

SOME ASPECTS OF THE HISTORY OF
BARNWELL PRIORY:

1092-1300

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ABSTRACT

The Augustinians in England have been described as both ‘under-researched’ and as a ‘neglected’ order, often passed over in favour of other groups such as the Benedictines or the Cistercians. Recently, scholars have moved to address this lacuna, bringing into play new information and insights. In these terms, the history of Barnwell Priory on the outskirts of medieval Cambridge, once a large Augustinian house, has been touched since John Willis Clark edited its cartulary (or *Liber Memorandum*) in 1907. Any attempt at a history of the priory, in whatever form, must of necessity begin with Clark's edition of this manuscript (BL ms. Harley 3601). Here copies of official documents jostle with the personal opinion and prejudices of the manuscript's author.

For the present thesis, the manuscript has been allowed to set chronological parameters, from the foundation to the manuscript's composition c.1294. The present thesis for the first time brings together a selection of the surviving early source materials *not* included in the Memorandum Book. Elsewhere, it adopts a thematic approach, dealing in turn with the existing historiography, with the Book and its author, with the Priory's founders (Pictor the Sheriff, and Pain Peverel), with the broader context of Augustinian evolution, in Britain and Europe, and with Barnwell's dealings with kings or the impact of national upon local affairs. This study seeks to discover how much interaction took place between Barnwell and a series of interlocking communities, questioning significant this was to both parties. This is considered in terms of reciprocity: the provision of education, for example, or availability of food and accommodation to travellers, both religious and secular. That this relationship was not always mutually beneficial is unsurprising, and the Barnwell *Liber* contains many examples of litigation. The founders, and the date of the foundation retain many of their mysteries, and cannot be considered definitively to have been established. What I hope I have proved here is that the foundation was by no means the simple or linear process described in the *Liber*. In an Appendix, I have gathered together roughly 30 texts, almost all of them previously unpublished, that affect our understanding of the priory in its first two centuries.

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I owe a great debt to both the National Archive and the British Library for access to original documents. To be able to study these treasures is always a great privilege. My thanks must also go to the staff at the Cambridge University and Seeley Libraries who were always on hand to offer assistance and to the archivists at Christ's, Jesus and King's Colleges, Cambridge, Merton College, Oxford and Arundel Castle, Sussex for answering my questions and providing copies of the manuscripts I have needed.

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List of Abbreviations

<i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)</i> , ed. D. Bates (Oxford, 1998)
<i>BL</i>	British Library, London
<i>LE</i>	<i>Liber Eliensis</i> , ed. E.O. Blake, Camden 3 rd series 92 (1962)
<i>Liber</i>	<i>Liber Memorandum ecclesie de Bernewelle</i> , ed. J.W. Clark (Cambridge, 1907)
<i>Observances</i>	<i>The Observances in use at the Augustinian Priory of Barnwell, Cambridgeshire</i> (Cambridge, 1897)
<i>CCR</i>	<i>Calendar of Close Rolls</i>
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i>
<i>CUL</i>	Cambridge University Library
<i>DB</i>	<i>Domesday Book seu liber censualis Willelmi Primi</i> , ed. A. Farley, 4 vols (London, 1783-1816)
<i>EEA</i>	<i>English Episcopal Acta</i>
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
<i>Monasticon</i>	Sir William Dugdale and Roger Dodsworth, <i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. J. Caley, H. Ellis and B. Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London, 1846)
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> , ed. H.C.G. Matthew and B. Harrison (Oxford 2004, here citing the electronic version at http://www.oxforddnb.com)
<i>Pipe Roll</i>	Pipe Rolls of the reigns of Henry I - Henry III, published by the Pipe Roll Society
<i>PRO</i>	Public Record Office (now The National Archive).
<i>PRS</i>	Pipe Roll Society
<i>Regesta</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum</i> , ed. H.W.C. Davis, C. Johnson, H.A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, 4 vols. (Oxford, 1913-69)

<i>TNA</i>	London/Kew, The National Archives
<i>VCH</i>	<i>The Victoria County History</i>

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1. Introduction

Established first in Cambridge Castle, and then transferred to the outskirts of the town, Barnwell Priory was not only one of the very earliest Augustinian foundations in England but amongst the richest and best documented. The present study has developed from an MA thesis in which I supplied a brief account of the Priory's foundation. In that earlier study, I did not consider the two founders in any detail. Thus two of the chapters that follow (Chapters V-VI) represent attempts to locate Picot, Pain Peverel, and their families, within the wider context of Anglo-Norman England. This has involved tracing their pre-Conquest roots in Normandy and what, if any, links they enjoyed to the Norman nobility. Very little evidence survives for Picot of Cambridge and what does is far more concerned with his fearsome reputation as sheriff than with where he came from, or what he achieved. The second founder, the *vir potentus*, of the Barnwell *Liber memorandorum*, Pain Peverel, presents difficulties of a different kind. Compared to that available for Picot there is an abundance of documentation for the Peverels. However, therein lies the problem, for it is difficult to sort them into clear family groups. A preference for the name William and the possibility of at least two Peverels having co-identities renders secure identification impossible. Without other less ambiguous evidence coming to light, some questions may never be satisfactorily answered.

The manuscript known as the *Liber memorandorum ecclesie de Bernewelle* was used as a major source for the MA thesis but, once again, it was not possible to examine it in the detail that it deserved. Therefore Chapters II-III concentrate on the production of the manuscript and its presentation of the history of the foundation and the

documents associated with it. They conclude by following the transmission of the manuscript until it was bequeathed to the British Museum in 1753 as part of the Harleian collection: MS Harley 3601.

The priory's importance was first properly noticed by the Cambridge antiquary, John Willis Clark over a century ago. More recently, it has led a number of historians to express their hope that someone will undertake a focussed study of the Barnwell *Liber*. Whilst Clark's transcription is a useful tool it lacks anything by way of detailed English apparatus, and relies upon bibliographical and historical details that are, by now, more than a century out of date. Above all, perhaps, it accepts as the unvarnished truth a version of Barnwell's early history that, as I shall show, is very likely to have been compiled from a mixture of make-believe and wishful thinking on behalf of the priory's canons. As I shall demonstrate, the *Liber* is itself a polemic statement intended to lend credence to one particular version of a far more complicated history.

As this suggests, a recurring theme both here and in the MA thesis that preceded this work is that of litigation. The MA focussed on one particular, but important, case, that of Luke of Abington. This is comprehensively covered in the Barnwell *Liber*, indicating its great importance as an example of how to handle such a case and also the keenness of the community that the details and outcome should be recorded in a particular way.¹ Luke's case was unusual, but disputes over advowsons and rights of

¹ J. Harmon, 'The Relationships between Barnwell Priory and its Neighbours, c.1380-c.1540' (Unpublished Master of Studies Thesis, Cambridge, 2005), 14. Although this dissertation covered a later period than that of the current research, the story of Guilden Morden was included as it was particularly well-documented and provided 'strong evidence for the intransigent and harsh attitude the [Barnwell] *Liber* encouraged future priors to adopt'; one of the major themes of the present study.

presentation were a particular concern at Barnwell, as at various other Augustinian houses. Some of these are discussed in passing below.

Although it is now generally accepted that the chronicle of English history known to a previous generation of historians as the 'Barnwell Annals' is in reality a source from either Peterborough or more likely Crowland Abbey, Barnwell itself did have a role to play in national history.² The canons' troubled relationship with King John is illustrated in Chapter VIII, covering the difficulties that arose over the farming of the demesne manor of Chesterton. Coming into direct contact with the king proved predictably contentious and the dealings between the two parties are well documented in the *Liber* which preserves a detailed documentary trail. During John's reign the priory was also in negotiation with the crown over the question of *tallage*. The Prior applied to be exempted from this tax and the king agreed. However this did not stop demands for payment being made by the king's collectors leading to further pleadings from both sides.

Due to the size constraints of a PhD thesis it has not been possible to cover a number of important areas in the life of the priory. These include both the liturgical and economic life of the canons and of the manors making up the Barnwell estate. Whilst the importance of these themes is undeniable, neither fitted within the confines of the current project. The question of learning at Barnwell is likewise considered below only in outline detail, although the presence of a scriptorium and the size and composition of the library is discussed in Chapter IV. The importance of learning to

² For the annals, published as *The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols (London 1872-3), see R. Kay, 'Walter of Coventry and the Barnwell Chronicle', *Traditio*, 54 (1999), 141-167, attempting to relocate its origins to Peterborough. In his ongoing PhD thesis at King's College London, Christian Ispir has more recently demonstrated the chronicle's origins at Crowland.

the Augustinian canons is apparent from specific reference to it in the rule. Below, however, I have left this as a theme for later consideration. This in turn means that I have done less than I might have liked to elucidate the relations between the priory and the University, an aspect of Barnwell's history that certainly warrants further study.³

Another aspect of the canons' interaction with secular society was the offering of hospitality to travellers. The Barnwell *Observances* describe how this practice was beneficial in a multitude of ways, since 'by joyfully receiving guests, the honour of the monastery is increased, friends are multiplied, enemies confounded, God is honoured, love extended, and copious reward in heaven is promised'.⁴ Those who took advantage of such hospitality included both royalty and nobility although, as the author of the Barnwell *Liber* pointed out, it was not always accepted in the same manner in which it was offered. Two incidents here, both involving royal officials, are discussed in Chapter VIII.⁵

On the strength of the current research we can begin to reassemble a picture of Barnwell Priory and its canons, not as an isolated group of religious living on the outskirts of Cambridge but as an integral part of the wider local community. Through the use of the Barnwell *Liber* and other surviving primary source material

³ For this aspect of Augustinian life see R. Bowers, 'The Almonry Schools of the English Monasteries, c. 1265-1540', in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain*, ed. B. Thompson (Stamford, 1999), 177-222, particularly pp.177-8; N. Orme, *Medieval Schools* (New Haven, 2006); S. Forde, 'The Educational Organization of the Augustinian Canons in England and Wales, and their University Life at Oxford, 1325-1448', *History of the Universities*, 13 (1994), 21-60, and N. Orme, 'The Augustinian Canons and Education', eds., J. Burton and K. Stöber, *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles* (Turnhout, 2011), 213-32. See Clark, *Liber*, 184-5 for a disagreement between Simon de Ascellis and the Chancellor of the University.

⁴ Clark, *Observances*, 190-2; Dickinson, *Origins*, 145.

⁵ Clark, *Liber*, 124, 180-2.

relationships begin to emerge which illustrate how the canons and their priory interacted with other groups including burgesses, tenants, and royal officials.

High status relationships are also touched upon but deserve further investigation; Richard II's parliament of 1380, which was held at the priory, and the royal visit of Henry III, immediately suggest themselves as topics for further investigation, although in both cases it is clear that the priory afforded a convenient meeting place to kings keen either to avoid the spartan hospitality of Cambridge Castle, or to remain outside the confines of that part of Cambridge most closely supervised by University and Church. The meetings of the Augustinian Chapters, at which several priors served in the capacity of president, are also in need of examination, especially as some of these great meetings took place at Barnwell itself, thus placing it amongst the order's more prestigious houses.

In terms of Barnwell Priory and the town of Cambridge, perhaps what is needed most is an updated history, one that makes use of the available primary sources and applies modern research techniques. It is hoped that some of the information within this thesis will be of use to anyone wishing to embark on such a project.

2. Historiography

By the time of the Norman Conquest in 1066, monasticism had been established in the British Isles for around four centuries. Early monasteries had been founded on Iona, by St Columba and on Lindisfarne, by Aidan. The eighth century saw the production at Jarrow of Bede's great work the *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* and, in future years, this time was to be dubbed the 'golden age' of monasticism. A gradual decline in the popularity of the religious life during the ninth and tenth centuries was followed by a revival in the reign of King Edgar led by the three great reforming monks of the time: Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald. At Edgar's death in 973, thirty monasteries had either been founded or restored which reflected a 'zeal for monastic reform ... [and] a common bond right across Europe.'¹

In East Anglia the five great Benedictine houses at Peterborough, Ely, Ramsey, Crowland and Thorney dominated the religious landscape and, as they grew, spawned numerous cells and hermitages. Cambridge, although already a significant trading and military centre, did not have a large religious house to rival these, possibly due to its proximity to Ely. Indeed, it was not until c.1138 that the Benedictines established themselves in the town, at the nunnery of St Radegund's, previously dedicated to St Mary. The nuns received a benefaction from King Stephen and later, another from Malcolm IV of Scotland, who granted them 10 acres of land which adjoined Grenecroft (now Midsummer Common) on which to build their church. For this they

¹ R. McKitterick, 'The Church', in T. Reuter, *The New Cambridge Medieval History*, Vol. III (Cambridge, 1999), 130–62, 130.

were to pay an annual rent of 2s.²

The first foundation recorded in the town is that of Barnwell Priory in its original form at St Giles, below the castle. The priory has received little scholarly attention over time as a house in its own right although it grew into a substantial and well patronised religious institution hosting royal visitors and chosen by Richard II as a venue for parliament in the late fourteenth century.

In what follows, my main objective has been to produce a history of the first 200 years of Barnwell Priory, from its foundation in c.1092 to the completion of the *Liber memorandorum ecclesie de Bernewelle* in 1294-95, and place this story within a wider historical context. It will be necessary to include a certain amount of pre-history as the events of the Conquest and the Norman settlement of England formed an integral part of the priory's story. Whilst my time frame excludes many interesting later events it was obvious from the outset that some constraint needed to be imposed on the project for it to be manageable within the word limit of a PhD thesis.³

To begin with the Conquest itself is to immediately be tempted into making the assumption that both Picot of Cambridge (literally 'of Grantabridge/de Grentenbrugge'), the founder of the priory and the father of its second founder, Pain Peverel, came over either with the Conqueror himself as part of the invasion force, or soon after in the first wave of Norman settlers. However these are merely speculative

² For more information on the nuns of St. Radegund's with whom the canons at Barnwell had many dealings see Arthur Gray, *Priory of Saint Radegund*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society (1898); E. Van Houts, 'Nuns and Goldsmiths: the Foundation and Early Benefactors of St Radegund's Priory at Cambridge', *Church and City 1000-1500: Essays in Honour of Christopher Brooke*, ed. D. Abulafia, M. Franklin and M. Rubin (Cambridge 1992), 59-79.

³ A selection of original sources appears as an appendix below.

suggestions and cannot be proved for certain given what little evidence is available. All that can be stated with any degree of certainty is that it seems highly likely that, given the lands they were granted and the relationships they formed, Picot and Pain were known to the new Norman king. The Conquest had been a highly stratified elite phenomenon in which not all Norman knights had the chance to participate. Those who did were either members of the ducal inner circle or closely connected to it. These men were accompanied by their administrators who would be needed to set up procedures in the newly established kingdom.⁴

Interest in the priory of the Augustinian canons at Barnwell experienced a revival in the late nineteenth century when the Cambridge antiquary, John Willis Clark, expressed his surprise at the priory's relative neglect. In 1890, ten years before he published his own work on the Barnwell *Liber*, Clark wrote an article for the Cambridge Antiquarian Society in which he stated that 'there is a danger that the very existence of what was once a large and opulent monastery should be forgotten'.⁵ A similar concern, although directed not at a particular house but at the Augustinian order itself, was still being voiced in the 1950s when J.C. Dickinson published his *Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England*.⁶

In order to offer a new interpretation of the circumstances surrounding the foundation of Barnwell Priory this project will take a thematic approach to the first two hundred years of the priory's history, from its foundation in c.1092 until the writing of

⁴ K.R. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166. I. Domesday Book* (Woodbridge, 1999), esp. pp.3-11, 75.

⁵ J. Willis Clark, 'An Attempt to Trace the Architectural History and Plan of the Church and Conventual Buildings of Barnwell Priory, Cambridge', *Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 7 (1890-1), 222.

⁶ J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950).

Harleian 3601 in 1294-5. By using such an approach it will be possible to establish the priory's position both within the Augustinian hierarchy and in its relationships at both local and national levels. It is hoped that comparisons made within the chosen themes will also reveal new information on how the canons at Barnwell functioned within the community and how they interacted with those who came into contact with them on a regular basis.

The starting point for any research into the early part of the priory's history must be the manuscript known as the *Liber memorandum ecclesie de Bernewelle*. The manuscript, its provenance and its survival are dealt with in detail in Chapter 3.

Although the manuscript is hard to classify, a term to describe it must be adopted in order to ensure consistency throughout this thesis. To use the term 'chronicle' risks confusion with another manuscript (Arundel 10), so the best alternative seems to be describe our chief source simply as the Barnwell *Liber*. Since its publication by Clark, the *Liber* has been little studied, and has chiefly been used as a mine for footnotes. Through a careful study of this and other extant primary sources I hope to be able to show that, whilst the priory was not as wealthy or prestigious as some of the larger and more well-known houses in the medieval fenlands of East Anglia, it should not be considered a place of little consequence. Its history is as rich and interesting to the historian as that of most other religious institutions. Whilst it may not have had the highest class of patron or been favoured by the crown, it had moments of importance worthy of record, not least the holding there of several of the chapters of the Augustinian order.

In what follows, a thematic study is intended to put the foundation and early history of the priory into context.⁷ It is hoped that this approach to the evidence will lead to a better understanding of how the Augustinian canons interacted with their contemporaries at all levels of society. Whilst not a standard, narrative history, my reconstruction of Barnwell's past may assist in reviving interest in a house that has been in danger of being overshadowed by its other, more famous neighbours in East Anglia.

There is a diverse range of unprinted primary source material brought together below from sources beyond the *Liber*. Part of my project has been to construct a searchable database including a brief description, reference and current location for each document. The database is not restricted to the period 1092-1295 and this provides a resource for studying the entire lifetime of the priory. Unprinted primary source material is located in the major collections at the British Library, the National Archives and the Royal College of Arms. Barnwell's proximity to the medieval colleges that made up Cambridge University led to constant opportunities for the transfer of land, much of it retained by the University colleges, together with title deeds, following the Dissolution. Wider contacts with the hierarchy of the Church and the legal machinery of the State has meant that much survives today calendered amongst official publications for the period. Searches of the chancery and judicial rolls from this period, including the *Curia Regis Rolls*, *Patent Rolls* and *Close Rolls*, have revealed a wealth of new evidence. Episcopal charters, especially of the bishops of Ely, are preserved in various of the volumes of English Episcopal Acta that have been published by the British Academy. A document dating from the reign of Henry

⁷ For the purposes of this study I have defined the early history of Barnwell as the period between Picot's foundation of 1092 and the completion of the *Liber*, c.1295.

III has also been located at the Biblioteca Reale in Turin, and the *Calendar of Papal Letters* throws further light on the links between the priory, the manor of Chesterton and the abbey of Vercelli in northern Italy.⁸

In order to produce a study along the lines outlined above, it became clear that it would be necessary to begin by looking at the lives of the two men who were involved with the foundation of Barnwell priory, Picot de Gretebrugge and Pain Peverel. Thus chapters V and VI of this project will focus on attempting to reconstruct the aims and motivations that lay behind their decision to found a religious house. Before this, it is first necessary to consider a particular aspect of the world in which they lived. The founders of Barnwell were both of them violent, even notoriously violent men. Yet their combination of brutality and piety has a context.

Society itself in the eleventh century was brutal: 'violence was endemic and in itself unremarkable'. It permeated the cultural fabric and 'impinged on all aspects of daily life'.⁹ It is unsurprising then that it affected dealings with the Church. If religion could support such violence then society could approve it. Hence Jonathan Riley-Smith's description of a 'theology of violence'.¹⁰ The entire lives of men such as Picot and Peverel revolved around war in one form or another whether local, national or even international. When Pope Urban II gave war a moral and spiritual justification in his call to arms at Clermont, in December 1095, he was not initiating a new idea but building on a cultural norm that already existed.

⁸ For a transcription of the original document see Appendix below no.10. The relationship is discussed further in Chapter 8.

⁹ M. Bull, 'Origins', in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades*, ed. J. Riley-Smith (Oxford, 1995), 15.

¹⁰ J. Riley-Smith, *The First Crusaders, 1095-1131* (Cambridge, 1997), 55.

As an example of the brutally pious, Fulk, III Count of Anjou (d.1040), posthumously dubbed 'Nerra', was both warrior and religious patron. During a fifty-three year reign during which he made four pilgrimages to the Holy Land he gained a reputation for appalling acts of both violence and impiety.¹¹

‘When he [Fulk] burned the town of Saumur in 1025, he shouted to the saint there, “Saint Florentius, let yourself be burned. I will build you a better home in Angers.”’ Then, when the transportation of the saint’s relics proved problematic, he ‘called the saint “an impious rustic lout who did not want to come to the big city.”’¹²

In 1066 dispositions were made by various of those sailing with Duke William in his invasion fleet that make it plain that fear for the afterlife played a large part in knightly piety. Both Roger II de Montgomery and Roger son of Turold, for example, made gifts to the community of La Trinité at Rouen.¹³ Other groups at work during the eleventh century to reconcile such extremes of behaviour included the Mathildine scholars, Anselm of Lucca, John of Mantua and Bonizo of Sutri, so-called for their allegiance to Mathilda of Tuscany herself a supporter of radical reform within the papacy. Such men helped revive the ideas of St Augustine, applying them to a new theory of Holy war. If 'soldiers engaged in a holy war would incur no blame, since they were only doing their duty' then two conclusions could be reached.¹⁴ Firstly, the Church, or more specifically the papacy, could legitimately summon knights to fight in its defence, and secondly martyrdom in battle against a non-Christian army led to

¹¹ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 28.

¹² H. Fichtenau, *AD 1000: Living in the Tenth Century* (Berkeley, 1998), 327. See also P. Geary in S. Wilson, (ed.), *Saints and their Cults: Studies in Religious Sociology, Folklore and History* (Cambridge, 1983), 123-40.

¹³ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 40.

¹⁴ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 48.

eternal life.¹⁵ By the time of Pope Urban's speech at Clermont the idea of warfare as a potentially meritorious activity was widely understood. Urban added a further dimension to the Mathildine theory with the crucial addition of announcing that the crusade would take the form of a penance, thus elevating it to the status of a morally and spiritually justified undertaking. Urban's call to arms embodied a crucial change in the Church's thinking for it gave the laity a task to perform, one that the religious could not undertake. Warfare could now be 'pleasing to God'.¹⁶

Picot, the founder of Barnwell, was a royal henchman notorious for his violence and injustice. In the Peverels, Picot's successors, we see penitential acts used in two different ways. In Pain Peverel's case the deeds of violence he committed whilst on crusade were atoned for through his patronage of Barnwell priory on his return, while for his son William, the crusade became a means of penitence for sins already committed.

Leaving to one side the wider historiography of the Norman Conquest, or as we are today inclined to describe it, the history of 'Anglo-Norman' England, it is clear that any serious study of monasticism in England must still begin with the works of Dom David Knowles which were published over half a century ago.¹⁷ To these can then be added more recent assessments, including those by Cownie¹⁸ and Blair¹⁹ (on the

¹⁵ Riley-Smith, *First Crusaders*, 46-9.

¹⁶ J. Riley-Smith, 'Crusading as an Act of Love', *History* 65 (1980), 177-92, esp. 182.

¹⁷ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 943-1216* (Cambridge, 1940); idem, *The Religious Houses of Medieval England* (London, 1940); idem, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1948-59); D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales* (London, 1953).

¹⁸ E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England* (Woodbridge, 1998).

¹⁹ J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005).

Anglo-Norman and Anglo-Saxon churches), and by Moorman²⁰, Wood²¹ and Burton on religious patronage and the coming of the regular orders.²² Here, the standard work on the Augustinian canons in England remains that of J. C. Dickinson, first published in 1950. In his preface, Dickinson described the Augustinian order as 'the most neglected ... of the medieval church' and it might be argued that this position remains substantially unaltered. The past six decades have seen only limited work focusing specifically on the Augustinians in England.²³ Dickinson's work itself attracted criticism. In a review for *The English Historical Review*, J.R.H. Moorman welcomed Dickinson's willingness to tackle a neglected subject, but nonetheless drew attention to his failure to use three works central to the subject: Heales' *Records of Merton Priory*²⁴; the Surtees Society volumes on Hexham Priory²⁵ and Clark's publications on Barnwell.

On the Continent, meanwhile, the past few decades have seen substantial advances. Matthieu Arnoux and Ludo Milis, for example, have tackled both the role that the Augustinians played in Normandy, and the wider question of their attraction to a society organized for war.²⁶ Such studies can be used to supply important background for what happened in England in the early twelfth century, when both King Henry I and his Queen emerged as enthusiastic and generous patrons of the Augustinian canons. There has been no full-scale study of the Victorine canons since

²⁰ J.R.H. Moorman, *Church Life in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1955).

²¹ S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons*, (Oxford, 1955).

²² J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994)

²³ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*. See also J. C. Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons and the Continent in the Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser. 1 (1951), 71-89.

²⁴ A. Heales, *The Records of Merton Priory in the County of Surrey* (London, 1898).

²⁵ *The Priory of Hexham*, ed. J. Raines, 2 vols. Surtees Society 44, 46 (1864-5).

²⁶ M. Arnoux, *Des Clercs au service de la réforme. Études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen* (Turnhout, 2000).

Fourier Bonnard's history, published more than a century ago. Even so, in 1984, Milis, working with Lucas Jocque, produced a transcription of the Victorine customs. The canons both of Arrouaise and St Victor were to play a part in the Augustinian settlement of England with studies suggesting similarities between the observances in use in Paris and at Barnwell.²⁷

The Augustinians in England have not been completely neglected. For example, there have been in-depth studies of houses such as Oseney Abbey (by David Postles²⁸) and Schofield and Lea's 2005 archaeological reconstruction and history of the priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate²⁹. A new perspective on the arrival and dispersal of the canons in England was offered by the historical geographer, D. M. Robinson, whose PhD thesis 'The Geography of Augustinian Settlement' appeared in 1980.³⁰

The geographical locations of houses has been used to draw attention to the role that hermitages played in post-Conquest society, often as the nucleus around which subsequent communities of canons came to be founded. This is especially pertinent to the current study as a number of the sites later chosen for Augustinian houses had previously been used by hermits. In the 1970s, Henry Mayr-Harting considered both the social, and indeed, the anti-social aspects of the anchoritic lifestyle and concluded

²⁷ L. Milis, *Orde van Arrouaise* (Brussels, 1979); idem, *L'Ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise : son histoire et son organisation, de la fondation de l'abbaye-mère (vers 1090) à la fin des chapitres annuels (1471)* (Bruges, 1969); L. Jocque, and L. Milis, *Liber ordinis Sancti Victoris Parisiensis* (Turnhout, 1984)

²⁸ D. Postles, *Oseney Abbey Studies* (Leicester, 2008) [<http://www.le.ac.uk/ee/pot/oseney.pdf> Accessed 3 July 2008], and, more generally, idem, 'The Austin Canons in English Towns, c.1100-1350', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 66 (1993), 1-20, based very largely on the published edition of the Oseney cartulary: *The Oseney Abbey Cartulary*, ed. H.E. Salter, 6 vols., Oxford Historical Society 89-91, 97-8, 100 (1929-36).

²⁹ J. Schofield and R. Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, City of London: An Archaeological Reconstruction and History* (London, 2005).

³⁰ D. M. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*, British Archaeological Reports, British series 80, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1980).

that the proliferation of hermitages in England was 'not anti-Norman in character but, [a] ...self-consciously English reaction to the Norman Conquest'.³¹ This conclusion was drawn from evidence that pointed toward the desire of the English people for some form of arbitration in a society where advancement was closed to those not of Norman birth. As Mayr-Harting suggested, anchorites were well placed to take on this role.³² This hypothesis has since been questioned by a number of Anglo-Saxon scholars, with consequent revision to what was previously regarded as English exceptionalism, set apart from continental norms. As Tom Licence points out, more recent studies of anchoritic activity in Italy, France and Normandy have concluded that numbers were also increasing there, so that it may well be misleading to view the flourishing of the anchoritic life in England as a specific reaction to the Norman Conquest.³³

The question remains, why did English hermitages come so often to form the basis for later Augustinian communities? This has been specifically considered by Jane Herbert who estimates that 'during the twelfth century no less than about fifty houses of the [Augustinian] order were founded in this way'.³⁴ Associating a house with existing spiritual tradition was a desirable act for it 'conferred far more prestige on its founder

³¹ H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse', *History*, 60 (1975), 337-8. Mayr-Harting himself was using Peter Brown's model, by which the anchorites were viewed as performing 'a prolonged, solemn ritual of dissociation by which they severed the normal familial and economic ties which bound society together'. The model thus offered a 'convincing social explanation' for that which might be primarily seen as an antisocial activity. Cf. P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, MA, 1978), 17.

³² T. Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society 950-1200* (Oxford, 2011), 5.

³³ Licence, *Hermits and Recluses*, 6.

³⁴ J. Herbert, 'The transformation of Hermitages into Augustinian Priories in Twelfth-Century England', in *Monks, Hermits and the Aesthetic Tradition: Papers read at the 1984 summer meeting and 1985 winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W. J. Sheils, SCH 22 (1985), 131-45. For an account of what was occurring on the Continent, see L. Milis, 'Ermites et chanoines réguliers au XIIe siècle', *Cahiers de Civilization Médiévale*, 22 (1979), 39-80.

than was warranted by the financial outlay'.³⁵ Barnwell's second foundation under Pain Peverel is a good example of this.

A different view of the Augustinian order in England was expressed via the order's own general chapter. The surviving evidence for these was collected together from a number of manuscript sources by H. E. Salter and published by the Canterbury and York Society in 1922.³⁶ In his review, A. G. Little described the collection as remarkable since 'not a single official record of the acts of any provincial chapter of any of the four Mendicant Orders in England has yet been discovered'. This contrast with the friars persists.³⁷ At the same time, thanks in part to W.A. Pantin's publication of the chapter proceedings of the English Benedictines, we have a far clearer sense of the trajectory of the religious orders in general, from chaotic diversity in the eleventh century, through the Cistercian revolution of the twelfth-century, to a degree of central organization in many cases first properly instituted in 1215 with the Fourth Lateran Council and its insistence that all religious henceforth organize their own distinct chapter meetings.³⁸

³⁵ Herbert, 'The transformation of Hermitages', 144.

³⁶ H. E. Salter, *Chapters of the Augustinian Canons*, Canterbury and York Society/Oxford Historical Society (1922).

³⁷ Review by A. G. Little, *EHR*, 38 (1923), 588-90.

³⁸ A point very well brought out in Brian McGuire's balanced and often devastating critique of Constance Berman's recent assault on the chronology of the Cistercian diaspora: *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 51 (2000), esp. 285-7. For the wider debate here and its impact upon England, see C.H. Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth-Century Europe* (Philadelphia 2000); idem, 'The Cistercian Mystery. How Was the Order Formed and By Whom? Can the Anglo-Norman Sources Elucidate the Problem?', *Haskins Society Journal*, 13 (1999), 1-19. For a more balanced statement of the problems, see J.E. Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069-1215* (Cambridge 1999). For criticism of Berman, see B.P. McGuire, 'Charity and Unanimity: The Invention of the Cistercian Order: A Review Article', and C. Waddell, 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C. H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources', *Cîteaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, 51 (2000), 285-386; M.G. Newman, review of C. Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Cîteaux*, in *Speculum*, 78 (2003), 623-5; Christopher Brooke, 'Epilogue', in *European Religious Cultures: Essays Offered to Christopher Brooke on the Occasion of his Eightieth Birthday*, ed. M. Rubin (London 2008), 155. For the individual foundations, see now also *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, ed. J. Burton, Borthwick Texts and Studies (York 2006); E. Jamrozak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132-1300* (Turnhout 2005); J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors, 1132-1300* (Kalamazoo 1987).

With specific reference to Barnwell, over a century has elapsed since the Cambridge antiquary, John Willis Clark, at the request of his friend, and fellow historian, Frederic Maitland, edited and printed a transcription of Harley MS 3601: the *Liber memorandorum ecclesie de Bernewelle*. The manuscript, which dates from c.1294-5, Clark described as a document of 'unique character' containing 'a curious mix' of records written both in the formal language of lawyers and as anecdotes told by the author in colloquial Latin.³⁹ It is this mixture of styles that marks it out from other surviving ecclesiastical records of the period and makes straightforward comparisons with such sources difficult. The manuscript itself survives as BL MS Harley 3601, from which there are at least two extant copies or translations. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson B. 103 is a transcription from Harley 3601 made by the herald and antiquary, Sir Richard St George (d.1635); BL MS Harley 7306 was made by the Cambridge antiquary, Thomas Baker (d.1740). A third copy, made by Thomas Rutherforth, archdeacon of Essex (d.1771) and recorded as being owned in 1780 by the Rev. Peck, Senior Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, is now lost, although referred to in print by John Nichols (d.1826).⁴⁰ Two other partial copies are known to survive.⁴¹

³⁹ Clark, *Liber*, xliii-xliv.

⁴⁰ J. Nichols, 'The History and Antiquities of Barnwell Abbey', in *Bibliotheca Topographica Brittanica*, 8 vols (London, 1786-1820), v ('Antiquities in Cambs, Suffolk, Scotland and Wales'), part 38, p.14. On p. 5 Nichols also references another manuscript: Mr Baker's ms Harl 7306. He called this 'a transcript of the Barnwell Ledger Book ms 3601', which is listed above as one of the surviving copies from Harley 3601.

⁴¹ The earlier of these can be attributed to the Cambridge notary public, John Frickley and dates from the late sixteenth or early seventeenth century. In 1583 Frickley produced a fair copy of the Cambridge University Library catalogue, and it was the correspondence between his distinctive handwriting both here and in the transcript that confirms his authorship. For his transcript, see A. Gibbons, *The Northern Genealogist* (York, 1985), 114. The second partial transcript is in the Archives of Christ's College, Cambridge, as part of the collection known as Bourn. Its front page describes it as being an 'Account of lands given to Barnwell Priory by Picot, Vicecomes, Pagn [sic] Peverel etc. 1092. Sundry Papers, 1668', cf. below Appendix no.1.

Clark's transcription was published in two volumes. The first appeared in 1897 and contained only the eighth and final book which was of sufficient importance to stand alone as *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of S. Giles and S. Andrew at Barnwell*.⁴² The second, containing books one to seven, appeared a decade later in 1907 under the original title, *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*. As an introduction to both volumes, and to place their content in context, Clark wrote a short history of the priory.⁴³ The volume covering the first seven books also has an introduction by Maitland in which he refers specifically to entries in the *Liber* copied from the judicial rolls.⁴⁴

Previous to Clark's work on the manuscript, the history of Barnwell Priory had been written on a number of occasions, in each case employing one of the several copies of the *Liber* in circulation as a major source. The earliest of these histories appeared in Leland's *Collectanea*,⁴⁵ thereafter recycled by Sir William Dugdale. Between 1655 and 1673 Dugdale published his great collection of sources for the monastic houses of England in three volumes under the title, *Monasticon Anglicanum*. This 'established for the first time the importance of charters as a primary source for the writing of medieval history, and as a source for understanding the legal practice of earlier centuries and aspects of the feudal system relating to conditions of tenure'.⁴⁶ Here, in the second volume (1661), the authors republished a brief notice of Barnwell from Leland's *Collectanea*, consisting of an account of the foundation strung together from

⁴² The printed version of book eight has an English translation of the original Latin text on each facing page, a format which Clark did not continue to use in his transcription of the other seven books where only the Latin is given.

⁴³ Clark, *Liber*, pp.ix-xxxiii; Clark, *Observances*, pp.ix-xxxi.

⁴⁴ Clark, *Liber*, pp.xliii-lxiii.

⁴⁵ Johannis Lelandi antiquarii de rebus Britannicis, 6 Vols. (London, 1770).

⁴⁶ Graham Parry, 'Dugdale, Sir William (1605–1686)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2009 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8186>, accessed 19 Nov 2014]

phrases borrowed from charters of Picot and Pain Peverel. To this, was appended a small collection of charters and memoranda. Taken in order these comprised: Henry I's confirmation charter (taken from copies in the chancery Cartae Antiquae and Patent Rolls); charters of William fitz Otto and Ascelina de Waterville (from originals in the archives of King's College Cambridge); a charter of Matilda de Diva from an unspecified source⁴⁷; a confirmation by Henry III (20 February 1227, from the chancery Cartae Antiquae and Charter Rolls); the return to the Hundred Rolls enquiry of the 1280s (from the original in the royal archives, now The National Archives)⁴⁸; Edward I's settlement of a patronage dispute involving Gilbert Pecche (12 May 1285, from the Patent Roll 13 Edward I), and finally a list of priors and benefactors, derived from Leland, incorporating the inscription from a cross then standing in the public highway to the west of Barnwell.⁴⁹

Nowhere here does the *Monasticon* explicitly to the survival of the manuscript today known as the *Liber*, although Leland's materials were themselves clearly informed by the *Liber* or by a very similar 'ancient manuscript'. Thomas Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, of the 1690s, revised and reprinted in 1744, lists the *Monasticon*'s sources, but then adds a reference to the *Liber* (here described as a 'cartularium'), said to have belonged in 1600 to Richard and later (1698) to Henry St George, and to have been described by Roger Dodsworth as a 'most elegant book' (*librum perelegantem*). Tanner also lists a further 'registrum' said to be 'penes magistrum Haggard de Bourn', here identified as copied throughout by Thomas Baker and therefore almost certainly nothing more than Baker's transcript of the *Liber*, today BL Harley MS 7306.

⁴⁷ The charter is also in the King's archive as part of the same sequence as those of William fitz Otto and Ascelina de Waterville, King's/KC/KCAR/6/2/025/BUC/1-4.

⁴⁸ TNA, SC/CAMBS/TOWER/2

⁴⁹ W. Dugdale and R. Dodsworth, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 1st ed., 3 vols (London, 1655-73), ii (1661), 28-33.

Tanner's reference to a further 'Registrum' said to have belonged to Sir Edward Peyton (presumably the controversialist and MP for Cambridgeshire, Sir Edward Peyton of Isleham, d.1657), can almost certainly be identified as a register of rents and fines for the manor of Chesterton for the period 1277-1370, compiled in a series of fourteenth-century hands, sold to Richard Gough in 1798 from the library of Dr Farmer, and today Bodleian Library ms. Gough Camb. 1 (SC 17751).⁵⁰

Besides references to enrolments and other records now in The National Archives, Tanner's list is otherwise made up from the citation of Dodsworth's copies from the *Liber* and other evidences (including Oxford, Bodleian Library MSS Dodsworth 39, 102 and 145, and cf. Dodsworth 108 and esp. Dodsworth 126 and 145) and to a variety of deeds preserved in the archives of the Cambridge colleges, at King's and Gonville and Caius, and in the register of John Fordham bishop of Ely (d.1425).⁵¹ In the nineteenth-century edition of the *Monasticon*, by which time the editors had the opportunity to benefit from Thomas Rutherforth's transcription of the *Liber*, Barnwell Priory appears in volume six, with a brief account of the history of the house appended to copies of twelve documents.⁵² Besides reprinting the materials from the first edition of the *Monasticon*, the editors of the new edition supplied a brief list of the chapter headings to the Barnwell *Liber*, here taken from Rutherforth's transcript as printed in 1786 by John Nichols.⁵³ They also commented on the 'Registrum' reported by Tanner in the possession of Edward Peyton, suggesting its identification with the

⁵⁰ For Peyton see Richard L. Greaves, 'Peyton, Sir Edward, second baronet (1587/8–1652?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22077>, accessed 22 April 2017]

⁵¹ T. Tanner, *Notitia Monastica*, ed. J. Tanner (London, 1744), 41-2. Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Dodsworth 126 (SC 5067) fos.77v-122v includes an extensive transcript from the Barnwell *Liber*, made in 1609 when in the possession of Richard St George; Dodsworth 145 (SC 5086/1) fos.103r-110v includes further transcripts relating to the priory from St George's evidences.

⁵² *Monasticon* (1846), vi, 83-9.

⁵³ *Monsticon*, vi, 84-5n.

present Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gough Camb.1.⁵⁴ To the evidences already published in Dugdale's account of 1655, they appended copies from the sixteenth-century Valor Ecclesiasticus and from a minister's account in the Augmentation's Office, dating to the year 32 Henry VIII (1540/1).⁵⁵

Another antiquary who seems to have been in possession of a copy of the *Liber* was William Cole, educated at Eton and Cambridge and holder of various posts including a curacy at Waterbeach. Cole retired to the village of Milton in 1770 where he worked on his histories. When John Nichols was compiling his 'History and Antiquities of Barnwell Abbey and of Sturbridge Fair' in 1786 he clearly named his source as the 'abstract of the Register of Barnwell Abbey in the handwriting of Mr Thomas Rutherforth', whence the abstracts supplied by the later editors of Dugdale.⁵⁶ However, Nichols was also well acquainted with Cole and it is quite possible that the two men shared information about Barnwell as about other matters.⁵⁷

Firmly based on the manuscript, Nichols' history gives a narrative account of the priory's early history and includes copies of those charters that he deemed appropriate to include. After the point at which the *Liber* breaks off, he continued his history to the Dissolution using other sources available to him at the time.⁵⁸ Besides reproducing the *Liber*'s prologue Nichols added transcripts of two documents taken

⁵⁴ Ibid., 84.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 89 nos.11-12.

⁵⁶ J. Nichols, 'The History and Antiquities of Barnwell Abbey, and of Sturbridge fair', in *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, 38 (London, 1786), pp.3-59. Nichols erroneously refers to Barnwell as an abbey, a practice that was to persist and one still reflected in the local area today. Thus alongside roads such as Priory, Peverel and Beche we find Abbey Road, the Abbey Stadium and the Abbey Pool all within the modern suburb of Barnwell. A manuscript copy of Nichols' history of the priory is today Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Gough Camb. 76 (SC 17832).

⁵⁷ CUL MS Add.739.3 (William Cole letter to John Nichols).

⁵⁸ At p.5, Nichols also references another manuscript: BL ms. Harley 7306, 'a transcript of the Barnwell Ledger Book ms 3601', apparently made for Thomas Baker (1656-1740), the Cambridge antiquary.

from Lambeth MS 959. The first was a *Quo warranto* from the time of John de Kirkby (bishop of Ely, 1286-1290) and, the second an account of Hugh and Robert Pecche's intervention when the priory was under attack by rebels during the Barons' War.⁵⁹

Subsequently, a number of antiquarian histories of Barnwell Priory trawled in Nichols' wake. The earliest of these was published in Cambridge in 1806. Its author is unknown but the frontispiece records that it was printed for, and illustrated by, Mr William Mason, a local publican, who ran the Wrestlers' Inn in Petty Cury. The printing was carried out by Mary Watson and the book was sold by four local retailers: J. Dimmock, a perfumer whose premises were also in Petty Cury; M. Page, a bookseller, of Shoemaker Row; J. Bowtell of Green Street; and S. Nicholls, whose establishment, like Bowtell's, is not described but was near to the Hoop Inn.⁶⁰ In all probability, the publication was intended as a guide for tourists interested in what remained of the priory buildings.

Marmaduke Prickett, Chaplain of Trinity College, published another history of the priory in 1837. Antiquarian in character, Prickett's account was presented chronologically, in a standard narrative format. Fifty years later, William White, the sub-librarian of Trinity College, published another such effort prefixed to a piece written in celebration of the jubilee of the consecration of Christ Church Cambridge.⁶¹ White's reasoning was two-fold, not only to make his information more accessible to

⁵⁹ Nichols, *History*, 7-8; Clark, *Liber*, 122-3.

⁶⁰ Anonymous, *The History of Barnwell Abbey, near Cambridge, with the Origin of Sturbridge Fair, taken from Ancient Manuscripts* (Cambridge, 1806)

⁶¹ W. White, *A Jubilee Memorial of the Consecration of Christ Church, Cambridge, which took place June 27th, 1839, to which is prefixed; A Short History of Barnwell Priory, from its Foundation to its Present Time* (Cambridge, 1889). A William White was listed as a churchwarden at Barnwell between 1871 and 1878 (p.55), and it seems likely that he and the author were the same man.

the general reader but to 'shew the continuity of church work in the parish from the foundation of the priory to the present time'.⁶² Of the fifty-six pages of White's pamphlet, the history of Barnwell takes up only eight.⁶³ In White's opinion the priory church was one of the largest in England, and one of the most magnificent containing a number of chapels dedicated to Saints Peter, Mary, Edmund and Hugh.⁶⁴ In Chapter 2, *The Village of Barnwell*, he remarks some finds from 1812 when work was being carried out on the site, possibly the beginnings of housing: 'When the site of the priory was dug over in 1812, a vast number of slender pillars of Purbeck marble were found, which would indicate that in that portion of the Priory Church the early English style of architecture prevailed.' This mention of the building's structure is very rare and, sadly, White does not mention the fate of his pillars, although, given the material, they must surely have been reused elsewhere.⁶⁵ In general, White's approach emerges from the more general trend at Cambridge, from the 1830s onwards, and in this respect some years in advance of the Oxford Movement, towards the refurbishment and celebration of the Catholic 'Gothic' past, not least via the Cambridge Camden Society, subsequently the Ecclesiology Society.⁶⁶

In 1909, as part of a *Festschrift* published in honour of Clark, Walter Frere contributed an essay on the early history of the regular canons using Barnwell Priory as his focus. Writing of the introduction of the canons as very much a positive step for the Church in England, he suggested that 'among the many new developments of

⁶² White, *A Jubilee Memorial*, 6-7. White lists his sources as Dugdale, Nichols, Cooper (both his *Annals of Cambridge* and *Memorials of Cambridge*), Pricket and *The History of Jesus Lane Sunday School Memoir of the Right Reverend Bishop Titcomb*, this latter written by the Reverend Allen T. Edwards.

⁶³ White, *Jubilee Memorial*, 9-17.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 19.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁶⁶ See here J.F. White, *The Cambridge Movement* (Cambridge, 1962).

church life in the latter part of the eleventh century an honoured place is held by the institution of Canons Regular'.⁶⁷ He also drew attention to an important and distinctive point when he described Barnwell as a 'unique instance of the foundation of a priory of Canons Regular by one who was a tenant-in-chief at the time of the great [Domesday] survey'.⁶⁸

With the publication (in 1948, although from materials contributed before the outbreak of war in 1939) of volume two of the *Victoria County History for Cambridgeshire and the Isle of Ely*, all the religious houses in the area were thoroughly researched to provide general overviews of their history. These heavily footnoted pieces provide fundamental sources for any future study, with the particular piece on Barnwell contributed by L.F. Salzman.⁶⁹ After this, research into Barnwell Priory and the Augustinians in Cambridge shifted away from chronological narrative histories and began to focus, instead, on more specific areas of interest.

Elsewhere, information on Barnwell can be gleaned from the cartularies of other Augustinian houses, a number of which have now been edited and printed⁷⁰ including those for Launceston Priory,⁷¹ Holy Trinity Aldgate⁷², and St Gregory's Priory at

⁶⁷ W. H. Frere, 'The Early History of the Canons Regular as Illustrated by The Foundation of Barnwell Priory', in *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* (Cambridge, 1909), 186-216, here 186.

⁶⁸ Frere, 'Early History', 194.

⁶⁹ *VCH Cambridgeshire*, ii, 234-49.

⁷⁰ In his appendices to the *Origins*, Dickinson provided a list of 66 such manuscripts which were known to have survived at the time of writing. Dickinson, *Origins*, Appendix IV, 286-9. Given the time that has since passed, Dickinson's list would benefit from checking and updating, not least by reference to the second edition of G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. C. Breay, J. Harrison and D.M. Smith (London 2010).

⁷¹ P.L. Hull, *The Cartulary of Launceston Priory (Lambeth Palace MS 719)*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society 30 (1987).

⁷² G. A. J. Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, London Record Society 9 (1971).

Canterbury.⁷³ These can be used for context and to supply comparisons with the general drift of Augustinian foundations, even though their contents are often as vague as the Barnwell *Liber* in terms of their personal details or references to individual members of the religious community. Despite their similarities to the *Liber*, these other cartularies omit the sort of anecdotal evidence that lends the Barnwell *Liber* its own unique 'voice'.

The *Liber* has also been used as a source through which to consider certain aspects of medieval law. In his essay 'A Medieval Realist: Interpreting the Rules at Barnwell Priory, Cambridge', Michael Clanchy has considered the *Liber* from the perspective of a legal historian attempting to interpret the rules used by the priory in the light of modern knowledge of twelfth- and thirteenth-century conventions.⁷⁴ Clanchy demonstrates how the writs and pleas included in the Barnwell *Liber* contrast with what actually happened and observes that the author 'seems fascinated by the tension between the formal records and the actual events and it is this tension and the way in which he responds to it that gives the *Liber* its uniqueness'.⁷⁵ The importance of studying twelfth century charters from the perspective of a legal historian is succinctly noted by Paul Hyams when he writes that:

'They [the charters] also serve as a useful check to the official common-law records, because they offer a view of normality before the onset of conflict and litigation yet from the perspective of the

⁷³ A. M. Woodcock, *Cartulary of the Priory of St Gregory, Canterbury*, Camden Society 3rd series 88 (1956).

⁷⁴ In his review of *Perspectives of Jurisprudence*, Thomas Sharpe describes Clanchy's essay as an 'imaginative merging of American Realism with the litigious monks of Barnwell Priory': *The Economic Journal*, 87 (1977), 829.

⁷⁵ M. Clanchy, 'A Medieval Realist: Interpreting the Rules at Barnwell Priory, Cambridge', in E. Attwooll (ed.) *Perspectives in Jurisprudence* (Glasgow 1977), 176-194, at 176.

future litigant and his advisers. Additionally, the legal historian can attempt through charters to surmount one of his most acute difficulties, ignorance of his subjects' life before a case and outside of the courtroom'⁷⁶

It is this disparity between intention and practice that makes the charters worthy of further examination and drives the need for research into the social relationships between groups such as the canons of Barnwell and their tenants and neighbours. Clanchy's own assessment of the Barnwell *Liber* is that, in addition to its importance as a record of past events, it also provided future generations of monks with a didactic tool designed to provide useful examples of how it was possible to outwit one's opponents.

Despite varied and extensive publications, it remains the case that the relationships between the canons of Barnwell, their benefactors, and the local population has never attracted the attention it deserves. By focusing on a number of such 'relationships' this present study will identify a number of the men and women with whom the canons had significant contact and assess the nature of that connection. It will consider how the canons were perceived by the local community with whom they came into direct contact. Were they respected or reviled? In terms of religious perfection 'did they [the canons] receive the same kind of respect [as monks] from the world, or were they inevitably regarded as a "second best"?'⁷⁷ Was there a noticeable difference between the Augustinians' pastoral and non-pastoral contact?

⁷⁶ P.R. Hyams, 'Warranty and Good Lordship in Twelfth Century England', *Law and History Review*, 5 (1987), 437-503, esp. 498.

⁷⁷ Review by Moorman of Dickinson's *Origins*, in *EHR*, 66 (1951), 574.

During the last twenty years questions such as these have begun to be addressed by scholars both on the continent and, latterly, in the British Isles. The significance of the Barnwell *Liber* as a source, 'which remains far too little known', and which is 'fundamental to our appreciation of daily canonical life', is now apparent.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ D. M. Robinson, 'The Augustinian Canons in England and Wales: Architecture, Archaeology and Liturgy 1100-1540', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 18 (2012), 2-26, at p.6.

3. MS Harley 3601 (*The Liber memorandorum ecclesie de Bernewelle*)

The importance of lineage, in the case of families, and heritage in the case of institutions, cannot be underestimated in the production of medieval histories. In the context of research into the genealogies of the twelfth-century French aristocracy it has been suggested that a number of authors, among them Thomas of Loches and Fulk le Réchin, whilst essentially motivated by the desire to produce works that were both literary and didactic often resorted to a degree of invention to ensure their objective, in this case the promotion of the Counts of Anjou, was achieved.¹ The application of such creativity allowed authors to ‘add new piquancy’ to family histories and suggests that both Thomas and Fulk believed the past to be ‘malleable to the needs of the present’ and to have ‘no autonomous existence.’² Was this a widely held view and, if so, can it be applied to monastic histories such as the *Liber*?

In the same way that Thomas and Fulk had a creative approach towards recording their histories, the primary aims of the author of the *Liber* could have been to increase the status of the priory and to establish its rights beyond question. If the desire, or the directive, was there then it is not difficult to assume that he resorted to similarly creative methods to produce a more complex yet credible version of the first 140 years of the priory’s history. Following Dunbabin’s suggestion that one’s ancestors when ‘snatched from a gloomy past’ could be, through the written word, translated to a ‘timeless glory’, the monkish writer might imbue his community and its origins with a similar magnificence. Barnwell was not a royal foundation, nor was Picot (its

¹ The *Chroniques des comtes d’Anjou et des seigneurs d’Amboise* and the *Gesta consulum Andegavorum* respectively. In general here, see S. Farmer, *Communities of Saint Martin: Legend and Ritual in Medieval Tours* (Cornell, 1991).

² J. Dunbabin, ‘Discovering a Past for the French Aristocracy’, in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. P. Magdalino (London, 1992), 1-14, esp. 7-8.

founder) a major figure in post-Conquest England, despite his local power. An enhancement of the priory's standing might also have been attempted as a means of assuring a place for Barnwell near the head of the hierarchy of the English Augustinian houses, on the basis of its early foundation date. Although it might not be possible to claim Barnwell as the first house in the country fully to embrace the rule of St Augustine, the canons were nonetheless able, in due course, to present themselves as being amongst the earliest half dozen such foundations.

To the basic desire for status must be added an altogether more negative factor; that of fear. Insecurity about their standing within the wider community, and in particular over title to land, could, and probably did, 'provide as powerful an incentive as piety for the writing of an institutional history'.³ It is not unreasonable to suggest that the motivation behind the production of many chronicles was the deep-rooted sense that, if things were not recorded in a permanent manner there was every possibility that they might be lost or stolen. Production was about permanency and the art of writing had an inherent status of its own. Its authority should not be underestimated during a time when it was still inaccessible to the majority of the population as, essentially, a source of control to those with the ability to use it. To write something down could be interpreted as making it true, and monastic writing, in whatever form it took, was an effective method for building status through history, and, at the same time, for using the past to promote the present.⁴

³ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307*, (London, 1974), 77.

⁴ For pertinent instances here, see A.G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Ithaca 1995), informed by the same scholarly impetus as P.J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium* (Princeton 1994)

The written record could always be manipulated to fit the circumstances so that, if writing something down could be seen as making it true, it was possible to make anything true.⁵ This, however, raises the question of forgery and the manipulation of the truth to re-shape any less than satisfactory parts of a monastery's history. Clearly a modern, and by association negative, interpretation cannot be imposed on twelfth-century practices for, as has been rightly pointed out by Antonia Gransden, 'The twelfth-century monastic forger saw himself as providing documentary proof of his house's right to privilege, and title to property, which the monastery had undoubtedly held beyond living memory. He was merely answering a need'.⁶ To forge a document was not necessarily an attempt to deceive its audience, but to confirm what was already believed and to provide evidence for such belief. This is not to say that there were not those unscrupulous enough to resort to pure invention for their own gain, but, as in all things, each case must be treated separately and with caution.

It is not difficult to ascribe what Walker has dubbed an 'archive sense' to the author of the Barnwell *Liber*, since the choice of documents is undoubtedly controlled.⁷ Without this control, and a sense of purpose in its production, the *Liber* might well have evolved into a standard cartulary or register, and in doing so would have forfeited its uniqueness. As they stand, the documents, and the entries that link them, are selected to illustrate specific points. Whilst this is not especially evident in Book 1, it becomes increasingly apparent in subsequent books. What is also evident is that, when a suitable document was not available, the author considered himself at liberty

⁵ A leading theme of G. Koziol, *The Politics of Memory and Identity in Carolingian Royal Diplomas: The West Frankish Kingdom (840-987)* (Turnhout 2012), esp. 315-400

⁶ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 178.

⁷ D. Walker, 'The Organisation of Material in Medieval Cartularies', in *The Study of Medieval Records, Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. D.A. Bullough and R.L. Storey (Oxford, 1971), 132-50, esp. 132.

to provide his own version of events. The choice of what to record for posterity, the instruction of future generations, would have played a substantial part in both the inception and production of the finished manuscript. But how exclusive and selective this choice was is impossible to quantify. What influenced anyone to produce such a work and what were its historical precedents?

It may be possible to discern in some works an 'archive sense' even if only in its most embryonic form. In his *Historia Novorum*, Eadmer of Canterbury clearly demonstrated the value that he placed upon documents and justified his copying of them into his work, stating that 'in future they may be of use as precedents'. In this respect he was using such evidences not only to amplify his words but to give both weight and authority to his arguments.⁸ Although not as explicit in their writing as Eadmer it is not inconceivable that other contemporary chroniclers held a similar view. The Barnwell author was certainly of this opinion.

The importance attached to a chronological record of the heads of a religious house is made apparent by the inclusion of such lists in many cartularies, a practice not restricted to any particular order, and in the most conspicuous cases (as at Bury St Edmunds or St Albans) leading to the compilation of full-scale *Gesta Abbatum*. The register of priors in the Barnwell *Liber* reflects this emerging desire to produce complete records of both people and events of importance. The author recorded each prior's office and, as was his habit, added other details that he considered pertinent, including what was known of their character. Even in cases where evidence was scarce and there was little to be said, he still attempted to flesh out the eulogistic

⁸ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 140.

aspects of his writing with generalisations. For example, he described the third prior, Richard Norel (153-1155) as 'vir religiosus, simplex, et pusillanimus', while the fifth prior, Robert, known as Joel, (1175-1208) was 'vir inaudite severitatis et austeritatis'.⁹

Writers, such as Eadmer, had used biography as a vehicle for history and, although this is not evident in the short, unexciting earlier biographies in the Barnwell *Liber*, it can be seen emerging once the author reached the priorates of Laurence of Stansfield (1216-1254), Henry of Eye (1254-6), Jolan of Thorley (1256-1264) and Simon de Ascellis (d.1297). In these, aided by institutional memory and oral accounts, he could be more confident in his information, although he also seized the opportunity to be more subjective in his choices. Thus in the description of Laurence of Stansfield the author could, for the first time, consider the prior's character in more detail, and wrote 'eminentem litteraturam non habebat, sed sufficientem, regulares disciplinas amabat et metuendus imponebat. Circa omnes seipsum bonorum prebebat exemplum'.¹⁰

On reaching the prior still in office when the *Liber* was written, Simon de Ascellis, the author had his own experience to draw upon and chose to present Simon, first and foremost, as an educated man, 'vir quidem magne eloquencie et eminentis litterature. Dum enim erat in habitu seculari, nobiliter rexit in artibus apud Oxoniam, et processu temporis factus iurisciulis professor apud Cantebrigiam'.¹¹ His career at both Oxford and Cambridge suggests that de Ascellis well understood the importance of keeping written records and that the production of the Barnwell *Liber* might chime with the prior's own tastes and education. Although not mentioned in his biography, Ascellis's involvement in the construction and choice of content is highly probable.

⁹ Clark, *Liber*, 65.

¹⁰ Ibid., 68.

¹¹ Ibid., 73.

The British Library manuscript Harley 3601 which was transcribed and printed by John Willis Clark as the *Liber memorandorum ecclesie de Bernewell* is written on parchment in what he describes as 'a large, uniform, and very clear hand'. It is undated, but on the evidence available, Clark concluded that it was begun in 1295 and completed at some time during July or August 1296.¹² He suggested that the scribe and the author were not one and the same person, citing numerous copyist's errors, including some curious misspellings, 'as though the scribe did not understand Latin, or only imperfectly'.¹³ Clark's printed copy has 324 pages, with the final entry (Appendix to Book 7) recording the wording of a tenant's homage written in a fifteenth century hand, in a blank space that occurs on folio 163 verso of the original manuscript.¹⁴

In the choice of formal documentation that it included, the *Liber* is little different to other monastic cartularies. As in many other such instances, it preserves information concerning title to lands, rights and revenues.¹⁵ But unlike these other surviving manuscripts, it does not sit easily within the confines of the accepted classifications.¹⁶

Written as a series of eight books, it is not confined to documents relating to either property or benefits, and yet recognises the importance of these in terms of the

¹² Clark, *Liber*, x. Four examples are used to support this conclusion. The last event recorded in the entry concerning Edward I is the second Welsh war which ended with the surrender of Madoc in May 1295, 'tandem Walenses veniunt ad pacem, et Maddoc princeps gratis se redditit regi', and on f.91, on which Book 4 ends, the imprisonment of the Scots king, John de Balliol, in the Tower of London on 1 August 1296 is recorded. The arrival of two papal legates and the list of tenants and their rents which make up Book 7 are both dated 'anno domini M°. CC°. nonagesimo quinto' in the text.

¹³ Clark, *Liber*, ix-x.

¹⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 324: 'Whan a tenant shal do his homage he shal holde his handys togidir, and put them in his lordys handys, And shal say in this forme that folwith: I becom your man fro this day forward for tho londes that I hold of you, And trew fayth shal bere to you ageyns al persones that may leve, by knythis service, savyng the feyth that I ovh (owe) to the kyng and odyr that I hav don homage to'.

¹⁵ Walker, 'Material in Medieval Cartularies', 134.

¹⁶ For the purposes of this project these 'types' can be defined as follows: a cartulary, a register of charters and records especially relating to an estate or a monastery; a register, an official or formal list recording names, events, or transactions; a ledger, a collection of financial accounts.

successful running of the estate. Hence it strives to preserve the details of various cases in which the canons upheld their rights. Above all, it differs from the general run of monastic cartularies in terms of its organization thematically into books, rather than into sections determined by geography, status of benefactor, or crude chronology.

When considering the classification of the manuscript it is immediately obvious that it is not a register, as the material is not arranged chronologically. Nor does it consist for the most part of charters so cannot be strictly categorized as a cartulary. In fact, although some are strategically woven into its narrative as a means of both indicating historical status and emphasising events which set useful legal precedents, the cartulary omits far more charters than it actually recites. Finally, the Barnwell *Liber* cannot be classed as a ledger book, for although it contains a certain amount of financial information concerning rents and payments, it does not, in any way preserve these as formal accounts, but rather as parts of an ongoing narrative.

The title it now bears, which we can translate as 'The book of those things relating to the church of Barnwell which are worthy of recollection', is far more apt than anything that might subsequently have been applied by modern historians.¹⁷ With this in mind no attempt is made here to categorize the manuscript within the given definitions and it is, therefore, referred to as the Barnwell *Liber* throughout.

In the second 'Introduction' to Clark's printed transcription, instead of attempting a definition, F. W. Maitland was content to explain instead what the *Liber* was NOT:

¹⁷ Clark, *Liber*, x. In his *Introduction* Maitland points out that it is not clear when this title was given to the manuscript, at xliii.

'On the one hand we have not here the work of a man who year by year sets down those events, those donations, those oppressions, those law-suits, which affected the fortunes of his house; and on the other hand we have not a systematic collection of documents of title, of enfeoffments, releases and bonds, arranged according to a chronological or geographical scheme

The selection is governed not by the past but by the future and Maitland sees it as 'an armoury of offensive and defensive weapons'¹⁸

The manuscript's lack of a distinct chronology is problematic when attempting to locate a specific document, or when trying to reconstruct the course of events.¹⁹ The table of contents provides a little assistance, as it assigns a rubric to each entry. To aid the reader Clark produced a chronological summary for his printed edition of books 1 to 7 and constructed a full list of items sorted, wherever possible, by date.

The first item in the miscellanea, the calendar of days on which work is not to be undertaken reflects a shift in the accepted practice of abstaining from work on church festivals. Before the thirteenth century festivals and saints' days were many and various and custom differed from place to place. In an attempt at regulation the bishops made it known that only days prescribed by the church were to be observed, effectively eliminating those of little-known or local saints. The importance of

¹⁸ Clark, *Liber*, xliii-xliv.

¹⁹ Whilst much of this material, especially that concerning the foundation and the patrons, is contained in Book 1, there is also a wealth of material in Books 2, 3 and 4 which might equally be placed under the collective heading of 'the history of the house'.

maintaining an accurate record of such days and of whether they were 'lesser' days, on which some work might be permitted, or days of strict observance when labour should be suspended completely, led to the type of monastic calendar found in the *Liber*. These new rules can hardly have been implemented smoothly and the transitional period, as local saints disappeared and work days were enforced, must have seen both confusion and conflict. On one side landlords saw an opportunity to increase production, according to Harvey denying 'that labour services were due on certain days of the week and not on others, thus denying also that any workdays coincided with church festivals'.²⁰ At Westminster this practice was so successful that allowances for all feast days, except the three great yearly festivals, were abolished on a number of manors for at least the first half of the fourteenth-century. Conversely, such behaviour can only have provoked hostility among the tenants towards any landlord who employed such tactics as it would have been seen as another direct attack on custom.

After this come the eight 'books' of what we might term the *Liber* proper :

1. History, the kings of England and the priors to 1295.
2. The affairs of Chesterton, the grant of Midsummer fair and miscellaneous benefactions.
3. Legal matters concerning various properties.
4. Thirteenth century assessments of church property, the value of each and the amount of tax due. (The historical part of the book ends at this point).

²⁰ B. Harvey, 'Work and Festa Ferianda in Medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 23 (1972), 289-308, esp. 297

5. Extracts from statutes and laws (not reproduced by Clark).²¹
6. A memorandum of local dues and rates c. 1230.
7. A full list of the tenants of the priory.
8. The Observances (transcribed and printed by Clark as a separate volume in 1897).

Whilst the complete manuscript lacks any chronological arrangement, Book 1 offers three distinct chronologies, each of which can be treated separately. It can be argued that its importance lies not in its recording of the royal lineage, although these entries were clearly important to the canons, nor in its record of the twelve priors, but in the accepted history of the foundation of the house from the perspective of its late thirteenth-century community. In this history lay the roots of Barnwell's status, both in the local and in the wider ecclesiastical community. Linked inextricably to this was the status of its patrons. It was the author's job to promote both of these elements because, as he himself is keen to remind us, 'human memory is defective'.²²

The manuscript begins with the preamble, an unusual, perhaps even unique, element and it is in this that the reader first encounters the narrative voice of the author. In spite of previous efforts, it renders any attempt at classification unnecessary, for in it the author tells us himself the reasons for his labour. It is this entry that, more than any other, personalises the work and gives it a human voice, something lacking from other comparable works of the period.²³

²¹ These occupy the following folios: f.7 (part), f.8, f.8b and part of f.9.

²² Clark, *Liber*, x, 37.

²³ The extent to which the *Liber* sits comfortably in the same tradition as the cartularies and registers of the great Benedictine East Anglian houses of Peterborough, Ramsey, Thorney and St Neot's is considered below. At this point it is sufficient to note only that they do not contain anything resembling the Barnwell preamble.

Prologus in librum memorandorum ecclesie conventualis de

Bernewelle: Sole ad occasum tendente, fervor diei tepescit, et mundo senescente, caritas refrigescit. Sed, quia scriptum est, ubi refrigescit caritas ibi dominatur iniquitas (cf. Matthew 24:12), non est mirum si fraus dolus et malicia, ceteraque uicia in mundo pululent; sed magis timendum est, si conualescant, quod totum mundum suo ueneno inficient. Quia tamen pie creditur quod, ubi est spiritus dei, ibi erit et libertas (cf. II Corinthians 3:17); serui dei quamuis pressuras paciantur in mundo, non tamen confundentur in tempore malo (Ps. 36:19). Sed saluabit eos dominus, et liberabit eos, et eruet eos a peccatoribus quia sperauerunt in eo (Ps. 37:40). **Quapropter, ut serui dei de cetero liberius euadant manus hominum impiorum, per omnipotentis dei adiutorium, ex quo certum est quod humana memoria labilis est, opere precium est in scriptis aliqua redigere, que ecclesie nostre utilitati possint proficere, et fratribus nostris, modernis et post futuris, in suis angustiis, et seuiantis mundi persecutionibus, per inspectionem huius libelli subuenire.** Ad hoc igitur opus congrue perficiendum spiritus sancti gracia suum prestat²⁴ auxilium²⁵

Clark, who seems to have noticed none of the citations of the Vulgate here, translated the highlighted passage as follows:

²⁴ Clark records that the manuscript uses the word 'pateret' here.

²⁵ Clark, *Liber*, 37.

'Wherefore, in order that the servants of God may the more readily,
by the help of God Almighty, escape out of the hands of wicked men,
having regard to the fact that human memory is defective, it is
worthwhile to reduce to writing certain things which may be useful to
our church, and by inspection of this little book, may help our
brethren, both present and to come, when difficulties arise, and they
are persecuted by a cruel world'²⁶

This ethic of self-preservation was surely one of the main reasons for the anonymous author being given the task of creating the manuscript. His pride in the priory and its community and the way in which it had worked in the past to maintain its prosperity and guard it for the future is evident. His own contribution would now provide a further source of information to future members of the community. This is how it was done, he writes, for the benefit of those future generations: by following these examples you too will prosper as we have done. We might also remark the very opening declaration that the world itself was entering its senescence, with the hope of charity receding as God himself grew cold towards his own creation.²⁷ In hard times, the writer implies, it was necessary to guard against the dangers of an uncertain world.

There are no real clues to the identity of the author although it is probably safe to assume, as Clark did, that he was a canon of some standing. His use of the Vulgate in his prologue certainly suggests close familiarity with scripture and the language of the

²⁶ Today *opera precium* would be translated as literally 'a precious work' and *et seuiantis mundi persecutionibus, per inspectionem huius libelli subuenire* as 'and support them against the servants and persecutions of the world'.

²⁷ Clark, *Liber*, 37.

liturgy. Indeed, it is hard to think of anyone without a deep, personal relationship with the house writing with such emotional attachment. Unlike other anonymous writers the author occasionally reveals something of himself, going beyond his official remit. His personal involvement is clear: he knows and understands the priory and its relationships both internal and external. More than this, he is genuinely concerned by how it (and by association, the manuscript he is writing) will be perceived. Hence the necessity of the preamble in which he strives to make clear his purpose and that of the prior, for as has been previously noted, the work must have been composed ultimately at the prior's request. The manuscript was made for the canons, present and future, 'modernis et post futuris', as a kind of *aide mémoire* to ensure that nothing considered important, either historically or legally, was forgotten.

In analysing our text it is important to consider the influences over its production. After the advowson of the priory had passed from the Pecche family to the crown, in 1284, it would have become clear to the prior that relations between patron and canons would be fundamentally altered and that negotiating with his new, royal, lord would present new, and sometimes seemingly insurmountable, challenges. The last decade of the thirteenth-century was a turbulent time for the Church, and relations with the crown were strained. The archiepiscopal vacancy at Canterbury between John Pecham's death in 1292 and Robert of Winchelsea's return from his consecration in Italy in January 1295 provided Edward I with an opportunity for 'increased aggression of royal government towards ecclesiastical jurisdiction', so that encroachments upon the Church's rights were beginning to escalate.²⁸

²⁸ J. H. Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1294—1313: A Study in the Defence of Ecclesiastical Liberty* (Cambridge, 1980), esp. 3.

Clerical taxation, like any other such levy, was always a contentious issue. By the end of the twelfth-century the Crown's income from excise duties could be divided into two categories: the 'ordinary' taxes paid in to the exchequer via a centralised administrative process, and the 'extraordinary' taxes of *scutage*, *tallage*, *dona* and *auxilia*. The latter were arbitrarily exacted by the king and could be collected in various ways. In theory, *dona* collected from religious houses were a voluntary tax, although in practice they were seen as compulsory. *Dona* were not levied at a flat rate or based on a valuation of property. To ascertain how much each house was to pay it was visited by a royal officer who negotiated with the abbot or prior until a bargain was struck. In 1248, Henry III established the right to take *dona* whenever there was financial need. Whether other classes were taxed or not was immaterial, and by 1250 the taking of *dona* had become a regular occurrence.²⁹

The early 1290s witnessed growing royal aggression towards ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The rights of the Church were in grave danger of being eroded and the vacancy at Canterbury provided Edward with the ideal opportunity to impose his will upon a leaderless Church. The political motivation behind the king's decision to act as he did can also be partly attributed to his on-going dispute with Philip IV over the duchy of Gascony.

In May 1293, a fleet from the Cinque Ports engaged with Norman ships off the Brittany coast and succeeded in overcoming them. The Barnwell chronicler does not make much of this catalyst to war but does mention in passing that 'Quinque porticus faciunt depredaciones et bella multa in mari' and that, as might be expected, this was a

²⁹ S.K. Mitchell, *Studies in Taxation under John and Henry III* (Yale, 1914), 1-10.

sign of 'discordia inter regem Anglie et regem Francie'.³⁰ Of more importance to him is what might happen to the priory as a result of this outbreak of hostilities. The situation escalated a year later when, on 19 May 1294, after lengthy talks between the two sides had failed, Philip IV, determined to strike back at the English, declared the duchy of Gascony forfeit and Edward, as Duke, guilty of resisting his authority as overlord.

The war that had been threatening was now a reality and Edward needed money to finance his army. In 1294, he had broken with his bankers, the Italian house of the Riccardi of Lucca, over the introduction of new customs duties, so an alternative source of revenue had to be quickly identified.³¹ The introduction of a *maltote*, a duty on wool, had the double advantage of raising money and also, as a result of compulsory seizures, ensuring that exports of this valuable commodity were now the King's and therefore protected against any foreign enemy. Having seized all stocks of wool on 12 June, the crown announced that normal trading with foreign merchants, except the French, was to be resumed. However, for this to happen, English merchants had to 'purchase' back their own stock by paying duty. The rates were set at 5 marks for a sack of good wool, 3 marks for a sack of inferior wool and 5 marks for each last of hide. In the autumn the rate was standardised at 3 marks, but this unpopular tax affected the whole community and 'monasteries must have borne a disproportionately high share of the costs'.³² The author of the *Liber* certainly mentions that the sale of wool was prohibited, but seems to have been more interested in the fact that by the feast of the Assumption (15 August) a bushel of corn cost 26d

³⁰ Clark, *Liber*, 231.

³¹ R.W. Kaeuper, *Bankers to the Crown: The Riccardi of Lucca and Edward I* (Princeton 1973).

³² Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*, 65. The *maltote* was collected for three years and raised a total of £110,000.

and there was great hunger in the land.³³ Perhaps we might conclude from this that Barnwell did not have the large herds of sheep that other monasteries depended on and that its interest lay more in cereal crops. The evidence is too thin here to allow certainty.

For a larger contribution to the war effort Edward then turned to the Church, in whose coffers he knew that considerable sums of money had been deposited for safekeeping. Not only were religious houses storing three years' accumulation of the crusading tenths, ordered by Nicholas IV in 1291, but they also held substantial deposits of private cash. On 16 June, the King appointed commissioners charged with scrutinizing the deposits of private money held in English churches and religious houses. It was publicly proclaimed that this was being done to ascertain the amount of counterfeit or clipped coins. There was a genuine concern over the amount of debased currency in circulation, especially after a proclamation of 1291 prohibited its use. Scrutiny of all specie required that a record be kept of all coinage, where it was kept and, after recording to whom it belonged for future repayment, ensure that it was returned to the exchequer. This was all very laudable. But Edward's underlying motivation was to gain access to a forced loan. On 4 July, the order was given and the king's men forced their way into churches across the land, smashing any chests which were locked, and removing £10,795 of private money and clerical tenths amounting to £29,000, which was immediately paid into the exchequer.³⁴

³³ Clark, *Liber*, 231.

³⁴ M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), 403; Denton, *Robert Winchelsea*, 65. Crusade deposits of £32,480 were also taken at this time, but there was less objection to this as the king was entitled to the money which was only being held in safekeeping for him until he went on crusade. As the date for his departure had now passed the seizure also ensured the money did not find its way into papal coffers but into those of the King.

Barnwell's experience of this mass invasion of church territory is recounted in the *Liber* in four entries on folios 88b-89b.³⁵ According to the author, deposits were seized from the priory on 4 July, the priory itself was taken into the hands of the sheriff of Cambridgeshire on 7 July and its independence not restored until 1 August. Such a unilateral act on the part of the Crown was certain to cause an outcry from a Church that found itself increasingly under financial pressure, but it was not so much the seizure of the deposits as the forced entry by the secular authorities that caused the *furor*. A number of independent chroniclers recorded their indignation at this breach of ecclesiastical immunity.³⁶

The four entries which cover this event are a good example of the confused ordering of the documents that often occurs within the Barnwell *Liber*. In the first entry, which is headed *Vasconia Perdita*, the author records how, at the beginning of 1294, in a deceitful act, Philip IV denied King Edward's rights in Gascony. After setting the political 'scene', he goes on to describe how the goods of the Church were seized.³⁷ Restitution was made to Barnwell twelve days later on 16 July after it had been accepted that the priory had not been acting unlawfully.

The author then turns his attention to an event which would have caused much greater problems for the canons of Barnwell. On 7 July, following an accusation that money

³⁵ Clark, *Liber*, 231-2, under the rubrics: *Vasconia perdita*; *Breue Regis patens de acquietancia*; *Littera conuentus concessa vicecomiti*; and *Causa quare Rex seysiuit prioratum de Bernewelle*.

³⁶ *Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212-1301*, ed. A. Gransden (Oxford 1964), 121-2; *Bartholomei de Cotton, monachi Norwicensis, Historia Anglicana*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series (London 1859), 237-8; *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard, 3 vols, Rolls Series (London 1890), iii, 274; *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard, 5 vols, Rolls Series (London 1864-9), iii (Dunstable), 399; *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough*, ed. H. Rothwell, Camden Society 3rd series 1 (1957), 248 and the continuation of *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series (London 1879-80), ii, 306. It was, as Denton notes, 'a good story': J. H. Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1294-1313: a study in the defence of ecclesiastical liberty* (Cambridge, 1980), 68-9.

³⁷ Clark, *Liber*, 231: *Quarto die mensis Julii omnes cofre cum thesauro per totam Angliam tam in ecclesia quam alibi per ministros regis sunt signate ad opus regis*.

collected by the prior, acting in his capacity as deputy to the bishop of Ely in the collection of the temporal tenth, was not available to the King, Edward ordered the sheriff to take the priory into his hands. The canons were outraged as it had been the bishop of Ely, William of Louth, who had been negligent in failing to prepare the £600 demanded for the king. The *Liber* declares that this occurred on the Friday before the feast of St Margaret the virgin (13 July).

There follows a description of the type of document that was then drawn up, as *littera cyrographata*, and the name of the man who was to keep a copy of it, Robert of Lynn, stored in the *cista cartarum*.³⁸ These details are indicative of the importance assigned to this particular document. Barnwell was not alone in suffering for its inability to pay. St Mary's York, which was recorded as holding £1,902 15s and 8¼d, also failed to produce the money and the Abbot of Basingwerk had all his goods and chattels in London seized to cover the amount he should have held in safe-keeping.³⁹

The role of William of Louth bears further examination. As Cofferer of the Wardrobe from 1274, and then Keeper of the Wardrobe after the resignation of Thomas Bek, from 20 November 1280, he was involved not only locally but centrally in the collection of royal taxes and can hardly have been unaware of the consequences of non-payment.⁴⁰ The *Liber's* rubric here (*Causa quare Rex seysiuit prioratum de Bernewelle*) precedes the story of the seizure, itself opening 'It is memorably

³⁸ Clark, *Liber*, 232.

³⁹ Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown*, p 65. TNA E159/68 mm. 58d, 65.

⁴⁰ During the reign of Edward I the Wardrobe was functioning as both a second chancery and a second exchequer with the Keeper at its head. G. H. Martin, 'Louth, William of (c.1240–1298)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/60124>, accessed 13 Jan 2015]

recorded', thus summing up the role more generally of the *Liber* as a record of past events.⁴¹

Louth's response to the seizure of the priory was to affect weariness, *tedio affectus*, and pass all the money he held into the hands of John the Chaplain, vicar of Tyrlington, who in turn passed it into the keeping of canon Robert de Hokitone. This must have occurred before 27 July when it was recorded in letters patent of *acquietancia* that the sum of £925 11s. 7d. halfpenny had been deposited at the priory. The *Liber* records a full text of the royal letters, issued and witnessed by the King's treasurer, William, bishop of Bath and Wells, in confirmation of this.

The priory remained in royal hands until 1 August. This was a period of only eighteen days, but the instability it would have engendered may have seemed much more serious at the time. With tempers running high on both sides, the event illustrates perfectly the need for a permanent written record of such occurrences. Although it might be going too far to suggest that it was this particular event that provided the catalyst for the *Liber's* making, the possibility should not entirely be set aside. To the canons nervously awaiting the very real possibility of another round of royal tax demands, it might well have appeared sensible to prepare documentation against just such an eventuality. Gathering this together in one place would be an asset in itself, if there was even the remotest possibility of lands being removed from the priory's control, through a legal loophole, to swell the royal coffers.

⁴¹ Clark, *Liber*, 232.

The style adopted by the author, when he is not reproducing a document, tends toward the informal, and the rubrics and memoranda are in many instances both interesting and informative. The inclusion of a narrative voice means we do not have a simple historical report of what occurred, but a more rounded picture of the priory and the personalities that held the post of prior between its foundation and the end of the thirteenth century. The author allocates each of the twelve priors their own entry, in which he attempts to provide a glimpse of the man behind the title. Thus the human faces of the priory begin to be revealed.

If we consider the priors and their dates of office, we may conjecture that our author had personal knowledge of at least four of them, while other, older, men might have provided memories of perhaps one further incumbent. Thus we have eight priors beyond the reach of living memory, and four within it. For these eight priors, the entries are short and, by necessity, stylised.

Of the first prior, Geoffrey (1092-1112) we are told little beyond his coming to the priory from Huntingdon, where he had been a canon, and that he was prior for twenty years and died an old man of great sanctity. His successor, Gerard (1112-1153), was appointed to many offices in his time and manfully laboured on behalf of the church.⁴² Next came Richard Norel (1153-55), *vir religious, simplex, et pusillanimus*, and Hugh Domesman (1155-75), *vir summa liberalitate et benignitate*, both of which descriptions appear to be platitudinous, concealing the author's essential ignorance of these men. Later, in the text of Book 2, when the *Liber* adopts a more thematic form, the author provides a little more information on two of these early priors, when he

⁴² Clark, *Liber*, 64.

relates that Prior Gerard was considered *jucundus et hyllaris valde* and writes of the generosity of Prior Domesman's donation of his father's land to the priory, although he is obviously not personally convinced of the truth of the matter, and is careful to report that he has this on the authority of another canon, named brother Warin. He then adds, 'I do not remember to have seen the deed of gift'.⁴³ The reference here to the author having read an account that Warin the canon had written (*scripsit*) is perhaps significant, and may hint at his use of an earlier chronicle or *Gesta*, in which Warin had set out the history of the house. Such details add colour to what might have been, in other circumstances, an entirely dry account. It is through such comments and asides, scattered throughout the *Liber*, that the author's personality becomes known.

The final pair of these early priors comprised Robert (1175-1208), and William of Devonshire (1208-1213). Robert, a *vir inaudite severitatis et austeritatis*, seems to have possessed the kind of personality-traits that impressed themselves upon the collective memory, if not for the best of reasons, while his successor, William, was of a far more benevolent nature. William died in 1213, to be succeeded by William of Bedford and Richard de Burgh, neither of whom survived the year, both being buried on the north side of the chapter house (*in capitulo ex parte aquilonari*).⁴⁴

The first of the priors who appears to have been known to the author was Laurence of Stansfield (1213-1251), who had served as chaplain to the previous three priors, and who was to hold office for thirty-eight years. His entry is lengthy and beside the list of buildings he caused to be built are supplied various references to his character.

⁴³ Clark, *Liber*, 98: *Ita scripsit Guarinus canonicus, sed de illa donacione cartam non recolo me uidisse.*

⁴⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 68.

The author was also able to write of prior Jolan as a contemporary and inserts into the manuscript the tale of a worn out horse which was sent by the prior to John de Burgh in exchange for a palfrey; an incident which obviously caused great amusement amongst the canons.⁴⁵

Whether or not we accept that the author had any sense of wishing to create an archive, his choice of documents was certainly controlled.⁴⁶ Without this sense of purpose in its production, the *Liber* might well have evolved into a standard cartulary or register, and in doing so would have lost its unique flavour. As it stands, the documents and the entries that link them are selected to illustrate specific points. Whilst this is not especially evident in Book 1, it becomes increasingly apparent in subsequent books. What is also apparent is that, when a suitable document was not available, the author stepped in to supply his own version of events. The choice of what to record for posterity must have played a large part in both the inception and production of the finished manuscript. But how selective or personal this choice may have been is impossible to quantify.

Whilst many of the documents included in the *Liber* can be checked for authenticity against official publications, the same cannot be said for the earliest private and foundation charters. This begs the question whether the author of the *Liber* was intentionally seeking to remake the priory's early history by deliberately forging material. Following established practice, and to legitimise their gifts, both Picot and Peverel commissioned foundation charters. The originals of these have not survived and the earliest known copies date from the mid- to late-thirteenth century. One set of

⁴⁵ Clark, *Liber*, 126-7.

⁴⁶ Walker, 'Material in Medieval Cartularies', 132.

these is in the Barnwell *Liber*, as we would expect. A second copy, dated 1668 but independent of the *Liber*, survives amongst estate papers for the manor of Bourn preserved in the archives of Christ's College, Cambridge.⁴⁷ The question immediately arises as to whether these charters are authentic or forged.

Alfred Hiatt, concentrating on the art of forgery in the fifteenth century provides a useful description of the purpose of such counterfeit documents. 'A forgery', he declares, 'manifests a notion of the significance of a document: what its functions are, what it can prove or disprove, claim or disclaim and, more generally, what symbolic role it plays within a community, how it mediates history, [and] responds to present and future exigencies'.⁴⁸

As already mentioned no original charters are extant by which we can assess the reliability of the copies entered in the *Liber*. The copies both date from the thirteenth century, but whilst we have a clear indications that the Barnwell *Liber* was produced in the mid-1290s, we have no method of precisely dating the charters in Bourn A. These have been conserved along with a number of other writings in book form and it is difficult to discern anything of their original purpose or the reason for their production. The only clue lies in their being written in a secretary hand we must assume from documents of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries still preserved at the time that Bourn A was copied, but here recorded independently of their appearance in the Barnwell *Liber*.

⁴⁷ Cambridge, Christ's College Archives Bourn A, with date '1668'. Along with the two charters this also includes several chapters from the Barnwell *Liber* and a number of entries concerning land-holding in Bourn, noted as being taken from the *Liber Sancti Neoti* (see below Appendix 1 no.1).

⁴⁸ A. Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries. False Documents in Fifteenth Century England* (London and Toronto, 2004), 3.

Whether as originals, forgeries purporting to be originals, or later copies, the foundation charters themselves were available independently both to the Barnwell writer and to the anonymous scribe of Bourn A. Since Bourn A includes details, including witness lists, not copied into the *Liber*, we can conclude that its author was not simply abstracting materials from the *Liber* itself. We cannot know if either version supplies a true text of the documents from which they copy, but, given the importance to the priory of its foundation deeds, we should assume that the *Liber's* scribe at least made every effort to copy his materials accurately.

In his preliminary examination, drawn up as part of his ongoing edition of the charters of King Henry I, Richard Sharpe has considered the use of language in both the Picot and Peverel charters, in an attempt to ascertain whether they are indeed later forgeries and in doing so has suggested that the *Liber's* history, rather than being supported by the documents, is in fact undermined by them.⁴⁹ To back up this hypothesis he makes two important points. The first is that, in spite of being written two decades apart, the charters attributed to Picot and to Pain Peverel are almost identical in form.⁵⁰ Secondly, they both display a cumulative style common in forged episcopal acts. It is in this sharing of style and the introduction to the abbreviated witness lists, *Hiis sunt testes*, that Sharpe detects the forger's hand. The garbled witness list to the Picot charter, as preserved in Bourn A although not in the *Liber*, reads in full:

⁴⁹ Sharpe, private communication of materials eventually to be published as a multiple volume work, *The Charters of William II and Henry I*.

⁵⁰ Clark, *Liber*, 40 no.5, 42-3 no.11.

Hii sunt testes: Humfridus Capell(anus) et Hasketillus de Furndaus, Rogerus Picotus, Robertus Picotus, Hardwinus de Schalarus, Hugo filius suus et multi alij

A structural analysis of the two texts as they appear in the Barnwell *Liber* reveals 41% of the wording to be common to both, with 15% found in the Picot charter alone and 44% only in the later Peverel charter. The first significant addition in the charter of Pain Peverel concerns his further endowments to the priory and this can be seen as supportive of both of Sharpe's points. Firstly, it shows that the opening clauses are sufficiently similar to share a common origin and secondly, that the changes can be found in the accumulation of grants made to the house.

It is also highly significant that both texts employ the term 'canons regular' to refer to the community newly established, a term which is most unlikely to have been employed until some time much later in the twelfth century, meaning that our extant charters should not be attributed, as they stand, to the supposed date of their issue.⁵¹ Bourn A is written in secretary hand and whilst the body of the text reveals nothing more than what has already been learned from the Barnwell *Liber* we do have the partial witness list as mentioned above, including its reference to Picot's kinsmen, perhaps sons, Roger and Robert, a man named Hardwin de Scaliers, and his son, Hugh of Waddon. With the exception of Roger, all of these men were real historical characters. Discovering the identity of Roger Picot requires a little more research but according to information gleaned from a number of sources it is possible to

⁵¹ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, p.51.

reconstruct a genealogy for the sheriff and his wife which shows their familial relationships.⁵²

It is important to note that Bourn A cannot simply have been copied from the Barnwell *Liber* manuscript as transcribed by Clark as this does not have named witnesses only the generic *Hii sunt testes* followed by *Humfridus capellanus etc.* This lack suggests that there was another document available for the copyist to use which, if it was not the original, appears to have been closer to it than the *Liber*.

⁵² A reference to a Roger Picot appears in W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1920), 186. A fuller investigation into the sheriff's kin can be found below in Chapter 5.

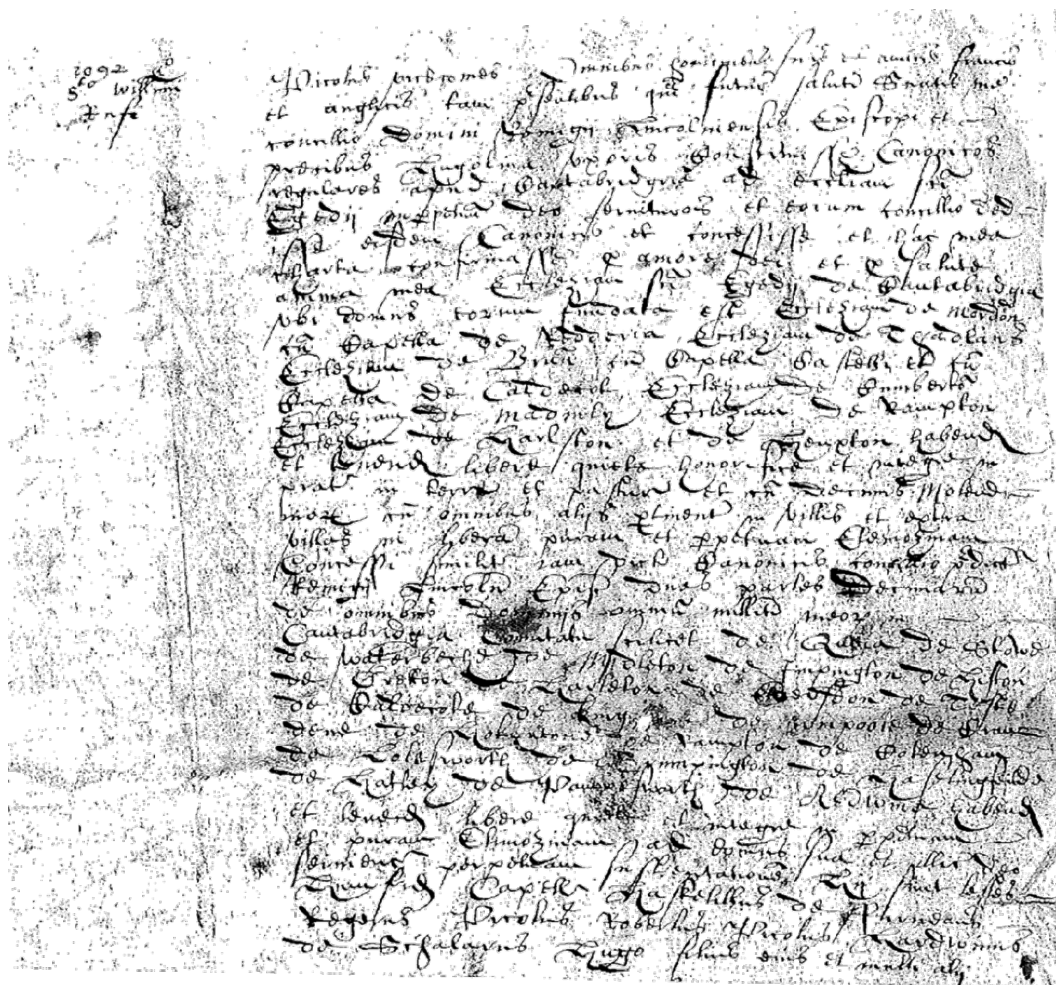


Figure 3.1: Picot's Charter (Bourn A, Christ's College, Cambridge)

The inclusion of Remigius, bishop of Lincoln, in the charter as assenting to and supporting the foundation appears to lend credence to the *Barnwell Liber's* claim that the canons arrived c.1092. But although the bishop may have assented to the original request from Picot to set up a new community at St Giles, that may have been the full extent of his involvement. It should not be assumed that because his name appears in the charter that he was involved in its production in any way. The bishop's death on 5 May 1092 precludes any activity beyond his initial approval of the sheriff's

application and all other surviving episcopal acts issued in the names both of Remigius and of Hervey, the first bishop of Ely, 'can be discounted on the grounds of their grossly anachronistic diplomatic, seen in such features as plural pronouns, the forms of the episcopal styles, and the catalogue style of the clauses'.⁵³

Anselm's involvement as described in Chapter 4 of the Barnwell *Liber* is almost certainly the chronicler's invention. For the archbishop to sanction a foundation honoring the late bishop of Lincoln was surely a further fabrication on the part of the chronicler taking the opportunity to enhance the priory's status still further. The claims here were perhaps part of an attempt to legitimate Barnwell's position as one of the earliest Augustinian houses in England through the dissemination of a well-supported, if inaccurate, foundation history.⁵⁴ The thinking behind this may have lain in the knowledge that the four Augustinian houses supposedly founded in the reign of Henry I (St. Julian and St. Botolph at Colchester, Dunmow, Holy Trinity, Aldgate and possibly Llanthony in Monmouthshire) were all either inspired or aided by Anselm. As a notable patron of the English regular canons he was, therefore, the ideal choice for inclusion in the Barnwell history. But there is no surviving evidence to suggest that his involvement here was anything other than invention, perhaps as late as the thirteenth century and in response to the emergence of antiquity of foundation as a means of discriminating between the status of the various Augustinian abbots and priors summoned to the order's general chapter, itself instituted only after 1215.⁵⁵

⁵³ Sharpe, private communication. See note 49, above.

⁵⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 39, 'beato Anselmo qui tunc preerat Cantuariensi ecclesie archiepiscopo, necnon uenerande memor[ie] domino Remigio Lincolnensis'.

⁵⁵ Dickinson, *Origins of the Austin Canons*, 115, 154-5; Clark, *Observances*, 218; M. Brett and J. A. Gribbin, (eds.) *English Episcopal Acta*, 28, *Canterbury* (Oxford, 2004), Acta n. 60. The earliest surviving archiepiscopal charter to refer to Barnwell dates from the time of William of Corbeil (1123-1136) and records a grant of 40 days indulgence to the benefactors of the priory (18 February 1123 x 30 August 1131). Brett and Gribbin (p.60) consider this an anachronistically generous grant and 'like

It is a mistake to place a modern, and negative, emphasis on medieval forgeries as many were not produced with the intent to deceive, although it is accepted that there were those for which this was exactly the case. Many were merely used as a form of insurance against the possible future exigencies noted by Hiatt. If houses such as Westminster, Ramsey and Canterbury, shelter spurious documents amongst their archives then it is entirely possible that Barnwell did the same. Those who spent their lives fostering the interests of their house might very well have viewed forgery as a necessary service rather than as something disreputable.⁵⁶ The opportunity to interpolate passages when reproducing a document provided an opportunity significantly to enhance its usefulness. Forgery does not appear to have been a moral issue. Rather, it was used as a tool to assist in the continuous efforts made by houses to improve their standing.

If we accept, as seems highly likely, that the two foundation charters are later forgeries, then both they and the history in which they were embedded were almost certainly written to confer status and legitimize the priory's position in the hierarchy of Augustinian foundations. With proof of its foundation as a member of the Augustinian order as early as the 1090s, Barnwell became the earliest, and by definition, the most important of the Augustinian houses in England.

most of the early muniments of Barnwell, ... extremely suspicious'. The question of Barnwell's place within the hierarchy of Augustinian houses in England is discussed below in Chapter 7.

⁵⁶ C.N.L. Brooke, 'Approaches to Medieval Forgery', in C.N.L. Brooke, *Medieval Church and Society* (London, 1971), 100-120, esp. 106. Brooke's considers the practice of forgery to have peaked in the first 60 years of the twelfth century.

The Barnwell Observances⁵⁷

In 1897 in his introduction to the *Observances* Clark began with 'a few words on the way in which I was led to undertake the work which I now publish', declaring that his intention was 'to throw as much light as I can on the monastic life in general'.⁵⁸ He describes the regulations, or observances, which form Book 8 as being 'regarded as of early equal value with the Rule itself ... [although] it is probable that in most cases they were not sanctioned by any central authority, but grew up in the larger houses of the Order'.⁵⁹ Given that the first of the official Augustinian chapters held in England and capable of central regulation was not held until after 1215 this must certainly have been the case. Like other such customaries it is probable that the Barnwell observances had their roots in older models already used by houses on the continent including those of Saint-Victor at Paris and Saint-Denis at Rheims.⁶⁰ The importance of the Barnwell customs to the serious study of monastic life was, to Clark, self-evident:

'It is needless to enlarge on the value of Observances to those who wish to understand what the monastic life really was. An historical treatise, no matter how accurate, can hardly fail to be influenced in

⁵⁷ Book 8 of the *Liber*, was edited with a translation and glossary independently from the rest of the manuscript by Clark in 1897. Clark's printed edition has 233 pages followed by a glossary and index. His introduction is followed by the *Regula Sancti Augustini*, divided into seven parts, one for each day of the week, and then the *Regula Secunda* which is divided into two parts. The first gives guidance on prayer, and the second on work, leisure time and the behaviour expected of a canon. The observances themselves number 57 and cover all aspects of the conventual life from the fairly general ('What is the way of Canons Regular?', no. 4) to the more specific ('Of the Office of Chief Cellarer', no. 37): Clark, *Observances*.

⁵⁸ Clark, *Observances*, ix.

⁵⁹ Clark, *Observances*, xxxi.

⁶⁰ Both of these were printed by Martène in the mid-eighteenth century: Martène, *De Antiquis ecclesie ritibus* (Antwerp, 1763-4), iii, 253-91. Clark thought the Victorine observances were probably first recorded in a manuscript now in Paris, Bibliothèque nationale ms. Latin 15059, which he had himself consulted.

some direction by bias or prejudice; but in a book of Observances a student will find out for himself the duties and behaviour, of both officers and brethren, in the Church, the Dorter, the Frater, the Cloister, the farmer and elsewhere'⁶¹

It is interesting to note that, although the community at Barnwell fluctuated from as few as six to as many as thirty canons, the Barnwell *Observances* imply that the intention was always to maintain a large community, probably based on the wishes of Pain Peverel, so that descriptions of the roles for seventeen obedientiary officers (*obedientiarum*) are included.⁶²

The writing of observances in England appears to have been initiated by the General Chapter of 1220, probably held at Bedford, which demanded that 'unaqueque domus sui obseruancias quibus nouicios suos instruat scriptas habeat',⁶³ and this injunction was repeated at the chapter held at St Frideswide's in 1234 ('Item statuimus quod unaqueque domus ordinis sui obseruantias scriptas habeat quibus novitos suos instruat').⁶⁴ Although it cannot be known for certain that every house followed the ruling, the reason for its introduction is included in the opening lines of the Barnwell *Observances*, '[T]hose who live according to a Rule should know the Observances pertaining to that Rule, for those who walk in the darkness of ignorance know not whither they are going.'⁶⁵ Thus, Barnwell's customary reflects not only the growing desire for uniformity within the order but also the importance of the move from the oral tradition to the written word in terms of preserving continuity.

⁶¹ Clark, *Observance*, p.xxxi.

⁶² Clark, *Observances*, xxxiii.

⁶³ Salter, *Chapters*, 5.

⁶⁴ Salter, *Chapters*, 23.

⁶⁵ Clark, *Observances*, 31.

Surviving continental examples of such customaries include those of St Nicholas, Arrouaise,⁶⁶ which dates from the abbacy of Gervais (1121-1147). This combined the *Regula Tertia* of St Augustine with the customs already in use at the house. Its primary purpose, in the words of a modern authority, was that the codification of a series of *consuetudines* serve as the *sine qua non* to preserve the 'primitive ideal of the poor men of Christ'.⁶⁷ Dickinson did not see the Arrouaise collection as a finished article but described it as 'an embryonic customnal [which] illustrates very well the rudimentary state of things ... in the first years of the order's history'. Moreover, he continued, it cannot 'in any way be compared with that very finished work, the *Barnwell Observances*, for it has practically no administrative or liturgical regulations, and the final folios suggest that hitherto they had not existed in writing'.⁶⁸ Like Barnwell's own customs, those at Arrouaise probably had their roots in other, earlier, sets of regulations, and here Milis cites those both of Norbertine Premonstratensians and the Cistercians as possible sources.⁶⁹

Some knowledge of the Arrouiasian customs may have been acquired through Barnwell's contact with St. Mary's, Huntingdon, the house from which Picot's new priory was in theory populated. St Mary's became associated with the abbey of St Nicholas during the first half of the twelfth century, over one hundred and fifty years before the production of the Barnwell customs, and the link between the two houses

⁶⁶ Paris, Bibliothèque nationale ms. Latin 13747, the *Instituta et consuetudines ecclesie sancti Nicholai*.

⁶⁷ L. Milis, *L'Ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise: Son histoire et son organisation, de la foundation de l'abbaye-mère (vers 1090) à la fin des chapitres annuels (1471)* (Bruges, 1969), 141.

⁶⁸ Dickinson, *Origins*, 167-8.

⁶⁹ Milis, *Chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise*, 181.

perhaps provided ongoing opportunities for the customs of Arrouaise to influence those of Barnwell.

Other early survivals include the statutes in use at St Félice, a cell of St-Ruf. These Dickinson saw as containing only the 'bare essentials' required for the organization of a house. It was, however, these 'bare essentials' that were said to have provided inspiration for the early customs in use at Saint-Victor, which would later be transformed into the *Liber ordinis*⁷⁰ and, in turn, inspire some parts of the Barnwell *Observances*.⁷¹ Clark recognized this in his introduction stating that 'the Customary in use at Barnwell was in many places copied from it [the customs of Saint-Victor] almost word for word'.⁷² Elsewhere, he also noticed similarity to the observances of the house at Gronendaal, near Brussels.⁷³

In adapting a customary for their own use, individual houses were therefore able to draw on the many available sources and produce a set of rules which best served their particular needs. These might equally come from monastic examples or canonical precedents and make use of instructions originating from as far back as the oldest known Augustinian rule, that of Aix.⁷⁴ The 1220 Chapter had imposed no specific rules on houses and an example of this 'pick and mix' approach is evident in the choices made by St Waltheof when he was prior of Kirkham (c.1140 X 1147). According to his 'Vita' as published by the Bollandists, 'he introduced, to be carefully observed in the house over which he ruled, all the worthy customs and holy

⁷⁰ Written in the twelfth century this was, according to Dickinson, 'one of the earliest and most satisfying [continental] customnals of the order': Dickinson, *Origins*, 170.

⁷¹ Dickinson, *Origins*, 168, 170; *Codex diplomaticus ordinis Sancti Rufi*, ed. U Chevalier (Valence, 1891), esp. 63-4.

⁷² Clark, *Observances*, xxxii.

⁷³ J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (Cambridge, 1902), 60n.

⁷⁴ Herbert, 'Transformation of Hermitages', 79.

regulations which he knew to be followed in various houses of canons, collected as it were in a bundle'.⁷⁵

In England, aside from the Barnwell *Observances*, only one other Augustinian custom survives. Dickinson suggested that this 'almost certainly came from Llanthony'. Having lost its opening section, it cannot be securely identified but as one part, *de benedictione canonicorum*, is identical to that in the customs of St Ruf, Dickinson concluded that it was probably of foreign origin.⁷⁶

Customs belonging to other orders survive in larger numbers, a good example being that written for the monks of the Benedictine Abbey of Eynsham in Oxfordshire.⁷⁷ Like Barnwell, Eynsham Abbey also claimed a connection to Bishop Remigius of Lincoln. According to its chronicle-cartulary (itself a collection much earlier but in some ways rather similar to the Barnwell *Liber*), the abbey had originally been founded by Æthelmar the ealdorman, in 1005, but was then 're-founded before 1086 by Remigius, bishop of Lincoln'.⁷⁸

The Eynsham customary was composed between 24 January 1228/9 and sometime in the early fourteenth century, a dating that rests on the mention of a chapter ordinance for the earlier date in paragraph 120 and the date of the only known manuscript written by the monk, John of Wood Eaton.⁷⁹ It does not contain any liturgical observances which, according to the customary itself, were contained in another

⁷⁵ *Acta Sanctorum* (Antwerp and Paris, 1643 -), Aug. i, 225F. Quoted in Dickinson, *Origins*, 171.

⁷⁶ Oxford, Corpus Christi College ms. 38 ff. 1r- 22r.

⁷⁷ A. Gransden, (ed.), *The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Eynsham in Oxfordshire* (Siegburg, 1963).

⁷⁸ Gransden, *Eynsham*, 15.

⁷⁹ The only known copy is Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Bodley 435 (SC 2374), ff.3-131.

volume now lost.⁸⁰ In common with the Barnwell *Observances*, the Eynham customary also has a number of passages that have clearly been copied from other works including Lanfranc's *Constitutions* and the *Liber Ordinis* of Saint-Victor.⁸¹ Both these documents were in circulation among English religious houses at the time and were widely copied, pretty much regardless of order or affiliation.

The location and ownership of the *Liber* is unknown for the period between the dissolution of the priory in 1538 and its appearance as part of the collection of Sir Richard St George (1554/5-1635) of Hatley St George in Cambridgeshire.⁸² Hatley was one of Picot's manors as recorded in Domesday Book and the St George family are recorded as having resided in the area since the twelfth century. Sir Richard entered the College of Arms, 1596 and was appointed pursuivant-extraordinary and Windsor herald on 22 April 1602, thereafter being promoted Norroy King of Arms on 24 January 1607. He was knighted at Hampton Court on 28 September 1616 and made Clarenceux King of Arms on 17 December 1623. He was a member of the first Society of Antiquaries, founded c. 1586, and from his duties as a herald we may assume a keen interest in manuscripts and other documents. St George died on 17 May 1635 and his will survives in The National Archive. In it he bequeaths his historical collections to his son, Henry St George (1581-1644):

⁸⁰ Gransden, *Eynsham*, 16.

⁸¹ Other passages are 'reminiscent' of, and may have been based on, those in several other works including the *De Obedientiariis Abbendonae* and the *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*. This dates from the thirteenth century and the proximity of the two houses suggests the opportunity for contact. Gransden's opinion is that the Eynsham and Abingdon works share a common ancestor 'fuller than either': Gransden *Eynsham*, 17-21.

⁸² This paragraph and that on Henry St George are based on the entry by Thomas Woodcock, 'St. George, Sir Richard (1554/5-1635)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24491>, accessed 3 July 2008] and 'St. George, Sir Henry (1581-1644)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24488>, accessed 3 July 2008]

'Item I give and bequeath to my sonne S(i)r Henry St George all
my books and evidences both manuscripts and other remaining in
my study in Holborne w(i)th all things else standing in that roome
at the time of my decease and that he shall take them presently
after my decease into his own possession⁸³

Unfortunately Henry's will is not extant and the will of his son, also Henry (1625-1715)⁸⁴, makes no mention of either books or manuscripts, only pictures. It seems likely nonetheless that the *Liber*, along with many other documents, was removed from the family's possession during Henry the younger's lifetime and came into the possession of Robert Hagar, a near neighbour living in the parish of Bourn. By this time the manuscript had acquired its present St George armorial binding and book stamp along with an *ex libris* recording his ownership.⁸⁵ Hagar's own *ex libris* appears on the verso of the fly-leaf and the names of other family members on folio 234.⁸⁶

Some of Richard St George's manuscripts were sold privately to John Percival, first Earl of Egremont (1683-1748), for £500 and these are now in the British Library.⁸⁷ Other manuscripts from the St George collection surfaced again in 1738 and 1739 when a group of 216, along with thirty-three pedigree rolls, were offered for sale by Thomas Osborne, a Gray's Inn bookseller. In 1846 fourteen volumes were given to

⁸³ TNA PROB 11/168.

⁸⁴ TNA PROB 11/549.

⁸⁵ C. E. Wright and R. C. Wright, (eds.), *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley, 1715-1726*, 2 Vols, Bibliographical Society (London, 1966), i, xxiv, ii, 496.

⁸⁶ C. E. Wright, *Fontes Harleiani* (London, 1972), 176.

⁸⁷ BL mss. Additional 47171 - 47189. Egmont Papers, Vols. 252 – 270, containing part of the collections of Sir Richard St. George (Norroy, 1604 and Clarenceux King of Arms 1623 – 1635) with additions from his son, Sir Henry St George (1581 – 1644) and grandson, Sir Henry St George the younger (1625 – 1715).

the College of Arms, which more recently purchased a further fourteen from Sir Anthony Wagner.⁸⁸

John Hagar the Elder purchased the manor of Bourn from Lewis Dives in 1554, some sixteen years after the priory at Barnwell had been dissolved.⁸⁹ Over the next thirty-five years he went on to purchase a considerable amount of land in the parish totaling in excess of 600 acres.⁹⁰ Just before his death in 1589, Hagar acquired a further 160 acres known as Monks Field. William Peverel had given around 100 acres (1 hide) to the priory at St Neots before his death in 1148 and the land at Monks Field had once been part of the Peverel fee.⁹¹ At the same time as these 160 acres Hagar also acquired the manors of Riggesby, Burwash and St George in Bourn, the latter having once been part of Picot's estate.⁹²

Hagar's seat was at Bourn Hall, close to the parish church of St Mary and St. Helen where Robert Hagar the Elder stated in his will that he wished to be buried 'according to my quallitie and state'.⁹³ The Hagar family used the south chapel of the church, possibly originally a chantry, as their mortuary chapel, and several slabs and tombs displaying the family arms still survive in the south transept.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ Adrian Ailes, 'Wagner, Sir Anthony Richard (1908–1995)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/57945>, accessed 26 April 2017]

⁸⁹ TNA CP 25(2)/68/558 (Michaelmas 1 and 2, Phillip and Mary).

⁹⁰ In 1556, 260 acres were purchased from Sir Robert Charter and William Turpin (TNA CP 25(2)/68/559 no.10) and in 1559, 300 acres from George Crede. In 1580, around 100 acres were added to the estate purchased from Richard Tryte (TNA CP 25(2)/93/844 (Michaelmas term 22-3 Eliz. I) no.3).

⁹¹ BL ms. Cotton Faustina A iv. f. 76v, and cf. *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ed. W. Illingworth, 2 vols (London 1812-18), ii, 521.

⁹² TNA C 142/255/161. Riggesby manor was sometimes known as Castle manor as it probably included the site of Picot's castle: TNA C 142/645/38 and C 142/357/33.

⁹³ TNA PROB 11/224. Bourn Hall stands on the site of Picot's castle and dates in part from the sixteenth-century, having been added to by John Hagar in the seventeenth-century.

⁹⁴ *VCH Cambs.*, v, 15. Unfortunately this is no longer the case and, as shown in the photograph, the chancel has been extensively altered. The top of an ogee-arched fourteenth-century tomb niche

On John's death, his estate, now the largest in the parish passed to his son, also John. When John the younger died in 1617, he was succeeded by his son, Robert, who was in turn succeeded by his son, John, and grandson, Robert. Robert the Elder's will survives but makes no mention of any manuscripts being in his possession. The will of Robert the Younger has not been traced. This gap makes it impossible to state with any great certainty which of the two Roberts, grandfather or grandson, was the owner to whom the *ex libris* inscription refers. Either would fit within the speculative time frame given below although, on balance, Robert the Younger would seem a more likely candidate.⁹⁵ In his *Fontes Harleiani*, Wright accepted this identification and suggested that Robert might have been the Robert Hagar who was admitted to Queens' College, Cambridge as a Fellow Commoner in 1688.

At some point the manuscript passed out of the Hagar's ownership and into the hands of the Master of Christ's College, John Covel, (1638-1722), an avid collector of many things but especially of manuscripts.⁹⁶ Admitted as a sizar to Christ's on 31 March 1654, Covel was elected a Fellow in 1659 before travelling widely in Europe and Asia Minor, employed in a number of diplomatic posts. He returned to England in 1687, was made chancellor of York by James II, and attained the mastership of his old college in 1688. In 1690, following the purge attendant upon the Glorious Revolution, he became Vice-Chancellor of the University.⁹⁷

disappears into the floor and four, very badly damaged commemorative slabs are all that remain of the original monuments. At least one slab is partially obscured by the later, concrete altar platform and it is possible there may be others under this which are now completely beyond reach.

⁹⁵ Wright and Wright, *Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, ii, 496.

⁹⁶ Wright, *Fontes*, 114. Evidence of the manuscript being in Covel's hands can be seen in his handwritten notes on ff. 1*b, 3b-10 and others.

⁹⁷ E. Leedham-Green, 'Covel, John (1638-1722)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept; online edn., Oct 2008 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/6471>, accessed 21 April 2009].

Covel was an acquaintance of the scholar, Humfrey Wanley (1672-1726), from the time that he first entertained him in Cambridge in 1699. Wanley, one of the original members of the newly re-established Society of Antiquities since 1707, in the following year was appointed as librarian of Robert Harley, 1st Earl of Oxford.⁹⁸ Given their shared interests, it would have been surprising if Wanley had not made himself acquainted with Covel's collection and reported its contents to his employer. Knowing Harley was keen to purchase Covel's papers, Wanley asked that a catalogue be produced.⁹⁹ This finally arrived, along with a letter dated 13 January 1715/16. Also included were the prices Covel expected to receive, prices which in Wanley's view were exorbitant. Negotiations between the two parties ensued and on 27 February 1715/16, agreement was reached and Covel certified the sale, for £300 of 'All my written Books, Papers, & Parchments whatsoever; together with my Wooden Clog Almanac', undertaking to 'deliver them up to the Said Lord Harley, as soon as I conveniently may, or they shall come to my Hands'.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁸ The *History of the Harley Library* at <http://www.bl.uk/reshelp/findhelprestype/manuscripts/harleymss/harleymss.html>, accessed 27 April 2009.

⁹⁹ BL ms. Additional 22911, fos.180-183.

¹⁰⁰ Wright and Wright, *Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, i, p.xxxv.



Figure 3.2: The south transept, Church of St Mary and St Helen, Bourn.

(Photo: J. Harmon 2009)



Figure 3.3: Tomb slab of Robert Hagar the Younger c.1710, south transept,
Church of St Mary and St Helen, Bourn.

(Photo: J. Harmon 2009)

Even so, matters did not end here and a 'sometimes acrimonious' correspondence ensued.¹⁰¹ In September 1717, Covell claimed that a misunderstanding had prevented him from sending his papers to London. Harley, who had taken the step of employing Dr Thomas Tudway, a Fellow of St. John's College, to act as an intermediary, must surely have grown increasingly exasperated at Covell's lack of cooperation. The cantankerous Covell died in 1722/23, and Tudway reported details of the funeral to Harley. Harley never received the bulk of Covell's papers, and it was not until 1859 that the British Library was to acquire them via the Dawson Turner sale.¹⁰²

That Harley did not purchase the Barnwell *Liber* until 17 April 1724 is clearly recorded by Wanley in his diary entry for 1 June of that year: 'My Lord sent in the MS. 36. B. f. Being the Robert of Gloucester which was borrowed from Mr Hearne to print at Oxford. As also the old MS. History of Bernewelle-Priory; which his lordship lately purchased in Cambridgeshire'.¹⁰³ As *Addenda* for the same date Wanley comments further on the purchase but this time in different terms, an early indication that the manuscript was proving difficult to classify: 'My Lord send's-in the MS. Chronicle or Leiger-book of the Priory of Bernewelle'.¹⁰⁴

This leaves a second lacuna in the story of the Barnwell manuscript's ownership. From the available evidence it appears that, at some point during the period between 1715/16 and 1724, the manuscript left Covell's collection and made its way, by some unknown route, into the hands of a local bookseller from whom Edward Harley

¹⁰¹ Leedham-Green, 'Covell, John (1638-1722)', *ODNB* [www.oxforddnb.com, accessed 21 April 2009].

¹⁰² Wright and Wright, *Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, i, xxiv.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, ii, 293.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, 419.

eventually purchased it. A clearer answer may one day be found in the catalogue that Covell was so slow to produce. The journeying of the manuscript immediately after November 1538, when the lands and effects of the priory were dispersed, is impossible to document with any certainty. Unlike many items housed in monastic libraries it does not appear to have been deposited with the Court of Augmentations and its whereabouts are unknown between 1539 and *c.*1554-55. It is possible that, like many other documents of its kind, it went to one of the purchasers of the priory lands, possibly to Thomas Brakyn of Cambridge, who acquired for himself the manor of Chesterton.¹⁰⁵ Even so, between its departure from the priory and its arrival in the Harley collection, the manuscript is unlikely to have travelled outside of the county of Cambridgeshire.

¹⁰⁵ *VCH Cambs.*, ix, 13-18.

Owner	Date
Unknown	1538 to its aquisition by Richard St George
Richard St George	From an unknown date to 1635
Henry St George the Elder	1635 to no later than 1644
? Henry St George the Younger	c.1644
Robert Hagar the Elder	No later than 1652
?John Hagar	?after 1652
Robert Hagar the Younger	From an unknown date to c. 1710
John Covell	From an unknown date to no later than 1722/3.
A Cambridgeshire bookseller? ¹⁰⁶	1722/3 – April 1724
Edward Harley, 2 nd Earl of Oxford	Acquired April 1724
The Countess of Oxford and Lady Portland	1741 - 1753
The British Museum	1753. The Harley manuscripts were sold to the nation for £10,000 (which, according to the British Library itself, was 'a fraction of their contemporary value' ¹⁰⁷) and, along with the Cotton and Sloane manuscripts formed the foundations of the museum library
In 1973 the collections in the Museum were transferred to the British Library.	

Table 3.1: The ownership of the manuscript 1538 – present.

¹⁰⁶ Wright and Wright, *Diary of Humfrey Wanley*, ii, p.xxxv. Unfortunately, in his diary, Wanley is no more specific than that the purchase was made in Cambridgeshire. Although according to the *Fontes Harleiani* Covell's Manuscript collection was acquired by Wanley in 1716, it is not clear, at present, that the manuscript now BL Harley 3601 was part of this transfer. Wanley's diary entry for April 1724 clearly mentions the manuscript and it would be naive to describe something acquired 8 years earlier as 'lately purchased'. So the question remains as to the whereabouts of the manuscript during the intervening years.

¹⁰⁷ *History of the Harley Library* [www.bl.uk accessed 27 April 2009].

Given its geographical proximity to the archives of other large Fenland religious houses, how does Barnwell's book of things worth remembering compare to their surviving cartularies and registers? Most of the other houses from this region whose cartularies survive were founded over a century earlier than Barnwell and were of the Benedictine order, both richer and of higher status than a house of Austin canons.¹⁰⁸

As a group the religious houses of the Fens produced a number of manuscripts during the twelfth- and thirteenth centuries in which they recorded their histories and copied charters of importance. A future comparative study of these manuscripts may reveal much of interest in terms of similarities and contrasts. The growth in this particular type of manuscript production demonstrates how, under Norman rule, 'the monks were positively being encouraged to celebrate and regularise their history'.¹⁰⁹

Coupled with the notion of the book as a status symbol and an indicator of wealth, it was clearly considered a worthwhile endeavour.

The final decades of the thirteenth century were fraught with financial difficulties for the Church in general. Taxation in a number of forms, the *maltote*, the continuing exactions of the crusading tenths authorised by Pope Nicholas IV in 1291, and the imposition of a new tax on lay movables all combined to put religious houses under severe pressure. Given this, one answer to the question 'What caused the *Liber Memorandum Ecclesie de Bernewelle* to be written between 1294 and 1295?' might simply be the one word, 'Taxation'.

¹⁰⁸ Peterborough (founded in 966), Ramsey (founded 969), Thorney (founded 972) and St. Neot's (founded 974).

¹⁰⁹ P. Meadows and N. Ramsey, eds., *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003), 159.

It also needs to be remembered that monastic records often served a number of purposes and this is certainly true of the Barnwell *Liber* with its record keeping and didactic functions.

Record Keeping at Ely: The *Liber Eliensis*

The closest of the large East Anglian Benedictine houses to Barnwell was the abbey, later Cathedral, at Ely. Here the importance of the written word as a means of protecting rights and privileges is evident in the behaviour of its first two bishops, Hervey and Nigel. The *Liber Eliensis*, written in the twelfth-century, perhaps by a monk named Thomas, is one of a number of manuscripts produced to record both the possessions and history of the abbey and, after 1109, the bishopric. The first part of this was initiated by Bishop Hervey (1109-31) and called the *Libellus quorundam insignium operum Beati Æthelwold*. Compiled from tenth-century vernacular records, it covered the restoration of the house and the acquisition of land by Æthelwold.

Under the leadership of Hervey's successor, Nigel (1133-69), this support continued with the scriptorium being allocated a regular income; an obvious indication of Nigel's commitment to continued book-production and to the preservation of existing materials, such as the *Libellus*, for posterity. Two charters, the first of them from the time of prior William (1134-1144), record details of the original grant and its later revision and confirmation by the bishop. Nicholas Karn's extensive work on the surviving Ely *acta* has revealed that the original act, which is now lost, involved a grant to Aluric the precentor of the churches at Whittlesey and Impington, with their appurtenances and tithes and two parts of the tithes for the village of Pampisford, *ad*

faciendos et emendandos libros ecclesie nostre. To this initial grant was added land given to Ely by Ailwyn of Huntingdon and his son.¹¹⁰ The second charter dated from c.1158 x 30 May 1169 was a confirmation by Nigel of the previous gift with a few minor adjustments. This time the grant was made specifically to 'the scriptorium of the church of Ely' and not to the precentor.¹¹¹ In other words, the scriptorium seems to have escaped from the custody of the precentor and to have become a recognized office in its own right.

During Nigel's episcopacy work was also begun on a cartulary which, although it recorded privileges and grants included only royal land grants. If other charters were recorded in a separate volume then no evidence of such a cartulary has survived.¹¹² In the 1270s work also commenced on a register which contained copies of miscellaneous documents, including various charters concerning benefices and grants of pensions.¹¹³ Thus, by the 1270s, Ely Abbey possessed in these works all those things that the Barnwell author combined within the covers of his *Liber Memorandorum*.

In chapters 47 and 48 of its third book, the *Liber Eliensis* records that much of the work instigated by Nigel was carried out by Ranulf, a man for whom the writer, who

¹¹⁰ *English Episcopal Acta 31 Ely 1109-1197*, ed. N. Karn (Oxford, 2005), 53 no. 32. Aluric was succentor in 1134 (Blake, *LE*, 289) and attained the post of precentor some time after, continuing in the post into the 1140s. The village of Impington, along with those of Cottenham and Kingston, had been part of the lands owned by Ely before the Conquest but appears to have been annexed by Picot in his attempt to consolidate and enlarge his Cambridgeshire holdings. According to the *Liber Eliensis*, the lands in question (Coveney, Mepal, Stetworth, Wratting, Strede, the Rodings, Thriplow, Impington, Pampisford, Marham, Cottenham, Snailwell, Gransden, Terrington, Darmsden, Thaderege and Kingston) were recovered by the church 'from the usurpers of the properties of St Æthelthryth' at the Wandlebury land pleas presided over by Ralph Basset and Aubrey de Vere acting as royal justices (Blake, *LE*, 351; *VCH Cambs.*, ix, 131).

¹¹¹ *EEA 31*, ed. Karn, 68-70.

¹¹² *EEA 31*, 159-60. The earliest surviving version of this charter survives in Cambridge, Trinity College ms. 0.2.41 (c. April 1139 – end of 1140).

¹¹³ *EEA 31*, ed. Karn, 161.

appears to have a good deal to say about those who did not match up to his expectations, had little regard. Ranulf, in his opinion, was 'a Catiline of our time', 'an apostate' and, probably most damning of all, 'an ex-monk' who had returned to religion 'as a dog returns to its vomit'. This character assassination reaches its conclusion when Ranulf is described as a man 'of rustic and ignoble birth inclined to all manner of vices' who was attempting to bring the religious life at Ely to an end by shamefully misleading the bishop with 'ill-intentioned whisperings'.¹¹⁴ Even so, Bishop Nigel appears to have trusted Ranulf enough to set him the important task of compiling his *Book of Lands*.¹¹⁵ The author records the bishop's orders at the opening of Chapter 48: 'the lord Bishop had given his instruction in his earliest days that all the property of the church should be recorded in writing by the hand of ... Ranulf, so that he should have knowledge of what it possessed or received in the way of lordship, rent and knight-service'.¹¹⁶

Chronicles of local house contemporary with the Barnwell *Liber Memorandum*

The *White Book of Peterborough*, so called as it was originally bound in white leather, contains the registers of Abbot William of Woodford (written between 1295 and 1299) and Abbot Godfrey of Crowland (1299-1321). Abbot William's register is of particular interest as the period it covers lay closest to that of the Barnwell *Liber*, work on which was beginning at the time of Woodford's election to the abbacy. Like the Barnwell *Liber* it is composed of an assortment of material, but unlike the *Liber*

¹¹⁴ Blake, *LE*, 349-50. The author uses both classical and biblical references to condemn Ranulf: Catiline, the Roman senator conspired to overthrow the Roman Republic, and the dog of Proverbs 26:11 ('As a dog returneth to his vomit, so a fool returneth to his folly').

¹¹⁵ No source is given for this so it has not been possible to identify it either as a work already mentioned or as another initiative of the bishop's.

¹¹⁶ Blake, *LE*, 350.

lacks a preamble or much personal element to the writing. Woodford's register opens with a plea in the Court of Common Pleas in which Godfrey de la Mare claimed his hereditary right to the office of constable.¹¹⁷

Another example of a Fenland house whose cartulary extended to narrative is the *Red Book of Thorney*: a well-organised and well-planned manuscript recording the abbey's estates.¹¹⁸ It is divided into nine parts, six of which cover a single county each. Where holdings were less numerous they are grouped together to form the final three parts. It is clear that before work started the compiler knew what was to be included and gave each part an elaborate *incipit*. The work uses sub-headings and marginal references to indicate which obedientiary had an interest in what particular estate, and a system of cross referencing. As at Barnwell, the emphasis was on 'the book' as a valuable item beyond the significance of the individual documents it contained.¹¹⁹

The *Chronicle of Bury St Edmund's* is another such record written in the second half of the thirteenth-century, probably the work of John de Taxter and two others. In 1244, Taxter identified himself in the text as 'the writer of the present volume' and records that he became a monk on St Edmund's Day of that year.¹²⁰ The manuscript can be divided between the three contributors as follows: Taxter, the Creation to 1265; Monk 1, 1265 to 1296 with a revision of Taxter's work; Monk 2, 1296 to 1301. The contents themselves can be divided into two parts. The first covers the period

¹¹⁷ The plea dates from Michaelmas 1294; S. Raban, *The White Book of Peterborough. The Registers of Abbot William of Woodford, 1295-99 and Abbot Godfrey of Crowland, 1299-1321* (Northampton Record Society, 2001), 1-2.

¹¹⁸ CUL mss. Additional 3020 and 3021.

¹¹⁹ Walker, *The Study of Medieval Records*, 143.

¹²⁰ A. Gransden, (ed.), *The Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds, 1212-1301* (London, 1964), p.xvii.

from the creation to 1212. This part of the manuscript was compiled from other sources. Gransden notes the use of John (*alias* Florence) of Worcester for the early parts up until 1131 and from then, until the beginning of the twelfth-century, Ralph de Diceto. The part describing the events of John's reign is drawn from the *Annales Sancti Edmundi*.¹²¹ The second part does not appear to have been based on any known source and is therefore considered to be original.

Given the shortage of chronicle materials for England from the 1250s onwards, the Bury manuscript remains an extremely valuable source both for the later years of Henry III's reign and part of that of Edward I and is especially true for the 1280s and 1290s.¹²² Other chronicles that do cover this period lacked the access to information afforded to the Bury monks by royal visits. In this, the Bury chronicler was much more fortunate than Barnwell, which was, no doubt considered a very poor relation by the Benedictines. Like most monastic chronicles the Bury chronicler was pro-Montfortian. He offers information about the Barons' War and what is considered to be an eye-witness account of the storm and fog that followed the Battle of Evesham and the death of the Earl of Leicester in August 1265.¹²³ Stylistically, the Bury chronicle is concerned more with facts and the business of the abbey than it is with the world of politics. Much of the text is devoted to taxation and, like the Barnwell *Liber*, it supplies figures for the Norwich valuation. According to Gransden, it was the only chronicle compiled at Bury that was used by other houses, including Peterborough, thus suggesting that its importance was recognised by other

¹²¹ Ibid. The incompleteness of the *Annales*, which end in the middle of 1212, makes it impossible to judge when the chronicler stopped using them as a source.

¹²² Gransden, *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, p.xxii. Chronicles that come to an end at this time include Wykes (1289), and the annals of Waverley Abbey (1291), Dunstable Priory (1297) and Bartholomew Cotton of Norwich (1298). All of other chronicles for this period, save for the Westminster *Flores*, were far removed from the capital and lacked Bury's access to the King.

¹²³ Gransden, *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, pp.xix, 31.

contemporary writers.¹²⁴

Conclusion

The present chapter has sought to place the manuscript in its context, detailing its survival to the present day. As noted above, the manuscript, has been underutilised both as a primary source for the Augustinian order in general and as a source specific to Barnwell priory. It thus merits further research in its own right. Clark's transcription and introduction provide a useful start, while Maitland's introduction achieves the same from the perspective of the legal historian.

¹²⁴ Gransden, *Bury St. Edmunds*, xxvii – xxviii. A copy of years 1152-1294 was made for the abbey.

4. Scribal Activity at Barnwell Priory

Evidence for a Library and a Scriptorium

In 1538, when Henry VIII's commissioners, Drs Legh and Cavendish, made their inventory of the effects of Barnwell Priory, no mention was made of any books remaining *in situ*.¹ Information contained in Book 8 of the Barnwell *Liber* (the *Observances*) nonetheless appears to suggest that the priory's library had housed a significant collection of books and that these constituted an important part of the fabric of the community as, indeed, in many other religious communities elsewhere. The vital importance of books to the religious was made clear by Thomas à Kempis who considered both priest and convent to be 'desolate' without books.² Hence the epigram of c. 1170: 'claustrum sine armario, castrum sine armamentario'.³

In his work on early English manuscripts, Ker considered that during the period c.1100 – c.1175 book production 'was dominated by ... monastic scriptoria.'⁴ 'House' styles were often developed, sometimes expanding within the surrounding area to become 'local' styles. At Barnwell Priory the survival of manuscript evidence is minimal and makes it impossible to comment on any such development unlike, for example, at Winchcombe Priory where ten manuscripts survive, 'most of which are large and spaciously formatted' in what is now known as the 'west country style.'⁵

¹ Clark, *Observances*, xxiii

² J. W. Clark, *The Care of Books* (Cambridge, 1902), 65.

³ Clark, *Care of Books*, 65, footnote 3, citing E. Martène and U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum*, 5 vols (Paris 1717), i, 511.

⁴ Ker, N. R., *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), 1.

⁵ N. J. Morgan and R. M. Thomson, *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. II 1100 -1400* (Cambridge, 2008), 152.

Little evidence, and none that is contemporary, survives concerning the collection at Barnwell which was either sold *en masse* or broken up. Even so, although it may be impossible to discover the exact fate of the books, some conclusions can be drawn. Only a small number of medieval libraries have survived intact, mostly from cathedral monasteries. Those at less prominent houses were, for the most part, dispersed following the Dissolution.⁶ Some notable exceptions to this do, however, exist including the books belonging to St Augustine's Canterbury (of which some 250 survive) and Llanthony Secunda (around 125 books, many now in the library at Lambeth Palace).⁷

By the 1980s it was already clear that many manuscripts of the thirteenth century 'show marks of ownership or have textual contents suggesting a contact with Augustinian canons', suggesting that 'their production was in some way supervised by Augustinians possibly for lay people'.⁸ Unlike the Benedictines, for whom reading was prescribed, the Augustinians had no such official policy. Indeed, the author of the Victoria County History entry on St Frideswide's at Oxford could state unequivocally that, in his opinion, 'the Augustinians as a whole were not a literary order'.⁹ This might, at first, appear to suggest that Augustinian libraries were not as important as those collected by other orders. This would almost certainly be to compound misunderstanding. Such collections must surely have had great significance. Indeed, as Janet Burton has noted,

⁶ For example, the surviving collections from monasteries attached to Durham and Worcester cathedrals: J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), 193.

⁷ Neil Ker's work on medieval libraries, undertaken in the 1960s, remains the starting point for all subsequent investigations: N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., Royal Historical Society (London, 1964), with entries on Barnwell at 40-47 and 108-112. Since Ker, research has moved on to the far more detailed study of the surviving library catalogues, for which see in particular T. Webber and A. G. Watson, (eds.), *The Libraries of the Augustinian Canons*, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 6 (London, 1998).

⁸ N. J. Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts, A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles*, 2 Vols. (London, 1982-8), i (1190-1250), 12-13.

⁹ *VCH Oxfordshire* ii (1907), 98.

'the adaptability of the Rule of St Augustine meant that literary activities were possible within its framework; and the British houses produced some distinguished writers'.¹⁰ It should also be remembered that 'early monastic tradition had perceived reading as a form of prayer; ... an action, expected to engage the whole body and to be pursued, even in the absence of an audience, orally as a work of devotion'.¹¹ Whether or not it was prescribed by the rule of any particular house, reading and writing were activities that occupied a central part in the lives of most religious communities. Dickinson's observation that 'the regular canons had of necessity been driven to study to justify the very novel programme of life with which they confronted a highly critical age', and furthermore that 'to say that the regular canonical order was a learned order is perhaps to overstate the case, but there can be little doubt that in the twelfth century at least it had a special attraction for learned men', perhaps brings us closer to the truth of the matter. For the Augustinians of Cirencester, for example, to have a scholar of the intellectual status of Alexander Neckham as abbot was a significant achievement.¹²

There were a number of means for a house to begin, and then to add to, an existing library. A recruit joining an order after spending his career in the secular church or the schools might bring with him his own collection of books which would become part of

¹⁰ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 187-8. Robert, prior of Bridlington produced commentaries on the Pauline epistles, the twelve major prophets and the Apocalypse as well as glosses on the Pentateuch. Llanthony Prima produced writers such as Robert de Béthune and Robert de Bracy as well as the very prolific Clement (prior, c.1150) whose fame cemented Llanthony's reputation as a centre of learning. Another distinguished Augustinian writer was Alexander Neckham (abbot of Cirencester 1213-16). Neckham had lectured in Theology at Oxford before entering into the religious life as an Augustinian canon in 1197: R.W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Neckham*, ed. M. Gibson (Oxford 1984), and in general, see the indispensable work of Richard Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland Before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997).

¹¹ R. Hanna, 'Literacy, Schooling, Universities', *Cambridge Companion to Medieval English Culture*, ed., A. Galloway (Cambridge, 2011), 172-94, esp. 174.

¹² We might also recall the advice of the Bridlington Master who reminded the community that they were 'bound to times of prayer, labour and reading, which were not to be neglected under any consideration without sufficient cause', stressing the importance of study by telling the canons that 'when we pray we speak with the Lord, but when we read the Lord speaks to us': Dickinson, *Origins*, 186-7.

the community's property. Books, or the money to produce them, might be given as a gift by a benefactor or, a benefactor might bequeath a book or books in their will further to cement their relationship with the house. Finally, there were glossed books such as complete bibles or single gospels texts. General opinion is that these were not produced locally but sourced from elsewhere.¹³

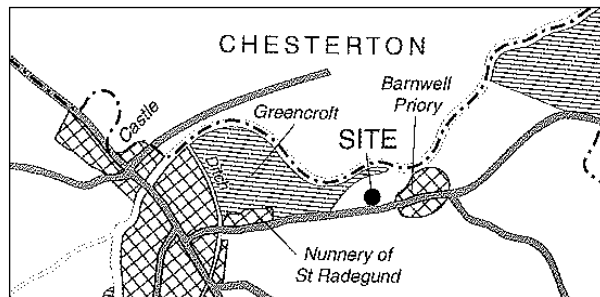
It is possible that Barnwell, along with many other monasteries and priories, increased the number of books in its ownership through any, or all, of these methods. Here as elsewhere, libraries were, in general, formed haphazardly and not by any great plan or design.¹⁴ Whilst it is possible to speculate on the role books played in the lives of the canons and their overall importance to the priory, without evidence in the form of grants it is rarely possible to determine why a specific volume became part of the collection.

Recent archaeological excavations in an area adjacent to the main priory site have produced two finds of significance for our understanding of Barnwell's library.¹⁵

¹³ Morgan and Thomson, *History of the Book, II*, 154. The opinion of Thomson in his chapter *Monastic and Cathedral Book Production* is that the appearance of centres of manufacture for glossed volumes, e.g. Paris, that after the mid-twelfth century, 'spelt the demise of the monastic scriptoria'.

¹⁴ 'After the twelfth century, the growth of a library depended almost wholly upon chance: the tastes or needs of an abbot or an individual monk; the demands of teachers or scholars when monks began to frequent the universities; bequests of all kinds; the changing devotional practices of the community ... Consequently, the monastic library, even the greatest, had something of the appearance of a heap even though the nucleus was an ordered whole; at its best, it was the sum of many collections, great and small, rather than a planned articulate unit', Knowles, *Religious Orders*, ii, 332.

¹⁵ R. Atkins et al, 'Between River, Priory and Town: Excavations at the Former Cambridge Regional College Site, Brunswick, Cambridge', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, 101(2012), 7-22.



Map 4.1: Site of 2010 excavations post-demolition of the old Cambridge Regional College buildings¹⁶

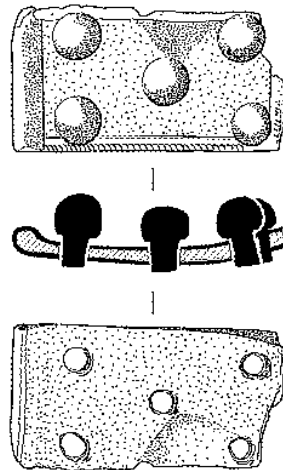


Figure 4.1: Rectangular copper-alloy folded strap-end with part of leather strap remaining between plates. Rouletted decoration on undamaged margins. Five globular headed rivets set in a quincunx.

Length 29 mm, width 15 mm, rivets 6 mm long. Medieval to early post-medieval dumping.¹⁷

¹⁶ Atkins, 'Between River, Priory and Town', 10.

¹⁷ Atkins, 'Between River, Priory and Town', 16.

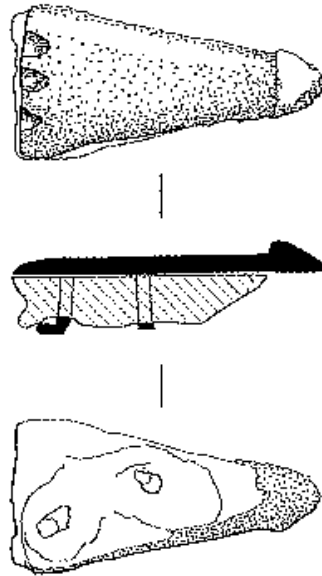


Figure 4.2: Triangular copper-alloy mount, wide end decorated with three notches, knobbed tip. On underside two clenched shanks passing through thick fragment of leather. Length 22.5 mm, maximum width 11 mm. Leather 4 mm thick. Medieval to early post-medieval dumping.¹⁸

¹⁸ Atkins, 'Between River, Priory and Town', 16.

Books associated with the Priory

No inventories survive from the priory so any attempt at establishing its contents must rely on other written accounts, *ex libris* dedications and marginalia.¹⁹ Even such a tentative reconstruction is difficult given that so little information has survived. In his *Collectanea*, the sixteenth century antiquarian John Leland listed seven books as having been in the priory library.²⁰ By contrast, the compilers of the earlier *Registrum* (an attempt to list all books by particular authors surviving in monastic houses across England) include no entry for Barnwell in their report.²¹

At the dissolution of the priory an inventory of items was taken under the direction of the king's commissioners, Drs Thomas Legh and William Cavendish. It lists 'all such parcelles of Implementes or household stuffe, Corne, Catell, ornamentes of the Churche, and such otherlyke found wythin (the) late monastery at tyme of the dissolucion' which, apart from a few choice items which Legh brought for himself, were sold to a local farmer, John Lacy, on 7 October 1538. Regrettably, among all the church furniture and kitchen equipment, there is no mention of any books or manuscripts. Nor is there a library listed among the priory's rooms. Perhaps, from this one might speculate that it was a small 'collection' of books rather than what would have been considered a 'library' in the larger, especially Benedictine houses.

Alongside this there is also the question of how much it was worth. The

¹⁹ As such inventories were often made on the end leaves of manuscript this may account for their non-existence. As books changed hands after the Dissolution it was easy for these lists to become disconnected from the volumes they recorded. Morgan and Thomson, *History of the Book*, Vol. II, 5.

²⁰ Johannis Lelandi, *Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed., Thomas Hearne, 6 vols. (London, 1790), iv, 15; *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*, ed. L. Toulmin-Smith, 5 vols. (London, 1906-10).

²¹ Webber and Watson, *Libraries of the Augustinian*, and cf. *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, ed. R.H. and M.A. Rouse, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* 1 (London, 1991).

commissioners were, after all, required to make as much money as possible for the crown. The final option is that the books and manuscripts were removed from the priory before the arrival of Legh and Cavendish by person or persons unknown and were dispersed as they saw fit.

Nigel Ker's research into medieval libraries in the 1960s failed to trace any of the books in Leland's list but listed a few *disiecta membra* recovered from the priory's books elsewhere.²²



Figure 4.3
CUL MS Add.6865 Cover showing original metal
clasp (Photo: J Harmon 2017)

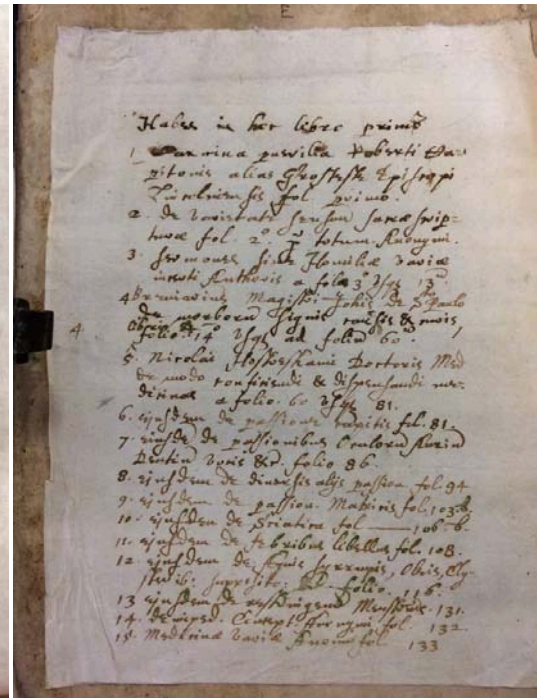


Figure 4.4
CUL MS Add.6865 Contents page
(Photo: J Harmon 2017)

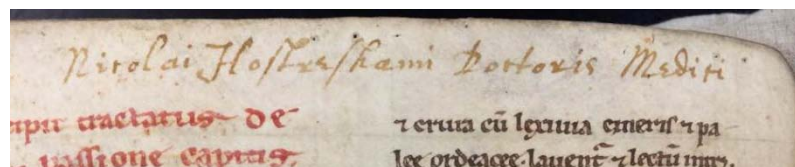


Figure 4.5
CUL MS Add.6865 Heading on folio 81 (Photo: J Harmon 2017)

²² Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, 7.

Present Location	Title	Author	Date	Reference	Owned or Written?	Notes
British Library	<i>Liber</i>		1294-1295	Harl. 3601	Written/Owned	
Cambridge University Library	<i>Compilation volume</i> ²³	Various	c. 12 th -13 th century	Add. 6865	Owned	
Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge	<i>Kalendarium</i>		c.13 th -14 th century	204	Owned	
Trinity College, Cambridge	<i>De Naturis Rerum</i>	Alexander Nequam	1232	R.16.3	Owned	
	<i>Prometicus carmine prosa intermixta*</i>	Alexander Nequam				Identification uncertain
London, College of Arms	<i>Chronica</i>		13 th century	Arundel 10	Owned	
Oxford, University College	<i>Polychronicon</i>	Ranulf Higden	Second half of 13 th century	177	Owned	
	<i>Legenda (3 Vols)</i>		Now Lost		Copy probably produced by Laurence the Chaplain, c.1208-13 ²⁴	
	<i>Pastoralia of St Gregory</i>		Now Lost		Copy probably produced by Laurence the Chaplain, c.1208-13	
	<i>Remedarium Animae</i>	Peter of Waltham	Now Lost		Copy probably produced by Laurence the Chaplain, c.1208-13	

²³ The bound volume is a collection of fourteen documents, ten of which, nos. 5-14, are medically related. It may be that this owes its production to the *Anidotarium Nicolai*, a collection of receipts (or recipes) drawn up at the Schola Medica Salernitana between 1160-1200 by an unknown medical teacher. Such a pharmacopeia would have been of great use in the infirmary at Barnwell. L. García-Ballester, R. French, J. Arrizabalaga and A. Cunningham, (eds.), *Practical medicine from Salerno to the Black Death* (Cambridge, 1994), 28. Sometime later a contents list, has been affixed to the inside front cover stating this to be *liber primo*. It is worth mentioning that the first item, which predates all the other entries, is described as *Carmina puerilia Roberti Carpitonis alias Grostests Episcopi Lincolnensis*. See plates 1 and 2, above 86 and plate 3 for heading on folio 81.

²⁴ *VCH Cambs*, ii, 237. The *VCH* describes Laurence as being 'remembered as the scribe who copied the *Legenda* in three volumes, which was read in the refectory, the *Pastoralia* of St. Gregory, a *Remedarium Animae*, and many other books, besides transcribing the charters of the house'. Sadly all of these are no longer extant and must be assumed lost.

London, Lambeth Palace Library	<i>Flores Bernardii</i> ²⁵	William of Tours	Listed by Leland, and still extant	485	Copy probably produced by Laurence the Chaplain, c.1208-13	Previously thought to have been owned by Prior Richard de Burgh ²⁶
	<i>Epistolae Symmachi</i> **†	Aurelius Symmachus	Not known			
	<i>Chronica Hugonis de tribus maximis circumstantiis gestorum</i> **†	Hugo de St. Victor				
	<i>Contra inanem nobilitatem</i> **†	Elias of Thriplow	Before 1251.			Presumed lost ²⁷
	<i>Historia ecclesiastica siue Chronicon</i> †	Hugh of Fleury	Before 1135			
	<i>Epistolae variae Cassiodori</i> **†	Cassiodorus Senator	Before 580			
	<i>Chronicon</i> (whose prologue begins <i>Annum ab ea die qua Petrus</i>)*					
	<i>Chronicon a Nino ad Caesarem et a Caesare ad Ludovicum Caroli Magna filium</i> *					

Table 4.1: Works that can be associated with the library at Barnwell Priory²⁸

²⁵ St Bernard's commentary on the *Song of Songs* was a popular study aid in the twelfth century. Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 201. Other staple biblical commentaries in Medieval libraries included those by Origen, Cassiodorus and Bede (Ibid., 200).

²⁶ *VCH Cambs*, ii, 237. It has now been plausibly argued that MS 485 did not belong to Richard de Burgh. Webber and Watson (*Augustinian Libraries*, 5) have concluded that although the manuscript may have been at the priory, as it bears the late thirteenth century inscription *Liber Ricardi de Bernewell Prioris*, some of the texts it contains, including Bonaventure's *Breviloquium pauperis*, were not composed until after Richard de Burgh's death and there was no other prior of Barnwell bearing the name 'Richard'.

²⁷ See Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland*, 112. New digital resource under construction by Oxford University, *The Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, lists five of the above books to date: these are indicated by †. [http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/Accessed 5 February 2016](http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/Accessed%205%20February%202016).

²⁸ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, following Leland's *Collectanea*. Ker rejects Gonville and Caius 356 as not being a Barnwell book. Nichols gives Leland's *Collectanea* as his source. Nichols, *History of Barnwell* [sic] *Abbey*, 5. * indicates books listed by Leland.

The first book on Nichol's list was one of great significance although, from surviving lists, it is impossible to say how widely copies were disseminated. The commentary on the Rule of St Augustine associated with St Hugh of St Victor appears to have been the most widely use of the commentaries available. Such was its importance that it was not kept with the more general books in the library but together with other devotional works and the Rule itself, in the sacristy where it could be easily consulted.²⁹ In the Augustinian Constitution of 1290 it is named as one of the works that were to be kept available, at all times, for choir and readings.³⁰

Given that most monastic collections were broken up and dispersed at the Dissolution, an attempt to identify the provenance of a book often relies on very tenuous information such as marginalia, although both CUL MS Add. 6865 and the Trinity College Alexander Nequam are marked more formally with an ex libris or a note of gift.³¹ Even a tentative reconstruction of Barnwell's 'library' may be an impossible task as there is so little information available. Unlike larger, more influential houses and those which boasted royal connections, whatever books the canons of Barnwell might have possessed were not removed *en masse* by an interested party, but seem to have been either destroyed in the general upheaval or dispersed to locations that can only be guessed at.

²⁹ D. R. Reinke, 'Austin' Labour': Patterns of Governance in Medieval Augustinian Monasticism', *Church History*, 56 (1987), 157-71, esp. 164-5.

³⁰ Reinke, 'Austin' Labour', 165

³¹ Written on the verso of the fly leaf in red are the words *Liber Ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewelle* (xliv). The volume was part of a collection given to Trinity College by Roger Gale in 1738. Written on vellum it measures 13.5 x 9.5 inches and has 169 folios.

The 'Barnwell Chronicle'

One surviving volume that can be linked to the priory is the so-called 'Barnwell Chronicle', now MS Arundel 10 in the College of Arms. The original text has not been printed but it can be found, in a slightly abridged form, in William Stubbs' edition for the Rolls Series of the so-called *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria*.³² Covering events between 1202 and 1225 it has been variously praised as 'the best, the fullest and most sophisticated annals' produced at the time³³, as 'one of the most valuable contributions in existence to the history of that eventful period'³⁴, and as the 'most perceptive narrative source for the reign of King John'.³⁵

Speculation about its authorship has suggested that he could have been either an Augustinian canon or a Benedictine monk. The case for his being an Augustinian rests on the text surviving in an Augustinian house and on its moderate political views which reflect, in general, those of the canons.³⁶ However, it could as easily have been written by a Benedictine monk as there is no evidence of local attachment and it contains numerous references to Benedictine houses. Investigating the chronicle's provenance, Richard Kay has compared the four surviving manuscripts and noted the very slender evidence on which they have been attributed to Barnwell Priory.³⁷ He suggests that there is no evidence in any of the manuscripts to suggest a link to the

³² *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria: The Historical Collections of Walter of Coventry*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series, 58 (London, 1872-3); Gransden, *Historical Writing*, i, 339. An edition by Professor J. C. Holt was, unfortunately, never realised. This has now been undertaken by Dr Cristian Ispir in his PhD thesis *A Critical Edition of the Crowland Chronicle* (Unpublished Doctoral Thesis, King's College, London, 2015).

³³ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 318, and cf. R. Kay, 'Walter of Coventry and the Barnwell Chronicle', *Traditio* 54 (1999), 141-167, esp. p.141.

³⁴ Stubbs, *Walter of Coventry*, vii.

³⁵ J. C. Holt, *Magna Carta*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1992), 223.

³⁶ Clark, *Liber*, 340 n.71.

³⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 175 (the text used in the Rolls Series); Oxford, Magdalen College MS Lat. 36; BL MS Cotton Vitellius E.xiii; London, College of Arms MS Arundel 10.

priory save for the presence of Arundel 10 in the Barnwell library by the 1440s.

'Most likely ...', he suggests, the book came to Barnwell a generation after the last annals of the chronicle was written *c.*1232'.³⁸

Kay suggests that the chronicle was not written at Barnwell as the priory is not mentioned and it is highly unlikely a compiler of such an important work would fail to include the succession of priors at their own house. By contrast, this was something that was quite clearly of great importance to the author of the Barnwell *Liber* who followed the succession of the kings of England with the succession of his priors.³⁹ The manuscript's connection with Barnwell is therefore one of residence rather than production. Two marginal notes written in a thirteenth-century hand record details about the priory for the years 1213 and 1214, but even this marginalia contains an error suggesting that it was written by someone not certain of the facts. Kay suggests that the ultimate source of the 'Barnwell' chronicle can be identified as a Peterborough book copied at Crowland, today surviving as BL MS Additional 35168.⁴⁰ More recently, Christian Ispir has advanced strong linguistic evidence to suggest that the chronicle was not only copied but composed at Crowland. Hence its most recent nomenclature, no longer as 'Walter of Coventry' or the 'Barnwell' annals, but as the 'Crowland chronicle'.⁴¹

Evidence for other books in the library can be found in the Barnwell *Liber* and the *Observances*. One such would have been the priory's *Martyrology*, an important

³⁸ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 145. Arundel 10 was certainly at the priory by 1444, as a marginal note on folio 68v records the creation of a potter's field by John Whaddon who styled himself *canonicus et vicarius de Waterbeche*. Whaddon was prior of Barnwell from September 1464 until his resignation in November 1474.

³⁹ Clark, *Liber*, 64-74.

⁴⁰ Kay, 'Walter of Coventry', 142.

⁴¹ Ispir, private communication.

manuscript used to record the names of deceased canons and, in some cases, their parents.⁴² It was part of the librarian's duties to keep this up to date and to produce the *brevia* that were sent to other houses to announce the death of one of the community. One possibility would be that it was Barnwell's librarian who also acted as the priory's annalist or historian and, as such, may have played a role in producing the Barnwell *Liber* itself.⁴³

The role of the Librarian/Precentor.

The Barnwell *Observances* provide a rare opportunity for the study of the specific roles of Augustinian obedientiaries at the priory. The combined role of Precentor and Armarius comes fourth in the hierarchy of ranks, below only those of Prior, Sub-Prior and the third Prior, indicating this to be a position of great trust and responsibility. The roles are linked through the priory's books. As librarian the post-holder had the priory's books in his overall care, and as precentor he was responsible for their liturgical use and for ensuring that enough copies were available for the singing of the offices.

⁴² It is possible that this was the three volumes seen by Leland, also known as the *Legenda aurea*. See above Table 1: Works that can be associated with the library at Barnwell Priory, 87-88.

⁴³ Clark, *Observances*, xli.



Figure 4.6

A Roman reading a roll in front of a press
(*armaria*)⁴⁴

Information on the priory library and instructions for the librarian appear under the title 'Of the safe keeping of the books, and of the office of Librarian'.⁴⁵ The Librarian, also called the Precentor had overall responsibility for the books and for ensuring that they remained in good condition. He was specifically responsible for checking them for signs of 'injury' caused either by insects or general decay, and for repairing them when the need arose. Given the less than ideal conditions under which manuscripts were likely to have been stored at the time this was an important, and possibly time-consuming task.⁴⁶

It is clear that at Barnwell the canons had a great respect for the books in their care and the provision of suitable storage was a high priority. To avoid any unfortunate mishaps precise instructions for the construction of *armaria* were laid down.

The press in which the books are kept ought to be lined inside with wood, that the damp of the walls may not moisten or stain the books.

⁴⁴ Clark, *Care of Books*, opposite 40.

⁴⁵ Clark, *Observances*, 63. *De custodia librorum et officio armarius*. A similar entry also occurs in the customs of the Augustinian house at Grönendall near Brussels the manuscript of which is now in the Royal Library, Brussels.

⁴⁶ See also K. W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Mediaeval Friars 1215-1400* (Amsterdam, 1964), 32, 135-6 which outlines the general duties of a librarian.

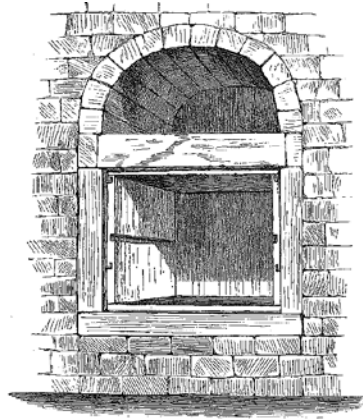


Figure 4.8: Sketch of a wood-lined, recessed book press in the cloister at the Cistercian Abbey of Fossa Nuova. The house dates from c.1187-c.1208.⁴⁹

The positioning of book presses and their contents in the cloister was in itself an indication of their importance. The cloister was the hub of monastic activity outside of the church itself and was where the canons congregated, studied, wrote and taught the novices.⁵⁰

The *Rites of Durham* give the following description of the part of the cloister at the Durham Cathedral.⁵¹ Written in 1593, possibly by the last Register of the house, George Bates,⁵² it provides us with some idea of the organisation of the cloister and an indication of the number of books of records that were housed in the library which was unlikely to have significantly changed until the Dissolution.⁵³

⁴⁹ Clark, *Care of Books*, 73.

⁵⁰ Clark, *Care of Books*, 6.

⁵¹ *The Rites of Durham*, (ed.), J. T. Fowler, Surtees Society, 107 (1903), 63-79.

⁵² Bates also held the position of Clerk of the Feretorie, *ibid.*, p.78.

⁵³ 'there is another door that goeth in the Register, where certain old written books of records of Evidence of the Monasticall house of Durham did lie, and also there did lie, a Copie of the foundation of the hospital of Greatham, which was also registered in the said old written (67) books of records', 78.

All there pewes or carrells was all fynely wainscotted and verie close, all but the forepart, which had carved wourke that gave light in at ther carrell doures of wainscott. And in every carrell was a deske to lye there bookes on. And the carrells was no greater then from one stanchell of the wyndowe to another. And over against the carrells against the church wall did stande certaine great almeries [or cupbords] of waynscott all full of bookes [with great store of ancient manuscripts to help them in their study], wherein did lye as well the old auncyent written Doctors of the Church as other prophane authors with dyverse other holie mens wourks, so that every one dyd studye what Doctor pleased them best, havinge the Librarie at all tymes to goe studie in besydes there carrels.⁵⁴

⁵⁴ Clark, *Libraries*, 6-7.



Figure 4.9

Ezra writing in his library from a manuscript of the Vulgate, the so-called *Codex Amiatinus* (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana) written c.716, probably by an Italian scribe, at Wearmouth or Jarrow, Northumbria. The words above the illumination read *Codicibus sacris hostili clade per ustis Esdra do(minus) fervens hoc reparavit opus*.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Downloaded 8 February 2012 from <http://florin.ms/aleph.html> Clark describes these press and their contents in *The Care of Books*, 42-3: 'Behind him [Ezra] is a press (*armarium*) with open doors. The lower portion, below these doors is filled in with panels which are either inlaid or painted ... The bottom of the press proper is used as a shelf, on which lie a volume and two objects, one of which probably represents a case for pens, while the other is certainly an inkhorn. Above these are four shelves on each of which lie two volumes. These have their titles written on the back ... The framework of the press above the doors is ornamented in the same style as the panels below, and the whole is surmounted by a low pyramid, on the side of which facing the spectator is a cross, beneath which are two peacocks drinking from a water-trough'. Whilst Barnwell perhaps lacked such an



Figure 4.10

The mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, Italy, showing the mosaic lunette above her tomb, c.450.⁵⁶



Figure 4.11

Detail of the book press illustrated in the mosaic with the four gospels clearly labelled.⁵⁷

impressive piece of furniture, the drawing provides a reasonable idea of book storage at the time the codex was written and the walled recess at the priory may have had suitably impressive wooden doors to reflect the status of its contents.

⁵⁶ http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mausoleum_of_Galla_Placidia Accessed 8 February 2012

⁵⁷ <http://histoire-du-livre.blogspot.com/2011/10/quest-ce-quune-bibliotheque.html> Accessed 8 February 2012

Another early book press is depicted in the mosaics in the mausoleum of the Empress Galla Placidia at Ravenna. Dating from around 450, the mosaic above her tomb shows a press of similar design to that in the *Codex Amiatinus*, containing clearly marked copies of the four gospels.

As one would expect from members of the same order, there are close comparisons between the duties of the librarians at Augustinian houses both in England and on the continent.⁵⁸ However it is noticeable that in England books were more jealously guarded than they were elsewhere. Keeping the books in good condition was a significant responsibility and it was made very clear what was expected.⁵⁹ The condition of the books in the Librarian's care reflected his devotion to his task and his house, and might even represent a particular form of labour as worship.

The annual audit of the collection was a service of commemoration for both the donors and the writers of the books and was held once a year on the Monday after the first Sunday in Lent. It is not mentioned in the corresponding entry for the librarian at Saint-Victor at Paris, but does not appear to have been peculiar to Barnwell. Its source was perhaps Lanfranc's Canterbury constitutions⁶⁰ and as the Barnwell

⁵⁸ Clark, *Observances*, xlii-xlvi, for a stage by stage comparison with the entry for the *armarius* at the much larger house of Saint-Victor, Paris

⁵⁹ Clark, *Observances*, xlv. The use of recording system for loans and the requirement, in some cases, of a surety from the borrower is also highly indicative of the value assigned to the library: Clark, *Observances*, 63.

⁶⁰ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307* (Oxford, 1979), 159. Clark, *Care of Books*, 57, misdates Lanfranc's constitutions, more recently assigned to his time at Canterbury and edited by David Knowles, updated by C.N.L. Brooke, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (Oxford, 2002). The full ceremony, as included in Reynier's *Apostolatus Benedictinorum in Anglia*, Appendix, 216, reads: 'On the Monday after the first Sunday in Lent ... before the brethren go in to Chapter, the librarian ought to have all the books brought together into the Chapter-House and laid out on a carpet, except those which had been given out for reading during the past year: these the brethren ought to bring with them as they come into Chapter, each carrying his book in his hand. Of this they ought to have had notice given to them by the aforesaid librarian on the preceding day in chapter. Then let the passage in the Rule of S. Benedict about the observance of Lent be read, and a discourse be

ordinances supply only a brief overview of the prescribed form for the ceremony, it is possible that a fuller version existed at the priory, perhaps as part of a more comprehensive set of statutes. According to the Observances, the librarian

Ought also, at the beginning of Lent, in each year, to shew them [the books] to the convent in Chapter, when the souls of those who have given them to the church, or of the brethren who have written them, and laboured over them, ought to be absolved, and a service in convent held for them.⁶¹

This important yearly event which appears to have been part of the general practice of the time, also provides more evidence for the respect and care given to books during the thirteenth century.

Even the way a book should be held in the monk's hand is prescribed by an order of the General Benedictine Chapter and it is not hard to imagine that the canons of Barnwell might have adopted a similar form of behaviour:

When the religious are engaged in reading in cloister or in church, they shall if possible hold the books in their left hands, wrapped in the sleeve of their tunics and resting on their knees;

preached upon it. Next let the librarian read a document setting forth the names of the brethren who have had books during the past year; and let each brother, when he hears his own name pronounced, return the book which had been entrusted to him for reading; and let him who is conscious of not having read the book through which he had received, fall down on his face, confess his fault, and pray for forgiveness. Then let the aforesaid librarian hand to each brother another book for reading; and when the books have been distributed in order, let the aforesaid librarian in the same Chapter put on record the names of the books, and of those who receive them'.

⁶¹ Clark, *Observances*, 63.

their right hands shall be uncovered with which to hold and turn
the leaves of the aforesaid books.⁶²

Manuscript production at Barnwell

Whilst it is apparent from the *Observances* that provisions were made for the production, use and storage of manuscripts the details of what was actually created at the priory remain less clear. In their research into surviving copies of Higden's *Polychronicon*, Dennison and Rogers suggest the possibility of manuscript production at the priory as part of a wider East Anglian group of houses. Given what is written in the *Observances* this may well be a possibility but Dennison and Rogers advance no specific evidence in support of their assertion. Instead, they suggest that:

The lack of surviving structural remains has led to an underestimate of Barnwell's importance. As the most important religious house in the immediate vicinity of Cambridge, Barnwell fulfilled a role similar to that of the Augustinian foundation of St Frideswide at Oxford. It was the centre for Augustinian students at the University right up to the Dissolution. Its proximity to the University, and also to the great fair at Stourbridge, would have facilitated book production. There is good evidence of scribal activity at

⁶² Clark, *Observances*, 66. For a wider discussion of the protection of books, see 65-69.

Barnwell in the early thirteenth century, and the *Observances* make full provision for the library and the scriptorium.⁶³

Using the analytical techniques employed by art historians, Dennison has compared the stylistic features of manuscripts which might at first glance appear to be wholly disparate with each other.⁶⁴ Clear similarities in style in her examples have led her to conclude that not only was there a production circuit in operation, possibly stretching from Canterbury in the south east to as far north as Durham, but that there may also have been some form of 'inter-monastic library loan system' in operation.⁶⁵ If the priory at Barnwell was a link in this chain, then it may have been more important in the field of manuscript production than the present evidence allows us to suppose.

The lending and copying of books was a well-established practice and assisted in the dissemination of knowledge between houses. This was not restricted to sacred works since many vernacular texts were reproduced in this way.⁶⁶ In 1212, a Council at Paris had made a specific decree enjoining houses to lend their books 'to those who are in need of them, and, indeed, many of the volumes gifted to the Parisian Augustinians of Saint-Victor in the thirteenth century came with the donor's express wishes that they should be available for loan.'⁶⁷

⁶³ L. Dennison and N. Rogers, 'A Medieval Best-Seller: Some Examples of Decorated Copies of Higden's "Polychronicon"', in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson*, Proceedings of the 1999 Harlaxton Symposium, ed. C. M. Barron and J. Stratford (Donnington, 2002), 80-99, esp. 87. I should like to thank Dr James Freedland for bringing this to my attention.

⁶⁴ L. Dennison, 'Monastic or Secular? The Artist of the Ramsey Psalter, now at Holkham Hall, Norfolk' in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain*, Harlaxton Symposium 1994, ed. B. Thompson (Stamford, 1999), 223-261. In this case the author concentrates on the Ramsey Psalter (c. 1375-1400) and the Psalter of Richard of Canterbury (c.1320).

⁶⁵ Dennison, 'Monastic or Secular?', 251.

⁶⁶ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 192.

⁶⁷ Clark, *Care of Books*, 64-5.

Clark's research supports such lending as do the Barnwell *Observances* which specifically mention when this was permissible and the terms under which it could be done. Even though books were very precious, their value as a shared resource was already recognised.⁶⁸ Lending was not forbidden but had to be done under strict conditions. The librarian recorded the name of the lender on his roll of titles and borrowers were 'bound to give surety for the volumes they receive[d]'. In the case of the larger and more valuable books, the librarian was instructed 'not to lend to anyone, known or unknown, without permission of the Prior'. A further precaution was that books could only be lent out on the receipt of a pledge of equal value.⁶⁹

Losses and theft could not be entirely ruled out. Orderic Vitalis showed his great concern for this when he wrote that 'with the loss of books the deeds of the ancients pass into oblivion ... with the changing world, as hail or snow melt in the waters of a swift river swept away by the current never to return'.⁷⁰ This may go some way toward explain the frequent use of warnings or 'book curses' on end papers and fly leaves. A manuscript, previously in the library of Saint-Victor, has the following distich at its end:

Qui servare libris preciosis nescit honorem

Illius a minimis sit procul iste liber.⁷¹

Another from St. Alban's bears a more dire warning..

⁶⁸ Dennison and Rogers, *A Medieval Best-Seller*, 93.

⁶⁹ Clark, *Observances*, 63.

⁷⁰ M. Chibnall, (trans.), *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1968–1980), 284.

⁷¹ Clark, *Care of Books*, 90, 'Keep him afar from mine and me, Who fails to books in courtesy'. Léopold Delisle provided the original curse in his *Les Cabinets des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Impériale*, 4 Vols. (Paris, 1881), II, 227.

This is a book of St. Alban's; anyone who removes it. Or deletes the title, or alienates it from the church by any kind of art, fraud, or ingenuity is anathema.⁷²

In Clanchy's words, 'to write on parchment was ... to make a lasting memorial' and manuscripts represented 'the working of God's providence.'⁷³ In such strict religious times the threat of anathema seems entirely appropriate.

Coupled with this lending system Dennison's research has led her to conclude that a circuit for monastic manuscript production was in operation in the area and she even goes as far as postulating that one of artists involved may have been based at Barnwell Priory. An absence of sources in this area makes it impossible to draw any firm conclusions on this, but given its geographical position in relation to houses such as Ramsey the priory may well have participated in an established network of production sites. Dennison and Rogers consider there to be 'good evidence' of scribal activity at Barnwell in the early thirteenth century, and the Barnwell *Liber* supplies the example of Laurence the chaplain who contributed to the library and produced other documents and charters. Canon Laurence was the chaplain of priors William of Devon, William of Bedford and Richard de Burgh. Such was his great humility and devotion and his skill as a writer that he merited the following entry in the Barnwell *Liber*:

⁷² Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record*, 160. An additional deterrent at the abbey took the form of a book store in close proximity to the saint's tomb

⁷³ Ibid., 145-6.

Hii tres ultimi priores ... habebant successiue unum capellatum
canonicum Laurencium nomine, qui eis magna humilitate
ministrabat, lectioni et oracioni deuote insistebat, ociosus
quidem esse nolebat, nam manu propria sua, ad perpetuam sui
memoriam, libros scripsit quamplures, videlicet passiones
sanctorum, que leguntur in mensa, in tribus uoluminibus;
Pastoralia Gregorii, Remediarium, et plures alios libros et
cartas.⁷⁴

Laurence's skills as a copyist were clearly considered a great asset to the priory. That he produced at least four works for the library during his five years as chaplain implies high levels of both skill and accuracy. Unfortunately the Barnwell *Liber* does not provide any further direct evidence concerning the practice of writing at the priory. Nonetheless, that the production of manuscripts and their role in the lives of the canons was important does not appear to be in question. Whilst the Barnwell *Observances* support the view that writing, in all its forms, was an important activity, evidence to confirm this is not available and we can only speculate on what might have taken place. Such speculation leads us to the question of the relationship between the priory and the University in this field.

The University of Cambridge was probably the largest purchaser and commissioner of books in the immediate vicinity and it is possible that it used facilities provided locally. Production at Barnwell may never have been on a large scale since specific

⁷⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 68; Webber and Watson, *Augustinian Libraries*, 6.

arrangements, such as a scriptorium for visitors, failed to find their way into the *Observances*. But that is not to say it did not have a reasonable capacity for producing set texts of lesser quality. Even a small scriptorium might have provided what was required. Canons who were also students at the University may have increased the need for certain books. Sadly there seems to be little direct evidence available to support either of these hypotheses at present nor is there any means by which they can be linked to Barnwell save for the speculation offered above. It may be that the Austin friars who had houses at both Cambridge (founded c.1290) and Huntingdon (c.1286) were also involved.

It is clear from the *Observances* that manuscripts were being produced at the priory and that one of the responsibilities of the *armarius* was the hiring of professional scribes for whom he should provide all the necessary equipment for their work.

All writings in the church, whether written at home or abroad, belong to his office; so that he has to provide the writers with parchment, ink, and everything else necessary for writing; and personally to hire those who write for money⁷⁵

This would seem to indicate that what was being produced at certain times was of considerable importance and that those of the brethren who could write were not competent enough to undertake such work. It seems that they were restricted to 'writing books of general use to the community' and could not even do this without

⁷⁵ Clark, *Observances*, 62.

the prior's permission.⁷⁶ Having to obtain permission to write does not appear to have been an exclusively Augustinian practice. Meanwhile, the 'professional' work mentioned was probably neither a large, nor frequent, enterprise, as a room was not specifically set aside for this purpose, as at Saint-Victor Paris, nor would visitors have been allowed to work in the cloister. But it must have been a fairly regular occurrence for it to be separately listed among the librarian's duties.⁷⁷ This directive would therefore seem to add credence to Dennison's theory that Barnwell may have been part of a manuscript production circuit made up of both peripatetic and settled scribes and illuminators.

The balance of evidence suggests that books played an integral part in the lives of the canons at Barnwell. Their library, though not as large or impressive as those at the greater Benedictine foundations was a well-used resource, with each canon being encouraged to read and being issued with a book for private study. Although the community at Barnwell was never very large, such books, along with those required for the offices, refectory readings and other prescribed texts would have formed a reasonably sized collection. The library also provided the opportunity for producing books, and if a canon could write he was not discouraged from doing so as long as he did not go beyond the rules prescribed by the *Observances*. He might not be able to own the book he produced, but he was allowed to keep hold of it and use it in his own devotions.⁷⁸

⁷⁶ Clark, *Observances*, 63.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p.xlvii.

⁷⁸ Ibid., p.65.

Whilst an exact picture of the library and book production cannot be found in the extant evidence what does emerge is a clear picture of the value placed on books and of the encouragement that the canons were given to read. Although, on the surviving evidence, the priory cannot lay claim to a great scriptorium it does appear to have been used by visiting scribes and illuminators as a place to work and its librarian was specifically tasked with providing them with the materials they required. The importance of the books in the priory's possession is made very clear in the ceremony held each Lent. This audit and presentation to the community commemorated those who had enriched the priory library in all capacities whether they were scribes, illuminators or patrons who had donated or bequeathed books as gifts. Marking the acquisition of books with a special thanksgiving underscores the high value placed upon such artifacts.

The priory's proximity to the growing University of Cambridge may also have provided opportunities for the canons to be involved in a moderate amount of book production, as there would have been a ready local market amongst both fellows and scholars. Indeed, it is known that scholars from the priory attended the University and that the canons had their own almonry school which would have been financed by the residual alms from the priory itself. The educational value of books within the context of this should not be overlooked and is considered in more detail below.

As to whether or not Barnwell was part of a circuit of monastic houses involved in book production, Dennison's research presents an appealing hypothesis. Sadly the loss of almost the entire fabric of the priory site means we cannot physically assess the remains, if any, of the press in the cloister nor the communal space where the

canons would have produced their own books. To counterbalance this, however, we are fortunate in the survival of the *Observances*. These ensure that we are not completely ignorant of the library and the respect that the Augustinian canons of Barnwell had for books. Nor are we unaware of what was expected of an *armarius* at the end of the thirteenth century.

5. Picot the Sheriff and the First Foundation

The history of Barnwell Priory begins not in 1092 but somewhere between 1066 and 1071 when Picot, subsequently known as de Grenteburgh ('of Grantabridge'), arrived in England from Normandy. No secure written evidence exists for the circumstances of his arrival, and the references that are extant, when pieced together, still only create a somewhat hazy impression of the man.

In the Barnwell *Liber*, which might be expected to offer a more detailed picture of its founder, we are offered very little, and what is there remains generic. We are thus told that Picot was a noble man of Norman birth, worthy of high honour and power. There is no mention of where he came from nor does the *Liber* remark upon any of the events of his life previous to his founding of the priory.

Regnante illustri rege Anglorum Willelmo primo, id est Willelmo
Bastard, extitit quidam uir nobilis in partibus Cantebrigie de gente
et genere Normannorum Pycotus nomine, vicecomes cognomine,
ita cognominatus quia uicecomitis officio in illis partibus
fungebatur, et inter optimates regni pro comite habebatur.
Memoratus namque rex quandam baroniam in prouincia
Cantebregie dum integra esset satis opulentam illi contulerat, et
altis alijs honoribus et opibus, ut bene dignus erat, per diuersa
regni loca eum satis ditauerat.¹

¹ Clark, *Liber*, 38.

The sheriff was a man described in standard phraseology suggesting he was being seen from a distance. Nothing of his actions or his personality are committed to writing and, no sooner are he and his wife, Hugolina, introduced than they are dead, and the behaviour of their feckless son, Robert, has thrown the priory into crisis. The only remotely personalized detail is the statement that, although holding the office of sheriff (*vicecomes*), Picot merited the honour of an earl (*comes*).

In its account of Picot the *Liber Eliensis*, as might be expected, gives a far less flattering, indeed a notoriously hostile account. Reflecting his atrocious relationship with the abbey at Ely,² Thomas, the supposed author of the *Liber Eliensis*, shows Picot as every bit as ruthless and predatory in his role as the king's local representative as he was as a knight. In a vituperative outburst the monk described him as a 'hungry lion, prowling wolf, sly fox, dirty pig [and] impudent dog.'³ It is significant that a whole chapter of his work is devoted to the sheriff, that *gente Normannus, animo Getulo*.⁴ Nor does Picot's character emerge any better from Domesday Book, although, as a sheriff he is by no means alone in this respect. Then, as now, collectors of taxes were not the most popular of men, characterized as a rapacious breed, devouring the countryside and appropriating land for personal gain.⁵ The *Liber Eliensis*'s representation of Picot as a starving predator feeding on the carcass of what once was the abbey's land seems wholly supportive of both this and the other fragmentary pieces of evidence available.

² See below, 144.

³ Blake, *LE*, 211: 'leo famelicus, lupus oberrans, vulpes subdola, sus lutulenta, canis impudens'.

⁴ The Gaetuli were a people from north-western Africa, the inference being that Picot was of savage temperament.

⁵ *LE*, 266.

Such wildly divergent views as those expressed in the Barnwell *Liber* and the *Liber Eliensis*, even allowing for the obvious bias of their authors, are indicative of the difficulty in assigning any characteristics to the sheriff. Is it possible to say anything of the man behind the mask?

Origins and identity

In attempting to identify Picot and learn something of both of his provenance and his family, some evidence can be obtained from sources both written and unwritten. These include the studies of anthroponomastics, prosopography, genealogy, and heraldry. These differing methodologies can be used to supplement the data found in contemporary chronicles and documents in an effort to produce a more rounded picture of Barnwell's founder. A substantial amount of work has been undertaken in compiling a list of the Conqueror's companions from various manuscript sources, including Judith Green's research into the Norman aristocracy of England. Beginning with the list compiled by William of Poitiers, Green went on to identify some thirty men who were either directly involved in, or contributed to, the Conquest even if they did not accompany the invading force.⁶ By the time of Wace's list, compiled between 1155 and 1173/4 for his *Roman de la Rou*, the number of companions had increased to 116. Using Wace's list, Elisabeth van Houts was subsequently able to identify all of these men either by name or by territorial association.⁷ The fact that Picot does not appear among those named may confirm what is already suspected: that he was not among the highest ranks of the nobility and was not included in the first wave of the

⁶ J. A. Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge, 1997), 28-9. The earliest list compiled by William of Poitiers, the Conqueror's biographer, supplies only a few names but the desire to be recognized as descended from the Conqueror's original companions was strong, cf. *Ibid.*, 25.

⁷ E. van Houts, 'Wace as Historian', in *The History of the Norman People. Wace's Roman de Rou*, trans. G. S. Burgess (Woodbridge, 2004), pp.xxxv-lxii.

conquerors to be rewarded. Using the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* Green ultimately felt confident enough to conclude that Picot was active by 1082 at the latest, and perhaps as early as 1071. By 1100 X 1102, Picot's office of sheriff had passed to Roger of Huntingdon.⁸ From this Green concluded that Picot was sheriff by c.1071, and was likely to have been born around the middle of the eleventh century, probably in the 1040s.⁹ The recent redating of William I's charters by David Bates would suggest a date rather later than this for Picot's occupation of his office, perhaps from as late as 1075.¹⁰

The question, none the less remains when did he arrive in England? His presence is not recorded in any extant document until approximately 1071, although given the paucity of what survives from the period this, in itself, means very little.¹¹ His presence is first documented in an inquest dated 1072 x 1075 when he was found to be holding land belonging to the bishop of Ely.¹²

In the first volume of her vast prosopographical study of *Domesday People* Kathleen Keats-Rohan suggests that, as there was no other Picot active in the Cambridgeshire area in the late eleventh-century, the sheriff can be identified as Picot de Bavent. This latter appears as a witness in a writ of Henry I dating from 1105 and also attested a

⁸ *Regesta*, ii, no.586, where Roger is required, along with the Abbot of Ely, to ensure that the Abbot of Thorney continue to hold his land at Whittlesea as under William I and William II. The charter survives in Cambridge University Library, ms. Additional 3020 (Red Book of Thorney) fo.19v, and also as a transcript in BL ms. Harley 258 fo.138r.

⁹ J.A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, Public Record Office Handbooks 24 (London, 1990), 29, citing *Regesta*, i, no.47, dated there 1071, now redated 1077 X 1082/3 by Bates, *Regesta*, 715-16 no.226.

¹⁰ Bates, *Regesta*, 410-17 no.117, 712-16 nos.225-6.

¹¹ In the entry for Picot in the *ODNB*, Robin Fleming suggests that Picot may have been made sheriff at about the time of Hereward's rebellion in 1071 and had some involvement in its suppression. But there does not appear to be any firm proof for this. Robin Fleming, 'Picot (fl. 1071x5-1092)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/52360>, accessed 26 Jan 2015].

¹² E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951, repr.1969), 26-7. See also E. Miller, 'The Ely Land Pleas in the Reign of William I', *EHR*, 62 (October, 1947), 438-56.

document for Bury in 1112.¹³ Blake records this document as quitclaiming Ely from *consuetudines et feudi* which Picot had previously required of the abbot.¹⁴ The lateness of this date immediately casts doubt on the de Bavent theory as other evidence, particularly that for Picot's heir, Robert, indicates that the sheriff died c.1095.

Picot, Pigot and other variations.

The often under-utilised technique of anthroponomastics, the study of personal names, is not always viewed as a legitimate tool of historical enquiry and, like all methodologies it has both advantages and disadvantages which need to be recognised. Much is speculation but, if used with care and followed up in credible sources, it can provide suggestions for new research directions.¹⁵ With information on Picot being so scarce, obtaining an overview of his possible origins through the meaning of his name might provide some insight.

There are, however, immediate problems with this approach where names are divided into baptismal names, by-names or nicknames. Given its derivation, the name Picot may prove to have been an example of this common practice. The name Picot ultimately appears to derive from an old English word with a Germanic root, coming

¹³ K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents, 1066-1166. I. Domesday Book*. (Woodbridge, 1999), 324.

¹⁴ Blake, *LE*, 235. This occurs as an addition to the manuscript Blake designates as 'O' (Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Laud Misc. 647). The writ is calendared in *Regesta*, ii, no.685.

¹⁵ C. Clark, 'Battle, c.1110: An Anthroponymist Looks at an Anglo-Norman New Town', *Anglo-Norman Studies II*, ed. R. Allen Brown (1980), 21-41. In her study of the inhabitants of Battle and their naming patterns, Clark was aware of the concept that, in the middle ages, few names lasted for longer than the life-time of their bearer and that without a locational tie both demographic shifts and cross-cultural influences could contribute to usage. The huge demographic and cultural shift that occurred post-1066 offers a case in point.

from 'pic' meaning 'sharp' or 'pointed' and was sometimes used as a nickname for a tall, thin person. It might also indicate a hill with a sharp pointed top. This would suggest certain personality traits, alluding to a hard-headed, aggressive individual and much of the extant evidence suggests that Picot de Gretebruge was just this sort of person. Whilst undeniably subjective, these hints suggest that Picot may have been considered cold-blooded, uncaring and intent only on personal gain. His supposedly violent temperament is reflected in the pick, or pickaxe, which appears three times in what are undoubtedly later or spurious attempts to represent Picot's coat of arms.¹⁶ The coat of arms as represented in later visual representations therefore becomes, in the mind of its producer, both a visual pun on the sheriff's name and a representation of his personality.¹⁷

Alongside Picot, must be placed the name Pigot, which appears to be a corruption of the former. Picots and Pigots appear indiscriminately in the much later Battle Abbey Roll (at best, a sixteenth-century conflation) and various of these can be identified with the sheriff. The chief effect here, nonetheless, is one of confusion, much of it sown by over-enthusiastic editors of this supposed 'Roll', most notably by Wilhelmina Powlett, Duchess of Cleveland (mother of Lord Rosebery), in her 'edition' of 1889.¹⁸

According to one interpretation Pigot (or Pigott, there are many variations) was a baptismal name meaning 'the son of Picot'.¹⁹ Clark herself regarded such names as

¹⁶ <http://www.houseofnames.com/picot-family-crest>. Accessed 2 May 2012.

¹⁷ Only the Barnwell *Liber* suggests otherwise and this was written almost two centuries after Picot's foundation of Barnwell Priory.

¹⁸ *The Battle Abbey Roll with some Account of the Norman Lineages, by the Duchess of Cleveland*, 3 vols (London 1889), esp. ii, 371-4, creating false links with the families of Say, Quincy etc.

¹⁹ <http://www.4crests.com/piggott-coat-of-arms.html>. Accessed 23 April 2012.

'the most fascinating and perplexing category' within the field.²⁰ What does seem clear from numerous genealogical sites on the Internet is that the name came to England at the time of the Conquest and that it was originally a given name, only becoming a surname *c.*1100. Whilst most of this online material is shot through with unreferenced mythologizing, the consensus itself offers an acceptable premise upon which to build. One hypothesis would be that two forms 'Picot' and 'Pigot' were the products of scribal inaccuracy and that both referred to the same Norman family and, in the context of the Battle Abbey Roll which is itself a post-medieval conflation, the same man.

²⁰ Clark, "Battle, *c.*1110", 24.

The heraldic evidence

In the absence of any notice from Matthew Paris or the thirteenth-century rolls of arms to substantiate the emergence of a 'Picot' coat of arms, we are obliged to search very late for the emergence of heraldic evidence. The early seventeenth-century tomb of Benjamin Pigott and his family at Lower Gravenhurst in Bedfordshire takes the form of a classical temple front with pediment and entablature. At the apex, in the centre of an ornate broken pediment are the Pigott arms displayed in a renaissance shield surmounted by a gauntlet and knight's helmet. Below this on a plain frieze are four further shields. The first three are all divided *per pale* with the Pigott arms on the left and those of his three wives, Mary Astrey, Anne Wiseman and Bridget Nedham on the right. The fourth is the Pigott arms alone – *argent three picks sable*. The only feature at Gravenhurst not shown in the *Tabula* is a five-pointed silver star (or *mullet*) at the centre: this device could be used either to denote spiritual quality or to indicate that the bearer was a third son.



Figure 5.2:

The tomb of Benjamin Pigott, (1551 – 1606) at St. Mary's Church, Lower Gravenhurst, Bedfordshire.

(Photo: J. Harmon, 2009)



Figure 5.3: The Pigott coat of arms, c.1606. (Photo: J. Harmon, 2009)



Figure 5.4: Picot, as he appears on the *Tabula Eliensis*, with the monk assigned to him. The caption reads *Pigotus pontum procurator cum Husketello monacho*. (Photo: J. Harmon, 2009)

Even thereafter, Picot and Pigot continued to cause confusion amongst the antiquaries as they, too, sought to identify the earliest 'companions of the Conqueror'. In 1848, Sir Bernard Burke struggled with the names and settled on their being interchangeable, Burke's farago of errors and wishful thinking is worth quoting in full:

'In the first reign of the Normans there flourished in this land two noble families of the name of Pigot; and that they were of the like noble lineage or offspring in the Duchy of Normandy before the Norman Conquest in England, appeareth by the reverend testimonies of our ancient Heralds books and chronicles: the first whereof being named otherwiles Pigot and Picot, was Viscount Hereditary of Cambridge Sheer, or Grantbridge, and baron of Boome, or Brune, in the said county, in the reign of King William the Conqueror. After his death, Robert Pigot, his son, succeeded in the Baronie, and he forfeited the same by taking part with Robert, Duke of Normandy, against William Rufus; and King Henry the First gave the same to Payne Peverell. This Peverell married the sister of the said Lord Robert Pigot, as Mr Camden noteth in his description of Cambridgeshire'²¹

Burke's misinterpretations of Camden only serves to highlight the unreliability of the rest of his work. Camden is in fact quite clear in stating that the barony of Bourn descended through a Peverel daughter - Alice who married Hamo Pecche - to Gilbert Pecche, and did not come by way of Robert. 'Burne Castle', Camden writes, 'in ancient times the Baronie of Picot Sheriff of this Shire, and of the Peverels, from whom, by one of the daughters, this and other possessions came unto Sire Gilbert Pech'. For

²¹ B. Burke, *The Roll of Battle Abbey* (London, 1848).

anyone interested in the history of the priory, it is also worth noticing that Camden confirms that it was a house of considerable local importance, thus presaging Clark's thoughts at the end of the nineteenth century:

'I let passe here little Monasteries and Religious houses because they were of small note, unlesse it were Barnwell Abbey, which Sir Paine Peverell a worthy and valiant warriour, Standard-bearer to Robert Duke of Normandy in the holy warre against Infidels, translated, in the reigne of Henry the First, from S, Giles Church, were Picot the Shiriffe had ordained secular Priests, unto this place, and brought into it thirty Monkes, for that himselfe at that time was thirty yeeres of age'²²

Genealogy and connections

Attempting to construct a genealogy for Picot from the limited information available raises a number of problems.²³ In his directory to *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, for example, William Farrer suggests that the sheriff was married twice, and that Hugolina was his second wife. Evidence to substantiate this claim was apparently presented before the court of Richard I in 1196.²⁴ Nonetheless, elsewhere Farrer

²² William Camden, *Brittania sive Florentissimorum Regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae et Insularum* (London: George Bishop and John Norton, 1610), here from the online resource by Dana F. Sutton: <http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/text/chap_page.jsp?t_id=Camden&c_id=17> accessed 20 April 2012. This quote does not appear in an earlier edition *Brittania sive Florentissimorum Regnorum, Angliae, Scotiae, Hiberniae et Insularum* (London: Radulphum Newbery, 1586). In this Picot appears only in the entry for Bourn, 'a BRUNE castro, quod olim Picotti vicecomitis huius agri, & Peuerellorumqui ex eius filia oriundi Baronia', and the priory is not mentioned, 272.

²³ For a suggested genealogy, see below table 1.

²⁴ W. Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire* (Cambridge, 1920), 195-6, and cf. below n.31.

became extremely confused over Picot's descendents. Searches of the latest Domesday prospography have also proved unfruitful.²⁵

If we accept that, as suggested in 1196, Picot did indeed have a wife before Hugolina, then Farrer, following the 1196 record, credits them with a daughter, Agnes, who married Ralph de St Germain. The de Beche family were descended from this marriage.²⁶ No further mention of Agnes can be found. Farrer's unreliability elsewhere is best demonstrated by his failure to mention Robert, the sheriff's heir, unlisted by Farrer as one of Picot and Hugolina's children. Instead the couple are credited with a son named Richard.²⁷ As with Agnes, this is our sole evidence for Richard's existence.

What is certain is that, by the time information was collected towards the Domesday survey, Picot was married to his (possibly 'second') wife, Hugolina, who was possibly the daughter of Robert Gernon. Robert was a wealthy landowner with holdings in Buckinghamshire, Herefordshire, Hertfordshire, and Middlesex, as well as in Cambridgeshire, various of which Picot held of him by marriage.²⁸ Robert Picot was

²⁵ For example, Keats-Rohan's *Domesday People*, 324.

²⁶ Below n.28.

²⁷ Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, 125.

²⁸ Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, 195-6, citing *A Roll of the King's Court in the Reign of King Richard I*, ed. F.W. Maitland, Pipe Roll Society 24 (1900), 225, noting that in 1196 Robert Picot, possibly the sheriff's great-grandson, unsuccessfully disputed possession of three knights' fees in Milton against Peter de Beche who also claimed descent from the sheriff but this time through his first wife. De Beche claimed that Picot gave the land to Ralph de St Germain with Agnes his daughter in marriage, which Agnes was born of a prior wife. Robert's counter claim was that he was not entitled to the land *ex illa parte* but because it had been given to his grandfather by Henry I. The outcome of the dispute was that Robert released his claim and Peter paid him 43 marks. Peter subsequently held these lands of the bishop of Ely, as confirmed in the Red Book of the Exchequer and other sources. The Barnwell *Liber* subsequently records Godfrey of Crowcombe as holding two of these fees of John de Beche ultimately of the Ely estate (1236), apparently following Peter de Beche's gift of the land to Falkes de Bréauté who in turn granted it to Godfrey. In his entry for Swavesey (*Feudal Cambridgeshire*, 99-100) Farrer notes that in 1086 'Picot the Sheriff holds these lands (1 hide in Swavesey) of Robert Gernon in marriage of his wife (*femina*)'.

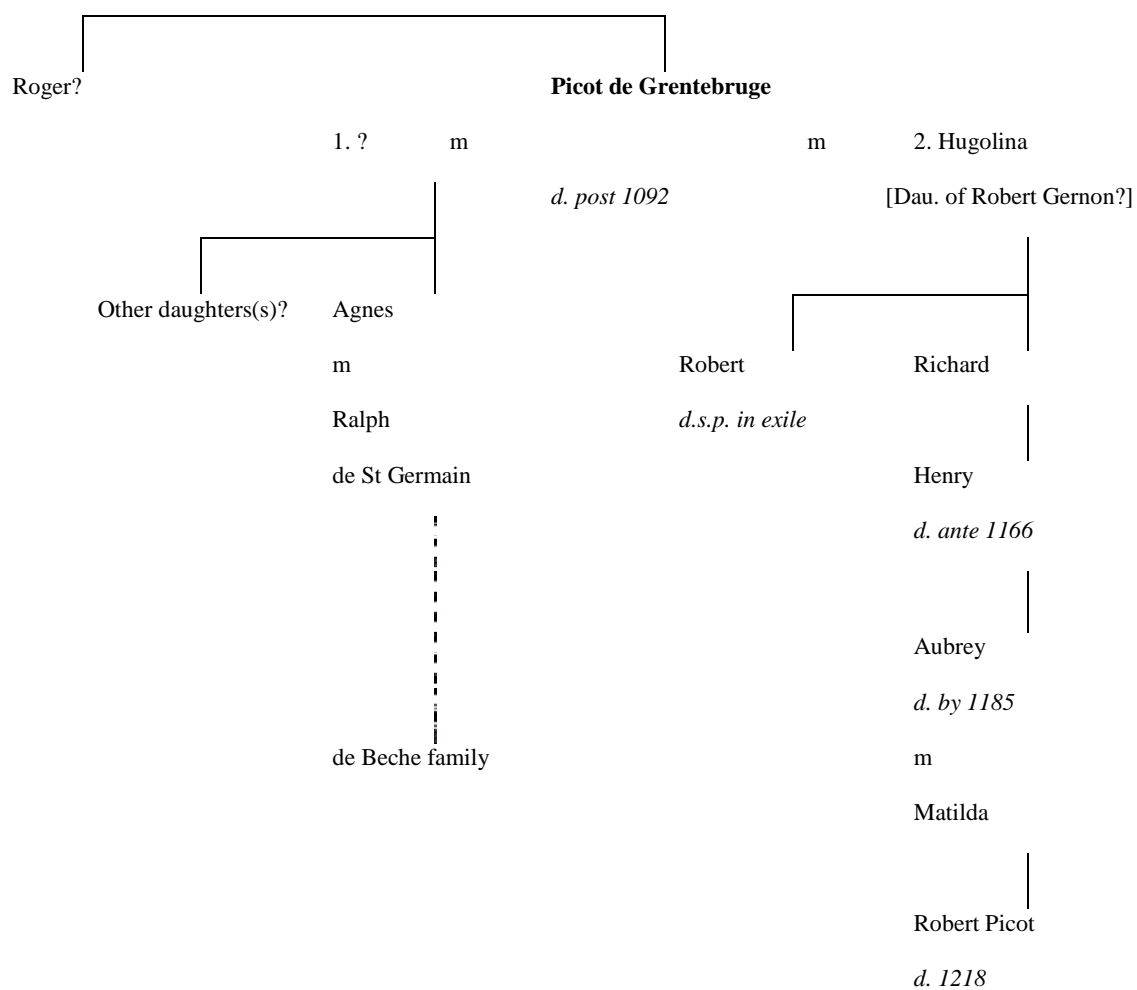
a son of this marriage, and it was through his feckless behaviour that the Picot lands were, eventually, to be forfeited to the king. The family's lands, subsequently described as 'Picot's fee', were regranted by Henry I to Pain Peverel when he became lord of Bourn c.1112.²⁹

It was not only in respect to Picot's marriages that Farrer enriched the genealogy by including new information. In his entry for the manor of Rampton he records land held by another Robert, whom he states was 'probably' the brother of Picot the Sheriff. He then refers his readers to the entry for the manor of Oakington where a Roger who undoubtedly was Picot's brother, held land.³⁰ Here the source for this information is cited as the *Inquisitio Eliensis*.³¹

²⁹ Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, p.vi.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 186, 192n.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 186.



Chapter 5.1: A suggested genealogy for Picot de Grentebrugge³²

³² Information taken from Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 324; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327* (Oxford, 1960); Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*.

Without further support the evidence discussed above cannot be considered conclusive. Much of what can be discovered remains provisional. However, it does open up new avenues of enquiry. Perhaps the only conclusion to be drawn, at this stage, is that there is, at present, no clear genealogy for the sheriff, whose origins in Normandy and whose first implantation in England remain the objects of much myth making but very little factual proof.

Domesday

As a reward for his service either to the Conqueror or to a member of the Conqueror's entourage, Picot received a number of estates in the eastern counties of England including what was to become the barony of Bourn. He was also appointed *vicecomes* of Cambridgeshire, a position which he held from c.1071 until at least 1086, and possibly as late as 1100.³³ As the king's representative in the county this gave him the power to summon and lead the county's knights, to execute writs and to judge civil and criminal cases. To an ambitious man, interested in increasing his own personal wealth and status, the position offered tempting opportunities.

In pre-Conquest England, the landholdings of the greater magnates had often been widely scattered, dispersed among the estates of other lords. In many instances, the Conqueror adopted this same method of land distribution not only for its administrative convenience but also because it enabled him to spread the influence of

³³ *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources, Fascicule XVII, Syr-Z* (Oxford, 2013). The word derives from *vice + comes*, Old French, *vicomte*. In post-Conquest England and Wales the title was used to indicate the chief financial and executive officer of the crown in a shire, i.e. sheriff. But see also page 112 above for a possible later date.

his most trusted officers without allowing them a significant personal power base in any one area.³⁴ Picot's lands, although not as widely dispersed as those of other magnates, were spread across the eastern counties of Cambridgeshire, Essex and Northamptonshire with one outlying holding in Hampshire.

William's method of land distribution, although convenient to the incoming Normans, was not an undisputed success. Simple as it might have appeared on the surface, it did not take into account that the English tiered system of tenure meant that lordship of land did not necessarily guarantee possession. The Normans, following their own custom, assumed that all the estates held by a particular baron passed directly into that man's ownership with no question of third party involvement. This assumption fuelled numerous complaints from England's ecclesiastical institutions which lost a considerable number of their estates to the new elite.³⁵

The amount and value of land attributed to Picot in Domesday clearly places him in the second rather than the first rank of Anglo-Norman landowners. Those who commanded the highest status received massive English estates. Title as earl sometimes accompanied these lands although this was not the case in all shires, including Cambridgeshire, which had no earl or great magnate to check the activities of its sheriff. Picot's holdings were substantial without being princely. Certainly, they were sufficient for him to wield significant power locally, as both landlord and sheriff. Picot's antecessors in Cambridgeshire, and the amount of land that he received from their estates can be identified from Domesday (Table 2).

³⁴ F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism 100-1166* (Oxford, 1961), 65

³⁵ R. Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* (Cambridge, 1991).

Antecessor	Cambs	Essex	Suffolk	Hants	Northants
King Edward	38½h 2½v 14a		7h	2½v	
Abbot of Ramsey	5½h				
Abbot of Ely	27h ½v 6a				
Archbishop Stigand	7h				
Bishop Wulfwig	1½v				
Earl Harold	4h				
Earl Tostig	1h 1½v				
Earl Gyrth					
Earl Ælfgar	8½h ½v	15a			
Earl Edgar		10h			
Earl Waltheof	13h 2½v				
Ælfric Cild					
Almær	½v				
Eadgifu	2h 1¾v				
Esger the staller	7h				
Leofsige					5h
Robert fitz Wimarc	3h 1v 20a				
Saxi	½h				
Wulfmær of Eaton					
Total	130h 1v 55a	25a	7h	2½v	5h

Table 5.2: Picot's antecessors in Cambridgeshire

With nearly 150 hides of land, Picot emerges as an important and powerful man. Those holding 40 hides or more, sometimes before 1066 referred to as *optimates* (nobles), constituted a relatively small group of approximately 90 men below the rank of earl. Picot also held land from some of the most important nobles in conquest England, including Count Alan of Richmond, Bishop Remigius of Lincoln, Guy de Raimbeaucourt, and the Countess Judith. His connections were, therefore, of the highest order. Not only did he hold of the new aristocracy but he also received small amounts of land previously the possession of six Anglo-Saxon earls, including three of the Godwineson brothers: Harold, Tostig and Gyrth.

As can be seen in Table 5.2, aside from King Edward, it was the abbey of Ely that contributed most land to the sheriff's estate, almost certainly in the form of forced seizures. Not only this, but Picot's acquisition of abbey land did not cease in the 1070s but continued through predation. It was for this that he, along with Guy de Raimbeaucourt and Hardwin de Scalers, was ordered to make recompense by the king.³⁶

The same Domesday information also shows Picot being granted the lands of a previous sheriff, itself quite possibly already emerging, before 1066, as a hereditary office endowed with ministerial rather than simply with family land. The opening folios of the Cambridgeshire entry mention Aluric son of Godric as sheriff prior to the Conquest, entitled to a 20s. heriot from one of the lawmen of the town of Cambridge.³⁷

³⁶ The case is considered in detail below, 144.

³⁷ By 1086 Picot had substantially increased this payment to £8 'and a riding horse and the arms of 1 knight' [DB folio 189a].

The only other reference to an Aluric, or Alric, in the Picot entries appears on DB folio 200b and this refers to an 'Alric the monk'. This man, along with a certain Godric, is described only as one of 'the Abbot of Ramsey's men'.³⁸ There is no certain indication of any identity between this man and the sheriff, so we can only speculate on whether these were the same Aluric and Godric of folio 189a. Judith Green suggests merely that this could be the case.³⁹

Elsewhere in Domesday a man named Blacuin is recorded as King Edward's sheriff prior to 1066, and Table 3 below shows that not only did Blacuin hold land in the six villis of Madingley, Girton, Oakington, Waterbeach, Landbeach and Westwick, but that all or most of this land passed to Picot. From the evidence of Domesday Book it seems plausible to conclude that Blacuin was King Edward's sheriff of Cambridgeshire at the time of the Conquest, and that Blacuin was quite possibly Aluric's predecessor. Judith Green's research into the Cambridgeshire sheriffs concurs with this, listing Blacuin as holding the position before 1066, and Aluric sometime between 1066 and 1071 when documentary sources record that Picot was already in office.⁴⁰

The old patterns of lordship of Anglo-Saxon England were systematically destroyed by the subdivision of estates. New composite lordships were created, and an example of this practice can be found in the Cambridgeshire village of Abington Pigotts. Here land once held by Archbishop Stigand's men was divided between his successor,

³⁸ DB folio 200b.

³⁹ Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 95.

⁴⁰ J. A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, PRO Handbook 24 (London, 1990). Also *Regesta* I, 47; II, 392.

Wakelin and Picot.⁴¹ Elsewhere in the same village land that had been held by Earl Ælfgar was divided between the king, Earl Roger and Hardwin de Scalers. According to Robin Fleming, 'almost half of all recorded Cambridgeshire settlements – 64 out of 141 – witnessed the wholesale fragmentation of lordships once controlled by England's great earls'.⁴² Thus many pre-Conquest lordships can no longer be traced as self-contained units into the post-Conquest era.

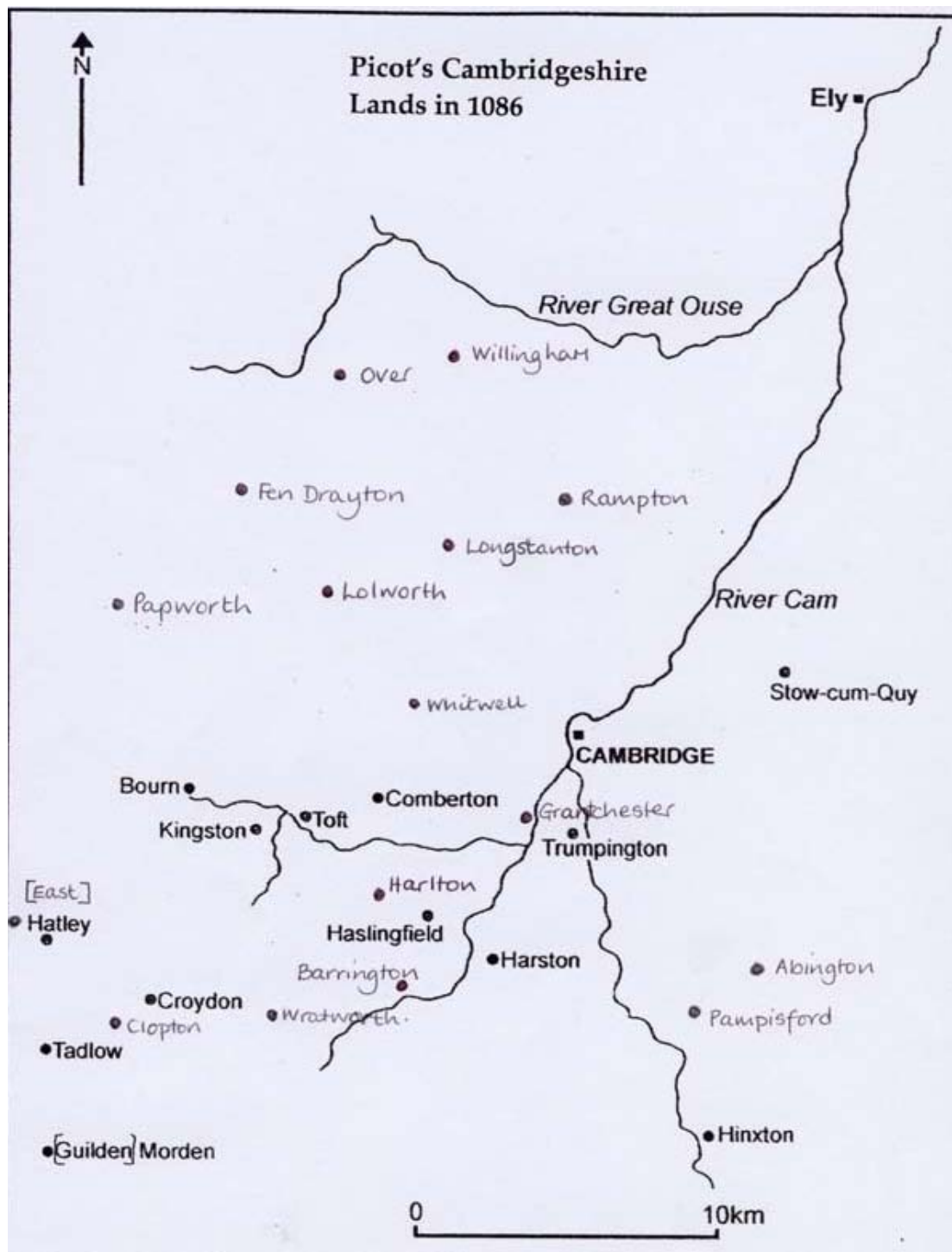
Picot was not one of those lords to whom William granted the lands of a single antecessor, or group of antecessors. Nor did he, unlike many others, hold his estates within a compact area. Rather, his lands as tenant-in-chief were spread over a significant proportion of Cambridgeshire, supplemented by those he held of others such as his suggested father-in-law, Robert Gernon.

⁴¹ Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 117, 120-2.

⁴² Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, 117.

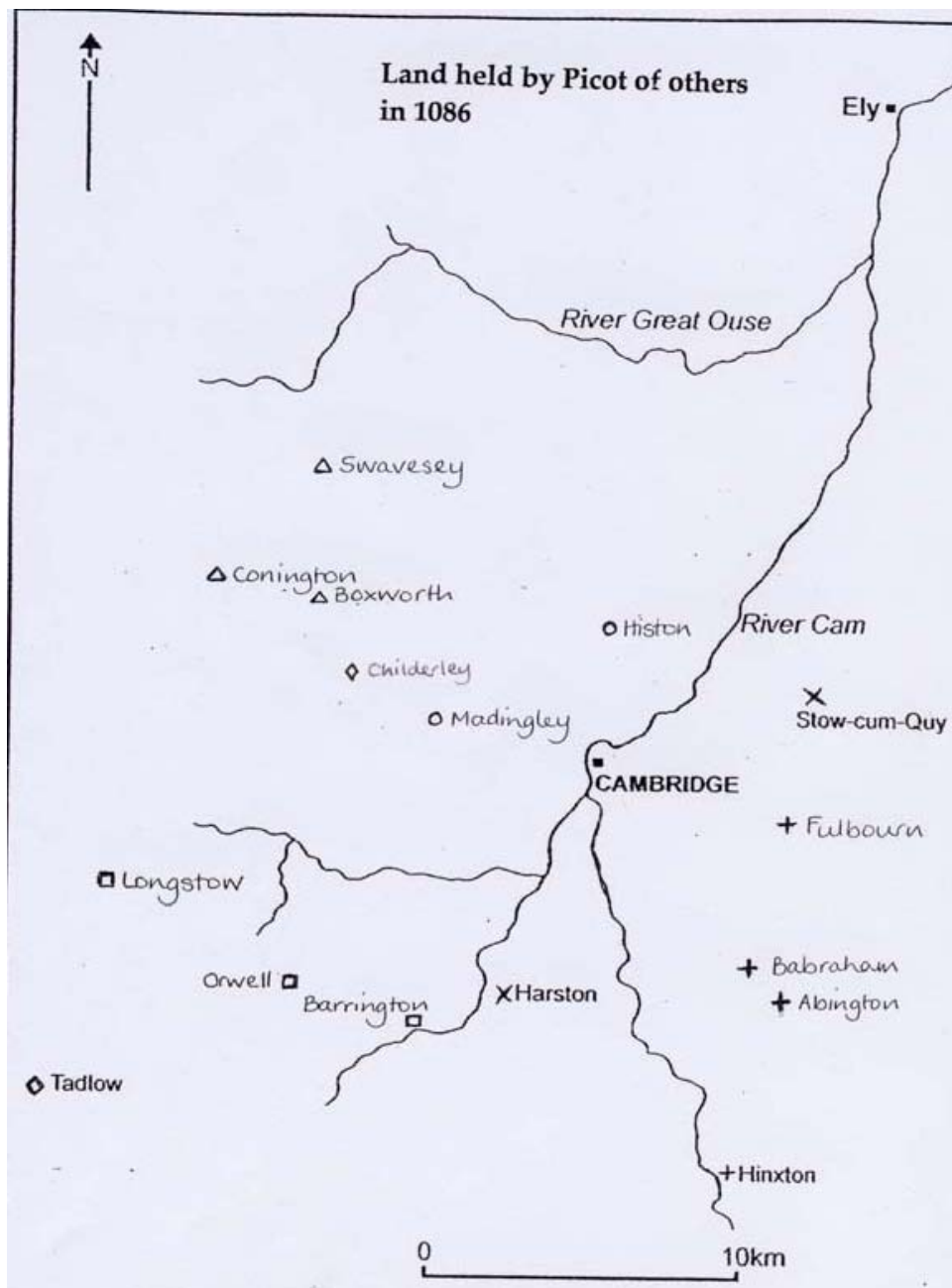
Location	Holding	Held of	With others?
Madingley	1½ virgates	Bishop Wulfwig	No
Girton	3 hides and 3 virgates	Not known	No
Oakington	3½ hides, 1 virgate and 19 acres	King Edward/Abbot of Ely	Yes – 3 others
Landbeach	1½ hides and 10 acres	King Edward	Yes – 4 others
Waterbeach	6 hides	King Edward/Abbot of Ely	Yes – 6 others
Westwick	3 hides	King Edward/Abbot of Ely	No

Table 5.3: Sheriff Blacuin's lands



Map 5.1: Lands held in chief by Picot in Cambridgeshire, c.1086.

Original © Philip Judge



Key

- + Land held of the king
- o Land held of the Bishop of Lincoln
- x Land held of the Abbot of Ely
- Land held of Count Alan
- △ Land held of Robert Gernon
- ◇ Land held of Countess Judith

Map 2: Lands held of others by Picot in Cambridgeshire, c.1086.

Original © Philip Judge.

Picot's demesne estates ranged in size from 20 acres to 15½ hides. Ten subtenants can be identified by name, with a further four being described as men at arms. A large part of this estate, including much of what Picot had appropriated from Ely, was held by sokemen and freemen (*sochemanni* and *liberi homines*). In the Victoria County History essay on the Domesday Cambridgeshire it is suggested that the Normans considered soc-tenure holdings questionable, but in what sense is not made very clear.⁴³ The explanation given is that 'if a man was assigned so many hides in a county, without further definition, the sheriff would, especially for a late-comer, make up the amount out of small holdings of which the titles seemed to him doubtful'.⁴⁴ This is, of course, pure speculation, with no concrete evidence in support. It reflects preconceptions about the type of service and the slight legal distinction between sokemen and villeins and the obligations that they owed to their overlords.⁴⁵ It also assumed a situation in which it was preferable for an overlord to grant land to a villain, who might be expected to perform menial of tasks when required, than to a sokeman, holding in return for clearly defined fixed payments and to whom the overlord had his own obligations. If this is, in fact, what happened it might explain the disappearance of this upper level of 'free' peasant tenant from Picot's own estates, by contrast to the situation in those estates looted from the monks of Ely.

⁴³ *VCH Cambs.*, i, 357.

⁴⁴ *VCH Cambs.*, i, 357.

⁴⁵ E. Day, *Sokemen and Freeman in Late Anglo-Saxon East Anglia in Comparative Context* (Cambridge, unpublished thesis, 2011), 2. A distinction was drawn between 'unfree' peasants who tended to work the land nearest to the manor and 'free' peasants, *sochemanni* and *liberi homines*, who worked the outlying land. The suggestion here being that the services owed by the latter were lighter. The terms used for tenure in DB itself cannot be entirely relied on. Its inconsistency created what Maitland termed, 'a tangled skein.' F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and beyond, Three Essays in the Early History of England* (Cambridge, 1897), 66-79.

Whatever the reason, the numbers of sokemen (or 'freemen' as the Latin is often translated)⁴⁶ on Picot's estates are recorded as falling dramatically between 1066 and 1086. Of the 180 recorded at the time of the conquest, by 1086 none remained. Maitland attributed this dramatic fall to the ill treatment of free tenants by their new Norman lords.⁴⁷ Only seven receive any subsequent notice, all of them living on the demesne manor at Bourn. Comparison can be drawn here with the manors of Elsworth, Boxworth and Conington, belonging to Gilbert of Ghent. There, the number of sokemen remained constant throughout this period.

Taking the manor of Fulbourn in Cambridge as an example, 26 sokemen originally held 4 hides of the king's land here, for which they rendered carrying (*avera*) and watch services. Like the *radmen* in the western counties, the sokemen had horses with which to perform the *avera* although this did not preclude them from being required to pay a yearly fee. This fee was not considered a rent but came under that 'widest of words' *consuetudo*.⁴⁸ Precise obligations in this respect are difficult to determine but, 'if the sokeman has to do work for his lord, very often, especially in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, he has to do work for the king or the sheriff also.'⁴⁹ This is the payment that Picot required of the 26 sokemen resident on the manor of Fulbourn but rather than taking this in lieu of services he insisted on both. Not only was this in defiance of the king (*inuasit Picot super regem*) but he savagely increased the payment to £8; another clear example of the sheriff's determination to accrue as much as he could from his allocated lands.

⁴⁶ The Phillimore editions use this translation throughout.

⁴⁷ Maitland, *Domesday Book*, 77-78.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

Picot and Cambridge.

In 1086, when the survey was conducted, Cambridge had already achieved the status of a borough, with all the associated rights that this entailed. Domesday assessed the town as made up of ten wards with yearly customary dues (*consuetudines*) of £7, and for landgavel⁵⁰ £7 and 2 *orae* 2*d*. The wards accounted for 373 messuages in total, of which 49 were described as waste.⁵¹ The wards appear to have grown out of ten small Anglo-Saxon communities that developed along the road intersections on present-day Trumpington Street, each having its own parish church.⁵²

Maitland described Cambridge in 1066 as a town of some 400 dwellings, 27 of which were lost two years later, when King William ordered them destroyed to make way for the building of a castle on the site formally enclosed by the Roman castrum. Easily defensible, the ridge of high ground to the north of the river also offered an ideal position from which to control local trade routes.⁵³ As sheriff of Cambridgeshire, Picot would have used the castle, with its gaol, as his administrative base. In spite of this, however, he is not listed in 1086 as holding any tenements within the town itself, although his position doubtless allowed him draw upon its revenues.

As an important inland port serving both its hinterland and beyond, Cambridge was central to the marketing of the agricultural surpluses produced in East Anglia. The banks of the river were already by 1086 lined with quays, hythes (or landing places), and with mills serving the busy corn trade, provided with an outlet in the town's busy

⁵⁰ A yearly land tax comparable to rent.

⁵¹ For reasons unknown, the sixth ward is omitted from the list: *VCH Cambs*, i, 359.

⁵² A. Taylor, *Cambridge: A Hidden History* (Stroud, 1999), 49.

⁵³ F. W. Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge, 1898), 99.

market and a staging post for the transport of goods between the ports of north Norfolk and London.⁵⁴

During the 1080s, the mills along the river's edge were to prove a source of much dispute between the sheriff and the abbot of Ely. A surviving writ of William I, dating from 1081/2 X 1087 (or possibly 1085 X 1087), instructs Archbishop Lanfranc to ensure the destruction of one of Picot's mills should it be proved to damage the revenues of others.⁵⁵ Sources differ as to how many mills Picot owned on the Cam; Domesday Book suggests three, while the *Inquisitio Eliensis* mentions only two. It may be that Picot acquired two and built one⁵⁶, thus having a total of three, but there is no certainty here. All that can be concluded from the writ is that the abbot of Ely and the sheriff found themselves in direct conflict, and that the case was originally decided in the abbot's favour.⁵⁷

The manor of Bourn⁵⁸

The manor of Bourn, from which the barony took its name, was the sheriff's most substantial holding, recorded in Domesday as occupied, in 1066, by twenty-two sokemen with holdings of various sizes.⁵⁹ It was here that the sheriff built his own castle, and a free-standing chapel, in due course listed among the churches granted to

⁵⁴ M. Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge 1987), 34-7; Maitland, *Township*, 53-5.

⁵⁵ Bates, *Regesta*, 436-7 no.126: 'Molendinum de Grantebrugge quod Picotus fecit destruat si altera disturbat'.

⁵⁶ If Picot did go to the expense of building his own mill he could have been certain that any building expenses would be more than compensated for by the income generated by his tenants when they paid for their corn to be ground; an income which would, no longer, increase the wealth of the monks of Ely.

⁵⁷ Bates, *Regesta*, 436-7.

⁵⁸ The manor was also known as 'Bernewelles'.

⁵⁹ DB folio 201a.

Barnwell in the priory's foundation charter. Possibly the best documented of Picot's manors, Bourn boasts a series of surviving manor court rolls, now part of the archives of Christ's College Cambridge, which received Barnwell's Bourn properties at the Dissolution. These rolls have been catalogued by David Baxter, as part of his in-depth study of the village, published in 2008.⁶⁰

As such Picot's personal power base centred not only on Cambridge's royal castle but on his own private castle at Bourn. At the top of an incline, Bourn would have been an imposing structure with its two enclosures and an inner bailey approximately 450 feet in circumference. All this Picot surrounded with a wide bank and ditch.⁶¹

Visiting Bourn at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Lysons commented that it 'was the seat of the barony of Picot de Cambridge who had a castle at this place, of which the moat and other vestiges remain. The castle is said to have been burnt down in the Barons' War during the reign of Henry III by Robert de Lisle'.⁶² The chapel of St. Elene (i.e. St Helen) stood apart from both the parish church, a short distance to the north-west, and the castle which lay to the south-west. It is described in the Barnwell foundation charter as *ecclesiam de Brune cum capella castelli* which initially might be taken to imply a chapel at the castle. More recent archaeological investigation at the site has proved its isolation.⁶³

The history of the chapel is fragmentary. Most of what we know of it comes to us from the Hundred Rolls and fourteenth-century manorial rolls. The Hundred Rolls

⁶⁰ D. Baxter, *Medieval Bourn: A Cambridgeshire Village in the Later Middle Ages* (Foxton, Cambs., 2008). The earliest copy of the Barnwell foundation charter forms part of this same archive.

⁶¹ *VCH Cambs.*, v, 6; *The City and University of Cambridge*, Royal Commission for Historical Monuments, i, (London, 1988), 26-7.

⁶² As noted in *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 16.

⁶³ Baxter, *Medieval Bourn* (above n.57), and below.

record that the prior of Barnwell held 45 acres, granted by Pain Peverel, to maintain a priest there to celebrate mass three times a week.⁶⁴ In 1307, the heirs of Robert Mile, the earliest of the village's schoolmasters to be recorded, who had probably used the building as his schoolroom, held a messuage in Bourn by 'clerk service'.⁶⁵

In November 1349, the vicar, John of Massingham, and the chaplain, Roger Serjeant paid 6 marks for the alienation in mortmain of land comprising a messuage and 58 acres, used to endow a chaplain to celebrate daily in the church. Three years later, in May 1352, John paid a further four marks for the alienation of a messuage and 50 acres in Bourn which 'Thomas de Gray, escheator in that county' had found not to have been held in chief. This likewise went to support the celebration of divine service daily in the parish church.⁶⁶ Thereafter, the chapel appears to have fallen into disuse. By 1375, it was derelict and the site, called 'le chapellplace', was occupied by a cottage leased to a certain John Freman.⁶⁷

Outside Cambridgeshire, Picot had an interest in two estates; one in Lincolnshire at Aldwincle, which he held of Guy de Raimbeaucourt, and the other in the Hampshire manor of South Charford. Picot's acquisition of the estate at South Charford is unexplained and his presence in the area is not recorded in standard form in Domesday. Nonetheless he is known to have disputed a tenement there with William de Chernet, who held another part of this estate from Hugh de Port. De Chernet's claim was based on inheritance from his predecessor, and he 'brought as his testimony to this the better men and the old men of the whole shire and hundred'. In response,

⁶⁴ *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ed. W. Illingworth, 2 vols (London, 1812-18), ii, 524, whence *VCH Cambs.*, v (1973), 13.

⁶⁵ Baxter, *Medieval Bourn*, 28.

⁶⁶ *CPR 1348-50*, 420; *1350-4*, 257.

⁶⁷ Baxter, *Medieval Bourn*, 28.

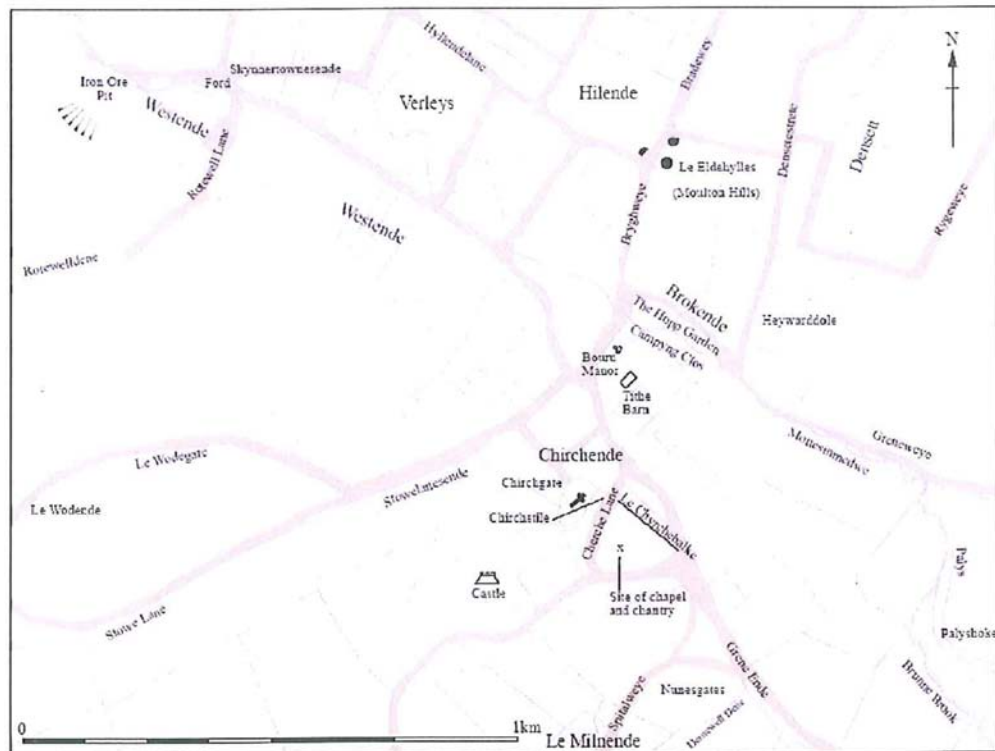
Picot called upon the 'villeins and common people and reeves'.⁶⁸ This might imply one of two things; either that Picot was confident that these people would support his title, or perhaps, more likely, that they would be too scared to speak out against him.

The changing status of those who worked Picot's holdings provides clues as to how the sheriff treated his tenants. The Domesday survey records Picot's demesne land as accounting for 89 hides, 16 virgates and 5 acres, while land held of others totaled 62.5 hides, 22.75 virgates and 12 acres, giving a grand total of 150.5 hides, 38.75 virgates and 17 acres of land. The demesne estates all lay in Cambridgeshire, the largest being at Hinxton (15.5 hides) which Picot stated he acquired as two separate manors.

According to the figures given in Great Domesday, Picot's land was worth in excess of £134 3s per annum in 1086. This valuation covers 82% or 42 out of the 51 holdings presently identified.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ DB folio 44, whence *Domesday Book: A Complete Translation*, A. Williams and G.H. Martin (eds.) (London, 2003), 106.

⁶⁹ For further information on location, size and value of holdings, see below table 4.



⁷⁰ D. Baxter, *Medieval Bourn* (Cambridge, 2008), 7.

What conclusions might we then draw from this limited evidence? Although this cannot be proved, it appears that by 1086 sokemen on Picot's land, were being reclassified as villeins. This, in itself, may not have had any great effect on their daily lives but it does suggest a certain trend, confirming perhaps the sheriff's avarice and his disregard for the rights of others, whether they were villeins, sokemen, or even abbots of Ely.

Relations with Ely.

In pre-Conquest Cambridgeshire the practice of the Abbey of Ely had been to lease its estates, estimated to amount to at least one fifth of the total area of the county, to laymen for either one life or a number of lives and then, at the end of the agreed period, either to re-let or reclaim such land.⁷¹ Following King William's great redistribution of land, many of these estates were appropriated by the Normans, and with them the service of their tenants. Often this occurred through commendation but, in other cases, it was resulted from simple opportunism. This wholesale seizure of estates may have emerged out of cultural misunderstandings between the Normans and the English. Even so, once Picot and his fellows had taken possession, their grip became tenacious.

Picot and his comrades, Hardwin de Scales and Guy de Raimbeaucourt, all seized significant estates once part of the abbey's soke. When the King ordered a full inquiry into Ely's complaints, after the suppression of Hereward's rebellion, Picot's land in seven villis were declared by the abbot to belong to the abbey on the basis of soke or

⁷¹ *VCH Cambs.*, i, 350.

commendation. The King ordered a commission to consider the abbot's complaints that a group of Normans, including Picot, held estates unjustly. Odo of Bayeux, acting as justiciar, issued the royal order and the inquest was held at Kentford, near Newmarket, on 2 April 1080.

The sheriff's reaction was predictably dismissive. Even the threat of retribution from Æthelthryth, one of Ely's patron saints, did little or nothing to move him. 'Who is this St Æthelthryth whose lands you say I have usurped?', he is reported to have declared; 'I know nothing of Æthelthryth and I will not let her lands go'.⁷² This outburst, if it occurred, can hardly have endeared him to the community at Ely, and would explain the harsh opinion of Picot expressed in the *Liber Eliensis*. This in turn has ever since coloured interpretations of Picot, including Judith Green's damning portrayal of him as a 'notorious despoiler of churches'.⁷³

Three documents relating to the inquest survive and whilst they do not offer detailed information about the lands in question, they do provide the names of the key figure and those of a number of local men. In the first, the names of those in attendance are listed, in strict hierarchical order. At the head of the list come the religious: Baldwin, abbot of St Edmunds, Wulfwold, abbot of Chertsey, Ulfchetel of Croyland and Alfwold of Holm. These are followed by the *legati* of the king: Richard, son of Count Gilbert, Hamo Dapifer, and Tihel de Herion. Next in precedence are the sheriffs: Picot, Eustace of Huntingdonshire, Ralph of Essex and Walter who was sent to appear for Roger and Robert, the sheriffs of Norfolk and Suffolk respectively. Finally the

⁷² Blake, *LE*, 211: 'Que est illa Æðeldreða de que dictis, quod ego terras eius occupaverim? Nescio Æðeldreðam et terras non dimmitam'.

⁷³ Green, *Aristocracy of Norman England*, 95. Beautifully described by Simon Keynes as 'death by rhetoric': S. Keynes, 'Ely Abbey 672-1109', in P. Meadows, N. Ramsay (eds.), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003), 47.

sheriff's men are named as Harduin, Wido, Wimer, Wichumer, Odo, Godric, Norman, Colsuein and Godwin (various of these distinctly Norman, others distinctly English names). The list closes with a standard *et multi alii* clause.⁷⁴

Later in the same year, a precept was issued which gave the decision of the inquest.

That the abbey shall have all its customs: namely sac and soc, toll and team, infangthief, hamsocn, grithbrice, fithwite, fyrdwite and all other emendable forfeitures over its own men in its own land, in borough and out of borough ... as they were proved at Keneteforde (i.e. Kentford).⁷⁵

A final precept addressed to Archbishop Lanfranc and Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances follows this.

To cause the Abbot of Ely to be reseised of the following lands held by the following men: - the manor of Barham (Suffolk) held by Hugh de Montfort; Broxted (Essex) held by Richard, son of Earl Gilbert; Impington (Cambs.) held by Picot the sheriff; three hides held by Hugh de Bernières; one hide held by Bishop Remigius; two hides held by the Bishop of Bayeux; a manor held by Frodo the brother of the Abbot; one hide and three virgates held by two carpenters.⁷⁶

⁷⁴ Bates, *Regesta*, 410 no.117.

⁷⁵ *Regesta*, i, 34 no.129, also (with date 1075 X 1087) in Bates, *Regesta*, 428-30 no.122.

⁷⁶ Adapted from *Regesta*, i, 43 no.156, whence Bates, *Regesta*, 426-7 no.121 (1081 X 1086).

Provided the abbot could prove that the named lands belonged to the demesne of the abbey then he was to have sac and soc and any other customs associated with the land on the day King Edward died.

The land in question was made up of both demesne and soke and was located in a fairly compact area to the north and north-west of Cambridge. It totaled in excess of 15 hides, 4 virgates and 40 acres.⁷⁷ The final document also reveals a further dispute between Picot and the abbot. This concerned the fourth penny for Cambridge which the abbot accused the sheriff of unjustly retaining for himself.⁷⁸ This money, the abbot asserted, should come to the abbey just as it had done since the time of King Edgar and St Æthelwold the bishop.⁷⁹ Ely's entitlement to the *quartum denarium* can be traced back to the re-foundation charter of King Edgar, and was paid out of forfeitures incurred in the public courts of Cambridge. Unfortunately for the abbot, this claim was not upheld and the fourth penny remained thereafter with the sheriff.⁸⁰

Relations between Ely and the sheriff did not improve when the king commanded Abbot Simeon (1082-1092) to maintain a garrison of forty knights on the Isle. In spite of his protestations and prayers that he could not afford to feed forty extra men in the abbey hall, the abbot was forced to lease out land to raise the requisite funds. According to the *Liber Eliensis* this military obligation left the abbot 'deeply aggrieved'. His monks were required to console him 'in this difficult situation of

⁷⁷ This total does not include undisclosed amounts of soke in the villages of Lolworth and Madingley.

⁷⁸ 'Quam vero Picotus vicecomes nunc iniuste contra tenet'.

⁷⁹ Bates, *Regesta*, 416.

⁸⁰ Miller, *Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, 25.

hardship, huge in scale'.⁸¹ As Picot was to be one of those quartered upon the abbey further resentment was inevitable. The king, however, was not to be swayed from his decision and under this 'wholesale revision of political responsibility' Simeon had no choice but to capitulate and honour his new obligations.⁸²

In this process, some of the more predatory Norman knights in the area also became the abbey's fee-holders, standing between it and its former tenants.⁸³ The practice of extensive subinfeudation increased the number of tenants at the bottom of the hierarchical scale and created a three rung 'feudal ladder', distancing Ely from those who had previously worked its land, forcing the convent to deal with the sheriff and his Norman compatriots.⁸⁴ The reaction of the abbot is recorded by the author of the *Liber Eliensis*, who clearly regarded the quartering of the forty knights as a measure that both distressed the monastery and stretched its finances to an intolerable degree.⁸⁵ This is not to imply that the abbey was, in any way unsupportive of the king, just that its concern was, first and foremost, to protect its income. In creating a written record the abbot also ensured that the new tenants did not hold their lands in free lordship, thus circumventing any future claim that might arise. By acting as he did, and complying with William's demand, the abbot of Ely maintained the king's good will and kept a measure of influence over the lands now held by others. This was a wise decision, enabling Simeon 'to comply with the king's behest every time he went

⁸¹ Blake, *LE*, 258: 'Et dum talia Elyensi abbati innotuerunt, vehementissime doluit super diutissimam fatigationem domus sue, quid esset agendum non absque dolore cum fratribus consilium iniit, ut in tanto necessitates infortunio'.

⁸² Miller, *Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, 68-9.

⁸³ Meadows and Ramsay, *Ely*, 50; Blake, *LE*, ii, 134, 216-17; Miller, *Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, 66-8.

⁸⁴ By 1096, Picot had already enfeoffed Roger in Lolworth, Longstanton, Cottenham and Rampton, Ralf de St Germain in Milton, and Walter in Impington: DB folios 200, 201d.

⁸⁵ Blake, *LE*, 217: 'Unde abbas tristis recedeus, conduxit militias, clintes autum ey ingenuos, qui sibi adherebant, plures precinxit armis, habuitque ex consuetudine secundam iussum regis pretaxatum militia numerum infra aulam ecclesie, victum cotidie de manu celerarii capientam atque stipendia, quod intolerabiliter et supra modum locum vexare potuit'.

campaigning, and to ensure that the church would be permanently spared exhaustion, and would survive'. As the dispute over the fourth penny had ended unsuccessfully, the abbot would have been acutely aware of the importance of having written proof of any agreement made with Norman newcomers.

Although Picot held Ely lands worth over £6 he was by no means the greatest beneficiary from the subinfeudation of Ely lands. Compared to Hardwin de Scalers, who received estates worth in excess of £14 10s, Picot held less of Ely's land than the complaints of the *LE* might suggest. It might be inferred from this that the abbey's wrath was more directly linked to Picot's actions as sheriff, rather than his holding of disputed land. Blake places these land negotiations in 1087, just before King William embarked on what was to be his last campaign. It is not known whether any of the forty Ely knights accompanied him to France on this occasion, although it would be surprising if none were so summoned.

The *Liber Eliensis* demonstrates the growing determination of ecclesiastical institutions to present their authority through the written word and, in doing so, to accuse their enemies of wrong-doing before God.⁸⁶ Thus the *Liber's* depiction of Picot is extremely important in that it provides a salutary tale of how Ely's enemies and, more broadly those of the Church, could be finally brought to justice. The retribution of St Æthelthryth, so casually dismissed by the sheriff, stood as a deterrent to those who might come after. The *Liber Eliensis* consistently makes the point that

⁸⁶ J. Paxton, 'Monk and Bishops: the Liber Eliensis', in *Haskins Society Journal*, 11 (Woodbridge, 2003), 17-30.

those who should have been the abbey's protectors had instead become its enemies, particularly subjected to the wrath of Ely's female saints.⁸⁷

The abbot and monks of Ely were not the only religious with whom Picot clashed over land. A writ surviving from the period 1077 X 1080 shows the sheriff in dispute with Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester, over land at Isleham in Cambridgeshire, held, with the sheriff's permission, by a royal *serviens*, Ulfketill.⁸⁸ Ann Williams suggests that the land had been seized with Picot's connivance, but only Rochester's account of the dispute survives and, as she rightly points out, 'Picot may have had more right on his side than the account implies'.⁸⁹ Picot stated, in his defence, that the land belonged to the royal estate while the bishop's case rested on his insistence that it belonged to the manor of Feckenham in Suffolk and, therefore, to the bishopric. The assembly of the men of the shire is described in the document in the following manner: 'Illi autem congregare terram illam regis esse potius quam beati Andreę *timore vicecomitis* affirmaverunt', implying that the sheriff was not a man to cross. Nor would he have looked kindly upon those who chose to stand between him and what he believed to be rightfully his. When he heard of the dispute, Grim the priest, the former reeve of Feckenham, went to Gundulf and accused the jurors of perjury. What evidence he had, if any, is not recorded but, on the strength of his testimony, Gundulf went to bishop Odo of Bayeux and the six jurors named by Grim were summoned to London to appear before a group of King William's barons ('multos ex meloribus totius Angliae barones') who confirmed the charge against them.⁹⁰ Their punishment was a

⁸⁷ Saints Seaxburh, Withburh and Eormenhild, all of whom were interred at Ely.

⁸⁸ Bates, *Regesta*, 713.

⁸⁹ A. Williams, *The English and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 1995), 87 n.81.

⁹⁰ In this case we have the names of the six men involved: Ordmaer of Badlingham, Edward of Chippenham, Harold and Leofwine *sac* of Exning, Wulfwine of Landwade near Exning and Eadric of Isleham, all of whom, to judge by their names, were English.

fine of £300 levied upon the shire court as a whole, towards which the sheriff may, or may not, have made some contribution. Given what else is known of him, we may doubt that his contribution was ever paid.

The Foundation of St Giles.

Picot's one recorded act of piety, the founding of Barnwell Priory, was no doubt laudable. Yet even this can attract a cynical interpretation. The foundation is recorded by the anonymous author in the early chapters of the *Liber memorandorum ecclesie de Bernewelle*. As has been mentioned previously, Picot is described here in far more favourable terms than anywhere else. Indeed, the *Liber* is the only source that can be said to attempt to salvage the sheriff's reputation. Picot is described as 'worthy' and 'powerful' and the overall tone is one of respect and gratitude. No doubt this was all very fitting, as no religious house would wish to be associated with a founder of dubious virtue. Even taking this obvious bias into account, there can be no doubting the generosity of Picot's endowment. At this point it is also worth noting that the author of the Barnwell *Liber* did not write from personal experience but was relying on information passed down by members of the community for almost two hundred years.⁹¹

One might expect a certain amount of distortion and inaccuracy to such a report. The Barnwell *Liber* records the sheriff's motive for his foundation: the pious fulfillment of a vow. But was this expression of piety merely the 'public' reason for the foundation?

⁹¹ Using the chronology of events recorded in the *Liber*, Clark concluded that it was written between May 1295 and July or August 1296. The key events here remain the surrender of Madoc to Edward I in May 1295 during the second Welsh war, and the imprisonment of John de Balliol in the Tower on 1 August 1296: Clark, *Liber*, pp.ix-x.

The author actually specifies the vow as being Hugolina's and not her husband's, although it would be unreasonable to suppose that he was not involved. As the daughter of Robert Gernon, she must have brought considerable wealth to her husband when they married. It may be that this, and the circumstances of the vow, allowed Hugolina some say in affairs. Of Hugolina's life we know very little. Virtually all that is known comes from the early chapters of the Barnwell *Liber* and cannot be substantiated. The lack of reliability here means that it is impossible to arrive at any conclusion concerning her involvement. It is nonetheless plausible to suppose that Hugolina, who is reported as regarding St Giles as her special patron, was a woman of both piety and devotion.

In Book One, chapter three of the *Liber* (entitled 'De egritudine et voto ipsius Hugoline'), the author gives the following account of the circumstances of the priory's foundation:

Defuncto autem rege supradicto et regnante Willelmo secundo, scilicet Willelmo Ruffo filio eius, pro eo, accidit dictam Hugolinam uxorem predicti uiri tanta egritudine apud Cantebrigiam detineri, quod regis phisici et alii quam plures in arte phisica peritissimi ad eam accersiti, eam pro desperata habentes desererent, et in proximo morituram assererent. Cum itaque ipsa Hugolina humanum subsidium omnino sibi deesse comperisset, diuinum sibi adesse deposcebat, et in beato Egidio tocus sue spei ancoram defigens, Deo et beato Egidio uotum uouit et sponspondit quod, sanitate sibi restituta, ecclesiam ad illius honorem construeret et personas religiosas Deo et beato Egidio in perpetuum

famulaturas illic aggregaret. Consenciente autem uiro eius huic uoto et illud similiter adimplere spondente, ita in breui fertur conualuisse, quod infra triduum omni dolore sopito, adeo gaudens et hiliaris surrexit de lectulo ac si nichil pertulisset⁹²

Hugolina in a state close to death ('in proximo morituram') was tended by the king's physician and by many others skilled in the art of healing, summoned to Cambridge. The writer then describes how Hugolina considered St Giles to be her anchor of hope, making her vow accordingly. At this point the sheriff is shown as playing no active role. But here a second, and rather different, interpretation might be applied to the events. Could it be that Hugolina's life-threatening illness and miraculous recovery were merely catalysts rendering her husband aware of his own mortality? If so, can it be inferred from this that the foundation was not only an expression of gratitude, but also an attempt by Picot to reduce his time in purgatory or hell; one step towards salvation for a man who had spent his life accumulating secular rather than spiritual wealth? Nowhere does the account give the impression that Picot was a deeply religious man, in fact rather the opposite. Yet the notion that, after his wife's brush with death, Picot turned to God, if only momentarily, should not be dismissed out of hand.

Whatever interpretation one places on these events, the question remains; does this account supply a foundation myth rather than historical fact? Was Picot's *volte face* both too sudden and too complete to be believed? If it is accepted that Hugolina's near death experience *was* an epiphany for her husband, then might it also be accepted

⁹² Clark, *Liber*, 38-9.

that, in spite of an overwhelming amount of evidence to the contrary, Picot was not the self-seeking monster that the *Liber Eliensis* would have us believe? Sadly, given the insubstantial nature of the extant evidence, it is impossible to reach any firm conclusion here.

The most likely explanation remains that Picot's foundation of Barnwell was a calculated attempt to mitigate an ungodly life. The language of the foundation charter itself is predictably formulaic and provides no further information as to the circumstances surrounding Picot's generosity.

The overall impression given by the sources is of an ambitious man, intent on self-advancement, seeking to increase his own wealth at whatever cost. Picot had a flagrant disregard for both God and the Church until a catastrophic event caused him to reconsider. If what the author of the *Liber Eliensis* says of Picot is even partially true then he had little respect for religion; it was not until the near death of his wife that he was reminded of his own mortality and, perhaps more importantly, what awaited him in the hereafter.

Picot's Legacy

Picot's successor as sheriff was Roger of Huntingdon who appears under this title as a witness to a writ of 1100 X 1102.⁹³ However, given the scarcity of evidence here, and the fact that it was not unknown for the office of sheriff to remain vacant for several

⁹³ *Regesta*, ii, no.586, whence Green, *List of Sheriffs*, 29.

months or even years, this merely confirms that Roger, and not Picot, held the office by 1102.

The relationship between William Rufus and his magnates were stormy and, compared to his father, Rufus was in a weaker position to reward the powerful families who continued to prove their loyalty. Whereas the Conqueror had been able to create 'a royalist baronage by sharing with his nobility the prodigious wealth of conquered dominions', Rufus could only work with the royal curia as already established, having difficulty in importing his own supporters to consolidate his position.⁹⁴ The factions created by this tension increased the volatility surrounding the separation of England and Normandy, which had been in no way settled after the failed rebellion of 1088. The minimal baronial support Rufus received at this time only served to make him all the more aware of how important it was to move his own supporters into positions of power. It is possible that Picot was replaced by Roger in his capacity as sheriff because Roger was the new king's 'man'.

Even the sheriff's adversaries at Ely have nothing to say of his end: 'It is not known where he has gone, why he has fled or how he has perished', the chronicler relates, '[or] whether he has gone down to the Abyss alive ... or has entirely gone to destruction, having changed into a beast ... or has perished in some other unspecified manner, doomed to everlasting damnation'.⁹⁵

⁹⁴ C. W. Hollister, 'Henry I and the Anglo-Norman Magnates', *Anglo-Norman Studies II*, ed. R. Allen Brown (Woodbridge, 1980), 93-107, esp. 94.

⁹⁵ Blake, *LE*, 212.

Such silence is somewhat uncharacteristic of the *Liber Eliensis*, not least because Picot stands out as one of Ely's most hated adversaries. Instead of the expected celebratory recitation of how St Æthelthryth defeated the worst of her enemies, we are left with a mystery. Two possible explanations suggest themselves: either the author truly did not know what had happened to Picot, perhaps because the sheriff had died overseas, or Picot died an ordinary death, shriven by the canons of his own foundation, of which nothing could be said at Ely.

Considering his position as founder, even the Barnwell *Liber* is strangely silent at this point, supplying no information of its founder's demise, not even his place of burial. There is no indication that the passing of the sheriff was lamented although it is implied that he was respected by the canons for his generosity to their house. The passage of time between the foundation and the writing of the Barnwell *Liber* does not explain this lack of detail, at a time when founders expected generally and precisely to be commemorated after death.

Robert, Picot's son, was in possession of his father's estates when he was indicted for treason. Picot's death must therefore have occurred at some time between 1092, when the priory was founded, and 1112, when the Picot fee was granted to Pain Peverel by Henry I. Circumstantial evidence, and guess work alone suggest Picot was dead by c.1100. Picot's heir, Robert, appears to have had little, or no, interest, in his parent's foundation. The *Barnwell Liber* only mentions him in the briefest of terms, recording his participation in rebellion against King Henry I and his subsequent downfall.⁹⁶ We are left to speculate that this rebellion was itself the rising by Robert Curthose that

⁹⁶ Clark, *Liber*, 40-1: 'Set ille Robertus parentum relicto uestigio in breui accusatus quod in regis necem et regni prodicionem conspirasset'.

ended in defeat for the rebels at Tinchebray in 1106. Left without a patron, the priory fell into a parlous state before the king granted it, along with the Picot barony, to Pain Peverel in 1112.⁹⁷

Taking all the extant evidence into account it seems unlikely that Picot's historical reputation will be salvaged unless new information comes to light. But it is worth noting that the Conquest enriched many who were unaccustomed to positions of power, and who had not been trained, as the higher aristocracy had, in its exercise. It is possible that some of Picot's problems stemmed from this lack of knowledge or political experience.

⁹⁷ Clark, *Liber*, 41.

Table 5.4: Picot's landholdings as recorded in *Domesday Book*

Vill	County	Hundred	Holding	Tenant/Notes	Value 1086	Value pre 1066	Antecessor information	Held by TRE
Qy	Cambs	Staine	4.5 hides, 10 acres		£8		Abbot of Ramsey/King Edward	Aric the monk, Godric and 4 freemen
Pumpford	Cambs	Chilford	3 virgates	Ralph holds all	10s		Ælfric Cild	Edric
Hinton	Cambs	Whittesford	15.5 hides	Picot states he acquired Hinton as two manors			Earl Ælfgar/King Edward	20 freemen
Harston	Cambs	Thorp	7.5 hides	Fridebert holds Ely hides. Picot holds 1.5 from King and owes service on 1.5 to Abbot of Ely	£8	£10	Earl Harold/King Edward	Ordgar, Fidebert and 6 freemen
Trumpington	Cambs	Thorp	2 hides, 1.5 virgates	Hervey holds all	£4	100s	King Edward	Horwulf
Tadlow	Cambs	Armingford	2 hides, 1.5 virgates		70s	£6	Not known	3 freemen
[Culden] Morden	Cambs	Armingford	6.5 hides, 3 virgates		£6 10s	£10	Abp Stigand/Earl Ælfgar/Edgifu/King Edward/Abbot of Ely	10 freemen
Clopton	Cambs	Armingford	A garden		Service only		King Edward	
[East] Hadley	Cambs	Armingford	2 hides	Picot states he received 1 hide in exchange for Eynesbury and the other for Rushden from Ilbert of Hertford			Abp Stigand/King Edward/Earl Cyntb/Robert fitz Wimar/Wulfmar	8 freemen
Croydon	Cambs	Armingford	3 hides, 1 virgate	Ansketel holds 2 hides less 0.5 virgate	£4 30s	£4 30s	Eger the staller	A man
Abington [Pigotts]	Cambs	Armingford	0.5 virgate	Alfred holds 1 hide, 1 virgate	2s	2s	Robert fitz Wimar	Ansgot
Cumberton	Cambs	Wetherley	2 hides, 2 acres	2 men hold 2 hides and 2 acres	60s	£4	Abp Stigand	9 freemen
Grantchester	Cambs	Wetherley	0.5 virgate	Robert holds all	5s	5s	King Edward/Abp Stigand/Earl Wulfheof	Wulfic
Haslingfield	Cambs	Wetherley	4 hides, 3 virgates	Sifrid holds all	£4	£4	King Edward	6 freemen
Harlton	Cambs	Wetherley	1 hide	Sifrid holds all	20s	20s	Eger the staller	Codman
Barrington	Cambs	Wetherley	20 acres	Ralph holds all	5s	5s	Robert fitz Wimar	hidai
Wratworth	Cambs	Wetherley	3 virgates	Ralph holds all	3s	5s	King Edward	1 freeman
Whitwell	Cambs	Wetherley	1 hide, 2 parts of 1 virgate	Ralph holds all	30s	£4		3 freemen
Kingston	Cambs	Longstow	5.5 hides, 16 acres	Ralph holds all	£6	£12	Earl Ælfgar/King Edward/Robert fitz Wimar	14 freemen
Tot	Cambs	Longstow	1.5 hides, 10 acres	2 men at arms hold all	£4	£6	Earl Ælfgar/Abp Stigand/Abbot of Ely	2 men
Bourn	Cambs	Longstow	13 hides	2 men at arms hold 2 hides. Before 1066 the land was held by a total of 22 men all of whom could grant and sell their lands. Picot states he acquired Bourn as two manors.	£13	£22	King Edward/Abp Stigand/Eger the staller/Abbot of Ramsey/Earl Ælfgar	22 men inc 1 thane and 2 priests
Hatley [St George]	Cambs	Longstow	3 hides	Roger holds 2 hides. Picot states he had the third in exchange for Rushden which Sigar holds	20s	100s	Robert fitz Wimar/King Edward	Allward
Papworth	Cambs	Papworth	0.5 virgate		2s	2s	King Edward	1 freeman
[Fen] Drayton	Cambs	Papworth	1 hide	Roger holds all	3s	5s	King Edward/Abbot of Ely	2 freemen
Over	Cambs	Papworth	0.5 hide	Savin holds all	5s	10s	Abbot of Ramsey	A man
Willingham	Cambs	Papworth	1 virgate	Roger holds all	5s	3s	Abbot of Ely	Cold
Longstanton	Cambs	Northstow	3 hides	Guy holds all	£4	£10	King Edward/Abbot of Ely/Saxi	15 freemen
Rampton	Cambs	Northstow	4.5 hides	Roger holds all	100s	£8	Edgifu/Abbot of Ely	6 freemen
Lolworth	Cambs	Northstow	9 hides	Robert holds all	100s	£6	King Edward/Abbot of Ely/Edgifu	An almswoman and 10 freemen

Vill	County	Hundred	Holding	Tenant/Notes	Value 1086	Value pre 1066	Antecessor information	Held by TRE
Maddingley			11 hides 2.5 virgates		£6 5s	£9 10s	King Edward/Abbot of Ely	12 freemen
Cirton			3 hides 3 virgates	William holds all				Blacuin
Oakington			3.5 hides 1 virgate and 19 acres				King Edward/Abbot of Ely	Blacuin and 3 others
Impington			3.5 hides	Walter holds all	60s	£4	Abbot of Ely	3 freemen
Milton			12 hides	Ralph	£7	£12	King Edward/Abbot of Ely	Albert the abbot's steward and 4 freemen
Lantbeach			1.5 hides 10 acres	Osmund	20s	30s	King Edward	Blacuin and 4 freemen
Waterbeach			6 hides	Murel	£4 6s	£4 10s	King Edward/Abbot of Ely	Blacuin and 6 men
Cottenham			5 hides	Roger	40s	60s	Abbot of Ely/Earl Waltheof	3 freemen
			40 acres and 1 garden	Picot holds			Abbot of Ely	
			40 acres and 5 acres of meadow	Picot holds			Church of St Guthlac	
Westwick			3 hides	Odo	60s	100s	King Edward/Abbot of Ely	Blacuin
Childerley			2 hides	Robert. Land assessed in Lotworth but answers in Childerley.			King Edward/Eadgifu	4 freemen
Land held of King								
Fulbourn	Cambs	Fleamdyke	4 hides under King's hand	Picot holds 26 Freeman			Not known*	
Babraham	Cambs	Chilford	0.5 hide and 0.5 virgate				Earl Aelfgar	Wulfwin
Great Abington	Cambs	Armingford	0.5 virgate	Sigar, a freeman, holds this from Picot			Almer	
Hinxton	Cambs	Whittlesford	1 hide	The warr of Gt Chesterford manor valued in Essex			Earl Aelfgar	7 freemen
Chesterford (Gt & L)	Essex	Uttlesford	10 hides	0.5 of 1 manor in Cambs			Earl Edgar	
Wethersfield	Essex	Hinkford	15a				Earl Aelfgar	
Barrow	Suffolk	Thingoe	7 hides	Land belongs to realm but Picot has charge	£20 by weight	£10	King Edward	
Badmondisfield	Suffolk	Risbridge	10 hides			£7	Earl Aelfgar	
South Charford	Hants	Fordingbridge	2.5 virgates	Disputed with William de Charnet			King Edward	
Land held of Bishop of Lincoln (Remigius)								
Maddingley	Cambs	Northstow	1.5 virgates		5s	10s	Bp Wulfwig	Blacuin
Histon	Cambs	Chesterton	10 hides, 4.5 virgates		£4	£7	Abbot of Ely	9 freemen
Land held of the Abbot of Ely								
Quy	Cambs	Saine	3 hides and 3 virgates		£6	£4	Abbot of Ely	2 freemen
Harston	Cambs	Thriplow	1.5 hides	Held of the Abbot by the King's command			Abbot of Ely	A freeman
Land held of Count Alan								
Barrington	Cambs	Wetherley	0.5 virgate		2s	32d	King Edward	A man of King Edward's
Orwell	Cambs	Wetherley	3.25 virgates and 5 acres		20s	30s	Eadgifu	Thorborn
Longstanton	Cambs	Northstow	4 hides and 1.5 virgates		100s	£8	Bp Wulfwig/Eadgifu	13 freemen

Vill	County	Hundred	Holding	Tenant/Notes	Value 1086	Value pre 1066	Antecessor information	Held by TRE
Land held of Robert Gernon								
Conington	Camb	Papworth	1 hide and 1 virgate		16s	16s	Earl Waltheof	A man
Boxworth	Camb	Papworth	3.5 hides		30s	60s	Earl Waltheof	Leofsi
Swavesey	Camb	Papworth	1 hide	Picot holds these lands in his wife's marriage portion			Earl Waltheof	Leofsi
Arkesden	Essex	Hinkford	1 hide less 8 acres				Not known	
Land held of Countess Judith								
Tadlow	Camb	Armingford	1 hide and 1.5 virgates		30s	40s	Earl Tostig	
Not given		Longstow	3 virgates		5s	20s	King Edward	
		Papworth	1 hide		7s	20s	Earl Waltheof	
		Northstow	3 hides		30s	40s	Earl Waltheof	
Childerley	Camb	Chesterton	5 hides		6s	6s	Earl Waltheof	
Land held of Guy de Raimbeaucourt								
Aldwinde All Saints	Northants	Huxloe	5 hides	Held by Picot with Landric and Ogier	50s in total		Leofsige	
Land held of Peter of Valognes								
Bourn	Camb	Longstow	1 hide and 3 virgates		30s	50s	King Edward	Aelmer
Land held of William, son of Anselm								
Longstanton	Camb	Northstow	0.5 hides		2s	5s	Earl Waltheof	Floch
Source: <i>Domesday Book: A Complete Translation</i> , A. Williams, G. H. Martin, (eds.), Alecto Historical Editions (Penguin, 2003)								
* The sokemen pay £8 a year assayed and weighed and each year provide 12 horses and 12 watchmen if the king should come into the shire. If he does not come they pay 12s 8d. TRE the sokemen rendered nothing to the sherrif but cartage-dues and escort service or 12s 8d and the rest Picot is said to have usurped.								

6. *The Peverels and their Descendants*

This chapter will consider the impact of Pain Peverel on the development of Barnwell Priory, after the hiatus in its fortunes that followed the death of Picot and the disgrace of his heir, Robert. During this period, the Barnwell *Liber*, states that both the priory and Picot's barony were 'desolate and reduced to nothing'.¹ Peverel, however, had ambitious plans for both the buildings and the community at Barnwell. Of his succession to the barony the author of the Barnwell *Liber* records Peverel's (purported) declaration:

'Triginta annorum fui baptismo regeneratus. Triginta annorum
ero in nouissimo die resuscitandus. Triginta hic constituam
canonicos per Dei gratiam me ad eternam uitam producturos, et
sicut loco heredis successi Pycoto ad hereditatem possidendam,
ita ei succedam ad domum istam ditandem et sufficienter
ditandam'²

Pain's first objective was to obtain a larger site on which to build this 'new' house and to this end he petitioned Henry I who granted him ten acres of land beside the river to the east of Cambridge. This land, previously common land, was to prove a future source of contention between the canons and the town's inhabitants.³

Pain was an important man with access to the King, but there are difficulties in establishing a pedigree and a chronology for his life before he became involved with the priory. How much truth, if any, is there in the story of his father, William Peverel's, parentage and can it even be satisfactorily proved that this William was Pain Peverel's father? Constructing a cohesive picture of the Peverel family group or indeed, groups, and of how they interacted with each other in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries is further complicated by the lack of surviving documentation. However it is hoped that, by considering what little does exist, patterns of allegiance (both familial and non-familial) may become apparent.

¹ Clark, *Liber*, 40-1.

² Ibid., 41.

³ See Ibid., 133 for one such example dating from 1275-6, where ownership of a 'driftway' was disputed and Pain's charter was produced as evidence in the priory's favour.

Unlike Picot, for whom a moderate amount of contemporary evidence exists, Pain Peverel is a shadowy figure, about whom very little was written. Only a few clues remain. Susan Edgington has suggested that this dearth of information might partially be explained by lack of any chronicle covering the life of Robert Curthose.⁴ Understandably this has led to confusion.

References to Pain Peverel in secondary sources covering the career of Duke Robert are limited to the same few facts. C. W. David, whose early twentieth-century biography of Robert has only recently been superseded by that by William Aird, clearly did not accept any of the extant evidence as fact: 'The standard bearer of Duke Robert throughout the Crusade *is said to have been* (my italics) Pain Peverel, the distinguished Norman knight who later was granted a barony in England by Henry I and became the patron of Barnwell Priory'.⁵ David relied on the Barnwell *Liber* for his information but notes that, in his opinion, it contains 'notable chronological inaccuracies' for the 'fundamental facts' of Peverel's life. In spite of this he considered that it could 'probably' be relied on. However, the Barnwell *Liber* gives very little other direct information for Peverel's life, concentrating instead as might be expected, on his part in the foundation and the subsequent descent of the priory's patronage after his death.

One clue to Pain's career beyond the Barnwell *Liber* can be found in the Ramsey Chronicle. Informed by understandable bias, it reads as follows: 'One of king Henry of England's nobles, Pagan in name and in deed, surnamed Peverel, was misled by blind ambition and tried by sacrilegious seizure to take possession for himself of two estates belonging to St Benedict's abbey at Ramsey, claiming falsely that they should rightly be owned and ruled by him, as much by hereditary right as by royal grant'.⁶ This presents a

⁴ S. Edgington, 'Pagan Peverel: An Anglo-Norman Crusader', *Crusade and Settlement*, ed. P. W. Edbury (Cardiff, 1985), 90-3. Pain Peverel is not mentioned by Albert of Aix, who nonetheless supplies the names of many of the lesser nobles who took part in the First Crusade. Albert's history, written c.1125-1150, is believed to have been based on the reminiscences of returning crusaders and their surviving correspondence. Edgington suggests that the chronicler's oversight here may have resulted from the defection of Fulcher of Chartres from Curthose's entourage to that of Baldwin of Boulogne. However, while the chronicle offers a useful eyewitness account of the crusade, even Count Robert, in whose company Pain originally travelled, features hardly at all. At Dorylaeum, to whose fighting Robert should have been integral, the chronicler names no-one specifically, preferring instead to use the collective 'we'.

⁵ C. W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 1920), 95.

⁶ *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W.D. Macray, Rolls Series 83 (London, 1886), pp.lxxvii-viii. A copy of a writ on p.221 of the chronicle names the estates in question as Longstowe and Girton Gretton

polar opposite to the words of the Barnwell *Liber*, written in fulsome in praise and describing Pain as 'egregio militi, armis insigni, milicia pollenti, uiribus potenti et super omnes regni procures bellico usu laudabili'.⁷

Information on Pain's contemporaries may allow some further assessment of his character. It might also be possible to flesh out the picture by looking at the men he would have known both before and during his time as a crusader. In this respect Duke Robert, with whom Pain had a known military relationship, remains a significant figure..

The Peverel Legend⁸

Employing information from various sources, it may be possible to build up a speculative family tree. But first it is necessary to consider the legendary accounts of the birth of William Peverel. It was reported, and appears to have been believed, that William Peverel was a bastard son of William the Conqueror by a mistress named Ingelrica.⁹ After her son was born, Ingelrica married Ranulph Peverel, one of William's followers, and the boy took his name from his step-father and was brought up in his household. By advertising this account, the Peverel family could boast of royal connections, albeit illegitimate ones. This was a common conceit, as illustrated in the lists of names of the Conqueror's companions that survive. These increase exponentially, year by year, as more families found ways to add themselves to the catalogue. The legend of William Peverel's parentage was by no means unusual. Like most tales that existed before the advent of written record, it would have circulated orally, kept alive by those who either believed it or were happy for it to be accepted. By the time it was finally committed to writing, it had gained general credence.

(Cambridgeshire). Domesday Book confirms that these were manors held by the abbey in 1086: DB folio 192v, whence A. Williams, G. H. Martin, *Domesday Book*, 526-7.

⁷ Clark, *Liber*, 41.

⁸ A number of origins for the name Peverel have been suggested. In his chapter on William Peverel, J. R. Planché suggested that 'Peverel is the Norman form of Peuerellus ... the u being pronounced v in Normandy, and Peuerellus being simply a misspelling of the Latin Puerulus, a boy or child, naturally applied to the son to distinguish him from his father. William Peverel was therefore, literally, boy or child William': J. R. Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions*, 2 vols (London, 1874), ii, 258ff., esp. pp.267-8. The etymologist, Charles Bardsley, supporting this assessment, translated 'puerulus' as 'Littleboy', presumably as a baptismal name of endearment: C.W. Bardsley, *A Dictionary of English and Welsh Surnames* (London, 1901), 600 (*sub* 'Peverall').

⁹ As the wife of Ranulph, Ingelrica is said to have founded a house for secular canons at Hatfield Peverel during the reign of William II. Later, when Henry I was king, her son, William, converted this into a Benedictine priory: *VCH Essex*, i, 526, ii, 105-7.

One of the legend's earliest appearances occurs in Robert Glover's *Catalogue of Honor, or Treasury of True Nobility, peculaier and proper to the Isle of Great Britaine*, published in London in 1610. Glover was Somerset Herald of Arms and his catalogue was posthumously translated from Latin into English, by his nephew, Thomas Milles, with the assistance of some of the leading antiquaries of the day including Robert Beale and Thomas Talbot. Glover's genealogies were based on information he obtained while on heraldic visitations and were composed as narratives, each of which was accompanied by an illustration of the family's armorial bearings. Just as in the foundation myths of religious houses, other such legends of royal 'bastardy' can be found. One such, contemporary with the Peverel story, concerns Ralph de Limesy, founder of the Benedictine priory of St Mary Hertford c.1095, rumoured to have been the Conqueror's nephew. The first mention of de Limésy's claim comes in Thomas Talbot's *Collections*, noting, alongside material taken from a Yarmouth Register, that, 'Raufe Lord Lymesey buried in the priory of Hertford w^{ch} he founded, came in to England wth the Conquiro^r & was his sister's son, as the monkes of y^e same house report'.¹⁰ Talbot's note was then recycled by the seventeenth-century antiquary, John Weever, who printed it in his *Ancient Funerall Monuments* of 1631.¹¹

The *Monasticon* also reproduced the Peverel legend in the opening paragraph to its entry on the priory of Hatfield Peverel in Essex and expanded on the story stating that 'Ingelrica, the wife of Ranulph Peverel, who had been mistress to William the Conqueror, to atone for her past vices, is stated to have founded here, in the time of King William Rufus, a college of secular canons dedicated to St Mary Magdalen. Here also she is said to have passed the remainder of her days, till her decease in around the year 1100'.¹² Although it refers to Ingelrica as the Conqueror's concubine, he does not question her son's legitimacy, nor does he provide any new information. Given that the source he used was Glover, this come as no surprise.

¹⁰ Weever's source was London, British Library ms. Cotton Vespasian D.xvii, a collection of notes made by Talbot from monastic registers and other similar sources.

¹¹ For a fuller discussion on Ralph de Limesy's claim, see P. Jackson, 'Ralph de Limésy: Conqueror's Nephew? The Origins of a Discounted Claim', *Prosopon Newsletter*, 6 (May 1997) at users.ox.ac.uk/~prosop/prosopon/issue6-1. Accessed 9 August 2012. In 1984, the story surfaced in the Phillimore edition of *Norfolk Domesday*, an indication of the perceived importance of such unsubstantiated claims.

¹² *Monasticon*, iii, 294.

The legend was challenged, more than a century ago, by R.W. Eyton in his *Antiquities of Shropshire*. Eyton's view was that 'this story, improbable in its simplest form, and with the fewest adjuncts, has further been embodied with such a variety of impossible circumstances as to leave its credibility in extreme jeopardy'.¹³ Scepticism here resulted from Eyton's knowledge that none of Ranulph Peverel's lands, as listed in Domesday Book, descended to any of those Eyton dubbed the 'Shropshire Peverels', meaning Hamo Peverel and his family. In Eyton's opinion, Ranulph only had one son, another William, who was habitually known as William of Essex or London, in order to distinguish him from the William Peverels of Nottingham, Bourn and Dover.¹⁴

The legend appeared again in E. A. Freeman's epic account of the Conquest written between 1867 and 1869, with Freeman entirely unconvinced of its authenticity, 'know[ing] of no authority' aside from Dugdale. This he dismissed as speculation based on Glover and, of Glover himself, he notes acerbically that 'the uncorroborated assertions of a herald are not materials for history'.¹⁵ Returning to the same question later, he describes William Peverel as 'a Norman adventurer of unknown origin' and the whole question of his being the son of the Conqueror as 'an utterly uncertified and almost impossible scandal'. He ends by suggesting that Ranulph was far more likely to have been William Peverel's brother than his step-father.¹⁶

By contrast to Freeman, J. R. Planché, writing in 1874, devoted many pages to proving that the legend of William Peverel's birth was true. His conviction was based in part on the foundation charter for the priory of Lenton in which William makes no mention of his parents, but instead names the king and queen: 'He [William Peverel] founds and endows the Priory of Lenton, near Nottingham, for the health of the soul of King William and Matilda his wife, King William Rufus, King Henry I and Maud his consort, as also for the souls of William and Maud their children; and likewise for the health of his own soul and the souls of Adeline his wife, William his son, and all his other children'. Planché seized upon this as proof of the alleged royal parentage. Making clear his disagreement with the conclusions of both Eyton and Freeman, he declared: 'I am unfortunate in being opposed in

¹³ R. W. Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire* (London, 1854-60), ii, 104-5.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 105 n.5.

¹⁵ E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England: Its Causes and its Results*, 6 vols (Oxford, 1867-9), iii, 662.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, iv, 200 and footnote 4.

my opinion to two such great authorities; but until they produce something like evidence to support theirs, I cannot consent to surrender my own'.¹⁷

In her monumental prosopographical study of those named in early English documents Kathleen Keats-Rohan is, like Freeman, entirely dismissive of the legend, calling Ranulph's marriage to Ingelrica 'spurious ... [and] unworthy of recognition'.¹⁸ She goes on to conclude that there is 'no formal evidence of any relationship between the various Peverels who occur in England, but it is most likely that they were at least members of the same, essentially West Norman, kin group'.¹⁹ While there is no evidence to support the legend of Ingelrica, Ranulph who was originally from Vengeons (Manche, in Lower Normandy) was indeed married to Athelida, a *confrater* of St Albans.²⁰ This information further distances him from the Peverel legend.

The assertion that the Peverels were a West Norman family is supported by some documentary evidence. A William Peverel, for example, held at least some land near Barfleur, in the north of the Cotentin. This lay at Turgistorp (now Clitourps, Manche) a place which he described as 'my fee' ('feudum meum') in a charter to the monks of Saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte.²¹ According to Léopold Delisle, Clitourps was the base of the Prével family, a member of which, Regnoul, played an important part in the Conquest.²² It is just possible that this refers to Ranulph Peverel, the name having been either corrupted or anglicised.²³

¹⁷ Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions*, ii, 258-60.

¹⁸ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 355.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 356.

²⁰ BL ms. Cotton Nero D vii fol.119.

²¹ Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 494, citing Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale ms. Latin 17137 fo.243v. A priory was founded at Turgistorp in 1120 by Henry I.

²² L. Delisle, *Histoire du château et des sires de saint-Sauveur-le-Vicomte* (Valognes, 1867), pièces justificatifs 46 no.42.

²³ Another doomed hypothesis, advanced by Beryl Platts in her online history of Lenton Priory, suggests that Peverel is a corruption of 'Pavel' meaning 'Paul' or 'Pol' and through this connects the family to the county of Saint-Pol in Flanders. This is a tenuous suggestion at best and appears to be based entirely on heraldic evidence, the silver rampant lion of the Peverel arms being tangentially associated with that county: <http://www.baronage.co.uk/langar/langar-1.html>. Accessed 16 April 2012. A second strand to this argument concerns the Flemings who accompanied the Conqueror to England in 1066 forming approximately one fifth of his army. These men were in many cases rewarded with land in the East Midlands, particularly in the counties of Nottinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire – all places where Domesday also shows that William Peverel 'the elder' was granted land. No evidence has come to light in support of this hypothesis, which like much else on the web can be attributed to enthusiasm rather than to historical reasoning.

William Peverel 'the elder' was active in Normandy in 1094, as castellan of the castle at Houlme.²⁴ The castle with its garrison of 800 men was besieged and eventually captured by Robert de Bellême. In spite of this, William remained in the king's favour and continued to witness royal charters.²⁵ In England he held Nottingham castle, from at least 1068, and the Castle of the Peak in Derbyshire (which later became known as Peveril Castle). Round clearly associated this William with Nottingham, in his introduction to the Northamptonshire Survey describing William as the founder of the line subsequently known as Peverel 'of Nottingham'. This William was Odo of Bayeux's 'great under-tenant' and held all of the bishop's lands in Northampton except Charlton. The family's chief manor, at Higham Ferrers in east Northamptonshire, was well placed for keeping a tight rein on the remainder of the Peverel estate.²⁶ The bishop's favour, meanwhile, might well support the suggestion of a 'family' association between Odo, the conqueror's half-brother, and a younger kinsman.²⁷

The survey also contains a reference to land in Braundeston (Braunston): 'William Trussebot 3 hides and 6 small virgates of the fee of Pain Peverel'.²⁸ The Trussebut family would later be connected to the Peverels through the marriage of Rose (or Rohaise) Peverel and Rollo de Harcourt's daughter, Albreda (or Aubrey), to William Trussebut of Warter in East Yorkshire (d. 1180).²⁹

The first obstacle to establishing an accurate family history for the Peverels lies with the sources themselves. It is notoriously difficult to reconstruct any genealogy with total confidence and working at such a distance with documents never intended for the purpose it may well be that the relationships within the Peverel family can never be established with certainty. However, this is not to deny that even such speculative networks can produce interesting hypotheses. According to recent work undertaken by Charles Cawley, there were four Peverel family groups active in England in the twelfth century. These he divides

²⁴ W.M. Aird, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy 1050-1134* (Woodbridge, 2008), 150.

²⁵ F. Barlow, *William Rufus* (Berkeley, 1983), 333. William Peverel witnessed *Regesta*, i, no.397, dateable 1096-7.

²⁶ *VCH Northamptonshire*, i, 288.

²⁷ *Ibid*, 301. William also held significant property in Northampton, with 32 houses rendering 28s and 8d. Only the Count of Mortain, another cadet of the ducal house, with his 37 houses, held more.

²⁸ *VCH Northamptonshire*, i, 371.

²⁹ Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, 160-1. Thus a further family association with the Augustinian canons was established in 1132, when Geoffrey Trussebut, known as Fitz-Pain, founded Warter Priory: *VCH Yorkshire*, iii, 235. The family maintained this relationship, with William and Albreda's sons Geoffrey and Robert both confirming their ancestor's donations: *Monasticon*, vi, 299 nos. 2-3.

geographically: Nottingham and Hatfield, Essex; Dover and Bourn, Cambridge; Dorset and Somerset; Sanford in Devon. Evidence from the *Red Book of the Exchequer* suggests a fifth family group associated with the city of London.³⁰ The evidence nonetheless suggests that the Nottingham and Hatfield, Essex branch of the Peverels, object of the Peverel legend, enjoyed no discernible link, save for name, to Pain Peverel and the Peverels of Bourn.

Edmund King identifies a William Peverel, the son of yet another William and his wife Adeline, as the William of Dover mentioned in Figure 1. However, according to King, this William (who died on 28 January 1114) was the father of only three children: William the younger, Adelise and Matilda.³¹ A suggested pedigree for the Peverels of Bourn appears below but it cannot be considered in any way reliable.³²

The question of co-identity.

Pain's older brother, Hamo, obtained influence in the county of Shropshire by virtue of his marriage to Sybil de Tournai, the daughter of Gerard de Tournay.³³ Recognising that Hamo Peverel had a number of brothers (or half-brothers) Eyton did not discount the possibility that Pain and Robert were the same person. His evidence for this derived from a charter, printed in Dugdale's *Monasticon*, by which 'Willielmus Peverel de Brunne' granted land 'villa mea de Wildene' to the monks of Thorney, including a *pro anima* clause 'pro anima avunculi mei Willielmi Peverel de Doure, et pro animis patris mei Rodberti Peverel, fratris sui, et Hamonis Peverel avunculi mei, et pro anima matris meae Adeliciae'.³⁴ Citing these same sources, Keats-Rohan has also advanced the suggestion that 'Robert' was Pain

³⁰ *The Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. H. Hall, 3 vols., Rolls Series (London 1896), ii, 732. The honour of Peverel of London is recorded as possessing four fees in Norfolk and Essex (Ibid., 478).

³¹ Edmund King, 'Peverel, William (b. c. 1090, d. after 1155)', *ODNB* [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22076>, accessed 20 June, 2011].

³² To complicate matters further, Planché makes no mention of a Robert Peverel, only of three brothers Hamo, Payne (*sic*) and Ranulph.

³³ Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, ii, 104, and for Gerard, see Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 204-5.

³⁴ *Monasticon*, ii, 601 no.8, and cf. 602 no.15. Eyton's Hamo Peverel does appear to fit with Planché's suggestion that 'The Ranulph Peverel of Domesday I believe to have been (King) William's half-brother. At any rate, he could scarcely have been the Ranulph who married the daughter of Ingelric, for we find his eldest son Hammo, or Hammond, a man grown, settled in England a few years after the Conquest, and one of the chief tenants or barons of Roger do Montgomery, Earl of Shrewsbury. He is also reported to have had two other sons, Payne Peverel of Brune, and William Peverel of Dover': Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions*. However, Eyton disputed that Ranulph was Hamo's (or indeed any of the Peverel brother's) father: Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, ii, 105.

Peverel's baptismal name and that they were, in fact, one and the same person.³⁵ In France, the name Pain (*alias* Payne/Pagen), deriving from the Old French 'païen' or 'paganus' and originally meaning 'a villager' or 'a rustic', was used as nickname.³⁶ As a nickname, it could conceivably have been adopted or applied to a man baptised Robert. Whatever the truth here, it is at least certain that William 'of Bourn' was the heir to Pain Peverel's barony and that, on his death, this inheritance passed to his four sisters. Whilst Pain's relationship to these five people remains unclear (either as father or uncle) this did not affect the descent of his estate. In one instance William appears to call Pain's brother, the mysterious Robert, his 'father'; in another, William is described as Pain's son. In yet another, Pain refers to Maud/Matilda (William's sister) as his daughter.³⁷

³⁵ K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: The Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166: II. Pipe Rolls to Cartae Baronum* (Woodbridge, 2002), 1067-8. As noted above, Charles Cawley is in general agreement with this hypothesis.

³⁶ <http://www.surnamedb.com/Surname/Pain> accessed 4 April 2012. This site suggests that the first recorded use of Pain/Pagan as a forename occurs in Domesday, which includes an Edmund son of Pagen.

³⁷ *Monasticon*, ii, 601 no.8; Clark, *Liber*, 47 ('Defuncto Pagano Peverel, Willelmus filius eius succedit ei'), elsewhere recording knight's fees held of the Honour of Peverel of Hamon Pecche, descended from the eldest of the Peverel sisters, Alice.

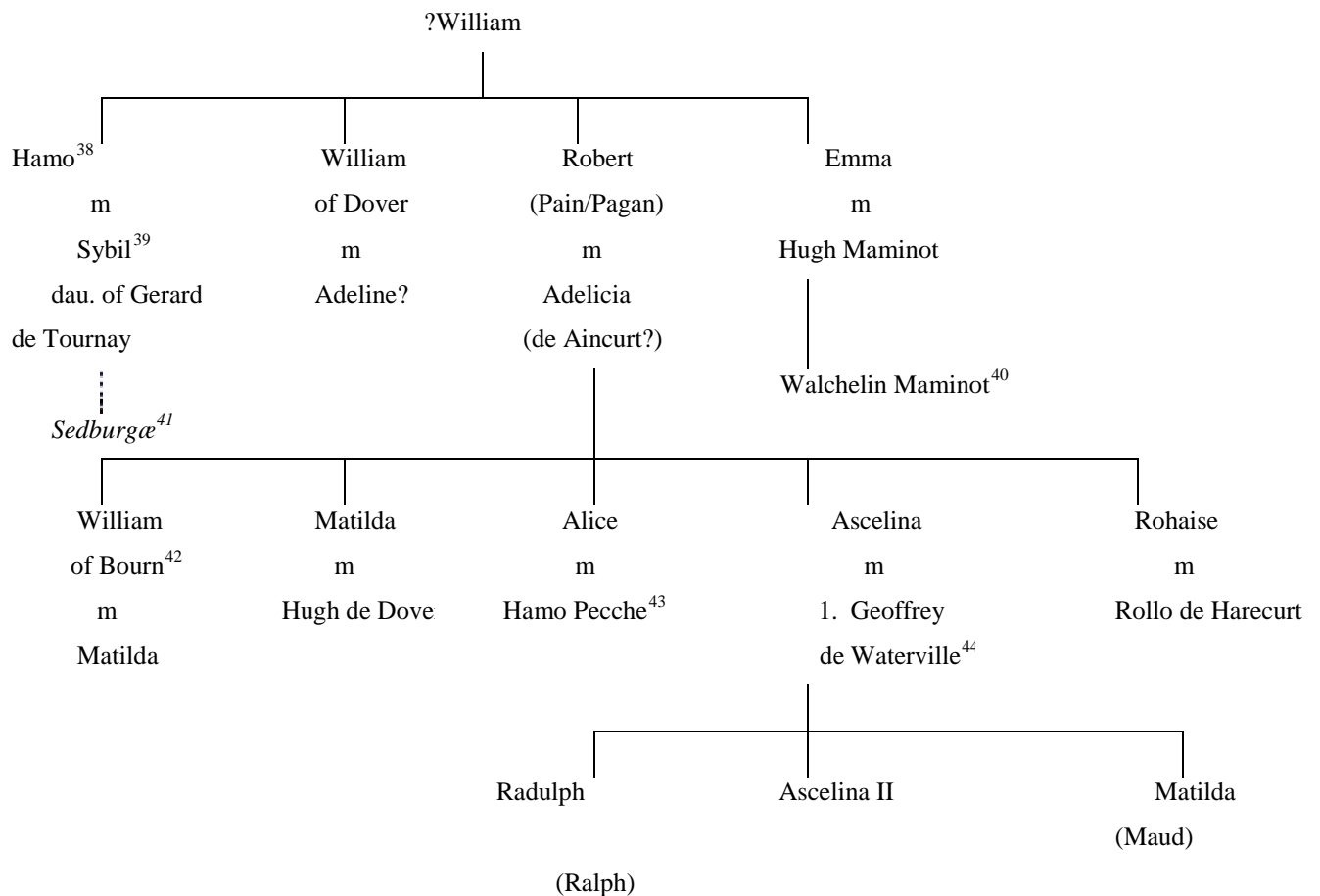


Table 6 1: A Suggested Genealogy for the Peverels of Dover and Bourn⁴⁵

³⁸ Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, ii, 106-7.

³⁹ Ibid., ii, 104.

⁴⁰ *Monasticon*, iii, 522 nos.12-13, describing William Peverel (?of Dover) as Walchelin's uncle, and Hamo Peverel as 'patruus' (paternal uncle) of William Peverel of Dover, thus confirming that the William in question was the same as William 'of Bourn', Walchelin's cousin.

⁴¹ Eyton, *Antiquities of Shropshire*, ii, 106-7 n.8. Sedburgæ appears to have been an illegitimate sister of the Peverel siblings.

⁴² William is said to have died without issue at Jerusalem whilst on crusade 1147-8: Clark, *Liber*, 47.

⁴³ Hamo Pecche's carta of 1166 (*Red Book of the Exchequer*, i, 366-7) divided his barony by county, the entry for Cambridgeshire recording five knight's fees held of the honor of William Peverel inherited through his wife from the 'old fief'. In addition to this land, Hamo also held two further fees, which he was given at the time of his marriage to William Peverel's sister. Adam de Periers held three parts of one and the remainder was held by Baldwin of Rochester, as given to him on his marriage to an unnamed daughter of Hamo and Alice.

⁴⁴ *Pipe Roll 7 Henry II*, 45: 8 *Henry II*, 48. Geoffrey died in 1162. Ascelina's second husband was Saher II de Quincy, ancestor of the Quincy earls of Winchester, whom she married c.1162.

⁴⁵ Farrer, *Feudal Cambridgeshire*, 160. Planché (*The Conqueror and his Companions*) notes that no man named William Peverel appears in Wace's *Roman de Rou* (c.1165) but that such a figure was later included in the 'Battle Abbey Roll' and the lists compiled by Duchesne, De Magny and Delisle.

The more the evidence is scrutinised the more it appears that we have, at least, two distinct families named Peverel, one centred around Nottingham and the other in Essex and London. Whatever the truth it is clear that both families prospered under the Conqueror and his sons, receiving lands and the custody of castles. As a result, when Pain returned to England in 1099 after the battle of Ascalon, he, too, came to occupy a privileged position, inspite of his past allegiance to Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy.

Miles Christi

Pain's career as crusader with Curthose supplied an opportunity for status acquired through 'associative honour'.⁴⁶ Was Pain influenced by his close proximity to Robert, a man widely expected to succeed his father as king of England? William Aird writes of Robert's 'inspirational leadership' when fighting the Seljuk Turks at Dorylaeum in 1097 and suggests the duke's capabilities may have been underestimated. According to Ralph of Caen it was Robert who rallied the troops when Bohemund faltered.⁴⁷ As his standard bearer, Pain would have stood alongside his lord. The circumstances in which Pain subsequently extracted himself from Curthose's entourage, to support King Henry I against his former master, remain entirely obscure.⁴⁸

After Tinchebrai, nonetheless, Henry I's policy developed as one of carefully targeted patronage in order to secure the loyalties (and resources) of Anglo-Norman families, 'great and small, old and new'.⁴⁹ It was apparently in these circumstances that Pain Peverel came into possession of the lands in Cambridgeshire and elsewhere newly confiscated from Robert, son of Picot the sheriff.

The Second Foundation

Pain's succession to the estate was, according to Barnwell's foundation history, followed by a search for a larger, more prestigious site for the new priory buildings. Pain's plans for

⁴⁶ Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 54.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 175.

⁴⁸ For other such defections, long before Tinchebrai, see *Anglo-Norman Warfare*, ed. M. Strickland (Woodbridge, 1992), 226-8.

⁴⁹ S. L. Mooers, 'Familial Clout and Financial Gain in Henry I's Later Reign', *Albion*, 14 (1982), 268-91, esp. 270.

Barnwell far exceeded any that could be suitably accommodated on its original site for he envisaged a community of 30 canons with buildings to provide for both their spiritual and physical needs. This required land and he petitioned the king for an area of ten acres to the east of the town which was granted. The Barnwell *Liber* reports that Pain died not quite ten years after the re-location of the priory, c.1121X1122, but this is unconfirmed by any charter evidence.⁵⁰ On the contrary, Pain appears as witness to a royal charter c.1129 in which his daughter or niece, Matilda, was granted East Shefford (Berkshire) on her marriage to Hugh son of Fulbert of Dover (also mentioning Matilda's brother Robert Peverel), and he may appear as witness as late as 1133.⁵¹ Meanwhile, with the transfer of the priory to its larger, more prestigious site, the fortunes of the canons began to improve. The small foundation of six canons, with little room for expansion, was now envisaged as a house of thirty, commensurate with the ambition of its new patron.

The descent of the barony and the advowson of Burton Coggles

The death on the Second Crusade (c.1147-8) of Pain's heir, William son of Robert Peverel, of Bourn, without male heirs marked a turning point both in the history of the Peverel family, and of Barnwell priory. It initiated a process of subdivision within the honour of Bourn which was to lead to one of the most complicated descents of any English barony, by 1300 resulting in partition into shares as small as eightieths and even thirty-sixths.⁵² The initial division made between William's four sisters is shown in Table 2.

⁵⁰ Clark, *Liber*, 47.

⁵¹ *Regesta*, ii, nos.1609, 1776.

⁵² Sanders, *Baronies*, 19-20.

Maud/Matilda	Alice	Ascelina	Rose
Quarter share of manor of Bourn	Quarter share of manor of Bourn	Quarter share of manor of Bourn	Quarter share of manor of Bourn
The castle at Bourn	Half share of Wimpole		
Comberton	Orwell		
Half share of Wimpole	Caldecote		
The advowson of Burton church	Kingston?		

Table 6.2: The division of the Peverel barony between Pain's four daughters.

Maud's death, without an heir in 1185, led to claims by her surviving siblings, and their families, for a share of her portion.⁵³ The advowson of the church at Burton became a shuttlecock in these disputes, traced in a series of entries in the Barnwell *Liber* and in four charters that survive in the archives of King's College Cambridge. These charters, dating from the mid twelfth century, may have come into the College's possession when, in 1544, it purchased the manor and rectory of Barton, Cambridgeshire, which had also belonged to Barnwell Priory.⁵⁴ Together they provide a rare opportunity to consider both sides of the dispute.⁵⁵

Ascelina, daughter and coheir of William Peverel of Bourn, married Geoffrey de Waterville (d.1162)⁵⁶, of Orton Waterville near Peterborough and while some of the land she brought with her in marriage was tenanted, at no time is there any suggestion that the advowson of Burton passed out of the direct control of her new family.⁵⁷ The advowson of

⁵³ Ibid., and see *VCH Cambs.*, v, 6-7.

⁵⁴ King's College Estate Records. The Barton purchase charter is KCAR/6/2/13. The Ecclesiastical Assessment of 1292-2 (the *Taxatio*) records Barnwell as patron and gives the church a value of £21 16s and 8d. See <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/db/taxatio/printbc.jsp?benkey=LI.LK.BE.15> Accessed 11 September 2012.

⁵⁵ Appendix below nos.2-5. A cluster of documents which pertain to the dispute form ten separately headed entries in Book 3 of the Barnwell *Liber*: Clark, *Liber*, 109-14 nos.15-25. Eight of these are copies of judgements and orders issued by the king's court. The detail recorded here is indicative of the importance of the case and its ultimate decision in favour of the canons. For reproductions and transcriptions of these documents see Appendix below.

⁵⁶ Sanders, *Baronies*, 19, and cf. *VCH Huntingdonshire*, iii, 198.

⁵⁷ In 1185, it was held by Leonia, the widow of Robert de Stuteville, who paid scutage on it between 1195 and 1202: *Rotuli de Dominabus*, PRS 35 (1913), 70n.; *Pipe Roll 6 Richard I*, 79; *4 John*, 132.

the church at Burton formed part of the Peverel inheritance and, by the time of the first of the King's College charters, was in the hands of the de Camoys family. In 1256, Ralph I de Camoys and his wife, Ascelina, great-granddaughter of William Peverel's daughter of that name, brought an action of *darrein presentment* for the living of the church at Burton, Kesteven. The other parties involved were the prior of Barnwell, Jolan de Thorley, and William fitz Otho. Ralph and Ascelina's claim was based on the right of Ascelina's great-grandmother, Ascelina I, following the death of her sister, Matilda (Peverel) c.1185. The most problematic of the identifications here is that of William, son of Otho, as the sources do not agree on his relationship to Matilda II. Once again, a pattern emerges in which the Liber's evidence is seen to be essentially reliable, its rewritings and retouchings identifiable only when alternative sources of information survive.⁵⁸

The Liber's evidence is supposedly legitimized by the repeated mention of each party's confirmation: 'Profert eciam quamdam confirmacionem predictae Asceline abauie predictae Asceline vxoris predictae Radulphi, et similiter quamdam confirmacionem sub nomine cuiusdam Matilde de Diue sororis predictae Asceline abauie and Matilda de Diua auia ipsius Othonis'.⁵⁹ From this we can infer that Ralph de Waterville, Matilda II and Ascelina II were siblings: 'Radulphus de Wateruille frater predictarum Asceline et Matilde'.⁶⁰ Ascelina de Camoys (fl. 1256) would therefore have been the great-niece of her *antecessor* Ralph de Waterville and was directly descended from Pain (*alias* Robert) Peverel.

Leonia died c. 1215 and by 1254-5 the land was back in the family's hands, held by Ralph de Camoys who released a claim to one knight's fee in Bourn to Alice's heir, Gilbert Pecche: TNA CP 25(1)/25/28. For Leonia's otherwise mysterious claims here, see Sanders, *Baronies*, 19 n.5.

⁵⁸ Appendix below nos.2-5; Clark, *Liber*, 109.

⁵⁹ Clark, *Liber*, 109.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Ascelina I, however, appears to have been Ascelina II's great-grandmother and not her great-grandmother as this passage suggests.



Figure 6.1: The Church of St Thomas à Becket at Burton Coggles near Grantham, in Lincolnshire (© Wendy Parkinson <http://www.wparkinson.com/Churches/B.htm>(c) Accessed 11 September 2012)

The details of the dispute itself are rather more straightforward than the genealogical implications. The de Camoys claim to the advowson, rested on the fact that the last incumbent at Burton had been presented by Ascelina, daughter of William Peverel of Bourn. The prior's counter-claim was rooted in the belief that Ralph de Waterville, this Ascelina's only son, had at some time before his death *c.*1175, granted the advowson to Barnwell so that it had been the prior's predecessor, William of Bedford, who had presented the last incumbent, Roger of Huntingfeld, to the vacancy.⁶¹

The first charter in the King's College series was issued by Ralph de Waterville and upholds the Prior's claim, clearly stating that Ralph had granted the advowson to the canons of Barnwell: 'Ego Radulphus de Waltervilla concessi et dona(ui) ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewelle et canonicis ibi Deo servientibus quicquid ibi ego habeo in ecclesia de Bertone'.⁶² Ascelina's charter confirms that of her brother Ralph: 'Noverit universitas vestra me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewelle et canonicis eiusdem loci donationem fratris mei Radulfi de Waterville quam fecit eidem ecclesie et canonicis de advocatione ecclesie de Bertone in Ketstevne et carta sua eis confirmavit'.⁶³ On Ascelina's death, her youngest sister, Matilda, also confirmed her late brother's grant using the same formula as her sister before her. One of the witnesses to this document was William fitz Otho.⁶⁴ The final charter in the series is William's and his claim, made through his attorney, alleged that it was his grandmother (more likely to have been his wife's grandmother), Matilda I, who made the last presentation, to the church in the time of King John. This information can be found in the Barnwell *Liber* where its inclusion suggests that the priory had no issue with this claim.⁶⁵

The prior's claim is not set out in any single sheet charter but recorded in the Barnwell *Liber*. In it the prior echoes Ralph's charter: 'Radulphus de Wateruille antecessor predicte Asceline uxoris predicti Radulphi dedit Deo et ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewelle aduocationem predictae ecclesie et quicquid in aduocatione predictae ecclesie habuit vel habere potuit'. It is entirely possible that prior Jolan was in a position to produce the original document as confirmation should it be requested, for there is no evidence to

⁶¹ Clark, *Liber*, 67-68. Bedford had been prior very briefly in 1213.

⁶² Cambridge, King's College Archives BUC/1, appendix of documents, no. 2, 269.

⁶³ Ibid. BUC/2, appendix of documents, no. 3, 270.

⁶⁴ Ibid. BUC/3, appendix of documents, no. 4, 271.

⁶⁵ Clark, *Liber*, 109.

suggest that the King's College charters did not remain among the priory muniments until the time of the Dissolution.

The charters thus far reveal a straightforward descent of the advowson from Ralph de Waterville to his sisters Ascelina and Matilda. After this, had not all three siblings transferred their rights to the priory, it would have continued to descend through Matilda's family, into the keeping of her daughter Matilda III and her husband, William. The claim by Ralph and Ascelina de Camoys rested on their belief that on the death of Ascelina II the advowson should have passed to her son, Roger II de Torpel, instead of to her younger sister.⁶⁶ This belief, however, ran entirely contrary to the wishes expressed in the charters of both Ralph de Waterville and Ascelina II, that the advowson be granted to Barnwell *in perpetuam*.

The ensuing litigation is reported in the Barnwell *Liber*, in two entries copied in the wrong order but both clearly dated.⁶⁷ The first of these, in time though not in its place in the manuscript, 'De nominibus iuratorum', is dated 6 February 1256 and lists the names of the jurors, all men with local knowledge, summoned to sit in judgement on the case. The preceding entry offers a copy of the judgement of the jury who found for the Prior. The plea, recorded as being brought before the Bench in London and dated 4 May 1256, concluded with a note that Ralph, Ascelina and (William fitz) Otho were all placed in amercement. A further entry, dated 1256-7, records the agreement by which the claimants received 20 marks in compensation from Prior Jolan, Master Roger de Ravelyngham (parson of Burton church)⁶⁸ and Willelmus de le Hertone (possibly Master Roger's vicar), and the priory was confirmed in its right to present. The only nagging question here remains the identity of 'Otho', and the absence of William fitz Otho, from the final judgment. Almost certainly this represents yet another fault in transcription within the *Liber*.

Despite the seemingly definitive nature of the settlement of 1256-7, the dispute was revived thirty years later: a reminder of quite how tenacious family claims could prove, even in the face of what might outwardly appear incontrovertible documentary proof. This time it was

⁶⁶ For the genealogical tangle here, see Sanders, *Baronies*, 19.

⁶⁷ Clark, *Liber*, 109-10.

⁶⁸ Clark, *Liber*, 379.

the prior who initiated the action and the Barnwell *Liber* records six documents issuing from these proceedings. In this second case the defendants were Robert de Brakenberwe and Ralph de Wykham.⁶⁹ The link between the two disputes appears to have been the Otho or William fitz Otho of 1256.⁷⁰ Ralph de Wykham's claim to the church rested on his assertion that he was enfeoffed of his share of the manor of Burton by a man named Hugh.⁷¹ Unlike the previous dispute, the personal details of this case did not appear to merit additional comment by the author of the Barnwell *Liber*, whose only contribution appears at the foot of one entry where he writes that the dispute was recorded in the rolls: '<in> rotulo ex alba parte in fine rotuli'. He also provided the date of the final settlement ('in octabis sancte Trinitatis anno regni regis Edwardi filii regis Henrici xvi', i.e. 1288).⁷² The outcome of the case was, once again, complete victory for the priory, with the defendants, Roger and Ralph, judged to be in mercy and the prior receiving damages assessed at 15 marks, precisely half of the value of the church itself, valued at 30 marks a year. The tenacity of the canons in the pursuit of what they believed to be rightfully theirs is very clearly shown in the successive applications made to the court for judgement here. Meanwhile, the problems of identifying various of the parties, and the tenacity of contradictory claims, supplies one small indication of the difficulties caused to Barnwell by the successive partitions of the Peverel estate. We are also left to speculate as to the processes by which this, relatively minor dispute, was recorded in such detail in the Barnwell *Liber* when other, seemingly far greater issues were either passed over in silence or only imperfectly memorialized.

Conclusion:

The problems of the Peverel genealogy have defeated far more expert enquiries than anything attempted here, and will no doubt remain insoluble until further evidence comes to light. Relationships remain confused with multiple Williams and the possibility of co-identities adding to the puzzle. Meanwhile, Pain Peverel provided the canons of Barnwell

⁶⁹ Ralph was the son of Robert de Wykeham, archdeacon of Bath: Clark, *Liber*, 112.

⁷⁰ The passage of time between the two disputes does not rule out the possibility that Hugh and William, both termed 'son of Otho', were brothers although there is no certain evidence for this.

⁷¹ Through his attorney Robert explained Ralph's involvement: 'quod ipse tenet manerium de Byrtone ad quod advocacio ecclesie predicte pertinet coniunctim cum quodam magistro Radulpho ... per feoffamentum cuiusdam Hugonis filii Othonis'.

⁷² Traced by Clark, *Liber*, 114, to the relevant roll of the King's courts, presided over by the chief justice of Common Pleas, Thomas de Weyland.

with important connections to the royal court. Before this, since Picot's death, the house, had been slowly falling into disrepair. A new patron with royal connections was exactly what was required to raise the status of the priory. Peverel was ambitious, immediately appealing to the king for a new, larger site on which to build. Whatever relics he brought back with him from the Holy land might well have been housed there, by their presence linking the priory directly to Jerusalem itself. Pain's sudden death severed this link to the crown, but by this time Barnwell's renaissance was under way and, as was fitting, the canons were able to bury their patron in a place of honour before the altar in a new, and much improved conventual church.

7. Barnwell in Context

Cultural exchange in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries

Cultural exchange between England and the Continent, and the multiple forms in which it occurred was well established by the time of the Norman Conquest of 1066. It was as part of this trend that the ideas propounded by the supporters of the Gregorian reform movement were to cross the English Channel and, in the wake of these ideas, regular canons following the rule of St Augustine. England was neither culturally isolated nor were its people averse to adopting continental ideas and practices deemed appropriate or fashionable.¹ This transmission occurred within both religious and secular spheres in the form of pilgrimages, embassies, trade, and dynastic marriages where high status gifts were exchanged. Valuable items including jewellery and gold changed hands alongside illuminated manuscripts and devotional works such as the Utrecht Psalter.

Such Anglo-European exchange can be seen as early as the ninth century, when Grimbold, a monk of Saint-Bertin in Flanders, became head of the community at Winchester having been recommended for the post by his abbot Fulk, who also held the archbishopric of Rheims.² Liturgical exchange was also common, and in the tenth century the Winchcombe Sacramentary was sent to the abbey of Fleury in Normandy. Produced by monks of either Winchcombe itself or Ramsey the manuscript reached Fleury via Mont St Michel.³ Before 1066, Abbo of Fleury had

¹ J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1330* (Cambridge, 1994), 2, and in general V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Oxford, 1992).

² Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 23-30. The relationship with Flanders was strengthened further with William's accession to the English throne, with the counts of Flanders as his close relatives.

³ Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale ms. 127, whence Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 12.

spent time at Ramsey as a guest of Oswald who had previously made this same trip, in reverse, by visiting Normandy.⁴

By the eleventh century, Lotharingian bishops held the English sees of Exeter and Wells: Leofric and Giso.⁵ It was under the direction of these reforming bishops that the *Regula Canoniconum*, written by Chrodegang, the mid-eighth century bishop of Metz in Upper Lotharingia, was introduced to the English Church and with it the beginnings of promotion for a return to the virtues embodied in the *vita apostolica* as practiced by the community of clerks centered around St Augustine of Hippo.

Contacts made on great pilgrimage routes to Compostela, Rome and Jerusalem also provided a continuous flow of people through whom the exchange of religious and secular ideas could occur.⁶ Via this route the ideas of the strong, spiritual revival that was being promoted in Italy by men such as Peter Damian and William of Volpiano travelled northwards across Europe.⁷ As the existence of the *Schola saxonum* in Rome makes plain, English pilgrims travelled to Europe regularly and in significant numbers. This also implies friendly relations between the Anglo-Saxon church and

⁴ Ibid., 243.

⁵ Ibid., 58, 64. According to a later source, it was Giso who first introduced Chrodegang's rule into England and Leofric followed his example by using it at Exeter instead of the rule of St Benedict. Giso built a communal house, cloister, refectory and dormitory at Wells which he converted into a cathedral: Giso of Wells, 'Historia de primordis episcopatus Somersetensis', ed. J. Hunter, *Ecclesiastical Documents*, Camden Society (London, 1840), 19.

⁶ Popular stopping places along these major routes included St-Josse in Flanders, Besançon and St-Maurice d'Agaune in the Alps, St-Gilles near Nîmes in southern France, and Vercelli in northern Italy. English and Irish pilgrims were particularly catered for at Vercelli. St Eusebius, who had founded the main hospice on the site in the seventh-century, was generally deemed to have been Irish himself. An old English collection of texts known as the 'Vercelli Book' is thought to have been left behind there by an eleventh-century pilgrim: M. Halsall, 'Vercelli and the Vercelli Book', *Proceedings of the Medieval Languages Association*, 84 (1969), 1545-7.

⁷ I see no reason to disagree with Ortenberg's conclusion: 'it is likely that some of the new eleventh-century movements of monastic reform (and) of eremiticism pervasive in the north and central Italy, associated with the names of St Romuald at Camaladoli, St Peter Damian at Fonteavellano and St John Gualbert at Vallembrorsa were at least known in England': Ortenberg, *English Church and the Continent*, 106.

the papacy, although it is worth noting the degree to which papal law-making, and indeed papal mandates in general, were only a tangential aspect of English church government in the five centuries between St Augustine of Canterbury and the Norman Conquest of 1066.⁸ This constant interaction between both religious and secular men and women provided a two-way opportunity for the transmission of new ideas.

Trends in monasticism and monastic fashion also travelled via this same network, associated particularly with the monasteries of Lotharingia at Liège and Affligem. Both William of Volpiano and his nephew John, who became known as John of Fécamp, travelled to Normandy to spread the reforming message and were instrumental in its introduction to houses frequently visited by English clerics.⁹ Thus continental liturgical customs can be seen crossing the English Channel as early as the late tenth-century.

Although Veronica Ortenberg identifies various 'peaks' of exchange, it was not until after the Conquest that Norman and Anglo-Saxon cultures began truly to merge.¹⁰ After this it became common for English monks to be trained in Normandy and then to return to England to become heads of houses in their native land.¹¹ Even then, medieval English monasticism remained, in essence, local and feudal in its general

⁸ Ortenberg, *English Church and the Continent*, 132; W. J. Moore, *The Saxon Pilgrims to Rome and the Schola Saxonum* (Fribourg, 1937), ch.4. Such was the importance of this community that the *schola* was situated in the area of the city known as the *burgo* or Leonine City.

⁹ M. Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme: Études et documents sur les chanoines réguliers de la province de Rouen* (Turnhout, 2000), 32. Arnoux describes William as the first true organizer of monastic reform, with other Italians also influential. John of Fécamp visited England himself in 1054 and met with King Edward: J. Leclercq and J-P. Bonnes, *Un maître de la vie spirituelle au XI^e siècle: John de Fécamp* (Paris, 1946), 18, 211-17.

¹⁰ Ortenberg, *English Church and the Continent*, 265.

¹¹ Scolland and Ruaid, for example, both studied at Mont St-Michel before returning to become heads of the monastic communities at St Augustine's Canterbury and Winchester New Minster (Hyde). For the particular influence of the abbey of Cluny on English Benedictines, see Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 36-9; R. Graham, 'The Relations of Cluny to some Other Movements of Monastic Reform', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 15 (1914), 179-95.

outlook.¹² The delayed arrival of the Augustinians in England can partly be explained by the order's lack of strength in those parts of France bordering the English Channel. This area was almost exclusively the preserve of the Benedictines with their great houses at Bec, Bernay, Mont-Saint-Michel and Caen. The regular canons tended to be based further to the south and east without direct access to the coast.¹³ When the order did arrive it not surprising to find their houses concentrated in the south-east and East Anglia where links to the continent were easiest to maintain. Already a popular location for religious foundations the physical geography of East Anglia, in particular, provided the choice of either urban or rural settings and, if required, extremely isolated sites.¹⁴

The Rule of St Augustine.¹⁵

Augustine, both as a priest and later as bishop of Hippo, created a 'monasterium' in which he lived even before his conversion to Christianity. He did this 'according to the manner and rule instituted by the holy apostles' with a number of his followers who found the world too great a struggle.¹⁶ In about 423 AD, he produced a booklet of precepts for his sister, a nun, to help her steer her own community through troubled times. It was this same booklet, suitably altered for use by male communities, that was to form the basis for the Rule.

¹² J. C. Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons and the Continent in the Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th Ser. 1 (1951), 71-89, at p. 87.

¹³ D. M. Robinson, *The Geography of Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*, British Archaeological Reports, British series 80, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1980), 15.

¹⁴ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 5, n.11. This includes the large pre-Conquest houses of Ely, Ramsey, Thorney and Peterborough.

¹⁵ For the history of the Rule, see, for example, *Augustine of Hippo and his Monastic Rule*, ed. G. Lawless (Oxford, 1987).

¹⁶ *Augustine of Hippo*, ed. Lawless, 7.

Scholars differ on the provenance of the Rule of St Augustine and while Augustine's Letter 211, and its attached 'Regula Sororum' have long been accepted as written by Augustine himself, other sources for the rule have also been suggested.¹⁷ Certainly, this rule circulated in many versions so that sometimes even a single house might use a combination of these 'rules', depending on circumstance.¹⁸ Given the difficulties here, some have gone so far as to describe the Augustinians as an order 'without a founder', suggesting that the patronage of the bishop of Hippo was imposed upon them as a polite fiction, and that (to translate the words of Ludo Milis) 'St Augustine did not write a rule for the clergy comparable to that of St Benedict for the monks'.¹⁹ Whilst the rule promotes the idea of cohabitation between priests, even this was not new, having already been advocated by St Eusebius at Vercelli.²⁰ For the purposes of this study it is probably sufficient to establish that, by the mid-twelfth century, the so-called 'Regula Tertia' had 'very improperly' come to be identified as the 'Rule of St Augustine', with the so-called 'Regula Secunda' all but forgotten.²¹ To begin with, there were many years during which houses of what would later come to be recognized as parts of an 'Augustinian order' remained for the most part unconnected and autonomous despite the similarities of their way of life. Beginnings can be discerned as early as the time of Chrodegang bishop of Metz (d.766), who composed

¹⁷ Dickinson devotes several pages to a discussion of this question: Dickinson, *Origins*, 255-72. De Bruyne had already noted that although the *Regula Tertia* is routinely called the Rule of St Augustine, 'it contains excellent advice, striking and profound remarks, but it must be realised that it is not a rule ... I cannot imagine a man founding a monastery with the RA ('Regula Tertia') as its rule', as quoted in Dickinson, *Origins*, 260. Mandonnet, writing a little later, in 1937, considered that there were so many problems in trying to identify a relationship between Letter 211 and the rule as we know it, that it was not clear 'even in the learned world ... in what the Rule of St Augustine consists or consisted': P. Mandonnet, *St Dominique*, ed. M. H. Vicaire and R. Ladner, 2 vols. (Paris, 1937), i, 107, as quoted by Dickinson, *Origins*, 256.

¹⁸ In the Barnwell custumal, Clark identifies two rules in use. See Clark's introduction to the Barnwell *Observances*, pp.c-ci.

¹⁹ L. Milis, *L'Ordre des chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise, son histoire et son organisation de la fondation de l'abbaye-mère (vers 1090) à la fin des chapitres annuels (1471)* (Bruges, 1969), 79.

²⁰ Ibid.; Dickinson, *Origins*, 10; C. Dereine, 'Chanoines', *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie Ecclésiastiques*, 12 (1951), 353-405, 357.

²¹ Dickinson, *Origins*, 272. The Barnwell custumal preserves only the *incipit* of the 'Regula Secunda'.

a 'Regula Canonorum' for his cathedral community. This obtained a measure of success locally and after the removal of some specifically Messian features it was adopted widely, throughout the Carolingian Empire.²² Chrodegang identified two categories of religious: those who were cloistered ('intra claustra or in ipsa congregatione') and those who lived in the community ('extra claustra' or 'in civitate'). The first group lived a strict, communal life within their house, while members of the second were not bound to do so, but were expected to attend on Sundays and major feast days.²³ Chrodegang's rule was a combination of Augustinian and Benedictine precepts carving a middle way between the two.²⁴

By the mid-eleventh century the reforming monk, Peter Damian of the monastery of Fonte Avellana, had expressed his support for the regular canonical life through works such as his 'Contra clericos regulares proprietarios' (written 1065/6). The adoption of the rule of St Augustine by those communities wishing to follow Peter Damian's exhortation that purity could not be achieved in the world unless one was willing to forgo physical possessions, was a clear indication of the success of the reforming movement.²⁵ These early regulars might not conform exactly to the modern understanding of an 'Augustinian', but they were certainly at the grass roots level of a growing desire for change.²⁶ What these early communities lacked was a central cohesiveness. Unlike the Cistercians and Franciscans, they were in no sense

²² Milis, *Chanoines réguliers d'Arrouaise*, 79; Dickinson, *Origins*, 17; Dereine, 'Chanoines', 365.

²³ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 48. Chrodegang's influence can be seen in England as early as 786. The Legatine Statutes of that year included a decree on the conduct of 'canonici': J. Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. P. Sawyer (London, 1985), 104-42.

²⁴ Ortenberg, *English Church and the Continent*, 48.

²⁵ Dickinson, *Origins*, 35.

²⁶ The term 'canonicos regulares' is almost unknown in surviving charters from the latter part of the tenth century. Even later, during the time of Anselm of Havelberg (d.1135) and Abelard (d.1140), it was still regarded not only as innovative but also as not entirely respectable. The adoption of a rule associated with one of the founding fathers of the Church must have gone some way to achieving such respectability.

initially an organised 'order', despite their common practices. Their accepted superior remained the local diocesan and during the early part of their history they claimed no centralized canonical organization.²⁷ Most importantly the creation of the canonical movement and its adoption of Augustine's rule allowed the canons actively to engage with the outside world, thus freeing them from the strict policy of enclosure imposed on those who followed the precepts of St Benedict. They were regarded by their contemporaries not as 'monks with clerical characteristics but as clerks with monastic characteristics'.²⁸

Gregorian Reform and the Eremetical Influence

In the changes in religious practice that occurred during the eleventh century it is possible to see the beginnings of an emerging reform movement that was to lead to the establishment of houses of regular canons living in accordance with the Rule of St Augustine. However, the history of the canonical lifestyle cannot be considered in isolation from that of monasticism. This connection is probably best explained by David Knowles:

'The way of life that ultimately developed into the various families of regular canons was at first and for many centuries a parallel movement to monasticism in the church, and although monasticism is in its essence a regular life apart from the world, and does not of itself imply the clerical state, whereas the canonical life was intended for clerics and above all for those living at the great centres of population, the two institutes in the course of centuries underwent so many modifications and influenced and replaced

²⁷ Dickinson, *Origins*, 79.

²⁸ Dickinson, *Origins*, 79.

each other so frequently, that the history of the one necessarily impinges upon that of the other'²⁹

It was the Gregorian reform movement that was finally to legitimize the position of the regular canons. Originating in central Italy, it sought a return to the primitive state of Christianity and the re-adoption of the life believed to have been lived by the early apostles, embraced by St Augustine himself as the 'vita apostolica' or sometimes 'vita patrum'. This return to a more spiritual and communal life was a direct response to what was perceived to be the growing worldliness of the western Church.³⁰ The roots of reform, and the shift toward the adoption of the 'vita apostolica' by an increasing number of communities can be seen in its earliest form in parts of northern Italy and France.³¹ . Here, those espousing reform drew upon the Bible itself for support: 'all who believed were together and had all things in common, and sold their possessions and goods and parted them to all men as every man had need'.³² This principle emerged at a time when attempts were being made by the papacy to break free from perceived deterioration and to find ways in which to re-assert papal power over the church universal.³³ A return to a more disciplined structure was called for. Together, this desire and an increasing enthusiasm for the eremetical way of life, combined with a return to 'true piety and sound learning', although seen by some contemporaries as

²⁹ D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the times of Saint Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 940-1216*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1963), 139.

³⁰ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 26-7; Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 44.

³¹ Such ideas may have begun to arrive in France as early as 1001, when William of Volpiano (962-1031) was sent to Fécamp to restore monastic observance: T. Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200* (Oxford, 2011), 32. By the 1040s, when Herluin was a member of the community, they had arrived at Bec: H. Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism, A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150* (London, 1984), 33.

³² Acts 2: 44-5.

³³ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 44.

both reactionary and revolutionary, contributed to the spread of such ideas across the continent and eventually to England.³⁴

The safeguarding of religious standards was a priority with internal impetus.³⁵ For Peter Damian, the antidote to any slackness was the common life, for 'the retention of private property inspires disobedience, indiscipline, worldliness, and greed'.³⁶ As monastic thought evolved, there were those, including Rainald the hermit, who looked upon the laxity displayed by many communities as a major cause for alarm.³⁷ For hermits and Gregorians alike the church was to be purified, set free from corrupting institutions to return to the ways and customs of the early church'.³⁸ By looking back to the apostles, both the reform movement and these 'new hermits'³⁹ sought to move forward into a new, more Christ-like, existence.

In 1059, the Lateran Council tacitly acknowledged the existence of new orders, and this was reaffirmed in a decree of the Lateran Synod, in 1063.⁴⁰ During the second half of the eleventh century, communities of canons embracing the common life began to spread northward from Italy, flourishing in three principal areas of France: the extreme south of Provence, Gascony and, most importantly for the spread into

³⁴ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 176.

³⁵ J. Herbert, 'The Transformation of Hermitages into Augustinian Priors in Twelfth-Century England', in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition, Papers read at the 1984 Summer Meeting and the 1985 Winter meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. W Sheils (Oxford, 1985), 131-46, esp p.136.

³⁶ Dickinson, *Origins*, 36.

³⁷ Licence, *Hermits and Recluses*, 6. The basis for the work of Germain Morin and Jean Leclercq was Rainald's tract on the history of spirituality, dating from c.1090 – c.1100.

³⁸ Leyser, *Hermits*, 69.

³⁹ For a discussion of the differences between 'new' and 'traditional' hermits see Leyser, *Hermits*, ch.3, pp.18-28. One very important difference (in the context of this study) between 'new' and 'traditional' beliefs was that solitude for a 'new' hermit did not mean to withdraw completely from the world but could also encompass the concept of living outside secular society in a distinct religious community, working within the wider community. It was this duality that was to appeal to the canons regular.

⁴⁰ Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons', 71, describing the advent of the canons as a 'fumbling sporadic response' to these decrees, implying that they did not formulate any official plan but reacted as necessary.

England, Lower Lorraine. The house of St Quentin at Beauvais, which under abbot Ivo of Chartres came to be regarded as a model for the order, established an early link with England when its observances were adopted by St Botolph's at Colchester, at some time after 1066.

The first indication that the rule of St Augustinian was beginning to take hold occurred in Rheims c.1070, but its late arrival in Normandy and Brittany, where Benedictine monasteries remained dominant, meant that it did not arrive in England in its mature form until around 50 years later.⁴¹ Two very important centres for the spread of the movement across the Channel were St-Nicolas at Arrouaise, and St-Victor at Paris, both of which were to establish daughter-houses in England.

Communities which may have embraced a full common life began to appear in Italy in the mid-eleventh century, although limited surviving evidence means that we cannot be certain as to whether they should be termed 'canons regular' in the twelfth-century sense. For the sake of clarity, I have adhered to twelfth-century convention when referring to the canons, although it should be noted that the lack of unanimity over title lasted until the pontificate of Urban II (1088-99). In Dickinson's opinion, the first real community to be established was that at Lucca, which grew up under the influence of Anselm of Lucca, the future pope Alexander II. It is also possible that those living at St Pantaleone led a common life as early as 1044, but once again this cannot be unequivocally proved.⁴²

⁴¹ Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons', 71.

⁴² Ibid.

By the late eleventh century, the eremetical movement was widespread across northern Europe with representatives in the German Empire, Flanders and France. It was typically, but not exclusively, attached to monastic or parish churches.⁴³ Using differences in terminology as his evidence, Tom Licence has suggested that recluses remained less distinguishable in Britain than they were elsewhere.⁴⁴ This reveals the practice to have been more popular than it might first appear, and indeed hagiography supports this hypothesis, suggesting that hermits or heremiticism, living a regular life, outside Benedictine norms, existed at sites throughout the country, for example at Glastonbury, Thorney and Evesham.⁴⁵

Beyond Italy, the abbey of St-Ruf at Avignon, founded in January 1038/9, possibly housed an early community living a common life but documentary evidence, as reported in *Gallia Christiana*, that this was under the Rule of Augustine, does not appear until 1084. Concrete evidence that canons regular were established in the abbey does not actually appear until a papal privilege of 1123, but, as Dickinson points out, the history of the house was particularly poorly documented before Urban II's pontificate.⁴⁶

The effects of the Norman Conquest

Norman propaganda would suggest that, rather than an act of aggression by a people seeking to expand their empire, the Conquest was intended as a venture in ecclesiastical reform. This legitimization was based on perceptions not only that

⁴³ Licence, *Hermits*, 72.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 73-4.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 77. In his hagiographical writings, Goscelin identifies six recluses in eleventh century England. But this list cannot be considered exhaustive.

⁴⁶ Licence, *Hermits*, 42.

Harold Godwineson had usurped the throne, but more damningly had shown himself to be a perjurer in the eyes of the church. Much was made of Harold's sacred oath supposedly sworn on holy relics, wilfully broken. As a result, William, as rightful king and the upholder of promises, was given permission to fight under a papal banner.⁴⁷ Thus the Normans arrived in England as champions of the Church and their presence began to transform Anglo-Saxon religious culture. As has previously been discussed, the church in England was in no way unreceptive to new ideas, especially those which resonated with current practice. Cultural and liturgical exchange was common, but a new King and nobility added a new dimension, not least through the threat that reform would be imposed rather than occurring spontaneously. Duke William was aware early on of the reforming ideas growing within the church and this made his duchy and Anglo-Norman England ideal for experiment, adopting new initiatives.⁴⁸

After William's death in 1088, the situation was less favourable but the already established communities of secular clerks maintained a degree of continuity. Communities which showed a distinct eremitical influence provided fertile ground for incoming ideas and were later transformed into some of the most important abbeys of the future Augustinian 'order'. Thus 'the political vicissitudes of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries do not appear to have affected this [establishment]'.⁴⁹ By 1130, and the reform of the chapter of Sées, the position of the regular canons in both England and Normandy had been strongly affirmed by Henry I.⁵⁰ Changes may also have been influenced by the changing self-perceptions of the Normans, now

⁴⁷ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 21.

⁴⁸ Arnoux, *Des clercs au service de la réforme*, 33.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 36 (here translated).

⁵⁰ Ibid., 39.

integrating with their conquered lands to become Anglo-Normans. This growing sense of a changing identity encouraged other types of new thinking, not least the founding of religious houses no longer restricted to royalty but within the financial reach of an aspirational, and ambitious, nobility.⁵¹

The Arrival of the Regular Canons in England

The history of the introduction of the regular canons into England is difficult to piece together given the sparse and often contradictory surviving evidence. In a preface to the section on Augustinian houses in the record Commission edition of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, the editors summarise the arrival of the canons as follows: they were 'little known till the tenth or eleventh century, were not brought into England until after the Conquest, and seem not to have obtained the name of Austin canons until some years later ... all ... historians agree that we had no regular canons here' until this time.⁵² Although intrinsically correct, this statement seems to imply less of a transition and more of an abrupt 'arrival' than was actually the case. In fact the collected evidence points toward more being known in England of the growing movement for reform than was realized when the *Monasticon* was written.

It has been suggested that any reference to either *regular* or *black* canons before about 1105 should be taken to imply *secular* canons, as it was usual practice at this time to refer to these as 'canonici regulares', drawing a clear distinction between them and the parochial clergy. That many of these secular communities were subsumed by houses which eventually became Augustinian further muddies the waters. By the time the

⁵¹ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 35.

⁵² *Monasticon*, vi, 37.

first fully-fledged Augustinian foundations were established, there were in the region of eighty collegiate churches of secular canons already existing in England. The inhabitants of these were already 'living as a group with a greater or lesser degree of common life and observing, while resident, liturgical and other regulations which were neither too strict nor so comprehensive as those of monastic life'.⁵³

Among those secular communities later transformed into Augustinian houses were those at Plympton and Southwark. However, arguably the most famous example is that of Waltham Abbey in Essex.⁵⁴ Originally founded before 1035, with two priests, led by Tovi the Proud, standard bearer to King Canute, Waltham was probably a lesser minster built originally to house a crucifix or 'imago Christi'. It was re-founded by Harold Godwinson as a college of secular canons c.1060, when its church was dedicated by Cynesige, Archbishop of York, in the presence of King Edward. In 1062, Harold added a further ten priests and appointed a dean, Wlwin, to preside over them. He also brought in Master Adelard, a German born in Liège who had studied at Utrecht, to assist the dean with setting up new laws, institutes and customs for the house, and to preside over the education of the canons.⁵⁵

As an admirer of the strict discipline of Lotharingian churches, which he had visited during his travels on the Continent, Harold instructed Adelard to institute a version of their rules and ordinances. Adelard complied, and based his own statutes on

⁵³ Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 13; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 37-39, 411-46.

⁵⁴ The story of the foundation of the Abbey of Waltham Holy Cross is in the twelfth-century 'De Inventione Sanctae Crucis', whence L. Watkiss and M. Chibnall, eds., *The Waltham Chronicle, an Account of the Discovery of Our Holy Cross at Montacute and Its Conveyance to Waltham* (Oxford, 1994).

⁵⁵ Archbishop Cynesige is recorded as having died in December 1060, two years before the charter of foundation was drawn up. Watkiss and Chibnall, *Waltham Abbey*, xxxix. The date for the dedication is suggested as being May 1060 but this is unconfirmed, *VCH, Essex*, ii, 166;

Chrodegang's 'Regula'.⁵⁶ The influence of this can be found in the customs of the abbey, although by 1177, when the Waltham chronicle was being written, any direct reference to this had long disappeared.⁵⁷

The circumstances surrounding the foundation of Westacre Priory in Norfolk, c.1102-26, also support transformation rather than immediate imposition as an accepted method of communal evolution.⁵⁸ The earliest extant evidence for Westacre comes in a confirmation of the priory's foundation charter which, while it confirms that the property listed was held of the de Tosny fee, fails to mention any conventual buildings. It may be that there were none and an existing community of priests was already living in, or around, the parish church of All Saints, not as yet bound by any prescribed rule. The formal organisation of the community into a priory did not occur until some time in the 1130s or 1140s and it was probably only at this time that they fully embraced the Rule of St Augustine. In the confirmation charter it is suggested that, before this reorganisation, the priests had lived according to the common life as described in Acts Chapter 4. As the Westacre charter puts it:

'The multitude that believed were of one heart and of one soul: neither said any of them ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common. The holy fathers called this the

⁵⁶ This introduction of the *Regula* appears to be contemporary with Giso's at Wells. 'Introduction', J. Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300*, new edition by D.E. Greenway and others, 7 (*Bath and Wells*) (2001), pp.xxi-iii. URL: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=34340> Date accessed: 04 December 2013.

⁵⁷ *Waltham Chronicle*, ed. Watkiss and Chibnall, pp.xviii-xxii.

⁵⁸ N. Vincent, 'The Foundation of Westacre Priory' (1102 x 1126)', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 27 (1993), 490-4, esp. p.493: 'multitudinis autem credentium erat cor unum et anima una, neque quisquam eorum que possidebat aliquid suum esse dicebat sed errant illis omnia communia. Istud vero sancti patres canonicam normam vocaverunt et quisquis eam duxerit consors et concivis apostolorum efficietur'.

⁵⁹ *Monasticon*, vi, 575-6. The founder was possibly Ralph de Tosny, who later confirmed all the original grants.

canonical rule and whoever shall follow it shall become the consort
and the fellow citizen of the apostles'⁵⁹

It is this type of evidence that is suggestive of a 'priory in the making'⁶⁰, reinforcing the need to question the chronology of other houses including Barnwell, and not to accept what must, given its brevity, be a rather simplified version of events in the Barnwell *Liber*. In view of these other examples the situation at Cambridge is likely to have been far more complicated than the *Liber* allows.

The lack of a central authority meant that any impetus for an Augustinian foundation had to come from someone with experience of the order through their links to the continent.⁶¹ Keen supporters of the reform movement such as Hugh de Die, archbishop of Lyons, were crucial in the spread of enthusiasm for these new developments. It is probable that Anselm himself was influenced by archbishop Hugh during his stay at Lyons, 1099-1100.⁶²

Whilst a secure date for the introduction of the Augustinians into England cannot be established, what is not in question is the canons' intense spirituality, highly attractive to members of the nobility wishing to found religious houses.⁶³ Thus the early decades of the twelfth century proved a period of great expansion for the order, an

⁶⁰ Above n.57.

⁶¹ Vincent, 'Foundation of Westacre', 491.

⁶² Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 13.

⁶³ Dickinson, *Origins*, 109-10. As Archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm was probably the most influential figure in the promotion of the regular canons in England. He was directly involved in the foundation of Little Dunmow, and advised Queen Matilda when she instituted the community at Holy Trinity, Aldgate, c.1107. Such was the influence of this house with its royal patron that prompted Dickinson to go so far as to state that, 'it was this foundation that focussed national attention on the Rule of St Augustine'.

expansion which was, in no small part, determined by the combined interest of King Henry and Queen Matilda.

According to Dickinson, '(t)here was no house of regular canons [in Normandy] until c.1119 and none in Brittany until 1130'. If we were to take this statement at face value, then is it possible to attach any credence to claims, such as those at Barnwell, that already, before 1150, there were houses of Augustinian canons in England? Whilst it is acceptable to suggest a time lag between establishment on the continent and the move to England, is Barnwell's claim to have been founded long before this, as an Augustinian house, in any way plausible?⁶⁴

Some of the first traces of continental influence over English monasticism can be found at the priory of St Julian and St. Botolph in Colchester. The foundation date of the house is accepted as being c.1104, so for any house pre-dating this we must question what rule was being followed, if any.⁶⁵ To be considered 'the first' or 'the oldest' house of an order brought with it a certain prestige. Given the paucity of the available evidence, the question of which house should be accorded this title must be approached with caution. Indeed, it is necessary to ask not one, but two questions of the sources available, not simply 'which was the first house of Augustinian canons to be founded in England?' but, broken down now into two parts, 'which was the first

⁶⁴ Herbert, 'The Transformation of Hermitages', 136.

⁶⁵ Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons', 71, as part of an article that concentrates specifically on the influence of the houses of St Nicholas Arrouaise and St Victor Paris. Both were originally hermitages and after becoming houses of regular canons in the early twelfth-century established daughter houses in England, Arrouaise at Great Missenden in 1133, and St Victor at Wigmore in 1179 (*Monasticon*, vi, 344-8) and then St Augustine's, Bristol c.1142. In both cases it is suggested that links were fragile with abbots failing to attend chapters, and that the fall of the Angevin empire effectively divided the daughters from their mother house. Although this does not indicate any great physical presence in England, customaries from both mother houses were adopted and there were two English abbots at St Nicholas: Robert (1151-61) and Robert (1197-1209).

house of regular canons to be founded in England?' and 'which was the first house of regular canons to adopt the Rule of St Augustine founded in England?'

As has been seen it is more plausible to identify the very earliest communities as secular canons or priests and not to attempt to attach an 'Augustinian' label to them, despite their traits of what would later be recognised as the Rule of St Augustine. This is not to imply that secular communities could not be rigorous in their adoption of the common life, but does remove any suggestion of a connection to Augustine's rule. During the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, new influences began to feed what might be termed a 'third way' to pursue religious vocation. A man no longer needed to choose between the life of a hermit or becoming a Benedictine monk. By combining eremiticism with the notion of 'communal living' a person's life could be dedicated to the service of God without the restriction of being enclosed and living apart from society.⁶⁶ Thus it could be suggested that the introduction of the Gregorian reform movement occurred in three distinct stages. Firstly, houses of secular priests or canons already in existence begin to adopt a common life.⁶⁷ They then went through a transitional stage eventually embracing the Rule of St Augustine and becoming 'regulars'. Finally, new houses that were fully Augustinian from the outset began to be founded.

To return to the question of continental influence the evidence, rather than suggesting the slow progression of reformed ideas across the Channel into England, seems to shrink the period of evolution considerably. That there was a delay is not under dispute. The length of that delay remains uncertain. Whenever it was that Colchester

⁶⁶ Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons', 71.

⁶⁷ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 264.

formally adopted the Rule of St Augustine we cannot discount the possibility that knowledge of the rule was purposefully sought out by the community dispatching two of its members to France.⁶⁸ It is possible that as many as four houses of regular canons can be identified in England before 1100, pre-dating the introduction of the Augustinian Rule by years if not by decades. Their foundation occurred in much the same way as houses on the continent, either through an influential church leader or a would-be reformer.

St Mary's, Huntingdon was established between c.1086 and c.1091 on a site previously occupied by a Saxon community and first became a house for priests under a rule c.1091.⁶⁹ St Giles Cambridge (the origins of the future Barnwell Priory) is traditionally supposed to have been settled from Huntingdon in 1092, although it was not considered to be a daughter house as it was not instigated by the community at Huntingdon but by Picot.⁷⁰ This was followed by St Gregory's, Canterbury, founded by Archbishop Lanfranc c.1088⁷¹, becoming fully Augustinian under William Corbeil (Abp 1123-36).⁷² A fourth house, St Julian and St Botolph, was founded at Colchester c.1093 as a house of secular canons.⁷³ Following continental practice, all

⁶⁸ Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 245. Burton describes this first stage as 'a brief "pre-Augustinian" period in England when, as on the continent, communities of clerics adopted a common life without using the Rule'.

⁶⁹ This question is considered below.

⁷⁰ Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 12; Dickinson, *Origins*, 103-104; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 146, 160. St Mary's was founded by Eustace, sheriff of Huntingdonshire. Green, *Sheriffs of William the Conqueror*, 143. Eustace is mentioned as sheriff in the Kentford plea of 1080/81, *Regesta*, I, no. 122. It is also possible he was removed from office at around this time, *Regesta*, I, 329, 413, 477. Picot followed the continental practice of requesting one or two canons from an already established community to settle in his new foundation.

⁷¹ Dickinson, *Origins*, 104.

⁷² Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 12; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 152-60.

⁷³ Dickinson, *Origins*, 101.

these houses had urban bases.⁷⁴ It has been suggested that both St Mary's and St Gregory's should be viewed as 'local experiments' and that they cannot be considered as true communities. It is in circumstances such as these that it is all the more important to distinguish between the arrival of 'regular canons' and 'Augustinian canons'. Only when these terms have clear definitions can any answers begin to be formulated

The difficulties in establishing a firm foundation date for any house without the luxury of corroborative evidence are often insurmountable. As Woodcock has noted, following V.H. Galbraith, 'it was not unusual for a community to have been established some time before it received a charter recording its endowment'.⁷⁵ In view of the probable discrepancies, it seems more appropriate to consider foundation documents as records of endowment rather than as reliable dating evidence for the beginning of a religious community. The extant copies of the charters for St Giles and Barnwell Priory are good examples of such endowment records.

The early houses

Domesday Book supplies no reference to a priory at Huntingdon in 1086 and recorded only a church: 'In Botuluesbrige [i.e. Huntingdon] Burgræd and Thorkil the priests had a church of St Mary ... Now they themselves hold it of Eustace [the sheriff]'.⁷⁶ It seems likely that a reference in a Thorney Abbey charter dated c.1092 to a 'monasterium S. Mariae' may be misleading in its use of the word 'monastery' and

⁷⁴ Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 12.

⁷⁵ A. Woodcock, *The Priory of St Gregory* (London, 1956), p.ix. See also V. K. Galbraith, 'Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 4 (1934), 205-22.

⁷⁶ DB folio 206.

instead refer only to a good-sized church.⁷⁷ The old English equivalent to 'monasterium' was 'mynster' and this was used, in the broadest sense, to describe any religious establishment with a church.⁷⁸

The Victoria County History cites a passage from a Peterborough manuscript as recorded by Dugdale. This apparently stated that 'Prior et canonici de Hunting' fundati sunt super duas hidas terre et dono quondam Eustachii vicecomitis liberas, puras et quietas ab omnibus servitiis secularibus'.⁷⁹ The evidence appears to confirm that although a house of regular canons existed by the 1090s it was not yet following the Rule of St Augustine and that although a date cannot be affixed to the foundation it was, at some point linked to the sheriff of the county, Eustace de Lovetot.⁸⁰ The priory at Huntingdon is known to have had close links with the twelfth-century holy woman, Christina of Markyate, and some information can be gleaned from her *vita*, written in the twelfth century by a monk of St Albans Abbey in Hertfordshire. This extant manuscript records Christina as being born around the end of the eleventh-century, between 1096 and 1098, close to the time when regular canons were first appearing in England. The *vita* opens with an incident said to have occurred before Christina's birth in which her mother, an Anglo-Saxon noblewoman named Beatrice, was seated at a window in her house in Huntingdon through which she could see the priory of St Mary's. As she watched, a dove flew up from the priory and came to her, finally settling on the sleeve of her tunic. This was a sign by which she knew her

⁷⁷ *Monasticon*, ii, 599.

⁷⁸ J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), 3.

⁷⁹ *Monasticon*, vi, 79, no.1.

⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that, as at St Giles, the priory was founded by one of the Conqueror's sheriffs, Eustace de Lovetot. De Lovetot's career bears a striking resemblance to that of Picot for, as sheriff of Huntingdonshire he was famed for his misdeeds and perhaps saw the need for atonement for these. As with Picot's, the de Lovetot line had also disappeared by the early twelfth-century: *VCH Huntingdonshire*, i, 393.

child to be blessed. While the story may be apocryphal the date at which it is supposed to have happened does suggest that the priory had been founded before c.1100.⁸¹ Further on in the narrative, Christina's teacher is named as Sueno, a canon of Huntingdon, and it is said that he knew the child before she made the trip to St Alban's with her family c.1111-12 during which she promised herself to God.

The priory of St Gregory's, Canterbury was established by Lanfranc c.1084-85 probably as part of his reform programme. Its foundation may, or may not have been, directly influenced by decrees. Thomas of Elmham in his description of the *translatio* of the relics of Saints Edburg and Mildred to the church from Liminge records that 'translationem fuisse de Limminges Cantuariam anno domini MLXXXV praesidente Lanfranco archiepiscopo, ad ecclesiam sancti Gregorii quam idem Lanfrancus Paulo ante construxerat', thereby confirming that the church was in existence by 1085.⁸² There is also evidence supporting this dating in the extant foundation charter, supposedly written between 1085 and Lanfranc's death in May 1089. Eadmer notes that 'ex altera vero parte viæ ecclesiam in honorem beati Gregorii papæ composuit in qua canonicos posuit (Lanfrancus) qui regulariter viverent et præfais infirmis quæ saluti animarum suarum congruerent cum sepultura ministrarent'.⁸³ This would place the foundation of St Gregory's slightly earlier than the date given for St Mary's, Huntingdon. At neither place, however, is there any evidence to suggest an early association with a rule. The earliest recorded reference to even regular canons at Canterbury does not appear until their mention in a grant of Archbishop Theobald,

⁸¹ C. H. Talbot, *The Life of Christina of Markyate* (Oxford, 1959), 13.

⁸² Thomas of Elmham, *Historia Monasterii Sancti Augustini*, (Rolls Series), 224 as quoted in *Cartulary of the Priory of St Gregory, Canterbury*, A. M. Woodcock, ed., Camden 3rd series 88 (London, 1956), ix.

⁸³ *Eadmeri Historia Novorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, Rolls Series 81 (London, 1884), 16.

between 1142 and 1148.⁸⁴ It is entirely plausible that, once again, this began as a community of secular priests who adopted the rule at about this time when a number of canons from Merton joined the existing community.⁸⁵

The foundation history of St Giles as it is recorded in the Barnwell *Liber* offers a simple tale of the fulfilment of a pious vow made by the sheriff of Cambridgeshire and his wife in a time of crisis. As has already been established in Chapter 5, Picot's position as sheriff is well documented in a number of primary sources including the *Liber Eliensis* and Domesday Book. He also appears as a witness to royal writs during the final third of the eleventh century. From this evidence it appears reasonable to accept that he founded St Giles in the early 1090s, most probably on the site of a pre-existing house of secular priests. Given the urban setting and the lack of space for proper conventual buildings its chances of survival in its original form were limited so it is understandable that it was eventually re-located under the patronage of Pain Peverel.⁸⁶ It is possible that the canon's adoption of the rule coincided either with the confirmation in 1109 or the site move in 1112. This would mean that the community became Augustinian some five to thirteen years after the canons at St Botolph's. Alternatively, even as late as 1112, there is no firm proof of any Augustinian attachment.

⁸⁴ *Cartulary of St Gregory*, ed. Woodcock, 10.

⁸⁵ Dickinson suggests, on the strength of Theobald's charter that regular canons were not instituted at St Gregory's until the archiepiscopate of William Corbeil. Corbeil had been a regular canon himself and, if Simeon of Durham can be relied upon, a close associate of Anselm: Dickinson, *Origins*, 105, 127.

⁸⁶ Clark, *Liber*, p.xxxiv. Clark gives 1109 as a tentative date for Peverel's confirmation of the Picot grants to the canons with the site move occurring three years later in 1112.

The Victoria County History for Essex clearly states that the priory of St Botolph and St Julian, Colchester was the first of the Augustinian houses in England.⁸⁷ But how certain is it that St Botolph's deserves this accolade? The source cited for this information is the 'Historia Foundationis' which occurs as introduction to the cartulary of another Augustinian house, Holy Trinity, Aldgate.⁸⁸ The author, Thomas de Axbridge was writing between 1425 and 1427, using information set out in the 'ancient books' of his own priory.⁸⁹ Here we are told that a man named Norman, previously of Colchester, travelled to France in the company of his brother Bernard, to learn 'the rule', being released from his community, on his return, by abbot Ainulf to become prior of Aldgate on 5 April 1108.⁹⁰ This short account does not give an actual date either for Norman's journey or for the foundation of St Botolph's, which is generally accepted to have been around 1095. A writ of William Rufus, dating from 1093 x 1100, confirms that a community of some form was in existence there, although giving no details.⁹¹ In his narrative, Axbridge himself was happy to allow Norman the accolade of being 'the first man to introduce the rule of the Austin canons into England'.⁹²

⁸⁷ *VCH Essex*, ii, 148-50.

⁸⁸ The original manuscript is held by the University of Glasgow, Hunterian Library ms. U.2.6. The *Historia Foundationis* makes up the first six folios of the manuscript. The acceptance of this claim to primacy can also be found in various other sources including the *Constructiones quorundam monasteriorum* now in Trinity College, Cambridge (Trinity College ms. 724, f.20v) and the *Historia Regum* of John Ross (*Monasticon*, vi, 619).

⁸⁹ *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, ed. G.A.J. Hodgett, London Record Society (London, 1971), pp.xii, 233-4: 'Ego Frater Thomas de Axebrigge vocatus filius Johannis de Cornubia huius ecclesie canonicus, sacerdos et professus, renovare dispono non secundum tempora priorum set iuxta antiquorum ordinem librorum'.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 2. Armed with a letter from Anselm to John the prior of Mont-St-Éloi, a highly respected house north-west of Arras, Norman travelled to Chartres and Beauvais and 'ascertained the material requirements of the canons'. As the regular canonical life was not introduced to Chartres until 1099 this would suggest the journey began at or round this time.

⁹¹ Dickinson, *Origins*, 101, 108.

⁹² Hodgett, *Cartulary of Holy Trinity*, 1; Dickinson, *Origins*, 98ff.

This narrows down the period for adoption of the rule at St Botolph's to between 1099 and 1107, as this latter was the year that Norman was released to become prior of Holy Trinity.⁹³ According to the cartulary, Holy Trinity was founded a year later, in 1108, but it is more likely that this date indicates the time at which the new community was consecrated and the documents detailing its foundation were produced. As at Barnwell, the new priory at Aldgate was built on the site of an existing church, in this case one that had links to the dean and chapter of Waltham Holy Cross.⁹⁴

Another thread of evidence on which the supremacy of St Botolph's claims have been based is a papal letter issued by Paschal II in 1116. This conferred great privileges and confirmed the house as being the first foundation of its order in England, thereby bestowing upon it the authority to undertake 'visitations' of other houses.⁹⁵ The terms of the bull state that the canons were to be 'free from the jurisdiction of any person, secular or ecclesiastical'. The authority of visitation was one hotly contested by the canons of Aldgate who could not accept that the canons of Colchester should be allowed such power. They appealed to Pope Honorius III sending a delegation to Rome to present their case. The pope ruled in Aldgate's favour and under his authority the bishop of London declared Holy Trinity to be free from visitation, in 1223.⁹⁶ Both at Colchester and at Aldgate, however, it is difficult to accept the

⁹³ Ibid., 102-3, 117. The departure of Norman for Holy Trinity marks the beginning of St Botolph's decline in importance and of the corresponding ascendancy of both Holy Trinity Aldgate and another daughter-house of Colchester, the priory at Merton, which had been founded by Gilbert the Sheriff c.1114 under Robert, previously the sub-prior of St Mary's, Huntingdon. Dugdale dates the foundation of St Botolph to 1105, citing Tanner. Tanner recorded that the house had been founded before the death of bishop Maurice of London on 26 September 1107: *Monasticon*, vi, 37.

⁹⁴ Hodgett, *Cartulary of Holy Trinity*, p.xiii.

⁹⁵ *Monasticon*, iv, 106: 'Primum enim ut a religiosus personis acceptimus, canonice religionis professoris in patria vestra floruistis'.

⁹⁶ *VCH Essex*, ii, 148.

evidence of papal letters as the unvarnished truth. Certainly, in both cases, claims to immunity from episcopal authority appear remarkably precocious, casting yet further doubt on the idea that these communities were established fully fledged, with the rule of St Augustine and immunities that other, even more venerable Benedictine communities were only just on the point of demanding. Dickinson, Holtzmann and Migne have all cast doubt on the authenticity of the Colchester bull with its declaration of St Botolph's precedence. Whilst they accept that the greater part of the document is authentic, it contains 'glaringly suspicious' elements. As a result Holtzmann excluded it from his collection of *Papsturkunden* in England and even Migne described it as 'dubious'.⁹⁷ The reference to immunity here is far more likely an interpolated clause, possibly added in support of a later lawsuit: a not uncommon practice.⁹⁸ It can, therefore, be concluded that St Botolph's, along with Aldgate and Dunmow (f.1104), were most likely the first houses in England to adopt the Rule of St Augustine in its recognized form. Interestingly a clear link between all three can be found in the person of St Anselm, thus confirming his interest in, and promotion, of the regular orders.⁹⁹

The Rule of St Augustine is not mentioned in an extant foundation charter until that of Bishop William Warelwast of Exeter for Launceston, in 1127.¹⁰⁰ Like that of Holy

⁹⁷ Dickinson, *Origins*, 101; W. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden in England*, 3 vols. (Berlin, 1930-52), I, 224-231. Holtzmann reproduces four of Paschal II's bulls: three addressed to King Henry and one to Queen Matilda. These cover the period 1104-1114.

⁹⁸ Rose Graham suggested that the dispute in question might have been one with Holy Trinity, Aldgate which would make sense given the context discussed above and warrants further investigation: Dickinson, *Origins*, 101 n.2.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 127.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 154-5., citing London, Lambeth Palace ms. 719, f.3v, and cf. P. L. Hull, ed., *The Cartulary of Launceston Priory*, Devon and Cornwall Record Society, n.s. 30 (1987), p.xiv, 5: 'Unde factum est ut tam Regis predicti quam archipresulis ceterorumque coepiscoporum meorum, et provincie mee optimatum consilio fretus et auxilio pro delictorum meorum remissione in ecclesia Sancti Stephani de Lanzavetona canonicos secundum Sancti Augustini regulam viventes constituerim et confirmaverim'. Warelwast founded two other Augustinian priories in the West Country, at Plympton and Bodmin.

Trinity, Aldgate, Launceston's cartulary dates from the fifteenth-century and was possibly written by Thomas Banks¹⁰¹ whose name appears in one of the decorated initials. As a house of secular priests, Launceston had existed on its original site since before the Conquest and as such, it too, was an established community only later converted into a house for regular canons, along the same lines as Waltham Abbey and, in all probability, St Giles, Cambridge.

It is possible that Launceston may have adopted the rule as early as 1121, but surviving sources do not offer an exact date. While the Warelwast charter dates from 1127, Henry I's confirmation charter could possibly date from as early as April-May 1121.¹⁰² Again this discrepancy may be caused by a lapse in time between population of the priory and its documentation (at least on the bishop's part), or by a misdating of the king's charter? What is clear is that Launceston, as an Augustinian establishment, was a daughter house of Holy Trinity, Aldgate to which it retained links.¹⁰³

From this we may conclude that the oldest house by original foundation date was not necessarily the same as the oldest Augustinian house nor even the oldest house of regular canons. Overall, the dating evidence is far too fragile, in most cases, for anything other than speculative dates to be assigned. It is, however, safer to accept that houses founded before 1100 were more likely to be secular than regular

¹⁰¹ Hull, *Cartulary of Launceston Priory*, p.viii.

¹⁰² *Regesta*, ii, no.1281, described by Richard Sharpe (personal communication) as 'inflated' (i.e. inauthentic in its present form), with doubts hovering over *ibid.*, no.1486, with its reference to 'canonici regulares'.

¹⁰³ Launceston's fourth prior, who held office between 9 May 1197 and his death on 7 July 1221, was associated with both houses. As a result of this he was known by two names: Peter of Cornwall (he was born near Launceston c.1140) and Peter of London (he was a canon there from around 1170).

communities, although they may very well have lived a common life as had been proposed by the church since as early as the eighth century.

The hierarchy of English Augustinian houses

Once the questions above had been settled with a degree of satisfaction by the houses involved, a hierarchy between them could be established. This was important, since to be considered the first of an order in terms of foundation date implied a certain prestige: recognition as ‘first among equals’ in a religious, if not an economic, sense. An opportunity for this occurred in 1215 when the Lateran Council decreed that triennial chapters of abbots and priors were to be established for each regular order. The Cistercians, with their previous organisational experience of such things, were requested by the pope to advise, and on 29 February 1216 Innocent issued a letter to all heads of Augustinian houses in the provinces of York and Canterbury, requiring them to meet for the first time at Leicester, on 8 November that year.¹⁰⁴ At first the Chapter was divided into two, one for each province, each province functioning separately. This practice continued until 1341 when the two assemblies merged, remaining this way until dissolved in the Protestant Reformation.¹⁰⁵

The Chapters were intended to provide regulation including visitation by a body empowered to pass judgement on wrongdoing. All processes were to be centralized and capitular statutes were to be preserved in writing, each house keeping its own

¹⁰⁴ Salter, *Chapters*, ix. However, due to the civil war, the meeting was postponed and eventually held on 8 November 1217.

¹⁰⁵ Either 1518 or 1521. The Benedictine order had been required to do the same by Benedict XII in 1337.

copy.¹⁰⁶ Each chapter was to be headed by two abbots acting as presidents. They, in turn, could nominate two further heads of houses to act as co-adjudicators. No statutes could be passed until all four heads were in agreement. Should any of the four fail to attend, the papal regulations allowed that, after consultation, a replacement might be nominated.¹⁰⁷ There seems to have been no definitive instruction on how to conduct chapter business, and evidence of at least three different methods survives.¹⁰⁸ Chapters were held at Barnwell on at least three occasions, in 1365, 1386 and 1506. The prior acted as one of the presidents at St Frideswide's in 1234, and again at Holy Trinity, Leicester in 1276 where he deputised for the abbot of Leicester. The prior was requested to act again at the chapters held in 1337 and 1340, but on both occasions was unable to attend so was deputised by the priors of St Bartholomew's and Bicester respectively.¹⁰⁹

Centralized authority did not, however, necessarily lead to harmony, indeed far from it. Complaints to the pope over the terms of individual statutes began as early as mid-1218 barely nine months after the chapter's establishment. In November that year, the pope contacted his legate, Pandulph, and informed him of a complaint he had received from the province of York, in which it was claimed that the province of Canterbury was attempting to ensure that all chapters were held in the south. It was

¹⁰⁶ In the event this does not appear to have been enforced, and in 1323 Archbishop William de Melton had to request that a copy of the Healagh Park statutes be sent to him: Salter, *Chapters*, xxii.

¹⁰⁷ 'Unde cum expedierit provida possint deliberacione mutari'. These rules were followed until 1353 when the Chapter at Oseney decreed that there should be three presidents, two from the south and one from the north.

¹⁰⁸ Salter, *Chapters*, 144, Appendix 1. Salter records a second method which appears as part of the 1325 Chapter at Northampton (pp.10-15).

¹⁰⁹ Salter, *Chapters*, 18-19.

this complaint that was to lead to the eventual splitting of the provinces described above.¹¹⁰

The Priory Site

The urban or semi-urban sites chosen for priories of Augustinian canons remained an important consideration for communities which performed multiple functions: the cure of souls, the care of the sick and the provision of hospitality. These functions could be both religious and secular depending on why, and for whom, they were performed. Unlike the rules of other orders, notably the Cistercians, the Augustinian Rule did not encourage the choice of remote sites. Rather, given the functions required of the canons, access to the local community was an important part of their daily life.

The situation at Barnwell Priory was complicated by the existence of two separate foundations and sites. The original site lay just outside the town proper, on a strip of land to the north of the main bridge over the Cam, south of rising land which had formerly been the site of the town's Roman defences. A number of factors are likely to have influenced Picot's choice here. In the early 1090s, when the sheriff was apparently considering sites for his foundation, the area below the castle would immediately have appealed, for at least two reasons. Firstly, it was already a religious site and offered a continuity of purpose with existing buildings. It has also been suggested that a Saxon Minster housing a community of secular priests occupied the

¹¹⁰ Salter, *Chapters*, pp.x-xi.

area and that this provided the sheriff with a template he could adapt to his own design. The minster status is suggested not least by the pattern of patronage in which a whole series of outlying parish churches appear to have been attached to the priory, from its foundation onwards.¹¹¹ If, as Emma Cownie has proposed, minsters, unlike monasteries, were generally reduced in status after 1066, then an existing minster community at Cambridge may even have viewed Picot's choice as beneficial.¹¹²

By the eleventh-century houses of secular canons were increasingly beleaguered, with mounting criticism from contemporary reformers. A canon of Merton who had cause to comment on the secular canons of Taunton described them as 'incorrigible' and, as if this was not sufficient to damn them, further remarked on their use of 'evil custom' that rendered them incapable of rising 'to the grace of holy conversation'.¹¹³ The foundation charters of both Waltham Abbey and Launceston, secular foundations later refounded as regular communities, suggest that regulars were increasingly preferred to seculars. Communities at St. Germain's, Newenham and Dover faced similar trajectories, being eventually replaced by regulars, either Benedictine or Augustinian, by William of Corbeil.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ A. Taylor, *Cambridge: The Hidden History* (Stroud, 1999), 61. Modern descriptions of ministers as 'houses served by priests who could staff the church and provide for the spiritual needs of the neighbourhood' suggest that the site below the castle was a good choice for such a community as the majority of dwellings would have been clustered around the river crossing and the Roman road which bisected the town: E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135* (Woodbridge, 1998), 11.

¹¹² Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 13, where Cownie concludes that after being reduced in status such minsters, if they were not to be disbanded completely, were either given over to monasteries to become cells or were reformed as Augustinian priories.

¹¹³ Dickinson, *Origins*, 242, n.1.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 242, n.2; C.R. Haines, *Dover Priory: A History of the Priory of St. Mary the Virgin and St. Martin of the New Work* (Cambridge, 1910), 60: 'Devindront trop jolifs que nul home ne les poait chastier de lours mesfaitz et mesfesoient de femmes et demoiselles aussi bien de la ville comme dehors'.

Meanwhile, sites suitable for secular canons were not necessarily suitable for regulars, for although the latter were required by their rule to engage with their local communities, at other times they were expected to adopt a contemplative life-style.¹¹⁵ In these circumstances, 'the town stood for all that monasticism resolutely rejected: promiscuity, profit, mobility and ambition'.¹¹⁶ Proximity, nonetheless, gave the canons an opportunity to work for reform both of their own communities and of urban religious life.

Secondly, the geographical position of the priory site had a number of favourable features not least its closeness to Cambridge castle, Picot's administrative power-base. It was also accessible by both road and river for the transportation of building materials, goods and services.¹¹⁷ This part of Cambridge had long been important in terms both of trade and control, so that although the site was small and restricted this may not have presented an immediate problem, as Picot's community was itself initially intended to be small.¹¹⁸ The castle, where Picot would have spent a good deal of time, had a moat fed by a fresh water spring which surfaced in the North West corner of the bailey.¹¹⁹ Multiple out-buildings, to house a kitchen and brew-house, are hard to imagine, nor was there space for even the smallest fish pond. It would thus have been impossible for the community to achieve self-sufficiency. The confined area also precluded any further display of status in the form of a new and more impressive church.

¹¹⁵ D. M. Robinson, 'The Site Changes of the Augustinian Communities in Medieval England and Wales', *Medieval Studies*, 48 (1981), 432.

¹¹⁶ L.J.R. Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 1992), 51.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 34.

¹¹⁸ Clark, *Liber*, 39: 'Et sex canonicis regularibus illic in breui adunatis'.

¹¹⁹ W. M. Palmer, *Cambridge Castle* (Cambridge, 1928), 15. According to Palmer the moat remained filled by this source until 1600, 25.

Another negative aspect of the site was that it did not have had any direct access to arable land, to supply the community with both food and income. As Picot's endowment was made up entirely of churches, it may be that there was never any intention for self-sufficiency, suggesting that he viewed St Giles merely as a starting point: the conversion of a secular minster church into a community of secular canons, as yet free from the obligations that would come later through regularization and the imposition of any 'Augustinian' order.¹²⁰

Godesone and the relocation of the Priory

Changes of site, at Barnwell as elsewhere within the Augustinian order, were widespread and undertaken for a variety of reasons.¹²¹ With a mounting determination amongst the elite to acquire ties to regular communities, from the reign of Henry I onwards, many such houses were founded quickly, without the requisite forethought. Essentials could be easily overlooked.¹²² Before a religious house could be founded it was first advisable for the founder to obtain papal or episcopal licence. Given the time this might take, it is unsurprising that impatient patrons founded their houses regardless, before making the appropriate application. Doing things in this way had one major advantage: should the site on which a house was founded prove unsuitable, the patron still had time to relocate it without applying for a second licence, thus eliminating further costs and delay. Elsewhere, as in the case of

¹²⁰ The priories at Bolton and Lilleshall both moved from their original sites due to lack of arable land: Burton, *Monastic Orders*, 235; Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 274.

¹²¹ Robinson, 'Site Changes', 425-44; R. A. Donkin, 'The Site Changes of Medieval Cistercian Monasteries', *Geography*, 44 (1959), 251- 8. In a more recent work (*The Cistercians: Studies in the Geography of Medieval England and Wales* (Toronto, 1978), Donkin notes thirty site changes chiefly due to adverse environmental conditions.

¹²² Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 126.

Barnwell, where the canons had been occupying a pre-existing site and buildings, the intention may always have been to acquire new land on which Picot, as founder, could build a suitably impressive religious complex.¹²³

It has been calculated that more than ten per cent of Augustinian houses in England and Wales were transferred from site to site at least once, with some making multiple moves.¹²⁴ In most cases no documentary evidence survives for these moves, but the assumption remains that geographical unsuitability served as the principal motive for change.¹²⁵ Factors here included the availability of fresh water and cramped space, both of which applied to Picot's site at St Giles.

As noted above, early houses of canons tended to follow the continental model, being placed in urban settings with ready access to their local community. This immediately raised the problem of space and also, of noise. As houses grew and prospered, the lack of space restricted not only their ability to expand into more impressive buildings, but also their aspirations to self sufficiency.¹²⁶ At Bedford the decision was made to move to a new site at Newenham as 'buildings of a different type and environment suited to the new life were necessary'.¹²⁷ A similar problem occurred at Porchester, where the community of canons, founded by Henry I in 1133, considered after twenty years that its proximity to the castle and the growth of the

¹²³ Ibid., 425. Robinson concludes that 'In a substantial number of religious foundations of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries a final site was not settled for some years after the initial convent had been established and a primary location chosen for the monastic buildings. Often sites were subsequently realised as merely temporary foundations, abandoned in later years in favour of fresh situations offering more suitable social or physical geographic conditions'.

¹²⁴ Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 76. Wigmore Priory, founded 1172 X 1179 had at least three and maybe as many as five moves before finally settling.

¹²⁵ Ibid., 78. Robinson cites only nine cases in which documentary evidence for the move is extant, but does not supply detail.

¹²⁶ Robinson, 'Site Changes', 40. A third of all the changes that took place can be attributed, at least in part, to a shortage of space.

¹²⁷ Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 79.

town had become inimical to its existence. Having no other option the community removed itself to Southwick.¹²⁸ Noise, which was no doubt part of the problem experienced by the Porchester canons, also became an issue for St Mary's Priory in Huntingdon. In urban settings disturbances were inevitable as populations increased and buildings and trade expanded. The only remedy was to move to a more secluded, yet still accessible site, outside of the town proper.¹²⁹

Human factors could also cause unease within a community, as happened at Cottingham where the patron had retained the right to clear the site whenever he so chose. It is unsurprising to note, then, that Cottingham very soon relocated to a more congenial site at Haltemprice.¹³⁰ It was not only patrons who caused difficulties. Sometimes it was neighbouring religious houses. At Durham, for example, the Benedictine monks took exception to there being a house of canons so close to their cathedral community. They went to great lengths, making legal representations to the papacy, and eventually succeeded in having the canons of Baxterwood evicted.¹³¹

Hermitages and Priors

In Dickinson's opinion, it was frequently the case that monasteries and priories developed out of hermitages, and this transition has since attracted the attention of historians both in England and on the continent.¹³² Once a hermit was established it

¹²⁸ Dickinson, *Origins*, 124. Southwick Priory was founded c. 1145 X 1153.

¹²⁹ Robinson, *Geography of Augustinian Settlement*, 78. The average distance of such moves has been calculated at 3.7 miles.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 83

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 83 nn.83-84.

¹³² These include L. Milis, 'Ermites et chanoines réguliers au XII^e siècle', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 22 (1979); R.M. Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London, 1914), as well as the works of Herbert and Licence cited elsewhere.

was a common occurrence for others to join him and thus form a religious community. Where this occurred, the Rule of St Augustine was commonly adopted to formalise such communities.¹³³ In an article published in 1979, Ludo Milis considered the association between hermitages and priories in the region between the Loire and the Rhine, at the same recognizing that both the Limousin and England followed a similar pattern. His study was based on two specific bodies of evidence: lives of the saints, and foundation histories, themselves liable to impose limitations upon enquiry.¹³⁴ One continental practice that does not appear to have been embraced by the English houses was the writing of the life of a hermit as part of the history of a monastic community. Only two examples of this practice have been identified: *De Gestis de Actibus priorum Sancti Oswaldi Nostel*, written by Ralph Adlave, and a description of the transformation of Deepdale hermitage into Dale Priory, preserved in the thirteenth-century chronicle of Thomas of Muskham.¹³⁵ Even so, whilst Picot's foundation in Cambridge seems to have had little to do with the hermetical life, a connection to hermits can certainly be suggested with the move to the second site c.1112.

No attempt is made in the Barnwell *Liber* to record the life of the hermit, Godesone, whose presence at the site is referred to only once and in passing:

'In hoc eiam loco quidam homo magne sanctitatis, Godesone nomine,
conuersari consueuerat, solitariam uitam ducens et paruulum oratorium

¹³³ Herbert, 'The Transformation of Hermitages', 131. For a general introduction to the subject see *L'eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII*, Miscellanea del Centro di Studi Medioevali (Milan, 1965), 4

¹³⁴ Milis, 'Ermites et chanoines réguliers', 39-80.

¹³⁵ Herbert, 'The Transformation of Hermitages', 132. Other extant evidence is incidental and does not give details of the change.

ligneum in honore beati Andree apostoli constructum habens, qui parum
antea defunctus locum sine habitatore et oratorium sine custode
dimiserat'¹³⁶

The evolution of hermitages into canonical or monastic foundations generally passed through three distinct phases: an eremitical phase, a transitional phase when the house underwent a process of 'cenobitisation', and a final cenobitic phase when buildings, principally a church, were constructed by the community. Milis attributes the success of the eremetical movement during the fifty year period between c.1075 – c.1125 to a general desire for solitude inspired by the Desert Fathers. To be a hermit and undertake a solitary life served as the strictest model for the religious seeking to liberate themselves from the growing secularisation of the church. The church tolerated such strictness but was not about to relinquish its control over *all* groups. Both Yves of Chartres and St Bernard were very clear in this regard.¹³⁷ As hermitages attracted more people, their functions began to change. Those who wished to remain solitary in a literal sense found it necessary to move on, whilst those for whom this was not so important adapted to new ways of life. Meanwhile, the idea of living the *vita apostolica* became central to what it meant to be a regular canon, while the 'extravagance' of the spirituality of 'the desert', with its sackcloth and instruments of mortification, became increasingly marginalized. When men took the religious habit they now chose to live under the Rule of St Augustine as canons. The writing of 'customs' by each house further cemented this choice. Such customaries, which were, although in no way standardised by the order, borrowed from monastic

¹³⁶ Clark, *Liber*, 42.

¹³⁷ Herbert, 'The Transformation of Hermitages', 78.

examples rather than canonical or eremetical precedents.¹³⁸ Thus, as has already been noted, although similarities can be found between the customary of Barnwell and that of St Victor in Paris there is no indication of any purposeful reproduction.¹³⁹

Milis concluded that, by the first half of the twelfth-century, there were few traces of eremiticism to be found in houses of regular canons so that it became increasingly hard to recognise the links between the two. It is for this reason that he speaks of 'betrayal' as well as 'transition'. The inevitable expansion of communities, as their popularity grew, overwhelmed older eremitical ideals leaving those who still followed that path only two choices: to move on or to accept a new way of life.

Very little is known of the Barnwell hermit or the form of the hermitage in which he lived. The marshy land described in the Barnwell *Liber* as lying between the Newmarket road and the river must have provided a degree of solitude, although it was unlikely to have been as total as that experienced by other recluses. The Saxon hermit St Guthlac (c.673-715) who left the monastery at Repton in 699 in search of solitude and a more austere lifestyle, also chose an area of marshland for his hermitage. In his account of Guthlac's life, the Crowland monk, Felix, described the place the saint chose as one of stagnant pools and spongy moss wreathed with dark vapours.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁸ Ibid., 79.

¹³⁹ Above Chapter 3.

¹⁴⁰ *VCH Lincolnshire*, ii, 105-118; Clay, *Hermits and Anchorites*, 14. Such places were often described in biblical terms using Deuteronomy, 32:10, which tells of how, when God found Jacob in a place of horror, 'In a desert land ... in a barren and howling waste'. He shielded him and cared for him. However, as has been discussed above, a hermit could just as easily live on the margins of society and such descriptions need not always be taken literally.

Like the majority of hermits in England, Godesone of Barnwell was one of those 'who could not, so to speak, break the historical sound barrier with miracles when their more "discreet" methods failed, and who are thus, at best only names to us'.¹⁴¹ His reflection has to be sought in the surviving accounts written by contemporaries of other holy men and women. As there are no dates for the hermit's occupation of the site in the Barnwell fields it is possible that he was part of Mayr-Harting's 'self-consciously English reaction and adaption to the Norman Conquest'.¹⁴² With travel in the fens difficult, it may be that he served a community purpose by tending to either the road or the river crossing.

As previously noted, site transference was nothing unusual. The original site of Picot's lacked space. By 1100 other, human, factors had also registered. Physically the priory was in a parlous state having had no patron since Robert Picot's exile and there was a real possibility that the community would be disbanded. Once Pain Peverel had been elevated to the barony at Bourn it is likely that his decision for the community to become Augustinian was influenced to some extent by the king's own partiality for the order. Pain may also have known that the site being offered for the new priory buildings had once been occupied by a hermit. Transforming a hermitage into an Augustinian site had both spiritual and material attractions and this was equally the case for an abandoned site as the presence of the hermit endowed the land with an established spiritual tradition.¹⁴³ Thus was the house 're-born'.

What we find here, I would suggest, is evidence for an eremetical origin for the site at Barnwell, and perhaps even for a community of hermits gathered around the original

¹⁴¹ H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse', *History*, 60 (1975), 337-52.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, 338; D.J.A. Matthew, *The Norman Conquest* (New York, 1966), 202-3.

¹⁴³ Herbert, 'The Transformation of Hermitages', 142-4.

holy man, of whom all memory was subsequently suppressed by the canons of Barnwell as inconvenient for their sense of identity as a pre-planned 'Augustinian' community.¹⁴⁴ Instead, the canons of St Giles at Cambridge carried off to Barnwell other memorials of their earliest years. One such may well be the priory seal. Barnwell had a church dedicated to St Andrew. In Cambridge, the canons had originally been established in a church of St Giles. In the ensuing tussle, it was St Giles who won out, adopted within the community's own title as 'the church of St Giles at Barnwell' and commemorated on the priory's seal, which displays a figure of Giles rather than Andrew.¹⁴⁵ Had the hermit of Barnwell recorded this story, rather than his successors, however, it is a story that might well have been told very differently, and with quite other outcomes.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., 132-4.

¹⁴⁵ Appendix below no.19.

8. *Barnwell and National Affairs, 1092-1300*

The history of Barnwell Priory cannot, of course, be considered in isolation from the wider history of England.¹ Barnwell stood at the centre of a complex network of relationships; religious and secular, local, national and continental. Between its foundation c.1092 and the writing of the *Liber* in 1294-5, the priory's evolution coincided with the shaping of an Anglo-Norman Empire into a kingdom increasingly involved in the affairs of continental Europe.² In an earlier MA thesis, I dealt with a variety of local disputes in which Barnwell became embroiled during this period, and with the evolution of the priory's estate. I do not intend to reprise that material here, since it can be relatively easily consulted elsewhere. The present chapter will instead consider the priory in a wider historical context; the civil war between Stephen and Matilda; the activities of Geoffrey de Mandeville, first earl of Essex and Bishop Nigel of Ely; the events of the reign of King John, Magna Carta, the Provisions of Oxford, and the Montfortian rebellion and its aftermath. After completing his history of Barnwell to c.1294, the author of the *Liber* turned to the monarchs since the Conquest and mentions each in reference to their involvement in the foundation and subsequent growth and patronage of the priory. He opens his entry on William I with a statement concerning kings in general: 'Multi fuerunt reges in Anglia ante expulsionem Britonum et post; reges quidem potentes, bellicose, armis strenui, auro argento et lapidibus preciosis ditati, et, quod plus est, in fide catholica deuoti'. As we shall see, although these entries agree with the general premise of the Barnwell *Liber* in terms of 'things worth remembering', they are formulaic and reveal very little.

¹ Clark provides a chronological summary of principal events as part of his introduction to the *Liber* but only in so far as they are recorded in the *Liber*. No attempt is made to place the priory within a wider historical context which was, admittedly, outside of Clark's brief to edit the manuscript at the suggestion of Maitland.

² D. Matthew, *Britain and the Continent, 1000-1300* (London, 2005), 78.

Although the Conqueror predeceased the foundation by some five years his importance to the priory lies in his appointment of Picot as sheriff. In his entry on the king the author makes this clear: 'Hic dedit Pycoto vicecomiti baroniam, qui fuit fundator canonicorum de Cantebrigia'. In this he links entries 1-2 with 30 and similarly in entry 31 for William II, he records that 'Paganus Peverel fuit ibidem signifier eius, qui postea fuit ecclesie de Bernewelle patronus', thus linking this entry back to entries 3-6. That both founders were also honoured in conjunction with the king during whose reign they commenced their patronage of the canons is indicative of the importance allocated to both crown and patron. Maitland has suggested that the choice of the site has a close parallel with that of the Augustinian priory at Oseney in Oxfordshire and, indeed, there are clear similarities: 'In each case we see a rough Norman castellan [in Oseney's case this was Robert d'Oilly the younger] and his devout wife, the miracle or vision, the location of a few canons within or just without the castle, the subsequent erection of an Augustinian house in a more commodious place by the river'. Oseney was founded some forty years later than Barnwell in 1129, and recent studies supporting Maitland confirm that this was indeed done at the instigation of D'Oilly's wife, Edith Forne.³

Stephen and Matilda 1135-1154

'The negative accounts of King Stephen's reign paint a bleak picture of a land bereft of peace and oppressed by rival factions, marauding armies and the uncontrolled depredations of robber barons'.⁴ According to the author of the *Liber Eliensis*, by the fourth year of Stephen's reign the situation had reached a point where 'there were pillaging raids and killings and by this time evil-doings had become endemic in the land'

³ D. Postles, *Oseney Abbey Studies* (Leicester, 2008) (Available as a PDF file at: <http://www.lec.uk/ee/pot/oseney/oseney.pdf>); *VCH Oxfordshire*, ii, 90.

⁴ E. Amt, *The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored 1149-1159* (Woodbridge, 1993), 1-2.

with Ely and Barnwell Priory on the front line.⁵ The term ‘the Anarchy’ for the period of civil war between King Stephen and the Empress Matilda is a relatively modern construct coined in the nineteenth century.⁶ From an East Anglian perspective, defined in its most basic form, as an absence of government and a descent into general lawlessness and disorder, it is nonetheless a term that can be applied to the behaviour of the earl of Essex, Geoffrey de Mandeville, not least in 1143-4.

In 1136, Stephen’s policy toward the church was ambivalent.⁷ However, by the summer of 1139 an aristocratic clique at court which included powerful Norman magnates, such as Waleran of Meulan, had provoked attacks against bishop Roger of Salisbury and his nephews, Alexander of Lincoln and Nigel of Ely. A small-scale disturbance between Roger’s men and those of the Count Alan of Brittany provided an excuse for the arrest of Roger and Alexander in Oxford. Nigel, who managed to evade the king’s forces, took refuge in Devizes where he awaited the king’s next move. This was the beginning of a chain of events that was to lead to the sacking of Cambridge by the earl of Essex. Never a major player in court politics, Cambridge was, nonetheless, a useful base within easy reach of the stronghold of Ely.⁸ Its position was complicated by its entanglement with the earldom of Huntingdon. Given the proximity of the towns this is not hard to understand, although this general uncertainty of Cambridge’s status caused confusion even amongst contemporaries.

⁵ Blake, *LE*, 388.

⁶ D. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Harlow, 2000), 1-7. The term itself has been attributed to Stubbs. Remains of one of the areas so-called ‘Anarchy Castles’ can still be seen in the village of Rampton, Cambs.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 300.

⁸ *VCH Cambs.*, iii, 5.

The *Gesta Stephani*, whose author displays an understandably hostile bias toward the man who had been disloyal to Stephen on two occasions, recorded Geoffrey de Mandeville's ravaging of the fens in a passage full of contempt and bitterness, presenting him as a complete monster. He was 'fevered with a thirst for brutality that could not be slaked' and possessed a "refined cruelty". When he turned his sights on Cambridge in 1142:

'He took and pillaged the town ...which was subject the king, breaking into it when the inhabitants were off their guard, and smashed open the churches by burying axes in their doors, and after plundering their ornaments, and the wealth that the townsmen had laid up in them, set fire to them everywhere. He raged with equal savagery against the whole surrounding district, showing no mercy, and in every church that came in his way; the possessions of the monasteries he reduced to a desert by taking the chattels and ravaging everything'⁹

There does not appear to be any other account, official or otherwise, describing the damage inflicted on the town by Geoffrey and his mob, so that we are forced to rely upon the, occasionally uncontrolled, outpourings of both the *Gesta Stephani* and the *Liber Eliensis*. Geoffrey was to fare no better at the hands of Round who quotes a passage by the author of the Peterborough chronicle and assumes it refers to Geoffrey who, completely out of control, 'exposed [his victims] in turn to every torture that a devilish ingenuity could devise till the ransom demanded by their captors had been extorted to the uttermost farthing'.¹⁰

⁹ *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. K. R. Potter and R. H. C. Davis (Oxford, 1976), 164-5.

¹⁰ J.H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville* (London, 1892), 214.

As a religious house lying within the diocese of Ely, Barnwell Priory, and the other religious houses of Cambridge, must have been affected, if only indirectly, by the actions taken by King Stephen against Bishop Nigel and the depredations of the earl of Essex. Yet as the fighting raged around them, the canons of Barnwell continued with the building of their new church. The *Liber* makes no mention whatsoever of disturbances. This in turn surely confirms our sense that the *Liber*, apart from its very opening sections, was never intended as a cartulary chronicle in the generally accepted sense of the term, and possessed only tangential, and to a large extent mythologizing interest in any events earlier than those of the lifetime of its compiler.

Stephen's own entry in the Barnwell *Liber* is formulaic and tells us nothing of his dealings, if indeed he had any, with the priory. Meanwhile, Bishop Nigel's absence from his diocese was unlikely to have had a profound effect on the day to day activities of the religious houses within it. As a member of the royal court Nigel would have led a peripatetic existence spending long periods of time away tending to royal business. Even his consecration had been a hurried affair to allow him to return to matters of state as soon as possible.¹¹ As an indication of indifference, the *Liber Eliensis* fails even to mention King Stephen's hostile actions against the bishop. On the contrary, it suggests that Nigel was coerced 'at the instigation of evil men' and against the advice of his own monks into fortifying Ely and restoring the defences at Aldreth. The monks of Ely turned to the king, pleading that they not be punished for their bishop's transgressions. Stephen was merciful and 'granted that they be unharmed', issuing a charter their possessions.¹²

¹¹ Miller, *Abbey and Bishopric of Ely*, 77.

¹² Blake, *LE*, 389.

The Angevins

As with its seeming indifference to the events of Stephen's reign, so for the reigns of the first three Angevin kings, the Barnwell *Liber* is almost entirely devoid of materials touching upon national history. Henry II is recorded as visiting Ely in 1177, but seems never to have visited Cambridge. No more did his son and successor, Richard I.¹³ It is not until the reign of King John, a fairly regular visitor to East Anglia, that we can once again place Barnwell in proximity to events of national significance. The catalyst here was supplied by royal interest in the manor of Chesterton. The farming of the royal demesne was a well-established practice used by the crown, both before and after the Conquest to raise money from its demesne holdings.¹⁴ The provision of food could, if agreeable to the crown, be commuted for a money payment. It was then possible for the king to use this revenue to compensate or reward others.

The ancient parish of Chesterton lay to the east of the town of Cambridge on the north bank of the river Cam, at the southern end of Chesterton Hundred and was probably the administrative centre at which royal dues for that area were paid.¹⁵ Prior to the Conquest, as a royal vill, Chesterton rendered a food farm that included wheat, malt and honey.¹⁶ By 1086, it is described as 'dominica villa regis', part of the king's land and under his jurisdiction owing a food farm now commuted to a payment of £13 8s 4d or £15 *blanch*.¹⁷

¹³ Based here upon the new itinerary of Henry II by Judith Everard and Nicholas Vincent, and upon the standard itinerary of Richard I by Lionel Landon, L. Landon, *The Itinerary of Richard*, n. s. 13 (London, 1935).

¹⁴ A. R. Bridbury, 'Domesday Book: A Re-Interpretation', *EHR*, 105 (1990), 284-309, at p.290.

¹⁵ *VCH Cambs.*, iii, 5-7, 13.

¹⁶ DB, 520.

¹⁷ *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 18. During this time the vill was re-stocked several times by the sheriff. In 1195 this involved the purchase of 12 teams and 100 sheep and in 1197, substantial quantities of seed corn: *Pipe Roll 7 Richard I*, 119; *9 Richard I*, 77.

It was assessed at thirty hides and TRE was valued at £15.¹⁸ At a time when waterways were essential to the country's supply network, Chesterton enjoyed a strategic position, amidst other such estates belonging to great lords including the bishops of Dorchester/Sarum and the abbeys of both Ely and Crowland.¹⁹

During the reign of Henry II the Pipe Rolls, from 1167-8 record a debt to the crown of forty shillings owed by the 'homines de Cestreton', suggesting already a degree both of dependence and of communal organization.²⁰ The debt was cleared within a year.²¹

Between 1169 and 1190, references in the rolls continue, mostly detailing relations with the sheriff and royal assizes rather than the residents who are not mentioned again until the tallage of 1190, when they were required to pay a total of 48 shillings and 4 pence, most of it paid cash down.²²

The relationship between the canons at Barnwell and those who had interests in the manor of Chesterton were, from the first, either sources of disagreement or matters of administrative interest. So much so that the first twenty two entries in Book Two of the Barnwell *Liber* concentrate exclusively on these, reproducing key documents, not least, one suspects, because payments of such dues as tallage were crucial to the determination of status. The root cause of the difficulties between the convent and the 'homines de Cestreton' lay in a divergence of opinion on their perceived rights. While the manorial community claimed certain privileges as tenants of the royal demesne, the priory refused

¹⁸ DB folio 189.

¹⁹ In the thirteenth-century the vill's privileges included view of frankpledge, assize of bread and of ale, gallows and tumbrel. Among the artisan community trading in the parish at the time were bakers, carpenters and tailors: *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 25-6, citing Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Gough, Camb., i, ff. 110, 167v, 176; BL ms. Additional 5842 f.48.

²⁰ *Pipe Roll 14 Henry II*, 104.

²¹ *Pipe Roll 15 Henry II*, 145.

²² *Pipe Roll 2 Richard I*, 1190-91, 113.

to recognise these, insisting instead on the men's obligation to make customary payments.²³

The farming of Chesterton manor 1194 - 1304

The first major alienation of royal land in Chesterton occurred in 1194 when, from April, Richard I granted possibly as much as half of the vill to Saher IV de Quincy. The grant was valued at £10, suggesting an annual depletion of the King's resources of £20.²⁴ The De Quincy family was of Picard origin, named from the town of Cuinchy near Béthune, on the borders of Artois and Flanders. They do not feature in Domesday Book and the earliest reference to their landholding in England occurs c.1124-29, when Saher I de Quincy is recorded as a tenant of Anselm de Chokes at Long Buckby.²⁵ By 1207, the family was to rise high enough through shrewd alliances with England's leading noble families, for Saher IV de Quincy to be elevated to the earldom of Winchester. These marital alliances had begun c.1136 when Saher I married Maud, the daughter of Simon de Senlis, earl of Huntingdon, widow of Robert fitz Richard de Clare.²⁶

Meanwhile, there is no further reference to Chesterton in the Pipe Rolls until Michaelmas 1202, where the King's share of the manor is recorded as being farmed by the canons of Barnwell for 30l.²⁷ Barnwell's troubled relationship with King John began with his grant

²³ Disputes of this nature occurred on a regular basis throughout the Middle Ages. For a later well-documented case from 1377 see R. Faith, 'The "Great Rumour" of 1377', in *The English Rising of 1381*, ed. R. H. Hilton and T. H. Ashton (Cambridge, 1984), 43-73.

²⁴ *Pipe Roll 6 Richard I*, 76.

²⁵ In 1086, Long Buckby was held by Gunfrid de Chokes. The town of Choques from which the family originated lies approximately 16 km from Cuinchy. In general, see G. Simpson, 'The familia of Roger de Quincy, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland', in *Essays on the Nobility of Medieval Scotland*, ed. K.J. Stringer (Edinburgh, 1985), 102; I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327* (Oxford, 1960), 61.

²⁶ Sanders, *English Baronies*, 61; *Pipe Roll 6 Richard I*, 75; *8 Richard I*, 39; *Pipe Roll 10 John*, 176.

Maud's maternal grandparents were Earl Waltheof and Countess Judith.

²⁷ *Pipe Roll 4 John*, 135.

to the priory of the manor of Chesterton in 1200.²⁸ Its importance to the convent is evident in the close attention paid by the second book of the *Liber* to recording documents and incidents of specific concern to the affairs 'De Cestertone: de firma et de inrotulacionibus'. The first item entered here is a copy of Chesterton's return to the Domesday survey. This functioned as a not necessarily unambiguous statement of what it was that the priory considered to have acquired from the king.²⁹

John's reason for making his grant is unclear, but it was quite possibly intended to be financially advantageous to both King and canons. Whatever the case, both sides were obviously satisfied with the arrangement in which the King granted his share of the manor, in return for an annual fee farm of £30. This, apparently, was intended to replace an annual payment of £10 that the kings of England had previously made to the canons 'in alms'.³⁰ Such was the importance of this grant that it was also recorded as part of John's regnal entry in Book 1 of the *Liber*: 'Iste rex Johannes dedit nobis decem libras de elemosina sua, regni sui anno primo concessit canonicis de Bernewelle manerium de Cestertone ad feodi firmam pro .xxx. libris blancis, ita quod quietus esset de .x. libris de elemosina predicta'.³¹ The disparity in values here itself is a powerful indication of the extent to which Chesterton had prospered in the past century, not least as a result of its access to the trade of Cambridge and its hinterland.

²⁸ *Rotuli Chartarum*, ed. T.D. Hardy (London, 1837), 52. A copy of the charter appears in the Barnwell *Liber*: Clark *Liber*, 76.

²⁹ In the late fourteenth century the Domesday entry was to assume particular importance in a dispute over a claim by the men of Chesterton that their land should be considered as of the ancient demesne, in effect freeing them from most labour services, for which sort of claim cf. E.M. Hallam, *Domesday Book Through Nine Centuries* (London, 1986), 49-51, 74-113.

³⁰ *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 236.

³¹ Clark, *Liber*, 59.

In 1201 the king made a personal visit to Cambridge staying at Barnwell Priory on 17 March, together with the bishop of Norwich, the earls of Leicester, Pembroke and Salisbury and other leading courtiers. John remained for one night only moving on to the abbey at Bury for his Easter celebrations.³² There follows a hiatus in the sources concerning Chesterton, suggesting that the priory farmed the vill as was expected of them and the exchequer received the money it was due. Meanwhile, however, no mention is made in the grant of 1200 of any pre-existing claim by Saher IV de Quincy, who at some time after 1207 issued a charter transferring £10 of land in the manor to the canons, together with a long and detailed list of sokemen and other tenants (quite possibly the same lands and tenants covered by the King's grant of 1200), but who in 1217 obtained a confirmation of his own rights there, largely as a peace gesture in the aftermath of his rebellion of 1215-17.³³ When Saher IV died in 1219, his lands and earldom passed to his son Roger, who was in the Holy Land on crusade. Consequently he did not take up his father's title until 1221. His confirmation of his father's gift of land to the priory is recorded in the Barnwell *Liber*, as a gift:

"To the church at Barnwell ten pounds worth of land (libratas) and meadow and four sokemen, and nine and a half virgates of land, with all customary holdings, tenements and dues: know that Richard le Wyne, and William Drury, and Geoffrey Hunter etc: and in addition five cottars with tenements etc: namely Alexander the builder and William his son etc: and the sheepfold freely and through good charter and warrant. Wherefore if

³² *Rotuli Chartarum*, 92, noting a charter issued there in favour of William de Ferrers earl of Derby, and cf. the itinerary of King John in *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, ed. T.D. Hardy (London, 1835), *sub* March 1201. Elsewhere in this itinerary, the King is recorded as visiting Cambridge in March 1207, January 1213, and again during the civil war, in March and September 1216.

³³ Below Appendix no.8 (from a copy now in King's College Cambridge); *Patent Rolls 1216-25*, 123; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, ed. T.D. Hardy, 2 vols (London, 1833-4), i, 342.

the king removes the manor of Chesterton, the same earl and his heirs will possess and guarantee this. Respect well this charter, confirmed and guaranteed by Roger de Quincy, his son, Earl of Winchester and Constable of Scotland'³⁴

This is followed by a copy of John's charter of gift and confirmation by Henry III. Edward's charter of 12 June 1285 follows and this also confirms his father's charter of 13 May 1229. Finally there is a confirmation of a deposit of 5 marks into the treasury in respect of the fee payable for Edward's confirmation. This was made on 3 December 1286.³⁵ After these confirmations, the author returns to the thorny question of taxation, specifically the tallage.

Roger de Quincy's charter, preserved independently in the archives of King's College Cambridge, is not the straightforward confirmation implied by the *Liber* but instead a promise to warrant any land in Chesterton to the canons should they be impleaded over it by his sister, the countess of Lincoln, seek to implead them over it: a potent hint that the Quincy claims in the manor had by no means entirely lapsed.³⁶ In 1221, the sheriff was first commanded to ensure that the prior have seisin of Chesterton and all its appurtenances as stated in King John's charter, but shortly afterwards required to seize Chesterton into the King's hands pending judgement.³⁷ Almost certainly, this followed representations from the Quincy heirs. Not until 6 February 1224 was seisin restored. Two years later, in 1226-7, the prior paid twenty marks for confirmation of King John's

³⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 75.

³⁵ Clark, *Liber*, 76.

³⁶ Below appendix no.9.

³⁷ *Calendar of the Fine Rolls of the Reign of Henry III*, ed. D. Carpenter, P. Dryburgh and B. Hartland, 3 vols (Woodbridge, 2007-9), i, 174, and cf. 185.

grant, at the same time changing the terms of the original charter from £30 *blanch* to £31 *numero*.³⁸

This entry ends the group of documents in Book II of the *Liber* concerned with the farming of Chesterton. However, in Book I the author had already covered a significant episode in its history which should, chronologically, appear at this point. Gilbert Pecche had succeeded to the advowson of the priory through his great-grandfather's marriage to Alice Peverel. By c.1280 Gilbert had been married twice, firstly to Matilda de Hastings, with whom he had two sons, John and Edmund, and secondly, to Joanna de Creye. For whatever reason the Barnwell *Liber* states that he preferred the children of his second marriage over those of his first and, maybe in an attempt to prevent the advowson of the priory passing into the hands of either of Matilda's sons he made the decision to appoint King Edward and Queen Eleanor as heirs to this part of the barony: an elaborate fiction this, no doubt intended to explain away what was almost certainly, in reality, a decision prompted by direct pressure from the crown.³⁹ The prior was summoned to Westminster to confirm by what service he held and a document was drawn up in which Pecche gave full details of his role as patron during any vacancy in the priory.⁴⁰ Chesterton entered these negotiations in 1284, when the king granted the manor to Gilbert Pecche for the annual fee farm of £31. It appears to have remained in his hands until his death on 12 May 1291. The Barnwell *Liber* records that at this time Pecche had made the first yearly installment to the exchequer of £15 10s. The second, due at Michaelmas would be the responsibility of the prior.⁴¹ In other words, Pecche seems to have been acting here in his capacity as Barnwell's patron rather than as a private profiteer.

³⁸ Ibid., ii, 133.

³⁹ Clark, *Liber*, 50.

⁴⁰ Clark, *Liber*, 51-2.

⁴¹ Clark, *Liber*, 86.

The revenues of the manor of Chesterton were also used by the crown as as patronage and in reward for loyal service. Two cases, and the conditions attached to them, are recorded in the Barnwell *Liber*, both dating from the second half of the thirteenth century. In the first, relief was afforded to the former knight, William de Hastentot (also variously Hastencot, Haslingtoft and Hastingsot).⁴² From this we learn that William had been ordered by the king to surrender his land at 'Lidenham', worth £20 a year, so that it could be granted to Prince Edward and, as compensation, de Hastentot was to receive the same sum from the revenues of Chesterton. A mandate was issued to the prior to confirm the arrangement and also to inform the prior that £124 of his farm for Chesterton was still outstanding, covering the past four years of war and civil disturbance. One year of this back rent was promised by the King to the royal servants Master Henry of Ghent and Nicholas of Lewknore.⁴³ Another £20 was assigned from the Chesterton rent on 5 May 1272 to Roger de Wautone, described as a royal marshal. William had meanwhile died, leaving a widow, Isabelle, and at least one child, his heir, who was underage.⁴⁴ As a result, the pensions payable from the prior's farm were divided in three parts, between Isabella, Roger, and the King.⁴⁵ Given the complexity of these arrangements it is unsurprising to find that disputes arose. At Easter 1275 the prior mistakenly made a payment of £4 10s to Roger, money which should have been paid into the exchequer. The canons, already in arrears of £44 10s for the farm, were summoned to appear at Westminster together with Roger, to correct the error, a process that took more than two years to complete.⁴⁶

⁴² Clark, *Liber*, 76, also in *CPR 1266-72*, 55

⁴³ Clark, *Liber*, 83.

⁴⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 84.

⁴⁵ Clark, *Liber*, 91, with a slightly different slant in *CPR 1266-72*, 624, noting the King's interest here merely as guardian to the Hastentot heir, and cf. *CCR 1272-9*, 10-11, 101.

⁴⁶ Clark, *Liber*, 85-6.

The Tallage of Chesterton

In the thirteenth century, some taxes caused more contention than others. A major, long running, dispute between the crown and priory arose over the levying of a tax on demesne land, the *tallage*, and given the financial implications and the status of the parties involved, the details were meticulously recorded in the *Liber*. During John's reign four tallages are recorded. In the first, in 1206-7, the sheriff of Cambridge collected £10 30d. in tallage from Chesterton, with a further five marks collected in the following year. In 1214-15 the rate had increased significantly to twenty marks with Barnwell exempt from a further twenty marks by virtue of King John's charter.⁴⁷ The next recorded request for tallage was delayed until 1240-1, when Chesterton was assessed by John Gubaud and Richard Duket at fifteen marks.⁴⁸ On the 2 May 1241 the prior pressed his claim for an exemption as granted in King John's charter. This was successful and on the 30 May the claim was upheld and the decision was enrolled in the Exchequer.⁴⁹ However, the exemption was once again overlooked in 1268, when the king's escheator, William de Horton prior of Wymondham, visited the priory and claimed that, as a demesne manor, Chesterton should be taxed. Accepting the prior's hospitality he lodged at the priory with his men and thirteen horses at no small expense to the canons. De Horton's marshal even took it upon himself to enter the prior's granary to feed his master's horses, an act which only served further to annoy his hosts. When the prior flatly refused to allow the tallaging of the vill, de Horton, described in the Barnwell *Liber* as a wicked guest ('maliciam hospitii'), and a man of inflexibility and greed ('durus et ... cupidus'), offered him a bribe. The prior might have accepted, but the canons convinced him that he should refuse and instead produced a copy of the enrolment of their exemption, granted by King John, for

⁴⁷ Clark, *Liber*, 78.

⁴⁸ *Fine Rolls Henry III*, iii, 433.

⁴⁹ Clark, *Liber*, 79; *Close Rolls 1237-42*, 304. The prior subsequently took the revenue for himself.

the escheator to view. In spite of the production of this document de Horton persisted in his claim forcing the prior to contact the exchequer for a further writ. De Horton finally did as ordered but with obvious reluctance as it was not long before he returned to the priory for a second attempt. This time the prior, more sure of the rights of his house, proved himself to be the inflexible party and the escheator once again left empty handed. Meanwhile, the men of Chesterton did not benefit from the de Horton's defeat as, soon after, the prior himself tallaged them as was his right: 'deinde fecit leuare talliagium de hominibus suis de Cestertone, et retinuit ad opus suum proprium'.⁵⁰

The Barons' War 1215-1217

Although it was primarily a trading and administrative centre Cambridge was twice used by the crown as a military base against opposition gathered at Ely. In August 1215, King John issued a mandate to the barons of the Exchequer, placing Fawkes de Bréauté in command of the castle, and in November of the same year the local bailiffs bore the cost of 'enclosing' the town south of the river with a ring of defences and in arming the inhabitants 'in pikosiis et beschis et crokis fereis'.⁵¹ According to King John's itinerary, he visited and stayed in the town twice in 1216. On the first occasion between 9 and 10 March, he was accommodated at an unidentified religious house in the town and on the second, from 16 to 17 September, he lodged at the castle.⁵² In June 1216 Cambridge was raided by the followers of the dauphin, Louis of France, who seized the castle taking

⁵⁰ Clark, *Liber*, 82, with full summary at p. xlviii. A later insertion in the Barnwell *Liber* for 1303-4 records yet another attempt at taxation of 16 marks. This is written in a different hand at the foot of folio 276, as an abstract only: Clark, *Liber*, 80.

⁵¹ *VCH Cambs*, iii, 5; *Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum*, i, 234.

⁵² Hardy, 'Itinerary', as front-end matter to *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*.

twenty serjeants prisoner.⁵³ Louis held a council in the town in January 1217, while the supporters of young Henry met in Oxford.⁵⁴

Inevitably, Barnwell's lay patrons became involved in these disputes, even if the priory itself escaped the worst of the war's effects. The genealogy of the twelfth- and thirteenth-century baronial elite created interlocking patterns that might be more accurately described as webs rather than trees. As Matthew Strickland has pointed out 'such links ... were common to the aristocracy as a whole and are not in themselves evidence of political cohesion'.⁵⁵

Key here in Barnwell's eyes must have been the family of Quincy, from 1207 under Saher IV, earls of Winchester, allied to a whole series of other elite families, most notably to the comital house of Clare. In the 1160s, Saher II de Quincy had first established a family link to Barnwell Priory by marrying Ascelina, widow of Geoffrey de Waterville, and one of the four Peverel heiresses who had inherited the barony of Bourn on the death of their only brother, William.⁵⁶ Both Saher II and his heir, Saher III, were dead by 1192 and the family inheritance passed to Saher IV, the son of Saher II's brother, Robert I de Quincy. Like his forebears, Saher IV was also well known in court circles and had served in Normandy under Richard I. As one of the group of East Anglian lords who rose to prominence after the collapse of John's continental campaign in the autumn of 1214, Saher IV de Quincy was among those who made increasing demands for political

⁵³ Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ed. H.R. Luard, 3 vols, Rolls Series 95 (London, 1890), ii, 192.

⁵⁴ *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols, Rolls Series 58 (1872-3), ii, 235: 'Post Natale Domini, durentibus adhuc treugis, convocaverunt fautores suos ad concilium Lodowicus apud Grantebriggiam, tutores regii apud Oxoniam'. The chronicle also describes how Louis took several castles including Odingham (Heddingham) and conquered the eastern counties.

⁵⁵ M. Strickland, 'Enforcers of the Magna Carta (act. 1215-1216)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press. [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/93691>, accessed 22 Nov 2010].

⁵⁶ Clark, *Liber*, 47; Sanders, *Baronies*, 18-19.

concessions. A year later, with the country on the brink of civil war, he was appointed by his fellow barons to hold office as both sheriff and justice in the counties of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.⁵⁷ When war finally broke out in October 1215 it was de Quincy who accompanied Henry de Bohun to France to offer the crown to the dauphin, Louis.⁵⁸

During the conflict that followed de Quincy lost possession of his castle at Mountsorrel which was ultimately granted to the earl of Chester, and it was as compensation for this loss that, in 1217, he was granted the farm of Chesterton by the councillors of the boy-king, John's successor, Henry III.⁵⁹ Shortly afterwards, De Quincy and his 'cousin', Robert Fitzwalter, took the cross and went to the Holy Land where De Quincy died, at Damietta in 1219.⁶⁰ As we have already seen, this in turn had consequences for Barnwell's estate, not least for its interests in the manor of Chesterton.

Chesterton and Vercelli

The patronage of Chesterton church remained with the crown until 1217 when Henry III presented it to the papal legate, Cardinal Guala, as a measure of his gratitude for Guala's assistance in pacifying the kingdom following the recent civil war.⁶¹ On 29 June 1217 the sheriff of Cambridge was directed to deliver seisin of 14 pence to Lawrence, the cardinal's clerk, which was payable by the tenants of Chesterton church. Later in the same year the king confirmed the church in free arms to Guala's new abbey at Vercelli in

⁵⁷ Strickland, *Enforcers*, 2-4.

⁵⁸ Richard D. Oram, 'Quincy, Saer de, earl of Winchester (d. 1219)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Oct 2005 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/22967>, accessed 28 Oct 2010]; Roger of Wendover, *Flores Historiarum*, ii, 172-4.

⁵⁹ Oram, 'Quincy, Saer de, earl of Winchester (d. 1219)'.

⁶⁰ *Memoriale Walteri de Coventria*, ii, 246: 'Saerus de Quency comes Wintoniae, cum Roberto filio Walteri et cum aliis ex Anglia apud Damietam post ejus captionem applicans, ibidem obit'.

⁶¹ *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 28; *Patent Rolls 1216-25*, 76; *The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, Papal Legate in England 1216-1218*, Canterbury and York Society 83 (1996), 14-15 no.16.

northern Italy, to which it had been appropriated by 1218.⁶² In 1227 the Rectory manor was also appropriated to the abbey and by the 1250s courts were being held there for its customary tenants.⁶³

There is no official record in the rolls of the king's grant of the church, as during Henry's minority, such transactions were not formerly enrolled in the exchequer. Fortunately a copy does exist in a biography of the cardinal published in 1767 by Guiseppe Antonio Frova, abbot of Vercelli 1782-88.⁶⁴ The document was issued under the seal of William Marshall.⁶⁵ Pope Honorius granted his papal approval on 2 May 1224 as did Pope Urban IV on 29 August 1261.⁶⁶

In 1229, the canons of Vercelli issued a capitular act following litigation against Barnwell, in which the canons of Barnwell had sought an annual farm from the church of Chesterton, now remitted in return for an annual pension of 15 marks from the canons of Vercelli for the next five years. Barnwell was at the same time permitted to demolish whatever houses its canons had built at the church, save for their barn. All of this, in turn confirmed by the papal legate Otto, in 1239, suggests interference by Barnwell in Vercelli's management of the church, and demands that the canons of Vercelli considered extortionate and intimidating.⁶⁷ Nor was dispute brought to an end in 1239. Sixteen years later, on 5 June 1255, the archbishop of Milan asked the king to make provision for the restoration of what is described as 'the priory of Chesterton', apparently retained by

⁶² *Letters of Guala*, 14-15 no.16n.

⁶³ *VCH, Cambs.*, ii, 17, citing evidence now at Trinity College Cambridge.

⁶⁴ For which, see J. E. Foster, 'The Connection of the Church of Chesterton with the Abbey of Vercelli', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society*, n.s. 13 (1908-9), 185-212, at p.188.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 189. As a point of interest one of the witnesses to this charter was Saher IV de Quincy.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 189. Details here were added to the Barnwell *Liber* during the fifteenth century: Clark, *Liber*, 74.

⁶⁷ Below appendix no.10, from a settlement now in the public library at Turin.

the canons of Barnwell against the interests of the abbot of Vercelli.⁶⁸ None of these incidents is recorded in the Barnwell *Liber* which seems instead to have preferred to draw a veil over circumstances from which the canons of Barnwell emerged neither victorious nor in a particularly good light.⁶⁹ By 1296, the abbey at Vercelli had begun negotiations for the sale of their interests in Chesterton. This was probably due to the expense involved both in employing local agents and for travel between the mother house and England.⁷⁰

Barnwell and the Quincys

Two cases recorded in the Curia Regis Rolls reveal a further link between the de Quincy family and Barnwell priory, in the person of Hawise, the wife of Robert II de Quincy, brother of Saher IV. The first was heard in Michaelmas term 1223 when the prior was summoned to respond to Hawise's allegation that he had intruded on her land in the village of Cotes (Coton), tenurially part of Grantchester. This had been held of the Mortimers of Wigmore by her father-in-law, Robert I de Quincy, and was inherited by her husband, Robert II.⁷¹ Robert had died in 1217 and Hawise was now claiming his estate here as part of her dower.⁷²

Hawise's case rested on the assertion that Barnwell had never held seisin of the land and was only entitled to an annual payment of 3s in alms. The land had, until recently, been held by Wido de Cotes, now deceased. Hawise stated that Wido had been her tenant and owed her all services save for the allocated 3s. The prior's counter claim was that long

⁶⁸ Foster, 'The Connection of the Church of Chesterton with the Abbey of Vercelli', 192-3, citing V. Mandelli, *Il commune di Vercelli nel medio evo: studi storici* (Vercelli, 1857-61), iii, 154.

⁶⁹ Foster 'The Connection of the Church of Chesterton with the Abbey of Vercelli', 198.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ *VCH Cambs.*, v, 5, 200-1; *Red Book of the Exchequer*, ed. Hall, ii, 527-8, also recording Mortimer holdings at 'Suho' (Soham?), Trumpington and (Dry) Drayton.

⁷² *Curia Regis Rolls*, xi, no. 707.

before Hawise, or her ancestors, were involved with the land it had been given to the priory by Simon de Fafiton. At the time its tenant was named as Asegodo or Osegodos and his family continued as tenants, the last being Wido de Cotes.⁷³

In the second case, from Trinity term 1224, the prior provided further details of the tenancy. The original tenant was now named as Hamo Havesgod, bearing enough resemblance to the names cited in the first document to be the result of scribal error. Indeed, on the line below this Simon appears to have become 'Sansone' de Faffinton. It was claimed that this 'Havesgod', the tenant holding the de Fafington land from Barnwell Priory, was the father of two sons, Robert the elder, and Wido 'postnatus'. Sometime after he took over tenancy of the land, Robert travelled to the Holy Land leaving his estate, and his under-age heir, William, in the custody of his brother. When rumours reached England that Robert was dead, Wido, as William's uncle and guardian, took control of the land. Sometime later, Robert returned, but Wido refused to return the land. After pleadings in the prior's court it was agreed that Wido would hold half the land during his lifetime. After due consideration the justices found in favour of the prior, dismissing Hawise's claims.⁷⁴

Chesterton and Walter de Merton

Between 1270 and 1278, Walter of Merton obtained 24 acres of arable land in Chesterton when he purchased the so-called 'Dunning estate'. With this he also gained lordship over a further ten acres which the Dunnings had held freely under Barnwell priory since

⁷³ Farrer (*Feudal Cambridgeshire*, 39, 51-2, 240, 244) links the Fafiton family to the barony of Mortimer through land held in Chilford Hundred. In 1086 the family, represented by Robert de Fafiton, held land in Dry Drayton, Babraham, Barton, Trumpington and Grantchester. By a charter of 1174 X 1189, the whole tithe of the demesne of Grantchester passed from Robert to Saher de Quincy II: *VCH Cambs*, v, 200.

⁷⁴ *CRR*, xi, no.1578.

1200.⁷⁵ The land became part of the endowment of Merton College with which it remained until the mid fifteenth-century. Three documents are still extant in the Merton archives as a result of these transactions: two from the priorship of Laurence de Stanesfeld (c.1216-1254) and one from that of Jolan de Thorley (c.1257-67)⁷⁶. The earliest reveals the prior of Barnwell presiding at the hallmoot of Chesterton.⁷⁷ Twelve of the witnesses are named, two of whom were subsequently to serve as sheriffs of Cambridgeshire: John de Scalers (19 April 1249 – 10 May 1249) and Henry de Coleville (1 May 1249 – 5 October 1251).⁷⁸

Baronial Rebellion under Henry III

The baronial uprising of 1258 marked the culmination of dissatisfaction with Henry III, provoked by financial incompetence, military ineptitude, the patronage of hated Poitevin and Savoyard 'aliens', and an inability to manage royal finances. The outcome was a reform programme known as the Provisions of Oxford. These in turn led on to seven years of political turmoil, ended by the barons' defeat at Evesham in 1265, and the death of their principal leader, Simon de Montfort. Book Three of the Barnwell *Liber* ('De placitis, Infortuniis, Itineracione Justiciariorum, et aliis uexacionibus diuersis') has three entries that specifically deal with the injustices suffered by the town and the priory during the period of unrest that followed Simon's defeat at Evesham.

Cambridge had already attracted the King's attentions as the base for possible manoeuvres against the Isle of Ely, itself a notorious and longstanding haven for outlaws. In May

⁷⁵ *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 18; *Rotuli Hundredorum*, ed. Illingworth, ii, 402-3. For a full account of Walter de Merton's activities in Cambridge before finally choosing to found his college in Oxford see J. M. Gray, *The School of Pythagoras (Merton Hall) Cambridge*, Cambridge Antiquarian Society Quarto publications n.s. 4 (1932).

⁷⁶ Appendix nos.11, 14, 17.

⁷⁷ Appendix no.14.

⁷⁸ E. Stazicker, *The Sheriffs of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire* (Cambridge, 2007), 124.

1260, Henry ordered the seneschals of the bishop and prior of Ely to fortify the Isle and guard every entrance so no-one would be able to enter between sunset and sunrise, and 'that no disaster might befall the realm.'⁷⁹ After Evesham, Cambridge was once again involved in military preparations. The group of former baronial supporters known as the 'Disinherited' took up residence at Ely, using Cambridge as a supply base. An incident that particularly infuriated the author of the Barnwell *Liber* was the rebel attack on the priory's barn at Bourn. Bourn, to the east of Cambridge, was a demesne manor and was particularly important as its large barn was used to store grain. The extent of the loss of Barnwell's property is clear in the words of the Barnwell *Liber*: 'Tandem venerunt ad manerium prioris in Brunne, et ibi ignem apposuerunt, et horrea prioris cum toto blado quod ibi erat de ecclesia et de tribus carucatis terre concremauerunt'.⁸⁰ After this outrage the rebels arrived at the priory itself and quartered themselves there, eating, drinking and causing no small amount of damage.

One of those involved was a man named Philip le Champion, who was described as 'uir stature magne'. Not content with the damage that he and his fellows had already caused he started to behave in a threatening manner toward the prior. Their words are recorded in one of the few examples of reported speech within the *Liber's* entire narrative.⁸¹ Champion gave the prior a list of what he wished to take and demanded that he hand over the key to his stores. The prior responded that if that was what they wanted they could not remain at the priory. At this point, before the argument could begin in earnest, Champion's fellow members of the *familia* of the lord 'De Kerebrok'⁸² stepped in and

⁷⁹ CCR 1259-62, 37: 'Ita quod eidem insule aut regno per ipsam nullum dampnum aut periculum posit iminere'.

⁸⁰ Clark, *Liber*, 121-2. *De incendio de Brunne*.

⁸¹ The Barnwell *Liber* contains three other entries involving reported speech but none are in the form of a conversation.

⁸² Unidentified, but said to have loved the prior.

asked him why he wished to steal from the priory. Philip replied that he would take what he wanted even if they thought badly of him. His fellows then threatened him with the plagues of God and finally he was made to relent and back down. Barnwell Priory was not alone in being the victim of such attacks. Local manors belonging to a number of houses including Crowland, Lewes and the church of St Mary of York were also plundered. The conventual buildings of the priories at Barnwell, Swavesey and Ickleton, were also attacked.⁸³

Henry III, having spent Christmas at Oseney Priory in Oxfordshire, travelled to the abbey of Bury St Edmund's where he arrived on the 6 February and, after a short stay there, moved on to Cambridge for Lent, arriving on 22 February and lodging at Barnwell along with his brother, Richard of Cornwall.⁸⁴ From there he planned the blockade of Ely. Like his father in 1215 he took steps to improve the fortifications of Cambridge, causing 'gates to be made and ditches to be dug round the town with great diligence, not allowing the workmen to rest on holy days'.⁸⁵ The King continued his blockade of Ely until 25 April 1267, when he withdrew to London and sent Prince Edward north to subdue the rebels under the leadership of John de Vescy, had retaken Alnwick.⁸⁶ Cambridge was left unprotected and Henry's new fortifications did not prove strong enough to keep the rebels out when they next attacked. The town was pillaged and the houses in which the king had stayed were burned.⁸⁷

⁸³ *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 393.

⁸⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 122: 'Rex uero Alemannie, Ricardus scilicet frater Regis, hospitabatur in Prioratu de Bernewelle'.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 122: 'Rex uero fecit edificare portas, et facere fossata in circuitu ville cum magna diligencia, nec permisit operarios diebus festiuis ab opera incepto cessare', and cf. *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 395, noting payments entered in the Exchequer Pipe Rolls.

⁸⁶ Chronicle of Wykes, in *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series 36, 5 vols (London, 1864-9), iv, 201.

⁸⁷ *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 396; Clark, *Liber*, 123.

The priory was once again directly threatened but, on this occasion, the sons of one of its patrons, Hamo Pecche, felt compelled to step in and diffuse the situation. Hugh and Robert Pecche were among the 'disinherited' that had taken possession of Ely, and were part of the group of rebels who then came to Cambridge to ravage the town in the absence of its royal defenders. Their father, Hamo, and their uncle, William, were both buried in the priory church which was, as a result, of great personal significance to the family.⁸⁸ When a number of the rebels threatened to burn the conventual buildings, the brothers made a stand against them. It appears that they possessed sufficient influence to save the buildings from destruction although they failed to stop some of their fellows from forcing entry, causing the prior and canons to make a hurried retreat.⁸⁹ All of this is reported in the *Liber*, although perhaps with a certain degree of wishful thinking, intended to flatter a family of patrons significant to the priory's wider affairs. The rebel party at Ely did not surrender until 11 July when Edward and his men returned from the north and destroyed the fortress.⁹⁰

Relations with sheriffs and royal officials.

Another royal official to have made himself unpopular with the canons by trespassing on their hospitality was the justice in eyre, William de St Omer. A letter written at Shrewsbury on 23 September 1267 records the appointment of St Omer, along with others, to hold in inquest in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire and a swathe of Midland counties 'in pursuance of an ordinance ... that siesin should be resorted to the king of all lands seised by anyone by occasion of the disturbance had in the realm'.⁹¹ St Omer and his entourage now took up residence in the priory for a whole year, much to the

⁸⁸ Clark, *Liber*, 48: 'Pater uero eorum mortuus est in terra sancta, et corpus eius delatum est Bernewelle, et sepultum est in capella beate Marie'.

⁸⁹ Clark, *Liber*, 123.

⁹⁰ *VCH Cambs.*, ii, 396.

⁹¹ *CPR 1266-1272*, 113.

consternation of the canons. His story is told in the Barnwell *Liber* in entry 124: 'De oppressionibus post guerram'.⁹² It seems that St Omer brought not only his own entourage but his wife's household of twenty-two women. Apart from the obvious drain on the priory's resources, it appears that St Omer was a very disagreeable and ungrateful man. At the end of his stay, to make matters worse, he fined the priory forty shillings. The prior complained immediately of having been judged in his absence and, subsequently, falsely charged. He requested permission to appeal and the fine was rescinded.

The priory's dealings with the sheriffs of Cambridgeshire are mentioned by the author of the Barnwell *Liber* on a number of occasions. In Book 6, which according to Clark is entirely given over to 'an official memorandum of local dues and rates', the author gives his reasons for such care in record-making.⁹³ Written around 1230, and arranged hundred by hundred, then village by village, the purpose of this survey is clearly explained in the preamble:

'In several hundreds the Prior of Barnwell has lands and tenements, services and homages, customs and villeins; but, as servants of the sheriff often distrain of their own accord and unjustly, distraining some whom they ought to pass over, and sparing others who ought of right to be distrained,, in order to prevent the Prior or his tenants being in the future oppressed unjustly by distrains of this kind for suits in the courts of the county or the hundred ... in the future it will no be a man's

⁹² Clark, *Liber*, 124.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p.xii.

duty on account of such distraint to go to the Castle to inspect the Sheriff's roll,
but he may look into this book and gain his information from it'⁹⁴

This also recalls the sentiments expressed in the opening preamble to the *Liber* itself, where the author explains that all men are duplicitous and that religious houses must take steps to protect their estates and assets.

Thomas de Belhus (sheriff of Cambridgeshire 28 October 1281 - 19 October 1289) commenced his relationship with the prior and canons amicably but this soon soured when he began to expect a little too much and, like William de St Omer, started to abuse the hospitality that had been shown to himself and his family. The Barnwell *Liber* records that: '

'Thomas de Belhus was sheriff of Cambridgeshire for many years, and he greatly loved the canons of Barnwell, and with good reason, since they bestowed many benefits and honours upon him and he frequently stayed there with his wife and an all too extensive household'⁹⁵

On one particular occasion, after staying for three days and nights, de Belhus asked to be provided with a cart to transport his belongings. The canons, when they were unable to find a cart large enough, were rebuked by the sheriff who not only expressed his displeasure verbally but was, apparently, so offended that he felt the need to retaliate in

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp.xii, 37.

⁹⁵ Clark, *Liber*, 180: 'Thomas de bellus per multos annos fuit vicecomes Cantebrigie, et multum dilexit canonicos de Bernewelle, et merito, quoniam multa beneficia recepit ab eis et honores, et frequenter ibi hospitabatur cum uxore et familia magna nimis'. During this period repair work was being done at the castle so it was impossible to lodge there, but de Belhus may have considered the priory a more comfortable option in any case.

some way. He did this by interfering in the prior's judicial rights in Chesterton to such a degree that the prior felt it necessary to take out a writ against him at the court of the King's Bench rather than the Common bench, to be heard 'coram nobis in octabis sancti Hilarii ubicunque fuerimus in Anglia', rather than the standard 'coram iusticiariis nostris apud Westmonasterium'.⁹⁶

The episode is recorded in the Barnwell *Liber* in three entries.⁹⁷ The first describes how the prior took an action of trespass *vi et armis* against de Belhus for releasing a prisoner from his custody and then demanding a ransom from the prior. The prisoner in question was Geoffrey de Toft who had committed an assault in Chesterton and been arrested by the constables. The constables had taken him to the priory so that de Belhus could not get hold of him.⁹⁸ But the sheriff, not to be thwarted by the prior, broke into the place where Geoffrey was held and dragged him off to the prison in the castle, along with some of the prior's servants who had, presumably, resisted. The prior immediately appealed to the king and a writ was issued on 13 October 1287 commanding the sheriff to make redress for his actions without delay. The sheriff, for some reason, chose not respond and a second writ was issued to the coroners of Cambridgeshire on 10 November.⁹⁹ This non-response on the part of de Belhus was carefully noted by the court after the witness clause: 'Quia alias mandatum fuit prefato vicecomiti quod factum suum in [hac] parte corrigerit qui nichil inde fecit ut dicitur'.¹⁰⁰ By some unknown means the sheriff managed

⁹⁶Clark, *Liber*, pp.lx,180-1.

⁹⁷ Clark, *Liber*, 180-2, nos.113-15.

⁹⁸ Ibid., 180: 'Constabularii de Cestertone audito clamore arestauerunt corpus ipsius G[alfridi] et duxerunt ad aulam Prioris, et clausuerunt ianuas ne vicecomes raperet eum'.

⁹⁹ It is interesting to note that in both writs Chesterton is referred to as one of the king's ancient demesne manors: 'in manerio suo de Cestertone quod est de antiquo dominico corone nostre': Ibid., 181.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 182.

to escape punishment and after a 'love day' was held, peace was restored through the mediation of John de Lovetot, a justice of the Common Pleas.¹⁰¹

The Reign of Edward I

Edward I's reign saw the patronage of the priory leave private hands and pass to the crown. The impact of this on the production of the *Liber* should not be ignored, even though the advowson of the priory had ceased to belong to the Pecche family in 1284, ten years before the Barnwell *Liber* was written.¹⁰² By 1294 it would have become clear to the prior that the nature of the relationship between priory and patron had changed dramatically and that negotiating with his new, royal, lord presented new challenges. Moreover, the last decade of the thirteenth-century was a turbulent time for the Church as an institution, with relations to the crown increasingly strained and clerical taxation, like any other taxation, was always going to be contentious. The early 1290s was a period of growing royal aggression towards ecclesiastical jurisdiction. The vacancy at Canterbury after Archbishop Pecham's death in 1292 and the absence of his successor, Robert Winchelsey in Italy until January 1295, provided Edward with the ideal opportunity to impose his will upon the leaderless church.¹⁰³ The political motivation behind the king's decision to act as he did lay in his on-going disputes with Philip IV of France over the Duchy of Gascony.

In May 1293 a fleet from the Cinque Ports engaged with that of Normandy off the Brittany coast. The Barnwell author does not make much of this provocation to war but does mention in passing that 'Quinque porticus faciunt depredaciones et bella multa in

¹⁰¹ Ibid., pp.lx, 182.

¹⁰² Clark, *Liber*, 50-1.

¹⁰³ J.H. Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1294—1313: A Study in the Defence of Ecclesiastical Liberty (Cambridge, 1980), esp. p.3.

mari', leading to 'discordia inter regem Anglie et regem Francie'.¹⁰⁴ Of more importance to the *Liber* was how the priory was affected financially as a result of this outbreak of hostilities. Hostilities escalated a year later when, on 19 May 1294, after lengthy talks between the two sides had failed, Philip IV declared the duchy of Gascony forfeit and Edward, as Duke, guilty of resisting Philip's authority as overlord.

Edward now needed money to finance his war. In 1294, he had broken with his bankers, the Italian Riccardi of Lucca, over the introduction of new custom duties, so an alternative source had to be quickly identified. The introduction of the *maltote*, a duty on wool, had the double advantage of raising money and also ensuring that any exports of this valuable commodity did not fall into the hands of the enemy. Having seized all stocks of wool on 12 June, the crown announced that normal trading with all foreign merchants, except the French, was to be resumed. However, to ensure this, English merchants had to 'purchase' back their own stock by paying duty. The rates were set at 5 marks for a sack of good wool, 3 marks for a sack of inferior wool and 5 marks for each last of hide. In the autumn the rate was standardised at 3 marks, but this unpopular tax affected the whole community and 'monasteries must have borne a disproportionately high share of the costs'.¹⁰⁵ In spite of this, the author of the *Liber* only mentions that the sale of wool was prohibited, being more concerned to record the fact that by the festival of the Assumption a bushel of corn cost 26d and that there was great hunger in the land.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps we might draw the conclusion from this that Barnwell did not have as great an interest in sheep as other monasteries, investing more in cereal crops.

¹⁰⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 230-1.

¹⁰⁵ Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*, 65. The *maltote* was collected for three years and raised a total of £110,000.

¹⁰⁶ Clark, *Liber*, 231.

For a larger contribution to the war effort Edward then turned to the Church more directly. Not only were religious houses storing three years accumulation of the crusading tenths, ordered by Nicholas IV in 1291, but they also held substantial deposits of private money. On 16 June, the King appointed commissioners charged with scrutinizing such private deposits. This was done on the pretext of ascertaining the amount of counterfeit or clipped coin in circulations. On 4 July, orders were issued for a forced loan to the crown and the king's men broke into churches across the land. Smashing any locked chests, they removed £10,795 of private money and clerical tenths amounting to £29,000, immediately paid into the exchequer.¹⁰⁷

Barnwell's experiences here are recounted in the *Liber* in four entries on folios 88b-89b.¹⁰⁸ According to the author, deposits were seized from the priory on 4 July and restoration was not made until 16th. Such an act was sure to cause outcry, but it was not so much the seizure of the deposits as the forced entry by the secular authorities that caused fury. A number of other chronicles record their indignation at this flagrant breach of ecclesiastical immunity.¹⁰⁹

Under the headline *Vasconia perdita*, the Barnwell *Liber* records how, at the beginning of 1294, in a deceitful act, Philip IV denied Edward's rights in Gascony. After setting the political 'scene' he goes on to describe the events of 4 July: 'Quarto die mensis Julii omnes cofre cum thesauro per totam Angliam tam in ecclesia quam alibi per ministros Regis sunt signate ad opus regis'. There follows a record of the events that led up to the priory being taken into royal custody for twenty five days from 7 July to 1 August 1294,

¹⁰⁷ M. Prestwich, *Edward I* (London, 1988), 403; Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*, 65. Crusade deposits of £32,480 were also taken at this time but there was no objection to this as the king was entitled to the money which was only being held in safekeeping for him until he went on crusade.

¹⁰⁸ Headed 'Vasconia perdita; Breue Regis patens de acquietancia; Littera conuentus concessa vicecomiti; and Causa quare Rex seysiuat prioratum de Bernewelle'.

¹⁰⁹ It was, as Denton remarks, 'a good story': Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*, 68-9.

and an explanation of why this occurred. The final document in this series is a copy of the king's acknowledgment of the circumstances of the seizure, dated 12 August 1294, which was sent to the bishop of Ely.¹¹⁰ This action, perceived at the time as disastrous, may well have added to the calls for a permanent written record of Barnwell's wealth and lands, leading in due course to the compilation of the *Liber*.¹¹¹

¹¹⁰ Clark, *Liber*, 232-33, noted by Denton, *Robert Winchelsey*, 65. Barnwell was not alone in its inability to pay. St Mary's York, which was recorded as holding £1,902 15s and 8¼d, also failed to produce the money, and the Abbot of Basingwerk had all his good and chattels in London seized to cover the amount he should have held in safe-keeping: TNA E 159/68 mm.58d, 65.

¹¹¹ Above ch.3.

9. Conclusion

This thesis has endeavoured to show, through certain aspects of its history, how the Augustinian canons of Barnwell Priory in Cambridge interacted with other members of society, from the motivation of its founders in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, through to arguments over property and liberties which were a constant feature of daily life. From the outset it was clear that it would be impossible to cover the entire history of the priory so the decision was made to use a thematic approach and to cover the years from 1092 to 1300. The choice of date range was influenced to a great extent by the survival of the *Liber Memorandorum Ecclesie de Bernewelle*, a manuscript written by a canon of Barnwell in 1294-5.

My first two chapters concentrate on the priory in its historical and historiographical context. I then considered the *Liber* and its purpose, and the importance of manuscript production and learning at the priory. Chapters thereafter deal with the Picot and Peverel families, and in chapters 7 and 8 with the national and international context in which Barnwell operated. Perhaps the most significant of my conclusions here is that the priory enjoyed links to the world of the hermits, and that the much later account of its foundation is not only economical with the truth but inclined to smooth over events that in hindsight had come to seem inconvenient. In particular, I question the dating of the foundation and its attachment to anything that as early as 1100 could be interpreted as an 'Augustinian order'. It seems probable that a Saxon minster church was reformed under Picot, and then regularized and

transformed into an Augustinian priory, at a new site, some time towards the middle of the reign of Henry I.¹

In general, the Augustinian canons have, and to a certain degree continue to, suffer from what has been called, by one historian '[h]istoric neglect'.² In his seminal works on English ecclesiastical history, David Knowles assigned them a scant two pages in *The Monastic Order in England*, and gave them only slightly more attention in *The Religious Orders in England*.³ More recently David Robinson has made some very pertinent points about the lack of any modern account of the order in Britain, noting that 'the Augustinian canons remain very much the Cinderellas of British medieval monastic history ... [who] continue to stand in the shadow of the more familiar and generally better-researched monastic groups'.⁴ He suggests this neglect may be partially due to difficulties in defining the characteristics of the various groups of canons with any great precision.⁵

It has become increasingly clear that it is time to remedy this neglect and to rescue the canons from the presuppositions of the authorities, including R W Southern whose negative estimation of them has prevailed for too long. In his *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages*, Southern wrote that, in his opinion, the order had been neglected as they:

¹ A. Taylor, *Cambridge The Hidden History* (Stroud, 1999). Taylor writes of Picot's 'good and economical' reasons for founding a priory on the site which not only made him eligible to collect tithes but meant he controlled the route between the river and the castle. Taking over an existing building dispensed with any immediate construction costs and the church remained a 'small basically Saxon structure; until it was taken down and replaced by 'a monstrously large building in a high church tradition' in 1870, 61, 150.

² Robinson, 'The Augustinian Canons', 3.

³ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 175, 359-60; idem, *The Religious Orders in England*, 28-31.

⁴ Robinson, 'The Augustinian Canons', 2, 3.

⁵ Ibid., 3.

'Lacked every mark of greatness. They were neither very rich, nor very learned, nor very religious, nor very influential.'⁶

More recently this attitude has been decried as unfair and, indeed, it is now hard to see on what basis it was made. The evidence available in charters and cartularies indicates that, whilst the canons were never able to scale the same heights as the Benedictines, they were by no means insignificant members of society. There now appears to be a definite need to redress this imbalance and for new research to be conducted.

According to David Robinson, whose work on the geography of Augustinian settlement has added much to the discussion of why certain locations were chosen for houses and how these locations contributed to the order's success, there exists a growing desire for a new work which will 'trace the gradual emergence of what might be considered a true Augustinian "order" probably after 1215.' This, he considers, should be continued through to the sixteenth century so that a 'clearer understanding of the canons overall,'⁷ might be achieved.

In the meanwhile, Dickinson's *Origins of the Austin Canons* remains the starting point for anyone wishing to study the Augustinian order in England. There is, however, a growing need for an updated account which brings together and re-evaluates all the available facts. Such a volume would be of great benefit to future scholars of the order.⁸ It is hoped that the present thesis will add to the growing body of work that underpins such future work. It may

⁶ R. W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, 1970), xvii.

⁷ Ibid., 11. Robinson goes on to discuss the lack of research into Augustinian architecture which has possibly been the result of the scale of the task, with somewhere in the region of 200 houses to be assessed. See also C.A.T. Butterill, 'The Foundations of Augustinian Priors in England during the Reign of Henry I, 1100-1135' (Birkbeck, University of London, unpublished thesis, 2000)

⁸ The identification and cataloguing of the extant documents would also be a fruitful exercise. An online database, of a similar design to that used to record the entries in the *Taxatio* could provide a convenient vehicle for this. See <http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/taxatio/>

also go some way toward filling the 'Augustinian gap' in the histories of the religious houses of Cambridge. Although, as has been discussed above, a number of antiquarian works consider Barnwell, the opportunity exists for something a great deal better.

This thesis, by its very nature, has only been able to comment briefly on the lives of the community of canons at Barnwell Priory. The decision to cover the first two hundred years of the history of the priory, from the foundation to the production of the *Liber* manuscript in 1294-95, necessitated making a number of difficult choices concerning content. Using themed chapters gave an opportunity to focus on particular aspects of the house and to consider various of the personalities associated with it, both religious and secular. It is thus not in any way an attempt at a history in the traditional, chronological sense. My work was also, inevitably, limited by the sparsity of documentation from the period surviving independently from the *Liber*, even though the charter material, not used by Willis, has proved more plentiful than was, at first, feared.

For the future it is apparent that Harleian 3601 would benefit from further research, both in terms of its contribution to the history of the order in Cambridge and, the uniqueness of its content.⁹ An edition of the first seven books which places the transcription and translation side by side, as Clark did for the *Observances*, would also be welcome. In the case of Barnwell Priory, the neglect suffered by the Augustinian order in general, briefly discussed above in Chapter 7, is particularly unfortunate. It is sad that recent comments concerning the dearth of work undertaken on the order as a whole still echo those of Clark from over a century ago. Barnwell Priory was a house of significance, with royal and noble connections,

⁹ This uniqueness is particularly apparent in Book 8.

and as such would benefit from an up-to-date history. New work is nonetheless appearing.¹⁰ Robinson's work on the geography of Augustinian settlement, for example, supplies many new leads.¹¹ The manor of Chesterton also merits further investigation. This study has only briefly touched upon the contentious nature of the connection between it and Barnwell and further research is likely to reveal other avenues of inquiry. One such avenue already considered is that of land transactions during the period 1277-1325.¹²

The recent resurgence of interest has led to three significant conferences devoted to the Augustinian canons over the last ten years. These have led to the publication of two new volumes of essays, the first specifically focussing on St. Augustine's Abbey, now Bristol Cathedral, under the joint editorship of J. Cannon and B. Williamson, and the second covering multiple aspects of the order.¹³ The proceedings of the third conference, under the directorship of David Robinson, which was held at Oxford in November 2014, are anticipated.¹⁴

¹⁰ Settlement: Robinson *Augustinian Settlement in Medieval England and Wales*; Architecture: T. O'Keeffe, *An Anglo-Norman Monastery. Bridgetown Priory and the Architecture of the Augustinian Canon Regular in Ireland* (Cork, 1999); Clothing: A. Frizzard, 'Shoes, Boots, Leggings, and Cloaks: The Augustinian Canons and Dress in Later Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 46 (2007), 245-62. The opportunity for new archaeological work arose in 2014 when an area of land opposite St Andrew's church was redeveloped. A report on three new excavations within the lay settlement of Barnwell Priory, undertaken by Oxford Archaeology East, was presented at the Cambridge Antiquarian Society's autumn conference.

¹¹ Likewise, Christine Butterill has considered the question of continental influence on the development of English houses. Her thesis rejects this idea and suggests that English development was the result of a number of factors including the revival of minster sites to form a community network for travellers. This also allowed the Augustinians to provide 'a new framework for the operational and pastoral functions of the parish church': Butterill, 'The Foundations of Augustinian Priors in England', online abstract at <http://ethos.bl.uk/OrderDetails.do?did=1&uin=uk.bl.ethos.393166>

¹² C. A. Clarke, 'Peasant society and land transactions in Chesterton, Cambridgeshire 1277-1325' (University of Oxford, unpublished thesis, 1985).

¹³ The conference was described in its overview as 'the first ever conference to consider the Augustinian canons in Britain from this perspective': J. Cannon and B. Williamson, (eds.), *The Medieval Art, Architecture and History of Bristol Cathedral: an enigma explored* (Woodbridge, 2011). The abbey was founded in 1140 by Robert Fitzharding, and was a Victorine house. The cartulary was published by D. Walker, (ed.), *Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, Gloucestershire Record Society (1998).

¹⁴ This conference ran under the title 'The Augustinian Canons in Great Britain: Architecture, Archaeology and Liturgy', and its proceedings, when they are published, promise to be both wide ranging and informative.

In conclusion, Barnwell Priory presents as an under-researched house belonging to an under-researched order and thus any work conducted on it can only be beneficial to the growing interest in the Augustinians and their many-talented contribution to medieval society.

APPENDIX OF UNPUBLISHED TEXTS

The intention here has been to supplement the materials supplied in the Barnwell *Liber* (itself very sparsely furnished with charters from before the 1270s) with original single sheets (or in the case of no.1, later transcripts) found in the archives for the most part of the Cambridge University colleges (and to Merton College Oxford) to which these documents found their way, often as title deeds descending with College lands. By happy accident, two such strays share the same scribe and witnesses, and were clearly issued on the same occasion, albeit now being dispersed between the archives of Merton College Oxford and Jesus College Cambridge. The 30 or so documents below (allowing for the 14 items transcribed as no.1) are either significant as independent testimony to originals preserved in the *Liber* (no.1) or previously unpublished (nos.2-17). They cover all periods of the priory's history, from the 1090s to the 1270s, and include not only representative instruments issued under most of the priors of Barnwell, but individual items that touch upon such otherwise obscure subjects as the priory's status as parish church (no.6), its dealings with the abbey of S. Andrea at Vercelli (no.10, a previously unpublished original, now preserved in Turin), and even the origins of the legend of Robin Hood (no.13). The charters are then followed (no.19) by a description of the priory's seal: a reminder of the canons' particular devotion to the cult of St Giles.

1. Copies made in 1668, reciting (i) the priory's foundation charter granted by Picot the sheriff; (ii) its subsequent confirmation by Pain Peverel; (iii, ix, xiv) a narrative recounting the foundation and early fortunes of Barnwell Priory and its benefactors; and various charters (iv, vi, xi, xii-xiv) or lists of fees (v, x) concerning land in the manor of Bourn, for the most part these later charters taken from the cartulary of St Neot's Priory (BL ms. Cotton Faustina A iv) or the lost cartulary of Sawtry (vi-viii).
[c.1080 - 1668]

B = Cambridge, Christ's College muniments Bourn A, a paper gathering of folios, perhaps associated with one or other of the St George heralds, either Sir Henry St George (1625-1715) or Sir Thomas (1615-1703).

For the significance of this dossier, preserving copies of the priory's earliest charters independent of those preserved in the Barnwell *Liber*, and here supplied with witness lists, see above ch.3.

(i)¹ Picotus vicecomes omnibus hominibus suis et amicis Francis et Anglicis tam
p(re)sentibus q(ua)m futuris salute(m). Sciatis me concillio domini Remigii
Lincolniensis episcopi et precibus Hugoline uxoris constituisse canonicos regulares
apud Cantabridgiam ad eccle(s)iam Sancti Egedii in perpetuum Deo seruituros et
eorum concillio dedisse eisdem canonicis et concessisse et hac mea charta
confirmasse pro amore Dei et pro salute anime mee² ecclesiam Sancti Egedij de
Cantabridgia ubi domus eorum fundata est, ecclesiam de Mordon cum capella de
Redderia, ecclesiam de Thadlaus, ecclesiam de Brun' cum capella castelli et cum
capella de Caldecot, ecclesiam de Cumberton, ecclesiam de Madinly, ecclesiam de
Rampton, ecclesiam de Harlston et de Henpton habend(as) et tenend(as) libere,
quiete, honorifice et integre in prat(is), in terr(is) et pastur(is) et cum decimis
molendinorum cum omnibus aliis pertinent(iis) in villis et extra villas in libera(m),
puram et perpetuam elemosinam. Concessi similiter iamdicti(s) canonicis concillio
predicti Remigii Lincoln' episc(opi) duas partes decimarum de omnibus dominiis
omnium millitum meorum in Cantabridgia comitatu, scilicet de Queia, de Stowe, de

¹ Clark, *Liber*, 40 no.5, but there with only the first of the witnesses given here.

² MS. *anima mea*

Waterbeche, de Midleton, de Impington, de Histon, de Gretton, de Harleton, de Eversdon, de Tofte, de Caldecote, de King...., de Winpoole, de Crawdene, de Hokyntone, de Rampton, de Cotenham, de Lolesworth, de Trumpington, de Haselingfeilde, de Hatley, de Pampesworth, de Aldwin(c)le, habend(as) et tenend(as) libere, quiete et integre in perpetuam et puram elimozinam ad domus sue³ et illic Deo servienc(ium) perpetuam sustentationem. Hii sunt testes: Humfridus Capell(anus), Hasketillus de Furndaus, Rogerus Picotus, Robertus Picotus, Hardwinus de Schalariaiis, Hugo filius eius et multi alii.

[1092 5^{to} Willelmi Rufi> Paganus Peverell consanguineus et heres predicti Picoti pro charta sua concessit et confirmavit eisdem canonicis ut sequitur]

(ii)⁴ Paganus Peverell omnibus hominibus suis et amicis tam Francis quam Anglicis tam presentibus quam futuris salut(em). Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et hac charta mea confirmasse canonicis meis de Cantabridgia pro amore Dei et salute anime mee omnes ecclesias et omnes decimas in Cantabridgia quas Picotus vicecomes eisdem canonicis dedit, concessit et sua charta confirmavit, scilic(et) eccleziām S(an)c(t)i Egedii de Cantabridgia ubi domus eorum fundata est, eccleziām de Mardun' cu(m) capella de Rederia, eccleziām de Tadlaus, ecclesiam de Brunna cum capella castelli et cum capella de Caldecote, eccleziām de Combertona, eccleziām de Madingley, eccleziām de Ramptona, eccleziām de Herston et Henpton habend(as) et tenend(as) libere, quiete, honorifice et integre in terr(is) et in pratis et pasturis et cum decimis molendinorum et cum omnibus aliis pertinen(tiis) in villis et extra villas in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemozinam. Concessi similiter iamdict(is) canonicis

³ MS. *sua*

⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 42-3 no.11, but there without witnesses.

meis duas partes decimarum de omnibus dominiis⁵ omnium militum meorum in Cantabridgia, scilicet de Landbech, de Waterbech, de Quoy, de Stowe, de Midletona, de Innpingtona, de Histona, de Grettona, de Hokintona, de Ramptona, de Cotenham, de Lolesworth, de Trumpingtona, de Haselinfielde, de Harletona, de Eversdona, de Toste, de Caldecota, de Kingstona, de Winpola, de Craudena, de Hatleia, de Pampesworth, de Aldwick. Concessi similiter quend(am) locu(m) eisdem canonicis iacent(em) in campis Cantabridgia continen(tem) xiii. acr(as) circa fontes de Barnwell <quem> Henricus Primus prius dedit ad domum eor(um) stabiliend(am) et fundand(am) ad habend(um) et tenend(um) in liberam, pura(m) et perpetuam elemozinam libere, quiete et integre a magna platea usque in riueriam de Cambrig', in sito a marisco, secundum quod curia eorum in longum extenditur, et sicut dominus rex, mihi et hered(ibus) meis illum locum dedit. Concessi similiter eis in liberam elemozinam unam hidam terre de dominio meo in Brunna, et dimidiam hidam in Brunna quam Frebertus presbiter tenuit, et una(m) virgat(am) terre quam Radolphus de Mordon tenuit. Hi sunt testes: Will(el)imus Peverell, Ham(e)linus de Audevilla, Radolphus de Mordon, Willimus⁶ de Henptona, Walterus de Tadlau et multi alii.

[Translated from St Giles in Cambridge to Barnwell 1112 the year after the first erection]

(iii)⁷ Vera narratio de prima fundatione canonicorum de Barnwell et de Picoto vicecomite qui fuit primus eorum fundator.

⁵ MS. *decimas* erased, corrected to *dominiis*

⁶ *Sic*

⁷ Clark, *Liber*, 38-9 nos.1-4, 47-8 no.22-3.

Regnante Willelmo primo illustri rege Anglorum, alias Willelmus Bastard, extitit quidem vir nobilis in partibus Cantabrigia de gente et genere Normanorum, Picotus nomine, vicecomes cognomine, ita cognominatus quia vicecomit(is officio) in illis partibus fungebatur, et inter optimates regni pro comite habebatur. Memoratus namq(u)e rex quandam baroniam in prouincia Cantabridgia dum integra esset satis opulentam illi contulerat, et altis aliis honoribus et opibus, ut bene dignus erat, per diuersa regni loca eum satis ditauerat.

[De Hugolina uxore Picoti vicecomit(is)]

Duxerat aute(m) vir iste uxorem quand(am) nomine Hugolinam <de> genere quidem clara sed fide et sanctitate multo clariorem. H(ec) vero quamuis ab annis puerilibus D(e)u(m) et sanctos eius tota mentis sinceritate excoluerit tame(n) beatum Egedi(u)m tanqua(m) patrone(m) specialem et in opportunitatibus p(iu)m adiutorem deuosius et amicabilem amplexabatur, in die solempnitatis eius pauperes reficiendo et alia pietatis ac deuocionis obsequia studiosius impendendo.

[De egritudine et voto ipsius Hugoline]

Defuncto autem rege supradicto et regnante Willelmo secundo, scilicet Willelmo Rufo filio eius, pro eo accidit predictam Hugolinam uxorem predicti viri tanta egritudine apud Cantabrig' detineri, quod regis phisici et alii quamplures in arte phisica peritissimi ad eam accersiti <eam> pro dessparata habentes desserent, et in proximo morituram assererent. Cum itaque ipsa Hugolina humanaum subsidium omnino sibi deesse comparuisset, diuinum sibi adesse deposcebat, et in beato Egedio

totius sue spei ancchozem defigiens, Deo et beato Egedio votum vouit et spospondit quod saluti sibi restituta, eccleziā ad illius honorem construeret et personas religiosas Deo et beato Egideo imperpetuum famulaturas illic agraret, consentiente autem viro eius huic voto et illud similiter adimplere spondente, ita in breui fertur conualuisse, et infra triduum(m) omni dolore sopito, adeo gaudens et hillaris surrexit a lectulo ac si nihil pertulisset.

[De opera ecclesiae de institutione canonicor(um) regularium sub Galfrido priore]

Vir itaque memoratus et uxor eius de tam preclaro miraculo vehementer accensi, statim ad votum suum complend(um) anhelant(es), cum amicabili certamine decertarent cuiusmodi religionem ordinarent. Tandem beato Anselmo qui preerat tunc Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, necnon venerande memorie domino Remigio Lincolniensi cuius erat diocesis Episcopo aditis et super hoc consultis, eccleziā in honore beati Egedii et oficinas eo tempore satis competentes Cantabrigie iuxta castrum construxerunt, et canonicis regularibus illic in breui adunatis, ad eorum curam gerend(am) Galfrid(um) de Huntington canonicum, magne religionis viru(m), profecerunt. Ad horum itaque sustentationem duas partes decimarum eo de dominiis suis, atque omnium militum suorum eiusdem prouincie, antequam ipsis militibus et fundos conferrent, erat Francigenis, domini Remigii epi(scopi) prius habita concessione, assignauerunt. Eccleziarum vero de iure fundi infra fines illius prouinc(ie) ad se spectantium aduocationes eis contulerunt, decernentes ut, cum uacarent, usibus eorum cederent, et et chartam suam inde fecit ad petitionem et instantiam uxoris sue Hugoline sub forma predicta.

Tota baronia Pagani Peverell post mortem Will(el)mi Peverell inter quatuor sorores fuit deuisa, quarum primogenita vocabitur Matildis de Doure, et ipsa sine herede de se mortua est. Et sic hereditas ipsa ad tres sorores deuoluta est, et pars predictae Matildis inter ipsas deuisa, quarum prima fuit uxor Hamonis Peche senioris que vocabitur Alicia. Et ex illa processerunt filii et filiae. Primogenit(us) Hamonis Gilbertus Peche secundus vocabitur Galfridus Peche. Iste Galfridus⁸ canonicis de Barnwell ecclesiam de Harleton ad vesturam. De Gilberto autem processit Hamon' Peche qui accepit uxorem nomine Euam de partibus transmarinis oriund(am), que genuit ei quinque filios et filias. Primogenit(us) Gilbertus Peche, qui fuit de isto stirpit(e) ultimus noster patronus. Secunda soror vocabitur Rosia, de illa processit Albreda de Harecourt, et ex illa Albreda processerunt Galfridus Trusbut, Rogerus, Robertus, Willimus et Ricardus Trusbut. Hiis omnibus defunct(is) sine hered(e) de se, tres sorores remanserunt, scilicet Rosia, Hillaria et Agatha. Ex Rosia Robertus de Rosse senior, de Roberto Will(el)m(us) de Rosse, et isti tres, videlicet Will(el)m(us), Hyllaria et Agatha hered(es) sunt in parte. Tertia vero soror vocatur Aucelina de Watervill. Et ex illa nate sunt due filie, videlicet Aucellina de Watervill, et Matilda de Diua. De Aucellina venit Rogerus de Torpell, et de Matilda Hugo de Diue.

[De Gilberto Peche qui fuit ultimus patronus noster, et fratribus eius et de morte parentu(m) eius]

Gilbertus Peche fuit filius Hamonis Peche. Hic fecit auum suum Gilbertum Peche et Aliciam uxorem eius leuari de pulpare, et <in> uno sepulchro marmoreo ex parte magni altaris, ad caput egregii Pagani Pevere(l) amborum corpora recondi. Pater eius

⁸ *Dedit* has been crossed through.

uocabitur Hamo Peche, et uxor eius Eua de transmarinis partibus oriunda. Ex hiis processerunt vi. fillii, Gilbertus primogenitus, Hamo, Hugo, Robertus, Thomas et Willelmus Peche. Ex <hiis> vidimus quinque milites potentes, prudentes et robustos.⁹ Sextus, scilicet Hamo, fuit clericus ecclesiis et redditibus copiose ditatus. Pater uero eorum mortuus est in Terra Sancta, et corpus eius delatum est Barnwellie, et sepultum est in capella beate Marie. Uxor vero eius Eua senex et plena dierum cum magna veneratione, p(re)sentibus quatuor filiis suis, sepulta est a dextris viri sui, et filius eorum iunior Willelmus Peche, miles, aspectu quidem pulcher et armis inter omnes bacalarios validissimus nominatu(s), sepult(us) est a sinistris patris sui.

[Brunner]

(iv) Simon de Turri eisdem monachis dedit in elemosinam Rob(er)ti Prach, fillium Baldwini de Brunne, natum suum cum omni loquela sua. Ex libro S(an)c(t)i Neoti.

(v) Dominus Baldwinus Sancti George tenet in feodo et hereditate,¹⁰ de Gilberto de Peche centum acras terre, ex hundred ratulo¹¹ tempore, regis Edwardi primi in Northstow recorda Turris.

[Brunner]

(vi) In nomine sancte et individue Trinitatis notum sit presentibus et futuris quod ego Simon de la Turri dedi Deo et Sancte Marie et monachis de Salterio, consensu Simonis hered(is) mei ceterorum que heredum meorum, x. acras terre mee in Brunne

⁹ MS. *robultos*

¹⁰ MS *hereditorum*

¹¹ *sic*

et unam croftam que fuit Alberti et i. acram de prato in Waldis de Brunne et pasturam sexugint(a) ouibus. Hec omnia eis dedi et charta mea confirmavi in perpetua elemosina, liberam et quietam ab omnibus consuetudinibus et secularibus serviciis pro anima mea et omnium antecessorum meorum. Ex libro abbatia et Salterria.

[*Brunne*]

(vii) Simon, filius Simonis de la Turri, eisdem monachis confirmavit donum patris sui et in eadem charta abutuntur omnes terre. Ex libro de¹² Salterria.

(viii) Willelmus de Suthburi confirmavit monach(is) de Salterria omnes donationes Simonis de la Turri et Simonis filii sui de terr(a) predict(a) in Brunne.

(ix)¹³ Defuncto Pagano Peuerell, Will(elmus) filli(us) eius ei successit, et ipse sequens vestigia patris confirmavit canonicis de Barnewell omnes donationes quas pater eius eis fecit, et insuper dimidiam hidam terre in Brunne eis contulit de dominico suo et chartam suam ipsis liberavit. Postea Iherosolimam adiit et a seculo migrans nullu(m) ex se relinquens hered(em), quatuor sorores dicti Pagani filias reliquit, que totam baroniam inter se deuiserunt.

Qualiter ius patronatus ecclesie de Barnwell descendit ad dominu(m) Gilbertum de Peche iure hereditario.

¹² Sancti Neoti is crossed through

¹³ Clark, *Liber*, 47 no.21 with the heading to no.22.

[Brunner]

(x) Robertus miles tenet feod(um) dimid(ii) milit(is) de Hamone Pech de honore
Peuerell et ad wardam castri dimid(iam) marcam infra tres annos ad duos vices, et
debet pontagium. Ibidem Alanus de Turri tenet feod(um) unius milit(is) de honore
Richmont et debet unam sectam et de auxilio vicecomit(is) ii. s(olidos) Ibidem
Ioh(ann)es de Verley tenet vii. hidas terre scilicet i. hidam et tres partes, i. hidam per
dimidium feod(um) milit(is) de feodo Roberti, filii Walteri, et debet unam sectam et
de auxilio vicecomit(is) xxi. d(enarios) et sciend(um) ibidem sunt xii. hid(as) et
dimid(iam) preter terram prioris de Barnwell et terram prioris de Sancto Neoto. Ex
libro de Barnwell de tenuris.

[Brunner]

(xi) Will(e)lmus Peuerel salutem. Sciatis q(uo)d concessi Deo et ecclesie Sancti
Neoti monachis in ea Deo seruientibus pro animabus patris et matris mea et pro salute
mea et omnium parentum meorum perpetualiter in elimozinam liberam et quietam de
exercitu, de custodiis, de danigeldis, de murdeo et de omnibus seruiciis et
consuetudinibus secularibus de mea terra de Brunne centum acras lucrabiles et
messuagium quod fuit Edwini filii Geleman, et x. acras prati infra Les Walls de
Brunner, et iiii. infra Les Walls de Kaxton, et comunitates pasturae in ipsa villa et volo
ut teneant et <habeant> in pace et honorifice libere et quiete omnino de me et de
omnibus heredibus meis in perpetuum. Ex libro prioratus de Sancto Neoto.

[Brunner]

(*xii*) Sciant presentes et futuri q(uo)d ego Will(elmus) de Worley et Radulfus heres meus dedimus et concessimus per amore Dei et salute nostra et nostro(?) ecclesiae Sancti Neoti xxii. acras terrae lucrabilis in Brunna. Ex libro Sancti Neoti.

(*xiii*) Radulfus de Werley eisdem monachis in Elemozina in concessit xi. acras terra in Brunne. Ex libro Sancti Neoti.

(*xiv*) Notum sit omnibus tam prasentibus quam futuris q(uo)d ego Alanus de Beche concessi et dedi et hac mea charta confirmaui ecclesiae Sancti Neoti et monachis ibidem Deo famulantibus pro salute mea et omnium meorum et pro anima patris mei Gilberti de Beche cuius corpus ibi requiescat illam dimid(iam) virgatam terrae in Brunne q(ua)m Radulfus Gibart tenuit q(ua)m pater meus eis dedit cum corpore. Ex libro Sancti Neoti.

(*xv*)¹⁴ Predictus dominus Gilbertus Peche duas habuit uxores, una vocabatur Maltildes de Hastings, genere quidem Haram sed moribus multo clariorem, et habuerunt filios et filias, que defunct(us) sepult(us) est, corpus eius in ecclesia canonicorum beate Marie ultra aquam, quia oportauerat p(ro)pter p(er)turbationem que tunc erat in Anglia, sed cor eius fuit huc deportatum in locello plumbeo, et coram magno altari iuxta pueros suos sepultum. In cuius adventu dominus Gilbertus Peche dedit¹⁵ nostre x. solidos annui redditus in Chauele. Post hec accepit dictus Gilbertus aliam uxorem, filliam domini Simonis de Crey que vocabatur Johanna. Hanc quidem dilexit et honorauit multum, eo q(uo)d pulcherrima esset et bona, de hac quidem genuit filios et

¹⁴ Clark, *Liber*, 50 no.25.

¹⁵ Word obscured by damage to manuscript.

filiis et ab amore matris magis cepit deligere puerorū secunde uxoris quam prime quod ex post¹⁶ facto patuit. Nam secunde uxori et pueris suis dedit maneria quedam et securitatem super hiis que necessaria erant ad p(er)petuitatem prudenter prouidit. Iohannem vero Peche primogenitum suum et Edmundum fratrem suum, filios prime uxoris, quasi fere demisit inanes, nam nescio quo spiritu ductus uel concillio, dominum regem Edwardum filium regis Henrici et reginam Elionoram de residua baronie sue suos fecit heredes.

¹⁶ MS deleted *factum*

2. Notification by Ralph de Waterville of his grant to the canons of Barnwell of all his right in the church of Burton Coggles (Lincolnshire), including the advowson and all rights pertaining to the lord of the fee. [1162 X 1175]

A = Cambridge, King's College Archives KCAR/6/2/025/BUC/1. Sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit.

For the circumstances here, see above ch.6. For the date, during the lifetime of Ralph de Waterville, see Sanders, *Baronies*, 19.

Notum sit omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis quod ego Radulfus de Walteruilla concessi et donavi ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' et canonicis ibi Deo seruientibus quicquid iuris ego habeo in ecclesia de Bertune, scilicet aduocationem, et quicquid preter hoc iuris ad dominum fundi pertinet, in perpetuam elemosinam pro animabus patris et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum et pro salute anime mee. His testibus: Willelmo de Sancto Georgio et Rodberto filio Willelmi et Walterio filio Harduwin et Willelmo de Wigornia.

3. Confirmation by Ascelina de Waterville of the gift of Burton Coggles church made by her brother Ralph (above no.2). [1162 X 1220, ?1162 X 1175]

A = Cambridge, King's College Archives KCAR/6/2/025/BUC/2. Sealed *sur double queue*, blue and white cords through a single slit, seal impression, oval, a standing female figure with both arms outstretched.

During the lifetime of Ascelina (Sanders, *Baronies*, 19), probably of the same date as above no.2.

Ascelina de Walteruilla omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Francis et Anglis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas vestra me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' et canonicis eiusdem loci donationem fratris mei Radulfi de Walteruilla quam fecit eidem ecclesie et canonicis de aduocatione ecclesie de Bertune in Keosteuene et carta sua eis confirmauit. Volo ergo ut eam habeant quicquid ad me et ad heredes meos pertinet libere et quiete, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et pro animabus antecessorum meorum et pro anima prenominati Radulfi fratris mei quem bona et pura deuocione predictam donationem eis feci<sset n>oui. His testibus: Radulf(o) sacerdote de Hingstitun', Martino sacerd(ote) de Bodek', Rad(ulfo) de Diua, Luca de Bans, Ioh(anne) Halbedor, Rad(ulfo) de Tich..is, Rad(ulfo) pistore et multis aliis.

4. Notification by Matilda de Dive of her confirmation of the same grant made by Ralph her brother (above no.2). [1162 X 1228, ?1162 X 1175]

A = Cambridge, King's College Archives KCAR/6/2/025/BUC/3. Sealed *sur double queue*, blue and white cords through a single slit, seal impression, oval, green wax, a female figure.

In Matilda's lifetime (Sanders, *Baronies*, 20), apparently of the same date as nos.2-3.

Matildis de Diua omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Francis et Anglis tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Nouerit uniuersitas vestra me concessisse et hac carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewelle et canonicis eiusdem loci donationem fratris mei Radulfi de Walteruilla quam fecit eidem ecclesie et canonicis de aduocatione ecclesie de Bertune in Keosteune et carta sua eis confirmauit. Volo ergo ut eam habeant quicquid ad me et ad heredes meos pertinet libere et quiete, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et pro animabus antecessorum meorum et pro anima prenominati Rad(ulfi) fratris mei quem bona et pura deuocione predictam donationem eis fecisset noui. His testibus: Rad(ulfo) sacerdote de Hengstiton' et Luca clerico eiusdem ville, Magistro Michael de Nouo Burgo, Willelmo fil(io) Otonis et Simone Bard' militibus, Galfrido de Auraenilf', Waltero Hard', Stephano de Ey.....on', Walt(ero) de Wa...wierth' et pluribus aliis.

5. Notification by William fitz Otho of his confirmation to Barnwell of the church of Burton Coggles as granted by Ralph de Walterville, uncle of Matilda his wife, as confirmed by Matilda de Dive, his wife's mother. [?1162 X 1175]

A = Cambridge, King's College Archives KCAR/6/2/025/BUC/4. Sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit, canvas seal bag, seal impression missing.

Probably of the same basic date as above nos.2-4.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Will(elmu)s fil(ius) Otonis concessi et hac mea carta confirmaui Deo et ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' et canonicis eiusdem loci aduocationem ecclesie de Bertona in Kesteuene quam Radulfus de Walteruill' auunculus uxoris mee Matild(is) eis donauit et Matild(is) de Diua mater eiusdem Matild(is) uxoris mee carta sua eis confirmauit. His testibus: Hugone de Diua, Rob(erto) Guz, Willelmo de Bans, Baldew(ino) de Sancto Georgio, Siluestr(o) persona de Cestref', Willelmo de Whitsand, Rob(erto) de Chantelu, Ric(ardo) fil(io) Willelmi, Symon(is) fil(io) Willelmi, Willelmo de Chaune.

6. Notification by prior Robert and the convent of Barnwell of their grant to Henry Melc and his heirs of land in Cambridge and Barnwell in return for rent governed by the status of Henry and his heirs as parishioners of Barnwell.

[1165 X 1201, ?c.1190 X 1202]

A = Cambridge, Jesus College Muniments 369. Sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression missing.

During the time of prior Robert, for whom see, D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and V.C.M. London, *Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales: I (940-1216)*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2001), 151, to judged from the script nearer to 1200 than to 1160. Supplies rare insight into the prior's claims as a parish church.

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Robertus prior et conuentus ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' concessimus et presenti carta confirmauimus Henrico Melc et heredibus suis unam mansuram in Cantebrig' quam Robertus Futigar de nob(is) tenuit, et aliam mansuram in Bernewell' quam Nicholaus tenuit cum duabus acris et dimidia in quibus predicta mansura consistit et preter hec unam acram que ex transuerso <v>eniens <et> predictam mansuram tangit, quam illi concessimus in escambium mansure quam de nob(is) tenuit aliquando in Pesecroft. Hec predicta omnia illi concessimus et heredibus suis tenenda de nob(is) et de ecclesia nostra hereditarie reddendo inde nobis annuatim quatuor sol(idis) duobus terminis, ad Pascha duos sol(idos) et ad festum sancti Michael(is) duos sol(idos), et quatuor capones ad Natale Domini reddendos, ita videlicet quod duodecim denarios et duos capones reddet pro mansura de Cantebrig', tres autem sol(idos) et duos capones pro mansura et terra predicta in Bernewell' dum erit parrochianus se vel heredes sui ecclesie nostre de Bernewell'. Cum vero eiusdem ecclesie nostre parrochianus esse desierit vel heredes sui, domum vel mansionem in aliam parrochiam transferendo, dabit ipse vel heredes sui preter iamdictos tres sol(idos) quatuor denarios pro illa, scilicet ac(ram) quam recepit de nob(is) in escambium mansure sue de Pesecroft. Testibus: Wiberto de Bernewell' et Andrea filio eius et Ricardo filio eiusdem Andree, Walterio genero Wiberti et Andrea filio

eius, Galfrido de Wenden' et Willelmo de Cumbertun', Gilleberto coquo, Brihtmaro et Rogero filio eius et Roberto filio eiusdem Brithmari, Radulfo Brihtred, Ricardo Percehaie, Radulfo parmentario, Ricardo coquo, Alario de Harleton', Symone parmentario, Willelmo cementario, Roberto carpentario et Simone filio eius.

7. Notification by prior William and the convent of Barnwell of their grant to Hugh 'saltmaker' of Cambridge of a tenement in Cambridge lying near to the land of the monks of Eye, in the lane between (Great) St Mary's and the church of St Michael.

[1198 X 1214]

A = Cambridge, Jesus College Muniments 225. Sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression, the priory seal, with counterseal of prior William, a smaller oval, standing figure in vestments, a book held in his hands before him, SECRETVM WILL' PRIORIS DE BERN.....

During the time of prior William, either William of Devon (1198 X 1213) or William of Bedford (1213-14), for whom see Knowles et al, *Heads of Religious Houses*, 151.

Sciunt tam presentes quam futuri quo ego Will(elmu)s prior totusque conuentus
ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' concessimus et presenti carta nostra
confirmauimus Hugoni Salinario de Cantebr' quoddam masagium in Cantebr' iacens
inter terram monachorum de Ey <et> quandam aliam terram nostram, scilicet <in> vico
inter ecclesiam sancte Marie et ecclesiam sancti Mich(aelis) habendum et tenendum
sibi et heredibus suis libere, quiete, honorifice, hereditarie pro duodecim denar(iis)
pro omnibus seruiciis et omnibus consuetudinibus annuatim de duos terminos inde
nob(is) soluendis, videlicet sex den(arios) ad Pascha et sex den(arios) ad festum sancti
Mich(aelis). Hiis testibus: magistro Elya, Gileberto plumbario, Arnaldo et Nich(olao)
filiis eius, Willelmo Cuppere, Roberto Hadun, Elya Potter, Roberto capellano,
Bernardo filio Edrici, Gilebertoro, Herueo fil(io) eius, Gregor(io) S.....lino.

8. Notification by Saher de Quincy earl of Winchester of his grant of £10 of land in his vill of Chesterton, together with specified tenants and services. [1207 X 1218]

B = Cambridge, King's College archives KCAR/CHS/1 (1), copy s.xvi, damaged and illegible in part.

The present charter is noticed but not recited in Clark, *Liber*, 75 no.2. It must date after Saher's recognition as earl (1207) and before his death in 1219, presumably before his departure for the Holy Land in 1218. For the circumstances, see above ch.8.

Saherus de Quinci comes Winton' omnibus hominibus et amicis suis Francis et Anglis
presens scriptum visuris vel audituris salutem. Sciatis me dedisse et concessisse et
presenti carta mea confirmasse Deo et ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' et
canonicis ibidem Deo seruientibus decem libratas terre mee in villa de Castreton',
scilicet quadraginta quinque acras terre arabilis quarum septem acras et dimid(iam)
iacent apud Wilfurelong, et septem acras et dimidiam apud Bicht', et nouem acras et
unam rodam super Middeldole iuxta terram Warini C..erre, et sex acras et unas rodam
super Brembeldole, et quinque acras ad Onapoteware, et quinque acras super
Aldebrache, et duas acras super Scortedole ad capud de Aleebrache, et duas acras
apud RemRumelond, et dimidiam acram ad Pittok, et dimidiam acram <et> dono
forar..... dedisse et concessisse ecclesie p<redicte> quindecim acras et unam rodam
prati in eadem villa iacenteset..... de Bernewell' secundum diuisas et bundas
ibidem positas. Preterea dedi et concessi dicte ecclesie et canonicis predictis quatuor
de soc<e>mannis meis in predicta villa de Cestreton', scilicet Willelmum fil(ium)
Hug(onis) cum toto tenemento et seruicio suo, et Thomam fil(ium) Roberti cum toto
tenemento et seruicio suo, et Gregorium de Punchardun cum toto tenemento et
seruicio suo. Dedi et concessi predictae ecclesie nouem <et> dimid(iam) virgatas terre
quas consuetudinarii mei tenent in predicta villa de Cestreton' cum omnibus
consuetudinariis illis et seruiciis et sectis eorum, scilicet Henricum fil(ium) Matild(is)
cum dimid(ia) virgata terre cum toto seruicio et sequela sua, et Galfridum Bordin et
Willelmum fratrem eius et Aeliciam uxorem Roberti Bordin et Iohannem Noneman

cum dimidia virgata terre cum toto seruicio et sequela eorum, et Ricardum fil(ium)
 Lefwini cum dimidia virgata terre et toto seruicio et sequela sua, et Willelmum
 Bruorie cum dimidia virgata terre cum toto seruicio et sequela sua, et Alexandrum
 cementarium cum dimidia virgata terre et toto seruicio et sequela sua, et Hugonem
 fil(ium) Baldwini cum dimidia virgata terre et toto seruicio et sequela sua, et
 Willelmum fil(ium) Augustini cum dimidia virgata terre et toto seruicio et sequela
 sua, et Galfridum venatorem cum dimidia virgata terre et toto seruicio et sequela sua,
 et Iacob(um) et Willelmum Leg cum dimidia virgata terre et toto seruicio et
 sequela eorum. Assignaui preterea predictae ecclesie et canonicis predictis quinque de
 cotariis meis in predicta villa de Cestreton, scilicet Alexandrum cementarium et
 Willelmum fil(ium) eius et Agnetem Catere et Alex(andrum) fil(ium) Augustini et
 Aeliciam Haward cum omnibus tenementis suis et toto seruicio et sequela eorum.
 Preterea concessi predictae ecclesie et canonicis eiusdem ut habeant omnem cum
 omnibus et tot(um) <in> eadem villa cum communia eiusdem ville
 quantum pertinet ad s<eruicium> tenencium suorum in dicta villa de Cestreton'.
 Omnia hec predicta dedi <et concessi> ecclesie predictae et predictis canonicis pro
 salute anime mee et uxoris mee <et heredum> meorum et pro animabus patris mei et
 matris mee et omnium antecessorum <meorum> ut ea habeant et possideant in libera
 et pura et perpetua elemosina <de> omni seculari seruicio et exactione
 libere, quiete, integre, honorifice, ita libere <et quiete> sicut aliqua terra vel aliquis
 redditus liberius et quietius dari potest vir.....osis, in dominico, in homagiis, in
 prat(is), in pastur(is), in aquis, in viis, in queta de me et heredibus meis
 imperpetuum, et ego et heredes mei warrant<izabimus> totam predictam terram
 predictae ecclesie et defendemus contra omnes homines <et> feminas, et in huius rei
 testimonium presens scriptum sigilli mei <impressione> munire curauimus. Hiis testibus:

Hamone Peche, Willelmo de Sancto Geo<rgio>,<de> Muntpincun, Euerardo
de Trumpiton', Willelmo de Kn....., Ioh(ann)e Monaco, Walt(ero) fil(io)
magistri Galfr(idi), Mag(istro), Henrico de Trumpiton', Willelmo de
Kailli, Greg(orio), Baucis, Willelmo de Greseleye, Walt(ero) Le.....
<et multis> aliis.

9. Notification by Roger de Quincy earl of Winchester, son of Saher, of his quitclaim to the prior of Barnwell of all right in the manor of Chesterton, promising to warrant the manor to the prior should Margaret countess of Lincoln, daughter of Robert de Quincy, seek to implead the prior over this manor. [1235 X 1264]

B = Cambridge, King's College archives KCAR/CHS/1 (2), copy s.xvi, damaged and illegible in part.

Apparently after Roger's recognition as earl of Winchester, and before his death. Margaret, widow of Robert de Quincy, Roger's father, was recognized as countess of Lincoln through to her death in 1266. For the circumstances, see above ch.8.

Omnibus Cristi fidelibus ad quos presens scriptum peruenerit Rogerus filius Sayer(i) de Quency, comes Winton' constabul(arius) Scoc(ie) salutem. Noueritis nos remisisse et quietumclamasse Deo et ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' et canonic(is) euisd(em) loci totum ius et clamium quod nos vel her(edes) nostri habuimus vel quocumque modo habere potuimus vel poterimus in manerio de Cestreton' cum pertin(entiis). Concessimus etiam pro nobis et her(edibus) nostris quod si Marger(eta) filia Rob(erti) de Quency fratris mei, comitissa Lincoln' vel her(edes) sui mouerint pl(ac)it(um) predict(is) priori et conuentui de predict(o) manerio cum pertin(entiis), nos et her(edes) nostri manerium predictum cum pertin(entiis) contra ipsam et her(edes) suos warantizabimus et defendemus. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Hiis testibus: domino Will(elm)o de Ferrar', domino Rob(erto) de Quency, domino Will(elm)o de Aubeny, domino Sayero de Sancto Andr(ea), domino Eberardo de Trumpet', domino Alano de Bassyngeburn', domino Ierem(ia) de Caxton, domino Ioh(ann)e le Moyne, Petro de Brumford et aliis.

10. Notification and inspeximus by the prior of S. Andrea at Vercelli of an accord made between S. Andrea and the prior and convent of Barnwell according to which the canons of Barnwell renounce all claim they raised to an annual farm for ten years from the church of Great Chesterton (Cambridgeshire), the abbot and convent paying instead an annual pension of 15 marks for the next five years in return for this resignation, with permission to the prior and convent to demolish whatever all houses they have constructed there save for the barn they had built, this accord made at Waltham, 29 July 1229, and confirmed by the papal legate Otto at Waltham, 30 July 1239.
Vercelli, 8 September 1239

A = Turin, Biblioteca Reale Pergamene XIII. 76. Various post-medieval endorsements. Approx. 257 x 109 + 14mm. Sealed *sur double queue*, two sets of slits and two parchment tags, both seal impressions missing.

Issued as part of the ongoing disputes over Chesterton church, following its grant by Henry III to the legate Guala (1217) and its award by the legate Guala to his new abbey at S. Andrea Vercelli, for which see *The Letters and Charters of Cardinal Guala Bicchieri, Papal Legate in England 1216-1218*, Canterbury and York Society 83 (1996), 14-15 no.16.

Uniuersis Cristi fidelibus litteras istas visuris vel audituris frater H. prior sancti
Andree Vercellen' et eiusdem loci conventus eternam in domino salutem. Nouerit
uniuersitas vestra quod amical(is) concordia que inter Thomam abbatem nostrum et
fratres nostros Iohannem et Yuonem ex una parte et priorem et conuentum de
Bernewell' siue eorumdem procuratorem ex altera facta esse dinoscitur <nobis placet
cancelled> nobis placet et ei consentimus et eam ratum habemus et confirmamus,
cuius tenor talis est: Nouerint uniuersi ad quos presens pagina peruenerit quod cum
Hubertus de Conflentia procuratorio nomine abbatis et conuentus sancti Andree
Vercellen' ecclesiam de Cestredon' Elyen' dioc(esis) priori et conuentui de Bernewel'
usque ad decem annos concessisset ad firmam et postmodum inter fratres Hug(onem)
et Ioh(annem) procuratores ipsorum abbatis et conuentus Vercellen' et predictos
priorem et conuentum de Bernewell' super predicta firma amicabile composicio
interuenisset, tandem inter Ioh(annem) et Yuonem procuratores abbatis et conuentus
Vercellen' abbate ipsorum presente et consentiente et Willelmum suppriorum de
Bernewell' procuratorem datum ad componendum ut futuris temporibus super firma

vel compositione predictis possit discordia suboriri amicabiliter conuenit in hunc modum, videlicet quod dictus procurator nomine prioris et conuentus de Bernewell' firme et compositioni predictis renunciauit pure et absolute in perpetuum et omni iuri quod eis posset competere pretextu predictarum firme et compositionis. Insuper concessit et voluit quod contractus firme et compositio prefata sint cassa nulla penitus et irrita ita quod liceat decetero abbati et conuentui de Vercell' disponere libere et pro voluntate sua de ipsa ecclesia et eius fructibus contradictione ac impedimento illorum de Bernewell' omnino cessantibus. Verum quia dicti prior et conuentus de Bernewell' fecerunt expensas occasione firme et compositionis predictae et potuissent commoditatem exinde si firmam retinuissent usque ad predictum tempus percepisse predicti abbas et procuratores Vercellen' obligauerunt predictum monasterium Vercellen' ad soluendum predictis priori et conuentui de Bernewell' quindecim marchas bonorum, nouorum et legalium sterlingorum singulis annis usque ad quinqueannum completum apud Bernewell' ad duos terminos anni, scilicet infra quindenam omnium sanctorum centum solidos et infra quindenam Pasche centum solidos sub pena quindecim marcharum soluenda dictis priori et conuentui de Bernewell' quolibet termino quo a solutione predicta cessauerunt Vercellen' predicti. Insuper licebit predictis priori et conuentui de Bernewell' ratione istius conuentionis intrare et tollere omnes domos quas construxerunt in terra predictae ecclesie de Cestretun' tempore quo dicta firma durauit, excepto horrea ibidem constructo, ad cuius conseruationem tenebantur iuxta conuentionem factam cum Huberto de Conflencia nisi dicti abbas et conuentus eis soluerunt expensas factas circa predictas domos boni viri arbitratu. Preterea duodecim acre terre de quibus lis pendet in foro regio inter eos sint sicut prius, nisi adinuicem aliter duxerint componendum. De terra vero ecclesie de Cestretun' quam canonici de Bernewell' seminarunt sit sicut in

compositione priori continetur. Promisserunt etiam sibi adinuicem abbas et procuratores supradicti fideliter bona fide et in verbo Dei inspectis sacrosanctis ewangeliis quod conuentus predictos compositioni huic facient consentire et eam confirmari per patentes litteras ipsorum conuentuum de rato ad ecclesiam predictam de Cestretun' dirigendas infra Pascha proxima et ibidem procuratoribus partium assignandas et tradendas, adiecta est etiam pena centum librarum argenti de consensu abbatis et procuratorum hinc inde nomine suo et conuentuum suorum soluenda parti obseruanti istam conuentionem a parte altera que contra illam duxerit resilire, renunciantibus hinc inde impetratis et impetrandis ab omni curia et omni iuris ordinarii remedio tam canonici quam ciuili, et conuenit ut episcopus Elyensis qui pro tempore fuerit ad obseruationem istius conuentionis partes per penam predictam compellat. Actum apud Waltam iiii. kal' Augusti, presentibus hiis testibus: magistro Attone, magistro Petro Burdegalen', magistro Bonefacio preposito Asten', magistro Iac(obo) de Monteferrato, magistro Hug(one) de Stanford, magistro Radulfo de Chadesden', anno domini m^o.cc^o. xxxix. In huius autem rei testimonium ad maiorem securitatem venerabilis pater dominus O(tto) Dei gratia sancti Nicholai in Carcere Tullian' diac(onus) cardin(alis) apostolice sedis legatus in Anglia ad instantiam partium una cum sigillis dictorum abbatis et procuratorum presenti scripto suum fecit sigillum apponi. Dat' ibidem iii. kal' Augusti pontificatus domini Gregorii pape noni anno terciodecimo. In cuius rei testimonium presentes litteras sigillis nostris fecimus communiri. Dat' anno gratie millesimo ducentesimo tricesimo nono, in natiuitate beate Marie in capitulo nostro.

11. Settlement by which prior Laurence and the canons of Barnwell grant Simon son of Henry of Cambridge a messuage in Cambridge formerly belonging to Geoffrey fitz Ordgar. [1234 X 1236]

A = Oxford Merton College muniments 1589. Indented cyrograph, sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression on tag.

During the time of prior Laurence c.1216-1254, for whom see D.M. Smith and V.C.M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales II: 1216-1377* (Cambridge 2001), 330, when Jeremy of Caxton was sheriff of Cambridgeshire (May 1234-October 1236). Written in the same hand and with almost identical witnesses, clearly on the same occasion, as below no.12.

CYROGRAPHVM

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Laurentius prior totusque conuentus ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' dedimus et concessimus et presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Herueo fil(io) Eustachii de Cantebr(i)g' totam terram que fuit Ailgari nobilis et uxoris eius in campis Cantebrg' que terra iacet pro triginta acris. Concessimus etiam eidem Herueo duo mesagia in villa de Cantebrg', unum quod Herueus fil(ius) Gwarini nob(is) dedit prope forum, et aliud quod Semannus Trays quondam tenuit, ad habend(um) et tenendum de nob(is) totam terram predictam et mesagia prenominata sibi et heredibus suis libere, quiete, hereditarie, soluendo inde nob(is) per annum decem sol(idis) et octo denar(iis) ad duos terminos, scilicet ad Pasch(a) quinque sol(idos) et quatuor denar(ios) et ad festum sancti Mich(aelis) quinque sol(idos) et quatuor denar(ios) pro omnibus seruiciis et consuetudinibus et exactionibus, et de isto tenemento predictus Herueus homagium nob(is) fecit et fidelitatem seruandam iurauit, et in huius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Hiis testibus: Ieremia de Caxton' tunc vicecom(ite) Cantebrg', Henrico de Coleuill', Roberto Seman, Adam fil(io) Eustachii, Herueo clerico, Michael fil(io) eius, Roberto fil(io) eius, Herueo clerico, Michael fil(io) eius, Thoma Tuyllet, Waltero Corde, Willelmo Pylat' et aliis.

12. Settlement by which prior Laurence and the canons of Barnwell grant Simon son of Henry of Cambridge a messuage in Cambridge formerly belonging to Geoffrey fitz Ordgar. [1234 X 1236]

A = Cambridge, Jesus College muniments 381b. Indented cyrograph, sealed *sur double queue*, single slit for parchment tag, seal impression missing.

Date as above no.11, written in the same hand and with broadly similar witnesses. Note the obvious use of a formulary for this and no.11 above.

CYROGRAPHVM

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Laurentius prior totusque conuentus ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' dedimus et concessimus et presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Symoni fil(io) Henr(ici) de Cantebr(i)g' quoddam mesagium in Cantebr(i)g', illud s(cilicet) quod Galfr(idus) fil(ius) Ordgari tenuit de nob(is) quod iacet inter terram quam Robertus Seman tenet de conuentu de Chikesand et terram Thom(e) de Taxted', habend(um) et tenend(um) de nob(is) sibi et suis assignatis et heredibus eorum libere, quiete, hereditarie, soluendo inde nob(is) per annum triginta denar(iis) ad duos terminos, scil(icet) ad festum sancti Mich(aelis) xv. d(enarios) et ad Hokeday xv. d(enarios) pro omnibus seruiciis et consuetudinibus et exactionibus, et de isto tenemento predictus Symon homagium nob(is) fecit et fidelitatem servandam iurauit, et in huius rei testimonium presenti scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Hiis testibus: Herueo fil(io) Eustach(ii), Adam fratre eius, Roberto Seman, Roberto fil(io) eius, Herueo clerico, Michaele fil(io) eius, Galfr(ido) Potekin, Ioh(ann)e fil(io) eius, Ioh(ann)e Alard, Waltero Corde, Willelmo Pilat' et aliis.

13. Acknowledgement by Martin Bricchnoth of Cambridge of his receipt from prior Laurence and the convent of Barnwell of an acre and a half of land in the fields of Grantchester, with bounds including the land of 'Robbe Hod'.

[1216 X 1254, ?1216 X 1243]

A = Cambridge, King's College Archives KCAR/GRA/472, indented cyrograph.

In the time of prior Laurence, as above no.11n. If the Hawise de Quincy referred to here was Hawise, widow of Robert de Quincy, then before her death (c.1243). A peculiar significance attaches to the present deed, for its reference to the land of 'Robbe Hod', a previously and potentially extremely early appearance of a nickname elsewhere applied to the outlaw 'Robin Hood', a name emerging at much this time into popular usage, first recorded elsewhere (in Yorkshire) in 1225, thereafter with increasing regularity from the 1260s onwards, as noticed by D. Crook, 'Some Further Evidence Concerning the Dating of the Origins of Robin Hood', *EHR*, 99 (1984), 530-34; idem, 'The Sheriff of Nottingham and Robin Hood: The Genesis of the Legend?', *Thirteenth Century England II*, ed. P.R. Coss and S.D. Lloyd (1988), 59-68.

?CYROGRAPHVM

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Martinus Bricchnoth de Cantebr(i)g' recepi a Laurenc(io) priore et conuentu ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' unam acram terre et dimid(iam) in camp(is) de Grantesere, scil(icet) unam acram que iacet inter terram Willelmi fil(ii) Henr(ici) et terram Harsente vidue et illam dimid(iam) acram in Middlforlong que iacet inter terram Warini Templeman et terram Robbe Hod, et preterea totum illud pratum versus Newenham quod se extendit super terram Hugon(em) fil(ium) Thome de Berton' ex una parte et super ripam de Grantesere ex altera et iacet inter prata domine Hawysie de Quency ad habendum et tenendum de eis terram predictam et pratum predictum cum pertinenc(iis) mic(hi) et heredibus meis vel quibuscumque dare vel assignare voluero assignare voluero preterquam domui religionis libere, quiete, hereditarie, soluendo inde eis annuatim triginta denar(iis) ad duos terminos, scil(icet) ad Pasch(a) xv. denar(ios) et ad festum sancti Mich(aelis) xv. denar(ios) et faciendo debita et consueta seruicia capitalibus dominis feodi pro

omnibus seruiciis, consuetudinibus et demand(is), et ipsi warantizabunt predictam terram et pratum prenomiatum cum pertinent(iis) mi(chi) et heredibus meis vel assignatis preterquam domui reglionis per seruicium prenomiatum contra omnes homines et feminas in perpetuum. Pro hac autem donacione et concessione dedi eis sex marcas argenti in gersummam, et de isto tenemento homagium eis feci et fidelitatem seruandam iuraui. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Thom(a) Tuillet, Rad(ulfo) fil(io) Henr(ici), Ioh(ann)e Auure, Rob(erto) de Sancto Edmundo, Ric(ard)o fil(io) Yuon(is), Ioh(ann)e de Berton', Childmanno, Nichol(ao) fil(io) eius, Willelmo Pilate, Ioh(ann)e Laane, Adam Weriel et aliis.

14. Final Concord made in the King's hallmoot at Chesterton before Laurence prior of Barnwell, between Hervey fitz Eustace and William fitz Hugh of Chesterton over fees and liberties in Chesterton.
Chesterton, 1226/7

A = Oxford, Merton College muniments 1555. Indented cyrograph, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression on tag.

As dated, and witnessed by Geoffrey of Hatfield, sheriff of Cambridgeshire from January 1224 to September 1231. The fine between Eustace and Daniel and Geoffrey de Merlay referred to below was made in 1200-1. For a further final concord made in the King's court in the following year, 1227/8 between Richard de Merlay and William fitz Hugh of Chesterton, see *Pedes Finium or Fines Relating to the County of Cambridge*, ed. W. Rye (Cambridge, 1891), 4 no.6, 13 no.38. The chief interest here lies in the role played by the prior as president of the hallmoot court, and to some extent in the detail of the services and liberties referred to. For further details, see above ch.8.

CYROGRAPHVM

Hec est finalis concordia facta in pleno halimoto domini regis de Cesterton' coram
Laur(encio) tunc temporis priore de Bernewell' anno regni domini r(egis) H(enrici) fil(ii)
r(egis) I(ohannis) xi^o ciclo xii^o inter Heru(eum) fil(ium) Eustach(ii) et Willelmum fil(ium)
Hug(onis) de Cesterton', quod uterque eorum utrique eorum quiet(um)clamant de se et
heredibus suis et concedit habere et tenere in pace totum tenementum quod ipsi tenuerunt in
Cesterton' de feudo Dunnig' domini et de feudo Rob(erti) militis. Preterea dictus H(erueus)
concedit et quiet(um)clamat de se et heredibus suis dicto W(illelmo) et heredibus suis
medietatem tocius tenementi quod remansit Daniely de Merly per concordiam factam inter
predictos H(erueum) et Danielelem in curia domini r(egis) cuius medietatis hee sunt partes,
scilicet una acra in orientali parte que buttat super foreram Matild(is) Sorel, et quinque rode
ad capud ville de Coston' versus orientem et dimid(ia) acra ad Athelingwell', et dim(idia) acra
ad Gretweye iuxta terram Walteri fil(ii) Pagani, et una roda iuxta terram Rad(ulfi) Gerold
versus orientem, et dim(idia) acra ad Rumelond iuxta terram H(eruei) predicti versus
orientem, et medietas rodar(um) subtus Rumelond iuxta terram Ade de Houton', et una acra
que buttat super viam de Midelton', et dim(idia) acra super Stanwellefurlong iuxta terram
H(eruei) predicti, et medietas unius acr(e) prati in Wellemade versus est, et medietas

cuiusdam prati in Hallemade, et de redd(itu) sex den(arium) de Waltero Franco, de Mabilia que fuit uxor Rob(erti) ii. sol(idos) et dim(idium), in quolibet secundo altilia et consuetudines quas debet per annum, et predictus W(illelmus) habebit dimid(iam) acram iuxta clausum et unam rodam iuxta croftam Gaufr(idi) Swin in escambium capitalis mesagii cum medietate tocius liberatis habendi faldam in Cesterton', ita scilicet quod alter eorum habebit faldam per unum mensem et alter eorum per alium mensem, et cum medietate omnium libertatum pertinencium ad predictum tenementum sicut in medietate piscarie cum sauone et cum medietate libertat(um) tauri et verris. Preterea uterque utrique concedit quod ipsi participabunt omnes conquestus quos potuerunt adquirere per litem pertinentes ad hereditatem predictorum Duning' domini et Rob(erti) militis in villa de Cesterton' et sumptus et expensas similiter, et pro bono pacis predictus W(illelmus) dedit predicto H(erueo) unam acram prati in Wellemade iuxta pratum dicti Heru(ei). Hanc autem conuentionem fideliter tenend(um) ex utraque parte affidauerunt et iurauerunt pro se et heredibus suis et signa sua apposuerunt. Hiis testibus: Gaufr(ido) de Heffeud tunc vic(ecomite), Henr(ico) de Coleuill', Regin(aldo) Cuie, Iohanne de Childrele, Regin(aldo) Giffard, Iohanne Giffard, Iohanne de Scalariis, Rob(erto) Seman, Ada fil(io) Eustac(ii), Iohanne de Sexton', Waltero Franco, Willelmo Pilat' et multis aliis.

15. Notification by Margaret the widow of John de Fercles of her quittance to Barnwell prior of all claim she might have by right of dower in two acres of land in Grantchester. [c.1240]

A = Cambridge, King's College Archives KCAR/GRA/474.

Dated according to the hand of the original.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Marger(eta) quondam uxor Ioh(ann)is de Fercles in libera viduitate mea remisi et quietum clamaui Deo et ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' et canonicis eiusdem loci totum ius et clamium quod habui vel quod habere potui nomine dotis in duobus acr(is) terre cum pertinenc(iis) in Grantese et quod predictus Ioh(ann)es maritus meus vendidit Willelmo Wauberd de Newenham et quas idem Willelmus postea in liberam et perpetuam elemosinam dicte ecclesie de Bernewell' et canonicis predictis dedit et concessit. Et pro hac quieta clamancia dederunt mi(chi) canonici memorati tres solidos ad magnas necessitates meas releuandas. In cuius rei testimonium huic scripto sigillum meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Roberto Le Eyr, Rad(ulpho) de Berton', Amfrido fil(io) Geroldi, Hug(one) fil(io) Roberti, Bernardo de Sclar', Ioh(ann)e filio Alex(andri), Willelmo fil(io) Sabin(i), Ioh(ann)e fil(io) Ernoldi, Euerardo de Hyl, Simone Coco, Willelmo de Faffinton' et aliis.

16. Quitclaim to Barnwell priory by Avice the widow of William the goldsmith of Granchester of all right in land in the fields at Granchester. [c.1240]

A = Cambridge, King's College archives KCAR/GRA/475. Sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit, seal impression, oval, natural wax, a six pointed star, S' AVICIE.....

Dated as above no.15, with witnesses in common.

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod ego Auicia quondam uxor Willelmi Aurifabri de
Grantesete remisi et quie(um)clamaui pro me et pro hereditates meis in perpetuum
Deo et ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' et canonicis eiusdem loci totum ius et
clanium quod habui vel quod habere potui In uno sellione terre in campis de
Grantesete qui iacet ad Russedole inter terram Roberti fil(ii) Alic(ie) de Harleston et
terram Margar(ete) de Waleden', et in redditu annuo qui de terra illa mi(chi)
debeatur. Volo igitur quod ecclesia predicta de Bernwell' et canonici memorati
habeant et teneant et pacifice in perpetuum possideant terram predictam et redditum
predictum adeo libere et quiete sicut aliqua terra vel redditus a viris religiosis liberius
et quietius potest possideri, et ego et heredes mei warantizabimus et acquietabimus
predictam terram cum pertin(entiis) et redditum predictum prefatis priori et conuentui
contra omnes homines in perpetuum, et ut ego vel heredes mei nichil iuris in predicta
terra vel redditu predicto nob(is) decetero vindicare possimus huic scripto sigillum
meum apposui. Hiis testibus: Roberto Le Eyr, Ioh(ann)e de Ferknes, Amfrido fil(io)
Gerardi, Euerardo ad Hyl, Ioh(ann)e fil(io) Alex(andri), Bernard(o) de Scalar',
Hugone fil(io) Roberti, Will(elm)o de Faffiton', Andr(ea) de Faffiton', Warino
Templeman, Ioh(anne) Waubert, Hug(one) et Willelmo fratribus eius et aliis.

17. Notification by prior Jolan and the convent of Barnwell of their grant to Eustace fitz Hervey of a messuage in Cambridge formerly held by Henry son of Edward Frost.
[1257 X 1267]

A = Oxford, Merton College Muniments 1590. Indented cyrograph, sealed *sur double queue*, fragmentary seal impression, double sided.

In the time of prior Jolan, for whom see Smith and London, *Heads of Religious Houses II*, 330. For the beneficiary's father, see above no.11.

CYROGRAPHVM

Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Iolanus prior totusque conuentus ecclesie sancti Egidii de Bernewell' dedimus et concessimus et presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Eustach(io) fil(io) Heruei quoddam mesagium in villa de Cantebr', illud scil(icet) quod fuit Henrici fil(ii) Edwardi Frost et iacet inter mesagium quod fuit quondam Ade Crokfot et mesagium Rogeri de Caldecote ad habendum et tenendum de nobis sibi et suis assignatis et heredibus eorum libere, quiete, hereditar(ie) soluendo inde per annum domui elemos(ini) nostre quatuor sol(idos) ad duos terminos, scil(icet) ad Pa(s)ch(a) duos sol(idos) et ad festum sancti Mich(aelis) suos sol(idos) pro omnibus seruiciis, consuetudinibus et exactionibus, et de isto tenemento predictus Eustach(ius) homagium nobis fecit et fidelitatem seruandam iurauit, et in huius rei testimonium una pars istius scripti sigillo nostro alia vero sigillo predicti Eustach(ii) consignata est. Hiis testibus: Roberto de Sancto Edmundo, Leone Dunninc, Nichol(ao) Chilman, Roberto Hubert, Thom(a) Plot', Simon(e) ad aquam, Sim(one)

18. Notification by prior Simon and the convent of Barnwell of their grant to William Howard of Wiggenhall of land with which to complete his messuage near 'Futongreen' (Norfolk). [1276/7]

A= Arundel Castle, Duke of Norfolk muniments NR261. Indented cyrograph, sealed *sur double queue*, parchment tag through a single slit, fine seal impression on tag.

As dated, and in the time of prior Simon (Smith and London, *Heads of Religious Houses II*, 301). For William Howard of Wiggenhall, see Clark, *Liber*, 317.

CARTA <IND>ENT<URA>ENT.....

Sciunt presentes et futuri quod nos Simon prior de Bernewell' et eiusdem loci
conuentus dedimus, concessimus et presenti carta nostra confirmauimus Willelmo
Howard de Wygehal' pro homagio et seruicio suo quandam peciam terre nostre ad
ampliandum et perficiend(um) mesuag(ium) suum iuxta Futonegrene, quod quid(am)
mesuagium iacet versus meridiem iuxta mesuagium quod magister Andr(eas) Harneys
aliquando tenuit de nob(is) in eadem villa de Wygehal'. Confirmamus insuper
donacionem et concessionem quas Iacobus de Wigehal' capellanus post mortem
predicti magistri Andree Harneis fecit eidem Willelmo Howard de predicto
mesuag(io) et tribus acris terre de feodo nostro in eadem villa de Wygehal' ad
habend(um) et ten(endum) de nob(is) et successoribus nostris eidem Willelmo et
heredibus suis val assignatis excepta omni domo relig(ionis) preterquam nostra,
libere, quiete et hereditar(ie) in perpetuum, reddendo inde annuatim nob(is) et
successoribus nostris sex denar(ios) ad duos anni terminos, medietatem ad Pasch(a) et
aliam medietatem ad festum sancti Mich(aelis), et scutagium quando adueniet in
baronia de Wemegeye, videlicet ad quadraginata solid(os) unum denar(ium) et ad plus
plus et ad minus minus, et nos et successores nostri warantizabimus, acquietabimus et
defend(emus) dictum tenementum cum pertinent(iis) predicto Willelmo et hered(ibus)
suis vel assignatis contra omnes gentes per predicta seruicia in perpetuum. In cuius

rei testimonium presenti scripto sigill(um) capituli nostri fecimus apponi. Testibus
nob(is) ipsis et sigillo capituli nostri, anno regni reg(is) Edwardi quinto.

19. The Priory Seal is preserved attached to various documents, including nos.7, 14 and 17 above, with a cast now in the British Library (BL seal casts lx.3) and later impressions, attached to instruments of 1352 and 1538: TNA E 322/15; E 326/10410: approx. 45 X 60mm., oval: St Giles, patron saint, full length, holding up a pastoral staff in his right hand, his left hand raised in benediction; in the field each side a curling sprig, legend: <SI>GILLV<M> SANCT<I EGID>II D<E> BERNEWEL<LIA+>: W. de Gray Birch, *Catalogue of Seals in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 6 vols (London, 1887-1900), i, 437 no.2606; R.H. Ellis, *Catalogue of Seals in the Public Record Office: Monastic Seals I* (London, 1986), 5 (Mo43). It is assumed to be of twelfth-century manufacture, and serves as a significant reminder that the dedication of the community to St Giles predated their removal from Cambridge to Barnwell, a location previously dedicated to St Andrew. The seal of prior William (c.1200) is applied to no.7 above, used as a counterseal to the priory seal, and that of prior Jolan (c.1260), used in the same way, to no.17.

Bourn

A. Account of lands given to
Barnwell Priory by Picot, Vicecomes,
Pagn Peverel etc. 1092

—
Sundry Papers 1668

[illegible]

298

Tota 23^a regni Dagani 4^{ta} Decembris post mortem Willm. Petterati inter
 quatuor sorores fuit devisa quoru primogenita notabilis Mathis
 et dux et ipsa sine herede et sit mortua est et sit heredes
 ipsa de tres sororibus decoluta est et pars 3^a dicitur Mathis inter
 ipsas deui a quoru prima fuit 1^a 2^a 3^a 4^a 5^a 6^a 7^a 8^a 9^a 10^a 11^a 12^a 13^a 14^a 15^a 16^a 17^a 18^a 19^a 20^a 21^a 22^a 23^a 24^a 25^a 26^a 27^a 28^a 29^a 30^a 31^a 32^a 33^a 34^a 35^a 36^a 37^a 38^a 39^a 40^a 41^a 42^a 43^a 44^a 45^a 46^a 47^a 48^a 49^a 50^a 51^a 52^a 53^a 54^a 55^a 56^a 57^a 58^a 59^a 60^a 61^a 62^a 63^a 64^a 65^a 66^a 67^a 68^a 69^a 70^a 71^a 72^a 73^a 74^a 75^a 76^a 77^a 78^a 79^a 80^a 81^a 82^a 83^a 84^a 85^a 86^a 87^a 88^a 89^a 90^a 91^a 92^a 93^a 94^a 95^a 96^a 97^a 98^a 99^a 100^a

De Gilberto 4^{to} 5^{to} 6^{to} 7^{to} 8^{to} 9^{to} 10^{to} 11^{to} 12^{to} 13^{to} 14^{to} 15^{to} 16^{to} 17^{to} 18^{to} 19^{to} 20^{to} 21^{to} 22^{to} 23^{to} 24^{to} 25^{to} 26^{to} 27^{to} 28^{to} 29^{to} 30^{to} 31^{to} 32^{to} 33^{to} 34^{to} 35^{to} 36^{to} 37^{to} 38^{to} 39^{to} 40^{to} 41^{to} 42^{to} 43^{to} 44^{to} 45^{to} 46^{to} 47^{to} 48^{to} 49^{to} 50^{to} 51^{to} 52^{to} 53^{to} 54^{to} 55^{to} 56^{to} 57^{to} 58^{to} 59^{to} 60^{to} 61^{to} 62^{to} 63^{to} 64^{to} 65^{to} 66^{to} 67^{to} 68^{to} 69^{to} 70^{to} 71^{to} 72^{to} 73^{to} 74^{to} 75^{to} 76^{to} 77^{to} 78^{to} 79^{to} 80^{to} 81^{to} 82^{to} 83^{to} 84^{to} 85^{to} 86^{to} 87^{to} 88^{to} 89^{to} 90^{to} 91^{to} 92^{to} 93^{to} 94^{to} 95^{to} 96^{to} 97^{to} 98^{to} 99^{to} 100^{to}

Gilbertus 4^{to} 5^{to} 6^{to} 7^{to} 8^{to} 9^{to} 10^{to} 11^{to} 12^{to} 13^{to} 14^{to} 15^{to} 16^{to} 17^{to} 18^{to} 19^{to} 20^{to} 21^{to} 22^{to} 23^{to} 24^{to} 25^{to} 26^{to} 27^{to} 28^{to} 29^{to} 30^{to} 31^{to} 32^{to} 33^{to} 34^{to} 35^{to} 36^{to} 37^{to} 38^{to} 39^{to} 40^{to} 41^{to} 42^{to} 43^{to} 44^{to} 45^{to} 46^{to} 47^{to} 48^{to} 49^{to} 50^{to} 51^{to} 52^{to} 53^{to} 54^{to} 55^{to} 56^{to} 57^{to} 58^{to} 59^{to} 60^{to} 61^{to} 62^{to} 63^{to} 64^{to} 65^{to} 66^{to} 67^{to} 68^{to} 69^{to} 70^{to} 71^{to} 72^{to} 73^{to} 74^{to} 75^{to} 76^{to} 77^{to} 78^{to} 79^{to} 80^{to} 81^{to} 82^{to} 83^{to} 84^{to} 85^{to} 86^{to} 87^{to} 88^{to} 89^{to} 90^{to} 91^{to} 92^{to} 93^{to} 94^{to} 95^{to} 96^{to} 97^{to} 98^{to} 99^{to} 100^{to}

23runc
Simon de Turri specm monastii dedit in elemosinam Robti
p'rang filium 23runc de 23runc natum suu tu omni
equata sua. Ex libro
fr. 23runc.

Simon de Saltercia St George tenet in feodo de hereditario
de Gilberto de p'rang centu arad terre.
Ex quadres xatulo tempore regis Ed primi
in Northfolc restorata turre.

23runc
In nomine d' et individua trinitatis notu sit q' p'antibus et futuris
ego Simon de la Turri dedi d'ro et eta marie et
monastio de Saltercia consensu Simonis heredi mei Ceterorumq'
quod fuit Alberti et p'atram de p'rang in d'ro et p'rang tam
p'rang p'rang obitu p'rang omnia s'is s'is et p'rang m'ra
confirmavit in p'rang elemosina libera et quietam ab
omnibus consuetudinibus et secularibus p'rang p'rang
u'ra et omnia antecessoru m'ra. Ex libro Albatia
et Saltercia.

23runc
Simon filius Simonis de la Turri specm monastii confirmavit
donu patris sui et in d'ro et p'rang abstantia omnes
terra.
Ex libro de
Saltercia.

Willelmus de Surburi confirmavit monastio de Saltercia omnes donationes
Simonis de la Turri et Simonis filij sui de terris p'rang
in 23runc

Defuncto Magno p'rang Willelmus filius eius ei successit et ipse
p'rang p'rang patris confirmavit canonis de 23runc
omnes donationes quas p'rang d'ro et p'rang et in p'rang
h'ra terra in 23runc d'ro et p'rang de p'rang p'rang
suam ipse liberauit p'rang p'rang p'rang et p'rang
m'ra et p'rang p'rang p'rang p'rang p'rang p'rang
reliquit quo totam 23runc inter p'rang p'rang.

qualiter ius p'rang p'rang de 23runc
p'rang ad dominu Gilbertu de p'rang
iure hereditario.

2. Answer

Tobartus milo tenet food dimid milit de Barons p^{re}te de
Gouers Plures et ad n^{on}da d^umi dimid martano infra
tres amp^{re} ad duos v^{er}os et debet pontagum & bidem d^umi
de Turri tenet food v^{er}us milit de Gouers p^{re}ment et
debet v^{er}um pontagum et de angilis v^{er}it^{er}um d^umi & bidem
de v^{er}os tenet bij bidem tenet p^{re}ment bidem et tres p^{re}te
bidem & dimid food milit de food bidem et tres p^{re}te
et debet v^{er}um pontagum et de angilis v^{er}it^{er}um p^{re}ment et bidem
bidem p^{re}ment bij bidem et dimid p^{re}te p^{re}ment et bidem
et tenet p^{re}ment de d^umi p^{re}ment de Barons

Le libro de Barnouelle
de fauvrie.

23 черт

Modum ymouel elut fiat qd touressi Iao et ad dca tri
moeti nouerit in ea dca pcuratoribus p annuatis patris et matris
moet et p elut moa et oum pcuratoribus nouerit pcuratoribus in
eligitur libram et quata et oportet de ruffis de dca
pcuratoribus de mudo et de oumibus pcuratoribus et pcuratoribus
maius centum et magis quod pcuratoribus eligitur filij dca et p
atras pcuratoribus infra los ruffis. de pcuratoribus et moe infra los ruffis
de dca et pcuratoribus patris in ruffis dca, et ruffis et ruffis
baue et in pcuratoribus et pcuratoribus libram et quata omni de uo et
de oumibus pcuratoribus moe in pcuratoribus.

Ex libro prioratus de
S^{to} Blasco

2 Grams

2. ¹ ² ³ ⁴ ⁵ ⁶ ⁷ ⁸ ⁹ ¹⁰ ¹¹ ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ ²⁷⁹ ²⁸⁰ ²⁸¹ ²⁸² ²⁸³ ²⁸⁴ ²⁸⁵ ²⁸⁶ ²⁸⁷ ²⁸⁸ ²⁸⁹ ²⁹⁰ ²⁹¹ ²⁹² ²⁹³ ²⁹⁴ ²⁹⁵ ²⁹⁶ ²⁹⁷ ²⁹⁸ ²⁹⁹ ³⁰⁰ ³⁰¹ ³⁰² ³⁰³ ³⁰⁴ ³⁰⁵ ³⁰⁶ ³⁰⁷ ³⁰⁸ ³⁰⁹ ³¹⁰ ³¹¹ ³¹² ³¹³ ³¹⁴ ³¹⁵ ³¹⁶ ³¹⁷ ³¹⁸ ³¹⁹ ³²⁰ ³²¹ ³²² ³²³ ³²⁴ ³²⁵ ³²⁶ ³²⁷ ³²⁸ ³²⁹ ³³⁰ ³³¹ ³³² ³³³ ³³⁴ ³³⁵ ³³⁶ ³³⁷ ³³⁸ ³³⁹ ³⁴⁰ ³⁴¹ ³⁴² ³⁴³ ³⁴⁴ ³⁴⁵ ³⁴⁶ ³⁴⁷ ³⁴⁸ ³⁴⁹ ³⁵⁰ ³⁵¹ ³⁵² ³⁵³ ³⁵⁴ ³⁵⁵ ³⁵⁶ ³⁵⁷ ³⁵⁸ ³⁵⁹ ³⁶⁰ ³⁶¹ ³⁶² ³⁶³ ³⁶⁴ ³⁶⁵ ³⁶⁶ ³⁶⁷ ³⁶⁸ ³⁶⁹ ³⁷⁰ ³⁷¹ ³⁷² ³⁷³ ³⁷⁴ ³⁷⁵ ³⁷⁶ ³⁷⁷ ³⁷⁸ ³⁷⁹ ³⁸⁰ ³⁸¹ ³⁸² ³⁸³ ³⁸⁴ ³⁸⁵ ³⁸⁶ ³⁸⁷ ³⁸⁸ ³⁸⁹ ³⁹⁰ ³⁹¹ ³⁹² ³⁹³ ³⁹⁴ ³⁹⁵ ³⁹⁶ ³⁹⁷ ³⁹⁸ ³⁹⁹ ⁴⁰⁰ ⁴⁰¹ ⁴⁰² ⁴⁰³ ⁴⁰⁴ ⁴⁰⁵ ⁴⁰⁶ ⁴⁰⁷ ⁴⁰⁸ ⁴⁰⁹ ⁴¹⁰ ⁴¹¹ ⁴¹² ⁴¹³ ⁴¹⁴ ⁴¹⁵ ⁴¹⁶ ⁴¹⁷ ⁴¹⁸ ⁴¹⁹ ⁴²⁰ ⁴²¹ ⁴²² ⁴²³ ⁴²⁴ ⁴²⁵ ⁴²⁶ ⁴²⁷ ⁴²⁸ ⁴²⁹ ⁴³⁰ ⁴³¹ ⁴³² ⁴³³ ⁴³⁴ ⁴³⁵ ⁴³⁶ ⁴³⁷ ⁴³⁸ ⁴³⁹ ⁴⁴⁰ ⁴⁴¹ ⁴⁴² ⁴⁴³ ⁴⁴⁴ ⁴⁴⁵ ⁴⁴⁶ ⁴⁴⁷ ⁴⁴⁸ ⁴⁴⁹ ⁴⁵⁰ ⁴⁵¹ ⁴⁵² ⁴⁵³ ⁴⁵⁴ ⁴⁵⁵ ⁴⁵⁶ ⁴⁵⁷ ⁴⁵⁸ ⁴⁵⁹ ⁴⁶⁰ ⁴⁶¹ ⁴⁶² ⁴⁶³ ⁴⁶⁴ ⁴⁶⁵ ⁴⁶⁶

Ex libro S^{ti}
Horti

habes de verborum significacione in eloquio non tantis q' in
fide in Brachio, et libro noti

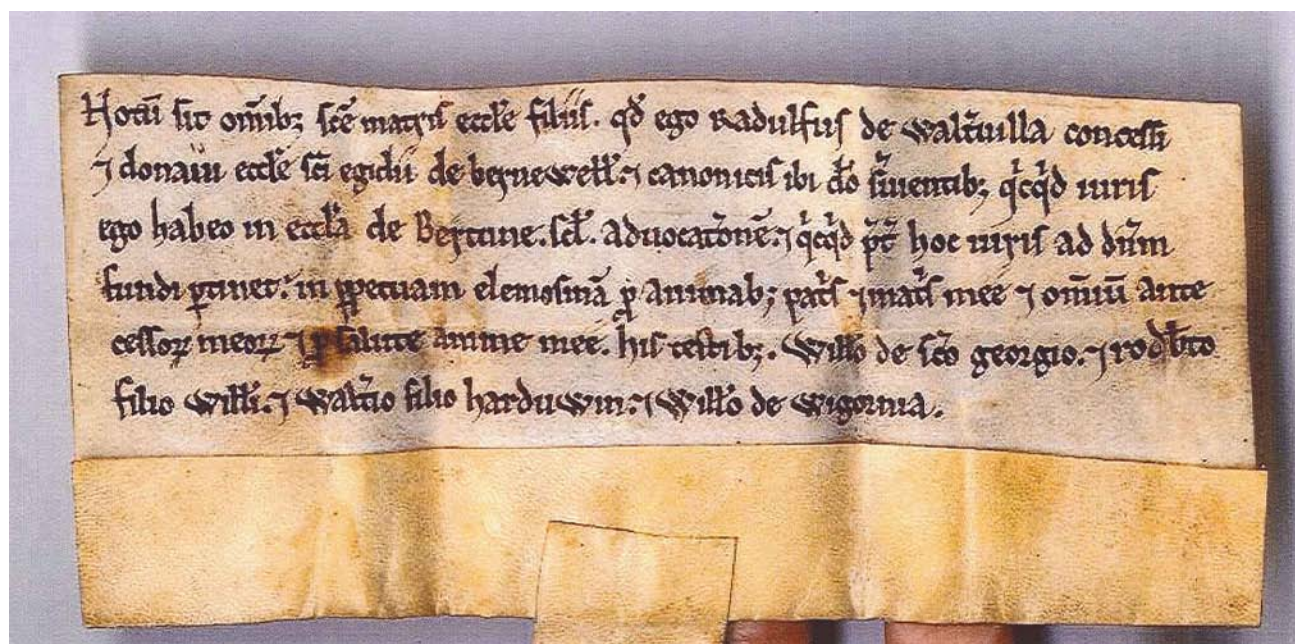
Libro ~~Arti~~
Mortis

250. Si omnibus tunc presentibus quibusque futuris, ego Ilanus de
251. turretti et heredi et heri mea parva rouspessiani collegii in
252. florenti et monasterio ibidem deo famularum et pulchra mea et omnia
253. mea et pro anima patris mei Gilberti de 254. turretti cuius
255. corpus ibi sepulchrum illam duntaxat lingasam terram in 256. mea
257. pro heredi subest tunc in patris meus eis dedit in response.
258. libro 259.

libro 2^{to}

Prædicto hominibus Gilbertus pater duas habuit uxores una
 vocabatur Matilda de Bassingge quondam quidam clauum sua moribus
 multo clariore et habuerunt filios et filias quia de pueris sepultus est
 torquis suis in ecclesia canonicorum beata Maria extra aquas quia
 dicitur de pueri honorifice non potuit tunc tempore sicut ipsa
 spontaneorum propter perturbationem qua tunc erat in Anglia sed res
 suas fuit huc deportata in locello plumbeo et coram magno altari
 iuxta presbiterium sepulta in cuius aduentu dominus Gilbertus
 pater decessit. Postea post anni redit in Genua post hanc arripit
 dominus Gilbertus aliam uxorem filiam domini Simonis de Lincro quæ
 vocabatur Johanna sicut quidem dilexit et honorauit multum eo quod
 pulcherrima esset et bona de hac quidem genuit filios et filias et ab
 amore matris magis cepit diligere quoniam idæ uxore quæ prima
 quod ex post facta fuit patuit nam idæ uxore et pueris suis dedit
 mandata quod et seruata sup his quæ necessaria sunt ad
 perpetuitatem prudenter prouidit Johanne uxore pater pater quæ fuit
 et Edmundæ fratrem suum filios primæ uxoris quæ fuit benigne
 in auro nam nostro quo spiritu ductus vel consilio domini regem
 Edwardum filium regis Rouini et reginam Elionora de castella
 baronia sua suos fecit heredes.

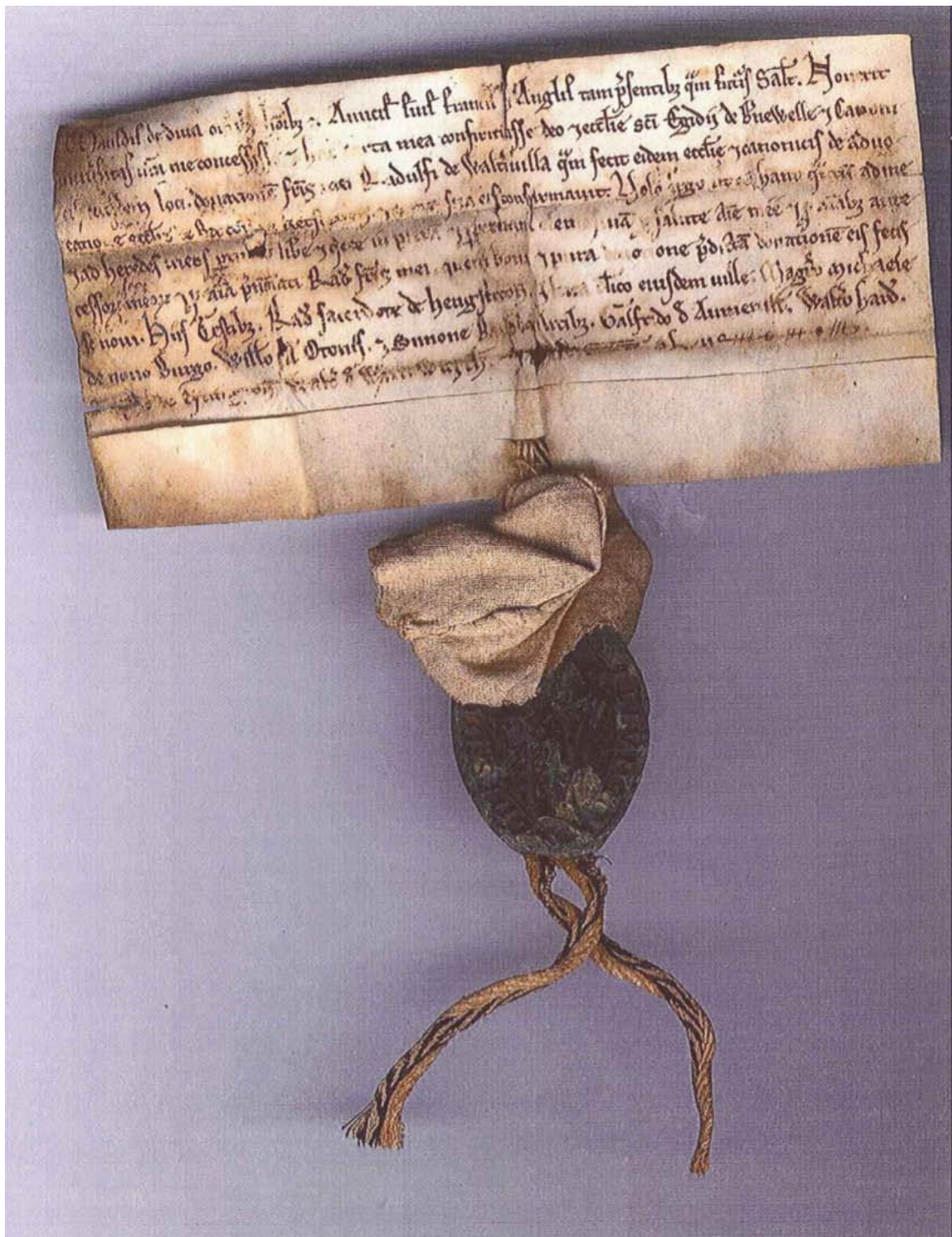
Document 2



Document 3



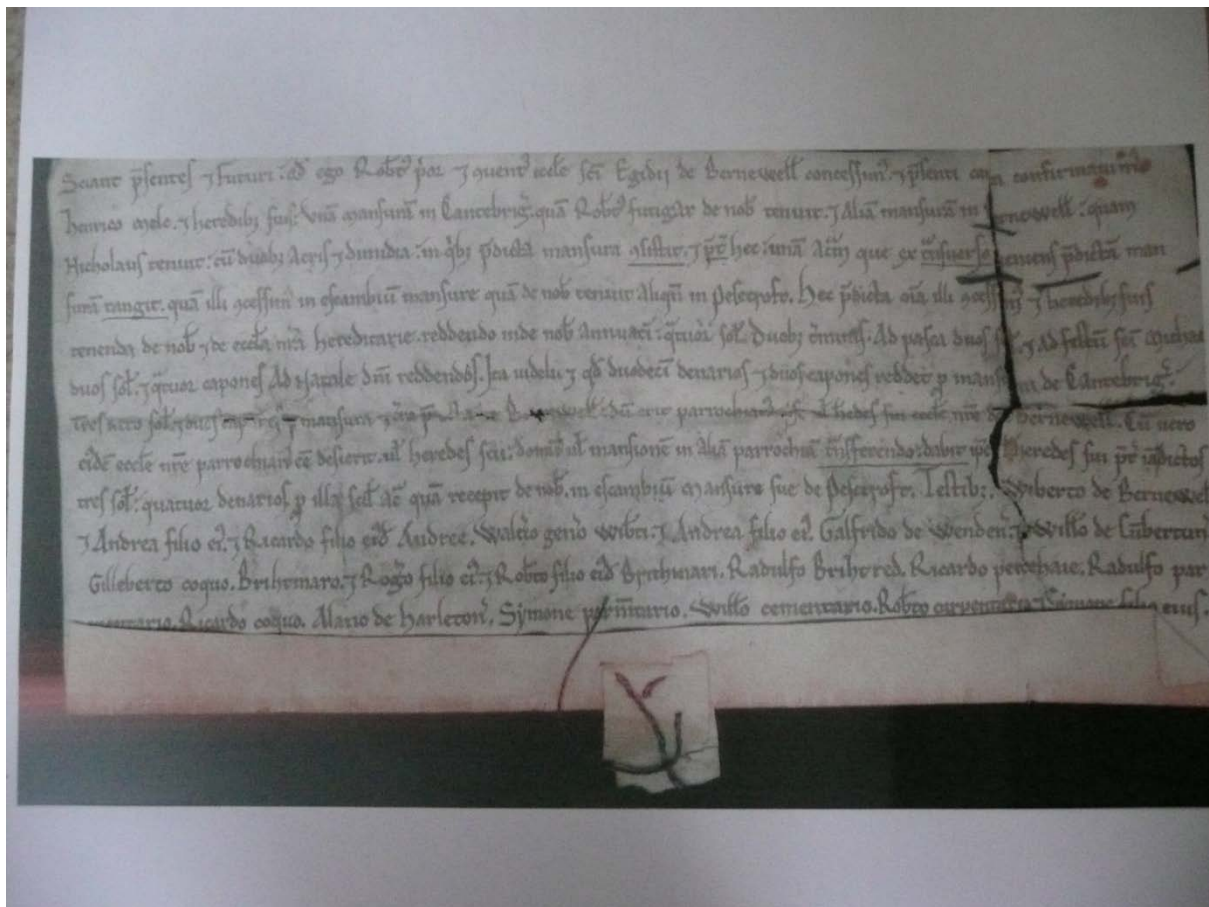
Document 4

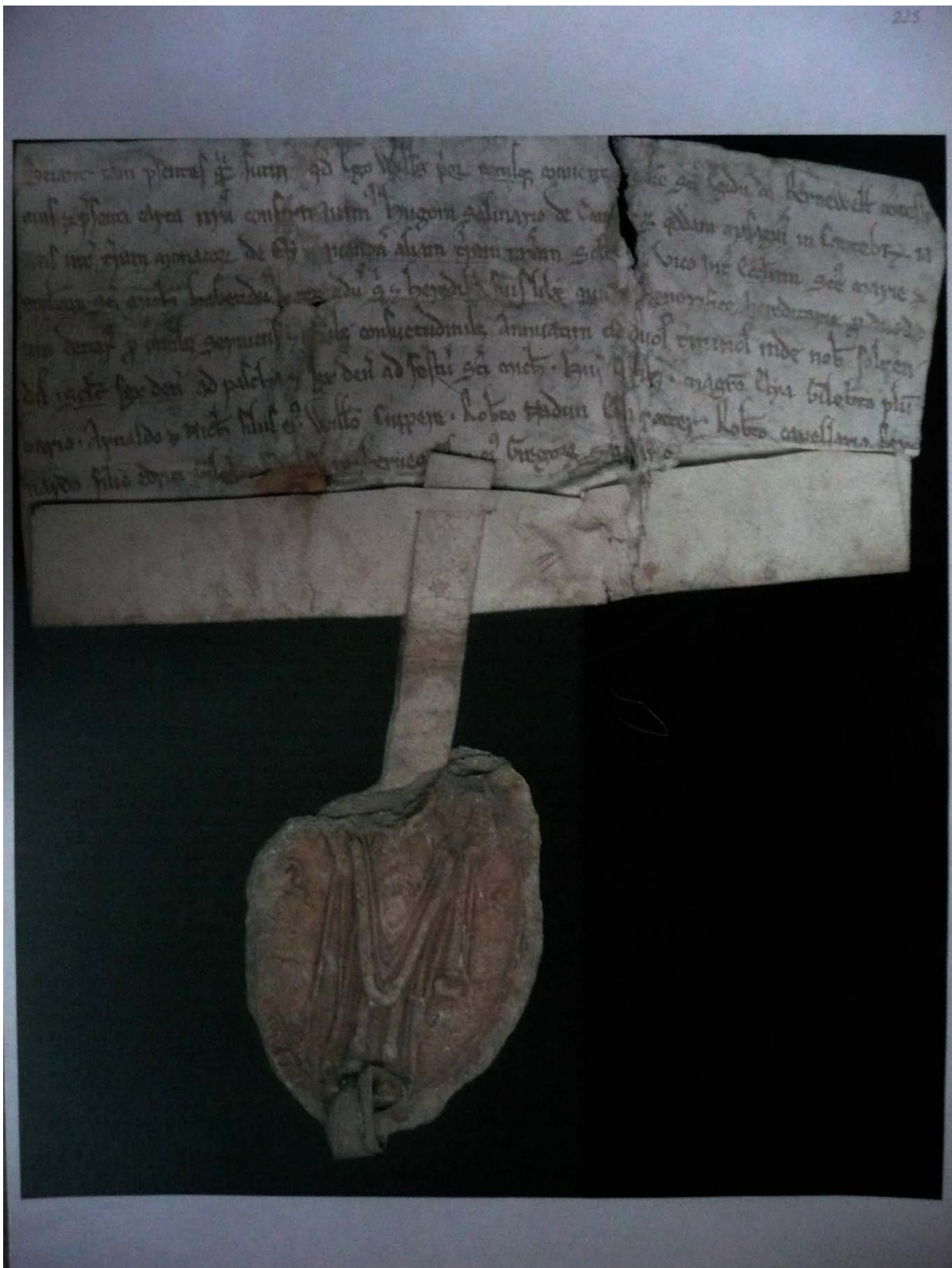


Document 5



Document 6



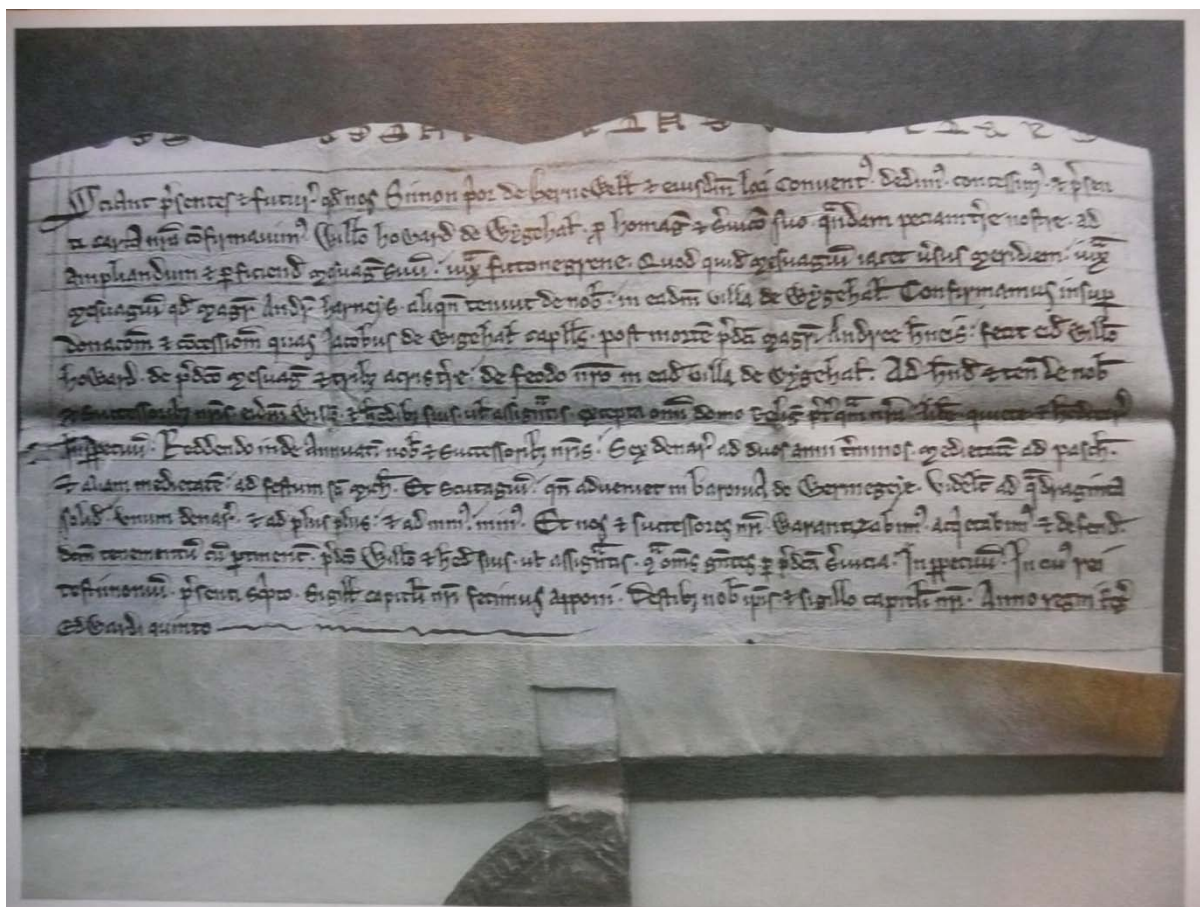


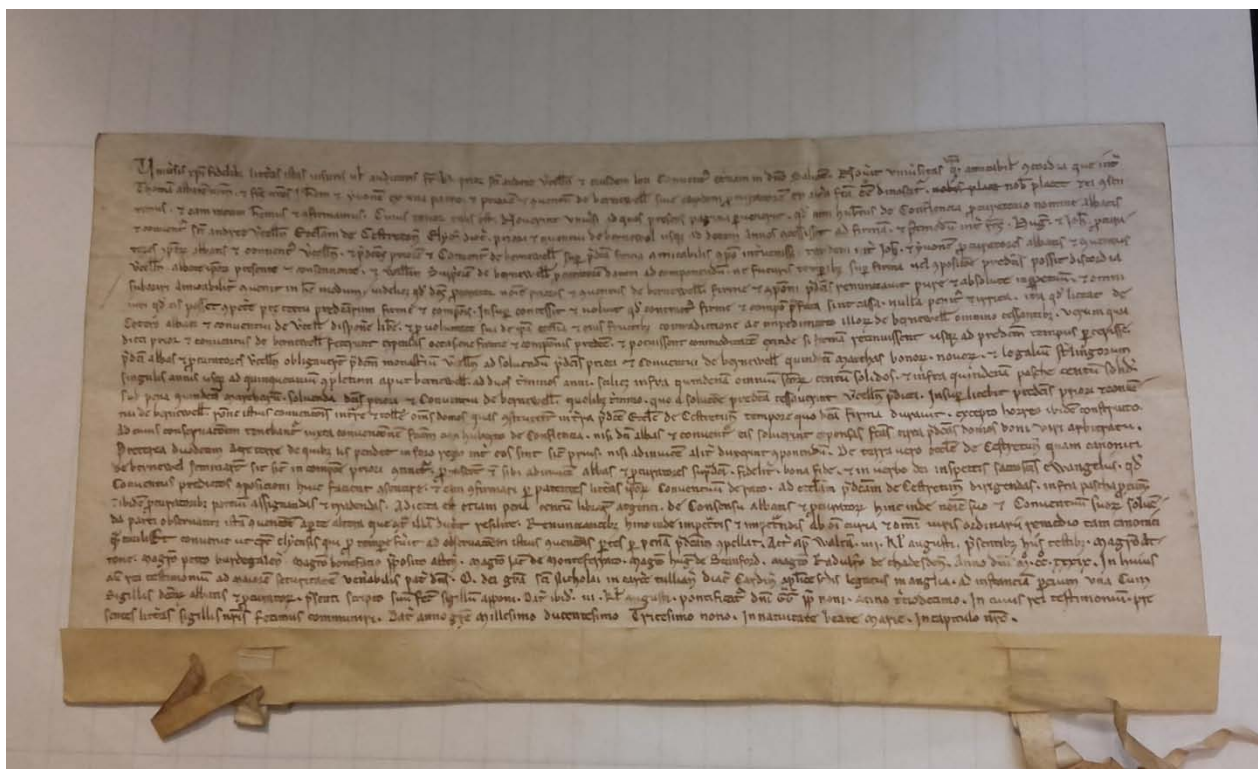
Document 7 detail of seal



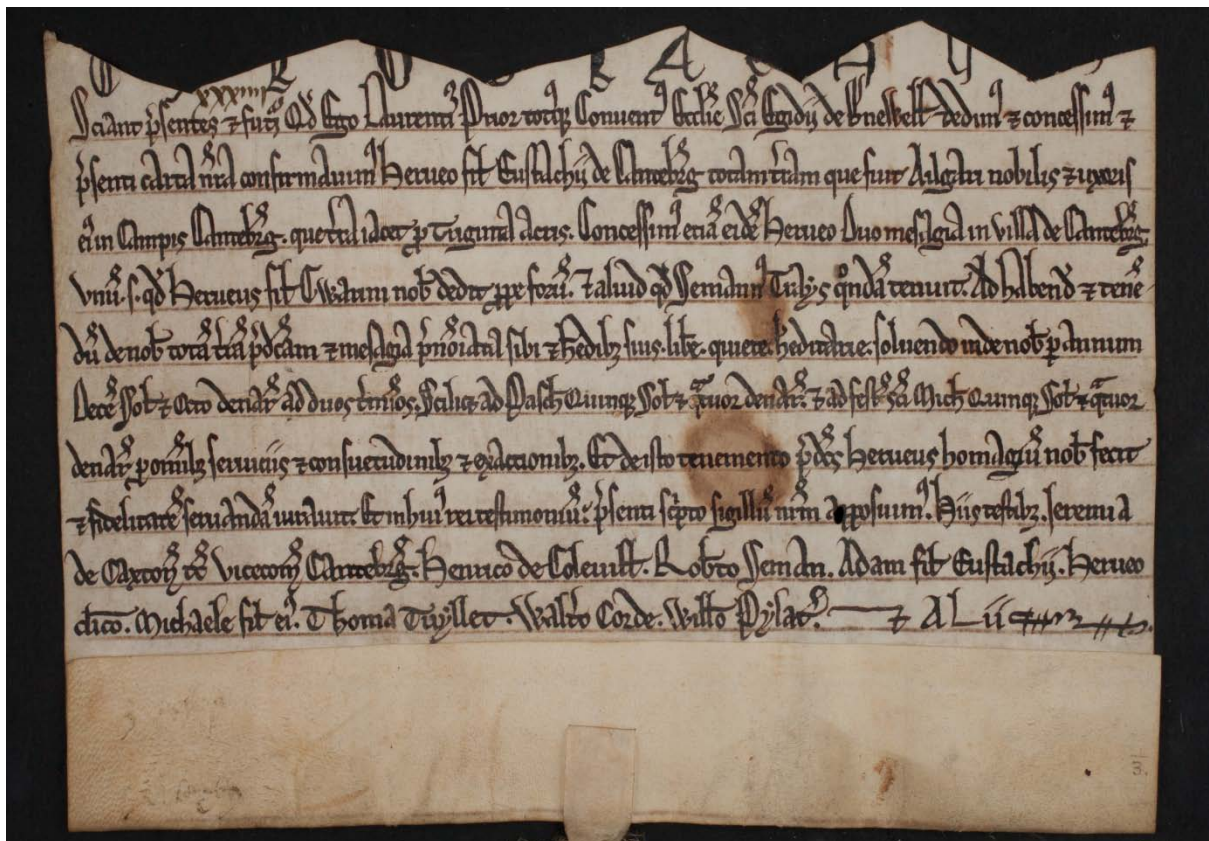
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Document 9

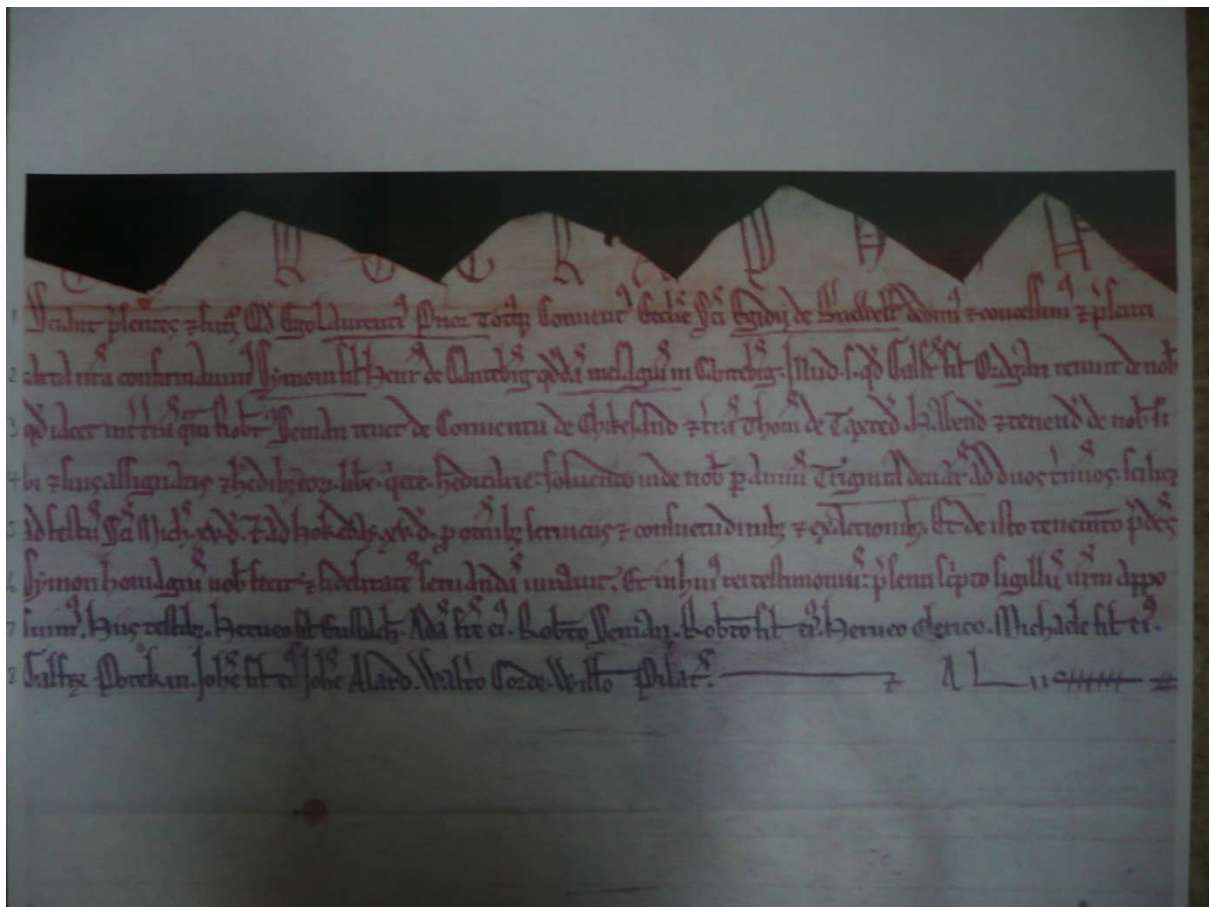




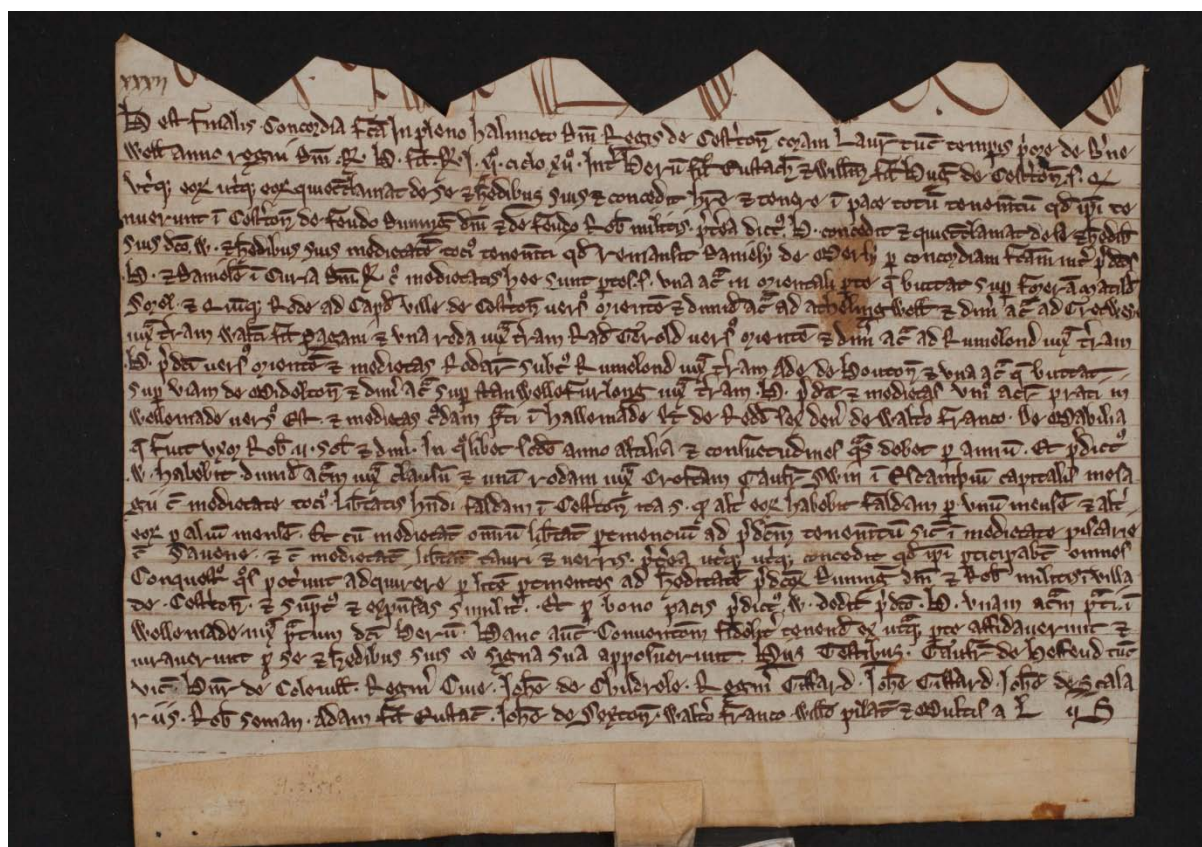
Document 11



Document 12



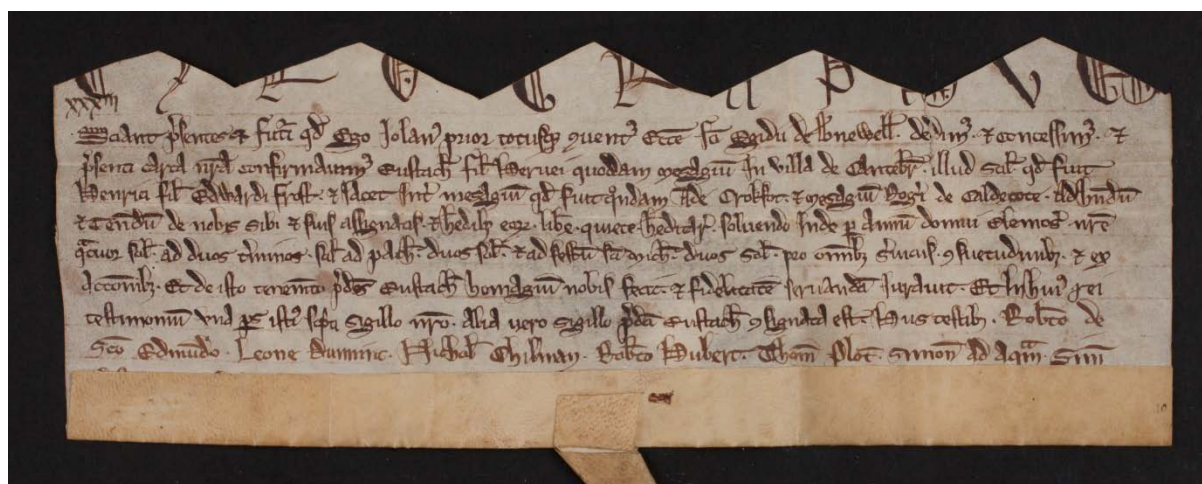
Sciant presentes et futuri, ego adrianus brachmori de conteez regem laurenc pinoz conventu ecclesie poci egioy de
 bernelien. man dany terre et duno in camp de grandese. scilicet unam acm que idcet int ciam vlti fit deni. et ciam de
 sente vidue. et illam duno acm in quidet. et long. quidet int ciam vlti replandit et ciam vlti obbe hod. Et preterea ciam
 illam pcam uerius et jelsenha qd se extendit sup ciam hugoy fit thome de bertoy. ex vna pce. et sup etiam de grandese
 ex alia et idcet int pta dno et alii pte de queno. ad indum et tenendu deet ciam pcedam et pcam pcam cum penene. qd
 pcedit meisur quibuscumqz caruit a luge uoluo pcedam domui lugeois. libe. quete. pcedit. soluendo mo et annua. et ciam
 et deni. ad dugz emingz. fit ad paly. xv. denar. et ad pcedit et a pcedit. xv. denar. et faciendo ciam et conueta seruicia capia
 lugez dugz. et dno. pro omni seruicia. conueta. et ciam. Et ipi vlti et abuno pcedam cum et pcam pcam cum penene
 qd et hiebi meisur a luge pcedam domui lugeois p seruicia pcedam cont omeg hoies et feminas in pcedam. Et ho dno con
 tce et conueta. hiebi dno eis et ex pcedam dno in g. tumand. Et de isto tenemto homagii eis fca et pcedam seruanda iuram.
 In cui rei testimoniu huic scripto sigilli mei apponi. Dns testis. Thom tulle. Rad fit deni. Jhe kume. et de ego d. muno.
 lico fit ymo. Jhe de bertoy. Chudmuno. Nichol fit em. Vlti pcedam. Jhe laane. Adam viene. Et alii.



¶ Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Stephanus quondam filius de fferdes in libera non
ratum meum promisi et quatuor clamant deo et ecclesie quod ego de Bernabell et canonicis
eiusdem loci vocati sum et clamavi quod habui ut quod hinc pater noster deus in duobus de-
re cu pater noster in Granadella. quod pater noster deus ad rem mens vendidit Willo
Hidubert de Hethenba. et quod idem Willo postea in libera et pater noster deus
de Bernabell et canonicis pater noster deus deo et concessio. Et pro hoc que
et clamant deus in canonicis memorat. Ergo filius ad magnas necessitates
meas redandus. In cuius et testimonium hinc scripto sigillum meum apposui. Dux
et filius. Robertus de Hethenba. et filius. Robertus de Hethenba. et filius. Robertus de Hethenba.
filius de Hethenba. et filius de Hethenba. et filius de Hethenba. et filius de Hethenba.
et filius de Hethenba. et filius de Hethenba. et filius de Hethenba. et filius de Hethenba.
et filius de Hethenba. et filius de Hethenba. et filius de Hethenba. et filius de Hethenba.

anno plenius fuit. qd ego tunc quondam vici. Vnde cum faber de cranteloc
 remisset quosdam damus pro me et pro heredibus meis imperant. Deo et ecclesie de cranteloc
 Bernardus et domus eiusdem loci eorum fuit et damus qd habuit qd habere potuit
 In uno salone de in capis de cranteloc. qui dicitur ad cranteloc. me et dicitur
 filius de cranteloc. et dicitur dicitur de cranteloc. et in reddere damus qui de cranteloc
 illa in dicitur. Vnde qd ecclesia predicta de cranteloc et domus memorata habent
 et tenent et predicta in presentem possident. Et dicitur reddere predictam ados libere et qui
 ecclesia. hunc alius et dicitur reddere. Et dicitur reddere libere et qui possident. Et
 ego et heredes mei illam dicitur et acquiescentem predictam et dicitur reddere predictam
 predictam fuit et tenentem. et dicitur hunc imperant. Et in ego et heredes mei nichil
 in presentem et dicitur reddere predictam nobis de cranteloc vendere possim. hunc dicitur
 meum dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur.
 Gerardus. Gerardus ad hunc. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur.
 Robertus. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur.
 Hugon et Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur. Vnde dicitur.

Document 17



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Document 19



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 King's/KC/KCAR/6/2/025/BUC/2
 King's/KC/KCAR/6/2/025/BUC/3
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