

A LEISTON DOCUMENT FROM GLASTONBURY

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IN THE COMPLEX domain of late medieval English monasticism, the abbeys of Leiston on the Suffolk coast and Glastonbury in Somerset could scarcely have been further apart. The distance was not simply geographical, of course; it was financial and ideological as well. Leiston, a relatively small house of Premonstratensian canons, subsisted on a budget of under £200 per annum, while Benedictine Glastonbury vied with Westminster for recognition as the oldest, wealthiest, holiest and most prestigious monastic institution in the land.¹ Yet despite these discrepancies, and the fact that no evidence of direct contact between the two abbeys apparently survives, Leiston did not go unnoticed at Glastonbury. The evidence for this is a list of the dates of foundation of twenty-one English and two French religious houses, demonstrably from Leiston, which was copied during the early 16th century into a Glastonbury manuscript, now Cambridge, Trinity College MS. R. 5. 33 (Fig. 60).² This list, which has a strong East Anglian flavour, is interesting for more than the Leiston–Glastonbury connection it represents.³ Some of the monasteries and foundation dates it mentions are worthy of notice for the light they shed upon murky historical traditions. It is the purpose of this paper to present a transcript of the document in question, along with a brief discussion of its provenance and function, and a discussion of its contents. At the end of the paper, an appendix presenting a transcript of a cognate document from the Benedictine abbey of St John at Colchester (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Gough Essex 1, ff. 13–14b) will be included.⁴

The list is headed *Constructiones quorundam monasteriorum*, the word *constructiones* being synonymous in this instance with the more commonly found *fundationes*. It occupies f. 20b of R. 5. 33, a mid 13th- and early 14th-century compilation, the major element of which is the *Libellus de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus*, a chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey attributed to a sacrist of that house, Adam of Domerham.⁵ Both sides of f. 20 were initially left blank, serving to separate the contents of ff. 1–19b (a copy of William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesie*) from Adam of Domerham's *Libellus*, which begins on f. 21.⁶ During the early to mid 14th century, f. 20 was used to record certain of Glastonbury's temporalities, and subsequently, at some time during the early 16th century, f. 20b received its list of *Constructiones*.⁷ The list occupies two columns of forty-four lines each, the space below line eighteen of the second column being left blank. It is written out in an 'archaizing' hand, the intention apparently being to avoid glaring visual incongruity with the mid 13th-century script of f. 21. The 16th-century scribe did not, however, make a concerted attempt at harmonizing the two.⁸ His letters are small and neatly written, without calligraphic embellishments. Inconsistencies in letter size between entries suggest that the scribe was writing slowly and deliberately, in a style to which he was not completely accustomed.

Until now, scholars have paid very little attention to this list, despite its historically interesting features and context. The antiquary Thomas Hearne did not mention it in his edition of Adam of Domerham's *Libellus*. As a Cambridge manuscript, R. 5. 33 was catalogued by M.R. James, who listed the titles of the monastic houses given on f. 20b, noted the approximate date of the hand, and suggested that it originally came from Leiston (James 1901, 199–200). He did not, however, record the dates given in the list, or offer any further comments concerning it. Indeed, only one scholar (J.C. Dickinson) does appear to have used the list in published research, and he extracted only the piece of evidence he required from it and passed over the rest.⁹ More recently, the contents of R. 5.

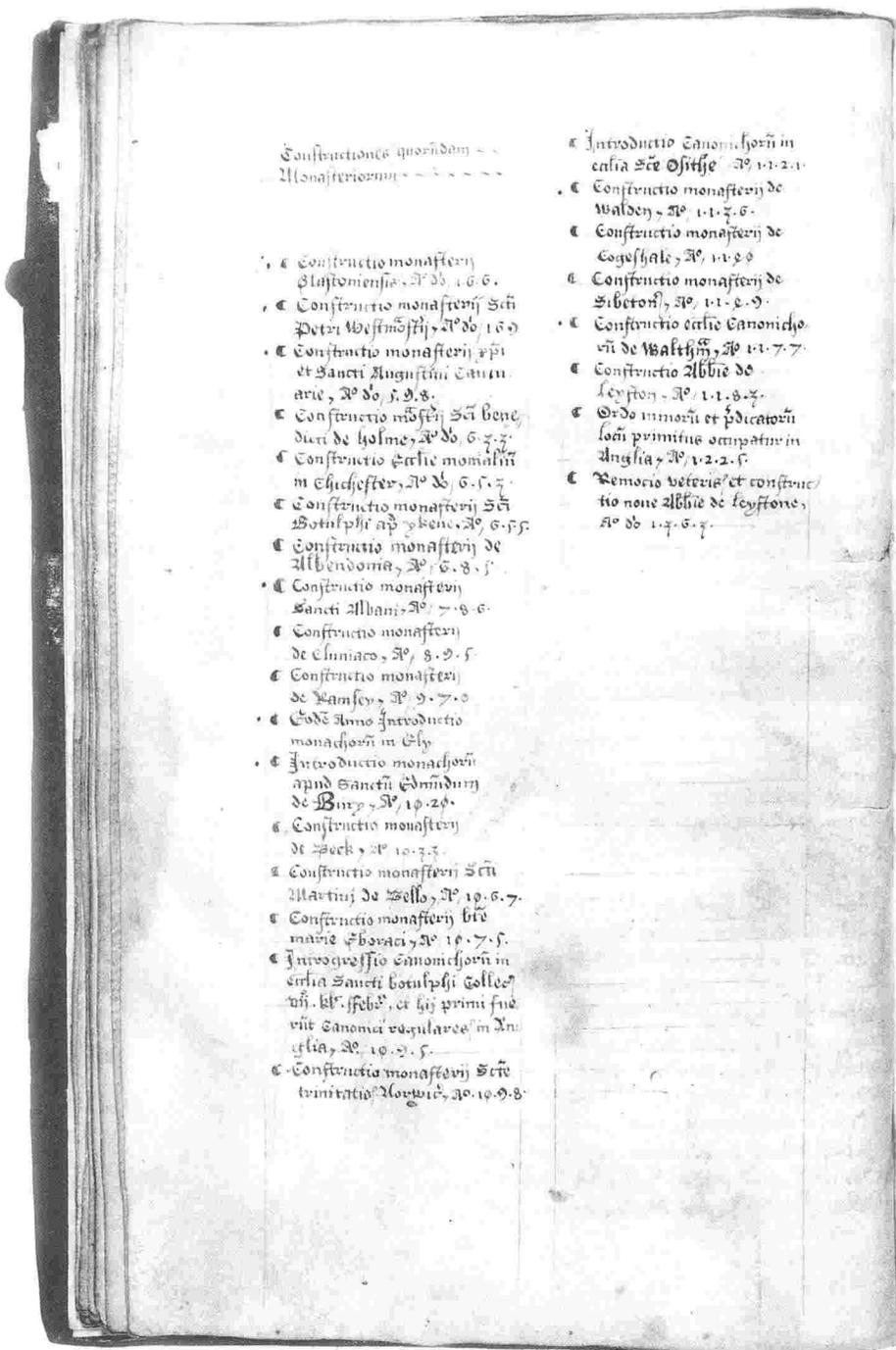


FIG. 60 – Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 5. 33, f. 20b (reproduced by courtesy of the Master and Fellows of Trinity College Cambridge).

33 have been catalogued and analyzed by Julia Crick. However, she simply notes the presence of the list without commenting upon it (Crick 1991, 222). Scholars of Premonstratensian monasticism in England have demonstrated no awareness of it. There is no reason, of course, why historians of the White Canons would search for a document from a Premonstratensian house in a Glastonbury manuscript. Indeed, the unusual context of the list must account for the lack of scholarly notice it has received.

In the following transcript, only words carrying marks of abbreviation have been expanded. Full stops and commas are reproduced as they appear in the original.

(*Column a*) *Constructiones quorundam Monasteriorum*
 Constructio monasterij Glastoniensis, *Anno domini* 1.6.6.
 Constructio monasterij *Sancti Petri Westmonasterij* *Anno domini* 1 6 9
 Constructio monasterij xpi et sancti Augustini Cantuarie, *Anno domini* 5.9.8.
 Constructio monasterij *sancti benedicti* de Holme, *Anno domini* 6.3.3.
 Constructio ecclesie monialium in Chichester, *Anno domini* 6.5.3.
 Constructio monasterij *sancti Botulphi* apud Ykene, *Anno* 6.5.5.
 Constructio monasterij de Albendonia, *Anno* 6.8.5.
 Constructio monasterij Sancti Albani, *Anno* 7.8.6.
 Constructio monasterij de Cluniaco, *Anno* 8.9.5.
 Constructio monasterij de Ramsey, *Anno* 9.7.0
 Eodem Anno introductio monachorum in Ely
 Introductio monachorum apud sanctum Edmundum de Bury, *Anno* 10.2 0.
 Constructio monasterij de Beck, *Anno* 10.3.3.
 Constructio monasterij *sancti Martini* de Bello, *Anno* 10.6.7.
 Constructio monasterij *beate marie* Eboraci, *Anno* 10.7.5.
 Introgressio canonicorum in ecclesia sancti botulphi collectio vij. *Kalends*
ffebruariae, et hij primi fuerunt canonici regulares in Anglia, *Anno* 10.9.5.
 Constructio monasterij *sancte trinitatis* Norwici, *Anno* 10.9.8.

(*Column b*) *Introductio canonicorum in ecclesia sancte Osithe* *Anno* 1.1.2.1.
 Constructio monasterij de Walden, *Anno* 1.1.3.6.
 Constructio monasterij de Cogeshale, *Anno* 1.1.40
 Constructio monasterij de Sibetonie, *Anno* 1.1.4.9.
 Constructio ecclesie canonicorum de Waltham, *Anno* 1.1.7.7.
 Constructio Abbie de Leyston, *Anno* 1.1.8.3.
 Ordo minorum et *predicatorum* locus primitus occupatur in Anglia, *Anno* 1.2.2.5.
 Remocio veteris et constructio noue Abbie de Leystone *Anno domini* 1.3.6.3.

The Leiston provenance of this list cannot be seriously doubted, for not only is the year of the abbey's foundation recorded, but also that of its relocation and reconstruction.¹⁰ No other religious house is referred to more than once, nor for any purpose other than to provide a date of foundation. The fact that the location of the regular canons' church of St Botolph (Colchester) is not given might be taken to suggest that the list was drawn up at that house. However, it is more likely to be an indication of the perceived importance of St Botolph's, which, as the first institution of regular canons in England, was held in special regard, notwithstanding its relative financial poverty.¹¹ It is impossible to know whether the canons of Leiston compiled the list *de novo* from sources contained in their library, or received it from elsewhere and inserted details concerning their abbey when copying it. If the list was composed at Leiston, then it seems rather unusual that the foundation dates of other Premonstratensian houses in the order's southern circary, such as Beeleigh (Essex), Langley (Norfolk) and West Dereham (Norfolk), are not mentioned.¹²

At any rate, in its current form the list bears Leiston's stamp, and constitutes interesting evidence of that house's concern to locate itself within the broader monastic domain, both regionally and to a certain extent nationally. The East Anglian flavour of the list is striking, and reflects a regional consciousness on the part of its compiler which has many parallels in monastic historiography.¹³ With the exception of the reference to the nunnery at Chichester, the only non-East Anglian houses mentioned are ones of national reputation. The fact that only non-conventual religious houses and orders are included is usual in documents of this type, and indicates a collective monastic self-identity that has been regarded, in some of its manifestations at least, as a defensive reaction to broad-based anti-monastic feeling.¹⁴

The interest that the Benedictines of Glastonbury had in this document is obvious. Throughout the later Middle Ages, Glastonbury assiduously promoted its claim to be considered *fons et origo religionis* in England (Lagorio 1971, 220–24). All kinds of proofs, documentary and otherwise, were assembled to this end, in an extended process that has been appropriately dubbed a 'marshalling of antiquity' (Crick 1991, 217). Precedence in terms of date of foundation was a very significant issue for ecclesiastical institutions during the later Middle Ages, for not only did it confer a great deal of prestige, but it also brought considerable practical advantages. John Chinnock, abbot of Glastonbury from 1375 to 1420, was awarded primacy at a national synod on the basis of his claim to represent England's oldest religious house, and the claim was exploited at foreign ecclesiastical councils as well (Carley 1985, lx; Lagorio 1971, 220). The Leiston list lent support to this claim, and also demonstrated how widespread acceptance of it was; names such as Leiston, Coggeshall, Iken and Sibton must have seemed distant – even exotic – to anyone reading the list at Glastonbury. The context of the document is significant here, for the manuscript into which it was copied, with its historical accounts of the early foundation of Glastonbury, constituted particularly important evidence of the abbey's status as the 'first and eldest of all churches in England'.¹⁵

The examination of the contents of the list which follows will not argue for or against the historical accuracy of any of the dates of foundation provided. Thirteen of the twenty-three dates concern pre-Conquest foundations, and assigning precise dates to the inception of Anglo-Saxon religious houses is a notoriously uncertain business (Gransden 1985, 1–2). Even the apparently well documented dates for foundations such as Bury St Edmunds have been disputed in recent literature (Gransden 1985, *passim*; Hare 1993, 15, 34). Moreover, as a number of scholars have pointed out, founding a religious house was a protracted affair that cannot often have been accomplished in a single year (Dickinson 1950, 97–98; Mortimer 1979, 3; Gransden 1985, 1). On top of this, certain monasteries commemorated more than one date of foundation. Glastonbury, which claimed successive foundations by St Joseph of Arimathea, the papal emissaries SS Phagan and Deruvian, and King Ine, is a case in point. Finally, the distinction made in the list between *constructiones* and *introductiones* must be recognized. In four cases (one an *introgressio*) it is stated that monks or canons were introduced to a given house during a particular year. In these instances, the date specified is to be understood not as that of the institution's first foundation, but as that of its conversion to regular observance. Where *constructio* is used, first foundation is implied.

Glastonbury and Westminster, the first two houses on the list, are ascribed foundation dates of 166 and 169 respectively. Both belonged to the group of ecclesiastical institutions, regular and secular, that claimed foundation (in Glastonbury's case not first foundation) by SS Phagan and Deruvian.¹⁶ These legendary emissaries of Pope Elutherius were believed to have been sent to Britain at the petition of King Lucius to popularize Christianity at some time during the second half of the 2nd century. Their mission was, in medieval terms, established historical fact, but not all of the religious houses claiming

foundation by Phagan and Deruvian were taken seriously. Thus, Christ Church Canterbury and Abingdon were given later dates of foundation by the list's compiler, though claims of 2nd-century foundation were also made for them.¹⁷ The date 166 agrees with that given by William of Malmesbury for the re-foundation of Glastonbury, although a 15th-century list from Bury St Edmunds gives 163 (Scott 1981, 49; Arnold 1896, 150). The date of 169 for Westminster agrees with the Bury list, but not with Westminster's own contemporary historian John Flete, who gave a date of 184 (Arnold 1896, 150; Robinson 1909, 34–35). Indeed, the whole chronology concerning Lucius, Elutherius, Phagan and Deruvian is confused in medieval sources. At one end of the chronological scale, Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote that Lucius died in 156, while at the other, a Norfolk annalist (perhaps from St Benet at Holm) dated the monarch's petition of Pope Elutherius to 202.¹⁸ It is interesting to note that while Glastonbury's claim to foundation by Joseph of Arimathea in 63 was accepted on some lists of foundation dates, it was disregarded in that from Leiston.¹⁹

The year of foundation given for Christ Church Canterbury is uncontroversial. However, the date of 633 for the foundation of the abbey of St Benet at Holm in Norfolk deserves notice, because it is not found in medieval historical writing or charters, and has not been commented upon by scholars. That it reflects a widespread medieval tradition is apparent from its inclusion in the list printed in Haydon's edition of the *Eulogium Historiarum*, from Malmesbury in Wiltshire (Haydon 1863, 328). The date usually given for the foundation of Holm is that provided by the abbey's own chronicle and register, 1019 (Ellis 1859, 19; West 1932, I, 1–2, II, 199). Other documented traditions pushed this back to the beginning of the 9th century, with the establishment of a group of 'hermits' at Cowholm, on the site of the monastery.²⁰ A foundation date of 633 is quite another thing, however. It seems probable that it represents a 'relocation' of a tradition concerning the first religious foundation at Beodricesworth (later Bury St Edmunds). According to this tradition, 633 was the year in which Sigeberht, king of the East Angles, abdicated in favour of the monastic life. He was said to have established a monastery on the site subsequently occupied by Bury, a tradition that later generations of Bury monks affirmed (Dugdale 1817–30, III, 98–99, 136). Although Holm was a long way (approximately fifty miles along the Pedder's Way) from Bury, the two monasteries did share a close relationship, and their official foundational histories were intimately intertwined.²¹ Bury was said to have been founded by King Cnut in 1020 with monks from Holm (Ellis 1859, 19). The two institutions would seem to have been confused (whether accidentally or deliberately) at some stage, and the tradition of Sigeberht's foundation associated with Holm.²² If this is not the case, then the existence of independent traditions assigning a foundation date of 633 to each monastery seems more than usually coincidental.

The next two foundations recorded on the Leiston list are also of historical interest. The first, the foundation of a nunnery at Chichester in 653, represents another vestige of a tradition now almost completely lost. William of Malmesbury's notice of the existence of a nunnery at Chichester 'long before' the town became an episcopal seat (in 1075) has been the sole basis of scholarly awareness of this house since John Leland's time.²³ Without apparent justification, David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock speculated that St Peter's might have been a double monastery, for male religious as well as female.²⁴ More recent scholarship on the history of the Anglo-Saxon church in Sussex recognizes the possibility that Christianity may have reached the region during the first half of the 7th century, but does not acknowledge the foundation of a nunnery in Chichester at that time.²⁵ Why the Leiston list should include this house, far from Suffolk and centuries dissolved, is impossible to say.²⁶ However, the fact that it does so is of value, because it provides fresh information: a foundation date, which although it may be inaccurate, nevertheless reflects a once-current historical tradition, and also an affirmation that the house was not a double monastery, but a nunnery only. The inclusion of the foundation date of the monastery of

St Botolph at Iken ('Ykene') is also important, as it contributes to the debate over whether the 'Icanho' ('Ycaenhô') mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (*s.a.* 653) as the site of St Botolph's foundation was in Lincolnshire (at Boston or alternatively, near Lincoln) or Suffolk (at Iken).²⁷ The case in favour of the latter has been set out by F.S. Stevenson and, more recently, by Norman Scarfe, but it has not won unconditional acceptance.²⁸ The Leiston list confirms that Iken, and not Boston or Lincoln, was locally (Leiston is only five miles from Iken) recognized during the later Middle Ages as the place in which St Botolph settled.²⁹

There is nothing particularly noteworthy about the series of eight monasteries and their foundational years that follows, from the abbey of Abingdon down to the abbey of St Mary's at York. Some variations on the most commonly supposed dates of foundation are given (for example, 895 for Cluny, rather than 909), but these are slight and unremarkable given the degree of disparity existing in medieval sources generally. It is not surprising to find the Burgundian abbey of Cluny and the Norman abbey of Bec mentioned in the list. Up until the early 15th century, each loomed large on the English monastic landscape, having a network of daughter houses and direct dependencies. These included considerable interests in East Anglia.³⁰ If the list was compiled *de novo* at Leiston, then it is surprising to find the abbey of Prémontré (founded 1120) not included, given the inclusion of Cluny and Bec.

The only very precise date provided by the Leiston list is that commemorating the introduction of a group of (Austin) canons to the church of St Botolph at Colchester, supposedly the first of that order to enter England. The significance of this has been noted and commented upon by J.C. Dickinson (1950, 99–102, 108) in his study of the origins of the Augustinians. The Leiston list is one of very few documents (Dickinson mentions only two) to ascribe such a precise date to the English foundation of the order. Although Dickinson disputes the accuracy of this, seeing 'vij kal. [*i.e.* 23rd] ffebr. 1095' as the occasion upon which *secular* canons (who subsequently adopted the Augustinian Rule) were instituted at St Botolph's, it nevertheless constitutes one of the list's most historically interesting features. From this point, all of the entries concern East Anglian houses, with the exception of that recording the arrival of the main mendicant orders in England. Two Benedictine (Norwich and Walden), two Cistercian (Coggeshall and Sibton) and two Augustinian (St Osyth and Waltham) houses are mentioned in addition to Leiston itself, and once again, the dates of foundation given are uncontroversial. As in many sources, the 7th-century origins claimed by the Augustinians of St Osyth are not acknowledged, and neither is Waltham's status as a house of secular canons prior to the introduction of Augustinians in 1177 (*constructio* being used rather than *introductio*). The date given for the establishment of the Franciscans and Dominicans in England (1225) is incorrect; the Dominicans were certainly active by 1221, the Franciscans by 1224. It would seem to reflect the fact that the earliest East Anglian houses of these orders were founded in the same year (actually 1226) in Norwich (Knowles and Hadcock 1996, 213–14, 222, 227).

The two entries concerning Leiston are interesting, as much for their rarity as for the information they provide. Although there is no document in the Leiston cartulary that unambiguously corroborates a foundation date of 1183, this date is given in at least one other medieval East Anglian source, and seems uncontroversial (Liebermann 1879, 164). It has been suggested that 1183 was the year in which construction work began on the house, due to an entry in the Colchester chronicle which reads 'eodem anno facta est abbacia de Laistun' (Mortimer 1979, 3). However, this need not be the case, as *facta*, like *constructio*, is used generally in medieval documents to denote foundation. The date of 1363 for the 'removal' of the old and construction of the new abbey is traditional, but does not seem to be verified in existing documents, and some scholars have refused to accept it on this basis (Hope 1891, 227). There is nothing in the cartulary to confirm it; indeed, the

papal licence sanctioning the move from the coastal site to a position close to the town of Leiston is dated 1365 (Colvin 1951, 125; Mortimer 1979, 7). It has been argued, with reference to fund-raising expedients recorded in the abbey's cartulary, that the canons had made up their minds to relocate before 1362, which, given that they did move in 1363, seems likely (Mortimer 1979, 7). The significance of the entry in the R. 5. 33 list is that it verifies a tradition that has not, in the absence of documentation, won universal acceptance.

The importance of the R. 5. 33 list lies both in its whole and in its parts. As a document, it is historically interesting due both to its unusual provenance (Leiston documents being relatively rare survivals) and its codicological context, in a Glastonbury manuscript compiled in the 13th and 14th centuries. Its 'pro-active' role as deliberately selected and painstakingly copied evidence of the primacy and status of Glastonbury is particularly interesting. In its parts it is no less significant, for the entries concerning St Benet at Holm, Chichester, Iken, St Botolph's at Colchester and Leiston itself all contribute something of value to what is known about these institutions. It is a poignant document too, raising as it does comparisons between the modest house on the Suffolk coast and the ancient, wealthy and powerful abbey of the Isle of Avalon, now no less ruined. Even today, the rural communities of Leiston and Glastonbury seem very far removed from one another. The list occupying f. 20b of R. 5. 33, however, brings them – historically at least – a little closer together.

APPENDIX

List of foundation dates of religious houses from Bodleian Library MS.Gough Essex 1, ff. 13–14b. (The list is reproduced here according to the conventions adopted for that of R. 5. 33.)

(f. 13) *Construcciones quorundam Monastorum*³¹

Anno domini C.lxvj Construccio monasterij Glastoniensis

Anno domini C.lxix Construccio monasterij *sancti petri* Westmonasterij

Anno domini Dxxviiij Construccio monasterij xpi et sancti augustini Cantuariensis

(f. 13b) Anno domini Dcxxxiiij Construccio monasterij sancti Benedicti de hulmo

Anno domini Dcliiij Construccio ecclesie Monialum de *Chichester*³²

Anno domini Dclv Construccio monasterium *sancti* Botulphi ad Ykene *alius* Thorneye

Anno domini Dclxxxvi Construccio monasterij de Abbendonia

Anno domini Dc.c.lxxxvj Construccio monasterij *Sancti* Albani

Anno domini Dc.c.c.xv³³ Construccio monasterij de Cluniaco

Anno domini Dcccclxx Construccio Monasterij de Ramesey

Eodem anno Introduccio monachorum in Ely

Anno domini Mxx Introduccio monachorum apud Sanctum Edmundum de Burye

Anno domini Mxxxiiij Construccio monasterij de Beeke

(f. 14) Anno domini Mlxvij Construccio monasterij sancti martini de Bello

Anno domini Mlxxv Construccio monasterij beate marie Eboraci

Anno domini mxv Introgressio Canoniorum in Ecclesiam *sancti* Botulphi Coelcestrie vij kalends february. Et hij primi fuerunt canonici regulares in anglia

Anno domini Mxviiij Construccio monasterij *sancti* trinitatis Norwici

Anno domini mc.xxj Introduccio Canoniorum in ecclesia *Sancti* Osithe

Anno domini Mcxxxvj Construccio monasterij de Waldene

Anno domini Mcxli Construccio monasterij de Coggeshale
 Anno domini Mcxlix Construccio monasterij de Sibtone
 Anno domini Mclxxi Construccio monasterij Canonicorum de Butlee

(f. 14b) Anno domini Mclxxvij Introduccio Canonicorum de Waltham
 Anno domini mclxxxiiij Construccio Abbatie de Leystone
 Anno domini mccxxv Ordo minorum et predicatorum locum primitus occupat in anglia
 Anno domini mcccxiij Remocio veteris et construccio noue Abbie de Leystone

NOTES

- 1 In 1535, Leiston's official annual income was estimated at £181, while that of Glastonbury was officially estimated at £3,311. See Knowles and Hadcock 1996, 54, 184. Glastonbury's real income is likely to have been substantially more than this.
- 2 Hereafter this manuscript will be cited as R. 5. 33. Historically speaking, it is one of the most important of all surviving artefacts from Glastonbury. It will be shown that the list occupies a folio that is integral to the manuscript in which it appears. Thus, it is a copy rather than an original document from Leiston.
- 3 The list does not demonstrate a first-hand connection, of course. In fact, it need not have been copied from a document physically written at Leiston at all; the exemplar could have come from any one of a number of sources, as the existence of a copy at St John's, Colchester (to be discussed below), attests. The monks of Glastonbury were avid collectors of books and documents; during the later Middle Ages they owned perhaps the greatest collection of works on church history in England. These included documents from houses such as Bury St Edmunds (for example, Oxford, Queen's College MS. 304, ff. 58–66b). They were clearly prepared to cast a wide net in their search for documents of value to them.
- 4 Hereafter this manuscript will be cited as Gough Essex 1. It comprises a miscellany of seven historical items brought together and copied down in one hand in 1526 (or shortly thereafter). The *Construcciones quorundam monastorum (sic)* is the third of these. The relationship of this list to that of R. 5. 33, although problematic, is obvious. The two are almost identical, although the differences that do exist between them (which may be seen in the transcripts) suggest that they derive from a common original, rather than one being dependent upon the other. In fact, the Gough Essex 1 list would seem to be closer to the original Leiston document, as it includes a foundation date for Butley Priory, Leiston's sister foundation.
- 5 R. 5. 33 measures 11 x 6.5in. The dating of the manuscript is thoroughly discussed in Crick 1991, F. 20, the last leaf of the second quire, is integral to the oldest (mid 13th-century) section of the manuscript. For an astute discussion of Adam of Domerham's role in composing the *Libellus*, see Crick 1991, 237.
- 6 The copy of William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate* extends to f. 18b. Both sides of f. 19 are occupied by a list of sacrist's customs, in a similar hand to that of *De Antiquitate* (cf. Crick 1991, 221–22).
- 7 I am grateful to Dr Teresa Webber of Trinity College, Cambridge, for her opinion on the date of the hand. M.R. James and Julia Crick have also dated the hand to the early 16th century; see James 1901, 199 and Crick 1991, 222.
- 8 'Archaizing script' is a blanket term for any hand that attempts to imitate an earlier form of writing. Thus, it does not refer to one distinct style. On archaizing script in English manuscripts of the later Middle Ages and early modern period, see Parkes 1997, *passim*. There was no point in attempting to make the list seem too old, of course, as it includes the date 1363.
- 9 Dickinson 1950, 100–02, 113 n.2. Dickinson was interested in the precise date given in the list for the entry of the Augustinian order into England. This date is rarely found (Dickinson acknowledges only two sources for it, the other being the Gough Essex 1 list) and represents one of the list's chief points of historical interest.
- 10 Although Gough Essex 1 is from St John's, Colchester, it is clear that the list did not originate there. It contains no record of the foundation of that house, and in any case demonstrates an interest in houses of canons not normal in Benedictine documents as jejune as this.
- 11 St Botolph's, Colchester had a double dedication, and is often referred to as the monastery of St Julian and St Botolph (for example Dugdale 1817–30, VI (i), 109). It was by far the poorest house on the list, having an estimated income in 1535 of £113 (Knowles and Hadcock 1996, 139). Leiston was the second least-wealthy house on the list. For the special regard in which St Botolph's, Colchester was held, see Dickinson 1950, 98–99.

- 12 Other notable omissions include Leiston's sister foundation, the Augustinian priory of Butley (Suffolk), Welbeck (Notts.), which was its 'parent' abbey, and important East Anglian monasteries such as Peterborough, Crowland and Thorney. Butley and Leiston were both founded by Rannulf de Glanville, on which see Mortimer 1979, 1–3. As noted above, however, Butley is included in the Gough Essex 1 list, as is Thorney.
- 13 See for example Hart 1981, 250 and *passim*. The debate concerning the regional boundaries of East Anglia is being set aside here and the term taken to include parts of modern Cambridgeshire and Essex. Medieval definitions of the region were various, although it is true that a number include Norfolk and Suffolk only; see for example Ellis 1859, 413.
- 14 See Pantin 1950, *passim*. Arnold 1896, 145–51, prints a document (dating from 1426) of the 'defensive' class discussed by Pantin that includes a list of monastic houses and their dates of foundation (Arnold 1896, 77, 150).
- 15 See Crick 1991. Crick refers to R. 5. 33 as an 'historical dossier', deliberately compiled to demonstrate the strength of Glastonbury's claims to precedence in terms of foundation. She does not, however, make any reference to the importance of the list in this context. The fact that the list was copied into the manuscript at least 250 years after the main historiographical elements were written provides a neat illustration of the ongoing importance of these claims, and of the concern with having them recognized. The quote here is from John of Glastonbury's chronicle (Carley 1985, 9).
- 16 It is interesting to find Glastonbury monks of the early 16th century assuming names in religion of Phagan and Deruvian, as well as Arimathea; see Carley 1996, 75.
- 17 See Dugdale 1817–30, I, 81 note a (Christ Church Canterbury), 511 note c (Abingdon).
- 18 Thorpe 1988, 126; Ellis 1859, 421. (The date 202 is given in the so-called *Chronica minor sancti Benedicti de Hulmo*. If this is originally from Holm, it seems odd that they do not mention a foundation date for that house.) Perhaps the most commonly attested date for the death of Lucius is 201.
- 19 For a list (apparently of the 14th century) that does ascribe a foundation date of 63 to Glastonbury, see Haydon 1863, 328. This list, headed *Tempora fundationum quorundam monasteriorum*, comes from Malmesbury. It gives 612 as the foundation date of Westminster Abbey.
- 20 Dugdale 1817–30, III, 61. Here it is stated (following Thomas Tanner's account) that 'a society of religious hermits' came together on the site of the monastery 'under the government of one Suneman, about the year 800'. However, the Hulme annals damaged in the Cotton Library fire of 1731 record the murder of this Suneman and his companions by the Danes *s.a.* 871, and this is backed up by another set of local annals (*s.a.* 870); Ellis 1859, 312, 429. Clearly then, even the mythical chronology is confused.
- 21 On the dubiousness of these foundational histories, see Gransden 1985, esp. 11–12 (Bury), 18 (Holm).
- 22 Antonia Gransden agrees that a foundation date of 633 for Holm is likely to have stemmed from confusion of traditions concerning Sigebert's foundation at Beodricesworth. I am grateful to her for discussing the issue with me.
- 23 Hamilton 1870, 205; 'Cicestra...ubi antiquitas et Sancti Petri monasterium et congregatio fuerat sanctimonialium'. See also Leland 1770, I, 86; Dugdale 1817–30, VI (iii), 1624; Foot 2000, 65–66.
- 24 Knowles and Hadcock 1996, 257; *cf.* Foot 2000, 65.
- 25 See for example Welch 1978, 31. The history of Christianity in Sussex is usually said to have begun with the mission of St Wilfrid to the South Saxons in the 680s.
- 26 Julia Crick feels quite sure that the foundation date of 653 represents a (now lost) post-Conquest tradition. If this is so, it was one of which William of Malmesbury was unaware; possibly, it postdates his period. I am grateful to Dr Crick for discussing the matter with me.
- 27 Thorpe 1861, I, 50–51, II, 24. For a foundation date of 654 for 'Ykanho', see Hart 1970, 40.
- 28 Stevenson 1922, *passim* (esp. 29–31); Scarfe 1986, 44–51; West, Cramp and Scarfe 1984, 293–300); *cf.* Knowles and Hadcock 1996, 475. Scarfe successfully refutes a recent attempt to have Hadstock in Essex (Anglo-Saxon *Cadenho*) recognized as the Icanho of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.
- 29 The tradition locating Icanho in Lincolnshire, broadly accepted in older literature, receives much of its authority from John Leland. He records a medieval source (a *tabula* in Lincoln Cathedral) that identified St Botolph's foundation at 'Ycanno' with a suburb of Lincoln; see Leland 1770, IV, 33. Clearly, then, the conundrum has medieval roots, planted by the desire of the inhabitants of more than one place for association with St Botolph.
- 30 For England's Cluniac houses, see Knowles and Hadcock 1996, 96–103. On the English religious dependencies of Bec, see Morgan 1946, 22, 40; Chibnall 1987, *passim*. Both Cluny and Bec were influential in East Anglia; Thetford and Castle Acre (both Norfolk) were prosperous and relatively important Cluniac monasteries, while Bec had a daughter house in Suffolk at Stoke by Clare, and landed possessions at (*inter alia*) Blakenham in Suffolk, East Wretham and Lessingham in Norfolk, and Woodham Ferrers in Essex.

- 31 The scribe has accidentally written 'Monachorum' for 'Monasteriorum', and has (rather half-heartedly) attempted to remedy the mistake by superimposing an 's' on the 'c', and turning the 'h' into a 't'.
- 32 'Chichester', as *per* the R. 5. 33 list.
- 33 This date would be consistent with that given in the R. 5. 33 list were a 'c' to be added after the 'x'. An apparent inability on the scribe's part to render the number 'xc' in Roman numerals (rather than an accidental omission) is suggested by the repetition of this mistake in the dates given for the foundation of St Botolph's Colchester ('mxcv' rather than 'mxcv') and Norwich ('mxcviiij' rather than 'mxcviiij') below. This may suggest that the version he was copying from gave the dates in Arabic numerals as they are given in the R. 5. 33 list.

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