NOTES ON COLLEGES OF SECULAR CANONS IN ENGLAND.[1]

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Students of medieval church history, especially if they are in the habit of tracing in detail the careers and preferments of prominent clerks, become familiar with the names, at any rate, of a number of collegiate foundations, other than cathedral churches, which constantly provided benefices for distinguished public servants and legal officials among the ranks of the higher clergy. The history of a few of these has been carefully studied and, in some instances, has been published. There is, however, so far as I know, no general account of their nature and constitution, considered as those of a class ; and architectural descriptions of collegiate churches, as a rule, take little account of the purpose for which the buildings were intended and of their influence upon the plan and internal arrangements. In the present paper it is proposed to deal only with the class of colleges founded upon what may be called the cathedral model. A secondary class, which includes the large number of colleges of chantry-priests founded in the later part of the middle ages, deserves special consideration by itself ; and it will be possible merely to indicate for the present the essential points of difference which separate it from the older category.

I.

Collegiate chapters are, in their origin, associations of priests attached to particular churches and leading a common life under certain rules. They are the result of a modified application of the monastic system to the lives of secular priests, to whom the name of *canonici* or canons is given,

[1] Read Nov. 7th, 1917.

because they are subject to a rule (*κάνων*) or constitution. Such bodies naturally grew up in connexion with important churches: it is only to be expected that clerks engaged in the services of the same establishment should bind themselves by some corporate tie, while still keeping in touch with the outer world. The organisation of the life of canons under a fixed rule by St. Chrodegang, bishop of Metz 742-766,[1] to which reference is sometimes made as if it were the original model of cathedral and collegiate chapters, was actually an attempt to give a definitely regular character to collections of secular clerks whose corporate existence was not yet firmly settled. The ultimate outcome of such endeavours was the growth of the orders of canons regular, which did not appear in England until the twelfth century. On the other hand, if the origin of the oldest secular chapters in England is to be traced to monastic establishments of a somewhat indefinite character, like that of St. Wilfrid at Ripon, their distinctively monastic character disappeared early. It is possible that the popular survival of the title 'minster' (*monasterium*) in such cases as those of York, Beverley, Ripon and Southwell may refer to the foundation as monasteries of churches which afterwards became secular. While, however, in the Church of England, at an early period, there was probably no hard and fast distinction between regular monasteries and clerical corporations of a less rigorous kind, it is certain that no assuredly monastic beginning may be claimed for any of these minsters. To seek for the origin of Beverley minster in the monastery called Inderauuda, where St. John of Beverley was buried,[2] is to risk the assumption of a non-existent link between the secular foundation and one the site of which it possibly, but by no means certainly, occupied.[3] The tendency, at any rate, of such foundations was rather to depart from a likeness to the monastic life than to aim towards it; and, while it is not improbable that the movement of which the rule of St. Chrodegang was a symptom had some influence in determining details of their common life and

[1] See the editions of his rule printed in *Patrol. Lat.* vol. lxxxix.

[2] Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* v, 2, 6.

[3] See the late A. F. Leach's introductions to *Beverley Chapter Act-Book* i (Surt. Soc. xcviii) and *Visitations and Memorials of Southwell Minster* (Camden Soc. new ser. xlviii).

the distribution of their property,[1] there is no indication that they were affected by peculiarly monastic ideals.

The actual constitution of the cathedral body at York, in which, during the second half of the eighth century, Alcuin played a distinguished part, is not very well defined. Alcuin's office of *scholasticus* or schoolmaster was analogous to the duty required at a later date of the chancellor of the church, among his other vocations; but it would be anticipating history to call Alcuin by the title of chancellor. This title, at any rate, would imply that the church already possessed a constitution of the settled type with which we are afterwards familiar. Of this there is no hint in any surviving document. The common medieval tradition appears to have been that, from an early date, the minster had been served by a body of priests known as *Colidei*, 'worshippers of God,' a word well known in the anglicised form 'Culdees.' After the organisation of the chapter under the early Norman archbishops, the original endowment of these clerks, consisting of a sheaf of wheat from every plough in Yorkshire, was transferred to the hospital of St. Leonard. In 1246, when the right to the advowson of St. Leonard's was contested between the Crown and the dean and chapter, a jury returned that 'a certain king before before the Conquest, in the time of the Englishry, gave to those who serve the church of St. Peter at York, who were then called "Kaladeus," but now are called canons, a thrave of wheat from each of the several ploughs of the whole county of York.'[2] Similar associations, each apparently of seven clergy, grew up in connexion with the three lesser minsters of the diocese, Beverley, Ripon and Southwell. In each case the actual origin is undiscoverable.[3] Beverley

[1] Oliver, *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, 7, says that the canons of Exeter 'adopted in great measure the rule of St. Chrodegang.' Cf. note 2, p. 143 below. He refers to the canons of the synod of Aenham (1009) for the authority for English observance of this rule. No specific reference, however, is made here (Wilkins, *Concilia*, i, 286, 292-293) to St. Chrodegang: the English canon runs: 'And canonicas ðaer seo ar ry. ·þ hij beordern 7 slaepern habban magan. healdan heora mynster mid claennesse swa heora regol taece. oþþon riht is', etc.

[2] *Historians Ch. York* (Rolls ser.) iii, 162-165.

[3] See A. F. Leach, as in note 3, p. 140 above. Of Ripon in 995, when St. Cuthbert's body temporarily rested there, Dr. J. T. Fowler says: 'There would probably be half-secular monks as at Durham, Hexham, and elsewhere. However this may have been, we never find monks at Ripon at any subsequent period. Whether the conversion of some sort of monks into secular canons was silently effected, or whether any monastic rule was renounced and that of canons formally substituted, we do not know.' (*Memorials of Ripon* [Surt. Soc.] iii, p. ix.)

and Ripon founded their early privileges upon grants said to have been made by king Athelstan; while the origin of Southwell, like that of several other Midland minsters, was vaguely referred at a later date to Edgar the Peaceful.[1] The reigns of powerful kings, in which some breathing-space was afforded for religious reconstruction in districts harassed by the Danes, were regarded as useful starting-points for the constitutional history of chapters which were in existence at the time of the Conquest. It is not, however, until the reign of Edward the Confessor that we find much trustworthy information for the mode of life pursued in the northern minsters. At Beverley archbishop Alfric, who died at Southwell in 1051, did much for the church; he and his successor, Kinsi, began to build a frater and dorter for the use of the canons, and these were completed by Ealdred, who succeeded Kinsi in 1060. Ealdred, who enriched the church at Beverley with splendid paintings and an incomparable *pulpitum* of brass, gold and silver, the description of which reminds us of Bernward's metal-work at Hildesheim, was also a benefactor to York and Southwell. At both places he built a frater for the canons, and at Southwell he endowed certain prebends.[2]

The endowment of individual prebends in collegiate churches, which proceeded apace after the Norman conquest, marks the beginning of a cleavage between bodies of canons. Hitherto, as we have seen, the chapters of such churches as York, Beverley and Southwell may be regarded as approximating, though somewhat loosely, to monastic bodies. They certainly led a common life, sleeping and eating in common chambers, and they may have been supported by distributions from a common fund, which was probably administered by one of their number as provost. Such distributions, originally in the form of food and clothing, formed the *praebendae*, prebends or provender, of the several canons. An uncertain author, quoted by Leland,[3] says that Ealdred founded very many

[1] See the certificates returned in 1546 and 1548, printed in *Trans. Thoroton Soc.* xv, 87, 113. A similar origin was claimed for the collegiate churches at Derby, Leicester, Shrewsbury, Tamworth, and others.

[2] *Hist. Ch. York* (Rolls ser.) ii, 343, 353, 354. Leland, *Collect.* ed. Hearne, i, pt. ii, 337 (quoted by Fowler, *op. cit.* ii, 182), notes that Ealdred 'de terra emptitia, quam sua probitate acquisiverat in ecclesiis S. Petri Ebor. et S. Joann. Beverl. et S. Wilfridi de Ripon, plurimas praebendas fecit'; but the source of this information is uncertain.

[3] See previous note.

prebends at York, Beverley, and Ripon out of land which he had purchased. If this is historical fact, the seven prebends in Beverley minster, which, as we shall see, were in their origin charges upon a common stock, must have been fixed in Ealdred's time, and there is every reason to suppose that they were in existence about the time of the Conquest. Similarly, the traditional number of prebends, which remained unaltered throughout the middle ages, at Ripon was seven ; and Mr. Leach has given good reasons for the conjecture that this was the original number of prebends at Southwell. Nor need we assume that the number at York was any larger : in fact, we have definite evidence,[1] which will shortly appear, that the canons were seven. Its survival in some other cases seems to point to its common establishment as the ideal quota for a secular chapter, for which precedent would be found in the three-fold division of the college of cardinals in its early stages into seven bishops, seven priests and seven deacons. On the other hand, the origin of such chapters as that of Beverley, with a common life and common fund, cannot be said to have been much earlier than the Conquest. William of Malmesbury, writing in the next century, says expressly that the system was contrary to English custom.[2] This statement, coming from an author who was peculiarly well informed in ecclesiastical matters, justifies the conclusion that the system was not thoroughly adopted until the reign of the Confessor, under prelates who, like Ealdred, were susceptible to foreign influences. At Exeter the arrangement, whether for seven canons or more, seems to have been introduced by Leofric, 'apud Lotharingos altus et doctus', when he removed the see there from Crediton in 1050.[3]

The evidence of Domesday, which has been summed up by Mr. William Page, points to the existence in 1086 of a considerable number of small secular colleges or 'minsters' of this type[4]; but it would be unsafe to

[1] There are traces of it in several of the Midland colleges, e.g. at St Mary's Leicester, Penkridge, St. Mary's Shrewsbury, and Wolverhampton.

[2] *De Gest. Pont.* [Rolls Ser.] 201 : 'Hic Lefricus eiectis sanctimonialibus a sancti Petri monasterio episcopatum et canonicos statuit, qui contra morem Anglorum ad formam Lotharingorum uno triclinio comederent, uno cubiculo cubitarent.'

[3] Oliver, *op. cit.* 7. He assumes that the number of twenty-four canons, which we find later, was established by Leofric.

[4] *Archaeologia* lxvi, 61-102.

conclude that the constitution of any of these had been settled long before the Conquest, while it is certain that several of them dwindled away and disappeared not long after. In those which survived, the establishment of the common life was short-lived. All through the middle ages, the somewhat insignificant prebends of the canons of Exeter remained 'bursal,' i.e. they were money prebends, paid out of the common purse of the chapter; but there was no common life. Had this lasted, the secular chapters would have become indistinguishable from chapters of canons regular. As a matter of fact, certain secular colleges were transformed into regular houses. The colleges of Dorchester and Waltham Holy Cross are cases in point.[1] The secular canons of St. Paul's at Bedford became the Austin canons of Newnham priory.[2] The Benedictine abbey of Eynsham was revived by the transference of the canons of Stow, near Lincoln, to a site given by the bishop in another part of the diocese.[3] The endowments of the old college of St. Mary at Leicester were granted in large part to the abbey of St. Mary of the Meadows, founded outside the town in 1143[4]; and, although the college was allowed to continue, its funds were permanently impaired.[5] How easily, at a much later date, a secular college with a common life could come under canonical rule, is illustrated by the case of the college of chantry priests founded in 1319 at Kirby Bellars in Leicestershire, which in 1359-60 was changed into a priory of Austin canons, apparently without any break in its life or alteration in its buildings.[6]

To return to York, the first Norman archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux (1070-1100) found the clergy of his cathedral church dispersed in consequence of William I's visit of vengeance to the North. Only three canons out

[1] *Monasticon* vi (i), 324, 63. The abbey of Austin canons was not founded at Dorchester until c. 1140, and the secular clerks may have left the church before that time. Leland, quoted in *Monasticon*, remarks that the name of 'prebend church' clung to the abbey church as late as his own time.

[2] *Ibid.* 211. For other examples, see those enumerated in *Trans. Thoroton Soc.* xxiii, 39, 40.

[3] *Mon.* iii, 1, 2, 15, 16.

[4] *Ibid.* vi (i), 463.

[5] See *Valor Eccl.* (Record Comm.) iv, 172. The prebends in 1535 were worth £2 9*s.* 7*d.* each, the dean holding a double prebend (£4 19*s.* 2*d.*) and the canon who was vicar of the church receiving two marks in addition to his prebend.

[6] *Visitations of Religious Houses dio. Lincoln* (Lincoln Record Soc.) i, 164; ii, 165.

of seven in all were left. These he re-instituted, as it was evidently his object to start an entirely new order of things. He recalled those who had fled, and augmented the number of canons, restoring the property which the church had lost, and increasing it with gifts of his own. Further, he restored the frater and dorter, and set a provost over the canons.[1] Thus, for the time being, he revived the common life. It was, however, a merely temporary arrangement, just as his first care was to re-roof the existing church before beginning to build a new and larger one; and it was not apparently until matters were more settled and his diocese, with its archdeaconries, was in working order, that he actually began to remodel the chapter. The common life was now abolished; each canon was now given a prebend of his own, consisting in a definite piece of property assigned as an endowment to his stall. The office of *magister scholarum* was created, with the duties which had been performed by Alcuin three centuries before. This measure was taken early, as the desire of the archbishop's heart was to have good and honest clerks about him, and he himself may have combined this office with that of chancellor at Bayeux. To this, habitually known in England, from the side of its duties specially connected with the chapter, as the office of chancellor, he added three other offices, those of dean, chanter and treasurer.[2] The provost disappeared from the new economy: at any rate, if one of the canons continued to act as provost and administer the property which still belonged to the chapter as a whole,[3] his office was not one of the 'dignities' of the church. The dean became head of the chapter.

Thus at York was established the system with which Thomas was already familiar in the cathedral church of Bayeux; and from York, as Henry Bradshaw has shown at length,[4] the secular cathedral chapters of England derived their form. At the head of the chapter are the

[1] *Historians Ch. York* (Rolls ser.) ii, 362.

[2] *Ibid.* The chronicler does not specifically state a distinction between the earlier and later arrangement, but the order of his narrative and his mention of the abolition of the common life show clearly that the former was merely a temporary expedient.

[3] As at Lincoln, where one of the residentiaries always acted as provost. Cf. the system at the New college of Leicester, as given in the statutes printed in the appendix to the present paper. For the office of provost at Beverley, see below, p. 175.

[4] *Lincoln Cath. Statutes*, ed. Bradshaw and Wordsworth, i, 33-36.

four *dignitates*: the dean, its president; the chanter or precentor, whose charge is the services of the church[1]; the treasurer, who looks after its fabric, furniture and ornaments; and the chancellor, the official secretary of the chapter and warden of the clergy-school attached to the church.[2] Of the canons, each has a prebend of his own, consisting of the income derived from some manor, church, or other form of property appropriated to his stall, which, in process of time, becomes known by the name of the place or places where such property is situated. The number of canonries and prebends is not limited, and at York it did not reach its ultimate number until the last decade of the thirteenth century.[3] It may be noted that, whatever was the case at first, the *dignitates* were, during the period for which we have connected records, members of chapter, not in virtue of their special offices, but as holding distinct canonries and prebends.[4] The chapter, that is, consisted of a complete body of canons, not of canons and dignities; and, though the various archdeacons were reckoned among the *dignitates* and had stalls assigned to them as such, they were not always canons or members of chapter.[5] Again, while the canons were primarily intended to reside and each had his prebendal house in York, a distinction arose early between the canon who received the fruits of his prebend without residing, and the canon who fulfilled his duty of residence. The chapter was a corporate body, whose statutes and customs retained traces of the old community of life and property; but the chief survival, here and elsewhere, of the earlier system

[1] The precentor in a secular chapter was a person of much more importance than the precentor in a monastic church, who was merely one of the convent, appointed at the pleasure of the head of the house. In cathedral churches of the 'new foundation,' previously monastic, the precentor is a minor canon.

[2] These duties were usually combined in England. At Bayeux, however, there was a *scholasticus* as well as a chancellor.

[3] By the formation of the prebend of Bilton in 1294 (*York Reg. Romeyn* [Surt. Soc.] ii, 19-22). The attempt by archbishop Romeyn to divide the prebend of Masham about the same time was only temporarily successful.

[4] The two prebends of Wilton and Newthorpe were annexed to the treasurership of York by archbishop Gray; Newthorpe c. 1216-1218, Wilton in or before 1242. Before this date, the treasurership had been held by the archdeacon of East Riding (*York Reg. Gray* [Surt. Soc.], 132-134, 198). Gray also appropriated certain churches to other dignities and offices in the minster, e.g. Acklam to the chancellor (*ibid.* 143,144). These, however, were not prebends in the church; and no special prebends were appropriated to the precentor and chancellor until 1484.

[5] Thus the foreigner Jean-Raymond de Comminges, cardinal bishop of Porto, who was archdeacon of Richmond 1346-1348, had no status in the chapter of the church.

was the administration by the chapter of a certain amount of undivided property, a share in the fruits of which was reserved to canons who had qualified by complying with the somewhat stringent rules necessary for full recognition as a residentiary.[1]

As a general rule, the tenure of a dignity involved residence, the charge annexed to each dignity being regarded as a cure of souls. The theory that a deanery is a sinecure, which receives legal recognition, is of comparatively late growth, and seems to have been established only in the reign of Henry VIII.[2] Certain deaneries, e.g. of royal free chapels, were undoubtedly sinecures[3]; but there is no indication that deaneries of cathedral churches were regarded in this light, and the acceptance of such a deanery involved the resignation of a cure of souls, if the dean elect held any, which was not covered by a papal dispensation.[4] The four *dignitates* normally occupied the stalls at the four corners of the quire, the dean's and precentor's stalls being respectively on the right and left of the quire-door, the chancellor's and treasurer's the easternmost stalls on right and left.[5] At York the five archdeacons and the sub-dean were also *dignitates*[6]; but occasionally these and other offices were distinguished as *officia* or *personatus* (parsonages), which, although the precise difference does not lend itself easily to definition, imply a grade slightly inferior to *dignitas*.[7] It is obvious

[1] On residence see Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* ii, cxcvii et seqq. For residence at York see *ibid.* 100-102, 105-108.

[2] The statute of 21 Hen. viii, c. 13, against pluralities recognises deaneries as sinecures. See, however, *Cal. Papal Letters*, v, 83, vi, 113, 142, for the case of York; v, 556, vi, 433, for Wells; vi, 141, for Hereford. These deaneries are described as 'major elective dignities with cure.' Similarly, the deanery of St. Crantock (vi, 89) was a dignity with cure; and that of St. John's Chester a principal dignity with cure. On the other hand, the deanery of St. Mary's Norwich (vi, 208) was a dignity without cure and compatible.

[3] The tendency to exonerate deans from cure of souls is noticeable in Carpenter's new statutes for the college of Westbury, in which cure was transferred to the sub-dean. See below, p. 166.

[4] Deaneries are, of course, covered by the benefices described in the constitution *Execrabilis* (Extravag. tit. iii, c. un.), viz. 'dignitates, personatus, officia seu prioratus, aut diversa ecclesiastica beneficia curam animarum habentia.' Decr. iii, tit. iv, c. 8, *Ex parte vestra*, seems to contradict the view that a deanery was a sinecure: it is a mandate, attributed to Celestine III, requiring a dean who has been absent from his church for ten years to visit it and exercise his office there under pain of deprivation. At the same time, whether a deanery involved cure of souls or not, it required residence during part of the year.

[5] See diagrams in Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* i, 136-138.

[6] *Ibid.* ii, 94.

[7] French chapters offer many examples of the distinction between *dignitates* and *personatus*. At Avignon the provost and archdeacons were *dignitates*, the treasurer and *scholasticus* were *personae*. At Beauvais

that the office of an archdeacon, without involving residence in a cathedral church, had the cure of souls of the archdeaconry annexed to it; while minor dignities or offices, such as those of sub-dean and sub-chanter or succentor, clearly demanded residence. Archdeaconries and other offices or parsonages, therefore, could not be held in plurality without a special dispensation.

Canonries and prebends, on the other hand, were sinecures. Even when a prebend was formed out of the rectory of a parish church,[1] the prebendary was exempted from the cure of souls, on the principle that his duty to the more important church in which he held his prebend excluded his duty to the lesser church which constituted it.[2] The cure of souls in the prebendal church was entrusted to a vicar with a fixed yearly endowment; while each canon was represented in the cathedral or collegiate church of which he was a member by a vicar-choral, appointed by the chapter on his presentation.[3] An important point, frequently misunderstood and misstated, is the true distinction between the terms 'canon' and 'prebendary.' In post-medieval times, when the term 'prebendary' was regularly applied to holders of stalls in cathedral churches of the new foundation, it became customary to speak of members of old foundations, such as York and Salisbury, as prebendaries; and at the present day, after the remodelling of chapters on a more or less uniform basis in the second quarter of the nineteenth century, the limited number of residentiary canons with endowments in churches of the old foundation is distinguished from the prebendaries, who, though nominally

the dean, both archdeacons, precentor and succentor were *dignitates*, while the penitencer and chancellor were *personae*. The variations in the constitution of French chapters are very numerous, and, though a certain likeness is found to prevail in special districts, there was no uniformity. References in these notes to French chapters are from *Gallia Christiana* and *La France Ecclesiastique* for 1785. See also Bishop Browne's useful paper *On the Constitution of French Chapters* (*Trans. St. Paul's Ecclesiol. Soc.* iii, 225-240).

[1] More than three-quarters of the prebends in York had churches attached to them. Such churches, however, in several cases, formed only part of the prebend, which was occasionally known by the name of some other place in which part of its *corpus* was situated. Thus the prebendaries of Warthill and Grendale were rectors of medieties of the church of Axminster in Devon.

[2] This is defined by the decree of the Lateran council *Extirpandae* (Decr. iii, tit. v, c. 30.)

[3] An exception is that of the prebendary of Stanwick in Ripon. The vicars-choral of the six other prebends had cure of souls of the parish of Ripon, out of which the prebends were formed. The prebendary of Stanwick, whose prebend lay many miles away, was bound to residence and had no vicar-choral, but had a vicar at Stanwick.

members of the 'greater chapter,' are virtually in the position of the honorary canons in churches of the new foundation. In popular usage, it is true, the custom of speaking of a man as a prebendary of York, Salisbury, St. Paul's, etc., may have been common before the Reformation[1]; but it was strictly as inaccurate as the later habit which styled a prebendary a 'prebend.' Every holder of a prebendal stall was a prebendary only with relation to his prebend, the emolument on which he lived: as regarded the cathedral or collegiate church and its chapter he was a canon. His proper style, of which countless instances may be found, was 'A. canonicus ecclesiae de B., et prebendarius prebendae de C. in eadem.' Within recent times, it has become customary to give the canons of York and Lincoln their proper title; but here we are met by the obvious difficulty that the distinction between them and the honorary canons of other churches is hereby obliterated, and other cathedral churches of secular origin have preferred to sink the canonical title in that of prebendary.[2]

A prebend, it will thus be seen, is the income which a canon receives as a consequence of his admission to membership of a chapter. It depends upon a canonry, says Lyndewode, as a daughter upon a mother. It was possible, however, for a canon to be temporarily without a prebend. During the fourteenth century every secular chapter in England had its list of expectant canons, who had claims, by virtue of papal provisions, to prebends as they fell vacant. The episcopal registers of the first half of the century contain numerous instances of mandates directed by bishops to chapters, ordering them to admit persons holding expectations of canonries and prebends as canons and brothers, assigning them stalls in quire and voices in chapter, while no prebend was as yet vacant for any of

[1] The inscription on the slab of William Hogeson, bishop of Dara, in Beverley minster calls him 'prebendary of thys churche.' See *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal* xxiv, 232. This was at a late date, 1540, when churches of the new foundation, with their prebendaries, were coming into being. Earlier examples are certainly rare, and, if they are found in official documents, may be put down to carelessness.

[2] The distinction is further obscured or falsified by the modern habit of prefixing 'canon' or 'prebendary' to surnames. Needless to say, this was unknown in the middle ages and until a much later period. The resentment of Dr. Ayloffe, in Dr. M. R. James' *A Thin Ghost and other Stories*, at being addressed by the dean as 'Canon' is typical of the attitude of the older school of cathedral dignitary towards such prefixes.

them. The fact of admission would establish an indisputable right to a vacant prebendal stall; but, if these mandates are carefully compared with the records of the actual succession of prebendaries, it will be found that a certain proportion of those so admitted never obtained prebends.[1] Possibly those which fell to them were not worth their acceptance: instances of refusals are not uncommon. Possibly, where the expectant was a foreigner, the bishop and chapter united in filling up the prebend before his proctor could claim it; or possibly, on obtaining a more valuable prebend in another church, he tacitly renounced his right to it. Be this as it may, during a certain period, at any rate, there were canons, in greater or less number, who were in name members of chapters, but had not received prebends. That they ever took part in the deliberations of chapter is very unlikely: their canonries were merely empty honours which, without the prebends, were valueless. The distinction, however, between them and canons who were in full enjoyment of prebends was recognised by the occasional application to the latter of the term *canonici praebendati*. Thus at Lincoln in 1354, we find an act of chapter attested by Richard Whitewell, Adam Lymbergh, master Geoffrey Scrope and master Ralph Ergham, *canonici in ecclesia nostra praebendati*.[2] Although the canon without a prebend was, so to speak, an incomplete person, he nevertheless might be entitled a canon of the church, and was constantly so addressed in papal mandates.

Prebends in process of time became sources of income to clerks engaged in Crown offices, in the households of bishops and in the service of other noble patrons. As no cure of souls was attached to them, they could be held in considerable numbers, and a large portion of the pay of distinguished officers of state was derived from prebends in collegiate and cathedral churches, obtained by grants

[1] In York Reg. Melton (1317-1340) thirty-one such mandates are recorded, relating to canonries in York: fourteen persons out of those admitted never obtained prebends. Ten mandates were issued with regard to Beverley, twelve for Ripon, twenty for Southwell. In each case the proportion of persons who received prebends is smaller than that at York.

[2] Reg. D. and C. Lincoln iv, fo. 29 d. Cf. also *Beverley Chapter Act-Book* ii, 210: 'Sic quod octo canonici prebendati sint in dicta ecclesia in presenti residentes et non plures.' In *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1408-1413, p. 227, there is a reference to the *canonici prebendati* of Hastings. See also no. xxii of the statutes printed below in the appendix: 'quilibet canonicus in ecclesia predicta prebendatus.'

from the Crown during vacancies of sees or by the goodwill of bishops and others with whom the right of collation lay.[1] Thus, in every chapter, a certain number, and, in the more important churches, the greater body, of canons was non-resident. The actual business of chapter thus tended to fall into the hands of a few residentiaries. The position of non-residents as members of chapter was never questioned: they were summoned to episcopal visitations and on special occasions when the attendance of the whole chapter was required. Some put in an appearance; some sent proctors; and some sent no excuse and were pronounced contumacious as a matter of form.[2] After the Reformation, however, the tendency was to regard the residentiaries as the working chapter; and the principle of the greater chapter, consisting of all the canons of the church, was practically disregarded.[3] In the general rearrangement of chapters under the act of 6 William IV, the appointment of a limited number of residentiary canons with fixed stipends and the disendowment of special prebends gave the residentiaries a special statutory position; and, although the claim of all canons of old foundations to representation in chapter is revived from time to time by those who are acquainted with their past history, it is with little practical effect. To-day the *canonicus praebendatus* of a cathedral church has his stall in quire and takes his turn to preach once or twice a year, but he seldom has a chance of exercising his voice in chapter.

II

The cathedral model which has been described was followed in the lesser collegiate churches, but with the difference that they seldom possessed the full complement of dignities to be found in a cathedral church. In its

[1] The most noteworthy case is that of John of Droxford, afterwards bishop of Bath and Wells, who in 1307-8 held prebends in no less than fifteen churches, in addition to the rectories of five parish churches (*Cal. Papal Letters* ii, 39).

[2] See, e.g. the account of the election of Richard Courtenay as dean of Wells in 1410 (*Wells Reg. Bubbewyth* [Somerset Record Soc.] ii, 446-475). Apart from the *dignitates*, thirteen canons were reported present in person, sixteen by proxy, and thirteen were contumacious.

[3] For the neglect of duty by non-residents at Salisbury in the eighteenth century see Jones, *Fasti Eccl. Sar.* 262. The confinement of chapter business to a few residentiaries was primarily the fault of non-residents.

simplest form, the chapter consisted merely of a dean and a certain number of canons, each with his prebend. The church of St. Mary in the Castle at Leicester had a dean and seven canons, holding eight prebends named after the letters of the alphabet from A to H. A similar arrangement existed in other Midland colleges which claimed to have been founded before the Conquest. At Chester, Derby, the two Shrewsbury colleges, Stafford, Tamworth, Tettenhall and Wolverhampton, the dean was premier canon, and there was no other dignity or office with precedence.[1] Similarly, at Westbury-on-Trym, in the south of Gloucestershire, the dean, who held the cure of souls, may be regarded in the same light: his prebend was the rectory of the church, while the five other canons held prebends formed out of the local property of the college.[2] The number of canons in such chapters varied: at Tamworth, Tettenhall and Westbury, for instance, it was less than seven, while at St. Chad's, Shrewsbury, there were ten, apart from the dean.[3] It is noticeable, however, that at Leicester, Derby, St John's Chester, and St Mary's Shrewsbury, we have precisely the same constitution of chapter, viz. a dean and seven canons. This suggests that, in the early stages of their history, these foundations were communities of seven priests each, like York at the time of the Conquest, and that, as at York, the addition of a dean was made as the result of a Norman reorganisation of the chapter. It may be said, however, that of their original constitution nothing can be said with any certainty: the chapters which we know were probably different in many respects from the Saxon minster communities to which they referred their origin. If seven was a normal number of canons in these Mercian churches, it is also certain that there were churches with more. The collegiate church of St. Werburgh at Chester, which was turned into a Benedictine monastery about 1092, seems to have had twelve canons with a warden or *custos*. These in 1086

[1] At St. John's Chester, the deanery was *principalis et unica dignitas* (*Cal. Papal Letters* vi, 270.)

[2] Much information about the college of Westbury has been gathered by Dr H. J. Wilkins, *Westbury College from a.* 1194 to 1544 A.D. (1917).

[3] The *Taxatio Eccl.* of 1291 gives no details of the prebends at Tamworth and Tettenhall: at Westbury the portions of the dean and five canons are noted. In 1535 Tamworth and Tettenhall each had a dean and five canons (*Val. Eccl.* iii, 105, 106, 148). See *Val. Eccl.* iii, 188, for the dean and canons of St. Chad's.

appear to have been living in separate houses, and it may be inferred from Domesday that their property had been undisturbed by the Conquest.[1] On the other hand we cannot be certain that their constitution had been untouched, and that the warden and the separate life of the canons were features of the original college. At Bromfield, near Ludlow, there were also twelve canons in 1086 [2]; this minster also disappeared, giving place to a Benedictine priory dependent upon St. Peter's at Gloucester.

As we have seen, local tradition frequently ascribed those colleges, especially in the old kingdom of Mercia, which survived the eleventh century, to a royal foundation; and undoubtedly many of the early 'minsters' could lay claim to this origin. Thus the minster of St. Oswald at Gloucester, which was given to the archbishops of York and was turned into a priory of Austin canons, was regarded as originally a royal free chapel, exempt from the control of the local diocesan.[3] A few colleges, throughout their history, such as St. Mary's Shrewsbury, St. Mary's Stafford, Tettenhall, Wimborne Minster in Dorset, and St. Peter's Wolverhampton, remained royal free chapels, the deaneries of which were in the patronage of the Crown. Exemption from the diocesan bishop's authority seems to have been consistently maintained.[4] After the foundation of castles by Norman feudal lords, colleges of secular canons were occasionally founded in churches within the castle precincts. William the Conqueror, for example, founded a college for a dean and five canons in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalene in Bridgnorth castle, apparently by transference thither of a college of eight priests which had previously existed in the neighbouring church of Morville.[5] This

[1] D.B. fo. 263, col. 2: 'In civitate Cestre habet aecclesia S. Wareburg xiii domos quietas ab omni consuetudine. Una est custodis aecclesiae, aliae sunt canonicorum.' Upon this college see Prof. J. Tait, *Chartulary of Chester Abbey* (Chetham Soc.) I, pp. xv-xxii.

[2] D.B. fo. 252 *d*, col. 2. 'Ipsa aecclesia tenet Brunfelde, et ibi consistit.. In hoc manerio T.R.E. erant xx hidae, et totum habebant xii canonici ipsius aecclesiae. Unus eorum Spirtes nomine tenebat solus x hidas,' etc.

[3] *Monasticon* vi (3), 1467. This claim, on behalf of St Oswald's, was specifically stated in 1303, in a letter from Edward I to archbishop Winchelsey, prohibiting him from actions prejudicial to the freedom of the monastery which had been undertaken in connexion with his attempted visitation of the archbishop of York's jurisdiction in Gloucestershire (York Reg. Corbridge, fo. 265.)

[4] The prebends in these churches seem to have been held by collation from the deans, who were appointed by letters patent of the Crown.

[5] D.B. fo. 252, col. 2: 'Aecclesia huius manerii [Membrefelde] est in honore S. Gregorii, quae T.R.E. habebat de hac terra viii hidas, et ibi seruiebant viii canonici.'

college, to which was attached a peculiar jurisdiction, remained entirely under the control of the Crown. It was extra-diocesan: the dean and canons were appointed by royal letters patent, which were equivalent to letters of institution, and the mandate for induction of the dean was addressed by the king to a lay officer, the constable of the castle or the sheriff of Shropshire.[1] On the other hand, although the Crown presented by letters patent to the deanery and twelve canonries of the chapel in Hastings castle, and directed mandates for induction to the dean and chapter, the bishops of Chichester exercised the right of institution.[2] Among collegiate churches over which the Crown exercised complete control were the royal free chapel of St. Martin's-le-Grand in London, and Edward III's two noble foundations of St. Stephen's in the palace of Westminster and of St. George's in the castle of Windsor.

In other cases the patronage of churches which may have been regarded as royal free chapels passed from the king, with property to which they were attached, to tenants-in-chief. The church of St. Mary at Leicester was included within the boundaries of the castle founded by the first Norman earl, and, as has been said, was given to the abbey of Austin canons founded in 1143 by Robert Bossu. From this time onwards, the rectory of the church was appropriated to the abbot and convent, with whom lay the presentation of the vicar.[3] The collegiate chapter, however, continued to exist, probably on the ground that thus a staff of priests, living on freehold benefices of their own, was secured to the castle. At the same time, while the parish vicar was presented in the normal course of things for institution to the bishop of Lincoln, and was inducted in the usual way by the archdeacon of Leicester, the appointment of the dean and chapter was outside the bishop's jurisdiction. The right of presentation belonged to the lords of the castle; the abbot of Leicester instituted, and appointed a commissary to induct the presentees. Owing to this fact, or, rather, to the absence of any registers in which such institutions are recorded, no continuous lists

[1] E.g. *Cal. Pat. Rolls* 1225-1232, p. 373: mandate addressed to the constable. The dean and chapter inducted the canons.
- *Chichester Reg. Rede* (Sussex Record Soc.) i, 242-243, 244-245, etc.

[3] *Mon.* vi (3), 1456; *Rot. Hug. Welles* (Cant. and York Soc.) i, 238. The latter passage (c. 1225) mentions the seven *clerici*, but no dean.

of deans and canons in their various prebends can be made out.[1] In spite, however, of the small value of the prebends, they seem to have been sought after by clerks who desired to enter the service of the Lancastrian earls of Leicester; and the records of exchanges of benefices which fill the registers of bishops during the second half of the fourteenth century have preserved the names of many canons who otherwise would have been forgotten as such.[2]

In the case of another church which had its origin in a castle chapel, the bishop's right to institute was always recognised. In 1123 the college founded in the castle chapel of All Saints' at Warwick was transferred for reasons of convenience to the parish church of St. Mary in the town. The other parish churches of Warwick were appropriated to the dean and canons, and eventually, during the third quarter of the fourteenth century, when the place had been depopulated by pestilence, their parishes were merged in St. Mary's.[3] The earls of Warwick, as lords of the castle and town, were patrons of the deanery and canonries, but institutions were made by the bishops of Worcester as ordinaries of the town of Warwick.[4]

Two curious and rather unusual instances are those of All Saints' Derby and the small college of Penkridge in Staffordshire. Both of these were of early foundation, and both were always reckoned royal free chapels.[5] All Saints', however, was given by Henry I to the church of Lincoln, and became the property of the dean and chapter of that church.[6] The college of seven canons, which

[1] Recently the present writer discovered, in a bundle of documents relating to the property of Wyggeston's hospital in Leicester, the certificate of the institution of a fourteenth-century dean by the abbot of Leicester.

[2] Instances from the York registers may be noted: exchange of B preb. for Langtoft preb. in York, 1373 (Reg. Thoresby, fo. 78 d); of H preb. for North Leverton preb. in Southwell, 1365 (*ibid.* fo. 60); of D preb. for Sacrist's preb. in Southwell, 1364 (*ibid.* fo. 56 d); of B preb. for Kirkby-in-Cleveland, 1387 (Reg. Alex. Neville i, fo. 95 d).

[3] Documents ap. *Mon.* vi (3). 1327, 1328-1329. The titles of the five churches united to St. Mary's were given to the prebends in the college—viz. St. Peter, St. John Baptist, St. Lawrence, St. Michael and St. James; see *Val. Eccl.* iii, 84, which mentions only the dean and five canons, with ten vicars-choral and the parish curate.

[4] Full lists are to be found in Dugdale *Antiq. Warw.* ed. Thomas. Many links, however, are wanting, and it is difficult to trace regular succession in any prebend.

[5] See *Mon.* vi (3), 1467. *Ibid.* vi (3), 1466, states the number of prebends in Penkridge as thirteen. In *Val. Eccl.* iii, 99, 106, seven are accounted for in addition to the deanery, viz. Coppenhall, Stretton, Shareshill, Penkridge, Dunston, Congreve and Longridge, which corresponds with the list in *Tax. Eccl.* (Record Comm.), 242.

[6] For the history of the church see J. C. Cox and W. H. St. John Hope, *The Chronicles of the Collegiate Church of All Saints' Derby*, 1881.

had existed in the eleventh century,[1] was maintained; but in process of time the deanery became annexed to that of Lincoln, and the dean of Lincoln was recognised as parson of All Saints'.[2] Nominations to the canonries appear to have been entirely in his hands, or in those of the chapter of Lincoln during vacancies of the deanery. The actual headship of the chapter at Derby was delegated to one of the canons, with the title of sub-dean.[3] Here the status of a royal free chapel formed a safeguard to the rights of the dean of Lincoln in the event of an attempt by the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield to exercise jurisdiction, just as, when the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Worcester endeavoured to extend their metropolitan and diocesan rights to St. Oswald's priory at Gloucester, the archbishop of York was able to make good the plea of royal privilege on the same ground.[4] This, too, applied to Penkridge, which was also locally in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. Here the advowson of the deanery was granted by Henry III to the archbishopric of Dublin, and was finally united to the archbishopric by a papal bull in 1259. The canons were appointed and collations of prebends made by the archbishop of Dublin as dean of Penkridge.[5] Reference will be made later to the case of Bosham in Sussex.

Interesting as these instances are, the history of collegiate churches placed under an ordinary whose normal duties kept him at a distance, or whose records of the official connexion have been lost, is fragmentary and somewhat barren. There can be no question that the churches from which we can learn most of the collegiate life are those in which connexion with the diocesan bishop was most intimate, and especially those in which, as patron, he was specially interested. Although bishops and the chapters

[1] D.B. fo. 280: 'In eodem burgo erat in dominio regis i aecclesia cum vii clericis qui tenebant ii car. terrae libere in cestre. Erat et altera aecclesia regis similiter in qua vi clerici tenebant ix bov. terrae in Coruun et Detton similiter liberam.'

[2] See the summary account in Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire*, iv, 71 seqq.

[3] In 1535 there were seven prebends in the church, viz. the sub-dean's (Little Chester), valued at £3 6*s*. 8*d*, and six others, one of £3, one of £2 5*s*. 8*d*. one of £2, and three of 14*s*. 4*d*. each (*Val. Eccl.* iii, 157). The dean of Lincoln's parsonage or dignity was extra-prebendal.

[4] See note 3 on p. 153 above.

[5] *Mon.* vi (3), 1466. The grant of the deanery to archbishops of Dublin, not Irishmen, was made originally by John, according to *Pat. Rolls* 1225-1232, p. 97. Henry iii once attempted to appoint another clerk, in 1226 (*ibid.* pp. 56, 57.) For the bull uniting the deanery to the archbishopric, see *Cal. Papal Letters* i, 368.

of their cathedral churches often fell out upon questions of jurisdiction, and deans and chapters formed powerful republics which resented interference with their privileges, the cathedral chapter of secular canons was, in the beginning, the bishop's privy council, and the account of archbishop Thomas' reformation of the chapter at York shows that he valued the presence of useful clerks about him. This ideal relation of the chapter to the bishop is illustrated by the fact that cathedral chapters, monastic as well as secular, invariably acted as trustees of episcopal property. Their consent was necessary to the acts of the bishop, where *ardua negotia*, businesses involving important financial transactions, were involved.[1] While, however, the chapter of a secular cathedral church, in which the collation of prebends was in the bishop's hands, generally included a certain number of the clerical members of his household, his relations with a chapter of monks or canons regular were, in the nature of things, much less intimate. In two dioceses of the southern province, secular cathedral chapters were maintained as make-weights to the influence of monastic chapters which, during the period of Benedictine activity after the Conquest, had been fostered by bishops. Coventry and Bath retained the first place in the official titles of their respective sees, but, from the diocesan point of view, the secular churches of Lichfield and Wells were of much more importance. There are indications that in other dioceses where the cathedral church was also the church of a monastery, bishops made attempts to establish secular chapters with a balance of power; and in one case the claims of such a chapter to a cathedral standing were fitfully asserted.

In the diocese of Canterbury, where Lanfranc and Anselm, as might be expected from the circumstances of their education, had promoted the monastic character of their cathedral church, and where early monastic traditions were strong, there is very little evidence for the existence of secular 'minsters' at the time of the Conquest.[2] The secular canons of Dover were suppressed, not undeservedly,

[1] See, e.g., archbishop Gray's conveyance of the manor of Bishopthorpe, etc., to the dean and chapter of York on trust in 1241-2 (*Historians Ch. York* [Rolls Ser.] iii, 155-157). Canon J. M. Wilson's extracts from *The Worcester Liber Albus*, 1920, contain many interesting examples of a cathedral chapter's duty of trusteeship.

[2] *Archaeol.* lxvi, 82, 83.

if the hostile account of their doings can be trusted.[1] Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury 1185-1190, who had been a Cistercian monk and abbot of Ford, during his quarrel with the monks of Christ Church, endeavoured to found a secular college on a large scale at Hackington, close to Canterbury.[2] This attempt failed, and it was not until a century later that a collegiate church was founded in the diocese. This was the work of two archbishops who had been friars, Kilwardby, a Dominican, and Pecham, a Franciscan.[3] In December 1274 Kilwardby obtained a letter of grace from pope Gregory X, authorising him to convert the parish church of Wingham into a collegiate church of a provost and ten canons. An endeavour seems to have been made to anticipate the resignation of the existing rector, a foreigner; and litigation at the papal court went on until 1286, when Bernard, cardinal bishop of Porto, was delegated by Honorius IV to arbitrate between the parties. Upon his award, the rector resigned, and Pecham ordained the college by a solemn decree dated at South Malling, 18 February 1286-7. The foundation, for a provost and six canons, was on a smaller scale than had been contemplated. The provost took the place of the rector, his prebend consisting of the fruits of the church of Wingham and the chapel of Overland, and certain specified tithes: the rectory became his residence and the endowment of the vicarage ordained in the church was united to the provostship, on the death or resignation of the vicar. The six canonries, after the custom in such foundations, were founded for priests, deacons and subdeacons, two of each order. The prebends consisted of tithes and plots of land, and were called by the names of the places in which these were situated, viz. the priest-prebends, Ash or Chilton and Pedding; the deacon-prebends, Twitham and Bonington; and the subdeacon-prebends, Ratling and Womenswold. The property of the parish church and its six chapels, Ash, Overland, Fleet, Goodnestone, Nonington and Womenswold, had formerly been in the hands of a single rector, with the exception of

[1] *Mon.* iv, 528.

[2] *Ibid.* vi (i), 1455.

[3] The ordination of the college of Wingham and the bull of foundation are printed in *Mon.* vi (3), 1341-1343, and in *Cant. Reg. Peckham* (Cant. and York Soc.), 55 seqq.

the portion set apart for the vicar; it was now divided between the provost and canons.[1]

Other colleges, it is true, arose at a later date in the diocese; and archbishop Courtenay's college at Maidstone and the college founded at Wye by Kempe, while he was still archbishop of York, will be especially remembered.[2] But these both belonged to a class of college which was essentially different in constitution, a college founded for a group of resident chantry-priests with special intentions. While every religious corporation may be regarded from the point of view of a chantry foundation, inasmuch as its members were bound to remember the founders and other faithful departed in their masses and prayers, this, which was the primary object of the later chantry colleges, was not insisted upon by earlier founders, but was taken for granted as part of the duties of the community. Pecham, in his deed of foundation of the college of Wingham, makes no mention of it. Again, although no doubt continual residence was contemplated on the part of early bodies of canons, and was a necessary condition for the chaplain-fellows of chantry colleges, the non-resident canon of a secular chapter was a thoroughly familiar figure in Pecham's day. His ordinance, therefore, did not make residence obligatory. Any canon who resided for four months in the year, viz. one month in each quarter, was entitled to a share in the common fund reserved for the daily distributions and the needs of the church. Residence was reckoned by his daily attendance at matins, prime, high mass and vespers, or at one of these services; and he was allowed three days' absence in each month, if he needed periodical bleeding for his health. The common fund was entrusted to one of the canons as steward (*senescallus*): if there was only one canon who qualified for a share by residence, he was to receive half of what there was, the rest being kept for the church. The provost had no part in the common distribution, but was allowed a share in casual revenues, such as legacies or money left for obits to the college. Further, non-residence was provided for by the appointment of six canons' vicars, each to be presented by his canon and admitted by

[1] In *Val. Eccl.* i, 92, the provostship is rated at £36, the six prebends at £74 in all.

[2] See *Mon.* vi (3), 1394-1395, 1430-1432.

the provost; and the altarage of the churches of Ash, Goodnestone and Nonington was appropriated to their maintenance.

The chapter of Wingham was thus closely modelled upon the ordinary cathedral lines. The provost stood in the place of the dean[1]: residence, if observed, had its reward, but was not compulsory; and stall-vicars were appointed to ensure the proper conduct of the services in the absence of canons. The archbishop filled up the stalls with clerks of whom the chief, at any rate, were in his personal service. The first provost was his chaplain, Peter of Guildford.[2] Master William of Sardinia, after-

[1] On provosts and deans, see p. 177 below. The title of provost seems originally to have been superior to that of dean, and the name implies, of course, pre-eminence in a chapter. French cathedral chapters in which the provost was head *dignitas*, and there was no dean, were Aix (elected by archbishop and chapter, confirmed by pope), Alais (appointed by Crown), Albi, Apt (elected by chapter, confirmed by bishop), Arles (collated by archbishop), Auch (collated by archbishop), Avignon (appointed by pope), Carpentras (appointed by pope), Castres (elected and collated by chapter), Cavaillon (appointed by pope eight months in the year, collated by bishop in the other four), Condom (collated by bishop), Digne (collated by chapter), Embrun (collated by chapter), Frejus (collated by chapter), Glandeve (collated by bishop), Lavaur (elected by chapter, confirmed by bishop), Lombez (elected by bishop and chapter), Marseilles (collated by chapter), Mende (collated by bishop), Mirepoix, Montauban (collated by chapter), Montpellier (collated by chapter), Nîmes (appointed by Crown), Orange (appointed by pope), Saint-Papoul (collated by bishop), Saint-Paul-trois-Chateaux (collated by chapter), Rieux (elected by chapter, confirmed by bishop), Riez (collated by bishop and chapter), Seez (collated by bishop), Sénez (collated by bishop), Sisteron (collated by chapter), Strasbourg (appointed by pope), Toulon (collated by bishop), Toulouse (elected by chapter, confirmed by archbishop), Vabres (collated by bishop), Vaison (appointed by pope), Vence (collated by bishop and chapter), Viviers (collated by chapter), Uzes (collated by bishop). In the following chapters the provost took precedence of the dean: Arras (appointed by Crown, dean elected by chapter and confirmed by bishop), Cambrai (both elected by chapter); Clermont (both elected and collated by chapter), Reims (collated by archbishop, dean elected by chapter), Metz (appointed by Crown, dean collated by chapter), Soissons (both collated by chapter). The dean preceded the provost in the following: Amiens (both collated by bishop), Blois (dean collated by bishop, provost appointed by Crown), Dijon (dean elected by chapter and confirmed by bishop, provost collated by bishop), Gap (both collated by bishop and chapter), Lyons (dean collated by chapter, provost appointed by Crown), Poitiers (both collated by chapter), Le Puy (both collated by bishop), Sarlat (dean *principalis et unica dignitas*, provost a *persona*, both collated by bishop), Tulle (dean elected by chapter and confirmed by bishop, provost collated by bishop), Valence (both collated by chapter.) There was neither dean nor provost in the following churches: Acqs (i.e. Dax), Agde, Agen, Aire, Bayonne, Bazas, Beziers, Cahors, Comminges, Couserans, Coutances, Dol, Saint-Flour, Grasse, Lectoure, Leon, Lescar, Lodeve, Narbonne, Oleron, Pamiers, Perigueux, Perpignan, Saint-Pons, Quimper, Rennes, Rodez, Tarbes, Tréguier, Vannes. In forty-seven other churches there was a dean and no provost. At Metz the provost was known as *princier* or *primicerius*. In the *Regula S. Chrodegangi*, composed for the canons of Metz, *primicerius* and *praepositus* are convertible terms (Migne, *P.L.* u.s.). There was a *primicerius* at Belley under a dean: here and at Arles, where the *primicerius* was a *persona*, the office was probably equivalent to that of provost. At Chartres and Lisieux, both churches with deans, the *chefcier* (*capicerius*) occurs among the *dignitates*, and probably acted as provost.

[2] *Cant. Reg. Peckham*, u.s., 63, 64.

wards archdeacon of Oxford, who had been the archbishop's advocate at the Curia, was rewarded with the first priest-prebend; and the second sub-deacon prebend was given to the archbishop's nephew, Walter son of Richard Pecham.[1] The college was exempted from the jurisdiction of the official and the archdeacon. It was a peculiar in the patronage of the archbishop, and, although neither Pecham nor any of his successors attempted to enhance its position by asserting its equality to the powerful monastic chapter at Canterbury, it may be regarded as a close preserve of the archbishops, out of which they could provide for their household clerks.

In this connexion may be mentioned the small college of South Malling in Sussex, close to Lewes. Here, on the archbishops' manor, which formed one of the *enclaves* of the diocese of Canterbury within the bishopric of Chichester,[2] there was a minster at the period of Domesday,[3] of which the secular college was probably the direct descendant. The chapter, as we know it, consisted of a dean, to whose office the rectory of Lindfield was appropriated, and three other canons, respectively chancellor, treasurer and penitencer. These canonries were in the archbishop's collation, and were generally held by some of his clerks. The peculiar jurisdiction of South Malling comprised several parishes in Sussex, including Mayfield, where the archbishops had a manor-house; and it was no doubt for the benefit of this collection of scattered villages that a penitencer was appointed. The permanent attachment of this office to a canonry was rare in England, and the only other example seems to be the *praebenda episcopi* at Hereford[4]: elsewhere the office of penitencer was held during the ordinary's pleasure.[5]

[1] *Ibid.* 66.

[2] The peculiar of the archbishops in the diocese of Chichester included the south-east portion of the city of Chichester itself, still known as the Pallant (*Palatinum*), and the rural deaneries of Pagham, to the east of Selsey, Tarring, somewhat further east, and South Malling.

[3] D.B. fo. 16 d. col. 1: 'De ipso adhuc' manerio [Mellinges] tenent canonici S. Michaelis iiii hldas.' For the correspondence between the number of canons and that of hides cp. Morville, note 5, p. 153 above.

[4] See the collation of the office of penitencer by the Crown, during the vacancy of the see of Hereford, in 1275, and by the bishop in 1275-6 (*Hereford Reg. Cantilupe* [Cantilupe Soc.] 1, 2, 34, 35). The penitencer took rank after the *dignitates* as a *persona*: he takes precedence of other canons, e.g., in the signatures to a document in *Reg. T. Charlton* (Cantilupe Soc.), 2.

[5] E.g. Wykeham's appointment of three monks of Winchester as diocesan penitencers

In some French churches—e.g. Reims, Paris, Amiens and Orleans—the penitencer was a *dignitas*: at South Malling he seems, at any rate in the later history of the church, to have been a local priest of no great distinction.[1] Indeed, while a canonry of South Malling was worth having,[2] the duties attached to each stall brought no special honour with them, and in 1366 it was expressly noted by the treasurer, Richard Piriton, who was also rector of Hanslope in Bucks, and canon of St. Paul's and Warwick, that the treasurership 'nec officium nec dignitas reputatur,'[3] a plea intended to cover his plurality and non-residence. The deanery, however, was probably reckoned as a *personatus*,[4] and the penitencer's office would seem to have involved residence.

In the diocese of Rochester there was no secular college under the bishop's control; and the college of Cobham was a private chantry foundation of the fourteenth century, and outside our present scope. Again, in the diocese of Winchester, no Saxon minster long survived the Conquest as a collegiate church,[5] and houses of Austin canons had superseded early colleges at Christchurch and Mottisfont. Henry of Blois, however, bishop 1129-1171, founded at Merewell or Marwell in the parish of Twyford, a few miles south of Winchester, a college of four priests in honour of the deacon martyrs, Sts. Stephen, Vincent, Lawrence and Quintin. It is interesting to notice that this, although the date is early, was simply a college of chantry chaplains. The statutes issued by Peter des Roches in 1226-7 enjoin the common life and perpetual residence; and the head of the establishment was given the conventual title of prior.[6] Here, there can be no doubt, we have a consti-

in 1369-70 (*Winchester Reg. Wykeham* [Hants Record Soc.] ii, 107). In 1354-5 Grandisson appointed two penitencers for each of the three archdeaconries of his diocese in Devon, and seven for the archdeaconry of Cornwall: such appointments were renewed or changed yearly or at intervals fixed by the bishop (*Exeter Reg. Grandisson*, ed. Randolph, ii, 1144-1147). Many such examples may be found.

[1] *Chichester Reg. Rede*, u.s., ii, 270-271, 308-309. These are both records of exchanges of the office for vicarages in the diocese of Chichester.

[2] The deanery was taxed at 60 marks, and the prebends of the precentor, chancellor and treasurer at 30 marks each (*Tax. Eccl.* 138).

[3] Lambeth Reg. Langham, fo. 16.

[4] Possibly as *principalis et unica dignitas*; but I find no definite statement on the point.

[5] See details in *Archaeol.* lxvi, 73-77. It may be noted that the existence of an early minster at Kingsclere, suggested *ibid.* 76, is indicated by the fact that at a much later date we find rectors instituted to a separate portion of the predial tithes without cure (*Winchester Reg. Wykeham*, u.s., i, 81, 206). This was called the portion or prebend of Nuthanger.

[6] See *Mon.* vi. (3), 1343-1344.

tutional link between the Domesday minsters, with their semi-monastic organisation, and the colleges of resident chantry-priests which grew and multiplied in the fourteenth century. There was no attempt in this instance to create the semblance of a cathedral chapter on a small scale.

The example of Marwell was followed in 1301 by bishop John of Pontoise, who founded the chapel of St. Elizabeth of Hungary in St Stephen's mead, in front of the gate-house of his castle of Wolvesey on the east side of Winchester. The college consisted of seven priests, with a provost at their head, three deacon-clerks and three subdeacon-clerks. Here, again, we have the common life in one house and the duty of perpetual residence. One of the chaplains was to act as precentor at the provost's discretion: his office, however, carried no special privileges with it, and was merely, like that of a monastic precentor, an 'obedience.'[1] It is obvious that there is a great difference between this purely religious institution and the attempt of archbishop Baldwin to found a large secular college within sight of his cathedral church. The provosts of St. Elizabeth's were generally men of some standing with university degrees, and were sometimes employed in diocesan affairs[2]; but neither they nor the chaplains held their benefices as mere sources of income, after the manner of secular canons whose official duties rendered their connexion with chapters little more than nominal.

The cathedral church of the south-western diocese of the Midlands, Worcester, was monastic. Of the two secular colleges within the diocese, Warwick, in private patronage, has already been touched upon. The other, Westbury-on-Trym, has obtained considerable celebrity owing to the fact that John Wycliffe held the prebend of Aust in it.[3] The college was founded on property belonging to the bishops of Worcester, whose manor-houses of Henbury and Northwick lay between Westbury and the

[1] *Mon.* vi (3), 1339-1341.

[2] E.g. the second provost, master John Gorges, 1322 (*Winchester Reg. Rigaud* [Hants Record Soc.] 484); master Richard Upavene, 1328 (Reg. Stratford, fo. 113 d); master Thomas Boys, LL.D., 1381; master Simon Wylet, M.A., 1387; master John Hulyn, LL.B., 1397 (*Reg. Wykeham* [Hants Record Soc.] i, 128, 162, 210).

[3] See note 2 on p. 152 above. The facts about Wycliffe's tenure of his prebend in Westbury are stated summarily by the present writer in *Trans. of Bris. and Glouces. Archaeol. Soc.* xxxviii, 131, 132.

Severn. There appears to have been an early minster at Westbury, which was given to the cathedral priory of Worcester by St. Wulfstan (1062-1095).[1] The solemn anathema with which his deed of gift concluded is said to have been disregarded by his successor Sampson (1096-1112), who restored seculars[2]; and, although Simon (1125-1150) certainly confirmed the church of Westbury to Worcester, whether as a cell or a dependent parish church,[3] he as certainly acknowledged the right of a secular clerk in the possession of tithe attached to the revenues of the church. This tithe was confirmed to the clerk's successor by Henry of Soilly (1193-1195), probably in 1194, and by pope Celestine III in 1194-5: in the bishop's charter the grantee is called 'ecclesie de Westbur' canonicus,' and the premises are referred to as 'prebenda sua de Westbur'.'[4] As they seem to have included land which we afterwards find divided into separate prebends, it is not unlikely that, in the twelfth century, the canons of Westbury lived upon shares in a common fund, administered by the clerks who were the recipients of the above charters. When this arrangement gave place to the system of separate prebends is not known; but the division seems to have come about at any rate as early as the middle of the thirteenth century.[5] The fruits were, in fact, divided among portioners, as in a certain class of quasi-collegiate church which we shall notice further on; and certain names became attached to each portion, and were recognised in the time of bishop Godfrey Giffard (1268-1304).[6] Giffard made a definite attempt, of which the first trace is found in 1286, to convert the chapter of Westbury into a cathedral chapter like those of Wells and Lichfield, by converting a number of parish churches in his patronage into prebends, and actually appointing

[1] *Mon.* I, 591.

[2] Will. Malmes. *de Gestis Pontif.* (Rolls Ser.), 290. It is possible that Sampson's gift of the church of Wolverhampton to the prior and convent (see Thomas, *Account of Bishops of Worces.*, app. p. 5) may have been in compensation for his action at Westbury.

[3] Thomas, op. cit. app. p. 6.

[4] See the photographic reproduction of these documents (Worces. Reg. Giffard, fo. 278 d), prefixed to Wilkins, *Westbury College*. In spite of their interest, no attempt was made to summarise them in the edition of Reg. Giffard printed by the Worces. Hist. Soc.

[5] Lists of canons given by Wilkins, op. cit., and tested by the present writer's independent collections, point to this.

[6] In *Tax. Eccl.* 220, the five prebends are given under the names of their holders. One, Goodringhill, was assessed at 15½ marks, the four others at ten marks each. The dean's prebend was taxed at 15½ marks.

canons to them.[1] This, however, appears to have been done in anticipation of papal sanction; and the prior and convent of Worcester opposed the enlargement, at the expense of the episcopal property, of a chapter which would be a menace to their own authority in diocesan affairs. The quarrel, with the accompanying litigation, lasted until Giffard's death. Had his attempt been made before the statute of mortmain was passed, it might have been successful; but the alienation of no less than nine churches to Westbury was a dismemberment of estates held in chief, and was contrary to the whole spirit of contemporary legislation.[2] After his death, therefore, we hear no more of the nine prebends. The church henceforward consisted of a dean and five canons, whose prebends were those constituted out of the original tithes. The dean held the cure of souls: four of the prebendaries, viz. those of Goodringhill, Henbury, Holley or Hallen, and Aust, were charged with the maintenance of priest-vicars in quire, while the prebendary of Weston St. Lawrence provided a subdeacon.[3]

No body of statutes remains, but from the Worcester episcopal registers it can be gathered that the bond which united the members of the chapter was very slight. The prebends, of no great value, were held by non-residents whose sphere of work lay elsewhere. If these non-residents neglected to present or pay vicars, as they certainly did at one period in the fourteenth century,[4] there must at times have been little evidence of collegiate life at Westbury. In spite of this, Giffard's idea was revived in the fifteenth century by John Carpenter, bishop of Worcester 1444-1476, who is said to have been born at Westbury and wished, at any rate, to assume the style of bishop of Worcester and Westbury.[5] In 1455 he reorganised the college, adding to the body a sub-dean and treasurer with the obligation of

[1] The churches thus appropriated were Kempsey in 1288; Bishop's Cleeve, Weston-on-Avon, Withington and Bredon in 1289; Hampton Bishop and Hartlebury in 1290 Blockley in 1291; and Hanbury in 1292' (Reg. Giffard, fo. 295, etc.)

[2] See the account in *Ann. Wigorn.* (*Ann. Monast.* [Rolls Ser.] iv, 501, 502). The documents relating to Giffard's attempt are summed up, but without very strict accuracy, by Wilkins, op. cit. 19-32.

[3] This appears from the interesting document in Worces. Reg. Whittlesey, fo. 1 d, printed and translated with several errors by Wilkins, *Was John Wycliffe*, etc., u.s., pp. 10-26.

[4] *Ibid.* 43-46.

[5] Godwin, *De Praesulibus*, 467. It does not seem, however, that the double title was regularly or officially assumed.

perpetual residence, releasing the dean from the cure of souls and giving it to the sub-dean, and reducing the annual revenues of the non-resident prebendaries to an uniform stipend of 40*s*. each. The dean was also given a prebend of 40*s*., with 6*s*. 8*d*. a week as dean, if in residence, and a proportionate amount if absent. The sub-dean had £10, the treasurer £8 a year.[1] Presumably the old system of appointing vicars was continued, as the statutes, embodied in the confirmatory bull of Calixtus III, say nothing about them; but it would appear that the sub-dean and treasurer, being bound to reside, were not required to find vicars. The gatehouse and other portions of the collegiate buildings founded by Carpenter still remain in the village of Westbury, at the foot of the slope on which the church stands; and the bishop himself, who died at his manor of Northwick, was buried in the church. His design, although it put the college upon a somewhat more satisfactory footing, was far less imposing than Giffard's, and his enthusiasm for Westbury was not shared by his successors. The church, an interesting building of various dates, has no special collegiate features which distinguish it from an ordinary parish church, and its temporary claim to cathedral dignity seems never to have been seriously recognised. When the diocese of Bristol was founded, the college was still in existence; but there was no question of converting it into the cathedral chapter of a new diocese, and it was dissolved in 1543-4, three years before the passing of the first Chantry act, under the provisions of which it would have come.[2]

In the East Anglian diocese of Norwich, chantry colleges became fairly numerous in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. There was only one college whose constitution approximated to the old cathedral model. This was St. Mary's of the Fields at Norwich, which, founded in 1248 as a hospital, was gradually enlarged into a college of ten

[1] Wilkins, *Westbury College*, 146-149.

[2] Wilkins, op. cit. 131-135, advances the theory that there was some idea of making Westbury the cathedral church of the new diocese of Bristol in 1542. There is no authority for this, and his only reason for supposing it is that Westbury survived the suppression of the monasteries. This reason, in which he has the support of the Rev. C. S. Taylor, F.S.A., is obviously no reason at all. Westbury did not come under the Acts of Suppression; and, as a matter of fact, its dissolution in 1544 was a voluntary surrender, anticipating, like that of several other colleges (see Rymer, *Foedera* xv, 12-14), the general suppression of colleges and chantries.

canons, the first prebend being appropriated to the dean. Although at first a private foundation, its patronage passed into the hands of the bishop, and the deanery was usually held by some prominent diocesan official. The second, third, fourth, fifth and sixth prebends were respectively entitled those of the chancellor, treasurer, precentor, provost and sacrist. The remaining prebends were called after the chief masses said daily in the church, viz. the morrow mass of our Lady,[1] the chapter mass, *alta missa*, Lady mass, and *magna missa*.[2] These titles indicate that residence was at any rate desirable, and the holders of prebends here certainly were not of the class which amassed non-resident prebends in other churches as sources of income. In fact, this college from the beginning has features which place it upon the debatable line between the chantry college and the class of college which is our main subject.[3]

The colleges of Cambridge, like those of Oxford, bear no relation to the secular college of the cathedral type, but were closely allied by their organisation as corporations of resident members to colleges of chantry-priests. The bishops of Ely had no church of secular canons under their protection; and we may pass on to the two northern dioceses with monastic chapters. The chapter of Carlisle was a convent of Austin canons, the early history of which, as set forth by Canon Wilson,[4] is an interesting study in the somewhat loose constitution of a twelfth-century house of canons regular. Whether the early bishops of Carlisle ever thought of establishing a collegiate chapter in the church of their distant manor of Melbourne in Derbyshire is a question which may be raised, but cannot be settled: the unusual size and beauty of the church there, which seems to be nearly contemporary with the foundation of the see of Carlisle in 1133, is difficult

[1] Celebrated at the altar of St. James: cf. the *Salve* mass of our Lady at Salisbury, which was celebrated in the Trinity chapel, popularly known as the Lady chapel. In these cases the high altar was the altar of our Lady.

[2] Blomefield, *Hist. Norfolk* iv, 171-173. For the prebends of *magna missa* and *alta missa* cf. those called *magnae missae maioris altaris* and *altae missae* in Malling abbey, Kent (Lambeth Reg. Langham, ff. 9, 24).

[3] In 1535 the dean's portion was worth £16 6*s*. 8*d*. There were then only seven canons, viz. chancellor, precentor, treasurer, two on the north side, and two on the south side, whose prebends, owing to insufficient endowment, were purely honorary (*Val. Eccl.* iii, 290).

[4] *Scottish Hist. Rev.*, April, 1920.

to explain on other grounds.[1] Otherwise, no college was founded in the diocese until the era of chantry colleges.

Durham, however, offers a peculiarly interesting example of a diocese in which secular chapters were founded by a bishop who had to deal with the chapter of a large and powerful cathedral priory. Two colleges in the diocese, Darlington and Norton-on-Tees, existed before the thirteenth century, but these churches were churches divided among portioners rather than regular collegiate establishments.[2] A third, Staindrop, founded by the first earl of Westmorland at the beginning of the fifteenth century, was a chantry college. In 1284 bishop Antony Bek took the first step towards converting the churches of three large parishes on the north-west and west of Durham into collegiate churches of secular canons. It should be remembered that the bishop of Durham, powerful magnate though he was, had a chapter which was peculiarly tenacious of its privileges. Himself usually a secular clerk, he was the nominal superior and natural enemy of a cathedral priory, which occasionally, under pressure from the Crown, was obliged to forego its right of free election to the bishopric. He had to maintain his dignity in face of frequent opposition. The one real bond of union between him and the prior and convent was the danger of common enemies, the Scots on the one hand, the attempts of the archbishop of York to exercise his metropolitan authority in the diocese and cathedral church on the other. It is true that Bek's foundations never attained the prominence which he doubtless designed for them, but they provided him at any rate with endowed bodies

[1] See *A.J.* lxxi, 394.

[2] In the Assize roll of 27 Hen. iii the church of Darlington was divided among four portioners (Surt. Soc. cxxvii, 46). In 1291 the four portions of Darlington were assessed at 25 marks each (*Tax. Eccl.* 315). In Norton there were at the same date eight portions, each worth nine marks (*ibid.*) The first portioner of Darlington was called in 1291 *decanus*, the second *persona*. In *Val. Eccl.* v, 316, the dean of Darlington, with net revenues of £36 8*s.* 4*d.* appears to be also *persona* with cure of souls. Each of the three remaining portioners, called prebendaries, had £5 each. Although this suggests a collegiate organisation, such organisation here seems to have been of a very loose kind; and it seems probable that the title of dean, given to the first portioner, implied at first merely that he was rural dean of Darlington *ex officio*. At Norton in 1535 each of the eight prebendal portions was assessed at £4 6*s.* 8*d.* (*ibid.* v, 319). It is noteworthy that in Kempe's provincial visitations in 1438, while Auckland, Chester-le-Street and Lanchester are called *ecclesiae collegiatae*, Darlington and Norton are merely *ecclesiae* (Surt. Soc. cxxvii, 232, 233). They were recognised, however, as collegiate churches at archbishop Savage's visitation in 1501.

of secular clerks in his own diocese, on whose co-operation he could rely in the event of strained relations with his cathedral chapter. The neighbouring diocese of York afforded examples of secondary secular chapters at Beverley, Ripon and Southwell which must have occurred to his mind. His elder brother Thomas had recently founded an important college, of which more hereafter, in the diocese of St. Davids. It is also noteworthy that, while he was founding his colleges, the college of Wingham came into existence, and Godfrey Giffard was striving to obtain pre-eminence for his college at Westbury.

The foundation of a college of a dean and seven canons in the church of Lanchester in 1284, of a similar college in the church of Chester-le-Street in 1286, and of one of a dean and at least nine canons in St. Andrew's at Auckland in 1292-3, may be regarded therefore as symptoms of a movement not confined to one diocese. The consent of the prior and convent of Durham was necessary to their establishment; but the moment was fortunately chosen. In 1284 the prior and convent were vigorously resisting the attempts of archbishop Wickwane to hold a visitation at Durham. Bek himself, consecrated early in the year, had taken their part and refused to excommunicate them; and during the next ten years, with the aid of king Edward I, he maintained a victorious opposition to the claims of Wickwane's successor, John le Romeyn.[1]

The ordinances for the colleges of Lanchester and Chester-le-Street are, *mutatis mutandis*, exactly similar.[2] The dean in each case was to be in priest's orders. He was to exercise the cure of souls in the parish and be continually resident. He was to find two chaplains or vicars to help him in his work. The repair of the chancel devolved upon him, subject to the proviso that he was not required to rebuild it. He was to see that the outlying chapels of the parish were properly served.[3] His revenues were to consist of all the oblations at the altar, the small and personal tithes of the parish, the various rents and services due from the tenants of the church, with certain allowances from one or two manors and hamlets within the parish. The predial tithes of the parish were divided into seven

[1] See *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc.) viii-xi; *York Reg. Romeyn* (Surt. Soc.) ii, xxv-xxxi.

[2] Printed in *Mon.* vi (3), 1333-1334.

[3] Viz. Esh, Medomsley and Healey.

specified areas and allotted accordingly to the seven prebendaries.[1] The dean was allowed to have the messuages belonging to the several chapels; but in each of these a distinct place was to be reserved for the prebendary to whom the great tithes of the chapelry were assigned, so that he might be able to store his tithe-grain there. According to this arrangement, the prebendaries were virtually the rectors of the parish, while the dean was its vicar. No residence was required of the prebendaries, but each had to find his own vicar or substitute. Three of these vicars were to be in priest's orders; the remaining four were to be in holy orders, i.e. priests, deacons or subdeacons. They were to serve in church in their canonical habit, and to sing the psalter according to the use of York or Salisbury. Each of them was to be in turn hebdomadary—i.e. responsible for the services of his week—at the appointment of the dean, who, in addition to his responsibility for the cure of souls, was the ultimate authority for the proper execution of divine service. A special direction was given for the celebration of matins every morning for the sake of the parishioners.[2] It need hardly be said that this quire-office, which we frequently hear decried in our own day as a purely monastic service, was, at all events in theory, as countless documents show, an integral portion of the services of every collegiate and parish church in the land; and its importance was never minimised during the middle ages.

The ordinances for Auckland are somewhat more elaborate.[3] The college was not exactly a new foundation;

[1] The prebends in Lanchester were entitled Esh, Medomsley, Greencroft, Langley, Healey, Iveston and Newbiggin; in Chester-le-Street they were called Lumley, Lamesley, Pelton, Chester, Tanfield, Birtley and Urpeth. In 1291 the vicarage or deanery of Lanchester was taxed at 35 marks, three *portiones* at 25, 20 and 16 marks respectively, the rest at ten marks each. Similarly the vicarage or deanery of Chester-le-Street was taxed at 50 marks, two *portiones*, one of which was Lamesley, at £20 each, one at 26 marks, one at £16, and three at 20 marks each (*Tax. Eccl.* 315). In *Val. Eccl.* the deanery of Lanchester was taxed at £40; the prebends of Esh and Iveston at five marks each, Langley and Medomsley at twenty shillings each, Newbiggin at ten shillings. Greencroft was worth nothing, and Healey is not mentioned (v, 316). The deanery of Chester-le-Street was worth £41, Lamesley prebend £10, Chester £6, Lumley £5 16*s*.8*d*., Pelton £5 6*s*. 8*d*., Birtley and Tanfield £3 6*s*. 8*d*. each, Urpeth 46*s*. (v. 312.)

[2] *Propter parochianos.*

[3] Printed ap. *Mon.* vi (3), 1334-1337. In 1291, which is slightly earlier than the date of Bek's reorganisation of the church, five portions, which became priest-prebends, were taxed at 70, 40, 30, 24 and 24 marks respectively, one of the two last having a portion of 15 marks in the vicarage. Four, afterwards deacon-prebends, were assessed at 30, 25, 24 and 10 marks respectively. Three more were worth severally 30 and 15 marks and £5. The vicarage was taxed at 60 marks (*Tax. Eccl.* 315).

for the great tithes of the parish had previously been divided among a number of non-resident canons or portioners, and the church had been served by a vicar. When Bek re-founded it, the establishment had lost money and the number of canons had decreased. The vicar was now dignified by the title of dean: he retained his former sources of revenue, and in addition was put in possession of a prebend, formed out of recently reclaimed moorland in the neighbourhood of Auckland, from which he was to receive the tithe up to the value of £10. He was charged with the maintenance of a priest in the bishop's manorial chapel at Auckland, and with that of a certain number of priests and clerks in the collegiate church. The canons were not bound to residence, but they were to see that proper dwelling-houses, of the lack of which they had complained, were constructed on the south side of the church. Each was to provide his own vicar, who was to be present at the canonical hours, processions and masses. Five canons were charged with the payment of £3 6*s*. 8*d*. a year to each of five vicars in priest's orders. A payment of 40*s*. a year was to be made by each of the four other canons to four several vicars in deacon's orders. Each of the remaining canons, whose number was left unfixed,[1] was to pay 30*s*. to a subdeacon or clerk. The canonical hours and high mass were to be sung daily by the dean and vicars; high mass, at nine o'clock in the morning, was to be followed as soon as possible by the mass of our Lady, the maintenance of which was entrusted to the holder of one of the priest-prebends and his successors. The other provisions are similar to those prescribed for Lanchester

[1] Bek appointed five priest-canons, four deacon-canons and probably three subdeacon-canons: see previous note. In 1428 bishop Langley found the following prebends or portions existing: Auckland. Eldon major, Eldon minor, Shildon, Byers, Fitches, Morley, Witton, Woodfield, Bedburn (in two portions) and St. Helen's, Auckland. Of these the first five were priest-prebends, Fitches and St. Helen's were deacon-prebends, and the rest subdeacon-prebends. He divided Auckland and the two Eldon prebends into two prebends each, viz. Auckland i and ii, and Eldon i, ii, iii and iv, and united Shildon and Byers, thus making seven priest-prebends. St. Helen's was divided into two deacon-prebends, St. Helen's and Escombe. Fitches and Morley were united into one subdeacon-prebend, Witton, Woodfield and a portion of Bedburn into another. This fixed the number of prebends at eleven (*Mon.* vi (3), ut sup.). In 1535 the deanery was taxed at £101 gross; Auckland i (Auckland and Binchester) at 14 marks, Auckland ii and Eldon i and iii at 13 marks each, Eldon ii at 15 marks, Eldon iv at £8 13*s*. 8*d*., Shildon at 13¼ marks, Witton at 7 marks, Hamsterley (i.e. Fitches and Morley, probably with a portion of Bedburn) at 6½ marks, West Auckland (or Escombe) at 12 marks; while St Helen's was worth nothing (*Val. Eccl.* v, 315).

and Chester-le-Street. In each of the colleges the bishop reserved for himself the stall on the south side of the entrance to the quire, the place usually reserved to the abbot in monasteries and to the dean in collegiate churches. The corresponding stall on the north side was appropriated to the dean. The prebendaries of the first, third, fifth, and seventh prebends at Lanchester and Chester-le-Street sat in order on the bishop's side: the second, fourth and sixth prebendaries on the dean's side; and a like order of dignity was appointed at Auckland. It may be noted that the parishes belonging to these three collegiate churches, with their chapelries, were adjoining districts, Chester-le-Street marching with Lanchester, Lanchester with Auckland. These colleges of secular clerks, therefore, served a continuous territory within which, at Auckland, was the bishop's chief country house; while one of them, Chester-le-Street, was situated at a place which, in Saxon times, had been for a considerable period a bishop's see and the resting-place of the remains of St. Cuthbert.

The three Durham colleges give occasion for some general remarks on two points. In the first place, they were formed, like Wingham and Westbury, by the division of the tithes of a parish. In all these churches, the dean or, as at Wingham, the provost, had cure of souls and exercised spiritual jurisdiction: the prebends were small manors, formed by the allocation of the predial tithes from specified chapelries and hamlets. The churches were, in fact, churches of portioners to which was given a definite constitution and a corporate existence. As we have seen, Auckland had previously been divided among portioners: by Bek's constitution the number of portioners was augmented and the vicar, previously a subordinate with charge of the cure of souls, was raised to the head of the college with the title of dean. Bek made no attempt to alter the existing arrangements at the other churches of portioners, Norton and Darlington. In these the portioners continued to divide the rectorial tithes: the vicars served the cures; and there was no head of the college. The 'dean of Darlington' was an official to whom documentary evidence is frequent, and the vicar of the church seems, at any rate frequently, to have held this post; but the title seems to refer, at any rate primarily, not to the church, but to the

Christianity or rural deanery of Darlington.[1] Churches of portioners, such as Norton and Darlington, were collegiate churches in an imperfect state of development.

Secondly, it will be noticed that at Auckland, Chester-le-Street, and Lanchester, the bishop reserved for himself the principal stall in quire. In this he imitated the arrangement at Durham, where the stall occupied by the abbot in a monastic church was reserved to him *honoris causa*. The dean's stall in the three collegiate churches was at Durham the stall of the prior, the actual head of the monastery.[2] In other secular colleges where the bishop had the chief stall in quire, as at Southwell, there was no dean; and we shall see that in certain other colleges, and in the cathedral churches of Llandaff and St Davids, the precentor was head of the chapter, and the dignity of dean was non-existent. The bishop of Durham made no claim to be included in his collegiate chapters, but his quire-stall was a reminder of his position as patron and visitor; and it is noticeable that he refrained from granting the chapters those peculiar privileges which were frequently sources of dispute between a bishop and the secular canons of his cathedral and collegiate churches.

III.

The dioceses in which the cathedral churches, or one of them, were secular were thirteen in number, viz. York, Coventry and Lichfield, Lincoln, London, Chichester, Salisbury, Bath and Wells, Exeter, Hereford, and the four Welsh dioceses. York, in addition to its cathedral church, contained the three great and ancient foundations of Beverley, Ripon and Southwell, the *matrices ecclesiae* of the East Riding, part of the West Riding, and Nottinghamshire respectively. Further, archbishop Roger of Pont-l'Évêque (1154-1181) founded, upon the north side of the

[1] See note 2, on p. 168 above. The dean is called *decanus ecclesiae de Derlington* in 1535, but it is doubtful whether this represents his original position. In *Reg Pal. Dunelm.* [Rolls Ser.] the *decanus de Derlington* is habitually the rural dean, once (i, 310) called *decanus Christianitatis de Derlington*. It is noticeable that in the Assize roll of 1243 the 'dean' and 'parson' are distinct: in 1535 the dean appears to be in possession of the parsonage.

[2] Cf. Canterbury and Ely. In all three churches the abbot's stall was and is still reserved to the diocesan when in quire.

nave of York minster, the chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels, commonly known as St. Sepulchre's, for a sacrist and twelve canons; and in the south-east of the diocese was the college of six canons at Howden, in the patronage of the prior and convent of Durham. Osmotherley in the North Riding was a church of three portioners, which never attained full collegiate development. Other colleges, such as the Percy foundation at Kirkby Overblow, which was incorporated, by a singular arrangement, with a chantry in Alnwick castle,[1] and the fifteenth-century college of Hemingbrough,[2] belonged to the later chantry group.

Beverley, Ripon and Southwell were to all intents cathedral churches, standing in the place of York to the inhabitants of their respective districts. The archbishop spent part of each year at his manor-house of Bishop Burton, close to Beverley: he was often at his house at Ripon: Southwell, Scrooby, and Laneham, places which lay in the jurisdiction of the chapter of Southwell, were favourite residences with one archbishop after another. In each of the churches his stall was in the principal place on the right hand of the quire. His position, however, with regard to the three chapters was peculiar. The patronage of the canonries belonged to him, but the chapters were hedged in from interference by privileges which few chapters in England, save that of the mother church of York, possessed in so great a degree. They were large land-owners: the churches and lands belonging to them were peculiars over which they were supreme: they possessed the right of instituting their own presentees to the parish churches in their gift.[3] They were jealous of any interference by the archbishop in their affairs: any concession to his authority might constitute a precedent prejudicial to their independence. The conflict of jurisdictions which takes up so large a part of the history of the medieval church was nowhere more acute or produced more curious anomalies. An archbishop constantly wanted preferment for a trusted clerk. Vacant prebends in the

[1] See *V.C.H. Yorks.* iii, 362, 363.

[2] See Burton, *Hist. of Hemingbrough*, ed. Raine (Yorks. Archaeol. Soc. 1888-1889).

[3] These institutions seem not to have been properly registered in the chapter act-books, to judge from Mr. Leach's edition of the *Beverley Chapter Act-Book*. This applies to institutions to livings within other peculiars, such as those of the chapters of York and Southwell.

four major chapters of the diocese lay ready to his hand; and it sometimes happened that in this way a single clerk held prebends in three out of the four simultaneously.[1] As a member of each of the chapters, he was placed in opposition to his own patron, if that patron chose, as he often did, to pursue a policy of encroachment. The attempt of archbishop Alexander Neville to ride rough-shod over the chapter of Beverley has been related at length by the late Mr. A. F. Leach.[2] The story provides some serio-comic incidents: nothing could be more ludicrous than the picture of the archbishop sitting with his clerks in state in the chapter-house, presiding over an absent chapter, while a few vicars-choral, summoned to attend the visitation, strolled in and openly derided him.[3] The failure of Neville's attack on the chapter's privileges shows how firmly such privileges, established in the beginning on somewhat slender claims, were rooted in use and wont.

The constitution of Beverley is of peculiar interest, as it is an instance of the survival of a pre-Conquest chapter, the main character of which was retained in spite of later accretions. There were seven original prebends called by the names of altars in the church.[4] Their revenues, varying considerably, were charged upon the lands of the chapter within the provostry of Beverley. Each canon, moreover, resident or non-resident, claimed a yearly subsidy from the common fund of the Bedern, an institution which represented the old common dwelling-house of the pre-Conquest canons.[5] An eighth prebend, named after the altar of St. Katherine, was added to these in the thirteenth century; but it was long a moot point whether

[1] Leach, *Vis. and Mem. Southwell*, 1, says 'Any one who got the favour of an archbishop of York was singularly unfortunate, or moderate in his requirements, if he was not at least a canon of his four matrices ecclesiae, York, Beverley, Ripon and Southwell.' This is an exaggeration: instances of persons holding canonries of three of these churches simultaneously are fairly common, but the only canon of all four at once of whom there seems to be any record was Henry Bowet, archdeacon of Richmond, who held his prebends in the four from 1420 to 1442.

[2] *Archaeologia* lv, 1 seqq.; see also *Beverley Chapter Act-Book*, vol. ii.

[3] *Beverley Chapter Act*, *Book*, ii, 233-234.

[4] The taxation of these in 1291 was as follows: St. Martin's altar, £45; St. Andrew's, £27; St. James', £26; St. Peter's and St. Stephen's, £25 each; St. Michael's. £17; St. Mary's £16 (*Tax. Eccl.* 302). In 1535 their net values in the above order were £39 11*s.* 0*d.*, £48 16*s.* 0*d.*, £47 1*s.* 4*d.*, £46 6*s.* 11½*d.*, £44, £31 8*s.* 4d., and £35 17*s.* 0*d.* (*Val. Eccl.* v, 130, 131.)

[5] In 1535 the corrody of each prebend was £4 4*s.* 8*d.* with 52 quarters of oats valued at £3 9*s.* 4*d.* (*ibid.*)

the prebendary was really a member of chapter or not. The archbishop himself established his claim to a ninth prebend, but had no voice in chapter; and Alexander Neville's endeavour to upset this arrangement and claim the presidency of the chapter in virtue of his prebend, led to the complications already mentioned. In addition to the prebends, three offices, of precentor, chancellor and sacrist or treasurer, were founded after the Conquest and endowed with fixed yearly stipends; but so conservative was the constitution of the church that their holders had no place in chapter, and took rank, by an order of precedence elsewhere unknown in England, after the prebendaries. The unusual order of precedence in quire has been set forth by Mr. John Bilson in a recent volume of the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*.[1] Of the vicars-choral and other persons on the foundation nothing need be said here, except that each prebendary's vicar was responsible for the cure of souls belonging to the altar which gave its name to his prebend, and that upon one of the altars[2] was dependent the chapel of St. Mary, which in course of time became one of the most noble churches in England. The estates and funds of the chapter were administered by a provost, who, as provost, had neither stall in quire or voice in chapter, although, in the fourteenth century, it became customary to admit him to one of the canonries.

This extra-capitular position of the provost is very uncommon; and, although an exhaustive study of the constitution of foreign chapters might furnish parallels, there was certainly nothing like it in England. The only exact parallel which I can find among French cathedral chapters is that of the small church of Saint-Papoul in Languedoc, where the provost, as at Beverley, was the only *dignitas*, but had no canonry and prebend annexed to his office.[3] This, however, is not much to the present purpose, for, as a matter of fact, the see of Saint-Papoul was not established until 1317, and the

[1] Vol. xxiv, pp. 226-231. In French chapters *personatus*, as distinct from *dignitates*, were common (cf. note 7, p. 147 above): e.g. at Arles, the *scholasticus*, *primicerius* and treasurer were *personae*, taking rank after the *dignitates*: at Avignon the treasurer and *scholasticus*. At Beauvais the two *personae*, viz. the penitencer and chancellor, appear to have taken rank after the canons, and there are a few other instances of this.

[2] St. Martin's altar.

[3] See note on p. 160 above for detailed list of French cathedral provosts.

constitution of the chapter was monastic till 1670. But it is very probable that the establishment of this financial dignity, independent of the chapter, may be attributed to the first Norman archbishop of York, and that the position of the provost, whom he set for a time over the canons of York, was exactly similar and was derived from a foreign model.[1] In many French cathedral churches, particularly in Provence, where the custom was almost universal, and in Languedoc, the provost took the place of the dean as head dignitary. At Clermont in Auvergne the provost was head of the chapter, and in the adjacent dioceses of Le Puy and Tulle there was a provost who took rank after the dean, as also at Amiens. On the other hand, the provost at Reims and Soissons was chief dignitary, taking immediate precedence of the dean, an arrangement which also occurred at Strasbourg and Arras; while at Cambrai, where the provost was head, the dean ranked only as seventh among the *dignitates*. Provosts, at any rate in these northern churches, seem to have been survivals of an age in which there was more than one deanery in a chapter, and the office of dean, derived from monastic sources, was essentially different from what it became later.[2] In most other cases, in the northern half of France, the office of provost disappeared altogether, save where, as at Chartres, Autun, and a few other churches, provosts were regularly appointed to administer the funds of divided prebends[3]; we have an instance of this at Wells, where the provost of Combe, frequently called the provost of Wells, administered the fruits of a fifteen-fold prebend.[4] In Normandy, however, there was a provost at the head of the chapter of Séez,

[1] See p. 145 above.

[2] 'In early times [at Reims] there were several deans, and the duty of the provost was to see that none of the deans, from the highest to the lowest, neglected his duties for a single day' (Bp. Browne, ap. *Trans. S. P. Eccles. Soc.* iii, 229). For the office of dean in a monastery see cap. xxi. of the Rule of St. Benedict.

[3] At Autun there were two such provosts, viz. of Sussey and of Beligny, holding dignities. The four provosts in the chapter of Chartres were the four last *dignitates* but one, the *dignitates* reaching the unusual number of seventeen.

[4] The provostship of Combe seems in itself to have been extra-prebendal. Two successive provosts in 1310 and 1311 were prebendaries of Wiveliscombe (*Cal. Patent Rolls* 1307-1313, p. 277; *Cal. MSS. D. and C. Wells* [Hist. MSS. Comm.] i, 250). Alan of Conisbrough, provost in 1332, had no prebend (*Cal. MSS. D and C. Wells, ibid.*). The prebend of Combe xii was united perpetually to the provostship in favour of John of St. Paul, afterwards archbishop of Dublin, in 1344 (*Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1343-1345, p. 327).

and there is another Norman instance in which a provost appears among the officers of a collegiate chapter, though not at its head, viz. at Mortagne in the same diocese. We have seen that the title of provost was adopted at Wingham in 1286 and at St. Elizabeth's, Winchester, in 1301. Otherwise, its only employment in the place of the title of dean before the spread of chantry colleges was at Glasney in Cornwall. Later on, the head of a chantry college, as at Kirkby Overblow, was sometimes called provost; and provosts were appointed at two medieval colleges in Oxford, Oriel and Queen's, and one at Cambridge, King's, as well as at Eton.[1] But, even in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the office of provost in an English college was generally, where there is specific record of its existence, a temporary office filled by election for a certain term, and not attached to a particular prebend. In general, it may be said that the *praepositus*, in the first instance, controlled the distribution of a common fund. Where he is found later, either as a dignitary or officer of second or lower rank—e.g. at the Norwich college—or as a merely temporary official, his duties were similar: he was, in fact, the bursar of the college. Where, on the other hand, he was head of a chapter, his office approximated to that of dean, and, if he retained his financial responsibilities, they were extended to include a jurisdiction and power of correction which the ordinary provost did not possess. At Beverley, the provost administered the temporalities of the chapter over a large area, and the seven 'clerks of the Berefel,'[2] who were reckoned as parsons in the church, seem to have been the staff which assisted him in his duties; but the spiritual and correctional jurisdiction belonged to the body of canons, from which his office was quite distinct.

At Ripon the old number of seven canons was preserved without change. But, while the presidency of the chapter of Beverley devolved upon the senior residentiary, the presidency at Ripon belonged *ex officio* to the precentor,

[1] The title was adopted in post-medieval times at Worcester college, Oxford.

[2] The origin of the name is uncertain, though usually supposed to be derived from bear-skin almuces or other articles of dress worn by the clerks. But the form 'Berefeld' is also found, and it is possible that this, with the sense of 'barley-field,' was an old name applied to the district from which the provost received the fruits due to the church.

who was one of the canons and held as his prebend the church of Stanwick St. John in the north of Yorkshire. He was always resident and kept no vicar in quire at Ripon. The theory at Beverley by which the cure of souls of the town, or most of it, was divided between the canons' vicars at the different altars prevailed also here. As the *corpus* of the prebend of Stanwick lay outside the parish of Ripon, the fact that he had a vicar at Stanwick was regarded as the equivalent of having a vicar at Ripon. The remaining six canons divided between them the tithes of the parish of Ripon, and their vicars were held responsible for the cure of souls in the places specially appropriated to each of the prebends.[1] The whole arrangement was more simple than that at Beverley, and, apart from the divided cure of souls and the absence of a dean, bears a close resemblance to Bek's provisions for his Durham colleges.

The number of canons at Southwell grew by degrees from seven to sixteen, and it is difficult to identify the seven original canonries and prebends with certainty.[2] Here, as at Beverley, the senior residentiary presided over chapter, and, by virtue of this position, occupied the principal stall on the north side, opposite the archbishop's. There were no dignities recognised as such, but one of the canons acted as precentor, the prebendary of Normanton was chancellor, and the prebend known as the sexton's was appropriated to the sacrist or treasurer. These sat in quire in their own prebendal stalls; and the stall which, in cathedral churches, is that of the chancellor, at the south-east corner of the quire, was assigned *honoris causa* to the prior of the neighbouring house of Austin canons at Thurgarton. Prebends were occasionally appropriated to the heads of monasteries; at York, the prebend of Bramham was held by the prior of St. Oswald's, and that of Salton by the prior of Hexham, and further examples

[1] In 1291 the seven prebends were taxed as follows: Stanwick, 60 marks; Studley, 60 marks; Givendale and Skelton, 60 marks; Nunwick, 60 marks; Thorp, 40 marks; Monkton, 70 marks; Sharow, 45 marks. These were severally re-taxed in the fourteenth century, after the Scottish invasion, at 15 marks, £5, 20, 10, 20, 20 and 15 marks (*Tax. Eccl.* 308). In 1535 the net taxation was respectively £39 7*s.* 6*d.*, £26 11*s.* 4*d.*, £15 10*s.* 4*d.*, £21, £20, £24 12*s.* 8*d.*, and £14 5*s.* 2*d.* (*Val. Eccl.* v, 250.)

[2] Leach (*Vis. and Mem. Southwell*, xxv, xxvii) argues with great probability that the seven original prebends were Normanton, the three Norwell prebends, the two Oxton and Cropwell prebends, and Woodborough.

can be given from Chichester, Salisbury and Wells.[1] But the prior of Thurgarton held no prebend at Southwell, and his position, like that of the archbishop, was that of an honoured guest. The revenues of the prebends were derived from churches and manors in Nottinghamshire; and the cure of souls at Southwell, instead of being divided up among the vicars-choral, was entrusted to a single vicar, who celebrated at the altar of St. Vincent in the nave[2] and had no status upon the foundation. The relations of the archbishop and the chapter were generally cordial, and there was little or no friction. The archbishops, indeed, were as a rule fond of Southwell; and one of the latest additions to the church was the chantry-chapel at its south-west corner, unfortunately destroyed towards the end of the eighteenth century, which was founded by archbishop William Bothe and augmented by his half-brother archbishop Lawrence Bothe, and in which both were buried.[3]

The chapel of St. Mary and the Holy Angels at York, already alluded to, was founded for a sacrist and twelve canons, with four prebends for each of the three orders, priests, deacons and sub-deacons. Here the prebends were simply payments of equal shares from the common fund. The sacrist, with special revenues, was generally a clerk of some importance connected with the minster; e.g. Thomas of Corbridge, who became archbishop in 1300, held the office with the chancellorship and a prebend in York, and Thomas Magnus, archdeacon of East Riding, held the sacristship with other benefices in and outside the diocese at the time of the dissolution of the chapel. The other canons, though not all resident, were usually persons of no great importance; and a prebend in the chapel was frequently merely a stepping-stone for one of the archbishop's clerks who was designed for preferment in the minster or one of the other collegiate churches.[4]

[1] Viz. Chichester, the abbot of Grestain; Salisbury, the abbots of Sherborne, Montebourg, and Bec; Wells, the abbots of Athelney, Muchelney and Bec. At Hereford the abbots of Cormeilles and Lyre had stalls in quire, but no voice in chapter. Cf. the chapter of Auch in Gascony, where three abbots and two priors had dignities, the abbots taking rank after the provost.

[2] Leach, *Vis. and Mem. Southwell*, 110,111.

[3] See *Trans. Thoroton Soc.* xv, 75-80.

[4] In 1291 the sacristship was taxed at 132½ marks, and ten prebends are accounted for, viz. four priest-prebends at ten marks, four deacon-prebends at ten marks, four deacon-prebends at 7½ marks, and two subdeacon-prebends at 6 marks each (*Tax. Eccl.* 298.) In 1535 the sacristship was taxed at £138 19*s.* 2½*d.*, the priest-prebends at £11 4*s.* 7*d.*, the deacon-prebends at £9 11*s.* 3*d.*, and four subdeacon prebends at £8 11*s.* 3*d.* each (*Val. Eccl.* v, 18, 19).

The collegiate church of Howden was founded by an ordinance of archbishop Walter Gray in 1267, which divided the rectory into five prebends known as Howden, Barnby, Skelton, Thorpe and Saltmarshe.[1] To these a sixth prebend, Skipwith, consisting of a separate parish church, was added in 1279.[2] The patronage of the prebends was assigned to the prior and convent of Durham, who had been patrons of the church, but the archbishops always exercised the right of institution. There was no dean or other official head of the college, and all cure of souls fell upon the vicars of the church, as at Beverley and Ripon; but a certain supremacy was accorded to the holder of the first prebend, which was entitled Howden. The quire of this noble church is unhappily in ruins and the chapter-house is roofless; but their remains, with the splendid fragment which is still in use, are unsurpassed among those of secular canons' churches of the second rank, and the chapter, although its members were seldom resident, formed at various times a body of distinguished men.[3] It will be noticed that Howden is an example of a church of portioners which was given a corporate collegiate existence, without, however, the appointment of a definite head other than a nominal president of chapter.

In spite of its great extent, the diocese of Lincoln until 1355-6 contained no collegiate body of the cathedral type other than the chapters of Lincoln itself and St. Mary's at Leicester, which has already been described. Some of the chapters of this diocese, founded in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, are good examples of the link between colleges of secular canons and those of chantry-chaplains; and the statutes of one of these chapters are fully given in the appendix.

Reference has been made already to the survival of early minsters in the wide-spread diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. We have seen that Bridgnorth,[4] All Saints'

[1] See Mr. W. Brown in *Yorks. Archaeol. Journal* xxii, 162-174 (*The Institution of the Prebendal Church of Howden*).

[2] *York Reg. Wickwane* (Surt. Soc.), 229-231.

[3] In 1291 the five prebends of Howden, Barnby, Saltmarshe, Skelton and Skipwith were taxed at 50 marks each; that of Thorpe at 45 marks (*Tax. Eccl.* 302). In 1535 the taxations were: Howden, £12; Barnby, £9 13*s.* 4*d.*; Saltmarshe, £10; Skelton, £9; Skipwith, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*; Thorpe, £9 18*s.* 4*d.*

[4] Now in the diocese of Hereford. In addition to the deanery, there were five prebends, viz. Alveley, Erdington, Morville, Underton and Walton, all in the gift of the Crown. Five prebends were taxed in 1291 at small sums, the largest, probably

Derby, Penkridge, St. Mary's Shrewsbury, St. Mary's Stafford,[1] Tettenhall[2] and St. Peter's Wolverhampton,[3] were royal free chapels, each with a dean and a varying number of canons. Gnosall in Staffordshire was a church of portioners rather than a college.[4] Tamworth, with a dean and five canons, whose prebends were named after portions of the parish, was, like St. Mary's Warwick, a college in private patronage.[5] The canonries of St. Chad's at Shrewsbury were in the bishop's collation; but this college, which, with St. Mary's, remained from the five pre-Conquest minsters of Shrewsbury,[6] seems never to have been very flourishing. The church of St. John at Chester had a certain prominence as a kind of cathedral church for the northern part of the diocese; the bishops of the twelfth century, before the chapter of Lichfield had attained full development, were known from time to time as bishops of Chester, and the style popularly survived till much later.[7] St. John's had, for its size, a fairly wealthy chapter: in 1366 the average value of a prebend, or of several of the prebends, was thirty marks.[8] At the same time, it did not rival the chapter of Lichfield in importance; the canonries were generally held by men whose homes lay in the diocese; and the papal provisions and Crown presentations which were constantly exercised in the cathedral and some other chapters were, in the case of Chester, comparatively rare.[9]

Erdington, at £5 6*s*. 8*d*. (*Tax. Eccl.* 162). In 1366 the taxation of the deanery is given as 40 marks; while the yearly value of Alveley, much the best of the prebends, was said to be 35 marks (Lambeth Reg. Langham, ff. 12d, 25).

[1] Dean (with preb. of Hopton) and thirteen prebs., viz. Marston, Salt, Coton, Creswell, Walsall, Herberton, Denstone, Blurton, Swettenham, Croft, Sandall, Hervy and Potnell, varying from £10 2*s*. 4*d*. to 4*s*. (*Val. Eccl.* iii, 117).

[2] Dean and five prebs., viz. Boningale (£7 10*s*. 0*d*.), Codsall, Perton (£6 each), Pendford, Wrottesley (£5 each). The deanery was worth only £1 14*s*. 9*d*. (*ibid.* iii, 105, 106).

[3] Dean and six prebs., viz. Willenhall (£12); Kynwaston (£10 6*s*. 8*d*.); Featherston (£9); Wobaston (£8); Monmore (£7 16*s*. 4*d*.); Hilton (£5). The deanery (£1 18*s*. 0*d*.) was annexed to that of Windsor (*ibid.* iii, 104, 105) by letters patent of Edward IV, 21 Feb. 1479-80 (*Cal. Patent Rolls* 1476-1485, p. 175).

[4] The bishop of Lichfield is called dean in 1535, but the office was worth nothing and merely nominal. The portion of Chyltrenhall was taxed at £14 13*s*. 4*d*.; those of Morehall, Beverleyhall and 'Sukerhall' at £11 6*s*. 8*d*. each (*ibid.* iii, 99).

[5] The deanery in 1535 was worth £21. The value of the several prebends was: Wigginton, £10; Wilnecote, Coton, £8 each; Bonehill, £7; Sirescote, £3 6*s*. 8*d*. (*ibid.* iii, 148).

[6] See D.B. ff. 252, 253.

[7] Gascoigne calls William Bothe, bishop of Lichfield 1447-1452, 'indignus episcopus Cestriae' (*Loci e Libro Veritatum*, ed. Rogers, 40). Bishop Lee, titular dean of Gnosall in 1535, is called 'Rolandus episcopus Cestrensis' (*Val. Eccl.* iii, 99).

[8] Lambeth Reg. Langham, fo. 28d, etc.

[9] The lists of canons in Ormerod, *Hist. Cheshire*, ed. Helsby, are, like those of most

The diocese of Hereford contained several quasi-collegiate establishments. Mention of these, however, will be reserved for the present, as it is in this diocese that the test case is found, which supplies the true distinction between churches of portioners and collegiate churches proper.

All the cathedral chapters of the Welsh dioceses were secular. In the two northern dioceses there is only one example of a small collegiate church, viz. the chapel in the castle of Holyhead, with a provost or dean and three canons, which was a royal free chapel. Little is known of its constitution apart from the value of its prebends, which were frequently held by Engli h clerks.[1] The college of Ruthin in the diocese of St. Asaph, the memory of which survives in the title of warden, still held by the incumbent of the parish church, was a chantry college. In the diocese of Llandaff there was no college apart from the cathedral church. St. Davids, however, the largest of the four dioceses, contained two interesting foundations, the earlier of which belongs to the age of Wingham and the Durham colleges. In 1283, the year before the foundation of the college of Lanchester by his younger brother Anthony, Thomas Bek, bishop of St. Davids, founded a college of seculars in the church of Llangadock, between Llandovery and Llandilo Fawr, endowing it with the fruits of twenty-one churches in Breconshire, Cardiganshire, Carmarthenshire and Radnorshire, and one in Montgomeryshire, which were in his patronage.[2] The church was designed, in a certain sense, as an expiatory memorial of the bloodshed with

collegiate bodies, full of gaps; but the names recorded are, with few exceptions, those of clerks whose connexions were almost entirely local. In 1291 the 'portioners of the prebendal church of St. Cross, Chester,' stated that they were not liable to taxation for temporalities, as all their property fell under the head of spirituals (*Tax. Eccl.* 258). The title 'St. Cross' is explained by the fact that seven of the eight prebends in the church were called *Sanctae Crucis*, and were distinguished as 'prima praebenda sanctae Crucis in boreali parte chori,' etc. The eighth prebend was called that of William Bernak. In 1535 the canons had equal portions of £3 9*s*. 8*d*., but the dean, as prebendary of the first stall of St. Cross, and the prebendaries of the fifth and sixth stalls, had additional allowances of £6 13*s*. 4*d*., charged on special glebe-land; and the dean's entire annual income amounted to £36 16*s*. 2*d*. net. Seven of the eight vicars-choral were bound by statute to keep watch at the Rood on the festival of the Invention of the Cross and on other specified days (*Val. Eccl.* v, 202, 203).

[1] E.g. in 1366 Peter Brompton, canon of St. Paul's and St. Martin's-le-Grand, late confessor and almoner to the Prince of Wales, and Roger Sterteford, rector of Milton Keynes, Beds (Lambeth Reg. Langham, ff. 11, 15d). In 1291 the provostship or deanery was taxed at 39 marks, one portion at 11 marks, and the other two at 6½ marks each (*Tax. Eccl.* 291).

[2] *Mon.* vi (3), 1332, 1333.

which the vale of Towy had been defiled during the recent rebellion of prince David—'in order,' said the bishop, 'that the places of Ystrad Towy, places hitherto of lamentation, death and slaughter, may be turned into places of spiritual joy and of homage to the Redeemer, and of safe refuge and surety to the country round about.'[1] The college was founded in honour of St. Maurice and his companions and of St. Thomas the Martyr. There were to be twenty-one canons, seven priests, seven deacons and seven subdeacons, with a precentor, presumably holding a prebend.[2] The bishop reserved to himself a stall in quire and voice in chapter, a position equivalent to that which he held at St. Davids. The precentor was bound to continual residence, receiving a third part of the fruits of the church of Llangadock: the remaining two-thirds were to be divided among resident canons, if there were so many as seven; if not, they were to be applied to the fabric fund of the church until it was completed, and afterwards to the maintenance of the vicars. Five clerks in minor orders were placed on the foundation, two as taperers, two as tribulers or incense-bearers, and one to carry the processional cross. Each of the priest-vicars was to receive forty shillings a year from his canon; each deacon-vicar 26*s.* 8*d.*; each subdeacon-vicar twenty shillings. The stalls were arranged in three tiers. In the upper tier the priest

[1] 'Ut loca de Estrathewy, loca quidem hactenus lamentatus, interitus et excidii, convertantur in loca laetitiae spiritualis et obsequii Redemptoris; tuti etiam refugii et securitatis patriae undique adjacentis,' etc.

[2] The seven priest-prebends were formed out of the nine churches of Llandegley, Llangunllo, Llandeilo Graban, Llanelwedd and Llansantfraed-in-Elvel (Radnor), Llanlleonfel and Llanwrthwl (Brecon), Llanfynydd (Carmarthen), and Llandygwydd (Cardigan). The seven deacon-prebends were formed out of the six churches of St. Harmons or Royle, Llanbedr Painscastle or Boughrood (Radnor), Garthbrengy (Brecon), Llanddarog (Carmarthen), Lledrod (Cardigan), and Mochdre (Montgomery). The seven subdeacon-prebends were the churches of Llanbister (Radnor), Llangammarch, Llanganten and Trallong (Brecon), Llanarthney and Llandysilio (Carmarthen), and Nantcwnlle (Cardigan). These seem subsequently to have been rearranged: Llanlleonfel and Llanwrthwl were held as one prebend, and Llanddarog and Llanganten were united. This accounts for only twenty prebends: the twenty-first was the church of Llandrindod (Radnor). The church of Clyro (Radnor) formed another prebend, but does not appear in early lists. After the translation of the college from Abergwili to Brecon, the bishop held the church of Llangyfelach in Glamorgan annexed to his titular office of dean (Ecton, *Thesaurus*, 454). The prebends varied much in value: the average value of eighteen in 1366 appears in various entries in Lambeth Reg. Langham, varying from 46 marks (Llanbister) and 20 marks (Llangammarch) to 4½ marks (Llanelwedd). In the Brecon Chantry certificates (Chantry Cert. roll 74, m. 13) Llanfynydd, Llanbister, Mochdre and Trallong are not valued: the rest vary from £37 (Llangammarch) and £16 (Llanarthney) to £2 (Llanelwedd) and £1 (Llandrindod).

canons occupied the western stalls on either side, next the bishop and precentor: the deacon-canons sat in the eastern stalls; while the middle stalls were occupied by the subdeacon-canons and priest-vicars. The deacon and subdeacon-vicars and the keepers of the altar sat in the middle tier or second form; while the lowest tier was occupied by the choristers. One curious point is the direction for the habit of the canons. It was to be in all points similar to that of the canons of St. Davids, except as regarded the almuces. These were to be purple in colour, of a not too red shade, 'in honour of blessed Maurice and his sisters, and in memory of the faithful departed, who, wounded to death and slaughtered like sheep, have lost their lives woefully by the cutting off of their heads.'[1]

Subsequently, however, Bek's plans were changed. The projected college was transferred from Llangadock to a more convenient situation, the church of St. David at Abergwili, near Carmarthen. In 1334 the great bishop Gower, whose splendid tomb occupies the south part of the quire-screen at St. Davids, and whose magnificent taste in architecture is manifested in the ruined palace at St. Davids, the manor-house of Lamphey, and the castle of Swansea, reconstituted the chapter of Abergwili and created three dignities, annexed to three of the prebends. The dignity of dean was merged, as before, in the person of the bishop. The prebendary of Llanfynydd became precentor, the prebendary of Llanbister chancellor, and the prebendary of Llangammarch treasurer, all with the obligation of residence.[2] Further, out of the large number of churches granted to bishop Bek and his successors by Edward I, Bek, in 1287, or perhaps later, founded a new college for a precentor and twelve canons at Llanddewi Brefi, a spot hallowed by the preaching of St. David, at the mouth of a wild cleft in the Cardiganshire hills between Tregaron and Lampeter.[3] Both colleges, though their endowments were

[1] 'In honorem beati Mauricii sororumque ejus, et ad memoriam fidelium defunctorum, qui letaliter vulnerati et more bidentium jugulati, capitibus amputatis vitam misere perdiderunt.'

[2] *Mon.* vi (3), 1376, 1377. These were dignities or offices without cure of souls.

[3] *Ibid.* vi (3), 1475. The list of churches given by the Crown to Bek, 2nd April, 1299, will be found in *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1292-1301, p. 405, and *ibid.* 1348-1350, p. 27. They were thirty-four in number, and were intended for appropriation to prebends in St. Davids and Abergwili. As a matter of fact, only two were given to Abergwili and two to St. Davids as separate prebends.

not great as compared with those of cathedral churches or of such collegiate establishments as Beverley, had a long and honourable existence. They reckoned many distinguished names among their canons: William of Wykeham, among his many prebends, held those of Trallong in Abergwili and Trelech-ar-Bettws in Llanddewi Brefi[1]; Thomas Magnus, archdeacon of the East Riding, the richest pluralist among the beneficed clergy of Yorkshire in the reign of Henry VIII, did not disdain the income of six pounds from the prebend of Llanbadarn Odwyn in Llanddewi.[2] The college of Llanddewi Brefi fell, with other colleges, under the Chantry act of 1547. Abergwili, however, was saved; for the whole college had been previously transferred by Henry VIII to the buildings of the suppressed Dominican friary at Brecon, and refounded as Christ college, with a school attached after the model of Winchester and Eton.[3] The college of Brecon survives to-day in name, although the titular prebends have long been allowed to fall into vacancy.

Both at Abergwili and at Llanddewi Brefi the precentor was head of the college, the bishop occupying the dean's stall. This was the custom also at the cathedral churches of Llandaff and St. Davids.[4] It was not peculiarly Welsh,

The bishop kept the rest as rectories in his hands, and, though some were granted to episcopal foundations, several remained in their original state. Eleven were given to Llanddewi Brefi, all in Cardiganshire, viz. Llanbadarn Trefeglwys (valued at £12 in Chantry Certif. Roll, 74) and Ystrad (£7 14*s.* 3*d.* in *Val. Eccl.*), Blaenporth (£6 in *Val. Eccl.*), Dihewid (£6 13*s.* 4*d.*), Llanbadarn Odwyn (£6) and Llanddeiniol or Carrog (£4 in *Val. Eccl.*); Llanboidy (£15), Llanerchaeron (£3 6*s.* 8*d.* in *Val. Eccl.*), Llangybi (26*s.* 8*d.* in *Val. Eccl.*) and Tregaron or Carron (£16; £13 6*s.* 8*d.* in *Val. Eccl.*); and Llanwenog (£17 11*s.* 6*d.* in *Val. Eccl.*). The prebend of Trelech-ar-Bettws in Carmarthenshire was worth 20*s.*, while the precentorship, with the church of Llanfair Clydogau (Cardiganshire) annexed, was worth £40 (£38 11*s.* net in *Val. Eccl.*).

[1] *Cal. Patent Rolls*, 1361-1364, p. 43 (19th July, 1361). He resigned Trallong prebend before 2nd December following, when he seems to have obtained Royle prebend, but he exchanged these and prebends in S. Davids, Hereford, and Wells for other benefices in the following February (*ibid.* pp. 135, 167, 168).

[2] Chantry Certif. roll 74, m. 10. cf. *Val. Eccl.* iv, 397.

[3] Patent Roll 33 Hen. VIII, pt. ix, m. 30. The reasons for the transference, given briefly, were as follows: (1) the position of Abergwili 'in loco inidoneo . . . ubi nulla occasio hospitalitatis aliis per viros dicti collegii administrande datur,' etc.; (2) the poverty of the inhabitants of South Wales and their consequent inability to send their children to school in a district where 'nullus ludus literarius habetur', with the result that general ignorance prevailed and the laws of the realm were disregarded by a population which knew no English; (3) the provision of a sum of £53 yearly at Abergwili for the singers of the college, which could be employed better for purposes of education in a more central place. The date of the letters patent is 19th Jan. 1541-1542.

[4] Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* i, 135. The deaneries of Llandaff and St. Davids are nineteenth-century foundations.

for it occurs also at Crediton, which, however, was within the district sometimes known as West Wales, and was adopted again in the diocese of Exeter at Ottery St. Mary during the second quarter of the fourteenth century. It is noticeable, nevertheless, that it prevailed in three Breton cathedral churches, Dol, Saint-Pol-de-Léon and Tréguier, and in the Norman church of Coutances, which was within the range of Breton influence. In all these churches, as at Llandaff, St. Davids and Abergwili, the bishop of the diocese was premier canon. Elsewhere, both in France and England, the bishop was occasionally a canon of his own church: e.g. at Salisbury he held the prebend of Potterne.[1] Nowhere else, however, is to be found this relation of bishop and precentor. At Abergwili and Llanddewi it was doubtless due to obedience to local custom; but it is reasonable to infer that, when the chapters of South Wales were reformed in the twelfth century, they were influenced by the custom of a part of Britanny to which, in race and language, the Welsh were closely akin.

Turning from Wales to the south-western dioceses of England, we find a secular cathedral church in Bath and Wells, but no college; nor were chantry colleges prominent in this diocese during the later middle ages. Exeter, on the other hand, contained a number of establishments which had a claim to be considered as colleges. Some of these, the churches of Chulmleigh and Tiverton and the castle chapel at Exeter, were actually churches of four portioners, who were presented by the Courtenays and instituted by the bishop. In Cornwall St. Endellion was similarly a church of three portioners in private patronage[2]; but the bishop had the three portions in each of the churches of St. Probus and St. Teath in his own collation. The church of St. Crantock in Cornwall, probably in origin a church of portioners, had a more definite collegiate status, and its

[1] The bishop's prebend at Salisbury seems originally, c. 1150, to have been Major pars altaris, i.e. half the oblations at the high altar. About 1219 this was exchanged for Horton, sometimes called the Golden prebend; which in turn was exchanged for Potterne in 1254 (Jones, *Fasti Eccl. Sarisb.* 393, 399-400, 409). At Lincoln the bishop was regarded as a canon of the church: at any rate, in the daily recitation of the psalter prescribed to the chapter, he was allotted the first four psalms (Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* iii, 789). He had, however, no prebend attached to his canonry. The bishop's psalms at Salisbury were the first five.

[2] Two portions were in the gift of the Bodrigan family; the other in that of the prior and convent of Bodmin.

head was known indiscriminately as rector or dean.[1] Here also the collation belonged to the bishop. The office of dean also existed at St. Buryan near Penzance, a small college which, as a royal free chapel, claimed exemption from the diocesan.[2] But at Crediton, the most important collegiate church in the diocese after the cathedral church, the precentor was head of chapter. The college of Crediton can hardly be connected in constitution with the chapter of the Saxon minster which had been the church of the see before the migration to Exeter in 1050; but, as at Southwell, the early chapter may have formed the nucleus of the later.[3] The prebends were partly separate benefices, derived from independent sources of various values; partly bursal prebends paid out of a common fund, like those at Exeter. This mixture of types may indicate that the bursal prebends and those arising from specified localities belong to two stages of development; but the history of the college during the period between the foundation of the see of Exeter and the date at which continuous records of institutions to prebends begin cannot be traced with any consecution.[4]

Crediton formed, like the chapters of the diocese of York, a secondary diocesan chapter in the bishop's patronage. In Cornwall another quasi-cathedral chapter was founded by Walter Bronescombe, bishop of Exeter 1268-1280, in the chapel of St. Thomas the Martyr at Glasney, sometimes known as the college of Penryn. Here the constitution was quite definite, closely resembling that of St. Mary and the

[1] The title of dean is used uniformly in the earlier Exeter episcopal registers. Ten prebends are given in *Tax. Eccl.* 148, one of £3, two of £2 13*s.* 4*d.*, three of £2, three of £1 10*s.* each, and a 'portion' of 6*s.* 8*d.* In 1535 the income of the deanery was assessed at £21 19*s.*, there were five prebends of £5 each, one of £12, one of £6, one of £4, and one of £1 6*s.* 8*d.* (*Val. Eccl.* ii, 399).

[2] In 1336 bishop Grandisson managed to exact an oath of obedience from the dean and exercised the rights of ordinary (*Exeter Reg. Grandisson*, ed. Randolph, ii, 821, 822, 824, 825). The office of dean in 1535 was assessed at £19 15*s.* 11*d.*, with the rectory worth £48 12*s.* There were three prebends, viz. 'Respernall,' £7 6*s.* 8*d.*; 'Trethyne,' £7; and 'parva prebenda,' £2.

[3] There is no indication in Domesday of the existence of a body of priests at Crediton, and the college may have been revived at a later date.

[4] The number of prebends in 1291, including the precentorship, was twelve. The precentorship was assessed at £4, and there were three prebends of £2 10*s.*, three of £3, three of £2 10*s.*, and two of £2 each (*Tax. Eccl.* 145). This implies a bursal arrangement throughout in various grades. In 1535 twelve prebends are given with definite names and net values, as follows: Woolsgrove, £26 6*s.* 9½*d.*; Pole, £22; Carswill, £15 15*s.* 4*d.*; Stowford, £13 6*s.* 8*d.*; Henstill, £12 18*s.* 5*d.*; Rudge and Aller, £12 each; Priestcombe, £11 10*s.* Woodland, £11; Cross, £10; Creedy, £8 16*s.* 10*d.*; and West Sandford, £8 (*Val. Eccl.* ii, 324, 325).

Holy Angels at York. There were thirteen canons, presided over by a provost who held the first prebend, and with an equal number of vicars.[1] The colleges of Devon and Cornwall were not rich establishments, and no better instances can be found of churches which existed under the unhindered control of a bishop. He had, in their prebends and in portions of various churches, a large number of benefices at his disposal, upon which, though none of them were exceptionally valuable, his household clerks and diocesan officials could be maintained. These modest benefices did not attract the ordinary place-hunter outside the diocese; but clerks living in the diocese and supported by the casual fees of their offices seem, as a rule, to have been content with the opportunities of promotion afforded them in their own neighbourhood. In addition to his patronage in the two counties which comprised his diocese, the bishop of Exeter had also under his jurisdiction the college of Bosham in Sussex, a Saxon minster given to the see by the Confessor, and consisting of five prebends, the first of which was annexed to the office of sacrist.[2] In 1338 bishop Grandisson founded the college of Ottery St. Mary, a church of eight canons, with four officers holding prebends.[3]

In the diocese of Salisbury were two chapels royal, the church of Wimborne Minster and St. George's at Windsor. Wimborne had been the site of a Saxon nunnery[4]: the college, with a dean and four canons, was a post-conquest royal foundation. Here, subordinate to the actual chapter, there was an office of sacrist, to which the cure of souls seems to have been united.[5] The chapter of Windsor, as founded by Edward III, consisted of a dean and twelve canons: the prebends were all bursal, consisting of equal

[1] In 1565 the provost, sacrist and eleven canons had a yearly dividend of £8 16*s.* 5*d.* each, as the *corpus* of their prebends, with 2*s.* 2*d.* each from obits. The provost had £24 in addition, and the sacrist's office was worth 26*s.* in addition to his dividend (*ibid.* ii, 392).

[2] The sacrist's prebend was Funtington, assessed at £23 6*s.* 8*d.* in 1535. The others were Walton, £17 6*s.* 8*d.*; Appledram, £14 15*s.*; Westbrooke, £11 13*s.* 4*d.*; and Chidham, £8 19*s.* 4*d.* (*Val. Eccl.* i, 310).

[3] See J. N. Dalton, *The Collegiate Church of Ottery St. Mary*, 1917. The officers were the warden, minister, chanter and sacrist.

[4] See Plummer, *Baedae Opera Historica*, ii, 150.

[5] The portion of the dean in Wimborne, Kingston Lacy and Shapwick was assessed in 1291 at 40 marks, in 1535 at £29 8*s.* 4*d.* Each of the four prebends in 1291 was worth 15 marks: in 1535 they varied from £16 15*s.* 8*d.* to £12 19*s.* The sacrist's office, valued at 6½ marks in 1291, was worth £5 9*s.* 4*d.* in 1535 (*Tax. Eccl.* 180; *Val. Eccl.* i, 272, 273).

shares of three marks each, to which, of course, residentiaries received a substantial addition out of the daily distributions.[1] Otherwise, the colleges of the diocese were few and small. Heytesbury, probably an old minster,[2] became annexed to the deanery of Salisbury in the thirteenth century, having been granted to the church as a prebend by Henry I. Subsequently to this grant, gifts by various benefactors had been made to the church of Heytesbury, which about 1158[3] was converted into a college of four canons, holding prebends formed out of the property thus granted. This college was subjected to the immediate jurisdiction of the dean and chapter of Salisbury, and, when the original prebend or deanery of Heytesbury was finally united to the deanery of Salisbury about 1280, the college became part of the dean's special peculiar, the prebends being in his gift.[4] In this case the deanery seems to represent the original minster, while the collegiate prebends arose from augmentations of its property. In Salisbury itself, the college of St. Edmund the Archbishop, founded about 1270 for a provost and twelve canons, belonged in practice to the class of St. Elizabeth's at Winchester and Marwell, resident colleges of chaplain fellows approximating to the chantry type[5]; while the college of Vaux was for poor scholars.[6] It may be noted here that the college known as Mountroy or Mountery at Wells was for chantry chaplains attached to the cathedral church, and was founded under the will of bishop Ralph Erghum, who died in 1401.[7]

[1] In the 1366 plurality returns the whole chapter of canons is included, with uniform stipends of three marks, in addition to which the warden or dean, if resident, had 100 marks. Eight appear to have been in residence at Windsor and to have sent their returns from there to the bishop of Salisbury by their proctor (Lambeth Reg. Langham).

[2] *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 73.

[3] Jones, *Fasti Eccl. Sarisb.* 390, 391. In *Archaeologia*, lxvi, 102, the date is given positively as 1165.

[4] The four prebends were Tytherington, Horningsham, Hill Deverill and Swalcliffe. The last of these does not appear in 1291 and 1535, when only three prebends are mentioned in addition to the deanery; but in 1366 Swalcliffe appears as worth 10 marks, the value assigned to Hill Deverill in 1291. From the same returns it appears that Tytherington and Horningsham were held in two medieties of 7½ marks each, the amount given in 1291 to each separately. These prebends were held jointly by two farmers in 1535, with a total income of £19 10*s.* 11*d.*: while Hill Deverill had a net income of £10 4*s.* 1½*d.* The prebend of Heytesbury (i.e. the deanery) was worth 33 marks in 1291, £40 in 1535 (*Tax. Eccl.* 194; *Val. Eccl.* ii, 101).

[5] *Mon.* vi (3), 1472. The foundation resembles the Chapel at York, and bishop Bronescombe's college at Glasney, and, like both of them, was founded by a bishop. It does not seem, however, to have been of an importance equal to theirs.

[6] *Ibid.* vi (3), 1473. It was founded by bishop Giles of Bridport about 1260, and was primarily an educational institution, like an Oxford college.

[7] *Ibid.* vi (3), 1465, 1466.

The canonries with special prebends attached to nunnery churches, which became valuable pieces of preferment, should be mentioned in passing, as they were practically peculiar to the dioceses of Salisbury and Winchester. They existed in connexion with the abbeys of Shaftesbury and Wilton in the first, of Romsey, Wherwell and St. Mary's, Winchester in the second. They are also found, though with a less definite character, at Amesbury in Wiltshire, and, outside both dioceses, at Malling in the diocese of Rochester. Their nature and origin have been discussed elsewhere by the present writer[1]; and it is enough to say here that they evidently came into being out of the allocation of specified property to chaplains appointed to look after the spiritual welfare of the nuns in churches whose foundation was the work of Saxon kings and queens. In process of time, such canonries were habitually occupied by non-residents. It need hardly be said that they did not constitute separate colleges, as they were integral portions of the nunneries to which they were annexed.

Of the colleges in the two remaining dioceses, Chichester and London, we have spoken already. South Malling and Bosham, locally in Chichester, were peculiars of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Exeter respectively; and the attempt of the bishop of Chichester to establish his jurisdiction over Bosham in the fourteenth century was defeated.[2] Hastings, again, was a chapel royal, although the bishop of Chichester in this instance had his part in the appointment of canons.[3] The two chapels royal in London, St. Martin's-le-Grand and St. Stephen's at Westminster, were entirely under the crown.[4] The foundation of St. Stephen's, as one would expect, bears a close resemblance to that of Edward III's other college at Windsor. Both Windsor and St. Stephen's consisted of a dean and twelve canons: the *corpus* of each prebend in both was an identical sum of money. Such prebends, with almost nominal endowments, were naturally profitable only to canons who could reside and receive further allowances out of the

[1] *The Ministry of Women*, 1919, pp. 145–164.

[2] See *Cal. Papal Letters*, ii, 149–150, and the documents printed in *Exeter Reg. Stapeldon*, ed. Randolph, 61 seqq.

[3] There is an accurate list of the deans and canons of Hastings, compiled from the Patent rolls, in C. Dawson, *Hastings Castle*, vol. ii.

[4] See, however, note 1, page 199 below.

common fund. It is obvious, however, that residence in such colleges was an easy matter, especially at Westminster, for clerks engaged in the royal service; and, from the returns made by pluralists in 1366, we may gather that at Windsor, within a short period of its foundation, most of the canons were constantly resident.[1]

IV.

In attempting to classify the corporations of secular clerks of which we have spoken, we find two distinct principles in their constitution. The first is the allocation of a separate endowment or prebend to each canon out of the estates of the church: a portion of its property, a manor or a church, or lands and rents in different places, are appropriated permanently to a stall. The second is the allocation of prebends to canons in equal shares of money or its equivalent in other forms, when the estates are undivided and administered by the chapter as a whole. This second principle underlies the rule of St. Chrodegang for the canons of Metz. The division of the estates into prebends, if at first the shares were approximately equal, brought about inequality: some prebends were naturally more productive than others and became wealthy benefices, and accordingly were prizes coveted by clerks who had no intention of fulfilling the duty of residence. Those who could reside had to be content with the poorer prebends: consequently, the original purpose of the college as a place of common prayer and worship was defrauded, its revenues becoming largely the perquisite of individuals who seldom came near it.[2] The remedy for this was the common life and the common fund.

[1] There are good lists of the canons of St. Stephen's at Westminster in Hennessy, *Novum Repertorium*. The dean, as at Windsor, received 100 marks for residence in addition to his prebend of three marks (Lambeth Reg. Langham, fo. 15 d). John Blockeleye, one of the canons in 1366, who apparently resided in turns at Westminster and on his living at Lighthorne, Warwicks., certified the value of his prebend, if he kept residence, to be £20 5*s*. (*ibid.* ff. 15, 24). This may be taken as generally true of Westminster and Windsor. As the canons of St. Martin's-le-Grand were instituted by the dean, and no register remains, Hennessy's lists are imperfect and can be largely augmented from records of exchanges in various diocesan registers. There were twelve canons in addition to the dean: the prebends lay very largely in Essex, and the church of Newport in that county was annexed to the deanery.

[2] See. *S. Chrodegangi Regula*, cap. 7 (Migne, *P.L.* lxxxix, 1061, 1062): 'Solet in plerisque canonicorum congregationibus irrationabiliter atque indiscrete fieri ut nonnulli clerici, qui et divitiis affluant, et aut parum aut nichil utilitatis ecclesiae conferunt, maiorem caeteris diuinum strenue peragentibus officium annonam accipiunt.'

As we have seen, the evidence for the constitution of Saxon minsters of secular canons is scanty; but there is some indication that the quasi-monastic form of life, resembling that prescribed by St. Chrodegang, had made some progress in the eleventh century. Its continuation by archbishop Thomas at York, however, was merely a temporary arrangement. In the secular chapters which came into being or were remodelled during the twelfth century, the prebend was nominally regarded as a separate piece of territorial property. Even at Beverley, where the traces of an early constitution on a common basis are clearest, the prebends eventually differed considerably in value by the allotment to each of special tithes or rents. Certain money prebends are to be found in cathedral churches, like the prebend of Botevant in York,[1] or the sixty shillings, hundred shillings and ten pounds prebends in Lincoln.[2] Or, again, there were prebends divided into equal shares of money, such as Combe and Wedmore in Wells; and in the collegiate church of Crediton the constitution of the prebends was partly territorial, partly bursal. Exeter, however, is the only instance of an early chapter in which the prebends remained uniformly bursal, and, in consequence, were of little importance to the non-resident.

Saxon minsters, again, whatever their actual constitution, may be regarded as churches of portioners, i.e. the fruits of the church were parcelled out among a number of incumbents, each of whom had his share, while one was probably entrusted with some oversight and general administration of affairs. In this light, the prebendaries in every chapter, however large and however widespread its property might be, were portioners. In the narrower sense, however, a church of portioners is one in which the revenues arising out of a single parish, and, if it has any, its chapelries, are shared between two or more rectors. From the instances which have been cited, it is clear that the

[1] The name Botevant or Botavaunt does not appear before the fourteenth century, and is not, so far as is known, derived from any special estate. It may possibly be a nick-name applied to this small prebend.

[2] The hundred shillings prebend was known as 'centum solidorum de praepositis', being apparently paid out of the rents accruing to the episcopal *camera*. The ten pounds prebend was also a money payment 'de bursa episcopi', originally assigned out of the farm of the archdeaconry of Lincoln paid to the bishop (Bradshaw and Wordsworth, *op. cit.* iii, lvii, 940).

origin of several collegiate chapters was the division of the tithes of limited areas of this kind. In this we may see the beginnings of Beverley and Ripon, of chapters such as Tamworth and St. Crantock.[1] The college of Westbury-on-Trym began in the division of the parochial tithe. In the colleges of the close of the thirteenth century and the period immediately succeeding, Abergwili and Llanddewi Brefi were formed by the appropriation of the churches of scattered parishes to new foundations. Wingham, Auckland, Lanchester and Chester-le-Street, on the other hand, were churches formed by splitting hitherto undivided tithe, or, in the case of Auckland, by re-dividing tithe into several portions, and giving them corporate existence, each under a single head, provost or dean.

On the other hand, there were churches of portioners the collegiate status of which was not fully recognised. Darlington and Norton in the diocese of Durham, with four and eight portioners respectively; Gnosall in the diocese of Lichfield, and Chulmleigh and Tiverton in the diocese of Exeter, each with four portioners; Burford, Pontesbury, Holdgate, Westbury, Bromyard and Ledbury, in the diocese of Hereford, St. Endellion, St. Probus and St. Teath, in that of Exeter, each with three, are cases in point. In all these churches, we find from time to time the mention of prebends, and there was undoubtedly a tendency to regard them as colleges; but the use of the term prebend, which, though its meaning is capable of a general interpretation, implies a benefice in a collegiate church, is not constant in this connexion. Their prebends are frequently described as *portiones praebendales*, sometimes merely as *portiones* or *portiones perpetuae*.[2] How far the interests of such portioners were united it is difficult to say: the fact, however, that the greater number of these so-called colleges escaped the chantry acts, and that their portions have in some cases been consolidated only in comparatively recent times, is significant.[3] An illuminating

[1] Thus, at Crediton, the prebends were all named from hamlets or farms within the boundaries of the original parish. See note 4 on p. 188 above.

[2] Thus the prebends in Norton-on-Tees are described in *Tax. Eccl.* 315 as portions. In Lambeth Reg. Langham, fo. 6 d, Thomas Aston is said to hold a prebend in Norton, but *ibid.* fo. 29, Hugh Wymondeswold returns his prebend as 'prebenda seu porcio.' See note 2 on p. 168 above.

[3] This applies to many churches of medieties. The three portions of Burford and Pontesbury still exist.

document, however, relating to the churches of Bromyard and Ledbury, occurs in bishop Gilbert's register at Hereford, and points out clearly the distinction which existed between churches of portioners and collegiate churches proper. In 1384 the bishop ordered the dean of the Christianity—i.e. the rural dean—of Frome to inquire into the real status of these two churches. The thirteen jurors, clergy beneficed in the deanery and including the vicars of Bromyard and Ledbury, returned that they were parish churches, not collegiate, but portionary. 'In the church of Ledbury there are two free portions, commonly called Overhall and Netherhall, and a vicarage with cure of souls. They have no common seals, common chests, common bells, common buildings or chapter-houses for consultations. Nor have they a dean, provost, master or warden, or any other person as principal chief in the same. . . In the church of Bromyard there are three portions, commonly called the first, second, and third, and a vicarage with cure, the which portions run severally from year to year in equal shares, nor have they any other rights attaching to them beyond these.'[1] Only one step would have been necessary to convert these divided parish churches into colleges. That step we have seen taken by Anthony Bek at Auckland. A church which has its tithes divided among several portioners and is served by a vicar is converted into a corporate and indivisible body: the vicar becomes dean of the church and president of the chapter. The chapter is thus, as a common body, responsible for the fruits of the various prebends: when any of them falls vacant, it is the college which sequestrates its revenues and restores them to the next incumbent with the necessary deductions. The confusion between portions and prebends arises from the fact that, in the general sense of the word, any portion or any benefice may be called a prebend, because it affords provender to its holder; while conversely a prebend in a cathedral or collegiate church is, in its origin,

[1] *Hereford Reg. Gilbert* (Cant. and York Soc.), 60, 61. 'Sunt in ecclesia de Ledebury duo porciones libere, vulgariter nuncupate Overhalle et Nethurhalle, et vicaria in eadem cum cura, nec habent sigilla communia, cistas communes, campanas communes, domos communes nec capitulares pro tractatibus, etc. Nec habent decanum, prepositum, magistrum sive custodem vel aliquem alium tanquam capud principale in eisdem . . . Sunt [in ecclesia de Bromyerd] tres porciones . . . et vicaria cum cura in eadem, communiter nuncupate prima porcio, secunda porcio, et tercia porcio, que quidem porciones de anno in annum separatim equaliter currunt nec habent aliqua jura alia sibi accidencia super.'

a portion of the common estates or fund. The two words were often used indiscriminately by medieval clerks, and it is not surprising that such doubts arose as were solved in the case of Bromyard and Ledbury.[1]

V.

The colleges of the later thirteenth century, while providing, on the one hand, interesting examples of the creation of new churches of portioners with a corporate life, give us, on the other, examples which point to the coming of the chantry college. Bishop Bronescombe's college at Glasney was a step in this direction, and this, as has been pointed out, was to some extent anticipated in the twelfth century by archbishop Roger's chapel at York. In such foundations the prebends are small: they are shares in a fund controlled by a principal officer: the profit to non-residents, who have no claim to surplus payments, is inconsiderable. This again, is the system of the fourteenth-century colleges of Ottery, Westminster and Windsor. Between these and the chantry college there is only one step. Non-residence is abolished, and, in consequence, the reserve fund for residents disappears: the endowment includes a number of fixed and equal stipends for the receipt of which residence is obligatory. In fact, the prevalence of the chantry college, heralded by such early foundations as the chapel of Marwell, signifies a return to the ideal of the common life and the common fund.

In this connexion it may be noted that, owing to the various types of chantry foundations which are found in England, there is some general misapprehension as to what churches may properly be called collegiate. It may be definitely said that a collegiate church is one the government of which, including the cure of souls, is vested in a corporation of clergy. It may be a parish church, such as Fotheringhay in Northamptonshire, Tattershall in Lincolnshire, Tong in Shropshire, Sibthorpe in Nottinghamshire,

[1] In this context, it may be useful to notice that the beautiful early fourteenth-century chapel of St. Katherine, on the north side of Ledbury church, has sometimes been called the chapter-house of the college. This conjecture found a place, at any rate till lately, in some printed notes for the use of visitors to the church.

or Lowthorpe in Yorkshire, or a chapel which acquires certain parochial rights, like Battlefield or the chapel of St. Mary-by-the-Sea which existed at Newton in the isle of Ely. Or, again, it may simply be the chapel of a college without any parochial rights, as at Higham Ferrers and Stoke-by-Clare, where the chapel was quite distinct from the parish church, although at Higham there was an arrangement by which the dean of the college was also vicar of the parish. But there are other cases in which a college of chaplains was founded in a parish church without affecting the government of the church or the cure of souls. Thus at Ludlow the chaplains of the famous Palmers' guild formed a college in the parish church: the numerous chantry-priests of Cirencester, All Saints' Northampton, and other important churches were incorporated; and at Newark-on-Trent the priests of the fifteen permanently endowed chantries, though not formally incorporated, had customs which resembled those of a college.[1] Such churches, however, had their own individual incumbents, the rector of Ludlow, the vicars of Cirencester, All Saints' Northampton and Newark, quite distinct from the chantry-priests, whose status in the churches was very like that of colleges of vicars-choral in cathedral churches. To call these churches collegiate is to overlook the fact that the colleges in question were merely appendages to them. The absurdity of giving them the title of collegiate churches is shown in the case of Towcester in Northamptonshire. Here a chantry of two priests was founded in the fifteenth century by William Sponne, sometime rector of Towcester and archdeacon of Norfolk, and was incorporated under the quite accurate but, in the circumstances, somewhat pretentious title of the college of Towcester,[2] with the result that the parish church, one of whose altars, on the south side of the chancel, was served by the two priests in question, is often quoted as collegiate. At Rotherham the chantry-priests of the parish church were housed in the independent foundation of Jesus college, which, with its special educational provisions, including a grammar master, song master and music master, forms a link between the

[1] See an interesting document in York Reg. Thoresby, fo. 247, ordering the use of a special quire-habit for the chantry priests of Newark.

[2] See *V.C.H. Northants*, ii, 181, 182.

purely religious chantry college and such foundations as Winchester, Eton and the colleges of both universities.

It has already been remarked that the large diocese of Lincoln was almost entirely without collegiate churches of the cathedral type. In a later paper it is the writer's intention to trace more fully the development of the chantry college in its various forms, of which that diocese presents some excellent examples, notably in the colleges of the Nene valley. Meanwhile, as an appendix to the present article, are given the statutes of the collegiate church of the Annunciation of St. Mary in the Newarke at Leicester. The history of this splendid establishment, founded in 1355-6 by Henry, duke of Lancaster, in augmentation of the hospital founded by his father about a quarter of a century before, has been written at length by the present writer elsewhere.[1] The statutes, however, have not been printed in full. The college was much of the same type as Edward III's colleges at Westminster and Windsor, i.e. it was intended for a resident body of dean and canons with a common fund, and therefore was a step in the direction of the chantry college. On the other hand, the prebends were not, as in the ordinary college of chantry-priests, mere fellowships held by appointment of the head of the foundation, but freehold benefices in the presentation of the patrons, to which the bishop instituted. Moreover, the college, well endowed with lands and churches, enjoyed a dignity which placed it on a level with older foundations; and the ancient college of St. Mary in Leicester castle, existing within a stone's throw of it, was of little importance compared with its younger rival. Its staff, for the most part, was drawn from the neighbourhood: its deans were local men of affairs, often connected by interest with the noble families of Leicestershire and sometimes holding offices under the Crown, and its canons, who frequently held rectories in Leicestershire and the adjoining counties, were seldom well known in the world outside. In this respect the chapter differed from the great cathedral and some collegiate chapters, which were habitually reinforced by prominent clerks in the service of the Crown; while,

[1] *Associated Archit. Soc. Reports and Papers* xxxii, 245-292, 515-568, xxxiii, 178-215, 412-472.

on the other hand, it was distinct from the groups of poorly endowed priests, bound to perpetual residence, who were the chaplain-fellows of chantry colleges in the later middle ages.

There are three copies of the statutes in the Lincoln registers, viz. the founder's statutes as originally delivered to bishop Gynewell and issued in the bishop's name (Reg. IX, ff. 323-331); the bishop's revision, by which they were temporarily modified to suit the limited endowments of the college, with a codicil added in consequence of the augmentation of the endowment (*ibid.* ff. 331-338 d); and the revision by bishop Russell in 1491 (Reg. XXII, ff. 106-114 d). The text given here is that of the founder's statutes, with the additions, alterations and modifications in the other texts. These are given in footnotes, the three texts being indicated respectively as A, B and C. It is hoped that the publication of these documents for the first time will be of substantial aid to students of the constitutional history of this interesting type of foundation, which deserves closer study than it often receives.[1]

[1] In addition to what has been said above on pp. 140, 141, 143 of English imitations of the rule of St. Chrodegang, there should be noted the existence of an English translation of that rule, which has been edited by Professor Napier from the eleventh-century MS. at C. C. C. Cambridge (E.E.T.S. orig. ser. vol. cl, 1914). On p. 191 it should have been added that in 1394, after long litigation at the Roman curia, the right of the abbot of Westminster to instal the dean of St. Stephen's was established (see E. H. Pearce, *William de Colchester*, 1915, p. 31); and that the college of St. Martin's-le-Grand with its possessions was given to the abbot and convent of Westminster by Henry VII in 1503 (Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i, 424).