

Durham E-Theses

The Liber Vitae of Durham (BL MS Cotton Domitian A. vii): a discussion of its possible context and use in the later middle ages

Lynda Susan Rollason

How to cite:

Rollason, Lynda Susan (2003) *The Liber Vitae of Durham (BL MS Cotton Domitian A. vii): a discussion of its possible context and use in the later middle ages*. Doctoral thesis, Durham University.

Use policy

The full-text may be used and/or reproduced, and given to third parties in any format or medium, without prior permission or charge, for personal research or study, educational, or not-for-profit purposes provided that:

- a full bibliographic reference is made to the original source
- a <https://etheses.durham.ac.uk/id/eprint/3720/> is made to the metadata record in Durham E-Theses
- the full-text is not changed in any way

The full-text must not be sold in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holders.

Please consult the [full Durham E-Theses policy](#) for further details.

**The Liber Vitae of Durham (BL MS Cotton
Domitian A. vii):
A Discussion of its Possible Context and Use in
the Later Middle Ages**

**Lynda Susan Rollason
PhD Thesis
University of Durham
History Department
2003**

A copyright of this thesis rests
with the author. No quotation
from it should be published
without his prior written consent
and information derived from it
should be acknowledged.



15 JUN 2004

The Liber Vitae of Durham (BL MS Cotton Domitian A. vii): A Discussion of its Possible Context and Use in the Later Middle Ages

Lynda Susan Rollason

PhD Thesis, University of Durham, History Department, 2003

Abstract

This thesis examines in detail the history and use of the *Liber Vitae* of Durham (BL MS Cotton Domitian A. vii). The manuscript is one of a small group of similar manuscripts created by different monasteries to record the names of associates of the monastery to be remembered during the round of monastic prayer. The *Liber Vitae* was first created in the mid-ninth century in Northumbria. Between c.1083 and c.1539 the monks of Durham used it to record the names of members of the monastic community together with large numbers of non-monastic names.

In the first section of the thesis the history and development of the manuscript is explored through a detailed consideration of its codicology, supported by a discussion of the development of the lists of names over five hundred years. The phases of the development of the manuscript discovered by these means are then placed in their historical context, first in ninth century Northumbria and then in Durham between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries.

In the second section the evidence for the way in which the book might have been used in the liturgy is examined. The possible uses of the book are particularly compared with the other evidence available from Durham for the ways in which friends and benefactors of the monastery were commemorated.

In the final section the non-monastic names written into the manuscript after c.1300 are examined in detail to try to define what group of associates of the priory of Durham are in fact commemorated in the *Liber Vitae*.

Contents

List of tables and diagrams.	4
Acknowledgements.	6
Chapter 1. Introduction.	8
<i>The monastery of Durham</i>	8
<i>The Liber Vitae</i>	13
<i>Comparanda for the Durham Liber Vitae</i>	16
<i>Research context</i>	25
<i>Research questions</i>	32
<i>Research methods</i>	38
<i>Notes of chapter 1</i>	43
Chapter 2. Survival and revival: the <i>Liber Vitae</i>'s history reconstructed from its codicology.	52
<i>The Anglo-Saxon Liber Vitae</i>	52
<i>The medieval Liber Vitae</i>	75
<i>The post-dissolution history of the manuscript</i>	87
<i>Notes to chapter 2</i>	95

Chapter 3. Periods of use and disuse: the <i>Liber Vitae</i>'s history reconstructed from the additions of text.	101
<i>The creation of the manuscript</i>	102
<i>The Anglo-Saxon additions (to the mid-eleventh century)</i>	103
<i>The additions of the late-eleventh century and to c. 1300</i>	104
<i>The post-1300 additions</i>	108
<i>Notes to chapter 3</i>	136
 Chapter 4. The <i>Liber Vitae</i> in context: the historical background of the manuscript.	 141
<i>The context of the creation of the Anglo-Saxon book</i>	143
<i>The late-eleventh- and early twelfth centuries</i>	152
<i>The late-twelfth century</i>	158
<i>The late-fourteenth century reuse of the book</i>	164
<i>The late-fifteenth- and sixteenth-century interest</i>	172
<i>Notes to chapter 4</i>	178
 Chapter 5. The function and use of the <i>Liber Vitae</i>.	 188
<i>The original conception</i>	191
<i>The later history of the book</i>	206
<i>Notes to chapter 5</i>	267

Chapter 6. Knowing One's Friends: The Friends and Benefactors of the Church of Durham and the <i>Liber Vitae</i>.	286
<i>Friends of the priory</i>	288
<i>Benefactors of the priory</i>	325
<i>Notes to chapter 6</i>	356
 Chapter 7: Conclusions.	 379
<i>Notes to chapter 7</i>	386
 Appendix 1. The Structure of the Manuscript.	 387
<i>Explanation of the diagrams</i>	387
<i>The structure of the manuscript</i>	388
<i>Notes to appendix 1</i>	401
 Appendix 2. A Description of the Manuscript.	 403
<i>Conservation history</i>	404
<i>The binding</i>	404
<i>The contents of the manuscript</i>	405
<i>Notes to appendix 2</i>	441
 Bibliography.	 449

List of tables and diagrams

Tables and diagrams are listed in a single sequence through the thesis.

Figure 1: Diagram to show the present structure and proposed reconstruction of the first quire of the original core of the manuscript	59
Figure 2: Diagram to show the present structure of the second quire of the original core of the manuscript	61
Figure 3: Diagram to show the present structure and proposed reconstruction of the third quire of the original core of the manuscript	62
Figure 4: Diagram to show the present structure of the fourth quire of the original core of the manuscript	65
Figure 5: Diagram to show the present structure and proposed reconstruction of the fifth quire of the original core of the manuscript	67
Figure 6: Diagram to show the present structure of the seventh quire of the original core of the manuscript	69
Figure 7: Tabulation of the creation of the lists of monks in the <i>Liber Vitae</i> c.1319-64	114
Figure 8: The names of the monks recorded on folio 79v, professed between 1484-97, in order of seniority	120
Figure 9: Monks of Durham 1498-1521, in order of seniority	122

Figure 10: Monks of Durham 1498-1521, arranged by folio	124
Figure 11: Persons named as past holders of property amortized to the priory	334
Figure 12: Property amortized to the priory	338
Figure 13: Property in Durham City amortized to the priory, arranged by name of last holder	341
Figure 14: Names in the inquisitions <i>ad quod damnum</i> and licences which also appear in the <i>Liber Vitae</i>	349
Figure 15: Overview of the quires and folios in London, BL MS Cotton Domitian A. vii (after Gullick)	396

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank all the people who have helped me with aspects of this thesis. First, my supervisors Alan Piper and Margaret Harvey. It cannot, I think, be easy when somebody you have known for many years as the wife of a close colleague decides to embark on a doctoral thesis. They both, however, accepted the onerous task of supervising me, dealing with me gently but firmly over the years-if they have not succeeded in instilling in me the trick of writing grammatically it is not for want of trying. Alan has with considerable patience led me through the complexities of the priory archive and with great willingness shared his knowledge of the careers of the monks of Durham. Margaret has shared her findings on the church in Durham and has been a tower of strength, advising me, reading and painstakingly correcting numerous drafts for me and providing coffee and backbone when the going was tough.

I have found the University of Durham a very stimulating and enjoyable place to work. In seeking help and advice I have never been disappointed. Ian Doyle has spent many hours poring over the facsimile of the *Liber Vitae* helping me with the palaeographical aspects of the manuscript. Paul Harvey wrestled with the inscription on folio 63v when I was at a stand. Members of the History department have always been available to discuss problems and offer advice, amongst them Michael Prestwich, Richard Britnell, Christine Newman and Christian Liddy. I have also been very lucky in my fellow students who, through the medium of the postgraduate seminar, have

over the years listened to and commented on various aspects of this thesis as it developed. I have been particularly fortunate in that several of them were also studying aspects of the medieval history of the priory of Durham or the north-east region and I have benefited from their detailed knowledge. I would especially like to thank Miranda Threlfall-Holmes, Ben Dodds, and Andy King.

Whilst I have been working the *Liber Vitae* has become the subject of a major international research project, based in Durham and King's College London, but gathering together experts in many fields to work on a digital edition. Whilst I have often felt almost overpowered by the tide of expertise assembled to deal with the complexities of this manuscript I have also been encouraged by the help and advice I have received. I would particularly like to thank Katherine Keats-Rohan, Janet Burton and especially Michael Gullick.

Finally, I should say that on the whole, difficult and frustrating though it has often been, I have enjoyed working on this thesis. A project rather lightly entered into for the fun of the thing, which would not in the end have been possible without the whole-hearted support and practical assistance of my family. To them this thesis is affectionately dedicated.

Lynda Rollason

26 November 2003

Chapter 1. Introduction

The monastery of Durham

The Durham *Liber Vitae* belonged in the later Middle Ages to Durham Cathedral Priory and, to understand its context, the history of the communities which produced it must be understood. The monastery of Durham was founded in 1083 by Bishop William of St Calais (1081-96), the second post-Conquest bishop of Durham, as part of what has been labelled by ecclesiastical historians the 'northern monastic revival'. He expelled the married clerks who had previously served the cathedral and installed Benedictine monks, whom he transferred from the small communities located at Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, both of which had been re-established in the 1070s under the protection and encouragement of his predecessor Bishop Walcher (1071-80).¹

Whatever may have been the political complexities behind the revival of monasticism in the north of England at this time, one of its hallmarks was an acute consciousness of the Anglo-Saxon past, made real through a close reading of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*.² Although a new community created in 1083, the monks of Durham were aware of being the successors to a long tradition and were eager to stress the strands of continuity linking their church and the bishopric of Durham to their first founders, King Oswald and Bishop Aidan and also to their patron, St Cuthbert, the most important saint in the north and one of the principal saints of Anglo-Saxon England. This consciousness of the ancient past and the claims of the Benedictine

community to be the legitimate heir of that tradition is cogently and precisely expressed in the opening paragraph of the official history of the community, written by the monk Symeon, between 1104 and 1109,

This venerable church derived its status and its divine religion from the fervent faith in Christ of the former glorious king of the Northumbrians and estimable martyr Oswald. In praise of God and under his perpetual guardianship it preserves those relics of devout veneration, the undecayed body of the most saintly father Cuthbert and the venerable head of that same king and martyr Oswald, both lodged in a single shrine. Although for various reasons this church no longer stands in the place where Oswald founded it, nevertheless by virtue of the constancy of its faith, the dignity and authority of its episcopal throne, and the status of the dwelling-place of the monks established there by the king himself and by Bishop Aidan, it is still the very same church founded by God's command.³

The ancient church from which the monks of Durham claimed descent was that of Lindisfarne, founded in 635 by Bishop Aidan. Aidan came from Iona at the request of Oswald, king of Northumbria, to evangelise his kingdom. Lindisfarne was the seat also of the bishop of the Northumbrians. The monastic community and the bishopric continued on the island until 875, when after a period of insecurity induced by Viking attacks, the then bishop, Eardwulf, decided on a move to a more secure location. After a period of wandering the community settled first at Chester-le-Street, where it remained for over one hundred years (883-995) before removing finally under Bishop Aldhun to Durham in 995. It was during these various removals that the nature of the community changed. Originally monastic, it became over time a community of married clerks.⁴

The continuity that Symeon stresses was in part the result of the presence of the relics of St Cuthbert, which were a major focus of the community, and which were carried at each removal to their final resting-place at Durham. Cuthbert, born c.635, had been a monk and hermit at Lindisfarne, before being appointed bishop in 685. He died in 687. Soon after his death Cuthbert became the centre of a cult, the popularity of which was firmly established in 698 when, at the first translation of his relics, his body was discovered to be incorrupt.⁵ The saint's reputation was fostered by Bishop Eadfrith of Lindisfarne (698-721), who commissioned two lives of the saint, one of which was written by Bede himself.⁶ The continuing reputation of the saint is attested by a succession of royal visits to the shrine, including visits by King Æthelstan in 934 when it was at Chester-le-Street,⁷ and later by King Cnut in 1031 when the community had moved to Durham.⁸

In 1093 Bishop William and his monks began a major building programme to replace the Anglo-Saxon churches at Durham with a new Romanesque cathedral and to create buildings suitable to house the monastic community.⁹ The eastern arm of the church was completed in 1104 and St Cuthbert's relics were translated into the eastern apse, after public examination had revealed that the body of the saint remained incorrupt.¹⁰ The translation of the saint was a popular event attended by 'men of all ranks, ages and professions, secular and spiritual' who came because 'they had heard of the miracle, that the body, although dead for so many years, was still free from decay...'¹¹ The twelfth century was a period of great popularity of the cult of St Cuthbert, which culminated in the creation of a miracle collection

by Reginald of Durham, probably completed in the early 1170s.¹² His popularity remained strong throughout the Middle Ages.¹³ Various secondary relics of the saint bear out this popularity. Thus no king of England ventured to fight in Scotland without the banner of St Cuthbert being carried with the army as a battle standard.¹⁴

The identification that the early-twelfth-century monks of Durham made with their Northumbrian past and in particular with the person of their patron St Cuthbert persisted to a marked degree into the later Middle Ages. Barrie Dobson considers that the '...identification of an ecclesiastical corporation with its patron saint is one of the commonplaces of medieval history; but nowhere in England was such an identification made to seem so complete as at Durham, and nowhere did it prove so powerful or enduring... The closeness of the relationship between seventh-century saint and fifteenth-century monk needs particular emphasis, for without an awareness of its fundamental importance much of the history of the convent will always remain literally inexplicable.'¹⁵

Dobson's wide-ranging study of the priory in the fifteenth century offers a detailed picture of a wealthy monastic corporation, with no serious monastic rivals north of the Tees. Durham's distance from London and also from York secured for it a certain independence. The standing of the prior of Durham was reflected in the grant of the right to a staff and mitre in the late fourteenth century and in the position of dominance maintained by the prior in the General Chapter of the English ^{Benedictine} congregation. In outlook conservative, the house was intensely scholarly, maintaining an independent foundation at

Oxford, to which a fair proportion of its monks were sent to study. The resources and reputation of the monastery enabled recruitment to be maintained to the Suppression of the house. One feature of the establishment in 1083 was that Durham occupied a border region outside effective Anglo-Norman political control, an area in which the king of Scots was an important influence. From the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the war in Scotland, Durham was once again in a border region in which the activities of the Scots loomed especially large. The society of the region was permanently on a war footing and the priory was involved at the highest levels in the political and diplomatic effects of the war. In its domestic affairs war with Scotland and the attitudes of the kings of Scotland to aliens forced the priory into an extended, costly and in the end unsuccessful, battle to preserve its dependent priory at Coldingham. The uncertain political situation in the late eleventh century had led to the establishment at Durham of a palatine jurisdiction ruled over by the bishop. The wealth and seniority of the see meant that the bishopric was a major political prize, usually held in the later Middle Ages by notable clerical royal servants. The war with Scotland ensured that the men appointed as bishop were also able administrators, politicians and diplomats. The multifarious concerns of a bishop of Durham meant that the bishopric was often ruled by permanent officers in the bishop's absence. Although there were acrimonious disputes between the priory and the bishop, successive bishops were also notable benefactors and patrons of the monastery. The majority of bishops into the fifteenth century chose to be buried in their cathedral church.

The Liber Vitae

The Durham *Liber Vitae* is a small book (205mm x 142mm) containing some eighty-six leaves.¹⁶ It is a composite manuscript consisting of an Anglo-Saxon core preceded and followed by various additions made in the tenth century and after, together with prefatory material and end-leaves supplied in the seventeenth century when the volume was bound on the orders of Sir Robert Cotton.¹⁷ Although the volume remains essentially that known to Cotton, its binding has been modified in modern times. The manuscript has been twice foliated; first in ink and subsequently, in 1884, in pencil, both foliations appearing at the top right of the recto of the leaf. The pencil foliation is the British Library's official foliation, and it will be the one used in this thesis.¹⁸

The Anglo-Saxon core of the *Liber Vitae* comprises folios 15-47v and 50-55v.¹⁹ This part of the book consists of a series of lists of names, arranged according to rank or clerical degree, thus, for example, one list is headed *Nomina regum vel ducum* (folio 15r-v), a second *Nomina abbatum gradus presbyteratus* (folios 18v-19r) and a third *Nomina abbatum gradus diaconatus* (folio 19v). In total there are some 2,819 names in ten lists of widely varying length.²⁰ Each separate list begins on a new page and has a heading in red, with the list itself, written in alternating gold and silver, arranged in three columns of twenty or twenty-one lines to the page. The first name in each list has an enlarged initial decorated with red, gold and silver. The text may have been written by two scribes in a single campaign, and must be seen as a fair copy of earlier and probably diverse records. The date assigned to the

compilation of this part of the manuscript is c.840.²¹

The additions to the original core of the manuscript are various. They comprise bodies of text and lists of names. The bodies of text, datable to between the late-tenth and late-twelfth centuries, include a manumission and two charters in Anglo-Saxon (folio 47r-v), further charters and other materials relating to the Benedictine community (folios 50v-55r), various confraternity agreements (folios 25v and 36v) and extracts from the gospels (folios 4-14v). The lists of names are of two sorts. The first consists of the names of the members of the monastic community of Durham, from its foundation in 1083 to c.1520. After c.1520 the names of the monks cease to be added to the manuscript. The second consists of the names of non-monks added to the manuscript from the early twelfth century to the Suppression of the house in 1539. The monastic lists begin on folio 45v as an addition to the list of *Nomina monachorum* (folios 37r-45r), one of the lists of the original core. From the first, possibly in imitation of the Anglo-Saxon arrangement, the monastic lists were written in columns. Generally these lists are written on folios reserved for monastic names, separate from those of the non-monastic lists. The non-monastic lists are less formal in their arrangement than the monastic lists, but from the beginning have a tendency to be written in lines across the page, rather than in columns.

The original core of the manuscript is a deluxe product, elegantly and spaciously arranged, and written in gold and silver. The general quality of the additions is however very variable. The early additions to the monastic lists are neatly arranged. But non-monastic names are frequently added to pages

without initial preparatory ruling, each scribe making his own addition, apparently without reference to earlier work on the same page. Although the additions were generally made on folios added to the manuscript for the purpose, significant additions were also made to incomplete pages in the original core and also to the margins of previously completed pages. The general effect of the whole manuscript is untidy and irregular. The untidy presentation of the manuscript parallels its present very irregular construction.

The original core of the book (folios 15r-47v and 50r-55v) was written in the mid-ninth century in Northumbria, probably at either the monastery of Lindisfame or of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow.²² Textual additions on folio 47v recording gifts of land to St Cuthbert, dated to the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, indicate that by this time the manuscript was in the possession of the community at Durham.²³ The regular addition of the names of the professed monks of the Benedictine monastery of Durham after c. 1100 shows that the book remained in Durham probably until the Suppression of the house in 1539.

The manuscript, although undoubtedly a Durham book, is not certainly referred to in any medieval Durham source, either literary or documentary. It is assumed that it must have been kept in the church, as it does not appear in any of the several library catalogues surviving from the Benedictine priory.²⁴ The manuscript is generally equated with an altar book described in the *Rites of Durham*, a work written c. 1593 by a former servant of the monastery of Durham, describing the customs, ceremonies and arrangements pertaining in

the monastery just prior to the Dissolution.²⁵

Comparanda for the Durham Liber Vitae

The *Liber Vitae* of Durham is one of only three *libri vitae* to survive from medieval England, the others are the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey (B.L. MS. Stowe 944) and the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney (B.L. Additional MS. 40,000, folios 1v-12r). This small group of English manuscripts does, however, form part of a larger corpus of books surviving from the Continent.²⁶

The *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, as with the Durham book, consists of an original core plus numerous additions made between the mid-eleventh and the first quarter of the sixteenth century.²⁷ After 1769 or 1770 the *Liber Vitae* was part of the collection of Thomas Astle who brought the manuscript into its present order and added a contents list before having the whole bound for inclusion in his library.²⁸

The original core of the manuscript contains both lists of names and a series of texts, the whole prefixed by three pages of drawings. The names are subdivided, as they are in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham, into groups by means of rubrics. The groups include kings of West Saxons (folio 14r) and ealdormen (folio 17r), together with a number of bishop lists of sees in the southern province, including a list of archbishops of Canterbury (folios 14v-15r) and bishops of the West Saxons (folios 15v-16r). There are lists of members of the communities of the Old Minster, Winchester (folios 18r-20r) and of the New

Minster itself (folios 20v-21v). There are three lists of the members of monastic communities in confraternity with the New Minster, namely Abingdon, Ely and Romsey (folios 26v-28r). There are also lists of different grades of benefactor and friend of the New Minster, namely deceased benefactors (folio 17r-v), friends commending themselves to the abbey's prayers (folio 25r-v), women of high standing in confraternity with the abbey (folio 26r-v) and men in confraternity with the abbey (folio 28r-v). The texts included in the manuscript are diverse. They include a history of the New Minster (folios 8r-12v) and a preface, which describes the function of the commemorative lists (folio 13r-v). There is a copy in Anglo-Saxon of the will of King Alfred (folios 29v-33r). There is a tract on the six ages of the world (folios 33r-34r) and two on the resting-places of saints (folios 34v-39r), together with an incomplete list of the saints in heaven (folio 56r-v) and a discussion of the number of languages in the world (folio 61r-v). There is also an incomplete set of gospel lections (folios 42r-49v + 41r-v), an incomplete series of blessings (folios 50r-54v) and a series of liturgical texts which follow a text on the proper times of celebrating mass (folios 59v-61r). The preliminary drawings consist of a picture of King Cnut and Queen Emma presenting a golden cross on the altar of the New Minster (folio 6r) and a double page showing the Last Judgement (folios 6v-7r).²⁹

The production of the original book is closely associated with Ælfwine, abbot of New Minster (1031-57). The *Liber Vitae* was begun soon after Ælfwine became abbot in 1031 and completed in the same year.³⁰ Despite the evidence of a precise context for the production of the *Liber Vitae* it appears

that several elements within the compilation, namely the account of the history of the New Minster together with some of the lists of names, the list of kings of the West Saxons, the list of kings' sons, the lists of bishops of London and Selsey, the list of ealdormen and the list of dead benefactors, were in fact compiled in the 980s. To explain this Keynes suggests that the *Liber Vitae* of 1031 is in fact a fair copy and partial updating of a *Liber Vitae* which may have originated within twenty years of the foundation of the New Minster itself.³¹

Both the Durham and the New Minster *Libri Vitae* are independent books of names each of which was in use over a long period. By contrast the Thorney *Liber Vitae* is attached to the front of a gospel book and was created in a period of less than a century.³² The whole of manuscript Additional 40,000 contains 87 folios. The gospel text, written in an early tenth century hand, begins on folio 13r and breaks off with St John's gospel incomplete. The first twelve folios contain a number of miscellaneous items. Folios 1r and 12v are blank. Folios 4v-9v contain a set of Eusebian canon tables, which is part of the original compilation of the gospels, written in the same hand and decorated using the same colours as are found in the decoration of the gospel text. Folio 11r has a fifteenth-century table of abbots of Thorney, folio 11v a Latin schedule of relics of Thorney Abbey, compiled c.1100. The rest of the gathering, namely folios 1v-4r, half of 9v and 10r-v, is the *Liber Vitae*, with a few additional names included on folios 11v and 12r. In all there are some 2,300 names.³³

The gospels now in Thorney were produced in the Low Countries or Northern France in the early tenth century. By the middle of the century the

manuscript was in England, where various marginal additions were made to it. From c.1100 it can be located at Thorney.³⁴ The *Liber Vitae* was created at Thorney during the twelfth century, the earliest entries being in a hand datable to c.1100 and the latest to c.1190.³⁵ The present ordering of the lists in the gathering is not chronological. The listing begins on folio 10r-v, followed by 9v (on the space at the end of the canon tables), then folios 3r-v, 2r-v and 1v, with some sporadic entries on folios 4r, 11r and 12r.³⁶ Because the present eighteenth-century binding is very tight it is impossible to examine the quire structure of the preliminary part of the manuscript. But the present arrangement of the folios of the gathering is not the result of modern shuffling, as the offsets between folios 1v and 2r and between folios 3v and 4r demonstrate.³⁷ Elisabeth van Houts postulates a genesis for the first quire of the manuscript which would mean that the current ordering of the entries that make up the *Liber Vitae* is best explained by suggesting that the *Liber Vitae* was created piecemeal.³⁸ In her reconstruction the first quire of the manuscript originally contained only the current folios 4-10, that is the canon tables plus the blank leaf (folio 10), intended to separate them from the gospel text. The *Liber Vitae* was begun on the recto of this blank leaf, under a rubric, and continued on the verso and then on the blank space beside the canon tables on folio 9v. She envisages that, when the available space in the original quire was used up, single sheets were added as they were required. Thus folios 3, 2, 11, 1 and 12, were appended in that order.³⁹ This reconstruction envisages that the first quire was not originally bound in to the manuscript or was only provisionally attached to it.⁴⁰

The scribe who originally designed the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney decided that the names would be written in a five column format, the names following the rubric, *Haec sunt nomina fratrum istius loci*, with names being hyphenated and written on two lines to maintain a regular format.⁴¹ It was intended that the names on the additional leaves would be arranged in a similar manner as they all are ruled for a lay-out of forty-one lines and five columns.⁴² However, the later scribes who added to the lists ignored the preparatory rulings and tried other lay-outs, the latest entries being arranged in long lines across the page.⁴³

Of the later additions of names to the *Liber Vitae* of Thorney, it can be demonstrated that a proportion consists of the names of lay people, both male and female, and that the entry of their names into the manuscript was contemporaneous with their admission into confraternity with Thorney.⁴⁴ It was therefore a book of the living. The original compiler can be shown to have conceived the early part of the book in somewhat different terms. The early entries were arranged 'primarily by ranks and categories', the first column beginning with King Cnut and his family, and including a series of bishops and abbots, whilst the third column begins by listing Cnut's principal jarls.⁴⁵ Further the names included 'bring together individuals with heydays ranging from the late tenth century (the period of the abbey's foundation) to the first decade of the twelfth century... Thus the "catchment period" of the *Liber Vitae* goes back at least to the beginning of the eleventh century, whose earlier half is well represented.⁴⁶ It seems that it is impossible to know whether the first scribe of the *Liber Vitae* was working from earlier lists of names arranged

under grades, as in the *Libri Vitae* of Durham and New Minster, or whether he created the groups he recorded from other sources. One category he apparently did not include in his lists was communities of monks or nuns who may have been in confraternity with Thorney.⁴⁷

In all there are seven *libri vitae* or *libri memoriales* surviving from the Continent, six of which are dateable to the eighth and ninth centuries, whilst the seventh, that of Corvey, although later in date, can be shown to have originated in the same period.⁴⁸ In addition there are numerous sacramentaries and gospel-books which include varying numbers of names entered for the purposes of liturgical commemoration. For example the gospel-book emanating from Cividale (Italy), although damaged, still contains some 1,600 names.⁴⁹ Each of the surviving books is individual in lay-out and in content, but all of them include, as a prominent part of their contents, lists of the names of members of religious communities in confraternity with the house for whom the book was produced.

The oldest of the extant commemorative books on the Continent is the earlier of the two parts of the confraternity book of St Peter's Salzburg (Salzburg, Stiftsarchiv St Peter, MS A1).⁵⁰ This was compiled in 784 under the abbot-bishop Virgil. The second part was added to this compilation in 1004 under Abbot Tito. It contains in all some 7,614 names. The arrangement of the names in this first part of the manuscript is related to the arrangement of the Durham *Liber Vitae*. The names are divided into groups of the living and the dead, and further sub-divided into *ordines*. This ordering is seen by scholars as a link between the diptychs of the ancient church and later

confraternity books. Unlike the Durham *Liber Vitae* it also contains the names of monastic communities in confraternity with Salzburg, seven of which entries belong to the original compilation of the book.

The *Liber Viventium* of Pfäfers (St. Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Fonds Pfäfers, MS 1) is contained in a gospel book, written about 800.⁵¹ The names, over 4,500 in all, are arranged under arches between the gospel texts. The arches are apparently part of the original lay-out of the book and indicate that the gospel-book was devised for the reception of names. The earliest surviving name-entry, datable to c.830, following St Matthew's gospel, is arranged as a diptych with the names of the Carolingian kings and bishops of Chur. It is possible that earlier names were once included in the book but have been erased from it. The majority of the entries, arranged in eleven lists, nine of religious communities and two of benefactors, are dated to the second half of the ninth century. The book continued in use in the later middle ages, and contains a variety of records including inventories of books and relics and charters, but no later names.

The two surviving confraternity books of St Gall are presently bound together in a single manuscript (St Gallen, Stiftsarchiv, Class. I. Cist. C3, MS B 55).⁵² The first book (book A) was compiled before 817 and contains twenty-four folios; the second book (book B) was compiled about 870 and contains sixty folios. In all some 14,932 names are recorded in both books. A major feature of both books is the lists of the members of communities in confraternity with St Gall. The lists of the members of the communities in confraternity with St Gall are recorded in the *Libri Vitae*, whilst the actual

agreements, which detail the liturgical observances on the death of a religious in a community in confraternity with the abbey, are preserved in the Chapter Book (MS 915). There is in addition a further list of the eleventh century of abbeys in confraternity with St Gall.⁵³ In all some forty-eight such agreements are known, whilst lists and partial lists of the members of thirty-one of the religious communities still survive in the *Libri Vitae*.⁵⁴ One difference between the first and second *Libri Vitae* preserved at St Gall, is the increased importance of individual lay entries evidenced in the second book, which includes lists under the rubrics of *Nomina feminarum laicarum* and *Nomina laicorum*.⁵⁵

The confraternity book of Reichenau (Zürich, Zentralbibliothek, MS Rh. Hist. 27) contains some 38, 232 names and is the largest of the surviving *libri vitae*.⁵⁶ The present manuscript, which was bound together in the tenth century, contains the *Liber Vitae* (pp. 1-134), a series of monastic professions (pp. 135-50) and a number of miscellaneous leaves (pp. 151-64). The *Liber Vitae* was compiled in 824, in part at least from previously surviving lists of names. The original conception of this book was that it should contain a series of discrete lists. The lists, each of which begins on a new page, are arranged in columns under rubrics, and have been assigned a unique number. Each list can be found by consulting the original list of contents on page 3.⁵⁷ The bulk of the book contains the names of members of religious communities, male and female, in confraternity with Reichenau.

The *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont (Rome, Biblioteca Angelica, MS 10), which derives from a nunnery founded in the first half of the seventh

century, is a complex compilation. The first element is a *liber vitae*, which contains in all some 10,631 names, and in fact comprises the remains of two memorial books.⁵⁸ The first was compiled 'in the seventh year' of Louis the Pious, that is between 28 January 820 and 27 January 821, and the second in 862-3.⁵⁹ The *Liber Memorialis* contains in addition: liturgical texts, three full necrologies; a cartulary, containing some 750 short grants to the abbey; and a rent book.⁶⁰ The liturgical texts are discrete, as is the rent book, but the other items are mixed together, with scribes making additions in whatever blank spaces could be found.⁶¹ The *liber vitae* includes the names of the abbesses and sisters of Remiremont and the names of members of fifteen communities in confraternity with the abbey.⁶²

The *Liber Memorialis* is introduced by a liturgical text, written probably in 862/3, which states that the abbey will celebrate mass daily for all those, living and dead, who have given property or alms to the nuns or to their predecessors or who have commended themselves to the abbey's prayers. It goes on to exhort the nuns who will succeed the present community to continue to enter names in the book and to have mass celebrated daily.⁶³

The *Liber Vitae* of San Salvatore/ Santa Giulia in Brescia (Brescia, Biblioteca Civica Queriniana, Cod. G. VI. 7) was first compiled in 865, possibly in connection with a visit to Brescia, by Emperor Louis II and contains in all some 7,000 names.⁶⁴ The list on folios 8r-27v, some 2,416 names, was copied by a single scribe and represents a fair copy of pre-existing lists. This book contains, in addition to the lists of names, formulae for votive masses and benedictions, gospel texts and a litany. A unique addition to this book

(folios 42r ff.) is the list of girls dedicated as oblates to the nunnery, together with the names of those dedicating them. The name of Emperor Lothar I, who dedicated his daughter Gisola in 848, heads the list.⁶⁵ This book is of interest also in that it contains the names of various notable Anglo-Saxons and thus raises the questions of how and why names were entered into *libri vitae*.⁶⁶

The *Liber Vitae* of Corvey (Munster, Staatsarchiv, MS Misc. I 133) was compiled under Abbot Wibald between 1158 and 1160, but the list of abbots and brethren of the house (pp. 1-6) reaches back to the foundation of the house in 822.⁶⁷

Research context

Libri vitae represent a small class of documents but because of their contents, their many thousands of personal names, and their intimate connection with the religious houses in which they were produced, they have long been appreciated as potentially an important historical source.⁶⁸ Both on the continent and in England early editions were made to encourage scholars in their use. In England in 1892 Walter de Gray Birch produced an edition of the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey soon after the manuscript was acquired by the British Museum,⁶⁹ whilst the first edition of the complete text of the Durham *Liber Vitae* appeared in 1841, produced for the Surtees Society by J. Stevenson.⁷⁰ This edition of the Durham *Liber Vitae* reproduced the whole text of the manuscript (folios 15r-83v), with the exception of the prefatory gospel extracts and the Cottonian pages. In addition there have

been various editions of the text of the original core of the manuscript, stripped of its later accretions. The first was a partial edition in the second volume of the *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts* in 1884, which was accompanied by notes on the identities of some of the persons named in the manuscript.⁷¹ The second was by Sweet in 1885.⁷² More recently, in 1988, Jan Gerchow published an edition of the names of the original core.⁷³

Despite the fact that *libri vitae* attracted early editors, little contemporary progress was in fact made in using them as an historical source because of two major editorial problems, as Jan Gerchow has discussed.⁷⁴ The first was the difficulty of presenting in a printed edition the complexity of the construction of the manuscript pages; that is of distinguishing the original lay-out of the pages from the subsequent layers of entries made by many scribes and of representing adequately the date and succession of each of these additions. The second was in providing adequate indices that would enable individual names, and also name variants in the case of the pre-1100 names, to be found within the book. The scale of the editorial problem becomes obvious when it is considered that the *Liber Memorialis* of Reichenau, the largest of the surviving *libri vitae*, comprises 164 folios, on some of which over 300 scribes have made additions, that it contains nearly 40,000 names, which have been added over a period of more than three hundred years from c.842. These difficulties have been overcome in a series of modern editions of some of the continental *libri vitae* emanating from the Freiburg-Münster school, where transcripts of the text, facsimiles of the manuscript pages and elaborate interconnecting indices enable the individual

texts to be utilised.⁷⁵

Students wishing to use the Durham *Liber Vitae* have been assisted not by a single modern edition, but by a variety of separate publications, which go some way to replicating the modern German editions. First there is the printed edition by Stevenson, which offers a generally accurate transcript of the text. Secondly, there is the collotype facsimile produced, again for the Surtees Society, in 1923, by A. Hamilton Thompson.⁷⁶ This edition has reproductions of all the folios of the manuscript, excepting the gospel extracts and the Cottonian additions. It therefore exactly parallels Stevenson's earlier work. This volume includes an introductory essay by Hamilton Thompson, which places the Durham *Liber Vitae* into a wider, generally continental, context. Thirdly, there is the modern edition of the names in the original core plus indices modelled on those devised by the Freiburg-Münster school published by Jan Gerchow.⁷⁷ In his study of the surviving Anglo-Saxon commemorative documents Gerchow provided an edition of each of the documents he examined. In addition he constructed consolidated indices of all the names found in the Anglo-Saxon commemorative documents that he studied.

The *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey is available for study in the same disparate way. The nineteenth century printed edition by Birch is supported by the modern facsimile by Keynes.⁷⁸ Both editions are prefaced by extended introductions, which describe the manuscript, its contents and its genesis. But neither has a discussion of the construction of the manuscript nor an adequate indexing system for its contents. Since 1988, with Gerchow's

work, there has been an analysis of the construction of the manuscript, an edition of the names in the original core and indices enabling the names to be found.⁷⁹ The *Liber Vitae* of Thorney still awaits a full edition. However, an edition of the original section of the list, that is the names on folio 10r, was also included in Gerchow's treatment and the names included in the indices to his book.⁸⁰ Thus the original compilations of all three English *libri vitae* are available to students, but anyone interested in the numerous additions to each of these manuscripts is not so fortunate.

Interest in the Durham *Liber Vitae* has been recently stimulated by the on-going project to produce an electronic edition of the whole text.⁸¹ This edition will consist of high-resolution digital images of every page of the manuscript, a complete transcription of the name lists and the text passages, together with commentary on all aspects of the manuscript's production and development. Fundamental to the edition of the names will be comprehensive indices with supporting palaeographical, philological and historical/prosopographical commentary. An exploratory international symposium convened in Durham in December 2001 gathered experts in many fields to present recent research on the Durham manuscript and related books. A volume of papers based on those given at the symposium will survey recent research. Jan Gerchow and Elizabeth Briggs have revised their work on the genesis of the original core. Geoffrey Barrow and John Moore have provided insights into the addition of non-monastic names in the late-eleventh and twelfth centuries. Papers by Alan Piper and myself highlight aspects of the later medieval addition of names. Papers by Simon Keynes

and Janet Burton and Robert Swanson provide information on the English context of the book, whilst those by Katherine Keats-Rohan, Arnold Angenendt and Dieter Geuenich provide a continental context for the production and continuation of the book.⁸² One important aspect of the project to date has been a new codicological study of the manuscript by Michael Gullick. His work builds on that of Gerchow and extends it.⁸³

The modern editions of *libri vitae* and obituaries in Germany were seen by the Freiburg-Münster school, led by Karl Schmid and Joachim Wollasch, as a necessary preparatory stage to a series of major prosopographical studies. Their research effort was directed towards the study of monasticism in the early ninth century and in the reform period and also of the structure of Carolingian and post-Carolingian society.⁸⁴ In the latter area studies have focussed, for example, on family clans, the imperial nobility and on friendship agreements (*amicitiae*) between nobles and clerks.⁸⁵ Their prosopographical work can be seen in the context of the wide interest in prosopographical studies as a tool for elucidating a variety of problems in social history associated with groups, as manifested, for example, by families, elites and secular networks, an interest which is not restricted to the early Middle Ages.⁸⁶ In England prosopography has been widely used, for example in discussions of Anglo-Norman landholding and society,⁸⁷ of county society in the later Middle Ages,⁸⁸ in analyses of households and affinities⁸⁹ and in discussions of ecclesiastical networks,⁹⁰ whilst the importance of information about individual members, their backgrounds, and allegiances informs modern studies of the history of Parliament.⁹¹

Ancillary to the prosopographical work of the German school, a number of studies have also been directed towards an understanding of the development of commemorative practices in the early Middle Ages, so as to appreciate the evolution and use of the commemorative documents that survive, together with the involvement of both the religious and the laity in the commemorative practices of which these documents were the product.⁹²

Studies based on the evidence of *libri vitae* in England have reflected those undertaken in Germany. Elizabeth Briggs used an essentially prosopographical approach in her study tracing the connections of the monastery of Lindisfarne on the basis of her detailed consideration of the names in the original core of the Durham *Liber Vitae*.⁹³ Jan Gerchow, a member of the Freiburg and Munster team, did work on the English *libri vitae* and related commemorative material which was concerned to integrate the English material into its 'germanic' context as part of a grand design of an all-embracing prosopographical database of names in early medieval Europe.⁹⁴ John Moore, interested in historical demography, has used *libri vitae* to provide information on Anglo-Norman families,⁹⁵ whilst Cecily Clark's work on the Thorney *Liber Vitae* has been based on philological and onomastic approaches to the names.⁹⁶ In this area Dorothy Whitelock had already published a discussion of the Scandinavian names in the Thorney *Liber Vitae*.⁹⁷

English scholarship, also paralleling German scholarly trends, has until recently shown little or no interest in the later medieval entries in either the New Minster or the Durham *libri vitae* even though, as Keynes has recognised

in relation to the New Minster *Liber Vitae*, the 'greatest challenge presented by the [manuscript] will doubtless remain the elucidation of the layers of names on the openings which represent those who entered into confraternity with the community [between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries]...' but which he feels would produce useful results.⁹⁸

Alan Piper's work on the members of the Benedictine community of Durham after 1083 has shown how the extensive monastic archive can be employed for prosopographical studies. In two recent papers he has begun to use the information on the individual monks to explore the entry of monastic names in the *Liber Vitae*. In the first he discusses the twelfth century additions and compares the lists in the *Liber Vitae* to the parallel lists in the earliest manuscript of Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio*.⁹⁹ In the second he is concerned with the wider patterns of monastic name-entry between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries.¹⁰⁰

In a paper to the Harlaxton Symposium in 1994 I highlighted my own interest in the post-1300 material in the *Liber Vitae*.¹⁰¹ I attempted first, to place the *Liber Vitae* in a liturgical and commemorative context; secondly, to illustrate the range of people whose names are found in the late sections of the manuscript; and thirdly to indicate the problems involved in attempting to assess the significance of the inclusion of names in the *Liber Vitae* for any consideration of lay relations with the priory in the later Middle Ages.

Research questions

This study has been informed by one idea, namely the investigation of the relationship between the people named in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham and the monastic community which produced it. Ideally such an investigation would consider this relationship in all its aspects from the time of the creation of the book in the mid-ninth century to its final disuse with the suppression of the Benedictine priory in 1539. However, for reasons of practicality, this study has had to focus on a limited number of related questions. First, it focuses on the use of the book within the Benedictine priory of Durham and more particularly the period c.1300 to c.1539, although it will naturally consider aspects of the book outside this time range where these are germane. Secondly, although the entry of the names of monks into the book will be considered, this study will concentrate on the entry of the names of non-monastic persons after c.1300. In addition to considerations of time and practicality there are cogent reasons for these choices. First the period after c.1300 is the least studied period in the history and development of the *Liber Vitae* of Durham. Secondly, after c.1300 the monastic archive is at its most extensive and well preserved, making it likely that people associated with the monastery will somewhere be named in its records, making a prosopographical study more feasible. Thirdly, the study of the non-monastic names entered into the book parallels Alan Piper's researches into the careers of the monks of the Benedictine community. To have knowledge potentially of all the people whose names are entered into the manuscript within a single time period opened the possibility of reaching a fuller

understanding of the relationship between the people named in the *Liber Vitae* and the monastic community after c.1300.

To try to understand the relationship between the monastery of Durham and the people listed in the *Liber Vitae* after c.1300 this study has set out to answer three basic questions. First, how did the *Liber Vitae* develop as a manuscript? Secondly, what was or were the functions of the book? Thirdly, who were the people whose names were entered into the manuscript in the period after c.1300?

The first question, about the development of the manuscript, began as a practical one, as a necessary precursor of the other two. The Durham *Liber Vitae* has no written history. It consists, as we have seen, of an original core created in the ninth century and an extensive series of additions. As indicated by the studies of Briggs, Gerchow and Gullick its present structure, including that of the ninth century core, is extremely irregular. Such irregularity might be easily explained with regard to the additions to the book, but is less understandable in the core of the manuscript, which with its expansive layout and use of expensive materials is to be viewed as a deluxe product, where a well planned and regular structure might be expected. Nothing is known for certain of the history of the manuscript between the suppression of the monastery of Durham and its appearance in Sir Robert Cotton's collection in the seventeenth century. The observed irregularities in its structure might therefore be attributable to losses due to neglect during this time. Further, although Sir Robert Cotton was a notable collector of manuscripts, he is also known to have modified both the form and content of items in his collection.

The Durham *Liber Vitae* has a Cottonian binding and prefatory material also attributable to Cotton's intervention. It also has as folios 4-14 a series of gospel extracts which Briggs suspected of being additions made to the book by Cotton. As an analysis of the post-1300 contents of the book formed an integral part of the planned study, it seemed that an initial examination of the physical structure of the book was necessary to discover, first whether the book as currently constituted could be said to be complete, or, if not, what might be the extent of the losses it had sustained; and, secondly, whether it had in fact been subject to major modifications by Cotton and whether these might have affected its contents.

During the study of the physical development of the manuscript, it became clear that the book had in fact undergone a series of important modifications to its structure which were attributable neither to Cotton's intervention nor to losses which could be attributed to damage or neglect. These changes had taken place after 1083, within the monastery of Durham and could be closely linked to the development of the contents of the book. It became increasingly obvious that the book's physical development was as much part of its relationship to the community that produced it as either its function or its contents. It was further evident that an understanding of the physical appearance of the book might in fact be important to an understanding of possible attitudes to it on the part of the community and those whose names were entered into it.

In the last two years my understanding of the physical development of the *Liber Vitae* has been greatly increased by the studies of Michael Gullick,

begun as a result of his involvement in the *Liber Vitae* project. He has kept me informed of his discoveries, and discussed his ideas with me at length. In the section of this study devoted to the physical development of the manuscript his contributions are fully acknowledged. Our approaches have been independent and our conclusions are sometimes different, but without his input my understanding of this complex and technical area of the *Liber Vitae* would be very much more restricted.

At the start of this study the question of the function of the *Liber Vitae* of Durham appeared to be settled. All scholars who have considered it have equated the manuscript with the book described by the *Rites of Durham*. The *Rites* says unequivocally that the book kept on the high altar was a Benefactors Book and that the names included in it were remembered each day during the mass. This explanation of the function of the *Liber Vitae* written at the end of the sixteenth century correlates closely with a longer and more detailed preface in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, written in the eleventh century.¹⁰² It has therefore been accepted that both the Durham and New Minster manuscripts record the names of founders and benefactors of the churches that produced them and that the names included in them were remembered daily during mass. The New Minster preface's likening the recording of the names in these earthly books to the recording of names in the heavenly books, give both the Durham and New Minster manuscripts their modern appellation *libri vitae*.

Inevitably these English books have been compared with surviving books on the Continent. Edmund Bishop in an article published first in the

Downside Review of 1885 drew parallels with the manuscripts produced by the monasteries of Pfaffers, St Gall and Reichenau.¹⁰³ He saw the English books as confraternity books, including the names of those who had entered into formal association with the monastery in question. He cited the inclusion of the community of Worcester added to the Durham book in the early twelfth century, assuming that deeper knowledge of the contents of the Durham book would expose other such entries. He cited evidence to show the importance of confraternity between monasteries and between individuals and an individual house. His analysis was accepted by Hamilton Thomson in 1923 and the recent discussion by Simon Keynes in his edition of the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey has followed along the same lines.¹⁰⁴

Whilst not initially questioning the scholarly assumptions on the function of *libri vitae* I wished to examine the relationship between the function assigned to the Durham *Liber Vitae* and other sorts of commemoration practised by the monks after 1083. I was especially interested in those that depended on the remembrance of anniversaries, as records of such arrangements were made on pages of the *Liber Vitae* itself. This seemed particularly important since the form of the *Liber Vitae* was not itself suited to the remembrance of anniversaries, unlike necrologies which have the names they contain arranged in calendar order for remembrance on a particular day. As my study of the function of the *Liber Vitae* progressed, in conjunction with my work to identify the persons whose names were entered in the manuscript, it became clear that, in the English context at least, the general scholarly assumptions about the functions of *libri vitae* and about the status of the

persons whose names were entered in them were perhaps mistaken, and that they had never in fact been demonstrated in detail or subjected to proof. In the light of these doubts over the correctness of the received ideas concerning the function of the *Liber Vitae* the question of its function or functions eventually assumed greater importance, not only for an understanding the *Liber Vitae* itself and its relationship to the monastery of Durham, but also for an understanding of the place of such books in the history of the medieval church.

If, as was assumed at the beginning this research, scholarly opinion was correct in its assertion that all the benefactors and *confratres* of the community of St Cuthbert were entered into the *Liber Vitae*, it was obvious that identifying the people named in the manuscript and illustrating their relationship to the priory of Durham would make it possible to discuss in detail the circle of friends of the monastery of Durham in the later Middle Ages. However, as it became clear that the basic assumptions concerning the function of the book were misguided, the study of the people named took on a greater significance. If those named were not simply benefactors and *confratres* who were they and what could be said of their relationship to the priory? Further, through study of the names entered into the manuscript, it became apparent that the lists of names were composed not of unrelated individuals but of groups of people. Many of these were family members, others could be shown to be contemporaries and possibly colleagues. Thus whilst the study of the identities of the persons named in the manuscript was initially intended to illustrate individual association with the priory of Durham,

study of the identities of the persons named revealed greater complexity of association than had been envisaged.

Therefore the questions asked at the outset of this study have been considerably modified as the study has progressed and research has shown that the assumptions on which they were based were ill-founded or overly simplistic. The questions about the structure of the manuscript, posed initially to clear the ground for an analysis of the contents of the book, have become central to understanding its development and the reason for the inclusion of names. In practice, the certainties about the function of the manuscript have dissolved in the light of researches into the identities of the people whose names are included in the book.

Research methods

To answer the questions posed by this project various research methods and areas have been explored. The questions concerning the physical development of the *Liber Vitae* have involved close study of the codicology and palaeography of the manuscript. Codicology is concerned with all aspects of the study of manuscript books. A codicologist is concerned with questions associated with the physical construction of a book; he is also interested to locate and date the production of the manuscript; to consider the artists and craftsmen concerned in its production and, if possible, to name the patron. The subsequent history of the book is also relevant, whether it has been altered, how this was done and with what effect; who might have owned

the book and what use they made of it.¹⁰⁵

The processes involved in the manufacture of manuscript books were in their outline constant from the sixth century until the advent of printing. Animal skins, of calf, sheep or goat, were prepared by removing the hair and fat and the surfaces made smooth; the prepared membrane was divided into sheets, and these were grouped into quires. Groups of quires were written over and associated together in volumes.¹⁰⁶ In detail however the materials used and the processes involved in the manufacture of manuscripts were different in different regions and changed over time. For example the membrane produced in Anglo-Saxon England and Ireland was distinct from that produced on the Continent, because both the flesh and hair sides of the skin were roughened with pumice to produce the writing surface.¹⁰⁷ The way in which the finished leaves were arranged in quires also varied, as did the method by which the page was prepared for writing.¹⁰⁸ Individual manuscript books are thus products of their period and region, as well as being more particularly the product of an individual scriptorium, which might have had individual practices, which enable it to be characterised.¹⁰⁹ It is therefore possible to localise and date the production of a manuscript, based on an assessment of the materials used and methods employed in its production; in the same way subsequent changes to the structure of the manuscript can also be recognised and dated. Through these methods the original appearance of damaged manuscripts or partial quires can be suggested. For example, Dr Ian Doyle has convincingly reconstructed the form of the first quire of the earliest manuscript of Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio* (Durham University

Library, Cosin V.II.6).¹¹⁰ This work has had important implications for, amongst other things, the dating of the manuscript.¹¹¹ Detailed study of the present irregular structure of the *Liber Vitae* manuscript has produced evidence which makes it possible to reconstruct its original form and to suggest a sequence for the many changes subsequently imposed upon it. From this a history can be constructed for the manuscript which in its turn can be tentatively related to the history and concerns of the community of St Cuthbert from the mid-ninth to the mid-sixteenth century.

The dating of a manuscript can be further refined through a study of its palaeography. Palaeography in the strict sense is the study of ancient handwriting, and one of its basic objects is to date and localise handwriting.¹¹² The ability to date the writing of the text must always be of value in the wider codicological study of a manuscript, but in the case of the Durham *Liber Vitae* it is of vital importance. The lists of names in the original core of the manuscript were written by one or possibly two hands. All the other lists are subsequent additions to the original core, and virtually none of these is provided with any date indicating when it was made.¹¹³ To understand how the book was used and when the additional names were entered into it, it is necessary to date every scribal stint in the manuscript. This can only be done palaeographically. The dating of the hands has also been fundamental in the identification of the people named in the manuscript. There is no indication in the manuscript of the period during which the persons named flourished, as the entries are undated. Other evidence suggests that the majority of names were entered into the manuscript during their bearers' lifetimes, thus the

dating of the handwriting in which a name is written provides a crucial indication of date.

Study of the function of the *Liber Vitae* has also required that it be placed in a liturgical and commemorative context. The relevant texts and documents survive best for the eleventh and twelfth centuries at Durham, but the few surviving calendars and obit lists together with evidences of confraternity agreements provide some indications of late medieval practice. To provide a context for the use of the *Liber Vitae* it has also been necessary to consider lay involvement in the liturgy of the monastery and whether the monks made any provision for lay attendance at services in the cathedral. The assumption that the *Liber Vitae* recorded those who were benefactors and friends of the priory could only be tested by creating lists of such persons recorded in priory sources independent of the *Liber Vitae* itself and comparing the results. This aspect of the study overlapped with that area concerned with the identification of those named in the *Liber Vitae* and was subject to the same constraints.

The identification of people named in the *Liber Vitae* has involved searching numerous records for their names and evidences of their activity. However, if a document is not examined then inevitably some evidence will go undiscovered, and there has not been time to look at all the possibly relevant material. Knowledge that the *Liber Vitae* was compiled within the priory of Durham, together with the initial assumption that persons entered in the *Liber Vitae* were friends and benefactors of the priory suggested that the priory archive, rather than the more disparate records for the bishopric, would be the

most fruitful source to consult in the search for those named in the *Liber Vitae*. Because of the size of the priory archive, selections have had to be made in the range of material consulted. Thus although a range of obedientary rolls was sampled, the results obtained from the Bursar's rolls suggested that these should be the principal source. In addition to original documents I have made extensive use of calendared materials, because these are available in electronic format and have been readily searchable. I have found the priory registers an especially useful source of names. I have also consulted priory records and diocesan records printed by the Surtees Society, again because they are indexed, together with the county histories of Durham and Northumberland. I have further made use of earlier detailed studies of the priory and the bishopric, notably Donaldson's study of the clergy of Durham,¹¹⁴ which significantly augments the *Fasti Dunelmensis* published by the Surtees Society,¹¹⁵ and the thesis by Margaret Bonney (née Camsell), which includes a complete calendar of the documents relating to priory property in Durham City.¹¹⁶ This calendar is arranged chronologically street by street and property by property, so before it could be used to find people named in the *Liber Vitae* it had first to be indexed. Further, when it was decided that it was necessary to test the assumptions concerning the names entered in the *Liber Vitae*, large amounts of time were spent in creating lists of names of documented benefactors and friends, many of which were in fact not to be found in the *Liber Vitae* at all.

Notes to Chapter 1

¹ Rollason (2000), pp. 224-35, for Symeon's account of the foundation of the priory. Knowles (1966), pp. 159-71; Baker (1971), pp. 1-11; Burton (1994), pp. 32-3 and Burton (forthcoming).

² Rollason (2000), pp. 200-11 for Symeon's account of the refoundation of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. For the context see Burton (1994), pp. 44-5 and Leyser (1984), pp. 36-7.

³ Rollason (2000), p. 17.

⁴ Rollason (1992), esp. pp. 187-92; Foster (1994), p. 53; Barrow (1994), p. 25.

⁵ For Bede's description of the discovery of the incorrupt body of the saint, see Colgrave and Mynors (1972), pp. 442-4. For a discussion of the monastery of Lindisfarne and part played by the community in the origins of the cult of St Cuthbert see Thacker (1989) and the references therein.

⁶ Thacker (1989), pp. 109-122 and Colgrave (1940), *passim*.

⁷ Rollason (2000), pp. 134-7 and n. 103.

⁸ Rollason (2000), pp. 166-9 and n. 38.

⁹ Rollason (2000), p. 245, for Symeon's account of the beginning of the new cathedral. The monks may have begun the monastic buildings before 1093, during the bishop's exile, see Rollason (2000), pp. 242-3 and Snape (1977), pp. 21-2.

¹⁰ There are two accounts of the translation of the body in 1104. The first dated to the early twelfth century, the second by Reginald of Durham in the late twelfth century. Both are printed in English translation in Battiscombe (1956), pp. 99-112.

¹¹ Battiscombe (1956), p. 103.

¹² For a discussion of St Cuthbert's cult in the twelfth century see Tudor (1989), and for the date of the miracle collection, p. 449.

¹³ Dobson (1973), pp. 28-30.

¹⁴ Dobson (1973), p. 27 and n. 3.

¹⁵ Dobson (1973), p. 11.

¹⁶ For a full description of the manuscript and bibliography, see Appendix 2. The manuscript was the subject of a major international colloquium held in Durham in December 2001, which included consideration of the structure of the manuscript and its contents, together with possible comparanda and analogues. The papers will be published Rollason, Piper et al. (forthcoming). The paper presented by Michael Gullick has significantly revised ideas about the structure and development of the manuscript.

¹⁷ For discussion of the Cottonian interventions see Tite (forthcoming).

¹⁸ The ink foliation was that followed in the two editions of the *Liber Vitae*: Stevenson (1841) and Thompson (1923).

¹⁹ For discussion of the extent of the original core of the manuscript see below, pp. 52-3 and Appendix 1, pp. 391-3.

²⁰ Thompson (1923), p. xvi.

²¹ Thompson (1881-4), p. 84. Briggs (1987), pp. 5-8 and pp. 11-14 discusses the hands and the dating of the compilation of the manuscript. Her interpretation differs somewhat from that offered here, in that she separates the work of the first two scribes and places the original compilation around c. 800 (scribe 1), with additions made c. 840 (scribe 2).

²² See below, pp. 144-8.

²³ Ker (1957), no. 147c, pp. 187-8.

-
- ²⁴ Botfield (1838).
- ²⁵ Fowler (1903), pp. 16-17.
- ²⁶ Huyghebaert (1972), pp. 13-16; Geuenich (forthcoming).
- ²⁷ For discussion of the development of the manuscript see Keynes (1996), pp.79-110.
- ²⁸ Keynes (1996), p. 75.
- ²⁹ Keynes (1996), the contents of the manuscript are described, pp. 79-110. See also Birch (1892), pp. ii-lxix.
- ³⁰ Keynes (1996), pp. 69 and 37-8.
- ³¹ Keynes (1996), pp. 31-2.
- ³² British Museum (1933), pp. 276-9; Ker (1957), p.163 (item 131); Clark (1985); Gerchow (1988), pp. 186-98.
- ³³ Clark (1985), p. 50.
- ³⁴ Clark (1985), p. 51.
- ³⁵ Clark (1985), p. 51.
- ³⁶ Clark (1985), p. 53.
- ³⁷ Clark (1985), p. 53.
- ³⁸ Van Houts (1985), pp. 66-8.
- ³⁹ Unfortunately, in apparent contradiction of this position, she also notes that although the parchment of which the leaves is composed is disparate, precluding the possibility that the four leaves once formed two bifolia, they were apparently all prepared for writing at the same time, "for they show similar pricking and dry-point ruling..." Van Houts (1985) p. 66.

⁴⁰ Van Houts (1985), p. 66.

⁴¹ Clark (1985), p. 53.

⁴² Van Houts (1985), p. 66.

⁴³ Clark (1985), p. 53.

⁴⁴ Clark (1985), pp. 54-5.

⁴⁵ Clark (1985), p. 57 and Whitelock (1937-45), esp. pp.132-40.

⁴⁶ Clark (1985), p. 53.

⁴⁷ Clark (1985), p. 56.

⁴⁸ Huyghebaert (1972), pp.13-16; Geuenich (forthcoming). Huyghebaert only notices those *libri vitae* produced during the Carolingian period, and so has an incomplete list. He does, however, include a fragmentary example from Saint-Bertin, not noticed by Geuenich.

⁴⁹ Geuenich (forthcoming).

⁵⁰ Geuenich (forthcoming).

⁵¹ Geuenich (forthcoming). The Pfäfers book is briefly described in Bishop (1918), at p. 351, where he states that the book contains entries dated between 830 and the fifteenth century.

⁵² Geuenich (forthcoming). The St Gall book is briefly described in Bishop (1918), at pp. 349-50. For a brief summary of the history of the monastery of St Gall, see Vogler (2000).

⁵³ Geuenich (1991), p. 30.

⁵⁴ Geuenich (1991), pp. 29-31.

⁵⁵ Geuenich (1991), p. 34.

⁵⁶ Geuenich (forthcoming). The Reichenau book is briefly described in Bishop (1918), at p. 350 and its contents discussed at p. 353.

⁵⁷ Autenrieth, Geuenich et al. (1978). For the contents page see the facsimile, p. 3.

⁵⁸ Geuenich (forthcoming) gives 10, 631 names; Constable (1972), p. 262 claims 11,500 names.

⁵⁹ Geuenich (forthcoming).

⁶⁰ Constable (1972), p. 262.

⁶¹ Constable (1972), p. 263. This assertion by Constable appears to overstate the disorganisation of the manuscript. Whatever might be the final result of the multiple entries, the original plan appears to have been cogent. Thus the various lists of names begin under rubrics, e.g. fols. 8v-9r and the necrologies occur on fols. 10v-18v, 32r-34v and 43v-47r. For facsimiles of the relevant folios, see Hlawitschka, Schmid et al. (1970).

⁶² Constable (1972), p. 265 and n. 19.

⁶³ Constable (1972), pp. 263-4 and notes. See Hlawitschka, Schmid et al. (1970), the edition pp. 1-2 and the facsimile, fols. 1v-2r.

⁶⁴ Geuenich (forthcoming).

⁶⁵ Geuenich and Lugwig (2000), fol. 42v. For the circumstances of this dedication and the interest of the Carolingian rulers in the nunnery, see Keynes (1997), pp. 103-5.

⁶⁶ Keynes (1997) at pp. 107-119. That Anglo-Saxon names occur in the continental *libri vitae* has long been recognised, see: Bishop (1918), pp. 354-5 and notes. The name of King Æthelstan also occurs in the second confraternity book from St Gall and is discussed by Geuenich (1991), p. 34.

⁶⁷ Geuenich (forthcoming).

⁶⁸ Edmund Bishop's assessment of their value in 1885, after the publication by Paul Piper of editions of the *Libri Vitae* of Saint Gall, Reichenau and Pfäfers, must stand as one example; see Bishop (1918), p. 348.

⁶⁹ Birch (1892).

⁷⁰ Stevenson (1841). Some errors occur in the text, the most obvious, the omission of the third column of names from fol. 25r, was noted by Bishop (1918), p. 356, n. 1.

⁷¹ Thompson (1881-4), pp. 81-4 and pl. 25.

⁷² Sweet (1885), pp. 153-66. In 1887 this was republished as Sweet (1887), pp. 91-6. This edition does not print the last two lists in the manuscript, those of *Nomina clericorum* and *Nomina monachorum*. This edition was reissued in a revised version in 1978 as Sweet and Hoad (1978), pp. 108-13. As with the 1887 edition the last two lists are not printed.

⁷³ Gerchow (1988), pp. 304-20. Two other editions have been produced, the first by Elizabeth Briggs, who included an edition of the text in her thesis, Briggs (1987), Appendix I, pp. 299-379 and in 2001 David D. Dumville and Peter Stokes produced a trial version of the original text for limited circulation and comment.

⁷⁴ Gerchow (1988-91), pp. 153 and 158-9.

⁷⁵ Gerchow (1988-91), pp. 158-165.

⁷⁶ Thompson (1923).

⁷⁷ Gerchow (1988). The edition of the Durham *Liber Vitae* is on pp. 304-20. The names contained in the original core are incorporated in the indices of all the documents edited by Gerchow on pp. 364ff.

⁷⁸ Birch (1892) and Keynes (1996).

⁷⁹ Gerchow (1988). The discussion of the manuscript is on pp. 155-85, including quire diagrams on pp. 158-9; the edition is on pp. 320-26; and the indices containing the names contained in all the documents he considers are on pp. 364ff.

⁸⁰ Gerchow (1988). The manuscript is discussed pp. 186-97; the edition is on pp. 326-8; and the names are incorporated in the general indices on pp. 364ff.

⁸¹ For information on the progress of this project see the project web-site at <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/humanities/cch/dlv/>

⁸² Rollason, Piper et al. (forthcoming).

⁸³ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁸⁴ Gerchow (1988-91), and the bibliography therein.

⁸⁵ For the German nobility see Leyser (1982), especially pp. 168ff. For a recent discussion of *amicitiae* in relation to the early genesis of the Durham *Liber Vitae* see Gerchow (forthcoming).

⁸⁶ Keats-Rohan (1997), with a general introductory essay by K.F. Werner.

⁸⁷ For example, Lewis (1997) and Bates (1997).

⁸⁸ See Carpenter (1994) and the references therein.

⁸⁹ For example, Walker (1990).

⁹⁰ For example, Grassi (1970).

⁹¹ The first medieval volume recording biographical details was published in 1936. Wedgwood (1936). The History of Parliament Trust is an ongoing project aimed at producing prosopographical materials. The medieval

volumes so far published to supplement the work of Wedgwood are Roskell, Clark et al. (1992) and Bindoff (1982).

⁹² Gerchow (1988-91), pp.156-8; Constable (2000) and Angenendt (forthcoming).

⁹³ Briggs (1987), see especially pp. 92-132.

⁹⁴ Gerchow (1988-91), pp. 153 and 165.

⁹⁵ Moore (1992-3); Moore (1997).

⁹⁶ Clark (1985); Clark (1985a);Clark (1987).

⁹⁷ Whitelock (1937-45).

⁹⁸ Keynes (1996), p. 72.

⁹⁹ Piper (1998), the edition of the two texts is pp. 176-85.

¹⁰⁰ Piper (forthcoming).

¹⁰¹ Rollason (1999).

¹⁰² Fowler (1903), pp. 16-17 and Birch (1892), pp. 11-12.

¹⁰³ Bishop (1918).

¹⁰⁴ Thompson (1923), pp. xii-xiii; Keynes (1996), pp. 49-65.

¹⁰⁵ Brown (1993), pp. 47-51. Contrary to the position of Julian Brown, and to avoid confusion, I have preferred to use the term 'codicology' for the study of manuscripts, and to restrict the use of the term 'palaeography' to mean the study of ancient handwriting.

¹⁰⁶ For a general discussion of the production of a manuscript *codex* see Ivy (1958).

¹⁰⁷ Ivy (1958), pp. 33-8; Bischoff (1990), pp. 8-11; Brown (1993), pp. 125-7.

¹⁰⁸ Ivy (1958), pp. 38-55; Bischoff (1990), pp. 20-4 and 27-8.

¹⁰⁹ Bischoff (1990), p. 21.

¹¹⁰ Doyle (1998).

¹¹¹ Rollason (2000), pp. xix-xx.

¹¹² Brown (1993), p. 47; Bischoff (1990), pp. 51-145.

¹¹³ There are a few exceptions, for example the monastic entries on fol. 74v and the date at the head of fol. 81r.

¹¹⁴ Donaldson (1955). The second volume of this thesis comprises lists of Durham benefices and their incumbents 1311-1540.

¹¹⁵ Boutflower (1926).

¹¹⁶ Camsell (1985); see also her book (Bonney (1990)).

Chapter 2. Survival and revival: the *Liber Vitae*'s history reconstructed from its codicology.

Because the *Liber Vitae* has no written history, the first necessity must be a close study of the physical structure of the book. The aim of the chapter is to provide an indication of the appearance of the manuscript at various points in its history. The chapter will provide a reconstruction of the original form of the Anglo-Saxon compilation, continue with a discussion of its development in the medieval monastery from the twelfth through to the sixteenth centuries, and conclude with the changes made to it before its final rebinding for inclusion in Sir Robert Cotton's library in the seventeenth century.¹

The Anglo-Saxon Liber Vitae

In its present form the Durham *Liber Vitae* is a composite. The oldest section, called here the 'original core', consists of material compiled c.840, but the original form of this Anglo-Saxon manuscript is obscured by subsequent modifications to its structure.² It is first necessary to consider the nature of the ninth-century book, as it was this manuscript that the Benedictine community of Durham inherited and incorporated into its developing commemorative practices after 1083.

The surviving sections of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript, that is folios 15-45 and folio 47, are identifiable as being composed of thickish insular

parchment.³ The Anglo-Saxon book was small in scale, the surviving pages being of a more or less uniform size of 205 mm x 140 mm. In fact, however, as Michael Gullick estimates, some 5mm has been lost from the head and 10mm from the foot of each leaf and possibly 22mm from the leading edge, making the original dimensions approximately 230mm x 160mm.⁴ The general appearance of the original book and the layout of its pages can be gauged from the surviving sections. The manuscript consisted of a series of lists of names, arranged according to their bearer's position in the world, as for example *Nomina regum vel ducum* (beginning on folio 15r) or *Nomina clericorum* (beginning on folio 27r). Each list begins on a new page with a title in red. The first name in each list has an enlarged and decorated capital letter. The names are arranged in three spacious columns of twenty or twenty-one lines to the page and are written alternately in gold and silver.⁵ Where the lists run over more than one page, there are running headings also in red, written above the text block, indicating to what list the names on the page belong. The richness of the effect may have been enhanced originally by the use of purple parchment.⁶ Michael Gullick observes that the careful preparation of the parchment together with the use of gold and silver for the text indicates 'the high status accorded to the manuscript by those who directed its manufacture and production' which he concludes must have taken place in a sophisticated scriptorium.⁷

Although the general form of the original Anglo-Saxon manuscript can be appreciated from the surviving sections, all authorities agree that it has suffered physical damage. The original binding is certainly lost. If the

manuscript is compared with the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey it is clear that original prefatory material may also be missing.⁸ More importantly, the present irregular structure of the gatherings of the original core suggest that a number of leaves has been lost from the body of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript (see Appendix 1, figure 15). However, opinion is divided over the extent of these losses. Elizabeth Briggs points to the incomplete running headings on folios 15v and 24v which would indicate in each case the loss of the following leaf. She thinks, however, that the losses to the body of the manuscript are minimal and that the original core is essentially the manuscript created by the first compilers. In support of her position Briggs points to the irregularity of the structure of other insular manuscripts.⁹ Michael Gullick is more concerned than Briggs by the present lack of coherent structure displayed by the original core, as indicated by the number of incomplete quires and single leaves. For Gullick the regular structure of a manuscript is linked to the ability of its compilers to assess the nature of the material to be included and to plan the layout accordingly. For him the current lack of structure in the original core of the *Liber Vitae* is at variance with the careful preparation of the parchment and the costliness of the materials employed in its production.¹⁰ Detailed consideration of the surviving structure of the manuscript and the arrangement of its contents suggest that the original core was originally well thought out, as Gullick would expect, and that a large number of leaves incorporated by the original compilers is in fact missing.

It is argued here that the original core of the manuscript consisted of a

series of lists arranged not continuously but with blank parchment at the end of each list, for the addition of further names. The amount of parchment left blank at the end of each list was not uniform but was linked to an assessment by the first compilers of the likely scale of future additions. Folios 18-24, which is a largely undisturbed gathering of four bifolia lacking the first leaf, best demonstrates this proposition (see figure 2). This gathering includes four complete lists and the beginning of a fifth. Each list begins on a new page and each of the four complete lists has space left for additional names, but the provision of blank space varies with the length of the list. The lists of *Nomina anchoritarum* (folio 18r) and of *Nomina abbatum gradus diaconatus* (folio 19v) are both short lists of twenty-eight and nine names respectively. Each is restricted to a single page. The two longer lists, that of *Nomina abbatum gradus presbyteratus*, with sixty-eight names, beginning on folio 18v, and that of *Nomina abbatum*, with ninety-nine names, beginning on folio 20r, each has the remainder of the page on which the list finishes plus a further page for additional names. In contrast to the careful arrangement of these lists the list of *Nomina clericorum*, beginning on folio 27r and finishing on folio 35r, which comprises 1,175 names has, despite its length, only the blank folio 36 for additions. The subtlety of the arrangement of these lists can be better appreciated if the Durham book is again compared with the arrangement of the contents of the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey. The New Minster *Liber Vitae* has, between folios 14v-17r, a series of bishop-lists, arranged under rubrics.¹¹ Here the original compilers left only five or six lines between each list, which arrangement does not support the usual assumption

that they were created with the idea that they would be augmented.¹²

The irregularities in the quire structure of the original core occur at the points where blank leaves at the end of lists might be expected (see Appendix 1, figure 15). Thus, after folios 27-32, which is a regular gathering of three bifolia, there is considerable irregularity observable in the structure of the manuscript. The list of *Nomina clericorum* extends from folio 27 to folio 36. Folios 27-32 are an undisturbed gathering of three bifolia. The remaining pages, folios 33-7, are single sheets. The list of *Nomina monachorum* begins on the recto of a single sheet (folio 37), before continuing on an undisturbed quire of four bifolia (folios 38-45). The undisturbed quires either side of folios 33-7 are completely written over, and the disturbance to the structure occurs at the point where the blank leaves after the list of *Nomina clericorum* and before the list of *Nomina monachorum* might be expected.

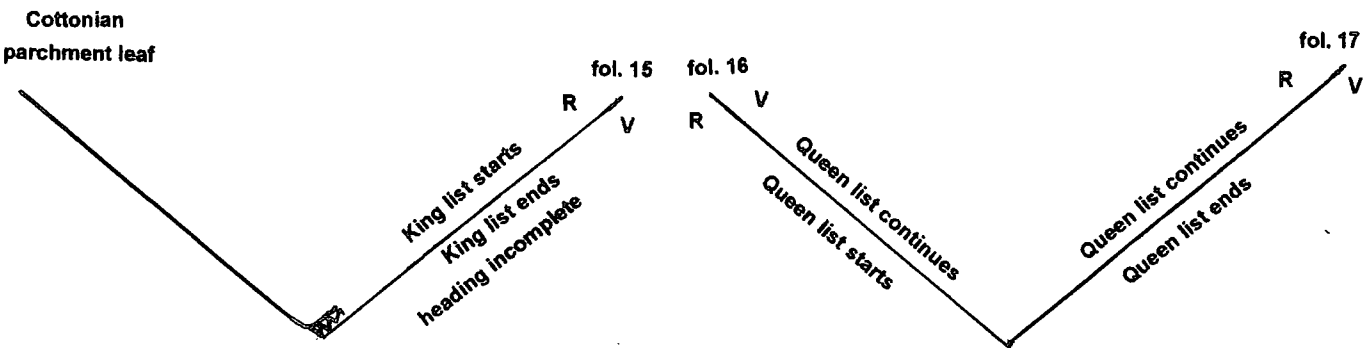
In the light of these observations it seems appropriate to explore a more radical solution to the question of the original structure of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript than that proposed by Elizabeth Briggs. In line with Michael Gullick's observations, it is a solution which presupposes a reasonable level of regularity in the structure of the original manuscript; i.e. that the Anglo-Saxon manuscript was originally composed of regular quires each consisting of several bifolia. It is, however, clear from the evidence of the undisturbed quires of the original core that not all of these quires were of uniform size. The undisturbed gathering folios 27-32 contains three bifolia whilst that comprising folios 38-45 is of four. Further, in line with the position of the observed irregularities in the structure of the manuscript at the ends of lists of names, it

is a solution which assumes that the leaves which are missing were blank in the original compilation and intended by the original compilers for the addition of further names. The following discussion also assumes that the observed irregularities in the present structure of the surviving sections of the manuscript are due, not to piecemeal losses, but to the deliberate removal of these blank leaves, in a deliberate and thorough-going reorganisation of the whole manuscript, which was also concerned to preserve original text, and which took place in the second-half of the twelfth century.¹³ The following explanation is best followed using the accompanying diagrams of each quire of the manuscript, which show, first, its current structure and, secondly, where necessary, the proposed reconstruction of it (figures 1-6). The first quire of the manuscript (figure 1) as originally made is now represented by a single sheet (folio 15) and a bifolium (folios 16-17). The quire could be reconstructed as having either three or four bifolia. If the quire consisted of three bifolia, the list of *Nomina regum vel ducum* would begin on the first recto with the list continued on the verso. The incomplete running heading *regum vel* on folio 15v would indicate that originally a leaf having the rest of the heading existed before the list of *Nomina reginarum et abbatissarum* began on what is now folio 16r. The bifolium (folios 16-17) would mark the centre of the gathering and would have been followed by two blank leaves. At present folio 17v does not have a heading, but it might have been erased by the later scribe who added the marginal names to the top of this folio. If the quire consisted of four bifolia, it is possible that the list of *Nomina regum vel ducum* had a blank leaf before it, thus separating it from any prefatory material that might have been present, and that the list of *Nomina reginarum et abbatissarum* was followed

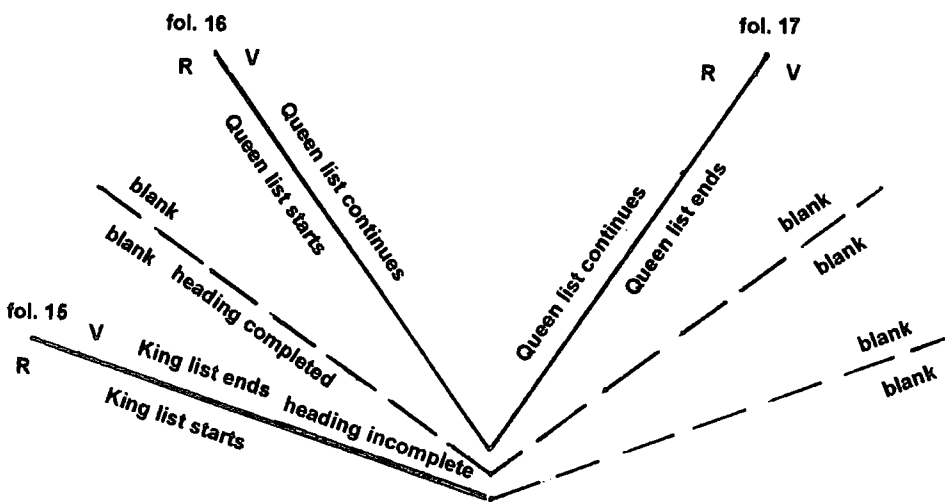
by three blank leaves. Against the possibility of a gathering of four bifolia, Gullick notes that it is unusual for insular manuscripts to begin on the second leaf of a gathering, so making a quire consisting originally of three bifolia a more likely reconstruction.¹⁴

Figure 1: Diagram to show the present structure and proposed reconstruction of the first quire of the original core of the manuscript

present structure



proposed reconstruction



The structure of the second and third quires needs to be discussed together (figures 2 and 3). At present the second quire (folios 18-24) is of four bifolia, missing the first leaf, and is apparently undisturbed, except that Michael Gullick has observed that folio 24 is not of uniform size with other leaves of the gathering, being short at the foreedge. He suggests that this leaf has been added to the outside of the quire in some reshaping of the manuscript in the Middle Ages, and that it is short because its inside edge has been incorporated into the sewing of the gathering.¹⁵ The fact that the text of this leaf does lie very close to the gutter, in contrast to the other leaves of this gathering which all have a wide inner margin, supports this suggestion.¹⁶ The third quire is now represented by folio 25, which has a stub to which is attached, at present, folio 26. Folio 25, though pricked and ruled, was left blank by the first compilers. The list of *Nomina diaconorum* begins and ends on folio 26r with folio 26v being blank except for the running heading *diaconorum*. The verso of folio 24 was originally left blank by the original compilers and at the top has an incomplete running heading *praes[byterorum]*. The heading is not completed on the next recto, the present folio 25r, making it likely that folio 25r did not originally follow folio 24v, and thus indicating that a leaf is missing between the current folios 24 and 25.

Figure 2: Diagram to show the present structure of the second quire of the original core of the manuscript

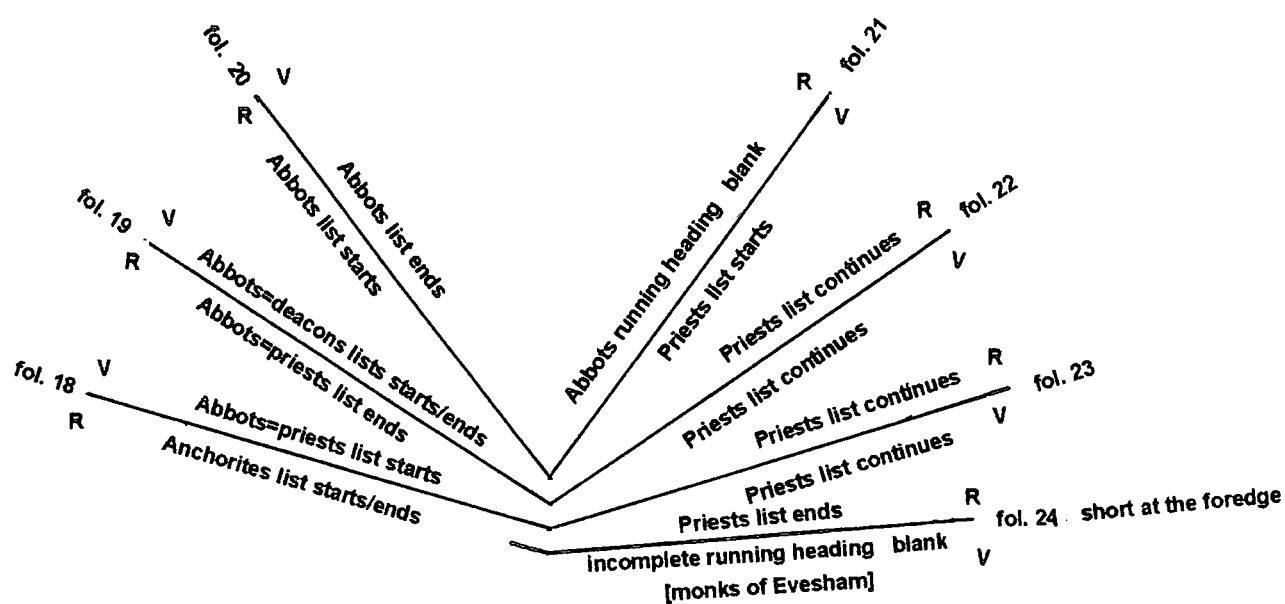
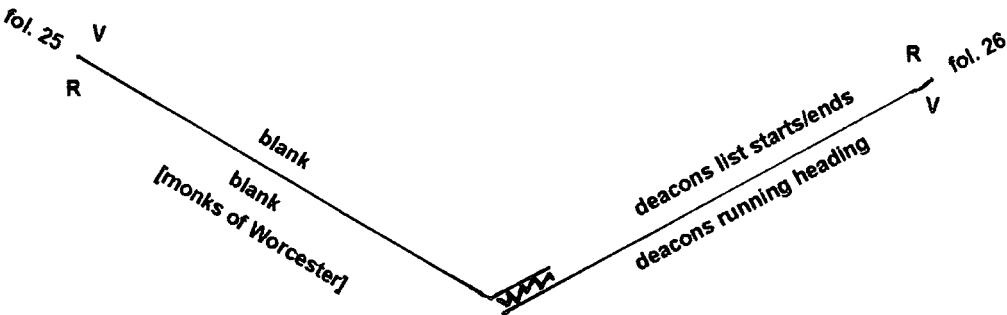
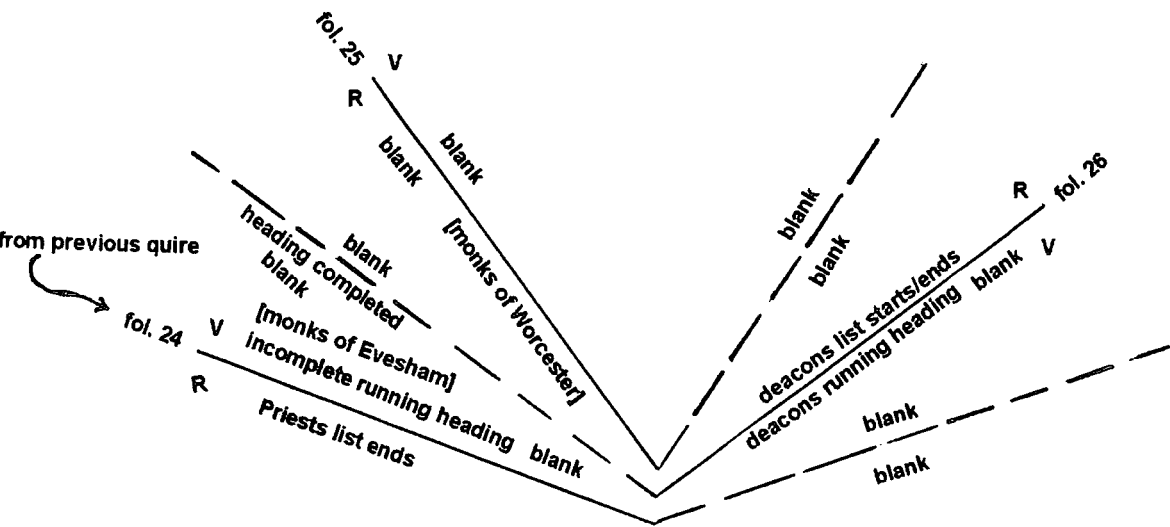


Figure 3: Diagram to show the present structure and proposed reconstructions of the third quire of the original core of the manuscript

present structure



proposed reconstruction 1



from previous quire



The running heading on folio 26v reads *diaconorum*. The fact that it is complete might suggest that the space left blank at the end of the list of *Nomina diaconorum* did not extend on to the following recto. However, the arrangement of the running headings of the list of *Nomina abbatum* on folios 20v and 21r, each of which has the complete word *abbatum*, suggests that the compilers were not fully consistent with regard to the arrangement of running headings.

In the light of Gullick's observation concerning folio 24, several reconstructions of quires 2 and 3 are possible, none of which is entirely satisfactory, as in each case too much blank parchment has to be postulated as having once existed at the ends of existing lists. The first reconstruction, proposed by Gullick, would have quire 2 as a gathering of three bifolia, with the single sheet (folio 24) added to quire 3, which he also reconstructs as a gathering of three bifolia. In this reconstruction none of the single sheets (folios 24-6) is conceived as originally having been conjoint.¹⁷ This solution proposes a regular structure for the manuscript, its disadvantage being that the short list of *Nomina diaconorum* on folio 26r is followed not only by the blank verso with the running heading but by a further blank leaf, which does not conform to the amounts of blank parchment generally allowed by the original compilers for other short lists in the manuscript.¹⁸

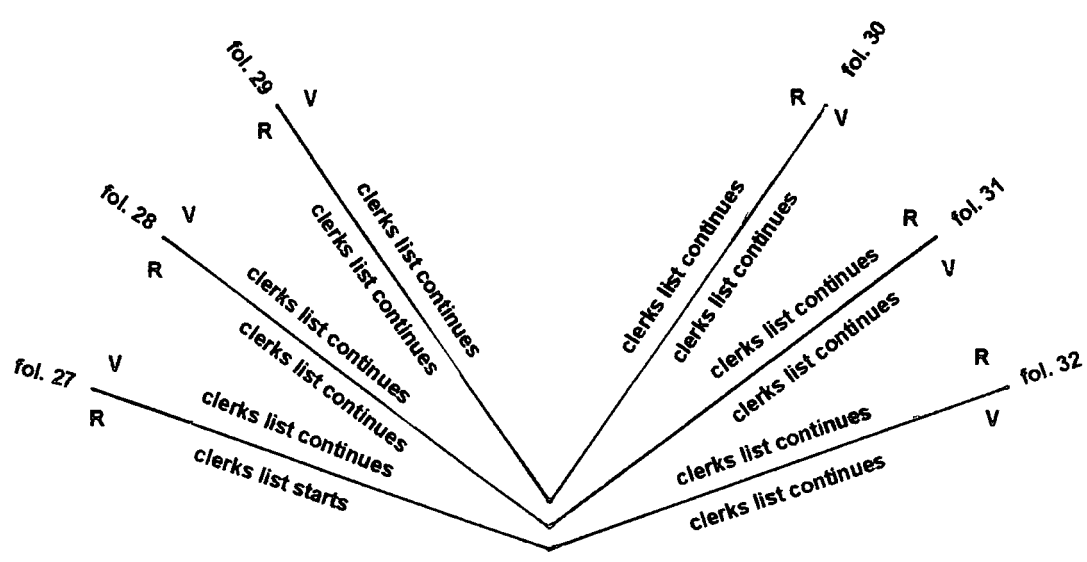
The second reconstruction would also propose two regular quires of three bifolia each, with folio 24 added to quire 3, as in the first reconstruction. It would, however, link folios 24 and 26, as a bifolium, as the first and last leaves of the gathering. This reconstruction would reduce the

amount of blank parchment attached to the list of *Nomina diaconorum* to acceptable levels but would add too much to the preceding list, *Nomina praesbyterorum*. Further, if the irregularity of the present structure is due to the removal of blank parchment, it is difficult to see, why, if folios 24 and 26 were originally conjoint and written over, they should have been separated.

The final reconstruction would leave folio 24 attached to quire 2, making it a regular gathering of four bifolia, with the list of *Nomina anchoritarum* (folio 18r) preceded by a blank leaf, and with quire 3 as a gathering of two bifolia. The blank parchment attached to both of the lists of *Nomina diaconorum* and *Nomina praesbyterorum* in this reconstruction would be reduced to acceptable levels and folios 24 and 26 would each originally have been attached to blank leaves. The blank leaf before folio 18, however, places an excessive amount of blank parchment after the list of *Nomina reginarum et abbatissarum*. This is a problem to which I shall return.¹⁹

The fourth quire, folios 27-32, is an undisturbed gathering of three bifolia (figure 4). The list of *Nomina clericorum* begins on folio 27r, the first leaf of the quire, and continues into the next quire.

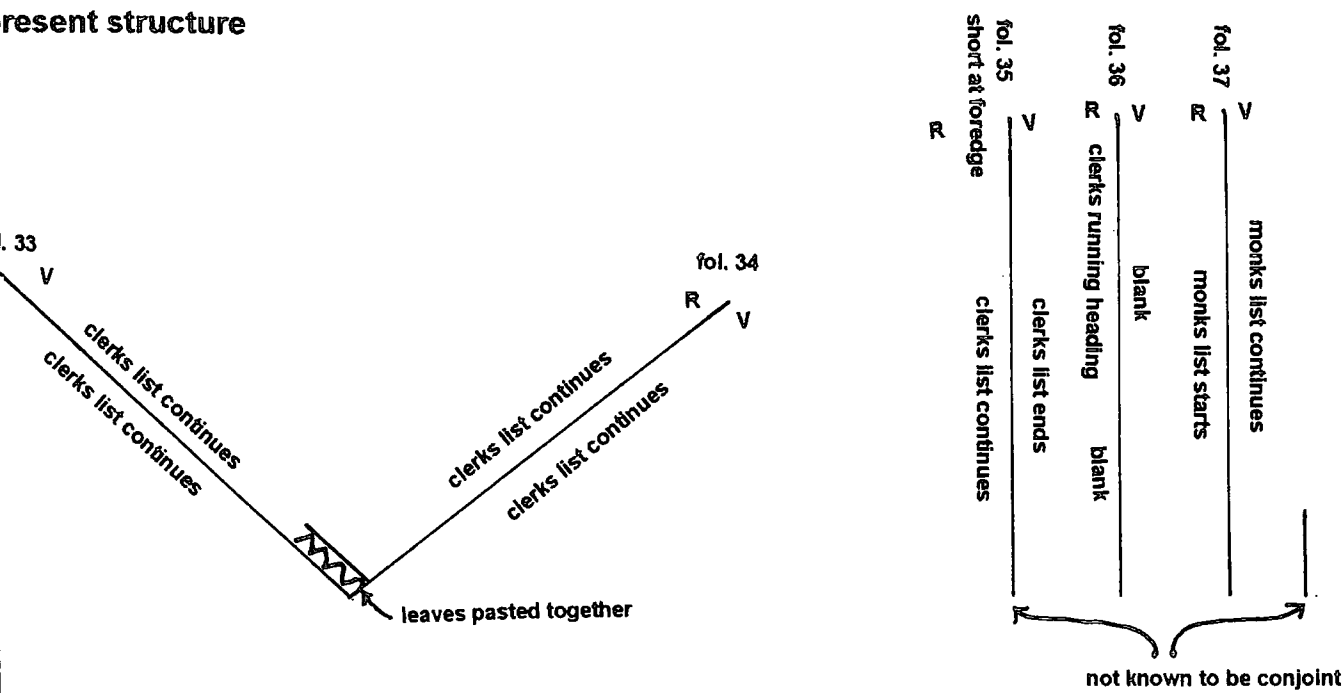
Figure 4: Diagram to show the present structure of the fourth quire of the original core of the manuscript



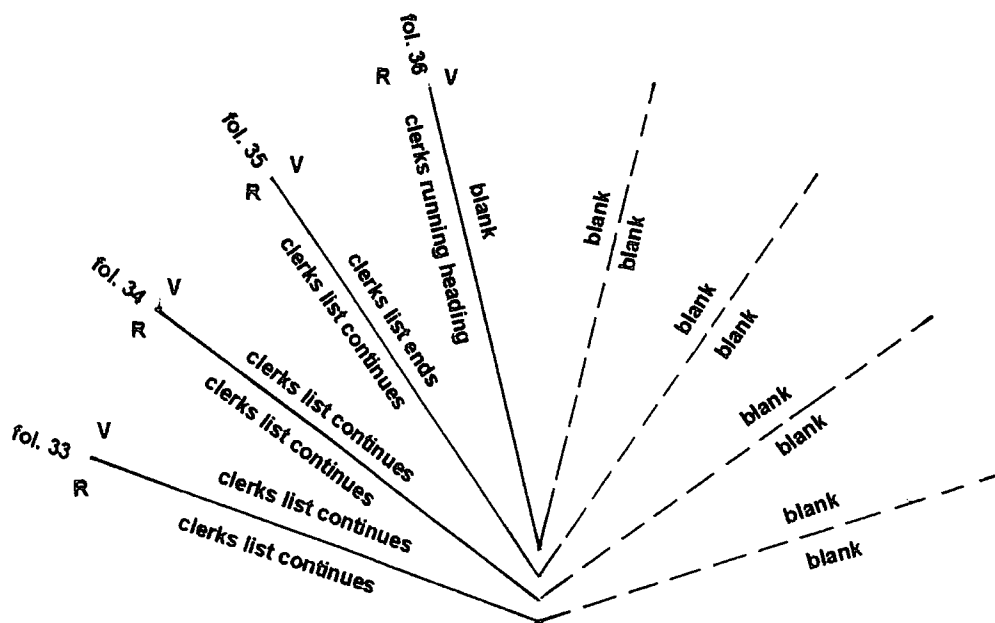
The fifth and sixth quires of the original manuscript are represented by five single leaves (folios 33-7) and a stub after folio 37 (figure 5). Folios 33-6 are the remains of the fifth quire and folio 37 the only remnant of the sixth quire.²⁰ The second leaf (folio 34) has a hook and evidence of stitching. To this hook is attached the present folio 33. Michael Gullick has observed that folio 35, like folio 24, is short at the foreedge.²¹ It is therefore possible, though not at present verifiable, that it is conjoint with the stub observable after folio 37. Folios 33-6 are a continuation of the list of *Nomina clericorum*, begun on folio 27r at the start of the previous gathering, and the list of *Nomina monachorum* begins on folio 37r. In the manuscript's present state, there are no blank leaves for additions to the list of *Nomina clericorum*, which any reconstruction must provide. The surviving folios from folio 32v, at the end of the previous gathering, through to folio 36r, all have the running heading *clericorum* arranged across the opening. In Gullick's collation only folio 34 has a hook and evidence of sewing making it look like the centre of the gathering.²²

Figure 5: Diagram to show the present structure and proposed reconstruction of the fifth quire of the original core of the manuscript

present structure



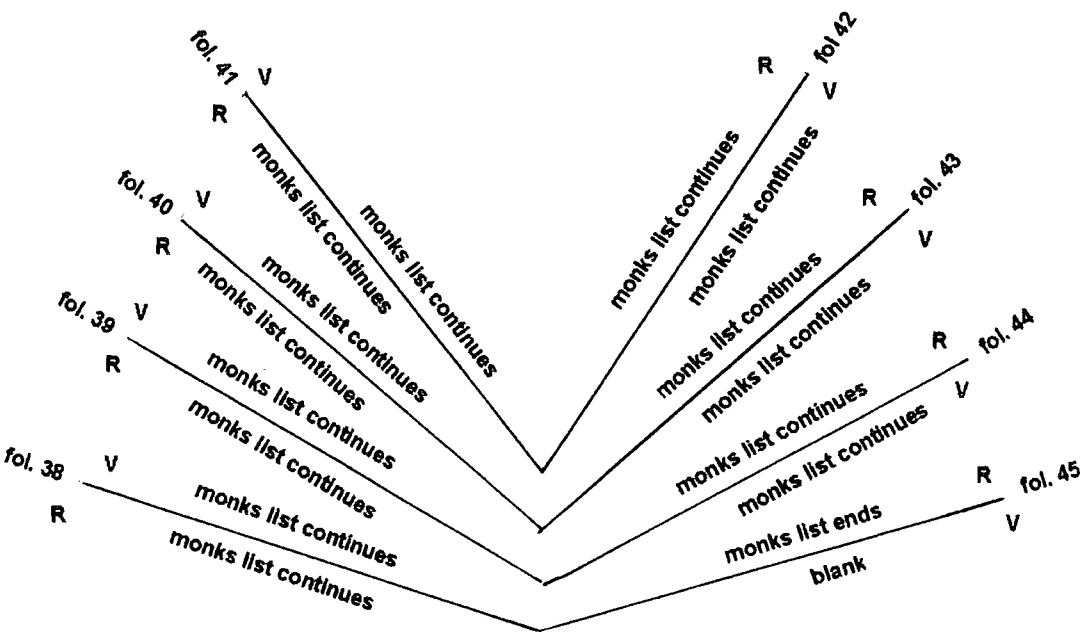
proposed reconstruction



If it is assumed to be so, and if none of the surviving leaves were ever conjoined, then any reconstruction must posit the loss of some text from the list. If, however, the hook on folio 34 were to be refolded, folio 34 would become, instead of the centre of the gathering, the second leaf of the quire.²³ Then folios 33-6 could all be seen to come from the first half of a gathering of four bifolia, and all the conjectured leaves after folio 36 would have been blank in order to receive additions to the list of *Nomina clericorum*. If it is suggested that the blank leaves left at the end of the list were not restricted to one gathering but continued on to the next, then folio 37, the beginning of the list of *Nomina monachorum*, would have been the last leaf of a gathering of two, three or, less likely, four bifolia, with all the preceding leaves blank for expected continuations of the extensive list of *Nomina clericorum*. If, however, the stub after folio 37 represents a leaf lost after folio 37 and is not in reality a stub attached to either folios 35, 36 or even 37, then folio 37 was not the last leaf of the gathering and at least one page of text of the list of *Nomina monachorum* is missing.

The seventh quire (folios 38-45) is undisturbed and contains the continuation of the list of *Nomina monachorum*, begun on folio 37r (figure 6). The writing ends on folio 45r, leaving only the remainder of that leaf and its verso for additions.

Figure 6: Diagram to show the present structure of the seventh quire of the original core of the manuscript.



The existence of an eighth quire, and possibly other quires, can be assumed from the fact that the list of *Nomina monachorum* is not followed by any considerable number of blank leaves. In addition, there is a stray leaf (folio 47) of the same insular parchment as the rest of the original manuscript, ruled in the same way. There are further leaves of insular parchment (folios 51-5), which might also have been part of the original compilation. Briggs sees all the leaves to folio 55 inclusive, excepting the bifolium folios 48-9, as part of the original manuscript, detecting no difference in the weight of the parchment used.²⁴ Gullick, however, considers the parchment of which folios 51-5 are made to be lighter in weight than the rest of the original core of the manuscript and, as they have no early text, sees them as eleventh- or twelfth-century additions to it. He does, however, note that he knows of no other instance of the post-1083 community of Durham employing insular parchment in this way.²⁵ Even though these leaves are not of the same weight as the original core, in support of Briggs's view it should be observed that folios 51-5 are not a regular gathering. It is possible that the leaves have been brought into their present position by later antiquaries on the basis of the text that they contain.²⁶ It remains a possibility therefore that these leaves, although made of lighter parchment than that employed in the original core, were nevertheless a part of it.

In this reconstruction the original core of the manuscript consisted of a minimum of eight quires, each comprising two, three or four bifolia, and making in excess of forty-eight folios in total. It is assumed that the leaves which need to be postulated as part of the disturbed gatherings in order to

regularise the structure were in each case blank and were intended by the original compilers of the manuscript to be used for the continuation of the lists, in the same spacious format as the original. The reconstruction offered here postulates that as a general rule the written lists were followed by roughly equal amounts of blank parchment for additions.

As we have seen, difficulties arise in reconstructing quires 2 and 3 satisfactorily in this regard. If the third reconstruction of these two quires is accepted then the amount of excess parchment occurs after the list of *Nomina reginarum et abbatissarum*. It has been suggested by Gullick and others that at this point text has been lost, and that a list of bishops might have originally been included.²⁷

As the manuscript consisted of separate lists of names, its original contents cannot certainly be reconstructed beyond the text that has been preserved. It is problematic to assign difficulties with a reconstruction of a manuscript to the possibility that text, in this case a whole list, has been lost. On the other hand it is equally an assumption that the lists that survive in the original core are all of those originally included in the manuscript, even if it is assumed that the lists that remain are complete. The sorts of people named by the surviving lists did not comprise the whole of Northumbrian society in the mid-ninth century. Thus, no members of the laity under the rank of 'rex', 'regina' or 'dux' are included and although the various ranks within the church are more fully represented, there is no list of bishops nor is there one of nuns. In addition, if the contents of Durham *Liber Vitae* are again compared with those of the New Minster *Liber Vitae*, it might be suggested that the Durham

manuscript would also have included lists specifically of benefactors and friends of the church for which it was composed.²⁸ Therefore text might have been lost from the manuscript, but perhaps it is unwise to conclude that a list of bishops is the only one missing.²⁹

If additional lists and more particularly a bishop-list did form a part of the original manuscript, it is possible to suggest when they might have been lost. There is cogent evidence to suggest that the Anglo-Saxon manuscript suffered major reorganisation in the second half of the twelfth century. There are indications that the scribes concerned with this reorganisation were concerned to preserve ancient text.³⁰ It seems, therefore, safe to assume that original parts of the manuscript were not discarded in the later twelfth century. If the original core did include further lists, it must be the case that they had been lost before the manuscript was reorganised. If the manuscript did contain a bishop-list it is further likely that it was missing before the early-twelfth century, as it was then that a scribe added the bishop-list to folio 19r, presumably supplying what he considered to be a deficiency in the original lists.

It is even more speculative to suggest what might have constituted the prefatory material for the original core of the manuscript, or indeed to ascertain whether, as first conceived, it actually had any. Surviving confraternity books of similar or earlier date from the Continent display a variety of introductory material. The *Liber Viventium* of Pfäfers was incorporated into a gospel book, the design of which was apparently modified to accommodate it.³¹ The Brescia *Liber Vitae* has a liturgical section with

formulae for votive masses and benedictions, gospel texts and a litany.³²

Perhaps the original core of the Durham *Liber Vitae* was prefaced by a gospel text.

In its current arrangement the *Liber Vitae* is prefixed by a set of gospel extracts, written on a regular gathering in a single hand dated to the middle or third quarter of the twelfth century.³³ These extracts have been little commented on, and it has even been doubted that they were associated with the manuscript in the Middle Ages.³⁴ Michael Gullick was inclined to support these doubts because he did not recognise the hand as belonging to a scribe working in Durham in the later twelfth century.³⁵ However, based on his identification of the early sewing stations in the manuscript, he is now of the opinion that the extracts were made for addition to the *Liber Vitae* and that the two parts of the manuscript were associated early. The manuscript shows evidence of four different sets of sewing, associated with four different bindings, those of the binding of the original core, a second pre-Cottonian set, the Cottonian sewing stations and a set of twentieth-century stations. The gospel extracts have not only the Cottonian and twentieth-century sets of sewing stations but also stations corresponding to those of the original core.³⁶ Thus, it seems that the gathering in question was created to be prefixed to the *Liber Vitae* and was added to it either when the manuscript was rebound or was sewn in loosely to the front of the bound volume.

The text of these extracts is unusual. As far as can be ascertained each extract is complete as originally copied, as each begins with a title and comes to an end at the bottom of a leaf with pen-work to complete the space

(as in the extract from Luke's gospel on folio 11v) or with the final word fitted below the line (as in the extract from Matthew's gospel on folio 5v). It has recently been suggested that these extracts are gospel lections.³⁷ That a set of lections would be an appropriate preface for a *Liber Vitae* is shown by the incomplete set of lections included amongst the prefatory materials associated with the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster.³⁸ However, both the texts in the Durham *Liber Vitae* and their arrangement seem to show that their compilers intended something different. Only one extract in the Durham *Liber Vitae* corresponds exactly to the lections in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*, that is the first extract from John's gospel (John 1. 1-14), which is the fourth lection for Christmas Day in the New Minster book.³⁹ Other texts in the Durham *Liber Vitae* incorporate one or more lections but begin or end in different places. Thus the extract from Luke's gospel (Luke 1. 5 to 2. 20) ends at the same point as the third lection for Christmas Day in the New Minster book (Luke 2. 15-20) and incorporates the text of the second lection for the same festival (Luke 2. 1-14) but is longer than both.⁴⁰ Further, the lections in the New Minster manuscript are arranged in a liturgical sequence, beginning with Christmas Day, whilst the Durham extracts are arranged in gospel order, Matthew's gospel first, followed by Mark, Luke and John. Although it can only be conjecture, the form and arrangement of the extracts suggests that they were intended to produce the impression of being a gospel book.

It has already been suggested that the blank leaves of the original compilation were removed in a total reorganisation of the manuscript and that this might have been occasioned by damage to the original book.⁴¹ As we

shall see, the available evidence indicates that this reorganisation took place in the third quarter of the twelfth century and thus was contemporary with the production of the gospel-extracts. The simplest explanation of this coincidence is that the gospel-extracts were produced for and as part of the reorganisation. Hence they were provided either to supply a fitting preface to the oldest part of the original manuscript or they were supplied to replace a gospel to which the *Liber Vitae* was originally attached which was being removed for separate preservation or had itself been damaged.

It is suggested then that the original Anglo-Saxon manuscript created in the mid-ninth century consisted of lists of names, each of which was followed by more or less blank parchment, intended by the original compilers for additions of further names. The original manuscript may have included more lists of names than those at present surviving. It is also possible that this original book was prefaced by a gospel text. The de luxe character of the text of this original core suggests further that it was contained in a treasure binding and was a manuscript valued by the community that organised its production. The following discussion aims to unravel the subsequent modifications to this Anglo-Saxon book.

The medieval Liber Vitae

The evidence suggests that during the later twelfth century the original Anglo-Saxon *Liber Vitae* was recreated and the form that it attained at that time was preserved until the late fifteenth century, at which point further

parchment was added to its structure. These two phases will be discussed in turn.

a) The recreation of the *Liber Vitae*

The present irregular structure of the additions to the original core of the manuscript has to date influenced considerations of its development and significance. Whilst this structure has been commented on as at variance with the apparent status and importance of the *Liber Vitae* in the Middle Ages, it has been accepted as a feature of the manuscript.⁴² However, it is now clear, as a result of my own and Michael Gullick's work, that the present appearance of the manuscript is the result of a radical rearrangement of the medieval additions to the original core, with a corresponding loss of structure and coherence.⁴³

The Anglo-Saxon manuscript was not subject to numerous piecemeal additions during the period of its use but was largely recreated in the second half of the twelfth century. The modification of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript consisted in the addition of new prefatory material in the form of gospel extracts, and the removal of the blank leaves from the original core of the manuscript together with the provision of large numbers of new leaves. It is also possible that the manuscript was divided into two volumes at this period. Each of these changes will be dealt with in turn.

The unusual form of the gospel extracts (folios 4-14v) has been discussed above.⁴⁴ Michael Gullick's work concerning the early sewing stations has established that the extracts were bound with the original core of

the manuscript at an early date, and were not appended to it in the Cottonian development of the book in the seventeenth century.⁴⁵ The most economical explanation is that the extracts were created for inclusion in the *Liber Vitae* and added to it at the time of their creation in the middle or third quarter of the twelfth century.⁴⁶

The blank leaves of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript supplied by the original compilers were deliberately removed as part of the recreation of the manuscript. The loss of the blank leaves appears to be deliberate because the present irregular structure of the manuscript is unlikely to be its original form. The alternative view, namely that the present structure of the manuscript is the result of piecemeal losses through damage and neglect, is implausible since, in that case, it is almost inconceivable that some blank leaves would not have survived or that some sections of the lists would not have been lost. Further, as we have seen, the observed irregularities are not randomly spread through the manuscript but occur at precisely those points at which blank parchment would be expected, suggesting deliberate removal.

Several of the leaves left blank by the first compilers of the manuscript, whether rubricated or not, do survive to the present but all of these were written on by later annotators. For example, folio 25, a blank leaf after the list of *Nomina praesbyterorum*, has the addition of the list of the names of the monks of Worcester on its recto and many early twelfth-century names on its verso.⁴⁷ It is suggested that these leaves of the original core with later text survive because this text was considered worthy of preservation at the time when the remaining blank leaves were removed. Most of the additions of text

were made to blank leaves in the original core during the first fifty or sixty years of the twelfth century, suggesting that the removal of surplus blank parchment occurred after this time.⁴⁸

This suggestion appears to be confirmed by the addition of text to the base of the present opening folios 15v-16r. The truncated running heading on folio 15v, which reads *regum vel*, indicates that a blank leaf has been removed at this point, which would have originally carried the remainder of the running heading *ducum* (figure 1). This leaf was missing by the second half of the twelfth century when a scribe wrote an entry across the opening, spanning the foot of both folios 15v and 16r. The text of the entry makes it possible to date the addition more closely. The entry reads 'David rex Henricus comes filius eius. Malcolmus [...] junior rex scotie filius Henrici comitis qui fuit filius David regis Scotie'.⁴⁹ The people recorded can be identified as: King David I, who was born in c.1085 and who acceded to the throne probably on 25 April 1124 and died 24 May 1153; his son Henry, earl of Northumberland and Huntingdon, who died in his father's lifetime on 12 June 1152; and King Malcolm IV, the son of earl Henry, who was born c.1041, acceded to the throne on 24 May 1153 on the death of his grandfather and himself died on the 9 December 1165.⁵⁰ As the entry does not mention the next king of Scots, William the Lion, it was presumably written during the reign of Malcolm IV, that is between 1153 and 1165. This entry therefore indicates that folios 15v-16r had reached their present relationship, with the blank leaf, which was originally between them, removed by 1153x65.

The question of the addition of new parchment to the Anglo-Saxon

Liber Vitae is a more complex question and concerns folios 48-9, 56-83 + 83*.⁵¹ As will be seen from the diagram of the present structure of the manuscript (Appendix 1, figure 15) these additions to the original core are at present largely composed of single sheets and irregular and incomplete gatherings. The parchment used is not all of the same weight, quality or date.⁵² The randomness of the structure is accentuated by the irregular arrangement of the hair and flesh sides of parchment leaves. The diagram shows the current position of each leaf of this part of the manuscript. It is likely, however, that the additions to the *Liber Vitae* were originally much more regular than their present arrangement would indicate.

In his recent examination of the manuscript Michael Gullick has noted a series of folios damaged by rust, deriving from nails associated with one of the bindings of the book.⁵³ The leaves in question are the present folios 67, 68, 71, 75 and 76. The rust holes on folio 67 are the largest, indicating that it was closest to the binding and presumably either the first or, more likely, the last page in the volume. The measurable decrease in damage to the other leaves, with folio 68 the least damaged, indicates the original order of the leaves in the gathering, which would thus be folios 68, 76, 75, 71 and 67. Folio 67 is a bifolium with folio 69. Folio 69, although undamaged, must therefore be part of this gathering. The evidence of the rust damage indicates that these folios must be the outer folios of the quire and that the bifolium was reversed and refolded in its subsequent rearrangement. The position of the rust-damaged area on folio 68 shows, further, that in the separation and rearrangement of the quire this leaf was for some reason reversed, its original

inner becoming its outer edge. The reorganisation of the leaves into their original order also produces a regular sequence of hair and flesh surfaces. The likelihood is that before they were damaged and rearranged these leaves formed a regular quire of six leaves.

The rust-damaged leaves provide the only substantial evidence that the additions made to the original core of the manuscript might have been made in regular gatherings of bifolia. However, other fragmentary indications remain, which alone would be insufficient to suggest the possibility of previous regularity, but taken with the evidence of the rust-damaged quire indicate the likelihood that the additions were in fact regular. One small regular quire survives and another two may be reconstructed. The small regular quire consists of two bifolia, folios 58-61, which shows a usual hair and flesh arrangement of the leaves. A second quire can be reconstructed from the present final incomplete gathering comprising folios 81-83*. If a leaf is postulated to have existed between folios 83 and 83* (a possibility suggested by the absence of the number '34' from the sixteenth-century arabic number sequence), then a regular gathering of three bifolia might have existed from which two leaves have subsequently been removed (Appendix 1, figure 15).⁵⁴ A third quire can be inferred from the survival of folios 72-4, which have a regular hair and flesh arrangement and are further associated together by their fourteenth-century contents, which comprise three closely related lists.⁵⁵

Thus the second part of the manuscript, now consisting of many single leaves and much disarranged, may originally have had a more regular structure. The present irregularity is produced in part by damage to the

gatherings, partly by the removal of leaves, but also by the breaking-up of the rust-damaged quire and the intrusion of the constituent folios of this quire into the sequence of leaves. Any attempt to recreate the original order of the leaves must also recognise that individual leaves have not only been shuffled but also reversed, as discussed in the case of folio 68. This may also have happened to folio 46, a single folio, of the thinnish insular parchment discussed above, which now forms part of the rather miscellaneous first quire of the second part of the manuscript.⁵⁶ The reversal of this leaf is indicated by the present position of a flap, which must originally have been cut on the outer edge of the leaf. Near the top of the present inner edge of the recto of this leaf is a group of names in the margin. The verso of the leaf shows clearly that these names are written over a flap cut in the page. The original arrangement of the flap on the outer edge of the leaf is shown on folio 55. In this case the flap is observable on folio 55r and the names written over the fold on folio 55v.⁵⁷

One reason perhaps why the current ordering of the pages of the second half of the manuscript has not until now been seriously questioned is the overall chronological ordering of the contents of the book. Despite the fact that later additions were made to earlier pages, the order of the contents of the manuscript runs generally from the ninth century original core (folios 15-45), through eleventh and earlier twelfth century additions (folios 46-55), to the material of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries at the end of the book (folios 83-3*). This arrangement, coupled with the irregular structure of the manuscript, has led to the presumption that additions to the original core

of the manuscript were made of irregular gatherings and single sheets of parchment, initially loose and only periodically sewn into the binding at the back of the volume. In the light of Michael Gullick's discoveries, however, and the suggestion that additions to the original core were made in regular quires, it can be suggested that the present largely chronological arrangement of the pages is probably the imposition of a late re-ordering of the manuscript and does not represent the original arrangement of the leaves.

On the evidence of the parchment of which they are composed, the leaves of the second part of the manuscript can be seen to fall into three groups. The first comprises folios 56-61, the second folios 62-79 and the third, a small group, folios 80-3. The first two groups are considered to be very similar by Gullick, whilst the third, with parchment made of sheep-skin, is clearly distinct from the other two.⁵⁸ Although analysis of the parchment might suggest that the physical additions to the original core of the manuscript were made on three different occasions, it is more probable, on the basis of the contents of the leaves, that there were in fact only two additions. The first two groups of leaves identified by Gullick on the basis of their type of parchment both have additions of text, either by one hand or a group of very closely related hands, dateable to the second half of the twelfth century. The pages in question are folio 61v from the first group of leaves and folios 62r, 63r, 64v and 66v from the second. These additions are characterised by being written in long lines across the page, with many pages begun contemporaneously.⁵⁹

✓ Although additions of text are no certain guide to the date at which additions of blank parchment to a manuscript were made, the similarity of the two

groups of leaves, together with characteristic additions of text discussed above, suggest that all the leaves, folios 56-79, were added at one time, and probably in the second half of the twelfth century, the date of the hand making the additions. The third group of leaves, folios 80-83*, made of distinctively different parchment, is likely to have been added later.⁶⁰

A final indication of the date of these changes to the manuscript links the use of the original core to the addition of the new leaves. One of the principal post-1083 additions to the *Liber Vitae* was the on-going list of the monks of Durham cathedral priory.⁶¹ This list was begun probably in 1104, with the addition of all the names of past and present members of the community to the end of the list of *Nomina monachorum* of the Anglo-Saxon book on folio 45r. Once established, this list was regularly updated and was continued, once folio 45r was filled, on folio 45v. Once this folio was completed the list was further continued on folio 58r. Alan Piper's work on the monks of Durham enables the latest additions to folio 45v to be dated to c.1175. It is his opinion that the hand which wrote the last names on folio 45v began the new lists on folio 58r.⁶² Folio 58r is one of the newly added leaves of the manuscript and the beginning of the list c.1175 would indicate the date by which the manuscript had been augmented.

It has been argued therefore that in the second half, perhaps in the third quarter, of the twelfth century the Anglo-Saxon *Liber Vitae* was recreated with the addition of gospel-extracts by way of prefatory material, the removal of blank leaves from the Anglo-Saxon core, and the addition of large numbers of new leaves made of twelfth-century parchment. That this hypothesis

requires there to have been simultaneous removal of old parchment from the manuscript and the addition of new would seem at first glance to be an obvious inconsistency, especially as it is clear that before this date the monks of Durham had not scrupled to use blank or partially filled leaves in the original core for their extensive additions.⁶³ The answer to this apparent contradiction is the possibility that the recreation of the manuscript also involved its subdivision into two volumes.

The principal evidence for the arrangement of the *Liber Vitae* into two separate volumes is the arabic numerals, beginning with the number 2, which occur in the second half of the book starting on folio 47r (Appendix 1, figure 15).⁶⁴ These numbers in a hand of the sixteenth century were presumably added to the pages at a time when the manuscript was disbound and its pages had been reorganised, in order to preserve the new arrangement of the pages for the binder. At the time this occurred the manuscript that we have must have been divided into two or else the numbering would more logically have begun from the first folio. It is not that the early part of the book is regular in construction and the later parts disordered; the whole manuscript is irregular with many single sheets. A further indication that the manuscript might have been subdivided is the prominent capital letter 'B' which occurs in the middle of the head of folio 56r, which might well mark the first folio of the second volume.

Evidence so far accumulated of the bindings of the manuscript by Michael Gullick supports the hypothesis that during the Middle Ages the manuscript was in two volumes. The sewing stations he discovered relating to

the core of the manuscript and those relating to the additions are distinct, and as yet he has found no evidence that the first is to be found in the second half of the manuscript, or the second in the original core.⁶⁵ If this finding is confirmed by further examination of the manuscript it will confirm that from the twelfth century the *Liber Vitae* existed in two volumes.

If the argument set out above is accepted, the *Liber Vitae* in the second half of the twelfth century consisted of two volumes. The first contained the majority of the original core of the manuscript, with the blank leaves removed (folios 15-45) and prefixed by the twelfth-century gospel extracts (folios 4-14). Volume two was an almost entirely new creation consisting certainly of folios 56-79, but with the current folio 58 as the first folio. In the later twelfth century it is certain that the majority of the leaves included in the volume were blank.

The evidence of folio 48 provides an, admittedly slender, basis of evidence to suggest that damage to the original manuscript was the spur to the recreation. The manuscript as now constituted contains as folio 51 a damaged leaf of insular parchment which was probably part of the original core, although the contents of the page are of the first half of the twelfth century.⁶⁶ The contents were, at least partially, recopied on to a second leaf, folio 48, in the second half of the twelfth century, approximately contemporaneously with the reorganisation of the manuscript as outlined above. The present state of the original leaf might suggest that damage had occurred and the recopying resulted from a desire on the part of those concerned in the recreation of the manuscript to preserve earlier text. The preservation of the earlier leaf, perhaps in a binding, was presumably

because the documents but not all the names it contained were recopied.

b) The augmentation of the manuscript

The recreation of the *Liber Vitae*, in two volumes, in the second half of the twelfth century, dictated its form until after the Dissolution. The principal regular additions to the book were the names of the professed monks of the priory, generally entered in pages arranged in columns. The book, however, continued to be used for the entry of non-monastic names, but not in a consistent way.⁶⁷ The evidence suggests that the use of the book was revived and re-launched periodically.⁶⁸ By the late fifteenth century several of the leaves still remained blank, or at best partially filled. Despite this, it appears that the manuscript was augmented in the late fifteenth century by the addition of further leaves.

Gullick's analysis of the parchment comprising the second half of the manuscript has identified three groups. The third group (folios 80-83*) is made of sheep-skin and is distinctly different from the parchment of the first two.⁶⁹ This group of leaves is the remains of what can be reconstructed as a regular quire of three bifolia.⁷⁰ Though the date of the contents of leaves in a manuscript is a very uncertain guide to the date when those leaves were added, all the names added to these leaves are in hands of the late fifteenth and first half of the sixteenth century. This raises the possibility that the quire was added to the manuscript in the late fifteenth century.

Michael Gullick's preliminary observations regarding the sewing

stations of the manuscript identified only one pre-Cottonian set of sewing stations in this part of the manuscript.⁷¹ If this is correct it seems likely that the twelfth-century binding of the book was retained and the additional leaves tacked into the front of the volume. Had they been added to the end, one would expect that some evidence of the rust damage which affected the final twelfth-century quire would be visible on these leaves also.⁷²

The post-dissolution history of the manuscript

Almost nothing is known for certain about the post-Dissolution history of the manuscript, although it is accepted that the book remained in Durham where, before 1593, the author of *The Rites* is assumed to have seen it. In fact, he makes no claim as to either its location or condition, being more exercised about its place on the high altar and its use within the former monastery, which he describes in some detail before adding 'whiche boke is as yett extant...'.⁷³ Nothing more is known about the manuscript until it surfaces as no. 298 of the library of Sir Robert Cotton (1571-1631) in the catalogue of the library, begun in 1621.⁷⁴ There is unfortunately no evidence of the date at which Cotton acquired the *Liber Vitae* or from whom it was obtained. But certain telling details in the surviving documentation, gathered together by Colin Tite, suggest that once part of his collection it was a manuscript that Cotton valued highly and took more than the usual interest in.⁷⁵

If the arguments advanced so far are correct, the current arrangement

of the *Liber Vitae* in a single volume together with the irregularity and disorder of the whole manuscript with many single sheets and damaged quires must have arisen as the result of serious damage to the book and its subsequent recovery and restoration after the Dissolution in 1539. It is possible that Sir Robert Cotton obtained the two volumes of the manuscript in a damaged condition and effected the restoration himself. However, certain indications in the physical make-up of the manuscript suggest that it was the subject of serious antiquarian interest and intervention before it was acquired by Cotton, who may have made no more than cosmetic adjustments to what he found.

The parts of the present arrangement that are definitely to be assigned to Sir Robert Cotton are first, the present boards covered in red leather and stamped with his arms and secondly, the front and back endleaves (folios 1-3 and folio 84), but not the sewing itself, which has been shown by Gullick to have been replaced, probably in the early twentieth century.⁷⁶ Folios 1r and 84r which contain Cotton's written instructions to his binder, were originally pasted to the boards. Folio 2r is blank but for the number '298', being that assigned to the *Liber Vitae* in the early Cottonian catalogue. Folio 3r comprises a printed title page cut from a book printed by Nicholas Oakes in 1619. On the verso of the leaf are seven lines of text, in an imitation medieval hand, which may be that of Richard James, Cotton's librarian between 1625 and 1631. In preparation for the binding Cotton entered a series of letters, beginning with the letter A on folio 1r, to mark the ordering of the quires. The preparation and organisation of the endleaves is definitely to be assigned to Cotton, and show that the manuscript was sent for binding after 1619, the

date on the printed page used as the title page for the manuscript, and possibly after 1625, the earliest date that Richard James could be associated with the preparation of the manuscript. In contrast, there is nothing in the body of the manuscript to show that its reorganisation can certainly be assigned to Cotton, whilst certain indications suggest the main work was done by a previous owner of the manuscript.

Whoever was responsible for the sequence of changes which reduced the *Liber Vitae* to one volume, the work of reorganisation was very thorough, and it is reasonable to postulate its sequence as follows. The person behind the work dealt first with the second volume. First, this volume was completely disbound. Secondly, the pages were reordered and the pages of the rust damaged quire were interpolated into the body of the manuscript. The fact that this was possible indicates that the original binding of the manuscript had been either lost or very badly damaged, and that the book had been reduced largely to single sheets. It is possible that the person who reorganised the manuscript effected the destruction of the quire structure of the volume, but rather more likely that it had occurred previously. This person imposed a largely chronological sequence on the pages, presumably based on his knowledge of the scripts employed in the book. Thirdly, pairs of leaves were pasted together, probably as a practical measure to help to add strength and stability to the binding.⁷⁷ Fourthly, the pages were numbered with an arabic numeral, at the base of the recto of the leaf, to maintain their new order. This numbering was largely correct, although not all the pages were numbered – folio 48 was numbered ‘3’ but folio 49 was not numbered ‘4’, possibly because

the leaves are a bifolium. In addition, some confusion was introduced between folio 61, numbered 14 and folio 68, numbered 20, with some folios being unnumbered and there being two number 17s in the sequence.⁷⁸ Once the work of ordering the medieval *Liber Vitae* was complete, the leaves of the Anglo-Saxon book with the gospel-extracts already bound to them were added to the front and the whole manuscript was bound in a single volume.

The present arrangement of the manuscript, however, shows some modifications over that which was produced by the sequence of operations sketched above. The first of these is to the pairs of leaves pasted together. In the present arrangement of the book folio 49v was at one time pasted to folio 50r, folio 63v to folio 64r, folio 68v to folio 69r, and folio 75v to 76r. But Michael Gullick has shown, by examining the offsets on folio 49v, that this leaf has at some time been pasted to both folios 50r and 51v.⁷⁹ Further, folio 50 has on its verso the number '8B'. The present arabic number sequence lacks a leaf numbered '8'. The letters A and B in the arabic number sequence are secondary to the main sequence and appear to have been added to the second, unnumbered leaf of the previously pasted-together pairs of leaves at a time when they were separated (presumably at a point when the book was disbound) to help maintain the order of the leaves.⁸⁰ These facts together suggest that when the pairs of leaves were first pasted together there were five pairs of leaves. Folio 50 was pasted to a leaf subsequently numbered 8 in the arabic number sequence and folio 49v was pasted to another blank leaf. The pairs of leaves were then separated and the second leaf of each pair was numbered 'A' and 'B' to avoid being disarranged. The folios numbered '8' and

that originally pasted to folio 49v were then disposed of, presumably because they were both blank and/or damaged in the process of separation. Folio 50 was moved to a position next to folio 49v and then all the leaves were pasted together for a second time. It is possible but unlikely that all these operations were part of the same process of reorganisation, and were in effect the result of a mistake. Alternatively perhaps Sir Robert Cotton undertook the first separation of the leaves, whilst he was preparing the manuscript for his binder, to see whether important text had been concealed by the process. He discovered the large number of twelfth-century names on folio 51v and the text on folio 63v and decided to make minor changes to the order of the leaves. He first added the As and Bs to the freed leaves. He inserted the freed folio 51 into the arabic number sequence and he caused the text on folio 63v to be copied by Richard James into the front end-leaves he had had prepared. The folio numbered 8 and that previously attached to folio 49v he disposed of (presumably they were both blank) and he placed folio 50 adjacent to folio 49, before he had the now four pairs of leaves pasted together again. A subsequent foliation was added, which counts every ten leaves. It is recognised as being by Wanley, one of Cotton's librarians, and counts every pasted pair as one, confirming that Cotton must have had the pairs of leaves pasted together again.⁸¹

The other slight glitches observable in the present arabic number sequence could also be ascribed to minor changes made by Cotton, rather than to errors in the first reorganisation. There is now no arabic number '1', though folio 46 standing next to that numbered '2' might head the sequence.

There is no number '34', though numbers '33' (folio 83) and '35' (folio 83*) survive. There is no number '8' and the folios numbered '9' (folio 57) and '10' (folio 56) are reversed. There is no indication at what period leaf numbered '34' disappeared, but that numbered '8' was missing before Wanley made his foliation, unless he miscounted at that point.⁸² Though it is possible that neither folio ever existed, evidence that both once did is forthcoming. The leaf '34' could be reconstructed as the stub of the bifolium with folio 83 (Appendix 1, figure 15). The former existence of a leaf numbered '8' is suggested by the number '8B' on folio 50, once pasted to folio 49v. Thus the reversal of the leaves numbered '9' and '10' of the original sequence, were perhaps disarranged in the process of separating folio 50 from the leaf which would have been numbered '8' and its subsequent removal. This reversal had occurred before Cotton added his quire letters, since he takes folio 56 (numbered '10') as the first leaf of the quire lettered 'N' and strikes through the arabic number '10'. The intrusion of the present folio 52 into the arabic number sequence might also be evidence of Cotton's slight reordering of leaves (Appendix 1, figure 15). Folio 52 is made of the same insular parchment as folios 53-5, but is not originally part of that gathering, as it is attached to a stub on folio 55 rather than being conjoint with it. The fact that it has no arabic number and interrupts the number sequence suggests it was initially placed in the original core, none of the pages of which are numbered. Folio 52, left blank by the original compilers, has texts of confraternity agreements added to it in the twelfth century and might conceivably, in the sixteenth-century rearrangement, have been inserted into the original core near to similar agreements on folio 36v. Inserted in the arabic number

sequence it takes up its chronological position amongst the twelfth-century material on folios 53-5. In its new position folio 52 was the first leaf of the quire (folios 52-5) and Cotton added the letter 'M' to the foot of the recto of the leaf, as a guide to his binder.

The relationship between the arabic numbering and the Cottonian quire letters tends to support the supposition that the manuscript was reordered before Cotton acquired it. The quire letters, beginning with a letter 'A', are definitely the work of Cotton. They are in his own hand and can be found on other manuscripts from his collection.⁸³ The sequence begins in the end-leaves, which are Cotton's addition to the manuscript, with an 'A' on folio 1, which has Cotton's binding instructions, and with a 'B' on folio 3, his title page. In contrast, Cotton manuscripts do not have sequences of arabic numerals at the bases of the pages, and the sequence in the *Liber Vitae* appears to be unique in the Cotton collection. Further, where Cotton adds a quire letter to the base of a page, he generally crosses through the arabic numeral, which seems to indicate that his letters supersede the arabic numbering. Finally, it has been suggested that the numbers should be dated to a time in the sixteenth century earlier than Cotton's period of activity.⁸⁴

If the arguments above are accepted, it becomes necessary to see the post-Dissolution history of the *Liber Vitae* as falling into two stages. In the first a person, whose identity is at present unknown, acquires the manuscript soon after the Dissolution. As the book is badly damaged and in order to preserve it, it is reorganised, and reduced to a single volume, before being bound. In the second, this volume is acquired by Sir Robert Cotton, who causes it to be

rebound and in the process makes some small adjustments to the order of the leaves and disposes of a couple of unwanted and presumably blank pages. The only problem with this hypothesis is that Michael Gullick has found no evidence of a post-Dissolution binding preceding that of Cotton.⁸⁵ It is possible, however, that Cotton's binder reused the stations of the previous binding with the result that all traces of that binding have disappeared.

The damage sustained by the manuscript presumably occurred at the Dissolution. The rich binding attributed to the *Liber Vitae* by the author of *The Rites* was presumably stripped from it *in situ* and the pages left behind.⁸⁶ The recovery and reorganisation of the *Liber Vitae* probably occurred in Durham soon after the Dissolution and as a result of the damage it then sustained. What cannot now be ascertained is how much material was lost from the manuscript as a result of this damage and reorganisation. The most compelling evidence that material has been lost is the absence of monastic entries after c.1520, which may be due to a failure of recording or may indicate the loss of several folios from the end of the manuscript.⁸⁷

Notes to chapter 2

¹ See Appendix 1 for a discussion, with diagrams, of the present structure of the manuscript.

² The term 'original core' is that adopted by the on-going AHRB research project as short hand for referring to the Anglo-Saxon section of the *Liber Vitae*.

³ This is part 2 in Gullick's discussion of the manuscript, Gullick (forthcoming).

⁴ Gullick (forthcoming). His estimates of the original size of the manuscript are based on his observations of the Anglo-Saxon sewing stations.

⁵ Briggs (1987), p. 5, asserts that the text is written in gold and silver ink, but Gullick's examination of the manuscript under a low powered microscope has revealed that the text was in fact written in a colourless mordant, with gold and silver leaf applied and burnished, Gullick (forthcoming).

⁶ The suggestion that the manuscript originally included purple leaves is made by Janet Backhouse in Webster and Backhouse (1991), p. 132.

⁷ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁸ Keynes (1996), esp. pp. 79-110 and the facsimile.

⁹ Briggs (1987), p. 2 and n.

¹⁰ Gullick (forthcoming).

¹¹ Keynes (1996), pp. 84-6 and the facsimile.

¹² Keynes (1996), p. 84.

¹³ This is a position based upon my interpretation of the later history of the manuscript, see pp. 77-8. 77-8

¹⁴ Gullick (forthcoming).

¹⁵ Gullick (forthcoming).

¹⁶ This is clearly visible in the 1923 facsimile, where the where the text of the first column of fol. 24r is clipped, see Thompson (1923).

¹⁷ Gullick (forthcoming).

¹⁸ See above, p. 55.

¹⁹ See pp. 71-2.

²⁰ The reconstruction offered here differs markedly to that proposed by Michael Gullick, who suggests that there is only one leaf missing between the present folios 36 and 37, see Gullick (forthcoming).

²¹ Gullick (forthcoming).

²² Gullick (forthcoming).

²³ The bifolium, fols. 67-69, was refolded and reversed in a reorganisation of the manuscript, see p. 79.

²⁴ Briggs (1987), pp. 1-3.

²⁵ Gullick (forthcoming). Whether these leaves are original to the Anglo-Saxon compilation, or a post-Conquest addition to it, does not invalidate the point that the long list of *Nomina monachorum* is likely to have been followed by a number of blank leaves in the original compilation.

²⁶ See pp. 87-94.

²⁷ Gullick (forthcoming).

²⁸ Keynes (1996), p. 86 (fol. 17r-v, The Deceased Benefactors of the New Minster); pp. 94-95 (fols. 25r-26v, Friends or Benefactors of the New Minster).

²⁹ It is also the case that the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and to a greater extent the continental *libri vitae* contain lists of the members of religious communities which were in confraternity with the house for which each *liber vitae* was made, see pp. 188-9. As far as I am aware discussion of the possibility of missing text in the Durham *Liber Vitae* has focussed primarily on the absence of a bishop-list.

³⁰ See p. 77.

³¹ See above p. 22.

³² See above pp. 24-5.

³³ Gullick (forthcoming). For a description of these extracts see Appendix 2.

³⁴ Briggs (1987) p. 1, considers that they might well have been added to the manuscript by Cotton.

³⁵ This was Michael Gullick's expressed opinion before he started detailed work on the structure of the manuscript.

³⁶ Gullick (forthcoming).

³⁷ A suggestion made at the AHRB research seminar on the *Liber Vitae* held in Durham in December 2001.

³⁸ The lections, which are a restricted set covering major temporal feasts, occur on fols. 42r-49v + 41rv, see Keynes (1996), pp. 102-3 and the facsimile.

³⁹ Keynes (1996), p. 103.

⁴⁰ Keynes (1996), p. 103.

⁴¹ See pp. 57 and 76ff, where the question of the manuscript's reordering is discussed.

⁴² For example, Rollason (1999), pp. 277-9. Although I was conscious of the dichotomy between the importance of the book and its careless and irregular structure, I had not appreciated in this article how serious had been the rearrangement of the contents of the second part of the manuscript.

⁴³ This rearrangement is discussed on pp. 87ff.

⁴⁴ See above pp. 73-4.

⁴⁵ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁴⁶ Which is the date assigned by Gullick to the hand in which the extracts are written, see Gullick (forthcoming).

⁴⁷ For a description of this leaf see below, Appendix 2.

⁴⁸ For discussion of the dates of the additions see below, pp. 104ff.

⁴⁹ The word which I cannot read is rendered as 'scilicet' by Stevenson, Stevenson (1841), p. 3.

⁵⁰ Powicke and Fryde (1961), p. 55.

⁵¹ Michael Gullick considers the additions to the manuscript to be fols. 46-83, see Gullick (forthcoming). I have included fols. 46-55 (less fols. 48-9), all made of insular parchment, in the discussion of the original core of the manuscript, see above p. 70 and Appendix 1.

⁵² Gullick (forthcoming).

⁵³ Gullick (forthcoming). In my notes on the manuscript made in 1997 there is an observation to the effect that fols. 67 and 71 were rust damaged, but I failed subsequently to appreciate the significance of this observation.

⁵⁴ For the removal of these leaves see p. 92, (i.e. it must be a Cottonian alteration).

-
- ⁵⁵ For discussion of these important lists, see below pp. 164 ff.
- ⁵⁶ For discussion of this gathering, see below Appendix 1.
- ⁵⁷ Gullick (forthcoming), places a different interpretation on this leaf.
- ⁵⁸ Gullick (forthcoming).
- ⁵⁹ This observation was first articulated by Michael Gullick, Gullick (forthcoming).
- ⁶⁰ For discussion of the additions to these leaves see p. 86-7.
- ⁶¹ For discussion of these lists see Piper (forthcoming).
- ⁶² Piper (1998) pp. 166-7.
- ⁶³ See below, pp. 104 ff.
- ⁶⁴ For discussion of the Arabic numbers see Gullick (forthcoming).
- ⁶⁵ Gullick (forthcoming).
- ⁶⁶ See above, p. 70. For a description of the contents of fols. 51 and 48, see below Appendix 2.
- ⁶⁷ See below, pp. 104 ff.
- ⁶⁸ See below pp. 128 ff.
- ⁶⁹ Gullick (forthcoming).
- ⁷⁰ Gullick (forthcoming), and above p. 80.
- ⁷¹ Gullick (forthcoming).
- ⁷² It is Gullick's opinion that the rust damage derives from a rather crude late medieval binding, Michael Gullick pers. comm. This view does not seem to

accord well with the evidence of the sewing stations discovered in the manuscript.

⁷³ Fowler (1903), pp. 16-17.

⁷⁴ Tite (forthcoming).

⁷⁵ Tite (forthcoming).

⁷⁶ Gullick (forthcoming). Dr Ian Doyle, who examined the manuscript on my behalf in 1999, was even then of the opinion that the binding was probably not Cotton's own.

⁷⁷ Alan Piper pers. comm.

⁷⁸ See Gullick (forthcoming) and Appendix 2.

⁷⁹ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁸⁰ See below Appendix 1, figure 15.

⁸¹ Tite (forthcoming).

⁸² See below, Appendix 1, figure 15.

⁸³ Tite (forthcoming).

⁸⁴ The suggestion was first made to me by Ian Doyle in a personal communication, but has been accepted by Michael Gullick in his discussion of the manuscript, see Gullick (forthcoming).

⁸⁵ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁸⁶ The destruction of the shrine probably took place in December 1539, see Battiscombe (1956), pp. 79-90. The fate of the Lindisfarne Gospels at the Dissolution is outlined Brown (2003), pp. 121-3.

⁸⁷ See below, pp. 127-8.

Chapter 3. Periods of use and disuse: the *Liber Vitae*'s history reconstructed from the additions of the text

This chapter will consider what light the study of the contents of the manuscript throws upon its history.¹ The *Liber Vitae* consists primarily of lists of names but with other important additions including charters and confraternity agreements. The vast bulk of the contents of the book, contributed by many different scribes, are undated. However, analysis of their palaeography can show at what periods they were written. In addition the identities of the persons named in the manuscript and details gleaned from the charters and other documents can be used to confirm and refine the palaeographical dating. In this way a picture can be built up of the periods of use of the manuscript, and conversely of the periods at which it was not used. The following discussion is divided into sections. The evidence related to the creation of the manuscript is first briefly surveyed, and then the additions of both text and names are discussed. To facilitate the discussion the additions are periodised; the Anglo-Saxon additions, those from the late eleventh century to c. 1300 and finally all the additions after c. 1300. The chapter will survey all the palaeographical evidence with the aim of supporting the codicological studies of the last chapter but will focus especially on the period after c. 1300, the particular concern of this thesis. The discussion of the post-c. 1300 additions of names to the *Liber Vitae* will be divided into two. First, the general spread of names through the manuscript will be described. Secondly, there will be consideration in detail of the periods at which names have been



added to the *Liber Vitae*, based on consideration of the date of the hand adding each name.

The creation of the manuscript

The original core of the manuscript, which is composed of ten lists of different lengths, dividing the names it contains according to rank or clerical degree, is written in a late example of a formal Insular half-uncial script, that had first been developed in Northumbria in the last decade of the seventh century.² The lists are written either in a single hand or in two closely related hands in gold and silver leaf over a mordent.³ Dating the lists is difficult palaeographically because of the lack of material with which to compare the manuscript. It is generally considered to be ninth-century in date.⁴

The palaeographical dating can be refined through analysis of the names included in the lists.⁵ Most useful is the list of *Nomina regum vel ducum* (folio 15r-v), with its large number of readily identifiable people. The names in the list are arranged roughly in chronological order the latest names including that of Æthelred, king of Northumbria, 774-778/9, 790-96 (folio 15v, col. a, name 12) and that of Torhtmund, a Northumbrian dux, fl. 796-801 (folio 15v, col. a, name 14). There is also the name Constantine, identified as a king of the Picts, c.789-820 (folio 15v, col. a, name 18). The text may in fact have been written as late as c. 840 if the identification of the second to last name in the list as that of Eoganan, who was king of the Picts c. 837-39, is correct.⁶

The Anglo-Saxon additions (to the mid-eleventh century)

Few additions were in fact made to the original lists from the mid-ninth to the mid-eleventh centuries. There are early additions made to folios 24r, 36r, 44v and 45r, in a hand not as accomplished as that which created the manuscript and which uses gold leaf and black ink rather than silver leaf.⁷ Briggs dates these to before c.875.⁸ After the end of the ninth century very few further names were added to the manuscript before the mid-eleventh century. The first in date is that of King Athelstan, added at the head of folio 15r next to the title, in a hand of the first half of the tenth century. The entry of the king's name may be associated with the addition to folio 24r of the names of Wulfstan and Athelstan, both priests, and to folio 26r of the names of the deacons Eadhelm and Ealhhelm. Briggs suggests that three of the four men named in the *Liber Vitae* witnessed with King Athelstan a lease of land by the familia of the New Minster Winchester to Alfred, minister of the king in 925x933, and that they may have been part of the king's entourage in his journey to Scotland in 934.⁹

Various documents in Old English were added to folio 47 before the mid-eleventh century. The lower half of folio 47r contains an Old English manumission in twelve lines. It is suggested that early text has been lost from the top of this leaf, as the Anglo-Saxon text begins half way down the page and its beginning has been tampered with by the twelfth century scribe.¹⁰ The text is dated, by Dorothy Whitelock, to the late tenth century and by Neil Ker, to the mid-eleventh century.¹¹ At the top of the verso of the leaf is the record in Old English of a grant of lands by Earl Thored to St Cuthbert at Smeaton,

Crayke and Sutton-on-the-Forest.¹² The document was written by a Durham scribe known to have been active at the end of the tenth century.¹³ A second document, of eight lines, gives the vill of Escomb and land at Ferryhill to St Cuthbert and was written in the eleventh century.¹⁴

The additions of the late-eleventh and to c.1300

The additions of material made to the manuscript at this period are very extensive and comprise documents of various sorts as well as lists of names.¹⁵ In the original core of the manuscript (folios 15r-47v and 50r-55v) the additions vary between slight marginal additions to already written pages to extensive additions to previously blank pages. There are also numerous additions to leaves newly added to the manuscript.

The additions of continuous prose to the *Liber Vitae* in this period are of various sorts and fall roughly into two groups. The first comprises those made in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries and the second those made after c.1250. In the first group is a series of confraternity agreements, some with individuals, some with other monastic houses, written in a number of hands, on folios 36v and 52r-v. Some of these agreements were written into the *Liber Vitae* by the monk Symeon of Durham, who was the cantor of the monastery and active between c.1093 and c.1130.¹⁶ There is a series of memoranda on the damaged folio 51r, one of which records events at a gathering in July 1127 at Roxburgh with King David of Scots.¹⁷ On folios 53r-54r is a purported diploma of Bishop William of St Calais (1081-96) beginning '*Ego Willelmus...*' The opening parts of this document are copied from

Symeon's Libellus de exordio, and the hand suggests that it was copied not long after the composition of that work 1104x1109.¹⁸ On folios 54v-55r there are four documents relating to property of the church of Durham in Yorkshire.¹⁹ In the second group, dateable to the second half of the twelfth century, there are three additions. The first is the gospel extracts, which comprise folios 4-14v of the manuscript. This text was, according to Michael Gullick, written and rubricated in a single hand, which he dates to the middle or third quarter of the twelfth century.²⁰ The second addition comprises two documents, written by the same scribe, in two different stints, on folio 50v. The hand, which is dated to the 1160s by Alan Piper, is identified by Michael Gullick as that of the monk and historian Reginald of Durham.²¹ The first document is a reworking of the account in *Symeon's Libellus de exordio* about the creation of Prior Turgot as archdeacon by Bishop William of St Calais at the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of the cathedral in 1093.²² The second document is a memorandum of a claim by the monks of Durham to the church of Tynemouth. It forms part of a small group of forgeries intended to support Durham's claims to the church against those of the monks of St Alban's. This dispute was settled in favour of St Alban's in 1174.²³ The third addition is of a slightly different sort and comprises the whole of folio 48, which is a partial copy of the damaged folio 51, made in the mid-twelfth century.

The additions of names between the mid-eleventh-century and c.1300 are also extensive and consist both of additions made to existing pages and to new leaves added to the manuscript for the purpose. The names added at this time are not generally arranged in lists under headings, as in the original

core of the manuscript,²⁴ but fall into two distinctive groups. The first comprises the names of the monks of Durham, the second the names of non-monks. Despite the lack of headings, treatment of the two groups is generally distinctive and will be dealt with in turn.²⁵

The list of the names of the monks of Durham begins on folio 45r, where it is appended to the end of the list of *Nomina monachorum* in the original core of the manuscript. It continues on folio 45v and then on folio 58r, a leaf of twelfth century parchment. The names are written in columns, presumably in imitation of the form of the ancient list. The first hand to enter these names, which has been dated to the early twelfth century, lists sixty-seven men, prefixing the list with the names of the first three Norman bishops of Durham, Walcher (1071-80), William of St Calais (1080-96) and Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128).²⁶ Until c.1160 the list of monks entered in the *Liber Vitae* was paralleled by a similar list entered into the front of the earliest copy of Symeon's *Libellus de exordio ecclesie Dunelmensis*.²⁷

In addition to the names of the monks of Durham are two pages of names both headed *Nomina monachorum ad succurrendum*, folios 56r and 61r, which presumably record men who took the habit at the end of their lives.²⁸ Both are lined out to receive names in columns, and initially names were so added in a variety of later twelfth century hands, but the pages are actually confused in structure and have names of many other than succour monks of Durham.

The addition of the names other than monks of Durham is extensive in this period. Names were added to the original core and also to newly created

leaves. The additions to the original core are found as marginalia and as more extensive additions to blank or partially filled leaves. The marginalia can sometimes themselves be extensive, as for example the column of names added to the outer edge of folio 29r, or the additions across the opening folio 15v-16r, in a hand of the second half of the twelfth century, naming the family of David, king of Scots. Alternatively they can consist of only a few names as on folio 39v. Extensive additions using previously blank or partially blank leaves are many and their presentation various. The lists of the names of the monastic communities of Evesham and Worcester, added to folios 24v and 25r in the early twelfth century, use the rulings of pages prepared but left blank by the original compilers at the end of the list of *Nomina presbyterorum*.²⁹ The names of the Worcester community are headed by Bishops Wulfstan (1062-1095) and Samson (1096-1112), and were presumably added to the manuscript in the episcopate of the latter.³⁰ In contrast the lists on folio 25v form a dense text block written in a number of hands, which ignores any previous ruling of the page, except perhaps the vertical line marking the left edge of the first column. Lines 1-5, which establish the layout of this page, naming archbishops and canons of Rouen, was written by Symeon of Durham and is dateable to the period 1111x 1128.³¹

The entries made to the leaves added to the original core of the manuscript (folios 56-79) are all of later twelfth century and after. One feature of the later twelfth-century entries is that one scribe, or a small group of scribes writing in closely related hands, began a number of pages contemporaneously.³² The pages in question include folios 62r, 63r, 64v and

66r. The beginning of these pages together is in direct contrast to the contemporary monastic page (folio 58r), which was begun, continued and completed before another page was started. Further, it is in the late twelfth century that entries recording annual renders made by individuals to Saint Cuthbert are recorded in the manuscript. These entries occur principally on folios 67, 69, 71 which once were part of the rust-damaged quire, which once made up the final quire, although its folios are now dispersed through the manuscript.³³

The post-1300 additions

The additions after c. 1300 are all, with one exception, of names. The exception is the text of five lines on folio 63v. Only decipherable under ultra-violet light, this is apparently the original version of the text copied out by Richard James, Cotton's librarian, on folio 3v.³⁴ This text, in a late fifteenth-century hand, describes the function of the *Liber Vitae* in rather different terms from that employed in *The Rites of Durham* in the later sixteenth century.³⁵

In considering the general spread of names throughout the manuscript after c.1300 the first point to be noted is that very few names were added to the original core of the manuscript. The only exceptions are first, the three christian names entered at the head of folio 37r in the mid- to late-fourteenth century and, secondly, the names of King Edward IV, Elizabeth, his queen, and Prince Edward, his son, entered on folio 19v in the later fifteenth century. In contrast, a large number of names were added to pages first begun in the twelfth century, generally folios 46-72v. One example, which is typical of the

development of the multi-period pages is folio 70v. The first name on the leaf is that of Reiner, bishop of St Asalph (1186-1224), in a hand of the late twelfth century. The rest of the page has names written in a variety of hands dated from c.1200 to the early sixteenth century. A few folios were created anew in the fourteenth century, notably folios 72v-74r. No fourteenth-century additions occur after folio 76v. Although fifteenth-century scribes continued to add names to completed pages or to partially filled leaves (for example, folios 61v, 62v and 66v), the majority of fifteenth-century entries are found after folio 76r. No entry earlier than c.1475 is made to folios 81-83. The vast majority of names added in the late fifteenth- and early-sixteenth centuries are found on these latest leaves, although a few names occur on earlier pages.

The general effect of the post-1300 entries in the book is irregular. There are pages that are completed, others only partially completed and pages which remain blank. There are pages with entries dateable to several periods and pages principally of one period. The lay-out is informal. There is little or no evidence that pages were ruled to receive text. On one page, folio 81r, which is ruled for two columns of text, the ruling is ignored by the scribes completing the page, although their adoption of a generally columnar format for the recording of names is at variance with the usual method of non-monastic recording in lines across the page (as on the facing folio 80v) and was presumably influenced by the ruling of the page. The post-1300 additions are made by many scribes and generally their contributions to individual pages are small. In making entries some employ paraphs or penwork to group names together. This is particularly the case on monastic pages, for example folio 74r, where the second scribe uses paraphs or on folio 74v, where the

scribes use both paraps and pen brackets to define the different groups of names. But scribes entering non-monastic names employ the same methods to define name groups, for example folios 81v, 82v and 83r. Amongst the post-1300 entries the creation of the opening, which is folios 72v-73r, is unique. These pages are each ruled in two columns and the lists initially entered on the pages were written in a single hand, although the original layout was rapidly disguised by additions.³⁶

The names added to the *Liber Vitae* after c.1300 can, as before, be divided into two groups, the first those of professed monks of Durham and the second those of non-monks. Detailed consideration of the way in which the names were entered into the *Liber Vitae* after 1300 reveals a number of details concerning the use of the manuscript.

The inclusion of the names of the monks of Durham is a major component in the entry of names into the *Liber Vitae*. By the end of the thirteenth century, the system by which the entries were made can be quite fully understood. Folio 59v records the names of men entering the community in the thirteenth century. The page is arranged in three columns and is wholly devoted to monastic names, which have been entered in batches and are the work of a number of scribes. Each batch of entries begins with a prominent paragraph mark. In the third column there are five paragraph marks, which divide the list up into irregular subgroups. This column begins with men entering the monastery c.1272.

The ordering of the names within the subgroups is clearly important, since midway down the second column on folio 59v there are two names that

have 'a' and 'b' added before them, indicating that the order should be reversed over what is actually written. It can be shown that the names in each subgroup are arranged in order of seniority, an important consideration within the monastery. The names seem to have been added to the *Liber Vitae* at the time of monk's profession. The lists were probably compiled from the monastic profession slips, completed either by or for each monk as he entered the community, as enjoined by the *Monastic Constitutions*.³⁷

When folio 59v was complete the next entries were made following a paragraph mark on folio 60r, and the chronological sequence was maintained with the first hand entering nine names, representing the intake of c.1286. Overall folio 60r looks very like folio 59v. The page is in three columns, entries are made in small groups and if paragraph marks give way to pen drawn boxes, to separate these groups, the effect is the same. When begun it was obviously intended that the page be reserved for monastic entries. The first column records the names of men entering the community between c.1286 and c.1295. The second records those men who entered between c.1296 and c.1311 and continues at the head of the third column with eight further names of men entering between c.1311 and c.1317. The list then breaks off, mid-way through a group, to resume on folio 75r part of the way down the first column by repeating the last two names on folio 60r before continuing. The names that complete the third column of folio 60r are a mixture of monastic and non-monastic names, consisting of a series of two two-line entries recording non-monastic names, a group of nine names recording members of the Durham community entering the monastery c.1355 and lastly further non-monastic names.

The fact that the list of monks on folio 60r was interrupted, and names were repeated at the resumption of the list on folio 75r suggests at first sight that the non-monastic entries had already been added in an irregular way to the page, forcing the scribe to find new space, although it is clear from the dates of these entries that space remained. As far as can be judged, the hands in which the names so far discussed (i.e. on folios 59v and 60r) were written were contemporary with the dates of entry into the Durham community of the men recorded. It must be assumed therefore that the lists on these folios were regularly and promptly made up soon after the profession of the monks named. The continuation of the list on folio 75r, on the other hand, is written in a script later in character than the known entry-dates of the monks it records. The continuation begins well down the first column on the page, and follows the record of a group of Durham monks who entered the community in c.1333. The practice of entry therefore suffered disruption in the early fourteenth century, with the interruption of the list on folio 60r marking the end of the regular listing of monks on pages devoted to this purpose for some time. Since prior to this date it seems that the lists were added to every 2-3 years at most, the cessation of the regular pattern of listing the newly professed monks must have occurred around 1318-20.

To discuss the recording of monastic entries after c.1320 it is easiest to tabulate the groups of entries made in the *Liber Vitae*. In what follows it should be noted that, however irregular the overall listing becomes, the small subgroups of monks' names, representing the groups of men professed together, which on the regular pages was represented by a paragraph mark or pen drawn box, always appear apparently in order of seniority. It would seem

that the system of recording still depended on profession slips. What changed was that there was no longer regular listing of monks' names in the *Liber Vitae* on pages set aside for the purpose.

The following table offers an analysis of the way in which the groups of monks' names were entered between c.1319 and c.1364. The groups of monks are numbered, the approximate date of their entry into the monastery is given and the size of the group indicated. Where appropriate the position of the entry in *Liber Vitae* is given together with the order in which the entries were made into the manuscript. The notes explain the background to each entry.

Figure 7: Tabulation of the creation of the lists of monks in the *Liber Vitae* c.1319-64

group	no. of names	date range	folio	col.	order of writing	notes
1	8	1317-1319	75r	A base	5	The page begun in the early fourteenth century with lay names. This group in hand later than date of professions follows entry of monks professed 1333-5 (6). List repeats two names previously entered at end of interrupted list on folio 60
2	5	1320-1321	75r	B top	6	This page begun in early fourteenth century with lay names. Main part of page two columns, this entry top of col B, logically later than writing of col. A i.e. should post date the writing of groups (1) and (6)
3	5	1322	---	---		A group of five names which were not recorded in the <i>Liber Vitae</i> . These names could have been added to folio 75r; their non-appearance in the <i>Liber Vitae</i> does not necessarily indicate a loss of pages from the MS. The disordering of this part of the monastic list and the late writing of parts of it suggests some disruption to the storage and retrieval system of the profession slips.
3	9	1325-1327	71v	A centre	1	Text entered with crosses prefixing names. No indications why names should be entered in this way. Page begun in late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century and continued in early fourteenth. Single hand, contemporary, earlier than groups (4) or (5)
4	4	1328	71v	A centre	2	Text entered with crosses prefixing names. Later than group (3) and earlier than (5)
5	6	1329-1331	71v	B centre	3	Text entered with crosses prefixing names. This is a second col. Apparently later than groups (3) and (4). Looks as though scribe felt he had finished the page.
6	13	1333-1336	75r	A	4	This page begun in early fourteenth century with lay names. The hand of this entry seems right date. Must therefore pre-date the writing of group (1) and also of (2) at head of col. B

group	no. of names	date range	folio	col.	order of writing	notes
7	7	1337-1340	---	---		Not in Liber Vitae. This group could have been added to the incomplete folio 75r, as the completion with lay entries is likely to have been later. These omissions cannot therefore be indicative necessarily of a lost page.
8	9	1341-1342	73v	A	7	Beginning new page, single col. of names. Last name of group apparently not a monk. In same hand page layout interrupted by linked entry three lines long.
9	17	1343-1347	---	---		Not in Liber Vitae. This is a major loss of names. They could have been added to the list on folio 73v, so do not necessarily indicate of a loss of pages. One name from this period, that of Robert Walworth, is included as an addition to group (8) in same hand as group (10)
10	8	1349-1350	73v	A	8	This beginning of complicated entry which is all in one hand and comprises (8)-(13) although each part is separately boxed. Has under previous entry at (8) an addition in same hand of one name "Robert of Walworth" who is from list at (9)
11	7	1351-1352	73r	B centre	8	This is part of a complicated entry that is all in one hand and comprises (8)-(13) although each part is separately boxed.
12	2	1352	73r	A foot	8	This is part of a complicated entry that is all in one hand and comprises (8)-(13) although each part is separately boxed.
13	2	1352	73r	B foot	8	This is part of a complicated entry which is all in one hand and comprises (8)-(13) although each part is separately boxed. Whole cannot have been written before 1352.
14	4	1352-3	73r	A foot	9	This is part of an entry, subdivided to fit the base of the page (14)-(16). There is a date in the same hand at base of this col. 1353.

group	no. of names	date range	folio	col.	order of writing	notes
15	4	1353- 1354	73r	B foot	9	This is part of an entry, subdivided to fit the base of the page (14)-(16).
16	2	1354	73r	C foot	9	This is part of an entry, subdivided to fit the base of the page (14)-(16). These entries might be thought to complete this page.
17	9	1355- 1356	60r	B centre	10	This part of the list reverts to folio 60r, left incomplete when the orderly arrangement of the lists was abandoned. The lists are not continued on this folio even though it was not complete.
18	7	1357- 1359	---	---		Not in Liber Vitae. The previous entry (17) did not complete a page, seven names could have been added, this gap in the list is not therefore necessarily an indication of a lost page.
19	9	1360- 1362	50r	B	11	Does this portion of the list fill a gap left at the top of an otherwise complete page? This is a curious addition so far removed from the current additions to the monastic list.
20	8	1363- 1364	73v	B	12	This portion of the list fills a gap left at the top of an otherwise complete page. Does this indicate, together with the previous entry (19) that the existing pages were full?

It is clear from the foregoing table that the disordering of the lists was not due to any subsequent shuffling of the pages of the manuscript, as parts of the lists are begun on a page and then are written elsewhere to be continued later on the same page. Further, in no case where entries are missing, that is where names of monks are not found in the *Liber Vitae*, would they necessarily have been entered at the start of a new page which might have subsequently been lost. Therefore there is no obvious correlation between missing text and missing pages.

It is possible that the regular monastic lists were interrupted initially because profession slips were lost or mislaid, but it is difficult to see why the losses could not have been made up from memory. The entries were being made soon after monks were professed so no great feats of ingenuity would be required to provide the missing data. The last two groups of entries (19) and (20) are clearly added to odd corners of the manuscript in a way that might show that all the available space in the manuscript was filled. Yet some folios in the manuscript as constituted in the 1360s were still blank (for example folios 72v and 73r, both written in the 1380s), and could have received regular monastic lists.

The lists of Durham monks resume a regular pattern with the recording of those men professed in c.1365 at the beginning of folio 74r. The page is in two columns, rather than the usual three, and contains in order of seniority all those monks professed between c.1365 and c.1399. Except for a few late additions of the names of non-monks, the page is devoted entirely to recording the names of monks of Durham. The major difference from the

regular lists of folios 59v and 60r is that only two hands wrote the lists on this page. The first hand wrote the whole of column a. and the first four names of col. b, that is men professed between c.1365 and c.1381. The second wrote the remainder of col. b, that is men professed between c.1384 and c.1400. The whole page was compiled in two major campaigns, presumably after c.1381 and after c.1400. The first campaign by the first hand was therefore entering names of men who had been monks for up to twenty years, indicating that the irregular entry of names had been followed by a major hiatus in the use of the *Liber Vitae* for the recording of monastic names.

Once resumed, the regular recording of professed monks continued very much as it had before the disruption of c.1320 for a further one hundred or so years. After folio 74r was completed, the lists were continued on folio 74v, with the names of men professed between c.1401 and c.1444, arranged this time in three columns. The page is more irregular in appearance as a larger number of scribes add data to it, presumably at much more regular intervals. Paragraph marks are generally used to indicate subgroups and some further pointers in the shape of records of dates are to be found beside some boxed entries. The lists continue on folio 79r, being begun in a hand different from that completing folio 74v, recording the names of men entering the community between c.1445 and c.1470 in a series of boxed groups. The monastic entries then continue in the first column on folio 79v, beginning with the names of those men entering the community after c.1473. Names were entered until two-thirds of the way down the first column when regular recording in this form suddenly ceases c.1485 with the names of John Porter and Richard Caly. The names of monks continued to be recorded in the *Liber*

Vitae, but the formula of entering groups of monks in order of seniority at the time of their profession, on pages specially reserved for such records, used almost continuously since c.1104, was never revived.

After c.1485 the recording of monastic names became irregular, as can be seen from the ordering of names on the remainder of folio 79v, which is largely filled with monastic names, but without any formal organisation or method. The column format was dropped, the names at the top and bottom of the page being irregularly placed around a quite densely written block in the centre of the leaf. The block in the centre of the page records the names of most men entering the monastery between 1484 and 1497, but since it was written by a single hand it indicates that the recording of names soon after profession had also been abandoned. The names are also not generally recorded in order of seniority, as the following table makes clear, when year of admission is compared to the monk's position on the list. The list is careless; some names are omitted and others repeated.

**Figure 8: The names of monks recorded on folio 79v, professed
between 1484-97, in order of seniority**

name	date of entry	place in list	notes
(Thomas Durham)		(22)	also recorded at 7
Robert Grene		39	not a monk
John Wayke		40	is this John Wrake, also recorded at 15
Thomas Durham	1484	7	recorded twice also at 22
Thomas Tippings	1484	-	recorded in col. A
Edmund More	1484	6	
Andrew Stoddard	1484	1	
Richard Riddell	1485	2	
Robert Gateshead	1485	-	not recorded
Richard Evenwood	1485	3?	name disappears into gutter
John Smirk	1485	-	recorded in family group col. B
Robert Herrington	1486	10	recorded a second time at the bottom of the page
Robert Rook	1486	-	recorded fol. 81v
Thomas Dune	1487	-	not recorded
William Godson	1487	35	
Robert Strother	1487	-	recorded col. A
Thomas Duckett	1488	8	
Robert Todd	1488	4	
Thomas Holburn	1488	24	
John Blencarn	1489	5	
Richard Lowson	1489	37	
William Darnton	1489	12	
Robert Mody	1489	9	
William Forest	1490	18	recorded large in different hand
John Thirkill	1490	38	
William Cliffe	1491	-	recorded col. A
William Burgh	1491	-	recorded base of col. C
Richard Herrington	1491	11	recorded a second time at the bottom of the page
Richard Denard	1491	13	
Thomas Elvet	1492	31	
William Ripon	1492	36	

name	date of entry	place in list	notes
John Byndley	1492	41	
John Lawson	1493	23	
John Clifton	1493	-	name found on fol. 77r
John Swalwell	1493	21	
Thomas Castell	1494	14	
Robert Staindrop	1494	17	
John Roddam	1494	19	
William Wearmouth	1494	25	
John Wrake	1495	15	
Thomas Cliffe	1495	-	base col. A
Thomas Barnes	1495	20	
Richard Poole	1495	16	
William Buckley	1496	26	
Robert Marshall	1496	27	
Robert Keith	1496	28	
Nicholas Gamblesby	1496	29	
William Elvet	1497	30	
Hugh Whitehead	1497	32	
John Halywell	1497	33	
William Winter	1497	34	

Between c.1497 and c.1521 monastic names continue to be entered in the *Liber Vitae* but no regular system of entry replaces that in use between c.1100 and c.1485 and during that time the numbers of those known to have been monks whose names are not included in the manuscript increases. The following figures show this irregularity. In figure 9 the names of the monks are arranged in order of seniority and in figure 10 the same names are arranged in the folio order.

Figure 9: Monks of Durham 1498-1521, in order of seniority

name	date of entry	folio	notes
Robert Beynley	1498	-	not certainly identified
Richard Wolfe	1498	-	not recorded
Henry Swalwell	1498	81v	
William Kendal	1498	83r col. b	
Cuthbert Marshall	1499	-	not recorded
Henry Bek	1499	-	not recorded
William Young	1499	-	not recorded
Henry Willy	1499	80v	
William Hartlepool	1499	81v	
Thomas Burrell	1500	82r	
Christopher Hemingbrough	1500	82r	
Richard Murton	1501	82r	
Edward Hindmarsh	1501	82r	called in entry Hymners
Ralph Blakeston	1501	82r	
James Duckett	1502	82r	
Christopher Willy	1502	82r	
William Pickering	1502	82r	
Thomas Gateshead	1503	81v	family entry
John Castell	1503	81v	family entry but also recorded on fol. 82r
John Bailey	1503	82r	
Roland March	1504	-	not recorded
Robert Spink	1504	81v	family entry
John Brown	1504	81v	family entry
Peter Lee	1504	81v	family entry
William Edwards	1505	83r	
Christopher Blunt	1505	83r	
Robert Eland	1506	83r	
Thomas Young	1506	83r	
Thomas Carr	1506	83r	also named on fol. 80v
John Babbington	1506	83r	
John Skipton	1507	83r	
Thomas Bailey	1507	83r	
John Eyrden	1507	83r	
John Porter	1507	83r	

name	date of entry	folio	notes
William Swan	1508	83r	
Henry Strother	1508	83r	
Robert Bennet	1509	79r	same name also on fol. 80r
William Carr	1509	83r	
Cuthbert Heighington	1509	83r	
Thomas Heighington	1509	83r	
Robert Willy	1510	79v	also on fol. 80r with family
Thomas Trewitt	1510	80r	with family
John Hamsterley ³⁸	1510	80r	with family
Richard Wheldon	1510	82v	with family
Henry Brown	1511	-	not recorded
William Brown	1511	-	not certainly identified
Henry Wylam	1511	83r	
Alexander Durham	1512	-	not recorded
John Maynard	1512	-	not recorded
Nicholas Winter	1512	82r?	an uncertain identification ³⁹
Richard Crosby	1513	-	not recorded
John Duckett	1513	-	not recorded
William Wylam	1513	83r	also fol. 80v Wylam interlined among Watsons
William Holome	1514	-	not recorded
Thomas Lax	1514	-	not recorded
Richard Hindmarsh	1514	-	not recorded
William Forster	1515	82r	
Roger Bell	1515	82r	
Stephen Marley	1515	82v	
Cuthbert Dove	1516	82r	
John Todd	1516	82r	
William Hackforth	1516	82r	
John Bell	1517	82r	
Thomas Spark	1517	82r	
John Elvet	1517	82r	
John Blount	1517	82r	
John Burgh	1518	82r	
Edward Harding	1518	82r	
William Chilton	1518	82r	
William Bennett	1518	82r	

name	date of entry	folio	notes
George Cornforth	1518	82r	
William Brompton	1519	82r	
William Ditchburn	1519	82r	
Christopher Reysley	1521	82r	
William Todd	1521	82r	
William Brantingham	1521	82r	also named on fol. 83r
Edward Hebburn	1521	83r	

Figure 10: Monks of Durham 1498-1521, arranged by folio

name	date of entry	folio	notes
Robert Beynley	1498	-	not certainly identified
Richard Wolfe	1498	-	not recorded
Cuthbert Marshall	1499	-	not recorded
Henry Bek	1499	-	not recorded
William Young	1499	-	not recorded
Roland March	1504	-	not recorded
Henry Brown	1511	-	not recorded
William Brown	1511	-	not certainly identified
Alexander Durham	1512	-	not recorded
John Maynard	1512	-	not recorded
Richard Crosby	1513	-	not recorded
John Duckett	1513	-	not recorded
William Holome	1514	-	not recorded
Thomas Lax	1514	-	not recorded
Richard Hindmarsh	1514	-	not recorded
Robert Bennet	1509	79r	same name also on 80r
Robert Willy	1510	79v	also at 80r with family

name	date of entry	folio	notes
Thomas Trewitt	1510	80r	with family
John Hamsterley ⁴⁰	1510	80r	with family
Henry Willy	1499	80v	
Henry Swalwell	1498	81v	
William Hartlepool	1499	81v	
Thomas Gateshead	1503	81v	family entry
Robert Spink	1504	81v	family entry
John Brown	1504	81v	family entry
Peter Lee	1504	81v	family entry
Thomas Burrell	1500	82r	
Christopher Hemingbrough	1500	82r	
Richard Murton	1501	82r	
Edward Hindmarsh	1501	82r	called in entry Hymners
Ralph Blakeston	1501	82r	
James Duckett	1502	82r	
Christopher Willy	1502	82r	
William Pickering	1502	82r	
John Castell	1503	82r	
John Bailey	1503	82r	
Nicholas Winter	1512	82r?	An uncertain identification ⁴¹
William Forster	1515	82r	
Roger Bell	1515	82r	
Cuthbert Dove	1516	82r	
John Todd	1516	82r	
William Hackforth	1516	82r	
John Bell	1517	82r	
Thomas Spark	1517	82r	
John Elvet	1517	82r	
John Blount	1517	82r	
John Burgh	1518	82r	
Edward Harding	1518	82r	
William Chilton	1518	82r	
William Bennett	1518	82r	
George Cornforth	1518	82r	
William Brompton	1519	82r	
William Ditchburn	1519	82r	

name	date of entry	folio	notes
Christopher Reysley	1521	82r	
William Todd	1521	82r	
William Brantingham	1521	82r	also 83r
Richard Wheldon	1510	82v	with family
Stephen Marley	1515	82v	
William Edwards	1505	83r	
Christopher Blunt	1505	83r	
Robert Eland	1506	83r	
Thomas Young	1506	83r	
Thomas Carr	1506	83r	also named on fol. 80v
John Babbington	1506	83r	
John Skipton	1507	83r	
Thomas Bailey	1507	83r	
John Eyrden	1507	83r	
John Porter	1507	83r	
William Swan	1508	83r	
Henry Strother	1508	83r	
William Carr	1509	83r	
Cuthbert Heighington	1509	83r	
Thomas Heighington	1509	83r	
Henry Wylam	1511	83r	
William Wylam	1513	83r	also fol. 80v Wylam interlined among Watsons
Edward Hebburn	1521	83r	
William Kendal	1498	83r col. b	

The entry of monks' names between 1498 and 1521 lacks the consistency of the earlier lists. There are several gaps in the recording. The men professed in 1498 and 1499 were incompletely entered as were those professed between 1511 and 1514. Among the latter, only three men were recorded. Uncertainty surrounds the entry of Nicholas Winter and the brothers

Henry and William Wylam were entered on folio 83r by William in his own hand and so are probably a special case.⁴² Groups of monks were still recorded but there is no obvious system. Thus the entry at the head of folio 82r seems to revert to regular monastic recording typical of earlier periods. It comprises eleven names of monks professed between c.1500 and c.1503, reading from left to right across the page rather than up and down the columns. The next series of entries considered chronologically is the small group of six monks (who are entered with mention of their families) beginning with Thomas Gateshead, mid-way down folio 81v. It almost looks as if a new sort of recording has been established, but this group of family entries does not include all the contemporaries of the men named and also includes the monk William Elvet, who entered the monastery about 1497 and is also recorded on folio 79v. The next group in point of time is found on folio 83r col. a and begins with the name of William Edwards. It includes the names of fourteen men professed c.1505-9. The majority of the names of men professed between 1510 and 1514 are not recorded in the *Liber Vitae*. The men professed between 1516 and 1518 were entered, beginning with William Forster, in order of seniority, on folio 82r, following on from the names of men professed in 1505-7. After this the page continues with names of people who are not monks of Durham, whilst the names of more monks are interspersed with lay-people in the next large entry which completes the writing of this folio. Thus the entries for this period show little consistency.

Even the irregular entering of the names of the monks of Durham in the *Liber Vitae* came to an end after c.1521. Men entering the monastery after that date, and there were forty-two, were generally not entered into the

manuscript, although a few names may have been added informally rather in the way that non-monastic names appear to have been entered. For example the name John Blyth, written in a sixteenth-century hand on folio 64r, may be that of a man who entered the monastery in 1531, but it is impossible to be sure. Again, a George Cuthbert entered the monastery in 1528, lived across the Reformation, becoming a minor canon of the new cathedral foundation. There is a long list in a single sixteenth century hand on folio 83v that includes the name of George Cuthbert, but the identity of this person with the monk is not clear.

To sum up- examination of the manuscript of the *Liber Vitae* shows that, from the early twelfth century until the late fifteenth (with one interruption in the fourteenth) the names of monks of Durham were generally entered into the book soon after their profession in order of seniority on pages set aside for that purpose. Entries were made in batches every two or three years, probably with the aid of individual profession slips completed by or for every monk following a tradition established soon after the re-foundation of the Benedictine community in 1083. The regular recording was interrupted only twice, between c.1320 and c.1383 and after c.1485. On the first occasion recording continued erratically, with groups of names placed haphazardly in the manuscript until the original method was restored in c.1381. On the second occasion, the recording becomes similarly erratic until c.1520 when it effectively ceased.

By contrast the entry of non-monastic names during the entire period c.1300 through to the Dissolution displays none of the regularity of the

monastic lists pre-1485. Although pages were set aside for the names of non-monks, there was no real feeling that a page should be started and completed before another was begun. Several pages could be in use together. Thus folio 62v was begun but not completed in the late twelfth century. A few names were added in the thirteenth century, then the page remained unused until two further scribes made entries in the sixteenth century. In contrast folio 60v, also begun but not completed in the twelfth century, was largely completed in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Pages which had been left blank in the twelfth century were also begun but by no means completed. Thus folio 65r was begun with the name of Richard Bury, bishop of Durham (1333-45) in a hand of the mid- to late-fourteenth century. A second name was added, in a different hand, sometime in the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries and then nothing added until two scribes made entries in the sixteenth century. The page remains incomplete, with only eight lines of text.

During the period c.1300-1539, names were generally entered baldly, without identifying inscriptions, occasionally even without surnames, although prominent persons were usually identified by their title. Names were often entered in groups, that is several were entered together in one hand. This could be the case when names were interpolated onto a page or when they were entered as part of an on-going list. In some cases groups of entries have some expressions of family or other relationships; these might be words expressing relationships, most often '*x, uxor eius*', or the use of pen boxes and brackets to indicate groups. The scribe of the complex entry on ^{the} lower part of folio 81r both used expressions of relationship and employed brackets to create sub-groups in the early sixteenth century.

Only a tiny minority of the non-monastic entries in the *Liber Vitae* is explicitly dated.⁴³ The dating of the individual entries by palaeographical analysis and the identification of the persons recorded offers the only way of assessing the chronology of the use of the book, and its differing periods of popularity or stagnation.⁴⁴ In the 250 years under review there were some 1,688 non-monastic entries made in the manuscript. Rough totals of entries dated by century are as follows:

fourteenth century 415

fifteenth century 514

sixteenth century 659

This indicates that the book continued and even increased in use as the period progressed. If it is borne in mind that the numbers for the sixteenth century are for less than the first forty years (since the priory was dissolved at the end of 1539), the total of names added indicates a marked increase in the use of the book for non-monastic entries at this time. This is made obvious if the totals for each century are shown as average entries per year.

fourteenth century 415 (average 4 p.a.)

fifteenth century 514 (average 5 p.a.)

sixteenth century 659 (average 17 p.a.)

It is possible to refine these figures a little to show that names were not added regularly throughout each century, but that the book suffered periods of stagnation or non-use. In what follows the palaeographical dating of the

entries has been tabulated to indicate periods of use and disuse of the manuscript. Palaeographical dating indicates at best periods, rather than hard dates. For purposes of comparison, a series of conventions have been devised to cover and interpret the dating. Thus a palaeographical date of 'late thirteenth century to early fourteenth century' equals 1275-1325; 'first half of the fourteenth century' equals 1300-1350 and 'second half of the fourteenth century' equals 1350-1399. But 'early fourteenth century' becomes 1300-1340; 'mid-fourteenth century' becomes 1340-60 and 'late fourteenth century' becomes 1360-1399 and so 'early to mid- fourteenth century' has become 1300-1360. In converting the palaeographical dates these conventions produce two, not always compatible, sets of figures. In what follows the numbers of entries only datable by century are excluded from the totals used. The entries dateable by half century and those by quarter century are employed to plot the usage. These totals are then compared roughly with the totals for those hands considered early (the first forty years, 00-40), mid- (twenty years across the mid-point 40-60), or late (the last forty years 60-99). Each century will be considered in turn.

a) The fourteenth century

For the fourteenth century there are 415 entries in all. Fifty-three of these are excluded because they are only dated to the century as a whole. The entries dated to the half-century (121 entries in all) break down as follows:

1275-1325 81 entries

1300-1350 4 entries

1350-1399 36 entries

This breakdown indicates extensive usage around the turn of the century or before, falling away markedly in the first half of the century, to revive somewhat after 1350. The totals based on dateable hands assessed by quarter century (81 entries in all) support and refine this assessment,

1300-1325 49 entries

1325-1350 2 entries

1350-1375 70 entries

1375-1399 30 entries

The extensive usage of the *Liber Vitae* observable at the beginning of the century in the first group of figures is seen here also, with a similar marked falling off across the middle of the century. The revival of the book's fortunes seems more closely dateable here to the period after c.1375. The final group of entries arranged by period (145 in all) falls less obviously into the pattern so far established,

1300-1340 0 entries

1300-1360 19 entries

1340-1360 25 entries

1340-1399 107 entries

1360-1399 1 entry

The early period is markedly low on entries, whilst the period around the middle of the century shows a number of additions; however the revival of the use of the book in the second half of the century so marked in the first sets of figures, is nevertheless again observable.

b) The fifteenth century

The fifteenth-century records assessed in the same manner show similar variations. There are 420 entries in total if those dated only to the century as a whole (ninety-four entries) are excluded. The three half-century totals (301 entries in all) are as follows:

1375-1425 85 entries

1400-1450 12 entries

1450-1499 204 entries

These figures indicate a strong usage around the turn of the fifteenth century, presumably continuing on from that observable in the last quarter of the previous century; once again falling away markedly in the first half of the century, to revive dramatically after 1450. The totals based on hands assessed by quarter century, although a small sample (forty entries) support this assessment although the end of century revival is much less marked:

1400-1425 34 entries

1425-1450 0 entries

1450-1475 0 entries

1475-1499 6 entries

The group of entries by period (forty-one entries) is once again more difficult to relate to the pattern so far established:

1400-1430 0 entries

1400-1460 0 entries

1440-1460 37 entries

1440-1499 2 entries

1460-1499 2 entries

In this breakdown the early period is markedly low on entries; the period around the middle of the century shows a large number of additions. These entries, with the high total for 1440-60, might suggest a revival closer to the middle rather than the end of the century.

c) The sixteenth century

The first half of the sixteenth century shows major additions to the book. The total number of entries is 659, and there are in this case none dated to the century as a whole, since the use of the book does not extend beyond the dissolution of the priory in 1539. The two half-century totals are as follows:

1475-1525 409 entries

1500-1550 107 entries

This breakdown indicates a strong usage around the turn of the century or later, falling away towards the middle of the century. The totals based on the dates of hands assessed by quarter century support and refine this assessment:

1500-1525 28 entries

1525-1550 0 entries

The extensive usage of the *Liber Vitae* in the first years of the century observable in the first group of figures is seen here also, with marked falling off in the next quarter. Put together, these figures indicate that interest in the *Liber Vitae* though declining was maintained until close to the Dissolution in 1539.

To summarise, it would appear that, although interest in the *Liber Vitae* can be demonstrated throughout the period, the numbers of names included varied considerably over time. They peaked in the later fourteenth and into the early fifteenth century followed by a lull, with a marked renewal of interest in the second half of the fifteenth century, which strengthened in the early part of the sixteenth century.

Notes to chapter 3

¹ Details of the contents of the manuscript can be found in Appendix 2.

² Gullick (forthcoming) and the references therein.

³ Thompson (1881-4), p. 84 and Briggs (1987), pp. 5-6 assert that there were two hands at work. But they differ over the identification of the work of each scribe. A position maintained but refined by Briggs in Briggs (forthcoming). Jan Gerchow considers one or two scribes were concerned with the production of the manuscript, Gerchow (forthcoming). Michael Gullick does not discuss the number of scribes, Gullick (forthcoming).

⁴ Brown (1990), pp. 48-9.

⁵ Briggs (1987), Appendix I, pp. 299-379, contains an edition of the *Liber Vitae* which includes identifications of the people named. The dating of the creation of the manuscript is additionally discussed, pp. 12-13.

⁶ Briggs (1987), p. 13.

⁷ Gullick (forthcoming). Briggs recognises the hand on fols. 36r and 44v-45r, Briggs (forthcoming).

⁸ Briggs (1987), pp. 6 and 13.

⁹ Briggs (1987), unnumbered, in a section entitled, 'The Sequence of Additions to the Original Liber Vitae, to c.1200'.

¹⁰ Ker (1957), no. 147a, p.187.

¹¹ Whitelock (1979), no. 150; Ker (1957), no. 147a, p.187.

¹² Ker (1957), no. 147b, p. 187.

¹³ Gullick (forthcoming) says that the scribe has been identified as one of the scribes of the Durham Ritual, dubbed 'M2', and that the lines in question may have been written c.990-1018, see Brown (1969), pp. 34-5.

¹⁴ Ker (1957), no. 147c, pp.187-8.

¹⁵ Namely to fols. 4-14v, 15v, 16r, 17v, 19r-v, 20v, 21v, 23v, 24v, 25r-27v, 29r, 30v, 32v, 33, 36r-38v, 39v, 40v, 41r, 44v-49r, 50v, 51r-59r, 60v, 61r-63r, 64v, 66r-68r, 69v-72r.

¹⁶ Symeon wrote the *conventiones* appearing on folio 36v, lines 1-15 and 20-4 and those on folio 52v, lines 7-20, and 25-9. For an account of Symeon's career see Rollason (2000), pp. xlv-l. This draws on the work of Michael Gullick, who has identified the hand of Symeon in Durham manuscripts, see Gullick (1994), and Gullick (1998).

¹⁷ This and other documents on this folio were subsequently copied onto fol. 48r; for details see Appendix 2.

¹⁸ For a discussion of this document see Offler (1968), pp. 6-15 and Bates (1994), pp. 112-13.

¹⁹ See Appendix 2.

²⁰ Gullick (forthcoming).

²¹ Piper (forthcoming). Gullick in a paper to the Reginald colloquium at Durham in 1999 discussed and identified Reginald's hand. The dispute over Tynemouth of which the second document is a part, was settled in favour of St Albans in 1174.

²² Rollason (2000), pp. 244-6. For discussion of the account see Offler (1962), esp. pp. 190-91.

²³ See Offler (1968), pp. 39-47 for the documents and an account of the dispute.

²⁴ The exceptions to this generalisation are the two lists of succour monks, each of which has a descriptive heading on fols. 56r and 61r.

²⁵ The identification of the monks of Durham is made possible by the researches of Alan Piper.

²⁶ Piper (forthcoming)

²⁷ DUL MS Cosin V.II.6; see Rollason (2000), pp. xvii-xviii and 4-15. For discussion of the two lists see Piper (1998), pp. 161-7 and 172-5 with an edition of the separate lists on pp. 176-185.

²⁸ Piper (1998), pp. 168-9.

²⁹ Gullick (forthcoming)

³⁰ For discussion of these lists see Atkins (1940), pp. 212-20.

³¹ Gullick (1994), p. 106 n. 53.

³² Gullick (forthcoming)

³³ Gullick (forthcoming) and above p. 80.

³⁴ The text on this leaf is very damaged, and part of it can only be read in reverse through the fragments of parchment adhering to fol. 64r. It was deciphered for me by Prof. Paul Harvey, who kindly provided me with a transcription. He dates the original text to the late fifteenth century. For discussion of the Cottonian version see Tite (forthcoming)

³⁵ For discussion of the significance of this text see below, pp. 235 ff.

³⁶ For discussion of the significance of these lists see below, pp. 164 ff.

³⁷ For a discussion of profession slips at Durham see Piper (1994) p. 89 and Piper (1998) p.166.

³⁸ There were two men named John Hamsterley, who were monks of Durham. The first entered the community c.1476 and died between 26 Janx30 May 1501, his name does not appear on these tables. The second entered the community in c.1510. The name John Hamsterley occurs six times in the *Liber Vitae*, of these four occurrences relate to one of the two monks. John Hamsterley senior is recorded on fols. 78r, 79v and with his family on 81v. John Hamsterley junior is recorded with his family on fol. 80r.

³⁹ The name is entered on fol. 82r as part of a stint comprising at least seven lines and containing at least twenty names in addition to that of Nicholas Winter. A Nicholas Winter joined the monastic community at Durham in c. 1512. It follows that the name recorded in the *Liber Vitae* could be that of the monk of Durham. Against this is that although the page and indeed the stint does include the names of other monks of Durham none were immediate contemporaries of Winter, whose names were not generally entered in the *Liber Vitae* (as can be seen in figures 9 and 10). The monastic The name is followed by those of Thomas Winter and John Winter so, although no relationships are expressed this could be a family group. Unfortunately I have not as yet found any evidence identifying Thomas or John Winter, which might be expected to clarify the situation. At present no certainty can be expressed over whether the name in the *Liber Vitae* does represent the monk of Durham.

⁴⁰ There were two men named John Hamsterley, who were monks of Durham. The first entered the community c.1476 and died between 26 Janx30 May 1501, his name does not appear on these tables. The second entered the community in c.1510. The name John Hamsterley occurs six times in the *Liber Vitae*, of these four occurrences relate to one of the two monks. John Hamsterley senior is recorded on fols. 78r, 79v and with his family on 81v. John Hamsterley junior is recorded with his family on fol. 80r.

⁴¹ The name is entered on fol. 82r as part of a stint comprising at least seven lines and containing at least twenty names in addition to that of Nicholas Winter. A Nicholas Winter joined the monastic community at Durham in c.

1512. It follows that the name recorded in the *Liber Vitae* could be that of the monk of Durham. Against this is that although the page and indeed the stint does include the names of other monks of Durham none were immediate contemporaries of Winter, whose names were not generally entered in the *Liber Vitae* (as can be seen in figures 9 and 10). The monastic The name is followed by those of Thomas Winter and John Winter so, although no relationships are expressed this could be a family group. Unfortunately I have not as yet found any evidence identifying Thomas or John Winter, which might be expected to clarify the situation. At present no certainty can be expressed over whether the name in the *Liber Vitae* does represent the monk of Durham.

⁴² It is not clear when this entry was made, it seems unlikely that Wylom would have access to the *Liber Vitae* soon after he was professed but perhaps later he rectified the omission of his name from the manuscript.

⁴³ There is a date at the top of fol. 81r but it does not relate to all the entries on the page.

⁴⁴ I owe my information on the dating of the hands employed in the manuscript to Dr Ian Doyle. He is not, however, responsible for the use to which his palaeographical judgements are put. This is obviously an imprecise dating and suffers from all the problems found in palaeographical dating of hands. Further, in my original discussions of the hands with Dr Doyle no single method of dating was used. Thus some hands are dated to a century, some to fifty years and others more imprecisely to early-, mid- or late- in a century. I have taken these estimates and used them to suggest periods of activity in the use of the book.

Chapter 4. The *Liber Vitae* in context: the historical background of the manuscript

In discussing the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Simon Keynes makes the assumption that, after the book's original compilation in the early eleventh century, it was in 'continuous' use as a record of names until the dissolution of Hyde Abbey in 1539. Indeed, he goes out of his way to emphasise that 'it was the continuous and intensive use made of the book, from the early 1030s to the late 1530s, that most endeared me to it as a historical record of the community to which it belonged.'¹ Keynes's presumption that the New Minster *Liber Vitae* was in continuous use, with overtones, although not articulated by him, of accompanying regularity of observance and reassuring continuity of practice, is paralleled by similar presumptions on the part of commentators on the function and use of the Durham *Liber Vitae*. In the first edition of the manuscript for the Surtees Society published in 1841 Stevenson made a plea for the importance of the *Liber Vitae* based in part on the assumption of its continuous use:

The volume now presented to members of the Surtees Society...has many claims upon their attention....It is natural to regard with some interest a document which, for more than six centuries, lay upon the High Altar of the Cathedral Church of St Cuthbert, whether at Lindisfarne, Chester-le-Street, or Durham, and which presents a connected, though a brief, record of the piety and generosity of our ancestors during that period.²

Alan Piper makes almost the same assertion in 1998 during his discussion of

the names of the first monks of Durham included in the *Liber Vitae*. He describes how from c.1093 the names of members of the Benedictine community were added to the book and then he continues,

Almost five centuries later the author of the *Rites of Durham* recalled that the *Liber Vitae* had lain on the high altar of the cathedral, so that those named in it might be silently commemorated at the daily conventual masses; it is likely that it had been used in this way throughout the monastic period.³

These views which appear to conflate ideas of continuous existence with continuous use need to be rigorously tested. For, as we have seen in the first three chapters, the modifications to the physical form of the *Liber Vitae* and the changes observable in the manner and volume of the entry of text and names, both monastic and non-monastic would suggest, rather than continuous use and uniformity of practice and observance, phases of use and disuse, and of revival and reorganisation as successive generations found new uses for the *Liber Vitae*. To summarise briefly, the pattern displayed by the manuscript consisted of: creation in the mid-ninth century; a revival of use in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries; a restructuring of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript and the possible creation of a new volume in the 1160s; periods of stagnation broken by revivals in the late fourteenth century and finally in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. It is now necessary to discuss this pattern of use in the context of the manuscript's place within the community of St Cuthbert and alongside other documents produced there, in order to see whether it is possible to provide precise historical contexts for the creation, the restructuring and revivals of the manuscript, and whether – most

importantly – some common features can be discerned in these which might help to explain the function and importance of the book.

The context of the creation of the Anglo-Saxon book

Although the focus of this thesis is on the later Middle Ages, it is important to consider the historical context of earlier phases in the *Liber Vitae*'s history, partly because they may throw light on the nature and function of the book, partly because traditions about its function and importance may have been transmitted from earlier periods to later medieval Durham. Thus it is more than possible that early traditions of the manuscript's genesis and function were confided to Symeon of Durham in the late eleventh century, as he records in the *Libellus de exordio* how he obtained information from the clerks who formerly served the cathedral and the shrine of St Cuthbert.⁴

Unfortunately, we are handicapped by the lack of certainty as to the book's origins. The Durham tradition, recorded in the late sixteenth century in the *Rites*, that the manuscript contained 'the names of all the benefactors towards St Cuthbert's church from the first originall foundation thereof' and so derived from Lindisfarne, can hardly be taken at face value.⁵ All that can be known with reasonable certainty about the creation of the original core of the *Liber Vitae* is that it occurred somewhere in Northumbria c.840.⁶ It is not until the late tenth century that there is any certain evidence of the book's location. When land grants made in favour of St Cuthbert were entered into it, it can reasonably be assumed to have been in the possession of the Community of

St Cuthbert either at Chester-le-Street or at Durham, to which the Community moved in 995. Presumably it was already with the Community at Chester-le-Street in 934 at the time of King Athelstan's visit to the saint, when his name and those of some of his followers were entered into it.⁷

The nature of the manuscript itself indicates that it was produced in a wealthy and well-organised scriptorium. The contents of the *Liber Vitae* indicate a Northumbrian, more particularly a Bernician context. Consideration of the names entered in the original core has led Elizabeth Briggs to conclude that the manuscript was originally produced by, and for use of, the Community of St Cuthbert on Lindisfarne.⁸ However, Jan Gerchow preferred Monkwearmouth-Jarrow as the centre of production.⁹ Either centre would in theory have been capable of producing the *Liber Vitae*. Both were large and well-endowed monasteries of royal foundation, able to command considerable resources and each had traditions of major artistic production.¹⁰ Lindisfarne was founded in 635 by King Oswald for St Aidan, who came from Iona. It was the centre of the Northumbrian bishopric.¹¹ The monastery of Monkwearmouth was founded by Benedict Biscop on land granted by the king in c.673/674 and its sister monastery at Jarrow was founded in c.681. The monastery prospered; it is recorded that the joint community under Abbot Ceolfrid in c.715 consisted of some 600 brethren.¹²

For Briggs three main facts link the *Liber Vitae* with Lindisfarne. The first is the prominence afforded in the *Liber Vitae* to the names of members of the Bernician royal house, who were founders and patrons of the abbey, and their various connections. The list of *Nomina regum vel ducum* begins with the

name of Edwin, the first Christian king of Northumbria and is followed by that of King Oswald, the founder of Lindisfarne, his younger brother Oswiu and Oswiu's three sons. Anna, king of the East Angles and Æthelred, king of Mercia, also appear prominently in this list. King Anna was an ally of Oswiu and his daughter was married to Oswiu's son, Ecgfrith. King Æthelred married Oswiu's daughter, Osthryth, and together they were patrons of Barne Abbey, and caused King Oswald's body to be enshrined there.¹³ Secondly, the list of *Nomina anchoritarum*, unique amongst surviving *libri vitae*, suggests a close association with Lindisfarne. Hermits and anchorites formed an important element of the ascetic tradition of the monastery. The majority of the names identifiable in the list in the *Liber Vitae* were of men associated with Lindisfarne or its dependencies.¹⁴ Finally, the fact that the name of King Athelstan is entered into the manuscript at the head of folio 15r next to the title of the list of *Nomina regum vel ducum* indicates that the manuscript was with the Community already in the 930s, and so probably was there from the beginning. King Athelstan is known to have paid a visit to Chester-le-Street in 934 and to have made many rich gifts at the shrine of St Cuthbert and so provides a context for the entry of his name and also those of some of his followers.¹⁵ In support of Briggs' contention that the *Liber Vitae* was produced at Lindisfarne, she suggests that it is a successor to the *album* or register of the Lindisfarne community, to which Bede refers in 721 in the preface to his *Life of St Cuthbert* and which therefore gives evidence of the long tradition of commemoration practised at Lindisfarne.¹⁶

Jan Gerchow's arguments for assigning the production of the *Liber*

Vitae to Monkwearmouth-Jarrow are two-fold. For him it is important that only twenty-four names were added to the manuscript between its creation in c.840 and its revival by the Benedictine monks of Durham in the late eleventh century. He suggests that if the book had in reality been produced at Lindisfarne the community would have continued to use it. Substantial donations were made to the community after the *Liber Vitae* was compiled and individuals entered into agreements of confraternity with the community, none of which finds any place in the manuscript.¹⁷ Gerchow explains the book's creation, disuse and eventual revival by the Benedictine community in Durham by arguing that a *liber vitae* can only be meaningful to the community which produces it. If it were transferred to another community it could only be revived after its own history had been forgotten or it had come to acquire importance for its new owner. This, he argues, could have been the case with the Durham *Liber Vitae*, created at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, obtained by the community of St Cuthbert and revived after the transformation of that community in the late eleventh century, which perceived a need to associate itself to the Anglo-Saxon past.¹⁸ Secondly, he points to the importance in the volume of the abbots of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. He notes that of the eight known abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow only the name of Sicgrith of Wearmouth (c.686-98) is missing, whilst of the sixteen known bishops and abbots of Lindisfarne between 635 and 870 only eleven appear in the three abbot lists in the *Liber Vitae*. He also points to the prominence assigned in the manuscript to the names of Benedict Biscop, founder of Wearmouth, whose name appears first in the list of *Nomina abbatum*, and to that of his successor, Ceolfrið, whose name heads the list of *Nomina abbatum gradus*

praesbyteratus.

Gerchow is aware of the need to explain the transfer of the book to the community of St Cuthbert. He suggests that it might have been one of the gifts offered by King Athelstan to the shrine of the saint at Chester-le-Street in 934. In his view, this would account, also, for the prominent position of Athelstan's name in the *Liber Vitae*, placed there in recognition that he was the donor of the manuscript. The king gave the vill of Wearmouth at this time, which included the site of the ancient abbey of Monkwearmouth, so it is possible that the manuscript came from the library there.¹⁹ Alternatively it might have been transferred to the community of St Cuthbert when the community was involved in the election of the Viking King Guthred, which occurred sometime after 786 when the community was settled at Crayke (Yorks.). The story, which is told in the *Libellus de exordio*, goes on to say that soon after the election the community and the body of St Cuthbert were established at Chester-le-Street and King Guthred, with the support of King Alfred of Wessex, gave to St Cuthbert's church 'all the land between Wear and Tyne' together with extensive rights of sanctuary.²⁰ 'All the land between Tyne and Wear' would certainly include the sites of the abbeys of Jarrow and Monkwearmouth and so might provide a context for the transfer of the *Liber Vitae* to the community of St Cuthbert.²¹

Gerchow's ideas are at best speculative. The entry of the name of King Athelstan on folio 15r might indicate that he had donated the *Liber Vitae* to the community of St Cuthbert, but in the face of the explicit inscriptions in other manuscripts donated by the king is not totally convincing. The ninth- or early-

tenth century gospel book now London B.L. Cotton MS Otho B. ix, has an inscription in Latin which records its donation to St Cuthbert in the following terms: 'Athelstan, the pious king of the English, gives this gospel book to St Cuthbert, the bishop'.²² Gerchow's argument to explain the disuse of the manuscript is at first sight convincing. But when this disuse is compared with the later history of use and disuse within the Benedictine community of Durham after 1083, it appears instead to be part of a recognisable pattern that does not require the book to be taken over by a second monastic house to explain it. Elizabeth Briggs admits the prominence of the name of Benedict Biscop in the *Liber Vitae* but notes that the name 'Biscopus' used in the list of *Nomina abbatum*, is not the name by which he is known in the Jarrow sources, which generally refer to him as 'Benedictus'.²³

Gerchow himself admits that his case is not conclusive and recognises the force of Briggs' argument in relation to the list of *Nomina anchoritarum*. He further admits that the community of St Cuthbert is the only Northumbrian monastery known to have a continuous history in the Anglo-Saxon period and with whom the *Liber Vitae* had a home by the early tenth century. By implication he sees the production of the manuscript in the Lindisfarne scriptorium as the most economical explanation for its creation.²⁴ As the debate stands at present, Briggs' view that the *Liber Vitae* was a product of the Lindisfarne scriptorium is the more convincing. It is necessary now to explore the historical evidence to establish a possible historical context for its production there.

The history of the community of St Cuthbert is known principally from

the accounts of it in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, a work of the mid-eleventh century and the *Libellus de exordio atque procursu istius, hoc est Dunelmensis, ecclesie*, written in the early years of the twelfth century by the Durham monk, Symeon.²⁵ From these works it is possible to see the history of the community from the later eighth century in terms of a series of movements and relocations in response to Viking attacks. The first attack occurred in 793. The attacks were renewed and in 875 the community was forced to desert the island of Lindisfarne and to begin a seven-year migration which led eventually to an establishment at Chester-le-Street between 883-995 before the threat of further Viking interference forced the move to Durham in 995.²⁶ It is difficult to assess the effect that the Viking incursions may have had on the organisation and quality of monastic life practised by the community, and even more difficult to assess what effect they might have had on its ability to produce a volume like the *Liber Vitae*. The account in the *Libellus de exordio* of the Viking attack on Lindisfarne in 793 describes great destruction and loss of life.²⁷ Although it is true that the attack on the island monastery caused widespread consternation at the time, perhaps this account is too highly coloured and was deliberately made so to enhance the account of the retribution meted out by St Cuthbert on the raiders, which immediately follows it.²⁸ Further, the community was not destroyed but was in fact able to reorganise and monastic life continued on the island, as the author of the *Libellus de exordio* goes on to explain:

So the church of Lindisfarne was ravaged and despoiled of its ornaments, but nevertheless for a long time afterwards an episcopal see remained there with the holy body of the blessed Cuthbert and those

monks who had been able to escape from the hand of the barbarians.²⁹

The point about the continuity of the line of bishops is reinforced as the *Libellus de exordio* goes on to describe how eleven years after the raid Bishop Higbald, who had been bishop for twenty-two years, died. The text continues by naming his successors, Bishop Ecgberht (802-21), Bishop Heathured (821-30) and Bishop Ecgred (830-45).³⁰ The *Libellus de exordio* describes Bishop Ecgred in the following terms: 'He was a man of noble birth and strenuous and effective in his actions, and more than his predecessors he strove to adorn and enrich the church of father Cuthbert with donations of land and property'.³¹

In the period when the *Liber Vitae* was produced, around 840, the testimony of the *Libellus de exordio* indicates that the community of Lindisfarne had completely recovered from the effects of the Danish raid in 793 and had, in Bishop Ecgred, a pastor of especial drive and particular devotion to the community and fame of St Cuthbert. Not only does the period of Bishop Ecgred's episcopate provide a general context for the possible production of the *Liber Vitae* on Lindisfarne, but the sources for the history of Lindisfarne offer insights into a more particular set of circumstances which might have had a bearing on any book created there at that time. It is possible that during Ecgred's episcopate the Northumbrian see was moved from Lindisfarne to Norham. The evidence is contained in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* which describes Bishop Ecgred's activities with regard to Norham, as follows:

At this time...bishop Ecgred... transported a certain church, originally

built by St Aidan in the time of King Oswald, from the isle of Lindisfarne to Norham and there rebuilt it, and translated to that place the body of St Cuthbert and [that] of King Ceolwulf and gave the vill itself to the holy confessor with two other vills Jedburgh and Old Jeddart and whatever pertains to them...³²

The *Historia* further records that the bishop also gifted Gainford, Cliffe and Wycliffe to the saint.³³ The gift of Norham to the saint is also described in the *Libellus de exordio*, but in a modified form. Symeon states that Bishop Ecgred built a church at Norham, dedicated it to SS Peter and Cuthbert, that he translated the body of King Ceolwulf into it, and that he gave the vill to St Cuthbert.³⁴ Although the *Historia* does not mention the movement of the see, the translation of the two principal saints, and also the original church of the founder of Lindisfarne, strongly suggest a relocation of the community at this time. Independent testimony for the move comes from the *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum*, a list of the burial places of the English saints. This list in its present form dates from the eleventh century, but it is a composite and incorporates an earlier list, probably to be dated to the ninth century. An entry, deriving from this early list, states that St Cuthbert rests not at Lindisfarne but at a place called Ubbanford next to the Tweed, to be identified with Norham.³⁵

If the *Liber Vitae* were produced by the community of St Cuthbert, the movement of the see to Norham during the pontificate of Ecgred, together with the translation of the community's principal saints and the relocation of St Aidan's church, would provide a fitting context. The establishment of the community in a new church surrounded by relics of the past, parallels the form of the *Liber Vitae* which, as a fair copy of old lists, is a similar statement of

continuity and recognition of past support of the community in a new guise.

Libri vitae in general are recognised as having a liturgical function, in that the names they contain are remembered by the priest during mass.³⁶ The *Libellus de exordio* is clear that Bishop Ecgred built the church at Norham and dedicated it to SS Peter and Cuthbert.³⁷ The ceremonies associated with the dedication of the altar in the new church by the bishop would provide suitable context for the production and first use of the *Liber Vitae*.

The late eleventh and early twelfth centuries

The evidence provided by the additions to the *Liber Vitae* indicates that it was reused in the late-eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The names of the members of the Benedictine community were added to it, as were large numbers of non-monastic names. In addition confraternity agreements and other documents were also entered.³⁸ Just as the book's creation and early use can be understood in the context of a very specific historical event, so it is possible in this later period to associate the revival of the book with quite specific aspects of the history of the newly established Benedictine community which was Durham Cathedral Priory. It is possible to isolate strands in the nature of the additions made to the *Liber Vitae*, which dovetail with areas of interest/concern within the new Benedictine community at Durham.

The first area is the development of the practices of commemoration of friends and benefactors within the monastery. The second is the developing

vision of the relationship between the Benedictine community and the historic community of St Cuthbert, which the monks had effectively replaced in 1083. This relationship had itself two aspects. The first was spiritual and had to be defined in relation to the incorrupt body of the saint, his past sanctity and future importance within the community and the region. The second, although associated with the saint, was more practical, and had to do with the establishment of claims by the monks to inherit the vast properties bequeathed in the past to the saint and his community. It is necessary to deal with these points in turn.

A large proportion of the material added to the *Liber Vitae* at this time indicates that the book was part of the traditions of commemoration being developed in the new community.³⁹ First, there is the large addition of the names to the manuscript in this period, both of members of the monastic community and of non-monastic names. Secondly, there is the addition of various *conventiones*, each of which details the prayerful relationship entered into by the monks of Durham with entire religious communities and with named individuals of other monastic communities as well as with individual lay persons.

The addition of names to the *Liber Vitae* indicates that the book was being revived as a memorial book, and that names entered into it were remembered in the monastic liturgy. Confirmation of this suggestion comes from a prayer at the head of folio 26v:

Deprecamur te, Domine, sancte Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum in Spiritu Sancto, ut eorum nomina sint scripta in libro vitae.

The prayer is followed by entries of non-monastic names in a variety of hands. It seems reasonable to assume that names added on different folios and in the margins of previously completed pages were entered for the same purpose. The hope that the names recorded in the manuscript are entered in the Book of Life is a hope expressed in the entry of the names of two monks of Durham on folio 51r:

*Edwine munuc, servus dei et sancti Cuthberti, sit nomen ejus in Libro Vitae. + Edmund munuc, servus Dei et sancti Cuthberti, sit nomen ejus in Libro Vitae.*⁴⁰

The list of Durham monks in the *Liber Vitae* beginning on folio 45r, does not have any prayers attached to it which might offer some guidance as to the function of the lists. However, this early addition of names of Durham monks is paralleled by the lists created in the front of the earliest manuscript of Symeon's history of the community, the *Libellus de exordio*, completed c.1104x1109. An injunction prefacing this list makes it clear that prayerful remembrance of past and present members of the community was one of the reasons behind the recording of the names:

We beg the reader that he should deign to offer prayers to Our Lord Jesus Christ...for all those whose names he will see here, asking for the living that they may adhere more fully to their holy profession and may in future receive the reward of their virtuous perseverance, and for the dead that they may receive forgiveness for their sins and be found worthy 'to see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living'.⁴¹

The recording of *conventiones* in the *Liber Vitae* (folios 36v and 52v) between the monks of Durham and both individuals and religious

communities, expressly provides for prayers to be said on the death of one of the contracting parties, as does that made between 1081 and 1085 between Bishop William of St Calais and Abbot Vitalis of Westminster on behalf of their respective communities:

...and when any monk of Durham dies, let there be done for him at Westminster seven full offices in the convent, and let each priest sing a mass for him. Let the other brethren sing for him, each a psalter, and let the lay [brethren] who know not the psalter sing for him, each a hundred and fifty times, *Pater noster*. And this same shall the monks of Durham do for the monks of Westminster.⁴²

The lists of the names of the monks of the communities of both Worcester and Evesham, entered on folios 24v and 25r, at this time are a different manifestation of these confraternity agreements. As the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and the continental *libri vitae* make clear, monasteries in confraternity with one another maintained lists of members of these communities, so that their names might be remembered during the monastic liturgy.⁴³

The association of the *Liber Vitae* with the concerns of the new Benedictine community over the definition of their relationship with St Cuthbert and the traditions of the former community are also made obvious in two series of additions to the manuscript. The first is the list of professed monks, the second is in the additions of text. The addition of the names of professed monks of Durham to the *Liber Vitae* was so that their names might be remembered in the prayers of the community. However the positioning of the list at the end of the list of *Nomina monachorum* (folios 37r-45r) of the original compilation is surely significant. The association of the monks with

their patron St Cuthbert is again made explicit in the preface to the contemporary list in the *Libellus de exordio*, as follows:

There now follows a list of the names of the monks who presently make profession in this church in the presence of the undecayed body of St Cuthbert, and we urge that those who come after us may have the conscientiousness to remember to add to this list the names of those who, Christ willing, will have made profession in the same place in the future. ⁴⁴

Symeon stresses the importance of the monks' professions before the undecayed body of St Cuthbert, the veracity of whose claims to sanctity had been tested before his translation into the east end of the new cathedral in 1104.⁴⁵ He asks that the entry of names be continued in the future, the implication surely being for the continuation of association with the saint and the regular cementing of an already long tradition, as exemplified in his history, which follows and which all can read.

The inheritance of the spiritual tradition was without doubt important. Equally so was the need to secure for the new Durham community the endowments made to St Cuthbert and the monks of Lindisfarne. To this end the *Libellus de exordio* was partly written.⁴⁶ Towards this end also the monks entered into the production of a series of forgeries, intended to secure their rights by producing documents, in support of their claims. As part of this process it is possible to interpret the addition of the text 'Ego Willelmus...' and the later texts on folios 53-55 of the *Liber Vitae*. The 'Ego Willelmus...' document in the *Liber Vitae*, folios 53r-54r purports to be a diploma of Bishop William of St Calais concerning the foundation and endowment of the

monastery of Durham, issued in 1083. However the opening is taken verbatim from the earliest manuscript of Symeon's *Libellus* and so must be dated to after 1104x1109. It was Offler's opinion, on the basis of the palaeography of the entry in the *Liber Vitae*, that the forgery was made soon after this and probably formed a part 'of the preparation for gaining the privilege confirming the general state of the monastery which Pope Calixtus II granted in 1123'.⁴⁷

A number of features concerning these documents are of interest. First, there was a need at this time for ancient corporations to provide documentary evidence of their land claims, evidence that they did not possess, because of changes in practices of recording land transactions. Houses entered into periods of forgery, and development of documents to support legitimate claims.⁴⁸ It is reasonable to assume that those who engineered the forgeries were aware of the use of ancient altar books for recording land grants and other such matter. The *Liber Vitae* had been used in the late tenth and eleventh centuries in just this way, as folio 47 has a number of grants entered onto it. The use of the *Liber Vitae* to record spurious documents is not therefore surprising.

The varied uses to which the *Liber Vitae* was put at this period must in part be due to the nature of the Benedictine community. It was a new monastic community, with little connection with the previous community of clerks but with a heightened awareness of the importance of the traditions that it was inheriting, both as spiritual successor and also as landlord. It was a monastic community in a period of reform and definition within the monastic world and a monastic community in a region of England only imperfectly

secured by the Conquest of only twenty years previously.

The late twelfth century

The case has been made above for the reorganisation of the *Liber Vitae* in the later twelfth century, probably the 1160s or 1170s, into two volumes. A possible context for the reorganisation of the manuscript is to be found in the miracle collection compiled by Reginald of Durham and in the building activities of Bishop Hugh of le Puiset, which might be interpreted as an abortive relaunch of the cult of St Cuthbert in the third quarter of the twelfth century.

The relics of St Cuthbert had been translated into the eastern apse of the new Romanesque church of Durham on the 29th August 1104. At the death of the Bishop Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128) the nave walls had been completed, and in the five year vacancy that followed the bishop's death the monks continued with the building, financing it from their own resources, so that by 1133 the roofing of the nave was finished and the church which housed St Cuthbert's relics was largely completed.⁴⁹ The popularity of the cult of St Cuthbert during the first three-quarters of the twelfth century is exemplified by the accounts of the saint's miracles, called *The Little Book about the Wonderful Miracles of the Blessed Cuthbert which were Performed in Recent Times*, collected by Reginald of Durham, the foremost hagiographer of the monastery in this period.⁵⁰ According to Victoria Tudor, Reginald began his work not later than 1165 and completed it in the second half of 1174,

although he may have been collecting material from the early 1150s, at which time he witnessed two of Cuthbert's miracles.⁵¹

Reginald says that his reason for making the collection was that he had heard his friend Ailred of Rievaulx recount miracles of St Cuthbert not found in the histories of the saint, which he felt should be recorded. The importance of Ailred in the genesis of the work is further suggested by Reginald's declared intention of sending a draft of the collection to him.⁵² What Reginald does not mention is that Ailred was concerned with the translation in 1154 of the relics of Eata, Acca and Ealhmund at Hexham.⁵³ Miracle collections were usually kept at the tomb of the saint for literate visitors to see, and were thus an advertisement of the power of the saint and of his shrine.⁵⁴ It is interesting in this context that Reginald was at work just at the time that Bishop Hugh of le Puiset was planning major alterations to the east-end of his cathedral and by implication to the shrine of St Cuthbert.⁵⁵

Bishop Hugh of le Puiset (1153-95) has been described as 'one of the most masterful and flamboyant successors of St Cuthbert, who imparted to his see a splendour which seems to have marked it until the sixteenth century'.⁵⁶ Hugh was consecrated bishop in Rome on 20 December 1153 and formally enthroned in Durham on 22 May 1154. He died, still bishop of Durham, in 1195, when he was buried at his own request in the Chapter House. This bishop was the son of Hugh III lord of le Puiset, vicomte of Chartres and count of Corbeil and his uncles included King Stephen and Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester. His wealth and background enabled him to be a major patron of the arts.⁵⁷ Despite an episcopate which has been

presented as being marred by almost constant dispute with his chapter,⁵⁸ Bishop Hugh made major bequests to the cathedral, including over seventy manuscripts, one of which was a great four volume decorated bible.⁵⁹ He was also noted as the patron of new buildings, a fact alluded to by a contemporary chronicler, William of Newburgh.⁶⁰ The continuator of Symeon recorded that many buildings in the diocese and Durham city, including parts of the castle, were extended or renewed by him, whilst his building projects in his cathedral included the construction of the Galilee Chapel:

He contributed many ornaments to the church in which the body of the blessed Cuthbert reposes and appended to it a piece of the most beautiful workmanship, adding thereby not only to its extent but also to its elegance.⁶¹

The building was decorated with imported marble columns and provided with stained glass windows around the altars.⁶² A second detailed, possibly eye-witness account of the building of the Galilee chapel, by Geoffrey of Coldingham, supplies details of the problems that Bishop Hugh faced in the construction of the chapel. Geoffrey says that Hugh began building at the east-end of the cathedral, but that

whenever the walls were built to any height, great cracks appeared in them...which was enough to indicate to him that God and his servant Cuthbert disapproved. The work was stopped and transferred to the west, where women would be allowed to enter; so those who had not had access to the secret and holy places might gain solace from the contemplation of them.⁶³

The failure of the attempts to build a chapel at the east-end of the cathedral

and the subsequent erection of the Galilee chapel at the west end are not precisely dated, but a charter, dateable to the 1180s, mentions the chapel and its altar of St Mary, so proving that the chapel was in existence and functioning by 1189 at the latest.⁶⁴ Longstaffe suggested a date for the building of c.1175, on the basis of a comparison between the Galilee chapel and the chapel in the castle keep at Newcastle.⁶⁵ More recently Stuart Harrison proposed a date of c.1165 for the Galilee, because of the extensive use in its design of chevron ornament.⁶⁶

It is usually assumed that the structure that Bishop Hugh wished to build at the east-end of the cathedral was a Lady Chapel. It is, however, possible that he wished rather to improve access to the shrine of St Cuthbert.⁶⁷ It is certain that Bishop Hugh was interested in the area of the shrine and its development, as he had a gold and silver shrine made to house the relics of Bede.⁶⁸ It is also clear that the original design of the east end of the cathedral consecrated in 1104 made no concessions to the fact that the church housed a major relic cult, as it lacked an ambulatory, and so had no provision for the circulation of pilgrims.⁶⁹ Nor would Bishop Hugh's interest be unusual, for as Ben Nilson has shown it was often the case in cathedrals with major shrines that the bishop often took the lead and provided the money for relic translations. There are a number of parallels in the twelfth century for the relocation of relics, for example at Old St Paul's in 1140 or 1148, Westminster in 1163, St Fridewide's Priory Oxford in 1180.⁷⁰ Contemporaneously with Hugh's building work at Durham his friend Roger de Pont l'Evêque, archbishop of York, was remodelling the east end of his cathedral. This work

has disappeared but it is likely that it consisted of a chapel or row of chapels behind the high altar.⁷¹

The failure to complete the chapel at the east end of the cathedral may have been for purely architectural considerations.⁷² On the other hand it is possible to interpret the story of the failure of the eastern extension, which attributes the collapse of the work to the well-known misogyny of St Cuthbert, as a dispute between the bishop and the monks over the bishop's plans, which in the end the monks managed to frustrate.⁷³ If so, the monks' objections were clearly not to the building itself, which was in the event erected at the west-end, beyond the nave, but must have centred on the proposed changes to the east end. These would have affected access to the shrine of St Cuthbert, together with changes in the liturgy and probably a relocation of the relics, and must have emerged as the work progressed. It is difficult to imagine that any bishop would have begun such work in the face of opposition from his monastic chapter.

The preoccupations of the community in the period c.1165-1174 would appear to be with the creation of a collection of miracle stories intended to advertise the power of the shrine and person of St Cuthbert, with a major addition to their church which can be associated with the shrine of St Cuthbert, and with assumed disputes between the community and the Bishop about access to the shrine. These preoccupations do not on the face of it have any obvious bearing on the contemporary reorganisation of the *Liber Vitae*, as it is always assumed that the *Liber Vitae* was maintained on the high altar in this period as it was in the later Middle Ages.⁷⁴ Two pieces of evidence

may, however, point to its association more particularly, at this time, with the shrine of St Cuthbert. First, it is in the *Liber Vitae* that the names of the monks of Durham are entered. This is one of the principal early additions to the *Liber Vitae*, initiated around 1100, and continues to be a major feature of the book through most of the Middle Ages. It is recognised that the names were entered into the manuscript from the details on the profession slips signed by each monk and kept in the shrine of St Cuthbert.⁷⁵ The fact that the *Liber Vitae* was in the end the chosen repository of these names, despite the creation of a special and unique list in the front of the earliest manuscript of the *Libellus de exordio*, suggests that the *Liber Vitae* was kept closer to the shrine and the profession slips than the Cosin manuscript of the *Libellus* and that convenience triumphed over policy in this case. Further, the list in the *Libellus de exordio* ceases to be maintained in the 1170s, just when the *Liber Vitae* is being reorganised. Secondly, with the reorganisation of the volume in the late twelfth century, a distinct list of gifts to the shrine began to be maintained in the back of the *Liber Vitae*, again suggesting a close association between the manuscript and the shrine at this time.

It is possible that both functions, that of altar book and that of shrine book, were in fact fulfilled under the reorganisation of the manuscript that has been proposed. Such a proceeding might account for why the blank leaves were removed from the Anglo-Saxon section of the book. This section was considered venerable/ancient but essentially complete, and was placed upon the High Altar. The second volume, composed mostly of blank parchment, was envisaged as the place where new entries were to be made and was kept

in association with the shrine of St Cuthbert.

The late fourteenth-century reuse of the book

The evidence deriving from the study of the manuscript indicates that once the form of the book had been established in the later twelfth century it remained unchanged until the late fifteenth century, when an additional quire was added to it. The pattern of the entry of names indicates that between the later twelfth and later fifteenth centuries, the popularity of the book fluctuated, and that a notable revival in its use occurred in the last quarter of fourteenth century.⁷⁶ This revival can be associated with the reorganisation of the east-end of the cathedral church, which culminated in the re-dedication of the High Altar in November 1380, because the event was marked by unique additions to the *Liber Vitae*, in the form of the lists of names on folios 72v, 73r and 74r.⁷⁷

The popularity of the *Liber Vitae* for the entry of non-monastic names declined in the mid-fourteenth century to rise again c.1375 to the end of the century. This lack of use and resumption of activity in the entry of non-monastic names was paralleled in the disorder and re-establishment of the regular recording of the monastic entries between c.1320 and c.1380. Regular monastic recording was resumed with the establishment of a new monastic page on folio 74r. The whole page was compiled in two major campaigns, which it has been suggested above took place in c.1383 and after c.1400.⁷⁸

The opening formed by folios 72v-73r comprises two lists of names,

written by one hand and in a single campaign (a fact now partly obscured by the subsequent additions). The list on folio 72v is headed *Seculares* and that on folio 73r is headed *Regulares*. The heading of the first can be translated straightforwardly as 'secular persons', and the identity of those named confirms this interpretation. The second heading cannot, however, be translated 'monks' as the persons named in it are not all monks. Its scope is rather wider, including monks, canons and members of the secular clergy and so perhaps should be rendered rather 'persons in orders'. None of the monks named in the list are monks of Durham.

Many of the names in the lists are readily identifiable, and can be shown to have been those of contemporaries.⁷⁹ The composition of the *Seculares* list can be quite precisely dated. Since Henry Percy appears in the list as 'earl of Northumberland', the list must have been composed after July 1377, the date of his creation as earl. It must furthermore have been written before August 1385, after which it would have been proper to style Michael de la Pole as earl of Suffolk. If it is assumed that the list consists of names of persons who were alive at the time it was written, it must have been composed before 6 January 1381, the date of the death of Gilbert Umfraville, earl of Angus, whose name appears below those of Henry Percy and his sons at the head of the *Seculares* list.⁸⁰ It can therefore be dated between July 1377 and January 1381. The opening folios 72v-73r was clearly conceived as a unity, the *Regulares* list is written in the same hand as the *Seculares* list and so the composition of the whole opening must be between July 1377 and January 1381. The resumption of regular monastic recording, in the form of

the list on folio 74r, compiled at a similar date, is also part of this unique addition to the *Liber Vitae*.

Both *Seculares* and the *Regulares* lists include the names of many persons intimately associated with the priory. Several were in receipt of priory pensions at the time, for example Roger Fulthorpe, named in the *Seculares* list, received 40s per annum regularly between 1354/5 and 1386/7, and John de Elvet, also named in the *Seculares* list, is probably to be identified with the man who received a pension between 1350 and 1383.⁸¹ Others, although they were not in receipt of pensions, worked extensively in the priory's interests. John de Walworth, included in the *Regulares* list, for example, was a canon of Hexham and an associate of the priory over a long period. When Robert Walworth, prior of Durham from 1374, was prior of Coldingham, John was several times paid expenses for journeys made in his company. In the 1370s he was cited amongst other witnesses concerning papal investigations as to the wealth of the priory of Durham, specifically in connection with abortive attempts to appropriate the church of Hemingborough (and elsewhere) to the priory's use.⁸² Some of the names on the list, by contrast, are of men associated with specific areas of the priory's concerns, such as William Douglas, earl of Douglas (1358-84), named in the *Seculares* list, who was the protector of the priory's interests in Coldingham at a time of increasing difficulty.⁸³

The names of William Walworth (d. 1385) and John Philpot (d. 1384), both of which are entered in the *Seculares* list, are to be identified as those of prominent London merchants. William Walworth had interests in the north-

east, where he held land at Middleton St George (Co. Durham). He was constable of Durham castle and an executor of the will of Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham (1345-81).⁸⁴ The Thomas Walworth named tenth in the *Regulares* list was William's brother; he was rector of Hemingborough and later a canon of York Minster.⁸⁵ The William Walworth named eleventh in the *Regulares* list may be another family member.⁸⁶ John Philpot, by contrast, is not known for his northern associations.⁸⁷ Both he and William Walworth, however, were associated together in the re-foundation of Durham College Oxford, made possible by a generous gift of money by the aged Bishop Hatfield.⁸⁸

Nor are these the only persons whose names are on this list and who can be associated with the complex arrangements by which the advowsons of four churches were purchased from John, Lord Neville, and transferred to the support of the Durham College. William Graystones, whose name appears ninth in the *Regulares* list, was a cleric with long association with the priory, who often acted as a trustee in land transactions, and who was actively engaged in the negotiations.⁸⁹ When the status of the church of Ruddington (Notts.), one of those acquired from Neville, had to be ascertained, Thomas Annesley, whose name is also on the *Regulares* list, was employed to investigate on behalf of the priory. Thomas is not widely known but he seems to have been of the family that derived from Annesley (Notts.), which also held lands in Ruddington. Its most prominent members in the later fourteenth century were John (d. 1410), a royal retainer and a Member of Parliament, and Hugh, who was perhaps John's brother. Hugh, whose name occurs in the

Seculares list, was for a long time associated with John of Gaunt and was also a Member of Parliament.⁹⁰

Other names on the list are those of persons who, without necessarily having had close connections with the priory, nevertheless had strong northern associations. Sir Thomas Boynton, Sir Richard Tempest, and Sir John Heron were all retainers of Henry, Lord Percy, and were invited to a feast held in his honour by the abbot of Alnwick in 1376.⁹¹ William Beauchamp, Michael de la Pole, John de Ipres, and Henry del Green, who later became a prominent supporter of Richard II, were associates of or members of the retinue of John of Gaunt.⁹² Other names on the list, although their bearers cannot be identified, indicate by their surnames that they were those of men belonging to prominent local families, for example Marmaduke Lumley, and Ralph Lumley, both of whom appear in the *Regulares* list.⁹³

In short, study of the lists on folios 72v-73r reveals many close associations, both between those whose names are included and also between many of them and the priory of Durham, in the period around 1380. One important point to make, however, is that the lists are not comprehensive; they do not include the names of all the people working in the priory's interests around 1380. Thus although Roger Fulthorpe was a pensioner of Durham Cathedral Priory, not all such pensioners are listed. Although William Walworth, John Philpot, Thomas Annesley, and William Graystones were all associated in the establishment of Durham College, there were others equally involved, notably Thomas Hatfield himself, whose names are not included in the lists. Similarly only some of the retainers of Henry, Lord Percy, or John of

Gaunt are included; and Gaunt's name itself does not appear. Although illuminating, therefore, the associations between the persons named in the list and Durham Cathedral Priory do not tell us why the lists were compiled.

These lists can only be explained by looking at the wider context. The prior of Durham at this time was Robert Walworth. In 1374, when he succeeded John Fossor, who had been prior for over thirty years, he found that the priory's finances had been allowed to fall into disorder, and set about controlling the situation. No new postulants were admitted for seven years.⁹⁴ The bursar's accounts for this period (1374-87) include long lists of rescheduled debts. Perhaps as part of his efforts to secure the finances of the priory, Prior Walworth persuaded the aged Bishop Hatfield to give 4000 marks for the re-establishment of the priory's house of studies in Oxford as Durham College. The old house of studies had had little endowment and had always been a financial drain on the various Durham obedientaries and on the cells, who each paid a levy towards the maintenance of students in Oxford.⁹⁵

Prior Fossor is particularly remembered amongst Durham priors for his building activity.⁹⁶ Robert Walworth inherited from Fossor a partially completed scheme for the remodelling of the choir and feretory of the cathedral that Fossor had developed with John, Lord Neville. This was probably a memorial to Neville's father Ralph, who died in 1368. The project, which was begun before 1370, was ongoing and presumably could not be aborted. It had included, in 1370, the removal of the shrine of Bede from its place beside that of St Cuthbert, to a new position in the Galilee Chapel. St Cuthbert's shrine was placed centrally in the feretory on a new base, which

was paid for by John, Lord Neville, and delivered in 1372. The re-organisation scheme culminated in the separation of the choir from the feretory with an elaborate stone screen, work on which was begun as soon as the shrine base was complete. The screen was made in London and transported to Durham; its erection took over a year and was completed only in 1380. On 8 November that year, presumably marking the end of the project, the high altar, standing against the screen's western face, was consecrated.⁹⁷

As part of these works Bishop Hatfield, who had obtained the monks' permission to be buried in the cathedral in March 1373, decided to redevelop the bishop's throne in the choir of the cathedral as his own burial place and chantry. He seems to have paid for this monument himself, as no record of it appears in the Durham accounts, and it was complete by the time of his death and burial in 1381.⁹⁸

The additions to the *Liber Vitae* of c.1380, the opening folios 72v and 73r, with the associated monastic page, make sense as part of the liturgical ceremonies to mark the end of the project. It is possible to envisage the book placed on the high altar for the reconsecration of the altar on 8 November 1380, opened at folios 72v-73r to display the names of persons (*Seculares* and *Regulares*) who had assisted the priory over the last ten, undoubtedly difficult, years.

The principal problems with this interpretation are first, why the names of all those whose labours had aided the priory were not included in the lists; and secondly why there is no evidence of the involvement of some of those

named in the list in the process of reorganisation described above. A possible explanation is that the lists on folios 72v and 73r contain the names not of all those who were involved, but of those actually present on the occasion of the reconsecration of the high altar as representatives of a wider body of active servants and well-wishers.⁹⁹ The principal movers in the reorganisation, John, Lord Neville, and his son were naturally present. Representatives of the northern nobility and gentry attended: William Douglas, Gilbert Umfraville, Henry Percy, John Heron, the Tempests, and the Hyltons, some with members of their followings. John of Gaunt did not attend but, it could be argued, he was represented by his close associates in the persons of William Beauchamp, Michael de la Pole, John of Ipres, and Henry del Green. The city of Newcastle was represented in the person of John Bishopdale, a prominent Newcastle merchant and brother of William Bishopdale who was several times mayor of the city.¹⁰⁰ Bishop Hatfield did not attend but was represented perhaps by William Walworth and John Philpot as his agents, and also by John Popham, a close relative.¹⁰¹ Others, like Nicholas Skelton, may have been of his household.¹⁰² Local religious houses sent representatives. Thus, Tynemouth Priory sent William Fenrother and William Whatknowstede, and Hexham Priory sent John de Walworth and William Bolton.¹⁰³ Some of the names which it has not proved possible to identify in the *Regulares* list may have been of men from other local religious communities. The *Regulares* list also contains the names of clergy beneficed by the priory, men such as William Baty and Thomas Walworth.¹⁰⁴ Finally, there were representatives from among the priory's servants in the persons of William Graystones, John

If this interpretation is correct, and the creation of the lists on folios 72v-73r was occasioned by the ceremonies surrounding the re-dedication of the high altar, then it was atypical of the general contents of the *Liber Vitae*. The creation of these lists indicates a conscious decision by the priory to employ the *Liber Vitae* in the ceremonies marking the re-dedication of the high altar of the cathedral. It further suggests that in the late fourteenth century the book was associated with the high altar of the church. Such an official and high-profile use of the book in 1380, however, could well have been the spur to the renewal of interest in the inclusion of names of non-monks in the book in the later fourteenth century.

The late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century interest

The renewed interest in the *Liber Vitae* in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries is evidenced by the addition of a further quire to the structure of the book and by the addition of large numbers of names. At the same time as the book was being revived for the entry of non-monastic names the regular recording of monastic names, in small groups on pages set aside for the purpose, comes to an end.¹⁰⁶ The subsequent recording of monastic names is much less regular to c.1520 and sees monastic names integrated into pages with non-monastic names. Numbers of monks were also recorded in the *Liber Vitae* at this time with members of their families. From c.1520 monastic recording effectively ceased. The fact that the recording of

monastic names changed at a time when there are major additions of non-monastic names suggests that the *Liber Vitae* was being used in new ways in this period. No specific context for the development of the *Liber Vitae* at this time has as yet been discovered. However, it is possible that developments within the monastery encouraging lay participation in aspects of the monastic liturgy may have been a contributory factor in its use.

The monastic community had liturgical and devotional links with the city of Durham, expressed most obviously in the processions and services associated with the feast of Corpus Christi and in the rogation processions which saw the monks preaching in each of the city churches in turn.¹⁰⁷ In addition the laity were able to penetrate the nave of the cathedral and made extensive use of the altars of the Galilee chapel at the west-end of the church. In this chapel also every Sunday preaching was available.¹⁰⁸ In addition, it is possible that at this period there was a more particular interest within the monastery of Durham in the relationship between lay and monastic devotion, which might provide a context for the use of the *Liber Vitae*. My research is at an early stage, the evidence is all circumstantial but is suggestive.

Between 1494 and 1501 Richard Fox was bishop of Durham. Fox was a royal servant both to King Henry VII and King Henry VIII. As a reward for his service he was appointed in succession bishop of Exeter (1487-1492), of Bath and Wells (1492-1494), of Durham (1494-1501) and of Winchester (1501-1528).¹⁰⁹ As bishop of Winchester he was noted as a church reformer and he concentrated his very considerable energies on this work after his retirement from the court in 1519.¹¹⁰ As Bishop of Bath and Wells he had been non-

resident but his involvement in the diplomatic negotiations for the marriage of Margaret Tudor to the King of Scots a year after his appointment as Bishop of Durham meant that Fox was frequently in the north. It is clear he was active in his diocese.¹¹¹ He was also interested in devotional matters, and in lay piety and its relation to the monastic life. Fox's own writings and those of his circle demonstrate this interest. His secretary and chaplain Richard Whytforde, who entered the Brigittine house of Syon, wrote *A werke for Householdiers*, in about 1513, which is an adaptation of the monastic life for the laity. In 1499, whilst bishop of Durham, Fox himself composed his *Contemplacion for Synners* which adapted monastic devotions to lay use.¹¹²

Thomas Castell (1494-1519) became prior of Durham in the same year that Fox was translated to Durham. Two features of his priorate suggest that he might also have been concerned to associate the laity with the cathedral. The first is concerned with his re-foundation of the chantry of St Helen over the abbey gate and the second his endowment of the Jesus mass. The ancient chantry of St Cross, which came to be called St Helen's, was located above the priory gateway. It was originally founded in the mid-thirteenth century by Henry Melsonby, a relative of the then prior of Durham, Thomas.¹¹³ In 1252 the endowment of this chantry was increased by Prior Bertram Middleton, who provided for the feeding of large numbers of poor people and an additional chaplain to celebrate for his own soul and for those of all the monks.¹¹⁴ The chantry, served by secular priests appointed by the prior rather than by monks, continued into the late fifteenth century, records of collations being entered into the prior's register.¹¹⁵ Prior Castell rebuilt the priory gate

and re-founded the chantry for two priests, but also modified its purpose which involved the laity. The priests were to administer the Eucharist in two daily masses to lay people and to hear confessions.¹¹⁶

The Rites of Durham state that Prior Castell was buried before the Jesus altar, which stood to the west of the rood screen in the nave of the cathedral.¹¹⁷ *The Rites* offers extended descriptions of the Jesus mass, which was celebrated at this altar every Friday throughout the year. The accounts in the *Rites* make it clear that this mass was elaborately celebrated by a choir with organ accompaniment, the organs being housed in a loft to the north of the altar. To the south of the altar above the Neville chantry was the prior's pew, which enabled him to hear the Jesus mass. The altar had its own vestments and was decorated with an altarpiece showing the Passion of Christ. In addition to the mass on every Friday after Compline an anthem called the Jesus anthem was sung before the altar.¹¹⁸ Prior Castell purchased two mills, known as the Jesus mills which he gave to the priory, so that he might be remembered in the Jesus mass.¹¹⁹ He further diverted revenues to the mass and antiphon that it might be celebrated with candles and the ringing of bells.¹²⁰ The diversion of revenues suggests that Prior Castell was personally interested in the devotion to the Name of Jesus, but the votive mass would have been of interest to the laity because it was heavily indulgenced.¹²¹

It is possible that Castell's interest in the devotion was stimulated by Richard Fox. The devotion was raised to the status of a liturgical feast in the province of York in 1489.¹²² There is no evidence that the feast was

celebrated at Durham, but Richard Fox's connections would indicate that he might have been associated with it, or at least might have been familiar with it. The feast was patronised by Lady Margaret Beaufort and it is possible that the office of the feast was written by Dr Henry Homby at one time dean of Lady Margaret's chapel.¹²³ Fox had some association with Lady Margaret and was an executor of her will.¹²⁴ It is also the case that in 1502 Lady Margaret obtained a letter of confraternity from the prior and convent of Durham.¹²⁵ The evidence is circumstantial but suggests that at the end of the fifteenth century both the prior and bishop of Durham would have had an interest in promoting the involvement of the laity in aspects of the monastic liturgy. In this context the revival of the *Liber Vitae* for the entry of non-monastic names becomes comprehensible.

In conclusion the initial creation and the subsequent modifications of the *Liber Vitae* indicate periods of interest in the book, interspersed with periods in which it falls into abeyance. The periods of popularity in two cases at least, namely the original creation and the revival of the late fourteenth century can be linked to movements within the monastic community, most likely the recreation of the shrine and the diocesan church at Norham in the mid-ninth century and the re-dedication of the High Altar in 1380. The twelfth century usage appears to be linked initially to the developing traditions of the newly established Benedictine community and later to the development of the shrine of St Cuthbert. At present the strong development of the late fifteenth century cannot be linked to any particular impulse within the monastic community. It appears to be in each case an effort by the community to reach

out towards the locality and involve persons in the prayers and commemorative practices of the monastery. The second part of this thesis will be directed to testing this hypothesis.

Notes to chapter 4

¹ Keynes (forthcoming).

² Stevenson (1841), pp. vii-viii.

³ Piper (1998), pp. 161-2.

⁴ Rollason (2000), pp. 104-5.

⁵ Fowler (1903), p. 16. Briggs (forthcoming), draws attention to this claim in *The Rites*.

⁶ See above, pp. 102-4.

⁷ See above, p. 103.

⁸ For the most recent discussion see Briggs (forthcoming).

⁹ Gerchow (forthcoming). David Dumville also assigns manuscripts to Monkwearmouth rather than Lindisfarne, see Dumville (1999), pp. 64-80.

¹⁰ The discussion of the artistic traditions of Lindisfarne and Monkwearmouth-Jarrow and of the manuscripts which might have been produced there is a complex one. For a summary of the background with discussions of the main manuscripts and relevant bibliography see Webster and Backhouse (1991), pp. 110-132.

¹¹ Mayr-Harting (1991), pp. 94-6.

¹² Mayr-Harting (1991), pp. 152-6.

¹³ Briggs (forthcoming).

¹⁴ Briggs (forthcoming).

¹⁵ Briggs (forthcoming).

¹⁶ Briggs (forthcoming). Bede refers to the *album* of Lindisfame in the preface to his *Life of St Cuthbert*, see Colgrave (1940), p. 146 and note on p. 342.

¹⁷ Gerchow (forthcoming).

¹⁸ Gerchow (forthcoming).

¹⁹ Gerchow (forthcoming) and also Craster (1954), p. 191.

²⁰ Rollason (2000), pp.122-7 and notes.

²¹ Gerchow (forthcoming); Craster (1954), p. 189.

²² Keynes (1985), pp. 170-9.

²³ Briggs (forthcoming).

²⁴ Gerchow (forthcoming).

²⁵ Johnson South (2002) and Rollason (2000). The history of the community of St Cuthbert is known principally from materials produced within the monastery itself. It is generally appreciated that it is, therefore, often impossible to discover what actually occurred, in distinction to what the sources, pursuing their own agendas, say happened. Rollason (2000), pp. lxxvii-xci and Dobson (1973), pp.17-18.

²⁶ Rollason (2000), pp. xv-xvi, 86-91 and n. 21, 102-5, 122-3 and n. 78, 144-9 and notes.

²⁷ Rollason (2000), pp. 87 and 89.

²⁸ Rollason (2000), p. 86, n. 22.

²⁹ Rollason (2000), p. 91.

³⁰ Rollason (2000), pp. 91-3.

³¹ Rollason (2000), p. 93.

³² Johnson South (2002), pp. 49-51; Craster (1954), pp. 187-8.

³³ Johnson South (2002), pp. 49-51; Craster (1954), pp. 186-7.

³⁴ Rollason (2000), p. 93 and n. 33.

³⁵ Rollason (1978), pp. 63-4 and 68; Rollason (2000), pp. 92-3 and n. 33.

The question of the movement of the see is discussed in Johnson South (2002), p. 84.

³⁶ See below, pp. 191 ff.

³⁷ Rollason (2000), p. 93.

³⁸ See above, pp. 104 ff.

³⁹ The part played by the *Liber Vitae* in the practices of commemoration at Durham will be discussed in detail, see below Chapter 5. The present discussion is concerned merely to contextualise the use of the *Liber Vitae* in the late eleventh and twelfth century.

⁴⁰ The entry is repeated with slightly differing wording on fol. 48r.

⁴¹ Rollason (2000), pp. 5-7. The biblical quotation is to Ps. 26. 13 (Ps. 27. 16).

⁴² Thompson (1923), p. xviii.

⁴³ See below pp. 192-3 and pp. 208 ff.

⁴⁴ Rollason (2000), pp. 5-7.

⁴⁵ Battiscombe (1956), pp. 99-103.

⁴⁶ Rollason (2000), pp. lxxxv-lxxxvi; and Craster (1954), where the original endowment claimed by the monks is discussed together with the gifts of the first Norman kings.

⁴⁷ Offler (1968), p. 9.

⁴⁸ Southern (1958); and Southern (1963), pp. 308-9.

⁴⁹ Snape (1977), pp. 21-2.

⁵⁰ Tudor (1989), p. 447.

⁵¹ Tudor (1989), p. 449.

⁵² Tudor (1989), p. 449.

⁵³ Raine (1864), pp. 173-203 ('De sanctis ecclesie Hagustaldensis').

⁵⁴ Finucane (1977), p. 156.

⁵⁵ Halsey (1977), p. 61.

⁵⁶ Tudor (1989), p. 447.

⁵⁷ Marner (1994), p. 471.

⁵⁸ Scammell (1956), pp. 128-66.

⁵⁹ Marner (1994), p. 471. Bishop Hugh's bequests to the cathedral are detailed in Raine (1835), p. 3.

⁶⁰ Halsey (1977), p. 59. William claimed that 'the more Hugh was anxious to build on earth, the more remiss he was in building in heaven'.

⁶¹ Halsey (1977), p. 59, translation by Halsey. See also Rollason (2000), pp. 322-3 and n. 107.

⁶² Snape (1977), p. 23. It is possible that Bishop Hugh was also responsible for the completion of the west towers, see McAleer (1994), p. 212 and Jarrett and Mason (1995), pp. 223-7.

⁶³ Halsey (1977), p. 60, translation by Halsey.

⁶⁴ Snape (1977), p. 23.

⁶⁵ Snape (1977), p. 23.

⁶⁶ Harrison (1994), p. 213.

⁶⁷ Halsey (1977), p. 61. Halsey suggests, however, that what Bishop Hugh wished to create was 'a new and larger setting for the shrine of St Cuthbert (which may have involved a translation of the relics), or the creation of an ambulatory with chapels to the east behind the shrine.' All of which would have meant changes to the access to the shrine, together with changes in the liturgy and relocation of the relics.

⁶⁸ Halsey (1977), p. 61.

⁶⁹ Crook (1994) p. 247.

⁷⁰ Nilson (2000), pp. 21-2.

⁷¹ Halsey (1977) p. 61.

⁷² A view taken by Stuart Harrison in an unpublished paper given to the Romanesque Durham Conference held at Hatfield College, Durham, in September 2003. Harrison suggested that the present Galilee chapel was the actual building first erected at the east end, and that when the building failed it was taken down and re-erected in the same form, but with modifications to the pier design, at the west-end. A similar suggestion had been made by Halsey (1977), p. 61.

⁷³ Halsey (1977), p. 61.

⁷⁴ On the authority of the *Rites*, but there is no evidence for the early period - except that the book does not occur in the various library lists and catalogues and so must have been kept in the church. See above, p. 15

⁷⁵ Piper (1998), p. 166.

⁷⁶ See above pp. 131-3.

⁷⁷ See pp. 168ff.

⁷⁸ See above, pp 117ff.

⁷⁹ For much of the following, especially in the identification of the persons named in the *Seculares* list, I am grateful to the time and expertise of Dr Andy King.

⁸⁰ Fryde, Greenway et al. (1986) pp. 475, 483, and 499. There is no definite indication that the list is not composed of names of persons then living, though some of them must have been very elderly. John de Haliden, whose name appears on the *Seculares* list, had been an active servant of the priory, but his pension of 40s p.a. was last paid in 1377/8 (DCM, Bursar's Acc.) but no evidence of his death has been found.

⁸¹ DCM, Bursar's Acc.

⁸² Raine (1841), pp. xliii, xlvi and xlix.

⁸³ Andy King, pers. comm. For discussion of the late history of the cell of Coldingham see Dobson (1973), esp. pp. 316-27.

⁸⁴ Stephen and Lee (1917-) vol. XX, 738-9; Longstaffe (1858), at pp. 72-6.

⁸⁵ Emden (1957-9), *s.n.*

⁸⁶ Emden (1957-9), *s.n.*

⁸⁷ Stephen and Lee (1917-), XV, 1045-7.

⁸⁸ For a summary of the history of Durham College, see Dobson (1973), pp. 343-9; Hutchinson (1823) p. 305 and Blakiston (1896) pp. 1-76. The names of the wives of both Walworth and Philpot are entered half way down the right-hand column on fol. 73r.

⁸⁹ DCM, 2.6.Ebor.1a.

⁹⁰ Roskell, Clark et al. (1992) II, 38. The antecedents and influence of the family in Nottinghamshire are discussed in connection with the entry for Sir John Annesley of Annesley (d. 1410), who represented Nottinghamshire nine times between 1377 and 1388. A Thomas Annesley was presented by the prior and convent to the church of Edmundbyers in 1392 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 311r); he died in 1399 when his successor was presented to the living (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 332r).

⁹¹ Dr. Andy King pers. comm.

⁹² Walker (1990), pp. 47, 264, 270, 272.

⁹³ The name Ralph Lumley cannot refer to the contemporary Ralph, Lord Lumley, since the name occurs in the wrong part of the list, although his wife is indeed named on fol. 73r in the group including the wives of William Walworth and John Philpot. The Marmaduke Lumley named here cannot be the Bishop of Carlisle and later of Lincoln, who was the younger son of Sir Ralph Lumley (d. 1450). His recorded period of activity only began in 1416 and so is too late for this list. For an account of his career see Raine (1865), pp. 2-3.

⁹⁴ A. J. Piper, pers. comm.

⁹⁵ Dobson (1973) pp. 343 ff. esp. p. 344.

⁹⁶ Snape (1977), pp. 27-8.

⁹⁷ Snape (1977), pp. 27-8.

⁹⁸ Snape (1977), p. 28.

⁹⁹ No evidence has been found directly to contradict the possibility that those named were present on the occasion of the dedication, although the evidence concerning Michael de la Pole is admittedly equivocal. In 1378/9 he was abroad negotiating King Richard II's marriage. He was made prisoner before

19 January 1379 or 1380 and was ransomed at an unknown date before 28 March 1381 (Cokayne (1982), XII, pt 1, p. 438). He might therefore have been in England by November 1380 and been able to attend the dedication.

¹⁰⁰ For discussion of William Bishopdale's career and his relationship to John see Roskell, Clark et al. (1992), II, 237-8.

¹⁰¹ Named as a kinsman of the bishop in various grants made to him by Thomas Hatfield in 1378-80 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 279r, 280v and 283v). Donaldson (1955), vol. II, p. 18, states that he was the bishop's cousin.

¹⁰² Named as the bishop's valet in a grant to him of the office of coroner of the ward of Chester for life in 1369 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 276v).

¹⁰³ William Fenrother and William Whatknowstede are named as monks and proxies of Tynemouth in business concerning the appropriation of the church of Haltwhistle to Tynemouth in 1384/5 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 291r-292r)

¹⁰⁴ William Baty was presented to the vicarage of Grindon in 1358, which vicarage he exchanged for that of Pitlington in 1362 (Boutflower (1926), p.10). Both vicarages were in the gift of the prior and convent of Durham. He was dead by 26th May 1388 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 237r). He held a tenement in Old Elvet in 1374 (Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 693) and is named in a number of property transactions in the city. For Thomas Walworth see above p.167 and note.

¹⁰⁵ All these men appear repeatedly in the records of the priory as agents in its business. For William Graystanes see above, p.167. John Haliden was paid a pension as a member of the prior's council between 1347-1378 (DCM, Bursars Acc.) John Elvet is found in receipt of a pension over a long period between 1350 and 1383. In the records he is regularly described as prior's attorney, coroner and, for a brief period in the late 1350s, clerk of the exchequer (DCM, Bursars Acc.). Roger Cowherd was granted by the prior and convent the office of forester in the park of Bearpark for life in 1353. His

son Richard obtained the office after the death of his father in 1381 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 155r and 213r).

¹⁰⁶ See above pp. 118ff.

¹⁰⁷ McKinnell (1998), pp. 22-3.

¹⁰⁸ See below p. 261.

¹⁰⁹ Emden (1957-9), s.n.

¹¹⁰ Howden (1932), pp. xv and xxxvii-lvi.

¹¹¹ Howden (1932), pp. xxviii-xxxvii.

¹¹² I owe this information to a personal communication from Prof. Barry Collett. For discussion of the *Contemplacion for Synners* see, Collett (2002), pp. 146-153.

¹¹³ Raine (1839), p. xxxix. Thomas Melsonby was prior between 1234-44, he died in office, he was also briefly Bishop of Durham (1237-40) but was forced to resign. Alan Piper pers. comm; Raine (1839), pp. xxxviii-ix, lxxii-lxxiii. I have discussed this chantry with Dr Margaret Harvey, who made her own researches available to me.

¹¹⁴ Raine (1839), pp. xlvii-xlviii.

¹¹⁵ The first fifteenth century collation is that of John Hagthorpe collated on 20 September 1407, to the post lately held by John Appleby, chaplain. On condition that within the year he is made a priest (DCD, Cal.RegParv. II, fol. 3v-4r. For another copy, see Cal. Reg. III, fol. 26r, where the date is 23 September). John Binchester, chaplain, was collated 3 December 1409 (DCD, Cal.RegParv. II, fol. 10r). Binchester was still chaplain in 1417, when, on account of certain gifts made to the priory, his corrody was increased (DCD Cal. Reg. III, fol. 132v-133r). There next recorded collation is that of John Hagerston, chaplain in February 1452 (DCD, Cal.RegParv. III, 51v).

Which record closely follows a memorandum of the grant to John Barker of a corrody in the Hospital of St Mary Magdalene, lately held by Binchester (DCD, Cal.RegParv. III, 51r), which perhaps suggests that Binchester had held the chantry for close on fifty years. John Hagerston was himself active until at least 1483 (DCD, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 228r-v). No other fifteenth century collations are recorded.

¹¹⁶ Raine (1839), p. 153.

¹¹⁷ Fowler (1903), p. 34.

¹¹⁸ Fowler (1903), pp. 32-4.

¹¹⁹ Raine (1839), p. 152.

¹²⁰ Fowler (1898), p. 418.

¹²¹ Pfaff (1970), pp. 62-83 at pp. 62-5

¹²² Pfaff (1970), pp. 62-83 at p. 74.

¹²³ Pfaff (1970), pp. 62-83 at pp. 82-3.

¹²⁴ Jones and Underwood (1992), pp. 80 and 288.

¹²⁵ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 71r.

Chapter 5. The function and use of the *Liber Vitae*

It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the function and use of the Durham *Liber Vitae*. The discussion will focus primarily on the use of the book within the monastery of Durham after 1083; but, as the history of *libri vitae* as a class of document extends back into the eighth century and an understanding of their function and use derives at least in part from an appreciation of the early evidence, the discussion of the post-1083 use of the Durham *Liber Vitae* will be prefixed by consideration of the early material.

The evidence for the function and use of the *Liber Vitae* comes from a variety of sources. First, there is the evidence found within the manuscript itself, either in the form of prayers, collects or rubrics indicating the context in which the manuscript was used or less concrete indications suggested by the contents of the book and by the additions made to it. Secondly, there are statements regarding the use or function of the manuscript that are made about it in other documents or manuscripts. Thirdly, there is the evidence provided by other manuscripts of similar type, which may themselves contain indications of function or use or be referred to in other sources and which can be used in a comparative way.

There are difficulties in dealing with each of these types of evidence. First, statements of function made in the manuscript or about the manuscript are rare, whilst the history of the book stretches across seven hundred years. It is obvious that although such indications of function should strictly be taken to relate only to the period in which they were written, there is a strong

temptation to use such evidence to provide a blanket explanation of the function of the book. In addition, it is possible that such statements were incomplete or inaccurate when they were written. An inscription in a manuscript may simplify the circumstances surrounding the use of that manuscript by indicating only its principal use, whilst the observations of commentators may be incomplete or mistaken. Such statements and descriptions can be assessed in conjunction with evidence of use derived from a consideration of the contents and lay-out of the manuscript itself. The contents of the manuscript may suggest a more diverse or complex use than that ascribed to the manuscript in an inscription or description.

The *Liber Vitae* is recognised as belonging to a small class of similar manuscripts and so comparison with these can be helpful. The original core of the *Liber Vitae* contains no statement of its use, but a few of the contemporary continental books do. The evidence that they provide can offer possible explanations for the use of the *Liber Vitae*, although this evidence has to be used with care, as the Durham book differs from most of the other continental commemorative books both in its structure and the range of its contents, which might suggest that it was created for different reasons and so had a distinct function and possibly also a different use. Further, whilst comparison of the *Liber Vitae* with this group of continental books may provide a general understanding of its function at the time of its creation in the ninth century, it cannot help much with the subsequent use of the book. The Durham *Liber Vitae* was revived and the New Minster and Thorney books created at a point at which, on the continent, *libri vitae* were being replaced by other sorts of

memorial record, in response, it is alleged, to changing patterns of commemoration. Further, both the Durham and New Minster books continued in use until the middle of the sixteenth century. In this context, even if the use of the English books could be proved to have been unchanging, their relationship to altered patterns of commemoration and especially to the commemoration of the dead must have changed contemporary perceptions of them, of their relevance and their importance. The *Liber Vitae* of St Gall, in common with others of the continental books, can be shown to be the remains of more than one *liber vitae*. It is not clear, however, that any of them were divided into two volumes as the Durham *Liber Vitae* apparently was from the later twelfth century. The evidence for the division of the book into two volumes derives solely, as we have seen, from a consideration of the codicological evidence of the manuscript. No source mentions it. In thinking about the use of the book from the late twelfth century, this aspect of the book's history has to be taken into account. It is possible to envisage that the two volumes of the *Liber Vitae* were kept and used together, but equally possible that they might have had separate functions and uses and so have been maintained apart.

What follows is divided into two principal parts. The first will deal in brief with the original conception of the book, set against the Anglo-Saxon and continental background. The second will deal with the resumption of use of the book after the foundation of the Benedictine priory of Durham in 1083. This section will itself be divided into two, the first dealing with the function and use of the book to c.1300 and the second concentrating on the period

c.1300 to 1540.

The original conception

The surviving sections of the original core of the *Liber Vitae* contain no explicit statements of its function or use, nor are there any references to it in extant sources.¹ Its production is seen by scholars to be related to a group of near-contemporary books from the continent. The creation of all of these manuscripts is generally explained in terms of the evidence surviving from both Anglo-Saxon England and from the continent for the existence of communities of prayer existing between religious houses, bishops and secular priests and also the laity.²

Each of the continental books is arranged in a different way but each was clearly intended to represent a particular religious community and its associates for whom it is obliged to pray. Each book contains lists of the members of the house to which the book belongs, with the exception of the Salzburg *Liber Vitae* where the list of monks is general but the book is localised by its separate list of the abbots and bishops of Salzburg.³ It is clear, at least in some cases, that efforts were made to include names of past members of the community also. Thus the *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont, deriving from a house first founded as a double monastery in the first half of the seventh century and later reconstituted as a nunnery following the Rule of St Benedict,⁴ includes two lists of the sisters of the house, divided into those who were nuns before and after the adoption of the Rule. The incipit of the list beginning on folio 35r reads '*Nomina abbatissarum que in isto loco fuerunt*

antequam suscepta esset regula Sancti Benedicti. A second heading on the same folio reads '*hec sunt nomina sororum, que ante regula fuerunt*'.⁵

Each of the continental books also contains lists of the members of other religious communities, although the importance of this element in the compilation varies from book to book. The *Liber Vitae* of St Peter's Salzburg, the oldest of the surviving confraternity books, dating to the later eighth century, contains lists of members of seven religious communities.⁶ The *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont includes the names of members of fifteen communities in confraternity with the abbey.⁷ The Reichenau Confraternity Book, compiled in 824, was planned to include the members of the community of Reichenau, plus the members of fifty-one religious communities and four cathedral chapters in confraternity with the monastery in a series of separate lists, which are conveniently presented in summary on the contents page.⁸

In general, each association evidenced by the rubrics and by the lists of names in the *libri vitae* was the product of a formal reciprocal agreement, which specified a range of liturgical prayer that would be carried out in either monastery on receipt of the news of the death of a brother or sister of the other. The *Liber Viventium* of St Gall preserves many lists of the names of members of communities associated with St Gall, but also the monastery archive contains details of the individual agreements between St Gall and other communities, specifying the details of the liturgical prayer to be conducted in the event of the death of an associate. The earliest agreement was concluded in 800 between St Gall and Reichenau. It was the practice of both houses to celebrate mass monthly for deceased brethren. Under the

agreement if a death had occurred in the preceding month that monk was to be named in the vigil before the celebration of mass for the dead, and the mass was to be celebrated generally for all the departed but specifically for the most recently deceased. In addition, when the news of the death of a brother was received at either St Gall or Reichenau a conventual mass was celebrated for him. On the same day all the priests within the community were to say three private masses and all the other monks one psalter. On the seventh and thirtieth days after the death of the brother further masses and psalms were said. Once a year on 14 November a memorial mass was to be held for all the monks who had died in the previous year. After it, all the priests were to celebrate a further mass and the other brothers were to sing fifty psalms.⁹

The continental *libri vitae* also contain lists of lay people associated with the house. The second confraternity book from St Gall includes lists headed *Nomina feminarum laicarum* and *Nomina laicorum*, for example.¹⁰ Lay people were not able to enter into agreements which specified mutual prayer, so instead they offered gifts and alms to support the monks, canons or nuns and in return were associated in the prayers of the community they supported.¹¹ Perhaps the inclusion of nearly 750 property grants as well as lists of names in the *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont is an indication of the importance with which lay association was regarded by the sisters of the house.¹² Megan McLaughlin stresses how important it was for the laity to be associated with a religious house at this period to secure the prayers which might otherwise be hard to obtain. She stresses the importance of the

societas of a religious house, which included increasing numbers of lay people, and the duty of the religious to pray for their associates.¹³

Underlying the creation of *libri vitae*, which represented the religious house and its *societas*, linked together by prayer and benefaction, was the idea that the people in the community so established were members of the elect of God. In the Salzburg *Liber Vitae* there are two collects associated with the lists of names. In the first God is asked to remember the men and women who have commended themselves to the prayers of the monks or who have given alms to the monastery and whose names are written in the book of life (*in libro vitae*), which is placed on the altar. In the second God is asked to remember the dead, or more specifically those Catholic Christians who died confessed (*omnium Christianorum catholicorum quique confessi defuncti sunt*) and whose names are written in the Book of Life (*libro vitae*) placed on the holy altar (*supra sancto altario sunt posita*). God is further asked to have their names written in the book of the living so they may obtain forgiveness of their sins (*adscribi iubeas in libro viventium ut a te domine veniam peccatorum consequi mereantur*).¹⁴

The idea that God maintained a book in which were recorded the names of His people is found in both the Old and New Testaments.¹⁵ The idea occurs frequently in the Book of Revelation, as for example:

But nothing unclean shall enter it, nor anyone who practises abomination or falsehood, but only those who are written in the Lamb's book of life. (*Non intrabit in eam aliquod coinquinatum, aut abominationem faciens, et mendacium, nisi qui scripti sunt in libro vitae Agni*).¹⁶

Some of the references in the Book of Revelation extend the idea of the book kept by God and indicate that it contains not only names but also the records of deeds, on which the final judgement of an individual will depend:

And I saw the dead great and small, standing before the throne, and the books were opened. Also another book was opened which is the book of life. And the dead were judged by what was written in the books, by what they had done...and if anyone's name was not found written in the book of life, he was thrown in the lake of fire. (*Et vidi mortuos magnos, et pusillos stantes in conspectu throni, et libri aperti sunt: et alius Liber apertus est, qui est vitae: et iudicati sunt mortui ex his, quae scripta erant in libris secundum opera ipsorum... Et qui non inventus est in Libro vitae scriptus, missus est in stagnum ignis*).¹⁷

The wording of the collects in the *Liber Vitae* of Salzburg apparently suggests that the names entered in that earthly book are to be thought of as among the elect of God, an idea which is reinforced there by the arrangement of the name-lists following the lists of the Patriarchs and Old Testament Prophets and those of the Apostles, Martyrs and Confessors.¹⁸

The texts of the collects in the Salzburg *Liber Vitae* also make clear the close association of the book in which the names are written with the altar of the church (*nomina scripta sunt in libro vitae et supra sancto altario sunt posita*). The wording suggests almost that the names in the book are being offered to God on the altar in the way that Prof. Angenendt suggests that charters were laid on altars during the ceremonies surrounding the giving of gifts to monasteries in the early Middle Ages.¹⁹ That other surviving *libri vitae* were associated with the altars of their respective churches is suggested by the fact that several of them form part of gospel books, the altar

book *par excellence*. The *Liber Viventium* of Pfäfers is contained in a gospel book, written about 800. The names, over 4,500 in all, are arranged under decorative arches on pages included between the gospel texts. The decorative arches are apparently part of the original layout of the manuscript and indicate that the gospel-book was modified at the time it was created for the reception of names.²⁰ The *Liber Vitae* of Cividale, a house founded in 768, also consists of names entered into a gospel book. In this case, however, the gospel book was not created to receive the names, as it was written in the early sixth century, but instead must have been selected by the monks as a suitable repository of the projected *liber vitae* in the eighth century.²¹

The collects in the *Liber Vitae* of Salzburg state that the names in the book are to be remembered in the prayers of that community (*Memorare digneris domine famulos et famulas quique se nobis sacris orationibus vel confessionibus commendarunt*), but no details are offered as to how this might be achieved. The arrangement of the names in the book suggests, however, that it was used in the mass and more particularly that it was connected with two prayers, the *Memento Domine* (*Memento* of the living) and the *Memento defunctorum* (*Memento* of the dead), which occur in the Roman rite in the canon, before and after the consecration of the elements. In the early church the bread and wine used in the celebration of the mass were offered by the people. The *Memento Domine* derives from the intercessory prayer offered by the priest on behalf of those making an offering, which included a recitation of the names of at least some of them.²² In the Gallican and Mozarabic rites, this prayer was attached to the offertory and in the

Roman rite to the canon, before the consecration.²³ The equivalent of the *Memento Domine* in the eastern liturgies was used to introduce a series of petitions commending to God various groups of the faithful, which were linked to the names recorded on diptychs displayed on the altar. In the church of Constantinople, as early as the sixth century, diptychs, recording the names of the living and the dead, were read out publicly within the intercessory prayer that followed the consecration.²⁴ The diptychs contained the names of prominent persons in ecclesiastical and also in civil life, arranged in *ordines* beginning with the names of the former bishops of Constantinople.²⁵

There is evidence that in the Gallican rite in the seventh century actual names were in fact read out but in the Roman rite the recitation of individual names had been replaced by a general formula. But the reading of names was restored to the Roman rite, apparently at the time at which it was adopted in Carolingian kingdoms. The *Admonitio Generalis* of Charlemagne promulgated in 789 states that the names should not be publicly read out in some earlier part of the mass (as in the Gallican rite), but during the canon. It is after this that the direction instructing that names should be read out is found in service books of the Roman rite.²⁶ The reading of the names was not however done publicly. By the later eighth century the canon was said in a low tone by the priest, rather than proclaimed audibly as had been the case in the early church.²⁷ Instead it is likely that the words were whispered to the priest by the deacon or subdeacon.²⁸

The *Memento defunctorum* appears in the modern Roman rite in the canon after the consecration and before the doxology, and is considered to be

an insertion of quite late date.²⁹ The history of the development of this prayer is complex and the discussion inconclusive but it seems clear that most churches in western Europe, following a variety of rites and therefore practices, included some sort of prayer for the dead in the mass, but it is uncertain what form it took, in what position it appeared in the service and whether it offered the opportunity for the recitation of names.³⁰ It is suggested that the *Memento defunctorum* was in origin a Roman prayer and that it did appear in the mass of the Roman rite between the seventh and ninth centuries, having been taken over in some way from the mass of the dead; but that it was only included in masses said on week-days, and was not therefore said on Sundays or on festival days. In form it was a brief and general prayer said by the celebrant alone.³¹ The contemporary Gallican rite included a much more developed ritual surrounding the *Memento defunctorum* which included a public recitation of names, and used in the mass on all occasions.³² Edmund Bishop suggests that the complicated history of the development of this prayer in the Roman rite is explained by what must have been the consequences when the Roman rite was adopted in Gaul in the late eighth century. He suggests that the differences in custom at this point in the mass were so marked that 'the result of the shock of the new system and the old, the foreign custom and the native, was a compromise... It can be no cause for surprise if the Sacramentaries of the period of transition, the eighth and ninth centuries, bear traces of the conflict of two incompatible practices, and if the *Memento of the Dead* be absent from the Canon of not a few of them'.³³ Acceptance of the inclusion of the *Memento defunctorum* into the canon for Sundays and feasts was still, however, not complete even in the

fourteenth century,³⁴ which suggests that practice concerning this prayer may have been very variable for a considerable period.

Whatever the difficulties of deciding in which parts of the mass names might have been recited or where they stood in the service, the arrangement of the Salzburg *Liber Vitae* suggests that it was used at these two points in the celebration at Salzburg. The names in the book are arranged into a series of *ordines* but are principally divided into lists of the living and the dead, arrangements which appear to reflect those of the ancient diptychs. There are lists of living of bishops and abbots (*Ordo episcoporum vel abbatum vivorum*), who can be identified as abbots and bishops of Salzburg; and of monks and canons and aspirants to the religious life (*pulsantes*).³⁵ There are lists of living kings and of dukes with their wives and children, of priests, deacons and clerks, of bishops and of abbots from places other than Salzburg, of nuns and religious women and religious men.³⁶ These lists are followed by those of dead bishops and abbots (*Ordo episcoporum vel abbatum defunctorum*), also identified as being of Salzburg, followed by similar lists for the other *ordines*.³⁷ The first collect precedes the list of the living and the second follows the lists of the dead and so the lists could have been used in the mass at the *Memento domine* and the *Memento defunctorum*, wherever these may have occurred.

It has been generally accepted by scholars that all *libri vitae* were used in this way.³⁸ However, the evidence of the manuscripts themselves suggests that the situation was in fact more diverse. The *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont indicates that it was used in a completely different context. The

book is introduced by a text, written probably in 862/3, which states that the abbey will celebrate mass daily for all those:

who have for the love of God enriched this place [the nunnery of Remiremont] with their property for the use of the nuns, have bestowed alms on us or on our predecessors, or have commended themselves to our or to their prayers, for both the living and the dead; wherefore we have written below the names of those who lived at the time of our predecessors and have always taken care to record in this commemoration-book the men and women who lived in our times. We urge the nuns who succeed us under the holy rule of our father Benedict always to write the names of their friends (*nomina amicorum seu amicarum*) in this commemoration-book (*memoriali*) and to have a mass specially celebrated daily, as written above, for all the aforementioned.³⁹

This text makes it clear that although daily commemoration is envisaged it is not in the conventual mass but rather at a special mass celebrated for those named in the book. In monasteries where it was the practice for more than one public mass to be celebrated each day, from the eighth century it became customary to devote one of them to the dead; this was frequently the morrow mass (*missa matutinalis*).⁴⁰ At Remiremont this mass was offered each day in the cemetery and it is with this that the *Liber Memorialis* is associated.⁴¹ The *Liber Vitae* of Brescia in addition to the lists of names includes an extensive set of liturgical texts suitable for the commemoration of the dead, which suggests that it too was used in the same way.⁴²

To assign to these books a clear-cut liturgical function, which included the recitation of some of the names included in them, is tempting but the contents and arrangement of these books do not in reality permit so firm a

conclusion. First, although the initial layout of these books was often well-planned and spacious, which might have allowed the names included in them to be read out, the many subsequent and often haphazard additions, which later filled the pages, would have made confident reading impossible. These additions suggest that, whatever was the original intention with regard to the actual recitation of names in services, any reading of individual names must soon have been abandoned, unless extracts from the books were prepared for recitation. Secondly, as Giles Constable has observed in connection with the Remiremont manuscript, the contents of individual *libri vitae* make these assumptions about their function difficult to sustain.⁴³ The *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont contains, in addition to the lists of names, three necrologies, a cartulary and a rent-book. The juxta-position of these documents is not the result of the later collection and binding together of different elements because, as Constable notes, 'these different types of work are all mixed together' in the book.⁴⁴ He observes that the inclusion of such disparate items, two of which relate to land holding and land-revenues, 'raises some important questions about the character and purpose of the work, and about commemoration books in general'.⁴⁵ For the present discussion, the inclusion of the necrologies raise questions about where the *Liber Memorialis* was kept and how it was in fact used. A necrology, recording in calendar form the names of the dead arranged under the date of their death, is generally considered to have been a book kept and maintained in the chapter-house, and used to commemorate anniversaries as part of the chapter office. A *liber vitae*, on the other hand, in which the names of both the living and the dead were written, is conceived as being, as we have seen, an altar book, used in

the daily commemoration of the names contained in it.⁴⁶

If the *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont and the *Liber Vitae* of Brescia suggest that there were possibly wide variations in practice between houses maintaining *libri vitae*, the structure of the Durham *Liber Vitae* and other *libri vitae* indicates that the practice of the Salzburg book cannot have been the usual one even in the *libri vitae* intended to be used within the mass. The Salzburg book is unique among surviving books in arranging the names it contains into separate groups of the dead and the living.⁴⁷ Even the Durham *Liber Vitae*, said to be related to the Salzburg book because the names it contains are arranged in *ordines* according to rank and status, does not have a division between the living and the dead. It would not therefore be possible to use Durham or most of the other *libri vitae* to read out actual names at the *Memento domine* and at the *Memento defunctorum*.

There are two possibilities to explain the actual arrangement and categorisation of the names in the *libri vitae*. The first is that the names were not recited, even in private, but that as the book lay on the altar it was touched by the celebrant in a brief formulaic and general reference to the living or the dead in each prayer. The second is that the books were used only in the *Memento domine*. At the *Memento domine* in the Gallican rite of the seventh century, there was an oration by the priest after the names had been read, which referred back to those names and then forward into a prayer of intercession for both the living and the dead. Jungmann quotes as an example the prayer on the feast of the Circumcision, '*Auditis nominibus offerentum, fratres dilectissimi, Christum Dominum deprecemur* [a reference

to the feast follows]...*præstante pietate sua, ut hæc sacrificia sic viventibus proficiant et emendationem, ut defunctis opitulentur ad requiem. Per Dominum.*' The *offerentes* of this prayer, Jungmann comments, are to be understood not only as those present, most especially all the clergy assembled for the mass, but also all those 'whose society is valued while the sacrifice is being offered up. Even the dead are embodied in this circle of offerers...'.⁴⁸ After the adoption by Charlemagne of the Roman rite and the Gallican practice of the actual reading of names became general, the injunction to read names occurs widely in surviving service books and often indicates that the names of both the living and the dead are to be read. Thus the sacramentary of Rotaldus, dated to the tenth century, indicates that the subdeacons facing the altar '*memoriam vel nomina vivorum et mortuorum nominaverunt*'.⁴⁹ If the names in the *libri vitae* were generally only read at this point in the mass then it is possible to define those offering (*offerentes*) as the religious community, past and present and all those associated with it, both living and dead; that is the entire *societas* of the community which maintained the book.

The *Liber Vitae* of Durham is considered to belong to the Continental group of *libri vitae*, but it should be noted that in several respects it differs from the surviving continental manuscripts. All surviving continental books display a separation between the list of the names of the community owning the book and other communities in association with it, which suggests that all of the surviving continental *libri vitae* were compiled as a part of the wide-ranging communities of prayer evidenced more particularly by the agreements

surviving from St Gall. This arrangement is at its least developed in the Salzburg *Liber Vitae*. The Durham *Liber Vitae* is unique among surviving books in not being arranged in this way. In the Durham book there are instead lists of abbots (*Nomina abbatum*), of monks (*Nomina monachorum*), of priests (*Nomina presbyterorum*) and of clerks (*Nomina clericorum*). Because of this arrangement, the names in the Durham *Liber Vitae* cannot be localised with any degree of precision.⁵⁰ Also, unlike the continental *libri vitae*, the Durham book does not have a very extensive lay presence. The only lay persons included are royal or noble, represented by the lists of *Nomina regum vel ducum* and *Nomina reginarum et abbatissarum*. The effect almost suggests that the compilers of the book were not concerned with the presentation of the *societas* of a particular community but were perhaps concerned to present those named as members of a wider Christian community, however that might have been defined. The observed differences in the presentation of the names in the Durham *Liber Vitae* does not however preclude their being recited either in the mass or at celebrations of mass for the dead.

It has been argued above that the best context for the production of the Durham *Liber Vitae* was the monastery of Lindisfarne and in particular the translation of the Northumbrian see together with the relics of St Cuthbert from the island monastery of Lindisfarne to Norham, in which case the book presumably represents the *societas* of St Cuthbert.⁵¹ The account of the translation in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* suggests that the moving force behind the translation to Norham was Bishop Ecghred.⁵² If that were so, perhaps the arrangement of the *Liber Vitae* reflects a diocesan perspective,

rather than that of the monastic house of Lindisfarne. But, in that case, the absence of a bishop list from the original core of the *Liber Vitae* is even more surprising.

Some part of the distinctness of the Durham *Liber Vitae* may be attributable to the fact that after its initial production no substantial additions were made to it. Unlike the continental books it did not develop nor were new categories of persons added to it, unlike, for example, the *Liber Vitae* of St Gall. The latter is in fact the remains of two distinct books, and only in the second were lay names added in any numbers to the lists of communities in confraternity and the names of kings and other dignitaries of the realm which had featured so prominently in the earlier book.⁵³

What is clear is that, despite the similarities to be discerned between all the books of the class, each book was distinct. As Simon Keynes has said the early *libri vitae* 'exemplify the great variety of form and purpose which existed within the genre, and demonstrate that the nature of a particular *liber vitae* was determined more by local conditions than by the existence of any external rules governing their composition'.⁵⁴ It is also demonstrable, where surviving manuscripts can be shown to be the remains of more than one book, that the form of *libri vitae* changed over time. If the form of the book altered its use may also have changed. Most of the continental books had ceased to be used by the twelfth century, their place as records of the associates of a religious house being taken by necrologies, a change which goes much deeper than mere fashion in record-keeping but indicates a

fundamental shift in the way in which associates were commemorated.⁵⁵

The later history of the book

This section of the discussion must be set against the rising importance of the remembrance of the dead and the general replacement of *libri vitae* by necrologies as the main class of commemorative record. In England the Durham *Liber Vitae* was revived after 1083, the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster was created in 1030 and the Thorney *Liber Vitae* was begun c.1100. Furthermore, although the use of the Thorney book was discontinued at the end of the twelfth century, both the Durham and New Minster books continued to be added to down to the Reformation. The following discussion will be divided into two parts. In the first the function and use of the Durham *Liber Vitae* between c.1083 and c.1300 will be addressed and in the second the evidence for the use of the book between c.1300 and the Reformation will be studied.

a) The use of the *Liber Vitae* c.1083 to c.1300

The multifarious additions made to the manuscript between c.1083 and c.1300, although they include no actual statement concerning the way in which it was used, offer various indications both of the way in which it might have been used and how it was regarded. Further, information can be gleaned from consideration of the evidences provided by the other two English *libri vitae*. The *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, which

was created in 1030, has a contemporary preface describing its use which has often been used to illustrate the use of the Durham *Liber Vitae* and of Thorney *Liber Vitae* in use in the twelfth century.⁵⁶ The liturgical and devotional context into which the Durham community's use of the *Liber Vitae* must be placed can be understood from a variety of sources. The first two are monastic customaries, one from before and one from after the Conquest. The *Regularis Concordia*, datable to c.970, was compiled by the reforming churchmen of England, led by Dunstan, Ethelwold and Oswald, in an attempt to draw together and regularise the changes which we call the 'tenth century monastic reform movement'.⁵⁷ The provisions of the *Concordia* were put before an assembly of abbots and abbesses at the Council of Winchester c.970, and they agreed to abide by its rulings. This did not ensure complete uniformity of monastic observance across England, as all black monk houses were independent nor was the *Concordia* supported by any machinery to ensure obedience to its provisions.⁵⁸ However its acceptance by the heads of religious houses summoned to the Council of Winchester makes it reasonably certain that a version of the customs laid down by the *Concordia* was in force at the New Minster when the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster was compiled. The second monastic customary, known as *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, was drawn up by Lanfranc, counsellor of William I and archbishop of Canterbury (1070-1089), initially for the use of the monastic community of his cathedral in Canterbury.⁵⁹ There is debate about how far the *Monastic Constitutions* were known and used outside Canterbury, and although it is certain Lanfranc had no intention of imposing them on the whole English church it is clear that his provisions did form the basis of monastic customs in

houses other than Christ Church, Canterbury.⁶⁰ Of importance for Durham is the fact that in the 1090s Bishop William of St Calais commissioned a copy from Canterbury for the monks of Durham.⁶¹ The Durham copy survives as one of the elements making up the Durham Cantor's Book (DCL MS B.IV.24), which was the chapter book of the monastery of Durham for most of the twelfth century.⁶² The inclusion of the *Monastic Constitutions* in the Cantor's Book suggests that Lanfranc's prescriptions were, or formed the basis of, the monastic customs of the Benedictine community at Durham and therefore they can be used to illustrate the devotional and liturgical background to the use of the *Liber Vitae* between the late eleventh and thirteenth centuries. Further information on the commemorative practices of Durham is provided by a variety of confraternity documents preserved in the Cantor's Book and in the *Liber Vitae* itself.⁶³ The liturgical and devotional background for Durham in the thirteenth century is forthcoming from consideration of the evidence contained in the Durham Breviary (BL MS Harley 4664), a manuscript of Durham's cell of Coldingham, but recording the practice of the mother house and discussed, in the context of other surviving liturgical books, by Tolhurst.⁶⁴

Additions of both names and documents to the Durham *Liber Vitae* in this period indicate that it was conceived of as a record of association and confraternity with the community of St Cuthbert. The names of members of the Benedictine community were regularly entered in a list beginning on folio 45r. The list is headed by the names of the first three bishops of Durham, titular abbots of the community.⁶⁵

In addition, a series of confraternity agreements is included, which

reinforces the impression of the *Liber Vitae* as a confraternity book. The agreements, written on folios 36v, 52r and 52v, and dated to the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, detail the nature of the liturgical commemoration to be followed in the monastery of Durham in the event of the death of an associate. Many of the agreements are between Durham and another religious house and make arrangements for prayers to be said on the death of a brother of either house. That on folio 52r, between Bishop William of St Calais and Abbot Vital of Westminster, concluded between 1083 and 1085 may be taken as typical:

This is the agreement made between William, bishop of Durham, and Dominus Vitalis, abbot of Westminster. If any of them [or their successors] die, let there be done for him in both monasteries as for the bishop or abbot of the same monastery. And when any monk of Durham dies, let there be done for him at Westminster seven full offices in the convent (*vii plenaria officia in conventu*), and let each priest sing a mass for him. Let the other brethren sing for him, each a psalter, and let the [lay] brethren (laici) who know not the psalter sing for him, each a hundred and fifty times, Pater noster. And this same shall the monks of Durham do for the monks of Westminster...⁶⁶

This agreement is clear that when either an abbot of Westminster or a bishop of Durham dies, the commemoration shall be in each convent as if their own superior had died, although no details of what that commemoration might be are given. In the case of a death of a monk of either community the obligations of the whole community and also the individual members are clearly laid down. The *Monastic Constitutions* offer an account of what ceremonies should be observed in the event of the death of an abbot and so

fill the gap left by the confraternity agreement. The observances shall be as those of a monk but with various additional details as follows:

When he departs this life, a neighbouring abbot or bishop should be invited to bury him. In addition to all that is done by custom for other brethren who die, the following shall be done: he shall be clad in a priest's vestments and the pastoral staff shall be set in his right hand. The *Verba mea* shall be said for him for a whole year, and his measure of wine for the whole year shall be set daily on the abbot's table, along with three dishes, all to be given to the poor. Each year the anniversary of his death shall be celebrated with solemnity.⁶⁷

It should be noted that the anniversary of the death of an abbot and, by association, the deaths of the heads of those religious houses in confraternity with Durham, are ordered to be solemnly celebrated.

The remaining agreements entered into the *Liber Vitae* are generally similar to this, although there is some variation in the numbers of conventual offices and the additional prayers which are specified. Thus the agreement with Christ Church Canterbury, on folio 52v, specifies that on the death of a monk of Christ Church, in addition to the seven offices to be said in convent, as indicated in the Westminster agreement, the *Verba mea* will be said for thirty days. Further each monk who is a priest will say three masses and everyone else one psalter.⁶⁸ On the same folio the agreement with Selby abbey states baldly that 'for a monk of Selby, the same as for a monk of Glastonbury'.⁶⁹ This laconic record is explained by the next, which indicates that each monk of Glastonbury should receive three masses in the convent (*iii missas in conventu*), whilst each priest is to say one mass, each clerk fifty

psalms, and each lay-brother (*laici*) fifty *Pater nosters*.⁷⁰ The agreement on folio 52r between the monks of Durham and the short-lived community at Lastingham, specifies a much heavier burden. If a monk of Lastingham dies, every priest is to say ten masses, and everyone else is to sing three psalters; in addition thirty full offices are to be said in the convent, as if a monk of Durham had died (*in conventu autem sicut pro monacho nostro, hoc est xxx^{ta} plenaria officia*).⁷¹

These records of confraternity are clearly important, as several of the agreements must have been made soon after the foundation of the community in 1083. Thus that between Bishop William of St Calais and Abbot Vitalis of Westminster was presumably concluded before the death of Abbot Vitalis in 1085. Other agreements recorded in the *Liber Vitae* demonstrate the importance of a shared history in the forming of such relationships. Thus Durham had agreements with the houses of Lastingham and Hackness, which shared common origins with Durham as part of the re-establishment of monasticism in the north of England. Reinfrid, one of the men who came from Evesham and Winchcombe to resettle Bede's Jarrow, moved from that house to resettle Whitby. The community around him grew, but disputes caused it to fragment. One group moved temporarily to Lastingham before moving to York to found St Mary's Abbey before 1086. The other group under Reinfrid also moved from Whitby and established themselves briefly at Hackness, but eventually returned to Whitby under Reinfrid's successor in about 1096.⁷²

The sorts of agreements entered into by the community at Durham were common amongst monastic houses in this period. A list dating from

c.1180, although including copies of agreements made before that date, exists for St Mary's Abbey, York. In it are named over fifty religious houses enjoying confraternity with York. The majority are Benedictine or Cluniac houses situated both in England and in Europe, but there is also a group of nine Augustinian houses, the Cistercian house of Furness and probably the Gilbertine house of Bullington.⁷³ The *Liber Vitae* does not generally contain lists of the names of members of religious houses in confraternity with Durham. However there are two additions to the manuscript, on folios 24v and 25r, dateable to the early twelfth century, which record the names of the communities of Evesham and Worcester. Neither is identified by any rubric but the names of the community of Worcester are headed by the names of Bishops Wulfstan and Samson.⁷⁴

The monks of Durham also entered into agreements with individuals, both monks and clerks and also with the laity. The agreements with individual religious are very similar in form to those concluded with whole communities, and vary in the weight of the burdens imposed in the same way. Thus on folio 36v the first record is of an agreement with Richard and Reinald monks of York and Ægilward of St Augustine's Canterbury which states baldly 'just as for a monk of our monastery' (*sicut pro monacho ecclesie nostre*).⁷⁵ The next entry records another agreement with a Reinald, also a monk of St Augustine's, which specifies that each priest will say three masses and there will be in the convent three full offices. In neither case does the record indicate what the individual monk must accomplish as his part of the agreement. The agreement with Gregory, scribe of Bermondsey, however,

specifies that when he dies seven full offices will be said for him at Durham and each priest will say three masses and 'the rest shall do of the psalms as much as pertains hereunto, and he shall do likewise' (*Ceteri vero de psalmis quantum ad hoc pertinet. Ipse vero idem faciet*). Thompson, in commenting on this entry, concludes that Gregory was probably not in priest's orders.⁷⁶ The agreement with Ulfran, a canon of St Paul's London, states that he will say thirty masses 'for each deceased monk of the church of Durham' and, when he is dead, each monk shall say thirty masses for him.⁷⁷

Agreements made with the laity appear superficially similar but, as the laity were not able to offer reciprocal prayers, must have been organised by the monks of Durham as a response to gifts to the church of St Cuthbert.⁷⁸ The fullest agreement to be recorded in the *Liber Vitae* is that made with Malcolm, king of Scots, his queen, Margaret, and their family, entered on folio 52v.

This is the covenant (*conventio*) which the convent of St Cuthbert has promised to Malcolm, king of Scots, and to Queen Margaret, and to their sons and daughters, to keep forever. To wit that, on behalf of the king and queen, while they are alive, one poor man shall be nourished daily, and likewise two poor men shall be maintained for them on Thursday in Holy week at the common maundy, and a collect said at the litanies and at mass. Further, that they both, in this life and after, both they and their sons and daughters, shall be partakers in all things that be to the service of God in the monastery of St Cuthbert, in masses, to wit, in psalms and alms, vigils, prayers, and in things that are of this sort. And for the king and queen severally, from the day of their death there shall be thirty full offices of the dead in the convent, and *Verba mea* shall be done every day, and each priest shall sing thirty masses, and each of the rest ten

psalters; and their anniversary shall be celebrated as a festival year by year, like that of King Athelstan.⁷⁹

This agreement binds the monks of Durham to certain actions dedicated to the king and queen during their lives, both acts of charity and prayerful acts in the choir as well as to extensive liturgical commemoration at the time of their deaths and to the celebration of their anniversaries, in the manner in which the anniversary of King Athelstan is celebrated, although the details of how this is to be done are not given. Other agreements entered into the *Liber Vitae* are much more restricted and only promise liturgical celebration at the time of the death of the associate, as for example that offered to Ilbert de Lacy and his family, as recorded on folio 52v, which promised to them the observances offered to a monk of Durham (*Ilbertus de Laceio, Hathewis sua uxor, Rodbertus et Hugo filii eorum; pro quibus fiet sicut pro monacho in conventu*).⁸⁰

In addition to the confraternity agreements there is a series of entries which record the names of persons pledged to make annual renders to the saint. For example those on folio 67r where the page begins '*Robertus filius Herueii dabit Sancto Cuthberto singulis annis in die depositionis ejusdem sancti unam libram cere*'; records of diverse renders follow, including some which were made by men who could have been Scottish merchants.⁸¹ A document preserved in the Durham Cantor's Book (Durham Cathedral Library, B.IV.24) suggests that those named had entered into confraternity with the Durham community. It describes the circumstances in which Dougall, son of Sumerlaid, and his associates, through an initial gift and a promise of

an annual contribution to the saint, were received into the fraternity of the monastery:

In the year of the incarnation of our Lord 1175, when King Henry accepted the oaths of the Scots at York, Dougall, son of Sumerlaid, Stephen his chaplain, and Adam of Stamford, received the fraternity (*receperunt fraternitatem*) of our church at the feet (*ad pedes*) of St Cuthbert on the vigil of the feast of St Bartholomew, and the same Dougall offered (*obtulit*) there two gold rings to St Cuthbert, and promised that each year, whilst he lived (*et promisit se singulis annis quamdiu vixerit*), he would give to the convent one mark, either in money or its equivalent.⁸²

The gift and promise of future sums is apparently made by Dougall but three people in fact enter into fraternity with the community. This parallels the account of the entry of Bishop Kenwald of Worcester into the fraternity of St Gall in 929. The bishop visited the monastery and made an offering on the altar and a gift to the monks and was admitted into the fraternity of the monastery. The bishop then asked that King Athelstan and various other persons might also be admitted to confraternity. In this case, however, it seems that those registered at the bishop's request were not themselves present.⁸³

The phrase 'at the feet of the saint' suggests that the gift was made either before an image of the saint or more likely at his shrine, rather than on the altar, which is considered the usual way in which confraternities were made.⁸⁴ The names of Dougall and his companions are entered in the *Liber Vitae* at the base of folio 16v, together with the names of three of Dougall's sons, but no record of his promised gift is included in the entry.⁸⁵ In

addition to the names of people entered with records of the renders they have promised are hundreds of names entered without any further qualification or explanation. Because of the strong sense from the other contents of the *Liber Vitae* that it is being kept as a confraternity book it is presumably not unreasonable to assume these people are also to be considered as associates of the community.

Comparison of the Durham *Liber Vitae* with the two other English *libri vitae* demonstrates both similarities and differences in the nature of their content and manner of their arrangement, although each of these books is also conceived as a book recording and reflecting the *societas* of the house. The preface to the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster states that the book includes the names of the monks of the New Minster together with those of their friends and benefactors.⁸⁶ The book does in fact contain various lists under rubrics, the names of the monks, various classes of benefactor and friend and a limited number of communities in confraternity with the New Minster. It also includes large numbers of texts, the aim of which appears to be to offer an historical context for the monastery and for its friends.⁸⁷ The entries in the Thorney *Liber Vitae*, on pages prefixing a gospel book, are much more informal than those of the original lists in the New Minster book. The original ordering of the entries is obscured by subsequent additions but appears to begin on folio 10r under a general rubric *Hæc sunt nomina fratrum istius loci*.⁸⁸ The 'place' is identified as Thorney only from the other contents of the manuscript.⁸⁹ The Thorney book does not include lists of the names of members of the community there nor does it have lists of the names of

communities in confraternity with the abbey.

If the additions to the manuscript of the Durham *Liber Vitae* before c. 1300 suggest that it was considered to be a book associated with the fraternity of St Cuthbert then two further entries suggest in addition that in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries there was some equation between the Durham *Liber Vitae* and the heavenly book of the elect. The first entry is of the names of two Durham monks on folio 48r, '*Eadwinus monachus, Aedmundus monachus, servi Dei et Sancti Cuthberti, sint nomina eorum in Libro Vitae.*' The text is a mid-twelfth century copy, with somewhat modified wording, of the early twelfth century text at the base of the damaged folio 51r, which reads '*Edwine munuc, servus dei et sancti Cudberhti, sit nomen ejus in Libro Vitae + Eadmund munuc, servus Dei et sancti Cudberhti, sit nomen ejus in Libro Vitae.*'⁹⁰ The second text, at the head of folio 26v, is a prayer which precedes additions of non-monastic names, in various hands of the early twelfth century, '*Deprecamur te, Domine, sancte Pater, per Jesum Christum filium tuum in Spiritu Sancto, ut eorum nomina sint scripta in libro vitae.*'⁹¹ Two sources indicate that the idea of equating a record in a monastery with the book of the elect, first found in the Salzburg *Liber Vitae*,⁹² was current in England in the eleventh century. The first is the preface to the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and the second a reference in the *Monastic Constitutions*. The *Liber Vitae* of New Minster describes the groups of people whose names are recorded in the book and offers a reason for recording them there:

so that, by the making of a record on earth in this written form they may be inscribed on the page of the heavenly book' (*ut per temporalem*

recordationem scripture istius in celestis libri conscribantur pagina).

An account follows of how those named are to be commemorated and the preface continues:

So that, just as commemoration of them is made on earth, so too in that life, by the bounty of Him who alone knows who all are, or are to be, there, may the glory be augmented of those who are of greater merit in heaven, and may the cause be smoothed, in the hidden judgements, of those who are of lesser merit. 'Rejoice and be glad because your names are written in heaven'.⁹³

The wording of this preface indicates that the groups of people named in the *Liber Vitae* make up the *societas* of the monastery of New Minster and that the recording of their names in the *Liber Vitae* is a step towards ensuring that their names are recorded in the heavenly book. There is a further link to the heavenly book in the reference to the Day of Judgement and to the book of life in which the deeds of men are written, in the suggestion that the commemoration by the monks of those 'of lesser merit', whose names are presumably written in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*, would smooth their way at the time of judgement.⁹⁴ The complex iconography of the donor portraits of King Cnut and Queen Emma together with the following pictures showing the Last Judgement in the front of the New Minster *Liber Vitae* have been interpreted as demonstrating similar links between donations to the church, entry in a *liber vitae* and inclusion in the number of the elect in heaven.⁹⁵

The *Monastic Constitutions* makes no direct reference to the keeping of a *liber vitae*, but envisage that the monastery will enter into agreements of confraternity with other religious communities and with individuals both

religious and lay. The ceremony of admission into fraternity is described in some detail. At the outset the suppliant is asked formally by the abbot what he wishes and he is instructed to reply, 'I ask through God's mercy and yours...confraternity and all the common privileges of this house' (*Peto per misericordiam Dei, et uestram...societatem et beneficium huius monasterii*). To this the abbot responds 'May the Almighty Lord grant you what you ask, and may he admit you to the company of his elect' (*Omnipotens Dominus concedat uobis quod queritis, et ipse prestat uobis consortium electorum suorum*).⁹⁶ The wording of the abbot's response associates entry into the fraternity of the house with possible inclusion amongst the elect of Heaven. From this association of ideas, it might reasonably follow that records of confraternity members, if they were maintained, would be considered to be allied to those of the elect of God.

The evidence presented above suggests that in the period after c.1083 the monks of Durham in reviving the *Liber Vitae* were consciously creating a confraternity book. The keeping of the *Liber Vitae* additionally was linked to the keeping of the heavenly book. Deciding in what light the *Liber Vitae* was regarded does not indicate in what way or ways the book was in fact used. The manuscript contains no statements, in the form of prayers, collects or rubrics that might cast light on its use. It is likely that it was used in the mass, as has been suggested for the continental books in the eighth and ninth centuries.⁹⁷ If this was so it is probable that it was maintained on the high altar but, after c.1170, when it seems to have been divided into two volumes, it is possible that these were maintained separately. The varied contents of the

book further suggest that it might have had subsidiary uses and that during the period under review these were redefined and modified, on more than one occasion. So it is possible that it was used as a chapter book before c.1100; and that it was used in the creation of confraternities after c.1170. The evidence for each possibility will be reviewed in turn.

The *Liber Vitae* contains no direct indication of its function that relates to the period c.1083-c.1300, but the addition of the names of the Durham community was paralleled by the lists created in the front of the earliest manuscript of Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*.⁹⁸ An injunction prefixed to this list makes it clear that prayerful remembrance of past and present members of the community was one of the reasons behind the recording of the names:

We beg the reader that he should deign to offer prayers to Our Lord Jesus Christ...for all those whose names he will see here, asking for the living that they may adhere more fully to their holy profession and may in future receive the reward of their virtuous perseverance, and for the dead that they may receive forgiveness for their sins and be found worthy 'to see the good things of the Lord in the land of the living'.⁹⁹

The reference to the 'good things of the Lord in the land of the living' is a hope that the monks will become members of the elect of Heaven and links the *Libellus de exordio* list to the *Liber Vitae*, suggesting that prayers were said for the names it contained. The nature and extent of these prayers is detailed in the preface to the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster, which is often quoted in connection with discussions of the functions of *libri vitae*.¹⁰⁰ The preface reads as follows:

Here follow in their appropriate order the names of the brethren and

monks [of the monastery of New Minster], and also of our friends (familiariorum) and benefactors (benefactorum), whether living or dead (vel vivorum seu defunctorum), so that, by the making of a record on earth in this written form they may be inscribed on the pages of the heavenly book (ut per temporalem recordationem scripture istius in celestis libri conscribantur pagina), by whose alms-giving, through the bounty of Christ, this community is sustained from day to day; And may the names be entered here of all who commend themselves to its prayers and fraternity, in order that there may be a commemoration (commemoratio) of them every day (cotidie), in the holy solemnities of the mass, or in the harmonies of psalmody (in sacris missarum celebrationibus vel psalmodiarum). And may the names themselves be presented by the sub-deacon everyday before the holy altar at the morrow or principal mass (ad matutinalem seu principalem missam presentur), and may they be read out by him in the sight of the Most High, as time permits (et ab ipso prout tempus permiserit in conspectu altissimi recitentur). And, after the offering of the oblation to God (postque oblatam Deo oblationem), placed on the holy altar at the right hand of the principal priest who is celebrating mass, during the mysteries of the sacred mass, may they be most humbly commended to Almighty God...¹⁰¹

The wording of the preface seems to indicate two types of daily commemoration. It indicates a general commemoration of those named, either during mass or during the office and a particular commemoration, which includes the reading of names by the subdeacon, at either the principal or morrow mass.

This preface makes clear that at New Minster some of the names in the *Liber Vitae* were actually read out, though whether publicly or quietly to the priest does not appear. The discussion of the use of the eighth and ninth

century continental books concluded that in the Roman rite the reading and commending of the names occurred in the canon at the *Memento domine*.¹⁰² The wording here suggests a rather different arrangement. The text indicates that the reading occurs during the offertory and is separated from the silent commendation by the priest, which presumably occurred under a general formula at the *Memento domine*.¹⁰³

The daily reading of names will take place, according to the preface, at either the principal mass or the morrow mass (*ad matutinalem seu principalem missam presentur*). The *Regularis Concordia* makes provision for two conventual masses in each day. The principal mass is celebrated on ordinary days after sext in winter and after terce in summer and the morrow mass after terce and before chapter in winter and after prime but before chapter in summer.¹⁰⁴ The *Monastic Constitutions* also envisage the celebration of two conventual masses, in the same arrangement as that specified in the *Regularis Concordia*.¹⁰⁵ It is not clear at this remove what circumstances would trigger the use of the *Liber Vitae* at one or other of the conventual masses and why it should not have been used in the same way at both. The *Regularis Concordia* states that the morrow mass will be offered for 'the king or for any pressing need', and for seven days after the death of a brother 'all shall make an offering at the morrow mass',¹⁰⁶ whilst the *Monastic Constitutions* instructs that on the day of the funeral of a dead brother 'the morrow mass shall be said with festal rite for him, even though it be a principal feast'.¹⁰⁷ Perhaps the use of the book depended on the person for whom the mass was offered.

At the time when the *Monastic Constitutions* were composed the morrow mass was celebrated at a different altar to that before which high mass was sung.¹⁰⁸ This second, called the matutinal altar, was generally positioned to the west of the high altar within the monastic choir.¹⁰⁹ Therefore, if the Durham *Liber Vitae* was used in the ways described for the New Minster book, wherever it was actually kept it could be moved as circumstances demanded, to serve at more than one altar in the cathedral. It therefore might be appropriate to see it used at the altar attached to the shrine of St Cuthbert on the occasions of the saint's feast days; at the Jesus altar in the nave as occasion demanded; and in the Lady Chapel, that is at the altar of St Mary in the Galilee, after its construction in the second half of the twelfth century, perhaps for the use of women.¹¹⁰

The preface to the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster indicates that the names of those written in the book were remembered in a general way on a daily basis in a commemoration perceived as distinct from the remembrance which included the recitation of actual names at mass, 'in order that there may be a commemoration (*commemoratio*) of them every day (*cotidie*), in the holy solemnities of the mass, or in the harmonies of psalmody (*in sacris missarum celebrationibus vel psalmodiarum*)'. As well as the general commendation of the living and dead in the canon of the mass, both the *Regularis Concordia* and the *Monastic Constitutions* give instructions for a number of devotions additional to the monastic hours specified in the Rule, the purpose of which was to commemorate friends, benefactors and the dead.¹¹¹ Because of the independence of Benedictine houses in England, these devotions took

various forms, and not all were universally practised. Several, however, were both ancient and widely used. The principal devotion for the commemoration of friends was known as the *Psalmi Familiares*. This, which appears to have originated at Cluny, consisted principally of a selection of psalms said 'pro familiaribus' at each of the monastic hours. A Cluny customary, dated to 1080, directs that specified psalms were to be said, four to each hour from matins to Vespers inclusive, with two at compline. Those at Lauds, Vespers and compline were to follow the psalm *Misere* at the end of the *preces* and before the collect; at other hours they were said at a later point.¹¹² The *Monastic Constitutions* mention the *Psalmi Familiares* several times, indicating that the psalms were usually followed by *preces* and that at matins they were said with one collect but with more than one at prime.¹¹³ Later texts, including one from St Albans, dated to the twelfth century, confirm the details provided by the *Monastic Constitutions*, but indicate that the devotion had become more extended and elaborate. That the devotion was followed at Durham in the thirteenth century is evidenced by a surviving incomplete text in the Durham Breviary.¹¹⁴

Other devotions, not wholly devoted to the remembrance of friends and benefactors, did however include intercessions for them, as for example in the *Trina Oratio* or the Gradual Psalms. The *Trina Oratio*, the earliest and most detailed reference to which is in the *Regularis Concordia*, was a three-fold devotion in honour of the Blessed Trinity.¹¹⁵ It was performed individually by each monk, three times a day before matins, before prime, in summer, or terce, in winter and after compline, kneeling in a suitable place in the church

outside the choir.¹¹⁶ The parts of the devotion said before matins are given in detail in the *Regulas Concordia*. The first was said by the monk for his own intentions (*pro seipso primum intercedendo*); the second part was said for 'the King, Queen and benefactors'; and the third part 'for the faithful departed'.¹¹⁷ The devotion is referred to in the *Monastic Constitutions*, but no details are given of its form or content.¹¹⁸ This devotion was said, in some form, in most English monasteries during the Middle Ages, although texts of it are rare.¹¹⁹ It was said at Durham in the late thirteenth century, because the General Chapter held at Durham in 1293 refers to its being said before prime in summer, indicating that it was said in the houses of the Northern Province, including Durham. There are no further details of its form or whether it was performed additionally either before matins or after compline.¹²⁰

The Gradual Psalms form an old devotion, its introduction into monastic observance being attributed to Benedict of Aniane, a ninth century monastic reformer in Francia.¹²¹ The devotion was said privately by the monks seated in the choir before matins and consisted of psalms 119-133. It was divided into three groups of five psalms, each group being followed by a prayer relative to the intention for which the psalms were said, namely for the living, for the dead in general and for those who had died recently. The devotion was general in England before the Conquest and is described in the *Regularis Concordia*.¹²² Lanfranc described the devotion in the *Monastic Constitutions*, instructing that in winter it should be said in an amplified form consisting of thirty rather than fifteen psalms, the first ten of which were to be said for the dead.¹²³ At Durham the devotion was said between the *Trina*

Oratio and matins in the form of fifteen psalms. No intentions were instanced, but it seems likely that as elsewhere the first group was for the dead.¹²⁴

The preface to the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster states that the names to be found in the book are those of monks, friends and benefactors, both living and dead. It is thus reasonable to suppose that some at least of the round of monastic prayer intended for the dead was also directed towards the departed associates of the monastery. The principal devotion specifically for the dead was the Office of the dead, constructed on a plan similar to the choir Office and said in addition to it. It consisted of three hours only: Vespers (also called *Placebo*, from first anthem), matins (also called *Dirige*, from first anthem) and lauds. Its history goes back into the eighth century on the Continent. It is referred to in the Council of Aachen in 817, but it is not known whether it was said daily or only as occasion demanded. By the end of the tenth century in England it was obligatory to say it at least on week-days. The *Regularis Concordia* and the *Monastic Constitutions* both specify that it should generally be said daily.¹²⁵ Another important devotion was the *Verba Mea* devotion, which originated in the early ninth century, as the third part of a four-fold devotion in which selected psalms were said for different intentions. The devotion was said in summer before prime and in winter between matins and lauds.¹²⁶ The psalm *Verba mea* (Ps.5) together with psalms 6, 114, 115 and *De profundis* (Ps. 129) was said '*pro omnibus defunctis catholicis*'. In time this devotion was split up, the *Verba mea* and the other four psalms coming to be used as a separate devotion for the dead.¹²⁷ In the *Regularis Concordia* this devotion, known as the 'five psalms' was said after chapter.¹²⁸ In the *Monastic*

Constitutions it was said after Chapter but also at night for thirty days following the death of a monk and during the month of November, following the feast of All Souls.¹²⁹

All these devotions could be said generally for the friends and benefactors or the faithful departed or, just as with celebrations of the mass, could be made specific, that is, said with special intention. For example, in the *Monastic Constitutions* Lanfranc specifies, in the event of the death of a member of the community, that on the day of the funeral all who can should celebrate mass for the dead brother and that the morrow mass should be said with festal rite for him. In addition, for thirty days after the funeral a mass should be said for him by one of the brethren. Over the same period the *Verba mea* should be said for him and after every hour the *Voca mea*. In addition seven of the celebrations of the office of the dead said by the convent should be offered for him.¹³⁰ Nor were prayers of special intention restricted to the remembrance of members of the monastic community. In the *Regularis Concordia* instructions are included for the saying of prayers and psalms for the king and the royal family after every hour, except prime.¹³¹ Furthermore the confraternity agreement made between the monks of Durham and King Malcolm and Queen Margaret specifies not only prayers of special intention but good works carried out in their names by the monks.¹³² There is no evidence to suggest that the New Minster *Liber Vitae* could be or was used in any of these additional devotions or prayers. The implication of the words of the preface is that those named were associated in, and benefited from, the prayers of the monks merely by virtue of being included in the book.

If it is reasonable to extrapolate from the details contained in the preface of the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster then the Durham *Liber Vitae* was an altar book and the names it contained were also read daily during either the principal or morrow mass. Also, those named in the book were included in various additional devotions undertaken by the monks of Durham as part of the daily choir Office. But the contents and detailed history of the Durham *Liber Vitae* suggest that its use may not have been so simple or so clear-cut. Like the *Liber Memorialis* of Remiremont, the Durham *Liber Vitae* contains materials which conflict with its function as an altar book and which, moreover, suggest alternative or auxiliary uses. The early additions of confraternity agreements and the subsequent reorganisation of the *Liber Vitae* into two volumes suggests that its function and use may have changed in the period between 1083 and c.1300, a time in which a cathedral community was created and came to establish itself.

The fact that the *Liber Vitae* contains a small number of charters in addition to names is not a bar to its having been an altar book. In the same way as ancient gospel-books contain marginal additions by virtue of their association with the altar so it could be argued charters were added to the *Liber Vitae* because it was an altar book. However, the *Liber Vitae* does contain a group of documents that conflict with its use as an altar book-these are the confraternity agreements recorded on folios 36v and 52r-v. These agreements are the record of the observances to be initiated on the reception in the convent of the news that a person in confraternity with the house had died. This news, in the form of a *breve*, was received by the cantor or

precentor of a monastic house and the resulting observances were initiated at the daily chapter meeting.¹³³ These agreements belong then more properly to a book kept and maintained in the chapter rather than choir. Such an arrangement was carried through at St Gall, where the names of associates were entered into the *Liber Vitae* but details of the confraternity agreements were entered into the Chapter Book.¹³⁴ To understand what light the inclusion of these records throws on the function and use of the *Liber Vitae* it is necessary to consider it in relation to the Durham Cantor's Book.¹³⁵

The Durham Cantor's Book contains a copy of the *Monastic Constitutions*, a copy of the *Rule of St Benedict*, followed by an Anglo-Saxon translation of the *Rule* and a copy of the *Martyrology of Usuard*. It is clear from the relationship of these sections that the manuscript was compiled of parts gathered together from different sources, although the assembly of the volume was apparently planned, as the copies of the various parts were made to a regular format.¹³⁶ The volume was created during the early 1090s, as the copy of the *Monastic Constitutions* included in the volume was written by Eadmer, monk and scribe of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the 1090s.¹³⁷ The Durham Cantor's Book is identified with the *Martyrologium et Regula* which was one of the forty volumes given by Bishop William of St Calais to his cathedral, and so it must have been assembled before the bishop's death in January 1096.¹³⁸ The additions made to this manuscript, identify it firmly as a chapter-house book. A single quire was added, 'at an early date' containing a calendar drawn up in the usual way but left blank.¹³⁹ Apparently this was intended for the registration of obits, although in the event few were made in

it, as instead an obit was created in the margins of the Martyrology.¹⁴⁰ In addition confraternity records were added to the manuscript on fols.2r and 5r-v. The relationship between the agreements in the Cantor's Book and the *Liber Vitae* is interesting.¹⁴¹ The agreements in the *Liber Vitae* (entered between 1083 and c.1110) pre-date those in the Cantor's Book. The first agreements copied into the Cantor's Book were a group of nine on folio 5r, written by a single scribe, in the early twelfth century.¹⁴² The entries once begun in the Cantor's Book continued to be made down to the last quarter of the twelfth century and the entry of such records into the *Liber Vitae* ceased.¹⁴³ Piper argues that once agreements began to be written into the Cantor's Book and in part transferred from the *Liber Vitae* to it, they ceased to be written into the *Liber Vitae* and that this 'marked a change of policy'.¹⁴⁴ It appears that before c.1100 the *Liber Vitae* had functioned in part as a chapter-house book, but with the creation of the Cantor's Book the function and use of the *Liber Vitae* was redefined. It is perhaps no accident that the names of the members of the Durham community began to be recorded in the *Liber Vitae* just at this time¹⁴⁵ and that the same hand that entered the first members of the Durham monks also entered the names of the members of the communities of Worcester and Evesham.¹⁴⁶ Insufficient work has yet been done on the date of the early name entries in the *Liber Vitae* but it is likely that the majority of them will be shown to post-date 1100. It was suggested above that the *Liber Vitae* might have been launched as the confraternity book of the community with the translation of the saint in 1104.¹⁴⁷ The addition of confraternity agreements to it before that date and the subsequent creation of a chapter-house book, suggest that its role might not have been so tightly

defined in the period before 1104.

It has been suggested above that the *Liber Vitae* was divided into two volumes in the later twelfth century.¹⁴⁸ If the principal use of the book was in the mass, it is possible that the division into two volumes after c.1170 did not affect this use. Both volumes can be envisaged as being kept on the altar and used together in the ritual actions of the priest at the *Memento domine*. But if so it is difficult to see why the manuscript was divided. If the reconstruction of the history of the book offered above is correct, there was blank parchment remaining in the original core of the book in c.1170 and, even if this was considered insufficient, the addition of extra quires to the original core must have been sufficient for any further additions of names.¹⁴⁹ That the manuscript was reorganised, suggests that the function of the book was under review and that there was a purpose behind the creation of two volumes. It is possible that the monastic community was revising others among its commemorative records at this time. Both the obital in the Durham Cantor's Book and the list of monks in the front of the *Libellus de exordio* ceased to be maintained in the last quarter of the twelfth century.¹⁵⁰ Further, the removal of the blank parchment from the original core of the *Liber Vitae* was paralleled by a similar removal of blank leaves in the first quire of the *Libellus*, originally provided for a continuation of the lists there.¹⁵¹

Any suggestion as to the use to which of the two volumes of the *Liber Vitae* were put at the end of the twelfth century can only be speculative, but the contents of the volumes, which are distinct, are perhaps suggestive. The first volume contained the original core of the *Liber Vitae* prefaced by newly

created gospel extracts, but was conceived as being essentially complete, in that no provision was made in it for the addition of further names. The second volume on the other hand, consisting mostly of blank leaves, was the book into which entries were to be made. The list of monks of Durham begun in volume one on folio 45r, was continued in volume two, starting on folio 58r, and the records of the annual renders promised to the saint came to be concentrated at the end of the volume. The contents of the second volume suggest strongly that it was maintained in association with the shrine of St Cuthbert. First, the monastic lists in the *Liber Vitae* were most probably created from the individual profession slips which were kept in association with the shrine of the saint.¹⁵² Secondly, the wording of the promises of annual renders often relate them to one or other of the saint's feasts. Finally, the details of the promise made by Dougal son of Sumerlaid suggest that these agreements were concluded at the shrine of the saint.¹⁵³ If the second volume was kept by the shrine, the first prefixed by the gospel extracts may have been kept on the high altar. In that case, although names may not have been read out it could still have been used in the mass ritual. As has been said, however, wherever the volumes were kept, either, or both together, could have been used in other contexts as the need arose.

The gospel extracts prefixed to the front of the *Liber Vitae* are composed largely of a series of lections but their arrangement precludes the possibility that they were designed to be read; it appears instead that they were chosen and arranged to give the impression of a complete gospel text.¹⁵⁴ The extracts were possibly added to the original core to replace an

earlier gospel text that had been damaged.¹⁵⁵ The Thorney *Liber Vitae*, the *Liber Vitae* of Pfäfers and the *Liber Vitae* of Cividale are all associated with gospel books, so it is not inconceivable that the ninth-century Durham *Liber Vitae* was similar. Whether this was the case or not, the reorganisation of the older parts of the *Liber Vitae* in this way suggests a possible additional function for this volume, which does not conflict with its use as an altar book. It may also have been used in some of the ceremonies which created agreements of confraternity with the community of St Cuthbert and which are described at length in the *Monastic Constitutions*. The *Monastic Constitutions* describe first how an individual monk is to be admitted into confraternity. On the acceptance of his request the text continues:

Then being bidden to rise, he shall approach the abbot and receive from him, by taking in his hand the Rule (*librum regule*), the confraternity of the House (*monasterii societatem*). After this, and after the kiss of peace from the abbot, he shall bow at the abbot's feet and then be kissed by all the brethren round the chapter-house. This done he shall return to the place where he lay, and there make three genuflections in the customary manner. The brethren shall bow to him in return, and then at the abbot's word he shall be seated, having previously received an indication where he is to sit.¹⁵⁶

The instructions given for the admission of an entire community into confraternity differ only in the description of the courtesy accorded to the abbot of the house making the request and how the kiss of peace was to be administered. However, if the applicant was a secular the ceremony he or she underwent was somewhat different:

If the applicant be a secular, he shall sit before the abbot or by the

abbot, if he is a distinguished person, and when his request has been made known to the brethren he shall receive fellowship (*societatem*) by taking into his hand a book of the gospels (*textum evangelii*). Then he shall go round receiving the kiss of peace, which is not given when the applicant is a woman.¹⁵⁷

The above descriptions make clear that the symbolic act by which the suppliant was received into confraternity was the moment when he or she took in their hand a copy of the Rule or a text of the gospels. The first volume of the reorganised *Liber Vitae*, containing a condensed gospel text and the oldest witnesses of the *societas* of St Cuthbert, might have provided the sort of symbolic volume required for so momentous an occasion.

In conclusion, the evidence provided by the varied contents of the *Liber Vitae* and supported by the testimony of both the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and that of Thorney suggest that in the period under discussion the Durham book was revived principally as a record of the *societas* of St Cuthbert. How this book was used seems less clear-cut. The evidence provided by the account in the preface of the New Minster *Liber Vitae* does not adequately explain either the contents of the Durham book or the details of its development in the twelfth century. Rather the evidence suggests that the function of the book within the community changed over time and that these changes of function might have affected its use. The strong links with St Cuthbert might indicate a more intimate connection of the *Liber Vitae* with the shrine of the saint than has previously been considered.

b) The late medieval book

The discussion of the function and use of the Durham *Liber Vitae* after c.1300 will focus on two pieces of evidence which bear directly on the manuscript. The first is a newly discovered inscription on folio 63v of the manuscript which, dating from the late fifteenth century, describes the use of the book. The second is the well known and widely quoted description of the *Liber Vitae* in the late sixteenth century *Rites of Durham*. The two descriptions offer contradictory indications concerning the use of the book. Therefore each will be examined in turn and their evidence considered in the context of other information forthcoming from Durham and from further field.

The inscription on folio 63v, at the top of an otherwise blank leaf, is five and a half lines long, and is written in a late fifteenth century hand.¹⁵⁸ The text is visible in the 1923 facsimile but is certainly not legible. It is badly damaged and only legible with great difficulty under ultra-violet light, having been written on a page which was subsequently glued to the facing folio 64r.¹⁵⁹ When the pages were separated parts of the surface of the parchment of folio 63v, on which the inscription was written, remained stuck to the surface of folio 64r. As a result part of the text can only be read in reverse through the back of the parchment surface. In addition some of the text on folio 64r has left offsets on the text on folio 63v, which obscures other parts of the inscription. What follows is an attempt to decipher and reconstruct the text on folio 63v.

The first transcription of the text was made by Prof. Paul Harvey from ultra-violet photographs of the relevant pages.¹⁶⁰ He was able to read a

significant portion of the text, but he highlighted what were the most dubious readings by marking them with question marks, which are reproduced in the text below. He also indicated, by the use of round brackets (), those parts of the text read in mirror from folio 64r. The text he produced is as follows:

[...] siue [.....]alis [...]/
In sacrificio (misse [...] eisdem[?]) nomina[?] benefactorum [...] be/
[...] primo[?] (monasticam ecclesiam be)atissimi patris Cuthberti in s[e]/
cularium q[...]es (uel [...] ta)m episcopo)rum quam presbiterum tam
an[?] [tis]/
tum quam monacorum ([...]mente eorum nomina) [...] hoc li[b]ro inf[ra]/
subscripta plenius et (plenius seniorum [...])/

The first line of text is the most damaged. In the manuscript the middle of the line is covered by parchment adhering to it from the surface of folio 64r and it is illegible even under ultra-violet light. Once Prof. Harvey had produced his transcription it was apparent that the inscription on folio 63v had been read in the seventeenth century by one of Sir Robert Cotton's scribes, who had recorded it on folio 3v of the *Liber Vitae*. This text reads as follows:

Ordo siue method(us) huius libri nihil aliud est qua(m) annualis
come(mo)ratio./ In sacrificio missae animarum defunctoru(m) omnium/
benefactorum aut benemeritorum erga monasticam eccl(es)ia(m)/
beatissimi patris Cut(h)b(ert)i tam seculariu(m) quam regularium/ tam
Imperatorum qua(m) presbiterorum tam Abbatum qua(m)/ monachorum,
tot singula eorum no(m)i(n)a in hoc libro inferius/ subscripta planius et
plenius demonstrant.¹⁶¹

No commentator on the *Liber Vitae* has made mention of this Cottonian addition, perhaps because neither the printed edition nor the 1923 facsimile of

the manuscript included any account of the Cottonian folios.¹⁶² It is likely that the text on folio 63v was easier to read in the seventeenth century. In the reconstruction of the manuscript discussed above it was suggested that the opening folios 63v-64r was one of five pairs of leaves stuck together in the sixteenth century reconstruction and subsequently separated by Cotton, who made some adjustments to the ordering of the folios before sticking the leaves back together a second time.¹⁶³ Cotton's scribe must have copied the inscription when the leaves were first parted during Cotton's work on the manuscript. The damage to the surface of the parchment may have occurred when the pairs of leaves were parted for a second time only in the nineteenth century.

If the damaged text is read again in the light of the Cottonian text, more can be deciphered, and some corrections offered over the first reading. In the text that follows, the additions and modifications to the first reading are indicated by underlined text:

Ordo siue methodus hui[...] nihil [...]aliis [...]m[...]/
 In sacrificio (misse a [...] deff..) [...] benefactorum [...] be/
 [.....] (monasticam ecclesiam be)atissimi patris Cuthberti tam s[e]/
 cularium quam reg(ularium [..]per...) quam presbiterorum tam ab[b]a/
 tum quam monacorum ([...]ngula eorum nomina) in hoc li[b]ro inf[ra]/
 subscripta pl[a]nius et (plenius demon[strant])

The principal additional readings are on the first line of the inscription, although significant corrections have also been made to line three. The final text below combines the corrected transcription of the original text on folio 63v with the Cottonian text and shows, by means of larger type, the letters and

words that cannot be made out on folio 63v, but do appear in the Cottonian inscription,

Ordo siue method(us) huius libri nihil aliud est qua(m) annualis come(mo)ratio./ In
sacrificio missae animarum defunctaru(m) omnium/ benefactorum aut benemeritorum
erga monasticam eccl(es)ia(m)/ beatissimi patris Cut(h)b(ert)i tam seculariu(m) quam regularium/ tam
Imperatorum qua(m) presbiterorum tam Abbatum qua(m)/ monachorum, tot singula eorum
no(m)i(n)a in hoc libro inferius/ subscripta planius et plenius demonstrant.

The text might be translated as follows:

The arrangement of this book is nothing other than the annual commemoration, in the sacrifice of the mass, of the souls of the dead, of all benefactors and all those who have deserved well towards the monastic church of the most holy father Cuthbert both seculars and regulars, both emperors and priests, both abbots and monks - so many individual names of them written below in this book more fully and completely demonstrate this.

This inscription states that the names entered in the book are those of the benefactors and friends of the community of St Cuthbert. The groups it goes on to specify are those referred to in the various rubrics of the manuscript, both those of the original core, priests, abbots and monks (*quam presbiterorum tam abbatum quam monachorum*) and those in the second volume, the seculars and regulars (*tam secularium quam regularium*) of the opening fols 72v-73r. This suggests that, although found in the second volume this inscription refers to the whole of the *Liber Vitae*, with the implication that by the late fifteenth century the volumes were kept together. If the suggestion made above is accepted, that the opening, folios 72v and 73r,

was created for the re-dedication of the high altar in November 1380, it is clear that the second volume was associated with the high altar from at least the late fourteenth century.¹⁶⁴ The implication of the wording of this inscription is that both volumes were together and therefore probably maintained on the high altar in the late fifteenth century.

Of considerable interest in the present discussion is the fact that the inscription speaks of the use of the book in an annual commemoration for the souls of the dead. The key phrase 'annualis comemoratio in sacrificio missae animarum defunctorum' comes from one of the most heavily damaged parts of the text. The transcription is obviously open to question but the words 'in sacrificio missae' can be read with certainty and sufficient of the word 'annualis' survives for there to be little doubt that that is what was written. For the rest, nothing of what can now be read contradicts the Cottonian transcription at this point. If this reading be accepted it does look as if by the late fifteenth century the *Liber Vitae* had ceased to be used in a daily commemoration, but was used instead in an annual service. To assess the accuracy of this statement it is necessary to review the evidence for the nature of anniversary commemoration surviving from late medieval Durham.

McLaughlin states that anniversary celebrations were unusual in the early Middle Ages and were granted only to very special benefactors.¹⁶⁵ They, however, became increasingly important, and from the twelfth century necrologies replaced *libri vitae* as the most frequent memorial documents.¹⁶⁶ The *Regularis Concordia* instructs that the anniversary of a monk from a house in confraternity should be remembered.¹⁶⁷ The *Monastic Constitutions*

make no mention of anniversary celebrations for individual monks but instruct that when the abbot dies his anniversary should be celebrated 'with solemnity'.¹⁶⁸ The names labelled '*nostrae congregationis monachi*' in the twelfth century obital in the Durham Cantor's Book indicate that at Durham the anniversaries of deceased monks were remembered.¹⁶⁹ The obital further indicates that the anniversaries of deceased bishops of Durham, kings and other notables together with some less exalted persons were remembered. The entry for the 13 November, for example, offers an indication of the range of entries:

Died (obierunt) William, the second bishop of Durham, Cnut, king of England, and Malcolm and Duncan, kings of Scots, Queen Margaret, Elias et Ernald and Hugh the priest, Kytel and Ailric and Gilbert and Gervase, professed monks, Edward and Scott son of Elstan and Meldred and Astritha and Agnes.¹⁷⁰

The Bishop of Durham is William of Ste Barbe, d. 13 November 1152; the kings of Scots are King Duncan II, died 12 November 1094 and King Malcolm III, died 13 November 1093 together with his queen Margaret, died 14th November 1093.

The reading of the obital and the remembrance of the names it contained formed part of the capitular office that formed part of the daily meeting in the chapter house of all monasteries. The general pattern of the proceedings was similar in all houses, but there were variations in the particular prayers, collects and blessings used in the office. The chapter meeting began with a reading from the martyrology, followed by a series of prayers. After this came a reading from the Rule of St Benedict, which might

be followed by a sermon. After this the *tabula* was read, giving details of the duties assigned to individual monks. When an anniversary occurred the name of the departed was read, to which announcement was added *Ut alii familiares nostri, requiescant in pace. Amen.* If there were no obits, the single prayer *Fidelium anime per misericordiam dei in pace requiescant* was said instead. Domestic business was next discussed and at the end of this the cantor or precentor read out any briefs that might have arrived announcing the death of an associate of the monastery. The president having given absolution, the duties of the monks in the particular case were read out. A chapter of faults was then held and the meeting ended with a final blessing.¹⁷¹

Surviving evidence indicates that some special anniversaries were more fully celebrated, with special services conducted in the choir. The *Monastic Constitutions* indicate that the anniversary of an abbot should be celebrated with solemnity. The agreement made between King Malcolm and the monks included not only the performance of good works during the lives of the king and his queen, with extensive liturgical remembrance at time of their deaths but also an anniversary to be celebrated 'as a festival year by year, like that of King Athelstan'.¹⁷² Unfortunately, no document survives which details the celebrations for King Athelstan whose anniversary was kept on 27th October, according to the obital.¹⁷³ The commitment for King Malcolm and his queen was a considerable one, but one king of Scots apparently more highly honoured still was King Edgar (d. 1107), whose anniversary on 8 January was, according to a text in the Cantor's Book, kept with a solemnity equal to the major winter feasts of All Saints and All Souls and the anniversary of

Bishop William of St Calais, the founder of the monastic community.¹⁷⁴

The obital in the Cantor's Book ceased to be used after c.1175 and no later necrologies survive from Durham. The evidence of liturgical remembrance of associates of the priory after c.1300 comes instead from a long series of letters preserved in the priory registers, which record grants of fraternity to named individuals, together with a small group of late fifteenth and early sixteenth century letters which created associations with a number of monastic communities. Although the wording of these varies, the terms are generally similar. The majority grant participation in the spiritual goods of the church of Durham and its cells in perpetuity. A typical example is the letter directed to John Louri, chaplain, in 1446. The letter notes the affection in which the recipient holds the monastery of Durham and the name of St Cuthbert and admits him to the spiritual brotherhood (*confratrem spiritualem*) of the chapter of Durham (*capituli nostri Dunelmensis*) and grants him special participation in all masses, orisons, vigils, fasts (&c) and good works in the monastery of Durham and its dependent cells, in perpetuity (*omnium missarum, oracionum, vigiliarum, jejuniorum, prædicationum, divinorum officiorum, ceterorumque operum pietatis, quæ per nos et successores nostros, tam in monasterio nostro prædicto quam in cellis ad eodem dependentibus, fiunt aut fient imperpetuum participacionem concedimus specialem*).¹⁷⁵ Others grant participation in the good works of the monastery and add that an anniversary will be commemorated. The letter directed to George Dunbar, earl of March and Christina, his wife, in 1418 promises special participation in the spiritual services of the monastery of Durham and its cells, together with prayers to be

offered for them each year for all time after their death, as is customary for other brothers and sisters of the prior and convent, once news of their death has been certainly made known (*Cumque ab hac luce per mortem fueritis evocati, et hoc nobis fuerit certitudinaliter intimatum, pro vobis, sicut pro aliis fratribus et sororibus nostris, consueta oracionum suffragia singulis annis futuris perpetuis temporibus persolvemus*).¹⁷⁶

The variations in the benefits offered do not appear to depend on the status of the individual offered confraternity. The association promised to Thomas Barton and his wife Isota in 1398, in recognition of their friendship to Durham's cell of Lytham, offers both participation in the usual benefits 'with the customary prayers every year in perpetuity for them after their deaths, just as for other brothers and sisters'.¹⁷⁷ The wording of the letter addressed in 1431 to Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury indicates that the benefits conferred on him were those usually offered, 'as is customary for their other deceased brothers', as the letter says.¹⁷⁸ That the benefits conferred were standard at this time seems to be indicated by the fact that not all letters granting confraternity were recorded in full in the Registers, but instead the grant is recorded as having been made 'in common form'.¹⁷⁹

The small number of monastic confraternity documents which exist for the period after 1300 show a similar uniformity. The common feature of all these agreements is the association of the members of the contracting houses in the benefits of the regular round of services and observances conducted in each others houses, or in the case of Durham in the church of Durham and in its cells, together with promises that services of remembrance

will be held on the death of any monk. In 1510 and 1511 the monastery of Durham and the priory of Guisborough exchanged letters. The prior and convent of Guisborough granted the monks of Durham, present and to come, 'full participation in all masses, orisons, vigils (&c) performed by them and their successors in their monastery for all time' and, granting them confraternity, promised that when the death of any of them should be made known 'there will be carried out in their monastery [Guisborough] that which they have been accustomed to do for such brethren of theirs'.¹⁸⁰ The prior and convent of Durham promised in their turn full participation in the usual spiritual exercises with 'prayers for all of them, present and to come, just as for their other spiritual brethren, every year for all time after their deaths...'.¹⁸¹ Similar letters were issued to Abbot Richard and the community of Winchcombe (Gloucs.) in April 1513¹⁸² and in 1515 an exchange of letters with Mount Grace established a further association.¹⁸³

Most of the individual letters and the grants to communities pledge the monks of Durham to offer annual prayers after the death of an associate, but there is no indication of what these might comprise. There are a small number of examples which indicate that the associates are to be remembered as if they were monks of Durham. There is a letter issued in 1367 to Richard Vernon, for friendship to the monastery of Durham and in particular to its cell of students at Oxford, which is unusual both in granting participation in the spiritual services of the monastery and its cells not only to Richard but also to 'his progenitors and heirs', as well as specifying that his obit is to be 'as is customary for a deceased monk'.¹⁸⁴ Between 1516 and 1517 confraternity

letters were exchanged between Durham and the monastery of Syon, reaffirming an association first created in 1455/6.¹⁸⁵ The wording is more expansive than usual and the promised benefits more extensive. Prior Thomas and Chapter of Durham gladly receive the community of Syon 'into the embraces of the confraternity and consorority of the chapter of Durham' (*in amplexibus confraternitatis ac consororitatis nostri capituli Dunelmensis*); they grant that the members of the community of Syon become participants in 'all spiritual resources, namely masses, orisons, vigils, alms (&c) which divine benevolence will see fit to bring about through the prior and chapter in their monastery and its dependent houses' and, 'when they should be informed that any of the brethren or sisters of Syon has died, they will bestow upon the deceased the same spiritual benefits which they are accustomed to give to their own fellow monks'.¹⁸⁶ It is not clear whether the rather more fulsome expression of these two examples record more extensive agreements than the general, or whether the standard form obscures what was in fact the usual grant, that is annual prayers equal to those offered for a deceased monk of Durham. The fact that these people had been offered confraternity of the monastery of Durham, in a ceremony presumably related to that detailed in the *Monastic Constitutions*, suggests the latter.

Unfortunately there is no late customary for Durham. The *Rites* offers some details about the customs surrounding the death and burial of both monks and priors pertaining in the monastery but includes no information about the celebration of anniversaries.¹⁸⁷ Nor is there any late necrology to parallel the twelfth century obital in the Durham Cantor's Book, against which

the names of known associates could be checked. The Durham manuscript which contains the incomplete capitular office (London, BL, Harley MS. 1804) does, however contain a limited obital attached to a calendar.¹⁸⁸ The calendar and obital date from after 1494, as the obit for Prior John Auckland, who died in that year, is included in the original hand.¹⁸⁹ A comparison with the twelfth century obital in the Cantor's Book is instructive. Both lists show a similar grouping of names for remembrance roughly once a week, a feature of the presentation of the twelfth century obital commented on by the editor of the calendar in DCL B.IV.24.¹⁹⁰ The fifteenth century list, however, has additional days not noticed by the twelfth century list, a feature possibly explained by a development during the life of the earlier list of recording new obits on actual death days rather than as part of a predetermined list.¹⁹¹ The twelfth century list contains the names of individual monks of Durham together with those of bishops, kings and other non-monastic persons but the fifteenth century list is much more restricted and contains the names of kings, bishops and priors of Durham, all other names having been removed. The late list contains no names of persons for whom confraternity letters survive in the priory registers. Each celebration is graded by an indication of the number of copes to be worn. In addition the fifteenth century list includes a regular but intermittent 'ob[ierunt] fratres'. That 'ob[ierunt] fratres' means remembrance of monks of Durham is clear. In cases where the earlier list had names of monks but no other anniversaries on a particular date, this is replaced in the later text by the phrase 'ob[ierunt] fratres'.¹⁹² The late fifteenth century obital suggests that, just as in the twelfth century, the majority of associates were remembered during the capitular office, and their names were recorded in a chapter

necrology. A few special benefactors and bishops and priors of Durham (that is those included in the Harley obital) were remembered in a more ceremonial way. In addition a regular but intermittent celebration in the choir was conducted for deceased brethren of the monastery. If members of the confraternity of St Cuthbert were counted as monks of the monastery of Durham it is to be assumed that their names were also remembered during these celebrations.

The evidence for commemorative practice in late medieval Durham is not very complete, but it appears that persons in confraternity with the monastery were entitled to annual prayers, possibly on the scale offered for a deceased monk, during the capitular office. If this is the case it difficult to see that the *Liber Vitae* would have been involved/used in such a commemoration, which depended on a necrology maintained and used in the chapter house. It is possible, on the basis of the evidence of the obital attached to the calendar in Harley 1804, that regular solemn celebrations were held throughout the year for members of the community, which might have included those in confraternity also. It is conceivable that the *Liber Vitae* might have been used at mass on these occasions, but, if the interpretation of the entries 'ob[ierunt] fratres' is correct, these happened several times a year. The reference in the inscription to an annual celebration cannot therefore relate to these.

Unless the evidence of the inscription in the *Liber Vitae* is to be discounted, it follows that the book was used in an annual celebration. The most obvious feast would be All Souls, which was usually celebrated on 2

November. This feast, established by Abbot Odilo of Cluny before 1033, came to be widely adopted all over the Christian world.¹⁹³ The *Monastic Constitutions* speak of it as an adjunct to the feast of All Saints, but it was important enough to have a vigil.¹⁹⁴ The calendar of Durham printed by Wormald does not contain it but a note in the Durham Cantor's Book notices it as a major feast.¹⁹⁵ That some celebration occurred on All Souls in Durham is instanced by payments to clerks to sing a psalter on the day, as for example in 1376, '*In soluc. facta clericis dicentibus psalteria die Animarum, anno lxxvj*', 10s.¹⁹⁶

The assertion on folio 63v that the *Liber Vitae* was used in an annual celebration is completely at variance with the claims for the use of it made by the author of the *Rites of Durham*. This account of the customs and practices of the monastery on the eve of the Reformation, written c.1593 by a former servant of the monastery includes a description, which is often quoted, as follows:

There did lye on the high altar an excellent fine booke uerye richly couered with gold and siluer conteininge the names of all the benefactors towards S^t Cuthberts church from the first originall foundation thereof, the uerye letters for the most part beinge all gilded as is apparent in the said booke till this day the layinge that booke on the high altar did show how highly they esteemed their founders and benefactors, and the dayly and quotidian remembrance they had of them in the time of masse and diuine seruice did argue not onely their gratitude, but also a most diuine and charitable affection to the soules of theire benefactors as well dead as liuinge, which booke is as yett extant declaringe the s^d use in the inscription thereof.¹⁹⁷

This passage makes clear that the manuscript was in a treasure binding. The author remembers the gold lettering of the first volume and that the *Liber Vitae* was associated with the high altar. He is clear that the manuscript contains the names of founders and benefactors of the community, but he does not include the information that the names of the monks of Durham were a major feature of the manuscript. However, by c.1520 monastic names had ceased to be added and, as the older monastic lists are not identified by rubrics or headings, it is possible that he did not know of the previous practice.

It is possible that this description relates only to the first volume as he describes the text 'for the most part beinge all gilded', a statement which only relates to the original core of the manuscript, which at this date was the first volume. But the author goes on to say that the *Liber Vitae* contains the names of all the benefactors of the community of St Cuthbert from its first foundation which perhaps indicates that he had also more recent names in mind and was thinking of both volumes. This suggestion is reinforced by the claim by the author of the *Rites* that the benefactors named in the *Liber Vitae* were also included in a second book in which were recorded the details of their gifts to the church.¹⁹⁸ It is difficult to imagine that the author was not thinking ^{of} these gifts, with which he was no doubt familiar and thus made by recent donors whose names he implies were included in the *Liber Vitae*.

The author of the *Rites* is clear that the people named in the *Liber Vitae* were remembered daily during mass and also in the office, although he gives no details of how this was done. The parallels of this description with

that offered by the eleventh century *Liber Vitae* of New Minster are close and suggest that the sorts of commemoration implied in both descriptions were the same. It is certainly possible that the *Liber Vitae* was used in the *Memento domine* at the end of the Middle Ages as it may have been in the twelfth century, but whether the names were still recited cannot be established.¹⁹⁹ By the late Middle Ages however the additional devotions for the living and the dead and for founders and benefactors which had been part of the office in the twelfth century, had been seriously curtailed, as a result of the reforms initiated by the General Chapter of the English Black Monks.²⁰⁰

Remembrance of friends and benefactors outside the mass need not, however, have been of the sort detailed for the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. There is evidence that other monastic houses, which did not, as far as is known, maintain a *liber vitae*, did maintain records of the benefactors of their houses and did remember them in special devotions during the course of the monastic day. The abbey of St Alban's maintained an elaborate commemoration book known as The *Liber Benefactorum* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D.vii), which lists benefactors to the abbey according to their position in the world, including kings, queens and popes, and each entry details the individual gifts to the house by each benefactor. Further the *Liber Benefactorum* instructs that the names of benefactors are to be remembered three times a day and includes the collects to be used.²⁰¹ Glastonbury also had very elaborate services of remembrance for benefactors of the house, as William of Malmesbury describes: 'On the anniversaries of kings, bishops, abbots and ealdormen who helped to build the church, the

brethren were obliged to celebrate mass for their souls at each altar, and, in particular, in the presence of the whole convent, to do so respectfully using the ornaments that they had given to the church.' ²⁰² A fragmentary thirteenth-century list, which survives as part of London, British Library, Additional MS 17450, records benefactors of Glastonbury, and is arranged to facilitate such commemoration. ²⁰³ It is possible that by the late Middle Ages the monastery of Durham maintained such a book 'containinge the reliques Jewels ornaments and uestments that were giuen to the church by all those founders for the further adorninge of gods seruice' ²⁰⁴ although there is little indication of its existence. The editor of the *Rites* text, Canon Fowler, equated this book with the 'the great book of the high altar' known from other Durham sources, but there are two objections to this. ²⁰⁵ First, the 'great book' was kept on the high altar but the *Rites* description is careful to make no such claims for the volume it describes. Secondly, the 'great book' has been convincingly equated with the 'Red Book of Durham' by Sir Edmund Craster, and appears to have been a gospel book to which were added documents and a chronicle. ²⁰⁶ If Craster is correct this is not the book described in the *Rites*. If Durham did possess a book containing details of the gifts given by individual benefactors it is not necessary to assume that it was ancient. It is possible that it was created in the first half of the fifteenth century, as there survives a document known as the *Benefactions of the Bishops*, compiled by Prior John Wessington in the late 1430s. This document is principally concerned to list gifts to the convent by deceased bishops as well as items bequeathed in their wills, but it might have formed part of the research necessary for the production of a benefactor's book, such as was produced for St Alban's

abbey.²⁰⁷

The differences in the description of the *Liber Vitae* offered by the late fifteenth century inscription in the manuscript and the late sixteenth century description in the *Rites* are too great to be reconciled. There are three possible reasons for the differences. In the first place the author of the *Rites* may simply have been mistaken when he described the use of the book. His account was written over fifty years after the suppression of the monastery of Durham. It is not known who the author was. Cambridge is of the opinion that he was a monk, but Knowles felt he was rather an outside observer.²⁰⁸ If he was indeed an eyewitness to the customs he describes, rather than a person who received information at second-hand, he must have been a young man in 1539 and can have been associated with the monastery for only a brief period before the suppression of the house. Although his description of the *Liber Vitae* may have been correct, he may have been mistaken in his recollections of the details of its use; because he assumed that the *Liber Vitae* contained the names of friends and benefactors of the priory he wrongly associated it with a daily remembrance of the friends and benefactors of the priory that occurred in the early fifteenth century. The author of the *Rites* did confuse his material on other occasions; he was clearly mistaken in his account of one of the chief relics of the monastery, known as the Black Rood of Scotland, said by him to be a large rood group when in fact it was a small cross some eight inches across.²⁰⁹

Against this hypothesis is the fact that the author of the *Rites* intimates that he has seen the *Liber Vitae* and states that the use to which it was put

can be read in an inscription contained within it, 'which booke is as yett extant declaringe the s^d use in the inscription thereof'.²¹⁰ If he really knew the fifteenth century inscription, it is difficult to believe that he could have mistaken the word '*annualis*' or have misunderstood the clear reference to masses for the dead in the inscription. Either he was aware of another inscription now missing or he deliberately falsified his account of his source. It is possible that he deliberately raised the status and profile of the book in his account. His is not a disinterested history, but a strong plea for the validity of the old ways. His account of the destruction of the cenotaph in the cloister, traditionally supposed to mark the spot on which the body of the saint rested in the Anglo-Saxon cathedral, which was surmounted by an image of St Cuthbert in mass vestments, is but one example. In his account Dean Horne (1551-3) caused the monument to be taken down but the image of St Cuthbert was set on one side,²¹¹ but Dean Whittingham (1563-79),

he caused y^e saide Image to be defaced & broken all in peaces, to thintent that there should be no memory nor token of that holie ma(n) S^acte Cuthbert w^{ch} was sent & browght thether by y^e powre & will of almightie god w^{ch} was y^e occasio(n) of y^e buylding of the sayde monasticall Church and House where they haue all there living(s) and com(m)odities to lyve on at this daie.²¹²

The *Rites* includes many details of the observances accorded to the memory of those who had participated in the life of the monastery, which since 1539 had been swept away. The detailed description of the Feretory includes an account of the banners which had been offered to St Cuthbert in token of the victory of Neville's Cross by Ralph, lord Neville in 1346. The author of the

Rites describes the fate of these banners, 'after the suppression of the house they were all taken down, spoiled and defaced that the memory thereof should be clean taken away'.²¹³ The destruction of the monuments in the monks' cemetery is condemned by our author in like manner.²¹⁴

The author of the *Rites* attributes to Dean Whittingham and his chapter a desire to obliterate the memory of St Cuthbert, the monastic church and all those once associated with it, monks or laity.²¹⁵ That would include the memory of the friends and benefactors of the community and church of St Cuthbert which had been conscientiously maintained by the monks in their round of commemorative services and devotions and to which the author of the *Rites* was himself attached. In this context it is easy to see how the *Liber Vitae*, as a record of the associates of the saint and his monastery and somehow preserved from the purges of Dean Whittingham, might be assigned an enhanced importance by the author of the *Rites* in support of his contention that the old days and ways were better.²¹⁶

A third way to explain the discrepancy between the account of the use of the *Liber Vitae* in the *Rites* and in the fifteenth century inscription is to assume that both are substantially correct and that the *Liber Vitae* was subject to a change of use in period after the inscription was added to the volume. It has been shown above that the book was revived in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century, when a quire was added to its structure and large numbers of names were added to it. The addition of so many non-monastic names to the book suggests a strong association between the monastery and the local population, and so it is necessary to ask what access

the people of Durham had to the round of monastic services in the late-fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and whether there is any evidence that they might have benefited from the spiritual services offered by the monks.

The nave of the cathedral of Durham was not parochial, as was the case in some monasteries. However, it is clear that the laity were able to enter the church and were encouraged to attend services, to hear the monks preach and to make offerings. The *Rites* describes two holy water stoops, made of blue marble, which once stood in the church. One stood within the north door, surrounded by a wainscot and the second was positioned at the east-end of the nave inside the south door. The author of the *Rites* goes on to explain that the stoop at the south door served, 'ye prior and all ye convent with ye whole house. The other at the 'northe dor... servinge all those that came that waie to here Divyne service'.²¹⁷

The north door from Palace Green was thus the access to the church for the townspeople. It also appears to be the ceremonial meeting point between the priory community and the townsfolk. The accounts of the Corpus Christi ceremonies indicate that the shrine of Corpus Christi, normally kept in St Nicholas church in the Market Place, was processed through the town and approached the north door of the cathedral on Palace Green by way of Windy Gap. The shrine was met on Palace Green by the prior and monks with the banner of St Cuthbert. After the prior had censed the shrine it was led between the lights and banners of the various trade companies via the north door into the cathedral choir. A solemn service of *Te deum* was then sung whilst the trade banners processed around the feretory.²¹⁸

The accounts of the feast of Corpus Christi indicate that the laity had access to the east-end of the church and the feretory of St Cuthbert at least on festival days. It is possible that they had some access to the area under the crossing tower more regularly. The western parts of the church were divided from the monastic church by the stone Rood Screen, which was located between the western crossing piers and by further screen work blocking the east end of the north aisle of the nave.²¹⁹ Access from the nave to the east end via the south aisle was not possible because of the position of the Neville chantry chapel and a further screen.²²⁰ Access to the eastern parts of the church from the nave was through three doors, the first, called the 'trellisdoure', was in the north aisle, the second and third were the two doors in the Rood screen itself.²²¹ According to the *Rites* both the 'trellisdoure' and the northern rood screen door were kept locked except on holy days and when there was to be a procession but the south rood screen door was only locked at night.²²² It may therefore have been possible for the laity to penetrate into the space below the crossing and between the rood and choir screens. The *Rites* makes it clear that this was possible:

Also on y^e backsyde of y^e said Rood before y^e queir dore...there was a long forme wh^{ch} dyd reche fro(m) y^e one Rood dore to y^e other, where me(n) dyd sytt to rest theme selves on & say there praiers & here devyne s(er)vice.²²³

That the laity did have access to this space seems to be confirmed by the details of the ceremony of the Veneration of the Cross on Good Friday. John McKinnell describes this ceremony by conflating various contemporary sources. The ceremony began in the choir where the monks venerated the

cross, each creeping to a crucifix displayed on a cushion in the sanctuary. When this ceremony was ended the crucifix is taken to the door 'at the back of the quire' to be venerated by the laity. McKinnell glosses this last instruction by explaining that it was 'the door into the crossing at the west-end of the choir, where the rood screen is now'.²²⁴ The modern rood screen stands where the monastic quire screen originally stood, between the eastern crossing piers of the church, and its door gave access to the space under the crossing, not to the nave. Although the *Rites* suggests the laity in general were admitted to this space, in fact only men can have been permitted to use it, as there was a tradition in Durham that women were not allowed to enter the eastern parts of the church, a prohibition associated with the supposed attitudes of St Cuthbert towards women. A version of the legend accounting for this ban is recounted in the *Rites*.²²⁵ Women were traditionally restricted to the Galilee Chapel and the very west end of the nave. The eastward boundary of the women's part of the church was indicated in the floor of the nave by a strip of blue marble extending across the nave from a point to the west of the north door, its centre marked by a cross also of blue marble which as the *Rites* explains is:

in toke(n) y^t all women that came to hear devine s(er)vice should not be suffered to come about y^e said cross, and if it chaunced y^t any women to come about it wthin y^e body of y^e church, thene, straighte wayes she was taken awaie and punished for certaine daies...²²⁶

That this ban was of long standing is evidenced by a charter of c.1180-9 in which Ranulf Surtees, his wife and son, granted the church of Rounton to the monks. Ranulf and his son Richard confirmed their gift on the high altar of the

cathedral, whereas Ranulf's wife, Beatrice, confirmed her part in the gift at the altar of St Mary in the Galilee.²²⁷ That the area of the Galilee required supervision, presumably in relation to the access required by the laity, is evidenced by the fact that there was a monastic officer called the Master of the Galilee, known from the early fourteenth century, although little is known of his duties or responsibilities.²²⁸

In the sixteenth century the nave and the Galilee chapel contained several altars. It may be significant, in respect of the traditions of access of women to the church, that all, except the Jesus altar, were positioned to the west of the line of demarcation.²²⁹ There were four altars in the nave of the church.²³⁰ On the north side between the two pillars immediately to the west of the north door, adjacent to the holy water stoop, stood the altar of Our Lady of Pity.²³¹ On the south side, opposite the altar of Our Lady of Pity, was the altar of the Bound Rood, similarly positioned between two pillars of the nave arcade and surrounded by wainscot screens.²³² The image attached to this altar appears to have been a figure of Christ as he must have appeared at his scourging or at his mocking. The altar of St Saviour was positioned in the north-west corner of the nave, below the Galilee steeple. The author of the *Rites* asserts that the altar had been there 'from ye first foundacion of ye church' with the altar stone built into the wall.²³³

The principal altar in the nave was the Jesus altar, which stood at the east end of the nave against the west face of the rood screen. It was surrounded by a wainscot porch, with access on the north side. The door was kept generally locked. Vestments and vessels for use at this altar were stored

in four almeries in the south side of the wooden partition.²³⁴ The altar was decorated with a triptych of the Passion, which was kept shut and was locked except for principal days.²³⁵ The west end of the porch had big double doors the width of the porch, made of carved woodwork about the height of a man's chest, with metal spikes set in the top. These were opened on principal days, when a monk said mass so that 'every man might come in and se' the open altarpiece.²³⁶ It was before this altar and the great Rood above it on the screen that the Sunday procession, in which the whole convent took part, made a station. A bidding prayer was said, followed by the Lord's Prayer and prayers for the dead.²³⁷ In addition to masses said at this altar on principal days, a 'Jhesus mess was song every fridaie thorowe out ye whole yere'.²³⁸ On the north side of the Jesus altar between two of the nave pillars was a loft 'for ye master and quiresters to sing Jesus mess every fridaie conteynge a paire of orgaines to play on, & a fair desk to lie there bookes on in tyme of dyvin service'.²³⁹ In addition to the Jesus mass, every Friday night after evensong was sung 'an anthem song in ye bodye of ye church before ye foresaid Jesus alter called Jesus anthem'. After it the choristers sang a second anthem kneeling before the Jesus altar, accompanied by the tolling of one of the Galilee bells.²⁴⁰

The *Rites* further states that Prior Castell (1494-1519) was buried before the Jesus altar. He was closely associated with the Jesus mass and anthem. During his lifetime he purchased two mills, called the Jesus mills, which he gave to the church of Durham so that he might be remembered in the Jesus mass.²⁴¹ He further obtained lands to the value of 50s 8d which he

assigned to the Sacrist to support the Jesus mass and anthem with lights and the ringing of a bell.²⁴²

In addition to the altars in the nave in the sixteenth century there were three altars in the Galilee chapel. The Galilee chapel was originally constructed by Bishop Hugh of le Puiset (1153-1195) and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.²⁴³ Bishop Langley (1406-1437) repaired it and caused his chantry chapel to be established there, before the altar of Our Lady, which was enclosed by screen work.²⁴⁴ The *Rites* describes how the mass of the Virgin was sung daily by the master of Langley's song school, together with deacons and choristers, the master playing on an organ. Prayers were offered for Bishop Langley's soul at both the beginning and end of the service.²⁴⁵ The two chaplains of the chantry who were also the masters of the grammar and song schools attached it, were also obliged by their statutes to say each day the mass, the office of the day, the office of the Virgin and the office of the dead according to the Sarum rite and the observances of the diocese.²⁴⁶ A second altar dedicated to Our Lady of Pity was positioned to the north of Bishop Langley's chantry. This altar had an image of a Pieta. Around the altar were pictures of Christ's Passion, the series being continued about St Bede's altar, which stood to the south of Langley's chantry. Before this altar stood the shrine of the Venerable Bede, supported on a base of blue marble. The shrine had been moved from its place in the feretory during the reorganisation of the east end initiated by Prior Fosser in the 1370s. The costs apparently had been borne by a layman called Richard of Barnard Castle, whose body was buried close by the shrine.²⁴⁷

In addition to the altars as described in the *Rites* it appears that there were in the Galilee and perhaps at the west-end of the nave a series of pixes in which offerings were made. Thus in 1483-4 the sacrist, George Cornforth, records amongst his receipts for the year, 'de 8s 1d ob. de pixide Santce Crucis in Galilea. 34s 8d de pixide Sci Bede ibidem. 35s 11d de pixide Sancti Salvatoris ad ostium Galilee. 4s 5d de pixide Sanctce Marie de Bethlem ibidem'.²⁴⁸ It is clear also that lights burnt in the Galilee paid for by the generosity of lay persons, although little evidence is forthcoming from the monastic accounts. Thus in 1248 Thomas de Gernum in his will left a rent of 6s 4d from his property in Claypath to be devoted to the maintenance of a lamp before St Mary's altar in the Galilee chapel.²⁴⁹

Whilst it is clear that the laity could attend services in the cathedral, it is also clear that other spiritual services were available to them. According to the *Rites* they could also listen to a sermon once a week:

Every sonnday in ye yere there was a sermon preeched in ye gallely at after none from one of ye clocke till iij & at xij of ye clock ye great bell of ye galleley was toulled every sonndaie iij quarters of an howre & rounge ye forth quarter till one of ye clock, that all ye people of ye towne myght haue warnyng to come & here ye worde of god preached.²⁵⁰

It is possible that sermons were in fact preached more regularly still, as a later reference to the sermons indicates that a monk preached 'every holy day and sunday'.²⁵¹ An indulgence granted by Bishop Langley in 1410 indicates that sermons were also preached in the churchyard.²⁵² The pulpit in the Galilee chapel was made of iron and positioned close to the west window.²⁵³

The Galilee chapel also contained a font. According to the *Rites* it was situated in the south-west corner of the chapel. The author claims that it was set up by Bishop Langley (1406-1437) for the baptism of infants whilst the country was under interdict, a concession that he obtained from the Pope.²⁵⁴ In fact the concession gained by Langley was permission for the children of excommunicants to be baptised in the font and to receive the other sacraments.²⁵⁵ No evidence is forthcoming as to how frequently it was used, but it is clear that the prior did participate in the baptism ceremonies of the children of local notables.²⁵⁶ People wishing to receive communion and to confess their sins were able to do so in the chapel of St Helen above the abbey east-gate from the late fifteenth century. Prior Castell (1494-1519) rebuilt the abbey gatehouse and re-established the chapel of St Helen there with two chaplains so that the Eucharist could be administered to all lay people who had made confession.²⁵⁷

Burial within the monastic cemetery was also a possibility, at least for a minority of men in the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The *Rites* describes the 'centrie garth where all the P(ri)ors & mounckes was buryed' and in which 'dyu(ers) gentleme(n) of good wourship' who wished to be buried close to St Cuthbert were also interred. The author goes on to name Mr Rackett and Mr Elmden as two of the men buried there and gives some details of their monuments.²⁵⁸ These men are identified as John Rakett and Lionel Elmeden, who were both prior's gentlemen in 1510.²⁵⁹ The Sacrist's rolls indicate that further people paid to be interred in the monk's cemetery. The account for 1441-2 for example has, '*Et de 7li rec. pro sepultura in cimitero monachorum,*

viz de Willelmo Chauncellere, 66s 8d, de Roberto Bayard 6s 8d et de Johanne Glover, 66s 8d. De equo et armatura Willelmi Chauncellere nichil rec. hic quia remanent in stuffo'.²⁶⁰ Not many wills made by Durham residents survive, but that of Thomas Ryhale, dated 1427, requests that his body be buried in 'le Sentorgarth' but that the mortuary payment is to go to the rector of St Mary South Bailey.²⁶¹

Surviving indulgences indicate that lay people received inducements to participate in the spiritual services provided by the monks and to make offerings both generally and for specific causes.²⁶² The *Rites* indicates that notices of the indulgences available were set up in the Galilee.²⁶³ An indulgence of Bishop Langley dated July 1410, offers benefits for those who come to the cathedral to hear the monks preach and to attend specific services, thus:

Indulgence of 40 days by Thomas [Langley] Bishop of Durham to those who listen to the preaching of any of the monks of Durham Cathedral in that church or its cemetery, or who, after hearing the triple ringing at the triple prayer after the singing of the antiphon *Salve Regina*, sung daily by the monks there after compline, say three times the *Patemoster* with a triple Ave for the benefactors of the same church, the souls of all the faithful, and for the healthful state of the king of England, his realm, and the English church; approving all other indulgences granted for the same purpose by archbishops and bishops possessing papal permission.²⁶⁴

The anthem *Salve Regina* was ordered to be said daily after compline at the General Chapter of the black Monks held at Northampton in 1343, with the injunction repeated in 1444, although the antiphon was much older than this.²⁶⁵ It is possible that the triple prayer is some version of the

Trina Oratio, an ancient devotion, a version of which was said at Gloucester in the fifteenth century.²⁶⁶ Clearly, however, the indulgence indicates that the laity could attend, indeed were encouraged to attend, the cathedral to hear the devotions additional to compline at the end of the monastic day and that by saying prayers with specific intentions for the benefactors of the church of Durham, the souls of the faithful and for the health of the king and the kingdom, they might gain benefits for themselves. Unfortunately the record of indulgences offered at Durham is incomplete. None survive that might detail the benefits accruing to those attending the Jesus mass and anthem for example, although it is known to have been an indulgenced devotion.²⁶⁷

If the laity in general were encouraged to attend monastic services in the cathedral, groups of townspeople who were associated with the Guild of St Cuthbert would have attended the church on a regular basis. This guild was probably founded in the mid-thirteenth century, with an alderman to manage its affairs and a guild-house in Clayport in the town, part of the rent from which was diverted to the fabric fund of the cathedral.²⁶⁸ The guild was apparently refounded, perhaps for the purposes of collecting more property, by letters patent from Bishop Neville in 1450, with license from him to acquire land in mortmain up to £10 yearly.²⁶⁹ The guild was open to men and women who were to choose a *custos* yearly, and were permitted a common seal and the right of the master to oversee the revenues. The guild at this time was said to be 'founded' by John Lounde, William Raket, Robert Rodes, Richard Raket, Robert Sotheron, chaplain and John Bynchester, chaplain, men prominent in the affairs of the priory and the city.²⁷⁰ It is not certain at which

altar in the cathedral the guild was established but according to the *Rites* the altar of Our Lady of Pity in the Galilee 'was ordeyned for a Chantry preiste to saie mess every holy Daie'²⁷¹ so it is possible that the Guild of St Cuthbert held services in the Galilee, the centre of lay activity within the cathedral. The fifteenth century membership of the guild is not known beyond the 'founding' members. The evidence for the existence of this guild, despite its obvious importance, is slight, so it possible that other associations used altars in the cathedral although all record of their having done so is lost.

From the evidence available it appears that the cathedral church was open to the laity and that they were able to benefit from a range of spiritual services offered by the monks. Unfortunately little evidence survives to indicate how frequently the laity of Durham availed themselves of the services on offer. Despite this the late entries in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham must be seen in the context of lay involvement in the cathedral priory and as evidence of that involvement.

In conclusion, it is clear that the evidence for the function and use of the *Liber Vitae* from its creation in the ninth century to the middle of the sixteenth century is very incomplete and for the late Middle Ages contradictory. It consists of evidence contained in the manuscript itself, of evidence associated with the use of other *libri vitae* and from other sources. To be appreciated it has to be set against the evidence that survives for commemorative practices within the monastery of Durham and elsewhere,

which is also fragmentary. Detailed consideration of all this does, however, suggest that to derive the use of the Durham *Liber Vitae* from the preface to the New Minster book and, by linking this account to the account in the *Rites of Durham*, to conclude that the *Liber Vitae* was an altar book and used in the mass from its inception to the Reformation, is an oversimplification. If no other inferences drawn from the evidence surveyed above are accepted, the account of the book in the fifteenth century inscription gives the lie to the possibility of any real continuity in use between the eleventh and sixteenth centuries. Consideration of the codicological and palaeographical evidence suggested that the *Liber Vitae* was subject to both physical reorganisation and to periods of disuse, punctuated by periodic relaunches and revivals of popularity. It seems reasonable further to assert that the use to which it was put changed over time as successive generations of the monks of St Cuthbert grappled with the problem of adequately commemorating their associates and created commemorative documents and records suited to their purposes.

Notes to chapter 5

¹ The reference to the album of Lindisfarne by Bede in 721 must refer to a predecessor of the Durham Liber Vitae, see Briggs (forthcoming).

² For a discussion of the evidence from Anglo-Saxon England see Keynes (1996), pp. 49-65.

³ See above, pp. 21-2.

⁴ Keynes (1996), p. 50.

⁵ Hlawitschka, Schmid et al. (1970), p.78 and facsimile.

⁶ Geuenich (forthcoming).

⁷ Constable (1972), p. 265 and n. 19.

⁸ Autenrieth, Geuenich et al. (1978), p. 3 of the facsimile.

⁹ Geuenich (1991), p. 29 and passim.

¹⁰ Geuenich (1991), p. 34.

¹¹ Angenendt (forthcoming).

¹² Constable (1972), p. 262.

¹³ McLaughlin (1985), pp. 99-109.

¹⁴ Herzberg-Fränkell (1904), pp. 6 and 42. Printed and discussed by Thompson (1923), pp. xi-xii. The texts are as follows: *Memorare digneris domine famulos et famulas quique se nobis sacris orationibus vel confessionibus commendarunt et qui elymosinis suis se commendaverunt venerabile loca (sic) sanctorum quorum nomina sunt scripta in libro vitae et supra sancto altario sunt posita famulorum famularumque tuarum.* and *Dignare domine in memoriam sempiternam commemorare et refrigere*

animabus quas de hoc saeculo pacifica assumptione migrare iussisti omnium Christianorum catholicorum quique confessi defuncti sunt quorumque nomina scripta sunt in libro vitae et supra sancto altario sunt posita adscribi iubeas in libro viventium ut a te domine veniam peccatorum consequi mereantur.

¹⁵ For example Exodus 32.32; Isaiah 4.3; Malachi 3.16; Daniel 12.1-2; Philippians 4.3; Revelation 3.5.

¹⁶ Revelation 21. 27.

¹⁷ Revelation 20. 12, 15. The idea is found also in Psalms 138 (139). 16.

¹⁸ Herzberg-Fränkell (1904), pp. 6-7. The lists of Old Testament figures are on p. 6, those of New Testament figures on p. 7 and the name lists follow on pp.7ff.

¹⁹ Angenendt (forthcoming).

²⁰ See above, p. 22 .

²¹ Keynes (1996), p. 51 and the references therein.

²² King (1957), pp. 314-16 at pp. 314-15 and Jungmann (1951-5) vol. 2, pp. 152 and 160-2.

²³ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, p. 152.

²⁴ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, pp. 159-60.

²⁵ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, p. 160 and notes; McLaughlin (1985), pp. 108-10.

²⁶ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, p. 163.

²⁷ King (1957), pp. 429-32 and Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 1, pp. 82ff.

²⁸ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, p. 164.

-
- ²⁹ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, pp. 237-248.
- ³⁰ McLaughlin (1985), p. 76 and note 16.
- ³¹ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, pp. 238-9 and Bishop (1918), p. 101.
- ³² Bishop (1918), pp.100-1
- ³³ Bishop (1918), p.101.
- ³⁴ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, p. 239.
- ³⁵ Herzberg-Fränkell (1904), pp. 7-11.
- ³⁶ Herzberg-Fränkell (1904), pp.12-17.
- ³⁷ Herzberg-Fränkell (1904), pp.17-41.
- ³⁸ Geuenich (1991), pp. 33-4.
- ³⁹ The translation is offered by Constable (1972), pp. 263-4 and n.15;see Hlawitschka, Schmid et al. (1970), the edition pp. 1-2 and the facsimile, fols. 1v-2r.
- ⁴⁰ McLaughlin (1985), p. 77.
- ⁴¹ McLaughlin (1985), p. 77 and Constable (1972), p. 264, n. 16 and the references therein.
- ⁴² Keynes (1996), p. 51.
- ⁴³ Constable (1972), p. 263.
- ⁴⁴ Constable (1972), p. 263.
- ⁴⁵ Constable (1972), p. 263 and references therein.
- ⁴⁶ A point raised by Constable (1972), p. 263.

⁴⁷ The *Liber memorialis* of Remiremont also includes lists which separate the living and the dead. Unlike the Salzburg book these, where they occur, are lists distinguishing the living and the dead of individual houses in confraternity with Remiremont, see Hlawitschka, Schmid et al. (1970). For example the list on fol. 8v has the heading *Nomina fratrum monasterii Indae* and the sub-heading *Nomina fratrum defunctorum Indensium*, see pp. 13-14 and facsimile.

⁴⁸ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, p. 162.

⁴⁹ Jungmann (1951-5), vol. 2, p. 163 and n. 21.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 102.

⁵¹ See above, pp. 144 ff.

⁵² Johnson South (2002), pp. 49-51 and above pp. 150 ff.

⁵³ Geuenich (1991), p. 34.

⁵⁴ Keynes (1996), p. 72.

⁵⁵ McLaughlin (1985), pp. 113-14; Huyghebaert (1972), pp. 33-41.

⁵⁶ See pp. 220 ff.

⁵⁷ Symons (1953), pp. ix-xxv and discussion in Knowles (1966), pp. 31-56, esp. pp. 42ff.

⁵⁸ Symons (1953), p. xxix.

⁵⁹ Knowles and Brooke (2002), p. xliii for discussion of the contemporary title for the work.

⁶⁰ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. xxx-xxxv; Knowles (1956), pp. 123-4; Klukas (1983), esp. pp. 141-4.

⁶¹ Knowles and Brooke (2002), p. xliv.

⁶² Piper (1994), p.80 and Gullick (1994), pp. 93-5.

⁶³ The confraternity documents in the *Liber Vitae* are on fols. 36v, 52r and 52v, they are printed Stevenson (1841), pp. 32-37 and 71-74. The agreements in DCL B.IV.24 are also printed by Stevenson (1841) on pp. 135-139.

⁶⁴ Tolhurst (1940), see index under Durham.

⁶⁵ Thompson (1923). For discussion of the lists see Piper (1998), pp. 161-7, where the list in the *Liber Vitae* is discussed in comparison with a similar list in DUL, MS Cosin V.II.6; and Piper (forthcoming).

⁶⁶ Thompson (1923), p. xviii and facsimile. Stevenson (1841), pp. 71-2 (fol. 48). The abbot of Westminster was Vitalis (1076-1085?) (Knowles, Brooke et al. (1972), p. 76).

⁶⁷ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 111-13.

⁶⁸ Thompson (1923); Stevenson (1841), p. 73 (fol. 48b)

⁶⁹ Thompson (1923); Stevenson (1841), p. 73 (fol. 48b)

⁷⁰ Thompson (1923); Stevenson (1841), p. 73 (fol. 48b)

⁷¹ Thompson (1923); Stevenson (1841), p. 72 (fol. 48). The *Monastic Constitutions* offers a detailed account of what should be done in the event of the death of a monk, which differs from that outlined by this agreement, see Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 178-195, and esp. pp. 186-193, which offers a detailed account of the observances to be offered after the funeral.

⁷² Burton (forthcoming).

⁷³ Burton (1979), pp. 326-8.

⁷⁴ Atkins (1940), at pp. 212-20, where the lists are edited and dated to between 1099 and 1109.

⁷⁵ Thompson (1923); Stevenson (1841), p. 32 (fol. 33b, indication of the beginning of which is omitted), the entry in question begins half way down the page.

⁷⁶ Thompson (1923), p. xix; Stevenson (1841), p. 33.

⁷⁷ Thompson (1923), p. xix for the translation. This person is identified by Alan Piper as Ulfran, canon of St Paul's, who occurs 1104/5 and 1114/5, see Piper (1994), p. 88 n. 46.

⁷⁸ Angenendt (forthcoming).

⁷⁹ Stevenson (1841), p. 73 (fol. 48b); Thompson (1923), fol. 52v (pencil foliation). The translation is that of Thompson, pp. xix-xx. For discussion of the context of the agreement see Wall (1994) esp. pp 330-2.

⁸⁰ Stevenson (1841), p. 73, (fol. 48b) and Thompson (1923), fol. 52v (pencil foliation).

⁸¹ Thompson (1923); Stevenson (1841), p. 105 (fol. 63) and Barrow (forthcoming).

⁸² Stevenson (1841), p. 135, from fol. 2 of DCL B.IV.24.

⁸³ Geuenich (1991), p. 34. Bishop discusses the entry of English names in the Pfäfers book, where a wider circle are entered than those known to have made the journey, see Bishop (1918), p. 355 and notes.

⁸⁴ Angenendt (forthcoming).

⁸⁵ Thompson (1923), Stevenson (1841), p. 4 (fol. 13b) and for discussion of the significance of the entry see Barrow (forthcoming).

⁸⁶ Keynes (1996), pp. 82-3.

⁸⁷ See above, pp. 16-18 esp. p. 17.

⁸⁸ Clark (1985), p. 55.

⁸⁹ Clark (1985), p. 51.

⁹⁰ Thompson (1923); Stevenson (1841), pp. 59 (fol. 44) and 68 (fol. 47).

⁹¹ Thompson (1923); Stevenson (1841), p. 18 (fol. 23b).

⁹² See above, pp. 194-5.

⁹³ This translation is offered in Keynes (1996), pp. 82-83, and with some slight differences in Bishop (1918), p. 352. The Latin text is printed in Birch (1892), pp. 11-12.

⁹⁴ See above p. 195.

⁹⁵ Gerchow (1992), pp. 222-35.

⁹⁶ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 168-9.

⁹⁷ See above, pp. 196 ff.

⁹⁸ See above, pp. 106 ff.

⁹⁹ Rollason (2000), pp. 5-7.

¹⁰⁰ See for example, Bishop (1918), pp. 351-2.

¹⁰¹ This translation is offered in Keynes (1996), pp. 82-83, and with some slight differences in Bishop (1918), p. 352. The Latin text is printed in Birch (1892), pp. 11-12.

¹⁰² See above, p. 197.

¹⁰³ Bishop (1918), p. 352, prints this text without comment.

¹⁰⁴ Symons (1953), pp. xliii-xliv.

¹⁰⁵ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. xxiii-xxiv.

¹⁰⁶ Symons (1953), pp. 16 and 65-6.

¹⁰⁷ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 186-7.

¹⁰⁸ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 6-7 and n. 17.

¹⁰⁹ Klukas (1983), with diagrams of the proposed positions of this altar within the churches which adopted the *Monastic Constitutions* as the basis of their customs. For Durham see pp. 163-5 and fig. 11. The actual positioning of the altars at Durham is in doubt as the position of the choir screen and therefore the choir-stalls as suggested by Klukas has been disputed by Russo (1994), pp. 259-63.

¹¹⁰ For the positions of the principal altars in the church see the plan attached to the end of Fowler (1903).

¹¹¹ Symons (1953), p. xxxii and Knowles and Brooke (2002), p. xxii.

¹¹² Tolhurst (1940), p. 82.

¹¹³ Tolhurst (1940), p. 84.

¹¹⁴ Tolhurst (1940), p. 84.

¹¹⁵ Tolhurst (1940), p. 57-64; Symons (1953), p. 23.

¹¹⁶ Tolhurst (1940), p. 57; Symons (1953), section 16, p. 12; section 16, p. 20; section 54, p. 18; and section 27, pp. 14ff.

¹¹⁷ Symons (1953), pp. 12-13.

¹¹⁸ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 58, 42 and 23.

¹¹⁹ Tolhurst (1940), p. 59.

¹²⁰ Tolhurst (1940), p. 59.

¹²¹ Tolhurst (1940), pp. 64-8.

¹²² Tolhurst (1940), p. 65; Symons (1953), p. 13.

¹²³ Tolhurst (1940), p. 65.

¹²⁴ Tolhurst (1940), pp. 64-66 and for the devotion at Durham p. 65.

¹²⁵ Symons (1953); Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. xxii-xxiii.

¹²⁶ Tolhurst (1940), p. 72.

¹²⁷ Tolhurst (1940), pp. 72-5.

¹²⁸ Symons (1953), p. xliii.

¹²⁹ Knowles and Brooke (2002), p. xxii.

¹³⁰ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 186-9 and 192-3.

¹³¹ Symons (1953), pp. xxiii and xliii-xliv.

¹³² The Latin text is printed by Stevenson (1841), p. 73 and the translation by Thompson (1923), pp. xix-xx.

¹³³ The form of the *breve* is described in the *Regularis Concordia*, see Symons (1953), p. 66. For a description of the capitular office see Tolhurst (1940), pp. 50-55 at p. 54. For a description of the Cantor's responsibilities see Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 118-23.

¹³⁴ Geuenich (1991), p. 30.

¹³⁵ Piper (1994), pp. 88-9 and notes.

¹³⁶ Piper (1994), pp. 79-84.

¹³⁷ Piper (1994), p. 80 identifies the form of the script in which the text is written as coming from Canterbury in the late eleventh century. A more precise identification has since been achieved by Michael Gullick and Tessa Webber see Knowles and Brooke (2002), p. xliv.

¹³⁸ Piper (1994), p. 79 and Knowles and Brooke (2002), p. xliv.

¹³⁹ Piper (1994), p. 85.

¹⁴⁰ Piper (1994), pp. 85-88.

¹⁴¹ A discussion of this relationship by Piper (1994), pp. 88-89, is less than complete because of his failure to include in his consideration the agreements entered into the *Liber Vitae* on fol. 52r-v.

¹⁴² Piper (1994), p. 88 and n. 49.

¹⁴³ Piper (1994), p. 88.

¹⁴⁴ Piper (1994), p. 88.

¹⁴⁵ Piper (forthcoming).

¹⁴⁶ Atkins (1940), p. 219.

¹⁴⁷ See above, p. 156.

¹⁴⁸ See above, pp. 76 ff.

¹⁴⁹ For a discussion of the reorganisation of the manuscript, see above, pp. 76 ff.

¹⁵⁰ Piper (1998), pp. 174-5.

¹⁵¹ Doyle (1998), pp. 122-3; Rollason (2000), p. xix.

¹⁵² Piper (forthcoming).

¹⁵³ See above pp. 214-15.

¹⁵⁴ The appearance of these lections should be compared to the arrangement of those in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster, see Keynes (1996), pp. 102-3 and facsimile.

¹⁵⁵ See above, pp. 73-5.

¹⁵⁶ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 170-1.

¹⁵⁷ Knowles and Brooke (2002), p. 171.

¹⁵⁸ Prof. Paul Harvey pers. comm.

¹⁵⁹ For details of the history of this page see above, pp. 89 – 91.

¹⁶⁰ Although I discovered the existence of the text on fol. 63v, I was unable to make any significant progress in deciphering it. Prof. Paul Harvey kindly undertook to read it for me. When he presented his transcript, with characteristic modesty, he stressed that all his readings were open to doubt, but it will be clear from what follows that he deciphered sufficient of this very damaged text to enable its importance to be recognised and assessed.

¹⁶¹ For a reproduction of the Cottonian page see Tite (forthcoming).

¹⁶² The exception is Briggs (1987), pp. 33-4. Rather oddly she considers the text on fol. 3v to be in a late medieval hand.

¹⁶³ See above p. 91.

¹⁶⁴ See above, pp. 169ff.

¹⁶⁵ McLaughlin (1985), p. 116.

¹⁶⁶ Huyghebaert (1972), pp. 33-41.

¹⁶⁷ Symons (1953), p. 67.

¹⁶⁸ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 112-13. As the instruction is over and above the commemoration offered to a monk the implication is that the anniversaries of monks should not be celebrated.

¹⁶⁹ For an edition of the obits from the margins of the Durham Cantor's Book see, Piper (1998), pp. 188-201.

¹⁷⁰ Piper (1998), p. 200. Where in addition to the text details of the persons in the entry are provided.

¹⁷¹ Tolhurst (1940), pp. 50-5. An incomplete version of the capitular office survives for Durham in B.L. Harley 1804, a manuscript dating from the fifteenth century. The variations of this version over other survivals are discussed by Tolhurst.

¹⁷² Stevenson (1841), p. 73, (fol. 48b); Thompson (1923), fol. 52v. The translation is that of Thompson, pp. xix-xx.

¹⁷³ Piper (1998), p. 199.

¹⁷⁴ Stevenson (1841), p. 139. The generosity of Edgar to the community of St Cuthbert was presumably the context for this elevated remembrance. See Barrow (1994), p. 315.

¹⁷⁵ DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, 41r-v and printed Raine (1841), p. 158.

¹⁷⁶ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 59r and printed Raine (1841), p. 90.

¹⁷⁷ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 327v. This letter is not printed.

¹⁷⁸ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 139r.

¹⁷⁹ For example, DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 13r, has a memo that on 6th July 1491 a letter of confraternity was granted to Christopher Waryner and Agnes his wife, 'in common form'.

¹⁸⁰ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 130v.

¹⁸¹ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 139r.

¹⁸² DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 145v.

¹⁸³ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 160r.

¹⁸⁴ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 260v with a second copy at fol. 336r.

¹⁸⁵ DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 98v, for the earlier letters.

¹⁸⁶ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 175r, and printed in Raine (1839), pp. ccccxvii-cccccxviii.

¹⁸⁷ Fowler (1903), pp. 51-2.

¹⁸⁸ Wormald (1939), p. 163. Printed in Stevenson (1841), pp. 149-52.

¹⁸⁹ Wormald (1939), p. 163.

¹⁹⁰ Piper (1994), pp. 86-7; Piper (1998), p. 167.

¹⁹¹ Piper (1998), p. 167.

¹⁹² For example, the *vi kal. Augusti*, Piper (1998), p. 197 and Stevenson (1841), p. 151.

¹⁹³ Constable (2000), pp. 254ff; McLaughlin (1985), pp. 75-6 and 230-33.

¹⁹⁴ Knowles and Brooke (2002), pp. 95-7.

¹⁹⁵ Stevenson (1841), p. 139.

¹⁹⁶ DCM, Bursar's Accounts 1376, under *Elemos. cons.* Printed Fowler (1901), p. 584.

¹⁹⁷ Fowler (1903), pp. 16-17.

¹⁹⁸ Fowler (1903), p. 17.

¹⁹⁹ See above, pp. 196ff and pp. 220 ff.

²⁰⁰ Tolhurst (1940), pp. 5-7. The reforms initiated by the General Chapter were neither generally welcomed nor uniformly observed; and it is clear that, despite the interventions of the General Chapter, in some places including

Durham some extra devotions continued or even increased in extent. It is the case that the suffrages said at Durham after vespers and lauds did not conform to the statute issued in 1277 and reissued in 1343 and 1444 (Tolhurst (1940), p. 7). On the other hand the manuscript evidence indicates that the statute issued by the Northern province in 1310 limiting the *Psalmi Familiares* to prime was obeyed in Durham (Tolhurst (1940), pp. 84-90, esp. p.90).

²⁰¹ Sandler (1986), vol. II, no. 158, pp. 180-81; Watson (1979), no. 546, p. 105; Dugdale (1819) vol. II, pp. 209ff. I owe my information on this manuscript to Dr Rebecca Reader.

²⁰² William of Malmesbury, *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, quoted by Blows (1991), p. 257.

²⁰³ Blows (1991), p. 258. The list is on fol. 5v of the manuscript.

²⁰⁴ Fowler (1903), p.17

²⁰⁵ Fowler (1903), p. 208n.

²⁰⁶ Craster (1925), especially pp. 519ff.

²⁰⁷ Cambridge (1992), p. 32.

²⁰⁸ Cambridge (1992), pp. 32-3; Knowles (1948-59), vol. II, p. 130 n.2.

²⁰⁹ Rollason (1998), p. 61.

²¹⁰ Fowler (1903), p. 17.

²¹¹ Fowler (1903), p. 68.

²¹² Fowler (1903), pp. 68-9.

²¹³ Fowler (1903), pp. 6-7.

²¹⁴ Fowler (1903), p. 60.

²¹⁵ The author of the *Rites* is particularly opposed to the activities of Dean Whittingham and his wife Katherine, who was a French woman. His antagonisms fit well with the local resentments which fuelled the rebellion of the Northern Earls in 1569, when the resumption of the catholic religion was apparently a possibility. For a discussion of the rebellion and the part of Dean Whittingham in it, which uses quotations from the *Rites* without further comment see Marcombe (1987), *passim*. I have not found any discussion of the *Rites* which places its creation in the later 1560s rather than the early 1590's.

²¹⁶ The progress of the English Reformation, which after 1552 denied any belief in Purgatory and suppressed the commemoration of the dead, is perhaps sufficient to explain the changes regretted by the author of the *Rites*. See Dickens (1989), p. 281.

²¹⁷ Fowler (1903), p. 38.

²¹⁸ McKinnell (1998), pp. 34-5.

²¹⁹ Fowler (1903), p. 32.

²²⁰ The tombs of Ralph, lord Neville and his son John, with their damaged effigies, survive and are located in between the first and second and second and third piers from the east of the south nave arcade. For a description of the site of the former Neville chantry see, Fowler (1903), p. 40 and the plan of the medieval arrangements following p. 304. The screen to the east of the chantry between the easternmost nave pier and the south-west crossing pier, against which the holy water stoup was located (Fowler (1903), pp. 38 and 40) protected the access from the cloister to the eastern arm of the church.

²²¹ Fowler (1903), pp. 37 and 32.

²²² The information given in the *Rites* about which doors were open is somewhat contradictory. In the description of the Rood screen the north and south doors of the screen are both said to be locked at night, which assumes that both are otherwise open (Fowler (1903), p.32). In the description of the 'trellisdoure' and its associated screenwork, which blocks the east end of the north aisle of the nave, both it and the north Rood screen door are said to be generally locked (Fowler (1903), p. 37).

²²³ Fowler (1903), p. 34.

²²⁴ McKinnell (1998), p. 17.

²²⁵ Fowler (1903), pp. 35-7. For discussion see Tudor (1984).

²²⁶ Fowler (1903), p. 35.

²²⁷ Scammell (1956), p. 112 n. 3.

²²⁸ I owe this information to Alan Piper.

²²⁹ For the positions of these altars see the plans of the church derived from the descriptions in the *Rites*, by St John Hope, in Fowler (1903), following p. 304.

²³⁰ I am assuming that, although the altar in the Neville chantry was visible to persons in the nave, being a chantry altar it was not part of the public round of services performed in the nave. For details of the Neville chantry see Fowler (1903), p. 40.

²³¹ Fowler (1903), p. 38.

²³² Fowler (1903), p. 41.

²³³ Fowler (1903), p. 38. The corner of the altar stone broken off at the defacing of the altar was still to be seen in Fowler's day (Fowler (1903), p. 224).

²³⁴ Fowler (1903), pp. 32-3.

²³⁵ Fowler (1903), p. 33.

²³⁶ Fowler (1903), p. 33.

²³⁷ Fowler (1903), pp. 302-3. There is no actual information of the way the procession was in fact accomplished at Durham. St John Hope's reconstruction of the Sunday procession is based on the information from the Salisbury *processionale* and the Cistercian *consuetudines*.

²³⁸ Fowler (1903), p. 32.

²³⁹ Fowler (1903), p. 34. Fowler notes that this organ was separate from the three to be found in the choir, and provided specifically for the Jesus mass, pp. 222 and 207.

²⁴⁰ Fowler (1903), p. 34.

²⁴¹ Fowler (1903), p. 222; Fowler (1898), p. 418; Raine (1839), pp. 153-4.

²⁴² Fowler (1898), p. 418.

²⁴³ Scammell (1956), pp. 111-13.

²⁴⁴ Fowler (1903), pp. 43 and 230.

²⁴⁵ Fowler (1903), pp. 43-4.

²⁴⁶ PRO, Dur 3/34, m. 11. I am obliged to Dr Margaret Harvey for this reference. It appears that in July 1414 John Neuton and John Thoraby, who were entrusted by Langley with the establishment of the chantry, additionally sought and obtained letters patent from the king, concerning the property collected for the support the chantry and the ordinances created to govern it (*Calendar Patent Rolls Henry V 1413-1416* (1910), p. 206).

²⁴⁷ For details of the reorganisation of the feretory see above, p. 167. For the traditions concerning Richard of Barnard Castle, see Fowler (1903), pp. 45-6.

²⁴⁸ Fowler (1898), p. 414.

²⁴⁹ Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 411.

²⁵⁰ Fowler (1903), p. 39.

²⁵¹ Fowler (1903), p. 46.

²⁵² See p. 263.

²⁵³ Fowler (1903), p. 46.

²⁵⁴ Fowler (1903), p. 46.

²⁵⁵ Raine (1839), p. 147.

²⁵⁶ For example, Fowler (1901), pp. 630 and 710.

²⁵⁷ Fowler (1903), p. 222. As recorded in the *Chronicle of William Chambre*, Raine (1839), p. 152.

²⁵⁸ Fowler (1903), pp. 59-60.

²⁵⁹ Fowler (1903), Appendix V, p. 144.

²⁶⁰ Fowler (1898), p. 410.

²⁶¹ Raine (1835), p. 76.

²⁶² Fowler (1903), pp. 148-158. Unfortunately this list does not represent all the indulgences available at Durham.

²⁶³ Fowler (1903), p. 43.

²⁶⁴ DCM, 1.13.Pont.14, dated Durham Castle, 28th July 1410.

²⁶⁵ Tolhurst (1940), pp. 130-1.

²⁶⁶ Tolhurst (1940), pp. 57-64, esp. p. 63.

²⁶⁷ Pfaff (1970), pp. 62-5.

²⁶⁸ Dr Margaret Harvey, pers. comm.; Bonney (1990), p. 95.

²⁶⁹ PRO, Dur3/44, m.1. I owe this reference to Dr Margaret Harvey.

²⁷⁰ John Lound, priest, was an Oxford trained lawyer who was temporal chancellor to both Bishop Neville and Bishop Booth (See, Hutchinson 1823, vol. 1, pp. 416 and 442; Emden (1957-9), *s.n.*; Boutflower (1926), p. 80). Robert Rodes was a Newcastle merchant and was regularly MP for Newcastle between 1427 and 1442. He was the prior of Durham's steward, was granted confraternity in 1444, and founded a chantry in the cathedral (See, Hunter Blair (1937), pp. 44-5; Dobson (1973), pp. 129-31). Richard and William Racket were probably father and son. Richard was probably the founder of the Durham family of chancery clerks. William, a married clerk, was clerk of Bishop Langley's chancery and keeper of the rolls from 1437 (Fraser (1991), pp. 20-1 and 346). Robert Sotheron and John Binchester, both priests were widely employed by the priory as witnesses and attorneys. Binchester appears in the records between 1408, when he was a witness to the prior's absolution of Thomas Esch (DCD, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 208r) and 1452, when a corrody previously held by Binchester in the hospital of St Mary Magdalene is regranted by the prior, suggesting that Binchester had died (DCD, Cal. Reg. Parv. III, fol. 50v). Binchester was never provided with a major living by the prior but from December 1409 he held the chantry of St Helen over the abbey gate, which as part of its remuneration included a monastic corrody (DCD, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 208r), which was augmented in 1417 (DCD, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 132v-133r). Sotheron, a younger contemporary of Binchester, appears in the records between 1440, when he is noted as one of the chaplains of Bishop Langley's chantry (DCD, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 72v) and 1478 or 1484, when he was involved in property transactions on the city (Camsell (1985), Appendix, pp. 13 and 674). It is possible that he became a canon of Norton, as a man of this name is recorded as a canon in 1461, 1469 and 1475 (DCD, Cal. Reg. IV, fols. 124v-126r, 201v-202r, 171v-172r).

²⁷¹ Fowler (1903), p. 44.

Chapter 6. Knowing one's friends: the friends and benefactors of the church of Durham and the *Liber Vitae*.

According to the late fifteenth century inscription in the *Liber Vitae* the book contains the names of all the benefactors of the monastery and 'all those who have deserved well towards the monastic church of the most holy father Cuthbert' (*omnium benefactorum aut benemeritorum erga monasticam ecclesiam beatissimi patris Cuthberti*).¹ According to the *Rites of Durham* the *Liber Vitae* contains the names of benefactors of the church of Durham from the 'first originall foundation thereof'.² These statements of the function of the book as a benefactors book, are paralleled by the eleventh-century preface in the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster, which says that it contains the names of the monks of the community, friends (*familiariorum*) and benefactors (*benefactorum*), both living and dead, and the names of people who have commended themselves to the prayers and fraternity of the monks (*et omnium qui se eius orationibus ac fraternitati commendant*).³ Commentators on the Durham *Liber Vitae* have accepted that the book contains the names of friends and benefactors of the house and have not enquired too closely into what might in fact be meant by the words of the *Rites* description.⁴ It is the purpose of this chapter to discover whether benefactors and friends were in fact systematically recorded in the *Liber Vitae*. The records of the priory created after c.1300 are extensive enough to enable lists of the names of friends and benefactors to be created independently of the lists of names in the *Liber Vitae*. Comparison of the two lists will enable a check to be made on

the contents of the *Liber Vitae*, with the aim of establishing the accuracy of the statements made about the book.

A friend of the monastery is to be defined as a well-wisher, a sympathiser, patron or supporter of the community.⁵ An active friend would be a person who used their influence for the benefit of the community, or through professional association used their knowledge or skill for the furtherance of these aims. This definition overlaps with that of benefactor, who is to be defined as a person who renders aid, in this case to the priory of Durham. However the meaning is extended over that of friend, as a benefaction, although it is generally seen as a benefit or blessing bestowed, and has also the meaning of a monetary gift made for charitable purposes, or more generally a gift.⁶ Thus benefactors might be seen as bestowing tangible benefits on the community in the form of land, money, or material objects; whilst friends lend aid and support. Obviously these categories are not watertight, and the same person could at different times be both a friend and a benefactor of the community. In what follows various groups of friends and benefactors of the priory of Durham are defined, and their relationship to the priory is discussed. The occurrence in the *Liber Vitae* of the names of the people in the groups so defined is then analysed. Because individuals could be both friends and benefactors, some repetition will be inevitable, but the discussion will be clearer if groups of associates of the priory are discussed rather than individual cases pursued.

Friends of the priory

The term 'friend' is a wide one, which covers several sorts of relationship. For the priory of Durham in the period after c. 1300 it is possible to define different sorts of friends. The first group might be termed 'formal friends', those people whose position in the government and society of the country or the region made them natural allies of the priory. The second group are 'paid friends', those people who were retained as advisors and counsellors of the prior and convent, and who swore an oath to uphold and promote the aims and interests of the priory of Durham. The third group were those who can be termed 'real friends' that is people whose friendship over a sustained period was recognised by the prior and convent through formal association, or confraternity. It will be helpful to consider these groups of friends in turn.

a) Formal friends

The importance of a wide circle of friends for a large corporation such as the priory of Durham in the later Middle Ages is well recognised. Elizabeth Halcrow has shown across a wide chronological range, how the prior of Durham dealt on equal terms with the bishop, the secular magnates and gentry of the region and interested them in the affairs of the priory.⁷ Barrie Dobson has demonstrated very clearly the complex web of associations with the region that were necessary to sustain the organisation and well-being of the monastery, in the first half of the fifteenth century. A range of associations which led 'to the nourishing of friendship and love' between the monastery

and the outside world were to be seen as advantageous to both sides.⁸ The key to these formal friendships were the favours, support and concessions that each party felt the other would be able and willing to provide when any business was to be transacted. A favour granted by the prior of Durham at one time would, inevitably, be reciprocated in the future by favours in return. Letters asking for favours or support between formal friends preserved in the priory archive contain phrases such as, 'as I may do things als mych to your pleisance in time to come' and 'As I may do you service in tyme comyng'.⁹ These friendships depended upon the web of contacts each party could manipulate in the pursuit of an aim and were consolidated by the more tangible benefits of practical patronage. As Halcrow indicated and Donaldson and Dobson later demonstrated the patronage that the priory deployed: that is the livings in the priory's gift, scholarships to Durham College Oxford, corrodiess and offices in the monastery, was all requested by formal friends to reward their own servants and supporters.¹⁰ The granting of these requests by the priory helped to sustain their formal friendships. So great was the pressure of such requests from formal friends that successive priors of Durham became past masters of the 'letter excusatory', a letter which refused the favour asked without offending the friend in question.¹¹

Examples of simple exchanges of courtesies between formal friends are easy to instance from surviving letters in the priory archive. The election of John Shirwood as bishop of Durham took place in January 1484. Shirwood, who was resident in Rome and attached to the papal curia, was consecrated bishop of Durham there on 26th May.¹² Part of the correspondence between the prior and the new bishop survives in the prior's little register. Prior John

Auckland writes, probably in 1485, to say he has received the bishop's letters and thanks him for 'most tender words toward us' which show that when he comes to Durham he will be 'a good and graciouse lord'. The prior adds that the convent will pray, as the bishop has asked them to, for his safe return.¹³ In a further letter dated 22 July in the following year, the prior writes hoping that the bishop will soon come to his diocese 'for trewly, my lord, having consideracyon of the vertuouse giedyng and noble fame that full largely spreads and is reported of your lordship, it wer alls grete gladnes and cowmforth, as myght be to us, to have your lordship emong us, and also to all your diocese; for we trust faithfully that ther come never a more curtass and gentill lord emongs us than ye shall be'.¹⁴ It is apparent that the exchange of formal courtesies was a necessary precursor to the mutual exchange of favours. It is clear from the prior's first letter that the bishop had offered to use his influence in Rome should the prior and convent require his help in the furtherance of any business there. In the second letter the prior thanks the bishop for his presents and a relic sent from Rome. In a third letter the prior thanks the bishop for 'your lovyng graunt of your licence towchyng the resignacyon of ane prebend in your churche of Norton to the behufe of Willyam Wake, a good freend of myne' and he informs the bishop that the forestership of Crayke, in the prior's gift, has been confirmed to Thomas Fenton, the bishop's nephew, as the bishop had asked.¹⁵

The relationship with formal friends was not, however, always easy. The correspondence preserved in the prior's registers provides many instances in which formal friends supported the convent in its business; but also others in which they proved difficult or obstructive to the priory's interests.

It is certain also that relations could and did break down, and that third parties often had to be encouraged to re-establish cordial relations. There are three letters in the prior's register addressed to Sir Robert Ogle, which are not dated but, from their position in the register, were probably written between 1446 and 1448. In the first the prior wrote asking for Sir Robert's help in sorting out a land dispute problem at *Whiterig*, lying between Norham and Shoresworth.¹⁶ Perhaps in March the following year the prior wrote again thanking Sir Robert for his help and support when he was staying with him in the north-country and recalling to his mind a parcel of land called *Whiterig*.¹⁷ In a third letter dated February the prior writes to inform Ogle that he will accept the child nominated by Ogle to the Almonry school; asks him to support and defend the prior's proctor in the church of Norham and to bear in mind to support the prior's right in that parcel of land called *Whiterig*.¹⁸ If the prior wanted support in a land claim in Norhamshire then Sir Robert Ogle was the natural person to involve. In 1436 he had succeeded his father as senior official in the bishop of Durham's liberty of Norhamshire and Islandshire and was constable of Norham castle.¹⁹ Knighted before 1434, he had played an active part in the Borders, being appointed captain of Roxburgh castle in 1436 and warden of the eastern marches in 1438-9.²⁰ The prior's letters suggest that Ogle was not pursuing the prior's interest very actively, but presumably by accepting Ogle's nominee for the Almonry school the prior put him under some pressure to arrange matters and no more is heard of *Whiterig*. As time passed, however, the surviving letters make it clear that relations between the prior of Durham and Sir Robert had seriously deteriorated, and that the prior of Holy Island was involved in a quarrel with him over tithes. In a letter of 1456 to John

Burne, vicar of Norham, the prior congratulates him on his efforts to diffuse the disputes between the nobles and magnates of the area and especially that between Sir Robert Ogle and the prior of Holy Island. The prior asks Burne to go to Ogle and explain to him how he is injuring him, through his unjust seizure of the priory's tithes and other property and induce him to make amends.²¹ It is clear from earlier letters that difficulties between the priory and Ogle over tithes and other property were of long standing. A letter written to Ogle, dated August probably of 1450, informs him that men of Redesdale 'under his governance' have stolen cattle belonging to the prior from his park of Muggleswick.²² Three years later in a letter written to Thomas Warde, prior of Holy Island, the prior makes clear that Ogle is a tithe farmer and in arrears with his payments 'to the great harm of the monastery'.²³ It is possible that Ogle saw himself as a champion of the parishioners of Norham against the priory, because, in 1453, he himself wrote to the prior on their behalf concerning the persistent non-residence of the vicar of Norham, one John Gissburne, and threatening to withhold parochial dues unless something was done.²⁴ Despite the efforts of John Burne, the dispute with Ogle over tithes was not resolved until the prior managed to secure the king's interest in the matter, as a letter written to Ogle written in 1463 or 1464 makes clear. The prior recalls to Sir Robert how, when the king was in Durham, Ogle asked to have the farm of the tithes of Norham once again and how he promised the prior the monies due on the past two years. The letter explains how the prior agreed to the request and they decided on a meeting of their respective representatives to make arrangements for the payment of the old debt.²⁵

As is shown here, the most powerful 'friend' the convent could interest in their affairs was the king, but it is clear from surviving correspondence and other documents that his attitude was similar to other 'formal friends'. His favours were generally only granted in return for favours, which might be a share of the priory's patronage for his own clerks and retainers or promises of special prayers for himself and his family by the monks.²⁶ One example of the latter sort of favour is to be found in the machinations surrounding the priory's attempts to have a college created at their church of Hemingbrough.²⁷ A number of royal permissions and licences obtained by successive priors of Durham concerned with the creation of the college include a series of modifications to an original endowment made to Durham by King Edward I for prayers for his soul, which seem to have had nothing initially to do with Hemingbrough. In 1296 the king had made a grant of £40 per annum from the royal exchequer of Berwick-on-Tweed on condition that each day in the Galilee chapel in the cathedral a priest would say the Mass of St Cuthbert for the king; that on every Sunday and major festival, during services, two candles would burn before St Cuthbert's banner; and that on the two festivals of the saint, in March and September, two candles would burn by the high altar, in front of St Cuthbert's shrine. The king further stipulated that on the same feasts 3000 poor people should each receive a penny dole and the monks should have 50s for a pittance.²⁸

Edward I's original grant and the services attached to it were confirmed by Edward III in 1337.²⁹ But in 1356 the priory quit-claimed their right to the monies granted by Edward I from Berwick together with any rights to the advowson of Simonburn church whilst engaging themselves to undertake a

complicated series of services for Edward III and his family in return for a royal licence to appropriate the church of Hemingbrough.³⁰ The conditions of the royal licence were clearly stated; that daily masses should be celebrated in both the Galilee chapel in the cathedral and in Hemingbrough church for King Edward III and his progenitors, his queen and his heirs; that on Sundays and festivals, during mass at the High Altar and during the Matins and the other hours, candles should burn before the altar, the shrine of St Cuthbert and the banner of the saint. On the saint's feast whilst the king lived there should be a distribution of 1d to each of 1000 poor people. In addition to these observances the licence specified that on the anniversary of the king's death there should be solemn celebration with at least five copes in the Choir and the monks should have 60s for a pittance in the refectory.³¹

As these observances were conditional on Prior Fossour obtaining the necessary Papal consent for the appropriation of Hemingbrough, presumably they never came into effect, but the priory did not regain the £40 from the royal revenues of Berwick, whilst the advowson of Simonburn never seems to have been in the priory's gift. Indeed by 1351 it had already been appropriated by the king to the Royal Chapel at Windsor.³² Whether the monks felt impelled to continue the services in honour of Edward I does not appear. Seventy years later the priory resumed its efforts to appropriate Hemingbrough and was eventually successful. The letters patent, issued by King Henry VI in 1426, granting permission for the appropriation of the church and the creation of the college there, indicate that one of the reasons for the king's consent was that the prior and convent had given up their rights to the money from Berwick and to the advowson of Simonburn. In King Henry's

letters, Edward III's letters were rehearsed and further conditions added to the obligation incurred by the community. The canons, vicars and clerks of the new college were to celebrate masses for the king's health whilst he was alive and for his soul after his death, together with the souls of his father and his progenitors, their heirs and children, and all the faithful dead. In addition, anniversary masses, accompanied by doles to the poor, were to be said for King Edward I, King Edward III and their heirs and children forever.³³

Many details of individual instances of 'friendship' and 'good lordship' together with examples of favours asked and granted can be found in the priory archive for the period after c.1300. It is abundantly clear from this evidence that in the later Middle Ages the goodwill of 'formal friends'- be they the king, the bishop of Durham or the archbishop of York, or members of the nobility or gentry of the region- was of vital importance to the priory of Durham and to the successful conducting of it's affairs. It is equally clear that these friends are not to be found recorded, with any consistency, in the *Liber Vitae* after c.1300.

When the *Liber Vitae* was first created in the mid-ninth century, the names of kings and queens featured prominently amongst the entries made in the book. The lists of *Nomina regum vel ducum* (folio 15r-v) and *Nomina reginarum et abbatissarum* (folios 16r-17v) are the first two lists of names in the surviving manuscript, indeed the names of kings, queens and dukes are the only non-ecclesiastical persons recorded at all in the original core of the manuscript. When the book was restarted in the late eleventh century the names of kings and queens of England and Scotland were added to the end

of the king list. The first scribe added the names of Anglo-Saxon kings including Æthelstan, Cnut and Harold and extended the list of English kings to King Henry I (1100-1135) and he added the names of the kings of Scots to King Edgar (1097-1107). A second scribe added the names of four further kings of Scots taking the list to William I, the Lion (1165-1214); but he did not extend the list of English kings and queens. No subsequent additions were made to this royal list and no further entries were made in the book for either royal family, Scottish or English, until after 1470, when the elaborate entry was made for King Edward IV, his queen and son, Prince Edward, under the names of Jesus, Mary and Cuthbert, on folio 19v.³⁴

If the names of kings and other royal persons find a place only in the early sections of the *Liber Vitae* it is debatable whether the names of bishops ever had a place in the manuscript. If original compilation contained a bishop-list, it was missing by the early twelfth-century, at which time a scribe added a list of the bishops of Lindisfarne, Chester-le-Street, Durham and York to folio 19r down to Thomas II, archbishop of York (1109-1114).³⁵ This list was never extended. Around 1100 the names of the first three bishops of Durham were placed at the head of the newly created list of monks of the community, which begins on folio 45r. The names of other bishops of Durham, Bishop Geoffrey Rufus (1133-1141) and possibly Bishop Hugh of le Puiset (1153-1195) were later interpolated at the top of the same folio as were those of bishops of other sees including that of William Longchamp, bishop of Ely (1189-1197). The list of the monks of Durham does not include the names of subsequent bishops, and no other page was made available in the *Liber Vitae* for an official list of their names. The only later bishop of Durham to be

included in the *Liber Vitae* was Bishop Bury (1333-1345), whose name appears at the head of folio 65r.

The *Liber Vitae* did not contain an official list of the bishops of the see, but such a list was maintained at Durham, from the early twelfth century, in the front of the earliest copy of Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio* (DUL, MS Cosin V.II.6). This manuscript has an additional quire containing contemporary prefatory material including a list of the bishops and a list of the monks of the community prefixing the text of the *Libellus de exordio*.³⁶ The bishop list is introduced by a short preface in which the author, Symeon, describes how he has gathered together and set in order things scattered through the documents, he then continues,

Therefore it seems proper that I should note down here in order the names of the bishops of this same church from him who was the first founder down to the one who is bishop at present, and may the diligent attention of future scribes not neglect to add to these the names of those bishops who will have succeeded them.³⁷

This injunction to future scribes was obeyed. The first hand records the names of bishops from Aidan to Ranulf Flambard (1099-1128), but then there are additions in various hands taking the list down to William Talbot (1721-30).³⁸ The choice of this manuscript of the *Libellus de exordio* for the 'official' recording of the succession of bishops of Durham is interesting when it is contrasted with the development of the list of monks of the community, which follows it. Symeon started the list monks in the *Libellus de exordio* and in a preface encouraged future scribes to add to it just as he had in the case of the bishop-list.³⁹ For a time this list was maintained, but it was done in parallel

with the monastic lists in the *Liber Vitae*. The two lists were not copied from one another but apparently maintained independently, until c.1170 when the list in the *Libellus* was discontinued in favour of that in the *Liber Vitae*.⁴⁰

The region in which the cathedral priory operated was primarily the north-east of England, that is Northumberland and County Durham but extended, through the influence of its cells and major possessions into Yorkshire, the north-west, and the Midlands as well as lowland Scotland. In the north-east two families stand out as pre-eminent in this period, the Percies and the Nevilles. The prior was able to obtain their support for the conduct of the affairs of the monastery, expecting that their influence would be helpful to him at the highest level. For example, he attempted to interest them in the tangled affairs of the monastery's cell of Coldingham.⁴¹ In the priory register there is a memo, undated but probably written in 1442 or 1443, to the effect that letters must be obtained from the Cardinal John Kempe, Archbishop of York, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, and Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland to the King of Scotland supporting the admission of John Oll as prior of Coldingham.⁴²

Generally the Percy family's relationship with the priory of Durham was not of an intimate kind. For example as far as is known no member of the family sought burial in the monastery. The Percy family is not well represented in the *Liber Vitae*. Six members of the family, all male, are entered in the manuscript. Five of these entries are included on the pages, folios 72v-73r, created for the re-dedication of the high altar in 1380. Henry Percy, 1st earl of Northumberland is entered with his sons, Henry, Ralph and Thomas in the

Seculares list folio 72v, and it is presumed that they were present at the ceremony.⁴³ The inclusion of Lord Henry Percy's name, amongst the contemporary additions to the '*regulares*' list, on folio 73r, may be attributable to the same cause. The only other Percy entry in the *Liber Vitae* is that on folio 79r, recording 'Henricus Percy, comes' in a fifteenth century hand. Thus although the Percy family can be shown to have a long tradition of formal association with the priory, the *Liber Vitae* was not used to record the names of members of the family with any regularity. Of those members who sought closer ties through confraternity none are named in the manuscript.⁴⁴

The Neville family had a closer relationship with the priory of Durham. Ralph, Lord Neville (d. 1367) and Alice Audley, his wife (d. 1374), the first lay-people to be buried in the cathedral, were first buried in the nave before the Jesus altar. Later their bodies were moved to the Neville chantry at the east end of the south aisle of the nave, which was served by members of the monastic community.⁴⁵ John, Lord Neville, the son of Ralph, Lord Neville was a major patron of the monastery in the 1370's.⁴⁶ He and his first wife, Matilda Percy, were also buried in the Neville chantry chapel.⁴⁷ In addition several members of the family were admitted to confraternity.⁴⁸ Despite the obvious relationship, together with the evidence from surviving letters of the exchange of favours and patronage, members of the Neville family are not regularly entered in the *Liber Vitae*. Four members are entered in the *Seculares* list on folio 72v. John Neville's brother William appears on folio 68r.⁴⁹ On folio 77v a further group, comprising Joan Beaufort, her son Richard, Earl of Salisbury and his wife, and Elizabeth, Countess of Westmorland. The addition of the name of Sir Robert Neville of Raby (d. 1319), amongst the military retinue

retainers of Henry de Beaumont, brother of Bishop Louis de Beaumont (1317-1333), on folio 72r, probably says more about Henry de Beaumont than about Neville himself.⁵⁰

As can be seen there is no tradition of the entry of members of the Neville family over time into the *Liber Vitae*. There is only one member of the family entered before John, Lord Neville. John Neville, himself, is entered with one of his sons, but his wife, father and mother are not included, nor are John's other children.⁵¹ Of the fifteenth century members of the family only Joan Beaufort, the second wife of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, is entered together with one of her sons and his wife. It cannot be assumed that the feud which spilt the family after the death of Earl Ralph is to be blamed for this very partial record. As Dobson explains in his discussion of the affair, the prior of Durham was careful not to take sides in the dispute and eventually was able to act as a mediator between the factions.⁵²

If the principal families of the region have a very partial and patchy record in the *Liber Vitae*, the gentry families of the region are also very unevenly represented. The absence of the names of the gentry of the region from the *Liber Vitae* in the period after c. 1300 is very obvious, which one example will perhaps be sufficient to demonstrate. In 1433 Parliament sought to have commissions appointed in every county to take from every man of substance an oath not to maintain robbers or other lawless men.⁵³ These commissions were appointed by the Crown in May 1434 and lists were made of men in each county who were required to take the oath before the commissioners. For Northumberland the commissioners were Bishop

Thomas Langley, Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, Thomas Lilburn and John Cartington. No central lists were created for County Durham. In recognition of the Bishop's palatinate franchise, he was instructed to administer the oath within the Bishopric as he saw fit.⁵⁴ The commissions and the names of the men who took the oath are all preserved in Bishop Langley's register.⁵⁵ Nearly 100 men from Northumberland and Durham took the oath. The names recorded include representatives of the most important families in the north, many of whom were prominent in their own right in the political and military society of the region. In what follows these names have been compared with the names entered into the *Liber Vitae*.

The commissioners for the county of Northumberland were instructed to take oaths from 11 knights and 31 esquires as well as from the mayors and bailiffs of towns in Northumberland. The knights named were Robert Umfraville, Radulf Gray, Robert Ogle, senior, Robert Ogle, junior, John Bertrame, William Elmeden, John Midelton, William Swynburn, John Maners, and Matthew Whitfeld. The esquires named were William Carnaby, John Fenwyk, John Midelton, Thomas Ilderton, Robert Raymes, Thomas Hagerston, Robert Maners, Laurence Acton, Thomas Gray of Horton, Thomas Blenkinsop, Roland Thirwall, Richard Fetherstanhalgh, Gilbert Rotherford, William Muschaunce, Gilbert Eryngton, William Clevell, John Heron de Nederton, Thomas Reed de Redesdale, Roger Ussher, Thomas Midelton, John Park, Richard Lilleburn, Thomas Elwyk, Edward Wetwang, John Eryngton, Nicholas Heron de Melton, John Trewyk, John Chestre, Lionel Chestre, John Horsley de Horsley, Jacob Buk de Morpath and John Ellerington.⁵⁶

Among the knights only one name, William Elmeden, appears in common between the commission list and the *Liber Vitae*, but does not relate to the man named in the commission. The name William Elmeden is entered on folio 73r, the twenty-third name in the list headed *Regulares*. The names on this list are those of canons, monks, priests and other men in orders, so the entry in the *Liber Vitae* is unlikely to relate to him. Further, the list was, as we have seen, created in 1380 whilst the William Elmeden of the commission lists was only born c. 1393.⁵⁷ Of the esquires named in the commission only two names are common to the *Liber Vitae*- namely Richard Lilburne and Thomas Ilderton. The entry for Richard Lilburne occurs in the *Liber Vitae* on folio 77v in a hand that is dated to 1475-1525 and so is too late to be the man active in the second quarter of the fifteenth century. Hunter Blair identified the entry on folio 76v of the *Liber Vitae* as being that for the Sir Thomas Ilderton, named in the commission.⁵⁸ The entry, on lines six and seven of folio 76v reads 'T. hy[...] M. hyld[er]ton' and is written in a hand dated to between 1475 and 1525. Sir Thomas was the son of Edward Ilderton and grandson of Sir Thomas who was M.P. for Northumberland in 1382/3. He was lord of Ilderton tower in 1415 and in 1428 possessed property in North Charlton and held the villis of Ilderton, Roseden and Wooperton of Sir Ralph Gray. He was commissioner of array for Northumberland in 1434 and commissioner to enquire into a murder in 1447. He was knighted at the battle of Wakefield by the earl of Northumberland in December 1460.⁵⁹ It cannot be certain that the person named in the *Liber Vitae* is the Sir Thomas Ilderton of the 1434 commission. Unfortunately, no help is forthcoming from the other name recorded in the *Liber Vitae* as the name of Sir Thomas' wife is unknown. It is

possible that the entry in fact relates to his son Thomas, who succeeded him and died in 1478.⁶⁰

If the gentry families of Northumberland, as listed in the commission of 1434, do not regularly appear in the *Liber Vitae* the same is also true of the gentry of County Durham. None of the five knights named in the return, William Eure, William Bowes, William Elmeden, Thomas Lambard and William Lumley are to be found in the *Liber Vitae*.⁶¹ Of the fifty-one esquires named only five men, Roger Thornton,⁶² William Chancellor,⁶³ John Sharp,⁶⁴ Thomas Billingham,⁶⁵ and William Hoton of Herdwick,⁶⁶ also certainly appear in the *Liber Vitae*. Several other names are common to both the commission and the *Liber Vitae* but it is uncertain whether the entry in the *Liber Vitae* represents the man named in the commission. They are: Robert Claxton, Thomas Claxton, and John son of William Claxton,⁶⁷ John Trollop,⁶⁸ Thomas Cook and Thomas Cook de Wynyard,⁶⁹ Robert Jackson,⁷⁰ Robert Hilton of Gateshead,⁷¹ and Robert Menell.⁷²

It is clear that the gentry of the north-east are poorly represented in the *Liber Vitae*. Individual members of the gentry are included but it is not possible to detect any evidence of a real tradition of the entry of gentry families over generations. This proves to be the case even for the few families who do have multiple entries. For example, there are twenty-one people surnamed Claxton entered into the manuscript, which might be taken to represent a regular and close relationship with the priory and a tradition of name entry in the *Liber Vitae*. When the entries are examined in more detail, however, they prove to be more difficult to account for than the simple name

count would suggest. The names are principally entered in two groups, one on folio 76v and the other on folio 78r. The entry on folio 76v, in a hand dated to between 1475 and 1525, reads 'W Claxton et W. Claxton, R. Claxton, R. Claxton, Robertus Claxton, Katerina Claxton, Johanna Claxton, Matilda Claxton'. The entry on folio 78r, in a hand dated to the second half of the fifteenth century, reads 'Johannes Claxton et Barbara uxor eius, Ricardus Claxton, Georgius Claxton, Willelmus Claxton, Thomas Claxton, Rogerus Claxton, dominus Robertus Claxton'. In addition to these groups the name 'Robertus de Claxton' is entered on folio 73v, in a fourteenth century hand; the name 'Johannes Claxton' is entered on folio 78r and the names 'Radulphus Claxton' and 'Johannes Claxton' (entered twice) are entered on folio 79v, all in hands of the second half of the fifteenth century.

There were two men surnamed Claxton who were monks of Durham. The first was Robert, who entered the monastery c.1354. The second was John who was a monk between c.1478 and 1504.⁷³ Robert's name is entered in an official monastic list on folio 73v; whilst John's name certainly appears twice in the *Liber Vitae*. In the first entry on folio 79v his name is included in the second block of entries in col. a, amongst the official monastic entries. He appears again on folio 78r entered with his immediate monastic contemporaries, John Leech, William Smyrke and Thomas Lawson, whose names were also entered on folio 79v. It is possible that the second entry of the name John Claxton on folio 79v also represents the monk, as it occurs on a page in which large numbers of monks appear and which witnesses the breakdown of official monastic recording.⁷⁴ But this entry may also represent another John Claxton, a clerk, named as the heir of his brother Robert

Claxton of Old Park in an IPM of 1517, when he is said to have been aged 30 years.⁷⁵ This identification is supported by the fact that the name is entered with those of Thomas Farne and Thomas Kay, who were also clerics. Thomas Farne was vicar of St Oswald's Durham, who in 1498 gained a dispensation for non-residence to enable him to study at university, and who died in 1517.⁷⁶ Thomas Kay was also a priest, who was Rector of Wolsingham in 1521, canon and prebendary of Lanchester in 1535 and Dean of Chester-le-Street. In October 1526 the prior and convent of Durham admitted him to confraternity.⁷⁷

The entry for Ralph Claxton on folio 79v displays the variety of interests that might lie behind the inclusion of a name. Ralph's name is part of a group including that of Cuthbert Billingham and Helena Billingham, in a hand dated to between 1450 and 1525. It seems likely that the entry is for Ralph Claxton of Wynyard esq, who was the son of William Claxton of Holywell (d. 1496) and his wife Eleanor, daughter of John Lord Scroop (d. 1471). Ralph married firstly Sibilla, daughter and sole heir of William Conyers of Wynyard. He married secondly Eleanor daughter of Cuthbert Billingham of Crookhall.⁷⁸ The entry must have been made after Ralph's second marriage to Eleanor, for which no date is forthcoming. It is likely to reflect Ralph's connection with Cuthbert Billingham, rather than any Claxton interest.

The rest of the Claxton names are, as we have seen, entered in two groups. The first, by date of the hand, is that of John Claxton and his wife Barbara followed by the names of Richard Claxton, George Claxton, William Claxton, Thomas Claxton, Roger Claxton and dominus Robert Claxton

towards the base of folio 78r, in a hand dated 1450-1499. This entry does not relate very obviously to any of the branches of the Claxton family. Neither Surtees nor Barker know of a woman named Barbara married to a John Claxton, nor does there appear to be a George Claxton at this date. John Claxton of Old Park, who inherited his property from his father in 1471 and died in 1514 was married to Margaret, a daughter of a Lambton of Lambton. He had several sons, Robert, William, Thomas, Lancelot, Richard and John, the clerk whose name may be entered on folio 79v.⁷⁹ It is possible that the dating of the hand is a little too early and the entry names the grandsons of William Claxton of Burnhall (living 1447) as a result of his second marriage to Catherine, daughter of Sir Richard Lilburne. William Claxton's son Robert had sons called William, Roger, Richard, John and Robert. William Claxton's son Richard had an illegitimate son George. All those named were nephews of the monk, John Claxton, another son of William Claxton.⁸⁰ Robert was a priest, and so the title *dominus* in the entry in the *Liber Vitae* would be accounted for, but John is recorded as married to a woman called Elizabeth rather than Barbara and there is no brother in the pedigree called Thomas.

It is possible that the second Claxton family entry on folio 76v is also to be associated with the monk John Claxton. The entry reads 'W. Claxton, W. Claxton, R. Claxton, R. Claxton, Robert Claxton, Katherine Claxton, Johanna Claxton, and Matilda Claxton'. The two W(illiam) Claxtons would then be John Claxton's father and half brother, the two R. Claxtons, Richard and Roger, his brother with Robert his last brother. Katherine could be John's mother. Matilda Claxton might be the wife of his half brother William, a daughter of Ralph Hoton of Hunwick.⁸¹ If this general reading of the entry is acceptable, the

woman named Johanna remains unexplained and John's half sister, Beatrix, and his brother Robert's wife, Alison, are not named in the entry.

If the interpretation of the Claxton entries offered here be accepted, then the entries of the Claxton family prove not to be a record of close association over time, between the priory and the family but instead can be shown to be official entries of monks of Durham; the entries of individuals which do not bear on ideas and ties of family; and entries influenced by association with a member of the community.

The pattern of entry of members of the Lumley family, an important and old established family in the county, is different from that of the Claxtons, but shows how irregular the entry of gentry names into the *Liber Vitae* was. There are sixteen people surnamed Lumley entered in the *Liber Vitae*. Examination of the names indicates that the inclusion of names is very irregular. Many prominent family members were not entered, whilst several people, who were presumably members of the family but are otherwise unidentified, are included. Three of the names belong to men who were monks of Durham. Their names are recorded in the official monastic lists. The first was John, monk of Durham from c.1350, the second was William monk from c.1354. Both of these men are recorded on folio 73v. The third was another John who was a monk from c.1413 and whose name is recorded on folio 74v.⁸² The Lumley family is represented first on the opening folios 72v-73r. The name of Ralph, Lord Lumley is not included amongst the *Seculares* on fol. 72v, but that of his wife is found amongst the additions to fol. 73r, with a number of other wives. She was Eleanor, daughter of John, Lord Neville of Raby, and

sister to Ralph 1st Earl of Westmorland. The close association of the Neville family with the reorganisation of the east end of the cathedral may be sufficient reason for her inclusion here. Two further names, those of Ralph Lumley and a Marmaduke Lumley, are included in the *Regulares* list on fol. 73r. These men were presumably clerks, but neither has been identified. The next record is that of a Richard Lumley, his wife Anne and daughters Anne and Elizabeth on fol. 76v, written in a hand dated between 1475 and 1525. This may be Richard, Lord Lumley who succeeded his grandfather, Sir George Lumley in 1507/08 and died May 1511. Richard Lumley's wife was Anne, a daughter of Sir John Conyers. According to the family pedigree he left two sons John and Antony, but unfortunately no daughters are named.⁸³ The final record is of Thomas Lumley and his wife Margaret on fol. 80r. The entry is dated to the first quarter of the sixteenth century, but neither of the persons named can be identified. Richard Lumley's great grandfather was Sir Thomas Lumley, lord Lumley, but he died in 1485. His wife was Margaret, daughter of Sir James Harrington. Richard Lumley's father was also Thomas, but he died in his father's lifetime in 1487. His wife was Elizabeth Plantagenet, an illegitimate daughter of King Edward IV.⁸⁴ There was a Thomas Lumley of Ravensworth, of the cadet branch of the Lumleys of Lumley, but he died in 1476. The name of his wife is unknown. His son was Bartram Lumley, died 1503, whose wife was Margaret, daughter of Thomas, Lord Lumley of Lumley Castle (the great-grandfather of Richard Lumley).⁸⁵

A comparison of the entries for members of the Lumley family in the *Liber Vitae* with the family pedigree as detailed by Surtees shows that many holders of the title together with their wives, children and siblings are not

recorded in the manuscript. The first mention of a Lumley is in the later fourteenth century, despite the fact that the Lumleys had been established at Lumley since before 1300. Sir Ralph Lumley had been witness to charters of Finchale before 1265.⁸⁶ The first Lord Lumley to be included, if the identification is correct, is Richard in the early sixteenth century.

b) Paid friends

A general response to the growing complexity of business and administration in ecclesiastical, baronial and monastic circles in the thirteenth century was the creation of councils staffed by experts to offer advice and practical assistance in the conduct of affairs. In the monastic sphere the prior or abbot was able to draw on the specific expertise of senior members of his community and also on members of his immediate household.⁸⁷ But the increasing complexity of secular business involving, as it did, frequent recourse to the courts, meant that even the largest monasteries had to have access to expert legal aid. In the case of Christchurch, Canterbury the definition of the prior's council occurred in the last quarter of the thirteenth century, prompted in part at least by the activities of the then prior, Thomas Ringmer.⁸⁸ The formation and workings of individual prior's councils were obviously distinct, Barrie Dobson's perceptive analysis of prior Wessington's council at Durham in the first half of the fifteenth century shows clear differences from that of Canterbury as described by Smith.⁸⁹

Throughout the period post-1300 the priory of Durham paid fees to a number of persons who were retained to give advice to the prior. The

membership of his council might vary depending on the business on hand, but generally included the principal permanent officials of the prior, his steward and his attorney for example, together with a number of other men, mostly clerks, who were legal experts with contacts in the royal or the ecclesiastical courts. In addition secular lawyers and local landowners might also be retained. Their fees were paid twice yearly by the Bursar and entered regularly into his accounts.⁹⁰ To take but one year as an example, in 1362/3 the Bursar paid out some £31 6s 8d to eighteen men. They included Thomas Surtees, the prior's steward,⁹¹ John de Elvet, the prior's attorney,⁹² and Roger Fulthorpe, a prominent local landowner, but also a royal justice.⁹³ Others retained at this time had connections in different areas of canon law. Master John Appleby was the priory's representative at the Curia,⁹⁴ Master William Farnham was a public notary,⁹⁵ and Master Hugh Fletham, was an advocate of the court of York.⁹⁶

At the beginning of the fourteenth century in Durham the Bursar's rolls include quite large numbers of one-off payments, suggesting that the Council had not at this time developed a settled form or membership. As the century progressed payments stabilised and the men retained remained in the prior's service for longer periods of time. In considering the paid friends of the priory in relation to names in the *Liber Vitae*, the discussion will focus on those employed during the fourteenth century.

The relationship of counsellor was a formal one, controlled by a contract and an oath. The oath sworn by Robert Baldock, clerk, in May 1314, indicates that he was to be bound in perpetuity to the prior and convent, and

that he would be 'faithful and attentive concerning their causes and business to be expedited, as often and when need be and when asked by them, and render them counsel, aid and advocacy; that he will not attempt fraud or guile and neither say nor do anything, in person or through another, whereby they might suffer loss, neither will he reveal their secrets or counsel to the harm of their church nor maliciously absent himself from their causes and business wheresoever to be conducted'.⁹⁷ In July 1383 Master Thomas de Walkington gave his oath 'to render counsel and aid to the prior and convent, their monastery and its cells in their causes and business as often as need be; and to forewarn of, and give reason and ask licence for, absences on his or others' business'.⁹⁸

In return for counsel and advocacy the priory contracted to pay a fixed sum *per annum* together with other benefits. To Thomas Walkington the priory promised a pension of five marks yearly for life, until he was promoted to a suitable benefice, with a clerk's robe yearly at Christmas, together with cloth for his squire at the times when the prior made a general livery and, when he should be in Durham, a chamber with a weekly allowance of food, a yearly allowance of coal, firewood and candles, and fodder for a horse.⁹⁹

Presumably if a counsellor failed in his duty to the convent his pension could be withdrawn. However, it was equally feasible that the priory would fail to pay. In the financial crisis of the later 1370s it is clear from the Bursar's accounts that many financial obligations were rescheduled, including the fees paid to counsellors. Master John de Appleby, owed 100s per year during this period, instructed his executors in his will dated 24 September 1389 not to pursue the priory for the arrears of his fee.¹⁰⁰ In 1396 the grant of a pension

by the prior and convent to Thomas Weston took the form of a rent of 100s issuing from the manor of Billingham 'to be received at Martinmas and Whitsunday in equal portions...with Mr Thomas being allowed to distrain for arrears in the said manor if the annual rent be unpaid in whole or part for three months after a term date'.¹⁰¹

It is clear that the priory was often retaining men who had many other allegiances, especially amongst its most highly paid counsellors. It is conceivable that the connections that these men had were part of their attractiveness, in that their contacts would enable them to expedite the prior's business. In 1396, Thomas Weston, named as archdeacon of Durham, promised 'to render his counsel to the prior and convent, serving them against all men except Walter, bishop of Durham, and his successors, and to keep their counsel.'¹⁰² His career shows clearly the close interweaving of the interests of priory and bishopric. Weston is first found attached to the bishop's service in 1391, described as LL. Lic. and canon of Wells, when acting as a witness in a notarized ordinance appropriating Long Horsley church to Brinkburn priory.¹⁰³ In 1391, named as bishop's chancellor, canon of Darlington and Master of Greatham Hospital, he was one of the officials deputising for Walter Skirlaw, bishop of Durham, in accepting the resignation of Robert Walworth as prior of Durham. He was appointed keeper of the monastery by Skirlaw during the vacancy following this resignation and, as the bishop's delegate, confirmed the subsequent election of John of Hemingborough as prior.¹⁰⁴ Presumably he came to the notice of the priory through his involvement in the election, as his subsequent career blends the demands of priory and bishopric. In November 1397, named as archdeacon of

Durham, he was appointed as a proctor for the prior to attend parliament at Shrewsbury in the following January and was appointed again on 20th September 1399.¹⁰⁵ In 1400 he was presented by the prior and convent to the canonry and prebendary of Barmby, in the church of Howden.¹⁰⁶ In 1405 he is named as an arbiter in a dispute concerning the prebend of Howden in the church of Howden.¹⁰⁷ In 1401 he is named as Vicar General in Spiritualities in distant parts to Walter, bishop of Durham.¹⁰⁸ In 1403/4 he witnessed a grant by Walter Skirlaw to Alan Newark of the Keepership of Sherburn hospital.¹⁰⁹ In 1402 and 1404 he loaned £40 to the prior and chapter.¹¹⁰ Apparently he also farmed tithes, as in 1407 there is a quittance by the prior to Thomas Weston and John Hyldegard, clerk, for receipt of £21 in part payment of £25 owed to him for the corn tithes of the villis of Northallerton, Romanby, Brompton and Deighton.¹¹¹ Between c.1400-1418 he contributed to the rebuilding of the cloister and he was one of bishop Skirlaw's executors.¹¹²

In the case of Weston it would seem that he was resident in the north-east as his close attention to both priory and bishopric business would indicate, and his relationship with the priory, apparently initiated as a result of his handling of the affairs of the monastery as keeper on the resignation of Prior Walworth, must have been close. In other cases where counsellors were granted accommodation and allowances in kind it is reasonable to suppose frequent or at least regular visits to the monastery which must have provided many opportunities for close co-operation. Not all the counsellors employed by the priory, however, can have enjoyed such close relations. Connections between the priory and the feed counsellors obviously varied. Men retained

for their connections at the Roman Curia or in London might have only distant relations with the priory.

In the fourteenth century some 134 different people were paid pensions in the Bursar's accounts. It is clear that occasionally pensions were paid to persons who were not prior's counsellors. For example Cecily Shirlock was paid 66s 8d a year for two years 1347/8 and 1348/9. It appears that Cecily, the widow of John Shirlock, had made a grant of property to the priory and that the pension paid to her was in the nature of a corrody.¹¹³ A further example is the pension paid to Robert Walworth, after his resignation as prior in July 1391.¹¹⁴ He was paid 26s 8d a year in two installments regularly from pentecost 1395/6 to pentecost 1399/1400.¹¹⁵ Generally, however, pensions were paid to men who can be found active on priory business, genuine 'paid friends'.

In addition to the pension the rewards offered for loyal service to the priory might include an enhanced pension for life and also presentation to one or more of the benefices in the priory's gift. But what they did not include was inclusion in the *Liber Vitae*. Of the men known to have received pensions during the fourteenth century only nine are also possibly recorded in the *Liber Vitae*. Of these, four are possibly included on the opening folios 72v-73r. There are names of two men in the *Seculares* list who were in receipt of pensions, John Elvet and Roger Fulthorpe.¹¹⁶ John de Killerby on the same list might be the man in receipt of a pension from 1394 but there was another man of the same name holding of the bishop in Killerby in 1380.¹¹⁷ The name John Appleby occurs eighteenth on the *Regulares* list. This is unlikely to be

the prominent lawyer in receipt of a priory pension, but a local man of the same name, who acted for the priory often as a trustee between 1371 and 1422.¹¹⁸ It is difficult to know on what principle the names on the *Regulares* list are ordered, the *Seculares* list appears to be ordered by status, the most prominent persons being the first named. If the same principle was followed in the *Regulares* list then Master John Appleby, dean of St Paul's, would probably have been higher up the list. The position of this name seems better suited to the younger local man. Thomas Hexham whose name occurs among the contemporary additions to fol. 73r was also in receipt of a pension between 1368/9 and 1377/8, although he was active on priory business into the early fifteenth century.¹¹⁹ The lists on folios 72v-73r were created, as we have seen, for a unique occasion. The men entered were representatives of the priory's concerns and interests in 1380. Their connection with the priory and perhaps their presence at the ceremony is the reason for their inclusion on the list.¹²⁰

A further five names entered into the *Liber Vitae* on different folios are coincident with those of men receiving pensions in the Bursar's accounts in the fourteenth century, but it is not certain in all cases that they represent the person in receipt of a pension. The name William Whalton is entered twice on folio 73v, in a fourteenth century hand. The entry names William Whalton, his wife and family. Amongst the sons of the marriage is one named William. The entry was probably made after c.1350.¹²¹ A William Whalton was paid a priory pension between 1343/4 and 1354/55.¹²² There is evidence of the activity of the Whalton family in property transactions in Durham in the first half of the fourteenth century, in which it appears that William senior may have been in

minor orders, as he is described as 'clerk', and that he was probably dead by 1355.¹²³ But it is possible that neither the father nor the son was the feed man of the priory, as a Master William Whalton appears for the prior in a dispute in 1352.¹²⁴ The name William Dalton appears on folio 77r, with that of his wife Johanna, in an entry written in an early fifteenth century hand. This is unlikely to be the man in receipt of the pension, paid once in 1361/2 and described in the Bursar's accounts as '*dominus*'.¹²⁵ There was a career cleric called William Dalton who was canon of York in the 1360s and who might have been paid for a single piece of advice or help.¹²⁶ Even when the name in the *Liber Vitae* is likely to be that of the man in receipt of a pension, the entry is not necessarily related to his period as a priory servant. The name of Henry Gategang, rector of Welton and feed man of the priory, occurs in the *Liber Vitae* on folio 70v as a son of John and Christina Gategang in a family entry.¹²⁷

It is clear that in general the names of those men in receipt of priory pensions in the fourteenth century were not regularly entered into the *Liber Vitae*. In the few cases where names on the pensions list also occur in the *Liber Vitae* it is not always certain either that these represent the same person or, in cases in which the same man is named, that the entry in the *Liber Vitae* relates to the period of his service.

There does not appear in general to be any priory policy of entering paid servants into the *Liber Vitae*. However, the entry of the names of Adam Bowes,¹²⁸ the prior's steward from 1330/1 to 1344/5 and Thomas Surtees (I),¹²⁹ both entered on folio 50r, appears to be different. Their names are

entered amongst the names of other persons who are known to have held minor offices in the priory, in what appears to be a brief but official list. The names in question occupy most of the lower half of the folio, beginning with that of Walter of Goswick, written in a variety of hands of the early fourteenth century. Although apparently part of this group, Goswick, is not known to have held any position. He was a burgess of Berwick and was active in the early part of the fourteenth century. The earliest reference to him in the priory archive is as a witness in 1312 to a grant by Richard, bishop of Durham, to Robert of Helmesley of land on Holy Island.¹³⁰ He appears principally in the records as loaning money to the priory.¹³¹ In recognition of his services to the priory his son, Thomas, was granted a yearly pension of 40s.¹³² Walter died during the pontificate of Louis de Beaumont (1318-33).¹³³ Below Goswick's name is that of Adam Bowes, first paid a pension in 1307/08.¹³⁴ The next name is that of Geoffrey de Sallesby, entered with his wife Agnes, who was described as 'surgeon at the house of Farne' when, in 1317, he was granted a corrody there.¹³⁵ The next name, that of Richard of Helton, written in very large display script, was associated with the almoner's pantry, the refectory and solar and rewarded for his services in 1321/2.¹³⁶ The next names are those of Sir Thomas Surtees and his wife Avicia. No evidence is forthcoming as to the identity of Christopher of Lancaster, the next name in the list, but John Ford, entered with his wife Alice, was made the sub-porter of the brew-house for life in 1321.¹³⁷ The remaining names on this page are all in later hands and are not part of this group.

Created at intervals between c.1312 and c.1321/2, this group of names appears to be unique in the manuscript in gathering officers and associates of

the priory together for recording. Even so it can hardly be considered an official list of paid friends of the priory at this period, as it is so obviously incomplete. Most obviously not all the men in receipt of pensions in these years are included nor is John Ford's predecessor as sub-porter. The reason for the inclusion of this group of names must therefore be other than an official desire to record the names of paid friends at this time.

c) Real friends

One important group of 'friends' of the priory are those specifically recognised as such by successive generations of the prior and chapter, that is those persons who were granted confraternity with the monastery of Durham. The principal evidence for lay confraternity with Durham in the later Middle Ages is provided by a long series of letters, copies of which are preserved in the priory registers.¹³⁸ These letters, addressed to an individual, or a couple, or occasionally members of the same family, generally state that the grant of confraternity is made as a result of the support of the person named for the priory of Durham or for one of its cells, with the implication that this was sustained support.

On the basis of the evidence of the surviving letters this association with Durham was exclusive. There is no evidence that the convent promoted the association widely, or sold membership, as did some religious houses and hospitals in the late period.¹³⁹ It is also clear, however, that the names preserved in the surviving letters do not represent all the persons granted confraternity by the prior and convent of Durham. The *Liber Vitae* has an entry for the Billingham family on folio 75r, in a hand dated to between 1340 and

1399. It begins 'Alanus de Byllyngham frater capituli'.¹⁴⁰ Alan was a member of the family of Billingham of Billingham. He also had property interests in Durham City.¹⁴¹ It is impossible to guess at the extent of the non-preservation of confraternity letters. But in the case of the contracts for the fees paid to the prior's counsellors, where the records of payments in the Bursar's rolls are an independent source of information, it is clear that only a proportion of these agreements are preserved in the registers. The partial nature of the record would indicate that the numbers of *confratres* of Durham was greater than is known. But there is nothing to suggest that the sample provided by the surviving letters is not representative of the sorts of person who were granted confraternity by the priory in the period under review.

The granting of confraternity seems to have involved a formal ceremony in the chapter house. No evidence of the ceremonies involved is extant for Durham, but judging from other sources the form of the ceremony was common to many houses. The Customs of Cluny give details of the ceremony involved. The request for confraternity with the house was first considered by the Chapter. The suppliant was then brought into the Chapter, which rose to receive him. After he had genuflected, fraternity was conferred and he was seated among the brethren.¹⁴² The *Monastic Constitutions* has details of a similar ceremony.¹⁴³ The later Customary of St Augustine's abbey and also of Westminster both include ceremonies of a similar sort. According to the Customary of St Augustine's the *confrater* was to be associated both in life and after death, in the prayers and good works undertaken by the monks. When all had kissed and were seated, the abbot addressed the new

associate, pointing out that if he had helped the house in the past now, as a member of it, it was his duty to do so in the future.¹⁴⁴

For some commentators, for example Janet Burton, the relationship between the confrater and the religious house was simply an extension of that between the house and its patron or founder, who in return for their generosity expected some return, either material or spiritual or both.¹⁴⁵ As we have seen *confratres* of Durham after c.1300 were associated with the prayers and good works of the monastery and had their anniversaries remembered after their deaths, the wording of their letters of association reflecting the wording of the St Augustine's Customary.

Conspicuous benefactors of religious houses could expect that their anniversaries would be kept not just by individual houses but by an entire Order; as was that of David brother of Llywellyn ap Gruffydd by the Cistercians or that of Queen Eleanor, wife of Edward I, by the Dominicans. Cowdrey suggests that one of the reasons for the popularity of Cluny for the laity in the eleventh century was the increasing number of monasteries affiliated with it, which meant that individual anniversaries were remembered by a growing number of houses across Europe.¹⁴⁶ *Confraters* of Durham, although admitted for friendship either to Durham or more particularly one of its cells, were assured that their anniversary would be remembered not just in Durham but by all the cells of the community also. The letter issued in 1477 to George, duke of Clarence, is typical in that it admits him '...to the spiritual brotherhood of the chapter of Durham' and further grants him '...special

participation in all masses, vigils, fasts, (&c) and good works in the monastery of Durham and its dependent cells, in perpetuity'.¹⁴⁷

The form of the letters issued at Durham is often of a standard type. Occasionally, however, the text of a letter will speak of recording the name of the recipient and his forebears in the books of the priory, as for example in the letter to John Malpas in 1490, which speaks of the enrolment of his name and those of his deceased relatives in the priory books 'among their other benefactors, living and dead'.¹⁴⁸ A letter of 1474 addressed to John Robinson, merchant of Newcastle and his wife Joan, speaks of 'repaying them for the devotion of the mind and the completeness of the sincere love which they have for them and their monastery of Durham...by enrolling their and their deceased parents' names in their books of benefactors, living and dead, and by admitting them and their said parents as spiritual brethren and sisters of the chapter of Durham'.¹⁴⁹

Whatever book the names of confraternity members were entered into, however, it was not the *Liber Vitae*. Of the 265 people named in the 191 confraternity agreements surviving from the priory registers, there are only twenty names which are also entered into the *Liber Vitae*, although in some of these instances it is not certain that the person named in the *Liber Vitae* is the same as the person granted confraternity. Thus there is a confraternity letter granted in 1511 to a Doctor John Batmanson and his wife Margaret.¹⁵⁰ But the names recorded on folio 78v of the *Liber Vitae* are a Doctor Batmanson and his wife Joan, in a hand dated 1475-1525. John Batmanson is most obviously to be identified with the man who obtained his B.C.L. at Oxford but

transferred to Cambridge for his doctorate, being admitted in 1493. He acted as arbiter in a dispute between Queen's College and Trinity Hall 15 March 1495. An ambassador to Scotland appointed 7 Sept 1509, he gave legal advice on the will of Lady Margaret, Countess of Richmond, 1518. He was present at St Cross Hospital, Winchester, on 20 June 1517 when Bishop Fox promulgated his statutes for Corpus Christi College, Oxford. He died in 1518.¹⁵¹ It would appear that this John Batmanson had some association with Durham. In 1503/04 he was appointed as a proctor of the prior and convent at parliament to be held at Westminster on 25 January.¹⁵² He was again among the proctors appointed by the prior and convent on 23 October 1507, during a vacancy.¹⁵³ In 1508 he was appointed bishop's registrar-general for life.¹⁵⁴ This associate of Durham had a wife Joan, who also died in 1518. Her will is dated 18th May.¹⁵⁵ Either the John Batmanson granted confraternity letters in 1511 is a different man from the person recorded in the *Liber Vitae*, or he had more than one wife or the priory made a mistake in recording her name.¹⁵⁶ A similar difficulty occurs over the name of Thomas Barton. A Thomas Barton was granted confraternity with his wife Isota in 1398 for 'their devotion to the monastery of Durham and the cell of Lytham'.¹⁵⁷ There is also a Thomas Barton named on folio 77v of the *Liber Vitae*, in a hand dated generally to the fifteenth century, recorded with his wife, whose name is given as Alice. In this case it seems that the two names are definitely those of two different persons. The name is entered with a group of persons active in the second half of the fifteenth century. The most likely identification in this case is with the Thomas Barton, mason, whose name first occurs in the Durham accounts in 1464-5, and who may have come from employment at York Minster to work on the

design of the central tower of Durham. According to Eric Cambridge Barton had died or retired by 1476, when the principal mason at Durham was John Bell.¹⁵⁸ It seems he had retired, for Thomas Barton, mason, was granted a corrody in the hospital of St Mary Magdalene on 26th July 1474; but he seems to have died before 23rd March 1475, when his corrody was regranted to Edmund Bell.¹⁵⁹ Unfortunately, there is no indication in the grant of the corrody of the name of his wife. She must have predeceased him, as the corrody was granted to Barton alone.

Four of the names common to both the *Liber Vitae* and the confraternity letters are to be found on folio 77v. Joan Neville, Countess of Westmoreland and her son Richard, Earl of Salisbury, head the list on this page.¹⁶⁰ Also on the page are the names of Sir Robert Babthorpe, admitted to fraternity in 1434,¹⁶¹ and Richard Willoughby, admitted to fraternity in 1459.¹⁶² Despite this cluster of names there is no evidence to suggest that the list here represents a campaign of entering *confratres* of the monastery into the *Liber Vitae*. The names of Countess Joan and her son are entered in a single hand, but Earl Richard's name is followed by that of his wife, Alice, who is not included in his letter of confraternity.

In the majority of cases where the names of *confratres* of the monastery are also entered into the *Liber Vitae*, there is no indication that the entry of names into the *Liber Vitae* had any connection with a grant of confraternity. An example is the entry for Robert Rodes, who was a member of a Newcastle merchant family, but was himself a lawyer. He was M.P. for Newcastle several times between 1427 and 1441. He was a great benefactor

of the churches of Newcastle, and he and his second wife Agnes founded c.1459 a chantry of St John in St Nicholas church in Newcastle. During the 1430s and 1440s he was the priory's main link with London and especially Westminster. He was one of the prior's counsellors and held the office of chief steward to the prior and convent between 1446-1460. He founded a perpetual chantry in the cathedral, one of few merchants to do so.¹⁶³ Appended to the Book of Relics of 1383 is a memorandum, recording the gift of a golden cross by Rodes to the shrine of St Cuthbert in January 1447.¹⁶⁴ Rodes name is entered in the *Liber Vitae* together with the names of both of his wives, Johanna and Agnes, at the base of folio 72r, in a hand dated 1440-1460. But the grant of confraternity to Rodes mentions neither of these women, although had it been given when he was a widower his deceased first wife could have been included in its provisions.¹⁶⁵ Rodes died 20th April 1474. His second wife Agnes survived him and received confraternity in her own right in 1495, in recognition of 'her gifts and valuable endowments, charitably conferred upon the prior and chapter and their monastery'.¹⁶⁶ The form of the entry in the *Liber Vitae* does not show any links to the grants of confraternity, but should rather be seen as a facet of the extensive religious benevolence of a wealthy and apparently childless man.

A similar case can be made in the case of the entry in the *Liber Vitae* for Margaret Bowman, who received confraternity for herself and her deceased husband in 1409/10.¹⁶⁷ The evidence suggests that the grant of confraternity was linked in this case to gifts of property made initially by John Bowman and confirmed by Margaret.¹⁶⁸ Both John and Margaret's names are included in the *Liber Vitae* at the top of folio 77r, in a hand of 1400-1425, but

they are accompanied by the name of William Bowman. William does not figure either in the property transactions or in the grant of confraternity, suggesting a different context for the entry in the *Liber Vitae* itself.

The conclusion of this consideration of the evidence for *confratres* in relation to the *Liber Vitae* must be that their names are not generally included in the *Liber Vitae*. In the few cases where coincidence occurs it cannot be demonstrated that the names were included in the *Liber Vitae* because the person concerned had become a confrater of the monastery. This lack of names in the *Liber Vitae* together with the promise, found in a few of the surviving letters, to include the name of the person granted confraternity in 'the priory's books', suggests that the notices of *confratres* were kept in a separate sort of record entirely. The fact that the confraternity letters promise an anniversary celebration for members further suggests that the book in question was a necrology, a successor to the twelfth century obit in DCL B.IV.24, the Durham Cantor's Book.

Benefactors of the priory

As defined above a benefactor was somebody who made a gift to the monastery. This might be a gift of land, of money or buildings, of furniture or fittings or of vestments. To remember one's benefactors was an important obligation on a religious house, seriously entered into, and manuscripts specifically recording benefactions to religious communities do survive.¹⁶⁹ It is possible that such records were once maintained at Durham. According to the

Rites of Durham there was a book recording benefactions, kept in parallel to the *Liber Vitae*,

There is also another famous booke: as yett extant conteininge the reliques Jewels ornaments and uestments that were giuen to the church by all those founders for the further adorninge of gods seruice whose names were of record in the said booke that dyd lye uppon the high altar, [i.e. in the *Liber Vitae*] as also they are recorded in this booke of the afore said reliques and Jewells to the euerlastinge praise and memorye of the giuers and benefactors therof.¹⁷⁰

Unfortunately this book no longer survives.¹⁷¹ In the absence of such a record for Durham the task of compiling lists of the names of the benefactors of the convent after c.1300 is difficult. Compiling such lists from stray references is obviously unsatisfactory, made more so by obvious bias in some of the sources. Benefactors of the priory are included in the late chronicles of Durham, namely in the final parts of the *Chronicle of Robert Graystones*, monk of Durham, who treats the history of Durham between 1214 and 1336 and also the so called *Chronicle of William de Chambre*, which brings the history of the convent down to the Suppression and the episcopate of Cuthbert Tunstall.¹⁷² These chronicles detail the building works and gifts of vestments and other things assigned by tradition to the bishops of Durham and to successive priors of the convent. In addition there is a document called the *Benefactions of the Bishops*, compiled by Prior Wessington in the late 1430s. As its title suggests it is concerned to list those things given to the convent by its bishops or bequeathed to it in their wills. Occasional mention is also made in it of major benefactions by seculars.¹⁷³ The problem with these sources is their focus on the benefactions of the bishops and priors of

Durham. They do not generally include secular benefactions and are definitely not concerned with small gifts. The imbalance of the chronicle accounts is in part overcome by such post-medieval records as the visitation of Durham by William Dugdale, Norrey King of Arms, in 1666 and by the *Rites of Durham*. Dugdale spent time in the cathedral making records of the shields of arms he found there. He recorded arms principally on the cloister roof and also in the stained glass of the church, most of the latter has subsequently disappeared.¹⁷⁴ Whilst it is reasonable to conclude that the glass and buildings decorated with coats of arms were donated or financed by the person whose arms were displayed, and so including people both ecclesiastical and lay, the evidence is again restricted to major benefactions, focussing on prominent people at the expense of lesser donors. The *Rites* also contains records of benefactions but is also principally concerned with those made by major patrons.¹⁷⁵ Some details of benefactions are to be found in the few surviving wills and other records of executor's actions. In addition a few confraternity documents provide details of the benefactions for which confraternity was granted. Stray references in surviving relic lists and statuses of the Sacrist and the Feretrar as well as records of individual benefactions noted in both the Sacrist's and Feretrar's accounts, under receipts, afford some further details of donors names and details of their gifts.¹⁷⁶ From these sources it is clear that lesser persons did make gifts to the convent. For example in 1387 William Palfreyman presented a mare at the shrine of St Cuthbert and William Prentis, a smith, made gifts both to the shrine and to the carpenter's shop attached to the Sacrist's office.¹⁷⁷

Collecting references in this way it is striking how important the money donations of the monks themselves were to the maintenance and replacement of the furniture and fittings of the priory. Thus the Sacrist's accounts of 1413-14 record under receipts the sum of £10 13s 4d towards the making of six new bells. A list on the back of the account records by whom the money was given and, of the twenty names recorded there, the majority are monastic obedientaries and individual monks.¹⁷⁸ A description of the stained glass in the cathedral added to the *Rites of Durham* indicates that many of the panels had donor figures included at the feet of the main figures depicted in the glass. The fact that many of these small figures were of monks indicates that the donors were members of the convent, rather than lay persons.¹⁷⁹

Evidence is therefore forthcoming that a variety of people made donations and gifts to both the shrine of St Cuthbert and to the convent of Durham. A reference in Thomas of Lythe's status of the possessions of the shrine, however, is a salutatory reminder that not everybody making gifts was remembered by name, 'Item ij monila (brooches) cum ij anulis ex dono duorum peregrinorum, valoris xiijs. iiijd.'¹⁸⁰ Later in the same status a brooch, valued at 10s, is recorded as given by the sister of John Todd, monk of Durham, who is also unnamed.¹⁸¹ In addition, despite the paucity of the evidence surrounding late medieval gifts to the shrine and the priory, it is clear that apparent gifts could in reality be part of a negotiated settlement for a dispute, which might involve parties other than the priory and the monks. In the status of Robert Langchester, feretrar, dated 1397 there is an entry which reads, 'In primis, super feretrum, ymago aurea beate Virginis oblata per dominum Willelmum Lescrop',¹⁸² which on this evidence could be interpreted

as a major gift to the shrine. However, the status compiled in 1401 by Thomas Lythe, feretrar, gives more details of this 'gift'. The item in question reads, 'Item in parte australi est una ymago auri beate virginis cum armis domini Dunelm. que adquisita fuit de eodem domino per mediacionem dicti Thome de Lythe in escambium pro uno precioso jocali oblato feretro Sancti Cuthberti tempore dicti Thome per Willelmum de Scrope militem pro quadam transgressionem facta infra libertatem Dunelm., valoris per estimacionem, D/II'.¹⁸³ In confirmation of the explanation of Thomas Lythe, in the priory archive there is copy of a notification of ordinance by letters patent dated January 1390, by King Richard, setting a value of at least £500 on the jewel to be offered publicly at St Cuthbert's feretory in Durham by William Lescrop, knight, for offences committed by him in the liberty of Bishop Walter Skirlawe, bishop of Durham.¹⁸⁴ The 'gift' to the shrine was therefore the result of a negotiated settlement of a dispute between William le Scrope and Walter Skirlaw, bishop of Durham.

The collection of records of benefactions from these sources is unsatisfactory because of the random and obviously incomplete nature of the records and because of the obvious bias towards major benefactions by major patrons. In an attempt to assess whether or not the *Liber Vitae* contains the names of priory benefactors it is necessary to sample a different sort of record. Another possible source of names of benefactors is the surviving inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and their associated licenses which permitted the priory to acquire property in mortmain.¹⁸⁵ From these documents it is possible to create lists of the names of people who were grantors of property

to the priory after c.1300, although the use of these materials has its own problems.

After the passing of the Statute of Mortmain in November 1279 all acquisitions of land, property or rents, whether by gift or purchase, by the Church were forbidden. As the Statute states,

...no one at all, whether religious or anyone else, may presume to buy or sell any lands or tenements, or to receive them from anyone under the colour of a gift or lease or any other title whatsoever, or to appropriate them to himself in any other way or by any device or subterfuge, so that they pass into mortmain in any way, under pain of their forfeiture.¹⁸⁶

In the event the severity of the provisions of the statute were mitigated almost at once by the introduction of a system which permitted continued acquisitions under royal licence. The first licence was granted in 1280, although the fully developed system took some time to evolve.¹⁸⁷ In general outline the procedure required either the grantor or the recipient in any transaction to seek a licence. The process was initiated by the presentation of a petition in parliament. This set in motion government machinery that resulted in a writ instructing the county escheator to hold an inquisition *ad quod damnum* to find out whether any interests would be damaged by the proposed alienation. After 1290 the inquisition, as well as enquiring into damage to the king or another lord, was interested to discover what holdings remained to the grantor and whether or not they could sustain his services to an overlord and his public duties. The completed inquisition was returned to Chancery and a final decision was taken on whether a licence should be issued. In the event the King often took advice. If a licence were granted the Chancellor issued it,

most usually in the form of letters patent.¹⁸⁸ The priory of Durham, as with many major religious houses after the passing of the Statute of Mortmain, continued to make acquisitions under licence. For property in County Durham, however, the power to order inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and to grant the necessary licences rested not with the king but with the bishop of Durham as part of his palatine powers and the escheators who held inquisitions *ad quod damnum* were bishop's officers, not royal servants.¹⁸⁹

In the country at large the earliest licences granted to religious houses were specific to a particular transaction. After c.1309 it became usual for a religious house to seek a general licence, which gave permission for the acquisition of unspecified property to a particular monetary value.¹⁹⁰ These licences did not do away with the need for inquisitions nor with the need to seek specific licences for particular acquisitions but did enable a religious institution to plan acquisitions over time and, after gathering property to the value of the general licence, to undergo a single inquisition and to apply for one specific licence to cover the acquisition of several properties.

A common method of circumventing the workings of the statute was for a religious institution to arrange for the enfeoffment of their nominees in a property. The feoffees became the legal owners of the property. The religious body had therefore no estate in the property and although the income passed into their hands by agreement, technically no alienation in mortmain had taken place. Thus no licence was required. Providing that elderly or deceased feoffees were replaced, these arrangements (called enfeoffments to use) could be maintained indefinitely.¹⁹¹ Whilst used to evade the Statute, the

same practices could also be used to accumulate property over time. This was especially useful if a house aimed to make acquisitions under a general licence. Its nominees could assemble a collection of small holdings to be held on behalf of the house before proceeding to licence, thus avoiding expensive procedures for each petty occasion.¹⁹² So widespread did the practice of enfeoffment to use become, not only among churchmen but also amongst the laity intent on evading feudal incidents, that it was outlawed by statute in 1391 and it was ordered that all such property be amortised under licence under pain of forfeiture,

all they that be possessed by enfeoffment, or by other manner to the use of religious people, or other spiritual persons, of lands and tenements, fees, advowsons, or any manner other possessions whatsoever, to amortise them, and whereof the said religious and spiritual persons take the profits, that betwixt this and the Feast of St Michael next coming, they shall cause them to be amortised by the licence of the king and the lords, or else they shall sell and aliene them to some other use between this and the said feast, upon pain of being forfeited to the king, and to the lords, according to the form of the said Statute of religious [Statute of Mortmain], as lands purchased by religious people: And that from henceforth no such purchase be made, so that such religious or other spiritual persons take thereof the profits, as aforesaid, upon pain aforesaid.¹⁹³

It has been observed by Storey that although the Palatinate of Durham generally conformed to statutes passed by Parliament some variations in practice did occur.¹⁹⁴ Interestingly it appears that the prohibition of the employment of uses to circumvent mortmain legislation enacted in the Statute

of 1391 was ignored in Durham, as nominees were employed by the priory to collect property together in all the documents that survive. Indeed one of the last surviving documents is one issued by Bishop Bainbridge, which is a pardon, issued for alleged breaches of the statute, to the priory and a group of named individuals, all recognisable as priory nominees.¹⁹⁵

The inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and licences preserved in the priory archive relate specifically to property obtained by the priory in mortmain under the Statute. These documents provide detailed evidence of lands, property and rents amortised to the prior and convent from 1346 to the end of the fifteenth century. Both the inquisitions and the licences describe the land, property, or rent, giving its location, a brief extent and its value together with the name of its last holder. For the purposes of this enquiry it is the names of the last holders of the property or land which are of particular interest, as these names are presumably those of the grantors of the property to the priory. The lists cannot be used uncritically, however, as licences to hold in mortmain covered purchases of land and rents by the priory as well as gifts by benefactors. In the case of properties licensed in Durham City the circumstances of the grants can generally be investigated in detail as, in a major appendix to her thesis on the development of Durham City in the Middle Ages, Margaret Camsell calendared deeds and other documents relating to each tenement and burgage in the city. The detailed tenement histories she created reveal a wealth of detail, including the names of their holders and the dates of the various transactions relating to their acquisition by the priory.¹⁹⁶ Using Margaret Camsell's gazetteer it is possible, for Durham City at least, to get behind the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the licences to understand

the background to the grants of property to the priory and so assess the nature of the transaction- whether gift or sale- in each case.

So that the scale of the material available from the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the licenses can be appreciated the following tables provide an extract of the information provided by the documents. The first table provides an alphabetical list of the persons named as past holders of property named in the various favourable inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the licences. The second table is a list of property amortised to the priory and the third is an extract of the second showing property in Durham City. It is the property in Durham City which will principally be considered in what follows.

Figure 11: persons named as past holders of property amortized to the priory

surname	first name	property	document	date
-	Hugh son of Hawisa	Ferryhill	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
-	John son of Simon	Ferryhill	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
-	William son of William	Jarrow	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Alman	William	Durham	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Alman	Simon	Durham	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Alman	Matilda	Durham, Elvet	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Alwent	Alice	Cleatlam	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Annesley	Thomas	Durham, Claypath	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Aske	Richard	Wolviston	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Aspur	Stephen	Durham, Allergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Aspur	William	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Aspur	William	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Aspur	William	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Bamburgh	John	Durham, North Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barhalgh	John	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Barnard	Richard	Durham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barnard	Richard	Relley Manor	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Barnard	Richard	Durham, Elvet	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Barnard	Richard	Durham, Old Borough	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Barnard	Richard	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388

surname	first name	property	document	date
Barnard	Richard	Durham, Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barnard	Richard	Durham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barnby	William	Durham, Claypath	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Belasis	John	Henknowl/Wolviston	2.3.Pont.14	1380
Bellasis	Robert	Billingham	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Bemesley	Alice	Burdon and Barmpton	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Billingham	Richard	Billingham	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Birkby	Alice	Durham, New Elvet	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Birkby	Alice	Durham, Elvet Borough	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Bishopdale	John	Gateshead	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Bishopdale	John	Whickham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Bishopdale	John	Gateshead, Pipewelgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Bishopton	John	Wolviston	1.11.Pont.10	1414
Bolton	Peter	Aycliffe	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Bowman	Margaret	Durham, Allergate	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Bradbury	Thomas	Durham, Claypath	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Brown	Richard	Ferryhill	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Buss	John	East Rainton	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Butterwick	Roger	Billingham	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Catlinson	Richard	Little Haswell	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Cawood	John	Broom	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Chilton	Hugh	Durham, St Mary	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Chippes	Henry	Burdon	3.9.Pont.21a	1423
Claxton	Thomas	Durham, Crossgate	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Claxton	Thomas	Durham, South Street	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Clerk	John	Wolviston	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Cocken	Thomas	Durham, Crossgate	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Cockside	Robert	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Cockside	Thomas	Cocken	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Coldingham	Robert	East Rainton	3.9.Pont.21a	1423
Conyers	Roger	Wolviston	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Coteler	John	Durham, Sadlergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Cowherd	Roger	Aldingrange	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Cowherd	Roger	Edmundbyers	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Cowherd	Roger	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Cringilldikes	Adam	West Merrington	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Curteys	Adam	Edmundbyers	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Draper	Robert	Durham, Rattonrow	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Drayton	William	Durham, Elvet Borough	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham	Alan	Hebburn	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham	William	Durham, Sidegate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Farnham	William	Durham, South Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Fenrother	Robert	North Pittington	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Ferry	Thomas	Billingham	1.11.Pont.8	1423
Ferry	Thomas	Ferryhill	1.11.Pont.8	1423
Ferry	John	Merrington	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Ferry	Thomas	Ferryhill	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Finch	William	Billingham	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Flesher	Agnes	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Garnet	Agnes	Durham, South Street	1.11.Pont.14	1451

surname	first name	property	document	date
Gildforth	John	East Rainton	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Gilling	Adam	Billingham	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Gower	Thomas	Aycliffe	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Harle	William, son of William	Billingham	3.9.Pont.10a	1379
Haswell	William	Durham, Smiddyhaugh	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Haswell	William	Durham, Rattonrow	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Hay	Peter	Wolviston	1.11.Pont.10	1414
Henryson	John	Durham, Old Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Hett	John	Hett	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Heworth	Rrichard	Aycliffe	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Horsley	John	Durham, South Street	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Hoton	William son of Gilbert	Ferryhill	3.9.Pont.21a	1423
Hunter	Geoffrey	Wolviston	3.9.Pont.10a	1379
Hunter	Geoffrey	Wolviston	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Hunter	Geoffrey	Billingham	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Hunter	William	Monk Hesleden	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Jackson	John	East Merrington	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Joly	John	West Merrington	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Langley	William	Durham, Old Elvet	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Lardener	William	Hebburn	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Layton	Robert	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Lorimer	Thomas	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Lucas	Robert	Wolviston	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Lumley	Thomas	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Lumley	Ralph	manor of Preston	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Lumley	Richard	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Masham	Robert	Durham, Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Masham	Robert	Wolviston	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Masham	Robert	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
More	Richard	Durham, Gilesgate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
More	Richard	Durham, Sadlergate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
More	Richard	Durham, Claypath	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Morpeth	Thomas	East Merrington	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Neville	John	Healy Manor	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Neville	John	Ferryhill	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Neville	John	Burdon	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Ogle	John	Spennymoor	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Pittington	Alexander	North Pittington	3.9.Pont.10a	1379
Pittington	Alexander	Moorsley	3.9.Pont.10a	1379
Plumpton	John	Durham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Preston	Edmund	Wolviston	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Preston	Robert	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Pymond	Margery	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Quarrington	Thomas	?	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Raket	William	Durham, Old Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Raket	William	Durham, Gilesgate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Ridding	William	Edmundbyers	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Ridding	John del	Edmundbyers	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Rook	William	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Sadler	John	Edmundbyers	3.9.Pont.16a	1388

surname	first name	property	document	date
Seaton	William	Monkton	1.11.Pont.10	1414
Shadforth	William	Durham, Elvet	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Shaklock	Thomas	Wolviston	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Short	John	Durham, Sadlergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Short	John	Durham, Fleshergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Short	John	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Sire	William	Hebburn	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Skipworth	John	Billingham	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Skipworth	John son of Peter of	Billingham	1.11.Pont.1	1349
Smyth	Walter	Monkton	1.11.Pont.1	1346
Sotheron	Robert	Durham, South Bailey	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Stafford	Thomas	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Stanley	Richard	Durham, Rattonrow	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Stavert	John	Morton Tinmouth	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Streuelyne	John	Healy Manor	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Swan	Thomas	Durham, Old Elvet	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Tailor	Walter	East Rainton	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Thomson	Mary	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Thornburgh	Thomas	Durham, Sadlergate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Toures	Thomas	Great Burdon	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Toures	Thomas	Aycliffe	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Tours	Thomas	Burdon	1.11.Pont.1	1346
Tudhoe	Thomas	Durham, Fleshergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Tudhoe	Thomas	Durham, Fleshergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Tudhoe	Thomas	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Tydde	John	Billingham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Wade	Margaret	Burdon and Barmpton	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Warwick	Thomas	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Whelpdale	William	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Wild	Robert	Wolviston	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Willy	John	Morton Tinmouth	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Windlestone	John	Aycliffe	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Witton	John	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Wittonman	Robert	Hesleden	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Wolviston	John	Wolviston	1.11.Pont.1	1346
Wolviston	John	Wolviston	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Wolviston	Thomas son of	Wolviston	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Wolviston	Richard	Wolviston	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Yarm	John	Durham, Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Yowdale	John	Durham, Framwelgate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Yut	William	Ferryhill	3.9.Pont.21a	1392

Figure 12: Property amortized to the priory

property	surname	first name	document name	date
?	Quarrington	Thomas	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Aldingrange	Cowherd	Roger	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Aycliffe	Bolton	Peter	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Aycliffe	Windlestone	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Aycliffe	Heworth	Rrichard	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Aycliffe	Gower	Thomas	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Aycliffe	Toures	Thomas	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Billingham	Gilling	Adam	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Billingham	Bellasis	Robert	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Billingham	Butterwick	Roger	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Billingham	Hunter	Geoffrey	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Billingham	Finch	William	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Billingham	Billingham	Richard	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Billingham	Ferry	Thomas	1.11.Pont.8	1423
Billingham	Tydde	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Billingham	Harle	William, son of	3.9.Pont.10a	1379
Billingham	Skipworth	John son of Peter of	1.11.Pont.1	1349
Billingham	Skipworth	John	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Broom	Cawood	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Burdon	Chippes	Henry	3.9.Pont.21a	1423
Burdon	Neville	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Burdon	Tours	Thomas	1.11.Pont.1	1346
Burdon and Barmpton	Bemesley	Alice	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Burdon and Barmpton	Wade	Margaret	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Cleatlam	Alwent	Alice	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Cocken	Cockside	Thomas	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham	Alman	Simon	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Durham	Barnard Castle	Richard	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham	Alman	William	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Durham	Barnard Castle	Richard	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham	Plumpton	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Allergate	Bowman	Margaret	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Durham, Allergate	Aspur	Stephen	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Bailey	Masham	Robert	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Bailey	Yarm	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Bailey	Barnard Castle	Richard	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Claypath	More	Richard	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Claypath	Annesley	Thomas	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Claypath	Bradbury	Thomas	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Claypath	Barnby	William	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Crossgate	Cocken	Thomas	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Durham, Crossgate	Claxton	Thomas	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, Elvet	Alman	Matilda	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, Elvet	Barnard Castle	Richard	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Durham, Elvet	Shadforth	William	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Elvet Barony	Witton	John	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Durham, Elvet Barony	Barhalgh	John	1.10.Pont.6	1483

property	surname	first name	document name	date
Durham, Elvet Barony	Lumley	Richard	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Barony	Rook	William	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Barony	Aspur	William	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Barony	Aspur	William	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Borough	Drayton	William	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, Elvet Borough	Birkby	Alice	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, Elvet Borough	Warwick	Thomas	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Borough	Layton	Robert	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Borough	Aspur	William	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Borough	Flesher	Agnes	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Borough	Thomson	Mary	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Borough	Preston	Robert	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Elvet Borough	Whelpdale	William	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Fleshergate	Short	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Fleshergate	Tudhoe	Thomas	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Fleshergate	Tudhoe	Thomas	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Framwelgate	Yowdale	John	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Gilesgate	Stafford	Thomas	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Gilesgate	Lorimer	Thomas	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Gilesgate	Lumley	Thomas	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Gilesgate	Barnard Castle	Richard	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Gilesgate	Pymond	Margery	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Gilesgate	More	Richard	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Gilesgate	Raket	William	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, New Elvet	Birkby	Alice	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, North Bailey	Bamburgh	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Old Borough	Cockside	Robert	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Old Borough	Tudhoe	Thomas	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Old Borough	Short	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Old Borough	Barnard Castle	Richard	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Durham, Old Borough	Masham	Robert	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Old Borough	Cowherd	Roger	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Old Borough	Raket	William	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Old Borough	Henryson	John	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Old Elvet	Swan	Thomas	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, Old Elvet	Langley	William	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, Sadlergate	Short	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Sadlergate	Thornburgh	Thomas	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Sadlergate	Coteler	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, Sadlergate	More	Richard	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Sidegate	Durham	William	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, Smiddyhaugh	Haswell	William	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, South Bailey	Farnham	William	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Durham, South Bailey	Sotheron	Robert	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Durham, South Street	Horsley	John	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Durham, South Street	Garnet	Agnes	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Durham, South Street	Claxton	Thomas	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, St Mary	Chilton	Hugh	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, Rattonrow	Draper	Robert	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham, Rattonrow	Stanley	Richard	3.9.Pont.21a	1392

property	surname	first name	document name	date
Durham,Rattonrow	Haswell	William	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
East Merrington	Jackson	John	1.11.Pont.14	1451
East Merrington	Morpeth	Thomas	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
East Rainton	Coldingham	Robert	3.9.Pont.21a	1423
East Rainton	Gildforth	John	1.11.Pont.14	1451
East Rainton	Tailor	Walter	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
East Rainton	Buss	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Edmundbyers	Ridding	John del	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Edmundbyers	Cowherd	Roger	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Edmundbyers	Curteys	Adam	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Edmundbyers	Sadler	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Edmundbyers	Ridding	William	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Ferryhill	Ferry	Thomas	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Ferryhill	Brown	Richard	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Ferryhill	-	John son of Simon	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Ferryhill	-	Hugh son of Hawisa	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Ferryhill	Neville	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Ferryhill	Yut	William	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Ferryhill	Hoton	William son of Gilbert	3.9.Pont.21a	1423
Ferryhill	Ferry	Thomas	1.11.Pont.8	1423
Gateshead	Bishopdale	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Gateshead, Pipewelgate	Bishopdale	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Great Burdon	Toures	Thomas	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Healy Manor	Streuelyne	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Healy Manor	Neville	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Hebburn	Durham	Alan	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Hebburn	Sire	William	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Hebburn	Lardener	William	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Henknowl/Wolviston	Belasis	John	2.3.Pont.14	1380
Hesleden	Wittonman	Robert	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Hett	Hett	John	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Jarrow	-	William son of	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Little Haswell	Catlinson	Richard	1.10.Pont.6	1483
manor of Preston	Lumley	Ralph	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Merrington	Ferry	John	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Monk Hesleden	Hunter	William	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Monkton	Smyth	Walter	1.11.Pont.1	1346
Monkton	Seaton	William	1.11.Pont.10	1414
Moorsley	Pittington	Alexander	3.9.Pont.10a	1379
Morton Tinmouth	Stavert	John	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Morton Tinmouth	Willy	John	1.10.Pont.6	1483
North Pittington	Pittington	Alexander	3.9.Pont.10a	1379
North Pittington	Fenrother	Robert	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Relley Manor	Barnard Castle	Richard	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Spennymoor	Ogle	John	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
West Merrington	Joly	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
West Merrington	Cringilldikes	Adam	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Whickham	Bishopdale	John	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Wolviston	Hunter	Geoffrey	3.9.Pont.10a	1379
Wolviston	Wolviston	Richard	1.11.Pont.2a	1379

property	surname	first name	document name	date
Wolviston	Hay	Peter	1.11.Pont.10	1414
Wolviston	Bishopton	John	1.11.Pont.10	1414
Wolviston	Preston	Edmund	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Wolviston	Hunter	Geoffrey	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Wolviston	Wolviston	Thomas son of	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Wolviston	Aske	Richard	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Wolviston	Clerk	John	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Wolviston	Wolviston	John	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Wolviston	Wolviston	John	1.11.Pont.1	1346
Wolviston	Conyers	Roger	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Wolviston	Wild	Robert	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Wolviston	Lucas	Robert	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Wolviston	Shaklock	Thomas	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Wolviston	Masham	Robert	1.11.Pont.2a	1379

Figure 13: Property in Durham City amortized to the priory, arranged by the name of the last holder

surname	first name	property	document name	date
Alman	Matilda	Durham, Elvet	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Alman	Simon	Durham	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Alman	William	Durham	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Annesley	Thomas	Durham, Claypath	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Aspur	Stephen	Durham, Allergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Aspur	William	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Aspur	William	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Aspur	William	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Bamburgh	John	Durham, North Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barhalgh	John	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Barnard Castle	Richard	Durham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barnard Castle	Richard	Durham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barnard Castle	Richard	Durham, Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barnard Castle	Richard	Durham, Elvet	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Barnard Castle	Richard	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barnard Castle	Richard	Durham, Old Borough	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Bamby	William	Durham, Claypath	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Birkby	Alice	Durham, Elvet Borough	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Birkby	Alice	Durham, New Elvet	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Bowman	Margaret	Durham, Allergate	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Bradbury	Thomas	Durham, Claypath	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Chilton	Hugh	Durham, St Mary	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Claxton	Thomas	Durham, Crossgate	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Claxton	Thomas	Durham, South Street	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Cocken	Thomas	Durham, Crossgate	1.11.Pont.14	1451

surname	first name	property	document name	date
Cockside	Robert	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Coteler	John	Durham, Sadlergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Cowherd	Roger	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Draper	Robert	Durham, Rattonrow	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Drayton	William	Durham, Elvet Borough	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Durham	William	Durham, Sidegate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Farnham	William	Durham, South Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Flesher	Agnes	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Garnet	Agnes	Durham, South Street	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Haswell	William	Durham, Smiddyhaugh	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Haswell	William	Durham, Rattonrow	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Henryson	John	Durham, Old Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Horsley	John	Durham, South Street	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Langley	William	Durham, Old Elvet	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Layton	Robert	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Lorimer	Thomas	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Lumley	Richard	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Lumley	Thomas	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Masham	Robert	Durham, Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Masham	Robert	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
More	Richard	Durham, Claypath	1.10.Pont.6	1483
More	Richard	Durham, Gilesgate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
More	Richard	Durham, Sadlergate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Plumpton	John	Durham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Preston	Robert	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Pymond	Margery	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Raket	William	Durham, Gilesgate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Raket	William	Durham, Old Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Rook	William	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Shadforth	William	Durham, Elvet	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Short	John	Durham, Fleshergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Short	John	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Short	John	Durham, Sadlergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Sotheron	Robert	Durham, South Bailey	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Stafford	Thomas	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Stanley	Richard	Durham, Rattonrow	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Swan	Thomas	Durham, Old Elvet	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Thomson	Mary	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Thornburgh	Thomas	Durham, Sadlergate	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Tudhoe	Thomas	Durham, Fleshergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Tudhoe	Thomas	Durham, Fleshergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Tudhoe	Thomas	Durham, Old Borough	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Warwick	Thomas	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Whelpdale	William	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Witton	John	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Yarm	John	Durham, Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Yowdale	John	Durham, Framwelgate	1.10.Pont.6	1483

Before considering the persons named in the mortmain documents in connection with the entry of names in the *Liber Vitae* of Durham, three points need to be made about the sample. The first concerns the comprehensiveness of the lists derived from the surviving documents; the second the status of the person named as the last holder of the property; and the third concerns the nature of the property transactions that were licensed.

The first point to be made is that the lists derived from the documents are not comprehensive, in either the persons named as possible benefactors nor in the properties acquired by the priory after c.1300. Two examples will be sufficient to demonstrate this. The first relates to a gift of property in Wolviston granted by Master John Malpas to the priory and described in a surviving confraternity agreement dated 1490, as follows:

Letters of confraternity by John prior and the chapter of Durham to Mr John Malpas, LL.B., repaying him for the devotion of mind and the completeness of the sincere love which he has for the prior and chapter and their monastery of Durham, as they know from experience by his deeds and in particular from his gift of various tenements and lands in Wolviston belonging to him by hereditary right, lately made by him in pure alms to the prior and chapter and their monastery, as manifest by his charter of gift and enfeoffment.¹⁹⁷

Reference to figure 12 will show that the priory had acquired considerable interest in Wolviston by 1490 but that the Malpas grant does not figure in surviving inquisitions *ad quod damnum* or the licences, all of which are earlier than the date of Malpas' gift. The second example relates to a gift of property in Pilgrim Street in Newcastle by John and Johanna Robinson. Once again

the gift is the apparent reason for the grant by the prior and convent of a letter of confraternity dated 7 June 1474 as follows:

Letters of confraternity by Richard, prior and the chapter of Durham to John Robynson, merchant of Newcastle upon Tyne, and Johanna his wife, repaying them for the devotion of mind and the completeness of the sincere love which they have for them and their monastery of Durham, as they have sufficiently experienced by their deed and especially by their gift of a tenement in Pilgrim Street in Newcastle, belonging to John and Johanna by Johanna's hereditary right, lately made to the monastery of Durham in pure alms, by their charter of gift and feoffment.¹⁹⁸

The deed which records the transference of the property in Pilgrim Street to Robert Sotheron and Edmund Bell, as nominees of the prior and convent, survives amongst the priory archive, as DCM 1.1.Spec.111 and is dated 23 October 1474, which is in fact later than the letters of confraternity which record the grant as having been made.

The lack of completeness in the list of names and properties derived from the existing inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the licences may be due to one of three causes. The first is that the calendaring of the documents on which this sample depends is incomplete, a possibility which cannot be verified without a complete search of the archive, which is out of scale in the present enquiry. The second is that it is possible that not all the documents relating to acquisitions under the Statute survive. In support of this suggestion is the fact that the first surviving inquisition is dated to 1346, some sixty-five years after the passing of the Statute.¹⁹⁹ Further, of the various groups of documents concerned with each individual transaction, it is not unusual for

one at least to be missing. The third is that it is possible that the priory engaged in some illicit property dealings and failed to seek licences for some of its gains. In 1507 Bishop Bainbridge granted to the priory and a group of named nominees a pardon 'in respect of any transgressions concerning the acquisition or alienation of land in mortmain'.²⁰⁰ It may be no coincidence that amongst those named were Edmund Bell and Robert Sotheron, both concerned in the transfer of the Pilgrim Street property. Thus it is clear that the numbers of persons actually involved in property transactions with the priory in the period after 1300 was larger than the sample derived from the surviving mortmain documents.

The second point to make about the sample is that when a name is mentioned in connection with a property in either an inquisition *ad quod damnum* or a licence, it is not always that of the last person known to have held the land or property in question. Thus an inquisition of 1483 includes two tenements, four tofts and the reversion of one tenement once held by John Berehalgh, clerk.²⁰¹ These properties are identified by Camsell as being in Kirkgate and what is now Hallgarth Street in Elvet Barony.²⁰² The detail of the descent of these properties is complex. On 5 October 1426 Robert Berehalgh granted to his son John all lands rents and services in Old Elvet and Kirkgate. On the 20th of same month he quitclaimed his land in Elvet. On 20 Sept 1456 John Berehalgh granted to John Neville, knight, and William Houton, chaplain, all his lands, tenements and rents in Durham. In 1460 Houton granted these to Robert Weddale. In 1482 Ralph Neville knight, son of John, quitclaimed to Margaret, widow of Robert Weddale, and her new husband Richard Banyys, janitor of the abbey, the lands held by his father by grant of John Berehalgh.

In July 1482 Richard Banyys and Margaret granted to John Hagirston and Edmund Bell, nominees of the priory, all the lands that they held. The inquisition *ad quod damnum* is two years later and refers to Berehalgh's lands. The explanation in this case may be that in reality all those holding the property after John Berehalgh were in fact nominees of the priory of Durham, and that the formal arrangements of the deeds disguises their position.

The third point to make is that the sample derived from the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the licences does not distinguish between properties purchased by the priory and those given in 'pure alms'. It might be argued that only in the latter case would the name of the grantor be included in any benefactors' book. In reality, however, the situation is not so clear-cut. In the case of properties amortised in Durham City it is possible to enter quite fully into the history and background of the grant to the priory. A single example will provide insights into the complex arrangements that accompanied the acquisition of property by the priory. The inquisition *ad quod damnum* dated 1483 includes property in Framwellgate, Durham, previously owned by John Yowdale.²⁰³ On 16 June 1467 the prior and convent granted to John Yowdale of Durham and Matilda his wife 'for life and to the longer lived of them a perpetual corrody'. The reason for this grant is explained as being 'for various favours rendered, and, they [the prior and convent] hope, to be rendered, to the prior and chapter and their monastery'.²⁰⁴ The grant of the corrody precedes the transfer of Yowdale's property in Framwelgate to the priory. Yowdale possessed three adjacent burgages in Framwelgate.²⁰⁵ On 20 July 1467 Yowdale, granted to Robert Sotheron and John Sedgefield, chaplains, two of these burgages. Two days later Sotheron and Sedgefield leased the

property back to Yowdale and Matilda his wife, for the term of their lives for a nominal rent of a rose or 2d yearly. This grant was followed by a second some years later. On 1 June 1476 Yowdale granted to Robert Sotheron, Thomas Steyll, and Edmund Bell the third burgage. On the 17th of the same month it, like the other properties, was transferred back to Yowdale and his wife for the term of their lives. On 21 June 1476 John and Matilda were admitted into the confraternity of St Cuthbert.²⁰⁶ On 31 December the same year Matilda Yowdale, now a widow, quit-claimed to Sotheron, Steyll and Bell the properties in Framwelgate. In 1484 after an inquisition *ad quod damnum* these nominees transferred these properties together with others to the prior.²⁰⁷

There seems no doubt that the corrody paid to the Yowdales was a part of the business that resulted in the grant of their property to the priory. There is no evidence that any money changed hands- but can the Framwelgate property be counted as a gift in pure alms? The Malpas grant of lands at Wolviston and the Robinson grant of property in Newcastle, already referred to, were both acknowledged in the confraternity letters issued by the prior and convent as gifts 'in pure alms'.²⁰⁸ In both cases, however, the grantors received not only the conventional benefits of prayers conferred by the grant of confraternity, but also benefits in money or in kind, similar to those received by the Yowdales. John Malpas' confraternity letter states that in response to his gift and also with regard to other services he had rendered to the convent, he and his forebears were to be admitted into confraternity with the priory. In addition Malpas was to be granted an annuity of £5 until such time as he was presented to a suitable ecclesiastical benefice.²⁰⁹ The

Robinsons' letter of confraternity specifies that both they and their parents' names will be entered into the priory benefactors' book and that they will be admitted to confraternity with the priory. In addition they were granted an annuity of six marks a year, payable in part from the tithes of the vill of Simonside and in part in cash from the prior and convent.²¹⁰ The pension promised in the confraternity letter was paid and is regularly recorded in the Bursar's accounts under *Allocaciones* between 1475/6, when two years were paid together, and 1494/5 after which presumably both John Robinson and his wife were dead. The entry is always the same, recording a payment of 56s 8d.²¹¹

It appears that the arrangements involved in the transfer of property, even in the case of grants called gifts 'in free alms', were complex and were in part a business transaction involving payments in money or in kind to the grantor and also in part a charitable act rewarded by the conventional spiritual benefits. In the light of this knowledge, it might be expected that if the *Liber Vitae* was being used to record the names of benefactors of the priory in the period after c.1300, then at least a proportion of those named in the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the licenses would be included in the manuscript. Some of the persons named in figure 11 are indeed included in the *Liber Vitae*, in all twenty-three names in the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and licences are found also in the *Liber Vitae*. These are listed below in figure 14.

Figure 14: names in the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and licences which also appear in the *Liber Vitae*.

surname	first name	property	document name	date
Annesley	Thomas	Durham, Claypath	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barnard Castle	Richard	properties in Durham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Barnard Castle	Richard	properties in Durham and Relley Manor	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Bishopdale	John	properties in Gateshead & Whickham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Bowman	Margaret	Durham, Allergate	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Bradbury	Thomas	Durham, Claypath	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Claxton	Thomas	properties in Durham	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Clerk	John	Wolviston	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Coteler	John	Durham, Sadlergate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Cowherd	Roger	properties in Durham & Edmundbyers	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Cowherd	Roger	Aldingrange	1.11.Pont.2a	1379
Fenrother	Robert	North Pittington	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Ferry	Thomas	Ferryhill	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Ferry	Thomas	Ferryhill & Billingham	1.11.Pont.8	1423
Garnet	Agnes	Durham, South Street	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Henryson	John	Durham, Old Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Jackson	John	East Merrington	1.11.Pont.14	1451
Lumley	Ralph	manor of Preston	3.9.Pont.21a	1392
Lumley	Richard	Durham, Elvet Barony	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Lumley	Thomas	Durham, Gilesgate	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Neville	John	Ferryhill, Burdon & Healy Manor	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Raket	William	properties in Durham	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Seaton	William	Monkton	1.11.Pont.10	1414
Short	John	properties in Durham	3.9.Pont.16a	1388
Sotheron	Robert	Durham, South Bailey	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Warwick	Thomas	Durham, Elvet Borough	1.10.Pont.6	1483
Yarm	John	Durham, Bailey	3.9.Pont.16a	1388

In examining these names, the first point to make is that, although there may be coincidence in names between the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the *Liber Vitae*, in some cases there is doubt over whether or not the names included in the *Liber Vitae* do represent the persons named in the licences and inquisitions as making the grants to the priory. The inquisition *ad quod*

damnum of July 1392 speaks of 'two parts of the manor of Preston and two parts of the vill of Simonside once held of Ralph Lumley, knight, and Eleanor his wife, and held of the prior for 26s 8d a year and worth £7 16s a year net.'²¹² This property reverted to the priory of Durham after the attainder of Ralph, Lord Lumley, who died fighting against Henry IV at Cirencester in 1399.²¹³ The name Ralph Lumley occurs on folio 73r of the *Liber Vitae*, the name included in the list headed *Regulares*, a list created with its companion headed *Seculares* on folio 72v in 1380. The term *Regulares* was used by the compiler of the list to indicate that the men listed were in orders, as monks or canons, secular priests or deacons. Thus it is unlikely that Ralph, Lord Lumley, is the person meant by the inclusion of this name. Further, it is clear that the list in the *Liber Vitae* was compiled before the property at Preston and Simonside reverted to the priory after Ralph's attainder in 1399.

Similar doubts can be raised over another name in the same list, on folio 73r, namely that of Thomas Annesley. The property granted to the priory was in Claypath, Durham.²¹⁴ In September 1375 Thomas Annesley of Pittington and his wife Julia acquired the burgage in Claypath from Thomas de Tudhow. In August 1383 Thomas and his wife begin the process of transferring this property to the priory by a grant to Reginald de Porter and William de Couton, chaplains and John Killerby, clerk, nominees of the priory. The inquisition *ad quod damnum* is dated March 1388. No objection was found, licence was granted and in May of the same year this property and others was granted to the prior.²¹⁵ It is not known whether Thomas Annesley, despite being married, was in minor orders, which might account for his inclusion in the *Regulares* list on folio 73r. Even if the man named is to be

identified with this Thomas Annesley, which is open to doubt, his name was not entered because of any gift of property to the priory, as once again the list in the *Liber Vitae* was compiled before Annesley made his grant to the priory in 1383.²¹⁶ Thomas Annesley of Pittington was associated with the priory over many years. He was a tithe farmer between 1359-1397, farming the prior's tithes in North and South Pittington.²¹⁷ In 1362 he became the prior's forester of the park of Rainton and the keeper of the priory's coal mine at Rainton for life.²¹⁸ In October 1390 the prior and convent granted to him an allowance or corrody of the tithe of sheaves of North Pittington, together with the house in which he lived 'for life, for the increase of his keep, for his service while he was in good health, rendering yearly 20d'.²¹⁹ It is clear that the priory appreciated Thomas' association over a long period, including his grant of property in Claypath, and their grant of a corrody is indicative of this, but his name was not added to the *Liber Vitae*.

The second point to be made is that, even where it is reasonably clear that the name in the *Liber Vitae* is that of the person named in an inquisition *ad quod damnum* or a licence, it is still not clear that the name was added to the *Liber Vitae* as a result of the grant of property to the priory. For example, Margaret Bowman is recorded as the grantor of property in Allergate, Durham to the priory in an inquisition *ad quod damnum* of 1451.²²⁰ Surviving documents record that on 9 July 1411 Margaret Bowman granted the property to Alan Hayden, John Binchester and Thomas Ryhall, nominees of the prior.²²¹ In October 1419 it was leased by Hayden and Binchester to the prior on a forty year lease.²²² In this case however the records of the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and licences are incomplete and do not tell the full story. It

appears that John Bowman, Margaret's husband, held properties in Framwellgate and Claypath in addition to the Allergate property.²²³ The initial grant to the priory was made by John, apparently just before his death in September 1396, when he granted to John Eggescliffe and Richard Peryson, chaplains, all his lands and tenements in Durham, but presumably with a life interest to Margaret.²²⁴ John Bowman was dead by 10 June 1397, when John Eggescliffe granted the properties to Margaret, described as widow, for her life.²²⁵ It is not clear what happened to the property in Framwellgate, as no documentation survives, but it did not come to the priory. The Allergate property was transferred in 1411 by Margaret to the priory, as we have seen. The Claypath property was also granted to Hayden by Margaret in 1411 but in this case, Margaret's future was secured as Hayden leased the tenement back to Margaret for the nominal rent of a rose a year.²²⁶ In addition, although no other record of it appears to have survived, between 1411 and 1414 the Sacrist paid Margaret 20s per annum 'pro corrodio'.²²⁷ The Claypath burgage was very valuable as a reference to it in 1500 makes clear, 'William Layng holds the tenement once held by Margaret Bowman. He owes rent of 18s p.a. to Sacrist but rent used to be 26s 8d p.a.'²²⁸ Presumably in recognition of the scale of the gifts made by John, in 1410 the prior and convent made a grant of confraternity to Margaret, associating John in the benefits they offered.²²⁹ The entry in *Liber Vitae* to John and Margaret Bowman on folio 77r, is in a hand of the early fifteenth century, which could therefore be contemporary with the transactions described above. Against this hypothesis is the form of the entry, which names John Bowman and Margaret Bowman, without, however, stating their relationship, and also includes the name of a William Bowman. William

Bowman is not included in any of the property transactions of 1411. The lease of the Claypath property stated that at Margaret's death the property would remain to Joan, wife of Thomas Copper. If Joan died without heirs, it would remain to the rightful heirs of John Bowman.²³⁰ If William had been living at the time of the property transfers, presumably he would have had an interest and as such must have been asked to quitclaim it at the least. It would seem that the entry in the *Liber Vitae* belongs to an earlier phase in Margaret and John's relationship with the priory, a relationship that the confraternity letter indicates had extended over many years.

It can be seen that the sample of names provided by the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the licences for the priory to acquire land in mortmain opens a rich field for the investigation of the priory's land dealings and its relationships with the grantors of property. It is equally clear from the cases investigated that the benefits expected and obtained by such grantors were many and varied, and might include life interest in the property they had granted at minimal rent, practical support through grants of corrodies by the priory, and prayerful association with the priory via letters of confraternity. It does not appear that inclusion of grantors' names in the *Liber Vitae* was a general result of their making over of a piece of land or property. In the few cases where names are found in common between the inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the licences, it is not obvious that the name necessarily belongs to the person making the grant, or, where this seems likely, that it is included as part of any land transaction.

The nature of the source employed to discuss benefactors of the priory, namely inquisitions *ad quod damnum* and the licences, precludes the possibility that the terms of the exchange will be made explicit. In the case of the confraternity letters granted to John Malpas and John and Johanna Robinson, already discussed, the benefits that the grantors were to expect were fully rehearsed. In both cases they were promised inclusion in the priory's commemorative books. John Malpas' confraternity letter states that, in response to his gift, his and his forebears' names were to be 'enrolled in their [the prior and convent's] books, among their other benefactors, living and dead, admitting him and his forbears as spiritual brethren and sisters of the chapter'.²³¹ The Robinsons' letter of confraternity specifies that both their and their parents' names will be entered 'among their other benefactors, living and dead, [and they will be admitted] to the spiritual brotherhood and sorority of the chapter'.²³² In both cases the promise to add benefactors' names to the priory's books is made in the context of the admission to confraternity, the main benefit of which was, as we have seen, the celebration of the anniversary of the member's death.²³³ The conclusion seems inescapable that whilst the priory kept books in which to inscribe the names of its benefactors, the *Liber Vitae* was not one of those books.

In the foregoing chapter various groups of friends and benefactors of the priory have been defined and examined. In each case the lists of names gathered from sources independent of the *Liber Vitae* have been compared with the lists of names contained in the manuscript. In every case, although

some names have been found to be common, it has been demonstrated that the majority of non-monastic names in the *Liber Vitae* are not those generally found in the other sources described as friends and benefactors of the priory of Durham. The *Liber Vitae* is undoubtedly a Durham manuscript, thus the names included in it after c. 1300 must have a connection with the priory. But in gathering names from sources independent of the *Liber Vitae* itself it has been demonstrated that the scholarly assumption, widely expressed, that the *Liber Vitae* is the benefactors' book of the priory of Durham, cannot be sustained.

Notes to Chapter 6

¹ See above, pp. 235 ff. esp. p. 238.

² Fowler (1903), pp. 16-17.

³ Keynes (1996), pp. 82-3, and with some slight variations by Bishop (1918), p. 352. The Latin text is printed in Birch (1892), pp. 11-12.

⁴ For example, Stevenson (1841), pp. vii-viii; Thompson (1923), esp. pp. xiv and xxviii; Bishop (1918), p. 352 and passim; Keynes (forthcoming). For an early assessment of my own of the material bearing on this problem see Rollason (1999), pp. 279-85.

⁵ Little, Fowler et al. (1983), vol. I, p. 807. The fifth definition of a friend.

⁶ Little, Fowler et al. (1983), vol. I, p. 181.

⁷ Halcrow (1955).

⁸ Dobson (1973), esp. chs. 4-7 and p. 143.

⁹ Quoted by Halcrow (1955), pp. 77-8.

¹⁰ Halcrow (1955); Donaldson (1960); Dobson (1973), pp. 144-72.

¹¹ Dobson (1973), pp. 144-5.

¹² Le Neve (1963), p. 109.

¹³ DCM Reg. Parv. IV, fol. 3r-v (in English). The letter is calendared in DCM Cal. RegParv. IV and printed Raine (1839), pp. ccclxix-ccclxx.

¹⁴ DCM Reg. Parv. IV, fol. 6r-v (in English). The letter is calendared in DCM Cal. RegParv. IV and printed Raine (1839), pp. ccclxx-ccclxxi.

¹⁵ DCM, Reg. Parv. IV, fols. 12v-13r (in English). The letter is calendared in DCM Cal. RegParv. IV and printed Raine (1839), pp. ccclxxi-ccclxxii.

¹⁶ DCM, Cal.Reg. Parv. III, fols. 1v-2r.

¹⁷ DCM, Cal.Reg. Parv. III, fol. 13r.

¹⁸ DCM, Cal.Reg. Parv. III, fol. 28v.

¹⁹ Roskell, Clark et al. (1992), vol. III, p. 862. In DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 206r is an *inspeximus*, dated 1436, by the prior and convent of the commission by Bishop Langley to Ogle of the custody and office of constable of Norham castle, along with the offices of steward, sheriff and escheator in Norhamshire and Islandshire, for twenty years.

²⁰ Hunter Blair (1934), pp. 104-5.

²¹ DCM, Cal. Reg. Parv. III, fol. 74r-v.

²² DCM Cal.Reg. Parv. III, fol. 42v.

²³ DCM, Cal. Reg. Parv. III, fols. 69v-70r.

²⁴ DCM, Cal. Reg. Parv. III, fol. 60v. The letter that survives is a letter to the offending vicar, Gisburn, from the prior. It is clear from what the prior writes that he has been placed in a difficult position and that the parishioners have a legitimate grievance against their vicar.

²⁵ DCM, Cal.Reg. Parv. III, fol. 117r. The letter is printed in Raine (1841), p. 191.

²⁶ For examples of royal requests for priory patronage see Halcrow (1955), p. 77 and Donaldson (1960), p.172.

²⁷ See Dobson (1973), pp. 156-62, for an account ^{of the} creation of the college at Hemingbrough.

²⁸ DCM 2.2.Reg.7. This grant, together with a very similar one to the canons of Beverley, was made on September 16th at Berwick on Tweed, see *Calendar of Patent Rolls Edward I 1292-1301*(1865), pp. 203-4.

²⁹ DCM 2.3.Reg.7. There is a slightly later confirmation dated 1339 in DCM Cal. Reg II, fol. 111r. There is no evidence of the confirmation in the *Calendar of Patent Rolls Edward III 1334-1338*.

³⁰ The documents in question are an indenture between the king and the prior and convent, DCM, 2.3.Reg.8a, which makes the connection between the grant of the licence to appropriate Hemingbrough (DCM 2.3.Reg.5a) and the priory's quit-claim. The indenture goes on to specify that the indenture is to be read at the beginning of High Mass at the High Altar on the king's anniversary or the feast of St Cuthbert in March. Every prior of Durham is to swear to implement its provisions on his installation, and a copy of it, with letters undertaking to implement it, are to be exhibited within three months to the King of England or the Chancellor. The licence, DCM 2.3.Reg.5a, giving permission to appropriate Hemingbrough, and DCM 2.3.Reg.6 which is the license to make the appropriation subject to a variety of conditions. See *Calendar of Patent Rolls Edward III 1354-1358* (1909), pp. 363-4 and 443. In the patent rolls the earlier grant of September 1296 is marked 'vacated because surrendered, and the prior and convent have other letters, under date 7 March, 30 Edward I, of licence to appropriate the church of Hemmyngburgh for the maintenance of the chantries and other things, and therefore these letters are cancelled and condemned' (*Calendar of Patent Rolls Edward I 1292-1301* (1895), p. 204)

³¹ DCM. 2.3.Reg.6.

³² Donaldson (1955), vol. II, p. 260.

³³ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fols. 123v-125r, 1426. See *Calendar of Patent Rolls Henry VI 1422-1429* (1901), p. 382.

³⁴ Thompson (1923), the ink folio number 16 is much clearer in the facsimile than the pencil. The entry must have been made after the birth of Prince Edward on 2nd November 1470. It may or may not be significant that the name of his brother Prince Richard, born in 1473, is not included in the entry. Prince

Edward had several sisters older than himself whose names are not remembered (Fryde, Greenway et al. (1986), pp. 41-2). It is not the case that this entry was made in Edward's presence, and that the exceptional inclusion of the king's name in the Anglo-Saxon core of the book was intended to confer a special distinction on the entry, as he was never in the north after the birth of Prince Edward in 1470 (pers. comm. Prof. Tony Pollard).

³⁵ For discussion of the possible inclusion of a bishop-list in the original core, see above pp. 71-2.

³⁶ The prefatory material, items 4(a)-4(c) of manuscript C (DUL, MS Cosin V.II.6) are described in Rollason (2000), p. xviii.

³⁷ Rollason (2000), p. 3, the list itself follows on pp. 4-5.

³⁸ Rollason (2000), p. xviii.

³⁹ Rollason (2000), p. 5.

⁴⁰ Piper (1998), pp. 161-7, esp. p. 165.

⁴¹ For the late history of Durham's Scottish cell of Coldingham, see Dobson (1967) and Dobson (1973), pp. 316-27.

⁴² DCM, Cal.RegParv. II, fol. 152r-v. Printed in Raine (1841), p. 130. An account of the problems besetting the prior of Durham in presenting to the cell of Coldingham are discussed Dobson (1967) and Dobson (1973), pp. 318-326.

⁴³ See above, p. 171.

⁴⁴ There are four letters which are relevant here; DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 65v, an undated letter to lady Eleanor Percy and to Henry and William her sons; DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 126r-v a letter dated October 1510 to Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland and lady Katherine, his wife; DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 171r, a memo dated 1517 records that Mr Joceyn Percy was admitted to

confraternity; DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 219v a letter dated January 1527/8 to Henry, earl of Northumberland, warden of the East and Middle Marches against Scotland, and Mary his wife.

⁴⁵ Raine (1839), pp. 134-5; Fowler (1903), p. 244; Dobson (1973), p. 184; Burgess (1990), p. 184.

⁴⁶ See above pp. 169–70.

⁴⁷ Raine (1839) pp. 136-7.

⁴⁸ Richard Neville, earl of Salisbury, in 1431 (DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 139r); Ralph, Lord Neville and Isabel his wife in 1478 (DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 182r); Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland in 1509 (DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 122r-v); and Ralph Neville, earl of Westmorland and Katherine, his wife in 1522 (DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 194v).

⁴⁹ This entry on fol. 68r is dated palaeographically to 1375-1425. It could relate to one of two men. First to Sir William Neville of Rolleston Notts & Pickhill Leics, who sat as MP for Nottinghamshire in 1378 and 1394. Born c.1338, the son and heir of Sir Thomas Neville (d. by 1368) of Rolleston by his first wife Cecily. Knighted by July 1372. He was a retainer of John of Gaunt. (Roskell, Clark et al. (1992), III, 824-5). Secondly, Sir William Neville, knight of the chamber of King Richard II, son of Ralph, 2nd lord Neville (d. 1367) and brother of John, lord Neville (Young (1996), p. 119). As the area of influence of the first William Neville was mostly Nottinghamshire and that of the second further north it seems reasonable to suppose that the entry is for John Neville's brother.

⁵⁰ I am indebted to Dr Andy King for the identification of this group of names in the *Liber Vitae*.

⁵¹ The will of John Neville survives, and is printed in Raine (1835), pp. 38-42. In it he remembers his children and other relatives, but these people are not entered into the *Liber Vitae*.

⁵² Dobson (1973), pp. 185-7.

⁵³ Storey (1961a), p. 55.

⁵⁴ Storey (1961a), p. 55.

⁵⁵ Storey (1961), items 1119-1122, pp. 136-143.

⁵⁶ Storey (1961a), p. 139.

⁵⁷ For the creation of this list see above, pp. 165-7. Hunter Blair (1935), p. 97.

⁵⁸ Hunter Blair (1935), p. 99.

⁵⁹ Hunter Blair (1935), p. 99.

⁶⁰ Hunter Blair (1935), p. 99.

⁶¹ The name William Elmeden is found on fol. 73r in the list headed *Regulares*, but as we have seen this name cannot relate to the William Elmeden listed in 1434, see above p. 302.

⁶² Roger Thornton is entered on fol. 77r with his wife, Elizabeth. Roger Thornton, was the son of Roger Thornton and his wife Agnes Wauton (d. 24 Nov 1411). In February 1429 he was betrothed to Elizabeth, daughter of John Lord Greystoke. His father was obliged to settle a large estate upon the couple (Roskell, Clark et al. (1992), vol. IV, pp. 597-598).

⁶³ Name entered as 'Willelmus Chancellor, armiger' on fol. 50r. William Chancellor was the bishop's chancellor during the first half of the fifteenth century Hutchinson (1823), vol. II, p. 406n.

⁶⁴ Entered as 'Johannes Sharppe, armiger et Ysabella uxor eius' on fol. 77r.

⁶⁵ Thomas Billingham is perhaps entered twice in the *Liber Vitae*. His name appears on fol. 75r in an entry detailing the family of Alan Billingham, written in a hand of the second half of the fourteenth century. He is described as the

son of Alan. His name appears again on fol. 70v, in a partially erased entry, written in a fifteenth century hand, which Stevenson reads as 'Ysouda uxor Thomae Byllyngham armigeri' (Stevenson (1841), p. 111). The identity of the person named in the *Liber Vitae* with the man named in the commission seems certain. It is interesting that the information provided by the *Liber Vitae* in both cases is additional to that offered by Surtees in his pedigree of the family Surtees (1816-1840), vol. IV, p. 139.

⁶⁶ Entered as 'Willelmus Hoton lohanna uxor eiusdem' on fol. 77v. William Hoton was the prior's steward. For discussion of his career see Dobson (1973), pp. 128-30. For discussion of the development of fol. 77v, see Rollason (1999), pp. 286-288.

⁶⁷ For discussion of the Claxton entries in the *Liber Vitae*, see p. 303. The men named in the commission are identified by Barker (2003), p. 31.

⁶⁸ The name is entered on fol. 68r in a hand dated 1375-1425. The family held lands at Thornlaw, and in successive generations the holders of the property were all called John. (Surtees (1816-1840), vol. I, pp. 84ff). The first John Trollop died in 1401 his son, John, died in 1436. The entry in question could therefore relate to either the John Trollop of the commission or to his father.

⁶⁹ There is an entry in a sixteenth century hand on fol. 82r which reads 'Thomas Coky senior et Thomas Coky junior, Wylllelmus Coky, Genet Coky'. The names in the *Liber Vitae* are probably too late to be equated with either of the men named in the commission.

⁷⁰ The name Robert Jackson occurs on fol. 82v in a sixteenth century hand. He is named as the son of Thomas Jackson and his wife Margaret.

⁷¹ The names Robert Hilton and William Hilton appear in the *Liber Vitae* on fol. 72v in the list headed *Seculares*, a list created in 1380. No relationship between them is expressed. The identity of those named is not certain, but it seems likely that the entry relates to the family of Hilton of Hilton. The lord

Hilton of Hilton in c.1380 was Sir William de Hilton (1355-1435). Sir William's father had been a Sir Robert Hilton (d. 1376) and Sir William had a son Robert, but in c. 1380 he was either not born or an infant, as he was aged fifty and more at the time of his father's death in 1435 (Surtees (1816-1840), vol. II, p. 26). Sir William married, as his second wife after 1412, Denise daughter of Sir Robert Hilton of Swine so it is possible that the Robert Hilton named in the *Liber Vitae* was Sir William's future father-in-law (Surtees (1816-1840), vol. II, p. 26; Cokayne (1982), vol. VII, p. 27).

⁷² The name is entered as 'Robertus Menwell' on fol. 80r in a sixteenth century hand.

⁷³ Alan Piper pers. comm.

⁷⁴ For discussion of the breakdown of monastic recording see above, pp. 119 ff.

⁷⁵ Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 40.

⁷⁶ Boutflower (1926), p. 44 and Donaldson (1955), vol. II, p. 109.

⁷⁷ Boutflower (1926), p. 71 and Donaldson (1955), vol. II, p. 66. The confraternity document is recorded in DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 213r-v.

⁷⁸ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. III, p. 79 and Barker (2003), p. 31.

⁷⁹ On whom see above, pp. 304-05.

⁸⁰ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. IV, p. 97.

⁸¹ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. IV, p. 97.

⁸² Alan Piper pers. comm.

⁸³ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. II, p. 163.

⁸⁴ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. II, p. 163.

⁸⁵ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. II, p. 211.

⁸⁶ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. II, p. 16.

⁸⁷ Dobson (1973), p. 124, says that in Durham in the fifteenth century the prior particularly consulted the terror, the chancellor and the sub-prior in the spheres of estate-management, legal protocol and monastic discipline.

⁸⁸ Smith (1943), p. 70.

⁸⁹ Dobson (1973), ch. 4, pp. 114-43; Smith (1943), ch. 5, pp. 68ff.

⁹⁰ The prior of Durham never established an autonomous household. Dobson (1973), pp. 114-15, explains the reasons for the prior of Durham's dependence on the central financial office of the monastery.

⁹¹ This man was Thomas II Surtees, baron of Gosforth, born c.1337 and died before 25 July 1378 (Hedley (1968), vol. I, pp. 54ff.). From 1352/3 he was paid a regular pension by the priory of Durham. At first the rate seems to have been that paid earlier to his father, Thomas I Surtees, namely 40s p.a., but this was increased to 66s 8d when he assumed the duties of steward. The higher rate was paid in pentecost 1352/3, martinmas 1356/7 and both payments of 1357/8. From 1359 until the last recorded payment in pentecost 1378/9 he was paid at the higher rate and regularly described as seneschal (DCM, Bursars Acc.). In 1354 he was described as prior's steward in an account of gaol delivery (DCM, Cal. Reg. I, fol. 67r-v)

⁹² John de Elvet is found in receipt of a pension between 1350 and 1383. In the records he is regularly described as prior's attorney, coroner and for a brief period in the late 1350's clerk of the exchequer (DCM, Bursar's Acc.).

⁹³ Roger Fulthorpe was in receipt of a regular pension between 1354/5 and 1386/7 of 40s p.a. (DCM, Bursars Acc.). He is to be identified with Roger Fulthorpe of Fulthorpe and Tunstall, co. Pal. and of Hipswell, co. York., who was a Justice of the Common Bench (Tout (1920-1933), vol. III, p. 423). Chief Justice of Ireland degraded and attainted by King Richard II, who died in exile in Ireland. (Surtees (1816-1840), vol. III, p. 126).

⁹⁴ Master John de Appleby was paid a regular pension of 40s p.a. between 1347/8-1363. After 1363 the sum rises to 100s p.a., which was paid until 1386/7 (DCM, Bursar's Acc.) Appleby was a prominent lawyer, obtaining his B.C.L by 1349 and his D.C.L. by 1359 (Emden (1957-9), *s.n.*). He held a variety of Durham benefices; he was rector of St Nicholas, Durham, 1348-54; rector of Whitburn, 1352-62; master of Kepier 1363; rector of Rothbury, 1377-81; becoming dean of St Paul's, London in 1368. He died in 1389 (Boutflower (1926), p. 4). His pension seems to have been granted in recognition of his activities at the papal curia on behalf of the convent over a number of years. Emden states that he was active between 1358 and 1365 (Emden (1957-9) *s.n.*), but the prior's register records the first appointment of Appleby as proctor to the curia in 1348, when he was rector of St Nicholas (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 128v-129r). Even after his appointment as dean of St Paul's, he was no doubt a useful legal contact in the capital, and he retained some northern connections. He was rector of Rothbury until 1381; his name occurs among a list of witnesses in a document concerned with the question of Hemingbrough, perhaps to be dated to c.1373 (DCM, 2.3.Ebor.47) and he was in the north on business in Scotland in 1378 (Andy King pers. comm.).

⁹⁵ Master William Farnham was in receipt of a regular pension from the priory between 1347/8-1381/2. At first the fee is 40s p.a., rising in 1358 to 66s 8d p.a. (DCM, Bursar's Acc.). He is first found in 1348/9, described as a clerk of York diocese, when appointed as a proctor of the prior on business before the Bishop of Durham (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 136v-137r). He was notary public and attested a variety of official documents for the priory (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 143v-144r and 144r-145v). He was also an official of the court of Durham and an advocate (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 144r-145v). He is named as official of Durham in 1366 (DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fols. 108v-109r); and named as Bishop's official in 1368 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 261r-v). In 1382 or 1383, described as prior's clerk, he takes part in a visitation on behalf of the prior (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 221v). In 1361 the prior and chapter of Durham presented him to the rectory of Walkington (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 168v).

⁹⁶ Master Hugh Fletham was paid a pension regularly between 1351/2 and 1383/4. At first with a fee of 26s 8d p.a., he is described as 'p(ro)uir'[provisor?] prioris' (steward/administrator of the prior). Paid regularly, except for martinmas 1352/3 and martinmas 1354/5. Also in receipt of a reduced fee of 13s 4d p.a. in pentecost 1352/3, martinmas 1355/6 and both payments 1356/7 and 1357/8. From 1358-1369 he continued to be paid but at rate of 13s 4d. His fee was increased to 40s p.a. in 1370 and continued at this level until the fee ceased to be paid in 1383/4. He is also described as clerk and advocate of the court of York (DCM, Cal. Reg. II. fols. 200r-202v).

⁹⁷ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 26r-v.

⁹⁸ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 315r.

⁹⁹ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 213v.

¹⁰⁰ Raine (1835), vol. I, p. 247.

¹⁰¹ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 319r.

¹⁰² DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 319r.

¹⁰³ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fols. 102r-103r.

¹⁰⁴ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 300r-302v.

¹⁰⁵ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 226v and 332v. The Parliament first summoned to meet on 27th September 1397 at Westminster was prorogued from the 29th September to meet on 27th January 1398 at Shrewsbury (Fryde and Greenway (1986), p. 566).

¹⁰⁶ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 334r.

¹⁰⁷ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 19v-20.

¹⁰⁸ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 351v.

¹⁰⁹ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 9v.

¹¹⁰ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fols. 5r and 10v.

¹¹¹ DCM, Cal. Reg. Parv. II, fol. 4r.

¹¹² Hunter Blair (1925), p. 39.

¹¹³ See DCM 1.10.Spec.47, copied into Register I, (DCM, Cal. Reg. I, fol. i. 63v).

¹¹⁴ Le Neve (1963), p. 110.

¹¹⁵ DCM, Bursar's Acc. The agreement reached for the retired prior's support is recorded DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 313r. In 1394 the agreement was altered and the new arrangements recorded DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 313v.

¹¹⁶ See above, p. 166.

¹¹⁷ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. III, p. 323.

¹¹⁸ For John Appleby (d. 1389), dean of St Pauls, see above, p. 310. The second John Appleby appears in the records described either as clerk or chaplain, concerned with numerous property transactions on behalf of the priory, acting apparently as a trustee, between 1371 and 1422 (Camsell (1985), Appendix, pp. 29, 51, 617, 349, 652, 654, 697). In 1390 he was collated, by Robert Walworth, prior of Durham, to the chantry of St Helen's altar over the abbey gate (DCM, Cal. Reg. I, fol. i. 123r). He was presented to the vicarage of Pitlington in 1407 (DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 25v; Boutflower (1926), p. 4) and resigned the chantry living (DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 26r). He resigned Pitlington in 1419 due to ill health and was assigned a pension of 8mks from the revenues of the vicarage (DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fols. 66v-67r).

¹¹⁹ Thomas Hexham was paid a regular pension between 1368/9 and 1377/8. Paid initially 20s p.a., this was doubled in 1370/1 to 40s p.a. (DCM, Bursar's Acc.) In 1369 he was appointed as the prior's proctor in parliament (DCM,

Cal. Reg. II, fol. 195r). In 1378, described as priest, he was part of an inquisition held to enquire into the state of the vicarage of St Oswald's, Durham (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 128v-129r). In 1387-8 he was employed on the business of Durham College (DCM, 2.6.Ebor.1c). He was frequently employed by the convent as a proxy at convocation, being appointed 1394, 1395, 1401 and 1402 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 314r, 316v, 352r, and Cal. Reg. III, fol. 4r). He was rector of St Catherine's Coleman St., 1388-90; chaplain to King Henry IV; vicar of Haltwhistle, occ. 1391; bishop's receiver in Norham- and Island- shires; and dean of Chester in 1407 (Boutflower (1926), p.61). He died on his way to the curia in 1408. (Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 348).

¹²⁰ For a full discussion of the lists on fols. 72v-73r, see above pp. 169 ff.

¹²¹ The entry in the *Liber Vitae* on fol. 73v, reads 'Willelmus de Whalton. Agnes uxor eius. Robertus Symon, Willelmus, Hugo, Johannes et Johannes filii eorum Diota, Matildis, Elyanora et Agnes filie eorum'. This entry in the *Liber Vitae* is not dated but the entries immediately above it, possibly in the same hand, are those of monks professed soon after 1350.

¹²² The name is found on pensions list, paid 20s p.a., first paid both payments 1343/4, paid regularly from pentecost 1347/8 to martinmas 1354/55 (DCM, Bursar's Acc.).

¹²³ In 1343 William Whalton granted his son Hugh two tenements in Walkergate (Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 368). This would suggest that in 1343 Hugh was an adult. The family entry for Whalton in the *Liber Vitae* has William's son William's name before that of Hugh in the list of sons, which might suggest that William the son was older than Hugh and therefore also of age by 1343. It is therefore possible that there were in the 1340s two William Whaltons active in Durham. In 1354 a William Whalton of Durham was a witness to a grant by William de Marham to Hugh Brandon (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 165v-166r). The rest of the evidence concerns property transactions in Durham by William Whalton. The dates of these suggest this might be William

senior. In many of the deeds he is described as 'clerk'. In 1323 he was granted two tenements in Walkergate (Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 368). In 1330 he obtained property in Clayport (Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 416). In 1337 he obtained a messuage in *Bucheria* (Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 338). In 1338 he is said to hold land in St Giles (Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 455). In 1362 William is said to have held property in Clayport, so he was dead by this date (Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 417). But it is possible he died before 1355 as in this year Dionesia, daughter of William Whalton, appoints Richard Stafford her attorney to deliver two tenements in *Bucheria* to Agnes, her mother (Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 339).

¹²⁴ In 1352/3 a William Whalton, described as magister, appears for the prior in a dispute with the inhabitants of Holy Island over tithes (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 144r-145r). There is no indication that either of the Durham Whaltons were 'magister'.

¹²⁵ DCM, Bursar's Acc. 1361/2.

¹²⁶ He is likely to have been the William Dalton, cleric, who was vicar of Bulwell, Notts, 1322; rector of 2 parts of Croxton, Lincs., 1326; canon and prebendary of Bridgnorth, 1331, res. 1352; rector of a modiety of Ekynton, 1337; of Brigham, 1341; canon and prebendary of Hastings, 1343; of Lincoln, 1344; rector of Houghton-le-Spring, 1345; sacrist of Beverley, 1347; canon and prebendary of Auckland, 1350; exchanged it for Ripon, 1354; of York, 1361; of Lichfield, 1367. Controller of the King's household; clerk of the Great Wardrobe in 1354; Inspector of the eastern counties, 1358; who lent the king £160, for which he was to receive wool free from the Wardrobe, 1370; and who died in 1371 (Boutflower (1926) pp. 33-4).

¹²⁷ Name recorded in *Liber Vitae* on fol. 70v, in a hand dated 1350-1399: as Henry [Gategang], one of the sons and daughters of John and Christiana Gategang. His name is included on the pensions list for 1348/9, when he was paid 20s for each of two payments (DCM, Bursar's Acc.). He is identified by

Surtees as Magister Henry Gategang who was rector of Belton [correct Welton] (Lincs.) (Surtees (1816-1840), vol. II, p. 116). Named already as rector of Welton, he was associated with the priory in 1358, when as a proctor of the priory he was to attend before the archbishop of York (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 152v). He was appointed proctor again in 1367 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 192v and repeated fol. 342v). In 1375, he represented the prior in a dispute over Hemingbrough (DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 55r). He was dead by 1384 when his goods were sequestrated by the prior until his will was proved or his affairs otherwise adjusted (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 222r).

¹²⁸ The name is entered twice in the *Liber Vitae*: Adam de Doughes on fol. 50r and Adam Bows on fol. 69v. The second name is probably not that of the steward as it is in a late fourteenth or early fifteenth century hand and Adam Bowes was dead by 1356. Sir Adam Bowes, the priory steward, was considered by Surtees as the founder of the family of Bowes of Streatlam. He was chief justice of the Court of Common Pleas, from 1331; steward of Richmondshire; seneschal to Bishop Kellawe. He died in 1356 seized of the manor of Newton, near Durham and was Lord of Streatlam in right of his wife (Surtees (1816-1840), vol. IV, pp. 100-1 and 107). Bowes was also sheriff of Durham in 1317 (DCM, Cal. Reg II, fol. 55v and Cal. Reg III, fols. 181v-182). Although a bishops' officer Bowes was a long-term associate of the priory, receiving a pension over many years. In the beginning he is paid rather irregularly, first paid 20s in pentecost of 1307/08, and again in 1310-11. There is a gap in the accounts but when he appears again in martinmas 1330/31 he is named as steward (seneschal) with a fee of 100s p.a.. He continues to be paid as seneshal of the prior until pentecost 1344/45 (DCM, Bursar's Acc).

¹²⁹ Name recorded in *Liber Vitae* : 'Dominus Thomas Suyrtayse, miles et Avicia uxor eius' on fol. 50r, in a hand of the second half of the fourteenth century. This is Thomas I Surtees, baron of Gosforth, the son of Nicholas, of full age in 1318 when his father died. He died before 9th February 1345. His wife was Avicia, whose parentage is unknown, and who was living a widow in

1345 (Conyers Surtees (1925), pp. 19 and 20n) Thomas Surtees was associated with the priory of Durham. In 1325 he was granted a yearly pension of 40s, with a robe yearly at Christmas; for his service, counsel and advice in the priory's business (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 89v-90r). This pension was first paid in 1330/1 and then fairly regularly from 1333/4 until the last payment in pentecost 1344/5 (DCM, Bursar's Acc.) He was steward (seneshal) to both Bishop Beaumont and Bishop Bury (Hutchinson (1823), II, 345 and 364)

¹³⁰ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 5v-6r.

¹³¹ In 1313 he loaned £800 (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 33v-34r). In the following year £300 with the prior pledging the goods of the monastery in Norhamshire, Islandshire and elsewhere, against the loan (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 48r). In 1318 he loaned a further 400mks, the repayment of which was severely complicated by the capture of Berwick by the Scots in that year. It appears that the king had entrusted the safety of Berwick to Walter and others and with its loss, he sought to compensate himself by taking the burgesses goods and debts into his own hands. Royal officials pursued the prior for the debt. Eventually the king appears to have pardoned Walter and matters were compromised (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fols. 59v-60v and 67v). In 1320 he is again found loaning money to the priory in return for wool (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 77r).

¹³² DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 59r-v.

¹³³ Walter Goswick's inquisition *post mortem* survives, but is undated, taken at Fenwick, during the pontificate of Bishop Beaumont (1318-33) (Public Records (1884), p. 198).

¹³⁴ DCM, Bursar's Acc.

¹³⁵ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 55r.

¹³⁶ Two corrodiess were granted by the prior and convent to Richard Helton. The first in 1321/2 in recognition of his service in the almoner's cova [pantry] (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 79r). The second for his service in the refectory and solar (DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 84r-v).

¹³⁷ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 77v.

¹³⁸ Raine (1856), pp. 106-115, calendars most of these as Appendix XVII: Letters of fraternity granted by the prior and convent of Durham. There are two letters dating from the thirteenth century (DCM Cal. Reg. I, fol. 54r-55r). There are six letters from the first half of the fourteenth century (DCM Cal. Reg. II, fols. 44v-45r, 53r, 58r, 82v, 101r); and four letters from the second half of the century (DCM Cal. Reg. II, fols. 260v, 327v, 332v). There are thirty-eight letters surviving for the first half of the fifteenth century and sixty-nine for the second half. There are ninety-nine letters for the first thirty-seven years of the sixteenth century. These totals exclude the fifteen letters, which are undated in the registers.

¹³⁹ Clark-Maxwell (1926), p. 39; Swanson (2002), pp. 127ff.

¹⁴⁰ As far as I am aware this reference to Alan Billingham as a member of the confraternity of St Cuthbert is nowhere else recorded. Alan de Billingham is apparently entered twice in the *Liber Vitae*, his name appears also amongst the *Seculares* on fol. 72v.

¹⁴¹ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. IV pp. 138-9.

¹⁴² Cowdrey (1965), pp. 155-6.

¹⁴³ See above, pp. 233-4.

¹⁴⁴ Thompson (1902), pp. 291-2, on the admission of a monk of another congregation, and pp. 292-7, on the admission of a secular person. Bishop (1918), pp. 357-8, which includes an abbreviated English rendering of the Latin text.

¹⁴⁵ Burton (1994), pp. 215-19.

¹⁴⁶ Cowdrey (1965), p. 160.

¹⁴⁷ DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 181r.

¹⁴⁸ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 9r-v.

¹⁴⁹ DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fols. 169v-170r, repeated DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 214r-v.

¹⁵⁰ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 140v.

¹⁵¹ Emden (1957-9), *s.n.*

¹⁵² DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 75v.

¹⁵³ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 91r-v.

¹⁵⁴ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fols. 106v-107r.

¹⁵⁵ Emden (1957-9), *s.n.* Batmanson, John

¹⁵⁶ The recording of a spouse's name is not always important in the registers, there are several examples where the wife's name in a copy of a confraternity letter is left blank, for example that granted to Thomas Dacre, lord Dacre in 1509 (DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 122v).

¹⁵⁷ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 327v.

¹⁵⁸ Cambridge (1992), p. 283.

¹⁵⁹ DCM, Cal. Reg. Parv. III, fols. 156r and 160r-v.

¹⁶⁰ Countess Joan was admitted into confraternity in March 1431 and her son Richard, earl of Salisbury in April 1431 (DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fols. 138v-139r).

¹⁶¹ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 156r.

¹⁶² DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 120r and repeated fol. 132r.

¹⁶³ Hunter Blair (1937), pp. 44-5 and Dobson (1973), pp. 44-5.

¹⁶⁴ Fowler (1898), p. 440.

¹⁶⁵ The confraternity letter to Margaret Bowman dated 1409/10 includes her deceased husband John (DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 32v).

¹⁶⁶ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 32r.

¹⁶⁷ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 32v.

¹⁶⁸ See pp. 351 ff.

¹⁶⁹ See pp. 250 ff.

¹⁷⁰ Fowler (1903), p. 17.

¹⁷¹ Fowler (1903), p. 208n suggests this book might be equated with the *liber magni altaris*, a manuscript which is lost but whose contents have in part been reconstructed through an analysis of the Red Book, which survives in Lincoln's Inn, see Craster (1925), pp. 519-532. There are two objections to the equation of the *liber magni altaris* with the book described in the *Rites*. The first is that it contained a chronicle, which does not fit the description of the book in the *Rites*, said to contain lists of gifts and relics. The second is that the *Rites* makes no claim that this book was associated with the high altar.

¹⁷² The works of both Graystones and William Chambre are printed by Raine (1839), pp. 35-123 and 127-156. Of the *Chronicle of William Chambre* there are seven manuscripts which contain it wholly or in part, its authorship and the relation of its manuscripts has not been investigated. For a brief discussion of this source see Cambridge (1992), pp. 29-31.

¹⁷³ DCM, Misc. Ch. 2622. Printed by Raine (1835), pp. 1-5, 11-13, 21, 23, 25-7, 43-4 and 88; Cambridge (1992), p. 32.

¹⁷⁴ His record of that visitation is preserved in the College of Arms as MS. No. C41 and is printed as Hunter Blair (1925), pp. 14-57.

¹⁷⁵ For example, the author recalls that King Richard III donated his parliament robes to the convent together with other vestments (Fowler (1903), p. 106).

¹⁷⁶ Extracts from the Sacrist's rolls together with the *status* of 1338 and 1404 are printed Fowler (1898), pp. 373-419. Extracts from the Feretrar's rolls together with the *status* of 1397, 1401, 1418 and 1441-2 are printed Fowler (1898), pp. 420-483. The 1383 Book of Relics, which itemises the contents of the relic cupboards which used to surround St Cuthbert's shrine is printed Fowler (1898), pp. 425-440.

¹⁷⁷ Fowler (1898), pp. 443, 396 and 451.

¹⁷⁸ Fowler (1898), pp. 404-5.

¹⁷⁹ Fowler (1903), pp. 109-22.

¹⁸⁰ Fowler (1898), p. 451.

¹⁸¹ Fowler (1898), p. 452.

¹⁸² Fowler (1898), p. 444.

¹⁸³ Fowler (1898), p. 451.

¹⁸⁴ DCM, 2.4.Reg.2.

¹⁸⁵ The charters and other records relating to the landed estate of the priory are inadequately calendared, but some calendaring has been placed on-line in the University Library Catalogues. It is possible to search for the subset relating to inquisitions *ad quod damnum*. The on-line catalogues are to be found at the University of Durham Library site, <http://www.dur.ac.uk/library> following the pathway Archives and Special Collections, Catalogues, Non-

book collections and the address

<http://flambard.dur.ac.uk:6336/dynaweb/handlist/>. Searching under Durham Cathedral Muniments for '*ad quod damnum*'. This produces 33 hits mostly in the division Pontificalia.

¹⁸⁶ Quoted by Raban (1982), p. 1.

¹⁸⁷ Raban (1982), pp. 38ff.

¹⁸⁸ Raban (1982), pp. 39-41.

¹⁸⁹ Storey (1954), pp. 54-5.

¹⁹⁰ Raban (1982), pp. 44-55.

¹⁹¹ Raban (1982), p. 91.

¹⁹² Raban (1982), p. 114.

¹⁹³ Raban (1982), pp. 127-9.

¹⁹⁴ Storey (1961), pp. 54-5. Some divergences from statutory obligation, however, did occur within the bishop's franchise, for example, over the appointment of sheriffs and escheators, as Storey recognises, Storey (1961), p. 61.

¹⁹⁵ DCM, 2.10.Pont.8.

¹⁹⁶ Camsell (1985), Appendix.

¹⁹⁷ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 9r-v.

¹⁹⁸ DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 214r-v.

¹⁹⁹ DCM, 1.11.Pont.1, item 5. The record of an inquisition *ad quod damnum* held before William de Mordon, sheriff of Durham, on the 18th June 1346.

²⁰⁰ DCM, 2.10.Pont.8.

-
- ²⁰¹ DCM, 1.10.Pont.6.
- ²⁰² Camsell (1985), Appendix, pp. 591-2 and 602.
- ²⁰³ DCM, 1.10.Pont.6.
- ²⁰⁴ DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fols.195v-196r.
- ²⁰⁵ Camsell (1985), Appendix, pp. 249-53.
- ²⁰⁶ DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 173v.
- ²⁰⁷ Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 253, reference to DCM 1.10.Pont.6.
- ²⁰⁸ See above p. 343.
- ²⁰⁹ DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 9r-v.
- ²¹⁰ DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 214r-v.
- ²¹¹ DCM, Bursar's Acc. 1475/6-1494/5.
- ²¹² DCM, 1.10.Pont.5 and the licence DCM, 3.9.Pont.21a and b.
- ²¹³ Surtees (1816-1840), vol. II, pp. 156 and 104.
- ²¹⁴ Camsell (1985), Appendix, pp. 395-7. The property in question is numbered no. 24.
- ²¹⁵ Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 396. The inquisition *ad quod damnum* is DCM, 1.11.Pont.3 and the licence is DCM 3.9.Pont.16a.
- ²¹⁶ For further discussion of the possible identity of the man named in this list, see above, pp. 167-8.
- ²¹⁷ Dr Ben Dodds, pers. comm.
- ²¹⁸ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 171r.

²¹⁹ DCM, Cal. Reg. II, fol. 216r.

²²⁰ DCM, 1.11.Pont.14.

²²¹ Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 17.

²²² Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 17.

²²³ Camsell (1985), Appendix, pp. 271-2 and 403-4.

²²⁴ Camsell (1985), Appendix, pp. 272 and 404 referring to DCM 1.2.Sac.46.

²²⁵ Camsell (1985), Appendix, pp. 272 and 404 referring to DCM 4.2.Sac.30.

²²⁶ Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 404.

²²⁷ Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 404. Reference to the Sacrist's Acc. See Fowler (1898), p. 404.

²²⁸ Camsell (1985), Appendix, pp. 405-6.

²²⁹ DCM, Cal. Reg. III, fol. 32v.

²³⁰ Camsell (1985), Appendix, p. 404.

²³¹ DCD, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 9r-v.

²³² DCM, Cal. Reg. IV, fol. 214r-v.

²³³ See above, pp. 318ff.

Chapter 7: Conclusions.

The *Liber Vitae* of Durham is one of a small number of similar medieval commemorative books. Created and maintained by monasteries across Europe in the eighth and ninth centuries, they contain lists of the names of people both religious and lay joined with the monastery in associations of prayer. The entry of names in such books was linked to the inclusion of names in God's book of the living. It is suggested that these books were altar books used in the commemoration of the names during the daily mass or during a celebration of a daily mass for the dead. The names were either commended to God in a general silent commemoration by the priest or some were actually read out, as time permitted, before all were collectively remembered. The function ascribed to the continental *libri vitae* is apparently confirmed by the preface of the eleventh-century *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and Hyde Abbey and the sixteenth-century description of the Durham *Liber Vitae* in the *Rites of Durham*. Detailed consideration of both the structure and contents of the Durham manuscript, however, suggests that this picture of apparent continuity of use and function over five centuries is a gross simplification of the history of this manuscript and of its complex relationship with the community which produced it.

Although generally similar to the continental *libri vitae*, the original core of the Durham *Liber Vitae* shows unique features. First, the materials used in its creation in the mid-ninth century are more costly than any other surviving example of its type. Secondly the arrangement of its contents, although

generally similar to the Salzburg *Liber Vitae*, is very generalised, the names of the abbots and monks, for example, entered into single lists without any indication of the religious house to which they belonged. Furthermore, although it is undoubtedly a Northumbrian product, the generalisation of its contents means that it cannot be assigned with any confidence to a particular monastery, though the balance of probability suggests that it was produced at Lindisfarne. Finally, the original core of the Durham *Liber Vitae* is unique in not having large numbers of names added after its creation. These unusual features suggest that the manuscript might not have been produced as a practical document to facilitate the commemoration of Lindisfarne's associates, like other *libri vitae*, but rather in response to a specific occasion of importance. The most convincing context for the production of the book, under the influence of Bishop Ecgred, as part of the movement of the see of Northumbria from Lindisfarne to Norham, might be taken to explain the peculiarities in the original core.

The revival and reuse of the Durham *Liber Vitae* in the late eleventh century can be best understood in the particular circumstances of the establishment of the Benedictine community at Durham after 1083, when appeals to the Northumbrian monastic past played an important role. The materials added at this time indicate that it was a commemorative book but that its function was not particularly closely defined. The importance amongst the rather haphazard early additions of the records of confraternity agreements, suggests that it might at this period have been associated with the capitular office rather than with commemorations during the mass.

The commemoration of associates was an important obligation on a religious house, seriously entered into. But how an individual house undertook that obligation was to an extent governed by custom and had no universal form. Likewise documents recording the commitments of the house were quite variable. Also, such commemorations were subject to modification over time and in the face of changing attitudes to the fashion for certain types of prayer. The *Liber Vitae* of Durham was a somewhat outmoded form of commemorative record when it was revived in the later eleventh century and unsuitable, because of its organisation, for records of association which depended on the remembrance of anniversaries. The fact that it must have been peripheral to the main thrust of commemorative practice at Durham from the twelfth century onwards meant that it was subject to periodic re-definitions, periods of eclipse and to successive re-launches between the twelfth and the sixteenth centuries. Four re-launches can be discerned from a consideration of the contents of the manuscript- in the early twelfth, late twelfth, the late fourteenth and the late fifteenth centuries.¹

Both the transferring of the recording of confraternity documents to the Cantor's Book and the duplication of the recording of monastic names in the Durham manuscript of Symeon's *Libellus de exordio* suggest that the function and purpose of the *Liber Vitae* had still not been thoroughly worked out in the early twelfth century. The parallel recording of monastic names continued until c.1170, when recording ceased in the *Libellus de exordio* but was continued in the *Liber Vitae*. This change, coinciding with a serious re-arrangement of the physical structure of the manuscript, indicates that the

purpose of the *Liber Vitae* was once again under review. The evidence suggests that, although the older part of the manuscript was preserved, it ceased to be regularly used for the addition of names, subsequent entries generally being made into a new volume created then. Study of the additions from c.1300 onwards indicates that whatever was the use envisaged for the *Liber Vitae* in the late twelfth century it was not maintained. For forty years after c.1320 the numbers of non-monastic entries made were small and the entry of monastic names was very disordered, and between c.1360 and c.1380 the latter ceased altogether. The *Liber Vitae* was officially revived when it was used to record the names of associates in a specially created opening to be associated with the rededication of the high altar in November 1380. At the same time the practice of recording the names of the monks was revived and continued. The addition of non-monastic names also revived at this time, presumably in response to an official re-launch of the book to record the names of associates. Once again the impetus for the addition of names provided by the events of 1380 was not maintained. Monastic names continued to be regularly added until c.1485 when the system of monastic recording finally broke down. The final revival was based almost entirely on the addition of non-monastic names. Nearly one third of all non-monastic names entered after c.1300 were added in the last forty to fifty years of the *Liber Vitae*'s history.

The fact that the *Liber Vitae* neither appears in any of the surviving library catalogues of the monastery, nor contains any indications of press marks, suggests that the book was kept in the church. It is possible that from

the late twelfth century the two volumes were always maintained together but that it was divided at all, together with the fact that records of gifts to the shrine were added to the back of the new volume in the later twelfth century, suggests that the volumes were maintained separately. It is suggested that the original core was kept on the altar and the new volume at the shrine of St Cuthbert. If it ever occurred, this separation was not in fact maintained. The creation of the opening for the rededication of the high altar in 1380 indicates that by the late fourteenth century the second volume was attached to the altar, presumably in company with the first.

No evidence survives for the function of the book in its various manifestations during the twelfth century. The evidence from the late fifteenth and sixteenth century, however, suggest that its function was as varied as its use for the recording of names. The recently discovered late fifteenth-century inscription indicates that the book was used annually in a service of commemoration of the dead, whilst the sixteenth-century *Rites of Durham* describes the use of the book in daily celebrations of the mass. Such contrary indications of use cannot be harmonised. It seems reasonable to conclude that the final revival of the *Liber Vitae* saw not just a renewed interest in the inclusion of names but a readjustment of its function also.

The inscription and the *Rites* are agreed on its use to record the names of the benefactors and friends of the monastery, an idea supported by the wording of the preface of the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster and also by the inscription in the twelfth-century *Liber Vitae* of Thorney Abbey. Detailed consideration of the non-monastic names added to the Durham manuscript

after c.1300 has, however, shown that the names of large numbers of people who could be considered as friends and benefactors of the monastery in the period are not included in the manuscript. The names of 'formal friends', bishops of Durham, archbishops of York, kings and the nobility and gentry and nobility of the region are not generally included. The names of 'paid friends', especially those who were the paid counsellors of the prior, members of the confraternity of St Cuthbert and the known 'benefactors' of the priory, especially those giving property or rents, are also not regularly included. The eleventh-and twelfth-century additions have not as yet been studied in detail but a brief comparison of the names in the *Liber Vitae* with those in the obital in the Durham Cantor's Book suggests that there is little in common between the two lists. In support of this Alan Piper, relying on his knowledge of the Durham cartularies, is of the opinion that the names of the grantors of property to the priory in the twelfth century do not generally appear in the *Liber Vitae*.²

The non-monastic entries in the *Liber Vitae* cannot therefore be used as the basis of an analysis of the associates of the priory, certainly not after c.1300, and probably not in the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries either. Despite this the *Liber Vitae* was a Durham manuscript, kept and maintained by the priory of Durham, in which the names of monks and others were recorded. The names, therefore, represent groups of people associated with the priory between the late eleventh and the first half of the sixteenth centuries, and as such they are a valuable sample. This study has cleared away several preconceptions which have surrounded both the use of the *Liber*

Vitae and the nature of its contents. Only further detailed study of the names in the manuscript will uncover the identities of the people named in the manuscript and thus the nature of the sample provided by the names included in it.

Notes to chapter 7

¹ See above, pp. 104 ff.

² Alan Piper pers. comm.

Appendix 1. The structure of the manuscript

As much of the argument of chapter 2 depends on an understanding of the present structure of the manuscript, this appendix aims to describe it in detail. Opinions on the present structure of the manuscript have been put forward on three occasions: in 1987 by Elizabeth Briggs,¹ in 1988 by Jan Gerchow,² and most recently by Michael Gullick.³ Gullick's observations are more detailed than those made by either Briggs or Gerchow and at various points are at variance with one or other or both of them. Both Briggs and Gerchow numbered the quires of the manuscript (but differently) and included diagrams to assist their discussion. Gullick also has produced detailed diagrams of the manuscript's structure.⁴ In what follows a redrawn version of Gullick's main diagram is presented, with added quire numbers to aid the exposition of his conclusions (figure 15). His arguments are laid out in full and compared with those of Briggs and Gerchow. Where divergences occur commentary is offered on the differing interpretations.

Explanation of the diagrams

The diagrams in this appendix show the present structure of the manuscript as far as it is understood, indicating surviving quires, bifolia, single leaves and the occurrence of stubs. Where it is surmised, rather than known, that leaves are conjoint they are shown linked by a broken line. The current pencil foliation is given and will be referred to throughout the following

discussion. In addition two other foliations are indicated; first the foliation by ten leaves, the numbers of which occur on the verso of the leaf; and secondly, the Arabic numerals which occur at the base of the recto of the leaf in the second half of the manuscript. Each of these has a bearing on the discussion of the present structure and on the suggested reconstructions presented in chapter 2. In addition the Cottonian quire letters, 'A'-'I' and 'K'-'R' which are found irregularly through the manuscript at the base of the recto of the leaf are also indicated. These are the only binding instructions to be found in the manuscript and must be considered as a practical indication of the structure of the book.

*The structure of the manuscript.*⁵

a) The prefatory material

This material falls into two parts:

- the pages which comprise Cotton's additions to the manuscript namely folios 1-3 and 84.
- the gathering (folios 4-14), which contains extracts from the gospels in a twelfth century hand.

Gullick sees:

- (1) a bifolium (folios 1-2)
- (2) a single sheet (folio 3)

(3) 6 bifolia, missing the first leaf (folios 4-14).

He further notes that folios 1-3 are Cottonian parchment and that folios 4-14 are twelfth century parchment, arranged regularly hair to hair flesh to flesh. The text of the gospels begins on the second recto of the gathering and Gullick states that in English manuscripts this is unusual and concludes that the gathering may always have lacked the first leaf.⁶

The position of the Cottonian quire letters 'A' on folio 1r and 'B' on folio 3r, supports Gullick's suggestion that folios 1-2 is a bifolium.

b) The original text of the Liber Vitae

This comprises the section of the manuscript written on thickish insular parchment. Gullick considers the original text to run between folios 15 and 45v.⁷

(4) An unnumbered leaf (numbered 14* in this thesis) with a hook and a single sheet (folio 15). Additionally he notices the stitching at the centre of folio 14*, which he describes as medieval parchment and to which folio 15 is pasted.⁸

(5) A bifolium (folios 16-17). Additionally he notes stitching between folios 16v and 17r.⁹

(6) four bifolia, lacking the first leaf (folios 18-24). Additionally he notes the stitching in the centre of the quire between folios 20v and 21r and that

folio 24 is short at the foreedge to make a hook behind the quire.¹⁰

(7) two single leaves (folios 25 and 26). He notes that folio 25 has a hook to which folio 26 is pasted, and the evidence of stitching between the two leaves.¹¹

(8) three bifolia (folios 27-32).¹²

(9) two single leaves (folios 33 and 34) Additionally he notes that folio 34 has a hook to which folio 33 is pasted and notes the stitching between the leaves.¹³

(10) three single leaves (folios 35, 36 and 37).¹⁴ He notices that folio 35 is short at the foreedge and conjectures a hook for the quire. He notes also the stitching between folios 36v and 37r.¹⁵

(11) four bifolia (folios 38-45). He notes additionally the stitching in the centre of the gathering between folios 41v-42r.¹⁶

There is a certain amount of disagreement over the precise structure of the core of the manuscript amongst the authorities. The principal divergences occur at points where the pages appear most disordered. Gerchow and Gullick agree over the first two gatherings (Gerchow II-III, Gullick 4-5), but Briggs conflates these two (Briggs I). The occurrence of the Cottonian quire letters on folios 14* and 6 would support the interpretation of Gerchow and Gullick. There is disagreement over the relationship of folios 27-37. Gerchow (VI) sees a regular gathering of four bifolia missing the second leaf, with a stub and offset between folios 27v and 28r, so incorporates folio 33 with this

gathering. Briggs (IV) sees three or four single sheets and a bifolium, (folios 27-31 or 32) and Gullick (8) sees a regular quire of three bifolia (folios 27-32). The Cottonian quire letter 'G' on folio 27 confirms the start of the quire. The occurrence of the letter 'H' on folio 33 would suggest that Briggs and Gullick are correct in thinking that the quire ends with folio 32. Gullick and Gerchow are agreed in seeing a more regular structure here than Briggs allows. The disagreements continue through folios 33-37. Gerchow sees folio 33 as a bifolium with folio 27 and it is part of his gathering VI. He then has folios 34-37 as a single group, of two single sheets and a bifolium (Gerchow VII). Briggs (V) sees folios 33-36 as four single sheets with possibly folio 37 attached. Gullick sees these folios as two groups with folio 33 as a single sheet pasted to the hook on folio 34 as one gathering (Gullick 9) and the three single sheets folios 35-37 as the second group (Gullick 10). The position of the Cottonian quire letters on folios 33 and 35 supports Gullick. Briggs, although noting the occurrence of the quire letter in support of the relationship of folio 32 to her gathering IV ignores it in this case.

c) The later additions to the *Liber Vitae*

Gullick divides the manuscript after the original core into two parts, that comprising folios 46-55 and the rest.

Folios 46-55

This part of the manuscript is composed of insular parchment, except for folios 48-9, generally recognised as being of twelfth century parchment.

Gullick sees:

(12) a single sheet (folio 46) of thinnish insular parchment.¹⁷

(13) a bifolium (folios 48-49) of twelfth century parchment, which is the centre of the gathering with evidence of stitching; together with three single sheets: folio 47 of thickish insular parchment; folio 50 of thinnish insular parchment which has a hook running behind the quire its stub appearing before folio 47; and folio 51 of thinnish insular parchment, short at the foot and pasted to a guard.

(14) a bifolium (folios 53-54), with evidence of stitching, plus two single sheets (folios 52 and 55). Folio 52 pasted to a stub conjoint with folio 55.¹⁸

The problem of where the core of the manuscript ends is a matter of dispute. Gerchow (VIII) and Briggs (VI) agree on the shape of the gathering folios 41-46 but Gullick detaches folio 46, a single sheet and adds it to his next gathering. His reason seems to be based on the weight of the parchment, despite the occurrence of the Cottonian quite letter on folio 47 which would indicate the start of a new gathering. The status of the folios after folio 46 is also in dispute. Briggs considers that the original compilation consisted of all pages up to and including folio 55 excepting folios 48-49. Gullick agrees that folios 48-49 are an addition of twelfth century parchment. He also recognises that folio 47 is the same weight of parchment as the original core of the book, and ruled in the same manner. However, he makes a distinction between folio 47 and the other leaves. He considers folios 46,

51, 52, 53 and 54 to be insular parchment but suggests that they are 'noticeably thinner' than that making up the original core of the manuscript. He further notes that none of these leaves has text earlier than 1083 and concludes that they comprise a late eleventh or early twelfth century addition to the book.

The fact that the leaves in question have only late text cannot be said to be conclusive evidence for their later addition to the manuscript, especially as other leaves recognised by all authorities to be part of the original compilation, also have late text, for example folios 24 and 25. The weight of the parchment might be a factor, but as the status of folio 46, the first of the thinner leaves, as recognised by Gullick is in doubt, it does not appear conclusive. Although Gullick suggests that these leaves might have been added to the manuscript after 1083, he further notes that he cannot recall the use of insular parchment in any other post-1083 Durham manuscripts. The status of folios 46, 51-55 remains in doubt therefore.

*Folios 56-83**

Gullick sees:

(15) six single leaves (folios 56-61)¹⁹

(16) a group of twelve leaves (folios 62-73) of which 66 and 70 and 67 and 69 are bifolia. The centre of the gathering is folio 68, which was a bifolium now lacking a leaf. There is evidence of stitching in the centre of the gathering. ²⁰

(17) three single leaves (folios 74-76) with two stubs one before folio 74 and one between folios 74 and 75.²¹

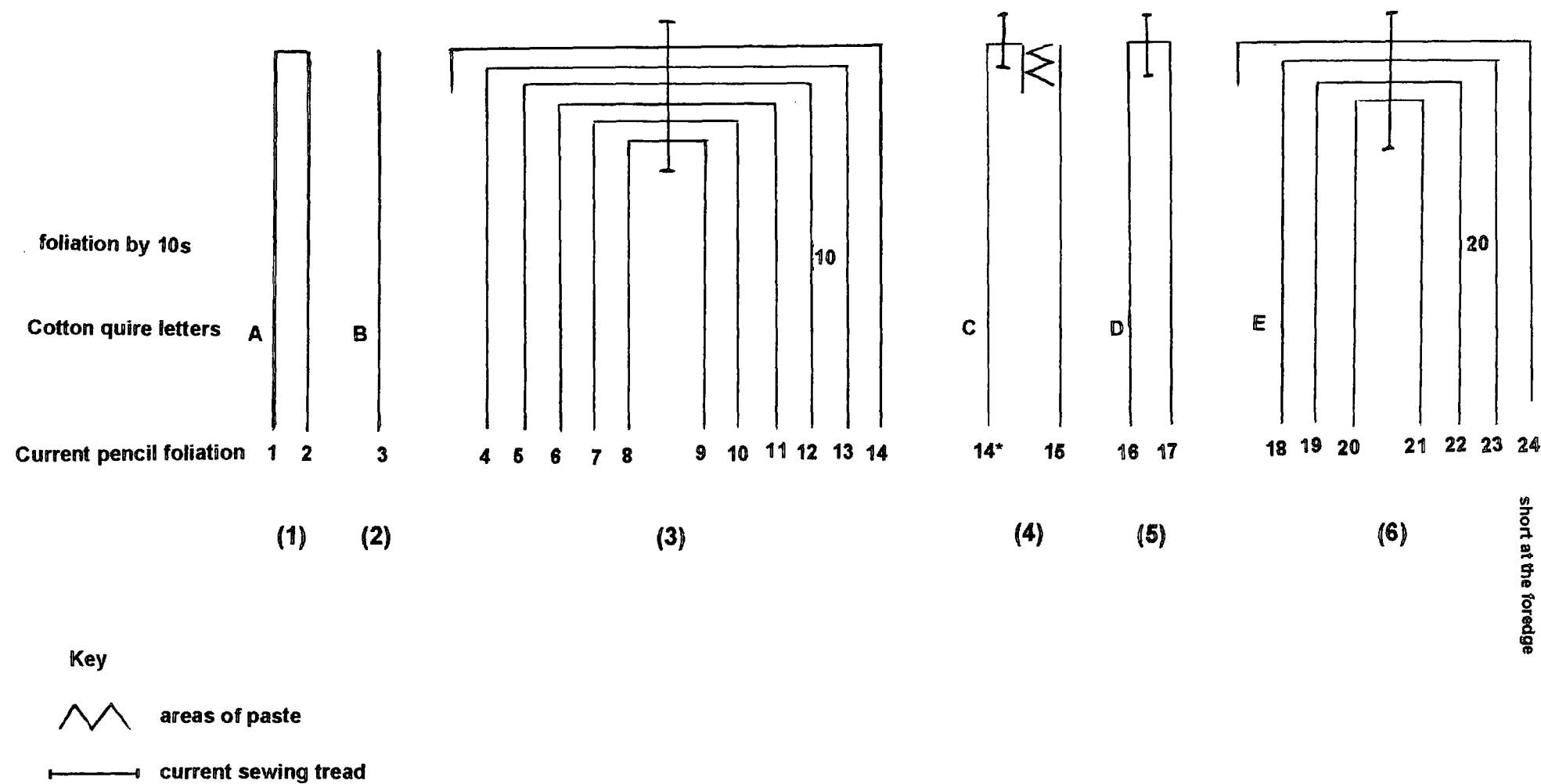
(18) four single leaves (folios 77-80). Folio 78 may have been a bifolium and now lacks a leaf, there is evidence of stitching between its stub and folio 78. Folio 80 is very short at the foot.²²

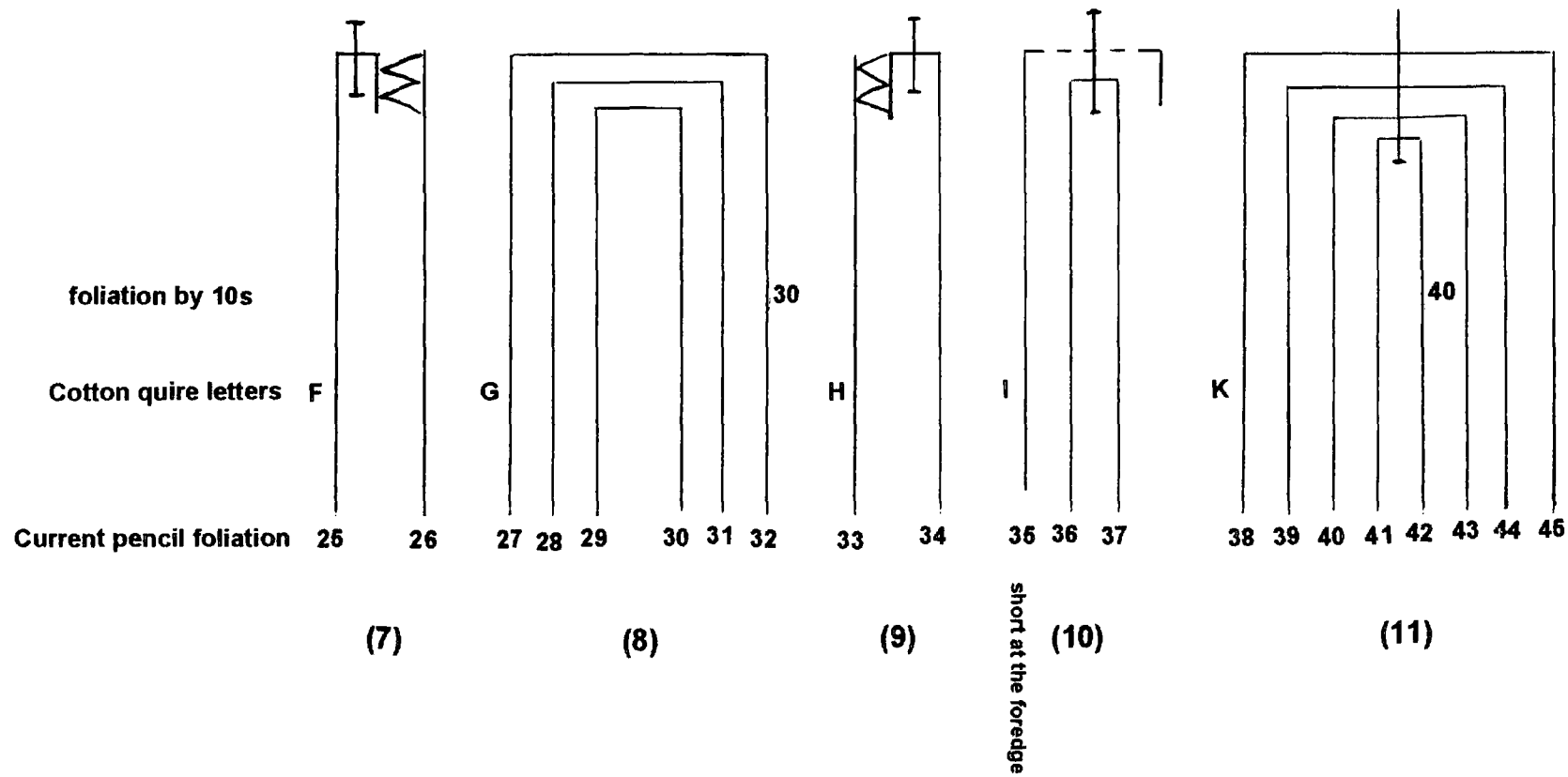
(19) five leaves (folios 81-84+ 83*) and a stub. Folios 82 and 83* may be a bifolium. Folio 83 may have been a bifolium now lacking a leaf, folio 83* may alternatively be pasted to its stub.²³

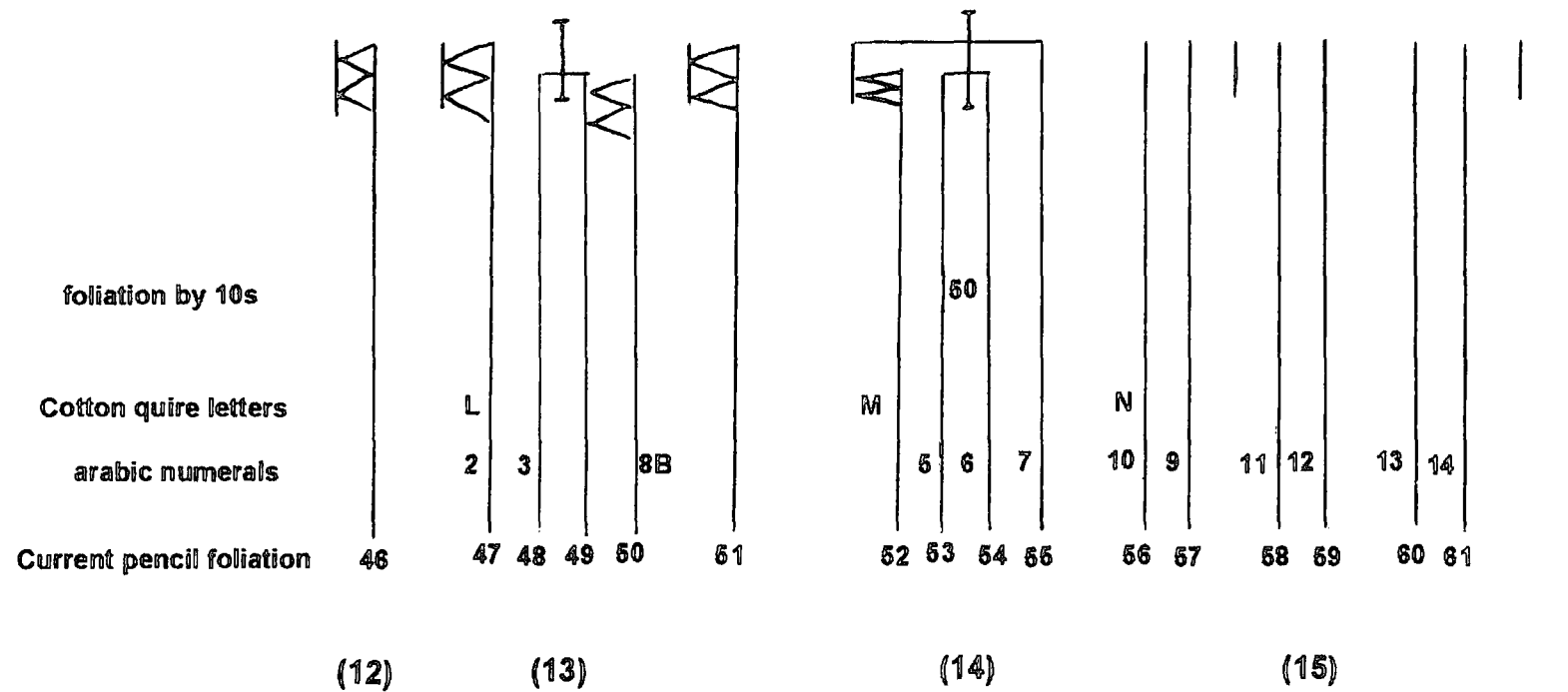
The disagreements between the authorities in this section of the manuscript are principally concerned with whether sheets are singletons or bifolia, Gerchow is much more inclined to see bifolia than is Gullick. Thus although the two authorities agree in grouping folios 62-73 (Gullick 16 and Gerchow XIII) Gerchow sees a regular gathering and Gullick sees a series of single sheets, with two bifolia. Both are agreed that the centre of the gathering (folio 68) has a hook and evidence of stitching. However Gullick has identified rust holes on a number of the leaves of this group which indicate that the leaves have been rearranged and importantly folio 68 has been flipped. This evidence, together with the position of the text on the page seems to present a problem if the leaf as it now stands does have a hook on the inside edge. Gullick's interpretation takes into account the evidence of the Cottonian quire letters more closely than does that of Gerchow. Thus with folios 74-76 Gullick groups these single sheets, whereas Gerchow divides them (Gerchow XIV and XV) with two separate sets of stitching. The position

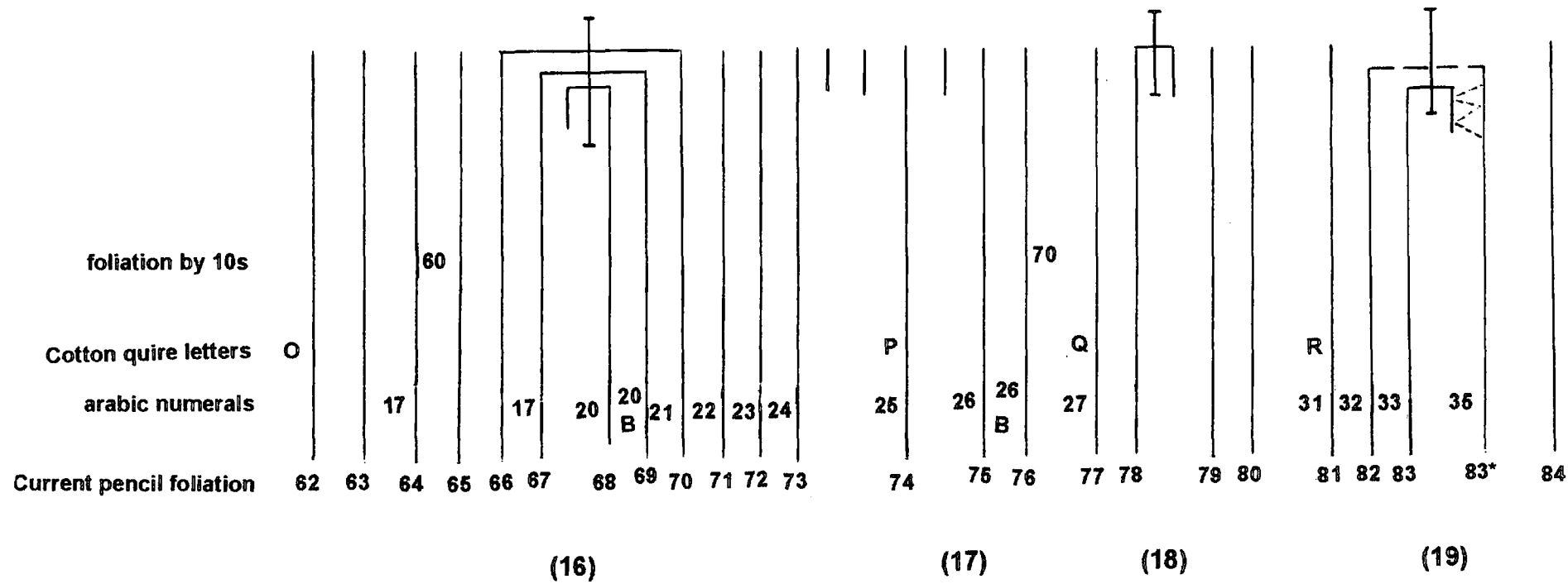
of the Cottonian quire letters on folios 74r and folio 77r would support Gullick's interpretation. Disagreement continues in the last section of the manuscript. Gerchow has four gatherings for folios 77-85 (Gerchow XVI-XIX) including a bifolium folios 80-81 (Gerchow XVIII). Gullick sees only two groups (Gullick 17 and 18). He divides folios 80-81, which he considers to be two single sheets. The occurrence of the Cottonian quire letters support Gullick as does the fact that folio 80 is very short at the foot whereas folio 81 is not, making it an unlikely bifolium.

Figure 15: Overview of quires and folios in London BL Cotton Domitian A. vii (after Gullick)









Notes to Appendix 1

¹ Briggs (1987), pp. 1-8. Briggs thesis was only concerned with the original core of the *Liber Vitae* and so her discussion of the structure of the manuscript is concerned with fols. 15-55.

² Gerchow (1988), pp. 109-54, with a quire diagram on p. 114.

³ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁴ The first versions of these were circulated at the Durham symposium in 2001. Modified versions accompany Gullick (forthcoming).

⁵ For descriptions of the sections of the manuscript and of individual folios therein see Appendix 2.

⁶ Gerchow (I) has a regular gathering of 6 bifolia, missing the first leaf (fols. 4-14), prefixed by a bifolium (fols. 2-3). He ignores fol. 1, making fols. 2-3 a bifolium. Briggs does not collate this section of the manuscript.

⁷ He indicates that fol. 47 is of similar parchment and lined as the rest of the core of the book. Gerchow has the original text of the *Liber Vitae* as fols. 15r-46v, gatherings II-VIII. Briggs considers that the original text comprises fols. 15-55v, excepting the bifolium, fols. 48-49, which are a later insertion.

⁸ Gerchow (II) two single sheets (an unnumbered leaf and fol. 15); Briggs (I), combines Gullick (4) and (5) and Gerchow (II) and (III), ignoring the unnumbered leaf, she has a single sheet (fol. 15) and a bifolium (fols. 16-17). She notes additionally that the running title on fol. 15v is incomplete.

⁹ Gerchow (III) a bifolium (fols. 16-17); Briggs see above n.8.

¹⁰ Gerchow (IV) has four bifolia, missing the first leaf (fols. 18-24). Additionally he marks the evidence of stitching in the centre of the gathering (between fols. 20v-21r) and off-sets between fols. 20v and 21r and between fols. 21v and 22r. Briggs (II) has three bifolia (fols. 18-23) and a single sheet (fol. 24). She notes additionally that the running title on fol. 24v is incomplete.

¹¹ Gerchow (V) has two bifolia, missing the first and third leaves (fols. 25-26). Additionally marked is evidence of stitching in the centre of the gathering (between fol. 25v and stub). Briggs (III) has two single sheets (fols. 25-26)

¹² Gerchow (VI) has four bifolia, missing its second leaf (fols. 27-33). Additionally he notes an offset between fols. 27v and 28r. Briggs (IV) has two single sheets (fols. 27-28), a bifolium (fols. 29-30), and a single sheet (fol. 31). Additionally she considers that fol. 32 may belong

to either this gathering or the next. Gerchow adds fol. 33 to this gathering which both Gullick and Briggs assign to the next gathering.

¹³ Gerchow (VII) has two single leaves (fols. 34 and 35) and a bifolium, (fols. 36-37), combining Gullick's gatherings (9) and (10)

¹⁴ This is a development over this quire diagram presented to the colloquium at Durham in December 2001 at which time he believed that fols. 36 and 37 were a bifolium.

¹⁵ Gerchow has these leaves as part of his gathering (VII), see above note 3. Briggs (V) has four single sheets (fols. 33-36), and adds that fol. 37 may belong to this gathering or be part of the next. She observes that the quire letter K is on fol. 38r which suggests that fol. 37 belongs with this gathering.

¹⁶ Gerchow (VIII) has five bifolia, missing the first leaf (fols. 38-46). Additionally he notes evidence of stitching in the centre of the gathering (between fols. 41v and 42r) and offsets between fols. 41v and 42r and between 42v and 43r. Briggs (VI) has four bifolia (fols. 38-45) and a half sheet (fol. 46). In addition Briggs has (VII) two bifolia (fols. 47-50) and a single sheet (fol. 51) of which the bifolium (fols. 48-49) is a later additional and (VIII) four single sheets (fols. 52-55) as part of the original compilation.

¹⁷ This section of the manuscript to fol. 55v may be part of the Anglo-Saxon core of the manuscript, see above pp. 52-3. Gerchow (IX) has three bifolia missing the first leaf (fols. 47-51). He notes additionally evidence of stitching in the centre of the gathering.

¹⁸ Gerchow (10) has a bifolium (fols. 53-54) and two single sheets (fols 52 and 55). He notes evidence of stitching in the centre of the gathering.

¹⁹ Gerchow divides this gathering into two Gerchow (XI) two single sheets (fols. 56 and 57) and (XII) two bifolia (fols. 58-61) and an unnumbered stub.

²⁰ Gerchow (XIII) has seven bifolia with the two leaves missing (fols. 62-73 with a leaf removed between fols 67 and 68 and a leaf after fol 73). He notes additionally evidence of stitching in the centre of the gathering.

²¹ Gerchow divides this gathering into two Gerchow (XIV) a single leaf (fol. 74) with a hook and evidence of stitching and (XV) a bifolium (fols 75-76) with evidence of stitching.

²² Gerchow (XVI) has a bifolium (fols. 77 and 79) and a single sheet (fol. 78) with evidence of stitching. He places fol. 80 in his next gathering.

²³ Gerchow has three gatherings here (XVII) a bifolium (fols 80-81), (XVIII) two bifolia with a leaf missing (fols. 82-84) with evidence of stitching between fols 83 and 84, and (XIX) a single sheet (fol. 85).

Appendix 2. A description of the manuscript.

The *Liber Vitae* is a small book, 205mm x 142mm wide and contains 86 parchment leaves.¹ It is a composite manuscript consisting of an Anglo-Saxon core, dated to the first half of the ninth century, preceded and followed by various additions made in the late tenth century and after, including material introduced in the seventeenth century when the volume was bound on the orders of Sir Robert Cotton. Although the volume remains essentially that known to Cotton, its binding has been modified in modern times.²

Because the book contains lists of names its contents are difficult to describe. In what follows the various sections into which the manuscript falls are briefly described. Each of these sections is labelled with the current pencil foliation but, because in the printed edition the ink foliation was followed, and because in the facsimile the ink numbering is often easier to see, the pencil foliation is followed by the ink foliation.³ Within the sections the contents of individual folios or, where the contents of the folios require it, groups of folios are described. Each of these descriptions is arranged, as far as possible, in the same way. First any foliations other than the pencil and ink foliations are noted together with unique marks, offsets, later annotations etc. Secondly, the original contents of each folio, recto and verso are noted. Thirdly, any later additions are described. In addition, any relevant bibliography is noticed where it applies.

Conservation history

The British Library's own conservation records on this manuscript are slight. They record that in 1915 the manuscript was in the conservation studio to be 'mended', but as it was not long there presumably little was done. In 1983 the manuscript was boxed to protect its binding.⁴

The binding

The manuscript is bound in red leather embossed in gold.⁵ The decoration is the same on both the front and back covers. Around the edge of the cover is a thin gold line, in each corner a decoration of leaves and flowers and, in the centre of the cover, the arms of Sir Robert Cotton. The book was originally secured by two clasps, the scars of which can be seen on both the front and back covers. The spine, which is covered in a different piece of red leather clearly inserted under that covering the front and back boards, has the Cottonian shelf mark, Domitian A. vii, plus the original British Museum shelf mark, Plut. xxii A, embossed onto it. It is usually asserted that this manuscript is the only Cottonian manuscript to retain its Cottonian binding, but it appears that both the spine and probably the stitching have been renewed.⁶

The contents of the manuscript

i.) The introductory pages (pencil: folios 1-3 and 84; ink: folios unnumbered).⁷

The introductory material is recognised as being concerned with Sir Robert Cotton's ownership of the manuscript and his preparation of it for inclusion in his library.⁸

folio 1

On the recto at the base of this folio is a letter 'A', only visible under UV light.⁹ On this page (continued on the folio 84r) are Cotton's instructions to his binder. Because of the staining of the leaves this instruction is only partially legible, it reads:

Bind this book as strong as you can and very fair in this read leather [...] shewed withe 3 dooble threds [...] and when it is backed and sewed send it me and I will mark wher you shall cutt it[.] sett it as even at the head as you can.¹⁰

This instruction, together with that on folio 84v, in the finished volume, would have been invisible as the leaf would have been pasted down by the binder.¹¹

The verso is blank except for the manuscript's Cottonian pressmark

'Domitian[u]s A.vii',¹² and lower down the leaf in pencil now crossed through 'xxiii A', the earliest British Museum shelf mark, which also appears on the spine.

folio 2

The recto is blank, except for the number 298.¹³

The verso has the catalogue of the contents of the manuscript with only one item, written in a seventeenth century hand:

*Liber Vitae complectens nomina benefactorum ecclesie Dunelmensi ab Edwino Anglo-Saxone ad Hen. 8 magna pars literis aureis et argenti exarata.*¹⁴

folio 3

At the base of the recto of the leaf is the letter 'B'. The recto is the title page created by Cotton. It consists of an engraved page with certain sections cut out and the whole pasted down to the parchment. The engraving shows an architectural base/pedestal from which rise four columns above which are found round headed niches, two to the left and two to the right of a globe of the world. In the niches are figures of four women. The two to the left are modestly dressed and look at open books they are labelled Humility. The two to the right are flamboyantly dressed and are labelled Pride. Around the earth are two inscriptions. Above 'Is: 66: 2 Earth is my footstool' and below 'Io:5:19 This whole world lieth in wickedness'. In the top third of the page above a curving cornice is the figure of St Peter standing on a cloud holding the keys of Heaven in his hand. To his right is a door with a prominent lock. To left and right are two scrolls. On that to the left is written 'Come ye blessed of my father' and on the right 'Depart from me ye cursed'. Below the globe and between the inner pair of pillars is an elongated oval frame from which the centre has been cut away. Below is a circular frame with its centre incompletely cut away, it may

have contained a bust. Below this again another oval frame like the first, its writing only partly cut away, it reads:

Pri [....] [.....]as Okes

[.]619

This is the title page of a book printed by Nicholas Okes in 1619, which has been modified and incorporated into the manuscript to provide a title page.¹⁵

Below the printed page are written two lines in an imitation Anglo-Saxon hand, as follows:

*Textus hoc argento tegmen fulgebat et auro; Intus ut abbatum, nomina
celsa regum.*

The hand may be that of Richard James, who between 1625 and Cotton's death in 1631 assisted in the administration of the library.¹⁶

On the verso of the leaf are seven lines of Latin text in an imitation medieval hand:

*Ordo sive methodius huius libri nihil aliud est quam annualis
commemoratus In sacrificio misse animarum defunctorum omnium
benefactorum aut benemeritorum erga monasticam ecclesiam beatissimi
patris Cuthberti tam secularium quam regularium tam imperatorum quam
presbiterorum tam abbatum quam monachorum, []t singula eorum nota in
hoc libro inferius subscripta plautius et plenius demonstrant.¹⁷*

This text proves to be a copy of damaged late fifteenth century text on folio 63v.¹⁸

ii.) The prefatory material. The gospel extracts (pencil: folios 4-14, ink: folios 1-11).¹⁹

This gathering is very uniform, possibly originally of twelve leaves, but now lacking the first.²⁰ No text, however, appears to be missing. The parchment is of a regular weight and appearance, except for folio 14v which is yellower in colour than the other leaves. The ink with which this folio is written also appears paler. It looks as if this leaf had been exposed to light at some point.²¹ The quire was pricked in the three outer margins prior to ruling in plummet in a one-column format with 23 lines to the page. The text was written and rubricated by a single scribe in hand dated by Michael Gullick to the middle or third quarter of the twelfth century.²² The text consists of extracts from each of the four gospels. Each extract begins on a new page and is introduced by a heading and enlarged initial letter in red ink. The text is the Vulgate, with no divisions marking either chapter or verse.

folios. 4r-5v, Matthew's gospel

The heading reads *Genealogia domini nostri Ihesu xpi secundum Matheum*. The extract is ch. 1:1 to ch. 3:4. The extract ends at the bottom of folio 5v, the very last word being fitted in by being completed below the line.

folios. 6r-8v, Mark's gospel

The heading reads *Initium sancti evangelii secundum Marcum*. The extract comprises two pieces of text. The first is ch. 1:1 to ch. 3:8 and the second is ch. 16:1 (beginning part way through the verse at 'Mary

Magdalene...') to ch. 16:7. The second text begins with a prominent and nicely drawn paragraph mark in the margin and ends with a flourish mid-way along a line, one line from the foot of the page.

folios 9r-11v, Luke's gospel

The heading reads *Initium sancti evangelii secundum Lucam*. The text is continuous, starting with the first chapter, but omitting the prologue, so beginning at ch. 1:5 and ending ch. 2:20. The text ends with a flourish on the last letter three lines from the bottom of the page.

folios 12r-14v, John's gospel

On the left side of the verso of folio 12 is the number '10'.

The heading reads, *Initium sancti evangelii secundum Iohannem*. The extract comprises three pieces of text, the first ch. 1:1 to ch. 1:14, the second ch. 13:1 to ch. 13:35 and the third ch. 14:23 (beginning part way through the vers at 'Si quis...') to ch. 16:16. Each extract begins on a new line but there are no paragraph marks to indicate breaks in the text, the final extract ends at the bottom of the leaf.

iii.) An unnumbered leaf (unnumbered in both the pencil and ink foliations, but given the number 14* in this thesis).

At the base of the recto of this leaf is a letter 'C'.

On the verso of the leaf there is an offset which is the reflection of the large initial, and some of the silver letters from the middle of folio 15r.

The leaf is blank.²³

iv.) The original core of the Liber Vitae (pencil: folios 15-45, ink: folios 12-42).²⁴

The surviving arrangement of the quires in this section of the book is irregular. The leaves are of thickish insular parchment, with little difference between hair and flesh sides.²⁵ The leaves were prepared for writing in three columns and twenty-one lines to the page by pricking of the outer vertical bounding lines for the horizontal lines and the drawing of four verticals.²⁶ Even the leaves that were left blank by the original compilers were prepared in this way; thus the list of Evesham monks, added in the early twelfth century to folio 24v, used the horizontal ruled lines but not all the verticals; whilst the list of Worcester monks, added at the same time to folio 25r, also used the verticals, but the scribe added a further line at the base of the page.²⁷

The text is in a formal half-uncial developed in Northumbria during the last decade of the seventh century.²⁸ The text is written throughout in gold and silver. In the original campaign the scribe used gold and silver leaf over a colourless mordant capable of being burnished.²⁹ The headings and the running headings are in red and the enlarged initial at the beginning of each list is decorated with red, gold and silver.

The text, which is a list of names, is divided into sections, each section beginning on a new page. Each new section has a heading in red with the first name in the list having an enlarged capital. If a grouping extends over more than one page/opening then succeeding pages of the section generally have running headings, presumably to assist in the use of the lists. The main headings for the sections are placed across the top of the text block, i.e. taking the first line of the ruled text block, but the running headings are placed in the upper margin above the text with the result that most have been trimmed.

The text was written, possibly by two scribes, but in a single campaign, and must be seen as a fair copy of earlier and probably diverse records, as those commemorated were not contemporaries. The date assigned to the compilation is c.840.³⁰

folio 15r-v, Nomina regum vel ducum

Folio 15r is headed *Nomina regum vel ducum*. A fully written over page. The first column of text beginning with the name of King Edwin is written throughout in gold; the second and third columns in alternating gold and silver, the second column beginning with a name in silver and the third with a name in gold.

Folio 15v has an incomplete running heading, above the text block, now trimmed which reads, *Regum vel*. Column a, begins with a name in silver the second with a name in gold. The page was not completed the text ending one

name short at the base of column b. A change of hand may be discernible on folio 15v.³¹

Folio 15v has been extensively added to by more than one scribe. A third and part of a fourth column were added which extends the list of English kings to Henry I (1100-1135), and includes the names of kings of Scots to William I, the Lion (1165-1214). In addition there are fourteen names of *duces* and others, filling the rest of column d., written by a scribe who used Old English insular letter forms.³² In the mid-twelfth century a scribe wrote an entry across the opening folios 15v-16r.

folios 16r-17v, Nomina reginarum et abbatissarum

At the base of folio 16r is a letter 'D'. A pen mark at the base of folio 17r is reflected on folio 16v.

Folio 16r is headed *Nomina reginarum et abbatissarum*. Folios 16v and 17r each have the running heading *Regnarum et abbatissarum*. Folio 17v has no heading, although it may have been erased to accommodate the additions made later at the head of the page. The original list fills folios 16r-17r ending part of the way down column a on folio 17v, where there are twelve names. A change of hand may be discernible on folio 17.³³

Folio 17v was completed by a number of scribes in the late eleventh century and early twelfth centuries.³⁴ The additions continue the columnar format, but with more than one name to a line, the names are not those of the *ordo* 'queens and abbesses'. In the mid-twelfth century a scribe wrote an entry

across the opening folios 15v-16r. A twelfth century hand wrote two and a half lines at the base of folio 16v.³⁵

folio 18r, Nomina Anchoritorum

At the base of folio 18r is the letter 'E', which is slightly trimmed.

This leaf is headed *Nomina Anchoritorum*. The page is incomplete. The second scribe probably wrote the last three names in column b.³⁶

folios 18v-19r, Nomina abbatum gradus praesbyteratus

Folio 18v is headed *Nomina abbatum gradus p(raes)b(yte)ratus*. The page is completely written over. The list begins 'Ceolfred pbr' and all succeeding names have the abbreviation 'pbr' except the last three where the abbreviation is 'pr'. Folio 19r has no running heading but the list of eight names is a continuation of the ordo as each name is followed by 'pr'.³⁷

Additions were made to complete folio 19r by various scribes in the twelfth century. There are names added to column a, which even so remains incomplete. A second major addition begins at the head of column b. and continues into column c. utilising the original ruling of the page. This is a list of twenty-nine bishops and archbishops, successive primates of Northumbria and York beginning with Paulinus, the first archbishop of York, (625-res. 633) and ending, with some omissions, with Thomas II, archbishop of York, (1109-1114).³⁸ The column is completed by an entry in a small hand, which uses new rulings in two columns.

folio 19v, Nomina abbatum gradus diaconatus

This page is headed *Nomina abbatum gradus diaconatus*. This heading instead of taking the top line of the ruled area is placed above it and is close to the top of the page and is slightly trimmed. The first name of the list, Beornuin, occupies the first line of the ruled area. The original list is only eight names long.

The first column is completed in the twelfth century by a number of scribes, who, though they retained the columnar format, ignored the original ruling and arrangement of the page. In the late fifteenth century a scribe created an elaborate entry at the top of the page, across the ruling of the original columns, for king Edward IV (1461-1469, 1471-1483), his queen, Elizabeth and his son Edward (b. 1470) under the names of Christ, Mary and Cuthbert.³⁹ This entry is elaborate with an unusual layout and is one of only two fifteenth century entries in the early part of the manuscript.⁴⁰

folios 20r-21r, Nomina abbatum

Folio 20r is headed *Nomina Abbatum*, beginning with the name Biscopus it is fully written over. Folio 20v has a running heading, now very trimmed, which reads *abbatum*. This page continues the list of the previous page. Folio 21r is blank except for a much trimmed running heading which reads *abba*. The last two names in the list on folio 20v are in the second hand.⁴¹

Additions were made to folio 20v. Two names were added to column b in an eleventh century hand. As both are suffixed 'abba' they are presumably

correctly placed in the *ordo* of abbots. Eight further names are added to the base of column b and the top of column c in a much smaller hand of the twelfth century, writing three names to the line.

folios 21v-25v, Nomina praesbyterorum

At the left side of the verso of folio 22 is the number '20'. At the base of folio 24v in pencil are catchwords in Cotton's hand linking the folio with folio 25.⁴² At the base of the recto of folio 25 is the letter 'F'.

Folio 21v is headed *Nomina praesbyterorum*. Folio 22r has a running heading much trimmed which reads *p(raes)b(yte)rorum*, folios 22v and 23r share a running heading which reads *Praesbyte* on folio 22v and *rorum* on folio 23r. The running heading on folios 23v and 24r is arranged in the same way. Folio 24v has part of a running heading which reads *Praes*. The text of the original list fills folios 21v-23v and continues with three columns on folio 24r. Folio 24v was left blank by the original compilers. There is a change of hand possibly on folio 22v but definitely at the start of folio 24r.⁴³

Additions were subsequently made to this list. On folio 23v, a page completely written over by the original compilers, names were interlined and added to the base of the page in a number of twelfth century hands. On folio 24r five names were added, one to the bottom of column b and four to column c each with the suffix 'prb' in an eleventh century script aiming to match the original. On the previously blank folio 24v six names are added in the eleventh century, four with the suffix 'pr'. In the twelfth century folio 24v was completed

by a single scribe employing the columnar format and original lining of the Anglo-Saxon page, listing monks of Evesham.⁴⁴ Later in the twelfth century further interlineations were made part way down column a. In the thirteenth century folios 21v and 23v received some additions to the base of the page.

Folio 25r, although ruled was left blank by the original compilers, it was written over largely by the scribe who wrote folio 24v, the list of the monks of Evesham. The names on this page which follow those of the bishops of Worcester, Wulfstan (1062-1095) and Samson (1096-1112), are those of monks of Worcester.⁴⁵ There were some further additions to the outer edge of the leaf in the twelfth century. Folio 25v, left blank by the original compilers, was fully written over in the twelfth century, in a variety of hands. There is a column of names on the outer edge of the page but most of the names are written in blocks across the page. The first five lines on this page is an entry listing the archbishops and canons of Rouen, dateable to after 1111 and probably before 1128.⁴⁶

folio 26r-26v, Nomina diaconorum

Folio 26r is head *Nomina diaconorum*. This page has only two columns of names by the original scribe. Folio 26v has a running heading *diaconorum* and was left blank by the original scribe.

The names of eight further deacons, each name suffixed 'diac' was made to the top of column c of folio 26r in the eleventh century by two different scribes. Column c was completed in the twelfth century in a number of hands,

ignoring the original rulings and further names were added to the base of the page and interlined in the original text. On folio 26v beneath the original running heading is the prayer:

Deprecamur te, Domine, sancte Pater, per Jesum Christum Filium tuum in Spiritu Sancto, ut eorum nomina sint scripta in libro vitae.

The remainder of the page was largely completed in lines across the page in a variety of twelfth century hands.

folios 27r-36v, Nomina clericorum

On the recto of folio 27 is the letter 'G', slightly trimmed, on the recto of folio 33 a letter 'H' and on the recto of folio 35 a letter 'I'. On the left side of head the verso of folio 32 is the number '30', which is offset onto the recto of folio 33. At the base of the recto of folio 36 is an ink drawn trefoil.⁴⁷

Folio 27r has the heading *Nomina Clericorum* and each succeeding opening has the running heading *clericorum* arranged across the top. The text of the original list ends at the base of folio 35v. Folio 36r, though headed in the same way was left blank by the original scribe. Folio 36v was left completely blank. The hand writing the list changes on folio 35r and again on folio 36.⁴⁸

There are a number of additions to this section. Folio 29r has an additional column added in the left margin in the twelfth century by a variety of hands. Folio 32v has sixteen names written in a single twelfth century hand in the left margin. Folio 36r was largely written in a ninth century hand imitating the form of the original, though without the alternating gold and silver. It seems

reasonable to suppose that the names here continue the list of *Nomina clericorum*. This scribe completed columns a and b and added three names to the top of column c. The remainder of column c was completed by a number of scribes, of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, who ignored the lines and scale of the original.⁴⁹ On folio 36v, left blank by the original scribe, are written a series of confraternity agreements, in a variety of hands.⁵⁰

folios 37r-45v, Nomina monachorum.

At the base of the folio 38r, between the original text and the lower marginal additions is the letter 'K', the letter is repeated in the low right margin. At the top left corner of the verso of folio 42 is the number '40'.

At the top of folio 37r is heading *Nomina monachorum* and each successive opening up to and including folios. 42v-43r have the running heading *monachorum* arranged across the opening. Openings folios 43v-44r and 44v-45r though written over have no headings. The text of the original scribe ends part way down column b of folio 45r.

There are a number of later additions. Folios. 37r-39v, 40v, 41r and 44v have each received light additions, mostly at the base of the page, at various times in the twelfth century. Folio 45r-v has a list of the first monks of Durham and their successors, headed by three bishops who ruled the see between 1071 and 1133, namely Walcher (Gualgerus), William of St Calais and Ranulf Flambard. The positioning of this list as a continuation of the pre-Conquest list of monks must be seen as deliberate. The lists on folio 45v apparently continue

the list of monks in the early part of the thirteenth century.⁵¹ At the bottom of the leaf is a record of the death in 1170 of Godric of Finchale.⁵² In the thirteenth century a single name was added to the base of folio 42v and in the mid- to late- fourteenth century three names added at the top of folio 37r.

v.) Additions to the original text of the Liber Vitae (pencil: folios 46-83 + one unnumbered leaf (called 83 in this thesis), ink: folios 42+ -79 and one unnumbered leaf).*

This part of the description deals with the later parts of the manuscript, that is with the documents and lists of names written on parchment, which was added to the original ninth century book. With the possible proviso that folios 46, 47 and 50-55, made of insular parchment, may prove to have been part of that original compilation.⁵³

The continuations of the *Liber Vitae* are difficult to describe because much of the informality that is evident in the piecemeal additions to the early part of the manuscript continues also in the later parts. There is little obvious attempt to continue the sections of the first part of the book, and with few exceptions (folios 56r, 61r, 72v and 73r) there are no headings. As with the original core the structure of this part of the manuscript is very irregular.⁵⁴ The parchment used varies in quality, and individual pages vary in size. In his discussion of the parchment used Gullick identifies three groups, folios 56-61, 62-79 and 80-83*. The last, made of sheep-skin, he considers to be distinct and

added to the manuscript at a later date than the other two.⁵⁵ There are blank leaves scattered through the book but, unlike those found in the early part of the manuscript, no system is discernible. The pages are often not prepared in advance to receive the names and individual scribes make entries in columns or in lines across the page, apparently as they wish.⁵⁶ On the evidence of the palaeography, pages are begun, sometimes more than one at a time and then left incomplete. The physical additions to the original Anglo-Saxon core of the book are here considered in two groups, folios 46-55 and the rest.

a) folios 46-55.

This part of the book consists of seven leaves of insular parchment, folio 47, of the same weight as the original core; folios 46 and 50-55, visibly thinner than that comprising the original core; and folios 48-49 a bifolium of twelfth century parchment. They are grouped together by Gullick despite their rather miscellaneous character.⁵⁷ Folio 47 is probably to be considered part of the original core. Folios 46 and 50-55 are made of insular parchment but distinct from the original core, Gullick considers that they were added to the original core in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.⁵⁸ It remains a possibility that although the parchment used for these leaves is thinner than that used in the original core, they were nonetheless once part of that core.⁵⁹ Folios 48-49 are not part of this group, except that the contents of folio 48 is a partial transcript of that of folio 51.

folio 46

This leaf is completely filled with names in various hands of the twelfth and possibly early thirteenth century. The recto written in lines across the page, the verso written principally in seven columns. The first twenty-six names in the first column of the verso are Anglo-Saxon names and are likely to be those of associates of king Æthelstan.⁶⁰

folio 47

This leaf is of insular parchment of the same weight as the original core of the manuscript and is ruled in the same manner, it was left blank by the original compilers of the *Liber Vitae*.⁶¹

At the base of the recto of the leaf is a letter 'L', written twice in slightly different forms, one of which is slightly trimmed. In addition there is a number '2', visible only under ultra-violet light. The additional text in the margins on the verso of this leaf is seriously trimmed.⁶²

The top half of folio 47r is densely filled with names written in a variety of hands of the twelfth century. The lower half of the recto contains a manumission, twelve lines long, written in Old English in the mid-eleventh century. It is suggested that early text has been lost from the top of this leaf, as the Anglo-Saxon document begins half way down the page and its beginning has been tampered with by the twelfth century scribe.⁶³ Folio 47v consists of two further documents in Old English both gifts of land to St Cuthbert. The first, ten lines long, records gifts at Smeaton, Crayke and Sutton-on-the-Forest, written in an archaic hand of the late tenth century. The second, in eight lines,

gives the vill of Escomb and land at Ferryhill and was written in the eleventh century.⁶⁴ Large numbers of names have been added in various twelfth century hands to all the margins.

folio 48

At the base of the page on the recto is the number '3', only very faintly visible in the facsimile, but easily read under ultra-violet light.

This leaf is apparently a mid-twelfth century replacement for the damaged leaf, folio 51, although not all the material on folio 51 is repeated here. There are two documents on folio 48r. The first recording gifts of malt and wheat as the result of the intervention of St Cuthbert in a dispute over land at Dalton (item 1 on folio 51r) . The second a memorandum recording how in July 1127, when Thurstan, archbishop of York, Ranulf, bishop of Durham, Robert, bishop of St Andrew's, John, bishop of Glasgow and Geoffrey, abbot of St Alban's were at Roxburgh with king David, Bishop Robert made a public announcement that he laid claim to no claim or custom touching the church of Coldingham, except in as far as all the churches of Lothian owed obedience to St Andrew's (this is item 3 on folio 51r). The names of those present are appended to the record.⁶⁵ There is a small addition of names to the bottom of column a made in the mid-thirteenth century. The verso is a well laid out page arranged in seven columns reproducing, at least in part, the names on folio 51v. Some further names are added to the base of the page in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

folio 49

The recto of the leaf is a densely written twelfth century page. The names at the top of the page have been trimmed.

The verso of this leaf, which is blank, has been twice pasted to other leaves. It was first pasted to folio 51v. Near the foot of folio 49v, towards the gutter is the name 'Robertus' in reverse, this corresponds to the name five lines from the bottom and towards the foreedge of folio 51v.⁶⁶ Folio 49v was then pasted to folio 50r, names from folio 50r can be seen in reverse on folio 49v.

folio 50

The recto of this leaf was once pasted to folio 49v. On the verso of this leaf is the number '8B'.

The recto was written over in thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The top of the page has two columns, column a in a thirteenth hand and column b. in a fourteenth century hand. Column b. records the names of nine monks of Durham who entered the community in c. 1360.⁶⁷ The rest of the page is filled with non-monastic names, written in scripts of a great variety of sizes. The name of Richard de Helton is decorated with pen-work and small heads seen in profile.

The verso has two documents in a twelfth century hand.⁶⁸ The first is a memorandum, which records how Bishop William in 1093 had shown Turgot as prior to the whole people of the bishopric and hand vested in him and his successors the office of archdeacon.⁶⁹ The second is a memorandum

recording the gift by Earl Waltheof of Northumbria of the church of St Mary and St Oswin in Tynemouth to the monks of St Cuthbert. And how under bishop William the gift had been renewed by Aubrey, earl of the Northumbrians. ⁷⁰

folio 51

This leaf is damaged and is noticeably shorter at the foreedge.

On the recto there are four documents, written in the twelfth century. The first is a record of a family seeking God's help in a dispute over their land in Dalton-le-Dale. This entry is incomplete, the space between it and the second entry suggesting that text was written on a slip of parchment stuck into the *Liber Vitae* which has been lost.⁷¹ The second is a copy of a writ from David king of Scots (1124-53) to Ædward, possibly prior of Coldingham, to supply logs to the king's wood-pile at Berwick. The third entry records an assembly at Roxburgh in 1127, in which the Bishop of St Andrew's said he claimed no service from the church of Coldingham. The final entry records the names of two monks of Durham Edpine and Eadmund.

Folio 51v is a page densely covered with names, in hands of the late eleventh and early twelfth century.

The texts and names on this leaf were copied onto folio 48r.

folio 52

The base of the recto of the leaf has the letter 'M' rather trimmed.

The leaf contains a series of confraternity documents. On folio 52r there are agreements: between Bishop William of St Calais and Abbot Vitalis of Westminster; with the monks of St Peter's Gloucester; with Lastingham; with Bishop Walkin of Winchester and his congregation; with three monks of Winchester (Godric, Edric and Ordmer); with Edric a monk of Coventry and with the abbey of Fécamp. In addition there are names added to the lower margin and intruded into the text between the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries.

On folio 52v there are further confraternity agreements: with St Stephen's, Caen; with Christ Church, Canterbury; King Malcolm of Scotland, Queen Margaret and their children; with the monasteries of Selby and Glastonbury; with Ilbert de Lacy, his wife and sons; with the monastery of Hackness; and with Serlo, a monk of Hackness.⁷²

folios 53r-54r

At the base of the page on folio 53r is the number '5', visible only under ultra-violet light and on folio 54r the number '6', which is offset on folio 53v. On the top left of folio 53v the number '40', which is reflected onto folio 54r.

The text, beginning 'Ego Willelmi' is an account of the re-foundation of the monastic community by Bishop William of St Calais in 1086, together with the grants made by William I in support of the change, namely his sanction of the laws of St Cuthbert: restoration of the lands of Billingham; and an account of the lands that the bishop acquired for the monastery- Aycliffe, Catton, Jarrow, North Wearmouth, Rainto, the two Pittingtons, Hesledon, Dalton-le-Dale,

Merrington, Shincliffe and Elvet. Together with property in Northumberland, Willington and Wallsend.⁷³ The text is underlined and annotated in an early modern hand. These notes on folio 53v are trimmed.

folios 54v-55r

At the base of the page on folio 55r is the number '7'.

There are four documents relating to property of the church of Durham in Yorkshire. There are two charters of the Conqueror the first granting Welton and the second Howden to St Cuthbert. The third document is a statement of the lands in Yorkshire given to St Cuthbert by kings and princes before the Conquest. The fourth document is a record of the grant of the manor of Northallerton and other property in the vill of Allertonshire to the community by William Rufus.⁷⁴ The final document ends half way down folio 55r. The rest of the folio is blank.

Folio 55v consists of lists of names in a variety of twelfth century hands.⁷⁵

b) folios 56-83*

This part of the manuscript is made of variable parchment which Gullick has divided into three groups, folios 56-61, 62-79 and 80-83*. He considers the first two groups to be very similar twelfth century parchment that could have been added to the manuscript at one time. The final group he considers to be distinct, as it is made of sheepskin, and therefore probably added to the manuscript at a different point.⁷⁶

folio 56

At the base of folio 56r is a number '10' which is crossed through and the letter 'N'.

At the top of folio 56r is the heading *Nomina monachorum ad succurrendum*. The page is laid out in columns like the earlier monastic pages.⁷⁷ There are two names added to the base of the page in the fourteenth century.

The verso is a page of names begun in the early thirteenth century, some of the entries record gifts or renders promised to St Cuthbert.

folio 57

At the base of the recto of the leaf a number '9'.

On both sides of this leaf are lists of names compiled during the thirteenth century. The recto was begun on the left with an irregular column and completed in lines across the page. The verso is arranged in the main in two columns. The recto has one entry added in the late fifteenth century and the verso a number of additions into the sixteenth century.

folio 58

At the head of the recto of the leaf is a capital B, emphasised with dots either side of it in a hand of the second half of the twelfth century. At the base of the recto is the number '11'. At the base of the verso is a roughly drawn cross.

The recto is lined for five regular columns and is filled with names written in a variety of hands of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but the irregular additions in the space left on the outer edge and at the foot of the page. Folio 58r is a monastic page, continuing the list from folio 45.⁷⁸

The verso is a page of irregular columns begun in the early thirteenth century, but completed later, with entries into the fifteenth century. Column c begins with the name of the legate Pandulf, who was bishop of Norwich (1215-1226) and papal legate in England from 1218 until 1221. During his time in England the legate conducted negotiations in Scotland with Alexander II, king of Scots over the relationship between the crowns.⁷⁹

folio 59

At the base of the recto of the folio is the number '12'.

The recto of the leaf has five columns in hands of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. On the verso are three columns of the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This is a monastic page, the last column of the verso having the names of the monks entering the community between c.1271 and c.1285.⁸⁰

folio 60

At the base of the recto is the number '13'.

The recto is arranged in three columns in hands of late thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. This is another page recording the names of the monks of

Durham, beginning with a group of men who entered the monastery in c.1286. The monastic entries are interrupted column c line 9, after the name of Thomas Graystones, who entered the monastery c.1314. The next four lines record non-monastic names before the monastic entries resume with men who entered the monastery in the mid-1350s. The last eight lines on the page are also non-monastic entries of the fifteenth century.

The verso was begun in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century in lines across the page and includes records of gifts or renders to St Cuthbert; but the lower half of the page shows a change of layout to rough columns in thirteenth or fourteenth centuries.

folio 61

At the base of the recto is the number '14'.

The recto is lined for five columns and has the heading *Nomina monachorum ad succurrendum*. The names are arranged generally in columns, although the arrangement is fluid, in hands of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries but with a few additions which could be fourteenth century.

The verso is irregularly laid out, beginning with lines across the page but changing to two irregular columns. The page was begun in the late twelfth century but with additions into the sixteenth. One line from the bottom of the page is an entry to Master Thomas Radcliff, bishop of Dromore and suffragan bishop of Durham (prov. to Dromore 1429- d. after 1453; suffragan bishop of Durham 1441-1446).⁸¹

folio 62

The base of the recto has the letter 'O'.

The recto is a page completely filled with names of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries written in lines across the page.

The verso is laid out rather formally. The original scribe made a double ruled frame around the page but only half filled it with text. Later additions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The last entry of some five lines is the autograph of William Wylom, monk of Durham.⁸²

folio 63

The verso of this leaf was once pasted to the recto of folio 64, part of the surface of the parchment from folio 63v is now stuck to folio 64r.⁸³

The recto is filled with names, written in lines across the page in hands of the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.

The verso is mostly blank, but with five faint lines of text at the top of the page. This text, only decipherable under ultra-violet light, proves to be the text on folio 3v, supplied by Cotton's scribe.⁸⁴

folio 64

The recto of this leaf was once pasted to the verso of folio 63.

The recto of this leaf has the number '17' at the base, and the number '60' at the top left of the verso.

The recto, mostly blank, has some names of the early sixteenth century, which are partially covered by the surface of the parchment of folio 63v.

The verso is filled with names written in a variety of hands in lines across the page in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. There are some names interlined in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries in the lower half of the page.

folio 65

The recto is largely blank with eight lines added to the top of the folio in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. The first name is that of Richard de Bury, bishop of Durham (1333-1345).

The verso is blank.

folio 66

At the base of the verso there may be an area of erasure.⁸⁵

The recto is full of names written in lines across the page in the late twelfth century and early thirteenth centuries.

The verso is an incomplete page the earliest entries of the thirteenth century, with several gifts to St Cuthbert recorded. There are additions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries interlined in the earlier text but also considerable additions in various hands of the fifteenth century made to the page.

folio 67

The leaf is lacking its outer lower edge (as does folio 71), a fault which the scribes take into account when making their entries. At the base of the recto is possibly the number 17.⁸⁶ This leaf has prominent rust holes half way down the leaf towards the outer edge, which have destroyed the text.

The recto, begun in the late twelfth, with names in lines written across was continued in the thirteenth century. A considerable number of gifts to St Cuthbert are recorded.

The verso is full of names of the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries, with further gifts or renders recorded, but with some interlining in the late fourteenth/fifteenth centuries.

folio 68

The recto of this leaf has the number '20A' at the base, reflected onto folio 67v. This leaf has rust marks, clearly visible on the verso of the leaf, half way down the leaf, towards gutter.

The verso of this leaf was once pasted to folio 69r.

The recto was begun in the thirteenth century with additions into the fifteenth century. The first name on the page is that of Robert, bishop of Ross, named with his father, mother and brothers.⁸⁷

The verso is blank.

folio 69

At the base of the recto of the leaf is the number 20B, reflected onto folio 68v.

The recto of this leaf was once pasted to folio 68v.

The recto is blank.

The verso was begun in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, in lines written across the page, completed in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

folio 70

The base of the recto of the leaf has the number '21'. The text at the head of the verso is trimmed.

The recto was begun in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries in a charter hand, but not completed. There are a few later additions but the page remains half empty.

The verso, begun in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries in lines across the page, was completed in all periods into the sixteenth century. The first name on the verso is that of Reiner, bishop of St Asaph (cons. 1186-d. 1224)

folio 71

The page lacks its lower outer edge (as does folio 67), a fact that the scribes take into account when making their entries. The base of the recto has the number '22', only visible under ultra-violet light. There are two rust holes, which have destroyed text half way down the leaf towards the outside edge.

The recto was begun in the early thirteenth century with additions into the fifteenth century.

The verso was begun late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries, in lines across the page and was completed all periods into sixteenth century. The lower half of the verso is dominated by monastic entries made to monks entering the community c.1325-c.1330.⁸⁸

folio 72

The recto has the number '23' at the base.⁸⁹

The recto was begun in the late twelfth or early thirteenth centuries and completed in all periods into sixteenth century. The page was begun in lines across but is dominated by two irregular columns, one headed by the name of Henry Beaumont, the other by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster.⁹⁰

The verso is lined for text in two columns. It is headed *Seculares* and is made up in the main of two columns of names, written in a single hand of the later fourteenth century. With contemporary and later additions completing the second column.

folio 73

At the base of the recto is the number '24'.

The recto is lined for text in two columns. It is headed *Regulares*. The text of column a and the lower part of column b was written by the hand that wrote the main part of folio 72v. The upper part of column b has additions in another hand.

The verso is arranged in two irregular columns, in a variety of hands of the fourteenth century, earlier in date than the hand of folio 73r.⁹¹ The names recorded on the verso are largely those of monks of Durham who entered the community between c.1341 and c.1364.⁹²

folio 74

At the base of the recto of the leaf a number '25' crossed through and a letter 'P', slightly trimmed. The latest addition of text to the bottom left of the recto, an insertion of possibly the early fifteenth century, has left an offset on folio 73v.

The recto is lined for two columns and is written over in two fourteenth century hands. The names on this page are those of monks of Durham, who entered the community between c.1365 and c.1400.⁹³

The verso has text arranged in three irregular columns, in hands of the early to mid-fifteenth century, and is further lists of the names of the monks of

Durham following directly from folio 74r, who entered the community between c.1403 and c.1441.⁹⁴

folio 75

At the base of the recto is the number '26'. There are two rust holes, clearly visible on the verso of the leaf, mid-way down the leaf towards the outer edge. The verso of this leaf was once pasted to folio 76r.

The recto was begun in the early fourteenth century, rather grandly with an entry across the page, naming Robert de Umfraville, earl of Angus and his cousin Thomas; becoming two columns as it was completed in the later fourteenth century. The names in column a and five names in column b are those of monks of Durham, who entered the community between c.1318 and c.1333.⁹⁵ The earliest names occur at the base of column a and in column b and are written in a script later than their date of entry into the community.⁹⁶

The verso is blank.

folio 76

The recto of the leaf has the number '26B' at the base, reflected onto the verso of folio 75. On the upper left corner of the verso is the number '70'. The leaf has two rust marks midway down the leaf towards its outer edge.

The recto is blank

The verso begins in a *textura* hand of the fifteenth century across the page and continues in a variety of hands of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The page is not complete.

folio 77

The base of the recto has the number '27' crossed through and the letter 'Q'. The recto has evidence of ruling margins for the text in upper outer corner.

The recto was begun in a hand of the late fourteenth century in column, but the page is completed in a variety of hands into the fifteenth mostly in lines across the page.

The verso was begun in lines across the page in the mid-fifteenth century and completed in the sixteenth. The first name on the page is that of Joan Beaufort, countess of Westmorland (d. 13 November 1440) and members of her family.⁹⁷ In a marginal addition to the top right of the page, Richard Caly, monk of Durham has written an entry for his family.⁹⁸

folio 78

The parchment of this leaf is of poor quality, which does not accept ink well.⁹⁹

The recto is a densely written page, written in lines across in the second half of the fifteenth century.

The verso is an incomplete page with some names written in a single column in the sixteenth century. The first name on the verso is that of John Morby, prior of Guisborough.¹⁰⁰

folio 79

At the base of the recto of the leaf is a number, possibly '29'.

The recto is a page arranged in three irregular columns with entries in a variety of hands of the fifteenth century. The names of the first two columns on the recto are those of Durham monks entering the community from c.1445 to c.1470.¹⁰¹

The verso is a densely written page of the fifteenth century, which begins with a column but has entries in blocks across the rest of the page. The majority of names on this page are also those of monks of Durham. The list in column a, ending with John Rose junior, who entered the community c. 1482, being a continuation of the list on the recto of the leaf.

folio 80

This folio is short at the foot.

Both the recto and the verso are written in lines across in hands of the first half of the sixteenth century.

folio 81

The base of the recto of the leaf has the number '31' crossed through and the letter 'R'.

The recto is a page lined out to be written in two columns. The text, which does not conform to the ruling, is in a number of hands of the late fifteenth into the sixteenth century.

The verso, which is written in lines across the page, was begun in the late fifteenth century but completed in the sixteenth. Several entries on the verso commemorate monks of Durham and their families.

folio 82

The base of the recto of the leaf has the number '32'.

The recto begins as two columns and continues in lines across the page in hands of the late fifteenth early sixteenth century.

The verso written in two irregular columns in hands of the sixteenth century.

folio 83

The base of the recto of the leaf has the number '33'. On the verso are two brief descriptions of the manuscript's foliation. The first, which is crossed through, reads '~~Cons. fols 77~~' the second, part of which is crossed through, reads 'Cons. fol. 79, fol. 42 + double fol. ~~59 omitted~~'. The first relates to the

foliation of the manuscript, which counts every ten leaves and begins on folio 12 with the number '10'. The second relates to the ink foliation of the manuscript.¹⁰²

The recto is written in a variety of hands of the early sixteenth century. The third hand of column a is that of William Wylom, monk of Durham, who lived across the Dissolution and died in 1557.¹⁰³

The verso, an incomplete page, has a single column of names written in one hand of the first half of the sixteenth century.

An unfoliated leaf, (called in this thesis folio 83)*¹⁰⁴

This leaf is blank except for the number '35' at the base of the recto and an offset from the totals of leaves made on folio 83v.

*folio 84*¹⁰⁵

Has on the verso part of Cotton's instructions to his binder. It reads:

[] as I have marked an [] it not to muche in the back for fear you put som leaves so forward that the may be in danger of cutting sett flowers of gold one the back and corners and mak it very fayre and lett me have it ready this night when I send about 5 in the afternoone.¹⁰⁶

The writing would not originally have been visible as the verso of the leaf was once pasted down to the boards.¹⁰⁷

Notes to Appendix 2

¹ In what follows my own observations of the manuscript are combined with the observations of others, both published and unpublished. There are two published descriptions of the manuscript Thompson (1881-4), pp. 81-4 and Gerchow (1988), pp. 109-54, which includes a quire diagram on p. 114. There is a further consideration of the early part of the manuscript in Briggs (1987), pp. 1-8. Michael Gullick is making a detailed study of the structure of the manuscript for publication, Gullick (forthcoming). Colin Tite, who has a detailed knowledge of the Cottonian library, has considered the present form of the *Liber Vitae* in relation to other Cottonian books, his observations are also to be published, Tite (forthcoming). Both Michael and Colin have been kind enough to share their insights with me. I have also benefited from the comments of Dr Ian Doyle, Prof. Paul Harvey, Mr Alan Piper and Prof. David Rollason. Ian spent many hours at the beginning of my research, instructing me in the intricacies of palaeography and dating for me the hands employed in the post-1300 sections of the manuscript.

² The text of the *Liber Vitae* has been published in whole or in part by Stevenson (1841); Thompson (1923); Thompson (1881-4), pp. 81-4; Sweet (1885), pp. 153-66; Sweet and Hoad (1978), pp. 108-13. For accounts of the manuscript see Thompson (1881-4), pp. 81-84 and pl. 25; Watson (1979), vol. I, no. 527, and vol. II, pl. 7; Briggs (1987), pp. 1-8; Gerchow (1988-91) pp. 109-54 and 304-20, esp. 110-17; Webster and Backhouse (1991), no. 97 and pl. 97; Gneuss (2001), no. 327. The manuscript was the subject of a major international colloquium held in Durham in December 2001, which included consideration of the structure of the manuscript and its contents, together with possible comparanda and analogues. The papers of this colloquium will be published as Rollason, Piper et al. (forthcoming). The paper by Michael Gullick presented there has significantly revised ideas about the structure and development of the manuscript. The Durham colloquium resulted in a major funding application, which was successful, to produce a digital edition of the *Liber Vitae* together with a full scholarly apparatus. The project, which involves a major team of international experts, is based jointly at King's College, London and Durham University and directed by Prof. David Rollason, Mr Harold Short and Mr Alan Piper. Details of this project can be found on the project's web-site, <http://www.kcl.ac.uk/humanities/cch/dlv/index.html>.

³ The ink foliation was that followed in the two editions of the *Liber Vitae*, Stevenson (1841) and Thompson (1923).

⁴ British Library manuscript conservation records, consulted on my behalf in 1999 by the British Library Manuscript Reading Room Superintendent.

⁵ Tite (1994), pp. 48-9, discusses Cottonian bindings and in fig. 17, illustrates the binding of the *Liber Vitae*.

⁶ The British Library Reading Room Superintendent suggested to me that the binding could have been renewed when the volume was added to the library holdings, when its shelf mark was added, though no record of this happening exists. This would not presumably have involved any tampering with the stitching of the manuscript. Dr Ian Doyle, after examination of the binding in 1999, is of the opinion that, although it retains its Cotton boards, the spine and probably also the stitching have been renewed. He gave as reasons for his opinion, firstly, that the leather of spine is a different colour and a join is visible on both the front and back between it and the leather over the boards. Secondly, words which were visible in the gutters and photographed in 1923 for the facsimile (Thompson (1923)) are no longer visible. Michael Gullick, after detailed examination of the manuscript in 2001-2002 is of the same opinion. He believes he has detected sewing stations, which are of more recent date than those of Cotton's binder, Gullick (forthcoming).

⁷ This material does not appear in either of the published editions.

⁸ Tite (forthcoming).

⁹ The letters, which are quire signatures, which occur irregularly through the manuscript, are in Cotton's hand, Tite (1994), p. 46; Tite (forthcoming).

¹⁰ Tite (1994), transcribed pp. 46-7.

¹¹ Tite (1994), p. 46.

¹² Tite (forthcoming) says the scribe who wrote this entry also contributed other details to the Cottonian material of this volume including the contents list on fol. 2v. But when the manuscript was bound and presumably its contents list made c. 1621, the emperor order of the library had not been established, Tite (1980), p. 147.

¹³ This number is the number assigned to the manuscript in the earliest catalogue of the Cottonian library (BL Harley MS 6018) begun in 1621, recording an arrangement of the library which precedes the familiar emperor order, Tite (1980), pp. 146-7; Tite (forthcoming) and Briggs (1987), p. 37.

¹⁴ This is the entry in the 1621 catalogue, Tite (forthcoming) and Briggs (1987), p. 37. The scribe who wrote this and a number of other entries in the Cottonian additions to this manuscript is unfortunately unidentified. His hand is discussed and illustrated in Tite (1994), p. 60 and fig. 25b.

¹⁵ Tite (1994) notes on p. 49 that Cotton regularly had engraved title pages added to his books. Some ten series have been identified, the same design tending to be used for manuscripts concerned with the same subject. The one used in the *Liber Vitae* is discussed and illustrated in Tite (forthcoming).

¹⁶ The suggestion as to the hand seems to have been made first by Stevenson, Stevenson (1841), p. xii. Tite (1994), pp. 57-63 discusses James' contributions to the library and illustrates his hand in fig. 25a, and in Tite (forthcoming), accepts the identification.

¹⁷ A further example of the hand of the unidentified Cottonian scribe, Tite (forthcoming).

¹⁸ For discussion of this text see above, pp. 235 ff.

¹⁹ This material is not included in either printed edition.

²⁰ Gullick (forthcoming).

²¹ Michael Gullick is unable to see any difference in this leaf. Michael Gullick, pers. comm.

²² Gullick (forthcoming).

²³ Michael Gullick was once of the opinion that this leaf was inserted by Cotton's binder. He now feels that it belongs to a medieval organisation of the manuscript Michael Gullick pers. comm.

²⁴ The original core is the name given to the Anglo-Saxon section of the manuscript by the AHRB research project.

²⁵ Gullick (forthcoming), considers that the parchment was slightly affected by the Cottonian fire, which has caused the leaves to stiffen.

²⁶ The construction of the ruling is visible in the facsimile Thompson (1923), fols. 19v, 21r and 43r.

²⁷ Gullick (forthcoming).

²⁸ Gullick (forthcoming).

²⁹ Gullick (forthcoming). In her discussion of the materials employed in the production of the manuscript, Briggs (1987) p. 5, considered that inks had been used. An opinion supported by Janet Backhouse, who further asserts that the velum was purple tinted, Webster and Backhouse (1991), p. 132. All authorities note that the gold has generally survived well but the silver has oxidised.

³⁰ Thompson (1884), p. 84. But Briggs (1987), pp. 5-8 and pp. 11-14 discusses the hands and the dating of the compilation of the manuscript. She places the original compilation around c.800, with additions made c.840 and before 875.

³¹ Briggs (1987), p. 6; Thompson (1884), p. 84.

³² The list is discussed in Barker (1977), pp. 138-41.

³³ Briggs (1987), p. 6; Thompson (1884), p. 84.

³⁴ Symeon of Durham was the scribe who wrote the last two names of column a and the last four names of column b, Gullick (1994), p. 106, n. 53.

³⁵ For the identification of some of the names written in this entry see Barrow (forthcoming).

³⁶ Briggs (1987), p. 6; Thompson (1884), p. 84.

³⁷ Briggs (1987), p. 7, suggests that the change of suffix may be indicative of a change of hand, although Thompson (1884) ^{p. 84} does not make this connection.

³⁸ Thompson (1923), p. xvi.

³⁹ It is possible that this heading was a recognised way of representing the community of the saint in the fifteenth century. In 1472 Richard Billingham, monk of Durham, writing from the Curia endorsed his letter with these names. Dobson (1973), p. 12.

⁴⁰ The entry was made after the birth of Prince Edward in 1470 but presumably before that of his brother Prince Richard in 1473. It might be thought that such an entry would have been made to celebrate a visit of Edward to Durham, but the king was never in the north after the birth of Prince Edward, Tony Pollard, pers. comm.

⁴¹ Briggs (1987), p. 7; Thompson (1884), p. 84.

⁴² Tite (forthcoming).

⁴³ Briggs (1987), p. 7; Thompson (1884), p. 84.

⁴⁴ Atkins (1940), pp. 212-18.

⁴⁵ Atkins (1940), pp. 218-20 and 222-4 and Thompson (1923), p. xxvi.

⁴⁶ The scribe of this entry was Symeon of Durham, Gullick (1994), p. 106, n. 53.

⁴⁷ This is recognised as a mark of Sir Robert Cotton, Tite (forthcoming).

⁴⁸ Briggs (1987), p. 7; Thompson (1884), p. 84.

⁴⁹ The scribe who wrote column c, lines 1-16, was Symeon of Durham, Gullick (1994), p. 106, n. 53.

⁵⁰ The scribe who wrote the conventions at lines 1-15 and 20-4 was Symeon of Durham Gullick (1994), p. 106, n. 53.

⁵¹ Piper (1998), pp. 161-201. One of the scribes who contributed to this list was Symeon of Durham, who wrote the names *Thomas* to *Alanus*, on fol. 45v, cols. b-c Gullick (1994), p. 109 n. 61

⁵² Stephen and Lee (1917-), VIII, s.n.

⁵³ Briggs (1987), pp. 1-4; Gullick (forthcoming) and see above Appendix 1.

⁵⁴ See above, Appendix 1.

⁵⁵ For a discussion of the parchment see Gullick (forthcoming).

⁵⁶ The arrangement of the monastic pages is generally more regular than those containing non-monastic names.

⁵⁷ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁵⁸ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁵⁹ Gullick (forthcoming). Briggs (1987) p. 1-2 considered the parchment to be uniform.

⁶⁰ See Barker (1977), pp. 141-3.

⁶¹ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁶² This is very obvious in the facsimile, Thompson (1923).

⁶³ Ker (1957), no. 147a, p.187.

⁶⁴ Ker (1957), no. 147c, pp. 187-8.

⁶⁵ This charter is repeated in epistolary form, in a rather fuller version, in the Durham Gospels (DCL, MS, A.II.16). Michael Gullick, in an unpublished paper delivered to a symposium on Reginald of Durham at Durham in 1998, recognised the scribe who wrote the version in the Durham Gospels as Reginald of Durham, and was certain that he did not write the version in the *Liber Vitae*.

⁶⁶ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁶⁷ Alan Piper, pers. comm.

⁶⁸ Michael Gullick, in an unpublished paper delivered to the Reginald Symposium at Durham 1998, has identified the scribe, as Reginald of Durham, who was certainly active in the 1160s and 1170s, and possible later. The documents were written in two separate campaigns.

⁶⁹ See Offler (1962), esp. pp. 190-1.

⁷⁰ This is one of a group of spurious documents, in which the monks of Durham pursued their claims to the monastery of Tynemouth. Attacks by the Durham monks on St Alban's possession of Tynemouth were made in 1121 and again in the later 1160s. The claim was finally settled in 1174 in favour of Tynemouth. It is Offler's opinion that the forged charters were prepared for the later challenge and that the entry in the *Liber Vitae* probably preceded the making of the forgeries. Offler (1968) pp. 39-47. (Offler refers to the document in the *Liber Vitae*, as being on fol. 46v, that is by its old ink folio number).

⁷¹ Briggs (1987), unnumbered, 'The Sequence of Additions to the original *Liber Vitae* to c.1200', no.36.

⁷² Briggs (1987), unnumbered, 'The Sequence of Additions to the original *Liber Vitae* to c.1200', no.38. The scribe who wrote most of the conventions on this page was Symeon of Durham, Gullick (1994), p. 102 and p. 106, n.53. The line references in n. 53 are wrong and should read lines 1-20 and 25-9. Gullick notes that the *conventio* with King Malcolm and Queen Margaret is unlikely to have been written after 1093, the year in which the king and queen both died, whilst that with Ilbert de Lacy is dateable to before 1093-1100.

⁷³ The text does not represent an authentic document. The opening narration is borrowed, with little alteration from Symeon's *Libellus de exordio*, following the earliest manuscript, DUL MS Cosin V.II.6, fols. 78-79v. This entry cannot have been made before Simon completed his history 1104 x 1109. 'Possibly it formed part of the preparation for gaining the privilege confirming the general state of the monastery which Pope Calixtus II granted in 1123'. Offler (1968) pp. 6-15. (Offler records the text as occurring on fols. 49-50, that is the old ink foliation).

⁷⁴ Briggs (1987), 'The Sequence of Additions to the original *Liber Vitae* to c.1200', no. 40.

⁷⁵ The scribe who wrote most of the names in the lower half of the page from line 17 (*Herebertus*) onward was Symeon of Durham, Gullick (1994), p. 106, n. 53.

⁷⁶ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁷⁷ Some of the names in this list can be equated with names of succour monks occurring in the twelfth century obital written in the margins of the martyrology in the Durham Cantor's Book (DCL, MS B.IV.24, fols. 12r-39v), for example that of William de Grenville, who died c. 1159, is found in the obital under 1 March and is included among the succour monks, half way down column a, see Piper (1998), and p. 191.

⁷⁸ Piper (1998), pp. 166-7 and 185.

⁷⁹ Powicke (1962), pp. 16-18 and 594.

⁸⁰ Alan Piper, pers. comm.

⁸¹ Boutflower (1926), p.104.

⁸² Ian Doyle, pers. comm.

⁸³ Gullick (forthcoming).

⁸⁴ The text on this leaf is very damaged, part of it can only be read in reverse through the fragments of parchment adhering to fol. 64r. It was deciphered for me by Prof. Paul Harvey, who kindly provided me with a transcription. He dates the original text to the late fifteenth

century. For discussion of the text see above, pp. 325ff. For discussion of the Cottonian version see Tite (forthcoming).

⁸⁵ Ian Doyle pers. comm.

⁸⁶ Gullick (forthcoming) is more certain than I can be about this number.

⁸⁷ This is one of two men; Robert elected 1214, but about whom nothing more is known; or the Robert who may have been his successor and who was consecrated 1249-50 and is last recorded 1270-1271 (Fryde, Greenway et al. (1986), p. 318). The hand is early thirteenth-century so the first named seems more likely.

⁸⁸ Alan Piper, pers. comm.

⁸⁹ Gullick (forthcoming), reads 21.

⁹⁰ It is possible that the list of eighteen names headed by Henry de Beaumont, brother of Louis de Beaumont, bishop of Durham (1317-33), represents men who were his associates and members of his following, Andy King pers. comm.

⁹¹ Ian Doyle, pers. comm.

⁹² Alan Piper, pers. comm.

⁹³ Alan Piper, pers. comm.

⁹⁴ Alan Piper, pers. comm.

⁹⁵ Alan Piper, pers. comm.

⁹⁶ Ian Doyle, pers. comm.

⁹⁷ I have discussed the identity of names entered on this page, Rollason (1999), pp. 286-290.

⁹⁸ Richard Caly was a monk of Durham between c.1483 and 1526, Alan Piper, pers. comm. His hand is recognised by Ian Doyle, pers. comm..

⁹⁹ Ian Doyle, pers. comm

¹⁰⁰ John Morby was elected prior in 1475, he resigned but the date is unknown. His successor John Whitby resigned in 1491 was re-elected and resigned a second time in 1505. A John Morby was elected to succeed him, though whether it was the same man is not certain. He was blessed in 1511 and his successor elected in the same year (Page (1907-25), III, 212). In 1510 John, prior of Guisborough and his brethren issued a letter of confraternity with the prior and chapter of Durham (DCM, Cal. Reg. V, fol. 130v) which was reciprocated (DCM, Cal. Reg. V., fol. 139r). The name of John Morby is followed in the *Liber Vitae* by at least two other names likely to belong to canons of Guisborough. The whole community is not entered.

¹⁰¹ Alan Piper, pers. comm.

¹⁰² Gullick (forthcoming).

¹⁰³ Alan Piper, pers. comm.

¹⁰⁴ This leaf is not included in the facsimile.

¹⁰⁵ This folio is part of the introductory materials added to the volume by Sir Robert Cotton, see above fol. 1. It is not included in the facsimile.

¹⁰⁶ Tite (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁷ Gullick (forthcoming).

Bibliography

- Angenendt, A. (forthcoming), 'How was a Confraternity Made? The Evidence of Charters', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge)
- Atkins, I. (1940), 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century', *Antiquaries Journal* 20, 1-38 and 203-29.
- Autenrieth, J., D. Geuenich, et al., eds (1978), *Das Verbrüderungsbuch Der Abtei Reichenau*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Libri Memoriales et Necrologia. Nova Series I (Hannover).
- Baker, L.G.D. 'The Desert in the North' *Northern History*, 5, 1-11.
- Barker, B. A. (2003), 'The Claxtons: A North-Eastern Gentry Family in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries' (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Teeside)
- Barker, E. E. (1977), 'Two Lost Documents of King Athelstan', *Anglo-Saxon England* 6, 137-43.
- Barrow, G. W. S. (1994), 'The Kings of Scotland and Durham', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 311-323.
- (forthcoming), 'Scots in the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge)
- Barrow, J. (1994), 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 25-40.
- Bates, D. (1994), 'The Forged Charters of William the Conqueror and Bishop William of St Calais', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-*

- 1193, ed. M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 111-124.
- (1997), 'The Prosopographical Study of Anglo-Norman Royal Charters', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge), pp. 89-102.
- Battiscombe, C. F. ed., (1956), *The Relics of St. Cuthbert* (Oxford)..
- (1956a), 'Historical Introduction', in *The Relics of St Cuthbert*, ed. C. F. Battiscombe (Oxford), pp. 1-114.
- Bindoff, S. T., ed. (1982), *The House of Commons 1509-1558* (London).
- Birch, W. d. G. (1892), *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (London and Winchester).
- Bischoff, B. (1990), *Latin Palaeography: Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Cambridge).
- Bishop, E. (1918), 'On the Early Texts of the Roman Canon', in *Liturgica Historica*, ed. E. Bishop (Oxford), pp. 77-115.
- (1918), 'Some Ancient Benedictine Confraternity Books', in *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*, ed. E. Bishop (Oxford), pp. 349-361.
- Blakiston, H. E. D. (1896), 'Some Durham College Rolls', *Oxford Historical Society* 32, 1-76.
- Blows, M. (1991), 'A Glastonbury Obbit List', in *The Archaeology and History of Glastonbury Abbey. Essays in Honour of C. A. Ralegh Radford*, ed. L. Abrams and J. P. Carley (Woodbridge), pp. 257-269.
- Bonney, M. (1990), *Lordship and the Urban Community. Durham and its Overlords 1250-1540* (Cambridge).
- Botfield, B., ed. (1838), *Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelm. Catalogues of the Library of Durham Cathedral, at Various Periods, from the Conquest to the Dissolution, Including Catalogues of the Library of the Abbey of*

- Hulne, and of the MSS. Preserved in the Library of Bishop Cosin, at Durham.*, Surtees Society Publications 7 (London).
- Boutflower, D. S., ed. (1926), *Fasti Dunelmenses*, Surtees Society Publications 139 (Newcastle upon Tyne).
- Briggs, E. (1987), 'Religion, Society and Politics and the Liber Vitae of Durham' (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds)
- (forthcoming), 'Nothing but Names: The Original Core of the Durham Liber Vitae', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge)
- British Museum, Department of Manuscripts (1933), *British Museum Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts 1916-1920* (London).
- Brown, J. (1993), 'Aspects of Palaeography', in *A Palaeographer's View. The Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. J. Bately, M. P. Brown and J. Roberts (London), pp. 47-86.
- (1993), 'The Distribution and Significance of Membrane Prepared in the Insular Manner', in *A Palaeographer's View. The Selected Writings of Julian Brown*, ed. J. Bately, M. P. Brown and J. Roberts (London), pp. 125-140.
- Brown, M. P. (1990), *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London).
- (2003), *The Lindisfarne Gospels. Society, Spirituality and the Scribe* (London).
- Brown, T. J. (1969), *The Durham Ritual* (Copenhagen).
- Burgess, C. (1990), 'Late Medieval Wills and Pious Convention: Testamentary Evidence Reconsidered', in *Profit, Piety and the Professions in Late Medieval England*, ed. M. A. Hicks (Gloucester), pp. 14-33.
- Burton, J. (1979), 'A Confraternity List from St Mary's Abbey, York', *Revue Benedictine* 89, 325-333.
- (1994), *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300*

- (Cambridge).
- (1994), 'The Monastic Revival in Yorkshire: Whitby and St Mary's, York', in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 41-51.
- (forthcoming), 'Commemoration and Memorialisation in a Yorkshire Context', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge).
- Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*
Edward I 1292-1301 (1895) (London) Reprinted 1971.
- Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*
Edward III 1354-1358 (1910) (London)
- Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*
Henry V 1413-1416 (1909) (London)
- Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*
Henry VI 1422-1429 (1901) (Norwich)
- Cambridge, E. (1992), 'The Masons and Building Works of Durham Priory, 1339-1539' (unpubl. Ph. D. thesis, University of Durham).
- Camsell, M. M. (1985), 'The Development of a Northern Town in the Later Middle Ages: The City of Durham C.1250-1540' (unpubl. D. Phil. thesis, University of York).
- Carpenter, C. (1994), 'Gentry and Community in Medieval England', *Journal of British Studies* xxxiii, 340-80.
- Clark, C. (1985), 'British Library Additional Ms. 40,000 Ff.1v-12r', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7, 50-65.
- (1985a), 'The Liber Vitae of Thorney and Its "Catchment Area"', *Nomina* 9, 53-72.
- (1987), 'A Witness to Post-Conquest Cultural Patterns: The Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey', in *Studies in Honour of Dr R. Derolez on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. A. M. Simon-

- Vandenbergen (Ghent), pp. 73-85.
- Clark-Maxwell, W. G. (1926), 'Some Letters of Confraternity',
Archaeologia 25, 19-60.
- Cokayne, G. E. (1910-1998), *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Gt Britain and the United Kingdom. Extant, Extinct or Dormant* new enlarged ed, ed. V. Gibbs, 15 vols. (London).
- Colgrave, B., ed. (1940), *Two Lives of St Cuthbert: A Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Cambridge).
- Colgrave, B and R.A.B. Mynors eds. (1972) *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford)
- Collett, Barry (2002) 'Organising Time for Secular and Religious Purposes: The *Contemplacion for Synners* (1499) and the Translation of the Benedictine Rule for Women (1517) of Richard Fox, Bishop of Winchester' in *The Use and Abuse of Time in Christian History*, ed. R.N.Swanson, Studies in Church History, 37 (Woodbridge), pp.145-60.
- Constable, G. (1972), 'Review Article: The Liber Memorialis of Remiremont', *Speculum* 47, 261-277.
- (2000), 'Commemoration and Confraternity at Cluny During the Abbacy of Peter the Venerable', in *Cluny from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries*, ed. G. Constable, pp. 253-78 (no. X).
- (2000), 'The Commemoration of the Dead in the Early Middle Ages', in *Early Medieval Rome and the Christian West. Essays in Honour of Donald A. Bullough*, ed. J. M. H. Smith, pp. 169-195.
- Conyers Surtees, H. (1925), *Records of the Family of Surtees: Its Descents and Alliances* (Newcastle).
- Cowdrey, H. E. J. (1965), 'Unions and Confraternity with Cluny', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 16, 152-62.

- Craster, H. H. E. (1925), 'The Red Book of Durham', *English Historical Review* 40, 504-532.
- (1954), 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', *English Historical Review* 69, 177-199.
- Crook, J. (1994), 'The Architectural Setting of the Cult of St Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral (1093-1200)', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 235-250.
- Dickens, A. G. (1989), *The English Reformation*, 2nd edition (London).
- Dobson, R. B. (1967), 'The Last English Monks on Scottish Soil', *Scottish Historical Review* 46, 1-25.
- (1973), *Durham Priory 1400-1450* (Cambridge).
- Donaldson, R. (1955), 'Patronage and the Church. A Study in the Social Structure of the Secular Clergy in the Diocese of Durham, 1311-1540' (unpubl. Dissertation thesis, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh).
- (1960), 'Sponsors, Patrons and Presentations to Benefices in the Gift of the Prior of Durham in the Late Middle Ages', *Archaeologia AElia* 38, 169-177.
- Doyle, A. I. (1998), 'The Original and Later Structure of Durham University Library, MS Cosin V.II.6', in *Symeon of Durham. Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D. Rollason (Stamford), pp. 120-127.
- Dugdale, S. W. (1819), *Monasticon Anglicanum*, new enlarged edition by J. Caley, H. Ellis and Rev. B. Bandinel (London).
- Dumville, D. N. (1999), *A Palaeographer's Review: The Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages* (Suva).
- Emden, A. B. (1957-9), *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500* (Oxford).
- Finucane, R. C. (1977), *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in*

Medieval England (London).

- Foster, M. (1994), 'Custodians of St Cuthbert: The Durham Monks' Views of Their Predecessors, 1083-C.1200', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 53-65.
- Fowler, J. T., ed. (1898), *Durham Account Rolls, Vol. 2*, Surtees Society Publications 100 (Durham).
- , ed. (1901), *Durham Account Rolls, Vol. 3*, Surtees Society Publications 103 (Durham).
- Fowler, J. T. C. (1903), *Rites of Durham Being a Description or Brief Declaration of All the Ancient Monuments, Rites and Customs Belonging or Being within the Monastical Church of Durham before the Suppression*, Reprinted 1964 (Durham and London).
- Fraser, C.M. ed. (1991) *Durham Quarter Session Rolls 1471-1625*, Surtees Society Publications 199 (Newcastle)
- Fryde, E. B., D. E. Greenway, et al., eds., 3rd edn. (1986), *Handbook of British Chronology* (London).
- Gerchow, J. (1988), *Die Gedenküberlieferung der Angelsachsen, mit einem Katalog der Libri Vitae und Necrologien* (Berlin and New York).
- (1988-91), 'Societas et Fraternitas; a Report on a Research Project Based at the Universities of Friburg and Munster', *Nomina* 12, 153-71.
- (1992), 'Prayers for King Cnut: The Liturgical Commemoration of a Conqueror', in *England in the Eleventh Century. Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford), pp. 219-39.
- (forthcoming), 'The Origins of the Durham *Liber Vitae*', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge).

- Geuenich, D. (1991), 'The St Gall Confraternity of Prayer', in *The Culture of the Abbey of St Gall: An Overview*, ed. J. C. King and W. Vogler (Stuttgart and Zurich), pp. 29-38.
- (forthcoming), 'A Survey of the Early Medieval Confraternity Books from the Continent', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge).
- Geuenich, D. and U. Lugwig, eds (2000), *Der Memorial- und Liturgicodex von San Salvatore/Santa Giulia in Brescia*, Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Libri Memoriales et Necrologia. Nova Series IV (Hannover).
- Gneuss, H. (2001), *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts. A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, Arizona).
- Grassi, J. L. (1970), 'Royal Clerks from the Archdiocese of York in the Fourteenth Century', *Northern History* 5, 12-33.
- Greenslade, S. (1948-9), 'The Last Monks of Durham Cathedral Priory', *The Durham University Journal* 41.
- Greenwell, W., ed. (1857), *Bishop Hatfield's Survey, a Record of the Possessions of the See of Durham, Made by Order of Thomas De Hatfield, Bishop of Durham*, Surtees Society Publications 32 (Durham).
- Gullick, M. (1994), 'The Scribes of the Durham Cantor's Book (Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS B.IV.24) and the Durham Martyrology Scribe', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 93-124.
- (1998), 'The Hand of Symeon of Durham: Further Observations on the Durham Martyrology Scribe', in *Symeon of Durham, Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D. Rollason (Stamford), pp. 14-31.

- (forthcoming), 'The Make-up of the *Liber Vitae*: The Codicology of the Manuscript', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge).
- Halcrow, E. M. (1955), 'The Social Position and Influence of the Priors of Durham, as Illustrated by Their Correspondence', *Archaeologia Aeliana* XXXIII, 70-86.
- Halsey, R. (1980), 'The Galilee Chapel', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, ed. N. Coldstream and P. Draper, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions vol. III, pp. 59-73.
- Hanks, P. and F. Hodges, eds (1990), *A Dictionary of First Names* (Oxford, New York).
- Harrison, S. A. (1994), 'Observations on the Architecture of the Galilee Chapel', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 213-234.
- Hedley, W. P. (1968), *Northumberland Families* (Gateshead).
- Herzberg-Fränkell, ed. (1904), *Monumenta Necrologica Monasterii S. Petri Salisburgensis*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*, *Necrologia Germaniae* vol. 2, *Dioecesis Salisburgensis* (Berlin).
- Hlawitschka, E., K. Schmid, et al., eds (1970), *Liber Memorialis Von Remiremont*, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Libri Memoriales I* (Dublin/Zurich).
- Howden, M. P., ed. (1932), *The Register of Richard Fox Lord Bishop of Durham*, *Surtees Society Publications* 147 (Durham).
- Hunter Blair, C. H. (1925), *Durham Monuments or the Shields of Arms, Effigies and Inscriptions in the Churches, Castles and Halls of the County of Durham* (Newcastle).
- (1934), 'Members of Parliament for Northumberland (September 1327-September 139)', *Archaeologia Aeliana* 4th series XI, 21-

- (1935), 'Members of Parliament for Northumberland (6th October 1399-20th January 1558)', *Archaeologia Æliana* 4th series XII, 82-132.
- (1937), 'Members of Parliament for Newcastle Upon Tyne (June 1377-January 1558); for Berwick Upon Tweed (1529-1558) and Morpeth (1553-1558)', *Archaeologia Æliana* 4th series XIV, 22-66.
- Hutchinson, W. (1823), *The History and Antiquities of Durham*, 3vols. (Durham).
- Huyghebaert, N. (1972), *Les Documents Necrologiques* (Turnhout).
- Ivy, G. S. (1958), 'The Bibliography of the Book', in *The English Library before 1700*, ed. F. Wormald and C. J. Wright (London), pp. 32-65.
- Jarrett, M. G. and H. Mason (1995), "'Greater and More Splendid': Some Aspects of Romanesque Durham Cathedral", *Antiquaries Journal* LXXV, 189-233.
- Johnson South, T., ed. (2002), *Historia De Sancto Cuthberto. A History of St Cuthbert and a Record of His Patrimony* (Cambridge).
- Jones, M. K. and M. G. Underwood (1992), *The King's Mother. Lady Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Derby and Richmond* (Cambridge).
- Jungmann, J. A. (1951-5), *The Mass of the Roman Rite: Its Origins and Development (Missarum Sollemnia)*.
- Keats-Rohan, K. S. B. (1997), *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics* (Woodbridge).
- Ker, N. R. (1957), *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford).
- Keynes, S. (1985), 'King Æthelstan's Books', in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes*

- on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday, ed. M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (Cambridge), pp. 143-201.
- (1996), *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester, British Library Stowe 944, Together with Leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A. viii and British Library Cotton Titus D. xxvii*, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen).
- (1997), 'Anglo-Saxon Entries in the 'Liber Vitae' of Brescia', in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Batley on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. J. Roberts and J. L. Nelson (Cambridge), pp. 99-119.
- (forthcoming), 'The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge).
- King, A. A. (1957), *Liturgy of the Roman Church* (1957).
- Klukas, A. (1983), 'The Architectural Implications of the *Decreta Lanfranci*', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 6, 137-171.
- Knowles, D., ed. (1956), *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (London).
- Knowles, D. and C. N. L. Brooke, eds (2002), *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford).
- Knowles, D., C. N. L. Brooke, et al., eds (1972), *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales, 940-1216* (Cambridge).
- Knowles, D. D. (1948-59), *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge).
- (1966), *The Monastic Order in England, 940-1216*, 2nd edition, (Cambridge).
- Le Neve, J. (1963), *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541* (London).
- Lewis, C. P. (1997), 'Joining the Dots: A Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book', in *Family Trees and the Roots of*

Politics. The Prosopography of Britain and France from the Tenth to the Twelfth Centuries, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge), pp. 69-88.

Leyser, H. (1984), *Hermits and the New Monasticism. A Study of Religious Communities in Western Europe 1000-1150*. (London).

Leyser, K. J. (1982), 'The German Aristocracy from the Ninth to the Early Twelfth Century. A Historical and Cultural Sketch.' in *Medieval Germany and Its Neighbours*, ed. K. J. Leyser (London), pp. 161-89.

Little, W., H. W. Fowler, et al. (1983), *The Shorter Oxford English Dictionary*, 3rd edition, revised by G.W.S. Friedrichsen (Oxford).

Longstaffe, W. H. D. (1858), 'The Tenures of Middleton St. George and Some Account of the House of Killinghall', *Archaeologia AElia* 2, 69-106.

Marcombe, D. (1987), 'A Rude and Heady People: The Local Community and the Rebellion of the Northern Earls', in *The Last Principality: Politics, Religion and Society in the Bishopric of Durham, 1494-1660*, ed. D. Marcombe (Loughborough), pp. 117-151.

Marner, D. (1994), 'The Bible of Hugh of Le Puiset (Durham Dean and Chapter Library, MS A.II.1)', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 471-484.

Mayr-Harting, H. (1991), *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn. (London).

McAleer, J. P. (1994), 'The West Front of Durham Cathedral: The Beginning of a British Tradition', in *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 185-212.

McKinnell, J. (1998), *The Sequence of the Sacrament*

(Middlesborough).

McLachlan, L. and J. B. L. Tolhurst (1936-51), *The Ordinale and Customary of the Abbey of St Mary, York, St John's College, Cambridge, MS.D.27.*, 3 vols, Henry Bradshaw Society 73, 75 and 84 (London).

McLaughlin, M. M. (1985), 'Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval French Society' (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, Stanford University).

Moore, J. S. (1992-3), 'Family Entries in English Libri Vitae, c.1050-1550, Part 1', *Nomina* 16, 99-128.

— (1997), 'Prosopographical Problems of English *Libri Vitae*', in *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, (Bury St Edmunds), pp. 165-188.

Nigota, J. A. (1974), 'John Kempe, a Political Prelate of the Fifteenth Century' (unpubl. Dissertation thesis, Emory University, Atlanta, Georgia).

Nilson, B. (2000), *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge).

Offler (1962), 'The Early Archdeacons in the Diocese of Durham', *Transactions of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland* 10, 189-207. Reprinted in H.S. Offler, *North of the Tees, Studies in North British History*, ed. A.J. Piper and A. I. Doyle (Variorum, 1996) as item III.

—, ed. (1968), *Durham Episcopal Charters 1071-1152*, Surtees Society Publications 179 (Gateshead).

Page, W., ed. (1907-25), *Victoria History of the County of Yorkshire* (London).

Pfaff, R. W. (1970), *New Liturgical Feasts in Later Medieval England* (Oxford).

Piper, A. J. (1994), 'The Durham Cantor's Book', in *Anglo-Norman*

- Durham 10930-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 79-92.
- (1998), 'The Early Lists and Obits of the Durham Monks', in *Symeon of Durham. Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. D. Rollason (Stamford), pp. 161-201.
- (forthcoming), 'The Names of the Durham Monks', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge).
- Powicke, F. M. (1962), *The Thirteenth Century 1216-1307*, 2nd (Oxford).
- Powicke, F. M. and E. B. Fryde (1961), *Handbook of British Chronology*, 2nd edn. (London).
- Public Records, Deputy Keeper of (1883), *Fourty-Fourth Annual Report* (London).
- Public Records, Deputy Keeper of (1884), *Forty-Fifth Annual Report* (London).
- Raban, S. (1982), *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1500* (Cambridge).
- Raine, J., ed. (1835), *Wills and Inventories..of the Northern Counties of England from the Eleventh Century Downwards, Part 1*, Surtees Society Publications 2 (London).
- , ed. (1839), *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, Surtees Society Publications 9 (London and Edinburgh).
- , ed. (1841), *The Priory of Coldingham: The Correspondence, Inventories, Account Rolls, and Law Proceedings, of the Priory of Coldingham*, Surtees Society Publications 12 (London).
- , ed. (1856), *The Obituary Roll of William Ebchester and John Burnby, Priors of Durham, with Notices of Similar Records Preserved at Durham*, Surtees Society Publications 31 (Durham).

- , ed. (1864), *Priory of Hexham, Vol. I: Its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, Surtees Society Publications 44 (Durham).
- , ed. (1865), *Testamenta Eboracensia, Vol. IV*, Surtees Society Publications 53 (London and Edinburgh).
- Rollason, D. (1978), 'Lists of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7, 61-93.
- (1992), 'Symeon of Durham and the Community of Durham in the Eleventh Century', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford), pp. 183-98.
- , ed. (2000), *Simeon of Durham. Libellus De Exordio Atque Procursu Istius, Hoc Est Dvnelmensis, Ecclesie*, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford).
- Rollason, D., A. J. Piper, et al. eds., (forthcoming), *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*. (Woodbridge).
- Rollason, L. (1998), 'Spoils of War? Durham Cathedral and the Black Rood of Scotland', in *The Battle of Neville's Cross 1346*, ed. D. Rollason and M. Prestwich (Stamford), pp. 57-65.
- (1999), 'The Liber Vitae of Durham and Lay Association with Durham Cathedral Priory in the Later Middle Ages', in *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain*, ed. B. Thompson (Stamford), pp. 277-295.
- Roskell, J. S., C. Clark, et al., eds (1992), *The History of Parliament, the House of Commons 1386-1421*, 4 vols. (Stroud).
- Russo, T. E. (1994), 'The Romanesque Rood Screen of Durham Cathedral: Context and Form', in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 251-268.
- Sandler, L. F. (1986), *Gothic Manuscripts 1285-1385* (London and Oxford).

- Scammell, G. V. (1956), *Hugh du Puiset Bishop of Durham* (Cambridge).
- Smith, R. A. L. (1943), *Canterbury Cathedral Priory. A Study in Monastic Administration* (Cambridge).
- Snape, M. G. (1977), 'Documentary Evidence for the Building of Durham Cathedral and Its Monastic Buildings', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Durham Cathedral*, ed. N. Coldstream and P. Draper, pp. 20-36.
- Southern, R. W. (1958), 'The Canterbury Forgeries', *English Historical Review* 73, 193-226.
- (1963), *St Anselm and His Biographer* (Cambridge).
- Stephen, L. and S. Lee, eds (1917-), *Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford).
- Stevenson, J., ed. (1841), *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, Surtees Society Publications 13 (London & Edinburgh).
- Storey, R. L. (1954), 'Thomas Langley: Statesman and Bishop' (unpubl. Dissertation thesis, University of Durham).
- , ed. (1961), *The Register of Thomas Langley, Bishop of Durham, 1406-1437. Vol. IV*, Surtees Society Publications 170 (Durham and London).
- (1961a), *Thomas Langley and the Bishopric of Durham* (London).
- Surtees, R. (1816-1840), *The History and Antiquities of the County Palatine of Durham*, 4 vols. (London).
- Swanson, R. N. (2002), 'Mendicants and Confraternity', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, ed. J. Clark (Woodbridge), pp. 121-41.
- Sweet, H. (1885), *The Oldest English Texts* (London).
- (1887), *Second Anglo-Saxon Reader* (Oxford).
- Sweet, H. and T. F. Hoad (1978), *Second Anglo-Saxon Reader*, 2nd

edition, (Oxford).

Symons, D. T. (1953), *The Regularis Concordia Anglica Nationis Monachorum Sanctimonialiumque* (London).

Thacker, A. (1989), 'Lindisfarne and the Origins of the Cult of St Cuthbert', in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and His Community to AD 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, D. Rollason and C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge), pp. 103-122.

Thompson, A. H., ed. (1923), *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis*, Surtees Society Publications 136 (Durham & London).

Thompson, E. M. (1881-4), *Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London).

Thompson, E.M. (1902), *Customary of the Benedictine Monasteries of St Augustune, Canterbury and St Peter, Westminster, vol. I*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 23 (London)

Threlfall-Holmes, M. (2000), 'Monks and Markets: Durham Cathedral Priory, 1460-1520' (unpubl. Ph.D. thesis, University of Durham)

Tite, C. G. C. (1980), 'The Early Catalogues of the Cottonian Library', *British Library Journal* 6, 144-157.

— (1994), *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton*. (London).

— (forthcoming), 'The Durham *Liber Vitae* and Sir Robert Cotton', in *The Durham Liber Vitae and Its Context*, ed. D. Rollason, A. J. Piper, M. Harvey and L. Rollason (Woodbridge)

Tolhurst, J. B. L., ed. (1940), *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Vol. 6: Introduction to English Monastic Breviaries*, Henry Bradshaw Society 80).

Tout, T. F. (1920-1933), *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England : The Wardrobe, the Chamber and the Small Seals*. (Manchester).

Tudor, V. M. (1984), 'The Mysogyny of St Cuthbert', *Archaeologia*

Æliana 5th ser., 12, 157-67.

- (1989), 'The Cult of St Cuthbert in the Twelfth Century: The Evidence of Reginald of Durham', in *St Cuthbert, His Cult and Community to AD 1200*, ed. G. Bonner, A. J. Piper and C. Stancliffe (Woodbridge), pp. 447-467.
- Van Houts, E. M. C. (1985), 'The Genesis of B.L. MS 40,000, ff.1-12', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 7, 66-68.
- Vogler, W. (2000), 'Historical Sketch of the Abbey of St Gall', in *The Culture of the Abbey of St Gall*, ed. J. C. King and W. Vogler (St Gall), pp. 9-24.
- Walker, S. (1990), *The Lancastrian Affinity, 1361-1399* (Oxford).
- Wall, V. (1994), 'Malcolm III and the Foundation of Durham Cathedral', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093-1193*, ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge), pp. 325-337.
- Watson, A. G. (1979), *Catalogue of Dated and Dateable Manuscripts c.700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts* 2 vols. (London)
- Webster, L. and J. M. Backhouse (1991), *The Making of England. Anglo-Saxon Art and Culture AD 600-900* (London).
- Wedgwood, J. C. and A. D. Holt, eds. (1936), *History of Parliament ... 1439-1509* (London).
- Whitelock, D. (1937-45), 'Scandinavian Personal Names in the Liber Vitae of Thorney Abbey', *Saga-Book of the Viking Society* xii, 127-53.
- , ed. (1979), *English Historical Documents c.500-1042* (London).
- Wormald, F., ed. (1939), *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100. V1-2. V1. Abbotsbury - Durham.*, Henry Bradshaw Society 77).
- Young, C., R. (1996), *The Making of the Neville Family in England, 1166-1400* (Woodbridge).

