1147 Rejected:
A Study of Cistercian and Savigniac Possessions in England and Wales 1127-1176

By

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Acknowledgements

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ABSTRACT

In 1968 when Bennett Hill felt compelled to describe the union between Savigny and Cîteaux as the point at which the White monks were pulled into the abyss of monastic corruption in terms of the acceptance of prohibited possessions, he opened a debate which has never been resolved. The very notion of the "watershed" view of history should become increasingly abhorent to serious scholars and such a view cannot be readily accepted in terms of the Cistercians of England and Wales. As David Knowles described in 1950, (and as have others in later years) the pace at which change outside the cloister occurred can be equally measured by the changes inside the cloister. Consequently, the Cistercian "corruption" was no more than a necessary reaction to a changing world; one of which they had no choice but to be a part. This evolution began long before the union with Savigny, levelled off at mid-century and then grew by leaps and bounds through the end of the twelfth century and into the thirteenth. This thesis documents such development case by case, and is intended to illustrate the inaccuracy of the "watershed" view of history.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Abstracts	*Abstracts of the Charters & Other Documents of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains*, W.T. Lancaster, ed.
Acta	*English Episcopal Acta II: Canterbury 1162-1190*, C.R. Cheney & E.A. Jones, eds.
Burton	*Annales Monastici: Annales de Margan, Annales de Theokesberia et annales de Burton*, Henry Luard, ed.
B.L.	British Library
Bod. Lib.	Bodelian Library
Cart.Kirk.	*Coucher Book of Kirkstall Abbey*, W.T. Lancaster & W.P. Baildon eds.
Cart. Riev.	*Cartularium de Rievalle*, J.C. Atkinson, ed.
Domesday	*Great Domesday Survey*, R.W.H. Erskine, ed.
E.H.R.	*English Historical Review.*
Facsimilies	*Facsimilies of Northamptonshire Charters*, F.M. Stenton, ed.
F.C.B.	*Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, J.C. Atkinson, ed.
Guignard	*Les Monuments primitifs.*
KH	*Medieval Religious Houses*, Knowles and Hadcock.
Louth Park	*Chronicle of Louth Park*, Venables, ed.
Melsa	*Chronica Monasterii de Melsa*, E.A. Bond, ed.
Memorials	*Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary's of Fountains*, Walbran, ed.

M.O.	*The Monastic Order in England*, D. Knowles.
Monasticon	*Monasticon Anglicanum*, Sir William Dugdale, ed.
Nom. Cist.	*Nomasticon Cisterciense seu antiquiores Cisterciensis constitutiones*, Julian Paris, ed.
Newburgh	*Chronicle of William of Newburgh*, Richard Howlett, ed.
Regesta	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*,
Reg. Holm.	*Register of Holm Cultram*, Francais Grainer, ed.
RS Waverley	*Annales Monastici: Annales monasterii de Wintonia et Annales de Waverleia*, H. Luard, ed.
Ruff. Cart.	*Rufford Charters*, C.J. Holdsworth, ed.
Statuta	*Statuta Capitulorum Ordinis Cisterciensis: 1116-1786*, J.M. Canivez, ed.
Thame	*Thame Cartulary*, Salter, ed.
Torigni	*Chronicle of Robert of Torigni*, Richard Howlett, ed.
VCH	*Victoria County Histories*
Ward. Cart.	*Cartulary of Old Wardon*, G.H. Fowler, ed.
Woburn	*Cartulary of Woburn*, G.H. Fowler, ed.

INTRODUCTION

Monastic reform has proven to be one of the most distinctive features of medieval history. While each movement brought change and new ideas to the spirit of reform, perhaps none offered more hope than did the reform belonging to the house of Cîteaux. As a means of retaining monastic purity, Cîteaux drew up a code of conduct that looked to the future; not one which refined past customs. It is this unique, proactive written constitution, which sets apart all other religious congregations from the Cistercian Order.[1]

The survival of the Cistercian constitution facilitates close scrutiny of the Order. However, the Cistercian reverence for the written word has proven to be a double-edged sword. Veneration for the written word was the hallmark of Cistercian observance of Benedict's Rule and was the impetus behind its twelfth century religious reform. Nevertheless, strict adherence to a written code of conduct proved to be impossible. As a result critics of the Order have used the Cistercian ideal as a measure against which the white monks are cast. The availability of Cistercian documents permits a

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[1] Cîteaux is the first monastic family to which we can attach the term Order, arising out of the ordered system of filiation between the houses of the family. The provision for this unique filial framework is included in the *Carta Caritatis* and is discussed below, see 13-15.

fairly comprehensive assessment of the Order's adherence to its own code, especially in England and Wales. In this chapter I intend to consider this problem while leaving the discussion of the available sources to the next chapter. I shall then proceed to place these two chapters into sharper focus by illuminating the context of the twelfth century. The second half of this work measures Cistercian practice against its own legislation in hopes of firmly determining the course of action taken by the white monks in England and Wales during most of the twelfth century.

The founding fathers of Cîteaux believed that both the spirit and the word of St. Benedict were no longer followed within the cloisters of Cluny and that there was need for reform. Many heeded the call and left their houses to found new communities at Tiron, Savigny and Chartreuse among others. Like the other new foundations, Cîteaux breathed new life and vigour into the observance of the Benedictine rule. A large part of that vigour has been attributed to the development of a new constitutional model under abbots Alberic and Stephen Harding. Indeed, their work in this respect is rightly considered to have created the most striking difference between the reform at Cluny and that at Cîteaux. The former flourished in the tenth century and the latter in the twelfth. Each, in its own fashion, attempted to restore the austere observances embodied in the Rule of St. Benedict. While both enjoyed initial success in their endeavours, both eventually

fell away from the Rule, especially from the ideal of isolation which it endorsed. If the evidence offered in cartularies and charters belonging to English and Welsh Cistercian monasteries is juxtaposed against the rigid ideal of isolation set out in the *Carta Caritatis*, it quickly becomes evident that the White monks were no more able to prevent a drift into the outside world than had the Cluniacs before them. Within a half century of their arrival in England one is frequently assured that the white monks had become unwelcome neighbours because of their avaricious practices. As the twelfth century commentator Walter Map tells us, the Cistercian policies of levelling towns before the ploughshare and installing vicars in parish churches were equally appalling:

> And because their rule does not allow them to govern parishioners, they proceed to raze villages, they overthrow churches, and turn out parishioners and level everything before the ploughshare, so that if you looked on a place that you knew previously, you could say: 'And grass grows where Troy once stood...'
>
> Whereas the Rule forbids them to own churches, they obtain the rights of presentation from the patrons, put in a vicar, and possess--not the churches, but--yearly pensions out of them.[2]

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[2] "et quia parrochianos regere non habent secundum regulam, eradicant villas, ecclesias parrochianos eiciunt euertunt, altaria deicere non abhorrent et ad viam vomeris omnia complanare, ut si videas que videras decere possis: 'Nunc seges est ubi Troia fuit...'
cum prohibeat regula ecclesias possidere, iura presentacionum ab aduocatis obtinet, et immisso vicario non ecclesias possident sed pensiones annuas." Walter Map: *De Nugis Curialium (Courtier's Trifles)*, M.R. James, ed. & trans. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), 92 & 110-111.

Gerald of Wales, a contemporary of Map, confirms that the white monks had clearly lost sight of their ideals:

> They busy themselves unceasingly to provide hospitality for all and sundry, offering limitless charity to pilgrim and the needy. That is why they are so anxious to acquire land...but they ought to recall the words of Solomon for "this might remove from their holy order the damnable stigma of ambition."[3]

In recent times two scholars have offered explanations to account for the marked change which occurred in less than a hundred years. David Knowles views the dissolution of the Cistercian ideal in England as a natural and inevitable outgrowth arising from the rapid expansion[4] of the Order and the personal ascendancy of St. Bernard.[5] Bennett Hill on the

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[3] *Gerald of Wales: Journey Through Wales,* Lewis Thorpe, trans. (London: Penguin, 1978), 103.

[4] Many examples tell the story of the extreme pressures which existed in the Cistercian abbeys in the first half of the twelfth century. Rievaulx for instance, is reported to have had 300 choir and 600 laybrother members. See David Knowles & R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1953), 114. Hereafter *KH.* Fountains also housed a great number. So crowded was the community that on 19 May 1147, Kirkstall was founded and on 23 May 1147, Vaudey was colonized. New foundations required a minimum of twelve monks and a thirteenth to lead the flock as abbot: "Duodecim monachi cum abbate terciodecimo ad coenobia nova transmittantur...." See *Statuta Capitulorum Ordinis Cisterciensis: 1116-1786,* J.M. Canivez, ed., 8 vols. (Louvain: Bibliothéque de la Revue D'Histoire Ecclèsiastique, 1933), vol. i, (1134) no. 12, p 15. Hereafter *Statuta.* Thus Fountains was depopulated by no less than twenty-six monks in four days. While these events were not common, they vividly demonstrate the tremendous activity at the time.

[5] Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (Cambridge: University Press, 1950), 92. Hereafter *M.O.*

other hand, holds the view that it was not until Cîteaux and the Congregation of Savigny amalgamated in 1147[6] that the practices of the less rigorous Savigniacs undermined the Cistercian ideal. He argues that because Savigny did not employ some similar rigorous form of constitution, it became the "prominent cause of their [the Cistercians] corruption...."[7] It is my purpose here to ascertain whether the union with Savigny did in fact cause the Cistercian ideal to be corrupted or whether Knowles' assessment is more accurate. To achieve that objective I shall compare the number of prohibited possessions from the first Cistercian foundations in England and Wales with those of the Savigniacs. Against these two I shall then compare post-1147 new foundation abuses. The subsequent analysis should reveal whose theory is more accurate. However, some consideration must first be given to the origins and development of the Order, with a particular emphasis upon one of the injunctions contained in its constitutions which provides the standard for such a measure.

Cîteaux was founded in 1098 when Robert, the abbot of the Cluniac house of Molesme, left his abbey with twenty-one others to pursue more rigorously the ascetical life as laid

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[6] The union was effected at the General Chapter held from September 14-17, 1147.

[7] Bennett Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and Their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), 109.

down in the Rule of St. Benedict.[8] Deep in the wilderness of central Burgundy, not far from Cluny, the new community was established. It dedicated itself to the Blessed Virgin, as would all future Cistercian communities.[9] Within a year of his departure Robert returned to Molesme and the prior Alberic (1099-1109) was elected to replace him as abbot at Cîteaux. The strength and vigour with which Alberic ruled the fledgling community must not be underestimated. He led the impoverished abbey through the most critical years of its existence, all the while maintaining a strict adherence to the Benedictine ideals of simplicity and poverty. In this regard, Cîteaux's early history was much like that experienced at Tiron, Savigny, Chartreuse and indeed Cluny during their first years. What ultimately set Cîteaux apart from these other reform-minded communities belongs largely to the legacy of Stephen Harding.

As prior of Cîteaux, Stephen shared in the trials and triumphs of the birth of the new monastery. He realized that

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[8] Robert left Molesme because, despite the abbeys' attempts at reform, it soon gained riches which "placed limits on monastic life". Bede K. Lackner, *The Eleventh Century Background of Cîteaux*, Cistercian Studies, # 8 (Washington, DC: Consortium Press, 1972), 244. Among these twenty-one were Alberic (prior) and Stephen Harding (sub-prior). Harding joined Robert at Molesme after undertaking a pilgrimage to Rome. He had left his Dorset home seeking knowledge and the perfect [monastic] life. *M.O.*, 199.

[9] *Les monuments primitifs de la Règle Cistercienne*, Ph. Guignard, ed. (Dijon: J.E. Rabutot, 1878), 254-5. Hereafter *Guignard*. #XVIII reads: "Quod omnia monasteria in honorem beate marie dedicentur."

in order to preserve dedication to the Rule, some system of supervision over his charge was necessary. The consequence was a set of constitutional documents which influenced not only his own community, but many other monastic, fraternal and military institutions as well. So direct was the impact of this contribution that in 1128, Bernard, the abbot of Clairvaux, was invited to write a constitution for the Knights Templar.[10] Harding's work also served as the constitutional basis for the canons of Premontré.[11] These documents entrenched a uniform way of life for the Cistercian wherever he might dwell and did so in a way which demonstrates the essential genius of their author.

The Cistercian constitution is composed of four unique documents, namely, the *Exordium Cisterciensis coenobii*, later called the *Exordium Parvum*; the *Carta Caritatis*; the *Consuetudines* and the *Exordium Magnum*. We may dispense with the last work since it was not produced until *c.* 1180 and is little more than a recapitulation of the *Carta Caritatis*

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[10] Indrikis Sterns, "The Teutonic Knights in the Crusader States" in *A History of the Crusades*, ed., Kenneth M. Setton, 6 vols. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), vol. v, 315-378, 322 & 327. The Teutonic Knights also used a version of this constitution. See also Desmond Seward, *The Monks of War*, (London: Eyre Methuen Ltd., 1972), 91. According to Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1975), 171 and n. 4, Bernard wrote his *Liber de Novae Militiae ad Milites Templi* at the bequest of Hugh de Payens, the first Master of the Order of the Knights Templar between 1128 and 1136.

[11] *M.O.*, 205.

combined with Cistercian hagiography.[12] The *Exordium Parvum* is a detailed account of both the secession from Molesme and life at Cîteaux until *c.* 1115. Although this work has an anonymous author, it is attributed to the pen of Stephen Harding.[13] The *Carta Caritatis* and *Consuetudines* are the two documents upon which we must more closely focus our attention.

The *Carta Caritatis* is a short but important document. In it lies not only the process for the election of officials within the Order, but also an outline of the unique Cistercian system of filiation of mother and daughter house. In contrast to the pyramidal structure of Cluny where every new community was subordinated to the mother house, the *Carta Caritatis* establishes a network of mother-daughter relationships. This relationship was essential, having been designed to ensure the maintenance of a consistent lifestyle for all Cistercian abbeys. Except for Cîteaux, all affiliates had a mother house. Cîteaux begat four daughter houses; Clairvaux, Pontigny, Morimond and La Ferté, all of which in turn produced, or became responsible for, daughter houses.[14] With

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[12] Dom David Knowles, "The Primitive Cistercian Documents" in *Great Historical Enterprises: Problems in Monastic History* (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd., 1962), 197-222, 203.

[13] *M.O.*, 209.

[14] See appendix I. Most houses of the order were colonised from one of the daughter houses or Cîteaux itself. One of the notable exceptions to this pattern apart from Savigny (see chapter 5) is that of Fountains. This community

such an organization in place, little danger existed for the far flung house to lose touch with the Order. It was the responsibility of the abbot of each mother house to make an annual visit to each of his daughter houses to ensure that the integrity of the Rule and customs of the Order were upheld. The *Carta* also provided that the observance at Cîteaux itself was maintained through an annual visitation by the abbots of each of its four daughter houses.[15] Clearly Stephen's concern was with protecting the Order from the changes which swept over Cluny, where no such system of checks and balances had developed. The new model of Cîteaux provided, at least in theory, that no change could be institutionalized without the consent of the other abbots of the Order who were to meet annually at the General Chapter.

The *Consuetudines* is comprised of three distinct sections: *(i) ecclesiastica officia; (ii) instituta generalis Capituli;* and *(iii) usus conversorum.* This instrument emerged during the abbacy of Alberic, if not from the second abbot himself. It was intended to provide instruction for both the monk and the lay brother as well as to dictate the

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was originally at St Mary's York, and part of the Cluniac tradition. However, when a faction broke away in reaction to the lax discipline there and eventually settled at the now famous site of Fountains, it became what Knowles considers to be a family unto itself. See *KH*, 108; *M.O.*, appendix IV. It has proved to be one of the most notable abbeys in Britain.

[15] "Semel per annum visitet abbas majoris ecclesiae per se vel per aliquem de coabbatibus suis omnia cenobia quae ipse fundaverit." *Carta Caritatis, Guignard,* 81 and *M.O.*, 213 n.

establishment of the chapter. Within the abbey the chapter filled several functions. It was a place where the brethren were acquainted with the business of the abbey, assigned duties, informed of pertinent information or technology, and disciplined for their indiscretions. This institution underlay the model upon which the General Chapter for the entire Order was created. Every year on the feast of the Holy Cross,[16] all abbots of the Order were expected to appear at Cîteaux to participate in the General Chapter.[17] Five functions were normally performed at the General Chapter. First, it held discussions regarding the well-being and discipline of both the Order and the individual house. All irregularities that were identified were corrected. Second, it acted as a form of legislative assembly wherein propositions were aired and put to a vote. The decisions reached were subsequently recorded, thereby forming *statuta*. Third, it performed the role of a judicial assembly and heard complaints or grievances, whether of secular or monastic origin. Fourth, defaulters of whatever type were assigned penalties. Finally, the Chapter became a clearing house for the examination and dissemination of ideas and practical

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[16] September 14th.

[17] "Omnes abbates de ordine nostro singulis annis ad generale capitulum cisterciense omni postposita occasione convenient." *Carta Caritatis, Guignard,* 79 and *M.O.*, 213 n.

knowledge - particularly agricultural technology.[18] While exemptions from attendance at the General Chapter were allowed due to impractical distances or other extenuating circumstances, the annual meeting was designed to further guarantee uniformity of practice. Upon the conclusion of the Chapter, abbots carried back to their communities news of the penalties imposed, new by-laws and information gleaned from the experiences and learning of their brethren. The final result was an ever evolving and well informed family of affiliates.

As noted, the legislation of the General Chapter formed the *statuta* or the *instituta*. When the body of such *statuta* had reached sufficient proportions, it was codified, initially in 1134[19] and reaffirmed with additions in 1152. For the purposes of this work I shall use only one of these *statuta* as the basis of my analysis. My examination will use the intentions of the Cistercian fathers as a measure of purity of practice by the daughter houses. Many other statutes might be selected as the basis for study. However, the one I have chosen is the most sweepingly inclusive and the one for which the most evidence exists. Several editions of the

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[18] F.G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales: 1066-1349* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1977), 113.

[19] "La premiére collection des statuts de Chapitre général de Citeaux (*sic*) remonte, suivant l'opinion commune, a l'an 1134." *Guignard*, iii.

consuetudines are available including those by Guignard, Paris[20] and Canivez.[21] Of the three, Guignard remains the most popular source among scholars. His rendering of statute IX[22] of the *Consuetudines* provides us with the nub of the early Cistercian approach to the acceptance of possessions:

> IX What we may not hold (as) payments.
> Churches, altars, graveyards, tithes from the labour or harvest of outsiders, villages, villiens, ovens and mills returning rents, and (as well) the institution of both our name and order exclude other things similar to these (as) adverse to the purity of our monastery.[23]

This statute unequivocally demands that the possessions of all Cistercian abbeys should not be under any feudal or secular constraint or service.

Nevertheless, there is a considerable corpus of evidence which demonstrates that the Cistercians accepted prohibited gifts prior to 1147[24]. While the examination of this evidence

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[20] *Nomasticon Cisterciense seu antiquiores ordinis Cisterciensis constitutiones,* ed., Julian Paris, [new edition by Hugh Séjalon] (Solesmes: E Typographeo Sancti Petri, 1842). Hereafter *Nom. Cist.*

[21] Canivez prints the same version of the *Carta Caritatis* and the *Consuetudines* as Guignard.

[22] *Nom. Cist.* enumerates this statute as number X.

[23] "IX Quod redditus non habeamus
Ecclesias, altaria, sepulturas, decimas alieni laboris vel nutrimenti, villas, villanos, terram census,furnorum et molendinorum redditus, et cetera his similia monasticae puritati adversantia, nostri et nominis et ordinis excludit institutio." *Statuta* (1134) no. 9, p 14 and *Guignard,* (1134) no. VIIII, p. 252.

[24] For England and Wales, see below, chapter 4. However, Cîteaux itself was already guilty of receiving secular gifts long before the problem crossed the Channel. Indeed the ideal

forms the major thrust of this thesis, some substantial consideration must be given to the context in which it is found. In England especially, and to a lesser extent in Wales, the first half of the twelfth century witnessed a phenomenal expansion of Cistercian foundations. The upshot was that many of these communities accepted gifts which would ensure their survival, as had done many of their mother houses. In the second half of the century, generally speaking, fewer offerings were made to Cistercian filiates. This decline was, in part, offset by the increasing incidence of land purchases. For instance, in a random selection of one dozen late twelfth century charters issued to Rievaulx, not one included any form of prohibited gift.[25] Kirkstall[26] provides another example as many of its later twelfth-century

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had been compromised by the time of the arrival of the first Cistercians in England. Prior to 1110, Cîteaux itself had accepted the payment of twelve sous: "[Avant 1110] - Elisabeth de Vergy et ses fils; Arnoul Cornu, qui retira douze sous de l'affaire, sa femme, son fils et sa fille louent et confirment le don précédent. Ils laissent au Nouveau Monastère le droits qu'ils possédaient sur cette terre." See *Chartes et Documents concernant L"Abbaye de Citeaux* [*sic*], ed., Abbé J. Marilier, Bibliotheca Cisterciensis (Roma: Editiones Cistercienses, 1961), # 34, 57. A second example occurred prior to 2 May, 1111. See # 37, 58.

[25] Between 1154-87, of the dozen charters considered, nine donated land free of any service - just as was intended by the *Carta Caritatis*. The other three contained quit-claims (i.e. the renunciation of an otherwise valid claim). *Cartularium Abbatiae de Rievalle,* ed., J.C. Atkinson, Surtees Society, no. 83 (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1889), 301-321, #'s 386-388, 403-412. Hereafter *Cart. Riev.*

[26] Kirkstall, like Rievaulx, was guilty of having accepted prohibited possessions prior to the union with Savigny. See chapter 4.

gifts involved only grants of land. It can be reasonably well argued therefore, that a pattern existed whereby new foundations initially accepted any form of gift in order to survive. Then, as the abbeys' financial condition improved, it became more deliberate in its acceptance of only those gifts which were officially sanctioned. Holdsworth[27] postulates this view most strongly, using evidence from Rufford. There, he argues, gifts of all fashions were perceived to be necessary, as was the case with most other Cistercian communities early on in their existence. By contrast, Fowler denies that this pattern can be applied to Wardon abbey. Wardon is, however, an exception to the rule because Fowler claims that nowhere in the cartulary does the community accept any church or chapel.[28]

The acceptance of any gift was not strictly dependent upon the donor. Often the character of the individual abbot played a significant role in the way a community acquired gifts. Such is the case of Newminster. There it is clear that the abbot Robert was responsible for his abbey's purity of practice. Conversely, the abbot of Holmcultram, who apparently possessed great business acumen, generated numerous

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[27] *Rufford Charters*, ed., C.J. Holdsworth, Thoroton Society Record Society, vol. xxix, in 3 vols. (Nottingham: Derry & Sons Ltd., 1972), vols. i & ii, xxxi-xxxiii. Hereafter *Ruff. Chart.*

[28] *Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Old Wardon, Bedfordshire*, ed., G. Herbert Fowler, Bedfordshire Historical Record Society (Manchester: University Press, 1931), 7. Hereafter, *Ward. Cart.*

gifts for his abbey.[29]

Although statute IX does not explicitly embrace towns, manors, lordships or monetary payments, we can reasonably assume that they were also included. According to Maitland, the manor was any "house against which geld is charged"[30]. While the geld was charged against the land, it was paid by those who dwelt in the houses which sat upon the land. Accordingly, any manor must have included some form of tenant who could pay or produce in order to cover the geld. Statute IX does prohibit the acceptance of tenants and it anathematizes anything which would bring the monks into contact with the world. Lordships and knight's fees usually involved dealing with tenants upon a manor on a regular basis. Monetary payments necessarily involve - through outright purchase or by the payment of annual or semi-annual rents - recurring contact with those who live in the secular world. Consequently such transactions must also be considered as a part of the list of prohibited possessions which will be examined in chapters four through six. First, though, we must consider the source material available for this study as well

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[29] Abbot Everard (1150-d.1192) was responsible for acquiring many gifts, some as distant as the Isle of Man. There he gained the right of free entry and freedom from tolls. *Register and Records of Holm Cultram,* eds., Francais Grainger and W.G. Collingwood, Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquitys and Archaeological Society Record Series, no. 7 (Kendal: Titus Wilson & Son, 1929), 94. Hereafter *Reg. Holm.*

[30] F.W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (London: Collins, 1887, reprinted 1961), 154.

as the history of Cîteaux and her off-spring as a part of the rapidly changing twelfth century world.

Discussion of Sources

Before embarking on any discussion of the concerns raised in chapter one, it is essential to identify and discuss the sources available, especially those which contain the cases of abuse which will be cited in chapters four through six. At the close of the eleventh century, written records were still a novel form of recording transactions and other similar data and were not nearly as numerous as in the following centuries.[1] Indeed the written consummation of any transaction was only just coming into its own, replacing the more tangible exchange of a piece of turf, dagger, or other like thing. Cîteaux was founded at this juncture and became deeply impressed by the written record. The result was a Cistercian written tradition which has provided scholars with a series of charters and documents contained in the individual community cartulary. It is upon these which we rely for much of the early history of both the individual house and the Order. Various other works also provide valuable information. However, the discussion of these sources will be deferred until those resources which are of no value for this examination have been identified and set aside.

Numerous royal records exist which apply to the study of the Order in the period from the thirteenth century down to

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[1] Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (Cambridge Mass: Harvard University Press, 1979). See chapter 1, 27 for example.

the Dissolution. The *Pipe Rolls* record details of the contributions to King Richard's ransom (1194) while the *Quo Warranto* inquest (1279) and the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* under Pope Nicholas IV (1291) offer a variety of data about the members of the Order. The Poll Tax, collected under Richard II (1379), yields information on the economic resources of the fourteenth century Cistercians, and the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (1535) and the post-suppression *Minister's Accounts* (1539) provide a summation of the Order's wealth and holdings in the kingdom at the time of Henry VIII. Clearly no one of these sources can provide the economic and feudal information for the earliest era of the Order. Thus, the obvious consideration when assessing this host of royal primary material is the time frame in which sources were produced. The bulk of the material contained in archives and similar deposits falls outside the early twelfth century.[2]

For the earliest period of the Order then, records are most scarce. Except for Robert of Torigni (and his comments generally refer to the larger events of the twelfth century)[3],

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[2] The *Rolls of the Exchequer* and the *Calender of Patent and Close Rolls* all fall under this category.

[3] *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I: Chronicle of Robert of Torigni,* Richard Howlett, ed., *Rolls Series,* vol. 82, pt. 3 (Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1964). Hereafter *Torigni*. For example, Robert relates the ordinance which prohibits the founding of any new houses (1152): "In capitulo Cisterciensi statum est ne amplius aliquem novam abbatiam construerent, quia numerus abbatiam de illo ordine usque ad quingentas fere abbatias pro cesserat." 171 He also provides a lengthy passage on the seccession from Molesme and the foundation of Cîteaux. See *ibid,* 56-57. William of Newburgh offers a different, but no more useful

few chroniclers or religious annals mention the Order other than in passing and then usually in regard to the foundation of a house.[4] Moreover, Cistercian freedom from diocesan control and exemption from taxation has further reduced the access we have to the early Cistercian life through contemporary records.

All Cistercian houses were founded on the premise that they were exempt from episcopal visitation and jurisdiction. While instances may be found, such as at the foundation of Tintern when the Bishop of Hereford felt it acceptable for the monks of the new abbey to forego the strict adherence to the

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passage, commentating on the foundation of Rievaulx: "Sane paulo ante a nobili viro Waltero Espec invitati, et a felicis memoriae abbate Bernardo directi, monachi Clarevallenses in Eborarensem provinciam venerant, et in loco qui dicitur Rievallis, tunc autem locus erat horroris, et vastae solitudinis, mansionem acceperant, praefato viro tradente, et venerabili Turstino episcopalem cum affectu paterno favorem praebente." William of Newburgh, Richard Howlett, ed., *Rolls Series*, vol. 82, pt.1 (Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint, 1964), 50. Hereafter, *Newburgh.*

[4] "[1128] Hoc anno fundata est abbatia de Waverleia domino Willelmo Giffard episcopo Wintoniensi viii kal. decembris. Et ipse episcopus Willelmus eodem anno obiit, et Henricus Blesensis successit, frater regis Stephani, qui fuit abbas apud Glastoniam. Et Johannes primus abbas Waverleia qui venit cum conventu, hoc anno mortuus est apud Midehirst, rediens a capitulo. Successit Gillebertus abbas ii." *Annales monasterii de Wintonia et de Waverleia,* Henry Luard ed., Rolls Series, vol. 36, pt. 2 (London: Longman, Green, Roberts and Green, 1865), 221. Hereafter *RS Waverley.* This comment is, as may be expected, atypically long, since the annals were written at the house under description. Nevertheless, most annals, and Waverley is no exception, consisted of commentary regarding the entire kingdom. The foundation of any house was therefore of minor importance in the larger picture.

Carta Caritatis and accept the church of Woolaston,[5] it is generally acknowledged that the Order was free from the control of the secular clergy.

Likewise, the white monks were exempt from ecclesiastical land tax, a privilege which depended upon papal favour. In 1132 Pope Innocent II granted the Order an exemption from tax on all land unless it had previously been cultivated and taxed (*innovatum*).[6] Since much of the land given to the Order was apparently pasture or waste (hitherto uncultivated and thus untaxed), many communities were virtually tax-free. In 1156 Adrian IV restricted the exemption so that henceforth only *novales,* that is land put under the plough for the first time, was to be exempt. Adrian's intervention was in response to Peter the Venerable's charge that the Cistercian exemption was depriving Cluny's affiliates of upwards of ten per cent of their income.[7] In 1174, Pope Alexander III reversed his predecessor's concession and revived Innocent II's *innovatum*

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[5] David H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians,* 2 vols. (Norwich: Quidenham, 1983), 334

[6] *M.O.*, 355

[7] James S. Donnelly, *The Decline of the Cistercian Laybrotherhood* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1949), 44-45. A similar charge was laid against the Order in 1174 and 1181 by Richard, Archbishop of Canterbury. He recommended a return to the taxation policy of Adrian IV now that the Order was "richly endowed with possessions". No longer was the privilege "tolerated as a matter of necessity". See *English Episcopal Acta II: Canterbury 1162-1190,* C.R. Cheney and Bridgett E.A. Jones, eds., The British Academy (London: Oxford University Press, 1986), no. 106, 84. Hereafter *Acta*.

privilege.[8] As a result, there are no Cistercian tax records to which we can turn.

Thus the principle resource for the period is the individual community cartulary. Fortunately, historians of British monasticism have at hand a compilation of these charters from Cistercian houses as well as other monastic communities. In the sixteenth century John Leland, among others,[9] compiled the initial lists (including partial histories) of religious houses in England and Wales. In tandem with the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, which provided the financial data, these works offered the first survey of monastic houses covering the length and breadth of both England and Wales. In the seventeenth century, Sir William Dugdale produced a three volume work entitled the *Monasticon Anglicanum*. This work superceeded Leland and his followers and was considered the standard, perhaps even by Tanner, whose updated addition of the *Monasticon*, known as the *Notitia Monastica* (1685), became the basis for the nineteenth century emendations of the new edition of the *Monasticon*.[10] Dugdale's work is a monumental work, both in terms of its scope and in

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[8] The distinction drawn between *novales* and *innovatum* was one of degree more than anything else. *Novales* embraced land brought under cultivation for the first time, while *innovatum* specified land put to the plough for the first time by Cistercian ploughmen.

[9] Bale, Stow and Burton.

[10] *Monasticon Anglicanum*, Sir William Dugdale, ed., [new edition by John Caley, Henry Ellis and Rev. Bulkley Bandinel], 6 vols. in 8 pts. (London: James Bohn, 1846). I have borrowed extensively from *KH*, xv-xvii for this summary of the *Monasticon*.

terms of its physical size. Therefore, it is important to note that all documents referring to Cistercian communities are confined to volume five. Although the new edition of the *Monasticon* forms the starting point from which all who are interested in English or Welsh monasticism should begin, it contains several errors of commission and is inadequate due to its many ommissions. As a result, it is essential to augment this corpus with the individual cartulary wherever possible.

Towards the close of the nineteenth century and during the early part of the twentieth, several local societies in Britain engaged reputable scholars to edit many of the charters and cartularies then extant, large numbers of which had hitherto been hidden away in private collections and had just been purchased by such societies. Of the great many cartularies produced, many are still virtually unavailable, often lodged in the British Library or in the Bodelian Library at Oxford. In order to trace the whereabouts of these numerous cartularies a few bibliographical tools are necessary. G.R.C. Davis[11] has compiled the following list of Cistercian cartularies. Printed cartularies are available for the abbeys of Biddlesden, Buckfast, Dieulacres, Forde, Fountains, Furness, Holm Cultram, Kirkstall, Meaux, Newminster, Rievaulx, Sawley, and Thame - some thirteen of the fifty-eight abbeys which are considered within the scope of

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[11] G.R.C. Davis, ed., *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain* (London: Longmans, Green & Co. Inc., 1958).

this study. The cartulary of Coggeshall is extant, but is contained in the British Museum and has been severely damaged by fire. The same fate has also befallen Combe's roll. The only surviving copy of abbey Dore's cartulary is a combination of *Cotton Julius C. vii* and *Harley 5804*, which is contained in the British Museum. Likewise, there is limited access to the records of Garendon (B.L.), Neath (Bod. Lib.), Pipewell (B.L.), Rufford (B.L.), Sibton (B.L.), Stratford Langthorn (B.L.) and Whalley[12] (B.L.). According to Davis there are no known copies of the cartularies from the communities at Boxley, Kingswood, Kirkstead, Merevale, Revesby, Robertsbridge, Stanley, Stoneleigh, Tintern, Titley, and Woburn. No mention is made of Basingwerk, Bindon, Bordesley, Bruern, Buildwas, Byland, Calder I (or II), Combermere, Cwmhir, Flaxley, Louth Park, Jervaulx, Margam, Quarr, Roche, Sawtry, Strata Florida, Strata Marcella, Swineshead, Vaudey, Waverley, Wardon or Whitland. The availability of sources indicated from this list suggests that the scholar without immediate access to the British Library or the Bodleian Library lacks considerable primary source material. Such is not entirely the case. Davis has missed several cartularies which were certainly printed at the time he compiled his list.[13] Furthermore, he has completely ignored those sources

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[12] This MS was printed twenty-two years prior to Davies' work. *Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*, W.A. Hulton, ed., vol. 10, no. 1 (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1935)

[13] *qv.* Louth Park, Wardon and Whalley.

which often contain portions of the cartulary and are referred to as collections of charters relating to a community.[14] While Talbot is of no use to the task,[15] Knowles[16] includes references to extant, and often printed, sources. Some of those which Davis has missed include: *Byland Cartulary,*[17] *Cartulary of Flaxley,*[18] *Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey, Woburn Bedfordshire,*[19] and the *Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey.* Since Davis' work was published, other cartularies have been found and/or printed. One such example is *Rufford Charters.*[20] Other works are also available in the form of printed charters or documents relating to a particular abbey such as *Records of Tiltey Abbey.*[21] Presumably Davis did not include these works, (which most often contain either the foundation charter or a

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[14] Examples include *Charters to St. Peter's Hospital and to Byland Abbey* and *Roche Abbey Charters* to name but two.

[15] C.H. Talbot, "A List of Cistercian Manuscripts in Great Britain", *Traditio,* 8, 1952: 402-417. Talbot's list is a collection of Cistercian theological writers such as Adam of Dore, Baldwin of Forde and many others. He does not therefore provide a list of cartularies or other monastic records as such.

[16] *M.O.* and *KH.*

[17] *Byland Cartulary,* Phyllis Auty, ed. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society).

[18] *Cartulary of Flaxley,* A.W. Crawley-Boevey, ed. (Exeter, 1887).

[19] *Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey Woburn, Bedfordshire,* G.H. Fowler, ed. (Manchester: Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, 1935). Hereafter *Woburn.*

[20] *Ruff. Cart.*

[21] *Records of Tilty Abbey,* W.C. Waller, ed., (Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society, New Series, viii, pt. i, 1903)

confirmation by heirs and successors of the same charter) within the confines of his work since they had not survived as a cartulary roll.

We are on even less solid ground when Welsh cartularies are considered. According to Williams, the register books of both Neath and Strata Marcella are now lost and those of Tintern (Badminton Manorial Records), Whitland (*PRO Exchequer*) and Strata Florida (written on slate) are all extant only in Welsh.[22]

While several cartularies themselves have not survived, much of the information which would have been contained on them has endured. For instance, information pertaining to Coggeshall is contained in Dugdale's collection. In addition, compilations exist of charters which relate to a specific geographical or geo-political region; *Earldom of Gloucester Charters*[23] for example has added to the ever increasing wealth of knowledge in the field. What is abundantly clear is that an up-to-date bibliography of English and Welsh Cistercian charters, documents and cartularies does not exist. Furthermore, many of the editions of the extant documents are old and are themselves becoming fragile. Since new evidence has come to light in the last century, an updated *Monasticon* seems timely.

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[22] Williams, *Welsh Cistercians,* 197, n 3-6.

[23] *Earldom of Gloucester Charters,* Robert B. Patterson, ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973).

In the matter of sources the distinction made by Clanchy between "primary" and "secondary" primary material is important. This sub-division means that the true primary source (that is the original document) is seldom seen and it is the "secondary" (the copy, revision or later edition) which has survived for historians to use today. Such a distinction means that "chronicles, cartularies, the Chancery rolls, *Domesday Book* and similar surveys are secondary records because they are compiled from other sources."[24] With this in mind, we must also remember that the authors of later editions of a cartulary may have pre- or post-dated events or transactions or misplaced events in time when preparing the cartulary for posterity; either unconsciously or from a perceived necessity.[25] The use of such primary source material (Clanchy's "secondary" material) may well lead the historian to an erroneous conclusion as a result of the erroneous material at hand. Nevertheless, monastic cartularies are some of the few sources which are available. Historians must make the assumption that an entire body of literature is much more difficult to forge than is a single document. Therefore, through the large number of documents under investigation, that assumption will be carried to its limit and I shall assume that what we are now in possession of is indeed representative of the past.

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[24] Clanchy, 63.

[25] *Ibid*, see chapter 4, 88-115, dealing with forgeries.

Domesday Book,[26] the result of William I's great survey of 1086, is an extremely valuable tool in determining the economic fabric of England prior to the inflationary spiral which originated in the twelfth century. No other European country can boast its like. This tome not only provides the value of most manors in monetary terms, but more importantly for our purposes, it sets out in exact terminology the number of mills, fisheries, hides and any other elements which made up the individual manor.

Three monographs have been particularly helpful: Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, and, to a lesser degree, Lekai, *The Cistercians*.[27] As is clear from the titles, none of these works is specifically addressed to a study of the early twelfth century in England and Wales. Knowles has set the parameters of his book to encompass more than Cistercian monastacism in England and Wales. In his discussion of the white monks, he offers some excellent insights into the first foundations, but his concentration is upon Waverley, Fountains and Rievaulx. Little specific data is provided for the lesser known abbeys. Williams on the other hand has adopted a much

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[26] *Great Domesday Survey*, R.W.H. Erskine, ed. (London: Alecto Historical Editions, 1988-1990) is the most recent edition of the document and is extremely useful, providing maps of *Domesday* counties and hundreds, as well as translations into English from the original Latin and fine facsimilies of the original for the palaeographer. Hereafter *Domesday*.

[27] Louis Lekai, *The Cistercians* (Kent Ohio: Kent State University Press, 1977).

narrower focus, concentrating his efforts upon the Welsh Cistercians from the time of their foundation until their suppression in the sixteenth century. Williams invariably focuses his discussion post *c.* 1175. Apparently he finds it difficult to extract much from the early periods of Welsh Cistercian history. Nevertheless, he has thrown himself behind the argument advanced by Hill and others,[28] that the presence of the Savigniacs had corrupted the Cistercians purity of custom. His position is not entirely clear, for he incorrectly cites the date of the Cistercian/Saviagniac amalgamation as 1157.[29] Besides, he claims that the Welsh Cistercians accepted tithes prior to the union, and it is the acceptance of tithes which he sees as the principle element in the breakdown of Cistercian purity. It would seem therefore that he has simply fallen into the camp, staked out, if not established, by Hill. Finally, Lekai has long been considered an authority on the Cistercians. Both his works, *The Cistercians* and *The White Monks*[30] have a similar focus and provide a general picture of the Cistercian condition from the origins of the Order in 1098 through to the present. Unfortunately, he has given little attention to the problem of

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[28] See above, chapter 1, 10-11 and below, 35.

[29] Williams, *Welsh Cistercians,* 332. It will be recalled that the amalgamation was ratified at the General Chapter, September 14-17, 1147.

[30] Lekai, *The Cistercians* and Louis Lekai, *The White Monks* (Okauchee, Wisconsin: Our Lady of Spring Bank, 1953). The former supercedes the latter.

prohibited possessions.

Other authors have uncritically followed the view that the union between Savigny and Cîteaux marked the turning point in Cistercian purity of practice. Platt[31], for example, has taken this view and supports the contention by quoting Hill: "The Cistercians had begun to collect spiritualities, or the receipts from parish churches, some decades before the end of the twelfth century."[32] This argument is based on a rather large assumption. Both Hill and Platt view the merger as directly affecting the White Monks. However, the words "before the end of the twelfth century" can be interpreted in different ways to suggest a time immediately prior to 1200 (say *c.* 1190), or towards the end of the twelfth century, (say *c.* 1170). Such loose terminology is inconclusive. In fact any frequent or extensive Cistercian abuse prior to 1147 would surely undermine Hill and Platt's arguments. Furthermore, Platt tries hard to establish a cause and effect, one which is rooted in a theory which lacks sufficient evidence to prove convincing. He suggests that since the White Monks undertook a more aggressive and grandiose building campaign in the second half of the twelfth century, the Cistercian coffers were filled to unprecedented levels as a result of hitherto unaccepted tithes and other revenues. However, Desmond has

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[31] Colin Platt, *The Abbeys and Priories of Medieval England* (New York: Fordham University Press, 1984).

[32] *Ibid,* 51-53

established that in many instances the acquisition of a tithe might actually cost the community more than it yielded.[33]

On the other side of the argument is evidence to suggest that Savigniac influence upon the Cistercian life was more circumstantial than direct. Lekai detects the decline well before the death of Bernard:

> No doubt, if ever there was a basic law in Cîteaux, the repudiation of churches, *altaria*, oblations and burials, tithes of other people, ovens or mills, vills and serfs', was such a cornerstone of Cistercian legislation. Nevertheless the examination of a random selection of cartularies left behind by the earliest foundations must convince anybody that infractions of even such rules were no rare exception well before the death of St Bernard.[34]

It is this type of assertion which has prompted Roberts to argue that the increase of abuse of the *Carta Caritatis* was the "largest single witness to a difference in spirit between him [St Bernard] and St Stephen, and between the second generation and the first."[35] This view unquestionably lends support to Knowles, who, as noted, observed that the Order experienced a gradual decline, not a dramatic shift as suggested by Hill and his supporters.

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[33] L.A. Desmond, "The Appropriation of Churches by the Cistercians in England to 1400" in *Analecta Cisterciensis extractum annus* XXXI-1975, *Fasc. 2 Jul-Dec,* 253 *et passim.*

[34] Louis Lekai, "Ideals in Reality in Early Cistercian Life and Legislation" in John R. Sommerfeldt, ed., *Cistercian Ideas and Reality*, Series # 60 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1978), 7.

[35] Augustine Roberts ocso, "The Development Dynamics of the Cistercian Reform", in M. Basil Pennington, ed., *The Cistercian Spirit* (Washington DC: Cistercian Publications, 1978), 79.

McCrank[36], who has studied the abbey of Poblet in Spain where no Savigniac communities existed, takes the argument one step further. In his view the *Carta Caritatis* provided little more than a reiteration of the Rule of St. Benedict. He too finds that the *Carta* does not prevent the White Monks of Iberia from accepting tithes and other illicit revenues. He believes the Cistercian charter simply added a few directives for the monks in a changing world. Consequently he argues that "the real dictates for achieving self-sufficiency were prescribed by the environment in which the community had to live."[37]

Finally, Philip Gallagher[38] undertook a similar study to this, with the one difference that he concentrated upon the affairs of a single Cistercian community, the abbey of Mortemer in France. He found that this house deviated from the prescriptions of the *Carta Caritatis* within ten years of its foundation. Mortemer's defaults began in 1136, more than a decade prior to the union with Savigny.[39] The purpose of this study is to extend Gallagher's approach to all the houses

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[36] L.J. McCrank, "The Frontier of the Spanish Reconquest and the Land Acquisitions of the Cistercians of Poblet: 1150-1276, in *Analecta Cisterciensis*, 29, 1973, 57-78, especially 60, 62.

[37] *Ibid*, 76.

[38] Philip Gallagher, "Conditions of Land Tenure and Their Religious Implications" in John R. Sommerfeldt, ed., *Studies in Medieval Cistercian History II*, Series # 24 (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1976).

[39] *Ibid.*, 112

of the Order in England and Wales. However, before doing so, it is necessary to examine in detail some pertinent aspects of the twelfth century.

Twelfth Century Context

The development of the Cistercian Order cannot be fully appreciated outside of the context in which it grew. Virtually every facet of twelfth century life was beset with upheaval and change. As part of that general ferment Cîteaux left its mark, but conversely, it too was scarred by the shifts in the temper of medieval thought and life. For instance, the religious climate was inexorably changed by the Gregorian reform which carried in its wake a host of new religious institutes including the Military Orders, and the revived spirit of the Spanish *Reconquista* in the form of the Crusading movement. Indeed it may be argued that the rise of Cîteaux was closely linked with the growth of both the crusading spirit and the development of the Military Orders.[1] Cîteaux's model of religious reform and stark simplicity, which anathematised the religious blasé of the status quo, was a prominent feature in the spirit of the crusade. An analysis of the two movements suggests a religious revival was underway with the secular wing taking up arms to fight the infidel in the Holy Land, and the spiritual arm embodied in the spirit of Cîteaux and her filiates. The first Crusade was launched

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[1] The most notable example of the combination of these factors is the Spanish military order of Calatrava. The Cistercian monks there developed into a military Order out of the twelfth century monastic reform movement as well as out of the need to protect the stronghold of Calatrava and the archiepiscopal seat of Toledo from the invading Muslim forces. See O' Callaghan, *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates*, 180-188.

in 1096, only two years prior to the foundation of Cîteaux; thence each expanded its influence upon medieval Europe. The popularity of the Children and the Peasant's Crusades contained forces similar to those which made the spirit of Cîteaux attractive and which was becoming grafted onto twelfth century life; namely a socially improving peasantry. The Crusades stretched the very limits of European society. The increasing movement of man and beast which had been mobilised for the Crusade helped kindle the spark of a monetary economy. Similarly, the development of the village market into a market-town often resulted in a large urban centre. While twelfth century Europe was still largely an agrarian society, the rise of the town and the growth of trade began a movement that has left its legacy to the modern world of a highly urbanized population. At the same time a nascent nationalism developed as a by-product of the centralization of government. The increasing use of the terms English, Anglo-Norman and Welsh, generally at the expense of the broader concept of a single Christian commonwealth, was a notion which swept the continent in the following centuries, giving rise to the national monarchies.[2] Even the traditional roles of the players in society were changing radically in the twelfth

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[2] An example of this budding nationalism is found in Lackner who quotes William of Malmesbury: "It redounds to the glory of England to have produced the distinguished man who was the author and promoter of that [Cistercian] Order." Lackner, 259, n 111, quoting William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, IV; *PL.* 179: 1286 f.

century. By century's end, lay lawyers began to develop as a class of learned and able administrators. Their rise inevitably created a demand for training in the newly developing universities, particularly at Padua in Italy. This new class was less susceptable to conflict of interest in matters of church and state, a position in which the monkish advocate often found himself.

Within England the changes came late and rapidly. Henry I had been able to hold off the advance of the Gregorian reform at the Channel in all but two, and what must have seemed to be minor, respects. By the Concordat of 1107, Henry agreed to accept the Gregorian form of investiture, an acceptance more honoured in name than in observance. In practice, Henry retained the same control over episcopal and abbatial appointments that both his father and brother had enjoyed. Furthermore, he controlled the entry of papal legates into his kingdom. In compensation for this concession, Innocent II received Henry's official recognition. By these means, Henry effectively plugged the first hole in the seemingly unbreakable barrier he had thrown up around England against the Gregorian movement.

A second breach in the dam proved to be, in the long haul, of a more lasting and effectual nature. In 1128, the first Cistercian house was founded at Waverley, Surrey. Contemporary opinion attached little significance to the

event.[3] The house was small, poor and remote from human habitation[4] and it apparently offered no real threat to the political and social fabric of the English church. Nevertheless, by the year of Henry's death, four additional Cistercian monasteries had been founded in England and Wales.[5] Under his successor Stephen, a further thirty abbeys in England and three in Wales were established following the new model of Cîteaux, a number which may have been greater had not the General Chapter ordered an arrest to the order's growth in

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[3] *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Historia Novella (Lib. I)* William Stubbs, ed., *Rolls Series*, vol. 90, pt. 2 (London: Kraus Reprint, 1964), *cf.* 528-529, makes no mention of the foundation of the abbey. Nor does the *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, Henry Hart, ed., *Rolls Series*, vol. 33, pt. 1 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1863), *cf.* 14-15 or *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, William Stubbs, ed., *Rolls Series*, vol. 51, pt. 1 (London: Longmans, Green, Reader & Dyer, 1868) *cf.* 182-183. Margam's annales do not include the foundation of Waverley nor does Burton. See *Annales de Margam, Theokesberia et Burton*, Henry Luard, ed., *Rolls Series*, vol. 36, pt. 1 (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts & Green, 1864), cf. 186-187 and 12-13, hereafter *Burton*. The annales of Winchester are no more than a repetition of William of Malmesbury's *Historia Novella*, *cf* 48-49, and even the entry from Waverley itself is a small one. See *RS Waverley*, chapter 2, n 4.

[4] According to their constitutions, the monks were to build their abbeys only where there was no danger of being interrupted in their everyday life by the everyday lives of those who belonged to the world: "In civitibus, castellis, villis, nulla nostra construent: sunt coenobia, sed in locis a conversatione hominum remotis." *Guignard*, 250. Chapter Four of the *Rule of Saint Benedict* is entitled "Good Works". It expresses a desire for monks to "Avoid Worldly Contact". See *The Rule of Saint Benedict*, Justin McCann, trans, (London: Sheed and Ward, 1976), 11.

[5] These abbeys were: Rievaulx (1131), Fountains (1132) and Garendon (1133), while Tintern (1131) was founded in Wales. Meanwhile, Furness (1127), Neath (1130), Basingwerk (1131), Quarr (1132), Combermere (1133), Calder (I), (1135), Buildwas (1135), Stratford Langthorn (1135) and Swineshead, (1135) were founded under the umbrella of Savigny.

1152.[6] Such explosive growth can be attributed in part to Stephen's significantly weaker position in the kingdom than that enjoyed by his predecessor. In order to secure papal recognition for his claim to the throne, Stephen was obliged to relinquish much of the control over ecclesiastcal affairs which Henry I had exercised. The freedom now allowed to the papal legate in the realm was enhanced by the parallel expansion of the Cistercian family and the rising power of the Papacy. Together, these factors introduced a vibrant and substantial change in the ecclesiastical life of the island. In fact, the death of Henry I ushered in a new era of ecclesiastical freedom and paved the way for the famous controversy between Henry II and Becket thirty years hence.

As early as 1136, Stephen had significantly altered his uncle's ecclesiastical policy regarding investiture. To appease Innocent II, he issued a Charter of Liberties at Oxford in 1136. This document promised to free the church from secular interference, put an end to simony, and place

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[6] The limitation was not placed on those houses currently in the process of foundation or development, nor on those which were founded in Wales; where lay population was scarce and the conditions still favourable for Cistercian foundations. Canivez, *Statuta*, (1152), p. 45, also A.M. Cooke, "The Settlement of the Cistercians in England", *E.H.R.* vol. 8, no. xxxii, Oct. 1893, 625-676, 676 and *Robert of Torigni*, who reports: "In capitulo Cisterciensi statum est ne amplius aliquam novam abbatiam construerent, quia numerus abbatiam de illo ordine usque ad quingentas fere abbotias pro cesserat...." 171.

clergymen or honourable men in charge of prolonged vacancies.[7] Through this agreement, Innocent hurdled the obstacles thrown in the way of Paschal II by the Concordat of 1107. Over the span of twenty-nine years, Innocent secured unprecedented control over ecclesiastical matters in England, the repercussions of which reached down to Henry VII.

"The Anarchy," a term which has been used to describe Stephen's reign, involved several swings in the political fortunes of many of the leading magnates of the realm. These political uncertainties may be offered as the rationale for the sudden endowments of land to the Cistercians.[8] However, whether or not any of the magnates felt their land was better off in the hands of the Church is not at issue here. What is important is that the Cistercians grew by thirty-seven houses in the nineteen years of Stephen's reign. This fertile world, productive of such growth, requires further scrutiny.

The world of the Cistercian monk was, ideally, remote from the habitation and society of men: *ab habitatione hominum*

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[7] A.L. Poole, *From Domesday Book to Magna Carta: 1087-1216*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 190 & 192. Printed as Appendix II.

[8] Holdsworth suggests that the de Clare family may have chosen to found Forde as a Cistercian community in keeping with William Giffard's patronage and not as a Benedictine, or for that matter, Savigniac house, to which King Stephen had numerous connections. Christopher Holdsworth, "The Cistercians in Devon" in *Studies in Medieval History*, Christopher Harper-Bell, ed. (Bury St Edmunds: The Boydell Press, 1989), 179-192: 183.

remotas.[9] The acceptance of any gift which was in any way connected to the outside world was forbidden. Only by such extreme measures could the new model established by the White Monks offer a truly unique version of the Benedictine Rule to the twelfth century religious. In contrast to the foundation of a Cluniac house which demanded the inclusion of a library, elaborate buildings and working manors to provide income and food,[10] the White Monks were permitted to accept only waste land, far from any village or settlement, upon which might stand a few modest buildings. It should be noted that gifts to the Order often proved to be advantageous to the donor. In particular, foundation charters reveal that in return for a gift to a new house, the donor would, in most instances, receive a spiritual service; specifically prayers for both ancestors and heirs. The standard formula employed was:*...et pro salute animae patris mei et matris meae,...et pro animae patris et matris, uxoris meae, et omnium parentum et antecessorum nostrum.*[11]

The economic benefits of settling a Cistercian community nearby were also rewarding. The Cistercian mandate required

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[9] Jean LeClerq, "The Intentions of the Founders of the Cistercian Order", in M. Basil Pennington, ed., *The Cistercian Spirit*, (Washington, D.C.: Cistercian Publications, 1973), 95, n 29. Also see *M.O.*, 211.

[10] *M.O.*, 246.

[11] See Walter Espec's foundation charter to Rievaulx abbey, Yorkshire. *Monasticon* 281.

the individual community to live off the fruits of its own labour. Consequently vast tracts of land were drained, cultivated, converted to pasture or assarted. The result often improved the value of the surrounding districts to the general benefit of the neighbouring gentry. Evidence of this is particularly strong from the northern reaches of the kingdom, where Viking raids and the devastations of the Conqueror had left much of the region north of a line between the Welland and the Mersey available for improvement.[12]

No less significant was the opportunity given to land-holders to escape certain difficulties connected with their holdings by simply offering the parcel or parcels in dispute to the church. As Cooke explains, "the seemingly generous donations were frequently, if not as a rule, of land which the founder valued least among his possessions, occasionally...of land labouring under some disability."[13] Both Bittlesden and Kirkstall offer examples. In each case the rightful possessor was not clearly established. In both instances the uncertainty of rightful possession lingered so that the monks were forced to obliterate any stigma of accepting land from a second party - which may have belonged to a third party - by means of a cash payment. The case at Bittlesden involved a certain Arnold de Bosco, steward to the earl of Leicester, who was given a parcel of land by his lord after it had been

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[12] *M.O.*, 229.

[13] Cooke, 646.

escheated by Robert de Meppershall. Arnold delivered the same parcel (which included the vill of Bittlesden and the manor of Staunton) to Garendon. However, when the monks of Garendon moved to form a new abbey at Bittlesden, Robert filed suit against the monks of the fledgling community in the hope of recovering his land. Subsequently the community was forced to pay 10 marks for a confirmation charter to the property.[14] At Kirkstall the monks were given the vill of Barnoldswick from Henry de Lacy, though it was not his to give. [15]

As a means of enhancing their separation from the feudal world, the White Monks were determined to accept only gifts which were held in free and perpetual alms. Such tenure meant that "the land is to owe no rent, no military service to the donor...and...that it is to be subject only to the laws and courts of the church."[16] Nevertheless, Joan Wardrop believes that the ideal of complete isolation was clearly an unrealistic goal, for even by holding land given by the most pious of laymen, the abbey was sure to become involved in the "feudal and tenurial structure with all the rights and

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[14] "et tunc monachi de Bitlesden auxilio et consilio praedicti comitis dederunt praedicto Roberto decem marcas, et ita habuerunt cartam et confirmationem suam." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 367.

[15] *Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall in the West Riding of the County of York*, W.T. Lancaster & W.P. Baildon, eds., Publications of the Thoresby Society (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1904), xi. Hereafter, *Cart. Kirk.*

[16] Frederick Pollock & F.W. Maitland, *The History of English Law*, S.F.C. Milsom, ed., 2nd ed., 2 vols. (Cambridge: University Press, 1968), 251.

responsibilities which that entailed." A close association between benefactor and recipient developed whereby the monks offered "advice and counsel when needed, [and granted] the spiritual benefits of the house[17] Clearly the bridge between the ideals of the first fathers of Cîteaux and the temporal realities of the world in which the Cistercians dwelt was traversed at an early age. The result was a series of compromises. In 1157, the General Chapter reminded its members that the proprietorship of mills and other such possessions was not allowed[18]. By 1180, a change in attitude toward the possession of revenues had occurred within the entire Order. The appropriation of parish churches was becoming problematic, and, as a means of placating the previous holder(s) of their tithes, many communities felt obliged to make a lump sum payment of land or cash.[19] Guidelines were established for indemnifying past holders of

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[17] Joan Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors; 1132-1300,* Cistercian Studies Series, #91 (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 1987), 278. Wardrop is referring specifically to Fountains, but makes the assessment for religious houses in general.

[18] "Molendinos vel ceteras possessions quas ordinem tenere non licet." *Statuta,* (1157) no. 36, p. 64. However, the houses originally of Savigniac filiation were not asked to abandon their ownership of these things: "Abbatiae quae non sunt creatae in Ordine, molendinos teneant quamdu Capitulo visum fuerit; acquisitos autem postquam Ordini sociati fuerit, omnio dimittant." *Statuta,* (1157) no. 59, p. 67.

[19] Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge: University Press, 1964), 271.

newly appropriated churches and other possessions. Henceforth all tithes on newly acquired:

> fields or vineyards from which churches, monasteries, or other ecclesiastical persons have customarily received the tithes up to this time, you should pay [them] without opposition, unless by chance you have received them as a gift or have made a composition or are able to acquire [them] peaceably in the future. [20]

By the end of the twelfth century the Chapter had radically changed its attitude towards forbidden assets. No longer was there any pretence of following the letter of the law set out in the *Carta Caritatis*, and the dictates of the *consuetudines*. The concern now lay with the peaceable acceptance of tithes,[21] or any other resource. The incisive criticisms of Walter Map and Gerald of Wales suggest a widespread recognition of the deviation of the Cistercian attitude from the strict letter of their own constitutions to a more moderate stand in the years between 1157 and 1180. It seems probable that the change was a reaction to existing practices which had seemed necessary if most communities were to survive. The emerging cash economy dictated that even Cistercian monasteries must rely upon cash in order to survive. Concurrently, the growth of the Order and the

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[20] Constable, 303 and fn 4 which cites: *Statuta*, vol. I, 86-87.

[21] The term *tithe* is considered to be the portion of revenue set aside from any asset, which was to be divided between the church, the poor and the bishop. R.H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: University Press, 1926), 75.

explosive rise in numbers of men who joined the already swelling ranks within the communities left many houses grasping for a solution to maintain their solvency.

The popularity of the Order is nowhere more evident than in the phenomenal rise of the laybrotherhood. Overpopulation or overwork on the manorial estates, little satisfaction with their lot in life, or, simple piety, provided the impetus for many peasants to join the growing population in the towns, to enroll in the ranks of the crusading armies, or to enter religious communities. In the last instance, huge numbers of peasants adopted the grey habit of the Cistercian laybrother according to the provisions established in the *Consuetudines*[22] thereby earning their freedom from their secular lords. The influx of such numbers,[23] most of whom had no particular religious training or vocation, caused not only a noticeable financial strain upon the cloisters, but, by century's end,

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[22] "VIII De Conversis
Per conversos agenda sunt exercitia apud et per mercenarios, quos utique conversos episcoporum licentia tamquam necessarios et coadjutores nostros, sub cura nostra sicut et monachos suscipimus, et fratres et participes nostrorum tam spiritualium quam temporalium bonorum aeque ut monachos habemus." *Statuta*, (1134) no. 8, p. 14 and *Nom Cist.*, 213.

[23] Knowles and Hadcock estimate the number of *conversi* at 3200 through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. However, specific numbers are generally not available, and no such information exists until the Poll Tax returns of 1379-80, See J.C. Russell, "The Clerical Population of Medieval England", *Traditio*, 2, 1944, 177-212, 194. David Hey, *Yorkshire from 1000* (London: Longman, 1986), 61 mentions that Rievaulx housed over 500 *conversi* during Aelred's time and Knowles indicates that the population increased from 300 in 1142 to 650 in 1165, *M.O.* 258.

had become a potent force with which to be reckoned.[24] This problem cut across the grain of the general ecclesiastical reform underway in the kingdom rising out of both Gregorian and Cluniac pressures.

In 1102 the *Canons of the Council of Westminster* were issued in response to the charge that the English church was rife with clergymen practising simony and sodomy not to mention other violations of proper behaviour such as celibacy.[25] The Gregorian reform crept into the kingdom with the promulgation of these laws, but did not really take root until the reign of Stephen. The Treaty of London, signed by Henry I five years later, (1107) proved that ecclesiastical reform was slow in coming to England.

A further sign of English spiritual malaise was the paltry participation of Englishmen in the first Crusade. Whether coincidence or not, English interest in crusading only grew with the rise of Cistercian monasticism in the kingdom. Several pieces of evidence suggest that this was not a coincidence. For example, Cîteaux replaced Cluny as the driving force behind the promotion of the crusade. The preaching of both the second and third crusades was undertaken

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[24] The lay-brethren were active in seventeen revolts between the years 1168 and 1200 alone, with the number of uprisings increasing in the thirteenth century. Donnelly, 21.

[25] *Documents Illustrative of the English Church History,* Henry Gee, ed. (London: MacMillan & Co., 1896), 61-62. Printed as appendix III. *cf* 1, 6 & 29.

largely by Cardinal Henry of Albano, a Cistercian.[26] McCrank has demonstrated that in Spain, the Cistercians became an active force in the Reconquest. Their role at Poblet and the subsequent creation of the Spanish military order of Calatrava is perhaps the most obvious example of their influence in this regard.[27] Unquestionably Cardinal Henry's work proved to be of great importance, but the precedent for his activity must be laid at the feet of Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux.

Bernard was one of the most charismatic figures of the Middle Ages. According to a twelfth century saying, when he entered a village "mothers hid their sons, wives their husbands, companions their friends".[28] Bernard's power of persuasion was legendary and no one was better suited to preach the second crusade. He had already established himself as a man who was knowledgable about life whether inside or

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[26] See Thomas Prymak, *The Role of the Cistercian Order in the Third Crusade*, M.A. Thesis (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, 1972), chapter 2. Hans Mayer notes the role of Cîteaux replacing Cluny in the Crusading effort and he too cites the work of Henry of Albano as a significant step in this direction. Hans Mayer, *The Crusades*, John Gillingham, trans. (Oxford: University Press, 1972), 137. Henry of Albano (1140-1189) entered Clairvaux in 1155/56, became abbot of Hautecombe in 1160 and abbot of Clairvaux in 1176/77. As one of Bernard's successors he diligently fought the Cathars in southern France and initiated the policy of their suppression through preaching. (1178) In 1179 at the Third Lateran Council he was created Cardinal bishop. See Penny J.Cole, *The Preaching of the Crusades to the Holy Land, 1095-1270*, Medieval Academy of America (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1991), 65-67.

[27] McCrank, 60 & 62.

[28] James Cotter Morison, *The Life and Times of St Bernard* (London: MacMillan & Co., 1884), 15.

outside the cloister. In 1128 he supplied the message, if not the actual words, for the constitution of the Knights Templar.[29] He took a leading rôle in the cause of Pope Innocent II against the anti-pope Analectus during the schism of 1130-1138, and he was an active correspondent.[30] No doubt Bernard's intentions were excellent, but the precedent he set proved to be disastrous for the ideal of *remotas*.

In 1138, the Papal legate, Alberic Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, arrived in England to preside over a council, called in response to Stephen's Charter of Liberties issued at Oxford two years earlier. Following the council Alberic undertook a tour of the north in order to implement the Gregorian reforms long needed in the kingdom. To assist him Alberic chose the highly respected Cistercian, Richard abbot of Fountains.[31] Later in the century, the Papal legate Gerard, and Henry, Cardinal Bishop of Albano - both Cistercian monks prior to their respective promotions - were called by the Papacy to promote the Crusade to Henry II, Phillip II and Princes Richard and John.[32]

In each instance these monks did not leave the confines of their cloisters on mere whim, but on matters which deeply

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[29] See above, chapter 1, fn 10.

[30] See Bruno Scott James, trans. *The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux*, (London: Burns Oates, 1953).

[31] Poole, 190 & 192

[32] Lekai, *White Monks*, 47.

affected the spiritual climate of the world in which they lived. Indeed the Cistercian reform movement was too closely tied to the Papal reform movement of the twelfth century to be separated from the secular world completely. With the election of Eugenius III, the affairs of the Order and the Papacy were even more solidly entwined. Reinforcing this linkage was the papal policy of promoting the crusade; a course of action which hinged upon a growing spirit which could not be ignored. Its impact was felt in both the secular world and in the cloister. Nor were these the only factors which weighed heavily upon the Cistercian ideal. The twelfth century was one which witnessed sweeping political, economic and social changes, the ramifications of which deeply affected the Cistercians.

In political terms, the Anarchy thrust increasing power upon individual magnates, a power the baronage had not held since the reign of Edward the Confessor. During the contest between the two contending sovereigns the barons were able to flex long since used political muscles. The peers of the realm were not the only group to experience a dramatic rise in power however. Townsfolk commanded a new measure of power and respect after Londoners expelled the Empress Maud in 1141. Indeed the towns, especially those the size of London, Lincoln or Bristol, had already proven to be of major consequence,

wielding new power based on money and trade.[33] Both aristocrat and townsman proved to be essential elements in the survival of the Cistercian houses in England and Wales. For as the town grew, so too did the cash economy. The increasing reliance upon cash transactions sometimes produced unexpected results. The sheep for instance, initially raised to produce wool for Cistercian habits and cowls, soon became the basis for their entire economy, providing a livelihood for fullers, carders, weavers, merchants and traders.[34] The importance of cash in the twelfth century cannot be overstated. It was becoming the new means of production, gradually supplanting manorial control over labour. Immense sums were required to pay masons and other craftsmen to erect and decorate the new large abbeys required to house the waves of monks and *conversi* entering the life. In short, the Cistercians could not avoid monetary transactions. Even those houses which refrained from engaging in any explicit monetary activity *may* have been

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[33] See Poole, 65 *et seq.* For the development of town self-government, see 69. The townsman was also able to dispose of his property as he saw fit, unlike the villein, see 65.

[34] R.A. Donkin, "The Disposal of Cistercian Wool in England and Wales During the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", *Cîteaux*, 8, 1957, 109-131 & 181-202, 181. Donkin sees special concessions such as freedom from tolls and the possession of urban property as early keys to the wool trade. He suggests that by having these exemptions, the Cistercians possessed the advantage and were therefore able to engage in the wool trade, beginning in the second half of the century. Tintern possessed such a concession (freedom from tolls) by *c.* 1131, as did Rievaulx by 1135. *Ibid.*, 109, 120-1 & 127.

unwitting benefactors. For instance, in his will Henry II left:

> *MM marcas argenti, dividendas per visum et manum abbatis Cistercii et Clarevallis.*[35]

Henry II no doubt believed that he was providing the White Monks with a useful legacy; one which could help off-set their mounting debts. However, cash was of no use in the cloister *per se* and had no inherent value, as did land. Therefore the process of converting cash into something of worth, *i.e.* a purchase, resulted in contact with the outside world. Thus the Order became inexorably involved in the world outside the sanctuary of the monastery, though not necessarily through any direct action of its own. Consequently the Order found itself in a dilemma which the first fathers had not anticipated. On the one hand, the acceptance of the gift was, technically, contrary to the Cistercian code. On the other, any contribution toward the growing debt load was welcome.[36] The issue was further complicated by virtue of the fact that such sums as left in Henry's will would not go very far towards paying debts. When Henry's will was read, there were approximately 742 Cistercian abbeys through-out Europe and

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[35] Thomas Rymer, *Foedora*, vol. I (Paris: Litterae and Acta Publications Conventiones, 1912 & 1916), 47.

[36] For example, in 1186 when the Jewish money lender Aaron of Lincoln died, nine English Cistercian houses were in debt to him to the sum of 6400 marks. *M.O.*, 353.

Palestine.[37] If the bequest was divided equally among all Cistercian houses, each community would have received only 36*s*.[38] Momentary relief from these debts came to some English houses when Richard cancelled their debts as one of his first acts as the new sovereign.[39] However, when the Crown became desperate to tap new sources of wealth, the Cistercian coffers were not exempt.

Increasingly the Crown required ever larger amounts of money and it was collected from every quarter of the realm more diligently than ever. An illustration of this determination to raise funds occurred in 1194, when the (1193) annual Cistercian wool clip was expropriated towards the payment of King Richard's ransom.[40] In the following year, Richard taxed land and borrowed money against the Cistercian's

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[37] This is the total number of monasteries belonging to the Cistercian Order as provided by Janauschek; only a small number of these were founded after 1189. See *Originum Cisterciensium Tomus I*, Leopoldus Janauschek, ed. (Vindobonae: Academia Literarum Vindobonsensi, 1877, reprinted 1964).

[38] There is no indication one way or another that Cîteaux or Clairvaux actually distributed the 2000 marks among any of their daughter houses.

[39] *Memorials of the Abbey of St Mary's of Fountains*, J.S. Walbran, ed. 3 vols, Surtees Society (Durham: Andrews & Co., 1883), vol. II, 18-19. Hereafter *Memorials*.

[40] "...monachos Cistercienses, canonicos ordinis albi, [Premonstratensians] totam lanam unius anni." *Radulfi de Diceto, Decani Lundoniensis, Opera Historica*, William Stubbs, ed, *Rolls Series*, vol. 68, pt. 2 (Wiesbaden: Kraus Reprint Ltd. 1965), 110. Meaux itself, is recorded as having contributed 300 marks toward the total. *Melsa*, pt. 1, 273.

next year's clip in order to wage war in Normandy.[41] The money economy left an indelible imprint upon the fabric of society, even upon those who vowed to live apart from such society.

In 1147, two proposed unions with Cîteaux were examined by the General Chapter, one was accepted and the other rejected. Savigny was incorporated into the Cistercian fold despite the fact that on several points its practice ran directly counter to the Cistercian rules.[42] The Gilbertines were a family of double monasteries[43] whose very structure could also jeopardize the purity of Cistercian legislation. There is no evidence to indicate that the Cistercian statute of cohabitation was ever broken. Therefore it may be reasonably argued that the proposed union with the Gilbertines would only complicate the discipline of the Order. On the

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[41] "Praeterea rex sive pro liberandis obsidibus apud imperatorem relictis, sive etiam in sumptus belli cum rege Francorum gerendi, tributum minus usitatum universo regno indixit, a singulis scilicet carucatis terrae indifferenter geminatum solidum exigens, vacantibus clericorum, religiosorum, et quorumlibet aliorum privilegiis. Praesentibus quoque ad congratulandum illi quibusdam majoribus Cisterciensis ordinis abbatibus: ...Ut autem vobis perpetuae simus gratia debitores, oportet ut adhuc semel vestrum ad nos declarantes affectum, lanam vestram anni praesentis nobis non gravemini commodare." *Newburgh,* 416-417.

[42] For instance, Savigny licitly accepted tithes.

[43] The Gilbertines were founded in England by Gilbert of Sempringham. The Order is unique in that it contains both monks and nuns within its cloisters. However, Cistercian legislation forbade the presence of women in its cloisters. "Quod in Ordine nostra feminarum cohabitatio interdicta sit, et ingressus etiam portae monasterii eis negatus." *Statuta,* (1134) no. 7, p. 14 and *Nom. Cist.,* 213.

other hand, since the Cistercians had accepted tithes prior to 1147, the proposed union with Savigny did not present a contradiction to practices already followed in Cistercian abbeys. Thus the union with Savigny was not seen as adding any new problem to the practical discipline of the Order and the union was effected. Still, the Savigniacs did little to enhance the Cistercian rule of poverty.

In Wales different troubles beset the Cistercians. Welsh nationalism, seemingly omni-present, threw up a considerable obstacle to the smooth operation of abbeys in what might otherwise have been an ideal setting. Much of Wales, particularly north of the Brecon Beacons, was ideal country for the Order: the population was sparse and the mountain slopes proved to be excellent pasturage. Nevertheless, political unrest created an environment of suspicion and mistrust between the monks and those on whose land their abbey's were erected. In northern Wales, the arrival of Anglo-Norman monks deterred any large-scale recruitment of the native Welsh to the Order. Furthermore, the spirit of continuity between founder and abbey was broken as the result of political upheavals and changes in patrons. For instance, when Strata Florida was founded in 1164 by Robert fitz Stephen, it was considered to be an Anglo-Norman abbey. That autumn Rhys ap Gruffydd, the Lord of Dinefwr, broke Norman control in the region and assumed protective authority over the abbey. Nevertheless, despite the new found ethnic

tranquillity, other concerns kept the community off balance. Indeed, for peace and security under their new patron, the abbey had to wait another twenty years. Only in the 1180's when Lord Rhys had consolidated his position was he then free to turn his attention to his adopted charge.[44]

Such events within both England and Wales leave the impression that the rise of Cistercian popularity and power not only lured the white monks into the world, but indeed the true nature of the Order, strict in theory but tending towards leniency in practice, suggests that it had no choice but to adopt the responsibilities which the outside world thrust upon it, in much the same way as Cluny had done a century or so before.

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[44] C.A. Ralegh Radford, *Strata Florida Abbey*, Official Guide Book (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1936), 2-3.

Cistercian Abuses: 1128-1147

This chapter records all the available instances of Cistercian transgressions of Statute IX between 1128 and 1147/48. The houses that committed these infractions are organized according to their filial structure. Recalling the framework established in the *Carta Caritatis*, each of the mother houses was, ultimately, responsible for the discipline of its daughters. By grouping the houses according to their lineage, it becomes possible to compare the discipline offered between each of these mother houses. Not surprisingly, the total number of abuses committed under the auspices of any of Cîteaux's daughter houses does not vary significantly from those under any other sisters' rule. The conclusion is that, despite the transgressions committed against Statute IX, the Cistercian system of discipline was reasonably consistent within its practice, even if the practice was not consistent with the theory. This constancy was also maintained through the special case of Fountains. When the faction of Black monks at St. Mary's York joined the Order, it did so falling under the matronage of Clairvaux. However, its rapid generation of off-spring and its unique circumstance[1] has led

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[1] Unlike Dunkeswell, which was a converted black monk community or Red Moor (Stoneleigh) which was a hermitage and converted, Fountains was a new foundation which emanated out of rejection of the practice at St. Mary's. In this sense Fountains shared a like history with Cîteaux itself. For an excellent summary of the secession from St. Mary's, see *M.O.*, 230-238.

Fountains to hold a pseudo-mother house status. It should also be mentioned that no houses in either England or Wales were colonized from Pontigny or La Ferté. Thus two of the first four daughter houses, Cîteaux's later daughter of L'Aumône and the pseudo-daughter house of Fountains are compared with one another instead of the first four daughters of Cîteaux.

Within this chapter I shall examine twenty-eight Cistercian houses, twenty-five of which were situated in England, against three Welsh houses. Of these twenty-eight, only four appear not to have breached the conditions contained in statute IX - those being Newminster, governed by abbot Robert (1138-1159), Bruern, a daughter house of Waverley, Cwmhir and Boxley. Of these four, insufficient evidence exists to make a proper assessment of Cwmhir and Boxley.[2]

Notwithstanding the exceptions, ninety-eight transgressions have been traced to twenty-four abbeys. Moreover, the propriety of a further thirteen cases may be

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[2] No cartulary, register or other form of account roll has been located for Cwmhir. Likewise, very little information has survived from the Boxley community. While it is suggested that the monks of Clairvaux promised William Ypres absolution for his evil lordship over Kent if he built them an abbey (*VCH, Kent, II,* 153), no evidence has been uncovered which indicates what the original endowment contained. Only by the time of King Richard I is a charter found which confirms the monks in possession of: "totum manerium de Boxele." *Monasticon,* 461. This manor contained three mills at the time of *Domesday,* but there is no sure evidence showing that the manor was in the hands of the abbey prior to 1147.

questioned.[3] While it is conceivable that other instances of abuse will be found when additional documents are unearthed or become more readily accessible, the current totals still prove to be fruitful. Using these figures, the average number of abuses is 4.08 per house. That average increases to 4.35 if the numerator increases by one-half of the suspicious cases, and if the original numerator is increased by all thirteen suspicious cases, the average rises to 4.63 abuses per house. These calculations are illustrated in figure 1.

Figure 1.

$$98 \div 24 = 4.08$$

$$98 + 6.5 = 104.5 \quad 104.5 \div 24 = 4.35$$

$$98 + 13 = 111 \quad 111 \div 24 = 4.63$$

Even if we assume that all twenty-eight houses were deviant, the average is still 3.64.[4] These calculations are represented in figure 2.

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[3] These instances are "suspicious" cases. The meaning of the term is not to suggest uncertainty with respect to the abuse *qua* abuse, but in terms of whether or not the abuse was actually committed owing to confusion or insufficient evidence in the source material.

[4] This assumes that four new abuses would be added to the numerator as well as four new houses added to the denominator. Such an equation is generous to the houses which have not been found guilty of holding illicit properties, for the average is over four abuses per house, but I have added only a single abuse to each of our four "doubtfuls" in order to make them theoretically eligible to be included in the denominator side of the fraction.

Figure 2.

$$102 \div 28 = 3.64$$

$$102 + 6.5 = 108.5 \quad 108.5 \div 28 = 3.88$$

$$102 + 13 = 115 \quad 115 \div 28 = 4.11$$

In order to support these figures, all ninety-eight cases are presented according to the order in which they appear in Statute IX. Therefore the issue of churches is first, followed by altars, graveyards, tithes, vills,[5] serfs,[6] ovens[7], mills, payments, burages and messuages[8] and lordships. This chapter concludes with a tabular representation of the abuses attributed to the houses of L'Aumône, Fountains,

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[5] This term is used generally for the acceptance of villages, vills, towns and manors.

[6] This term is used generically to denote the acceptance or control of serfs, villeins or other such residents.

[7] While the oven may be a common institution in the village, it is not necessary to the manor (see Maitland's definition above). Of the fifty-six houses under review, no Cistercian or Savigniac housed specifically received the revenue from any oven, and since their inclusion in the receipt of manors is uncertain, zeroes have been entered across the board for this category.

[8] Donkin views the acquisition of urban property as one of the early developments of the wool trade. Donkin, "Disposal of the Cistercian Wool clip..." 109. It is therefore considered to be an interference with the life away from the secular world and is thus considered to be a prohibited possession.

Clairvaux and Morimond[9]. From this chart, we see that the families of L'Aumône and Fountains were guilty on thirty-seven and thirty-six occasions respectively, while Clairvaux was just twenty-two times. Quantitatively speaking, L'Aumône and Fountains were 68% and 64% more prolific in their acceptance of gifts than was Clairvaux.

Before I present the annotated list of abuses, one final note must be included. Only houses which had been founded prior to the union with Savigny are listed in this chapter. Thus, while loosely employing the year 1147 as the cut-off date, it should be understood that in this sense 1147 ended on September 17, 1147. Thereafter, all new foundations are considered in chapter six. Chapter five contains the parallel of this chapter for the Savingiac communities.

Prior to 1148, one notes a dozen instances of the acceptance of churches by the English and Welsh Cistercians. Of those twelve, the family of L'Aumône and the family of Clairvaux held the most with four apiece. They are followed closely by the family of Fountains with three. Finally, the family of Morimond is found in possession of only one church.

Before examining these cases, it is essential to distinguish the difference between the church and the tithe.

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[9] The family of Morimond is poorly represented in England and not at all in Wales. Abbey Dore is the only daughter of Morimond that can be considered within this study and therefore Morimond cannot be compared with its filiates. Nevertheless, on three separate occasions Dore fell short of the mark, placing it squarely within the context of the other houses of the Order.

While the tithe was that part of the church's revenues which was traditionally divided into three (bishop's third, church's third and a third for the poor) the possession of a church meant that payments due to the parish priest were the property of the owner. Relating both instances to the abbey, we find that in the former case, the abbey was considered "the poor" and received that portion allotted for charitable purposes. In the second instance, the abbey received the payment due to the priest.[10] Either by installing a vicar or celebrating the mass themselves, the brothers acquired revenue.

Waverley, the eldest English daughter of the family of L'Aumône and the first Cistercian house established in England, was granted possession of the church of Farnham. This gift was confirmed on the fifth of June, 1147, by Eugenius III.[11] Bordesley provides the next example. The abbey was founded in 1136 by Waleran de Beaumont, who up until 1141 had fought on the side of King Stephen. However, after the battle of Lincoln, Waleran switched his allegiance to the Empress Maud. At some point[12] between these two events (1136 and 1141) Bordesley was issued a second "foundation" charter, which bears Matilda's seal.[13] It is certain then that the

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[10] Snape, *cf* 75 & 76.

[11] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 237, note n. For Eugenius' subsequent confirmation, see document # VIII, 242.

[12] [1138?] *AM. Burton* says: "MCXXXVIII Abbatiae de Bodesliae fundatur." 186.

[13] *VCH Worcester, II*, 151.

abbey was founded well before 1147. In one of its two foundation charters it received the church of Tardebigge: *...et dominationis ecclesiae de Terdebiga....*[14] In the case of Stoneleigh no church was accepted, but the right to build one was. This arrangement was the result of an agreement between the Empress and the hermits of Radmore; the former granting permission for a church at Radmore[15] in return for the latter donning the white habit of the Cistercians. In Wales, the abbey of Tintern was endowed with the church of Woolaston at the time of its foundation. The charter, dated by Williams between 1131 and 1133, gives the church to the abbey due to special circumstances. Williams explains that the bishop of Hereford felt that the gift, despite being contrary to the Cistercian ideal, was acceptable due to the monks' charitable work and "various other reasons...".[16]

Clairvaux's family in the kingdom was no less active in the acquisition of churches than the family of L'Aumône. Rievaulx inititated the trend with negotiations over the church of Kirkham. "Early on" the monks there bargained with the canons of Kirkham for the church of Kirkham, the canon's buildings, gardens and mills, Whitewell and Westow as well as four carucates of land in Thrixendale, 100 sheep and a wagon. The transaction was not ratified because the monks offered the

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[14] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 409.

[15] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 447.

[16] Williams, vol. ii, 334.

canons only Linton and Hwersletorp.[17] While the abbey ultimately did not acquire the church at Kirkham, it clearly intended to incorporate it into the communities' assets. Sgnificantly, within this family (and within the confines of England and Wales) only those abbeys which were direct descendents of Rievaulx accepted churches. Revesby, founded from Rievaulx, possessed two churches; one being exchanged in favour of another. A joint charter from the founder's brother and Ivo, from the presbytery of Thoresby, provided the monks with the church there in exchange for the second church of Chircebe and a toft next to the cemetery.[18] Finally, the abbey of Sawtry, founded in the West Riding of Yorkshire in 1147, was given the village church[19] as a part of the

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[17] *VCH, Yorkshire, II,* 150. Kirkham was an Augustinian priory founded by Walter Espec a decade before he had founded Rievaulx. While all the details of the negotiations are unclear, it appears that half of the cathedral members wished to join the Cistercian Order. The other half desired to retain their canonical status. The union between monastery and priory did not materialize and as a result the abbey entered into negotiations for Kirkham's substantial holdings. *Cart. Riev.*, xix & xxx.

[18] "Et Ivoni presbytero de Toresbeia, dedi escambiam pro ecclesia sua de Thoresbia, ecclesiam de Chircebia cum hiis quae appendebant, et unum toftum juxta cimiterium." *Monasticon,* 454. The church was considered to be part of the hamlet of Revesby, *Domesday Book,* 173.

[19] Simon de Senliz, earl of Northampton, founded the abbey and endowed it with the village of Sawtry which he had held since the time of *Domesday.* "Notum sit tam praesentibus quam futuris me dedisse et concessisse et praesenti carta confirmasse Deo et Sanctae Mariae de Saltreia et monachis ibi manentibus de ordine Cisterciensi, in perpetuam elemosinam, ad construendam abbatiam tam ecclesiam ejusdem villae cum omnibus pertinentiis suis...." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 522.

foundation endowment.[20]

The family of Fountains was only slightly more diligent with regard to statute IX than were the families of L'Aumône and Clairvaux. Fountains herself accepted a church from Wallef, son of Archill[21] well before 1147. Hugh de Bolbec founded Woburn abbey in Bedfordshire was in 1145. Henry II's later confirmation of the community's founding possessions find it in possession of the church at Woburn: *totum manerium de Woburna quod Hugo de Bolebec eis in elemosinam dedit, et locum in quo ecclesia illa fundata est.*[22] In the last instance, the monks at Kirkstall were placed in an untenable position. On 18 May, 1147, the ailing Henry de Lacy gave the monks of Fountains the manor of Barnoldswick in order to found an abbey. The manor consisted of four parochial villages and two hamlets.[23] To ensure solitude, the monks pulled down the parish church, but the parishoners appealed to Rome where the matter was decided before the pontiff in favour of the monks. This case illustrates that the rationale behind the

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[20] Sawtry was the daughter house of Wardon, and a granddaughter of Rievaulx.

[21] "...et illam partem terrae quam dedit eidem ecclesiae Wallef filius Archilli, homo noster, quae est juxta eundem (*sic*) boscum in quo nos fundavimus eandem ecclesiam." *Memorials*, 156.

[22] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 479.

[23] "Fuit autem ecclesia de Bernolswick antiqua nimis et ab olim fundata habens villas parochiales quatuor, videlicet Martonam, et aliam Martonam, Bracewellam, et Stokam, excepta villa Bernolswyk et duabus villulis appendentibus Elswyntorp et Broceadene, quas amotis habitatoribus jam dicti monachi possidebant." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 530.

prohibition of churches in the Cistercian statute was well founded. Indeed contact with the outside world was inevitable wherever churches were administered for the tithes they generated. However, in this case, while the monks' intentions were to follow the letter of Cistercian law, they still became embroiled in affairs of the outside world as a consequence of accepting a parcel of land on which there was a church. Kirkstall then, must be charged with the acceptance of a church, despite their destruction of it. Their receipt of it brought them into contact with the secular world notwithstanding the final destiny of the building itself.

Abbey Dore was in possession of a church whose name is not disclosed. The abbey was established by the earl of Ferrers, Robert de Ewyas, in April, 1147. The monks paid two silver marks for a confirmation charter for the church, found at a later stage of the foundation charter.[24]

As to the prohibitions respecting altars and graveyards, no evidence of irregularities have been unearthed, whether among the English or the Welsh affiliates. This is not to say that no Cistercian house had its own altar or graveyard; undoubtably every monastery had at least one of each. However, I have found no instance of any Cistercian abbey which generated revenue or maintained secular ties as a result of the possession of such appurtenances. When Statute IX is

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[24] "Pro hac donatione de caritate ecclesiae, habui duas marcas argenti." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 553.

read, we must not assume that the regulation forbade the use of the monastic graveyard or church altars to the monks. On the other hand, the rule expressly forbids the generation of income from both.

There are nevertheless, a half dozen instances of the acceptance of various other sorts of revenues. These include three advowsons,[25] income from lights before the altars, a moiety[26] and a tenement. The family of Fountains is the most prolific in this category of abuse with three of its family accepting some form of revenue. The family of L'Aumône follows with two and that of Clairvaux is represented just once.

The first case of misappropriation is identified with Fountains. A certain Robert Seuerby donated to the community the moiety of the toft and vill of Otley. This gift previously returned 8*d* to Thurstan, Archbishop of York.[27] The date of the gift has not been determined for certain, although one piece of evidence would suggest that it was made before 1137. In that year Waverley sent out a contingent of brothers

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[25] Advowsons have been separated from churches for two reasons: Statute IX makes specific mention of churches and of tithes; and secondly, the advowson of a church is not necessarly part and parcel of the church granted as part of a gift. See Pollock and Maitland, vol i, 498.

[26] The term moiety is a legal term which expresses a half portion; in this case half of the revenue.

[27] *Abstracts of the Charters and Other Documents Contained in the Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Fountains in the West Riding of the County of York,* W.T. Lancaster, ed. 2 vols. (Leeds: J. Whitehead & Son, 1915), vol. ii, 788. Hereafter *Abstracts.*

to establish a new house whereupon the party established itself at Otley. Presumably, the new community would receive any gifts which might be forthcoming from the local gentry. It would seem probable therefore that the gift of the tithe was made prior to 1137. In another case Pipewell, founded in 1143, was presented with the advowson of the church of Karleton shortly after its establishment by Robert fitz-Hugh who had previously accepted the income from his brother Osmund.[28] In this instance, we see the first inconsistent relationship between mother-house and the acceptance of a prohibited gift. Newminster, which appears not to have accepted any illicit gifts,[29] should have proved to be a model of restraint to its daughter-houses and no instances of prohibited possessions should be expected in any of her offspring. Such is not the case. Newminster bore three offspring, two of which were founded before 1147. Both communities, Pipewell and Roche were in receipt of illegal gifts. Three possible explanations can be offered for these acquisitions. First, the monastic vow of *stabilitas* was broken on more than just odd occasions and the movement of monks between houses reduced the individual nature of any one community. Thus we might see fewer familial traits between mother and daughter house than would otherwise be expected. Second, it is possible that the same phenomenon developed as

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[28] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 431-432.

[29] See above, p 62.

a result of the annual General Chapter, where once again, individuality was frowned upon and order was stressed; if the general practice included the acceptance of prohibited possessions well before 1147,[30] then a more restrained abbey such as Newminster may well have been the exception and considered excessively punctilious. Finally, we may convincingly argue that all Cistercian communities, from the time of their earliest existence, felt little remorse in accepting those gifts which they thought were necessary for their survival, notwithstanding Statute IX. Clearly these explanations are not exclusive of one another. It may be that some combination of the three offers the most viable answer as to why a daughter-house such as Pipewell acquired an illicit possession little more than a half dozen years after the mother house was established and still actively adhering to the restrictions of the Cistercian code. In another lapse from custom, Kirkstall accepted half a mark for a light before the abbey's altar from its founder, Henry de Lacy.[31] It is well known that de Lacy was deathly ill at the time the gift was made and this was no doubt the reason for it. That such a gift was received should hardly be surprising. Fountains was sufficiently crowded to necessitate the founding of two

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[30] This has already been demonstrated for Cîteaux, see above, chapter I, fn 24.

[31] *Cart. Kirk.*, 54-55.

new communities within four days[32] and if the acceptance of a small tithe to settle the mind of an ailing benefactor was the price to be paid for a new house, then it seems likely that under the circumstances, the monks from Fountains would be encouraged to do anything to comply with de Lacy's wishes.

L'Aumône's adherence to the statute was equally lax. Forde, founded directly from Waverley in 1136 upon its original site of Brightley, was on the point of disbanding when Adelica, daughter of the founder Richard fitz Baldwin, transferred the monks to their permanent home in 1141. As part of the new foundation, the monks received from a certain Richard the rent of Moreville worth twenty shillings.[33] As noted above, Tintern was granted the church of Woolaston as a part of its foundation gift. Williams observes that by 1160 the monks were certainly in possession of the tithes from the church,[34] but he is unable to assign a specific date to the acquisition. While a greater span of years occurs between the time the abbey received the church (1131/33) and the union

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[32] Kirkstall was founded 19 May, 1147 at Barnoldswick, and Vaudey was founded 23 May, 1147 at Bytham, Lincolnshire. Such activity apparently was par for the course at Fountains. The *VCH Yorkshire* makes a special note of the general crowding at Fountains, despite her colonising Newminster (1138), Kirkstead (1139), Woburn (1145), Lisa (Norway, 1146), Vaudey and Kirkstall in 1147 and Meaux in 1150. These eight foundations totalled at least ninety-one monks who left the mother house in the span of a dozen years. *VCH Yorkshire, III,* 135.

[33] "...ex dono Ricardi de Morevilla xx. sol. de tenemento de Chaffcomba." *Monasticon,* 383.

[34] Williams, vol. ii, 334.

with Savigny than between the 1147 and 1160, currently no way exists of determining just when the tithe was acquired. While it seems reasonable to presume that the church and the tithe were given simulateously, no proof is available. Consequently, this is considered a suspicious case.

Morimond's affiliate is not represented in the acceptance of tithes, and Clairvaux is only once. Wardon abbey, founded in 1135 by Walter Espec, the founder of Rievaulx, was given the advowson of the church of Old Wardon.[35]

The most numerous type of gift accepted falls into the general category of the vill.[36] The family of Fountains was the most abberant participant in the acceptance of such gifts, with sixteen. L'Aumône figures in a dozen instances and Clairvaulx in another ten, excluding two suspicious cases. Because Abbey Dore does not occur in this list of transgressions, Morimond in not represented.

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[35] *VCH, Bedfordshire, I,* 361, n 16. According to Fowler, the cartulary shows no signs of the abbey taking any churches or chapels at all. *Cart. Ward.*, 7. However, he indicates two pieces of evidence which suggest that the *VCH* is correct in the matter: First, sometime between 1160-1170, Wardon was in possession of the church of Sugiulee, which returned one mark; this information comes from the cartulary itself. *Cart Ward.*, 15. Second, the foundation charter is not now part of the cartulary (see, *Cart. Ward.* 1) and the gift may well have been part of the original endowment for which Walter Espec gave the community all the land of Wardon and Sudgiuela: "faciant tota essarta de Wardona et de Sudgiuela et totum illud boscum de illis duabus villis." *Ward. Cart.*, 286.

[36] Vill is derived from *villa* and is used in medieval Latin to mean any community, of varying size. This is used in contrast to *villata*, (also denoted as a township) which separates the people (*i.e.* townsfolk) from the cottages, crofts, tofts and manor houses which can make up the vill. See Pollock and Maitland, vol. i, 563-564.

The family of Fountains was very prominent in the acquisition of towns, manors and vills. Fountains herself is guilty of accepting six such gifts. Shortly after its foundation in 1132, the community was given the town of Harleshow by Robert de Sartis and his wife.[37] Shortly thereafter the abbey received Cainton from Serlo de Pembroke,[38] and then the town of Stainton near Kirby-Moorside, from a certain Stephen de Meinell.[39] Lastly, before his death (1147?), Henry de Lacy also gave Fountains three small vills: those of Slenigford, Grantelay and Cnarreford.[40] Louth Park was founded in 1139 by Alexander, Bishop of Lincoln, in the heavily populated county of Lincoln, amidst a particulary heavy belt of villages and settlements around the town of Louth.[41] The abbey in not known to have held any particular part of this town at its inception, but it was given the manor of Louth sometime prior to 1146.[42] Pipewell was given two

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[37] "Ea propter donationem quam Robertus de Sartis et uxor illius Ragnilda...totam villam de Herleshowia." *Monasticon,* 308. Cooke says that this gift was made at the same time as Hugh, dean of York joined the community, 657. *Abstracts,* 563.

[38] *Monasticon,* vol. v, 286 and *Memorials,* vol. I, 54-56.

[39] *Memorials,* 4, n 2.

[40] *Abstracts,* vol, ii, 646.

[41] The site of the abbey was one half mile from the town of Louth. *Louth Park,* vol. I, xxiv. Louth had considerable wealth by 1086, including 13 mills rendering 60s, a market worth 29s and housing for some eighty burgessess. *Domesday Book,* 164-165.

[42] Eugenius III confirmed this gift in a letter to Bishop Robert II, February, 1146 at Trastevere. *Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln,* C.W. Foster, ed., Lincoln

halves of the township[43] of Pipewell; it received one half on the west side of Harper's brook from one of the founders, William Batevileyn, and the eastern half from its other founder, Ranulph Flambard, the earl of Chester.[44] While it is uncertain which *Domesday* entry was given to Pipewell, it is clear that the abbey inherited a prohibited possession in the form of the township.[45] Woburn, founded two years after Pipewell, was given the manor of Woburn as part of its foundation endowment.[46] Kirkstall's foundation gift, as has been noted above, included the manor of Barnoldswick. We have already seen that the monks razed the church which belonged to the manor. However, the manor also included four vills and two hamlets, adding six instances of abuse to the family of Fountains. Finally, Vaudey abbey was given the manor of Brachecurt.[47]

Record Society, vol. 1, no. 27 (Hereford: The Hereford Times Limited, 1931), 203.

[43] We must consider holding a township as a breach of the Cistercian code, since this term assumes the possession of a group of inhabitants. See above, chapter 4, n 36.

[44] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 431 and *VCH, Northamptonshire, II*, 116.

[45] Pipewell is listed three times in *Domesday*. In two of the three cases, the value returned was greater in 1086 than had been in 1066, with the third citation remaining constant. The values of each listing are: 6*s*.; 5*s*; and 2*s*. *Domesday, Northamptonshire*, vol. XVIII, folio 223, 225 & 226*v*. The entry which returned 5*s* also possessed four boardars.

[46] *VCH Bedfordshire, I*, 153. *Domesday Book*, 30, says that this was a "full-sized village".

[47] "Gaufridus de Brachecurt...dedi mansuram...ubi abbatia fundata est." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 490.

L'Aumône is represented many times, beginning with its first English daughter house. Eugenius III's confirmation charter of June 1147, indicates that Waverley was already in possession of both Netham and Farnham.[48] Garendon, Waverley's first daughter, received Stockton from its founder, Robert du Bossu, Earl of Leicester,[49] Forde was given the village of Tale by Joselinus de Pomerei,[50] and the trend continued with Kingswood. This abbey was founded in 1139 by William de Berkeley, who endowed the monks with the manors of Kingswood and Acholt.[51] Stoneleigh was given the town of Cannock by the Empress Maud in return for its adoption of the Cistercian practice.[52] After the monks found King Henry's foresters to be a nusiance, they traded the town and certain other possessions to the King in return for the manor of Stoneleigh.[53] Arnold de Bosco, steward to the earl of

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[48] "ex dono Stephani regis Anglorum Nietham et Ferneham." *Monasticon*, vol. v, # VIII, 242.

[49] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 328 and *Regesta*, 128. The town of Stockton was worth £9 at the time of the Domesday survey. *Domesday, Leicestershire*, vol. xxiii, folio 232.

[50] Joselinus gave "totam villam meam de Tale" upon the transfer of the monks from Brightley to Forde. *Monasticon*, vol. v, 382.

[51] "praesens totum manerium de Kingeswode...totum manerium de Acholte." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 427 and *VCH, Gloucestershire, II*, 100.

[52] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 447. The town was worth 20*s*. and held 8 villagers at the time of Domesday. *Domesday Book*, 244.

[53] *VCH Stafford, III*, 225 and *VCH, Warwickshire, II*, 78-9. As an exchange only one prohibited possession is charged to Stoneleigh; that of the initial gift.

Leicester, provided the monks from Garendon with the vill of Biddlesden and the manor of Staunton in order to found an abbey.[54] Meanwhile, in Wales, Tintern received part of Woolaston in 1131 as part of its foundation endowment. The manor of Porthcaseg was also included in the initial gift.[55] The founder, William Marshal, also gave the abbey a small vill as part of its endowment.[56] In contrast to its sisters, Bruern abbey received two manors,[57] but not until 1173, a full generation after the union with Savigny. Apparently it was able to survive some twenty-six years on the fruits of its labour before acquiring any type of prohibited possession.

The family of Clairvaux also had a propensity for acquiring vills. Its English representatives received ten. Rievaulx accepted perhaps half that number, quite possibly setting a precedent for her daughters, namely, Wardon, Revesby and Rufford. In his foundation charter, Walter Espec made over to the abbey his vill of Littlebec[58] and the village of

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[54] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 328. Staunton was worth 30*s*. at the time of the great survey and it possessed two mills and four villiens. *Domesday, Buckinghamshire*, vol. XIV, folio 143v.

[55] Porthcaseg was a manor which consisted of "mills, honey, fishing and tanning activity". Williams, vol. ii, 244.

[56] "et villa de Tudeham." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 267-268.

[57] These were the manors of Treton and Nethercote, which came from Roger, earl of Warwick. *Monasticon*, vol. v, 497.

[58] "totam villam de Lithlebec...." *Monasticon*, 274 and *Cart. Riev.*, 18.

Bilesdale.[59] Espec also gave the monks his manor of Helmsley.[60] Furthermore the abbey was in possession of Linton and Hwersletorp,[61] although the identity of the donor(s) is unknown. Wardon abbey, also founded as a result of Walter Espec's generosity, was given the villages of Wardon and Southdale(?).[62] Meanwhile, Revesby accepted two villages, those of "Toresbi" and "Schithesbi" with all appurtenances. Between these two villages, thirty-one men left of their own accord after the transfer took place and a further seven were moved afterwards.[63] Boxley provides us with another example of uncertain gifts. The foundation charter issued by William, earl of Kent is extremely brief, and nothing can be gleaned from its abbreviated text except the barest of details: *Anno millesimo centesimo quadragesimo quarto Willielmus de Ipre, praefectus bello sub rege Stephano, abbatiam de Boxley*

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[59] *Monasticon*, 274. Atkinson explains that Bilesdale came in 1145. *Cart Riev.*, lxi-lxii.

[60] "et praeter haec concedo eis omnia aisiamenta sua in manerio et foresta mea de Helmeslac...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 281.

[61] These were the two towns which the monastery offered the canons at Kirkham. As a result, these two instances are treated as suspicious cases.

[62] "faciant tota essarta de Wardona et de Sudgiuela et totum illud boscum de illis duabus villis." *Cart. Ward.* 286. It seems that the monks were given the villages and forests to raze and assart in any way they saw fit.

[63] *Facsimilies of Early Charters from Northamptonshire Collections*, F.M. Stenton, ed., Northamptonshire Record Society (London: J.W. Ruddock & Sons, 1930), 1.

fundavit; erat autem albis repleta monachis.[64] Not until the reign of Richard I do we discover evidence regarding its possession; that of the large manor of Boxley. Thus, this case cannot be included in the overall calculation for the average of abuses per house. Nevertheless, the complete lack of any gift, licit or not, in the foundation charter generates the suspicion that the *Domesday* manor was indeed part of the initial endowment. By contrast, Rufford was clearly implicated in three transactions where statute IX was transgressed. The foundation gift, provided by Gilbert de Gant in 1146, included *totam villam de Ruf...et totam villam de Cartela.*[65] A second charter reveals that the abbey was also given, at the same time, the manor of Rufford.[66]

As is the case with altars and graveyards, no instances have been found where any Cistercian house under scrutiny accepted the returns from manorial ovens.

The acquisition of people, whether serfs or others is difficult to assess accurately. The definition of the manor was that it was comprised of geld paying residents.[67] As such, the acceptance of rural folk, it could be argued, was at least as frequent as was the acceptance of any dwelling place, including manors. However, by and large I shall avoid such a

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[64] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 461.

[65] *Rufford Charters*, 334.

[66] *Ibid.*, 329.

[67] Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond*, 154.

generalisation in favour of a more moderate interpretation but one which is supported directly by specific reference to the inhabitants of the land in all save one case. On examination, I have found only seven cases, with a fairly equal distribution among three families. Fountains is represented most often followed by L'Aumône and Clairvaux.

While Fountains itself has not been found in possession of rural folk, three of her daughters have. Louth Park, established in 1139, provides the first instance. This case proves to be the exception indicated above and is based upon the large numbers of people dwelling at Louth itself, from the time of *Domesday* onward. Two pieces of evidence draw the conclusion that the abbey received serfs or other such folk: first, a charter issued by Eugenius III confirmed Louth Park in possession of the manor of Louth[68]; second, the *Domesday* entry places 80 burgessess, 40 freemen and two villagers there[69] which supports the assertion that the abbey received several residents; even if they eventually expelled them.[70] Kirkstall too received a manor (Barnoldswick) as part of its

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[68] *Louth Park xxiv.*

[69] *Domesday Book*, 165.

[70] Stenton makes the point that twelfth century people were "much less tightly rooted to their holdings than it is customary to suppose." This less stable condition must arise, in part, due to the Cistercian acquisition of manors and the subsequent depopulation of them. See *Facsimilies*, 5. Donkin concurs and has studied this problem in great detail in Yorkshire. See R.A. Donkin, "Settlement and Depopulation on Cistercian Estates, Especially in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries", *Bulletin of Historical Research*, vol. xxxiii, no. 88, 1960, 141-165.

foundation gift, and the furor raised when the monks tried to depopulate it has already been discussed. Despite the ensuing displacement of the residents, the necessity for this action demonstrates that the abbey, by accepting the gift, was contravening the Cistercian ideal of living in places remote from men. Vaudey was given Brachecurt, including two servants,[71] in its foundation charter.

Two of L'Aumône's affiliates violated the prescription against the possession of serfs and servants. The *Regesta Rerum Anglo-Normanorum* contains a charter issued to Waverley which confirmed the abbey in its possession of one hide of land as well as three virgates containing an unnamed number of borders.[72] The well-travelled monks who eventually settled on the manor at Kingswood[73] held, according to *Domesday*, seven half-villeins and one bordar.[74]

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[71] "...et duabus servientibus..." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 522.

[72] "...ecclesia fundata est cum: unam hidam et tres virgatas...et bordaiis...." *Regesta*, vol. III, 335-6. The hide has traditionally been accepted as a unit of land large enough to support one family for one year and did not receive a standard measure until the thirteenth century. R.D Connor, *The Weights and Measures of England*, (London: HMSO, 1987), 54. The virgate was equally imprecise. In the pre-Conquest days, the virgate was the Latin term for the rood, or one quarter of an acre, p. 37. However, by the time of the Red Book of the Exchequer, the virgate was equal to a quarter of a hide, p. 63. It was also equivalent to 30*d* towards a 40*s*. payment for a knight's fee, p. 63.

[73] Kingswood moved from its founding location in 1139 to Hazelton but returned to its original site in 1147, only to move back to Hazelton thence on to Tetbury in 1148. Between 1149-50, the monks moved back to Kingswood, this time locating on a different site.

[74] *Domesday Gloucestershire*, vol. XVI, folio 168.

Revesby and Rufford, two of Clairvaux's daughters, similarly ignored Statute IX in this respect. At Revesby, the patrons the Count and Countess of Lincoln, William and Hawise Roumara, exchanged serfs for a fourth part of a knight's fee.[75] Moreover, the abbey, upon receipt of its foundation gift, was in possession of at least thirty-eight inhabitants; only seven of whom remained to be dispossessed after the abbey took over the villages of Thoresby and Schitesby.[76] It is uncertain whether the serfs offered as part of the arrangement for the portion of the knight's fee were enumerated among the thirty-eight. Therefore I consider the house to be in violation once in this particular regard, though it may well be two cases. Rufford's original grant from Gilbert de Gant included the manor of Rufford and the land of Crately. Holdsworth has claimed that it took approximately a century to clear Crately (some twenty bovates) of its people.[77]

The acceptance of mills is especially difficult to assess. No doubt every abbey required some means of grinding

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[75] "...cum rustics ibidem manentibus, per servicium quartae partis unius militis...." *Monasticon*, 454.

[76] *Facsimilies*, 5.

[77] *Ruff. Cart.*, xxxiii. In the first decade of its existence, some 700 charters were issued to Rufford; all but a few of which fall into one of two categories: Those containing gifts free of pecuniary transactions and those for which the house paid some form of compensation (rents, purchase, etc.). Holdsworth's explanation for this hungry quest for land was that the initial gift was so small only active acquisition would ensure the community's survival. xxxi-xxxiii.

its grain or sawing its wood[78]. While the Cistercian code does not explicitly condemn the possession of mills, it does specifically forbid the possession of revenues generated by any mill: *molendinorum redditus*. In those instances where no mill was given to a house, we may assume that the monks built their own. However, should a mill belong to a parcel of land or manor which was donated to a community, it is difficult to believe that the monks were refused revenues from the locals for use of a mill, it being considered an appurtenance of the manor. With respect to mills, charters to religious houses seem to follow one of two patterns. One sort offers a parcel of land, delineating well the geographical boundaries and mentioning, almost in passing, *...in molendinos* (the right to operate a mill perhaps?).[79] The other type offers the gift of a specific mill, often by name. Either way, it is reasonable

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[78] Abbey mills of various kinds had been in existence for at least three hundred years as shown in the Plan of St. Gall. See Walter Horn and Ernest Born, *The Plan of St Gall*, 3 vols. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979) vol. II, figs 227 & 229, 443.

[79] The charter which transfers thirty acres of land to Rufford employs this formula: "in pratis et aquis, molendinis et pasturis." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 518. So too does King Richard's charter to Boxley abbey: "cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pasturis, in aquis et molendinis." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 461. Since all monasteries would require milling services, and yet not all grants express *in molendinos* specifically , we expect that the right to give permission to construct a mill for the abbey's use was not in the grantor's realm of powers. Instead, *in molendinos* quite possibly means the right to extract payment for milling services at mills upon waters within the granted parcel of land, from those who did not belong to the land upon which the abbey was founded. (This could apply to mills not yet constructed.) In other words, the benefactor gave up his/her right to extract milling revenues from his/her own tenants.

to expect that the monastery received some monetary return for milling services rendered to the local inhabitants of the manor or surrounding area. As testimony, five mills were acquired by Fountains' affiliates between 1139 and 1147; those of L'Aumône account for another four and those of Clairvaux three. These numbers do not include six others whose circumstances are debatable. No evidence has surfaced to attach Abbey Dore to violations of this sort.

Among Fountain's filates, Louth Park is the first house to take possesion of a mill. The abbey received one as part of its foundation endowment from Bishop Alexander of Lincoln.[80] Kirkstead acquired two (and possibly four) mills, the first of which was was donated by William de Denture and whose revenues were designated to provide lights for masses.[81] Gerard de Furnivall deeded another for the same purpose.[82] A certain knight named Robert confirmed the house in possession of two mills. These however, may be a confirmation of those already noted, or, two additional ones. One of these posssibly was given by William de Dentura.[83] Thus, only two

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[80] "In lyke manner I have given unto them one myll, for ever to possess". *Louth Park,* xxvii.

[81] *Monasticon,* vol. v, 418.

[82] *Monasticon,* vol. v, 416.

[83] "sicut carta ipsius Willelimi [de Dentura?] quam monachi de his rebus habent testabur." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 419. All of the charters which make mention of these gifts or confirmations of gifts occur in the charters numbered two through eight. Charter ten is dated 1140. Presumably then, these gifts were made prior to 1140. In addition, King Stephen confirmed Kirkstead already in

different mills are considered to be in the abbey's possession, with a further two entered into the category of suspicious cases. Kirkstall received two mills from Willliam of Headingly[84] as part of its foundation endowment. The gift makes up part of the initial charter from Henry de Lacy.[85]

The first mill accepted by Waverley is recorded in a confirmation charter from 1140, where an unnamed mill was bequested.[86] At Thame, founded in 1137, we are on less certain ground. *Domesday* says that there was a mill at the Oxfordshire site but does not state the value of it. Moreover, there is no evidence to determine whether the mill was still in existence when the monks moved to Thame. Consequently, this too must be considered a dubious case. Bordesley on the other hand was the beneficiary of two mills; the first noticed in its foundation charter of 1138[87] and the second bestowed by the Empress whilst she was at Devizes, between July and

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possession of lands and mills sometime between 1148-1153. *Regesta*, vol. III, 161-2.

[84] William of Headingly is William Peitevin, one of three vassals of Henry de Lacy, *Cart. Kirk.*, 51.

[85] "et hac eadem carta confirmo illam donacionem terre quam fecit eis Willelmus de Heddiggleia...[including]...et molendinum...et de sica molendini usque ad terminos de Linleia...." *Cart. Kirk.*, 56.

[86] "ecclesia fundata est cum: unam hidam et tres virgatas...et molendinis." *Regesta*, vol. III, 335-6.

[87] "et totum dominicatum Budifordiae et Northuniae, in bosco et plano, in pratis et pasturis, in aquis et molendinis...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 409.

September, 1141.[88] Stoneleigh also received her patronage when she made over Wirley mill in 1141 as part of an agreement reached with the hermits of Radmore.[89]

Rievaulx was the recipient of numerous gifts and as such its example must have influenced the outlook of its daughters. Rievaulx accepted the mill of Sproxton from Walter Espec as part of his founding gift.[90] We have already noted that the same house entered into negotiations with Kirkham priory, for the exchange of property, part of which included Kirkham's mills.[91] Although no agreement was finally reached, the abbey's intent tends to confirm the position established by Knowles. Revesby, colonised from Rievaulx, was also given a mill by its founder as a means of compensating it for the quarter part of the knight's service which Roumara exacted.[92] Boxley likewise appears to have had no qualms accepting mills. Boxley manor possessed at least three mills,[93] although it is uncertain that they were actually in the abbey's possession before King Richard's time. These three round out the last of

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[88] "unius molendini quod solebat reddre iii solidos." *Regesta*, vol. III, 42.

[89] "...cum molendino de Wyrleya...." *Monasticon*, 447.

[90] "molendium de Sproxton...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 281 and *Cart. Riev.* 18.

[91] *VCH, Yorkshire, II*, 150.

[92] "et unam molendinum ibidem existens, per servicium quartae partis milites." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 454.

[93] *Domesday Book*, 146.

the questionable cases in this category. Finally, the abbey of Rufford was endowed with the mill of Allerton from Hugh, son of Ralph of Wilchby. Hugh gave the mill which belonged to Cratela, a parcel of land which came from Gilbert de Gaunt in 1146.[94]

With the next three categories, we leave behind the more explicit nature of Statute IX, and address the more implicit guidelines which it appears to advocate. These categories contain a miscellaneous assortment of revenue bearing items. Any payments made or received, the ownership of burgages and messuages and the lordship over land all brought the White Monks into contact with the secular world and are thus considered to be illicit possessions.

Prior to 1147 there are ten instances of payments made or received of dubious character; four of which involve members of the L'Aumône family. Four are also attributable to Fountains and her affiliates and two are assignable to Dore.

Waverley paid the large sum of 120 silver marks for the grange of Warenberg.[95] That such a payment was made for a parcel of land when the average price for most parcels peaked at no higher than a few marks, suggests that some other transaction was part of this larger one, and not recorded. Furthermore, such a large sum must have placed Waverley in a

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[94] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 518, *VCH, Nottinghamshire, II*, 101.

[95] "de Warenbergia quae ad feodum meum spectat pro centum xx marcis argenti..." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 242, n. *VCH, Surry*, Vol. II, 78, gives the sum as 125 marks.

very precarious financial position which could well have left them open to the necessity of accepting further illicit possessions later, in order to survive. Another case surfaces at Forde when the house received the tenement of Chaffcomba from Richard de Morevilla worth twenty shillings.[96] A grant associated with Thame is however, a suspicious one. The community paid 22*s*, 3*d* to Nigel Chure for certain parcels of land at Bensingtone.[97] Similarly, the same abbey paid thirty-five marks to William fitz Otho for his land in Shipton.[98] For the case at Biddlesden we must be more sympathetic. The abbey was founded by Arnold de Bosco who had used land escheated from Robert de Meppershall to found the house. Meppershall, however, asserted a claim to the land, the upshot being that the abbey was compelled to pay Meppershall ten marks as a means of confirming its right to the property.[99]

The family of Fountains also became entangled in the business of rentals and payments. When Robert Sartis and his

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[96] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 383.

[97] "et solebat reddere infirma manerii ejusdem xxii solidos et iii denarios...." *Regesta*, vol. III, 320. This is a suspicious case because the charter was issued sometime between 1139-1153. Unfortunately, there is no further evidence to pinpoint the charter more accurately.

[98] "Set quia heredes mei nepotes sunt Euerardi predicti abbatis, ipse Ederardus dedit heredibus meis xxxv marcas argenti ad succurrendum eis terram emendam." *Thame*, vol. I, #99, 77.

[99] "et tunc monachi de Bitlesden auxilio et consilio praedicti comitis dederunt praedicto Roberto decem marcas, et ita habuerunt cartam et confirmationen suam." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 367 and *VCH, Buckinghamshire, I*, 355.

wife gave the abbey the gift of Harleshow and Cainton, they included the vill of Bishop Thornton for which the monks contracted to pay half a mark per year for all service.[100] A second instance, also at Fountains, witnessed this same Robert de Sarz quitclaim half a silver mark for which the monks had previously contracted to pay him for the land of Warsala.[101] As previously established, Pipewell was presented with the township of Pipewell. While it is unknown which *Domesday* entry the abbey held, the community must certainly have received some monetary payment from its possession since all three Domesday entries returned varying amounts of cash.[102] Kirkstall paid a full mark to Henry de Lacy for Clitheroe.[103]

Abbey Dore was required to make two payments in order to receive confirmation charters: the first was an annual sum of three shillings in recognition of the foundation grant by Robert de Eywas.[104] The second was made to a certain Geoffrey - found at a later stage in the foundation charter - of two silver marks for confirmation of the church they had received

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[100] Wardrop, 51. The de Sarz couple witnessed a second such charter, this one involving the sale of land to the abbey.

[101] *Abstracts*, vol. II, 562.

[102] See above, Chapter 4, n 45.

[103] *Cart. Kirk.*, 54-55.

[104] "per tres solidos singulis annis reddendos ad festum S. Petri ad vincula, in recognitionem apud Kingestonam, donec inde melius faciam eis." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 553.

from him.[105]

As for the possession of burgages and messuages, two cases are recorded; both of the family of L'Aumône with a suspicious case under Clairvaux filiation. Garendon was given a burgage in the town of Leicester[106]. Richard I issued a confirmation charter to Forde abbey listing the community's possessions from the time of their new foundation at Forde. Among the gifts was *unam domum in Exoria* (Exeter)[107] from Eustache, the son of King Stephen. Whitland was deeded a messuage in Haverford by Robert fitz Richard, but the precise date of this grant is unknown since the information comes from a charter confirmed by King John.[108] Therefore this case must be considered suspicious.

Because there are so few recorded transgressions on the part of Cistercian houses in this category, we might assume that the acceptance of other forms of "secular" gifts were considered necessary to the survival of the community. In general terms, both English and Welsh Cistercians were loath

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[105] "quae dedit mihi hanc terram, et pro pace et stabilitate totius Angliae et Walliae. Pro hac donatione de cartitate ecclesiae, habui duas marcas argenti." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 553.

[106] "in burgo Legr(ecestriae) unam burgensem..." *Regesta*, 128, *Monasticon*, 328 and Cooke, 643. The *VCH, Leicestershire, II*, 5, says that the house was never used other than as a hospital though.

[107] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 383.

[108] "Confirmamus etiam eis unam messuagium in villa de Haverford, quod habent de dono Roberti fili Ricardi...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 591.

to move into the realm of secular activity on a day-to-day basis, both prior to, and after, the union of 1147. For instance, Kirkstall abbey, even by 1200, did not own any form of house in the nearby town of Leeds.[109]

In the matter of lordships eleven instances are noted in which a community has accepted some form of secular control over the movements, or purses of the local inhabitants. The family of L'Aumône was the most refractory in this regard with six, while those affiliated to Fountains account for three and those subject to Clairvaux are assigned two.

Thame was implicated in three such instances. Robert Gait gave the monks five virgates of land which together made up a quarter of a knight's fee,[110] Robert fitz Amalric gave over his lordships of Curtlicgrave[111] and Wardeshall(?).[112] Meanwhile, Bordesley was granted two lordships; those of Budifordiae and Northuniae.[113] Finally, Tintern was given the

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[109] *Cart. Kirk.*, ix.

[110] "Construxit ergo ibi abbatiam et dotauit eam portione sua, modica quidem, videlicet quinque virgatis terre, que et ipse quartam partem unius militis faciebant, vovauitque eam ex nomine adiacentis nemoris Otteleiam." *Thame*, 1.

[111] "...dedi...illud de dominico meo quod Cartlicgrave...." *Thame*, 128.

[112] "...totum dominicum meum quod vocatur Wlwardesull," *Thame*, 128-9.

[113] "...et totum dominicatum Budifordiae et Northuniae...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 409.

lordship of Wlaveston.[114]

Kirkstead and Vaudey, affiliates of Fountains, figure in three others. The former received both the lordship of Kirkstead[115] and half that of Strutuna.[116] Vaudey was endowed with, among other things, the lordship of Brachecurt. [117]

Revesby was given one and a quarter knight's fees[118] in one of its charters,[119] and Rufford was accorded the lordship of Hicring. [120]

The following table represents the occurrence of abuses involving Cistercian communities in England and Wales prior to 1147:

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[114] "...et totum dominium de Wlaveston...." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 267-8.

[115] "...cum Domino haereditatem suam, locum quendam oportunum cui nomen Kirksted...." *Memorials,* vol. I, 65.

[116] "...et totum dimidium dominii mei de Strutuna." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 419.

[117] "...et praesente domino meo..." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 490.

[118] "...per servicum quartae partis unius militis...." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 454.

[119] "...per servicium unius milites in hereditate de me tenebat...." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 454.

[120] "Sciatis quos ego praesens vidi et audiui, quod Gilbertus comes frater meus totum dominium...[dedi]." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 518 and *VCH, Nottinghamshire, II,* 101.

Table 1.

Abuse	L'Aumône	Fountains	Clairvaulx	Morimond	Total
Churches	4	3	4	1	12
Altars	0	0	0	0	0
Graveyards	0	0	0	0	0
Tithes	2	3	1	0	6
Vills	12	16	10	0	38
Ovens	0	0	0	0	0
Serfs	2	3	2	0	7
Mills	4	5	3	0	12
Payments	4	4	0	2	10
Burgages and Messuages	2	0	0	0	2
Lordships	6	3	2	0	11
Sub-total	36	37	22	3	98
Suspicious	4	2	7	0	13
Total	40	39	29	3	111

Savigniac Abuses: 1127-1147

Savigny, like Cîteaux, was a product of the religious reform movement of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The house was established in the backwoods of Brittany by Vitalis, who hoped to achieve the perfect religious life so eagerly sought by all the new religious foundations.[1] Like Cîteaux, Savigny grew in popularity, although it never achieved the fame which came to be attached to Cîteaux. Nevertheless, the two communities shared a common purpose and a similarity of approach. Both cast off the black robes of the Cluniac stock and started afresh, donning the white habit. Like Robert of Molesme, "Geoffrey et Serlon quittant en 1113 l'abbaye clunisienne de Cerisy abandonnent, nous dit l'hagiographe, la robe noire pour la robe blanche."[2] The fortunes of the two houses no doubt developed along similar lines until *c.* 1115, when Alberic and Stephen Harding produced the *Carta Caritatis* and the other Cistercian constitutional documents.[3] From that point onward the two reform houses

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[1] "il est évident que Vital fonde Savigny avec la volonté de réagir contre le laisser aller des clunisiens et dans l'espoir d'être un des champions de la renaissance religieuse qui s'imposait." Jacqueline Buhot, "L'Abbaye normande de Savigny", *Moyen-Âge*, 46, 1936: 1-19, 104-121, 178-189 & 249-272, p 8.

[2] *Ibid.*, 104-105, citing the *vita* B *Gaufridi*.

[3] "Il serait de reste absurde de prétendre que, dès sa fondation, Savigny a suivi les coutumes cisterciennes, puisque Cîteaux elle-même, fondeé en 1098, ne formule ses principes que dans la Charte de Charité que nous ne pouvons faire remonter au

followed divergent paths, only to unite in 1147.[4]

Savigny has been considered the more lax of the two houses. The implicit argument of those who support Hill's theory is that the Savigniac monks were considerably less diligent towards preserving monastic sanctuary from the world due to their own lack of constraint (*i.e.* written code) towards the acquisition of worldly goods. It was this lack of zeal, brought into the Cistercian fold at the time of the union, which ate away at the Cistercian purity of practice. This is, however, dubious reasoning. In fact, the Cistercians were more prone to acquire those possessions which their constitution had dismissed as too worldly than were the Savigniacs. This is not to say that the Savigniac monks did not accept other worldly gifts, but they cannot be accused of setting precedents for Cistercian acquisition. It is the purpose of this chapter to measure quantitatively the occurrence of Savigniac acquisitions prior to 1147. The close link between Savigny and Cîteaux cannot be overstated and just as similarity of practice occurred before 1147, so too was it equally prevalent after the union. For instance

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delá de 1115." Buhot, 8.

[4] Peter, abbot of Furness, withheld his support for the union, as did approximately half of the Savigniac houses in England and Wales. It might be argued that these houses felt that the rigidity of the Cistercian code might hamper their lifestyle, especially in terms of the acquisition of goods. On the other hand, it may be equally true that the houses of Savigniac affiliation felt that they required no additional written code to follow adequately the religious life as laid out in the Rule.

just as Rufford and others[5] acquired the majority of their gifts after 1200, so too did Furness, the most famous of the English Savigniac houses.[6]

On the other hand, certain differences between the Savigniacs and the Cistercians also existed. For instance, in the formative years, there was less disruption of life in the Cistercian houses than in those of Savigny. While Stoneleigh requested a move due to the disruptions of Henry II's foresters, Furness[7] and Calder[8] were razed by maurading Scots. Calder was so completely devastated that its monks were forced

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[5] The list includes Sallay, Holm Cultram, Waverley, Rievaulx and Fountains.

[6] Most gifts to Furness, of any variety, occur after 1200. Those which do occur prior to the turn of the century were given largely in the last half of the twelfth century. In a randon sample, between 1155-1190, gifts given to Furness included the land of Winterburn, *Furness Coucher Book,* Rev J.C. Atkinson and John Brownbill eds,, Chetham Society, 2 vols. in 6 pts. (Manchester: Charles E. Simms, 1887)), vol i, hereafter, *FCB,* 355; a carucate at Swarthil and a quarter part of the town, *ibid.* 355; 2 bovates, *ibid.* 360; 1 oxgang in Flasby, *ibid.* one half knight's fee in Winterburn, *ibid.* 373; 2 carucates in Winterburn, *ibid.* 375; 1 carucate in Craven, *ibid.* 376; and 1 carucate at Kirkstanton and Horrum so the donor, one Robert de Boyvill, could go on pilgrimmage, *ibid.* 513.

[7] A large part of Furness was destroyed by fire in 1138. "...ex magna parte ferro et flamma destruxerunt." *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I: The Chronicle of Richard, Prior of Hexham and Aelred (sic) of Rievaulx: The Relatio de Standardo,* Richard Howlett, ed. *Rolls Seris,* vol. 82, pt. 3 (Wiesbaden:Kraus Reprints, 1964), 156.

[8] Calder was also attacked and destroyed completely in 1138, perhaps by the same party which burnt Furness later that year.

to return to their mother house of Furness.[9]

Although the Savigniacs did not share the Cistercian written code, they will be measured as though they did. By pursuing such a line a constant standard against which both can be judged will have been established. We should expect that the Cistercians, presumably always mindful of their own customs, should be more pure with regard to this code. The Savigniacs are being measured unfairly, against a code of conduct which they had not adopted until 1147, when they then became Cistercians. As a result, if the Savigniacs are to be found guilty of corrupting the Cistercians, there should occur a substantially higher occurrence of "abuse" per house than was the case with the White Monks. This chapter will illustrate that the evidence does not demonstrate this to be the case.

Of the twenty-eight Cistercian houses studied in the last chapter, four of those appeared to be free of abuse, two of those as a result of insufficient evidence. Of the thirteen Savigniac houses examined, Rushen and Calder II appear to have stayed mindful of monastic poverty and simplicity and free of any abuse.[10] It is clear that a greater proportion of

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[9] Gerold, abbot of Calder, refused to renounce his rank of abbot and as a result Furness refused to accept the monks back into their community. The refugees travelled on to Thirsk, Hood, Old Byland, Stocking and finally settled at Byland in 1177.

[10] Rushen, a cell of Furness on the Isle of Man, was founded with a "meagre endowment", and existed upon "skill of their own hands". *Monasticon,* vol. v, 252. Calder II, also sent out from Furness, seems to have managed to survive in Cumberland, never

Savigniac houses were free from [Cistercian-determined] abuse than Cistercian houses were: 1:6.5 compared with 1:14 at worst to 1:8 at best.[11] Eleven Savigniac communities may be considered guilty of accepting forty-seven prohibited gifts. A further thirteen fall into the category where the evidence is questionable. If the same formulae are applied to calculate the averages for the houses in this chapter as was done in the last, then the average abuse per house ranges from 4.27 to 5.45. The calculations are illustrated in figure 3:

Figure 3.

$$47 \div 11 = 4.27$$

$$47 + 6.5 = 53.5 \quad 53.5 \div 11 = 4.86$$

$$47 + 13 = 60 \quad 60 \div 11 = 5.45$$

Figure 4 assumes that the two pure houses, Rushen and Calder II, are figured into the calculation, with just a single abuse

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having more than thirteen monks until well into the fourteenth century.

[11] These ratios are calculated by dividing the number of "clean" houses into the number of houses studied. The first ratio reflects the case of Savigny. The second ratio assumes that both Cwmhir and Boxley were not pure, thus leaving only two "clean" Cistercian houses of the twenty-eight. The third ratio is more favourable to the Cistercians, and it assumes that both Cwmhir and Boxley were true to the *consuetudines*, thus bringing the ratio in accordance with four pure houses out of twenty-eight.

attributed to each community in order to make them theoretically eligible.

Figure 4.

$$49 \div 13 = 3.77$$

$$49 + 6.5 = 55.5 \quad 55.5 \div 13 = 4.27$$

$$49/13 = 62 \quad 62 \div 13 = 4.77$$

The English and Welsh component of the Congregation of Savigny is found in possession of eleven churches, no altars or graveyards, tithes from seven sources (which excludes two dubious cases), nine vills or manors (as well as one questionable case), three instances of possessing serfs or villeins, no ovens, eight mills (excluding six which are dubious), four cash exchanges, no burgages, three messuages (excluding four suspicious instances) and two lordships. These possessions are outlined briefly in the text. A table similar to the one in chapter four follows for quick reference.

Furness abbey acquired three churches, namely those at

Furness, Urswick and Dalton[12] all of which were part of its initial endowment in 1123. Sometime after Neath was founded in 1130 and before 1147 it was given the church of Brinton Ferry.[13] Basingwerk is recorded as holding the church of Glossope[14] and Combermere possessed four churches; those at Acton, Alstonfield and Sandon.[15] Meanwhile Buckfast possessed at least two churches.[16]

No evidence has surfaced to show that any Savigniac community was in possession of the tithes owed from altars or graveyards. However they were in receipt of seven and possibly nine tithes, ranging from chapels, to salt and a bridge toll. Neath was given the tithe of the castle chapel as part of its foundation grant[17], as well as the tithe of the

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[12] These references are found in Desmond, 246, n 3 who cites the Furness Coucher Book, vol. 1, pt. 1 & vol. 2, pt. 1 as well as a further two volumes which were unavailable at the time of writing, 455, 643, 657-660 & 699-702.

[13] *Earldom of Gloucester Charters,* Patterson, ed., 172.

[14] *Monasticon,* vol. v, 261.

[15] *VCH, Chester, III,* 150-151. *Acta,* no. 263, 223 confirms these three churches and adds the church of Nantwich as well.

[16] J. Brooking Rowe, "Buckfast Abbey", in *Cistercian Houses of Devon,* (no imprint, no date), 421. Rowe appears to have simply translated the charter from the *Monasticon* which Henry II made to the monks of Buckfast confirming their gifts held from the time of his grandfather including: "all the ...churches belonging to them....cum omnibus terris...et ecclesiis...." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 385. The use of the plural denotes that more than one church is considered in the charter, but the exact count and the names of the churches remain uncertain.

[17] *Monasticon,* vol. v, 258-259; Walter de Gray Birch, *A History of Neath Abbey* (Neath: John E. Richards, 1902), 30.

men in the district[18], and Basingwerk was given the chapel of Basingwerk[19]. Combermere, founded by Hugh de Maubanc, gave the abbey two tithes, including his court and a quarter of the Nantwich salt-tithe.[20] Buildwas was given one hide of land by King Stephen, shortly after the Seize of Shrewsbury in 1138. As well as the land, the gift included a tithe arising from the toll from the castle bridge.[21] When William de Montfitchet founded Stratford Langthorn in 1135 he gave it the tithe of his pannage as part of its initial endowment.[22] Finally, two transactions of doubtful nature round out the list. Both are identified with Byland. The monks of this house were sometime owners of two salt-works at Whitham.[23] However, it is unclear whether these operations were to generate revenue. Even if they were so intended it is unclear when the gifts were received.

With respect to the possessions of vills, manors and

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[18] Birch, *Neath Abbey*, 30. Birch lists this possession as part of the original gift to the abbey. However the terminology seems somewhat loose. Perhaps he was referring to a tenth part of the value generated from these men either in the courts or out in the fields. Such is only conjecture, nevertheless the abbey is charged with the possession.

[19] *Monasticon*, 261; Williams, 19 and Jones, 171.

[20] *VCH, Chester, III*, 150-151 and *Acta*, no. 263, 223. Here again the use of tithe seems questionable.

[21] "...una hido...et operationibus castellorum et pontam...." *Regesta*, vol. II, 49-50.

[22] *VCH, Essex, II*, 129-30.

[23] *Monasticon*, 339.

towns, nine instances of irregularity are noted not including one of doubtful character. In 1127 Furness received the manor from which it took its name.[24] Neath was given holdings in the town of Nash[25] and perhaps also in the town of Littleham, in Devonshire.[26] Quarr was offered the manor of Arreton[27] while Combermere was provided with the manor of Winkasle as well as the vills of Ruhall and Dodecott.[28] Buckfast assumed the manor of Sele[29], Byland took on the vill of its own name[30] and Coggeshall received the manor of Coggeshall[31].

Savigniac acceptance of serfs or villeins is almost non-existant; only three instances deserve consideration. Among the appurtences which Furness received when it was given the

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[24] *Furness Coucher Book,* 382-3, quoting the *Monasticon.*

[25] Birch, *Neath Abbey,* 30.

[26] Birch, Neath Abbey, 37. Birch says that this gift, presented in the founder's third "foundation" charter, spoke of Littlehaman as if in confirmation of a gift he had already given, yet it is found nowhere else. Such confusion leads us to consider this as a suspicious case.

[27] V.H. Galbraith, "Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", *Cambridge Historical Journal*, vol. IV, no. 3, 1934, 205-222 and 297, see 297.

[28] "...manerium meum de Winkasle, et villam de Ruhall...et villam de Dodecott...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 321.

[29] A. Hamilton, "Buckfast Abbey" (no imprint, 1883), 421. An excerpt is held by L.A. Desmond. Also, J. Brooking Rowe, 421.

[30] Sir Charles Peers, *Byland Abbey,* Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings (London: H.M.S.O., 1934), 3.

[31] "...concedimus...idem manerium de Coggeshale...." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 452; *Regesta,* vol. II, 76 and *VCH, Essex, II,* 125.

manor of Furness in 1127, was the gift of the homagers[32] of the manor[33] as well as one or two villiens with their property who belonged to the fishery of Lancaster.[34] Buckfast also accepted the possession of people, (expressly named), acquiring ninety-two villiens, eighty bordars and sixty-seven serfs.[35]

Though no ovens were accepted by the Savigniacs, the acquisition of mills was almost universal. Eight mills were acquired by these eleven communities, while a further six cases are of a more equivocal nature. Neath accepted two mills, one at Neath Clydach[36] and the other at Pendewlyn[37] as part of its foundation gift. Basingwerk too held more than a single mill, acquiring "certain mills"[38] as well as the "Mill before the Door".[39] Since the precise number of mills is not indicated, one must assume that the last named mill was one of those alluded to in the *Monasticon*. The other, or others to

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[32] These were the men who had pleaded feudal loyalty to the previous lord of the manor.

[33] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 244.

[34] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 244.

[35] Hamilton, 423.

[36] Williams, 286; *Monasticon*, vol. v, and David Lewis, "Notes on the Charters of Neath Abbey", in *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, Cambrian Archaeological Association, vol. iv, fifth series (London: Pickering and Chatto, 1887), 86-115, 90.

[37] Lewis, 90 and Birch, *Neath Abbey*, 31.

[38] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 258-259.

[39] Arthur Jones, "Basingwerk Abbey", (no imprint, 1933), 171.

which Dugdale refers, will probably remain unidentified. In this instance, one might reasonably credit the house with two. Quarr was given a pair of mills, specifically those at Christchurch and Holehurst[40]; both of which came as appurtenances to the manor of Arreton. William de Montfitchet's charter to Stratford Langthorn included two mills; the names of which are not supplied.[41] The most successful collector of this variety of gift was Swineshead, which laid claim to six mills. These were located at Burtoft, Southwell, Manchester, Caldcot, Casterton and Chasingthorp.[42] All of these mills are named in the first known charter issued to the house, namely, Henry II's confirmation grant. Since a definite date cannot be attached to this confirmation charter, they must be relegated to the debatable class.

With regard to the acceptance of cash transactions, the Savigniacs were less active than the Cistercians. The White Monks accepted payments at a rate of one per every two houses compared with the Savigniacs lower rate of four instances out of eleven houses or, at a ratio of approximately one to three. Two of these four abuses are assignable to Neath with Basingwerk and Byland figuring in the remaining two. Neath was given both monetary gifts (20*s*. and 10*s*. by its founders,

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[40] "...scilicet molendium Christicherche & (*sic*) molendium de holehurst cum moltis suis cum terra & (*sic*) pratis eisdem molendinis...." Galbraith, "Monastic Foundation Charters", 297.

[41] *VCH, Essex, II,* 129-30.

[42] *Monasticon,* vol. v, 337.

Richard de Grainville and his wife Constance.[43] Basingwerk received one hundred shillings annually in the form of rents.[44] In recognition of Roger de Mowbray's foundation gift to the abbey, Byland was expected to pay over two marks to him (or his heirs) annually. The payment was to be made semi-annually, one mark on the feast of St. Martin and the other at Pentecost.[45]

While no burgages are found in the possession of the Savigny affiliates, there are three instances of the possession of messuages. A further four belong in the questionable category. These numbers compare unfavourably with the four found in Cistercian hands. In particular, Basingwerk received the tenements of both Holywell and Fullbrook in its foundation charter.[46] Swineshead was granted a house in Strithlaw(?) by a certain Osbert fitz William.[47] The same house was awarded three unnamed tofts. However, the only reference to the donation comes from the previously cited (undated) confirmation charter issued by Henry II. The lack

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[43] "...viginti solidos in villa de Lytheham et decem solidos ad festum Sancti Michaelis...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 258-59.

[44] Jones, "Basingwerk Abbey", 171. These rents came from grants in Chester; perhaps derived from tenements.

[45] "Monachi vero dabunt mihi duas marcas in recognitione annuatim, scilicet unam ad festum Sancti Martini et alteram ad pentecosten et heredibus meis." *Charters to Byland Abbey*, Frederick W. Ragg, ed., (F.R. Hist. Soc.), 254.

[46] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 258-259.

[47] "...domus meae in villa de Stirthelege...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 357.

of precise dating for this document render all three tofts as dubious cases. Lastly, Byland was given a house in Egremont[48], but exactly when the gift was made cannot be determined. Mention of this property is made at the time the monks moved from Old Byland to Stocking (i.e. 1147). Its relevance to our study must therefore be deemed problematic.

Two communities of Savigniac filiation were granted lordships, namely Stratford Langthorn and Coggeshall. Stratford received the lordship of Westham[49] and Coggeshall accepted the gift of the service of castle ward.[50] The following is a tabular representation of the abuses noted in this chapter.

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[48] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 339.

[49] "...totum dominium meum de Hamma...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 587.

[50] "...concedimus...abbati et conventui de Coggeshale, ipsum idem manerium de Coggeshale totum in terra...de opere et custodia castelli...." *Monasticon*, 452; *Regesta*, vol. II, 76 and *VCH, Essex, II*, 125.

Table 2. House of Savigny

Abuse	Sub-total	Suspicious	Total
Churches	11	0	11
Altars	0	0	0
Graveyards	0	0	0
Tithes	7	2	9
Vills	9	1	10
Serfs	3	0	3
Ovens	0	0	0
Mills	8	6	14
Payments	4	0	4
Burgages and Messuages	3	4	7
Lordships	2	0	2
Total	47	13	60

Post-Union Foundations: 1147-1176

Chapter four illustrated the tendency of English and Welsh Cistercian houses to acquire prohibited possessions. Chapter five examined the English and Welsh Savigniac acceptance of identical possessions. This chapter probes the question one step further by enumerating the prohibited possessions which new post union Cistercian communities acquired in the first generation of their existence. We have noted thus far that the majority of gifts were acquired in the second half of the twelfth century and through-out the thirteenth. There seems to be a direct correlation between successive generations at any given house and the increasing inclination to acquire property. From this conclusion, the evidence should bear out the supposition that the first generation of new post-union Cistercian communities, should not have acquired substantially greater numbers of restricted gifts than had their sisters prior to 1147. If this hypothesis is correct, then Hill's argument loses all credibility. Indeed, the post-union new foundation rate of abuse is 3.18 per house; *lower* than the pre-1147 rates of the Cistercian and Savigniac filiates.

Seventeen Cistercian houses were founded between 1147 and 1176[1] and not one house appears to be free from abuse. On the

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[1] That is after September 17, 1147, when the union was ratified. 1176 has been chosen as a termination point in order to represent, as closely as possible, one generation.

other hand, the average number of abuses per house declined by 25% over the pre-1147 average.[2] From all seventeen houses[3] there are fifty-four (excluding five dubious transactions) abuses recorded. Applying the standard formulae, the averages range from 3.18, assuming no suspicious cases are figured into the equation to 3.32, if one half of the suspicious cases are used and 3.47 if all suspicious cases are considered. These calculations are shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5:

$$54 \div 17 = 3.18$$

$$54 + 2.5 = 56.5 \quad 56.5 \div 17 = 3.32$$

$$54 + 5 = 59 \quad 59 \div 17 = 3.47$$

Despite the increasing necessity for cash in the ever-growing monied economy of which the monks could not help but be a part, these figures reveal that the newer houses took only what they needed for their survival; as had their sister houses during the generation preceding the union with Savigny.

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[2] This average combines the averages from both Cistercian and Savigniac filiates. No suspicious cases are considered in this reckoning.

[3] These houses are: Margam, (Nov, 1147), Merevale (1148), Sallay (1148), Combe (1150), Holm Cultram (1150), Jervaulx (1150), Sibton (1150), Flaxley (1151), Loxwell (Stanley, 1151), Meaux (1151), Poulton (Dieulacres, 1153), Tiltey (1153), Strata Florida (1164), Stanlaw (Whalley, 1172), Strata Marcella (1170), Bindon (1172) and Robertsbridge (1176).

Since the numbers of monks and *conversi* at a new abbey were smaller than at the older and larger houses, fewer possessions were required to meet the daily requirements.

The acceptance of towns, vills and manors remain the most frequent form of default. In chapter four, 12.5% of the abuses fell into this category. That percentage fell off significantly to 4.3% in chapter five. However, the most dramatic shift comes in this chapter, with 45% of all restricted possessions under this heading.[4] Furthermore, the number of burgage and messuage gifts rose (slightly) as well, in accordance with the ever-increasing use of trade and money. Apparently the most recently established communities were learning what their older sister-houses had already put into practice in the second half of the twelfth century; that the town was of growing importance. Tapping these urban resources became crucial for the grandiose building schemes which the White monks undertook toward the end of the century.

The acceptance of churches is considerably less in the post 1147 new foundation group, with just six such acquisitions occurring, and two others which are deemed suspicious. Countess Matilda gave Sallay abbey the church of Tadcaster when they were about to disband on account of poverty[5]. Combe received a moiety of the church of Wolvey[6]

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[4] These percentages exclude all suspicious cases.

[5] *Historical Account of Sallay Abbey,* J. Harland, ed. (London: J. Russell Smith, 1853), 5.

and Sibton accepted the rights to the churches in Sibton and other places as part of its foundation gift.[7] L'Aumône, Fountains and Clairvaux filiates are all represented here, with Clairvaux twice and the house of Savigny not at all.

As with the communities surveyed in the previous two chapters, the post-union new foundations likewise did not accept revenues from altars or graveyards. However, in the category of tithes in general, Fountains and L'Aumône are each represented; the former by Sallay which paid 20 shillings for the tithe of Sallay, Dudeland, Crocum and Elwinesthorp,[8] as well as receiving the chapel of Heselwood[9] while Flaxley was given the tithes from Prince Henry's (1152-1154) chestnut trees at Dene.[10]

As has been indicated above, the most substantial collection of gifts acquired by the post-union new foundations were in the form of vills, manors, towns and villages. The family of Savigny was the most active, accepting at least nine

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[6] *VCH, Warwickshire, II,* 73.

[7] "...tam in ecclesiis, quam in terris et aliis rebus...in Sibeton, et Wrabeton, et Pesehall, et Stikinglond...." *Monasticon,* vol. v, 560. There is no indication that there was a church in all four of these places. However, because "churches" is plural, the abbey is considered to have accepted two churches, with a further two as suspicious cases.

[8] *The Chartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of St. Mary of Sallay in Craven,* Joseph McNulty, ed., Yorkshire Archaeological Society (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing Co. Ltd., 1933), 18.

[9] Harland, 5.

[10] Constable, 192.

such gifts, and possibly eleven. L'Aumône follows with six, as does Clairvaux. Fountains is confirmed with two. Stanley was the greatest transgressor, having received the manors of Ferendon[11] and Chippenham[12] as well as those of Migellam, Heilandam, Wordam and Lockswell[13]; although these last two are somewhat questionable. It also procurred the manor of Faringdon and the estate of Worth[14], while Stanlaw accepted the vills of both Great Stanney and Meurik Aston.[15] In the same period, Jervaulx received the vill of Engilby.[16]

Both Merevale and Bindon were founded with manors, the former with Weston and Overton[17] and the latter with Wollaston[18], Berinton[19], Wolveston[20] and Borton[21].

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[11] "...dedi...manerii mei Ferendon...." W. de Gray Birch, "Collections Toward the History of the Cistercian Abbey of Stanley in Wiltshire", in *The Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, Wiltshire Archaeological and History Society, vol. xv (Devizes: H.F. & E. Bull, 1875), 239-308, 280.

[12] "...manerii nostri de Chippeham...quae reddebat patri nostro .xl.s...." Birch, *Collections...*, 281.

[13] "...et Migellam cum omnibus, pertinentiis suis, quae reddebat ei .vijl et Heilandam...quae reddebat ei xx. s. et Wordam...et Lokeswellam." Birch, *Collections*, 281.

[14] *VCH, Wiltshire III*, 269 and *Monasticon*, vol. v, 564.

[15] "...[dedi]...villam unam quae vocatur Staneya, et alteram villam quae vocatur Mauricaceston...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 641; *Acta*, no. 313, 266; *VCH, Lancashire, II*, 131 and *Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*, W.A. Hulton, ed., Chetham Society, vol. 10, no. 1 (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1935), 1-2.

[16] "...totam villam de Engilby...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 570.

[17] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 482.

[18] *VCH, Dorset, II*, 82.

Holm Cultram which belonged to the Clairvaulx line acquired the manor of Holmcultram[22] and the vill of Kirkgunnin, in Galloway, sometime between 1161-1174.[23] In Wales, Strata Florida received a similar gift in the vill of Ardisemkywet,[24] while Strata Marcella obtained three vills, those of Llynliequestell, Buducure and Mystuyr.[25]

Only one member of Fountains ancestry is represented in this group. Meaux took over the vill of Meaux[26] and the manor of Hayholm.[27]

The acceptance of serfs or villiens is noted only once. Stanley, a daughter house of Savigny, possessed seven men.[28]

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[19] "Ex dono Matildis de Arundell...manerium de Berintone...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 657.

[20] "dedi et concessi...totum manerium meum de Wolaveston...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 657.

[21] This gift from Thomas Harang, *VCH, Dorset, II*, 82.

[22] *Monasticon*, vol. v, 595.

[23] *Reg. Holm.*, 48-49.

[24] "...villam quae vocatur Ardisemkywet...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 633.

[25] "...ego Madocus Griffini...dedi et concessi...villam quae vocatur Llynliequestell,...vilae quae dicitur Buducure..villae quae dicitur Mystuyr...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 637.

[26] "...villam Melse...." *Regesta*, vol. II, 213.

[27] Meaux remained poor, but recovered slightly in 1160, when it accepted one Robert de Scurres as a novice. He gave the abbey the manor of Hayholm when he joined. *Melsa*, 97.

[28] "...de Hedfeld cum .vij. hominibus ibidem manetibus...." Birch, *Collections*, 281.

As established earlier, no mention of ovens was discovered in the possession of any of the communities. However, the receipt of five mils is recorded. Fountains and Clairvaux each received two, while Savigny acquired one. Specifically, Sallay received the mill of Thursebroc from Ailsi fitz Hugh, sometime between 1152-1174;[29] Meaux was given the mill of Cottingham[30] and Hugh, abbot of Colchester, gave Tilty an unnamed mill *c.* 1153.[31] Robertsbridge received a mill with some arable land as part of its foundation gift,[32] and Poulton (later Dieulacres), was granted the mill at Chester.[33]

Turning now to cash transactions, we see that nine instances are recorded, five of which are assignable to the house of Fountains and four to the family of Clairvaulx. Sallay occurs three times in this regard. Besides leasing the vill of Stainton for the annual rent of 40*s*[34] sometime between 1154-60, the same house gave Ailsi fitz Hugh 40 marks and a

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[29] McNulty, 139.

[30] "...unius molendini super ripam de Hullo in territorio de Cottynham,...." *Melsa*, 99

[31] *VCH, Essex, II*, 134.

[32] "...cum terris cultis...cum molendinis...." *Acta*, II, 161; *Monasticon*, vol. v, 667.

[33] "...dedi...suo proprio in molendinis suis Cestriae. *Monasticon*, vol. v, 627.

[34] McNulty, 32.

charger for his land at Sunderland Holm.[35] The community was concurrently in receipt of a pension from the church at Newton.[36] A second Yorkshire abbey, Meaux, contracted 12*d* per annum to a certain William Dalton for forty-two and a half acres of land sometime prior to 1160. In a later accord, concluded sometime between 1160-1182, this community undertook to pay a further 12*d*. per annum to the same William for a second parcel.[37]

In south Wales Margam rented land from Geoffrey Sturmi for half a silver mark per year[38] and in the time of brother Meiler, a "testimonial payment" of 2*s*. was rendered.[39] Strata Marcella purchased Howell for either 30 or 50*s*., the exact sum is unclear.[40] Finally, in county Kent, Robertsbridge received a payment of six shillings from the canons at Hastings *pro omni servitio*, though the service in not defined.[41]

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[35] McNulty, 139.

[36] Harland, 5.

[37] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, no. 586, 460 and no. 587, 463.

[38] *Earldom of Glouscester Charters*, Patterson, ed. 123 and Walter de Gray Birch, *History of Margam Abbey* (London: H.M. Record Office, 1897), 21.

[39] Birch, *Margam Abbey*, 18.

[40] Morris E Jones, "The Abbey of Ystrad Marchell", in *Collections Historical and Archaeological Relating to Montgomeryshire*, 6 vols. (London: J. Russell Smith, 1871), vol. 2, pt. 1, 1-34, 21-22.

[41] "...de canonicis sancte Marie de Hastings reddendo annuatim sex solidos pro omni servitio." *Acta*, II, 161; *Monasticon*, vol. v, 667.

While the number of gifts embracing urban dwellings rose substantially from the first generation of houses (1128-1147) to the second (1147-1176), the average number of burgages and messuages per house remained almost static from the first generation to the second. Between 1128 and 1147, of all forty-one Cistercian and Savigniac houses[42], only nine cases are found, yielding an average of .22 instances per house. Likewise, the second generation houses are found in possession of four burgages, (excluding one suspicious case) among seventeen abbeys. The average is a very similar .24 abuses per house. These four instances are spread out evenly, representing the mother houses of Clairvaulx, Fountains and Savigny.

Margam was founded in November, 1147, and within a half-dozen years, it was in possession of a house in Bristol[43]. It was also given a burgage in Kenefeg and one in Cardiff.[44] Sallay enjoyed the toft of Giggleswick, as a gift from Adam fitz Adam[45] and Stanlaw was given a house in Chester as part of its foundation gift by John, the constable of Chester, in

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[42] This number is merely a sum of all twenty-eight Cistercian houses and thirteen Savigniac houses in England and Wales prior to 1147.

[43] David Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians* (the one volume edition), 70-71.

[44] Birch, *Margam Abbey,* 20. The house in Cardiff was from Siward the Palmer. Patterson, 117

[45] The gift was made late in the reign of Henry II, but without a specific date. Therefore this must be considered a suspicious case. McNulty, 183-184.

1172.[46]

In the category of lordships, once again an even split exists in the five cases. Savigny became possessed of two, while Clairvaulx, Fountains and L'Aumône all are recorded as having one apiece. Stanley was granted the lordship of Hedfield as part of its foundation gift, confirmed by Richard I[47] and Poulton received lordship over an un-specified area, previously held by the earl of Chester.[48] Flaxley acquired the lordship of Dimmoch from King Stephen at some point in the last three years of his reign.[49] Sibton accepted the Lordship of Sibton as part of its foundation gift[50] and Sallay obtained the service of Stainton.[51] These abuses are listed in table 3.

Table 3.

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[46] "Dedi etiam messuagium unum in villa Cestriae." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 641. *Coucher Book of Whalley Abbey*, 1-2 , *Acta*, no. 313, 266, *VCH, Lancashire, II*, 131.

[47] Birch, *Collections*, 281.

[48] "...domini sui praefulgentissimi Cestrensis comitis Ranulfi, dum ipse Ranulfus esset in custodia domini regis; quam abbathiam idem Ranulfus postmodem confirmavit...." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 627.

[49] "...totum dominicatum de Dimmoch." *Monasticon*, vol. v, 590.

[50] "...de toto domino suo de Sybbetona...." *Regesta*, II, 303 and *Monasticon*, vol. v, 559.

[51] "...et omne servicum de Staintona quod ad me pertinuit...." This gift was William de Percy's second foundation charter to the abbey. McNulty, 2-3.

	House→	Clair	Fount	L'Aum	Savig	Suspic	Total
Abuse ↓							
Churches		2	1	1	0	(2)	4
Altars		0	0	0	0	(0)	0
Grave-yards		0	0	0	0	(0)	0
Tithes		0	2	1	0	(0)	3
Vills		6	2	6	9	(2)	23
Serfs		0	0	0	1	(0)	1
Ovens		0	0	0	0	(0)	0
Mills		2	2	0	1	(0)	5
Payments		4	5	0	0	(0)	9
Burgages and Messuages		2	1	0	1	(1)	4
Lordships		1	1	1	2	(0)	5
Sub-Total		17	14	9	14		54
Suspicious		2	1	0	2	(5)	5
Total		19	15	9	16		59

NB: The numbers in brackets are for reference purposes only. They indicate both which family and which abuse held suspicious cases.

Epilogue

In chapters four, five and six, some 230 abuses have been enumerated and categorised. Of that number, twenty-six or 13% are of a suspicious nature. Nevertheless, the remaining 204 abuses provide a sufficient sample by which we can assess the acquisition patterns employed by the fifty-eight[1] communities founded in the kingdom between 1127-1176. It would be erroneous to search too strenuously for any general form of acquisition strategy among the houses other than to recognise the growing importance of the cash economy and its repercussions. The very term strategy embodies a connotation which, in this context, would be pejorative. Neither first generation Cistercian nor Savigniac houses can be said to have developed any plan toward the acquisition of certain properties over others. Such a policy arose out of growing numbers and a need to consolidate holdings through the second and successive generations. Since most of the evidence regarding these 230 instances comes from foundation charters and other early documents, it is more accurate to claim that these first generation communities merely took what they were offered. The collective freedom from tithes on graveyards and altars though, bespeaks of the general animosity towards the collection of monies from the spiritual infrastructure of

[1] This number is derived from the twenty-eight pre-union Cistercian houses, the thirteen Savigniac houses and the seventeen post-union new foundations.

medieval society. On the other hand, the rapid development of the cash economy in the twelfth century concurrent with the second generation of established houses indicates that the acceptance of other sources of revenue was becoming increasingly essential as the century passed. This observation brings us back to the problem we posed at the outset. Knowles has placed his case squarely in this camp: that the first generation of monks were more true to the code than were their successors. However, this view must be tempered by adding that it was, at least in part, the predominance of the cash economy combined with the swelling ranks of the *conversi* (and the need to house this growing multitude) which necessitated this shift in behaviour. Had the monasteries remained small and unpopular, the requirements for cash would have been greatly reduced. However, as it was, the need for cash was great and the nature of the gifts accepted reflect this fact. Having said that, the question we must answer now, is whether or not Hill's interpretation is a valid one. To do so, the rates of abuse from each of the three chapters must be compared with one another.

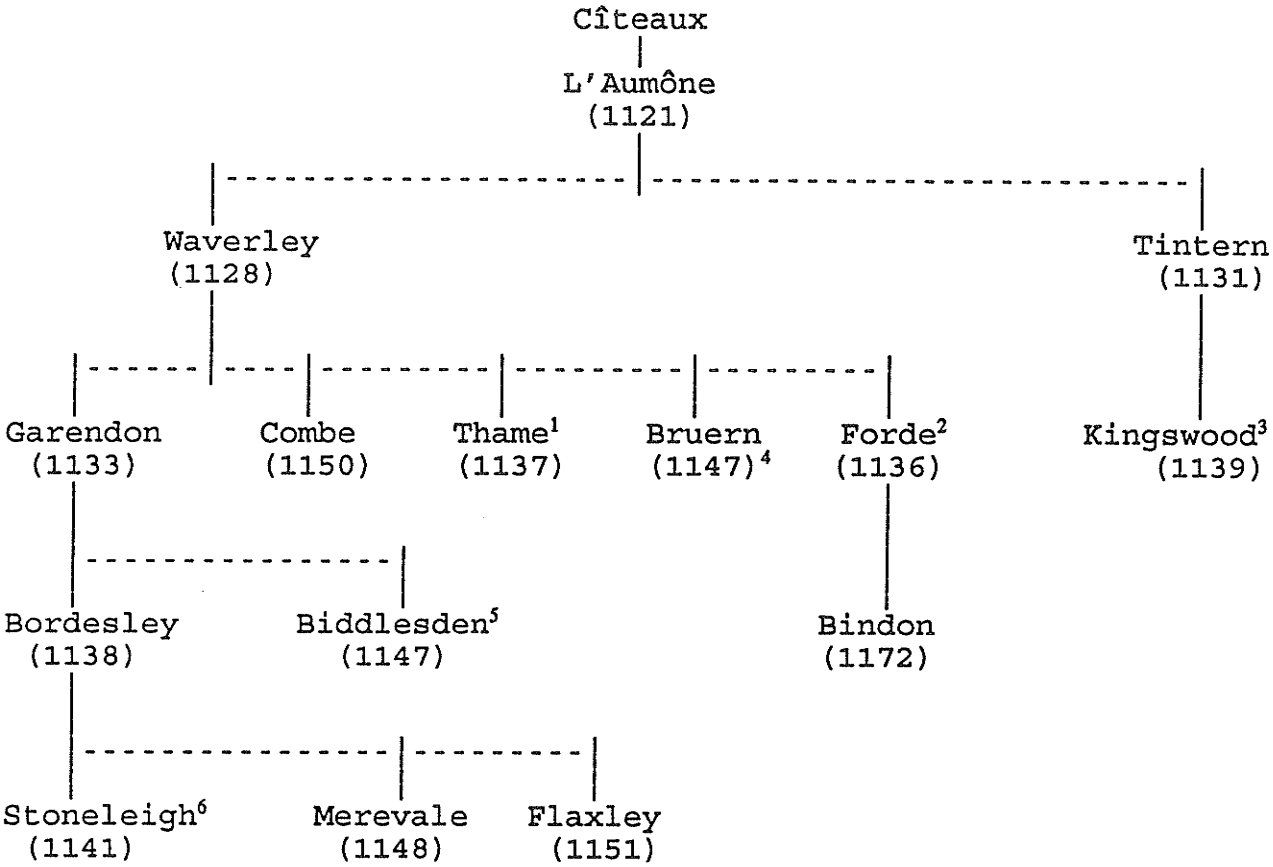
When the averages of the pre-union Cistercians are compared with the Savigniacs and the post-union new foundations, figuring in no suspicious cases, we find the following results. The pre-union Cistercian average of abuse is 4.08 compared to the Savigniac average of 3.77 and 3.18 for the post-union, new foundations. Using these averages, it is

obvious, in qualitative terms, that the most acquisitive of the three groups was the pre-1147 Cistercians. In quantitative terms, they were 8% more likely to acquire some gift than were the Savigniacs and 22% greater than the post union new foundations. If we apply the same comparison including all suspicious cases, the Savigniacs come out as slightly more materialistic. They were 15% more prone towards the acceptance of gifts than the pre-union Cistercians and 26% more likely than were the post-union new foundations. Clearly, in either case, the post-union new foundations were considerably less likely to acquire the tainted possessions than were their sisters and cousins before them. This comparison is surly the acid test by which the extent of Savigny's influence on the Cistercians can be evaluated. Furthermore, by measuring the instances of abuse which occurred under umbrellas of both Cîteaux and Savigny, it is soon realized that neither family was significantly stronger than the other in any quest for freedom from secular prizes. Indeed, Savigny's lack of any such code of conduct reduces the significance of their acquisitions even further. Even the most disparate ratio, with the greatest leniency toward the white monks and the harshest stand against the Savigniacs, yields a ratio where the Savigniacs were only 0.25 times (i.e. 25%) more likely to engage in some form of abuse. Obviously neither the one, nor the other, was instrumental in perpetuating the growing acquisitions of the later twelfth and

the thirteenth century. Hill's theory, that the Savigniacs corrupted the Cistercian ideal, is untenable. This is especially true when we are reminded that the Savigniacs are being measured by a standard which was not applicable to them *per se*. Instead, we must accept the theory set out by Knowles, that subsequent generations were less pure than the previous ones, and this was due to a cash economy and a rising popularity which brought with it spiralling costs.

APPENDIX I

Family of L'Aumône



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[1] Originally founded at Otley.

[2] Originally founded at Brightley.

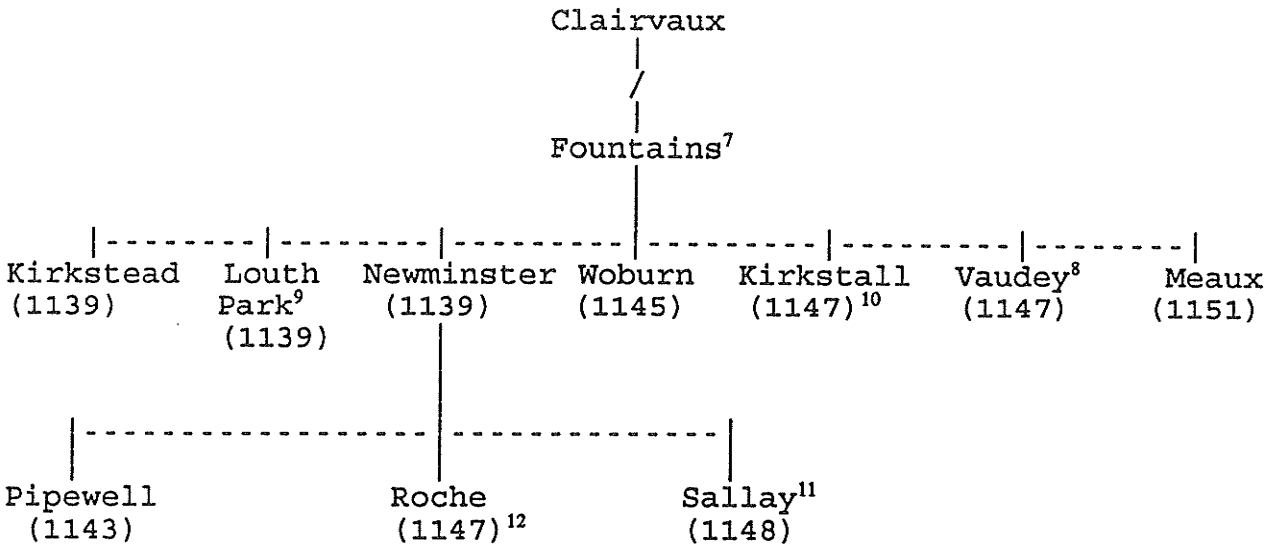
[3] See above, Chapter 4, n 73.

[4] Bruern was founded July 10, 1147.

[5] Biddlesden was established July 10, 1147.

[6] Stoneleigh began at Red Moor.

Family of Fountains



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[7] Fountains was not founded in the traditional sense; no band of monks left the mother house of Clairvaux to undertake life at a new site. The monks who eventually colonized Fountains had appealed to Bernard for assistance after having left St Mary's, York. Subsequently Bernard placed the new house under Clairvaux's matronage. See Chapter 4, n 1.

[8] Vaudey was initially founded at Bytham, May 23, 1147.

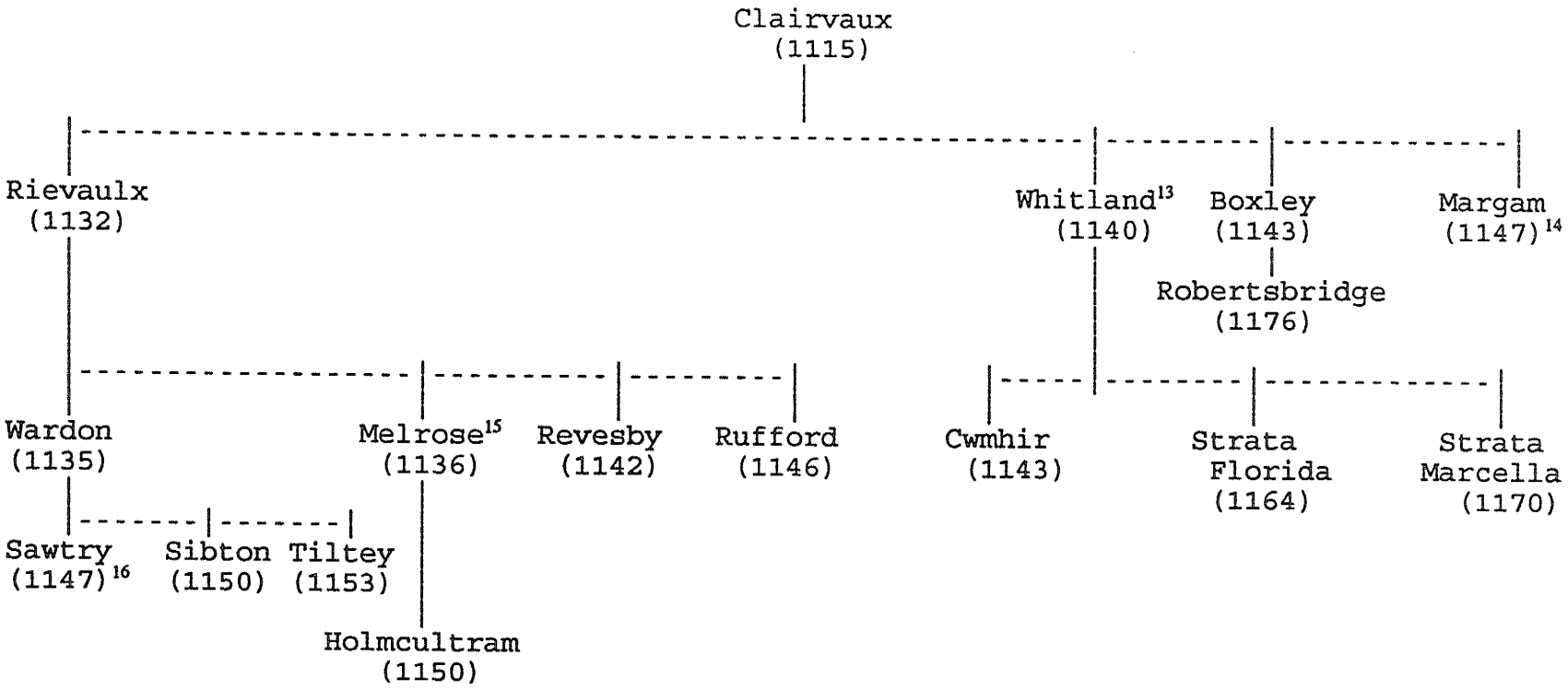
[9] Louth began at Haverholme.

[10] Kirkstall was founded May 19, 1147.

[11] Sallay goes by various spellings, including Salley and Sawley.

[12] Roche was established July 30, 1147.

Family of Clairvaux



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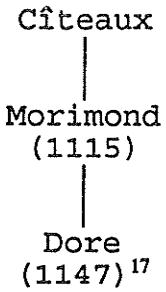
[13] Whitland began its existence at Trefgarn.

[14] Margam began regular life November 21, 1147 and is thus a post union foundation.

[15] Melrose is a Scottish abbey and is only included in the family tree in order to show the lineage of Holm Cultram.

[16] Sawtry was established July 3, 1147.

Family of Morimond



[17] Dore was founded April 26, 1147.

regni mei primo.[1]

[1] Reprinted from *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History*, William Subbs, ed., 8th ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1905), 120-121

APPENDIX II

CANONS OF THE COUNCIL

OF WESTMINSTER

[The first canon is not printed, but deals with the practice of simony for which certain members were immediately defrocked.

2. Bishops are not to undertake the office [of judge] in secular pleas, and are to dress not as laymen, but as becomes religious persons, and are always and everywhere to have honest persons witnesses of their conversation.

3. That archdeaconries be not let to farm.

4. That archdeacons be deacons.

5. That no archdeacon, priest, deacon, or canon marry or retain a wife, and that any subdeacon who is not a canon, having married after profession of chastity, be bound by the same rule.

6. That a priest as long as he has illicit intercourse with a woman be not lawful nor celebrate mass, and if he does so that his mass be not heard.

7. That none be ordained to the subdiaconate, or beyond, without profession of chastity.

8. That sons of priests succeed not to their fathers' churches.

9. That no clerks at all be the agents or proctors of secular men, nor be the judges of blood.

10. That priests go not to drinking bouts nor drink to pegs [*ad pinnas*].

11. That the apparel of priests be of one colour, and their shoes as ordered.

12. That monks or clerks who have forsaken their order either return or be excommunicated.

13. That clerks have visible tonsures.

14. That tithes be only given to churches.

15. That churches and prebends be not bought.

16. That there be no new chapels without the bishop's consent.

17. That a church be not consecrated until things necessary for priest and church be provided.

18. That abbots not make knights, and that they eat and sleep in the same house with their monks except when necessity prevents.

19. That monks impose no pennance on any without leave of their abbot, and that abbots cannot give them permission concerning this, save in the case of those over whom they have spiritual charge.

20. That monks be not godfathers, nor nuns godmothers.

21. That monks hold no towns at farm.

22. That monks accept no churches save through the bishops, and that when given to them they do not so deprive them of their rents, that the priests serving there be in lack of necessaries.

23. That plighted troth between man and woman, if given in

secret and without witnesses, be considered void when denied by either party.

24. That those wearing hair be so shorn that part of their ears be visible and their eyes be not covered.

25. That relations up to the seventh degree be not married, nor if married cohabit any longer; and if any one be aware of this incest and declare it not, let him know that he is party to the same guilt.

26. That bodies of dead people be not carried outside their parish for burial so that the priest of the parish lose his just due therefrom.

27. That none in presumptuous novelty without episcopal authority show reverence for the bodies of dead people, or springs, or anything else, as we have discovered it to be done.

28. That none henceforth presume to exercise that wicked trade whereby men were heretofore wont to be sold in England like brute beasts.

29. Those who commit sodomy, and those willingly aiding them in this, were in this same synod condemned with strict anathema, until by pennance and confession they merit absolution. And as for a man detected in this crime, it was ordained that, if a person of a religious order, he be promoted to no higher rank, and be deposed from any he has; but if a layman, that he be deprived of his lawful condition in the realm of England, and that none save a bishop presume to grant absolution for this crime to those who have not undertaken to live under vows.

30. It was also ordained that the aforesaid excommunication be renewed throughout England on every Lord's Day.[2]

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[2] Reprinted from *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, Henry Gee, ed. (London: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1896), 61-63.

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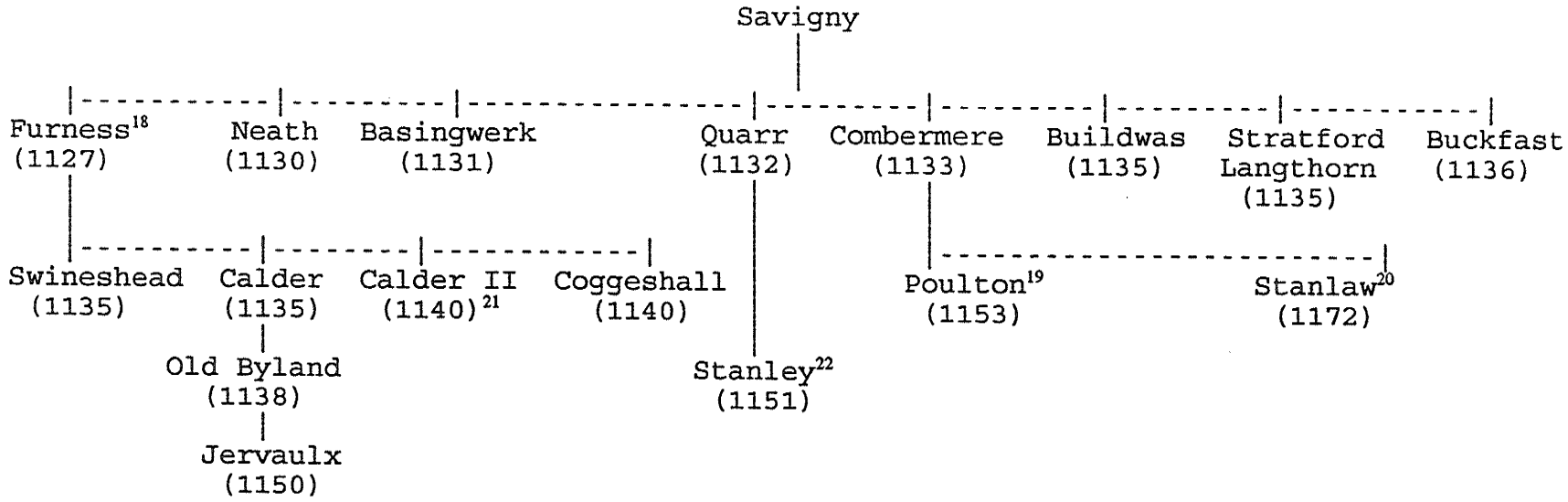
Family of Savigny



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[18] Furness began in 1127 although the house began a Tulket in 1123.

[19] Poulton later moved to Dieulacres.

[20] Stanlaw later moved to the site at Whalley.

[21] Calder II was a new and separate foundation colonised, like its namesake, from Furness. For a brief synopsis of the events at Calder, see above, Chapter 5, n 9.

[22] Stanley began at Loxwell.

APPENDIX I

CHARTER OF LIBERTIES

(Oxford, 1136)

Ego Stephanus Dei gratia assensu cleri et populi in regem Anglorum electus, et a Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo et sanctae Romanae ecclesiae legato consecratus, et ab Innocentio sanctae Romanae sedis pontifice confirmatus, respectu et amore Dei sanctam ecclesiam liberam esse concedo et debitam reverentiam illi confirmo.

Nihil me in ecclesia vel rebus ecclesiasticis Simoniace acturum vel permissurum esse promitto. Ecclesiasticarum personarum et omnium clericorum et rerum eorum justitiam et potestatem et distributionem bonorum ecclesiasticorum in manu episcoporum esse perhibeo et confirmo. Dignitates ecclesiarum privilegiis earum confirmatas, et consuetudines earum antiquo tenore habitas, inviolate manere statuo et concedo. Omnes ecclesiarum possessiones et tenuras quas die illa habuerunt qua Willelmus rex avus meus fuit vivus et mortuus, sine onmi calumniantium reclamatione, eis liberas et absolutas esse concedo. Si quid vero de habitis vel possessis ante mortem ejusdem regis, quibus modo careat ecclesia, deinceps repetierit, indulgentiae et dispesationi meae, vel restituendi vel discutiendi, reservo. Quaecunque vero post mortem ipsius regis liberalitate regum vel largitione principum, oblatione vel comparatione, vel qualibet transmutatione fidelium eis collata sunt, confirmo. Pacem et justitiam me in omnibus facturam, et pro posse meo conservaturum eis promitto.

Forestas quas Willelmus avus meus et Willelmus avunculus meus instituerunt et habuerunt, mihil reservo. Ceteras omnes quas rex Henricus superaddidit ecclesiis et regno quietas reddo et concedo.

Si quis episcopus vel abbas vel alia ecclesiastica persona ante mortem suam rationabiliter sua distribuerit vel distribuenda statuerit, firmum manere concedo. Si vero morte praeoccupatus fuerit, pro salute animae ejus ecclesiae consilio eadem fiat distributio. Dum vero sedes propriis pastoribus vacuae fuerit, ipsas et earum possessiones omnes in manu et custodia clericorum vel proborum hominum ejusdem ecclesiae committam, donec pastor canonice substituatur.

Omnes exactiones et injustitias et meschenings, sive per vicecomites vel per alios quoslibet male inductas, funitus exstirpo.

Bonas leges et antiquas et justas consuetudines, in mudris et placitis et aliis causis, observabo, et observari praecipio, et justa dignitate mea.

Testibus W. Cantuariensi archiepiscopo [et cetera].

Apud Oxenforde, anno ab Incarnatione Domini M.C.XXX.VI. sed