Recreating the Judean Hills? English Hermits and the Holy Land

Abstract

This article explores the place of the Holy Land in the devotions of medieval English hermits and recluses between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. It first outlines the important place of physical travel to Palestine in the career of anchorites, with pilgrimage to Jerusalem followed by seclusion held up as a powerful ideal in literary sources. It then suggests that some of the dwellings of English solitaries formed deliberate monumental recreations of the holy places of Palestine. I consider the extent to which the cells of recluses were understood as recreations of the tomb of Christ, functioning as living Easter Sepulchre structures, and the dedication of churches used or built by hermit and recluses. Finally, I note possible links between the hermitage of St Robert of Knaresborough and Jabal Quruntul (Mount Quarentayne), the site of Christ's temptations in the wilderness.

Keywords

Hermits, Recluses, Jerusalem, Godric of Finchale, Christina of Markyate, Robert of Knaresborough

The medieval English anchorite emulated the spiritual athleticism of the ascetics of the early Church, reliving in a more temperate climate their hardships in the deserts of Egypt, Syria and Palestine.[1] Apart from following the examples of St Paul of Thebes or St Antony of Egypt, anchorites could model their lives even more directly on events and figures from the Bible, imitating Moses at Sinai, Elijah on Mount Carmel, Christ in the wilderness (Mount Quarentayne) and St John the Baptist in the deserts of Judea. It is therefore no surprise that Jerusalem and the Holy Land loomed large in the devotions, and the physical and spiritual journeys, of hermits and recluses.

This article will outline the important place of physical travel to Palestine in the careers of several recorded and imagined English solitaries between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, placing this phenomenon in the context of wider scholarship on the religious motivations of the anchorite. It will then consider the specific resonances of the topography of the Holy Land in an English anchoretic setting. I will highlight how recluses sought to be physically and spiritually 'entombed with Christ', and two probable instances of English hermits recreating the holy places in their dwellings, reconstructing sacred sites from Palestine perceived to have special relevance to their solitary careers.

Travel to the holy places frequently marked a turning point in the career of an anchorite, with a planned or completed journey to the holy city leading to recognition of, or greater personal commitment to, a solitary vocation.[2] Christina of Markyate's mentor, Roger:

> […] was returning from Jerusalem, [when] he was met at Windsor by three angels clothed in white garments and stoles, each one bearing in his hand a cross over which there were the same number of burning tapers. Accompanying him visibly from thence, they brought him to the site of the hermitage and established him there.[3]

Christina stayed with Roger in his hermitage on the road to Dunstable c.1118-1122.[4] Withman, a German placed in charge of Ramsey Abbey after 1016, escaped an increasingly intolerable tenure by going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1020.[5] On his return to Ramsey, he chose to live in retirement as a hermit on the nearby island of Northeye.[6] Symeon of Durham records the 1122 deposition of Abbot Pontius of Cluny, part of larger struggles within the Cluniac order, as follows: unjustly deposed from his position and preferring death to recovering it, he set out for Jerusalem and made a dwelling for himself above the Golden Gate. There, he rejoiced to lead a private life spent in divine contemplation.[7] For such monks, pilgrimages that began at least in part as a way of escaping a difficult situation at home became a way to reconnect with their spiritual vocation. Physical pilgrimage to Jerusalem served as a crucial bridge to the much more difficult spiritual *peregrinatio* subsequently made by these solitaries in isolation and hardship. There is a parallel here with how eremitical retreat itself could function as a mediating episode or transitional stage between different forms of the religious life.[8] As Giles Constable has outlined, monasticism, pilgrimage and eremitical

withdrawal were all states of spiritual and physical exile, concerned with permanent or temporary separation from the secular world.[9]

Yet pilgrimage to Jerusalem carried special significance. While the expiation of sin was a concern for all pilgrims, Colin Morris considers the penitential element of the Christian pilgrimage to have been particularly prominent in the Holy Land. He cites the popularity of the legend of Mary the Egyptian, the ceremony of bathing in the Jordan and the prominence in pilgrim accounts of the penitents Mary Magdalene and Rahab, the harlot of Jericho.[10] The long, dangerous and difficult journey to Jerusalem offered a way of eradicating even the heaviest burden of sin. Penitential pilgrimages to Jerusalem feature across the writings of twelfth-century chroniclers: the penitential pilgrimage of Sweyn Godwinson to Jerusalem in 1052 is widely noticed, for example.[11] Nobles and knights such as Ralph of Norwich in 1099, Fulk of Anjou in 1120, William of Dover in 1145 and Philip of Gloucester in 1146 were all supposed to have been moved by repentance to travel to Jerusalem and fight with the crusaders.[12] Thomas Becket's murderers were sentenced by the Pope to travel to Jerusalem and spend fourteen years fighting for the Templars.[13] Lower down the social scale, William of Malmesbury and the *Annales Cambriae* both record penitential pilgrimages to Jerusalem by men guilty of fratricide.[14] The thirteenth-century imposition of the crusade on convicted criminals formalised a long-existing punishment.[15]

The eradication of sin through a period of penitential exile was also the *raison d'être* of the anchorite, as Tom Licence has persuasively argued.[16] The penitential practices of the anchorite (such as fasting, vigils, flagellation, prayers and recitation of the psalms) were understood as 'practical mechanisms' for the restoration of the fallen soul.[17] Individuals who became anchorites, men and women anxious to rid themselves of sin, would understandably also be interested in travelling to Jerusalem, another plenipotentiary penitential action.[18] It is in this light that we can understand famous travellers such as the Peter the Hermit and his much-mythologised role in the First Crusade. Tangible contact with Christ's sufferings in Jerusalem also encouraged pilgrims such as Withman or Roger to commit to the earthly purgatory of the solitary life on their return: a continuing, self-imposed exile and expiation of sin that replaced their physical travel with spiritual progress, and the earthly with the heavenly Jerusalem. This suggests that neither pilgrimage nor the eremitical life were seen by these men as single, 'satisfactory' penances that entirely cleansed the soul.[19] Yet even when understood as preliminary phases in a longer penitential process that ran on into the afterlife,[20] both devotional practices formed important practical solutions to the problem of sin.

How far the lifting of spiritual burdens was at the heart of the anchoretic desire for the East can also be seen in instructional literature. Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum* reminds the female recluse that 'thou art but a straunger and a pilgrime in this wrecched worlde'.[21] He recommends meditations on the Passion that take the form of an imaginative spiritual journey through the Holy Land. The anchoress should follow Mary 'firther in-to Betheleem with gret deuocyn' and 'kisse the cracche [crib] the

whiche he lay in', 'folewe' Christ into Egypt, 'soughtist him in Ierusalem with his moder, sittynge in the temple amonge doctours', 'folewe hym [...] unto the Mounte of Olyuete' and so on.[22] The early thirteenth-century author of *Ancrene Wisse* describes how 'Jerusalem' signifies the anchorite's house as a site of peace, with the recluse cast as Shimei, staying 'at home in Jerusalem' and concealing herself from the world in her cell: 'understand that you are in Jerusalem, you have fled to sanctuary […]'[23] The anchoress's solitary life in her cell is the wilderness, and through her devotions she is travelling towards the 'blessed land of Jerusalem' as did God's people in Exodus: 'you, my dear sisters, are travelling by the same route towards the heavenly Jerusalem […] with great caution, as there are many dangerous animals in this wilderness'.[24] The c.1156-1166 *Life* of Christina of Markyate similarly refers to Christina as living 'in the wilderness' of her cell.[25]

It is difficult to say how widespread the practice of Jerusalem pilgrimage followed by seclusion may have been. Even in the heyday of Christian access to the holy places, the prohibitive cost and physical demands of travel to Jerusalem made the journey a viable choice for only a few of the legally free.[26] Hermits and recluses were much more common in medieval England than the fragmentary archaeological and documentary evidence for them would suggest.[27] Yet the solitary life remained the choice of a spiritual elect, prized for its hardships and increasingly seen in the eleventh and twelfth centuries as a prerequisite to sainthood.[28] The solitary enjoyed special proximity to and favour from God: the c.1230s *Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei* credits a Worcester hermit living 'in an underground cave in a quite saintly manner…feeding himself on fruit and roots' with a vision of St Peter.[29] Richard I consulted a hermit in the Holy Land who correctly predicted that he would not capture Jerusalem.[30]

One rung down the ladder of spiritual accomplishment, several instances of pilgrims taking monastic vows following a successful journey to Jerusalem are recorded by Orderic Vitalis.[31] The extent to which pilgrimage to Jerusalem followed by life as a solitary formed a powerful Christian ideal: almost impossibly difficult, but spiritually exemplary and so worthy of being recorded for posterity, is evident in more literary sources. There are the actions of the legendary English romance hero Guy of Warwick. The Anglo-Norman *Gui de Warewic*, written before 1204, depicts Guy repenting of his chivalric adventures and committing himself to God's service in penitence for his sins.[32] He travels to Jerusalem and visits its holy places.[33] After subsequent adventures in foreign lands, he returns to England to save it from Danish invasion and retires to a hermitage in the forests of Arden outside Warwick.[34] After nine months living there incognito, spent in constant prayer and living off 'grass and roots', Guy dies and reveals his identity to his wife Felice.[35] Following Guy's burial in his hermitage, Felice takes up her husband's service to God in the same place, bestowing alms until her own death and burial there fifty days later.[36] The cave known as 'Guy's Cliffe' still exists at Leek Wootton and was occupied by hermits throughout the Middle Ages.[37]

Written around 1205, the fictional *Life of King Harold Godwinson* depicts the defeated Harold becoming a penitent and pilgrim after the Battle of Hastings, departing 'to a remote country to visit the holy places'.[38] Jerusalem is not explicitly mentioned, although Harold's devotion to his foundation of Waltham Abbey, with its relic of the True Cross and miraculous sculpted image of the crucified Christ, is emphasised throughout. The 'hagiographical romance', as Thelma Fenster and Joceyln Wogan-Browne so aptly term it, was probably produced at or commissioned by Waltham.[39] After many years 'in the saintly sweat of religious pilgrimage', Harold is led by an angel of the Lord to come to the church of St John the Baptist in Chester and its newly vacant hermitage in the cemetery, a chapel dedicated to St James.[40] After seven years of constant prayers and mortification, wearing chain mail next to his bare skin, rarely leaving his cell and veiling his scarred face to avoid recognition, Harold reveals his true identity only on his deathbed.[41] The author of the *Life* claims he gained his information from Harold's former servant and successor in the hermitage, Saebeorht.[42] Saerbeohrt also inherited Harold's aptly-named manservant Moses, a witness to his travels.[43] After Harold's death, Saebeorht followed his example and 'undertook the hardship of a pilgrimage, embracing voluntary exile from his native soil […] intending to approach the Lord's Cross in the place where that cross was fashioned […] to visit His glorious sepulchre and to adore the place where His feet rested'.[44] The author states explicitly that Saebeorht fulfilled his vow.[45] On his return to England from Jerusalem, he came back to Stanton Harcourt in his native Oxfordshire, 'confining himself until the moment of his death'.[46] There are no surviving traces of an anchorhold in the local parish church of St Michael.

The unambiguous monastic status of the non-fictional recluses recorded above is notable, for scholars have examined the concern surrounding monastic pilgrimage to Jerusalem by the twelfth century.[47] Men such as Peter Damian, Anselm of Canterbury and Bernard of Clairvaux viewed pilgrimage as an unnecessary distraction from the stability and spiritual paradise of the cloister. Monks who journeyed to Jerusalem fundamentally misunderstood the nature of their calling.[48] Contemporary debate over the value of monastic pilgrimage to Jerusalem is evident in William of Malmesbury's c.1125-35 account of the monk Ealdwine:

One Ealdwine had been made a monk by him [Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester], and with his companion Guy was living the life of a hermit in the wild woods of the Malvern Hills. After long spiritual struggles Guy thought glory would come more easily if he went to Jerusalem; at the cost of a laborious journey he would either see our Lord's sepulchre or die happily at the hand of the Saracens.[49]

Dissuaded by Wulfstan, Ealdwine goes on to endure the hermit's life with more resolution. Their dwelling attracts multiple followers and abundant food supplies. William's tale ends with the two hermits 'growing fat on spiritual joy'.[50] No date is given for this episode, but the account immediately follows a narrative of Wulfstan's aid to William Rufus in the rebellion of 1088. As the events must have taken place before Wulfstan's own death in 1095, this moment of spiritual crisis in the lives of the two

hermits can be fixed to the late eleventh century. There is an accord here with the traditional foundation date of Great Malvern Priory to c.1085.[51]

Ealdwine's soul-searching regarding travel to Jerusalem suggests awareness of both the perceived necessity of remaining 'cloistered', and the tempting possibilities that Jerusalem offered for spiritual as much as social glory and fulfilment. Christopher Tyerman has discussed the prestige and glamour attached to the First Crusaders as chivalric Christian heroes.[52] Yet even peaceful pilgrimage to Jerusalem led to new status and renown. Orderic Vitalis records the prophecy of 'a certain Jerusalem pilgrim' coming to pass in his *Ecclesiastical History*, for example.[53] Aelred of Rievaulx and Matthew Paris' lives of St Edward the Confessor narrate St John the Evangelist announcing the forthcoming death of Edward to two English pilgrims journeying to the Holy Sepulchre.[54] Ealdwine and Guy assume that travel to the Holy Land will bring the 'glory' of visiting the Sepulchre or obtaining martyrdom. They could also expect that successful travel to Jerusalem would furnish them, on their return, with the followers and regular food supply they currently lacked. Wulfstan dissuades these men from taking a cheap and easy route to spiritual fame and accomplishment; a false, physical equivalent to the demanding spiritual journey they are currently faltering on.

William's *Life of St Wulfstan*, a c.1125-1142 Latin translation of a lost English work by Coleman the monk presents a slightly different version of the tale. Narrated immediately after a discussion of the Conquest, Ealdwine is introduced as 'a monk of no education' attempting to found a religious house at Malvern. He is not specifically described as a hermit. After 'some years he was frightened off by the immensity of the task' and sought to 'make the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, so that if he could not bring others to the service of God he could at least serve Him himself'.[55] Wulfstan again dissuades him by prophesying the future greatness of Great Malvern Priory.[56] Jerusalem is perceived by Ealdwine in this account as a direct portal to the divine. Mistakenly assigning special spiritual status to Palestine rather than the cloister, Aldwine cannot conceive of his own religious house as 'Jerusalem'. His planned pilgrimage is again presented in the *Life of St Wulfstan* as a spiritual distraction concerned with personal gratification, in contrast to the greater commitment, collective effort and difficulties involved in founding a religious house and then remaining anchored there.

Despite his more sympathetic recasting of the tale in the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, William of Malmesbury is alert to the importance of monastic stability. The two hermits' continued residence in the Malvern Hills remains the desirable conclusion of the narrative. Both exempla demonstrate one aspect of the virtuous Wulfstan's support and encouragement of the monastic life in England: (gently) insisting on the inviolability of the cloister, albeit with the aid of second sight. Similarly, the twelfth-century Somerset recluse Wulfric of Haselbury gloomily foretold the failure of the Second Crusade, characterising its participants as false pilgrims polluting the very act of pilgrimage.[57] As his own death nears, Wulfric is seen in a prophetic vision among the citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem.[58]

Entombment with Christ: Jerusalem and the Recluse

Yet if the virtuous, enclosed or cloistered twelfth-century religious should never seek to visit Jerusalem, Jerusalem could still be reached via direct, physical *translatio*. The architectural evidence for the dwellings of English hermits and recluses is in general extremely sparse.[59] Most cells housing enclosed anchorites appear to have been timber, lean-to structures attached to the side of the church. Foundations, graves, structural remains, exterior beam-mortises and most typically, the presence of squints or doors between the cell and the church itself are the usual indicators of an anchorhold. [60] At All Saints North Street in York, a squint and a blocked-in window on the west wall of the north aisle indicates the two-storeyed structure of the anchorhold of Dame Emma Raughton, dating to the early fifteenth-century. At St Nicholas's church at Compton in Surrey, there is a squint on the northern wall, and a squint and the remains of a cell on the southern wall.[61]

However, even these fragments may support an iconographic reading of the structures they related to. First, there is the tendency for cells to have been placed on the north side of the church, a practice related to its possibilities for penitential mortification as the damp and sunless side of a building.[62] Among the numerous examples of cells on the north side of a church collected by Rotha Mary Clay, I will note here that Wulfric of Haselbury's cell was built on the north side of the chancel of St Michael and All Angels in Haselbury Plucknett, and is now the church vestry.[63] At Hartlip in Kent, a church with the same dedication, the anchorhold of a 'certain Robert' is still extant outside the west end of its north aisle.[64] There is an interesting recurrence of anchorholds adjoining churches dedicated to the hermit St John the Baptist or the heavenly warrior St Michael, models for the spiritual combat that the recluse had embarked on.[65] However, I wish to stress here the special Christological significance of the northern location of these cells. Christ's tomb is located on the northern side of his burial chamber and in England, the north side of a church was the conventional location for Easter Sepulchre structures and liturgies.[66] The Holy Sepulchre Chapel in Winchester Cathedral, for example, is located between the two northern piers supporting the crossing tower that separate the choir from the north transept.[67]

This location has particular relevance to the devotions of the anchorite. Tom Licence has emphasised the importance of *imitatio Christi* in the hagiography of hermits and recluses.[68] He also examines how: 'Recluses…had their own, distinctive allegory, which cast the recluse's cell as a sepulchre and the act of entering it as a descent into the tomb'.[69] The enclosed anchorite entered his or her cell to the liturgical accompaniment of the Office of the Dead. The office of extreme unction was recited alongside prayers for the dying, the recluse was sprinkled with dust and the cell sealed.[70] Aelred of Rievaulx stressed the status of the recluse as dead to the world 'and buried with Christ in his tomb'.[71] *Ancrene Wisse* recommended the recluse to 'scrape up the earth every day from the grave in which they will rot'. [72] Cells could be set within cemeteries, as in Harold Godwinson's supposed dwelling at Chester, emphasising how the recluse lived among the dead and awaited Paradise alongside

them, poised at the threshold of the celestial Jerusalem.[73] Recluses routinely died in their cells and usually expressed their wish to be buried in them.[74] Several skeletons have been discovered in the foundations of anchorholds, and at the church of St Anne in Lewes (Sussex) the position of the squint allowing the thirteenth-century anchorite to see the high altar forced her to kneel in her open grave.[75]

Entombed, liturgically 'dead' but still physically alive, the recluse enclosed in a cell on the north side of a church functioned as kind of living Easter Sepulchre, permanently present and 'resurrected' in his or her tomb as they relived and repeated the sufferings of Christ. As *Ancrene Wisse* put it: 'Are you confined inside four spacious walls? So too was he in a narrow cradle, nailed on the cross, closely confined in a tomb of stone. Mary's womb and this tomb were his anchor-houses'.[76] The extent to which the recluse's prayers and penitence reconstructed their cell as the Holy Sepulchre, relocating and conflating the life and torments of the recluse with that of Christ in Jerusalem, is also indicated in the *Life* of Christina of Markyate. When dwelling with Roger in his hermitage, Christina lived in a room adjoining Roger's cell, a space:

[…]not bigger than a span and a half. In this prison, therefore, Roger placed his happy companion. In front of the door he rolled a heavy log of wood, the weight of which was actually so great that it could not be put in its place or taken away by the recluse. And so, thus confined, the handmaid of Christ sat on a hard stone until Roger's death.[77]

There is an echo here of the stone placed at the door of Christ's tomb in Matthew 27:60 and Luke 15:46. The doors to the cells of recluses were usually locked or blocked up and there are recorded instances of recluses burning to death in their cells.[78] Christina's physically cramped confinement, sat on a hard stone, also reminds of the angel sat on the stone of Christ's tomb in Matthew 28:2.[79] While in her cell, Christina has a vision in which Christ offers her a golden cross, stating: '[…] remember that I was the first to bear the same cross. All who wish to travel to Jerusalem must carry the cross', a revelation that presages Christina's release from her marriage vows.[80] These episodes confirm Christina's status as a spiritual pilgrim moving towards the celestial Jerusalem.

While all of the stationary religious, monastic or solitary, were expected to understand their cells, cloisters and hermitages as 'Jerusalem' and imitate the suffering Christ, the orientation of the anchorite's cell and the barrier at its door recreated the tomb of Christ in more literal form. Such physical translation of the Biblical Jerusalem formed an apt reminder to all passing the cell of the recluse's dedication to *imitatio Christi*. It would be a useful visual incitement to offer the alms and food required by a recluse for their continued survival.[81] As the religious life of the solitary was considered so difficult and dangerous, the simplicity and tangible materiality of this replication of the Holy Sepulchre may also have been a valuable devotional aid. As the anchorite battled the devil, direct visual and architectural reference to the Holy Sepulchre might have been a sustaining physical affirmation of their vocation. Interestingly, the devotional manuscript linked to Christina of Markyate, the St Albans Psalter (Hildesheim,

Dombibliothek MS St Godehard I) depicts the Entombment of Christ (p.48) and the scene of the Three Maries at the Sepulchre (p.50) taking place underneath a circular domed edifice. Composed of a large central cupola flanked by two smaller cupolas, the structure is reminiscent of the Anastasis Rotunda.[82]

Recreating Jerusalem in the Hermitage: Godric of Finchale

There is also suggestive evidence for English eremitical retreats recreating the holy places of Palestine. The twelfth-century hermit Godric of Finchale travelled to Jerusalem twice, as part of numerous pilgrimages made during his mercantile career as he drew closer to his solitary vocation.[83] Of his first pilgrimage, his friend and biographer Reginald of Durham adapts Luke 16:9 to inform us that one motivation for Godric's travel was repentance (*ex poenitentia peccatoris*), and to reach joy in heaven with God's angels, both religious inspirations with special resonance for the solitary life.[84] Reginald records Godric taking the Cross before travelling to Jerusalem, receiving it from a priest in a formal ceremony and departing with the banner of the Lord on his shoulder.[85] He narrates how Godric visited the many and varied holy places of Jerusalem, and states that he wanted to examine and admire the dwellings and conduct of its religious, for he longed to be able to carefully imitate this himself.[86] On his return to England, Godric followed the example of John the Baptist by eating grasses and wild honey, living first in caves and later in woods.[87]

On his return from his first visit to Jerusalem, Godric visited Santiago de Compostela. Following a third visit to Rome, made in the company of his mother, he sold all his worldly goods and set out in search of a hermitage. After almost two years of eremitical 'apprenticeship' in Wolsingham, his hermit companion Aelric died and Godric decided to make a second pilgrimage to Jerusalem, probably around 1108.[88] Once again, he formally took the Cross, returning to the city from the 'vast and wild wilderness' to take the banner of the Lord on his shoulder and receive a blessing from the priest.[89] Taking the Cross was in part a practical necessity, allowing Godric to access the alms, hospitality and legal privileges extended to travellers to Palestine. As Wulfric of Haselbury's comments on the Second Crusade also indicate, 'crusading' in this context must be understood as flexibly as 'monasticism'. Medieval sources do not clearly distinguish between these forms of pious travel: 'Not all pilgrims were crucesignati, but the crusader was always a *peregrinus*, a pilgrim'.[90]

Reginald gives a detailed account of the austerities of Godric's second journey to Jerusalem: he virtually starved himself throughout, consuming only dry bread, barley and small amounts of water when in dire need of sustenance. These were purchased from alms given, presumably infrequently, by his fellow pilgrims, for he stored his supplies in a bag of provisions (*pera*) to last the duration of the journey.[91] Godric refused to wash, change his clothes or remove his shoes until he reached the Holy Sepulchre.[92] Reginald dwells at length on the pain and torment that Godric suffered from his feet.[93] He also details Godric's prayers and religious observances: kneeling, beating his breast, prostrating his whole body and moistening the land from weeping

copious tears.[94] On his way to Jerusalem, Godric visited various places where Christ had lived and worked miracles.[95] But it was on his arrival at the Holy Sepulchre that Godric felt as if he was a new man.[96] He kissed and prayed eagerly at the tomb of Christ. Sweetness climbed in his chest, exceeding the honey from the sweetest honeycomb; a jubilant melody resounded in his ears like the music of heaven and a great quickness filled his body.[97] Godric has been completely brought 'back to life', both physically and spiritually, by his arrival at the place of Christ's Resurrection. In spiritual ferment, Godric is recorded spending a sleepless but pleasant vigil around the tomb of Christ.[98] He then travelled with a great multitude of pilgrims to the River Jordan, where he washed the sweat from his body in the sacred waters.[99] After this physical and spiritual cleansing, Godric took food and fruit from the land to eat, further restoring himself to health. He dressed in a blanket or hairshirt, carried a small cross always in his hand and vowed to go barefoot for the rest of his life.[100]

Reginald records that Godric stayed for an extended period in Jerusalem, working for some months at the Hospital of St John ministering to other pilgrims. He went round the holy places: visits are noted to the footprint of Christ in the Chapel of the Ascension on the Mount of Olives, the Templum Domini (Dome of the Rock) and a return to the Holy Sepulchre. Godric then keenly investigated the 'sepulchra secretiora', the 'secret tombs' of the hermits dwelling in the vicinity of the Mount of Olives, going frequently to visit their dwellings.[101] This probably refers to hermits living in ancient tombs on the Mount of Olives. Natural caves outside Jerusalem had been used as tombs over the centuries, and the Coptic tradition of hermits seeking out tombs to inhabit went back to St Anthony of Thebes. A Life of St Pisentios, Bishop of Coptos [Qift/Keft] describes his mountain retreat as a 'sculptured rock' containing great numbers of mummies in ornamented coffins.[102]

For the very first time in his account of Godric's pilgrimage, Reginald describes the physical appearance of these holy places: 'there are in the ground many caves and underground chambers, made by nature, as if cut out painstakingly and elegantly enough in stones and rocks but without any skill of a craftsman'.[103] As natural and 'more hidden' subterranean chambers, Godric cannot be referring here to the ancient burial chambers now known as the Tomb of Absalom, the Tomb of Benei Hezir and the Tomb of Zechariah in the Kidron Valley (Figure 1) and known to have been occupied by Orthodox hermits.[104] He will, however, have been visiting hermits living close by these monuments. Later referred to as the *vicus heremitarum*, both Orthodox and Frankish hermits lived in caves and tombs across the Mount of Olives, the Hinnom and Kidron Valleys (the Valley of Jehoshaphat), as well as inhabiting cells in the city walls.[105] Godric explored this community in detail, often going in search for these men and diligently commending himself to their prayers.[106] Andrew Jotischky highlights the omission of any mention of an interpreter.[107] This may suggest that Godric was searching specifically for Frankish hermits he could freely converse with, and in whose prayers he could have confidence. Yet in a relatively small area of interlocking or

neighbouring rock-cut tomb chambers, free interaction with and mutual absorption of different religious traditions seems to have occurred.[108]

The detailed account of Godric's second journey to the Holy Land gives us the clearest idea of the spiritual 'training' as well as the penitential and restorative possibilities that Jerusalem offered to the would-be hermit. It also hints at the value placed on the physical appearance of the hermit caves of Palestine. As Reginald underscores the spiritual value for Godric of visiting the Holy Sepulchre, but includes no indication of the physical appearance of a building as visually striking as the Anastasis Rotunda, this is all the more significant. Hermit caves did not form part of the standard circuit of holy places described in pilgrimage accounts and only a few texts mention them. The Orthodox pilgrim John Phocas, travelling c.1177-1185, mentions an Iberian monk inside a rock monument he refers to as 'The Jar' and then records 'a great rock in which various artificial caves have been made. They are called 'The Virgin's Caves', and in them monks dwell, not many of them orthodox but more Armenians and Jacobites'.[109] John of Würzburg's c.1170 pilgrimage account describes how on each side of the Valley of Jehoshaphat 'there are caves, in which people in the religious life live as hermits'.[110] The monk Theodoric, travelling c.1169-1174, records that around the 'Tomb of Jehoshaphat' in the Kidron Valley are 'a great number of dwellings of the servants of God, that is hermits, who all belong to the Abbot of Blessed Mary'.[111] The composite chronicle of Ernoul-Bernard, based on pre-1187 descriptions of the city but written c.1231, states that: 'In the valley of Jehoshaphat there were so many hermits and recluses, all the way down it from here to the fountain of Siloam, that I am quite unable to name them for you'.[112] Writing from the 1160s onwards, Reginald of Durham's narrative forms an important twelfth-century record of the fame and vitality of this religious quarter.[113]

It is obvious why Godric of Finchale, already possibly influenced by Eastern practices in his life as a hermit,[114] made an effort to seek out hermits in Jerusalem and remember minute details of their lives and dwellings. He wanted to recreate this existence as closely as possible back home. Stronger material resemblance enabled closer spiritual proximity. It is less clear why Reginald of Durham considered the visual details of the hermit caves of Palestine important enough for inclusion in his hagiography- unless, of course, these forms had additional significance for contemporary readers, perhaps for understanding or appreciating the physical setting of Godric's hermitage. On his return to England, Godric continued to travel widely as he searched for a hermitage. By 1112 or 1113 he had settled in a permanent home at Finchale, on the banks of the River Wear about ten miles from Durham.[115] What began as a 'casa' with an adjoining oratory dedicated to the Virgin became a larger complex of buildings. Godric built a stone church dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre and St John the Baptist.[116] As he aged, he slept at night in this church before its high altar.[117] He died in the same place and was initially buried there.[118]

The unusual dual dedication of the church at Finchale formed one way of translating Jerusalem to County Durham. Dedications had to be supported by the physical

presence of relics in a church's high altar, suggesting Godric returned from Jerusalem with a collection of souvenirs.[119] Later in life, Godric was visited by a pilgrim from Jerusalem, who gave him a relic from 'that most holy place'. Godric accepted it with joy and treasured it afterwards.[120] In his account of this episode, Reginald records him singing a prayer based on Psalm 121:3-4 ('Jerusalem, which is built as a city…').[121] The Holy Land continued to be a living presence for Godric in his hermitage in other ways: John the Baptist appeared to him in visions, and he had a further vision of the angels of God descending to the tomb of Christ.[122] Reginald also records the hermit visiting Jerusalem 'in spirit' and describing the city to his companions.[123]

The pronounced link seen above between the recluse, their cell and the Holy Sepulchre enables us to better understand the dual dedication of Godric of Finchale's church, a dedication which formed another powerful cue to *imitatio Christi*. Andrew Jotischky draws attention to the cell specially constructed for the aging Aelred of Rievaulx at Rievaulx Abbey, described as a mausoleum or free-standing tomb large enough to house up to thirty monks.[124] He connects this perhaps unique monastic building, 'called a mausoleum, but not actually functioning as such' to Aelred's knowledge, via Godric of Finchale, of the inhabited rock tombs of the Kidron Valley.[125] This level of interest in the lives of solitaries in Jerusalem, extending to architectural replication of their cells, provides another clue as to why Reginald of Durham described the dwellings of the hermits on the Mount of Olives at such relative length. The north of England had a long history of eremiticism, for example on the Farne Islands.[126] It was also a powerhouse of reformed, ascetic monasticism: eight Cistercian abbeys were founded in Yorkshire between 1132 and 1152.[127] Aelred of Rievaulx had personally sought out Godric in 1159.[128] Others in the locality with the same spiritual interests may have been forced to rely on written and architectural sources. Twenty years after Godric's death in 1170, his hermitage became the site of Finchale Priory and there are no remains of any buildings put up by Godric in his lifetime.[129] It is impossible to know if Godric's complex of buildings recreated the wider topography of Jerusalem beyond the Holy Sepulchre. Any reference to the *vicus heremitarum* alongside the tomb of Christ would have translated renowned sites of red and white martyrdom in Palestine to the north of England, however, supporting and uplifting Godric in his spiritual battles.

Recreating Jerusalem in the Hermitage: Robert of Knaresborough

The dwelling of the hermit St Robert of Knaresborough contained a different reference to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, one that may also allude to an additional eremitical site in the Holy Land. As recorded in a c.1250 *vita*, Robert was born to a wealthy Anglo-Scandinavian family in York: his parents are named as Toki Flos and Sunniva.[130] Dying in 1218, his date of birth is unknown but can be placed securely in the twelfth century, when the holy places were at their most accessible. Knowledge of their forms may have been widespread, especially in a cosmopolitan trading city such as York. Robert is never recorded travelling to Jerusalem. He briefly joined the Cistercian abbey of Newminster, near Morpeth in Northumberland, before settling with

a hermit in Knaresborough, a knight in hiding from the wrath of Richard I.[131] The two lived together in the wilderness in Knaresborough (*in loco horroris et vaste solitudinis*) until the death of Richard I, when the knight returned to his wife, family and worldly position.[132] Robert then found patronage from a wealthy widow named Helena.[133] He lived as a hermit as Rudfarlington and Spofforth, briefly joined Hedley Priory before returning to Rudfarlington and eventually came back to Knaresborough, finding only a chapel dedicated to St Giles in which to live.[134] The dedication is again apt, for St Giles lived as a hermit in a forest with a deer as his only companion.[135] Robert constructed a modest shelter for himself and dedicated his life to contemplation of God; his reputation as a holy man spread far and wide.[136]

Disputes with secular power, particularly the royal sheriff William de Stuteville, form the meat of Robert's *vita*. Yet the narrative includes a description of the rebuilding of Robert's chapel by his brother Walter, now mayor of York. Visiting his brother in his hut, Walter first attempted to persuade Robert to join a religious house, considering his dwelling far too small and confined (*nimis arta et angusta*) to be fitting for a man of his station. Frank Bottommley highlights how Robert's response, 'This is my eternal place of rest; here I will dwell, for I have chosen it', echoing Psalm 131:14, alludes to the anthem sung at the formal enclosure of an anchorite.[137] Accepting Robert's permanent residence at Knaresborough, Walter then sent skilled workmen from York to build a chapel dedicated to Holy Cross.[138] The chapel is described as having its foundations laid in Christ, as in 1 Corinthians 3: 11, and as made of living stone, well-cut and polished.[139] The reference to 'living stones' may echo 1 Peter 2:5 ('Be you also as living stones built up, a spiritual house…'). At the same time, Robert's *domus* was enlarged to receive the poor, pilgrims undertaking a voluntary pilgrimage and those hastening to the heavenly Jerusalem.[140] The latter pilgrims may be understood as the terminally ill, visiting Robert in hopes of a miraculous cure.

There is a striking parallel here with the dedication of the cave-cell of the Enkleistra (hermitage) built by the Cypriot holy man St Neophytos.[141] Neophytos travelled to the Holy Land in 1158, hoping to find a hermit to guide him in a period of ascetic apprenticeship.[142] Returning disappointed to Cyprus six months later, he carved a tomb, cell and oratory out of the natural caves in a cliff-side near Paphos c.1159-1160.[143] This created an Ekleistra modelled on the cave-churches in the Judean Desert.[144] Neophytos' cell was dedicated to the Holy Cross, and in 1165, he even obtained a fragment of the True Cross.[145] On his death in 1218, Robert of Knaresborough was buried in his chapel of Holy Cross, correctly prophesying attempts by the Cistercians to vest him with a Cistercian habit and remove his body to Fountains.[146] Similarly, Neophytos (d. soon after 1214) was buried in his cave-cell of Holy Cross, having excavated a tomb for himself in the innermost part of the cave.[147] His detailed plans for his burial instructed that he be laid in a coffin made of pine, cedar and cyprus wood, the same materials as the True Cross, and stressed his desire for his tomb to remain undisturbed in his cell.[148]

The site of Robert's hermitage and its surrounding land had been granted to him by the crown, and was re-granted in 1227 to his servant and successor, Ivo.[149] The Holy Cross chapel became a popular pilgrimage site: in 1238, Matthew Paris records medicinal oil flowing from his tomb.[150] By 1252, the Trinitarian friars had founded a house nearby, dedicated to St Robert and apparently containing his translated body.[151] Devotional material relating to Robert was composed at the same time, although the saint was never formally canonised. Hermits continued to dwell in Robert's cave: in 1339, Edward III granted protection for 'brother Robert de Eboraco, hermit of the chapel of St Robert, Knaresburgh, collecting alms for his sustenance'.[152] The Priory of the Holy Trinity and St Robert survived until the Dissolution.[153] Its main founder and benefactor was Richard of Cornwall, younger brother of Henry III, who granted land to the house in 1257.[154] Although not strictly a mendicant order, the friars of the Holy Trinity and the Redemption of Captives in the Holy Land were, as their name suggests, intimately connected with the crusades, founded in 1198 for the purpose of releasing Christians imprisoned by Muslims.[155] Richard of Cornwall had gone on crusade 1240-1241 and is credited with the introduction of the Carmelites to England on his return, another monastic order rooted in the Latin East and linked to the important eremitical site of Mount Carmel.[156]

Robert's cave is located about a mile below Knaresborough Castle on the north bank of the Nidd, another possible cue to think of the northern burial place of Christ. The surviving outlines of the chapel (Figure 2) stand opposite the hermit's domestic quarters with the cave behind (Figure 3). All that remains of the chapel are its foundations, the steps up to its high altar and the recess of its piscina (Figure 4). The outline of Robert's tomb immediately before the high altar is also clear, originally designed to be covered by a grave-slab at the same level as the floor. It has now been filled in. The *Life* stresses how Robert was buried in a *sarchofago* in which no-one had previously been laid.[157] Echoing Luke 23:53 and John 19:41, for Christ was also laid to rest in a previously unused tomb, the analogy to the Holy Sepulchre underlines the Christ-like status of Robert himself. [158]

More speculatively, St Robert's hermitage may have translated to Knaresborough selected Latin Christian features of the topography of Jabal Quruntul, the site of Christ's temptations in the wilderness. By 1133-1134, the Latin hermit community on Mount Quarentayne had been regularised into a priory under the authority of the Augustinian canons of the Holy Sepulchre.[159] Twelfth-century pilgrims refer to a rock-cut cave halfway up the mountain as the site of Christ's fast, and this seems to have become the main priory church.[160] Remains of a chapel on the summit of the 'mountain' (in reality, Denys Pringle observes, a rocky promontory three hundred metres above the plain of Jericho) cannot be dated, but it is likely that some form of sanctuary marking the place of Christ's third temptation existed in the twelfth century.[161] The pilgrim Theodoric records that the way up to the place of Christ's fast:

[…] is straight up the side of the mountain, and it is not a direct path but zigzagging […] you go up a path which winds this way and that, until gradually you reach a third door. Through it you will see a small altar made in honour of Holy Cross.[162]

To the 'right of this little chapel' was the tomb of one St Pilgrinus.[163] Its location now unknown, Denys Pringle suggests the Holy Cross chapel lay within the main hermitage, just before one reached the monastic cave-church of the priory.[164] St Pilgrinus may be a garbled reference to Elpidius, a fourth-century monk of Douka, the orthodox *lavra* founded by St Chariton on Jabal Quruntul around 340.[165]

There are cursory similarities between the rock-cut cave and Holy Cross chapel on Mount Quarentayne, and St Robert's rock-cut cave and Holy Cross chapel on the banks of the Nidd. Robert's cave is cut into a low, limestone cliff about twenty feet (6.10m) in height. Beyond, a rough promontory is formed by the earth revetment facing the riverbank. The cave is only accessible by two flights of steps, one winding up from the riverbank and a further narrow flight reaching to the hermitage itself (Figure 5, Figure 2). Just as the Holy Cross chapel at the site of the 'original' wilderness housed the tomb of the hermit saint Pilgrinus/Elpidius, so the Knaresborough Holy Cross chapel would eventually become the burial site of 'St' Robert. Such features of the hermitage may have enabled imaginative recognition of a topographical and devotional likeness to Mount Quarantayne.

It must be stressed that Robert's hagiography does not make such a comparison. Despite the concern of the Trinitarian friars with the ransoming of Christian captives from the Holy Land, making it plausible that passing visitors to or residents of the Priory may have been well-informed about the holy places, there is no evidence for any associate of Robert who possessed direct knowledge of the Holy Land. As his *Life* refers to Robert providing hospitality for pilgrims, it is again plausible that Robert came into contact with travellers to Palestine: both Godric of Finchale and Wulfric of Haselbury certainly did.[166] Aiding travellers was an accepted part of the social functions of the hermit.[167] The fall of Jerusalem in 1187 also led to an exodus of Westerners with detailed knowledge of the holy places, including friars, monks and hermits. However, all of these potential contacts with Jerusalem remain conjectural. It is safest to state that if special reference *was* being made at Knaresborough to the site of Christ's temptations, conflating it with Robert's own life and temptations in the wilderness, it would not be inappropriate. Nor would it be unprecedented, demonstrating the same religious identification with the life of Christ and the holy geography of Jerusalem that we see recorded in the emphasis on the virgin status of Robert's tomb.

In his study of émigré hermits to the Holy Land, Andrew Jotischky persuasively argues for 'a new compulsion at work in twelfth- and thirteenth-century hermits. They were choosing not just the eremitical life, but the eremitical life in the Holy Land rather than in a forest, village, or mountain glade close at hand'.[168] He identifies a new stress on the geographical location of one's religious life, not least because Jerusalem and the

Holy Land carried a spiritual charge that could not be experienced anywhere else.[169] Yet this devotional prioritising of space had its consequences in Europe. For the inevitable majority left at home, a new stress on the special status of distant holy places led to physical and imaginative transformation of the locality 'close at hand', as can perhaps be seen at Knaresborough.

This article has discussed the important place of pilgrimage to Jerusalem in the careers of several recorded or imagined English solitaries. Despite the fragmentary surviving evidence for the architecture of hermit caves and recluses' cells, it has suggested that the dwellings of English solitaries recreated the holy places of Palestine. Recluses transformed themselves into living Easter Sepulchres, physically recreating the tomb of Christ in their own cells, while hermits in the wilderness also made reference to Christ's cross and tomb. The site of Christ's temptations in the wilderness may have been recreated in one North Yorkshire hermitage. All such instances of monumental translation of Jerusalem underline its importance in the devotions of the English hermit and recluse.

[1] I follow the terminology set out by Tom Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 8-19 who distinguishes between the enclosed recluse [inclusa/inclusus] and the hermit [eremita] living in the wilderness. He notes that 'anchorite' is an 'umbrella label for ascetics who embraced withdrawal, either at liberty (hermits) or in the confines of a cell (recluses)', 11. In addition, medieval society in both Western Europe and the Latin East understood the monastic vocation flexibly. A clear distinction cannot always be made between anchorites and cenobites. For discussion of terms and the problem of classification see Henrietta Leyser, *Hermits and the New Monasticism. A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe* (London: Macmillan, 1984), 7-17; E. A. Jones, 'Christina of Markyate and *The Hermits and Anchorites of England*' in: *Christina of Markyate. A Twelfth-Century Holy Woman*, ed. Samuel Fanous and Henrietta Leyser (London: Routledge, 2005), 229-238; Andrew Jotischky, *The Perfection of Solitude. Hermits and Monks in the Crusader States* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1995), 21-27. For the early church, Peter Brown, 'The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Roman Studies* 61 (1971): 80-101 and for the value of the recluse to lay society, Henry Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Recluse', *History* 60 (1975): 337-352.

[2] Giles Constable, 'Monachisme et pèlerinage', *Revue Historique* 258 (1977): 3-27, repr. *Religious Life and Thought (11th-12th Centuries)* (London, 1979), 5-6
[3] Charles H.Talbot, ed. and trans. *The Life of Christina of Markyate. A Twelfth Century Recluse* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959; 2002), 80-1; Mayr-Harting, 'Recluse', 346; Licence, *Hermits*, 178.
[4] Talbot, *Life*, 14, 100-113.
[5] Licence, *Hermits*, 51; William Dunn Macray, ed. *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis* Rolls Series 83 (London: Longman & Co, 1886), 124-125, 340.
[6] Licence, *Hermits*, 51; Macray, *Chronicon*, 124-125, 340. He was joined by another hermit, Oswald.
[7] Thomas Arnold, ed. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia. Historia Regum. Eadem Historia ad Quintum et Vicesimum Annum Continuata, Per Joannem Hagulstadensem, Accedunt Varia* Rolls Series 75 (London: HMSO, 1885) 2: 264-265: 'Hinc dolente etiam Apostolico Jerosolimam profectus, honorifice magno cunctorum gaudio excipitur: ubi supra portam quae dicitur Aurea, sibi faciens mansionem; secretam in divina contemplatione gaudet ducere vitam'. The judgement of God is made clear on the monk elected his successor as abbot back at Cluny, who dies shortly afterwards. Orderic Vitalis also records the pilgrimage of Pontius of Cluny, but states that 'on the way back he died at Rome in the prison of Pope Calixtus. His holiness is gloriously revealed by well-attested miracles at his tomb': Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis Volume VI, Books XI, XII and XIII*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978; 2002), 6:170-171. For the deposition see Giles Constable, 'The Monastic Policy of Peter the Venerable', *Pierre Abelard- Pierre le Vénérable. Colloques internationaux du C.N.R.S. 546 Paris, 1975*, 119-138, repr. Giles Constable, *Cluniac Studies* (London, 1980), 122-123. A similar story is found in Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis Volume II Books III and IV*, ed. and trans. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969; 2002), 66-69: in 1056, Abbot Thierry of St Évroul 'could do nothing for the salvation of others or himself because of the insolence which he endured from some of the more influential monks. Finally, after he had long pondered in his soul how best to serve God he determined to abandon everything and go on a pilgrimage to the tomb of Our Lord in Jerusalem', quotation 68-69. He died en route, in Cyprus, 70-71. Henceforth *EH* and volume number.
[8] Giles Constable, 'Eremitical Forms of Monastic Life', *Instituzione monastiche e instituzioni canonicali in Occidente, 1123-1215. Atti della settima Settimana internazionale di studio (Mendola, 28 agosto- 3 settembre 1977* (Milan, 1980), 239-264, repr. Giles Constable, *Monks, Hermits and Crusaders in Medieval Europe* (London, 1980), 254-257. He notes the example of Abbot Hugh of Selby, who went on pilgrimage throughout England on retiring in 1122, before he returned to Selby and led an eremitical life in a nearby field until his death in 1124. A more unusual life characterised by frequent transitions between monasticism, travel to the Holy Land and eremitical retreat is highlighted in Licence, *Hermits*, 70: Simeon of Trier (d.1035) was born in Syracuse and educated in Constantinople. He spent several years as a pilgrim guide, lived with a recluse in a tower on the bank of the Jordan, became a monk at Bethlehem and Sinai, retired to live as a hermit on the shore of the Red Sea, was sent to collect alms in Europe by his abbot and then recruited as a pilgrim guide by Archbishop Poppo of Trier. On his return to Trier in 1030, he lived as a recluse inside the *Porta Nigra* gate and was papally canonized shortly after his death.
[9] Giles Constable, 'Opposition to Pilgrimage in the Middle Ages', *Studia Gratiana XIX= Mélanges G. Fransen I* (Rome, 1976), 125-146, repr. Giles Constable, *Religious Life and Thought (11th-12th Centuries)* (London, 1979), 127-129, 131-134; Constable, 'Monachisme', 4-7. Benedictine pilgrimages to Jerusalem in eleventh-century Normandy are highlighted in A. Jotischky, 'Monastic Reform and the Geography of Christendom: Experience, Observation and Influence', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 22 (2012): 57-74, 62-63
[10] Colin Morris, *The Sepulchre of Christ and the Medieval West. From the Beginning to 1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 246; Bernard Hamilton, 'The Impact of Crusader

Jerusalem on Western Christendom', *The Catholic Historical Review* 80 (1994): 695-696. Constanble, 'Monachisme', 7-8.

[11] Orderic Vitalis records penitential pilgrimages made by monks, clerics and laymen in *EH* 2: 14-15, 42-45, 66-75, 318-319, 346-347. Sweyn's pilgrimage is noted by William of Malmesbury in R.A.B. Mynors, Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, ed. and trans, *Gesta Regum Anglorum. The History of the English Kings* (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1998), 1: 364-365 (ii.200.2); Walter of Coventry, ed. William Stubbs, *Memoriale fratris Walteri de Coventria* Rolls Series 58 (London: HMSO, 1872), 1: 68 and Roger of Hoveden, ed. William Stubbs, *Chronica magistri Rogeri de Hovedene* Rolls Series 51 (London: HMSO, 1868-1871), 1: 100.

[12] Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1988), 25-26; William of Dover's departure to 'sacral Hierusalem pro peccatis expiandis loca petii', after which he fought against the enemies of the Christian faith and died a blessed death, and Philip of Gloucester's departure on a voluntary pilgrimage to Jerusalem is recorded in Kenneth Reginald Potter, ed. and trans., with a new introduction and notes by R.H.C. Davies, *Gesta Stephani* (Oxford, 1976), 178-179, 190-191.

Ralph of Norwich joining the First Crusade 'as a pilgrim and penitent following the way of God he died, together with his wife' is recorded in *EH* 2: 318-319. Fulk of Anjou's time in Jerusalem attached to the Templars when devoting himself 'to penance for the crimes he had committed' is in *EH* 6: 310-311. Orderic also states that 'the fear of God' drove Robert Duke of Normandy to renounce worldly honours and 'voluntarily' go on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, dying on the way home in 1035: *EH* 2: 10-11.

[13] Hoveden, *Chronica*, 2:17; Michael Staunton, *The Lives of Thomas Becket* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 215.

[14] William of Malmesbury records the tale of a penitent fratricide from Cologne travelling to Jerusalem before the First Crusade: Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, ed. and trans, *Gesta Pontificvm Anglorvm. The History of the English Bishops* (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 2006), 636-7; in 1128, the Welshman Morgan son of Cadwgan travelled to Jerusalem to atone for a fratricide. Highlighted by Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 26; J.W. ab Ithel, ed. *Annales Cambriae*, Rolls Series 20 (London: HMSO, 1860), 38.

[15] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 221, 419-420; Constable, 'Monachisme', 7-8.

The extent to which pilgrimage to Jerusalem formed an 'extreme' penitence is also shown by an thirteenth-century Dominican exemplum: a wealthy man in Lincoln, indebted to the Jews and doubting his faith as a result of their attempts to convert him, is granted a vision of the body of the Christ-child at Mass. He goes to the friars for advice on: 'how to save his soul. So a friar came and heard his confession and advised him to go to the Holy Land for the love of Christ, whom he had most truly seen on the altar': David Jones, ed. and trans. *Friars' Tales: Thirteenth-Century Exempla from the British Isles* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 158.

[16] Throughout this paragraph, I utilise Licence's three models for the eradication of sin and understanding of anchoresis: *Hermits*, 115-123.

[17] Licence, *Hermits*, 148-149.

[18] I am indebted to the first anonymous reviewer for encouraging the development of my argument here.

[19] Licence, *Hermits*, 115-121. He outlines the eleventh-century emphasis on anachoresis as a permanent penitential exile that by itself cleansed the soul from sin. He also notes how the anchorite Cuthman is presented as a questing pilgrim in his eleventh or twelfth-century *Life*, with his hermitage as the terminal point of his wanderings, 119; Dee Dyas, '"Wildernesse is Anlich lif of Ancre Wununge": The Wilderness and Medieval Anchoritic Spirituality' in Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden and Roger Ellis, eds. *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), 19-33.

[20] Licence, *Hermits*, 119-120.

[21] John Ayto and Alexandra Barratt, ed. and trans. *Aelred of Rievaulx's De Institutione Inclusarum*, Early English Text Society 287 (London and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984), 7.

[22] *De Institutione*, 18-20.
[23] Bella Millett, trans. *Ancrene Wisse. A Guide for* Anchoresses : a translation based on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 402 (Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2009), 66-67. For the dating and authorship of the *Ancrene*, ix-xiv.
[24] Millett, *Ancrene Wisse*, 74. The dangerous animals are the seven sins: the lion of pride, the serpent of envy and so on. The interpretation is repeated: 'So, my dear sisters, in the wilderness you are travelling in with God's people towards the land of Jerusalem, that is, the kingdom of heaven', 80.
[25] Talbot, *Life*, 116-117, for its dating, 10. This was a common metaphor, similar to the definition of the monastery as a 'desert', cut off from worldly affairs: Constable, 'Eeremitical Forms', 249-251; Constable, 'Monachisme', 4-7
[26] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 24-25.
[27] Licence, *Hermits*, 17-19; Rotha Mary Clay, *The Hermits and Anchorites of England* (London: Methuen, 1914), 205-264.
[28] Licence, *Hermits*, pp.60-61.
[29] Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, trans. *The History of Saint Edward the King by Matthew Paris* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 75-77.
[30] Joseph Stevenson, ed. *Radulphi de Coggeshall Chronicon Anglicanum* Rolls Series 66 (London: HMSO, 1875), 40-41; Henry G. Hewlett, ed. *Rogeri de Wendover liber qui dicitur Flores historiarum ab anno Domini MCLIV. Annoque Henrici Anglorum Regis Secundi Primo* Rolls Series 84 (London: Longman & Co, 1886) 1: 211-212; Henry Richards Luard, ed. *Matthaei Parisiensis, monachi Sancti Albani Chronica Majora* Rolls Series 57 (London: HMSO, 1874), 2: 386-387; Clay, *Hermits*, 151.
[31] *EH* 2: 14-15 records William son of Giroie taking vows at Bec on his return from a second pilgrimage to Jerusalem, William son of Radbond, later abbot of Caen, entered Bec after his return from Jerusalem, 254-255, and Ingulf, later abbot of Crowland, was a royal clerk who entered the monastic life at St Wandrille on his return from a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, 346-347. Constable, 'Eremitical Forms' highlights the Norman knight St Adjutor, who became a monk after going on crusade, but lived as a hermit, 263.
[32] Judith Weiss, trans. *Boeve de Haumtone and Gui de Warewic. Two Anglo-Norman Romances*, French of England Translation Series 3 (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 180. For the date of the work,13-14. Emma Mason, 'Fact and fiction in the English crusading tradition: the earls of Warwick in the twelfth century', *Journal of Medieval History* 14 (1988): 81-95 suggests it may have been commissioned to mark the 1204 marriage between Henry de Beaumont, earl of Warwick and his first wife, Margery d'Oilly, and idealised the supposed exploits of their crusading ancestors, possibly those of Brian fitz Count, lord of Wallingford: 86-90.
[33] Weiss, *Boeve*, 183.
[34] Weiss, *Boeve*, 225.
[35] Weiss, *Boeve*, 226.
[36] Weiss, *Boeve*, 227. This is highly simplified version of a complex plot: see Weiss, *Boeve*, 11-17 for discussion of its relation to devotional narratives; R.A. Rouse, 'An Exemplary Life: Guy of Warwick as Medieval Culture-Hero' in *Guy of Warwick. Icon and Ancestor*, ed. Alison Wiggins and Rosalind Field (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2007), 102-104.
[37] Clay, *Hermits*, 33-36, Pls X, XI.
[38] Michael Swanton, ed. and trans. *Three Lives of The Last Englishmen* (New York: Garland, 1984),17; for dating the vita, xxvi.
[39] Thelma S. Fenster and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne, 'Introduction' in *The History of Saint Edward the King by Matthew Paris* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 1-52, 25.
[40] Swanton, *Three Lives*, 23,31, 38-39.
[41] Swanton, *Three Lives*, 39-40.
[42] Swanton, *Three Lives*, 38.

[43] Swanton, *Three Lives*, 38. As well as the name of Harold's servant reminding of wanderings through the wilderness, there is a similar resonance to the dedication of the church at Chester to the hermit St John the Baptist and its chapel of St James, which if referring to St James the Great and the popular pilgrimage site of Santiago de Compostela, may indicate one possible destination for Harold's pious travels. If referring to St James the Less, there is a further connection to Jerusalem: the tomb chapel of St James the Less was located in a rock-cut cave at the foot of the Mount of Olives, a site in continual use as a cemetery. In the mid-fourth century, St James was supposed to have visited an elderly ascetic named Epiphanius, living as a hermit in a burial cave in the Kidron Valley, in his sleep and prompted excavation of his tomb: Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corupus. Volume III: The City of Jerusalem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), no.320, 185-189.
[44] Swanton, *Three Lives*, 11.
[45] Swanton, *Three Lives*, 11.
[46] Swanton, *Three Lives*, 11.
[47] For discussion of concerns over monastic pilgrimage: Jotischky, *Perfection*, 2-6, 10-16, Constable, 'Opposition to Pilgrimage', 131-140; Constable, 'Monachisme', 9-11, 14-23, 27, Constable, 'Eremitical Forms', 239-245, 250-258, 263-264. Talbot, *Life*, 80-81 on Roger the hermit: 'He was a monk of ours [at St Albans], but lived in a hermitage, though even here he kept obedience to his abbot'.
[48] Jotischky, *Perfection*, 1-6, 10-16 and 22-46 for the flexibility and fluidity of the monastic vocation as understood by Gerard of Nazareth in his *De Conversatione Servorum Dei*. See also Constable, 'Opposition to Pilgrimage', 131-140; Constable, 'Monachisme', 9-11, 14-23, 27, Constable, 'Eremitical Forms', 239-245, 250-258, 263-264.
[49] *Gesta Pontificvm*, 434-5: ' Alduuinus erat quidam ab eo factus monachus, isque in uastis [286] simo illu saltu quod Maluernum uocatur heremiticam uitam cum Guidone sotio exercebat. Guidoni post longos agones compendiosius ad gloriam uisam ut Ierosolimam iret, ubi labore itinerario uel Dei sepulcrum uiderat uel felicem manu Saracenorum mortem anticiparet.'
[50] *Gesta Pontificvm*, 434-5.
[51] 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Priory of Great Malvern', in: *A History of the County of Worcester: Volume 2*, ed. John William Willis Bund and William Page (London, 1971), 136-143: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/worcs/vol2/pp136-143 [accessed 23 September 2015].
[52] Tyerman, *Crusades*, 22-24, 27-28
[53] *EH* 6:188-189.
[54] Henry Richards Luard, ed. *Lives of Edward the Confessor*, Rolls Series 3 (London: Longman, 1858), 123, 277; Fenster and Wogan-Browne, *History of Saint Edward*, 98-100; Aelred of Rievaulx, ed. Marsha L. Dutton and trans. Jane Patricia Freeland, *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 2005), 198-200;*La Estoire de Seint Aedward le Rei*, ed. Kathryn Young Wallace (London: Anglo-Norman Text Society, 1983), 101.
[55] Rodney M. Thomson and Michael Winterbottom, ed. and trans. *William of Malmesbury. Saints' Lives. Lives of SS Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract* (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 2002), 64-67: 'Aldwinus quidam, habitu monachus, litterarum expers, cum congregationem religionis apud Maluernum adoriri conatus esset, post aliquot annos immensitate laboris deterritus cepto desistere cogitabat. Sed quia preter conscientiam patris diocesis eius decedere temerarium esset, eo adito difficultatem rei et tenuitatem pecuniae sanctitati eius applorauit: uelle se Ierosolimam iter moliri, ut si alios nequiret, saltem se ipsum Dei seruitio manciparet.'
[56] Thomson and Winterbottom, *Saints' Lives*, 66-67; Swanton, *Three Lives*, 112.
[57] Maurice Bell, ed. *Wulfric of Haselbury by John, Abbot of Ford*, Somerset Record Society 47 (Frome: Butler & Tanner, 1933), 86; Mayr-Harting, 'Recluse', 346. Jotischky, *Perfection*, 12 discusses the ambiguity of St Benard of Clairvaux's attitude to the Holy Land, seeing the crusade as providing spiritual benefits for the laity but as redundant for the Regular clergy.

Wulfric was ordained as a parish priest but despite later links during his life as a recluse with the Cluniac priory of Montacute and the Cistercian abbey of Ford, never seems to have taken monastic vows. For his links to Montacute and Ford see Licence, *Hermits*, 186, 190-191; *Wulfric of Haselbury*, xxiv-xxv, xxi-xxxiii, 45-46, 61-63.
[58] *Wulfric of Haselbury*, 125, 129.
[59] E. A. Jones, 'Hermits and Anchorites in Historical Context' in: *Approaching Medieval English Anchoritic and Mystical Texts*, ed. Dee Dyas, Valerie Edden and Roger Ellis, eds. (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer, 2005), 10; Licence, *Hermits*, 87-89.
[60] Licence, *Hermits*, 87.
[61] Licence, *Hermits*, 88.
[62] Bell, *Wulfric of Haselbury*, 142; Clay, *Hermits*, 81. For a full discussion of surviving traces for anchorholds, 76-84.
[63] Bell, *Wulfric of Haselbury*, 142; Clay, *Hermits*, 74.
[64] Bell, *Wulfric of Haselbury*, 142; Clay, *Hermits*, 82, Pl. XXVI.
[65] Clay, *Hermits*, 76-84: St John the Baptist at Timberhill in Norwich, St John the Baptist at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, St John the Baptist at Finchale but dedications do vary widely.
[66] David Park, 'The Wall Paintings of the Holy Sepulchre Chapel' in: *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral. The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for the year 1980. Volume VI* (Leeds: W.S. Maney, 1983), 38-62, esp. 50; Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), 34-45; Richard Bailey, 'St Wilfrid, Ripon and Hexham' in: *Studies in Insular Art and Archaeology*, ed. Catherine Karkov and Robert Farrell, American Early Medieval Studies 1 (Oxford, Ohio: Miami University, Department of Art, 1991), 20-22. See also Morris, *Sepulchre of Christ*,
[67] Park, 'The Wall Paintings', 50, ie. in the crossing of the north transept.
[68] Licence, *Hermits*, 121-122.
[69] Licence, *Hermits*, 123-124.
[70] Licence, *Hermits*, 123.
[71] Aelred of Rievaulx, 'A Rule of Life for a Recluse', trans. Mary Macpherson, *Treatises. The Pastoral Prayer*, Cistercian Father Series: Number Two (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1982), 62; Paulette L'Hermite-Leclerq, 'Aelred of Rievaulx: The Recluse and Death according to the Vita Inclusarum', *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 34 (1999): 183-201; Licence, *Hermits*, 123.
[72] Jones, 'Hermits and Anchorites', 12; Millett, *Ancrene Wisse*, 46.
[73] Licence, *Hermits*, 124-125.
[74] Bell, *Wulfric of Haselbury*, 172: Wulfric of Haselbury, Godric of Finchale, Robert of Knaresborough, St Bartholomew of Farne, Elgar the hermit of Bardsey, Guy of Warwick and Harold Godwinson are all recorded or supposed to have died in their cells. Licence, *Hermits*, 124; Jones, 'Hermits and Anchorites',12.
[75] Jones, 'Hermits and Anchorites', 12; Walter H. Godfrey, 'Church of St Anne, Lewes: An Anchorite's Cell and Other Discoveries', *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 69 (1928): 159-169, 167. The cell was located on the south side of the church, 168.
[76] Millett, *Ancrene Wisse*,142.
[77] Talbot, *Life*, 102-103.
[78] Licence, *Hermits*, 77-79 highlights Brihtric, an anchorite in a church near Bury St Edmund's whose burnt body was supposedly found cruciform with his arms outstretched; Jones, 'Hermits and Anchorites', 10-12. Bailey, 'St Wilfrid', 22.
[79] This may also relate to the *vita angelica* lived by the recluse: see below, fn. 84
[80] Talbot, *Life*, 106-109, quotation106-107: 'omnes qui volunt ire Ierusalem: necesse est hanc portare crucem'.
[81] Mayr-Harting, 'Recluse' 347-349.Endowed cells did exist: Licence, *Hermits*, 89.
[82] The structure, shroud around the body of Christ and his strigillated sarcophagus are all paralleled in a c.1085 wall painting of the Entombment at St Angelo in Formis, southern Italy: Otto Pächt, Charles Reginald Dodwell and Francis Wormald, *The St Albans Psalter (Albani*

Psalter) (London: The Warburg Institute, 1960), 71-73, 93; Jane Geddes, *The St Albans Psalter. A Book for Christina of Markyate* (London: British Library, 2005).
[83] Victoria M. Tudor, 'Reginald of Durham and St Godric of Finchale: A Study of a Twelfth-Century Hagiographer and His Major Subject', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Reading, 1979), 225-230, 232-234.
[84] Reginald of Durham, *Libellus de Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Heremitae de Finchale*, ed. Joseph Stevenson, Surtees Society 20 (London: Nichols, 1845), 33. As explored in Licence, *Hermits*, 125, the *vita angelica* was a model of the monastic life with special meaning for hermits, as Reginald or Godric may have been well aware. The recluse put him or herself in the special care of angels, receiving angelic ministrations and dwelling in their company. We also see this made manifest in Roger the hermit's induction into his hermitage at Markyate. The Biblical reference was drawn to my attention by Dr Robert Gallagher.
[85] Stevenson, *Vita*, 33-34.
[86] Stevenson, *Vita*, 33: 'et quia jam plurima sanctorum Dei loca et templa atque sanctuaria, in his finibus posita, inviserat, adierat atque adoraverat, externarum regionum domicilia sacra, conversationum diversoria, decertationum secretiora habitacula, inspicere, admirari, et quandoque pro posse suo imitari sedulus exoptabat.'
[87] Jotischky, *Perfection*, 72 suggests a strong Eastern influence on Godric's diet, following the dietary customs of Orthodox monks and hermits as absorbed by Frankish arrivals in the Holy Land. Stevenson, *Vita*, 42-43: 'In silvis denique sic diutius demoratus, juxta typum Beati Johannis Baptistae, virecta herbarum aliquandiu comedebat, et mel silvestre'.
[88] Victoria M. Tudor, 'Godric of Finchale [St Godric of Finchale] (*c.*1070–1170)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10884, accessed 24 Feb 2015]; Tudor, 'Reginald of Durham', 234-235
[89] Stevenson, *Vita*, 53: 'Regradiens vero ad civitatem, Crucem Domini in humeris assumpsit, quam sacerdotali consecratam benedictione suscepit' and after describing Godric's grief and privations at the loss of Aelric, 53-54: 'et tollens Crucem Domini, Ierosolimam proficisci disposuit. Cui mundi luxus totus martyrium exstitit, ipse vexillum Crucis sibi in humeris bajulans, seipsum Domino etiam vivens in corpore crucifixit. Relicta igitur heremi illius vasta et horrida solitudine, coepit ad visitandum Sepulchrum Domini properare.'
[90] Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, 2-4, 24-29, quotation, 27.
[91] Stevenson, *Vita*, 54; Tudor, 'Reginald of Durham', 235.
[92] Stevenson, *Vita*, 54.
[93] Stevenson, *Vita*, 54.
[94] Stevenson, *Vita*, 55.
[95] Stevenson, *Vita*, 55; Tudor, 'Reginald of Durham', 236 suggests these included Nazareth, Cana and the Sea of Galilee.
[96] Stevenson, *Vita*, 55: 'Reversus ad se prae nimio quod ad Sepulchrum Domini gaudio conceperat, quasi totus novus homo efficeretur, supra quam ipse etiam alicui hominum explicare noverat, mira jocunditate fervebat'.
[97] Stevenson, *Vita*, 55-56: 'Erat quidem in ejus pectore tanta suavitas quae cuncta transcenderet, tanta in ore dulcedo quae omnem mellis ac favi dulcorem excederet, auribus illius tantae jubilationis modulatio insonuit quod quasi supercoelestes beatorum spiritus dulcimode concinisse crediderit, tanta agilitas ejus corpus impleverat quod pene se fuisse exutum homine credendum judicabat.'
[98] Stevenson, *Vita*, 56, 'In tali fervore spiritus aliquandiu perstitit, et sic quae Domini sunt meditatus, totam noctem insomnem dulcibus vigiliarum excubiis circa Sepulturae Dominicae loca sacra peregit.'
[99] Stevenson, *Vita*, 56: 'ibique sacris aquarum fluentis corporis sui sudores extersit et abluit'. Reginald's specific reference to Godric wiping the sweat from his body may allude to the curse of God in Genesis 3:19 and its redemption through Christ and the sacrament of baptism, once again stressing themes of resurrection and renewal.
[100] Stevenson, *Vita*, 56-57.

[101] Stevenson, *Vita*, 57: 'Per haec et alia et plura sanctorum habitacula sollicitius divertit; insuper et heremiticae conversationis sepulchra secretiora pius explorator devotissime investigavit'; Jotischky, *Perfection*, 68.
[102] G.M. Lee, 'Coptic Christianity in a Changing World', *Studies of Church History: Religion and National Identity* 18 (1982): 39-46, 40.
[103] Stevenson, *Vita*, 57: 'Sunt quidem in terra ipsa speluncae perplures et subterraneae, natura operante, quasi in saxis et rupibus absque omni cu[r]soris artificio satis operose atque eleganter excisae'; Jotischky, *Perfection*, 68. My translation was aided by Dr Robert Gallagher.
[104] Jotischky, *Perfection*, 68-69; Pringle, *The Churches*, 434-435.
[105] Pringle, *The Churches*, 434-435.
[106] Stevenson, *Vita*, 57-58: 'In quibus nonnulli hominum solitarie conversantur, qui Eremi Cultores ab incolis gentium nominantur; quorum domicilia saepe perquirebat, et se illorum orationibus attentius commendabat'.
[107] Jotischky, *Perfection*, 71.
[108] Jotischky, *Perfection*, 72; Jotischky, 'Monastic Reform', 67-72, 74.
[109] John Wilkinson, Joyce Hill and William F. Ryan, eds. *Jerusalem Pilgrimage, 1099-1185*, Hakluyt Society 167 (London: Hakluyt Society, 1988), 326; Pringle,*The Churches*, 435.
[110] Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 270; Pringle, *The Churches*, 435.
[111] Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 276. He is referring here to the church of St Mary of the Valley of Jehoshaphat, containing the tomb of the Virgin. The monastery was credited by William of Tyre as being established by Godfrey de Bouillon, from a community of monks who had accompanied him on crusade: Pringle, *The Churches*, 289.
[112] Denys Pringle, *Pilgrimage to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, 1187-1291* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 29-34, quotation, 162.
[113] For the date of the vita: Victoria M. Tudor, 'Reginald of Durham and Saint Godric of Finchale: Learning and Religion on a Personal Level', *Studies in Church History* 17 (1981): 40-1.
[114] Suggested in Jotischky, *Perfection*, 72
[115] Victoria M. Tudor, 'Godric of Finchale [St Godric of Finchale] (*c.*1070–1170)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10884, accessed 24 Feb 2015
[116] Stevenson, *Vita*, 112, 126, and 152-153: 'Perfecta igitur ejus Ecclesia, lapideo tabulatu composita, in honore Sepulchri Domini et Sancti Johannis Baptistae […]'
[117] Stevenson, *Vita*, 187, 207.
[118] Stevenson, *Vita*, 326, 330.
[119] Reginald of Durham mentions relics owned by Godric, suggesting some form of personal collection, but does not give their provenance or further details: Stevenson, *Vita*, 368, 396, 470, 473.
[120] Stevenson, *Vita*, 300-301: 'Eo tempore quidam peregrinus de Hierosolimis illuc advenerat, qui viro Dei quarumdam reliquiarum portionem de locis illis sanctissimis largiturus deferebat; quae munera servus Dei gratanter accepit, ac miro deosculando effectu saepius ori suo apposuit; […]'
[121] Stevenson, *Vita*, 301.
[122] Stevenson, *Vita*, 126, 152, 202, 208; Monika Otter, 'Godric of Finchale's *Canora Modulatio*: The Auditory and Visionary Worlds of a Twelfth-Century Hermit' in: *Haskins Society: Studies in Medieval History 24*, ed. William North and Laura L.Gathagan (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2013), 141.
[123] Stevenson, *Vita*, 130-131: '[…] hujusmodi eloquia profundere consuevit: 'Ante colloquium vestrum, paulo ante, Ierosolimis fui; et ibi multa praemiranda conspexi […] Hinc re vera provenisse intelligo quod modo Ierosolimis fieri sub novella constructione conspicio. Video quidem ibi ea aedificia magnopere dirui, […]';Otter, '*Canora*', 135-136.
[124] Jotischky, 'Monastic Reform', 70.
[125] Jotischky, 'Monastic Reform', 70. He highlights how 'Aelred's removal of himself as abbot from the community into a dwelling sited within the monastery but immune from the

monastery's regulation is reminiscent of contemporary Orthodox rather than Benedictine practices'. He also notes the anchorite Godric of Throckenholt's use of a chair instead of a bed for vigils, 'a Palestinian Orthodox monastic practice' again probably passed on via unrecorded personal contacts with the East, 70-72.
[126] Licence, *Hermits*, 25-6. The cells on the Farne Islands became dependencies of Durham Cathedral.
[127] Rievaulx (1131), Fountains (1132), Louth Park (1139), Roche (1147), Byland (1147), Sawley (1147-8), Meaux (1150-1) Kirkstall (1152). Jervaulx was founded in 1156. This list does not include temporary foundations in Yorkshire such as at Barnoldswick (1147-1152) or Hood (1138-1143): see Peter Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude. Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), Appendix C.
[128] Jotischky, 'Monastic Reform', 70.
[129] Victoria M. Tudor, 'Godric of Finchale [St Godric of Finchale] (*c.*1070–1170)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10884, accessed 24 Feb 2015]. The priory was dedicated to St John the Baptist and St Godric and was rebuilt 1241-1264: 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Priory of St John Baptist & St Godric, Finchale', in: *A History of the County of Durham: Volume 2*, ed. William Page (London: University of London, Institute of Historical Research, 1907), 103-105: http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/durham/vol2/pp103-105 [accessed 17 March 2015].
[130] Frank Bottomley, ed. and trans. *St Robert of Knaresborough* (Ruddington, Notts: Adlard Print and Typsetting Services, 1993), 3,9; Joyce Bazire, ed. *The Metrical Life of St Robert of Knaresborough*, Early English Text Society 228 (London and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953), 43, 57; Paul Grosjean, ed. 'Vitae s.Roberti Knaresburgensis', *Analecta Bollandiana* (1939): 364-400, 367.
[131] Grosjean, *Vitae*, 368, 378-379.
[132] Grosjean, *Vitae*, 369.
[133] Grosjean,*Vitae*, 369.
[134] Grosjean, Vitae, 379-383; 383: 'Abhinc declinabat ad locum ubi prius habitaverat iuxta Knaresburgum. Nullam ibi habitacionem inveniens preter capellam Sancti Egidii […]'.
[135] Bottomley, *St Robert*, 36
[136] Grosjean, *Vitae*, 383: 'Dispersa itaque sanctitatis fama Roberti longe late in provincia […]'
[137] Grosjean, *Vitae*, 386: 'Haec requies mea in speculum seculi; hic habitabo, quoniam elegi eam'; Bottomley*, St Robert*, 39.
[138] Grosjean, *Vitae*, 386: 'A quo quidem missi sunt artifices arcium diversarum, ut Sancti Crucis capellulam ibidem construere niterentur'.
[139] Grosjean, *Vitae*, 386: 'paulatim de vivis et bene sectis et politis lapidibus crescebat edificium'.
[140] Grosjean, *Vitae*, 386: 'et domus ampliabatur ad suscipiendos pauperes et peregrinos spontaneam adeuntes peregrinacionem et ad Ierusalem celestem festinantes'.
[141] Cyprus was conquered by Richard I in 1191 and transferred, via the Knights Templars, to Lusignan sovereignty in 1192. As St Neophytos died soon after 1214, he and Robert of Knaresborough were rough contemporaries in their eremitical lives. Cyprus was an important disembarkation point for travel to Jerusalem, so while it is unlikely that Robert or his associates were aware of the activities of this holy man, it is not impossible.
[142] Gustav Kühnel, *Wall Painting in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* (Berlin: Gebr.Mann Verlag, 1988), 185; Cyril Mango and Ernest J.W. Hawkins, 'The Hermitage of St Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings', *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 20 (1966): 119-206, 123; Nicholas Coureas, ed. and trans., *The Foundation Rules of Medieval Cypriot Monasteries: Makhairas and St Neophytos* (Nicosia: Cyprus Research Centre, 2003), 136: 'I made my way to the holy places of Jerusalem, in part for the sake of pilgrimage and also lest within these deserts I might chance upon a solitary and eremitical man and might then follow him.'
[143] Coureas, ed. *Foundation Rules*, 137-139, 150-153.
[144] Neophytos states that he travelled 'through the regions of Tiberius up until the desert in which Christ blessed the loaves of bread, the mountainous areas of Magdala [the supposed

birthplace of Mary Magdalene] as well as Mount Tabor, then indeed, following the veneration of the Holy and life giving Sepulchre, I travelled around the desert of Souka, the torrent of St Sabbas and the lands of the Jordan and of Khozebiah': Coureas, ed. *Foundation Rules*, 136. Kühnel, *Wall Painting*, 185-191 suggests he visited the desert monastery of St Theoktistos (Der el-Mukellik), for the paintings preserved in the cell of the Enkleistra parallel the paintings found at Theoktistos. For Western contacts with Orthodox religion see Jotischky, 'Monastic Reform'.

[145] Mango and Hawkins, 'Neophytos', 124. Coureas, ed. *Foundation Rules*, 138: 'I have also called the cave after the name of the True Cross [...] A period of five years having passed, I aroused myself to a taxing quest for a piece of the True Cross'.

[146] Grosjean, *Vitae*, 395-398.

[147] Coureas, ed. *Foundation Rules*, 138: 'Having sculpted a grave towards the interior of the cave'; 167: 'hide my humble remains within the tomb which I chiselled out in the cliff face of the hermitage'. For his death, see Mango and Hawkins, 'Neophytos', 126.

[148] Coureas, ed. *Foundation Rules*, 167; Mango and Hawkins, 'Neophytos', 123-4, 197.

[149] *Calendar of Charter Rolls Henry III I, 1226-1257* (London: Public Records Office, 1903), 66: 'Grant to Brother Ives, hermit of Holy Cross, Cnaresburg […]'; Bottomley, *St Robert*, 39.

[150] Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, ed. Henry Richards Luard, Rolls Series 57 (London: HMSO, 1876), 3:521; Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. Sir Frederic Madden, Rolls Series 44 (London: Longmans, 1866), 2: 415.

[151] Bottomley, *St Robert*, 39-40.

[152] *Calendar Patent Rolls Edward III, 4, 1338-1340* (London: HMSO, 1898), 315; Bottomley, *St Robert*, 40.

[153] Bottomley, *St Robert*, 40-41; Bazire, *Metrical Life*, 20-21; 'Friaries: The Trinitarian friars of Knaresborough', in: *A History of the County of York: Volume 3*, ed. William Page (London: University of London, Institute of Historical Research, 1974), 296-300, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/vol3/pp296-300 [accessed 10 March 2015]; David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1953), 180-181.

[154] *Calendar of Charter Rolls Henry III- Edward I 2, 1257-1300* (London: Public Records Office, 1906), 240-241 records his endowments to 'the friars of the order of Holy Trinity and the Captives of Knaresburg'.The charter also refers to 'Friar Ralph, minister of the house of the Holy Trinity of St Robert of Knaresburg'.

[155] Clifford Hugh Lawrence, *The Friars. The Impact of the Early Mendicant Movement on Western Society* (London: Longman, 1994), 91-92.

[156] Jotischky, *Perfection*, 101-152.

[157] Grosjean, *Vitae*, 398: '…summo corpus defereunt in capella Sancte Crucis, quam frater eius Walterus sibi construxerat, tumulandum scilicet altari in sarchofago, in quo nondum quisquam antea positus fuerat, in tumulo diligenter s…tate adornato'.

[158] Highlighted in Bottomley, *St Robert*, p.31, fn.103

[159] Denys Pringle, *The Churches of the Crusader Kingdom of Jerusalem. A Corpus Volume I: A-K (excluding Acre and Jerusalem)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), nos.104-107, 252-253.

[160] Pringle, *The Churches I*, 252, 256-257.

[161] Pringle, *The Churches I*, 257.

[162] Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 303-304.

[163] Quotation from Pringle, *The Churches I*, 253; Wilkinson, *Jerusalem Pilgrimage*, 303-304.

[164] Pringle, *The Churches I*, 253, 256. The dedication of the priory church is unknown.

[165] Pringle, *The Church I*, 256; Derwas J. Chitty, *The Desert a City. An Introduction to the Study of Egyptian and Palestinian Monasticism under the Christian Empire* (Oxford: Mowbray & Co, 1977), 15.

[166] Stevenson, *Vita*, 300-301; Bell, *Wulfric of Haselbury*, 94-95, 99.

[167] Mayr-Harting, 'Recluse', 345.

[168] Jotischky, *Perfection*, 158.

[169] Jotischky, *Perfection*, 158.