

# THE HISTORY OF THE FOUNDATION OF DALE ABBEY OR THE SO-CALLED CHRONICLE OF DALE

*A New Edition*

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## I

THE so-called Chronicle of Dale Abbey written by Thomas of Muskham, a canon of Dale, has received a good deal of attention since it was first printed in 1661,<sup>1</sup> yet its possibilities as a fruitful historical source have by no means been fully exploited. But before the Chronicle, which is really a *Historia Fundationis*, can be allowed to make its proper contribution to English local and monastic history of the 12th and 13th centuries, it is essential to have an accurate annotated text which, for various reasons, has so far been wanting.

The printed text found in the editions of the *Monasticon*<sup>2</sup> is based on a late 15th-century MS.,<sup>3</sup> which will be referred to as "D". It is, on the whole, a poor transcript, copied by a barely-literate scribe. D abounds in simple grammatical errors. It contains more serious mistakes, which at times reduce the account of Thomas of Muskham to meaningless gibberish. It goes without saying that Dugdale (or his assistant) "improved" on the already faulty version. The outspoken antiquary Francis Peck was, however, a little harsh when, in his criticism of the *Monasticon* edition, he remarked that it was "so imperfect, so falsely transcribed, and full of errors, that there are scarce ten lines of it anywhere together right". There are two 17th-century transcripts of D in the British Museum, one made in 1611 by the Lancaster Herald, Nicholas Charles, the other being a later copy in the Harleian collection.<sup>4</sup> Similarly there are two 17th-century transcripts in the Bodleian Library.<sup>5</sup>

An earlier and better, but unfortunately incomplete, source is provided by three fragments which cover between them about a third of the text of the Chronicle. They are to be found in the same MS. as D. The first fragment (A) on f. 5 was apparently written at the end of the 13th century.

<sup>1</sup> T. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, II, 626.

<sup>2</sup> New Edition (1817-30), VI, 892.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum MS., Cotton Vespasian E xxvi, ff. 180-7.

<sup>4</sup> Cotton Julius C vii, ff. 265-8; Harleian 5804, ff. 278-84.

<sup>5</sup> Ashmole 854 (partial), 14-6; Dodsworth, 102, ff. 3-7.

It is just conceivably possible that A forms part of the original text as written or dictated by Thomas of Muskham about 1260. Fragment A gives the text of chapters 5-8. A second fragment (B) was written at a somewhat later date and contains the last few lines of c. 12. It occupies part of f. 195a, the rest of the page being left blank. The third fragment (C) is written overleaf on f. 195b in a 14th-century hand and comprises the whole of c. 13. In fact C supplies the last two or three lines of the Chronicle which were apparently lost from D (which terminates right at the end of a folio) when the book was bound. Fragments A and B have numerous erasures, corrections and additions, which increase the difficulty of deciphering them. C has a much cleaner appearance, but here the ink has faded considerably, although it is possible to read nearly all of it with the help of an ultra-violet lamp.

In preparing his annotated edition and translation for the *Derbyshire Archaeological Journal*, Sir W. H. St. J. Hope made use of all four texts.<sup>6</sup> His edition is unquestionably superior to Dugdale's, but it still leaves much room for improvement. The translation shows a somewhat limited knowledge of the historical and geographical background, and at times he confesses his inability to translate the admittedly corrupt text. The notes are inadequate and sometimes misleading. Mr. H. M. Colvin has supplied a few corrections and the last two or three lines from fragment C.<sup>7</sup>

One of the most serious defects in Hope's edition, which has of course been used by subsequent historians of Dale Abbey, is the failure to take into account the edition of the Chronicle by Peck which appeared some 150 years earlier.<sup>8</sup> In his introduction to the text, part of which has already been quoted, Peck explained that he was short of material to fill the last few sheets of his *Desiderata Curiosa* and therefore decided to add "the chronicle history" of Dale Abbey in Lancashire (*sic*) as well as "Discourse upon the Cloaths Dress and Fashions of Former Times".<sup>9</sup> A superficial comparison of the texts printed by Dugdale and Peck shows marked differences between them, and if Hope was aware of the existence of Peck's edition, as he probably was, he did not undertake this comparison. Even after the appearance of a translation of Peck's edition in 1833 in an extremely well-known source<sup>10</sup> and after the reproduction of the selfsame translation with a commentary only a year after the publication of Hope's edition and translation,<sup>11</sup> nobody seems to have noticed the marked difference between the two texts. Peck himself claimed to have transcribed the text of his edition from "a fair old MS.", much superior to Dugdale's source (i.e. D above). His secretiveness as to the provenance of his MS.

<sup>6</sup> *D.A.J.*, V (1883), 1-31.

<sup>7</sup> *History of the White Canons* (1951), 386, n. 1.

<sup>8</sup> F. Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa* (1732-5), lib. xv, 1-10; reprinted 1779, 560.

<sup>9</sup> "The first Cloaths we read of were immediately after the Fall . . . But when God turned them out of Paradise, he provided warmer Cloaths for them . . ."

<sup>10</sup> In Glover's *History and Gazetteer of the County of Derby* (1833), pt. 1, vol. II, 371-8. The fact that this is a translation of Peck's text has not to my knowledge previously been pointed out.

<sup>11</sup> By the Rev. C. Kerry in *Reliquary*, XXIV, 133-44 and 217-24. His commentary is, on the whole, valueless, but he gives details about the condition of the Depedale hermitage when he visited it.

source and the failure to identify it not unnaturally gave rise to some suspicion, but the problem has recently been solved by H. M. Colvin<sup>12</sup> who tracked down the apparently lost *Registrum Premonstratense*, transcribed in part by Peck and published by Gasquet. This MS. (Belvoir Castle Additional MS. 2) contains an early 16th-century transcript of the Dale Chronicle on ff. 51-4, and it is this transcript which is the source of Peck's edition. It will be referred to as "P".

It is quite clear that P was not transcribed from the inferior text D. In fact it seems rather closer than D to the fragments A, B and C. It unquestionably provides a more intelligible text than D, although the latter was written some two generations earlier. In only one case does P fall short of D (and A), where it drastically abbreviates the details of the Grendon descent at the beginning of c. 7. In Peck's edition the missing material is inserted from the despised *Monasticon* text. But there are many examples to the contrary. In the three chapters 10-12 there is the account of the recall to Tupholme of Henry prior of Depedale by his abbot, which contains information wanting in D (c. 10), the statement in P that the Welbeck foundation at Depedale endured five years (c. 11) and the intelligible and informative account of the possessions of Nicholas, *son* (not *brother* as in D) of William Child (c. 12) which in D is garbled and nonsensical. Unfortunately in these last three places there are no surviving 13th-14th-century fragments available for comparison.

It may also be noted that following A, but unlike D, the P text is correctly divided into chapters according to the original scheme of the author, whereby the first letter of each chapter forms an acrostic of the author's name.<sup>13</sup> Similarly, both A and P provide chapter-headings in the margin, which are almost identical when it is possible to compare them.

The editorial method adopted here is to base the text on the three fragments, A, B and C, for cc. 5-8, the end of c. 12 and the whole of c. 13. The remainder of the Chronicle will be supplied from P, the next best available source. The main variant readings of D will be given in the notes appended to each chapter. A brief English summary is provided for each chapter.

## II

Little more is known of the author of the Chronicle, Thomas of Muskham, than he tells us in the first two chapters. There are one or two references to a canon Thomas of Muskham in the 13th-century Dale Abbey documents.<sup>14</sup> In the Dale Cartulary many members of the Muskham family appear, either as benefactors of the abbey or as having business dealings

<sup>12</sup> *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, VIII, 96 f. In my edition of the *Cartulary of Dale Abbey* (1967) I had inexcusably overlooked this most important bibliographical note and I am extremely grateful to Mr. Colvin for pointing out my omission and sending me an offprint of his note. As a result I was enabled to consult the MS. in question instead of relying on Peck's edition of it.

<sup>13</sup> The acrostic convention was popular in the 14th century, being used by the chroniclers Ranulf Higden, John Erghome and Henry Knighton (J. Taylor, *The Universal Chronicle of Ranulf Higden*, 1966, 104).

<sup>14</sup> *Dale Cartulary*, 190 (1272) and 384 (1286).

with it. The Muskhams in the Cartulary fall into two groups — those connected with Stanton-by-Dale (Derbys.) and those connected with North Muskham (Notts.). It is likely that our author belonged to the latter branch of the family in which the name Thomas occurs with monotonous frequency. Another possible indication of the author's provenance is the apparently irrelevant insertion in c. 8 of information about Peter the cook, the hermit from Bathley. This place adjoins North Muskham and both the Muskhams and Dale Abbey owned property there.

Thomas was made a regular canon in his youth, being given to Dale Abbey by his father, and was received into the Premonstratensian Order by Abbot John Grauncorth (1233-53). It is likely he entered the abbey about 1235. About 1240<sup>15</sup> the venerable foundress, Matilda de Salicosa Mara, appeared at Dale and solemnly recounted to the assembled canons her recollections of ancient Depedale and her part in the establishment of the Premonstratensian Order in that holy site. This material is incorporated in Thomas's account. Other information was given to Thomas and his colleagues by a certain Humphrey, a very aged inhabitant of the district, who had been a tenant of "the Gomme of the Dale", an early patroness of Depedale.<sup>16</sup> This Humphrey seems also to have been a lay-brother or servant of the Augustinian priory of Depedale, c. 1170-c. 1180. Later events, relating to the Welbeck foundation, c. 1190, are recounted with the help of canon William of Hagnaby, who subsequently became prior of Dale.<sup>17</sup> In compiling his chronicle, Thomas made use of the archives of Dale Abbey, and he mentions or quotes important documents which would otherwise have remained unknown to us.<sup>18</sup> Thomas speaks highly of Abbot Grauncorth, but in the past tense,<sup>19</sup> which gives 1253 as the *terminus a quo* for the compilation, but it could easily have been written twenty or thirty years later.

It is unfortunately not possible to agree with the judgement of the Rev. J. C. Cox<sup>20</sup> that Thomas was "a man of superior education with a knowledge of the old classics, an exceedingly rare acquirement for a religious of those days". Of course it may not be fair to assess Thomas's classical attainments on the basis of the Chronicle, which would not have been regarded as a work of much literary merit in the darkest of the dark ages. His most irritating stylistic device is a series of passages in rhyming prose.<sup>21</sup> His direct classical references comprise mention of Homer, Virgil and the planet Venus, an allusion to Ulysses and the sirens, misunderstood

<sup>15</sup> She is last heard of alive in 1243 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1232-1347, 359*). Thomas says she visited Dale rather more than four years after he was professed there.

<sup>16</sup> C. 5.

<sup>17</sup> C. 11.

<sup>18</sup> Serlo de Grendon's grant to the Gomme (c. 7), the papal bull to the Augustinians of Depedale (c. 8) and William de Grendon's chantry foundation (c. 12) are noteworthy.

<sup>19</sup> Strangely enough he is not called "bone memorie" or some similar expression customarily applied to the defunct.

<sup>20</sup> *V.C.H., Derbyshire, II, 70*.

<sup>21</sup> Corrector . . . dampnator . . . emendator . . . interpretator (c. 1), degentes . . . gerentes . . . habentes . . . ferventes . . . servientes (c. 2), ivisse . . . servisse . . . quievisse (c. 6), forestam . . . ecclesiam . . . scurilitati . . . utilitati . . . venacioni . . . oracioni . . . meditacioni (c. 9).



by the copyists, and a misquotation or adaptation from Ovid. It is clear that his chief literary source is the Bible, which he obviously loved.<sup>22</sup>

The object of the chronicle is not merely to recount the events leading up to the foundation of Dale Abbey. The story is used by Thomas to inculcate a kind of religious philosophy. Depedale had been designated by the Virgin Mary as a holy place and had been further sanctified by the exemplary conduct of the baker of Derby, who became a hermit there. Even a hardened robber and outlaw<sup>23</sup> was moved to repentance and a completely changed way of life, merely by sleeping on this holy ground. But like the Ark of the Lord, the very sanctity of Depedale presented special problems to its wellwishers. The Augustinians of Calke, the first organized group who came to Depedale, were found wanting, unable to rise successfully to the challenge of superior sanctity. Thomas is naturally pleased to illustrate so appositely the inferiority of the Augustinian sycamores to the Premonstratensian cedars.<sup>24</sup> But even amongst the Premonstratensians themselves, there were gradations of holiness. Topholme and Welbeck could not attain the required standard. It was reserved for Newhouse, the premier Premonstratensian foundation in England, to succeed at long last, where all the others had failed.

On a lower and more materialist level, Thomas does not neglect the question of the adequate endowment of monastic foundations. While it is eminently proper for a *hermit* to serve God in hunger, thirst, cold and nakedness, regular canons are entitled to expect a satisfactory standard of living. If the Augustinians from Calke fell because of their sporting proclivities, the proximate cause of the failure of the earlier Premonstratensian foundations was their comparative poverty. One feels the contempt in which Thomas holds the endowment of "one small carucate". By implication Thomas criticizes adversely the desire of the lesser gentry to found monasteries when they did not have adequate surplus resources at their disposal. (Chantry foundations were not as yet fashionable.) The moral of the Dale foundation is that only by the selfless collaboration of two knightly families was it possible to guarantee the continued existence of a small monastery. Thomas reserves his warmest praise for William FitzRalph and William de Grendon who are represented as types of righteous laymen.

Other points of special interest in the Chronicle are:

1. Information about the ancient and decayed church of St. Mary, Derby (c. 3).
2. The autumnal siesta of the baker (c. 3). Was this customary amongst the burgesses of Derby, or did he bake at night? Note the similar somnolence of the outlaw (c. 6).

<sup>22</sup> One of Thomas's scriptural allusions proved too recondite for Kerry, who speaks of Cornelius the baker-hermit of Derby (see n. 11 above and the text in c. 3).

<sup>23</sup> The significance of the anonymous outlaw has not been appreciated, inasmuch as in the translations of the text he figures as "Uthlagus", i.e. a gentleman of that name.

<sup>24</sup> Compare the attitude of the Cistercians to the Cluniacs in the days of St. Bernard.

3. The mention of the "soke of Alvaston" (c. 4).
4. The "deserted village" of Boyah (c. 10).
5. The great forest extending from Derby across to Nottingham and its disappearance for the most part by the days of our author (cc. 6 and 9).
6. Miscellaneous items such as names of canons and of English students in Paris, Derbyshire hermits, the Grendon genealogy, the possessions of Nicholas of Trowell and the Gomme's stone house.

## CHAPTER ONE

The author's introduction, apology and appeal for constructive criticism. The especial holiness of Depedale is responsible for the varying fortunes of the religious foundations established there.

(f. 51a) Tue<sup>1</sup> petitioni frater karissime cum honesta sit admodum et utilius<sup>2</sup> satisfacere volens, ut et mea mens piis studiis occupata doloris qui mihi nuper accidit mitius<sup>3</sup> ferat fastidium, qualiter divina pietas locum istum misericorditer respexit<sup>4</sup>, illumque<sup>5</sup> suis habitatoribus clementer elegerit<sup>6</sup>, quia non gentem propter locum set locum propter gentem elegit, et a quibus ante adventum nostrorum Premonstratensium inhabitatus fuerit, et per quos vel quomodo ordo noster hic primo dextera Dei plantatus fuerit, prout a predecessoribus nostris et aliis qui ea bene noverunt que dicturus sum veraci relatione<sup>7</sup> cognovi, fidei<sup>8</sup> stilo breviter commendare curabo, ut narrent posterius laudes domini et virtutes ejus et mirabilia que fecit in loco isto. Set precor te quicumque hoc legeris ne me reprehendas quod istud opusculum, intemptatum a tam preclaris viris qui nos precesserunt in via hac qua ambulamus, attemptare<sup>9</sup> presumo; set qua mente id facio agnoscas. Non enim alicujus levitatis aut temeritatis ausu illud aggredior, set vera humilitate et mera caritate, ut habeant juniores nostri et alii qui voluerint noticiam de preteritis factis in loco isto diebus patrum nostrorum priorum, que si per negligencie vicium non forent scripto commendata posteris essent incognita. Lege igitur patienter et cum perlegeris si in ipso opusculo aliqua certa repereris emendacione condigna, esto queso caritativus corrector et non presumptuosus dampnator<sup>10</sup>, quia nullo modo bonus poterit esse emendator qui semper est sinistre partis interpretator. Set quia sunt plerique qui priorum scriptis sine causa derogare congaudent, ego tamen invocata spiritus sancti gracia talium oblatratus<sup>11</sup> non verens<sup>12</sup> syrenarum voces Ulyssis<sup>12</sup> exemplo aure surda pertransibo. Nomen meum meritis legencium conscribi faciat altissimus in libro vivencium. Volenti tamen illud scire de facili constare poterit per litteras capitulares, <sup>13</sup>tercia diccione hujus libri incepcionis pretermissa<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> D has the heading *Assit principio sancta Maria meo*. This invocation appears in the Belvoir Castle MS. on f. 40a as the heading to a treatise on dictamen and punctuation, intended for the use of the canons of Dale Abbey. In P there is a general heading *Cronica de fundacione abbacie de Dala*, presumably a contribution of the transcriber.

<sup>2</sup> D utilis.

<sup>3</sup> D inicum.

<sup>4</sup> D respexerit.

<sup>5</sup> D adds pro.

<sup>6</sup> D eligerit. II Mach., v, 19.

<sup>7</sup> P relacioni.

<sup>8</sup> D fidele.

<sup>9</sup> P acceptare.

<sup>10</sup> D depravator.

<sup>11</sup> D ablatratus.

<sup>12</sup> / <sup>12</sup> D serenarii vices olixis; P syrenarum vatis illuxus.

<sup>13</sup> / <sup>13</sup> Not in D. The initial letters of each chapter give the name of the author as THOMAS DE MVSCA (and not Muskhām). The intention of this obscure clause may be to point out the abbreviation of the third word.

## CHAPTER TWO

The author becomes a canon at Dale under the renowned abbot John Grauncorth. Account of some outstanding Premonstratensians at the time of his reception. The visit of the foundress to the abbey some four years later in order to recount the history of the foundation to the canons before her death.

De fratre Thoma et abbate Johanne sociisque<sup>1</sup> ejus.

Honorificum reor esse in exordio primi capituli breviter aliquid in laude virorum forcium texere qui me, vocante Deo, ad habitum regularem receperunt inter se. Cur enim hoc eos non laudet in terris, quos vita sanctissima<sup>2</sup> duxit ad mortem et Christus jam feliciter coronavit in celis? Ego igitur inter medios puericie juventutisque flores a patre meo datus ad serviendum Deo et pie genitrici ejus Virgini Marie in loco hoc habitum suscepi ab abbate Johanne Grauncurth<sup>3</sup> patre venerabili Deo et hominibus amabili qui socius erat specialissimus beati Augustini<sup>4</sup> de Lavenden'. Hii duo in diebus suis splenduerunt in ordine ut Lucifer et Hesperus in celi cardine. Fuerunt eo tempore istius<sup>5</sup> cenobii viri sine querela ante dominum degentes, splendidas virtutum vestes gerentes, vultum angelicum habentes, caritate mutua ferventes, domino Jhesu Christo devote servientes. Quis fratris Galfridi de Suwell<sup>6</sup>, fratris Rogeri de Derby ceterorumque virtutes enumerare sufficietur<sup>7</sup>? Talem patrem tales decebat habere filios. In illorum magnitudine virtutum exprimenda, si mihi Homeri seu Maronis facunda adesset loquacitas puto succumberet. Quatuor autem annos et amplius inter eos feceram<sup>8</sup> in congregacione cum nobilis matrona domina Matilda de Salicosomara<sup>9</sup> ecclesie nostre fundatrix, cujus memoria in benedictione est, venit ad nos de partibus Lyndeseye<sup>10</sup> senex et plena dierum<sup>11</sup>; quia, sciens tempus vocacionis sue ex hoc mundo celerius appropinquare, exitum suum oracionibus tam sanctorum virorum Deo disposuerat commendare. Accersitoque coram ea quadam die sacro conventu spaciandi gracia factaque mencione de primis hujus loci habitatoribus, sequentem coram omnibus subintulit narrationem.

<sup>1</sup> P suorumque.

<sup>2</sup> D *adds* venerabilem.

<sup>3</sup> D Bramicort. This is John Grauncorth, abbot of Dale (1233-53).

<sup>4</sup> Augustine, abbot of Lavendon (Premonstratensian, Bucks.). He occurs 1233-c. 1240 (Colvin, 190, 409). In the Obituary of Beauchief Abbey (Brit. Mus. MS., Cotton Caligula A. viii, f. 11a) his anniversary is given as 16 April and he is styled "dompnus Augustinus". Thomas of Muskham seems to have beatified him prematurely or more probably wished to accord him a special mark of respect.

<sup>5</sup> D *adds* sancti.

<sup>6</sup> D Guwell' (Southwell, Notts.).

<sup>7</sup> D sufficiet.

<sup>8</sup> D jam veterana.

<sup>9</sup> She was the daughter of William FitzRalph and the wife of Geoffrey de Salicosa Mara who died in 1227. After his death, she lived on her dower lands in Lincs. (*Curia Regis Rolls*, XIII, 418).

<sup>10</sup> Lindsey — the largest of the three divisions of Lincs.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Job, XLII, 16.

### CHAPTER THREE

Matilda's story. The dream of the pious baker of Derby, who is commanded by the Virgin Mary to become a hermit at Depedale. He finds Depedale and hollows out a hermitage in the rock, builds an altar and serves God in hunger, thirst, cold and nakedness.

De pistore facto heremita primo inhabitatori loci de Depedale.

"Oris", inquit, "mei verba, audite filii mei karissimi et narrabo vobis fabulam: non fabulam set rem certissime gestam. Fuit quidam pistor in Darby in vico qui dicitur sancte Marie. Habebat autem tunc temporis ecclesia beate Marie de Derby<sup>1</sup> magnam parochiam et ecclesia de Overe<sup>2</sup> fuit ei subjecta et capella. Erat quoque dictus pistor alter quodammodo Cornelius, vir religiosus ac timens Deum<sup>3</sup>, ita bonis operibus<sup>4</sup> ac elimosinis<sup>4</sup> intentus ut quicquid, preter suum suorumque victum et vestitum et<sup>5</sup> domus necessaria, per septimanam superesse<sup>6</sup> posset, sabbato ad ecclesiam beate Marie deferret et pauperibus pro amore Dei et beate<sup>7</sup> Virginis erogaret. Cumque talibus piis exercitiis vitam duceret per plures annos essetque Deo carus et acceptus, placuit Deo ipsum perfectius probare et probatum gloriosius coronare. Accidit quoque ut quadam die in autumpno cum meridiano sompno se dedisset, apparuit ei in sompnis beata Virgo Maria dicens: "Elimosine tue accepte sunt coram filio meo et me. Set modo si vis perfectus esse — relinque omnia que habes et vade apud Depedale et ibi servies filio meo et mihi vita solitaria<sup>8</sup>, et cum cursum tuum feliciter consummaveris, habebis regnum claritatis jocunditatis et felicitatis eterne quod preparavit Deus diligentibus se". Evigilans vir et divinam sciens circa se bonitatem factam Deo et beate Virgini consolatrici sue gracias agens nemini hominum quicquam locutus<sup>9</sup>, relictis omnibus que possidebat recessit continuo 'scienter nescius', ut legitur de beato Benedicto<sup>10</sup>, scienter quia nomen loci didicerat, nescius quia ubi locus esset penitus ignorabat. Vertens igitur iter suum versus orientem, cum transiret per mediam villam de Staneley<sup>11</sup>, audivit mulierem puelle cuidam dicentem: "Tolle tecum vitulos nostros et mina eos usque Depedale et festinanter revertere". Quo audito, vir admirans gratiam<sup>12</sup> Dei et quasi pro<sup>13</sup> se hanc vocem factam

esse reputans, obstipuit et accedens propius dixit: "Dic mihi bona mulier ubi est Depedale?". Que respondit: "Vade cum puella et ipsa si vis ostendet tibi locum". Quo cum pervenisset invenit locum<sup>14</sup> palustrem valde et terribilem longeque ab omni habitacione hominum seperatum. Divertensque se ad euro austrum<sup>15</sup> loci, sub montis latere, excidit sibi in petra mansiunculam et altare versus<sup>16</sup> austrum quod usque hodie<sup>17</sup> perseverat, ibique Deo die noctuque serviebat in fame siti frigore et nuditate<sup>18</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For St. Mary's, Derby, see J. C. Cox, *Churches of Derbyshire* (1879), IV, 70, corrected by R. R. Darlington, *Darley Cartulary* (1945), liiii.

<sup>2</sup> This must be the church of Mickleover and not Heanor as stated by Cox and also in Hope's edition of this text. See also R. J. Burton, *Henovere and the Church of Heanor* (*D.A.J.*, XXIX (1907), 23) where the whole question is discussed.

<sup>3</sup> Acts, X, 2 — see n. 21 to the Introduction.

<sup>4/4</sup> D suis.

<sup>5</sup> P f. 51b.

<sup>6</sup> D querere.

<sup>7</sup> D adds Marie.

<sup>8</sup> P salutaria.

<sup>9</sup> D adds est.

<sup>10</sup> Recessit igitur scienter nescius et sapienter indoctus (Life of St. Benedict by Pope Gregory I ap. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 66, col. 126).

<sup>11</sup> Stanley is about 6 miles from Derby in the Nottingham direction, and Dale Abbey is about two miles to the S.E. of Stanley.

<sup>12</sup> D graciae.

<sup>13</sup> D propter.

<sup>14</sup> P omits.

<sup>15/15</sup> D euroclustum. This is emended by Hope to *euroaustrum* which may be an indication that he referred to Peck's edition.

<sup>16</sup> D versum ad.

<sup>17</sup> The hermitage still exists at the spot indicated. Kerry complained of the pernicious habit of initial-carving at the hermitage.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Deuteronomy, XXVIII, 48. Peck unnecessarily emends *nuditate* to *meditatione*.

## CHAPTER FOUR

Continuation of Matilda's story. Her paternal grandfather, Ralph FitzGeremund, discovers the hermit and grants him the tithe of the mill of Alvaston for his sustenance.

De decima molendini de Burgo data heremite.

"Magne autem potestatis homo quidam nomine Radulphus filius Gere-mundi<sup>1</sup> eo tempore dominus erat medietatis ville de Okebrok<sup>2</sup> et de Alwaston' cum soka<sup>3</sup>. Hic cum vice quadam a Normannia reversus esset in Angliam, placuit sibi visitare terras et nemora sua. Cumque die quadam ludum querens venisset cum canibus suis venandi gracia in boscis suis de Okebrok' stipatus caterva multa, appropinquavit loco ubi debebat vir Dei, et videns fumum ignis de spelunca hominis Dei ascendentem, indignanter admirabatur<sup>4</sup> vehemens qua temeritatis fronte auderet aliquis in bosco suo mansionem sibi facere sine ipsius licencia. Accedens igitur ad locum, repperit hominem veteribus panniculis et pellibus indutum. Et cum sciscitatus esset ab eo quomodo et unde et ob quod<sup>5</sup> ibi venisset, et ille sibi causam exposuisset diligenter, compunctus corde idem Radulphus filius Geremundi et videns ipsius hominis<sup>6</sup> calamitatem concessit sibi locum

deditque ei decimam molendini sui de Burgo<sup>7</sup> ad ipsius sustentacionem. Et ab illo tempore usque ad hunc diem remansit ipsa decima fratribus apud Depedale Deo servientibus''. Huc usque verba predicte domine Matildis. Alia quidem prosecuta est, que suis in locis competenter ordinabuntur.

<sup>1</sup> In 1166 he held two knights' fees of Ralph Hanselin and half a fee of Robert de Chauz (*Red Book of the Exchequer* (1896), 340, 343).

<sup>2</sup> Ockbrook lies about 3 miles S. of Stanley.

<sup>3</sup> The "soke of Alvaston" consisted of the four villis of Alvaston, Ambaston, Elvaston and Thulston, as is made clear in the Cartulary of Dale.

<sup>4</sup> D premirabatur.

<sup>5</sup> P quid.

<sup>6</sup> D adds Dei.

<sup>7</sup> This is the mill called *de Burgo* at Alvaston and not the mill of Borrowash as is frequently alleged.

## CHAPTER FIVE

After defeating the machinations of the devil, the hermit builds a cabin for himself and an oratory in honour of God and the Virgin Mary. Death of the hermit.

Qualiter<sup>1</sup> mutavit locum et construxit capellam beate Marie<sup>2</sup>.

Antiquus autem generis humani inimicus milleartifex videns Christi tironem diversis virtutum floribus vernare cepit ei, sicut et ceteris sanctis, invidere, cogitacionibus suis crebrius immittens seculi vanitates, vite sue asperitatem quasi intollerabilem loci solitudinem desertique<sup>3</sup> varias importunitates, sicut Humfridus, quem multi qui adhuc<sup>4</sup> supersunt noverunt, non solum mihi set et multis aliis narrare consueverat. Hic Humfridus ut<sup>5</sup> assertare consuevit inquilinus<sup>6</sup> fuerat Gomme<sup>7</sup> de la Dale de qua in subsequentibus fiet mencio. Vir autem domini<sup>8</sup> predictus serpentis tortuosi virus agnoscens, oracionibus assiduis crebris jejuniis sanctis meditacionibus omnia ejus temptamenta per Dei gratiam evacuabat, unde factum est ut non solum clam set et palam totus grassaretur in eum, visibilem cum eo gerens conflictum. Et quia graves fuerunt ei indies<sup>9</sup> assultus inimici ad tollerandum<sup>10</sup>, immensam sustineret aque inopiam, loca propinqua circuiens non longe a suo loco versus occidentem in valle repperit fontem juxta quem sibi fecit tugurrium et oratorium in honore Dei et beate Marie construxit, ibique vite sue agonem in Dei servicio laudabiliter consummans de corporis ergastulo feliciter transivit ad dominum<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> From here until the end of c. 8 the text is based on fragment A (Cotton Vespasian E, xxvi, f. 52a).

<sup>2</sup> P adds Virginis.

<sup>3</sup> D deferrique.

<sup>4</sup> D ad hec.

<sup>5</sup> D omits.

<sup>6</sup> D vicinus.

<sup>7</sup> D Gome. It is unfortunate that this form of the word has been accepted by all writers on Dale Abbey.

<sup>8</sup> P omits.

<sup>9</sup> P f. 52a.

<sup>10</sup> P adds et.

<sup>11</sup> P Deum.



## CHAPTER SIX

A notorious outlaw, preying with his band on the travellers between Derby and Nottingham in the forest between Derby and the Erewash, sleeps in the vicinity of the hermitage. He is vouchsafed a vision of the future glories of Dale Abbey, abandons his evil ways and is even thought to have become a hermit himself.

De visione crucis facta uhtlago dormienti super Lyndrike.

Set et illud<sup>1</sup> memorabile patribus nostris notissimum quod circa illa tempora in loco hoc monstrare dignatus est dominus ipso opitulante monstrabo. Fuit quidam uhtlagus famosissimus partes istas frequentans propter iter commeancium inter Nottingham et Derby per forestam. Erat enim tota patria inter pontem Derby et aquam de Yrewys<sup>2</sup> afforestata eo tempore. Uhtlagus igitur ille cum in una dierum estivi temporis super Lyndrik'<sup>3</sup>, qui mons est extra portam monasterii nostri ad occidentem, sederet — sociis suis circa se ludentibus — sopor gravis irruit in eum. Et cum obdormiret vidit in sompnis<sup>4</sup> crucem auream stantem in loco ubi nunc fundata est ecclesia nostra cujus cacumen celos tangebatur, extremitates vero brachiorum usque ad fines orbis terrarum ex utraque parte se extendebant, de cujus claritatis mangnitudine totus mundus resplenduit. Vidit autem et<sup>5</sup> ex diversis gentium nacionibus homines venientes et crucem illam devotissime<sup>6</sup> adorantes. Expergefactus homo et a sompno evigilans, convocatis sociis suis narravit eis visionem a domino sibi revelatam, adjecitque et ait: "Vere, socii mei dilectissimi, vallis ista quam subter nos cernitis et monti huic contigue adjacet locus sanctus est. Vere, inquit, dominus est in loco illo et ego nesciebam.<sup>7</sup> Filii<sup>8</sup> qui nascentur et exurgent enarrabunt filiis suis mangnalia que operabitur dominus in valle ista. Vallis, inquit, ista virtutum floribus erit dealbata<sup>9</sup> plena deliciis et amenitate. Venient enim prout michi est revelatum de diversis nacionibus dominum in valle ista adoraturi et ipsi usque in finem seculi pro temporum successione servituri. Et quia dominus noster Jhesus Christus tantum de secretis suis mihi peccatori ostendere dignatus est, ideo sciatis quod me de cetero nec<sup>10</sup> socium nec magistrum habere poteritis, set ipsius adjutus gracia vitam meam ad ipsius voluntatem emendabo". Et osculatis omnibus divertit ab eis, set quo devenerit illis eo tempore fuit incongnitum. Fuerunt quidam qui dicerent ipsum apud Depedale ivisse ibique domino in secreta conversacione suo perpetuo servisse et felici fine in domino ibidem quievisse.

<sup>1</sup> D illuc.

<sup>2</sup> The river Erewash here marks the boundary between the two counties.

<sup>3</sup> This place is apparently not otherwise recorded in this neighbourhood, but cf. *The Place Names of Nottinghamshire* (1940), 12.

<sup>4</sup> The outlaw's dream is modelled on Jacob's vision of the ladder (Genesis, XXVIII, 12 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> P omits.

<sup>6</sup> P omits.

<sup>7</sup> Genesis, XXVIII, 16.

<sup>8</sup> Psalms, LXXXVII (LXXXVIII), 6.

<sup>9</sup> An allusion to the Premonstratensians.

<sup>10</sup> P omits.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

Serlo de Grendon becomes the patron of Depedale on his marriage with the daughter of Ralph FitzGeremund. He grants Depedale and its surroundings to his pious aunt and godmother ("the Gomme of the Dale") for the term of her life. She brings up her son Richard to be a priest in the Depedale chapel or oratory.

De<sup>1</sup> nobili matrona que vocabatur the Gomme of the Dale  
et Ricardo filio suo.

Dominus de Bradeley Serlo de Grendon<sup>2</sup> nomine miles armis strenuus divitiis potens generis eminentia conspicuus, accepit in uxorem Margeriam<sup>3</sup> filiam predicti Radulfi filii Geremundi et cum ipsa medietatem ville de Okebroc<sup>4</sup> in liberum maritagium<sup>4</sup>.<sup>5</sup> De qua genuit quinque filios<sup>6</sup>, Bertrammum postea canonicum nostrum, Willelmum clericum<sup>7</sup> recolende memorie advocatum nostrum, Fulcherum, Jordanum et Serlonem. Genuit autem et tres filias<sup>8</sup>, scilicet Johannam, Isoldam et Agatham, ad quas demum — proch dolor — descendit hereditas. Genuit autem Robertum ex concubina. Quatuor<sup>9</sup> isti prenominati milites fuerunt. Robertus vero licet bastardus esset ceteris fratribus militibus in armis erat potentior. Robertus cepit in uxorem matronam quandam nobilem progenie set moribus multo nobiliorem, Matildam<sup>10</sup> dominam et (heredem)<sup>11</sup> de S(n)eliston<sup>12</sup> de qua genuit Andream de Grendon heredem et Radulfum<sup>13</sup> dominum de Boylest' et Leveland<sup>15</sup>. Erant eo tempore Grendonenses famosissimi in terra hac mangneque potentie viri. Et habebat predictus Serlo amitam unam que et mater ejus erat spiritualis, eo quod eum de sacro fonte susceperat. Huic dedit dictus Serlo quoad viveret locum de Depedale cum pertinentiis et totam terram cultam et incultam que est inter semitam que extenditur a boreali<sup>14</sup> porta de Boyhag<sup>14</sup> versus occidentem usque ad le Cockeysiche et Brunebrook. Et quia tales matres spirituales anglice vocantur Gommies, ipsam communi vocabulo vocabant the Gomme<sup>15</sup> of the Dale. Hec habebat filium nomine Ricardum bone indolis adolescentem<sup>16</sup>, quem sacris literis eruditum post sacros ordines rite susceptos ordinari fecit presbiterum ut in capella sua de Depedale ministraret in divinis. Quod et fecit. Mansio autem ejusdem matrone fuit in superiori parte orti<sup>17</sup> nostri versus austrum in loco ubi nunc est stangnum quod vocatur fratris<sup>18</sup> Rogeri de Alesby<sup>19</sup>. Unde cum patres nostri facerent illud stangnum invenerunt in fundo ipsius lapides plures sectos qui olim fuerant de mansione supradicta.

<sup>1</sup> A f. 5b.

<sup>2</sup> Serlo son of Roger de Grendon held Bradley (about 3 miles E. of Ashbourne) and the adjoining Sturston from the Shirleys, the well-known tenants of the Ferrers earls of Derby.

<sup>3</sup> In the Dale Cartulary she is called Margaret.

<sup>4/4</sup> A *duplicates*.

<sup>5/5</sup> A is very confused here with insertions and alterations. It is hoped the right order has been followed. D reads as follows — De qua genuit tres filias, scilicet Johannam, Isoldam et Agatham, ad quas demum — proch dolor — descendit hereditas. Genuit quoque quinque filios, Bartrammum postea canonicum nostrum, Willelmum clericum recolende memorie advocatum nostrum, Fulcherum, Jordanum et Serlonem. Postea accepit in uxorem Matildam nobilem progenie set moribus multo nobiliorem, dominam de Celston. De qua genuit Andream de Grendon' et Radulfum dominum de Boleston'; ceteris fratribus militibus. Genuit autem et Robertum ex concubina qui fuit armis potencior ceteris. P reads as follows — De qua genuit quinque filios, Bartrammum postea canonicum nostrum, Willelmum clericum recolende memorie advocatum nostrum, Fulcherum, Jordanum et Serlonem. It would appear that D has got into a terrible mess and P has saved himself by eliminating what is, after all, material irrelevant to the main purpose of the Chronicle.

<sup>6</sup> All these sons appear in the Dale Cartulary.

<sup>7</sup> William received this appellation by virtue of his studies at Paris — see c. 8.

<sup>8</sup> The daughters married William of Stretton, Henry of Brailsford and Leodegar de Dive respectively.

<sup>9</sup> Namely, William, Fulcher, Jordan and Serlo.

<sup>10</sup> See *D.A.J.*, L (1928-9), 58 f. According to Statham, Matilda was still alive in 1283.

<sup>11</sup> Conjectural reading.

<sup>12</sup> Generally assumed to be Selston (Notts.), but Statham argues convincingly in favour of Snelston near Ashbourne. There is a hole here in A and the reading is possible.

<sup>13</sup> In 1253-4 Ralph de Grendon held one knight's fee at Leaveland (Kent), 4 miles S. of Faversham (*Archaeologia Cantiana*, XII (1878), 218. For Boylestone, 7½ miles S. of Ashbourne see I. H. Jeayes, *Derbyshire Charters* (1906), nos. 331, 334.

<sup>14/14</sup> P parte de Boyhawe.

<sup>15</sup> There is a hole in A here. P Gomme. Generally understood to be a godmother or an elderly lady.

<sup>16</sup> 3 (1) Kings, XI, 28.

<sup>17</sup> P ortus.

<sup>18</sup> P omits.

<sup>19</sup> See below, c. 13.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

The Gomme influences Serlo to give Depedale to the Augustinian canons of Calke Priory. Early success of the new foundation: a papal bull obtained by the prior of Depedale. Burial of nobles and commoners at Depedale as well as another notable hermit, Peter of Bathley.

### De<sup>1</sup> adventu nigrorum canonicorum de Kalk.

Eo tempore cum esset domus del Kalc<sup>2</sup> mater ecclesia de Rependon', volente Deo qui omnia disponit<sup>3</sup> suaviter locum de Depedale gloriosius exaltare, predicta matrona venerabili consentiente quin pocius procurante, dictus Serlo de Grendon' convocavit canonicos del Kalc et illis dedit locum de Depedale. Suscepit autem inter eos habitum regularem predictus Ricardus capellanus, et sicut narravit mihi Humfridus, de quo superius memoriam feci, prior ipsorum canonicorum vocabatur Umfridus; fueruntque sibi socii Nicholaus et Symon, qui fuerat paulo ante conscolaris<sup>4</sup> et sodalis Willelmi de Grendon' apud Parisius, et Ricardus capellanus predictus et duo alii quorum nomina a mea recesserunt memoria. <sup>5</sup>Ipse quidem Umfridus cum ipsis canonicis per dies et annos olim stetit in servicio<sup>5</sup>. Radicati igitur in eodem loco predicti canonici et a Deo confortati, edificaverunt sibi ecclesiam opere sumptuoso et alias officinas. Humfridus vero prior eorum curiam adivit Romanam et optimum privilegium quod adhuc habemus penes nos super loci confirmatione, sepultura, cantaria eciam terra interdicto subposita et aliis libertatibus plurimis impetravit. <sup>6</sup>Circa illa tempora floruit Albinus primus abbas Derleye, tanta sancte et honeste conversacionis prerogativa prefulgens, ut interior claustris et ecclesie angulus religionis tanti patris fragrantia hodierno die senciatur redolere<sup>6</sup>. Tunc ceperunt non solum de progenie Grendoniensium set et alii plures nobiles et wlgares locum de Depedale frequentare de bonis suis largiter donare et decedentes corpora sua ibidem sepelienda legare. Audivi dici a credibili et fide dingno quod ibidem requiescunt sepulti milites amplius quam quadraginta, exceptis aliis nobilibus et ingenuis sexus promiscui et wlgari populo innumerabili.

Requiescit autem ibidem Petrus cocus de Batheley<sup>7</sup> anochorita loci illius sancte recordacionis vir. De cuius conversacione sancta quam pro parte novi et de ejus gestis ab eo et<sup>8</sup> aliis mihi plena fide revelatis in subsequentibus opitu(lante Deo solemniter fiet mencio<sup>9</sup>). <sup>10</sup>Et ideo loco illi ob ipsius sanctitatem et tantorum Christi fidelium ibidem quiescencia corpora devotus debetur honor et reverencia<sup>10</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> P f. 52b.

<sup>2</sup> The Augustinian Priory of Calke about 10 miles S. of Derby was founded 1130-36. Between December 1153 and 1160 Matilda, countess of Chester, granted the church of Repton to Calke (Jeayes, no. 1939). In 1172 Calke became a cell dependent upon Repton.

<sup>3</sup> D disposuit.

<sup>4</sup> A conscolatis.

<sup>5/5</sup> D *omits.* Humphrey was probably a kind of lay-brother or a servant to the priory.

<sup>6/6</sup> D *omits.* Albinus was abbot of Darley (Augustinian) 1151-75.

<sup>7</sup> Bathley (Notts.), near N. Muskham, the presumed birthplace of our author. Peter was a recent acquisition of the cemetery, having died in the lifetime of Thomas of Muskham.

<sup>8</sup> P *adds* ab.

<sup>9</sup> The bracketed section is wanting in A.

<sup>10/10</sup> P *omits.* A ends here.

## CHAPTER NINE

The Augustinians become corrupted and are expelled by King Henry II for forest offences. Their prior, Humphrey, becomes a hermit. Divine Providence has ousted the black canons to make way for the white.

### De recessu nigrorum canonicorum.

Multis igitur annorum<sup>1</sup> curriculis in loco predicto commorantibus canonicis supradictis cum essent longe segregati a sodali<sup>2</sup> conversacione hominum et illis privatim arrideret loci amenitas, ceperunt remissius se habere in Dei servicio et ordinis<sup>3</sup> observanciis. Plus enim frequentabant forestam<sup>4</sup> quam ecclesiam; plus scurilitati<sup>5</sup> quam animarum utilitati, plus venacioni quam oracioni vel sacre meditationi intendentes, et cum esset tota patria foresta ut supradictum est. Rex audiens eorum insolenciam eos propter venacionem amoveri fecit de loco; illis autem omnia que habebant in manus patroni resignantibus et ad locum unde exierant regressis licet<sup>6</sup> essent necessitate compulsi. Umfridus prior eorum apud la Magdalen<sup>7</sup> secessit ibique vitam heremiticam multis diebus exercuit. Ego vero credere non possum hoc casualiter esse factum, set ipsius consilio, sine quo nec folium arboris ad terram defluit nec unus passerum ad terram cadit<sup>8</sup>. “<sup>9</sup>O altitudo sapiencie et sciencie Dei! Quam incomprehensibilia sunt iudicia ejus et investigabiles vie ejus! Quis enim cognovit sensum domini, aut quis consiliarius ejus fuit?<sup>9</sup>”. Dominus autem locum quem elegerat non sic dereliquit desolatum, quia ludit<sup>10</sup> in adversis divina potencia rebus. Paulatim enim cepit ipsius clemencia<sup>11</sup> manum misericordie sue ad majora et mirabiliora extendere, ut evulsis sicomoris cedros immutaret<sup>12</sup>; pro nigris recedentibus albos huc adducens et collocans Premonstratenses ut proximum sequens capitulum declarabit.

<sup>1</sup> D aliorum.<sup>2</sup> D sociali.<sup>3</sup> D divinis.<sup>4</sup> In 1157-8 the canons of Depedale were pardoned 60s. by writ of the king. Colvin suggests (*History of the White Canons*, 171) this was in connection with a forest offence. There was one important road which passed through this forest. The Portway went through Morley, Stanley, Dale Abbey and Stanton-by-Dale, reaching the Erewash N. of Sandiacre. The road would appear to be leading towards Nottingham and must have mitigated to some extent the isolation of Depedale.<sup>5</sup> P scurialitati.<sup>6</sup> ? non.<sup>7</sup> Apparently an unidentified hermitage.<sup>8</sup> Cf. Matthew, X, 29.<sup>9/9</sup> Romans, XI, 34.<sup>10</sup> Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto*, IV, 3, 49 — *Ludit in humanis*, etc.<sup>11</sup> D cremencia.<sup>12</sup> Cf. Isaiah, IX, 10.

## CHAPTER TEN

A new priory is established at Depedale, recruited from the Premonstratensian abbey of Topholme. A water-mill and millpond constructed in Stanley Park. Poverty of the priory and hardships caused by uninvited guests. The canons are recalled by their abbot because of their poverty. Their corrupt prior, separated from his concubine and conveyed forcibly to Topholme, commits suicide there.

## De adventu canonicorum de Topholum et eorum recessu.

Venerunt autem de Topholum<sup>1</sup> que domus est nostri ordinis sex canonici apud Depedale moraturi, per loci advocatum<sup>2</sup> vocati. Datus vero fuit eis parchus de Stanley<sup>3</sup> in augmentum sue possessionis, set per quem aut quomodo, pro parte scio set omnino certus non sum, et incerta pro certis scribere ubi cujusque rei veritas tractatur absurdum esse scio. Hoc tamen certissime scio: quod quidam frater conversus<sup>4</sup> qui venit cum eis de Topholum primus construxit molendinum aquaticum in parco et stagnum attagiavit cum ingenti labore et angustia. Prior eorum vocabatur Henricus. Et esse eos oportuit sicut et fuerunt magni<sup>5</sup> laboris quia multum onerati erant ex frequenti adventu forestariorum et aliorum. Nec terram habebant cultam preter illam que fuerat olim supradicte Gomme de la Dale et Thakkemore<sup>6</sup>, scilicet unam parvam carucatam. Dominus enim de Okebrok<sup>7</sup> retinuit sibi in dominico rusticos et villulam de Boyhawe<sup>7</sup>, que sita fuerat in loco qui nunc dicitur Boyhawemedue. Cum igitur septem annis in magna paupertate ibidem fecissent, summitates quercuum de parco a medio succedentes vendiderunt et accepta pecunia apud Topholum regressi sunt, abbate suo ipsos revocante. Set<sup>8</sup> predictus Henricus prior eorum qui subtilis erat valde in fabricacione false monete officium illud infaustum exercendo secessit apud Tofteweyth<sup>9</sup>, ibique cohabitabat cum quadam muliercula de Morley<sup>10</sup> quam antea stulto fetentis libidinis amore cognoverat. Quod audiens ejus abbas set indigne ferens quod cum fratribus ad ejus mandatum domi redire contempsit, misit ordinis viros et alios cum illis et per vim eum adduci fecit usque Topholum, inobedientie et incontinentie vitium et alia commissa pro meritis secundum ordinis formam puniendum; qui ingente dolore cordis

concepto adeo diabolico instigabatur consilio, quod in balneo<sup>11</sup> calido de utroque brachio<sup>12</sup> se sanguine<sup>12</sup> minuens spontanea quinpocius stulta morte vitam finivit.

<sup>1</sup> Premonstratensian Abbey near Lincoln, founded from Newhouse 1155-66.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Serlo de Grendon who was still alive in 1180 when he was acting for his brother-in-law William FitzRalph as sheriff of Notts. and Derbys.

<sup>3</sup> Stanley Park is the alternative name for Dale Abbey.

<sup>4</sup> The institution of lay-brothers was an integral part of the Premonstratensian system.

<sup>5</sup> P f. 53a.

<sup>6</sup> D Chacemor. This place occurs in the Dale Cartulary, has not been identified and is often wrongly rendered as Yatthemor or Yacthemor.

<sup>7</sup> A clear example of a deserted hamlet, probably as a result of sheep-farming by the canons of Dale.

<sup>8</sup> The story of the peccant prior is abbreviated in D.

<sup>9</sup> Not identified and does not occur in the Dale Cartulary.

<sup>10</sup> Morley adjoins Stanley to the W. and is 4 miles N.E. of Derby. In the north chapel of St. Matthew's church at Morley is to be found some of the medieval stained glass brought from Dale Abbey after the Dissolution.

<sup>11</sup> D balneto.

<sup>12</sup> / <sup>12</sup> D sanguinem.

## CHAPTER ELEVEN

William son of Serlo de Grendon obtains a new Premonstratensian colony for Depedale from Welbeck Abbey. The gloomy portent of the breaking of the altar-lamps. The abbot of Welbeck recalls his canons because of the poverty of the place.

De adventu canonicorum de Wellebek' et eorum recessu.

Sedit ergo sola decolorata fusca<sup>1</sup> Syon' filia ecclesia de Depedale, pristinis suis habitatoribus ad tempus orbata. Set pater<sup>2</sup> misericordiarum et Deus tocuis consolacionis qui locum illum misericorditer elegerat oculo clemencie sue respexit eum et consolatus est. Ne igitur locus ille Deo amabilis et hominibus venerabilis diucius divinis frauderetur<sup>3</sup> obsequiis, dominus Willelmus de Grendon' cujus nomen propter suorum prerogativas meritorum tanquam mel in ore dulcoratur misit et accersiri fecit huc canonicos quinque de Welbek'<sup>4</sup> ordinis Premonstr'. Prior illorum vocabatur Benfitz<sup>5</sup> sub abbate Ricardo<sup>6</sup> de Swelle, viro utique<sup>7</sup> in temporalibus et spiritualibus admodum experto. Prior illorum etc.<sup>8</sup> quem satis vidit postea apud Welbek' domus illius priorem frater Willelmus de Hagneby<sup>9</sup> tunc illius ecclesie canonicus, post vero prior sancte hujus congregacionis quando habitum suscepi<sup>10</sup> religionis qui multa de ipso edificandi gracia nobis narrare consueverat<sup>11</sup>. Manserunt autem hic<sup>12</sup> predicti quinque viri sub<sup>13</sup> ordinis asperitate<sup>14</sup> per quinquennium<sup>14</sup> in maxima paupertate, multas interim et diversas perpessi adversitates. Cumque die quadam unus eorum lampades ante altare dependentes deorsum attrahere vellet, mirum in modum omnes ad terram cadentes minutatim confracte sunt; vocatoque priore in auditorio et accepta licencia loquendi dicebat inter cetera: "Eamus hinc quia nichil nobis evenit prosperum, set omnia mergunt in contrarium. Et vere dico quia dominus nos in loco isto indignos judicavit, aut aliis nobis melioribus forte reservavit". Cujus verba vera



facta sunt presagia futurorum prout postea rei probavit eventus et sequens capitulum<sup>15</sup> declarabit. Post non multum temporis venit apud Depedale sicut antea fecerat abbas memoratus gracia visitandi fratres suos recta volens esse omnia, et invenit eos pauperimam vitam agentes, pauca in granario habentes ad pistrinum, pauciora ad cibaria<sup>16</sup>. Quorum necessitatem condolens vir Dei dicebat se molestum et injustum videri fratres suos fame et inedia consumi<sup>17</sup> in deserto quibus satis sufficienter victus et vestitus necessaria domi provideri poterat secundum regulam et ordinis exigenciam. Cum ergo remeasset ad monasterium, habito cum fratribus diligenti tractatu, ususque consilio saniorum, predictos fratres apud Depedale commorantes<sup>18</sup> domi revocavit.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Cantic., I, 5.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Corinth., I, 3.

<sup>3</sup> D defraudaretur.

<sup>4</sup> Premonstratensian Abbey founded in 1153 from Newhouse.

<sup>5</sup> D Willelmus Bensyt.

<sup>6</sup> P *omits*. He was Richard of Southwell, abbot 1196-1215.

<sup>7</sup> D utroque.

<sup>8</sup> D et tunc.

<sup>9</sup> Hagnaby (Lincs.). There was a Premonstratensian house here, founded from Welbeck in 1175-6.

<sup>10</sup> D suscepit.

<sup>11</sup> In an attempt to make sense of this extremely corrupt text, Peck introduced *sicut* (William of Hagnaby) *mihī saepe retulit*, but this does not greatly improve the reading. Neither D nor P give a sound version. Had A survived it would probably have been disfigured with numerous insertions and alterations. A possible interpretation could be that Benfitz was appointed prior to the new foundation under the jurisdiction of his abbot, Richard of Southwell. After the collapse of the Welbeck foundation at Depedale, Benfitz became prior at Welbeck itself, under abbot Richard and it was at this stage that the canon William of Hagnaby became acquainted with him. William of Hagnaby subsequently became prior of Dale and occupied this office when Thomas of Muskham took the habit there, and it was he who supplied Thomas with the information about the abortive Welbeck foundation.

<sup>12</sup> D hii.

<sup>13</sup> D ob.

<sup>14</sup>/<sup>14</sup> D *omits*.

<sup>15</sup> D casum.

<sup>16</sup> D camberiam.

<sup>17</sup> D confundi.

<sup>18</sup> D commanentes.

## CHAPTER TWELVE

William FitzRalph buys the vill of Stanley from Nicholas of Trowell and intends to grant it to his daughter Matilda and her (second) husband Geoffrey de Salicosa Mara (childless for more than seven years). They propose that Stanley should be given to the Premonstratensians in order to set up a new monastery in Stanley Park. William FitzRalph joins forces with his nephew William de Grendon, patron of Depedale, and at last an adequate endowment is available for the foundation of a religious house. Matilda and Geoffrey are appointed by William FitzRalph to complete the arrangements.

Qualiter villa de Stanleye cum parcho erat data canonicis de Neuhaus per Galfridum de Salicosa Mara et Matildam uxorem ejus.

Cum hec agerentur contigit quod Willelmus filius<sup>1</sup> Radulfi cujus superius memoriam feci, emeret villam<sup>2</sup> de Stanleya de Nicholao filio<sup>3</sup> Willelmi Chylde<sup>4</sup> de Trowell', faciendo sibi servicium quarte partis scuti<sup>5</sup> unius

militis, currente scutagio. <sup>6</sup>Item dictus Nicholaus tenebat Trowelle, Broculstowe, Bramcote<sup>7</sup>, Stanleyam<sup>8</sup> de domino de Kyme<sup>9</sup> pro scuto integro, qualibet illarum villarum pro suo quartario incidente. Habuit autem idem Nicholaus plures alias terras, ut Claxton', Howes<sup>10</sup>, Leka et Stanford'<sup>11</sup>, de quibus ad presens melius est subtiscere, quia ad propositum non pertinent, quam aliquid inde tractare<sup>6</sup>. Dictus vero Willelmus filius<sup>1</sup> Radulfi predictam villam de Stanleye dare cogitaverat Galfrido de Sallicosamara qui<sup>12</sup> Matildam filiam suam desponsaverat. Set<sup>13</sup> ipsi Galfridus et Matilda uxor ejus ut Deo devoti, eundem dominum suum adierunt dicentes: "Bene nostis domine quod simul stetimus in conjugio maritali per septem annos et amplius<sup>14</sup>, et privavit nos dominus fructu uteri nostri, carentes solacio liberorum. Et ideo summopere precamur quatenus villam de Stanleye quam nobis dare proponitis Deo offerre et conferre velitis domum religionis abbati ordinis Premonstr' in parcho vestro ejusdem ville fundantes, ut ipse altissimus bonorum retributor<sup>15</sup> Deus piam humilitatis vestre devocionem respiciens nobis prolis optate jocunditatem et vobis ob tale commercium nobisque eterne vite donet felicitatem". Ut autem vir nobilis eorum corda et cordium suorum consilia a Deo <sup>16</sup>intellexit inspirata<sup>16</sup>, eorum justis et honestis petitionibus libenter annuens<sup>17</sup> ac decenter, Willelmum de Grendon' clericum et sororis sue<sup>18</sup> filium dominum de Okebrok' vocari fecit ad se et dixit ei: "Domum quamdam ordinis Premonstratensis per consilium amicorum meorum fabricare<sup>19</sup> propono in parcho meo de Stanleye, cui contigue adjacet ille locus de Depedale cujus es patronus, ubi ter<sup>20</sup> successive floruit diversorum virorum congregacio; qui omnes ingruente quinpocius compellente intollerabili paupertate, locum reliquerunt desolatum. Et certissime scio quod si locum illum novelle plantacioni mee donare volueris, ita inter me et te de terris possessionibus et aliis bonis a Deo nobis concessis providebimus si nobis dominus vitam concesserit prolixiorum, quod religiosos<sup>21</sup> ibidem evocandos nec mendicare vel locum mutare deinceps aliqua compellet egestas". Cui Willelmus de Grendon' respondit: "Benedictus dominus qui tam purum vobis inspiravit propositum! Et benedicti sint a Deo qui tale vobis dedere consilium! Et<sup>22</sup> ideo quod mente tractastis super hac re velocius si placet, cum omnes fragiles simus et mortales in nomine domini inchoetis. Et<sup>23</sup> ego locum de Depedale cum omnibus pertinenciis que ad me dare pertinent et unquam aliquo tempore fuerunt nigrorum canonicorum vel<sup>24</sup> alborum olim ibidem commorantium loci habitatoribus sub certa spe uberioris gracie <sup>25</sup>vestre novelle<sup>25</sup> donabo, ita tamen quod per unum sacerdotem illius congregacionis singulis diebus imperpetuum in capella de Depedale quam sustinebunt divina celebrentur obsequia pro anima mea et pro animabus antecessorum <sup>25</sup>et successorum<sup>25</sup> meorum et pro animabus omnium ibidem in Christo quiescentium, et in refectorio super mensam majorem ponatur cotidie una prebenda conventualis panis cervisie et companagii<sup>26</sup> pauperibus distribuenda". Cui vir nobilis avunculus suus gracias agens pro concessis dixit: "Et ego ista omnia inviolabiliter jubebo<sup>27</sup> et procurabo fieri imperpetuum. Et tam hujus rei quam de domus funda-

cione, quia in cismarinis partibus et transmarinis circa regia negocia occupatus<sup>28</sup> talibus vacare non possum, Galfridum de Salicosa Mara et Matildam filiam meam uxorem suum quibus<sup>29</sup> loci concessi advocacionem<sup>29</sup> (<sup>30</sup>hac in re<sup>30</sup>) facio exsecutores (<sup>31</sup>scilicet de loci fundacione et canonicorum revocacione<sup>31</sup>)”.

<sup>1</sup> D frater.

<sup>2</sup> D villulam.

<sup>3</sup> D fratre.

<sup>4</sup> Nicholas of Trowell (Notts., opposite Ilkeston) appears in Pipe Rolls 12 and 13 Henry II (Yeatman, *Feudal History of Derbyshire*, I, 108, 109). He witnesses Sempringham charters c. 1180 and temp. Henry II (*Genealogist*, N.S., XVI, 154, and XVII, 30) and also grants Sempringham the church of Broxtowe and the moiety of the church of Trowell, etc. (in an enrolment of the confirmation charter of Richard I, XVI, 226-8). He was not a member of the fairly well-known Juvenis family of Derby as the name Child normally appears in the Latinized forms Infans (Lenfant) or Puer.

<sup>5</sup> D feodi.

<sup>6/6</sup> The version of D is extremely corrupt and unintelligible: Idem Nicolaus tenebat Trowell', Bocolstoute, Lamcotte, Linsayam de domino de Caym pro scuto integro qualibet illarum villarum pro Honwys, Leston et Stanford, de quibus ad presens melius subticere quia ad propositum non pertinent quam aliquid inde tractare disposui. This farrago has hitherto appeared in all the printed texts (except P) without exciting any comment.

<sup>7</sup> Trowell, Broxtowe (in Bilborough) and Bramcote are all in South Broxtowe wapentake (Notts.). In 1242-3 the abbot of Dale held a quarter of a knight's fee in Trowell (see *Book of Fees*, II, 996). In the same year Trowell, Bramcote, East Leake and Stanford-upon-Soar appear together in the fee of Ralph Mortimer. P f. 53b begins here.

<sup>8</sup> Stanley in Derbyshire, which he sold to William FitzRalph.

<sup>9</sup> The Kymes held about 30 knights' fees, mainly in Lincs. but also in Notts., including Bilborough. The heads of the family during this period were Philip I (c. 1162-91) and Simon III (c. 1191-1220). See W. Farrer, *Honors and Knights' Fees* (1924), II, 118, and I. J. Sanders, *English Baronies* (1960), 79.

<sup>10</sup> Long Clawson and Hose, both in Leics. They are found together in 1235-6 and in 1242-3 in the fees of William Daubigny and Belvoir respectively (*Book of Fees*, II, 518, 953).

<sup>11</sup> East Leake and Stanford-upon-Soar, both in Notts.

<sup>12</sup> D cum.

<sup>13</sup> Presumably this is the additional information supplied by Matilda to the canons as promised at the end of c. 4.

<sup>14</sup> If this is correct Matilda must have been married to Geoffrey not later than 1193 as William FitzRalph died in 1200. Matilda was first married to William de Tilly, who held land in Yorks.

<sup>15</sup> D retribuatur.

<sup>16/16</sup> D integra exinspirata.

<sup>17</sup> Thomas may have taken this clause from the papal bull he mentions in c. 8 above.

<sup>18</sup> Margaret or Margery mentioned in c. 7.

<sup>19</sup> D fundare.

<sup>20</sup> In P only, referring to the Calke, Tupholme and Welbeck foundations.

<sup>21</sup> P religiosos.

<sup>22</sup> In D this sentence is rearranged.

<sup>23</sup> Colvin (174, n. 4, and 267) convincingly argues that this sentence is part of a lost charter of William de Grendon and that it constitutes the earliest record of a chantry foundation in connection with an English Premonstratensian abbey.

<sup>24</sup> The second fragment B begins here in the Cotton MS. on f. 195a. The text is now based on B until the end of the chapter.

<sup>25/25</sup> P omits.

<sup>26</sup> "something to eat with it" (Colvin).

<sup>27</sup> D supplebo.

<sup>28</sup> He was seneschal of Normandy 1178-1200.

<sup>29/29</sup> D omits.

<sup>30/30</sup> Not in B.

<sup>31/31</sup> In D only.

## CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Geoffrey and Matilda de Salicosa Mara at Newhouse. Nine canons are sent to Depedale, among them Walter de Tetenay (or Totenaye) who was to be the first abbot of Dale. Panegyric on the founding canons of Dale.

<sup>1</sup>De adventu canonicorum de Neuhus<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>2</sup>Acceptis igitur cartis et aliis instrumentis ad domus fundacionem necessariis a predicto nobili viro Willelmo, abierunt ad ejus mandatum dicti Galfridus<sup>3</sup> et Matilda apud Neuhus<sup>4</sup> ut inde educerent conventum. Erant enim viri<sup>5</sup> illius monasterii virtutum floribus fragrantés, utpote rosa summe paciencie, lilio castitatis, precipue viola celestis vite contemplacione, quos sic vite scinceritas et morum honorat honestas ut a mari usque ad mare et<sup>6</sup> per omnes fines regionis Anglicane illorum sanctitas redoleret. Dicti igitur Galfridus et Matilda venientes apud Neuhus invenerunt ibi abbatem, Lambertum<sup>7</sup> nomine, virum tocius prudencie, in sermone veracem, in judicio justum, in consilio providum, in commisso fidelem, in interventu strenuum, in bonitate<sup>8</sup> conspicuum, in universa morum honestate preclarum; qui sic suos subditos vite celestis dulcedine informaverat, ut veraciter dicere possent<sup>9</sup> cum apostolo<sup>10</sup>, 'nostra conversacio in celis est'. Susceptis igitur dictis Galfrido et Matilda a predicto venerabili patre, expositoque negotio et adventus sui causa, idem abbas habito<sup>11</sup> cum fratribus diligenti tractatu, concessit eis novem canonicos apud Depedale deducendos et hunc<sup>12</sup> ordinem ibi<sup>13</sup> instituendos. Fuerunt autem inter eos Walterus de Tetenay<sup>14</sup> vir summe religionis qui antea apud duo<sup>15</sup> loca, scilicet sanctam Agathen cum conventu de Neuhus exiens ibidem ordinem fundaverat, et Johannes de Byford filius Baldewini<sup>16</sup> de Byford qui fuit socius Petri<sup>17</sup> de Gausela fundatoris domus de Neuhus, et Hugo de<sup>18</sup> Grymesby<sup>19</sup> et Rogerus de Alesby<sup>20</sup> et Willelmus le Sores, viri vite honeste et religionis magne cum aliis viris Dei. Hii sunt O Dala lapides<sup>21</sup> vivi, lapides electi, lapides preciosi in ecclesie tue spiritualis<sup>22</sup> fundamento; ipsi lapidi summo angulari<sup>23</sup> connexi<sup>24</sup> et aptati sunt (?) quos felicit (?) . . . celsitudo feliciter consurgati (?) domino.

<sup>1</sup> / 1 P only.

<sup>2</sup> Fragment C begins here on f. 195b of the Cotton MS. The text is based on C until the end. D begins Ad mandatum igitur acceptis cartis (etc.). The same beginning appears very faintly in B which then terminates. This alternative *incipit* preserves the author's design.

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey was not a stranger in Lincs. — in fact most of his lands were held in that county. The Dale Cartulary, however, seems to show he was of Norman origin and Salicosa Mara may be identified with Sauzussemaure, near Le Havre.

<sup>4</sup> Newhouse (Lincs.), founded in 1143, was the mother-house of the great majority of the English Premonstratensian monasteries.

<sup>5</sup> D octo (*viri* being read as *viii*).

<sup>6</sup> P f. 54a.

<sup>7</sup> He occurs as abbot of Newhouse 1200-03. The next recorded abbot, Geoffrey, occurs in 1211.

<sup>8</sup> D sobrietate.

<sup>9</sup> P possunt.

<sup>10</sup> Philipp., III, 20.

<sup>11</sup> C abito.

<sup>12</sup> P omits.

<sup>13</sup> P ibidem.

<sup>14</sup> P Tottenaye; D Senteney. The only other place where this name is known to occur is in the list of abbots found at the end of the Cotton MS. and it appears in the same form as D. This list is written in the same hand as D or a very similar hand in the late 15th century. As D is notoriously unreliable over personal and place-names, the version of C and P should be preferred. Walter may have been a member of the Toden family.

<sup>15</sup> Only one place, Easby (St. Agatha), is mentioned here. As this Premonstratensian abbey was founded as early as 1151, it seems almost incredible that Walter was a founder of Easby, especially as he died 80 years later. Either the text is corrupt or Walter helped to refound Easby at a later date.

<sup>16</sup> For Baldwin of Beeford and his grants to Newhouse Abbey, see F. M. Stenton, *Danelaw Charters* (1920), 176, 223. There is some charter evidence to support the statement made here about Baldwin's association with Peter of Goxhill, founder of Newhouse — see F. M. Stenton, *First Century of English Feudalism* (1961 edn.), 262-3. Baldwin is there called de Bifford or de Gifford.

<sup>17</sup> For Peter of Goxhill see also Stenton, *English Feudalism*, 47-50.

<sup>18</sup> D ends here at the foot of f. 187b in the Cotton MS.

<sup>19</sup> Grimsby (Lincs.).

<sup>20</sup> Probably Ailby (Lincs.), but could be Welby (Leics.).

<sup>21</sup> Cf. 1 Peter, II, 4, 5.

<sup>22</sup> P *omits*.

<sup>23</sup> P *adds* Christo Jhesu.

<sup>24</sup> P ends here. C continues almost illegibly.

### *Acknowledgements*

The author is indebted to His Grace the Duke of Rutland for allowing him to consult and print part of the Belvoir Castle MSS. and to Dr. L. A. Parker, county archivist of Leicestershire, for his help in making inspection of these documents possible.