ambition of monks such as Stephen of St. Mary's, York and Adam of Fountains; the devotional instincts of the lay baronage; the desire to atone for sins or to compensate for broken vows, as well as the more material desire to provide for a member of the founder's family. ² Contact

1. See above, pp. 47-60.

2. See above, pp. 304-29.

with the laity, itself an irony for an order of men dedicated to retreat from the world, was of paramount importance. The laity provided lands and benefactions in great quantity, were entertained at monasteries, and not infrequently used religious houses for a variety of social, economic and political purposes.¹ The religious orders of Yorkshire also, as we have seen, played a considerable role in the spiritual life of the Northern Province of the English church on both a diocesan and parochial level.²

The eleventh and twelfth centuries in Yorkshire were full of the religious vitality and vigour of an age of rebirth of monasticism, when the monasteries, a new spiritual and moral force, exerted a powerful influence on the society around them. This is perhaps nowhere more evident than in the dispute which centred around the election to the vacant see of York in 1141-7, when members of the 'new' orders united to oppose the election of a man they considered unworthy of high ecclesiastical office, and succeeded in securing his deposition.³ By 1200, by an almost inevitable process of involvement in the interests of their lay patrons and benefactors and in commercial activity, the monasteries themselves became part of the social order, and as such became also targets for criticism on the part of those who perhaps looked back to the days when the monastic order's most obvious wealth was spiritual rather than material.⁴

If one were to write the history of the Yorkshire monasteries in the thirteenth or fourteenth, rather than the twelfth century, the picture would be quite different. Not only did some fundamental

1. See above, pp. 329-46.

2. See above, pp. 347-416.

3. See above, pp. 353-54.

4. For the beginning of this criticism in the twelfth century, see Knowles, Monastic Order, pp. 662-78.

reorganization take place in the structure of monastic life, but those changes are themselves reflected in a wider variety of documentary evidence than has been available for the present thesis. The fourth Lateran Council of 1215, for instance, substantially altered the government of the 'old' orders by inaugurating a system of provincial chapters; by emulating one of the successful features of Cistercian government, the Council thus ended, or at least modified the centuries old autonomy of the Black Monk houses. The first of the Northern provincial chapters of the Benedictines accordingly met at Northallerton in 1221.¹ In a similar way provincial chapters were introduced into the order of the Augustinian canons; and here too records of the Northern Province provide an abundant source for the later history of the Northern Black Canons.²

The records of the provincial chapters shed occasional light on the internal affairs of the Yorkshire religious houses. So, too, do the visitation records preserved in the York archiepiscopal registers, which survive from the pontificate of Archbishop Walter de Gray (1215-55). As has been seen, in the twelfth century the Yorkshire monasteries enjoyed a relative freedom from episcopal control. In this early period the visitation of monasteries by the diocesan does not seem to have been fully recognized, and indeed in matters of direct concern to the diocese, such as the appropriation of parish churches and the appointment of vicars, the monasteries seem frequently to have acted without due episcopal authorization.³ The fourth Lateran Council affirmed the right of the bishop to visit the monasteries of his diocese, and the York registers from 1225 provide interesting, if sporadic information about the internal

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1. Chapters of the English Black Monks, ed. W.A.Pantin, Camden Soc. 3rd series, 45, 47, 54 (1931-37).
 2. Chapters of the Augustinian Canons, ed. H.E.Salter, Oxford Historical Society, 74 (1920).
 3. See above, pp. 394-99.

affairs of some of the Yorkshire monasteries. The visitation records also illustrate the increasing control which the archbishop of York began to exercise over the monasteries of his diocese. At Bridlington Priory, for instance, reforms were made by successive archbishops over a fifty year period; ¹ even worse abuses were corrected at Selby Abbey by Archbishops Giffard, Wickwane, Greenfield and Melton from 1275 to 1334. ²

The material welfare of all the Yorkshire houses was inevitably affected by the changing economic and social trends of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century England. ³ The period up to 1200 or so was one in which many Benedictine houses, for instance, had farmed out their manors on a large scale, rejecting a system of direct exploitation. This is particularly in evidence at St. Mary's Abbey, York. ⁴ After 1200, however, this trend was generally at least partly reversed, and the Black Monks began to accept fuller responsibility for their manors, sometimes taking into their own hands those which had been farmed out. Although specific evidence of this practice is more abundant for some of the Southern houses, it is possible that in Yorkshire this general trend prevailed. ⁵ For the Cistercian houses in particular overseas commerce in wool, the beginnings of which can be seen in the twelfth century, blossomed into a lucrative trade with Flanders, Brabant and Italy. Although Cistercian wool exports were already

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1. Reg. Wickwane, p.87; Reg. le Romeyn, 1, pp.199-202; B.I. Reg. 9 (Reg. Melton) fos. 228,273,285v. See also Knowles, Religious Orders, 1, pp.90-91.
 2. Reg. Giffard, pp.324-26; Reg. Wickwane, p.23; Reg. Greenfield, 2, pp.13-14; B.I.Reg. 9 (Reg. Melton), fos.164,209v.
 3. See, for instance, I.Kershaw, 'The Great Famine and Agrarian Crisis in England 1315-1322', Past and Present 59 (1973), pp.3-50.
 4. See above, pp. 38-41.
 5. See for instance E.King, Peterborough Abbey (Cambridge,1973), pp. 126-67.

extensive by the 1190s, the evidence for the later middle ages suggests a heavier involvement in overseas trade and a greater degree of sophistication in business activities. The monks of Fountains, for instance, indulged in the practice of mortgaging future wool yields in return for substantial money payments, a feature which may have existed but which is not recorded in the earlier period.¹ Even more drastic changes took place in the fourteenth century when various factors combined to remove the 'conversi', the class of laymen on whom the Cistercian economic system had been based. Finally and in general fuller and more varied financial records of houses of all orders in Yorkshire enable more precise conclusions to be drawn about their economy than is possible from the charters of the early period.²

Although the source material for the study of the Yorkshire monasteries is more abundant and more varied for the later middle ages, yet in that era as for the period under review in this thesis, there remains an obvious deficiency in our knowledge, the social origins of the men and women who entered the religious life. We have the names of a few such people, like Ailred of Rievaulx, Ralph Haget, Matilda de Arches, but such instances are few and far between; considering the thousands who must have lived their lives in the religious houses of Yorkshire in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, these names are like a drop in the ocean. There is accordingly no

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1. It was probably this practice which caused the debt of Fountains Abbey to the Italian merchants (amounting to £6,473) in 1291: Knowles, Religious Orders, 1, p.68.
 2. See for instance I.Kershaw, Bolton Priory Rentals and Ministers' Accounts, 1473-1539, Y.A.S.R.S. 132 (1970); W.T.Lancaster 'A Fifteenth-Century Rental of Nostell Priory', Y.A.S.R.S. Miscellanea I, 61 (1920), pp.108-35; J.C.Atkinson, 'An Account Roll of Selby Abbey, 1397-8', Y.A.J. 15 (1900), pp. 408-19.

reliable way of knowing what sorts of people entered the religious houses of eleventh- and twelfth-century Yorkshire, and for what reasons. It is equally obvious that, however abundant the sources for the study of the material aspects of medieval monasteries may be, no documentary source is capable of answering questions concerning the spiritual development and character of the great majority of the religious themselves. The monks, nuns and canons of twelfth-century Yorkshire have left abiding memorials to their energy and zeal: but, as men and women, they remain inscrutable for ever.

APPENDIX I. THE BUILDING PROGRAMME.

The literature on monastic architecture in general is voluminous, and several of the more distinguished Yorkshire abbeys have been singled out for attention.¹ It is not, therefore, the aim of this brief appendix to rehearse the architectural details of those monastic houses in Yorkshire which have left extensive ruins. It is rather intended to gather together the threads of documentary and architectural evidence which shed light on the process and progress of monastic building in Yorkshire in the twelfth century: at what stage the monks began to build in stone and where the building material came from; how long the construction took; what influenced the design and layout of the buildings; who actually constructed or supervised the construction of the buildings, and how the programme was financed.² To attempt this presents two major problems. On the documentary side very little was recorded of the process by which buildings were constructed; certainly there are no building accounts, and written evidence is confined to brief references in charters and monastic chronicles. Furthermore it is often difficult to envisage, from the physical remains, the extent of the monastery in the twelfth century. Although at some sites, notably Kirkstall, the original buildings remained virtually unchanged until the Dissolution, at the more wealthy houses or those which, like Guisborough, were destroyed by fire at some stage of their history, rebuilding and redesign of various sections of the monastery was common.

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1. Like Fountains, Jervaulx and Kirkstall: see below, pp. 507-8, 511-12, 508-9.
 2. These subjects are here best treated order by order, since, a) the Cistercian plan had particular features unique to that order, and b) with one or two exceptions the foundations followed a chronological pattern, i.e. Benedictines and Cluniacs c1069-1100, Augustinians 1114-1140, Cistercians 1132-52, nunneries 1150-1200.

The Benedictine houses were, by the nature of their Rule, autonomous. This independence also applied to their buildings; there were none of the restrictions which regulated the design of Cistercian abbeys. The earliest Benedictine houses to be constructed in stone in Yorkshire were those of Whitby and St. Mary's, York. At both these, however, both documentary and architectural evidence is scarce. The Whitby cartulary tells us that, on coming to Whitby in c1079 Reinfrid discovered that 'oratoria paene quadraginta; tantum parietes et alteria vacua et discooperta remanserant'.¹ It may have been that these ruins were used for temporary shelter for some time. Of the actual Norman buildings there are now no physical remains, but excavations have revealed the layout of the abbey church. The first permanent stone church appears to have been begun towards the close of the eleventh century. It consisted of a choir of two or three bays with an apsidal east end and side aisles; the transepts were also apsidal, and contained eastern chapels. This suggests that the building was of an 'early Benedictine' type, possibly repeated at Selby, and duplicated at St. Mary's, York.² There is no written evidence for the date at which the building was begun; the only documentary reference we have is that the chapter house was constructed in the time of Abbot Richard (1148-75).³

As at Whitby, all that can be seen of the abbey of St. Mary's, York (apart from the twelfth-century vestibule to the chapter house) dates from the thirteenth century and later. The Norman church was begun in 1089 when, according to tradition, William II laid the foundation stone.⁴ The plan of the church, revealed by excavation, indicates that the east end was of a similar type to St. Albans. The choir probably had two

1. Cart. Whitby, I, p.2.

2. On the architecture of Whitby, see A. Clapham, Whitby Abbey (Ministry of Works, 1952). There is a twelfth-century passageway off the south transept.

3. Cart. Whitby, I, p.10.

4. Mon. Ang. III, p.546.

bays and an apsidal east end with apsidal chapels. The nave may have been of eight bays.¹ In contrast, for the process of building at Selby we are fortunate in possessing two sources. Both the 'Historia Selebiensis Monasterii' and the abbey church itself (the nave of which dates to the twelfth century) provide some evidence for the sequence of building. When Benedict first arrived at Selby he built a small oratory, and within a few years other buildings of a temporary nature had been erected.² There was no stone building before the time of Abbot Hugh (1096/7-c1122): 'usque ad suum tempus omnes officinae lignae fuerant'. The small 'tugurium vel potius vmbraculum' and the 'oratoriolum' of Benedict were abandoned by Hugh in favour of a site further away from the waters of the Ouse.

The abbey church and other offices were therefore begun in 1097 at the earliest. Very little is known of the progress of their construction, save that Hugh himself did not scorn to take part in the building:

Quotidie siquidam cucullo indutus operario, lapides, calcem et quaeque operi necessaria humeris suis supposita cum ceteris operariis ad murum solebat aduehere, et omni sabbato mercedem sibi sicut unus ex operariis accipiens, pauperibus erogavit .

This reference to paid workmen implies that, at least in part, the work was being undertaken by skilled labourers.³ The emulation of the nave piers at Durham (and Hugh visited the cathedral in 1104 for the translation of the relics of St. Cuthbert) makes it likely that masons formerly employed at Durham supervised the building at Selby.⁴ The east

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1. A. Clapham, English Romanesque Architecture after the Conquest (Oxford, 1934), pp.18-50. The three-apse east end is the most common type among early Norman churches, and occurs also at Westminster, Lincoln, Canterbury, Old Sarum, St. Albans, Ely and Durham. On St. Mary's, see Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, City of York, IV (London, 1975), pp.3-24.
 2. For this, and the references which follow, see Selby Coucher, pp.(22)-(3).
 3. Dobson, 'The First Norman Abbey', p.175; L.F. Salzman, Building in England down to 1540 (Oxford, 1952), p.3.
 4. T.S.R. Boase, English Art, 1100-1216 (Oxford, 1953), p.19. On the nave sculpture see G. Zarnecki, Later English Romanesque Sculpture 1140-1210 (London, 1953), pp.34-35. A date of c1140 is assigned to the sculpture.

end constructed by Hugh has now disappeared; it has been suggested, on architectural evidence, that the west portal was reached about 1170.¹ This means that the construction of the church took about sixty to sixty-five years to complete.² The monastic buildings (now completely destroyed) were erected at the same time. Little is said of their progress except that they were begun by Hugh ('... regularibus etiam officinis regulariter circumaedificatis ... suas oves caulis pastor devotus induxit'), and that the chapter-house was completed by the time of his death.³

The early Cluniac houses of England bore a great resemblance to the Benedictine houses; only the priory of Lewes copied the plan of the third church of Cluny itself. All the remaining churches seem to have had the normal three apse plan. The original plan of Pontefract, perhaps constructed soon after the foundation in the last years of the eleventh century, appears to have been of this type. The church was destroyed, or at least badly damaged, in the reign of King Stephen, and had to be rebuilt. The new church, consecrated by Roger de Pont L'Evêque in 1159,⁴ was evidently of a totally different type, and was influenced by the architecture of the Cistercian order. Like its daughter house of Monk Bretton (fd.1153-54) it had a square east end of the Cistercian type.⁵

Very little remains of the architecture of the Augustinian order in Yorkshire. The most impressive sites are Kirkham, Bolton and Guisborough, though only the former has extensive remains of the twelfth century. There

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1. On the architecture of Selby, see C.C.Hodges, 'The Architectural History of Selby Abbey', Selby Coucher, II, pp.i-lvii.
 2. The 'Historia' implies that most of the church had been completed by the time of Hugh's death: 'Tandem ergo maxima Ecclesiae parte Dei adiutorio perfecta'.
 3. Hugh was buried there: Selby Coucher, p.(25).
 4. E.Y.C. III no.1477.
 5. On the architecture of Pontefract see the excavation reports by C.V. Bellamy, Pontefract Priory Excavations 1957-61, Thoresby Soc.49 (1965). On Monk Bretton see R.Graham and R.Gilyard Beer, Monk Bretton Priory, (Ministry of Works, repr.1966).

are no remains at all at Drax, Warter, Nostell, Newburgh or Marton.¹ Unfortunately the comparatively meagre remains of these houses cannot be supplemented by documentary evidence.² For instance, all that we know about the building of the original church of Guisborough (destroyed by fire in 1289³) is that the materials may have come from Eskdale. Robert de Brus, founder of the house, granted to the canons 'materiam in Escadala in perpetuum ad aedificia sua'.⁴ It would appear that the church of Kirkham was near completion in the period 1140-43 (i.e. within twenty years) for the agreement made with Rievaulx, which probably dates from these years, refers to the stained glass windows in the church.⁵

The fullest documentary evidence, however, comes from the unpublished Act Book of the priors of Nostell. In 1121, when the community of hermits or clerks was reformed on the lines of an Augustinian priory, the original convent was apparently dwelling in a 'turgurium sine oratorio'. The site of the hermitage, the 'vetus locus quo modo ecclesia parochialis est' (Wragby) was abandoned by Prior Athelwulf (?1121 or 1129-53) in favour of a new site 'quod prope est stagnum'.⁶ It was Athelwulf who built the crypts, and Prior Anketil (1175-91) who 'ut traditur ... chorum incepit et aliös domos plantavit'.⁷ This suggests that building was a slow process at Nostell, as it was still in progress in 1191.

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1. At Marton the outlines of the monastic buildings are clearly visible.
 2. There is a similar lack of documentary evidence both for the Premonstratensian and Gilbertine houses. Buildings of the twelfth century survive at Easby and Old Malton, and the site of the double house of Watton has been excavated.
 3. Chronicon Walteri de Hemingburgh, ed. H.C.Hamilton (London, 1848), II, pp. 18-19.
 4. Cart. Guis. I, nos. 1-2.
 5. Cart. Riev. no. 149, and see above, p. 104. On Kirkham see C. Peers, Kirkham Priory (Ministry of Works, 1946). The following buildings are of a twelfth-century date: the south wall of the nave and the south transept (c. 1140), the rest of the nave (rebuilt c. 1180). The choir and presbytery were rebuilt in the thirteenth century.
 6. On the 'vetus locus' of Nostell, see above, pp. 88-90.
 7. Nostell Priory MS C/A/1 fo. 88.

By far the fullest evidence, both archaeological and documentary, comes from the Cistercian houses. The Cistercian statutes contained very strict rules about the construction and form of the monastic buildings. Certain buildings, namely the church, refectory, dormitory, guest house and gate house, had to be completed before the occupation of the site were permitted.¹ Furthermore, echoing St. Bernard's personal views on architecture, churches were to be plain and unadorned, in order that the attention of the worshipper be not distracted from his true purpose.²

Not only was Rievaulx Abbey the earliest foundation in Yorkshire, but the remains of the nave provide what is probably the earliest surviving Cistercian nave in England (and earlier than any surviving nave in France).³ It has been dated, on architectural grounds, to the period 1135-40; this suggests that the building programme got off to a quick start. Assuming that, in keeping with convention, building began at the east end, the entire nave would have been completed within ten years of the foundation. It may well have been that the church was built before the monastic offices were begun in stone, rather than the two being built concurrently. Walter Daniel described how, on Ailred's first visit to Rievaulx the brethren were dwelling in huts.⁴ If the church was completed as quickly as the archaeological evidence suggests, then it is likely that this state of affairs persisted for some time. It seems that the chapter house was remodelled in the time of Ailred (1147-67) and the administrative buildings begun in stone. By the end of the twelfth century, it would seem that the western range, and

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1. Canivez, Statuta, I, p.15. On Cistercian architecture, and its particular relevance to the monastic historian, see C.Brooke, The Monastic World, pp.135-62.
 2. Stone bell-towers were forbidden, but many of the English houses did build them. Fountains and Kirkstall had provision for a crossing tower.
 3. On the architecture of Rievaulx see C.Peers, Rievaulx Abbey (Ministry of Works, 1967). A puzzling feature of the abbey is the lack of provision for the hundreds of lay brethren whom Walter Daniel stated to have been at the abbey in the time of Ailred.
 4. Vita Ailredi, p.12: 'They set up their huts near Helmsley ...'

the monks' dormitory had been completed. We may assume that when the remodelling of the choir took place in the thirteenth century the abbey buildings had been completed.

The stone with which the buildings were constructed came from the vicinity of the abbey. A quarry was acquired at Bow Bridge, one and a half miles away, and another at a distance of six miles. The stone was transported along the river Rye, and various land acquisitions enabled the monks to divert the water course to allow easier transportation.¹ Building must have been continuous at Rievaulx from a remarkably early date in the abbey's history, until the end of the twelfth century and beyond. It was perhaps this extensive programme which involved the monks in debts to the Jews in the later part of the century.²

Like Rievaulx, the abbey of Fountains is of a primitive Cistercian type, and in such features as its barrel transverse vaults betrays the influence of Burgundian architectural models. Unlike Rievaulx, however, the building of Fountains took a considerable time to get underway. This is understandable. In its early days Fountains lacked lay patrons and landed endowments. There was no money for building, and no-one to undertake its supervision. Until c1135 the monks were merely satisfied with the basic necessities, and constructed all they could from wood: '... de vicina silva virgas cedentes unde oratorium construantur ...'³ Following their reception into the Cistercian order, St. Bernard sent to the monks Geoffrey d'Amayo, and, 'ad ejus consilium casas erigunt, ordinant officinas'.⁴

How far the buildings had progressed by c1147 is unknown. The author of the 'Narratio' described with horror the destruction of the

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1. J. Weatherill, 'Rievaulx Abbey, the Stone used in its Building, with notes on the Means of Transport, and a new study of the Diversions of the River Rye in the twelfth century!', Y.A.J. 38 (1952-55), pp.333-54.
 2. See above, p. 457.
 3. Mem.Ftns.I, p.35.
 4. Ibid. p.47.

abbey in that year by the followers of William fitz Herbert.¹ The extent of the damage is not known; the author spoke of the oratory and the nearby offices alone being saved. He told how reconstruction took place with the aid of local men: 'Adjuvabant eos de vicina viri fideles; et consurgit fabrica longa festivius quam ante fuit'.²

Archaeological evidence suggests that the stone buildings had not, in fact, progressed very far by 1147; probably only the five easternmost bays of the nave and the east end had been completed. They were apparently untouched by the fire and it is likely that only the wooden buildings nearby suffered.³

Building continued at Fountains throughout the twelfth century. The written sources single out the office of Abbot Robert of Pipewell (1170-80) as a great period of building activity: 'constauravit ecclesie fabricam, edificia construxit sumptuosa'.⁴ Archaeological investigation has distinguished three main phases of building in the twelfth century: the period 1138-50, in which the east end and easternmost bays of the nave were built; 1160-80, when the chapter-house, western range, the cellarer's office and the monks' reredorter were constructed; and the last years of the century when the western guest house and the lay brothers' refectory were erected.

Like Fountains one of her daughter houses, Kirkstall, preserves the aspect of primitive Cistercian architecture. The chronicler of Kirkstall provides us with a little information about the process of the construction of the abbey. Before the occupation of the first site of Barnoldwick, the abbot of the mother house of Fountains sent brethren to construct 'humble offices according to the form of the

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1. 'edificia, in suo sudore constructa non sine cordis dolore vident flammis involvi': Mem.Ftns. I, p.101.
 2. Ibid. I, p.102.
 3. See W.H.St. John Hope, 'Fountains Abbey', Y.A.J. 15 (1900), pp.269-402 and R.Gilyard-Beer, Fountains Abbey (Ministry of Works, 1970).
 4. Mem.Ftns., I, p.114.

order'.¹ These would have been of a temporary nature, and within five years the site had been abandoned by the monks, although it was retained as a grange. Extensive clearance of the ground was apparently necessary at Kirkstall before building was begun. The patron of the house, Henry de Lacy, evidently helped towards the cost of the buildings: '... now supplying money as the needs of the establishment required. He had part in providing the buildings, laid with his own hands the foundations of the church, and himself completed the whole fabric at his own cost'.²

The buildings were constructed in the period of office of the first abbot of Kirkstall, Alexander (1152-82). Some of these, i.e. the claustral buildings, may have been of wood. The chronicler of Kirkstall told how the buildings of the abbey 'were erected of stone and wood brought there, that is the church and either dormitory of the monks to wit, and either refectory, the cloister, and the chapter and other offices necessary within the abbey, and all these covered excellently with tiles.'³ The abbey church of Kirkstall stands to the greatest height of any of the Yorkshire Cistercian churches, and is a fine example of the Cistercian style. The evidence of the Kirkstall chronicler enables us to say that the entire church was completed within about thirty years of the foundation of the house.⁴

Sallay Abbey, a 'granddaughter house' of Fountains also appears to have been a 'primitive' Cistercian type, with an aisleless nave, transepts with square eastern chapels and an aisleless presbytery.⁵ There is no documentary evidence for the progress of the construction. Roche, also founded in 1147, is of a more advanced Cistercian plan. There is no

1. Fundacio ... de Kyrkestall, p.174.

2. Ibid. pp.179-80.

3. Ibid. p.181. Floor tiles of a twelfth-century date survive from Byland Abbey.

4. On the architecture of Kirkstall, see J.Le Patourel et al., Kirkstall Abbey Excavations 1950-54, Thoresby Soc. 43 (1955); Kirkstall Abbey Excavations 1960-1964, ibid. 51 (1967).

5. The presbytery was later widened, giving the church a distorted look: D.Knowles and J.K.S.St.Joseph, Monastic Sites from the Air (Cambridge, 1952), pp.100-101.

documentary evidence for the building of the abbey save the possibility that it contributed to the vast debts accrued by the abbey in the 1160s and 1170s.¹ If this supposition is correct, the monks, rather than a lay patron (as at Kirkstall) were financing their own buildings. The pattern of the buildings appears to have been closely modelled on that of Fountains; it is therefore possible that the abbot of Fountains (the 'grandmother'house of Roche) dispatched brethren to aid, or to supervise, the construction of the buildings at the new house. Furthermore, the transepts and chancel of Roche bear a distinct resemblance to their counterparts at Kirkstall. The church and western range of Roche date from the late twelfth century.²

The Cistercian abbey of Byland is of a more advanced type than those already discussed. Here construction began very late, owing to the various moves made by the community. The first site of the abbey, Hood, lacked space: 'nimis arctus fuit ad abbaciam construendam'.³ The second site, Old Byland, was situated too close to Rievaulx, and in 1147 the monks moved to Stocking.⁴ The documentary evidence gives no clear indication of the date at which the monks received their fourth site at New Byland, and thus the date at which building would have begun here is unknown. However, the western range (the lay brothers' quarters) is the earliest work, and was undoubtedly constructed before the move took place in 1177. The south wall and the south transept of the church also date from the earliest period of construction.⁵ The east end of the church and the north transept appear to be of a slightly later date, and it is likely

1. See above, p.220.

2. It is likely that the stone for the buildings of Roche came from the immediate vicinity of the abbey, as this is an extremely rocky area.

See A.Hamilton Thompson, Roche Abbey (Ministry of Works, 1954).

3. Mon. Ang. V, p.350.

4. On these migrations, see above, pp. 177-186.

5. See C.Peers, Byland Abbey (Ministry of Works, revised edn. 1952).

that they, and the chapter-house, dormitory and kitchen were completed by c1200.

Very little was added to the abbey of Byland in later centuries. It thus preserves an integrity which is lacking in abbeys where rebuilding was common. It is of a distinct 'late Cistercian' design. Although the written evidence is far from complete, it seems likely that a considerable amount of work had been done on the buildings before the actual occupation in 1177. At Stocking the monks were not far away from their new site, and labour could have been sent there to clear the ground in preparation for the construction of the abbey.¹ The lay brethren's quarters may have been fairly early in date, for it is probable that forces would have been dispatched to the new site to prepare it for occupation.

It is likely that the same kind of situation arose at Jervaulx, where a second site was occupied in or around the year 1156. Again one of the principal objections to the first site was that it was unsuitable for the construction of an abbey: 'locus ille ineptus et insufficiens fuit ad abbatiam construendam'.² None of the buildings on the original site of Fors were, as far as we know, of stone. The author of the 'Historia Foundationis' of Jervaulx told how the monks erected 'primam domum ligneam in loco oratorii'.³ The western range is, as at Byland, the earliest part of the monastic complex. Archaeological evidence suggests that the middle years of the twelfth century saw the construction of parts of the nave (the cloister wall) and the southern range containing the refectory, kitchen and warming house, and the late twelfth century, the construction of the transepts and the extension of the monks' dormitory. The nave and the chapter house were completed by

1. Mon. Ang. V, p.353.

2. Ibid. p.572.

3. Ibid. p.569.

the early thirteenth century.¹

There is only one Cistercian abbey, Meaux, which has no existing architectural remains. It is ironic that this house, which has the fullest documentary evidence for the process of the construction of the abbey buildings, has left no physical remains whatsoever. The site of Meaux was carefully chosen by Abbot Adam, and is an unusual site in that it does not lie in a valley, but rather on an exposed plateau. We have a clear description of the nature of the first buildings. '(Comes) fecit ergo aedificari quandam magnam domum, licet ex vili cemate, ubi nunc stabilitur pistrinum, in qua conventus adventurus, donec providentius pro eis ordinaretur, habitaret. Fecit etiam quandam capellam juxta domum predictam, quae modo dicitur camera cellararii, ubi monachi omnes in inferiori solarario postea decubabant, et in superiora divina officia devotus persolvebant'.²

It was not long before Adam began to rebuild his abbey. He is recorded as having replaced the large hall which acted both as oratory and dormitory with a new structure: 'Abbas ... et monachi aedificaverunt magnam illam domum ubi nunc brasium nostrum conficitur de tabulis quae de ipso castro ligneo exstiterunt; cujus partem superiorem similiter pro oratorio, inferiorem vero pro dormitorio diutius habuerunt.'³ Philip, second abbot (1160-82) acquired stone quarries in Brantingham and Burgh for the building of the abbey, and was responsible for the construction of the church and the monks' dormitory in stone.⁴ His successor Thomas

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1. On the architecture of Jervaulx see W.H.St. John Hope and H. Brakspear, 'Jervaulx Abbey', Y.A.J. 21 (1911), pp.303-44. It is unusual that the east end of the church appears to have been built last, whereas it was the usual custom to build from east to west.
 2. Chron. Melsa, I, p.82. One has to be wary, of course, about the reliability of the chronicler in this matter. Writing in the late fourteenth century he may well have made errors about the building sequence.
 3. Ibid. I, p.107. The castle referred to was Montferant (Birdsall), destroyed by William of Aumale.
 4. Ibid. I, pp.171,178.

(1182-97) built the warming house, kitchen and refectory (i.e. the south range) and began to rebuild Philip's church, which he considered unfashionable. ¹ Under his successor, Alexander (1197-1210), the refectory of the lay brethren was completed, their dormitory begun and a stone cloister commenced. The two latter were completed in the period 1210-20. ² Thus after fifty or sixty years the buildings of Meaux were still not completed in stone. The chronicle goes on to record the further progress of the construction: the completion of the lay brothers' dormitory and the monks' cloisters (1210-20), the commencement of the monks' infirmary (1221-35), the final completion, roofing and internal furnishing of the abbey church (1235-49), the roofing of the lay brothers' infirmary (1249-69). ³

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Some of the religious houses of Yorkshire still stand to a considerable height, and like Rievaulx and Fountains can show extensive architectural remains. At others, like Selby, there remains only the abbey church. There are some houses which are now submerged beneath the magnificent mansions of a later era. ⁴ Others, like Meaux, have disappeared without trace. It is accordingly impossible to draw any firm conclusions about the questions which were posed at the beginning of this section. Clearly the progress of building at a particular house was dependent on both individual advantages and particular problems. We have seen that there was a considerable difference in the lapse of time between the foundation of a house and the date at which the monks or canons began to build in stone. Architectural evidence suggests that at

1. Chron. Melsa, I, pp.215,234.

2. Ibid., pp.326,380.

3. Ibid., p.433; II, pp.64,119.

4. E.g. Nostell, Newburgh, Nun Appleton, Arden, Arthington, Baysdale.

Whitby, St. Mary's and Rievaulx, for example, the building began early. At Selby, on the other hand, stone buildings were not erected for at least fifteen years, maybe longer, after the foundation. The actual length of time needed to construct either the church, or the whole complex of claustral buildings, varied too. The church at Kirkstall, as far as we can tell, was probably completed in thirty years; at Selby it took twice as long as that to complete the church. At Whitby the chapter house was built sixty to eighty years after the foundation. Construction at Fountains and Nostell was still in progress seventy years after the foundation; at Meaux (the best documented site) the complex took over one hundred years to complete.

The length of time needed to construct the buildings depended on a number of factors; the availability of labour and the problem of finance. As we have seen, in one case, that of Kirkstall, we have an indication that a lay patron aided the monks by donating money for building purposes; in other cases it is likely that the building programme was partly responsible for the debts accrued by the abbey. Another factor could be - as at Byland and Jervaulx - the date at which a suitable, permanent site was found for the monks. The design of various monastic houses was influenced both by the customs of the order, and by prevailing architectural trends. The earliest parts of Fountains (and possible Rievaulx) were influenced by the Burgundian style of architecture, brought over by such men as Geoffrey d'Amayo, who supervised the early building of Fountains. Selby was influenced by the design of Durham, and the two Cluniac houses of Pontefract and Monk Bretton were evidently designed on the Cistercian plan.

Fig. 36 . Monastic Buildings in Yorkshire.

A) Existing Remains.

* denotes twelfth-century work.

Selby (B) * (west portal, nave, transepts.)

Whitby (B)

St.Mary's, York * (vestibule to chapter-house.)

Monk Bretton (Cl.) * (transepts, presbytery, south wall of nave.)

Rievaulx (C) * (nave, transepts, cloister, chapter house, treasury, west
range.)

Fountains (C) * (nave, transepts, cellarium, south range, guest house,
chapter-house.)

Byland (C) * (church, cloister, west range, south range, chapter-house.)

Roche (C) * (east end of church and transepts.)

Kirkstall (C) * (church)

Sallay (C) *(parts of church.)

Bolton (A) * (church east of crossing and transepts.)

Bridlington (A)

Guisborough (A)

Kirkham (A) * (nave, transepts)

Easby (P) * (choir, transepts and parts of nave.)

Coverham (P).

Egglestone (P).

Malton (G) * (church).

B) Remains incorporated into later buildings.

Holy Trinity, York (A.B.) - present parish church.

Ellerton (N.) - " " "

Marrick (N) - " " "

- Yedingham (N) - buildings incorporated into farm shed.
 Sinningthwaite (N) - present parish church.
 Nun Monkton (N) - nave of parish church.

C) Excavated Sites.

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| Pontefract (Cl.) ¹ | Thicket (N) ⁶ |
| Watton (G.) ² | Wykeham (N) ⁷ |
| Hampole (N) ³ | Nunkeeling (N) ⁸ |
| Wilberfoss (N) ⁴ | Baysdale (N) ⁹ |
| Handale (N) ⁵ | Kirklees (N) |

D) No Visible Remains and unexcavated.

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| Meaux (C) | Nunburnholme (N) |
| Drax (A) | St. Clement's, York. (N) ¹⁰ |
| Marton (A) | Esholt (N) |
| Nostell (A) | Keldholme (N) |
| Newburgh (A) | Nun Appleton (N) |

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1. See C.V.Bellamy, Pontefract Priory Excavations 1957-61, Thoresby Soc. 49 (1965).
 2. W.H.St.John Hope, 'The Gilbertine Priory of Watton in the East Riding of Yorkshire', Archaeological Journal 58 (1901), pp. 1-34.
 3. C.E.Whiting, 'Excavations at Hampole Priory, 1937', Y.A.J. 34 (1938), pp. 204-12.
 4. R.Gilyard-Beer, Abbeys: an Introduction to the Religious Houses of England and Wales (London, 1959), pp.25,47 and fig.30.
 5. Ibid. pp.25,47.
 6. Ibid. pp.25,47.
 7. Ibid. p.46.
 8. Ibid. pp.19,36.
 9. Ibid. p.47. For a sixteenth-century description, see W.Brown 'Description of the Buildings of Twelve Small Yorkshire Priories at the Reformation', Y.A.J. 9 (1886), pp.197-215 and 321-33.
 10. St.Clement's is at present under excavation by the York Archaeological Trust. See Interim 4, part 2, p.14.

Warter (A)

Arden (N)

Arthington (N)

Rosedale (N)

Swine (N)

Moxby (N)

Folios 11-15 of the Byland Abbey cartulary, B.L.Egerton MS 2823, contain over twenty charters relating to lands acquired by the abbey in the Westmorland vill of Warcop, which lies approximately six miles to the north-west of Kirkby Stephen. Thirteen of these charters are of a twelfth-century date, and they are of considerable interest for a variety of reasons. Firstly they illustrate particularly well the process by which a religious house acquired and consolidated its interests in a particular area in the twelfth century. Secondly, although the exploitation of the economically-backward areas of Cumberland and Westmorland by Yorkshire abbeys, notably Fountains, in the thirteenth century, has long been recognized, these Byland charters, read in conjunction with two further sets of the abbey's charters, indicate that the Byland monks were actively exploiting this region some years before the monks of Fountains set their sights towards the countryside around Derwentwater.¹

The majority of the Warcop charters were issued by Torphin son of Robert son of Copsi of Warcop and Waitby and his tenants. Farrer and Clay suggested that these same Westmorland estates formed the original patrimony of the family, and that the family came to possess their other estates, the Manfield fee in the Honour of Richmond, as a result of the marriage of Copsi to Godreda, daughter and sole heir of Hermer Flauncus.² These two groups of lands formed a single holding under Copsi's son and grandson, Robert and Torphin.³ On the latter's death (ante Michaelmass

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1. See F.W.Ragg 'Charters to St. Peter's York and Byland Abbey', T.C.W.A.A.S. n.s.9 (1909), pp.252-70, for the charters relating to Asby, and B.L. Egerton MS 2823 fos. 44-44v for charters pertaining to Shap. The latter are almost illegible because of damage to the manuscript.
 2. E.Y.C. pp. 53-58. Hermer was a tenant of Earl Alan of Richmond (1089-93).
 3. The date at which Torphin entered into his inheritance is unknown. A charter of Earl Conan (dated 1159-71) restored Torphin to the estates of his great-grandfather Hermer: ibid. IV no. 55.

1194) the patrimony was divided among his daughters Maud and Agnes (who held Warcop and Waitby) and his, presumably illegitimate, son Conan, who succeeded to lands in Heslington and Kelfield.¹ On the death of Agnes without heirs (c1235) her inheritance passed to the descendants of Conan son of Torphin. Both Agnes and Maud and their respective husbands were benefactors of Byland in the early thirteenth century.²

The estates granted by this family evidently formed a significant part of Byland's economic programme. Before 1189 a grange had been established at Warcop, as indeed granges had been set up in nearby Asby and at Shap. All three were confirmed to the monks by Henry II and Richard I.³ The Warcop grange was situated at least sixty miles from the abbey, indicating that by this time the abbey was transgressing the Cistercian statutes which stipulated that granges were to be situated within a day's journey from the mother house. In addition to the lands which formed the nucleus of this grange, by 1200 Byland had come into possession of the chief house of the vill of Warcop and the advowson of the church, although the acceptance of the latter again contravened Cistercian statute. At an earlier stage in the history of Byland the founder, Roger de Mowbray, had offered the monks the advowson of three churches, but Abbot Roger, being 'homo scrupulosae conscientiae pro cura animarum' had rejected the gift.⁴ The acceptance of the gift of Warcop church is, therefore, slightly puzzling, since the same abbot was ruling the house when Torphin made his grant. Whatever the reason for this change in policy the monks of Byland did not retain the church. A moiety of it was granted by Maud, daughter of Torphin, to Easby Abbey, and in the period 1202-14 Bishop Bernard of Carlisle

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1. Agnes married (1) William son of William son of Waldef of Hepple (Northumberland) and (2) Adam Paynel. Maud married (1) Hugh son of Jernegan, (2) Nicholas de Bueles and (3) Philip de Burgh.
 2. B.L.Egerton MS 2823 fos. 13-15.
 3. The confirmations issued by these kings are mentioned in an inspeximus of Henry III : Cal. Ch. Rolls 1226-1257, p.314.
 4. See above, p.125 n.2.

confirmed Easby in possession of the church, refuting the claims of the monks of Byland.¹

The charters mention a number of place names in the locality of Warcop. The section of the cartulary is headed 'Blaterha' or Bleatarn, which lies approximately two miles south-west of Warcop.² 'Harnshow', 'Skermond', 'Thurgaberch', 'Hornegile' and 'Wlvesdalebec' are documented field names in Warcop.³ 'Cressekeldas' is probably to be identified with Crystal Garth, and 'Faldebergha' with Fouldberhill, both also in Warcop.⁴ 'Habergham' has been identified with Huber Hill.⁵ 'Ormesheved', 'Stainmora' and 'Musgrava' are the neighbouring villis of Ormside, Stainmore and Musgrave, and 'Burgh' may be the town of Brough, or Brough Hill (Warcop).⁶ 'Felleb', 'Harrines', 'Brimemire' and 'Maurebergh' have not been identified.

In the following transcriptions punctuation has been modernized; 'c' has been replaced by the classical 't' in words such as 'exactio'; 'u' when used as a consonant has been replaced by 'v'. Place names have not been extended where the initial letter only is given in the manuscript. Folio references are all to B.L.Egerton MS 2823.

1. Grant by Torphin son of Robert to Byland Abbey of half his land in Warcop within specified bounds. [1158 x 67]

Eboracensi archiepiscopo et toti capitulo sancti Petri et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis Torfinus filius Roberti salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac mea carta confirmasse deo et monachis sancte Marie de Bellal' in

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1. B.L.Egerton MS 2827 (cartulary of Easby), fos. 299v-302.
 2. E.P.N.S. Westmorland, II, p.82.
 3. Ibid. pp.87-88.
 4. Ibid. pp.87-88.
 5. Ibid. p.85.
 6. Ibid. pp.89, 71, 60, 63, 84.

perpetuam elemosinam dimidium terre illius de Wardecopp' que comprehenditur per has divisas, ab occidentali parte Edene scilicet sicut vadit siic ille qui descendit de Faldebergha et transit per medium Skermund' et intrat in Edenam et inde sicut Edena currit usque ad vetus fossatum quod est divisa inter Ormesheved' et Wardecop', et inde sicut ipsum fossatum ascendit et vadit ultra Thurgarberch et descendit in Hornegile, et sic sursum per Wlvesdalebec usque ex adverso divisarum quas ostendi monachis a Wlvesdalebech versus orientem usque Cressekeldas, et a Cressekeldis sicut rivulus ipse currit a Cressekeldis et cadit in rivulum qui venit de Blaterna et inde sursum contra ipsum rivulum usque ad propinquiorem vallem que est ab occidente de Faldebergha, et inde per fundum vallis ejusdem usque ad predictum siic de Skermund'. Dimidium ergo totius terre que infra has divisas continetur dedi et confirmavi deo et sancte Marie et p̄dictis monachis in perpetuam elemosinam propriam liberam solutam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione seculari pro salute anime mee et patris et matris mee et omnium meorum. Ego quoque coram capitulo sancti Petri Ebor' hanc donationem confirmavi et affidavi quod hanc terram quam eis dedi in perpetuam elemosinam liberam de me et heredibus meis fideliter tenebo et warantizabo contra omnes homines ego et heredes mei. Hiis testibus Roberto decano Ebor', Johanne filio Letholdi, Bartholomeo archidiacono et toto capitulo sancti Petri etc.

fo.11.

This charter is mentioned, but not printed, in E.Y.C. V, p.55. Clay noted that the presence in the witness list of Dean Robert and the two archdeacons indicate a date between 1158 and 1167 for the issue of the charter. It may be presumed that the scribe intended 'archidiaconis' rather than 'archidiacono' in the original charter, since this would fit with the chronology of archdeacon John son of Lethold. Presumably the word 'siic' which occurs several times in this set of charters, is a version of the word 'sica', 'siccus' or 'siccum' meaning a sike.

2. Grant by Torphin son of Robert to Byland Abbey of five acres of land between 'Harmshow' and the river Eden, the chief house of the vill of

Ebor' archiepiscopo totique capitulo sancti Petri et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis Torphinus de Watheby filius Roberti filii Copsi salutem. Sciatis me dedisse concessisse et cum hac carta confirmasse deo et monachis sancte Marie de Beghland' et eorum successoribus pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum in puram et perpetuam elemosinam capitalem domum meam cum omnibus pertinentiis in villa de Warcopp' et quinque acras terre cum pertinentiis in terrura ejusdem ville, scilicet inter Harmshow et Edenam ad capud Harinne del West, una cum advocacione ecclesie ejusdem ville et eandem communam pasture cum omnibus pertinentiis et aysiamentis ad omnia et omnimoda genera animalium suorum omnibus temporibus anni quam pater meus et ego habuimus in Stainmora et in Felleb', scilicet per longitudinem magne vie regis que venit de Rerecrosse versus Burgh' sed non ultra viam illam versus meridiem ubique et in omnibus locis usque ad remotiorem divisam commune pasture que pertinet ad Westmerl' versus aquilonem et orientem. Itaque agistamenta porcorum suorum quocunque loco voluerint fiant et hoc sine foramine et clavo. Concedo etiam et confirmo eisdem monachis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam omnes donationes quas homines mei fecerunt eis quocunque loco et omnia que in futuram habere potuerint de feudo meo. Et ipsi monachi et omnes homines et tenentes eorum sint semper decetero quieti et absoluti de secta placitorum ad curiam meam vel heredum meorum imperpetuum. Ego quoque et heredes mei ac successores nostri omnia predicta manutenebimus et warantizabimus monachis contra omnes gentes imperpetuum. Hiis testibus, Roberto filio Thorphini, Johanne Taylboys, Walthevo de Bereford', Murdaco decano, Roberto filio Petri etc.

fo.11.

The witnesses to this charter cannot unfortunately provide a precise date of issue. The donor was dead by Michaelmass 1194. It is possible that, as a grange was in existence in Warcop by 1189, the chief house and church had already been acquired, though this is by no means certain.

Notes concerning the advowson of the church are given above, p.519. With regard to the grant of freedom from pleas in the court of Warcop, a further reference is to be found in the inspeximus of Henry III (mentioned above, p.519n.3): 'all pleas attermined or to be attermined before the justices in eyre in Yorkshire ... shall be pleaded at the manor of Sutton which is within the liberty of the said abbey ... and all such pleas in the county of Westmorland shall be pleaded at the manor of Warcop.'

3. Grant by Torphin son of Robert of all his land in Skermund and in 'Arinnes'. [1158 x 67]

Omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Torphinus filius Roberti salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac carta mea confirmasse deo et monachis sancte Marie de Beghland' totam partem meam de Scheremunde et diuidium de Harinnies in puram et perpetuam elemosinam liberam propriam solutam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione seculari ad faciendum quicquid inde facere voluerint imperpetuum pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum. Et ego et heredes mei hanc donationem predictis monachis manutenebimus et warantizabimus contra omnes homines imperpetuum. Hiis testibus, Willelmo officiali, Murdaco decano, et toto capitulo de Appilby, Thoma de Hellebek', Roberto filio Petri, Conano de Asc', Petro Carrou, Unfrido Malkaell', Willelmo filio Willelmi, Roberto de Cabergh' etc.

fo.11.

This charter cannot be dated, on internal evidence with any certainty. The donor died in 1194. However, it is likely that it was issued earlier than no. 8, which can be dated to the period 1158 x 67. The latter charter refers to the grant made by Torphin of all his land in Skermund.

4. Grant by Torphin son of Robert to Byland Abbey of the whole of 'Faldebergha' within specified bounds. [ante 1194]

Ebor' archiepiscopo totique capitulo sancti Petri et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis Torphinus filius Roberti salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac carta

mea confirmasse deo et monachis sancte Marie de Bell' totam Faldebergham in puram et perpetuam elemosinam liberam propriam solutam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione per has scilicet divisas, sicut vallis descendit a ductu qui venit de Blaterna et pertransit usque Brimemire et de Brimemire sicut le sije transit per medium Brimemire et descendit in Skermund'. Dedi etiam eisdem monachis totam pasturam totius terre quam noverca mea tenuit inter Faldebergam et Edenam et Skermund' et Edenam extra pratum et bladum. Hec autem omnia dedi eis in escambium octoginta acrarum terre quas dedi Roberto filio Petri de terra quam primitus eisdem monachis dederam et carta mea confirmaveram. Affidavi autem in manu Thome de Colvilla quod ego et heredes mei hec omnia fideliter tenebimus et contra omnes homines imperpetuum warantizabimus. Hiis testibus, predicto Thoma de Colvylla, Radulpho de Bevuer', Herberto filio Ricardi, Radulpho de Beverlay.

fo.11v.

5. Confirmation by Torphin son of Robert to the monks of Byland of all the land which they hold of his fee in Warcop, and of anything which they might acquire in the future; also of their freedom from pleas in his court. [ante 1194]

Ebor' archiepiscopo totique capitulo sancti Petri et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis presentibus et futuris Torphinus filius Roberti salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse deo et monachis Sancte Marie de B. omnes terras et possessiones quas habent in cartatas et quas rationabiliter potuerint acquirere de feudo meo in terrura de Wardecop' cum omnibus aysiamentis et pertinentiis suis et ut ipsi et fratres sui et omnes homines tenentes terram de ipsis in predicta villa sint liberi et quieti de secta placitorum que ad me et heredes meos pertinent, pro omnibus terris quas habent de feudo meo in eadem villa, et que non distinguuntur nec averia

eorum nec catalla hominum suorum capientur pro aliquo defectu vel forisfacto advocatorum suorum quomodocunque tenant terras suas de eis in predicta villa. Hanc autem concessionem et confirmationem feci deo et predictis monachis in perpetuam elemosinam liberam solutam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione seculari pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum. Et ego et heredes mei manutenebimus et warantizabimus predictis monachis omnia predicta contra omnes homines imperpetuum. Hiis testibus, Ranulpho filio Walteri, Roberto fratre meo, Thoma de Hellebek', Roberto filio Petri, Humfrido Malkael' etc.

fo.11v

It is possible that this, being a fairly comprehensive confirmation charter, was the last charter to be issued to Byland Abbey by Torphin before his death in 1194.

6. Grant by Robert son of Torphin to the monks of Byland of all his part of 'Harrin'. [?1158 x 67 or c1190]

Ebor' archiepiscopo totique capitulo sancti Petri et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis Robertus filius Torphini de Warcop' salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac carta mea confirmasse deo et monachis sancte Marie de Beghlanda in puram et perpetuam elemosinam propriam liberam solutam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione seculari imperpetuum totam partem meam in Harrinn in territorio de Warcop' scilicet tres partes medietatis ejusdem Harrinn. Hanc autem donationem feci eis pro salute anime mee et uxoris mee Juliane et pro salute omnium antecessorum et heredum meorum, ad faciendum de predicta terra et in predicta terra quicquid ipsi voluerint imperpetuum. Et ego Robertus et heredes mei hanc donationem manutenebimus predictis monachis contra omnes homines et feminas imperpetuum. Hiis testibus, Murdaco decano, Roberto sacerdote, Galfrido sacerdote, Roberto de Ormesheved' etc.

fo.11v.

The grantor of this charter and the two following charters, was probably not the son of Torphin son of Robert son of Copsi. The latter did have a son named Robert, but he appears to have died during the lifetime of his parents. A charter of Torphin son of Robert and his wife, issued to Easby Abbey, granted lands 'pro anima Roberti filii', and this could signify that he was dead by the date of issue: E.Y.C. V p.55 and no. 149. Moreover it is unlikely that Torphin's son would issue issue charters granting lands before he came into his full inheritance. It is likely therefore that this Robert belonged to a different family.

The date of this charter is difficult to ascertain. Robert son of Torphin issued a charter to Byland in the period 1158 x 67 (no.8), but the witnesses, particularly Murdac, rural dean of Westmorland, suggest a date in the 1190s. However it is possible that the charter was issued before no.8 (dated 1158 x 67).

7. Grant by Robert son of Torphin of all his part of 'Faldebergha'.

[late twelfth century]

Ebor' archiepiscopo et omnibus filiis sancte matris ecclesie Robertus filius Torphini salutem. Notum vobis omnibus facio me dedisse et concessisse et hac mea presenti carta confirmasse deo et monachis de Bellalanda totam portionem meam terre de Faldebergh' ad tenendam de me et heredibus meis libere et absolute quiete in puram et perpetuam elemosinam et liberam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione et omnibus secularibus consuetudinibus intrinsecis et extrinsecis pro anima mea et anima uxoris mee et pro anima patris mei et matris mee et pro animabus omnium parentum meorum et animabus omnium antecessorum meorum. Et ego et heredes mei warrantizabimus / [fo.12] deo et predictis monachis terram prescriptam sicut prescriptum est ubique. Valet. Hiis testibus, Murdaco decano, Acca sacerdote, Adam (sic) sacerdote de Morelunda, Roberto capellano etc.

fos. 11v-12.

As with the previous charter it is not possible to assign a precise date to this charter, but the witnesses suggest a date late in the twelfth century. Between charters no.6 and no.7 there is the rubric 'Carta ejusdem de una acra terre et dimidia juxta culturam super Lostrum', but the text of the charter is not given.

8. Grant by Robert son of Torphin of all his land in Warcop within specified bounds free from service; and confirmation of the grant in the presence of the dean and chapter of St. Peter's York. [1158 x 67]

Ebor' archiepiscopo et toti capitulo sancti Petri et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis Robertus filius Torphini salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac mea carta confirmasse deo et monachis sancte Marie de Bell' in perpetuam elemosinam omnem terram quam ego habueram in illa terra de Wardecop que comprehenditur per has divisas. Ab occidentali parte Edene scilicet sicut illud siic quod descendit de Faldebergha transit per medium Skermund' et intrat in Edenam et inde sicut Edena currit usque ad vetus fossatum quod est divisa inter Ormesheved' et Wardecop et inde sicut ipsum fossatum ascendit et vadit inter Thurgarbergh et descendit in Hornegile et sic sursum per Wluesdalebec usque exadverso divisarum quas ostendi monachis a Wluesdalebec versus orientem usque ad Cressekeldas et inde sicut rivulus ille currit a Cressekeldis et cadit in rivulum que venit de Blaterna et inde sursum contra illum rivulum de Blaterna usque ad propinquiorem vallem que est ab occidentali de Faldebergha et inde per fundum vallis ejusdem usque ad predictum siic de Skermund' quod autem dedi sicut tres partes illius dimidii quod ego et Wallevus avunculus meus tenuimus de Torphino filio Roberti, qui Torphinus etiam totam partem suam que continentur infra predictas divisas scilicet aliud dimidium dedit predictis monachis. Totam ergo hanc partem hujus terre que infra has divisas comprehenditur dedi et confirmavi deo et sancte Marie et predictis monachis in perpetuam elemosinam propriam liberam solutam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione seculari a me et ab heredibus meis pro salute anime mee et patris et matris mee et omnium meorum. Ego quoque coram capitulo sancti Petri Ebor' hanc donationem confirmavi et affidavi quod fideliter tenebo eam et warantizabo contra omnes homines ego et heredes mei, Hiis testibus, Roberto decano Ebor', Johanne filio Letholdi et

Bartholomeo archidiaconibus (sic), Willelmo cantore, Swano magistro hospitalis sancti Petri, Ernulfo Sotowama, Symone de Sigillo, Thoma de Ramavilla etc.

fo.12

The appearance of the first three witnesses indicate that this charter dates from the period 1158 x 67. The phrase 'Skermund, which I have given them as three parts of the half which I and Wallevus my uncle held of Torphin son of Robert, which Torphin also gave the whole part which is contained within the aforesaid boundaries' indicates that that this charter may have been issued at the same time as no.3. The charter also establishes the relationship of Robert son of Torphin to Torphin son of Robert as a feudal rather than a family one (see above, no.7 n.).

9. Confirmation by Wallevus de Bereford to the monks of Byland of the donation of Robert son of Torphin of land in Warcop. [1158 x 67]

Ebor' archiepiscopo toti capitulo sancti Petri et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis Wallevus de Bereford' salutem. Sciatis me concessisse et hac mea carta confirmasse deo et monachis sancte Marie de Bellalanda in perpetuam elemosinam propriam liberam solutam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione seculari, donationem illam quam Robertus filius Torphini fecit deo et sancte Marie et predictis monachis de terra de Warcopp' sicut carta ejus testatur. Hanc concessionem et confirmationem eis facio in perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et patris et matris mee et omnium meorum. Hiis testibus, Roberto decano Ebor', Johanne filio Letholdi et Bartholomeo archidiaconibus (sic), et toto capitulo sancti Petri , Thoma de Colvilla etc.

fo.12.

The date of this charter is once more provided by the presence in the witness list of Dean Robert and the two archdeacons.

10. Grant by Wallevus de Bereford to Byland Abbey of all his land within specified bounds. [1158 x 67]

Ebor' archiepiscopo et toti capitulo sancti Petri et omnibus sancte

ecclesie filiis Wallevus de Bereford salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et hac
mea carta confirmasse deo et monachis sancte Marie de B. in perpetuam
elemosinam omnem terram quam habueram in illam terram de Wardecop' que
comprehenditur per has divisas. Ab occidentali parte Edene scilicet sicut
illud siic quod descendit de Faldebergh transit per medium Skermund' et
intrat in Edenam et inde sicut Edena currit usque ad vetus fossatum
quod est divisa inter Ormesheved' et Wardecop' et inde sicut ipsum fossatum
ascendit et vadit ultra Thurgarbergh et descendit in Hornegile et sic sursum
per Wluesdalebec usque ex adverso divisarum quas ostendi monachis a
Wluesdalebec versus orientem usque ad Cressekeldas et inde sicut rivulus
parvus ipse currit a Cressekeldis et cadit in rivulum qui venit de Blaterna
et inde sursum contra ipsum rivulum Blaterne usque ad propinquiorem vallem
que est ab occidente de Faldebergha et inde per fundum vallis ejusdem usque
ad predictum siic de Skermund' quod autem / [fo.12v] dedi eis quarta pars
illius dimidii quod ego tenui de Torphino filio Roberti qui etiam
Torphinus totam suam partem scilicet aliud dimidium que continentur infra
predictas divisas dedit predictis monachis. Totam ergo hanc partem meam
hujus terre que infra has divisas comprehenditur dedi et confirmavi deo et
sancte Marie et predictis monachis in perpetuam elemosinam propriam liberam
solutam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione seculari a me et
ab heredibus meis pro salute anime mee et patris et matris mee et omnium
meorum. Ego quoque coram capitulo sancti Petri Ebor' hanc donationem
confirmavi et affidavi quod fideliter tenebo eam et warantizabo contra
omnes homines ego et heredes mei. Hiis testibus, Roberto decano Ebor',
Johanne filio Letholdi et Bartholomeo archidiaconibus (sic) , Willelmo
cantore, Swano magistro hospitalis, Ernulfo Sotowama etc.
fos. 12-12v.

The witness list is identical to that of no.8, with the exception that
the last two witnesses in no.8 are here omitted. It is quite likely
that the two charters were issued on the same occasion. Swane was the
master of the hospital of St. Leonard, York.

11. Grant by John Taylebois to Byland Abbey of all his land which Robert son of Torphin had given him, together with the lordship ('dominium') of the said Robert, and permission to assart and build on the land as they might wish. [c1175 x 1200]

Ebor' archiepiscopo totique capitulo sancti Petri et omnibus sancte ecclesie filiis Johannes Taylebois salutem. Notum sit vobis quod ego Johannes Taylebois dedi deo et monachis sancte Marie de Beghlanda et hac carta mea confirmavi in puram et perpetuam elemosinam propriam liberam solutam et quietam ab omni terreno servitio et exactione seculari totam terram meam cum omnibus libertatibus suis quam Robertus filius Thorphini dedit mihi et heredibus meis in feudo et hereditate ab occidentali parte de Edena, omnes scilicet terras quas Ulfus Burgensis tenuit de eodem Roberto, et totum dominium ipsius Roberti, preter illam totam partem quam Henricus clericus habuit in Langesite. Hec omnia dedi predictis monachis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in pratis et pasturis, in bosco et plano, in aquis et molendinis, viis et semitis et ceteris omnibus aysiametis ad sartandum et edificandum et faciendum in eisdem terris et de ipsis terris quicquid idem (sic) monachi voluerint. Et ego Johannes Taillebois affidavi in manu Murdaci decani coram testibus quod hanc donationem tenebo et warantizabo predictis monachis ego et heredes mei contra omnes homines imperpetuum. His testibus, Roberto archidiacono Carleol' et Murdaco decano, Henrico capellano archidiaconi, Roberto capellano de Appilby etc.

fo.12v.

The donor witnessed a charter of Torphin son of Robert (no.2) ante 1194. An archdeacon of Carlisle named Robert occurs in 1151 (E.Y.C. V no.169) and he or another of the same name occurs in the Cumberland pipe roll of 1191 (P.R. 3 Richard I, p. 55). Murdac occurs in the late twelfth century. The date of the charter cannot therefore be ascertained with precision. John was evidently, along with Ulf de Burgh (?Brough Hill) a tenant of Robert son of Torphin.

12. Agreement between Torphin son of Robert; Robert son of Peter; the monks of Byland; Wallevus de Warcop; and Robert son of Fidis concerning the claim which Robert son of Peter had made to common pasture between Bleatarn and Musgrave. [ante 1194]

Hec compositio pacis facta est inter Torphinum filium Roberti et Robertum filium Petri et monachos de Beghland' et Wallevum de Warcop et Robertum filium Fidis de calumpnia quam Robertus filius Petri habuit de communi pastura inter Blaternam et Musegravam quod pro pace ista remanebunt Roberto filio Petri in proprium, octoginta due acre terre scilicet a spina super Hobergham intransversum del sije subtus Maurebergha usque ad ductum versus Musegravam et a predicta spina totum remanebit monachis in proprium versus grangia et usque ad ductum juxta capellam per divisas quas fecerunt et perambulaverunt et averia Roberti nusquam et numquam infra has divisas intrabunt, nec averia monachorum infra proprium Roberti. Robertus etiam habebit unum exitum averiis de Musegrava super Maurebergham inter culturam monachorum et vallem subtus Hobergha a divisas quas fecerunt et perambulaverunt juxta pratum, et inde habebit Robertus communem pasturam usque ad vivarium et inde usque ad viam super Cressekeldas que vadit versus Appilby et usque ad quadrariam et inde ad caput vivarii per divisas quas / [fo.14v] perambulaverunt et fecerunt. Totum hoc erit in communem pasturam averiis de Musegrave et averiis monachorum, sed monachi arabunt juxta fossatum molendini usque ad vivarium sicut perambulaverunt et divisas fecerunt, et habebunt culturam suam super Maurebergh' et pratum in proprium sicut habuerant ante istam compositionem et nichil amplius arabunt. Et averie de Musegrave in hiis locis numquam intrabunt, et Torphinus et Robertus coram comprovincialibus affidaverunt quos ipsi et heredes eorum tenebunt hanc compositionem fideliter et sine malo ingenio imperpetuum. Set si contigerit quod averie de Musegrava intrent in proprium monachorum dabunt unum

denarium pro xx^{ti} averiis secundum consuetudinem provincie. Similiter dabunt monachi si averie eorum intrent in proprium Roberti. Hec compositio facta fuit in curia domini regis apud Appelby coram Willelmo filio Huel' ballivo et Murdaco decano et Thoma de Hellebek' et ceteris probis hominibus qui tunc fuerant ibi presentes.

fos. 14-14v.

The terminal date for the issue of this composition is 1194, the year in which Torphin son of Robert died. Evidently in Warcop, as in many other places, the coming of the monks had resulted in disputes about boundaries and rights.

13. Agreement between the monks of Byland and Robert son of Robert son of Peter, by which the latter demised to the monks a spring within the common pasture belonging to the monks, for which the monks paid the donor one silver mark. [Appleby. Whitsuntide 1196]

Hec est conventio inter monachos sancte Marie de B. et Robertum filium Roberti filii Petri, scilicet quod predictus Robertus digisit perpetue predictis monachis quendam fontem qui surgit in austro juxta vivarium predictorum monachorum de se et heredibus suis in communi pastura predictorum monachorum. Et predictus Robertus concessit sepredictis monachis ducere aquam prefati fontis sub terra ubi voluerint cum conductionibus suis ad officinas grangie sue et si forte conductiones predicte aque frangant que currit a predicto fonte, predicti monachi reparabunt eas sine causa et impedimento predicte pasture predicti Roberti et heredum suorum. Predicti siquidem monachi dederant predicto Roberto filio Roberti unam marcam argenti in principio hujus conventionis. Hec conventio facta est apud Appilby anno ab incarnatione domini M^o C^{mo} XC^{mo} vj ad Pentecosten. Hiis testibus, Hugone filio Gernegan, Willelmo filio Roberti de Askeby, Ricardo Anglico, Willelmo filio ejus, Waltero filio Durandi etc.

fo. 14v.

APPENDIX III: TWO TWELFTH-CENTURY AGREEMENTS MADE BETWEEN NEWBURGH
PRIORY AND BYLAND ABBEY.

Details of the foundation and early connection between Byland Abbey and Newburgh Priory have been given elsewhere in this thesis, and will not, therefore, be repeated here.¹ The particular feature of their history which will be illustrated by the following documents (B.L. Egerton MS 2823 fos. 81-81v) is the problem of the proximity of the two houses and many of their estates.² As this problem was by no means unique to Byland and Newburgh, the two agreements are of wider significance for the way in which they illustrate the methods by which a Cistercian house, for instance, came to terms with its lack of isolation;³ and for the way in which houses of all orders strove to maintain both harmony, and their own interests, in the face of their neighbouring religious houses.⁴

The two agreements are concerned specifically with the problem of boundaries and tithes. The former issue arose because of the proximity of the two houses. Newburgh and Old Byland were only about six miles apart, and the distance between Newburgh and New Byland was only about two miles. Having the same patron, Roger de Mowbray, the monks and canons tended to acquire lands in the same vills. This caused contention over the delineation of boundaries, and tension because it prevented the consolidation of land and interests by either house. With regard to tithes, it is clear that the canons of Newburgh were strenuously upholding their rights to collect tithes from parishes whose churches

1. See above, pp. 123-28; 172-88.

2. There are actually three agreements. One had been published by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, Various Collections, II (1903), p. 4.

3. Isolation was, of course, one of the main aims of the Cistercians.

4. On this problem in general, see above, pp. 452-55.

they had been granted, even in face of the papal ruling that the White Monks were to be free from the payment of tithes on lands which they had brought into cultivation.¹ The first agreement (no.1 below) indicates that such contention had arisen between Newburgh and Byland and the outcome illustrates a not unusual feature of the history of the Cistercian order in Yorkshire - the grant of lands or money by the patron to the claimant in order to compensate for the tithes.

These two documents, one very long the other brief, may be summarized as follows: No.1. deals with the claims which the monks of Byland had made to lands in Hood,² Little Wildon, Thirsk and between Deepdale and Oxendale ; and concerning the grange which the canons had constructed above 'Wlueshow'.³ The conflicting claims of the canons evidently centred on Little Wildon; the assarts of the monks around the abbey and the grange;⁴ the tithes of the assarts of William and Acca; the wood to the north of Whitaker and 'Grasclint'. Harmony was restored between the monks and canons by allowing the grange to remain, provided that no new buildings were added; by closely defining the pasture of the two houses; by placing limits on further buildings anywhere in the region of the canons' grange. The canons granted the monks 'Grasclint' in exchange for one toft in Thirsk and two bovates in Kirkby Malzeard. Roger de Mowbray granted the canons a yearly rent from the mills of Thirsk for acquittance of the tithes of the assarts of William and Acca. Precise instructions for the punishment of the brethren and their hired labourers ('conductitii') were given to be employed in the event of encroachment of the carefully defined boundaries. The second agreement

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1. Trouble frequently arose, of course, in defining what was newly-cultivated land : see above, pp. 355-57, 372.
 2. Hood was the original site of Byland, and was demised to the canons brought from Bridlington by Roger de Mowbray. A temporary settlement was made at Hood; since 1145 the latter had been a cell of Newburgh.
 3. This is the earliest reference to an Augustinian grange in Yorkshire.
 4. This accords with the description in the Byland 'Historia Foundationis' of the monks assarting in the vicinity of the abbey: Mon. Ang. V, p. 353.

deals specifically with the claim of the canons of Newburgh to the tithes of Little Wildon and Cam, which were satisfied with a grant of land.

The dating of these charters is difficult, even when taken in conjunction with other documents. On internal evidence no.1 can be dated to between 1154 (the consecration of Roger de Pont L'Evêque¹ as archbishop of York) and 1175 (the death of Walter de Riparia, the fifth witness). No.2 was issued before 1157, by which date Sampson D'Aubigny had entered Newburgh. By the time no.1 was issued Byland Abbey had obtained land in Little Wildon, between Deepdale and Oxendale, the assarts of Acca and William, a toft in Thirsk, two bovates of land in Kirkby Malzeard and land in Cam. The land in Little Wildon was probably that which Bartholomew Gigator quitclaimed to the monks in the period 1145 x 57.¹ Land between Deepdale and Oxendale was given by Thomas de Coleville c1150.² Roger de Mowbray gave the assarts of William and Acca before c1147, when he gave Newburgh 5s. per annum for acquittance of the tithes.³ Two bovates were donated in Kirkby Malzeard by Mowbray in the period 1147 x 54, and land was being acquired in Cam from 1142 onwards.⁴ There is no record of an early endowment in Thirsk.

On this evidence it would have been possible for no.1 to have been issued soon after 1154. The chronology of the disputes over tithes is, however, more complex. At a date c1147 Mowbray gave Newburgh 5s per annum from Thirsk mill for the tithes of the assarts of Acca and William until he should give the canons half a carucate of land in Brignall.⁵ In a charter dated by Clay 1145 x 57 Mowbray confirmed to Newburgh land in Little Wildon which Bartholomew Gigator had surrendered

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1. E.Y.C. IX no.165.
 2. H.M.C. Various Collections, II, p.3.
 3. Mowbray Charters, no.198.
 4. ibid. no.40.
 5. ibid. no. 198.

to him, and to Gigator one carucate in Thirsk which the canons had given him (this Mowbray had originally given to Newburgh for acquittance of the tithes of Little Wildon, owed by Byland). In no. 1 the canons were laying claim to tithes of the assarts of William and Acca, Cam and Wildon, yet only their claim to the latter was satisfied, by 12d per annum from Thirsk mill. No further mention is made of the tithes of Cam and Wildon which were, however, the subject of no.2.

In view of this, it seems likely that the charters form part of a clear sequence, and they were possibly issued in the following order:

i. c1147 Roger de Mowbray granted 5s per annum to Newburgh from Thirsk mill for acquittance of the tithes of the assarts of Acca and William (Mowbray Charters, no. 198).

ii. 1154 x c57 A detailed agreement was made between Byland and Newburgh concerning boundaries between their estates; exchanges of land were made; and the acquittance of the tithes of the two assarts was fixed at 12d, paid by Mowbray (no.1 below).

iii. 1145 x 57 (probably later in that period) Roger de Mowbray granted to Newburgh land in Thirsk for the tithes of Little Wildon (this land was exchanged for land in Little Wildon) (E.Y.C. IX no.165).

iv. c1157 The agreement was made by which the monks of Byland gave four carucates of land to the canons for tithes of Wildon and Cam (no.2 below).

Accordingly a date of 1154 x 57 could be assigned to no.1, and a date of c1157 to no.2.

In transcribing these charters the same conventions have been observed as in Appendix II.

1. Agreement between Byland Abbey and Newburgh Priory concerning land in Little Wildon, Thirsk and Whitaker; the boundaries between the lands of the two houses; and the tithes to be paid by the monks of Byland to the canons of Newburgh. [1154 x 57]

Hec est conventio inter monachos Bellalandes et canonicos Neuburgenses qua remissunt omnibus calumpniis et querelis actenus inter utramque ecclesiam habitis, nominatim ex parte monachorum de Hode, de parva Wildona, de carucata terre in Thresk' et de terra et silva que est ab australi parte Whitker inter Depedale et Oxendale et de grangia quam canonici construxerunt super Wlueshou. Prefata grangia stabit, hac tamen pactione mediante, quod canonici non facient ibi villam, nec habebunt ibi homines residentes cum uxoribus suis nec feminas residentes preter tres. Ceterum vero habebeunt ibi necessarios solventes et pecuniam quantum voluerint, que pecunia non pascet in Berstlyna nec alibi in pastura monachorum citra licentiam eorum, nec pecunia monachorum in pastura canonicorum citra licentiam ipsorum, nec canonici ullum edificium inter prefatam grangiam et divisas monachorum facient. Edificia vero canonicorum siqua sunt circa Wlnestewayt a domibus monachorum quas ibi prius construxerunt, duabus quarentenis distabunt ubilibet canonici in terra sua edificare, servata tamen aqua inunda. Ex parte vero canonicorum similiter omnes calumpnii et querele et controversie expiraverunt nominatim de una carucata terre de Wildonia et de sartis que fecerunt monachi circa abbathiam et grangias suas et de decimis Chamb' et de sartis Acce et Willelmi et de terra et silva que est ab aquilone parte de Whiteker et de Grasclint, que concesserunt canonici monachis imperpetuum pro quo monachi dederunt canonicis unum toftum in Thresk et duas bovatas in Malasart, et dominus Rogerus de Molbray quatuor solidos annuatim in molendino de Thresk' donec illam dimidiam carucatum terre in Brigeshale, vel alibi dederit. Concessit etiam eis

duodecim denarios in predicto molendino pro adquietanda decimarum sartorum Acce et Willelmi. Decetero autem hec sunt divise inter monachos et canonicos, scilicet via que prior Witeker venit de Brynk' et vadit apud Grasclint et in[de]¹ sicut eadem via v[enit]² sub Grasclint usque ad propinquiorem ductum usque ab oriente, et inde contra ductum per medium Pileschewayt' usque ad magnum ductum sub Wluesthewayt per metas et divisas quas ipsi coram provincialibus fecerunt, et per ipsum ductum usque ad alium ductum de Oxedale qui est meta inter eos. Statutum est etiam inter eos quod si monachi aliquam terram cultam infra parochia canonicorum adquisierunt, absque omni controversia decimas reddent, et si ibi aliquam terram vel pasturam canonici habuerint, pro monachis nihil amittent. De hiis omnibus que de se invicem utraque tenet ecclesia siquis cuius³ earum calumpniam aliquam vel violentiam inferre voluerit pro se invicem stabunt. Firmatum est inter eos quod si quis fratrum ex parte monachorum infra divisas canonicorum aliquid usurpaverit, rem usurpatam reportabit, et unam disciplinam in capitulo accipiet, et unum diem in pane et aque reinuabit⁴ et si conductitius hoc fecerit quatuor nummos de mercede sua amittet. Quod si frater rem usurpatam reportare noluerit sine priore remissione inde non habebit. Eadem lex de fratribus et conductitiis canonicorum tenebitur. Hec conventio firmata est assensu utriusque capituli. Hiis testibus, domino Rogero archiepiscopo, Rogero de Molbray, Nigello filio ejus, Roberto de Dayvilla, Waltero de Riparia, Hugone de Malbis, Thoma de Colevilla, Johanne de Crevequer.

2. Quitclaim by the canons of Newburgh of the tithes of Little Wildon

1. Manuscript damaged.
2. or possibly v[adit].
3. The word which follows 'siquis' looks like 'cuius' although there is an extra minim. In the context one might expect a word such as 'utraque'.
4. The meaning of this is not clear. The word may be 'remuabit! The context suggests a word such as 'remanebit'.

and Cam, in return for which the monks of Byland have granted them
four carucates of land in Thirsk. [c1157]

Hec est conventio inter canonicos de Novoburgo et monachos de Bellel' que canonici quietum clamaverunt imperpetuum decimam suam de Wiltona predictis monachis pro quadra ¹ carucatis terre in Tresk, et decimam de Cambe similiter. Hiis testibus, Sampsonē de Albeneya, Rogero de Moubray, Roberto filio Baldwini Brun, Radulpho de Witvill, Waltero de Butesby.

B.L.Egerton MS fos. 81-81v

1. Written 'quad' . 'Quatuor' would be more usual.

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38816 (foundation history of St. Mary's, York,
and early charters. 12th cent.)
40008 (cartulary of Bridlington. 14th cent.)
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Tiberius C XII (cartulary of Fountains, vol. 1.
15th cent.)
Vespasian E XIX (cartulary of Nostell. 13th cent.)
Vitellius E XVI (charters of Selby. 14th cent.)
- Egerton MSS 2823 (cartulary of Byland. 15th cent.)
2827 (cartulary of Easby. 13th cent.)
- Harleian MSS 236 (cartulary of St. Mary's, York. 14th cent.)
3053 (fragment of Fountains cartulary. 13th cent.)
- Lansdowne MSS 405 (cartulary of Monk Bretton. 13th cent.)
424 (cartulary of Meaux. 14th cent.)

b) Charters.

Additional: 7427, 7432 (Byland)
7491 (Fountains)
11292 (Holy Trinity, York)
20544 (Arden)
20562 (Bolton)
20564 (Rievaulx)

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