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**MONASTIC HOSPITALITY:
THE ENGLISH BENEDICTINES c. 1070 – c. 1245**

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**Thesis submitted for the degree of Ph.D., Department of Mediaeval History,
University of St. Andrews, February, 2000.**



Declarations

I, Julie Kerr, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 100,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

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ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the administration of hospitality in the major Benedictine houses of England, c. 1070-c. 1245. The analysis is based on a wide range of sources including chronicles, charters, saints' *Lives*, archaeological research and literary works. It considers the worldly and spiritual motives for hospitality, and thereafter explores the nature of the guest's reception, the care administered during his stay and the potential financial impact of hospitality. The thesis also discusses the administrative framework established to provide for guests, namely the monastic and lay officials appointed to care for visitors, finances allocated to cover hospitality and the buildings assigned for the use of guests.

Whilst the thesis focuses on the major Benedictine houses in England, in particular Bury St. Edmunds and Abingdon, Cistercian sources are considered throughout for comparative purposes, and Continental examples are often cited in the footnotes. Furthermore, the final chapter discusses hospitality administered by royalty, laity and secular clerics to help set the monastic material in context. This last chapter is largely based on the literary sources such as romances and *lais*, and also courtesy poems.

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TABLE OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>Abingdon, ii</i>	<i>Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon</i> , ed. J. Stevenson, (2 vols.; London, 1858).
<i>AN Studies</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies</i> .
<i>ANTS</i>	<i>Anglo-Norman Texts Society</i> .
<i>Bury</i>	<i>The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds in Suffolk</i> , ed. A. Gransden, (Henry Bradshaw Soc., 99; 1973).
<i>Canivez, Statutes</i>	<i>Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis ab Anno 1116 ad Annum 1786</i> , ed. J. M. Canivez, (8 vols.; Louvain, 1933-41).
<i>CCCM</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> (Turnholdt).
<i>CFMA</i>	<i>Classiques Français du Moyen Age</i> .
<i>CM</i>	<i>Chronica Majora</i> , ed. H. R. Luard, (7 vols.; London, 1872-84).
<i>Dugdale, Monasticon</i>	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. Sir William Dugdale, rev. J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Bandinel, (6 vols. in 8; London, 1817-30).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i> .
<i>EYC</i>	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , vols. i-iii, ed. W. Farrer, (Edinburgh, 1914-16); index to vols., i-iii, edd. C. T. and E. M. Clay; vols. iv-xii, ed. C. T. Clay, (Yorkshire Arch. Soc. Record Ser. Extra Ser., 1935-65).
<i>Eynsham</i>	<i>The Customary of the Benedictine Abbey of Eynsham in Oxfordshire</i> , ed. A. Gransden, <i>Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticarum</i> , ii, (Siegburg, 1963).
<i>GASA</i>	<i>Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani</i> , ed. H. T. Riley, (3 vols.; London, 1867-9).
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i> .

- Mediaeval Dictionary* *The British Academy Dictionary of Mediaeval Latin from British Sources*, prepared R. E. Latham and D. R. Howlett, (Oxford, 1975-).
- PL *Patrologia Cursus Completus, Series Latina*, ed. J. P. Migne, (221 vols.; Paris, 1884-64).
- PR *Pipe Roll Series*.
- RAC *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, ed. B. R. Kemp, (2 vols.; Camden Soc., 4th Ser., 31, 33; 1986-7).
- Ramsey *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. D. MaCray, (London, 1886).
- Rule *The Rule of St. Benedict*, ed. D. O. Hunter Blair, (5th edn., Fort Augustus, 1948).
- St. Augustine's *The Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury and St. Peter's, Westminster*, ed. E. M. Thompson, (2 vols.; Henry Bradshaw Soc., 23, 28; 1902-4), i.
- St. Mary's The customs of St. Mary's, York, in *The Chronicle of St. Mary's, York*, ed. H. H. E. Craster and M. E. Thornton, (Surtees Soc., 148; 1934), 80-108.
- VCH *Victoria County Histories*.
- WAC *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c. 1214*, ed. E. Mason, (London Record Soc., 25; 1988).
- Westminster *The Customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury and St. Peter's, Westminster*, ed. E. M. Thompson, (2 vols.; Henry Bradshaw Soc., 23, 28; 1902-4), ii.

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<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i> .
<i>EYC</i>	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , vols. i-iii, ed. W. Farrer, (Edinburgh, 1914-16); index to vols., i-iii, edd. C. T. and E. M. Clay; vols. iv-xii, ed. C. T. Clay, (Yorkshire Arch. Soc. Record Ser. Extra Ser., 1935-65).
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CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

I. Hospitality: its importance; a definition

The following thesis explores the administration of hospitality in the major Benedictine houses of England, c. 1070–c. 1245. It considers the significance of hospitality to the monastery and society, and examines the nature and effects of receiving guests. Before discussing the scope of the thesis, we need to consider what exactly is meant by the term hospitality and who precisely were guests.

Not everyone who entered the gates of the monastery was a recipient of hospitality. Those who visited were only guests if they were actually taken within to be refreshed. Thus, hospitality involved some kind of interaction and contact. However, as is argued throughout, it is often difficult to determine whether visitors were actually entertained or whether they simply entered the precincts and left. The relationship between hospitality and charity is also problematic, for whilst to us they are essentially distinct, in the sources charity occasionally emerges as a subdivision of hospitality, namely hospitality to the poor.¹ The present analysis is concerned with those refreshed within the precincts, and does not, therefore, discuss the administration of alms or the poor

¹ For twelfth-century definitions of charity, see Hugh of St. Victor's *De Sacramentis, On the Sacraments of the Christian Faith*, ed. and tr. R. J. Deferrai, (Massachusetts, 1951), e.g. 378-9, 381, 393, and Aelred of Rievaulx's letter of advice to his sister, which describes charity as love of God and love of one's neighbour, *De Institutione Inclusarum*, in *Aelredi Rievallensis, Opera Omnia, i: Opera Ascetic*, ed. A. Hoste and C. H. Talbot, *CCCM, i*, 635-82, at 659. Chapter xxxvi of the thirteenth-century *Rule of Grandmont* presents charity as the motive, hospitality as the action, 'For the sake of charity you will show hospitality', see C. A. Hutchinson, *The Hermit Monks of Grandmont*, (Michigan, 1989), 85.

fed at the gate. The poor are only included if they were actually refreshed within the gates of the monastery, as on Maundy Thursday.²

Therefore guests did not simply enter the monastic precincts, but received hospitality. The term 'guest' covers a diversity of folk, including royalty, ecclesiastics, monks and laity. Moreover, visitors came for a variety of reasons, both directly and indirectly related to the monastery. These two points require some consideration.

Who came and why?

The monastery might function as a stopover, providing overnight accommodation for those on a journey or making a pilgrimage, for troops on the move,³ and those who took ill *en route*.⁴ Patrons and benefactors might claim hospitality as of right, whether as a sign of their authority or relationship with the community, or simply out of necessity.⁵ However there are surprisingly few

² See below for further discussion, pp. 41-2

³ I.e. using the monastery as a refuelling base: King John and his army stayed at the Cistercian house of Margam on their way to and return from Ireland, in 1210, D. H. Williams, *The Welsh Cistercians*, (2 vols.; Caldey Island, 1984), i, 172.

⁴ See below, pp. 247-8

⁵ According to J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain 1000-1300*, (Cambridge, 1994), 221, patrons had an unqualified right to stay. See too B. D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century*, (London, 1968), 68, and S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century*, (Oxford, 1955), 103-4, 106. M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis: Norman Monks and Norman Knights*, (Oxford, 1984), 51, argues that in the Norman houses, benefactors and other noble travellers had a traditional claim to hospitality, and the monastery could thus serve as a temporary base and source of supply for household troops on the move. S. D. White, *Custom, Kinship and Gifts to Saints: The Laudatio Parentum in Western France, 1050-1150*, (Chapel Hill and London, 1988), 27, 245, no. 64, remarks that benefactors in N. France expected to receive superior hospitality, and there were potential problems if this was not realised.

explicit references in the sources.⁶ A distinguished person might lodge at the house if hunting in the locality, and King John stayed for this reason at the Cistercian house of Flaxley, Gloucestershire, on several occasions in 1207-14.⁷ Nevertheless, such individuals often had independent lodgings, and indeed when Henry II held a council at Eynsham Abbey, 25 May-2 June 1186, to discuss matters of state with the bishops and nobles of the kingdom, he stayed at his hunting lodge at Woodstock and commuted daily to the abbey.⁸

The monastery did not merely operate as a temporary stopping off point for passers-by. It might offer hospitality to pilgrims visiting a particular shrine or relic at the house, or to those enticed by the promise of indulgence or seeking to be cured. Some came specifically to attend religious feasts, installations or dedications, to receive fraternity, bestow a gift, or meet with a particular member of the community, whether a kinsman or spiritual counsellor.⁹ Others visited on matters of business, either to deliver a letter, conduct an official enquiry or seek advice, or like the monks Orderic Vitalis and William of Malmesbury, and the French clerk, Garnier, came to gather information for a chronicle, history, or *Life* they were writing.¹⁰ In addition, the monastery could function as a venue for

⁶ See below, pp. 278-9.

⁷ *The Cartulary and Historical Notes of the Cistercian Abbey of Flaxley*, ed. A. W. Crawley-Boevey, (Exeter, 1887), 53.

⁸ *Magna Vita Sancti Hugonis*, ed. and tr. D. Douie and D. H. Farmer, (2 vols.; Oxford, 1961-2), i, 92. Adam explains that the king used to arrive at the abbey early each morning, returning to his palace when the conference ended. Archbishop Baldwin and his suffragans lodged freely at the house.

⁹ See chapter VII.

¹⁰ For Orderic's visits to Crowland, Thorney and Worcester, see *Orderic*, ii, xxxix, 188; for William of Malmesbury's visits to Glastonbury and Worcester, see R. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, (Woodbridge, 1987), 4, 5, and *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R.

coronations, crown-wearings,¹¹ dubbings, and councils.¹² Corrodians, those seeking refuge, and those billeted at the house might also be provided for within the monastery precincts. However as long term residents, rather than guests, they are not discussed in the analysis.¹³

Clearly, a wide range of people visited the monastery for a number of reasons, and as previously underlined, we cannot assume that all who visited were actually entertained. For instance, those who attended ceremonies at the church or sought a cure at the shrine might have departed immediately after they had visited the church, and indeed many would have been accommodated in the town

R. Darlington, (Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., 40; 1928), ix. For Garnier's visit to Christ Church, Canterbury, see *La Vie de Sainte Thomas le Martyr, par Guernes de Pont-Sainte-Maxence*, ed. E. Walberg, (Lund, 1922), appendix i, lines 1-9, esp. 7-8; for his visit to Berking abbey, see *ibid.*, lines 16-19.

¹¹ For a general discussion of coronations and crown-wearings, see H. G. Richardson, 'The coronation in medieval England', *Traditio*, 16 (1960), 111-202, esp. 126-7, 131; M. Hare, 'Kings, crowns and festivals: the origins of Gloucester as a royal ceremonial centre', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society*, 115 (1997), 41-78. See below, pp. 234-5, 292-3.

¹² E.g. on 5 August 1184, Henry II held a council at Reading Abbey to elect a successor to Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, *The Historical Works of Gervase of Canterbury*, ed. W. Stubbs, (2 vols.; London, 1879-80), i, 311. These meetings were often held in the chapter-house, but the infirmary chapel of St. Catherine's, Westminster, was sometimes used, e.g. 'Benedict of Peterborough', *the Chronicle of the Reigns of, Henry II and Richard I, 1169-92*, ed. W. Stubbs, (2 vols.; London, 1867), i, 112-4.

¹³ However corrodians were not necessarily accommodated within the precincts, and might simply receive an allowance. For discussion of corrodies and corrodians, see B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience*, (Oxford, 1993), 179-209; for a list of corrodians at Westminster, 1100-1540, see *ibid.*, 239-51. See D. H. Williams, 'Layfolk within Cistercian precincts', in *Monastic Studies*, 2, ed. J. Loades, (Bangor, 1991), 87-117, at 101-4, for corrodians within Cistercian precincts. On the system of *puture*, namely the arrangement by which serjeants were maintained by compulsory exaction of board and lodging, see R. Stewart-Brown, *The Serjeants of the Peace in Mediaeval England and Wales*, (Manchester, 1936), 81-2.

or a neighbouring village.¹⁴ The *Life of Godric* suggests that most of the crowds who gathered for a crown wearing at Bury in Henry II's reign, including the royal retainers, stayed in the town itself, which was overwhelmed by the number of visitors,

Die igitur Pentecostes apud Sanctum Eadmundum pro rege
 coronando, clerus, senatus ac populus frequens accurrebat,
 et omnes casas, domos uel solaria, turba multitudinis
 copiosa supplebat ...¹⁵

The fact that kings, prelates, nobles and communities often had access to independent urban lodgings meant they did not necessarily require hospitality from the neighbouring community, although they might receive gifts from the

¹⁴ E.g. L. Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Mediaeval Society*, (Woodbridge, 1992), 83, explains that from analysis of shrines in England and France it emerges that half of the devotees returned home the same day that they left; three quarters came from a thirty-seven mile radius. Others would have kept vigil at the shrine, and clearly would not have required lodging, see B. Ward, *Miracles and the Mediaeval Mind: Theory, Record and Event 1000-1215*, (London, 1982), e.g. 73, 94. For explicit reference to those staying in the town, see the dedication of Bec in 1077: those refreshed at the abbey lodged in nearby houses and remote villages, *Vita Domni Herluini Abbatis Beccensis Liber Domni Gisleberti Abbatis de Simoniacis*, ed. J. A. Robinson, in *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster: A Study of the Abbey Under Norman Rule*, (Cambridge, 1911), 87-110, at 107. See below, pp. 224-6, for further examples.

¹⁵ *De Vita et Miraculis S. Godrici, Hermitae de Finchale Auctore Reginaldo Monacho Dunelmensis*, (Surtees Soc., 20; 1845), 178-9, at 178. Dissension arose between the Bishop of Durham's men and the royal retainers over accommodation in a particular *taberna*, a term which suggests that these lodgings were in the town. In fact the men drew swords to decide which party should have the panelled room. Although the text refers to this as a 'coronation' it was probably Henry II's crown wearing at Pentecost, 1157. Richardson, 'Coronation', 127, explains that *coronandus* could either refer to a coronation or a crown wearing.

monks.¹⁶ Earl William of Gloucester granted land outside the north gate of Winchester to his foundation at Keynsham, c.1166/7-1183, which was to be free from all secular services and exactions, except for the earl's lodging whenever he came to Winchester.¹⁷ Abbot William of St. Albans (1214-35) purchased a house in London so that he, the brethren and his successors would find appropriate and private lodgings when visiting the city.¹⁸ Indeed, William Fitzstephen describes London in the 1170s as a place where almost every bishop, magnate and abbot in England had a 'lordly habitation' where he stayed in splendour when summoned to the city, either to attend a council or assembly, or simply to conduct personal affairs.¹⁹ The presence of a royal or episcopal residence near the monastery, where distinguished persons might be entertained, would have surely lessened the demand on the monks' hospitality.²⁰ Therefore, while it is at times unclear whether the monastery actually entertained the visitors, it cannot be assumed that they received hospitality; this was a

¹⁶ See below, pp. 162, 224.

¹⁷ *Earldom of Gloucester Charters: The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to 1217*, ed. R. B. Patterson, (Oxford, 1973), no. 102.

¹⁸ *GASA*, i, 289.

¹⁹ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. J. C. Robertson and J. B. Sheppard, (7 vols.; London, 1875-85), iii, 8. There are a number of specific references to those with lodgings in London, e.g. see *RAC*, i, 469, for the abbot and brethren of Reading's access to lodgings in the city; *Records of the Social and Economic History of England and Wales*, viii: *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, ed. D. C. Douglas, (London, 1932), nos. 176-7, mention the abbot of Bury's house in London, c. 1150; see *Magna Vita*, ii, 184, for the bishop of Lincoln's house in London, near the Temple; note *Abingdon*, ii, 15-16, for the abbot of Abingdon's house at Westminster.

²⁰ E.g. note Hare, 'Kings, crowns', 57, for the king's palace at Kingsholm, outside Gloucester; e.g. see below, pp. 340, 350 fn. 168, for those received by the king at Westminster; see above, p. 3, for the king's hunting lodge at Woodstock.

possibility, not an inevitability. Ultimately, monasteries were not the only option, an important point that is considered later.

II. The aim and scope of the thesis

While the thesis focuses on the administration of hospitality in the major Benedictine²¹ houses of England, c. 1070–c. 1245, reference is made to other Orders and indeed Continental sources, for there was clearly an intermingling of personnel and dissemination of texts.²² Later evidence is occasionally included for comparative purposes or as an indication of what may have been practised in earlier times. Examples relating to monks holding episcopal office are incorporated, for whilst they operated in a different milieu, they were, in theory, driven by the same ideals, although at times forced to adapt.

²¹ This includes references to *Cluniacensis*; see D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216*, (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1963), 719, for Gerald of Wales' use of this as a synonym for *niger monachus*, and its earlier use by Continental writers. Indeed, Knowles argues that Bernard of Clairvaux would have seen the two terms as interchangeable, *ibid.* Furthermore Nigel Wireker, a monk of Christ Church in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and thus a Benedictine himself, refers to the Cluniacs as Black monks in his satirical animal allegory, *Nigel de Longchamp's Speculum Stultorum*, ed. J. H. Mozley and R. R. Raymo, (Berkeley and LA, 1960). G. Constable, *Cluniac Studies*, (London, 1980), ii, argues that in the late Middle Ages the term Cluniac was often used to mean a black Benedictine monk, and refers to the problems in determining what exactly is meant by the term Cluniac.

²² E.g. M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, (Oxford, 1978), 176, maintains that 'at a practical level' the confraternity links Christ Church enjoyed with Bec and St. Évrour were 'real'; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 122, explains that 'however unskilfully' Thurstan of Glastonbury attempted to give the customs of Caen to his monks. For various abbots in England who came from Jumièges or one of the daughter houses of Sées, or St. Évrour, see D. Knowles, 'Les relations monastiques entre la Normandie et l'Angleterre', *Jumièges Congrès Scientifique du xiii centenaire*, (2 vols.; Rouen, 1955), i, 261-7, and M. Chibnall, 'Les relations entre Jumièges et l'Angleterre, du xi au xiii siècles', *ibid.*, 269-75, at 270.

Discussion of the nunneries is brief and generally relegated to the footnotes, for there is a paucity of explicit evidence for this time and no surviving customaries.²³ Therefore little can be affirmed regarding the reception of their guests, and we are largely reliant on piecemeal references. Whilst we can look to contemporary Continental sources, such as Abelard's letter of direction to Héloïse, prioress of the Paraclete,²⁴ and later English sources, including injunctions which date from the mid-thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,²⁵ it cannot be assumed that the English nunneries of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries operated along the same lines. These simply offer an indication of what may have been practised.

III. Hospitality: previous considerations

Hospitality is mentioned in classic monastic studies including D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, F. A. Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, C. Butler,

²³ See J. Burton, *The Yorkshire Nunneries in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, (York, 1979), 36-7, for the lack of documentary evidence, and physical remains. C. Waddell, *The Paraclete Statutes: Institutiones Nostrae*, (Kentucky, 1987), iii, remarks on the poor representation of female monasticism in consuetudinary sources. J. W. Nicholls, *The Matter of Courtesy: Medieval Courtesy Books and the Gawain Poet*, (Suffolk, 1985), 32, argues that while it is rare to find customaries or written constitutions for nuns, they usually adopted rules for males or were controlled more directly by bishops. According to J. A. Nichols, 'The internal organisation of English Cistercian nunneries', *Cîteaux*, 30 (1979), 23-40, at 24, despite the paucity of documentary evidence on the internal operation of the nunneries, guidelines exist, i.e. a strict interpretation of the *Rule*. However this casts little light on the reception of guests, for Benedict's directives on hospitality are rather basic.

²⁴ *Petri Abelardi, Epistolae*, PL 178, cols. 113-379, ep. 8, cols. 255-326. This letter was written in the 1130s, in response to Héloïse's request for guidance. For discussion of Abelard's rule and its relation to the *Institutiones Nostrae*, which Waddell argues was probably compiled during Héloïse's time, see Waddell, *Paraclete Studies* esp. 28-40.

²⁵ For a brief survey of later visitations, see E. Power, *Medieval English Nunneries, c. 1275-1535*, (Cambridge, 1922), esp. 399-419.

Benedictine Monachism, and in more recent monastic histories such as C. H. Lawrence, *Mediaeval Monasticism*, J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, and L. Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men*. However discussion is generally brief, with a tendency to make sweeping statements from an amalgam of sources relating to different Orders and times, and thus overlook the possibility of inconsistencies, ambiguities and change.²⁶ Moreover, there has been little consideration of hospitality to fellow monks, yet the sources suggest they comprised a significant proportion of guests. Hospitality has also been briefly considered in related studies, for instance, histories of travel and travellers,²⁷ foods and feasts,²⁸ discussions of courtliness and courtesy poems.²⁹ These have similarly tended to collate evidence from diverse times, and amalgamate disparate sources. In addition, analyses of social ties between monks and their neighbours, including studies of patronage, fraternity, charity and gift-giving, have touched upon hospitality.³⁰

²⁶ For instance, F. Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, (London, 1904), synthesises references to the canons, Cistercians and Benedictines from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries; indeed, much of his argument is based on the late sixteenth-century *Rites of Durham*.

²⁷ E.g. N. Ohler, *The Mediaeval Traveller*, tr. C. Hillier, (Woodbridge, 1989), 82-5, briefly discusses religious hospitality, but this is mostly based on the *Rule*.

²⁸ E.g. P. W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Mediaeval Society*, (Stroud, 1993); B. A. Henisch, *Fast and Food: Food in Mediaeval Society*, (London, 1976); M. Carlin and J. T. Rosenthal, *Food and Eating in Mediaeval Europe*, (London and Ohio, 1998). However much of their work is based on later evidence.

²⁹ See below, p. 306, for discussion of this genre.

³⁰ E.g. For social networks and ties between monasteries and their neighbours, see B. H. Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbor of St. Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049*, (Ithaca and London, 1989); S. Vaughn, *The Abbey of Bec and the Anglo-Norman State, 1034-1136*, (Woodbridge, 1981). For those who have studied patronage and fraternities, see, for example, E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England 1066-1135*, (Woodbridge, 1998), and H. Tshurima, 'The fraternity of Rochester Cathedral priory c. 1100', in *AN Studies*, 14 (1992), 313-337. For the Cistercians' attitude to the administration of charity, see M. Newman,

The following analysis aims to re-examine the internal organisation of the monasteries in England, c. 1070–c. 1245, by asking new questions, introducing lesser known sources including archaeological surveys, miracle collections, and literary works, and considering the work of anthropologists such as Mauss and Pitt-Rivers, who have worked on the gift-exchange and honour.³¹

IV: The Sources

The thesis considers a wide range of sources, including customaries and injunctions, charters, chronicles, saints' *Lives*, satirical accounts, poems and romances, as well as archaeological research based on both standing remains and excavation. This diversity of sources is important, for each offers a different perspective, whether the prescriptive or descriptive, specific or general. Most sources are readily available as Latin editions and quotations from these are generally cited in the original. Quotations from vernacular texts have been translated.

1. Customaries³²

References to hospitality usually consist of incidental details scattered throughout the various sources. The Benedictine customaries, therefore, are particularly valuable, for they often make direct reference to hospitality, although

The Boundaries of Charity: Cistercian Culture and Ecclesiastical Reform 1098-1180, (California, 1996).

³¹ M. Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies*, tr. W. D. Hall, (London, 1990); J. Pitt-Rivers, *The Fate of Shechem: Essays in the Anthropology of the Mediterranean*, (Cambridge, 1977).

³² For a general discussion of customaries, see D. Iogna-Prat, 'Coutumes et statuts Clunisiens comme sources historiques c. 990-c. 1200', *Revue Mabillon*, 64 (1992), 23-48, and Constable, *Cluniac Studies*, essay i, 151–61.

as is discussed below, their compressed form causes problems in interpretation. Hallinger distinguishes three types of monastic customaries, namely sacred or liturgical ('ordinary'), those concerned with the organisation of material life ('customary') and those that are a combination of the two.³³ The second type is of particular interest to the present thesis. These discuss the daily administration of the house,³⁴ and cover a wide range of matters including attendance at the hours, the procedure at chapter, arrangements in the refectory and bloodletting. More importantly, they outline the duties of the various officials, such as the guestmaster, and directly address the reception of guests. In addition, like other sources the customaries refer to specific buildings and officials, and can thus help us construct a framework of the physical layout of the precincts and the personnel involved in the running of the house.

The monastic customaries were intended to regularise internal life, either to codify or formalise past and present practices,³⁵ to introduce new guidelines and

³³ Cited in Iogna-Prat, 'Coutumes et statuts', 26. E.g. the Westminster customary of c. 1270 was originally in four parts, *Westminster*, vi-vii; the Norwich customary of c. 1260 was in two parts – four fifths detailed liturgical arrangements for Sundays and feasts, one fifth general regulations, J. B. L. Tolhurst, *The Customary of the Cathedral Priory Church of Norwich*, (Henry Bradshaw Soc., 82; 1948), xiv. According to Gransden the liturgical part of the Eynsham customary was contained in another source, now lost, *Eynsham*, 16. Indeed, it is often difficult to know whether the surviving customary is actually part of a larger work.

³⁴ Therefore they are essentially concerned with the administration of the convent and make little reference to the abbot and his household. This is an important point and affects our interpretation of the contents, namely whether the guests are simply those pertaining to the convent.

³⁵ Constable, *Cluniac Studies*, essay i, 152, discusses how oral customs were written down in periods of change and growth, for instance, if old ways were threatened or if these customs were to be introduced to another house.

effect reform, or a combination of the two.³⁶ For instance, Thomas of Marlborough, author of the early thirteenth-century chronicle of Evesham, explains that on his return from the Papal *Curia*, c. 1206, he advised that the customs and revenues of the abbey be written down, for this was taught in the *Curia* and done at many abbeys elsewhere. Thomas recommended that they be confirmed with the seal of the abbot, convent, legate, and even the Pope himself, so that future controversy be avoided.³⁷

Difficulties remain. It is often unclear if the customaries are indicative of past practices or if they were intended to reform, for this is not always explicit. Furthermore it is problematic whether the customaries were stylised or whether they were actually working manuals. Although the appearance of passages copied verbatim from other houses' customaries may suggest the former, the occasional reference to a building or official peculiar to the house,³⁸ mention of ancient or obsolete customs,³⁹ debates on particular points,⁴⁰ and explicit

³⁶ See Iogna-Prat, 'Coutumes et statuts', 31-4. Whereas Hallinger argues that monastic customaries were essentially intended to regularise the internal life, Leclercq is rather more sceptical of their normative qualities, *ibid.*, 34.

³⁷ *Chronicon Abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. W. D. Macray, (London, 1863), 264-5. It is interesting to note Bernard of Cluny's explanation for his compilation of the Cluny customs in the mid-eleventh century: he maintained that as the older monks had passed away there was often confusion and dispute as to what was actually custom; he thus intended to learn the truth from exploring written documents that he might leave a record for his successors, cited in R. Graham, 'The relation of Cluny to some other movements of monastic reform', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 15 (1914), 179-95, at 182.

³⁸ E.g. see below, pp. 149-51, for the *curiarius* at Abingdon, and pp. 251-2, for the 'green door' at Bury; see the thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of St. Mary's, York, for reference to the Tobie gate, *St. Mary's*, 95.

³⁹ E.g. *Westminster*, 87, 112-3; *Eynsham*, 201.

⁴⁰ E.g. *Bury*, 5, regarding the reception of bishops.

comparison with the practices at other houses,⁴¹ show that these were living texts, and were at times modified to suit the community's specific needs.⁴²

While we cannot simply assume that the customaries are descriptive, they should not be dismissed as idealistic.

Specific customaries

The Cistercians compiled a general and comprehensive customary for the members of their Order c. 1126-7, the *Liber Usus*.⁴³ It is a clear and explicit work, presumably to ensure that the daughter houses fully understood the prescriptions of the Order. The Benedictine houses operated along more individual lines, and despite the borrowing and interchange, which is evident in the customaries, there was scope for diversity.⁴⁴ The main customaries used in the thesis are the *Constitutions* of Lanfranc, compiled c. 1070 for the community at Christ Church, Canterbury, the *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon Abbey in Berkshire, which dates from the late twelfth century,⁴⁵ the customs of Bury St.

⁴¹ E.g. *ibid.*, 45 regarding the drink at Collations.

⁴² See Constable's discussion of the Cluny customs, which were intended to be normative, as well as descriptive, *Cluniac Studies*, essay i, esp. 156.

⁴³ For a recent edition of the *Liber Usus*, based on a twelfth-century manuscript, see *Les Ecclesiastica Officia Cisterciens du xiième siècle*, ed. D. Choiselet and P. Vernet, (Reiningue, 1989). The *Liber Usus* is a prescriptive and not necessarily descriptive text, but as each of the daughter houses would have possessed a copy, we can conclude that any deviations were through choice, rather than ignorance.

⁴⁴ However with the establishment of the Benedictine General Chapters and subsequent system of visitation, following the Lateran Council of 1215, there was greater emphasis on standardising practices, see below, p. 19, fn. 71.

⁴⁵ Gabrielle Lambrick dates the treatise to the late twelfth century, see G. Lambrick and C. Slade, *Two Cartularies of Abingdon Abbey*, (2 vols.; Oxford Historical Soc., 32, 33; 1990-1), ii, p. xlv.

Edmunds, Suffolk, c. 1234,⁴⁶ and the brief customs of Evesham abbey, c. 1206, contained in the chronicle of the house.⁴⁷ The later and generally more detailed customaries of Eynsham,⁴⁸ Westminster⁴⁹ and St. Mary's, York,⁵⁰ are included for comparison and any additional clarity they might bring to these earlier and more succinct texts. Nevertheless, we cannot assume that they are indicative of earlier practices; they simply offer occasional guidance. The late eleventh-century Cluny customs are also considered for comparative purposes, and furthermore, as they were likely to have been known in several of the English Benedictine houses.⁵¹ While Cluniac dependencies and affiliated houses such as Reading, Lewes and Bermondsey would have certainly possessed a copy of

⁴⁶ For Gransden's dating of the customs, see *Bury*, xxxiii. R. M. Thomson, 'Obedientiaries of St. Edmund's Abbey', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 35 (1983), 91-103, at 91, simply dates the customary between c. 1234-1256.

⁴⁷ *Evesham*, 205-21.

⁴⁸ John of Wood Eaton, a member of Eynsham, compiled the customary of the house some time between 24 January 1228-9 and the early fourteenth century, *Eynsham*, 16. Several of the passages are copied verbatim from Lanfranc and the twelfth-century *Liber Ordinis* of the Austin Canons of St. Victor's, Paris. Indeed, the Austin canons of Osney were situated around six miles from Eynsham, *ibid.*, 17.

⁴⁹ The Westminster customary was compiled during the abbacy of Richard de Ware, 1259-83, and has been dated to c. 1270, see Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 4. The manuscript in the BL, Cotton, MS Otho cxi is badly fire damaged and barely legible in places. The later customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, is similar to the Westminster customary, and is cited on several occasions.

⁵⁰ The customary, which is incomplete, has been dated to the thirteenth or fourteenth century and is taken from Oxford, Bodley, MS 39.

⁵¹ There were copies of Bernard of Cluny's customs at St. Albans, Westminster and Durham, Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 174. However as seen below, primary references such as the library catalogues generally refer to 'Cluny's customs', and it is not clear whether this refers to Bernard's mid-eleventh-century customs, Udalricus' late eleventh-century customs or a compendium of the two. I have used Udalricus' customs of the late eleventh century, *Udalricus, Cluniacensis Monachus*, PL 149, cols. 633-778.

Cluny's customs,⁵² copies were also owned by other Benedictine communities.⁵³ Although we cannot assume that the communities which possessed a copy of the customs actually effected them, they were clearly aware of the contents. In addition, it is likely that Cluniac monks raised to the abbacies of Benedictine houses introduced customs and influences from their mother house.⁵⁴

(a) Lanfranc's *Constitutions*

On his appointment to the see of Canterbury in 1070, Lanfranc sought to remodel the English monasteries according to the Norman example. He therefore drew up *Constitutions* for his own community at Christ Church and according to Knowles, these provide the 'fullest and most methodical account' of English monks at this time.⁵⁵ Lanfranc created his statutes from an assembly of known customaries, which he modified.⁵⁶ These included the customs of his former house, Bec, although Bernard of Cluny's customs were of primary importance.⁵⁷

⁵² For reference to Cluny customs in one volume at the Cluniac affiliated house of Reading, c. 1192, see *Corpus of British Mediaeval Library Catalogues 4: English Benedictine Libraries: The Shorter Catalogues*, ed. R. Sharpe, J. P. Carley, R. M. Thomson, A. G. Watson, (1996), no. B71: 150. See *ibid.*, no. B10: 11, for a copy at Bermondsey, 1310 x 1328.

⁵³ E.g. the 1247 catalogue for Glastonbury mentions a copy of the Cluny customs, *ibid.*, no. B39: 212. (The catalogue also refers to the customs of 'Cadomus', which may refer to the customs of Caen brought over by Thurstan or Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, *ibid.*, no. B39: 208b.)

⁵⁴ E.g. Adam of Bermondsey became abbot of Evesham in 1161, William of St-Martin-des-Champs became abbot of Ramsey in the same year and Roger of Bermondsey became abbot of Abingdon in 1175, J. Warrilow, 'Cluny: *silentia claustris*', in *Benedict's Disciples*, ed. D. H. Farmer, (Leominster, 1980), 118-38, at 132.

⁵⁵ *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, ed. D. Knowles, (Edinburgh, 1951), vii.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, x-xi. See too D. Knowles, 'Essays in monastic history iii: the Norman monasticism', *Downside Review*, 50 (1932), 33-48, at 45-6, where he argues that the *Constitutions* were not merely the customs of Bec, and indeed the 'tone of Lanfranc's doctrine' was Cluniac.

⁵⁷ M. A. Harris, 'Lanfranc and Anselm', in *Benedict's Disciples*, 154-74, at 158. Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 176, argues that the Bec customs contribute little to the *Constitutions*, and explains that

The first part of the work is primarily concerned with liturgical arrangement, the second addresses the organisation and discipline of the community.

Whether Lanfranc merely wrote his *Constitutions* for the community at Canterbury, or whether he intended them to be more widely circulated is a matter of some debate. Knowles argues that the statutes were probably not intended for the monks of Christ Church alone, but questions the assumption that they were to be universally imposed.⁵⁸ Regardless, the *Constitutions* were adopted in many houses including St. Albans, where Lanfranc's nephew, Paul, was abbot,⁵⁹ and Battle, where Prior Henry of Christ Church was elected to the abbacy in 1096.⁶⁰ Indeed by the mid-twelfth century the *Constitutions* had been accepted in some fifteen houses, including Westminster and Evesham.⁶¹ Other houses certainly

those of St. Étienne, Caen, do not survive. However Dr. Marjorie Chibnall informs me that current research suggests that the Bec customs were of greater influence than previously thought.

⁵⁸ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, xxi-ii. Knowles questions just how widely spread Lanfranc's *Constitutions* were adopted, but concedes that they were certainly influential. See too Knowles, 'Essays in monastic history iii', esp. 43-4.

⁵⁹ *GASA*, i, 52, 58, 61. According to Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 156, fn. 3, the St. Albans copy is in Lanfranc's hand.

⁶⁰ A. Klukas, 'The architectural implications of the *Decreta* of Lanfranc', *AN Studies*, 6 (1984), 136-71, at 141. See too J. A. Robinson 'Lanfranc's monastic constitutions', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 10 (1909), 375-88, at 383.

⁶¹ Gilbert Crispin of Bec brought the *Constitutions* to Westminster c. 1085, they were brought to Evesham in 1077 and accepted in Tynemouth, Binham and Wymondham, three cells of St. Albans, Klukas, 'Architectural implications', 143. Klukas also includes Rochester Cathedral Priory, St. Martin's Priory, Dover, Eynsham, Lindesfarne, and Durham, where the copy still survives, *ibid.*, 143-4. W. Aird, *St. Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham 1071-1153*, (Woodbridge, 1998), 128, states that under Bishop William, Lanfranc's *Constitutions* formed the basis of the monastic regime at Durham. It seems they were also adopted at Worcester, see E. Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008-1095*, (Oxford, 1990), 221.

possessed copies in the late twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁶² While we cannot simply conclude that the *Constitutions* were actually implemented in the houses which owned copies, we can at least be sure that they knew of the contents and were in some way influenced by them. Therefore Lanfranc's *Constitutions* are directly important for their adoption at Christ Church and for their imposition, or at least impact, on other houses during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

(b) The *De Obedientiariis Abbatiae Abbendonensis*

This Abingdon treatise is appended to Stevenson's edition of the Abingdon chronicle, and appears immediately after the *History* from BL Cotton MS B vi, from fol. 183.⁶³ It offers a unique insight into the internal organisation of the house in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, or at least the prescribed arrangements for the administration of the convent. *De Obedientiariis* describes the various duties pertaining to each of the obedientiaries, as well as their conduct, attendance and exemptions from claustral affairs. However the treatise is particularly allusive, and indeed elusive, and whilst it directly addresses the reception of guests these passages are often rather obscure. Whilst analysis of the punctuation in the manuscript occasionally brings clarity, many of the clauses remain problematic. Gransden has remarked on the similarities between the *De Obedientiariis* and the later customaries of Eynsham and St. Mary's of York, and argues that they are probably citing a common source and are cousins, rather than

⁶² E.g. for the Rochester catalogue of 1122/3, see *English Benedictine Libraries*, no. B77: 71; the Bury library catalogues also reveal that the community had a copy of Lanfranc's customs in the late twelfth century, *ibid.*, no. B13: 246.

⁶³ *Abingdon*, ii, 335-417.

directly related.⁶⁴ The Eynsham customary is often more detailed than the Abingdon treatise, perhaps owing to its later composition, and can be used cautiously to help clarify more ambiguous passages.

(c) The customs of Bury

The customs are edited by Gransden, who dates the compilation to c. 1234. She argues that whilst the ‘proliferation of new customs and the need to clarify old ones’ largely explain why they were recorded at this time, the visitation of the papal delegates in July 1234 is likely to have prompted the work.⁶⁵ The customary is largely concerned with financial arrangements and focuses on the obedientiaries’ supplies, rather than their conduct. Consequently, there is little regarding the nature of hospitality administered. The emphasis is on who should provide what and for whom, and this was clearly a contentious area, with diverse opinions and debate.⁶⁶ Similar to the other customaries, the Bury treatise focuses on the administration of conventual affairs, rather than the abbot’s household.⁶⁷ Therefore, the guests referred to are essentially those for whom the community was financially responsible.⁶⁸

⁶⁴ *Eynsham*, 17. See *ibid.*, 18, for similarities between the two customaries. For evidence of the relationship between Eynsham and Abingdon as neighbouring communities, approximately nine miles apart, see *Abingdon*, ii, 405: any deaths within the Abingdon community were to be announced at Eynsham.

⁶⁵ *Bury*, xxxiii.

⁶⁶ E.g. see below, pp. 131-5

⁶⁷ Thus, it is perhaps not so surprising that although the abbot and his household are mentioned in the 1206 injunctions for St. Mary’s, York, they are not referred to in the thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of the house. See below, pp. 19-20.

2. Injunctions and statutes

Like the customaries, injunctions issued following visitation of the monastery and general statutes of the Order, are a useful indication of the ideal practice.⁶⁹ It is likely that many of the clauses were intended as correctives, indicative of what had, but should not have, been practised. Still, we cannot overlook the possibility that statutes were preventative or perhaps even emphatic.⁷⁰

The statutes of the Benedictine General Chapters from c. 1215, have been edited by Pantin.⁷¹ The earlier clauses make little reference to hospitality and generally just emphasise that this should be observed according to the resources of the house.⁷² The statutes of St. Mary's, York, c. 1206, and the 1234 statutes for Bury and Westminster are more detailed. The former statutes, edited by Cheney, are of particular interest for as Cheney explains, they are 'comprehensive' and

⁶⁸ See below, pp. 131-7, for the customary reception of guests at Bury.

⁶⁹ For visitation records as a source, and the lack of evidence before c. 1270, see D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, (3 vols.; Cambridge, 1948-59), i, 83-6.

⁷⁰ See Haines' discussion of the fourteenth-century register of Bishop Simon of Worcester: he argues that although the injunctions framed the bishop's findings, it is likely they were often 'stereotyped and perhaps merely reiterative of aspects of the legislation mentioned above', R. M. Haines, 'Some visitation injunctions for Worcester Cathedral priory appended to the register of Bishop Simon de Montacute', *Revue Bénédictine*, 106 (1996), 332-55, at 336.

⁷¹ *Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks 1215-1500*, ed. W. A. Pantin, (3 vols.; Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., 45, 47, 54; 1931-7). For the Canterbury Chapter in 1225, see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, i, xlvi-li. For discussion of these chapters and the Fourth Lateran Council which promulgated them, see C. Butler, *Benedictine Monachism: Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule*, (London, 1919), 220-2, 239-41; A. Morey, 'Chapters of the English Black monks', *Downside Review*, 49, (1931), 420-9, D. Knowles, *Christian Monasticism*, (Hampshire, 1969), 112. For episcopal visitation in general, see C. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of the Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century*, (2nd edn., Manchester, 1982), Knowles, *Religious Orders*, i, 9-12, Knowles, 'Essays in monastic history iv: the growth of exemption', *Downside Review*, 50 (1932), 201-31, 396-436.

⁷² Pantin, *Chapters*, i, e.g. 10, 39, 234.

moreover, probably predate any other known for an English monastery.⁷³ He remarks that the injunctions of St. Mary's, York, were intended to make changes and issue prohibitions, and thus differed in purpose from the late thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of the house which 'embalmed customs and rights'.⁷⁴ This reiterates the need to analyse a wide range of sources.

The statutes of Bury and Westminster, issued after the visitation of 1234, have been edited by Rose Graham, who explains that they closely resemble those issued at the General Chapter at Northampton in 1225.⁷⁵ The Bury statutes are more extensive than the Westminster injunctions, perhaps indicative of greater laxity at Bury. Alternatively, this may simply reflect the visitors' approach.⁷⁶ Several clauses which appear in both sets of statutes may have been preventative,

⁷³ C. R. Cheney, 'The papal legate and English monasteries in 1206', *EHR*, 46 (1931), 443-52, at 448.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 449.

⁷⁵ For an introduction and transcription of these statutes, see R. Graham, 'A papal visitation of Bury St. Edmunds and Westminster in 1234', *EHR*, 27 (1912), 728-39. See *ibid.*, 729, for her comparison with the chapter at Northampton.

⁷⁶ Visitation was conducted at Bury in July 1234, by Henry of Waltham, Thomas of Sempringham and Richard of Holy Trinity, London. The bishop and prior of Ely and Prior Ralph of Norwich were sent to Westminster on 25 January 1234. These visitations were the result of Gregory IX's prescriptions in 1232 that all houses in the province of Canterbury which were exempt from episcopal visitation should be visited, for he had heard reports of misconduct. The initial visitation of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, was so severe that an appeal was made to Rome and new visitors appointed, see Graham, 'A papal visitation', 728, Gransden, *Bury*, xxviii, and Matthew Paris, *CM*, iii, 235 ff., esp. 239. For the severity of the Cistercian abbot of Boxley at St. Augustine's and the visitations of 1234, see E. Bishop, 'The method and degree of fasting and abstinence of the Black monks in England before the Reformation', *Downside Review*, 43 (1925), 184-237, at 195-200.

rather than corrective. However it is possible that these were just common problems.⁷⁷

3. Charters

Initially, a broad range of charters was selected as a sample analysis. Thereafter charters pertaining to specific Benedictine houses were examined to complement information from chronicles, archaeological surveys and other sources relating to the house. There are relatively few explicit references to hospitality within the house, and most are concerned with the financing of hospitality, i.e. details of grants to support the reception of guests.⁷⁸ However Hugh of Reading's notification of his foundation of a hospice at the gate of the abbey, discussed in chapter II, and several agreements between abbots and their communities, are particularly informative regarding the division of revenues and the distinction of guests.⁷⁹

4. Chronicles

Over forty monastic and secular chronicles and histories dating from the late eleventh to the mid-thirteenth centuries have been examined. Of the former, most are Benedictine, for at this time the Cistercians were generally writing foundation histories.⁸⁰ The monastic chronicles are mostly 'in-house'

⁷⁷ E.g. injunctions to increase hospitality according to their resources, see 'A papal visitation', 733, 738; injunctions restricting seculars from the infirmary and refectory, see *ibid.*, 732, 738, 739.

⁷⁸ See chapter VIII.

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 37, 132-3, 136, 154, fn. 138.

⁸⁰ Ralph of Coggeshall's *Chronicon Anglorum*, (London, 1875), is an exception. Examples of foundation histories include, *Narratio de Fundatione Fontanis in Comitatu Eboracensi*, in *The Memorials of the Abbey of St. Mary of Fountains*, ed. J. S. Walbran, (3. vols.; Surtees Soc., 42,

productions, sometimes anonymous, and several the work of two or more writers. According to Gransden, chronicle writing was more or less ‘routine business’ in some houses.⁸¹ Chronicles were often written specifically to preserve documents, and thereby secure the rights and privileges of the house. Indeed, the Battle chronicler explained that he was writing for posterity, namely to hand down a clear account of the abbey’s endowment to avoid future controversy.⁸² The Ramsey chronicler, writing in the 1170s, explained that the anarchy of Stephen’s reign incited his work.⁸³ His was an attempt to preserve written documents from destruction and safeguard the abbey’s possessions. Similar to the Abingdon chronicler he incorporates a number of charters; hence Gransden’s (perhaps exaggerated) remark that these works are little more than ‘inflated cartularies’.⁸⁴

Other chroniclers, such as the secular clerks Roger of Howden and Ralph Diceto, were more interested in national affairs.⁸⁵ Both groups record visits of distinguished persons and grants that were made on these occasions, though rarely disclose much regarding the nature of hospitality administered, or more importantly, if hospitality was administered. They are concerned with the what and the when, rather than the how. Thus, whereas the customaries describe what

67, 130; 1863-1918), i, 1-129; ‘The foundation of Kirkstall Abbey’, ed. E. A. Clark, *Miscellanea*, 2 (Thoresby Soc., 4; 1895), 169-208. For the foundation histories of Byland, Jervaulx and Beaulieu, see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v, 349-54, 568, 682.

⁸¹ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 530-c. 1307*, (London, 1974), 319.

⁸² *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, ed. and tr. E. Searle, (Oxford, 1980), 33.

⁸³ *Ramsey*, 4.

⁸⁴ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 272.

⁸⁵ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, (4 vols.; London, 1868-71); Ralph Diceto, *Opera Historica*, ed. W. Stubbs, (2 vols.; London, 1876).

should happen on a routine basis, the chronicles usually refer to specific instances relating to exceptional persons and events.

Jocelin of Brakelond's chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds is of particular importance, for it directly addresses the administration of the house in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, with explicit reference to the division of revenues, the distinction of guests and problems regarding financial arrangements.⁸⁶ Moreover, as guestmaster of the house Jocelin's knowledge and interests are especially significant, and he discusses the customary reception of guests. Jocelin's indirect references to various buildings and officials involved in the reception of guests are of further interest.

There is some debate regarding Jocelin's identity and whether he was, in fact, the cellarer, Jocellus, whom he mentions in his chronicle. This requires brief consideration. In 1954 R. H. C. Davis argued that charters witnessed by 'Jocelin the cellarer' in 1198 and 1200/1 reveal that Jocelin of Brakelond was actually Jocellus the cellarer, and that his sense of humility and modesty caused him to assume this pseudonym.⁸⁷ For Davis this explained Jocelin's extensive knowledge of the cellarer's affairs and indeed his concern to vindicate the office.

⁸⁶ *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*, ed. and tr. H. E. Butler, (Edinburgh, 1949).

⁸⁷ R. H. C. Davis, *The Kalendar of Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds and Related Documents*, (Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., 84; 1954), li-lvi. Davis' argument is summarised by N. Scarfe, 'Jocelin of Brakelond's identity: a review of the evidence', *Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History*, 39 (1997), 1-5, at 1, and B. P. McGuire, 'The collapse of a monastic friendship: the case of Jocelin of Brakelond and Samson of Bury', *Journal of Mediaeval History*, 4 (1978), 369-97, at 374.

Davis' interpretation has been accepted by Scarfe and Thomson,⁸⁸ and indeed the former maintains that Jocellus was actually 'a transparent pseudonym', namely a combination of Jocelin and *celerarius*.⁸⁹ In short, the Davis camp argues that Jocelin of Brakelond was demoted from the cellar to the sub-cellar in c. 1200-1, where he officiated as guestmaster and sub-cellarer. Whereas Davis suggests that the two posts were joined, Scarfe implies that the one official held two offices.⁹⁰ However as Gransden argues, there is no evidence that this was the case.⁹¹ Indeed as McGuire points out, it is likely, though not conclusive, that Jocelin was appointed guestmaster when Jocellus was assigned to the cellar in 1197, and that he remained there during the cellarer's demotion and reinstatement.⁹² Jocelin's detailed knowledge of the cellar and concern to vindicate the office do not in themselves prove that he was the cellarer, and as is later suggested in chapter IV this may actually reflect the close working relationship between these two officials.⁹³ Therefore Jocelin's account should perhaps be interpreted as defence of a colleague, rather than self-vindication, and the name Jocellus as a nickname for a colleague and not a pseudonym for the author; it differentiated two Jocelins working in close quarters.⁹⁴

⁸⁸ N. Scarfe, *Suffolk in the Middle Ages*, (Woodbridge, 1986), 99-109; Scarfe, 'Jocelin of Brakelond's identity', 1, and R. M. Thomson, *The Chronicle of the Election of Hugh, Abbot of Bury St. Edmunds and Later Bishop of Ely*, (Oxford, 1974), xvii.

⁸⁹ Scarfe, *Suffolk in the Middle Ages*, 100.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 105-7, esp. 106.

⁹¹ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 383, fn. 15, *Bury*, xxii, fn. 5.

⁹² McGuire, 'Collapse of a monastic friendship', 376.

⁹³ See below, pp. 140-1.

⁹⁴ McGuire, 'Collapse of a monastic friendship', 375, seems to suggest as much.

5. Other narrative sources

Other narrative sources include *Lives* of saints and holy men, as well as miracle collections, satire, dialogues, visions and poems. Romances and *lais* are discussed in chapter IX. *Lives* of saints have a particular form and viewpoint, and often stress how the saint was an ideal host, or a longed for and much welcomed guest, whose presence was a blessing, not a burden. While such accounts are not, perhaps, reflective of the practice, they can nevertheless offer a glimpse of the ideal, i.e. how a good host should act; how a welcome guest should be received. Miracle collections yield relatively little information, perhaps not surprising given that a large proportion of miracles recorded are concerned with cures effected away from the shrine and a number are related to members of the community.⁹⁵ As mentioned earlier, some pilgrims would have kept vigil and thus had no need for lodgings in the precinct; others would have stayed in the vill, and if local, simply returned home.

V. A brief summary of the chapters

The thesis explores the significance of hospitality administered in the monastery. Chapter II analyses the incentive behind the reception of guests, and chapter III examines the archaeological and documentary evidence to consider the location and nature of the buildings where visitors were entertained. Chapter IV discusses the officials involved in the administration of hospitality and includes analysis of the obedientiary system, the division of revenues between the abbot

⁹⁵ For discussion of cures effected away from the shrine, either at home or at sea, see R. C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Mediaeval England*, (repr. with new introduction, London, 1995), 92-9, and Ward, *Miracles*, 89, 101 ff. For examples of miracles incurred by members of the community, see *Materials for Becket*, i, 164-5.

and convent, and the office of guestmaster. Chapter V explores the initial reception of guests and the symbolic significance of this procedure. Chapters VI and VII discuss the physical and spiritual care provided throughout the guest's stay, for instance, refreshment, accommodation and medical care. Chapter VIII considers the expense involved in administering hospitality and chapter IX, the concluding chapter, is a comparative analysis of the non-monastic material relating to royalty, secular clerks and laity.

CHAPTER II: MONASTIC HOSPITALITY: THE IMPULSE

Remember too how I always used to gain friends for the church of Bec: following this example, hasten to gain friends for yourselves from all sides by exercising the good deed of hospitality, dispensing generosity to all men, and when you do not have the opportunity of doing good works, by according at least the gift of a kind word.¹

Following Richard de Carevill's visitation of Abingdon Abbey, 17 December 1245, on behalf of the bishop of Salisbury, it was agreed that ecclesiastical and lay visitors should be received according to their nobility, importance, rank and dignity, for this would increase charity, project the honour of the church, and secure advantage in a diversity of things and places.² Hospitality was informed by a number of reasons, but was essentially driven by religious and worldly concerns. Still, these two categories were not entirely distinct, for those who were driven by hopes of salvation might be rewarded with heavenly and earthly riches.³ In addition the pious host who won the respect of his fellow men contributed to his reputation. Thus we cannot simply assume that what the host gained is indicative of what he sought.

¹ Anselm's parting words of advice to the monks of Bec, *The Letters of Anselm of Canterbury*, tr. and annotated W. Fröhlich, (3 vols.; Michigan, 1990-4), ii, ep. 165.

² See *Two Cartularies*, ii, C. 7. Richard's visitation was in response to the monks' complaints of Abbot John to the bishop of Salisbury.

³ In c. 1223, the German Cistercian, Caesarius of Heisterbach identified three categories of givers, and their respective rewards, see *Caesarii Heisterbacensis Monachi Ordinis Cisterciensis Dialogus Miraculorum*, ed. J. Strange, (2 vols.; Cologne, Bonn, Brussels, 1851), i, 237.

The act of giving monastic hospitality was primarily concerned with the host and the benefits he could attain. The recipient was effectively passive, a symbol through which the host could adore Christ, observe the biblical mandates and tenet of the *Rule*, or accrue worldly renown and enhance his social standing.⁴

However hospitality was not simply informed by hopes of gain. Fear, whether of dishonour or damnation, was an important and closely related factor, and the sources suggest that this was often the primary incentive behind the reception of guests.

I. The religious impulse

In theory, the monastic life was bent on salvation. The monk's ultimate goal was to secure a place at the heavenly table, and indeed Archbishop Anselm evoked this image on his deathbed, citing the words of Luke 13:28-30,

Vos estis qui permansistis mecum in temptationibus
meis, et ego dispono uobis sicut disposuit mihi pater
meus regnum, ut edatis et bibatis super mensam meam
in regno meo.⁵

Hospitality provided one way of attaining salvation, for those who received the outsider were rewarded with eternal life, and the earthly host became the heavenly guest.

⁴ Nevertheless the guest might activate hospitality, for instance, if he came to make a gift and was entertained in return, see below, pp. 267-8.

⁵ *Vita Anselmi*, 142-3. Howden, ii, 16, describes how Becket was rendered a worthy guest at the heavenly table.

Matthew 25:34-40, which describes how Christ will separate the blessed from the damned on the Day of Judgement, emerges as the most significant passage for the contemporary understanding and promotion of hospitality,⁶ and verse 35, ‘Hospes eram, et non suscepistis me’, is quoted in several of the mediaeval sources.⁷ However, it was also cited in earlier works of authority that were influential in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as the writings of Jerome and Augustine. These works present the concept of reward and punishment and Christ’s association with the outsider as testimony to the importance of receiving guests. For instance, Augustine’s *City of God* discusses the scene at Judgement Day and cites Matthew 25: whereas those who administered hospitality and cared for the needy would be rewarded with eternal life, those who had neglected to do so would suffer accordingly.⁸ Jerome draws specifically on Matthew 25:35 to warn of the need to receive guests,

Nobis in monasterio hospitalitas cordi est: omnesque ad
nos uenientes, laeta humanitatis fronte suscipimus. Veremur

⁶ The Seven Acts of Mercy were drawn from this passage. See Hugh of St. Victor’s discussion of the Works of Mercy in his *De Sacramentis*, 376 ff.

⁷ It is rather surprising that none of the sources considered evoke the analogy of Mary and Martha. However this is perhaps more prevalent in sermons; indeed Constable discusses the Mary / Martha imagery in Germanic sermons, and explains that it featured in a number of polemical works, advocating various religious lives, G. Constable, *Three Studies in Medieval Religious and Social Thought*, (Cambridge, 1995), 84.

⁸ St. Augustine, *Concerning the City of God against the Pagans*, tr. H. Bettenson, (Harmondsworth, 1984), 902-3. This text was clearly well known in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. For known copies in various houses including Abingdon during Faritius’ abbacy, (1100-17), Bury in the late twelfth century and Reading c. 1192, see *English Benedictine Libraries*, nos. B2: 1, B13: 182, B71: 40. There was also a copy at Rievaulx, c. 1190–1200, *The British Academy Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues volume 3: The Library of the Cistercians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians*, ed. D. N. Bell, (1992), no. Z19: 5.

enim ne Maria cum Joseph ocum non inueniat in
 diuersorio, ne nobis Jesus dicat exclusus: ‘Hospes eram,
 et non suscepistis me’.⁹

The inclusion of Matthew 25 in the *Rule* of St. Benedict is of greatest significance to the present analysis. Benedict alludes to this passage on two occasions. In chapter 31 he considers the concept of reward and punishment, as explained in Matthew 25, and warns that the cellarer should take care of the sick, children, guests and the poor, for he would have to render account for this on the Day of Judgement.¹⁰ In chapter 53, Benedict evokes the image of Christ as the guest to demonstrate the importance of administering hospitality, and moreover, to illustrate how the outsider should be received. By welcoming the visitor, the host effectively received Christ, and could thus progress on the path to salvation,

Omnes superuenientes hospites tamquam Christus
 suscipiantur, quia ipse dicturus est: ‘Hospes fui,
 et susceptis Me’. ...Omnibus uenientibus siue
 discedentibus hospitibus, inclinato capite, uel
 prostrato omni corpore in terra, Christus in eis
 adoretur, qui et suscipitur ...¹¹

⁹ *Hieronymus Stridonensis: S. Eusebii Hieronymi Stridonensis Presbyteri ‘Apologia Aduersus Libros Rufini, Missa ad Pammachium et Marcellam, Liber Tertius, uel Ultima Responsio S. Hieronymi Aduersus Scripta Rufini*, PL 23, cols. 415-514, at 491. William of Malmesbury cites this work in his *Polyhistor Deflorationum*, ed. H. Testroet Ouellette, (Binghamton, 1982), 120–1; see Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 204.

¹⁰ *Rule*, 90, (ch. 31).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 132-4, (ch. 53).

A variety of twelfth and thirteenth-century English sources, including customaries, chronicles, grants and confirmations of privileges, promote Matthew 25 as the rationale behind monastic hospitality,¹² although it is interesting to note that this passage is not mentioned in Lanfranc's *Constitutions*.¹³ In a Glastonbury charter of c. 1191, Abbot Henry de Sully agreed that as the revenues previously assigned to visiting religious were inadequate for the honourable reception of these guests, the convent should henceforth receive an annual pension of two marks of silver from the church of Bassaleg, Monmouthshire. The abbot quotes Matthew 25:35 to justify the importance of extending hospitality,

cum crebris fratrum Glaston. precibus pulsatus, tamen uerbo dominico illo 'hospes eram et suscepisti' incitatus, cum essent redditus insufficientes et modici unde uiri religiosi ad ecclesiam nostram uenientes honorifice susciperentur, ad tantum opus misericordie prouehendum opem et operam impendere dignum duxi; quapropter pie caritatis intuitu, dedi et concessi et assignaui hospitale Glaston. ad suscepcionem hospitem ...¹⁴

¹² Continental examples include clause four of the statutes issued by the General Chapter of Cluny in 1205-6, *Statuts, Chapitres Généraux et Visites de L'Ordre de Cluny*, ed. G. Charvin, (9 vols.; 1965-), i, no. 6. On his deathbed the seventh-century abbot, St. Évroul, enjoined his community to observe the duties of hospitality, for the sake of him who said 'I was a stranger and you took me in', *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, (6 vols.; Oxford, 1969-80), iii, 298-300.

¹³ Nor indeed in Udalricus' late eleventh-century customary for Cluny.

This particular reference is somewhat unusual, for the charters do not normally explain the rationale behind such grants. However Bishop Silvester of Worcester's charter to the monks of Reading, 3 July 1216 x 16 July 1218, also cites this passage. Silvester confirmed the various appropriations of his predecessor, mentioned the great works of charity administered by the community, and on the basis of Matthew 25:35, argued that hospitality was 'the mother and mistress' of all pious acts.¹⁵

Therefore two main points drawn from Matthew 25 were cited to justify the importance of receiving guests, namely the concept of reward and punishment and the association between Christ and the outsider.¹⁶ These points were not exclusive to Matthew 25, and the following section considers how each was evoked in other Biblical passages. The association between Christ and the outsider is developed to include the more general theme of the outsider's link with the Divine. However it is important to note that Christ's prescriptions were not simply intended to direct monastic hospitality. In his letter urging Henry II to receive Thomas Becket, Pope Alexander III invoked Matthew 10:40, 'He that receiveth you receiveth me, and he that receiveth me receiveth Him who sent

¹⁴ *The Great Cartulary of Glastonbury*, ed. A. Watkins, (3 vols.; Somerset Record Soc., nos. 59, 63, 64; 1947-56), iii, no. 1305. See *ibid.*, nos. 1306 and 1307, for confirmation of this grant, c. 1199, by the bishops of Llandaff and Bath / Glastonbury respectively.

¹⁵ *RAC*, i, no. 630. Whereas chapter 64 of the *Rule* describes discretion as the 'mother of all virtues,' *Rule*, 164-6, the romancer, Chrétien de Troyes, describes largesse as the queen who brightens all virtues, *Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes*, ii, *Cliges*, ed. A. Micha, (*CFMA*, 84; 1957), lines 188-90.

¹⁶ Therefore Matthew 25 is presented as Christ's endorsement of hospitality. Consequently, those who neglected guests disobeyed Christ, as well as the *Rule* and other authorities which cited this passage. See below, p. 187, for Peter of Blois' poor reception at Wallingford priory.

me', to remind the king of his duty to follow the gospels if he was to remit his sins,

In gratiam et amorem tuum, omni indignatione et rancore deposito, clementer recipias; ... Qui se in illo a te susceptum fuisse proculdubio reputabit, eodem dicente, 'Qui uos recipit, Me recipit; et qui uos spernit, Me spernit'.¹⁷

1. Spiritual reward and punishment: a case of 'do or be damned'

For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have more abundance: but whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken away even that he hath.¹⁸

(Matthew 13:12.)

Whilst hospitality offered the promise of spiritual reward, those who neglected guests risked damnation, as well as earthly loss. The concept of divine reciprocity is rather obliquely alluded to in the late twelfth-century *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon Abbey, which presents Christ's mandate, 'Do unto others', (Luke 6:31), as the rationale behind monastic hospitality.¹⁹ By opening

¹⁷ Diceto, i, 334-5, at 334.

¹⁸ Caesarius of Heisterbach cites this to argue that those who welcome guests with kindness and joy will receive up to a hundred-fold in this world and that to come; those who neglect hospitality and alms, or do so grudgingly, will lose their temporal wealth 'by God's just decree', *Caesarii*, i, 238.

¹⁹ *Abingdon*, ii, 411. This is repeated in the thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of *Eynsham*, 198.

the door to visitors, the host engaged in a heavenly relationship and secured his own place at Christ's table. Hospitality on earth would be rewarded with divine entertainment, for the earthly host would become the heavenly guest.

One's heavenly reward might be directly related to the identity of the one received, and in this respect it is important to consider the potential influence of Matthew 10:41-2, which records Christ's instruction to his disciples,

He that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet shall receive a prophet's reward, and he that receiveth a righteous man in the name of a righteous man shall receive a righteous man's reward. And whoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward.²⁰

This passage may have nurtured the belief that the host's spiritual reward was relative to the sanctity of his guest, and thereby encouraged the reception of holy visitors. Indeed, according to their biographers, Hugh of Lincoln and Anselm of Canterbury were showered with persistent invitations, and received rapturous welcomes. For example, Adam maintains that the 'zealous and holy prior of St. Domninus' frequently begged Hugh of Lincoln to honour his house with a personal visit, and when the bishop eventually complied, the community received

²⁰ For citation of this passage, see Odo's address to the Battle community in 1175, following his reception as abbot, *Battle*, 302. Also note John of Salisbury's letter to Archdeacon Baldwin of Totnes, *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ed. W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke, (2 vols.; Oxford, 1979), ii, ep. 273.

him with ‘as much reverence as if he had been an angel of the Lord’.²¹ Such descriptions enabled the writers to demonstrate the worthiness and renown of these prelates. The potential prestige gained from such a visit was likely an added incentive. It is thus interesting that during the bid for Edmund of Abingdon’s canonisation, c. 1241, both the monks of Reading and the canons of Merton claimed to have entertained the holy man.²² Nevertheless worldly acclaim was probably not the only concern, and the prospect of a high spiritual return was surely a contributing factor.

2. The guest as Christ²³

As previously mentioned, the association between Christ and the stranger was frequently promoted to justify hospitality.²⁴ Whilst Matthew 25 is most often cited, other New Testament passages are also evoked. For instance, John Chrysostom (c. 347-407) invoked Matthew 18:5, ‘he that receiveth one of these least receiveth me’, in his homily on Acts 22:32, to underline the importance of

²¹ *Magna Vita*, ii, 171. For Anselm’s ‘pressing invitations’ from Abbot John of St. Saviour, the brethren of St. Laurence’s abbey, Apulia, and the bishop and canons of Rheims, see Eadmer, *Historia Nouorum in Anglia*, ed. M. Rule, (London, 1884), 96, 98-9, 168-9.

²² See the introduction to the ‘Vision of the monk of Eynsham’, in *Eynsham Cartulary*, ed. H. E. Salter, (2 vols.; Oxford Historical Soc., 49, 51; 1906-8), ii, 270. Becket allegedly prophesied that his saintly successor, exiled for the same reason, would be entombed at Pontigny as recompense for their hospitality to him, A. Duggan, ‘The cult of St. Thomas Becket in the thirteenth century’, in *St. Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in his Honour*, ed. M. Jancey, (Hereford, 1982), 21-44, at 43.

²³ See below pp. 176-8.

²⁴ This analogy does not appear in Guigues’ customs for the Carthusians, which received papal approval in 1133, *Guigonis Carthusiae Majoris Prioris Quinti Consuetudines*, PL 153, cols. 631-758.

receiving strangers and the poor.²⁵ However the texts do not always cite a specific passage, and sometimes refer to the concept in general. Thus, in his eulogy of Bec, Orderic Vitalis maintained that the abbey door was open to all travellers and their bread available to everyone who asked in the name of Christ.²⁶

Whilst Christ was associated with outsiders in general, he was particularly identified with the poor and needy.²⁷ As the *Rule* of St Benedict states,

Pauperum et peregrinorum maxime susceptioni cura sollicitè exhibeatur; quia in ipsis magis Christus suscipitur. Nam diuitum terror ipse sibi exigit honorem.²⁸

Thomas of Marlborough's complaint to the legate in 1213 reiterates the importance of this clause. He maintained that under the tyranny of Abbot

²⁵ *John Chrysostom: Homilies on the Acts of the Apostles and the Epistle to the Romans*, ed. P. Schaff, *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*, First Ser., xi (NY, 1889), 'Homily on Acts', 45, 272-77, at 275. John was one time archbishop of Constantinople, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, D. H. Farmer, (3rd edn., Oxford, 1992), 260-1. For copies of Chrysostom's homilies at Bury, see *English Benedictine Libraries*, nos. B13: 38 a and b; B13: 48 b.

²⁶ *Orderic*, ii, 296. The German Cistercian, Idungus of Prüfung, similarly evoked this analogy with Christ, without reference to any particular passage, and complained that the Cluniac abbots did not honour their guests as Christ, *Le Moine Idung et ses Deux Ouvrages: "Argumentum super quatuor questionibus" et "Dialogus duorum monachorum"*, ed. R. B. C. Huygens, (Spoleto, 1980), 89-186, at 131-2.

²⁷ Gilbert of Sempringham called his almsdish 'Lord Jesus dish', testimony to the association between Christ and the poor and needy, *The Book of St. Gilbert*, ed. R. Foreville and G. Keir, (Oxford, 1987), 62.

²⁸ *Rule*, 134, (ch. 53).

Norreys hospitality had been abandoned and, contrary to the *Rule*, only the rich were received.²⁹

This special relationship with Christ was the essential determinant behind the reception of the needy. Several sources testify to the concern to provide for these visitors, in particular Hugh of Reading's notification of the newly constructed hospice outside the gates of the abbey in the late twelfth century. Hugh explained that although the rich and powerful had been warmly and honourably entertained, pilgrims and the poor had been received less reverently than appropriate, and quite differently to that displayed by the royal will in earlier times. This new construction was intended as a remedy: it was to provide the poor with relief and ensure that pilgrims not admitted to the 'upper hospice' were received there with reverence.³⁰ Therefore it appears that hospitality at Reading had been largely concerned with worldly acclaim. Hugh sought to realign the community's priorities and promote salvation as the primary incentive.³¹

²⁹ *Evesham*, 239. Indeed Bishop Grosseteste complained that although the king was sometimes invited to the monasteries where he stayed, this was motivated by fear, not love, *Annales Monastici*, ed. H. R. Luard, (5 vols.; 1865-9), i, 424.

³⁰ *RAC*, i, no. 224. This is testimony to the distinction of guests.

³¹ Reading's neglect of lesser visitors was by no means unique: see Alexander of Neckham's criticism in sermon sixteen, addressed to monks, cited in R. W. Hunt, *The Schools and the Cloister: The Life and Writings of Alexander Nequam (1157-1217)*, ed. and revised M. Gibson, (Oxford, 1984), 91-2. Furthermore, the 1206 injunctions for St. Mary's, York, stipulated that the poor should not lack essentials while superfluities were squandered on the rich, Cheney, 'Papal legate', 450. Also note Gerald of Wales' complaint of the canons of Llanthony Secunda, *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. J. S. Brewer, J. F. Dimock, and G. F. Warner, (8 vols.; London, 1861-91), vi, 41.

Christ's identification with the poor is most vividly seen in the celebration of the maundy.³² According to Lanfranc's instructions for Maundy Thursday, at the abbot's command the brothers were to genuflect, bow and adore Christ in the poor.³³ The *Regularis Concordia* of c. 970 describes the arrangements for the daily maundy and stipulates that, in accordance with John 13, the community should admit three poor men daily and receive Christ in them.³⁴ This practice was observed in several houses, including Abingdon, after the Conquest.³⁵ The recipient of the maundy thus offered a bridge to eternal life, for by adoring Christ in him, the host helped to secure his own salvation.³⁶ However this analogy is not quite so straight forward, for by washing the visitors' feet, the host imitated Christ's washing of the disciples' feet at the Last Supper.³⁷ It is thus significant that in both Lanfranc's *Constitutions* and Udalricus' customs for Cluny the antiphon, *Dominus Iesus*, was sung when the brethren washed the feet of the poor, for in the Bible this verse follows Christ's washing of the apostles' feet.³⁸ Lanfranc's interpretation of the maundy of the monks is of similar interest,

³² See below, pp. 41-2, for the entertainment of the poor.

³³ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 32. According to the *Regularis Concordia*, Christ was adored in the poor who received the maundy, *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. and tr. T. Symons, (London, 1953), 61.

³⁴ Ibid. According to Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, 66, there is no trace of the tenth-century *Concordia* in Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, although some of it was observed at Norwich priory, alongside the customs of Fécamp. See below, p. 266.

³⁵ E.g. *Abingdon*, ii, 405.

³⁶ Luke 7:38 relates how Mary washed and anointed Christ's at the table, and indeed this is depicted in the St. Albans Psalter, completed c. 1123; see below, p. 40.

³⁷ 'Maundy Thursday' derives from the first antiphon of the ceremony of washing the feet, John 13:34, *mandatum nouum*, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, ed. F. L. Cross, (London, 1958), 876.

³⁸ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 32. According to Udalricus' late eleventh-century customary for Cluny, the antiphon *Dominus Iesus* was sung on Maundy Thursday when the feet of the poor were washed; the antiphon *Mandatum nouum* and Psalm 118 followed, *Udalricus*, cols. 659-60.

Notandum est autem in huius diei obsequio, quia si
 abbas sufficere ualet, omnium fratrum pedes solus in
 hac die lauare debet; testante enim beato Benedicto, uices
 Christi agit in monasterio, et maxime in hoc ministerio.³⁹

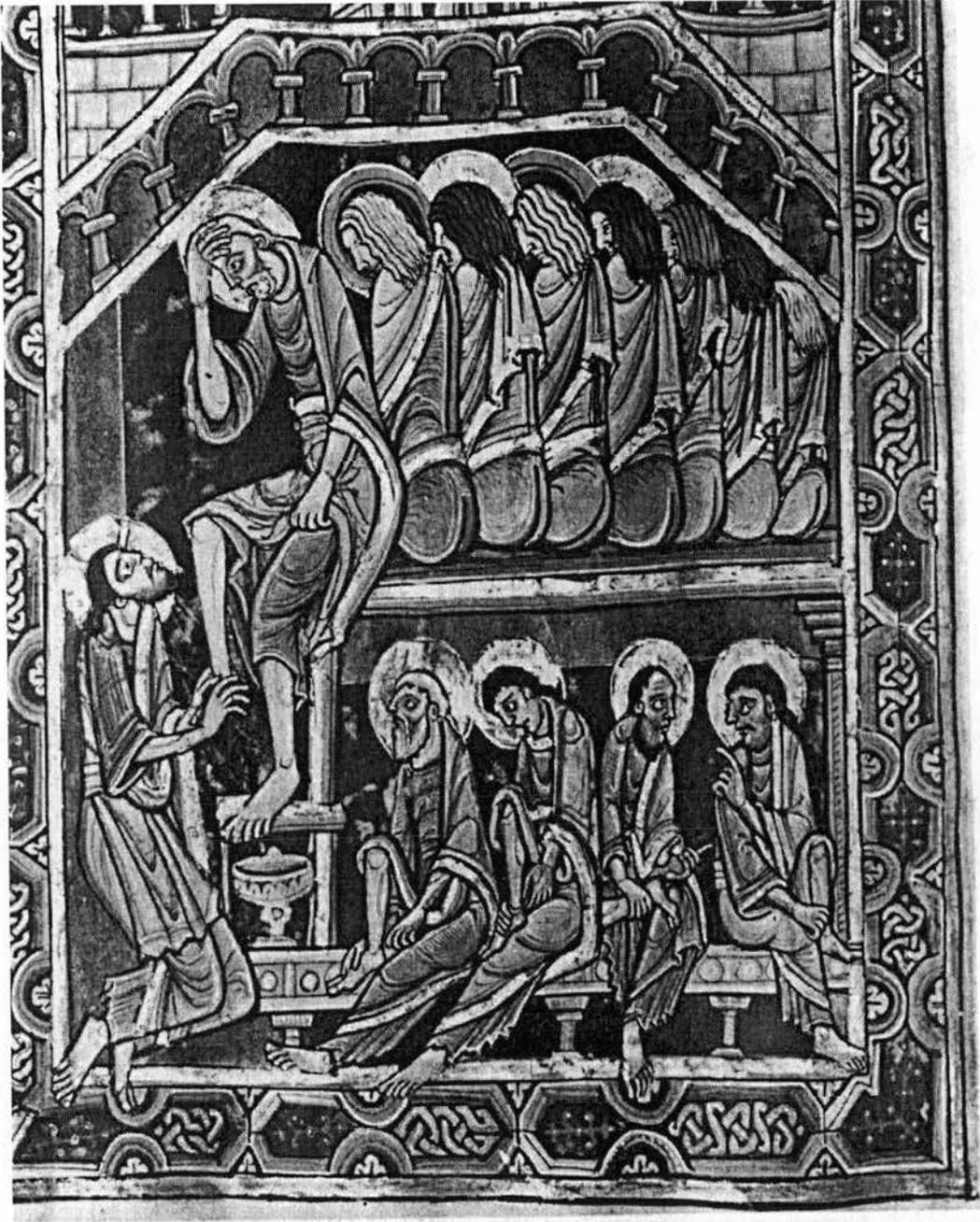
Whilst Christ might be identified with the recipient, he was more commonly associated with the one who washed the feet, and as Constable remarks, the maundy ceremony ‘was reasserted in the twelfth century as an aspect of the imitation of Christ at the Last Supper’.⁴⁰ It is therefore important that although the Carolingian liturgical scholar, Amalarius, simply described the symbolic washing of the walls and floor of the church in Holy Week, William of Malmesbury’s twelfth-century abbreviation of the *De Officiis* explained that on the day of the Lord’s Supper they washed their feet and those of the poor in imitation of Christ, who washed the disciples’ feet on that day.⁴¹

See too *Norwich Customary*, e.g. 85, 201. This particular antiphon was more commonly sung at the great maundy or maundy for the monks, which followed that of the poor: the twelfth-century customary of the Cistercian Order records that *Suscepimus Deus*, (Ps. 47:10) was sung at the maundy of the poor and guests, *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 102, 304, and *Dominus Jesus* at the Saturday maundy of the monks, *ibid.*, 104; according to the later customaries of Westminster and St. Augustine’s the *Mandatum nouum* (John 13:34), should be sung at the weekly maundy in the chapter-house, *Westminster*, 174, *St. Augustine’s*, 217.

³⁹ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 38. According to Harris, ‘Lanfranc’, 161, this is not paralleled in any of the other known customaries.

⁴⁰ Constable, *Three Studies*, 185. Constable compares this to Hugh of Lincoln washing and drying the feet of thirteen sick men in his chamber, (*Magna Vita*, ii, 13.), and lists additional Continental examples. For a similar account of Archbishop Becket, see *Materials for Becket*, iii, 198-201.

⁴¹ Cited in Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, 88.



1. Christ washing the disciples' feet, depicted in the St. Albans Psalter, completed c. 1123, *The St. Albans Psalter*, ed. F. Wormald, (London, 1960), plate 25.

This fluidity and exchange of roles is yet a further manifestation of the dichotomy of monastic hospitality, and the same duality is evident in Christ's relationship with the poor in general, for whilst He was received in them, the host imitated Christ who mingled with marginals and the poor.⁴² Indeed, there are a number of references praising those who did not merely provide for the poor at a distance, but participated with them.⁴³ While the poor were received as guests, their presence was symbolic and enabled the host to further his spiritual ambitions. It is therefore interesting to note the arrangements at Glastonbury in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, for William of Malmesbury records that on the anniversaries of kings, bishops, abbots and ealdormen who had helped to build the church, thirteen poor were entertained on their behalf in the refectory, as if it were a festival.⁴⁴ On such occasions charity merged with hospitality.

⁴² Wulfstan of Worcester insisted that the noble boys training in his household observe Christ's teaching and serve the poor with reverence, for in doing so they revered Him, who said, 'ex minimis meis fecistis; mihi fecistis', *Vita Wulfstani*, 50.

⁴³ On Maundy Thursday, Bishop Wulfstan often dined with the penitents after he had washed their feet, *ibid.*, 58. According to the thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of St. Mary's, York, whenever poor pilgrims and monks on foot arrived at dinner, the almoner was to send one of them to dine in the 'poor place' in the refectory, *St. Mary's, York*, 96-7.

⁴⁴ *The Early History of Glastonbury by William of Malmesbury, De Antiquitate Glastoniae Ecclesiae*, ed. and tr. J. Scott, (Suffolk, 1981), 162. When Becket stayed with the canons of St. Andrews in 1165, he insisted that the poor before the gate joined him and his men in the refectory, Howden, i, 229. See Clark's remarks on guild feasts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and Rosser's discussion of fraternity feasts in later medieval England, for the presence of the poor at these celebrations, E. Clark, 'Social welfare and mutual aid in the countryside', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 381-406, at 404-5; G. Rosser, 'Going to the fraternity feast: commensality and social relations in late medieval England', *Journal of British Studies*, 33 (1994), 430-46, esp. 435, 437.

Finally, biblical passages such as Psalms 41:1, 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy: the Lord will deliver him in time of trouble', and Luke 16:9, 'Make to yourselves friends of the mammon of unrighteousness; that when ye fail, they may receive ye into everlasting habitations', fostered the belief that those who received the needy were guaranteed salvation.⁴⁵ Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester explained that God offered recompense on behalf of the needy, who had no means of repayment. Wulfstan practised what he preached, and to the horror of his household, invited a crowd of poor men to his banquet on Easter Day, 1094.⁴⁶

3. The idea of the sacred stranger

This association between Christ and the outsider relates to the theme of the sacred stranger, and the belief that the visitor was in some way linked with the Divine. Benedict addresses this point in chapter 61 of the *Rule* which discusses pilgrim monks. Any *monachus peregrinus* who arrived from distant parts and wished to dwell in the house as a guest was to be received for as long as he wished, providing he followed the customs and was content with all that he found there. If the visitor humbly and reasonably pointed out what was amiss, the abbot was to mark his words, 'in case God perchance hath sent him for this very end'.⁴⁷ The angelic stranger who offers guidance appears in the various

⁴⁵ The former is cited in *Orderic*, iii, 274. For the latter see *The Letters of Peter the Venerable*, ed. G. Constable, (2 vols.; Massachusetts, 1967), i, ep. 53, John of Salisbury, *Letters*, ii, ep. 260, and *Caesarii*, i, 349.

⁴⁶ *Vita Wulfstani*, 59. For additional references to Luke 16:9, indicative of its influence, see the account of Bishop Hervey of Ely's death in 1129, *Liber Eliensis*, 279, and note the description of Gilbert of Sempringham's piety, *Book of St. Gilbert*, 120.

⁴⁷ *Rule*, 154, (ch. 61). See Caesarius' account of a certain monastery whose greedy abbot had, under the guise of prudence, 'put an end to hospitality' and withdrawn accustomed benefits from

Lives of St. Évroul. The initial version, compiled in the eighth century, describes how Évroul abandoned the world to live as a hermit in the forest of Ouche. Having trekked through the forest, he and his three companions came upon a clearing with a spring of water, and the writer concludes that ‘an angel of the Lord’ must have led them there. The eleventh-century embellishment of the tale is of particular interest, for it records that after Évroul had prayed for help, an angel appeared and led them to the spring.⁴⁸

The mysterious stranger appears in several sources, including Jocelin of Furness’ *Life of St. Waldef*, the Cistercian abbot of Melrose, written at the beginning of the thirteenth century.⁴⁹ Jocelin describes how three travellers who sought lodging at Melrose were appropriately received by the community, but when they were seated to eat, the third was nowhere to be seen. While the visitors claimed they had only ever been two, the monastic officials confirmed they had received three men, and had not seen anyone leave the precinct. The following night, Brother Walter, *hospitarius* of the house, had a vision in which a splendid figure, the third stranger, appeared to him. The stranger announced that God had appointed him guardian of the abbey, and reassured the community that their alms and

the poor. The community was visited by a venerable old man and Caesarius concludes he must have been some ‘angelic person, by whose agency the Lord desired to recall the Brethren to their former Charity’, *Caesarii*, i, 236-7.

⁴⁸ Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, 103-4. Divine intervention is mentioned later in the *Life*: a beggar who was given the last loaf planted his staff in the ground where a holy well sprung up: ‘the famous fountain of St. Évroul’, *ibid*.

⁴⁹ ‘An edition and translation of the *Life of Waldef*, Abbot of Melrose, by Jocelin of Furness’, ed. and tr. G. J. Mcfadden, (D.Phil. thesis, University of Columbia, 1952), 138-40.

prayers for the departed had ascended heavenwards.⁵⁰ The inexplicable disappearance of strangers recurs in other narratives, for instance, the Cistercian abbot, Ralph of Coggeshall, recounts the mysterious disappearance of several Templars who visited his house.⁵¹ The *Life* of the female recluse, Christina of Markyate, relates the visit of a holy pilgrim who vanished, and concludes that he must have been an angel or Christ.⁵² Holdsworth describes this as Christina's 'Emmaus experience' and considers the probable influence of Luke 24:13-35, which records Christ's appearance to two of the disciples on the road to Emmaus, and his subsequent disappearance into the sky during their meal together.⁵³ Indeed, this particular analogy is likely to have influenced Ralph and Jocelin's accounts.

Abraham's reception of the angels, recounted in Genesis, demonstrates the importance of extending hospitality to the unknown outsider, and is of key importance to the reception of strangers.⁵⁴ Abraham is promoted as the model, for unlike the men of Sodom he willingly received the strangers, though unaware

⁵⁰ Ibid. McFadden notes that Walter, the *conuersus*, was in 'an unmatched position for gossip and story-telling', and is a principal source of the miraculous tales, *ibid.*, 272, fn. 57, 1.

⁵¹ See below, pp. 169-70,

⁵² *The Life of Christina of Markyate: A Twelfth-Century Recluse*, ed. and tr. C. H. Talbot, (rev. edn., Oxford, 1987), 182-8. For discussion of this episode, see C. J. Holdsworth, 'Christina of Markyate', in *Medieval Women*, ed. D. Baker, (Oxford, 1978), 185-204, at 192. Note John of Ford's account of the venerable looking pilgrim who requested a relic of the holy Wulfric, and was believed to be an angel, *Wulfric of Haselbury by John, Abbot of Ford*, ed. M. Bell, (Somerset Record Soc., 47; 1933), 130-1.

⁵³ Holdsworth, 'Christina', 192. Indeed, these scenes are depicted in the St. Albans Psalter, probably brought together for Christina of Markyate, *The St. Albans Psalter*, ed. F. Wormald, (London, 1960), 5; see Wormald's discussion of their significance in the Psalter, *ibid.*, 69-71.

⁵⁴ Genesis 18:1-15. See Genesis 19:1-29 for Lot's entertainment of the angels.

that they were angels.⁵⁵ Whilst those who followed Abraham's example would be rewarded accordingly, those who neglected to do so would suffer a similar plight as the men of Sodom. As always fear of punishment was inextricably bound to hopes of gain. A number of the sources directly allude to this passage, such as Peter of Blois' letter complaining of his rude reception at Wallingford priory. Peter lists a number of Biblical exempla, including Abraham and Lot, and cites Hebrews 13:2.⁵⁶ The epitaph of Abbess Euphemia of Wherwell, Hants., (1226-57), records that she was 'zealous in works of charity, gladly and freely exercising hospitality, so that she and her daughters might find favour with One whom Lot and Abraham and others have pleased by the grace of hospitality'.⁵⁷

Abraham's example seemingly informed several twelfth-century accounts of noteworthy guests who were received as angels. The Battle Abbey chronicler reports that when Abbot Odo visited his old house of Christ Church, he was received with as much ceremony 'ac si adesse nuntiaretur celestis angelus'.⁵⁸ Similarly, Adam of Eynsham records that when Bishop Hugh eventually honoured the community of St. Dominus with a visit, he was welcomed by the

⁵⁵ For a secular parallel, see below, pp. 311-2.

⁵⁶ *Petrus Blesensis Bathoniensis Archidiaconi, Opera Omnia*, ed. I. A. Giles, (4 vols.; Oxford, 1846-7), i, ep. 29.

⁵⁷ Cited in *VCH*, Hants, ii, ed. H. A. Doubleday and W. Page, (1903), 133. *Ioannis Saresberiensis Policraticus*, ed. C. Webb, (London, 1909), ii, 323, refers to Genesis 18:2 and Hebrews 13:2. The twelfth-century *Libellus de Diuersis Ordinibus et Professionibus qui sunt in Aecclesia*, ed. and tr. G. Constable and B. Smith, (Oxford, 1972), 66, compares canons who establish themselves far from men, such as the Premonstratensians and the canons of St. Josse, to Abraham and Lot, the model hosts.

⁵⁸ *Battle*, 308.

prior and brethren, ‘uelud angelum Domini’.⁵⁹ Whilst these accounts were essentially intended to demonstrate the guest’s renown, they are testimony to the host’s worthiness, and demonstrate that he diligently observed Abraham’s example.

Once again, it is important to note that it was not simply monastic hosts who received such mysterious visitors. The *Vision of Turkhill*, assumed to have been written by the Cistercian abbot, Ralph of Coggeshall, explains that this ‘simple rustic’ from the village of Stisted, about twelve miles west of Colchester, received a vision while draining his fields on 27 October 1206.⁶⁰ Described as an assiduous host, Turkhill was appropriately visited by St. Julian the Hospitaller, patron of travellers and innkeepers, who led him to the shrine of St. James of Compostella.⁶¹

⁵⁹ *Magna Vita*, ii, 171. Note William of Malmesbury’s description of Thorney Abbey, where women were regarded as monsters, but their husbands were received as angels, *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, (London, 1870), 327. In 1170 Becket was received at Christ Church as if an angel, with great weeping and joy, Howden, ii, 12; *Materials for Becket*, iii, 478-9.

⁶⁰ For the most recent Latin version, see P. G. Schmidt, *Visio Thurkilli: Relatore et Idetur, Radulpho de Coggeshall*, (Leipzig, 1978). For discussion of the text, see G. G. King, ‘The Vision of Thurkill and St. James of Compostella’, *The Romanic Review*, 10 (1919), 38-47; P. G. Schmidt, ‘The Vision of Turkhill’, *Journal of Warburg and Courtauld Institute*, 41 (1978), 50-64. For an earlier translation and summary, see H. L. D. Ward, ‘The Vision of Thurkill, probably by Ralph of Coggeshall’, *British Archaeological Journal*, 31 (1875), 420-59.

⁶¹ Schmidt, ‘Vision’, 57. St Julian was honoured in the region. For details of this ‘mythical saint’ and the legends surrounding him, see *Dictionary of Saints*, 273-4. *Materials for Becket*, i, 271-2, records how a host was cured in return for his kindness to pilgrims.

Finally, although the visitor was potentially linked with the Divine, there was still a danger that he was associated with the devil.⁶² Therefore the *Rule* of St. Benedict warns that the kiss of peace should not be extended until after the guest and host have prayed, ‘propter illusiones diabolicas’, which suggests that the prayer was in part precautionary, namely to protect those within from external evils.⁶³

II. The worldly incentive

Hopes of salvation did not exclude the possibility of worldly reward, and pious motives could yield earthly profit. Whilst worldly incentives were not expected to inform the act of hospitality,⁶⁴ the sources suggest that concern for one’s reputation and the prospect of material gain were not always of secondary importance. The following section explores hospitality as a means of accruing honour or avoiding dishonour, and considers the significance of material gain, such as grants, concessions and privileges. Inevitably these two categories are

⁶² Caesarius describes one occasion when St. Bernard was humbly engaged in polishing his shoes and visited by the devil, disguised as an honourable guest. On realising this was ‘a spirit unclean’, Bernard ignored him, and the devil disappeared into the air, *Caesarii*, i, 179-80. See *ibid.*, ii, 131-3, for a knight who was visited by the devil in the guise of a pilgrim.

⁶³ *Rule*, 134, (ch. 53). See below, p. 178.

⁶⁴ Note Gerald of Wales’ argument that riches could earn one heavenly reward if properly distributed (*diuiduntur*), but distanced the soul from heaven if wrongly used, *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 216-7. See Aelred’s distinction between those who have wealth and those who love it – the latter gained no profit from it, *De Speculum Caritatis*, in *Aelredi Rievallensis, Opera Omnia*, i, 3-161, at 41.

not exhaustive, and other possible factors include obligation,⁶⁵ allegiance,⁶⁶ social duty and reciprocity within friendship.⁶⁷

1. Hospitality and reputation: a matter of honour

Hospitality was an acknowledged criterion of judgement, or at least was promoted as such, for a number of communities are commended on account of their reception of guests.⁶⁸ William of Malmesbury lavished praise on the Benedictine communities of Reading abbey, St. Swithun's, Winchester, and Lewes, and warmly commended them for their hospitality.⁶⁹ William describes the monks of Reading as an example of holiness and remarks on their tireless administration of hospitality.⁷⁰ He explains that the brethren of St. Swithun's offered limitless resources, so that visitors by land and sea were welcome to stay for as long as they wished.⁷¹ Hospitality is also presented as testimony to the successful abbot or abbess. The Abingdon chronicler records that the abbey

⁶⁵ E.g. to a patron or visitor of the Order, or simply as this was deemed the 'right' thing to do: Prince Llewelyn of Wales' charter to the monks of Aberconwy in 1199, states, 'it behoves the monks to give food and lodging to travellers and guests', see Williams *Cistercians*, 124.

⁶⁶ Whether to advertise one's allegiance or as a sign of solidarity, see *Orderic*, vi, 420, for the effect of Gregory's reception at Cluny in 1134

⁶⁷ E.g. *Orderic*, vi, 338-40.

⁶⁸ However it is often unclear whether this was testimony to one's worthiness or a means of attaining renown, i.e. a sign one had made it or a tool to get there. Furthermore such commendation could serve as a 'thank you' for hospitality received, e.g. see below, p. 237, for Garnier's praise of his entertainment at Berking nunnery. Gransden *Historical Writing*, 175, suggests that William of Malmesbury's eulogies of Tewkesbury and Reading may have functioned as a form of reciprocity.

⁶⁹ *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum*, ed. and tr. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, (2 vols.; Oxford, 1998-9), i, 746 and 794; *Gesta Pontificum*, 207.

⁷⁰ *Gesta Regum*, ii, 746.

flourished under Faritius and was thus able to support the constant tide of prelates and leading men of the kingdom, who came with their households and often stayed for many days.⁷² Likewise, Euphemia, abbess of the Benedictine house of Wherwell, Hants. (1226-1257) is commended for her diligence in administering hospitality and charity.⁷³

Whereas praise was bestowed on those who extended hospitality, those who neglected guests were often criticised. In 1213, Thomas of Marlborough complained to the legate that the hospitality of Evesham had been abandoned under the tyranny of Abbot Norreys,

Hospitalitas, pater sancte, apud nos penitus deperit,
praeterquam de diuitibus quorum terror sibi exigit honorem,
quum secundum regulam beati Benedicti pauperes in quibus
Deus magis suscipitur suscipere et fouere deberemus.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Ibid., 794. For additional examples see *Liber Eliensis*, ed. E. O. Blake, (Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., 92; 1962), 131, *Ramsey*, 336. See too *Orderic*, ii, 296. This was not peculiar to monastic writers, see *Life of Waldef*, 108, for Prior Waldef of Kirkham.

⁷² *Abingdon*, ii, 48-9. The Cistercian abbot, Robert of Fountains is praised for his reception of strangers and pilgrims, and for showing appropriate honour to guests, and Abbot John for his participation with guests, *Memorials of Fountains*, i, 114, 125-6.

⁷³ *VCH*, Hants., ii, 133.

⁷⁴ *Evesham*, 239-40, at 239. Thomas claimed that according to their ancient statutes, one third of the abbey's bread belonged to the servants and the poor, and two thirds to the brethren and their guests, *ibid.*, 240. See too Map's criticism of the Hospitallers, Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium*, ed. and tr. M. R. James, rev. C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors, (Oxford, 1983), 68, and Richard of Devizes' criticism of seculars, Devizes, *Chronicon Richardi Diuisiensis De Tempore Regis Richardi Primi*, ed. and tr. J. Appleby, (London, 1963), 70.

Gervase of Canterbury similarly censured the archbishops Theobald and Baldwin, for by oppressing the monks of Christ Church, they impeded the administration of hospitality.⁷⁵ However it was not always possible to receive guests freely, and negligence was excused in times of adversity. According to the *Battle* chronicle, Abbot Walter was unable to devote much to the hospitality of the house in the early days of his abbacy, during the anarchy. Nevertheless Walter later compensated, and having recovered land and restored customs, he ensured that nobody was refused entry.⁷⁶ Whilst these accounts may be exaggerated, it is significant that the writers thought such reports would impress others.

William of Malmesbury's account of Herluin of Glastonbury underlines how the administration of hospitality could affect reputation.⁷⁷ On his succession to the abbacy in 1101, Herluin was known for his parsimony. According to the chronicler, this was not a reflection of his meanness, but a custom in his native land.⁷⁸ Nevertheless, the abbot was 'filled with shame' and was adamant to

⁷⁵ *Gervase*, i, 46, 54, 144, and ii, 387, 403. He maintains that under Theobald the monks were half starved and guests were excluded from the court, and accuses Baldwin of seizing the gifts customarily given to the cellars of the guests and infirm, thereby depriving the monks, guests and sick of food.

⁷⁶ *Battle*, 260. However, Martin of Bec managed to find all that was necessary for monks and guests despite the dearth during the anarchy and troubles of his reign, *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough*, ed. W. T. Mellows, (Oxford, 1949), 105, 122. Boso of Bec provided for the monks and guests, in spite of illness, *The Chronicle of Roger of Torigni*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, (4 vols.; London, 1884-9), iv, 3-316, at 110.

⁷⁷ *De Antiquitate*, 158-60.

⁷⁸ This may have been Normandy for the fourteenth-century chronicle of John of Glastonbury states that Herluin was a monk of Caen, *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey: An Edition*,

obliterate this reputation for frugality.⁷⁹ Therefore he completely removed the doors of his courtyard, which had hitherto prevented anyone from reaching him, and ensured that there would no longer be any difficulty in seeing him during the night or day.⁸⁰ Furthermore he summoned his officials and threatened the doorkeeper with the loss of his property, or even his ear, if he shut anyone out. Alas, the abbot's efforts were in vain, for Herluin was now accused of extravagance. Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds was similarly concerned to safeguard his reputation. On his election to the abbacy in 1182, Samson warned his household to take care and provide fittingly for the hospitality of his house, lest he be accused of meanness whilst new in office.⁸¹

Two important points emerge from these examples: firstly, that fear of dishonour could be a key factor in motivating hospitality; secondly the importance of promoting oneself as a good host when new in office and seeking to cultivate a favourable reputation. It is thus interesting that Samson was seemingly less concerned with his public image in later years, for Jocelin refers to the 'stern' countenance he showed to plaintiffs and rumour-mongers, and his refusal to yield to the abbot of Cluny in chapter or at the Sunday procession.⁸² The chronicler

Translation and Study of John of Glastonbury's Cronica Siue Antiquitates Glastoniensis Ecclesie, ed. J. P. Carley, tr. D. Townsend, (Suffolk, 1985), 162.

⁷⁹ Herluin also began to build a new church, gave numerous gifts, recovered and acquired lands, enlarged the monks' quarters, and accepted monks without charge, *De Antiquitate*, 160.

⁸⁰ This underlines the importance of making oneself accessible to visitors.

⁸¹ *Jocelin*, 26. See below, pp. 324-5, for the lay comparison.

⁸² *Jocelin*, 35, 124. Jocelin claims that Samson lost the goodwill and favour of many of his guests, on account of his *rigidus uultus*. Moreover, his refusal to yield to the abbot of Cluny caused a few eyebrows to be raised, 'whereof diverse persons held diverse opinions and many men said many things'. This underlines how the same act could be interpreted in a number of ways.

also implies that Samson's increasing withdrawal to his manors was less a matter of economy than an attempt to escape the tedious business of hospitality.⁸³

However, the promotion of hospitality was not simply of concern to those who were establishing their reputation. It was an ongoing concern, and indeed Jocelin explains that during the vacancy at Bury in the late twelfth century, Prior Robert was determined to maintain peace in the convent and preserve the honour of their church in the entertainment of guests.⁸⁴

Therefore hospitality could either be employed as a stabilising force to prevent dishonour or, as Herluin hoped, to inaugurate change and transform one's reputation. The host could advertise his generosity through the reception of guests, or at least demonstrate that he was not guilty of parsimony. This was clearly a delicate business which necessitated caution, and like Gilbert of Sempringham, the successful host managed to strike the balance between liberality and profligacy, frugality and meanness.⁸⁵ However this was not always an easy task, for there seems to have been little consensus regarding the point of equilibrium. A lay parallel is revealing. William of Malmesbury records that Robert of Meulan's new custom of eating only once a day, as practised by

⁸³ Ibid., 35.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 8-9. Robert administered the monastery from Hugh's death in 1180 until Samson's election in 1182. Both the twelfth-century customary of the Victorines, Paris, and Abelard's rule for Héloïse's community stress the importance of the porter's and portress' contribution to the reputation of the house, for the guest's impression of the porter greatly shaped their perception of what was 'within', *Liber Ordinis S. Victoris Parisiensis*, ed. L. Jocqu and L. Mills, *CCCM*, lxi, 55-6; Abelard, *Epistolae*, ep. 8, col. 280.

⁸⁵ According to the *Book of St. Gilbert*, 62, his expenses were 'neither of a prodigal nor a miser'. For lay examples, see Eadmer's account of Anselm's father, *Vita Anselmi*, 3-4. Note William of Malmesbury's discussion of the various types of givers, and his distinction between liberality and prodigality, *Gesta Regum*, i, 556-8.

Alexis, emperor of Constantinople, was interpreted by his critics as ‘want of liberality’. Nevertheless, on account of Robert’s great reputation for generosity, lavish entertainments and self restraint William accepted his explanation of ‘fear of surfeit or indigestion’.⁸⁶

Still, not everyone was concerned to enhance or safeguard reputation through the administration of hospitality. The Carthusians made little attempt to promote themselves as active hosts, and indeed made no apology for their rather reserved hospitality. In the Carthusian customs of 1127, Prior Guigues I of Chartreuse wrote,

Pauperibus saeculi panem uel aliud aliquid, quod uel facultas offert uel uoluntas suggerit damus, raro tecto suscipimus, sed ad uillam magis mittimus hospitatum. Non enim propter alienorum temporalem curam corporum, sed pro nostrarum sempiterna salute animarum in hujus eremi secessus anflugimus. Et ideo mirandum non est si plus familiaritatis et solatii his qui pro animabus quam qui pro suis huc corporibus ueniunt, exhibemus.⁸⁷

The Carthusian rationale was somewhat opposed to the viewpoint of many contemporaries, perhaps indicative of the eremitic nature of the Order and its

⁸⁶ *Gesta Regum*, i, 736. See below, p. 325, for further discussion.

⁸⁷ Clause xx, ‘De pauperibus et elemosynis’, Guigues, *Consuetudines*, cols. 673-4.

emphasis on solitary contemplation.⁸⁸ Whereas the Benedictines pursued salvation through the communal life and perceived hospitality as a means of facilitating their spiritual passage, the Carthusians sought salvation through isolation and contemplation within their individual cells.⁸⁹ Hospitality was not so much a means of fulfilling the Carthusian ideal as an impediment to it, and as Guigues feared, might lead the monks into mendicancy.⁹⁰

Richard of Devizes, a Benedictine of St. Swithun's, Winchester, was obviously surprised by the Carthusians' rather cool reception of visitors to Witham. The chronicler remarked on the peculiar organisation of the house. He expressed wonder that whilst the doors of the brothers' cells were open, no one was permitted to enter, and that although they had perfect charity to each other, they 'cut' their charity to visitors, giving them a blessing, but not a meal.⁹¹ From Richard's account we can infer that the Benedictine visitors had not received the welcome they had anticipated, nor indeed the kind that would have been extended to guests visiting St. Swithun's. Whilst Richard's bias must be taken into consideration, Gerald of Wales' comments on the moderate hospitality of the

⁸⁸ Similarly, Aelred of Rievaulx's *De Institutione Inclusarum*, 660-1, states that the recluse should not be inundated by beggars, orphans and widows, but 'guard against assuming the obligations of hospitality'; she should not have the means to give to others and should have no distractions from the outside world. However Aelred realised that by doing so she would inevitably scandalise.

⁸⁹ The Carthusian monks ate, slept, prayed and worked in their cells, the focus of Carthusian life.

⁹⁰ Guigues, *Consuetudines*, cols. 671-4; 753-4.

⁹¹ Devizes, *Chronicon*, 1-2. E. M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England*, (London, 1930), 77-8, claims that Richard's tone was one of sarcasm and hostility, and describes his remarks on Carthusian hospitality as 'a little caustic'.

Carthusians,⁹² and indeed Guigues' explicit acknowledgement of this, confirm the validity of the comparison. However not everyone was struck by the Carthusian's cool reception of guests and Nigel Wireker, a monk of Christ Church, includes a favourable report of their hospitality in his satirical animal allegory, *Speculum Stultorum*, composed between November 1179 and March 1180,

Hospitis aduentu gaudent mutantque diaetam,
dant quod habent hilari pectore, uoce, manu.⁹³

The Carthusians may not have been lavish in their reception of guests, but Nigel implies that they were both willing and hospitable.⁹⁴ Once again this reiterates how the same act could be interpreted in a number of ways.

2. Material gain

The guest sometimes made a considerable grant during the stay, although we are not always told why or indeed if a gift was given. For instance, Jocelin records Henry II's visit to Bury in 1188, but does not actually mention if he bestowed any gifts during his stay.⁹⁵ It cannot be assumed that gifts were only made on the

⁹² Gerald explained that the Carthusians received visitors kindly and gave them the same bread as themselves, but provided no fodder for their horses, *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 246-7. Nevertheless, Gerald praised their moderation and concluded that the White monks, whose excessive hospitality and charity had led to their greed for land, would do well to follow their example.

⁹³ *Speculum Stultorum*, lines 2255-6. Nigel must have been basing this report on the Witham monks, for the second Carthusian community at Hinton was not founded until 1222.

⁹⁴ Thompson, *Carthusian Order*, 117-8, remarks that the Carthusians were 'generous in ascetic fashion'.

⁹⁵ *Jocelin*, 53-4.

occasions recorded: sometimes the writer includes this information, at other times he omits these details.⁹⁶ It is thus interesting that the greatest number of grants are recorded by Orderic Vitalis, perhaps indicative of the sheer length of the *Ecclesiastical History*, perhaps a reflection of the author's particular interests and aims.⁹⁷ For example, Orderic explains that when Henry I and his magnates spent Candlemas at St Évrout in 1113, the king requested admission to their fraternity, confirmed earlier benefactions, and donated sixty salted hogs and ten measures of wheat.⁹⁸ When Queen Mathilda visited the community in 1084, she donated a chasuble adorned with gold and pearls and a fine cantor's cope, placed a gold mark on the altar for prayers and left instructions for a stone refectory where the brethren could dine together.⁹⁹ Orderic's account of Geoffrey of Breton suggests that the chronicler may have intended these records to set a precedent for future patrons and visitors: he writes that as Geoffrey was 'mindful of the precepts of the law', he never came without a gift on any of the chief feast days.¹⁰⁰ This would have surely served as an effective deterrent to those who might otherwise have come empty-handed.

⁹⁶ Nor can we assume that those who made grants received hospitality, see below, p. 268.

⁹⁷ Conversely, there are few such references in Gervase's chronicle, and indeed the writer is primarily concerned with national affairs and arbitration between Baldwin and the community. For later references, see Henry III's visits to St. Albans in 1251 and 1255, Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ed. F. Madden, (3 vols.; London, 1866-9), iii, 114, 344.

⁹⁸ *Orderic*, vi, 174-6. This pig meat was presumably intended for the sick, old, guests, and perhaps even servants. According to the late twelfth-century Abingdon customs, whenever the carpenter did work at court he was to receive a corrody *in curia* and a pig at Christmas, *Abingdon*, ii, 241. For similar references, see *Two Cartularies*, i, L. 167, and *Materials for Becket*, i, 464.

⁹⁹ *Orderic*, iii, 240. Presumably there was a wooden refectory previous to this.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 342.

Jocelin's rather exceptional account of King John's visit to Bury suggests it was often expected that distinguished guests would make a sizeable grant, but was not guaranteed. Shortly after his coronation in 1199, John hastened to Bury, ostensibly 'led by devotion and a vow he had made'. Although the community had anticipated a handsome donation in return for their hospitality, John made little attempt to reciprocate,

Nos uero credebamus quod oblaturus esset aliquid magnum;
 pannum quidem sericum unum optulit, quem seruientes
 eius a nostro sacrista mutuo acceperant, nec adhuc precium
 reddiderunt. Hospicium uero sancti Aedmundi suscepit,
 magnis celebratum expensis, et recedens nichil omnino
 honoris uel beneficii sancto contulit, preter xiii. sterlingos,
 quos ad missam suam optulit, die qua recessit a nobis.¹⁰¹

The twelfth-century compilers of the *Liber Eliensis* and the Ramsey chronicle record Earl Brihtnoth's bequest to the monks of Ely in the late tenth century as evidence of the potential gain from receiving noteworthy guests.¹⁰² The writers describe how Brihtnoth and his men sailed past Ramsey on their way to fight the

¹⁰¹ *Jocelin*, 116-7. See too Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iii, 105, fn. d, for details of Harl. MS 447, 'Rex adiit Northumbriam ubi magnam adquisiuit pecuniam. Inde rediens Sabbato Palmarum adiit Sanctum Aedmundum Samson abbas exhibuit eum cum omni sequa sua honorifice eo die et in crastino. Inde recedens adiit Cantuariam'.

¹⁰² *Liber Eliensis*, 135-6; *Ramsey*, 116-7. Macray argues that the Ramsey account is 'quite irreconcilable' with the chronology of Brihtnoth's life, *Ramsay*, 117, fn. 4. For a summary of the Ely account, see M. Ashdown, *English and Norse Documents Relating to the Reign of Ethelred the Unready*, (Cambridge 1930), 276-7, and W. D. Sweeting, *The Cathedral Church of Ely*,

Danish invaders and sought shelter and provisions from Abbot Wulfsey. However the abbot claimed that they could only provide for the earl and six or seven of his men, so Brihtnoth left Ramsey for Ely, where he encountered great liberality. The monks willingly received the earl and all his men and royally entertained the visitors. In response Brihtnoth granted the brethren a number of manors for their immediate possession and promised certain others should he die in battle, providing the community buried his body in the church.¹⁰³ His gift thus combined reciprocity with self-interest; the earl showed his gratitude to the monks while terminating his obligations as guest. In arranging for his future spiritual welfare, the obligation passed from the earl to the monks.

Brihtnoth and his men were outnumbered and defeated; the earl was slain. The Ely monks respected the agreement and received the lands promised to them, which the Ramsey chronicler maintains would have otherwise been bequeathed to his own community.¹⁰⁴ Therefore Ely's enthusiastic hospitality was both directly and indirectly responsible for this substantial grant. By refusing to entertain the earl and all his men, Ramsey forfeited the chance of immediate and future benefaction.

(London, 1924), 103-4. For recent discussion of this passage see J. Pope, 'Monks and nobles in the Anglo-Saxon monastic reform', *AN Studies*, 17 (1995), 165-180, esp. at 171, fn. 33, 177, 180.

¹⁰³ Pope argues that Brihtnoth already had ties with the monks of Ely, which suggests that the earl's munificence was not simply a mark of gratitude, *ibid.*, 171, fn. 33.

¹⁰⁴ *Ramsey*, 117. The chronicler maintained that Brihtnoth's favour for Ramsey returned just after he received his fatal wound, and he bequeathed them a hide of land at Doddington, *ibid.* Ashdown, *English and Norse Documents*, 277, convincingly concludes that this statement is 'hard to reconcile with the account of his death in the *Historia Eliensis*'.

There are clearly inconsistencies in the story, for instance, Wulfsey's abbacy, 1006-16, post-dates the earl's death.¹⁰⁵ However, these discrepancies are of little consequence to the present analysis, for the significance of the story is in its interpretation and presentation by the twelfth-century writers. The two chroniclers promoted this as a warning to future generations, a lesson in the potential gain of receiving guests and the possible loss in refusing them. The Ramsey author was particularly concerned that his community should learn from the past and, as Macray wrote, Wulfsey's rudeness is not so much condemned for its 'Nabalism' as its shortsightedness, namely that it opened the door 'for the more politic neighbours at Ely' to attain considerable lands which would have otherwise been left to Ramsey.¹⁰⁶ It is not clear if the Ely hosts were as astute as Macray suggests, for like Abraham, they may not have entertained any hopes of reward. Regardless of whether or not the tenth-century Ely monks acted out of self interest, the twelfth-century brethren who were to learn from their example were encouraged by the prospect of gain.

Samson of Bury's judicial dealings with Norman and William, two knights of Risby, offers an interesting parallel to the Brihtnoth account. Jocelin records how the two men, amerced in Samson's court, were charged with twenty shillings. Samson remitted William's debt, but demanded full payment from Norman, for whilst the former had honourably lodged him when he was a claustral monk returning from Durham, the latter had refused to accommodate

¹⁰⁵ See *ibid.*, 276.

¹⁰⁶ *Ramsey*, xxix. It is thus interesting that when the Evesham monks refused to accept the leprous Bishop Aelfward of London in 1044, Ramsey received him into the community and received his relics, *ibid.*, 158.

him on that occasion.¹⁰⁷ Whereas those who offered hospitality might be rewarded by their grateful guest, those who denied their services might suffer the consequences.

Regardless of whether hosts were motivated by hopes of a handsome return or whether any gift was considered a bonus, the sources reveal that the visit often presented an ideal opportunity to extact a concession. For example, when Henry I's queen, Mathilda, happened to visit Abingdon abbey for the feast of the Assumption, Abbot Faritius used the occasion to make a request. He asked that the queen make suitable provision for the monks' arduous journey to London. In response Mathilda agreed that a certain Robert who lived in the neighbourhood of the causeway of Colnbrook, together with all his land, should be granted to the community for their long and laborious journey to London.¹⁰⁸ Abbot Robert of St. Albans exercised similar prudence when King Stephen visited the house.¹⁰⁹ Robert welcomed the king, presented him with fitting gifts, and following Mass, threw himself at Stephen's feet to make an emotive plea. The abbot complained that so-called royal retainers, who claimed to be guardians of the peace and faithful servants to the king, had taken up residence in the ruins of Kingsbury castle, and were disturbing the peace and country.¹¹⁰ The abbot's request was answered: the remains were levelled to the ground and the land was ploughed. It

¹⁰⁷ *Jocelin*, 44-5. This also underlines that the 'reward' did not necessarily coincide with the visit.

¹⁰⁸ *Abingdon*, ii, 97-8. The chronicler explains that this was an appropriate location some fifteen miles from London, with an abundance of woods, meadows and markets.

¹⁰⁹ *GASA*, i, 121-2. See *ibid.* iii, pp. xxiii-xxiv, for Riley's translation of the episode. He dates this to the end of Stephen's reign.

¹¹⁰ Riley suggests that these hangers-on of the royal court were of servile rank, and had built some kind of a small tower in the ruins, which they used as a refuge and a habitation, *ibid.*

is unlikely that these aspirations were actually behind the reception of the guests, and indeed the monks would have had little choice but to open their doors when royalty and other distinguished visitors arrived.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, the opportunity for royal lobbying must have offered some kind of an incentive, or at least consolation.¹¹²

Gift-giving was not simply a response to hospitality, but might be reciprocated by hospitality, for as mentioned in chapter I, the community was likely to entertain those who came specifically to bestow a grant. On these occasions hospitality was reactive. Finally, there were other ways in which a guest might contribute to his stay, such as offering advice and counsel in spiritual or worldly matters.¹¹³ However this was not necessarily an incentive for offering hospitality, for whilst the visitor perhaps came specifically to offer guidance,¹¹⁴ this could also be a by-product of the visit. For example, after recovering his rights as patron of Eynsham Abbey, Hugh of Lincoln visited the community for eight days and edified the brethren ‘by the wine of his good humour and the excellent fare of his kindness’.¹¹⁵ Following his consecration as abbot of Bec in 1079, Anselm visited the abbey’s possessions in England, and stopped off at Christ Church cathedral priory. He was honourably welcomed by the

¹¹¹ Indeed, see above, p. 37, fn. 29, for Grosseteste’s complaint.

¹¹² Conversely, Cownie argues that both Anselm and Faritus used hospitality as a ‘diplomatic tool’, and that hospitality was ‘a political performance’ which could yield gifts and good relations, Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 138.

¹¹³ This raises an interesting point, namely, that visitors were expected to contribute according to their skills and standing, i.e. wealth, prestige, advice, salvation.

¹¹⁴ E.g. Henry II and various prelates visited Christ Church during the controversy between Baldwin and the monks, see *Gervase*, i, 348-9, 353-4, 394-5. See *ibid.*, 428-9, for the proposed visit by the Bishop of Ostia.

community, received into their fraternity and stayed for several days living as one of the brethren, and speaking with them in the chapter-house and cloister.¹¹⁶ Indeed it was surely expected that one renowned for his sanctity would share his wisdom with the host community.¹¹⁷ The holy man's participation was also testimony to his humility, and furthermore, reflected well on the host community.¹¹⁸

However, the guest and host could mutually benefit from an exchange of spiritual consolation, and such was the case when Hugh visited La Grande Chartreuse in 1200. Adam reports that during his visit to Chartreuse, the humble bishop stayed a few days in the lower house so that the lay brethren might enjoy his discourse, and that he in turn might feast on their disciplined conduct and conversation, 'as if it were the anteroom of the kingdom of God'. (Isaiah 66:12).¹¹⁹ On a more practical note, the visitor might offer to help with the household chores. This show of humility was surely a welcome contribution, but is unlikely to have triggered the initial reception of the guest. Whenever Gilbert of Sempringham visited a religious house 'to break up an arduous journey', he 'did not eat the bread of idleness' (Proverbs, 31:27), but in addition to giving

¹¹⁵ *Magna Vita*, ii, 42.

¹¹⁶ *Vita Anselmi*, 48-50. Moreover, the fact he was allowed to do so was a mark of his authority; see chapter V for the rights of visiting prelates.

¹¹⁷ Note Lanfranc's letter to Peter of Chester, 29 August 1072-25 x December 1085, urging that he desist harassing the community at Coventry. Lanfranc warned that Peter should not have exploited the monks on his visits, but offered them spiritual advice as a pastor, and edified them by his words and deeds, *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury*, ed. and tr. H. Clover and M. Gibson, (Oxford, 1979), ep. 27. See below, p. 299, for further discussion.

¹¹⁸ See too Archbishop Lanfranc's participation at Bec in 1077, *Vita Herluini*, 105, and Becket's with the brethren of Christ Church, *Materials for Becket*, iii, 39.

¹¹⁹ *Magna Vita*, ii, 165-6.

advice and assistance on important business, he ‘laboured with his own hands to have something to offer them’, whether copying books, constructing household articles, or helping with building work.¹²⁰ However Hugh of Lincoln was assuredly the most assiduous of guests, and Adam of Eynsham explains that whenever he visited his old house at Witham, he loved nothing better than to help with the washing up.¹²¹

Concluding remarks

Monastic hospitality was inspired by worldly and spiritual concerns, and was both idealistic and pragmatic. These conclusions are largely based on ecclesiastic and monastic sources, and there is little evidence of what others identified as the impulse behind monastic hospitality. However the two clerics, Walter Map and Gerald of Wales, both voice an opinion on the matter. The former maintains that they were driven by greed, the latter by hopes of salvation.¹²² Walter claimed that these avaricious hosts preyed on their guests ‘as the hawk spies on the frightened lark’, and discriminated amongst visitors. He complained that whilst knights who had wasted their patrimony and those whom they feared or intended to fleece were urged to come inside where they were lavishly entertained, others, including the secular clergy, were received rather less enthusiastically.¹²³ Nevertheless Walter is hardly the most impartial commentator on the monastic orders, and indeed the fact that Gerald of Wales

¹²⁰ *Book of St. Gilbert*, 58. Chapter 48 of the *Rule* discusses the daily manual labour, and claims ‘Idleness is an enemy of the soul’, *Rule*, 122.

¹²¹ *Magna Vita*, ii, 50.

¹²² Walter makes no distinction between Cistercians and Benedictines.

¹²³ Map, *De Nugis*, 84. However greed is something of a personal crusade for Walter; see *ibid.*, 68, for his criticism of the Hospitallers.

was invited to dine with the prior and senior monks of Christ Church in 1179 suggests that non-monastic visitors were not always spurned or slighted.¹²⁴

In his invective against the Cistercian Order, Gerald of Wales criticises their untoward methods of financing hospitality and argues that their exploitative policies undermined any hopes of salvation. He evokes the scene at Judgement Day to illustrate this point, and in so doing inadvertently identifies Matthew 25 as the primary impetus behind monastic hospitality,

Quid dicturi sunt qui aliena rapiunt, et elemosynas fecerunt?

O Domine, in nomine tuo misericordias fecimus, pauperes
pauimus, nudos uestiuimus, peregrinos hospitio recepimus.

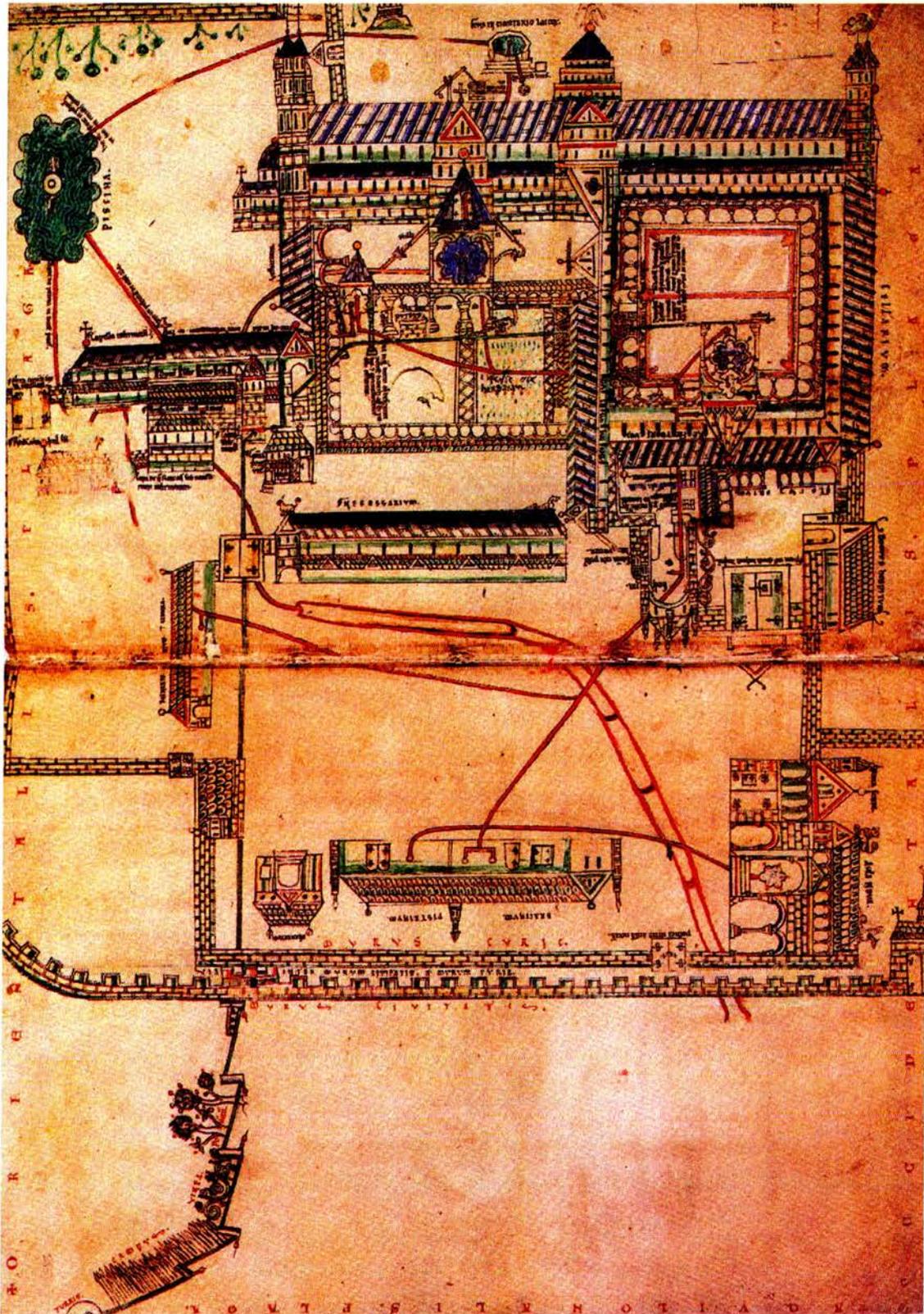
Quibus dicturus est Dominus; Quod dedistis dicitis, quod
fecistis rapinam non dicitis: quos pauistis memoratis, et quos
necastis non recordamini.¹²⁵

Hospitality was clearly essential to the monastic life and coherent with the ideology of the age. Still, the reception of guests within the precincts necessitated caution, so that this would fulfil and not impede the monastic ideal. In theory the spiritual incentive was of singular importance but, as the evidence suggests, worldly concerns often assumed greater significance.

¹²⁴ See below, pp. 233-4. For additional examples of canons and seculars who enjoyed a good relationship with monastic communities, see below, pp. 244-5. Still, the arrangements for those visiting Bury, c. 1234, suggest that Walter's criticisms were not wholly unfounded, see below, p. 216.

¹²⁵ *Giraldi Opera*, vi, 44.

CHAPTER III: THE MONASTIC PRECINCT



2. The Waterworks plan of Christ Church Cathedral Priory, c. 1165, contained in the Eadwine Psalter, printed in D. Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral and its Romanesque Sculpture*, (London, 1991), facing 88.

I. The problems

With few standing remains, limited archaeological research and little explicit documentary evidence, the location and arrangement of the buildings frequented by guests, and indeed the general layout of the monastic precinct, remain highly speculative.¹ We are largely reliant on incidental details contained, for example, in accounts of building works undertaken by various abbots, in descriptions of processional routes, tours, and check up rounds, and in charters.² Still, these rarely locate the buildings or discuss their internal arrangement, and are generally only testimony to their existence. Moreover it is often unclear whether references to building work should be interpreted as new constructions, renovations or relocations.³

Historians have tended to gloss over the obscurities of the evidence for the location and structure of the guest buildings, and have not really addressed the possibility, or indeed the probability, that visitors were (simultaneously) lodged in various places, including the western range.⁴ For instance, the apparent

¹ The 'resurgence of interest' in monastic archaeology in the 1990s, as described by Gilchrist and Mytum, *Advances in Monastic Archaeology*, ed. R. Gilchrist and H. Mytum, *BAR British Series*, 227 (1993), 1, will hopefully help clarify matters. For new archaeological approaches in France, see S. Bonde and C. Maines, 'The archaeology of monasticism: a summary of recent work in France, 1970-87', *Speculum*, 63 (1988), 794-825.

² References to building works and in charters are discussed throughout. For examples of processional routes, see the details for Palm Sunday at Norwich, *Norwich Customary*, esp. 77.

³ See below, pp. 95-6, for Bury.

⁴ For instance, see D. Knowles, *The Historian and Character and other Essays*, (Cambridge, 1963), esp. 186, 190-1; W. Braunfels, *Monasteries of Western Europe: The Architecture of the Orders*, tr. A. Laing, (London, 1972). R. Liddesdale Palmer, *English Monasteries in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1930), 140, briefly discusses the use of the western range. D. Stewart, *On The Architectural History of Ely Cathedral*, (London, 1868), 272, mentions the likelihood that there were several hospices for the different guests, but does not discuss this. See the following

coherence of Knowles' explanation for the development of the guesthouse and its relation to the abbot's lodgings ignores the true complexities of the area; he does not discuss the ambiguous terminology, diversity amongst the houses or *ad hoc* arrangements.⁵

There has been some archaeological examination of the abbot's lodgings and guest quarters, including Brakspear's work on the abbot's lodgings at Battle,⁶ analysis of the precincts at Abingdon, based on the excavations of 1922,⁷ and

discussion of Christ Church, Canterbury, for a similar vagueness. R. Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women*, (London, 1994), 117, explains that in nunneries the guesthall might be contained in the western range and indeed resembled secular manor houses; however, Gilchrist seems to be referring to later constructions.

⁵ Knowles, *Historian and Character*, 190–2, imposes a straightforward chronological explanation, which assumes uniformity of practice. He argues that following the Conquest the few guests that visited were accommodated in the western range; from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century abbots began to have a chamber in this range, by the guesthall, and therefore new and larger guest lodgings were built, generally to the west of the claustral buildings; the new guesthouse usually comprised a hall, kitchen, parlour etc. He maintains that from the early fourteenth century the abbot's quarters in the western range were enlarged. However, these generalisations are inadequate. Firstly, there is evidence of abbots' chambers and indeed complexes from the early twelfth century, e.g. see below, pp. 73-4, 97-8, 102. Secondly, it was not simply that one guesthouse replaced another: several could function simultaneously.

⁶ H. Brakspear, 'The abbot's house at Battle', *Archaeologia*, 83 (1933), 139-66. For recent discussion of Battle, see J. N. Hare, *The Eastern Range and the Excavation of 1978-80*, (London, 1985), and 'The buildings of Battle abbey: a preliminary survey', *AN Studies*, 3 (1980), 78-95.

⁷ M. Biddle, the late Mrs. H. T. Lambrick, J. N. L. Myres, 'The early history of Abingdon, Berkshire, and its abbey', *Mediaeval Archaeology*, 12 (1968), 26-69. Additional studies include Willis' examination of the precincts of Christ Church, Canterbury, R. Willis, *The Architectural History of the Conventual Buildings of the Monastery of Christ Church in Canterbury*, (London, 1869), and more recently T. Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury History and Guide*, (Stroud, 1994), and 'Three great Benedictine houses in Kent: their buildings and topography', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 100 (1985) 171-88; F. Anderson, 'St. Pancras priory, Lewes, and its architectural development to 1200', *AN Studies*, 11 (1989), 1-35; B. Philp, *Excavations at Faversham 1965*, (Sussex, 1968). J. P. Greene, *Mediaeval Monasteries*, (Leicester, 1992), examines monasteries through their archaeology and chapter VI considers 'Food, drink, hospitality and health', but is

exploration of various Cistercian houses including Fountains, Tintern and Kirkstall.⁸ However archaeologists have only recently begun to examine the outer precincts and acknowledged the possibility of several guest buildings.⁹ As Courtney remarks,

The possibility of differing provisions for guests of varying status remains a complex and largely unexplored problem ... The pattern of hospitality, however, may have varied between individual monasteries as well as between different orders and through time. It is to be hoped that increased interest in excavating monastic outer precincts will shed further light and help place the evidence of the standing remains, the result of piecemeal survival, into a clearer context.¹⁰

Other recent archaeological developments of relevance include 'access analysis' and 'spatial analysis'. These discuss where the buildings and entrances were

brief and makes little mention of Benedictine houses: it focuses on the Cistercian houses of Tintern and Kirkstall, and the Augustinian priory of Thonholme, *ibid.*, 153-6.

⁸ See below, pp. 110-20.

⁹ For a general outline of the historiography of archaeological research and the neglect of buildings outside the claustral area, see L. Butler, 'The archaeology of rural monasteries in England and Wales', *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, ed. R. Gilchrist and H. Mytum, *BAR British Series*, 203 (1989), 1-28, esp. 8-14, and S. Moorhouse, 'Monastic estates: their composition and development', *The Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, 29-81, at 39-43. The recent volume of *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture*, 5, ed. M. Parsons Lillich, (Michigan, 1998), looks beyond the church to the monastic buildings, and is indicative of the new direction of research.

¹⁰ P. Courtney, 'Excavations in the outer precinct of Tintern abbey', *Medieval Archaeology*, 33 (1989), 99-143, at 125.

located, as well as ease of access and movement around them.¹¹ Also related are considerations as to whether different guests were admitted through different gates and whether this was dependent on their standing, the reason for their visit, or merely a matter of convenience, i.e. the nearest entrance. Grenville includes a realistic assessment of the merits and limitations of such analyses, and rightly warns of the danger in assuming a 'one-to-one law-like relationship or cross cultural uniformity between spatial patterns and social realities'.¹² For example, while the actual guesthouses and gateways might remain in the same place and physically unaltered, their function could change.

The terminology used to describe the various guest buildings makes it difficult to establish just how many there were, where they were located and how they were arranged. It is hard to know how terms such as *domus*, *aula*, *camera*, *thalamus*, and *cella* relate to each other, i.e. if they are always to be differentiated or whether they are less stringently applied.¹³ This important point is considered

¹¹ See J. Grenville, *Mediaeval Housing*, (London, 1997), 17-22, for a brief summary. For discussion of this in relation to the nunneries, see Gilchrist, *Gender*, 152, 166-7.

¹² Grenville, *Mediaeval Housing*, 17-20.

¹³ Whereas J. Blair, 'Hall and chamber: English domestic planning 1000-1250', in *Manorial Domestic Buildings in England and Northern France*, ed. G. Meirion-Jones and M. Jones, (London, 1993), 1-21, at 2-5, maintains that the terms *camera* and *thalamus* are interchangeable, but should be distinguished from the *aula*, Barthélemy argues there was little to distinguish the *camera* and *aula*, other than size, cited in Grenville, *Mediaeval Housing*, 86. Grenville, *ibid.*, 66, implies that the difference between the *aula* and *camera* was one of public versus private. Indeed, it seems that the terms were flexible and although they might carry precise implications, could be more generally applied. It is thus interesting to note Fergusson's article on Aelred's house at Rievaulx, for he remarks that Walter Daniel uses six different terms to describe the residence: *mausoleum*, *mansio*, *domo*, *secretario*, *cella*, *tugurium*, indicative of the various functions, but also, he argues, testimony to the 'newness of the architectural type', and subsequent doubt as to how exactly it should be described, P. Fergusson, 'Aelred's abbatial residence at Rievaulx abbey', in *Studies in Cistercian Art and Architecture* 5, pp. 41-58, at 49.

throughout the chapter. The current debate amongst archaeologists regarding chamberblocks and first-floor halls is indicative of the confusion and uncertainty regarding the internal arrangement of the buildings. Blair has recently suggested that what were hitherto interpreted as first-floor halls were actually two-storey chamberblocks, and that the accompanying ground-floor open halls, which were unaisled and generally of timber, remain uncovered.¹⁴ Nevertheless this view is not universally accepted and Thompson still maintains that these structures should be identified as first-floor halls, introduced to England after the Conquest.¹⁵

The following chapter provides the context for succeeding ones. It also addresses the problems and complexities of such an analysis, presenting hypotheses and highlighting the obscurities. Given the piecemeal nature of the evidence, I consider several houses in their entirety as examples, though not archetypes. The analysis begins with a discussion of Christ Church cathedral priory, Canterbury, based on the remarkable survival of the Waterworks plan of c. 1165. Thereafter the archaeological and recorded evidence for Abingdon,

With regards to the present analysis this underlines that terminology was often, if not always, loosely applied. See too A. Quiney, 'Hall or chamber? That is the question: the use of rooms in post-Conquest houses', *Architectural History Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians of Great Britain*, 42 (1999), 24-46, at 35, who argues that the occupier, rather than the outsider, describes the usage of these halls and chambers, and this rather loose terminology makes it hard to distinguish the rooms.

¹⁴ Blair, 'Hall and chamber', 1-16, esp. 2; Grenville, *Mediaeval Housing*, 66-88. For proponents of the traditional view, see for example, P. A. Faulkener, 'Domestic planning from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries', *Archaeological Journal*, 115 (1958), 150-83.

¹⁵ M. Thompson, *The Mediaeval Hall, the Basis of Secular Domestic Life 600-1600*, (Aldershot, 1995). M. Thompson, *Mediaeval Bishops' Houses in England and Wales*, (Aldershot, 1998);

Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans are considered. The chapter concludes with a comparative analysis of the Cistercian precinct.¹⁶

II. Christ Church Cathedral priory: the Waterworks plan, c. 1165

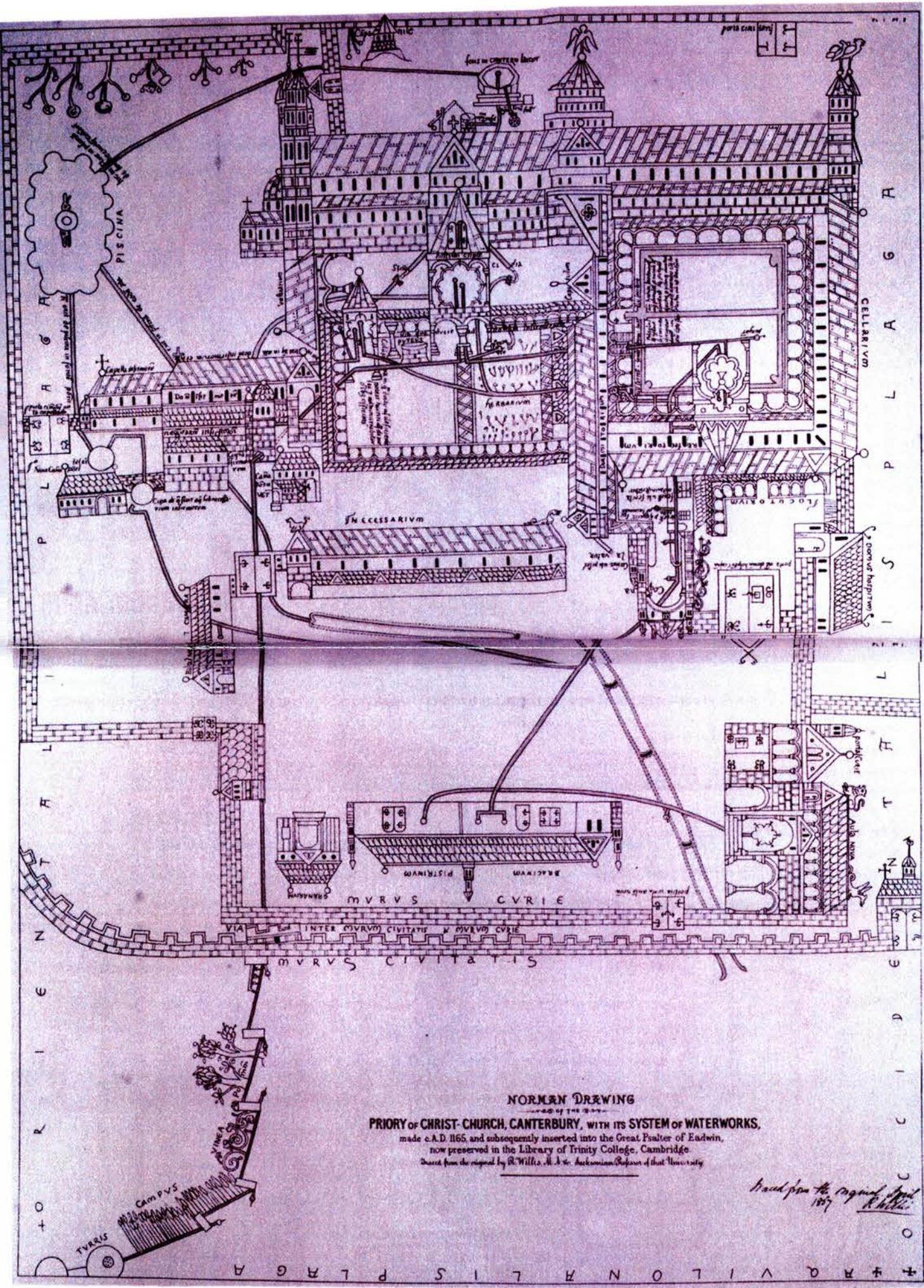
3. The Waterworks plan, from *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsey and M. Sparks, (Oxford, 1995), xxviii-xxix.

esp. 125. For a summary of the debate and discussion of the evidence, see Grenville, *Mediaeval Housing*, 66 ff.

¹⁶ Little can be ascertained regarding the archaeological layout of the nunneries at this time, see R. Gilchrist, 'The archaeology of mediaeval English nunneries: a research design', *Archaeology of Rural Monasteries*, 251-60, at 252. For the arrangements at nunneries in later times, see Gilchrist, *Gender*, esp. 74, 76, 117, 125, 127, 166.

Bury St. Edmunds and St. Albans are considered. The chapter concludes with a comparative analysis of the Cistercian precinct.¹⁶

II. Christ Church Cathedral priory: the Waterworks plan, c. 1165



The Waterworks plan of Christ Church, Canterbury, depicts the monastery's hydraulic system, which was central to Prior Wibert's building programme, 1155-67.¹⁷ It is a unique survival, and indeed the only known plan of a western monastery prior to the sixteenth century, save that of St. Gall. However, the latter was only ever intended as an ideal. The technical detail of the Waterworks plan suggests it was essentially utilitarian in design, probably a guide for repairs and extensions.¹⁸ The fine execution of the plan prompts Kahn's suggestion that it may also have been intended to impress visitors, although she stresses that this would not have been the primary function.¹⁹ With regards to the present analysis, the plan is a unique testimony to the existence and location of the buildings in the mid-twelfth century, and indeed Braunfels maintains that it is more or less representative of the monastery as it was until the Dissolution, as the conventual buildings were renovated, not rearranged.²⁰ Given the priory's location and the fact it was the seat of the Primate, it cannot be assumed that the layout at Christ Church is typical.²¹ In addition, it has been pointed out that the plan is more representative than realistic. For instance, although the *necessarium* and dormitory are detached in the drawing, the ruins at this point are distinctly

¹⁷ Braunfels, *Monasteries*, 162, attributes the plan's survival to the fact that it was bound in the Eadwine Psalter. The Psalter is now in Trinity College, Cambridge, MS 17.1, fos. 284v-285r. For extensive discussion of the plan, see W. Urry, 'Canterbury, Kent, c. 1153', in *Local Maps and Plans From Mediaeval England*, ed. R. A. Skelton and P. D. A. Harvey, (Oxford, 1986), 43-58.

¹⁸ F. Woodman, 'The Waterworks drawing of the Eadwine Psalter', in *The Eadwine Psalter: Text, Image and Monastic Culture in Twelfth-Century Canterbury*, ed. M. Gibson, T. A. Heslop, R. W. Pfaff, (London, 1992), 168-77, at 172.

¹⁹ Kahn, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 101.

²⁰ Braunfels, *Monasteries*, 164.

²¹ E.g. Liddesdale Palmer, *English Monasteries*, 164, remarks on the large-scale hospitality at Christ Church.

joined. Likewise, the door between the guesthouse and kitchen is ‘preposterously exaggerated’ in size *vis à vis* the other buildings, for Willis calculates it would otherwise be about twelve metres wide and fifteen metres high.²²

The Waterworks plan shows that there were various buildings associated with hospitality, namely the prior’s chambers, the *domus hospitum* and the *aula noua*. It also depicts the various points of access to the precinct including the main gate of the court in the NW corner, the door of the cemetery in the east and the gate in the south. The old and new chambers of the prior lay to the NE of the church, by the infirmary buildings, and were thus separated from the court by a wall and gate.²³ It is likely that distinguished ecclesiastics and nobility were entertained here, but the sources are not explicit. Furthermore there is no indication as to how many could be accommodated or whether the chambers comprised a hall and / or rooms.²⁴ However, as is argued throughout, we should probably opt for a loose interpretation of the term *camera*, and in this case it was probably a series of rooms rather than a single chamber.²⁵ Indeed, it is likely that *camera* could function as an umbrella term: it might include a small chamber, such as that where Suger was free to read, weep and contemplate, ‘as the hours allowed’; in

²² Willis, *Architectural History*, 126. Woodman, ‘Waterworks’, 171, 174–6, also discusses the accuracy and limitations of the plan.

²³ R. A. L. Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral Priory: A Study in Monastic Administration*, (Cambridge, 1943), 30, mentions that the prior had his own distinct household.

²⁴ See Willis, *Architectural History*, 94-5.

²⁵ Willis argues that this ‘often implies a hall with its appendage of chambers and conveniences’, *ibid.*, 95. See above, pp. 69-70, for the implications of this term.

1148 Peter the Venerable was apparently amazed at how humble this cell was.²⁶ Equally, it could refer to the more substantial *camera* pertaining to the abbot of Peterborough, where he held his honorial court in 1133.²⁷ This certainly suggests that *camera* had no invariable sense in terms of size or function.

The *domus hospitum*, situated NW of the cloister, adjoined the cellarer's range.²⁸ It formed a private court with the kitchen and parlour²⁹ and was convenient for the stables, kitchen and the cellarage beneath the refectory.³⁰ Despite the 'scanty' Norman remains, it has been calculated that the outer length measured some forty metres and the distance between the walls at the southern end around eight metres.³¹ The *domus hospitum* has recently been the subject of archaeological research.³² Bowen explains that the hall, which was built over an

²⁶ *Oeuvres Complètes de Suger*, ed. A. Lecoy de la Marche, (Paris, 1867), 392-3; L. Grant, *Abbot Suger of St. Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France*, (London, 1998), 251; G. Constable, 'Suger's monastic administration', in *Abbot Suger and St. Denis: A Symposium*, ed. P. Lieber Gerson, (NY, 1986), 17-32, at 19. Also, see Bernard's letter to Suger, *Sancti Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. Leclercq and H. Rochais, (8 vols.; Rome, 1957-77), viii: *Epistolae*, ep. 309.

²⁷ E. King, *Peterborough Abbey 1086-1310: A Study in the Land Market*, (Cambridge, 1973), 31.

²⁸ Willis, *Architectural History*, 38. Later documents sometimes refer to this as the 'cellarer's hall', and indeed, 'for convenience sake', Willis refers to this court as 'the cellarer's court', *ibid.*, 115. See below for the cellarer's role in the administration of hospitality. The plan is not the only testimony to the existence of the *domus hospitum*, for it is mentioned in the rental of 1165, see W. Urry, *Canterbury Under the Angevin Kings*, (London, 1967), rental B, (1163-7), nos. 23, 51, 84. Smith mentions various rents in the city which were appointed to the upkeep of the guesthouse and almonry, Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 14.

²⁹ I.e. the outer or guest parlour. The inner parlour was located by the chapter-house. See below, pp. 87-8, 99, for the parlours at Abingdon and Bury.

³⁰ *Architectural History*, 38.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 125-6. These calculations were taken from the east wall, which remains entire, and the lower part of the return walls / gables at the north and south ends.

³² J. Bowen, 'The *Domus hospitum*', in 'Interim report on work carried out in 1987 by the Canterbury Archaeological Trust', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 104 (1988), 326-7. The Canterbury

undercroft of seven bays, was entered from the transverse staircase, toward the south end. The building continued for an additional two bays and was originally open at undercroft level to the east and at the south end.³³ It is generally assumed that middling guests were received here by the cellarer, but there has been little discussion as to who precisely this includes, namely whether guests were defined in accordance with the number of horses they had, on their standing in society, or in relation to other visitors who were present at the time, and indeed if visiting monks were lodged here.³⁴

The plan shows a parlour, or *locutorium*, adjacent to the refectory and facing onto the kitchen court.³⁵ Urry suggests that it served as a covered wing, so that food might be taken to the guesthall, but this is merely speculative and is not confirmed by comparison with other houses.³⁶ No doubt the parlour had several

Archaeological Trust is currently surveying the *domus hospitum* for restoration. This should help clarify some of the confusion regarding the structure and use of the building.

³³ Bowen, '*Domus hospitum*', 327. According to Willis, *Architectural History*, 135, the south vestibule seems to have contained a flight of steps which led the visitor through ornamented doors from the cellarer's court to the floor of the hall. Presumably the eastern entrance led to the *locutorium*. (Anne Krahenbohl-Holden tells me that the thirteenth-century Black Hostelry at Ely had separate entrances to the first and second floors.)

³⁴ E.g. Braunfels, *Monasteries*, 165; Smith, *Canterbury Cathedral*, 49; Liddesdale Palmer, *English Monasteries*, 164; Bowen, '*Domus hospitum*', 327. Willis, *Architectural History*, 15, does not openly discuss the identity of the cellarer's guests, but later in his description refers to pilgrims who received hospitality in the cellarer's court. Urry, 'Canterbury, Kent', 53, describes the *domus hospitum* as a small structure, which was 'certainly quite inadequate' to accommodate the great number of magnates, pontiffs and attendants who flocked to Christ Church, even before the martyrdom of 1170; his remark suggests that he assumed distinguished visitors stayed there. Tim Tatton-Brown informs me that the *domus hospitum* was a particularly fine building, and that he would very much like to know for whom it was intended c. 1160.

³⁵ See below, pp. 212-3, for seculars washing their hands here before dining in the refectory. A second parlour was located by the chapter-house, and was probably more for the community.

³⁶ Urry, 'Canterbury, Kent', 53.

functions and it was probably here that guests spoke with the guestmaster and met members of the community, whether friends or family.³⁷

The *aula noua* was situated in the NW corner of the court, by the main gate to the court.³⁸ It therefore stood on the outskirts of the precinct, between the menial and monastic buildings. Much of the *aula noua* survives and it has been well documented by architects and art historians,³⁹ and although it has been mostly rebuilt since the twelfth century, the original staircase remains.⁴⁰ The hall was on a raised vaulted substructure, reached by an external staircase, and the entire building measured approximately fifty metres by fourteen metres externally, some forty-eight metres by twelve metres internally, and the hall itself was about eight metres broad.⁴¹ The body of the hall was situated to the west and a side aisle was to the east.⁴² Kahn maintains that the *aula noua* is shown in ‘abbreviated form’, for whilst archaeological excavations show that there were originally nine bays, the plan simply depicts one arch to the south of the stairway

³⁷ See below, p. 250.

³⁸ It is generally thought that the almonry stood adjacent to the *aula noua*, see Willis, *Architectural History*, 12, 15, and note Tatton-Brown’s reconstruction of the precincts, Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury*, 26.

³⁹ E.g. Woodman and Kahn describe the bays and the sculptures; Bowen, has written on the architecture, see above. Awaiting publication: M. Sparks, ‘The *aula noua*, documentary evidence’, J. Bowen, ‘The architecture of the *Aula Noua*’, and D. Kahn, ‘The sculpture of the *Aula Noua*’, in *Excavation in the Cathedral Precincts, i: The Aula Noua, Almonry Chapel and Lanfranc’s Dormitory*, Canterbury Archaeological Trust. Willis, *Architectural History*, 144-5, claims that the *aula noua* was built around the same time as the Norman entrance gateway.

⁴⁰ This enormous staircase is supported on a multi-foil laver, Kahn, *Canterbury*, 105.

⁴¹ Willis, *Architectural History*, 145-6.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 146.

and two to the north;⁴³ Woodman argues that only the major elements of the façade are shown, namely five bays, an open arcaded basement and a staircase projecting from the middle.⁴⁴

Despite the wealth of architectural knowledge, there is no documentary evidence to explain who exactly stayed in the hall. However, from its location in the precinct and similarity with the hall at Eastbridge hospital in the High Street, which was established to provide pilgrims with food and lodging for 4d,⁴⁵ Willis argues that the *aula noua* accommodated ‘the lowest class of pilgrims or persons who craved hospitality’.⁴⁶ Presumably he means those who arrived on foot, rather than on horse. Indeed hospices at the gates of Cluny and la Trinité, Vendôme, received visitors on foot, whilst those on horseback were shown to an inner hospice.⁴⁷ Though plausible, Willis’ hypothesis is not conclusive, for the *aula noua* may have served as lodgings for the retainers of those staying at the house, as was seemingly the case at Abingdon.⁴⁸ Alternatively it may have

⁴³ Kahn, *Canterbury*, 195. Willis makes the important point that although the plan depicts a finished building, the *aula noua* may have been incomplete at this time: the fire of 1174 delayed the superstructure until the first years of the Early English style, Willis, *Architectural History*, 147.

⁴⁴ Woodman, ‘Waterworks’, 174. He remarks that the plan is more concerned with the proportion of the form than the number of bays and windows, i.e. technical detail is of less significance, *ibid.*, 174-6.

⁴⁵ See below, pp. 107-9, for further discussion of this hospital.

⁴⁶ Willis, *Architectural History*, 148. See too *ibid.*, 15.

⁴⁷ J. Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny 910–1157*, (London, 1931), 92–3; P. D. Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power: the Abbey of La Trinité, Vendôme, 1032–1187*, (NY, 1981), 160. See below, pp. 86-7, for St. John’s hospice at Reading.

⁴⁸ See below, pp. 85-6.

accommodated non-Benedictine regulars, as at Bury, or brothers of the Minor Orders or preachers, as at Westminster.⁴⁹

Therefore the Waterworks plan provides tangible evidence of what buildings there were and where they were located, and given that the position of the guest buildings is generally conjectural or even omitted from plans and guidebooks, this is clearly significant. Still, the plan is not a comprehensive guide, for as previously mentioned it gives little indication as to how the interior of the buildings was divided, how the various guests were differentiated and dispersed, and is ultimately more illustrative than exact.⁵⁰ In addition, it does not take into account the multi-functional use of space, for as I argue throughout, buildings could be assigned various different uses, depending on the occasion and need.⁵¹ The absence of a black hostelry is of particular note and deserves mention.⁵² Although Benedict makes no reference to a monks' hospice, a separate lodging for visiting monks is shown in the plan of St. Gall, c. 820. Furthermore this was discussed at the Synod of Aachen, 817, and by the ninth-century commentators

⁴⁹ See below, p. 358, fn. 1.

⁵⁰ Woodman, 'Waterworks', 171, maintains that the plan is basically a checklist of the state of building in the middle of the twelfth century.

⁵¹ For instance, during the election dispute at Bury in the thirteenth century, the opposing parties met in the *domus hospitum*, *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 108; bloodlet monks at St. Albans were permitted to speak in the guests' parlour, *GASA*, i, 207-8.

⁵² Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, 30-1, acknowledges that in larger houses there were generally four separate guest lodgings, namely the abbot's or prior's chambers for distinguished guests, the cellarer's department for merchants or those on business, a shelter by the gate for 'poorer folk' and a hospice for monks of other orders. However he makes no mention of the latter in relation to Christ Church.

on the *Rule*.⁵³ In addition, several of the thirteenth-century sources refer to a hospice for Benedictine visitors.⁵⁴ How should we interpret this omission? Can we assume that visiting monks stayed in the common dormitory with the brethren, as seems to have been the case at St. Peter's, Gloucester, in the late twelfth century?⁵⁵ Or, were visiting monks less integrated with their hosts, and accommodated in the *domus hospitum* or prior's lodgings along with secular and lay guests, though perhaps in a separate section of these buildings? With no clear evidence, we can only conjecture. Nevertheless, as is later suggested, it is likely that before the official erection of a monks' hostelry such guests were accommodated in the common dormitory, providing, of course, there was sufficient room. No doubt arrangements were flexible, and could be adapted according to the need and occasion.

⁵³ According to the Synod of Aachen in 817, visiting monks should be separated from other visitors and lodged near the church, next to the oratory, that they might observe the regular hours undisturbed by the other guests. Therefore, they were separated from the host community and other visitors, Braunfels, *Monasteries*, 40. Similar arrangements are detailed in Hildemar's commentary of c. 850, *ibid.*, 238.

⁵⁴ See below, pp. 96-7, 104, 213-4.

⁵⁵ *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 34. There would certainly have been room for these visitors in the common dormitory: Cook claims that although Christ Church was intended for c. 150 monks, there were rarely more than 100 and only some seventy or eighty in the twelfth century, G. H. Cook, *English Monasteries in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1961), 16. While Faritius intended that Abingdon should accommodate 100 brethren, there were only about eighty. Indeed a charter of 1194 x 1217, perhaps 1201, compelled the abbot to increase the community to eighty monks, suggesting that the number must have fallen below this, *Two Cartularies*, i, no. L. 166, and *Abingdon*, ii, 287.

III. Other Benedictine houses

1. Abingdon

The following analysis is largely based on Gabrielle Lambrick's extensive and valuable work on Abingdon, and considers the archaeological evidence in relation to recorded references.⁵⁶ Much is inconclusive and remains speculative, but it is necessary to address these ambiguities and consider the various possibilities. Before examining the actual buildings assigned to hospitality, it is interesting to note that the precincts of the abbey covered some eighteen acres: the 'base court' was about three acres, the inner court around half an acre, the churchyard and claustral buildings some four acres, the orchards and gardens another ten and a half acres.⁵⁷ The precincts at Battle are reckoned to have been about twenty acres, Reading and St. Augustine's some thirty acres, Westminster around forty acres and Faversham about twenty-four acres.⁵⁸ The main gate of the precinct at Abingdon was situated by the hospital of St. John and the church of St. Nicholas; the almonry may also have been here.⁵⁹ There were a number of other points of access. Lambrick has compiled a list of the various references to gates, but admits it is often unclear if and when they should be equated.⁶⁰

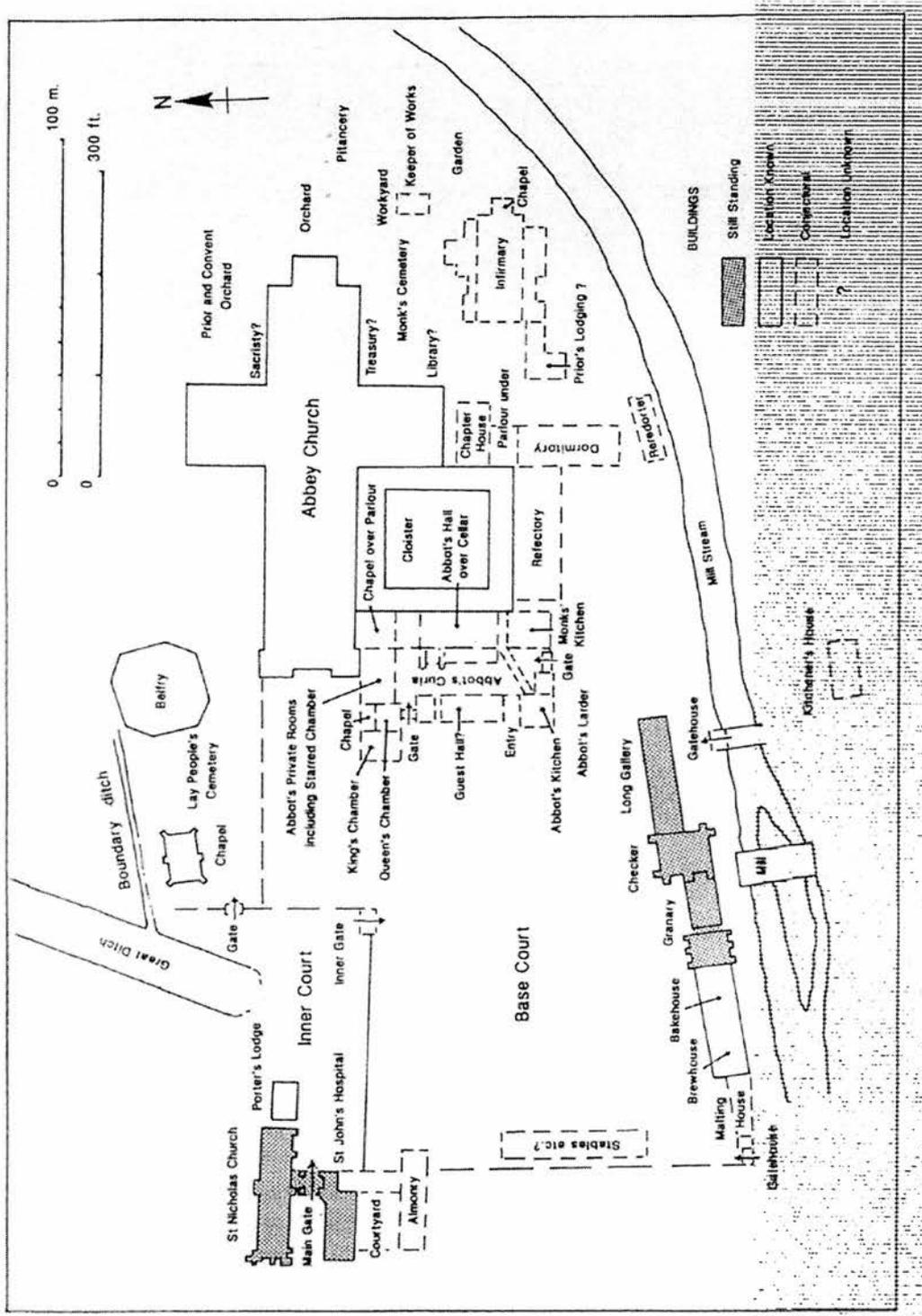
⁵⁶ Lambrick, 'Early history', 42-59.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 58-9. These figures are based on Roger Amyce's *Survey of Abingdon 1554*.

⁵⁸ *VCH, Sussex*, ix, ed. L. F. Salzman, (1937), 102; J. Hurry, *Reading Abbey*, (London, 1901), 1; J. Robuck, *St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury*, (London, 1997), 3; Philp, *Faversham*, 30.

⁵⁹ See below, p. 82. The remains of the gatehouse date from the fifteenth century.

⁶⁰ Lambrick, 'Early history', 57. For recent discussion of the number and function of gatehouses, though largely Cistercian, see P. Fergusson, 'Porta patens esto. Notes on early Cistercian gatehouses in the north of England', in *Mediaeval Architecture and its Intellectual Context*, ed. P.



4. A conjectural plan of Abingdon Abbey as it may have stood at the Dissolution, 1538, printed in *Two Cartularies*, ii, p. lxiii.

Crossley and E. Fernie, (London, 1990), 47-60; K. E. Slazer, 'Gatehouses and mother houses: a study of the Cistercian abbey of Zaraka', *Medieval Studies*, 61 (1999), 297-324.

The Abingdon chronicle records that Abbot Vincent, 1121-1130, constructed a guesthall with a chamber, in addition to other buildings in the court.⁶¹ The chronicler gives no indication of the precise location of this hall. Moreover he does not explain if it was for all guests or particular visitors, and if the latter, whether it was for the abbot's or convent's guests, and if there was such a distinction at this time.⁶² The guesthall was probably situated near the stables and almonry, which were built at this time. While the almonry's location is not confirmed, Knowles and Lambrick suggest a position by St. John's hospital and argue that the guesthall was likely part of either the almonry or hospital.⁶³ Lambrick compares this with the *aula noua* at Canterbury and proffers the likelihood that the poor at Abingdon were fed in this hall.⁶⁴ Other examples warn of the danger in imposing such generalisations: for instance, the guesthall and chamber constructed by Abbot Geoffrey of St. Albans, 1119-46, were not situated by the gate but to the west of the claustral range, and were seemingly frequented by distinguished visitors.⁶⁵

⁶¹ *Abingdon*, ii, 171. The chronicle states that these buildings were 'outside', presumably this means in the court, i.e. outside the claustral area. Compare to Abbot Reginald of Evesham's construction of an 'aula hospitum cum camera', 1122-49, which seems to have included a large kitchen, *Evesham*, 99. This complex at Evesham may predate the abbot's chamber, mentioned in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century. For the early thirteenth-century guest range in the outer court at Battle, see Hare, *Eastern Range*, 12.

⁶² See below, p. 125, for the likelihood that there was a division of revenues at Abingdon in the early twelfth century, and as Knowles argues, the distinction between the abbot's and community's guests generally coincided with this, Knowles, *Historian and Character*, 191.

⁶³ Lambrick, 'Early history', 53.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 53, 55.

⁶⁵ See below, pp. 101-3.

What provision was there for visitors before the erection of Vincent's hall, and indeed, was this intended to replace former guest accommodation or to supplement existing lodgings? In effect, should we interpret it as a work of construction, renovation, or relocation? Whilst speculative, this probably denotes the first formal guesthall at Abingdon, perhaps the first in stone. The fact that Faritius was extensively engaged in rebuilding the claustral ranges leads us to assume that Vincent's construction of the guesthall was a continuation of his predecessor's work.⁶⁶ There was certainly some kind of provision for guests prior to Vincent's guesthall, for the chronicler maintains that during Faritius' abbacy, as a result of his successful policies, the community was able to sustain crowds of distinguished visitors who often stayed for many days.⁶⁷ It is not clear where they were lodged, but there are several possibilities: they may have been accommodated in chambers specifically assigned for guests in the western range;⁶⁸ there may have been a more *ad hoc* arrangement, with visitors either lodging in the court or the western range, depending on the occasion and availability. However, some guests may have stayed in the abbot's *camera*, for the chronicler reveals that by 1107 Faritius had constructed a chamber with a chapel over a parlour.⁶⁹

⁶⁶ From c. 1100 Faritius undertook extensive building works at the house, and basically tore down the claustral buildings and began anew; hence, the brethren slept in the church while their dormitory was rebuilt, Lambrick, 'Early history', 45.

⁶⁷ See above, p. 49.

⁶⁸ Knowles, *Historian and Character*, 191, would certainly suggest as much.

⁶⁹ See *Abingdon*, ii, 101, 150, 286. Moreover, some visitors would have stayed in the vill. For example, according to the Abingdon chronicle, the earl of Chester, his mother and barons stayed in the vill when they visited Abingdon to confirm a charter at Pentecost, 1106, *ibid.*, 68-9.

The relationship between the abbot's lodgings and guest quarters is significant.⁷⁰ Faritius' lodgings were situated to the west of the cloister and south of the church.⁷¹ Lambrick suggests that this chamber was later converted to a hall. Abbot Ingulf built a second chamber over a cellar, 1130-58,⁷² and this probably ran from the west of the parlour and chapel, forming a second range. Lambrick concludes that the two ranges would have provided two sides of a courtyard, and raises the possibility that the abbot's lodgings were contained within a quadrangular enclosure quite early on, for there is a late twelfth-century reference to a certain Walter, who had custody of the gate 'ante cameram abbatis'. As Lambrick remarks, this implies there was a special gate at the entrance to some sort of enclosure or courtyard.⁷³

Therefore, by the end of the twelfth century guests might stay in a hall or chamber within the abbot's court.⁷⁴ However the king or metropolitan was accommodated in the abbot's own bedchamber, which suggests that in contrast to

However, it is not clear whether the earl had his own house in the town, or whether the abbot assigned these lodgings to the party.

⁷⁰ Compare this with the arrangements at the nunneries, for Gilchrist remarks that abbesses and prioresses rarely had independent lodgings, Gilchrist, *Gender*, 125.

⁷¹ Lambrick, 'Early history', 51-2. The abbot of Westminster's lodgings (*camera*, parlour and cellar) were situated to the west of the cloister, over the parlour which formed the entrance to the cloister at the SW corner. Robinson confidently attributes this to Gilbert Crispin's abbacy, 1087-1117, Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 36. According to Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 83, in the twelfth century the abbots of Westminster began to live in their own quarters within the precincts. *Candidus*, 98, mentions that the abbot's houses at Peterborough were destroyed in the fire of 1117. For the early thirteenth-century abbot's house at Battle, see Brakspear, 'The abbot's house', and more recently, Hare, *Eastern Range*, 12.

⁷² *Abingdon*, ii, 291.

⁷³ Lambrick, 'Early history', 52.

⁷⁴ However, as Lambrick underlines, it is particularly difficult to establish just how many halls there were at a given time, and moreover, where they were situated, *ibid.*, 53, 54.

St. Albans, Abingdon had no special royal chamber at this time.⁷⁵ Not all guests stayed in the court, and there was certainly a black hostelry within the claustral area by 1245.⁷⁶ It is not clear whether Benedictines who visited Abingdon in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were accommodated in the common dormitory or a separate chamber.⁷⁷

An obscure passage in the late twelfth-century *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon raises the possibility that certain guests were lodged in St. John's hospital, at the gate of the abbey.⁷⁸ As is later discussed, the passage is rather unclear, but it seems to suggest that the servants of those accommodated within the claustral area stayed in St. John's,⁷⁹ which was otherwise deputed to serving the sick.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ *Abingdon*, ii, 339. See below for St. Albans. When Henry III visited Bury in 1252, he stayed in the *magna domus*, *CM*, v, 304. Henry II was seemingly accustomed to stay in the *aula maior* when he visited Bec, but when Louis and he visited the house in 1158, Henry insisted that the French king lodged in this hall, while he stayed in the other, Torigni, *Continuatio Beccensis*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, iv, 317-30, at 320.

⁷⁶ See below, pp. 152, 226-7.

⁷⁷ See below, pp. 226-7.

⁷⁸ *Abingdon*, ii, 414. See R. N. Hadcock, and D. Knowles, *Mediaeval Religious Houses, England and Wales*, (2nd edn., Harlow, 1971), 370, for the large *hospicium* at the gate of Lewes priory, Sussex, which became the church of St. John the Baptist in the mid to late thirteenth century. According to the *VCH, Sussex*, vii, ed. L. F. Salzman, (1940), 48, this was probably the original *hospitium* at the gate, converted into a parish church in the thirteenth century when the hospital of St. James was built close by. For the problems in establishing what exactly went on at these hospitals at the gate, and indeed 'hospitals' in general, see S. Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries After the Norman Conquest*, (Oxford, 1991), 38-53; R. Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: the other Monasticism*, (London, NY, 1995), 113; Gilchrist, *Gender*, 173.

⁷⁹ Perhaps the retinues of regular guests, see below, p. 160.

⁸⁰ For discussion of the hospital and its relation to the abbey, see Lambrick, 'Early history', 55-6, A. E. Preston, *The Church and Parish of St. Nicholas Abingdon and Other Papers*, (Oxford Historical Soc., 99; 1935), 6. Preston explains that the hospital had a small, semi-private chapel on the south side of the main entrance to the abbey, *ibid.*

Preston argued that pilgrims may have stayed here and paid for the privilege; though possible this is not explicit.⁸¹ St. John's was partly within the abbey precincts and although the guestmaster of Abingdon had no direct links with the hospital, the charters reveal that the almoner of the house was considerably involved in the administration of St. John's.⁸²

It is interesting to compare this with the organisation of St. John's hospice at Reading, for the charters at the abbey describe the administration of the hospital and its relationship to the monastery. As previously mentioned in chapter II, Abbot Hugh of Reading's notification of the foundation of St. John's, c. 1190, explained that this was specifically intended to relieve the poor and supplement the hospitality for pilgrims, for whilst more distinguished visitors had been well received in the *superius hospitium*, presumably the abbey's guesthouse within the court or claustral area, others had been rather neglected.⁸³ Hubert Walter's

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² For early and mid-thirteenth-century references, see *Two Cartularies*, i, nos. L. 274, 275, 276, 287, 290-2, 297-8, 307, 314, 325, 327. Some of the charters make the grant to the hospital of St. John, others issue it to the almoner with the understanding that it be used for the hospital; several are made jointly to the monks and hospital. See too *ibid.*, ii, no. C. 116. Compare this to the evidence for Rochester and Norwich, see C. Flight, *The Bishops and Monks of Rochester 1076-1214*, (Kent, 1997), 211-2; *Select Cases from the Ecclesiastical Courts of the Province of Canterbury, c. 1200-1300*, ed. N. Adams and C. Donahue, (London, 1981), A 15: 3; N. Tanner, 'The cathedral and the city', in *Norwich Cathedral: Church, Laity, Diocese 1096-1996*, ed. I. Atherton, E. Fernie, C. Harper-Bill, H. Smith, (London, 1996), 255-80, at 270; B. Dodwell, 'The monastic community', in *Norwich Cathedral*, 231-54, at 242.

⁸³ *RAC*, i, no. 224. Kemp dates the charter to 1189 x 93, which suggests that the *superius hospitium* may have originally been intended for guests in general, and not reserved for the exclusive use of distinguished visitors. Note that Odo of Battle (1175-1200) made lodgings outside the walls for those who, according to the rules of the house, were not permitted to stay the night within the precinct, *Battle*, 306. This suggests that they had not been neglected as such, but had never been allowed to stay within the precincts.

grant of 22 October 1189 x February / March 1190 reveals that visitors were received and entertained by the resident chaplain,⁸⁴ and that twenty-six resident poor were housed in the hospital.⁸⁵ Hurry's survey of the standing remains and archaeology of St. John's suggests that the resident house for these twenty-six poor was more or less an almonry and distinct from the rest of the hospital. It was attached to the church of St. Lawrence, with private access to the chapel of St. John there.⁸⁶ The rest of the hospice included a dormitory, which still survives, and a refectory. The former seemingly ran parallel to St. Lawrence's church, and according to Hurry underwent no change from its erection in the 1190s. It was some sixty-six metres long, and the main access was probably via the postern gate in Vastern lane, by the north or river gate.⁸⁷ The refectory was about forty metres long and ten metres wide, and ran vertically from the residence of the poor to the dormitory, on the western side.⁸⁸

Returning to Abingdon, mention must also be made of the two parlours, for although these were not deputed to hospitality as such, they were frequented by guests. There were two parlours at Abingdon after c. 1100: the outer parlour was situated in the western range, beneath Faritius' chapel; the inner parlour was

⁸⁴ *RAC*, i, no. 203. The chaplain was to be clean-living and ensure that the revenues assigned to the hospital were used faithfully. See *ibid.*, ii, no. 848 for Abbot Elias' grant to the chaplain, 1200-13.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, i, no. 224.

⁸⁶ Hurry, *Reading*, 14-19. According to the *VCH, Berkshire*, ii, ed. P. H. Ditchfield, and W. Page, (1907), 97, the north chancel aisle of the parish church served as a chapel for the inmates of the hospice.

⁸⁷ Hurry, *Reading*, 19. From the dimensions of the dormitory, Cram calculates that about 400 could sleep there, L. Cram, *Reading Abbey*, (Reading, 1988), 24-5.

⁸⁸ Hurry, *Reading*, 18.

beside the chapter-house.⁸⁹ According to Knowles the former was intended for the abbot's guests and the poor, the latter for officials and private monks.⁹⁰ This requires some refinement, for the parlours' function could change according to current needs. The outer parlour effectively controlled access to the claustral area and was guarded by a custodian, who served under the almoner.⁹¹ The monks could also meet their family and friends here.⁹² The inside parlour was predominantly used by the community, but it seems that visitors were led here on their arrival and given the blessing, kiss of peace and words of consolation.⁹³

2. Bury

The number and variety of references to guesthouses, halls and hostels in the Bury sources, and the potential swapping and relocation of buildings, make it especially difficult to locate the various lodgings, and to establish just how many halls and hostels there were at a given time. Whittingham's work on the archaeology of the house provides conjectural plans and explanations of development,⁹⁴ although he acknowledges the obscurity of the Bury evidence

⁸⁹ Both parlours were built by Faritius, *Abingdon*, ii, 286. For further references to these parlours see *ibid.*, 101, 150, 364, 405, 411, 412, 414. For the two parlours at St. Albans, namely the *regale locutorium* and the *locutorium hospitum*, probably to be identified as the inner and outer parlours respectively, see *GASA*, i, 179, 207-8. *Evesham*, 98-9, also mentions two parlours.

⁹⁰ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 454-5.

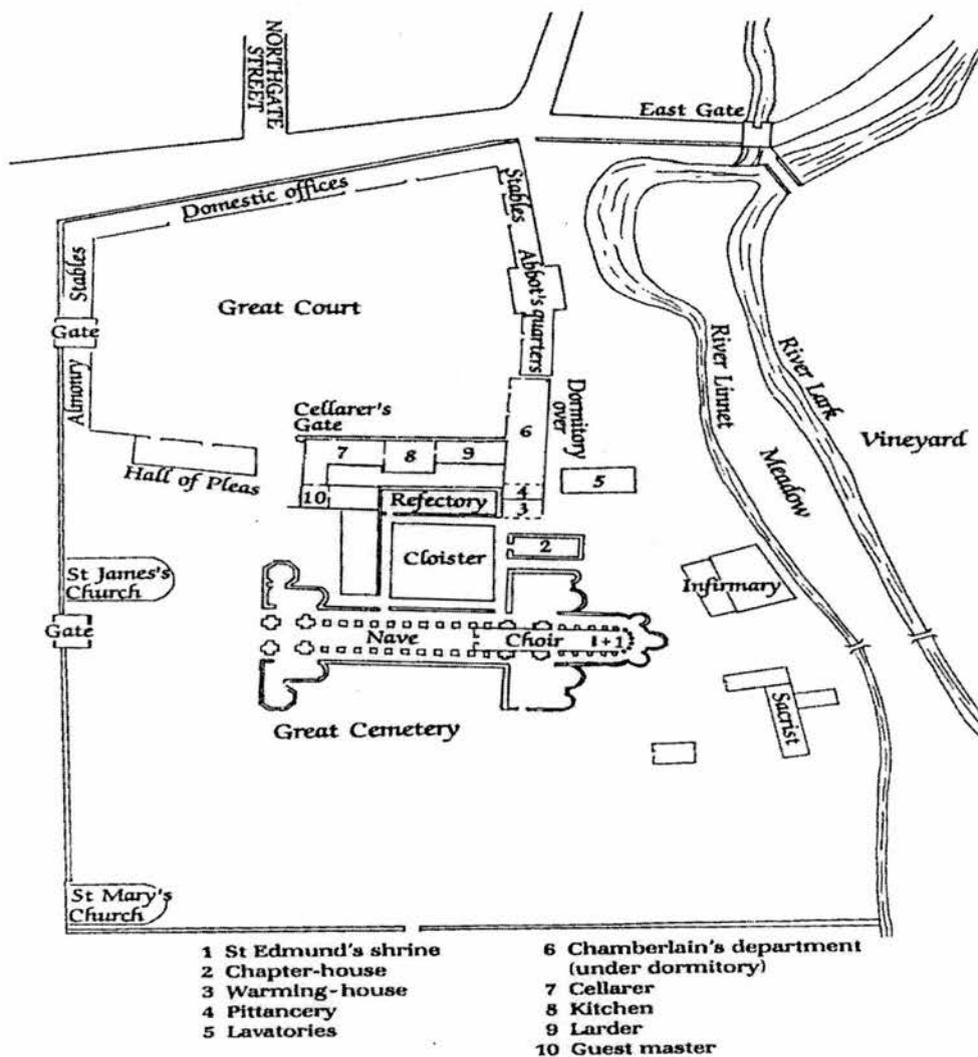
⁹¹ The custodian is discussed in chapter IV, pp. 159-60. The door of the cloister / parlour was seemingly shut after Compline and remained so until Prime, see *Abingdon*, ii, 364-5. This is implied in *ibid.*, 412, which describes how the hosteller should unlock the door if guests wished to leave before daylight, i.e. before Prime; see below, p. 152.

⁹² See below, p. 250.

⁹³ See below, p. 183.

⁹⁴ A. B. Whittingham, 'Bury St Edmunds Abbey: the plan, design and development of the church and monastic buildings', *Archaeological Journal*, 108 (1952), 168-87. For an earlier survey see

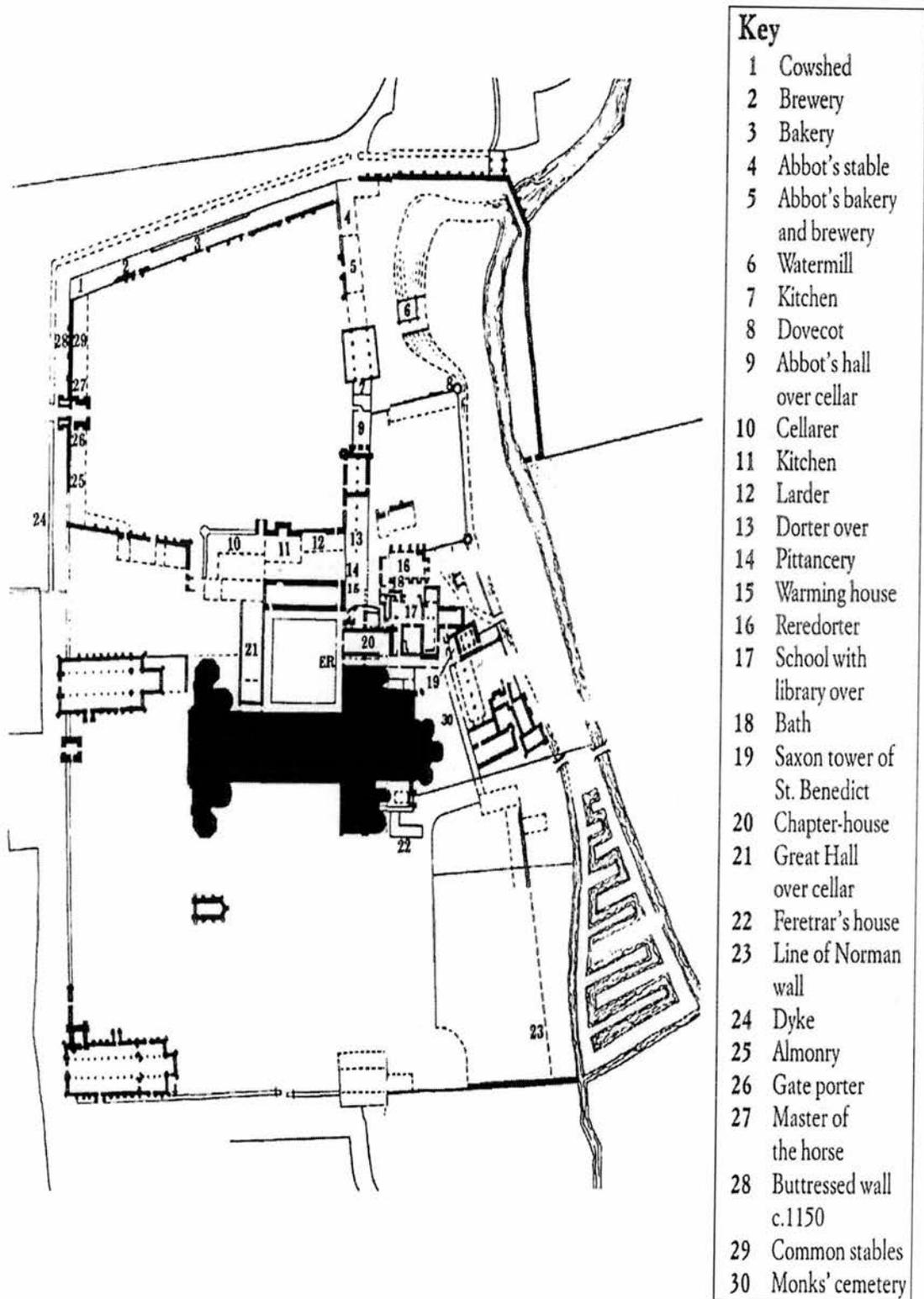
and refers to the unintelligibility of the site.⁹⁵ Indeed, the fact that no two plans of the precinct agree on the likely locations of the guest buildings underlines the confusion surrounding this area.



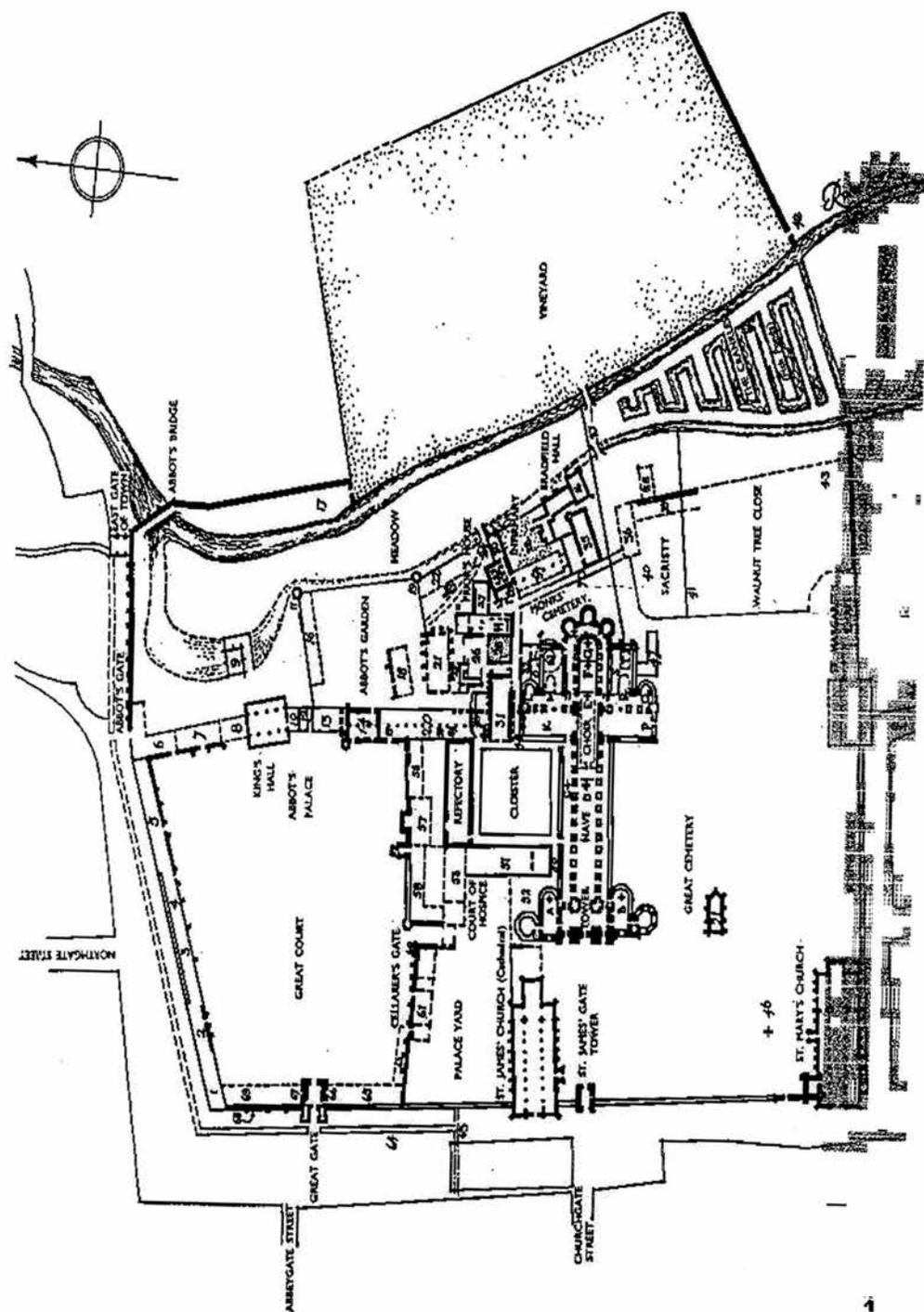
5. Plan A: conjectural plan of the monastic buildings at Bury in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, printed in *Jocelin of Brakelond, Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Edmunds*, ed. and tr. D. Greenway and J. Sayers, (Oxford, 1989), vii.

G. Hills, 'The antiquities of Bury St. Edmunds', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 21 (1865), 32-56, 104-140.

⁹⁵ Whittingham, 'Bury', 169.



6. Plan B: a conjectural plan of the precincts according to N. Scarfe, *Jocelin of Brakelond: The Life of a Monk and Chronicler of the Great Abbey of St. Edmund*, (Leominster, 1997), 31.



7. Plan C: conjectural plan of the precincts according to A. B. Whittingham, 'Bury St Edmunds Abbey: the plan, design and development of the church and monastic buildings', *Archaeological Journal*, 108 (1952), pl. xxi, facing 192.

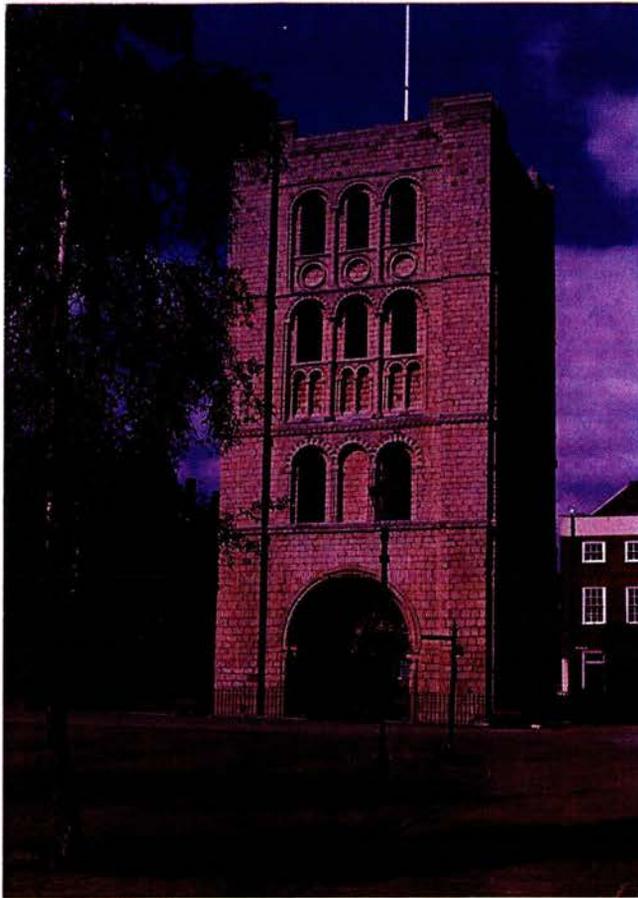
As can be seen from the three maps above, plan A, a conjectural plan of the precincts in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, is rather vague and sites the 'guestmaster' (no. 10), presumably the guesthouse, to the west of the claustral range, adjacent to the cellarer (no. 7). Plan B, in contrast, does not actually name the guesthouse, although the cellarer (no. 10) is shown to the NW of the cloister, adjacent to the kitchen (no. 11). This plan also depicts a great hall over the cellar in the western range (no. 21). Both plans show the abbot's court and chambers to the north of the church and cloister. Plan C by Whittingham presents the buildings in much greater detail. He marks the black hostelry (no. 53), a building which Scarfe shows but does not identify, depicts the cellarer's gate and hospice court, and marks various halls, including the great hall above the western range (no. 51) and the hall with adjoining porch off the cellarer's quarters (nos. 58/59).

Access to the precincts

Before examining the actual buildings, the various gateways require brief consideration. The western entrance by the tower of St. James was built during Anselm's abbacy, 1120-48 and is sometimes referred to as the Norman tower. It is four storeys high and provided direct access to the church and shrine.⁹⁶ What used to be called the 'great gate', and lay to the west of St. James, offered access to the domestic parts.⁹⁷ The original entrance, probably built by the sacrist, Hervey, during Anselm's abbacy, 1120-48, was destroyed in the riots of 1326-7.

⁹⁶ Ibid., 120. Also, see A. Whittingham, *Bury St. Edmunds Abbey*, (London, 1992), 24; *The Memorials of St. Edmund's Abbey*, ed. T. Arnold, (3 vols.; London, 1890-6), ii, 289; M. R. James, *On the Abbey of St. Edmunds at Bury*, (Cambridge, 1895), 127-8.

A new one was erected straight after and can still be seen.⁹⁸ The south gate / cemetery gate was otherwise known as St. Margaret's gate. According to Hills there was a gate tower here before 1097, but it was pulled down by Abbot Anselm who rebuilt the chapel at the site.⁹⁹ It was at this gate that the community met Samson when he arrived for his installation.¹⁰⁰ A fourth gate was located in the NE of the precinct, and in the early thirteenth century offered access to the abbot's quarters.¹⁰¹



8. The Norman Tower at Bury.

⁹⁷ For the distinction between the outer or precinct gate and the inner or great gate, see Fergusson, '*Porta patens*', 52-3.

⁹⁸ Hills, 'Antiquities', 122-3. Also, see Whittingham, *Bury*, 24.

⁹⁹ Hills, 'Antiquities', 121.

¹⁰⁰ *Jocelin*, 24.

¹⁰¹ Hills, 'Antiquities', 124.

The buildings

Both Jocelin's chronicle and the customary of c. 1234 make a number of references to the various buildings where guests were received in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. Jocelin's account of Denis the cellarer's run in with Abbot Hugh, 1157-80, is of particular interest. The chronicle records that on one occasion several knights and their squires were shown to the guesthouse, rather than the abbot's hall. The cellarer marched them to their rightful host and threatened to resign, for it was the abbot's responsibility to receive knights and laymen.¹⁰² Therefore, whilst the convent's guests were received in the *domus hospitum*, under the auspices of the cellarer,¹⁰³ those pertaining to the abbot were entertained in his hall, chamber and court.¹⁰⁴ However it is not clear where precisely the *domus hospitum* was located, and moreover if it consisted of chambers or included a hall.¹⁰⁵ It is thus interesting to note Blair's assertion that whilst *domus* might mean an ancillary building, *domus magna* could refer to a hall, and indeed it is likely that the term sometimes carried specific implications, but at other times was less stringently applied.¹⁰⁶

Whilst it is impossible to situate the guesthouse with any certainty, Jocelin's account of its demolition before the fire of 1198 suggests that it may have been

¹⁰² *Jocelin*, 6. See too pp. 32, 140.

¹⁰³ See below, pp. 140-1, esp. 140, fn. 82, for the probable relationship between the guestmaster and cellarer, and for detailed analysis of the distinction of visitors at Bury.

¹⁰⁴ Butler maintains that the abbot's court was c. 140 metres long, *Jocelin*, 96, fn. 1.

¹⁰⁵ Knowles, *Historian and Character*, 191, describes the guesthouse as a complex, comprising a hall, kitchen etc.

¹⁰⁶ Blair, 'Hall and chamber', 5. Jocelin's account of the archbishop of Norway's stay, during the vacancy of 1180-2, refers to the abbot's 'houses', *Jocelin*, 15. Furthermore, *Candidus*, 173,

located somewhere in the court, for he explains that the court resounded with the noise of the masons' tools and picks.¹⁰⁷ Slightly later in the chronicle, Jocelin mentions a guesthall. He states that as guestmaster in 1201, he sat at the porch of the *aula hospitum* contemplating the recent election of Prior Herbert.¹⁰⁸ It is not clear whether this hall was intended to supplant or supplement the old *domus hospitum*, whether it was a new construction or simply an existing hall recently deputed for the convent's guests. It is thus interesting that two halls seem to have been built in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, for the *Gesta Sacristarum* suggests that the hall completed by Hugh the sacrist, c. 1182–1200, should be distinguished from that constructed by his successor, Walter, c. 1200–11.¹⁰⁹ Whittingham identifies the former as the black hostelry (no. 53) and equates the latter with the rebuilding of the Norman abbot's house on the western range, but this is by no means conclusive.¹¹⁰

Still, it is certainly possible that the *aula hospitum* referred to by Jocelin predates the demolition of the old *domus hospitum*, and is to be equated with the guesthall erected by Hugh. Jocelin's mention of a porch raises the possibility that this may have been located at nos. 58/59. Furthermore it can perhaps be identified as the guesthall assigned to the extern hosteller, described in the customary of c.

records how Abbot Martin built two houses, namely a *camera* for the abbot and an *aula* for the household.

¹⁰⁷ *Jocelin*, 96. Greenway and Sayers' conjectural plan of the monastery in Jocelin's day suggests that the guesthouse was to the north / NW of the western range, and was not actually a part of the range. Still, this is a rather basic plan.

¹⁰⁸ *Jocelin*, 129. See Greenway and Sayers, *Jocelin*, 110, for the date of Herbert's appointment.

¹⁰⁹ *Memorials of Bury*, ii, 291, 292. Whittingham assumes that Hugh's construction predates Samson's demolition of the guesthouse, which was followed by Walter's reworking of the western range, Whittingham, *Bury*, 7.

1234.¹¹¹ As for Walter's reworking of the western range, this may, in fact, denote the reconstruction of the *domus hospitum*, demolished c. 1198. Moreover, it is possible that situated here were the houses assigned to the intern hosteller and referred to in the customary of c. 1234, with access to the inner house from the cloister and the outer house from the court.¹¹² Nevertheless if Whittingham's hypothesis is correct, the black hostelry should be located at no. 53, and not in the western range; it is also possible that the outer house was situated in the court. However as the customary offers no indication of the location or internal arrangement of these houses, it is unclear if they were adjacent to the guesthall administered by the extern hosteller, or if they formed a complex with this hall.¹¹³

The variety of terms to describe these buildings adds to the confusion, and it is often difficult to establish which should be equated and which distinguished. The inner hostel mentioned in the customary can possibly be equated with the *magna domus* and differentiated from the outer house, also known as the *domus maior*.¹¹⁴ While the 'monks' hostel' can perhaps be identified with the inner

¹¹⁰ Whittingham, 'Bury', 177.

¹¹¹ See below, pp. 155-6, 216.

¹¹² *Bury*, 25. See below, pp. 153-6. Later passages in the customs suggest there may have been two houses, namely the *magna domus* and the *domus maior*, see *ibid.*, 59-60, 61.

¹¹³ *The Election of Abbot Hugh*, 108, records that the opposing parties met in the *domus hospitum* during the dispute of 1213/15, but it is not clear if this was part of the guesthall complex or a separate building.

¹¹⁴ See *Bury*, 59-60, 61, for reference to these houses.

hostel, as is suggested by Gransden's indexing, it may actually function as a collective term for the guesthall and houses.¹¹⁵

The abbot's quarters in the twelfth century have been mentioned briefly and it is important to note that as at Abingdon, the abbot of Bury had his own chamber from the early twelfth century. Abbot Robert, 1102-7, is credited with constructing the abbot's *camera*, as well as the chapter-house, cloister, refectory and dormitory.¹¹⁶ The fact that the *Gesta Sacristarum* refers to this as the abbot's hall suggests that the terms *aula* and *camera* were, or at least could be, interchangeable.¹¹⁷ From Jocelin's chronicle it emerges that the abbot received guests in either his hall or chamber (*thalamus*), depending on the identity of the visitor and the occasion. As previously noted, Denis the cellarer brought the knights to Abbot Hugh's hall, and not his chamber. It is likely that the group of knights Samson entertained in 1195, on their return from a tournament, dined in the abbot's hall, for Jocelin records that after dinner Samson retired to his chamber for the customary nap. Jocelin explains that the unruly guests then sang, danced, sent into the town for drink, and ridiculed the abbot, ignoring him when ordered to stop. When evening fell they broke through the gates of the town. On the advice of the archbishop of Canterbury, Samson excommunicated the offenders.¹¹⁸ In contrast, the distinguished visitors who attended Samson's

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 129. This seems comparable to the 'hostillarie autem religiosorum' of c. 1245, mentioned in the *The Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, ed. U. Reeves, (2 vols.; Aberystwyth, 1975), i, no. 163.

¹¹⁶ *Memorials of Bury*, i, p. xxxvii and 356. This first abbot's chamber was destroyed in the fire of c. 1150, along with the other conventual buildings, *ibid.*, p. ii and 290.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, ii, 289. See Whittingham, 'Bury', 176. The diversity of opinions seems to underline the multi-functional use of the terms, warning of the danger in imposing stringent interpretations.

¹¹⁸ *Jocelin*, 55-6.

dedication feast were refreshed in his chamber. Given the great number of guests entertained on this occasion it would seem that the difference between the hall and chamber was one of function, more than size.¹¹⁹ Jocelin's account of the customary reception of visitors makes no mention of the abbot's chamber: he explains that the convent was responsible for all religious guests, even bishops, unless the abbot chose to honour them and receive them in his hall.¹²⁰

It is interesting to note Whittingham's assertion that from the early thirteenth century the abbot entertained distinguished guests in the 'Motehalle', which was later known as the Hall of Pleas and situated by the cellarer's gate.¹²¹ He maintains that after demolishing the guesthouse, Samson constructed a new house for himself and important guests, later called the Hall of Pleas, and that the abbot's original house was now used for non-regulars with under fourteen horses.¹²² However he does not clarify where this original house was located or indeed whether it included a hall. The customary of c. 1234 makes little mention of the abbot's quarters, for it is essentially concerned with the administration of the convent. Still, as the plans show the abbot's court was situated to the north of the cloister, and would have contained chambers and at least one hall for the reception of his guests, as well as stables for their horses.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 25. See below, p. 222. The early fourteenth-century customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, states that unless the abbot chose to invite guests to his chamber, they were entertained in his hall, *St. Augustine's*, 62.

¹²⁰ *Jocelin*, 39. This is fully discussed in the following chapter.

¹²¹ Whittingham, *Bury*, 7, and 'Bury', 177, 183 (no. 61 on the plan). Hills, 'Antiquities', 135, simply states that Samson erected a hall of pleas in the vicinity of the guesthall, close to the court.

¹²² Whittingham, *Bury*, 7. It is not clear if Whittingham means that the abbot's less distinguished guests, i.e. seculars with under fourteen horses, were received in the old house, while prestigious visitors were shown to the Hall of Pleas.

Finally, it is necessary to mention the parlours. The outer parlour was situated by the western range, adjacent to the church, and the inner parlour was beside the chapter-house. It is rather surprising that the customary makes no reference to these parlours, and although they are mentioned in several other sources of the early thirteenth century, this is not in the context of hospitality.¹²³ Nevertheless it is likely that as at other houses, the convent's guests were shown to the outer parlour on their arrival, and that those who had come to meet members of the community spoke with them here; they may have received the blessing and kiss in the inner parlour.¹²⁴

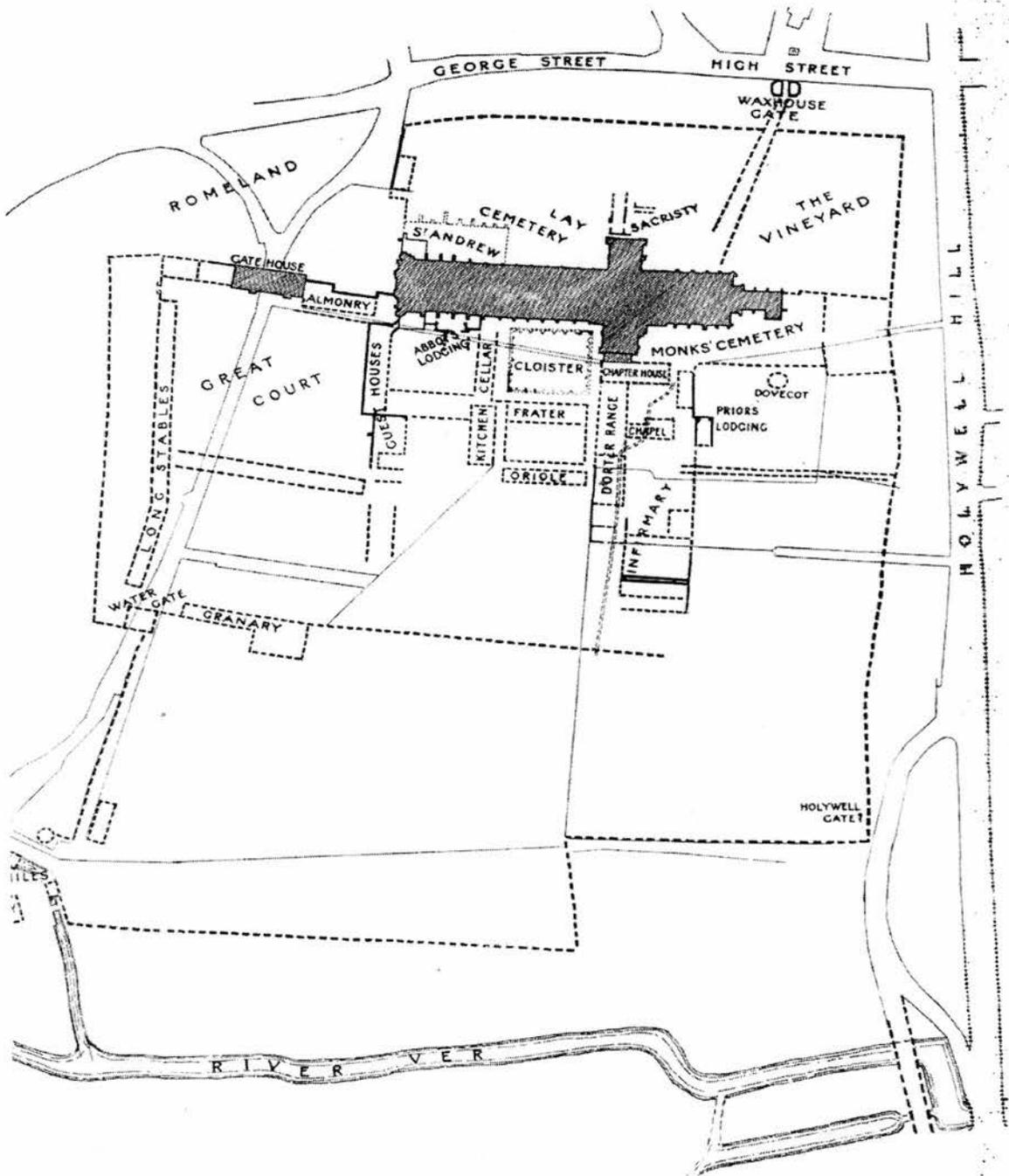
3. St. Albans

The St. Albans chronicle is of particular interest for it provides direct evidence of the various lodgings for guests within the precincts, namely the guesthall, black hostelry and queen's chamber. It is therefore testimony to the physical distinction and separation of guests. The following analysis of the house is based on recorded evidence in the *GASA*, as well as conjectural plans of the house. As with Bury, the fact that the different plans are subject to variation underlines the confusion and uncertainty regarding the location of these buildings.¹²⁵

¹²³ In the early thirteenth century, the sacrist and other members of the community discussed the disputed election in the parlour of the cloister, *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 52; according to a mid-thirteenth-century document, probably intended as a guide for novices, the bloodlet ate before the community and could then sit on the floor of the little parlour while the rest of the community dined, *Bury*, 77-8. The parlour is also mentioned in the 1234 statutes, Graham, 'A papal visitation', 730.

¹²⁴ The parlours are discussed throughout, e.g. see below, pp. 182-4, 212-3.

¹²⁵ See *VCH*, Herts., ii, ed. W. Page, (1908), 507-10, for a description of the monastic buildings and plan. For a slightly different arrangement of the precinct, see C. Brooke, 'St. Albans: the great abbey', in *Cathedral and City: St. Albans Ancient and Modern*, ed. R. Runcie, (London, 1977), 43-70, at 47.



9. Conjectural plan of the monastic buildings, printed in *VCH*, Herts., facing 508.

Abbot Geoffrey of St. Albans, 1119-46, erected a large and noble hall for the honourable reception of guests and built the 'Queen's chamber' adjacent.¹²⁶ The chronicler remarks that she was the only female permitted to stay within the convent, 'in hoc coenobia'.¹²⁷ It is thus interesting that the prior and cellarer of the Cistercian foundation at Beaulieu were dismissed for permitting the queen to lodge almost three weeks at the house, following the dedication in 1246, even though Prince Edward's illness had necessitated this stay.¹²⁸

The guesthall was clearly not the first (or only) provision for visitors, for those who attended the dedication of the church in 1115 were refreshed in the 'palace'

¹²⁶ *GASA*, i, 79. The hall is described as having two roofs.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.* Presumably this does not simply refer to the court and claustral area, but the precinct as a whole. For later prohibitions regarding the accommodation of women in Benedictine precincts see the York Statutes of 1221: nuns and other women were not to spend the night within the confines of the monastery, lest any suspicions arise, Pantin, *Chapters*, i, 234. This suggests that women had hitherto lodged within the monastic precincts, and also implies that fear of scandal was of greater concern than fear of misconduct. The Canterbury Statutes of 1277 forbade that any woman stay the night or dine 'infra fores monasterii', although certain allowances were made for noble women, *ibid.*, 72. Indeed, see J. R. H. Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, (Cambridge, 1945), 355, for the account of Nicholas de Cauntlow's wife, who gave birth at the Cluniac priory of Lenton in 1263, and note Graham's remark that only honourable women and countesses stayed at the guesthouse at Cluny, R. Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies, Being Some Essays in Mediaeval History*, (London, 1929), 36.

¹²⁸ *Annales Monastici*, ii, 337. However the prior and cellarer had also served meat to their guests on this occasion. See too W. H. St. John Hope and H. Brakspear, 'The Cistercian abbey of Beaulieu in the county of Southampton', *Archaeological Journal*, 63 (1906), 129-86, at 137. For a general discussion of the Cistercians' attitude to women, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 131-3. For specific restrictions note the General Chapter's reaction to Queen Ingelburga of France's two-night sojourn in the infirmary at Pontigny, 1205, and to news that a certain countess and other women had been entertained at Quarr abbey, on the Isle of Wight, for six nights in 1205, Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1205: 10, and 1205: 59.

in the court.¹²⁹ Geoffrey's guesthall was probably situated to the west of the cloister, at right angles to the abbot's chambers, built by Abbot Radulf, c. 1146-51.¹³⁰ Whilst it is not explicit who precisely stayed here, the fact it adjoined the 'Queen's chamber' and that it was later replaced by a splendid hall, comparable to a royal palace, suggests that it accommodated distinguished guests, or at least that such visitors might be entertained here.¹³¹ It is possible that both Stephen and Henry II stayed in the hall on their respective visits to St. Albans, although Henry may instead have lodged in the abbot's chamber which was certainly built by this time.¹³² However Geoffrey's guesthall may have also accommodated less distinguished visitors, though perhaps in a separate wing.¹³³

¹²⁹ *GASA*, i, 71. See below, p. 235, for further discussion, and note Thompson's remarks that in the twelfth century the term 'palace' was particularly associated with chamberblocks, Thompson, *Mediaeval Bishops' Houses*, 5.

¹³⁰ *GASA*, i, 107. Prior to this the abbot may have had some kind of independent lodging in another part of the monastery. The abbot's chamber is mentioned in relation to the death of William of Trumpington in 1235, see R. Vaughan, *Chronicles of Matthew Paris: Monastic Life in the Thirteenth Century*, (Gloucester, 1984), 63; 71. These chambers were rebuilt under Abbot Roger, 1260-90, *GASA*, i, 482.

¹³¹ The *VCH, Herts.*, ii, 509, suggests that this second hall was probably the *aula regia* and intended for the king and royals. The *aula regia* seemingly stood to the east of the great court, near to the abbot's quarters, and is probably to be identified as Geoffrey's hall, *ibid.* For reference to the royal palace at St. Albans, see Geoffrey of Lusignan's visit to the house in 1252, *CM*, v, 344-5.

¹³² Compare to the arrangements at Abingdon, above, pp. 84-5.

¹³³ Indeed, Suger's *domus hospitum* at St. Denis was used by a wide range of guests: Louis took his nap here in 1147, when he visited to receive the standard for the crusade, known as the *oriflamme*, Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione Ludouici VII in Orientem*, ed. and tr. V. Berry, (NY, 1948), 16-18; according to Suger's testament, the poor were to be served pittance from the *domus hospitum* on his anniversary, *Oeuvres Complètes*, 337. Grant suggests that the *domus hospitum* at St. Denis was probably in the western range, where it was situated in the seventeenth century, Grant, *Abbot Suger*, 243, fn. 16.

Of further interest is Matthew Paris' account of the hospice for Franciscan and Dominican guests, which was built inside the gate of the new court shortly before 1247. He explains that the two Franciscans sent to extort papal procurations in 1247 did not stay here, but instead were reverently received 'in hospitio sollempniori', where bishops and eminent men stayed.¹³⁴ This particular example is testimony to the flexibility of arrangements and intermingling of categories. In addition it reveals how developments in the religious life affected the nature of provision for guests within the precincts, i.e. the arrival of the Cistercians in the twelfth century meant that Benedictine guests might hitherto be differentiated and separated from visiting Whites; the appearance of the mendicants in the thirteenth century created a third possible distinction amongst visiting religious.

Although there is little detail of the layout of Geoffrey's guesthall, the *GASA* includes an unusually explicit description of Abbot John II's guesthall, 1235-60, which replaced the old hall, presumably, though not definitely, on the same site.¹³⁵ The chronicler explains that the two-storey hall had an undercroft and fine entrance hall, as well as many guest apartments with closets¹³⁶ and fireplaces. The whole complex was covered in a leaden roof.¹³⁷ This particular account suggests a rather loose interpretation of the term 'hall'.

¹³⁴ *CM*, iv, 600.

¹³⁵ *GASA*, i, 314. For a translation of this section, see Vaughan, *Chronicles*, 73, and L. F. Salzman, *Building in England Down to 1540: A Documentary History*, (Oxford, 1952), 381.

¹³⁶ *Conclauibus*.

¹³⁷ Abbot Roger of Bec (d. 1179) constructed chambers which were one above another, for the reception of guests and persons of importance, Torigni, *Chronicle*, 286.

Mention of the black hostelry at St. Albans is of particular interest, though it is unclear where exactly it was situated and when it was built.¹³⁸ According to a description of the three-sided cloister built by Abbot William, 1214-35, the passage assigned to the hosteller stretched from the entrance of the cloister ‘usque ad ostium Hospitii, quod ulterius solet esse Hospitium Nigri Ordinis’.¹³⁹ This rather ambiguous phrase has been interpreted in a number of ways, and whilst we can at least conclude there was a black hostelry by 1214-35, the exact implications remain obscure. The various readings have a bearing on our location of the hostelry, as well as our conception of its construction and the arrangement therein. Vaughan’s translation is most convincing, and he interprets this as the hospice that used to be the guesthouse of the Benedictine monks, and thus implies that there was a black hostelry at St. Albans prior to William’s abbacy.¹⁴⁰ If so, this is one of the earliest direct references to a black hostelry.¹⁴¹ Salzman translates this as the hospice that was also a black hostelry.¹⁴² It is interesting to note that there was a little garden within this three-sided cloister, which was assigned to the guestmaster. Presumably, it was intended as a quiet area for visitors to walk and refresh themselves, and indeed the abbot erected a

¹³⁸ The ambiguous description of the various cloisters erected by Abbot William (1214-35) suggests that the black hostelry originally stood to the west of the cloister, adjacent to the abbot’s chamber and the guesthall constructed by Geoffrey, *GASA*, i, 290. However the *VCH*, Herts., ii, 508, locates the hostelry to the north of the infirmary and east of the dormitory, given that the ground level chapel of St. Cuthbert, which adjoined the eastern side of the dormitory, probably served the black hostelry.

¹³⁹ *GASA*, i, 290. I am grateful to Dr. Peter Maxwell-Stuart for his advice on this translation.

¹⁴⁰ Vaughan, *Chronicles*, 54.

¹⁴¹ See below, pp. 213-4, for the houses assigned to Benedictines visiting Bury, c. 1234, and reference to the *receptaculum* at Abingdon c. 1245, pp. 226-7.

¹⁴² Salzman, *Building*, 380.

wattle-work wall to avoid free access to the garden.¹⁴³ This may indicate that fresh air and exercise for the guest's health and recreation were matters of concern.¹⁴⁴

Finally, Geoffrey's construction of the queen's quarters requires some discussion, for it is not only a singular reference to accommodation of this kind, but raises important questions regarding the entertainment of women. As previously mentioned, Abbot Geoffrey built the *thalamus reginae* around the same time as he erected the guesthall and the two were adjacent.¹⁴⁵ The terms *thalamus* and *camera* are often equated,¹⁴⁶ and these lodgings probably consisted of a series of chambers.¹⁴⁷ It is likely that the queen herself initiated the construction of these quarters, which may imply that she had a special relationship with the house or abbot. However it is not clear whether this should be attributed to Henry I's queen, Adelaide, or Stephen's queen, Mathilda. Furthermore, should we conclude that St. Albans was unusual in having a chamber of this kind, or indeed for lodging the queen; or is it simply exceptional in leaving evidence of such a building? Conversely, does it imply that St. Albans lagged behind other houses, which already had suitable accommodation for the queen? Unfortunately it is difficult to say, but the above example certainly

¹⁴³ *GASA*, i, 290.

¹⁴⁴ T. Mclean, *Mediaeval Gardens*, (London, 1981), 258-9, discusses monastic vineyards and parks and explains that hostellers might keep gardens which served functional and decorative purposes, i.e. guests could walk and refresh themselves here. She considers this particular example, *ibid.*, 36.

¹⁴⁵ *GASA*, i, 79. The abbot's chamber was later situated in this area.

¹⁴⁶ See above, pp. 69-70, for problematic terminology.

¹⁴⁷ Indeed, note that Samson's post-installation feast was held in his *thalamus*, below, p. 222.

suggests that it was not necessarily common or even assumed, that female royals would stay the night within the precincts.¹⁴⁸

Nevertheless, while St. Albans may have been unique in building a special chamber for the queen's use, it was seemingly not the only house to accommodate the queen at this time. Though not explicit, Gervase's chronicle implies that Queen Mathilda stayed at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in 1148-9, when Stephen's foundation at Faversham was under construction: 'Solebat his diebus regina regis Stephani curiam Sancti Augustini frequentare'.¹⁴⁹ The Latin is not precise, but has been interpreted as meaning that the queen actually lodged at the monastery.¹⁵⁰ Indeed, as the monks of St. Augustine's were bound by silence during this time of interdict, the brethren of Christ Church visited the

¹⁴⁸ Chibnall raises the possibility that Mathilda stayed in the guest quarters of Notre Dame du Pré, see below, p. 249, fn. 179. Compare to the arrangements at Cluny in the eleventh century: the great guesthouse in the outer court comprised a common refectory and separate wings for noble males and females, forty in the former, thirty in the latter, Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny*, 92. According to the twelfth-century *Liber Ordinis* of the Victorines of Paris, women were not to be lodged within the precincts; accommodation was to be found for them in the vill, *Liber Ordinis*, 68.

¹⁴⁹ *Gervase*, i, 139. It is not clear whether *curia* refers to an outer or inner courtyard, or a courthouse or manorial hall. However on the Waterworks plan of Christ Church, Canterbury, the 'Green court', namely the outer court, is described as the *curia monachorum*.

¹⁵⁰ E.g. A. Saltman, *Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury*, (London, 1956), 71. In his index to Gervase's chronicle Stubbs simply writes that the queen stayed at Canterbury and does not specifically mention St. Augustine's, *Gervase*, ii, 523. Similarly, R. Eales, 'Local loyalties in Norman England: Kent in Stephen's reign', *AN Studies*, 8 (1986), 88-108, at 105, simply states that when building work was underway at Faversham in 1149, the queen resided at Canterbury in 1149. Mr. Tim Tatton-Brown (personal communication) suggests that the queen may have stayed in the new infirmary and chapel at St. Augustine's.

queen at St. Augustine's to sing the services for her.¹⁵¹ Saltman describes this as the 'cruellest blow' to the community at St. Augustine's.¹⁵²

4. The vill

Not everyone who visited a monastery was accommodated therein.¹⁵³ Details of the actual provision for those lodged in the vill are discussed in chapters IV and VI, but I shall now briefly consider the standing remains of Eastbridge hospital, Canterbury, and Moyses' hall, Bury, as examples of external lodgings for those visiting the monastery.

Edward Fitz Odbold founded the hospital at Eastbridge, c. 1180, and endowed it with land and tithes from mills. The hospital was dedicated to St. Thomas of

¹⁵¹ *Gervase*, i, 139. It is not clear why the queen did not simply stay at Christ Church, although Dr. Marjorie Chibnall (personal communication) thinks that the royal party would have been more likely to stay in St. Augustine's than Christ Church, and Miss Lorna Walker (personal communication) has suggested that St. Augustine's would have been a more obvious choice, politically, given the special relationship between the Empress and Archbishop Theobald. It is unlikely that the castle at Canterbury was used as a royal residence at this time and Mr. Tatton-Brown informs me that whilst we know nothing of the Great hall at Canterbury castle, the keep was likely used by royalty soon after its completion in c. 1120, but probably fell out of use thereafter. He suggests that the keep at Rochester must have been frequently used by distinguished visitors in the late twelfth century.

¹⁵² Saltman, *Theobald*, 71.

¹⁵³ Whilst the thesis is concerned with the administration of hospitality within the precincts, it is important to note that guests might be accommodated at parish churches, manors or granges belonging to the monastery. E.g. King John and his marshal stayed at St. Albans' church of Redbourne, at the chamberlain's cost, Vaughan, *Chronicles*, 58-9; see below, p. 274, for the legate's stay at a manor belonging to Bury St. Edmunds. For discussion of Cistercian granges, see C. Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Mediaeval England*, (London, 1969), and Williams, *Cistercians*, 276-98, esp. 281-2. Also, note G. Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge, 1996), 220-1; R. Gilyard-Beer, *Fountains Abbey*, (London, 1970), 66; L.

Canterbury and was intended to provide one night's lodging for twelve poor pilgrims visiting the shrine at Christ Church.¹⁵⁴ This in itself suggests that the abbey was unable (or even unwilling) to accommodate all the pilgrims who visited.¹⁵⁵ Each pilgrim was to pay 4d and, unless detained by sickness, was not permitted to stay longer than one night. In effect, the hospital provided subsidised accommodation.



10. View of the front entrance of Eastbridge hospital, showing the archway of c. 1190.

The hospital, located on High Street, is still standing and open to visitors. The entrance archway and vestibule date from c. 1190, although the latter was

Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*, (Ohio, 1977), 295-8; F. G. Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales*, (Cardiff, 1977), 205-6.

¹⁵⁴ The hospital still functions as an almshouse belonging to the archbishop. For details of this hospital, see the various pamphlets issued by the Eastbridge Trustees. Also, see Tatton-Brown, *Canterbury History*, 97, and Urry, *Canterbury*, 193, 199.

¹⁵⁵ It is interesting to note Dobson's remark that no doubt only a fraction of the pilgrims who visited Christ Church between 1190 and 1538 were actually lodged within the monastic precincts, B. Dobson, 'The monks of Canterbury in the later Middle Ages, 1220-1540', in *A History of*

The hospital, located on High Street, is still standing and open to visitors. The entrance archway and vestibule date from c. 1190, although the latter was remodelled in the fourteenth century. The rib-vaulted undercroft, which could accommodate twelve pilgrims, also dates from this time and was probably the first part of the hospital to be built. The refectory is situated above the cellar and was constructed at around the same time. The chapel, which was remodelled in the fourteenth century, dates from the twelfth century and stands above the entrance hall.

Moyse's hall, Bury, was built c. 1180 as a first-floor hall and chamber.¹⁵⁶ Today it houses the museum.¹⁵⁷ It is generally assumed that because the hall is stone-built, it was originally a synagogue or Jew's house. However Maltby explains that this is not explicit and suggests that it may have actually been intended as a hostelry for pilgrims who were unable to be accommodated in the abbey's guesthouse.¹⁵⁸ This remains speculative, but raises the important point that similar houses may have existed in other towns.

Canterbury Cathedral, 69-157, at 139. See above, pp. 4-5, and below, pp. 224-6, for those who resided in the town.

¹⁵⁶ M. E. Wood, 'Moyse's hall: a description of the building', *Archaeological Journal*, 108 (1952), 165.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, and H. J. M. Maltby, 'A history of the building and museum collection', *Archaeological Journal*, 108 (1952), 165-7.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 165. Grenville, *Mediaeval Housing*, 177, refers to the general and often erroneous attribution of stone houses to Jewish owners.

IV. The Cistercian precinct¹⁵⁹

This comparative discussion of the Cistercian precinct is based on Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, but includes reference to other houses, in particular Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire, and Tintern Abbey in Wales. Despite recent interest in the excavation of Cistercian outer precincts, the layout remains relatively unknown, and indeed Coppack's recent synopsis of archaeological work on the Cistercian houses is largely concerned with the church and claustral buildings.¹⁶⁰ The need to establish specific guest quarters is underlined in the official legislation of the Order. According to the *Capitula* of 1098 x 1113, a community was not to be established without first erecting an oratory, refectory, dormitory, *cella hospitum* and porter's cell, so that the regular life might be practised immediately.¹⁶¹ Chapter twelve of the statutes issued by the General Chapter in 1134 reiterates this point.¹⁶² Clearly guests were anticipated; nevertheless, they were not to distract monastic observance.

1. Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire

Firstly, it is important to note that the precinct at Fountains was some seventy acres. Therefore like other Cistercian monasteries, it was rather larger than most Benedictine precincts, partly attributable to the rural location of Cistercian

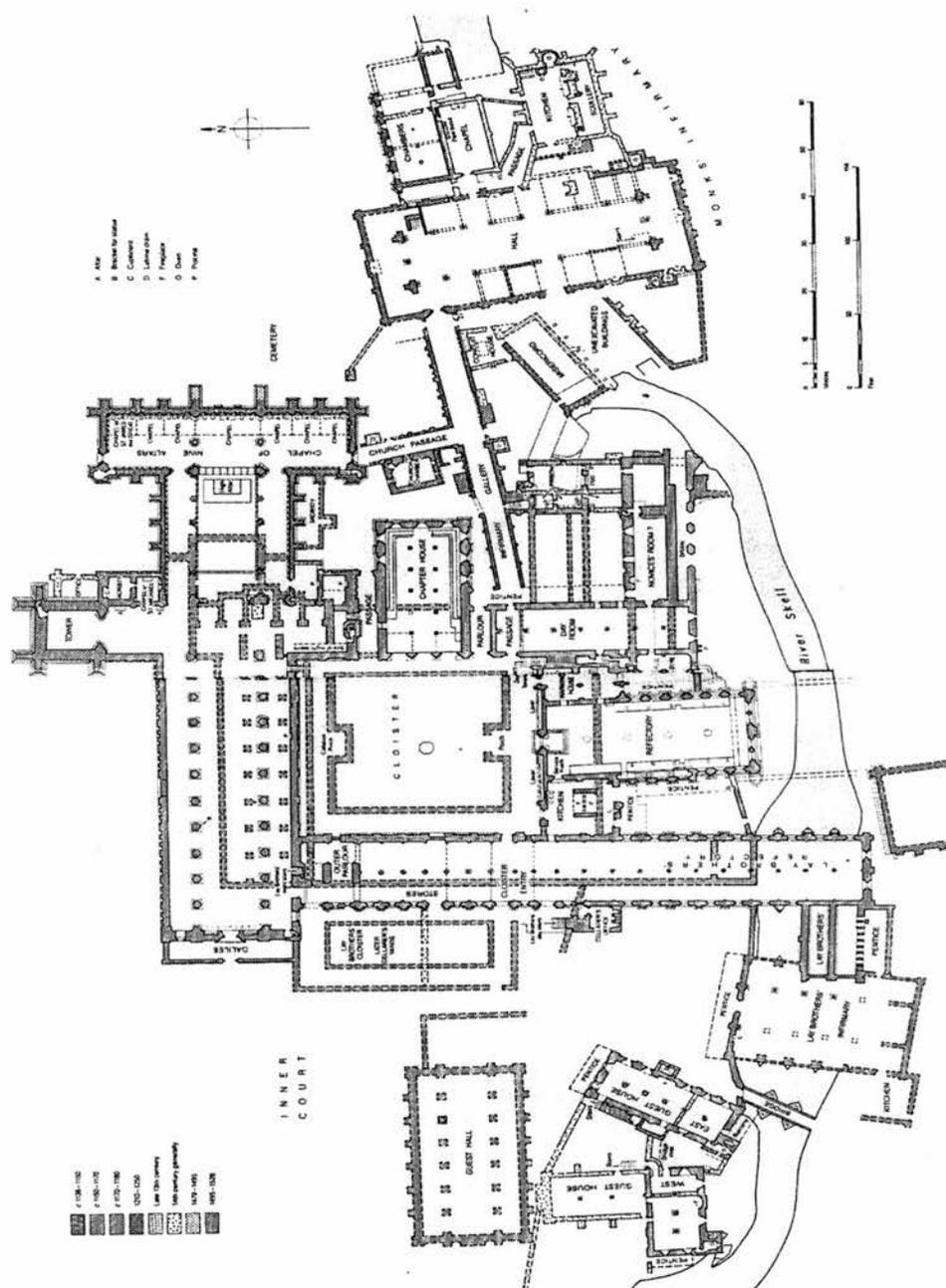
¹⁵⁹ For an outline of the Cistercian sites, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 172-9, 199-200.

¹⁶⁰ G. Coppack, *The White Monks: The Cistercians in Britain 1128-1540*, (Stroud, 1998).

¹⁶¹ See C. Norton, 'Table of Cistercian legislation', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. C. Norton and D. Park, (Cambridge, 1986), 318-93, at 318.

¹⁶² Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1134: 12.

houses, partly attributable to their self sufficiency and the need for livestock and crops within the confines of the abbey.¹⁶³



10. Ground-floor plan of Fountains Abbey, Coppack and Gilyard-Ber, *Fountains*, 10-11.

¹⁶³ For discussion of the precincts, see Coppack, *White Monks*, 105-11. For archaeological works, see R. Gilyard-Ber, 'Fountains abbey: the early buildings, 1132-50', *Archaeological Journal*, 125 (1968), 313-9 (plan *ibid.*, 316); G. Coppack and R. Gilyard-Ber, *Fountains Abbey*, (London, 1995); G. Coppack and R. Gilyard-Ber, 'Excavations at Fountains Abbey in N. Yorkshire, 1979-80: the early development of the church', *Archaeologia*, 108 (1986), 147-88.

The plan above shows that the guest accommodation was situated in the southern half of the inner court, which was accessed through the inner or great gatehouse. This was constructed in the 1170s, but is now largely in ruins.¹⁶⁴ The *hospitium*, or guest complex, consisted of two houses and a hall, forming an enclosure.¹⁶⁵ Guest stables may also have been located here, but as Coppack explains, the only stables associated with the guest quarters known from excavation are at Kirkstall.¹⁶⁶ The two guesthouses were built in the 1160s and substantial remains can still be seen.¹⁶⁷ Both had two storeys with a hall, chamber and latrine on each floor, thereby providing four complete suites for important visitors and their households, i. e. the lord in the chamber, his retinue in the hall.¹⁶⁸ The eastern house, which is the better preserved, reveals that there were two rooms, each of three bays, with a fireplace in the third. Although most of the upper floor is now gone, it can be seen that this was reached by an external wooden staircase, which was replaced by stone in the thirteenth century. The

¹⁶⁴ Coppack and Gilyard-Beer, *Fountains*, 61-2. See Fergusson, 'Porta patens', 56-7, for the gatehouses at Fountains. For a general discussion of Cistercian gatehouses and their location, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 200-4.

¹⁶⁵ Coppack and Gilyard-Beer, *Fountains*, 59. J. France, 'The cellarer's domain: evidence from Denmark', in *Studies in Cistercian Art*, 5, pp. 1-39, at 22-3, refers to the great fire at Sorø, Denmark, in 1247, which destroyed the greater and lesser guesthouses.

¹⁶⁶ Coppack, *White Monks*, 108. Guests' stables are recorded at Kingswood in 1263, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 125.

¹⁶⁷ Both houses were extensively rearranged in the fourteenth century, the western more so than the eastern, Coppack and Gilyard-Beer, *Fountains*, 59-60. It is interesting to note that the Empress Mathilda gave two large guesthouses to Mortemer, Rouen, so that the poor, mercenaries, rich and religious could be accommodated separately, *Le Recit de la Fondation de Mortemer*, ed. J. Bouvet, *Collectanea Ordinis Cisterciensium Reformatorem*, 22 (1960), 149-68, at 159. R. Stalley, *The Cistercian Monasteries of Ireland: An Account of the History and Architecture of the White Monks in Ireland from 1142-1540*, (London, New Haven, 1987), 173, explains that the Cistercian house at Boyle, Roscommon, had a 'great stone house' for guests by 1202, i.e. almost twenty years before the church was completed.

western guesthouse is similar, though smaller, comprising four bays in total. The lower hall, of two bays, had a fireplace in the southern wall.

Geophysical survey has recently traced evidence for a large and aisled guesthall to the north of these houses, which has been dated to c. 1170.¹⁶⁹ This was probably intended for less distinguished visitors and is perhaps comparable to the public halls mentioned in the chronicles and discussed later.¹⁷⁰ There was seemingly a substantial wall fireplace in the hall, and evidence of a porch by the eastern bay of the south aisle suggests that the entrance was here.¹⁷¹ It is not clear whether this should be identified as the hospice for the poor and pilgrims, which is mentioned in the charters of c. 1170, or indeed how either of these relate to the secular infirmary referred to in charters of c. 1220.¹⁷² The identity and nature of these secular infirmaries is generally a matter of some confusion.

¹⁶⁸ Coppack and Gilyard-Beer, *Fountains*, 59-60.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 60. This was discovered in 1992.

¹⁷⁰ See below, p. 172. Brawls were recorded at Margam, c. 1180 and Furness, c. 1246. Guests were stabbed to death in the latter by visiting grooms, which suggests that a rather mixed bunch was accommodated here, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 126.

¹⁷¹ Coppack and Gilyard-Beer, *Fountains*, 60. However as Williams, *Cistercians*, 121, explains, some of these 'hospitals' might double up as pilgrim houses. He maintains that they were distinct from the *conversi* infirmaries, but whilst it was assumed that the *conversi* would have separate infirmaries, these buildings were sometimes shared, *ibid.*, 249-50.

¹⁷² J. Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors 1132-1300*, (Michigan, 1987), 118-9. Williams, 'Layfolk', 89, equates the hospice for the poor with the secular infirmary, but acknowledges that whilst some of the inmates would have been very poor, others were of a high rank, and most probably separated within, Williams, *Cistercians*, 119. As mentioned above, Queen Ingelburga of France stayed in the infirmary at Pontigny, in 1205, Canivez, *Statutes* i, 1205: 10. H. Brakspear, *Waverley Abbey*, (Guildford, 1905), 10, 81-4, similarly assumes that the infirmary of the poor can be identified as the secular infirmary, and mentions that guests stayed in the secular infirmary in 1229. See too G. H. Fowler, *The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Old Warden, Bedfordshire*, (Manchester, 1931), nos. 42, 107 and 216, for reference to a secular infirmary c. 1220/40, and *ibid.*, nos. 299 and 300 for a hospice of the poor c. 1170-90.

However Gilyard-Bear and Coppack's suggestion that the secular infirmary at Fountains of 1199 was extended and rebuilt in the 1220s/30s, implies that, at least in this case, it is to be distinguished from the guesthall, which was erected in the 1170s.¹⁷³ Moreover Williams explains that whilst these secular infirmaries were within the monastic precincts, they might be a mile from the abbey itself.¹⁷⁴

How does the evidence for Fountains relate to that of other houses? Great aisled guesthalls dating from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries are known at Kirkstall, Tintern and Furness,¹⁷⁵ and a possible hall has been identified at Sawley.¹⁷⁶ Recent excavations at both Kirkstall and Tintern are of particular interest and require some consideration.

2. Kirkstall Abbey

The guesthouse at Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire, is situated between the outer and inner courts, facing the west end of the church. It dates from the early thirteenth century, and from recent archaeological research it has been suggested that more distinguished visitors stayed here with their households, i.e. that it offered a self-contained unit for nobles and their households.¹⁷⁷ The original structure comprised a main hall, which was probably of timber. Although no chamber was attached as such, a chamber with a hearth was petitioned off at the southern end.

¹⁷³ See Williams, 'Layfolk', 89.

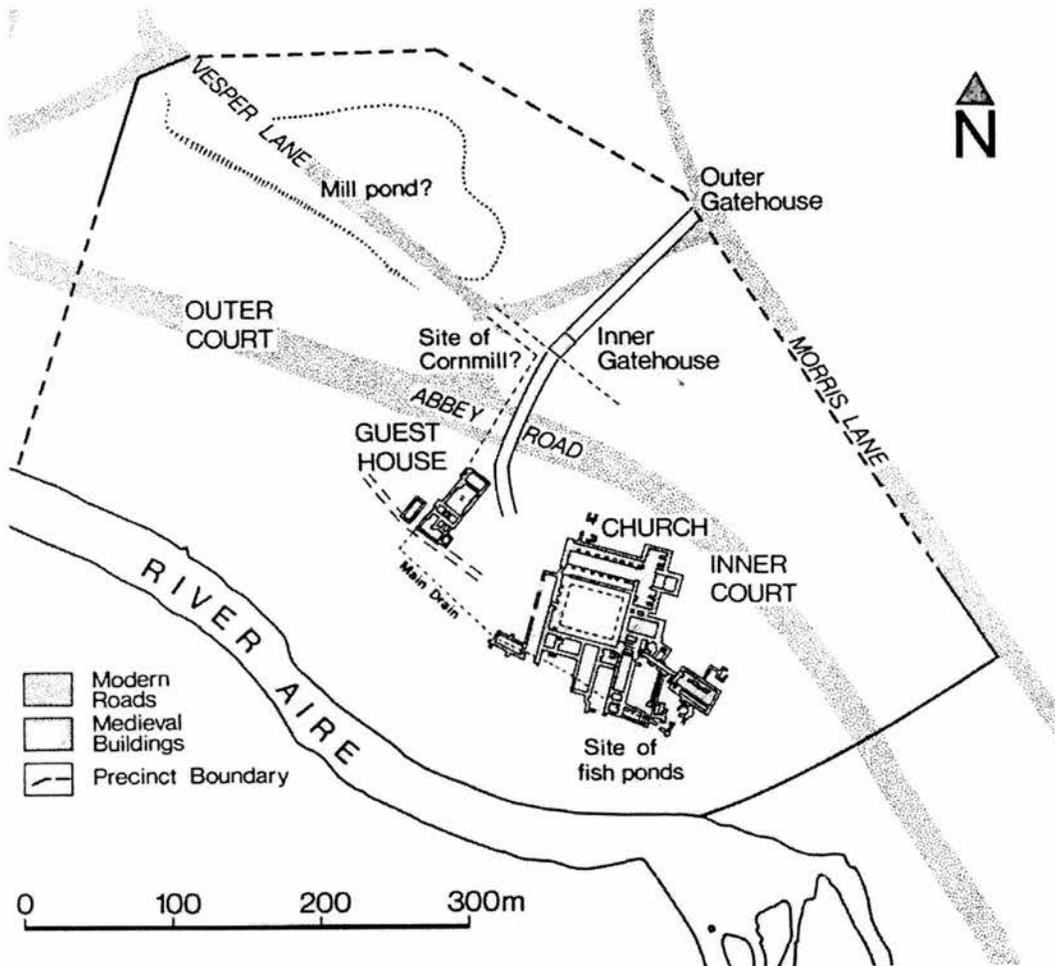
¹⁷⁴ Ibid., 90. He suggests this may have been on account of disease, *ibid.*, or to avoid distraction from the monastic life, Williams, *Cistercians*, 119-22.

¹⁷⁵ Coppack, *White Monks*, 108.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., 28-31. For the guesthall at Waverley, see Brakspear, *Waverley Abbey*, 75-6.

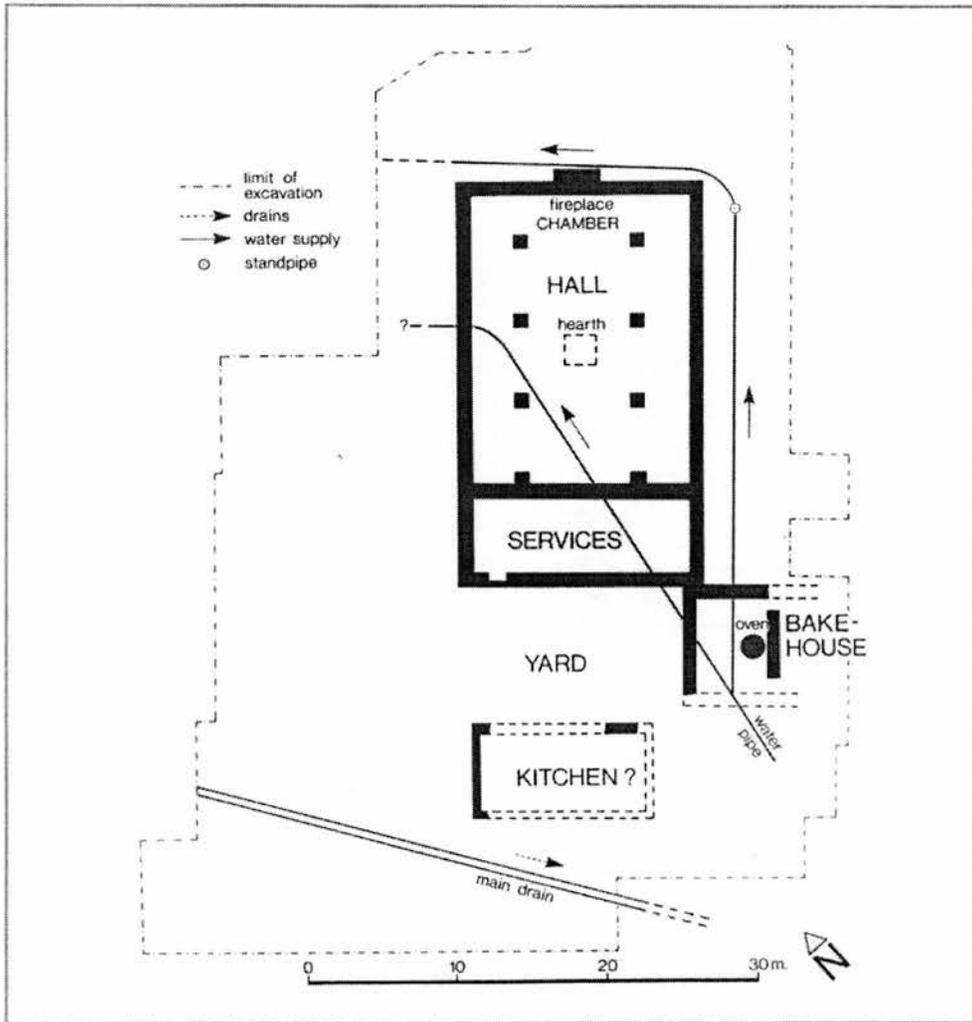
¹⁷⁷ S. Wrathmell, *The Guesthouse at Kirkstall Abbey: A Guide to the Mediaeval Buildings and the Discoveries Made During Recent Excavations*, (Yorkshire, 1987), 5. For the date of the guesthouse, see *ibid.*, 12.

There were separate buildings for the kitchen and bakehouse and it seems there was piped water.¹⁷⁸



11. The precincts of the abbey, Wrathmell, *The Guest House at Kirkstall Abbey*, 4.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 8, 12.



12. The layout of the guest buildings at Kirkstall in the early thirteenth century, Wrathmell, *The Guest House at Kirkstall Abbey*, 13.

3. Tintern Abbey

Excavations at Tintern have exposed a stone-built first floor house with vaulted undercroft, approximately 100 metres west of the church and outer parlour.

Courtney argues the likelihood that this was a guesthouse, for the masonry is of a higher quality than that of the other buildings in the outer court.¹⁷⁹ An aisled hall situated beside this building may have operated alongside the guesthouse and served as a first-floor hall for lesser visitors. The hall was about twenty-one metres long and sixteen metres wide internally, with the northern end divided off to form an ancillary chamber. An open hearth was in the centre of the main body. Courtney admits that the hall is difficult to date, but explains that there is evidence of a pre-hall, which has not yet been excavated.¹⁸⁰ Therefore the Tintern evidence raises the possibility of differing accommodation for the various guests at the abbey.

4. The Cistercian abbot's lodgings

Not all visitors would have been accommodated in the guest complex. Whilst visiting Cistercians were probably lodged in the common dormitory with the host community,¹⁸¹ more distinguished guests, such as the Mowbrays and Nevilles, may have been entertained in the upper apartments above the infirmary in the early and mid-thirteenth century.¹⁸² Indeed, Coppack argues that guests of the highest rank were normally given the abbot's house.¹⁸³ This necessitates some consideration of the abbot's lodgings. Cistercian abbots were officially

¹⁷⁹ Courtney, 'Excavations', 101.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., 106, 124.

¹⁸¹ See below, p. 167.

¹⁸² G. Hodges, *Fountains Abbey: The Story of a Mediaeval Monastery*, (London, 1904), 48, 112.

prohibited from having their own quarters: on account of his infirmity Aelred of Rievaulx was given special dispensation from the Order for a separate house; this adjoined the dormitory and infirmary.¹⁸⁴ Nevertheless, abbots' chambers survive from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, either as a separate room attached to the dormitory or a whole lodging to the east of the court.¹⁸⁵ Furthermore there are thirteenth-century references to the abbot's *camera* at Croxden, Fountains and Meaux.¹⁸⁶ Jansen remarks that the abbot of Coggeshall had his own chamber in c. 1190.¹⁸⁷ Still, there is some confusion regarding the identity and exact use of these chambers, for instance, whereas Coppack and Gilyard-Ber date the abbot's lodgings at Fountains to the mid-twelfth century, Coldstream implies that it dates from the thirteenth century.¹⁸⁸ In addition Coldstream states that the abbots of Rievaulx seemingly had no separate accommodation before the fifteenth century, yet Coppack and Fergusson maintain that Aelred's successors

¹⁸³ Coppack, *White Monks*, 108.

¹⁸⁴ *The Life of Aelred of Rievaulx* by Walter Daniel, ed. and tr. F. M. Powicke, (London, 1950), 39-40.

¹⁸⁵ At Kirkstall Abbey, Leeds, there are remains of what is thought to have been a twelfth-century abbot's house, see below, p. 119. Stuart Harrison informs me that the abbot's lodgings at Byland can be dated to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century.

¹⁸⁶ N. Coldstream, 'Architecture from Beaulieu to the Dissolution', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, 139-59, at 155. See too V. Jansen, 'Architecture and community: mediaeval monastic dormitories', in *Studies in Cistercian Art*, 5, pp. 59-94, at 76-8. According to Knowles, *Historian and Character*, 204, the abbot had a separate room in the dormitory from the twelfth century, and from the second half of the twelfth century had a larger room to the east of the dormitory where he held interviews, i.e. not simply for sleep. Williams, *Cistercians*, 253, maintains that from the early thirteenth century a number of monasteries had a free-standing abbot's house.

¹⁸⁷ Jansen, 'Architecture', 78.

¹⁸⁸ Coppack and Gilyard-Ber, *Fountains*, 46; Coldstream, 'Architecture', 155. Jansen, 'Architecture', 78, dates it to c. 1320.

continued to use his special lodgings as their residence.¹⁸⁹ Despite the variation amongst the houses and uncertainty amongst historians, by the thirteenth century Cistercian practice came to mirror that of the Benedictines, with abbots having their independent lodgings, and by the fourteenth century this was ‘the rule’.¹⁹⁰

There is also uncertainty as to if and how the above quarters relate to the lodgings assigned to the abbot of the mother church on annual visitation. From his excavation of Waverley Abbey, Brakspear argues the likelihood that the hall to the east of the cloister and infirmary was the visiting abbot’s house, and remarks that a hall in a similar position at Clairvaux was known as the *hospitium regis*. The exact arrangement of the hall at Waverley remains unclear, but Brakspear suggests it comprised two chambers.¹⁹¹ Knowles maintains that the three-storey hall and solar by the infirmary chapel at Kirkstall Abbey was probably the abbot’s lodgings, but was connected to the infirmary block by a set of chambers that could be used by visiting abbots. He dates this to c. 1230. However as stressed earlier, this is simply speculative.¹⁹²

Aelred of Rievaulx’s visit to Dundrennan, Galloway, is of interest, for in describing a miracle that occurred during the abbot’s six or seven day stay there c. 1164-5, Walter Daniel discloses significant information regarding the lodging arrangements on this occasion. He records that Aelred and his attendant brothers

¹⁸⁹ G. Coppack and P. Fergusson, *Rievaulx Abbey*, (London, 1994), 29; Coldstream, ‘Architecture’, 155.

¹⁹⁰ See Jansen, ‘Architecture’, 78.

¹⁹¹ Brakspear, *Waverley*, 65-6. According to Brakspear, there were similar halls at Fountains, Jervaulx and Whalley, *ibid.*, 66.

¹⁹² Knowles, *Historian and Character*, 204.

were accommodated in a small dwelling, where Aelred's bedclothes were spread in a corner, and maintains that they were attentively served during their stay.¹⁹³ This was probably a temporary, rather than an official visiting abbot's lodging, for Walter explains that the regular offices were incomplete at this time.¹⁹⁴

Therefore at Cistercian houses members of the Order were accommodated within the conventual area, either in the common dormitory or in guest quarters near to the infirmary block. Other visitors were usually lodged in the court, either in a house or hall. Thus, non-Cistercians were generally kept outside of the conventual zone. Nevertheless, this was not absolute and more distinguished visitors might be entertained within this area.¹⁹⁵

Conclusion

This preliminary analysis of the buildings raises several important points which are discussed further throughout the thesis. Firstly, it emerges that there were often several lodgings within the precincts where guests might be accommodated. Secondly, the arrangements were neither uniform nor rigid. There was diversity amongst the houses and flexibility within each. Thirdly, and leading on from this, although access to certain parts of the precinct was restricted, this was not absolute.¹⁹⁶ Moreover, proximity can be interpreted on

¹⁹³ This is mentioned in Aelred's *Epistola ad Mauricium*, an *apologia* for his *Life of Aelred*, and follows Powicke's edition of the *Life of Aelred*, 66-81, at 74. Dundrennan was established by Rievaulx c. 1142.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid. Visiting abbots were not necessarily assigned separate lodgings: when Abbot Guelerannus, abbot of Ursicampus, visited Mortemer in 1137 to establish their acceptance into the Cistercian Order, he dined and slept with the brethren, *Fondation de Mortemer*, 155.

¹⁹⁵ See below, pp. 168-9, 241-5, for further discussion.

¹⁹⁶ See Gilchrist's discussion of the structuring of space, Gilchrist, *Gender*, 152.

several levels, for whilst it was sometimes a privilege to be admitted within the claustral area, at other times it was more honourable to be entertained outside.

CHAPTER IV: THE MONASTIC OFFICIALS

*Item et cellam hospitem habeat assignatam frater,
cujus animam timor Dei possidet: ubi sunt lecti strati
sufficienter, et domus Dei sapientibus sapienter
administratur.¹*

Hospitality was integral to Benedictine monasticism, but guests were generally not integrated within the claustral life. Therefore, a framework was established to ensure that hospitality was administered without disturbing the brethren. According to the *Rule* of St. Benedict, one of the brothers was to officiate in the guesthouse and extend hospitality on behalf of the community; he alone was permitted to speak with visitors.² Benedict also stipulated that the abbot's kitchen should be separate from that of the monks, so that the brethren would not be unduly disrupted by those arriving at irregular hours.³ The abbot's involvement with hospitality is clearly defined in the *Rule*, for although he could delegate the reception of guests to another member of the community it was his particular duty to dine with *hospites et peregrines*.⁴

¹ *Rule*, 136, (ch. 53).

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*, 134-6. Winzen's suggestion that Benedict was concerned guests should not be exposed to the monks' food seems unlikely, D. Winzen, 'Conference on the reception of guests', *Monastic Studies*, 10 (1974), 55-63, at 62. Benedict was probably more concerned to avoid any disruption to the conventual life.

⁴ *Rule*, 142, (ch. 56). See below, p. 236.

Post-Conquest developments in the administration of Benedictine houses wrought considerable change. The division of revenues between the abbot and convent, and the emergence of the 'obedientary system', namely the distribution of conventual resources amongst the various monastic officials, both affected the administration of hospitality, and these two points require some consideration.⁵

The division of revenues between the abbot and convent, which was preceded by the separation between the bishop and chapter,⁶ occurred at different times in different places and whilst widespread, was not universal.⁷ This topic has

⁵ There has been much discussion of the division of revenues, for example C. Brooke, *The Book of William Morton, Almoner of Peterborough 1448-1467*, ed. P. I. King, (Northants. Record Soc., 16; 1954), xix-xx; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 404-6, 434-7, 612-5, 625-6; J. Hudson, *Land, Law and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England*, (Oxford, 1994), 234-5; G. Lambrick, 'Abingdon abbey administration', *JEH*, 17 (1966), 159-83, at 165-8. Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 431, defines the obedientary system as 'the manner in which the revenues of the house were allotted to departmental officials and administered by them, and which resulted in a vast scheme of devolution that may conveniently be called the *obedientary system*'. He discusses three aspects of the devolution of revenues, and distinguishes the division between the bishops and their monastic or canonical communities, *ibid.*, 757. For the division at Canterbury, see B. W. Kissan, 'Lanfranc's alleged division of lands between archbishop and community', *EHR*, 54 (1939), 285-93.

⁶ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 757; E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the Mensa Episcopalis*, (Cambridge, 1994), 6-7, acknowledges that the origins of episcopal separation can be traced to the Anglo-Saxon period, but raises the important question as to what exactly is meant by 'essential separation' and 'vital change', and concludes that the 'sufficient disagreement' regarding the nature and origins of the division of the *mensa* 'warrants another look'. There has been extensive consideration of this topic, see Crosby's summary of the historiography, *ibid.*, 1-9. For the division at Worcester, see Mason, *St. Wulfstan*, 211 ff. For other houses, see the introductory remarks in the various *English Episcopal Acta*, e.g. vol. i, *Lincoln 1067-1185*, ed. D. H. Smith, (1980), xlix; vol. viii: *Winchester*, ed. M. J. Franklin, (1990), xxxi. See too *ibid.*, no. 20.

⁷ For instance there was no such division at either Reading Abbey or Battle Abbey, see *R.A.C.*, i, no. 1, and Howell, 'Abbatial vacancies', 180-1. See too Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 406. Crosby, *Bishop*, 28, maintains that at Reading, where the *mensa* was not to be divided, 'the case was

received considerable attention from historians, most notably by those exploring the question of vacancies.⁸ The subject has been discussed in analyses of specific houses⁹ and referred to in general monastic histories.¹⁰ Nevertheless, debate continues. For the present analysis the origins of division are of less concern than the implications, specifically the effect on the administration of hospitality.

Brooke maintains that whilst piecemeal allocations were assigned to particular causes before the mid-twelfth century, it was not until this time that there was a formal separation of revenues between the abbot and convent, with the convent's share divided amongst the different obedientiaries.¹¹ Reference to various

argued for an integrated administration which was closer to the ideal of the eleventh-century reform program than the development that took place in most of the religious houses'.

⁸ See in particular discussions of arrangements during vacancies: E. John, 'The division of the *mensa* in early English monasteries', *JEH*, 6 (1955), 143-55, challenged Knowles' assertion that this was largely the result of the feudalisation of the abbot's position, which appeared for the first time in the reigns of Rufus and Henry I. For Knowles' reply and subsequent debate, see Knowles, *Monastic Order*; 757, M. Howell, *Regalian Rights in England*, (London, 1962); Howell, 'Abbatial vacancies', esp. 173-4; L. H. Jared, 'English ecclesiastical vacancies during the reigns of William II and Henry I', *JEH*, 42 (1991), 362-93. For regalian rights, see Crosby, *Bishop*, 362 ff. Brooke, *William Morton*, xx, suggests that division at Peterborough was partly the community's defence against the alienation of property by the abbot, and partly attributable to a general trend to ' earmark funds for particular purposes'.

⁹ E.g. B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, (Oxford, 1977), 85-91; Lambrick, 'Abingdon abbey', 164-6; King, *Peterborough Abbey*, 88-98.

¹⁰ E.g. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 168. It is interesting to note that Gasquet does not mention the division of revenues in his *English Monastic Life*. The separation of revenues has also been included in studies of landholding, for instance, Hudson, *Land, Law*, 234-40, considers this as a means of restricting alienation. The origins of division have recently been explored through analyses of seals, i.e. when the chapter or community had a separate seal from the abbot or prior. For discussion of this, see *ibid.*, 236-7.

¹¹ Brooke *William Morton*, xix. M. Howell, 'Abbatial vacancies and the divided *mensa* in Medieval England', *JEH*, 33 (1982), 173-92, at 175, makes the important point that specific

houses confirms Brooke's hypothesis. King notes that the first rumblings of division at Peterborough can be traced to a charter of 1107 x 15, whereby the knights of the abbey were to give two thirds of their tithes to the sacristy.¹² Gabrielle Lambrick remarks that the obedientiary system was introduced at Abingdon in the early twelfth century, and maintains that the division of revenues between the abbot and convent probably occurred at the same time or slightly after.¹³ The Abingdon chronicle records that Faritius made grants to the monks' chamber and the refectory, and earmarked revenues for alms, for parchment to renew books in the church, and for a fire to warm the sick and bloodlet in the house of the infirm.¹⁴ Harvey's comprehensive analysis of the division of revenues at Westminster reveals a similar pattern, for signs of division can be traced to Gilbert Crispin's abbacy, c. 1085-1117/18, when the abbot allocated seventy pounds annually to the monks' chamber to clothe eighty brothers. A slightly later grant of almost sixty pounds was assigned for alms, the monks' pittances and fuel, the support of their servants and the maundy, and as Harvey concludes, 'an obedientiary system began to take shape'.¹⁵ She explains

allocation did not necessarily mean a sharp division of land between the abbot and convent, for the brethren's portion might still be used to feed the abbot. E.g. see below, pp. 136, 138, 140-1, 228.

¹² King, *Peterborough Abbey*, 88. He explains that a grant of 1117 provides more direct evidence for this division, as it assigned revenues 'ad opus monasterii' and 'ad opus abbatis', *ibid.*

¹³ *Two Cartularies* ii, pp. xliii, xlv. Alongside this separation of conventual and abbatial revenues was the 'parallel division of functions and of financial administration of specialised endowments among monks with specialised duties, acting as heads of separate departments within the convent, the emergence, in fact, of the obedientiary system', Lambrick, 'Abingdon abbey', 168. For subsequent developments at Abingdon, see *ibid.*, 166, 173.

¹⁴ *Abingdon*, ii, 152-4. For additional references, see Howell, 'Abbatial vacancies', 174, fn. 5; see below, pp. 130-1, for Bury.

¹⁵ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, 85-91, esp. 85. See too *Westminster*, 149, and Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 30. For a breakdown of the number of servants at Evesham in the late eleventh century,

that William de Humez's perpetual grant of c. £150 to the community, 1214-22, marked the 'true division' of goods between the abbot and convent.¹⁶

The obedientiary system was related, though not necessarily connected to the division of revenues. In 1954, Brooke wrote that the obedientiary system lacked an historian.¹⁷ Little has changed over the last forty years and Knowles' brief survey is still the main point of reference.¹⁸ Whilst the subject has been considered in relation to individual houses, in particular by those editing obedientiary rolls of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, there has been no comprehensive and collective analysis.¹⁹ Furthermore, the term 'obedientiary'

see R. H. Snape, *English Monastic Finances in the Later Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1926), 13; for the servants at Abingdon in the late twelfth century, see *Abingdon*, ii, 237-43, and Lambrick, 'Abingdon abbey', 169-70; for the agreement of 23 November 1219, which reduced the twelve obedientiaries and seventy-eight lay servants at Abingdon, see *Two Cartularies*, i, no. L. 167. See too P. Vinogradoff, *Villainage in England: Essays in English Mediaeval History*, (London, 1882), 320-5.

¹⁶ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, 86. As Harvey explains, the community themselves recognised the significance of this grant, for they cited it at the top of any section devoted to these themes in their two main cartularies, *ibid.* Division was taken further in the agreement of 1225, see below, pp. 136, 154, fn. 138.

¹⁷ Brooke, *William Morton*, xxv.

¹⁸ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 427-39. More recent historians have generally given this little consideration, e.g. C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, (2nd edn., London, 1989), 121-4, and Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 172-3; some simply refer to Knowles as the authority, e.g. Cowley, *Monastic Order*, 61, Haines, 'Some visitation injunctions', 340, fn. 32.

¹⁹ E.g. *Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. R. E. G. Kirk, (Camden Soc., N.S., 51; 1892); *Two Cartularies*, ii, pp. xlii ff, esp. xlvi-iv; *The Computus Rolls of the Obedientiaries of St. Swithun's, Winchester*, ed. G. W. Kitchin, (Winchester, 1892); *Account Rolls of the Obedientiaries of Peterborough*, ed. J. Greatrex, (Northants. Rec. Soc., 33; 1984). Additional references include Smith, *Canterbury*, 36-52, Thomson, 'Obedientiaries', 91-103; Dodwell, 'Monastic community', 242; G. V. Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset, Bishop of Durham*, (Cambridge, 1956), 93-4. A. Léotaud 'Monastic officials in the Middle Ages', *Downside Review*, 56 (1938), 391-409, discusses the situation at Worcester in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. These studies are of limited use, for they refer to individual houses and are often based on evidence

lacks clear definition, with some confusion as to whether monastic standing and independent revenues were defining features.²⁰ I argue that the obedientiary was a monastic official who administered a conventual department. This excludes non-monks who served in the convent,²¹ and those who ministered in the abbot's household, regardless of whether or not they were of monastic standing.²² The obedientiary often held an endowed office and was increasingly likely to have independent revenues of a kind. However this was not a defining characteristic, or at least not initially,²³ for as Rosser explains, it was an evolutionary process.²⁴

The obedientiary system had its origins in the 'domestic posts' of the *Rule*.²⁵ Benedict was concerned to avoid jealousy and rivalry amongst the brethren, and envisaged that most of the duties would be shared on a rota basis.²⁶ Therefore he named few officials, but amongst those included were the cellarer, those responsible for the iron, tools, clothes and other property belonging to the

from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; conclusions drawn from such analyses ignore the possibility of variation and change.

²⁰ Whereas Kitchin, *Comptus Rolls*, 30-3, and T. D. Fosbroke, *British Monachism or Manners and Customs of the Monks and Nuns of England*, (London, 1817), e.g. 184-5, include non-monastic officials as obedientiaries, Kirk, *Obedientiars*, xi, and Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 298, define him as a monastic official. The latter is implied in Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, 58, and Moorman, *Church Life*, 280.

²¹ Indeed, Kirk, *Obedientiars*, xi, maintains that lay servants should never be defined as obedientiaries, regardless of their standing.

²² See below, pp. 148-53.

²³ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 298, defines the obedientiary in relation to his task, not his economic standing. This is implied in Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 173.

²⁴ G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster 1200-1540*, (Oxford, 1989), 4, fn. 5. Therefore independent revenues became associated with the office, but were not an original characteristic.

²⁵ I.e. administrative posts with no revenues attached, see Knowles, *Christian Monasticism*, 109.

²⁶ For instance, the weekly servers in the kitchen, *Rule*, 98-100, (ch. 35).

house,²⁷ the brother appointed to care for the sick and, as previously mentioned, the guestmaster.²⁸ Knowles explains that in the years following the Conquest, the officials' duties became increasingly complex and the number of posts multiplied. With the devolution of revenues, each of these obedientiaries ran their own department and a number of the community were in some way involved with the management of the house. Those who had previously tended domestic matters were now concerned with the administration of resources, and the 'obedientary system' was 'ubiquitous'.²⁹ He maintains that this was gradual, but 'almost universal', and by the second half of the twelfth century was 'firmly established' in all the major houses.³⁰ However several points require clarification. Firstly, whilst the 'system' may have been 'ubiquitous' it was by no means uniform, for the number and identity of the obedientiaries, the nature of their duties, as well as their relationship with other officials, varied from one monastery to another and these arrangements were modified in accordance with the particular needs of the house.³¹ Secondly, Knowles' explanation seems to

²⁷ Probably the precursors of the chamberlain, sacrist, treasurer and refectorer.

²⁸ *Rule*, 90-2, 94, 100-2, (ch. 31, 32, 36). Benedict also refers to deans and the prior, although the latter was not essential to his schema and was only to be appointed if necessary, *ibid.*, 76 (ch. 21), 166-70, (ch. 65). The porter is also mentioned, *ibid.*, 170-2, (ch. 66); see below, pp. 162-3, 173, for further discussion. Whereas Knowles thinks it likely that Lanfranc introduced the precantor, sacrist, chamberlain and almoner, Greatrex argues that there were precantors at Winchester in Aethelwold's day, and that the origins of the English obedientary system remain uncertain, J. Greatrex, 'St. Swithun's Priory in the later Middle Ages', in *Winchester Cathedral 900 Years: 1093-1993*, ed. J. Crook, (Guildford, 1993), 139-66, at 144.

²⁹ Knowles, *Christian Monasticism*, 109. See too Rosser, *Medieval Westminster*, 4, fn. 5, and Brooke, *William Morton*, xix.

³⁰ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 757, 437.

³¹ E.g. whereas the sacrist and cellarer held the greatest sway at Bury, the sacrist and almoner were the weightiest officials at Peterborough, and the cellarer's share was 'by far the largest', at Rochester in the early thirteenth century, *Election of Abbot Hugh*, xxxv, King, *Peterborough Abbey*, 89-91, Flight, *Bishops*, 199. Furthermore, the introduction of the kitchener's office at

overlook the growing distinction between major and minor obedientiaries, a result of the increasing complexity of the administration at this time.

The duties, status and financial standing of the different officials could vary considerably. Brooke discusses the diversity of 'new officials' and maintains that whilst some, like the sub-almoner, were essentially 'juniors to major obedientiaries', others, like the sub-sacrist and master of works at Peterborough had independent revenues, distinct duties, and were effectively independent. He concludes that there was ultimately a great distinction between the greater and lesser obedientiaries, with some, like the hosteller, in between.³² Indeed, the 1234 injunctions for Bury distinguish the greater and lesser obedientiaries. Whereas the former were to render account four times a year, the latter were to do so twice a year, a reflection of their respective financial responsibilities. The lesser obedientiaries, who held more domestic posts, were expected to attend all regular hours unless engaged in duties pertaining to their office.³³ Lawrence explains that senior obedientiaries, who had the heaviest responsibilities, delegated some of their tasks to subordinate officials, for instance, the sacrist to

Christ Church in 1216–17 deprived the cellarer of his most important task, namely feeding the monastic household. However the kitchener was dismissed the following year and the cellarer resumed his function, Smith, *Canterbury*, 21. In discussing financial receivership, Smith remarks on the tendency for each house to 'develop on individual lines', R. A. L. Smith, 'The central financing system of Christ Church, Canterbury, 1186-1512', *EHR*, 50 (1940), 353-69, at 362. Also note R. A. L. Smith, 'The financial system of Rochester Cathedral Priory', *EHR*, 56 (1941), 586-95.

³² Brooke, *William Morton*, xxiii. Still, this would have varied from house to house and over time.

³³ Graham, 'A papal visitation', 735. The late thirteenth-century customary of Westminster makes a similar distinction between greater and lesser obedientiaries, e.g. *Westminster*, 93-7.

the sub-sacrist.³⁴ However it also seems that a leading obedientiary, such as the cellarer, might co-ordinate lesser and related offices, rather like a section head.³⁵ This is further discussed later in the chapter.

As previously mentioned, the devolution of revenues, and the separation between the abbot and convent in particular, had significant implications for the administration of hospitality: it affected who was responsible for the reception of various guests, where they were entertained and how their stay was funded. The effects of this division are now examined more closely through the example of Bury. Thereafter, the analysis explores the guestmaster's role, with reference to the late twelfth-century *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon and the Bury customs of c. 1234. This focuses on the extent of the guestmaster's duties; the actual details are discussed in chapters V, VI and VII. Other officials involved in the administration of hospitality are considered briefly, and the chapter concludes with a comparative analysis of the Cistercian guestmaster.

I. The example of Bury

Bury is not perhaps representative of other houses, and indeed it is likely that division here was more greatly advanced. However the information available is unparalleled.³⁶ Although the first steps were taken during Baldwin's abbacy, 1087-98, when the abbot granted the manors of Hinderclay and Newton Suffolk,

³⁴ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 123. He makes the interesting remark that the cellarer's duties were sometimes divided amongst the refectorer, kitchener and gardener, see below for discussion of the cellarer in relation to the guestmaster.

³⁵ See above, pp. 23-4, 74, and below, pp. 140-1, for the possibility that the cellarers of Bury and Christ Church presided over their respective guestmasters.

³⁶ Howell, 'Abbatial vacancies', 189, describes Bury as 'the very citadel of separation'.

along with two pools and the fishery of 'Sydolvesmaere', to contribute to the brethren's clothing,³⁷ the revenues were not actually divided between the abbot and the community until the abbacy of Robert II; the convent's share was subsequently apportioned to the various offices.³⁸ This comparatively early division was confirmed by Henry I in a charter of June 1108 x February 1114.³⁹

1. The customary reception of guests

No other house provides as detailed and comprehensive a record of the distinction of guests as Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk. There are three surviving accounts: Jocelin's chronicle of c.1201/2,⁴⁰ the customary statutes between the abbot and convent compiled at the beginning of the thirteenth century⁴¹ and the customs of Bury c. 1234.⁴² All three testify to the fluidity of these arrangements and reveal that they were affected by a number of different factors, for instance, whether the guest was regular or 'secular',⁴³ how many horses he had, whether or not the abbot was in residence, the abbot's or prior's discretion.⁴⁴

³⁷ *Feudal Documents*, no. 105. See too *ibid.*, cxxxviii.

³⁸ *Jocelin*, 90, describes this as Robert's great deed. See too Howell, 'Abbatial vacancies', 177-8.

³⁹ *Feudal documents*, no. 35. However, Crosby, *Bishops*, 26-8, remarks on several suspicious features of the document, and suggests that actual separation may have been later, perhaps during Hugh's abbacy, c. 1157-80. For further indications of the division of revenues between the abbot of Bury and the monks, see *ibid.*, 19, 28, 63. Still, as is argued throughout, this did not terminate abbatial interference.

⁴⁰ *Jocelin*, 39.

⁴¹ *Bury*, 100-7, at 104-6. This dates from late in Samson's abbacy or early in Hugh of Northwold's abbacy, *ibid.*, xxxix.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 5-7.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 7. In this particular passage the term secular seems to include clerics and laity. On other occasions, e.g. *ibid.*, 26, it refers to clerics and priests.

⁴⁴ The importance of the individual's discretion underlines the inadequacy of imposing anthropological structures, see below, pp. 150, 224. Their arrival time was also significant, e.g. see below, pp. 220, 224, 229.

Jocelin maintains that whenever the abbot was at home he was to receive all guests, whatever their circumstance,⁴⁵ save for regulars, secular clergy and their men, who pertained to the convent.⁴⁶ The other two accounts suggest that the abbot was later responsible for all visiting seculars, whether clerical or lay.

According to Jocelin, in the abbot's absence the cellarer was to provide for all guests with under fourteen horses; the abbot's servants were to receive those with more, either within or outside of the court.⁴⁷ More importantly, they were to be entertained at the abbot's expense. The convent was financially responsible for all religious men, including monastic bishops, unless the abbot chose to show them particular honour and receive them in his hall.⁴⁸ Specific references to the abbot's guests, mentioned in chapter III, include Denis the cellarer's confrontation with Abbot Hugh over the knights who had been shown to the guesthouse, and the account of the knights who joined Samson in his hall for dinner on the Vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul in 1195.⁴⁹

The early thirteenth-century agreement between the abbot and monks stipulates that whenever the abbot resided with the brothers he was to receive all guests, save religious men and their followers.⁵⁰ As previously argued, this implies that the secular clergy were now the abbot's concern. The agreement concedes that

⁴⁵ This presumably refers to whether they arrived on horse or on foot.

⁴⁶ *Jocelin*, 39.

⁴⁷ It is thus interesting to note the dispute between William d'Aubigny and the abbot of St. Albans in 1162, for the earl claimed that according to his father's charter, the abbot was allowed a maximum of thirteen horses, see *GASA*, i, 166-75, esp. 170. See below, pp. 299-300, for restrictions on the number of horses.

⁴⁸ *Jocelin*, 39.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 6, 55-6. Also note Samson's entertainment of the townsfolk of Bury, *Jocelin*, 92-3, and his hospitality to the Coventry monks at Oxford, *ibid.*, 94-5.

in the abbot's absence the community should entertain all visitors with fewer than fourteen horses, although the custodian of the abbot's houses and granary should receive guests with more than thirteen horses warmly, and thereby uphold the abbot's reputation. The customary of c. 1234 repeats this and adds that the custodian should guard against any meddling, and ensure that neither the abbot nor convent were unfairly burdened by any tampering with the number of horses,

Summopere cauendum est, ne procuretur coniunctio
 equorum in grauamen abbatis neque diuisio eorum
 in grauamen conuentus, quod saepe fieri solet per
 ianitores, aliquando per ipsos hospites consuetudinem
 domus nostrae bene scientes et uolentes infallibiliter recipi.⁵¹

Still, this distinction of guests was not rigidly imposed and the convent was occasionally prepared to receive those who arrived with fourteen or more horses, namely regular bishops, those who had originally come to be of service to the house, and those who had been specially invited by the prior.⁵² However this was an act of charity, rather than custom, i.e. voluntary, and not obligatory.⁵³

⁵⁰ *Bury*, 104.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁵² See *ibid.*, 5, 6. Presumably those who had come to be of service to the house included legates and those giving advice or sorting out disputes, as well as the fishermen and artisans mentioned in the late thirteenth-century customary of Westminster, *Westminster*, 103.

⁵³ See Gransden's remarks on the chronicler's concern to distinguish 'new graces' from 'old customs', i.e. usages recently developed from long-established customs, *Bury*, xxix.

The Bury customs record the various opinions concerning the reception of guests, and reveal that this was a matter for discussion and indeed controversy. It is interesting that the abbot was now to provide for his guests whenever he resided in the vill, and not simply when staying at the house.⁵⁴ While it was agreed that the community should entertain all regular monks and abbots, there was great debate regarding the reception of the secular clergy, and more specifically regular and secular bishops.⁵⁵ Whereas some believed that the abbot should finance all bishops, others argued that the convent should entertain those of their own order, irrespective of how many horses they had and regardless of whether or not the abbot was present. A third group maintained that the convent should only receive regular bishops with fewer than fourteen horses, and that the abbot should provide for those with more.⁵⁶ Although secular bishops were the abbot's concern, in his absence the prior decided whether or not the convent should receive those with fewer than fourteen horses. However he was by no means obliged to welcome them.⁵⁷ Despite this diversity of opinions, the customary shows a general concern to establish the abbot's responsibility for secular guests, regardless of where he himself resided. The convent was only to provide for those with under fourteen horses who had been specially invited by

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 5. This suggests that the abbot had been spending more time in the vill.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 6. It is thus interesting that when the Cistercian legate, Nicholas, bishop of Tusculum, visited Evesham in 1213, whereas he and his attendant abbots dined in the refectory with the monks, his clerks and household were entertained by Norreys in his chamber, *Evesham*, 248. See below, p. 198.

⁵⁶ The distinction of guests was thus informed by practical and ideological concerns, for it was dependent on the visitor's religious state and the number of horses he had.

⁵⁷ *Bury*, 5, 6. This reiterates the importance of discretion.

the prior, or had come to be of service to the convent. Indeed, the writer himself claims that no other seculars should be received by the community.⁵⁸

The above arrangements show how the separation between the abbot and convent affected the reception of guests: the abbot's visitors were generally received in his court by his household, and financed from his revenues;⁵⁹ the convent's were received and entertained by the cellarer and guestmaster. Thus, there were two distinct systems in operation, which acted independently, but not in parallel.⁶⁰ It is interesting to note that the guestmaster is scarcely mentioned in these accounts. However given that they are concerned with the financial administration of hospitality, this is perhaps not surprising.⁶¹

As previously mentioned, the detail of the arrangements at Bury is unparalleled, and unfortunately there is little direct evidence of how guests were distinguished at other houses in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.⁶² However,

⁵⁸ Ibid., 6.

⁵⁹ Or else supported by him in the vill, see below, pp. 224-5.

⁶⁰ This is discussed below, pp. 148-53, in relation to Abingdon. The Gilbertine *Institutiones* (a composite work including Gilbert's provisions following his return from Cîteaux, 1148, and other additions until 1238), suggests that the Gilbertines operated a threefold system of hospitality: while female visitors were accommodated in the nuns' enclosure, out of sight of the nuns' quarters, distinguished male visitors were received in the *maior hospitium*, lessers in the *domus elemosinarie*, both of which were in the canons' quarters, B. Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order c. 1130-1300*, (Oxford, 1995), 227-8. The various *Institutiones* are printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi: 2, xix-lviii. For discussion of the *Institutiones*, see Golding, *Gilbert*, 455.

⁶¹ He is only mentioned in the section regarding permission granted to visitors to stay longer than two nights, and in connection with prudent management, *Bury*, 7.

⁶² Later references include the late thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of St. Mary's, York, which suggests there was no financial distinction between regulars and seculars who visited the house: the cellarer supplied all guests with twelve horses or less from his kitchen, the

according to the first agreement between Abbot Richard de Berking and the brethren of Westminster, 11 November 1225, the custodian of hospitality was to receive all guests, regardless of their order, station, or origins, and provide for them honourably, according to the means assigned to hospitality.⁶³ The abbot was responsible for receiving kings, legates, and papal messengers with twelve horsemen or more. Moreover, he was to finance those whom he had personally invited to feast or lodge, regardless of whether they were regular, clerical or lay, and was also expected to provision the horses of those sent to lodge there.⁶⁴ This distinction between the abbot's and convent's guests is also apparent in the arrangements for the refectory, which state that the convent should refresh the abbot and up to four of his guests, if they joined the community in the refectory.⁶⁵ Any additional visitors were financed by the abbot.⁶⁶ Thus, despite division there was interaction. The visitors' injunctions of 1234 offer further evidence of the nature of division at Westminster, and imply that the convent provided for visiting regulars, and the abbot for all other guests. The abbot was

abbot those with thirteen or more; the almoner was responsible for monks on foot and poor pilgrims, *St. Mary's*, 93, 96-7. See too the Ely injunctions of 1304, 'Ely ordinances and visitation records: 1241-1515', ed. S. Evans, *Camden Miscellany*, xvii, (Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., 64; 1940), 1-74, at 27.

⁶³ *Walter de Wenlok*, 217-22, at 219. See below, p. 154, fn. 138, for further details of this post.

⁶⁴ *Walter de Wenlok*, 219. At the Cistercian house of Beaulieu, c. 1270, where there was no division between abbatial and conventual revenues, cardinals, royalty and their people, bishops and earls were financed from the common fund, and not the hosteller's office, although the guestmaster actually administered to them, *Account Book of Beaulieu Abbey*, ed. S. F. Hockey, (Camden Soc., 4th Ser., 16; 1975), 276. There was presumably a similar arrangement at Benedictine houses where the abbot did not have independent revenues, such as Battle and Reading.

⁶⁵ The term *persona* is used; see below, pp. 194-5, for further discussion. This is repeated in the thirteenth-century customary of the house, *Westminster*, 103, and there were similar arrangements at Abingdon in 1245-56, see *Two Cartularies*, ii, no. C. 405.

⁶⁶ *Walter de Wenlok*, 222.

to procure for guests and servants of religious men through his cellarer, and more generously than before; he was to restore permanently the vaults where he had previously stored his own wine, so that visiting monks, whether Whites or Blacks, could be received more honourably.⁶⁷ Lest alms be diminished, the abbot's cellarer was to supply the monks' relatives and friends from the abbot's table, whether they stayed in the town or their hospice.⁶⁸

The Evesham customs of c. 1206 offer some indication of the nature of separation, for while the cellarer was to supply all guests with the basic necessities, the kitchener was only to supply visiting religious.⁶⁹ This distinction of religious visitors also appears in Abbot Randolph's grant of 1214-29. The abbot conceded the chapel of Luttleton and everything belonging to it for the fodder of horses belonging to religious men with six horses or less, who were lodged at the monastery. These particular guests had previously been supplied from the abbot's granary.⁷⁰

2. The saga of the cellarer's debt

In c. 1197 the cellarer of Bury was in debt, and Abbot Samson granted the office extra revenue to make good the deficit. When this proved inadequate he resorted to more extreme measures and assigned a clerk from his own table to advise and witness the administration of the cellar. Jocelin records how many were

⁶⁷ Graham, 'A papal visitation', 738.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 739. In this particular clause it seems that *mensa* refers to the abbot's supplies in general.

⁶⁹ *Evesham*, 216. Perhaps as visiting religious dined in the refectory and other guests dined elsewhere. The cellarer at Evesham, like his counterparts elsewhere, was more like a universal provider, see below, p. 151.

⁷⁰ *Evesham*, 263 (added in Harl. 3763).

outraged that a clerk should be placed over a monk. However Samson's explanation for his actions is significant, and underlines that despite financial division between the abbot and convent, there were ongoing responsibilities. According to Jocelin Samson was well aware that as Father of the monastery he was ultimately responsible for the community's losses, or at least, that when in need the brethren had recourse to him. He thus acted as much for his own welfare as that of the convent.⁷¹

However, the cellar remained in debt, and it was rumoured that mismanagement and extravagance in the prior's lodging and guesthouse were to blame for the gross expenditure.⁷² Samson embarked on a more drastic course still and assumed management of the cellar and expenses for guests.⁷³ Furthermore he deposed the cellarer and hosteller, and appointed two other monks as sub-cellarer and hosteller, setting them under Master G., a clerk from his own table, whose assent was required for everything relating to food, drink, incomes and expenditures.⁷⁴ The old purchasers were removed and the abbot's clerks were now responsible for buying from the market, and the abbot himself paid off their debt.⁷⁵ The laity's reaction to Samson's reforms, or at least their recorded response, is revealing, and confirms that by the end of the twelfth century the

⁷¹ *Jocelin*, 79-80. Indeed one of the wise members of the community argued it was Samson's duty to intervene and monitor their administration, for it was the abbot's responsibility to make good their debts. However he feared that Samson's actions would endanger the conventual supplies during a vacancy, *ibid.*, 81. See below, no. 78, for further discussion.

⁷² *Jocelin*, 88.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 89.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* Note that on Hugh of Northwold's succession to the abbacy in 1215, four monks were set over the cellar: two were in charge of external business and two of internal affairs, *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 164-6.

division of revenues at Bury had been well established, and that separation was considered both right and proper,

Mirabantur milites, mirabatur / populus super hiis que fiebant, et dicebat aliquis in plebe: 'Mirum est quod monachi, tot et literati uiri, sustinent res et redditus confundi et commisceri cum rebus abbatis, que semper solebant distingui et ab inuicem separari. Mirum est quod sibi non cauent de periculo futuro post mortem abbatis, si dominus rex inuenerit eos in tali statu'.⁷⁶

However even the autocratic Samson was eventually forced to compromise. Jocelin maintains that the 'murmurings' of the brethren compelled him to reconsider these arrangements: the sub-cellarer was promoted to the cellar and a new sub-cellarer was appointed. Nevertheless they were still to be supervised by the abbot's clerk.⁷⁷

From the above account it emerges that whilst the conventual and abbatial revenues were separate, and indeed the administration of the abbot's household was distinct from that of the convent, there was nevertheless a degree of interaction and exchange.⁷⁸ Moreover, it would seem that at this time the cellarer

⁷⁵ *Jocelin*, 89.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 89-90.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 90.

⁷⁸ Knowles, *Religious Orders*, i, 275, discusses the intermingling of duties, with the abbots and monks financing one another. For additional examples of mutual support and intervention, see *Jocelin*, 111, and *Evesham* 207. According to Hugh of Wells' injunctions of 1231 the officials at

at Bury, a major obedientiary,⁷⁹ was responsible for financing the prior's lodging, guesthouse and refectory, for each of these was investigated as a potential cause of the cellarer's debt.⁸⁰ It is thus likely that the guestmaster at Bury was a lesser obedientiary who was financially dependent on the cellarer, i.e. that he petitioned the cellarer for the necessary supplies to ensure that visitors were provided for sufficiently, though not excessively.⁸¹ This interpretation would also help to explain Denis the cellarer's confrontation with Abbot Hugh, discussed in chapter III.⁸²

Two main points emerge from the analysis of Bury. Firstly, whilst there was a separation between the abbot and convent, this was not absolute. Interaction, and indeed interference, continued. The exact details of division were discussed and

Peterborough were to support the abbot should he require help, King, *Peterborough Abbey*, 94; the archbishop of Canterbury was similarly dependent on the community at Christ Church in the late eleventh century, and they on him, M. Gibson, 'Normans and Angevins 1070-1220', in *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, ed. P. Collinson, N. Ramsey, and M. Sparks, (Oxford, 1995), 38-68, at 56.

⁷⁹ A major obedientiary, and not *the* major obedientiary that he often was in other houses, see Thomson, 'Obedientiaries', 91.

⁸⁰ The fact that the infirmary is not mentioned suggests that it may have had independent revenues.

⁸¹ This accords with Brooke's distinction between greater and lesser obedientiaries mentioned above, pp. 129-30.

⁸² *Jocelin*, 6. See above for discussion of Jocelin's identity. The visitors' injunctions for Bury in 1234 also suggest that the hosteller was one of several officials under the cellarer, for they state that the cellarer should divide his revenues into four, but that neither the sub-cellarer, hosteller, nor any other, save for the abbot or prior, should presume to take that which belonged to him, Graham, 'A papal visitation', 734. It is also significant that in 1215, when the cellarer's office was divided into four, the intern, who provided sufficient funds to sustain monks and guests, was distinct from the monk, Roger Fitzdrew, who was set over the outside hostel, *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 166. Thomson rather loosely refers to the latter as the guestmaster, but he may have been

revised, and more importantly, the abbot did not always honour his responsibilities. Secondly, the examples raise the important question of the cellarer's involvement with hospitality, his relationship with the guestmaster, and more generally, the distinction between greater and lesser obedientiaries.

II. The guestmaster

The office of guestmaster, or hosteller, as he is frequently called, is often cited, but only vaguely understood. A variety of terms were associated with this office, for example, *magister hospitum*, *hostilarius*, *hospitarius*, and these are generally now translated as the guestmaster or hosteller.⁸³ The terms seem to have been used indiscriminately, with no apparent link between a particular term and the date or nature of the source in which it appears, although several of the customaries refer to the *hostilarius*.⁸⁴ In addition there is no clear distinction in the terminology used to describe the Benedictine and Cistercian hostellers.⁸⁵ Still, it is possible that with the growing complexity of administration and the increase in posts and functions, the various terms could, but did not necessarily, differentiate the particular nature of the guestmaster's duties, namely where he

more an overseer of revenues, *ibid.*, 188. See above, p. 75, fn. 34, for the cellarer of Christ Church's association with the *domus hospitum*.

⁸³ The 1206 customs of Evesham and Jocelin's chronicle of Bury mention the *magister hospitum*, *Evesham*, 206, *Jocelin*, 7. The *hospitarius* appears in the 1189 *Inquisition of the Manors of Glastonbury*, ed. J. Jackson, (London, 1882), 8. See too *Jocelin*, 129, and the late thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of *St. Mary's*, York, 94-6. The *hostilarius* is mentioned in the late twelfth-century *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon, *Abingdon*, ii, 411-4, as well as the Bury customary of c. 1234 and the later customaries of Eynsham and Westminster, *Bury*, 25-6, *Eynsham*, 198, *Westminster*, 79 ff.

⁸⁴ E.g. both the *magister hospitum* and the *hospitarius* are mentioned by *Jocelin*, 7, 129.

⁸⁵ The Cistercian *hospitarius* of Melrose is mentioned in the *Life of Waldef*, e.g. 139, and as mentioned above, he appears in a wide range of Benedictine sources.

operated, with whom he was involved and the extent of his financial responsibilities.⁸⁶

There is little consensus amongst historians regarding the status of the guestmaster, the nature of his tasks, his degree of involvement with visitors, and his relationship with other officials and ministers serving in the monastery. Furthermore, there has been hardly any consideration of the guestmaster's office, with a tendency to base vague generalisations on information pertaining to specific houses, often of a later date. Such conclusions ignore the significance of development and variation. Kitchin's work on St. Swithun's, Winchester, typifies this approach. From his analysis of the obedientiary rolls of St. Swithun's, which date from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, Kitchin groups the obedientiaries into four and assigns the guestmaster to the fourth, a small group concerned with external affairs.⁸⁷ He argues that these members, who included lay stewards and seneschals, were generally not a part of the 'conventual body'.⁸⁸ Kitchin equates the *hostillarius* with the doorkeeper, the *hostiarius*, and in the absence of evidence for the guestmaster's duties, he cites Lanfranc's *Constitutions* of the late eleventh century.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ E.g. it is possible, but not inevitable, that in a large house the *custos hospitum* might be largely occupied with managing the revenues and supplying the hospice, while the *hostilarius* was concerned with duties within the precinct, or that the former involved with secular guests and the latter with visiting regulars. That is not to suggest that there was necessarily a distinction, nor that there was a standard usage of these terms. See below, pp. 153-7, for the intern and extern hostellers at Bury, c. 1234, and at Westminster in the late thirteenth century.

⁸⁷ Kitchin, *Compotus Rolls*, 31-3.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 80.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 80-1.

Analysis reveals that the guestmaster, like other obedientiaries, was of monastic standing. Thus, when Abbot Samson of Bury deposed the cellarer and guestmaster, during the financial crisis at the house, he appointed two other monks as sub-cellarer and guestmaster, *hospitarius*.⁹⁰ Indeed Abbot Samson himself was at one time guestmaster of Bury, *magister hospitum*.⁹¹ Whilst the growing complexity of the administration meant that those who were not professed might serve in the hosteller's office, these assistants should not be confused with the monastic guestmaster. To avoid confusion in the present thesis, non-monastic officials are referred to as ministers or servants.

While the nature of the hosteller's duties and the number of hostellers appointed varied, the Benedictine guestmaster was essentially responsible for receiving the community's guests and thereafter attending to their needs. He was to preserve harmony by ensuring that the guest's visit passed smoothly and did not unduly disturb the brethren. This combination of the supervisory and instructive is underlined in several of the customaries. For instance, according to Lanfranc's *Constitutions* anyone who wished to see the buildings was shown around by the hosteller,⁹² and if any clerics were to dine with the community, he instructed them on how to behave there.⁹³ Although the exact nature of his tasks differed

⁹⁰ *Jocelin*, 89.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 7. For additional examples of monk hostellers, see *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 188, and Thomson, 'Obedientiaries', 98. Furthermore, the Benedictine Statutes of 1238 describe the guestmaster as 'monachus benignus et mansuetus', *CM*, iii, 502. See too clause 14 of the 1249 Canterbury Statutes, Pantin, *Chapters*, i, 39.

⁹² Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88. See below, pp. 271-3.

⁹³ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88. See below, pp. 232-6. Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 431, includes veterinary treatment and the shoeing of the monks' and pilgrims' horses amongst the

from one monastery to another, the guestmaster was generally associated with those who were in some way set apart from the community, whether they were visiting regulars, clergy or laity, members of the convent who had returned from a journey or had been bloodlet, novices who were to take their first profession, or those who sought fraternity and were to be introduced to chapter.⁹⁴

The hosteller's involvement in the initial reception of guests is significant, and is discussed in chapter V. 'The brother assigned to administer the guesthouse', mentioned in the *Rule* and Lanfranc's *Constitutions* and identified as the guestmaster, is not associated with the actual reception process. The prior, or another of the brethren especially assigned to the task, was to receive visitors, who were only led to the guestmaster after they had prayed and received the kiss.⁹⁵ In contrast the hosteller in the later Benedictine customaries, or one, if several were appointed, was responsible for meeting the guest, leading him to pray, extending the kiss and edifying him with the Divine Word. It would thus seem that by the late twelfth or early thirteenth century there had been a change in the role of the Benedictine guestmaster, or at least that his duties were described differently: he was no longer confined to the management of the

guestmaster's duties, but this does not seem to have been universally imposed, and indeed, he cites no examples to substantiate this.

⁹⁴ E.g. the Westminster hosteller said Matins for brothers who had returned from a journey *Westminster*, 87; for his duties to the bloodlet, see *ibid.* Also note *GASA*, i, 207-8. For the hosteller's involvement with novices, see Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88-9. For his involvement with those seeking fraternity, see *ibid.*, 88, *Westminster*, 87, and Udalricus' eleventh-century customary for Cluny, *Udalricus*, col. 765.

⁹⁵ *Rule*, 136, (ch. 53), Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 87. Similarly, the Cistercian guestmaster was not involved in the initial reception, see below, p. 165

guesthouse, but was now actively involved in receiving guests and ushering them around the claustral area.⁹⁶

The office of guestmaster is explored more closely through two case studies, the first is based on the *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon, which dates from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, the second on the Bury customary of c. 1234. The former discusses how the guestmaster should act and the nature of his duties, while the latter, a more practical account, is concerned with how the office should be supplied and who exactly should benefit.

1. The example of Abingdon

The *hostellarius* of Abingdon was to be worthy, discrete, of learned talk and clear reason; he was not to be fickle or a newsmonger and was to receive guests courteously, ensuring that they were shown kindness and diligence.⁹⁷ The guestmaster was to blend the duties of his office with those of his broader monastic vocation, for like the other brethren he was appointed tasks on the weekly noticeboard, and was expected to attend Mass and the hours with the community whenever he was not engaged with the duties of hospitality.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ Compare to the hosteller of the twelfth-century customary of the Victorines of Paris: he took his place with the community and was summoned by the sub-hosteller, who was a lay brother, when the guest had been received and his horses stabled. The guestmaster then led the visitor to pray, extended the kiss and attended to his needs, *Liber Ordinis*, 60-1.

⁹⁷ *Abingdon*, ii, 411.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.* See too *Eynsham*, 198, and *Westminster*, 84, 93. The 1234 visitors' statutes for Bury stipulated that all obedientiaries should attend Matins, Vespers and great Masses, unless necessarily detained; lesser officials (*minores obedientiarii*) should attend all regular hours unless engaged in the administration of their duties, Graham, 'A papal visitation', 730.

The Abingdon hosteller was responsible for the initial reception of the guests, and during their visit attended their physical and spiritual needs. He procured food and drink from the cellarer,⁹⁹ provided all they might require to celebrate Mass, and ensured Matins were sung to them.¹⁰⁰ The hosteller operated on the guest's behalf: if the visitor wished to be bloodlet, speak with another member of the house, or meet with his own servants, the guestmaster indicated his request to the relevant authority and made the appropriate arrangements.¹⁰¹ However the guestmaster was also to act as a control, monitoring outside traffic that entered the claustral area, and supervising those who entered within.¹⁰² If the guest committed an offence, the hosteller reported this to the prior, and in so doing relinquished his responsibility for the visitor.¹⁰³

Therefore the Abingdon hosteller operated on two levels, for whilst he was effectively to serve the guest and act as his mouthpiece, (or more correctly, 'handpiece', given that monks communicated by signing), he was also to prevent disruption. He preserved decorum by acting on the visitor's behalf, and ensuring that the guest only joined the community when appropriate. The treatise suggests that the hosteller officiated within the conventual zone and was primarily responsible for those who stayed in this area, presumably visiting regulars.¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, he was also involved with guests of the *curia*, namely

⁹⁹ *Abingdon*, ii, 412. The sacrist was to provide candles, the chamberlain lanterns, *ibid.*, 415.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 413, 411. See below, pp. 257-61.

¹⁰¹ See below, pp. 160, 248-9, 251.

¹⁰² See below, pp. 272-3.

¹⁰³ *Abingdon*, ii, 414. See too *Eynsham*, 202, *Westminster*, 82.

¹⁰⁴ However this is speculative, for the evidence is obscure. See below, pp. 225-6.

those entertained in either the abbot's court or the outer court, who were temporarily admitted to the claustral area.¹⁰⁵

In his short description of the guestmaster's functions Knowles remarks that in addition to the 'social side of his activities', this official was 'to furnish the guest-rooms'.¹⁰⁶ It is thus striking that the *De Obedientiariis* makes no reference to a guesthouse, either in relation to the hosteller or elsewhere. How should we interpret this omission at Abingdon? It cannot be assumed that Abingdon was without a guesthouse at this time, and indeed the chronicle records that Abbot Vincent (1121-30) built several buildings in the outer court, including a guesthall with a chamber.¹⁰⁷ It is possible that the hosteller's responsibility for the guesthouse was implicit or simply omitted, for as mentioned earlier, the customaries offer a perspective.¹⁰⁸ Analysis of the entire treatise and reference to other sources suggest that the Abingdon hosteller was responsible for receiving guests and escorting them around the conventual zone, and that the guesthouse may have been administered by another.¹⁰⁹ Indeed the fact that the hosteller was to return to choir after he had received visitors in the parlour further

¹⁰⁵ See below, pp. 152-3, 225-6.

¹⁰⁶ Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 431. Dodwell, 'Monastic community', 242, simply states that the hosteller was to ensure that the guesthouse was properly furnished and lit.

¹⁰⁷ *Abingdon*, ii, 171, and see above, p. 83.

¹⁰⁸ See above, p. 10.

¹⁰⁹ Perhaps a member of the abbot's household, see below, pp. 148-53, 226. It is thus interesting that Richard of Salisbury's memorandum of 1219, which discusses the obedientiaries' servants at Abingdon, does not mention the hostel, *Two Cartularies*, i, no. L. 167. This absence is unusual, and as it is unlikely that no servants were employed in the guesthall, this may indicate that the hall was administered by a member of the abbot's household, who was not an obedientiary and therefore not listed in this document.

implies that he was not involved in the management of the guesthouse.¹¹⁰

Therefore it appears that the Abingdon hosteller essentially operated within the claustral area, where he supervised those who were to dine in the refectory or sleep in the common dormitory or an adjacent chamber.¹¹¹ It is likely that the abbot's visitors were received in the guesthall, located in the outer court, and tended by members of his household. In the absence of an exact date for the treatise, and indeed precise details regarding the nature of division between the abbot's and convent's guests at Abingdon, this remains conjectural.¹¹²

Thus, there seem to have been two systems in operation at Abingdon at this time, probably a result of the division between abbatial and conventual revenues.¹¹³ It appears that some guests were received in the outer court by the *curiarius* and *janitor*, two members of the abbot's household, while others were entertained in the claustral area and tended by the hosteller. However it is not clear if all guests were initially received by the *janitor*, and thereafter ushered to different officials.¹¹⁴ It is also important to emphasise that although the two systems were

¹¹⁰ *Abingdon*, ii, 413.

¹¹¹ These may essentially have been monastic guests; otherwise, we must conclude that guests were surprisingly well integrated at Abingdon, see below, pp. 151-3, 225-7.

¹¹² The memorandum of c. 1245, regarding the abbot's and brethren's perquisites and responsibilities, explains that the abbot had a barony to supplement his guests, (although he and his guests were supplied from conventual supplies if they dined in the refectory), but does not reveal which guests were assigned to the convent, and which to the abbot, *Two Cartularies*, ii, no. C. 405.

¹¹³ Thus the administration of hospitality did not simply lead to separation, but was affected by it.

¹¹⁴ Kirk, *Obedientiars*, xliii, fn. a, states that the *curiarius* was the first person to be informed of the arrival of guests by the porter, and thus implies that the reception of visitors was progressional, and that both the *curiarius* and hosteller were involved with all guests. However as is discussed below, this is far from clear.

distinct, they were not entirely separate, but inter-related.¹¹⁵ These points will be more fully discussed in this section, with reference to specific passages in the treatise. Before doing so, the roles of the *janitor* and *curiarius* require some consideration.

The *curiarius* and *janitor* of the inside gate served in the abbot's household, and were not conventual obedientiaries as such.¹¹⁶ Whereas the *curiarius* was a monk, the *janitor* seemingly was not professed, and indeed there is no mention of his attending services.¹¹⁷ On the arrival of guests, the *janitor*, who acted for the abbot, was to notify the *curiarius*, who provided for them according to their person – presumably a reference to what they were given and where they were entertained.¹¹⁸ Although the treatise does not specify if the *curiarius* was to provide for all visitors, the fact that the cellarer supplied the guestmaster suggests

¹¹⁵ See *Abingdon*, ii, 351, 'Instituuntur etiam propter pacis caritatisque uinculum inter abbatem et conuentum, pro utilitate et unitate ecclesiae'. Lambrick, 'Abingdon abbey', 174-5, cites this as evidence of the links between members of the abbot's household and the convent. This certainly seems to undermine Knowles' assertion that the abbot's share of the administration was undertaken by non-monk officials under his supervision, Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 435-6. Harvey explains that in Walter de Wenlok's household one of the two stewards was a monk, *Walter de Wenlok*, 25, fn. 3.

¹¹⁶ See Lambrick, 'Abingdon abbey', 167, 174, and Kirk, *Obedientiars*, xliii, fn. a.

¹¹⁷ *Abingdon*, ii, 351. Indeed the two *janitors* of Christ Church, mentioned in Urban III's letter to the prior and convent of Christ Church in 1187, are described as *seruientes*, *Papsturkunden in England*, ed. W. Holtzmann, (3 vols.; Berlin and Göttingham, 1930-52), ii, no. 251. It is often assumed that the *janitor* is to be identified as the porter, but this is not always convincing. Indeed, with the growing complexity of the administration there were often several janitors and a porter of the great gate, and the latter was usually a prestigious post. The porter's office is discussed below, pp. 162-3, 173.

¹¹⁸ *Abingdon*, ii, 415, see below, p. 226. This *janitor* is seemingly comparable to the doorkeeper of the court mentioned in the twelfth-century customary of the Victorines, *Liber Ordinis*, 55-7, esp. 57.

he was only directly responsible for certain guests.¹¹⁹ This is also implied in the customs of c. 1185, which state that whenever passing guests, relatives, knights and men of the province visited on the Nativity of St. Mary, they, their horses and men should be provided for from the court.¹²⁰ Furthermore, according to Richard of Salisbury's charter of 1219, the *curiarius* was to receive kinsfolk and *familiares* of the monks with respect.¹²¹

The *curiarius*, or curtar as he was later known, was appointed by the abbot and had custody of the entire court. He held the keys of the larder and granary,¹²² and at the abbot's discretion was assigned the help of a cleric or layman. The *curiarius* was expected to attend the services whenever he was free, especially feasts celebrated in copes or albs, but was excused from Compline, when he was busy distributing prebends.¹²³ Gabrielle Lambrick's assertion that the *curtar* fulfilled the function of cellarer and was part of the unique administrative

¹¹⁹ The offices of curtar and cellarer were clearly related, and were held by the one official at St. Swithun's from the fourteenth century, Kitchin, *Compotus Rolls*, 32. Lambrick, 'Abingdon abbey', 174, explains that the proctor was the 'financial hub of the monastery' and received all receipts which he then distributed, while the curtar received all supplies in kind. Presumably he distributed resources to the cellarer who directly supplied the monks and convent's guests, while the *janitor* procured for those who were tended in the court. It is thus interesting to note the early fourteenth-century customary of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, which states that whilst the cellarer received all guests courteously and supplied all their necessities, the sub-cellarer provided the convent and passing monks with bread and ale, *St. Augustine's*, 122-3 and 134. The cellarer of St. Augustine's seems to have operated in a similar manner to the *curiarius* at Abingdon and the sub-cellarer to Abingdon's cellarer.

¹²⁰ *Abingdon*, ii, 313. See below, pp. 226, 2331, 246.

¹²¹ *Two Cartularies*, i, no. L. 167.

¹²² The butler, dispenser, larderer and other ministers of the court were under his custody, and were to render daily account to him, *Two Cartularies*, i, no. L. 167.

¹²³ *Abingdon*, ii, 352.

arrangements at Abingdon requires some refinement,¹²⁴ for whilst the title itself is unique, his actual duties are comparable to those of the extern cellarers at Evesham and St. Albans, and the brother assigned to care for the court at Bury.¹²⁵ At St. Albans the cellarer of the court was responsible for the guests' cellar.¹²⁶ The extern cellarer of Evesham received all the revenues that were not specifically allocated to one of the offices, and if any of the obedientiaries required financial aid, the abbot provided assistance through the extern cellarer. The 1206 customs of Evesham reveal that he supplied the community with bread, ale, two *pulmenta*,¹²⁷ light and salt, and provided all visitors according to the resources of the house.¹²⁸ These extern cellarers often served as general receivers of the house, and unlike other obedientiaries, who were chosen by the abbot and chapter, these monk officials were sometimes appointed by the abbot.¹²⁹

Two passages in the *De Obedientiariis* suggest that some guests were tended in the claustral area and others in the outer court or abbot's court. Firstly, the

¹²⁴ 'Early history', 53.

¹²⁵ E.g. see *Evesham*, 207; *GASA*, i, 119; *Bury*, 6.

¹²⁶ *GASA*, i, 119. The two cellarers are also mentioned *ibid.*, 74-5. *Westminster*, 69-73, also refers to two cellarers: the extern had care of all manors and possessions, and provided ale and bread for the monks, passing monks, *forensibus* (presumably strangers) and their households; the intern was responsible for ministering all necessities within, i.e. bread, ale, vessels to the convent, *ibid.*, 69. Moorman, *Church Life*, 284-5, states that the extern cellarer administered the manors and whilst in some houses he was a monk, in others this was in the hands of a seneschal or steward.

¹²⁷ *Pulmenta* were dishes of food containing vegetables and cereals, which supplemented or replaced pittance and 'generals', namely the two dishes permitted by the *Rule*, see Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 11-12.

¹²⁸ *Evesham*, 207.

¹²⁹ E.g. *ibid.*

treatise states that if any visitors wished to leave before daybreak, when the door of the outer parlour was opened, the hosteller should fetch the keys of the parlour from the prior's 'couch' and send them forth according to their dignity.¹³⁰ These arrangements certainly imply that the guests were lodged in the claustral area, and not the court. Thus, we can either conclude that all visitors at Abingdon were integrated with the community, or, as seems more likely, that this passage refers to specific guests, i.e. visiting monks and perhaps only Benedictines. Indeed, they may have stayed in the *receptaculum* for monks, mentioned in Robert of Carville's ordinances of 17 December 1245, or in the common dormitory.¹³¹ Secondly, a rather obscure passage seems to suggest that if any canons wished to visit the church,¹³² the *janitor* should notify the hosteller, who would escort them there and back.¹³³ It is significant that the hosteller's involvement with the canons began and ended with their visit to the church, for on their return it was the *janitor*, and not the hosteller or refectorer, who ministered to their needs, presumably in the guesthall of the court.¹³⁴ It is thus interesting that according to Robert of Carville's ordinances of 1245, ecclesiastic or lay visitors who happened to arrive (*declinare*) at the monastery were to be

¹³⁰ *Abingdon*, ii, 412. See *Eynsham*, 203, for similar arrangements.

¹³¹ *Two Cartularies*, ii, no. C. 7. For the accommodation of visiting Benedictines, see chapter III, esp. pp. 78-9, 104; see below, pp. 213-4.

¹³² *Abingdon*, ii, 415. The rather ambiguous phrase 'pro uoto eorum' has been interpreted 'according to their wish'. Whilst this could refer to an offering the canons were to make, comparison with other references in the treatise, e.g. *Abingdon*, ii, 338, 339, 349, 352, 363, 365. and indeed other sources, e.g. *St. Mary's*, 91, suggest the above reading. I am grateful to Dr. Michael Staunton for his advice on this matter.

¹³³ It is rather curious that the *janitor* did not notify the hosteller of other guests. Visiting monks may have been received directly by the guestmaster, but the absence of reference to relatives and other lay visitors is striking.

received through the abbot, fittingly collected again and tended according to their rank.¹³⁵ Whilst it is not clear what exactly is meant by the phrase ‘collected again’, this seems to imply that at least by the mid-thirteenth century non-monastic guests were received and tended by the abbot’s household, either in the outer court or abbot’s court. However if they entered the conventual area, they were escorted by the guestmaster.

Therefore the *De Obedientiariis* suggests that visitors to Abingdon were either received by the *curiarius* and *janitor*, who officiated for the abbot, or were entertained within the claustral area where they were attended by the hosteller, who communicated with the cellarer, refectorer and other obedientiaries to provide for their needs.¹³⁶ The treatise also emphasises that despite this distinction, there was interaction between the two groups.¹³⁷

2. The example of Bury c. 1234

The Bury customs provide little detail of the actual reception of visitors to the house. Nevertheless, they are an important source for the division of guests and evidence of how the various offices were actually supplied. The customary reveals that two hostellers were responsible for receiving the convent’s guests at

¹³⁴ *Abingdon*, ii, 415. See above, p. 82, for Abbot Vincent’s construction of a guesthall and St. John’s hospital.

¹³⁵ *Two Cartularies*, ii, C. 7.

¹³⁶ See below, pp. 157-60.

¹³⁷ It is thus interesting, and perhaps significant, that the section on the hosteller in the *De Obedientiariis* mentions that the *janitor* should notify the sub-chamberlain of the arrival of abbots, priors, and canons, so that he could provide them with light. This passage also mentions the *janitor*’s duty of placing two wax tablets under the sacrist’s care to burn before Benedictine

this time.¹³⁸ The intern hosteller received visiting Benedictines, although those who were alone and on foot pertained to the almoner.¹³⁹ The extern hosteller received other monks and secular guests for whom the convent accepted responsibility, including the households of visiting Benedictines.¹⁴⁰ The almoner administered to clerics and priests on foot provided they came before Compline, for no secular guests were admitted after this time, unless a special friend of the

abbots and other notable monastic persons, who were to be honoured in this way, *Abingdon*, ii, 415. However, this may simply be indicative of a haphazard arrangement of the treatise.

¹³⁸ *Bury*, 25 ff. Note the agreement between the abbot and convent of Westminster, 11 November 1225: the abbot was to appoint one or two brothers in chapter, with the common agreement of the community, 'ad hospitalitatis custodiam'. This brother was to ensure that all the lands, revenues, possessions, spiritualities and temporalities, hitherto assigned to the almonry, were faithfully used for the poor, sick and guests, *Walter de Wenlok*, 218-9. According to the agreement of 16 August 1252, the abbot would choose two of the four brothers named by the prior and convent to administer hospitality at Westminster, *ibid.*, 228. The customary of c. 1270 refers to the extern and intern hostel, e.g. *Westminster*, 79 ff. It is interesting to note that at Monte Cassino in the ninth century there were twenty-four posts, which included the porter of the guest block, the hosteller of regulars and the hosteller of the poor, Braunfels, *Monasteries*, 36.

¹³⁹ *Bury*, 25-6. Thomson, *Obedientiaries*, 91, incorrectly writes that the intern hosteller cared for monks, the extern for laity

¹⁴⁰ *Bury*, 25. Gransden equates the *hostillarius exterior* with the *hostellarius forensis*, *ibid.*, 130, and whilst this is likely, it is not conclusive, for the latter may have been more of an outside receiver. Whereas the two Bury guestmasters were distinguished according to who they received, the two guestmasters in the *Rule of the Master* were distinguished according to their function: one remained in the guesthouse to guard against thieving visitors, the other received guests, *La Règle du Maître*, ed. H. Vanderhoven, F. Masai, P. B. Corbett, (Brussels and Paris, 1953), 277, (ch. 79). The extern hosteller of the Westminster customary seems to have had greater financial responsibilities than the intern hosteller, for he supplied the guesthouse with bedding, straw etc., *Westminster*, 81. See below, no. 159. It is possible that the intern hosteller was largely involved with administering hospitality within the precinct, while the extern tended outside duties pertaining to the office.

church or convent.¹⁴¹ The abbot's visitors were received by his clerks and a brother appointed by him.¹⁴²

Guests were to be received joyfully and honourably, and provided for diligently in accordance with the customs of the abbey.¹⁴³ The intern hosteller was assigned houses, and as suggested in chapter III, these were likely situated in the claustral area.¹⁴⁴ As previously mentioned, it seems that Benedictine prelates were generally accommodated in their own chamber.¹⁴⁵ The customary suggests that the intern hosteller at Bury had no independent resources, but was supported by the other offices.¹⁴⁶ He was helped by an honest-living clerk who was familiar with the customs of the monastery, and could thus minister to visitors.¹⁴⁷ The customs are essentially concerned with how the hosteller should be provisioned and say little of how he administered his duties.

The extern hosteller was assigned a hall with a chamber and kitchen, which was probably situated in the court.¹⁴⁸ He was essentially involved with the non-Benedictine regulars who lodged and ate here, but also tended the laity and clergy

¹⁴¹ *Bury*, 26.

¹⁴² See above, p. 133. Thomson, 'Obedientiaries', 91, states that in the customs the guestmaster's office is split into three, namely the abbot's, inside and outside, but does not explain whether the abbot's hosteller was the brother assigned to care for the court, or the *hostellarius forensis*, presumably the former. Furthermore, Thomson maintains that the three types of guestmaster are not distinguished in the records, save for on one occasion, but is not explicit.

¹⁴³ *Bury*, 25.

¹⁴⁴ See above, p. 96.

¹⁴⁵ See below, p. 214.

¹⁴⁶ *Bury*, 25.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 26. The customs discuss the corrody of this clerk in great detail, but say little regarding his tasks.

who dined in this hall, though generally lodged in the vill.¹⁴⁹ As those who were entertained in the guesthall were less integrated than visiting Benedictines, the extern hosteller was essentially self-sufficient. Unlike the intern hosteller, he was to find his own fuel and was assigned a team of servants, namely a principal servant, similar to a seneschal, a clerk devoted to the altar of St. Lawrence, an honest household manager who procured the guests' food and drink from the cellar and kitchen, a vice cook who placed dishes on the parapet and ensured that they were cleared away, and five cooks in the hall's kitchen.¹⁵⁰ Those who served in the hall were appointed and financed by the cellarer and hosteller. They ate in the chamber of the hall, either before or after the guests' dinner.¹⁵¹ The seneschal and chief cook were deputed and funded by the convent; the former was not to dine in this chamber, but in his own house or in the great kitchen with his companions.¹⁵² Similarly, the chief servant was only to dine in the hall if instructed by the guestmaster or one of the noble guests, namely a bishop or the likes.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 25. See above, pp. 94-7.

¹⁴⁹ See above, pp. 95-6.

¹⁵⁰ *Bury*, 26-7. It is interesting to note that according to a list of servants assigned to the different offices, dating from Edward I's reign, twenty-two served in the kitchens; one of the five principal cooks served from the kitchen in the guesthall, another served in the chamber and to guests whenever they were in the inside hostel, the chamber and other places, Dugdale, *Monasticon*, iii, 159, no. xxvi.

¹⁵¹ *Bury*, 27. Whenever the White monks' diet differed from that of the other guests, they dined in the painted chamber, *ibid.*

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, i.e. presumably the other servants financed by the convent.

¹⁵³ This suggests that bishop sometimes ate in the hall, and that it was not simply for middling guests, with the abbot's chamber for more distinguished visitors.

Therefore, whilst there was some variation in the number of guestmasters appointed, the extent of their duties, and their relative standing within the community, the Benedictine hosteller was primarily to ensure that the guest's visit passed smoothly and did not disturb the communal life. He was not merely a manager of the hospice, but was actively involved with the reception of visitors and when appropriate, escorted them within the conventual area.

III. Other officials involved with the administration of hospitality

The administration of hospitality was not simply the preserve of the guestmaster, as is often assumed, but was rather more complex. The cellarer's involvement has already been noted, but a number of other monastic officials and secular or lay ministers helped to supply the guesthouse and tend visitors. These officials and ministers can be considered under two headings: (i) those connected with the guestmaster, who either supplied his office or worked alongside him (ii) those whose responsibilities were independent of the guestmaster, whether they officiated on behalf of the convent, like the almoner, or served in the abbot's household, like the *janitor* and *curiarius*.

1. Officials linked to the guestmaster

The Abingdon hosteller and the intern guestmaster of Bury were largely dependent on the major obedientiaries for their supplies.¹⁵⁴ The hosteller of Abingdon procured food and drink from the cellarer, lanterns from the

¹⁵⁴ However the late twelfth-century customs reveal that the Abingdon hosteller had independent resources for shoeing the horses of monks, the poor and pilgrims, *Abingdon*, ii, 329-332. *Westminster*, 88, reveals that in the late thirteenth century, the intern hosteller had independent resources.

chamberlain, and candles from the sacrist.¹⁵⁵ The intern hosteller of Bury received the necessary food and straw from the cellarer,¹⁵⁶ fuel from the infirmary, light and wax from the sacrist, and candles from the vestry.¹⁵⁷ The actual amount he received was dependent on the guest's standing. For instance, whenever an abbot or conventual prior visited the house the hosteller was given seven candle stumps of ten thumb measures for the grease lamp, but received only three or four stumps for other religious.¹⁵⁸ In contrast, while the extern hosteller received supplies from the cellarer and sacrist, he had land assigned to his serjeantry and was to find his own fuel.¹⁵⁹

In administering hospitality the guestmaster interacted with several of the officials. As previously mentioned, he consulted the abbot or prior if the visitor wished to prolong his visit, speak with a member of the community, undergo bloodletting, or dine in the refectory, and sought his Superior's advice on matters

¹⁵⁵ *Abingdon*, ii, 412, 415.

¹⁵⁶ *Bury*, 25. It is thus interesting that in return for land in Whitefield, Kentford, , c. 1182-90, John of Trotsan was to give the cellarer of Bury five shillings yearly for hospitality, presumably for the guests' food and drink, *Kalendar of Abbot Samson*, charter no. 102.

¹⁵⁷ *Bury*, 25.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 58. See too *ibid.*, 59-60: whereas the treasurer provided lamps for any visiting Benedictine abbot as long as he sat in the outside house, once he moved to his chamber, the hosteller was largely responsible. However it is not clear whether this was a symbolic or financial concern. For similar arrangements see *St. Mary's*, 91.

¹⁵⁹ *Bury*, 26. In the late thirteenth century the intern hosteller of Westminster received furniture, utensils, straw, and fuel for the guesthouse from the extern hosteller. Furthermore, he received the bedclothes, sheets and towels of dead monks for the use of guests, and the refectorer supplied tankards and spoons. The cellarer provided bread and drink for 'passing guests', and the kitchener and pittancer provided *pulmenta*. The *hostillarius forinsecus* was to supply the guests' household, boys and transport, i.e. carts. Candles and greaselamps were provided by the sub-sacrist and chamberlain respectively, the actual measure dependent upon the guest's standing, *Westminster*, 79-80, 81, 85-6.

of discipline.¹⁶⁰ The Abingdon hosteller was extensively involved with the refectorer of the house, and the *De Obedientiariis* provides considerable detail of how the refectorer and guestmaster should minister to visitors who dined in the refectory.¹⁶¹

Non-monastic ministers also assisted in administering hospitality. The servants of Abingdon and Bury have already been considered, but Henry de Sully's inquisition of Glastonbury's manors in 1189 is of particular interest, for it lists the abbey's possessions, officials and household at this time. This reveals that Henry's predecessor, Abbot Robert, 1173-80, had assigned the *hospitarius* a servant for the guesthouse, who was to hold a lifetime corrody of one household loaf,¹⁶² a measure of good ale, a measure of inferior ale, a dish of cooked food, and a wage of five shillings.¹⁶³ Other posts associated with hospitality include the custodian of the parlour. The custodian at Abingdon, one of the almoner's servants, was stationed at the outer parlour, located by the western entrance to the cloister.¹⁶⁴ The almoner was to ensure that he received guests honourably from early morning until after Compline.¹⁶⁵ Presumably it was the custodian

¹⁶⁰ E.g. *Abingdon*, ii, 414, *Eynsham*, 202, *Westminster*, 82.

¹⁶¹ *Abingdon*, ii, 398. See below, pp. 228-9.

¹⁶² For the various types of bread see Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 171, 239.

¹⁶³ *Inquisition of Glastonbury*, 8. This also reveals that the guestmaster should receive one mark from the church of Winfrod and five pounds of candles. Note the Bury injunctions of 1234, Graham, 'A papal visitation', 736.

¹⁶⁴ *Abingdon*, ii, 405-6. In his description of Bury, Hills, 'Antiquities', 21, 130, makes the unlikely suggestion that the custodian of the parlour was attached to the monks' parlour in the eastern range. For later references to this custodian, see *Westminster*, 170, and *Eynsham*, 210, 211-2. The twelfth-century customary of the Victorines, Paris, describes a similar custodian, who was a lay brother, *Liber Ordinis*, 58.

¹⁶⁵ *Abingdon*, ii, 405-6.

who notified the hosteller of the guests' arrival. The relationship between the hosteller and custodian is directly mentioned in the *De Obedientiariis*. The Latin is rather obscure, but it seems that if one of the guests wished to speak with his servants, lodged within the gates of the court, the hosteller sent for them through the custodian of the parlour. If the servants were staying outside the court, the same was done by the *janitor's* administration.¹⁶⁶ This particular passage also underlines that the administration of hospitality involved the interaction of officials and ministers. Clearly, the custodian was an integral part of the relay system which operated to preserve decorum within the precinct, for he stood between the cloister and the court to ensure that the monks were not unduly disturbed.

The guestmaster might co-ordinate with the stabler to provide for guests' horses, although there are few explicit references.¹⁶⁷ However, the Westminster customary of c. 1270 suggests that until Richard de Crokeley's abbacy, 1246-58, the intern hosteller had appointed a stabler to minister to those staying in the hostel of the court. From Richard's abbacy this appointment was made by the abbot.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 414.

¹⁶⁷ See above. See below, pp. 245-7, for the care of horses; see below, pp. 282-4, for grants to support the guests' horses.

¹⁶⁸ *Westminster*, 72. Presumably this is the *hostillaria curiae*, which may also suggest that the extern hosteller of Westminster dealt with the business, while the hosteller of the court managed the two guesthouses.

2. Those who acted independently of the hosteller

The reception of guests by the abbot's household at Bury and Abingdon have already been discussed. In the former, this was the duty of the brother assigned the care of the court; in the latter, responsibility was delegated to the *janitor* and *curiarius*. However there is little direct evidence of the abbot's involvement with guests, for as previously argued, the customaries are essentially concerned with the administration of the convent. The abbot is generally only mentioned when acting on behalf of the whole community, for instance, if a distinguished guest visited, or if his guests were entertained in the refectory.¹⁶⁹ While prestigious and thus costly visitors were generally allocated to the abbot, and the hosteller was usually responsible for the convent's guests who arrived on horseback, as previously mentioned, lesser guests pertaining to the community were often assigned to the almoner. Therefore the almoner of Bury was to receive Benedictines, secular priests and clerics who were alone and on foot.¹⁷⁰

In addition to those who offered an alternative recourse to the hosteller, several officials had specific duties related to guests that did not concern the hosteller. For instance, the sacrist was often involved with those who visited the church, collecting their offerings and informing them of particular relics or miracles.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁹ See above, p. 136, and below, p. 228.

¹⁷⁰ *Bury*, 26. See too *St. Mary's*, 96-7, and *Udalricus*, cols. 765-6. *Westminster*, 86-7, states that the extern hosteller was responsible for monks on foot.

¹⁷¹ At Christ Church, during Edmund Rich's archiepiscopate, 1233-40, four monks were allowed into the cathedral to receive pilgrims, Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims*, 137-8. Note Alexander IV's confirmation of Bury's customs, 4 August 1256, which refers to two monks who guarded St. Edmund's body, on account of the great crowd of pilgrims, *Bury*, 63-7, at 63. For arrangements at Cluny, see Evans, *Monastic Life at Cluny*, 75; the practice at Westminster c. 1270, is discussed below, p. 271, fn., 80.

The sacrist might also be more directly involved with administering hospitality, and like the cellarer he was sometimes responsible for distributing gifts to certain visitors staying at the house or residing in the town. This is discussed in chapter VI.

According to the *De Obedientiariis*, the hayward of Abingdon was to supply apples before Compline and provide a box of fruit for guests in the refectory.¹⁷²

In 1219 it was agreed that the almoner of Abingdon should collect ale immediately after supper, lock it away and serve it freely to any of the monks who preferred to drink this, rather than the drink served at Collations. Only pilgrims, poor clerks, sick laity and especially travellers were to receive three fills.¹⁷³

It is significant that although the porter's duties are detailed in the *Rule*, he is not mentioned in Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, the *De Obedientiariis*, or the customaries of Bury, Evesham and Westminster.¹⁷⁴ Indeed the porter is never cited as an obedientiary in any of the Benedictine sources.¹⁷⁵ Analysis suggests that while

¹⁷² *Abingdon*, ii, 416. It seems that this was also intended for the bloodlet, *ibid*.

¹⁷³ *Two Cartularies*, i, no. L. 167.

¹⁷⁴ *Westminster*, 88, simply states that all who arrived, save Benedictine monks, were taken through the gate to the hostel; there is no explicit mention of a porter. While the porter is mentioned in the later customary of *Eynsham*, 209-11, he is described as a member of the *famuli*, and was not, therefore, an obedientiary. Gransden remarks that this particular section is largely copied from the customary of St. Victor's, Paris, *Eynsham*, 209. Indeed the Victorine porter of the court was a lay brother, who like the lay sub-hosteller, served under the guestmaster, *Liber Ordinis*, 55, 69.

¹⁷⁵ The assumption that the Benedictine porter was an esteemed monastic official is apparently based on Cistercian sources, with no consideration that there may have been a difference between the two orders, e.g. see Fosbroke, *British Monachism*, 183. However it seems that the duties and

the Cistercian porter was a monastic official,¹⁷⁶ in Benedictine houses this particular post was not a monastic one and could even be an hereditary office; hence the omission.¹⁷⁷ The *Rule* simply states that the porter should be a mature old man, and although it is likely that Benedict expected a member of the community would assume this responsibility, this is not explicit.¹⁷⁸ The description of Peter the porter's corrody in the Abingdon customs reveals that he was to receive a measure of ale from the abbot's store and one from the cellarer's hall. This implies that his was a significant office, for only he and the *dapifer* received ale from the abbot's store.¹⁷⁹ The agreement in 1202 between Andrew de Scaccario and the abbot of Abingdon substantiates this hypothesis, for it details how Andrew secured keepership of the gate for life.¹⁸⁰

status of the Benedictine porter differed from that of the Cistercian porter, and although Abelard states that one of the nuns of Héloïse's community should officiate as portress, Abelard, *Epistolae*, ep. 8, cols. 280-1, I have not come across any references to a Benedictine monk holding this post.

¹⁷⁶ See below, p. 173.

¹⁷⁷ Vinogradoff, *Villainage*, 324, remarks that the first cook and gatekeeper of celebrated abbeys were often 'real magnates', who held this office by hereditary succession, 'and were enfeoffed with considerable estates'. Wood, *English Monasteries*, 89, explains that the porter of the great gate at Christ Church was generally appointed by the archbishop, but during a vacancy might be chosen by the king. For a general discussion of hereditary posts, see Snape, *Monastic Finances*, 18, and Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, 201.

¹⁷⁸ *Rule*, 170, (ch. 66). Clause xiv of Peter the Venerable's exchange with Bernard centres on the porter's age, with no mention of his status, Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, i, ep. 28.

¹⁷⁹ *Abingdon*, ii, 237-8. At Bury, c. 1200-11, Adam the Chamberlain, son of Alexander, was granted the portership of the great gate at the court of St. Edmund's, to be held as Ralph the porter had held it before his death, *Kalendar of Abbot Samson*, charter no. 28. Davis explains that Ralph was a man of great wealth and position, *ibid.*, fn. 2.

¹⁸⁰ See the editor's note following no. C. 247, *Two Cartularies*, ii. See N. Denholm Young, *Collected Papers of N. Denholm-Young*, (Cardiff, 1969), 201-3, for reference to Andrew.

Hospitality did not, therefore, begin and end with the guestmaster of the house. A large number of monastic officials, conventual servants, and ministers of the abbot's household were involved with the reception of guests, either in a supporting role or acting independently. Once again, there was great variation regarding the nature and extent of their duties.

IV. The Cistercian guestmaster

The following analysis of the Cistercian guestmaster is largely based on the twelfth-century customary of the Order, the *Liber Usus*. This treatise was intended to facilitate uniformity amongst the daughter houses, and in contrast to many of the Benedictine customaries is detailed and coherent. The customary is prescriptive and not necessarily descriptive. However as each of the daughter houses possessed a copy they would have been aware of what should have been practised, even if this was not always effected.

In Cistercian houses there was no division of revenues between the abbot and convent, and there was subsequently no formal distinction between the abbot's and convent's guests. Nevertheless, visitors were distinguished and received accordingly.¹⁸¹ In contrast to the hosteller of the Benedictine customaries considered above, the guestmaster of the Cistercian customary acted on behalf of the community as a whole and hospitality was conducted within the one framework. This should not necessarily be interpreted as a difference between Benedictine and Cistercian houses, but a distinction between monasteries where the abbot had independent revenues and those where there was no such division.

¹⁸¹ See below, p. 189.

It is likely, though conjectural, that the administration of hospitality at Benedictine houses such as Reading and Battle, where the abbot had no separate resources, was similar to that in Cistercian houses.¹⁸²

The Cistercian guestmaster was based in the *hospitium*, which seems to have been a complex situated in the court.¹⁸³ Like his Benedictine counterpart the hosteller was exempted from various claustral activities, in recognition of his involvement with guests. For instance, he might be excused from work after chapter and the blessing at Collations, and together with the others making the maundy could leave the dormitory after Compline.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, if the cellarer, infirmarer, porter and guestmaster were occupied with the reception of visitors and missed the post-Vespers drink, they did not have to atone for this in chapter.¹⁸⁵ The guestmaster was also permitted to speak with everyone who ate or slept in the guesthouse, although he was not to talk to guests or the *conuersus hospitalis* outside the gate.¹⁸⁶

In comparison to the hosteller of the Benedictine customaries, the Cistercian guestmaster was not, according to the prescriptions, involved with the initial reception of visitors.¹⁸⁷ He was thus more like the guestmaster of the *Rule*. His duties began when the visitor was shown to the hospice, after he had prayed and received the kiss. The hosteller decided where the visitor should be

¹⁸² See below, p. 237, fn. 125.

¹⁸³ See above, pp. 110 ff.

¹⁸⁴ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 218, 234, 236.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, 232.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 332.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 246-8, at 248.

accommodated and how he should be served. It is likely that at least in the early days, the guestmaster himself waited upon the visitors.¹⁸⁸ Indeed, William of Malmesbury records that at Cîteaux the guestmaster and cellarer tended visitors in the strictest silence after Compline.¹⁸⁹

The Cistercian guestmaster was responsible for preparing the maundy of the guests, or ensuring that another did so in his stead. Members of the community were assigned to help him on a weekly rota.¹⁹⁰ The guestmaster was also involved in the arrangements for Maundy Thursday, when he helped lead the poor into the cloister for the ceremonial washing of the feet, and ensured they were well tended in the *cella hospitum*, probably a part of the guest complex.¹⁹¹ The Cistercian customary makes no reference to the guestmaster escorting visitors on tours or liaising with the other officials on their behalf, although he was to notify the prior if any guests were close to death, so that he could arrange for a priest to celebrate communion.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 332. However many of these duties may have later been assigned to a lay brother, similar to the lay *conuersus* at the Augustinian priory of Barnwell, in the late thirteenth century, *The Observances in Use at the Augustinian Priory of St. Giles and St. Andrew at Barnwell, Cambridgeshire*, ed. and tr. J. W. Clark, (Cambridge, 1897), 194. Note that at Salem, Germany, in 1300, there were two guestmasters: one tended ‘decent folk’, the other ministered to ‘lower guests’, Williams, *Cistercians*, 127.

¹⁸⁹ *Gesta Regum*, i, 582. William’s emphasis is on their observance of silence. Compare to the abbot of Tintern who was reprimanded in 1217 for speaking, and even drinking with monks and bishops after Compline, Canivez, *Statutes* i, 1217: 30.

¹⁹⁰ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 304. See below, p. 266.

¹⁹¹ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 102. The guestmaster helped the lay *conuersus* and other lay brothers appointed by the cellarer, *ibid.*

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 292.

Unlike his Benedictine counterpart, the Cistercian hosteller did not seemingly have any contact with guests of the Order, except to provide for their horses.¹⁹³ Visiting Cistercians took their place amongst the host community as fellow brethren, rather than guests.¹⁹⁴ Indeed, it seems that there was a difference between the Benedictine and Cistercian perception of the outsider. The sources suggest that the Cistercians considered that everyone who was not of the Order was an outsider. Regardless of whether the visitor was regular, secular, royal¹⁹⁵ or a postulant,¹⁹⁶ he was assigned to the guestmaster and tended outside the claustral area, although the nature of his reception was dependent on his standing.¹⁹⁷ In comparison the Benedictine houses seem to have operated two levels of distinction, for whilst regular guests were more fully integrated than other visitors, everyone who was not of the house, whether a fellow Benedictine

¹⁹³ Cistercian bishops and Cistercians on foot were received in Beaulieu's hospice, c. 1270, *Beaulieu Accounts*, 271, 273. According to the *Statutes* of 1134 Cistercian bishops were not permitted to enter the claustral area if inappropriately dressed, Canivez, *Statutes* i, 1134: 61.

¹⁹⁴ See clause iv of the *Carta Caritatis*, printed in Canivez, *Statutes*, i, xxvi-xxxi, at xxvii. See *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 252, for a further indication that visiting Cistercians were integrated, although unlike Cistercians of the house they were to receive a pittance from the cellarer on their first day, *ibid.*, 330.

¹⁹⁵ After the ceremony in chapter, kings, bishops, monk abbots, and regular clerics seeking fraternity were led to the *hospitium* by the prior, *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 208.

¹⁹⁶ Before postulants entered the *cella nouitorum*, they stayed in the guesthouse for two days, *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 294. As a postulant at Rievaulx, Aelred stayed in the guesthouse for four days, *Life of Aelred*, 16.

¹⁹⁷ See below, pp. 189-90. The late thirteenth-century accounts for Beaulieu abbey reveal that the hosteller was responsible for a wide range of outsiders including royalty, grooms and stablemen, *Beaulieu Accounts*, e.g. 271-6. However, Hockey maintains that these visitors were carefully graded at the door, *ibid.*, 33; for distinctions in refreshment, see *ibid.*, 271-6. Note Abelard's poor reception when he arrived at Clairvaux alone and in cheap clothing, cited by Constable, *Reformation*, 99.

or a pilgrim, was considered an outsider.¹⁹⁸ This helps to explain the Cistercian guestmaster's location outside of the conventual area, for visitors were largely restricted to this area. Indeed in 1149 Peter the Venerable complained to Bernard of the Cistercians' unwillingness to let Black monks into their cloisters. He could not understand why members of the same monastic family did not receive the same hospitality, and suggested that if the Cistercians altered their ways, 'the diverse customs would not separate these and those monks and whom the same faith and charity ought truly to make brothers'.¹⁹⁹ Similarly, Orderic Vitalis complained that in order to protect their privacy the Cistercians barred their entrances and refused to admit other monks to their services or inner buildings.²⁰⁰

Several references, both general and specific, warn against the assumption that there were clear physical boundaries. There were times and occasions when these dividing lines were less distinct, for instance, when outsiders were admitted to the chapter-house and received into the fraternity of the house.²⁰¹ Furthermore several accounts by Gerald of Wales state or imply that certain privileged visitors entered the conventual area. Gerald describes how a diocesan cleric who visited a house in Wales or the Welsh borders was warmly received in the common hall. However, when the monks discovered that the cleric was a member of the

¹⁹⁸ See *Westminster*, e.g. 83, 85, which distinguish those visiting from cells of the house or joined in confraternity from other monastic guests. *St. Mary's*, 95, states that Benedictine guests should only pray in the choir if the monks of the house were not there; otherwise they prayed in the vestry. See below, p. 225, fn. 72, for the distinction between Benedictines and Cistercians at Bury and Westminster.

¹⁹⁹ Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, i, ep. 150.

²⁰⁰ *Orderic*, iv, 326.

²⁰¹ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 208. The wording suggests that while it was not, perhaps, commonplace for laymen to be received into the fraternity, it was not unknown.

bishop's household, and thus the chief official of the diocese, they escorted him to the inner houses and infirmary, where he was served an abundance of sumptuous and well crafted dishes, including meat.²⁰² It is not clear whether the monks were actually present, and this is probably the key point, i.e. physical boundaries were less significant than personal separation. It is thus difficult to ascertain the extent to which visitors were permitted within the conventual area and cloister, and indeed to distinguish the ideal from the practice. Nevertheless, it would seem that in theory, the Cistercian refectory remained exclusively for those of the Order. Therefore the refectorer was not involved with visitors, save those from other Cistercian houses.

According to the Cistercian customary, the guestmaster was assigned the help of a lay *conuersus*, with whom he was permitted to speak.²⁰³ Both Ralph of Coggeshall's and Jocelin of Furness' accounts of mysterious visitors to Coggeshall and Melrose mention a lay hosteller.²⁰⁴ Ralph explains that during Peter's abbacy, 1176-94, a certain *Frater Robertus*, the *conuersus* in charge of

²⁰² *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 211-2. It is interesting to note Stephen of Lexington's letter to a Cistercian house in Ireland, following his visitation in 1228, for he stipulated that no guest should spend the night within the inner courtyard, save for the Count Marshall, as a mark of respect, *Stephen of Lexington: Letters from Ireland 1228-9*, tr. B. O'Dwyer, (Michigan, 1982), letter 80. (O'Dwyer explains that the monastery referred to is Duiske or another on the earl of Leinster's lands, *ibid.*, 170.)

²⁰³ This lay *hospitalis* was to have one of the two keys to the abbot's kitchen: the cooks had the other, *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 310. *Beaulieu Accounts*, 18, reveal that the hosteller was helped by two *conuersi* and two *famuli*.

²⁰⁴ Similarly the sub-hosteller of St. Victor's, Paris, was a *conuersus*. He seemingly remained in the guesthouse, and notified the guestmaster when visitors arrived, *Liber Ordinis*, 60-1.

the guesthall, was involved with the three Templar visitors to Coggeshall,²⁰⁵ Jocelin's *Life of Waldef* alludes to Brother Walter, the *hospitarius*, who was a lay brother.²⁰⁶ In both of these anecdotes the lay brother seems to have been extensively involved with the administration of hospitality, although it is not clear whether he deputised for the monastic guestmaster, worked alongside him, officiated in a different part of the guest complex, or indeed, if there was a change in his role, with the monk hosteller increasingly passing the reins to his lay assistant.²⁰⁷ Inevitably, the precise nature of his duties may have varied from house to house.

Whilst the Cistercian guestmaster was essentially responsible for all visitors to the house, he was not the only official involved with the administration of hospitality. Two brothers were assigned to lead guests to pray and extend the kiss, and the customary of the Cistercian Order provides an extensive account of their duties.²⁰⁸ However the abbot's and porter's involvement is of most significance, and furthermore, can be contrasted with the practice in Benedictine houses.

²⁰⁵ *Coggeshall*, 134-5. Fergusson, *Architecture of Solitude: Cistercian Abbeys in Twelfth-Century England*, (NJ, 1984), 120, translates the Coggeshall helper as the 'assistant hosteller'.

²⁰⁶ *Life of Waldef*, 139. See too John of Ford's *Life of Wulfric*, 24, 28, 99, for references to 'frater Willelmus, conuersus hospitalis de Forda', who was a trusted and respected friend to Wulfric, and a major source for John's work. Bell describes him as the 'junior guestmaster', and citing Jubainville explains that the monk guestmaster was helped by a *conuersus hospitalis*, *ibid.*, 148.

²⁰⁷ For a glimpse of the administration of the Cistercian guesthouse, see *Caesarii*, ii, 52-3: a knight, possessed of the devil was shown to the hostel where the monastic guestmaster, Walter Birbech, prayed with him, and the lay brother attended him. Williams, *Cistercians*, 125, argues that sometimes the *conuersi* took charge, as was the case at Coggeshall in c. 1180 and Barbeaux in 1220.

²⁰⁸ See below, pp. 188-9.

The Cistercian abbot was expected to dine in the guesthouse with visitors and preside as host,²⁰⁹ although the abbot of Cîteaux might deputise for him in his absence.²¹⁰ It is interesting to note the Cistercian Statutes for 1203, which state that if a number of guests arrived at an English house, the abbot was to eat with his community. However, if he did dine or sup with these visitors, the abbot was not to dally, or at any rate, was not to sit longer than the servants.²¹¹ In accordance with the *Rule*, the abbot was allowed to break his fast on account of guests, but if he did so was not to eat at None when the others dined.²¹² Whilst the Cistercian abbots may have taken their place with visitors, they did not always do so in the most salutary way. The Statutes of the Order for 1215 record the abbot of Beaulieu's disorderly behaviour at table, for he had reportedly drunk wassail in the presence of three earls and forty knights. Furthermore, he had a dog with a silver chain to guard his couch, ate his food from a silver plate, and 'received the ministrations of obsequious secular attendants'.²¹³ Gervase of Louth Park confessed that while he had been dining sumptuously in the guesthouse, his monks had famished in the refectory,

Memorare nunc, debilis et pusilanimis homuncio, quam
tociens conscientia tua pauebat, cum tu pluribus escis

²⁰⁹ See *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 312, *Gesta Regum*, i, 582, and Idungus, *Dialogus*, 131-2.

²¹⁰ *Carta Caritatis*, clause vii, in Canivez, *Statutes*, i, xxvii.

²¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1203: 19.

²¹² *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 312; *Rule*, 134, (ch. 53). Indeed when Henry II arrived unexpectedly (and unrecognised) at a Cistercian house the abbot and monks joined him after he had eaten; given the king's late arrival the abbot had presumably already dined with the brethren, *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 213-5, at 213.

²¹³ Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1215: 48. See *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 213-5, for the alleged heavy drinking at a Cistercian house King Henry visited.

inhibias in hospitio et monachi fratres in ediam paciebantur
 in refectorio? Illi nec quidem bonam aquam immo sordidam
 bibebant, et tu ceruisia infundebas?²¹⁴

There is also evidence that before the end of the twelfth century some abbots did not dine in the guesthall, but in a chamber with more noteworthy visitors. Ralph of Coggeshall records that the three Templar visitors were initially shown to the guesthall, but on noting their noble appearance, the lay hosteller made arrangements for them to be refreshed in the abbot's private chambers.²¹⁵ Gerald of Wales complained that on the abbot of Whitland's orders he was not to be received as the archdeacon or the elect, but shown to the common hall with the public guests and the noise of the people.²¹⁶ Therefore, it seems that whilst Benedictine abbots initially ate in the refectory with the brethren, Cistercian abbots originally dined with all visitors in the guesthall. However, with subsequent developments the two came to resemble each other: Benedictine abbots generally dined in their chamber with their household and high ranking guests,²¹⁷ Cistercian abbots often entertained noteworthy visitors in a separate chamber.

²¹⁴ *The Testament of Gervase of Louth Park*, ed. C. H. Talbot, *Analecti Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 7 (Rome, 1951), 32-45, at 39.

²¹⁵ *Coggeshall*, 134. The Templars replied that it was not their custom to dine in private chambers, but in the hall with guests, *ibid.*

²¹⁶ *Giraldi Opera*, iii, 201-2.

²¹⁷ The abbot might also invite several members of the community to join him, see below, pp. 228, fn. 85, 230. Abbots also dined on their manors, see below, p. 237.

The Cistercian porter was a monastic official of considerable standing.²¹⁸ He ate with the servants, slept in the dormitory, and with the help of a sub-porter manned the gate from Lauds to Compline. It was his duty to inform the abbot of the guest's arrival.²¹⁹ As previously mentioned, it appears there was a difference between the status of the porter in Benedictine and Cistercian houses. Whereas this was seemingly held by a layman in the former, it was a prestigious monastic office in the latter. It is thus significant that while the almoner was an important obediary in Benedictine houses, he does not appear in the Cistercian sources. Rather, the porter was responsible for distributing the community's alms to the poor.²²⁰

Therefore the Cistercian guestmaster officiated on behalf of the whole community and received visitors to the house. Nevertheless, there were considerable distinctions as to where guests were entertained, by whom, what they received, and how much they were given. However none save Cistercians dined in the refectory. In comparison to his Benedictine counterpart, the Cistercian guestmaster was largely based outside the conventual area and was

²¹⁸ Williams, *Cistercians*, 117-9, underlines the importance of this monastic office and explains that some were promoted to the abbacy.

²¹⁹ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 334-6. See chapter V, pp. 187-9, for his reception of guests.

²²⁰ See *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 336, and *Beaulieu Accounts*, 174-5. The almoner's role is briefly discussed by Brooke, *William Morton*, xxv-xxxi, who remarks that the almoner awaits an historian, *ibid.*, xxv. However Brooke does not mention if there were ever Cistercian almoners or whether this was a peculiarity of the Benedictine houses. Mr. Peter King informs me he has not come across any references to Cistercian almoners. There were, however, almonesses in Cistercian nunneries, see Nichols, 'Internal organization', 31. See above, p. 128, fn. 31, for the importance of the almoner's office in post-Conquest houses.

primarily responsible for the management of the hospice.²²¹ Unlike the Benedictine hosteller, he was not involved in the initial reception of guests.²²²

Concluding remarks

With the devolution of revenues, the development of offices and the growing separation of the abbot from the convent, the administration of hospitality became increasingly complicated. The exact details are often obscure, for there are few explicit references and no universal or rigidly imposed structure. The sources reveal that arrangements were often discussed, debated and revised. Nevertheless, the analysis suggests that an important characteristic of hospitality in the great Benedictine houses, where there was a division between the abbot's and convent's revenues, was the differentiation between the abbot's and brethren's guests. Subsequently there were two distinct receiving bodies, but despite this separation there was overlap and exchange. Thus, hospitality was not simply a cause of this division, but was in turn affected by it.

²²¹ Or at least, it is clear that the Cistercian guestmaster was, or should have been, based in the guesthouse, but it is less clear where the Benedictine hosteller(s) operated.

²²² See below, p. 189.

CHAPTER V: THE RECEPTION OF GUESTS

Omnes superuenientes hospites tamquam Christus suscipiantur, quia ipse dicturus est 'Hospes fui, et suscepistis me'. Et omnibus congruus honor exhibeatur, maxime domesticis fidei et peregrinis.¹

This chapter considers the practical and symbolic significance of the reception of visitors. The guest's reception was dependent on a variety of factors, most notably, his identity.² Additional factors include the occasion, the time of arrival, the reason for the visit, and of course the particular set up at the house. With such scope for diversity any analysis of the procedure is inevitably complex. The fact that the sources are frequently vague or silent adds to this confusion.³

The routine procedure for the reception of guests is often included in the monastic customaries, although it is not mentioned in either Lanfranc's *Constitutions* of the late eleventh century or the Bury customs of c. 1234. The omission is striking and whilst it is possible that literal adherence to the *Rule* was implicit, this cannot be assumed.⁴ The chronicles and hagiographical accounts sometimes describe specific visits, usually of distinguished individuals.

¹ *Rule*, 132, (ch. 53).

² As previously discussed, it was generally accepted that guests were distinguished and provided for accordingly: for instance, during Walter of Battle's abbacy everyone was welcomed and good manners shown to each according to his rank or station, *Battle*, 260.

³ See below, pp. 198-9.

⁴ Lanfranc includes a detailed description of the ceremonial reception of distinguished guests, see below, pp. 193-4. The fact that the Bury customs are primarily concerned with financial responsibilities may explain this omission.

However these accounts can be unreliable, for the writer may deliberately exaggerate the great joy, reverence and enthusiasm of the reception to extol the host or visitor.⁵

The following analysis is divided into three sections: the first considers the reception of guests as prescribed in the *Rule*; the second explores the general reception of visitors according to the later customaries, noting how these build on and stray from Benedict's precepts; the third examines the reception of distinguished guests who were met with a procession, and discusses the significance of this ceremony. The reception of guests combined the pragmatic with the symbolic. This show of courtesy could win friends for the house, and thereby secure material benefits for the community and enhance their reputation.⁶ However it was also a ritual whereby the outsider was 'converted' and rendered fit to associate with those within.

I. The Rule

Benedict discusses the reception of guests in chapter 53 of his *Rule*. He implies that the same procedure was extended to all, whether regular, secular, lay, of a high or low standing: everyone was to be received with charity as Christ. Still, particular care was to be shown to the household of the faith and pilgrims.⁷

⁵ See below, pp. 185-7, for the importance of showing joy.

⁶ See above, chapter II.

⁷ *Rule*, 132, (ch. 53). This is repeated later, and the *Rule* prescribes that especial care should be shown to the poor and pilgrims, *ibid.*, 134, (ch. 53). However, see above, pp. 5, fn., 14, 108, fn. 155, for the likelihood that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries few pilgrims were actually entertained within the precincts.

The porter's duties are described in chapter 66, but he is not actually mentioned in the reception procedure, although his involvement is implied.⁸ According to Benedict the porter was to be an old and wise man, who knew how to give and receive an answer. Presumably he was the initial point of contact. The porter was to act with humility and efficiency, ensure that the gate was always manned, and whenever a visitor knocked at the door replied with the *Deo gratias*.⁹ The *Rule* does not state if the porter notified the community of the guest's arrival or appointed another to do so in his stead.¹⁰ Given that the porter was meant to be old and was expected to man the gate at all times, the latter seems more likely.

As soon as the visitor's arrival was announced, the Superior, or another of the brethren, went to meet him. The use of *uel*, which can either mean 'and' or 'or', has led to diverse readings of this passage. Coffin assumes that the abbot and all the brethren came to receive the visitor and argues that this was 'a community ritual'.¹¹ However such a procedure would have severely disrupted the communal life and is unlikely to have been extended to all visitors as a matter of course; it was later reserved for distinguished guests.¹² Therefore the use of *uel* seems to imply that either the abbot or another of the monks was to meet the

⁸ *Rule*, 170-2, (ch. 66).

⁹ See Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, i, ep. 28, clause fourteen, for his response to Bernard of Clairvaux on the minutiae of this passage.

¹⁰ It is likely that the increasing complexity of administration affected later procedures, i.e. that there were more officials, entrances and distinctions.

¹¹ L. Coffin, 'Hospitality: an orientation to Benedictine spirituality', *American Benedictine Review*, 39 (1988), 50-71, at 63.

¹² See below pp. 191-200. Peter the Venerable makes this very point regarding the washing of guests' feet, Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, i, ep. 28, clause nine.

guest and receive them on behalf of the community. As previously mentioned, in the Benedictine houses this duty became associated with the guestmaster.

On the arrival and departure of the visitor the monk was to bow in a show of humility and greet the guest as if he were Christ. The guest was thus a symbol of Christ, but in contrast to the Eucharist there was no literal transformation.¹³ Rather Christ was evoked in the guest.¹⁴ Nevertheless like the Eucharist, the reception of guests offered a means of attaining salvation: by admitting the outsider and administering hospitality, the host secured his own place at the heavenly table.¹⁵

This initial reception was followed by the salutation. The monk prayed with the visitor and thereby associated with him in peace. He then extended the kiss, but Benedict warned that for fear of delusions of the devil this should not precede the prayer.¹⁶ Winzen argues that by including the kiss in the reception procedure

¹³ I am grateful to Peter Cramer for his advice on this matter and for reminding me that as the physical conversion of the Eucharist was unique to the sacrament, it is unlikely that the guest was literally seen as Christ, but that he remained a symbol. For the implications of the Eucharist, see P. Cramer, *Baptism and Change in the Early Middle Ages, c. 200–c. 1150*, (Cambridge, 1993), 249, 254. Also, note Lanfranc's discussion of the Eucharist in his letter to Domnall Va h-Ènna, bishop of Munster and his colleagues, 29 August 1080 x 28 August, 1081, Lanfranc, *Letters*, ep. 49.

¹⁴ It is thus interesting that G. Constable, *Culture and Spirituality in Mediaeval Europe*, (Hampshire, 1996), essay vii, 776-7, describes ritual as a communication between the past and present, as well as between different social groups, for this welcome procedure invoked Christ in the guest, and the past was commemorated in the present.

¹⁵ Similar to the maundy, see above, p. 38.

¹⁶ See above, p. 21. The thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of *Eynsham*, 199, suggests that this clause was less concerned with 'safety' than with ensuring that the guest prayed on his arrival, for it states that monks in particular, whether Benedictines or Cistercians, should not receive the kiss until after they had prayed. However it is interesting to note that for the Fathers

Benedict clearly intended that the guest should become a part of the community.¹⁷ However this requires some modification, for whilst the outsider became associated with the brethren, he was not fully integrated. The kiss was a stage in the reception process; it was a part of the ceremonial welcome by which the visitor was prepared for entrance, but was not the final seal or testimony to his inclusion.¹⁸ While the kiss was associated with reception and greeting it was a component of other ceremonials: St. Augustine describes the kiss as ‘a great sacrament’;¹⁹ the kiss of peace was often used in the liturgy of the early Church, usually at the start and finish of ceremonies.²⁰

After this initial reception spiritual care was provided, and it is significant that this preceded any physical attention. Following prayer the Superior, or another of the brethren, edified the guest by reading from the Divine Law.²¹ This was presumably intended to set the tenor of the visit and prepare the guest for his

of the East in the fourth and fifth centuries, the prayer was intended to neutralise diabolical influence; in addition, Rufinus, c. 345–410 AD, maintained that the prayer should always precede the greeting, P. Delatte *Commentary on the Rule of St. Benedict*, tr. J. McCann, (London, 1959), 334. The kiss was an ancient form of greeting amongst Christians, which followed the prayer and Rufinus discussed the fraternal kiss of monks and guests. St. Paul argued that Christians should ‘salute one another with a holy kiss’, (see e.g. Romans 16:16; I Corinthians 16:20), Winzen, ‘Conference’, 59.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ However the Cistercian abbot, Aelred of Rievaulx, describes the kiss to guests as a sign of Catholic unity, which suggests it was not intended to augment change, but symbolic of the present relationship, Aelred, *De Spirituali Amiciti*, in *Aelredi Rievallensis, Opera Omnia*, i, 279–350, at 307.

¹⁹ Winzen, ‘Conference’, 59.

²⁰ Constable, *Culture and Spirituality*, essay vii, 795, fn. 93. For the symbolism of the kiss, see J. Le Goff, *Time, Work and Culture in the Middle Ages*, tr. A. Goldhammer, (Chicago, London, 1977), 242–4, 256.

stay. Thereafter all kindness was shown, seemingly a reference to bodily refreshment. Finally, the abbot washed the guest's hands and he, as much as the others, washed their feet.²² This was probably conducted in the guesthouse, the *cella hospitum*, where the visitor was effectively separated from the rest of the community. The guestmaster alone was permitted to speak with the visitor and if, perchance, any of the other brethren encountered a guest, they were to humbly excuse themselves and pass on, explaining that they were not permitted to talk with visitors.²³

Neither the components nor the sequence of this procedure are peculiar to the reception of guests. For instance, a prayer followed first by a kiss and then by food and drink (whether symbolic, like the bread and wine of the Mass, or physical nourishment) appears in other rituals, such as the installation of abbots,²⁴ the profession of novices²⁵ and the celebration of the Eucharist.²⁶ It is interesting that each of these was an acknowledgement of fellowship and in some way linked to the process of conversion, for it augmented a change in their standing. However, the symbols took on different meanings according to the context, and this is considered later.

²¹ Delatte, *Commentary*, 335, explains that a passage from the Holy Scriptures or a Catholic author was read; a collection of short exhortations from Gregory was used at Monte Cassino.

²² *Rule*, 134, (ch. 53).

²³ *Rule*, 136, (ch. 53).

²⁴ E.g. *Jocelin*, 25.

²⁵ E.g. Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 109.

²⁶ See A. Heron, *Table and Tradition: Towards an Ecumenical Understanding of the Eucharist*, (Edinburgh, 1983), 59–60, for a detailed account of Justin the Martyr's description of the

II. The later customaries

Many of the points detailed in the *Rule* reappear in the later Benedictine customaries, but while some are embellished, others are omitted. As previously mentioned, there is no reference to the routine reception of guests in Lanfranc's *Constitutions* or the Bury customs. The Bury customary merely states that the intern hosteller should receive Benedictine guests joyfully and honourably, and provide for them in accordance with the rules and customs of the house.

However the *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon and the later customaries of St. Mary's, York, Eynsham and Westminster all discuss how the guest should be received. As the latter three date from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries the following analysis is based on the Abingdon treatise.

According to the *De Obedientiariis*, the hosteller met the visitor as soon as he heard of his arrival.²⁷ The treatise does not actually state how he was informed, but it is likely that as at Westminster and Eynsham, he was notified by the custodian of the outside parlour,²⁸ and as mentioned in chapter IV, there are several references to the hosteller's involvement with this servant.²⁹ Whilst we cannot assume that the procedure at Abingdon in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries was the same as that at Eynsham in the thirteenth and

Eucharist in his 'First Apology', c. 150 AD, the oldest reasonably detailed description of the Eucharist and how it was celebrated.

²⁷ The monastery would be notified of the arrival of distinguished visitors by a messenger sent ahead to make preparations, e.g. see Geoffrey de Lusignan's visit to St. Albans, *CM*, v, 344, and Peter of Blois's arrival at Wallingford priory, Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, ep. 29. See below, p. 347, for a secular example.

²⁸ *Westminster*, 80; *Eynsham*, 210-1. At Eynsham either the porter or the custodian of the parlour was to notify the hosteller, *ibid.*, 210. Both of these servants were *conuersi*.

²⁹ See above, pp. 159-60.

fourteenth centuries, the later customary at least offers some indication of what may have been practised at Abingdon. The Eynsham porter received secular and religious guests, and effectively operated a filter system.³⁰ He led visitors to the guest parlour where they awaited the arrival of the *magister hospitum*, who may be equated with the *hostellarius*. The porter or custodian of the parlour then notified the hosteller of the guests' arrival.³¹

In describing the second stage of the reception procedure, which took place in the church, the *De Obedientiariis* expands on the *Rule*. The sense of the passage is rather unclear, but it seems that the hosteller led guests to the church when the convent were either in the cloister or elsewhere, i.e. not in the choir.³² Visitors who were able³³ made a little bow at the door and genuflected at the entrance,

³⁰ *Eynsham*, 210. It is not clear if he received bishops, abbots, and other distinguished guests, or whether they were met by a different official, perhaps a member of the abbot's household. There has been a tendency to gloss over these problems, and this area requires much greater consideration.

³¹ *Ibid.* According to the Westminster customary, c. 1270, the hosteller sent a *froccus* to each guest and received them in the parlour, *Westminster*, 80; he did not need to meet those who had been professed at the house, and could simply send their *froccus* via his servant, *ibid.*, 83. The *froccus* was seemingly a long-sleeved monastic outer garment, see *Mediaeval Latin Dictionary*, 1013, Lanfanc, *Constitutions*, 2, fn. 1, and Pantin, *Chapters*, iii, 389. This suggests that the guests may have been monks, and indeed, this is explicit in clause 44 of the statutes issued by the York General Chapter of 1221, Pantin, *Chapters*, i, 242, and in the thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of *St. Mary's*, 95. For further statutes regarding the *froccus*, see Pantin, *Chapters*, i, 42, clause 30. *Evesham*, 238, explains that during Norrey's tyrannical abbacy, c. 1213, the brethren were obliged to remain in the infirmary through want of the *froccus* and *cuculla*, for by custom they could only follow the convent if wearing these. For a rather obscure reference to the *froccus* in Abbot Warin's reforms, see below, p. 234.

³² *Abingdon*, ii, 411. See too *Westminster*, 80.

³³ *Expeditus* is translated here as 'physically able', and indeed *Westminster*, 84, states that all should attend Collations for the blessing, 'si ualeant'. The term can also mean 'free to do so', e.g. *Abingdon*, ii, 411: the hosteller was to attend all hours and Masses when 'free' of guests.

where they sprinkled themselves with holy water.³⁴ The guests then made their prayers for sins on the journey in the choir, with the brethren present, and did the same at the altar in the vestry. The following sentence is particularly obscure, but suggests that if the community was reclining over the benches (*forma*), the visitors made a deep bow when making their prayers, otherwise they made a short bow. A similar process is detailed in the other customaries, although there is some variation as to when and where the guests should pray.³⁵

The guest was then led to the parlour, often referred to as the ‘regular parlour’, which was by the chapter-house, on the eastern range.³⁶ The kiss of peace was extended and thereafter the hosteller offered ‘words of consolation’.³⁷ Given Adam of Eynsham’s complaint, c. 1200, that monasteries rarely observed Benedict’s prescriptions regarding the edification of guests on their arrival, it is interesting that the Abingdon hosteller extended ‘words of consolation’, rather than the formal reading prescribed in the *Rule*.³⁸ However we cannot simply conclude that there was a change in ideals, for while the later customaries of Eynsham and St. Mary’s, York, make no reference to any reading or words of

³⁴ Ibid. The Eynsham hosteller was to show deference to visiting abbots and the priors of Ramsey and Canterbury, *Eynsham*, 198-9; at St. Mary’s, York, he was to show deference to a bishop, abbot, prior or another great prior ‘de stallo’, *St. Mary’s*, 95. Whilst there are no such details in the Abingdon treatise, this may have been implicit, and given it is earlier and less detailed, this is certainly likely.

³⁵ E.g. *St. Mary’s*, 95, suggests that the hosteller only led guests into the church if the convent were not in the choir; otherwise he led them to the vestry. See *Westminster*, 80, and *Eynsham*, 198-9.

³⁶ *Abingdon*, ii, 411. *Eynsham*, 198-9, and *Westminster*, 80, also describe this as the ‘regular parlour’.

³⁷ According to *St. Mary’s*, 95, this was carried out in the hospice.

comfort, the Westminster customary of c. 1270 mentions the spiritual reading extended to visitors.³⁹ This not only suggests there was a variety of practices, but indicates that these customaries were not simply stylised and might be adapted to suit contemporary needs.⁴⁰

Returning to Abingdon, the guestmaster established the visitor's reason for coming. Presumably he also made inquiries regarding their identity, to ensure that those who wished to dine were served appropriately, for the customary states that if the guest arrived before dinner, the hosteller was to notify the refectorer of his position, that he would be served in accordance with his standing.⁴¹ Indeed it seems that practical concerns became of greater importance, with the asking of questions and passing on information appearing alongside, and even in place of, spiritual dialogue.

A more detailed account in the later customary of Eynsham states that the hosteller should lead visitors to the parlour and ask whether they required food and other such necessities. Before doing so, he was to enquire if anyone wished

³⁸ *Magna Vita*, ii, 176. Adam commends the monks of Cluny, for when Hugh of Lincoln visited in 1200, one of the brethren read to him from Gregory's *Pastoral Care*.

³⁹ *Westminster*, 80: the hosteller was to offer some words from the divine page. The twelfth-century customaries of the Victorines and the Cistercians mention this reading, *Liber Ordinis*, 60–1; *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 248. *The Life of Waldef*, 139, records that the three strangers received at the Cistercian abbey were edified with the word of divine law.

⁴⁰ It is interesting that this practice is no longer observed today; there is only a reading in the refectory, Delatte, *Commentary*, 335. A custom on the wane, perhaps.

⁴¹ *Abingdon*, ii, 415. According to *Westminster*, 80, the hosteller questioned the guest in the parlour to establish his identity and where he was from, and thereby ensure he was accorded fitting honour. He also checked if the visitor required refreshment, and how many horses he had,

to see the dormitory, so that those who might need to relieve themselves could do so without embarrassment.⁴² It is interesting that both the chronicles and literary works suggest that the lay host should not question his visitor until after he had been welcomed and refreshed, lest he appear inhospitable and suspicious.⁴³ In contrast, by questioning the visitor at this early stage the monastic hosteller attempted to preserve the guest's honour and that of the house, for in doing so he attained the necessary information to ensure that the visitor was received appropriately during his stay.

Whereas the *Rule* states that visitors should be received with humility,⁴⁴ the Abingdon treatise stipulates that guests should be shown all kindness and received diligently.⁴⁵ Many of the sources mention the importance of extending a joyful welcome, for in doing so the host demonstrated his willingness to offer hospitality. According to the Bury customs of c. 1234, the intern hosteller was to receive all Black monks joyfully, show them honour, and diligently procure for them according to the rule and customs of the house.⁴⁶ Walter Map complained that although monks rejected secular clerks and other worthies, they extended a

so that the extern hosteller could make preparations. The guest was then led to the *cella hospitum*, edified with a holy reading, and offered any practical information that was required.⁴² *Eynsham*, 199. It is not clear whether this refers to the common dormitory or a dormitory in the guest quarters. If the former, it either suggests that these were visiting monks or that guests were surprisingly well integrated.

⁴³ See below, p. 335.

⁴⁴ *Rule*, 134, (ch. 53).

⁴⁵ *Rule*, 134, (ch. 53); *Abingdon*, ii, 411. See too clause 4 of the statutes issued by the General Chapter of Cluny, 1205-6, *Statuts, Chapitres*, i, 55, and the later customaries of *Eynsham*, 198, and *St. Mary's*, 88.

warm welcome to those whom they feared or intended to fleece and received them with joyful faces.⁴⁷ Furthermore, several accounts of specific visits, usually those of distinguished guests, refer to the great joy shown by the host. For example, Matthew Paris records that Henry II and Walter of Lincoln were received with great reverence and joy when they visited St. Albans in 1184.⁴⁸ Such descriptions were not only intended as testimony to the community's exemplary hospitality, but were a reflection of the sanctity and / or greatness of the guest.

Therefore by appearing joyful the host showed himself willing to offer hospitality.⁴⁹ In so doing he stood to enhance his own reputation or that of the house, and by winning friends and currying favour material benefits could accrue.⁵⁰ Nevertheless spiritual considerations were also a concern. Abraham's enthusiastic reception of the angels may have been an important influence,⁵¹ and

⁴⁶ *Bury*, 25. The porter at Eynsham was to greet visitors with a bow and a joyful face, *Eynsham*, 210. In the late eleventh century the stabler at Cluny entered the refectory when the guests began eating, greeted them modestly, and offered his services, *Udalricus*, col. 765.

⁴⁷ Map, *De Nugis*, 84, 98-100.

⁴⁸ *GASA*, i, 197. *Vita Anselmi*, 50, gives a similar account of Archbishop Anselm's visit to Bec in 1103.

⁴⁹ According to Eadmer, Anselm was a cheerful and generous host, as abbot of Bec, *ibid.*, 46. As archbishop, he exhorted Abbot William and the monks of Bec to receive visitors with joy and tend them cheerfully, Anselm, *Letters*, ii, ep. 178. See below, pp. 207-8, for discussion of 'open doors', as a means of demonstrating one's willingness to offer hospitality.

⁵⁰ See above, p. 27, for Anselm's advice to the monks of Bec, and note the late thirteenth-century *Ordinances of Barnwell*, 192: the canons' hosteller was to be well-mannered and respectable, and if he had nothing to offer, was at least to show a cheerful face and agreeable conversation, for friends are multiplied by agreeable words.

⁵¹ See above, pp. 44-5, for reference to this passage. Aelred's letter of advice to his sister, a recluse, refers to Christ's happy countenance and delight when he comes to meet the one who has renounced the world, Aelred, *De Institutione Inclusarum*, col. 676.

II Corinthians 9.7 underlines the need to show joy when giving, ‘Every man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver’.⁵² Indeed, Peter of Blois cites this passage in his letter to St. Albans, complaining of his poor reception at Wallingford, a cell of the abbey,

Edictum principis apostolorum est: *Estote hospitales inuicem sine murmuratione*. Princeps etiam principium in iudicio tremendo quibusdam dicturus est: *Hospes fui, et non collegistis me*.⁵³

As Peter’s letter underlines, visitors were not always so warmly received.⁵⁴

The prescribed procedure for the reception of guests at Cistercian houses requires brief consideration for comparative purposes. The twelfth-century Cistercian customary carefully describes what exactly the monk porter should say, and how this was affected by the identity of the guest and his time of arrival.⁵⁵ For

⁵² Benedict cites this passage and argues that those who grumble will not be rewarded, but punished, *Rule*, 36, (ch. 5). For further warnings against grumbling, see *ibid.*, 30, (ch. 4) 100, (ch. 35).

⁵³ Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, ep. 29.

⁵⁴ Indeed, see above, p. 51, for Samson’s rather stern face, and note Abbot Geoffrey of La Trinité Vendôme’s frosty reception at Pin priory, a cell of St. Florent, Saumur, *Goffridi Abbatis Vindocinensis, Opera Omnia*, PL 157, ep. vii, cols. 151-2.

⁵⁵ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 246–8, 334-6. This refers exclusively to male visitors: according to the Statutes of 1134 no females were to be admitted; in 1154 it was agreed that dignified women could be tended in the vill; in 1157 women were permitted to enter the church on the first nine days of the dedication, although breast-feeding women were not included, Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1134: 7; 1154: 24; 1157: 10, 58.

instance, whenever a guest knocked at the door, the porter replied '*Deo Gratias*', opened the door, and greeted him with the *Benedictus*. Thereafter, he humbly asked what the visitor wanted, bowed and seated the visitor in his cell while he went to announce the arrival to the abbot. If the guest arrived when the community was singing hours in the church, the porter explained it was not their custom to speak at this time, and that he could not be announced until the brethren had finished celebrating the office. The porter himself pulled up his hood and remained at the gate with respect when the hours were sung in church.⁵⁶

If the porter was unable to see the abbot, he was permitted to enter any of the offices, save for the infirmary. Still, he could stand at the infirmary door and signal to those inside. The abbot, or whoever was presiding, then assigned several members of the community to receive the visitor. Donning copes and hoods they made their way to the porter's cell, while the porter returned to instruct the guest on how to behave.⁵⁷ Upon meeting the guest, the brethren prostrated themselves and led the visitor to the church to pray. On entering the church the guest was sprinkled with holy water. Thereafter he prayed and prostrated himself, although the exact location was dependent on the time of day. A slightly different procedure was followed for visiting bishops and abbots: the brother extended his hand to the prelate to kiss, showed him where to pray and stood back until the distinguished guest had completed his prayers. This done, the brother signalled to leave the church, gave the blessing, bowed to each of the visitors and extended the peace. In accordance with the *Rule* the guest was then

⁵⁶ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 334.

edified with the Divine Word, and an explanation was given if required.⁵⁸

Finally, the visitor was led to the guest lodging and introduced to the guestmaster, the *hospitalis*, who decided where the visitor should sleep and how he should be served.⁵⁹

Therefore, as previously argued in chapter IV, the Cistercian guestmaster was not actually involved with the initial reception of guests. This was conducted by the porter and other members of the community specially assigned to the task.

Jocelin of Furness' account of three mysterious strangers received at Melrose abbey during Waldef's abbacy mentions the reception of these visitors and offers a glimpse of the procedure in operation. However, the story is perhaps more fictional than factual, and the details of their reception may be indicative of the ideal rather than the practice. Jocelin maintains that the visitors, who sought lodging for the night, were respectfully received in accordance with the customs of the Order, and especially of the house. The guests were taken to the oratory to pray, as stipulated in the *Rule*, and edified with the word of Divine Law. They were then led to the guesthouse and commended to Brother Walter, the

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 248. If it was dark a sconce might be used to give light during the reading, Williams, *Cistercians*, 125. Whilst it is not clear whether this was conducted in the church, parlour or a side altar, Jocelin of Furness' account of the three mysterious strangers received at Melrose, discussed later, suggests it may have occurred in the oratory, *Life of Waldef*, 139.

⁵⁹ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 248. Compare this procedure to the reception of knightly visitors by various communities in the romance, *La Queste del Saint Graal*, ed. A. Pauphilet, (*CFMA*, 33; 1923), e.g. 2, 26. It is interesting that these accounts make no reference to the spiritual aspect of the reception procedure.

hospitarius. After a while their feet were washed according to the rite, and they were seated to eat.⁶⁰

Walter Daniel's *Life of Aelred* suggests that noteworthy guests were often met by the abbot or prior, and perhaps the entire community. When Aelred was a member of King David of Scotland's court, he accompanied Walter Espec to his foundation at Rievaulx. The party was greeted by the prior, porter and guestmaster. When Aelred returned the following day, he was met by the prior, porter, guestmaster and a great number of the brethren.⁶¹ It is interesting to compare these accounts with the reception of a fellow Cistercian. Jocelin of Furness refers to one particular occasion when Waldef, abbot of Melrose, visited his mother house of Rievaulx.⁶² Waldef arrived at the monastery during the midday siesta, prayed before the door of the oratory, and so that he should not disturb the brethren, sat in the cloister to rest. Unable to sleep, Waldef recited the Psalms and presently had a vision, and indeed it is for this reason that Jocelin records the visit. However the account illustrates that a visiting monk who was affiliated with the community did not proceed through the official receiving channels; moreover, it emerges that Waldef was permitted, though not obliged, to join the brethren in the dormitory.

⁶⁰ *Life of Waldef*, 138-9. McFadden thus suggests that Jocelin was a newcomer or writing for a general audience, *ibid.*, 275, fn. 2. However Jocelin was probably more concerned to demonstrate the community's adherence to the *Rule* and customs of the Order, indicative of their worthiness. See below, pp. 265-7, for discussion of the maundy.

⁶¹ *Life of Aelred*, 14, 15. It is curious that Abbot William did not come to meet the party. Perhaps he was away. See below, pp. 191 ff, for the reception of noteworthy guests.

⁶² *Life of Waldef*, 144. Rievaulx was c. 120 miles from Melrose and Waldef would have been expected to visit at least once a year.

Therefore the procedure for the reception of guests was prompted by practical and symbolic concerns, and was of worldly and spiritual significance. It was a mark of courtesy, as well as a means of winning friends and benefiting from their satisfaction. It was also functional, for the outsider who was unfamiliar with the layout of the precinct would require guidance within. In addition, the welcome procedure was a means of adoring Christ and a precautionary measure to safeguard the community against the devil. While the format of the procedure was based on the *Rule*, the later sources suggest that there was some modification. Furthermore, the various elements could take on different meanings. Ultimately the reception procedure should be interpreted on several levels. It was a ritual by which the outsider was converted and rendered fit to enter and associate with the community, but was also a sign of mutual peace, trust and solidarity.

III. The reception of distinguished guests

The third section considers the reception of distinguished guests, who were welcomed by the community with a procession. This was effectively reserved for kings, prelates, and according to late twelfth-century canon law, for patrons.⁶³ There are surprisingly few explicit references to the ceremonial reception of patrons, and indeed Adam of Eynsham makes no mention of this when describing Bishop Hugh's visit to Eynsham, following the struggle over his

⁶³ Wood, *English Monasteries*, 127, fn. 6. Clement III's definition of the patron's position (1188-91) permitted him 'the honour of procession' and canon law stipulated that he should be received with a procession if making a ceremonial visit, for instance, for the dedication of a rebuilt church, the installation of an abbot, or a feast, *ibid.*, 104. See too *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, ed. A. Friedberg, (2 vols.; Leipzig, 1878-81), ii, 617 (III 38. 25).

rights of patronage over the house.⁶⁴ However it is likely that in this particular case (and no doubt in many others) the bishop's authority was acknowledged through a ceremonial reception.

In spite of these general guidelines, there was probably some variation as to who precisely was received in this manner and when. This might be affected by personal friendships and political alliances, as well as the independence of the house, for instance, whether or not it was exempt from episcopal visitation.⁶⁵ As with the general reception of guests, the ceremonial procedure was of spiritual and worldly significance. It was a mark of courtesy and an acknowledgement of the guest's renown, but was also an admission of his particular rights and authority over the house. The latter could be contentious, leading to struggles and resistance, and indeed the exact implications were not always clear for contemporaries. As is later discussed, this could provoke confusion as well as controversy.

There are few Benedictine accounts of the prescribed procedure for the ceremonial reception of guests, although specific examples are often included in chronicles and hagiographical works. The following analysis is threefold. The first section considers Lanfranc's prescriptions recorded in the *Constitutions*, the most comprehensive known account of the procedure for English Benedictines. The second part discusses individual cases, and the third explores the

⁶⁴ *Magna Vita*, ii, 42.

⁶⁵ See below, pp. 200-6. For a general discussion of episcopal exemption, see D. Knowles, 'Essays in monastic history iv: the growth of exemption', *Downside Review*, 50 (1932), 201-31, 396-436.

implications of this procedure, with reference to particular clashes between visiting prelate and host community.

1. The prescribed procedure

Although Lanfranc makes no mention of the general reception of guests, he devotes considerable detail to the ceremonial reception of distinguished visitors.⁶⁶ According to the *Constitutions*, whenever it was decided that a certain individual⁶⁷ should be met with a solemn procession, one of the greater bells was sounded three times to call the brethren to vest themselves in the Church.⁶⁸ Once vested in copes, the brothers sat in the choir and awaited the visitor's arrival. Meanwhile the sacrist lay a carpet, covered with a pall, on the step before the High Altar and another before the crucifix in the centre of the church. Two bells were sounded on the guest's approach and the community assembled outside the church to greet him. The seniors led the procession, carrying holy water and whatever else was required. They were followed by the abbot, with the children and their masters at the rear. All assembled in rank to receive the visitor and, depending on his identity, he was either sprinkled with holy water or did so himself. The visitor was then offered incense and the Gospel, all the bells rang, and the precentor began a suitable chant. Thereafter the procession returned to the church, with the abbot and guest following the brethren. The arrangements

⁶⁶ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 70-2. For the reception of distinguished persons at Bec, according to the rites of the *Liber Usuum Beccensium*, see C. Porée, *Histoire de L'Abbaye du Bec*, (2 vols.; Évreux, 1901), i, 251-2. For an interesting parallel, see Ohler's description of the 'protocol' in the Carolingian period, N. Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, tr. C. Hillier, (Woodbridge, 1989), 134-5.

⁶⁷ 'aliqua persona'. This seems to refer to bishops, ecclesiastics, and abbots, but may also include royalty and great laity. See below, pp. 194-5, for the implications of this term.

⁶⁸ Knowles explains that this is similar to Bernard of Cluny, Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 70.

inside the Church are fully described and include details of the cantor's role, where and when the visitor should pray, and how the brethren should assemble.

If the visitor was a bishop, he bestowed the blessing and kissed the brethren in order after the chant. Given that the community was vested, the brethren were not expected to genuflect before him as they did normally when kissing a bishop, abbot or secular prince, but were to kiss him after a low bow.⁶⁹ If the visitor was a *spiritualis persona*,⁷⁰ and the abbot deemed it appropriate,⁷¹ the brothers were permitted to unvest and sit as they normally did in chapter. The visitor was then led into the chapter-house and asked to bestow a blessing. Thereafter, a reading was given and he was invited to make a sermon on it, should he so desire. If the visitor was an abbot, he stood at the door of the chapter-house and kissed the brothers as they left; if he did not actually enter the chapter-house, he greeted them at another appropriate time in the cloister.⁷²

Lanfranc's account raises several important points which require closer analysis. First is the problematic use of the term *persona*. In this particular example it may specifically refer to ecclesiastics, for instance, those conducting visitation or sent from the Papal Curia.⁷³ Lanfranc directly mentions abbots, bishops and

⁶⁹ Ibid., 71-2. Mr. Peter King informs me that this would have been of symbolic, rather than practical importance.

⁷⁰ Knowles translates this as an ecclesiastic, *ibid.*, 72.

⁷¹ This reiterates the importance of discretion.

⁷² For the ceremonial reception of those conducting visitation and the subsequent procedure, see Knowles, *Religious Orders*, i, 81-2.

⁷³ It seems that at times *persona* refers to one of certain standing, e.g. *Abingdon*, ii, 339, *St. Mary's*, 91, *Eynsham*, 203, but on other occasions simply means an individual, e.g. *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 12, *Westminster*, 103.

spiritualis persona. However, the fact that these visitors are defined as *spiritualis* suggests that *persona* had a wider meaning. It was probably intended to include royalty and great laity, namely anyone the community decided to honour in this way.⁷⁴ Indeed, according to the *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon the king, queen, their metropolitan or diocesan should be met with a procession after their consecration,⁷⁵ and the latter two might be received in procession if returning from the papal court.⁷⁶ The Cistercians also reserved this ceremonial welcome for select individuals, namely the pope, apostolic legates, the archbishop, the king, their own bishop and abbot. All save the pope were only received once in this way.⁷⁷ A similar arrangement is detailed in the Gilbertine *Institutiones* which stipulate that only the pope, king, a legate of the apostolic see, the archbishop, their own bishop and their own master should be met with a procession.⁷⁸

The ceremonial reception of guests at the monastery embraces components associated with other ceremonies conducted in the church, including the

⁷⁴ The ambiguous phrase, 'pro uoto suo' is used. See above, p. 152, fn. 132, for the implications of this term.

⁷⁵ This may explain John's haste to visit Bury after his consecration, see above, p. 57

⁷⁶ *Abingdon*, ii, 338-9. However, see below, p. 204 for the chancellor's retort to Hilary of Chichester regarding the implications of his reception at Battle. Still, the fact they could argue the two viewpoints shows the uncertainty and confusion surrounding this area.

⁷⁷ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 246. This reception was therefore an acknowledgement of one's authority and position. Similar arrangements are detailed in the late thirteenth-century *Ordinances of Barnwell*, 150-2.

⁷⁸ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi: 2: xxxvi. The king was the only layman received in this way and according to Golding, this relates to his role as patron. He explains that the Gilbertines, more than any other Order, were under the direct protection of the Crown and argues that 'the King could be regarded as the Order's paramount patron', Golding, *Gilbert*, 312. The Carthusians do not seem to have met any visitors with a procession.

installation of a new abbot or the coronation of a king.⁷⁹ Jocelin provides a detailed account of Samson's installation at Bury, and describes how the abbot was met at the gate with a solemn procession amidst singing, the ringing of bells and the sound of the organ. He was then led to the altar and, after the prayer, made an offering. This complete, Samson gave the kiss of peace, and everyone retired to the chapter-house for the various addresses and the reading of the king's charters. The ceremony was concluded with a great and joyous feast.⁸⁰ The Battle chronicler records how Abbot Odo was welcomed magnificently by his community, although he had not actually received the episcopal blessing.⁸¹ Odo was met with a ceremonial and joyous procession and escorted to the monastery, where he said a prayer and bestowed the kiss of peace to all the brethren. He was then led to the chapter-house for the appropriate reading from the *Rule*.⁸² Abbots might also be ceremoniously received when returning from overseas. According to the *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon, the community could choose⁸³ to welcome their returning abbot in this way, although he was not to remove his shoes, and the *Te Deum* was not to be sung.⁸⁴

⁷⁹ See below, pp. 234-5, 293, for Richard I's coronation at St. Swithun's.

⁸⁰ *Jocelin*, 24-5.

⁸¹ *Battle*, 300. See below, p. 206, for the implications of this reception.

⁸² *Ibid.* For his reception after he had been blessed, see *ibid.*, 308. Further references include *Candidus*, 120-1, *Diceto*, ii, 101. Crosby, explains that bishops were to be received with a procession in their own churches, and bells were to be rung, Crosby, *Bishops*, 45. For secular examples, see Hugh the Chantor, *The History of the Church of York, 1066-1127*, ed. and tr. C. Johnson, (Edinburgh, 1961), 35, *Diceto*, ii, 116.

⁸³ 'Pro uoto suo'.

⁸⁴ *Abingdon*, ii, 336 ff. Note, that on Baldwin's return from overseas in 1189, the community at Christ Church, Canterbury, received him appropriately with a procession, the ringing of bells etc., *Gervase*, i, 452.

Although there is no later Benedictine source to equal the detail of Lanfranc's prescriptions, the chronicles and hagiographical works often describe how certain noteworthy visitors, in particular legates, had been honourably received in this way as testimony to their position and authority. Many of the components mentioned in the *Constitutions* are included in these accounts, a few of which are very informative, for instance, Bury's reception of the cardinal bishop, Nicholas of Tusculum, during the Interdict of 1213.⁸⁵ On learning that the legate was to spend Christmas at Bury, the prior and sacrist returned from London to prepare for his arrival on the 21 December.⁸⁶ Nicholas was honourably received with a procession at the door of the church. The precentor led the singing of the *Summa Trinitati*,⁸⁷ and the legate offered prayers before the High Altar. Thereafter he proceeded to his chamber in preparation for the day's ordinations. The following day Nicholas preached a sermon in the chapter-house and addressed the convent about the disputed election. The legate carried out an official inquiry during his stay and on Christmas Day granted the brethren an indulgence to celebrate Mass, which he himself conducted at the High Altar.⁸⁸

When Bishop Hilary of Chichester visited Battle soon after his consecration, he was received in procession by the abbot and brethren. Hilary entered the chapter-house, preached to the community and was then led to the guesthouse

⁸⁵ *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 26-34. At 26. Nicholas was legate 1204-19, *ibid.*, 24, fn. 1. He arrived in England in 1213 to confirm the king's surrender of England and Ireland, oversee the filling of vacancies etc.

⁸⁶ This is discussed below, pp. 294-5.

⁸⁷ In the Sarum rite the *Summe Trinitati* was sung in processions for the reception of a king or queen, *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 26, fn. 4.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 32. He then ate with the community in the refectory, see above, p. 134, fn. 55.

where he was ‘fittingly loaded with gifts’.⁸⁹ The exempt house of Bury agreed to receive the legate, Archbishop Hubert Walter, with a procession, the ringing of bells and other solemnities. However they warned that he should not hold scrutiny in their chapter-house.⁹⁰

Other less detailed references to the ceremonial reception of prelates include Odo of Battle’s rapturous reception at his former house, Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1175. Odo was welcomed with a solemn procession by the whole community, as well as crowds of men and women.⁹¹ Likewise the archbishop of Cologne was received with a solemn and costly procession at Westminster in 1184,⁹² and the legate, Hubert Walter, was similarly met at Winchester in 1186.⁹³ The papal legate who visited Evesham in 1213, to help resolve matters between the community and Abbot Norreys, was fittingly welcomed with a solemn procession. The next day, accompanied by many of his clerics and abbots, he entered the chapter-house and gave a sermon.⁹⁴

The sources do not always elaborate on the exact nature of the guest’s welcome, and may simply state that these visitors were received ‘honourably’, ‘fittingly’, ‘aptly’, or ‘with due regard to their dignity’. For example, the abbot of Cluny

⁸⁹ *Battle*, 188–90.

⁹⁰ *Jocelin*, 82. See below, pp. 200–2, for further consideration.

⁹¹ *Battle*, 308. Though not explicit it is likely that the two legates solemnly received at Christ Church, Canterbury, on Christmas Day 1186 were met with a procession, *Gervase*, i, 346

⁹² *Diceto*, ii, 31. The archbishop was received at St. Paul’s, London, and then at Westminster, *ibid.*

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 41. Hubert was similarly received at St. Mary’s, York, where he entered the chapter-house and deposed the abbot, Howden, iii, 294.

was ‘fittingly received’ at Bury, and ‘honourably received’ at Peterborough’.⁹⁵ The legate who visited Christ Church in 1121 was ‘magnificently received’, and Mathilda was warmly welcomed by Abbot Faritius of Abingdon, as befitted such a guest.⁹⁶ It is difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain what exactly this implied and, indeed, if there were precise connotations attached. However the meaning was probably dependent on a number of factors including the visitor’s identity, the occasion, the particular customs of the house and / or region. Clearly, the appropriate reception of a pope would have been unsuitable for an abbot, and what was fitting on a ceremonial occasion, such as a dedication, installation or the celebration of a great feast, would not necessarily have been expected on a passing visit. It is thus likely that such references might, but did not necessarily, include those received with a procession.

There are surprisingly few direct references to royalty and magnates or patrons who were met with a procession. Richard I’s ceremonial reception at St Swithun’s, Winchester, for his second coronation, discussed in chapters VI and VIII, is one of the few explicit references, although the Annals of Worcester cathedral priory record that in September 1207, King John was met with a

⁹⁴ *Evesham*, 235. When the papal legate, John of Anagni, visited Christ Church in 1189, during the Baldwin affair, he was met with a solemn procession, Howden, iii, 24.

⁹⁵ *Jocelin*, 124, *Candidus*, 102.

⁹⁶ *Historia Nouorum*, 296; *Abingdon*, ii, 97-8. Baldwin and Hubert Walter were received with due honour when they succeeded to the see of Canterbury, *Gervase*, ii, 401, 407. For secular parallels, see the bishop and clergy of Rochester’s reception of Archbishop Becket and his men, *Materials for Becket*, iii, 122. For Continental examples, see *Orderic*, vi, 338.

solemn procession by the community.⁹⁷ In addition, we know that the young King Henry was received with a procession by the monks of Canterbury when he visited the martyr's tomb in 1172.⁹⁸ However Garnier's account of Henry II's penance, following the martyrdom of Becket in 1170, suggests that royalty were generally met with a procession when they visited a religious community. In his *Life of Becket*, Garnier remarks that although it was usual to ring a full peal of bells and gather in a procession to greet a king, as a mark of his contrition and a sign of humility, Henry II ordered that all this be put aside when he visited Christ Church after the martyrdom, for he wished to enter the church as a beggar and not a king.⁹⁹

2. The implications

Clearly the ceremonial reception of prelates and other distinguished persons was not merely a common courtesy. It was a symbolic recognition of their position and authority, especially if the former came on visitation.¹⁰⁰ Refusal to welcome

⁹⁷ *Annales Monastici*, iv, 395. For additional references, see John's reception at St. Albans in 1199, Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ii, 81, and Richard I's reception at St. Paul's, London, in 1194, Diceto ii, 114.

⁹⁸ *Materials for Becket*, iv, 179. It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that a greater number of references are cited by the Norman chroniclers, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni, e.g. Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, 198, *Continuatio Beccensis*, 322.

⁹⁹ *Vie de Saint Thomas*, lines 5951-5955. According to Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, 197, Henry II acted with courtesy and liberality when he visited France in September 1158, and refused to be met with a procession at any of the churches he visited, although Louis and others urged him to be received in this way. However, the fact that both kings were received with a procession when they visited the Norman houses of Bec and Mont St Michel suggests that Henry's former resistance may have been intended as an open demonstration of humility to Louis, and symbolic of their recent concord. Indeed, W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, (London, 1973), 77, argues that their recent accord was publicly demonstrated through these state visits and Henry's intent to travel modestly. See above, p. 85, fn. 75.

¹⁰⁰ As Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation*, 118, writes, 'visitation was a mark of authority'.

the prelate in this way could be seen as an open denial of his rights. Whilst the manner of one's reception, and indeed the fact he was admitted, might literally speak volumes, the actual implications could cause some confusion. Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury,¹⁰¹ was concerned he should be received as legate if he visited Bury, for the house had been granted episcopal exemption.¹⁰² Therefore he sent messengers to the abbey to ensure his appropriate welcome.¹⁰³ After taking counsel from several of the monks, Abbot Samson agreed to receive him with all due honour and reverence, namely with a procession, the ringing of bells and other solemnities. However Samson warned Hubert that if he attempted to hold scrutiny in their chapter-house, the community would appeal to Rome. Furthermore, Samson ruled that if the legate visited immediately they would receive him accordingly, but if he delayed they would send to Rome for advice.¹⁰⁴ This suggests that the brethren were rather unsure of the extent of Bury's immunity.

As Hubert's visit was postponed, a messenger was sent to Rome. He returned with the papal pronouncement that no legate had any authority to visit St.

¹⁰¹ Hubert was also justiciar of England.

¹⁰² From the mid-twelfth century, the archbishops of Canterbury had acquired the title of legate and therefore had the right to visit, Greenway and Sayers, *Jocelin*, xv. Whilst Hubert had no authority to visit in his capacity as archbishop, as legate of the Apostolic See he felt justified.

¹⁰³ *Jocelin*, 82. For comparison, see Hubert Walter's experience at York: the newly appointed legate sent two clerks to York to announce his coming, and on pain of excommunication, asked to be received with due honour. The community consented to receive Hubert as legate, but not as archbishop of Canterbury or claimant to the primacy, Howden, iii, 293-4. See *ibid.*, 35, for William Longchamp's suspension of the Minster Clergy of St. Peter's, York, as they would not receive him with a procession. Note the discussion amongst the Evesham brethren regarding the archbishop of Canterbury's visitorial powers, *Evesham*, 232-3.

¹⁰⁴ *Jocelin*, 82-3.

Edmunds, save for the legate *a latere*.¹⁰⁵ Although the brethren concealed the news, Hubert heard tell of the verdict, and fearing he should be denied entrance, travelled to London via Ely, passing through Norwich, Acre and Dereham.¹⁰⁶ Jocelin makes the important point that Samson avoided meeting the archbishop whilst he was in Norwich, lest it would seem that he, like others, was willing to come to an agreement with the legate regarding his hospitality at the house.¹⁰⁷ This reiterates how the act of reception could function as public recognition of one's position and a personal acknowledgement of one's rights. Although it was a means of maintaining and accruing honour, it carried the risk of shame.

The controversy between the bishops of Chichester and the community at Battle, over the alleged liberty of the abbey, is fully recorded by the Battle chronicler, and deals explicitly with the rights of hospitality. According to the chronicle, William I was so enraged by Bishop Ralph's refusal to bless Abbot Gausbert at Battle that he granted the abbey freedom, and as testimony to this, neither the bishop nor his household were permitted to take lodging or food as a customary right.¹⁰⁸ During Ralph's abbacy (1107-24) the bishop agreed that neither he nor his successors should have authority or lordship over Battle, nor any claim to its subjection, excepting that which was 'courteously expended upon them as a gift of charity'.¹⁰⁹ Therefore episcopal exemption did not mean that the bishop was no longer entertained at the house, but that he could not demand this as of right.

¹⁰⁵ I.e. a legate sent by the pope as his personal representative, and accorded full papal powers.

¹⁰⁶ *Jocelin*, 84.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Battle*, 70-2. Ralph was bishop of Chichester from 1091-1123. See too *ibid.*, 148-50.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 126-8.

Freedom distinguished hospitality that was charitably given from that which was taken as a right.

However trouble arose during Warner's abbacy, 1125-38, reached a climax during the abbacy of Walter de Luci, 1139-71, and was really only concluded with the 'Composition' of 1235.¹¹⁰ The earlier proceedings are discussed by the chronicler at great length, for he is intent – so he claims – to 'set down in writing for future generations to remember' how the long-standing dispute between the convent and the bishop of Chichester was brought to a harmonious end, namely the story of Battle's triumph. The chronicler explains that during Warner's abbacy, Bishop Seffrid of Chichester and his retinue were invited to attend a feast at the abbey.¹¹¹ He emphasises that his reception was an act of charity and not a right.¹¹² Nevertheless, the visitors' misconduct¹¹³ and the bishop's declaration of lordship over the abbey prompted Warner to take action: he ordered that neither the bishop nor his retinue should receive the food normally provided.¹¹⁴ The abbot remained true to his word, for the following day the

¹¹⁰ The final agreement, drawn up by John de Farenton, archdeacon of Norwich, Master Gentilis and a canon of Chichester in 1235, and sealed in the cloister of Westminster Abbey, is discussed by Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 200-1. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation*, 41-2, also mentions this agreement and explains that whilst visitation of Battle was to be undertaken by two Benedictine monks of the diocese, the bishop and a retinue of twenty-five on horseback were entitled to entertainment in the abbey once every three years.

¹¹¹ Seffrid was bishop from 1125–45.

¹¹² *Battle*, 138. See above, p. 133, fn. 53, for the distinction between customs and graces at Bury.

¹¹³ At the close of the feast, the prelate's retinue, 'men elevated by ambition and perhaps heated with the local wine', pompously reproved the cellarer and his servants, attempting to extort what they wanted by threats, *Battle*, 138.

¹¹⁴ This suggests that the bishop and his men retained their accommodation at Battle, but were denied any refreshment.

bishop was forced to buy provisions for himself and his men at the market.¹¹⁵ It is interesting to note that the bishop's threat of lordship incited Warner to react: until then the abbot had endeavoured to preserve harmony and placate the two parties, acting in accordance with Matthew 5:9, 'Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be the children of God'.

The second important conflict was precipitated by Hilary of Chichester's visit to the abbey soon after his elevation to the see.¹¹⁶ Hilary (1147-69) cited his reception at Battle in support of his claim to diocesan rights over the house. He argued that by meeting him with a procession, according him the right to preach in the chapter-house, providing him with honourable hospitality in the guesthouse and presenting gifts on his departure, the abbot and brothers had effectively acknowledged his authority over the abbey. However the king's constable and Thomas Becket, the chancellor, undermined Hilary's argument; Becket maintained that the manner of Hilary's reception was a token of respect and affection common in all churches in England and abroad; it was 'gratis and no precedent for a custom'.¹¹⁷ It was obviously in the interests of the community

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 138-40. By withholding supplies and forcing the bishop to go to market, the abbot shamed the bishop. Conversely, when Chancellor Becket was travelling through France, he rejected the king's supplies and sought to purchase his own, see below, p. 310, fn. 33.

¹¹⁶ *Battle*, 148 ff., 188-90. Searle explains that Hilary was consecrated in 1147 and not 1148, as the chronicler says, *ibid.*, 146, fn. 1. For discussion of Hilary, see H. Mayr-Harting, 'Hilary, bishop of Chichester, 1147-1169, and Henry II', *EHR*, 78 (1963), 209-224.

¹¹⁷ *Battle*, 198. The fact that the various customaries discussed above stipulate that only their own bishop should be received in this way, certainly seems to substantiate Hilary's claim. Still, this was not necessarily a uniform practice.

to counter Hilary's interpretation, but the fact they could do so suggests this was a rather confused and controversial area.¹¹⁸

The controversy provoked by the bishop of Worcester's proposed visit to Evesham in 1202, is recorded by Thomas of Marlborough, monk and eventual abbot of the house.¹¹⁹ His account underlines the complications and misunderstandings surrounding such visits. On receiving word from the bishop regarding his forthcoming visitation, the abbot of Evesham welcomed the news, assuming this would be a friendly affair. Whilst the abbot was ignorant of canon law and oblivious to the potential repercussions of receiving the bishop, other members of the community were aware of the deeper implications and feared for the liberty of the house. On account of his legal training, Thomas was called upon to clarify matters. Marlborough confirmed that the bishop was coming on visitation and warned that by receiving him, they would effectively renounce their freedom. He recommended that the bishop should not be admitted to the house.¹²⁰ Therefore when the bishop arrived in 1202, he encountered a hostile reception: the doors of the guesthouse and stables were shut, and the monks flagrantly denied his authority by refusing to attend his summons to the chapter-house. The bishop first suspended and then excommunicated them.¹²¹ An expensive lawsuit followed and there was an enquiry into the liberties of the

¹¹⁸ See above, pp. 201-2, for Bury's request for clarity from the pope; see below for confusion at Evesham.

¹¹⁹ *Evesham*, 109-15.

¹²⁰ It is interesting, and perhaps significant, that Hilary of Chichester and Thomas interpreted the reception of the prelate as an admission of his authority, and that both were canonists.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 116-8. Compare this to the violent reaction to Archbishop Thurstan's arrival at St. Mary's, York, in 1132, *Memorials of Fountains*, i, 8-10. For a similar scene at the Cistercian abbey of Mellifont, Ireland, in 1217, see , Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1217: 78.

house. Initially the jurisdiction of the house was conceded to the bishop, but the decision was reversed in 1206 when the case was heard at Rome.¹²²

The above examples illustrate that hospitality was not simply a case of providing for one's visitors, but was deeply entangled in the larger issues of liberty and power.¹²³ It might be used to advertise loyalties or demonstrate disapproval. For instance, the Battle community showed their veneration of Abbot Odo and their acknowledgement of his authority, by ceremoniously receiving him, although he had not yet received episcopal blessing.¹²⁴ Conversely, the monks of Ely initially closed the doors to their newly appointed abbot, Simeon, in 1081/2, to demonstrate their displeasure, for he had received the episcopal blessing without their knowledge.¹²⁵ Nevertheless the reception of prelates did not necessarily lead to conflict and was not necessarily a political statement. It could simply function to honour and revere those who posed no threat, such as Cluny's reception of Bishop Hugh.¹²⁶ Furthermore, it could contribute to a positive portrayal of the good host.

¹²² *Evesham*, 120 ff.

¹²³ Note the conflict between Earl William d'Aubigny and the abbot of St. Albans, c. 1162, concerning the church of Wymondham, which was founded by the earl's father, and was a cell of the abbey, *GASA*, i, 166-75.

¹²⁴ *Battle*, 300-2. Searle remarks that the monks received Odo as if he had already been blessed, *ibid.*, 300, fn. 1. Furthermore Orderic claimed that Cluny's warm reception of Gregory during the schism in 1134, greatly increased his authority in the West, *Orderic*, vi, 418-20.

¹²⁵ *Liber Eliensis*, 200-2, at 202.

¹²⁶ *Magna Vita*, ii, 176.

IV. Open doors

The idea of the 'open door' was attractive. Several of the narrative sources commend those who kept an open house and thus fulfilled the words of Isaiah 60:11, 'Your gates shall be open continually day and night, they shall not be shut'. For instance, William of Malmesbury remarks that guests arrived at Reading Abbey at all times of the day and consumed as much as the inhabitants. The Battle chronicler praises Odo's abbacy, 1175-1200, as a time when the monastery gates stood open for all passers-by to refresh themselves or stay the night.¹²⁷ Moreover, as previously discussed in chapter II, in an attempt to reverse his reputation for frugality, Herluin of Glastonbury made himself accessible during the day and night, and insisted that nobody should be turned away.¹²⁸

However the customaries and injunctions suggest that such unrestricted access was not always practical or indeed appropriate.¹²⁹ The Bury customs of c. 1234 state that no secular guest should be admitted after Compline, unless a special friend of the church or house; presumably this refers to benefactors, patrons and

¹²⁷ *Gesta Regum*, i, 746, *Battle*, 306. Devizes, *Chronicon*, 70-1, claims that in contrast to the secular canons of Coventry, the monks always had bread ready for the poor and their door was open to passers-by at any time. See above, p. 36, for Orderic's praise of Bec, and note William, archbishop of Rouen's epitaph, 'Your doors were always open to the poor', *Orderic*, vi, 172.

¹²⁸ See above, pp. 50-1, at 51. In 1205-6, the General Chapter of Cluny issued severe penalties for any priors or their deputies who refused guests, see *Statuts, Chapitres*, no. 6, clause 4.

¹²⁹ Note King John's reception at the double foundation of Fontevrault at the start of his reign, recorded by Adam of Eynsham: when the king knocked on the door of the choir he was informed that nobody was permitted to see the convent or enter the enclosure unless the abbess was present; the nuns requested that John should not take offence but admire their adherence to the statutes, and wait for the abbess' return. John was duly impressed, and announced his intent to confer great favours on the house, *Magna Vita*, ii, 138-9.

those joined in fraternity.¹³⁰ The *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon is less explicit, but it seems that guests were not admitted from Compline until Prime, for the custodian of the parlour was instructed to receive guests honourably from early morning until after Compline and the parlour door was closed until Prime.¹³¹

Cistercian houses also imposed restrictions. According to the twelfth-century customary of the Order the porter was to remain at the gate until after Compline, when he returned to the cloister.¹³² Presumably visitors were not received after his departure. The twelfth-century *Liber Ordinis* of the canons of St. Victor's, Paris, stipulates that visitors who arrived when the door was shut should not be repelled. The porter was to admit them, notify the sub-hosteller of their arrival, and then explain that as the cellarer and guestmaster were within the claustral area, it was not possible to minister to them. As the guesthouse was located outside of the conventual zone, they were shown here and offered some refreshment which the sub-hosteller kept in reserve for such occasions.¹³³ Therefore make-shift hospitality was courteously administered outside of hours. If secular visitors arrived at night and there was no room for them in the guesthouse, they were not to be received, unless obviously in great need.¹³⁴

¹³⁰ Bury, 26. See too *Westminster*, 84-6, and *Eynsham*, 211. However, *St. Mary's*, 96, states that the hosteller should remain in the hospice from Compline each night, in case of passing guests, which suggests that whilst access to the claustral area was restricted during these times, entrance to the precincts was not necessarily prohibited.

¹³¹ *Abingdon*, ii, 405-6. See above, p. 152, for those departing before daylight.

¹³² *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 336.

¹³³ *Liber Ordinis*, 69.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

The concept of the open door was commendable and enabled the community to demonstrate their willingness to offer hospitality. However, for ideological and financial reasons this was not always practical, and was often more an ideal than a feasible reality. Whilst the above eulogies are no doubt exaggerated, they should not be dismissed, for their accuracy is of less consequence than the impression the writers attempted to create, i.e. regardless of whether the door was literally open twenty-four hours a day, it was important that the host should appear welcoming and willing.

Conclusion

Therefore in the *Rule* of St. Benedict, the reception of guests was intended as an act of courtesy and a means of adoring Christ. It offered a way of protecting the community against danger, but was also a ritual by which the outsider became an insider who was affiliated, though not fully integrated. Analysis suggests that from the late eleventh or early twelfth century there was a growing concern to incorporate practical matters in written documents, and whilst many components of the procedure remained the same, their meaning often changed.¹³⁵ In addition, the arrangements became more complex and might be harnessed to contemporary issues, such as liberty, allegiance and power.

¹³⁵ It is thus interesting to note Cramer's remarks on the liturgy, for he explains that although the form might remain the same, there was a change in the sense, Cramer, *Baptism and Change*, 3. See too *Constable's* discussion of the readjustment and change in ritual, and his assertion that the 'original purpose and meaning of ceremonies might be forgotten, but new meanings were found', Constable, *Culture and Spirituality*, essay vii, 774–5, at 774.

CHAPTER VI: THE OPERATION OF HOSPITALITY 1

Hospitalitatem uero tam a praelatis quam a subditis, secundum regulae sanctionem et facultatem loci, cum caritate et hilaritate obseruari statuimus, et mandamus ut semper ad hoc monachus benignus et mansuetus juxta regulam deputetur.¹

The following two chapters consider the nature of hospitality administered after the initial reception of the guest. They focus on arrangements for refreshing and accommodating the visitor, spiritual care provided during the stay, and other services including medical care, tours and fraternity. Once again the specific nature of hospitality extended was inevitably affected by a number of factors including the reason for the visit, the particular practice at the house, the financial situation, and perhaps of greatest significance, the guest's identity, namely their sex, whether they were religious, clerical or lay, their standing in society, relationship with the house and any personal association with individual members of the community.

The customaries provide most information for this analysis, but as previously mentioned they refer to the general and often reflect the ideal rather than the practice. The sources do not always state who came, and as the following example shows, even when such information is included, it does not necessarily explain how they were provided for. An agreement in 1109 between Osbern, a knight of the count of Eu, and Battle records that in return for securing Battle's

meadows at Bodiam for fifty shillings, Osbern would be welcome to eat or stay at the house out of charity, not custom, i.e. a voluntary and not obligatory act.² Whilst this is testimony to the accommodation of such visitors, and indeed illustrates how the abbey's hospitality was a desirable commodity, it gives no indication of where Osbern might have been entertained or indeed how.

I. Dining and sleeping arrangements

1. The Rule

According to the *Rule* of St. Benedict, the abbot was to sleep in the common dormitory, but dine with visitors,³ probably in or adjacent to the *cella hospitum*,⁴ where the guests were accommodated.⁵ The abbot and guests were to share the same kitchen, and in order to avoid disruption this was set apart from the rest of the community.⁶ The abbot was permitted to break his fast on account of guests, provided it was not a principal feast day, but the other brethren were not to do so.⁷ This raises an important point, namely how the abbot was to fulfil his role as

¹ *De hospitalitate*, from the 1238 statutes of the Benedictines, as recorded by Matthew Paris, *CM*, iii, 502.

² Cited in E. Searle, *Lordship and Community: Battle Abbey and its Banlieu 1066-1538*, (Toronto, 1974), 145.

³ *Rule*, 142, (ch. 56).

⁴ Delatte, *Commentary*, 339, writes that the *cella* was evidently not simply a cell or single habitation, but a house. However, as noted in chapter III, these terms should probably be loosely interpreted.

⁵ The brother in charge of the *cella hospitum* was to ensure that sufficient beds were prepared there, *Rule*, 136 (ch. 53). Benedict does not clarify if the abbot's table should actually be in the refectory and this point was greatly discussed by later commentators, e.g. Hildemar, writing c. 850, remarked on the obscurity of the *Rule* on this point, but concluded that the table should be inside the refectory, see M. A. Schroll, *Benedictine Monasticism as Reflected in the Warnefrid-Hildemar Commentaries on the Rule*, (NY, 1941), 33-4, at 34.

⁶ *Rule*, 134, (ch. 53). This kitchen was manned by two brothers who stayed there for a year.

⁷ *Ibid.*

host without undermining his monastic vows, and this is discussed later in the chapter. Although the *Rule* reveals that guests were lodged in the *cella hospitum* there is no indication as to if and how they were distinguished within.

2. The English Benedictines from the late eleventh century

According to Lanfranc's *Constitutions* of the late eleventh century, the abbot was to take his place with the brethren in the refectory, rather than with visitors in the guesthouse.⁸ This was a direct and deliberate modification of the *Rule*. Peter the Venerable and Abelard defended this amendment in France. They claimed that the abbot should remain in the refectory to uphold discipline, and more importantly, to ensure that he was not suspected of indulgence in the guesthouse while the brethren were observing an abstemious diet in the refectory.⁹ By dining in the refectory the abbot effectively renounced his role as host at the table, or at least reduced this, for certain guests might occasionally join him in the refectory. For instance, according to Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, permission might be granted to secular guests to dine with the community. On such occasions the guestmaster was to instruct them on how to behave in the refectory, and when the gong was sounded he led the visitor to the parlour where the abbot

⁸ There may have been a similar arrangement in Anglo-Saxon monasteries, see Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 480. Indeed, the *Regularis Concordia*, 62, (ch. 10), states that neither the abbot nor brethren should eat or drink outside of the refectory. Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 480, suggests that this may have had as a 'corollary the custom that guests also should dine in the refectory'. See below, pp. 233-4.

⁹ See clause 12 of Peter the Venerable's reply to Bernard, who argued that the abbot's place was in the guesthouse with guests and pilgrims, so that he could honour them as Christ, Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, ep. 28. For a similar argument, see Abelard, *Epistolae*, ep. 8, col. 273. Note the Cistercian monk, Idungus' criticism of Cluniac abbots for eating with the brethren, rather than guests, Idungus, *Dialogus*, lines 346 ff.

or prior poured water over his hands.¹⁰ The visitor was then escorted to the abbot's table by the guestmaster, who remained with him at the end of dinner when the community processed out of the refectory.¹¹ The visitor was then led out of the cloister.¹² Lanfranc says little of the lodging arrangements for guests, but it seems they were generally accommodated and refreshed in the *domus hospitum*, where beds, chairs, tables, towels, cloths and utensils were provided.¹³ However as previously mentioned, visiting monks may well have been accommodated in the dormitory and refreshed in the refectory.¹⁴

The dining and lodging arrangements for those visiting English Benedictine monasteries in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries are considered through case studies of Bury St. Edmunds and Abingdon. These are the most comprehensively documented houses, with customaries and chronicles available for both.

3. Bury¹⁵

As previously discussed in chapters III and IV, the intern hosteller¹⁶ at Bury was assigned houses for the entertainment of visiting Benedictines,¹⁷ including

¹⁰ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88. See below, pp. 216, 230, 232-6, for further discussion of the presence of seculars and laity in the refectory.

¹¹ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88.

¹² Ibid. For a similar account see the late thirteenth or fourteenth-century customary of *St. Mary's*, York, 95.

¹³ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 87. He was to procure food from the cellarer via his servant.

¹⁴ This is discussed throughout the chapter.

¹⁵ This analysis is largely based on Jocelin's chronicle, completed c. 1202, and the customs compiled c. 1234.

¹⁶ *Hostilarius interior*, *Bury*, 25, also known as the *hostilarius monachorum*, *ibid.*, 58.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 25.

claustral monks, obedientiaries, conventual priors and abbots,¹⁸ an early testimony to the existence of a Black hostelry. Benedictine prelates were generally given their own chamber. It seems that this was under the auspices of the intern hosteller and contained within the Black hostelry complex, for the customs state that if any Benedictine abbot was entertained for the night by the monks,¹⁹ he was first shown to the *domus maior / domus forensis* and thereafter escorted to his chamber and served with a drink, the *potus*.²⁰ The visitor was sometimes joined by the prior of Bury or another in his place. A similar procedure was followed for conventual priors, although they were not to have certain candles, referred to as *particata*, before them, unless the prior of Bury was present.²¹ The arrangements for the day of Absolution also mention the visiting abbot's chamber. If any abbot was staying at Bury on this day he did not celebrate the maundy with the rest of the community, but in his chamber.²²

When the legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, visited Bury for Christmas in 1213, he was fittingly received and shown to a chamber where he prepared for the day's ordinations.²³ Thomson follows Whittingham and places this in the western range, above the cellar.²⁴ Regardless of where exactly this chamber was located, it should probably be distinguished from that wherein visiting Benedictines were accommodated, for Nicholas was a Cistercian and moreover visiting as legate.

¹⁸ The provision of candles refers to these various guests, see *ibid.*, 58.

¹⁹ 'In hostilaria monachorum', *ibid.*, 59.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 59-60. This drink was carried from the outside house to the chamber.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 60. It is not clear what form of candles these were.

²² *Ibid.*, 54.

²³ See above, p. 197, for his actual reception.

²⁴ *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 27, fn. 5.

Although there was a vacancy, he would presumably have been entertained from what was otherwise the abbot's fund, or at least from the general pool assigned to the convent, and would hardly have been tended by the intern hosteller, who was effectively responsible for Benedictine guests.

To what extent were visiting Benedictines, who were accommodated in the Black hostelry, integrated with the monks of Bury? These guests sometimes ate in the refectory,²⁵ but the customary reveals that they might be entertained by one of the greater officials in the inside hostel or little chamber.²⁶ These chambers were not simply frequented by visiting monks and obedientiaries. If either the sacrist or chamberlain returned from a journey and dined in the chamber, and if the prior was absent, he might be joined by members of the community, presumably the bloodlet, weak or those permitted a treat, who would otherwise have been indulged by the prior.²⁷ On other occasions latecomers were refreshed in the refectory along with obedientiaries and the bloodlet, and the sacrist and refectorer provided them with candles.²⁸

²⁵ However the Bury community was rather lax in their observance of meals in the refectory: the *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 62-4, describes one instance when only six of the brethren dined in the refectory. Gransden notes that this was a recurring problem at the house, *Bury*, xxvi-vii.

²⁶ *Bury*, 61. Namely the cellarer, infirmarer or another of similar standing - the term *magnus* is used. See too *ibid.*, 27, which refers to the retinue of Black monks dining in the refectory or other private places. For later references to visiting monks eating outside the refectory see, *Westminster*, 80-1, 83, and *St. Augustine's*, 62, 137.

²⁷ *Bury*, 61. See *ibid.*, 49-50, which states that on account of guests and weak brothers the abbot, priors and custodians of the house could eat in chambers; in accordance with chapter 53 of the *Rule*, they could break their fast on account of guests, providing it was not a solemn feast.

²⁸ *Bury*, 42. See below, p. 220, for details of the *ultima mensa*.

Therefore by c. 1234 monastic guests who were not of the Order dined in the guesthall with secular visitors,²⁹ although Cistercian guests ate in the adjoining chamber when they followed a different diet. The servants and households of Benedictine visitors who dined in the refectory were also assigned to the hall, unless the prior instructed otherwise.³⁰ The extern hosteller was to administer appropriately to these guests and could honour whomsoever he pleased, provided he did not deplete the cellar.³¹ Whilst non-Benedictine monks were refreshed and accommodated in the hall, seculars generally ate here and stayed in the town. They only slept in the guesthall if there was room; priority was given to visiting monks.³² Distinguished seculars were probably entertained in the abbot's quarters or indeed in the town.³³ Nevertheless the customs suggest that prestigious visitors, such as a bishop, sometimes dined in the guesthall.³⁴

The above distinctions and arrangements were adaptable and changed according to the situation. For instance, the abbot of Bury might honour Benedictine visitors by inviting them to dine in his hall or chamber, and the *Election of Abbot Hugh* states that if any laity or clergy were to be shown particular honour, they were invited to dine with the brethren in the refectory.³⁵ Still access was restricted and according to the visitors' statutes of 1234 *ignobiles personae*, and indeed any other *personae*, were prohibited from attending the convent's dinner,

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 6, 25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 27.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 7.

³² *Ibid.*, 6, 7.

³³ E.g. see below, pp. 224-5, 237.

³⁴ *Bury*, 27. It was clearly not simply the case that distinguished visitors dined in the chamber and lesser guests in the hall.

³⁵ *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 62.

unless they were clearly necessary and of service to the house.³⁶ An almost identical clause is included in the visitors' statutes for Westminster, compiled in the same year, which stipulates that 'laici ignobiles et alii' should not enter the refectory unless the abbot was present.³⁷ Furthermore women were generally forbidden from dining in the refectory at Bury, and the visitors' statutes of 1234 state that no females should be led through the cloister, either to the refectory, infirmary or vestry. However an exception was made for noble ladies or good women, namely kinsfolk and those of whom no ill was suspected, who were to be shown honour either by the custodians of the order or on their instruction, presumably a reference to their refreshment.³⁸ It is interesting and perhaps significant that there is no equivalent clause in the visitors' statutes for Westminster of the same year, maybe an indication that this particular clause was more corrective than preventative.

As the abbot of Bury was frequently occupied with secular matters, or indeed with entertaining his guests in a separate chamber, it was often the prior who presided in the refectory.³⁹ Still, the abbot acted as president whenever he joined the community, although the prior held his place against visiting priors.⁴⁰ Those dining in the refectory were seated by the intern hosteller, and the customs

³⁶ Graham, 'A papal visitation', 732.

³⁷ Ibid., 739. Note *Westminster*, 103, which reveals that laymen, ignoble or dishonourable persons were generally forbidden from eating at the *skylla*, in the refectory, i.e. at the top table, by the bell.

³⁸ Graham, 'A papal visitation', 731. However they were presumably kept apart from the brethren.

³⁹ See below, p. 227, for a similar practice at Abingdon.

⁴⁰ *Bury*, 20. If visiting priors dined in the refectory, the prior of Bury assumed the status of a cathedral prior. For the seating arrangements and privileges yielded, see *ibid.*, 18-21.

carefully detail where exactly the various guests should be placed, and which privileges yielded.⁴¹ This was an important task, for the visitor's position at table was often testimony to his station and a means of bestowing honour.⁴² While the president was to ensure that he did not compromise his own authority, he was to show humility and honour the visitor, and thereby secure the convent's reputation. Therefore distinguished visitors, or those from notable houses, were to be treated exceptionally.⁴³

According to the customs, the prior of Bury was to give way to visiting Benedictine prelates who dined in the refectory, although in chapter he was only to yield to the abbots of Bury and St. Benet of Hulme.⁴⁴ The prior sat on the northern side of the great table, with the bishop, episcopal prior or abbot of another Order to his left, namely on the southern side. For the sake of harmony, they were served at the same time as the prior, and like him received double service and pittances.⁴⁵ The sacrist was obliged to provide Benedictine abbots

⁴¹ *Bury*, 20-1. The earlier and generally less detailed *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon contains no equivalent clauses. In contrast the later customaries of Eynsham and Westminster include similar prescriptions which are, if anything, even more comprehensive, e.g. *Eynsham*, 199-201, *Westminster*, 107-8.

⁴² However a distinguished guest might humble himself by joining the brethren and sitting below his dignity, for instance, Archbishop Lanfranc at Bec, *Vita Herluini*, 105; Bishop Hugh at Eynsham, *Magna Vita*, ii, 42.

⁴³ *Bury*, 21.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 18. For the special relationship between Bury and St. Benet of Holme, see R. H. C. Davis, 'The monks of St. Edmund 1021-1148', *History*, 40 (1955), 227-39, at 232-3, and A. Gransden, 'The legends and traditions concerning the origins of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds', *EHR*, 100 (1985), 1-24, esp. 16-19.

⁴⁵ *Bury*, 18. Pittances, i.e. extra dishes, see D. Knowles, 'Essays in monastic history 1066-1216, vii: the diet of the Black monks', *Downside Review*, 56 (1934), 275-90, at 279. These were given daily on account of guests, senior members of the community, sick brethren and for the relief or indulgence of monks, *Bury*, 21. According to Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 10-12, the pittance was

with a measure of wine at dinner and another of ale at supper on the first day of their visit, wherever they dined, but was not expected to do so on the following days.⁴⁶ Abbots of other orders were not to receive these gifts by custom.

However in accordance with a new statute, great Cistercian abbots, such as those of Rievaulx, Fountains and Warden, were given a measure of wine out of charity.⁴⁷ Any visiting abbot who dined in the refectory sat at the great table, but the abbot of Bury presided if he was present.⁴⁸

Whenever conventual and cathedral priors dined in the refectory and the abbot was absent, they sat with the prior of Bury. If the abbot was present, the cathedral prior sat beside him, and if there were several, they were seated according to the order of church of which they were prior. The prior of Bury was not to yield to any other prior, but in his absence a visiting prior took his place to the south. Regardless of where exactly they were seated, all cathedral priors received special service.⁴⁹ Conventual priors, not of a cathedral, were seated at the head of the first table, also known as the great table, on the northern side; if two were present and the prior of Bury was presiding, one sat on the northern side, the other on the southern.⁵⁰ Whenever the abbot and prior of Bury were both present in the refectory, these visiting priors were seated in order by the monks' hosteller, who organised all other visiting monks. He placed them at the

a cooked dish given in addition to the two prescribed in chapter 39 of the *Rule*, although the number and nature varied.

⁴⁶ *Bury*, 30, i.e. gifts, *xennia*, to bestow honour.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 20-1.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 21.

first table amongst the seniors.⁵¹ Whoever sat at the head of the first table had a monk server and received the pittance, although he was expected to share this with the other priors by signing to this server.⁵²

Guests who arrived late, namely after the brethren had dined, might be refreshed at the final table in the refectory with bloodlet members of the community and any obedientiaries returning late to the house.⁵³ The guests and bloodlet sat at the *parua mensa*, but if boys were present were seated at another.⁵⁴ Any visiting abbots who arrived after dinner and joined the servers in the refectory were shown to the presiding table, seated as for the first dinner and served as honourably as an abbot by the novice who had tended the convent.⁵⁵ This novice also ministered to any cathedral priors who dined with the servers, but other conventual priors were not served in this manner.⁵⁶ As noted above, on other occasions latecomers dined in the inner hostel or the little chamber.

Silence in the refectory was of the utmost importance, and the monks operated a system of sign language to communicate their requests. According to chapter 38 of the *Rule*, the reader's was the only voice that should be heard in the

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 21.

⁵³ Ibid., 42. The term *ultima* seems to refer to the time at which they sat, rather than the position of the table. See Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 98, for members of the community dining late in the refectory.

⁵⁴ *Bury*, 42.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 20.

⁵⁶ Ibid. The question of novice servers was a rather controversial issue. For references to the separation of novices, or at least their isolation from seculars before they had made their profession, see the 1234 statutes of the house, Graham, 'A papal visitation', 731.

refectory.⁵⁷ However the Bury customs of c. 1234 made allowances when bishops and other distinguished guests joined the community. Those sitting with or serving any bishops in the refectory were permitted to speak a little, if necessary, given that these guests may not have known the signs. For the same reason the president was allowed to speak moderately with any distinguished persons who dined with him.⁵⁸ Gerald of Wales' account of his visit to Christ Church in 1179, which is discussed later in the chapter, suggests that a superfluity of signing might in fact disrupt any attempts to preserve tranquillity. Gerald complained that whenever he joined the brethren at the feast of Holy Trinity, there was so much gesticulating in the refectory it was like a dumbshow.⁵⁹

(a) Hospitality administered by the abbot of Bury

As previously mentioned the customaries are primarily concerned with the administration of the convent and there is little information regarding the reception of those pertaining to the abbot. Nevertheless the few details that there are, along with several references in Jocelin's chronicle, offer some indication of

⁵⁷ *Rule*, 104, (ch. 38). However the Superior was permitted to say a few words, if he wished. But note Anselm's conversation at meals, *Vita Anselmi*, 73, and Southern's remark that Anselm evidently exploited Benedict's 'grudging sanction' to spiritual discourse at the table, *ibid.*, fn. 2. Note Bernard's *Apologia* to William, written in 1125, which complains of jokes and laughter at mealtimes, *Cistercians and Cluniacs, St. Bernard's Apologia to Abbot William*, tr. M. Casey, (Michigan, 1970), 55.

⁵⁸ *Bury*, 20. *Westminster*, 102, states that the refectorer should not talk to any seculars if monks were present, unless to console them, and then only briefly and if necessary. However this was permitted in the presence of a king, queen, bishop or another great Benedictine abbot, or indeed a great earl like the brother or son of the king.

⁵⁹ See below, pp. 233-4. Note Abelard's words of caution on the excess of signs, Abelard, *Epistolae*, ep. 8, col. 261.

where and how these visitors were entertained. The customary reception of visitors, discussed in chapter IV, reveals that the abbot's guests were either entertained in his hall or chambers, rather than the cellarer's guesthouse.⁶⁰ It is likely that whilst more distinguished guests were received in the abbot's chamber, others, like the knights who dined with Samson on their return from a tournament, joined the abbot in his hall.⁶¹ It is interesting that Samson's post-installation festivities were held in his chamber, and given the large number of guests who were refreshed here, the difference between the *aula* and *thalamus* was seemingly one of function rather than size.⁶²

If royalty, legates or the king's justiciar, (if the king was overseas), visited Bury, they were assigned a hall, chambers, lodgings and stables within the precincts, for the sacrist was to provide sufficient lighting in these places during their stay.⁶³ There is no indication of where precisely these were, and indeed there may not have been specific quarters earmarked for these guests, i.e. as many rooms as were needed and available were put at their disposal.⁶⁴ The arrangements for fuel supplies mention that *extraneus nobilis* and *hospites*

⁶⁰ See above, pp. 96-7, for problems in determining the exact implications of these terms, and p. 94, for the confrontation between Denis the cellarer and Abbot Hugh.

⁶¹ Presumably the townsfolk Samson entertained each Christmas as lord of the town were also received in his hall; note Jocelin's account of how the abbot withheld this customary hospitality in December 1197, to punish the burgesses for fighting with his household. However once reconciled they feasted together at his table, *Jocelin*, 92-4.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 25. Nevertheless arrangements were probably more flexible.

⁶³ *Bury*, 32.

⁶⁴ Certainly, this was the advice given to houses hosting the Benedictine General Chapters in the late thirteenth century: according to clause viii of the 1279 General Chapter of Benedictines in Canterbury, the hosting abbot was to make free as many halls, chambers, or houses as possible

extranei might lodge with the abbot, or at least in his quarters. Presumably this refers to bishops and other great prelates, legates and laity of standing. It was agreed that the convent's wood pile should only supply fuel for the abbot's kitchen when the prelate was in residence, and should not provide fuel for his guests whenever he was absent from the vill.⁶⁵

Jocelin includes some specific information regarding the nature of hospitality administered by Samson. He reveals that the abbot occasionally hired harpists and page boys to entertain his guests, but prudently discarded such expenses if superfluous.⁶⁶ Moreover Samson served venison at his table when entertaining noteworthy visitors.⁶⁷ The Bury customs also mention that meat should be served to royalty, bishops, magnates, legates or other papal messengers whenever they dined with the abbot or prior in their chambers. In accordance with chapter 53 of the *Rule*, the abbot or prior was permitted to break his fast in the presence of these guests.⁶⁸

within the precinct for prelates attending the Chapter, Pantin, *Chapters*, i, 104. However note that Henry III stayed in the 'big house' at Bury, *CM*, v, 304.

⁶⁵ *Bury*, 31. Presumably these noble guests who resided in the abbot's quarters whether or not he was present were those for whom the convent would not, according to the customary reception of guests, accept responsibility, namely those with fourteen horses or more. For similar arrangements, see the late twelfth or early thirteenth-century agreement between the abbot and convent of Bury, *ibid.*, 105-6.

⁶⁶ *Jocelin*, 42. From her analysis of monastery accounts in the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, S. Lindenbaum, 'Entertainment in English monasteries', in *Le Théâtre et la Cité dans l'Europe Médiévale*, ed. J. Claude Aubailly and E. E. Dubruck, (Stuttgart, 1988), 411-21, concludes that from the late thirteenth century thousands of payments were made to entertainers and troupes, not just for the abbot and guests, but for the community. Jocelin's remarks suggest that whilst great houses may have occasionally maintained harpists and entertainers, this had not yet become commonplace.

⁶⁷ *Jocelin*, 28. See below, p. 238, for further discussion.

⁶⁸ *Bury*, 49-50.

(b) The vill

The abbot and convent had certain responsibilities for those staying in the vill, largely visiting seculars.⁶⁹ According to the customs, the sacrist was to provide bread and wine at dinner, and ale and wax at supper for bishops, barons and those of similar standing who were residing in the vill. He was not obliged to supply other magnates, but might make a gift at his own discretion. In addition, the sacrist and cellarer were to honour any noble residing in the vill with these set gifts, which were given in accordance with the person's standing. Particular honour was shown to friends of the house, presumably patrons, benefactors or those joined in confraternity.⁷⁰ This was perhaps intended as an incentive to attract patronage. Clearly distinguished figures, including monks, might be lodged in the vill, and it is likely that some at least had their own townhouses.⁷¹ However, the abbey may also have possessed property in the vill which was used on such occasions.

Therefore from the mid to late twelfth century the abbot of Bury's guests generally dined in his hall or chamber, while the community's either ate in the cellarer's hall or refectory. Jocelin gives no indication that visiting Benedictines were distinguished from other regulars, and it is likely that prior to the rebuilding of the guesthouse, or perhaps before the infamous visitation of 1234, White

⁶⁹ See below, p. 246, for the customs of Abingdon which refer to the family of the monks accommodated in the town. Also, note the visitors' statutes for Westminster in 1234, Graham, 'A papal visitation', 739.

⁷⁰ *Bury*, 32-3.

⁷¹ See above, pp. 3, 5-6, for seculars, laity and communities having independent lodgings, and see above, p. 83, for the earl of Chester's visit to Abingdon.

monks joined their hosts in the refectory.⁷² By the early to mid-thirteenth century there was an increase in the number of places in the precinct where visiting Benedictines were refreshed, and the choice of venue was probably dependent on their time of arrival and whether they were to receive some kind of dietary indulgence. Other regulars and seculars pertaining to the community were refreshed in the guesthall, although the latter were normally accommodated in the vill. The vill was frequented by great laity and clerics, as well as those of a lower standing, whose stay was either fully or in part funded by the abbot and community.

4. Abingdon

As previously discussed in chapter III, the Abingdon chronicle reveals that a guesthall with a chamber was built by Vincent, 1121-30, and that from at least 1107 the abbots of Abingdon had their own chamber. It was also noted that unlike St. Albans, there was no royal suite at Abingdon, for the abbot was expected to yield his bedchamber if the king or metropolitan visited.⁷³ It is interesting and perhaps significant, that there is no reference to either the guesthall or the abbot's chamber in the *De Obedientiariis* of the late twelfth century. As suggested earlier, this is probably attributable to the fact that the treatise is essentially concerned with those who were entertained within the claustral area, namely visiting regulars (and perhaps only monks), who dined in the refectory and lodged in the common dormitory or in an adjoining or adjacent

⁷² A rather obscure passage in the late thirteenth-century Westminster customary suggests that before the papal visitation of 1234 Cistercian visitors had been accustomed to lodge in the common dormitory and eat in the refectory, and implies that this was no longer the case, *Westminster*, 87-8. See above, p. 20, fn. 76, for the initial severity of this visitation.

chamber.⁷⁴ Thus, there is little mention of those who were tended by the *janitor* and *curiarius* in either the guesthall or abbot's quarters, such as visiting relatives and friends, knights and their men.⁷⁵ Presumably distinguished guests were usually received in the abbot's court and lesser visitors in the outer court.⁷⁶ It is not clear whether monastic guests were accommodated in a separate chamber within the claustral area or whether they stayed in the common dormitory with the brethren.⁷⁷ However Robert of Carville's ordinances of 1245 reveal that by the mid-thirteenth century monastic guests lodged in the *receptaculum monachorum*, seemingly a separate chamber in the conventual zone.⁷⁸

According to Robert's prescriptions abbots, priors and other exalted religious persons entertained at Abingdon, for whom there ought to be greater and more honourable service, should be admitted to the chambers in the abbot's court, rather than the monks' *receptaculum*, unless there was a large number of guests and it was not possible to accommodate them 'outside'. Such being the case,

⁷³ See above, pp. 84-5.

⁷⁴ See below, pp. 226-7, for the 1245 ordinances.

⁷⁵ See *Abingdon*, ii, 313, 350-1 for provision for relatives of monks, who dined in the court or vill. The kitchener was to provide salt for the abbot's table and to salt the pork for those dining in the court, *ibid.*, 393. Presumably this included guests and servants; for references to servants dining *in* or *de aula*, and *in* or *de curia*, see *ibid.*, 238-3. See below, p. 252, for the provision of friends and relatives at Westminster, c. 1234.

⁷⁶ See above, pp. 83-4, for the abbot's quarters and the likelihood that by the late twelfth century these buildings formed a court.

⁷⁷ See above, p. 84.

⁷⁸ *Two Cartularies*, no. C. 7. *Westminster*, 87, suggests that by the end of the thirteenth century visiting Benedictines who were not from a cell of the house were accommodated, and sometimes refreshed, in the *cella* or *domus hospitum*. *St. Augustine's*, 103, mentions that 'passing monks' stayed in the *hostilaria*.

they were to be admitted 'within'; no apology was required.⁷⁹ The agreement is also testimony to the flexibility of arrangements and suggests that one's proximity to the community was not necessarily a direct reflection of the honour bestowed: while it was sometimes more honourable to be received 'within', on other occasions it was quite the reverse. Perhaps the key point was differentiation. Therefore as secular guests were generally discouraged from the claustral zone, honour was bestowed on those admitted to this area; as monastic guests were usually entertained in the claustral buildings, those received in the abbot's court were especially honoured.⁸⁰

It seems that at Abingdon, as elsewhere, the refectory was primarily for members of the convent and visiting monks. Although the abbot sometimes joined the community, it was usually the prior who presided at the refectory table.⁸¹ If the prior was unable to preside, the sub-prior deputised for him.⁸² The abbot generally sat at his feast table, which was probably outside the refectory,⁸³ and he

⁷⁹ *Two Cartularies*, ii, no. C. 7.

⁸⁰ It is interesting to note that when Louis visited the royal abbey of St. Denis during Suger's abbacy, he took his nap in the new dormitory and not in the *domus hospitum* or Suger's cell. This may have been intended as a show of the king's humility and piety, a sign of his patronage, or merely a practicality, for the monks' dormitory probably offered a more peaceful alternative, well away from the crowds. However the fact he was allowed to do so was surely a privilege.

⁸¹ For instance, see references to 'if' the abbot was seated with the community, e.g. *Abingdon*, ii, 348, 363, 399, 400. Furthermore, the treatise states that the prior was to take over if the abbot was away on his manors or at the royal court, *ibid.*, 349.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 363.

⁸³ The *De Obedientiariis* distinguishes the refectory from the abbot's table when detailing all the places that the kitcheners should provide with salt, *Abingdon*, ii, 393. This suggests that by the late twelfth century the abbot's table may have been outside the refectory.

was certainly dining in a separate chamber by the mid-thirteenth century.⁸⁴ The abbot likely shared his feast table with those guests who pertained to his care, namely seculars and notable Benedictines whom he wished to honour, although he may have dined exclusively with distinguished visitors.⁸⁵ Nevertheless the abbot occasionally joined the community in the refectory and was sometimes accompanied by his guests. On these occasions he sat at the refectory table and was provided for from the community's supplies.⁸⁶ This seems to have been a fairly common practice, and is repeated in the customary of Bury and the Westminster statutes of 1225.⁸⁷

Whereas the abbot and his guests occasionally dined in the refectory at Abingdon, visiting monks seem to have eaten there as a matter of course, whether they attended dinner with the convent or ate with the servers after the rest of the community had been refreshed. According to the *De Obedientiariis*, if a guest arrived before dinner the hosteller was to notify the refectorer of his position.⁸⁸ The refectorer then arranged the vessels appropriately and seated the

⁸⁴ Clause iii of the Chatsworth MS, 71 E. fol. 165v, printed in Lambrick, 'Abingdon abbey', 182-3, at 182, refers to the abbot dining in his chamber. *Evesham*, 248, mentions that Abbot Norreys entertained the legate's retinue in his *thalamus*.

⁸⁵ In addition, and in accordance with chapter 56 of the *Rule*, the abbot could invite whomsoever he wished from the convent to dine with him at his feast table, provided that youths were not left unattended, *Abingdon*, ii, 349. See *Eynsham*, 136, for a similar practice. According to the chronicle Faritius established the custom of inviting ten or twelve brethren to dine at his table each day, *Abingdon*, ii, 287.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 348.

⁸⁷ See above, p. 136. The abbot would have joined his community to celebrate feasts and on other special occasions, e.g. Abbot John of St. Albans, 1195-1214, feasted joyfully with the brethren on the completion of the new refectory, *GASA*, i, 220.

⁸⁸ *Abingdon*, ii, 415. See too *Eynsham*, 199. Indeed the refectorer was expected to attend visitors at whatever time they sat to eat, *Abingdon*, ii, 398.

visitor in accordance with his standing.⁸⁹ Both the hosteller and refectorer ministered to the guest, and the former procured food for his servant, who may have eaten in the hall.⁹⁰ The refectorer was, therefore, closely involved with the administration of hospitality, which again raises the possibility that the guests of the *De Obedientiariis* were mostly visiting monks.

Whereas the amount of food and drink served to the guest was dependent on his standing, the arrangements for his refreshment were affected by his time of arrival, and the treatise makes provision for every eventuality.⁹¹ For instance, if the visitor arrived before the convent had finished dining and it was not possible for him to enter the refectory, the hosteller showed him to the parlour while the refectory was swept.⁹² If the guest was to dine with the servers, presumably as he had arrived after the community's dinner, the hosteller notified the kitchener and refectorer before entering the refectory.⁹³ By the prior's grace, these visitors were allowed to remain after eating.⁹⁴ A rather obscure passage states that if guests were seated with the convent, presumably monastic visitors who sat amongst the brethren, it was the abbot's responsibility to call them out after

⁸⁹ Ibid., 403.

⁹⁰ Ibid., 413. See above, p. 84, fn. 74, for problems regarding the identity of the hall, namely where it was located and how many there were.

⁹¹ *Abingdon*, ii, 412: the hosteller acquired food and drink from the cellarer, in accordance with the guest's standing.

⁹² Ibid., 415. This particular clause does not appear in the Eynsham customary, perhaps indicative that it was peculiar to Abingdon and that the customaries were at least partly adapted to suit the community.

⁹³ Ibid. See *Eynsham*, 201, for arrangements concerning those who arrived after the monks had eaten and were to eat with the servers.

⁹⁴ *Abingdon*, ii, 364.

dinner for grace and according to his own wish,⁹⁵ motion to the hosteller that they should remain.⁹⁶ Though speculative, this implies that the abbot indicated whether visiting regulars should remain in the refectory with the other guests, instead of following the procession to the church. However those who remained may have also been refreshed with some wine or ale.⁹⁷ Whereas the abbot was never expected to join the post-dinner procession, the prior was only permitted to remain behind if he was presiding at the high table with visiting laity and clerics. He was to stay and console them with words and could invite one or two members of the community to join them.⁹⁸ Therefore the refectory at Abingdon was not exclusive to monks. While secular and lay visitors were perhaps not a regular feature, they were not prohibited.⁹⁹

Various piecemeal references which relate to the guest's refreshment are scattered throughout the *De Obedientiariis*. For instance, guests were offered the post-Collations drink, the *potus*, once or twice, depending on their wish, and thereafter went to chapter where Compline was sung in the same order as in the

⁹⁵ The phrase, 'pro uoto suo' is used, see above, p. 152, fn. 132.

⁹⁶ *Abingdon*, ii, 349. For the arrangements at *Eynsham*, see 135-6. The phrase 'ad gratiarum actiones' is problematic, but seems here to refer to the post-dinner grace which the brethren said in church, but which visitors said either at the table or outside the choir. According to the twelfth-century customary of the Victorines, Paris, the brethren said grace in the choir after dinner, visiting canons remained outside the choir with the hosteller, and visiting monks said this in the refectory, *Liber Ordinis*, 62-3.

⁹⁷ A post-dinner refreshment for guests is mentioned in the later customary of *Westminster*, 111-3.

⁹⁸ *Abingdon*, ii, 348, 362-3.

⁹⁹ See below, pp. 232-6, for further discussion, and note *Abingdon*, ii, 415: those who were not of the monastic profession but wished to dine with the convent were seated at the refectory table; after dinner they remained with the prior and hosteller and followed at the end of the procession.

choir.¹⁰⁰ After Compline the bloodlet¹⁰¹ and guests were refreshed with drink up to four times from the storeroom.¹⁰² Finally, as Vespers were sung before dinner during Lent, guests might be seated with bloodlet members of the community before the rest of the brethren ate. On these occasions the cellarer and refectorer were permitted to fill their vessels from the storeroom, but were not to minister the bread.¹⁰³

There is little direct reference to those entertained outside the claustral area and provided for by the *curiarius*, for example, relatives of the monks and the men and knights of the shire who visited on the Vigil of the feast of St. Mary.¹⁰⁴ However it is likely that those who were not especially honoured by the abbot either dined in the guesthall of the court or in the vill.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 414. According to the winter timetable in Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, 35-6, Collations in the chapter-house was preceded by a drink in the refectory and followed by the *caritas* (usually a cup of wine) in the refectory; thereafter Compline was celebrated.

¹⁰¹ It is often unclear whether *minutis* functions as an adjective or a noun and whether *minutis hospitibus* should be interpreted as the bloodlet and guests, bloodlet guests, or indeed lesser guests. *Abingdon*, ii, 398 certainly distinguishes *minutis* and *hospitibus*, and in *ibid.*, 395, *minutis* refers to the bloodlet. It is less clear on *ibid.*, 377, 399, 400, for although Stevenson punctuates after *minutis* in the latter, no punctuation is visible in the manuscript, folios 197b - *hospitibus minutis*. However, it seems that these generally function as nouns.

¹⁰² *Abingdon*, ii, 399. According to the bishop of Salisbury's charter of 1219, only pilgrims, poor clerks, sick laity and especially travellers were allowed three fills, *Two Cartularies*, no. L. 167.

¹⁰³ *Abingdon*, ii, 401.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 313, 350 and 351.

¹⁰⁵ See above, p. 216, for Bury; compare with *Westminster*, 88, which refers to relatives of the monks staying in the town.

Concluding points

These case studies of Bury St. Edmunds and Abingdon underline the variety of places where different visitors could be refreshed, and indeed the flexibility of the arrangements. This concluding section looks more closely at the arrangements within the refectory and the abbot's role as host. As previously mentioned, from the early to mid-twelfth century the prior usually presided in the refectory, although the abbot acted as president if he joined the community. While the refectory was essentially for members of the community and visiting regulars (and perhaps Benedictines alone), Benedictine guests did not necessarily eat there and seculars and laity were not prohibited. Still, the exact arrangements varied from house to house.¹⁰⁶

While laity and clerics did not generally dine in the refectory, they might join the brethren in exceptional circumstances or on special occasions.¹⁰⁷ For example,

¹⁰⁶ Comparison of the late twelfth-century *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon and the Bury customs of c. 1234 suggests that the former was more refectory based. However this difference may be one of idealism versus realism, with the latter more representative of how it was, than how it should be. On the other hand, it may simply be indicative of a change over time, given that the Bury customs are later.

¹⁰⁷ Of course a distinguished visitor such as the king, would have dined in the refectory, unless he was entertained in the abbot's chamber. It is thus interesting that Henry II was seemingly reluctant to dine in the refectory at Mont St Michel in 1158, Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, 197. The passage is rather ambiguous, and it is not clear whether the king was concerned that he should not burden the community financially, or whether he felt it inappropriate to dine in the refectory with his men, i.e. whether his reluctance was ideological or pragmatic in origin. Conversely, this is perhaps related to Henry's public acts of humility in France at this time, see above, p. 200, fn. 99. Note Howlett's quite different interpretation of the passage: he maintains that Henry was reluctant to visit the house, as he knew that the abbot wished to lobby him, and that this would inevitably mean making a grant, Robert of Torigni, *Chronicle*, xii. When Louis visited St. Denis in 1147, a royal abbey, he and a few of his retinue dined in the refectory with the brethren, Odo of Deuil, *De Profectione*, 18.

during the turbulent post-Conquest years at Ely various laymen were refreshed with the monks in their refectory. According to the *Liber Eliensis*, both the Norman knight imprisoned during the siege of 1071 and the English rebels who stayed at the house for a year, dined with the community in the refectory. The rebel leaders, Hereward and Turkill, were placed beside the abbot in seats of honour.¹⁰⁸ Knowles entertains the possibility that their presence may be indicative of Anglo-Saxon practice, suggesting that at this time important laymen were refreshed with the community.¹⁰⁹ Whilst this is possible, it cannot be assumed, for these were extraordinary times. Gerald of Wales' account of his sojourn at Christ Church, Canterbury, in 1179, reveals that he joined the community in the refectory for the important feast of Holy Trinity. Gerald explains that he was invited to dine at High Table with the prior and senior monks.¹¹⁰ Gerald recounts the visit as testimony to the gluttony that he witnessed, but in doing so offers a glimpse of the procedure on such occasions. He maintains that sixteen dishes were offered to the monks and claims that there was such a superfluity of rich foods and drinks that the generals and ale were

¹⁰⁸ *Liber Eliensis*, 179-81, esp. 181. The chronicle states that they were refreshed 'in the English way', which Knowles explains is a reference to the copious feasting of the English, Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 463.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 480. Indeed, the early thirteenth-chronicler, Thomas of Marlborough, commends Aethelwig II of Evesham, 1070-7, as he always sat with guests and pilgrims, *Evesham*, 91. Aethelwig's conduct is perhaps indicative of Anglo-Saxon practice, and certainly contrary to Lanfranc's *Constitutions*, mentioned above. However Thomas does not state whether these visitors were entertained in the refectory or the guesthouse.

¹¹⁰ *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 39-41. However Brewer suggests that the fact Gerald was the archbishop's legate in Wales may account for his reception, see *ibid.*, 40.

barely touched.¹¹¹ This was admittedly a particularly significant feast for the community, but sixteen dishes was nonetheless extreme.¹¹²

Abbot Warin's prescriptions for St. Albans, 1183-95, are of interest to the present discussion. The Latin and indeed the sense of the passage is rather obscure, but it appears that before Warin's ruling seculars had eaten with the community in the refectory. However as a consequence of his dress reforms for those serving in the refectory, they were excluded from dining with the brethren. Warin was adamant that those serving in the refectory should wear the *froccus*, perhaps in this case some kind of an apron or overgarment,¹¹³ but as these seem to have left the wearer's sides exposed, an inappropriate sight for seculars, all save the bishop, were hitherto prohibited from eating with the community.¹¹⁴

Roger of Howden's account of Richard I's second coronation at Winchester, April 1194, includes a detailed and exceptional description of the post-ceremonial feast, which was held in the monks' refectory.¹¹⁵ Howden records

¹¹¹ For Gerald's criticism of the monks of St. Swithun's, who complained that the bishop of Winchester had denied them three of their thirteen dishes, see *ibid.*, 38-9.

¹¹² See Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 11, and Knowles, 'Diet of the Black monks', 279-82, regarding the number of dishes served in Benedictine houses.

¹¹³ See above, p. 182, fn. 31, for a definition of the *froccus* as a long-sleeved gown. However, it is hard to reconcile this interpretation with the above passage.

¹¹⁴ *GASA*, i, 214. I am grateful to Dr. Peter Maxwell-Stuart for his advice on this translation. This differs from M. Reddan's interpretation, namely that monks were not to serve at dinner without their frocks if seculars were present, *VCH*, Herts., iv, ed. W. Page, (1914), 378.

¹¹⁵ Howden, iii, 246-9, at 248. See too *Gervase* i, 524, 526. It is briefly mentioned in *The Flowers of History by Roger of Wendover*, ed. H. G. Hewlett, (3 vols.; 1886-9), i, 232. For the overall significance of the crowning, see Stubbs' discussion in Howden, iii, 247, fn. 3, Richardson, 'Coronation', 129, and Hare, 'Kings, crowns', esp. 49. It is curious that Schramm and Gransden only mention Gervase's description of the coronation and make no reference to

that on 16 April, 1194, the eve of the coronation, the king arrived at the priory where he stayed the night.¹¹⁶ Biddle suggests that his sojourn was a matter of convenience, for the old royal palace was long since destroyed and the castle, where visiting royals generally stayed, would have necessitated a long procession.¹¹⁷ The proceedings at the feast are described in some detail and the chronicler explains that Richard's *confratres* included the archbishops, bishops, king of the Scots, earls and barons. Each was seated in accordance with his position and splendidly served.¹¹⁸ Howden does not specify whether or not the monks attended the feast, and it cannot be assumed that they were present. Moreover the fact the citizens of Winchester and London served from the kitchen and butlery respectively suggests that on this occasion the refectory may have simply functioned as a venue, and that the community were not actively engaged in administering hospitality.¹¹⁹

It is interesting that the feast was held in the monks' refectory for as previously mentioned, those who attended the dedication of the church at St. Albans in 1115 dined in the palace and Samson of Bury's installation feast was celebrated in the

Howden's account, P. E. Schramm, *A History of the English Coronation*, tr. L. G. Wickham Legg, (Oxford, 1937), appendix 20, 234-5, Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 258-9.

¹¹⁶ This is not mentioned in Gervase's account. It is perhaps significant that the king stayed with the monks, rather than the bishop. This may suggest that his sojourn with the community was in part symbolic (i.e. comparable to knights keeping vigil the night before they were dubbed).

¹¹⁷ *Winchester Studies 1: Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. M. Biddle, (Oxford, 1976), 296.

¹¹⁸ Howden, iii, 248.

¹¹⁹ The involvement of the citizens of London and Winchester is discussed further in chapter VIII, pp. 292-3.

abbot's chambers.¹²⁰ However, it is important to note that according to Gervase of Canterbury, the post-ceremonial festivities in 1194 were held in the *palatium*.¹²¹ How can we explain the difference between these two accounts? As Howden was actually present at the coronation we must surely accept the validity of his description.¹²² If this was simply an error on Gervase's part it would seem that such feasts were as likely to be celebrated in the refectory as the court. However if this was a deliberate inaccuracy it would suggest that the refectory was only to be used for festivities directly related to the community, for instance, installations and dedications, and that other celebrations, such as coronations and dubbings were in theory to be held in the court.¹²³

5. The abbot as host at the table

Although Benedict stipulated that the abbot should dine with the poor and pilgrims, the post-Conquest abbot, as previously noted, did not generally preside as the universal host at the table.¹²⁴ At first he usually dined in the refectory with the community and another officiated as host in the guesthouse. From the early twelfth century, a number of Benedictine abbots moved out of the refectory and

¹²⁰ It is also interesting to note that after the knighting of William de Valence in 1247, it was largely visiting monks who joined the community in the refectory, at the king's expense, *CM*, iv, 644-5, at 645. Matthew Paris explains that he was present.

¹²¹ *Gervase*, i, 525, 526.

¹²² I am grateful to Professor John Gillingham for informing me that Howden was actually present at Winchester. It is unfortunate that the annals of the house are missing for this year and that Richard of Devizes' chronicle ends in 1192.

¹²³ Perhaps the refectory was only used for occasions when meat was not served; this may explain why Samson's post-installation feast was held in his chambers and why the papal party who visited St. Denis in 1131 dined in the cloisters. Indeed we are told that the latter ate corporeal ram, *Oeuvres Complètes*, 138. However, these arrangements may have simply been a practicality, i.e. to accommodate the great number of visitors present.

either dined in a separate chamber with their household and select visitors, or on their manors.¹²⁵ Like all good hosts, the abbot aimed to satisfy his guests at the table. This meant providing a sufficient and appropriate spread of food and drink.¹²⁶ Therefore when Samson succeeded to the abbacy of Bury he was particularly concerned that his household should not be niggardly in administering to guests, lest this would damage his reputation.¹²⁷ Eadmer praises Anselm's generosity and maintains that as abbot of Bec he was a solicitous host. Anselm provided all that his guests required, and if necessary, sent food from the brethren's refectory to be set before them.¹²⁸ If Anselm was unable to offer adequate refreshment, his cheerful countenance and good-will compensated for any lack of food.¹²⁹ In contrast Abbot Samson's stern face cost him the favour

¹²⁴ See above, p. 122.

¹²⁵ As noted above, p. 165, this change has been attributed to the division of revenues in English houses. Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 405, 480, argues that the abbot's independent resources and the establishment of his own household drew him out of the refectory. To test this hypothesis we need to consider the practice at houses where the abbot had no independent revenues, such as Battle and Reading, and unfortunately there is little explicit evidence. The Battle chronicler's remark that Odo was dining with the brethren in 1175-1200 certainly seems to substantiate Knowles' theory, but Odo's presence in the refectory was not necessarily a consequence of the lack of abbatial revenues at the house, *Battle*, 306. The very fact that the chronicler comments on this may actually suggest that Odo's predecessors had been less assiduous in observing this practice; the chronicler may even be presenting Odo as an example for other abbots to follow, implying that his conduct was exceptional, but commendable.

¹²⁶ Garnier praised the nuns of Berking who made him 'positively fat' when he visited to obtain information for his *Life of Becket*, *Vie de Saint Thomas*, appendix i, 211, line 7. Clerical and lay examples are discussed in chapter IX.

¹²⁷ *Jocelin*, 26. See above, pp. 50-1, for Herluin of Glastonbury.

¹²⁸ *Vita Anselmi*, 46-7. Still, the brethren were never wanting, but were always provided for by God's providence.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, 47-8.

and gratitude of his guests, and he sought to compensate his visitors with a sufficiency of food and drink.¹³⁰

Therefore, the praiseworthy host was generous at table.¹³¹ Furthermore, he was expected to put his guests at their ease. This might require him to relax but not compromise his ideals, or at least give the appearance of doing so.¹³² In addition, he might honour his visitors by serving them fine foods which were not usually associated with the monastic life.¹³³ For instance, Abbot Samson made a number of parks filled with beasts, huntsmen and hounds, and when a distinguished guest visited, he would sometimes sit with his monks in the glade and watch the hounds hunt venison, which was then served at his table. However Jocelin underlines that he himself had never seen Samson partake of this meat.¹³⁴

Those who had been raised to episcopal office were more discrete in their abstinence, presumably as they had to harmonise the austerity of the regular life

¹³⁰ *Jocelin*, 35.

¹³¹ The chronicler of Fountains praises Abbot John, c. 1203, who was generous at table, *Memorials of Fountains*, i, 125.

¹³² See above, p. 211, for the allowances made in the *Rule* on account of guests, and note John of Salisbury's remarks on *humanitas*, discussed below, p. 356.

¹³³ Compare to the supposedly frugal diet served to visitors at Cistercian houses, discussed below, pp. 241-4. However the Cistercian abbot, Stephen of Mortemer (acceded c. 1154), did not abstain from better foods when guests were present; on such occasions he swiftly procured all that was needed from the cellarer and servants, and made sure that the leftovers were sent to the sick and aged brethren, *Fondation de Mortemer*, 159.

¹³⁴ *Jocelin*, 28. Waldef, prior of the Augustinian house of Kirkham, and later Cistercian abbot of Melrose, showed similar restraint and was overtly abstemious: his table was set with dishes and other necessities for the benefit of his guests, but the prior himself took so little that guests and servers alike were amazed at how so weak a body, living on such a paltry diet, could carry on in office, *Life of Waldef*, 127. Turgisius of Kirkstall allowed fish at the table for the sake of those dining with him, but did not partake of this, *Kirkstall*, 186.

with their clerical duties. Whilst driven by the same ideals as their counterparts in the monastery, clerics were expected to outwardly conform and mask, rather than advertise, their austerities. They gave the appearance of participating to put guests at their ease. Wulfstan of Worcester endeavoured to balance his responsibilities as host and role as prelate with his monastic convictions.

According to William of Malmesbury, when the ale or mead was served after dinner 'in the English fashion', Wulfstan drank water. However only his servant knew of this and everyone else assumed he enjoyed some expensive drink.¹³⁵ As archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm was similarly concerned to preserve a congenial atmosphere while remaining constant to his ideals. Eadmer describes how the prelate toyed with his food rather than eating it, so that he might listen more attentively to the reader, but did not condemn others for enjoying their food. On the contrary, he would give them a friendly look, and filled with pleasure, raise his hand, bless them, and say, 'May it do you good'.¹³⁶

This was not simply a characteristic of Benedictine hosts. On succeeding to the see of Lincoln, Hugh of Avalon relaxed the severity of the Carthusian diet he had observed as prior of Witham. Although he never touched meat, even when sick, the bishop often ate a little fish or took a moderate amount of wine if his body required fortification or to put his fellow diners at their ease. Hugh's biographer and chaplain, Adam of Eynsham, cites this as an example of Hugh's 'exquisite courtesy', and praises it as in keeping with the bishop's character to be all things

¹³⁵ *Vita Wulfstani*, 94 (this particular section is missing from the folio and taken from the abridged version).

¹³⁶ *Vita Anselmi*, 78.

to all men (I Corinthians 9:22).¹³⁷ As bishop, Hugh not only altered what he ate but with whom he dined. Whereas the Carthusians were vehemently opposed to any contact with women, Hugh, 'like other ecclesiastical dignitaries', occasionally invited devout matrons and widows to his table.¹³⁸ However his biographer, Adam, emphasised that this was not a betrayal of the Carthusian ideal for Hugh was immune to the longings of the flesh. On the eve of his promotion to Witham in 1179/80, Hugh had received a vision of his former prior of the Chartreuse who removed burning coals from his loins; Adam explains that from then on Hugh was above earthly temptations and thus safely able to receive women at his table.¹³⁹

Whilst the prelates themselves were conscious of harmonising their duties as host with the religious life, others were clearly of the same accord and commended those who achieved the balance. For instance, Matthew Paris explains that despite his promotion to the see, Hugh of Ely, former abbot of Bury, maintained his love of the monastic life and retained the habit and behaviour of a monk.¹⁴⁰ Matthew praises Hugh's hospitality and generosity, and remarks that just as he showed his devotion at the spiritual table, namely the altar, so he showed himself to be hospitable, liberal, cheerful and composed at the table for bodily refreshment.¹⁴¹

¹³⁷ *Magna Vita*, i, 125. See below, p. 332, fn. 126, for Christina of Markyate's courtesy at the table.

¹³⁸ *Magna Vita*, i, 48.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, 49-52.

¹⁴⁰ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, ii, 305.

¹⁴¹ *CM*, v, 454-5. Herbert of Bosham makes a similar case for Archbishop Becket and describes his various 'tables' (i.e. the maundy, altar, judicial court, feast table) at length, *Materials for Becket*, iii, 198 ff.

II. The Cistercian parallel

Much of the Cistercian material has already been discussed in chapter IV, and this particular section focuses more closely on the dining arrangements for guests. As previously mentioned the Cistercian abbot dined with guests in the *hospitium* where all visitors, save those of the Order, were entertained.¹⁴²

However it became common for him to dine in another chamber with more distinguished visitors.¹⁴³

In theory those who were refreshed in the guesthouse observed a frugal diet.¹⁴⁴ For instance, neither eggs nor cheese were to be served in the *hospitium* on Fridays and customary fast days,¹⁴⁵ and although guests and the bloodlet were served a superior white bread, on main fasts they were given Lenten bread.¹⁴⁶ As visiting Cistercians participated with the host community, they dined in the refectory. According to the Statutes of 1195, monastic guests were to receive one pittance unless the prior ruled otherwise, but were not to share this with any of the others. Furthermore, they were not to distribute their wine in the refectory.¹⁴⁷

¹⁴² See above, p. 171.

¹⁴³ See above, p. 172.

¹⁴⁴ However their diet was less rigorous than the monks, and as mentioned above the abbot of Mortemer was permitted 'better foods' when dining with visitors. For the Cistercian diet, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 245-6.

¹⁴⁵ 'in feria sexta'. In 1192 the General Chapter ruled that abbots who did so would be punished with three days of light punishment, one of which was on bread and water, Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1192: 15.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 1175: 8.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 1195: 9.

The two satirists, Gerald of Wales and Walter Map, refer to the abstemious diet inflicted on those visiting Cistercian houses. Gerald argues that the Cistercians' austere and righteous lifestyle was merely a façade. He maintains that whilst a meagre fare of herbs, leeks and vegetables was served in the refectory, *hospitium* and other public places, the monks gorged on exquisite foods with select visitors in private chambers deputed to gluttony.¹⁴⁸ Gerald records how several guests penetrated this hypocrisy, and like the priest of a small parish in Hereford, caught the monks literally with their hands in the cookie jar. He explains that this particular priest was accustomed to visit a certain Cistercian house where he conferred goods and benefits. On one such occasion he was poorly received and after dinner, a cheerless and meagre affair, rose from the table and walked through the court. The priest looked at the various lodgings and offices, and on reaching the innermost chamber,¹⁴⁹ noticed that the door was open and secretly crept in. There, to his horror, he found the abbot and eight or ten of the thirteen brethren gorging themselves in splendour. Gerald provides an elaborate description and records that the abbot's table heaved with fine foods. Wine was served in silver jugs adorned with gold and silver, and the revellers feasted on meat, capons, geese, good ale and mead. Unfortunately the text breaks off at this point, the result of fire damage, but it seems that the priest cursed the community, leapt on his horse to leave and was never again to darken their doors or bestow his largesse.¹⁵⁰

¹⁴⁸ *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 212. For the different foods served to different guests in the late thirteenth century, see the *Beaulieu Accounts*, e. g. 271, 273.

¹⁴⁹ Perhaps situated around the infirmary buildings.

¹⁵⁰ *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 210-11.

As far as Gerald was concerned, the Cistercians were guilty of gluttony and hypocrisy, and in this respect differed from the Benedictines who made little attempt to conceal their greed. In fact the Black monks paraded their gluttony openly and unashamedly in front of their guests,

Quoniam ergo simulata aequitas est duplex iniquitas,
minus excedunt Cluniacenses qui publice saginatis utuntur,
et carnes hospitibus suis largiuntur, quam Cistercienses, qui
tam sibi quam hospitibus, tam in aulis quam refectoriis utraque
subtrahunt, sed in occulto, firmariis scilicet et cameris, uoraciter
utrisque uescuntur ...¹⁵¹

Therefore, whilst those visiting Benedictine houses were likely to observe and participate in the open gluttony of their hosts, those staying with Cistercians may have witnessed an exemplary display of abstinence, and endured a rather frugal diet. Conversely privileged guests, including those on visitation, may have been included in the revelry, dining on meat and other delicacies.¹⁵² As previously mentioned in chapter V, a certain diocesan clerk who sought lodgings in a Cistercian house in Wales or the Welsh Marches, was initially shown to the common guesthall, presumably in the outer court. However when it was discovered that he was actually a member of the bishop's household, and thus the chief official of the diocese, he was transferred to the inner houses and the

¹⁵¹ Ibid., 208-9, at 209. Indeed, he remarks that in order to get around the prohibition of meat on a Friday, they made a soup out of it, *ibid.*, 98.

¹⁵² It is thus interesting that in the romance, *La Queste*, 170, the knight Bors who was shown 'princely hospitality', was given fish and meat.

infirmary, and served meat.¹⁵³ Gerald adds another twist to the tale, for the clerk and his men were abundantly refreshed with a number of highly flavoured, sumptuous foods left over from the dinner of a visiting abbot, hardly in keeping with the severity of the Cistercian diet.¹⁵⁴

Whereas Gerald condemns the hypocrisy of the Cistercians, Walter Map complains of their avarice, and presents the Spartan diet enforced on their guests as testimony to their greed, 'for one of the hands of avarice is stinginess'. He claims that they abstained to abound and hoarded all.¹⁵⁵ Walter argues that the Cistercians were selective hosts and though welcoming to each other, those whose power they feared, or those whom they intended to fleece, they were less enthusiastic towards members of the secular clergy.¹⁵⁶ He complains that no members of the secular clergy were invited or dragged in after Vespers, or even permitted to enter the hostelry, although refreshment was most desirable after a long day; in fact, they were only received for charity.¹⁵⁷ Thus the secular clergy only visited these houses as a last resort, when no other door was open and there

¹⁵³ *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 211-2. Whilst Gerald's main concern was exposure this is an important testimony to the distinction of guests and significance of space. See above, p. 172, for the Templars at Coggeshall who were initially shown to the guesthall.

¹⁵⁴ A similar point is made in the satirical poem, 'De Visitatione Abbatis', which depicts the visiting abbot indulging in meat and other delicacies from the infirmary, neither feeling nor considering the poverty of the cloister, 'De Visitatione Abbatis', in the *Latin Poems Commonly Attributed to Walter Map*, coll. and ed. T. Wright, (Camden Soc., OS, 16; 1841), 184-7, at 185, lines 10-20.

¹⁵⁵ Map, *De Nugis*, 86. See *ibid.*, 68, for his complaint of the Hospitallers' decline.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 98. However, he lodges this complaint against all monks and not simply the Cistercians.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 98-100. Presumably this implies that they were not received out of custom, i.e. as of right, and were not, therefore, accorded the same honour. Gerald of Wales' complaints of the abbot of Whitland, mentioned above, p. 172, suggest that they were probably shown to the common guesthall.

was no other purse to provide for them. However Walter's complaints are not necessarily representative and should be treated with caution, for other examples testify to good relations between monks and canons, whether regional alliances or friendships. For instance, it is likely that Peter of Blois, archdeacon of Bath, was a frequent visitor at Fountains,¹⁵⁸ and that before the Whitland affair, Gerald was a familiar visitor at Strata Florida and enjoyed a good relationship with the monks.¹⁵⁹

III. Provision for the guests' horses

Most guests arrived on horseback and thus required fodder, stabling and shoes for their horses. Inevitably this could be a considerable expense, and the financial aspect is more closely considered in chapter VIII.¹⁶⁰ Whilst there are no twelfth or early thirteenth-century English accounts comparable to Udalricus' colourful description of the *connestabulus* of Cluny, c. 1080, there are several references regarding provision for guests' horses.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Walbran argues that Peter of Blois' letters to the community at Fountains suggest that he was a frequent resident at Ripon, where he was a canon at the collegiate church for many years, and that he seemingly participated with the monks of Fountains, *Memorials of Fountains*, i, 159, fn. 1.. Regardless of whether or not this was the case, Peter's letters indicate his respect for the house and show no hostility, e.g. *ibid.*, 42.

¹⁵⁹ *Giraldi Opera*, i, 117. For details of the later hostility with the monks, see *ibid.*, iv, 154-5, and iii, 201-2.

¹⁶⁰ Matthew Paris' account of Geoffrey of Lusignan's visit to St. Albans in 1258, mentions that the guest stables could accommodate 300 horses; even if exaggerated, it underlines that this could be quite an undertaking, *CM*, v, 344. See chapter VIII, for the expense of provisioning guests' horses.

¹⁶¹ The *connestabulus* of Cluny was responsible for feeding the guests' horses. When the visitors commenced eating in the refectory, he entered and modestly said *Benedicte*. The guests replied 'The Lord be with you', and he responded 'All that is in our service I offer you, and I will serve you with abundance', Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 37. At Westminster, c. 1270, the extern hosteller provisioned the guest' horses honourably; the visitor's retinue were to receive the

The Abingdon customs of the late twelfth century prescribe that any relatives of the monks visiting on the Nativity of St. Mary, 8 September, should have necessities for themselves, their men and horses on the Vigil and the day of the feast. Likewise the many knights and young men who visited for the Vigil were to have corrodies in court on each of the annual feasts; though not explicit, this probably included sustenance for their horses.¹⁶² There seems to have been a similar arrangement at Bury, for according to the customs of c. 1234, the cellarer was to provide a prebend and hay for those lodging in the guesthall or vill.¹⁶³ The maintenance of guests' horses is also mentioned in the Bury statutes of 1234, and is discussed in chapter VIII.¹⁶⁴ Additional references include Abbot Radulph's concession of the chapel of Luttleton to the brethren of Evesham, to sustain the horses of visiting religious with six or less horses, mentioned in chapter IV.¹⁶⁵

There are several specific references to the shoeing of guests' horses, although it is interesting to note that in Lanfranc's *Constitutions* of the late eleventh century, the chamberlain only provided horseshoes for particular visitors, i.e. those named

same as the convent's household and their horses tended as those of brothers returning from a journey, *Westminster*, 80.

¹⁶² *Abingdon*, ii, 313.

¹⁶³ *Bury*, 7. Hay was also given for bedding and indeed when bathing, see *Abingdon*, ii, 326, but on this occasion was surely intended for the guests' horses. The late twelfth-century list for rents due for the fabric at Abingdon refers to hay for the horse pertaining to the master of works, *ibid.*, 329.

¹⁶⁴ See below, p. 286.

¹⁶⁵ *Evesham*, 263, added in Harl. 3763. During Peter the Venerable's abbacy at Cluny, the farm of Mazille was expected to supply sufficient oats for the horses of guests and visiting Cluniacs who came for one night, Evans, *Monastic Life*, 69.

by the abbot and prior.¹⁶⁶ The almoner of Abingdon's charters include Ralf Francigena's donation, c.1215 x 25, of 6d. p.a. from land in Abingdon to the brethren's *hostalarie*, for purchasing horseshoes.¹⁶⁷ In addition a list of rents due to the various officials, contained in the late twelfth-century Abingdon customs, shows that specific revenues were allocated for shoeing the monks' horses and those of the poor and pilgrims.¹⁶⁸

IV. Medical care

This section can be subdivided into those who visited the monastery on account of their illness and those who fell sick during their stay.¹⁶⁹ It is not intended as a comprehensive account of medical care within the monastery, and only considers treatment of the sick insofar as this relates to the administration of hospitality. There are few clear examples of visitors who came to the monastery to receive medical attention.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore we need to be careful to distinguish these from

¹⁶⁶ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 85. Compare to Udalricus' customs for Cluny, c. 1080: the *connestabulus* was not to refuse any horseshoes to passers by, but none were to be given to those who had come for market and indeed nobody who arrived for markets, fairs or lawsuits was to be received at the guesthouse, Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 37. Similarly the late thirteenth-century *Beaulieu Accounts*, 259, stipulate that the guardian of the stables should shoe the horses of passing guests.

¹⁶⁷ *Two Cartularies*, i, no. L. 352. This grant, made with the agreement of Ralf's wife Christine, was to be increased to 12d p.a. on her death. See below, p. 286, for the arrangements at Westminster in 1225: the abbot was to support the horses of those staying at the house.

¹⁶⁸ *Abingdon*, ii, 329. Logically, it would seem that the rents were intended for the care of the poor and pilgrims, as well as for shoeing the monks' horses, for presumably the poor generally came on foot. However the grammar indicates the above translation.

¹⁶⁹ Note Johnson's assertion that the wealthy sick were admitted to the *hospitium* of La Trinité, Vendôme, which also accommodated travellers on horseback, Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power*, 160.

¹⁷⁰ The few that we have are mostly European, e.g. Thurstan, archbishop of York, stopped off to be bled at the monastery of St-Martin-des-Champs, *Chantor*, 70; Caesarius tells of an injured

deathbed conversions.¹⁷¹ Samson of Bury's *Miracles of St. Edmund* records how a Cluniac monk, Gervase of St. Saviour's, visited Bury to be healed by the saint. On his arrival he was too ill to enter the church and was thus brought to the *cella infirmis* of the house.¹⁷² Though not explicit, it is surely unlikely that a non-Benedictine visitor would have received the same treatment, unless, perhaps, he was a benefactor of the house or joined in confraternity.¹⁷³

The customaries and statutes make some reference to those who required healthcare during their visit, but give little information regarding the nature of this treatment.¹⁷⁴ According to the *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon, guests who wished to be bloodlet, a preventative and restorative treatment, were to alert the guestmaster who in turn notified the abbot or prior. The guestmaster was to

clerk who was attacked by Albigensian heretics and brought to Cluny, *Caesarii*, ii, 31-3, at 32; the Arthurian romance, *La Queste*, includes several references to wounded or injured knights brought to abbeys to receive treatment and if necessary, communion and burial, e.g. *La Queste*, 30-1, 43-4.

¹⁷¹ As seems to have been the case at Strata Florida in 1222, when Prince Rhys, son of Guffudd was tended in the infirmary, *Brut Y Tywysogion*, ed. J. Williams Ab Ithel, (London, 1860), 310. For a Continental example, see *Orderic*, iii, 202. Conversely a sick visitor might be inspired to take the habit, as is suggested by the account of Abbot William of Mortemer's conversion at the abbey of Notre Dame du Val, *Fondation de Mortemer*, 162. See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 477, for these deathbed conversions in the infirmary.

¹⁷² *Memorials of St. Edmunds*, i, 202-4, esp. 203.

¹⁷³ Or one of episcopal standing. The customary of the Cistercian Order mentions that visiting bishops might be cared for in the infirmary, if they were Cistercians, *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 264. Nevertheless the Carthusian bishop, Hugh of Lincoln was taken to the infirmary of the Cistercian house of Clairmarais when he arrived to celebrate the Nativity of St. Mary. On the Vigil of the feast he stayed the night in the infirmary and was tended by two brothers who washed, dried and rubbed his feet, *Magna Vita*, ii, 178-9. See below, p. 249, fn. 179, for the possibility that the Empress Mathilda stayed in the guest quarters of Notre-Dame-du Pré, a cell of Bec, during her illness in 1134.

show great care and provide all that was customary, presumably a reference to the extra food and drink allowed to the bloodlet.¹⁷⁵ Those who fell ill during their stay were permitted to prolong their visit,¹⁷⁶ but if able were expected to follow the community.¹⁷⁷ When Archbishop Anselm visited Bury in 1107 to conduct various episcopal duties and consecrate a large cross, he fell seriously ill and stayed for a week.¹⁷⁸

Therefore, from the few references that are available, it appears that any treatment provided for those visiting Cistercian and Benedictine houses was basic, essentially involved bloodletting and a supplemented diet, and might justify an extended stay. Members of the Order were seemingly cared for in the monastic infirmary, but it is unlikely that other visitors were shown here.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁴ The Cistercian customary states that the monk *hospitalis* should care for sick guests, regardless of whether or not they were poor, *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 332.

¹⁷⁵ *Abingdon*, ii, 414. See too *Eynsham*, 202. The monks were routinely bloodlet several times a year, and more if necessary. Allowances were permitted to those who had just undergone bloodletting such as a fortified diet, reduced hours, talking in the parlour. Bloodletting is often mentioned in the customaries and injunctions, e.g. the duration of bloodletting and the number allowed per year are mentioned in the Bury statutes of 1234, see Graham, 'A papal visitation', 735. For general remarks on bloodletting in the monastery, see Harvey, *Living and Dying*, 96-9.

¹⁷⁶ E.g. *Abingdon*, ii, 413. This is discussed further in chapter VIII, pp. 296-7.

¹⁷⁷ This certainly implies that these visitors were regulars, and not laity or seculars.

¹⁷⁸ *Vita Anselmi*, 139, *Historia Nouorum*, 185. Henry III stayed three weeks at Bury in 1252, on account of illness, *CM*, v, 304.

¹⁷⁹ In the Cistercian houses they may have been treated in the secular infirmary; indeed Jocelin's *Life of Waldef*, 133, records that the abbot visited the infirmaries of the monks, lay brothers, and also the poor and guests each day. Moreover Chibnall raises the possibility that the Empress Mathilda stayed in the guest quarters of Notre-Dame-du Pré, a cell of Bec, during her illness in 1134 (following a difficult childbirth), although she may have stayed in the priory or the royal residence adjacent to it, M. Chibnall, 'The Empress Mathilda and Bec-Hellouin,' *AN Studies*, 10 (1988), 35-48 at 39. Given her generosity to the community, Dr. Liesbeth Van Houts (personal communication) thinks it likely that Mathilda was cared for by the monks of Bec. It is perhaps

They were probably tended in a quiet chamber attached to the hospice or abbot's lodgings.

V. Communication with the brethren

A number of visitors came specifically to speak with members of the community, and these meetings were probably held in the parlour.¹⁸⁰ Whilst some may have been on official business, delivering a message or seeking counsel,¹⁸¹ many would have been friends or relatives of the brethren, come to visit one of the monks. Eadmer's account of Lanfranc's generosity and compassion to the monks of Christ Church is, inadvertently, testimony to such visits. Eadmer explains that a certain brother was accustomed to give his mother thirty shillings annually. He received this from Lanfranc in six instalments and paid his mother five shillings on each of her visits. On one particular occasion the monk thought he had dropped the bag of money into his mother's hands, as usual. However she was preoccupied, did not notice what her son was doing and the money fell to the ground. Both went their separate ways, unaware of what had happened. The monk's mother later met with her son to ask what had happened to her money, and the brother feared he would be punished by the archbishop for his carelessness. Lanfranc noted the monk's distress as he returned to the cloister,

most probable that she stayed in the royal residence and was spiritually tended by the monks of Bec. See above, pp. 113-4, for the problems in determining what went on in the secular infirmaries. For a general discussion of Cistercian medical care and secular infirmaries, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 119-22.

¹⁸⁰ See above pp. 87-8, 99, for discussion of the parlour. For the use of the parlour in nunneries, see Power, *Mediaeval English Nunneries*, 407.

¹⁸¹ According to the *Life* of Boso, fourth abbot of Bec, the abbot answered the enquiries of everyone who sought his advice, according to his need, *Vita Venerabilis Bosonis Abbatis Beccensis Quarti*, PL 150, cols. 723-32, at 730. See too *ibid.*, 726.

and once they were alone pursued the matter. The compassionate archbishop gave the brother seven shillings for his mother, warned him not to tell anyone of the gift or giver, and reassured him that the lost money had surely found its way to a needier person.¹⁸²

Several of the customaries and statutes detail the procedure to be followed if guests wished to speak with a member of the community, and stress that the abbot's or prior's permission was of paramount importance. Lanfranc's *Constitutions* stipulate that any relative or stranger who wished to speak with the abbot, prior or a claustral monk was to intimate this through the guestmaster.¹⁸³ The guestmaster notified the abbot or prior and if consent was given, led the monk from the cloister to the visitor, presumably to the outer parlour.¹⁸⁴ If licence was withheld, the guestmaster was to give no indication of the matter to the brother concerned, no doubt to avoid any discontent.¹⁸⁵ A similar arrangement is detailed in the *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon, which reiterates that the prior's permission was essential.¹⁸⁶

An intriguing clause in the Bury statutes of 1234 stipulates that monks should not meet with female relatives or strangers, either at the green door, the cross or any

¹⁸² *Historia Nouorum*, 13-14. Southern follows Knowles' hypothesis that the monk was in fact Eadmer, R. Southern, *St. Anselm and his Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought 1059-c. 1130*, (Cambridge, 1963), 231; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 109.

¹⁸³ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 87.

¹⁸⁴ See above, pp. 88-9.

¹⁸⁵ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 87.

¹⁸⁶ *Abingdon*, ii, 414. See *Eynsham*, 202.

other secret places.¹⁸⁷ Furthermore they were not to meet at dinner, supper, *meridian*,¹⁸⁸ or the time assigned to the *potus*.¹⁸⁹ Whilst it is not clear where exactly these places were, we can at least deduce that the Bury monks were permitted to meet with female relatives in public places and at the appropriate times. The specific reference to the green door suggests that this was not simply a preventative measure issued to all houses, but was intended as a corrective for Bury.

There are several general references to the reception of visiting relatives. According to the late twelfth-century *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon, the *curiarius* was to provide the greatest care for relatives of monks coming from elsewhere, and this is reiterated in Richard of Salisbury's charter of 23 November 1219.¹⁹⁰ The Bury and Westminster statutes of 1234 include similar prescriptions. The former stipulates that relatives of the monks, especially those of claustrals, should be received more honourably than before,¹⁹¹ and the latter states that friends and relatives of the monks should be entertained from the abbot's table or provided for by the cellarer if lodged in the town.¹⁹² These relatives may have visited to celebrate a particular feast, and the *De Obedientiariis* suggests that the monks' relatives generally came on 8 September,

¹⁸⁷ See James *On the Abbey*, 133-5, for the possible location of the Cross, and *ibid.*, 160, for the green door. He identifies the latter as the gate which led from the choir to the vestry. The green door is also mentioned in the Bury customary of c. 1234, *Bury*, 12.

¹⁸⁸ I.e. the post-dinner siesta. See Kitchin, *Compotus Rolls*, 20, for this definition.

¹⁸⁹ Graham, 'A papal visitation', 734. The brethren were also prohibited from conversing with nuns or female recluses, to guard against any suspicion, and were only to speak with females within the precinct of the cemetery if another brother was there as witness, *ibid.*, 734.

¹⁹⁰ *Abingdon*, ii, 351; *Two Cartularies*, i, no. L. 167.

¹⁹¹ Graham, 'A papal visitation', 736.

which was the Vigil of Mary. This was the abbey's patronal festival which lasted for a week.¹⁹³ Still, it is likely that on these occasions they also met with their kin.

It is interesting and perhaps significant that there is little mention of visiting relatives in the twelfth-century Cistercian customary, although the Beaulieu accounts of c. 1270 state that relatives of the monks or *conuersi* could visit once or twice a year and stay for two days.¹⁹⁴ However, the above arrangements for the Benedictine houses can be compared with the injunctions for the nuns of Marrick priory in 1252.¹⁹⁵ In an attempt to control contact between the nuns and outsiders, it was ruled that the sisters should not sit outside the cloister with visitors after curfew, or remain alone with them. The former presumably refers to them speaking with visitors in the parlour, and the latter corresponds with the monastic restrictions previously discussed, namely that the parlour door should be closed after Compline.¹⁹⁶ The nuns of the English Order of Sempringham,

¹⁹² *Ibid.*, 739. This was intended to safeguard the abbey's alms.

¹⁹³ *Abingdon*, ii, 350. See too *ibid.*, 313. It is thus interesting that although the sacrist was to remove anyone who arrived to minister to the convent or came from elsewhere if they stood or sat in the convent's sight, this was not enforced on the Vigil of St. Mary, *ibid.*, 379. Presumably, there was a more flexible arrangement at this exceptional time. See Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 52, for the gift-giving ceremonies made on this feast.

¹⁹⁴ *Beaulieu Accounts*, 271. They were to receive bread for two days and unless they had special permission to stay, were to leave after dining on the third, *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ The injunctions are contained in the BL, Egerton charter 406. For a summary of the injunctions see *VCH, York*, iii, ed. W. Page, (1913), 117. The visitation is mentioned in Burton, *Yorkshire Nunneries*, 52, fn. 123; J. H. Tillotson, *Marrick Priory: a Nunnery in Late Mediaeval Yorkshire*, (York, 1989), 17-21, Powers, *English Nunneries*, 401, fn. 1.

¹⁹⁶ Compare to the injunctions for the Cistercian priory at Swine, Yorkshire, visited in 1267/8 by Archbishop Giffard, *The Register of Archbishop Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York, 1266-79*, ed. W. Brown, (Surtees Soc., 109; 1904), 146-8: the visitors complained that the household of the knight, Sir Robert de Hilton, wandered too freely in the cloister and parlour, and held

founded by Gilbert, c. 1131, had little contact with visitors. According to the Gilbertine *Institutiones* the nuns were to avoid conversing with visitors, but could speak with male relatives at the large window or guesthouse gate. However nobles or the advocate of the house were allowed to speak at the little window, if permitted by the prioress.¹⁹⁷ Clearly the extent to which the guest was integrated was dependent on his relationship with the convent in general and the nuns in particular, as well as his standing in society.

'suspicious' conversations with the nuns and sisters; it was feared that harm might become of this. This latter remark is of interest and suggests that the visitors were less concerned with ideals than slander. For the injunctions issued to the Cistercian priory at Nun Appleton in 1281, see *VCH, York*, iii, 171.

¹⁹⁷ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi: 2, li (clause xxxiv).

CHAPTER VII: THE OPERATION OF HOSPITALITY 2

I Spiritual care

Spiritual care administered to the guest during his stay complemented that extended to him upon arrival.¹ It includes the blessing for sins on the journey, the reception of Mass, enrolment as a *confrater* and his attendance of services and hours, as well as vigils and feasts. Whilst this was an integral component of the general operation of hospitality, it was often the impetus for the visit. For instance, in 1194 Richard I visited the shrine of St. Edmund in thanks for his release,² and after the murder of Becket in 1170, Henry II was a regular visitor to the martyr's shrine at Canterbury.³ During Faritius' abbacy Queen Mathilda diverted her route to celebrate Assumption day at Abingdon abbey, as she happened to be travelling in the area at that time;⁴ others embarked on a journey to attend a particular feast.⁵ Distinguished visitors might reside at the house for the festive period. The young Prince Henry spent Easter at Abingdon in 1084, in 1115 he kept Christmas at St. Albans and attended the dedication on 28 December;⁶ the legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, spent Christmas at Bury St. Edmunds in 1213.⁷

¹ See above, pp. 179-84.

² *VCH*, Suffolk, ii, ed. W. Page, (1911), 60.

³ E.g. *Gervase*, i, 248, 335, 348.

⁴ *Abingdon*, ii, 97-8, at 97. See too *Vita Anselmi*, 104.

⁵ E.g. *Magna Vita*, ii, 177-8. See *Abingdon*, ii, 350, for relatives, knights and friends who visited on the 8 September to celebrate the Vigil of St. Mary.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 12; *GASA*, i, 71 and *CM*, ii, 142-3. Continental examples include *Orderic*, ii, 196-8, and vi, 174; Torigni, *Chronicle*, 117, *ibid.*, 198, *Continuatio Beccensis*, 320.

1. Mass and services including the canonical hours⁸

The *Rule* of St. Benedict makes no mention of guests attending the hours or hearing Mass. Lanfranc's *Constitutions* of the late eleventh century refer to this in relation to visiting monks and state that the guestmaster should lead them to pray.⁹ Still, there are a number of references which indicate that guests often offered prayers and received Mass during their stay. As previously mentioned in chapter II, King Stephen attended Mass when he visited St. Albans during Robert's abbacy, and when John visited Bury in 1200, he heard Mass before his departure.¹⁰ The literary works present a similar picture. *Yonec*, a twelfth-century *lai* by Marie de France, tells how a lord and his lady lodged overnight in a monastery and attended Mass on the morning of their departure.¹¹

Guests who were in priestly orders would generally expect to celebrate Mass, and the late twelfth-century *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon states that the hosteller should provide these visitors with all that was needed on such occasions.¹² However Roger of Norwich's experience at Christ Church, Canterbury, when he visited as prior of Llanthony, suggests this was not always

⁷ *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 26-36, at 26. Nicholas' visit is also discussed in chapter VIII, pp. 294-5.

⁸ For discussion of the monastic *horarium*, see D. Knowles, 'Monastic *horarium* 970-1120', *Downside Review*, 51 (1933), 706-725, Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 448-53, 539-60, and Gasquet, *English Monastic Life*, 111-53.

⁹ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88.

¹⁰ *GASA*, i, 121; *Jocelin*, 117. For Continental examples, see Torigni, *Chronicle*, 197, 198. According to Williams, *Cistercians*, 125, and 202-3, guests at Cistercian houses probably heard Mass in the gatehouse chapel, although some guesthouses had their own chapels.

¹¹ 'Yonec', in *Les Lais de Marie de France*, ed J. Reichner, (*CFMN*, 93; 1966), 102-119, at 117, lines 489-90. The knights in the twelfth-century romance, *La Queste*, attend Mass as a matter of course at the monasteries they pass or in which they stay, e.g. *La Queste*, 52, 72.

the case. According to Gerald of Wales, on the eve of his departure from Christ Church, Roger sent his canon to prepare for him to say Mass in the church of Holy Trinity. To his wonder and indignation he was told that they should go and hear Mass in the town with other clerks, for only Benedictines were permitted to celebrate the holy mysteries there.¹³ Still the fact that Roger had not anticipated such a response, and indeed that Gerald remarks upon this, suggests that a prohibition of this kind was unprecedented.¹⁴

Therefore, it seems that visitors often heard Mass before their departure and on special occasions attended the service in the church.¹⁵ The Benedictine houses also made some provision for the hours to be sung for guests.¹⁶ However it is not clear whether these arrangements were intended for all visitors or simply religious guests, for although the Cistercians took their place in choir when visiting houses of the Order, the Benedictines generally reserved this for monks

¹² *Abingdon*, ii, 413. See too the later customary of *Eynsham*, 201.

¹³ *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 81-2. For Gerald's commendation of Llanthony Prima, see *ibid.*, vi, 39-41. The tables were soon turned when one of the Canterbury monks visited Llanthony, for he was sent into town to hear Mass with the monks of St. Peter's, rather than with the canons of St. Mary, *ibid.*, iv, 82.

¹⁴ Peter King (personal communication) suggests that the monks of Christ Church may have become more exclusive now that they had the prestigious body of Thomas Becket. The Cistercians were seemingly more exclusive, for Orderic complains that they would not admit monks from other religious houses to their church for Mass or the other offices, *Orderic*, iv, 326.

¹⁵ The Cistercian customary actually cites specific occasions when guests might be present, including Palm Sunday, and Ash Wednesday, *Ecclesiastica Officia*, e.g. 96, 98, 108, 142, 174, 192. Also see the Cistercian statutes of 1210, Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1210: 2, 3.

¹⁶ Given the extensive detail of the Cistercian customary it is striking that there are no instructions for singing the hours for guests, and this may indicate that no such 'service' was provided for them. However this is simply speculative and it is interesting to note that in a thirteenth-century romance, *La Queste*, 183, the knight Bors heard Matins and Mass in the

from a cell of the house or joined in confraternity.¹⁷ The guestmaster, or another official, recited the hours for monastic guests outside the choir.¹⁸ Presumably the differences in liturgical practice necessitated this separation.

At Abingdon it seems that if visitors were unable to attend Mass, the guestmaster, or another appointed by him, was to celebrate Mass and sing all the hours on their behalf.¹⁹ On great feasts those who were able joined the brethren's Matins,²⁰ although the hosteller escorted them out for Lauds and reclined with them.²¹ At other times the hosteller sang Matins for them as in the choir, except that there were fifteen psalms, and not thirty.²² Presumably the

Cistercian abbey where he was lodged for the night. Still, we should not read too much into this literary reference, for the author is concerned to emphasise the knight's piety and religious zeal.

¹⁷ Whilst this is not explicit in the *De Obedientiariis*, it is stated in the later customary of *Westminster*, 83, and suggested in the arrangements for Matins for those who were not from a cell of the house, *ibid.*, 87, and may have been practised at Abingdon in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. See too *Select Documents of the English Lands of the Abbey of Bec*, ed. M. Chibnall, (Camden Soc., 3rd Ser., 73; 1951), charter no. 7, and Porée, *L'Histoire*, i, 482. The latter implies that monks of St. Étienne and Jumièges, who took their place in the choir and refectory when visiting Bec, were exceptional. For inter-house unions and confraternity which included the right to enter the other's choir, see Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 472-5, at 474, and Burton, *Monastic and Religious orders*, 163.

¹⁸ Note that according to the twelfth-century customary of St. Victor's, Paris, whereas visiting canons were to take their place in choir amongst the brethren, visiting monks were seated in the retrochoir, *Liber Ordinis*, 61-2.

¹⁹ *Abingdon*, ii, 413. However the Latin is rather obscure, and the meaning is thus unclear.

²⁰ 'Si expeditus', presumably, a reference to their agility and state of health, see above, p. 182, fn. 33. *Eynsham*, 201, mentions that this was generally at Christmas, Easter, Pentecost and the Assumption.

²¹ *Abingdon*, ii, 412.

²² *Ibid.*, 411. The hosteller also said Matins for brothers who had returned from a journey. The later customary of Eynsham reveals that whilst the hosteller had formerly celebrated Matins with guests staying in the dormitory, this was no longer practised, *Eynsham*, 201; he only sang Compline, *ibid.*, 202.

guests' book of pericopes²³ was used on such occasions, and indeed whenever the hosteller recited hours for visitors outside the choir.²⁴ It is thus interesting that according to the Bury customs of c. 1234, the hosteller responsible for visiting monks was one of three assigned to sing Matins from the book outside the choir.²⁵ Once again this raises the possibility that the arrangements for singing the hours may have been largely intended for visiting regulars.

Returning to the Abingdon treatise, the hosteller was to ensure that guests lay down after Matins without any delay, unless they were about to depart.²⁶ If any guest did not attend Matins, presumably if he was aged or unwell, the hosteller left the choir singing a verse from the liturgical book, celebrated the hour with him and then returned to the choir. This procedure was followed on other feasts celebrated in copes, and illustrates how the hosteller was to assimilate his monastic duties with those pertaining to his office.²⁷

The hosteller was not to lead guests to Collations, the spiritual reading in the chapter-house, until the first verse of the Bible had been completed. Afterwards, they waited at the door where light was provided if needed. The guests were then led to the parlour and refreshed once or twice with the post-Collations

²³ I.e. a book of biblical passages selected for reading in church. For references to this book, see *Abingdon*, ii, 356, 377.

²⁴ It is possible that there was a separate altar or chapel within the church for Benedictine guests. For the likelihood that the Black hostelry chapel at Bury was located in the south transept, i. e. one of the transeptal chapels, see James, *On the Abbey*, 140-1.

²⁵ *Bury*, 25

²⁶ *Abingdon*, ii, 411.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 412.

drink.²⁸ Finally, Compline was sung for them in the same order as in the choir.²⁹ The hosteller was also expected to recite night vigils for visitors.³⁰ It is thus interesting to note that according to the Westminster customary of c. 1270, ‘by right and ancient custom’, the hosteller was to spend the night in the guest cell with any monk who arrived alone and was not from a cell of Westminster, to celebrate the night devotions with him.³¹ Once again this raises the possibility, though not the inevitability, that the arrangements in the *De Obedientiariis* were intended for visiting regulars.

Various other spiritual services were offered to those visiting Benedictine houses. The *De Obedientiariis* underlines that the hosteller should ensure that guests received the blessing for sins on their journey, both on their arrival and departure.³² However there were certain restrictions as to when this was bestowed.³³ If any abbot was visiting Bury on the day of Absolution, he conducted his own maundy in a separate chamber, and as previously mentioned, the cellarer provided him with the necessary food to be distributed to the poor.³⁴

²⁸ *Abingdon*, ii, 414. For similar arrangements, see *Eynsham*, 202. See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 457, for details of the Collations drink.

²⁹ *Abingdon*, ii, 414. See too *Eynsham*, 202. However this was only necessary for those staying in the dormitory. It thus seems that guests followed a similar, though separate programme, for the community celebrated Compline in choir and it appears that they were generally refreshed in the refectory, e.g. see *Bury*, 44.

³⁰ *Abingdon*, ii, 411.

³¹ *Westminster*, 87.

³² *Abingdon*, ii, 412.

³³ Similar details appear in the *Rule*, in relation to brothers setting out and returning, *Rule*, 172, (ch. 67). See too *Eynsham*, 204-5.

³⁴ *Bury*, 54. For discussion of absolution, including when this occurred and the format, see *The Catholic Encyclopaedia*, ed. C. G. Hebermann, E. A. Pace, C. B. Pallen, T. J. Shahan, J. J. Wynne, (15 vols.; London, 1907-56), i, 61-6.

Presumably this was a means of securing Bury's precedence whilst ensuring that the visiting abbot was shown due respect and permitted to fulfil the obligations of his office.³⁵ Finally, if a stranger monk died during his stay at Bury, he was to be buried according to the monastic custom, although the brethren were not to be given candles in their hand.³⁶

Whilst the twelfth-century Cistercian customary does not mention that the hours were sung for guests during their stay, it includes a comprehensive account of the arrangements for those in the guesthouse who were nearing death and required communion.³⁷ As for the burial of visitors, the prior provided for their soul and the *hospitalis* for their body. The exact procedure depended on the guest's standing. For instance, only priests and religious who died in the hospice were taken to the choir, unless the abbot ruled otherwise; the community was only to chant 'pro reuerentia persone'; seven psalms were said after the burial of Cistercian monks, novices or *conuersi*; the bow after the *Clementissime* was reserved for members of the Order.³⁸

2. Religious ceremonies

Guests also came specifically to attend religious ceremonies at the house, for instance, translations, dedications, installations or consecrations, as well as feasts

³⁵ See above, pp. 218-20, for similar concerns in the refectory at Bury.

³⁶ *Bury*, 53. The writer explains that this had happened to a monk of Westminster. *La Queste*, 153-4, indicates that those nearing death might be brought to a nearby monastery to receive the last rights and an appropriate burial.

³⁷ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 292.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 292-4. See Bernard's account of Malachy's death and burial at Clairvaux for details of the procedure, albeit for a distinguished figure, and moreover, a member of the Order, *De Vita et Rebus Gestis S. Malachiae, Hiberniae Episcopi*, PL 182, cols. 1073-1118, at 1114 ff.

and vigils.³⁹ However it is often difficult to determine whether outsiders were actually entertained in the monastery on these occasions, for the sources are seldom explicit. Furthermore, it is not always clear if the monks were present at these events.⁴⁰

The following accounts reveal that those who attended dedications might be entertained within the precincts. On the 28 December 1115, Henry I, with his queen and son, attended the dedication of the conventual church of St. Albans, conducted by Abbot Richard.⁴¹ A number of other notables were present, including the archbishop of Rouen, the bishops of London, Durham, Lincoln and Salisbury, abbots, earls, magnates and secular dignitaries. It was evidently a time of great festivities for Matthew Paris claims that the visitors feasted as much in the palace of the court as they celebrated in the church of St. Albans.⁴² The Hallowing of Reading Abbey in 1164 was conducted by Archbishop Thomas Becket in the presence of Henry II. Robert of Torigni records that the king

³⁹ Visitors might also be enticed by the offer of indulgences, e.g. 1150 x 61, Theobald of Canterbury offered an indulgence of twenty days to those who visited Reading Abbey on either the Feast of the Invention (3 May) or the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 September); a piece of this relic was supposedly housed there, *RAC*, i, no. 183. See too *ibid.*, nos. 184-201, *Feudal Documents*, charter no. 171; *GASA*, i, 92. D. M. Stenton, *English Society in the Early Middle Ages, 1066-1307*, (4th edn., Harmondsworth, 1965), 226, argues that the bishops issued these indulgences to reward Reading's hospitality.

⁴⁰ See below, pp. 263-4, for the consecration of Bec, and the possibility that only a few of the brethren were there. In any case, the entire community was not present.

⁴¹ *GASA*, i, 70-1; *CM*, ii, 142-3. See too Torigni, *Chronicle*, 96.

⁴² *GASA*, i, 71. See above, pp. 101-2.

procured for the monks and guests for three days, but provides no details of where they ate or what they were served.⁴³

Other references are even less explicit and simply reveal who was present on these occasions.⁴⁴ Comparable events in Normandy are often more fully described and mention the post-ceremonial feasting. It is likely, though not inevitable, that the English ceremonies were conducted in a similar fashion and this justifies some consideration of the Norman examples. Gilbert Crispin's account of the dedication of Bec, 23 October 1077, written 1117/18, is particularly informative and even alludes to the preparations involved.⁴⁵ He explains that all the bishops, abbots and religious men of Normandy, in addition to the nobles of the duchy, the most eminent counsellors of France, clerks, monks and men of all kinds, assembled at Bec. Although the king and queen were detained by business and unable to attend, Mathilda sent great gifts. The assemblage was so great that whilst everyone managed to squeeze in, the procession could hardly move without collision. On account of the great number of visitors only a few of the older monks were present. The event was marked with great rejoicing and emotion, and indeed such was the solemnity of the occasion that Herluin, who was overwhelmed by joy, nearly died for he was seized with convulsions for eight days! The ceremony was followed by

⁴³ Torigni, *Chronicle*, 221. Three days was seemingly the normal duration for these celebrations, see below, p. 264.

⁴⁴ E.g. Torigni, *Chronicle*, 117, records the dedication of the new church at Canterbury, May 1130; see *English Episcopal Acta*, i, no. 33, the dedication ceremony of the female house at Godstow, 1138, and *Annales Monastici*, ii, 337, the dedication of Beaulieu Abbey, 1246.

⁴⁵ *Vita Herluini*, 105-7. Invitations were sent to ecclesiastical persons of the highest rank, counsellors who lived far away, and all kinds of men, and great sums of money were collected to sustain them. For the date of the account, see Vaughn, *Abbey of Bec*, 63.

magnificent feasting which lasted from morning until late at night. It is interesting that all who visited were refreshed in the refectory and not in the abbot's chambers or a hall in the court, and we can perhaps infer that no meat was served on this occasion. The guests were served in a succession of sittings and through God's providence, all were abundantly refreshed that day and for many succeeding days.⁴⁶ When Lanfranc took his leave of the brethren on the third day, the normal duration of such festivities, all were aggrieved, in fact inconsolable.⁴⁷ Herluin honoured the archbishop by accompanying him for two miles and they made an emotional farewell.⁴⁸

Several of the above points reappear in other descriptions of similar events and emerge as *topoi*, or at least the necessary constituents, for an event of this kind, for example, the fact that the church was packed out, the great joy on the occasion, the abundance of food served.⁴⁹ Still it is interesting to note that not all the members of the community were present and that the visitors dined in the refectory, where they were served in sittings.

Apart from translations and dedications the community was directly involved with installations and consecrations. Jocelin of Brakelond's account of Samson's

⁴⁶ The host's ability to sufficiently provide for his guests as testimony to God's Providence emerges as somewhat of a *topos*, e.g. *Vita Wulfstani*, 55, 59. See too *Life of Waldef*, 136-8.

⁴⁷ Further examples include Innocent II's visit to St. Denis for Easter, 1131, *Oeuvres Complètes*, 138; the Hallowing of Reading in 1164, Torigni, *Chronicle*, 221; Henry III's visits to St. Albans in 1244, for the feasts of St. Barnabas and St. Thomas respectively, *CM*, iv, 358, 402.

⁴⁸ *Vita Herluini*, 107. This is also recorded in *The Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert of Torigni*, ed. and tr. E. M. C. van Houts, (2 vols.; Oxford, 1992), ii, 70. See below, pp. 274-5, for the significance of a personal escort.

⁴⁹ For similarities with secular hospitality, see chapter IX.

installation at Bury in 1182 outlines what this entailed, for he records who was present and describes the nature of entertainment. The clerks and knights who attended the ceremony were present in the chapter-house where the king's charters were read and business discussed, and Samson specifically asked for their future advice in matters of government. More importantly Jocelin reveals that the post-ceremonial feasting was conducted in the abbot's chambers and not the refectory, perhaps an indication that meat was served, perhaps on account of the great number present.⁵⁰

3. The maundy of the guests

One particular feature of hospitality included in the *Rule* and previously mentioned in chapter II, is the maundy of the guests. Although Benedict prescribed that the abbot and community should wash guests' feet while saying the *Suscipimus Deus*, and that the abbot should wash their hands, there is no reference to this in the Benedictine texts of the twelfth or early thirteenth centuries.⁵¹ This suggests that the maundy of the guests was not a characteristic of English Benedictine hospitality in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries,⁵²

⁵⁰ *Jocelin*, 25. Jocelin claims that more than a thousand dined, but as Greenway and Sayers, *Jocelin*, 130, argue, this should not be taken literally; it was simply to emphasise the great number present.

⁵¹ *Rule*, 134, (ch. 53). Delatte, *Commentary*, 337, explains that in ancient times the servant or disciple poured water on the hands of those going to dine; St. Martin of Tours made it the act of a monk wishing to honour his guests, and with Benedict it became the rule.

⁵² Therefore Constable's argument that the representation of Christ washing the apostles' feet in the St. Albans Psalter of c. 1123, 'paralleled the monastic ceremony of the *Mandatum*, in which the abbot washed the feet of the guests', requires some reconsideration, Constable, *Culture and Spirituality*, essay v, 64. Although the Benedictine abbot would have washed the brethren's feet and perhaps those of the poor, it is unlikely that he would have washed guests' feet, and I have been unable to find any reference to the maundy of guests in the Benedictine customaries. This

nor indeed of their European counterparts.⁵³ Nevertheless like the Cistercians, the Benedictines observed the maundy of the poor.⁵⁴ According to the *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon, three poor men were admitted each day to the monastery and their feet were washed.⁵⁵ On Maundy Thursday the chamberlain, almoner and *janitor* of the house introduced the poor and indigent to the cloister. The feet of needy relatives were washed first, and then those of clerks and pilgrims. Before leaving each was given 3d.⁵⁶

In contrast the maundy of the guests was integral to Cistercian hospitality and the customary of the Order details exactly how this was to be conducted. It was the hosteller's responsibility to prepare the maundy of the guests, or ensure that another did so, and just as the brethren took turns at serving in the kitchen so they rotated the duty of helping with this maundy. Whenever the guestmaster had completed the preparations, he knocked the board in the cloister three times to notify his helpers, who put on their scapular. They followed the guestmaster in order, and on approaching the visitor removed their hoods and assembled with the greatest in the middle, presumably a reference to seniority rather than height.

may have been implicit, but given the Cluniac's open rejection of this practice, discussed below, this is unlikely.

⁵³ See Idungus' *Dialogus*, 182, and Peter the Venerable, *Letters*, ep. 28, clause ix, for the Cluniac's deliberate defiance of this practice, and their defence of this decision. Indeed, Peter reasoned that if all the guests' feet were washed, either visitors would always be in the cloister and offices or the brethren would always be in the guesthouse; furthermore, they would spend the whole day bowing, prostrating and washing hands and feet, rather than celebrating the hours, *ibid.*

⁵⁴ See above, p. 166, for the maundy of the poor in Cistercian houses.

⁵⁵ *Abingdon*, ii, 405. See above, pp. 38-9, for reference to this practice in the *Regularis Concordia*, and for its observance by pious prelates.

⁵⁶ *Abingdon*, ii, 387.

On hands and knees the monks said the *Suscipimus Deus* and the maundy began. On completion they bowed, pulled up their hoods and returned to the convent.⁵⁷

Jocelin of Furness' account of the three wayfaring pilgrims who were received at Melrose abbey during Waldef's abbacy, c. 1149-1207, agrees with the above and also offers some indication as to when exactly the maundy was administered to guests. Jocelin records that on their arrival the men were taken to pray and then led to the hospice where they were commended to the lay *hospitarius*. After a little while their feet were washed according to the rite, and finally the visitors were seated to eat.⁵⁸

II. Fraternity and gift giving⁵⁹

Outsiders might visit a particular house to be received as a *confrater*,⁶⁰ or present a gift,⁶¹ and indeed the two were often related: the donor might be admitted to the

⁵⁷ *Ecclesiastica Officia*, 304, 332.

⁵⁸ *Life of Waldef*, 139. Williams, *Cistercians*, 125, maintains that the maundy of the guests was conducted at the same time as the weekly maundy.

⁵⁹ This is not intended as a comprehensive analysis of fraternity and gift-giving, which are extensive subjects and only considers them insofar as they often involved outsiders entering the chapter-house, and may have been preceded or succeeded by some sort of hospitality. For an outline of unions and confraternity amongst houses and between individuals, see Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 472-9. Individual studies of confraternity rolls include Tsurushima, 'Fraternity of Rochester', which considers social connections between the English and French through the *Textus Rolfensis*, the only surviving fraternity roll of this time. For an analysis of the benefactors of Fountains Abbey, see Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*.

⁶⁰ Confraternity essentially offered the recipient a share in the prayers and spiritual benefits of the house, although the actual details were variable. Tsurushima's analysis of the fraternity at Rochester equates *fraternitas*, *societas*, *panus monachus* and funeral services with confraternity, Tsurushima, 'Fraternity of Rochester'.

⁶¹ For patronage and gift-giving, see Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 152-71. For gifts as transactions, see White, *Custom, Kinship*, e.g. 28-9, 32-3.

monks' fraternity in recognition of his or her generosity. Alternatively the *confrater* might bestow a gift to mark this new relationship.⁶² Moreover as previously mentioned in chapter II, gift-giving did not necessarily initiate the visit and could function as a form of reciprocity for hospitality received.⁶³ While it is likely that some kind of entertainment was provided on these occasions, the visitor might have simply entered the chapter-house and / or church, and departed on completion of the 'business'.

The reception of *confratres* is described in considerable detail in the later customaries of Eynsham and St. Mary's, York, and the twelfth-century *Liber Ordinis* of the Victorines of Paris.⁶⁴ In contrast the English sources of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries contain little information regarding the format of this enrolment ceremony or indeed the procedure followed when gifts were bestowed. Thus whilst the agreement between the knight, Osbern, and the monks of Battle, previously cited, reveals that he should have hospitality whenever he wished, the charter does not record how the deal was made, who was involved in the procedure, or where Osbern was to be accommodated on these visits.⁶⁵ We simply have evidence that it transpired.

⁶² White draws similar conclusions from his analysis of the *Laudatio Parentum* in Western France, i.e. sometimes a gift was given in return for fraternity, sometimes fraternity was offered as reciprocity for a gift received, *ibid.*, 33.

⁶³ Hence, it is often difficult to ascertain whether fraternity was offered to guests, or whether the *confrater* was offered hospitality.

⁶⁴ *Eynsham*, 207-9. These reveal that the actual procedure varied according to the identity of the recipient. For the procedure at Cluny, see H. E. J. Cowdrey, 'Unions and confraternity with Cluny', *JEH*, 16 (1965), 152-62. Also, see *Udalricus*, cols. 765-6.

⁶⁵ See above, pp. 210-11.

These ceremonies were usually conducted in the chapter-house, although the visitor may have entered the church to place a symbolic object on the altar.⁶⁶ Lanfranc's *Constitutions* of the late eleventh century reveal that seculars who sought fraternity were introduced to chapter by the guestmaster.⁶⁷ The Abingdon chronicle cites specific cases and records that both Gilbert of Mountchesney and Ralph Basset received confraternity in the chapter-house.⁶⁸ The late twelfth-century customs of Abingdon reveal that when Turstin and his wife received fraternity they made their grant in chapter.⁶⁹ Whilst visitors often came specifically to receive fraternity or make a grant,⁷⁰ Walter Map's satirical account of monastic hosts suggests that this was not necessarily the incentive but a component of hospitality. He implies that as part of their preferential treatment distinguished guests were enrolled as *confratres* during their stay.⁷¹

Therefore as argued in chapter III, whilst non-regulars may not have been entertained within the claustral area they were clearly not prohibited from

⁶⁶ E.g. Rowland Haget's confirmation of Oliver Haget's grant of land to the monks of Pontefract, 1160-75, reveals that his brother, Oliver, had placed a clasp-knife on the altar to confirm the grant, *EYC*, no. 1548. See too *Chester Charters*, no. 219, for the earl of Chester's grant to Coventry abbey of a chapel and a fee in the town, 1192, for he publicly placed a charter on the altar and invested the church with a golden ring. For general discussion of gift-giving ceremonies, and objects as symbols, see Hudson, *Land, Law*, ch. v, esp. 162-6, M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record, England 1066-1307*, (2nd edn., Oxford, 1993), 38-40, and Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, 34-5.

⁶⁷ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88.

⁶⁸ *Abingdon*, ii, 161, 170.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 330. For further examples, see *Ramsey*, 237, no. 248; 240, no. 255; 272, no. 305; *Orderic*, iii, 122, 174-6, and iv, 136-8.

⁷⁰ See Eadmer's remark that whenever the community at Bec was just about to run out of resources, either a ship would arrive from England, or a rich man seeking fraternity with the monastery would arrive with a large sum of money, *Vita Anselmi*, 47-8.

⁷¹ Map, *De Nugis*, 84.

entering the chapter-house. Both male and female visitors were admitted to receive fraternity or bestow a gift,⁷² and various important councils were held in chapter-houses by kings and legates.⁷³ Still outsiders were generally prohibited from attending private meetings of the chapter,⁷⁴ and presumably this was why the sub-prior of Abingdon was to close the parlour door and other doors before chapter, to ensure that the meeting remained private.⁷⁵ However exceptions would have been made for royal visitors, and indeed Henry II claimed it his right as a *confrater* and essentially a monk of St. Albans to enter the meeting in the chapter-house when he visited the abbey in 1183/4.⁷⁶ Similarly Henry II entered the chapter-house at Christ Church on several occasions during the Baldwin dispute. For example, on 14 December 1184, the king alone entered the chapter-house after the sermons and writings, and in the presence of the whole convent, took his place amongst them as if he was a member of the community.⁷⁷ It is interesting to note King John's remarks when he visited Bury to discuss the disputed election of Hugh of Northwold: the king entered the chapter-house but commented that it was not his habit to enter chapter-houses, and performed

⁷² See Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 115; *Eynsham*, 207-9. Note the contract between Robert Latimer's widow and the monks of Rochester, c. 1100, regarding a corrody: after the Sunday procession, the widow approached the altar, made her 'donation' and in return was given sixty shillings, Tsurushima, 'Fraternity of Rochester', 330-1. However note that at La Trinité, Vendôme, in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries women were not permitted to enter the chapter-house, and females made their offerings in the *auditorium*, which was seemingly located in the western wall of the forecourt, Johnson, *Prayer, Patronage and Power*, 29; 35, fn. 63.

⁷³ See above, p. 4, fn. 12.

⁷⁴ See above, pp. 198, 205, for Bury's and Evesham's attempts to prevent the legate from entering their chapter.

⁷⁵ *Abingdon*, ii, 367. If the sub-prior was holding chapter the third prior was to do so. See too *Westminster*, 170, and *St. Mary's*, 95.

⁷⁶ *GASA*, i, 197. See too Knowles, *Monastic Order*, 476.

⁷⁷ *Gervase*, i, 322. See *ibid.*, 353-4, for his visit in February, 1187.

pilgrimage before entering. He was unaccompanied by any layman save the earl of Winchester and Philip de Ulecotes who carried his sword before him.⁷⁸

However it is not clear whether John's remark indicates that it was not considered appropriate for outsiders to enter the chapter, or whether this was simply a pun on his impiety.

III. Tours

Tours of the monastery were given to a variety of visitors and for a number of reasons. They could function as a sightseeing tour for those who were curious to see the cloister and offices, and according to Lanfranc's *Constitutions* the guestmaster was to show the buildings to any visitors who wished to see them.⁷⁹

These tours might be of a more spiritual nature, with the sacrist, or another of the brethren, informing interested guests about the relics, altars, treasures and tombs in the chapter-house and church.⁸⁰ Walter Map alludes to this in his scathing attack of monks. He claims that these most discriminating of hosts warmly received knights and those who had wasted their patrimony, and having entertained them sumptuously, displayed the treasures of the house, leading them to the various altars and informing them who was the patron of each.⁸¹ The later

⁷⁸ *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 118.

⁷⁹ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88. Also see *St. Mary's*, 96, and *Eynsham*, 203. See *Udalricus*, col. 765, for the route taken by the guestmaster if those who had received fraternity wished to view the claustral buildings

⁸⁰ Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 284–5, suggests that local histories were often written to educate monks for the 'pilgrim trade', so they could inform visitors of the history, altars, ornaments etc. According to *Westminster*, 51-2, the sacrist was only permitted to speak in church to point out a relic or miracle, but was to do so briefly and almost in silence. See above, p. 161, for additional examples.

⁸¹ Map, *De Nugis*, 84. For further references to guests viewing treasures pertaining to the house, see *Gesta Normannorum*, ii, 244, and *Orderic*, iv, 72.

customary of Westminster indicates that these tours could be of a more practical nature, namely to help visiting monks find their bearings in unfamiliar surroundings, and it is likely that there were similar tours in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries.⁸²

The tour was not necessarily to satisfy the curious guest and might be instigated by the community. According to Walter Map, monks lavishly received favoured guests and to demonstrate their abstemious lifestyle, showed them their larders before they had broken their fasts.⁸³ A twelfth-century *lai*, *Yonec*, tells of a particular lord and his lady who felt obliged to indulge the abbot when he begged to show them around the various buildings, for he had served them well during their stay at the abbey. After dinner they toured the dormitory, refectory and chapter-house, and in the latter viewed many treasures, including fine gold candelabra and a magnificent tomb.⁸⁴

However the guided tour was also a means of preserving harmony and decorum within the monastery, by controlling where the guests wandered and how they were attired. As previously mentioned, the guestmaster was charged with a supervisory role and was to ensure that the community was not unduly disturbed by those visiting the house. Therefore Lanfranc's *Constitutions* stipulate that before the guestmaster showed visitors the buildings he should check that the

⁸² *Westminster*, 80.

⁸³ Map, *De Nugis*, 84.

⁸⁴ *Yonec*, lines 472-6.

brethren were not in the cloister.⁸⁵ Furthermore he was to make sure that nobody was introduced to the cloister unsuitably attired, namely wearing riding boots, spurs, only wearing drawers, or barefoot.⁸⁶ Distinguished visitors, such as royalty, great magnates and ecclesiastics, would not have been escorted by the guestmaster, but by the abbot or prior.⁸⁷

IV. The departure

There is relatively little information regarding the etiquette and formalities on the guest's departure. The *Rule* simply states that Christ should be received in guests on their arrival and departure: the brethren were to bow or prostrate before them.⁸⁸ The *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon is equally brief: it mentions that guests should receive the blessing on their arrival and departure, and describes arrangements for the early departure of guests.⁸⁹ The treatise also stipulates that visitors should not leave the cloister without the guestmaster's permission and should be escorted by him, a means of maintaining control and preserving

⁸⁵ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88. Restrictions in the twelfth-century Victorine customs were seemingly more concerned that visitors should have a favourable impression of the buildings, than that they might disrupt the community: before the guestmaster showed visitors around the offices, he was to check they were open and fit to be seen; no guests were to be led to the kitchen or infirmary, another measure, it appears, to avoid them witnessing unpleasant or chaotic scenes, *Liber Ordinis*, 61.

⁸⁶ Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 88. The later customaries and statutes often mention that a custodian should watch the cloister door, e.g. *Eynsham*, 211, *Westminster*, 170. The latter states that according to ancient custom four servants should monitor the cloister and ensure that no secular person entered when the brothers were at chapter, in the refectory, washing feet or shaving; nobody was permitted to enter wearing spurs, or barefoot unless the king was present.

⁸⁷ See above, pp. 60-1, for Stephen's visit to St. Albans, and Mathilda's to Abingdon, where abbots Robert and Faritius respectfully met and entertained these noteworthy guests. Also, see *Yonec* lines 491 ff.

⁸⁸ *Rule*, 134, (ch. 53). See above, p. 178.

⁸⁹ See above, p. 152.

decorum.⁹⁰ However as previously suggested, these clauses may only refer to monastic guests accommodated in the claustral area, and not to those who stayed in the outer court or abbot's court.⁹¹

Whilst the guestmaster of Abingdon acted as an usher within the precinct, visitors might be offered the services of an escort on their journey. This was considered an act of courtesy, but was also a practical measure to ensure that the stranger was safely guided through uncertain territory.⁹² There are few direct references to these escorts in the monastic sources, but Gerald of Wales' tirade against the Cistercian community at Strata Florida suggests that this may often have been implicit or at least expected by certain individuals on particular occasions. Following his rift with the monks of Strata Florida, the abbot ordered that henceforth Gerald should not receive the escort of a monk, brother or a *garcio* of the house, even if the way was dark or deserted. The archdeacon was appalled at this slight to his dignity and argued they were withholding a boon 'which kind hearts are not wont to deny even to foreign travellers'.⁹³ In contrast, when the legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, departed from Bury in 1213, he was accompanied by the leading men of the community, namely the prior, abbot-elect and sacrist, and they stayed overnight at a manor belonging to the house.⁹⁴

⁹⁰ *Abingdon*, ii, 414. See too *Westminster*, 82.

⁹¹ See above, pp. 151-2.

⁹² For the practical importance of this, see the arrangements for the abbot of St. Alban's visit to Tynemouth priory: six squires were enfeoffed of the abbey to escort him there and back, *GASA*, i, 264-5.

⁹³ *Giraldi Opera*, iii, 201-2, at 202. See the Cistercian Statutes of 1196, for complaints against the monks of Aigubelle, France, who refused to guide an abbot in a strange land, Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1196: 31.

⁹⁴ *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 34.

Nicholas was thus particularly honoured, and as discussed in chapter IX, the guest was more greatly honoured if accompanied by the host in person.⁹⁵ The provision of an escort was clearly not peculiar to monastic hospitality, and secular parallels are discussed in the final chapter.

Conclusion

Clearly the extent to which visitors were integrated within the precinct and amongst the brethren varied in accordance with the customs of the house or Order,⁹⁶ the particular occasion, the guest's identity and his relationship with the community. Nevertheless as has been noted throughout, the customaries and injunctions suggest that in theory, outsiders were generally kept apart from the brethren and restricted from entering the cloister, at least, when the community was present. For instance, the guestmaster and custodians were warned that nobody should enter the cloister if the monks were sitting there, or indeed, if they were in the chapter-house or refectory.⁹⁷ Furthermore Peter the Venerable's reforms for Cluny, inaugurated before c. 1146, included the restoration of the cloister to the monks, for he complained that the abbey's openness to outsiders had disrupted the spiritual life and almost converted the cloister into a public street. Peter acknowledged that outsiders had a right to visit parts of the abbey and agreed that they should attend some of the monastic services such as high

⁹⁵ See above, p. 264, for Lanfranc's departure from Bec: Abbot Herluin accompanied him for two miles.

⁹⁶ See above, pp. 168-9, for Peter the Venerable's and Orderic's complaints against the Cistercians.

⁹⁷ See above, no. 79. Note Franklin's suggestion that the double splayed windows in the western range of Norwich cathedral priory may have been intended to restrict guests' and lay people's view of the cloister, cited by S. Heywood, 'The Romanesque building', in *Norwich Cathedral*, 73-115, at 108.

Mass, but argued that certain areas should be set aside for the exclusive use of the monks.⁹⁸ Bernard of Clairvaux's commendation of Abbot Suger, written at some time before May 1128, suggests that similar measures were effected around the same time at St. Denis, for he remarked that the cloister, hitherto frequented by knights, tradesmen and women, had returned to the monks.⁹⁹

Regardless of whether or not the quietude of the cloister was observed, this was clearly the intention. Outsiders were not excluded from the claustral area but access was limited and controlled. Similarly discourse amongst the brethren (and distinguished visitors, such as prelates and royalty),¹⁰⁰ was not prohibited, but in theory restricted to certain times.¹⁰¹ Indeed Herbert de Losinga, bishop of Norwich, insisted upon conventual silence in the cloister, save at certain stated times and of an appropriate nature.¹⁰² It is thus striking to note Orderic's response to the practice at Maule, a cell of St. Évrour, in the early twelfth century. He claims that the knights of the priory frequented the cloisters, discussing practical as well as speculative matters, but instead of criticising this

⁹⁸ Statute 23, cited by Constable, *Cluniac Studies*, essay iii, 134. J. Leclercq, 'Hospitality and monastic prayer', *Cistercian Studies*, 8:1 (1973), 3-24, at 9, argues that although visitors were usually allowed to enter and watch the monks' choir at Cluny, they were kept out of the claustral buildings.

⁹⁹ Bernard, *Epistolae*, ep. 78. However, note Constable's warning of the need for caution when reading Bernard's complaints, especially as the Cistercian abbot had not actually witnessed the turmoil of the cloister for himself, Constable, 'Suger's monastic administration', 19.

¹⁰⁰ E.g. Orderic explains that Henry I held a long session in the cloister of St. Évrour at Candlemas, 1113, when conducting his visitation, *Orderic*, vi, 174. See too *Vita Anselmi*, 50, *Vita Herluini*, 105.

¹⁰¹ E.g. see the Bury and Westminster statutes of 1234, Graham, 'A papal visitation', 730. See *ibid.*, 739, for the tranquillity of the cloister. Also, note Lanfranc, *Constitutions*, 5, 29, 53.

¹⁰² *Epistolae Herberti de Losinga*, ed. R. Anstruther, (Caxton, 5; NY, 1846), ep. 48. See too *ibid.*, ep. 23, and ep. 57.

intercourse, Orderic hopes for its continuance.¹⁰³ While it is not so surprising that this happened,¹⁰⁴ Orderic's commendation is rather perplexing and seems at odds with the monastic ideal of the solitude of the cloister. An explanation for this disparity may be associated with our interpretation of the term *claustrum*, for Chibnall defines it as the monastic enclosure as a whole, the cloisters, or the enclosed buildings, including the cloisters.¹⁰⁵ Ultimately we can perhaps only conclude that the quietude of the cloister was rather ambiguous. Discourse with outsiders was acceptable on certain occasions, although the extent of tolerance varied from house to house.

¹⁰³ *Orderic*, iii, 206. This book was written c. 1127–1130 at the latest, *ibid.*, xiv.

¹⁰⁴ Indeed Chibnall maintains that monks 'willingly' gave pastoral advice to lay benefactors who frequented their cloister, and had discussions with parish clergy from the locality, Chibnall, *World of Orderic*, 90. For a similar account, see R. W. Church, *Saint Anselm*, (London, 1870), 52-3.

¹⁰⁵ *Orderic*, i, 267. See too *ibid.*, vi, 174, fn. 3.

CHAPTER VIII: THE FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS OF HOSPITALITY

*...loco ubi pene omnium itinerantium ad populosiores urbes
Anglie posset esse diuersorium, posuitque ibi monachos
Cluniacenses, qui sunt hodie praeclarum sanctitatis exemplum,
hospitalitatis indefessae et dulcis inditium: uideas ibi quod
non alibi, ut plus hospites, totis horis uenientes quam
inhabitantes insumant.*¹

Chapter II discussed the spiritual and worldly benefits accrued by monastic hosts, for by fulfilling the Biblical precepts and tenets of the *Rule* they secured their salvation; by satisfying benefactors they ensured future patronage. Nevertheless the administration of hospitality was potentially costly. This was especially the case for houses that had particularly active patrons and benefactors, monasteries located on a coastal route or thoroughfare, such as St. Swithun's, Winchester,² and those that were centres of pilgrimage.³ Therefore it is rather surprising that there are few direct references to the onerous nature of hospitality or burdensome patrons, although there are a number of complaints against exploitative

¹ William of Malmesbury's account of Reading Abbey, *Gesta Regum*, i, 746.

² Kitchin, *Compotus Rolls*, 10, explains that St. Swithun's would have been the first hostelry that nobles and merchants came upon after arriving at Southampton. See above, pp. 3-4, for councils and assemblies held at monasteries, and see Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*, 134, for occasions when the royal court was held at St. Albans, Bury, Reading, Hyde or St. Peter's, Gloucester.

³ However, the latter could be lucrative and pilgrimage might be encouraged to pay for fire or war damage, repairs and the upkeep of the precinct. See Woodruff's analysis of the takings at Becket's shrine and its profitability for the house, C. E. Woodruff, 'The financial aspect of the cult of St. Thomas of Canterbury, as revealed by a study of the monastic records', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, 14 (1932), 13-32, esp. 16-19, 22-3, 26-9.

ecclesiastics, including those on visitation.⁴ Whilst there is nothing to compare with Orderic's vivid account of the vengeful Mabel Talvas, wife of Roger of Montgomery, and her exploitation of St. Évroul,⁵ it is important to note that in 1238 the Cluniac community at Bermondsey attributed their impoverishment to heavy legatine exactions and extensive hospitality. They maintained that as their house was a 'gazingstock' to the king and kingdom, hospitality could not be reduced without scandal or commotion. Graham explains that the priory was probably taxed with visitors, for it was only about half a mile off the main London to Dover road. In addition, the community was obliged to entertain the earl of Gloucester and his heirs whenever they came to Bermondsey.⁶

Analysis of the expense of hospitality in our period is impeded by the shortage of figures, for most of the household accounts date from the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries,⁷ and the few that precede these are limited in what they

⁴ E.g. See Diceto, ii, 168, for his complaints regarding Philip, the papal notary, in 1200. See below, e.g. pp. 299, 301, for further discussion. However see *Ramsey*, 46-7, for the chronicler's general remark about those who exploited the monks' hospitality to exploit their fathers' patronage.

⁵ See *Orderic*, ii, 54-6. Mabel frequently arrived with a large retinue, demanding hospitality, and on one occasion arrived with 100 knights. When warned to restrain this vanity she threatened to bring a larger retinue on her next visit. However the hand of God exercised justice and Mabel was struck down with illness, an effective deterrent to others. *Gesta Normannorum*, ii, 118, describes Mabel as a small woman, a gossip, inclined to doing harm, shrewd and witty, as well as cruel and avaricious. Golding, *Gilbert*, 320, explains that in 1272 Agnes de Vesci, patron of the Gilbertine house of Watton, descended upon the community with a great crowd of women and animals.

⁶ Graham, *English Ecclesiastical Studies*, 100-1.

⁷ E.g. the late thirteenth-century Durham accounts reveal that the guestmaster received £272 2s 2d p.a. (the bursar's annual turnover was £4000, the cellarer's £800, and the community comprised some eighty or ninety monks). Not all of this was intended for guests, for the hosteller

reveal. For example, the receipts for the Abingdon hosteller, detailed in the late twelfth-century customs of the house, are simply concerned with the purchase of horseshoes for monks, pilgrims and the poor, and make no mention of utensils and fuel for the guesthouse, or food for visitors.⁸ Henry de Sully's inquisition of Glastonbury's manors in 1189 reveals that the hosteller received one mark for the guesthouse from the church of Winfrod. As five shillings of this went on his servant's wages, only about eight shillings was actually used for the guesthouse.⁹ Even if this sum is indicative of the total amount assigned to the hospice, it is unlikely to represent the complete expenditure on guests, for as previously mentioned in chapters IV and VI, food, ale, candles and other necessities were often supplied by the different obedientiaries.¹⁰ Furthermore, this sum would not include the abbot's provision for his guests.¹¹ Therefore any given figure is only an approximation.

Grants and appropriations¹² to sustain the administration of hospitality are similarly incomplete, for they only denote a part of the revenue allocated to the hosteller.¹³ Examples include Bishop Hubert of Salisbury's confirmation to

bought his own clothing and supplied pittances for the monks; Moorman calculates that c. £250 was allocated for running the guesthouse, Moorman, *Church Life*, 281-2.

⁸ *Abingdon*, ii, 329-32, see above, p. 247

⁹ *Inquisition of Glastonbury*, 8. See above, p. 159, for the servant's corrody.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 158-9.

¹¹ See chapter IV.

¹² I.e. the transfer of tithes and revenues from parish churches to monastic houses, generally with the proviso that the monastery should provide for the vicar of the parish, see C. Platt, *The Parish Churches of Mediaeval England*, (London, 1981), xiii, and Snape, *Monastic Finances*, 78-9.

¹³ For discussion of vicarages, their maintenance from the monastic community and their own responsibilities *vis à vis* hospitality, see R. A. R. Hartridge, *Vicarages in the Middle Ages*, (Cambridge, 1930), 46-7, 128. For monastic possession of parish churches see B. R. Kemp,

Reading Abbey in April 1201, and the 1225 agreement between the abbot and convent of Westminster. The former assigned nine marks each year from two portions of the church of Thatcham and thirty-four shillings and one penny yearly from a third portion, as well as various woods and meadows, to support the house and foster hospitality.¹⁴ The latter granted the church of Staines and half the church of Wheathampstead, with everything pertaining to them, a rent of ten pounds from Ockendon, eight pounds from Westminster and half the herbage of Westminster to sustain those who stayed at the house when the king was at Westminster, presumably those stationed at the abbey when the royal court was at the palace.¹⁵ Not all the appropriations give an actual figure, and notification of the foundation of the hospital at the gate of Reading, 1189 x 93, simply states that the fulling mill of Leominster and the chapel of Gilbert Martel should provide for 'passing guests' at the abbey.¹⁶ Similarly, the bishop of Exeter's grant to St. Nicholas' priory, Exeter, of the right to appropriate the church of Pinhoe and all pertaining to it, November 1193 x March 1194, merely records that this was intended for the hospitality of the house.¹⁷ Furthermore hospitality is sometimes one of several uses to which the appropriation is assigned. Thus, in 1166 x 79 Alexander III agreed that the abbot and monks of Reading might increase the pensions of the churches assigned to them for guests, the poor and

'Monastic possessions of parish churches in England in the twelfth century', *JEH*, 31 (1980), 133-60, and D. Knowles, 'Essays in monastic history vi: parish organisation', *Downside Review*, 51 (1933), 501-22.

¹⁴ *RAC*, ii, no. 1114.

¹⁵ *Walter de Wenlok*, 218. Harvey explains that Bishop Hugh of Lincoln, probably Hugh of Grenoble (1186-1200), granted the abbot and convent a pension of thirty marks from the churches of Oakham and Hambleton for entertaining guests; in the early thirteenth century, twenty-one marks of this was assigned to the infirmary, *ibid.*, fn. 1.

¹⁶ *RAC*, i, no. 224.

other such uses.¹⁸ In February 1188 x March 1198, Bishop Hugh of Coventry conceded that on the deaths of the present incumbents, the profits of the church of Baschurch should be used to support guests, pilgrims and the poor at Shrewsbury Abbey. However the abbey was always to provide an appropriate parson and supply him with a suitable endowment to carry out his duties.¹⁹

Details of the income received by the king during vacancies, recorded in the Pipe Rolls, offer some indication of the proportion of revenue spent on guests, and the cost of maintaining horses. The entry for Westminster in 1174-5 reveals that the receipts from the abbey's farms in Essex and Hertfordshire totalled £408 15s 4d, and that £18 12s 4d of this sum was assigned to sustain guests and servants of the court, and to repair the buildings in the court.²⁰ Of the revenues going to the exchequer from Abingdon in 1184-5, £10 12s 9d was set aside to provide 'relish'²¹ for the guests and servants of the court, as well as wages for the latter.²² In 1186-7 the total income from Glastonbury's farms and rents was £233 11s 2d;

¹⁷ *English Episcopal Acta*, iii, no. 458.

¹⁸ *RAC*, i, no. 150. See too William of Blois' concession to Worcester cathedral priory in 1236, *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory*, ed. R. R. Darlington, (Pipe Roll Soc., NS, 38; 1968), no. 332. For further examples, see *ibid.*, no. 391; *The Charters of Norwich Cathedral Priory*, ed. B. Dodwell, (2 vols.; Pipe Roll Soc., NS, 40, 46; 1974-85), i, no. 154. For Welsh examples, see Cowley, *Monastic Order*, 175.

¹⁹ *Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, i, no. 71.

²⁰ PR, 21, H.II, (Pipe Roll Soc., 22), 79-80. From these figures Harvey calculates that the total rents from the Essex and Hertfordshire lands may have been c. £218 p.a., and if these lands constituted c. 29.5% of the abbey's net income, the abbey's total income would have been c. £739. However Harvey underlines that these figures are probably rather 'generous', and that we should regard this as a maximum, Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, 56-7.

²¹ *Companagium*, i. e. something given to accompany the bread, see *Mediaeval Latin Dictionary*, 402.

²² PR, 31, H.II, (Pipe Roll Soc., 34), 29. Part of the text is missing and it is thus impossible to calculate the total income for this year.

£22 9s 7d of this was assigned to support servants, guests²³ and custodians for nineteen weeks.²⁴ The Pipe Roll of 1207 records that when the papal legate, John de Ferentino, visited in 1206, Ramsey Abbey spent forty shillings on his lodging, but it is not clear if the community actually accommodated John at the house, or whether this was a payment in *lieu* of hospitality.²⁵ Finally, various payments for the maintenance of horses and custodians are of interest, although it is important to note that the sum charged is not necessarily representative of the cost involved. Indeed the 55s 7d assigned from Ramsey abbey in 1211, to support fifteen of the king's horses and custodians for half a year, did not cover the provision of hay and oats.²⁶ Similarly the sum of £4 9s 5d allocated from Peterborough's revenues in 1211, to provide for fourteen of the king's horses and custodians, did not include the purchase of hay and oats.²⁷ Whilst the Westminster account for 1174-5 records that £4 13s 9d was assigned to provide fodder, hay and herbage for the king's horses and Philip, the custodian, as well as

²³ *Hospites* can also mean tenants, but seems here to refer to guests.

²⁴ PR, 33, H.II, (Pipe Roll Soc., 37), 27-8, at 27. The account also reveals that William, son of the earl of Cornwall, was staying at the abbey, *ibid.*, 28.

²⁵ PR, 9, John, (Pipe Roll Soc., NS, 22), 111. It simply states that forty shillings was spent 'in hospitio legati'; the roll for the same year states that the bishopric of Lincoln spent fifty-four shillings 'in procuracione legati', *ibid.*, 14. The fact that the sum of forty shillings appears in other fixed payments, e.g. *Two Cartularies*, i, C. 7; *English Episcopal Acta*, vi, *Norwich, 1070-1214*, ed. C. Harper-Bill, (1990), no. 164; *WAC*, no 324, suggests this may have been in *lieu* of hospitality, although the community may simply have given the legate a lump sum of forty shillings to cover his costs while staying with them. For discussion of procurations, see W. E. Lunt, *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327*, (2 vols.; Massachusetts, 1939-62), i, 532-40; Scammell, *Hugh du Puiset*, 197; Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation*, 104 ff.

²⁶ PR, 13, John, (Pipe Roll Soc., NS, 28), 269-71, at 270.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 271-2, at 272.

the abbot's horses and keepers, there is no indication of the actual number of horses involved.²⁸

Despite the paucity of explicit references, several factors suggest that hospitality was a costly business: firstly, that it is often listed as one of the fundamental components in the administration of the house; secondly, that specific revenues were actually set aside for the use of guests; thirdly, that assistance was frequently given for hosting special occasions and entertaining distinguished visitors. Restrictions on the duration of stay and number of retainers permitted to guests also indicate the need to exercise control.

Hospitality was an integral part of the administration of the house, and is listed amongst the *necessitates* of Tewkesbury Abbey in Earl William of Gloucester's confirmation of tithes and other revenues, 1148 x 83.²⁹ In other charters it appears as one of the basic concerns. For example, in 1191 x 8, Clement III granted that Reading Abbey might assign certain of its churches, when vacant, to maintain the monks, guests and poor.³⁰ A similar bull conceded that the brethren of Westminster might appropriate the tithes and revenues of the churches of which they had patronage, whenever these fell vacant, to support the brothers, their guests and the poor.³¹ When Ralph of Rochester was appointed prior of Rochester priory in the late twelfth century he was shocked to discover that there was no income earmarked for the accommodation of travellers. Ralph

²⁸ PR, 21, H. II, (Pipe Roll Soc., 22), 80.

²⁹ *Gloucester Charters*, no. 288.

³⁰ *RAC*, i, no. 155.

complained that such deficiencies were a *scandalum*, a further indication that hospitality was seen as an important factor in the administration of the house.³² It is likely that he initiated Celestine III's confirmation of various parish churches and the altar of St. Nicholas for the use of hospitality, August 1191, to redress this deficiency.³³

The financing of hospitality was not simply a matter of providing guests with food and lodging. It involved buying utensils and equipment for the guest chambers, providing candles and wax tablets for practical and devotional reasons, supplying the visitors' horses and entourage, and presenting distinguished guests with gifts.³⁴ Religious visitors might have additional needs. Abbots staying at Bury on the day of Absolution received all they required to celebrate the maundy. Those in priestly orders who visited Abingdon were given everything they needed to celebrate the Mass.³⁵ Revenues were sometimes granted to support a specific aspect of hospitality. For instance, Robert de Lacy granted land to the monks of Pontefract for the keep of their own horses and

³¹ See *WAC*, no. 178, for the delegation Abbot Walter sent to the papal *curia* in 1189, regarding this earlier bull. See too *Papsturkunden*, i, 201, and Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 63.

³² Flight, *Bishops*, 217-8. Flight remarks on the intensity of this word.

³³ *Ibid.*, 260, no. 113. For the charter, see *Papsturkunden*, ii, no. 264.

³⁴ See above, e.g. pp. 158-9, 162, 219, 224, 245-7. Note that when the royal party visited the canons of Dunstable priory in 1247, they were given cups and gold buckles, worth c. twenty-two marks, *Annales Monastici*, iii, 173.

³⁵ See above, pp. 256-60. According to the Westminster customary of c. 1270, on Palm Sunday or the Feast of All Saints, Benedictine guests were to receive stockings and boots, the same as the other brethren, *Westminster*, 83. According to the rules of the Cistercian Order, the prior and *uestiarius* were to provide visiting monks with a habit, cowl, and socks at their bed, see Stephen of Lexington, *Letters*, ep. 80.

those of their guests, 1108-14.³⁶ This example is particularly notable, for most references date from the late twelfth century. However Farrer remarks that it is 'of doubtful authenticity'.³⁷ Bishop William of Ely confirmed £20 yearly from the church of Meldreth to Ely's guesthouse for purchasing utensils and other necessities, February 1197 x February 1198,³⁸ and according to the Evesham customs of c. 1206 the tithes from Littlehonis were for purchasing bowls, basins and towels for the guest cell.³⁹ The visitors' injunctions for Bury in 1234 prescribed that the meadows and all the stores outside the vill of St Edmund be assigned for the hay and prebends of guests, and that the tithes of Midhall, excepting that which was in demesne, should be increased for the same.⁴⁰ As noted in chapter IV, Abbot Randulph of Evesham, 1214-29, conceded the chapel of Luttleton and all belonging to it for the prebends of religious men with up to six horses lodged in the monastery.⁴¹ Lastly, the fact that the 1225 agreement between the monks and abbot of Westminster accorded the abbot responsibility for supporting guests' horses further suggests that this could be a considerable expense, for he was to finance the costly visits of legates, royalty and other distinguished guests.⁴²

The fact that income was assigned to support the hospitality of the house underlines that this was a significant factor in the daily administration of the

³⁶ *EYC*, iii, no. 1485. See above, p. 247, for Ralf Francigena's grant to the *hostelarie* at Abingdon for horseshoes.

³⁷ *EYC*, iii, no. 1485.

³⁸ *English Episcopal Acta*, iii, no. 454.

³⁹ *Evesham*, 216.

⁴⁰ Graham, 'A papal visitation', 733.

⁴¹ *Evesham*, 263, inserted Harl. 3763.

⁴² *Walter de Wenlok*, 219; see above, p. 136.

house. The arrangements for establishing Ely as a see in c. 1109 are testimony to this. The monks complained that contrary to the old agreement Bishop Hervey's initial proposals for the division of lands made no allowances for the administration of hospitality.⁴³ Hervey responded to their plight and conceded revenues from Stretham to provide for the reception of guests.⁴⁴ The monks of Glastonbury voiced a similar complaint following the union of their abbey with the bishopric of Bath, c. 1200, when the house was reconstituted as a cathedral priory. They claimed that the division of revenues in 1219 decreased their resources for hospitality and other pious works, and therefore sought papal help. Honourable III answered their plea, and on 25 May 1219, conceded that they receive the full fruits of their advowsons for six years.⁴⁵ Finally, an incident regarding Samson of Bury in the late twelfth century further suggests that hospitality was seen as a fundamental expense, and one that required independent support. As one of the thirteen abbots elect of Bury in 1182, Samson urged the other twelve to swear that whoever succeeded to the abbacy would return the churches of the convent's domain to provide for hospitality. Ironically, when Samson became abbot he retracted this vow, and argued that such an act would endanger the legacy of the abbacy.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Liber Eliensis*, 261. Also note the monks of Rochester's complaint during Gilbert's episcopacy, 1198-1205, *Select Canterbury Cases*, no. A 15: 2.

⁴⁴ *Liber Eliensis*, 262-3.

⁴⁵ *Glastonbury Cartulary*, i, no. 150. For the final agreement in November 1220, see *ibid.*, no. 149. Most who wrote to the pope on the monks' behalf referred to the priory's inability to support pilgrims and the poor, e.g. see *ibid.*, nos. 128, 131, 132, 133, 134, 136, 137.

⁴⁶ *Jocelin*, 19, 63.

Grants were sometimes made to sustain the exemplary hospitality administered by the community, and were intended to help them continue their praiseworthy work. For example, in recognition of the hospitality and works of charity undertaken by the abbot and brethren of Abingdon towards travellers and the indigent, Bishop Hugh of Lincoln confirmed various tithes and pensions in the archdeaconry of Oxford in 1197 x 1200.⁴⁷ Similarly, Hubert Walter acknowledged the good conduct and noteworthy hospitality of the monks of Reading, and in his *inspeximus* of April x October 1195, conceded certain revenues to help support the reception of guests to the house.⁴⁸ Bishop Herbert of Salisbury also remarked on Reading's reputation for hospitality and charity, and on 18 April 1201 confirmed various revenues to sustain their work.⁴⁹ In 1216 x 18, Bishop Silvester of Worcester confirmed his predecessor's gifts, so that the abbey could maintain its practice of hospitality.⁵⁰ Given that Reading was assigned particular responsibilities *vis à vis* the reception of guests and care of the poor, it was probably acknowledged that the abbey would require extra financial assistance.⁵¹

While some concessions were intended to help the community continue their good work, others were granted to alleviate the financial predicament of the house and enable them to improve on their present performance.⁵² Alexander

⁴⁷ *Two Cartularies*, ii, no. C. 48. See too *Select Documents of Bec*, no. vi.

⁴⁸ *English Episcopal Acta*, iii, no. 584. See too *RAC*, i., no. 203.

⁴⁹ *RAC*, ii, no. 1114.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, i, no. 630.

⁵¹ See above, p. 37.

⁵² Works of charity might similarly encumber the monastery and necessitate aid, e.g. *RAC*, i, no. 360. Caesarius of Heisterbach maintained there was scarcely a house of the Cistercian Order that was not burdened with debts, because of guests and the poor, *Caesarii*, i, 224.

Stavensby, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, was moved by the poverty of Shrewsbury Abbey, which provided hospitality for all who sought it, and on 1 July 1232 granted the abbey half the greater tithes of Wellington.⁵³ Hubert Walter's confirmation of Theobald's charter to the monks of Dover priory, regarding the church of St. Lawrence of Hougham, is more explicit. The archbishop explained that this was intended to help the community recover from destruction caused by a recent fire at the house, and more importantly, to support the heavy burden of hospitality at the priory. The charter reveals that the brethren had been inundated with religious and other men, presumably a result of the priory's coastal location.⁵⁴

The appropriation of revenues for hospitality is certainly an indication of the cost involved in sustaining guests, but was probably also perceived as a means of justifying the monks' acceptance of tithes, for this was a matter of some controversy. By assigning these revenues to pious works, their use could be warranted, for after all they were originally intended for pastoral duties.⁵⁵ It is thus significant that although the Cistercians were officially prohibited from receiving tithes, as they were to live off the land, this was permitted for the

⁵³ *Cartulary of Shrewsbury Abbey*, i, no. 63. The lesser tithes, altarage, renders of tenants, tithes of mills and pensions of chapels were to be reserved for the vicars. See too *ibid.*, no. 347, and note the visitors' injunctions for Bury in 1234, Graham, 'A papal visitation', 733.

⁵⁴ *English Episcopal Acta*, iii, no. 446. Cistercian houses on coastal routes were similarly aggrieved. See Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1220: 22 for restrictions on abbots from England and Ireland staying at Whitland, S. Wales. For Margam, see Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*, i, 172; Cowley, *Monastic Order*, 204-5.

⁵⁵ For controversy regarding the monastic acceptance and exemption from tithes see G. Constable, *Monastic Tithes From their Origins to the Twelfth Century*, (Cambridge, 1964), and Kemp, 'Monastic possession', esp. 141 ff.

support of guests, pilgrims and the poor.⁵⁶ The appropriation of tithes and revenues to sustain hospitality was not peculiar to the Benedictines and Cistercians. In c. 1185 x 88, Richard of Ilchester confirmed that the canons of Southwick priory should appropriate the revenues of their churches to support themselves and the hospitality of the house, so long as provision was made for the vicars.⁵⁷ In January 1195, Godfrey de Lucy confirmed the appropriation of St. Nicholas' church, W. Boarhunt, to Southwick priory. While forty shillings was to be set aside for the vicar each year, the remainder of the revenues was to be given to the canons, to support the administration of hospitality.⁵⁸

While the earmarking of revenue for hospitality suggests this was a considerable financial concern, specific allocation may indicate that these resources had hitherto been channelled elsewhere, and indeed this is explicit on several occasions. The abbot and brethren of Reading complained to Honorius III that whilst various churches had been appropriated to them for hospitality and pious causes, certain abbots and others had converted them to different uses. In response, the pope sent a mandate to the abbots of St. Albans, Evesham and Thame, 16 July 1217, instructing that they should effect the restoration of these churches to the aforementioned uses, and induct the abbot and convent into

⁵⁶ For the Cistercians' prohibition of tithes, see clause xxiii of the *Summa Cartae Caritatis*, printed in Lekai, *Cistercians: Ideals and Realities*, 450, and the *Exordium Paruum*, cited by A. Morey, 'The conflict of Clairvaux and Cluny', *Downside Review*, 50 (1932), 87-107, 99. See *Memorials of Fountains*, i, 21, for Archbishop Thurstan's stipulation that the monks of Fountains should only spend the revenues and tithes of their churches on guests, pilgrims and the poor.

⁵⁷ *English Episcopal Acta*, viii, no. 176.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 243. Further examples include *EYC*, i, no. 26; *ibid.*, iii, nos. 1481 and 1344; *English Episcopal Acta*, ii, no. 21.

corporal possession of the same.⁵⁹ In 1199 Innocent III claimed to have heard that benefices allocated to Westminster for the use of the chapter and poor had on occasion, at the insistence of certain magnates, been assigned to clerks.

Therefore on 24 April, 1199, he issued a bull ordering that other churches assigned for hospitality and pious works should not be otherwise used.⁶⁰ Mason suggests that this bull was probably the result of the sacrist's appeal against Abbot William's methods to clear financial, and perhaps also personal, obligations from the crisis of 1190-1.⁶¹

Complaints against the brethren of Beaulieu in 1235 indicate that appropriations were similarly misused in the Cistercian houses. When the community requested permission to appropriate the Cornish church of St. Keverne to support the administration of hospitality, the rector of St. Keverne protested to the legate, Otto. He argued that the monks already received £1000 p.a. and required no extra rents, especially as they were in a desert place and supposedly had no need for visitors. Indeed, he claimed that the community hardly ever admitted a single guest and suggested that these revenues were used for debauchery in the house.⁶² Nevertheless, the rector was hardly a disinterested party and his remarks clearly need to be treated with caution.

⁵⁹ *RAC*, ii, no. 697.

⁶⁰ *WAC*, no. 185.

⁶¹ *Ibid.* See too Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 68-9.

⁶² Cited in Hartridge, *Vicarages*, 224.

II. Exceptional events and visitors

Gilbert Crispin's wonder that Bec contracted no debt for the future following the sumptuous reception of those who attended the consecration in 1077, implies that such events generally left the host community saddled with debts.⁶³ Suger's provision for those attending the consecration of the choir at St. Denis in June 1144 is further testimony to the cost of staging an event of this kind, for the abbot estimated that c. 1000 sous was required to purchase sheep for the feast.⁶⁴ This may have been an unusually high sum, for there had been a sheep plague in the Parisis.⁶⁵ Still, provision for these visitors would have been a substantial undertaking.⁶⁶

Although the funding of these events could be costly, the community might receive financial assistance. Henry II supplied the monks and guests who attended the dedication of St. Mary's, Reading, in 1164,⁶⁷ and Archbishop Hubert Walter financed the coronation of John and Isabella at Canterbury in 1200.⁶⁸ It is likely that the citizens of London and Winchester, who served from

⁶³ *Vita Herluini*, 106.

⁶⁴ *Oeuvres Complètes*, 231.

⁶⁵ Cf. Grant, *Abbot Suger*, 217. However the Cistercians spared him this cost, *ibid.*

⁶⁶ Note the magnificence of Innocent II's magnificent reception at Cluny in 1130, *Orderic*, vi, 418-20. Indeed, when Archbishop Thurstan was returning to York in 1120 the people of France apologised that they had not previously received him with due honour, and attributed this to the expense of entertaining the pope, *Chantor*, 91. When Innocent II visited the Cistercian house of Fossanova, France, in 1208, he travelled with 200 men, Williams, *Cistercians*, 127.

⁶⁷ Torigni, *Chronicle*, 221.

⁶⁸ *Gervase*, ii, 410. See Stevenson's translation, 'The history of the archbishops of Canterbury, by Gervase, monk of Canterbury', tr. J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, v, pt. i, (London, 1858), 293-348, at 346. See too Diceto, ii, 172. It is interesting that although the banquet following Becket's translation in 1220 was held in the archbishop's hall, the treasurer's accounts reveal that the priory bore some of the costs; still, it is likely that most of the expenses

the butlery and kitchen at Richard I's second coronation in St. Swithun's, Winchester, 1194, actually supplied the food and drinks, and as suggested in chapter VI, the monastery may have simply been a venue.⁶⁹ The host community did not necessarily receive financial aid and the monks of Bec apparently funded the consecration of the third church in 1077.⁷⁰ There was probably no standard policy, but it is likely that outside help was more forthcoming for coronations, crown wearings and other events that were not directly related to the house.⁷¹ Official meetings and general chapters could be equally expensive. In recognition of the cost of hosting General Chapters, the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 restricted the number of horses permitted to those attending the provincial chapters of the Benedictine Order: they were limited to six mounts and eight persons. In addition, it was ruled that these prelates should lead the common life and share the expenses.⁷² Richard I's grant of the church of

were contributed by the archbishop, R. Eales, 'The political setting of the Becket translation of 1220', *Studies in Church History*, 30 (1993), 127-39, at 138.

⁶⁹ Howden, iii, 248. For the honour to be accrued from such privileges, see Richardson, 'Coronation', 131, and Schramm, *History of the English Coronation*, 62-4.

⁷⁰ *Vita Herluini*, 105-7. See above, p. 292, for Gilbert's wonder that the monks contracted no debt, and note Harper-Bill's remarks that the community which had thirty years earlier been struggling for survival, lavishly entertained the guests on this occasion, which symbolised the spiritual and material success of the abbey, C. Harper-Bill, 'Herluin, abbot of Bec and his biographer', *Studies in Church History*, 15 (1978), 15-26, esp. 22, 24.

⁷¹ For an indication of the expense of coronations, see J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, (Northampton, 1948), 182, who discusses Henry II's second coronation at Lincoln, and Eales, 'Political setting', 135, who mentions Henry III's second coronation at Westminster Abbey, 17 May, 1220.

⁷² *Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, ed. N. P. Tanner, (2 vols.; London and Washington, 1990), i, 240-1 (clause 12).

Scarborough to Cîteaux at the time of the General Chapter is of similar interest, for this was to help sustain the visiting abbots gathered for the three day event.⁷³

The community might also receive assistance when entertaining distinguished visitors, including prelates and nobles.⁷⁴ For example, in 1189 the legate, John of Anagni, was solemnly received by the bishops and community of Christ Church in the monks' court at Canterbury, and entertained at the archbishop's expense.⁷⁵ In contrast, it seems that King John's assistance for the legate's visit to Bury, 1213, should not be interpreted as royal aid for what was deemed an expensive occasion, but as an effect of the vacancy at the abbey. On hearing that Nicholas of Tusculum was to spend Christmas at Bury, the prior and sacrist, who had been travelling to London to pay their dues to the king, immediately returned to the abbey to prepare for his reception. According to the *Election of Abbot Hugh* they brought with them the money intended to pay the king's dues; presumably these were the revenues that John appropriated during the vacancy.⁷⁶ This diversion of the revenues was surely made with the king's approval, if not

⁷³ *EYC*, i, no. 365. Farrer remarks on the timing of this gift, which was given a few weeks before Richard's coronation – nevertheless, it is a testimony to the expense of hosting such events. For the burden of hospitality at Cîteaux, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 35-6.

⁷⁴ For Continental examples, see *Orderic*, vi, 42, and *Vie de Saint Thomas*, lines 2636-7, 3786-8.

⁷⁵ *Gervase*, i, 482. As the legate was initially prohibited from visiting Canterbury, on his arrival at Dover he was maintained for thirteen days at the archbishop's expense, Diceto, ii, 72.

⁷⁶ *Election of Abbot Hugh*, 26. Gransden explains that John appropriated the convent's and abbot's revenues at this time, *Bury*, xvi. Cheney's articles suggest that these dues were more likely connected with the vacancy than the Interdict, C. R. Cheney, 'King John and the Papal Interdict', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 31 (Manchester, 1948), 295-317, esp. 301-5; 'King John's reaction to the Interdict in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Soc.*, 4th Ser., 31 (1949), 129-50, esp. 142, 144, 149-50. See W. L. Warren, *King John*, (London, 1961), 173, for John's exploitation of vacancies at this time.

on his instruction, and given that John was enjoying the revenues of the house, it was presumably his responsibility to finance the legate's stay.⁷⁷

The guest might directly subsidise his own visit. Peter of Blois' letter of complaint regarding his abusive reception at Wallingford priory reveals that the archdeacon's servants, who were sent ahead to prepare his night's lodging at the priory, arrived with various necessities.⁷⁸ Presumably these included foodstuffs.⁷⁹ When Henry III was to visit Bury and St. Albans in 1242-4 he instructed his local sheriffs to provide wax for a large number of tapers, in preparation for his arrival during Lent.⁸⁰ While the arrival of distinguished guests and prestigious events could be lucrative, the higher income would have been largely balanced by the greater outlay on these occasions.⁸¹

III. The duration of stay

Apart from granting revenue to sustain hospitality, expense could be controlled by restricting the length of stay. The *Rule* does not actually stipulate how long

⁷⁷ Note that at Bury, during the vacancy of 1180-2, the archbishop of Norway was accommodated in the abbot's houses and on the king's orders received ten shillings daily from the abbatial revenues, *Jocelin*, 15. It is also interesting to note *Abingdon*, ii, 12, which describes Prince Henry's sojourn at the house for Easter 1084, during a vacancy, for the chronicler complains that Robert d'Oilly supplied the household from the monastery's resources, and not just the royal revenues.

⁷⁸ Peter of Blois, *Epistolae*, ep. 29.

⁷⁹ See above, p. 187, fn., 54, for Geoffrey of La Trinité-Vendôme's poor reception at Pin priory, for he complained that the cellarer refused them provender for their horses, which they lacked, but gave them bread and wine, although they had their own.

⁸⁰ *Calendar of Liberate Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, (London, 1916-), ii, *Henry III, 1240-45*, 114, 115, 244.

⁸¹ See Woodruff, 'Financial aspect', 16, for the high takings at Becket's shrine in the year of John's coronation at Canterbury.

visitors could stay, but states that stranger monks should remain as long as they wished, providing they adhere to the customs of the house.⁸² The twelfth and thirteenth-century sources are split. Whereas the chronicles often praise those who could support guests for an indefinite visit and present this as testimony to the success of a particular abbot,⁸³ several of the customaries and statutes prescribe a maximum of two nights, to limit expenses and avoid disruption. Therefore the *De Obedientiariis* of Abingdon states that guests should stay for two days and leave after they had been refreshed on the third.⁸⁴ Nevertheless, those who were ill or faced adverse weather conditions could request an extension.⁸⁵ If by chance those staying at Abingdon were unable to set off on their journey, the abbot, prior, hosteller and *curiarius* were notified.⁸⁶ Mention of both the hosteller and *curiarius* suggests that this applied to guests lodged within the claustral area, as well as those in the court. However reference to the *curiarius* may be attributable to the fact that although the hosteller procured supplies directly from the cellarer, the *curiarius* was ultimately responsible for foodstuffs.⁸⁷ The *De Obedientiariis* suggests that guests permitted to prolong

⁸² *Rule*, 154, (ch. 61). This is reiterated in the late thirteenth-century Westminster customary, and is described as an 'ancient custom', *Westminster*, 86.

⁸³ See above, pp. 48-9.

⁸⁴ *Abingdon*, ii, 413. For similar arrangements, see *Eynsham*, 202. Note that the abbot of Battle was entitled to a two-day stay at each of his dowry churches, *Battle*, 238.

⁸⁵ See above, p. 248, for those who extended their stay on account of illness. William of Malmesbury records that a cripple who visited his house seeking a cure stayed some five days, though it is possible that he lodged in the town and not the abbey, *Gesta Pontificum*, 418-9. The privileges allegedly accorded to Glastonbury by Ine, 725 AD, stipulated that the bishop should only stay one night at the abbey's manors of Pilton and Greinton, unless detained by weather or sickness, *De Antiquitate*, 98-102, at 100. The significance of this clause is unaffected by the likelihood that the charter was a twelfth-century forgery.

⁸⁶ *Abingdon*, ii, 413. See too *Eynsham*, 202.

⁸⁷ *Abingdon*, ii, 396.

their stay were administered to on the first day of their extension, but were expected to reciprocate thereafter.⁸⁸ Patrons were often excluded from such restrictions, or at least claimed to be exempt. In the late twelfth century Bishop Hugh of Coventry granted the brethren of the Cistercian house of Buildwas a lodging in Lichfield, as a friendly return for the unlimited hospitality they owed him as patron. He claimed that as the abbey was founded by his predecessors, he should be able to go to the brothers whenever he wished, more certainly than to others.⁸⁹

Visits at Cistercian houses were also restricted.⁹⁰ Indeed, from 1218 abbots conducting visitation were permitted to send guests away, if they felt the house was overly oppressed.⁹¹ In accordance with chapter 61 of the *Rule* guests of the Order were permitted to remain as long as they pleased. This could lead to problems and Stratford Langthorne, London, was particularly burdened by visiting Cistercians. Therefore in 1218 the General Chapter ruled that no Cistercian monks or *conuersi* visiting London should stay more than three days at the house. In 1219 the Chapter stipulated that members of the Order who were in London on litigation or for business should only stay for up to three days in the one fortnight; those who remained longer were to provide their own ale, wine

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, 413. This was the practice at Cistercian houses, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 125.

⁸⁹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v, 359. See Wood, *English Monasteries*, 102. Buildwas was originally a Savignac foundation.

⁹⁰ According to the Beaulieu accounts of c. 1270, relatives and friends could visit once or twice a year and stay for two days, leaving on the third after they had eaten, unless specially authorised to remain by the abbot, *Beaulieu Accounts*, 271. See Canivez, *Statutes*, i, 1210: 12, for attempts to control the duration of relatives' visits.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 1218: 83.

and hay, and oats for their horses.⁹² Visitors to nunneries were generally restricted to a one night stay, and this was essentially for economic reasons.⁹³

Regardless of the various prohibitions and rulings most visitors would have only required accommodation for a night or two as a stopover on their journey,⁹⁴ or while they attended a particular feast at the house; as previously mentioned, the latter usually lasted three days.⁹⁵ Not all visits were as brief and when the French cleric, Garnier, was writing his *Life* of Becket, he stayed with the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, for more than a year at their expense.⁹⁶ Having successfully vindicated his right to the patronage of Eynsham abbey in 1196, Hugh of Lincoln visited the community for eight days. Adam of Eynsham uses this example to demonstrate the bishop's interest and devotion, and maintains that the brethren were honoured that Hugh deigned to spend so much time with

⁹² Ibid., 1218: 41, 1219: 11. The convent of Saint-Antoine, Paris, appears to have been similarly burdened by visiting Cistercians, and the General Chapter of 1213 prescribed that no monk or lay brother of the Order should request food or lodging from the abbess whenever he was in Paris, *ibid.*, 1213: 4. This was seemingly prompted by economic, rather than ideological concerns, for C. Berman, 'Cistercian nuns and the development of the Order: the Cistercian abbey at Saint-Antoine-des-Champs outside Paris', in *The Joy of Learning and the Love of God: Studies in Honour of J. Leclercq*, ed. E. R. Elder, (Michigan, 1995), 121-56, at 125, explains that there is no evidence that this was a reaction to scandal or an attempt to protect the nuns' enclosure.

⁹³ E.g. according to the injunctions for Marrick priory, Yorkshire, 1252, guests were not to stay for more than one night, Tillotson, *Marrick Priory*, 20. The *VCH*, York, iii, 117, maintains that the resources of Marrick were scarcely adequate for the nuns, sisters and brothers. A one night stay was imposed in Gilbertine houses, although patrons were permitted to remain for three nights, Golding, *Gilbert*, 228, 320. Although there is no evidence for the cost of entertaining, Golding concludes that this was probably considerable, *ibid.*, 228-9.

⁹⁴ E.g. in 1121, the papal legate stayed for three days with the Canterbury monks, on his return from the royal court, *Historia Nouorum*, 296; in 1189, John of Anagni stayed overnight with the monks of Christ Church on his return home, Diceto, ii, 72.

⁹⁵ See above, p. 264.

⁹⁶ Garnier, *Vie Saint Thomas*, line, appendix i, 211, lines 18-9.

them.⁹⁷ However, such lengthy visits were not always as welcome and Matthew Paris complained that Henry III's three week stay at Bury St. Edmund's was a considerable burden to the house.⁹⁸ The number of charters and letters reprimanding prelates who exploited and overwhelmed particular houses, and restricting future episcopal and abbatial visits, underlines that this could be onerous. For example, in the late eleventh century Archbishop Lanfranc responded to a complaint from the abbot and convent at Coventry, concerning Peter of Chester's exploitative visit. He admonished the bishop for remaining eight days at Coventry with his retinue and thereby exhausting the monks' provisions.⁹⁹ While it is important to note that this visit was the culmination of Peter's attempt to take over the property of Coventry, it is significant that Lanfranc specifically reprimanded the bishop for the duration of his stay.¹⁰⁰ Therefore, whether a lengthy visit was portrayed as a blessing or a burden was dependent on the identity of the guest and his reason for coming, but above all, on the author's viewpoint.

Apart from restricting the duration of stay, the cost of hospitality could be controlled by limiting the number of horses and attendants with which the guest

⁹⁷ *Magna Vita*, ii, 42. Adam is hardly an impartial reporter. Indeed he presents Hugh's visit to the Cistercian house of Clairmarais as testimony to his consideration: Hugh was concerned that he should not burden the community, and instructed his retinue, save for one monk and one lay brother, to remain at their lodgings in the town with the horses, *ibid.*, 178.

⁹⁸ *CM*, v, 304. See above, p. 37, fn. 29, for Grosseteste's criticism.

⁹⁹ Lanfranc, *Letters*, ep. 27. The letter is dated 29 August 1072 x 25 December 1085. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation*, 119-21, explains that whilst there was no fixed length of stay, and great variation regarding the frequency and duration of visitations, these usually lasted a night and a day.

¹⁰⁰ Gibson, *Lanfranc*, 147.

travelled.¹⁰¹ In response to complaints concerning the exacting nature of visitation, Alexander III forbade the extortion of oppressive tallages, and at the Third Lateran Council of 1179 restricted the size of retinue permitted to each ecclesiastical office. He stipulated that archbishops should not exceed forty or fifty horses when visiting in their diocese, bishops twenty to thirty, cardinals twenty to twenty-five, archdeacons five to seven and deans two.¹⁰² However the dignitaries were urged to use their discretion and travel with fewer horses if it was their custom to do so, or if the place was poor. Furthermore, they were prohibited from travelling with hounds and hawks, and rather than demanding sumptuous entertainment, were to accept gratefully whatever their hosts could provide.

Descriptions of William de Longchamp's visitation of the religious houses in 1190 suggest that he seriously violated the papal bull of 1179. William, who was bishop of Ely and chancellor of England, conducted these visits in his capacity as legate. According to Richard of Devizes the prelate moved like lightning through the kingdom, distressing the whole country.¹⁰³ Roger of Howden provides a colourful account of the legate's entourage which included men,

¹⁰¹ See above, pp. 131-7, for the significance of this in the customary reception of guests at Bury. For an interesting Continental parallel see C. Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy*, (Woodbridge, 1997), 48: in return for his grant of lands in alms to St. Étienne, Caen, Robert of Belfour received the society of the house and was permitted to stay there for one night, four times a year, *so long as he did not come with a multitude of men*. Also, see Snape, *Monastic Finances*, 16-17, for Gregory IX's revision of the Cluniac Rule, 1238, which imposed restrictions on the number of attendants.

¹⁰² This is cited in *Gervase*, i, 291-2; Howden, ii, 173-4; William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett, (4 vols.; London, 1884-9), i, 216.

¹⁰³ Devizes, *Chronicon*, 13.

horses, dogs and birds. He maintains that one night's lodging of the prelate cost his monastic hosts three years' savings.¹⁰⁴ William of Newburgh adds that the legate had a train of 1000 horsemen and claims that while the bishop preyed on the larger houses 'like a locust', the smaller monastic houses, who could ill afford this hospitality, were offered the chance to buy him off for five or eight marks.¹⁰⁵ These reports indicate that the problems addressed by the pope in 1179 continued in England in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, and indeed this is suggested by subsequent reissues and complaints.¹⁰⁶ While the previous discussion of the Pipe Rolls suggests that few visitors would have crippled the house to such an extent, the burdens of episcopal visitations were nonetheless a reality. Writing at Evesham in the early thirteenth century, Thomas of Marlborough complained of the damage caused by episcopal visitation, for bishops arrived with great retinues, required refreshment for themselves and their horses, and did not restrict their visits to once a year.¹⁰⁷

Conclusion

Hospitality could be onerous, and indeed was generally abandoned in times of hardship. The Battle chronicler explains that when Walter first succeeded to the abbacy in 1139, during the anarchy of Stephen's reign, he lacked the necessary

¹⁰⁴ Howden, iii, 72.

¹⁰⁵ William of Newburgh, i, 334.

¹⁰⁶ See Howden, iv, 130-1, for Hubert Walter's reissue of the dictates in 1200. According to clause 45 of the 1225 additions to the Benedictine Chapter General at Canterbury, those on visitation should not exceed twelve horses, Pantin, i, *Chapters*, 20. In 1277, it was ruled that if this was exceeded out of necessity, the visitor should sustain the remainder, *ibid.*, 87, clause xxiv: 2.

resources to devote anything to the hospitality of the house. However once peace was restored Walter recovered the abbey's goods, and was able to revive 'the old and proper customs'.¹⁰⁸ Gervase maintains that as a consequence of Archbishop Theobald's tyranny in the mid-twelfth century, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, were half starved, guests excluded from the court, and the poor driven out. A similar situation occurred at Canterbury during Baldwin's archiepiscopate, 1185-90,¹⁰⁹ and at Evesham during Norrey's abbacy, in the early thirteenth century.¹¹⁰ Those who managed to provide for guests in times of adversity were specially commended for their achievement. Thus, Abbot Martin of Peterborough held his abbacy 'with great labour' during the troubles in Stephen's reign, and notwithstanding the dearth in the monastery found all that was needed for the brethren and guests.¹¹¹ Similarly, Abbot John of Fountains, c. 1205-9, managed to refresh the poor, receive guests and sustain the whole house, despite the persecution of the Cistercians.¹¹²

¹⁰⁷ *Evesham*, 138-40. It is thus interesting to note William of Malmesbury's commendation of Ralph of Séz, for unlike other Norman prelates, Ralph was careful not to burden houses with persistent requests, *Gesta Pontificum*, 127.

¹⁰⁸ *Battle*, 260.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. *Gervase*, i, 53-4, 332, 394-5, 400. Garnier makes a similar complaint in his *Vie Saint Thomas*, lines 2486-2505.

¹¹⁰ See above, pp. 49-50.

¹¹¹ *Candidus*, 105. See too *ibid.*, 122, which adds that he provided in abundance for the monks and guests.

¹¹² *Memorials of Fountains*, i, 127.

CHAPTER IX: NON-MONASTIC HOSPITALITY

*He who shows kindness during his life, will be most
honoured at all times, but men should point at the one
who acts meanly and say 'Look, there is one of whom
nothing will remain. May ruin seize him'.¹*

Whilst occasional comparisons with the secular world have been noted throughout the thesis, this final chapter focuses more closely on the practice and perception of hospitality by royalty, secular clerks and laity, to help set the monastic material in context.² The literary works, which include romances, *chansons*, *lais* and other poems, are of particular importance regarding the lay ideal and their value as a source requires brief preliminary consideration. It is often difficult to establish where and when the histories and poems circulated, and for whom they were intended. Works including Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History*, Marie de France's *Lais*, Jordan Fantosme's *Chronicle*, Thomas of Kent's *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* and the anonymous *Amys e Amillyoun* were

¹ *L'Estoire des Engleis*, Geoffrey Gaimar, ed. A. Bell, (*ANTS*, Oxford, 1960), lines 6051-6058.

² This is of particular relevance to contemporary discussions on the origins and nature of courtesy, and the inter-relationship between the monastic and secular worlds. For instance, while Nicholls, *Matter of Courtesy*, esp. 20, 63 ff., argues that monastic rules and manners developed alongside and directly affected later secular articulation of the rules of courtesy, C. S. Jaeger, *The Origins of Courtliness: Civilising Trends and the Formation of Courtly Ideals 939-1210*, (Pennsylvania, 1985), 262, claims that the monasteries were a retarding force, and that the worldly clergy were the originators and bearers of courtesy. For the origins of courtesy see A. Scaglione, *Knights at Court*, (Oxford, 1991), esp. 17, 79, 309 ff. and D. Burnley, *Courtliness and Literature in Mediaeval England*, (London, 1998), esp. 23, 182-5.

known in twelfth-century England.³ Others, like *Raoul de Cambrai*, Gaimar's *L'Estoire* and Chrétien's *Cliges*, were probably known.⁴ Whilst it is unlikely that any of Chrétien's other romances circulated in England at this time, his works are indicative of contemporary thought, and are therefore included.⁵ The identity of the author is also problematic. While some, such as *Raoul de Cambrai*, the *Lai of Havelock* and *Amys e Amillyoun* are anonymous, for others we have a name or a possible name, but little else.⁶ Therefore it is sometimes unclear whether the work is indicative of a regular or secular viewpoint.

³ E.g. For the popularity of Geoffrey's *Historia*, see Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 201-2. She notes that nearly two hundred manuscripts have survived, some fifty from the twelfth century, *ibid.* Denis Piramus, a twelfth-century monk, remarks on the popularity of Marie's *lais*, see Burnley, *Courtliness*, 121. For William of Newburgh's use of Jordan Fantosme's verse history as a source, see M. D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background*, (Oxford, 1963), 80. Thomas of Kent's *Roman de Toute Chevalerie* was very popular in England but probably unknown abroad, *ibid.*, 106; the late twelfth-century *Amys e Amillyoun*, was an Anglo-Norman version of a popular tale, *ibid.*, 115, 119.

⁴ The character of Raoul was widely referred to in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and indeed is mentioned by the satirists Walter Map and Gerald of Wales, *Raoul de Cambrai*, ed. and tr. S. Kay, (Oxford, 1992), lxii. Gransden, *Historical Writing*, 209, remarks on the limited popular success of Gaimar's, *l'Estoire*, and compares it to the success of Wace's *Brut*, c. 1155, *ibid.*, 210.

⁵ *Cliges* was probably the only one of Chrétien's romances written for an English audience, see P. Noble, 'Romances in England and Normandy in the twelfth century', in *England and Normandy*, ed. D. Bates and A. Curry, (London, 1994), 69-78, at 70, and indeed it is the only of Chrétien's romances to appear in Noble's list of texts associated with Britain, *ibid.*, 77-8. Legge, *Anglo-Norman*, 372, argues that contrary to popular belief, Chrétien was perhaps less known by his contemporaries.

⁶ For example, Foster explains that while there is no proof, it is likely that Jordan Fantosme was a clerk of Winchester, *Jordan Fantosme's Chronicle*, ed. and tr. R. C. Johnston, (Oxford, 1981), xii; Gransden *Historical Writing*, 209, refers to the paucity of information known about Gaimar, but explains that he was likely a secular clerk of Norman extraction. There has been much speculation, but little evidence, regarding Chrétien de Troyes's identity. He was probably a native of E. Champagne, and may have spent some of his early career at Henry II's court in England. For further discussion, see U. T. Holmes and M. A. Klenke, *Chrétien de Troyes and the Grail*, (N. Carolina, 1959), 55-61, and S. Kay, 'Who was Chrétien de Troyes?', in *Arthurian Literature*, xv, ed. J. P. Carley and F. Riddy, (Cambridge, 1997), 1-35, at 34.

There are various opinions regarding the function and effect of the literary works: were they simply intended to entertain the audience or to educate them, and following on from this, what was their actual impact? Furthermore, are the sources descriptive or idealistic?⁷ It seems they served both purposes.

Chrétien's romances were to entertain and advocate a way of life; stories of Arthur's court served as models upon which the writers could impress contemporary ideals.⁸ Whilst it is generally accepted that the literary texts were didactic, indicative of how things should be rather than descriptive of how they were, they could nonetheless influence later reality.⁹ As Leyerle argues, Chrétien distorted the facts as they were, but this in turn affected later behaviour: 'chivalric literature came to define chivalric life'.¹⁰ Therefore the literary works can provide evidence of contemporary ideals and, like chronicles, often incorporate details from everyday life.¹¹

⁷ E.g. Nicholls, *Matter of Courtesy*, 51, discusses the didactic impact of romance, but underlines that not all were didactic by nature, *ibid.*, 54. See too L. C. Ramsey, *Chivalric Romances: Popular Literature in Mediaeval England*, (Bloomington, 1983), 6.

⁸ See Z. P. Zaddy, 'The courtly ethic in Chrétien de Troyes', in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood*, iii, ed. C. Harper-Bill and R. Harvey, (Woodbridge, 1990), 159-80, at 159, and M. Keen, *Nobles, Knights and Men-at-Arms in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1996), 26-7.

⁹ However, R. W. Hanning, 'The audience as co-creator of the first chivalric romances', *Yearbook of English Studies*, 11 (1981), 1-28, argues that whereas the *chansons* had a built-in ideology, the romances were open to interpretation, and the audiences of the romances were thus active.

¹⁰ J. Leyerle, 'Conclusion: the major themes of chivalric literature', in *Chivalric Literature: Essays on Relations Between Literature and Life in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. L. D. Benson and J. Leyerle, (Michigan, 1980), 131-46, at 134-5. Leyerle discusses the tournaments to demonstrate this point. Jaeger, *Origins*, 242, stresses the didactic function of these works and argues that they were not a mirror but a model of twelfth-century society.

¹¹ In describing Wace's account of Arthur's court, Burnley, *Courtliness*, 61, refers to the 'graphic pieces of detailed observation and the mundane realism, even cynicism, interspersed amid the conventional hyperbole'.

The earliest courtesy poems date from the twelfth century.¹² Although it is often difficult to date these works and identify authorship, it emerges that they were primarily intended to educate noble householders and instruct their familiars and servants. However they were also used as manuals for students.¹³ The poems vary in length and subject matter, but generally focus on conduct at the table.¹⁴ Several, such as *Quisquis es in mensa*, *Dum manducatis*, and *Stans puer ad mensam*, are solely concerned with table manners and provide a vivid picture of how things ought to be.¹⁵ The lengthy poem known as *Urbanus* (or *Urbanus magnus*), essentially the first English courtesy book, contains some 3000 lines of Latin and is of particular importance, for it not only includes a wealth of information for diners, but specifically addresses the reception of guests.¹⁶ The poem is thought to have been written c. 1180 by Daniel of Beccles, probably a member of Henry II's court.¹⁷ It discusses a vast range of topics including conduct in church, relations with one's wife and advice on the daily regimen.

¹² For a useful summary of the various poems, including details of their authorship, date and length, see Nicholls, *Matter of Courtesy*, 179-90. Also see S. Glixelli, 'Les contenance de table', *Romania*, 21 (1947), 1-40, and Burnley, *Courtliness*, 122-47.

¹³ See C. H. Haskins, *Studies in Mediaeval Culture*, (Oxford, 1929), 78-9, for *Quisquis es in mensa* as a handbook for students. For an edition of this poem, see *ibid.*, 79.

¹⁴ Most of the poems are between twenty to fifty lines, although *Facteus: cum nihil utilius* is c. 270 lines and *Urbanus* c. 3000 lines, see below.

¹⁵ For editions of *Dum manducatis* and *Stans puer*, see S. Gieben, 'Robert Grosseteste and mediaeval courtesy books', *Vivarium*, 5 (1967), 47-74, at 52 and 61-2. Nichols, *Matter of Courtesy*, 181, 184, dates the former to the early twelfth century and the latter to the first half of the thirteenth century.

¹⁶ *Urbanus Magnus Danielis Becclesiensis*, ed. J. Gilbert Smyly, (Dublin, 1939). I am very grateful to Professor Robert Bartlett for the use of his extensive notes on the poem, and for his advice.

¹⁷ *Urbanus*, lines 2834-7, reads 'Old King Henry first gave to the uncourtly the teaching written in this book'; according to the Tudor, John Bale, Daniel was a member of Henry II's household for thirty years, *Urbanus*, v. Professor Robert Bartlett (personal communication) suggests that

I. The incentive

Why did secular clerics and laity receive guests? The motive was inevitably dependent on the guest's identity and the reason for his visit, in particular, whether he was invited or whether his arrival was unexpected. A visitor might simply stop off on his journey hoping for refreshment and / or accommodation, or he might have been invited to attend a celebration such as a wedding, feast or knighting ceremony. On the other hand, the guest might demand hospitality as of right, for instance, in his capacity as donor or tenurial lord,¹⁸ perhaps as part of a rental agreement.¹⁹ On such occasions the host had little choice but to open his doors; refusal could result in litigation.²⁰

this information, and the existence of thirteenth-century manuscripts, make it plausible that the *Urbanus* was a product of the Angevin court. Beccles' work should not be confused with the *Urbanus Paruus*, also known as *Facetus*, see A. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature*, 1066-1421, (Cambridge, 1992), 127.

¹⁸ E.g. William of Warenne granted Lewes Priory the manor of W. Walton, Norfolk, but reserved the right of two *hospicia* p.a. for the annual tour of his scattered manors, *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis Subiicitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, (London, 1876), 193-4. See too R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135: A Study of Social and Agrarian Conditions*, (Oxford, 1959), 209-10; W. L. Warren, *King John*, (London, 1961), 135.

¹⁹ E.g. Abbot Elias of Reading's (1200-13) lease of houses in the parish of St. Benet, London, to William Ilefostre, a citizen of the town, *RAC*, i, no. 469; Richard de Huddleston's grant of his chief dwelling place to Avenel for two shillings yearly, 1175 x 89, and provisions for his subsequent visits, *EYC*, i, no. 216. Further examples include *ibid.*, iii, no. 1512, and *Gloucester Charters*, no. 102.

²⁰ E.g. see *RAC*, i, no. 656, for litigation concerning Reading Abbey's right to a messuage in Marlborough, leased to Adam the Falconer and his heirs for two shillings yearly, 1192. See below, p. 347, for the agreement between Ivo of Deene and the abbot of Westminster. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, 83, remarks that manors at farm owed the abbot hospitality in addition to the farm, 'a duty fearsome enough to the tenant and sufficiently valuable to the monks to provide much expensive litigation between the parties concerned'.

In spite of attempts to promote salvation as the appropriate incentive behind the reception of guests,²¹ honour emerges as the main driving force behind the administration of hospitality, and in this respect differs from that which was promoted as the monastic ideal. Nevertheless, one's spiritual welfare was still a factor and these two motives are considered more closely.

1. Worldly concerns: one's reputation

Hospitality was a means of accruing or securing honour and, as in the monasteries, it was clearly recognised (or promoted) as a valid criterion for evaluating individuals and groups.²² For example, in his eulogy of the people of London, William Fitzstephen lists hospitality as one of their virtues.²³

Hospitality was also instrumental in securing one's position and preventing reproach and, according to William of Malmesbury, this was of primary concern to the people of Canterbury.²⁴ It is thus significant that following his visits to Ireland in 1183/5, Gerald of Wales dismissed the natives as 'a wild and inhospitable people'.²⁵

²¹ *Caesarii*, ii, 329, describes how a rich Bavarian official was assigned to eternal punishment for whilst he had always distributed alms and received pilgrims, he had acted out of vainglory and not charity; these acts were, therefore, useless in securing him salvation. See too John of Salisbury's criticism of Roman prelates who rarely, if ever, invited a poor man to dine; when they did, 'it is their vainglory which brings him thither, rather than the spirit of Christ', *Policraticus*, ii, 67.

²² It is thus interesting to note Mauss's anthropological study of the potlatch for the association between honour and the obligation to give, Mauss, *Gift*, esp. 39-46.

²³ *Materials for Becket*, iii, 8. *Jordan Fantosme*, lines 899-907, similarly commends the knights of Norfolk.

²⁴ *Gesta Pontificem*, 3.

²⁵ *Giraldi Opera*, v, 151. However the Norman visitors would hardly have been seen as welcome guests. See below, p. 323, for Gerald's attitude to the Welsh as hosts. Hospitality was also a means of judging one's character, i.e. the good host as the good man and vice versa. Therefore

Walter Map's colourful account of the lavish hospitality administered by his own household was intended as a satire and parody of indulgent and exploitative households.²⁶ As such it is subject to exaggeration. Nevertheless, it underlines how hospitality could be employed as a tool to advancement and also enables us to glean important information regarding the administration of hospitality in a clerical household.²⁷ Walter presents himself as the reluctant host and complains that contrary to his wishes, his household saddled him with the duties of hospitality. They maintained that 'everyone' said he was becoming stingy and thus to promote his reputation, and moreover to secure him a bishopric, they followed the words of Luke 14:21, 'Go out quickly into the alleys of the city, and bring in the poor, the maimed, the lame and the blind', and took to the streets, inviting guests on Walter's behalf.²⁸ Walter argues that regardless of alleged intentions his household was actually driven by greed, for the constant stream of guests meant there was a continual supply of food and drink at their disposal.

Those who offered lavish hospitality could display their magnificence and munificence.²⁹ In so doing they satisfied vassals, impressed peers and superiors,

Diceto, ii, 43, records that whilst Henry II's embassy was poorly received by Philip of France in 1186, Henry II received Philip's men with great honour.

²⁶ Map, *De Nugis*, 20-22. Walter was chancellor of Lincoln, archdeacon of Oxford, and attended the court of Henry II and Queen Eleanor.

²⁷ It is also testimony to the leading role assumed by the household in the reception of guests (comparable to the seneschals of the romances, who had the lords' reputation in their hands), although this must also be seen as part of Map's concern to present himself as the reluctant and manipulated master.

²⁸ Map, *De Nugis*, 22. However these were evidently persons of note, rather than the poor and lame as prescribed in the Gospel.

²⁹ See *The Anglo-Norman Alexander, Le Roman de Toute Chevalerie*, by Thomas of Kent, ed. B. Foster, (2 vols.; *ANTS*, 29-31, 32-3; 1976-7), i, lines 558-61. Note Pitt-Rivers' anthropological

and might thus consolidate their position and forge peaceful relationships.³⁰ Thus, *Raoul de Cambrai* records that Louis held court at Pentecost ‘like a great lord should’.³¹ It is likely that this same concern was behind the organisation of Rufus’ banquet at Westminster, 1099. According to Gaimar’s account, written some forty years after the event, Rufus instructed that the keepers of the door should arrange the food and drink ‘so that no glutton might seize them, nor awkward person destroy them’. This was presumably to prevent any complaints of a meagre spread and to ensure that everyone observed the king’s largesse, testimony to his great resources.³²

Whilst it was assumed that distinguished persons would host lavish celebrations, it was also expected that they would entertain noble visitors who arrived in the region. Those who neglected to do so effectively failed to fulfil their duties. Indeed, Chrétien’s King Évrain actually forbade the burghers in his town to receive any noblemen from outside the kingdom, so that he himself could honour them as host, and is described as ‘noble and courteous’ for doing so.³³ In the

study of the *senōritas* of Andalusia: he explains that giving was a means of impressing *compadres* and satisfying clients, i.e. the key to prestige and power, Pitt-Rivers, *Fate of Schechem*, 34.

³⁰ This includes the administration of patronage, namely acting as a good lord should to keep one’s men happy. See Orderic’s account of Henry I, *Orderic*, v, 296.

³¹ *Raoul*, lines 392-3. Similarly, Daniel of Beccles advises, ‘Let not your table be rustic while you are counted rich’, *Urbanus*, line 2555. Note that according to Matthew Paris, *CM*, v, 114, Henry III was accused of avarice in 1250 when he cut court expenditure and reduced hospitality. See too *ibid.*, 199.

³² *Gaimar*, lines 5985-92.

³³ *Erec et Enide*, ed. M. Roques, (*CFMA*, 80, 1952), lines 5437-44. It is interesting to compare this with William Fitzstephen’s account of Becket’s visit to France as chancellor. In accordance with the custom of the Gallic kings, the king of France wished to provide for the chancellor as long as he stayed in the country, and thus gave an edict forbidding the Parisians to sell any

same romance a certain count argued that as Erec was the son of King Lac he should have lodgings with him. Erec declined and remained with the vavassour, which suggests that, at least in the world of romance, the guest had the right to refuse.³⁴

Linked to this was the need for caution lest the stranger was of noble birth, for the host who neglected such a guest, or treated him with less respect than was appropriate, risked dishonour.³⁵ The twelfth-century *Romance of Horn* describes how King Gudreche of Ireland suspected that the stranger 'Gudmod', (alias Horn), was well-born and thus warned his son to treat him appropriately, for the honour shown to him would be turned to good account.³⁶ Walter Map describes how Godwine, the lowly son of a cowherd, became earl on account of the noble hospitality he showered on King Aethelred. Though unaware that his visitor was actually the king, Godwine eagerly attended his guest and supplied him with all

provisions to the chancellor or his men. Foreseeing this - and lest he be indebted to the king - Becket sent his men to the neighbouring markets where they purchased an abundance of supplies, *Materials for Becket*, iii, 32. A similar story is told of Duke Robert of Normandy (son of Duke Richard III) on his visit to Constantinople: 'guarding against the disgrace of beggary' the duke refused Michael IV's provisions, which in turn angered the emperor, *Gesta Normannorum*, ii, 82-4. E. van Houts, 'Normandy and Byzantium in the eleventh century', *Byzantion*, 55 (1985), 544-9, doubts that Robert ever visited Constantinople; however this does not affect the relevance of the example for the present argument.

³⁴ *Erec*, lines 1254-66. See too *ibid.*, lines 3265-74. *Policraticus*, ii, 325, states that one should not urge a guest to any action against propriety or his own will.

³⁵ There are a number of references to the disguised stranger who, like Odysseus, appeared as a beggar, e.g. *Amys e Amillyoun*, ed. H. Fukui, (*ANTS*, Plain Texts Ser., 7; London, 1990), lines 924-1063.

³⁶ *The Romance of Horn*, ed. M. K. Pope, (2 vols.; *ANTS*, 9-10, 12-3; Oxford, 1955-64), i, lines 2379-81. Noble, 'Romances', 77, dates this poem to before 1170, perhaps even the 1130s/40s.

that was needed. Godwine was well recompensed for his efforts: he was later taken into the king's chambers and given the earldom of Gloucester.³⁷

Finally, those who denied hospitality to the outsider or treated their guests dishonourably did not simply jeopardise their reputation, but faced possible repercussions, whether at the time or at a later date.³⁸ As previously mentioned in chapter II, Jocelin of Brakelond records that on one occasion when Samson of Bury was a claustral monk and returning from Durham, he sought overnight accommodation in Risby. The monk was refused lodgings from a certain Norman, but honourably received by William.³⁹ In later years, when Samson was abbot of Bury and justiciar, the two knights received their just rewards. Both men were amerced in Samson's court, but whilst William was released from the penalty, Norman was charged £1. Though not explicit, it seems that the verdict was a direct consequence of their former willingness or reluctance to offer hospitality.

2. Spiritual concerns: salvation

The laity and clerics themselves make few direct references to salvation as a motive for administering hospitality, and thus Philip de Barri's letter to Rome is of particular interest. As Philip lived between the two seaports of Milford Haven

³⁷ Map, *De Nugis*, 412-4.

³⁸ *Caesarii*, i, 236-7, tells of a certain woman accustomed to accommodate Cistercian abbots travelling to the Chapter General, who gave freely of her services and was greatly blessed. She later feared that these newly acquired resources would be depleted, and withdrew her hospitality; the Lord withdrew his bounty accordingly, 'For in that house Brother *Dabitur* could not dwell when his Brother *Dabitur* had been driven out'.

³⁹ *Jocelin*, 44-5.

and Devon, he was inundated with passers-by requiring hospitality. With such a great number of rich guests, Philip had rather neglected the poor, and was concerned this might affect his hopes of salvation. He sought advice from the Roman *Curia* and sent a letter via his brother, Gerald of Wales. Philip explained that he would only continue entertaining these distinguished guests if hospitality to the rich was as effective as hospitality to the poor in earning him a heavenly crown, otherwise he would move to a different region and leave the castle to his heir. John of St. Paul, the cardinal of St. Priscia, advised Philip not to alter his ways and reassured him that he would be judged on the spirit of the welcome, not the person received.⁴⁰

This particular example raises another point, and one previously discussed in relation to monastic hospitality, namely the potential benefits of entertaining the poor in whom God was more fully received, and the possible repercussions in neglecting to do so. The *Book of St. Gilbert* records that when Gilbert was a member of the bishop of Lincoln's household he entertained orphans, widows, the elderly, sick and feeble, and thus 'received and retained God as a guest in his house'.⁴¹ God was not simply associated with the poor, but with guests *per se*. Walter Map describes Conan the Fearless' reluctance to rob a certain Welsh knight who had received another in the name of charity, and thus had God for a

⁴⁰ *Giraldi Opera*, i, 188-9.

⁴¹ *Book of Gilbert*, 21. Map, *De Nugis*, 462-4, records that Count Theobald of Champagne (d. 1152) tended a leprous noble and unwittingly entertained Christ. See too Mauss' conclusions regarding the importance of giving to marginals: he explains that in an Indian saga, the God of Totem appears as a beggar, Mauss, *Gift*, 120, n. 176; furthermore, the Hausa tribe of Sudan believe that when the Guinea corn is ripe the only way to avoid the spread of fever is to make presents of the corn to the poor, *ibid.*, 17.

guest. Conan reasoned that as any contest with God was unequal, the knight should be left in peace.⁴²

II. The nature of hospitality administered

1. The reception

The host honoured his guest, and in turn enhanced his own reputation, by extending a courteous welcome. The recurrence of various components throughout the chronicles and literary works suggest how this was to be done, though inevitably the actual nature of the guest's reception was dependent on the identity of both the visitor and host, as well as the occasion.⁴³

Ideally, the host responded immediately to news of the guest's arrival.⁴⁴ The host's enthusiasm was not only a sign of his courtesy, but reflected well on the guest, suggesting he or she was of some importance to invite such a response. In Chrétien's *Perceval*, King Arthur initially extended a rather cool greeting to the uncouth young lad, but was later impatient to welcome Perceval as a renowned bearer of arms.⁴⁵ If the host learned of the guest's approach when he was still far off, he might ride out to meet the visitor and offer a personal escort to his

⁴² Map, *De Nugis*, 196. For a similar rationale, see *Materials for Becket*, ii, 229, and *Caesarii*, ii, 61.

⁴³ See Beccles' reference to knights, clerks and those that are dear, *Urbanus*, lines 2343-8.

⁴⁴ Or, if the householder came across them unexpectedly when out travelling, he immediately offered an invitation to stay and escorted them back to his home, e.g. *Le Chevalier de la Charrette, Lancelot*, ed. M. Roques, (*CFMA*, 86; 1965), lines 2014-21; 2257-65; *Le Conte du Graal, Perceval*, ed. F. Lecoy, (2 vols.; *CFMA*, 100, 103; 1972-7), lines 5138-9.

⁴⁵ *Perceval*, lines 925-46; 4113-20.

residence.⁴⁶ The host could even take this opportunity to show off his dwellings from a vantage point *en route*, although as was the case with Henry I's chancellor, Ranulph, this pride might precede his fall. According to Henry of Huntingdon, Ranulph met the king at Berkhamsted in December 1122, and conducted him to his house. They reached the top of the hill from where Ranulph's castle could be seen, but 'in his exaltation of mind', the chancellor fell from his horse, was run over by a monk and died a few days later.⁴⁷

On other occasions noble persons might send an escort to meet their guests, but if they wished to show the visitor particular honour they might go to meet him or her in person. Thus, in 1184, Henry II met the archbishop of Cologne at Canterbury and led him to London where the prelate was lavishly entertained in the royal palace.⁴⁸

Depending on the guest's identity and the host's standing, the visitor might be welcomed with a procession, complete with bells, hymns and great happiness. In 1179, Henry II travelled to Dover to meet Louis VII, whom he acknowledged as his liegeland and friend. Louis was received with a solemn procession by the king, his prelates and nobles, amidst hymns and great happiness. Henry then

⁴⁶ E.g. in 1138, when the citizens of Gloucester heard of Stephen's approach, they rode more than five miles to meet the king and conducted him to the city with great joy, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and tr. P. McGurk, vol. iii, (Oxford, 1998), 240-2.

⁴⁷ Henry, *Archdeacon of Huntingdon, Historia Anglorum, The History of the English People*, ed. and tr. D. Greenway, (Oxford, 1996), 468-70, at 470.

⁴⁸ *Gervase*, i, 313, *Diceto*, ii, 31. Similarly, rulers rode out to meet distinguished persons entering their lands. Failure to do so was seemingly frowned upon: Gerald of Wales remarks that Owein was the only Welsh prince who did not meet Baldwin and himself when they were travelling

escorted the visitor to Canterbury, where Louis visited Becket's shrine.⁴⁹ This was an acknowledgement of the guest's lofty position, but also indicative of the host's eagerness to offer his services. Furthermore, it could serve as a public manifestation of unity and was thus especially important at sensitive times. For example, Stephen showed great joy in 1153 when he received Duke Henry as his acknowledged heir and welcomed him with a splendid procession, reflective of amicable and harmonious relations.⁵⁰ If the host did not actually ride out to meet his guest he could convey his enthusiasm by rushing to meet the visitor on his arrival. In *Raoul de Cambrai*, Bernier, the knight, jumped up to receive his cousin, Doon of St. Denis, as soon as he saw him. In Chrétien's *Lancelot* the vavassour's wife and children rushed out to meet the knight when he arrived at their manor.⁵¹

Regardless of whether the guest was met by the host or led to his presence, the host was expected to rise when the visitor entered.⁵² This was a mark of courtesy extended to all guests, irrespective of their standing.⁵³ Marie de France describes

through Wales preaching the Crusade, *Giraldi Opera*, vi, 144. See too *ibid.*, 14, and Howden, ii, 85.

⁴⁹ Howden, ii, 192-3, and Diceto, i, 433.

⁵⁰ *Huntingdon*, 770. This also enabled the writer to demonstrate support for the protagonist.

⁵¹ *Raoul*, line 6363; *Lancelot*, lines 2056-61. Note that when Abbot Simon of St. Albans visited Becket at his manor of Harrow the archbishop met his guest at the door and kissed him, Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, i, 360. *Urbanus*, lines 2343-4, recommends that the host should meet any knight or cleric who visited as a guest.

⁵² Beccles advises that the host should bow his head, greet the guest and rise, and that the lord should teach his wife to bow to guests, and indeed to himself, to guard against slander, *ibid.*, lines 912-3 and 2250-1.

⁵³ Beroul's *Tristan*, records that Arthur rose from the table when the messenger arrived and heard his news, *Early French Tristan Poems*, ed. and tr. N. J. Lacey, (2 vols.; Cambridge, 1998), i, line 123.

how the 'well-mannered' Arthur rose to meet a certain great lady who visited his court,⁵⁴ and Chrétien explains that the Fisher King apologised that, on account of his disability, he was unable to rise to greet Perceval but rose as much as he was able to honour his guest.⁵⁵ Similarly, Henry II rose 'with a profusion of courtesy' when a particular Cistercian abbot entered his chamber, and he seated the visitor in a distinguished position, beside the royal chair.⁵⁶

Just as the monasteries were advised to extend a joyful welcome to visitors, so other hosts were expected to receive guests cheerfully, and indeed Hugh the Chantor commends archbishop Thurstan for his lavish and cheerful hospitality.⁵⁷ This is a recurring theme in both the chronicles and literary works. For example, Henry II received the Archbishop of Cologne with great joy at Canterbury in 1184,⁵⁸ and *Raoul de Cambrai* describes how Bernier was given a joyful welcome by his trusty landlord.⁵⁹ In fact, in *Yvain*, a cheerful reception is equated with an honourable one: Chrétien recounts how certain townsfolk concealed their grief and put on a show of jollity when receiving Lancelot, for

⁵⁴ *Lanval*, in *Les Lais de Marie de France*, 72-92, lines 607-8. See too *Raoul*, line 5845.

⁵⁵ *Perceval*, lines 3095-3106.

⁵⁶ *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 214. See too *Horn*, i, line 1059.

⁵⁷ *Chantor*, 34. Thurstan had been a royal clerk. See below for the importance of cheeriness at the table, and note Jaeger's discussion of *hilaritas* (good humour), C. S. Jaeger, *The Envy of the Angels: Cathedral Schools and Social Ideals in Mediaeval Europe*, (Pennsylvania, 1994), 102-3.

⁵⁸ Howden, ii, 288. In 1185 he extended a similar welcome to Baldwin's ambassadors from Jerusalem, whom he met at Reading, *ibid.*, 299, *Gervase*, i, 166, *Chantor*, 100. The reception of kings, returning exiles, newly appointed prelates etc. is described in similar terms, an acknowledgement of their position and public backing, e.g. *John of Worcester*, 240-2; *Chantor* 100.

⁵⁹ *Raoul*, line 6884; *Le Chevalier au Lion*, *Yvain*, ed. M. Roques, (*CFMA*, 89; 1960), lines 209-11. See too *Lancelot*, lines 2514-19, *Cliges*, line 2530, *Gaimar*, line 4588.

they argued that one was a fool not to receive a worthy man with honour.⁶⁰ The host who showed joy at the guest's arrival demonstrated his willingness to offer hospitality and embark on a guest / host relationship. The guest who was warmly received felt welcome, left on good terms and would perhaps spread favourable reports of his stay. Therefore such a reception reflected well on guest and host alike, for whilst it showed the latter practising the required etiquette, it enabled the author to emphasise the guest's renown.⁶¹

According to Daniel of Beccles, the host should embrace and kiss dear friends.⁶² John of Ford's *Life of Wulfric* suggests that this was not simply a matter of courtesy, but of potential symbolic importance.⁶³ John recounts one occasion when Stephen's queen, Matilda, was residing at Corfe castle.⁶⁴ A crowd of noble women came to pay their respects, but Mathilda publicly slighted William Fitzwalter's wife whose husband had not yet given his allegiance to the king. When the queen later visited the hermit, Wulfric, he asked why she had disdained to greet a faithful and holy woman, and shamed the lady by withholding the kiss. He warned that she would one day be glad to kiss the lips of poor and ignoble persons, and his prophetic words were fulfilled in 1141, for when Stephen was captured at Lincoln his queen mingled with the poor,

⁶⁰ *Yvain*, lines 3803-76, esp. 3873-6; *Perceval*, lines 5214-20. See Beccles' remarks on the importance of concealing grief, *Urbanus*, lines 857-65.

⁶¹ Thus similar to the joyful reception of distinguished visitors at the monastery, to demonstrate the guest's renown, see above, pp. 176; 185-7.

⁶² *Urbanus*, line 2345. For general advice on the etiquette of kissing, see *ibid.*, lines 1308-11.

⁶³ *Life of Wulfric*, 108-9.

⁶⁴ Corfe was a royal castle which changed hands during the anarchy, see J. Appleby, *The Troubled Reign of King Stephen*, (London, 1969), 73-4, and *VCH*, Dorset, ii, ed. W. Page, (1908), 133-5. For its later use see *ibid.*, 134-6.

soliciting help to free her husband. Furthermore, *Raoul de Cambrai* tells how Lady Alice refused the Emperor's attempts to embrace and kiss her when she visited his court, a public demonstration of her anger that he had entertained the man who had killed her nephew.⁶⁵

2. At the threshold

While there is little direct mention of the guest's conduct upon his arrival, Daniel of Beccles includes a word of advice for those who arrived at a rich man's house. He explains that if the doors were closed they should not shout out as the guard approached.⁶⁶ The visitor stood at the threshold, and was prepared for his entrance: he dismounted, if need be, disarmed, and might be given one of the host's mantles. Therefore the warrior's clothing was exchanged for domestic attire. Whilst this routine was part of the etiquette and a practicality, it was also a safety mechanism, for when dealing with strangers it was necessary to convert the *hostis* to the *hospes*, to make the stranger a friend.⁶⁷ Indeed, hospitality was a potentially risky affair for an outsider who wished to attack the householder might gain access as a guest. For example, in 1141 Ranulf of Chester and William of Roumare used hospitality as a ruse to capture Lincoln Castle from King Stephen. Orderic explains that when the household troops were widely dispersed, the two men sent their wives to the castle under the pretext of a friendly visit. The 'guests' laughed and chatted with the wife of the knight who should have been defending the castle, and the earl of Chester, along with three knights, later arrived unarmed, as if to escort his wife home. The party aroused

⁶⁵ *Raoul*, lines 5042-3.

⁶⁶ *Urbanus*, lines 2471-2.

⁶⁷ See below, pp. 321-2, for further discussion.

no suspicion but once inside they snatched crowbars and weapons, attacked the guards and took control of the castle and city.⁶⁸

The visitor who arrived at a castle or manor house was generally helped to dismount by squires or members of the household, who then took the guest's horse.⁶⁹ Otherwise the host or a member of his family might come to the visitor's aid, offering a more personal welcome.⁷⁰ Chrétien relates that when Erec arrived at the vavassour's lodgings he dismounted and his host took his horse. *Lancelot* describes how the vavassour's wife and family all rushed out to help the knight dismount.⁷¹ The guest was particularly honoured if the host was of high standing and came to help him in person. Once again the noble host who acted in this way demonstrated humility, and in so doing enhanced his honour. Chrétien explains that Arthur, 'who always acted very properly', helped Enide from her palfrey, and explains that King Evrain, who was 'faultlessly courteous', hastened to help her dismount.⁷² Whilst hostesses were not generally expected to help their guest dismount, the literary works often mention that one of the

⁶⁸ *Orderic*, vi, 538-40. Further examples include *Huntingdon*, 706: in 1136, King Stephen was warned that the king of Scots had pretended to come in peace as a guest, entered Carlisle and Newcastle, and then captured them by trickery. See too *Orderic*, vi, 342-4, and ii, 122. Deception was not simply practised by guests: the *Gesta Stephani*, ed. K. R. Potter, (Oxford, 1976), 18-20, records Robert of Brampton's trickery as host in 1136.

⁶⁹ The vavassour who entertained Calogrenant helped him dismount, and then summoned his household to take the guest's horse, *Yvain*, lines 182-200. See too Perceval at Gornemont's residence, *Perceval*, lines 1415-22.

⁷⁰ *Urbanus*, lines 1351-3, seems to suggest that the host should take the stirrups of distinguished guests. However, the Latin is rather obscure.

⁷¹ *Lancelot*, lines 2058-65, *Erec*, lines 384-92.

⁷² *Erec*, lines 1525-8, 5506-9.

females took the knight's horse and cared for it.⁷³ This was a further means of honouring the visitor, for the horse is sometimes presented as an extension of the guest. According to Chrétien the vavassour's daughter, Enide, carefully stabled Erec's horse, prefiguring her courteous attendance of him.⁷⁴

By dismounting, the guest showed that he proffered no threat and harboured no hostility, that is, he came in friendship. Therefore when Bernier and his companions travelled to Corsuble's court to offer aid in return for arms, they dismounted and graciously addressed the pagan as a sign of their peaceful intentions.⁷⁵ In contrast, those who remained mounted displayed arrogance and hostility. The romance of *Horn* tells of the Saracen envoy who insolently delivered his message to the king without dismounting.⁷⁶ Failure to dismount, however, was not necessarily a sign of enmity, but of ignorance. For instance, when Perceval first visited Arthur's court as an uncouth young lad, he believed that knights were not accustomed to dismount and thus refused to do so when bidden by the king. Moreover, he brought his horse so close to Arthur that he knocked his cap off his head!⁷⁷ Nevertheless, once knighted and taught of

⁷³ Although Yvain's wife, Laudine, hurried to help King Arthur dismount, he was clearly an exceptional guest. Moreover the fact that the king rushed to dismount when he saw her approaching may suggest this was considered inappropriate, but may simply reflect Arthur's impatience to greet his hostess, *Yvain*, lines 2374-80.

⁷⁴ *Erec*, lines 459-68. The vavassour's sons and daughters groomed Lancelot's horse, *Lancelot*, lines 2523-31.

⁷⁵ *Raoul*, lines 7487-8.

⁷⁶ *Horn*, i, lines 2989-92. Note that the knight who had imprisoned maidens, ladies and knights from Arthur's land neither dismounted nor disarmed at Arthur's court; he remained an outsider and a threat, *Lancelot*, lines 43-8. *Raoul*, lines 2055-6, describes how Bernier demonstrated his hostility by refusing to dismount outside Raoul's tent.

⁷⁷ *Perceval*, lines, 929-35; 977-88.

chivalric ways, Perceval refined his behaviour: he responded to Gornemont's invitation to dismount, was helped to do so by Blanchflor's squires, and voluntarily dismounted outside the hermitage.⁷⁸ It was seemingly the prerogative of the great to remain mounted until the last moment. Marie de France records that when the maidservants of the particular noble lady who had captured Lanval's heart arrived at King Arthur's court, they did not dismount until they reached the dais where the king was seated. Likewise the maiden herself, 'the most beautiful of all women in the world', remained mounted until she reached the king's dais. This was not only indicative of her great importance but was an effective means of creating tension.⁷⁹

Therefore by dismounting and disarming, the outsider was converted to an insider, akin to the monastic ritual of prayer, kiss and reading, discussed in chapter V. This transformation was highlighted if the guest was given a mantle from the host's wardrobe,⁸⁰ and references of this kind generally appear in Chrétien's romances, where a mantle is often brought by a female of the house.⁸¹ The writer could demonstrate the host's generosity, and indeed the recipient's worthiness, by describing the great splendour and richness of these mantles. The conversion complete, the visitor was led within, ideally by a member of the family.⁸² In a large household or court setting, where there was generally a more

⁷⁸ Ibid., lines 141; 1772-4; 6126-9.

⁷⁹ *Lanval*, lines 471 ff. See too *Roman de Toute Chevalerie*, i, lines 714-30, for Cleopatra's splendid arrival at Philip's court: she remained mounted as the king led her to the threshold of the palace, and finally dismounted on a red carpet.

⁸⁰ Like the monastic *froccus*, see above, p. 182, fn. 31.

⁸¹ E.g. *Lancelot*, lines 2448-9; *Yvain*, lines 226-31.

⁸² E.g. *Erec*, lines 1529-31, *Beroul*, lines 3016-7, *Perceval*, lines 1844-6. See too *Eliduc*, in *Les Lais de Marie de France*, 155-91, lines 273-7.

official arrangement, guests were usually conducted by porters and ushers,⁸³ and the formality of this procedure could help augment the lord's image of power and authority.⁸⁴

The formality of this welcome is highlighted by Gerald of Wales' account of the free and easy hospitality of the Welsh. He suggests that, whilst they were willing hosts, they lacked the etiquette that was seemingly expected in England.

According to Gerald there was no need for travellers in Wales to ask for hospitality nor for hosts to offer their services. The door was always open and the procedure was simple: the outsider simply walked in and handed over his arms. The host provided water for the visitor to wash his feet, 'and that means you are a guest', namely that you were assured lodging for the night. If the visitor only required refreshment, he refused this water, and it was understood that he did not need accommodation.⁸⁵ This last remark raises an important point, namely that the guest's feet were washed upon his arrival. According to Daniel of Beccles, after the guest had been welcomed, his shoes were removed, and his feet washed and dried.⁸⁶ However there is no mention of this in the literary works or chronicles (for England), and this may imply that the practice was implicit, or conversely that this was an ideal which was not always effected.

⁸³ See Gerald's description of the Cistercian abbot escorted to Henry II's chamber, *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 214. See too *Cliges*, lines 4966-7.

⁸⁴ Still, as noted above, p. 218, fn. 42, distinguished persons who humbled themselves enhanced their reputation.

⁸⁵ *Giraldi Opera*, vi, 182-4.

⁸⁶ *Urbanus*, lines 915-8.

3. The sojourn

The literary works present the household as a self sufficient unit which provided everything the guest needed, namely food and drink, lodging, medical care, protection and female company.⁸⁷ The visitor who had all he required had no cause for complaint, and the host who satisfied his guest preserved his reputation. Thus the *Romance of Horn* commends the seneschal, Herland, for he lodged the visitors well, ‘arousing neither anger nor strife, and no one complained of the accommodation nor of anything else’.⁸⁸

(a) Food and drink

Whilst not all guests required accommodation, medical care or protection, just about everybody who arrived expected refreshment of some kind, whether they had been invited to attend a grand feast and anticipated a lavish spread, or whether they simply required sustenance for the journey. What was served was inevitably dependent on the identity of guest and host alike, as well as the occasion: that which a forester offered a passer-by would clearly differ from the splendid feast a lord might provide for his vassals; on a fast day fish or dairy products would be served in place of meat.⁸⁹ The host was not simply judged on what he provided, but what this represented, and it was important that regardless of his standing, the host provided for the visitor to the best of his abilities.⁹⁰

⁸⁷ E.g. the vavassour offered Erec all that he had; Erec wanted his daughter, Enide, *Erec*, lines 636-66.

⁸⁸ *Horn*, i, lines 443-4.

⁸⁹ See below, e.g. pp. 326-7.

⁹⁰ Thus the Normans ‘did their best’ to entertain the Crusaders returning from the East via Italy, *Orderic*, v, 278.

Therefore the boatman who entertained Gawain did so ‘as grandly as he could’, and served him with everything appropriate for a gentleman.⁹¹

By supplying sufficient food and drink the host avoided derision and reproach.

In *Raoul de Cambrai* Louis held court at Pentecost ‘as a great lord should’, and ensured that all the nobles were so plentifully supplied that they had no cause for reproach.⁹² It is thus significant that as Robert of Meulan only served one meal a day he was accused of stinginess, despite his protestations that this was for reasons of health and after the fashion of Alexis, emperor of Constantinople.⁹³

The host who provided for his guests’ needs did not simply safeguard his reputation, but as is suggested in the *Lai du Cor*, might avoid angry outbursts and thereby preserve harmony.⁹⁴

What exactly was served to guests? While the chronicles and *Lives* often refer to the splendour and abundance of foods, they rarely specify what was actually eaten. For instance, Herbert of Bosham describes Archbishop Becket’s table at

⁹¹ *Perceval*, lines 7227-43. In addition, the sources often state that the guest was adequately, if not abundantly refreshed, as testimony to the praiseworthy hospitality received, e.g. Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae*, ep. 19, mentions that Bishop Robert satiated him with delicacies. See below, no. 165, for the likelihood that this was Robert of Chester. See Diceto, ii, 31, for Henry II’s abundant hospitality to the archbishop of Cologne in 1184. For literary examples, see *Erec*, lines 5536-9, and *Horn*, i, lines 2287, 2560-2.

⁹² *Raoul*, lines 391-401. See too *ibid.*, 1381-6: Raoul instructed his seneschal to organise food for the barons, but to make ‘a good job of it’, so that the worst of them could have his fill for Raoul explained that he would not have the barons deride him, ‘not for all the gold of an entire city’.

⁹³ *Gesta Regum*, i, 736. *Huntingdon*, 370, also mentions this, but from the perspective of the lord’s duties to his household and vassals, rather than guests: he maintains that whilst Harthacnut had four meals a day, ‘in our times, through avarice, or as they pretend through disgust, the great set but one meal a day before their dependents’.

⁹⁴ *Le Lai du Cor*, ed. C. T. Erickson, (*ANTS*, 24; Oxford, 1973), lines 31-4.

great length and details the excellence of the dishes, but does not state what exactly was eaten.⁹⁵ Daniel of Beccles', *Urbanus*, offers advice on whether the various dishes should be carved, sliced or broken, accompanied with a sauce, gravy or particular seasoning, and indeed the order in which they should be given. In doing so he provides us with an extensive list of the different foodstuffs that might be served by a fairly noble householder.⁹⁶ A selection of meats and fowl might be offered, including pork, beef, mutton, venison, hare, roebuck and capon.⁹⁷ How exactly they were served often depended on the identity of the guest: whereas those of note were served pepper sauce with their wild goose, lessers were given salt.⁹⁸ After the meat course there were pies – perhaps intended to give the teeth a rest! These were followed by 'soft things' and then fried foods. Finally, napkins containing wafers, spices, fruits⁹⁹ and light pastries were brought to the lord, who presumably distributed them to some or all of the diners.¹⁰⁰ On fast days fish was eaten, and this was always to be served with its skin. Mullet, salmon, and conger were followed by lighter fish, namely perch, roach and pike.¹⁰¹ Thereafter, softer dishes and fried puddings were offered. If no fish was available the host could serve butter, milk, cheese and

⁹⁵ *Materials for Becket*, iii, 226 ff. William Fitzstephen's account of Becket's hospitality as chancellor simply describes the splendour of his table, *ibid.* 21. Gerald of Wales explains that the Cistercian abbot who was entertained at Henry II's court was served a magnificent repast with costly viands and drinks, but does not elaborate, *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 214-5.

⁹⁶ *Urbanus* lines 2563 ff. See too lines 935-42.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, lines 2563-7.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 2640-1.

⁹⁹ Elsewhere he refers to pears, apples and small figs, *ibid.*, line 1022.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, lines 2569-73. Indeed, line 1027 refers to fruit sent by the patron.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, lines 2600-3. When Bishop Robert Grosseteste entertained Earl Richard of Gloucester, in 1235, pike was served at dinner, for it was a fish day, *Chronicon de Lanercost 1201-1346*, ed. J. Stevenson, (Edinburgh, 1839), 44-5, at 44.

eggs, so long as the guest was agreeable.¹⁰² It was clearly expected that the host should serve a number of courses and a variety of flavours.

The literary sources frequently mention the different kinds of foods served.¹⁰³ However, these detailed descriptions were often intended to amuse the audience or facilitate their understanding of the characters.¹⁰⁴ For instance, in Chrétien's romances the foodstuffs sometimes function as a motif to represent the hero's inner self or portray his personal development. Whereas Gornement, who instructed Perceval in knightly ways, served him a noble feast, the hermit he visited provided water and herbs, indicative of his spiritual cleansing.¹⁰⁵ In general the foods served correspond to the host's resources and standing, as well as the guest's needs. Whereas the lowly vavassour offered Erec meat, fowl, bread and wine, King Arthur entertained him with great quantities of bread, wine and game, and Orry the forester offered Tristan foods from the hunt, namely boars, wild sows, stags, doe and bucks.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² *Urbanus*, lines 2604-6. The text includes considerable detail on how to eat eggs, *ibid.*, lines 2623-8, and describes how dairy products should only be eaten with bread, although the lord could eat them on their own, *ibid.*, lines 2609-14.

¹⁰³ However the author may omit such details owing to lack of space or time, e.g. *Gaimar*, lines 6072-5, or like Chrétien, for fear of repetition or of describing it poorly, e.g. *Erec*, lines 2875-8; *Yvain*, lines 777-81, 2161-5.

¹⁰⁴ E.g. Chrétien's detailed account of the exotic foods at Grail Castle reflects the mystery and nobility of this great host, *Perceval*, lines 3268-3319, esp. 3310-19.

¹⁰⁵ *Perceval*, lines 1553-61; 6277-80. Similarly, when Yvain retreats into the forest in shame, to begin the process of rebirth, the hermit provides him with a frugal diet of bread and water, *Yvain*, lines 2839-43.

¹⁰⁶ *Erec*, lines 2007-14, 488-500; *Beroul*, lines 3020-2. The boatman served Gawain plover, pheasant, partridge and venison, a spread befitting a gentleman; the mysterious Fisher King offered Perceval an abundance of exotica, including figs and pomegranates, Alexandrian gingerbread and arcoticum, *Perceval*, lines 7232-7; 3310-19.

It was not just important what was served but how it was served. Indeed as previously noted, one purpose of the courtesy poems was to instruct members of the household on how to conduct themselves at the table. However details of the dining arrangements were not simply to inform, and the writer might recount the lavish service at table to demonstrate the host's wealth and largesse. For example, Geoffrey of Monmouth details the finery of the servers at Arthur's plenary court, where Kay, the seneschal, and one thousand nobles dressed in ermine served food to the guests, and another thousand dressed in miniver administered the drink, passing goblets of all shapes and sizes.¹⁰⁷ Gaimar describes Rufus' banquet of 1099 as a rich and splendid occasion, held in 'baronly fashion', and explains that there were three hundred doorkeepers wearing costly furs.¹⁰⁸

In a formal setting the guest was generally served by the household.¹⁰⁹ In a more personal situation he might be attended by the host or a member of the family, and was usually seated beside his host.¹¹⁰ As a sign of intimacy and friendship the two might even share the same dish.¹¹¹ *Perceval* recounts that the gentleman, Gornemont, had the young protagonist sit beside him at table, and the two ate from the same bowl; Perceval's cousin informed him that he had been greatly

¹⁰⁷ *The Historia Regum Britannie of Geoffrey of Monmouth, i. Bern Burgerbibliothek, MS 568*, ed. N. Wright, (Cambridge, 1985), lines 440-4.

¹⁰⁸ *Gaimar*, lines 5972-8, 6072. See too *Horn*, i, lines 4100-16.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. Countess Alice's barons were served by her seneschals, *Raoul*, lines 243-6; Lanval was served by the maidservants of his noble hostess, *Lanval*, lines 173-8.

¹¹⁰ E.g. *Lancelot*, lines 1028-9.

¹¹¹ It was usual to share dishes with a companion, see below, p. 329.

honoured by the Fisher King, who had the knight sit beside him at dinner.¹¹² In comparison, the Welsh did not join their guests at table but remained on the sidelines to supervise the procedure and, more importantly, to ensure that their visitors had plenty. As Gerald of Wales explains, they did not eat until after their guests had been fully refreshed so that if, by chance, there was a shortage it would fall on themselves.¹¹³ Gerald also remarks that the Welsh sat in threes, rather than pairs, and the food was placed before each triad on a single trencher generally made of rushes or grass, but sometimes of bread.¹¹⁴

On a more formal occasion, or if a number of folk were dining, the seating arrangements were of considerable significance.¹¹⁵ The guest's place at the table reflected his position in society and relationship with his host, and bestowed honour or dishonour.¹¹⁶ Visitors were, therefore, often seated according to rank, indicative of harmony and order,¹¹⁷ with the most distinguished, or those to be

¹¹² *Perceval*, lines 1557-60, 3530-36. However John of Salisbury was embarrassed when Pope Adrian IV 'took pleasure' in inviting him to his table and against his will made him eat from his plate and drink from his cup, given that this was a sign of intimacy and equality, *Ioannis Saresberiensis Episcopi Carnotensis, Metalogicon*, ed. C. C. I. Webb, (Oxford, 1929), 217.

¹¹³ *Giraldi Opera*, vi, 183.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* Gerald explains that they sat in threes in memory of the Trinity, *ibid.*, 203.

¹¹⁵ Indeed, the early twelfth-century courtesy poem, *Quisquis*, line 5, reads, 'Nec capiat sedem, nisi quam uult qui regit edem'; *Stans puer*, line 12, advises, 'Atque loco sedeas. tibi quem signauerit hospes'.

¹¹⁶ During the rift between Archbishop Anselm and Rufus in 1095, the king seated those who remained loyal to Anselm far from him, whilst those who rescinded their allegiance were honourably seated, *Historia Nouorum*, 65.

¹¹⁷ E.g. at Uther's coronation each lord sat according to the importance of his fief, *Wace, A History of the British*, text and tr. J. Weiss, (Exeter, 1999), lines 8569-70; at Arthur's plenary court the men sat with the king, according to rank, and the women with the queen, Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, lines 438-40. For general discussion of harmony at feasts as representative of the sacrament, see Leyerle, 'Conclusion'.

most honoured, placed at high table nearest their host. When Bishop Robert Grossteteste wished to honour his guest, Earl Richard of Gloucester, the latter was seated to the right of his host and served first.¹¹⁸ The seating arrangements could also lead to discord, and Eadmer recounts the argument that occurred at Henry I's Christmas court in 1109: in the absence of an archbishop of Canterbury who normally sat to the right of the king, the bishop of London and the archbishop of York argued over which of them should take his place at table. The king refused to listen to this bickering and turned them out to dine in their own houses!¹¹⁹

Raoul de Cambrai shows how careless seating arrangements could result in discord.¹²⁰ The author drily remarks that the seneschal of Louis' court 'had much to learn', for he placed various enemies beside each other, 'cheek by jowl'. Violence ensued: Guerri grabbed a knife, and was ready to hurl it at Bernier, but was fortunately stopped by his nephew, Gautier,

'Uncle', he said, 'you need to be told how to behave.

This food is not costing you a penny, and a man can

imagine he's avenging some great outrage done to

him when all of a sudden he's stirring up mortal

¹¹⁸ *Lanercost Chronicle*, 44. When Gerald of Wales was entertained at Archbishop Baldwin's manor he was seated on one side of the prelate, with Abbot Serlo of L'Aumône on the other, *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 104. *Urbanus*, line 2562, states that the most important diner should be served first.

¹¹⁹ *Historia Nouorum*, 212.

¹²⁰ *Raoul*, lines 4649-75.

danger (for himself)'.¹²¹

However this appeasement was short-lived, and when Guerri was served a dish of venison containing the main thigh bone, he saw his weapon and could contain himself no longer. Guerri hit Bernier on the temple with such force that he cut the flesh right to the bone. Bernier was furious, not so much at the extent of his injury, but that this had happened in public and when they were all seated to dinner. He leapt from the table to retaliate and Gautier rose to his uncle's defence. The other knights joined in, causing total uproar.

Seating arrangements were of similar importance to clerical hosts, and Herbert of Bosham's detailed account of Becket's table shows the archbishop's concern to preserve harmony amongst his household and guests.¹²² Herbert explains that the archbishop sat in the middle of his learned companions and regulars, the former to his right, the latter to his left, with those who had been longest in his service placed closest to him.¹²³ The knights and nobles were seated at a separate table, regardless of their standing, to ensure that they were not bored by the sacred reading that was given during the meal and, moreover, lest they disrupted this

¹²¹ *Raoul*, lines 4645-8.

¹²² *Materials for Becket*, iii, 226 ff. Becket had taken the habit of the Augustinian canons, and was thus a regular, but is included in this section as a non-monk holding clerical office. Jaeger, *Envy*, 302-6, cites this passage as testimony to Becket's courtesy.

¹²³ *Materials for Becket*, iii, 226. Herbert cites this arrangement as evidence of the archbishop's discretion. Walter Map records that when he visited Becket's table two Cistercian abbots were seated beside the archbishop, *De Nugis*, 78.

reading and impeded any discussion.¹²⁴ Such arrangements were potentially volatile, and Becket took great pains to make sure that those seated at the second table did not feel excluded or stigmatised. Therefore, whilst the archbishop listened to the reading and participated in discussion with his scholars, he gave presents of food and drink to the knights, to bestow honour and preserve harmony.¹²⁵ Becket is portrayed as the ‘watchful animal’, mindful that each guest was seated appropriately and content with his place at table. If, perchance, someone was seated lower than he should have been, Becket repeatedly made him gifts of his own goblet and dishes as recompense, i.e. to appease him and avoid complaints. The archbishop also kept his eyes on the servers to make sure that none were negligent and, if necessary, corrected them discreetly.¹²⁶

The host was to placate his guest and avoid provocation, but in doing so was not to compromise his higher ideals. William of Canterbury recounts how a certain Stephen held a feast for a rich man named Robert. While the two were dining, Robert received a message from Hugh de Moreville, one of Becket’s murderers, demanding him to visit. Robert was disturbed for he was loath to consort with

¹²⁴ It is thus interesting that at the banquet in the archbishop’s palace following Becket’s translation in 1220, there were two symbolic tables, one of secular magnates headed by the king; the other of ecclesiastics headed by the legate, see Eales, ‘Political setting’, 138.

¹²⁵ *Materials for Becket*, iii, 226-7. Note that when Henry II entertained his close friend, Oswein, at Shrewsbury, he passed Oswein one of his loaves to honour him and as a mark of his affection, ‘as is the custom’, *Giraldi Opera*, vi, 144-5. See above, pp. 218-9, for similar practice in the monastic refectory.

¹²⁶ *Materials for Becket*, iii, 228-9. For a further example of the host’s discretion, see the *Life of Christina*, 190: on one occasion when Christina was entertaining guests, she suspected that the salad set before her contained ingredients from next door’s garden, which were forbidden. Rather than making a scene she accepted the dish placed before her by the serving girl, but did not actually eat it, and later raised the matter with the girl.

such a man, but his hostess persuaded him to accept the invitation. To make her guest feel better, she even scoffed at the martyr and urged Robert to go and make merry with Hugh. However when the lady's son was later afflicted with paralysis, she realised that her ridicule was to blame.¹²⁷

As previously mentioned, the courtesy poems include numerous prescriptions for diners and those in attendance, including advice on how to sit at the table, what to do if food fell on the floor, and how particular foods should be eaten. For example, guests were not to recline at the table, although the host was permitted to do so.¹²⁸ Nobody was to sit with his elbows on the table, lean over the food, or indeed spit across the table.¹²⁹ Nevertheless, diners could spit behind them, and to facilitate this, the *Urbanus* recommends using seats that could be turned around.¹³⁰ Those who sat at table were to look frequently at their fellow diners and not turn their back on the lord.¹³¹ Furthermore they were not to criticise the dishes, and the host was not to praise his own food and drink.¹³² No children were to be present if there were guests, nobody was to eat before the blessing had been given, talk with his mouth full or scratch himself at the table.¹³³ Diners

¹²⁷ *Materials for Becket*, i, 195-8. Note William of Malmesbury's account of Wulfstan's reaction to quarrelling at his table, *Vita Wulfstani*, 55-6.

¹²⁸ *Urbanus*, lines 990-1.

¹²⁹ E.g. *Quisquis*, line 13, *Urbanus*, lines 1034-5, 1047-8, 1052, *Dum mandicatis*, line 8, *Stans puer*, line 32.

¹³⁰ *Urbanus*, lines 1054-5. Alternatively one could spit in a cloth, *ibid.*, lines 1052-3.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, lines 995-6.

¹³² *Ibid.*, lines 1015, 2377.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, lines 2415-6; *Quisquis*, line 4; *Stans puer*, lines 22, 33; *Dum mandicatis*, line 9.

were expected to have clean nails,¹³⁴ and were warned to belch if drinking repeatedly.¹³⁵

What went on during the meal, apart from eating? As Herbert's account reveals, clerical hosts might follow the monastic fashion and hear a reading that would then stimulate discussion. Indeed Walter Map recounts that when he was a guest at Becket's table, one of Bernard's letters was read aloud which encouraged two Cistercian abbots to launch a eulogy of Bernard and his miracles.¹³⁶ At less pious tables there was general chat and banter during the meal.¹³⁷ Chrétien describes how Gawain's hostess sat beside him and amused him with her conversation, and the *Romance of Horn* explains that when the hero held a feast for his companions, they entertained each other by making boasts.¹³⁸ However the courtesy poems stress that speech should be limited, muted and monitored. *Quisquis* warns that nobody should say anything bitter or do anything that might arouse anger or discord. Diners were to have a cheerful countenance though not

¹³⁴ *Stans puer*, line 17, *Quisquis*, line 7.

¹³⁵ *Quisquis*, line 12. *Urbanus*, line 1049, advises looking at the ceiling when belching.

¹³⁶ Map, *De Nugis*, 78-80. Readings and discussions were similarly heard at the tables of monks who had been raised to episcopal office, e.g. edifying texts were read at Wulfstan of Worcester's table; when everyone had finished eating the bishop would expound the reading in the vulgar tongue, to nourish his guests spiritually, *Vita Wulfstani*, 94. This particular section is missing from the folio but appears in an abridgement of the *Vita*. See *ibid.*, xix-xxii, for details. Also, note *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 104-5, for Gerald of Wales' visit to Archbishop Baldwin's manor: a brief sermon prompted debate on the gluttony of the Black monks, and was followed by a reading on the Cross.

¹³⁷ William of Malmesbury describes one occasion when Wulfstan's knights drank a little more than usual, fell to talking, 'as men do at a banquet', and almost came to blows, *Vita Wulfstani*, 56.

¹³⁸ *Lancelot*, lines 456-8; *Horn*, i, lines 1830-1.

to jeer, and to keep their speech brief.¹³⁹ Whilst it was important to preserve a congenial atmosphere, boisterous laughter was inappropriate.¹⁴⁰ As the Anglo-Norman clerk, Hue de Rotelande, writes in his poem, *Ipomedon*, ‘courtliness is judicious silence’.¹⁴¹

The guest and host might also exchange information during the meal, although this was more likely to occur after the guest had been refreshed. According to Daniel of Beccles the host was to avoid searching questions at table if entertaining a stranger, but could make enquiries after dinner.¹⁴² Similarly, the hosts of the literary works rarely asked any questions of their guests until after dinner had been served, a marked contrast to the monasteries where visitors were questioned upon arrival.¹⁴³ The Welsh were even more extreme and Walter Map explains that they did not make any inquiries until the third day, lest they were accused of miserliness or it appeared they suspected the visitor of taking liberties.¹⁴⁴ In addition to talking, guests might be entertained with music whilst they were eating, and the *Romance of Horn* mentions that harps and fiddles were

¹³⁹ *Quisquis*, lines 18-21. See too *Stans puer*, lines 19, 54, and note Varro’s rules for a banquet, recounted by Cicero, i, 42: a banquet should not be overly talkative nor too silent, for silence was for the bedchamber; conversation should be cheerful and profitable, rather than worrying and futile.

¹⁴⁰ Several of the poems recommend that diners smile and be cheery, but avoid boisterous laughter, e.g. *Dum manducatis* lines 3-4. According to *Urbanus*, lines 882-3, whilst it was good to smile, it was an empty man who shook with laughter.

¹⁴¹ *Ipomedon: Poème de Hue de Roteland*, ed. A. J. Holden, (Paris, 1979), lines 2627-30. Hue was probably from Rhuddlan, Wales, and writing c. 1174-91, Noble, ‘Romances’, 72. For further details see Legge, *Anglo-Norman*, 85-93.

¹⁴² *Urbanus*, lines 2389-91.

¹⁴³ E.g. *Cliges*, lines 4970-94; *Lancelot*, lines 2076-9; *Yvain*, lines 4890-2.

¹⁴⁴ Map, *De Nugis*, 182.

played at Rigmel's wedding feast.¹⁴⁵ Those who dined at Becket's table would not have been entertained in this way, for the archbishop forbade such extravagance which had been prohibited by the prophets.¹⁴⁶

When all had finished eating the tables were cleared: the cloths were removed and the broken bread taken for the poor.¹⁴⁷ After this the diners washed their hands and Daniel of Beccles includes precise instructions on the desired procedure, presumably for the benefit of the household.¹⁴⁸ What happened after dinner when the tables were cleared away? As already mentioned, this was often the time dedicated to the 'business' side of things, with questions and an exchange of information, or simply general chat.¹⁴⁹ The guest who was a stranger might be asked to reveal his identity and background; if known, he might be asked about past adventures or for news of others.¹⁵⁰ In return the host was sometimes able to offer information to help the visitor on his or her way, or alert him of a knightly challenge that offered the chance of honour.¹⁵¹ On a lighter note, the visitor might be entertained with post-dinner stories and the romance, *Yvain*, records that the ladies of Arthur's court invited the knights who

¹⁴⁵ *Horn*, i, line 4124. According to *Giraldi Opera*, vi, 183, guests who arrived at Welsh houses before nightfall were entertained by maidens playing harps.

¹⁴⁶ *Materials for Becket*, iii, 232: the archbishop forbade flutes, horns or a choir; only the voice of God was to be heard.

¹⁴⁷ *Quisquis*, line 22; *Urbanus*, lines 2578-9.

¹⁴⁸ *Urbanus*, lines 2584-92. *Quisquis*, line 22 briefly mentions this.

¹⁴⁹ When Earl Richard of Gloucester was entertained by Bishop Robert Grosseteste in 1235, the two retired after dinner, 'as was customary', *Lanercost Chronicle*, 44-5.

¹⁵⁰ E.g. Arthur had Cliges seated opposite him; after the meal he made inquiries and learned that this was, in fact, his nephew, *Cliges*, lines 4996-5007. See too *Horn*, i, lines 2331-4.

had gathered for Pentecost to tell them of love and past adventures.¹⁵²

Conversely the guest might have an intimate chat with one of the females of the house, either in the garden or on a couch.¹⁵³ Alternatively visitors might indulge in more active pursuits, although this would largely depend on the occasion.

Geoffrey of Monmouth describes that after dinner, those who attended Arthur's plenary court went to the meadow outside the city for sports. There was a mock battle on horseback, shooting with bows and arrows, the hurling of lances and tossing of heavy stones, as well as dice.¹⁵⁴ When King Arthur visited Yvain and Laudine, the party spent the entire week hunting and hawking by the river or going for pleasant rides to neighbouring towns.¹⁵⁵ Quieter pursuits included board games such as draughts and chess, and *Raoul de Cambrai* records that Guerri the Red's daughter invited Bernier to relax in this way.¹⁵⁶

Finally, the presentation of gifts to guests could occur at any time during a visit, but often took place at the end of the meal or stay, drawing events to a close.¹⁵⁷

A number of references are concerned with the host giving to his vassals, i.e. hospitality functioning within lordship as a platform for patronage. Rufus presented gifts to those who attended his great court at Westminster hall in 1099,

¹⁵¹ E.g. Grim the fisherman's daughter, told Haveloc of his true identity and advised him to seek lodgings at Sigar's court, *The Lai d'Haveloc*, tr. J. Weiss, in *The Birth of Romance: an Anthology*, (London, 1992), 141-58, at 151.

¹⁵² *Yvain*, lines 8-16.

¹⁵³ E.g. *Horn*, i, lines 812-5; *Eliduc*, lines 273-80.

¹⁵⁴ Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia*, lines 445-9. See too *Horn*, i, lines 814-5, *Erec*, lines 1983-2000.

¹⁵⁵ *Yvain*, lines 2468-77.

¹⁵⁶ *Raoul*, lines 5458-62.

¹⁵⁷ E.g. in 1184 Henry II presented the archbishop of Cologne with many gifts on his departure, following his five-day visit to London, Diceto, ii, 31.

and indeed many were knighted on this occasion.¹⁵⁸ *Raoul de Cambrai* tells how Lady Alice feasted with her barons and thereafter gave them quantities of fine furs.¹⁵⁹ Conversely the lord, as guest, might receive gifts from a vassal who entertained him. Orderic Vitalis records that in 1104 Henry I visited the fortresses under his control in Normandy and was entertained 'in royal fashion', with lavish gifts.¹⁶⁰ However, gift-giving also took place between guests and hosts where there were no ties of lordship. The chronicles in particular often mention that noteworthy persons gave magnificent gifts to distinguished visitors, an acknowledgement of the guest's high position, and a means of bestowing honour. This also enabled the host to impress his peers. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* records that in 1074 Malcolm and Margaret of Scotland gave Edgar and all his men great gifts and many treasures, namely skins covered with purple cloths, robes of marten's skin, grey fur and ermine, as well as costly robes, and golden and silver vessels.¹⁶¹ In 1178 Henry II entertained William, archbishop of Rheims, for three days and presented the prelate with becoming presents.¹⁶²

Gift-giving between the guest and host could also be of a practical nature, namely to provide the visitor with a necessary item. In *Raoul de Cambrai*, Bernier not only fed the destitute knights but replaced their tattered rags with fine

¹⁵⁸ *Gaimar*, lines 6072-6.

¹⁵⁹ *Raoul*, lines 247-8. Arthur presented his counts, barons and those of the Round Table with lands and wives at his Pentecostal court, *Lanval*, lines 13-18.

¹⁶⁰ *Orderic*, vi, 56.

¹⁶¹ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, ed. D. Whitelock, (Norwich, 1961), 155-6 ('D' redaction). In 1128, Hugh of the Temple was received by 'all good men' and showered with gifts, *ibid.*, 194

¹⁶² Howden, ii, 167.

long robes, breeches, shafts and leggings, as befitted their rank.¹⁶³ Malgis of Ireland presented ‘Gudmod’, alias Horn, with a mantle, for his guest was without one.¹⁶⁴ Herbert de Losinga’s letter of thanks to Bishop Robert (of Chester) for his generous hospitality reveals that the prelate had supplied Herbert with an abundance of food and drink for his homeward journey, and seemingly loaned him a palfrey to carry the goods. After giving the matter some consideration, Herbert decided to follow the bishop’s heart, rather than his words, and retained the animal as a gift. He consoled Robert with the thought that his palfrey would be returned to him in the life hereafter!¹⁶⁵

Therefore gift giving could function as the focal point of the visit, or indeed the very reason for it. However it might serve as an appendage to the act of hospitality, namely something the host did to honour his guest and to preserve his own reputation.¹⁶⁶ Similar to detailed accounts of foodstuffs and mantles, the

¹⁶³ *Raoul*, lines 6898-6918. For additional examples of hosts clothing their rather bedraggled guests and restoring them to their rightful social position, see *Horn*, i, lines 2947-9, and *Amys e Amillyoun*, line 1056.

¹⁶⁴ *Horn*, i, lines 2293-7. Chrétien explains that after exercising, Gornement hurried to dress Perceval in a short mantle, lest his young guest catch cold. For similar reasons Gawain was sent an ermine cloak by the queen, *Perceval*, lines 7699-7716.

¹⁶⁵ Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae*, ep. 19. J. W. Alexander, ‘Herbert of Norwich, 1091-1119: studies in the history of Norman England’, *Studies in Mediaeval and Renaissance History*, 6 (1969), 115-232, suggests that this was probably Robert de Limesey, bishop of Chester. For details of Robert, who was a royal clerk, and nominated to the see of Chester by William I in 1085/6, see *English Episcopal Acta*, xiv: *Coventry and Litchfield, 1072-1154*, ed. M. J. Franklin, (Oxford, 1997), xxii-xxxvi.

¹⁶⁶ Or simply expected on the occasion: the Queen presented Alexander with a fine shirt on his dubbing, *Cliges*, lines 1163-5.

author could describe the great splendour of the gift to enliven the text, introduce a legend or even add a touch of mystery.¹⁶⁷

(b) The accommodation of guests

Guests did not necessarily stay the night, but frequently did so, and indeed this was often the impetus for their visit. The courtesy texts and chronicles make little explicit reference to the lodging arrangements, and there is nothing comparable to Gerald's detailed account of the sleeping habits of the Welsh.¹⁶⁸

The few examples that actually refer to the arrangements are mostly concerned with unusual circumstances or exceptional individuals.¹⁶⁹ However the literary texts often describe the bed or the chamber or hall in great detail, and several points emerge. Firstly, guests who were staying the night might be shown to their room or couch by the lady of the house: the fair maiden who was hosting Gawain and his friend led them both to their beds after they had dined; Yvain was escorted to his room by the wife and daughter of his host family.¹⁷⁰

Secondly, most guests who stayed in a castle or manor house slept in the hall: Chrétien explains that Lancelot's hostess led him to a bed which had been prepared in the middle of the hall. Chrétien emphasises that these had smooth

¹⁶⁷ E.g. the sword given to Perceval by the Fisher King is described as having a pommel of the finest gold in Arabia or Greece, and a scabbard which was the work of a Venetian goldsmith, *Perceval*, lines 3150-2. See *Erec*, lines 5282-5312, for the detailed account of the splendid palfrey given to Enide by Guivret and his sisters.

¹⁶⁸ *Chantor*, 100, simply mentions that Archbishop Thurstan stayed with the king for several days at his palace at Windsor; Diceto ii, 31, records that King Henry II splendidly entertained the archbishop of Cologne at Westminster palace for five days.

¹⁶⁹ E.g. John of Salisbury, describes Pope Eugenius' preparations for Louis and Eleanor's two-day visit to Tusculum in 1149, *Historia Pontificalis, Memoirs of the Papal Court*, ed. and tr. M. Chibnall, (Oxford, 1956), 61.

¹⁷⁰ *Lancelot*, lines 467-75; *Yvain*, lines 4010-13.

white sheets and silk covers rather than rough straw or quilted padding, and thus implies that such luxury was exceptional.¹⁷¹ While few would have been as splendidly lodged as Lancelot, Gerald of Wales' remarks suggest that accommodation in England was less primitive than in Wales. Gerald explains that in Wales a communal bed placed along one of the walls was sparsely filled with rushes; a stiff, harsh sheet, locally made, provided the only covering and everybody went to bed together. The cold was a major concern and Gerald describes how the Welsh spent half the night hopping in and out of bed to warm themselves by the fire and soothe away their aches!¹⁷²

While it was generally expected that guests would sleep in the hall, noteworthy visitors might be shown to a private chamber, probably the host's private room.¹⁷³ In a more humble abode, the host might yield his bed to a distinguished guest.¹⁷⁴ The *Book of St. Gilbert* records how a couple from Stamford who accommodated Gilbert were duly rewarded with the birth of a child, and the account reveals that the lady prepared a place for the holy man on her couch, so that through his merit, (presumably his spiritual intercession, and not his physical

¹⁷¹ *Lancelot*, lines 508-13. Indeed, Beccles acknowledges that although none save the lord were permitted to urinate in the hall at dinner, guests staying the night could do so, *Urbanus*, lines 1085-7.

¹⁷² *Giraldi Opera*, vi, 184.

¹⁷³ The *Life* of Bernard recounts one occasion before his conversion when Bernard was the guest of a certain noble lady. Bernard, as the most honoured of the guests, was shown to a separate room. However, Bernard was not to have much rest or privacy that night for his hostess was greatly taken with his beauty and on several occasions came to his bed! See Ohler, *Mediaeval Traveller*, 180.

¹⁷⁴ Eadmer tells of a certain Florentine who yielded his bed to Archbishop Anselm; however, the host was subsequently banned from lying where such a holy man had slept, lest he should take away a quality from the bed that had been touched by the saintly prelate, *Vita Anselmi*, 128-9.

intervention) she might be found worthy of bearing a son, as the Shunammite did through Elisha (2 Kings 4).¹⁷⁵

(c) Healthcare

The literary works often refer to knights received as guests on account of injury. The *Tristan* story tells how the wounded hero was taken to King Tantris' castle on two occasions. On the first he was healed by the 'medicinal skill' of the king's daughter, Yseult; on the second he was tended by Yseult, her mother and two maidservants.¹⁷⁶ Such accounts are not exclusive to the literary works.

Simeon of Durham records that when Henry I was out riding with Bishop Robert of Lincoln in 1123, the prelate suddenly fell from his horse, 'like a dying man', but was caught by the king who brought him to his lodgings. However Robert died the next day.¹⁷⁷

As previously mentioned, the household emerges as a self-sufficient unit and it is usually the females who tend the sick or wounded visitor. It is only rarely that we hear of an outsider being summoned. In Chrétien's romance, *Lancelot*, King Bademagu sent for 'the aged and excellent' Christian, who excelled all the

¹⁷⁵ *Book of St. Gilbert*, 112-4. Herbert de Losinga, *Epistolae*, ep. 19, alludes to Abraham and Sarah's reward of the birth of a child for their hospitality to the angels.

¹⁷⁶ This is taken from Fedrick's summary of Bedier's reconstruction of the story missing from Beroul, *The Romance of Tristan*, tr. A. S. Fedrick, (Harmondsworth, 1970), 42-3. For discussion of the missing folio, see *ibid.*, 11. Yvain was cured by the medical skills of his host's daughters, *Yvain*, lines 4689-93.

¹⁷⁷ *Symeonis Monachi, Historia Regum*, in *Opera Omni*, ed. T. Arnold, (2 vols.; London, 1882-5), ii, 268.

doctors in Montpellier, to tend Lancelot's wounds.¹⁷⁸ In general care is provided by the household and is fairly basic. For instance, Chrétien describes how the knight, Guivret, led the wounded Erec to a well-aired room away from the noise.¹⁷⁹ Guivret's sisters then removed the dead flesh and applied ointments and dressings, showing both diligence and skill.¹⁸⁰ They repeatedly washed the wounds, reapplied ointments and made Erec eat four times or more each day, making sure he avoided garlic and pepper. Within a fortnight the knight was healed.¹⁸¹ Other accounts refer to bleeding and bathing, although these treatments were not simply intended for the sick: *Equitan* suggests that the former might function as a form of recreation and even a reason for extending an invitation.¹⁸²

(d) Protection

Finally, the host was responsible for protecting the one whom he had taken under his roof, especially as the guest had renounced his arms and was thus defenceless. The literary texts suggest that those who failed to protect their

¹⁷⁸ *Lancelot*, lines 3481-8. For the importance of Montpellier as a medical centre, see N. Siraisi, *Mediaeval and Early Renaissance Medicine: An Introduction to Knowledge and Practices*, (Chicago and London, 1990), e.g. 14, 34.

¹⁷⁹ *Erec*, lines 5151-3. Yvain's host gave him a quiet room, as he was ill, *Yvain*, lines 4686-9;

¹⁸⁰ Ointments are sometimes mentioned to add mystery, e.g. King Bademagu treated Lancelot with the ointment of the three Marys, *Lancelot*, lines 3358-61.

¹⁸¹ *Erec*, lines 5153-79. Marie de France explains that Guigemar was taken to the lady's chamber and placed on her bed. His thigh was washed from water in golden basins, the blood removed with fine pieces of white linen and the wound tightly bound. Thereafter, he was given loving care, *Guigemar*, in *Les Lais de Marie de France*, 5-32, lines 364-78.

¹⁸² For bleeding and bathing, see *Amys e Amillyoun*, line 1052; see *Yvain*, line 3130, for bathing.

guests (and worse still, those who attacked them!¹⁸³) incurred great shame. A vavassour who lodged Gawain even put his duties as host above his feudal obligations and warned his lord that if he continued to threaten Gawain on his manor, he would renounce his homage and that of his lineage.¹⁸⁴ *Perceval* describes how Guinganbresil unwittingly welcomed as his guest the man who killed his father, namely Gawain, but was honour-bound to shelter his visitor. When the townsfolk began to attack Gawain the king vowed that ‘for honour’s sake’ he would ensure his guest was not captured.¹⁸⁵

Therefore, the host was responsible for the guest’s protection while he was on his property, comparable with rulers who were liable for the safety of those travelling through their lands. The latter were equally disgraced if this was dishonoured. Orderic notes Rufus’ grief and shame c. 1091, when Robert of Mowbray, his nephew and knights killed Malcolm of Scotland near the borders. The king of the Scots, who was unarmed, was returning from England where Duke Robert had helped to restore peace between the two kings. Indeed, Malcolm had taken leave from Rufus, who had honoured him with gifts.¹⁸⁶ Chrétien’s King Bademagu was similarly aggrieved when the men of Logres

¹⁸³ For a rather light-hearted example, see *Raoul*, lines 7114-9: when Erchanbaut’s wife was on the verge of hitting the pilgrim who was their guest (Bernier in disguise) over the head with an apple-wood staff, her husband intervened, condemned her ‘sinful behaviour’ and asserted that no harm would come to their guest.

¹⁸⁴ *Perceval*, lines 5240-7.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, lines 5862-8, 5890-5905. Whereas the Bedouin’s house was to be a sanctuary for even his worst enemy, see Pitt-Rivers, *Fate of Schechem*, 115, there is no evidence in the literary or non-literary sources that hosts were compelled to lodge known enemies.

¹⁸⁶ *Orderic*, iv, 268-70, at 270.

captured (and supposedly killed) Lancelot and his men, who were travelling under his protection,

On hearing this King Bademagu was greatly upset ...
 for they had brought him such grief and caused him
 such shame that he himself would bear the blame for
 it unless he took vengeance.¹⁸⁷

III. The departure

Just as the visitor to the monastery was to notify the guestmaster of his departure, so those staying with seculars and laity were expected to ask leave of their host: *Lancelot* describes how the hero and his companion took leave of their hostess ‘with proper courtesy’; in *Raoul de Cambrai*, Count Guerri asked leave of Lady Alice after the feast that she held for her barons.¹⁸⁸ This was not only a sign of courtesy, but an acknowledgement of the host’s services and indeed a chance for the guest to express his gratitude.¹⁸⁹ For example, Erec, ‘who was well-mannered’, thanked Guivret and his sisters for their help in nursing him back to health, and assured them of his devotion.¹⁹⁰ Those who did not take leave of their host caused insult. This was usually deliberate and intended as an open

¹⁸⁷ *Lancelot*, lines 4143-56.

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, lines 591-5; *Raoul*, lines 249-50. *Lai d’Haveloc*, 150, tells how Argentile took leave of the hermit whom she visited for advice.

¹⁸⁹ Comparable to vassals taking leave of their lord or the king. See S. D. B. Brown, ‘Leave-taking in the twelfth century’, *History* 79 (1994), 199-215, who discusses leave taking in relation to lordly authority.

¹⁹⁰ *Erec*, lines 5248-52. See *Urbanus*, lines, 1467-70, for the importance of expressing one’s gratitude.

display of displeasure or dissatisfaction.¹⁹¹ Wace records the duke of Cornwall's anger at Uther's coronation, for the king publicly attempted to seduce his wife, Igerne. The duke seized his wife's hand and departed without asking leave of the king. Uther was angered and warned that to leave court without his permission was a shame and disgrace. Enmity ensued.¹⁹²

By announcing his departure the guest initiated the termination of the visit. In response the host – ideally – showed great sorrow and urged his guest to stay, or perhaps to return again. This behaviour emerges as a *topos*. It counterbalanced the joy and enthusiasm on the guest's arrival, and had the similar effect of demonstrating the host's willingness to provide his services, as well as offering the writer a means by which he could underline the guest's worthiness.¹⁹³ Gerald of Wales explains that when Baldwin and he lodged at Rhuddlan castle with Dafydd, Prince Owein's eldest son, their host pressed them to remain.¹⁹⁴ Chrétien's vavassour who accommodated Calogrenant requested that the knightly guest recompense his services by returning to stay with him. Calogrenant granted him this boon, lest he seemed ungrateful.¹⁹⁵

Other sources reveal that hosts were not always so enthusiastic and that the ideal was not necessarily practised. As previously noted, Walter Map presents himself

¹⁹¹ It is thus interesting to note Brown's remark that leave-taking was not so much a petition to depart as clarification of the context of departure, i.e. that it was prudent to take leave of one's lord, for to depart without doing so was to endanger the relationship, Brown, 'Leave-taking', 210, see too *ibid.*, 211, 213.

¹⁹² *Wace*, lines 8603-10.

¹⁹³ Similar to the reception of renowned guests at monasteries, discussed in chapter V.

¹⁹⁴ *Giraldi Opera*, vi, 136-7.

¹⁹⁵ *Yvain*, lines 260-6. See too *ibid.*, lines 3322-31.

as the reluctant host saddled with guests whom he had no wish to entertain. Walter describes how he would return from church expecting (and hoping) that the visitors had left, and would be horrified to learn they were to stay for dinner! Walter's account must be interpreted as part of his efforts to portray himself as the exploited master and the unwilling host. Nevertheless it adds a touch of reality and suggests that not all hosts were eager to offer their services, and indeed were often glad to see the back of their guests.

The lawsuits and agreements between lords and their vassals or tenants, briefly mentioned in the first section of this chapter, are further testimony to the fact that hospitality was not always willingly undertaken. These often stipulate exactly how long the lord could remain and to what precisely he was entitled, whether to reduce costs and restrict the financial burden of such a stay, or to resist lordship and secure liberty. For example, in 1215 it was agreed that Ivo of Deene, a tenant of the abbot of Westminster, should honourably receive the prelate and his household once a year with fifteen days' written notice. On the first day Ivo was to provide sufficient food, drink and other necessities associated with 'honourable entertainment'. The following day he was to refresh the party, and after dinner they were only entitled to drink once, and were not to receive any food unless they bought it. According to the agreement Ivo was also to provide two wax candles to burn before the abbot on his first night, and each of these was to weigh a pound. Whatever remained unburned was to be given to the abbot's chamberlain.¹⁹⁶

The host could also honour his guest (and exercise his own courtesy) by offering the visitor an escort, or indeed accompanying him in person.¹⁹⁷ According to William of Malmesbury, no honourable knight would refuse this to any man, not even his greatest enemy.¹⁹⁸ Once again this mirrors the initial reception: the visitor was welcomed or conducted onto the host's territory and seen off his lands. This was a final act of courtesy and a means of honouring the guest, especially if, like Erec and Enide, he was escorted in great splendour: Chrétien relates that after their wedding at Arthur's court, the couple were accompanied by a great procession of 'easily seven score men'.¹⁹⁹ The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that in 1074, Malcolm and Margaret of Scotland escorted Edgar and all his naval force out of his jurisdiction with great honour.²⁰⁰ However the escort was also symbolic, for the host's responsibilities did not terminate until the visitor had left his territory.²⁰¹ The host who escorted his guest beyond these boundaries exceeded the demands of hospitality, and it is thus significant that in *Lancelot*, King Bademagu himself accompanied the Queen and

¹⁹⁶ Printed in F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism 1066-1166*, (2nd edn., Oxford, 1961), 267-9.

¹⁹⁷ The guest did not necessarily accept the offer of an escort and, as discussed below, the knights of Chrétien's romances generally refused this unless it aided their progress. Still, it is important to note that these refusals did not cause offence: this was understood as a sign of the knight's impatience to continue unaided, indicative of his dedication to the knightly quest, e.g. see *Erec*, lines 4271-3, *Yvain*, lines 3315-9.

¹⁹⁸ *The Historia Nouella of William of Malmesbury*, tr. K. R. Potter, (Edinburgh, 1955), 35.

¹⁹⁹ *Erec*, lines 2254-5. See *ibid.*, lines 1426-33: the count wished to send part of his retinue with Erec, 'that they might honour him by going with him'; Erec declined.

²⁰⁰ *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, 156.

²⁰¹ It is thus interesting that according to the anthropologist, Pitt-Rivers, the host who walked his guest to the doors or gates showed concern for the visitor's welfare, but also the limits to it, Pitt-Rivers, *Fate of Shechem*, 108. This is similar to kings escorting distinguished persons out of their lands, e.g. *Giraldi Opera*, vi, 122, *Cliges*, lines 3349-50. Note that in 1158, Henry II courteously escorted Louis throughout the duchy and bore his expenses, Torigni, *Chronicle*, 197-8.

her entourage beyond the frontiers of his realm.²⁰² An escort was also a practical measure and provided guidance to strangers in unfamiliar territory: the boatman who entertained Gawain accompanied his guest to the magical Castle Champguin; the vavassour's two sons escorted Lancelot so that they might show him the shortest route to the queen.²⁰³

IV. The length of stay

Inevitably, the duration of visits varied greatly and were largely dependent on the relationship between the guest and host, as well as the reason for the visit. While the sources are usually silent and sometimes vague,²⁰⁴ it seems that most visitors stayed for a night or two while passing by or stopping off on business.²⁰⁵ Walter Map suggests that passers-by who were unknown to their host generally expected one night's accommodation.²⁰⁶ The knights of the romances, eager to proceed on their quest, usually stayed a night or two with their hosts and only prolonged their visit if ill, in love or attending court and celebrating a special feast or tournament.²⁰⁷ Most incidental references in the chronicles, which generally

²⁰² *Lancelot*, lines 5279-85.

²⁰³ *Perceval*, lines 7378-80; *Lancelot*, lines 2178-8. See too *Lai d'Haveloc*, 151.

²⁰⁴ E.g. Archbishop Thurstan stayed 'a few nights' with the king and queen at Windsor, *Chantor*, 100.

²⁰⁵ However King Arthur and his court stayed as long as they wished with Yvain and Laudine, *Yvain*, lines 2478-80. Still, most hosts would have only been able to support a distinguished visitor and his retinue for a night or two; Robert Grosseteste advised the dowager Countess of Lincoln to plan her sojourn for the coming year at Michaelmas so as she would not overburden and deplete the places where she stayed with too lengthy a visit, E. Miller and J. Hatcher, *Mediaeval England: Rural Society and Economic Change 1086-1348*, (London, 1978), 198-9.

²⁰⁶ The fact that Walter's household urged him to offer the guests dinner on their second day, for such generosity would surely secure him a bishopric, suggests this was considered exceptional, i.e. going the extra mile, Map, *De Nugis*, 22.

²⁰⁷ E.g. *Erec*, lines 2072-2236.

relate to kings or prelates, record short visits. In 1201, King John stayed one night at Cottingham with William Stutville; the archbishop of Rheims remained at the palace of Westminster for three days in 1178; Gerald of Wales stayed for two days at Archbishop Baldwin's manor.²⁰⁸

It is therefore interesting to note clause 23 of the *Leges Edwardi Confessoris*, which is concerned with preserving the peace. The treatise, composed before the middle of the twelfth century, claimed to contain the laws which were in force under Edward the Confessor, but probably reflects practices at the time of writing.²⁰⁹ Although the clause is concerned with the host's legal responsibilities for one whom he had taken under his roof, it is of interest regarding the perception of the guest. According to clause 23, a householder could entertain another, friend or stranger, ('cuth other uncuth') for two nights and was not responsible if the lodger was guilty of an offence. However if the guest stayed for a third night and was guilty of an offence, the host was to produce him to justice as one of his household, which in English is expressed as 'Ta night gest, third night agen hine', ('Two nights a guest, the third, one of your household').²¹⁰ The inclusion of a vernacular custom in a Latin text is particularly striking.

²⁰⁸ Howden, iv, 156; Diceto, i, 426; *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 104 ff. Gerald and Baldwin stayed one night at Cardigan with Prince Rhys, *ibid.*, vi, 112. Richard stayed three nights at Tancred's palace, Howden iii, 97; Duke Robert was entertained for three days as a friend by Malcolm of Scotland, c. 1091, *Orderic*, iv, 268.

²⁰⁹ See B. O'Brian, *God's Peace and King's Peace: The Laws of Edward the Confessor*, (Philadelphia, 1999), 182, for clause 23. For discussion of the treatise, see *ibid.*, 7, and for details of clause 23, see *ibid.*, 86-7.

²¹⁰ O'Brian, *God's Peace*, 87, discusses similar laws which were in effect under Cnut. Compare to the Assizes of Northampton, 1176, which stipulated that it was unlawful to entertain any stranger for more than one night if the host was unwilling to give security, Howden, ii, 89. See too the Assizes of Clarendon in 1166: vagabonds were only to be lodged for one night in the

It was not simply a case of how long the guest stayed, but how long he ought to remain. Once again this raises the question of lordship and hospitality, and the tenant or vassal's obligation to receive his lord for a specified period. As previously mentioned, Ivo of Deene was bound to receive the abbot of Westminster and his men for one night each year, and whilst the abbot might remain longer, he was to do so at his own expense. Following a lawsuit in 1192, William of Darnford chose to pay the considerable sum of forty shillings yearly instead of entertaining the abbot of Westminster and his retinue for a night.²¹¹ The Battle Abbey chronicle states that their abbot was entitled to two nights' hospitality each year from the rectors of the dower churches. The chronicler explains that following the anarchy, Abbot Walter planned a visitation of Battle's properties and sent word to the priests and clerks of the dower churches to prepare for him the customary two nights' lodging on their property. Whereas Walter was honourably received by Withgar, the parson of Mendlesham, Alan de Bello Fargo refused to receive the abbot at Brantham and maintained that he was under no obligation to do so.²¹² This particular example raises another important point, and one previously discussed in chapter V, namely that constraints on the length of stay were not simply a matter of expense, but of liberty and lordship.

borough unless they or their horses were ill, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History, From the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward I*, rev. H. W. C. Davis, (9th edn., Oxford, 1948), 170-3.

²¹¹ *WAC*, no. 324. See too Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 84.

²¹² *Battle*, 236-40.

Similar to the monastic material, there is little direct evidence for the expense of hospitality.²¹³ As we have already seen with Ivo of Deene, agreements between lords and tenants might define the duties of guest and host alike, stipulating how long the visitor could stay and what exactly he should receive. Whilst these details were intended to secure for the lord everything to which he was entitled, they were also to ensure that the tenant was not exploited and financially overburdened with this entertainment. The fact that several of the agreements state that the tenant should receive fifteen days' written warning of the abbot's visit is a further indication that provision for the abbot of Westminster and his men was a considerable undertaking, and one which involved substantial preparation.²¹⁴

Finally, a passage in the foundation history of Byland Abbey reveals that hospitality could be a weighty expense for a great lord. This describes the arrangement by which Roger Mowbray provisioned the monks of Byland, c. 1140. The community received a tenth of the goods from Roger's household, which was collected by a lay brother of the abbey who followed the party. If the household was too remote from the abbey, the lay brother sold the food and sent the money to the abbot. However the writer explains that on account of the number of guests, 'never lacking to a great lord', the seneschal and provisioner

²¹³ However it is interesting to note Hill's calculation that in the early thirteenth century bed and breakfast was c. ½ d. per night, and a substantial meal with meat and fish c. 1¼-1½d, M. C. Hill, *The King's Messengers 1198-1377: A Contribution to the History of the Royal Household*, (London, 1961), 81.

²¹⁴ Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 252, concludes that the abbot of Westminster must have travelled with a substantial retinue and that many of his officials took over the host's household. See too Stenton, *First Century*, 73-4.

of the household were often obliged to borrow the lay brother's tenth to avoid a failure of supplies.²¹⁵

V. Reciprocity

As noted throughout, the guest was expected to preserve concord during his stay. In addition the visitor could honour his host, and indeed terminate his obligations, by offering a gift, rendering his services or promising hospitality in the future.²¹⁶ The knights of the literary texts usually concluded their relationship with hosts of a lower standing by giving a gift on their departure. This immediate and tangible return released them from future obligations. For example, the burgher who lodged Erec and Enide received seven chargers and was well pleased with his reward.²¹⁷ In contrast those who stayed with their peers or superiors often made a promise of future hospitality, thereby sustaining the relationship. In doing so they remained indebted until there was ultimately a reversal of roles and duties. Having received hospitality from King Bademagu, Arthur's queen graciously thanked her host, bade him farewell and offered the services of her husband and herself in the future. As Chrétien remarks, 'She could make no finer promise'.²¹⁸ Nevertheless, these categories were not absolute for the noble might offer to entertain a humble host at a later date, but

²¹⁵ When the *provisor hospicii* found out he was angry and advised Roger, his lord, to make a gift of land to that value to the community in recompense, *Fundatio Domus Bellelandae*, in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, v, 350. For a translation, see Stenton, *First Century*, 72-3.

²¹⁶ Or granting a boon, e.g. *Yvain*, lines 554-6. A return of hospitality was not necessarily prearranged, *Orderic*, ii, 62, tells how the archbishop of Rheims gladly welcomed Fulk, a monk of St. Évroul, to repay the hospitality he and his household had received from the community when he was bishop of Le Mans, for he had often stayed with them on his way to court.

²¹⁷ *Erec*, lines 3500-4. See too *ibid.*, lines 3175-8.

²¹⁸ *Lancelot*, lines 5286-92, at 5290.

by delaying the return of favour he perpetuated their relationship and in so doing elevated his former host.²¹⁹

Regardless of whether the host was of humble standing or a peer, the knightly visitor might volunteer aid, perhaps offering to fight his host's enemies. In *Perceval*, the hero defeated Blanceflor's enemy and freed Beaurepaire from oppression; in *Yvain*, the hero pursued and captured Count Alir, and presented him as a trophy to the noble lady who had hosted him.²²⁰ However these cannot simply be interpreted as acts of reciprocity: there were potentially several codes in operation. The knights were not necessarily responding as guests but rather fulfilling their duty as fighting men.²²¹ This is significant regarding our interpretation of miracles worked by holy men for their hosts, and whether these should be seen as reciprocity for hospitality (either a direct return by the saint or God rewarding on his behalf).²²² Just as the knight might act as a bearer of arms, so it seems that the holy man might respond in his capacity as a saintly individual, either volunteering his assistance or reacting to a request. The latter seems to have been the case when Wulfstan of Worcester helped cure the maid of a noble couple who had entertained him. 'From womanly modesty and reverence for the bishop', the lady of the house was afraid to speak with

²¹⁹ For examples of noble guests who later entertained their more lowly hosts, see *Perceval*, lines 7993; *Erec*, lines 6540-9.

²²⁰ E.g. *Yvain*, lines 3138-3289; *Perceval*, lines 406-15.

²²¹ M. T. Bruckner, *Narrative Invention in Twelfth-Century French Romance: The Convention of Hospitality 1160-1200*, (Kentucky, 1980), 139-40, implies that the knights were merely responding as guests, i.e. that such acts were simply intended as reciprocity.

²²² E.g. Emeline, a lady from Chaumont, recovered her health by lying on the couch where Becket had slept as her guest, *Materials for Becket*, i, 450-1. See above, pp. 341-2, for the couple from Stamford who entertained Gilbert and were rewarded with the birth of a child.

Wulfstan and thus told Coleman, his chaplain, that her maidservant suffered a tumour in the head, had a tongue like an ox and was unable to eat. Coleman passed on the information to Wulfstan, who dipped a gold Byzantine coin which had supposedly been pierced with the spear that had pierced Christ's side, into some water. He sent the liquid to the maid who recovered.²²³ It is unlikely that Wulfstan's help was a conscious act of reciprocity. His position as guest simply confronted him with one in need of his assistance.

Conclusion

Therefore clerical and lay hosts were expected to extend a personal welcome. Whereas monastic hospitality operated alongside the claustral life and visitors were, in theory, largely kept apart from the brethren, the guest's arrival was generally accommodated by secular households who adapted or reorganised their domestic activities accordingly. The involvement of women further distinguishes secular from monastic hospitality. However, as the analysis shows, there were also less fundamental differences. For instance, clerical and lay hosts did not usually question their guests until after dinner, and those of means were expected to serve lavish spreads and provide worldly entertainment.²²⁴

Nevertheless, there were various similarities between the two, such as the importance of showing joy, preserving a congenial and harmonious atmosphere, the potential significance of the seating arrangements, and the fact that

²²³ *Vita Wulfstani*, 32-3. Wulfstan's host, Swertlin, had built the church at Wycombe, and entertained the prelate after the dedication ceremony.

²²⁴ Whilst this was not absent from monastic hospitality, e.g. see above, pp. 169, 233-4, it was considered inappropriate.

distinguished visitors were met with a procession. The prayer, blessing and kiss administered to the guest on his arrival at the monastery is comparable to his dismounting, disarming and reception of a mantle at the threshold of a secular dwelling. In addition, various themes such as honour, lordship and liberty are common to both. Thus, at times monastic and secular hospitality followed quite different paths, but on other occasions shared common ground. This is of interest to Nicholls' comparison of religious organisation and secular courtesy. He argues that hospitality was an aspect of monastic life with strong notions of courtesy, and that monastic manners and rules developed alongside and directly influenced the rules of courtesy as they were later articulated by seculars, i.e. that etiquette was not merely a secular phenomenon but inherent to the regular life.²²⁵ Leading on from this, John of Salisbury's *Policraticus* implies that courtly ideals and practices were neither anathema nor essential to the regular life. In his discussion of *humanitas* to guests, John maintains that this is espoused, though muted, in the *Rule*, and not simply in a religious, but a courteous way. However, he describes two passages in the Cistercian customs relating to hospitality as 'foreign to all civility, not to say humanity', namely the fact that meat should not be served to guests, nor indeed anything be brought to them. John, who advocated a more relaxed approach, believed that concessions should be made on account of guests,

Credederim satius esse et perfectius ut se ipsam paululum
uirtus soluat modesteque desipiat.²²⁶

²²⁵ Nicholls, *Matters of Courtesy*, 21, 22-44, esp. 43-4.

²²⁶ *Policraticus*, ii, 326.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

The administration of hospitality in the monasteries was important to the monks on spiritual and worldly levels. By receiving guests the brethren acted in accordance with Matthew 25, obeyed chapter 53 of the *Rule* and thus contributed to securing their own salvation. Hospitality also enabled the community to function within secular society, consolidating relationships and encouraging future patronage. It was, moreover, necessary to balance heavenly and earthly concerns, for although the reception of guests was a means of fulfilling the monastic ideal, the visitors' presence in the monastery was potentially disruptive to claustral life.

The thesis has, however, questioned the assumption that monastic hospitality was largely concerned with receiving lay patrons and pilgrims. The sources make few explicit references to these guests and analysis underlines the importance of hospitality to visiting regulars, including stranger monks, those from a cell of the house or joined in confraternity. Monastic guests were considered outsiders but were generally more closely integrated with the host community than other visitors. For instance, they were more likely to join the brethren in the refectory, attend the hours and lodge in the claustral area.

The thesis has also underlined the variety and flexibility of arrangements associated with hospitality. Practices varied and indeed the facilities differed depending on the resources at each house and its popularity as a stopping-off point. There were often several buildings within the precincts assigned to guests;

where the visitor was entertained was dependent on his identity and time of arrival, the occasion and who else was staying at the house. For example, whereas most Benedictines who arrived at Bury on horseback were received by the intern hosteller and entertained in the houses assigned to him, other regulars were shown to the guesthall that was administered by the extern hosteller. Distinguished visitors were usually received in the abbot's court, either in his hall or chamber, others were refreshed in the extern hosteller's guesthall but generally accommodated in the vill.¹ Procedures were discussed, debated and revised; guidelines were set down but not rigidly imposed, and ultimately the abbot or prior could exercise his discretion.

Not everyone who visited a monastery was entertained there, and although the monasteries were an important source of accommodation they were not the only option. There is little evidence for inn-keeping as an occupation at this time,² but incidental references reveal that householders offered lodgings to friends and strangers on a more informal basis. Indeed when describing miracles worked by particular holy men, the saints' *Lives* sometimes mention their lay hosts. In

¹ See *Bury*, 5-7, 25-6. According to the thirteenth-century customary of Westminster visiting Benedictines were received in the guesthouse or inner hostel, although those who arrived alone and on foot or came after Compline were either entertained in the outside hostel or the vill. Non-Benedictine regulars, Friars Minors and Preachers, and relatives of the monks were received in the outer hostel or accommodated in the vill, *Westminster*, 86-8.

² M. Carlin, *Mediaeval Southwark*, (London, 1996), 192-3, discusses inn-keeping and maintains that while records of this as an occupation date from the late twelfth century, references are rare until c. 1290, and it did not really become common until the fourteenth century. However Carlin makes the important point that earlier references might be disguised, i.e. that the terminology is perhaps deceptive. See too G. Rosser, *Mediaeval Westminster 1200-1540*, (Oxford, 1989), 122-32, who argues that although hostelries existed in Westminster before 1350, records only reveal a few and references are sparse until the late fourteenth century.

addition, as mentioned in chapter I, individuals and communities often had rights to independent lodgings where they could stay when travelling or on business.³ Abbot Adam and the chapter of Meaux, a Cistercian foundation, granted a messuage and buildings in Hedon to Robert, son of Benedict the chamberlain, and his wife, c.1150-60, but retained the right to lodge there when coming and going from their grange at Salthaugh. Their founder, William of Albermarle, had originally granted them the property for this reason.⁴ According to Gerald of Wales patrons of Grandmontine communities placed a man with a house and household in every town and manor, who was entrusted with the monks' business and was to provide the brethren with lodging, when necessary.⁵ Therefore whilst the English monasteries of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries were of some consequence to pilgrims, patrons and passers-by, we should not overemphasise their role as a hospice.

The thesis has demonstrated that Benedictine hospitality in England, c. 1070-c. 1245, was in some ways similar to that administered by other religious Orders. However there were also differences. For example, the Carthusians sought salvation through solitude and were overtly less receptive to guests than their Benedictine counterparts; Gerald of Wales suggests that whilst those visiting Benedictine monasteries were likely to enjoy a hearty feast – as were their hosts – most guests at Cistercian houses were rather more frugally entertained.

³ See above, pp. 5-6. For general remarks on monastic communities holding urban property, see Moorhouse, 'Monastic estates', esp. 55. For the Cistercians, see Williams, *Cistercians*, 389-95; Williams, *Welsh Cistercians*, ii, 313-4; Wardrop, *Fountains*, 113-4.

⁴ *EYC*, iii, no. 1315. Earl William had also founded the local market centre of Hedon. Salthaugh was a grange belonging to the house.

⁵ *Giraldi Opera*, iv, 258.

Chapter IX has shown that there were also similarities and differences between the ideals and practice of Benedictine hospitality and that administered by royalty, clerics and laity. Most notably, whereas Benedictine hosts were, in theory, driven primarily by spiritual ideals, non-monastic hosts were essentially concerned with worldly ambitions. The physical separation between guests and the host community further distinguished monastic and non-monastic hospitality. Nevertheless, analysis suggests that the administration of monastic hospitality, like that in secular society, was not simply concerned with food and lodgings, but was related to issues of lordship, liberty and honour.

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