The Changing Nature of Monastic Historical Writing in Late Medieval England

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ABSTRACT

The idea for this thesis began by questioning the perceived decline in late-medieval monastic historical writing. It quickly expanded, however, into an exploration of how historical writing was used within the administrative, commemorative, and performative culture of late medieval English monasteries. It is therefore divided into two parts, the first addressing questions of potential decline and identifying trends of change, the second exploring how these changes were manifested in the use of historical texts within a monastic context.

The historiography of historical writing and monasticism provides a contextual grounding for both parts of the study and a number of theoretical literatures inform the discussion including those on social memory and its specific application in monastic commemorative practice, and on the intersections between literary style, material form and monastic function. This theoretical groundwork is elaborated in Chapter One.

Chapter Two undertakes a quantitative assessment of over 340 historical works produced in England between 400 and 1540. The analysis of this dataset provides an indication of the trends in the religious order affiliation and topic focus between 400-1349 and 1350-1539. These trends are then examined through a closer reading of relevant works.

Chapter Three examines the presentation of historical texts in church tablets and as *libri vitae*, two forms through which historical texts impacted the visual setting of monastic communities and reflected commemorative practice. Chapter Four explores the interconnections between historical writing, the liturgies of late medieval saints, and monastic sermons. Brought together, the influence of historical writing on monastic culture is seen as a central element not only in the creation of monastic identity but a major tool in the monastic response to late medieval criticism of the monastic way of life.

EXTENDED ABSTRACT

A narrative of decline persists in defining English monastic historical writing in the late Middle Ages. This thesis evaluates this narrative through a data-based analysis of historical works written between 400 and 1540 and further study of the trends of topic and form that emerge. In the process, the traditional categories used to evaluate historical writing are reassessed and alternative frameworks are suggested that better reflect the use of historical texts within the administrative, commemorative, and performative practice of late medieval monasticism. The study argues that, rather than decline, the nature of historical writing was changing in the late Middle Ages and this was especially apparent in works by monastic writers. Faced with internal and external criticism and their traditional social roles performed by non-monastic alternatives, monastic writers used the historical texts of their monasteries to construct a new role for their communities, as guardians and curators of the past of the English Church.

By focusing on historical writing, this study recognises the privileged position of text within the monastic environment, but it also takes into account the multifarious uses, reuses, and deployments of those texts both within and outside of the monastery. Historical writing in codex form is perhaps the most obvious way through which medieval people memorialized the past but the ways in which these works interacted with other forms of memorialization, especially other text-based forms, is recognised less often. Historical writing can be tracked from the page of a manuscript book to the information panel on a church wall to the chant of a liturgical office. Different monastic practices encouraged this migration of text to diverse forms. It is changes to these practices which influenced what text was written, how it was written, and the form in which it was produced. Therefore, a necessarily broad understanding of 'historical writing' must be adopted and a concept of decline formulated that considers the broader context of monastic life.

The history of historical writing, as represented by Antonia Gransden, Charles Kingsford, John Taylor, Chris Given-Wilson, and the revisionist history of late medieval monasticism, as represented by James Clark, Martin Heale, Karen Stöber and others provide a general framework of origins and influences for the study, but two different approaches, with separate methodology, are used to examine the issue of decline. The first approach considers multiple literary characteristics, using a dataset of 341 English historical works written between 400 and 1540 to quantitatively assess the dimensions of supposed decline. The second approach uses a number of different sources to examine how the multiple functions of texts within a monastic setting incorporated historical writing as different materials and media. The groups of sources are connected by a single argument: that, contrary to any narrative of decline, monastic historical writing pervaded late-medieval monastic administrative, commemorative, liturgical, and pastoral practice. This is manifested in new texts written and old texts recycled in a variety of forms and formats that serviced the performance of these practices. The diversity of the source material requires that the characteristics and context of each group be examined in relation to its interpretation. Each chapter therefore includes an examination of the specific characteristics and contexts of the relevant sources.

This discussion begins, however, with a study of the major classical and early Christian influences on medieval historical writing, which locates the written histories of the Middle Ages within the constellation of this inheritance. It marks both the formats and motivations for writing which cast such long shadows across the medieval concept of history and how it was recorded. It discusses the re-orientation of time through which Christianity fundamentally transformed the significance of the past and thereby placed new authority in those that wielded the pens of record. Finally, the chapter outlines how the merging of this new authority with the birth of the monastic movement placed those pens at the centre of the

administrative, commemorative, and spiritual practices of the monasticism of early medieval England.

Chapter Two begins with a comparison of the number of historical works written in England over two periods, 400-1349 and 1350-1539 and then makes a closer examination of the topics to which the writers in the latter period dedicated their energies. This study is based on a dataset compiled from surveys, the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*, printed editions and manuscript sources and, while not exhaustive, is a substantive representation of historical works written in England between 400 and 1540. The analysis focuses on two comparisons, the first of the number of historical works written in England over two periods, 400-1349 and 1350-1539 and the second of the topics to which the writers in the latter period dedicated their energies. The quantitative analysis reveals slight declines in the number of historical works produced by all religious orders but the major shift in the later period is the explosion of historical writing by the laity. The analysis of main topics which preoccupy writers of different religious orders reveals several further trends which provide more insight into why the relative numbers of works changed. Some of these trends apply to historical writing by all religious-order affiliations, such as a general decline in the use of the universal timeline. A significant development is the influence of a new level of administrative sophistication which is reflected in the lack of attention to spiritual exemplars and a concentration on narrating the archive. Other trends are order-specific, with the Benedictines focusing on their early foundation-histories and the Cistercians on their benefactors. The final trend examined is the emergence of a completely new topic, the history of monasticism itself.

Chapter Three identifies two forms of historical text which operated in a different space than those considered in Chapter Two, church tablets and *libri vitae.* Church tablets are a group of objects, only a few of which are extant, in which historical texts were put on public display. Over forty tablets for which the contents are known have been identified and constitute the

body of evidence examined. The selection of material for these tablets, concentrating on foundation stories and hagiographic legends, add emphasis to the historical preoccupations exhibited in the Chapter Two data. They also mark the revival of functions of historical texts aimed specifically at non-monastic audiences, suggesting a conscious campaign of promotion of a curated understanding of the past. The patterns of use of the three English *libri vitae*, texts embedded in the commemorative practice of monastic communities, exhibit a similar focus on lay outreach. They bear witness to the incorporation of the laity into active participation in commemorative performance through the symbolic memorialization of relationships in written form and illustrate the use of historical text as an object of power within the lay-monastic relationship.

Chapter Four adopts a necessarily filtered approach to liturgies and sermons, as the pool of source material is vast, unlike church tablets and *libri vitae*. A case study of the transformation of hagiographic texts into liturgy in the early Middle Ages is provided in order to better contrast the study of the same process in the late Middle Ages. This is done through liturgical material related to two saints, Robert of Knaresborough and John of Bridlington. These two saints have been chosen not only because liturgical and semi-liturgical texts are still extant but because it is possible to trace the development of these texts from the saints' origins in time and space. They were real men anchored in a specific historical time. Their hagio-liturgical traditions exhibit similar influences and concerns as church tablets, *libri vitae* and the trends identified in Chapter Two. The intersection of hagiography and historical writing is then examined in more detail through a study of Augustinian sermon-material based on saints' legends. The final section focuses on the sermons of Thomas Brinton and picks up a thread first raised in Chapter Two, the history of monasticism itself.

When compared to the narrative of decline, this study argues that, instead, the very nature of monastic historical writing was transformed in the late Middle Ages. Many of these changes

originated within the monastery, some of them spread outside of the cloister walls to influence secular writers, others spread in the opposite direction, from the outside world inwards.

The quantitative analysis reveals that some of the traditional forms in which history had previous been written were disappearing, whether those form were used by monks, secular clergy or lay writers. The universal history, as a certain conception of Christian time and history, was falling out of use by all writers. Other forms were shifting to become something new. Within the monastery, monks were cultivating connections between chronography and the archive, transforming time into simply one of several ways to organize and preserve the administrative records of their institutions. Other monastic writers located new origin points, of their monastery, of their order, and of monasticism itself, as a way to tell the histories of their conceptualized communities in relation to broader society. History was still written but how it was written was being transformed and this proves in some ways to be more significant than who was doing the writing.

This is especially apparent in the material forms and performative texts that incorporated historical writing, new and old. Church tablets liberated previously enclosed historical texts into the public space of monastic churches. *Libri vitae*, revived with new name inscriptions, embodied the history of eternal monastic relationships and signified their regular commemoration. Holy biographies, embedded in *sanctorale* liturgies, achieved new life as vernacular display-texts in secular spaces and were adapted to new prayer-forms. These new texts retained the narrative focus of traditional *vitae*, rather than the image-based, meditative style of earlier prayer sequences and hagiographic attribute-references. Yet, monastic awareness of extra-monastic communities reflected back into new liturgical material, such as that of John of Bridlington, which emphasised the importance of this new saint for the English Church. While exemplars pulled from historical texts are stripped of their sense of

the past in Thomas Brinton's sermons, the preacher of the Benedictine Chapter sermon turns to the origins of monasticism to argue, not only the right for monks to instruct, but also the requirement for them to remain vigilant in their role as guardians of the past of the English Church.

It is this conception of their role as caretakers of history in all its forms that is most evident in what monastic historical writers produced in the late Middle Ages and how they used historical works. The content they created and the forms they used adapted to the changing framework of their administrative, commemorative and performative practice but the driving force behind these alterations was their need to formulate a monastic purpose that addressed the shifting position of the religious orders in the late medieval period. Their writing was their response to criticism of the religious life, internally from within the orders and externally from ecclesiastics, rulers and the wider public. Historical writers therefore focused on curating material previously inaccessible to a non-monastic audience, emphasising the role of monasteries as the guardians of the English Christian past and the conduit through which this past was interpreted. That monastic communities mined the glories of the past to argue for the prestige and power of their individual houses is well-established. However, this study shows that this process was not about arguing for power, or at least not only so. It was rooted in the quest to articulate a role for monastic communities that maintained their relevance in a society where many of their duties were now be performed by others. Historical writers found this new purpose in the role of monastic communities, not only as inheritors of the ideals and authenticity of the early Church, but the guardians of it, as it was embedded in the material of their churches, the performance of their liturgies, and perhaps most importantly, inscribed on the parchment of their libraries and archives.

It is natural that monastic communities looked to their past when clouds of change appeared on the horizon and that they would approach their textual collections, especially, as a resource.

These collections were, after all, part of the past they inherited through the perpetual nature of their corporations and, even with the competition of the universities, were still unsurpassed. It is questionable, though, if this idea of monastic purpose served the communities that constructed it, even before they were overtaken by the Dissolution. The past that monasteries protected was not one that they themselves emulated in the reality of their way of life. This was recognised, to the extent that criticism about communities failing to live up to their apostolic models was often as vociferous from internal sources as external. It is also reflected in the disjunction between the resistance to the simplification of the Office and the poor observance of that Office in many houses. There was danger in having to manage the expectations of imitation that focusing on the past might raise and by identifying themselves as guardians of the past, monastic communities highlighted the departure of monastic reality from monastic ideal and, perhaps more importantly, also from monastic self-perception. Whether the new role that monastic historical writers constructed for their communities served to buffer them from the blows of criticism or fell them, their continued engagement with the past through historical writing illustrated their intention to keep fighting.

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List of Abbreviations

BL	British Library
BLAMC	British Library Archives and Manuscripts Online Catalogue
DSA	*De Sanctis Anglie*
EETS OS	Early English Text Society Original Series
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EMC	*Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle*
HWE	Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* (2 vols, 1974-1982)
LA	*Legenda Aurea*
MGH SS	*Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Scriptores*
MLGB	Medieval Libraries of Great Britain
NLA	*Nova Legenda Angliae*
ODNB	Oxford Dictionary of National Biography
P1	Period of analysis, 400-1349 C.E.
P2	Period of analysis, 1350-1539 C.E.
RS	Rolls Series, Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores
SA	*Sanctilogium Angliae*
SEL	*South English Legendary*
SpS	*Speculum Sacerdotale*

Chapter One

Research Question

It is a truth universally acknowledged that a monk in possession of a good education must be in want of a history to write. In any list of medieval historical works, the prevalence of monastic compositions is notable. Also notable is the diminution of the number of monastic productions in such lists from the later Middle Ages. Why? Answering this question has resulted in the thesis before you as the response is far from straight-forward. It involves not only assessment of monastic historical output but also a reassessment of the usual categories and frameworks used to measure such production. The question 'Why?' must therefore be rephrased into three separate questions: What constitutes 'decline'? In light of these parameters, in what ways did monastic historical writing decline in the late Middle Ages? In what ways did it not decline?

By focusing on historical writing, this study recognises the privileged position of text within the monastic environment, but it also takes into account the multifarious uses, reuses, and deployments of those texts both within and outside of the monastery. Historical writing in codex form is perhaps the most obvious way through which medieval people memorialized the past but the ways in which these works interacted with other forms of memorialization, especially other text-based forms, is recognised less often. Historical writing can be tracked from the page of a manuscript book to the information panel on a church wall to the chant of a liturgical office. Different monastic practices, commemorative, administrative, performative, encouraged this migration of text to diverse forms. It is changes to these practices which influenced what text was written, how it was written, and the form in which it was produced. To answer any of the questions above, therefore, a necessarily broad

understanding of 'historical writing' must be adopted and a concept of decline formulated that considers the broader context of monastic life.

Approaches and Sources

The idea for this thesis began by questioning the impression of decline in monastic historical writing which continues to persist in the historiography about the late Middle Ages.[1] Until the 1990s, the prevailing opinion amongst historians such as David Knowles and Antonia Gransden was that monastic historical writing declined in quantity and especially quality after *c.* 1350.[2] To some degree, this assessment was inherited from earlier generations of historians including T.F. Tout and Charles Kingsford.[3] The exceptions to this narrative, such as Thomas Walsingham at St Albans (*fl.* 1380-1422), Henry Knighton at Leicester (*c.* 1378) or Ranulph Higden at Chester (*c.* 1327-1360), merely served to contrast with the higher rate of monastic historical writing in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the greater sophistication, scale and acumen of earlier writers such as Matthew Paris, William of Malmesbury and Walter of Guisborough. A decline in monastic historical writing was coupled with a more general deterioration of the monastic orders, of waning spiritual fervour, intellectual stagnation, and

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[1] For the purposes of this study, 'monastic' refers to religious orders in general, though the nature of the material results in an overwhelming focus on the Benedictine and Cistercian orders. The differences between monks, canons and friars are acknowledged and indeed highlighted when necessary. The broader understanding of the term 'monastic' is in keeping with the study's focus on the role of distinct corporate bodies in formulating social memory through historical writing.

[2] David Knowles' *The Religious Orders in England* (3 vols, Cambridge, 1948-1959, repr. Cambridge, 1979) continues to be the standard work on the history of English monasticism. Antonia Gransden's *Historical Writing in England* (2 vols, London, 1974-1982) continues as the standard survey on English historical writing to the early sixteenth century. Elements and arguments of both of these works have been challenged but their depth of analysis of what are two very broad topics argues for their continued relevance in academic debate. Similar views of decline are indicated by Denis Hay and Chris Given-Wilson, with Hay marking the end of the 'prime' of medieval historiography at the beginning of the fifteenth century (Denis Hay, *Annalists and Historians: Western Historiography from the 8th to the 18th Centuries* (London 1977, new ed. London, 2016), pp. 63-86) and Given-Wilson relegating everything after fourteenth to the concluding chapter of *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London and New York, 2004), pp. 153-214.

[3] T. F. Tout, 'The Study of Medieval Chronicles', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library,* 6/4 (1922), pp. 414-38 at p. 417: 'Indeed, before the end of the period [the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries] the historic flowers began to show that dankness of growth which was the first symptom of their degeneration'. Charles Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* (Oxford, 1913, repr. New York, 1913), p. 3. 'History was still [at the beginning of the century] for the most part being written on mediaeval models by ecclesiastics. But the signs of decay and of the imminence of change are obvious'.

growing political and social irrelevance, all filtered through the teleological inevitability of the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s.[4]

This view of general monastic decline in the late Middle Ages was challenged from the 1990s as part of a revisionist view of the vitality of the late medieval church in general.[5] More recently studies on monastic material culture by Julian Luxford and Michael Carter have argued that the continuing dynamism of monasticism applied as much to the physical environment of late medieval monasteries as it did to its social and intellectual spheres.[6] However, while the importance of the past to late medieval monastic communities has been recognised in general, the charge of decline in relation to historical writing has not been addressed.[7] This study provides such an examination, but pushes beyond the question of decline to examine how monastic historical writing, as both text and object, changed to become a focal point in the articulation of the purpose and continued relevance of monasticism in England between 1350 and 1540.

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[4] G. G. Coulton, *Five Centuries of Religion* (4 vols, Cambridge, 1923-1950), specifically vols 3 and 4; G. R. Elton, *England under the Tudors* (London, 1955, rev. edn. London, 2018); A. G. Dickens, *The English Reformation*, 2nd edn (London, 1991).

[5] On the late medieval English church, Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England,1400-1570* (New Haven and London, 1992); Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford 1993), pp. 25-88; R. Swanson, *Church and Society in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 1989) for the English Church in general. For monasticism specifically see Barbara Harvey*, Living and Dying in England: The Monastic Experience, 1100-1540* (Oxford, 1993); James G. Clark, *A Monastic Renaissance at St Albans: Thomas Walsingham and his Circle, c. 1350-1440* (Oxford, 2004); Claire Cross, *The End of Medieval Monasticism in the East Riding of Yorkshire* (Beverley, 1993); the larger surveys of James Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2014); Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and Their Patrons* (Woodbridge, 2007); and the various essays in James G. Clark (ed), *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England,* (Woodbridge, 2002); Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (eds), *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, (Woodbridge, 2008).

[6] Julian Luxford, *The Art and Architecture of English Benedictine Monasteries, 1300-1540: A Patronage History* (Woodbridge, 2005) and Michael Carter, *The Art and Architecture of the Cistercians in Northern England, c. 1300-1540* (Turnhout, 2019).

[7] James G. Clark, 'Selling the Holy Places: Monastic efforts to win back the people in fifteenth-century England', in Tim Thornton (ed), *Social Attitude and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century* (Stroud, 2000), pp. 13-32; Michael Carter, 'So it was abowte iiii[c] yeres agoo: Retrospection in the Art and Architecture of the Cistercians in Northern England in the Late Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 4 (2015), pp. 107-152; Martin Heale, 'Training in Superstition?: Monasteries and Popular Religion in Late Medieval and Reformation England', in *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 58/3 (2007), pp. 417-439; Nicholas Heale, 'Rottenness and Renewal in the Late Medieval Monasteries', in Daniel Rees (ed) *Monks of England: The Benedictines in England from Augustine to the Present Day* (London, 1997), pp. 135-147 at pp. 142-144.

The history of historical writing, as represented by Gransden, Kingsford, John Taylor, Chris Given-Wilson, and the revisionist history of late medieval monasticism, as represented by Clark, Heale, Stöber and others, provide a general framework of origins and influences for the arguments which follow.[8] However, the question of decline necessitates a more complex response than a simple 'yes' or 'no' and an examination of change over time requires parameters and definitions of terms. In many ways, I have found the traditional categories imposed on historical writing, especially those of genre, to be inadequate for the purposes of this study, yet it is not possible to discard them completely. I have therefore approached the topic of monastic historical writing from two directions, one considering multiple literary characteristics, the other taking into account the multiple functions of texts within a monastic setting, and evaluated them using two methodologies, quantitative and qualitative.

Parameters present a particular issue for any examination of historical writing, as they are often determined by factors other than any universally accepted consensus of any particular measure. One approach privileges the 'writing' half of the term and focuses on the literary aspects of medieval historical works, evaluating them using the concept of genre. The historiography of historical writing is awash with attempts to establish sharp borders between genre-terms such as 'annal', 'chronicle' and 'history'.[9] The dividing lines are drawn and redrawn, often

[8] For Gransden and Given-Wilson see above, n.1 and Kingsford, n. 2. John Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century* (Oxford, 1987); for Clark, Heale, Stöber and others see n. 4.
[9] David Dumville, 'What is a Chronicle?', in Erik Kooper (ed), *The Medieval Chronicle II: Proceedings of the 2nd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Driebergen/Utrecht 16-21 July 1999* (Amsterdam, 2002), pp. 1-27 argues for a definition of 'chronicle' that responds to the needs of historians, only briefly considering how the term was used in the Middle Ages as an element in that definition. More recently, Richard Burgess and Michael Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time: The Latin Chronicle Traditions from the First Century BC to the Sixth Century AD: Volume I, A Historical Introduction to the Chronicle Genre from its Origins to the High Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2013). Burgess and Kulikowski address the definitions of the terms 'chronicle' and 'annal' from the very beginning of historical writing most fully in Chapter 1, pp. 1-62, Appendix 2, pp. 278-87 and Appendix 3, pp. 288-96. They also address the specific issue of medieval and medievalist terms in the paper 'Medieval Historiographical Terminology: The Meaning of the Word *annales*', in Erik Kooper and Sjoerd Levelt (eds), *The Medieval Chronicle VIII* (Amsterdam and New York, 2013), pp. 165-92. Gransden is rather unhelpful in providing resolution on the issue in 'The Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland', in Antonia Gransden (ed), *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London, 1992), pp. 199-238 at pp. 199-201, where chronicles are defined as 'general, serious historical writings'. Sarah Foot, 'Annals and Chronicles in Western Europe', in Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson (eds), *The Oxford History of Historical*

depending on differing timelines and geographies. For Georg Pertz in the nineteenth century and R. L. Poole in the twentieth, the terms were linked with the progressive sophistication of historical writing itself, beginning with the chronographical records of events and obits added into late-antique Easter tables, which subsequently progressed to more expansive annals, narrative chronicles and finally to classically influenced histories.[10] This teleological development is reflected and, to some degree, reinforced by the somewhat arbitrary titling of the medieval texts in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, which Pertz edited, and other large nineteenth-century projects such as the Rolls Series, with terms such as '*annales*', *'chronicon'*, '*historia*', '*registrum*', none of which are properly defined.[11] Of course, the development of medieval historical writing is not nearly as straightforward as this explanation suggests, as evidenced by the vast literature on the definitions, or lack thereof, of historical genres.[12] However, even when Poole's early evolutionary narrative is called into question, as by Sarah Foot in her chapter in the survey series *The Oxford History of Historical Writing*, the ingrained, if inaccurate, distinctions between annals, chronicles, and histories are still preserved.[13] In the latest attempt to impose some kind of ecumenical vocabulary, Richard Burgess and Michael Kulikowski meticulously work through examples of medieval usage of the different terms to

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Writing: Volume 2: 400-1400 (Oxford, 2012), pp. 347-67 provides a helpful summary of the different options but stops short of suggesting the adoption of defined terms. The arrangement of the *Oxford History* itself uses three approaches, by time period (eg, Volume 2 is 400-1400), geography (eg. part 1 of Volume 2), and a mix of genre/producers (eg. part II of Volume 2).

[10] Georg Pertz, 'Praefatio', *MGH SS 1: Annales et Chronica aevi Carolini*, p. 1-2 and R.L. Poole, *Chronicles and Annals: A Brief Outline of their Origin and Growth* (Oxford, 1926), pp. 7-26. See discussion in Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, pp. 1-2.

[11] The *MGH* is arranged in *Scriptores*, *Leges*, *Diplomata*, *Epistolae*, and *Antiquitates*, but the boundaries are porous and the definitions vague. See Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, pp. 2-3 for the influence of the *MGH* on modern terminology for medieval genres. Master of Rolls John Romilly (1802-1874) laid out different classes of documents which could potentially be included in the Rolls Series but the actual selection and titling of the manuscripts included in the Series did not adhere to any strict systematic process. See David Knowles 'Great Historical Enterprises IV: The Rolls Series', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 11 (1961), pp. 141-2.

[12] In addition to those listed in n. 8 above, see Hans-Werner Goetz, 'The Concept of Time in the Historiography of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried, Patrick Geary (eds), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 139-65 at pp. 141-145 and Bernard Guenee, 'Histoires, Annales, Chroniques: Essai sur les Genres Historiques au Moyen Âge', *Annales*, 28/4 (1973), pp. 997-1016.

[13] Foot, 'Annals and Chronicles', pp. 351-5.

propose categories which can apply across time periods from Babylonia to the modern age and argue that medievalists especially need to correct their cavalier use of the term annals/*annales*.[14] They also admit, however, that they hold little hope that their proposed genre-labels will be widely adopted, such is the persistence of the titles imposed by historians of the nineteenth century and the habitual use of terms as defined in first-year university survey courses.[15]

Yet, the ubiquity of the terms in the academic literature alone requires at least a rough terminological framework for purposes of comparison. The major distinction made by both medieval writers and modern medievalists is between those works that record a wide variety of often unconnected events in chronological order within a structure of some division of time, eg. by year, month [kalends], or day [ephemerides], and those works that adopt a more thematic approach and do not necessarily adhere to any particular chronological measurement.[16] The former, because of its close observance of the passage of a unit of time, is usually referred to as a 'chronicle' and the latter is referred to as 'historia'.[17] The medieval adherence to this theoretical distinction is most evident in Gervase of Canterbury's prologue to his own chronicle.[18] In their review of instances when medieval writers attempted to categorize their own works however, Burgess and Kulikowski argue that even this distinction was observed more often in the breach.[19] Attempts to add other criteria to this differentiation, such as the contemporaneity with the period written about, the formatting on the page, the

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[14] Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, pp. 1-62 and pp. 278-96 and 'Medieval historiographical terminology', pp. 165-92.
[15] Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, p. 62.
[16] Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, pp. 16-18.
[17] Burgess and Kulikowski, *Mosaics of Time*, pp. 23-4.
[18] Gervase of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. William Stubbs, RS 73 (2 vols, London, 1879-1880), i, p. 87. 'Proprium est historici veritati intendere, audientes vel legentes dulci sermone et eleganti demulcere, actus, mores vitamque ipsius quam describit veraciter edocere, nuchilque alius comprehendere nisi quod historiae de ratione videtur competere, Cronicus autem annos Incarnationis Domini annorumque menses computat et kalendas, actus, etiam regum et principum quae in ipsis eveniunt breviter edocet, eventus etiam, portenta vel miracula commemorat'.
[19] Burgess and Kulikowski, 'Medieval Historiographical Terminology', pp. 174-76.

length of time covered or the brevity of entries serve only to show how flexible the past is to rearrangement, selection and rhetoric in both the classical and medieval periods. These distinctions are further complicated by the collaborative methods by which historical writings were produced, often over extended periods of time, sometimes from close proximity to the events described, while others are recorded at the remove of several generations. The exploration of the boundaries of these definitions is important however, as they provide insight into how medieval writers conceptualized time, understood the significance of the past, and arranged it for contemporary consumption.

The limitations of historical genre-definitions, and certainly simplistic distinctions between terms such as 'chronicle' and 'annal', render them insufficient as a single conceptual framework for this study. The boundaries are too fluid and the purely literary approach omits important features of historical writing specific to the Middle Ages, especially the utilitarian nature of texts.[20] If literary genre is determined foremost by the form, theme and rhetorical elements of a work, the material format, originating milieu and use of a work must be given equal consideration in any measurement of change over time.[21] This second approach emphasises the 'historical' part of the term 'historical writing'. The utilitarian functions that historical writing fulfilled within monastic communities and the stylistic, aesthetic and rhetorical literary aspects of genre are often seen in contrast to each other: usually the higher up the utilitarian ladder, the lower down the literary stairwell.[22] However, historical writing is embedded in monastic practices of scholarship, commemoration and administration, and reflects the centrality of the past to both the literary and utilitarian elements of the written

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[20] Christopher Cannon, 'Monastic Productions', in David Wallace (ed), *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 316-48, at pp. 321.
[21] D. DeVore, 'Genre and Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History: Toward a Focused Debate', in Aaron Johnson and Jeremy Schott (eds), *Eusebius of Caesarea: Tradition and Innovations* (Washington, D.C., 2013), pp.19-49 at pp. 20-1.
[22] Jessica Brantley, 'Forms of the Hours of Late Medieval England', in Robert J Meyer-Lee and Catherine Sanok (eds), *The Medieval Literary: Beyond Form* (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 61-83 at pp. 61-2

texts which service these needs. The practical use of texts must therefore be factored into the conceptual framework for what follows, an approach that is embedded in manuscript studies and book history.[23] Yet, as with issues of genre, the context of composition and uses of historical texts are rarely susceptible to simple analysis. The circumstances of an individual author, influenced by the social, economic, regional, and religious communities of which he or she is a member, are seldom static or indeed single-minded. Again, the collaborative and compilatory practices of medieval historiographers result in the possibility of as many functions for a historical work as there are contributors.[24]

Thus, to acknowledge both the literary and utilitarian elements of historical writing and yet minimize the inherent limitations of either, this study uses a two-part methodology that incorporates aspects of both the literary and the utilitarian approaches in an attempt to balance the weaknesses of one with the strengths of the other. The first method is large-scale and quantitatively oriented, the second is focused on individual works, each of which incorporate historical writing in some way, but which are not necessarily traditionally considered so.

The first approach consists of a quantitative analysis of over 340 English historical works from between 400 and 1540 and, subsequently, an in-depth examination of the trends specific to the period 1350-1539. The works included in this dataset are largely narrative historical works, either chronologically arranged, as in year by year accounts of events, or thematically, as in accounts of specific events or individual lives. This follows similar sampling used by other large surveys, such as Gransden, Kingsford, Taylor, and Given-Wilson.[25] Each work is

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[23] Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen, 'Introduction: Manuscripts and Cultural History', in Michael Johnston and Michael Van Dussen (eds), *The Medieval Manuscript Book: Cultural Approaches* (Cambridge, 2015), pp. 1-16.
[24] Catherine Sanok, *New Legends of England* (Philadelphia, 2018), p. 5
[25] Gransden, *HWE*; Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*; Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century*; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*.

identified using twenty-nine data-points which range from basic information, such as date (or date-range) at which it was written, to the main focus of its content.[26] The data-points include aspects of both literary genre and text-utility, and the accompanying analysis of the emerging trends uses both approaches to glean insight into how historical writing changed through the late Middle Ages.

The second approach considers forms which are not normally included in discussions of medieval historical writing. The works under consideration, church tablets, *libri vitae*, *sanctorale* liturgies, and sermons, incorporate historical texts and so manifest the historical sensibility that informed monastic practice in the late Middle Ages. I have chosen these four types of sources specifically in order to illustrate the use of historical writing outside of the practices of literary book culture and position it in conjunction with visual and performative aspects of monastic culture.[27] As a result, these forms draw on theories only tangentially connected with the historiography of historical writing and it is necessary to frame their discussion within a slightly different literature.

Church tablets and *libri vitae* are paired together because their defining characteristic is their material format as textual objects made for visual display to large numbers of people. Their physical forms incorporate text the meaning of which is, to some degree, less important than the authority given to the physical object by the visibility of the written word or its signifier, the book. Both of these forms functioned within the public space of the monastic church, an indication of their use as mediators of the monastic past for a non-monastic audience. In examining the *libri vitae* and the church tablets, I draw on ideas about the role of memory in the creation of collective identity and the centrality of monastic commemorative practice in

[26] The raw dataset is found in Appendix 1. A more in-depth discussion of the criteria and process of compilation begins Chapter Two.
[27] In a similar way, Rosamond McKitterick draws connections between *libri vitae* and cartularies in *History and Memory in the Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 157.

curating that identity. Memory studies is a wide, interdisciplinary field, including everything from brain physiology to the rhetorical mnemonic techniques examined so thoroughly by Mary Carruthers.[28] The scholarship which is relevant in this context is that of social, communal or collective memory.[29] This strand was first fully articulated by Maurice Halbwachs and then expanded on by Pierre Nora, Jan and Aleida Assmann, among others, to encompass issues of place, materiality, and ritual.[30] Monastic commemorative culture, in which the remembrance of specific people and events is the acknowledged duty of a monastic community, has provided rich ground for the exploration of how memory is created and maintained through the regular acts of commemoration that made up monastic practice, whether in writing, liturgy, prayer, or art. This research has illuminated how the resulting material creations and repetitive actions formulated an internal self-awareness as a distinct collective within monastic communities. A number of studies, notably by Patrick Geary, Gabriele Spiegel and Rosamond McKitterick, have centred on how the mechanisms of collective memory-creation changed during the shift from orality to written culture in the early Middle Ages, a process in which educated monks played a key role.[31] The interconnections between written culture and monastic communities gave these institutions a unique relationship with the past, endowing them with an authoritative voice. They shaped

[28] Mary Carruthers, *The Book of Memory: A Study of Memory in Medieval Culture*, 2nd edition (Cambridge 2008). For a useful review of the literature of memory studies, see Jeffrey K. Olick and Joyce Robbins 'Social Memory Studies: From "Collective Memory" to the Historical Sociology of Mnemonic Practices', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 24 (1998), pp. 105-40.

[29] See Olick and Robbins, 'Social Memory Studies', for the development of the different terms and the nuances between them.

[30] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trs. Francis Ditter and Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York, 1980) especially Chapters 1 and 2, pp. 22-87; Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, *Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory*, 26 (1989), pp. 7-24; Jan Assman, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', tr. John Czaplicka, *New German Critique,* 65 (1995), pp. 125-33; Aleida Assman, *Cultural Memory and Western Civilization: Functions, Media, Archives* (Cambridge, 2011).

[31] Patrick Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millenium* (Princeton, 1994) and 'Oblivion Between Orality and Textuality in the Tenth Century', in Gerd Altoff, Johannes Fried and Patrick Geary (eds), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 111-22; Gabriele Spiegel, *The Past as Text: The Theory and Practice of Medieval Historiography* (Baltimore and London, 1997); Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory* and *The Carolingians and the Written Word* (Cambridge 1989). See also Renee Choy, *Intercessory Prayer and the Monastic Ideal in the Time of the Carolingian Reforms* (Oxford, 2016).

how history was remembered by medieval society because these communities were the ones writing it, but also because monasteries were centres through which other forms of communication such as sermons, liturgies, and images were filtered.[32] While the proportion of written documents written by monks decreases over time, the decoupling of the monastery from its role as sole purveyor of historical guardianship, through textual or other means, took place over centuries.[33] This thesis uses the ideas of the mechanisms of memory-creation to counter the suggestion that, if there was a decline in traditional formats of monastic historical writing, it did not necessarily indicate a withdrawal of monastic communities from the processes of social memory-creation nor the position of historical texts in these processes. The repeated performances in which the *libri vitae* played a part and the interpretation of the physical monastic environment performed by church tablets were uses of historical writing that turned a distant past into a present memory once more. They created an unbroken link with previous memory-communities and were part of the quintessential 'perpetually actual phenomenon' which Nora argues is necessary for the past to retain meaning.[34] Establishing this unbroken link between past and present was important not only to claim the authority of authenticity conferred by age and tradition, but because it linked the present with the cosmological history of Christianity, a feature that was at the centre of the concept of medieval historical writing. Monastic communities positioned themselves as caretakers of this link to the continuing saga of salvation and these textual objects are examples of the

[32] Here I follow Rosamond McKitterick, *History and Memory*, p. 3.
[33] Ludo Milis makes the point that 'monks, who constituted something like *0.5% of the population*, were responsible *for from 65% to 98% of the written information*'. *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 7, his emphasis, with a later acknowledgement that 'in later centuries the proportion decreases'.
[34] By 'perpetually actual phenomenon' I am referencing Nora's idea that collective memory is created through continually repeated actions that reference historical ideas or events, but with each iteration building its own layers of meaning in the present, often with transformative effects. In this way, it is distinct from history, which is, however imperfect, the re-enactment of the past. Memory is more susceptible to manipulation, selective forgetting, and mis-remembering, and also usually unaware of these processes. See Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', pp. 8-9.

many mechanisms by which they communicated this role to themselves and to the lay community.

The discussion of liturgies and sermons draws on some of these same ideas of social memory-creation but with these textual forms, the shift from oral to written culture is reversed.[35] Both liturgies and sermons re-interpret textual material from the page into oral performance, either sung or spoken.[36] These performances transformed material that was, in its textual form, available to only the literate section of society, with all the privileges of education, wealth and gender that literacy implied, into material accessible to all, through song and oration. Liturgical and sermon texts illustrate how the incorporation of historical writing into the repeated performance of church ritual and preaching acted as an effective means to free monastic histories from the constraints of text production, circulation and the monastic precinct. They also place historical writing at the core of monastic spiritual practice in the texts of the daily office. Of course, the sources themselves leave only an impression of what these performances were like, but it is in the gap between their performance in time and the text that remains that their contributions to the creation of social memory are located. By exploring this edge, we can hear echoes of their impact on the communities of the past.

Outline

The groups of sources are connected by a single argument: that, contrary to any narrative of decline, monastic historical writing pervaded late-medieval monastic administrative, commemorative, liturgical, and pastoral practice. This is manifested in new texts written and

[35] Gabrielle Spiegel, 'Memory and History: Liturgical Time and Historical Time', *History and Theory*, 41/2 (2002), pp. 149-62; Margot Fassler, 'The Liturgical Framework of Time and the Representation of History', in Robert Allan Maxwell (ed), *Representing History, 900-1300: Art, Music, History* (University Park, PA, 2010), pp. 149-72; Andrew Kirkman and Philip Weller, 'Music and Image/Image and Music: The Creation and Meaning of Visual-Aural Force Fields in the Later Middle Ages', *Early Music*, 45/1 (2017), pp. 45-75.

[36] Written sermons could operate both ways, recorded from an oral delivery but more usually providing a textual prompt for oral delivery. See Siegfried Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections from Later Medieval England: Orthodox Preaching in the Age of Wycliff* (Cambridge, 2005), pp.16-20.

old texts recycled in a variety of forms and formats that serviced the performance of these practices. The diversity of the source material requires that the characteristics and context of each group be examined in relation to its interpretation. Each chapter therefore begins with an examination of the specific characteristics and contexts of the relevant sources.

Chapter Two begins the analysis with a comparison of the number of historical works written in England over two periods, 400-1349 and 1350-1539 and then makes a closer examination of the topics to which the writers in the latter period dedicated their energies. This study is based on the dataset in Appendix 1. The data is divided into time periods and detailed analysis is found in the subsequent sheets, but I have tried wherever possible to incorporate the relevant data into the discussion directly. The methodology used to compile the data is explained at the beginning of Chapter Two. The quantitative analysis reveals slight declines in the number of historical works produced by all religious orders but the major shift in the later period is the explosion of historical writing by the laity. The analysis of main topics which preoccupy writers of different religious orders reveals a number of further trends which provide more insight into why the relative numbers of works changed. Some of these trends apply to historical writing by all religious-order affiliations, such as a general decline in the use of the universal timeline. A significant development is the influence of a new level of administrative sophistication which is reflected in the lack of attention to spiritual exemplars and a concentration on narrating the archive. Other trends are order-specific, with the Benedictines focusing on their early foundation-histories and the Cistercians on their benefactors. The final trend examined is the emergence of a completely new topic, the history of monasticism itself.

Chapter Three identifies two types of text which operated in a different space than those considered in Chapter Two, church tablets and *libri vitae.* Church tablets are a group of objects, only a few of which are extant, in which historical texts were put on public display.

The selection of material for these tablets, concentrating on foundation stories and hagiographic legends, add emphasis to the historical preoccupations exhibited in the Chapter Two data. They also mark the revival of functions of historical texts aimed specifically at non-monastic audiences, suggesting a conscious campaign of promotion of a curated understanding of the past. The patterns of use of the three English *libri vitae*, texts embedded in the commemorative practice of monastic communities, exhibit a similar focus on lay outreach and witness to the incorporation of the laity into active participation in commemorative performance through the symbolic memorialization of relationships in written form.

Chapter Four adopts a necessarily filtered approach to liturgies and sermons, as the pool of source material is vast, unlike church tablets and *libri vitae*. A case study of the transformation of hagiographic texts into liturgy in the early Middle Ages is provided in order to better contrast the study of the same process in the late Middle Ages through liturgical material related to two saints, Robert of Knaresborough and John of Bridlington. These two saints have been chosen not only because liturgical and semi-liturgical texts are still extant but because it is possible to trace the development of these text from the saints' origins in time and space. They were real men anchored in a specific historical time whose hagio-liturgical traditions exhibit similar influences and concerns as church tablets, *libri vitae* and the trends identified in Chapter Two. The intersection of hagiography and historical writing is then examined in more detail through a study of Augustinian sermon-material based on saints' legends. The final section focuses on the sermons of Thomas Brinton and picks up a thread first raised in Chapter Two, the history of monasticism itself.

Origins

This discussion must begin, however, with a study of the major classical and early Christian influences on medieval historical writing. Chapter One locates the written histories of the

Middle Ages within the constellation of this inheritance, marking both the formats and motivations for writing which cast such long shadows across the medieval concept of history and how it was recorded. It discusses the re-orientation of time through which Christianity fundamentally transformed the significance of the past and thereby placed new authority in those that wielded the pens of record. Finally, the chapter outlines how the merging of this new authority with the birth of the monastic movement placed those pens at the centre of the administrative, commemorative, and spiritual practices of the monasticism of early medieval England.

Medieval historical writing inherited a sophisticated tradition from the Classical world which was infused with the historio-centric world view of early Christianity. This chapter will examine both the stated and implied motivations for writing history which medieval writers adopted from their Classical forerunners and the tensions between truth and style that these aims created. It will then explore how the Christian concept of time reoriented the medieval understanding of the past towards a salvific narrative and provided new parameters, temporal as well as moral, for historical writing. A key element of this discussion will focus on how the parallel development of institutional monasticism and nascent European polities made historical writing an integral part of a commemorative and administrative practice that was distinctly monastic.

The Classical Inheritance: Memory, *fama*, and example

Classical authors wrote histories for two main reasons. The first was to provide a record, so that what happened would not be forgotten. Of those writers most familiar to the Middle Ages, Sallust, in his introduction to the Catiline War, writes that he will 'write up the deeds of the Roman people selectively, according to whatever seemed to me worthy of record'.[37] His

[37] Sallust, *The War with Catiline, The War with Jugurtha,* ed. John T. Ramsey, tr. J. C. Rolfe, Loeb Classical Library 116 (Cambridge, MA, 2013), p. 27. For a review of those Greek and Roman writers most available to

qualification of worthiness and selectivity indicates that his intention was not to relate everything but to cultivate a specific kind of memory, one that would ‘receive in exchange for immortal labors an immortal fame’.[38] Only great deeds were to be remembered, memorializing forever, in written form, the *fama* or reputation of the doer. Recording such deeds also immortalized the writer himself. Sallust is blatant in his claim to renown for what he records: ‘Both those who have done deeds, as well as those who have written about the deeds of others, receive praise in many instances’.[39]

While ensuring the *fama* of great men and women was preserved for posterity, the record of great deeds also served to improve those who read about them. History functioned as a didactic tool, instructing readers (or listeners, as was more often the case) in ethical behaviour, effective leadership, and warning of their opposites.[40] Livy, whose *History of Rome* was popular in both the classical and medieval periods, writes that with history ‘you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result’.[41] Polybius believed that the study of history was the best way to train for a career in politics and Diodorus posits that history provides all the benefits of experience without the unpleasantness of having to suffer it oneself.[42] The deeds of renown were intended to instruct the reader or listener in virtuous conduct, to inspire listeners to carry on a tradition of greatness.

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medieval readers, see Matthew Kempshall, *Rhetoric and the Writing of History, 400-1500* (Manchester, 2011), pp. 35-37 and *Texts and Transmission: A Survey of the Latin Classics*, ed. L. D. Reynolds and Peter Marshall (Oxford, 1983). Further examples will be given below.

[38] Diodorus Siculus, *The Library of History, Volume I: Books 1-2.34*, tr. C. H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library 279 (Cambridge, MA, 1933), p. 11.

[39] Sallust, *War with Catiline,* p. 25.

[40] Kempshall*, Rhetoric*, p. 23.

[41] Livy, *History of Rome*, *Volume I: Books 1-2*, tr. B. O. Foster, Loeb Classical Library 114 (Cambridge, MA, 1919), p. 7.

[42] Polybius, *The Histories*, *Volume I: Books 1-2*, tr. W. R. Paton, rev. F. W. Walbank and Christian Habicht, Loeb Classical Library 128 (Cambridge, MA, 2010), p. 3 and Diodorus*, Library of History*, p. 5.

Facts, style and the matter of truthfulness

The two reasons for writing history were not necessarily complementary. Brief chronicles, arranged by year, included not only political and military deeds but notes about weather events, portents and commodity prices. These were still considered historical works, but interpretation of these events was an essential aspect of their significance for the present. History, as a teaching tool, was required to be more than a simple recitation of facts. [43] Sallust writes that the style of writing must match the greatness of the deeds it records, one of the reasons that writing history is especially difficult.[44] Yet, without factual truth at the heart of the record, history was merely fiction. Classical historians constantly protest their own truthfulness, claiming to be eyewitnesses themselves to an event or to have carefully interrogated those who did experience them, and privileging oral over documentary testimony.[45] They recognise questionable sources, especially those which deal with events in the distant past, and signpost when they are speaking on hearsay, rather than confirmed fact.[46] Josephus, whose work about the Jewish rebellion in the late 70s CE was one of the more popular histories in the medieval period, writes specifically to correct falsehood, singling out instances when truth was the victim of rhetorical style, invective, and prejudice.[47] Truthfulness, according to Cicero, was the first necessity for a historian, and therefore,

[43] Polybius, *The Histories*, *Volume IV: Books 9-15*, tr. W. R. Paton, rev. F. W. Walbank and Christian Habicht, Loeb Classical Library 159 (Cambridge, MA, 2011), p. 353.
[44] Sallust, *The War with Catiline*, p. 25.
[45] Polybius, *The Histories, Volume IV: Books 8-15*, pp. 352-53, 374-79; Sallust, *The War with Catiline*, pp. 26-7; Livy, *History of Rome, Vol 1*, pp. 4-5; Tacitus, *Histories*, pp. 2-5.
[46] Thucydides: ‘since their stories cannot be tested and most of them have from lapse of time won their way into the region of the fabulous so as to be incredible’. From *History of the Peloponnesian War, Volume I: Books 1-2*, tr. C. F. Smith, Loeb Classical Library 108 (Cambridge, MA, 1919), p. 37. Livy, ‘Such traditions as belong to the time before the city was founded, or rather was presently to be founded, and are rather adorned by poetic legends than based upon trustworthy historical proofs, I purpose neither to affirm or to refute’. From *History of Rome*, *Vol 1*, p. 5
[47] Josephus*, The Jewish War, Volume I: Books 1-2*, tr. H. St. J. Thackeray, Loeb Classical Library 203 (Cambridge, MA, 1927), p. 3.

though works such as the pontifical annals lacked any rhetorical influence, they were still worth perusing.[48]

Yet Sallust and others write that simply recording events is not enough to truly fulfil history's purpose. Deeds could only be worthily commemorated if the writing that recorded them equalled its style. The reasons for and methods of how events came about needed to be explored, for it was in these specifics that virtuous behaviour was found. Rhetorical skill, intended to instruct, entertain and move an audience, was applied to facts in order to spur an audience to similar action.[49] The balance between relating the truth and elucidating exemplary behaviour was in constant tension. An excess of rhetoric was blamed for pushing language beyond truthfulness, transforming plain history into poetry and romance, entertaining at the expense of accuracy.[50] Yet, while Josephus claims that style can cover up untruths, those who do not attempt to apply it are given as harsh treatment as if they were liars.[51] A bare recitation of facts did a disservice to the *fama* they recorded and lacked the necessary literary quality to engage a reader or listener enough to instruct them. This tension, between fact and the rhetorical presentation of it, has never left historical practice and the boundary between the end of truth and the beginning of interpretation continued to inform the writing of history in the Middle Ages as much as it is still debated by historians today.[52]

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[48] Cicero, *On the Orator: Books 1-2*, tr. E. W. Sutton and H. Rackham, Loeb Classical Library 348 (Cambridge, MA, 1942), pp. 242-25.
[49] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, pp. 8-9.
[50] Polybius, *Histories, Vol. 1: Books 1-2,* pp. 353, 355, 413-14.
[51] Cicero, *On the Orator*, pp. 237-45 for a longer treatment of this theme.
[52] Charles Briggs, 'History, Story and Community: Representing the Past in Latin Christendom, 1050-1400', in Sarah Foot and Chase F. Robinson (eds), *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Volume 2: 400-1400* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 391-413 at pp. 392-95; Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 1-20; Gransden, 'Prologues in the Historiography of Twelfth-Century England', in Antonia Gransden, *Legends, Traditions, and History in Medieval England*, pp. 125-51 at pp. 128-29; Interview with Margaret MacMillan and Niall Ferguson, conducted by Eleanor Wachtel, *Writers and Company*, CBC Radio (31 May 2019, originally aired 2003).

Continuity with Latin historians: truth and chronology

One of the reasons that Poole identified the origins of medieval chronicle writing in late antique Easter table notations was the persistent belief that 'Latin and Greek historians had little influence on historiography until after the Renaissance'.[53] On the contrary, medieval history-writers looked to the past for models upon which to base their works, not only in style and format (what Jerome calls 'apparatus') but in subject matter and justifications to write.[54] Because of the vagaries of manuscript survival and transmission, however, some classical historians had a greater influence than others.[55] Sallust was more widely available than Tacitus, Josephus' two works were more popular than Polybius.[56] Copies of Sallust can be identified at Abingdon (15th c.), Bury St Edmunds (12th c.) and Canterbury (13th c.), while copies of Josephus can be placed at six Benedictine houses, one Cistercian abbey and two Franciscan priories.[57] Livy, often through Eutropius' abbreviation, and Suetonius were also widely held.[58] This influential inheritance was often effected, however, through a layer of re-interpretation by the early Christian writers Eusebius, usually through his Latin translator Jerome, Orosius and, most importantly, Augustine. Additionally, the practice of compiling exemplars and collections of passages changed the way readers encountered these works not as complete treatises, but as textual confetti subsumed into Christian scholastic material.[59]

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[53] T.A. Dorey, 'Introduction', in T.A. Dorey (ed), *Latin Historians* (London, 1966), p. x.
[54] Jerome, 'Chronicle', in *Prologues to Ancient and Medieval History: A Reader*, ed. Justin Lake (Toronto, 2013), pp. 65-9 at p.67. See Kempshall, *Rhetoric,* especially the introduction, pp. 1-33, Sarah Foot, 'Annals and Chronicles', pp. 347-65 for more on the continuing argument around the influence of the classics on medieval historiography.
[55] See Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, pp. 35-7 and L.D. Reynolds and N. G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars: A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*, 4th edn (Oxford, 2013), 80-122 for what follows
[56] Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 89-90, 92-3, 97-103.
[57] Benedictine Houses: Durham Cathedral Priory, Hertford (cell of St Albans), Monkland, Reading, St Albans, Worcester; Cistercian: Merevale; Franciscan: Coventry and Hereford. *MLGB*, search terms 'Sallustius', 'Iosephus', http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk, accessed 7 June 2019.
[58] Eutropius, who based his work on Livy's *History*, from the founding of the city was held at St Augustine's and Christ Church Canterbury, and Kirkstall (Cistercian), and Suetonius' *Lives of the Caesars* was at Bury St Edmunds, Durham and the Dominican convent in Northampton. *MLGB*, search terms 'Eutropius', 'Suetonius', http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk, accessed 7 June 2019.
[59] Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 102-07.

Nevertheless, even through these filtered forms, the structures of chronological and narrative arrangement and the tension between truth and style, between instruction and record, as constructed by classical historiographers, influenced medieval writers deeply. As late as the fifteenth century, Jean Gerson included classical historians as one of the few categories of pagan writers which should be read for their sheer skill and style.[60] A meaningful part of this inheritance was a continued pre-occupation with truthfulness as a distinct marker of historical writing in the works of early Christian writers.[61] Truthfulness in the classical period was measured by the proximity of the writer in time to the event recorded, preferably with the writer as an eyewitness himself or the direct recipient of an oral account.[62] For Augustine, truthfulness is embedded in the chronological nature of historical composition. Chronology constrained the extent to which an author could interpret an event, while still allowing for rhetorical skill, by providing a temporal framework to which the writer had to adhere. [63] The inevitable forward movement of the narrative limited the degree to which style could take the story off-track. Even in non-scriptural texts, the concept of truthfulness had implications beyond mere factual accuracy because of history's didactic function. Within a Christian context, as sinful behaviour garnered appropriate divine punishment whilst moral behaviour earned divine favour, so historical examples inflected concepts of ideal behaviours for those with specific social roles, such as rulers.[64] History's purpose was to illuminate the truths

[60] Daniel Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity Before Print* (Philadelphia, PA, 2009), p. 33.
[61] See above, n. 16.
[62] Geary, 'Oblivion Between Orality and Textuality', pp. 111-22 for discussion of how truthfulness interacted with oral culture of the tenth century. See also McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*.
[63] For the relationship between truth and history in Augustine, see Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, p. 93. For examples of claiming eye witness experience see *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. H. E. Butler (London, 1951), pp. 1, 26, 115; *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. E. Searle (Oxford, 1980), p. 32; *The Chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker*, ed. David Preest (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 26 and *Knighton's Chronicle, 1337-1396*, ed. G. H. Martin (Oxford, 1995), p. 75. Protestations of eyewitness and reliable sources are also a frequent trope in prologues, for which see Gransden, 'Prologues', pp. 128-29. For the importance of eyewitnesses in other forms of writing see Geary, 'Oblivion Between Orality and Textuality', p. 116.
[64]M. Keen, *English Society in the Later Middle Ages, 1348-1500* (London, 1990), pp. 1-5; and Sarah Foot, 'Annals and Chronicles', pp. 350; Paulus Orosius, *The Seven Books of History Against the Pagans*, tr. Roy J. Deferrari, The Fathers of the Church Series 50 (Washington, D.C, 1964), pp. 7-8.

found in these universal behaviour models, and so distinguish history from fables and fiction.[65] Truth could thus be understood to mean not just factual events but plausible actions that provided the best example of a specific role.[66] Speeches could be written as if they were recorded verbatim because they were what a king going into battle 'should' say.[67] By extension, a charter that did not exist could be forged because it 'ought' to exist as written proof of older custom.[68] History was therefore both chronology and instruction, a point emphasised in sometimes awkward juxtapositions of temporally separate events which highlighted the continual relevance of the past to the present. It also influenced how history was used to provide precedents in support of custom and tradition, an element which had far-reaching consequences within the context of Christian society.[69]

The Christian Inheritance

The advent of Christianity resulted in fundamental innovations in historical writing, the most important element of which was a change in the conception of time. While structured within a chronological framework, time was a cyclical construct for Latin historians. The progress of generations, empires, and individuals was conceptualized within a pattern of rise, fall and re-appearance.[70] Christianity re-conceptualized time as a linear narrative, one that not only claimed a new origin story for all of mankind but that also altered the idea of history as a record of great deeds of men and re-wrote it as a record of the workings of God. Rather than repeating, time was extended backwards, not to the founding of a new city or the emergence

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[65] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, p. 94.
[66] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.3 and Bernd Schneidmüller, 'Constructing the Past by Means of the Present', in G. Althoff, J. Fried, and Patrick Geary (eds), *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography* (Cambridge and Washington, 2002), pp.167-92 at p. 172 for an example.
[67] Briggs, 'History, Story, and Community', pp. 392-94.
[68] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp. 318-28; Michael Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307,* 3rd edn (Chichester, 2013), p. 150; Gransden, 'Prologues', p. 59.
[69] Goetz, 'Concept of Time', pp. 153-62; Schneidmüller, 'Constructing the Past', pp. 167-92 and Spiegel, *Past as Text*, pp. 85-6.
[70] W. De Boer, 'Graeco-Roman Historiography in its Relation to Biblical and Modern Thinking', *History and Theory*, 7/1 (1968), pp. 60-75 at pp. 61, 66-9, 72-3.

of a powerful family but to a new, universal starting points, such as Creation or the Incarnation.[71] It also extended forwards in anticipation of a foreordained End.[72]

The key text in this process was of course the Bible, from which the record of God's actions was brought within the boundaries of the reality of time and space, seen through the filter of events recorded by human historians. The Bible positioned Christian salvation within a linear temporal framework that was universally applied so that not only the history of the Jews but of all humanity had to be re-interpreted through the prism of Christian narrative revelation.[73] As Arnaldo Momigliano writes, 'people learnt a new history because they acquired a new religion'.[74] History became more than a succession of events, more than a remembrance of great deeds and people. It had universal, even eternal, implications which applied to all peoples, everywhere. Early Christian philosophers, while cautious about reading classical authors, still highlighted Greek and Roman historians as fertile ground for study. Origen, in third- century Caesarea, studied not only Josephus on Jewish history but histories of other cultures and places such as the Egyptians and Phoenicians specifically because they intersected with the Biblical narrative.[75] Eusebius' chronographical tables re-formatted this new linear temporality in codex form, manifesting the Christian orientation of history as comparative timelines on the written page.[76] Not only did the layout of his *Chronicle*, in columns across a codex-opening with each column relating the historical events of a different empire, facilitate comprehension of an immense amount of information but, as Grafton and

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[71] J.M. Alonso-Nunez, *The Idea of Universal History in Greece: From Herodotus to the Age of Augustus* (Amsterdam, 2002), p. 62-3.
[72] H. Goetz, 'Concept of Time', pp. 145, 162-63.
[73] Kempshall describes how Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* was an important force in this shift, *Rhetoric*, pp. 104-5.
[74] Arnaldo Momigliano, 'Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D'. in A. Momigliano (ed), *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century: essays* (Oxford, 1963), pp.79-99 at p. 83.
[75] Anthony Grafton and Megan Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book: Origen, Eusebius and the Library at Ceasaria* (Cambridge, MA, 2008), pp. 62-3.
[76] For an informative and interdisciplinary study on how Christianity influenced the material form of the book, historical writing, and how these two elements developed within the context of an emerging Christian episcopal hierarchy, see Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book,* pp. 178-232.

Williams point out, the complicated production of Eusebius' history required sophisticated support of scholarship and text creation. [77] This was found in the emerging institutional structure of the Christian church, which at this point concentrated on bishop's households, but would soon expand to include another type of community, cenobitic monasticism. This was a change which had far-reaching implication for historical writing in the Middle Ages.

The combined works of Augustine and Orosius fully developed the significance of this re-conception of historical orientation for medieval historical writers. [78] Augustine explored how secular histories supported the understanding of the Scriptures through the conflation of chronologies. The combination of historical timelines also indicated when different histories were written and so established a hierarchy of texts, with the oldest assigned greatest authority. This principle of textual primacy provided a means of sorting out contradictions between works. Augustine also distinguished between the chronographical nature of historical writing, as a simple record of the sequence of events, and the interpretation of those events as part of the understanding of Christian revelation. For Augustine, the uses of history were confined by the limitations of humankind to fully comprehend history's revelatory meaning. This was balanced however by its usefulness as a means of moral instruction, as its basis in truth privileged it above mere invention.

Orosius, who wrote his *Seven Books of History* against the Pagans at the same time as Augustine's City of God and perhaps at the instigation of Augustine himself, applied the main elements of Augustine's historical philosophy. His work reformulated historical writing as a record of human sin and its punishment.[79] Orosius expanded the didactic nature of historical interpretation not by recording great deeds but by relating the suffering caused by

[77] Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, pp. 178-80.
[78] I am indebted to Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, pp. 91-107, especially pp. 95-9 in what follows.
[79] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, pp. 73-4.

evil ones. According to Orosius, history benefited people not by providing examples to follow but by recognition of and commiseration with the pain and suffering of all people of the past, united now by Christian salvation.[80] Significantly, Orosius' *Seven Books* was widely known in the Middle Ages and was translated into Old English, making it one of the few works that may have had wider circulation outside of the ecclesiastical and monastic environments.[81]

The practical implications of this salvific reorientation for historical writing were two-fold. Firstly, history was organised in new ways on the page. While chronography still provided a broad framework, history began at new starting points and time was broken up into new epochs and periods. Orosius writes that 'they [men interested in history] wish it to be believed ... that the origin of the world and the creation of mankind were without beginning...I have decided to trace the beginning of man's wretchedness from the beginning of man's sin'.[82] Orosius divided history into four Kingdoms (Babylonian, Macedonian, Carthaginian and Roman) in a loose adoption from the Book of Daniel.[83] Augustine formulated a division of time that corresponded to the six ages of man which, unsurprisingly given Augustine's preeminent position within medieval Christian thought, remained popular into the fifteenth century.[84] Other divisions were used. In the mid-twelfth century, Ralph Diceto arranged his work into the three ages of the Law, while around the same time, Henry of Huntingdon divided his history into the five scourges visited on Britain.[85] Time became

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[80] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, pp. 76-7.

[81] Copies of Orosius' *Seven Books* can be located at the following Benedictine abbeys: Abingdon, Bury St Edmunds, Christ Church Canterbury, Colchester, Glastonbury, Malmesbury, Winchester. Augustinian canons: Cirencester. Cistercians: Rievaulx. MLGB, search term 'Orosius', http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk.

[82] Orosius, *Seven Books of History,* p.5.

[83] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, p. 69.

[84] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, p. 102. For the influence of Augustine's schema in the Middle Ages, see Kempshall's list of those works which adopted it or a similar analogy p. 102-3, n. 247.

[85] Ralph Diceto, *Radulfi de Diceto decani Lundoniensis opera historica / The historical works of master Ralph de Diceto, dean of London*, ed. W. Stubbs, RS 68 (2 vols, London, 1876); Henry of Huntingdon, *Archidiaconi Huntendunensis Historia Anglorum*, ed. T. Arnold, London, 1879, pp. v in prologue and pp. 137-38. See also Charles F. Briggs, 'History, Story, and Community', p. 399.

minutely linked to Christian revelation, as the liturgical calendar of the Christian church developed into an annually repeated commemoration of milestones marking Jesus' prophesied birth, life, death and resurrection.[86] The Christian calendar's constant commemoration thereby embedded the past in the here-and-now, knitting Christian progress into the social and cultural memory of the present-day community.

The shift to a salvific narrative also had far reaching effects on the combined processes of book formatting, writing, and collection. The physical format of the roll transitioned to the codex, the flexibility of which, as a unit of meaning, provided for extra-textual apparatuses such as marginalia, varying page arrangements, and portability. Eusebius pioneered the parallel tabular layout of comparative historical timelines, drawing Biblical narrative into direct comparison with secular world- histories and gave documentary sources equal billing with oral testimony, quoting from them directly on a scale unseen in previous historical writing.[87] The complexities of the breadth of research and sophistication of production that these changes required demanded new structures and sources of support. These were fulfilled by the emerging ecclesiastical structures such as episcopal offices and monastic institutions.[88]

Secondly, the re-orientation of time towards a Christian destiny necessitated a re-orientation of who and what was considered worthy of being recorded. The historical nature of Christian revelation meant that the past itself was privileged. Closer proximity to a point of origin, specifically in relation to the Incarnation, indicated a greater authenticity of Christian life. The progress of time was not a positive march of improvement but an inevitable decay away from the original, sin-free state of the origins of humankind or the salvation provided by the crucifixion.[89] This focus manifested itself through a continued preference for eyewitness or

[86] Poole, *Chronicles and Annals*, pp.7-26.
[87] Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, p. 224.
[88] Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, pp. 135-232.
[89] Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men,* pp. 10-14.

first-hand accounts and, following Eusebius' lead, increased use of written record. Writers incorporated extensive passages of previous chronicles, whose veracity was attested by their very age.[90] Spiegel marks the tension between eyewitness accounts, personal narrative and the use of earlier textual sources as a means to establish authority.[91] The written word itself gained increasing powers of authentication and authority.[92]

In addition, Christian thought and doctrine created a new moral landscape which required altered models of exemplary behaviour.[93] The Bible was divine revelation but that other purpose of history-writing, as the record of great men, continued. For classical writers, history was intended to preserve and commemorate virtuous actions that would inspire emulation. Life and its material manifestations will 'soon pass away; but outstanding achievements of the intellect are, like the soul, deathless' and, therefore, moral worth is the only thing that should be rewarded in the form of a reputation (*fama*) everlastingly memorialized in written form.[94] Within a Christian framework, a different definition of virtue earned renown. *Fama* metamorphosized from prowess in the political, military, or philosophical arena into renown for extreme expressions of spiritual commitment, whether that was suffering a martyr's death or developing rigorous ascetic practices. These actions embodied instances of new Christian ethics in action and became a source of didactic exempla which answered to an altered concept of immortality. Historical writing continued to function as a spur to moral action but the action was now internal, the effect sought now spiritual, inseparable from the yearning for individual salvation rather than in the quest for

[90] Spiegel, *Past as Text*, p. 88.
[91] Gabrielle Spiegel, *Romancing the Past: The Rise of Vernacular Prose Historiography in Thirteenth-century France* (Berkeley, 1993), pp. 218-19.
[92] Clanchy, *From Memory*, especially pp. 262-68. The process by which the balance between orality and literacy of different social groups, in different geographies shifted over time is addressed in McKitterick, *The Carolingians and the Written Word*; Patrick Geary, 'Oblivion between Orality and Textuality'.
[93] Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, p. 3 and a wider discussion pp. 144-6.
[94] Sallust, *War with Jurgurtha*, p. 169. 'brevi dilabuntur; at ingeni egregia facinora sicuti anima inmortalia sunt'. cf. Kempshall, *Rhetoric*, p. 42.

public renown and power in the here and now. As Eusebius reminds his readers, 'it is the struggles of the athletes of piety and their valour which braved so much, trophies won from demons, and victories against unseen adversaries, and the crowns at the end of it all, that it will proclaim for everlasting remembrance'.[95] Eusebius' own *Life of Constantine* reflected this shift in relation to a new kind of Christian leader, avoiding the Emperor's military feats and focusing instead on his credentials of Christian leadership.[96]

The Monastic Inheritance

The re-orientation of the historical timeline around a Christian interpretation of the past developed in tandem with new structures through which people practised their faith and the institutional church was administered. A key fixture in both of these processes was monasticism, a movement which began with the ascetic, solitary practices of the desert hermits in Egypt in the third century and developed into coenobitic communities in which men or women lived together under a set of precepts that determined their organisation and day to day practice.[97] As the initial, ad hoc practices of the first desert communities gave way to scalable and regulated organisational frameworks, these new arrangements integrated well with the family-based secular leadership which superseded Roman control in Western Europe. Monks such as St Augustine of Canterbury, St Boniface and St Columbanus, instrumental in the conversion of the kingdoms of south-eastern and north-western Britain, along the North Sea coast, and Ireland, intimately linked the process of conversion with monasticism and, because the conversion of a people was heavily influenced or even forced by the conversion of the ruler, with secular power.[98]

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[95] Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History: Volume I: Books 1-5*, tr. Kirsopp Lake, Loeb Classical Library 153 (Cambridge, MA, 1926), p. 407.
[96] Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, pp. 223-4.
[97] The early history of monasticism has an expansive historiography. Useful overviews are C.H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 4th ed. (London, 2015) and for England, David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216,* 2nd edn (Cambridge, 1976), pp. 16-30.
[98] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 36-59 and Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, pp. 21-5.

The relationship between monasticism and historical writing illustrates the tension between the ideal of monasticism as separate from the world and the reality of monastic operation in the world. The literate study of the Christian mystery was an essential part monastic life and, as this mystery was rooted in time, so too was the study of the past, as inscribed in the Bible and, given the universality of Christian revelation, in the histories of other peoples as well. The specialized skills of reading and writing, learned in the pursuit of *lectio divina*, resulted in monasteries becoming centres of book production and collection.[99] At first, this was rooted in the practice of contemplative reading which, under Benedict's Rule, had a central place within daily monastic practice. By extension, the act of writing became a legitimate form of holy labour, a virtuous act through which the substance of the text became spiritual food for the scribe.[100] The structures and systems that developed to support these activities in the last centuries before the millennia however represented a reciprocal relationship between monastic communities and their secular benefactors that tied the monks who fled the world to the very nexus of secular power.[101]

The relationship with noble patronage is the first of three elements that facilitated the convergence of monastic literary activity with historical writing in particular. Patronage of monastic houses endowed them with wealth that, ideally, ensured that they had the resources to respond to the demands of text-based activities. The material needs of ink, parchment, sources and time for the labour reflects a significant financial outlay. G.H. Martin describes Henry Knighton's requirements to write his history in the fourteenth century to include,

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[99] Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 96-107; Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 31-3.
[100] Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, *1000-1300* (Cambridge 1994), pp. 187-209. See also Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: a Study of Monastic culture*, tr. Catharine Misrahi, 3rd ed. (New York, 1982) for a general discussion of monastic learning culture and Grafton and Williams, *Christianity and the Transformation of the Book*, pp. 180-81 for an early example of scholarship as virtue as practised by Eusebius' mentor Pamphilus.
[101] McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 77-134; Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, p. 45-6; Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, pp. 8-11.

'besides time for writing, reflection, and inquiry, a variety of physical and intellectual resources: parchment (not fewer than 120 sheepskins), ink, pens, and works of reference, together with stamina, an inquiring mind, and an ear for news'.[102] One could also add he needed connections to centres of political and religious power though which he could garner information, again provided by benefactors who were members of or had connections to the royal court. These needs were as much in evidence in the eighth century as in the fourteenth and indeed throughout the Middle Ages. Monastic reform movements tended to be marked by parallel revivals of textual production because renewed liturgical and spiritual enthusiasms spurred the demand for new texts, and the accompanying increase in resources from new benefactions provided the resources to answer them. In England, both the tenth-century reform under Dunstan and the years of Church reform following the Norman Conquest were characterized by a flourishing of textual production, of liturgical books, hagiographies, histories and theological works.[103] The resources of monastic foundations ensured an institutional stability and longevity that allowed for the retention of already existing collections and the possibility to grow them even larger, over time.[104]

One of the key reasons for patronage was that the recruitment-pool of monasteries expanded in the sixth and seventh centuries to include highly-educated members of royal and noble families in both Europe and England.[105] Cassiodorus, himself a member of the old Roman elite, and Gregory the Great began the transformation of monastic practice as one as much of intellectual scholarship as of spirituality in the fifth and sixth centuries, but recruitment from amongst the educated elite only increased in subsequent centuries.[106] This meant that highly

[102] *Henry Knighton's Chronicle*, pp. xxviii-xxix.
[103] Briggs, 'History, Story and Community', pp. 391-92; Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, pp. 46-7, 94-9, 124-6. Milis, *Angelic Monks*, p. 104 also notes the later Cistercian campaign of liturgical book production, also in the effort of uniform practice.
[104] Milis, *Angelic Monks*, pp. 3-4; McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, p. 78.
[105] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 36-8, 113-4
[106] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 31-2, Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, pp. 16-20.

educated men and women brought their education and their intellectual tastes into the monastery with them, transforming monasticism into a movement that, if it did not embrace classical writers, at least considered them to have a place in the monastic library.[107] The written productions of monastic scriptoria and the extensive collections they acquired included classical works, such as those of Josephus and Sallust, which provided models for the new lives of saints and saintly rulers which monastic writers undertook.[108] Conveniently, sainthood was frequently a characteristic of founding abbots or abbesses, providing material for biographies and allowing monasteries to claim a genealogy of sanctity in the hagiographical accounts of their founding leaders and the saints who rested in their churches, a particular feature of Anglo-Saxon monasteries.[109] In addition, monastic ties to literate practice meant that monks were concerned not only with what to write (or copy) but how to write well, elements of which were taught through programmes of monastic education.[110]

A second element that connected of monastic scholarly endeavours with historical writing involved a slightly more mundane but nonetheless essential aspect of historical literacy, one which again spoke to the close association between monasteries and their noble benefactors. The endowment of monastic lands, their management, and the long durations over which successive monastic governments needed to steward these resources brought the literate skills of monks to bear on the administrative needs of their own institutions and sometimes of secular powers as well. [111] Transactions, charters, confirmations, decrees and wills were codified at the cusp of the shift from oral to written records in Carolingian Europe, as

[107] McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 167-8.
[108] Reynolds and Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 82-6, 87-93, Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, pp. 30-3.
[109] Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981); John Blair, 'A Saint for Every Minster?', in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Alan Tacker and Richard Sharpe, Oxford, 2002, pp. 455-94; Gransden, *HWE*, i, pp. 42-91.
[110] Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 189; Leclercq, *Love of Learning*, pp. 112-50.
[111] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 113; Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p, 192; McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 77-134, pp. 166-9; Knowles, *Monastic Order in England*, pp. 561-631.

described by McKitterick, and in England, as described by Clanchy.[112] Monastic communities became one of the foremost creators and repositories of these documents, and again, the stability of monastic institutions ensured the retention as well as the continued need for the production of such documents.[113] This gave monk-historians access to the raw sources of historical narrative and monk-writers continued Eusebius' emphasis on the incorporation of documents, weaving charters into foundation narratives, biography into genealogies, financial records into *gesta abbatum.* The perpetual nature of monastic communities imbued their record-making duty with a requirement of longevity and positioned them as guardians of the textual past in unbroken continuity.[114]

The third element that contributed to the close association of monasticism with historical writing is evidenced by the creation of a different kind of record, those linked with the development of the concept of intercessory prayer.[115] While monasticism sprang from a concentration on the individual journey towards spiritual enlightenment, its successful growth was a result of its incorporation into a spiritual economy of planning for the afterlife, an aspect of Christian theology that gained importance under the Carolingians but continued to develop through the Middle Ages.[116] As doctrines around ideas of purgatory and salvation

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[112] Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 23-80 and McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 1-4, 25-37. Clanchy positions the major shift from oral to written culture at a later date for England but recognises the widespread use of documents prior to the Danish incursions in the eighth and ninth centuries and Reynolds and Wilson position English and Irish monasticism at the centre of literate society in the same period. *Scribes and Scholars*, pp. 87-90.

[113] McKitterick, *Carolingians and the Written Word*, pp. 77-9, 167-8 and *History and Memory in the Carolingian World*, pp. 156-73; Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 148-51; George Declercq, 'History, Memory and Remembrance in Early Cartularies and *Libri Traditionum*', *Studi Medievali*, Ser. III, 58/1 (2017), pp. 1-21.

[114] Cynthia Turner Camp, *Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives as History Writing in Late Medieval England (Cambridge, 2015)*, p. 8-9; Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: a study in medieval political theology* (Princeton, 1957), pp. 194-206.

[115] The development of the concept of intercessory prayer and the spiritual calculus that accompanied it is an extensive subject. See Choy, *Intercessory Prayer* for the implications for monastic spiritual practice and the summary of approaches in Mario Costambeys, *Power and Patronage in Early Medieval Italy: Local Society, Italian Politics and the Abbey of Farfa*, *c. 700-900* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 48-55. For the development of the associated concept of purgatory, see Jacques le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory*, tr. Arthur Holdhammer (Chicago, 1984).

[116] Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, pp. 5-6 and the works also cited there which position intercessory prayer as an element of gift exchange within the context of medieval patronage and of liturgical professionalisation.

were worked out in the first millennia CE, the concept whereby acts of piety foreshortened the duration of penance after death was adopted by medieval society, high and low.[117] Those of means founded monasteries with lands and privileges, and perhaps exemptions from taxes and episcopal control, in a reciprocal arrangement that recruited monastic communities as professional commemorators of their souls in perpetuity.[118] The monastic reforms in the ninth and tenth centuries in both Europe and England elaborated the liturgical duties of the monks in ways that emphasised commemorative prayer at the expense of other spiritual or practical tasks.[119] Their positions as guardians of the shrines of saints provided monastic communities preferred access to the powerful intercession of the saints on behalf of penitents, for physical healing in this life and spiritual intercession in the next.[120] Whether co-opted by their royal patrons for eternal remembrance in annual masses or lighting a donated candle at a saint's shrine in memory of a healing miracle, commemorative duties created a place for monasteries within the complex exchange-relationship of medieval society, one that required its own kinds of documentation. The agreement between benefactor and community needed to be recorded, the performance of the commemorative act often involved written material as documentation or a ritual object, and confirmation that the commemoration had been carried out was reflected in the expenditure accounts of various monastic officers. Memorial books, such as *libri vitae*, necrologies, martyrologies, obitals, and confraternity-books supported commemoration ceremonies. These volumes were used in liturgies and rituals of confraternity, and at chapter meetings. This kind of recordkeeping, made visible through performance and repetition, was a powerful element in the creation of a monastic sense of

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[117] Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, pp. 132-92.
[118] Costambeys, *Power and Patronage,* pp. 49-53.
[119] Choy explores the intercessory mass and the divine office as the two central mechanisms by which monastic commemorative duties were fulfilled and which were elaborated at this time. See chapters two and three in Choy, *Intercessory Prayer*, pp. 53-109. For England, see Knowles, *Monastic Order in England* pp. 31-56.
[120] For the position of the saints in the early development of this exchange relationship see Brown, *Cult of the Saints*, esp. pp. 114-26. For England see Blair, 'Saint for every minster?', pp. 455-94.

community, continuity of memory and also in the composition of historical works. The responsibility for the internal regulation of many of these tasks fell to the monastic cantor and there is considerable overlap between monks who served as cantor and those who wrote works of history.[121] Charles Rozier summarizes the cantor's responsibilities as 'supervising the accurate delivery of the liturgy, commemorating the dead, measuring time and for coordinating the acquisition, production and care of books'.[122] This description of duties describes the essentials of monastic historical sensibilities, namely a past anchored in the practicalities of written texts and the performative duties of communal commemoration. Some of the most well-known historical writers of the Middle Ages served as cantors of their monasteries, including Symeon of Durham and William of Malmesbury, and the links between the different textual, visual and performative manifestations of their duties cast long shadows over how their inheritors in the late Middle Ages adhered to or diverged from these same tasks.

The nature of monastic historical writing in the early Middle Ages, as embodied in its available models, its inherited influences, and its immediate sources, was inseparably interconnected with the relationships of the monastery and the outside world. Equally, historical writing was embedded within internal monastic intellectual, administrative and spiritual practice. The historical writing of monks reflected this, extending across a three-dimensional spectrum of time (from creation to the present), space (from the universal to the micro-local) and narrative complexity (from verse thematic histories to chronologically arranged obitals). As external relationships and internal practices changed, so did monastic

[121] See Margot Fassler, 'Shaping the Historical Dunstan: Many Lives and a Musical Office', pp. 125-50; Paul Anthony Hayward, 'William of Malmesbury as a Cantor-Historian', pp. 222-39; Charles C. Rozier, 'Symeon of Durham as Cantor and Historian at Durham Cathedral Priory, *c*. 1090–1129', pp. 190-206 all in Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, A. B. Kraebel, and Margot E. Fassler (eds), *Medieval Cantors and their Craft, Music, Liturgy and the Shaping of History, 800-1500* (Woodbridge, 2017).
[122] Charles Rozier, 'Symeon of Durham as Cantor and Historian at Durham Cathedral Priory, c. 1090–1129', in *Medieval Cantor*s, pp. 190-206, at p. 190.

historical writing in reaction, and sometimes in anticipation of the interests, needs and capacities of its practitioners. The next chapter examines how historical writing shifted along the three axes of time, space and degree of narrative and explores how these shifts were manifestations of the changing nature of monasticism itself.

Chapter Two: Changing History in Late Medieval England

This chapter examines the changing nature of monastic chronicle writing in the late Middle Ages through a quantitative examination of historical works in the period between 1350 and 1540. It considers the degree to which decline can be understood as purely numerical and the extent to which it may be influenced by a narrowly defined concept of historical writing and its position within monastic practice. The examination uses a dataset of over 340 medieval English chronicles written between the fifth century and the sixteenth which are identified by twenty-nine datapoints. These take into account elements of time, space, and literary characteristics to assess the works in relation to religious order affiliation. This quantitative analysis is then followed by a qualitative examination of the trends identified in the dataset analysis to further explore changes of focus and function in monastic historical writing. Compiling hard data from often uncertain or partial information presents unique issues and certain parameters have determined the information included and how it was assessed. The following methodology explains the principles of selection, arrangement, and limitations of the dataset and its analytical power.

Quantitative change in late medieval England

Methodology

While this thesis defines historical writing in broad terms, the dataset considered here presents information from a more strictly defined pool of material. Comparisons can only be effective if like is compared with like and so works included in this dataset have been selected from those studied, edited, or catalogued as a 'history' or 'chronicle' within the academic literature. Previous assessments of historical writing, such as Gransden's two volume survey *Historical Writing in England*, Chris Given-Wilson's *Chronicles: the Writing of History in Medieval England,* John Taylor's study of the fourteenth century, or Charles

Kingsford's of the fifteenth century have largely limited their studies to works dealing with national history, but the inevitable overlap of most of these works with regional, local, and ecclesiastical concerns means a much wider range of works is actually considered. These surveys encompass biographical writing, genealogies, geographical, artistic and architectural treatises, contemporary episodic accounts and documentary-based narratives. As these surveys tend to grapple with individual works on their own merits, the fluidity of definition does not normally conflict with the purpose of the study. In dealing with the same material *en masse*, I follow similarly broad principles for inclusion in terms of topics covered but stricter boundaries are required in other areas, including time period, principles of arrangement, and the negotiation of several of the vaguer data points.

The data was compiled to make two comparisons. The first is the balance of authorship between secular and monastic writers before and after 1350 and then, with greater granularity, within the period 1350-1539. The first parameter to consider, therefore, is the breakdown of the time periods. The start and end dates are relatively easy to establish. The first substantial piece of historical writing to come out of England is considered to be that of Gildas, the earliest estimated date of which is the late fifth century. The end date of 1539 marks the final year in which a monastic writer may have produced work, as the last monasteries were dissolved in 1540. Setting the division between the early and late Middle Ages at 1350 is more arbitrary, though it can be justified to a certain degree. Various dates within the fourteenth century mark the point from which a decline in monastic chronicle writing is perceived by several of the aforementioned studies. Gransden marks the beginning of the end of the monastic historiographic tradition from the start of the fourteenth century, and two chapters subtitled 'The End of the Monastic Tradition of Historiography' position the monastic writers of the fifteenth century as the final manifestation of this downturn, not

its harbingers.[1] Kingsford's *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century* provides a similar lacklustre assessment of the century under examination, referencing a decline already well under way.[2] Given-Wilson uses a broader brush to label the 'late' Middle Ages and dedicates his chapter on this later period to anything written after the end of the thirteenth century.[3] To provide a comparison to the assessment of these and similar studies, a date before the end of the fourteenth century and after the mid-thirteenth is needed. A number of major works came to a close in the first half of the fourteenth century, creating a short hiatus in contemporaneous narrative reporting. While establishing the starting point at 1350 is not intended to mark a year of specific change, it is a point slightly before which any decline is typically identified to already be in full flow, allowing for the possibility of identifying the very start of any such trend. Yet it also avoids the issue of having to grapple with a larger number of works than necessary that may straddle the division.

The second comparison is the main topic of each work. The difficulties of defining medieval historical genera have been addressed in Chapter 1 and I have purposefully avoided trying to categorise the works by literary genre, as this characteristic is determined as much by form and format, as it is by content. One of the benefits of the dataset is that all of these factors can be considered either in isolation or together. Again, to ensure a consideration of those works already accepted by academic consensus as 'historical writing', I have used the materials considered in the four surveys above. Additionally, I have taken as a similar indication of acceptance the inclusion of a work in the *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle* (*EMC*). While the *EMC* provides basic information for each entry (date of authorship, beginning and end of time period covered, known or proposed authorship, some indication of manuscript history), I have supplemented most entries with information from edited editions and

[1] Gransden, *HWE*, ii, pp. xi-xii.
[2] Kingsford, *English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, pp. 2-4, 7.
[3] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp.153- 210.

individual studies where possible. These sources have been especially informative on source materials used, in-depth explorations of manuscript connections, and contextualization within historical traditions of specific religious houses. There are some works included in the dataset which are not in the *EMC*. Gervase of Canterbury is a notable omission, and there are some minor works, such as a series of local episodic works from Bury St Edmunds, which are included in the dataset by virtue of their similarity to contemporaneous historical writing. The dataset is not intended to be exhaustive and there will inevitably be works that are absent, but the 341 items that are included provide a representative dataset of English historical writing from ninety-two different religious houses as well as works by secular clerks and lay authors. I intended to make this dataset available to other scholars to facilitate further research but also so it can be expanded to include other works and potentially other criteria.

The organising principle of the dataset has been by single work and, where possible, by individual authorship. This approach considers where the impetus for the writing of history originates. It is also, of course, fraught with contradictions and complications. The practices of medieval authorship and manuscript production of historical texts were collaborative, compilatory, and based practically and theoretically on the continuity of the historical narrative from creation to the present (and, it could be argued in some cases, into the future as well).[4] The author was not necessarily either the commissioner or the scribe, nor were any of these roles always affiliated with the same monastic or non-monastic place of production. Scribal work was outsourced by monastic institutions to secular scribes as early as the late eleventh century.[5] Lay patrons or bishops were as likely to request a work of history as were abbots and either could make the request to a monastic or non-monastic author. It was

[4] Antonia Gransden, 'The Chronicles of Medieval England and Scotland Part II: The Composition of the "Contemporaneous" Annals of Chronicles, with Special Reference to the Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds', *Journal of Medieval History*, 17 (1991), pp. 217-43 at pp. 217-18.
[5] Jaakko Tahkokallio, 'Counting Scribes: Quantifying the Secularization of Medieval Book Production', *Book History*, 22 (2019), pp. 1-42 at p. 4.

common for historical works to be continued by later writers, often far removed from the location or social milieu of their original production or indeed of the motivations for their production in the first place. Some of these complexities of authorship and production can be identified, such as the use of a lost Franciscan chronicle as the basis for the chronicle expanded and continued at the Augustinian priory of Lanercost.[6] While the principle of authorship has been adopted as the simpler method of assessment (the alternative being listing by manuscript), the degree to which it flattens the complexity of the production of historical works must be acknowledged. To mitigate this effect, intertextual and manuscript connections are identified where possible through the cross-referenced identification of other chronicle sources, the listing of manuscripts, and further information about the manuscript tradition in the Notes field. The common practice of continuation poses a special quandary. If a continuation has an identifiable author, has been singled out for significant study, or departs radically in style and focus from the preceding work, it is considered a major continuation and has been given an individual entry. This is the case for the continuations of the *Polychronicon*, the London chronicles, and a number of works from St Albans amongst others. If the continuation does not significantly depart in style or tone, reverts to a simpler format and is anonymous, it is considered a minor continuation and the year of the end of the continuation is simply listed as a separate datapoint of the original work and any further relevant details are provided in the notes. Distinguishing between major and minor continuations requires a judgement call on the extent to which a continuation is a renewed effort to engage with the past in a meaningful way or a practice of a more habitual nature. Both need to be acknowledged but only the former requires a separate entry in the context of the dataset. In ascribing religious order affiliation to anonymous works, there is usually surprising consensus on the origins within a monastic or secular milieu. Paleographical and

[6] *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. J Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839), pp. iii-vi.

codicological evidence contributes to these conclusions, as does the contents of the work itself, with verb tenses, the accessibility of identifiable sources, and subject matter all contributing to the conclusion. I have excluded works from the dataset if there is a question of affiliation between a religious order and a secular clerk or lay author.

Compounding the complexities of authorship and manuscript production is the frequent lack of definitive consensus about many of the other data points. Rather than simply transform suggestions into certainty, I have indicated dubious attributions and locations of authorship by a question mark before the entry. Uncertainty as to date of authorship is accommodated by indicating a time range of the earliest and latest possible date at which the work may have been written. This format is also applied to works which were written over a period of time rather than in a single identifiable year. At times, this range can only be determined by the paleographical evidence of the earliest manuscript, and so can be quite broad. In order to provide a higher degree of granularity of data, for those works with a minor continuation, the date-written range does not include the period in which the continuation was written. The end date of the initial composition period implies a start date for the beginning of the writing of the continuation and the end date of the continuation itself provides a *terminus post quem* for its completion. If a more specific date range for the composition of the continuation is known, it is indicated in the Notes field. Dates from before the Common Era are not used, but rather the episode at which the work starts is given, e.g. 'creation', 'Brutus'. Year 1 marks the Incarnation. I have given special attention to those works which bridge the 1350 division point, separating them out in the analysis to better compare works over the varying periods of authorship. The numbers in the analysis have been adjusted to take this into account so as to ensure works are not counted twice. These works are therefore not included in sharp comparisons between P1 and P2 but are included in the more detailed analysis by shorter time periods.

The shades of grey that are indicated by these mitigations are thrown into contrast by the impression of certainty created by hard numbers of manuscripts, year ranges, even titles artificially imposed by later modern editors. The dataset does not capture every permutation of every individual work, nor it is it intended to. Rather, by viewing the data in aggregate, the data can provide an indication of changing ratios. How did the ratio of secular to monastic writers change between the early and the late Middle Ages? Did the ratio of topics alter depending on authorship by a secular or monastic writer? This quantitative approach is simply the first part in this study and suggests further avenues of inquiry which will be examined in the second part of the chapter.

One final issue that must be kept in mind is the relative rates of manuscript survival between the monastic and secular spaces, between different monastic houses, and from different time periods. For the same reasons that monasteries were centres of historical writing production, they were also centres of manuscript and archival storage. They were structured to provide continuity of all the resources of an institution, of which libraries and archives were a major component. Secular writers and collectors did not have the same multi-generational infrastructural support, physical or institutional, of a monastery in the production or the retention of written works. This is one reason why, despite the destruction of the monasteries, an astonishing amount of written material survives. It is still possible to reconstruct monastic libraries, as is shown through the Medieval Libraries of Great Britain project, which is centred on the reconstruction of institutional libraries, not personal ones.[7] The lack of similar evidence for lay book owners makes reconstruction of personal libraries and archives much more difficult or at least the margin of error much wider. In another way, the dominance of a small group of large monasteries can muddy the interpretation of the results. The production of historical writing at the large monasteries of St Alban’s (24 entries) and Bury St Edmunds

[7] See MLGB, mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/

(15) and to a lesser extent Christ Church Canterbury (10) and Durham (10) can artificially skew the interpretation of some results, especially those which consider shorter periods of time. Therefore, while the works of these four houses are surprisingly evenly spread over P1 and P2, for some analyses, I have made comparisons with and without these large houses in order to mitigate the effect of this dominance.[8]

For the analysis, I have first divided the dataset into those works written wholly before 1350, those written wholly after 1350 and those whose dates of composition bridge the dividing year of 1350. While the period 400-1349 is much longer than the years between 1350 and 1539, so few works were produced prior to 1000 in number that the impact of the longer time period is negligible. I have included the early works, such as Gildas, Bede, Nennius and Alcuin, because of the inordinate influence they had on later compositions. Additionally, the longer period recognises that there is a lower survival rate for works from the earlier period. Throwing a wider chronological net for the period prior to 1350 attempts to mitigate this effect. As it is, the difference in numbers between the two main periods is not large, 169 for the 400-1349 period, 153 for the 1350-1539 period, with 19 works bridging the dividing year, though 4 of these do so because of a minor continuation.

For the second part of the analysis, I have divided the dataset into main topic groupings, reflecting the prime focus of each text. The definitions of these categories can be found in Appendix 1, 'Legend'. Given that historical works are rarely written with a single concern in mind and the close connections between national history and ecclesiastical history, local history and the history of individual monasteries and so on, the assignment of a main theme is often difficult. To help alleviate the artificial certainty of assignment, I use sub-topics to provide further granularity to the findings. As in all quantitative assessments of inherently

[8] In P1: St Alban's (12 of 24), Bury St Edmunds (8 of 15), and Durham (6 of 10). The exception is Christ Church, with 7 of its 10 entries in P1.

non-quantitative material, finite boundaries prove to be permeable and every figure tells multiple stories. I have used the time divisions from the first section and religious affiliation to add further detail in the analysis of the main topics of historical writing.

Analysis of the dataset

The first question is one of sheer numbers: did the amount of monastic historical writing decline in the late Middle Ages? (Table 1) The data shows a decline in the total number of historical works between 400 and 1349 (hereafter P1) and 1350 and 1539 (hereafter P2) of -9%. The changes in the relative contributions of the different religious orders vary however, from the Augustinian canons at -44% to the Augustinian friars, whose number of works actually increases 67%.[9] Taken together, the contributions of the religious orders as a whole decrease 25% between the two periods but it is the 40% increase in historical works from secular clerics and lay writers which is more remarkable.[10]

What is immediately apparent is the dominance of the Benedictine order throughout the entire Middle Ages (Figure 1). Benedictine writers are responsible for 47% of the works considered overall, and their proportional contributions of 50% in P1 and 43% in P2 show that, while their total number of works decreased by 22% between P1 and P2, they still maintained their dominance within the historical writing space by a significant margin, more than double that of any other group in any of the time periods. The decrease is substantially lower that the -44% of the Augustinian canons and is equal to that of the Cistercians. While it is a decrease, it is hardly a collapse and, as will be shown, Benedictine efforts are relatively constant throughout P2, making it difficult to argue for even a gradual numerical decline of

[9] The following discussion will focus on the orders which contributed <5% to the total number of works considered. This means that the Benedictines, Cistercians, Augustinian canons, secular clergy and laity will be the main religious orders considered in this analysis. Full data for all religious orders is available in Appendix 1, 'Analysis by religious order'.

[10] See Appendix 1, sheet 'Other analysis' for these figures.

Affiliation	Total	400-1350	1350-1539	Overlapping	Percentage change between P1 and P2
Benedictine	160	85	66	9	-22%
Augustinian canons	28	16	9	3	-44%
Cistercian	37	18	14	5	-22%
Carthusian	0	0	0	0	0%
Premonstratensian	2	2	0	0	-100%
Gilbertine	1	1	0	0	-100%
Celestine	0	0	0	0	0%
Carmelite	1	0	1	0	N/A
Trinitarian	2	0	2	0	100%
Franciscan	2	1	1	0	0%
Dominican	6	5	1	0	-80%
Augustinian friars	4	1	3	0	67%
Hospitallers	0	0	0	0	0%
Templars	0	0	0	0	0%
Secular clergy	65	34	30	1	-12%
Lay	33	6	26	1	333%
Total	341	169	153	19	-9%

Table 1. Number of historical works by religious order affiliation, with percentage change between P1 and P2

Benedictine historical writing through this later period. Changes in the contributions of the Augustinian canons and the Cistercians follow a similar pattern overall. In P1, the Augustinians contributed 9% of historical works, while in P2 they were still responsible for 6% of the total numbers. The Cistercians contributed 11% and 9% respectively. Numerically, this represents a decrease of 22% for the Cistercians and 44% for the Augustinians. This decline was not immediate however and occurred gradually over P2.

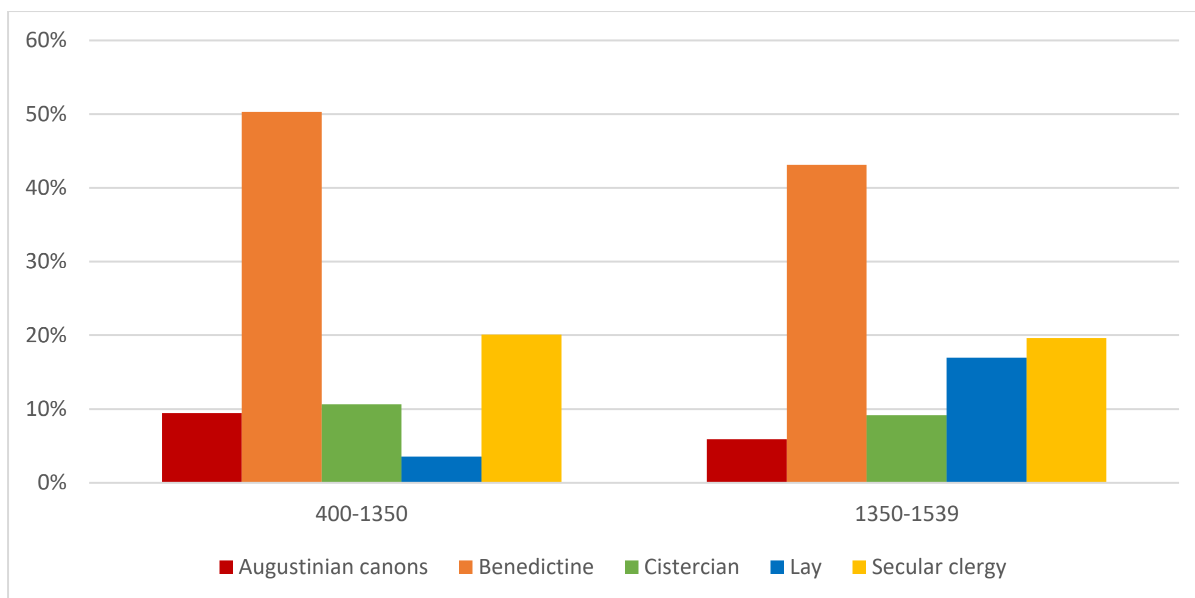

Figure 1. Percentage of total number of historical works in P1 and P2, by religious affiliation

Two other changes of note are those in the numbers of the secular clergy and the laity. The secular clergy contributions declined 12% between P1 and P2 but maintained a steady 20% proportion of the total number of works across the two periods. Decline between the two periods was thus not limited to the religious orders. In both numbers and proportion of total works it is the lay writers which indicate the most significant shift. From a paltry 4% in P1, lay authorship increases to 17% of the total number of works in P2, an increase of 333%. Rather than a significant decrease of works emanating from any one religious order, it is this increase in lay authorship which is the salient shift in the later Middle Ages.

In order to examine the patterns of composition more closely, the dataset of the 153 works assigned to the 1350-1539 period and those which overlap the 1350 division have been assigned to 25-year and 50-year periods, depending on the span of the potential period of composition.[11] (Figure 2) This provides further evidence of relatively constant production from Benedictine and Cistercian writers, with a slight decline for the Cistercians after 1400,

[11] Tables are given only of the 25-Year and 50-year divisions as the number for the centuries (either 1350-1450 or 1400-1499) are very small (Benedictine (2), Augustinian canons (1), Cistercians (1), Secular clergy (1) and Lay (3)). See Appendix 1, 'Analysis by religious order' for the full data. Other than the trend of increasing lay authorship, it is difficult to garner more statistically significant information from these numbers.

and the Benedictines after 1450. It is a possibility that the burst of historical writing at St Albans during the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth centuries is responsible for these high numbers. The one monastery accounts for 16% of Benedictine production between 1380 and 1450. If the St Albans works are removed from the equation however, the regularity of Benedictine contributions is weakened somewhat but is still in strongly in evidence.[12] St Albans is therefore perhaps less of an outlying example of revival and more in keeping with a sustained interest in historical writing for the Benedictines in general.

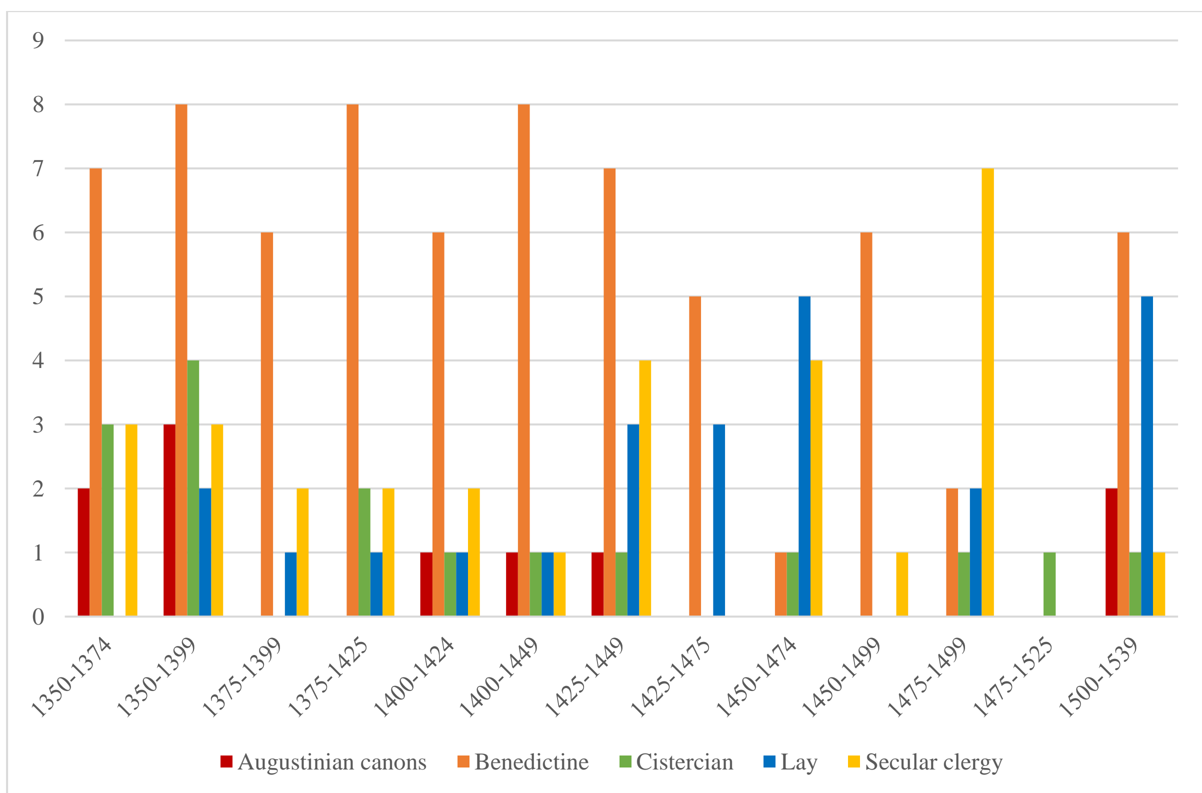

Figure 2. Combined view, production by religious order affiliation through P2

The Augustinian canons' contributions dwindle after 1450, until annalistic works from Thornton and Butley priories provide a last burst of activity. The contributions of the Cistercians are few but regular throughout the period. The steady increase of contributions from the secular clergy, far more numerous than those of the any of the religious orders aside from the Benedictines, are better illustrated here. The number of works by members of the

[12] See Appendix 1, 'Analysis by religious order', line 76 and accompanying charts.

secular clergy are constant until the second quarter of the fifteenth century when it increases significantly, though this level of activity appears to have fizzled out in the sixteenth century. Data further into the sixteenth century is needed to see if historical writing continued to be a major focus of the secular clergy. The lay contribution is likewise shown with greater detail and reveals a similar pattern to that of the secular clergy, with two distinct differences. The increase of lay historical writing is even more abrupt than that of the secular clergy and shows little sign of abating at the close of the period under examination.

Bearing in mind the difficulties of using the number of surviving manuscripts to indicate circulation, popularity, importance or audience of a work, it is astonishing that, while Benedictines wrote 43% of the total number of individual historical works attested in the data, the number of manuscripts of these works is, at a count of 283, only thirty more than the total number of manuscripts of lay works. Though responsible for only 17% of individual works, over 250 manuscripts of works by lay writers are extant. A similar trend is seen with manuscripts of secular-clerical writers, which make up 20% of the total number of which 107 manuscripts are extant. These numbers must be taken with a very large grain of salt, for works by secular clergy and lay writers were subject to a very different post-Reformation life than the remains of monastic libraries and archives which were salvaged and savaged by antiquaries and collectors. The numbers are also heavily reliant, for Benedictines and secular writers alike, on key works such as the Latin and English versions of the Brut, Higden's *Polychronicon*, which accounts for almost half of the number of Benedictine manuscripts and Froissart's *Chronicles*. However, even if the manuscript numbers of both lay and secular-clerical works were half of what they are, numbers of surviving manuscripts indicate potentially radically different circulation patterns, audiences and levels of accessibility.

The main topic of each work is the second element to be examined. A comparison between the main topics divided between P1 and P2 shows that, unsurprisingly, 'National history' is

the most popular main topic, with 35% of the works in P1 focusing on events on a national scale or concerning themselves with the actions of the king and his government. (Figure 3) This dominance continues in P2 but not to the same degree, decreasing to 24% of the total number of works. Absences and advents of topics between the two periods merit further discussion, if only because P2 displays a greater variety, and a more even distribution of works between the different topics. First, works whose primary concern is the origin of monasticism (of all or any orders) appear in P2 for the first time. This suggests a broadening out of interest from the history of individual monasteries to the history of the institution of monasticism itself. While the total number of works is small (5), the number of manuscripts of a single treatise (15) testify to the appeal of the subject.[13] 'Architecture' is a category absent from P1 and 'Geography' does not appear in P2. These two topics are closely related to each other, as itineraries often cover both aspects of a landscape and its built environment. However, they are here presented as distinct because of the fundamental differences in a work such as Gerald of Wales' *Topographia Hibernica* and William Worcester's *Itinerarium*.[14] The former focuses not only on descriptions of the landscape itself but all the effects it has on the lifestyle and culture of those who inhabit it while the latter is a catalogue of statistics and itemised descriptions of buildings with little interest in how people inhabit or use them. While Gerald of Wales is the writer responsible for the majority of the small number of works which focus on geography in P1, a number of writers in P2 adopt an architectural approach to historical writing, marking a shift in the attitude towards the physical environment between the two periods.

[13] W. A. Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises on the Origins of Monasticism', in Veronica Ruffer and A.J. Taylor (eds.), *Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham* (Oxford,1950), pp. 189-215. The fifteen manuscripts examined by Pantin all model themselves on a text from Bury St Edmunds. Without a closer comparison of all fifteen texts, it is difficult to ascertain the degree to which some of them can be considered original treatises.
[14] See Gerald of Wales' entry in Appendix 1, '400-1349 (P1)', lines 15-18 and William Worcestre, '1350-1539 (P2), line 27.

These numbers are still quite small though and it is the increases and decreases in what historical writers focused on before and after 1350 which illustrate more significant changes and trends. The number of biographies increased from 2% to 9%, marking a new popularity in works that focused on the life of a specific individual who is not a saint. The life of Henry V is a watershed for this group of historical works. Indeed, half of the biographical works in P2 are dedicated to this monarch and all but one of the total number date to after his lifetime. Henry's biographers appear to have made their mark, as the same format is used for other figures later in the fifteenth century, including Richard III and Richard Beauchamp.[15] The chronicle of Adam Usk, the sole fourteenth-century example, is included in this category as possibly the closest thing to an autobiography in the Middle Ages. Adam wrote his history in the back pages of his copy of the *Polychronicon*, and while he writes of the papal and royal courts, it is he himself who is the constant presence and actor in the narrative, the events recorded because of their importance to his own experience.[16]

Another increase of note is the popularity of civic histories, largely a result of the London chronicles which begin in greater numbers after 1370. These works mark a renewed use of the annual terms of public officials as a means to divide time, as had been the practice in Roman annals. The final increase of note in P2 is the number of works focusing on genealogy, a topic that is as much format-related as it is content-related, as these are often produced in rolls or as graphically depicted lines of descent, such as the pedigree roll of Tewkesbury Abbey.[17] Genealogies, stand-alone works or those incorporated into chronicles, have long-standing connections with historical writing but the increase reflected in P2 marks

[15] Works on the deposition of Richard II are not included in this category as they tend to narrate the specific incident of his removal from the throne rather than his life as a whole.
[16] *The Chronicle of Adam of Usk, 1371-1421*, ed. and tr. Chris Given-Wilson (Oxford, 1997)
[17] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. Misc. b. 2. On the recto is royal genealogy from Adam to Edgar, on the verso is the descent of the founding benefactors of Tewkesbury from Odo and Doddo to Thomas le Despencer.

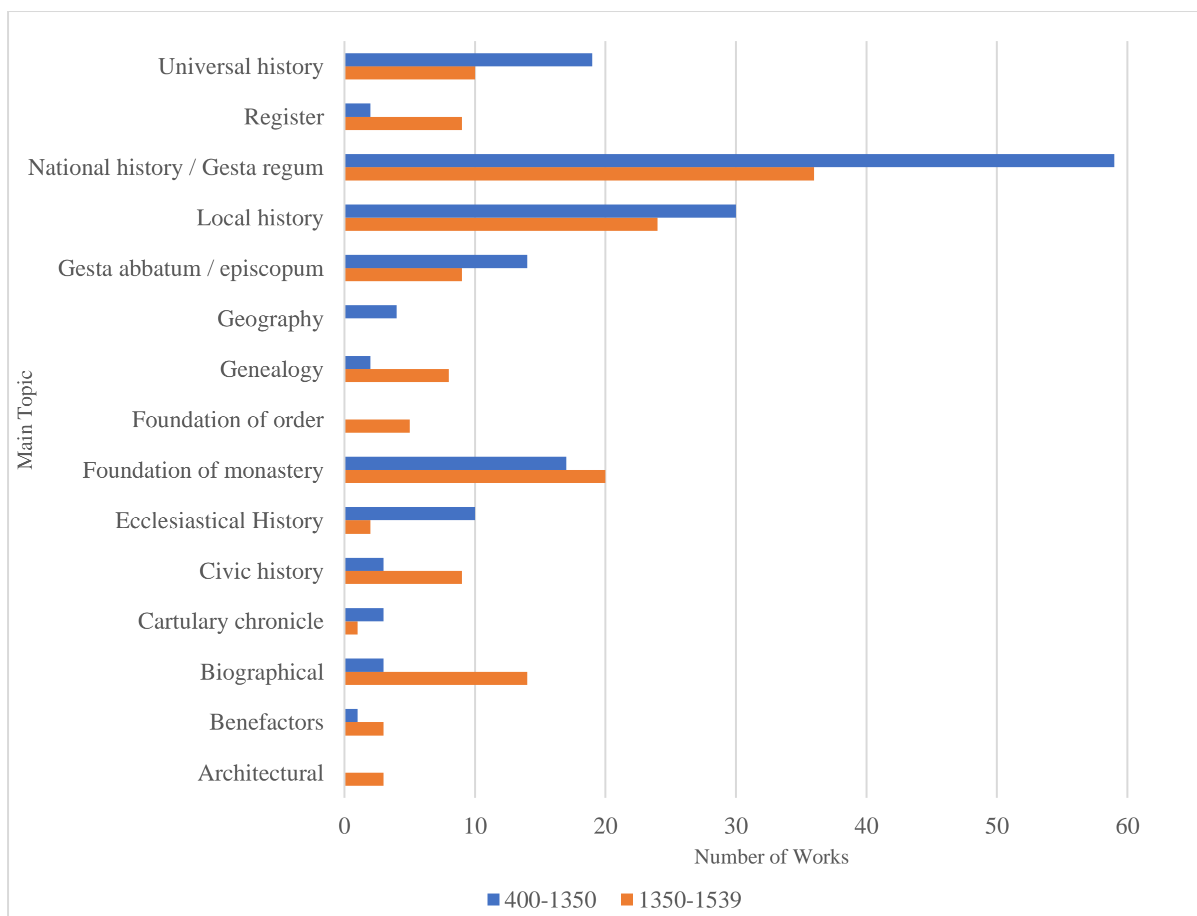

Figure 3. Main topics of historical works, comparing P1 and P2

a number of works dedicated not only to biblical or even royal genealogies but to the lines of descent of noble families, often written by a monk at the monastery of which they are a major patron, such as the de Lacys at Whalley and Kirkstall Abbeys, or the Percys at Whitby.[18]

The dataset reveals greater detail when the main topics are broken down by religious affiliation. (Figures 4 and 5) Looking at the percentage of works each religious group contributed to the different main topics in P2, the Benedictines are the major contributors to seven of the fourteen categories, and the only group to focus on ecclesiastical history. They are conspicuously absent

[18] See lines 58 and 141 in Appendix 1, '1350-1539 (P2)' for the de Lacy works and line 145 for the Percy work.

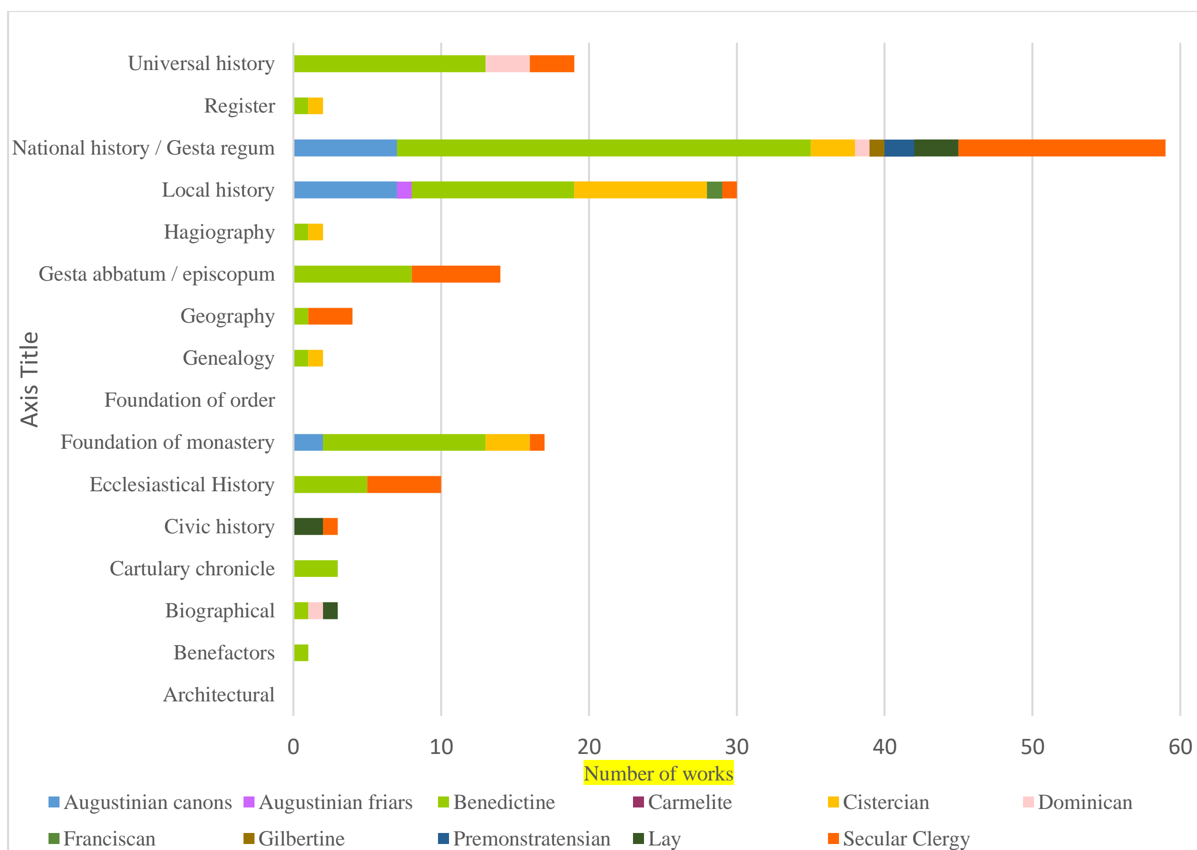

Figure 4. Main Topic showing number of historical works by religious affiliation, 400-1349

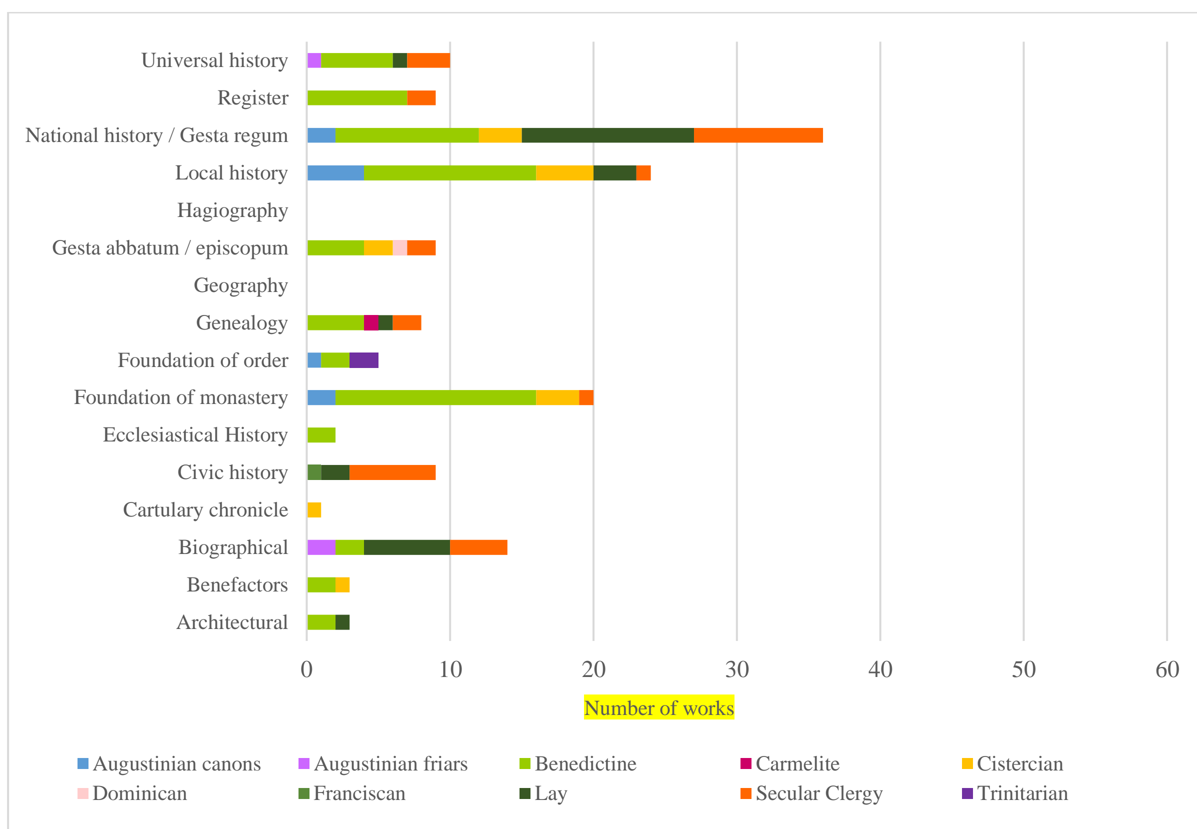

Figure 5. Main Topic showing number by religious affiliation, 1350-1539

from ‘Civic history’. All the religious orders contribute to works that focus on the succession of abbots or bishops, with the exception of the Augustinians. National and local history and genealogy are the concerns of the greatest variety of religious order affiliations, with five different orders writing works that focus mainly on these topics. While a focus on national and local history are not a surprise, the lay and secular clergy focus on genealogy reveals that this line of historical inquiry is not limited to institutional patrons but personal ones as well. The interests of the Cistercians and Augustinian canons appear to be the standard concerns about local events and matters pertaining specifically to their communities, although the Cistercian focus on benefactors and genealogies suggests an awareness of historical writing as a tool to reach outside of the community, as well as for internal purposes.

The new works by lay authors are shown to focus on national and civic history as well as biographies, as previously discussed. Finally, there is a more even distribution across all the main topics. The dominance of national history is not relinquished to a single other main topic, but the numbers of all of the other main topics increase. This feature of P2 may perhaps reflect a greater degree of specialization of individual works, as writers honed their texts for specific purposes. This is difficult to measure but the next section will explore some possibilities as to if, how, and why such a shift occurred.

Of course, there are rarely clear-cut lines drawn between topics in historical writing. An individual work can touch on several topics and, therefore, it is useful to factor sub-topics into the equation. In addition to a Main topic assignment, each work has been assigned a number of sub-topics, where applicable. The inclusion of sub-topics results in works being counted multiple times, as one work can fall under multiple categories, but their inclusion does provide a more nuanced view of the pre-occupations of P2 writers. Across the board, the increase and decrease trends between P1 and P2 remain surprisingly stable, if somewhat softened by the inevitable blurring of distinctions created by the inclusion of this additional

information. (Figure 6) The main topics that saw increases in P2, still show increases when sub-topics are taken into account.

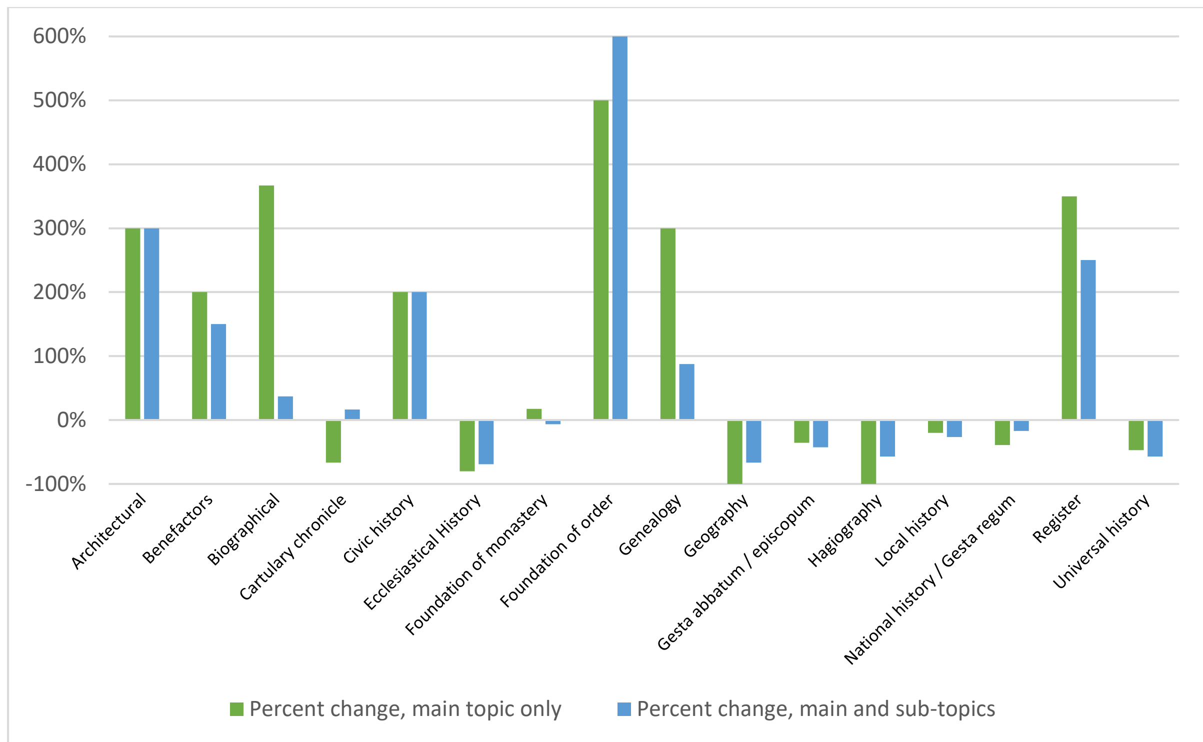

Figure 6. Percentage change between P1 and P2, main topic only compared with Percentage change between P1 and P2, main and sub-topics

Two categories provide cases in point. ‘Biography’ as a main topic alone saw a 367% increase between P1 and P2. When sub-topics are taken into account, the percentage increase lowers to 37%, still a significant number but not nearly as drastic. Since a degree of biographical focus can be found in most national histories (biographies of kings), local histories (biographies of regional nobility), and *gesta abbatum* (lives of abbots), the percentage change between P1 and P2 is less when sub-topics are taken into account. Similarly, ‘Genealogy’ also sees a 300% change lowered to an 88% change between the two time periods when sub-topics are accounted for, as this is sub-topic often incorporated into accounts of benefactors, or local and national histories. The continued reflection of the main topic increases and decreases between P1 and P2 in the same comparison, but this time with

sub-topics taken into account, strengthens the impression of a slight hardening of boundaries between topics, as writers focus their works for a specific purpose.

Conclusions of quantitative analysis

There is the possibility of expansion of this dataset, over time, geography, specificity of main and sub-topics, not to mention additional fields of inquiry such as language, format, and relationships with other kinds of writing. Some of these possibilities, such as language and format, will inform the discussion below but it is hoped that the open access of the dataset will provide a starting point for other inquiries. The analysis thus far leads to several key conclusions.

Monastic, and specifically Benedictine, historical writing in the late Middle Ages experienced a minor numerical decline, but not enough to suggest a disappearance of the historical sensibilities which had informed so many of their contributions in the earlier period. The religious orders which produced historical works in any substantial numbers between 400 and 1349, namely the Benedictines, Cistercians and Augustinian canons, continued to do so in similar numbers and at a similar rate throughout the period 1350-1539, with the exception of the Augustinians. A perception of greater decline than is in fact the case is created by the greater increase in the number of works written by members of the laity and secular clergy, especially covering certain topics such as biography and civic history, in the same period. The perception of this increase is perhaps enhanced by the large number of manuscripts of these works relative to the number of manuscripts of those works by religious writers. It is not a disengagement of the monastic orders from their role as the key guardians of the past that is evidenced in these numbers but rather a relatively abrupt shift in the late-fifteenth century that resulted in secular writers claiming their own position as purveyors of social memory creation.

National history continued to be the main topic which preoccupied most writers throughout the Middle Ages. Its dominance decreased after 1350 however and there is a greater distribution across all topics, indicating a potential increase in the specialization of historical works. Two main topics, architecture and civic history, emerged as a new focus of a number of works and only geography disappeared as main concern. Lay writers were especially strong in biography and religious writers developed an interest in the origins of monasticism. Somewhat surprisingly, these trends are only slightly flattened when sub-topics are factored in, further suggesting that writers of history were increasingly concentrating their work on a single concern, perhaps through a consensus on the uses of certain works within specific contexts. The next section will explore how monastic historical writing, in particular, reflected these trends in the late Middle Ages.

Qualitative change in late medieval England

The clear-cut boundaries of time and topics given in the preceding analysis have already been acknowledged as a necessary accommodation in order to render quantitative analysis feasible. However, as even a brief glance at the dataset shows, it is impossible to confine the variety of medieval historical writing to hard and fast definitions. The style, format and level of detail range across a spectrum of time scales, levels of geographic specificity, themes and functions. Terse annual summaries about a discreet locale, such as the Hickling annals (written1400x1503) sit alongside detailed prose narratives of internationally significant events, such as Adam of Usk's biography (written1401x1430). Mythical origin stories, such as the various versions of the Brut, share the medieval bookshelf with erudite critiques of contemporary politics like Henry Knighton's narrative (written *c.* 1378-96) of his own times. Monastic historical writing is characterised not by its adherence to a specific model but rather by a flexibility that allows it to defy strict categorization, a flexibility that is enabled by the practice of collaborative composition over extended periods of time and the continual mining,

amalgamation, or continuation of older texts to create new versions of narrative and record. To explore the qualitative changes in late medieval historical writing, the following discussion will consider how a selection of individual works contained in the dataset were used within a monastic context and how the processes of continuation and amalgamation allowed for their functions as administrative, commemorative and performative documents in order to serve the changing needs of late medieval monasteries. The following discussion examines four significant trends within late medieval historical writing, some illuminated by further analysis of the dataset, all involving closer reading of individual works. The first trend examined is the decline in the use of a universal timeline. The second trend is the specialization of domestic chronicles for a number of purposes. One branch of this specialization reflects a stronger interconnection with monastic administrative records, illustrated by the excision of narrative around spiritual aspects of monastic life. This is a possible influence of a re-engagement with the monastic archives evident in a number of communities. A second branch of specialization marks a number of order-specific developments. The Benedictines produced a number of works that deal with the ancient origins of their communities, strengthening a temporal framework that linked the foundation of monasteries with the emergence of England as a Christian nation. The Cistercians, who could not compete with the Benedictines on the age of their foundations, concentrated on the genealogy of their patrons and benefactors. The Augustinian canons largely abandoned historical writing but not historical interests. Some directions of these interests will be suggested below, to be expanded on in Chapter Four. Finally, the third trend is the advent of histories about the origins of monasticism itself and the origins of different orders, a topic almost completely absent from historical writing prior to 1350.

It is important to note at this point that the three outlined above cannot be considered absolutes, but rather tendencies of style, form and topic that are more evident in P2 histories

but are by no means exclusive to them. As Antonia Gransden aptly states 'A historiographic generalisation, like any other, can only be roughly right'.[19] Stylistic tendencies have precedents, form is never wholly original, and topics have been addressed before. At the same time, change tends to be gradual and older ways of writing continue past their peak. While I argue here that these three trends in late medieval historical writing in a monastic context reflected an increased specialization of use, examples can inevitably be found that conflict with this tendency. This is usefully illustrated in a comparison of historical prologues, an element of narrative histories with a strong tradition of *topoi*, which show a strong degree of uniformity before and after 1350.

Antonia Gransden's examination of twelfth-century prologues outlines the tropes commonly used in medieval histories: a dedication or indication of audience, a declaration of modesty or poor skill, compensation for this poor skill with an industrious work ethic, a display of sources, often implying a high level of learning, the problems inherent in the writing of history including critiques of other writers and the whims of readers, a recognition that the main duty of any historians is to tell the truth and why the writer should be believed, and finally a wish to memorialize past deeds by preserving them in writing, thereby providing exemplars of good and bad conduct and how God exercises his dominion over man.[20]

The *topoi* in historical prologues have always raised the question of how useful these introductions are in understanding the why and wherefore of the writer. It is tempting to make more of them than is wise, simply because they are one of the few passages that reveal anything about the normally anonymous medieval author. However, the degree of adherence or non-adherence to the formulaic pattern can sometimes be illustrative in and of itself of the

[19] Gransden, 'Prologues', p. 151.
[20] Gransden, 'Prologues', pp. 125-26.

models available to the writer and the choices the author makes about how closely he follows them.

An examination of the prologues of the historical works in P2 show how these later works relied as much on the *topoi* of the classics and the church fathers as did their predecessors. The writers are conscious of continuing a long tradition. Higden's introduction to the *Polychronicon* dedicates the entire first paragraph to extolling the virtues of writing history and history writers. In 'the historical writings that have been bequeathed to us by the industry of chroniclers, one may clearly behold the standard of correct conduct, the proper way to live, the incentive for probity , the threefold path of the theological virtues, and the fourfold path of the cardinal virtues, which our own limited abilities would be incapable of discovering or emulating'.[21] The writer of the *Eulogium Historiarum* closely models his proem after Higden's, to the extent of using the wording above almost verbatim.[22] For Henry Knighton, the past is illuminated by the 'shining chroniclers' who preceded him and he also worries that he will not be able to live up to their example.[23] These are prologues of histories that deal with the past on a universal or national scale but the same sense of inheritance is present in the prologues of histories of individual monasteries. William Thorne, like Thomas Walsingham at St Albans, names his predecessor at St Augustine's Canterbury, Thomas Sprott.[24] John of Glastonbury does the same, naming both William of Malmesbury and Adam of Domerham.[25] John Flete locates the foundation story of Westminster Abbey in 'the oldest

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[21] Higden, '*Polychronicon'*, in, *Prologues*, ed. Lake, p. 279.
[22] '*Eulogium Historiarum'*, in *Prologues*, ed. Lake, p. 283.
[23] Henry Knighton, *Chronicon Henrici Knighton, vel Cnitthon, Monachi Leycestrensis*, ed Joseph Lumby, RS 92 (2 vols, London, 1889), i, p. 1-2.
[24] William Thorne, '*Chronica Guill. Thorne, Monachi S. Augustini Cant. De Rebus Gestis Abbatum Sancti Augustini Cantuariae'*, in Roger Twysden (ed), *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X* (London, 1652), i, cols. 1757-58.
[25] John of Glastonbury, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey: An Edition, Translation and Study of John of Glastonbury's* Cronica sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie , ed. James Carley, tr. David Townsend (Woodbridge, 1978, rev. ed. 1985), p. 7, Siquidem Willelmi Malmesburiensis monachi...fratris quoque Ade de Domerham dicti huius nostri cenobii monachi...vestigia secutus plura'.

of the books of the chronicles', but for its subsequent history only in the charters and bulls that he has researched.[26] Indeed, in the domestic histories, there are writers who complain of the neglect of the records of the past by their predecessors. Thomas Burton at Meaux Abbey laments how the memory of the abbots of Meaux has 'utterly perished through the sloth of negligent men'.[27] A number of these works forego any preface or introduction at all. Thomas Elmham, also at St Augustine's, contents himself with a brief outline of the time and place he intends to cover and jumps right into the sources he will use.[28] The history of St Peter's Gloucester misses out on elaborating on any reason for writing and Thomas Rudborne in his history of Winchester begins immediately with the story of the conversion of England.[29]

In those works which do include a prologue, most of the writers are clear they are writing for or at the behest of their fellow monks. Higden chooses to expand his work at the request of his 'companions' and the writer of the *Eulogium* undertakes his work at the request of his prior.[30] John of Glastonbury addresses his work 'To all his fathers and brothers in the monastery of Glastonbury'.[31] John Flete also writes at the behest of his brothers, as does William Thorne.[32] Thomas Burton is alone in writing for an unknown audience, addressing in general 'all who shall read this chronicle'.[33] Some writers specify that they write so that their brethren will have more knowledge of their own history, so they will know from whose

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[26] John Flete, *The History of Westminster Abbey*, ed. J Armitage Robinson (Cambidge, 1909), p. 33-4, 'ex vetustissimo chronicarum libro'.
[27] Thomas Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, ed. E. Bond, RS 43 (3 vols, London, 1866), i, p. 71, 'ob negligentium desidiam'.
[28] Thomas Elmham, *Historia Monasterii S. Augustini Cantuariensis*, ed. Charles Harwick, RS 8 (London, 1858), pp. 77.
[29] *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii S. Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. W. Hart, RS 33 (3 vols. London, 1863), i, p. 3 and Thomas Rudborne, '*Historia Maior Wintoniensis'*, in *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Henry Wharton (2 vols, London, 1), i, p 179.
[30] Ranulf Higden, *Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis; Together with the English Translations of John Trevisa and of an Unknown Writer of the Fifteenth Century*, ed. C Babington and J. R. Lumby, RS 41 (9 vols, London,1865-6), i, p. 8, 'familiares', and '*Eulogium*', in *Prologues*, ed. Lake, p. 284.
[31] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, ed. Carley, p. 4-5. 'Universis patribus et fratribus suis in monasterio Glastoniensi'.
[32] Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 33, 'hinc est quod quorundam fratrum rogatu huius sancti loci, videlicet Westmonasterii and Thorne, *Chronica...S. Augustini Cant*., i, col 1757. 'ad utilitatem fratrum'.
[33] Burton*, Chronica de Melsa*, i, p. 72, 'vos omnes, quicunque hanc qualemcunque chronicam estis lecturi'

generosity their everyday needs are provided and so be motivated to protect those privileges in the future. This is most notable in the domestic histories, where only glancing reference is made to the utility of history for moral instruction. Flete, Burton, John of Glastonbury each specify that they have taken up the pen in order educate their brethren about the past of their own monastic community.[34] Thorne is an exception to this group, as he wants to produce a work for both 'the use of the brothers' but also so that through the examples therein they are able to achieve 'divine perfection' reflecting a traditional didactic interest.[35] Knighton and Higden as well as the *Eulogium* writer focus much more explicitly on writing history in order to provide instruction in virtuous living. [36] For Higden, written history is the means by which we remember how to be virtuous, by having the examples of the past impressed on our memory.[37] The *Eulogium* writer views his work as the instrument of his own moral improvement.[38]

The writers go into varying levels of detail when it comes to concerns about their ability to write or the reception their work may receive. The *Eulogium* writer is the most abject in his humility. 'My presumption in undertaking this work does not derive from my own abilities, which are nonexistent'.[39] All of the writers make some protestation of modesty. Higden reflected upon his 'own inability to reveal so much that lay hidden, the vastness of theme

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[34] Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 33, 'Quoniam utile est et honestum ac rationi consonum quod viri ecclesiastici et praecipue religiosi suorum locorum sive ecclesiarum privilegia dotationesque cognoscerent'; Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, p. 71, to correct previous neglect; John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, ed. Carley, p. 6-7, 'Universis enim sue ecclesie historiam scire mouet honestas et inducit utilitas eo quod rerum preteritarum cognicio in instantibus prudenciam et in futuris casibus non modeicam prebet cautelam'.

[35] Thorne, *Chronica...S. Augustini Cant.,* i, col 1757, above, n. 30 and 'ut ad plurimorum posset devenire perfectum'

[36] Knighton, *Chronicon*, ed. Lumby, i, p. 3, 'Igitur historia cum sit nuncia vetustatis praeteritae, testis transactorum termprum est et memoria vitae bonorum atque malorum norma praelucens hiis qui se regere tam in corpore quam in anima regulariter disponunt'.

[37] Higden, *Polychronicon*, i, p. 6, 'Historia namque quadam famae immortalitate peritura renovat, fugitiva revocat, mortalia quodammodo perpetuat et conservat'.

[38] 'Eulogium', in *Prologues*, ed. Lake, p. 284, 'Pondering, therefore, how I might snuff out the provocations and fiery barbs of the one who strives to inflict so many injuries upon the conscience of a monk, I decided ... to compile as best I could a treatise gleaned from the works of various authors...'.

[39] 'Eulogium', in *Prologues*, ed. Lake, p. 285.

imposed'.[40] William Thorne judges his skill 'less than sufficient' and Henry Knighton begs indulgence for the gap between what he hoped to embody and what ended up on the page.[41] Burton admits his ability to be 'insufficient to the task' and John of Glastonbury his 'rude style'.[42]

The protestations of poor ability are inseparable from the arguments for the truth of the different works. While the work may be of poor quality, it is redeemed by its adherence to the truth.[43] For each of the works, truth is to some degree inherent in the sources used, because of their 'approved', 'authentic' or 'trustworthy' nature.[44] However, even arguing for their adherence to their sources and carefully enumerating them, Higden, Burton, Thorne, Knighton, Flete and the *Eulogium* historian all acknowledge that untruths may still be present in the original documents. John of Glastonbury marks where Higden contradicts John's preferred interpretation of the founding date of his monastery.[45] Higden himself refuses to vouch for the complete veracity of everything he writes.[46] This is not necessarily an insurmountable issue however as he recognises that there are some matters, like miracles, which require the suspension of the usual critical assessment of historical fact. Nor does this render the material worthless as, quoting St Paul, anything written was written to instruct.[47] The emphasis on reliable sources is more emphatic in the domestic histories, citing not only other chronicles but bulls, charters, and confirmations. John Flete and William Thorne

[40] Higden, *Polychronicon*, i, p. 8 'mei disparilitatem, necnon et flagitate materiae vastitatem'
[41] Knighton, *Chronicon*, ed. Lumby, p. 1-2, 'Iccirco inter caetera lectoris facetiam cum intimis cordis expansis visceribus exposco ne lectitando stadium laboris mei cum subrisu aliquociens aspiciat.
[42] Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, p. 71 'quamvis me penitus insufficientem cognoverim'; John of Glastonbury, Chronicle, p. 6-7, 'rudi...stilo'.
[43] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, ed. Carley, p. 6-7, 'sed ueritatis, ut spero, suffulto patrocinio'.
[44] Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 33, 'ex diversis chronicis approbatis scriptisque authenticis'; Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, i, p. 71, 'scriptis authenticis'.
[45] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, p. 6-7, 'Hic tamen Radulphus in nostro Patricio plurimum exorbitare non ignoratur quippe qui sibi ipsi in sua descriptione contrariatur'.
[46] Higden, *Polychronicon*, i, p. 18, 'Quamobrem in hac assertione historica periculum veri statuendi per omnia mihi non facio, sed quae apud diversos auctores legi sine invidia communico'.
[47] Higden, *Polychronicon*, i, p. 18, 'Quaecunque scripta sunt, ad nostram doctrinam scripta sunt'.

arrange their works based on the categories of documents, rather than the divisions of time or stages of God's revelation that Higden and Knighton adopt.[48]

This examination of prologues illustrates the extent to which inherited models still exerted influence over monastic historical writers after 1350. The frameworks and issues that they address are those same ones touched on by William of Malmesbury, John of Salisbury and Matthew Paris in the twelfth and thirteenth century and, to some extent, the responses they give to these questions are also the same. However, even these formulaic prologues point to some of the changes identified in the dataset analysis. The focus of the domestic histories on instructing their brethren on the history of the institution, rather than moral instruction, and orientating their narratives around categories of archival documents illustrate the first two trends which are evident in historical narratives after 1350, namely a decrease in the use of a universal timeline and a closer integration of narrative with the monastic archive.

The universal timeline

The first change is a decrease in the use of a universal timeline.[49] Even if the main body of a work is taken up with events from closer to the writer's own time, beginning the narrative at creation contextualized the recent past within the continuity of Christian revelation. Of works written prior to 1350, nineteen begin at creation and eighteen at the Incarnation. A smaller number mark the advent of St Augustine of Canterbury and the conversion of England to Christianity as their launching point. The distinct decrease in the number of works with these

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[48] Thorne, *Chronica...S. Augustini Cant.,* i, col 1757, 'Et quia de tribus personis tota praesens maxime constant operatio, ideo congruit rationi illas tres in capite marginali evidente consignare, scilicet Regem & archipraesulem, nostrumque Pastorem'; Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 34, 'Pro fundatione namque, dedicatione ne antiquitate patet evidenter ex vetustissimo chronicarum libro, veteri Anglorum sive Saxonum lingua conscripto ... Pro dignitate etiam ac libertate patet evidenter ex bullis summorum pontificum sanctae Romanae ecclesiae praesidentium, videlicet Innocentii et aliorum ... Pro exemptione autem, jurisdictione sive ordinaria potestate eiusdem loci, luculenter claret ex bullis Gregorii papae tetii ac Innocentii tertii'.

[49] A distinction is made here between those works whose 'Main topic' is universal history and those works which start at creation or the Incarnation. While a work may begin with the creation of the world, the intervening years between that and contemporary time may only be allocated a few sentences, so the two aspects are not synonymous. This analysis considers the actual starting point of the historical work, regardless of the extent to which it qualifies as a universal history.

starting points after 1350 is therefore striking. After 1350, thirteen begin at creation and three of these are versions of the *Polychronicon.* Only two start at the Incarnation. None of these are written by lay authors and only three by secular clergy. While a universal approach to historical writing was not the default starting point before 1350, it was even less so after that date. Yet, most monasteries held at least one universal history in their library, with evidence of ten monasteries holding copies of the *Flores Historiarum*, fourteen monasteries holding copies of *Martin Polonus*, and twenty-seven houses holding the *Polychronicon*.[50] Such a work was an essential volume but the monumentality of its universal nature meant that the authority of a single work, once established, was maintained for an extended period of time, circulated widely for copying at other religious houses and lent itself to periodic continuation there.[51] Both the *Flores* and the *Polychronicon* were continued in multiple locations, the *Flores* at Merton Abbey, Westminster (in two different renditions), and Tintern Abbey, and the *Polychronicon* in no less than seven different locations (Glastonbury, Ely, St Albans, Whalley, Worcester, Westminster, and Wigmore).[52] Even more telling is the number of works which used them as sources. At least twenty-nine works used the *Polychronicon* or one of its continuations extensively as a source and fourteen used various versions of the *Flores Historiarum*.[53] These two works also have a higher number of extant manuscripts than usual, with at least twenty-two copies of the various versions of the *Flores* still in existence and at least 118 copies of the *Polychronicon* and its continuations.[54] The vast majority of monastic manuscripts addressing other historical topics are extant in only one manuscript. The

[50] MLGB, Bodleian Libraries, University of Oxford (2015), http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk, accessed 7 November 2019, search terms '*Flores*', '*polonus*', and '*polychronicon*'.
[51] Gransden, *HWE*, ii, p. 55.
[52] For the complex manuscript history of these works see John Taylor, 'The Development of the *Polychronicon* continuation', *EHR*, 76/298 (1961), pp. 20-36 and Antonia Gransden, 'The Continuations of the *Flores Historiarum* from 1265-1327', in *Mediaeval Studies*, 36 (1974), pp. 472-492.
[53] See Appendix 1, '400-1349 (P1)', '1350-1539 (P2)' and 'Overlapping', column V, for source material of different works.
[54] Appendix 1, 'Overlapping', line 19 for the main *Polychronicon* entry. Only the autograph is listed here. The various continuations have separate entries in '1350-1539 (P2)', on lines 42, 51, 114, 138, 143, 146, 150 and the two English translations on lines 3 and 54.

Polychronicon's higher number of manuscripts and continuations as well as the rate at which it was used as source material may be a result of a century less of manuscript atrophy than the *Flores Historiarum* but it also suggests a process of replacement during which the *Polychronicon* replaced the *Flores* as the universal history of choice, giving some quantifiable credence to the idea of 'the age of the *Flores Historiarum*' giving way to 'the age of the *Polychronicon*' as explored by Stubbs and Tout.[55] It also raises a tantalizing 'what if' possibility of a third monastic inheritor of the universal tradition in a major key, had the Reformation not silenced the monastic pen and despite the decline in the use of the universal timeline in general. To some degree, Caxton's adoption of the *Polychronicon* as one of four historical texts that he printed between June 1480 and October 1482 can be seen as this third generation.[56] However, the absence of a major inheritor of Higden's universal style is still taken as a key indication of a decline of the monastic historical writing tradition.[57]

This pattern of composition also contributes to an understanding of how universal histories were used in a monastic context. The inclusion of universal histories in extant library catalogues and book lists indicate that they were library books. They were stored in chests placed in various areas of the monastic buildings or, if the institution was large enough to merit one, in a dedicated library in presses, whereas other historical materials such as cartularies, registers, and foundation chronicles were kept in the muniments room or whatever method the monastery had for storing records.[58] Universal histories followed self-consciously in the footsteps of the classical tradition, in which the events recorded were

[55] Tout, 'Study of Mediaeval Chronicles', p. 418.
[56] Kathleen Tonry, 'Reading History in Caxton's *Polychronicon*', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 111/2 (2012), pp. 169-98 at pp. 169-72.
[57] Barry Dobson, 'Contrasting Chronicles: Historical Writing at York and Durham at the Close of the Middle Ages', in Ian Wood and G.A. Loud (eds), *Church and Chronicle in the Middle Ages: Essays presented to John Taylor* (London, 1991), pp. 201-18 at pp. 201-02 and Gransden, *HWE*, ii, pp. 56-7.
[58] Some of the possibilities in this respect, which include pigeon-hole shelves and sub-divided chests are enumerated in Michael Spence, 'Cartularies of Fountains Abbey: Archival Systems and Practices', *Cîteaux: Commentarii cistercienses*, 61 (2010), pp. 185-205 at pp. 190-2.

intended for the moral education of readers. This purpose made the contextualization of the past within the linearity of Christian time a central component of universal histories and indeed, those works which bear the marks of having been used for novice teaching or a school tend to adopt an extended if not a universal timeline, including the Winchcombe annals and even one of the treatises on the origins of monasticism at Bury St Edmunds.[59] A work like the *Polychronicon* may have acted as a textbook of moral behavioural exemplars, whose value lay less in its relation of the events of the past and more in the moral truth that it imparted. Higden's other works, both of which provide material for preaching, locate the *Polychronicon* within this instructional milieu.[60] It also provided a single historical narrative to create a commonly-held understanding of the past, thereby informing and formulating the general framework for the social memory of the institution. The decrease in the use of a universal timeline after 1350, even while selected works that used it were some of the most widely copied and owned by monastic communities, indicates that at this level of temporal and geographic scale, there was no need for multiple renditions of the common past. Higden himself recognises 'the resulting satiety of modern readers, who tend to have little regard for the obedience of devotion and quickly grow tired of trifling fare such as this... and arch their brows against derivative works that cover no new ground'.[61] It is with major multi-volume works like the *Polychronicon* that the monastic practice of compilation and amalgamation comes into its own.[62] It negates the need for the regular production of such massive multi-volume works by providing a commonly accepted basis upon which to continue the narrative

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[59] *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles: Hitherto Unnoticed Witnesses to the Work of John of Worcester,* ed. and tr. Paul Antony Hayward (Tempe, AZ, 2010); Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', p. 195.
[60] Higden's other two works are the *Ars Componedi Sermones* and the *Speculum Curatorum*. See Margaret Jennings, 'Higden's minor writings and the fourteenth-century church', *Proceedings of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society, Literary and Historical Section*, 16 (1977), pp. 149-58.
[61] Higden, *Polychronicon*, i, p. 8, 'ac potissime subsecuta exinde modernorum saturitateml qui devotionis obsequium minus, ut assolet, attendentes super isto cibo levissimo facile nausearent, supercilia arcuarent'. Translation from *Prologues*, ed. Lake, p. 280.
[62] Popper, 'From Abbey to Archive', pp. 252-3 suggests this same monastic model of collection and compilation was used by reforming antiquaries in the sixteenth century.

at multiple points. The undertaking of composing a new universal history was a formidable task, one which required access to extensive historical sources and an extended period of dedication to the task.[63] If the production of such works is less about the inspiration of an individual to write and instead understood within the context of how such a work functioned within a monastery, the pattern of initial production followed by serial continuation, displayed by both the *Flores Historiarum* and the *Polychronicon,* appears to be a sensible use of monastic resources and man power. Higden did not have a lot of inheritors because there was no need for them. Instead, he had many continuators who filled the gap with contemporaneous accounts until enough time passed to necessitate a new interpretation of a common universal history. Even lay writers, who might have picked up the gauntlet, refused the challenge. No history beginning with creation or the incarnation was written by a lay person in P2.[64] The element of resources and availability of sources is one reason why this may have been so. However lay writers produced seven works which began with Brutus' mythical arrival which implies at least some access to existing pools of historical sources. They shared a starting point with Geoffrey of Monmouth's popular history and are written in English or French save one, suggesting rather that it was their attention to a non-religious audience and the need to entertain, rather than edify, which was the main concern for these writers.

Domestic chronicle specialization I: narrating the archive

The second trend which emerges from the dataset is a greater integration of narrative chronicle writing and the monastic archive. This tendency is illustrated by the lessening of moral didactic elements such as spiritual exemplary behaviour and a greater narrative adherence to the narrating the contents of the monastic archive. Domestic histories with

[63] Higden, *Polychronicon*, i, p. 8.
[64] See Appendix 1, 'Other analysis', Cell A1.

strong connections to the monastic archive were of course written prior to 1350. The *History of Abingdon Abbey* (written *c*. 1160) is closely linked to the records in that monastic archive, incorporating many of them in full and often jettisoning contextual or connecting narrative altogether.[65] The *History of the Abbey of Evesham* (written 1218x1229) follows a similar arrangement at points of its narrative.[66] In P1, localized histories are often preoccupied with arguing against episcopal or other jurisdictional control, a main concern of Benedictine works such as the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey* (written 1180x1199), the *History of the Abbey of Evesham* and Adam of Domerham's *Glastonbury Chronicle* (written 1278x1291), as well as some diocesan works such as the *Book of Llandaff* (written in the thirteenth century).[67] These conflicts inevitably led to the use of historical information as evidence in the dispute, sometimes compiled into the chronicle itself. More minor works, such as the Bury St Edmunds *De dedicationibus* which outlines the dedication of all the altars in the monastic church, narrowed their focus even further in aid of the same cause.[68] But, while relying heavily on documentary sources, these campaigns were also highly emotive, often dramatic and frequently referred to the moral qualities through which abbots gained their point against episcopal power. They were sometimes depicted as holy battles on behalf of the saint for whom the monastery acted guardian, such as at Bury St Edmunds or Durham, and the cause of the monastery was never described as anything less than divinely-ordained.[69] Those that dared revoke or alienate property are anathemised in the *History of Abingdon*. Even the

[65] *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis / The History of the Church of Abingdon*, ed and tr. John Hudson (2 vols, Oxford, 2007), eg. pp. 39, 71, 199-201.
[66] Thomas of Marlborough*, History of the Abbey of Evesham,* ed. Jane Sayer and Leslie Watkiss (Oxford, 2003), pp. 245-59 for the jurisidictional debate over the Vale of Evesham as an example of controversy reported almost completely through letters and judgements.
[67] *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle; *History...Evesham,* ed. Sayer and Watkiss, paragraph 139; *Adami De Domerham Historia De Rebus Gestis Glastoniensibus*, ed. Thomas Hearne (2 vols, Oxford, 1727).
[68] Antonia Gransden, *A History of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds, 1182-1256: Samson of Tottington to Edmund of Walpole* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 220.
[69] Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de Exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunelmensis Ecclesie*, ed. and tr. David Rollason (Oxford, 2000), p. 127 and pp. 146-48 for examples. Bury St Edmund has a similar narrative around the unmoveable relics of that saint, recorded in his translation narrative. See Herman, *Miracles of St Edmund*, ed. and tr. Tom Licence with the assistance of Lynda Lockyer (Oxford, 2014), pp. 118-19.

formulae of charter wording acknowledged the spiritual element of the 'devout abbot' or the benefactor 'burning with desire of the heavenly kingdom'.[70] Founders, major benefactors and abbots are identified for their piety and their generosity, the first inseparable from the second. The defence of the rights and privileges of Benedictine houses is presented in moral terms. Thomas of Marlborough's *History of the Abbey of Evesham* (written 1218x1229) provides an example. Thomas is vehement in the protection of his abbey's temporalities and he dedicates a good deal of space to enumerating the abbey's holdings. However, he claims the success of its abbots in prosecuting the abbey's privileges as only one facet of their wider spiritual leadership. Abbot Aethelwig 'was a father to the poor, a judge of widows, wards, orphans, and foreigners, and with great gentleness consoled all who were wretched'.[71] Thomas also addresses the holiness of the founding patrons, who were 'assiduous in prayer and almsgiving'.[72] For these works, the purpose is to record the power of virtuous morals as well as documentary evidence as witness to the legitimacy of the foundation, giving equal weight to both temporal and spiritual elements. This was done most effectively by recording not only the accumulation of lands and privileges and the fight to retain them but also the spiritual superiority of the monastic community and those who supported them. Indeed in one notable episode from the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, it is the power of the abbot's prayers, not his legal acumen that 'confounded the multitude of his advocates'.[73] The early domestic histories commemorated tangible gifts but gave equal weight to the piety that inspired the giving and the spiritual discipline that maintained these gifts in perpetuity, presenting fully dimensional exemplars of Christian behaviour.

[70] *Historia...Abbendoniensis*, i, p. 17 and p. 47.
[71] *History...Evesham*, ed. Sayers and Watkiss, para 159. The chapter goes on to extol Aethelwig's hospitality for pilgrims and guests, his trust in the abbey's officers, and charity.
[72] *History...Evesham*, para, 146.
[73] *Chronicle of Battle*, ed. Searle, pp. 334-5.

After 1350, most of the major jurisdictional questions were settled, leaving later history writers to find a new cause to galvanize their story of the past and, while, P2 domestic histories still perform an instructional function, instead of moral behaviour, they educate the reader in the territorial, jurisdictional, and benefactional history of the monastery.[74] The focus on documentary evidence highlights two elements essential to the practical functioning of a monastic religious community throughout the Middle Ages, which are reflected in these works: the active commemoration of benefactors and the necessity of administrative record-keeping. It was on the basis of the power reasons in their commemorative acts that monasteries were retained the financial and political support of patrons and established themselves as important spiritual sites for all levels of society.[75] Historical records and narratives produced by monastic writers were the textual manifestation of these reciprocal bonds and served the practical need of ensuring the source of each gift was commemorated within the context of the monastery's wider history. As the preface to the second book of the thirteenth-century Ramsey Chronicle states:

> all the grants which have been made to the church at Ramsey from its first foundation are in the present section of this book; we have brought for insertion those which have been preserved as well as those lost or commuted by official exchange, along with the name of benefactors, so that although by some chance those things may themselves be lost to us, yet the memory of the just may be ensured with praise.[76]

When a name of a monk or patron was read out from the martyrology in chapter, the domestic history supplied the reason for its inclusion. As the anniversary settlement of Abbot

[74] An exception is Abbot Curteys' continued jurisdictional arguments with the Bishop of Norwich. Reginald Webber, 'Late medieval Benedictine anxieties and the politics of John Lydgate' (University of Ottawa, 2008), p. 242 but at Durham, Battle Abbey, and Glastonbury, for example, these controversies were settled. See Barrie Dobson, *Durham Priory 1400-1450* (Cambridge 1975), p. 2; *Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. Searle, pp. 1-7; and John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, p. 274) for respective discussions on this.

[75] Benjamin Thompson, 'Habendum et Tenendum: Lay and Ecclesiastical Attitudes to the Property of the Church', in Christopher Harper-Bill and H.S. Heron (eds), *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the Conference held at Strawberry Hill, Easter 1989* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 197–238, especially 233–8 for how this concept was understood in the late Middle Ages.

[76] *The Ramsey Abbey Book of Benefactors*, ed. Susan Edginton et al. (Huntingdon, 1998), pp. 34–5.

Geoffrey Fromond recorded in the Glastonbury Chronicle states, the provisions for anniversaries were read out in chapter in conjunction with the announcement of the anniversary, 'in order that the foregoing instructions may not in future be forgotten'.[77] John Flete attests to a similar concern in his *History of the Abbey of Westminster* (written 1420x1465), saying that he writes his history

> since it is useful, honest and sensibly agreed for men of the church, and especially the religious, to know the privileges and donations of their place and church, in order to praise those from whom they receive the necessities of life and in order to entreat for their devout founders and departed friends peace in Christ.[78]

Flete's introduction indicates a different emphasis found in P2 domestic histories, one that does not just place monastic commemorative actions within a general context of exchange (this was certainly already reflected in P1 histories) but as specific recognition of the prayer-for-keep swap upon which the monastic economy was based.[79] For the Ramsey writer, the act of recording an initial benefaction was itself a part of the commemoration of these pious acts, ensuring that the origins of special masses, distributions of alms, pittances for the monks, and other performed commemorations were not forgotten. Flete, however, focuses on why remembrance is important in the present by linking how the acts of commemoration the monks make on a daily basis, in the here and now, is linked to the supply of their 'necessities of life'. For Flete, it was important for religious to know not only who they were praying for but how that prayer affected their own wellbeing. P2 domestic histories reference this direct connection between the performance of commemorative acts and their material prosperity to a much greater degree than P1 works, as the style of narrative is closer to other administrative documents. Historical writing memorialized the donation of property, a contribution towards building work, a gift of liturgical vestments or tableware in writing, but in tone, wording and

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[77] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, p. 256-57.
[78] Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 35
[79] *Historia Ecclesie Abbenoniensis*, i, p. 3 makes reference to the 'necessities of life of those living therein' at the very beginning of the history of that house. However, in this context, there is no mention of reciprocal commemoration in exchange. The monastery has been founded 'for the worship of almighty God'.

arrangement, it resembled records which bore witness to the performance of commemorative acts. Administrative records such as financial accounts marked the expenses of an anniversary mass, the cost of the perpetual candle, the amount of alms given out at the almonry on a feast day. The accounts of Thetford Priory provide one such example, identifying each expenditure with the associated mass or distribution of alms with the benefactor to be honoured.[80] This strand of historical writing was thus part of a constellation of records that linked domestic narrative histories, which recorded the initial gift, with all the documents which recorded fulfillment of the monastic obligation that the gift imposed. On the spectrum of historical writing, this strand of domestic P2 histories blurred the division between historical narrative and administrative recordkeeping. Flete's preface is an allusion to the exchange relationship memorialized in the monastic archive, recognising that the continued performance of acts of commemoration is the fulfillment of the legal, political and economic relationships of the house.

As domestic histories have always had close connections with administrative records, the suggestion of a perceptible tightening of that relationship may appear to be splitting hairs. However, the specific nature of the shift can be further illustrated by examining the depiction of the monastic abbot in P2 histories. A key component of this examination is the *topos* of the summary assessment of an abbot's term of office. In P1 histories, the final judgement of an abbot's rule was determined by how well he balanced the cultivation of his own virtues, those of his charges, and the temporal health of the monastery.[81] This three-part analysis became a pattern for assessment, often used as a summary at the conclusion of the account of an

[80] *The Register of Thetford Priory*, ed. David Dymond (Oxford, 1995), pp. 24–5, for examples of the annual celebration of masses, giving of pittances and alms, and other offerings are recorded as expenditures. These are repeated year on year.
[81] A similar three-part assessment is used in the funeral sermon of Walter Froucester, Abbot of St Peter's Gloucester, preached by monk John Paunteley on 3 May 1412. Patrick Horner, 'An Edition of Five Medieval Sermons from MS Laud Misc. 706' (Ph.D. Thesis, State University of New York at Albany, 1975), p. 253.

abbot's term, and more broadly as a pattern applied to writing about his term in general. For example, the term of John, the ninth abbot of Fountains in the *Narratio* (written 1203x1227) is concluded with 'the Lord blessed the man in his works, giving him peace inside and out, charity and concord between the brothers, affluence of all good things during his time'.[82] Likewise for Benedict, the first abbot of Selby Abbey who is commemorated in the history of that house (written 1174) having 'advanced himself in his virtues and merits, his brothers in their religion and order, the house in its possessions and property'.[83] Thomas of Marlborough uses these three elements to approach his descriptions of the abbots of Evesham and the abbots in the *Chronicle of Battle Abbey* are subjected to the same three-part assessment.

The standard tripartite summary of personal virtues, care for the monks, and fostering of temporalities found in P1 domestic histories is largely absent from those domestic histories written in P2.[84] John of Glastonbury's *Cronica sive Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie* (written in *c*.1342x1375) provides an early example. John wrote his chronicle in the tradition of William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitates Glastonburiensis* (*c*.1125x1134) and Adam of Domerham's *Libellus de Rebus Gestis Glastoniensibus* (*c*.1247x1291). These two major works provided a continuity of history-writing at Glastonbury and the three works are tightly interrelated. John adheres to Adam's structure and often uses his text verbatim, while Adam mines William's work in a similar way. John's descriptions of abbots differ significantly from those in William and Adam's earlier texts, a tendency especially notable where John

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[82] *Memorials of the abbey of St Mary of Fountains,* ed. J. R. Walbran, James Raine and J. T. Fowler, Surtees Soc. 42, 67, 130 (3 vols, Durham, 1863-1918), i, p. 125, my translation.
[83] *The History of the monastery of Selby / Historia Selebiensis Monasterii*, ed. Janet Burton and Lynda Lockyer (Oxford, 2013), p. 55.
[84] The following discussion of the description of abbots closely follows the argument of a preliminary version of this section published in Claire Macht, 'Changes in Monastic Historical Writing Throughout the Long Fifteenth Century', in Linda Clark (ed), *The Fifteenth Century XVI: Examining Identity* (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 1-25 at pp. 1-12. The lack of inclusion of spiritual aspects of abbatial descriptions is also remarked by Milis, *Angelic Monks*, pp. 142-43, noting especially that its absence from non-contemporaneous historical writing is probably because the oral information about a person's character that informs writing about more recent personages had less chance of survival.

does not rely on Adam or William's writings. For the early abbots, John's work is more derivative of his predecessors. Adam begins each abbatial period with a description of the spiritual and personal characteristics of the abbot. Adam describes Abbot Henry (1189–1192) as

> a man who was distinguished in literary expertise and was endowed with worthy morals in large measure. His powerful character [virtus] was so advantageous for Glastonbury that the memory of his merits will flourish there forever. Ruling the flock committed to him vigorously from the first, he undertook to relate the Lord's commands to the capable disciples with his words, for the simpler to show the truth through his deeds. He molded himself to the habits of all, in order that he might be as beloved as he was respected. The possessions of the monastery being dispersed ... he strove to return them to strength and to augment them by his work.[85]

Adam outlines the three skills of cultivation of personal virtue, spiritual leadership of the monks, and temporal security. John draws heavily on Adam's account of Abbot Henry, repeating it almost verbatim, except for substituting '*industria*' (zeal, diligence) for '*virtus*', with its moral connotations, already suggesting a shift of interest away from moral qualities to the effectiveness of the abbot in the temporal sphere.[86]

John's passage about Abbot John of Kent (1291–1303) is a clearer example of this tendency, being the first abbot for which John lacked Adam as a source.[87] Only the abbot's material benefactions are listed. Like Adam, John lists ornaments that the abbot gave to the convent and the arrangements he made for pittances, implying concern for the community but never explicitly stating this as the reason for the actions. [88] John points the reader outside of the

[85] *Adami...Historia...Glastoniensis*, ed. Hearne, ii, p. 304, my translation. 'Henricus ... vir quem habundans litterarum pericia illustravit, morumq[ue] honestas aprime decoravit. Hujus virtus tanta Glastoniensi ecclesiae praestitit emolumenta, quod ejus ibidem memoria merito vigebit in secula. In primis enim gregem sibi commissum strenue regens, capacibus discipulis mandata Domini verbis proponere, simplicioribus vero factis suis ostendere satagebat. Sic autem omnium moribus sese conformabat, ut singulis tam carus esset quam reverendus. Possessiones monasterii dilapidatas et distractas inveniens, eas viriliter revocare, suoq[ue] labore studebat augmentare'.
[86] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, pp. 164–5, with parallel Latin and English texts.
[87] Adam's history comes to an end with abbacy of John of Taunton, 1274-91.
[88] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, p250-51, and similarly for Geoffrey Fromond, abbot 1303–22, pp. 252–3 and Walter of Taunton, abbot 1322-23, pp. 256–9.

chronicle text to other documents for information about John of Kent's 'other praiseworthy works' and makes no explicit reference to the moral aspects of the abbot's character.[89] John avoids copying out charters or benefactions eliminating even the thin witness to virtue that charters could provide and the wording of the anniversary charter he does include for Abbot Geoffrey Fromond makes no reference to the moral virtues which may have prompted such generosity.[90] This is in contrast to how Adam contextualized similar settlements within a framework of spiritual qualities, such as Abbot Robert's (1171–1178) special love of the poor.[91]

John breaks the pattern with the entry of the last abbot in his chronicle, John of Breynton (1334–42), perhaps because the writer knew him personally. He ascribes Breynton's actions as much to his spiritual virtues as to his business acumen. As prior, Breynton 'bore himself with careful discretion in all the church's business, however difficult, and incurred various labours and dangers upon himself ... Like a good moderator [he] brought the affair to the desired end, with God's help and his own diligence ... Setting spiritual before temporal things, he fostered and protected the obedient and meek, and he reproached and corrected the obstinate and rebellious with moderation'.[92] This is the only abbot for whom John gives equal weight to both spiritual and temporal qualities. For John of Glastonbury, the spiritual character of the abbots of his house was not an element of history that required commemoration in his work. Instead, when he had no prior example to draw on, his interest was fixed on creating a record of the material status of the abbey.[93]

[89] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, pp. 250–1.
[90] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, pp. 254-7.
[91] *Adami...Historia...Glastoniensis*, ed. Hearne, ii, pp. 331, 'vir omnium uirtutum flore ornatus et pauperum specialis amator'. The passage is copied verbatim in John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, pp. 170-1.
[92] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, pp. 266-7.
[93] John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, pp. 254-7.

John of Glastonbury's excision of the spiritual and personal from his descriptions of abbots marks a trend that is developed by later chroniclers. Thomas Burton wrote the only extant chronicle of Meaux *c*. 1398, which was continued by a second anonymous writer to 1417. Meaux was the last of a series of eight Cistercian houses founded in Yorkshire between 1132 and 1150 as part of the initial wave of enthusiasm for the Cistercian reform. Connections were fostered by practical considerations such as the movement of monastic office-holders between houses and common economic and political concerns, as well as shared communication networks.[94] Within a century of their foundations, several of the communities, including Fountains, Kirkstall and Byland, had composed written accounts of their origins. There are strong similarities between the foundation histories, suggesting that the connections between the monasteries included the exchange of texts, in addition to strong influences from the account of the foundation of Citeaux.[95] While no previous foundation history of Meaux is extant, it is likely that the first part of Burton's chronicle is based on a work in the same vein, drawn from one of the 'ancient scrolls and neglected parchments' that Burton references in his preface.[96] It is therefore useful to compare Burton's work with the early narratives from its mother and sister houses.

The *Narratio de Fundatione Fontanis Monasterii in Comitatu Eboracensi* (written 1203x1227) provides extensive portraits of the early abbots of the house, much in the same tri-partite pattern as other P1 domestic histories.[97] The first abbot, Richard (1132-1139) is described as a paragon of early Cistercian asceticism, a man who exhorted his brethren to

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[94] For the influence of manuscript circulation between Cistercian houses in Yorkshire see Janet Burton, *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx* (York, 2006), pp. xxx-xxxix and for connections more generally see Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 98-124 and pp. 164-7.
[95] See Elizabeth Freeman, *Narratives of a New Order* (Turnout, 2002) for the fullest study of this group of foundation narratives.
[96] Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, i, p. 71.
[97] The Latin text is found in *Memorials ... Fountains*, ed. Walbran, i, pp. 1-129 and a translation in Appendix 1 of *The Ruins of Fountains Abbey*, ed. A.W. Oxford (London, 1910), pp. 127-230.

seek out the '*solitudinis secreta*' of Fountains' original inhospitable location.[98] The second abbot, also Richard (1139-1143), had a special love of receiving confessions, and it was this pastoral work which was his greatest contribution to the community. 'He was a marvelous examiner of conscience and healer of wounds of the spirit, and this was the special cause through which he drew everyone's affection to him and excited devotion'.[99] The *Narratio* continues in the same vein, each abbot's individual strengths portrayed as personal virtues which empowered them as abbots. The virtues of the first abbot Richard show 'dignity and pious reverence', being 'provident in counsel, discreet in judgment, concerned with those things of God, and to no small extent learned in sacred scripture', while the virtues of the ninth abbot, John (1203-1211), are enumerated as 'tender to the poor, beneficent to the penitent, attentive to all'.[100] In the description of another Abbot Richard (1150-1170), spiritual virtue and material contributions claim equal importance. 'All of his solicitude was for the health of the souls and for the augmentation of the virtue of his flock, for observing the holy Rule and the discipline of the Order ... the house grew and prospered in those days in exterior possessions, and internally at the same time in piety and religion'.[101] This is yet another example of the three-part 'personal virtue–care for monks–protection of temporalities' trope. The ascetic practices of several abbots are praised, as in the entry for the seventh abbot, William (1179–90), who 'proclaimed war on vice, fought pleasure and mortified his flesh in order to force it to serve the spirit'.[102] For Ralph Haget (1190-1203), the

[98] *Memorials...Fountains*, i, p. 33.
[99] *Memorials...Fountains*, i, p. 74. All translations from this volume are my own. 'Conscientiarum scrutator mirabilis, et spiritualium vulnerum curator; et haec erat causa praecipua per quam omnium ad se trahebat affectum, devotionem excitabat'.
[100] *Memorials...Fountains*, i, p. 71, 'dignam tantae pietati reverentiam exhibiturus', 'in consiliis providum, in judiciis discretum, solicitum in hiis quae Dei sunt, et in scripturis sacris mediocriter eruditum' and p. 126, 'pius ad pauperes, beneficus ad petentes, officiosus ad omnes'.
[101] *Memorials...Fountains*, i, p. 108, 'Summa illi sollicitudo de salute animarum, de augmento boni gregis, de observantia sanctae regulae, et ordinis disciplina.... et aucta est domus, in diebus illis, possessione exterius, intus vero pietate simul et religione'.
[102] *Memorials...Fountains*, i, p. 116, 'Indixit bellum vitiis, voluptati conflictum [et] mortificans membra sua carnem spiritui servire coegit'.

pastoral role of the abbot is emphasised. 'He devoted attention to the inner conscience of the house, permitting some [of the monks] to leave, and freeing others from sensual temptations, calling them back with expert delicacy; emulating the best spirit and always urging more abundant perfection'.[103] These descriptions are personally specific, with spiritual virtues granted equal, if not higher, status along with administrative skill. Indeed, any specific material contributions of the abbots are rarely mentioned, aside from competent husbandry of the monastery's resources. This is a significant omission during a period when the monastery was first being built and new buildings, let alone ornamentation for the church and household, meant welcome improvement in the quality of life for the monks.

The foundation account of Kirkstall abbey (*c.* 1210) provides a similar if briefer example of the dual emphasis on both spiritual and material virtues of its own early abbots. The Kirkstall account concerns itself with the territorial possessions of the fledgling monastery much more than that of Fountains, but the acquisition of property is still described within a context of a holy endeavour. The destruction of a parish church in the original location of Kirkstall is deemed permissible 'that a church should fall provided an abbey be constructed in its stead, so that the less good should yield to the greater'.[104] The first abbot, Alexander (1147-82), pursues confirmation of the abbey's temporalities with the fervour of the newly converted, but is successful because of equal measures of piety as well as prudence.[105] The description of the second abbot, Ralph (1182-1191), follows the well-established summary of personal virtue, care of the spiritual life of the monks, and fostering of temporalities.[106] The third abbot Lambert (1191-*c.*1196) receives similar treatment: 'In his days there was peace among the

[103] *Memorials...Fountains*, i, p. 118, 'Morabatur intus in domo conscientiae, vacans sibi quantum licuit, et a sensualibus secedens illecebris, ad expertas recurrebat delicias; emulans "carismata meliora" er se semper in uberiores urgens profectus'.
[104] 'The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey', tr. E. K. Clark, *Thoresby Society Miscellanea*, 4 (1895), pp. 169-208 at p. 175.
[105] 'Foundation of Kirkstall', p. 179.
[106] 'Foundation of Kirkstall', pp. 181-2.

brethren, harmony with neighbours, a sufficiency in temporal things, in things spiritual a holy rivalry in religion'.[107] The virtuous qualities of subsequent abbots receive similar treatment, some standing out for extreme holiness, like Abbot Turgesius (*c*.1196-*c*.1203), others excelling in administrative skills, but whose spiritual credentials are nonetheless considered equally important, such as Abbot Helias who 'conserved what was collected and the Lord was with him'.[108] Because the early fifteenth-century manuscript of the Kirkstall Foundation account here changes tone, essentially becoming a list of obits for the next nine abbots, it is likely that the original version ended here.[109]

In contrast to the early histories of Fountains and Kirkstall, the lack of spiritual description in the *Chronica Monasterii de Melsa* (*c*. 1398) is thrown into stark relief. Burton's history begins with the foundation of the monastery and, as stated earlier, likely drew on a foundation account similar to those of Fountains and Kirkstall. Yet even the narrative of the initial founding of the monastery is light on any description of the abbot beyond his management skills. Abbot Adam (1150-1160) is 'a man of great prudence' but only that.[110] Most of the abbots are not even censured for poor management skills, despite the history providing many examples of ill-advised land exchanges and the accrual of debts. Even in the description of the drawn-out machinations of John of Ryslay, Burton is restrained.[111] His sole occasion of moral condemnation of Ryslay is when the means he used to entice William Dringhowe (1349-1353, 1367-1372) into debt were 'insidious, perverse and false'.[112] His concern through the contested elections in the second half of the fourteenth century are reserved for the expenses of the legal proceedings. The only abbot for whom Burton provides

[107] 'Foundation of Kirkstall', p. 184.
[108] 'Foundation of Kirkstall', p. 186.
[109] 'Foundation of Kirkstall', pp. 171-2.
[110] Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, i, p. 76.
[111] John of Ryslay was a singularly Machiavellian monk whose troublemaking plagued the abbey between 1349 and 1372. See Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, iii, p. 83-167.
[112] Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, iii, p. 84, 'insidiis, perversitatibus et fallaciis'

any major personal description is the ninth abbot, William Dryfeld (1249-1269), whose sanctity is so pronounced that he is said to have worked miracles.[113] He is described as 'a man of wonderful piety, keeper of discipline, to be emulated in every and all virtues'.[114] Like John of Glastonbury, Burton does not include any of the suggested miracles as 'no one has contrived to have written them down in our books or volumes' and in the end they are a secondary consideration in comparison to the bells that Dryfeld had cast and the building work he undertook during his tenure.[115] Burton locates the virtues of the abbots in the buildings they erect, their successful prosecution of legal cases to maintain the abbey's land-holdings, their donations of church-ware, vestments and pittances and their ability to secure the economic well-being of the house. The list-like format of Burton's narrative, with its litany of 'dedit nobis ... dedit nobis ... dedit nobis', resembles the format and content of the register he also compiled and the cartulary that he carefully annotated.[116] He does not incorporate the archive by copying out charters like the anonymous writer of the Abingdon *Historia*. Rather, he reduces it to a one-line sentence of the gifts given. While his preface declares his intention is to preserve the memory of the deeds of the illustrious men of the past, the deeds that he selects to record show the abbots not as spiritual exemplars but solely as material benefactors. Burton does not use the standard three-part summary of an abbot's tenure found in earlier histories, but instead records where the abbot is buried, the debt of the abbey at the date of his death, and an accounting of assets including farm stock.[117]

The pattern of abbreviated descriptions of abbots is repeated in domestic histories at a number of other monasteries. The history that precedes the cartulary of St Peter's Gloucester

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[113] Hugh of Levena, the fifteenth abbot, is granted a brief description: 'Hic quidem vir erat elegantis staturae, justus et mansuetis', Burton, *Chronica de Melsa* iii, p. 3.
[114] Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, ii, p. 119-20, 'vir mirae sanctitatis, disciplinae custos, omniumque virtutum aemulator eximius'.
[115] Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, ii, p. 120.
[116] Burton's Register is London, BL MS Cotton Vitellius C VI.
[117] For an example, see the final passage for the abbacy of Robert of Beverley in Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, iii, p. 151-2 or for abbot William Dringhowe, iii, pp. 166-7.

(written 1375x1425) is silent on the character of the abbots until those within living memory.[118] Like John of Glastonbury, the anonymous writer directs the reader to another document, the new register compiled at the time of Walter Froucester (1381-1412), for further attestations of abbot Thomas Horton's (1351-1377) virtues, manifest again in the pious generosity of his material benefactions.[119] In his *Historia Maior Wintoniensis*, Thomas Rudbourne focuses on the implied holiness of the early abbots and founders, since so many are saints.[120] Rather than use the standard three-part summary, he copies epitaphs to fill in the spiritual characteristics of the early abbots, an approach that will be further examined in Chapter Three.[121] The *gesta abbatum* of Thorney Abbey (*c.* 1350) and of Winchcombe Abbey also lack the *topos* or other inclusion of spiritual characterizations of their abbots.

The Thorney volume especially reads very similarly to the *Chronica de Melsa*.[122] Known as the Red Book of Thorney, it is a two-volume cartulary written in the first half of the fourteenth century that includes a *gesta abbatum* at the end of the second volume. The first volume includes historical tables, beginning in 1085, with Thorney's first consecrated abbot after the Conquest, Gunther Le Mans.[123] The tables provide four columns, giving the year after the incarnation, the kings of England, the abbots of Thorney and the bishops of Ely. Marginalia include the succession of popes and the archbishops of Canterbury. A brief

[118] *Historia...Gloucestriae*, ed. Hart, i, p. 46 for the exception of John of Wygmore (1328-1337).
[119] *Historia...Gloucestriae*, ed. Hart, i, p. 55.
[120] Rudborne, 'Historia Wintoniensis', i, pp. 179-286 at p. 215. 'Alsinus,...vir regalis pro sapiae et egregiae literaturae'.
[121] Rudborne, 'Historia...Wintoniensis', pp. 279-81.
[122] The Thorney *gesta abbatum* is included in the second volume of the Red Book of Thorney currently Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 3021, fos. 472v-462r. The Winchcombe *gesta abbatum* is no longer extant, though a partial transcription is found in Oxford Bodleian Library MS Twyne 24, pp. 533-58. Extracts were copied by Dugdale before the manuscript was destroyed and can be found in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley et al, new edn (6 vols in 9, London, 1846), ii, pp. 312.
[123] Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 3020, fos. 6-9. The first abbot after the Conquest, Fulchard, was deposed and Gunther of Le Mans was elected in 1085. Fulchard and his predecessor Siward had not received episcopal benediction and this is reflected in the records of the abbey, both the *liber vitae*, *c.* 1450 and the Red Book. In the Thorney *liber vitae*, Siward and Fulchard are listed but not in decorated script and in the Red Book, nothing prior to 1085 is included. The *liber vitae* will be examined in Chapter Three. See also 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Abbey of Thorney', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 2*, ed. L F Salzman (London, 1948), pp. 210-17.

summary of the abbot is provided under the year of his election, relating basic information such as previously held positions or if the abbot was elected from another monastery. The last entry is for Thomas Wisbech in 1463. The tables provide a helpful comparative chronology to aid in the use of the charters that follow.[124] The g*esta abbatum*, covering the abbots from 1085 to 1323 with two later additions to 1365, reflects a similar approach to organisation as Burton's chronicle, with marginalia slightly later than the main script marking out entries relating to rents from specific properties and those relevant to specific monastic officers as an aid to cross-referencing with the preceding cartulary. For example, on fo. 434r five properties are listed in the margin, calling attention to entries regarding Stangrund, Wodeston, Haddon, Newton and the chapel of St Mary at Thorney. On the following folio, income from Sibeston is marked out as allocated to the almoner and the kitchener.[125] The form of display, with the text of confirmations, grants, and ordinances written in black and begun with enlarged initials and the narrative that joins them in red, also aids in navigation. The rubrication usually gives a simple heading to the item that follows, 'De quadam area terre juxta Tolbotham' or 'De quodam mesuagio iuxta ponte[m] de Jakele', similar to Burton's 'dedit nobis... dedit nobis'.[126] The items themselves are usually given in full, including witnesses' names. Longer passages in red mark those which deal with the succession of abbots, but here, where the summary of the tenure of the abbot is expected, little elaboration is given. The account is usually limited to when the abbot was confirmed in his temporalities and spiritualities and by which bishop (usually of Ely). Other marginalia direct the reader to further information about

[124] A similar table precedes a cartulary of Hyde Abbey with the years from the Incarnation, the kings of England, the Abbots of Hyde and the Bishops of Winchester from 872 to 1478 in London, BL MS Harley 1761, fos. 14r-22r.
[125] For example, on fo. 434r five properties are listed in the margin, calling attention to entries regarding Stangrund, Wodeston, Haddon, Newton and the chapel of St Mary at Thorney. On the following folio, income from Sibeston is marked out for the almoner and the kitchener.
[126] These two examples, CUL Add 3021, fol, 430v.

certain abbots, such as the two notes on fo. 427v.[127] Beginning with the tenure of Abbot David in 1238 and subsequent abbots, the *gesta* provides a brief description of the building and beautification activities each abbot undertakes and narrates some of the more complex legal processes, such as the dispute over patronage between the king and the bishop of Ely.[128] Like John of Glastonbury's history, as the account approaches the period contemporary to the writer, the descriptions become more involved, so that Abbots Odo of Whittlesey (1293-1305) and Walter of Clopton (1305-1322) have fuller descriptions than any of their predecessors.[129] The Thorney *gesta* branches wider than either the Glastonbury or Meaux histories with the inclusion of the spiritual provisions endowed by the abbots.[130] The contemporary continuations after Walter of Clopton to the election of William of Haddon in 1347 continue in a similar style. The tripartite *topos* is never used in this work, but the last three abbots receive fuller treatment. Not only are their administrative acts noted but information about their establishment of chantries or anniversary masses also provide a deeper reflection of their spiritual concerns, even if it is still within a context of exchange, not spiritual exemplar. The Thorney *gesta abbatum* is deeply intertwined with the preceding cartulary but, at least for the later abbots, it provides a shadowy reflection of their full character.

The administrative abilities and material generosity recorded in these later domestic histories imply, to some degree, that piety, charitableness and spiritual dedication were inherent qualities of monastic leaders and, considering the materiality of medieval spirituality in

[127] 'Require librum folio xvi de modo el[e]ct[i]onis isti[us] Rob[er]t[i] aliis que fiebant t[em]p[orum] vacat[i]onis p[ost] morte[m] T abb[at]is' and, only partially visible, 'q[uo]r[um] alia scripta ... te[m]p[or]e Rad[ulph]i l[ibrum] fol[io] xxxv'. Other examples on CUL Add 3021, fos. 436r, 437r.
[128] The summary of Abbot David's work is given on CUL Add 3021, fo. 441r. The dispute between the King and the Bishop of Ely is reported on CUL Add 3021, fos 443r-445v
[129] CUL Add 3021, fos. 452v- 453v for Odo, fos. 459v-460r for William of Clopton.
[130] See CUL Add 3021, fos. 422r, 'mandatum pauperum' for food from the abbots table under Abbot Solomon (1175-1193) and 424v, under Abbot Radulphus (1198-1216), the long entry on f. 427v about alms to the hospital, also under Abbot Radulphus.

general, the implication is not one to be dismissed lightly. Deep donations proved deep piety as well as vice versa. However, without the contextualization of spiritual character provided by the more explicit descriptions of P1 domestic histories, those of the later period lack the sense that the writers were intending their histories to serve any other purpose than good accounting. The overtly didactic aspect of historical writing through the provision of moral exemplars, so central to early medieval tradition, is in these P2 works largely absent. Instead, this removal of spiritual elements from the narrative combined with the frequent summary of original documents to a narrative litany of 'goods received' may be a reflection of a programme of archival re-organisation which occurred in a number of monasteries in the fifteenth century.

While monastic muniments have a long tradition as sources for monastic historical writing, regularly plundered by abbots and obedientiaries to provide narrative material for historical writing as well as legal evidence, the number of monasteries that re-visited or re-organised their archives, and sometimes their libraries, after 1350 signaling a renewed engagement with the raw materials of the past. This archival movement cannot be said to have been coordinated between monasteries in any way. Rather, each was led internally by an abbot, who often began his campaign whilst holding one of the other major offices of the monastery. As abbot or other officer-holder, administrative effectiveness depended on a thorough knowledge of the textual evidences contained in the records of their houses.[131] It is therefore no surprise that campaigns occurred at the larger monasteries, such as Bury St Edmund, Durham, and St Albans, whose extensive extant muniments provide an inkling of how

[131] Rodney Thomson first made this suggestion in *The Archives of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds* (Woodbridge, 1980), p. 40. Subsequent research has been done on other individual houses, notably by Michael Spence on the archives of Fountains, but these studies have not been brought together for examination nor viewed in relation to narrative historical writing at the same monasteries.

herculean the task must have been at the time.[132] There is also evidence however that a similar process was underway at a number of other monasteries as well, such as Meaux, Fountains, Glastonbury, Llanthony and Gloucester. The compilation of registers by individual abbots was a common practice much before 1350. What was remarkable about the archival approaches in monasteries after 1350 is that, faced with the choice of using already-existing records, a significant number of abbots instigated new archival compilations using innovative methods of organisation. New levels of documentary specialization led to a greater level of archival sophistication that was reflected in and, at times incorporated, narrative historical writing.

At Meaux, a comparison of Burton's chronicle with the register he compiled and the remaining cartulary of the house shows a distinct mirroring of information, with each document arranged by different criteria: by property (the register), by benefactor (the cartulary) or by chronology (the chronicle).[133] Of the first 207 charters contained in the cartulary, annotated by Burton, 161 can be cross-referenced to the history. Burton not only used the chronicle, cartulary, and register to cross-reference, he also added finding aids, including an index in his register; and a list of the monastic properties that each abbot had authority for during his tenure at the beginning of his chronicle, displaying the ebb and flow of administrative fortune in a tabular format. At Glastonbury, in perhaps what is the earliest of these campaigns, the Great Cartulary was compiled under Abbot John of Breynton (1334–42).[134] The succeeding abbot, Walter of Monyton or Monington (1342-1375) continued the

[132] For this discussion, John Whethamstede's Registers and their interconnections to the archive at St Albans are more relevant than Thomas of Walsingham's historical works. For Whethamstede, see David Howlett, 'Studies in the Works of John Whethamstede' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 1975). For a general discussion of the activity at Durham, see R.B. Dobson, 'The Priory of Durham in the Time of John Wessington, Prior 1416–1446' (D.Phil. thesis, Oxford University, 1963) and for Bury St Edmunds, see Thomson, *Archives ... Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 34-40 and Webber, 'Late Medieval Benedictine Anxieties'.
[133] The Meaux cartulary is London, BL MS Lansdowne MS 424. See also George Orange, 'The Cartulary of Meaux: A Critical Edition' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Hull,1965).
[134] *The Great Cartulary of Glastonbury,* ed. Aelred Watkin, Somerset Record Society 59,63,64 (3 vols, Frome, 1947-56)

campaign of re-organisation with a larger and more visually impressive copy of the Great Cartulary for his own use (*c*.1342-1345) which is preceded by a short chronicle, in addition to his personal register and a separate feodary.[135] More archival registers survive from Walter of Monyton's abbacy than from any other Glastonbury abbot. These new compilations occurred at the same time that John of Glastonbury was writing his *Chronicle*, perhaps prompted by the renewed engagement with the contents of the archive. He frequently directed the reader there for further information. A copy of John's *Chronicle* is appended to a later-fifteenth century cartulary, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 790, a practice continued from the second quarter of the fourteenth century, as copies of Adam of Domerham's chronicle are appended to various cartulary extracts from this period.[136]

At Gloucester, Abbot Walter Froucester (1381-1412) in addition to his personal register, drew up a new cartulary with a new arrangement.[137] Arranged into sections for each monastic officer and then topographically, Froucester anticipates the major innovation of Abbot Curteys at Bury St Edmunds, on a smaller scale. The Gloucester cartulary was compiled in parallel with the composition of a history of the foundation of the community which ends with a list of benefactors who are grouped by the property they endowed. [138] This is a rather distinct way of organising a list of benefactors. The specialized arrangement of the different works allows the user to quickly move back and forth between the different sections to find information. The Fountains Abbey muniments underwent two processes of re-organisation,

[135] G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain*, rev. Claire Breay, Julian Harrison, David Smith, rev. edn (London, 2010), p. 88, #435 gives details of Monyton's *Secretum Abbatis* or *Secretum Domini*. See also *Great Chartulary of Glastonbury*, ed. Watkin, p. x-xi, in which is proposed a date of completion of the *Secretum* between 1340-1342 and of the Great Cartulary, *c*.1338x1340. For the personal register and feodary, see Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, rev. Breay et al, p. 89, #444 and #445.
[136] For instances, see London, BL MS Additional 22934 as noted in Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, rev. Breay et al, p. 89, #440.
[137] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, rev. Breay et al, p. 91, #456
[138] *Historia ... Gloucestriae*, ed. Hart, i, pp. xi-xii and Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, rev. Breay, pp. 91-2 for information on the registers. They are Gloucester, Cathedral Library MSS Froucester Reg. 1393 (#455A) and 1397 (#455), and Froucester Cartulary (#456). Abbot Fourcester's rearrangement of the archives is referenced in the *Historia...Gloucestriae*, ed. Hart, i, p. 50.

first in the late-fourteenth and then again in the fifteenth century. Michael Spence locates a number of changes in the late-fourteenth century cartulary, including a new arrangement of the cartulary itself but also substantial changes to the physical archival space, which possibly moved from a system of chests or boxes to a unit of pigeon-holes.[139] It is the campaign in the fifteenth century, however, that exhibits the highest level of 'archival sense', with a commitment to the inclusion of the full text of charters in the cartulary, logical organisation into sub-groups under the usual alphabetically-arranged topographical headings, and the presentation-level quality of the volumes themselves.[140] Contemporary with this production were a number of other historical works, including the only complete catalogue of Fountains' abbots in the President's book.[141] At Durham Cathedral Priory, Abbot John Wessington (abbot, 1416-1446) led a re-organisation of the library during his tenure as chancellor (1407-1416), and continued the re-organisation of the archives begun around 1400 with the first finding aid, the *Repertorium Parvum*.[142] A second major re-organisation, with more detailed categorization is reflected in *Repertorium Magnum* (created 1462x1464), which continued to be cross-referenced with the priory registers until the Dissolution.[143] Wessington's own register, *Registrum Parvum II*, marks a new level of archival sophistication as well, especially after he handed over its maintenance to the prior's chaplain, an arrangement which may have continued under subsequent abbots.[144] Wessington availed himself of both archive and library to produce a significant level of historical output, whose quality in relation to narrative

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[139] Spence, 'Cartularies of Fountains Abbey, pp. 185-205 at pp. 191-2.
[140] Spence, 'Cartularies of Fountains Abbey', pp. 194-5.
[141] Spence, 'Cartularies of Fountains Abbey', p. 195.
[142] Durham Priory Library Recreated Project, Durham Cathedral Archive MS Repertorium Parvum, https://n2t.durham.ac.uk/ark:/32150/t1mj3860696t.html. See Dobson, *Durham Priory,* pp. 4-6 and pp. 360-9.
[143] Durham Priory Library Recreated Project, Durham Cathedral Archive MS Repertorium Magnum, https://n2t.durham.ac.uk/ark:/32150/t1mpc289j04q.html; and Durham University Library, Online Catalogue, http://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150_s141687h45w.xml#dcdrep-41
[144] Durham Priory Library Recreated Project, Durham Cathedral Archive MS Registrum Parvum II, https://n2t.durham.ac.uk/ark:/32150/t2m8g84mm24q.html and Durham Priory Library Recreated Project, Durham Cathedral Archive MS Registrum Parvum III, https://n2t.durham.ac.uk/ark:/32150/t2mtb09j566b.html

history may be questionable but whose dedication to the practical uses of historical information is not.[145]

At Llanthony Priory, Ian Jack outlines the efforts one brother, Richard Steymur (*c*. 1441), to create a *kalendar* table of the muniments according to the new *scrinium* which had been put in use, which continued to be the benchmark reference for later cartularies, despite its alphabetical finding aid falling out of favour.[146] Steymur then compiled the two-volume Llanthony cartulary, surpassing in its level of presentation-quality those of Fountains.[147] Steymur was not alone in his 'archival flair' and another monk, Robert Cole, assisted him in the compilation of another volume which gives a tenurial history of the urban properties held by the priory, cross-referencing the *kalendar.*[148] Perhaps the most significant archival campaign however was that of William Curteys (abbot 1429-1446) at the royal monastery of Bury St Edmunds.[149] Curteys impressed his administrative activity on the abbey archive before he was elected abbot, holding the position of cellarer (*c*. 1417) and rearranging the records of that office. Once elected, he oversaw a complete re-organisation of the abbey records as well as those of the different abbey offices. His strong sense of archival logic resulted in the vast number of monastic muniments being broken down into manageable volumes, one for each manor, and the separate compilations for each of the abbey's officers being renewed. Curteys left behind no less that fifteen extant archival books. A similar, and perhaps even more explicit mining of the archive for historical writing was undertaken by John Whethamstede at St Albans. David Howlett identifies three grades of registers compiled by Whethamstede, *gesta necessaria*, *acta gesta*, and *gesta paucula*, each containing

[145] See Dobson's review of Wessington's works in comparison to his contemporary John Whethamsted of St Albans, *Durham Priory*, pp. 378-386 and Dobson, 'The Priory of Durham in the Time of John Wessington', pp. 480-541.
[146] R. Ian Jack, 'An Archival Case History: The Cartularies and Registers of Llanthony Priory in Gloucestershire', *Journal of the Society of Archivists,* 4/5 (1972), pp. 370-83 at pp. 375 -6.
[147] Jack, 'Archival Case History', p. 376-7.
[148] Jack, 'Archival Case History', p. 378.
[149] For the following, see Thomson, *Archives...Bury St Edmunds*, pp. 34-40.

information intended for specific uses.[150] Howlett argues that this organisation is part of a system of historical writing that speaks to the breadth of Whethamstede's personal interests and talent in this area but also to the extensive programme of historical work that continued after Thomas Walsingham.[151] Abbots at other monasteries exhibited a less revolutionary approach in their re-organisation, such as at Winchcombe Abbey where Abbot Richard Kidderminster compiled a new cartulary and included the brief *gesta abbatum* already mentioned, or at Thorney where the two-volume cartulary-*gesta abbatum* was undertaken.[152]

All of the monasteries that re-engaged with their archives described above, bar Llanthony Priory, also produced works of narrative history which exhibit the strong influence of that re-engagement, namely the absence of moral exemplars and arrangements that mimic and often interact directly with archival records.[153] Conversely, some of the monasteries which boasted a strong tradition of history writing in P1, such as Peterborough and Hexham, but which fail to appear in P2 data, also have a correspondingly poor showing in the archival department.[154] Monks explicitly understood the role of the archive in driving narrative history: in two cases of contested abbatial elections, the successful incumbent selectively removed or adjusted records that alluded to the period of dissension.[155] The decision of a significant number of

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[150] Howlett, 'Studies in the Works of John Whethamstede' (D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1975), pp. 45-6.
[151] Howlett, 'Studies in the Works of John Whethamstede', pp. 72-4.
[152] See Gordon Thomas Haigh, *The History of Winchcombe Abbey* (M.Litt thesis, Durham University, 1944), p. 4 for a description of Kidderminster's archival efforts and Cambridge, University Library MSS Additional 3020 and 3021 for the cartulary-*gesta abbatum* of Thorney.
[153] See Appendix 1, sheet '1350-1540 (P2)' for specifics on these works. Search Column D for individual locations.
[154] Peterborough and Hexham appear in Appendix 1, sheet '400-1349 (P1)' numerous times and in sheet '1350-1540 (P2)', not at all.
[155] The first is at Fountains Abbey, described in Michael Spence, 'Stimulating the Institutional Memory: the President Book of Fountains Abbey', in Arnaud Bodin and Laurent Morelle (eds) *Les pratiques de l'écrit dans les abbayes cisterciennes (XIIe - milieu du XVIe siècle) Produire, échanger, contrôler, conserver : Actes du colloque international, Troyes-Abbaye de Clairvaux, 28-30 octobre 2015* (Paris, 2016), pp. 293-304 at, pp. 301-3. The second is described in Jack, 'Archival Case History', pp. 373-4. Interestingly, Thomas Burton's continuator, who recorded Burton's own abbacy portrays his decision to resign as a gesture on behalf of the financial welfare of the abbey. There is no sign that reference to his brief tenure was minimized in the archive, perhaps in testimony to Burton's own strong archival principles.

abbots, at major monastic houses like St Albans but also at smaller communities such as Thorney, to undertake for themselves or to oversee campaigns of muniment re-engagement suggests one reason why a particular strand of narrative historical writing reflected a strong archival style, concentrating on recording rather than instructing, on the material rather than the spiritual. Rather than indicate a decreased historical sensibility, this change is a reflection of increased administrative sophistication at the highest levels of monastic leadership.

Domestic chronicle specialization II: the Benedictines and Cistercians

While the first strand of change after 1350 reflected the influence of archival specialization, a second strand emerged that reflected the specific historical interests of the different religious orders.[156] To some degree, these interests resulted from the circumstances through which houses of each of the orders were founded in England, with the Benedictine houses linked to the conversion of the country and the advent of monasticism, the Cistercians with the spiritual dynamism of reform, and the Augustinians with their unique mission of pastoral care under a monastic rule. The interests of the Augustinians took a significantly different path from their monastic counterparts and I will here focus on the Black and White monks, as the changing interests of the Augustinians will be addressed in Chapter Four.

What is quickly apparent from the data set is the number of Benedictine writers who concentrated their attention on the very early origins of their houses. The Benedictine wrote more histories focused on the foundation story of a monastery than any other topic during P2 (fourteen) and as well as in comparison to P1 (an increase of more than 50%). Six of the fourteen do not even approach contemporary time, others give only glancing attention to contemporaneous events. Just as monks had used their historical records to support their arguments against jurisdiction from various bishops in P1, after 1350 they adopted a similar

[156] Note that the two strands are not exclusive from each other. While there is a general division, there are some works, such as the History of Gloucester, that exhibit characteristics of both strands.

research-based approach to prove the ancient origins of their institutions. To some degree, the prestige of age was viewed as a virtue in and of itself, as the sanctity of tradition established by the written word of the Bible was shared by the written word of other documents of religious houses. Despite the often-dubious foundation dates that this could create, such as those for Glastonbury and Crowland, many writers linked the origins of their communities with the apostles or the Augustinian conversion in the sixth century.[157] John Flete again provides a first example. Flete's history of Westminster (written 1420x1465) can be divided into two parts. In the first half of his work, he focuses on establishing documentary evidence for the ancient origins of Westminster from 184 C.E. using extracts from existing histories and the life of St Mellitus, copying out charters, bulls and confirmations that support the divine appointment of the community.[158] To this end he dedicates a significant amount of ink to following the matter of the tithe of the salmon, a benefit granted to the monastery through the miraculous intervention of St Peter. While he is obviously concerned that the monastery gets the fish which are its due, the matter is one of principle because the origins of the tithe establish the apostolic connections of the monastery.[159] This is both its founding miracle and its founding (written) privilege. This first half of the history includes extracts from multiple histories, including the life of St Dunstan, the life of St Edward, the life of St Mellitus, an unnamed Anglo-Saxon chronicle, and Higden's *Polychronicon,* all attesting to the foundation of the monastery. He includes copies of charters from popes, kings and the archbishop of Canterbury in support of the monastery's exemption from control of the bishop of London. He then completes this first half with an enumeration of the relics held by the monastery, emphasising the connection between St Peter's miracle-inspired foundation and its power as a

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[157] For the attempts of John of Glastonbury to reconcile later foundation traditions with the available documentary evidence, see John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle*, ed. Carley, pp. xlviii-lx. For Crowland, see Gransden, *HWE*, ii, p. 400 and pp. 490-2.
[158] Flete, *History of Westminster,* pp. 34-68.
[159] Flete, *History of Westminster*, pp. 38, 44-5 for the initial miracle and pp. 65-7 for the dispute.

locum sanctorum by virtue of being the guardian of the relics of so many holy saints.[160] Thus far, the members of the community itself have been absent from the narrative, but in the second half of the history Flete places the community within the context of this early history, establishing the succession of abbots as an unbroken genealogy of holiness. Flete begins the second part with a retelling of the early history, stressing the special favour bestowed on the monastery through its apostolic connections and the spiritual dynamism of the early church.[161] He then links this heritage to the introduction of monks to the foundation and their unbroken connection from these founders.[162] In the *gesta abbatum* that follows, running up to 1386, Flete provides a slightly fuller picture than the examples in the strand of historical writing discussed previously, but like John of Glastonbury, this is especially so for the early abbots, whose saintly behaviour he makes a point of recording where appropriate, and the later abbots whom he knew personally.[163] Even for these, he follows a specific formula for all the entries and this limits the amount of actual narrative he provides. Each entry includes the date of election, references major privileges, grants or legal issues that arose during the tenure, his date of death, place of burial and any materials related to his anniversary. Within this narrative structure, the emphasis remains on the material aspects of each abbot's rule, rather than the spiritual elements of his leadership. Flete dedicates his narrative powers to the origins of the material wealth of the monastery, while the more formulaic nature of the second continues this privileging of practicalities over piety.

The focus on the apostolic or otherwise ancient origins of a community was also the focus of Thomas Rudborne's history of Winchester (written 1447x1454). Rudborne focused his work on refuting the claim of Glastonbury Abbey to be the oldest monastic foundation in England.

[160] Flete, *History of Westminster*, pp. 68-75.
[161] Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 76.
[162] Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 77.
[163] St Wulfsin in Flete, *History of Westminster*, p. 79-80, is one example of the former and Simon Langham in Flete, *History of Westminster*, pp. 130-4 an example of the latter.

The sole manuscript runs until 1138 but, as the end is damaged it is likely to originally have continued to a later date. Like Flete, his first concern is establishing the credentials of antiquity, citing old chronicles to prove the correctness of his dates (he sets the first monastic foundation at Winchester in 169 C.E.) and linking the first re-foundation with the early English martyrs SS Alban and Amphibalus.[164] He connects events of the distant past with more recent events, such as original burial of St Amphibalus with the discovery of his relics during the reign of Henry II.[165] He carefully marks exactly when Winchester became a Benedictine monastery and that this occurred at the same time it became a bishop's seat.[166] While Rudborne arranges his history by royal reign and covers many more subjects than Flete, with digressions that include the origins of monasticism itself and bilingual vocabulary lists, Winchester Abbey is always brought back to the centre of the narrative, its antiquity casting its shadow over its entire history, anchored within a narrative of the early English church.[167]

Other Benedictine historical writers also turned to the origins of their monastery after 1350. Thomas Elmham at St Augustine's, Canterbury wrote a history beginning with the arrival of St Augustine in *c*. 597 and running to 806, though he includes documents until 1191 and the tabular timeline that introduces the work suggests he intended to continue it. One of John Wessington's works is another examination of Durham cathedral's early history, in the tradition of Symeon of Durham's similar *Libellus*. At Colchester, an anonymous monk drew up an account of the founding of that abbey and the advent of the Benedictines there.[168] The history of Gloucester Abbey has already been examined above and a monk at Tewkesbury

[164] Rudborne, 'Historia...Wintoniensis', i, pp. 181-6.
[165] Rudborne, 'Historia...Wintoniensis', i, pp. 185.
[166] Rudborne, 'Historia...Wintoniensis', i, pp. 180.
[167] Rudborne, 'Historia...Wintoniensis', i, pp. 220-3 and pp. 260-2
[168] The Foundation of Colchester Abbey is transcribed and translated in H.J. Dukinfield Astley, 'Medieval Colchester – Town, Castle and Abbey – from MSS in the British Museum', *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society,* New Ser. 8/2 (1901), pp. 117-38 at pp. 122-35.

Abbey drew up a similar account for that house to preface the Founder's Book, a *liber benefactorum* drawn up at that same time. The Book of Hyde Abbey, re-copying the early history of the house from earlier works including the *liber vitae* into a new volume, is another contemporary re-engagement with the origins of a Benedictine monastic foundation. These authors from Benedictine houses across England focused specifically on the connections between their community and the earliest days of the English church. Many of them include connections to early saints like SS Alban and Amphibalus or King Lucius and set their origins within the mythical English past of Geoffrey of Monmouth. All of them make a point of marking the introduction of Benedictine monks to the monastery, linking the advent of the monastic community with the origins of English Christianity.[169]

A number of these volumes have more than one manuscript, including those of Gloucester and Durham, which suggests a degree of circulation, perhaps for other members of the same monastery. The connections to the ancient history of the community and their reliance on early charters place them halfway between a universal history which would be kept in the library, and a domestic chronicle like that of Meaux with a closer connection to the abbey muniments and likely to have been kept there. While John Flete protested that monks must know to whom they are indebted for their daily bread, most cannot be found in any extant library catalogue. The histories of Gloucester, St Augustine's Canterbury, Tewkesbury, Winchester, Westminster, because of their inclusion of charters and documents, may originally have been used as personal registers by different monastic officers, as part of archival campaigns. Wessington's Durham volume also suggests this possibility. It is only

[169] Nicholas Popper positions antiquarian efforts of the Tudors, specifically Bale, along of the same lines of plumbing the archives to create a new history. Popper, 'From Abbey to Archive: Managing Texts and Records in Early Modern England', *Archival Science*, 10/3 (2010), pp. 249-66 at pp. 253-54.

when considering another non-codex formats of similarly-focused historical works, to be addressed in Chapter Three, that other possibilities become apparent.

Cistercian writers adopted a slightly different focus in many of their domestic histories. The Cistercians were not able to link the foundation of their houses to the earliest years of Christianity in England, nor even with the pre-Conquest Church simply because of their later foundation dates. The first English Cistercian foundation began in 1128. Without the claim of early origins but with an equal interest in their own past, Cistercian writers focused on the genealogies of their patrons instead. The Mohun Chronicle (1341x1348), probably written by the abbot of Newenham abbey, is an early example of this strand of Cistercian chronicle development. It was written specifically for Joan de Mohun in Anglo-Norman, a distinct departure in audience and language from the usual cloistered accounts of monastic writers.[170] Other Cistercian works that include a focus on patrons include the foundation history of Pipewell (1320x1350) founded by William Batevileyn, the two works on the de Lacy family from Kirkstall (*c*.1475x1525) and Whalley (*c*.1450x1537) abbeys, and another from Ford (earliest version compiled 1340x1425), whose patrons were the Courteney family, in addition to Thomas Burton's work from Meaux (written 1388x1402) which gives not only the genealogies of the founding Aumale family but those of several of the abbey's minor patrons

[170] John Spence, 'The Mohun Chronicle: An Introduction, Edition and Translation', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 55 (2011), pp. 149-216 at pp. 163-8.

as well.[171] Gransden points out that, when it came to land transactions, Burton needed to show the validity of descent of the patron in order to prove the validity of any grants.[172]

This is not to say that Benedictine and even Augustinian canons were remiss in remembering their patrons. The powerful Mortimers were the focus of genealogical works at the Augustinian houses of both Wigmore (*c*.1350x1399) and Ludlow (*c*. 1338x1350).[173] The Benedictines at Whitby honoured their Percy patrons in a genealogical roll (1485) and those at Walden Abbey created a genealogy of the Mandeville family (1409x1538).[174] The monks at Tewkesbury abbey drew up a genealogy roll of the Dukes of Gloucester on the verso of a royal genealogy (1425x1445).[175] But the founders of Cistercian abbeys assumed key positions in the narrative historical writing of the Cistercian houses, not as separate works but as a key element in the narrative of the monasteries' history from which the community gained prestige. The Benedictines focused on establishing the earliest foundation date possible. The Cistercian focused on embedding their origins with the regional constellations of noble patronage.

The Augustinians are the one order that does show a marked decrease in formal historical compositions, especially in the area of domestic histories. A small number of houses had a brief revival of annalistic writing after 1350, at Dunstable, Hickling, Waltham, Butley and, at

[171] For Pipewell Abbey, see Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley et al, v, pp. 434-8; Whalley Abbey, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, v, pp. 647; Kirkstall Abbey, Carter '*'So it was abowte iii yeres*, pp. 107-32 at p. 119; Jeanne E. Krochalis, 'History and legend at Kirkstall in the fifteenth century', in P. R. Robinson & Rikvah Zim (eds), *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays presented to M. B. Parkes* (Aldershot, 1997), pp. 230–56; Ford Abbey, George Oliver, *Monasticon dioecesis Exoniensis, being a collection of records and instruments illustrating the ancient conventual, collegiate and eleemosynary foundations in the counties of Cornwall and Devon, with historical notices* (London and Exeter,1846), pp. 341-6; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley, v, pp. 377-382 and James Clark, 'Cistercian Histories in late Medieval England, and Beyond', in Karen Stoeber, Julie Kerr and Emilia Jamroziak (eds), *Monastic Life in the Medieval British Isles* (Cardiff, 2018), pp. 3-25; Meaux Abbey, Burton, *Chronica de Melsa*, i, pp. 90-3, 96-104.
[172] Gransden, *HWE*, ii, pp. 370-1.
[173] For Wigmore, see 'The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey', ed. J.C. Dickinson & P.T. Ricketts, *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists', Field Club*, 39 (1969), pp. 413–45; Ludlow, London, BL MS Cotton Nero A IV.
[174] Whitby, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley Rolls 5; Walden, Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. Caley et al, iv, pp. 139-41.
[175] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. Misc. b. 2.

the very last, Thornton Priory, which recorded both local and national events.[176] The more substantial Lanercost Chronicle covers much the same areas, with the added importance that what was happening locally was of national import, perhaps reflecting the earlier northern centres of historical writing at Hexham and Guisborough which are absent from the bibliography after 1350.[177] It may be that the Augustinians did not share the same historical sensibilities of the Benedictines and Cistercians but this may also be an indication of the different historical interests of the order of canons, with responsibility for cure of souls, as compared to those orders under the Benedictine-derived rules. However, Henry Knighton's Chronicle, the major Augustinian contribution to historical writing during the later period, appears to be less of an outlier for the order once some of the suggestions for how the Augustinians did choose to exercise their historical sensibilities are explored in Chapter Four and in the Augustinian contribution to the final strand examined below.

Histories of monasticism

In 1950, William Pantin wrote an article about a treatise on monastic origins, the *Speculum cenobitarum*, that he had traced through thirteen manuscripts belonging to seven different monastic houses, all but one Benedictine.[178] Likely written shortly before the date of the first manuscript (labeled 'A', *c*.1361-7), the treatise tells of the Biblical origins of monasticism and the emergence of the Benedictine order as the 'preferred' mode of religious life of the Church; this is then, in all of the manuscripts followed by various miscellanies on related subjects, from a list of monastic saints to the foundation dates of other monastic orders. Each manuscript is a slightly different version of the same treatise, with varying additions or exclusions of the additional material. The treatise was especially popular at Durham, where

[176] See Appendix 1, sheet '1350-1540 (P2)', lines 124 (Dunstable annals), 246 (Hickling), 54 (Waltham), 304 (Butley), and 299 (Thornton).
[177] *Chronicon de Lanercost,* ed. Stevenson and Appendix 1, sheet '1350-1540 (P2)', line 203.
[178] Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', pp. 189- 215. See also, Clark, 'Selling the Holy Places', pp. 16-18 for another discussion of the same treatise.

five of the thirteen manuscripts, can be located, though the most emulated recension, 'Q' originated at Glastonbury.[179] Some of the manuscripts give the indication of being personal commonplace books; one, originating from Bury St Edmunds, may have used as a teaching aid for novices.[180] Such a treatise, with more extant manuscripts than most of the historical works listed in the dataset, suggests that interest in the topic was widespread. The Speculum and its recensions, while it may have been the most circulated, was not the only work on the origins of the monastic orders to be written after 1350. Three others, one reflecting on the origins of the Augustinian canons and the other two on the history of the obscure Order of the Holy Trinity, suggest that members of religious orders showed a growing sense of affiliation not only with their individual communities but with their wider order. This is the final trend in historical writing that emerges from the dataset.

Pantin placed the Benedictine treatise within the context of the challenge to monastic endowments and the continuing conflicts between the regulars and the mendicants, as one of the additional items addresses this issue. While the arguments between the friars and the regulars suggest jurisdictional issues were a continued concern throughout the later Middle Ages, these often tended to be on a local level over specific incidences where the jurisdictional boundaries of preaching or burial fees had been breached. The anti-clericalism that fuelled the endowment controversy in the late fourteenth century was of wider import for all religious orders and a number of other writers addressed the same topic, as in Thomas Elmham's history of St Augustine's, or account of the Foundation of Colchester.[181] Gathering historical evidence in support of an argument was a typically monastic response to this threat.

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[179] The MSS associated with Durham are London, BL MSS Cotton Vitellius E XII, Arundel 507, Harley 4843, Durham, Cathedral Library MSS B III 30 and B IV 41. 'Q' is Oxford, Queen's College MS 304, discussed Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', pp. 196-8.

[180] This is Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 240, discussed Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', pp. 194-6.

[181] Elmham, *Historia ... Cantuariensis*, ed. Hardwick, pp. 208-10. 'Plura itaque his similia ecclesiae aemulis evenisse leguntur; quibus possent moderni heretici atque ecclesiasticae libertatis emuli incitari as sanctae ecclesiae matris nostrae timorem pariter et amorem', p. 210; Dukinfield, 'Foundation...Colchester', p. 132.

The treatise examined by Pantin uses the biblical origins of monasticism to contextualize the religious way of life within the sacred inheritance of authentic Christian practice, in defiance of Wycliffite criticism about Christian practices without biblical origins.[182] The use of biblical evidence in defence of monasticism also suggests that the loyalties previously only exhibited towards individual communities now extended outside of the precinct walls to other house of the same order and to fellow religious of any order. The extent to which monastic loyalties were divided between monastic community, monastic order and monasticism as way of life is difficult to assess. General chapters, one of the main structures with the potential to foster a sense of corporate identity within an order, were implemented for all orders after the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, following the model of the Cistercians. The Benedictines in England only began combined general chapters of both the York and Canterbury provinces in 1336. [183] The Augustinians originally held combined chapters of the two provinces but between 1220 and 1340, they were separated.[184] However, uniformity of observance was practically difficult.[185] The variety of liturgical practices that persisted into the sixteenth century illustrates some of the difficulties of implementing customs that would foster strong fellow feeling between communities. However, entire orders were brought up for criticism, not individual houses, and these histories suggest that, prompted by challenges from the secular clergy and from the laity, there was a deepening awareness of a wider corporate identity as Benedictines and Augustinians, and of the religious orders as a specific kind of religious mode of living as a whole.[186] Considering some of the additional material surrounding the treatise in the commonplace books, this awareness was not wholly defensive

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[182] See also Clark, ‘Selling the Holy Places’, p. 17.
[183] W. A. Pantin, ‘The General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215-1540’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (1927), pp. 195-263 at pp. 195-6.
[184] Knowles, R*eligious Orders in England*, i, pp. 28, 30.
[185] See Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, i, pp. 9-27 for assessment of chapters for the Benedictines and pp. 28-31 for the Augustinians. For both orders, liturgical observance and, for the Benedictines at least, maintaining practices around commemorative prayer were issues that divided the houses.
[186] Webber, ‘Late medieval Benedictine anxieties’, pp. 11-12 and 239-46 also suggests that the ecumenical councils at Pisa, Konstanz and Basle forged a new conception of shared Benedictine identity in the order.

either. Pantin notes devotional material in three of the manuscripts and only the version of the treatise which Walsingham elaborated further develops the arguments against the Lollards and, to a lesser extent, the Augustinian canons.[187] The other re-workings of the treatise focus on the historical basis for monasticism, especially the connections between Benedictine monasticism and the apostolic life, and expand on the lists of monastic saints, writers, and missionaries and the various lists of Benedictine communities in England. The polemic that the versions of the treatise presented was one based on the authority of time and tradition and if, as suggested by James Clark, they were written to promote the role of the monastic order in contemporary society, that role was firmly fixed as guardians of England's Christian heritage.[188]

The other three treatises support the suggestion that there was an increasing sense of cohesiveness as an order, one by adopting a defensive approach, the other reflecting a more devotional interest in monastic origins. In a compilation from Kenilworth Priory in Warwickshire, there is a treatise on the origins of the Augustinian canons, written in direct response to previous work by an Augustinian friar, who had dared to suggest the friars had historical precedence.[189] Entitled '*Cronica cuiusdam veritatis amici in argumentum fundationis canonicorum regularium ordinis S. Augustini, doctoris et episcopi*', the treatise links the foundation of the canons with the life of Augustine of Hippo which, while not biblical, mirrors a similar concern with locating the origins of the order within the time frame

[187] The three manuscripts with devotional material are London, BL MSS Arundel 507, Harley 4843 and Cambridge, Caius and Gonville College MS 230. The Walsingham recension of the treatise is London, BL MS Cotton Claudius E IV, which also includes the St Albans *Gesta Abbatum*. See Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', pp. 202-6.
[188] Clark, 'Selling the Holy Places', p. 19.
[189] London, BL Additional MS 38665, fos. 6r-13v. The treatise is dated *c*. 1420. Geoff Hilton argues against this treatise being copied by Strecche on paleographic grounds and even against the compilation of the volume as it stands during Strecche's time at Kenilworth. The treatise is at least contemporary with Strecche and the volume was compiled at Kenilworth. See Geoff Hilton, *John Strecche, Canon of Kenilworth: The Life and Times of a Medieval Historian* (Kenilworth, 2004), pp. 53-4.

of the apostolic church.[190] Similar to the Benedictine treatise it also includes additional material specifically related to the history of the canons and what made them unique as an order, including a list of the Augustinian abbeys and priories in England and Wales and brief narratives of the general chapters of the English Austin canons from 1325 to 1350.[191] The collection fulfils much the same function as the Benedictine treatise, defending the order from attacks by non-canons, specifically using the authority of historical precedent to claim a greater degree of religious authenticity. The power that this narrative conveyed, a power based within its historical meaning, was worth protecting. It argues that the Augustinian canons, because they adhered to the original form of life under the Rule, were spiritually privileged above the Austin friars.

The other two treatises, one in Latin and one in English, are both about the origins of the Trinitarian order and are included in the same compilation. This is a collection of materials related to St Robert of Knaresborough, himself not a Trinitarian but, similar to the way in which Bede was adopted by the Benedictines, Robert was adopted as a Trinitarian when they took over the site of his original hermitage.[192] The Order of the Most Holy Trinity and Redemption of Captives was established in 1198 by St. John de Matha with its own Rule outlining a particular dedication to the Holy Trinity, a quasi-communal lifestyle, and the aim of ransoming Christians held prisoner because of the Crusades.[193] The Trinitarians were not

[190] BL MS Add. 38665, fo. 6.
[191] The list of Augustinian abbeys and priories is BL Add 38665, fos. 15-19 and the accounts of the chapter, fos. 19-29, all in the same hand, with some later additions. Hilton, *John Strecche, Canon of Kenilworth,* pp. 54 gives a full list of contents of the manuscript. See also BLAMC entry under ‘Additional 38665’, http://searcharchives.bl.uk/IAMS_VU2:IAMS032-002057977.
[192] London, BL MS Egerton 3143. The two accounts of the Order of the Holy Trinity are printed in *The Metrical Life of Robert of Knaresborough*, ed. Joyce Bazire, EETS 228 (London, 1953), pp. 72-6 (English) and pp. 144-8 (Latin).
[193] Giulio Cipollone, ‘Trinitarians’, in *The Encyclopedia of the Middle Ages*, ed. André Vauchez (London, 2002), Oxford Reference (2005), https://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780227679319.001.0001/acref-9780227679319-e-2875. Interestingly, the Trinitarians were very active in cultivating confraternity agreements, perhaps as part of their fundraising efforts. See R. Swanson, ‘‘Mendicants and Confraternity in Late Medieval England’, in James Clark (ed), *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 121-41, at pp. 127-8.

fully monastic but were not considered mendicants either, falling more within the Hospitaller tradition.[194]They lived in common and were not cloistered in any way.[195] Named after the Holy Trinity, their rule revolved around threes. Their income was divided in three, one part for their own sustenance, one third for charity, and one third to free the imprisoned. The Trinitarians were not a large order, having only ten houses in England.[196] The manuscript, London, BL Egerton 3143, will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Four but the two order-specific items are examined here. They both reflect not only an attempt to link a non-monastic saint with the order that took over his *loca sanctorum*, but an awareness of being part of a community much larger than the small group at Knaresborough.

Both the English and the Latin accounts of the foundation of the order are in verse. The foundation accounts are an interesting inclusion amongst the other saint-specific material in the Egerton manuscript, especially as Robert himself was not a Trinitarian, nor was he any other kind of monk. Indeed, a good part of his Life is taken up with issue of him not living under a rule. Both the English verse life and the Latin prose life include an episode in which Robert's brother Walter approaches him with a request to move 'whare þat þi liste ys best to be, / in couent, closter or company' which Robert refuses to do.[197] While he spent time at the Benedictine house at Hedley and the Cistercian monastery at Newminster, he created his own informal community as a hermit, gathering a group of poor people for whom he provided, four servants, and a loyal companion, Ivo. The monks of Fountains attempt to make him adopt the Cistercian habit just before his death and then stage an attempted robbery of his

[194] David Knowles and Richard Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (New York, 1972), p. 180-1.
[195] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, p. 248 where the organisation of the Trinitarians is linked to that of the Dominicans. See *Metrical Life*, pp. 17-19 for a summary of the main tenets of the Order.
[196] *Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, II: 1216-1377*, ed. David Smith and Vera London (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 532-4. There is some questions as to the affiliation of two other houses, one at Donnington (possibly a house of Crutched Friars) and a cell at Little Totnes. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed Caley et al, vi, part 3, p. 1562.
[197] *Metrical life*, p. 57 (lines 496-7) in the Middle English verse life and p.119 for the same episode in the Latin prose life.

body, hoping to bring it back to Fountains to make it the centrepiece of a shrine there but are thwarted by the local populace who are forewarned by Robert, who prophesied the attempted theft.[198] The adoption of Robert as a Trinitarian after his death appears in direct opposition to Robert's slightly anti-monastic position and so suggests that the order foundation-accounts are strategically included to mitigate this aspect of Robert's legend.

Despite this apparent distaste for the regular life, by the time Leland was making his itinerary, Robert was seen as the founder of the Trinitarian house at Knaresborough.[199] The two foundation accounts do not make outright claim to Robert as their founder but, nonetheless, they co-opt Robert as 'their' saint by taking over the hermitage and subsequently-built priory where he had lived, as well as the regulation of his cult. The English version of the foundation legend, entitled 'De initio creacionis ordinis Sancte Trinitatis', carefully iterates the inheritance of

The place wyth the appurtinaunce
Thann gyffen was to hys gouernance;
he gaff ytt – ȝytt all men may se –
To Couerham wyth a charter fre,
Þair to fynd perpetuely
Tway chanons syngand sykyrly...
Bott clerly kanne I noght reherce
How ytt wentt outt off þair hand,
Bott trwely als I vndyrstand
That ytt some tyme stode desolatte
For dede or elles for some debaytte,
and sway entird ay to be
The Ordir of the Haly Trinite.[200]

By inheriting the land, hermitage and chapel that Robert had held, the Trinitarians gained not only the income that accrued from these endowments but allowed them to lay claim to the power of his protective sanctity too. The order-foundation account goes on to describe the

[198] See *Metrical Life*, ed. Bazire, pp. 126-127 for the episode in the Latin prose life.
[199] John Leland, *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England,* ed. John Chandler (London, 1993), p. 562. 'So he affiliated his group with the order of friars whose purpose was the ransom of prisoners, known as the Trinitarian friars'.
[200] *Metrical Life*, p. 73, lines 1019-1032.

two founders of the order as two hermits as well, creating a historical precedent for the solitary life as lived by Robert within the order and thus strengthening the spiritual ties between Robert and the Trinitarian founders.[201] The two founding figures of the order, SS John de Matha and Felix of Valois did indeed live as hermits whilst formulating their Rule, which specified that there were to be three brothers at any one Trinitarian foundation, creating an quasi-hermitage at each foundation. There is perhaps a link between this three-person arrangement and the four servants who lived with Robert, according to his *vita* in the same volume.[202] Moreover, Robert's *vita* places his eremitical practice within the circle of the reforming Norbert of Xanten, who also began as a hermit and, with the adoption of the Augustinian Rule, founded the Premonstratensians.[203] Joshua Easterling illustrates the direct linkages between the Latin prose life and the *Vita Norberti* B, highlighting that the passages borrowed are specifically concerned with the regularisation of Robert/Norbert's way of life, positioning him in the historical tradition of a monastic reformer.[204] The concerns of the composer are not necessarily those of the compiler of the manuscript however. The compiler of the Egerton manuscript has all three *vitae*, which portray Robert in a variety of guises. He is a holy hermit, a spiritual leader of a community with followers, an origin point for the Trinitarian house, a figure in the tradition of hermit-founders. It is the inclusion of the two foundation accounts that pushes the construction of Robert beyond that of 'founder in the tradition of' to a larger conception of Robert as central to the Trinitarian presence at Knaresborough. The *vitae* and foundation account entries in Egerton 3143, by drawing

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[201] *Metrical Life*, p. 75, line 1083. The Latin foundation account makes a similar claim, see p. 147, stanzas 32-34.
[202] Metrical Life, ed. Bazire, p. 50, lines 265-6. 'He hired and had þaime to hys handes, Alls scriptur says, four seruandes'.
[203] Joshua Easterling, 'A Norbert for England', *The Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 2, 2013, pp. 75-107. Easterling outlines the interconnection between houses of Premonstratensians, Augustinian Canons and Trinitarian houses in the northern region and the potential for textual exchange between them, p. 80, n. 16. Of particular interest is the potential for the Middle English Life to have been written by a Trinitarian at the more northerly house at Walknoll, nearby to Premonstratensian community at Coverham, which community initially inherited Robert's chapel and hermitage after Ivo's death.
[204] Easterling, 'Norbert for England', p. 78, and pp. 82-82.

connections between Robert's eremitical lifestyle, the historical origins of the Trinitarians, and the tradition of eremitical founders of other religious orders, and by arguing for the inheritability of sanctity through continuity of ownership of a saint's loca sanctorum, show that the association of a saint with a specific vision of the regular life continued to be seen as a powerful tool in the articulation of that community's identity.

One foundation account is not simply the translation of the other, although they do cover many of the same points and follow a similar narrative pattern.[205] The English account explains first how the order came to take over Robert's hermitage but then expands to address the foundation of the order and its purpose to free captives in the Holy Land.[206] It likens this mission to the Biblical text Matthew 20:28, that Jesus has come to serve, not to be served, and makes an explicit connection between this verse and Jesus' later instructions to the apostles.[207] Just as the Benedictine treatise finds monastic precedents in the Old and New Testament, the Trinitarian writer attempts to make a similar connection to the same time period and inheritance. The second connection to the Benedictine treatise is the explanation of the Trinitarian habit, the white colour of which references the angels who witnessed the resurrection and the red and blue cross marked on the front references the blood of Jesus' redemption and the water of baptism.[208] The description and explanation of monastic clothing is addressed in all the treatises considered here, including the *Speculum cenobitarum*. Part of the affront that the Augustinian author counters is a specific instance when St Augustine was depicted in the habit of the Austin friars, rather than the habit of the canons, and the origins of

[205] While the wording is different, Bazire points out where the two accounts are in accord, though the Latin one is often more verbose. See *Metrical Life*, pp. 98-9.
[206] *Metrical Life*, p. 73, line 1015-18, 1031-2, 'Eftyr the tyme Roberd was dede / Yue wouned styll in þatt stede, / Apperand in perfeccioune / To serue God in subieccioune ... And sway entird ay to be / The Ordir of the Haly Trinitie'.
[207] *Metrical Life*, p. 74, lines 1061-4, 'Oure Sauiour sais, yff ytt be soghte, / 'Her to be serued come I noght, / Bott forto serue I come myself' / Þis same he schewed vnto twelff'. In the Latin account, p. 147, verse 30, '"Huc non veni minstrari, / Sed ministrare moribus"'.
[208] *Metrical Life*, p. 74, lines 1065-76, 'The clethinge of þise men perfyte... Þe blewe for the water þat wyth ytt yode.

the tonsure and the clothing of the early Egyptian desert fathers are both addressed in the *Speculum*.[209] Sumptuary rules were a serious matter of the law and, for the religious, the habit was also a singular aspect of communal identity and a visible manifestation of their spiritually superior way of life.[210] The connection between the Trinitarian habit and the origins of the order are elaborated and implicit links are drawn between Robert the hermit, the two hermit founders of the Trinitarian Order itself, and the community at Knaresborough through their shared eremitical way of life and devotion to the Trinity.[211] The Latin treatise covers much the same ground but goes into greater detail about the suffering of the captives which is the distinctive purpose of the Trinitarian order. This focus on the suffering of pilgrims in the distant Holy Land strengthens the impression that the community of Knaresborough is connected with a larger Christian world, physically present in northern England but outward-looking to the Christian community abroad.[212] The treatises are moreover positioned within a context of prayers and meditations, positioning the history of the order outside of the defensive approach of the Augustinian treatise and some of the versions of the *Speculum cenobitarum* but instead as a focus of spiritual contemplation. In this way the treatise fosters a communal identity through a positive reinforcement of the past, rather than solely in opposition to an alternative.

While the number of works focusing on the origins of the different monastic orders and the origins of monasticism itself is not large, their emergence suggests that writers in religious orders adopted the same documentary defence of their order and vocation, based on the precedence of the past, as they did of their domestic rights and privileges. The strengthened

[209] Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', p. 191, parts vii and viii of the 'A' version of the *Speculum and retained in 'Q'*.
[210] Alejandra Concha Sahli, 'The Meaning of the Habit: Religious Orders, Dress and Identity, 1215-1650' (Ph.D. thesis, University College London, 2017), especially pp. 29-33
[211] *Metrical Life*, p. 74-6.
[212] *Metrical Life*, p. 146, lines 18-22.

connections between historical writing and the monastic archive emphasised the role of monastic communities in the guardianship of the past. The trend within individual domestic histories to focus on the early foundation years of Benedictine and Cistercian monasteries positions these monastic institutions at the fulcrum of a historical narrative that linked the apostolic Christian past with a specifically English history. Whether in the origins of their monastery or the origins of their order, the trends in P2 monastic history writing developed a third temporal framework, neither ancient nor contemporary, but mid-way between the two. This new timeline privileged the past of England as a Christian nation and placed monastic communities as the inheritors, keepers and writers of this new history.

The placement of many of these works in compilations intended for personal perusal suggests that these histories armed individuals with proofs of the wider significance of religious life within medieval society. How these proofs were used, in verbal reposte within everyday conversation or intellectual debate, as a part of the circulation of materials within monastic networks, or perhaps from the pulpit or other public fora is difficult to ascertain. The verse format of the Trinitarian works and of parts of the additional material in the Augustinian treatise, the use of English for one of the Trinitarian works and of Anglo-Norman for at least one of the Cistercian histories, as well as the location of the additional lists of monastic saints and the Colchester recension of *Speculum cenobitarum* on church tablets all suggest alternative, non-monastic uses of the historical writings examined above. If any of the historical works studied thus far were intended as polemical apologia on behalf of monasticism or its individual communities, other delivery mechanisms than the written page needed to be used. The next two chapters will examine some of the possible avenues that monastic communities used to migrate historical writing from the page to the public.

Chapter Three: Visible Text: Historical Writing as Object

In the previous chapter, two of the trends identified in late medieval historical writing were a focus on the early histories of monasteries and their connections with founding patrons. The former was a particular focus of Benedictine histories, the latter a highlight of Cistercian works, though neither trends was exclusive to the respective order. A further trend was an interest in the history of monasticism itself. The historical writing around these topics concentrated on the links between the origins of either a monastic community or a monastic order in relation to the origins of the English church. Further questions are thus raised by these trends. How were these histories used? Who was their intended audience? Why were these topics of particular interest at this time? This chapter will focus on the first two questions, of function and audience, through the examination of how monasteries actively sought to bring the historical contents of the monastic library and archive outside of the cloister.

While many of the works examined in chapter two can be located at specific monasteries by virtue of their focus on the history of individual houses, where they were located within those monasteries, and therefore how they may have been used and by whom, is more difficult to ascertain. Two non-traditional formats of historical writing suggest some possibilities, however. Contemporary with the aforementioned trends, there was a revived use of a type of public book, wooden boards hinged as a triptych or diptych on which were pasted closely-written paper or parchment sheets and hung in churches around England. During the same period, the use of *libri vitae*, another old tradition which highlighted the interaction between monastery and patron, was revived at the three monasteries for which there are extant examples. By examining these two alternative formats of historical writing, it is possible to contextualize the trends examined in chapter two within the broader historical sensibilities of

late medieval monasticism and to shed some light on the potential audience and use of traditional narrative histories.

Church tablets

I use the term ‘tablets’ here for good reason, first to avoid confusion with ‘tables’, information given in tabular format of columns and rows, and second because of the physical format of these works.[1] Tablets have been studied before in other contexts, especially in relation to images, epigraphy, and medieval tourism (as distinct from pilgrimage) and there have been a number of studies of individual tablets.[2] Clark briefly touches on tablets as part of monastic outreach but the extent of the connections between historical writing and church tablets in a monastic context has not been addressed, nor has the position of tablets within a wider programme of translation of historical texts from the monastery to a wider audience.[3] Aside from the three tablets still in existence, Table 2 below identifies forty tablets whose

[1] For an initial summary list of church tablets, see Gransden, *HWE*, ii, p. 495.
[2] An early examination is Gordon Gerould, ‘Tables in Medieval Churches’, *Speculum,* 1/4 (1926), pp. 439-40. More recent work includes Clark, ‘Selling the Holy Places’, pp. 22-3. For the relationship with images see Richard Marks, ‘Picturing Word and Text in the Late Medieval Parish Church’, in I. Clark, M. Jurkowski and C. Richmond (eds), *Image, Text and Church, 1380-1600: Essays for Margaret Aston* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 162-88. For the relationship between tablets and epigraphy, see David Griffith, ‘English Commemorative Inscriptions: Some Literary Dimensions’, in C.M. Barron and Clive Burgess (eds), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval England* Harlaxton Medieval Studies 20 (Donington, 2010), pp. 251–70; Sally Badham, ‘Status and Salvation: The Design of Medieval Brasses and Incised Slabs’, *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society*, 15 (1996), pp. 413–65; Richard Rex, ‘Monumental Brasses and the Reformation’, *Transactions of the Monumental Brass Society,* 14 (1990), pp. 376–94. For medieval tourism see, Michael van Dussen, ‘Tourists and *Tabulae* in Late-Medieval England’, in Fiona Somerset and Nicholas Watson (eds), *Truth and Tales: Cultural Mobility and Medieval Media* (Columbus, 2015), pp. 238-54 and Conrad Rudolph, ‘The Tour Guide in the Middle Ages: Guide Culture and the Mediation of Public Art’, in *The Art Bulletin*, 100 (2018), pp. 36-67. For a comparison of English, French and Spanish usage see Sonsoles Garcia Gonzalez, ‘The *Tabulae*: Ephemeral Epigraphy in the Surroundings of Medieval Tombs’, in *Church Monuments,* 31 (2016), pp. 64-80. Some studies of specific tablets are Gordon Gerould, ‘The Legend of St. Wulfhad and St. Ruffin at Stone Priory’, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, 32 (1917), pp. 323–37, Jeanne Krochalis, ‘*Magna Tabula*: The Glastonbury Tablets (Part I)’, in James Carley and Felicity Riddy (eds), *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 437-42; John Clark, ‘The King Lucius *Tabula* in St. Peter Cornhill Church, London’ (unpublished paper delivered June 2011, Medieval and Tudor London Seminar, Institute of Historical Research), found at https://www.academia.edu/6553953/The_King_Lucius_tabula_in_St_Peter_Upon_Cornhill_church_London and J. S. Purvis, ‘The Tables of the York Vicars Choral’, *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal,* 41 (1966), pp. 741–8.
[3] This section on church tablets draws on a preliminary version published in Claire Macht, ‘Changes in Monastic Historical Writing Throughout the Long Fifteenth Century’, in Linda Clark (ed), *The Fifteenth Century XVI: Examining Identity* (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 12-25.

contents are known via other avenues. The three extant tablets, two from York and one from Glastonbury, consist of large pieces of wood intended for public display and perusal. The Glastonbury tablet, the *Magna Tabula*, is a wooden box, 1000mm x 425mm x 40mm. Inside, it contains two wooden 'pages', hinged to turn like the pages of a book. On the inside 'covers' and on both sides of the wooden pages, 2 pieces of parchment, one 700-710mm in length and one 300-310mm in length, are pasted together, bordered by a thin strip of possibly waxed fabric which is dotted to appear as if nailed to the board. The York tablets are even larger, also of wood but arranged in triptych format and with a gabled top edge. The larger, York Minster Archives MS Additional 533, is 1435mm x 850mm, extending to 1700mm with both side panels open. The parchment covers 940mm x 735mm in the central panel, 940mm x 350mm on the side panels. The smaller tablet, York Minster Archives MS Additional 534, is 1150mm x 705mm, extending to 1401mm with both side panels open. The parchment on the larger tablet is inset into square recesses cut into the centre and side boards but the parchment on the smaller tablet fills the entire shape of the boards, both centre and sides, mirroring the gable shape and measuring 650mm x (2x 260mm) on the centre panel. An iron loop is still affixed to the top of the centre panel of the smaller tablet from which, it can be assumed, it was hung from the wall somewhere in York Minster. Iron was required as none of the three tablets are of light wood. It takes two people to lift the Glastonbury tablet and two hands to turn one of the pages, indicating hanging from a wall is probably the only way these could have been consulted in any comfort. Both the Glastonbury tablet and smaller of the York Minster tablets still have iron clasps by which the tablet could be kept closed. Additional evidence of the format of tablets is found in a drawing in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 935, which contains the transcription from a tablet from Bawburgh, Norfolk. The page before the transcription includes a sketch of the tablet from which the following text was copied. The drawing shows a tablet of the same format as the York tablets, in triptych form

with a gabled top edge and described as 'an antient parchment MS enclosed in a case of 3 pieces of Wainscott about a yard long each'. [4] Hinges are clearly visible between the panels, as are clasps to hold the two out panels closed.

Tablets are distinct from monumental inscription and epigraphy, not only because of their material form of parchment and wood, but because of the subject matter that they communicated. As the discussion below will show, tablets drew directly on material from histories, cartularies, biographies and *vitae*, registers, and even *libri memoriales*. Tablets positioned the commemorative environment of the church – embodied by the funerary monuments, saints' shrines, and the architecture of the very building – within a continuum of Christian history that stretched back to the founding of the church, to the establishment of the monastic order there, to the early days of the English church, and at times all the way to the Creation. Tablets were accessible to all who were literate and for those who were not, they were located in an environment which offered interpreters to access the text for them.[5] Tablets opened participation in the historical inheritance of the monastic community to a lay audience through their interpretation of the physical monastic environment of which they were themselves a part and through their reference to the commemorative practice of the monastic community there.

Like all monastic historical texts, tablets were interconnected with other formats of historical works. Often, tablets displayed information which was already recorded written elsewhere. *The Rites of Durham* relates that the names of the members of the Guild of the Holy Trinity, both living and dead, were written on tablets and displayed on the Trinity Altar in St Mary's Church, Leicester, playing the role of an accessible *liber vitae*.[6] Tablets also complemented

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[4] London, Lambeth Palace Library Gibson Papers MS 935, cover of item 8.
[5] Rudolph, 'Tour Guide in the Middle Ages', pp. 45-7.
[6] *The Rites of Durham: Being a Description or Brief Declaration of All the Ancient Monuments, Rites, & Customs Belonging or Being within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression, Written 1593*, ed. J. T. Fowler, Surtees Soc. 107 (London, 1903), p. 208.

or presented the information contained in codex histories, cartularies or other texts. Excerpts from universal chronicles, the life of a saint, the foundation history, or an obit list were copied in full into these oversized display pages. Tablets provided additional biographical information for the abbots, bishops, and benefactors whose briefer epitaphs were etched in the stone of the monuments that decorated church interiors and whose names were inscribed in the martyrology or *liber vitae* of the house. Historical content was only sometimes written specifically for tablets. They usually communicated information which had previously been restricted to those with access to the monastic archive or library.[7]

Table 2 provides a summary of church tablets whose contents are identifiable. Each tablet is listed as either monastic or secular, with religious order given, if applicable. The subject matter is specified, as is the location of the tablet in the church, if known, and the earliest date at which the tablet is known to have hung there. It is difficult to date tablet texts as their very movability, at least in comparison to masonry, places them within the realm of the ephemeral. Tablets could be affixed to a wall, hung with wire or rope, or placed on a stand and despite their weight, they were still easier to move than funerary monuments or saints' shrines. One of the York tablets was probably hung, as shown by the iron loop, but the other may have been displayed on a table, a setting also suggested for the Ripon tablet. Certainly, the pages of the Glastonbury *Magna Tabula* can only be turned comfortably if it is upright. They were simple to alter in situ as well, as new sheets of paper or parchment could be pasted in place of or on top of previous texts. J. Purvis, who first examined the York Minster tablets, suggests that those extant from York Minster were not the first placed there, even though the current parchments can only be dated to 1388x1397.[8] There is some indication that tablets copied in

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[7] The issue of lay access to areas within monasteries, specifically churches and chapels is discussed in Chapter Four. For access to monumental elements of churches see Nicholas Rogers, 'Monuments to Monks and Monastic Servants', in Benjamin Thompson (ed.), *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain, Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium* (Stamford, 1999), pp. 262-76 at p. 270.
[8] J. Purvis, 'Tables of the York Vicars Choral', pp. 741-2.

the later seventeenth century at Canterbury Cathedral were based on or copied verbatim from earlier tablets and it is impossible to be certain that a similar practice was not in place in the late Middle Ages.[9] It is certain that tablets were used earlier in the Middle Ages. Seaford and Bury St. Edmunds provide two early examples which date the practice to at least the late eleventh century.[10] It is possible that the tablets identified below as fourteenth and fifteenth century are merely the latest texts pasted to tablets that had hung in churches since the early Middle Ages. The text of most of the tablets can only be identified through transcriptions made in the fifteenth century by antiquaries, which provides a date *ante quem* but provides little help establishing one *post quem*. Some tablets are referred to in passing as a fixture within a church, but a transcription is lacking. Other transcriptions may have been made from tablets but not identified as such in the text. This is especially the case when it comes to epigraphs, whose length is such that either stone or wood was possible. I have limited the list to those tablets whose content is identifiable, either through a transcription or a reference to specific subject matter, and which have been identified as being hanging or of wood. There is evidence of other tablets in other locations, so the list is not exhaustive of the incidence of tablets in general, only of those where the topic of the text is confirmed.[11]

Most of the tablets listed in Table 2 can be dated to the last quarter of the fourteenth century or later with some degree of accuracy. The inclusion of dated indulgences, as at Glastonbury, or the use of chronicle material which can itself be dated to the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, such as at St Paul's Cathedral, Winchester and Colchester, show that the tablets

[9] John Morris, *The Tombs of the Archbishops of Canterbury Cathedral* (Canterbury, 1890), p. 15. 'The tablet for Wittlesey's tomb is still to be seen in the Cathedral library, written in 1665 by a man of the name of R. Hoare. Those of Bradwardin, Islip, and Arundell, done at the same time, are also preserved. There remains one of an earlier series, that of Islip, word for word the same as the later one, but much more worn and in an earlier handwriting'.
[10] See the listings for both tablets in Table 2 for dating.
[11] The works cited above Ch. 3, n. 2 reference some of these instances.

extracted material from already-existing histories.[12] The inclusion of obits, lists of abbots and kings, or genealogies that run to the end of the fifteenth century are another means of dating of many of the tablets, such as the Worksop or Stone Priory A tablets. The three tablets that are extant can also all be dated to the last decade of the fourteenth century by both content and palaeography.[13] Tablets that include epigraphic material, such as that of Richard de Bury (Durham Cathedral C in Table 2), are often written for the tombs of those deceased after 1350, though examples from St Paul's show that tombs were also festooned with hanging tablets with text drawn from much earlier sources (St Paul's Cathedral A and B). Taken together, while there is evidence that tablets were used from an early date, the form appears to have experienced a distinct revival of use on a much larger scale and across all regions of England from the late fourteenth century.

Of the twenty-five locations, thirteen are monastic churches (52%) and another six are cathedrals served by secular canons, bringing the proportion of monastic and cathedral tablets to 76% of the total number. Therefore, while tables are not exclusively a monastic feature, the predominance of cathedrals and monasteries as locations for their use suggests they were especially popular in an institutionalized ecclesiastical setting. It is difficult to ascertain if this imbalance is a result of the vagaries of manuscript survival. It is possible that the antiquarian urge to preserve the treasures and records of disappearing monastic institutions, rather than those of small parish churches which continued to serve communities, resulted in more monastic or cathedral examples being transcribed, which created a bias in the archives.

[12] See Table 2 for information on each individual tablet. If the table is extant, the manuscript reference is provided (and has been examined). Otherwise, the manuscript or print location of the transcript is given. If there is both a manuscript and print version, the two references are provided. I have tried to view as many of the manuscript transcriptions as possible but not all have been examined. I have indicated those I have seen in the citations as 'viewed'. All printed transcriptions have been examined. I have also indicated the historical text that the tablet content originates from or is based on, where possible and general bibliographical information on the tablets is also provided.
[13] Krochalis, '*Magna Tabula*', pp. 456-58.

Table 2. Church Tablets with identifiable text

Location	**Type of Church**	**Contents**	**Location in Church**	**Date**
Bawburgh, Norfolk[14]	Parish church	Life of St. Walstan, English translation of Latin life, with hymn	Unknown	*c.* 1500
Temple Church, Bristol[15]	Monastic – Knights Hospitaller	Foundation of the order of the Knights Hospitallers	Unknown	*c.* 1480
Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk[16]	Monastic – Benedictine	Foundation of the monastery in honour of St. Edmund, likely from Abbo of Fleury's *Passion*	Unknown	*c.* 1190
Christ Church Canterbury, Kent[17]	Monastic – Benedictine	Treatise on Benedictine writers written by William Gillingham	wall on the north side of the choir	*c.* 1367x1409
Colchester Abbey[18]	Monastic – Benedictine	Annals from creation to 1382, including list of founders of monastic orders and foundations of 26 monasteries, obits of kings, notes on Colchester and obits of abbots.	Hung on wall, location unknown	*c.* 1526
Croyland Abbey[19]	Monastic – Benedictine	Miracle of St Guthlac expelling demons from Croyland, notes on other saints	Unknown	before 1535

[14] The transcript is found in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 935, no. 8, dated 29 September 1658 (viewed). M. R. James, 'The Life of St Walstan', *Norfolk Archaeology*, 19 (1917), pp. 238-67 suggests that the incumbent, Thomas Tyard (d. 1506), is the possible author, though this can only be a supposition. The tablet is said to have been the property of 'a recusant named Clarke, of Beauthorp, Norfolk as he saith, belongeth to ye church of Bawburgh', LPL, MS 935, p. 15. Possibly translated from the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, which is one of the few legendaries that includes St Walstan and with which the English life from the tablet has strong parallels. Cf. *Nova Legenda Anglie,* ed. Carl Horstmann (2 vols, Oxford, 1901), i, pp. 412-15.

[15] The transcript is found in William Worcestre, *Itineraries* ed. John Harvey (Oxford, 1969), p. 313 from his tour in 1480.

[16] The tablet and its contents are referenced in Herman, *Miracles of St. Edmund*, ed. Licence, p. 111 but there is no transcript. Since the tablet contained the passion of the saint, it is likely to be an extract from Abbo of Fleury's early *vita*, which continued to be the main source for the passion into the fifteenth century. See Pierpont Morgan Library MS M 736 for a copy of the passion which was used for refectory reading in the fifteenth century.

[17] This tablet is discussed in Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', pp. 208-9 and the contents mentioned by Leland in *Joannis Lelandi Antiquarii de Rebus Britannicis collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (6 vols, London, 1770), iii, p. 23 but there is no transcript.

[18] Transcript found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gough Essex 1, fos. 1-13 (viewed) and description in Pantin 'Some Medieval English Treatises', pp. 207-8. The list of the founders of monastic orders is from one of the recensions of the *Speculum Cenobitarum*, listed in Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', pp. 206-7. The transcription is dated 1526.

[19] Referenced and brief description of the contents given in Leland, C*ollectanea*, ed. Hearne, iv, p. 29. No transcription is extant but a likely source for the St Guthlac miracle is the Felix's Life of Guthlac, cf. *Felix's Life of Saint Guthlac: Texts, Translation and Notes,* ed. B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 88-9. Information on

Location	Type of Church	Contents	Location in Church	Date
Durham Cathedral A[20]	Monastic – Benedictine and Cathedral	Biographies of 148 monastic saints	Under images	*c.* 1407x1446
Durham Cathedral B[21]	Monastic – Benedictine and Cathedral	biographies of kings and bishops	To the west of the choir, both north and south sides	*c.* 1407x1446
Durham Cathedral C[22]	Monastic – Benedictine and Cathedral	Richard de Bury epitaph	Beside his funerary monument	*c.* 1381
Durham Cathedral D[23]	Monastic – Benedictine and Cathedral	Transcript in Durham Cathedral Library MS B. III. 30, f.46	opposite altar of SS Jerome and Benedict	*c.* 1416
Glastonbury, Somerset[24]	Monastic – Benedictine	Early history of Glastonbury abbey, including legends of St Patrick, foundation of the monastery, full list of indulgences granted to pilgrims	Unknown	1382x1420, best evidence for date around 1403.
Lichfield Cathedral, Staffordshire[25]	Secular canons – Cathedral	foundation history, list of bishops, list of kings of Mercia, folding format	West wall of the south transept	*c.*1350 orig. current MS *c.* 1450

the other saints such as Beccel, Guthlac's companion, possibly taken from the *Historia Croylandensis*. See listing in Appendix 1, '1350-1539 (P2), line 36.

[20] Transcription in Durham, Cathedral Library MS B.III.30, fos. 31-4 as described in Thomas Rud, *Codicum Manuscriptorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis Catalogus Classicus* (Durham, 1825), p. 172. Referenced in Pantin, 'Some medieval treatises', p. 200 and discussed in B. Dobson, 'Contrasting Chronicles', p.210. It is not the same as the list transcribed in *Rites of Durham*, ed. Fowler, pp. 124-36. Origins of texts from various sources.

[21] Transcription in Durham, Cathedral Library MS Cosin B 2.II, fos. 15-25 and printed in *Rites of Durham* ed. Fowler, pp. 137-43. Origins of texts from various sources.

[22] Transcription in College of Arms MS Arundel 29, fo. 24 and BL Cotton MS Titus A II, fo. 132 and printed in *Historiae Dunelmensis Tres Scriptores,* ed. J. Raines, Surtees Society, 9 (London, 1839), p. 130. The manuscript history of this text is discussed in Neil Denholm-Young, 'The Birth of a Chronicle', *Bodleian Quarterly Review*, 7/8 (1933), pp.325-8 at p. 326.

[23] Transcript in Durham Cathedral Library MS B.III. 30, f..46, as described in Thomas Rud, *Codicum Manuscriptorum,* p. 172. Referenced in Pantin, 'Some medieval treatises', p. 200-1.

[24] Extant tablet, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Lat. Hist. a.2 (viewed). See also Krochalis, '*Magna Tabula*', pp. 437-568. The text is extracted from John of Glastonbury, *Chronicle* and William of Malmesbury's *Antiquities of Glastonbury Abbey.*

[25] Transcript in London, BL MS Cotton Vespasian E XVI, fos. 29-36 and MS Harley 3839. Additional transcript of the foundation account in London, BL MS Cotton Cleopatra C III. List of bishops taken from London, BL MS Cotton Cleopatra D IX, fos. 5-79 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 956. Original of foundation account unknown. See also Henry Savage, *Lichfield Cathedral: The Lichfield Chronicles, An Address* (1915), Denholm-Young, 'Birth of a Chronicle', pp. 326-7 n. 5 and Edward Donald Kennedy, 'Lichfield Chronicle', *EMC*, doi:http://dx.doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_00437, accessed 27 November 2019.

Location	Type of Church	Contents	Location in Church	Date
Lincoln Cathedral, Lincolnshire[26]	Secular canons – Cathedral	Ages of the World	Unknown	Before 1500
Ripon, Yorkshire[27]	Secular canons – Minster	Gives history of Ripon between *c.* 630 and late fourteenth century in verse	Unknown	*c.* 1344x1365
Seaford, Sussex[28]	Parish Church	early English account of local martyr, St. Lewinna	Hung on wall	*c.* 1058
St Christopher-le-stocks A[29]	Parish church	Ten Commandments	Unknown	*c.*1487
St Christopher-le-stocks B	Parish church	Diverse good prayers of Our Lady and the psalter of charity	'Under our Lady of Pity'	*c.*1487
St Christopher-le-stocks C	Parish church	Saint George's 'pitie' or Mass	Unknown	*c.*1487
St Christopher-le-stocks D	Parish church	Saint Katherine divers good prayers – with indulgence for saying them?	Unknown	*c.*1487
St Paul's Cathedral, London A[30]	Secular canons - Cathedral	King Sebba's epitaph, including passage from Bede	North side of choir	*c.* 1400
St Paul's Cathedral, London B[31]	Secular canons - Cathedral	King Aethelred, biography, with prophecy from the Life of St. Dunstan	North side of choir	*c.* 1400

[26] Transcript in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 487, f. 2v-3r (viewed). See also Denholm-Young, 'Birth of a Chronicle', pp. 326-7 n. 5. Krochalis, in 'History and Legend at Kirkstall', p. 246, posits that Lincoln material in a Kirkstall compilation may also have come from a tablet but the content does not match that of the transcription in Bodley 487. It is possible, therefore, that there was another tablet at Lincoln.
[27] Transcription in London, BL MS Cotton Cleopatra C IV, fos. 4r-15r (viewed).
[28] Drogo's account of St Lewinna's translation in Paris, Bibliotheque Nationale, lat. 5296B, f. 243 mentions the tablet (viewed). See John Blair 'Bishopstone, its minster and its saint: the evidence of Drogo's *Historia Translationis Sanctae Lewinnae*', in Gabor Thomas, *The Later Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Bishopstone: A Downland Manor in the Making* (York, 2010), pp. 22-5.
[29] Inventory of St Christopher-le-stocks in Edwin Freshfield, 'On the Parish Books of St. Margaret-Lothbury, St. Christopher-le-Stocks, and St. Bartholomew-by-the-Exchange, in the City of London', *Archaeologia*, 45 (1880), p. 119 and tablets A-D discussed in Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text', pp. 162-88.
[30] Dugdale includes the text of many tablets in his *History of St. Paul's Cathedral*, but it is not possible to date many of these to any point prior to the date of this publication in 1641 soon after he made the transcriptions. I have limited those included here to ones which can be dated before 1550, due to evidence of earlier transcriptions. Dugdale does specify that the epitaph hanging above Bishop Eustachius de Faucombrigge's tomb (Bishop of London, *d.*1228) is on wood in William Dugdale, *The History of St. Paul's Cathedral in London, From its Foundation,* ed. Henry Ellis (London, 1818), p. 55. The transcript of the King Sebba tablet is found in Dugdale, *History of St. Pauls*, p.64, where it is identified as extracted from Bede. For this and King Aethelred's tablet see also Gonzalez, '*Tabulae*: Ephemeral Epigraphy', p. 66 and for dating of the two tablets; Simon Keynes 'The Burial of the King Aethelred the Unready at St.Paul's', in D. Roffe (ed), *The English and Their Legacy* (Woodbridge, 2012), pp. 129-48 at pp. 145-7.
[31] Transcript in London, BL MS Additional 71474, f. 177rv and printed in Dugdale, *History of St. Pauls*, p. 64.

Location	Type of Church	Contents	Location in Church	Date
St Paul's Cathedral, London C[32]	Secular canons - Cathedral	Dimensions of the church and relics therein.	On a column north side of choir beside tomb of Duke of Lancaster	1400 x 1444
St Paul's Cathedral, London D[33]	Secular canons - Cathedral	chronicle from 1040 to 1382, with particular reference to St Paul's, discovery of the holy rood by King Lucius, and including important events in religious history and natural occurrences like plagues and naming some of those who died who are buried in the church, such as Blanche, Duchess of Lancaster.	Before the Rood at the North Door and below the window showing the story (miracle of the cross) in the tablet	1400 x 1444
St. Peter upon Cornhill, London[34]	Parish church	Extracts of Geoffrey of Monmouth and foundation of the church	Unknown	*c.* 1385
St Stephen Walbrook, London B	Parish church	Diverse reasons writ therein of our faith and of the Sacrament	Upon the steeple	*c.*1480x1481
St. Stephen Walbrook, London C	Parish Church	*Manus meditationis*	Upon the steeple	*c.*1480x1481
St. Stephen Walbrook, London D	Parish church	Ten Commandments	Unknown	*c.*1480x1481
St. Stephen Walbrook, London E	Parish Church	Ten Commandments, 7 deadly sins, 7 virtues, and 7 acts of mercy	Unknown	*c.*1480x1481
St. Stephen Walbrook, London F	Parish Church	'holy wryte'	Unknown	*c.*1480x1481

[32] Transcript in London, BL MS Harley 565, f. 2rv (viewed) and printed in *A Chronicle of London: from 1089 to 1483,* ed. E. Tyrrell and N.H. Nicolas (London, 1827), p. 174.

[33] Transcript in London, BL Harley MS 565, f. 2v (viewed) and printed in *Chronicle of London* ed. Tyrrell and Nicolas, pp. 174-5. Also referenced in John Hardyng's chronicle, extract quoted in Felicity Riddy, 'Glastonbury, Joseph of Arimathea and the Grail in John Hardyng's Chronicle', in L. Abrams and James Carley (eds), *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1991), pp. 317-31 at p. 326.

[34] Transcript in John Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. Charles Kingsford (London, 1908), pp. 174, 423, probably related to text in London, BL Royal 13 D I, fols. 237r-242r. Referenced in Clark, 'King Lucius *Tabula* in St Peter Upon Cornhill'.

Location	Type of Church	Contents	Location in Church	Date
Salisbury Cathedral[35]	Secular canons–cathedral	Epitaph for Bishop Richard Poore, including his building of the cathedral, foundation of monastery at Tarrant, Dorset, and endowment of mass in Lady Chapel	Beside monument erected to Poore's memory in the Lady Chapel.	Before 1535
Sheen Priory[36]	Monastic – Carthusians	34 tablets containing 'many devotions and good reminders to devotion and the arousing of all Christian souls to God'	Unknown	*c.* 1480
Stone Priory, Staffordshire A[37]	Monastic – Augustinian Canons	foundation of monastery *c.* 1125 and genealogy of founders in English to 1420	Unknown	*c.* 1425
Stone Priory, Staffordshire B[38]	Monastic – Augustinian Canons	Passion of founding saint, St Wulfad, English verse translation of Latin chronicle	kept epistle (left) side of choir	*c.* 1425
Stone Priory, Staffordshire C[39]	Monastic – Augustinian Canons	Names of those who came across from Normandy with William the Conqueror	kept on right side of choir	*c.*1425
St. George, Windsor[40]	Chantry chapel	The passion of St. George (possibly an icon, not text tablet)	Standing on the small altar, opposite the high altar	*c.* 1384
Tavistock Abbey[41]	Monastic – Benedictine	Word-play meditation on hope, love, and fear	Unknown	*c.*1478
Westminster Abbey[42]	Monastic – Benedictine	Extracts from three charters, 2 from King Edgar, 1 from St. Dunstan[43]	Unknown	*c.* 1400

[35] Transcript in John Leland, *John Leland's Itinerary: Travels in Tudor England*, ed. John Chandler (London, 1993), p. 496.
[36] Worcestre, *Itineraries*, p. 271.
[37] Transcript was in the now-destroyed London, BL MS Cotton Otto A. XVI and printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, vi, pp. 230-1.
[38] Transcript in London, BL MS Cotton Nero C. XII, fos. 183–188 (viewed). MS partially destroyed, especially the first page but still able to see the beginning of the reference to this being an account from a table. Printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, vi, p. 231.
[39] Text not extant but referenced in Stone Priory A.
[40] Register of relics, books, and ornaments recorded in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, vi, p. 1364.
[41] Transcript printed in Worcestre, *Itineraries*, p. 112.
[42] Extant but without wooden frame. Westminster Abbey Archives MS Ch. X[B] (viewed).
[43] The charters are in in Flete, *History of Westminster,* pp. 50-51, pp. 56-8.

Location	Type of Church	Contents	Location in Church	Date
Winchester Cathedral, Hampshire[44]	Monastic – Benedictine	Foundation of church by Phaganus and Deruvianus in 169 A.D.	Unknown	Unknown, pre-1639
Worksop Priory, Nottinghamshire[45]	Monastic – Augustinian Canons	Genealogy of founders of Worksop Priory in English	Unknown	Unknown, from MS dated 1587.
York Minster A, Yorkshire[46]	Secular canons – Cathedral	Extracts from chronicles and documents relating to York, verse on history of the city, documents supporting primacy over churches of Scotland.	Unknown	*c.* 1388x1397
York Minster B, Yorkshire[47]	Secular canons – Cathedral	English and universal history	Unknown	*c.* 1388x97
York Minster C, Yorkshire[48]	Secular canons – Cathedral	Miracles of St. William	altar of saint in sight of the window showing miracles	*c.* 1422x23

Alternatively, parish churches, like the works of lay writers, may have suffered a greater degree of loss because they were subject to an ongoing process of replacement of (relatively) ephemeral material, slowly discarded simply as a result of changing fashion, with the vestiges of the tradition witnessed now only by the wooden panels that list the vicars or rectors of the parish which adorn the walls of many parish churches still. Because tablets often contained information on saints, tablets in both locations were likely to be caught up in the iconoclastic

[44] Transcript in James Ussher, *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* (1639), pp. 127, text taken from Rudborne, '*Historia ... Wintoniensis'*, *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, i, p. 182.
[45] Transcript in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. J. Caley, vi, pp. 122–24.
[46] Extant, York Minster Archives, Additional 533 (viewed). See Purvis, 'Tables of the York Vicars Choral', pp. 741-8.
[47] Extant, York Minster Archives, Additional 534 (viewed). See Purvis, 'Tables of the York Vicars Choral', pp. 741-8.
[48] Transcript in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Dodsworth 125, f. 132 (viewed). See discussion in *The History of the Metropolitan Church of St. Peter, York*, ed. John Browne (London, 1847), p. 15, n.3.

tendencies of Reformation England as part of the visible church decor.[49] The tablet from Bawburgh presents one example of a tablet saved and sequestered by a Catholic recusant.[50] However, the general destruction of written texts upon the dissolution of the monasteries, especially at those which had no afterlife as cathedral churches or colleges, suggests at least an equal risk of loss of evidence of both tablets and tablet transcription from monastic churches.[51] Both sites have arguments against survival, parishes because they continued to be used, monastic churches because they were not. As for all medieval sources, the issues of material survival must be kept in mind when considering any statistics.

To some degree, the difference in numbers is of less import than the difference in topics between the two locations, for it appears that the location of a tablet in either a monastic/cathedral or a parochial setting is what determines its contents. Richard Marks delineates a strict separation between the subject matter of tablets in 'great churches' and those of parish churches, allocating a historical focus to the former and an instructional bent to the latter.[52] However, this division is less dependent on the size or importance of the church and more on the connection with an organised community. Tablets at small monasteries, such as Worksop and Stone priories, share a similar focus to those at larger monasteries. There are exceptions of course. Tavistock priory has a meditation tablet, which is more in keeping with the *manu meditationis* at the parish church of St Steven, Walbrook C. There are also exceptions to the interest in origins being exclusive to monasteries. Seaforth and Bawburgh parish churches include tablets on the lives of their enshrined saints and St

[49] Margaret Aston, *Broken Idols of the English Reformation* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 17-108 and pp. 361-444 for a study of contrasting responses to the veneration of saints during the Reformation and Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text', p. 165.
[50] See above, Ch. 3, n. 14.
[51] C. E. Wright, 'The Dispersal of the Libraries in the Sixteenth Century', in Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright (eds), *The English Library before 1700: Studies in its History* (London, 1958), pp. 148-75 and James Carley, 'Monastic Collections and Their Dispersal', in John Barnard and D. F. McKenzie (eds), *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain* (6 vols, Cambridge, 2002), iv, pp. 339–48.
[52] Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text', p. 167-8.

Peter-upon-Cornhill was as concerned with arguing its early foundation date as Glastonbury.[53] However, these exceptions aside, the tablets located in monastic or cathedral churches overwhelmingly focus on narrating the origin of the church and its associated community as well as interpreting the shrines, tombs and other decorative architecture which commemorate people of significance to the community. In contrast, parish church tablets frequently incorporate imagery and specialize in catechetical instruction, creating an interplay between text and image that is appropriate for an audience of which only a part was likely to be literate.[54] Parish priests may have found tablets a useful way to fulfil the 1409 injunctions of Bishop Arundel about the religious instruction of the laity.[55] The tablets in the four parish churches above predominantly contain the basic catechism and simple prayers, often focused on the intercession of a saint. The saints provide the one shared focus between the monastery, cathedral, and parish tablets, though parish tablets usually have an image of the saint with brief supporting text of a devotion nature, rather than an extract of a saint's *vita*. This is the case with the tablets of St George and St Katherine at St Christopher-le-Stock or the image of St George at St George's Chapel, Windsor.[56]

The monastic and cathedral tablets focus on a type of historical triumvirate: the foundation story of the church and associated religious community, the *vitae* of the saints enshrined in the church and whose veneration was managed by the community, and the biographies and sometimes the genealogies of the benefactors of the community who were buried in the church. This pattern is followed at minor monasteries such as Stone Priory, Worksop Priory and the Temple Church in Bristol as well as at St Paul's or Durham. The ambiguous description of the tablets at Sheen by William Worcestre as 'devotions and good reminders to

[53] Clark, 'King Lucius *Tabula* in St Peter Upon Cornhill'.
[54] Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text', p. 168.
[55] Marks, 'Picturing Word and Text', p. 168.
[56] Heale, 'Training in Superstition', pp. 423-4

devotions arousing all Christian souls to God' suggests a slightly more pastoral focus at the Carthusian house but even here, connections with historical topics are not entirely absent.[57] The short verse that precedes the tablet memorandum in the *Itineraries,* implying that it was actually one of the thirty-four tablet texts, is a verse on the origins of the Carthusian order.[58] History, then, was considered an appropriate topic for 'devotions', at least in a monastic setting where commemoration was part of a monk's daily duty. Worcestre specifically highlights that the Sheen tablets are text-based, rather than images, writing that 'on the walls on each side of the nave of the church hang...both smaller and larger tables written in a good text hand and in bastard letter to the number of about 34, nor have I seen in any other monastic church even the twentieth part of these tables so fully written'.[59] He also highlights that tablets are a particular feature of monastic churches, with Sheen merely a prime example of a common feature.

The monastic and cathedral tablets concentrate on a very particular period of history. They do not attempt to relate the entirety of the institution's past but focus on the origins of the foundation. This is similar to the strand of historical writing already discussed in Chapter Two which also focused on the early history of monastic communities and their connections to the development of the English church. Eight of the thirteen monastic locations have tablets that relate the foundation story of the monastery and five of the cathedrals also include foundation histories. Tablets in cathedral churches often pair the foundation history with a tablet that includes extracts from a universal history, such as at York and Lichfield. A number of the foundation histories, such as those at Winchester, Glastonbury, and St. Paul's, highlight the links between the foundation and SS Phaganus and Deruvianus, two saints who

[57] Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. Harvey, p. 271.
[58] The verse, originally in Latin, is 'In 1084, if you rightly surmise, / The monks of the Charterhouse first did arise. / Bruno their founder, a master excellent, / Later to the Pope was counsel and servant'. As translated in Worcestre, *Itineraries*, ed. Harvey, p. 271.
[59] Worcestre*, Itineraries,* ed. Harvey, p. 271

were responsible for the conversion of Britain.[60] The tablets at Ripon also mention these two saints. Claiming a foundation date in the early days of the conversion of Britain equates the establishment of monasticism in Britain with the birth of the English Church itself, similar to the same approach in the domestic histories examined in Chapter Two.[61] Additionally, the tablets reflect a second strand of historical writing, the interest in the origins of the religious orders. The Temple Church in Bristol, taken over by the Hospitallers upon the dissolution of the Templar order, commemorates the foundation of the Order of St John, similar to the aforementioned verses at Sheen. The Colchester Abbey tablet includes the entire catalogue of the founders of the different monastic orders from the Benedictine treatise.[62] This is a less prevalent strand in the tablet texts but nevertheless points to an attempt to bring into the public forum some of the polemic around the historical role of the religious orders.

The foundation tablets tend to be copies of pre-existing texts, rather than newly composed original histories. The Glastonbury tablet includes text from both John of Glastonbury's *Chronicle* and William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonburiensis*.[63] The Ripon text is taken from a chronicle of York Minster by John Allhallowgate, a monk of Ripon.[64] The Westminster Abbey tablets include charter texts included in John Flete's history.[65] The Winchester tablet draws on Thomas Rudborne's *Historia.*[66] The Lichfield tablet has a complex manuscript history, with passages extracted from multiple texts which were then transcribed back into codex form as one cohesive work.[67] The Stone Priory foundation tablet

[60] See Table 2 for references to the transcriptions.
[61] Clark, 'Selling the Holy Places', pp. 18–21, addresses this preoccupation of tablets specifically. See also Krochalis, '*Magna Tabula*', pp. 437-442, and Clark, 'King Lucius *Tabula* in St Peter Upon Cornhill ', who argues that the tablet in St. Peter's was used to support an early foundation date for the parish church.
[62] Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Gough Essex 1, fo. 12rv.
[63] Krochalis, '*Magna Tabula*', p. 436.
[64] *Historians of the Church in York and Its Archbishops,* ed. James Raine (3 vols, London, 1879-1894), ii, pp. xxix-xxx.
[65] Flete, *History of Westminster*, pp. 50-1, pp. 56-8.
[66] See above, Ch. 3, n. 44.
[67] Kennedy, 'Lichfield Chronicle'.

is so location-specific that it is likely that it was copied from a domestic chronicle which is no longer extant.[68] The Christ Church Canterbury tablet text was taken from a treatise by William Gillingham that so pleased the monks that they decided to place it onto a tablet, suggesting there was an element of internal approval process before something was put up on the walls.[69] The myriad connections between historical writing in codex format and the texts extracted for public display on the tablets illustrates a concerted effort by monastic communities to make history, as they have written it, available to a non-monastic audience. Unsurprisingly, the texts selected highlight the centrality of monasticism itself in the history of Christian England.

The second focus of the monastic and cathedral tablets is the lives of saints, usually the patron saint of the monastery or one whose relics resided the church. The foundation tablet at Stone Priory works in tandem with a second tablet that relates the passion of the founding saint, Wulfade. The reader is prompted to read the foundation account with the history of the saint in the forefront of his or her mind.[70] Five of the tablets relate the life of a saint and, as some monasteries were founded by saints, such as Bury St Edmunds, the life of a saint can also be an integral part of some of the foundation histories. Saints' *vitae* are one topic which monastic and cathedral tablets have in common with parish church tablets. Popular local saints could be effective in attracting pilgrim traffic and parish churches, such as Seaford and Bawburgh, perhaps recognised the benefits of promoting the cults of their respective saints.[71] For larger institutions, such as Christ Church Canterbury or Durham, but also for Croyland Abbey, the lives of not just one but several saints were included. Again, these texts were drawn from existing *vitae* or histories. The extensive collection of monastic saints'

[68] Gerould, 'Legend of St. Wulfhad', pp. 325-6.
[69] Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', pp. 208-9
[70] Dugdale, *Monasticon,* ed. Caley, vi, p. 230.
[71] Heale, 'Training in Superstition?', pp. 422-3.

biographies on the Durham tablets were drawn from Bede, the *Polychronicon*, the foundation history of Durham, and the *Historia Aurea*.[72] King Aethlered's short biography at St Paul's included a prophecy from the Life of St Dunstan, and St. Wulfade's at Stone Priory was an English translation of his passion in Latin.[73] The use of saints' lives brings to the fore the role of the religious community at the place of the saint's shrine in fostering and caring for these geographically significant locations of spiritual power. Again, the tablets emphasis the centrality of religious communities in the spiritual life of a wider public.

The third focus of the monastic and cathedral tablets is benefactors. Several tablets contain genealogies of founding patrons, such as in the Worksop or Stone tablets, or of bishops and kings, such as in the Lichfield cathedral tablet or that at Christ Church Canterbury. Other tablets, such as those at Durham, include extracts from histories which include reference to patrons who are included therein by virtue of their importance in other historical contexts, often at a national or regional level. One item from the chronicle texts which is included in many of the tablets is the location of where in the church or monastic precinct the founding patron, bishop or abbot is buried, guiding the reader through the physical space of the church. The Stone tablet includes this information for each person in the genealogy.[74] Tablets were hung beside or above specific tombs, not as replacements for epitaphs but as supplementary material.[75] Gonzalez suggests that these tablets were part of the *mortuarium*, objects that were placed on or around the tomb which symbolized or were part of the endowment of the deceased.[76] Royal tomb tablets were able to draw material from major chronicles as the deceased was likely to be included there, such as King Sebba's tomb in St. Paul's, the text of

[72] Pantin, 'Some Medieval English Treatises', 208-9 for the discussion on Christ Church Canterbury and *Rites of Durham*, ed. Raine, pp. 124-36.
[73] Gerould, 'Legend of St. Wulfhad', p. 324.
[74] Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. Caley, vi, pp. 230-1.
[75] Gonzalez, '*Tabulae*: Ephemeral Epigraphy', p. 65.
[76] Gonzalez, '*Tabulae*: Ephemeral Epigraphy', p. 65.

which was drawn from Bede.[77] Both the genealogies and the short biographies incorporated into tablets suggest an architecturally tangible *liber benefactorum*. This impression is accentuated through the format of the tablets themselves which, in either triptych or diptych form, mimics turning the pages of a book.

They also act like a genealogy of the church itself, commemorating benefactors from the foundation to contemporary time. Durham Cathedral tablet C commemorates Richard de Bury, Bishop of Durham (1285-1345). It is more than an epitaph, describing some of his more personal qualities and characteristics. The text is identified as '*Hic in tabula pensili*' and contains exactly that kind of descriptive character sketch of Richard that is missing from the first strand of monastic historical narratives examined in Chapter Two which omit mention of spiritual qualities.

> Richard de Bury was appropriately educated, guiding the community with wisdom, lavishly entertaining guests, and solicitous in dispersing alms. Indeed, I hear that he was easily provoked if displeased but even easier to calm. He [took] the greatest pleasure in a multitude of books. Indeed, he had more books, it has been said, than all the bishops of England before. In addition, in the diverse manors in which he and his household resided, he kept separate such a great number of books in the room in which he slept that it was scarcely possible to enter without stepping on them or thrusting them aside with one's feet. He fittingly collected as many beautiful ornaments as possible for the church in Durham, displaying many of those he collected since he had resided there a long time. Therefore, when he had ruled the bishopric of Durham, which he had out of the papal provision, weary from his service to all parts of England and other contributions, for 11 years, 2 months and 12 days in the twelfth year, wasting away from long illness, he closed his last days at Auckland on the 14th day of April, 1345, and was fittingly buried, not without sufficient honour, by the south of the altar with the heart of the Blessed Mary Magdalene in the church of Durham.[78]

This is a very personal depiction of the bishop. The description of his bibliophilia rendering his study unnavigable, his delight in hosting guests and his generosity because of his loyalty to

[77] Gonzalez, '*Tabulae*: Ephemeral Epigraphy', p. 67 and Keynes, 'Burial of the King Aethelred', pp. 129, 144.
[78] Text in *Historiae Dunelmensis Tres*, ed. Raine, p. 130. The phrase '*Hic* [or *Hec*] *in tabula pensili*' occurs in two earlier manuscripts, as described in Denholm-Young, 'Birth of a Chronicle', p. 326, own translation.

the see of Durham provide an intimate picture of the man, similar to those for the abbots found in the Fountains foundation account.[79] The last sentence of the tablet gives the location of Richard's tomb, locating tablet and tomb within the church, interpreting the interior space of the church and commemorating the dead at the same time. The tablet does not include the usual exhortations to pray for the deceased as is normally found in epigraphic texts, making the tablet a distinct contribution to Bury's commemoration.

The tablet hung for Bishop Richard Poore of Salisbury (*d.*1237), later bishop of Durham, is more traditional as it does request prayers for Richard's soul but it also includes some of the practical actions he undertook during his tenure, the most important of which was starting construction of the cathedral itself. The text links him to a specific part of the cathedral, to the Lady Chapel in which he endowed a daily mass for his soul. The text pointedly states that he 'appropriated the rectory at Laverstock as an endowment for this mass' publicizing a detail usually confined to more administrative accounts.[80] The tablet then ends with a commemoration of his foundation of the Cistercian convent of Tarrant in Dorset, obviously a place of personal significance for him as it was 'where he was born and given the name of Richard Poore. His heart is buried there but his body is interred at Durham'.[81] Richard's epigraphic tablet displays the personal motivations that are missing in the spiritual accounting of late medieval monastic historical writing. The tablet commemorates both the act of giving and the motivations for it.

In turn, tablet texts were later re-inscribed into the historical writing of fifteenth and sixteenth century antiquaries. The inscriptions of verse and prose from funerary monuments, windows, tapestries, wall paintings, and other sites around churches were written into, sometimes *back*

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[79] See discussion, Ch. 2, pp. 73-75.
[80] *John Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Chandler (Stroud, 1993), p. 496.
[81] *John Leland's Itinerary*, ed. Chandler, p. 496. For the establishment of the community of nuns at Tarrant and the tradition of Bishop Poore as their founder, see 'House of Cistercian nuns: The Abbey of Tarrant Kaines', in William Page (ed), *A History of the County of Dorset: Volume 2* (London, 1908), pp. 87-90.

into, historical miscellanies.[82] The manuscript history of the Lichfield chronicle has already been mentioned and Jeanne Krochalis suggests another example from a Kirkstall manuscript in which extracts of the Glastonbury *Magna Tabula* and York texts are found, possibly recorded by a Kirkstall monk on tour.[83] One further example of this practice is the late catalogue of abbots from Fountains.[84] The entries of John Ripon (abbot 1413-1434), and his successor Thomas Paslew (1435-1442) both include brief descriptions which focus on their personal virtues. John is described as 'a man most deserving of praise and pious remembrance, most helpful in spiritual and temporal things'.[85] Thomas is 'pleasing and handsome in character, devout of soul, serene of face, a pious brother, altogether affable, whose soul is with God'.[86] As has been shown, in the account-like domestic histories of the fifteenth century, such descriptions of abbots are rare and the Fountains catalogue, also known as the President's Book, is no exception. John Ripon and Thomas Paslew are the only two abbots who are granted such notices. Their spiritual virtues are given equal, if not more, notice than their material generosity or acumen in governance. The instance is so rare that Walbran, the editor, suggests monumental inscriptions as the likely sources of these two entries.[87] Considering the similarity of focus with the cases of Richard de Bury and Richard Poore above and the lack of the typical epigraphic requests for prayers, rather than monumental inscription, these may have been taken from tablets instead.[88] Tablets, in their commemorative function, reflect another occasion of documentary specialization in which elements superfluous to domestic histories migrated to other formats of historical writing. Tablets were the repositories of information excised from

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[82] Neil Denholm-Young addressed several of these incidences in 'Birth of a Chronicle', pp. 326-8.
[83] Krochalis, 'History and Legend at Kirkstall', pp. 240-4.
[84] The President's Book or Precedent's book is Leeds, West Yorkshire Archive, WYL 150/5383 and extracts are printed in *Memorials of ... Fountains*, ed. Walbran, i, p. 146-7. See also Spence, 'Stimulating the Institutional Memory', pp. 294-5.
[85] *Memorials of ... Fountains,* ed. Walbran, i, p.146
[86] *Memorials of ... Fountains,* ed. Walbran, i, p. 147.
[87] *Memorials of ... Fountains,* ed. Walbran, i, p. 130, n. 1.
[88] For common epigraphic wording, Badham, 'Status and Salvation', and Griffith, 'English Commemorative Inscriptions', pp. 251–70.

domestic histories, and perhaps appropriately so. In the marketplace of remembrance, this kind of information brought to life the effigies they hung over and were more likely to win the prayers of readers and listeners.

In this way, tablets provided a historical context for commemorative acts performed within the space of the church. Tablets referenced each other, leading the reader through the maze of sacred space, marking a significant event or person at each step. They not only interpreted funerary monuments, linking the people buried there with the fabric of the church that they helped build or beautify, they also interpreted the connections between benefactor, saint, and community. Tablets prompted the visitor to link the physical environment with the spiritual heritage of the church as created and maintained by the religious community. Tablets enabled a public audience to actively commemorate the history of monastic institutions and the people associated with them on a continual and, if that public were literate, independent basis. They called attention to the central role the monastic community played in the origins and inheritance of the social memory of this holy location through the unbroken genealogy of the perpetual institution.

While tablets publicized the monastic function of historical witness, the ability to actually read them assumed a certain degree of literacy from a lay audience. Only a few of the monastic and cathedral tablets are in English. Stone Priory provides a rare example where the Latin prose account of the passion of St. Wulfade was translated into English verse for display in a monastic setting.[89] The genealogy of the founding family of Worksop is also in English. However, the vast majority of monastic and cathedral tablets are in Latin. It is true that, like sermons, tablets may have been simply transcribed in Latin even if they were presented in public in English. Considering that both the York and Glastonbury tablets are in

[89] Gerould, 'Legend of St. Wulfhad', p. 324.

Latin though, it is more likely that tablets reflected a linguistic division similar to that between monastic and lay histories, with the former in Latin and the latter in English. Even as literacy rates climbed in the fifteenth century, many visitors would not have been able to interpret the tablets without help.[90] In an organised religious environment like a monastery or cathedral chapter however, visitors and pilgrims often had a guide accompanying them through the church. Conrad Rudolph's recent work on medieval guide culture describes the extensive staff in place at Canterbury Cathedral to greet visitors and interpret the art and architecture of the church.[91] Even the smallest monastery delegated a monk to welcome and care for visitors, as instructed by the Rule of St. Benedict. Rudolph suggests that tablets acted as guide aids for these officials, useful prompts when leading visitors around the church, the written text standing surety for the information conveyed by the monk-guide.[92] However, the concentration of tablets in the same period when literacy, in both vernacular and Latin, was increasing, however slowly, suggests that tablets did indeed fulfil a need different from merely acting as a monastic guide cheat-sheet. Like any modern-day information panel, church visitors could pick and choose the information they wished to consume, and the arrangement and length of the Glastonbury and York tablets is such that the reader could easily select out different passages of interest. They did not have to read the entire text and it could also be read aloud, not only by monks but by fellow visitors.[93]

The curation of texts included in tablets gains more significance in this light. There is a strict demarcation between tablets that contained textual historical information, which needed to be interpreted for the audience, and illustrated tablets that depicted saints, the Virgin Mary, or

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[90] On literacy rates, see Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 233-44; Franz H. Bäuml, 'Varieties and Consequences of Medieval Literacy and Illiteracy', *Speculum*, 55/2 (1980), pp. 237-65; Strohm, Paul, 'Writing and Reading', in Rosemary Horrox and Mark Ormrod (eds), *A Social History of England, 1200-1500* (Cambridge, 2016), pp. 454-72. For the adoption of English as a literary language, John H. Fisher, 'A Language Policy for Lancastrian England', *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, 107/5 (1992), pp. 1168-80.
[91] Rudolph, 'Monk as Tour Guide', pp. 41-3.
[92] Rudolph, 'Monk as Tour Guide', pp. 45-6.
[93] Purvis, 'Tables of the York Vicars Choral', p. 742.

other images which were a focus of lay instruction and devotion, such as those in the parish churches. The dates of the tablets correspond with the period when pilgrimage to major destinations like Rome, Jerusalem and Santiago de Compostella was waning and a focus on local saints, local holy places and local shrines was gaining new life.[94] The proliferation of tablets during the late-fourteenth and fifteenth century indicates that the religious communities were not only aware of the growing interest of a lay audience in local saints but also felt some need to communicate their position as guardians of important locales of spiritual devotion, to emphasise their role as guardians of the past. As pointed out previously, the Glastonbury, St. Paul's and Winchester tablets laid claim to foundation by some of the first missionaries to England during the apostolic flowering of the early Church. This emphasises the position of these institutions as centres of holiness from apostolic times which were maintained by the monastic community for the spiritual welfare of all. The inclusion of the origin story of the monastery, saints' *vitae*, and benefactor-biographies locates the religious community within the linear temporal progression of Christian history and more importantly establishes the religious community at the centre of that holy heritage, as commemorators and protectors.

Libri vitae

Monastic communities used another element of their historical text arsenal to publicly emphasise their role as guardians and commemorators of England's Christian past. *Libri vitae* have a long history of use in monastic communities as records of relationships. Their function however is less about what is written inside and more about what the material object of the book itself signifies. *Libri vitae* combine the commemorative mission of monasticism with its foundation in textual practice. People are remembered because they are literally written down

[94] Heale, 'Training in Superstition', pp. 417–39; Clark, 'Selling the Holy Places', pp. 25–9.

and their inclusion in this special object signifies not just their remembrance but their perpetual salvation.

There are three extant English *libri vitae*. They are from Durham Cathedral Priory in the north, Hyde Abbey in Winchester in the southwest, and Thorney Abbey in the east. Each has been the subject of individual studies, which focused predominantly on the genesis and early medieval development of the manuscripts, with the exception of the examination of the Durham *liber vitae*'s later life by Lynda Rollason.[95] Taken together, however, the patterns-of-use between 1350 and 1530 reflect echoes of the renewed connection with the past shown in narrative historical writing in Chapter Two and the efforts to reach a non-monastic audience seen in the church tablet revival discussed above. The following section contextualizes the revived use of the three books as repositories for names within the commemorative practices in their respective monasteries and, from the late fourteenth century onwards, within the broader use of historical writing as a tool to reinforce the relevance of the social function of monastic communities. Like church tablets, the use of *libri vitae* was closely related to the space of the monastic churches in which they were used and the chapter will examine how the past contained in these two kinds of visible texts was written onto and into other material objects and architecture of churches, in effect creating a stage for the historically focused performance of the Christian liturgy to be explored in Chapter Four. Finally, I will argue that, while the *libri vitae* were revived for occasions of local importance, each revival was

[95] *The Durham* Liber Vitae*: London, British Library MS Cotton Domitian A VII: Edition and Digital Facsimile with Introduction, Codicological, Prosopographical and Linguistic Commentary, and Indexes*, ed. David and Lynda Rollason (3 vols, London, 2007); *The Durham* Liber Vitae *and Its Context*, ed. David Rollason, A.J. Piper, Margaret Harvey and Lynda Rollason (Woodbridge, 2004) and Lynda Rollason, 'The *Liber Vitae* of Durham (BL MS Cotton Domitian A. vii): a discussion of its possible context and use in the later Middle Ages' (PhD thesis, University of Durham, 2003); *The Thorney* Liber vitae*: London, British Library Additional MS 40,000, fols 1-12r: Edition, Facsimile and Study*, ed. Lynda Rollason and Cecily Clark (Woodbridge, 2015); *The* Liber Vitae *of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944: Together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D. XXVII*, ed. Simon Keynes (Copenhagen, 1996). Each of the *libri vitae* are also available as digital editions.
Durham: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Domitian_A_VII;
Hyde: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Stowe_MS_944;
Thorney: http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Add_MS_40000

informed by a re-examination of monastic life which prompted several of the new strands of historical writing discussed in Chapter Two and the renewed use of church tablets. The revival of the *libri vitae* suggests that the monastic response to contemporary criticism of monastic life focused not only changes in historical writing which emphasised the community's own unique memory, but sought to use elements of that past in ways that were visible to, accessible by and, when possible, featured in rituals which involved the laity.

Libri vitae **origins**

Libri vitae were inspired by verses in the Book of Revelations. In Revelations 20:12 and 20:15, references are made to a volume in which the names of those who had gained eternal life are inscribed.

> I saw the dead, great and small, standing before the throne; and books were opened. Then another book, the book of life, was opened. The dead were judged by what they had done, as recorded in these books. The sea gave up the dead that were in it, and Death and Hades gave up the dead in their keeping. Everyone was judged on the record of his deeds. Then Death and Hades were flung into the lake of fire. This lake of fire is the second death; into it were flung any whose names were not to be found in the book of life.[96]

This idea of a heavenly tome which provided proof of the eternal fate of every individual was evidently one that appealed to those whose duty it was to potentially influence that fate through commemorative prayer. The practice of keeping such a book was adopted in the monastic houses of Carolingian Europe around the same time that they developed a role as powerhouses of spiritual commemoration in the eighth century.[97] In form, these early *libri vitae* have their origins in late-antique consular ivory diptychs but the growth of commemorative practice in the eighth and ninth centuries led to changes in the material

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[96] Rev. 20:12-15.

[97] See above, Ch. 1, pp. 26-31 and Elizabeth Briggs, 'Nothing but Names: The Original Core of the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *Durham* Liber Vitae *and its Context,* pp. 63-85 at pp. 70-1 and Eva-Maria Butz and Alfons Zettler, 'The Making of the Carolingian *Libri Memoriales*: Exploring or Constructing the Past?', in Elma Brenner, Meredith Cohen and Mary Franklin-Brown (eds), *Memory and Commemoration in Medieval Culture* (Farnham, 2013), pp. 79-92.

format and function.[98] Most research around *libri vitae* has focused on the seven remaining examples that originated during this period within the area where the borders of modern Switzerland, Germany, Austria, and Italy meet.[99] All of these volumes are also linked with the development of monastic confraternity, another practice closely influenced by the rise of intercessory prayer and relationships between monasteries and patrons.[100] Confraternity is a formal agreement whereby the members of two monastic houses agree to pray for the members of each community for their mutual spiritual benefit. Members of confraternity were afforded the same commemorative practices upon their death as members of the monastery itself.[101] This quickly expanded to include similar arrangements between monasteries and individuals, usually benefactors, with the benefactor earning the same spiritual benefits in recognition of support and pious donations.[102] These understandings were formalised in a written agreement drawn up between the two parties.[103] Names of *confraters*, both lay and monastic, were written into the *liber vitae* as a benefit of confraternity. Further developments in commemoration practice often resulted in a separation of *liber vitae* into the living and the dead, sometimes in separate lists or entirely separate volumes.[104] As anniversary commemorations became more popular in the tenth and eleventh century, necrologies and obits lists became the preferred form of commemorative book, as it

[98] Nicole Pulichene, 'The Boethius Diptych in Context', presentation at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich, 24 October 2019. The lay out of the early part of the liber vitae of Pfäffers mimics this diptych format. Dieter Geuenich, 'A Survey of the Early Medieval Confraternity Books from the Continent', in *Durham* Liber Vitae *and Its Context*, pp. 141-7 at p. 142.
[99] This includes extant *libri vitae* from Remiremont (France), Reichenau (Gemany), St Gallen, Pfäfers (Switzerland), Salzburg (Austria), and Brescia (Italy). Butz and Zettler, 'Making of the Carolingian *Libri Memoriale*', p. 80, n. 4 for bibliography of individual studies.
[100] See Ch. 1, pp. 31.
[101] L. Rollason, 'The *Liber Vitae* of Durham (BL MS Cotton Domitian A. vii): a discussion of its possible context and use in the later Middle Ages' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham, 2003), pp. 209-11.
[102] Arnold Angenendt, 'How was a Confraternity Made: The Evidence of Charters', in *Durham* Liber Vitae *and its Context,* pp. 207-19 at pp. 210-13.
[103] Butz and Zettler, 'Carolingian *Libri Memoriales*', p. 81.
[104] The Salzburg *liber vitae* is the only one that arranges the names into lists of the living and the dead though the Remiremont volume does so for the individual houses in confraternity with it. See L. Rollason, '*Liber vitae* of Durham', p. 202 and *Liber Memorialis von Remiremont*, ed. Hlawitschka, Schmid et al, *MGH: Libri Memoriales I* (Dublin, Zurich, 1970), pp. 13-14.

facilitated the Cluniac development for individual names to be read out on anniversaries.[105] However, some *libri vitae* continued in use into the late Middle Ages, as they still provided a way to recognise relationships with living people.

In England, Lanfranc's Constitutions describe the ceremony by which a person – monk or lay – was inducted into confraternity. [106] The signing of the agreement was accompanied by a ceremony in the chapter house. A verbal promise to exchange prayers for the members of the respective houses was sworn on a copy of the Rule of St Benedict if it was a monk, or a book of the Gospels if a layperson. Confraternity agreements were sometimes written into the book itself. More often, especially if it was an individual rather than entire monastic community, just the name or names were inscribed into the book. The name-lists were often appended to the Gospels upon which the confraternity was promised.

Generally, there are two important features of *Libri vitae* which distinguish them from other memorial books. First, they are collections of names, usually of people with spiritual or temporal links to a monastic community, but information about the connections themselves is rarely included. Secondly, the book itself is used in the liturgy in some capacity, often simply as a representational object. Like most medieval manuscripts, however, the contents of *Libri vitae* are rarely uniform or obviously coherent. In addition to names, other materials were added over the extended period of their use, many of which were only tangentially related to the original purpose of the volume, or any of the uses to which it was subsequently put. Some additional materials overlap with items found in other kinds of memorial books, such as

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[105] See Susan Hilton, 'A Cluniac Office of the Dead' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Maryland, 2005), pp. 19-20 for a discussion on how the liturgical commemorative practice developed at Cluny fostered a shift from undated, anonymous *libri vitae* to named and dated necrologies. Jan Gerchow lists ten necrologies from English monasteries (Winchester, Abingdon, Exeter, Worcester x2, Christ Church Canterbury x2, Ramsey, Ely, and Evesham). This is in addition to obits added to earlier calendars. See Gerchow, *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen* (Berlin, 1988), pp. 233-99.

[106] *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. Dom David Knowles and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford, 2002), pp. 168-71.

necrologies or martyrologies. Other items are less related, from rentals to manumissions, histories of land tenure to lists of relics. It is its combined function, as a liturgical object in one of the daily masses as well as a continually updated textual testament, which transforms *Libri vitae* from an artefact of history into an active instrument of memory-creation.

In the alpine monasteries as well as in England, how *libri vitae* were used in a liturgical context differed between monasteries but the most common practice was to lay the volume on the altar during the offertory prayers of one of the daily masses, where the priest would gesture towards it or touch it during the prayers for the living (or the dead, depending on the book) which precede the consecration.[107] This bypassed the need to read out the actual names inscribed therein. The physical placement of the volume upon the altar was sufficient to garner each individual inscribed in the book the spiritual benefits of intercessory prayer. Both the Hyde and Durham *libri vitae* include statements outlining how the volume was to be used in the liturgy, whose names are included in the book, and whose names should be included in the future. At Hyde,

> Here follow in their appropriate order the names of the brethren and of the monks, and also of the friends (*familiares*) and benefactors, whether living or dead, so that, by the making of a record on earth in this written form, they may be inscribed on the pages of the heavenly book, by whose alms-giving, through the bounty of Christ, this community is sustained from day to day... And may the names be entered here of all those who commend themselves to its prayers and fraternity, in order that there may be a commemoration of them every day, in the holy solemnities of the Mass or in the harmonies of the psalmody. And may the names themselves be presented by the sub-deacon every day before the holy altar at the Morrow or principal Mass, and may they be read out by him in the sight of the Most High, as time permits. And, after the offering of the oblation to God, placed on the holy altar at the right hand of the principal priest who is celebrating Mass, during the mysteries of the sacred Mass, may they be most humbly commended to Almighty God. So that, just as commemoration of them is made on earth, so too in that life, by the bounty of Him who alone knows how all are, or are to be, there, may the glory be augmented of those who are of greater merit in heaven, and may the cause be smoothed, in the hidden judgements, of those

[107] For the varying practice of *libri vitae* use, see L. Rollason, '*Liber Vitae* of Durham', pp. 196-203.

> who are of lesser merit. Rejoice and be glad because your names are written in heaven[108]

At Hyde the names are to be presented daily before the mass and the book placed on the altar after the consecration, at the right hand of the priest. The names are also to be read out, but this is made conditional on the time available. The Hyde statement was written at the same time the recording of names began in 1031 so it does not indicate if this practice was continued in the same way or at all into the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Durham *liber vitae* also includes a statement of use, dated to the last quarter of the fifteenth century. It provides a glimpse of how a *liber vitae* was used in this later period.[109]

> The order or method of this book is nothing other than the annual commemoration, in the sacrifice of the mass, on behalf of all the departed souls, of the benefactors and of the ones deserving towards the monastery Church of our blessed father Cuthbert, as much secular as regular, as much of emperors as of priests, as much of abbots as of monks [...] as, each of the humblest of the names written below in this book equally and richly show.[110]

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[108] Translation after Keynes, Liber Vitae *of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, p. 83. 'Hoc sanctorum coenobium quod nuncupatur nouum ad distinctionem ueteris monasterii quod prope habetur. Hic ordine condecibili onomata progrediuntur fratrum et monachorum nec non et familiariorum uel benefactorum uiuorum seu defunctorum ut per temporalem recordationem scripturem istius in celestis libri conscribantur pagina. Quorum beneficiis et elemosinarum cotidie hec ipsa familia Christo largiente pascitur et omnium qui se eius orationibus ac fraternitati commendant. Hic generaliter habeantur inscripta. Quatinus cotidie in sacris missarum celebrationibus vel psalmodiarum concentibus eorum commemoration fiat. Et ipsa nomina per singulos dies a subdiacono ante sanctum altare ad matutinalem seu principalem missam presentur (*sic*) et ab ipso prout tempus persmiserit in conspectu altissimi recitentur. Postque oblatum Deo oblationem dextra manu cardinalis qui missam celebrat sacerdotis inter ipsa sacre misse mysteria supra sacrem altare posita. Omnipotenti Deo humillime commendentur quo sicut eorum memoria agitur interris. Ita in illa vita ipso largiente qui solus qualiter ibi omnes aut sunt aut futuri sint novit eorum vero qui maioris meriti sunt gloria cumuletur in coelis eorum uero qui minoris sunt. In occultis ipsius causa leuigetur iudiciis Guadete et exultate qui nomina uestra scripta sunt in coelis Jesus Christus dominus noster cui cum Deo co-aeterno patre et spiritu sancto honor uirtus et gloria permanet in secula seculorum' on BL MS Stowe 944, fo. 13rv.

[109] The manuscript evidence for this passage is of interest itself. It was written on a folio that was subsequently glued to another during one of the Cotton re-bindings of the manuscript, but not before it had been copied out by the Cottonian librarian.

[110] Durham *Liber Vitae*, BL MS Cotton Domitian A VII, f. 63v and copied onto f. 3v. My own translation, after Lynda Rollason, '*Liber Vitae* of Durham', pp.235-9. 'Ordo sive methodus huius libri nihil aliud estis quam annualis commemeratis/ in sacrificio missae animarum defunctarum omnium / benefactorum aut benemeritorum erga monasticam ecclesiam / beatissimi patris Cuthberti tam secuarlium quam regularium / tam Imperatorum quam presbiterorum tam Abbatum quam / monachorum tot singula eorum nomina in hoc libro inferius / subscripta planius et plenius demonstrant'.

At Durham *c.* 1475, the commemoration of the persons recorded in the *liber vitae* was reduced to an annual anniversary mass, rather than a daily commemoration within the regular celebration of the mass. The passage also emphasises the equality of persons recorded therein; all earthly status erased by death. Other memorial books, not only *libri vitae*, commemorated benefactors and those in close relationship with the community in similar ways but did not indicate a link to a regularly performed commemorative practice. In the preface to the second book of the Ramsey *liber benefactorum* (written *c.* 1170), the creation of the book itself is shown to be a commemorative act in and of itself through its ability to preserve the past, but there is no indication it was used within a liturgical setting.[111] The St Albans' *liber benefactorum* (written *c.* 1380) was permanently displayed before the presbytery high altar, between votive candles and above the slabs under which were buried the abbots of the last two centuries of the monastery but its use appears to have been limited to display.[112] At Bury St Edmunds, M. R. James references a formal practice in the chapter there of first announcing the *sonitus* of the day, at which point the monks replied together 'for whom?' at which point the names of those to be remembered that day were recited. The names were then written on a board to inform those who had not been present who was being commemorated that day.[113] Memorial books, such as the St Alban's book or the Tewkesbury Founders' Book, were highly decorative and meant to be seen as objects in and of themselves. *Libri vitae* functioned in much the same way but their liturgical use was unique.

A closer look at the extant English *Libri vitae* can shed some light on how the use of the *libri vitae* continued into the late Middle Ages. The Durham, Thorney and Hyde volumes each have a unique origin and went through a number of transformations. Patterns of use can be

[111] See Ch. 2, p. 67.
[112] Ridgway Lloyd, 'A Medieval Pilgrimage to the Shrine of St Alban', *The Antiquary*, 2 (1880), pp. 245-50 at p. 248.
[113] *On the Abbey of S. Edmund at Bury*, ed. M. R. James (London, 1895), p. 145.

determined by examining three factors: the addition of monastic names, the addition of lay names, and the addition of other materials. Assessing the dates for names and documents relies heavily on palaeographic evidence and can usually only be determined within a range of years, rather than given exact dates. A name may have been entered during any point of a person's life or well after their death. The printed editions of the *libri vitae* provide great assistance in dating the thousands of names included in the books, especially for the Thorney and Durham volumes. The time periods into which I break down the Hyde volume are not as granular, but I have tried to provide divisions that match those of the other two studies.

Durham *liber vitae* pattern of use

The Durham *liber vitae* was begun between 830 and 880, but probably before 850, at the monastery of either Lindisfarne or Wearmouth-Jarrow. The arrangement of the original core is striking.[114] Names were inscribed in gold and silver and divided under headings of social status: kings and nobles, queens and abbesses, anchorites, the different grades of abbots (priests, deacons etc), with monks coming last.[115] This kind of division of names is also seen in the *libri vitae* of Reichenau and St Gall and Hyde.[116] By 1083, the book was at Durham Priory where, soon after the foundation of the monastery in that year, the monks began to inscribe their names and those of important lay people with connections to the abbey.[117] The laity included King Malcolm of Scotland and wealthy London merchants with Durham connections, as well as local people who had a particular devotion to St Cuthbert.[118] Through this first period of revived use, there is no 'typical' name in the Durham book, though the

[114] The foliation of the original core has been broken up through several re-arrangements. It included what is now 15r-47v and 50r-55v. See Michael Gullick, 'The Make--up of the Durham *Liber Vitae*: The Codicology of the Manuscript', in *Durham* Liber Vitae *and its Context*, pp. 17-42 at, pp. 33-7.
[115] Gullick notes the oddity that there is no list of bishop but posits that if there was one, it was lost before the re-ordering in the mid-twelfth century, as one was added in the early twelfth century to blank space on f. 19r. Gullick, 'Make-up of the *Liber*', pp. 34-6.
[116] Geuenich, 'Survey of Early Medieval Confraternity Books', pp.143-4.
[117] L. Rollason, '*Liber Vitae* of Durham', p. 128.
[118] Malcolm's name appears on fo. 15v and 16r. See Geoffrey Barrow, 'Scots in the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *Durham* Liber Vitae *and its Context*, pp. 109-16 at p. 115.

identifiable names tend to be towards the upper end of the social hierarchy. 1083 was also around the time that Lanfranc's Constitutions appeared at Durham, providing the instructions for the process of entering into confraternity discussed above.[119] This first revival must be seen within the context of the new Durham community establishing their claim to inheritance of St Cuthbert's community of Lindisfarne.[120] Names of Durham monks continued to be added at regular intervals until *c.* 1320.[121] Piper posits that profession slips would be kept in the *liber vitae* and then entered as a group, by order of seniority, not necessarily yearly but still regularly.[122] Lay names and the names of other ecclesiastics were added in a much more intermittent pattern over the same period of time but there were no significant periods of non-use. In addition to names, this first revival also marks the addition of non-name texts. These include twenty-three confraternity agreements with monastic houses and with individuals, all added in the twelfth century.[123] In addition, a good deal of historical material was added, including an extract from Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio,* about the investment of the Durham prior during the ceremony of the laying of the dedication stone of the new church in 1093.[124] Reginald of Durham (active 1160), one of several of Durham's historical writers

[119] Rollason, '*Liber Vitae* of Durham', pp. 208, 218-19.
[120] Rollason, '*Liber Vitae* of Durham', pp. 152-7.
[121] A list of monks in Durham University Library Cosin V.II.6 ff. 7r-8v, a manuscript of Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio..Dunhelmensis ecclesie* includes a list of monks of Durham that covers the years 1087- *c.* 1163, the introductory wording of which suggests that this MS was used as a memorial book as well, and that around the end of this period the *liber vitae* took over once again. *Libellus de exordio*, ed. D. Rollason, p. xx, with the list on pp. 7-15. See also A.J. Piper, 'The early lists and obits of the Durham monks', in D. Rollason (ed.), *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North* (Stamford, 1998), pp. 161-201.
[122] A. J. Piper, 'Names of the Durham monks', in *Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, pp.117-25 at p. 121 and p. 124.
[123] St Calais, Selby, St Mary's York, St Peter's Gloucester, St Peter Lastingham (all simple agreements) and Winchester, Christ Church, Canterbury, Chertsey, Pershore, Glastonbury, Westminster, Gregory of Bermondsey Abbey, Fecamp, Hackness (full agreements recorded). See J. E. Burton, 'The Confraternities in the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *The Durham* Liber Vitae*: London, British Library MS Cotton Domitian A VII*, i, pp. 73-75.
[124] On BL MS Cotton Domitian A VII, fos. 53r-54r.

Durham *Liber Vitae*: names of monks								
1300-1399				1400-1499				1500-1525
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	
Names of Durham monks added in groups by year of profession and in order of seniority until 1320	only 7 stints of writing, all 1325x1342, several year of professions are missing	5 stints of writing 1350x1364, some years of professions missing	2 campaigns of entry, first in 1381, second in *c.* 1400	Regular and frequent entry of names until 1485, though some years of profession missing			No names entered 1485x1497.	Names cease 1521

Names of laity									
1300-1399: 415 total				1400-1499: 514 total				1500-1539: 659	
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4	1	2
<--81			85				409		
4		36		12		205		107	
49	2	70	30	34	0	0	6	28	0
to 1340: 0				0					
19				0					
	25				37				
	107-->				2				
		1				2			

Additional material							
1300-1399				1400-1499			
1	2	3	4	1	2	3	4
No additional documents added							Statement of use

Table 3. Timeline of additions to the Durham Liber Vitae. *Colour represents periods of high use. Based on The* Liber Vitae *of Durham, ed. L. Rollason*

during this period, is identified as the scribe of this extract, placing the *liber vitae* within the tradition of historical writing at Durham during this period.[125] After 1250 additions to the *liber vitae* are of a more diverse nature and include a manumission, Old English and Latin charters and, with a re-binding campaign in the twelfth century, a set of gospel texts, which were added to the front of the work.[126]

Around 1320, the regular addition of the names of Durham monks became disordered and ceased altogether for a period of fifteen years between 1365 and *c.* 1381.[127] (see Table 3)[128] The entry of non-monastic names was similarly disordered or absent during this period. Lynda Rollason's breakdown of lay names through the fourteenth century shows a distinct decrease which began between 1325 and 1350 and then extended over the same period when the entry of the names of monks ceased. In 1380, when the regular, ordered entry of Durham monks' names was resumed, the entry of lay names also recommenced. In the fourteenth century, no non-name additional documents were entered into the *liber vitae* at all. The mid-fourteenth century, roughly between 1320 and 1380, marked a distinct hiatus of regular, dedicated use of the *liber vitae*.[129]

1380 was a turning point in the late medieval life of the Durham *liber vitae*. The regular addition of both monks' and lay names resumed, filling in some of those missing from a quarter century before. The names of monks who professed in 1365 were entered in two campaigns, the first in 1381 and the second in 1400. After this, the regular pattern of name entry, based again on the use of profession slips, continued with only minor interruptions

[125] L. Rollason, '*Liber vitae* of Durham', p. 105.
[126] Gospels are BL MS Cotton Domitian A VII, fos 4r-14v. Gullick, 'Make-up of the *Liber*', pp. 18-19.
[127] Piper, 'Names of the Durham monks', pp. 118.
[128] Based on Piper, 'Names of the Durham monks', pp117-125 and L. Rollason, '*Liber Vitae* of Durham', pp. 108-35.
[129] L. Rollason also suggests that the *liber vitae* may have been used as a chapter house book in the twelfth century. She uses the inclusion of the confraternity agreements, rather than the names for this suggestion, '*Liber Vitae* of Durham', pp. 230-1. For her count of names see, pp. 110-35, especially pp. 130-5.

until *c.* 1485, at which point, the system again fell apart. The number of names of monks who were known to have been professed but were missing in the *liber vitae* increased significantly and the entries were haphazard.[130] The number of lay names added between 1450 and 1539, increased dramatically in comparison to previous rates of entry and after 1520, the names entered are solely those of lay people. There are several interesting features of the names added in this period. First, many of the monks are listed with family members within in the monastic lists: parents, brothers, sisters, grandparents.[131] This is especially the case after 1450. Secondly, Lynda Rollason associates the revival of the *liber vitae* in 1380 with a specific event, the re-dedication of the high altar upon completion of the new altar screen in November of that year.[132] She identifies most of the names of those who were at this ceremony, such as Lord John Neville, Henry Percy and Gilbert Umfraville, earl of Angus and representatives of John of Gaunt.[133] The entry marking this occasion is a collection not only of the names of those who were closely involved with the redecoration of the church interior but also of those who were not involved in its construction but were simply likely to have been present at the ceremony, including members of other religious houses. Thirdly, while the elite and gentry are still represented, many of the lay names are of paid counsellors, such as proctors, attorneys and royal justices, tenants, or priory servants, who can be identified because they received a pension or wages from the Priory.[134] The increase in names from this section of society reflects the increased sophistication of land, legal, and institutional administration at Durham from the thirteenth century onwards. Finally, while Durham actively granted confraternity to an increasing number of people throughout the fifteenth and

[130] Piper, 'Names of the Durham monks', pp. 123-4.
[131] Piper, 'Names of the Durham monks', pp. 122-3.
[132] L. Rollason, '*Liber Vitae* of Durham', pp. 164 and 'The Late Medieval Non-Monastic Entries in the Durham Liber Vitae', in *Durham Liber Vitae and its Context,* pp. 127-37 at pp.135-6.
[133] These names are visible as a group on fos. 72v, 73r and 74r, L. Rollason, '*Liber Vitae* of Durham', p. 164 and L. Rollason, 'History and Codicology', in David and Lynda Rollason (eds), The Durham *Liber Vitae*, i, pp. 39-40.
[134] L. Rollason, 'Late Medieval Non-Monastic Entries in the Durham *Liber Vitae*', pp. 133-5.

into the sixteenth century, there is little overlap between those who joined the confraternity and the names entered into the *liber vitae*. This surprising situation suggests, first, that confrater names were entered elsewhere, perhaps into a necrology which would be used in the chapter house but not in the church, and second, that the lay names that were entered into the *liber vitae* were entered under some different criterion. It is possible, considering the close association of the revival with a specific liturgical event, that the connection between liturgical occasions and the entry of lay names into the *liber vitae* continued. Only one non-name entry is made in the *liber vitae* during this later revival, which is the statement-of-use passage already discussed above. The specificity of 'annual' in the description there indicates liturgical use of the book at least once a year.[135] However, it also conflicts with how the use of the Durham *liber vitae* is described in the *Rites of Durham*.

> There did lye on the high altar an excellent fine booke uerye richly couered with gold and siluer conteininge the names of all the benefactors towards St Cuthberts church from the first originall foundation thereof, the uerye letters for the most part beinge all gilded as is apparent in the said booke until this day the layinge that booke on the high altar did show how highly they esteemed their founders and benefactors, and the dayly and quotidian remembrance they had of them in the time of masse and diuine seruice did argue not onely their gratitude, but also a most duine and charitable affection to the soules of theire benefactors as well dead as liuinge, which booke is as yett extant declaringe the s[aid] use in the inscription thereof. There is also another famous booke: as yett extant conteininge the reliques Jewe(l)s ornaments and uestments that were giuen to the church by all those founders for the further adorninge of gods seruice whose names were of record in the said booke that dyd lye uppon the high altar, as also they are recorded in this booke of the afore said reliques and Jewells to the euerlastinge praise and memorye of the giuers and benefactors thereof.[136]

This post-Dissolution description of conventual life at Durham before the dismantling of the monastic community *does* specify daily use of the book within the liturgy, similar to how the use of the Hyde volume is described in 1031. Does this indicate that there was a change in the frequency of use of the *liber vitae* at some point between the inscription in the *liber vitae* itself (*c.* 1475) and 1539? Perhaps, like the now-missing *liber benefactorum* also referred to

[135] See above, p. 137
[136] *Rites of Durham*, ed. Fowler, Surtees Soc. 107 (Durham 1903), pp. 16-17.

above, the *liber vitae* was kept on display on the altar on a regular basis, but only used regularly in liturgical celebrations once a year.[137] At the very least, we know it was used at one special occasion, because of the links to the dedication of the high altar in 1380.

New Minster/Hyde *liber vitae* patterns of use

The history of the New Minster or Hyde *Liber vitae* has a number of parallels with the Durham book in its arrangement and timings. It began at a later date, in 1031, at the New Minster in Winchester.[138] The New Minster was founded by King Alfred but King Cnut was also an enthusiastic supporter and he bequeathed to the monastery an immense gold cross, a drawing of which became a frontispiece for the New Minster *liber vitae*.[139] In 1109, the *liber vitae* travelled with the monks to new quarters north of the city at Hyde Abbey. Like the Durham *liber vitae*, the names that make up the original core are arranged by social status.[140] There was an effort to continue these lists in order throughout the use of the Hyde book. For example, the list of kings was continued until Henry V.[141] Part of the original core is a history of the foundation of the monastery, which precedes the list of names. The additional material added to the Hyde *liber vitae* prior to the fourteenth century is orientated around historical and liturgical material, including a treatise on the six ages of the world, lists of saints' burial places, and part of the Hyde Customary.[142] There are also copies of the different Creeds, benedictions, hymns and a Gospel lectionary.[143] A vernacular version of the history of the abbey was added in the twelfth century.[144] Only one confraternity agreement was included

[137] This second book Fowler suggests may be that referred to in *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres,* ed. Raines, p. 208. 'quemdam librum, ab antiquo ad dorsum dicti summi altaris, cathena ferrea ligatum, et super ductum altare positum, cathena ferrea eum sera clausum'.
[138] Gerchow, *Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen*, pp. 163-4.
[139] London, BL MS Stowe 944, fo. 6r.
[140] BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 8r-12v.
[141] BL MS Stowe 944, fo. 14r.
[142] Treatise on the Six Ages, BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 334r-34r; Saints' burial places, BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 36v-39r; Customary extracts, BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 24r.
[143] Creeds, BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 60v-61r; benedictions, BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 50r-54r; hymns, BL MS Stowe 944, fo. 60rv; partial Gospel lections, BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 41rv, 49rv.
[144] BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 57rv.

but the names of monks from other houses with which Hyde had agreements were also inscribed.[145] Relic-lists were added in the twelfth century as well.[146] One early thirteenth-century addition recorded an abbatial order for a distribution of alms to be made upon the death of a brother, including that the alms were to come from the almoner's budget and that the abbot wanted the note included in the chapter martyrology to ensure it was acted upon, showing that, at this time, there was a separate martyrology used in chapter. This raises the distinct possibility that the *liber vitae* was still in use in the church according the original statement from 1031.[147]

The Hyde *liber vitae* has a higher regularity of use than does the Durham volume. (See Table 4). It does not show the cessation of use that the Durham *liber vitae* experienced in the mid-fourteenth century, suggesting that the stoppage at Durham was for local reasons. It does, however, exhibit symptoms of a marked increase of activity at similar points in the timeline, in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth century. The names of monks were added with some regularity but in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, someone decided to start the lists again, re-inscribing names which had already been entered from 1319 to 1420. Thereafter,

[145] Abingdon, BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 26v-27r; Ely, BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 27rv; the Old Minster, BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 17v-20r.
[146] BL MS Stowe 944, fos. 55v, 57v, 58rv.
[147] BL MS Stowe 944, fo. 7v.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="9">New Minster/Hyde Liber Vitae: Names of monks</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">1300-1399</td><td colspan="4">1400-1499</td><td>1500-1539</td></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="5">Monks' names added regularly under each abbot, and updated throughout abbacies</td><td colspan="4">New list started recording names of monks beginning in 1319 to 1420 and then continuing list in this new format to the last abbacy 1529.</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="9">Names of laity</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">1300-1399</td><td colspan="4">1400-1499</td><td>1500-1539</td></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">581 names added to list of laity between 13th -1460 = Average of 3.3 names per year</td><td colspan="2">post-1467 202 lay names added = Average 6.1 names per year</td><td>272 names added between 1520x1539 =Average of 14 names per year</td></tr>
<tr><th colspan="9">Additional material</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">1300-1399</td><td colspan="4">1400-1499</td><td>1500-1539</td></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Historical account of events 1060s and 1140s,</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Table 4. Timeline of additions to the New Minster/Hyde liber vitae, based on dating of stints in The Liber Vitae *of the New Minster, ed. Keynes. Darker colours represent greater rates of use*

monastic names were entered in a more ordered fashion, in neat columns under the respective abbot. Similar to Durham, the Hyde *liber vitae* shows a steep increase in the rate at which lay names were added in the later period as well. Over the fourteenth century and the first half of the fifteenth, lay names were added at an average of three per year. After the mid-century point, the rate shot up to six per year until, for the first twenty years of the sixteenth century, the rate was fourteen per year. These entries are added to the original lists of confratres, which suggests that, unlike at Durham, the connection with confraternities and the *liber vitae* was maintained at Hyde Abbey. There are some entries after 1467 which include a date not as an obit but as the date of entry. This includes those of William, Earl of Arundel and his retinue, and those of Magister Walter Hodges, Constantine Darell and Thomas Souky whose names were entered into the book on the feast of the apostles Phillip and James the Less, 1 May, 1489.[148] These are all men of substance in Winchester and the addition of the date suggests the entry was made on the occasion of a specific event. While is it difficult to be certain, the inauguration of new fixtures in the church is again a possible occasion for this entry. In 1446, the bell tower of the abbey was destroyed in a fire and, in the next year, money was granted from the will of Cardinal Beaufort to rebuild it.[149] A new bell tower is a possibility but there was a significant amount of building work at the monastery during the late fifteenth century and the dedication of new chapels or, alternatively, any number of ceremonies linked to the personal devotions of these men may have been the occasion for the use of the book and the entry of these names. It is difficult to pinpoint particular events with greater certainty, so this remains supposition only. As at Durham, many names are entered as

[148] The names of William Earl of Arundel and his retinue are bracketed together under the title 'Te[m]pore henrici bonvile abb[ati]is de hyda' on BL MS Stowe 944, fo. 65r. The names of the Winchester burgers appear on the same folio and are bracketed together, followed by 'a[nn]o d[o]m[ini] m.cccc.l.xxxix die ap[osto]les philioppi et jacobi'.

[149] 'Houses of Benedictine Monks: New Minster, or the Abbey of Hyde', in H. Arthur Doubleday and William Page (eds), *A History of the County of Hampshire* (2 vols, London, 1903), ii, pp. 116-22.

family groups. There are also a number of instances when groups of women's names are entered together, rather than the usual 'wife of' appellation.[150]

During the last quarter of the fourteenth century, someone, perhaps the same person who began the annals of Hyde (written 1375x1425), added a narrative history of a plot of land which had been bequeathed to the monastery by the King but ended in the ownership of the parish church of St. Laurence.[151] This is the sole inclusion of narrative history or indeed anything other than names throughout the late Middle Ages and sits in stark contrast to the variety of documents which had been added previously, which included a full history of the house in Latin and another in English.

Thorney *liber vitae* patterns of use

The Thorney *liber vitae* is, in comparison to the other two volumes, much smaller, being only twelve folios appended to a set of Gospels, now London, BL MS Additional 40,000. This volume is also the latest of the three, begun between 1099 and 1113. Entries of almost all the names and documents in the book can be dated to the twelfth century.[152] Unlike the Hyde and Durham books, the Thorney volume does not include a running list of the monks of the house. There is only one list marked '*monachi*', in the margin of the column of the very first entry, and there are randomly placed individual names marked 'mon' or 'cellarius' which could indicate other monks of Thorney.[153] The entry identifies the names included in the book as '*fratrum*', but this does not indicate monks but rather those who are joined with the community in confraternity.[154] The volume also does not make the same formal divisions between social ranks as the Hyde and Durham books. Kings are followed by bishops, who are

[150] See BL MS Stowe 944, fo. 66r, top of column b for examples of three Agnes' and an Alicia.
[151] For the annals of Hyde, see Appendix 1, '1350-1539 (P2)', line 149.
[152] L. Rollason, *Thorney* Liber Vitae, p. 19.
[153] BL MS Add. 40,000, fo. 10r.
[154] The lists begin with the simple introduction 'Hec s[un]t nomina fr[atru]m istius loci', BL MS Add. 40,000, fo. 10r

followed by abbots but there are no headings and no room left to continue individual lists. The fact that the early entries in the Thorney *liber vitae* miss out it own founder, St. Aethelwold, in favour of other ecclesiastics such as the archbishops of Canterbury and York and the bishops of Durham, Ely, and Worcester suggests that there may have been a second book that was maintained for the names of the community.[155] There are names of other clergy included in the Thorney volume, including monks from different monasteries, such as Muchelney and the parents of a monk of Ramsey.[156] Lay names are often written as family groups, such as the entry for the Stutevilles from Lincolnshire which lists John, his wife, his parents, his parents-in-law and the men who attested John's confraternity grant, made on the occasion of his confirmation of a previous grant to the abbey in the early 1150s.[157] Those names which can be identified tend to be those of people at the higher end of the social ladder. Three separate relic lists were added in the twelfth century, witnessing to Thorney's well-known collection of saints but the number of non-name entries is few.[158]

The Thorney *liber vitae* fell out of use in the early thirteenth century and was not revived in the same way that the Durham or Hyde volumes were. (See Table 5). There are only three name-entries made in the last part of the century. An obit for Queen Eleanor of Castile was entered sometime after her death in 1290. The name of John Duffield was entered just above it on the same page in the early fifteenth century but, unfortunately, he cannot be

[155] The first list begins with 'Rex Cnut. Rex Harold. Rex Hardecnut. Imma Regina' and then moves on without a break to archbishops, bishops, abbots rather than the divisions of the different group between separate pages. Some of the *libri vitae* from the Bodensee area also had two volumes or were late divided into two. See, Butz and Zettler, 'Carolingian *Libri Memoriales*', pp. 79-80.
[156] BL MS Add. 40,000, fo. 2r.
[157] BL MS Add. 40,000, fo. 2v
[158] BL MS Add. 40,000, fo. 11v

<table>
<tr><th colspan="9">Thorney Liber Vitae: names of monks</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">1300-1399</td><td colspan="4">1400-1499</td><td>1500-1539</td></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="6">No names added</td><td>List of abbots, divided into pre and post Conquest.</td><td colspan="2">No names added</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9">Names of laity</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="4">1300-1399</td><td colspan="4">1400-1499</td><td>1500-1539</td></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>1 (obit of Queen Eleanor of Castile, wife of King Edward I)</td><td colspan="3">No names added</td><td colspan="2">1 (John Duffield)</td><td colspan="3">No names added</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="9">Additional material</td></tr>
<tr><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>Short description of foundation, dedication of church and relics of SS.Botolph and Adulphi alongside list of abbots</td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Table 5. Timeline of additions to the Thorney liber vitae, based on information from The Thorney Liber Vitae*, ed. Rollason and Clark. Darker colour represents periods of increased use.*

identified.[159] The volume lay dormant for name entries until, at some point between 1450 and 1457, an enterprising scribe used one of the remaining blank pages to write, in one campaign, a short note about the foundation of the monastery and the dedication of the monastery church and its relics of SS Botolph and Adulphus. He followed this with a full list of abbots, divided into pre- and post-Conquest.[160]

The inclusion of the names of the abbots of Thorney as the sole entry in the Thorney *liber vitae* during the later medieval period sits in stark contrast to the increased inclusion of lay names in the Hyde and Durham books. It suggests that the Thorney volume was brought back into temporary use within a different context than the other two volumes and was not used as an element in the commemoration of the relationship between Thorney and its lay community. This is perhaps the effect of the fenland monastery not being located at the centre of a significant urban settlement. Even if it did have access to the commercial networks of East Anglia, the urban community was much smaller than those of Durham or Winchester.[161] The entry of the list of abbots and the brief history that precedes it filled an important hole in the representation of the Thorney community in the *liber vitae* however, finally including its saintly founder and bringing the commemoration of the recorded names within the purview of the unbroken inheritance of the succession of abbots.

In the same period as the list of abbots was added to the Thorney *liber vitae*, another historical work was produced at Thorney which provides some insight into the concerns of the abbey at the time of the fifteenth-century addition. The *Thorney Annals*, a compilation begun in the early twelfth century within the Easter tables of a copy of the Ramsey *Computus,* continued to be compiled until 1422 and in the late-fourteenth and early-fifteenth

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[159] Both on BL MS Add. 40,000, fo. 4r.

[160] BL MS Add. 40,000, fo. 11r.

[161] Cecily Clark, 'The *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey and Its "Catchment Area'', *Nomina* 9 (1985), pp. 53-72 at p. 53.

century the entries become slightly more detailed.[162] The annals attest to the practice of confraternity at Thorney and witness that these agreements were recorded in a separate volume at least until the early fourteenth century. In the annal for 1314, King Edward II, the only king to have stayed at the monastery, was 'received with honour into the fraternity of the house, together with certain magnates, namely knights, clerks, and gentlemen-at-arms' and that this was 'set out in his inscription'.[163] The short narrative section added to the *liber vitae* along with the list of abbots stresses the connection between the continuous succession of abbots and key moments of liturgical importance in Thorney's history: the dedication of the original monastery, the translation of the relics of SS Botolph and Adulphus, the gifts of liturgical vestments and other relics by St Aethelwold, the refoundation of the monastery after the Conquest, and the dedication of the new church under Abbot Robert, which was perhaps the occasion for the start of the *liber vitae* in the first place.[164] The description is not a statement of use like that in the Hyde and Durham texts but it does establish a continued association between the *liber vitae* and key liturgical moments in Thorney's history. The lection-marks in the set of Gospels indicate that the volume was very probably originally used within a liturgical context. However, while King Edward II's confraternity admittance shows that new confratres were still being created in the early fourteenth century and the sole fifteenth-century addition links the book with liturgical occasions, the evidence for the late medieval liturgical use of the Thorney *liber vitae* is circumstantial only. If the Thorney *liber vitae* continued or began once more to be used in the liturgy, it seems fitting that the names of

[162] *The Thorney Annals 963 -1412 AD: An Edition and Translation*, ed. and tr. C. Hart (Lewiston, NY, 1997), pp. 2-5

[163] *Thorney Annals*, pp. 32-3. See Rollason's comment about the translation of 'epitaphio' as 'inscription', in *Thorney* Liber vitae, p. 19, n. 206. The annals also include at least one obit. In 1392 the death of 'William and Celia his wife' is recorded for the year.

[164] BL MS Add. 40,000, fo. 11r. Original dedication, 'postquam monasterium esset constructum...illud in honore sancte Marie uirginis dedicavit'; translation of relics, 'Reliquias eciam sanctorum Botolphi abbatis et Adulphi presulis et ceterorum quamplurimorum ... ad hoc monasterium de diuersis locis transferri faciebat'; gifts of liturgical vestments, 'capas vero iiii cum totidem amictis et albis ecclesie vestiario contulit et reliquit. Duas itidem mappas operis subtilis'; additional relics and re-foundation, 'diruit ueterem ecclesiam et nouam construxit'; re-dedication, 'episcopus primus Eliensis dedicavit nouam ecclesiam Thorney'.

its monastic leaders should be inscribed beside those of ancient lay leaders and supporters. If this was actually the case remains unclear.

Comparison of patterns of use

The peaks in the use of the three *liber vitae* overlap to a significant extent. The revival at Durham began slightly earlier, in 1380, while the Hyde and Thorney volumes experienced renewed use a little later, in the early fifteenth century for Hyde, with the entry of already existing names in a neater, cleaner format, and at the mid-century point at Thorney, with the single entry of the foundation narrative and the list of abbots. Thorney's single campaign of entry cannot truly be called a revival of use even, as it was not a sustained campaign but a single addition. However, it does contribute to an understanding of the commemorative concerns at the monastery at the time. It was evidently still important for the community that a complete list of the abbots of the house was included in the book of life. The steep increase in the entry of lay names with the revivals at Hyde and Durham marks a departure from the previous pattern of use of these two books, indicating a new visibility for the *libri vitae* within liturgies or ceremonies in which the laity were participants. The grouping and occasional dating of lay-name entries suggest that these may have been entered around liturgical events that marked architectural developments in the monastic church, such as the high altar at Durham or repairs to the Hyde fabric following the collapse of the bell tower. The *libri vitae*, by containing the names of people with significant relationships with the monastic community, embodied those relationships as a liturgical object, prominently visible within the church and a focus for part of the mass. They were a material genealogy of the community, from its foundation by royalty or saints down to the late Middle Ages. Like church tablets, the *libri vitae* used the record of the monastic past as a tool to mediate relationships with the laity within the context of monastic commemorative practice and

signified the role of the monastery as the guardian of the Christian community's sanctified past.

Chapter Conclusion

The *libri vitae* and the histories encapsulated in the church tablets were part of a much broader trend of the promotion of monastic commemorative expertise. Both tablets and *libri vitae* were active instruments that brought to life the physical space of late medieval monasteries. The architectural and artistic undertakings of late medieval monks varied greatly as they were dependent on benefactions and each monastery had connections at differing social levels and sizes of regions of influence. As Julian Luxford points out, traditional aristocratic benefactors were loath to fund large building projects in the later part of the Middle Ages and instead provided funds for specific endeavours such as their own funerary monuments.[165] A number of small-scale benefactors filled the gap at Benedictine monasteries, from the growing mercantile and gentry class, whom Luxford terms the sub-nobility, to secular priests, who were often related to monastic-community members.[166] These are the very kinds of names that were inscribed in increasing numbers in the Durham and Hyde *libri vitae* over the last century of their use. Abbots and, perhaps most importantly, monks, who increasingly had disposable 'wages' in the form of the *peculium*, did not wait around for external handouts and were donors themselves.[167] In addition to improving their own lodgings (something which, unsurprisingly, abbots tended to focus on) and their own areas of the church such as the choir, a number of monasteries undertook construction projects around those locations where the laity connected with the cloistered community, expanding gatehouses, refurbishing or dedicating chapels for lay use, elaborating shrines, re-

[165] Luxford, *Art and Architecture,* pp. 152-5 on royal patronage and pp. 166-70 on noble benefactions.
[166] Luxford, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 187-95 on the patronage of the sub-nobility and pp. 84-113 on the patronage of priors and cloister monks.
[167] Luxford, A*rt and Architecture*, pp. 49-50.

building guest-houses or areas where lay people could be entertained. James Clark provides many examples from the large monasteries of St Albans, Glastonbury, Evesham, and Bury St Edmunds but the same applies to smaller monasteries, such as the new gate house at the Benedictine house of Ramsey, the new west front of the church at Chester, and two new organs at Butley Priory in 1512.[168] At Durham, Prior Thomas Castell (1494-1519) rebuilt the east gateway and re-founded the chantry of St. Helen, specifically so that masses could be said and confessions heard for the laity by two priests.[169] Luxford supplies examples such as St Catherine's chapel at Abbotsbury, the stone rood-screen at Totnes, and Gloucester's new reredos, which included many local saints, amongst other undertakings.[170] The northern Cistercian monasteries all had some substantial construction work done in the fifteenth century which increased in pace after 1450.[171] Lay-brothers' stalls in the choirs of Reivaulx, Meaux and Kirkstall were removed and nave chapels constructed to better accommodate the increasingly important revenue of requiem masses for benefactors.[172] Bell towers were built

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[168] Clark, 'Selling the Holy Places', pp. 23-5. For Chester, see A. P. Baggs, Ann Kettle, S. J. Lander, A. T. Thacker and David Wardle, 'Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of Chester', in C R Elrington and B E Harris (eds), *A History of the County of Chester: Volume 3* (London, 1980), pp. 132-46. For Ramsey, *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. D. Macray, RS 83 (London, 1886), p. 345. At Butley Priory, the prior paid for repairs to the large and middle-sized organ and Henry Barrett 'servant of this monastery' paid for a new organ in the Lady Chapel in 1512. *Register or Chronicle of Butley Priory*, ed. A. G. Dickens (Winchester, 1951), p. 28.

[169] 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Priory of St Cuthbert, Durham (later Durham cathedral)', in William Page (ed), *A History of the County of Durham: Volume 2* (London, 1907), pp. 86-103.

[170] Luxford, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 22, 134-5. Other examples from less fabulous monasteries cited in Luxford: Chertsey had a number of private chantries endowed in the 14th c. and the 14th c abbot John de Rutherwyk also paid for repairs to parish churches at Epsom and Egham which were under the abbey's control. At Worcester, Prince Arthur's chantry was established, and three new reredos images installed. At Gloucester a fifteenth century monument to founder ('King Osric') and new reredos with thirty-nine images, including many local saints like St. Arilda, St. Kineburga, and St. Aldate was installed. A glazing programme was undertaken at Great Malvern, creating a visual obital of the people contributing financially to its completion. At Hickling the prior rebuilt his own residence but also the chapel in the western arm of the church. Malmesbury Abbey erected a Lady Chapel sometime after 1362.

[171] Carter, *The Art and Architecture of the Cistercians* provides numerous examples but for specifics see Michael Carter, 'The Tower of Abbot Marmaduke Huby of Fountains Abbey, Hubris or Piety?', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, 82 (2010), pp. 269-80; 'Cistercian Abbots as Patrons of Art and Architecture: Northern England in the late Middle Ages', in M. Heale (ed.), *The Prelate in Late Medieval England and Europe* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 217-41; ''So it was abowte iiic yeres agoo': Retrospection in the Art and Architecture', pp. 107-32.

[172] Michael Carter, 'Abbot William Marshall (1509-28) and the Architectural Development of Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire in the Late Middle Ages', *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies,* 1 (2012), pp. 115-42 at p. 131.

at Kirkstall and Fountains at the same time that Hyde's was being rebuilt.[173] These campaigns contextualize the revival of the *libri vitae* and the display of the church tablets within an environment of active cultivation of relationships between the monastery and its lay community, as many of these architectural developments, especially chapels such as those at Durham, St Albans and the northern Cistercian houses, directly affected the lay experience and participation within monastic churches. Lynda Rollason and Simon Keynes have argued, for Durham and Hyde respectively, that the revivals of these two *libri vitae* were linked to the dedication of just such newly erected decorations in the church. The Thorney volume also possibly continued its association with liturgically significant moments of that church, though the evidence is much less convincing. The church tablets speak to further efforts to interpret the past, as it is embodied in the shrines, tombs, and space of the church, for a non-monastic audience. Both forms of text position their monastic communities as mediators of a pious genealogy of the past and position the monastic communities as commemorators and keepers of history. In the next chapter, the incorporation of historical writing into the words of the liturgy itself will be examined.

[173] Carter, 'Tower of Abbot Marmaduke Huby', pp. 269-80.

Chapter Four: Historical Writing as Performance

The revived use of *libri vitae* and church tablets within the monastic environment emphasised the impact of historical writing as both written text and material object. The renewed prominence of these media suggests monastic communities invested in promoting their role as professional commemorators and guardians of the shrines and relics of England's Christian past. These functions reinforced each other, the power of prayer being proportional to the holiness of the prayer-sayer and the continuity of the monastic role of guardian of the past signaling the holiness of the community. The visibility of both *libri vitae* and tablets also had widespread repercussions on the interactions between the monastic community and the lay community outside the monastic walls. The context and use of the *libri vitae* and tablets suggest a concerted effort to re-enforce the monastic role not only to the community of monks but also to the pilgrims, patrons and other lay people who interacted with them. They suggest that the promotion of these social functions of remembrance and guardianship were part of an intentional campaign to reinforce this monastic *raison d'etre* with a non-monastic audience. A final examination of the incorporation of historical material into public, performative elements of monastic practice, within liturgy and sermons, will help to elucidate this question.

Both liturgy and sermons are types of public performance and as such, address the twin hurdles of access and the expectation of literacy that are often stumbling blocks when it comes to assessing the impact of written texts on medieval audiences. The shift from the oral culture to one of text progressed significantly through the Middle Ages, especially within institutional settings, but the fourteenth century was a turning point towards a degree of widespread literacy. Clanchy acknowledges how the shift from oral to written culture was decoupled from the development of widespread literacy, especially with regard to different

languages.[1] In a multi-lingual environment, performance retained a central place in the cultural environment of medieval communities and monastic practice itself incorporated performance in ways which were accessible to the non-monastic faithful. Two central performative intersections of the monastic world with that of the laity were the liturgy and sermons.

Liturgy: access and language

The two parts of the liturgy, the Office Hours and the Mass, served as the mains means by which Christian culture was communicated.[2] The Mass was focused on the historical event of the Last Supper, re-enacting it on a daily basis. The Office Hours consisted of the eight services, Matins, Lauds, Prime, Terce, Sext, None, Vespers, Compline in which, over the course of the week, the entirety of the Book of Psalms was recited. The Office and the Mass were performed within the annual structure of the Liturgical Year, made of the fixed-date feasts of the *sanctorale* and the moveable feasts of the *temporale* that celebrated the life of Christ. Through the annual repetition of the *temporale* and *sanctorale*, the liturgy operated on two temporal frameworks. The *temporale* centred Christian historical consciousness on the events of Jesus' life. The *sanctorale* then extended the Christian historical timeframe further, to include the actions, before and after death, of the pious men and women who had best emulated Christ. The liturgy articulated this Christian history through music, speech, processions, and objects and the repetitive nature of its performance continually re-enforced the historical basis of that identity. It also ensured that the social memory of the Christian

[1] Clanchy, *From Memory*, pp. 233-6 and 337.
[2] CANTUS: A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant at the University of Waterloo (http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/) provides a useful primer on the medieval liturgy and its structure, from which the following summary is drawn. Barbara Swanson, Jennifer Bain, Debra Lacoste, Sheila Meadley Dunphy, 'Quick Guide to Manuscripts (Antiphonals) and Liturgy' (October 2014), rev. Barbara Swanson (June 2015), http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/sites/default/files/documents/1.%20Quick%20Guide%20to%20Liturgy.pdf. For a fuller exploration of liturgy, time and history, see Fassler, 'Litgurgical Framework of Time', especially the discussion of St Augustine as the major influence on medieval understanding of all three concepts, pp. 149-51.

community was continually developing. New saints created new stories of inspiring lives that were added to the calendar, new miracles provided new material to celebrate in a feast day celebration, changing fashions of devotional focus established new feast days like Corpus Christi.[3] The liturgy grew and changed with the community which performed it.

The extent to which monastic liturgies were accessible by, participated in by, and influenced lay congregations varied with local arrangements, the status of the lay person, and the occasion.[4] Each monastic church was spatially arranged to limit connections between monastic and lay people, yet these barriers proved remarkably permeable. Theoretically, for cloistered orders like the Benedictines and Cistercians, the monastic church was intended only for the monastic community, though the Benedictines followed more flexible rules in this regard.[5] The building of a parish church, specifically erected to remove the laity from the monastic church, was often the first building project undertaken by a monastery after the facilities of the monks were deemed adequate.[6] Martin Heale relates a tendency of creeping separation of space within shared monastic-parochial shared churches which was especially concentrated in the later Middle Ages.[7] However, in reality, the presence of shrines, confraternity chapels, visiting pilgrims, dignitaries with their entourages, and the performance of special liturgies made monastic churches key locations of close spatial

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[3] Richard Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford, 1970), pp. 3-4 lists the major innovations in late medieval feast days.

[4] Richard Pfaff, The *Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 200 emphasises that, especially amongst the large monastic orders, there was never a mechanism to enforce liturgical uniformity, though reform movements were often associated with such attempts. See also Sherry Reames, 'Late Medieval Efforts at Standardization and Reform in the Sarum Lessons for Saints' Days', in Margaret Connolly and Linne Mooney (eds), *Design and Distribution of Late Medieval Manuscripts in England* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 91-117 at pp. 91-93, where she notes more than twelve different textual families in breviaries from the Canterbury province.

[5] Emilia Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction in Cistercian Houses of Northern Europe', *Parergon*, 27:2 (2010), pp. 37-58 at pp. 39, 41, 46-7, 50, 52 for specific contexts.

[6] See *Chronicle of Battle*, ed. Searle, p. 125. and the 'Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey', tr. Clark, pp. 174-175 for examples of monasteries building parish churches to minimize disturbance to the monastic community.

[7] Martin Heale, 'Monastic-Parochial Churches in the Later Middle Ages', in Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (eds), *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2006), pp. 54-77 at pp. 62-73.

interaction between the monastic and lay communities, often in a liturgical setting.[8] A great number of monastic churches continued to perform a dual function as parish churches. Martin Heale identifies 284 monastic churches that also served as parish churches, though some of these changed status over time.[9] The Augustinian canons, who had a pastoral mandate, had more than triple the number of churches acting as parish churches (seventy-five) as independent Benedictine houses (twenty-one).[10] As already discussed, a number of abbots allocated chapels in monastic churches specifically for lay masses and endowed them with priests.[11] Separate chapels provided space for anniversary or corporate masses for guilds and the Lady Chapels, which many monasteries erected from the thirteenth century onwards, were popular locations for lay masses. The Bury St Edmund's Lady Chapel was erected in 1275 and became a favoured location for masses and was also incorporated into a variety of feast days such as the procession on the Feast of the Translation of St Edmund.[12] St Albans had altars dedicated to the use of two lay confraternities, the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity and the Brotherhood of St Alban, though both came to grief 'on account of the faults on both sides of ingratitude and dissension'.[13] Special liturgies, most notably on the feasts of patron saints and the dedication of churches, both locally specific celebrations, were opportunities in which a broad swathe of lay society participated.[14] Minor liturgies which were observed in both monastic and parish churches, such as that of the Virgin performed at the end of Vespers and Compline, were specified to be performed outside of the choir, in the nave of the church,

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[8] L. Rollason provides Durham as an example, 'History and Codicology', in *The Durham* Liber Vitae*,* i, pp. 5-42 at p. 41.
[9] Martin Heale, 'Monastic-Parochial Churches in England and Wales, 1066-1540: A Handlist', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 9 (2003), pp. 1-19.
[10] This does not take into account the Benedictine alien priories (seventy-four) or dependent Benedictine priories (forty-eight).
[11] See above, pp. 155-6.
[12] *On the Abbey of S. Edmund,* ed. James, pp.183-186 and Claire Macht, 'The Many Translations of St Edmund: The Role of Translations in the Cult of Saints' (PGCert Thesis, University of Oxford, 2015), p. 31.
[13] *An Account of the Altars, Monuments and Tombs Existing A.D. 1428 in St Alban's Abbey,* ed. and tr. Ridgway Lloyd (St Albans, 1873), p. 17.
[14] Heale, 'Monastic-Parochial Churches', p. 74-5

to allow lay access.[15] Certain feasts also pushed the geography of the liturgy, physically and conceptually, outside of the church, perhaps incorporating an external building that housed additional relics or a place linked with a miracle or incident in the life of the saint. Bury St Edmunds' Translation feast day procession included buildings in the cemetery, where secondary relics had been moved upon the building of the Lady Chapel.[16] Melrose Abbey, daughter house of Fountains, held oath-taking ceremonies on the shrine of their sainted abbot Waltheof, which was positioned just outside of the chapter house.[17] At St Albans, masses were held for St Michael at his altar in the north aisle of the presbytery on his feast day, which was accompanied by a procession at Matins and Vespers. At the same altar, the canonical hours were observed for St Katherine on her feast day because the windows depicting her history adorned this chapel. A similar arrangement was also in place at the altars of SS Amphibalus, Edmund and Peter, 'to them the people flock with great devotion on their respective feasts, which are solemnly served by the Sacrist'.[18] Quasi-liturgical spaces such as the chapter house were also areas of lay-monastic connection for ceremonies such as the induction into a confraternity, as described in the previous chapter.[19] Important donations, often marked with ceremonies before, after, or during liturgical moments such as those which heralded the revivals of the Durham and Hyde *libri vitae,* also indicate lay penetration of the monastic liturgical space. The church provided one of the most common venues for the monastic community and the laity to be in close proximity to each other as devotional groups, rather than as individuals or in an administrative, legal, or financial context. However often general chapters decreed non-admittance to monastic liturgical space, miraculous crosses, shrines, burials, and special altars justified lay access to areas of monastic churches outside of

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[15] Kirkman and Weller, 'Music and Image/Image and Music', p. 71.
[16] Macht, 'Many Translations of St Edmund', p. 29-30.
[17] Jamroziak, 'Spaces of Lay-Religious Interaction', p. 48.
[18] *Account of the Altars, Monuments and Tombs*, ed. Lloyd, p. 18
[19] See above, pp. 134-5.

liturgical moments, while processions and liturgical performance guaranteed lay access at other times. The sharing of the space was not always peaceful, as the numerous accounts of sometimes violent disagreement suggest, but the practicalities of shared space and devotion interest inevitably led to numerous points of intersection between monastic and lay communities.[20] In addition, and especially relevant for this discussion, the liturgical material performed in parish churches was often the same, or a slightly altered version of, that performed in monastic churches. This will be elaborated on further below, but it is important to emphasise that, for all the differences between Uses and between monastic and secular liturgies, liturgical chants, prayers and readings drew from the same sources and monastic writing was an integral part of this constellation.

The remaining hurdle between the monastic community and the laity which the liturgy helped to overcome was one of language. The liturgy, either through the Office Hours or the Mass, was an occasion in which monks translated the written word into an oral message for lay as well as monastic listeners. The multi-media nature of the liturgy, incorporating sounds, sights, and smells, lessened still further the divisions that physical barriers within the monastic liturgical setting sought to erect between monk and laity. The bells that marked the hours and signaled feast days were audible at a distance, changing altar cloths and vestments marked the shifting liturgical seasons, martyrologies announced anniversary alms distribution. As Philip Weller points out, the true impetus of medieval liturgy must be understood in the context of its specific spatial, visual, aural and oral framework, of which language is only a single element.[21]

[20] Heale, 'Monastic-Parochial Churches', p. 57-58.
[21] Philip Weller, 'Frames and Images: Locating Music in Cultural Histories of the Middle Ages', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 50/1 (1997), pp. 7-54 at pp. 8-9.

In this way, the liturgy provided a dynamic meeting of the two ends of the oral-text spectrum, its repetitive and rote nature to some degree overcoming its performance in a language many observers could not understand nor access as written text. While the supremacy of written culture was established in many contexts by the beginning of the fourteenth century, it was the subsequent shift of 'the foundation of literacy' from Latin to English that resulted in an abrupt increase in literate laymen.[22] The fourteenth century saw a definite increase in vernacular literacy, of which theological materials were a major element, as can be seen in the content of parish-church tablets. This was especially the case within the urban merchant class and the rural land-holding gentry, encouraged, late in the fifteenth century, by the advent of the printing press with all its accompanying economic, social and cultural effects.[23] Monastic environments continued to use Latin almost exclusively, however, and the liturgy was in Latin no matter if it took place in a monastic or a parish church. However, the multi-sensory, multi-media character of the medieval liturgy transcended textual and even vocal meaning, conveying its message as much through movement, sound and sign as it did through words. In addition, its repetitive nature facilitated a basic understanding of Latin phrases such the 'ora pro nobis' of the litany, or the 'Hæc quotiescunque feceritis, in mei commemorationem facietis' of the consecration.[24] Katherine Zieman suggests that the growth in vernacular literacy must be seen as part of the range of textual strategies cultivated by the medieval laity, rather than in opposition to them, if only in recognition of the reality of the

[22] Clanchy, *From Memory*, p. 233-40; Christopher Cannon, *From Literacy to Literature: England,1300-1400* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 5-6. See also Manfred Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*, Anglistiche Forschungen 257 (Heidelberg, 1998), pp. 5-8, who examines varying levels of literacy in the main languages in relation to difference categories of texts (legal, literature, scholarly).
[23] Clanchy, *From Memory*, p. 239.
[24] William Maskell, *The Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England According to the Uses of Sarum, Bangor, Hereford, York and the Modern Roman Liturgy*, 2nd edn (London, 1846), pp. 96-7. See Maskell, *Ancient Liturgy*, p. 80, n. 3 for a discussion of the possibility that the canon, especially the moment of consecration, was said silently, which seem to have been adopted on an individual preference of the priest, rather than any official mandate. This actually supports the concept of the liturgy being as based in the performance of movement and gestures as in any words spoken.

multi-lingual environment in which medieval people operated.[25] Specifically examining the use of theological works, she posits that 'an act such as the devotional rehearsal of the Hours, even when performed by the unlettered, becomes a practice defined less in terms of inability and disengagement than in terms of the facet of textual authority it isolates and exploits, namely, the power of ritualized language and the ennobling sense of obligation and responsibility that ideally characterized performance of the Office'.[26] While the performance of the liturgy remained in the control of ecclesiastics, the access to ritualized language provided by such texts such as books of Hours suggests that lay congregations were able to participate in the liturgy in new ways. It also suggests that, just as tendencies of monastic practice leeched into lay private devotional practice, such an exchange may also have worked in the opposite direction by granting lay congregants new insight into publicly performed devotions led by monastic officiants, whatever the language.[27]

Monastic writers and liturgical production

Monks, of course, had intimate knowledge of the Christian liturgy, if only because their part in the performance of it was extensive. The Divine Office was central to all monastic Rules and most reforms, especially of the Benedictine Rule, only re-enforced its centrality in monastic practice. It was the main means through which monks fulfilled their role as commemorators, observing anniversary masses and saints' feast days, but also using candles and other liturgical paraphernalia bequeathed by benefactors. The daily succession of the Hours resulted in a liturgical practice more extensive, in both length (twelve lessons rather than nine) and elaboration (additions to the offices) than that of the Office observed in secular

[25] Katherine Zieman, *Singing the New Song: Literacy and Liturgy in Late Medieval England* (Philadelphia, PA, 2008), pp. 115-17.
[26] Zieman, *Singing the New Song*, p. 116.
[27] Zieman, *Singing the New Song,* p. 116.

churches and it was this longer Office that made a liturgy specifically monastic.[28] Many of the later additions to monastic offices revolved around commemorative practices, emphasising the link between monastic communities and this specific social duty.[29] Secular liturgies were deeply influenced by the words, music, and movement of monastic uses and more elaborate polyphonic settings in secular liturgies actually indicated performance of liturgical material of monastic origin by or for the laity.[30] Since secular Uses usually emanated from diocesan centres, which in England could themselves be monasteries, there was an extensive overlap of material. Certainly, Matthew Salisbury's collation of calendars demonstrates that saints' feast day observance was shared by churches within regions of monastic influence, regardless of their status as parish or monastic.[31] Liturgical Use is one area where the distinction between monastic and other religious orders is apparent, as the Augustinians followed the shorter secular observance.[32] However, the textual sources and mechanisms by which this material was incorporated into the office were similar for both the monastic and secular offices.[33] Salisbury's examination of the Office of William of York illustrates that, while the lessons for the secular office varied greatly between churches, the source was still the saints' *vita*.[34] It is this process which will be explored further below.

Monastic communities did more than simply perform the liturgy, they were also responsible for creating much of it, especially that of the Office. Monks were therefore at the forefront of

[28] Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 200 makes the point that any specifically Benedictine part of the liturgy was related to the daily office only. Sally Roper's in-depth exploration of the development of the Benedictine votive office (i.e. additions to the standard observances) illustrates the extent of elaboration in Benedictine monasteries and the degree of differentiation between houses. No two houses followed exactly the same liturgical selection. Sally Roper, 'Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy: Studies in the Formation, Structure and Content of the Monastic Votive Office *c*. 950-1540' (2 vols, D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1988), i, pp. 3-5 (definition of votive office), pp. 140-1 (difference between observances).
[29] Roper, 'Medieval English Benedictine Liturgy', pp. 155-60.
[30] Philip Weller, 'Frames and Images', p. 37.
[31] Michael Salisbury, *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 48-58.
[32] Anna Parsons, 'The Use of Guisborough: The Liturgy and Chant of the Augustinian Canons of the York Province in the Later Middle Ages' (2 vols, Ph.D. thesis, University of Exeter, 2004), i, p. 9.
[33] Parsons, 'Use of Guisborough', i, p. 170.
[34] Salisbury, *Secular Liturgical Office*, pp. 153-8.

one of the most effective means of social memory creation. The music, sermons, prayers, procession routes and material objects which made up the liturgy also transformed the past, as it was recorded in monastic historical texts, into the devotional life of the Christian community. In the process, monks made conscious decisions on what to include in these liturgies, which saints to include in their calendars, which life events to include in the lections and songs of an office, which benefactors to honour, which relics to use to 'activate' devotional inspiration. They drew from the resources of the monastic library, archive and the combined knowledge of an educated and highly literate community to transmit this historical information effectively through the performative liturgy, influenced by the architectural and artistic surroundings of monastic churches.

The Bible was the main text from which the liturgy drew inspiration.[35] The New Testament determined the events honoured through the *temporale*, the annual feasts that marked the major events in the life of Jesus revolving around the fixed date of Christmas and the moveable feast of Easter. Even here, however, the popularity of feasts waxed and waned. In the later Middle Ages, an increase of devotional focus on Christ's physical nature led to the widespread popularity of the feast of Corpus Christi and the elaboration of Marian feasts lead to the addition of the Feast of the Visitation.[36] By turns, the physical suffering, familial relationships, or the active life of Biblical figures such as St Anne, St Elizabeth, or John the Baptist were the focus of the changing emphasis of Christian spiritual devotion or locally significant relationships. The Bible, however, was not the only text which informed the liturgy. The *sanctorale*, the parallel calendar that celebrated the lives of the saints required

[35] *The Hereford Breviary,* ed. W. Frere and E. G. Langton, Henry Bradshaw Society 26,40, 46 (3 vols, London, 1905-1915), iii, p. xxxvii-xl, lists seven sources for office lessons, from the Bible to individual historical texts, all very much limited to the literary resources available in a monastic or other ecclesiastical library.

[36] Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 539-40. An interesting example of this is Worcester Cathedral Music Library MS F.160 *c.*1230 in which both Corpus Christi and the Visitation are later additions to the end of the *temporale* feasts, fos. 121r-130v and fos. 135r-142v. See description of Worcester F.160 in CANTUS: A Database, Siglum: GB-WO F.160, http://cantus.uwaterloo.ca/source/123647. A detailed study of the Corpus Christi feast is Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: the Eucharist in late medieval culture* (Cambridge, 1991).

the same liturgical settings of hymns, responsories, readings and prayers. As creators and keepers of hagiographic texts and as centres of professional musical composition and performance, monastic communities were ideally placed to transform saints' legends into the liturgical material needed to celebrate these exemplary lives.[37] One of the most prolific *vitae* writers, Goscelin of St Bertin combined the two closely related skills and was well known for both his writing and his musical composition, as was Osbern, precentor at Christ Church, Canterbury.[38] In addition, the monastic guardianship of the relics and shrines of the saints meant they also had access to the material matter and spatial environment intimately connected with a saint. As they staged these liturgies, they were able to incorporate direct links between the saint and the community through the use of space, the imagery used in song, and objects carried in procession. Just as the Biblical material of the *temporale* reflected the inherently historical nature of Christianity, so the hagiographic material incorporated into the *sanctorale* liturgies reflected the historical nature of the cults of locally-based saints. Opportunities to mark such spatial specificity moved the broad salvific narrative of the Bible to the tangible locality of the community, and the distant history of revelation to the present spiritual moment. The liturgy activated the historical narrative of Christianity in the temporal and spatial present, requiring the congregation to commit to a certain shared understanding of the past.

The extent to which hagiography can be considered historical writing, for the purposes of this discussion, is determined by the questions asked of it.[39] Rather than assessing the accuracy of

[37] For the close connection between the office of cantor and history writing prior to 1350 see the essays in *Medieval Cantors*.
[38] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* as quoted in Richard Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth: Hagiography and Liturgy in Context', *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS, 41/3 (1990), pp. 502-16 at p. 502.
[39] The degree to which hagiography can be considered historical writing has adherents both for and against. For a discussion of the recent literature see Sarah Salih 'Introduction: Saints, Cults and Lives in Late Medieval England', in Sarah Salih (ed), *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography* (Woodbridge, 2006) pp. 1-23, especially pp. 20-23 and Camp, *Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives*, p. 3, n.9.

the historical events recorded in saints' lives, this study examines the contexts in which such texts were written and the functions they performed. Hagiography is considered historical writing here to the extent that it records the lives of historical figures, in a way similar to biography, and shares a 'common discourse of history'.[40] Most saints were real people anchored to a point in time which was nearer to contemporary events than those of the Bible.[41] They were people who often had connections to local geographies and whose lives referenced familiar social, economic and spiritual frameworks. While saints sometimes broke out of these frameworks (they were, after all, practitioners of extreme exemplary behaviours), hagiographers adopted a series of literary conventions similar to the *topoi* employed by historical writers and used a variety of tropes to position their subjects amidst the company of the sanctified whilst still within a familiar reality. In this way, the 'historical understanding' of saints' lives were a central element in regional and local histories, as communicated through locally specific liturgical material.[42] In this way, Symeon of Durham used the historical resources of his monastery to construct an unbroken connection between St Cuthbert's original community at Lindisfarne to that of the Benedictine monks at Durham and translated this to into liturgical use through objects such as the Durham *liber vitae* and other *libri memoriales*.[43] The mode of construction of their stories also proved flexible enough to provide spiritual and historical continuity between authoritative apostolic history and the contemporary world.[44] This continuity was essential to the popularity and power of the saints. It allowed them to act in the here and now as intercessors, enabling miracles through the good grace they had won by their pious behaviour in life and continuing their

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[40] Katherine Lewis, 'Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives, History and National Identity in Late Medieval England', in Helen Brocklehurst, Robert Philipps (eds), *History, Nationhood and the Question of Britain* (Houndmills, Basingstoke, 2004), pp. 160-70 at p. 163.
[41] Some saints are also mythical, St Christopher being the most well-known. Many of these were removed from the canon of saints by Pope Paul VI in 1969.
[42] Fassler, 'Liturgical Framework of Time', p. 162.
[43] Rozier, 'Symeon of Durham as Cantor', pp. 202-6.
[44] Fassler, 'Liturgical Framework of Time', p. 150-1.

story.[45] Just as monastic annals and histories were added to each year, so saints' histories were built on over time through the composition of miracle collections. While the biblical history of the *temporale* liturgies promised a particular future, the saints celebrated in the *sanctorale* had a posthumous life in the present through miracles and intercession. Another area of alignment between historical writers and hagiographers is the myriad of reasons they gave for writing. Hagiographers explained why they were writing in ways that closely echo the reasons given in historical prologues. Foremost amongst these, the hagiographer claimed a desire to ensure that the deeds of the saint be remembered by the community and that the saint should serve as an example of pious behaviour. In his *Passio* of St. Edmund, Abbo of Fleury writes that he wants an account of Edmund's life to be 'edifying to future generations' and his successor Herman blames the lack of awareness of Edmund's miraculous powers 'through the inattentiveness of the record-keepers'.[46] A final shared element of the hagiographer and historical writer is the emphasis laid on eyewitness accounts. Abbo claims his source to be none other that Archbishop Dunstan, who in turn heard it from King Edmund's own armourbearer.[47] Saints' lives would normally be in Latin although, unlike histories, hagiography tended to have a stronger vernacular tradition at a much earlier point in the Middle Ages, especially in verse compositions.[48]

Hagiography, historical writing and the liturgy: early examples

The creation of a saint's cult was associated with the production of a group of texts, objects and actions, a process already well-established prior to the Norman Conquest and which became unofficially systematized after it, in what can only be called a concerted campaign of

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[45] Hagiographers are careful to position saints merely as the requesters of miracles, not the actual performers of them. They intercede but do not have the agency to perform, a feature that will be touched on in the study of John of Bridlington's Office below.
[46] Abbo of Fleury, 'Passio Sancti Eadmuni', in *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi / The Garland of Saint Edmund, King and Martyr,* ed. and tr. Francis Hervey (London, 1907), pp. 6-7, 'asserentes id posteris profuturum'; Herman, *Miracles of St Edmund*, ed. Licence, p. 8-9, 'pro incuria scriptorum'.
[47] Abbo, 'Passio', pp. 6-9.
[48] Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*, pp. 5-8.

confirmation of sanctity during the time of Lanfranc.[49] Throughout England after 1066, monasteries began to rebuild churches and shrines. These activities provided the excuse to re-visit, revive, and often revise the life of the monastery's patron saint. In one of many examples which he claims as the first, Richard Sharpe gives a vivid account of how this was done at St Augustine's, Canterbury by Goscelin of St Bertin as part of an offensive against rival monastery Christ Church and the pseudo-re-foundation of St Augustine's following a purge of the monastic population.[50] Though the process of formal papal canonization was more or less enforced from the second half of the twelfth century under Pope Alexander III, popular veneration and recognition at the episcopal level were sufficient before this period, and in many places even after it, to 'make' a saint. Indeed, before the thirteenth century certain elements of a cult, including special prayers, a *vita*, the recording of miracles, and the development of office chants were seen as signs confirming canonization rather than necessary prior proof.[51]

The creation of hagiographic and liturgical texts for saints' feast offices were closely intertwined. Taking Saint Edmund of Bury as an example Abbo of Fleury's *Passio* was the first *vita*. Written within three generations of Edmund's death, it established the key images of Edmund's cult, which eventually permeated musical, processional and artistic aspects of Edmund's feasts.[52] These included the attribute of arrows, the speaking head, and the wolf, which Abbo describes as guarding Edmund's missing head after it miraculously calls 'here,

[49] See Barbara Abou-El-Haj, *The Medieval Cult of Saints: Formations and Transformations* (Cambridge, 1994) for an excellent study of this process.
[50] Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth', pp. 502-516.
[51] Samantha Riches, 'Hagiography in Context: Images, Shrines, Miracles and Festivals', in Sarah Salih (ed), *A Companion to Middle English Hagiography* (Cambridge, 2006), pp. 25-46 at p. 26 and Appendix; Katherine Lewis, 'Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives, History', p. 166.
[52] Three 11th century copies of Abbo of Fleury's *Passio* are London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 362, fols 1r–12v; Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1588 4º, fols 2r–28r; and London, BL, Cotton Tiberius B II, fols 2r–19v. The digitized version of Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1588 4º has been used for reference in this discussion. Extracts from the abbey processional, College of Arms MS Arundel 30, *c*. 1300, are printed in James, *On the Abbey of S. Edmund*, pp. 186-203. For the fullest study of the music of Edmund's office, see Henry Parkes, 'St Edmund between Liturgy and Hagiography', in Tom Licence (ed), *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 131-59.

here!' to those searching for it. Lambeth Palace Library MS 362, fos. 1r-11v *c.* 1000, one of the earliest extant manuscripts of the *Passio*, is divided by lection marks in the margin, indicating that the *Passio* itself had liturgical use from a very early point in the cult development. The same manuscript also includes hymns for Matins and Lauds on Edmund's feast day. These directly reference the 'spiculis', the 'exscetum caput' and the 'trux lupus'.[53] A fuller example of the integration of *vita* with office is Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, GKS 1588 4º, fols 2r–28r , *c.* 1070-90, which provides an almost-complete monastic office for Edmund's feast (fos. 28r-32r). The *Passio* is divided into twelve lections for Matins, covering Edmund's royal origins, his rule in East Anglia, and the coming of the Danes and then finishes with Edmund's refusal to give up his faith in order to save his own life and accept the Dane Inguar as overlord. [54] The readings do not address Edmund's martyrdom or his miracles. These events are instead translated into the sung antiphons and responsories of the Office, which not only reference the imagery of the *Passio* text but actually narrate Edmund's martyrdom and the first posthumous signs of his sanctity.[55] The early antiphons address the material in the readings but from antiphon seven onwards, Edmund's passion and the associated miracles become the focus of the narrative: Edmund's martyrdom and decapitation (antiphon seven), the search for the head (antiphon nine) the head talking (antiphon ten), the wolf protecting it (antiphon eleven), and finally the translation of the head

[53] These hymns are both printed in *Corolla Sancti Eadmundi,* ed. Hervey, pp. 84-9.
[54] Lection marks can be seen marking the readings from I to XII, on KKB MS GKS 1588 4º fos. 6v -14v. Parkes, 'St Edmund between Liturgy', pp. 137-8.
[55] Edmund's monastic office is found in a number of manuscripts aside from the KKB MS GKS 1588 4º, fos. 28r-32v. missing the end of the Lauds office. The fullest version, with chant text available in *Late Medieval Liturgical Offices Online* (LMLO), is that found in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 109, again preceded by Abbo's *Passio*. Both MSS may have originated at Bury, although KKB MS GKS 1588 4º was later at St Denis in Paris. See Thomson, 'Music for the Office', p. 191. CANTUS lists eight sources of chant for St Edmund's Feast on November 20. The CANTUS feast code is 14112000 and the secular chants from all sources are available at: http://cantusindex.org/analyse?feast=14112000&t=&cid=&genre=All&ghisp=All/. The full monastic office chant text is available in the preliminary website of combined CANTUS and LMLO texts, http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm, search term 'Edmundi' using the LMLO search feature. There is some variation in these chants.

and body to Bury (antiphon twelve) take on the responsibility of continuing the story.[56] The responsories focus on the same events.[57]

A comparison of other saints' *vitae* and their offices reveals a similar correlation between the imagery in hagiographic writing and liturgical texts and also points to the continued use of *vitae* within the Office throughout the early Middle Ages. Thomas of Marlborough abbreviated an earlier life of St Ecgwine into twelve readings for his feast and then arranged an account of his translation into twelve readings for use on that feast as well.[58] A compiled manuscript from St Augustine's, Canterbury, London, BL Harley 3908, includes a *vita*, lections for the feast, Gospel reading, homily, mass material, *historia* (collected materials for the Office of the saint), and *translatio* for St Mildreth, a complete historio-liturgical reference volume for a specific saint.[59] A twelfth-century manuscript of the life of St Werburge relates the *vita* and then, immediately following, parts of the exact same text divided into marked lections, similar to Copenhagen manuscript of Edmund's Office.[60] In manuscripts of hagiographic material of the Ely women saints, the titles of *vita* and *lectio* are assigned interchangeably.[61] At Worcester Cathedral, the Office of St Anne, which grew in popularity there in the thirteenth century, drew on the *Life* written by Osbert de Clare.

The hagiographic connections to liturgy did not end with a saint's *vita*, however. Taking Edmund as an example again, his translation in 1095 produced a second burst of hagiographic writing. Around the same time as the translation, Herman the Archdeacon wrote

[56] KKB MS GKS 1588 4º, fos. 29v-30v. These match the Matins Antiphon incipits as given in LMLO: A7, 'Misso spiculatore'; A8, 'O martyr invincibilis'; A9, 'Resectum ergo de corpore'; A10, 'Admirabile fuit'; A11, 'Qui prophete'; A12, 'Translato thesauro signum'.
[57] KKB MS GKS 1588 4º, fos. 30v-32r. These match the Matins Responsory incipits as given in LMLO: R7, 'Quo victoriosissimo derogaret'; R8, 'Resectum ergo de corpore'; R9, 'Caput martyris verba'; R10, 'Admirabilis fuit'; R11, 'Preciosum martyris egregii'; R12, 'O martyr invincibilis'.
[58] *History ... Evesham*, ed. Sayer and Watkiss, pp. 52-71. See pp. xlix-l for discussion of the composition.
[59] Sharpe, 'Goscelin's St Augustine and St Mildreth', p. 511-12.
[60] *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ed. Rosalind C. Love (Oxford, 2019), pp. xlxi-l.
[61] *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin,* ed. Love, pp. xlviii-liii for several examples, most notably the *vita* and lections of Eormenhild.

another legend which included more recent miracle stories, including an account of his incorrupt body, his flight to and sojourn in London in the company of his monk-companion, and subsequent return to Bury.[62] Herman also includes an account of the translation, which took place amidst the construction of the new Romanesque church. The illustrated New York, Pierpont Morgan MS M 736, *c.* 1125 includes Abbo's *Passio*, a reworked version of Herman's *vita* and *miracula,* as well as the Office texts for Edmund's Feast. Again, the *Passio* is divided into lections, with the same chant office as KKB MS 1588 4º, but there are four verses for the Vigil Vespers whose texts are linked with Abbot Warner of Rebaux, who perhaps wrote them specifically for the occasion of the Translation.[63] Pierpont M 736 uses a re-worked version of the miracles for the lections. Further use of Herman's miracles outside of the liturgy at Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the fifteenth century is evidenced by the marginal comment on fo. 76 to the effect that other miracles recorded by Herman were included in a copy of the work kept for reading in the refectory.[64] In the *c.* 1300 processional of the Abbey, a number of the relics and locations from Herman's account are incorporated into the liturgical procession for the Feast of the Translation. Edmund's shirt, a secondary relic created upon an inspection of his body, has a central place in the procession, and the external chapel in which the bier that carried Edmund to London was stored was one of the stopping points along the procession route.[65] Slight differences between Herman's account of the translation and the processional illustrate how the liturgy adjusted to the architectural changes that occurred at the abbey. The original pre-Norman round church from which Edmund's body was translated and likely was included in the original procession route in the century

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[62] Herman, *Miracles of St Edmund*, ed. Licence, pp. 2-127.
[63] R. M. Thomson, while incorrect assigning them to the Translation feast itself, links these to Warner's visit sometime after 1089. 'The Music for the Office of St. Edmund King and Martyr', *Music and Letters*, 1984, pp. 189-93 at p. 192.
[64] The note is 'Deficiunt hic xiii miracula scripta in pulpito refectorie'. Curatorial description of Pierpont Morgan M. 736 online: http://corsair.themorgan.org/msdescr/BBM0736a.pdf, p. 3. See also Parkes, 'St Edmund between Liturgy', p. 139.
[65] Printed from College of Arms MS 23, in M.R, James, *On the abbey of S. Edmund*, ed. James, pp. 186-203.

following the event, was demolished for the construction of a Lady Chapel *c.* 1275. A plaque marked the chapel as Edmund's original resting place but the route of the procession shifted to the cemetery chapel where the secondary relic of the bier was held.[66] Liturgical considerations also reflected backwards on to the textual development of the cult. R.M Thomson argues that Herman's *vita* was superseded within twenty years by a shorter, less historically heavy version specifically because Herman's verbose account was ill-suited to provide lessons for the saint's liturgy.[67]

The liturgical connections to hagiography are also reflected in the way that saints' legends were transmitted in manuscript form. A long, individual life, such as that by Abbo, was often written or commissioned by a member of the monastic community with which the saint was associated and where the Office would be most elaborate.[68] For monasteries where the saint was in the calendar but not the focus of a major cult, the common Office for martyr or confessor could instead be used or the more elaborate Office abbreviated. Because liturgical events like a translation, the dedication of a church, or perhaps a change of status of a feast prompted the composition of new material for masses or offices in other instances, the process of liturgical development was highly localized.[69] It was determined by the degree of association between the monastery and each saint and by the level of hagiographic activity at that monastery and the events that could prompt new writing. At Hyde Abbey, the Office of the revelation of St Barnabas, a feast that created upon the discovery that some of the relics bequeathed to the abbey by its founder King Edward were those of Barnabas, references the miracles that revealed the saint's whereabouts and also the account of the initial donation of

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[66] Macht, 'Many Translations', pp. 29-33.
[67] R.M. Thomson, 'Review of "*Herman the archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, Miracles of St Edmund*, Edited by Tom Licence, translated by Tom Licence and Lynda Lockyer, Oxford Medieval Texts, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2014 and *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest*, Edited by Tom Licence, Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2014"', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History,* 67/1 (January 2016), pp.168-9 at p. 169.
[68] Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*, p. 9.
[69] Parkes, 'St. Edmund between Liturgy', p. 140-1.

the relics.[70] This feast was only celebrated at Hyde and is an example of locally composed historical writing specifically for use in the liturgy. In Goscelin's *Translatio S. Mildrithae*, Sharpe suggests that the miracles linked to the Nocturne for Mildreth's translation feast are seen as evidence that Mildreth's relics are at St Augustine's and not the rival St George's. Confraternity connections could also have liturgical repercussions, as liturgical manuscripts of Hyde shows that the women saints of Ely were assigned distinguished levels of veneration in that monastery's Office, with which they had a confraternity agreement.[71] Thomson's study of the Edmund antiphon 'Ave rex gentis Anglorum's shows that certain elements of saint-specific liturgies developed for monastic offices were adopted for secular observances of the feast, with music or lyrics also serving as a model for other saints who might have shared characteristics.[72] Saints' liturgies, as miracles and other cult events continued to happen, were never fully finished. New collects, antiphons, responsories, and lections as well as prayers were composed over time, strengthening the liturgical connections between saint and monastery, just as chronographic histories were added to each year. In this way, hagiography, as the basis for much of this elaboration, mirrored the constantly extending timeline of history.[73]

Hagiography, historical writing and the liturgy: later medieval departures

The interconnections of Edmund's hagiography and liturgy illustrate the close associations between the written texts that made up a saint's cult and the material and performative aspects of that cult. Even as pressure to simplify much of the liturgy increased in the late Middle Ages, saints' liturgies still focused on telling a complete narrative story of a saint's life and miracles. Walter Frere highlights the process of abbreviation, and less frequently

[70] Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 222.
[71] *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin*, ed. Love, pp. 32-40.
[72] Thomson, 'Music for the Office', p. 192. The antiphon 'Ave rex gentis Anglorum' or its music is also associated with feasts for SS. Oswin, Ethelbert, and Edmund of Abingdon.
[73] Pfaff, *New Liturgical Feasts*, p. 4-5.

elaboration, that many lessons underwent over time. When ‘the lessons were shortened, the process of curtailment caused much greater divergence in the case of legends than in the case of homilies; because it was necessary, in order to curtail any lesson, not simply to stop at an earlier point in the reading, but to make and substitute an epitome, in order, as far as possible, to tell the whole story’.[74] The next iteration of Edmund’s hagiography provides a first example of hagiography’s departures from precedent, however. The changes noted here occur before 1350 but must still be considered as they provide the basis for later developments. Edmunds later *vitae* reflect the first major noticeable shift in the late twelfth century, namely the proliferation of saints’ lives in the vernacular. The writing of saints’ lives and miracles in English or Anglo-Norman is one area in which monastic writers were not far behind secular clerks and lay writers.[75] Edmund’s life was written in Anglo-French verse by Denis Piramus, a monk of Bury, *c.* 1190-93.[76] *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei* signals the use of monastically-produced *vitae and miracula* within a secular milieu. Denis writes with experience of court life and his use of the vernacular, as well as internal comments in the verse, indicate he wrote specifically for a non-monastic audience.[77] *La Vie* shows how Edmund’s *vita* transitioned from a historical-liturgical text into an effective means of monastic marketing, adopting aspects of romance literature in both literary style and presentation to serve a wider audience. This shift was instigated by a monastic leadership aware of the need to elevate Edmund’s, and therefore the community’s, visibility outside of the monastic walls. *La Vie* was commissioned by Denis’ abbot, probably Samson of Tottington, one of the most active of

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[74] Frere, *Hereford Breviary*, iii, p. xxxviii.
[75] Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints’ Lives*, p. 25.
[76] London, BL Cotton MS Domitian A XI, fos. 3r-26v was the sole manuscript known until 1975 when a second, longer version was found, Manchester, John Rylands Library French MS 142. This is a later manuscript from the fourteenth century and incorporates forty-two illustrations. See Delbert Russell, ‘Piramus, Denis’, *The Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature in Britain*, ed. R. Rouse, S. Echard, H. Fulton, G. Rector and J. A. Fay (Chichester, 2017), doi:10.1002/9781118396957.wbemlb650 and *La Vie Seint Edmund le Rei*, ed. D. W. Russell with an art-historical excursus by Kathryn A. Smith, Anglo-Norman Text Society, 71 (Oxford, 2014) for the modern edition using this second manuscript.
[77] *Vie Seint Edmund*, ed. Russell, pp. 5-6 for discussion of Denis’ likely experience of court culture and pp. 14 for his likely audience.

Bury's abbots in promoting the monastery's status and highly capable of navigating the nexus of patronage and power in which the abbey operated.[78] Edmund's story, since he is a martyr and also a king, admittedly proves more flexible than many other saints in bridging the divide between court, choir, and monastic library as he provides a model for kingship as well as religious sanctity, a duality that Denis takes full advantage of in describing the division of powers between king and nobility.[79] Abbo, Herman and Goscelin's works, as well as the late twelfth- and thirteenth-century rewriting of Edmund's miracles, were intended for a monastic audience, as a supplement liturgical material, to be read out loud in the refectory, or perhaps at his shrine. They established and re-enforced the imagery of the saint used in devotional objects, art, song, and the built environment but as texts they remained within the monastic space. In contrast, Denis' use of the vernacular in *La Vie* disqualifies the work as liturgical material but positions it at the edges of court culture.

This is a shift that is only strengthened in the later Middle Ages as monarchs, like monasteries, cultivated their own saint-related imagery. Edmund adorns the Wilton Diptych as part of Richard II's trio of personal saints, along with John the Baptist and King Edward the Confessor. In 1415 Henry V processed into London after the battle of Agincourt to a trio of motets adapted from Edmund's Office, *Ave rex Anglorum/ Flos Mundi /Miles Christi*. The Lancastrian influence on hagiography and liturgy will be discussed further below but the adoption of the liturgical antiphons from the Office of a martyred king by a living victorious one illustrates the disintegration of boundaries between the use of liturgical material for religious and secular uses.

[78] For Samson's abbacy, see Brakelond, *Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. Butler and Antonia Gransden, *History of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds, 1182-1256.*
[79] *Vie Seint Edmund*, p. 15-6.

This shift continued in the hagiographical development of Edmund's cult in the later Middle Ages, a shift actively supported by the monastic leadership and driven by material written by monks. John Lydgate, another monk of Bury, presents a unique case, being not only a gifted writer but also a member of one of the most powerful Benedictine houses in England. He produced of a vast amount of material, almost all in verse and in Middle English. However, his saints' legends arguably provide the best example of the textual flexibilities of historio-hagiographic material when used by a member of a well-resourced and well-connected monastic house under the leadership of an abbot who was aware of the need to activate both resources and connections in a campaign of pre-emptive protection of that monastic community.[80] While Lydgate's own monastic vocation was central to determining what he wrote and the orthodoxy with which he approached his subjects, his legends reflect the new spaces in which hagiography was being read, recited, performed, and its divorce from the liturgy.

The Lives of SS Edmund and Fremund (*LEF*) is one of six individual saints' lives which Lydgate wrote.[81] He also composed legends of SS George, Margaret, Alban, Petronilla, and Giles as well as a *Life of Our Lady* and a verse account of a single miracle by St Augustine of Canterbury at Compton. Each was written for a specific occasion and purpose. The *LEF* was written *c*. 1434 and commissioned by Lydgate's abbot at Bury, William Curteys (1429-46) for presentation from himself and the monks to the young King Henry VI during his visit to Bury in 1433-4. *The Life of St. Petronilla* was also written for use at Bury, where Petronilla's skull was amongst the relics held by the abbey. The last verse of the legend claims the

[80] Abbot Curteys' support of Lydgate's literary activities and the extra-monastic social and political activities they necessitated is examined in Webber, 'Late Medieval Benedictine Anxieties'.
[81] The presentation manuscript is London, BL MS Harley 2278. The modern editors, Anthony Bale and A. S. G. Edwards also use Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Ashmole 46 in their edition, *John Lydgate's Lives of SS Edmund and Fremund and the Extra Miracles of St Edmund,* ed. Anthony Bale and A.S.G. Edwards, Middle English Texts 41 (Heidelberg, 2009).

efficacy of the prayers of those 'cometh unto hir presence, / on pylgrimage with deuoction to Bury.[82] John Whethamstede, abbot of St Albans, 1420-65 commissioned the *Lives of SS Alban and Amphibalus* for his own monastery, of which more below.[83] The other lives were commissioned by lay patrons, some individual, others corporate. The St. George legend was written for the Company of Armorers in London as a mumming entertainment, one of seven that Lydgate wrote either for guilds or as Christmas entertainments for the court of Henry IV.[84] These were intended to be performed but there is also a possibly that the texts were including in wall hangings or paintings, an approach that mimics the monastic adaptation of written legend into liturgical performance and visual art but in a secular setting. The *Life of St Margaret* was written at the behest of Anne Mortimer Countess of March for her own use.[85] The commissioner of the *Life of St Giles* has not been identified but in the fourth verse Lydgate describes being brought 'a lytell bylle' and being asked to provide a translation of it from the Latin.[86] Each of the legends provides an example of where these hagiographic works was used: as a gift for a patron, as a secular performance script, as displayed text, or as an aid to personal devotions.

Lydgate has therefore not added to the liturgical material for any of these saints but removed the hagiography from its context in the Latin Office and Mass and inserted the *vitae* and miracles, in several different ways, into secular experience. His use of verse form and English language indicate the extra-monastic milieu in which the legends were intended to be used.

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[82] John Lydgate, 'The Legend of St Petronilla', in *The Minor Poems of John Lydagtate*, ed. Henry Norman MacCracken, EETS 107 (London, 1911), p.159, lines 161-2.
[83] John Lydgate, *Saint Albon and Saint Amphibalus by John Lydgate*, ed. George F. Reinecke (New York and London, 1985).
[84] John Lydgate, 'The Legend of St George', and Claire Sponsler, 'Íntroduction', in *Mummings and Entertainments*, ed. Claire Sponsler, TEAMS Middle English Text Series (Kalamazoo, 2010), Robbins Library Digital Projects, https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/sponsler-lydgate-mummings-and-entertainments-introduction.
[85] John Lydgate, 'The Lyfe of Seynt Margarete', in Sherry Reames (ed), *Middle English Legends of Women Saints*, TEAMS Middle English Text Series (Kalamazoo, 2003), Robbins Library Digital Projects, https://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/reames-middle-english-legends-of-women-saints-lydgate-lyfe-of-seynt-margarete, Lines 64-70
[86] John Lydgate, 'The Life of St Giles', in *Minor Poems*, ed. MacCracken, p. 162, lines 25-32.

As mentioned previously, the vernacular slowly emerged as the dominant language for hagiographies in the thirteenth century, even by monastic writers who retained Latin for historical and administrative works, as well as other religious texts.[87] In Lydgate's case, this is hardly surprising when one of his later patrons, King Henry V, was himself instrumental in implementing this language shift.[88] It does indicate that Lydgate did not intend these works for integration into the liturgical Office, still performed in Latin, from the beginning.[89] Instead, it points to their intended use by an elite lay audience who sought devotional material for a private or semi-private setting, or, in the case of the George legend, verses to be performed and displayed alongside pictorial representations of the saint in non-liturgical, even non-religious spaces. The possibility that the George legend was written onto or incorporated into a wall picture illustrates textual visibility similar to the wooden church tablets, outside of churches. Several of Lydgate's poems were adapted in a similar manner for various occasions and places.[90] The last lines of the *Life of Petronilla*, pointing out the efficacy of pilgrimage to her 'presence' at Bury raises the possibility this poem may have been a candidate for inclusion in a church tablet itself, despite the monastic tablet preference for Latin. Lydgate's prayer to St Edmund is another possibility for display within the church

[87] See list of historical works in Appendix 1 for information on the language of historical texts by monastic and non-monastic writers, statistics on sheet 'Other analysis', line 28. Stanley Hussey makes the interesting observation that while histories and works of religious instruction (including saints' lives) were written in English specifically for the unlearned, the need to have these works read out loud to an illiterate lower class was probably still the norm. This was also potentially a reason why so many of these works are aimed at the parish priest: he was the one to do the reading or, as we shall see, the preaching. Stanley Hussey, 'Nationalism and Language in England, *c*. 1300-1500', in Claus Bjørn, Alexander Grant and K.J. Stronger (eds), *Nations, Nationalism and Patriotism in the European Past* (Copenhagen, 1994), pp. 96-108 at p. 100.
[88] Lewis, 'Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives', p. 161 and John Fisher, 'A Language Policy for Lancastrian England', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association*, 107/5 (October 1992), pp. 1168-80.
[89] Pfaff notes some Brigittine service books are rubricated in English and Bridget's vision and *historia* translated into English in at least one extant work 'but, whether by, at any rate, the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century the nuns and brothers were hearing that daily reading [from the martyrology in the chapter house] in the Latin or in the vernacular version is not clear; and it seem sensible to suspect that the latter as likelier'. He concedes, however, that even with the forward-looking Brigittines, the Office and the Mass were still said only in Latin. *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp.538-9.
[90] Sponsler points to two works which were commissioned specifically for visual display: the *Danse Macabre*, written 1430 for John Carpenter, the town clerk of London, for the churchyard cloister wall at St. Paul's and a translation of 'Quis dabit' for the Clopton chantry chapel in Long Melford. Sponsler, 'Introduction', *Mummings and Entertainments*.

and was certainly said in that location, as the line 'for folk that dwelle here in thyn owne town' indicates.[91] In Lydgate's *On De Profundis* the last verse relates that he wrote at the request of Abbot Curteys so that 'it be sent at his church to hang it on the wall' in order that the psalm be is 'seit as folk passe by their sepulturys', to wit, as people say prayers for the dead as they circulate around a church. [92] Lydgate's works for mummings and entertainments include little other religious-historical material, the life of St George being the only hagiographic text. His only other performance piece to include such material, the 'Procession for the Feast of Corpus Christi', has parts for most of the patriarchs, prophets, evangelists, Church Fathers, and scholastic saints in a version of the 'great man' approach to church history.[93]

While these commissions illustrate Lydgate's extensive network of connections at court and in civic government, they point squarely away from monastic production of texts for liturgical practice and towards the production of material for secular performance, transferring the past, as encapsulated in monastic historical writing, into the public sphere. Lydgate goes a step beyond the publicly accessible monastic history found in church tablets and *libri vitae*, still within the context of liturgical space and linked to liturgical time. Instead, he places hagiographic history, as embodied in figures of both spiritual greatness and secular significance, outside of liturgical space and time. This is not an insignificant shift if the centrality of the liturgy in the creation of regional and local histories described by Margot Fassler is taken into account.[94] The removal of saints' lives outside of a liturgical context, opened reflection on the historical frameworks of commemoration and moral instruction, and

[91] 'Prayer for St Edmund', *Minor Poems*, ed. MacCracken, p. 127.
[92] 'On *De Profundis*', *Minor Poems*, ed. MacCracken, pp. 78, 84.
[93] 'Procession of Corpus Christi', ed. Sponsler, *Mummings and Entertainments*.
[94] Fassler, 'Liturgical Framework of Time', p. 162-3.

the place of monastic writers and monastic communities in these actions.[95] Lydgate leverages his historical material in both literary forms and performative settings outside of the liturgy and associated monastic commemorative practice but within various secular communal settings in rhetorical support of the monastic communities that guarded the Christian past. The types of reflection that these occasions prompted shifted from religious to secular concerns, fostering connections with monarchy and numerous concepts of community, from guild to nation. Cynthia Turner Camp identifies a hagiographical concentration in late medieval historical writing, to which Lydgate was a central contributor, on saints with ties to the early years of the English Church as part of a campaign to 'bolster the reputation of the monastery, the monarchy, or both'.[96] She places this strand of hagiography within the context of a particular sense of the past, one that emphasises the exemplary nature of saints' lives from the days of the early English church while inadvertently exposing the inability of contemporary monastic communities to follow those examples.[97] The shift of focus in monastic domestic histories from moral to archival instruction has already been noted in the discussion of P2 prologues however and, considering the functions and environments of Lydgate's writings, the question must be asked if the quandary of failed emulation that Camp proposes is a use for the monastic community from which the works emerge or the secular audiences for whom they were intended. While monastic hagiographic works shared a similar focus on the history of the early English Church, the non-liturgical settings of Lydgate's works suggest that the moral instruction is aimed at secular audiences and monastic claims of ethical superiority are solely by virtue of their guardianship of saintly locales, rather than emulation of their spiritual heroics.

[95] Fassler, 'Liturgical Framework of Time', p. 151 on this 'reflective' element of the historical nature of the pre-1300 liturgy.
[96] Camp, *Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives*, p. 3.
[97] Camp, *Anglo-Saxon Saint's Lives*, p. 7-11 on the concept of 'ethical replicability' and the difficulties reconciling it with the reality of late medieval monastic life.

A secondary significance of Lydgate's hagiographic activity is that he had the support of his monastic superiors for his non-monastic work. William Curteys, his abbot for the period of his literary flourishing, was keenly aware of how Lydgate's literary activity advocated for the monastery. Around the same time as the production of the presentation copy for Henry VI, the prologue to Curteys' own version of the Edmund legend, which he entered into his register, places the legend and its presentation to the king squarely within the context of Bury's continuing dispute over its exemption from episcopal jurisdiction.[98] His concerns also went beyond patronage, as his two other requests of Lydgate, the *Life of St Petronilla* and the aforementioned *On De Profundis* verse, show his interest in interpreting monastic experience, and to some degree specifically the Bury monastic experience, for the laity.

Lydgate's contemporaries, Osbern Bokenham, an Augustinian friar at Clare; John Capgrave, an Augustinian friar at Lynn; and Henry Bradshaw, a Benedictine at Chester also made close textual connections between history and hagiography, but liturgical use of their works is equally unlikely. Like Lydgate, they also wrote for specific patrons. Seven of Osbern Bokenham's thirteen lives of women saints, and two of Capgrave's four lives were written upon request from various patrons.[99] Several of these were for individual women or, in Capgrave's case, a Life of St Gilbert for the nuns at Sempringham. This may have been read as part of the martyrology in chapter or in the refectory and so a rare exception of use in a monastic milieu. Both Capgrave and Bokenham wrote other works of history and, in Bokenham's case, considered the reading of history necessary for proper understanding of the saints' legends.[100] It is Bradshaw's *Life of St Werburge*, however, which illustrates a second

[98] Webber, 'Late medieval Benedictine anxieties', pp. 250-2, with transcription from Curteys' register.
[99] Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Lives*, pp. 64-66.
[100] Lewis, 'Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives', pp. 167-8. Capgrave wrote the *Abbreuiacion of Chronicles*, ed. P.J. Lucas, EETS OS 285 (Oxford, 1983) and the *Liber de Illustribus Henricis*, ed. F.C. Hinngeston, RS 7 (London, 1858), a series of biographies of men named Henry. The *Mappula Angliae* has been attributed to Bokenham, which is an English translation of the section on England from Higden's *Polychronicon*. See Douglas Gray, 'Bokenham, Osbern (b. 1392/3, d. in or after 1464), poet and Augustinian friar', *ODNB* (September 2004), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2095/10.1093/ref:odnb/2785 (September 2004)

instance of a monastic writer using the *vita* of his monastery's saint to argue for his community's centrality within the local political, spiritual, and economic power structure but, like Lydgate, firmly outside of the liturgy. Bradshaw's *Life* was likely translated from the twelfth-century Latin account by Goscelin of St. Bertin and is firmly focused in the regional locale of Chester and the civic audience there.[101] Like Lydgate, he writes in verse and the vernacular, the latter feature the best indication that he did not intend for it to be used in a liturgical context. Bradshaw could be said to have had some success in gaining a non-monastic audience, as the *Life* was printed eight years after it was written by Pynson in 1521.[102]

Bradshaw is not writing simply for the higher-ups in Chester society but the growing civic body of merchants and gentry and, rather than simply inserting Werburge's life into a history of the town or of the monastery, he makes Werburge the point of connection between the monastery which holds her shrine and the city where it is located.[103]

In the abbay of Chestre / she is shryned rychely...
The chyef protectryce / of the sayd monastery
Longe before the conquest / by deuyne grace;
Protectryce of the Cytee / she is and euer was,[104]

Conveniently, Werburge is from a family of royal saints so her genealogy is an important part of England's broader past and gives Bradshaw licence to write as much history as *vita*. While his first source is 'the true legende' (Goscelin's earlier *vita*), he then lists Bede, Aelfric, William of Malmesbury, Gerald of Wales and of course Chester's own Ranulf Higden and his *Polychronicon*.[105] His reasons for writing are similar to those we have seen in most

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[101] *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin*, ed. Love, p. lxxvi.
[102] Henry Bradshaw, *Here Begynneth the Holy Lyfe and History of Saynt Werburge Very Frutefull for all Christen People to Rede*: *Imprinted by Richarde Pynson, Printer to the Kynges Noble Grace, with priuilege to hym graunted by our souerayne lorde the kynge, A0. M.D.xxi* (London, 1521).
[103] Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*, p. 66.
[104] Henry Bradshaw, *The Life of St Werburge of Chester*, ed. Carl Horstmann, EETS OS 88 (London, 1887), p. 12, lines 99, 101-103.
[105] *Life of St Werburge*, ed. Horstmann, p. 13, lines 127-130.

histories, to provide a model of pious behaviour and to promote the deeds of the great people of the past and, like other late medieval hagiographers who wrote in Middle English, he adds little to the original Werburge-legend.[106] His use of the vernacular and his equal concern for civic history makes his legend one of the few instances when a monastic writer intentionally composed not only the life of a saint but a well-researched local history. He also specifically recognises the role of the monastery as guardians of Werberge's textual history. He suggests that her legend and the deeds of her family have been kept secret, rather than neglected, by the monks, and that now is the time for these materials to be shared as text, not as liturgy, with a non-monastic audience.

And syth that she is / in blysse now gloryfyed,
It were no reason / her name be had in scylence,
But to the people / her name be magnyfyed,
To her laude and prayse / honour and reuerence.
Her parentes and bretherne / þe floures of experyence,
Haue ben kepte in close / secrete many a day:
Wherfore I purpose / somwhat of them to say.[107]

Lydgate and Bradshaw shifted their hagiographical work from the monastery and the liturgy to new textual environments and audiences. In keeping with the general trend we have seen with other historical writing, Lydgate, Bradshaw and their regular brethren sought ways outside of standard textual uses within the monastery to fix the connections between the power of the past and its monastic guardians in lay minds. For these writers, this meant leaving the liturgical realm completely. It remains to be seen if monastic writers maintained a position as sources of liturgical creativity for feasts of new saints.

[106] Camp, *Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives*, p. 14.
[107] *Life of St Werburge*, ed. Horstmann, pp. 12-13, lines 113-119.

The historical nature of the Robert of Knaresborough's *gaudia*

The question of continued monastic involvement in the creation of liturgical material can be examined through the creation of offices for new saints unconnected with the foundation histories of long-established monasteries or the Anglo-Saxon past. While the creation of new saints slowed after the thirteenth century in England as in the rest of Europe, the hagiographic histories of two saints can provide examples in this respect. The first, Robert of Knaresborough, was the hermit saint (d. 1218) whose hermitage, chapel and cult were taken over by the little-known order of the Trinitarians, beginning *c*. 1257 and has already been touched on in Chapter Two.[108] Robert's hagiographical tradition is not large. Information about him is included in the *Chronicle of Lanercost* in the year of his death, illustrating that Robert was a historical figure of contemporary interest in the north.[109] His extant *vitae* are all from the fifteenth century, though they do indicate the existence of earlier sources.[110] These *vitae* are all found in one manuscript, London, BL MS Egerton 3143, written by a single hand and, from internal evidence, most likely for use by a President (as the head of Trinitarian houses is entitled) of the Trinitarian foundation at Knaresborough.[111] The contents of the Egerton manuscript provide a complete textual picture of a saint's cult and illustrate how the elements of liturgy, history, and hagiography were curated for public consumption in the late middles ages.[112]

[108] There is not much written on the Trinitarians. James Brodman, *Charity and Religion in Medieval Europe* (Baltimore, 2009), pp. 150-62 gives a useful overview of the founding and distribution of the Order through Europe, its organisation and Rule. He remarks that 'The sense is that the order was not particularly favored in England and that its establishments were marginal', p. 158.

[109] *Chronicon de Lanercost*, ed. Stevenson, pp. 25-27.

[110] A fragmentary *vita* is found in London, BL MS Harley 3775, fos. 74r-77r, late fourteenth century but, according to Bazire, does not differ in significant ways from the Latin prose life in the Egerton manuscript. All the Middle English and some of the Latin sections of Egerton 3143 and the Latin prose life found in Harley 3775 are printed in *Metrical Life,* ed. Bazire. Bazire dates the composition of the Middle English *Metrical Life* and other Middle English pieces in the MS to the second half of the fourteenth century. *Metrical Life*, ed Bazier pp. 14-5.

[111] *Metrical Life*, ed. Bazire, p. 37.

[112] For a detailed description of the thirty items included in the manuscript, see *Metrical Life*, ed. Bazire, pp. 1-6

Of the thirty items included in Egerton MS 3143, five are in Middle English: a verse life of St Robert (fos. 39v-60v) [113], the verse foundation history of the Trinitarian order at Knaresborough (fos. 60v-63r) discussed in Chapter Two[114], and three prayers to St Robert, including one specifically for the abbey at Knaresborough (fos. 63r-v), one for the President of the house (fos. 35v-37v), and the third (fos. 37v-38v) beseeching protection from any and all hardship.[115] The majority of the material is in Latin however, including another verse life (fos.1r-7v)[116]; the other verse foundation history of the Trinitarian order referred to in Chapter Two; a prose life (fos. 15r-31v)[117]; prayers for Office Hours, including antiphons and collects (fos. 10v-11r); two series of meditative prayers arranged as the five *gaudia* or joys (fos. 11r-v) and the fifteen *gaudia* (11v-12r); four prayers listed as antiphons or versicles (fos. 11v, 12r, 32v, 33r); a verse 'circa tumbam eius' (fos. 35r-v) relating some of Robert's miracles; two prayers to Robert for those in orders (fos. 14r-v, 31v-32v); and three prayers to Robert for those of 'his' house (fos. 32r-v, 33r-35r, 60r). The rest of the items are various prayers for Robert's intercession. The order of the material does not appear to follow any logical or liturgical pattern. Bazire notes that the Latin verse life is divided into rubricated chapters, which suggests an intention to use these as lectio, though the intention is never explicitly stated, and the Latin prose life is not grouped together with the other Office texts.[118]

Similar to the foundation accounts, the English *vitae* are not simply translations of the Latin versions. The verse and prose lives, in Latin and English, all include the same major incidents in Robert's life, such as the conflict with William Stuteville, the episode with the plowing

[113] *Metrical Life*, ed. Bazire, pp. 42-72.
[114] *Metrical Life*, ed. Bazire, pp. 72-6.
[115] *Metrical Life*, ed. Bazire, pp. 76-7, pp. 77-80, and pp. 80-81.
[116] *Metrical Life*, ed. Bazire, pp. 134-44.
[117] Partially printed in *Metrical Life*, ed Bazire, pp. 113-28. Edited by P Grosjean as 'Vitae S. Roberti Knaresburgensis', *Analecta Bollandiana,* 57 (1939), pp. 375-400.
[118] *Metrical Life*, ed. Bazire, p. 36.

deer, and the attempted robbery from the chapel at Knaresborough of Robert's body by the monks of Fountains.[119] This commonality of episodes mirrors the establishment of Edmund's identifying imagery with the episodes from his first *vita* as well. The prayers and liturgical items in the collection speak to how the community performed and enhanced this history. The prayers for the canonical hours are positioned within the manuscript immediately after the Latin verse life and the Latin foundation account. The rubric of these prayers reads, 'ex devocionem dicende', suggesting that there was associated musical notation with these verses.[120] These prayers do not constitute a full *sanctorale* office however, secular or monastic, nor do they provide a narration of Robert's *vitae* and miracles in a way similar to Edmund's Office. Rather than a full set of antiphons and responsories for each Office hour, there is a four-line prayer for each canonical hour and the same antiphon, collect, and second antiphon is repeated after each. There is no indication as to music. It is unclear if this series is to be recited individually or as a community. Some prayers, such as those for Matins and None are first person plural, while those for Vespers and Terce request Robert's intercession for an individual. The prayer for compline asks for Robert's guidance in the solitary life, emphasising the connections between Robert's eremitical life and the eremitical associations of the origins of the Trinitarians. While the inclusion of the set of antiphons and responsories indicates some attempt to create a liturgical structure for Robert's feast, there is little evidence that these verses were ever part of a regular liturgy. It is more likely that these prayers were used for private observance of the hours by someone in the community at Knaresborough or, considering Robert's non-canonical status, they may be additions to the regularly observed Office, as one of the many additions that accrued to local practices of late medieval liturgies.

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[119] *Metrical Life*, pp. 52-6 (lines 327-482), pp. 61-62 (lines 627-72); pp. 71 (lines 951-8) for the three incidents in the English verse life.

[120] Fassler, 'Liturgical Framework of Time', p. 239, n. 2 on the use of the verb *dicere* to indicate 'to sing' in liturgical contexts.

The lack of historical narrative found in the canonical hours is less pronounced than in the sequences of five and fifteen *gaudia* which follow in the manuscript. Two of the five 'joys' include references to episodes from Robert's life, one to the period when he lived as a solitary in a cave, which later became a site of veneration, and one to the episode where he has deer plough a field.[121] The other 'joys' are general, relating to various virtues and his saintly example.[122] The series of fifteen *gaudia* is more explicitly linked to the narrative of Robert's *vita*. For example, they relate Robert's arrival in Knaresborough, the widow's gift of the chapel of St Hild, the prophecy about the attempt by the monks of Fountains to take his body after his death.[123] The episodes are arranged chronologically, following the order given in the lives, and while the series cannot be considered truly narrative, in that every verse relates a distinct, stand-alone episode, this meditation comes closer to mirroring the liturgical practice of *vita*-narration that any of the other items in the manuscript.

The two series of *gaudia* are a version of the prayer-practice of contemplation on episodes in the lives of Mary and Jesus which developed more fully into the Joyful, Sorrowful and Glorious mysteries of the rosary in the late fifteenth century at around the same time these verse were written into the Egerton compilation.[124] A key development of the Rosary meditations was the addition of narrative elements, centring on events in the lives of Mary and Jesus, to the usually iconographic-focused antiphons of the Marian psalter, a development that began in the early fourteenth century.[125] Originally, in reverse of the way

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[121] BL MS Egerton 3143, 11v (line 6), 'latens sub lapidibus' from the third 'Joy', of five; (lines 7-8), 'cervos sunt ores /Ad arandum', from the fourth Joy.
[122] BL MS Egerton 3143, 11v (lines 2-3), 'Mundi modo meliori /mansuetis moribus' from the second Joy; (lines 10-12), 'Gaude micans in hoc mundo / Ut lucerna in profundo / Thora tenebrarum', the fifth Joy.
[123] BL MS Egerton 3143, 11v (lines 24-39)-12r (lines 1-36). For example, the third joy (fo. 11v, lines 30-2), 'Gaude pio amore Christi / Knaresburgo qui venisti / pius pergens pedibus'; the fifth Joy (fo. 11v, lines 36-8), 'Gaude quia tibi prona / Hilde virginis matronis / hanc capellam tribuit'; the thirteenth Joy (fo. 12r, lines 22-24), 'Gaude prophetizans terre / Corpus fountanensis ferre vi volentes traditum'.
[124] Haigh, *English Reformations*, p. 26.
[125] Ann Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose: the making of the Rosary in the Middle Ages* (University Park, PA, 1997), pp. 16-30.

the imagery of Edmund's cult was drawn from specific narrative episodes of his life, such as the story of the miraculous discovery of his head being guarded by a wolf resulting in the wolf becoming a key feature of the saint's iconography, the Marian psalters used descriptive texts to create an image of that signified a life-event. For example, a description of Mary nursing was intended to implicitly refer to the flight to Egypt.[126] The text did not present implied narratives in any particular order but instead used the rich language of attributes to draw out the virtues which certain events served to highlight. The transformative introduction to Marian psalters in the fourteenth century was an explicit narrative element by which episodes from the life of Mary and Jesus were told in sequence.[127] The use of saints' *vitae* in the Office liturgy provides a long-established model for this kind of devotional narrative and the numbering of events or concepts upon which to contemplate was a common setting within all pastoral instruction. Collections of materials for use by parish priests regularly include not only the Ten Commandments, but the seven works of mercy, the seven virtues and seven vices, the eight beatitudes, amongst other numbered lists of moral relevance. Indeed, many of these have already been noted in the parochial church tablets in Chapter Three. Robert's 'joys', with their alliterative verse format, can be seen within this same tradition of numbered meditation but with the added element of historical narrative as in the Rosary practice. Robert's *gaudia* meditations are given in the first person plural, the 'us' suggesting a publicly performed *lectio divina*, perhaps similar to the way that rosary prayers became the focus of confraternal recitation, in groups and as individuals, in the fifteenth century.[128] There is little indication of how Robert's *gaudia* were actually prayed by the user of the Egerton manuscript, however. At the very least, they do illustrate one more means by which the

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[126] Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, pp. 21 and see further sources with other images given p. 166 n. 38.
[127] Winston-Allen traces one of the first instances to a German vernacular Mary-psalter of this date, *Stories of the Rose*, p. 65-80.
[128] Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose,* p. 78-80.

historical narrative of a saint's *vita* permeated devotional activities, even in a quasi-liturgical setting.

The final item of interest in the manuscript, at least in relation to liturgical use, is the 'versus circa tumbam eius', which describes Robert's miracles, focusing specifically on healing miracles.[129] It is tempting to see these twelve couplets as another text that may have been displayed on a tablet by his shrine, but exactly how they were displayed is not forthcoming. It does support the proposal of Bazire that the author of this compilation of Robert-related material was a member of the Knaresborough community, one of the 'us' so often referred to in the prayers and who had regular access to Robert's shrine. The question of authorship also leads to possibilities of the context in which it may have been used. The Egerton compilation, dated to the late fifteenth century, resembles collections of materials made in support of canonization campaigns, as well as *historia* for *sanctorale* feasts, such as that of St Mildreth at St Augustine's, Canterbury, already referred to above. As there is no evidence of an official canonization campaign for Robert, the volume is more likely closer to the *historia* tradition, especially considering the amount of liturgical or quasi-liturgical material it contains.[130] Bazire draws comparisons to three compilations of material on Richard Rolle, MSS Oxford, Bodleian Library e Musaeo 193, Lincoln, Cathedral c.5.2 and London, BL Cotton Tiberius A XV, all *c.* 1400. They each include offices and miracle stories and are linked to the campaign for his canonization, which never happened. A more official (possibly because it was successful) register is that compiled in support of the canonization of St Osmund by the chapter at Salisbury Cathedral, which includes accounts of fifty-two miracles and numerous historical notices about his life, as well as references to Osmund's

[129] *Metrical Life*, ed. Bazire, p. 5 found in Egerton 3143, fo. 35r-v.
[130] *Metrical Life*, ed Bazire, pp. 35-7.

development of the Sarum Use and his foundation charter for the cathedral.[131] The Egerton 3143 compilation is of a similar ilk but the prevalence of prayers rather than miracles and the informality of the liturgical material suggests rather, that this was a document for individual devotion by a member of the Trinitarian community of Knaresborough or for use in local liturgical practice at the same location. The actual composition of the material, parts of which were likely already complete by the end of the thirteenth century, is still likely to have been by a writer in a religious order, because of the frequent references to being in the locations of Robert's hermitage and chapel. In addition, the prayers are still firmly based within monastic devotional practices, just as the modern Rosary originated with the Observant Dominican movement during this period.[132] The volume itself was likely compiled by someone of a position of Trinitarian leadership because of the inclusion of the prayer of the 'President'. The compilation of such a volume by the leader of the community perhaps indicates an attempt to collate material related to the local saint as key elements that formulated the community's identity, not only for himself but also for his successors. It could be intended for his own personal use but also provided exercises through which he could lead his community. A more useful comparison is therefore to the commonplace book of Thomas Ashby, a canon of Bridlington Priory, which includes a similar collection of devotions to the Virgin Mary, John of Bridlington and a number of other saints, as well as indulgences for saying prayer-sequences and liturgical material such as an office and miracles.[133] This is another compilation written only slightly later, in the early sixteenth century, in a single hand for the personal use of a religious but which bears the strong influence of the communal

[131] *Officium and Miracula of Richard Rolle*, ed. Reginald Maxwell Woolley (London, 1919), pp. 9-10 and *The Canonization of St Osmund from the Manuscript Records in the Muniment Room at Salisbury Cathedral,* ed. A. R. Malden, Wiltshire Record Society (Salisbury, 1901).
[132] Winston-Allen, *Stories of the Rose*, pp. 73-80.
[133] A. J. Piper, 'DUL MS Cosin V.V.19 Miscellenea theologica; De S. Johanne Bridlington.; etc. s. xvi', Durham University Library Online Special Collections Catalogue, rev. A. J. Piper (9 July 1990), https://www.dur.ac.uk/library/asc/theme/medmss/apvv19/ (accessed 14 Jan, 2020). The office of John of Bridlington is found fos. 23-6.

practice of the location in which it was composed and a number of the contents point towards use for sermons. This volume will be discussed further below in relation to a second late medieval saint, John of Bridlington.

John of Bridlington: a liturgy for an English saint

A second late medieval saint whose hagio-historiography illustrates the continued involvement of monastic writers in the creation of the liturgical Office is John Thwinge, prior of the Augustinian house of Bridlington, born *c.* 1320 and who died of the plague in 1379. He was canonized in 1401 and translated to a shrine in Bridlington priory in 1404.[134] The stages of John's hagiographic development show remarkable similarity to those of Edmund and other Anglo-Saxon saints, though in a compressed timeframe of just under 150 years. Two *vitae* were composed within a few years of his death, one in English verse by an unknown author and a second in Latin prose completed at some point before 1401 by an Augustinian canon named Hugo, probably of John's own priory.[135] The verse life may pre-date Hugo's Latin version, as it does not include or reference any of the miracles John was said to have performed either during his lifetime or after his death, nor does it claim or argue for John's canonization. Instead, it focuses on extolling John's virtues, most of which would not be out of place in the description of an abbot in an early foundation chronicle. The author also claims to have met John in person.[136] By contrast, the Latin life by Hugo is much more

[134] John Wardle, 'An Introduction to the Life of St John of Bridlington', in Penelope Weston and David Weston (eds), *Celebrating the Heritage: Bridlington Priory in its Historical Context, 1113-2013: Proceedings of a Conference, September 2013* (Bridlington, 2015), pp. 34-49.
[135] The verse life is in Yale University Library, Beinecke MS 331 and printed in Margaret Amassian, 'A Verse Life of John of Bridlington', *Neuphilologische Mittilungen*, 71/1 (1970), pp. 136-45. Amassian and John Wardle, John Thwenge's latest biographer, suggest that the verses were written by a minstrel, because of a reference to minstrels playing at the priory in the poem. Amassian, 'Verse Life', p. 139l; Wardle, 'Introduction to the Life of St John', p. 35. There is little further evidence for such a suggestion. The Latin prose life is printed in 'Vita S. Joannis de Bridlington, Canonici regularis, Auctore domino Hugone, Canonico Regulari, Ex tomo 95 Bibliothecæ RR. PP. Oratorii Vallis-Cellæ, collata cum Vita edita apud Surium & Capgravium', in J. Van Hecke, B. Bossue, V. De Buck, E. Carpentier (eds), *Acta Sanctorum October X* (Brussels, 1861), pp.137, col. D-144, col. F.
[136] Amassian, 'A Verse Life', p. 140, line 8, 'And I myself I haue hym sene'.

extensive on both the details of John’s life and his miracles. It begins with John’s childhood and early indications of his saintly nature, his profession as an Augustinian canon and election as prior at Bridlington, and the miracles he performed before, and then after, death. Hugo’s life is simple in style. He does not enthuse but narrates his information succinctly and he avoids allusions to either Biblical or Classical models for John’s behaviour. This simplicity suggests a close affiliation with the liturgical lections which appear in the Office for John’s feast day (10 October) and there is a strong possibility that this early life was written with this future use in mind.[137] Hugo’s life can be dated to before 1401 as the narration does not refer to the campaign for John’s canonization or the translation that followed, events which would certainly have been mentioned or even been the occasion for a new life, as was the case with Edmund. Indeed, these two compositions may have ended like the English verse life and the Latin prose life of Robert of Knaresborough, relegated to local use only, had not the subsequent canonization required sources for a full Office.

The relationship between these two pieces of early hagiography and the development of liturgical material for John’s feast day is complex. As most of the materials related to John’s Office and its observance are later entries added to already-existing liturgical texts, it is difficult to ascribe a point of composition to any part of the Office more exact than the first or second half of the fifteenth century. In addition, considering his affiliation with the Augustinian canons, John’s Office was secular, with the shorter nine lessons. Like the monastic office, this was subject to efforts to streamline liturgical material, in order that clerics with external pastoral duties did not spend unduly long hours over their offices.[138] At the very point of development, the creators of John’s Office may have been under pressure to abbreviate material. The close proximity of the date of canonization in 1401 and the

[137] The lections appear in Cambridge, University Library MS Additional 4500, fos. 334r-8r and are the focus of further study below.
[138] Reames, ‘Standardization and Reform in Sarum Use’, p. 104.

translation in 1404 also makes it difficult to assess if either or both events prompted the creation of any new material, though, as the translation was itself a liturgical event, it is the more likely of the two, if any was indeed written. The canonization document itself indicates that the canons of Bridlington did compile a dossier to support the campaign for canonization, though this is no longer extant.[139]

One of the earliest texts related to John's feast is contained in London, BL Royal 2.a.XVIII (the Beaufort / Beauchamp Hours) which can be dated between 1401 and 1415. It includes John of Bridlington as part of a sequence of saints, with a full-page illumination of the saintly canon, seated with a book, facing a hymn and collect.[140] The same hymn, 'Brydlyntone Prior Pie', is found in two later manuscripts, Thomas Ashby's commonplace book, already mentioned above, from *c.* 1530 and a Sarum Use Missal from the second quarter of the fifteenth century, where it is part of a commemoration mass for his translation feast.[141] The spread of this hymn provides the first suggestion that a core group of texts for use at John's feasts was circulated at an early date.

Extant Offices for John's feast day and indications of its celebration are numerous. His feast appears, usually as a later addition to the manuscripts, on 10 October to calendars from a number of Augustinian houses in both northern and southern England, as well as a few further abroad.[142] Occasionally, his translation is also added on 11 March. His feast is ranked as a '*duplex festus*' in the Augustinian calendars from Osney, Guisborough, and Llanthony.[143] The Office appears with six readings in two extant manuscripts, London, BL Additional MS

[139] Wardle, 'Introduction to the Life of John of Bridlington', p. 42
[140] BL Royal 2.a.XVIII, fos. 7v-8v.
[141] Piper, 'DUL MS Cosin V.V.19 Miscellenea'. The hymn is on fo. 65. The Sarum Use missal in question is Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Rawlinson C 142, fo. 262. See *Catalogi codicum manuscriptorum* ed. MacRay, v, pp. 56-7.
[142] See J. A. Twemlow, 'The Liturgical Credentials of a Forgotten English Saint', *Melanges D'Histoire offerts a M. Charles Bemont par ses Amis et ses Eleves a L'Occasion de la Vingt-Cinquieme Annee de son Enseignement a L'Ecole Pratique des Hautes Etudes* (Paris, 1913) pp. 365-371 at pp. 366-8.
[143] Twemlow, 'Liturgical credentials', pp. 366-7.

35285 (the Guisborough Missal), where it is an incomplete late fifteenth-century addition, and Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum MS 38 (*c*. 1470), which is also possibly the origin of the Office in BL MS Add. 35285.[144] In the *Collectarium* from Llanthony priory and the Wollaton Antiphonal it is assigned nine lessons, indicating a secular office, as was typical for an Augustinian priory like Llanthony. [145] At the time it was added to the Wollaton Antiphonal, the manuscript was likely in parochial hands where a secular nine-lesson office would also be appropriate.[146] A prayer that appears in five manuscripts with commemoration or other liturgical material for John's Office, '*Deus qui praeter to non est alius'*, is given as the Vespers *oratio* in the Wollaton Antiphonal, which also provides the fullest musical setting of the Office.[147] In this work, John's Office is again an addition to an earlier main text and the entry for John's Office may have been made after it was left to Wollaton parish church *c.* 1460, especially as the rest of the *sanctorale* exhibits a distinct influence of East Anglian cults, as opposed to those of the Yorkshire area where Wollaton is situated.[148] The widespread adoption of his feast, especially within Augustinian houses, and the uniformity of these prayers between manuscripts suggests that the written material of John's cult circulated quickly, widely and potentially from a small group of key sources.

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[144] Twemlow, 'Liturgical credentials', pp. 368-9.
[145] The Wollaton Antiphonal is Nottingham University MS 250. See Alixe Bovey, 'The Wollaton Antiphonal: Kinship and Commemoration', in *The Wollaton Medieval Manuscripts: Texts, Owners and Readers*, ed. Ralph Hanna and Thorlac Turville-Petre (Woodbridge, 2010), pp. 30-40 and University of Nottingham Special Collections Online Catalogue entry, http://mss-cat.nottingham.ac.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=Catalog&q=refno:MS250 (accessed 14 January 2020), with link to digitized version of the MS.
[146] University of Nottingham Special Collections Online Catalogue entry, http://mss-cat.nottingham.ac.uk/CalmView/Record.aspx?src=Catalog&q=refno:MS250 (accessed 14 January 2020)
[147] Twemlow, 'Liturgical Credentials', pp. 269-70. The prayer appears in four other MSS: DUL MS Cosin V.V.19; London, BL MS Harley 955; Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College MS Δ. 2.11, and London, BL MS Add. 35285.
[148] Salisbury, *Secular Office in Late Medieval England*, p. 384. The Wollaton Antiphonal, fos. 411r-413v is the only version of the office that includes musical notation. Cambridge, University Library Additional MS 4500, fos 334r-338r (Sarum Use Breviary) s.xiv late, includes lessons and proper texts for office as an addition and will be discussed further below. For this MS, see Paul Binski and Patrick Zutshi, *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: A Catalogue of the Collection in the Cambridge University Library* (Cambridge, 2011), p. 168, #177.

That we do not know all of these sources is quickly apparent from a comparison of the life written by Canon Hugo with the text of the Office found in the Sarum Use breviary, Cambridge University Library MS Additional 4500. This breviary includes the same chant text as the Wollaton Antiphonal but also includes the *lectiones* for each of the Office Hours.[149] The Office text exhibits the same close association with the Latin prose *vita* as seen with Edmund's Office, but the *vita* of the saint is not integrated into the Office lections in the same way. Where the monks at Bury read lections directly from a copy of Abbo's *Passion*, the John's *vita* was curated for the Office *lectiones* and many of the *lectiones* draw on additional source material which has not been identified. The imagery associated with John in the Office antiphons functions similar to that in Edmund's Office, picking out signs and symbols from his life and miracles to act as attributes of the saint outside of the boundaries of the text. The readings branch out from the simple narration of the life and miracles to link John with the spiritual health of England, reflecting the rather rapid adoption of John as a patron saint by the Lancastrians. Finally, while the verse portions of the Office continue the narration of John's life and afterlife, the last readings revert back to the standardized *lectiones* for a confessor, dislocating John from any specific past and contextualizing him within the frame of universal salvation.

The Office begins with the Vespers antiphons. These take the singers and hearers through the first chapter of John's life, meditating on his early pursuit of virtue.

'He flowers in his youth with already ripened morals'.[150]

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[149] All references to antiphons, responsories and readings are taken from CUL Add 4500, fos. 334r-338r. A transcription of the text can be found in Appendix 2. The Vespers and first matins nocturne can be heard, and are translated in the liner notes, of Andrew Kirkman and the Binchois Consort, *Music for Henry V and the House of Lancaster* (Hyperion Records, 2010). All other translations are my own. The same secular office is found in UN MS 250 (Wollaton Antiphonal), minus the hymns and some of the prayers in CUL Add 4500. The chant text from the Wollaton Antiphonal can be found at *LMLO* Texts and CANTUS combined search tool: http://hlub.dyndns.org/projekten/webplek/CANTUS/HTML/CANTUS_index.htm, search term 'Bridlington'.
[150] 'Floret in infancia, moribus maturus', Vespers A2, CUL Add 4500, fo. 334r, col. B.

He enters the cloister, professing the sacred rule'.[151]

He exercised different offices of the priory, the standing of which he industriously reformed'.[152]

These verses reference specific sections of Hugo's life that relate, in order, his exhibition of virtue at an early age, his attraction to the order of the Augustinians, his subsequent profession, and early leadership roles in the community.[153] These antiphons provide the *vita* in musical form and establish the chronological pattern that is followed for the rest of the Office. A hymn found in both the Wollaton Antiphonal and CUL Add. 4500, reinforces this narrative, keeping its focus on the virtutes that John cultivated in childhood and adolescence, his embrace of the regular life and his relinquishing of the world.[154]

The first Matins antiphons continue the text-connection with Canon Hugo's *Life*, picking up the story exactly where the Vespers narrative left off. The first three Matins antiphons describe John's election and tenure as prior of Bridlington. 'Clothed by the Lord in the beauty of virtues', summarizes the long list of John's virtues given in Chapter 2.1.[155] The next two Matins antiphons take the listener through how John excelled as prior, 'wise and shrewd like a serpent, in clemency he ruled', a topic that is covered in detail in Chapter 2.9-2.16 of Hugo's *Life*.[156] These verses focus specifically on John's prudence in matters both spiritual and temporal, in relation to the monastery as well as himself, but the images used, of the

[151] 'Claustrum intrat, regulam, sanctam profitetur', Vespers A3, CUL Add 4500, fo. 334r, col. B.
[152] 'Diversa officia rexit prioratus, quorum cum industria reformavit status', Vespers A5, CUL Add 4500, fo. 334r, col. B.
[153] These episodes are found in 'Vita S. Joannis de Bridlingtona, Canonci Regularis', pp. 137-144. Chapter 1.1 addresses his early life; Chapter 1.3, his call to the religious life and Chapter 1.5, his term as cellarer.
[154] CUL Add. 4500, fo. 334r, col. B- fo. 334v, col. A. See Appendix 2 for full wording.
[155] 'Vita S. Joannis de Bridlingtona', p. 139, col. E-F. 'Crescentibus autem in ipso beato Viro piæ conversationis & sanctæ vitæ meritis, ab officio Cellarii exutus, & Supprior monasterii effectus sive officio Vicarii functus, omnia, quæ ad observantiam religionis pertinebant, sagaciter atque diserete regebat, sibimet parcus & austerus, aliisque quidem benignus extitit & misericors. In correptionibus modestiam servans, in compassione & pietate fraterna affluens, in admonitionibus & exhortationibus sedulus, humilitate & castitate præcellens, in omni opere bono semetipsum exercens, exemplum gratiæ & mansuetudinis omnibus ostendebat'.
[156] 'Extra prudens ut / sicut serpens/ rexit per clementiam' CUL Add. 4500, fo. 334v, col. B. Hugo, 'Vitae S Joannis de Bridlingtona', pp. 140, col. A-141, col. F.

serpent, the dove and the biblical allusion to Mary and Martha in the antiphons are not found in Hugo's *Life*. Yet, in the following first lection, direct lines are drawn between *Vita* and liturgy. The opening line of the reading is based on the first line of the *Vita* almost verbatim and a second passage also.[157] A reference to John's merit illuminating not only England but the entire world provides the first indication of the identification of John as a specifically English saint. This suggests that the readings were written, or drew on material that was written, in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, when Henry IV and Henry V actively promoted John's cult. The first lection reiterates the same sequence of events covered by the Vespers and first three Matins antiphons. After this, the drama of the Office increases a degree, as the respond relates the first of the miracles that occurred while John was still alive and the following verse positions this event in relation to the community of Bridlington.[158] This creates a time-bound event within a familiar community, similar to the way in which Lydgate places Edmund's later miracles amongst Edmund's community.[159] The second reading exhibits similar links with Hugo's early life as the first reading, but again, the allusions are loose adaptations of passages that address John's secret, extra devotions, his fear of God whilst saying mass (both reading and Life use the same story of John sweating profusely whilst saying mass), and his premonition of his approaching death.[160] The second respond moves on to John's curative miracles, retaining the pattern of miracle followed by

[157] Compare CUL Add 4500, fo. 334v, col. B '**Beatissimus** siquidem **johannes quondam priorum Bridelingtonie** cuius festum hodie celebravimus **ex honestis parentibus catholicis et devotis** de **regno anglie traxit originem'** with, 'Vita S. Joannis de Bridlingtona', p. 137, col. E, '**B. Joannes, quondam Prior de Bridlingtona, ex honestis parentibus Christianis Catholicis &** Deo **devotis in regno Angliæ**, in villa quadam, quæ Tuenge a vocatur, Eboracensis diœcesis, natus generosam **traxit originem**'. Also, CUL Add. 4500, fo. 335r, col. A, 'Hic namque **terenis sub animis gratia dei repletus**, with, 'Vita S. Joannis de Bridlingtona', p. 137, col. F, 'Sicut utique **teneris sub annis Joannes, gratia Dei repletus**', though the liturgy addresses his devotion to the divine office and the *'Vita'* his adherence to a chaste life.
[158] CUL Add. 4500, fo. 335r, col. A. Respond: Quem malignus spiritus adeo tenebat obsessum quod rabiem mentis incurrebat. Fusa prece domino ipsum expellebat. Verse: Et admirans populus signum quod videbat sic factum a Domino gratias reddebat
[159] Lydgate*, John Lydgate's Lives of SS Edmund and Fremund,* ed. Bale and Edwards, pp. 26-8 (editorial examination), pp. 134-46 (text).
[160] CUL Add 4500, fo. 335r, cols. A-B.

public response. 'The blind come...they are made to see...the people rejoice together'.[161] The third reading narrates the miracle for which John was most known for, the salvation of the sailors in peril. This reading is taken almost verbatim from Hugo's life.[162] The respond is a true response to the reading, picking up on the power of John's intercession, not as means to achieve earthly safety but rather to gain eternal life. The second nocturne, antiphons four to six, continues the narration of John's life, referencing three more miracles that occurred while John was still alive, only one of which is included in the *Vita*.[163] The fourth reading builds on these, recounting in more detail other of John's healing miracles and narrating in full the multiplication of the harvest.[164] The fourth respond returns to descriptions of John's virtues, this time of peace-making, which is briefly mentioned in Hugo's *vita* but not as a central feature of the saint. The fifth lesson uses the same virtue to seamlessly introduce more miracles.[165] It covers the second most well-know of John's miracles, when the dead carpenter speaks. This, like the story of the sailors, relies on Hugo's life.[166] The fifth responsory refers for the first time to John's shrine, linking its brilliant appearance to the power of John's intercession.[167] The sixth lesson provides a litany of the miracles of the saint and refers to 'authentic volumes' which the faithful can study, should they want to know all the glorious works of the saint.[168] The wording of this passage is suspiciously akin to that of the papal bull confirming John's elevation to sainthood.[169] Taken with the papal bull of canonization, this indicates that the Augustinian community at Bridlington followed the practice of other major

[161] CUL Add 4500, fo. 335r, col. B. 'veniunt cecati...sunt illuminati... congaudet populus'.
[162] The relevant passages are given in bold in Appendix 2.
[163] CUL Add 4500, fo. 335v, col. B. The miracle is found in, 'Vita S. Joannis de Bridlingtona', pp. 143, cols. A-B, the multiplication of the harvest. Admittedly, the fifth antiphon is a general reference to strengthening the weak, which could apply to a number of healing miracles.
[164] CUL Add 4500, fos. 335v, col. B-336r, col. A.
[165] 'Vita S. Joannis de Bridlingtona', p. 141, col. E.
[166] The relevant text is given in bold in Appendix 2.
[167] CUL Add 4500, fo. 336v, col. A. 'Claris splendit ioannes titulis'.
[168] CUL Add 4500, fo. 336v, cols. A-B. 'Possunt tamen fideles luce clarius talis gesta pernoscere; si libros authenticos quibus illa fideliter annotantut perquirere voluerint studiose'.
[169] Given in Wardle, 'Introduction to the Life of John of Bridlington', p. 42.

shrines and kept a book of miracles at the shrine and that, in addition to the *vita*, it is a source for the liturgy. The sixth reading also revisits John's identification as an English saint, contextualizing John's holiness within a national community of recognised sanctity. 'Praise the church vineyard that has brought forth such sons'.[170] The sixth responsory goes back to the imperiled sailors, the ninth antiphon (the last of the third nocturne) references the premonition of his death from the second reading, and the seventh responsory revisits the story of the revived carpenter from the fifth lesson. The remaining antiphons and responsories of Matins invoke general praise of John's example. Lessons seven to nine are drawn from either the Gospels (lesson seven is Luke 18:17) or from other authorities such as Aquinas (the beginning of lesson eight is from the Summa Theologica, pars II, question 20, article 1). It is left to the later Office of Lauds to finish John's story, narrating his posthumous miracles. The Invitatory antiphon tells of a demon exorcism found in the last chapter of Hugo's life.[171] The second relates the use of the pall over the shrine to cure a man of pain, which does not appear in Hugo's life but seems an appropriate miracle to be recorded into a shrine book.[172] The third antiphon relates the power of John's 'birretum' which may be a reference to the right granted to Bridlington abbots to wear the episcopal mitre in 1409.[173] This once again places John's inheritors within the orbit of a national ecclesiastical community. The textual connections between the two works show that, while *Vita* and Office are intended to act together, they also stand independent from each other. Both maintain a narrative progression through time, overlaying the temporal advance from Vespers to Matins to Lauds with the narrative of John's life, death, active afterlife.

[170] CUL Add 4500, fo. 336v, col. B. 'Gaudet viminum ecclesia se talem produxisse filium'.
[171] CUL Add 4500, fo. 338r, col. A. and, 'Vita S. Joannis de Bridlingtona', p. 144, col. C.
[172] CUL Add 4500, fo. 338r, col. A. 'Morbus emicranei fere excecauit quem tactus sudarii subito sanavit'.
[173] Wardle, 'Introduction to the Life of John of Bridlington', p. 45.

The Office places John of Bridlington at a specific point of history, within a certain community of the faithful. The text is drawn from the early written history of the saint but is also supplemented by additional material, likely curated by the community at Bridlington where John's shrine not only provided a focus for the cult but also for the production of further textual material to support its promotion. The lections show that for this late medieval saint, the Office texts were carefully composed to contextualise the saint not only within the catchment area of the cult, but also at a particular time in history, in support of a certain ideal of holy polity. John's Office places the historical reality of his life amongst a community of people, creating an inheritance for the community of the present, which they can activate by re-telling of the story of John's life in the liturgy. Significantly, this community specified in the text not as the religious community but as the 'populus', thereby including those outside of John's canonical community and emphasising John's involvement with the laity outside of the priory. This is further emphasised with John's identification as an English saint, an example of the spiritual power of the English church. The music for one of John of Bridlington's Office antiphons, that for *Quem malignus spiritus*, became the setting for a Mass under the Lancastrian monarchy.[174] Henry V's utilisation of motets linked with Edmund's Office have already been mentioned, and Henry IV, V and VI were all deeply involved in the composition and performance of liturgical music, especially polyphony, for which the English gained a reputation throughout Europe in the fifteenth century. [175] John of Bridlington, canonised during the reign of Henry IV and whose Office developed during the reigns of Henry V and VI, proved a timely opportunity for musical development of an Office

[174] The Mass was the subject of a research project headed by Philip Weller, centring around the conservation of the Wollaton Antiphonary and research into Lancastrian patronage of composers, choirs, and the royal chapel. The project resulted in a recording by the Binchois Consort, as cited above, n. 153.
[175] Chris Given-Wilson, *Henry IV* (New Haven and London, 2016), pp. 385-387 for discussion of Henry IV as the inaugurator of the Lancastrian patronage and personal interest in polyphony and M. G. A. Vale, *Henry V: Conscience of a King* (New Haven and London, 2016), pp. 204-20 for Henry V's musical interests and patronage.

that aligned with Lancastrian efforts to control the narrative around their own past.[176] Indeed, by supporting John's canonization process, which was begun by and had the enthusiastic backing of Richard II, the Lancastrians emphasised the continuity of monarchical religious governance between the old dynasty and the new.[177] Its successful completion in 1401 was another statement of Lancastrian legitimacy in the sight of the church. Despite being a new saint, John's association with the Augustinians, an order with a long history whose Rule continued to be adopted and adapted by new orders such as the Trinitarians and the Brigittines at Henry V's foundation at Syon, provided all the authority of a long-established, orthodox religious order. Honouring England's new saint provided an opportunity to exhibit Lancastrian piety and commitment to the church through liturgical innovation and public pilgrimage. Significant resources were necessary for the development of polyphonic music and the sophistication of the Bridlington mass indicates the very real resources of composers and choirs and their associated finances which were involved in Lancastrian musical patronage.[178] While he was Earl of Derby in 1391, Henry Bolingbroke made an offering at Bridlington and later granted Bridlington Priory the income from Scarborough Church, specifically for the shrine in preparation for the translation.[179] Henry V, then Prince Henry, went on pilgrimage to Bridlington in 1408 and his devotion to the saint continued after he gained the throne. He claimed his victory at Agincourt in the names of John of Beverley and John of Bridlington and included Bridlington in his pilgrimage tour in 1421.[180] John proved

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[176] Interestingly, the Nevilles were the main champions of John's canonization process. John's confessor and chaplain when he was prior, William Sleghthome, was also the family confessor. Cosin MS V.V.19 includes an obit for William on 14 June 1421 following a series of entries about John, including his own obit, and his profession, fos. 30v-31r. Alexander Neville was the archbishop of York who saw through part of John's canonization process. William is also referenced in the entry for John in the *Nova Legenda Anglie*, ed. Carl Horstmann (2 vols, Oxford, 1901), ii, p. 70-71. See Wardle, 'Introduction to the Life of John of Bridlington', pp. 41-43.

[177] Philipp Weller, 'The Bridlington Mass and *Missa Quem Malignus* Project', in sleeve notes for *Music for Henry V and the House of Lancaster* (2011), pp. 8-9.

[178] Weller, 'Music for Henry V and the House of Lancaster', in *Music for Henry V*, p. 4-5.

[179] Wardle, 'St John of Bridlington', p. 42-3.

[180] Wardle, 'St John of Bridlington', pp. 45. Richard II also supported the cult at Bridlington, granting the priory the right to crenellate their walls in 1388.

popular with supporters of the Lancastrian monarchs as well. John's image appears in the family chapel of the Beauchamps, loyal supporters of the Lancastrians, and the inclusion of John in the Beaufort/Beauchamp Hours has been mentioned above.[181] John was not the only saint in the Lancastrian holy roster but the Lancastrian devotion to him is one instance where piety and self-promotion intertwined in mutual support.[182] Like Edmund, the manufacture of John's cult bridged the gap between religious community and court, serving the needs of monarchs concerned with their political support from region and church, and the public nature of royal devotion to a saint allowed the Lancastrians to use the written liturgical material of John's cult to associate themselves with a sign of English sanctity. It is overwhelmingly religious writers producing this hagiographic material, and, as the association in John's Office between the saint and the spiritual health of England shows, the monk-writers were not adverse to incorporating secular concerns into liturgical material if it might prove an effective way to advocate for their concerns.

Like Robert of Knaresborough, John is included in historical accounts within ten years of his death, including in the chronicle of Kirkstall Abbey and Thomas Walsingham's *Chronica Maior*.[183] These entries are incorporated into the chronicle narrative like other factual items, positioning John's life and death as a moment of contemporary significance within a specific temporal framework. Walsingham uses the advent of John's miracles to proclaim a new age of saint-activated sanctity within the realm.[184] It is possible that the *Kirkstall Chronicle* used Hugh's life as the source of its entry on John. The account is an abbreviated version of the same material, addressing John's early manifestation of virtue, the miracles whilst he was

[181] Sanok, *New Legends*, p. 23.
[182] For Lancastrian support for other saints' cults, especially Wenefred and John of Beverley, see Sanok, *New Legends*, pp. 19-25.
[183] Thomas Walsingham, *Chronica Maior*, ed. James Clark (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 273 in the year 1389 and Kirkstall Chronicle in *The Kirkstall Abbey Chronicles*, ed. John Taylor, Thoresby Society 42 (Leeds, 1952), pp. 54-55.
[184] As discussed in Sanok, *New Legends of England*, p. 1

alive including the salvation of the Hartlepool sailors, the holiness of his monastic observance, and then miracles after his death including the revival of the dead in the same sequential order. It does not however make any reference to the canonization process or call John a saint. The two chronicle entries provide a historical anchor point for his cult within the context of regional and national history even as the further development of John's legend fostered the cult's own relationship with the past.

After Hugo's life in the early fifteenth century, there are no further extant stand-alone *vitae* but an expanded legend was incorporated into the collection printed in 1516 by Wynkyn de Worde as the *Nova Legenda Anglie* (*NLA*). While the main text of the *NLA* is based on an earlier work commonly titled *De Sanctis Anglie*, none of the three extant manuscripts of this earlier text include an entry for John of Bridlington.[185] John's legend was only added later to the 1516 printed edition of the *NLA* and, like the twelve other lives added at the same time, the account is longer (John's legend takes up more than double that of the preceding one for John of Beverley) but does not include any *narrationes*.[186] The *NLA* legend is not composed in exactly the same manner as these other additional lives however as, for example in Osmund's legend, the text is simply a combination of *lectiones* from the Office in the Sarum Use breviary.[187] The length and composition of John of Bridlington's legend suggests that it originally was an independent *vita*. It draws on either the Office text itself, had a source in common with the Office, or perhaps both. It incorporates a number of the images used in the liturgical verses, such as the wise serpent, the dove, the shining jewel, and likenesses to

[185] Peter J. Lucas, 'John Capgrave and *Nova Legenda Anglie*: A Survey', *The Library*, Fifth Series, 25/1 (March 1970), pp. 1-10 at p. 3. The most complete MS is Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 15, written in 1499, a gift from Abbot Thomas de la Mare of St Albans to the abbey's cell at Redborne.
[186] Horstmann cites Bale's ascription of this *vita* to George Ripley, a Carmelite at the monastery of St Botulph at Boston around the year *c*. 1495. *Nova Legenda*, ed. Horstmann, p. 64 n. 3.
[187] *Nova Legenda*, ed. Horstmann, p. xviii and pp. 239-252. The lections are given for all of Osmund's possible feast days including his translation, the octave of his translation, the octave of his feast day and special lections if the octave falls on a Sunday.

Rachel and Leah.[188] None of these images are specific to John in the way that the arrow or the wolf are to Edmund (John's attribute is often a ship, referencing the salvation of the sailors) but the cross-overs between the liturgy and the *NLA* legend are numerous enough to suggest that the liturgy was an influence on this later legend, though not simply a compilation of the *lectiones*. In addition, while the legend is erected around the frame of Hugo's early *Vita* in terms of chronology, it is expanded in quite significant ways. The account of John's education is elaborated and includes an alleged period at Oxford. His relationship with the other canons during his priorate is expanded significantly to include reported speech, and the account of his death is given in much greater detail.[189] This is a reflection in part of the Latinate style of the legend, which is more literary in tone than Hugh's simple narration or the *lectiones* of the liturgy. There are frequent allusions to both the Bible and the Church Fathers, which draw direct comparisons between John's virtues and the sanctity of Old and New Testament figures.[190] The book of miracles which is alluded to in the liturgy and bull of canonization is also mentioned in the legend.[191] The attestation that these written records were accessible to the laity strongly suggests they were at or near the shrine itself, a common practice at saints' shrines, where miracles were recorded by the canon (or monk) responsible for managing the fabric of the shrine and its visitors. These references intimate that the source material upon which the later legend drew were written by canons connected with Bridlington Priory and therefore still curating, to some degree, the textual formulation of John's cult. The liturgy, especially its lessons, is an intermediate text in the development of John's hagiography, between Canon Hugo's early life and the elaborated legend in the 1516

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[188] The wise serpent: Matins antiphon 3, *Nova Legenda*, p. 70 'cautelosus ille serpens'; the dove: Matins antiphon 3, *Nova Legenda*, ed Horstmann p. 69, 'prefata mansuetudinis columba'; the shining jewel: Second Vespers gospel antiphon, *Nova Legenda*, ed Horstmann, p. 76, 'Hec igitur gemma radiis perpetue gracie perlustrata'; comparison to Rachel and Leah: Matins antiphon 2, *Nova Legenda*, ed Horstmann, p. 77, 'qui moram faciens pro Rachele, Lye laboriosam activitatem non despexit'.

[189] *Nova Legenda*, ed. Horstmann, pp. 64-5, pp. 68-1, pp.

[190] *Nova Legenda*, ed. Horstmann, p 77 for comparisons to Abel, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Jacob, Job, Tobias, David, Solomon, Ezekiel, Susanna, and John the Baptist.

[191] *Nova Legenda*, ed. Horstmann, p. 77 for the reference to '*materia*' that professes John's sanctity.

NLA. The significance of the liturgical influence on the legend, in a collection in which, for the first time the lives are arranged alphabetically and, aside from the *narrationes*, liturgical material is excised, will be discussed further below in the relationship between hagiography and sermon material.

The book of miracles referred to above is also the likely source for three of John's miracles recorded in the commonplace book of Thomas Ashby, an Augustinian canon at Bridlington, now Durham, University Library MS Cosin V.V.19. Ashby's book was mentioned as a possible comparison with BL MS Egerton 3143 of Robert of Knaresborough material as it is a compilation of similar content by a single person. It is not as single-minded as the Egerton MS, in that it is not dedicated to a single saint. It also includes numerous sequences for the Virgin and St Anne, in addition to notices of indulgences, sayings of the Church Fathers, and extracts from John Beleth's *Rationale divinorum officiorum*. The material about John is singular in the manuscript however, including an office for the Mass (fos. 23-26), five miracles (fos. 26-30, 58v-60v), short notations of episodes in John's life (fos. 30v-31r), the same hymn from the Beaufort Psalter (fos. 66v-65r) and, a notice of the foundation of the Priory of Bridlington which appears twice in the manuscript (fos. 53r and 68v). The material in this personal notebook suggests a variety of uses, some personal, others more public. The inclusion of the Mass Office, as opposed to that for the canonical hours suggests that Ashby's duties as a canon determined the liturgical material included in his book, rather than his personal devotions. These are not meditative texts but the relevant parts of the Mass for a saint's feast day. This impression is furthered by the inclusion of the miracle stories. As a canon, Ashby very probably has some responsibility towards the cure of souls and the miracles are potential sermon material. The historical notes that follow supply the basic information to position John within a temporal history, while the miracles emphasise not only his power of intercession but John's active presence within the present-day community. The

non-Bridlington related inclusions also suggest the compilation was put together with a Mass-related function in mind. The entries for the Virgin and St Anne are arranged in sequences (*sequitur*), short prayers normally used within the Mass, rather than the Office Hours. The inclusion of extracts from Beleth's *Rationale divinorum officiorum* reinforces the impression of use by a canon whose pastoral duties focused on public rather than personal devotions.

Legendaries and sermon collections

The suggestion that Thomas Ashby's hagiographic handbook contained material which he could use for sermons makes it part of a long tradition associating hagiography with sermon material. As narratives of exemplary lives, *vitae* of the saints aligned with the didactic function of sermons, a quality shared with historical writing. *Vitae* conflate exemplary behaviour with spiritual instruction. The relative simplicity of the subject matter, being entertaining while still instructive; the flexibility of form, being episodic rather than a drawn-out narrative; its ability to be translated into other media and so to be made ubiquitous in devotional experience; the spatial immediacy of saints' shrines and relics in familiar spaces and places; all of these features made saints' lives popular sermon material. The lives of saints were translated, individually and as collections, into Old English, Anglo-Norman, and then Middle English and, having none of the textual weight associated with translation of the Bible, were not dogged by controversy over the orthodoxy of such translation. Thus, while other topics, history amongst them, cleaved to Latin as the preferred language of inscription, a strong tradition of vernacular lives paralleled that of Latin *vitae* throughout the Middle Ages. This linguistic diversity underscores their use as sermons for a variety of audiences as, even if prepared or recorded in Latin, sermons could be preached in the language appropriate to the audience.[192]

[192] Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. xiii.

While extant individual *vitae* illustrate the close connections between written hagiography and the liturgical practice in which they were often incorporated, legendaries provide a halfway point between the use of *vitae* in the liturgy and their use as sermons. The *South English Legendary* (*SEL*), one of the major collections of lives of English saints, appropriately drew on liturgical chant sources in its verse compositions, and the *Sanctilogium Angliae* of John of Tynemouth, another key legendary, includes antiphons from saints' offices, such as the antiphon of the Vespers gospel for St Edmund.[193] However, Manfred Görlach suggests that it is unlikely a work like the *SEL* would have been used for liturgical *lectiones*, as the narratives were simply too long.[194] For effective liturgical use, individual *vitae* required more careful curation than simple division into shorter readings, as the integration of readings and chant material in John of Bridlington's Office shows. In the case of the *SEL*, written in Middle English, there is also the issue regarding readings in the vernacular, the practice of which is difficult to measure, though Pfaff suggests that the convent at Syon may have performed readings in English in the chapter house by the first quarter of the sixteenth century.[195] However, the issue of language does not apply to the same extent to sermons and, for saints' feast days, reading out an abbreviated version of a saint's *vita* from a legendary as the sermon was not usual.[196] Thus, while legendaries sprang from and were arranged to follow liturgical time, their use as sermon material was one of the more frequent functions they performed.

Arrangement in the order of the liturgical year is common for both legendaries and sermon-collections in the fourteenth and fifteenth century. This is just one of the many close

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[193] For the liturgical sources of the *SEL*, see Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*, p. 27-8 and Oliver Pickering, 'The *Temporale* Narratives of the *South English Legendary*', *Anglia,* 91 (1973), pp. 425-55. London, BL Cotton MS Tiberius E. I/2, fo. 120r, col. 1 includes the Vespers gospel antiphon, 'Exulta sancta ecclesia'. The other antiphon for St Edmund in the *SA*, 'Deus ineffabilis', included in col. 2 is not found in the version of the Edmund Office from Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 109 as found in LMLO.
[194] Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*, p. 27.
[195] See above, Ch. 4, n. 89.
[196] *Nova Legenda,* ed. Horstmann, p. x.

associations between the two kinds of compilations, neither of which had a strict contemporary definition. Siegfried Wenzel divides sermon collections into organised sermon cycles, which are arranged into sections for *temporale*, *sanctorale*, and sermons for special occasions, each in liturgical order; and random sermon collections, which are unordered, liturgically or chronologically, but can still include sermons for saints' feast days.[197] Legendaries can be similarly arranged in liturgical order by feast day, and can also include non-*sanctorale* material, as do a number of *SEL* manuscripts.[198] These categorizations are fluid however. For example, John Mirk's *Festial* combined a majority of *sanctorale* material with *temporale* material for Advent and Lent and was originally arranged in liturgical order, like a legendary but its recension re-arranged the material into *temporale* and *sanctorale* sections, more in keeping with a sermon-collection format.[199] Additionally, while legendary narratives do not usually have the structural divisions of theme, divisions and subdivisions that characterize the layout of academic sermons, the *sanctorale* material in sermon collections do not normally adhere to this formal structure to the same extent as the *temporale* material. John Mirk's *Festial* and the *Speculum Sacerdotale*, both of which identify themselves as sermon collections, forgo the tripartite division usually seen in academic sermons, often beginning the material for a saint's feast day with a simple 'Thys day ys' or 'suche a day ȝe schul haue' or 'In siche a day'. The same opening can be found in some legendaries as well, as in the life of St Michael added to the *Gilte Legende* which begins 'On Mycheaelmas Day the churche makyth mencion'.[200] Yet late medieval sermon

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[197] Siegfried Wenzel, 'Sermon Collections and their Taxonomy', in Stephen Nichols and Siegfried Wenzel (eds), *The Whole Book: Cultural Perspectives on the Medieval Miscellany* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1996), pp. 7-22, at pp. 7-9.
[198] Pickering, '*Temporale* Narratives', *Anglia* (1973), pp. 425-55.
[199] *John Mirk's* Festial: *edited from British Library MS Cotton Claudius A.II*, ed. Susan Powell, EETS OS 334 (2 vols, Oxford, 2009), pp. xix.
[200] *Festial*, ed. Powell, pp. 39, 51; *Speculum Sacerdotale: Edited from British Museum MS Additional 36791*, ed. E. H. Weatherly, EETS OS 200 (Oxford, 1936), p. 143; *Supplementary Lives in some manuscripts of the Gilte Legende*, ed. Richard Hamer and Vida Russel, EETS OS 315 (Oxford, 2000), p. 275 amongst numerous other examples in all three works.

collections that focus on *sanctorale* feasts tend to not be simple compilations of individual saints' lives. Their content reflects a stronger emphasis on formulating narrative *vita* into pastoral instruction. It is in their use as teaching material that legendaries and sermons are most closely related. [201]

Siegfried Wenzel writes that the period 1350-1450 was 'the golden age of preaching in post-Conquest England before the Renaissance'.[202] As can be seen from the group of manuscripts in his *Latin Sermon Collections*, monks were at the forefront of the activities of sermon collecting and writing, if not preaching, during this period. Of the thirty-six collections examined in Wenzel's volume, fifteen have monastic connections, either through association with a monastic house or linked to a named monastic preacher.[203] This includes monastic bishops, such as Thomas Brinton and John Sheppey, both well-known for their preaching. A cursory examination of O'Mara and Paul's four volume *Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons* suggests that monastic preachers were to some extent linguistically agnostic, with a significant number of Middle English sermons having connections to monastic origins.[204] There is ample evidence that monks preached to both the laity and to their own congregations and, while the evidence for a programme of systematic preaching-outreach suggested by Horner is still not certain, the extensive monastic interest in the creation and use of preaching materials strongly suggests an involvement in preaching greater than Joan Greatrex's *laisez faire* description as an 'art which Benedictines practised when they were called upon to do so'.[205] Perhaps more importantly, even if frequent preaching to lay audiences was

[201] Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. xiv.
[202] Wenzel, *Latin Sermon Collections*, p. xv
[203] Using Wenzel's sigila, the collections with monastic associations are SH, F, BR, RE, RY, O, R, DY, CO, J, X, W, E, and K.
[204] Veronica O'Mara and Suzanne Paul, *A Repertorium of Middle English Prose Sermons* (4 vols, Turnhout, 2007). An incomplete assessment of these four volumes resulted in over 50% of the sermons having monastic connections. This is far from a thorough examination however and more detailed examination is required.
[205] Patrick Horner, 'Benedictines and Preaching the Pastoralia in Late Medieval England: A preliminary inquiry', in Carolyn A. Muessig (ed), *Medieval Monastic Preaching* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 279-92, at p. 282 and

circumscribed by the monastic separation from the cure of souls for the Benedictines and Cistercians, the production of *artes praedicandi* and sermon collections by those in religious orders, written specifically to provide parish priests with sermon material, illustrates the extent to which those in religious life were as concerned about the quality of pastoral care as their secular brethren, even when they were not responsible to deliver it themselves.[206] Monastic sermon-collectors and writers packaged material from their community libraries for use by parish priests and the literate laity, often making what was previously inaccessible, accessible to those who did not have access to a wide variety of books in the form of useful compendia and to the illiterate in spoken form as sermons, even if not delivered by the monks themselves.

Hagio-historical material is very much at the centre of the materials written by authors of the regular orders for the use of lay preachers. It is no accident that this golden era of preaching occurred at the same time as a renewed interest in native saints' *vitae*, an assessment that may be extended to legendaries with non-native saints which were translated into the vernacular.[207] There are two lines of textual descent that speak to the place of hagiographical writing within the sermon-collection tradition. The first begins with John of Tynemouth's *Sanctilogium Angliae* (*SA*), *c.* 1350, a legendary of 156 British saints written in Latin and arranged in liturgical calendar order, though from January, not from the beginning of Advent as was traditional. This was modeled after Jacobus de Voraigne's *Legenda Aurea* (*LA*), a widely circulated legendary which focused on saints who were feasted throughout Roman

Joan Greatrex, 'Benedictine Sermons: Preparation and Practice in the English Monastic Cathedral Cloisters', in *Medieval Monastic Preaching* pp. 257-78, at p. 263.

[206] For *artes praedicandi* see Margaret Jennings 'Monks and "*Artes Praedicandi*" in the time of Ranulf Higden', *Revue Bénédictine*, 86/1-2 (1976), pp. 119-28 and Siegfried Wenzel, *Medieval "Artes Praedicandi": A Synthesis of Scholastic Sermon Structure* (Toronto, 2015), pp. 1-42. Of the forty *artes praedicandi* Wenzel studies, twenty-two have affiliations with religious orders. Unsurprisingly, the Franciscans and Dominicans dominate but the Benedictines and Augustinians are also present. This sample is not focused on England, however.

[207] Sanok, *New Legends of England*, p. 2.

Christendom. In addition to the *SA,* John of Tynemouth also wrote the *Historia Aurea,* a history of England for which the numerous Anglo-Saxon saints' legends in the *SA*, many of them royal or with links to positions of power, were used to supplement the relevant sections of history in the *Historia Aurea*.[208] The only remaining manuscript of the *SA* is London, BL MS Cotton Tiberius E I from the late fourteenth century, a gift from the St Alban's abbot, Thomas de la Mare, to his monastery's cell at Redbourne.[209] John was possibly a monk of St Alban's but John Taylor suggests he was more likely the vicar at Tynemouth, appointed by the prior of the St Alban's cell there and benefiting from de la Mare's active support of his historical writing endeavours.[210] The *SA* includes liturgical material such as antiphons but it also includes *narrationes,* short stories which could be used as readings or as sermon material. The *SA* was revised in the fifteenth century as *De Sanctis Anglie* (*DSA*) by the Augustinian friar John Capgrave. This revision retained the Latin but re-arranged the legends into alphabetical order and removed the liturgical material, excepting the *narrationes*, a shift which is considered to have marked 'the difference between a book of devotion and a book of reference'.[211] The re-arrangement indicated that the *DSA* was not used in a liturgical context for private or communal practice, but was curated for use as a sermon reference book for the *sanctorale*. Such a work could be just as effectively arranged alphabetically as by feast day. In some ways, considering the strong regional basis for the observation of saints' feasts, an alphabetical compendium provides for wider geographical flexibility, a feature which was

[208] Taylor, *English Historical Literature in the Fourteenth Century*, pp. 103-5, and 'Tynemouth [Tinmouth], John (fl. *c.* 1350), chronicler', *ODNB* (Oxford, 2004), https://ezproxy-prd.bodleian.ox.ac.uk:2095/10.1093/ref:odnb/27466 (26 September 2019), and V.H. Galbraith, 'Extracts from the *Historia Aurea* and a French "Brut" (1317-47)', *EHR*, 43/170 (1928), pp. 203-17 at p. 204.
[209] London, BL Cotton MS Tiberius E.I is divided into two volumes, both digitized at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_E_I/1 and http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Tiberius_E_I/2. The evidence for Thomas de la Mare's connection is given on fo. 6r.
[210] Taylor, 'Tynemouth, [Tinmouth], John', *ODNB*. The suggestions that John was a St Albans monk is largely because of how the later part of his Historia Aurea fits into the continuum of historical writing at St Albans. It fills the gap in the fourteenth century which immediately precedes Walsingham. For Horstmann's argument that John was monk of St. Albans, see the *Nova Legenda*, ed Horstmann, pp. xi-xii.
[211] Lucas, quoting Plummer in 'John Capgrave and the *Nova*', pp. 2-3.

recognised if the location of two of the manuscripts, between Canterbury and York, is considered.[212] The final stage in this particular line of legendary descent was the revision of the *DSA* by Wynkyn de Worde and its subsequent publication as the *Nova Legenda Anglie* in 1516. Thirteen new legends were added, including the legend of John of Bridlington already mentioned, still in Latin. The printed edition firmly removes this material out of the realm of monastic productions but does attest to the effectiveness of religious efforts to achieve circulation outside of their own networks. The same text was abridged and published in English, also in 1516 by Pynson. In this edition, the location of the saint's shrine is given at the end of the legend, providing a gazetteer of England's monasteries by the shrines of their saints. While aimed at a lay audience, the inclusion of the shrine location reconnects the short narratives back to the monastic centres of their intercessory power.[213]

The second avenue of hagio-historiographic descent is more explicitly related to the preparation of sermon material for the secular clergy by writers in religious orders. It also begins with Jacobus de Voraigne's *LA*, which also had a strong influence on the *SEL*. The *SEL*, written in the thirteenth century, focused on English saints but unlike the Latin *SA*, the *SEL* was written in Middle English verse and placed a heavy emphasis on royal and monastic saints such as Dunstan, Oswald (both king and bishop), Edward, Edmund, and Augustine of Canterbury among the more standard inclusions. As Görlach's overview of the various origin scenarios of the *SEL* makes clear, the variety of sources that the composition of a volume like the *SEL* required is one of the strongest arguments for its origination within a religious community.[214] Any of the major religious orders are therefore a potential origin-point for the *SEL*, with the Benedictines and Augustinians the likeliest possibilities because of their library

[212] The two MSS are Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Tanner 15 and York, Minster Archives MS XVI. G. 23. A third, London, BL MS Cotton Otho D. IX has not been located in a particular centre. See Görlach, *The Kalendre of the Newe Legende*, pp. 9-10.
[213] There is an high correlation between the saints included in the legendaries and shrine locations.
[214] Görlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*, pp. 40-47.

resources and, for the canons, because of their mandate for the cure of souls. Of particular interest is the suggestion by Braswell that the *SEL* was a collaboration between the Benedictine house at Gloucester and the local clergy of that house's appropriated churches.[215] While the suggestion remains only one possible origin-scenario of many, the probably origins of the *SEL* in a thirteenth century religious community marks an early example of the production of model sermons for use by the secular clergy by the regular orders. In this line of textual descent develops further in two fourteenth century works, the *Festial* and the *Speculum Sacerdotale*.[216]

The *Festial*, a collection of model sermons in English prose written *c.* 1380 for the full liturgical year, was written by John Mirk, canon, and later prior, of the Augustinian house at Lilleshall, Shropshire.[217] The *Speculum Sacerdotale* (*SpS*) was written independently but nearby in the West Midlands slightly later than the *Festial,* in the later fourteenth or early fifteenth century. Both of these works self-identify as sermon collections, intended for the use of priests with the cure of souls. Mirk, in his prologue, singles out 'the default of bokus and sympulnys of letture' of 'mene clerkus' which he hopes to redress, while the *SpS* prologue specifies its audience as 'ye serteyne prestes which ben dere and famyliare vn-to me before alle other'.[218] The *SpS* has a more tenuous attribution to origins within a religious community than the *Festial*, but the indication that it was composed for a specific body of clerics

[215] Quoted in Gorlach, *Studies in Middle English Saints' Legends*, p. 46 n.56.
[216] Another compilation of sermon material is the Northern English Homily cycle. The origin-milieu of this work is similarly hazy. The Augustinian canons have been suggested as the creators by Thomas Heffernan, 'The Authorship of the "Northern Homily Cycle": The Liturgical Affiliation of the Sunday Gospel Pericopes as a Test', *Traditio*, 41 (1985), pp. 289-309, at p. 292-3. However, the original does not include *sanctorale* material and the later recensions that do, London, BL MS Harley 4196 and Cotton Tiberius E. VII, both *c.* 1400, have origins with even looser connections to any religious affiliations. For this reason, it is excluded from consideration here.
[217] Mirk also wrote two works of preaching instruction specifically for parish priests: The Middle English verse *Instructions for Parish Priests* and the Latin prose *Manuale Sacerdotis*. See *John Mirk's Instructions for Parish Priests edited from MS Cotton Claudius A II and six other Manuscripts with instruction, notes and glossary*, ed. Giles Kristensson, Lund Studies in English 49 (Lund 1974) and James Martin Girsch, 'An Edition with Commentary of John Mirk's 'Manuale Sacerdotis' (PhD thesis, University of Toronto, 1990).
[218] *Festial*, ed. Powell, i. p. 3; *SS*, ed. Weatherly, p. 2-3.

suggests a genesis similar to that of the *Festial*, namely within a house of Augustinian canons. Both works are unusual amongst sermon collections for their focus on the *sanctorale*, a feature that their prologues address specifically. Mirk equates 'the principale festus that cometh in the ȝere' with the lives of the saints and the *SpS* begins with a warning about attributing miracles to the power of a saint, rather than God, which runs through many legendaries.[219] The focus on the *sanctorale* suggests that the kind of sermon material that the two writers want to provided is based within the historical, rather than the doctrinal. Both works are arranged in order of the liturgical year, rather than separated into *temporale* and *sanctorale* sections, nesting the temporally bound lives of the saints within the annually repeated narrative of the life of Christ and its associated eternal repercussions.[220] The *Festial* and the *SpS* largely limit themselves to saints universally observed within the church, such as the apostles, drawing on the model of the LA but are their use of the vernacular reflects the language shift signaled by the *SEL*. The *Festial* is perhaps stricter in its adherence to saints with a universal observance, with only St Wenefred and St Alkmund, patron saints of Shrewsbury and Lilleshall respectively, standing out as identifiers of its origins in Shropshire. The Translation of St Thomas of Canterbury is perhaps the third localizing sermon, included because of the devotion of the English Augustinian canons to Becket's cult.[221] The *SpS* includes sermons for a number of feasts which grew in popularity in the late Middle Ages, such as the Exaltation of the Cross, St Anne, and the Assumption of the Virgin but it also includes sermons for the English saints St Augustine of Canterbury and St Edmund, King and

[219] *Festial*, ed. Powell, i. p. 3, *SS*, ed. Weatherly, p. 2.
[220] This applies only to the Group A of the *Festial* MSS. Group B re-orders the material into *sanctorale* and *temporale* sections. It is largely accepted however that Group A MSS descended from Mirk's original while Group B is a later recension. It is more difficult to identity any affiliation, to a religious order or not, to the Group B MSS. See *Festial*, ed. Powell, i, p. xliv-xlv.
[221] *Festial*, ed. Powell, i, p. 179 and ii, p. 392, lines 30-9.

Martyr. Its editor relies on linguistic characterization to place its origins in the southern part of the West Midlands and the one surviving manuscript is a copy from closer to London.[222]

The two lines of textual descent, the first retaining Latin but rearranging English saints' lives into alphabetical order, the second adopting the vernacular but keeping the liturgical arrangement and a focus on universally observed saints, reflect the variety of ways monastic writers translated hagiographic material from their own libraries for the use of those with the responsibility for the cure of souls. At the core of both developments was a concerted effort to contribute to the instruction of the clergy, including the parochial clergy, and, through them, the laity. This illustrates that, despite a conception of the monastic life as a privileged and spiritually superior one, late medieval monks still recognised their responsibility to disseminate the instructional materials that they used in their own practice to a non-monastic audience. In this way, the development of legendary-sermon collection texts can be contextualized within the adaption of other monastic spiritual practices for use by the laity and the use of the printing press by monastic houses.[223]

The influence of monastic historical sensibilities on these legendary-sermon collections is not explicit. Exempla and miracles are given little temporal context. In the *SpS*, if a saint is associated with an event of historical significance, such as the conversion of England (St

[222] *SS*, ed. Weatherly, p. xx-xxi.
[223] For the influence of monastic practices on the development of lay devotions in the late Middle Ages see Michael G. Sargent, 'The Transmission by the English Carthusians of Some Late Medieval Spiritual Writings', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 27 (1976), pp. 225-40; Ralph Hanna, 'Augustinian Canons and Middle English Literature' in A.S.G. Edwards, Vincent Gillespie and Ralph Hanna (eds), *The English Medieval Book: Studies in Memory of Jeremy Griffiths* (London, 2000), pp. 27-42; Hilary M. Carey, 'Devout Literate Laypeople and the Pursuit of the Mixed Life in Later Medieval England', *Journal of Religious History*, 14 (1987), pp. 361-81; David Harry, 'Monastic Devotion and the Making of Lay Piety in Late Medieval England' (Ph.D. thesis, University of Bristol, 2013); Ann M. Hutchison, 'Devotional Reading in the Monastery and in the Late Medieval Household', in Michael G. Sargent (ed), *De Cella in Seculum: Religious and Secular Life and Devotion in Late Medieval England* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 215-27. For the religious orders and printing see James Clark, 'Print and Pre-Reformation Religion: The Benedictines and the Press, *c*. 1470-1550', in Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (eds), *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 71-92; Koen Goudriaan, 'The Devotio Moderna and the Printing Press (*ca*. 1475-1540)', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 93 (2013), pp. 579-606.

Gregory and St Augustine of Canterbury) or the period of Christian persecution under the Romans (St John, because it led to his exile on Patmos during the reign of Emperor Domitian) then this inherently provides the listener with some historical context.[224] To some extent, the identification of exempla sources such as the *Vitae Patrum* or the *Gesta Romanorum*, may have suggested a temporal context but, as many of these collections are model sermons, rather than works intended to be read out verbatim, it is not certain if such references would have been included in the sermon as delivered.[225] Even the sermon for St Edmund uses the stock phrase 'in that time', implying that the audience would know exactly when Edmund had lived, when the Danes had invaded and killed him, and when various miracles had taken place.[226] This is in keeping with exempla in other sermon collections or indeed collections where exempla are listed simply by title, such as 'Exemplum de pullo de haraiȝ' or 'Exemplum de tauro colloquente', suggesting they are drawn from a pool of common knowledge of the clergy, if not of the parishioners.[227] The *Festial* tends to be more historically-specific in its few English lives. In the St Winifred sermon, the translation of her relics is orientated in relation to the re-building of Shrewsbury Abbey. It is contextualized within the need to provide a saint 'for to ben here patron and berer of here preyeres to God, as other abbeys of þe cuntre haddon'.[228] Likewise, St Alkmund's sermon begins with a historical explanation of the role of a church patron, 'one in heven, anothyr in erthe', in building a parish community.[229] The role of earthly patron is described as stemming from the practice of 'lordys and grete gentellys, ... þe tokon, sum of hem to hon chyrch and some to anothyr' while the role of heavenly patron 'keputh hys parich, preying for hem bysyly to God

[224] *SS*, ed. Weatherly, pp. 36-37 (St Gregory) and pp. 11 (St John).
[225] *SS*, ed. Weatherly, p. 59.
[226] *SS*, ed. Weatherly, p. 239.
[227] Sydney Sussex College MS Δ.2.12, listed in M.R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Sidney Sussex College* (Cambridge, 1895), p. 18, no. 34.
[228] *Festial*, ed. Powell, i, p. 164.
[229] *Festial*, ed. Powell, ii, p. 218.

nygh an day, for be hur mayn swyng Holy Chyrch is holyn vp and Goddys seruise þerine mayntenid'.[230] The sermon is concluded by linking the origins of church patrons to Alkmund's specific example, explaining how the church in Lilleshall, despite not having Alkmund's body, was nonetheless dedicated to the saint by its earthly patron, 'a quene of þis March of Walys'.[231] Both the *Festial* and the *SpS* rely largely on the *LA* as their source for non-English saints. Other non-hagiographic but historical material, such as the *Gesta Romanorum*, the *Vitae Patrum* and the *Historia Apostolica,* are also sources but, similar to the use of exempla, are not used to instill any sense of historicity into the sermons. The English saints' lives in the *SA – DSA – NLA* line of descent include more familiar temporal touchpoints by virtue of the location of the lives. Saints whose origins were in England are contextualized within the timeline of kings' reigns, many kings also being saints, and genealogical descent.[232] Some of the *narrationes* begin with specific dates, such as that for St Aidan.[233]

However, any historical positioning of the lives is a secondary consideration to their usefulness to illustrate moral behaviour and it is difficult to summarize the historical awareness of such collections as more than a general impression of 'the past' being holier that contemporary time. The import of saints' lives for spiritual instruction is rendered as timeless and universal, divorced from any anchor-point in history and embedded in the universality of virtue, vice and eternal salvation.

[230] *Festial*, ed. Powell, ii, p. 218-9.
[231] *Festial*, ed. Powell, ii, p. 221.
[232] *Nova Legenda*, ed. Horstmann, i, p. 216, St Cuthbert and p. 272, St Dunstan begin with an explanation of who the ruler is at the time of the saint; p. 470, Gilbert of Sempringham, is introduced by a description of his parents, his father Norman, his mother English.
[233] *Nova Legenda*, ed. Horstmann, i, p. 27.

Preaching to the choir-monks

The lives of saints were not the only historical topics upon which those in religious orders either provided sermon material or preached themselves, however. The comparative holiness between past and present, which is only a general impression in the *sanctorale* material, was one of the historical themes that continually arose in monastic preaching to a particular audience: monks themselves. Preaching to their own was possibly the most common occasion for monks to take the pulpit, either to the brethren within their own communities, and at general chapters.[234] The *Speculum cenobitarum*, the treatise on the origins of monasticism discussed in Chapter Two, is linked by Pantin in a follow-up article to a later sermon for a Benedictine general chapter, found in Worcester Cathedral Library MS F. 10, fos. 81r-83r.[235] The sermon is an exhortation to re-connect with the apostolic origins of monastic life but also argues that a greater degree of responsibility falls on those in religious orders, and specifically their leaders, to lead their brethren by careful example solely because of those apostolic origins.[236] It is in this sermon to the Benedictine leadership that the writer dares to point out the failure of those in regular orders to live up to the higher, historically established, moral standards of the life they have chosen. The sermon uses Psalm 46:10, ‘Principes populorum congregati sunt’, to identify three characteristics of the regulars which are based in monasticism’s apostolic origins: that they have been designated leaders of the Christian community, that all regulars are still subject to the obedience to their superiors required by the Rule, and they are to be perfected by this obedience and their association as a religious

[234] Siegfried Wenzel, *Monastic Preaching in the Age of Chaucer* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1993), p. 3-5 and W. Pantin, ‘A Sermon for a General Chapter’, *Downside Review*, 51 (1933), pp. 291-308 at p. 291.
[235] The sermon is printed in Pantin, ‘Sermon for a General Chapter’, pp. 295-308.
[236] Pantin, ‘Sermon for a General Chapter’, p. 296, where the link between monasticism and the apostles is described so: ‘Post cuius [Jesus’] ascensionem ipsius discipuli ad instar filiorum Aaron in tabernaculo iugiter excubancium, quod se conclavi continuis vacantes oracionibus recluserunt, ‚socialemque vitam, in qua fierent omnibus cor unum et anima una a omnibus omnia communia, ducere decreverunt. ... Quorum exemplo fideles circumquaque edocti, ad gradatim compuncti, multis in locis eandem vitam longe lateque per orbem sibi certatim susceperunt, apostolisque viventibus firmissime tenuerunt’.

community.[237] By virtue of their leadership position and the perfecting practice of monasticism, the preacher challenges his monastic audience to live up to the historically authentic model he has just outlined. A key part of this duty is knowledge of the past, a thorough understanding of the history of Christianity through the study of scripture, for the past contains the necessary instruction on Christian virtue.[238] 'Therefore great is the excellence of the example required from us, who are obliged to guard the venerable structure of our house of religion'.[239] If they are to act as the guiding light for rulers and the common people, they must first be educated to do so, first, to train themselves in the faith for their own salvation and secondly, to provide moral and political leadership to everyone else.[240] The sermon finishes with a final argument for the importance of the historical continuity of monasticism because it is the basis of their own salvation.[241] They are custodians of monasticism as a way of life, as much as practitioners of it.

In the sermon, there is a sense of corporate continuity with the past and the legacy it has bequeathed. This sense of continuity extends even to a sense of ownership, not only of the development of monasticism, but of history itself. This is especially apparent in the precedence given to the ancient past in the sermon, for the origins of monasticism are traced

[237] Pantin, 'Sermon for a General Chapter', p. 297-8. 'Verum quia prelatorum excellencia est exemplaris, subditorum obediencia regularis, in utrorumque amicicia salutaris, convenit quod per prelatorum excellenciam subditi regulentur, subditorum per obedienciam humilientur superbi, et per utrorumque amiciciam concordes roborentur'.
[238] Pantin, 'Sermon for a General Chapter', p. 301. 'Set quia labore predecessorum nostrorum in tantum multiplicata sunt iam bona monachorum, quod labor manuum non requiritur ad victum illorum, reguletis eos in laboribus mancium, in vigiliis, in ieiuniis, in oracionibus et studiis scripturarum, ita ut doctrinam evengelicam per monachos in Anglia introductam continuare valeant in futurum'.
[239] Pantin, 'Sermon for a General Chapter', p. 300, 'magne ergo est excellencia exemplaris requisita in prelatis nostris, qui debent in domo religionis nostre structure tam venerabili presidere'.
[240] Pantin, 'Sermon for a General Chapter', pp. 301-3. The preacher here argues for proper provision for monks studying at university. 'Set dolendum est ne nonnulli prelatorum, quando deberent scolaribus subvenire, dicunt facultates ecclesie sufficere non posse'.
[241] Pantin, 'Sermon for a General Chapter', pp. 307-8. 'Nos ergo de perpetuitate nostri ordinis certificati in Pachomio, debemus semper gracias agere Deo, non solum pro ista perpetuitate nobis promissa, verum eciam quia elegit Deus [blank] primicias in salutem, 2 Tessalonicenses 2 [II Thes. 2:12], inter oraciones namque congregaciones regulares [sic], sicut in primo membro probatum est, nostram regulam instituit'.

back to the Old Testament and Abraham.[242] The sermon recites a long list of monks, creating a type of monastic genealogy.[243] The influence of the *Speculum cenobitarum* is clear, though the sermon does not adopt a defensive tone or explicitly position the regular orders in opposition to the friars or Wycliffite heterodoxy.[244] It even includes a discussion on the origins of the monks' cowl, making the same equation of a change in outward appearance manifesting an inner, spiritual transformation as is given in the *Speculum*.[245] The preacher makes no historical division between the monasticism of the past and that practised by the audience to whom he speaks. It is a single tradition, just as the textual links between the *Speculum cenobitarum* and the sermons are part of the same strand of historical consciousness of the monastic past.

The sermon collection of Thomas Brinton, Benedictine monk and, after 1373, bishop of Rochester provides a final example of how historical writing was incorporated into sermons by monks, for delivery to monks and to the laity. Brinton, originally a monk at Norwich cathedral priory, was educated at both Cambridge and Oxford universities and was known as a preacher even before his accession to the episcopal seat of Rochester. A collection of his sermons is found in London, BL MS Harley 3760.[246] Some of the sermons indicate the occasion on which they were given, where they were given and to whom, either a clerical or lay audience. Brinton preached to a variety of audiences, including monks alone, the wider clergy, and the laity, as well as mixed congregations. At Norwich and Rochester, he had

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[242] Pantin, 'Sermon for a General Chapter', pp. 298-9. 'Iste ergo princeps Abraham gerens tipum aptissimum prelatorum exemplare, monachatus posuit fundamentum...'
[243] Pantin, 'Sermon for a General Chapter', p. 300. 'Nos autem monachi habeamus propositi nostri principes Paulos et Antonios, Iulianos', etc. listing Bede and Augustine of Canterbury and Benedict last.
[244] A reference to the friars could be understood in the passage on Abraham, 'si facti queramus misterium, intuebimu sub figura paupertatem voluntarium...', and the emphasis on studing in order to maintain proper order an oblique reference to the Wycliffite focus on allowing all to read the Bible.
[245] Pantin, 'Sermon, p. 300 'dicit quod cuculla monachorum sumpta est a collobio apostolorum; non enim monachis modernis ipsarum cucularum formam antiquam, ymmo apostolicam immutare, nam mutacio forme vestium mutacionem signat animorum'.
[246] Printed in *The Sermons of Thomas Brinton, Bishop of Rochester (1373-1389)*, ed. Mary Devlin, Camden Soc. Third Ser. 85, 86 (2 vols, London, 1954).

access to extensive libraries and the sermons show his use of standard works such as Augustine, Bernard, John Bromyard's *Summa Praedictantum*, John Chrysostom and Gregory the Great. Brinton sources a number of exempla from historical sources, including Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Gerald of Wales. Discounting legendaries and collections of exempla, such as the *Gesta Romanorum* and the *Vitae Patrum*, Brinton uses only nine historical works: Bede, the *Flores Historiarum*, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Gerald of Wales, Matthew of Paris' *Chronica Maior*, Peter Comestor's *Historica Ecclesiastica*, the Pseudo-Turpin *Historia Karoli Magni et Rothlandi*, Ranulph Higden's *Polychronicon*, and William of Malmesbury. [247] His use is largely limited to extracting exempla from these sources, such as Bede's story of St Laurence's vision of St Peter or Gerald of Wales's tale of the holy man warning King Henry II about future punishment for England's lack of religious observance.[248] Of those sermons in which he uses historical sources and for which the audience can be identified (clerical, lay or mixed), about half of the uses are in sermons to clerical audiences.

Brinton's use of historical material does not diverge drastically from the pattern of the legendary / sermon collection material. He also uses historical episodes to illustrate or emphasise a moral lesson. The location in time and space of the episode is secondary to its effectiveness in communicating the spiritual instruction. Exempla from works such as the *Gesta Romanorum* are divorced from any sense of historical time, leaving emperors, monks and anonymous men in temporal limbo. Exempla from more contemporary historical writing, such as William of Malmesbury, the *Polychronicon*, Gerald of Wales, Matthew Paris and

[247] Identified using the sources index of the Brinton sermon editions, *Sermons*, ed. Devlin, ii, pp. 513-18.
[248] The story of St Laurence is from Bede, *Ecclesiastical History,* tr. J. E. King, Loeb Classic Library 246, 249 (2 vols, Cambridge, MA, 1930), pp. 232-3, Book II ch. 6 used in *Sermons* ed. Devlon, p. 89-90, Sermon 22 and p. 242, Sermon 54. The story of Henry II meeting with the holy man is from Chapter 39 of Giraldus Cambrensis, *The Conquest of Ireland*, tr. Thomas Forester, rev. and ed. Thomas Wright (Cambridge, ON, 2001), p. 40 and is used in *Sermons,* ed. Devlin, p. 192, Sermon 43; p. 352, Sermon 77; and p. 455, Sermon 99.

even Bede are more specific in time, as the subject of the exemplar can be placed in a more localised, and therefore in greater temporal, context. The more frequent use of temporally generic exempla from Bromyard's *Summa Praedicantum* and the *Gesta Romanorum* and the frequent reuse of other exempla implies Brinton followed the usual practice of using *florilegia* of exempla when composing his sermons, rather than complete volumes of the histories. The exempla which use named historical figures tend towards simple interpretations, such as the tale from Geoffrey of Monmouth about Arthur going into battle with an image of the Virgin Mary on his shield.[249] This is used in a funeral sermon to illustrate the moral protection given by the dead woman's devotion to the Virgin. Likewise, the story of King Cnut's attempt to hold back the tide, drawn from the *Flores Historiarum*, is used to illustrate the might of the Lord and the requirement of humility before such omniscience.[250] Brinton uses exempla which feature a monastic setting more frequently in sermons to monastic audiences but not exclusively, such as his Easter Sunday sermon in 1383 when he relates a tale about the old monk who says 'service to God is not work but joy', a lesson equally applicable to both laity and clerical audiences.[251]

Sermon 22, given on Good Friday, possibly in Rochester cathedral and so to a mixed audience, in an unknown year, illustrates Brinton's general usage of history as exempla. In this sermon, Brinton uses stories from Bede (St Laurence and St Peter), Gerald of Wales (his vision of a beleaguered Christ on his throne), the *NLA* (Edmund of Canterbury's devotion to Christ's suffering) and Geoffrey of Monmouth (the tale of Vortigern building the tower).[252] Brinton uses the stories for pointed lessons for the both the clergy (Bede) and to the more general Christian community (Gerald of Wales, the *NLA* and Geoffrey of Monmouth). The

[249] *Sermons*, ed. Devlin, p. 266, Sermon 58.
[250] *Sermons*, ed. Devlin, p. 44, Sermon 12.
[251] *Sermons*, ed. Devlin, p. 441, Sermon 107.
[252] Sermons, ed. Devlin, p. 88 (Gerald of Wales), p. 89 (Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth), p. 90 (NLA).

historical nature of the episodes is not integral to their meaning within the context of the sermon. Nor does Brinton use historical precedent or tradition as the main basis for other arguments, contrary to the sermon for the General Chapter. While he frequently refers to the superior status of the religious way of life, he does not justify its superiority because of its historical origins but because of its greater degree of devotion to God.[253]

A nostalgia for a higher level of religious observance and devotion nevertheless permeates Brinton's preaching, though he does not necessarily locate this more holy period in a particular time. One of his favourite exempla is from the *Gesta Romanorum,* about three letters that adorn a column in Rome which warn of what happens when leadership, specifically spiritual leadership, fails.[254] His sermon for the Black Prince bemoans the passing of a glorious age with this particular leader, and his sermons following the Peasants' Revolt pinpoint the decrepit moral state of the country as one of the causes of the revolt.[255] Brinton's concern to re-establish the proper power-hierarchy is a theme which runs strongly through his sermons even before the Revolt and, with his involvement in the prosecution of those who were involved, becomes the main theme in his later sermons.[256] Like the exempla he uses, this power balance is not temporally located but is rather a universal ideals to which Christian society must constantly be encouraged to attain.

Chapter Conclusion

The lives of the saints provided a key element of historical narrative that allowed monastic writers a chance to translate the lives of real local people into the performed commemoration of liturgy, repeatedly enacting the lives and miracles of local heroes in both the monastic

[253] *Sermons*, ed. Devlin, p. 394, Sermon 86.
[254] The example, also found in Bede, is used in two sermons, *Sermons*, ed. Devlin, p. 47, Sermon 12; p. 338-9, Sermon 73.
[255] His sermon on the Black Prince is *Sermons*, ed. Devlin, pp. 354-7, Sermon 78. The sermons after the Peasants' Revolt are *Sermons*, ed. Devlin, pp. 457-8, Sermon 99; pp. 465, Sermon 101; pp. 469, Sermon 102.
[256] See *Sermons*, ed. Devlin, p. xvi for Brinton's involvement with the aftermath of the Peasants' Revolt.

Office Hours and the Mass. The histories that the saints embodied were carried over to the sermons for their feast days, their miracles used as moral lessons, their lives as behavioural exemplars but in this form, historical narrative became unanchored in time. Instead, eternal moral lessons were pulled from legendaries as exempla for use in pastoral instruction. In the process of stripping these narratives of their sense of time, those in religious orders translated the history encased in their own libraries to the laity. Stronger historical sensibility, however, is found in the sermon to the Benedictine general chapter where the history of their own monasticism, located in the apostolic past and the earliest days of the church, emphasises what they see as their role in the world: to learn in order to lead, to remember on behalf of society the origins of their Christian inheritance, and to act as guardians of that heritage for posterity.

Conclusion

When I first examined late medieval historical writing within the context of a narrative of decline, I questioned how one might examine an absence of something. However, it was not long before it became apparent that rather than an absence, I needed to examine the changing nature of historical writing itself. Many of these changes originated within the monastery, some of them spread outside of the cloister walls to influence secular writers, others spread in the opposite direction, from the outside world inwards.

This study has shown that some of the traditional forms in which history had previous been written were disappearing, whether those forms were used by monks, secular clergy or lay writers. The universal history, as a certain conception of Christian time and history, was falling out of use by all writers. Other forms were shifting to become something new. Within the monastery, monks were cultivating connections between chronography and the archive, transforming time into simply one of several ways to organize and preserve the administrative records of their institutions. Other monastic writers located new origin points, of their monastery, of their order, and of monasticism itself, as a way to tell the histories of their conceptualized communities in relation to broader society. History was still written but how it was written was being transformed and this proves in many ways to be more significant than who was doing the writing.

This is especially apparent in the material forms and performative texts that incorporated historical writing, new and old. Church tablets liberated previously enclosed historical texts into the public space of monastic churches. *Libri vitae*, revived with new name inscriptions, embodied the history of eternal monastic relationships and signified their regular commemoration. Holy biographies, embedded in *sanctorale* liturgies, achieved new life as vernacular display-texts in secular spaces and were adapted to new prayer-forms. These new

texts retained the narrative focus of traditional *vitae*, rather than the image-based, meditative style of earlier prayer sequences and hagiographic attribute-references. Yet, monastic awareness of extra-monastic communities reflected back into new liturgical material, such as that of John of Bridlington, which emphasised the importance of this new saint for the English Church. While exemplars pulled from historical texts are stripped of their sense of the past in Thomas Brinton's sermons, the preacher of the Benedictine Chapter sermon turns to the origins of monasticism to argue, not only the right for monks to instruct, but also the requirement for them to remain vigilant in their role as guardians of the past of the English Church.

It is this conception of their role as caretakers of history in all its forms that is most evident in what monastic historical writers produced in the late Middle Ages and how they used historical works. The content they created and the forms they used adapted to the changing framework of their administrative, commemorative and performative practice but the driving force behind these alterations was their need to formulate a monastic purpose that addressed the shifting position of the religious orders in the late medieval period. Their writing was their response to criticism of the religious life, internally from within the orders and externally from ecclesiastics, rulers and the wider public. Historical writing endeavours therefore focused on curating material previously inaccessible to a non-monastic audience, emphasising the role of monasteries as the guardians of the English Christian past and the conduit through which this past was interpreted. That monastic communities mined the glories of the past to argue for the prestige and power of their individual houses is well-established. However, this study shows that this process was not about arguing for power, or at least not only so. It was rooted in the quest to articulate a role for monastic communities that maintained their relevance in a society where many of their duties were now be performed by others. Historical writers found this new purpose in the role of monastic

communities, not only as inheritors of the ideals and authenticity of the early Church, but the guardians of it, as it was embedded in the material of their churches, the performance of their liturgies, and perhaps most importantly, inscribed on the parchment of their libraries and archives.

That monastic writers felt they needed to make an argument for their specific role in Christian society after 1350 reflects their awareness of internal and external criticism during this period. Calls for disendowment from the lollards were not relegated to the heretical sidelines but gained a measure of mainstream support.[1] The dissolution of the alien priories in the fifteenth century and pressure to rationalise other monastic properties, such as dependent priories, further threatened the historical narrative that monks had created for themselves in their domestic histories about the perpetual nature of their institutions.[2] Pressure to rationalise aspects of monastic observance, such as commemorative liturgies, put another strand of that same historical narrative, of monks as professional commemorators, at risk.[3] In addition, suffrages were increasingly allocated to non-monastic clerics, such as chantry priests, as patronage from traditional sources sought a more efficient spiritual return for their monetary investment.[4] As Benjamin Thompson argues, 'both in the spiritual and secular sphere, little that the religious did was exclusive to them'.[5] Their self-allocated role as guardians and curators of the past was constructed in response to these challenges, arguing for the centrality of religious

[1] Margaret Aston, '"Caim's Castles": Poverty, Politics and Disendowment', in Barrie Dobson (ed), *The Church, Politics and Patronage in the Fifteenth Century* (Gloucester, 1984), pp. 45-81
[2] Martin Heale, 'Dependent Priories and the Closure of Monasteries in Late Medieval England, 1400-1535', *EHR*, 119/480 (2004), pp. 1-26.
[3] W. Pantin, 'The General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (1927), pp. 195-263, at pp. 209-11. Reform of the Divine Office began with the Reading Chapter in 1277 but the internal conservative reaction to these reforms did not lessen over time. It is still mentioned in some versions of the *Speculum cenobitarum*, *c*. 1377. See also Reames, 'Late Medieval Efforts at Standardization', pp. 93-4 and Benjamin Thompson, 'Monasteries Society and Reform in Late Medieval England', in *Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, pp. 165-95, at pp. 179-80.
[4] Luxford, *Art and Architecture*, pp. 31-50 and
[5] Thompson, 'Monasteries, Society and Reform', p.184.

communities to the health of the English Church through the creation of a function that, currently, only they could perform.

It is natural that monastic communities looked to their past when clouds of change appeared on the horizon and that they would approach their textual collections, especially, as a resource. These collections were, after all, part of the past they inherited through the perpetual nature of their corporation and, even with the competition of the universities, were still unsurpassed.[6] It is questionable, though, if this idea of monastic purpose served the communities that constructed it, even before they were overtaken by the Dissolution. The past that monasteries protected was not one that they themselves emulated in the reality of their way of life. This was recognised, to the extent that criticism about communities failing to live up to their apostolic models was often as vociferous from internal sources as external.[7] It was also reflected in the disjunction between the resistance to the simplification of the Office and the poor observance of that Office in many houses.[8] There was danger in having to manage the expectations of imitation that the focus on the past might raise.[9] By identifying themselves as guardians of the past, monastic communities highlighted the departure of monastic reality from monastic ideal and, perhaps more importantly, also from monastic self-perception. Whether the new role that monastic historical writers constructed for their communities served to buffer them from the blows of criticism or fell them, their continued engagement with the past through historical writing illustrated their intention to keep fighting.

[6] Cannon, 'Monastic Productions', p. 320.
[7] Wenzel, *Monastic Preaching in the Age of Chaucer*, pp. 10-15.
[8] Thompson, 'Monasteries, Society and Reform', pp. 187-8.
[9] See above, Ch. 4, n. 97.

Appendix 1: See additional Excel file ‘Appendix 1_Historical Works Dataset and Analysis’

Appendix 2: Transcription of the Office of John of Bridlington

Transcription of Cambridge University Library MS Additional 4500, fos. 334r-338r: Sarum Use Breviary, Office of John of Bridlington

Abbreviations in the text have been expanded. I have not expanded rubrication unless more than a letter is given. The queues are
A: Antiphon
In: Invitatory Antiphon
H: Hymn
L: Lauds
N: Nocturne
P: Psalm
R: Responsory
V: Verse
Chant texts have been crosschecked with those from the Wollaton Antiphonal, as given in CANTUS. Bolded sections are matched with the 'Vita S. Joannis de Bridlingtona, Canonici Regularis, Auctore domino Hugone, Canonico Regulari'.

[fo. 334r, column B] In festo sancti Johannis Bridelingtonie, In primas uespersus antiphonus.

Johannis solemnitas digne celebretur nobis dei filius ut propicietur.

A. Floret in infancia moribus maturus clara dans indicia qualis sit futurus.

A. Ut caro liberius menti famuletur claustrum intrat, regulam sanctam profitetur.

A. Mundo uitae formula puer secularis fit professis regula factus regularis.

A. Diuersa officia rexit prioratus quorum cum industria reformauit status.

Psalmi feria capitulum

R. Fracta Hympnus

Deus cantemus in hac die johannis preconia postulemus omnes pie pro eius suffragia nobis post labores nie quietem in patria.

Semper crescens puritate ut Christi discipulus sic in morum grauitate florebat infantulus quod de eius sanctitate mirabatur populus.

Ad uirtutes dum uolauit in adolescencia euis mores non mutauit iuuenum lasciuia sed puer sequi curauit factor uestigia

Dum in mundo preter mundum habitabat paulutum ut se conseruaret mundum relinquebat saeculum parans eius coram iocundum [fo. 334v, column A] deo habitaculum.

Unam contempnens actiuam mundum sponte renuit amplectens contemptiuam se claustralem induit ubi uino deo uiuam hostiam se prebuit.

Claustrum cordis claudit malis te cum matre domine includens sub cuius alis uixit sine crimine sic perfectus stat claustralis gestis uerbo nomine.

Benedicte trinitati honor iubilacio cuius summe pietati iohannis oratio sit ne pro mole peccati dampnemur supplicio. Amen

Ant. Lucerna procerum splendor ecclesiae solamen pauperum cleri delicie tua oratio pater clemencie ciues nos faciat celestis curie.

P. Magnificat Oracio.

Deus quam preter te nullus est alius et quia te nosce consummata est iustitia prima quaesumus ut sicut beatus Johannes confessorum tuus te unum et trinum deum esse cognouit: ita ipso pro nobis intercedente. da pacem mentis et ab omnibus nos absolue peccatis.

Inuitatorius. Exultemus domino qui cuncta creauit Johannem uirtutibus et signis ornauit.

P. Venite.

H. Johannis merita fideles populi cum laude debita decantent seduli ut eius precibus in fine saeculi nostra tollantur debita. Johannes stadium currens pre [fo. 334v, column B] ceteris assumit brauium coniunctus superis uallem miserie reliquid ciuis factus celestium. Carius illecebris se numquam miscuit neque sub latebris latere potuit sed in candelabro prefulgens claruit pulsis errorum tenebris. O pie creditur flos salus homini migrat non moritur pergens ad

dominum uirgo dum uixerat in cetu uirginum agnum quo pergit sequitur. Per pacienciam uicit pauperie per abstinenciam uentris inglueum fuit et iuuenis nec fudit sanguinem martir per continenciam. Patri ingenito uirtus et gloria sit unigenito laus et uictoria honor paraclito decus et gratia per saeculorum saecula. Amen.

In primo N. ant. Indutum a Domino uirtutum decorem conuentus concorditur sumit in priorem.

A. Factus prior extitit martha et maria rachelem prae diligens non despecta lyera.

A. Extra prudens sicut serpens rexit per clementiam intus simplex ut columba suspirans ad patriam

V.

Lectio i. Beatissimus siquidem johannes quondam priorum Bridelingtonie cuius festum hodie celebramus **ex honestis parentibus catholicis et deuotis** de **regno anglie traxit originem**. Cuius fama uolatilis uitam gloriosam gesta qui mirifica a deo deduxit [fo. 335r, column A] in umilitatis gencium publicam nocionem: quod non solum de regno anglie uerum eciam de tocius quasi orbis ambitu indies ad ipsum **crebrescendo** confluat multitudo. humiliter postulans suorum meritorum radiis illustrari. Hic doctus cum tobia deum timere ab infancia et a uiciis abstinere. illecebras mundi considerans suum proprium redemptorem affectuose quesiuit. unde digne meruit uere fidei secure spei et feruide caritatis ceruario insigniri. **Hic namque terriis sub annis gratia dei repletus, ecclesias deuote frequentabat. diuinis que officiis et aliis uirtuosis actubus cum honestis et religiosis personis in tempore uacabat:** quod spretis huius labilis uite deliciis ut liberiorem posset domino reddere famulatum : priusquam suam etatem iuuenilem peregisset se totum deo dedicauit et in canonicum recipi cepit.

R. Quem malignus spiritus adeo tenebat obsessum quod rabiem mentis incurrebat. Fusa prece domino ipsum expellebat.

V. Et admirans populus signum quod uidebat sic factum a Domino gratias reddebat. Fusa. [Signifying repetition of the last line of the Respond]

Lectio ii. Hic sic a noxiis saeculi semotus ut solidos posset uiuere redemptori: professione per cum curissa regulari crebris ieiuniis continuis [fo. 335r, column B] que uigiliis corpus sanctum deseruire coegit. Is namque ut coniter in aurora dici suam missam cum tanta deuicione tanto quae tremore celebrare solebat: quod saepius dum legeret canonem de ipsius capite magnum guttarum aque quantitas stillabat. sepissime quae contingebat quod pre timore sacramenti alicuius confratris unianime ipsum oportuit ne caderet sustentari. Is uero orationi et contemplationi uacans assidue usque ad eius obitum quo beata illa anima corporis exiuit ergastulo celos petens sanctissimam duxit ac tantorem meritorum magnitudine resplenduit que lingua faciliter non posset explicare. Qui demum peracto dieorum suorum circulo horam sue mortis fratribus nunciauit et sic per uerba hec in manus tuas domine spiritu reddidit creatori.

R. Ad ioannis tumulum ueniunt cecati ubi fusis precibus sunt illuminati. Sic congaudet populus

eius sanctitati

V. Non auditur seculo quod quis uirum cecum luminauit dominus si non esset secum, sic com

Lectio iii. **Verum** ut de suis **actibus mirificis** gloriosis que miraculis ad exaltacionem fidei ortodoxe nec non ad edifica- [fo. 335v, column A] cionem **fidelium** saltem **pauca exprimantur de multis que omnipotens ut pie creditur suis meritis et precibus ipso existente in hac lacrimarum ualle dignatus** est ostendere ne de tam celebri uiro etas presens remaneat ignara. Aut surda posteritas: aliqua nostrae caritati harum ferie uolumus nunciare.

Quadam eum uice ipso beato Johanne existente priore dum quinque uiri in mari nauigarent in tantum maris **tempestas** eos et **eorum nauigium** inuasit: quod secundum naturam de **eis nulla uidebatur spes** salutis**. Im autem quibus dictus beatus Johannes personaliter ignotus erat de eius tamen uita multa audiuerant unanimiter ceperunt deum exorare ut precibus et meritis ipius sancti Johannis dignaretur eos ab ipsis fluctuacionibus liberare. Et dum** in huiusmodi oratione **perseuerarent**. **Statim apparuit eis quidam regulari habitu indutus** et **manum** malo **nauis supponens eos ad litus saluos perduxit**. Dicti que quinque sic a tempestate **liberati**: Ad dictum **monasterium preparunt** et prefato sancto johanni quem **antea corporaliter** numquam u**iderant ob uiam dederunt**. Et statim ipsum **cognoscentes** ex eo quia **eis apparebat: genubus flexis coram eo ceperunt per ordinem enarrare que eis contigerant per eorum liberacione sibi gracias referentes. Sanctis tum Johannes eos de uerbis gratificacionum** que in eum preferebant: acriter increpauit **admonens eos** quod **tacerent** et **nichil sibi sed totum deo ascriberent.** Manem cupiens gloriosam euitare.

R. Per Johannis sancta suffragia nobis detur peccati uenia ut exuti carnis miseria. Sibi iuncti simus in patria

V. Precamur iugiter eius instancia nos dignos effici diuina gracia.

In secundo N antiphonus.

Plangit custos grangie defectum annone quam prior multiplicat benediccione.

A. Benedicens uirginem febris euanescit et sospes efficitur nec ultra languescit.

A. Cadenti de culmine rupis tendit manum et ad terram dirigit prece sua sanum.

V.

Lectio iiii. Preterea beatissimo Johanni ad hunc in humanis agente dum quedam puella a sua natiuitate unde quaque in facie gibbosa et mirabiliter extiterat deformata. Uno die cuius ueritis ut fama publica laborauit multa et uaria mirabilia deus fuerat operatus per sanitate [fo.

336r, column A] recuperanda deportata fuisset: beatissimus ir super ipsam in sancta gestans pietatis deum deuotissime exorauit ut qui sua ineffabili potestate lepre macula con ipsos purgauit: faciem ipsius iuuencule ad sui nominis gloriam et honorem dignaretur mundare. Et dum suis precibus finem dedisse: et ipsam iuuenculam in nomine trinitatis cruce signasset: omnis gibbositas euanuit nec macule remansit uestigium aliquale. []llias uero dum super cuiusdam sui famuli filiam grauissimus febribus uexatam suas orationes fudisset et eam benedixisset: protinus sana surrexit sic que permansit nec eam febres postea inuaserunt. Et quod gloriosius est dum beatissimus iohannes persideret preter que ille penuria grauiter. **Vexaretur frumenti**: unum tamen modicum annulum reperisset **qui pro expensis monasterii sufficere** non posset. diuino auxilio priuatus inuocato. Dixit operariis. Triturate hunc cumulum in cuius grano deus multiplicet in crementum ipsum que cumulum benedixit et recessit. Post cuius mensuracioni fuerat compertum quidem ad decuplum excrescens granum suis precibus ut creditur **fuerat augmentatum**. Pariforme uero miraculum quale nostre deuotioni declaratur de frumento et alias de ordio per omnia contingebat.

R. Patre pacificum pax semper sequitur cuius ecclesiam siquis persequitur. Patre pacienciam eius deuincitur

V. Qui hostis fuerat amicus redditur sic dei gracia a cunctis dicitur

Lectio quinta O [unclear] quoque unigenitus dei filius patrem nostram pacificum ab hac luce subtractum ut ipsum honoraret in terris quem ut pie credituri coronauit in celis: gloriosis miraculis de quibus aliqua ad sui nostris laudem referre intendimus decorauit. Dum uero quidam carpentarius de quidam aula per gradus descenderet nec ipsios gradus per quos descederet aduertebat: subito a supremo gradu in terram corruit. Capite precedente et collo eius fracto expirauit. **Quem circumstantes usque in crastinum occulte seruauerunt** nec non lacrimis et precibus pro resuscitacione dicti defuncti deum deuotissimie implorantes totam noctem in sompnem duxerunt. Cumque in crastino nullus signum uite in ipso

apparebat: ipsum infortunium uicinis declararunt. Quibus eis non credentibus; unus ad corpus dicti defuncti conuersus dixit. Adiurote **per deum et merita sancti iohannis si aliqua persona de morte tua sit culpabilis: dicas et manifes-** [fo. 336v, column A] **tes** populo hic astanti. Et statim corpu mortuus fuerat: **erecto capite suo dixit**. **Deo teste me excepto: omnis homines de morte in ea** sunt inmunes. **Et statim mortuus corruit sicut prius sic remanens per diem proximum sequentem.** Cum audito miraculo patrie ualenciores ad locum ubi fuerat dictum corpus conuenissent: unanimiter deuisitando sepulcrum sancti iohannis nec non et cunctis diebus uite sue deum in suo sancto collaudando uotum emiserunt: dummodo ex sua nuntia ineffabili ipsum carpentrium uite restituere dignaretur. Quo emisso: subito solus se erexit et uicinis declarauit. Quomodo dum erat in cadendo beatus iohannes sibi apparuit: et uitam repromisit.

R. Claris spendet Johannes titulis nouis fulget signis miraculis. Claudi uadunt proiectis baculis

V. Cecis datur lumen in oculis hinc laus deo datur in seculis.

Lectio sexta. Sed quid pluribus immoramur: cum deus omnipotens huius almi confessoris iueritis triduariis mortius uitam praebuerit. surdis aures apparuerit mutis lingue officium soluerit tremulis paraliticis membris soliditatem restituerit curius [fo. 336v, column B] erectionem. Contractis et claudis liberum beneficium gradiendi cecis uisum periclitantibus liberacionem. morbis aliis incurabilibus sanitatem. naufragos et aquis uehementibus salurantes perduxit ad portum et aliis pluribus miraculis mirificauit sanctem suum. Et si ea que deus benedictus huius almi confessoris iueritis tam illo superstite cura post eius resolucioni felicem mirabilia preter et supra nature uires fuit aparatus nec deliuit aperari. Vellemus per singula recensere deuocionem nostram mater fastidii ualde in tali recitacione prolixitas detineret. Possunt tamen fideles luce clarius talis gesta pernoscere; si libros autenticos quibus illa fideliter annotantur perquirere uoluerint studiose. O quam felix es

anglorum nacio que pliaris talem et tantum produxisse palmitem firmissime inherentem Christo ueritati: cuius propagines odore mire sanctitatis diffuse. sanctaeque ad fine orbis se extendunt. Gaudet nimirum ecclesia se talem produxisse filium: qui alios ex sacre conuersacionis exemplo dirigat. Et accepto iam beatitudis premio firmam eis spem tribuat de salute. Letatur eciam se tam dara solule illustratum que digno ab [fo. 337r, column A] omnibus attollenda est preconia et digna ueneracione collecta. Exultent celi celibes de celebris aggregacione conciuis de condigno celi consorte nuper ipsis adhibito: prosallant sancti. Exurgamus igitur et nos omnipotem deum deuotissime deprecantes. Ut sicut sibi accreuit nouellus confessorum: sic pro salute nostra coram ipso sit perpetuus intercessorum. Cuius piis precibus et his a noxiis protegi et in futuro gaudia consequi ualeamus eternis. Prestante domino nostro ilius xristo: qui cum patre et sancto spiritu inuit et regnat in unitate deus per infinita saeula saeculorum amen.

R. Fracta naui maris discrimine clamant naute iactati flumine. iuues pater tuo precamine. Nos in isto mortis examine

V. Adest quidam in eius specie saluans eos de maris rabie.

In tertio N. Ant. Ut uas auri solidum petris preciosis ornatur a domino facti uirtuosis

A. Pro sanctis operibus a plebe laudatus peccatorum oleo non est impinguatus

A. Tactus egretudine qua deo migrauit mortis sue fratribus horam nunciauit

V.

Lectio sancti evangelius secundus lucam. In illo R. Dixit ihc deus. Amen dico uobis quicumque non acceperit regnum dei sicut puer, non intrabit in illud

Et R.[337r, column B]

Sicut puer non perseuerat in iracundiam. non lesus meminit non uidens pulcram mulierem delectatur: non aliud cogitat et aliud loquiter. sic et nos uisi talem habueritis innocenciam et

animi puritatem: regnum celorum non poteritis intrare. Aliter. Regum dei id est doctrinam euangelii sicut puer accipere iubemur quos puer in decendo neque contra dicit doctoribus neque raciones et uerba componit aduersum eos resistens des fideliter suscipit quod docetur et cum metu obtemperat et quiescit. Et interogauit eum quidam princeps dicens. Magister bone: quid faciendo intra eternam possidebo: Audierat credo iste princeps a domino tam eos qui puerorum uelint esse similes regnum dei intraturos atque deo tractatus cecconris sollicitus poscit non perabolatim sed palam quibus operorum meritis uitam eternam consequentur exponi.

R. Quidam carpentarius dum per gradus graditur lapso pede corruens collum eius frangitur. Johanni cum lacrimis dum plebs astans sternitur.

V. Sancti uiri meritis uite restituitur natura sic gracie obedit et subditur

Lectio octauia. Dixit autem ei Jesus. Quod me dicis bonum. Nemo bonus nisi solus deus. Quia magistrum uocauerat bonum, et non deum [fo. 337v, column A] uel dei filium confessus erat. discit quamuis sanctum hominem comparatione Dei non esse bonum. de quo dicitur confiteuum domino: quam bonus. Solus ae[re] deus bonus non pr[aedicatur] solus intelligendus est, sed et filius. Qui dicit. Ego sum pastor bonus. sed et spiritu sanctis quia pater de celo dabit spiritu bonum petentibus se. id est ipsa una et indiuidua trinitas pater et filius et spiritus sanctis solus et unus deus bonus est. Non igitur dominus se bonum negat: similiter esse deum significat. Non se magistrum bonum non esse sed magistrum absque deo millum bonum esse testatur. mandata nostri. Non occides non mechaberis non furtum facies. Non falsum testimonium dices honora patrem tuum et matrem. Hec est puerilis innocencie castitas que nobis imitanda proponitur: si regnum dei uolumus ingredi. Notandus sane quod iusticia legis suo tempore custodita non solum bona terre: sed et uitam confert eternam.

R. Mundo mundicie dum ixit speculum sic petulancie retundat iaculum quod eius anima dum linquit seculum. Non est polluta per carnis stimulum.

V. Cordis disposuit sic habitaculum quod mens non nouerat de luxu scrupulum

Lectio nonum. Qui ait. hec omnia custodiui a iuuentute mea [fo. 337v, column B] Quo audito: Jesus ait illi Adhuc unum tibi deest. Non est putandus hic princeps cum legis se mandata custodisse dicebat esse merititus sed simpliciter ut uixerit esse confessus. quia si uiendacii noxa reus teneretur nequaque marcus euuagelista de illo scribens adiceret. Jesus autem intuitus eum dilexit eum et dixit illi. Unum tibi deest. Uade quecumque habes: uende et esse. Diligit eius dominus eos qui legis mandata quoquis minora custodiunt sed nihilominus quod in lege minus fuerat hiis qui perfecti esse desiderant ostendit. Omnia quocum quae habes uende et da pauperibus et habebis thesaurum in celo: et ueni sequere me. Quicumquae perfectis esse uoluerit debet uendere que licet et non ex parte uendere sicut ananias fecit et saphira: scilicet totum uendere et cum uendidit dare omnia pauperibus. et sic s[] preparare thesaurum in regno celorum. Nec horam ad perfectionem sufficit nec post contemptas diuicias saluatorem sequatur: idem relictis malis faciat bona. facibus eius sacculus contempuntur qui uoluntas. Multi diuicias relinquentes dominum non sequuntur. Sequitur a dominum que imitator eius enim et per uestigia illius graditur. Qui enim dicit se in Christo credere. Debet quoniam ipse [fo. 338r, column A] ambulauit et ipse ambulare.

R. Pie Jesu creator omnium per Johannis sanctum suffragium cum districtum uenit iudicium. Te ostendas nobis propicium

V. Et post uite huius exilium nobis dones perenne gaudium

In. L. Ant. Vexatos a demone qui ferri cathenis ligari non poterant liberat a penis.

A. Morbus emicranei fere excecauit quem tactus sudarii subito sanauit.

A. Dum contracte uirginis Johannes birretum superponit capiti malum est deletum

A. Tergit lepre maculas mundam reddit cutem confert postulantibus optatam salutem

A. Collaudemus dominum in sanctis quos fecit qui eis demoniaet morbos subiecit

Capitulum

Hymnus Alma mater ecclesia congratuletur filio quem diuia clemencia celi iuuxit collegio. Nunc seuescente saeculo contra uoxas remeddium Johannem dedit populo Jesus saluator omni. Indutus scola fagili fragilitate exuit et eius menti stabili carisma Christus influit. Expers peccati scapuli columpna sit ecclesie sic quae deluto figuli formatur in uas glorie. Parent ipsius precibus morbus mace de monia quem uuuit pro confortibus spiritus sancti gracia. Precamur sancta trinitas ut nos a morte triplici consuet tua bonitas Johannis prece supplici.

V. Iustus

A. Iohannes sanctissime hos-[fo. 338r, column B]pes graciarum oppressis refugium fons deliciarum supplicantem populum redde deo carum ut post mortem habeat uisum dei clarum

Psalmus Benedictus

Oremus. Deus qui preter te

Ad ii uespersus ant. Pater amantissime gemma confessorum rutilans ut lucifer in cetu sanctorum nos ascribi supplices sorti beatorum et fore participes gaudii celorum.

Psalmus. Magnificat

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