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978-1-108-04810-1 - *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*: Volume 3

Edited by William Henry Hart

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Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, or The Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland during the Middle Ages, usually referred to as the 'Rolls Series', was an ambitious project first proposed to the British Treasury in 1857 by Sir John Romilly, the Master of the Rolls, and quickly approved for public funding. Its purpose was to publish historical source material covering the period from the arrival of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII, 'without mutilation or abridgement', starting with the 'most scarce and valuable' texts. A 'correct text' of each work would be established by collating 'the best manuscripts', and information was to be included in every case about the manuscripts used, the life and times of the author, and the work's 'historical credibility', but there would be no additional annotation. The first books were published in 1858, and by the time it was completed in 1896 the series contained 99 titles and 255 volumes. Although many of the works have since been re-edited by modern scholars, the enterprise as a whole stands as a testament to the Victorian revival of interest in the middle ages.

Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae

The abbey of St Peter, which later became Gloucester Cathedral, had its origins in the seventh century and was re-established in the eleventh. It benefited considerably from Norman patronage, growing in importance, size and wealth. Henry III was crowned there in 1216, and it is where Edward II was buried. It subsequently became a place of pilgrimage, and received several benefactions from Edward III. Volume 3 of the abbey's records, edited by W.H. Hart and published in 1867, contains charters 909–1029, an appendix and glossary, and an index to the three volumes. There are detailed manorial extents dating from the 1260s, and an undated treatise on the management of manors. The volume ends with an assortment of legal and other documents from a range of dates, including sixteenth-century insertions. The cartulary is a valuable source of information on medieval manorial landholding in the West Country.

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VOLUME 3

EDITED BY WILLIAM HENRY HART



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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

13180.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
December 1857.*

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HISTORIA
ET
CARTULARIUM
MONASTERII SANCTI PETRI
GLOUCESTRIÆ.

VOL. III.

EDITED

BY

WILLIAM HENRY HART,

OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE ;

FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON ;

MEMBRE CORRESPONDANT DE LA SOCIÉTÉ DES ANTIQUAIRES DE NORMANDIE.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HER MAJESTY'S
TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

LONDON :
LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, AND DYER.

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1867.

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**INTRODUCTION.**  
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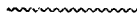
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INTRODUCTION.



THAT our ancient monasteries, whose history in all the minutiae of detail, which though unknown to, or scarcely heeded by the writers of the past generation, is now fully placed at our disposal through the well-directed efforts of modern research, did in their day exercise a vast and powerful influence over the people of this land, both in a religious, as well as in a political and social point of view, is a proposition to which few persons will refuse their assent. However much these institutions may be unsuited to the spirit of the age (to use a familiar but frequently misapplied expression) there can be no doubt that in their day they were of inestimable advantage to the localities where chance had placed them. We are accustomed at the present time to boast of our numerous charitable institutions, and perhaps to over-rate their importance in comparison with the efforts of a former age ; we have our hospitals, our infirmaries, our orphanages, our homes, our asylums, our parochial schools, our visiting societies ; and the benefits which flow from the judicious administration of these charities are undoubtedly of great magnitude ; but we must not forget that many of the functions which are now discharged by these institutions were the proper and special province of the monastery, and were in most cases faithfully and honestly fulfilled. It is thus that the monastery held an important place in the social economy of our ancestors ; it was not only a seminary of religion which provided for the spiritual

wants of the people, but it also looked to their material and physical requirements, which otherwise might have gone neglected or wholly unprovided for.

The monastery was, as it were, both in its educational and missionary aspect, what the university and the cathedral aim at; it kept up from among its inmates a constant and regular supply of candidates for holy orders,¹ many of whom would go forth into the world, and carry into their future sphere of action much of the good governance and rule learnt in their mother monastery; while in the ranks of its permanent adherents there would not be wanting zealous and fervent priests to minister to the home population, and preach to them of the paths which lead unto peace. It was this missionary aspect which formed so bright a feature in the monastic system, and which even now in these days the Church of England is beginning to understand and to appreciate.

The modern school of thought teaches us to look upon monasteries as institutions which, though once beneficial or even necessary, are now, having done their work, effete and useless. They were according to some writers the authors of their own decay, and bore within themselves the seeds of dissolution, but that this is a grave truth I think has yet to be proved. In England they did undoubtedly fall, and the sixteenth century saw their destruction and demolition, but why was this? not, as I apprehend, because of their alleged inutility, or of any inherent weakness, but because of a fatal mistake to which

¹ This is attested by our early episcopal registers, some of which, namely, those of the diocese of Hereford, I have had the opportunity of examining, through the kindness of the Registrar, whose courtesy I here beg leave to acknowledge. In these registers are contained full and detailed lists of the various persons admitted to holy

orders at each ordination, acolytes, subdeacons, deacons, and priests, and they are singularly interesting and valuable, because they frequently mention the different monasteries from whence the candidates proceeded. They are well worthy of more time and attention than I could bestow upon them.

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they had for generations clung. Proud as they were in the magnitude of their possessions, the power and ambition of their abbots, the splendour of their churches, and the attractiveness of their services, they yet paved the way for their own destruction, which, not heeding riches or power, came on slowly but steadily, and at last did its appointed work. And the primary cause of this was, as I take it, the overweening desire of the monasteries to free themselves from the wholesome discipline of episcopal visitation. Papal exemptions were eagerly sought to free them from this supposed interference, and many and bitter were the contests which placed the monastic and episcopal systems in unfriendly relations. The Chronicle of Evesham and the history of St. Augustine's Canterbury, among others, show us how this antagonism was fostered by the abbots, who carried things with a high hand, rendered higher still by these papal exemptions. Of this we have an apt illustration in the time of Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in the reign of Henry II. In a letter which this prelate wrote to Pope Alexander III., about the year 1180, he complains first of the abbot of Malmesbury refusing obedience to the bishop of Salisbury, and then he inveighs bitterly against exemptions in these strong terms:—

“ *Adversus primates et episcopos intumescunt abbates,*
 “ *nec est, qui majoribus suis reverentiam exhibeat et*
 “ *honorem. Evacuatum est obedientiæ jugum, in qua*
 “ *erat unica spes salutis, et prævaricationis antiquæ*
 “ *remedium. Detestantur abbates habere suorum ex-*
 “ *cessuum correctorem, vagam impunitatis licentiam*
 “ *amplectuntur, claustralisque militiæ jugum relaxant*
 “ *in omnem desiderii libertatem. Hic est, quod monas-*
 “ *teriorum fere omnium facultates datæ sunt in direp-*
 “ *tionem et prædam. Nam abbates exterius curam*
 “ *carnis in desideriis agunt, non curantes, dummodo*
 “ *laute exhibeantur, et fiat pax in diebus eorum:*
 “ *claustrales vero, tamquam acephali otio vacant et*

“ vaniloquio : nec enim præsidem habent, qui eos ad
 “ frugem vitæ melioris inclinet. Quod si tumultuosas
 “ eorum contentiones audiretis, claustrum non mul-
 “ tum differre crederetis a foro. Hæc omnia, reve-
 “ rende pater, vestræ correctionis iudicium postulant
 “ tempestivum. Nisi enim huic malo maturius reme-
 “ dium adhibeatur, verendum est, ne sicut abbates ab
 “ episcopis, ita episcopi ab archiepiscopis, et a prælatis
 “ suis decani et archidiaconi eximantur. Et quæ est
 “ hæc forma justitiæ, aut potius juris deformitas,
 “ prohibere, ne discipuli magistro consentiant, ne filii
 “ obediant patri, ne milites sequantur principem; ne
 “ servi domino sint subjecti? Quid est eximere ab
 “ episcoporum jurisdictione abbates, nisi contumaciam,
 “ ac rebellionem præcipere, et armare filios in parentes?
 “ videant, quæso, ista, et judicent, qui judicant orbem
 “ terræ, ne inde emanare videantur injuriæ, unde jura
 “ sumuntur. Arguemur temeritatis, et dicemur os nos-
 “ trum posuisse in cælum, qui non de superbæ spiritu,
 “ sed de atramentario doloris hæc scribimus: sentimus
 “ equidem familiares angustias, qui publicas deploramus:
 “ nec fortitudo nostra fortitudo est lapidis, nec caro
 “ nostra ænea est, ut tam enormes injurias dissimulare
 “ possimus.”¹

The celebrated bishop Grosseteste also manfully upheld the claims of the bishops to the visitation of monasteries, and not without reason, as is shown in his letters.² Breach of monastic rules and habits of luxury found no favour with this prelate, and when he was supposed to be most severe and exacting, it was indeed one of his kindest acts, because it was the uplifting of the chastening rod of an offended but not unforgiving parent, against a wayward and headstrong child. Well had it

¹ Petri Blesensis Opera (ed. Giles),
 vol. i. p. 202.

Grosseteste's Letters (*Chronicles and Memorials*).

² See Mr. Luard's preface to

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been for his spiritual children if they had listened to fatherly admonition.

And so it was that the monasteries of England laid the foundation for their own destruction which otherwise might have been averted, and the monastic system, as a recognized institution, ceased to exist.

Whether it is better for a man to accept the responsibilities of such social position as chance may have given him, and to battle boldly with life and its circumstances, or whether he should rather retire from the busy scene, and seek for happiness and peace in the tranquillity of the cloister, has often been the subject of much discussion, and as yet has never been satisfactorily answered; to many undoubtedly monasticism would be simply a trap and a snare and an occasion of falling, because it suits not their genius, neither have they a special vocation that way; while on the other hand there are those earnest and devoted persons to whom, after the practice of their religious duties, the world in its varied aspects presents but few attractions, and who would find an especial charm in a monk's life, because to them that life is one of the most noble and magnificent that can be conceived; noble for its entire abnegation and sacrifice of self, and magnificent because it is constantly marked by acts of mercy and love unheeded by mortal eye, but which yet win a smile of approbation from the Holy Angels whose seat is ever before the throne of our Father in Heaven.

However, I am not at liberty here, neither is it my wish, to discuss the lawfulness of monasticism; I have rather to deal with the fortunes and progress of the ancient and honourable abbey of Gloucester, as set before the reader in these volumes.

The present work consists of two parts, the history, and the cartulary of St. Peter's, Gloucester. The history is printed and described in volume I., and the cartulary now remains to be spoken of.

It is a finely written manuscript of the latter part of the thirteenth century, in good preservation, containing 337 leaves, of which some few, both at the commencement and the end, are mere fly leaves containing entries at various periods much later than that of the cartulary itself. The caligraphy is excellent, and the rubricated letters together with the floriated borders to the pages are worthy of remark. A fac-simile of the first page forms a frontispiece to the first volume of this work. With regard to the contents of this cartulary, the method of arrangement is anything but lucid or artistic; there is a system followed, but the reason for it is not apparent, while its defects are most conspicuous.

The first part of the manuscript contains charters of donation to the monastery, classified alphabetically according to localities, this is continued to folio 180; then a blank page or two occur, where is entered an inquisition of the twenty-fourth year of Henry VIII., after which there is another collection of charters, also arranged alphabetically; this takes us to folio 228. Another section is then started containing papal bulls, and also various charters of donation, pleadings, and miscellaneous documents. Following this is a series of extents of manors belonging to St. Peter's, these are valuable for the minuteness with which they describe the lands, and the services incident thereto. We then have very curious and interesting rules concerning the management of manors; and the manuscript concludes with a miscellaneous selection of pleadings and other matters written on the fly leaves before mentioned, at various times and by various hands.

These arbitrary divisions or sections are not uncommon in monastic cartularies, there is a similar arrangement in the Ramsey cartulary now preserved in the Public Record Office, but it is certainly none of the best. A simple chronological sequence would have been much

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more intelligible, and would have saved the scribe from the unnecessary repetitions which abound in the Gloucester cartulary. With regard to the exact period at which the manuscript in question was compiled, and by whom, it is not possible now to speak with any certainty. I am inclined, however, to ascribe it to the period of abbot John de Gamages (1284–1306). With the exception of the miscellaneous documents written on fly leaves and blank pages, about which there is no doubt whatever that they were entered at much more recent times, there is no charter in the cartulary proper of a later date than this abbot. And we find in the history of St. Peter's,¹ that among the numerous gifts of abbot Gamages to the church, there were three books mentioned, the Legend of the Saints, Transcripts of Charters, and Constitutions of King Edward. Now we may not be far wrong in seeking to identify the cartulary with the second of these volumes. The first is quite out of the question, the third will not at all accord, but the title of the second cannot be said to be otherwise than applicable, and until cause be shown to the contrary, I shall not think myself rash in assuming that the identity is fairly established. However, before disposing of this part of the subject, it will be expedient to describe briefly four other manuscript volumes which also relate to St. Peter's, and which are now in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester Cathedral.

Nos. 1 and 2 are manuscripts compiled about the year 1393, and are most probably the registers which are referred to in the history as having been compiled afresh by abbot Froucester.²

No. 1 is divided into two sections, the first is composed mainly of royal charters, commencing with the foundation charter of king Ethelred, which I have

¹ *Ante*, vol. i. p. 40.
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| ² See *ante*, vol. i. pp. 50 and 56.
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already printed,¹ and ending with an *inspeximus* by Richard II. of proceedings in the Exchequer relating to the vacancies of the abbey; the second section comprises private charters of donation, agreements, presentations to churches, resignations of livings, and other ecclesiastical documents, all of them having immediate relation to St. Peter's. This volume I have no hesitation whatever in identifying with the one mentioned in the history,² because its contents perfectly tally with what we there find specified. The history in speaking of Froucester, says, "Et pro vacatione ecclesie quod gratiose et mirabiliter fuerat magnis laboribus et sumptuosis expensis prosecutum, et ad finem ingeniose perductum, ac etiam in curia domini comitis de Stafford placitum de curia tenenda de tribus septimanis in Newport, necnon et alia diversa quæ prolonga erant narranda ut in capsula inde confecta, et *Walteri Froucestre* intitulata, et in archivis ecclesie condita plenius continentur." This proceeding relative to the vacancies is evidently the one before referred to, and the plea concerning the holding of the court of Newport is also found in a subsequent part of the same manuscript. The old title, however, cannot be compared, because the manuscript has been recently rebound, but there can be no doubt that, had the ancient binding been preserved, we should have seen the words *Walteri Froucestre* on the back, as mentioned in the *Historia*; however, without this, I think the proof of identity is sufficient.

No. 2 is a thicker volume in the same hand, but compiled on a very different principle. It contains ten distinct registers, namely, those of the sacristan, the almoner of Standish, the hostillar, the sub-almoner, the master of the works, the chamberlain, the refectoriar, the infirmarer, the master of the chapel, and the præcentor.

¹ Appendix to Introduction, vol. i. p. lxxi.

² *Ante*, vol. i. p. 55.

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Altogether it comprises more than 1,000 charters relating to St. Peter's, some of them as early as William I. It would thus appear that it was not the custom to throw all the revenues of the monastery into one common fund, and then to apply them as need required, but it was in the discretion of any benefactor to specify the particular channel into which his charity should flow, be it infirmary, sacristy, or otherwise; or if he had no choice, then the abbey itself apportioned the gift to such fund as seemed most to require augmentation.

No. 3 contains the register of abbot Braunche (A.D. 1500–1510), and is entitled thus, “*Regestrum actorum tam temporalium quam spiritualium Thomæ Braunche, permissione divina electi in abbatem monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestræ, ultimo die Augusti, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo, tempore Johannis Walden capellani dicti abbatis, et Willielmi Heywode ejus secratorii, etc.*”

This register contains copies or entries of numerous abbey leases, presentations to vicarages, grants of corrodiæ, manumissions, and other documents relating to the possessions of St. Peter's during the abbacy of Braunche.

In No. 3 is also contained the register of abbot Newton (A.D. 1510–1513), entitled thus, “*Regestrum actorum tam spiritualium quam temporalium reverendi in Christo patris domini Johannis Newton, Sacræ Theologiæ Professoris, electi in abbatem monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestræ, penultimo die mensis Julii, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo decimo, et confirmati vicesimo secundo die Novembris, ac installati sexto die Decembris, anno Domini supradicto, magna controversia prædicta electione inter dictum reverendum patrem et quendam dompnum Johannem Hunteleye adtunc commonachum et cellerarium dicti monasterii non obstante.*” Its contents are similar to those of Braunche's register.

No. 4 is the register of William Malverne, the last

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abbot of Gloucester (A.D. 1514 to the dissolution), and contains similar instruments.

In the year 1800, in answer to the questions of the Commissioners on the Public Records, the Registrar of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester replied, that "there are no original records whatever in their possession of the nature alluded to by order of the Committee, but there are *four manuscript books* in the custody of the Dean and Chapter, containing copies of the records, etc., herein-after mentioned." The description which then follows does not tally in every respect with the four Gloucester manuscripts of which I have before given a slight outline, indeed one I cannot at all reconcile. I will take them in the order followed by the Registrar in his return.

He says that the first is an ancient register, which appears to have been compiled in the year 1397, and contains copies of the royal charters and confirmations to the church of Gloucester, beginning with the original charter of the foundation of the church by king Ethelred, and continued down to the reign of Richard II. This there is no difficulty in identifying with Gloucester MS. No. 1.

The second book, according to the Registrar, contains copies of various writs and other legal proceedings, about the reign of Edward I., and the laws and customs for the internal regulation of the monastery.

It also contains the Statutes de Scaccario; Distictiones Scaccarii; Statuta de Exonia; Statuta de Itinere; Statuta de Finibus; De Presentibus vocatis ad warrantiam; Statuta de Quo warranto; De Juratis et Assisis extra Comitatum; De Antiquo Dominico Coronæ; Circumspecte Agatis; De Regia Prohibitione; De vasto facto in Custodiâ; De Gaveleto in Londonia; De Anno et Die Bissextili; Consuetudines Kancie; De Moneta; Articuli de Tonsura Monetæ; De Cohæredibus; De Militibus faciendis; Statuta Armorum in Tornamentis;

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De Conspiratoribus cum breve ; De Conspiratoribus aliter ; Capita Itineris quæ tangunt Coronam ; Officium Coronatoris ; Statutum de Petentibus Admitti ; De Terris mortuandis ; De Protectionibus Domini Regis. After this follow the proceedings on a view of Frankpledge ; the Manner of doing Homage and Fealty ; the Assize of Bread, &c. &c. ; Assize of Mort d'Auncestor ; Bastardy ; The Office of Steward ; Of Relief, Socage, &c. &c. And then the first part of this book concludes with a statement of the Liberties of England.

The second part of this book contains copies of the statutes during the reigns of Edward III., Richard II., and Henry IV., and during the first and second years of Henry V.

This book I have never seen ; it certainly is not one of the four Gloucester manuscripts now before me, but where it now is I have not been able to discover. Its contents, if correctly described, would be highly interesting, and I regret that I have not been able to refer to it, particularly as it seems to relate to the internal arrangements of the monastery.

The third book is said to contain copies of the grants from several kings, and from various persons of divers estates, fee farm rents, &c., to the abbey of Gloucester, the originals of most of which are preserved with the muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, and were made probably about the time of the Conquest. This description, though no date is mentioned, will accord with Gloucester Cathedral manuscript No. 2.

The fourth book is said to contain a register of the acts of the abbot of Gloucester, as well spiritual as temporal, between the years 1501 and 1514. This is unquestionably the Gloucester volume No. 3, containing the registers of abbots Braunche and Newton ; but a difficulty now presents itself,—the Record Report says nothing about Malverne's register (Gloucester MS. No. 4), while it gives a lengthy description of a book (No. 2) which I can no-

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where find. There is either some strange carelessness or misdescription which I cannot explain, or else Malverne's register has been substituted for the book No. 2 at some period since the year 1800. But even then the book No. 2 must be in existence somewhere.

There was also undoubtedly an early register of which we now can find no trace, but which was in existence at some time later than the period of the cartulary now printed. In the year 1380 there was a manumission of Richard le Hayward of Wottone,¹ and against this document a note is written in a later hand, stating that it was to be found in "registro Boyfeld, fol. vi^{to}." This reference is precise enough, but unfortunately I cannot discover the manuscript to which it refers.

Again there were without doubt registers for abbots Morton, Morwent, Boulers, and the others, but I can only chronicle their non-existence.

There is in the possession of the Dean and Chapter of Gloucester, besides the four volumes before described, a series of original deeds with seals attached, in excellent condition, all relating to St. Peter's. They are mounted in large books formed of cartridge paper, with cavities for the reception of the seals, and much judgment has been used in their preservation. I have not been able to examine them very minutely, but I believe that among them there will be found the originals of some of the charters printed in these volumes.

Again the Public Record Office possesses a small collection of original charters with seals attached, formerly belonging to St. Peter's.

The earliest document relating to the monastery, namely, king Ethelred's foundation charter, in the year of our Lord 681, and confirmed by Burgred, king of Mercia, in 872, is printed in the first volume of this work (App. to Introduction, No. I.), but the text is, as will be

¹ Cartulary, vol. iii. p. 268.

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observed, very corrupt, the names of places mentioned in it being perverted in a very gross manner, some of them almost beyond the possibility of identification.

Offa, Ethelbald, and Kynred, kings of Mercia, were in their time benefactors to St. Peter's, as appears by the calendar of donations, and in the year 821, fifteen hides in Standish "sub Ezimbury" were given by Beornulph, king of Mercia, at the time when St. Peter's was denuded of clerks. About the same period the manor of Froceter was given to St. Peter's by Rabanus Anglicus Revenswart, brother of king Beornulph. In the year 981, Elflæda, king Ethelred's sister, who was then a barren old woman and oppressed by poverty, gave to the monastery the manor of Hynetone. But when five men were required from thence to attend the king's expedition, they could not be found, and the clerks who then governed St. Peter's, came and sought for the old woman, who on Christmas day, when the king was banqueting, came and fell down at his feet, and besought him that the land should thenceforth be free from such burden, which favour was at once granted.¹

The fortunes of St. Peter's during the first four centuries of its existence were, as we learn, considerably chequered: in its origin a nunnery, it flourished under royal protection and patronage for a time; then came a period of desolation, when national tumults and disturbances drove the nuns from their peaceful home; afterwards it was placed under the rule of secular clergy, who in their turn gave way to Benedictine monks introduced to St. Peter's in the year 1022 by Wolstan, bishop of Worcester, with the permission of king Canute. In the cartulary of Bath abbey, now preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, there is a very interesting document relating to this change in the con-

¹The authority for these statements is the *Historia* and the *Calendar of Donations*.

stitution of St. Peter's; it is an agreement between Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, and the abbots of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, and Gloucester, and the dean of Worcester, to adopt the Benedictine rule, and to be in unity as if all the seven monasteries were one monastery, and to be "quasi cor unum et anima una." They agreed to sing two masses every week in each monastery for all the brothers, on Monday and Friday, and the brother who was "capitula mæsse wuca" was to perform these masses for the brothers living, and also for every departed brother, as if they all were together in one monastery; thus beautifully illustrating the doctrine of the Communion of Saints, which the Church has ever proclaimed in her solemn creeds, teaching us the belief that the righteous who pass away from our presence here, yet are with us in spirit, mingling their prayers with ours before the eternal throne of the Most High. The abbots also professed obedience to God and to their bishop for their common need, that is, that each of them should perform, and for his own account buy a hundred masses, and bathe a hundred needy men, and feed them and shoe them. And each to sing himself seven masses, and for thirty days set his meat before him, and a penny upon the meat. The document appears to be incomplete, for the names of the brothers at Evesham, Chertsey, and Bath only are appended. The following is a copy:

"On Drihtnes naman Hælendis Cristes . is þ̅ Wulstan
 " þ̅. on Drihtnes naman . hæfð gerædd wið his leofan
 " gebroðra . þe him getreowe synd . for Gode ȝ for
 " worulde. Ðæt is þonne ærest . Ægelwig abb. on
 " Eofesham . ȝ Wulfwold abb. on Ceortesige . ȝ Ælfsige
 " abb. on Baðan ȝ þa gebroðra . ȝ Eadmund abb. on
 " Perscoran ȝ Rawulf abb. on Wincelcumbe . ȝ Særle
 " abb. on Gleweceastre . ȝ Ælfstan decanus on Wigra-
 " ceastre. Ðæt is . þ̅ we willað georne gehyrsume beon
 " Gode . ȝ Sça Marian . ȝ Sçe Benedicte . ȝ us sylfe

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“ gerihlæcan swa neah swa we nyhst magon þam
 “ rihte . ʒ beon swa swa hit awriten is quasi cor
 “ unum et anima una . ʒ we willað urum woruld
 “ hlaforde Willelme cininege ʒ Mahthilde þære hlæf-
 “ dian holde beon . for Gode ʒ for worulde : ʒ habbe
 “ we us gerædd betweonan to ure saule þearfe . ʒ to
 “ ealra þara gebroðra þe us underþeodde synd . þe
 “ munuchades synd . þ̅ is þ̅ we willað beon on annesse .
 “ swylcè ealle þas vii. mynstras syn an mynster . ʒ
 “ beon swa hit her beforan awriten is . quasi cor
 “ unum, et. anima una. Ðæt is þ̅ we ælcere wucan
 “ singan ii. mæssan on ælcum mynstre . synderlice for
 “ eallum gebroðrum . monandæge ʒ frigedæge . ʒ wite
 “ se broður þe capitula mæsse wuca bið . þ̅ þas mæssan
 “ geforðige for þa gebroðra þe libbende synd . ʒ for
 “ ælcan forðfarenan breðer . ælc þæra þinga fore don
 “ swylce hig ealle ætgædere on anum mynstre wæron :
 “ ʒ nu is þara abboda cwydrædene þ̅ hig willað beon
 “ Gode gehyrsume ʒ heora bisceope . to heora ge-
 “ mænelicum þearfe . þ̅ is þ̅ heora ælc sceal don an c.
 “ mæssan of his agenra handa gebycge . ʒ an c. þær-
 “ fendra manna gebaðige . ʒ þa fedan . ʒ ealle þa
 “ gescygean . ʒ ælc singe himsylf vii. mæssan . and
 “ him foredon xxx. nihta his mete beforan him . ʒ
 “ ænne pænig on uppan þam mete : God us geful-
 “ tumige þ̅ we hit þus motan gelæstan . ʒ mid suman
 “ Gode geeacnian. Sic fiat.

“ Ðis synd þara gebroðra naman on Eofesham . þ̅ is
 “ ærest.

“ Ægelwig abb. ʒ Godric abb. ʒ Ægelwine decanes .
 “ ʒ Ordmar . ʒ Godefrið . ʒ þeodred . Regnold . ʒ
 “ Eadric . ʒ Ælfwine ʒ Eadwig . Colling ʒ Leofwine .
 “ Ælfric . ʒ Wulfwine Sired ʒ Bruning . Ælmær ʒ
 “ Ælfwine . ʒ Ægelric ʒ Ægelwyrd . Dunning ʒ Sæ-
 “ geat . Uhtred ʒ Eadweard . Eadmund . Ulf . Brihtric .
 “ Wulfsige . Sexa . Ælfwine . Wlmær . Ægelwig.

“Ðis syndon þara broðra naman on Ceortesige . þ
“ is ærest.

“ Wulfwold abb. ʒ Ælfward . ʒ Sælaf . Oter ʒ God-
“ wine . Æpstan ʒ Eadgar . Eadmær . ʒ Godwine .
“ Ælfwine ʒ Benedict . Siwine ʒ Alfwold . Brihtnoð ʒ
“ Ælfric . Godric ʒ Ælfric . Oswold ʒ Ælfric . ʒ Wulf-
“ ward . ʒ Wulfric.

“ Ðis syndon þara gebroðra naman on Baðan . þ is
“ ærest.

“ Ælfsige abb. ʒ Ælfric . Leofwig ʒ Hieðewulf .
“ Ælfwig ʒ Ægelmær . Eadwig ʒ Godwine . Ægelwine
“ ʒ Oswold . Ælmær ʒ peodred . Eadric . Ægelmær .
“ Sæwulf . pured . Ægelric . ʒ Hærlewine ʒ Godric
“ munuc or Mældmesbyrig . ealswa ure an . ʒ ealswa
“ Wulfwerd Píces broðor on Tantúne.”

The return of the possessions of St. Peter's, as given in Domesday book and also in the Calendar of donations,¹ tells us with what success the abbacy of Serlo was attended in obtaining for the youthful Benedictine house lands and manors in addition to those it already had from the gift of its early benefactors; it numbered lands in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire, and the remote region of Hampshire, and soon afterwards the church of St. Martin in the Vintry in London and lands in Essex were added.

The method in which Domesday was compiled receives a curious illustration from the Gloucester cartulary, in fact one of the returns in that grand and memorable record is alleged to be incorrect, and this in no unimportant degree. We are told that William I. granted to St. Peter's and to abbot Wilstan Nympsfield (Nymdesfeld) in Gloucestershire, with sac and soc, but in the year 1087 Roger de Berkeley the elder caused it to be described in

¹ Vol. i. p. 58.