

The Makings of an English Multinational
1221–1348

The Beginnings

Arrival

It was high summer in 1221 when thirteen Dominican friars led by Gilbert of Fresney first glimpsed the English coast. They had been sent by their General Chapter, the sovereign body of this new international Order of Preachers, which its founder, St Dominic (d. 6 August 1221), had summoned to meet in Bologna at Pentecost that year. They had travelled for the latter part of the journey in the retinue of Peter des Roches, Bishop of Winchester and a royal councillor. His assistance to the friars then and later would be invaluable. On landing, the friars proceeded to Canterbury, where they presented themselves as preachers to Archbishop Stephen Langton. Piqued, one suspects, by that audacious claim to an episcopal duty, Langton challenged Gilbert to give the sermon that day where he himself was due to preach. He was sufficiently impressed that ‘for the rest of his life’ Langton ‘advanced by his grace and favour the Preaching Friars’ religious order and mission’ (*religionem . . . et officium*).¹

The friars soon journeyed to London, where they arrived on 10 August, but no record survives of how they fared there. After no more than a couple of days, they pressed on to Oxford, where they arrived on the feast of the Assumption (15 August). Here they opened an oratory in honour of the Virgin Mary and a lecture hall, before lack of space led them to move two decades later to a site ‘granted to them by the king where they now

¹ Nicholas Trevet OP, *Nicholai Triveti Annales sex regum Angliae, 1135–1307*, ed. Thomas Hog (London: English Historical Society, 1845), 209. Gilbert’s leadership is also stated by Jordan of Saxony in his *Libellus de principis ordinis praedicatorum*, *MOPH*, XVI, 88.

dwelt outside the walls'.² Given the Dominicans' other early foundations in university centres, Oxford and its nascent university had clearly been chosen in advance as the first foundation of the Order's English Province (a group of religious houses and their members in a given territory under the leadership of a Provincial).³

The Growth of the Province

The Dominicans soon established 'priors' (a religious house governed by a Prior) in other towns and cities across the British Isles. Charting this growth accurately is difficult, partly because when a house enters the historical record may not be its date of foundation, partly because some records may not be reliable, and partly because friars might be invited to enter a town before agreement was reached for the site of the foundation.⁴ However, by 1232 the Dominicans had opened at least six or seven more in England at London, Winchester, York, Bristol, Exeter, Shrewsbury, and probably at Norwich; at least one in Scotland (possibly at Edinburgh); and at least two in Ireland (probably in Dublin and at Kilkenny). By the end of 1242 the Province contained at least nineteen houses in England, one in Wales, at least four or five in Scotland, while there were probably at most eight in Ireland. At least sixty-one houses had been established by 1260, seventy-nine by 1280. By the time the Black Death reached the British Isles in 1348–1349, there were eighty-nine Dominican houses (forty-eight in England, five in Wales, twelve in Scotland, and twenty-four in Ireland).⁵

As these numbers indicate, the rate of growth varied over time and varied from region to region. So, too, did the number of friars who lived in and worked from them.⁶ Most of the Irish, Welsh, and Scottish houses probably contained fewer friars than those in the larger, more prosperous

² Trevet, *Annales*, 209. Trevet gives no support to the claim of Kenneth Rowlands that three friars remained in London, *The Friars: A History of the British Medieval Friars* (Lewes: Book Guild, 1999), 104.

³ M. Michele Mulchahey, 'First the bow is bent in study ...' *Dominican Education before 1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1998), 1–12 and 36–45.

⁴ For an overconfident list of 'settlement' dates despite the stated exclusion of 'uncertain foundations', see Mary E. O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook: Studies in MS Laud Misc. 511* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1997), 59, map 1.

⁵ By comparison, there were twenty-seven Irish Franciscan friaries by c.1280. Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations*, 178.

⁶ For a map showing houses and their estimated average number of inhabitants, see Maura O'Carroll, 'The educational organisation of the Dominicans in England and Wales, 1221–48', *AFP*, 50 (1980), 23–62 at 52–54.

English towns and cities. Probably typical of the houses in the small English towns was Chelmsford with thirty resident friars in April 1277; it is likely that the Irish mendicant houses usually contained far fewer men, so that 'even the largest . . . seldom numbered more than thirty members'.⁷ English priories in larger towns, and priories that came to function as provincial or general *studia* (centres of advanced theological or other study) housed larger numbers. Numbers at York are indicated by royal gifts of alms. Fifty friars received alms in 1299, sixty in 1307, and forty-eight in 1337.⁸ The Priory at Norwich, England's second largest city, was a similar size with fifty-three friars in 1326 and 1328.⁹ London and Oxford came to stand out from the rest. Estimates of those living in the Ludgate Priory between July 1297 and February 1313 range between sixty-four and ninety-three friars.¹⁰ There were probably ninety-six friars attached to the second Oxford priory in November 1305, when Edward I gave it £4 16s. for three days' worth of food.¹¹

If Oxford was the friars' initial goal as a centre of theological training and recruitment, a question arises as to who and what forces shaped their subsequent expansion from Oxford. The first part of the chapter seeks to answer this question in terms of *who* supported new foundations and *how* the king in particular aided them. The second part of the chapter considers *why* these foundations were supported by looking at the friars' life and ministry in relation to their supporters' needs, first how they met them directly, and then the life within the cloister which enabled them to do so.

Who and How

The story recounted at the start of this chapter of how the Dominicans arrived in England comes from the pen of a later English Dominican, the classical scholar and historian Nicholas Trevet, a highly educated polymath and son of a circuit judge under Kings Henry III and Edward I. In the early fourteenth century he wove this into his history of England and its monarchs from the accession of King Stephen in 1135 to Edward's death

⁷ *TFI*, 40.

⁸ L. M. Goldthorp, 'Franciscans and Dominicans in Yorkshire', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal*, XXXII (1934–36), 264–320 and 365–428 at 371–73.

⁹ Christopher Harper-Bill and Carole Rawcliffe, 'The religious houses', in C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson (eds.), *Medieval Norwich* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), 73–120, at 106.

¹⁰ Jens Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses of Medieval London 1221–1539* (Münster: Lit Verlag, 2004), 76.

¹¹ Palmer, 'The Friars-Preachers, or Blackfriars, of Oxford', *The Reliquary*, XXIII (1882–1883), 145–59 and 209–19, at 153.

in 1307.¹² His account suggests the importance of bishops and kings in shaping the growth of this new branch of a young religious Order of Preachers. The bishops afforded the opportunities to preach; and the king awarded grants of land and other gifts. However, other sources suggest or reveal further supporters of the Dominicans' missionary expansion. For example, we do not know who enabled them to occupy their first site, a tiny house in the Oxford Jewry described by the Osney chronicler, Thomas Wykes, as a 'cell' (*mansiuncula*), but the friars probably received monastic hospitality on arrival in London and Oxford, as they themselves would host the first Franciscans to reach London and Oxford.¹³ The first known gift to the house was a major donation of forty crotches or forked timbers from the Abbot of Westminster from woods at Islip in the late autumn of 1223 for use as rafters or scaffolding.¹⁴ The chapel was erected on land from which the canons of St Frideswide's Priory drew rent. When lack of space led the friars to seek a larger site, Henry III confirmed in 1238 the gift of land to the friars by Isabel de Bolbec, Countess of Oxford; but it was she and Walter Mauclerc, Bishop of Carlisle, who were the principal donors of what became the site of the second, far larger, priory at Oxford.¹⁵ Examination of other foundations reveals the early role played by a circle of patrons close to the royal court, which over time widened to include other nobles and leading townsfolk. It also reveals the factors that shaped and constrained this support in the different regions.

A Narrow Circle of Patrons

The Province's expansion in England was slow when compared with the growth of the Franciscans. Only six Dominican priories are securely dated

¹² On the *Annales*, see Frank A. C. Mantello, 'The editions of Nicholas Trevet's *Annales sex regum Angliae*', *Revue d'Histoire des Textes*, bulletin n. 10 (1980), 1982, 257–75. On Trevet, see Ruth J. Dean, 'Cultural relations in the Middle Ages: Nicholas Trevet and Nicholas of Prato', *Studies in Philology*, 45 (October 1948), 541–64.

¹³ Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, 2, in A. G. Little (ed.), *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951), 9.

¹⁴ Spencer Robert Wigram, *The Cartulary of St. Frideswide at Oxford*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford Historical Society, 1895–1896), I.142, 205–6, and 224; *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes, AM*, IV, 94; Thomas Duffus Hardy (ed.), *Rotuli Litterarum Clausurarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati*, 2 vols. (London, 1833 and 1844), I, 575. For a rejection of claims by Anthony Wood and Palmer for the role of the king and Isabel de Bolbec at this early stage, see W. A. Hinnebusch, 'The Pre-Reformation sites of the Oxford Blackfriars', *Oxonienis*, III (1938), 57–82, at 58, n.2.

¹⁵ Rose Graham (ed.), 'Description of Oxford from the Hundred Rolls Oxon (Chancery Series)', *Collectanea IV*, OHS XLVII (Clarendon Press, 1905), 8; H. E. Salter (ed.), *The Oxford Deeds of Balliol College* (Oxford: Horace Hart, 1913), 204.

to the first decade, and the first Provincial Chapter was only held in 1230.¹⁶ The Franciscans reached England in 1224, and immediately settled a few friars in Canterbury, London, and Oxford, and probably opened houses in Northampton, Norwich, and Cambridge within a further two years.¹⁷ It has been estimated that they founded two houses a year across their first two decades.¹⁸ One reason for the contrast lay with the Dominicans' constitutions which stipulated that no house should contain fewer than twelve friars, that each such house should contain a friar competent to teach theology (a trained *lector* or lecturer), and that priories were only to be opened after approval by the Order in General Chapter.¹⁹ However, it may also be explained by the friars' initial dependence on a relatively small circle of early patrons, lay and ecclesiastical members of the Anglo-Norman nobility close to the crown, at a time when they were unheard of by many and unfamiliar to most of those who would later support them.

At London, the principal founder was Hubert de Burgh (ca. 1170–1243), the King's Justiciar in England, who by late 1223 or 1224 had purchased a small plot of land for the friars outside the walls to the west of the city at Holborn close to the Fleet in the parish of St Andrew's. Gifts by other donors permitted the gradual development of the site before the friars relocated to a much larger site within the city at Ludgate more than five decades later.²⁰ Also in the mid-1220s Peter des Roches was purchasing houses at Winchester, the income from which had previously supported a hospital at Portsmouth. By Michaelmas 1226 the bishop had given the houses to the Dominicans, though it was probably sometime before they began to build their priory within the city walls which attracted

¹⁶ Trevet, *Annales*, 217. On early Provincial Chapters, see Simon Tugwell OP, 'The evolution of Dominican structures of government. II: the first Dominican provinces', *AFP*, 70 (2000), 5–109.

¹⁷ Thomas of Eccleston, *Tractatus* 1–2, in Little, *Fratris Thomae*, 6, 9–10; Jens Röhrkasten, *The Convents of the Franciscan Province of Anglia and Their Role in the Development of English and Welsh Towns in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries*, *Mélanges de l'École française de Rome – Moyen Âge*, 124.1 (2012), <https://doi.org/10.4000/mefrm.230>, accessed on 3 August 2018.

¹⁸ G. Lambrick, 'Personal and institutional mendicancy in medieval Oxford: the Blackfriars and Greyfriars and their critics', *Oxoniensia*, 86 (2021), 61–115, at 63.

¹⁹ Tugwell, 'The evolution of Dominican structures of government, III', *AFP*, 2001, 5–182, at 114.

²⁰ De Burgh's purchase was confirmed by the seller, John Bockointe, sometime between 29 October 1223 and 29 September 1224. TNA, DL 27/59. See also, Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses*, 30–34; Nick Holder, *The Friaries of Medieval London from Foundation to Dissolution* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2017), 15–26. For Hubert, see Clarence Ellis, *Hubert de Burgh, A Study in Constancy* (London: Phoenix House, 1952). For later gifts, see Elijah Williams, *Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London* (London: Sweet and Maxwell, 1927), nos. 697, 699, 701–5, 707–10, 712–13.

a first gift of timbers from King Henry in 1235.²¹ Meanwhile Henry had closely involved himself in the foundation of the York Dominican house. By 10 April 1227 he was instructing the sheriff to make over a site near the Micklegate to the friars which had been identified after he had earlier told Martin de Pateshull (one of his long-serving justices) to consult with the mayor over a suitable location. This was the Kings Toft, a small parcel of land belonging to the monarch with a chapel dedicated to the Magdalen.²² An intramural site adjoining the cathedral close at Exeter suggests that the Dominicans' establishment there was supported by its bishop, William Briwerre (Brewer), whose uncle, the baron of the same name, was 'one of the second tier of ministers' below De Burgh and Des Roches before his death in 1226.²³ The nephew accompanied Des Roches on crusade in 1227. By 1232 work at Exeter was sufficiently advanced for the friars to obtain royal permission to quarry stone for the church, so Bishop Brewer may have supported the foundation before going abroad.²⁴

The foundation at Carlisle is readily interpreted along the same lines. When the Franciscans and Dominicans arrived in the city in 1233 (the former in mid-August and the latter just over a month later), its bishop, Walter Mauclerc, was an exile who had recently fallen from royal favour. However, in the period when arrangements to welcome the friars would have been made, Mauclerc was still treasurer of the exchequer. He was thus close to the crown; and the appointment a year earlier of his nephew as Prior of the cathedral canons marks his grip on the city's ecclesiastical life. Mauclerc's grants to the Oxford Dominicans (probably after his return to royal favour in 1234) have already been noted, while he himself entered the Order at Oxford on resigning his see in June 1246. All of this points to his playing a decisive role in establishing the friars at Carlisle.²⁵

The nobles identified so far were not necessarily the *sole* benefactors of these foundations. The construction and initial furnishing of a priory was generally the work of many donors over several decades, during which its

²¹ Nicholas Vincent, *English Episcopal Acta, IX: Winchester 1205–1238* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 136 (appendix 2, no. 22).

²² Hardy, *Rotuli*, vol. ii (1224–1227), 181. Alan Harding, 'Martin of Patishall', *DNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/21542>, accessed on 5 January 2021.

²³ S. D. Church, 'William Brewer [Briwerre]', *DNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/3369>, accessed on 4 August 2018.

²⁴ Nicholas Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics 1205–1238* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996 & 2002), 234; *CRH3*, vol. ii, 101; *EEFP*, 106–7.

²⁵ *Chronicon de Lanercost, MCCI–MCCCXLVI*, ed. Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh, 1839), 41–43; *Cal. Charter R*, vol. i, 165; Paris, IV.564. For a contrary view of Mauclerc's role at Carlisle, see *EEFP*, 104–5.

precinct was often enlarged, either by further gifts or purchases by the friars. Nor was the possession of a site freehold: the Winchester friars paid an annual rent of 3s 5d for part of their site before 1258, when the king sanctioned a new arrangement.²⁶ At Shrewsbury (where a house had opened by 1232) the friars gained an extension to their precinct in 1265 from the dean of St Mary's in 'frank almon' (free from secular obligation). However, they were they obliged to pray for their benefactors, while the grant was enabled by Andrew, lord of Wylileg in the Welsh borders, who made over to St Mary's an annual rent of 6s 8d.²⁷ Powerful donors persuaded others by their example. At Athenry in Ireland (where the house was perhaps founded in 1240 or 1241), the principal benefactor who gave the site and a substantial donation towards the building costs was Meiler de Bermingham. Meiler, a local Anglo-Norman lord, who had taken part in the invasion of Connacht led by the Irish Justiciar Richard de Burgh (Hubert's nephew), was effectively founder of the walled town as well.²⁸ However, the friars gratefully recorded how he also 'asked his noble soldiers and other nobles as well as his squires' to give the Dominicans the necessary 'aid or means of relief to complete the works' (*daret . . . subsidium seu relevamen ad . . . opera peragenda*).²⁹

A Widening Circle of Patronage

The foundation of the first Dominican convent at Norwich fits a pattern of growth in ecclesiastical centres, but no evidence links it with the circle of patrons observed earlier. A local monk, Bartholomew, recorded the Dominican and Franciscan friars' arrival in 1226. The Franciscans immediately opened a house, but it is not certain that the Dominicans did. Bartholomew says nothing of who initially supported them.³⁰ In the early eighteenth century the antiquarian John Kirkpatrick (d. 1728) knew only that by 1250 the Dominicans had 'obtained for themselves' the core of

²⁶ *Cal. Charter R*, vol. II, *Henry III–Edward I, A.D. 1257–1300* (London, 1906), 10.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 53. Henry III had given firewood and building timbers for the church in 1232, *CRH3*, vol. ii, 93.

²⁸ Kenneth Nicholls, 'Bermingham', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Ireland: An Encyclopedia* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), 38–39 at 38.

²⁹ Ambrose Coleman, 'Regestum Monasterii Fratrum Praedicatorum de Athenry', *Archivium Hibernicum*, I (1912), 201–21, at 204.

³⁰ Henry Richards Luard (ed.), *Bartholomaei de Cotton monachi Norwicensis Historia Anglicana (AD 449–1298)* (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1859), 113. John de Hastingford made a grant of land by south of the marketplace at Tombland for the Franciscan foundation; Harper-Bill and Rawcliffe, 'The religious houses', 102.

their first site north of the river close to the ancient parish church of St John the Baptist over the Water. This was known because the friars had later attested that in 1254 they were given a plot of land (Olde Freres Yerde) by several donors including Thomas Gelham.³¹ Another antiquarian, Francis Blomefield (d. 1752), stated that Gelham was the house's founder who gave the Dominicans the parish church and rectory, and who later secured the king's confirmation for this gift. An early repurposing of the former parish church for the Dominicans' use would partly explain why they do not appear among the thirty-two houses of the Province that had benefitted from royal benefactions in the extant close, patent, and liberate rolls before 1272. The site was enlarged by later gifts from townfolk over subsequent decades. Gelham's role in the foundation remains unproven, but Norwich is probably an early example of foundations by local nobles less closely associated with the crown, and supported by townfolk who valued the friars' ministry.

Local nobles almost certainly founded the Bristol priory, which lay north of the castle on the far bank of the River Frome. One day in probably late August or September 1480, a Bristolian, William Worcestre, stepped into its church, recorded the prominent burials it contained, and obtained permission to record entries from the obit book, including one for 'Matheus de Gurnay' whom he noted as one of priory's founders (*vnius [sic] fundatorum fratris [sic] predicatorum*). He noted two further obits for members of this family: Anselm, whose body lay in the choir, and Sir Robert, whose heart was interred in the church. In the following century, another visitor to the town, John Leland (d. 1552), identified Maurice de Gaunt (ca. 1184–1230) as the priory's founder.³² While one or both authors might be mistaken, circumstantial evidence supports a joint foundation by Matthew de Gurney and Maurice de Gaunt at some point before 1230. The two wealthy families were related, so that Maurice de Gaunt had a half-sister Eva de Gournay, and Maurice was associated with Eva's son Robert in the foundation of Gaunt's Hospital at Bristol. It was this Robert and his son Anselm whose remains were buried in privileged positions at the Blackfriars. By the late 1220s Maurice, lord of Beverston, was not in the same circle as des Roches or Mauclerc, but was a

³¹ John Kirkpatrick, *History of the Religious Orders and Communities, and of the Hospitals and Castle of Norwich*, ed. Dawson Turner (Yarmouth, 1845), 17–19.

³² Frances Neale (ed.), *William Worcestre: The Topography of Medieval Bristol* (Bristol: Bristol Record Society, 2000), vii–viii, and 164; John Leland, *Itinerary*, ed. Thomas Hearne, 9 vols. (Oxford, 1710), vol. vii, 74. For Worcestre's poor Latin, see John H. Harvey (ed.), *William Worcestre, Itineraries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), xvi.

trusted royal servant and itinerant justice. According to the *Annals of Tewkesbury*, Maurice was buried at his death in 1230 both in the Augustinian church at Bristol *and* in the town's Dominican chapel.³³ The appeal of Bristol to the friars, meanwhile, may have been in part its function as the major port connecting England with Ireland.

The First Irish and Scottish Houses

Anglo-Norman nobles are the likely founders of most early Dominican priories in Ireland. According to the Dominican *Annals of Roscommon* and the Franciscan *Annals of Multyfarnham*, the friars established their first priory in Ireland in 1224.³⁴ The house was almost certainly at Dublin on the north bank of the Liffey next to the Cistercian abbey of St Mary's. Bernadette Williams has canvassed the 'strong possibility' that William Marshal II (ca. 1190–1231) persuaded the Cistercians to facilitate this foundation.³⁵ The genealogy of William the Marshal I (d. 1219) and his descendants occupies a prominent place in the *Annals* composed by Pembridge (a fourteenth-century Dominican Prior of Dublin). Also relevant is the role played by one of the Marshal's sons, either William Marshal II or his younger brother Richard (d. 1234), in establishing the Dominican priory at Kilkenny. In 1224, William Marshal II married Eleanor, the king's younger sister, with the support of Hubert de Burgh, and became Justiciar of Ireland.³⁶ The founder at Dublin would thus be

³³ *Annals of Tewkesbury, AM*, vol. i, 77–78. One Matthew de Gurnay witnessed a gift to Bermondsey Abbey by Robert's grandmother in the previous century. Though this Matthew disappears from the record after 1206, the name recurred in subsequent generations. Daniel Gurney, *The Record of the House of Gournay* (London, 1848), 301, 600–610, 618–19, and 631. For Gaunt, James McMullen Rigg, 'Maurice de Gaunt', *DNB, 1885–1900*, vol. XXI, 73. Hinnebusch claims that Matthew was Maurice's younger brother, but it is not clear upon what the claim is based. *EEFP*, 88. Rowlands (*The Friars*, 108) wrongly states that the Bristol Dominicans moved to a site at Lewin's Mead in 1247 – this was the site of the Bristol Franciscans. For burial in more than one place, and its defence by a late thirteenth-century Dominican, cf. Danielle Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 82–94 and 141–49.

³⁴ *Annales Dominicani de Roscoman*, ed. Benjamin Hazard and K. W. Nicholls (2012) at www.ucc.ie/celt; Bernadette Williams (ed.), *The 'Annals of Multyfarnham': Roscommon and Connacht provenance* (Dublin: FCP, 2012), 150–51.

³⁵ Bernadette Williams, 'The arrival of the Dominicans in Ireland in 1224 and the question of Dublin and Drogheda: the sources re-examined', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin*, XIII (Dublin: FCP, 2013), 150–82, at 157–58 and 167–77.

³⁶ For William's life and marriage to Eleanor, see David Crouch (ed.), *The Acts and Letters of the Marshal Family: Marshals of England and Earls of Pembroke, 1145–1248* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 15–22 and 485–91. For Pembridge, see Bernadette Williams, 'The Dominican annals of Dublin', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Medieval Dublin*, II (Dublin: FCP, 2001), 142–68.

from the same elite circle as the earliest houses in England with another foundation in a significant ecclesiastical centre, an archiepiscopal seat.

Bernadette Williams has warned against accepting uncritically the evidence from Sir James Ware, the seventeenth-century antiquarian, that as many as another five Dominican priories opened in Ireland by the end of 1231 (supposedly at Drogheda (1224), Kilkenny (1225), Waterford (1226), Limerick (1227), and Cork (1229)).³⁷ Ware drew on a transcript of a medieval source which lists the foundation dates of the Irish priories before 1300 and the locations of its vicariate chapters up until 1347. The list prefaces the meagre extracts from the Dominican *Annals of Trim* in BL MS Add. 4789. The dates for several later foundations are wrong, but the primary difficulty lies in accepting that the English Province could grow quickly enough to enable so many formal foundations within its first decade while remaining obedient to the Order's constitutions. Conversely, there may have been invitations for small numbers of friars to lodge in several strategic centres with an eye to making a formal priory at a later date. Dominicans would have been tempted at a later period to think of their foundations as dating back to such informal beginnings.

Anne-Julie Lafaye, who simply accepts Ware's dates, has seen the speedy settlement in 'six of the largest and richest towns on the island' as something that could hardly be 'left to chance' and speculates that it was 'pre-planned'. This, however, suggests too much on too slim an evidential base.³⁸ Nonetheless, good evidence puts the foundation of a priory at Kilkenny sometime before 1234. The town was the Marshal family's primary seat of residence in Ireland; and as Williams points out, a seventeenth-century source uncovered by Fr. Hugh Fenning O.P. names the 'English Earl of Pembroke' as founder of the convent there. Fenning identifies him with William Marshal II, while Williams favours the younger brother Richard. Pembridge claimed in his *Annals* that both William and Richard were buried in the choir there.³⁹

³⁷ Bernadette Williams, 'The arrival', 160–63.

³⁸ Anne-Julie Lafaye, 'The Dominicans in Ireland: a comparative study of the East Munster and Leinster settlements', *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, IV (2015), 77–106, at 81.

³⁹ Hugh Fenning OP, 'Founders of Irish Dominican Friaries: an unpublished list of c.1647', *Collectanea Hibernica*, no. 44/45 (2002/2003), 56–62, at 61; Pembridge, *Annals of Ireland*, in John T. Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin: with the register of its house at Dunbrody, and Annals of Ireland* (1884), vol. ii, 303–400, at 315. Pembridge's claim that William Marshal II and his brother were buried in the Dominican choir at Kilkenny is not acknowledged by Crouch (*Acts and Letters*, 22 and 26). He favours the assertion found in the *Annals of Tewkesbury* and Mathew Paris that William, who died in England, was buried near his father in the Temple church at London, and that Richard was buried in the Franciscan church at Kilkenny. Though

In late February 1235 Henry III responded to a petition from the citizens of Waterford ‘commending their laudable purpose inspired by God as he believes . . . to build an edifice for the use of the Friars Preachers in a void place within the walls of their city’.⁴⁰ This may be a more accurate pointer than Ware’s list to when the friars were established there. At Limerick, the house was founded by Donnchad Cairbrech Ua Briain, king of Thomond (d. 1242), who had been forced to accept Anglo-Norman control of the town, though King Edward I later considered his father as the priory’s founder.⁴¹ All eight Irish houses mentioned thus far lay within the sphere of Anglo-Norman rule. Four were in the seats of a bishop (Dublin, Waterford, Limerick, and Cork), and three of these were strategic ports such as Drogheda. Close links between these cities and the crown were mirrored by the late thirteenth century in annual grants of royal alms to the Dominican houses. On 30 June 1285 King Edward I instructed his Irish justiciary and treasury to raise from twenty-five to thirty-five marks his annual grant to the Dominican friars of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Cork, and Drogheda.⁴² Mullingar, though less closely linked to the crown, also lay within ‘a band of Anglo-Norman dominance’ under the lordship of the Petits.⁴³ The value of the friars to their patrons in consolidating Anglo-Norman influence seems clearer in some cases than the value to the friars of opening a house in small and vulnerable colonial outposts, and this indicates their dependence on powerful benefactors.

In 1564, Br Andrew Leys, an eighty-year-old Scottish Dominican, told Sir William Sinclair that ‘In Sanct Dominicus tyme’ King Alexander II founded the Order’s houses at Berwick, Perth, Air, Sterling, Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Inverness, and Elgin, and at Edinburgh gave them his manor for that purpose.⁴⁴ While we cannot rely simply on what the Scottish friars then understood of their origins, other evidence supports the view that their earliest foundations were made by King Alexander II (1198–1249).

nobles sometimes favoured burials in more than one church, Westerhof (*Death and the Noble Body*) does not list any Irish examples.

⁴⁰ *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1232–1247, 94.

⁴¹ Donnchad Cairbrech Ua Briain appears as the founder at Limerick in the register of benefactors drawn up by the Dominicans of Athenry; Coleman, ‘Regestum’, 215; on the agreement with King John, *vide* Henry A. Jefferies, ‘Ua Briain (Uí Briain, O’Brien)’, in Duffy, *Medieval Ireland*, 457–49 at 458. For Edward’s claim, see *Cal. docs. Ireland*, vol. iii (1285–1292), 38–39.

⁴² *Cal. docs. Ireland*, vol. iii, 38–39, no. 97.

⁴³ J. H. Andrews and K. M. Davies, *Mullingar*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas (Dublin, 1992), 1; Hugh Fenning, ‘The Dominicans of Mullingar, 1237–1610’, in *Riocht na Midhe*, iii (1963–66), 105–13, at 107.

⁴⁴ *Extracta e variis Cronicis Scocie* (Edinburgh, 1842), 249.

He was associated with the Anglo-Norman elite in England through his marriage in 1221 to Joan, sister of Henry III, and the marriage that same year of Alexander's sister Margaret to Hubert de Burgh. In the mid-thirteenth century, the Cistercians of Melrose added an entry to their earlier account of events in 1230 to note the friars' arrival in Scotland.⁴⁵ They did not name the house, traditionally held to be at Edinburgh, where a priory definitely existed by 1244, by which time there were also houses at Perth, Berwick, Ayr, and perhaps others.⁴⁶ Alexander's role as a leading patron at Perth is shown by a charter of 1241 in which he granted the church an annual gift of wax following its consecration the year before by Bishop David de Bernham of St Andrews.⁴⁷ The following year he instructed officials at Ayr to give the friars there twenty pounds sterling each year as agreed when he had the church 'dedicated'.⁴⁸ His founding support at Berwick-upon-Tweed is indicated by a court document of 1329 which records payments made by the *Camerarius*, Robert of Peebles: the Friars Preachers of Berwick 'received forty marks every year as donated by Alexander, King of Scotland'.⁴⁹

Further Expansion

The years from 1242 to 1275 saw the establishment of most of the remaining houses in the medieval Province. Though we have few firm foundation dates, the number of houses roughly doubled. Only in Ireland would there be a significant wave of later foundations. The seventeenth-century list of Irish foundations rediscovered by the late Fr Hugh Fenning OP describes houses (at Galway, Kilmallock, Waterford, Clonmel, Cashel, and Dublin) as founded by the townsmen, while the houses at Cork and

⁴⁵ Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *Chronica de Mailros* (Bannatyne Club, 1835), 142; Dauvit Broun and Julian Harrison (eds.), *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey: A Stratigraphic Edition*, vol. 1, *Introduction and Facsimile Edition* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007), 145.

⁴⁶ Rowlands' claim (*The Friars*, 114) that Alexander gave his Edinburgh manor to the friars in 1230 is incorrect. This gift probably came in 1244. For the grant, see *Registrum Cartarum Ecclesie Sancti Egidii de Edinburgh* (Edinburgh, 1859), pp. 108–9, no. 79. For its dating, see Ian B. Cowan and David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses, Scotland*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1976), 118. For the Berwick house, see Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland* (Edinburgh 1881–88), I, 276–77.

⁴⁷ R. Milne (ed.), *The Blackfriars of Perth: The Chartulary and Papers of their House* (Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1893), 1; Christopher Wordsworth, *The Pontifical Offices used by David Be Bernham, Bishop of St Andrews* (Edinburgh: Pitsligo Press, 1885), x.

⁴⁸ *Charters of the Friars Preachers of Ayr*, Archaeological and Historical Collections of Ayr and Wigton (Edinburgh, 1881), 1.

⁴⁹ John Stuart and G. Burnett (eds.), *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum, The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*, 23 vols. (Edinburgh, 1878–1908), i, 208.

Drogheda are said to be founded by the citizens and in part by local nobles; as time went on this may have been increasingly what happened.⁵⁰ While the Dominican archbishop at Cashel, David mac Cellaig (MacKelly), no doubt encouraged the erection of a house there in 1243, these entries on Fenning's document indicate that the establishment of a priory was often a collaborative venture.⁵¹

This joint endeavour can be glimpsed in the extant rolls recording grants by the crown. At Wilton, probably founded in the early 1240s, construction was aided by gifts of timber in the summer of 1245 from William de Longespée, Simon de Montfort, 6th Earl of Leicester, the Lady of Braybuf, and William Maudit.⁵² Maudit gave the house more oaks two years later, when they also received them from Roger de Sifrewast. As at Athenry, these are probably gifts from within a local circle of connected families and dependents.⁵³ Collaborative support from a different quarter is revealed by a gift of ten oaks in 1246 from the Master of the Knights Templar in England for the Northampton house, which had been founded sometime before 1233.⁵⁴

Varying Patterns: England

However, the patterns of expansion were very different in England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland. By 1241 the medieval Province had opened houses in at least eight English cathedral cities (Canterbury, Carlisle, Exeter, Lincoln, London, Norwich, Winchester, and York) and in some of the larger non-cathedral towns of England such as Bristol, Oxford, Gloucester, and Northampton. Of the other English cathedral cities, the medieval Province would open houses in only three: Chichester, Salisbury, and Worcester. Yet, the country had enough other prosperous and growing towns to support many new foundations. Recruitment was buoyant in places. William of Thetford, Prior of Oxford, wrote (probably in the early

⁵⁰ Fenning, 'Founders', 58–62.

⁵¹ *HBC*, 342. According to James Ware's *Archiepiscoporum Casseliensium et Tuamensium Vitae* (Dublin, 1626), 9–10, the archbishop became a Dominican at the Cork priory while Dean of Cashel, from which priory he drew the friars for what Ware took to be mac Cellaig's foundation at Cashel. The story is unproven.

⁵² *CRH3*, vol. v, 325–26. In the absence of a title, Longespée is probably the son of William, 3rd Earl of Salisbury, and of Ela, 3rd Countess of Salisbury, who would give a tenement to the Holborn priory in 1261 (Holder, *The Friaries*, 20). Maudit is presumably the father of the 8th Earl of Warwick. For a Henry de Brayboef, a justice for Devizes in 1231, see *CPRH3*, vol. ii, 443.

⁵³ *CRH3*, vol. v, 524. This may be the Roger de Sifrewast, who witnessed the grant by William Longespée of lands to Ela, then abbess of Lacock, TNA, WARD 2/27/94B/146.

⁵⁴ *CLRH3*, vol. iii, 71.

1240s) to Bishop Torkesey of Hulme to say that his nephew had impressed the friars, and that ‘at Oxford, blessed be God, we have received as I believe forty novices this year’.⁵⁵

What now shaped growth in England was largely opposition to the friars by religious houses whose income was threatened by their arrival. In some cases, the opposition only delayed matters. At Dunstable, the Augustinian canons’ opposition was overcome in 1259 by what the Augustinian chronicler termed the friars’ ‘utmost effort and sweet-talking’ (*per maximam industriam et seductionem*). This had resulted in the ‘king, queen, and certain great lords’ pressuring the canons to provide a suitable site. They took their revenge some twenty-seven years later when they purchased a plot adjacent to the priory, thereby pre-empting the enlargement of its precinct!⁵⁶ In Hereford, opposition took the form of a coalition comprising the bishop, the cathedral clergy, and the Franciscans. The Dominicans initially hoped to placate them by moving from an intramural plot (obtained before July 1246 and for which they had royal support) to a suburban site outside the city; they also secured letters from Innocent IV to the cathedral chapter and bishop, Peter de Aigueblanche. The tactics failed. Workmen were excommunicated, and buildings at the new site torn down or set alight twice over the next decade. The affair rumbled on, and the legal dispute was only finally resolved in 1322, when the cathedral chapter agreed that the friars could build a priory in the northern suburb on land bounded by Frog Lane and Widemarsh Street, a plot offered to the friars three years earlier by King Edward II.⁵⁷ Extant legal papers indicate the scandal caused by the case. The same underlying financial pressures led Dominicans to obstruct Franciscan foundations or expansion. When (in the late thirteenth century) the latter sought a more advantageous site at Exeter than they enjoyed previously, the bishop’s Dominican confessor, Peter Kenefield, warned him: ‘Lord, if you permit those friars to build their new house, we shall not be able to live.’⁵⁸

Opposition was strong enough at times to prevent a foundation altogether. When Dominicans petitioned the papal legate Otto in June

⁵⁵ K. W. Humphreys, ‘Three letters of William of Thetford OP’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, V (1954), 201–4, at 203.

⁵⁶ *Annals of Dunstable*, AM, III, 213 and 336–37.

⁵⁷ W. Nigel Yates, ‘The attempts to establish a Dominican priory at Hereford, 1246–1342’, *Downside Review*, 87 (1969), 254–67; Yates, ‘The Hereford Dominicans: an unknown document’, *AFP*, 41 (1971), 157–73; Julia Barrow (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta 35, Hereford 1234–1275* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009).

⁵⁸ *EX*, 15–16.

1238 to open a house in Bury St Edmund's, they were firmly rebuffed. Though land was given by the Countess of Oxford, a papal bull of April 1239 confirmed their exclusion from the town.⁵⁹ Similar problems cropped up all over Europe, and the papacy intervened first in 1265, then again in 1268, to set minimum distances between priories and friaries within a town: originally over six hundred yards, later some three hundred yards (300 and 140 *cannae*).⁶⁰

Varying Patterns: Scotland

In Scotland, the four houses definitely established by 1244 were not in an episcopal seat. The other houses definitely or probably founded by Alexander II include three in episcopal centres: at Glasgow (where the priory existed by 1246), at Elgin, and at Aberdeen. His other two foundations, at Inverness and Stirling, were in or near important burghs. Other cathedral sites, such as Brechin, Dunblane, and Whithorn, lacked the population to maintain mendicant communities without continual funding from the crown, though a friary opened at Wigtown near the end of the thirteenth century, ten miles from Whithorn's cathedral abbey.⁶¹ Indeed, there was only one more Scottish house by the end of that century, in the coastal burgh at Montrose, the foundation of which Scottish friars traditionally ascribed to Alan Durward (d. 1275), ally of Henry III and Justiciar of Scotland from 1244 to 1252 and from 1255 to 1257.⁶² The indications are that only five medieval burghs had populations over one thousand: Berwick, Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, and Perth.⁶³ At St Andrews, a small house rather than a priory proper appears in the

⁵⁹ Antonia Gransden (ed.), *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds, 1212–1301* (London: Nelson, 1964), 9–10; Bliss L, I, 172.

⁶⁰ *BOP*, I, 466 and 495; *Bullarium Franciscanum* (Rome, 1765), iii, 59–60, and 158. The length of a *canna* varied across Europe. That for the papal states was around 2.2m.

⁶¹ According to Br Andrew Lees, the Wigtown house was founded by 'the Madin of Galloway', *Extracta*, 249. This may be Devorguila (d. 1290), wife of John, 5th Baron de Balliol, and mother of John Balliol, King of Scotland. The convent received money in March 1297 from the levy or rents ('fermes') of the burghs; *Rotuli Scotiae in turri Londinensi et in domo capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati*, 2 vols. (London, 1814), I, 39.

⁶² *Extracta*, 249. No precise date can be given to the foundation at Montrose. Letters from the court of James V to Pope Leo X reveal that it was later destroyed and abandoned during the wars of Scottish independence; Denys Hay (ed.), *Letters of James V collected and calendared by the late Robert Kerr Hannay* (Edinburgh: HMSO, 1954), 45 and 60. For Durward, *vide*: M Hammond, 'Hostarii Regis Scotiae: the Durward family in the thirteenth century', in S. Boardman and A. Ross (eds.), *The Exercise of Power in Medieval Scotland, c. 1200–1500* (Dublin, 2003), 118–38.

⁶³ Heather Swanson, *Medieval British Towns* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1999), 15.

records in the mid-fifteenth century, and the cathedral's Augustinian canons may previously have opposed the friars' entry.

Varying Patterns: Wales

Medieval Wales was similarly characterised by the absence of large towns. It is thought that the largest town, Cardiff, had roughly two thousand inhabitants in the thirteenth century, while Carmarthen may have reached a similar size by the end of that century; others were much smaller.⁶⁴ This explains the paucity of foundations, though friars were active in Wales from an early period: two, Philip and Richard (probably friars from Chester), witnessed a charter in 1236 whereby Gruffydd II ap Madog, prince of Powys Fadog in north Wales, confirmed gifts made by his father to the Cistercian abbey of Vale Crucis.⁶⁵ Dominicans nonetheless established priories in towns dominated by a castle in English hands: in south Wales at Cardiff (by 1242), at Haverfordwest (by 1246), and at Brecon in mid-Wales (by 1291).⁶⁶ In north Wales they built two: at the small cathedral city of Bangor (by 1251) and at Rhuddlan (probably in 1258).⁶⁷

The southern houses were established in towns under English lordship. Cardiff castle was held by the Lord of Glamorgan, who from 1230 until his death in 1262 was Richard de Clare, 6th Earl of Gloucester. A grandson of William the Marshal, and a former ward of Hubert de Burgh and Peter des

⁶⁴ Helen Fulton, 'Introduction: the impact of urbanization in medieval Wales', in Fulton (ed.), *Urban Culture in Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2012), 4; Matthew Frank Stevens, 'Anglo-Welsh towns of the early fourteenth century: a survey of urban origins, property-holding and ethnicity', in Fulton, *Urban Culture*, 152.

⁶⁵ Edward I much later confirmed the charter during a stay at Llanfaes. *Cal. Charter R*, II, 458–59.

⁶⁶ *CLRH3*, vol. ii, 105 (Cardiff); *CLRH3*, vol. iii, 31 (Haverford). A foundation date for Brecon of 1269, accepted by Janet Burton and Karen Stöber, *Abbeys and Priories of Medieval Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2015), 117, and by David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses, England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971), 213 and 215, derives from R. C. Easterling, 'The friars in Wales', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 6 ser., XIV (1914), 323–56, at 333. Easterling seemingly misunderstood two footnotes in volume 2 of the Victoria County History for Oxfordshire: one concerns a visitator at Oxford in 1269; the other a list of houses in the Oxford 'visitation' as listed by an early fifteenth century Provincial Chapter, whose *acta* partly appear in a Worcester cathedral manuscript, Q 93, fragment 11.

⁶⁷ *CRH3*, vol. vi, 401 (Bangor); T. Jones-Pierce, 'Einion ab Ynyr (Anian II), bishop of St Asaph', *Journal of the Flintshire Historical Society*, 17 (1957), 16–33, at 20 (Rhuddlan). The date given by Jones-Pierce derives from a Welsh-language MS of the early seventeenth century, Peniarth 215, which I have not consulted. The reference (though not the veracity of the original author) is confirmed in J. Gwenogvryn Evans, *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, vol. i (London, 1898–1905), 1036–38, at 1037. The date is supported by the permission of the General Chapter of 1256 for a new foundation in Wales (reading *Guallia* not *Gallia* in the *Acta* as corrected by Simon Tugwell OP); *MOPH*, III, 83; Tugwell, 'The evolution . . .', *V, AFP*, 75 (2005), 29–60, at 32 n.9.

Roches, he had been married briefly as a teenager to Hubert's daughter, Margaret. It is plausible to ascribe the friars' advent in Cardiff to Richard's support, and thereby to the same circle of lords who supported other early foundations.⁶⁸ Likewise, at Haverfordwest the castle was held by the Marshals, who presumably supported the friars' establishment in the town. In the later 1230s and the 1240s the earls were Gilbert Marshal (d. 1241) and Walter Marshal (d. 1245), sons of William the Marshal and Isabel de Clare.⁶⁹ The house at Brecon lay in the contested Welsh borders, and the town had been set ablaze by Llywelyn ap Iorwerth in 1231; but the area remained under the control of its Anglo-Norman Marcher lords, who at times vied for its castle.⁷⁰

In north Wales, however, it is suggested, though not proven, that the priories at Bangor (already a small town before the English conquests) and at Rhuddlan were founded by Prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd, who claimed sole rule of Gwynedd from 1255. Henry III strengthened the castle's timber defences at Rhuddlan during his campaign in 1241, but Llywelyn soon controlled the region, and Rhuddlan perhaps only returned to English control in 1277. Anian (Einion), Bishop of St Asaph from 1268 and former Prior of Rhuddlan, was for some years the Prince's emissary and a member of his council.⁷¹

Varying Patterns: Ireland

The difficulty in determining the foundation dates of the Irish houses has already been noted. Several dates in Ware's list are known to be wrong or do not agree with other sources.⁷² However, this does not mean that the sequence of foundations is misrepresented, nor that the dates are *far*

⁶⁸ On Richard de Clare and the Cardiff priory, see Paul R. Davies, *Three Chevrans Red, The Clares: A Marcher Dynasty in Wales, England and Ireland* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2013), 161–62.

⁶⁹ Barbara Jones, 'The Dominican Friars of Haverfordwest: their sites and lands before and after the dissolution of the monasteries', *Journal of the Pembrokeshire Historical Society*, 3 (1989), 77–91, at 79.

⁷⁰ Christopher J. Evans, *Breconshire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1912), 82; Davies, *Three Chevrans Red*, 187–88, 200, 215, and 239.

⁷¹ Jones-Pierce, 'Einion ab Ynyr', 20 with reference to Peniarth 215; see note 56 above; also J. B. Smith, *DNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/24830>, accessed on 25 August 2018. For early Bangor, Ralph A. Griffiths, 'Who were the townfolk of medieval Wales?', in Fulton, *Urban Culture*, 10; Ian Soulsby, *The Towns of Medieval Wales: A Study of Their History, Archaeology, and Early Topography* (Phillimore, 1983), 76–78. For Rhuddlan castle, *CLRHS*, vol. iii, 70.

⁷² The *Annals of Loch Cé* and related *Annals of Connacht* place the foundation of Strade and Athy one year later than Ware; the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* put the foundation at Roscommon four years later than Ware (though those of Loch Cé merely place its consecration in 1257); John Clyn placed the foundation of Youghal in 1271. William M. Hennessy (ed.), *Annals of Loch Cé, A Chronicle of Irish*

wrong. According to this list, the foundation at Cork was followed by a gap of eight years before the erection of Mullingar in 1237 and Athenry in 1241, after which there would be a further fifteen houses established by 1275: Cashel (1243), Tralee (1243), Newtonards (1244), Coleraine (1244), Sligo (1252), Strade (1252), Athy (1253), Roscommon (1253), Trim (1263), Arklow (1264), Rosbercon or Ross (1267), Youghal (1268), Lorrha (1269), Derry (1274), and Rathfran (1274). Only one more would be founded by the close of the century (at Kilmallock in 1291). Some of these dates are supported by other sources: the foundation at Rosbercon is given as 1267 in the so-called Chronicle of Ross and in the annals of John Clyn (*Predicatores ceperunt locum de Ros*).⁷³ The foundation at Trim is also dated to 1263 in a manuscript of Trinity College, Dublin.⁷⁴

These foundations were nearly all located at or close to small towns within a (sometimes contested) sphere of Anglo-Norman colonisation: Newtonards and Coleraine lay within an area of Anglo-Norman settlement since John de Courcy's invasion of Ulster in 1177. Arklow was a fishing and trading port, but also a manorial centre for the Butlers, tenants-in-chief of the crown; later links between the family and the Dominican priory are indicated by the burial there in 1285 of Theobald Butler, nephew of Walter de Burgh, Earl of Ulster.⁷⁵ By 1263, Trim was a market town and the *caput* or manorial centre of the lands held by the lord of Meath, Geoffrey de Geneville (or Joinville), who held the town's castle for the crown.⁷⁶ In 1308, Geoffrey, traditionally regarded as the founder of the priory, entered the Order there in his old age, and was buried there on his death six years later.⁷⁷ Athy was a small town controlled by the Anglo-Normans who had built Woodstock castle at or soon after the end of the twelfth century. Tradition associates the foundation at Tralee with John fitz Thomas Fitzgerald, 1st Baron Desmond (d. 1261), described by one

Affairs from A.D. 1014 to A.D. 1590, vol. 1 (London, 1871, reprinted 1965), 403 and 425; A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *Annála Connacht, The Annals of Connacht* (Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1944), 109; Denis Murphy (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* (Dublin, 1896, reprint by LLanerch Publishers, 1993), 241; Richard Butler (ed.), *The Annals of Ireland by Friar John Clyn of the Convent of Friars Minor, Kilkenny* (Dublin: Irish Archaeological Society, 1849), 9.

⁷³ Williams, 'The Dominican annals of Dublin', 150; Butler, *The Annals of Ireland*, 8.

⁷⁴ Michael Potterton, *The Archaeology and History of Medieval Trim, County Meath*, 2 vols. (Maynooth: National University of Ireland, PhD thesis, 2003), II, 87, citing TCD MS 579/2 ff. 343, 345.

⁷⁵ Pembridge, *Annals of Ireland*, in Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies*, II, 319.

⁷⁶ Potterton, *Archaeology and History*, I, 56.

⁷⁷ Pembridge, *Annals of Ireland*, in Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies*, II, 337–38 and 343–44.

historian as ‘the leading colonist in Kerry’.⁷⁸ Further north another member of the Geraldine family, Maurice Fitz Gerald, 2nd Lord of Offaly (d. 1257), the former royal Justiciar, founded the priory at Sligo only eight years after construction of the town’s castle in alliance with Feidlim Ó Conchobhair.⁷⁹ At Strade the Province gained an existing monastic house when the lord of Athlethan took it from the Franciscans and gave it to the Dominicans at the instigation of Basilia, daughter of Meilor de Bermingham. According to seventeenth-century Franciscan historians, the house was destroyed by fire within a year or two (whether by accident or design is not recorded!).⁸⁰

In these Anglo-Norman enclaves, the friars were part of how their patrons consolidated their dominance at a focal point where others could join them in expressing a shared piety; patrons fostered a culture familiar to them and to English émigrés among the townsfolk. It has been asserted of works initiated by John fitz Thomas at various places that ‘the monastery was as much a statement of colonial intent as was the castle’; that judgement applies equally well to the priories considered here.⁸¹ Given the small size of most colonial settlements, it may be presumed first that the priories probably contained fewer friars than those in England (on which see further below), and that the Irish priories were more dependent on a small number of noble patrons.

The long-term survival of some houses depended on a different pattern of funding and ownership to that in England: by 1541, the friars at Trim not only had a four-acre orchard, garden, and cemetery, and a three-acre ‘close of pasture beside the wall of the house’, they also owned ‘seventy-two acres of land’.⁸² At Mullingar, the Dominican friars were granted thirty acres of arable land at Kilbride in 1450 which they were to hold for twenty-one years. By the time of the suppression in 1540 they owned some sixty acres in total.⁸³ It is unclear when such dependence on income from

⁷⁸ For Fitzgerald, see Henry A. Jefferies ‘Mac Carthaig (Mac Carthy)’, in Duffy, *Medieval Ireland*, 289–90.

⁷⁹ Brendan Smith, ‘Geraldine lordship in thirteenth-century Ireland’, in Peter Crooks and Seán Duffy (eds.), *The Geraldines and Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: FCP, 2016), 157–69 at 163; Freeman (ed.), *Annals of Connacht*, 85 and 109.

⁸⁰ Coleman, ‘Regestum’, 204–5; John O’Donovan (ed.), *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, vol. 3 (Dublin: Hodges, Smith and Co., 1856), 351.

⁸¹ Brendan Smith, ‘Geraldine lordship’, 161.

⁸² Matthew Seaver, Mark Kelly, and Ciara Travers, ‘Burials at the well: excavations at the Black Friary, Trim’, in Michael Potterton and Matthew Seaver (eds.), *Uncovering Medieval Trim, Archaeological Excavations in and around Trim, Co. Meath* (Dublin: FCP, 2009), 293–332, at 294.

⁸³ Fenning, ‘The Dominicans of Mullingar’, 109 and 111.

landed property developed; but it may reflect the nature of the original foundations in locations largely determined by the friars' patrons.

Few foundations were made in districts outside effective or stable Anglo-Norman control. What is now the county of Roscommon was 'a medieval frontier region' with 'a constantly shifting balance of power' between the Uí Conchobair and the Anglo-Norman lords, where colonisation largely failed. The death of Cathal Crodberg in 1224 led to twelve years of warfare in the region. Under the political settlement effective from the mid-1230s, most of the district was left for decades under the control of the Ua Conchobair; and Feidlim Ó Conchobhair is named by Irish annalists as the founder during this period of the Roscommon priory. The town's Anglo-Norman castle was not completed before 1269, and was burnt down in 1270 and 1272, while the Anglo-Norman burgh may only have been established with the construction of the castle. Feidlim was a godson of Maurice Fitz Gerald, and at times a political ally; in this context the foundation of the priory might be considered in part a claim to parity of standing articulated through ecclesiastical patronage.⁸⁴ If the date given by Ware for the foundation at Derry is even roughly correct, the house (outside the old ecclesiastical centre) was established at a time when the Uí Domhnaill were a major power in the town and surrounding district. Domnall Óg Ó Domhnaill, the major chieftain in Donegal from 1258, was almost certainly the principal founder of the house, where he was buried in 1281.⁸⁵

'Ad Fabricam Ecclesie Sue': The Shape of English Royal Patronage

Extant rolls (official records of royal grants and expenses) reveal how quickly, how strongly, and the manner in which King Henry III supported the erection of the Dominican houses in England. The few recorded gifts by the crown in the first decade of the Province's history come in the latter part of the decade: the site at the York was granted in 1227, and there were three gifts of timber to the Oxford priory in 1229 and 1231.⁸⁶ From then on, however, grants came thick and fast, primarily in the form of timber from the royal forests to facilitate construction. For example, in late May 1232, the friars at Shrewsbury were promised thirty tree-trunks (*fusta*) for

⁸⁴ B. J. Graham, 'Medieval settlement in County Roscommon', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, vol. 88C (1988), 20, 23, and 33–35; Murphy, *Annals of Clonmacnoise*, 241; Brendan Smith, 'Geraldine lordship', 163.

⁸⁵ Brian Lacey, *Medieval and Monastic Derry: Sixth Century to 1600* (Dublin: FCP, 2013), 104–9.

⁸⁶ Hardy, *Rotuli*, ii, 1224–1227, 181; *CRH3*, vol. i, 191, 468, and 568.

building the church, to which was added a week later a further ten trees (*robora*) for heating and cooking (*ad focum*). They would take months to arrive (there was no sign of them by early August), but they would have provided a substantial part of the major timbers required (a later grant shows that the refectory at Northampton required at least sixty 'cheverones' (as rafters or scaffolding)).⁸⁷ A year later the Oxford friars were promised thirty oaks for the rafters and other timberwork of a new lecture hall.⁸⁸ There were many smaller grants besides these large gifts, such as the six 'good tree-trunks with all their offcuts' given to the friars at Cambridge in the summer of 1244 for building their church.⁸⁹ Such gifts were the easiest way for the king to assist in construction, though he had also to meet the costs of felling and transporting the timbers. In assessing the intrinsic value of these gifts, as well as their value by way of example to others, it has been estimated that construction of the 'original permanent buildings' at the Gloucester Blackfriars 'required between 160 and 210 [large] oaks', and that Henry III gave at least eighty-two across several decades, sixty-one from the Forest of Dean, a particular source of large trees.⁹⁰

Henry occasionally helped with other materials for construction. At Exeter, for example, the king permitted the friars to quarry stone in 1232 for the church from a site beside the castle ditch.⁹¹ In 1242 the friars at Shrewsbury were promised fifty loads of lime and two hundred cartloads of stone left over from work on the town walls. Another fifty loads of lime were donated in 1245.⁹² Very rarely, the king or queen gave money towards the building costs. However, they made such gifts regularly (at least once or twice a year) over some thirteen years to the friars at Canterbury largely for the church.⁹³ These totalled at least £343. Although there were occasional grants of money to other priories for building work (one hundred shillings given to the Winchester friars in 1239, and the ten pounds to the London friars in 1240),⁹⁴ Canterbury was exceptional in this respect. A partial explanation is that the city contained one of the two principal royal mints, while its priory probably received few and relatively

⁸⁷ *CRH3*, vol. ii, 65, 67, and 93; vol. iii, 253. ⁸⁸ *CRH3*, vol. ii, 218. ⁸⁹ *CRH3*, vol. v, 201.

⁹⁰ O. Rackham, W. J. Blair & J. T. Munby, 'The thirteenth-century roofs and floor of the Blackfriars Priory at Gloucester', *Medieval Archaeology*, 22, no. 1 (1978), 105–22, at 120–21.

⁹¹ *CRH3*, vol. ii, 101. ⁹² *CRH3*, vol. iv, 403; *CLRH3*, vol. iii, 4.

⁹³ *CLRH3*, vol. i, 276, 298, 328, 362, 385, 439, 472, and 483; *CLRH3*, vol. ii, 52, 102, 125, 202, 212, and 233. *CLRH3*, vol. iii, 17, 53, 113, 159, 202, 244, and 313, vol. iv, 121.

⁹⁴ *CLRH3*, vol. i, 402 and 444.

small grants of timber from the crown (they were promised twenty oaks in 1241, as well as three trunks for firewood).⁹⁵

Although many Dominican priories benefitted from King Henry's extensive benefactions, extant records indicate they did so unequally. Norwich's late appearance as a recipient of royal gifts has already been noted. The Carlisle priory benefitted from several grants between 1234 and 1251: an adjacent plot of land; gifts of twenty oaks, ten oaks, and six oaks on different occasions; permission to remove a building and for a waterpipe; and a grant of wheat, barley, and oat grains. The Northampton priory received some eighteen grants between 1233 and 1252 which totalled one hundred and sixty-seven oaks plus four more grants of timber, foodstuffs, one hundred shillings for the church roofing, and forty marks to buy land on which to extend the church transepts. Several factors *might* account for these differences: the different needs of the houses; varying support from other benefactors; and, not least, the place of Northampton on the royal circuit. The king was at Northampton when he granted them fifteen oaks on 25 March 1235, when he gave five trunks to the Minorites and five to the Dominicans on 6 March 1236, and when he gave four trunks to each of them on 25 January 1252.⁹⁶ The growing town was a centre of royal authority with a major castle which Henry further strengthened from 1248. The priory, close to the town centre, was a visible expression of royal piety and generosity alongside the castle's manifestation of power.

Royal support took other forms beside grants towards the construction of churches and monasteries. We have already seen gifts of firewood to the Oxford house and money towards the 'maintenance' of the Canterbury friars. Here, too, there were strong disparities between the houses. Extant close rolls point to at least forty-seven grants of firewood in the years between 1227 and 1260.⁹⁷ Of these, no less than eighteen were to the friars at Oxford, four or five to the London house, four to that in Bristol, four to that in Northampton, nine to the Winchester friars, two grants to the friars of Wilton, and one to the houses of Shrewsbury, Canterbury,

⁹⁵ Martin Allen, *Mints and Money in Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 45. For the oaks, *CRH3*, vol. iv, 292 and 293. The payment for these oaks is probably what is listed in the pipe roll; Henry Lewin Cannon (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Twenty-Sixth Year of the Reign of King Henry III, A.D. 1241–1242* (London: Oxford University Press; New Haven: Yale University Press, 1918), 144.

⁹⁶ *CRH3*, vol. iii, 64 and 247; *CRH3*, vol. vii, 42.

⁹⁷ *CRH3*, vol. i, 468, 568; vol. ii, 65, 67, 178, 214, 217, 458; vol. iii, 4, 112, 247, 265, 282, 403, 462; vol. iv, 1, 65, 190, 280, 286, 293; vol. v, 440, 462, 526; vol. vi, 19, 279, 304, 470; vol. vii, 42, 45, 115, 123; vol. ix, 50, 125, 253, 350; vol. x, 234, 268, 270, 401; vol. xi, 65, 105, 112, 244, 320.

York, Lincoln, and Cambridge. While some disparity is explicable in terms of the houses' likely foundation dates, and some may be due to gaps in the extant record and to grants of timber for unspecified purposes, these factors cannot wholly explain a distinctive pattern of benefaction: between 1245 (by which date all these English houses had been founded as well as those at Gloucester, Stamford, Derby, Newcastle, Carlisle, Exeter, Norwich, and Chester) and 1260, the friars at Oxford received no less than eight grants of timber '*ad focum suum*', Winchester seven, Northampton three, London three, Wilton two, while York, Cambridge, and Lincoln each received one. The great majority of grants were made either at the town in question or at manors close by, so what mattered most was probably ease of access to the king. What is more, eight of the grants made between 1246 and 1260 were matched by an equivalent gift to the Friars Minor of the town. In most of these cases, the king was staying at a nearby manor. The gifts were a ritual gesture of piety in response to the friars' respectful attendance on the monarch

The king gave other alms in tandem to both the Dominicans and Franciscans. On 12 October 1233 Henry authorised payment of 38s 8d to his almoner, Brother Geoffrey, to feed the Oxford friars on the Friday after Michaelmas. Geoffrey was also paid for 350 yards of white cloth given to each order of friars, and for 100 pairs of shoes, the latter only for the Dominicans, as Franciscans were ideally barefoot.⁹⁸ Similar grants of cloth or clothing to both sets of friars occasionally recur in later years, sometimes adapted to the number of friars in a given house: the twenty-five Preaching Friars at Newcastle-upon-Tyne had received 150 ells of white cloth by early March 1239 and 16 pairs of shoes (one ell was 45 inches), while the twenty-two Minorites at Hartlepool had received 88 ells of grey cloth.⁹⁹ The king gave the Franciscans and Dominicans of London a Christmas gift in 1243 of 80 tunics (when the Preachers also received shoes).¹⁰⁰ At Winchester there appears to have been an annual grant for some six years of winter or other clothing for both groups of friars in the city.¹⁰¹ While all these gifts of alms must be seen in the context of the king's much wider and regular almsgiving to older religious houses and to the poor, and perhaps also in the context of his twice yearly grants of cloth to courtiers and servants, these gifts were of far greater practical significance to the mendicant friars than to the monks. Most of the latter already benefitted

⁹⁸ *CLRHz*, vol. i, 234. ⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 368–69. ¹⁰⁰ *CLRHz*, vol. ii, 204.

¹⁰¹ *CLRHz*, vol. i, 492–93 (1240 with reference to an earlier grant); vol. ii, 72 (1241), 144 (1242), 191 (1243), and 264 (1244).

from bequests and gifts of land or other property over many generations, which brought in a stable income.¹⁰² Henry's gifts also set an example to be followed by his immediate successors.

'A Rope Long Enough': Why the Friars Gained Support

If we have now identified *who* supported the growth of the English Dominican Province at different times and places, and looked at *how* they did so, we must now set out *why* they did so. This requires us to consider the various needs and goals of the friars' supporters and how the friars met those needs and goals. Most obviously, for reasons we shall see, kings, bishops, and townfolk all saw the need for an organised body of well-educated priests who could meet people's spiritual needs through their preaching, by administering the sacrament of penance, through their ability to accompany the faithful on their deathbed, and in praying for people when they had died. Kings and bishops also had need of such men as capable advisors and administrators.

The need for able preachers had both been recognised and sharpened by the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. Western church leaders had there acknowledged the need to catechise a growing urban populace and facilitate its sacramental practice. The Council stipulated that adults were to confess their sins at least once a year and were normally to receive the Eucharist afterwards at Easter. The Council enjoined bishops to appoint preachers who could hear confessions and impose penances in the manner of a well-practised doctor. Yet, this canon was a dead letter in the absence of many trained clergy outside the monasteries. The problem of finding such men was exacerbated by another condemned at Lateran IV: income which should have supported urban clergy was siphoned off for other purposes, including theological study for a few high-fliers, so that parishes were often run by less well-educated clergy.¹⁰³ The Dominicans, with their

¹⁰² The monks of St Bartholomew's priory, Sudbury (a small house attached to Westminster Abbey), had an annual income in the early fourteenth century of £4 10s 6d from properties and lands which exceeded one hundred and twenty acres: Richard Mortimer (ed.), *Charters of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Sudbury* (London and Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 1996), 6–7. For the king's distribution of cloth to courtiers and servants, see *The Wardrobe Accounts of Henry III*, ed. Benjamin Linley Wild (London: Pipe Roll Society, 2012), lxxxiii; for the background, see Frédérique Lachaud, 'Liveries of robes in England, c. 1200–c. 1330', *The English Historical Review*, 111, no. 441 (April 1996), 279–98.

¹⁰³ Lateran IV, canons 10, 21, and 32 in Norman P. Tanner (ed.), *The Decrees of the Ecumenical Councils*, 2 vols. (London and Washington: Sheed and Ward, Georgetown University Press, 1990), I, 239–40, 245 and 249.

papal mandate to conduct 'the ministry of preaching in an abject state of voluntary poverty' now offered the bishops, townsfolk, and the monarchs who saw it as their duty to support the Church, an affordable way to implement the pastoral ideal espoused by Lateran IV without dependence on the income from a rich benefice.¹⁰⁴

The friars' aim to meet that need is evidenced by a sermon probably preached at Oxford on the feast of St Martin of Tours eight or nine years after the Dominicans' arrival by their second Master, Jordan of Saxony (d. ca. 1237). It was delivered almost certainly to a clerical audience whom Jordan challenges to serve the English church. Three biblical texts (1 Kings 7:41; Isaiah 22:23–24; and Judith 8:21) are quarried to form two related images: the first of utensils hanging on a cord from a temple pillar; the second of lay souls dependent on the clergy like cups hanging on the cord. 'But where, my God', Jordan asks, 'may we find a rope long enough for all the parish-men in England (*parochiani existentes in finibus Anglie*) to depend upon? From its prelates resident at Oxford? God knows, I don't, but we know all too well that if the pillar or peg falls, so, too, all the pots which hang from it fall and are broken.'¹⁰⁵ The Latin was sharper than the above translation, since *'Ex prelati suis morantibus Oxoniae?'* could be heard disparagingly as 'From its prelates who *hang around* in Oxford?' Though Jordan does not explicitly appeal for vocations, the sermon may be taken as a call to enter the Order of Preachers in its mission to the English parishes, where visiting friars preached in Latin to the clergy and in the vernacular to the lay townsfolk. The unspoken message was that rather than follow a spiritually hazardous career as ambitious secular clerics, they could safely study, teach, and serve the Church as friars. A letter written by Jordan from Oxford to nuns in Bologna on probably the same visit reveals that he was hoping for a 'good catch' (*bonae capturae*) of recruits.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ Papal bull, *Cum spiritus fervore concepto*, of 1 December 1219 ('in abiectione voluntarie paupertatis officium gerere predicandi', *MOPH*, XXV, 116.

¹⁰⁵ MS. Durham Cathedral, A. III, 12 includes in thirteenth-century bookhand three sermons ascribed to Jordan, of which that on St Martin is one. A second version of it is found in MS Canterbury Cathedral Archives Lit. MSS. D 7. The Durham text was edited by A. G. Little and Decima Douie, 'Three sermons of Friar Jordan of Saxony, the successor of St. Dominic, preached in England, A.D. 1229', *The English Historical Review*, CCXIII (January 1939), 1–19. A critical edition based on both versions was published as *Sermon 15* in Paul-Bernard Hodel (ed.), *Beati Iordanis de Saxonis Sermones*, *MOPH*, XXIX (Rome, 2005), 211–19. I take it that *parochianus* (like *parochitanus*) names someone attached to a parish, but does not specify whether as cleric or lay member. See the *Dictionary of Late Medieval Latin from British Sources*. Steven Watts translates the term here to mean 'parishioners', in his 'Master Jordan of Saxony and Early Dominicans preaching in England (1229–1230)', *ACEDP*, 183–214, at 205.

¹⁰⁶ Little and Douie, 'Three sermons', 5.

Preaching at Home and Abroad

The friars' preaching mission was exercised first in their churches, which were both designed and commonly expanded to facilitate this, while the friars could gather separately in the chancel or choir to sing the Divine Office. At Bristol William of Worcester paced out the nave in *gressus* ('steps' of twenty-two inches). It was fifty-eight steps in length by thirty-four in width (106 by 62 feet), with a narrower choir of forty-four by fourteen (81 by 26 feet). This was similar to the lengths of the nave and choir of the larger Franciscan church, which he measured as 64 and 54 *gressus*.¹⁰⁷ It is somewhat smaller in size than the second Norwich Blackfriars, where William measured the nave as seventy-five steps 'usque pedem spacii campanilis' (to the foot of the belfry area) by forty-one steps (or 126 feet by 70 feet), and the choir as seventy-six steps in length, a measurement which, as John Harvey notes, included the length of the belfry area.¹⁰⁸ Norwich, though, was probably one of the friars' largest churches in one the country's wealthiest cities. William doesn't reveal whether the church as he found it at Bristol had been enlarged from its original size in the mid-thirteenth century, but such developments can be seen elsewhere and were not uncommon in Italian priory churches.¹⁰⁹ They testify to the friars' success in attracting local congregations. At Ludgate, the London friars first built in the late thirteenth century what would be the choir, and then constructed an aisled nave in the fourteenth century that measured 65 feet in width inside, to create a vast church with an internal length of 236 feet or 72 metres.¹¹⁰ Other projects were on a smaller scale, but no less significant. In Chester, where the first friars were supported by the bishop and royal diplomat Alexander of Stainsby (d. 1238), the precinct probably contained a small chapel dedicated to St Nicholas. The subsequent Dominican church seems to have been built with the original building incorporated into the choir of a second larger church.¹¹¹ In Beverley, excavations indicate that a south aisle, western *galilee* porch, and step were added in the fourteenth century to an original

¹⁰⁷ Neale, *William Worcestre*, viii, 163 and 277.

¹⁰⁸ Harvey, *William Worcestre, Itineraries*, 256 and 257 n.1.

¹⁰⁹ Caroline Bruzelius, *Preaching, Building, and Burying: Friars and the Medieval City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2014), 91–92 and 100–105.

¹¹⁰ Holder, *The Friaries*, 38.

¹¹¹ Grosseteste, *Ep. XXXIV*, in Henry Richard Luard (ed.), *Roberti Grosseteste Episcopi quondam Lincolnensis Epistolae* (London: Longman et al., 1861), 120–22; Simon Ward (ed.), *Excavations at Chester: The Lesser Medieval Religious Houses, Sites Investigated 1964–1983* (Chester City Council, 1990), 23–196, at 27–29.

nave which was only 82 feet in length (ca. 25 metres), so not much longer than the choir which is estimated to have been 69 feet by 23 feet (21 by 7 metres). The new aisle 'nearly doubled the public preaching area of the church'.¹¹² At Kilkenny, a different way was found to increase the available space: a transept arm 'about the same size as the original nave'.

Dominicans also preached in their churchyards or cemeteries within the monastic precinct, as at Cambridge where the friars' ally and a papal legate, Cardinal William of Modena, preached before assembled notables in 1247.¹¹³ In 1410, Roger Jaket desired in his will to be buried 'in the churchyard of the Preaching Friars at Ludgate [in London], near the pulpit there'.¹¹⁴ Most priories occupied a far smaller area or precinct than the Benedictine and Augustinian abbeys or priories that already featured in the urban landscape of many English towns. Hinnebusch calculated the average size of a Dominican precinct in England at five or six acres.¹¹⁵ In some places, a small precinct was unavoidable in a crowded townscape. At Beverley the friars occupied by 1240 a site that never extended beyond four and a half acres (1.8 hectares) on wet, low-lying land close to the minster and probably bounded on two sides by existing religious foundations.¹¹⁶ Some precincts were even smaller: the house at Gloucester, erected on land that previously formed part of the outer bailey of the castle, was (at least to begin with) 'possibly less than three acres in extent'; the precinct in York occupied about an acre at the dissolution (whereas St Mary's abbey had a precinct of twelve acres).¹¹⁷ Yet, the need for large spaces where the faithful could hear sermons and later be buried was probably a factor in several foundations' later relocation. At Norwich King Edward I gave the Dominicans in 1307 the house south of the river which had previously

¹¹² Foreman et al., *Further Excavations*, 36, 214, and 239–41; *EEFP*, 137. For the addition of a south aisle in the Cork priory, see Hurley and Sheehan, *Excavations*, 2 and 14–16. For the addition of a north aisle at Athenry in the early fourteenth century to a nave once around eighty-two feet by twenty-two, see Harold Leask, *Irish Churches and Monastic Buildings*, II (Dundalk: Dundalgan Press, 1966), 126–27.

¹¹³ David Jones (ed.), *Friars' Tales: Thirteenth-Century Exempla from the British Isles* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), 165 and n.22.

¹¹⁴ R. R. Sharpe, *Calendar of Wills Proved and Enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, Part 2, 1358–1688* (London: John C. Francis, 1889–1890), 391.

¹¹⁵ *EEFP*, 70.

¹¹⁶ A. P. Baggs, Ann J. Kettle, S. J. Lander, A. T. Thacker, and David Wardle, 'Friaries: the Dominicans of Chester', in C. R. Elrington and B. E. Harris (eds.), *A History of the County of Chester*, vol. 3 (London, 1980), 174–76; Martin Foreman et al., *Further Excavations at the Dominican Priory, Beverley, 1986–89* (Sheffield 1996), 214 and 232.

¹¹⁷ W. H. Knowles, 'The Black Friars, Gloucester', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 54 (1932), 169–71, at 167; *EEFP*, 85; P. M. Tillott (ed.), *A History of the County of York: The City of York* (London, 1961), 357.

belonged to the suppressed Friars of the Sack (though the Dominicans still retained their original site). The new site allowed for a preaching yard south of the nave with an outdoor pulpit.¹¹⁸ A similar opportunity had arisen earlier at Berwick: a papal letter of July 1285 instructed the bishop of St Andrews to sell to the Dominicans the site previously occupied by the Friars of the Sack ‘as their own place is too far from the town for the people to come to confession and sermons, and for the friars to visit the sick’.¹¹⁹

The need to serve a larger congregation, both inside the church and outside in the cemetery, was a factor prompting the move to a larger site at Oxford and London. At Oxford the canons at St Frideswide’s had attempted to block the Dominicans from enlarging the chapel and creating a churchyard for burials by 1227.¹²⁰ Work on the new priory perhaps began as early as 1236.¹²¹ Though it would take decades to complete, enough had been done to enable the friars to move in formally on the feast of All Saints (1 November) in 1245.¹²² It was probably this complex which led the monk and chronicler Matthew Paris to complain two years earlier of the friars’ ‘sumptuous and daily enlarged buildings’.¹²³ Not far from the Southgate, the new precinct covered twenty-two acres of water meadows beside the Thames.¹²⁴

In 1272 the English Dominican Robert Kilwardby, a former Regent Master of Theology at Oxford who had recently been re-elected as Provincial, was named as the new Archbishop of Canterbury. Kilwardby soon used his influence to acquire properties on what became the friars’ new site at Ludgate in London, which bordered the Fleet to the west and the Thames to the south. Here the ruins of Castle Baynard and Montfichet’s Tower were pulled down, and the city wall was moved westwards in several stages. This was financed first by a royal grant to the mayor in 1279, allowing him to levy murage or duty on goods coming into the city for three years, and later by further murage granted in 1302. Some properties were donated by Thomas de Basing, but the redevelopment of the site still required considerable resources provided by the crown in addition to the proceeds from the eventual sale of the Holborn priory in 1286: Edward I transferred to the friars in January 1278 the revenues from the deodands (animals or objects forfeited in law and sold as a result of their role in causing someone’s death). These provided valuable income for

¹¹⁸ Harper-Bill and Rawcliffe, ‘The Religious Houses’, 108. ¹¹⁹ Bliss L, i, 482. ¹²⁰ *EEFP*, 7.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 14; *CRH3*, vol. iii, 254. ¹²² *Chronicle of Thomas Wykes*, ad 1245, *AM*, IV, 94.

¹²³ G. Lambrick, ‘Personal and institutional mendicancy’, 86.

¹²⁴ G. Lambrick and H. Woods, ‘Excavations on the second site of the Dominican Priory, Oxford’, *Oxoniansia*, 41 (1976), 168–231, at 173 and 203.

three years. The king further pledged one thousand marks in December 1291, though not all was necessarily delivered. The eventual result was a precinct of something over eight acres (3.25 hectares), giving the friars twice the space available at Holborn.¹²⁵

Dominicans might be invited to preach in or outside others' churches, though after the Council of Vienne in 1311 (confirming the terms set out by the papal bull *Super cathedram* of 1300), they might only preach in parish churches with the permission of the parish priest or by mandate of the bishop, and had to be licensed by him to hear confessions.¹²⁶ An abbey guesthouse was a welcome overnight stop for both Franciscans and Dominican friars, and at St Albans Abbey they enjoyed by 1247 accommodation just inside the gateway to, or within the gatehouse of, a recently completed courtyard.¹²⁷ Though at a distance from other respected visitors to the abbey and from the monastic community, the friars had ready access to the city.

The preacher on tour was supported by newly developed aids in the form of small notebooks, collections of model sermons, and small-sized Bibles. New College MS 88 is a codex of 44 irregular quires (493 leaves), which measures 108 by 145 mm. A partially erased note indicates that the book was for the use of Robert Lemoyne, whom Siegfried Wenzel has described as a 'prominent Oxford Dominican from the beginning of the fourteenth century (or even earlier) on to at least 1345.' It contains what Wenzel has described as 'preaching material' mainly in Latin 'that ranges from full sermons to shorter sermon outlines, schemata, notes, and exempla' as well as a treatise on how to hear confessions, catechetical material, and a few other texts. Apart from Dominican feasts that reflect the book's provenance, Wenzel noted 'a marked concentration on major feasts and seasons that called for itinerant preaching: Christmas, Lent and Easter, Ascension and Pentecost, and feasts of the Blessed Virgin.' A table at the back, and rubrics in the upper margin facilitated cross-referencing.¹²⁸ Snatches of English verse amid Latin sermon notes on Luke 7:44–47 suggest the preacher's desire to make his message easily understandable to townsfolk when preaching in the vernacular as well as to teach the more educated clergy.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Röhrkasten, *The Mendicant Houses*, 38–41; Holder, *The Friaries*, 27–34.

¹²⁶ Tanner, *The Decrees*, I, 366–67.

¹²⁷ Paris, IV, 600; 'St Albans abbey: the monastic buildings', in *A History of the County of Hertford*, vol. 2, ed. William Page (London, 1908), 507–10.

¹²⁸ Siegfried Wenzel, 'A Dominican preacher's book from Oxford', *AFP*, 68 (1998), 177–203.

¹²⁹ Wenzel, *Preachers, Poets, and the Early English Lyric* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986), 227.

Hearing Confessions

Exhortation to confess sins followed by the hearing of confessions was a major if controversial element of the friars' preaching, as it was seen to deflect alms away from parochial clergy. Matthew Paris related how in 1235 a group of Dominicans and Franciscans had cited papal authority to hear the confessions of many parishioners 'to the disadvantage of the secular clergy (*in praejudicium presbiterorum*)'.¹³⁰ The early 1230s had seen crop failures and price rises that by 1234 tipped many over the brink into starvation; Roger of Wendover claimed that levels of almsgiving fell away; it must have been galling for impoverished parish clergy to lose income to the friars.¹³¹ Opposition persisted. In 1350, the 'conservator of the privileges of the Friars Preachers', Bishop Edington of Winchester, responded to a complaint from the 'prior and brethren of Chelmsford' that the rector of Rayleigh, had injured their interests 'concerning their faculties to hear confessions'.¹³²

Just how central the hearing of confessions was to the Dominicans' work may be gauged from the licensing of ten friars from the Beverley Priory as confessors by Archbishop Corbridge of York on 14 March 1301.¹³³ Names such as Philip de Watton and Walter of Grimsby suggest that most were from Yorkshire or Lincolnshire families, and had either entered the Order at Beverley or at another house in the York visitation.¹³⁴ The number of friars at Beverley has been estimated at thirty-three in 1299 and forty-two in 1310,¹³⁵ some members of which would have been lay brothers, non-ordained junior friars, or infirm and elderly brethren; those licensed constituted a large proportion of the friars available for apostolic ministry. This was not atypical. At Stamford, where the priory held around forty friars in the early fourteenth century, no fewer than sixteen were licensed as confessors in 1301. At Exeter, where the Dominican priory probably also held a similar number of friars as that at Beverley, and probably had a similar composition of juniors, active

¹³⁰ Paris, III, 332–33. ¹³¹ Wendover, *Flores*, IV, 317.

¹³² S. F. Hockey (ed.), *The Register of William Edington, Bishop of Winchester, 1346–1366*, 2 vols. (Hampshire Record Office, 1986–1987), ii, 31, no. 232.

¹³³ Goldthorp, 'Franciscans and Dominicans', 389.

¹³⁴ A William of Beverle was ordained priest by Bishop Sutton of Lincoln at Northampton in 1291; Alfred B. Emden, *A Survey of Dominicans in England Based on the Ordination Lists in Episcopal Registers (1268 to 1538)* (Rome: Instituto Storico Domenicano, 1967), 121.

¹³⁵ *EEFP*, 116; Goldthorp, 'Franciscans and Dominicans', 389. For a useful map showing houses and their average number of inhabitants as derived from extant evidence, see Maura O'Carroll, 'The educational organization', 52–54.

ministers, and elderly, the local bishop licensed ten friars as confessors in 1341 or 1342.¹³⁶

At Beverley, the friars would have heard confessions from some of the many pilgrims drawn to the town and its minster by the newly embellished shrine of St John of Beverley. Some of those licensed by Corbridge, however, no doubt exercised a wider apostolate. The archbishop was a diligent visitor of the parishes in his archdiocese; earlier practice elsewhere suggests that he may have been accompanied on occasion by Franciscan or Dominican friars. So close was the connection between the friars and episcopal visitation in the diocese of Lincoln that when its bishop Robert Grosseteste began close enquiries into the morals of his flock, Matthew Paris related that he had introduced them 'at the instigation, so it is said, of the Friars Minor and Friars Preachers (*ad suggestum, ut dicitur, Praedicatorum et Minorum*)'.¹³⁷ Grosseteste had written shortly after his consecration to the Dominican Provincial Alard requesting John of St Giles and Geoffrey of Clive for a year as 'honest counsellors and active assistants'. He forcefully reiterated his request to the diffinitors at their York Provincial Chapter, when he also asked for a skilled canonist.¹³⁸ At one point he applied directly to the Prior of Oxford, William of Thetford, for particular friars, only to learn that William could not move lectors assigned by the Provincial. The latter, however, agreed that once the Oxford house had hosted the Northampton friars, he would send the bishop two brothers, one to preach and another to hear confessions. Though the dating and sequence of letters is uncertain, another letter complains to the Provincial that he has failed to keep his promise, despite the bishop's papal privilege allowing him two such assistants.¹³⁹ Though Grosseteste's wish was not met as quickly as he would like, and the friars who assisted him were changed more often than he would like, a letter of perhaps 1242 shows that two Dominicans were normally assigned to his household.

Grosseteste had likewise sought the help of the Franciscans; and he had complained to his archdeacons of priests who prevented either Order of

¹³⁶ For Stamford, *VCH*, W. Page (ed.), *Lincolnshire*, vol. ii, 225–30, n.24, citing the Register of Bishop John Dalderby, fol. 11d, 13d, 19d, Lincolnshire Archives, DIOC/Reg/3; for Exeter, *EX*, 46.

¹³⁷ Paris, IV, 579.

¹³⁸ Robert Grosseteste, Epp. XIV and XV, tr. F. A. C. Mantello and Joseph Goering, *The Letters of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 91–93.

¹³⁹ K. W. Humphreys, 'Three letters', 201–4, at 204. Robert Grosseteste, *Ep. C* in Luard, *Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae*, 304–5.

friars from preaching in their parishes and from hearing confessions.¹⁴⁰ A statement which he drew up for the pope in 1250 relates how he then methodically visited each archdeaconry and rural deanery, having instructed the clergy and laity to assemble separately. While he normally preached to the clergy and later confirmed the children, a Franciscan or Dominican preached to the laity, and four friars were deputed to hear confessions. Grosseteste was exceptionally diligent, but not unique in this respect.¹⁴¹ Grosseteste's close friend, the Franciscan Adam Marsh, assisted Archbishop Boniface of Savoy on his visitation of the Canterbury archdiocese in 1249.¹⁴² It was said of Archbishop Edmund of Abingdon (consecrated in 1234, died 1240) that there were always Dominicans among his household advisors.¹⁴³ Ralph Bocking, Dominican confessor and biographer to Richard Wych, bishop of Chichester from 1244 to 1253, related that while Richard regularly preached in the 'boroughs or townships' he visited, he 'sometimes did so through the Friars Preachers or Friars Minor'.¹⁴⁴ At Raphoe in the north-west of Ireland the Dominican bishop Máel Pátraic Ó Scannail OP (or Patrick O'Scanlan) received papal backing in the form of a letter to the Dominican Vicar-General of Ireland in 1256 requesting two 'prudent and discerning' friars as his *socii* or companions. They were to assist him by 'propounding the word of God' and by the 'salutary advice' they would offer, in combatting local marriage practices and religious customs which Bishop Ó Scannail considered idolatrous.¹⁴⁵

Dominican friars were often given specific roles or faculties as confessors. A Truro friar, Roger Tyrel, was licensed in 1355 as a penitentiary for Cornish speakers; and another, Richard de Ponte, had been licensed in 1328 to hear confessions in the remote Scilly Isles.¹⁴⁶ Elsewhere, Richard

¹⁴⁰ Grosseteste, *Epp.*, XV, XX, XL, CVII, in Luard, *Roberti Grosseteste Epistolae*, 133, 304–5, 317–18.

¹⁴¹ Grosseteste, *Memorandum*, cited McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste*, 56.

¹⁴² C. R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931), 138.

¹⁴³ Trevet, *Annales*, 228.

¹⁴⁴ Ralph Bocking, *Life of St Richard Bishop of Chichester*, I, 21, tr. David Jones (ed.), *Saint Richard of Chichester, The Sources for His Life* (Lewes: Sussex Record Society, 1995), 181.

¹⁴⁵ Augustinus Theiner, *Vetera monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum historiam illustrantia* (Rome, 1864), 71 (no. 185); Bliss L, I, 329–30. For a brief discussion, *vide* Bernadette Williams, 'Heresy in Ireland in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', in Seán Duffy (ed.), *Princes, Prelates and Poets in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin: FCP, 2013), 339–51, at 342.

¹⁴⁶ F. C. Hingston-Randolph (ed.), *The Registers of Walter Bronescombe (A.D. 1257–1280), and Peter Quivil (A.D. 1280–1291), Bishops of Exeter* (London: G. Bell, 1889), 65; Nicholas Orme and Oliver Padel, VCH, *A History of Cornwall II, Religious History to 1560* (London and Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2010), 282–83; Orme has estimated that the Truro house, like its Franciscan counterpart in Bodmin, was probably inhabited by two dozen or so friars in the mid-fourteenth

de Guldeforde, a friar at the Guildford Blackfriars, was licenced in 1346 to hear confessions from those in the archdeaconry of Surrey who wished to confess sins otherwise reserved to the bishop, to absolve them and impose a suitable penance.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, confessors were appointed to nunneries: in 1319 Bishop Walter de Stapeldon of Exeter appointed both a Franciscan and Dominican as confessors to the Benedictine nuns of Polsloe, in what is now a suburb of the city.¹⁴⁸ The same pattern of joint appointments is evident elsewhere: Archbishop Melton of York had licensed the year before both Robert de Winteringham OFM and William de Lutton OP as confessors to the nuns at Wilberfoss.¹⁴⁹

Matthew Paris alleged in his *Chronicon* for 1246 that the friars had touted their superior qualifications as confessors among 'devout individuals' (*viros religiosos*), and that as a result, 'many, but especially nobles and their wives' sought out Dominican confessors, spurning their own priests and senior clergy.¹⁵⁰ By the early fourteenth century a bishop often appointed confessors for specific noblemen and women, especially married couples. On 3 November 1318, Archbishop Melton of York permitted Sir John de Segrave and his wife, Christiana, to approach William de Drayton OP as their confessor.¹⁵¹ Nearly thirty years later, the archbishop's successor, William Zouche, authorised Friar John de Comston or Compston to hear the confessions of Sir John de Haryngton and his wife.¹⁵² We should probably infer that the families concerned were patrons of local houses or had similar ties to the Order: John Hastings, Earl of Pembroke, requested in his will of Palm Sunday 1374, not only burial 'in the quire before the great altar of the Monastery of the Friars Preachers of Hereford', but also revealed that a witness to the will, Alexander Bache OP (future bishop of St Asaph), was his confessor.¹⁵³ Such burials may be indicative of a patronal relationship. Likewise, James Audley (d. 1386), the 2nd Baron Audley, whose principal seat was in Staffordshire, but who also held the barony of Barnstaple, had a Dominican confessor, William de Chadle. If

century; Orme and Padel, *Cornwall and the Cross: Christianity, 500–1560* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007), 74.

¹⁴⁷ Hockey, 'The Register of William Edington', I, 4, nos. 21 and 22. ¹⁴⁸ *EX*, 46.

¹⁴⁹ David Robinson (ed.), *The Register of William Melton, Archbishop of York, 1317–1340*, vol. 6 (London and Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2011), 11.

¹⁵⁰ Paris, IV, 514–15.

¹⁵¹ W. H. Dixon and James Raine (eds.), *Fasti Eboracenses, Lives of the Archbishops of York*, vol. 1 (London: Longman et al., 1863), 414.

¹⁵² Goldthorp, 'Franciscans and Dominicans', 374.

¹⁵³ Nicholas Harris Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta, Being Illustrations from Wills . . .*, vol. 1 (London: Nichols and Son, 1826), 90–91.

Audley died in the West Country, he requested burial in the Dominican church at Exeter.¹⁵⁴ Some bishops also appointed Dominicans to act as their personal confessors; we have already seen that at Exeter Peter Kenefield apparently acted in this capacity for Bishop Peter Quinel or Quivel, who governed the diocese from 1280 to 1291. Ralph Bocking OP was confessor to St Richard of Chichester.¹⁵⁵

'Fishers not of Men but of Money'? – Preaching the Crusades

Before we examine the preachers' relationship to the crown as confessors, and much more, we should look at the friars' other, more specialised preaching ministry. Matthew Paris repeatedly recorded the role played by Dominicans and Franciscans in preaching the crusade in chronicle entries for 1235, 1236, 1239, 1241, 1248, and 1249. An entry for 1239 shows his conviction that they were papal tools to extract money from the faithful. According to an entry in 1249, the friars first preached at spots previously allotted to them and advertised to the populace. Friars then received the vows of those who took the cross (regardless, according to Paris, of their suitability to fight). Either then or not much later, they dispensed many of these in return for whatever sums they could get. They were, in Paris' eyes, 'unwilling fishers not of men but of money', papal 'tax-collectors'.¹⁵⁶ Yet, the practice of commuting the vow was widely accepted. The collected sums were deposited in the local Dominican priory, or some other religious house. Henry III allowed the Dominicans at Haverford to take fifteen marks towards the relocation of their church from the collection after they had 'laboured diligently in the business of the Cross by preaching'. A letter of 1266 to the nuncio, Master Sinicius, reveals that he was to collect from Whithorn Priory the thirty-six marks 'collected for the crusade in Scotland by Yvo, of the order of Friars Preachers of Ayr and deposited there'.¹⁵⁷

What gave Paris' criticism further bite was that after 1240 one call to crusade was to be a war against the Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick II,

¹⁵⁴ *EX*, 51 and n.16. If William came from Cheadle in Staffordshire, he was probably a friar of the house some twelve miles away at Newcastle-under-Lyme, itself just five miles from Heighley. The Audleys were founding patrons of Hulton Abbey, which was where James otherwise wished to be buried, but they had also been patrons of the Dominican house at Newcastle-under-Lyme in the late thirteenth century: in November 1280 King Edward I ordered the sheriff of Stafford to give £8 8s. 6d to the house originally bequeathed to them by the late Nicholas Audley or Aldthley; *CREI*, 71.

¹⁵⁵ Bocking, *Life*, I, 3 in Jones, *Saint Richard*, 167. ¹⁵⁶ Paris, IV, 635; V, 67 and 73.

¹⁵⁷ *CPRH3*, vol. iv, 482; Bliss L, I, 398, and 423.

though money was also sought for the relief of Constantinople.¹⁵⁸ Even worse for the friars was the papal call for a crusade against Conrad IV of Germany (Frederick's son) in Brabant and Flanders. This brought down on French Franciscan and Dominican houses the wrath of the French nobility who had been their major benefactors and patrons.¹⁵⁹ Nonetheless, many who made a crusading vow intended to carry it out. Paris judged that most of the nobles who laid siege to Aachen in 1248 had been signed up by Preachers or Minorites.¹⁶⁰ Twelve years earlier a Dominican had preached the cross at Winchester in the presence of the king and his court, when Richard, 1st Earl of Cornwall, and other magnates took the cross.¹⁶¹ Richard duly led a host of knights in 1240 on the Barons' Crusade to the Holy Land.

The organisation of crusade preaching required the collaboration of crown, Church, and the friars' Provincials or Provincial Vicars, though different sources privileged specific elements in the story. The *Annals of Tewkesbury* record how in 1252 the pope ordered the Dominicans and Franciscans to preach a crusade.¹⁶² However, the close rolls reveal that in March 1252 the English king required the English Provincials of both orders to send to London a sufficient number of friars suitable for the task. In late May, Henry was writing to the archbishops of York and Canterbury, and to the bishops of Hereford, Ely, Durham, and Norwich instructing them to appoint Franciscans, Dominicans, and 'other suitable men' as crusade preachers.¹⁶³ In December 1263 the pope authorised his legate Guy, Bishop of Sabina, to conscript as assistants in England Franciscans, Dominicans, and other male religious. Bishops assigned friars to preach in a certain place on a certain day. Thus, instructions from John le Romeyn (Archbishop of York from 1286 to 1296) to the Franciscan Warden of their York Friary in 1291 specify the locations where Franciscan or Dominican friars were to preach the crusade on the Feast of the Holy Cross that year. Three York Dominicans were to preach at Otley, Skipton-in-Craven, and Leeds; three from Lancaster were to preach there, at Kendal, and Lonsdale. Likewise, three friars from Beverley were assigned to preach at Preston in Holderness, or Hedon; at Ravenser on the Humber; and Le Wyk (Hull); two Scarborough Dominicans were to preach there and at Pickering. The Yarm house covered Yarm, Alverton, and Tresk; two friars from Pontefract covered the town itself and Wakefield.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁸ Paris, III, 312, 373–74, 627, and IV, 9, 133 and 564–65. ¹⁵⁹ Paris, V, 260–61.

¹⁶⁰ Paris, V, 17. ¹⁶¹ Trevel, *Annales*, ad 1236, 221.

¹⁶² *Annals of Tewkesbury*, ad 1252, *AM*, I, 148. ¹⁶³ *CRH3*, vol. vii, 201–2, and 219.

¹⁶⁴ James Raine (ed.), *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers* (Rerum Britannicarum medii aevi scriptores, no. 61) (London: Longman, 1873), 95.

In the Service of the Crown: Royal Confessors

In seeking a Dominican confessor, the nobility followed royal example. The Lanercost Chronicle told how ‘Friar John of Darlington, of the Order of Preachers, confessor of the late King Henry, was appointed collector of tithes in the realm of England by papal authority The same was afterwards made Archbishop of Dublin by papal appointment.’¹⁶⁵ As that suggests, however, a monarch needed a confessor adept at understanding political intricacies if not intrigue. Royal confessors thus typically functioned as advisors and Darlington was not the first Dominican to have the latter role: John of St Giles had been called to Henry’s council in 1239, but seemingly remained attached to the household of Bishop Grosseteste.¹⁶⁶ A string of entries in the extant liberate rolls for April and May 1256 make plain that Darlington was by then a trusted advisor accompanied at least by a *socius*, the fellow-friar who normally accompanied a preacher on his travels. An entry for 25 April authorised payment to Master Alan the cook of £4 3s. 3d. to cover bills for cloth and other items needed by Darlington and other Dominicans attending (*obsequencium*) on the king. A week later came another larger payment for three ‘palfreys, saddles, capes, and other small matters of harness bought for brother John de Derlingeton and his companion’. The value which Henry set on Darlington’s service is then revealed by his gift at the end of that month of fifteen marks for Darlington to buy a manuscript (*scripturam*).¹⁶⁷ As confessor and advisor, Darlington formed part of the court retinue accompanying the king on his travels, and by 1267 had a chamber assigned to his use at Winchester castle.¹⁶⁸ When the Mad Parliament met at the Oxford Blackfriars in June 1258, Darlington was one of Henry’s supporters on the council; and when Henry was abroad in 1259–1260, Darlington acted as a trusted go-between carrying messages between Henry and Edward.¹⁶⁹

Henry’s immediate successors were likewise served by Dominican confessors who were also trusted advisors. An entry in the Close Rolls for

¹⁶⁵ *Chronicon de Lanercost*, 107. The entry knew more about *what* John had done than *when*, as it wrongly dated the papal appointment as tithes collector to 1294, a decade after John’s death in 1284, but knew further of his early work at Paris on a biblical concordance.

¹⁶⁶ Paris, III, 627; Danielle Jacquart, ‘John of St Giles’, *DNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/14851>, accessed on 4 March 2019.

¹⁶⁷ *CLRHS*, 1251–1260, 282, 285, and 297. Queen Eleanor meanwhile was close to the Franciscan friar Adam Marsh: Marsh, *Epp.* 47, 52, 145, 150–53, 168, in *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, ed. Lawrence, I, 128, 146, and II, 362, 368–74, and 400.

¹⁶⁸ *CLRHS*, 1267–1272, 7.

¹⁶⁹ R. F. Treharne, *Documents of the Baronial Movement of Reform and Rebellion, 1258–1267* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 4–5, 30, 100, and 174–77.

4 April 1304 describes a letter sent from King Edward I to the papal legate concerning the promotion to the rank of Cardinal of 'Brother Walter de Wynterburn, the king's confessor': although 'the king had it greatly at heart that Walter should remain continually at his side', he bid the bishop 'to thank the pope on his behalf in such way as his discretion shall deem most suitable'.¹⁷⁰ Winterborne (as he is generally named by modern scholars) had probably served in this capacity for at least some seven years previously: the rolls for this period are studded with entries of royal gifts made 'on the information' which he supplied.¹⁷¹ Many record gifts to Dominican priories, for which Winterborne was an invaluable means of access to royal support, while the support may also show how Edward valued his confessor as a Dominican and not simply as a wise counsellor. Winterborne's successor was Luke de Wodeford OP, named as the king's confessor in the patent rolls for February 1306.¹⁷² He reappears as Edward II's confessor in the close rolls from October 1316 to August 1318, when he appears to have been one of several advisors charged with finding places and pensions for long-serving staff in the royal household at various religious houses: the king is recorded as acting on Wodeford's information some sixteen times during this period.¹⁷³ In the meantime two other friars also acted in this capacity for the monarch: John de Lenham and his *socius* John de Warfeld.¹⁷⁴ These friars continued to assist their brethren to benefit from royal liberality; and Lenham at least was given a wider brief on occasion: in July 1310 he and the abbot of Leicester were sent on business to the East Midlands.¹⁷⁵ The later confessors can be traced through the Wardrobe accounts, but their fewer appearances in the rolls may indicate their limited influence. More generally, Edward II's regard for the Dominicans, and his favour towards them can be seen in his founding a priory at King's Langley, adjacent to the royal palace in 1308. The body of Piers Gaveston, Edward's favourite, was buried here at Christmas 1314 after it had lain for two years at the Oxford Blackfriars.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁰ *CREI*, 1302–1307, 204–5.

¹⁷¹ *CREI*, 1296–1302, 33, 59, 153, 228, 238, 248, 288, 296, 335, 341, 348, 420, 422, 425, 530, 531, 538, 558, 597, 606; *CREI*, 1302–1307, 23.

¹⁷² *CPREI*, 1301–1307, 420.

¹⁷³ *CRE2*, 1313–1318, 436–38, 452–53, 460, and 471; *CRE2*, 1318–1323, 97.

¹⁷⁴ *CPRE2*, 1313–1317, 563; *CPRE2*, 1317–1321, 149, and 236.

¹⁷⁵ *CRE2*, 1307–1313, 413, and 275.

¹⁷⁶ Jochen Burgdorf, "'With my life, my joyes began and ended": Piers Gaveston and King Edward II of England Revisited', in Nigel Saul (ed.), *Fourteenth Century England*, vol. V (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2008), 31–51, at 37.

Royal Envoys

As suggested by Lenham's journey to the Midlands, the friars often served as royal envoys, whether as messengers or negotiators. Matthew Paris in an entry under the year 1239 noted the role of Franciscans and Dominicans by that date as 'the advisors and special envoys of kings' (*regum consiliarii et nuntii speciales*).¹⁷⁷ Colman Ó Clabaigh has ably detailed how senior Dominican friars in Ireland served the English crown in this regard. Philip of Slane ('sworn of the king's council of Ireland' by 1319 and bishop of Cork from 1321) was an envoy to Irish lords in Munster in 1316 during the invasion of Ireland by Edward Bruce.¹⁷⁸ Richard McCormogan, the Prior of Dublin who negotiated with the O'Tooles of Wicklow in 1331, was one of several such envoys from the Dublin convent during the 1330s.¹⁷⁹ For the individuals concerned, it could involve a long, onerous journey: 'Nicholas de Wysebech, of the Order of Preachers' was granted safe conduct for 'going to the Court of Rome on business of the king' on both 20 March 1317 and 8 January 1318. If, as is possible, there were not two separate but one delayed journey, Nicholas was nonetheless absent on royal business for months at a time.¹⁸⁰

English Dominican Bishops

Twenty or so Dominicans were elected or otherwise appointed as bishops in the British Isles with the English or the Scottish monarch's approval during the thirteenth century, most to sees on the periphery of royal power where their learning enabled them to promote the reforms of the Fourth Lateran Council.¹⁸¹ Nineteen were members of the Province. At least one further member of the Province, William de Fresney, was appointed to a diocese outside the British Isles (at Rages or Edessa). Of the twenty appointees (not all of whom took up office), fourteen were elected or provided to Irish dioceses, four to Scottish dioceses, one to a Welsh

¹⁷⁷ Paris, III, 627. ¹⁷⁸ *CRE2*, 1318–1323, 161; *TFI*, 32. ¹⁷⁹ *TFI*, 32–33.

¹⁸⁰ *CPRE2*, vol. ii (1313–1317), 628, and vol. iii (1317–1321), 69. For more on this topic, *vide* W. A. Hinnebusch, 'Diplomatic activities of the English Dominicans in the thirteenth century', *Catholic Historical Review*, 28 (1942), 309–39.

¹⁸¹ The exact number cannot be ascertained. An example illustrates the difficulties: two men, Hugh and Howel, became bishops of St Asaph in the 1230s and 1240s. One was a religious, though no contemporary evidence names his religious order. In Easterling's 'Friars of Wales', 330–31, Hugh and Howel become one man, a Dominican.

diocese, and only one to an English diocese.¹⁸² Though eight were nominated to archbishoprics, four of these were to the archbishopric of Armagh, a see which (like Cashel) lay in the Anglo-Norman and Irish borderlands, and of these four only one was an Irish friar. By contrast, Irish friars were provided to the minor and impoverished Irish bishoprics in the west of Ireland: Ardfert, Cloyne, Killala, Lismore, and Raphoe.

There are occasional hints of a friar's relationship to the dynastic clan or families of his Irish diocese. When Muiris mac Néill Ó Conchobair OP (or Maurice MacNéill O'Connor) became bishop of Elphin in 1266, five men with that surname had already served as bishop of Elphin since 1206. It is plausible to think that one reason for Muiris' election was his membership of a leading Connacht sept. Old patterns of dynastic patronage were compatible with support for contemporary religious reform. As Bishop Tommaltach Ua Conchobair had promoted the reforms led by Lorcan Ua Tuathail, the archbishop of Dublin, at the beginning of the century, so Muiris had been attracted to the life and ministry of the mendicants.¹⁸³

By contrast, two Dominican Englishmen were appointed as archbishops of Dublin by the pope, who in each case chose a trusted royal servant probably after representation from Edward I.¹⁸⁴ Neither reached their diocese. John of Darlington was consecrated in August 1279, but died en route to Dublin in 1284. William Hothum OP, a former Provincial, respected theologian, and counsellor of Edward I, was appointed to Dublin in 1296, but died two years later in Dijon.¹⁸⁵ Their appointments measure the close trust of the king for these advisors.

There are significant similarities to the Irish appointments when we look at appointments in Scotland and Wales. Clement, Bishop of Dunblane in Scotland from 1233 until his death in 1256 or 1258, is the earliest friar of the Province known to have become a bishop. The diocese was so poor that the cathedral church he founded was more like a rural chapel and the liturgy could not be celebrated more than three times a week. Its revenues, Clement informed the pope, were inadequate to support him for more than half the year. Nonetheless, Clement restored

¹⁸² Robert Archer OP was chosen in 1238 to be archbishop of Armagh (the poorest of the Irish archdioceses), but was never consecrated. Patrick Conlan, 'Albrecht Suerbeer, Archbishop of Armagh: "Albrencht the German"', *Seanchas Ardmbhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, 20, no. 1 (2004), 19–23.

¹⁸³ For a similar judgement, *vide* Thomas Finan, 'The medieval bishops of Elphin and the lost church at Kiltasheen', in Duffy (ed.), *Princes, Prelates and Poets*, 352–61 at 352–53.

¹⁸⁴ Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations*, 155–56.

¹⁸⁵ Roy Martin Haines, 'William of Hotham (Hothum)', *DNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13857>, accessed on 4 January 2021.

both his church and its finances with papal support. He enjoyed a relationship to the Scottish crown neither as remote as that of his Irish counterparts to the English crown, nor as intimate as those of Darlington and Hothum. He extended the power of the Scottish crown in Argyll, the diocese of which came under his jurisdiction in 1241; and he was present on the island of Kerrera at the deathbed of King Alexander II in July 1249. Yet royal charters show that he was not among that king's most frequent or intimate advisors.¹⁸⁶

Other Dominicans likewise held minor Scottish sees. Two were successively bishops of the impoverished diocese of Argyll (confusingly styled on occasion bishops of Lismore): Laurence de Ergardia from 1263 or 1264 to 1299, and a certain Andrew from 1300 or 1301; the third, William Comyn OP (or Cumyn, or de Kilconcaith), was bishop of Brechin from 1275 to sometime in the 1290s. Both Laurence and William were Scots who probably belonged to powerful local families.¹⁸⁷ In north Wales, Anian de Nannau (or Einion), a native Welshman and former Prior of Rhuddlan, served as bishop of St Asaph from 1268 to 1293. The see, which commanded few resources, lay in borderlands to which both the Welsh prince Llywelyn ap Gruffydd and the English kings laid claim. Anian was at times their go-between, at other times a victim of their struggle for power.

Only one member of the Province was appointed as bishop of an English see before 1300: Robert Kilwardby. This Oxford philosopher and theologian had been elected as Provincial first in 1261 and again in 1272. That same year he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by the pope after a disputed election and consecrated in 1273. However, Kilwardby did not retain his see for long; he resigned it in 1278 when

¹⁸⁶ W. Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ix, 48 and x, 11, ed. S. Taylor and D. E. R. Watt (Aberdeen University Press, 1990), vol. 5, 146 and 320; William Lindsay, John Dowden, and John Maitland Thomas (eds.), *Charters, Bulls and other documents relating to the Abbey of Inchaffray, chiefly from the originals in the charter chest of the Earl of Kinnoull* (Edinburgh, 1908), xxxv–xl, and Charters LX and LXII, pp. 51–54. On Argyll, Noel Murray, 'Swerving from the path of justice: Alexander II's relations with Argyll and the Western Isles, 1214–1249', in Richard Oram (ed.), *The Reign of Alexander II, 1214–49* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 285–306, at 302–3. On his relationship to the royal court, Keith Stringer, 'The Scottish "Political Community" in the reign of Alexander II (1214–49)', in Matthew Hammond (ed.), *New Perspectives on Medieval Scotland 1093–1286* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), 53–84, at 57.

¹⁸⁷ For Laurence and Andrew, *vide* John Dowden, *The Bishops of Scotland*, ed. J. Maitland Thomson (Glasgow: James Maclehose and Sons, 1912), 379; Dennis Turner, 'The Bishops of Argyll and the Castle of Achanduin, Lismore, AD 1180–1343', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* (1998), 645–52. Andrew's Dominican identity is probable but not proven. For William Comyn, D. E. R. Watt, *A Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Graduates to A.D. 1410* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977), 107–9.

the pope named him as Cardinal of Porto and Santa Sabina, and Robert died a year later in Viterbo. Kilwardby's appointment partly resembles that of Darlington and Hothum as a major religious superior and theologian who had gained the king's confidence. It also resembles the later papal appointments of two brothers, Walter and Roland Jorz OP to Armagh. Clement V appointed Walter to the see of Armagh in 1307. Brother of Cardinal Thomas Jorz, another English Dominican who had enjoyed the favour of Edward I, Walter failed to follow the procedure agreed by the crown for such appointments, and was initially fined £1,000 by Edward II, though this was later waived. Walter is thought to have played a part in securing the repeal in 1311 of a parliamentary measure taken the previous year that had banned the reception of native Irish into any religious Order in the country, a measure which responded largely to racial divisions within the Franciscans. He resigned the see in 1311 only to be succeeded by Roland.¹⁸⁸

Thirteenth-century Dominicans were thus usually appointed to Irish, Scottish, and Welsh sees with limited financial resources. These sees did not give their occupants significant standing or patronage at the English or Scottish court, which meant that elections or appointments were subject to less local pressure from would-be candidates among the Anglo-Norman nobility, from the respective crowns, or from the royal Justiciar in Ireland.¹⁸⁹ A similar pattern marks the appointment of Franciscans to sees in the British Isles.¹⁹⁰ Many of these early bishops, though by no means all, were native to the country if not the locality in which they ministered, and some may be suspected of belonging to dynasties that had exercised significant local power independently of their Anglo-Norman overlords or would-be overlords. They sought to advance church reforms, while operating within both local clan systems and a feudal system whereby a bishop held the temporalities or feudal lands of the diocese as tenant-in-chief from the king.

Outside the patterns so far traced lies the case of William de Fresney, who was consecrated at the papal court by Urban IV in 1263, but whose archdiocese of Rages or Edessa (modern-day Urfa) was determined by the Latin Patriarch of Antioch. His story partly resembles that of two other

¹⁸⁸ Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations*, 183, n.3; Margaret Murphy, 'Walter Jorz', *DNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/15129>, accessed on 5 January 2021.

¹⁸⁹ For the crown's limited influence in Ireland during the thirteenth century, see Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations*, 80.

¹⁹⁰ Michael Robson, 'Franciscan bishops of Irish dioceses active in medieval England: a guide to the materials in English libraries and archive', *Collectanea Hibernica*, 38 (1996), 7–39.

Dominican friars, who were perhaps members of the Province: William, bishop of Tortosa (modern-day Tartus in Syria), who visited England in 1249 in search of his family near Reading; and Geoffrey, bishop of Hebron, who acted as vicar for the Latin Patriarch in Jerusalem in probably the early 1280s.¹⁹¹ No evidence suggests that Fresney ever visited Edessa; instead he functioned in England much as a modern suffragan or auxiliary bishop would act on behalf of the diocesan bishop. In April 1266 he consecrated Roger Skirling (or Skerning) as the new bishop of Norwich at St Paul's in London. Twenty years later he hallowed the Carmelite cemetery at Lynn at the request of Skirling's successor at Norwich, William Middleton. Unlike a modern auxiliary, he was at times a royal advisor, entrusted in 1266 with the (failed) mission of escorting rebel barons from Kenilworth Castle to treat with King Henry III during the rebellion. Archbishop Walter Jorz likewise spent some of his last years in Lincoln as an auxiliary to its bishop, and during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries English Dominicans commonly acted as suffragans in England far from their titular see.

Dominican Life within the Precinct

To meet the needs of their supporters required the friars first to have a certain religious identity or lifestyle, one which therefore had much in common to that found in most houses of regular canons. However, it also required them to have a specialised training, and, as we shall see in the final part of this chapter, that made a difference to how their lives and houses were organised.

As mentioned earlier, the friars organised their buildings within a precinct which might also contain orchards and gardens serving the kitchens and infirmary. This articulated and reinforced their separation as religious committed to poverty, chastity, and obedience. It was common practice to enclose the precinct by a wall, but this might be delayed where the friars still hoped to expand their grounds: at Norwich the friars apparently only walled in the precinct of their first site north of the river in 1280.¹⁹² To protect or enlarge these precincts, the friars often

¹⁹¹ Paris, V, 72; Berend Wispelwey, *Biographical Index of the Middle Ages*, 2 vols. (Munich: De Gruyter, 2008), I, 470. Geoffrey wrote a letter in which he identified himself as a Dominican and bishop of Hebron to King Edward I whom he addressed as his 'special lord' from which his English identity has generally been inferred; Quéatif and Echard, *Scriptores Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum*, I, 382–83; Wispelwey, *Biographical Index*, I, 444.

¹⁹² Harper-Bill and Rawcliffe, 'The religious houses', 104.

petitioned successfully for existing lanes to be enclosed, such as Satires Lane in Gloucester, or re-routed as happened at Ilchester and Shrewsbury. In the latter instance the king instructed his sheriff Peter de Montfort and several others on 23 July 1258 to stop up and divert a lane that ran beside the friars' church in the town as it proved too noisy during heavy rain-fall!¹⁹³ Precincts, however, were rarely quiet places during the day, as they were also building-sites for many decades after a foundation was first made. Palmer reckoned that it took some sixty-seven years to complete the complex of buildings at Northampton, with the refectory finished in 1236, the school in 1258, and the church not complete before 1286.¹⁹⁴

Like other vowed religious men, the friars sang the Divine Offices in choir and attended or celebrated Mass. By the second half of the thirteenth century a distinctive rite and plainchant had developed in the Order which was universally adopted soon after 1254, when the General Chapter in Budapest instructed Humbert of Romans, the new Master General, to establish a definitive series of texts now held at Santa Sabina in Rome (MS XIV L. 1). These were completed by 1259, and the English houses would have conformed their practice (no doubt at varying speeds) with the official versions. A compendium of twelve such books has survived from ca. 1260 (BL Add 23935) which the Master perhaps took with him when he travelled to different priories for a General Chapter or on other business, and from which corrections could be made to local texts.¹⁹⁵ This did not preclude the celebration of local saints: one mid-fifteenth century collectar or book of collects (CUL Add. 2770) probably comes from the Dunstable Blackfriars as its calendar includes the feast of a little-known hermit venerated in the town's Augustinian priory.¹⁹⁶

Again, like most religious, most friars normally ate together in silence in a refectory while listening to a spiritual reading. The Canterbury refectory still shows traces of the reader's raised pulpit, five feet square, recessed in the middle of the west wall and originally reached by a stair within the wall.¹⁹⁷ Excavations at Cork reveal a similar arrangement in the north wall of the original refectory there, though the 'narrow flight of mural steps' was

¹⁹³ Richard Holt and Nigel Baker, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester* (Ashgate, 2004), 317; *Cal. Charter R*, vol. ii, *Henry III–Edward I, A.D. 1257–1300* (London, 1906), 285; *PRH3*, vol. IV, *AD 1247–1258* (London, 1908), 642.

¹⁹⁴ Palmer, 'The Friars-Preachers, or Blackfriars, of Northampton', *The Reliquary*, XXI (1880), 25–32, at 26.

¹⁹⁵ Richard Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England, A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 312.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 316. ¹⁹⁷ *EEFP*, 160.

blocked up when a higher floor level probably made them unnecessary.¹⁹⁸ What was read during meals came from the Bible and other edifying texts according to the liturgical calendar such as the *Lives* of the saints – Humbert of Romans’ *Legenda maior* of St Dominic, composed in 1255–1256, was part of a lectionary for use in the refectory and elsewhere.¹⁹⁹ The accomplished illuminator of manuscripts at Oxford, William de Brailes, illustrated between 1234 and perhaps 1240 a small Bible (measuring 167 by 116 mm). It also contained a number of Masses, including two for St Dominic, the only saint so treated. Seemingly commissioned by a wealthy patron for a friar to carry on his travels, or by a wealthy entrant to the cloister such as Bishop Mauclerc, the book was later annotated for use in the refectory.²⁰⁰

John Bromyard, a friar at Hereford during the first half of the fourteenth century, observed in his huge *Summa Praedicatorum* that it was somewhat ‘unsuitable for a man to preach for the church when he proclaims the poverty-stricken Christ with a corpulent belly and rubicund cheeks’.²⁰¹ On the other hand, as Bishop Robert Grosseteste reminded one Dominican, ‘Three things are necessary for temporal well-being: food, sleep and jest.’²⁰² That raises questions as to just what the friars ate and how often they sat down to a meal, perhaps on stone benches round the walls with their feet resting on a stone foot-pace, as at Cork.²⁰³ Their diet varied according to the liturgical calendar, when the friars feasted on solemnities and fasted in some fashion at other set times. For much of the year they ate twice daily, but during their long penitential season from the feast of the Holy Cross on 14 September to Easter they ate together only once a day (Sundays and feast days excepted). Their diet conformed to the wider norms of religious life. The healthy were expected to abstain from meat, whether inside the priory or as a guest elsewhere, but meat

¹⁹⁸ Hurley and Sheehan, *Excavations*, 54.

¹⁹⁹ Simon Tugwell OP, *Humberti de Romanis Legendae Sancti Dominici, MOPPH*, XXX (Rome, 2008), 103 and 277. For refectory reading in religious houses generally, see Teresa Webber, *Reading in the Refectory: Monastic Practice in England c.1000–c.1300* (2013), www.academia.edu/9489001/Reading_in_the_Refectory_Monastic_Practice_in_England_c._1000-c._1300, accessed on 2 September 2018.

²⁰⁰ Bodley MS lat. Bibl. e.7; Nigel Morgan, *Early Gothic Manuscripts* (London: H. Miller, 1982–1988), I, no. 69 (pp. 114–16).

²⁰¹ John Bromyard, *Summa Praedicatorum*, P.12.18, trans. Keith Walls, *John Bromyard on Church and State: The Summa Praedicatorum and Early Fourteenth-Century England* (York: Clayton-Thorpe Publications, 2007), 146. For Bromyard’s dates, see Leonard Boyle, ‘The date of the *Summa Praedicatorum* of John Bromyard’, *Speculum*, 48, no. 3 (July 1973), 533–37.

²⁰² Cited in James McEvoy, *Robert Grosseteste* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 60.

²⁰³ Hurley and Sheehan, *Excavations*, 54.

dishes were prepared for the sick (preferably in a separate kitchen, where the infirmary cook was meant to ensure that bird feathers and animal skins didn't go to waste but were set aside for use elsewhere), for guests, and perhaps some lay staff.²⁰⁴ Dispensations could also be granted by superiors for friars who returned to the house as weary travellers and others.²⁰⁵ Excavations at Beverley show that the friars ate large amounts of fish, as might be expected, but some at least also enjoyed poultry and red-meat dishes. Meat in general 'was more prominent among later food remains', but 'rarely included the hunted game available to the upper echelons of local society'.²⁰⁶ Likewise, excavations at Stirling indicate a varied diet that included not only locally grown fruits, berries, and hazelnuts, but also imported dried figs and (at least for some) occasional meat dishes (principally from cattle or sheep butchered on site).²⁰⁷

While at Bristol in January 1285, King Edward wanted to know why the town's Dominicans and Franciscans were not receiving the full quota of fish from the port which had been granted by the crown: two conger eels; four mulvels (or fresh cod); eight hake, haddock, or plaice; and four skate, depending on the catch.²⁰⁸ The Dominicans in Kilkenny eventually gained fisheries on the River Nore; they would own a salmon weir at Sligo; and at Cork they were granted half of what was caught from a pool and weir on the River Lee; such grants were a common benefaction to mendicant houses generally.²⁰⁹ Fish was particularly important during Lent. On 12 February 1260 Henry III instructed his ministers to buy herrings as Lenten alms to poor religious houses in accordance with his usual practice: two thousand were given to the London Blackfriars. The

²⁰⁴ I am grateful to Fr Simon Tugwell for pointing out the latter category. Legislation in the Roman Provincial Chapter of 1250 stopped secular workers from receiving meat, which indicates what had presumably happened previously and elsewhere; Mihaela Sanda Salontai, 'Friars at work: craftsmen of the Dominican Order in 16th century Transylvania', in Ileana Burnichioiu (ed.), *Monastic Life, Art, and Technology in the 11th – 16th Centuries* (Romania, University of Alba Iuli: Mega, 2015), 275–88, at 278.

²⁰⁵ Humbert of Romans, *Instructiones de Officiis Ordinis*, XXX, in *Opera de regulari vita*, ed. J. Berthier, 2 vols. (Rome, 1888–1889), II, 317–20. For the use and misuse of dispensations in order to eat meat in the province of Aragon during the early fourteenth century, see Michael Vargas, *Taming a Brood of Vipers: Conflict and Change in Fourteenth-Century Dominican Convents* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 224.

²⁰⁶ Foreman et al., *Further Excavations*, 228 and 263.

²⁰⁷ Bob Will et al., 'Uncovering the history and archaeology of the house of the Blackfriars, at Goosecroft Road, Stirling', *Archaeology Reports Online* (GUARD Archaeology Ltd, 20018), 48 and 56, www.archaeologyreportsonline.com/PDF/ARO30_Station_Sq_Stirling.pdf, accessed on 12 February 2019.

²⁰⁸ *CPREI* (1281–1292), 201.

²⁰⁹ Arthur E. Went, 'Irish monastic fisheries', *Journal of the Cork Historical and Archaeological Society*, LX, no. 192 (1955), 47–56, at 54–56; *TFI*, 130–32.

following Lent Henry gave the London Blackfriars 40s. to buy the herrings. Six years later he waived the tolls the Warwick Dominicans would otherwise have paid in bringing herring and other foodstuffs across from Norwich.²¹⁰ We should imagine a similar traffic serving the kitchens and stores of other inland houses. Gifts offer a window onto other aspects of the friars' diet. Like other religious they received pittances – donations for additional dishes at table in return for prayers, often for the departed: Bishop Thomas Bytton left the friars at Exeter twenty shillings as a pittance in 1310 among other bequests.²¹¹ Gifts of wheat, barley, and oats would provide bread, beer, and porridge.²¹² The eighteen cows which Thomas de Bermingham gave the friars at Athenry in 1488 would provide milk, butter, and perhaps cheese, and point towards the different pattern of land ownership for the Irish priories suggested above.²¹³

Like other religious, most friars retired to a common dormitory to sleep. However, since the Order's inception the Dominicans had privileged the place of study in preparation for preaching and teaching, and the English friars would soon have read in the *Libellus* by Jordan of Saxony (prepared for publication in 1233) how in the Order's first house at Toulouse there had been cells suitable for studying and sleeping ('*cellas . . . ad studendum et dormiendum desuper satis aptas*').²¹⁴ So, English friars who were considered good students and teachers (lectors) might have a dedicated space within the dormitory but close to a window and partially closed off from the rest of the room where they could study without disturbing their brethren. This was not necessarily furnished with a bed (though the Order's legislation allowed for such), but was in some cases more like a carrel. The upper floor of the south range at Gloucester, constructed in the second half of the thirteenth century, measured eighty feet by twenty-two feet internally, but the long walls were lined with up to thirteen recessed cubicles each lit by a small square-headed window and partitioned off by stone slabs. Mortices suggest that wooden panels once extended from these to enclose a larger cell. At Bristol the southern wall was originally pierced by eighteen similar windows, while fifteen lancet windows pierced the north wall, and this with other evidence suggested to Hinnebusch a similar set of cells, though not recessed into the walls.²¹⁵

²¹⁰ *CRH3*, vol. xi, 238–39; *CLRH3*, 1260–1267, 26; *CPRH3*, vol. vi, 43. ²¹¹ *EX*, 52.

²¹² *CLRH3*, AD 1251–1260, 12. ²¹³ *TFI*, 129. ²¹⁴ Jordan of Saxony, *Libellus*, 44, 46–47.

²¹⁵ *EEFP*, 163–78.

On 5 August 1309, Piers Gaveston was forced to surrender lands and castles to King Edward II at a meeting in the latter's 'chamber in the house of the Friars Preachers at Stamford'; and from the close rolls it appears likely that Edward stayed there, no doubt with his immediate retinue, for about a week (from 30 July to 5 August).²¹⁶ Like many religious houses, the Dominican priories had rooms or apartments available for important guests. Already in the summer of 1298, Edward's father had spent fifteen days in the convent at Stirling while recovering from an injury after the house had survived the torching of the town by Scottish forces.²¹⁷ Two years later, both the king and queen stayed at the Pontefract priory, which had been founded by Edmund de Lacy in the mid-1250s with a then-precinct of six acres. The royal couple arrived in January, and the queen remained while the king rode north to Scotland. They were there again at Pentecost, and the king at least returned for a third visit at the start of Advent.²¹⁸ That the royal party did not lodge at the castle, or with the Cluniac monks of St John's Priory, is unlikely to reflect the quality of the accommodation, but is more probably a public mark of favour or piety. Franciscan houses would serve the same function on other occasions.²¹⁹ A similar close bond between the crown and the Dominican friars may be the best explanation of why Edward IV's consort, Queen Elizabeth, gave birth to their second son in the Shrewsbury priory's guest accommodation on 17 August 1473. The king, while still Earl of March, had spent Christmas there thirteen years previously.²²⁰ Other noble lodgers probably held a more proprietorial interest in houses where they were frequent visitors. In 1305 Baron Hugh de Courtney was staying at the Exeter Blackfriars when he had an altercation with the city's mayor. Evidence suggests the family had permanent lodgings at the house of which they were benefactors.²²¹

Houses of Study

What was distinctive about Dominican priories compared with other religious houses was the requirement that their clerical members (and

²¹⁶ CRE2, 1307–1312, 225.

²¹⁷ Patrick F. Tytler, *The History of Scotland*, 4 vols. (Edinburgh: William P. Nimmo, 1864), i, 64.

²¹⁸ For the foundation, see William Page (ed.), *A History of the County of York*, vol. iii (London, 1974), 271; for the royal visitors, see also Goldthorp, 'Franciscans and Dominicans', 399.

²¹⁹ Thomas Stapleton, 'A brief summary of the Wardrobe accounts of the tenth, eleventh, and fourteenth years of King Edward the Second', *Archaeologia*, XXVI (1836), 318–45, at 320.

²²⁰ A. T. Gaydon and R. B. Pugh (eds.), *A History of the County of Shropshire*, vol. ii (London, 1973), 92.

²²¹ EX, 39.

not just the more junior clerical friars in formation) should attend the two daily lectures open to members of the public, one on the Bible, the other on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard (though the Oxford General Chapter of 1280 dispensed friars who had already studied theology at an advanced level from attending the latter). For this reason, early General Chapters had required that each house have someone qualified to teach (a lector) and an assistant who tutored the Dominican students through daily and weekly revision sessions. The friars' intellectual training, its syllabus and institutional organisation, developed over time, but the initial course of study, begun at profession, normally lasted some two years and was undertaken in the house which they had entered as a novice.²²²

The intellectually able were then sent to study for several years elsewhere in the Province. After 1259 the Province was required to run a specialist school in the Arts and Philosophy if it did not already do so.²²³ In England and Wales studies at this level were eventually organised in schools belonging to the various 'visitations' into which the houses were grouped by 1275. These were headed by the priories of London, Oxford, York, and Cambridge. Maura O'Carroll has concluded that the priories of Oxford, London, and Cambridge (and probably York) each ran a provincial school of Theology by the close of the thirteenth century. Evidence indicates a school of Arts and Philosophy in the Cambridge visitation at King's Lynn, and at King's Langley in the London visitation, by the mid-fourteenth century. Such schools in the other visitations are highly probable, but where is unknown, and they may have moved between different priories.²²⁴ On completion of their course, students returned to teach in

²²² Mulchahey, *First the bow is bent in study . . .*, passim, and 39, 133–36, and 175–76.

²²³ *MOPH*, III, 99; Mulchahey, *First the bow is bent in study . . .*, 222.

²²⁴ Maura O'Carroll, *A Thirteenth-Century Preacher's Handbook. Studies in MS Laud Misc. 511* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1997), 58–67; O'Carroll, 'The educational organisation of the Dominicans in England and Wales, 1221–48', *AFP*, 50 (1980), 23–62. See also, J. Cornelia Linde, 'The educational landscape of the English Dominican Province', in *ACEDP*, 247–73, at 267–68. The partial composition of each visitation by the early fourteenth century is known from a flyleaf of Worcester Cathedral Manuscript Q. 93 dated to ca. 1427. The London visitation included London, Salisbury, Exeter, Canterbury, Winchester, and Bristol. On this basis Hinnebusch adds Arundel, Chichester, the Dartford nunnery, Guildford, Ilchester, Melcombe Regis, Truro, Wilton, and Winchelsea. The York visitation included the houses at York, Lincoln, Newcastle, Lancaster, Scarborough, Yarm, and Carlisle; Hinnebusch added Bamburgh, Beverley, Boston (?), and Pontefract. The Oxford Visitation contained Oxford, Gloucester, Shewsbury, Hereford, Northampton, Warwick, Newcastle-under Lyme, and Brecon; Hinnebusch added Bangor, Cardiff, Chester, Derby, Haverfordwest, Leicester, Rhuddlan, and Worcester. The Cambridge visitation comprised Cambridge, Norwich, Stamford, King's Langley, Lynn, Sudbury, and possibly Dunstable, Chelmsford, Dunwich, Ipswich, Thetford, and Yarmouth.

their own priories, or elsewhere within their visitation, but the brightest would later be sent to one of the Order's *studia generalia* to study theology at the highest level.

The most famous of the *studia generalia* was at Paris, the only continental university that granted Theology degrees in the thirteenth century; and it was the only Dominican *studium generale* recognised by the Order before 1248. As a result, it was extremely difficult for the provinces to train their best friars to the highest level. To ease the problem, the General Chapter in 1246 proposed that four provinces would each establish a new *studium generale*: those of Provence, Lombardy, Teutonia, and England, where both the universities of Oxford and Cambridge granted Theology degrees by ca. 1250, and probably by ca. 1240.²²⁵ Other provinces could each send two students to the new *studia*. Though mandated by the Chapter of 1248, successive English Provincial Chapters and Provincials refused to nominate a priory to this status for the next thirteen years.²²⁶ Why is unclear. Space was not an issue at Oxford, as we have seen. The Cambridge precinct just beyond the Barnwell Gate occupied a site of some eight acres by 1279–1280, and had grown to ten acres by 1293, so that the precinct extended up to the town's Middle Field. However, the Hundred Rolls noted that (as with the town's Franciscan friary) people had earlier been displaced when houses on the site were knocked down, so space may have been at a premium earlier.²²⁷ The friars perhaps feared that the international students would be a financial burden, but the most likely reason was the pressure to accommodate and train the many students from within the British Isles. In 1261 the General Chapter finally stipulated Oxford as the new *studium generale*. As punishment for the inaction, the Chapter deposed the Provincial, Simon of Hinton, and sent him to teach in Germany where the Provincial placed him in the *studium generale* at Cologne. He was to fast on bread and water for a week, to receive the discipline (a monastic scourging) seven times, and to say seven Masses. The English diffinitors who had blocked the residence of international students at Oxford were disqualified from holding this office for seven years whether at Provincial or General Chapters; any priors among them were likewise dismissed from office; they were to fast on bread and water for thirteen days; and they were to receive the discipline thirteen times. The numbers seven and thirteen

²²⁵ M. B. Hackett, *The Original Statutes of Cambridge University: The Text and Its History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 132.

²²⁶ *MOPH*, III, 34–35 and 41.

²²⁷ Frederic William Maitland, *Township and Borough* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), 118; Henry Paine Stokes, *Outside the Barnwell Gate* (Cambridge, 1915), 11; *EEFP*, 70.

matched the number of years that Hinton had served as Provincial and the years since the Chapter of 1248! Cambridge would finally be designated as a *studium generale* much later – by 1320.²²⁸

The Irish and Scottish houses were not grouped into visitations in 1275, but had probably been governed for some time as vicariates by a Vicar-Provincial with their own regional chapters (we have already noted the late thirteenth-century Irish chapters listed in BL MS Add. 4789). A homesick English agent, Laurence de Sumercot, had met the Dominican Vicar-Provincial for Ireland in 1256, as well as his Franciscan counterpart to discuss ‘the business of the cross’. He told his correspondent that the Irish Dominican Chapter would take place at Cassel at the end of June.²²⁹ This raises the question of how intellectual formation was organised in the vicariates.

In Ireland, as elsewhere, every priory was required to have a lector who taught daily. Colman O’Clabaigh has noted that the Archbishop of Tuam built a ‘scholars’ house’ at Athenry in the 1250s together with a bequest of canon law books to the friars. This may be an example of bishops deciding that a Dominican theological school met the requirements of the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils for a theological school in each diocese, so that we should envisage secular ordinands attending alongside the Dominican students.²³⁰ It is unclear, however, whether or how the Irish houses were organised to teach intermediate studies. Though we might presume that Dublin was one location for such teaching, a letter from the Master issued after the 1314 General Chapter in London permitted the admission of promising students to *studia particularia* in England to study philosophy, which suggests either an insufficiency or lack of such schools in Ireland. The Irish Vicar-Provincial was expected to pay the costs incurred by such students only to the extent that English friars incurred the same costs. The letter indicates that none of the Irish houses ran a

²²⁸ *MOPH*, III, 110–11; the General Chapter of 1320 addressed itself to the ‘magistris et bacalariis’ of Paris, Oxford, and Cambridge’, *MOPH*, IV, 124. For Hinton’s sentence, see C. Linde, ‘Disciplinary deportations: forced resettlement as a means of control and correction’, in Linde (ed.), *Making and Breaking the Rules: Discussion, Implementation, and Consequences of Dominican Legislation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 349–67.

²²⁹ Walter Waddington Shirley (ed.), *Royal and other historical Letters illustrative of the reign of Henry III*, (London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1862–1866) vol. ii, 119. A bull of Boniface IX, of 21 February 1400, confirmed a decision of the London General Chapter of 1314. This permitted the vocals of the Irish vicariate to elect three suitable candidates *de natione Hibernica* from which the English Provincial chose his Vicar-General. The latter had authority to appoint new lectors; *BOP*, vii., 74. A Vicar-Provincial of Scotland is attested in 1296 at *Rotuli Scotiae*, I, 37.

²³⁰ *TFI*, 273.

studium generale, but three students could be sent from Ireland at any one time to the *studium* at Paris, two to that in Oxford, two to that in Cambridge, and two to the London Priory.²³¹ A letter from the Master to the Scottish Vicar-Provincial in 1349 similarly permitted him to send one student to a *studium generale* of his choosing. Given the number of houses in the Scottish vicariate (probably twelve by the mid-fourteenth century), and the lack of Scottish universities before the foundation of St Andrews (ca. 1410), we may conclude that there was no advanced *studium* in Scotland, and we are in the dark about the existence of any intermediate *studia*. William Moir Bryce presumed that the Edinburgh priory held such a school.²³² Several scholars have asserted that Perth at some point became a 'central study house' for Scottish friars, but this is not supported by reference to the evidence.²³³ What little we possess of the latter probably tells against the claim for this period. A terse letter from the English Provincial to the Prior and brethren of Perth, probably written before the late thirteenth century, orders them to provide 'your student (*studenti vestro*) Thomas de Karris' with the books he needed and sufficient money (*in libris sui necessariis et in pecunia competentur*) so that the student had no grounds for complaint at the next provincial chapter. This suggests that Thomas was either a member of the Perth house in Perth or more probably elsewhere in the Province, though not at a *studium generale* outside the Province when responsibility for his expenses more clearly lay with the Provincial himself.²³⁴

²³¹ *Ibid.*, 278, with reference to *BOP*, vii., 75. The bull of 1400 also made the Vicar-General, rather than the Provincial, responsible for redeploying the books of deceased friars in Ireland.

²³² William Moir Bryce, 'Blackfriars and Scottish universities', *The Scottish Historical Review*, 9 (1911), 1–9, at 6–7.

²³³ Anneli Randla, 'The mendicant orders and their architecture in Scotland', in Jürgen Sarnowsky (ed.), *Mendicants, Military Orders, and Regionalism in Medieval Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 1999), 243–74, at 250; see also the claim by Anthony Ross OP, *Dogs of the Lord: The Story of the Dominican Order in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1981), 4–5.

²³⁴ The letter survives in MS Bodley 42 (S.C. 1846) fo. 257r, and is cited here as edited by K. W. Humphreys, *The Book Provisions of the Medieval Friars, 1215–1400* (Amsterdam: Erasmus Booksellers, 1964), 134. For the letter's occurrence in a section of the MS described as an early fourteenth-century compilation of older materials, see F. Madan and H. H. E. Craster (eds.), *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, vol. II (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1922), 81–82. The Constitutions required provinces to supply books for those sent *ad studium*, which had originally at least meant those sent outside the province to a *studium generale*. General Chapters in 1246 and 1252 reiterated the responsibility of Provincials to provide students with books without specifying the type of student, an ambiguity which may have given the Perth friars an opportunity to evade what the Provincial saw as their responsibility. I am grateful to Fr. Simon Tugwell for drawing my attention to the relevant *acta*. See: Const. antiqu. II 28 in S. Tugwell, 'The evolution . . . III', 129; B. Reichert (ed.), *Acta capitulorum generalium*, vol. I, *MOPH*, III, 36, ll.26–27 and 65, ll.12–14.

Study required more books than could be purchased for each individual student or teacher. Humphreys has noted that a mendicant religious community might have ‘four collections of books – one in Choir or Sacristy, one in the Refectory, a chained reference collection and the books in the communal library from which friars might borrow items’. It is likely that in the largest houses the latter two collections were housed in a room set aside for the purpose. We saw earlier how a book could move from personal use to use in the refectory; others circulated among the brethren, as well as to or from the conventual library: one of the few books extant from an Dominican library in England reveals that it was once appropriated to the use of Thomas Newark OP, at another time to the ‘Lincoln community of the order of friars preachers’.²³⁵

A Teaching Mission at the Universities

The school system described above existed primarily to train fellow Dominicans, but the presence of *studia generalia* in Oxford and Cambridge, with scholars competent to teach in these universities, made these two *studia* intellectual centres that contributed to wider currents of thought as open lectures became commentaries and treatises.²³⁶ Robert Bacon, a ‘regent’ Master in Theology (someone currently lecturing and presiding over disputations), joined the Order at Oxford not long after 1227; and his Dominican pupil, Richard Fishacre, succeeded to the same position in ca. 1240. Trevet praised Fishacre’s commentary on the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard as ‘of great use to his generation’ (*temporibus suis perutile*). The work secured the place of the *Sentences* in the Oxford curriculum,²³⁷ and it was even thought that Aquinas had wished to consult

²³⁵ K. W. Humphreys, *The Friars’ Libraries* (London: The British Library, 1990), xix and xxi. Similar inscriptions are found in books from houses of the Scottish province. One bears two Latin inscriptions, of which the first reads: ‘This book belongs to the community of Friars Preachers at Edinburgh for the use of Brother Alexander Lauson, but now by gift of the same prior used by Brother Alexander Barculai’, The second reads: ‘This volume belongs to Brother Anthone Stronoch of the Order of Preachers and was granted to him by our Rev. Fr. Master, the Provincial; Anthony Ross OP, ‘Libraries of the Scottish Blackfriars, 1481–1560’, *The Innes Review*, XX (1969), 336, at 8.

²³⁶ Cornelia Linde rightly distinguishes between the institutions of the evolving universities, with their matriculated members, and the friars’ *studia*, J. Cornelia Linde, ‘A marriage of convenience, doomed from the start? the Dominicans and the University of Oxford’, talk given at the Graduate Seminar Medieval Church and Culture, Oxford (29 October 2019).

²³⁷ Trevet, *Annales*, 229–30; the commentary was in the Dominican libraries at Cambridge, Guildford, and London; in the Carmelite library at Hulne; and in the Franciscan library in London. When so little is known of the friars’ libraries, this is a fair indication of its widespread dissemination in the Province. Humphreys, *Friars Libraries*, 170, 196–97, 199 and 222. On

Fishacre's text.²³⁸ Matthew Paris said of these two friars after they died in 1248: '[d]uring their lives, it is believed, no one surpassed or even equalled them in theology and other sciences. They had lectured brilliantly on theology for many years and were famous for preaching the word of God to the people.'²³⁹ Simon of Hinton, whose deposition as Provincial was noted earlier, was another influential teacher. He probably served at Oxford as regent Master after 1248; his respected *Summa iuniorum* is described by recent scholars as 'a compendium of elementary theology, meant for the instruction of priests'.²⁴⁰

For much of this early period the Oxford friars, Dominican or Franciscan, met with little open resentment or with opposition to their teaching from secular counterparts in the university. In February 1253, however, a previously latent objection to the friars' approach became apparent when the Franciscan Thomas of York was put forward as a regent Master in Theology. His suitability to incept was questioned on the grounds that anyone who wished to become a Doctor in Theology had first to serve as a regent Master in the Arts. The friars had previously been exempted from this traditional requirement at Oxford, as they were forbidden from studying the Arts. Thomas was allowed to incept; but a statute was enacted in March 1253 that affirmed the traditional practice, and formalised the need for the mendicants to gain a dispensation for each friar who wished to incept without first lecturing in the Arts. The statute caused few difficulties in the decades which followed, especially after the Dominicans dropped the prohibition on study of the Arts in 1259, and incorporated this subject into the curriculum of provincial *studia*.²⁴¹ The issue twice resurfaced in the early fourteenth century when, among other grievances, the Dominicans complained to the pope that some of their

Fishacre's career, see, Maura O'Carroll, 'Who is Richard Fishacre?' *NB*, 80, no. 941/942 (July/August 1999), 320–23.

²³⁸ A marginal note in Bernard Gui's *De quattuor in quibus* makes this claim and praises Fishacre's work for its profundity. R. James Long, 'The beginning of a tradition: the *Sentences* commentary of Richard Fishacre, OP', in G. R. Evans (ed.), *Medieval Commentaries on the Sentences of Peter Lombard*, vol. 1 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 345–57, at 352. I am grateful to one of the anonymous readers for drawing my attention to this note.

²³⁹ Luard, V.16, tr. Vaughan, 60.

²⁴⁰ Istvan P. Bejczy and Richard G. Newhauser, 'Two newly discovered abbreviations of Simon of Hinton's *Summa iuniorum*, concentrating on the virtues and vices', *AFP*, 75 (2005), 95–144, at 96.

²⁴¹ Adam Marsh, *Epp.* 186 and 190, in C. H. Lawrence (ed.), *The Letters of Adam Marsh*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006–2010), II, 450–52 and 464–68; M. W. Sheehan, 'The religious orders 1220–1370', in J. I. Catto (ed.), *The Early Oxford Schools*, History of the University of Oxford, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), 204 and 198–99.

candidates were unfairly refused a dispensation. As the case dragged on, Thomas Waleys OP found his doctoral studies delayed by three years, probably between 1317 and 1320. Yet, the resolution of the dispute left the requirement essentially unchanged.²⁴²

Sheehan has reckoned that '[i]n the half century before 1330 Dominicans and Franciscans dominated the faculty of theology' at Oxford.²⁴³ It was during this period that the Dominican teachers included Richard Knapwell, Thomas Sutton, Nicholas Trevet, with whose *Annales* this chapter opened; and Thomas Waleys (d. post-1349), who also taught at Bologna and completed an unfinished commentary by Trevet on St. Augustine's *City of God*. Sheehan's period ends only just before Robert Holcot OP held the regent's chair from 1333 to 1334, and would probably hold the same position at Cambridge later. Of Holcot's many works, his commentary on the Book of Wisdom was widely read in the next century and a half. John Waryn, rector of the Cornish parish of Menheniot, bequeathed in 1426 to the Prior of Launceston 'and his convent, a book called Holcote on the "Book of Wisdom" to pray for my soul'.²⁴⁴

Franciscans had been the first friars of note in the Cambridge Theology faculty, but the other orders were quick to emulate their success and 'by the end of the century', as at Oxford, 'Theology was ... dominated by the mendicant friars, especially the Franciscans and Dominicans'.²⁴⁵ Among the latter we may note 'Brother Siger', described sometime around 1260 in the *Lives of the Brethren* as '*vita, scientia, et fama praeclarus, lector in universitate Cantebriegie*'.²⁴⁶ Here, too, the early fourteenth century saw similar tensions to those in Oxford between seculars and the friars. University statutes of November 1303 restricted the legislative powers of the Theology faculty to govern its own practices and symbolised this stricter control by the wider university in a requirement that friars – like anyone else – who wished to incept as doctors in Theology had first to preach at Great St Mary's. The friars objected, and although this ritual snub was removed, the university retained its newfound hold over the friars.²⁴⁷

²⁴² Simon Tugwell, 'Thomas Waleys', *DNB*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28554>, accessed on 5 January 2021.

²⁴³ Sheehan, 'The religious orders', 190.

²⁴⁴ N. Orme (ed.), *Cornish Wills, 1342–1540*, DCRS ns 50 (Exeter, 2007), 61–62.

²⁴⁵ Damian Riehl Leader, *The University to 1546*, A History of the University of Cambridge, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 33.

²⁴⁶ M. O'Carroll, 'The educational organization', 48, citing *Vitae Fratrum*, *MOPH*, I, 63.

²⁴⁷ Leader, *The University to 1546*, 55–56.

Conclusion

In 1348 Duncan IV, Earl of Fife, petitioned the pope for the faculty to found a Dominican Priory at Cupar castle. The foundation was one of three that the friars hoped to establish in Scotland at this juncture, and as the year drew to a close the Vicar-General for Scotland duly received licence for two of them, including Cupar.²⁴⁸ The foundation measures the friars' continuing vitality after almost one hundred and thirty years of continuous development as a multinational corporation in the British Isles. This chapter has shown how the Province's growth was initially promoted across the British Isles by the English and Scottish crowns, by bishops, and by the Anglo-Norman (and to a lesser extent by the Welsh and Scots) nobility, as a means to implement the reforms of Lateran IV. We have seen how that growth was patterned by the size of urban settlements, by the presence or absence of other religious houses, and (in Ireland especially) by the desire of the colonists to strengthen their hold on territory. The chapter has underscored the general and more specialised service which these friars offered in and beyond their urban setting, as preachers, as confessors, as bishops, and as envoys.

This is not to claim that the Dominican friars had avoided all opposition. There had been long-running local disputes, like that we have observed at Hereford. There were fierce but short battles, like that observed at Rayleigh. In 1297 the archbishop of Tuam, William de Bermingham, instructed the faithful not to give food to the friars, who complained to the crown. The latter required the archbishop and Dominican Vicar-General to negotiate a settlement.²⁴⁹ These quarrels largely indicate the financial challenge posed to older religious bodies by the friars. Yet the Dominicans (similar to their fellow mendicants, the Franciscans) had carved out by 1348 an accepted, valued, and distinctive place in the spiritual economy and urban landscape of the British Isles.

²⁴⁸ Bliss P, 144; Bliss L, III, 304.

²⁴⁹ Watt, *The Church and the Two Nations*, 142.