Stella, Parens Solis, John Stell rege, munere prolis: The Construction of Institutional Memory and Identity in the Furness Abbey Coucher Book

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Abstract

This thesis undertakes detailed quantitative and literary investigation of the 15th-century monastic cartulary produced at Furness Abbey, known as the Furness Coucher Book, to understand how an institutional memory and identity for Furness Abbey was produced through selective inclusion, editing and organisation of its copied material. I compared the copied material in the Coucher Book with original material contained in the Furness Abbey archive, preserved in the Duchy of Lancaster muniments, and with enrolments in central government archives, to investigate this process by which such selective inclusion, editing and organisation of material was carried out. I undertook quantitative analysis of extant material, its inclusion and organisation, across both volumes of the Coucher Book, to determine what the editorial priorities of the compilers were and how these influenced the creation of an institutional memory and identity for Furness Abbey. The Metrical Introduction to the Coucher Book was also analysed in terms of its contribution to fostering a particular interpretation of the foundation of Furness Abbey, and how this complemented the editorial decisions of the cartulary compilers. Using the Boyville and Huddleston benefactors as case studies, I investigated in detail how the 15th-century Coucher Book compilers incorporated memories of these 12th-13th century abbey benefactors into an institutionalised interpretation of how Furness Abbey developed. I set the Coucher Book in a wider context of production of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland, both through quantitative analysis of shared features identified in the catalogue produced by Davies, and through in-depth comparison of how institutional memories were produced in the cartularies of Lanercost Priory, St. Leonard's Hospital, York, and Kelso Abbey. I argue that the Coucher Book, as well as being a record of property, was a conscious project for projecting an institutionalised history of Furness Abbey for a monastic and wider audience.

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Abbreviation List

MA, *CB Vol. I*	Metrical Account of the Foundation of Furness Abbey, from Coucher Book Volume I, fol.6, Verso & Recto, Chetham deed reference X, in *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part I, ed. by John Christopher Atkinson & John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1886), pp.21-23
MA, *CB Vol. II*	Metrical Introduction, from Coucher Book Volume II, fol. 1, Verso, in *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey, Volume II: Printed from the Original preserved in the British Museum*, Part I, ed. by John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1916), p.2
Index, *CB Vol. I*	Tabulated Index, from *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part I, ed. by John Christopher Atkinson & John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1886), pp.24-121
Index, *CB Vol. II*	Tabulated Index, from Coucher Book Volume II, in *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part I, ed. by John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1915), pp.3-79
CB Vol. I, Part I	*The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part I, ed. by John Christopher Atkinson & John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1886)
CB Vol. I, Part II	*The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part II, ed. by John Christopher Atkinson & John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1887)

CB Vol. I, Part III	*The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part III, ed. by John Christopher Atkinson & John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1888)
CB Vol. II, Part I	*The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part I, ed. by John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1915)
CB Vol. II, Part II	*The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part II, ed. by John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1916)
CB Vol. II, Part III	*The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part III, ed. by John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1919)
Introduction, *CB Vol. II*, Part I	John Brownbill, 'Introduction', in *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey Volume II: Printed from the Original Manuscript in the British Museum*, Part I, ed. by John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1915), pp.iii-x
Introduction, *CB Vol.I*, Part III	John Christopher Atkinson, 'Introductory Chapter', in *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey: Printed from the Original Preserved in The Record Office, London*, Part III, ed. by John Christopher Atkinson & John Brownbill (Manchester: Chetham Society, 1888), pp.vii-lx
THSLC	*Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire & Cheshire*

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Acknowledgements

This thesis is the fulfilment of a dream, a dream to be a historian, a dream to make myself and my family proud, a dream to reach towards the stars and fulfil what destiny has in store for me. I am still so early on my path towards fulfilling my dreams and I have already achieved so much in the process of writing this thesis. When I began my journey, in 2017, I had no idea what to expect from a PhD, little confidence that I could be what I dreamed I could be, and never expected that it would take the form that it did. I end this stage of my journey proud of my achievement, resilient in the face of adversity and confident in my capabilities as a historian. I am as anxious as I have ever been, but I am stronger because it. I will no longer let fear determine what I am capable of doing, or becoming, and I will always be grateful to those who have, in their own way, helped meto overcome that fear, to produce a thesis which I did not think I was capable of producing.

I must thank, first and foremost, my supervisors Fiona and Chris D, as I have affectionately referred to them in correspondence these past five years. From the beginning, they recognised my potential and how it could be unlocked, by adapting their supervisory strategy so seamlessly to my learning style and personal constitution, as well as challenging me, realistically and regularly, to go beyond what I felt capable of doing while nurturing me throughout the entire process. The process may not have been entirely clear, for it hardly ever is in a PhD, but the outcomes were beautiful to see unfold and humbling to know that I was responsible for producing them.

I am most proud of how I took ownership of this task from the very beginning and made this my own independent work, though in truth it is the work of many hands, too many to recount in these Acknowledgements. I must thank my family, particularly my mother Alison and my father Michael, for their patient and loving support, and I only wish I could have more clearly shared more of what I was doing and how I was doing it throughout the PhD. I hope that I have made them proud and they need to know that, without their dedication and love, I would never have become the first Dcotor in my family. My grandparents, Eric and Dorothy Hart, and Cynthia Tinmouth, would be proud of how far their grandson has come. My grandfather, Ronald Tinmouth, who passed away in 2018, always knew I would do good in whatever I chose to do and he respected my decisions in life. His last act for me before he died was to fund my academic conference trip to Nottingham, at which I delivered and subsequently published my first ever academic paper with the Midlands Historical Review. It is only right, therefore, that he should receive acknowledgment here.

I need to acknowledge the funding granted to me in May 2019 by the Kirby Trust, and in September 2019 by the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society (CWAAS), in order for me to conduct the necessary primary research on the Furness Coucher Book itself and the Duchy of Lancaster collections in the National Archives (TNA). I wish to acknowledge the prompt and professional service I received at the TNA from Dr Paul Dryburgh and Dr Sean Cunningham in accessing the Duchy of Lancaster collections, and for their support in my progression as an early career researcher.

Working as a Tour Guide at Lancaster Castle for the duration of this PhD, I wish to acknowledge all of the staff at Lancaster Castle for their support in my journey to become a doctor, and I hope that my research will be a first step towards bringing the history of the Castle, and of Lancashire more generally, to a wider audience through academic means.

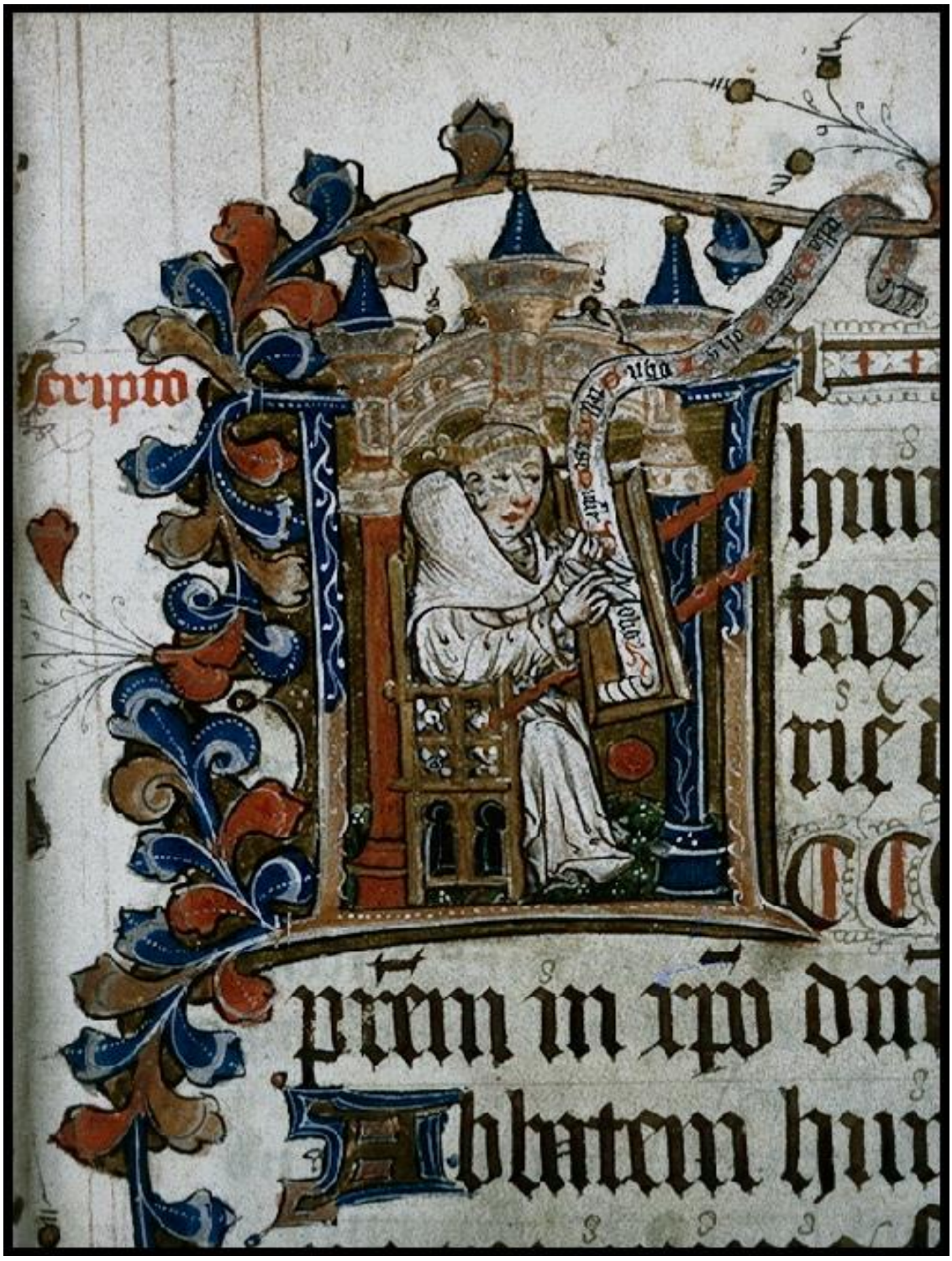
I wish to acknowledge the History Department at Lancaster University for supporting me throughout my time as a doctoral student, offering me the opportunity to discover my capabilities as a teacher of undergraduate students and pastoral support during more difficult times. The Library staff deserve acknowledgment for their help in locating appropriate research resources, as do the ancillary support services that helped me to feel more at home as a student of the University. I am grateful that I leave Lancaster feeling even more like a member of the academic community, and more like the historian that I always have been.

Finally, I wish to thank, from the bottom of my heart, that being of light which taught me the importance of being true to myself, of embracing the child within, and of triumphing in the face of fear to be the best that I can be. This being shall remain anonymous, but it has been the greatest rediscovery of my life and I want to continue to be inspired by its presence and lessons long after this PhD is over.

Author's Declaration

I declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted in substantially the same form for the award of a higher degree elsewhere.

Introduction: ***Stella, Parens Solis, John Stell rege, munere prolis***



Picture 1: Self-portrait of John Stell, compiler of the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (c.1412), © British Library Board (BL: Additional MS 33244, fol.1v)

The quotation in the title of this thesis comes from the Furness Abbey Coucher Book. Furness Abbey was a Cistercian monastery in north-western England, founded in 1127 by Stephen, Count of Boulogne and Mortain, later King Stephen of England (1135-1153).[1] Its Coucher Book was created in the early 15th century. The words I have quoted appear in the book's opening pages, where they emanate from the hand of a monastic scribe.[2] The scribe is believed to be John Stell, who was commissioned to compile this register of all the abbey property up to c.1412.[3] However, this was by no means the limit of his task. As editor, Stell presided over a consolidation of how the Furness community related to its history and what it stood for as an institution, through selective inclusion and interpretation of the material at his disposal. Furness Abbey was perhaps the most powerful monastic institution in mediaeval Lancashire and was the second wealthiest Cistercian monastery in England after Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire, at the time of the Dissolution.[4] It had long exercised a degree of political autonomy over the Furness Peninsula, quite unusual among English monastic houses, and even claimed the power to nominate the Bishop of Sodor.[5]

This thesis presents new research on the 15th-century cartulary produced at Furness Abbey, which I refer to as the Coucher Book. This research aimed to answer the following questions: did the Coucher Book embody an institutional historical narrative for Furness Abbey and how did this narrative influence its identity? I undertook detailed analysis of the extant archival material, or texts, incorporated into the Coucher Book, alongside the local and general archival context of the cartulary.[6] To maintain consistent categorisation, I refer to all the material within the Coucher Book as texts in this thesis. The Coucher Book texts are mostly copies of originals, and surviving originals have been located and distinguished from the Coucher Book texts. In what follows, I investigate different layers of memory and identity embedded within the texts, particularly in terms of the relationship between the abbey and its benefactors, since the material chiefly concerns interactions between the abbey and its world beyond the cloister. I hope to demonstrate that the Coucher Book played a significant role in

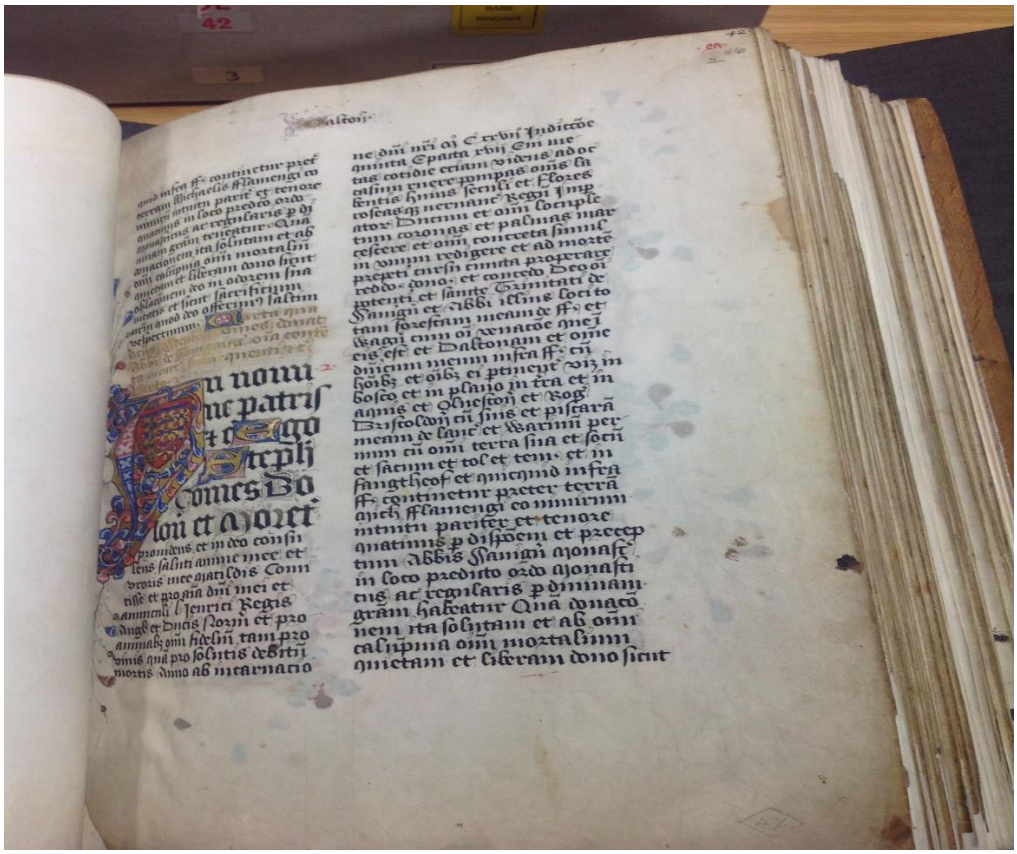
[1] Alice Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey* (Ulverston: Furness Heritage Press, 1987), p.11.
[2] 'Oh Star, parent of the Sun, direct to John Stell, the favour of your son', from *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol. 1, V., p.2.
[3] Thomas Alcock Beck, *Annales Furnesienses: History and Antiquities of the Abbey of Furness* (London: Payne & Moss, 1844), p.288; see Chapter Four for discussion on the identity of this figure, pp.165–167, p.168.
[4] Frederick Maurice Powicke, 'Houses of Cistercian monks: The abbey of Furness', in *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 2*, ed. by William Farrer & John Brownbill (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1908), pp.114–115.
[5] Ibid., pp.114–115; Keith J. Stringer, *The Reformed Church in Medieval Galloway and Cumbria: Contrasts, Connections and Continuities* (Whithorn: Friends of the Whithorn Trust, 2003), p.23.
[6] The texts for the Coucher Book (Volume I) were published in six parts within *CB Vol.I*, Part I, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, and *CB Vol.I*, Part III. Throughout this thesis, the Coucher Book texts shall be referenced according to this abbreviated format: e.g. Orgrave text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.94, V., p.227.

constructing an historical understanding peculiar to Furness Abbey and that certain other monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland served a similar purpose for their communities beyond estimation of property holdings.

In 1124, thirteen reforming monks left their mother-house in Savigny, in Normandy, to found the first Savigniac English daughter-house in Tulketh, near Preston. After four years of inauspicious beginnings, the monks relocated to a frontier region as yet sparsely settled by secular powers.[7] This was the Furness Peninsula, northwest of Lancaster, bounded by Morecambe Bay to the east and the Furness Fells to the north.[8] A self-contained geographical and political region of Norman England, with rich natural resources on land and sea, Furness seemed a 'favourable' location for the pursuit of the 'contemplative life' dedicated to the pursuit of solitude and self-sufficiency.[9] At least, this was the image of its foundation most conducive to later generations of Furness monks looking back on their origins. Frontier existence may have held some appeal in their memory from the outset, but it became increasingly difficult to reconcile this with their identity as an established monastery in later times. How the Furness monks remembered their moment of foundation is encapsulated in the words of the so-called Foundation Charter for Furness Abbey by Stephen, Count of Boulogne and Mortain, contained within the Coucher Book:

> Evi metas quotidie etiam videns ad occasum ruere, pompas omnes labentis huius seculi, et flores roseasque vernantes Regum, Imperatorum, Ducum et omnium locupletum coronas et palmas marcescere, et omnium concreta simul in unum redigi et ad mortem prepeti cursu cuncta properare.[10]

[7] Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.15.
[8] Fred Barnes, *Barrow and District* (Barrow: Barrow–in–Furness Corporation, 1968), pp.1–2.
[9] Thomas West, *The Antiquities of Furness. Illustrated with Engravings* (Ulverston: George Ashburner, 1818), pp.68–69.
[10] 'Considering every day the uncertainty of life, that roses and flowers of kings, emperors and dukes, and the crowns and palms of all the great wither and decay; and that all things, with an uninterrupted course, tend to dissolution and death', from *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.47, V., p.123.



Picture 2: The so-called Foundation Charter of Furness Abbey in the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (c.1412), (TNA: DL42/3, fol.47v), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

One of many examples of pious dedication contained within the cartulary, this passage speaks to the preoccupation with decay that defined the craving of the mediaeval mind for salvation.[11] It seeks to portray Count Stephen as an exemplary benefactor, since the passage may have been written by one of the Furness monks. The dedication demonstrates something of how the benefactor himself wished to be remembered, such as security for the future of his dynasty, as well as coinciding with new fashions in how monastic foundations were conceived by secular patrons .[12] Nevertheless, by the time this passage was being rendered in c.1412, the

[11] Ludovicus J.R. Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), pp.9–10, pp.15–16.
[12] Emilia Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe: Interaction, Negotiation and Power,* ed. by Emilia Jamroziak & Janet Burton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), p.71.

Coucher Book compilers effectively subordinated the different possible purposes of this passage towards providing a definitive history of the foundation of the abbey for the monastic community at Furness. This may have coincided with the monastic version, or have been connected to a diversity of non-monastic, secular concerns,[13] such as security for the future of Stephen's dynasty and coincidence with new fashions in how monastic foundations were conceived by secular patrons.

This thesis contributes to growing scholarly appreciation of how multiple layers of memory could be incorporated into the development of historical sources as they now appear to us. Patrick Geary recognised how early mediaeval monastic cartularies set the boundaries for remembering the history of their houses through consolidating an official version of events.[14] Documentary records had prescriptive force in the creation and consolidation of memory.[15] This capacity of monastic cartularies to legitimise monastic historical narratives has garnered scholarly attention,[16] especially when they were adapted by successive generations of mediaeval audiences for the purpose of remembrance.[17]

It has been well-documented, for instance, how forgeries commonly resulted from conscious attempts to rewrite the history of monastic houses. Consider Julia Barrow's research on Worcester Cathedral Priory. She has shown how the Norman Conquest prompted members of the priory to use forged charters to obscure the speed of the community's conversion to Benedictine monasticism.[18] These forgeries, as Barrow explains, caused confusion for generations of scholars about a key aspect of the Priory's history.[19] Although historians have been subsequently on their guard against forgeries within the cartulary record, the cartulary itself has rarely been considered in the same light as forgeries have in terms of the historicising processes which the material was subjected to. Notable exceptions in this regard concern the work of Emilia Jamroziak on Rievaulx Abbey. She has shown how Rievaulx, along with its neighbours and benefactors, generated different interpretations of the way benefactions were

[13] Ibid., p.71.
[14] Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), pp.11–12.
[15] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp.11–14.
[16] Ruth Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages: Rhetoric, Representation, and Reality* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pp.90–91; Georges Declerq, 'Originals and Cartularies: The Organization of Archival Memory (Ninth–Eleventh Centuries)', in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. by Karl Heidecker (Brepols: Turnhout, 2000), p.167.
[17] David Bates, 'Charters and Historians of Britain and Ireland: Problems and Possibilities', in *Charters and Charter Scholarship in Britain and Ireland*, ed. by Marie Therese Flanagan & Judith A. Green (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), pp. 3, p.7.
[18] Julia Barrow, 'How the Twelfth–Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth–Century Europe*, ed. by Paul Magdalino (London: The Hambledon Press, 1992), pp.53–4, p.74
[19] Barrow, 'How the Twelfth–Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', pp.54–55.

granted and relationships maintained during the very period when the Rievaulx cartulary was produced.[20] The work of Michael Spence on the Fountains Abbey cartularies produced in the 15th century suggests how a process of creative redaction was at work to manipulate 'archival memory' in response to changing circumstances.[21] He shows how recording the acquisition and status of granges in Craven, for instance, that were seen as less important to Fountains by the mid-15th century were revised in the light of disputed abbatial succession and rent disputes in the aftermath of adverse socio-economic change from the late-14th century.[22] However, recent analysis of multi-scribal activity in the Glasgow Cathedral Cartulary by Joanna Tucker cautions against ascribing the development of late mediaeval cartularies to particular periods or people, emphasising instead how multiple hands influenced the compilation of cartularies across a broad expanse of time.[23] In this context, the Coucher Book could be seen as an arena of memories, generated by record contexts across space and time, competing for prominence in the monastic account of the history of Furness Abbey even as an official version of events emerged.

Abbot William Dalton (1405-1417) commissioned the Furness Coucher Book as a compilation of texts relating to Furness Abbey property acquired since 1127.[24] It was produced by a team of monastic scribes at the abbey in c.1412, [25] although later material continued to be added.[26] Preservation of surviving written material and compilation of the remaining texts into a coherent and manageable format were typical motivations for compiling monastic cartularies.[27] Certain original documents copied into the Coucher Book indicate the presence of an archive at Furness, since partly lost, from which the compilers drew their material.[28] Increasing litigation seems to have played a part in instigating this first major initiative at archival reorganisation we know about at Furness. In 1410, for instance, Henry IV (1399–1413) reprimanded Abbot William Dalton for failing to maintain a proper garrison and smuggling wool and corn to Flanders and Ireland; the king threatened to confiscate the abbatial customs post of Piel Castle.[29] However, an equally important motivation could have been Dalton's desire to secure his legacy within the Furness monastic community, especially when compared to the endeavours of Master

[20] Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', pp.63–65.
[21] Michael Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire: Monastic Administration, Economy, and Archival Memory* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2020), p.93, p.142.
[22] Ibid, pp.93–94, 112.
[23] Joanna Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies: Multi–Scribe Manuscripts and their Patterns of Growth* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2020), pp.54–60, pp.76–77.
[24] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.283; Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.68.
[25] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.35.
[26] See, for example, The King's Tenth (1478), *CB Vol.II*, Part II, fol.227, V. & R., pp.582–583.
[27] David Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', in *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major*, ed. by D.A. Bullough & R.L. Storey (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p.134.
[28] See Chapter Three, pp.155–156.
[29] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.33.

William Feriby (1409-1415) with respect to the St. Leonard's Hospital Cartulary.[30] Since both men were essentially advertising their personal patronage of these cartularies, this represents both a significant trend in how monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland were being commissioned as more than emblematic of communal identity, but increasingly bore the stamp of the personal identity of abbots upon them. Similar examples of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland attributed to the personal patronage of abbots include the Meaux Abbey Cartulary II, made in retirement by Abbot Thomas Burton (1396–1399), and the Rufford Abbey Cartulary, made for Abbot John Lyle (1471).[31]

As noted, John Stell has been seen as the principal editor of the Coucher Book,[32] and even a man of considerable artistic ability,[33] as shown in the illuminated self-portrait included in one of the initials of the Coucher Book.[34] He dedicated the cartulary to St. Mary of Furness and took a prominent role in transcribing the texts throughout the work.[35] As well as composing the Metrical Introduction to the Coucher Book, chronicling the history of Furness Abbey up to 1412,[36] Stell paid particular attention to depicting accurate heraldic insignia within the initials of many texts.[37] This could reflect the critical importance Stell felt on behalf of his abbot of commemorating the benefactors of the abbey. The significant resources invested in compiling the Coucher Book are clearly shown by the use of a silver pen, black and coloured ink written on vellum,[38] and gold leaf employed in many of the illuminated letters.[39] While most of the Coucher Book material consisted of texts copied into an updated codex form, there is evidence of earlier material being inserted into the cartulary,[40] with a series of 12th-century originals inserted into the beginning of the Coucher Book, before the poetic Metrical Introduction.[41] John Stell is often considered the singular editor of the Coucher Book, and it may have been commissioned and completed within the abbacy of William Dalton,[42] yet multi-scribal activity can be detected in the Furness cartulary. For example, a grant by Furness Abbey to Bolton Priory in 1266 of land in Farnley has been inserted into the Selside texts by a later hand,[43] which

[30] See Chapter Five, pp.204–207.
[31] C.G.C. Tite, 'The Early Records of Sir Robert Cotton's Library', (London, 2003), p.163; Christopher J. Holdsworth, 'Rufford Charters', Thoroton Society, Record Series, vols.29–30, 32, 34, (1972–1981).
[32] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.288.
[33] S.B. Gaythorpe, 'On the Date of the Foundation of Furness Abbey', *TCWAAS*, vol.29, (1929), p.216.
[34] Portrait of John Stell, from *CB Vol.II*, fol. 1, V., p.2; a similar stylistic representation of a monk petitioning the Virgin and Child appears in the illuminated initial of *CB Vol.I*, fol.7, V., p.24.
[35] Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.68.
[36] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, pp.35–36.
[37] John Christopher Atkinson, 'Prefatory Notice', *CB Vol.I*, Part I, p.iii.
[38] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.287.
[39] Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.68.
[40] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, pp.283–284.
[41] Pre–Coucher Book copies, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.1–6, V. & R., pp.1–20.
[42] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.283.
[43] Selside texts 17, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.131, R., p.352.

appears to have substituted it from its former place among the Winterburn texts.[44] This could indicate how the presence of multi-scribal activity in the Coucher Book undertook effective editorial decisions during the process of compilation, whilst ostensibly under the supervision of John Stell.

The Coucher Book was removed from the abbey following the Dissolution, on 9th April 1537, to the Duchy of Lancaster archive and, when this was subsequently moved to the Savoy in London, part of the Coucher Book moved too.[45] It was divided into two volumes after the Dissolution, with Volume I eventually coming to the Public Record Office as part of the Duchy of Lancaster records,[46] while Volume II disappeared from the 17th century only to re-emerge in the late-18th century, when it was donated to the British Museum.[47] Both volumes were subsequently edited from 1870–1922 by Reverend John Christopher Atkinson and John Brownbill, but no further translation or editing of the Coucher Book has been undertaken since that time.[48] The Coucher Book (Volume I) is a substantial and bulky manuscript, measuring sixteen inches high and ten-and-a-half inches wide,[49] and its physical condition is imperfect. Many folios were damaged during its movement between different archives and by selective antiquarian removals.[50] This was apparent to Atkinson, who reasoned that many of the heraldic illuminations and their accompanying pages in Volume I had been removed by a late-16th-century antiquary. Several of these escutcheons that had been pasted back in had been labelled at the back in writing of that date.[51] However, despite this mutilation, the copies in the Coucher Book, and the originals that survive, remain invaluable sources from the abbey itself. Although comparable to Volume I in terms of size and weight, the Coucher Book (Volume II) is a much more compact artefact in terms of size and weight, and despite suffering similar heraldic mutilation it survived in a considerably greater state of completeness. It may even have been intended as a more portable device for advocating abbey possessions beyond Furness, which shall be the subject of further discussion in Chapter Two.[52] Both volumes may be physically analogous to lectionaries used during church services, which were large and intended for public display or reference, such as the Office Lectionary of Morimond Abbey (1174).[53] It is not

[44] Winterburn text 147, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.182, V., p.468.
[45] Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.81.
[46] John Brownbill, 'Introduction', in *CB Vol.II*, Part I, p.iii.
[47] Ibid., pp.iii–v.
[48] Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.81.
[49] Atkinson, 'Prefatory Notice', in *CB Vol.I*, Part I, p.iii.
[50] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.284; Atkinson, 'Prefatory Notice', in *CB Vol.I*, Part I, pp.iii–iv.
[51] Ibid., p.iii.
[52] See ensuing discussion on the portability of Volume II in Chapter Two, p.31
[53] Office Lectionary (1174), Harvard University, Houghton Library, MS Typ 223, in *Curiosity Collections*, https://curiosity.lib.harvard.edu/medieval-renaissance-manuscripts/catalog/34-990096070530203941, accessed 10/10/2022.

inconceivable, therefore, that the Coucher Book could have been designed with such public display functions in mind.

The Coucher Book has long been valued by local historians for what it can reveal about the landholding practices of Furness Abbey.[54] This perspective is shared by scholarship that has assumed cartularies in general were made with propertied interests in mind.[55] This has particularly been the case in English scholarship on the monastic estate since these cartularies were themselves taken into possession by the landed aristocracy following the Dissolution, and were consequently used to justify ownership of the land by effectively acting as title deeds.[56] Early antiquaries often stressed the importance of these aristocrats in their histories of the monastic estate.[57] In the case of Furness Abbey, Thomas West's seminal history, published in 1778, illuminated the abbey's history as part of the estate of the Lord George Cavendish, Duke of Devonshire.[58] This, West hoped, would result in a renewal of interest in the abbey ruins and, by extension, the resurrection of Catholicism on the estates of the Duke, from whom West benefited because of his close patronage and protection of Catholic worship on his estates.[59] In the case of Fountains Abbey, the principal interest of 17th-18th-century antiquaries was in genealogical connections revealed through its documentary record.[60] Systematic study of these records in the 19th century retained an interest in the topography and genealogy of the abbey, and this still exerts an influence over attempts to reimagine the monastic documentary record today.[61] This earlier scholarship, viewing monasteries principally through property records, appreciated them principally as landowners and related them to contemporary networks of aristocratic property ownership.[62] Accompanying this was a tendency to romanticise the monasteries as symbols of a vanished mediaeval world and to express anxiety at the part played by the Reformation in contributing to their Dissolution.[63]

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[54] See esp. Alfred Fell, *The Early Iron Industry in Furness: An Historical and Descriptive Account from Earliest Times to the End of the 18th Century with an Account of Furness Ironmasters in Scotland, 1726–1800* (Ulverston: Kitchin & Co., 1908), pp.13–14.
[55] Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, p.6.
[56] Linda Rasmussen, 'Monastic Benefactors in England and Denmark: Their Social Background and Gender Distribution', in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000–1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. by Emilia Jamroziak & Janet Burton (Brepols: Turnhout, 2006), p.77.
[57] See Christine Dade–Robertson, *Furness Abbey: Romance, Scholarship and Culture* (Lancaster: Centre for North West Regional Studies, 2000) p.3, pp.6–7, p.48 for discussion on the contribution of antiquaries in understanding the history of the monastic estate, especially in relation to Furness.
[58] See West's dedication to Lord George Cavendish for his willingness to preserve the ruins of the abbey from further decay in West, *The Antiquities of Furness*, Dedication, pp.i–iv.
[59] Anne C. Parkinson, *A History of Catholicism in the Furness Peninsula, 1127–1997* (Lancaster: Centre for North–West Regional Studies, 1998), p.44.
[60] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, p.29, p.33.
[61] Ibid., pp.31–32.
[62] Elisabeth Van Houts, 'Introduction', in *Medieval Memories: Men, Women and the Past*, ed. by Elisabeth Van Houts (Harlow: Longman, 2001), p.4.
[63] Dade–Robertson, *Furness Abbey: Romance, Scholarship and Culture*, p.3.

Monastic cartularies were products of a period which Michael Clanchy characterised as one of transition from an oral to a literate culture.[64] An increased significance was attributed to the written word as emblematic of memory during this period, which enhanced the oral ritual associated with that memory and gave it a new means of expression.[65] Compilers of monastic cartularies, confronted with an increasing availability of written material in the 12th–13th centuries, were forced to adopt a different, selective approach to compiling such material, which focused on reorganising their augmented archives.[66] This process of 'cartularisation', how material came to be selected and arranged into an evolving cartulary format,[67] continued right up to the period when the Furness Coucher Book was produced. It cannot be assumed, therefore, that the material contained within the cartularies necessarily reflected what was contained in their original monastic archive. Instead, we need to attend to cartularies as historical artefacts and to investigate how and why they were assembled.

Diverse reasons for the compilation of monastic cartularies have been proposed, from reorganising the existing state of the monastic archive and recovering information lost due to catastrophe,[68] to chronicling the history of the monastery for posterity.[69] In some monasteries, cartularies acted as a focus for community solidarity in the midst of hardship,[70] or when records were being lost exponentially,[71] and thus served a deeper emotional and spiritual significance than previous historiography has been prepared to accept. In other monasteries, cartularies effectively served as an antiquarian exercise for individual abbots or compilers,[72] as increasingly personal influences began to be felt within the monastic estate. In yet more monasteries, cartularies were 'an act of self-conscious creation',[73] the product of an archivist

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[64] Michael T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1993), 2nd edition, pp.19–21, pp.41–43, pp.185–187.
[65] Bates, 'Charters and Historians of Britain and Ireland', p.7.
[66] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp.101–102, pp.157–158.
[67] Pierre Chastang, 'Cartulaires, cartularisation et scripturalite medieval: la structuration d'un nouveau champ de recherce', *Cahiers de civilisation medievale*, vol.49 (2006), pp.21–23, pp.27–31.
[68] Declerq, 'Originals and Cartularies, p.167, p.170; Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', pp.140–143, p.149.
[69] Ibid., p.149.
[70] For example, the Lanercost Priory Cartulary, see 'The Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County Record Office MS DZ/1)', ed. by John Murray Todd, *The Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol.203, and *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Record Series 11, joint publication, (1997), pp.34–35.
[71] For example, the Dover Priory Cartulary, see Charles Reginald Haines, *Dover Priory: A History of the Priory of St. Mary the Virgin and St. Martin of the New Work* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), pp.490–491, preface.
[72] For example, the St. Leonard's Hospital, York, Cartulary, see *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, ed. by David Carpenter (York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society & Borthwick Institute for Archives, 2015), p.xxxix, p.lvi.
[73] Kathryn A. Lowe, 'Curating and curating an archive: Bury St. Edmunds and its Anglo–Saxon past', in *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland, 500–1500*, ed. by J. Jahner, E. Steiner & E.M. Tyler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), p.192.

mind-set which was deeply concerned for the preservation and use of material that could be of practical benefit to their community, combined with a genuine interest in the history of their house.[74] On the other hand, the work of Joanna Tucker on the Glasgow Cathedral Cartulary reveals that cartularies could function as 'an open, active space within the community', serving multiple functions within and across different periods of its compilation, and that such memorialisation of benefactions and institutional development could remain open for future generations of monastic scribes to adapt to.[75] The different uses to which cartularies could be put by c.1412 therefore illuminate how the motivations behind their production could be varied and overlapping.

The organisation of memory was perhaps the most highly prized 'art' of the Middle Ages, which had defined the very practice of composition since Antiquity.[76] Cartulary compilers were among the most accomplished practitioners of this art, so much so that the boundary between historical narrative and archival sense became blurred in the creation of 'cartulary chronicles',[77] as is the case with the Abingdon and Ramsey Cartularies.[78] The Coucher Book is classified as a 'cartulary' by G.R.C. Davis,[79] insofar as it was not conceived and executed as a self-consciously historical or memorial work. Nevertheless, it incorporates features similar to other monastic cartularies involving historicisation of memory, such as the 'cartulary chronicles' exhibit, and the cartulary genre in any case remained flexible in its approach to distinguishing historical narrative from archive sense.[80] Therefore, the potential for cartularies to take on many of the features of chronicles, even if they are not themselves chronicles, must be taken into account.

As well as the Coucher Book, Furness Abbey had produced earlier literary works to consolidate its sense of memory and identity. Recently, attention has been paid to the hagiographies of Jocelin of Furness, especially the *Lives* of St. Patrick and St. Kentigern.[81]

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[74] Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', p.132, p.150.
[75] Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, p.132.
[76] Mary Carruthers & Jan M. Ziolkowski, 'General Introduction', in *The Medieval Craft of Memory: An Anthology of Texts and Pictures*, ed. by Mary Carruthers & Jan M. Ziolkowski (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002), p.2, p.22.
[77] G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, revised by Claire Breay, Julian Harrison & David M. Smith (London: The British Library, 2010, originally 1958), p.xiii.
[78] Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England, c.550–c.1307* (London: Routledge, 1974), p.272.
[79] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.xiii.
[80] Bert Roest, 'Later Medieval Institutional History', in *Historiography in the Middle Ages*, ed. by Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (Brill: Leiden, 2003) pp.280–282; Morse, *Truth and Convention in the Middle Ages*, pp.89–90.
[81] See esp. Helen Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness: Hagiography, Patronage and Ecclesiastical Politics* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2010), pp.25–58, pp.85–114; Fiona Edmonds, 'Saints' Cults and Gaelic-Scandinavian Influence around the Cumberland Coast and North of the Solway Firth', in C*eltic-Norse Relationships in the Irish Sea in the Middle Ages 800-1200*, ed.by Jón Viðar Sigurðsson and Timothy Bolton (Leiden: Brill, 2014), pp. 39-63.

These illuminate the importance of the wider Insular context within which Furness Abbey operated, namely across the Irish Sea and the Scottish Borders to encompass interaction with all constituents of the Insular world.[82] In the late-13th century, this Insular element was similarly highlighted in the Chronicle produced at Furness Abbey in c.1298, a continuation of William of Newburgh's *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*.[83] The Furness Abbey archive in c.1412 clearly contained records from Ireland, since they are referred to explicitly in the Coucher Book in recounting the origins of Inch Abbey.[84] Furthermore, 12th-century Cistercian hagiographies of Insular saints' cults were known at Furness Abbey,[85] including the *Life of St. Ninian* by Abbot Ailred of Rievaulx that was known to Jocelin of Furness as he was composing his *Life of St. Kentigern*,[86] and hagiographies of Northumbrian saints, including St. Cuthbert, may have made their way to the Furness Abbey archive by the time Jocelin was writing.[87] However, this Insular element in the historical consciousness of Furness Abbey is notable by its lack of prominence in the Coucher Book, compared to a sustained focus upon the abbey's connections with English royalty. Particularly concerning the genre of mediaeval chronicles, the potential of the text to be open to manipulation of historical truth has long been recognised.[88] A key chronicle on the possible existence of King Arthur, the *Historia Brittonum*, for example, traditionally believed to be solely authored by Nennius.[89] It has since been shown by David Dumville that not only may the claim of Nennius' authorship be based on an 11th-century forgery, but that the chronicle itself underwent several anonymous revisions by multiple authors up to the late-11th century.[90]

Focusing upon the text as the chief source of historical understanding, which has deep roots in English historiography, has been challenged by a Continental perspective on how texts should be 'read' as 'texts'.[91] Jacques Derrida in particular argued that there is nothing outside

[82] Christopher Tinmouth, 'Frontiers of Faith: The Impact of the Insular Frontier upon the Identity and Development of Furness Abbey', *Midlands Historical Review*, vol.2 (2018), http://www.midlandshistoricalreview.com/frontiers–of–faith–the–impact–of–the–insular–frontier–upon–the–identity/, [accessed 23 March 2022].
[83] *Continuatio*, ed. by Roger Howlett, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, Rolls Series, vol.2, p.lxxxviii, pp.503–83.
[84] Pre–Coucher Book text 5, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.1–2, V. & R., p.12.
[85] Stringer, *The Reformed Church in Medieval Galloway and Cumbria*, pp.14–15.
[86] Birkkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness*, p.159.
[87] Anne Lawrence–Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), p.215.
[88] Chris Given–Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon & London, 2004), pp.2–4; Antonia Gransden, *Legends, Traditions and History in Medieval England* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1992), pp.200–201, pp.219–220.
[89] Felix Liebermann, 'Nennius the author of the Historia Brittonum', in *Essays in Medieval History presented to T. F. Tout*, ed. by Andrew George Little & Frederick Maurice Powicke (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1925), pp.29–30.
[90] David N. Dumville, 'Sub–Roman Britain: History and Legend', *History*, vol.62, no.205 (1977), pp.176–177.
[91] Bates, 'Charters and Historians of Britain and Ireland', pp.2–3.

the text and that we can only engage with a text by constructing meaning, which can itself be deconstructed in terms of the prior understandings we impose upon it.[92] Therefore, grand narratives that are otherwise embodied in the text, or are superimposed upon the text by the preconceptions of the reader, cannot survive an approach that deconstructs how texts are constructed.[93] While this thesis does take much of its cue from deconstructing the meanings behind the text of the Coucher Book, it recognises that construction of meaning is in itself necessary to deduce further meaning behind the text itself, if only to provide a starting point by which multiple layers of meaning can be uncovered and the priorities of its compilers can be revealed. This does not preclude a broader understanding of memory as a general phenomenon and a particular development, intended to serve the needs of the monastic community where it was generated, which will now be attempted.

Memory can be defined here as a selective recollection of past events and organisation of such recollection within a narrative framework most conducive to human comprehension of the external world.[94] From this narrative organisation of memory an identity can be formed as a construct of memory, at least until the narrative of memory itself is subject to contradiction on its own terms.[95] Furness Abbey is viewed for the purposes of this thesis as a collective entity generating a collective memory, which behoves a consideration as to how the concept of collective memory has been addressed in broader scholarship. Collective memory has been seen as something shared among multiple individuals and across time and space.[96] It has even been assumed that collective memory is more important in the long term than individual memory, since it embodies the collected recollections of individuals across successive generations and is responsive to changing needs.[97] Yet, this assumes that the group as a whole essentially remains the same over time, possibly devaluing individual memory in the process.[98] Furness Abbey may have consisted of the changing memories of individual monks over time, but the monastic community as a whole generated strong incentives to sustain a collective memory by valuing consistent bonds across time to connect past, present and future brethren. This sense of

[92] Jacques Derrida, *De la Grammatologie*, trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1976), p.159.
[93] Ibid., p.159.
[94] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp.19–20; Chris Wickham, 'Remembering', in *Social Memory*, ed. by Chris Wickham & J. Fentress (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp.5–6, p.24.
[95] John Pocock, 'The Origins of the Study of the Past', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol.4 (1962), p.217.
[96] Anne Whitehead, *Memory* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2009), pp.125–126.
[97] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, trans. by Francis J. Ditter & Vida Yazdi Ditter (New York: Harper Press, 1980), p.82.
[98] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. by Kathleen Blamey & David Pellauer (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2004), p.122.

communal connection could then be transferred into a more institutionalised form through a codified means such as the Coucher Book.

Various scholars have sought to find alternative ways of expressing the concept of collective memory that does not fall at the expense of the individual. For instance, 'collected memories' has been preferred as 'shared communications about the meaning of the past…anchored in the life-worlds of individuals who partake in the communal life of [a group]'.[99] Others have identified 'shared memory' as one that 'integrates and calibrates the different perspectives of those who remember (an) episode…into one version'.[100] While both terms sought to be more sensitive to the diverse individual perspectives upon a collective memory, they still essentially recognised collective memory as a concept distinct from individual memory, and they still orient individual experiences in line with the collection of experiences that takes priority in their analysis. This has implications for scholarship on monastic memory, since the individual and collective dimensions of memory require finer distinctions to elicit meaningful conclusions as to what sort of memory was being preserved in monastic records such as cartularies. For the purposes of this thesis, I consider the collective memory of Furness Abbey to have been actively constructed by individual monastic actors as part of a wider project of institutionalising that shared memory for themselves and for those outside the community. This means that the consequent institutional memory created for Furness Abbey in the form of the Coucher Book could be open to reinterpretation and flexible application to different contexts across time and space in relation to how the abbey developed in Furness and beyond.

In seeking to understand exactly how the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412 approached the effective writing of the history of their monastery, it is pertinent to consider more broadly how the writing of history in general was conceived in the Middle Ages, and in particular how the processes and phenomenon of human memory was perceived by contemporaries. *Memoria*, as ritualized programmes of preserving memory of departed patrons, provided the core social role of the religious communities in the early Middle Ages, and this continued to be the case in the late Middle Ages.[101] This provided a rudimentary framework within which historical texts and compilations of historical information could be undertaken, informed by an approach to the study of memory which had its origins in the philosophy of St. Augustine.[102] Ancient and medieval writers on memory recognized, as we now do, the dual

[99] Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Memory Studies', *History and Theory*, vol.41 (2002), p.188.
[100] Avishai Margalit, *The Ethics of Memory* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002), p.52.
[101] Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.72.
[102] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp.16–17; Carruthers & Ziolkowski, 'General Introduction', p.2.

aspects of storage and recollection involved in remembering.[103] Their commonest model for human memory likened it to a tablet or a parchment page, upon which a person writes.[104] Far from being passive and thus (at least possibly) neutral, memory-making was regarded as active; it was even a 'craft' with techniques and tools, all designed to create a useful product.[105] Augustine articulated a 'true law of history' according to a regressive trajectory of proceeding towards the Second Coming via a decaying world, and attributed importance to retrieving fragments of memory from earlier periods to preserve the best of what had come before.[106] Some modern scholars have taken the 'true law of history' articulated by Bede to mean that there were rules for writing history, involving checking sources and reporting facts accurately.[107] Yet, Roger Ray argues that Bede meant not that there was one true law for writing history but that one of the laws used in writing history allowed for the use of evidence from hearsay if it is thought to be true.[108] Insofar as there were any rules for recollecting history they were frequently broken, since mediaeval writers could read through and across different narrative styles and conventions in establishing a pre-linguistic core of truth that combined their own experiences with established notions of rhetoric and recollection.[109] The principal agents for memorialisation in Western Christendom continued for centuries to be centred upon monastic institutions such as Furness Abbey.[110] At least, this is our contemporary perception of how memorialisation practices were enacted in the Middle Ages,[111] since most of our surviving documentary sources concerned with memorialising the past are either of a monastic provenance or were produced by authors possessed of a monastic worldview.[112] Nevertheless, there are a multiplicity of sources, of considerable diversity, produced by non-monastic authors, such as municipal chronicles, war chronicles and poetic literature, extant throughout the Later Middle Ages in particular, as literacy no longer became the exclusive preserve of a clerical audience. By the early-15th century, multiple and competing agents for memorialisation espoused different means of remembering the past relative to their different audiences.[113]

Now that the different dimensions of memory have been considered, the term memory is best treated in the context of this thesis as 'the process by which past actions and events are

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[103] Ibid., p.1.
[104] Ibid., p.1.
[105] Ibid., pp.1–2.
[106] Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, 'Introduction', in Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis (ed.), *Historiography in the Middle Ages* (Brill: Leiden, 2003), pp.3–4.
[107] Ibid., p.4.
[108] Roger Ray, 'Bede's vera lex historiae', *Speculum*, vol.55 (1980), pp.2–3.
[109] Deliyannis, 'Introduction', p.7.
[110] Roest, 'Later Medieval Institutional History', p.278, pp.281–282.
[111] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p.7.
[112] Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men*, pp.4–7.
[113] A.G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature, 1066–1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.242.

codified, stored, and transmitted in written form to successive generations'.[114] What and how such events should be remembered was a selective process,[115] involving the 'invention and recreation of knowledge' so essential to the process of monastic memorialisation.[116] This thesis will focus upon how an institutional memory was formed,[117] a collective understanding of what should constitute the history of Furness Abbey as remembered by the monks of that institution. It is accepted that such a discrete phenomenon may not exist as an externalised entity detectable in the written record,[118] and that such a collective understanding may be the product of many individual editorial decisions over many generations, influenced in different forms according to its context.[119] In considering this, the institutional memory of Furness Abbey will be posited at the moment when the Coucher Book was produced in the early-15th century, and the retrospective recollection of the monastic compilers will be considered from that vantage point.

Identity is understood here as the process by which monastic institutions conceived of themselves in relation to their memory and their present circumstances. Much of the literature on monastic identity, particularly that of the Cistercians, has focused upon the earlier periods of monastic history and whether a recognisable monastic 'Order' with distinguishing features had emerged by c.1150,[120] or upon the later periods concerning whether such an Order had retained such distinguishing features by the Dissolution.[121] The yardstick for monastic identity has therefore been traditionally measured according to an almost Aristotelian preoccupation with categories against which the development of such an identity can be empirically measured. To paraphrase Lekai, it is one of 'ideals' versus 'reality'.[122] More recently, monastic historians such as Constance Berman have questioned the traditional means by which a monastic Order can be said to have been constructed,[123] and the model of ideals has come under scrutiny, as greater appreciation has been sought of the adaptability of monastic institutions to prevailing

[114] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, p.53.
[115] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p.9, pp.16–17, p.83.
[116] Mary Carruthers, 'How to Make a Composition: Memory Craft in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages', in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. by Susannah Radstone, Susannah & Bill Schwarz (New York: Fordham, 2010), p.16.
[117] Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.63; Charles Insley, 'Remembering Communities Past: Exeter Cathedral in the Eleventh Century', in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo–Norman World*, ed. by Paul Dalton, Charles Insley & Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), pp.41–43, pp.53–54.
[118] Wickham, 'Remembering', pp.6–8, pp.9–10.
[119] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp.11–12; Deliyannis, 'Introduction', p.12.
[120] Janet Burton & Julie Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), pp.10–14.
[121] Constance Hoffman Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution: The Invention of a Religious Order in Twelfth–Century Europe* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p.93.
[122] Louis J. Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality* (Kent, Ohio: Kent State University, 1977), pp.282–333.
[123] Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp.1–3.

circumstances without necessarily compromising their identity.[124] Within this debate on Cistercian origins, Chrysogonus Waddell has opposed the arguments of Berman by asserting that the early Cistercian sources can be linked to a revision of the Cistercian liturgical customary of the early-12th century, in which the earliest narrative source known as the *Exordium Cistercii* was designed as a historical narrative prior to the legal and liturgical texts incorporated within the same body of text.[125] In other words, the memory of the foundation of the Order would define how its identity would be conceived. New historiographical means of conceiving monastic identity are underway, as the complexities of their conception and development across different periods and places have been exposed through particularistic and comparative investigations of monasteries and monastic Orders across Western Europe. In particular, there has been revision of a prevailing understanding of Cistercian identity in terms of a 'core and periphery' relationship, defined broadly as being part of a whole to which it belongs but is contrasted with a centre.[126] Cistercian ideals were once believed to have been imposed from above by Citeaux itself or by charismatic figures of the Order associated with its 'core'.[127] However, there has been recent reappraisal of the importance of the 'periphery' in its own right, with a 'sense of place', deeply connected to the relationship of the monastery to its landscape, being recognised as integral to how monastic institutional identities developed.[128] The complexities of reconciling Cisterican ideals with physical surroundings, and of the relationships between religious houses as the Order expanded, are by extension being further appreciated.[129] For example, the foundation of Rievaulx Abbey in 1131, while ostensibly founded according to Cistercian principles as promulgated by St. Bernard of Clairvaux, both adapted to its local environment by developing close ties to its original benefactor and developed stereotypically Cistercian principles of self-sufficiency and solitude out of its experience of early foundation.[130] A similar case could be made for Furness Abbey in relation not only to its Cistercian but its earlier Savigniac identity emerging out of a complex interaction between its local environment and its wider institutional belonging. This thesis seeks to

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[124] Emilia Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132–1300: Memory, Locality and Networks*, Medieval Church Studies, vol.8, ed. by Emilia Jamroziak (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005), pp.12–13.
[125] Chrysogonus Waddell, 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins: C.H. Berman and the Manuscript Sources,' *Citeaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, vol.51 (2000), pp.299–386.
[126] Piroska Nagy, 'Peripheries in Question in Late Medieval Christendom', in *The Long Arm of Papal Authority: Late Medieval Christian Peripheries and their Communications with the Holy See*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jorgensen & Kirsi Salonen (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005), pp.13-14.
[127] Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*, pp.34-36, p.49.
[128] Roberta Gilchrist, *Sacred Heritage: Monastic Archaeology, Identities, Beliefs* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp.145-146.
[129] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp.35-36, pp.41-43, pp.56-57.
[130] Emilia Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment, 1132–1300', PhD Thesis (Leeds: University of Leeds, 2001), pp.20-21, pp.24-27, p.36; Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132–1300*, pp.24-28, pp.32-33, pp.38-39

contribute to these new historiographical developments by attempting to define identity according to how the Furness monks themselves conceived of their monastery and their wider Order at the moment of the compilation of the Coucher Book in c.1412. In particular, a key insight concerns how Furness Abbey was able to embody a regional identity, closely connected with its Furnesian location and benefactor relationships, within a wider British and Irish context of how monastic institutional identities were being consolidated through their cartularies. In this sense, therefore, Furness Abbey rendered the Furness region axiomatic with its own institutional identity. Identity in this investigation will be distinguished from memory in that memory refers to the process and end result of retrospective interpretation of the history of the institution, whereas identity refers to how the institution conceived of itself both in relation to itself and to those of others.

The institutional memory crafted by Furness Abbey in c.1412 was intended not only for the monastics, but also for their lay benefactors. Those benefactors valued the abbey highly in their own memories, and they were valued by the abbey as key components of how the abbey came to perceive of itself as an institution. The benefactors of Furness Abbey were landowning nobles, often of the rank of gentry,[131] connected with the Furness peninsula (encompassing the manors of Low and High Furness), initiating or facilitating a tenurial relationship with the abbey through patronage and litigation. The jurisdictional area later identified with the manors of Low and High Furness is understood here to constitute the core Furnesian domain, as it is termed in this thesis, for this area constituted the original grant to the abbey in 1127 and exercised a pronounced influence over how it negotiated relations with benefactors and consequently how they were remembered and understood in later times by the Coucher Book compilers.[132] This definition of benefactors as propertied participants owes much to the traditional accounts of relationships between monasteries and benefactors. Such accounts view relationships within a framework based on the relative functions performed by each party to the relationship.[133] Benefactors are primarily viewed by Susan Wood and Bennett D. Hill as separate parties to a consolidated arrangement of political patronage,[134] who wield disproportionate power as enablers of the secular influence of monasteries,[135] even going so far as to viewing them as 'property' to be dispensed with at will.[136] Hill views monastic benefactors as primarily

[131] Ibid., pp.73–76; Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.190–193; debates over the definition of the term 'gentry' are discussed in Chapter Three, pp.122-123.
[132] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, pp.29–32.
[133] Bennett D. Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries and their Patrons in the Twelfth Century* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1968), pp.64–66.
[134] Susan Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1955), p.8.
[135] Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, p.78.
[136] Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons*, p.28.

interested in exploiting monasteries as sources of material wealth, with the benefactors expecting 'material gains on their donations' to the monastery as their principal priority.[137] The primary function of the monastery in the benefaction relationship is, therefore, to render spiritual service to the benefactor in return for their continued support, mirroring the seigniorial relationship of lord to vassal.[138] Nevertheless, equating monastic benefactor relationships to an assumed political protocol limits the scope for interpreting the wide variety of such relationships forged relative to specific contextual circumstances. Similarly, rendering analysis of monastic interests within a mercantile paradigm ignores the complexity of priorities and forms within different benefactor relationships, as well as the clear importance brought to bear upon the spiritual dimension of such relationships by the monastics. The communal memory of the benefactors of Furness Abbey was necessarily complex, rendered principally in spiritual terms of remembrance yet defined by the political influence wielded by both parties when it came to how their benefactions were remembered.

Jamroziak's research on monastic benefactors of Rievaulx Abbey has revealed that there was no common template for conducting benefactor relationships.[139] Individual family considerations occurring within a wider context of informal local political networks invariably influenced the course of proprietary dealings with Rievaulx.[140] Jamroziak's research demonstrated how Rievaulx Abbey actively determined how it would commemorate its benefactors, as a literate community with the power to decide who would be remembered in its prayers and historical repository. [141] This acted as a key incentive for benefactors to be seen to be conspicuous supporters of the monastery and thus the spiritual appeal of the monastery for benefactors has been reappraised. Such interplay between benefactors and monastery over how exactly benefactions were remembered, and how much esteem the gift and the benefactor carried within the monastic communal memory, is a central component of this thesis. As shall be investigated in Chapter Three, Furness Abbey was able to exercise considerable influence over its network of Furnesian benefactors, but only insofar as those benefactors held it within their interests to remain part of that network.[142] Negotiation over the memory of benefactions, and what such benefactions meant for the identities of both parties, was critical to the function of the Coucher Book, and it is hoped that the present research on Furness Abbey will inspire deeper investigation over what meaning benefactions held to each party.

[137] Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, p.56.
[138] Ibid., pp.54–55, pp.64–65.
[139] Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132–1300*, pp.219–220.
[140] Ibid., pp.57–58, p.62.
[141] Ibid., p.28, p.222.
[142] See Chapter Three, pp.137–138, pp.158–159.

The chief methodology of this thesis necessarily took its cue from benefactions to Furness Abbey, owing to the priorities for recording ownership of property that defined much of the Coucher Book. All the text contained within Volume I has been translated. So, too, have any texts connected with the Furness area contained within Volume II. A quantitative representation within a database format was created from all the texts translated, intended to furnish an overall impression of how they were arranged within the Coucher Book. The deed referencing system devised by the Chetham Society editors was correlated with the Tabulated Index produced by the monastic compilers as part of the original Coucher Book. This was done in order to determine whether there were any differences between the 15th-century and the 19th-century organisation of the texts. This would hopefully reveal any discrepancies between the two systems and whether particular texts were part of the original Coucher Book in the order they were assigned to by the Chetham Society editors. Differences in folio organisation were noted and possible reasons were posited from overlap of folios containing similar subject matter to loss or later reordering. Missing or damaged folios were accounted for within the database and reasons for their mutilation were similarly posited, from natural deterioration to antiquarian handling.

The first chapter comprises an overall analysis of the Coucher Book texts contained within what is now Volume I to understand how the Coucher Book has been constructed as a documentary artefact. From this, it is hoped that insight can be ascertained into how the compilers constructed a historical narrative of the expansion of the abbey from how the material was edited and organised. The following chapter then analyses the Coucher Book texts contained within what is now Volume II to elicit similarities and differences in how this part of the Coucher Book treated its documentary record, and subsequently to determine if there were any substantial difference in how the monastic conception of its history was articulated. From there, Chapter Three turns to the Metrical Introduction in Volume I to explore how this literary expression of the purpose of the Coucher Book contributed to how the Furness monks understood their communal history and identity. Chapter Four undertakes specific analysis of the relationship between Furness Abbey and the benefactor families of the Boyvilles and Huddlestons of Millom, to throw light upon the different narratives of memory being evoked within the Coucher Book texts and how the compilers constructed their own narratives of memory within this context of multiple potential narratives. Finally, in the fifth chapter, the key features of the Coucher Book are investigated in the context of comparable cartularies in Britain to assess how typical or exceptional the cartulary was in developing an historicised narrative within a wider context of monastic cartularies engaging upon a similar task of negotiating memory and identity.

We shall now follow the pen of John Stell into the Coucher Book to determine how the cartulary was constructed both as a physical artefact and as an artefact of memory. It is hoped that the insights elicited in this thesis will enable future monastic scholars to interpret how monastic record keepers related to their records in ways beyond the seemingly mundane, illuminating new dimensions of how mediaeval monastic communities envisioned their place in their past and present.

Chapter One: The Furness Abbey Coucher Book (Volume I) in its archival context

Picture 3: Map of Furness Abbey properties as listed in the Tabulated Index of the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (Volume I), images courtesy of Google Earth

The pen of John Stell is particularly prominent in the first volume of the cartulary.[1] The Furness Coucher Book (Volume I) is principally composed of property records connected to the Furness area. Yet it is also a substantial artistic as well as archival endeavour that clearly indicates that this was more than an administrative exercise for the monks of Furness. In this chapter, I ask whether the Coucher Book (Volume I) was conceived as a conscious exercise in edifying the legacy of the abbey within Furness. To answer this question, I will undertake an overall analysis of the Coucher Book (Volume I) to understand how the Coucher Book was used in the construction of an institutional memory and identity for Furness Abbey in c.1412. By

[1] See esp. *CB Vol.I*, fol.7, V., p.24 for a depiction of a petitioning monk that bears similarities to John Stell as portrayed in *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol. 1, V., p.2.

building up a thorough analysis of the connections between the Coucher Book and surviving original documents, it is possible to suggest that, amongst its various practical uses, the Coucher Book was used by its compilers to portray an historical narrative of Furness Abbey wherein the abbey came to dominate its Furnesian domains. A different but complementary method of perceiving this memory through literary expression is embodied in the Metrical Introduction that forms a poetic preface to both volumes of the Coucher Book.[2]

This chapter is structured, as far as possible, according to the extant order of material within the Coucher Book, in order to engage systematically with the material as the reader would encounter it if confronted with the original cartulary. The focus of this chapter will be primarily upon the tenurial records, to form an overall picture of the contents of the Coucher Book and what this can demonstrate about how the cartulary itself was constructed. The relationship between individual records within the overall structure of the Coucher Book itself will be explored principally through quantitative analysis of the records on a general level. In order to appreciate the Coucher Book in its archival context, and therefore how to potentially distinguish post-mediaeval from monastic editing in the cartulary, a brief synopsis of its post-Dissolution history will now be undertaken.

The origins and purpose of the Furness Coucher Book

In order to distinguish the Coucher Book as we now possess it from how it may have appeared in c.1412, it is imperative to consider its post-Dissolution history, before speculating on possible reasons for producing the cartulary in its original monastic context. The Coucher Book reflects the perils of documentary survival typical of cartularies of its date and kind since the Dissolution of Furness Abbey in 1537, and has subsequently survived in rather patchy form.[3] This has resulted in the cartulary surviving in a different record context to its original monastic context, which could mean that our understanding of how its collective story was organised is hindered by subsequent reorganisation of the original documents associated with the Coucher Book according to differing priorities. This issue will be the subject of more detailed investigation in this chapter. The first documented movement of the Coucher Book into the collections of the Duchy of Lancaster occurs in 1537, when a memorandum records that £1 15s 4d was spent 'for the carriage of 3 packs of evidences and books of the lands and

[2] *MA Vol.I*, pp.21–23; see Chapter Four, pp.163–164, p.166; S.B. Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', in *TCWAAS*, vol.53 (1953), p.98.
[3] John Christopher Atkinson, 'Introductory Chapter', in *CB Vol.II*, Part III, p.i; Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp.xvii–xviii.

possessions of the late monastery from Furness to London upon three horses, together with hemp and other packing needed for their safe carriage'.[4] Whether any documents kept in the abbey archive were lost during transport is a question open to conjecture, since the current state of the cartulary does not prove that particular items were lost immediately after the Dissolution.[5] It is clear, however, that only a proportion of the total original documents survived at the same time as the Coucher Book was transported and this consequently limits the methodological scope of this research to what has survived intact. Nevertheless, the Coucher Book survives in a sufficiently complete form to permit a fairly complete understanding of monastic editorial priorities within a 15th-century cartulary and enough of the original documents survives outside of the cartulary to enable meaningful observations to be made on how those originals were treated in a cartulary context.

Now that an appreciation of its post-Dissolution history has been undertaken, the origin and purpose of the Coucher Book as a monastic document can now be considered. From its compilation in c.1412, the Coucher Book was intended to be read in multiple ways according to the 'archive sense' of the compilers,[6] how particular texts were associated with each other, and the different circumstances in which they could be interpreted. The cartulary could be read rather like a medieval database, by corresponding texts associated with properties in a particular location within Furness and linking the Index,[7] compiled at the same time as the cartulary, with the texts through a singular numbering system. Texts within the Coucher Book can be read in isolation, or they can be read as part of a continuous narrative, and this was perhaps the intention of the compilers in c.1412. The majority of texts within the Coucher Book overlap into different and successive folios,[8] and in most cases this does not disrupt the narrative context against which they were composed. The assets of the abbey were recounted in detail for prospective clients or litigants,[9] with the financial accounts located towards the end of the volume.[10] Emilia Jamroziak showed how the small size of the Rievaulx Abbey cartulary enabled it to be transportable across multiple properties of the abbey and to act as a pragmatic instrument of legal authority to defend its title to lands and privileges contained within the cartulary.[11] Although the size of the Furness Coucher Book is greater than the Rievaulx

[4] Duchy of Lancaster Ministers' Accounts, 2523, m.3, cited in *CB Vol.II,* Part III, p.660; Atkinson, 'Introductory Chapter', in *CB Vol.II,* Part III, pp.lix–lx; Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.52.
[5] Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.81.
[6] Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', p.132.
[7] See, for instance, the corresponding Kirkby texts in Kirkby texts 1-7, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.122-125, V. & R., pp.310-319 (described in Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.15, V. & R., pp.45-46).
[8] See, for instance, Angerton Moss text 17, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.132-133, V. & R., pp.199-200 (described in Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.16, R., pp.49-50).
[9] Walker, 'Medieval Cartularies', in *The Study of Medieval Records*, ed. by Bullough & Storey, p.132.
[10] Taxation texts 1–6, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fols.265–267, V. & R, pp.624–638.
[11] Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.65.

cartulary, its compressed physical format and considerable number of illuminated folios would have enabled the Furness cartulary to perform similar functions of portable representation of abbatial authority.

Nevertheless, the Coucher Book was more than a pragmatic device for upholding the legal rights of the abbey. It was intended for conspicuous display and representation of what Furness Abbey was and what it wanted to convey to its intended audiences.[12] The Index is emblazoned at the beginning with a sumptuous illuminated initial of the Virgin Mary, patron of Furness Abbey, and a petition by a Cistercian monk for her protection.[13] As well as invoking spiritual blessing for the work to be as accurate and faithful as possible, it was also intended to demonstrate the power of the Virgin Mary as advocate for the legal interests of Furness Abbey and as the symbol for the identity of the abbey from the very outset. As far as the monks of Furness Abbey were concerned, the Coucher Book was intended as the spiritual repository of the memories of benefactors and the institution, as well as being a useful tool for more worldly business.[14] The Tabulated Index, to which the chapter will now turn, provides a useful means for understanding how the texts of the Coucher Book were intended to fit in to an overall schema for interpreting the historical development of Furness Abbey.

[12] Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men*, pp.95–96, pp.100–101, on the use of the written and visual word in conveying memory from monastic institutions.
[13] See the illuminated initial in Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.7, V., p.24.
[14] Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.65, p.68, on the visual display of the Rievaulx Abbey cartulary, and p.71, on the spiritual and secular uses of the Rievaulx Abbey cartulary.

The Tabulated Index and organisation of texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I)

The original monastic editorial method for the Coucher Book needed to be uncovered in order to deduce the methods by which the compilers managed to create and present an institutional memory for Furness Abbey in c.1412. I therefore used the Tabulated Index to determine which texts had not been overly affected by the Dissolution in the order and form in which they were envisaged according to the Index. I then compared texts contained within the Coucher Book with their original equivalents in the Duchy of Lancaster collections held at The National Archives.[15] A working assumption was made during the quantitative analysis of these originals that, although surviving within the Duchy collections, they most likely formed part of the archive at Furness Abbey, since much of the material relates directly to what is given in the Coucher Book and in some instances a direct documentary link with the Furness archive can be demonstrated. The objective here is to understand the editorial priorities of the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412, by investigating which texts came to be copied into the finished article, and how this was done. For instance, if a particular text was listed in the Index as part of the original plan for the Coucher Book, but was not extant in the Duchy's archive, this could show what the original editorial priorities of the compilers were even though one may not necessarily corroborate deliberate omission of missing documents. If a text was listed in the Index but not extant in the Coucher Book, and was discovered in the separate archival context of the Duchy collections, this could be attributable to editorial priorities either during or after its compilation and thus a more conscious process of omission could be ascertained here on the part of the compilers. In this latter scenario, allowance must be made for loss of texts from the Coucher Book, either through handling by antiquaries or documentary attrition over time, which is particular to the circumstances of each deed. However, by quantitatively analysing the surviving Coucher Book texts within their prevailing context, and comparing their state of existence and form in a similar and related archival context to that in which the cartulary itself is preserved, a more general understanding of how the Coucher Book came to be compiled may be obtained.

In cases where a copy of a text survives in the Coucher Book, but the original has been lost, it may be possible to detect original material surviving as enrolments in central government

[15] The principal objects of investigation within the Duchy of Lancaster records within the National Archives were contained within the DL/25 Series, namely miscellaneous property records and texts relating to Duchy possessions, with documents from the DL/10 Series of royal records and the DL/27 Series of special documents also subjected to investigation as part of this thesis.

records, such as the Court of Chancery or the Exchequer.[16] Enrolments here are defined as a secondary record context outside of the Coucher Book, whose records are contained predominantly in enrolled form, and are the product of bureaucratised national and international institutions. The enrolments investigated for this thesis included Calendars of Charters, Patent Rolls and Close Rolls maintained by the Kings of England from the late-12th century. Enrolments for papal bulls were extremely difficult to identify, since much of the surviving material for papal documents in mediaeval England is haphazard and much of what could be identified from existing published material, especially for papal bulls issued after 1198, did not relate specifically to Furness. Nevertheless, enrolments for archiepiscopal material kept in the Archbishopric of York Registers yielded some insight into particular spiritual privileges included in the Coucher Book. A database was constructed for royal documents, papal documents and archiepiscopal documents respectively, within which the enrolment citation, enrolment date, Coucher Book reference and corresponding original document were included. This material helps to reveal insights as to the relationship between the survival of documents in an enrolment and Coucher Book context and hence to determine the editorial priorities c.1412. Even though use is made of original material from both of these record contexts, the scope of the analysis employed in this thesis has been limited, wherever possible, to Furness Abbey's original documents contained in the Duchy of Lancaster archive. This is because for the majority of Coucher Book texts, in both volumes, the original documents that were copied into the Coucher Book still exist, with some significant examples of crossover between both record contexts.

The principal means by which the Coucher Book was organised by its compilers was the Tabulated Index, which provides revealing insights into their editorial priorities concerning how to present and order the copied material that dominates the cartulary. The Index is organised according to geographical area for those parts of Furness within the territorial domain of Furness Abbey. This followed the most logical means for mediaeval cartulary compilers to preserve and locate texts to land and privileges.[17] The Index begins with Dalton, the capital of the Low Furness territories of the abbey,[18] and proceeds in a northerly direction from Dalton to as far north as Angerton Moss and Ulverston in successive order. From Ulverston, the eastern half of the Furness peninsula is traversed in succession via Bardsea, Urswick and Aldingham, before ending the geographical order at Bolton-in-Adgarley, on the manorial boundary between

[16] See, for instance, Grant by William de Merton of mining rights (1397), Chancery Court Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum (Henry III to Richard III), National Archives (TNA), C/143/427/14, or Agreement on the grant of the Kingdom of Scotland to Edward I (6th June 1291), Exchequer: Treasury of Receipts: Scottish Documents, TNA, E39/88/1.
[17] Walker, 'Medieval Cartularies', in *The Study of Medieval Records*, ed. by Bullough & Storey, p.134.
[18] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.29.

the Manors of Low Furness and Muchland.[19] It would appear that, based on the successive geographical order within which the texts are listed, the Index was conceived in c.1412 as a perambulation of the manorial jurisdiction of Furness Abbey within Furness, vis-a-vis the Manor of Muchland in eastern Furness. The very order of the texts themselves within the Coucher Book could be conceived as an exercise in projecting an image of Furness Abbey as the principal manorial power within the Furness peninsula, rendering the Furness peninsula axiomatic with the historical development of the abbey itself.

Each deed within the Index is given an index number, or 'Scripto',[20] for when it appeared within a consecutive order for each geographical location, and a number labelled 'Folio' denoting the supposedly original monastic numbering system for which folio the deed concerned appeared on.[21] However, some texts are not always located in the folio number against which they are listed in the Index, due to the relevant Folio becoming lost or damaged, or rearranged to a different folio. John Christopher Atkinson presupposed that all the texts listed underneath the headings of each location bore 'a special connection' with the relevant place,[22] even though in a number of cases, texts are categorised under one location while bearing material relevant to another. For instance, a composition between Furness Abbey and the Hospital of St. Leonard of York contains material which is relevant to the texts concerning churches located towards the end of the Coucher Book, but has been located within the Dalton texts, despite bearing no apparent relation to Dalton or the capital of the abbey's lordship.[23] This could reflect the higher priority given to this deed by the Coucher Book compilers compared to other texts concerning the relationship between Furness Abbey and the archdiocese of York.

Similarly, among the Bolton texts, a grant by Benedict de Pennington of Skeldhou Moor to Rushen Abbey,[24] and an acknowledgement that Skeldhou Moor belonged by hereditary right to Alan, son of Richard de Copeland, [25] do not directly relate to Bolton-in-Adgarley in terms of physical proximity to the said place. However, a narrative structure can be detected between the Pennington and Bolton texts at this point, as the grant of Benedict de Pennington is constructed to lead inexorably to the recognition of the rights of Alan de Copeland within

[19] The Manor of Muchland refers to the territories in eastern Furness originally owned by Michael le Fleming in 1127 and which developed concurrently with the monastic Manor of Low Furness, re: Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.31 and Alfred Fell, *A Furness Manor: Pennington and its Church* (Ulverston: Kitchin & Co., 1929), p.33.
[20] For example, Orgrave text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.94, V., p.227, is listed as 'Scripto 1' of the Orgrave texts in the Tabulated Index (Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.11, V., p.32).
[21] For example, Orgrave text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.94, V., p.227, is listed as 'Folio 94' of the entire Coucher Book (Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.11, V., p.32).
[22] Atkinson & Brownbill in *CB Vol.I*, Part I, p.24.
[23] Dalton text 53, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.84, R., p.214.
[24] Bolton text 1, Coucher Book Volume I, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.201, V. & R., p.510.
[25] Bolton text 2, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.202–203, R. & V., p.227, pp.511–512.

Skeldhou Moor, who in turn becomes the first principal benefactor directly associated with Bolton-in-Adgarley.[26] Therefore, although the content of the texts themselves may not bear a direct connection with the locations listed in the Index, narratives constructed around the relationship of Furness Abbey with its Furness benefactors could be incorporated across the geographical boundaries of the Index. The organisation of the texts in the Furness Coucher Book may be clarified further by a comparison with original documents in the Duchy collections.[27] Some of these extant documents, which originated in Furness Abbey, were copied into the Coucher Book. While investigating the documents within the Duchy collections, two separate scripts (Roman Numeral Gothic and Arabic) were detected written on the back the documents themselves.[28] The Gothic script could represent the earliest, perhaps even the original, cataloguing system used at Furness Abbey for these documents in the 15th century. The Arabic script could indicate the known period of reorganisation of the Duchy collections in the mid-18th century, after their transference to the new Duchy offices at Gray's Inn.[29]

The documents appear to have been organised according to geographical area for ease of reference, but the ordering of the few extant survivors does not bear any close geographical correlation.[30] The 18th-century cataloguing system, like the mediaeval, is in ascending order, but the numbers are higher.[31] It appears, from the similarity in how each cataloguing system was arranged, that the 18th-century system broadly follows the pattern of the 15th-century system, implying that both were working off an original template by which these records were acquired. They could have been ordered according to a particular box or file in which they came, since some documents contain the same number on each.[32] The mediaeval numbering system appears not to have been constructed with a narrative basis in mind, since the documents on which the numbers appear predate the Coucher Book and were thus subject to retrospective use by later

[26] See esp. Bolton text 5, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.202, V. & R., p.515.
[27] See Fig.2 for the overall number of original documents which corresponding to the Coucher Book copies, which were subject to investigation here for to discover their numbering systems. The originals concerned were located within the DL/25 and DL/10 Series.
[28] For example, in Grant by Roger de Orgrave to his daughter of half an oxgang in Orgrave (1196),TNA, DL 25/449, and Confirmation of Count Stephen's grant of Furness and the grant of Michael le Fleming (1155), TNA, DL 10/32, both bear a Roman Numeral Gothic numeral of '10' and an Arabic numeral of '12'; Robert Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', in *The English Historical Review*, vol.LI, issue CCIV (October 1936), p.603.
[29] Atkinson, 'Introductory Chapter', in *CB Vol.II*, Part III, p.lx.
[30] See esp. Confirmation of the appropriation of the churches of Dalton and Urswick (1259), TNA, DL 25/281, and Quitclaim relating to Angerton Moss (1300), TNA, DL 25/383, listed as '11' and '13' in Roman Numeral Gothic numeral, and '13' and '15' in Arabic numeral respectively.
[31] For example, Grant in Great Urswick (1200), TNA, DL 25/377, Grant in Angerton Moss (1300), TNA, DL 25/381, and Quitclaim relating to Angerton Moss (1300), TNA, DL 25/388, are listed as '2', '3' and '4' in Roman Numeral Gothic numeral, and '2', '8' and '12' in Arabic numeral respectively.
[32] See esp. Quitclaim relating to Angerton Moss (1293), TNA, DL25/384, and Grant of Fordbottle, Crivelton and Ros (1216), TNA, DL 25/344, listed as '9' in Roman Numeral Gothic numeral, and '10' in Arabic numeral on both texts.

compilers. The documents themselves were created and used for different purposes independent of what the cartulary compilers had in mind, even if both record contexts shared a common bureaucratic imperative to attest transactions that had been made to the abbey. The 15th-century numbering system, therefore, constitutes a reasonably objective yardstick for understanding how the Coucher Book compilers used these texts for narrative as well as bureaucratic purposes, even if the exact relationship between the Furness archive and the Coucher Book would merit further research in future studies. Given the most likely provenance for most of the original documents covered in this thesis, those surviving within the Duchy collections will therefore be termed the original documents. With this appreciation of the different uses of the same material in different archival contexts in mind, we can now turn our attention to the material condition of the texts contained within the Coucher Book and attempt quantitative comparison between both archival contexts.

Material condition of texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I)

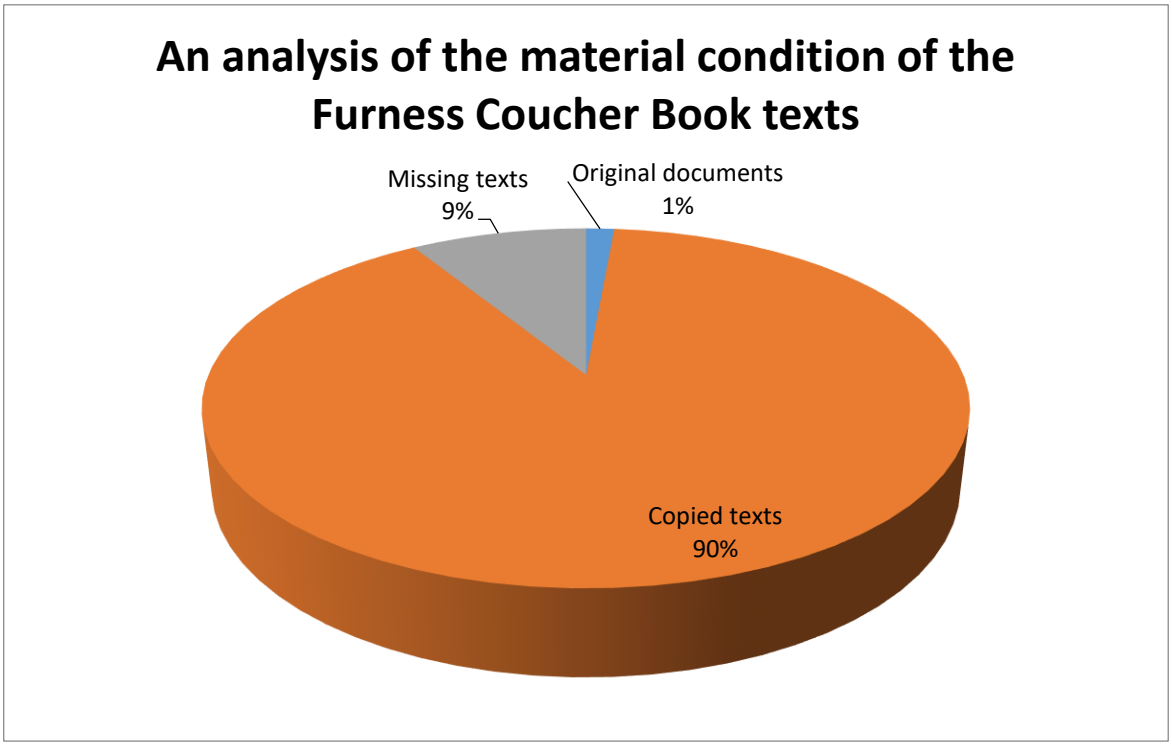


Fig.1: A pie chart showing the proportion of texts which survive in copied or original form within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I), and of texts missing from the original Tabulated Index format.

The Furness Coucher Book contains 497 texts in total, differing significantly in length and content throughout the volume, spread over 291 folios. The original documents which survive within the Coucher consist of 12th-15th century material relating to the Furness Fells, the Isle of Man and Ireland, bound into the very beginning of the first volume, most likely encountered and incorporated into the finished volume during the final compilation process.[33] In the case of the Irish material, its survival likely represented a continuing attempt by Furness Abbey to maintain its legitimacy of its territorial possessions and especially grain imports from Ireland.[34] Retaining the original document assumed a greater importance closer to the time of compilation as a matter of urgency. Nevertheless, as Joanna Tucker has demonstrated in relation to the growth of the Lindores Cartulary, this did not necessarily mean that the compilers were

[33] See Fig.1 for the proportion of original documents within the Coucher Book.
[34] Frederick Maurice Powicke, 'Houses of Cistercian monks: The abbey of Furness', in *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 2*, ed. by William Farrer & John Brownbill (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1908), pp.114–115.

updating their cartulary to suit contemporary circumstances.[35] Rather, they demonstrated a critical awareness of the cartulary as a whole prior to adding new material.[36] This could imply an awareness by the compilers as to exactly how this material would be compatible with the narrative they were cultivating throughout the cartulary. The partition of the Furness Fells in 1196 would appear to have assumed great significance within the formal and informal institutional memory of Furness Abbey, especially given that the same Henry II confirmation of the partition was transcribed at the beginning of the Ulverston texts.[37] Retaining the original deed therefore played a significant part in constructing an historicised understanding of Furness Abbey as the principal seigniorial power within Furness, supported from its earliest times by the English Crown, and in delineating the manorial boundaries against which that identity could be articulated.

Most of the texts that have gone missing from the Coucher, copied or original, are likely victims of late-16th-century heraldry enthusiasts.[38] There are significant numbers of texts bearing illuminated coats-of-arms which have been pasted back into the Coucher Book and written on the back of the armorial bearing in a late-16th century hand.[39] This is especially the case for folio 193 containing a genealogy of the Harrington family, in which the family coat-of-arms was cut out and pasted back in, with a late-16th century hand reading *Michael Flamengrus*.[40] The overall impression is that the absence of texts can be attributed to the deterioration of the volume after the Dissolution in 1537.[41] There is, however, an intriguing instance of possible monastic reordering, based on comparison between the Index and the prevailing location of the deed in question. This is the case with the so-called Foundation Charter and its confirmation by Henry I, according to the Index located in folios 45 and 46 respectively, but which are in fact both located on folio 47.[42] A preceding document labelled in the Index as the grant by Count Stephen to Savigny Abbey is no longer extant,[43] and there is no sign of damage to the volume typical of later folio removals for the coats-of-arms, although such a document, even in transcribed form, would have been highly desirable in later times for the illuminated decorations and royal pedigree it possessed. Instead, the indication is that the

[35] Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, pp.196–197.
[36] Ibid., pp.210–211.
[37] Pre–Coucher text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.1, V. & R., p.1; Ulverston text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.136, V., pp.343–344.
[38] See Fig.1 for the proportion of missing texts from the Coucher Book.
[39] Atkinson, 'Prefatory Notice', in *CB Vol.I*, Part I, p.iii.
[40] 'Michael le Fleming', Aldingham text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.193, R., pp.482–483.
[41] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.52.
[42] Dalton text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.47, V., p.122; labelled as 'Folio 45' in Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.7, V., p.24.
[43] Dalton text 2, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.46, V. & R., p.123 (described in Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.7, V. & R., p.24.

compilers themselves took the editorial decision not to include this version of the so-called Foundation Charter within the Coucher Book. The narrative was to begin with the royal connection to Furness Abbey represented by Count Stephen and his largesse, effectively making what was originally deemed to be a founder's confirmation charter into the official Foundation Charter for Furness Abbey. The royal connection is reinforced by the inclusion of the Henry I confirmation within the same folio.[44] It is possible, based on the similarity of content quoted in the Index regarding the Count Stephen confirmation to Savigny, that the Foundation Charter as it appears in the Coucher Book was indeed the extant copied Foundation Charter from an unidentified original while the copy of Count Stephen's confirmation to Savigny did not make it into the cartulary. The implication therefore appears to be that the historical narrative of Furness Abbey began, as far as the Furness community was concerned, with their removal to Furness, with the Savigniac context behind the origins of the abbey being de-emphasised within the Coucher Book narrative.

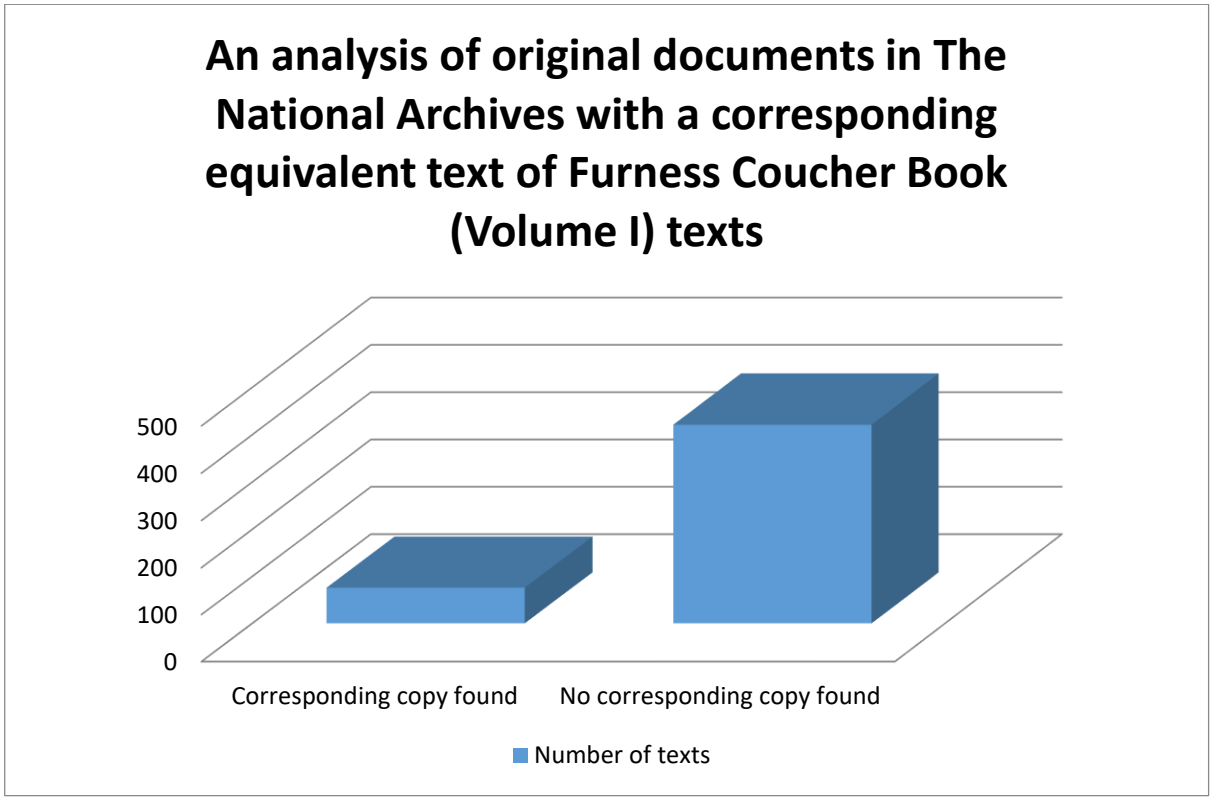


Fig.2: A bar chart showing how many corresponding copies with original documents from the Duchy collection can be found within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I) as a whole

[44] Dalton text 3, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.47, V. & R., pp.123–124.

Based upon a direct comparison between documents contained within the Duchy of Lancaster collections and the Furness Coucher Book, 28% of Furness Abbey texts now within the Duchy of Lancaster collections can be found to have a corresponding copy within the Coucher Book.[45] The loss of originals most likely reflects the vulnerability of mediaeval manuscript material to deterioration and disappearance if not kept in multiple sources and formats, such as enrolments, to ensure its best chance of survival.[46] Since most mediaeval manuscripts were copied manually from earlier surviving material, which was already invariably in deteriorated form, selectivity of material was particularly critical in reproducing them in a new cartulary form, and often the material itself was not in sufficient state to incorporate wholesale into a cartulary.[47] The emphasis was very much on recycling existing information contained within earlier forms into a new form, whilst seeking to preserve as much of the information as possible relating to the circumstances of the time of compilation. This meant that priority would be given to the information felt to matter most to the compilers in c.1412. This often included the name of the benefactor, the location relating to the benefaction, details of the land and privileges granted by the benefaction, and the spiritual dedication of the benefaction concerning the welfare of souls party to the benefaction. The precise geographical details, the date of benefaction and the witnesses to the benefaction were often surplus to requirements, since 'their usefulness as works of reference had passed',[48] while spiritual priorities, and much else besides, informed the updated editorial priorities.[49]

A similar preoccupation with rendering a faithful account of abbatial rights and properties, though complicated by the changing status of estates over time and changing priorities of what was deemed useful to remember for consolidating those estates, can be seen in the Byland Abbey Cartulary (c.1399-c.1403).[50] In the Skirpenbeck section of the Byland Cartulary, the charter of the original benefactor, Amfrey de Chaucny, was not copied in full.[51] Many omitted Skirpenbeck documents appear in the 13th-century cartulary of Easby Abbey, as the compiler of the Easby Cartulary, 'leaving nothing to chance', entered the full history of the property.[52] The Byland compiler, on the other hand, knowing that the section was, in one sense,

[45] Out of 173 documents pertaining to Furness Abbey which were discovered through multiple searches on the National Archives catalogue, 49 of these original documents had a corresponding copy extant in the Coucher Book (28.32%), while 124 of these original documents did not have a corresponding copy extant in the Coucher Book (71.68%); see Fig.2 for the number of corresponding copies of texts within the Coucher Book as a whole.
[46] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp.xvii–xviii.
[47] Ibid., p.xvii.
[48] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.xvii.
[49] See Chapter One, pp.77–81, for a detailed comparison of details included between the original and Coucher Book versions of the William de Boyville grant (c.1230).
[50] *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. by Burton, p.xliv.
[51] Ibid., p.xliii.
[52] Ibid., p.xliv.

out of date, selected only three key documents, and indicated to anyone interested that the originals still existed at Byland.[53] The Coucher Book may have been produced by Furness monks and witnessed significant investment in articulating a shared understanding of what the abbey stood for as internalised by the monks themselves.[54] Yet, such efforts were ultimately directed towards augmenting the reputation of the abbot and by extension of the abbey itself, transcending their personal understandings of the shared history they helped to communicate.[55] In order to understand the editorial priorities of the Coucher Book compilers further, this chapter will now investigate in order of prominence the most common types of texts within Volume I: grants of land or service; papal bulls; royal texts; spiritual privileges; and litigation records.

Analysis of the types of texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I)

[53] Ibid., p.xliv.
[54] Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.68.
[55] Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men*, pp.4–7.

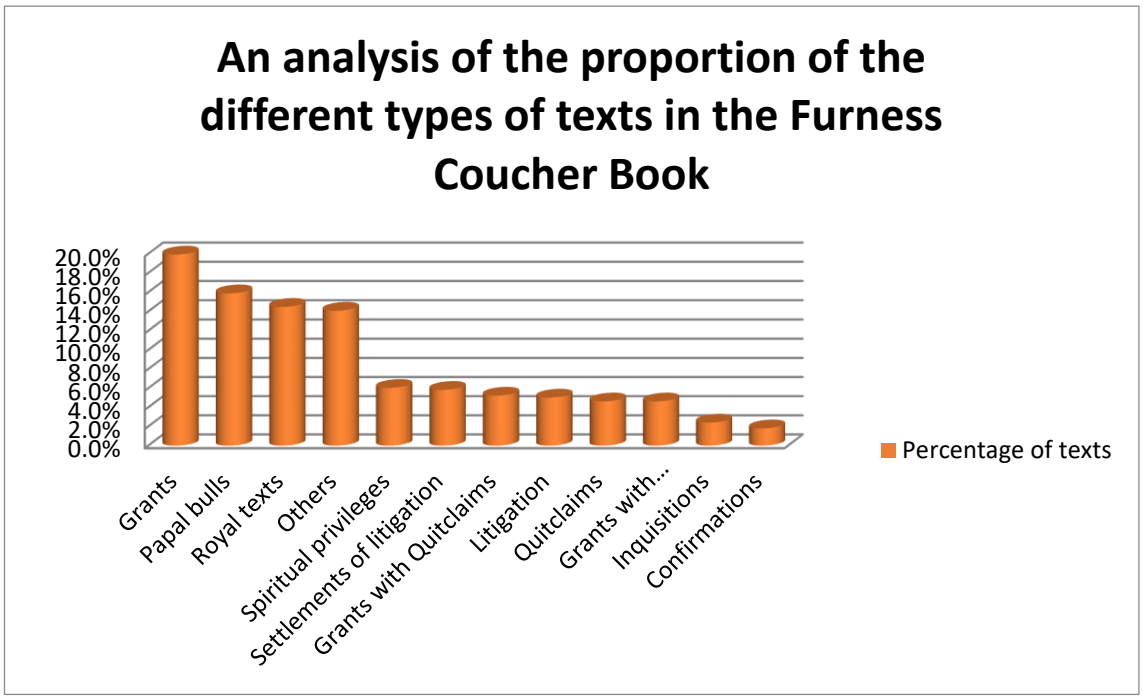


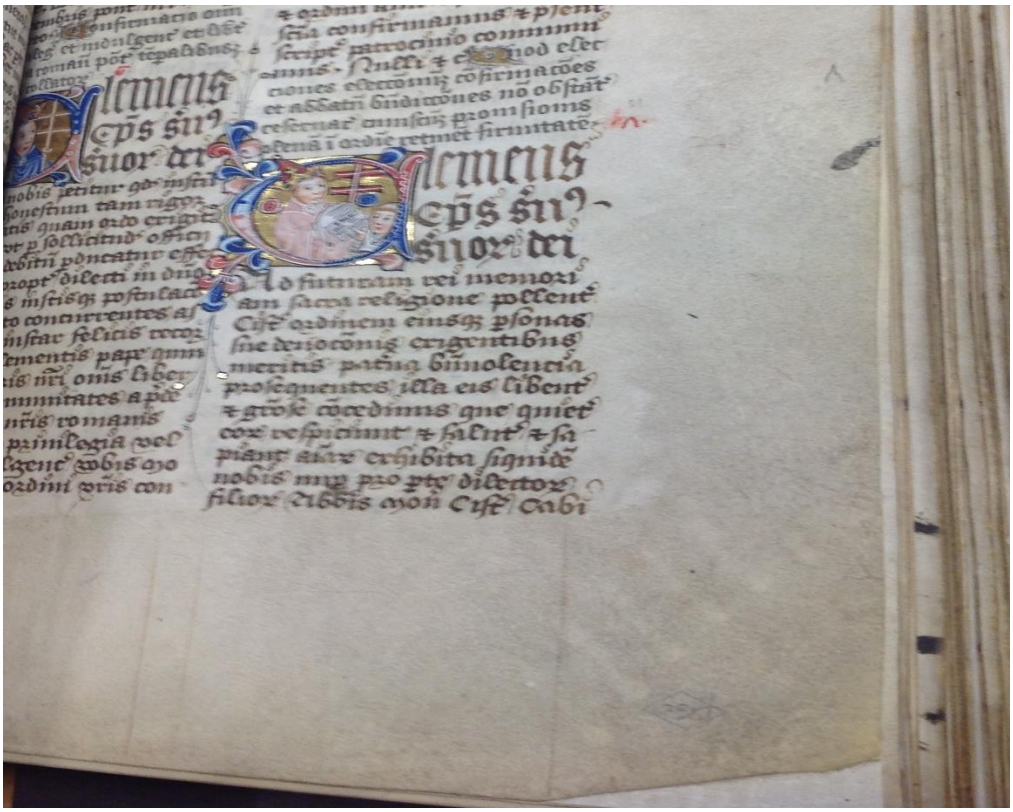
Fig.3: A bar chart showing the proportion of the most prominent types of texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I)

The most prominent category of texts that survive within the Coucher Book are grants of land, money or service to Furness Abbey in varying forms depending upon the circumstances of each patron (20% of total texts are grants, see Fig.3). Such grants were often supplemented by confirmations of grants or previous grants or quitclaims over the given territory or service from interested parties (1.8% and 4.6% of total texts respectively are confirmations and quitclaims, see Fig. 3). More frequently, however, grants, confirmations and quitclaims appear in combination (9.8% of total texts are combinations of grants, confirmations and quitclaims, see Fig. 3). This demonstrates that incorporation of grants and their supplements within the Coucher Book was motivated as much by retrospective justification for those grants to the abbey as by maintaining an authentic archive of Furness Abbey possessions. It was important to the purpose of creating a particular interpretation of collective memory which accorded with the social and political circumstances which Furness Abbey faced in c.1412.

Papal bulls, defined here as any document issued by a reigning pope, are predominantly of late-12th-early-13th century origin, and constitute 15.9% of total texts (see Fig.3). They mostly concern general privileges of immunity granted by successive popes to the Cistercian Order, but privileges granted to the Congregation of Savigny are conspicuous by their absence. Whilst this could be a consequence of the relative brevity of the existence of the Congregation of Savigny

relative to the Cistercian Order, there seems to have been a desire on the part of the Coucher Book compilers to downplay the Savigniac element of the history of Furness Abbey in favour of the Cistercian element.[56] Although the international dimension of these bulls is acknowledged, editorial priority appears to have been given to emphasising how these bulls reinforced the seigniorial authority of the abbey within Furness. Care was taken to include bulls referring to specific Furness granges, and the bulls were invariably connected with consolidating the right of the abbey to the tithes of its dependent churches of Dalton, Urswick and Hawkshead.[57] Inclusion of papal bulls according to how far they accord with a prescribed institutional narrative of its history bears similarities with how the Byland Abbey Cartulary prefaced its foundational narrative, the *Historia Fundationis* (1196-1197/8), with select papal bulls of privilege to the abbey and the Cistercian Order to bolster its Cistercian credentials.[58] Although the Coucher Book does not include a specific foundation history, the Metrical Introduction fulfils many of the functions which foundation histories such as that of Byland Abbey fulfilled.

[56] See esp. Adrian IV text I, Coucher Book Volume I, fol.215, Verso, Chetham text reference CCCXL, Part III, p.536 for an example of a missing papal bull granting privileges to the Congregation of Savigny (described in Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.35, V., p.227, p.99).
[57] See esp. Churches text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fol.269, V. & R., pp.642–643 and Churches text 16, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fols.274–276, V. & R., pp.661–665.
[58] *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. by Janet Burton (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), p.xxxii; Janet Burton, 'The Foundation Histories of Byland and Jervaulx', *Borthwick Texts and Studies*, vol.35 (York: Borthwick Publications, 2006), pp.vii–x.



Picture 4: Initial depicting Pope Clement VI (1342-1352) confirming canonical election of abbots of Furness in the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (c.1412), (TNA: DL42/3, fol.47v), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

The mixing of narrative and legal sources within the Byland Cartulary was by no means new,[59] and as a practice is completely consistent with the origins of its ultimate mother house of Citeaux.[60] The *Exordia* produced by Citeaux,[61] whether from the 1120s or the 1150s,[62] represented the efforts of the founding house of the Cistercian Order to explain and justify its existence with reference to the reforming intentions behind the foundation.[63] The inclusion of authoritative documents was arguably meant to defend a monastery under sustained attack from

[59] On English monastic cartularies containing foundation narratives and chronicles, see Jean–Phillippe Genet, 'Cartulaires, registres et histoire: l'exemple anglais', in 'Le metier d'historien au moyen age: Etudes sur l'historiographie medievale', ed. by Bernard Guenee, *Publications de la Sorbonne*, Serie 'Etudes', vol.13, (1977), pp.121–126.
[60] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp.10–14.
[61] Chrysogonus Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Citeaux*, (Citeaux: Commentarii Cistercienses, 1999), pp.137–155, pp.199–205.
[62] Waddell, 'The Myth of Cistercian Origins', pp.304–306; Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp.92–93.
[63] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp.14–20.

its monastic and secular adversaries.[64] A similar Cistercian understanding of its origins and development arguably influenced the Byland Cartulary, especially when the legal records included in the cartulary are prefaced with the *Historia Fundationis*.[65] The Coucher Book, by contrast, does not mix narrative and legal sources within the cartulary and maintains a very different approach to articulating its history and identity. While papal and Cistercian privileges are copied into the Coucher Book,[66] their prominence within the organisation of the cartulary is much diminished in comparison to the royal texts, which take pride of place and are lavishly illuminated at the beginning of the cartulary.[67] Those papal privileges which are given more comprehensive attention mostly relate to particular privileges granted to the abbey, emphasising how Furness Abbey valued preserving material which reinforced its right to rule in Furness more than its shared connection to a wider Cistercian Order.[68] However, this does not necessarily imply diminished interest in the Cistercian element to the institutional identity of the abbey. The portrayal of Pope Clement VI in an initial confirming canonical election of abbots of the Cistercian Order attests to an imperative within the institutional memory to remember such papal privileges *ad futuram rei memoriam*.[69] In doing so, a wider sense of belonging to a wider Cistercian community was invoked, in which Furness Abbey could display confidence in its identity as part of an international Order. However, this confidence likely obviated the need for such general papal privileges to be copied out in full and, instead, the focal points of memory are firmly in relation to the benefactor relationships between Furness Abbey, the kings of England and the Furnesian aristocracy.

[64] Christopher Holdsworth, '*Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Citeaux*: A Review Article', *Citeaux: Commentarii Cistercienses*, vol.51 (2000), pp.163–166; Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p.290.
[65] *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. by Burton, pp.xxiii–xxv; cf. *Exordium Parvum* (c.1120), in Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Citeaux*, at pp.137–140, and *Exordium Cistercii* (c.1115), Ibid., at pp.199–203.
[66] See esp. Churches text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fol.269, V. & R., pp.642–643 and Churches text 16, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fols.274–276, V. & R., pp.661–665.
[67] See esp. Dalton texts 1–5, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.47–48, V. & R., pp.122–125.
[68] See esp. Churches text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part III fol.269, V. & R., p.642, and Churches text 18, *CB Vol.I*, Part III fol.278, V., p.668.
[69] 'For the future memory of the matter', Clement VI text 2, *CB Vol.I*, Part 3, fol.230, V., p.567

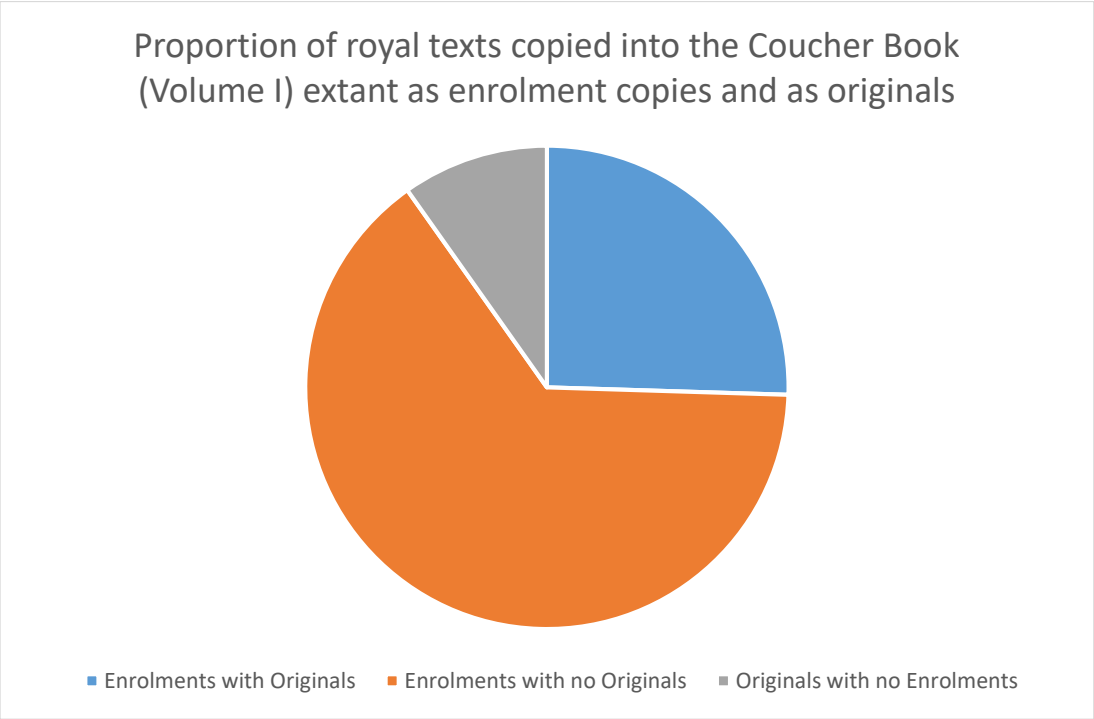


Fig.4: A pie chart showing the proportion of royal documents copied into the Coucher Book (Volume I) that are extant in enrolment copies and originals

The proportion of royal texts, defined here as documents issued directly by kings of England, amount to less than the total papal bulls and spiritual privileges (14.5% of total texts are royal texts, compared to 21.9% of total texts being papal bulls and spiritual privileges, see Fig.3). The royal acts that were included was specifically intended to cultivate an historical interpretation that served the interests of Furness Abbey before its past or present royal benefactors.[70] This formed a crucial part of the purpose of the Coucher Book in the context of litigation with Henry IV in c.1412.[71] The subsequent understanding of identity expressed here associated the abbey with its Furness environment and its power over that environment, articulated here as an exceptional level of tenurial control within the region, justified by its original close links with English royalty. Although monasteries such as Westminster Abbey advertised their connection to the English Crown through their cartularies, often in a defensive capacity to consolidate existing rights granted by previous rulers,[72] Furness Abbey appears exceptional in advertising royal privileges within its cartulary as if the abbey itself exercised

[70] See esp. Dalton text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.47, V., p.122, and Dalton text 53, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.81–85, V. & R., pp.200–216, for detailed surviving illumination of royal texts.
[71] Especially pronounced in litigation over the right of Furness Abbey to Piel Castle in 1403, see Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.33; Powicke, 'The abbey of Furness', p.118.
[72] Emma Mason, 'Introduction', in *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066 – c.1214*, ed. by Emma Mason (London: London Record Society, 1988), pp.10–11.

exceptional power over its own territory, not only including royal grants to appeal to its relationship with the Crown but using those grants within its own documentary record to justify its exceptional tenurial, and in some respects legal, influence in Furness.

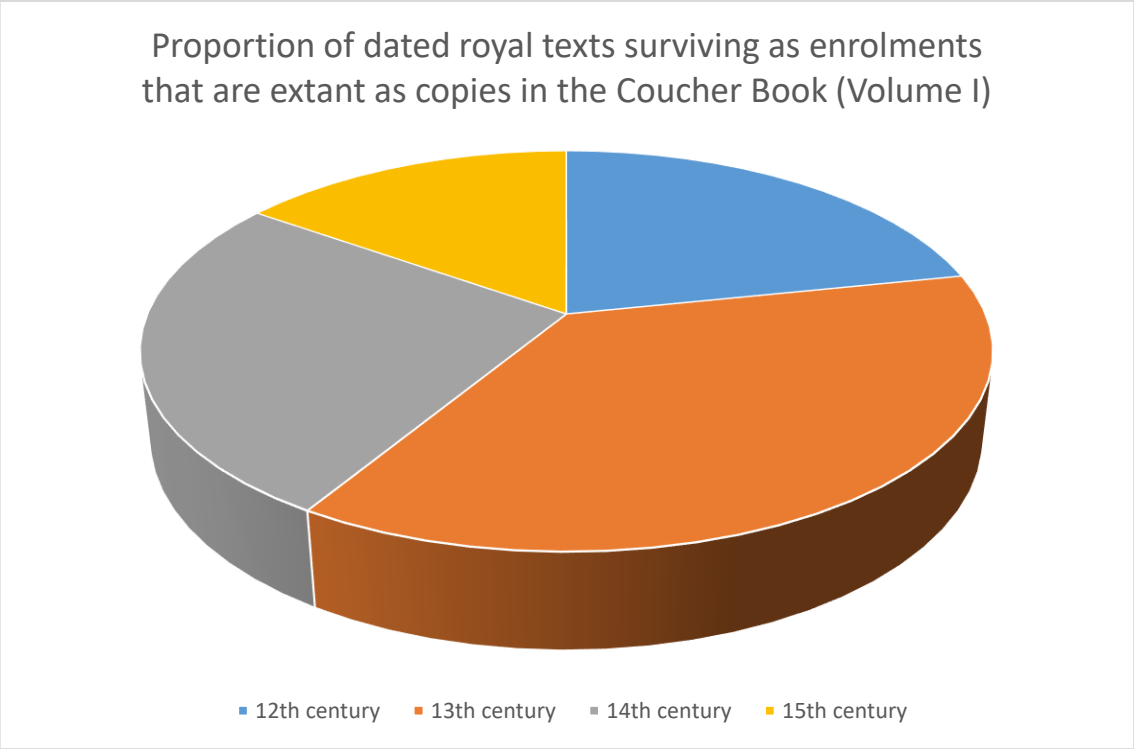


Fig.5: A pie chart showing the proportion of dated royal documents surviving as enrolments that are extant as copies in the Coucher Book (Volume I)

Of the royal texts included within the Coucher Book (Volume I), 46 enrolment copies have been identified, and of those 46 enrolled copies there are 13 extant original documents independent of the cartulary (see Fig.4). There are 28.3% of the total royal texts surviving in enrolled form dating from the 13th-14th centuries (see Fig.5), which most likely attests to the increased likelihood of record survival in a centralising and bureaucratising English royal governmental structure that was emerging at this time.[73] Nevertheless, the select survival of those original documents perhaps indicates the importance within which they were held to the Furness Abbey community, and which were subsequently utilised by the cartulary compilers in constructing a collective understanding of their history.

[73] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp.62–63.

One particular example that can be compared across record contexts is the inspeximus of charters conducted by Henry IV in 1411. The enrolled text of this inspeximus includes a detailed reference to a significant number of royal texts compiled in the Coucher Book,[74] and the inspeximus itself is found at the very end of the Dalton texts.[75] However, another inspeximus listed within the Tabulated Index where the 1411 inspeximus is now located has been torn out of its original location,[76] now placed immediately after a 1398 inspeximus by Richard II.[77] The 1411 inspeximus exists in the Coucher Book only in part as a result of this reorganisation, whereas the 1401 inspeximus exists in full.[78] No enrolled text of this 1401 inspeximus has been found within the parameters of this thesis, but both inspeximuses exist in an independent form outside of the Coucher Book.[79] This could demonstrate that both of the Henry IV inspeximuses were part of the original organisation of the Coucher Book, most likely to bookend the series of royal benefactions chronicled throughout the Dalton texts, as well as to enable those consulting the cartulary to identify the most recent confirmations of the title of the abbey to its Furnesian territories. The same texts could therefore be used both to enable access to legitimation of Furness Abbey property and to bolster a narrative of royal benefaction strongly implied throughout the cartulary.

The reorganisation of the 1401 inspeximus could well have been conducted after the Dissolution if it was intended as part of the original monastic organisational schema outlined in the Tabulated Index, but it is possible that the reorganisation could have taken place during or after the compilation of the cartulary itself. The mutilation occurs part-way through a mandate from Henry IV confiscating Walney Island,[80] and given its new appearance after a favourable and detailed inspeximus from his predecessor,[81] its reorganisation could represent a monastic attempt to alter the memory of the circumstances behind which this inspeximus was undertaken. Instead of being undertaken in the midst of litigation with the king regarding the legitimacy of

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[74] *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records Vol.5: 15 Edward III- 5 Henry V (1341-1417)*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916), Charter Roll (13–14 Henry IV), m.8, pp.444–446; From Henry V, *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records Vol.1: Henry V (1413-1416)*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office, 1910), Patent Roll (1 Henry V, Part I), m.7–2, pp.32–33.
[75] Dalton text 53, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.86, V., pp.216–217.
[76] Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.9–10, V. & R., pp.30–32; Dalton text 53, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.85, V. & R., pp.216–217.
[77] Dalton text 46, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.72–79, V. & R., pp.185–206.
[78] Dalton text 53, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.80–81, V. & R., pp.200–206.
[79] 17th–century Copy by Sir Daniel Fleming of an Inspeximus (1413–1414) of the patent rolls of Henry V, Le Fleming MSS, Miscellaneous Papers, c.1200–1763, Cumbria Archive Centre (Kendal), WD RY/BOX 92/76.
[80] Dalton text 52, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.84, V. & R., p.216; Dalton text 53, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.86, V., pp.216–217 (folio 85 has been torn out).
[81] Dalton text 46, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.72–79, V. & R., pp.185–206.

the abbatial title to its Furness lands, including Walney Island,[82] the placement of the 1401 inspeximus alongside an earlier inspeximus presented the impetus for seeking confirmation of title with the abbey and not from a position of defence. It could well be the case that the 1401 inspeximus was originally considered part of the plan for the cartulary but an editorial decision was taken to prioritise the 1411 inspeximus, not only because it was closer in time to the compilation in c.1412 but because its exclusion may have taken much of the sting out of the dispute over Walney Island in the subsequent recollection. Given that original documents associated with these inspeximuses exist, comparing the treatment of these inspeximuses within the Coucher Book against their appearance in separate record contexts reveals much about the editorial priorities of the compilers in c.1412.

An example of an enrolled text surviving where an original document does not is an inspeximus by Henry III in 1227. The Coucher Book version of this inspeximus has been lost through later folio mutilation,[83] but the content can be reconstructed in relation to the enrolled text that survives.[84] The lack of an original document outside of the Coucher Book in the Furness archive could be explained by the relative lack of relevance of this earlier inspeximus compared to those included in detail later in the cartulary. Yet, it seems as though this inspeximus was intended by the compilers to set the stage for the inclusion of the 1239 grant of Dalton Fair,[85] which does survive in an original and enrolled version,[86] since the reference to this grant twice within this part of the Coucher Book illustrates its importance within the narrative of Furness Abbey dominance over its core territories. Treatment of the inspeximus in this context, when compared to how they are treated in their enrolled contexts, demonstrates how the priority for documentary survival was informed by the historicised narrative cultivated by the Coucher Book compilers, since both texts were accorded similar importance within the enrolled record context.

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[82] John F. Curwen, 'Piel Castle, Lancashire', in *TCWAAS*, vol.10 (1910), p.274.
[83] Dalton text 13, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.50–51, V. & R., pp.129–130.
[84] *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records Vol.1: Henry III (1226-1257)*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), Charter Roll, Vol.I (11 Henry III, Part I), m.20, p.18.
[85] Dalton text 14, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.51, R., p.131.
[86] Grant to Furness abbey of a fair at Dalton (1246), Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters, TNA, DL10/84; *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records Vol.1: Henry III (1226-1257)*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), Charter Roll, Vol.I (23 Henry III), m.4, p.243.

Finally, there are number of cases where original documents survive but there is no corresponding enrolment. Perhaps the most significant example in respect to what it reveals about Coucher Book editorial priorities is a general pardon by Henry V in 1415 for any offences committed by the abbey between 19th November-8th December 1415.[87] The existence of this document beyond the formal compilation date in c.1412, evidenced by its absence from the Tabulated Index,[88] shows how the cartulary was intended to be adaptable to developments, especially concerning English royalty. There is no enrolled text of this pardon but it does exist in an original document preserved outside of the Coucher Book.[89] It is most likely that preserving this pardon would have served the interests of Furness Abbey in the context of legitimising its title to its estates, as well as preserving the narrative of consistent royal favour towards the abbey displayed throughout the Coucher Book. By contrast, the conciliatory nature of the pardon may reflect the circumstances of the first two years of the reign of Henry V, as he sought to rally support from secular and spiritual aristocracy for a common endeavour to pursue his claim to the throne of France.[90] These circumstances could explain the absence of an enrolled text for this pardon, especially if it was granted by a customary and less than formal nature, as well as an incentive to settle the disputes with the abbey initiated by his father. In this instance at least, the conjunction of events may well have corresponded with the version of memory established by c.1412 and motivated the Coucher Book compilers to include this document after their task had been formally completed.

Of all the papal bulls recorded in the Coucher Book, only a single enrolment text could be found within the limitations of this thesis, and which also survives in an original charter. This was a confirmation by Pope Celestine III (1191-1198) to Furness Abbey of the right to the benefices and appointment of vicars to the churches of Dalton and Urswick, and to elect the bishops of Man & the Isles.[91] It is therefore apparent that the place of Furness Abbey within the wider ecclesiastical administration was perceived differently in a papal record context to that in Furness itself. The papal chancery had become increasingly bureaucratised by c.1412, dealing with multitudes of petitions from across Christendom.[92] This meant that the initiative for

[87] Dalton Miscellaneous text 3, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.87–8, V. & R., pp.221–224.
[88] Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.10, R., p.32.
[89] Letters patent of pardon under the Palatinate Seal for Furness Abbey (1419), Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters, TNA, DL10/379.
[90] Anthony J. Pollard, *Late Mediaeval England, 1399–1509* (Harlow: Pearson Education Ltd., 2000), pp.69–76; G.L. Harriss, 'The King and his Magnates', in *Henry V: The Practice of Kingship*, ed. by G.L. Harriss (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), pp.31–36.
[91] Jaffe 17106, in Philippus Jaffe, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, vol.ii (Graz: Akademische Druck– U. Verlagsanstalt, 1956), p.605.
[92]Andreas Meyer, 'The Curia: The Apostolic Chancery', in *A Companion to the Medieval Papacy: Growth of an Ideology and Institution*, ed. by Atria Larson & Keith Sisson, Brill's Companions to the Christian Tradition: A Series of Handbooks and Reference Works on the Intellectual and Religious Life of Europe, 500-1800 (Brill: Leiden, 2016), pp.239-241, pp.245-247

enacting papal petitions, and how those petitions were framed, lay primarily with the petitioner,[93] offering particular scope for monasteries like Furness Abbey to shape the institutional memory presented to the papacy in their favour. From the perspective of the papal chancery, Furness Abbey was arguably viewed within a wider ecclesiastical context of connecting the Curia with the archbishopric of Trondheim, although this does not necessarily imply a hierarchical core-periphery relationship so much as permitting unrestrained flow of papal correspondence between Rome and the frontiers of Latin Christendom.[94] However, this wider context is not fully alluded to by the Coucher Book compilers during the copying of the Celestine III bull. Instead, it became sublimated within a narrative over contention of tithes between Furness Abbey and Dalton and Urswick churches that is only resolved by an authoritative announcement on the matter from Archbishop Walter de Gray of York in 1228.[95] The placement of the bull within the Church texts reinforces its role in this narrative that is centred upon the Furness heartlands and less upon the role that Furness Abbey played in Insular ecclesiastical politics.[96]

Very few original papal documents outside of the Coucher Book and enrolments survive to corroborate the cartulary record, and this could reflect the attrition of the documentary record expounded earlier in this chapter, or be a casualty of the Reformation.[97] Those originals that do survive concern the Dalton and Urswick church contention mentioned earlier, such as a special bull of Pope Innocent IV extending the privilege of non-payment of tithes by the abbey over lands recently acquired.[98] The survival of a Pope Boniface VIII bull on the same subject within the context of the Furness Abbey archive indicates that the principal value of these bulls was measured by how far they affirmed the legitimacy of abbatial authority over its Furnesian territories.[99] Their preservation could also have assisted the abbey in supporting its claims to the tithes of the core Furness churches within its jurisdiction during any disputes that may have arisen while the cartulary was being compiled. Essentially, the limited evidence from the papal bull enrolments, and similarly from surviving original documents

[93] Ibid., pp.246-247, pp.255-258
[94] Nagy, 'Peripheries in Question in Late Medieval Christendom', pp.8-9; Torstein Jorgensen, 'At the Edge of the World: The Supplications from the Norwegian Province of Nidaros', in *The Long Arm of Papal Authority: Late Medieval Christian Peripheries and their Communications with the Holy See*, ed. by Gerhard Jaritz, Torstein Jorgensen & Kirsi Salonen (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2005), pp.23-25
[95] Churches text 10, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fols.271–272, V. & R., pp.652–654.
[96] Churches text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fol.269, V. & R., pp.642–644.
[97] Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.81.
[98] Text of Papal Bull of Pope Innocent IV to Furness Abbey noting the former privilege as to non–payment of tithes conceded by the Apostolic See and extending it to lands acquired since General Council, Butler Papers, Barrow Record Office (BPR), BPR 1/M/9/25/81.
[99] Boniface VIII General Bull Exempting the Abbey from Payment of Tithes and First Fruits on account of any lands, let or to be let, provided only the said Tithes had not been previously Payable out of the same Lands (1302), TNA, DL36/2/8.

outside the Coucher Book, indicate that these documents were actively employed to legitimise an historicised narrative and understanding that equated abbatial authority over Furness churches with authority over Furness as a whole. The extra-Furnesian dimension, while acknowledged within this narrative, was rendered secondary to the territorial interests of the abbey within Furness itself.

Spiritual privileges include, for the purposes of this analysis, issues of church ownership, burials, and specific spiritual privileges to Furness Abbey or to the Cistercian Order not issued by a reigning pope, though they are outnumbered even by the total number of papal bulls.[100] Nevertheless, the spiritual dimension was arguably inherent throughout the Coucher Book material, especially direct grants, because of the 'functional reciprocity' of the abbey to remember the benefactor for the salvation of their souls.[101] The prominent place of Furness benefactors within the Coucher Book implies that the abbey continued to fulfil that function, as part of a wider recognition of continuity of pious noble relations with late mediaeval monasteries than previously thought.[102] The inclusion of indulgences to be dispensed at its gatehouse,[103] even those issued from as far afield as Chrysopolis,[104] further underlines the importance of Furness Abbey in satisfying lay demands for pious activity, as monasteries in general sought to render their precincts more 'palatable' to lay worshippers.[105] However, the relative lack of direct spiritual privileges extant within the Coucher Book suggests that the collective memory of benefactors within Furness Abbey was not limited to being obliged to remember them. Instead, Furness Abbey sought to use this functional reciprocity of satisfying the spiritual interests of benefactors to further a particular vision for how the abbey's history and identity was to be perceived.[106]

[100] See Fig.3 for the proportion of spiritual privileges contained within the Coucher Book (6% of total texts).
[101] Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men*, pp.88–89.
[102] James G. Clark, 'The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, vol.18 ed. by James G. Clark (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), pp.31–32.
[103] Indulgence to persons attending the churches and chapels belonging to Furness Abbey (1334), TNA, DL25/554.
[104] Thomas, Bishop of Chrysopolis, grants an Indulgence of 40 days to all who attend sermons in the Chapter House of Furness (25th August 1355), in *CB Vol.II*, Part III, pp.805–806.
[105] Clark, 'The Religious Orders in Pre–Reformation England', p.30.
[106] See Chapter Three, pp.147–149, on how this functional reciprocity was enacted in interpreting the spiritual interests of the Boyville benefactors.

Within the context of spiritual privileges in Coucher Book (Volume I), enrolments from the archbishopric of York were investigated, and four enrolled copies were found of documents corresponding to the cartulary record. These consist of an authoritative arrangement by Archbishop Walter de Gray of York regarding the rights of Furness Abbey over the churches of Dalton and Urswick,[107] an official declaration by Archbishop William de la Zouche of York concerning the benefices of the churches of Dalton and Urswick and half of Millom,[108] and the settlement of payment by Furness Abbey to maintain the keeper of the altar of St. Michael at York Minster in return for recognition of the revenues from half of Millom church.[109] Only the authoritative arrangement by Archbishop Walter de Gray survives in an original document within the Furness Abbey archive.[110] This indicates that the principal value of these archiepiscopal records for the abbey lay in how they consolidated abbatial authority over the churches of Furness that were critical to constructing an image of Furness Abbey as the principal political and ecclesiastical power within Furness. The aforementioned document concerning the maintenance of the altar of St. Michael does not survive in original form, but an original version of the succeeding document in the Coucher Book sequence does survive,[111] namely an acquittance of a bond of 500 marks for maintaining the altar in return for assurance that the pension for the keeper will be paid at regular intervals.[112] Its survival could be attributable to being closer in time to the compilation of the Coucher Book, and thus being the most relevant financial information concerning this commitment. However, given the prominence of this payment within the narrative of extension of abbatial authority over Dalton and Urswick within the Coucher Book, it remained an important part of the institutional memory of the abbey. The version the cartulary compilers put across was less one of financial obligation to the Archbishops of York and more one of securing the ecclesiastical privileges associated with the churches of Furness as well as the honour of maintaining an altar within York Minster. The contentious circumstances behind the appropriation of tithes to the abbey were thus de-emphasised within the Coucher Book record, along with the obligations imposed by the archbishops in resolving the disputes, as part of a narrative of progressive abbatial domination over the Furness churches.

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[107] *Registrum Magnum Album*, pars.ii, 21b, in *Registers of Archbishop Gray (Surtees Society)*, pp.160–161.
[108] Archbishop of York Registers, Register 10, fol.71, V., Entry 1, *The Northern Way*, http://https://dlibrailsprod1.york.ac.uk/entry/sb397c58x [accessed 10 Feb 2022].
[109] Archbishop of York Registers, Register 5A, fol.114, R., Entry 2, *The Northern Way*, http://https://dlibrailsprod1.york.ac.uk/entry/m326m4828 [accessed: 10 Feb 2022].
[110] Ordinance appropriating to Furness Abbey the churches of Dalton and Urswick and the moiety of the church of Millom (1228), TNA, DL25/279.
[111] Churches text 21, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fols.283–284, V. & R., pp.683–684.
[112] Defeasance of a bond to the Keeper of the Altar of St. Michael in York Minster (1228), TNA, DL25/259.

Legal documents, principally inquisitions into abbey property or prospective abbey acquisitions, litigation records and settlements of litigation, constitute a greater proportion of the total number of texts than grants, confirmations and quitclaims.[113] This conveys the impression that the Coucher Book compilers were preoccupied with justifying Furness Abbey acquisitions up to c.1412, wherein a legal memory of such transactions was promoted to suit its own interests of protecting its benefactions behind a written record. [114] The selectivity of this process of commemorating legal documents within monastic cartularies has been described as 'less a legal brief than another form of *liber memorialis*',[115] whereby the form of remembrance effectively determines the content of the cartularies themselves. The records in their current form reveal more about how information was valued in c.1412 than in the 12th-13th centuries, and therefore gives us a crucial insight into how this reflected upon the 15th-century institutional perception of Furness Abbey.

[113] See Fig.3 for the proportion of inquisitions, litigation records and settlements of litigation contained within the Coucher Book (2.4%, 5% and 5.8% of total texts respectively, altogether accounting for 13.2% of total texts).
[114] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp.275–276, pp.295–296.
[115] Constance Brittain Bouchard, 'Monastic Cartularies: Organising Eternity', in *Charters, Cartularies and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. by Adam J. Kosto & Anders Winroth (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 2002), p.31.

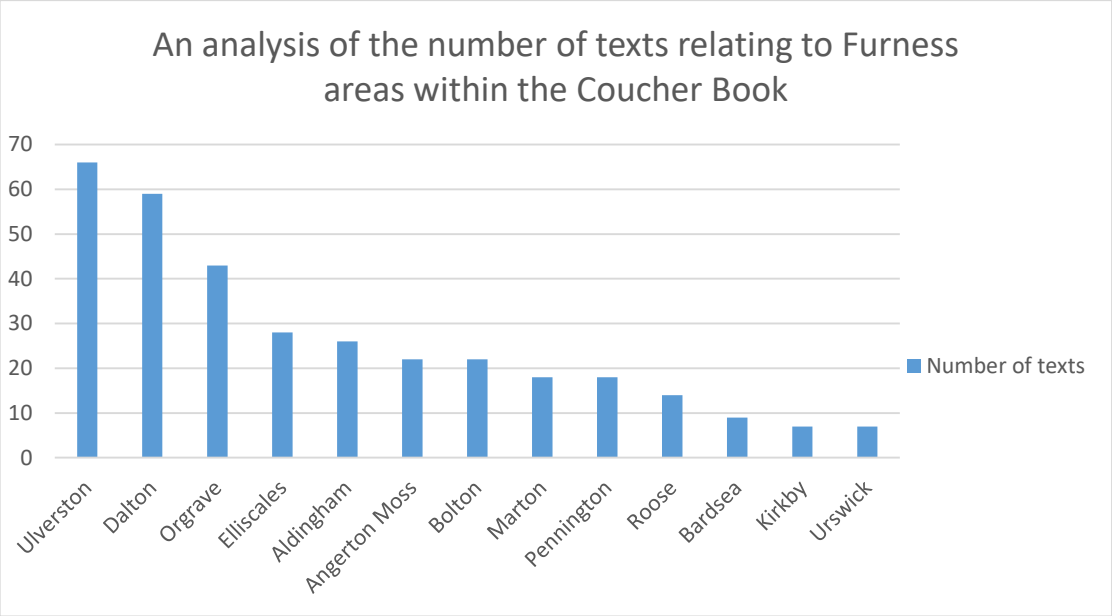


Fig.6: A bar chart showing the number of texts listed under the Tabulated Index of the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I) according to their location within the Furness peninsula, based on 342 texts within the Coucher Book with a specifically named Furness association (68% of total texts)

Having analysed the different types of texts copied into the Coucher Book, the range of geographical locations represented in these texts will now be addressed. The preoccupation of the different types of texts with locations within the Furness peninsula can be demonstrated by an overall analysis of the number of texts relating to Furness locations shown in Fig.6. The sheer geographical concentration of texts shows how the Coucher Book, or at the very least what is now Volume I, was conceived from its compilation in c.1412 as a record and expression of the power and authority of Furness Abbey within Furness, connecting the abbey conspicuously with Furness itself. The greatest proportion of surviving texts within the Coucher Book principally concern the area around Dalton and Ulverston, corresponding to the twin centres of abbatial authority within Low and High Furness respectively.[116] This is reflected in the character of the texts, which constitute efforts by Furness Abbey to extend and consolidate its territorial influence as a seigniorial power within Furness during the 12th-13th centuries. It is within the Dalton and Ulverston texts that the highest concentration of royal texts can be

[116] See Fig. 6 for the proportion of texts corresponding to the Furness areas to which they are related in the Coucher Book; Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.31.

found,[117] thereby lending extra weight to the compilers' attempts to connect the institutional identity of Furness Abbey with these key manorial entities within Furness. The significant number of texts for Orgrave, Marton and Elliscales serve principally to augment and define the abbatial authority of Furness Abbey from its Dalton capital. The boundaries of this authority are determined in the number of Urswick, Roose and Aldingham texts, and negotiations over the limits of this authority principally compose the character of the surviving Bolton and Pennington texts. Yet, they are presented within the Coucher Book as part of the inexorable progress of the consolidation of the power of the abbey within what it determines as its own domain of Furness. A detailed analysis of the dates of the texts will now be undertaken, addressing in succession texts from the 12th-15th centuries for which original documents are extant, even though only a proportion of the total Coucher Book texts survive in original form. This will provide an important reference point from which to compare the treatment of original against copied texts in the Coucher Book and set up much of the discussion that follows as to how different versions of memory and identity were articulated.

[117] See Fig. 3 for overall proportion of royal texts within the Coucher Book; particular examples of royal texts include Dalton text 22, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.60, V., p.149.

Analysis of datable texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I)

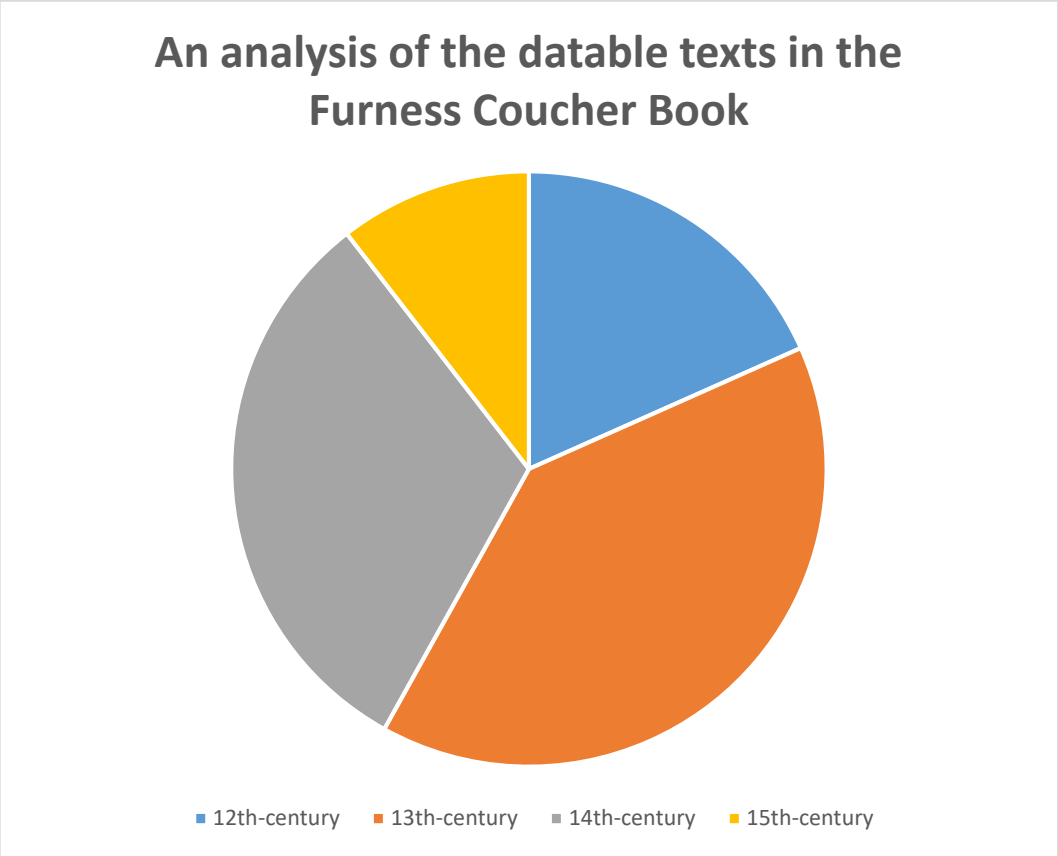


Fig.7: A pie chart showing the proportion of datable texts within the overall context of the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I)

Under half of the total surviving Furness Coucher Book texts can be dated, and of those datable texts, 40% can be dated to have originated from the late-13th to early-14th century. Since a major purpose of the Coucher Book was to render property rights for Furness Abbey into a secure format, and considering that most of its acquisitions took place during the 13th century, this most likely reflects the preponderance of 13th-century copied material within the Coucher Book.[118] The proliferation of written, dated records throughout the 13th-century reflects wider trends in the development of a written record to substitute collective oral memories.[119] An informal consensus prevailed over what the transactions meant, self-evident to both parties at the time of transaction, and were thus unlikely to be deemed relevant to future circumstances.

[118] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp.101–102.
[119] Ibid., pp.295–296.

However, as a written record of transactions became increasingly common throughout the 12th-13th centuries, more detailed information deemed worthy of recording for future consultation was preserved. These included the land granted, the demands levied, the witnesses to the transactions and especially the date of the transaction so as to render an accurate account of their debts before the burgeoning Crown administration and each other.[120] The presentation of the 13th-century texts that are dated could be said to represent the extension of the power of the Crown in regulating the terms of land transaction and inheritance. The increasing bureaucratic intervention in seigniorial affairs coincided with attempts to recoup as much taxation as possible from land donated in frankalmoin to the Church, on the basis of a moral imperative to prevent benefactors from subinfeudating themselves to ecclesiastical institutions to avoid dues and inheritance taxes.[121] After the 1279 and 1290 Statutes of Mortmain, benefactors became warier about when and how they granted land to the Church, as inheritance tax was effectively levied upon what had been a most cost-effective form of tax avoidance, and this impacted upon the amount of land given to the Church and on what terms.[122]

A significant proportion of the 12th-century material, and among the earliest verifiably datable texts within the Furness Coucher Book for which there is original material elsewhere, refers to the le Fleming Lords of Aldingham and the pivotal land exchanges of Roose, Crivelton and Bardsea that characterised their relationship with Furness Abbey during the 1150s.[123] The contribution of the le Flemings was constructed within the Coucher Book narrative of c.1412 within the context of ownership of the church of Urswick.[124] The church of Urswick formed a linchpin in the institutional identity of Furness Abbey, not only for being on the manorial boundary between the two manors of Low Furness and Muchland, but also for the spiritual significance which the abbey invested in ownership of that church. Thus, the Urswick texts which first chronicle the benefactor relationship between Furness Abbey and the le Flemings begin with, and are in fact dominated by, negotiations over the church of Urswick.[125] Immediately after the Urswick texts, the Roose texts then describe the negotiations between the abbey and the le Flemings over the exchange of Roose and Crivelton for Bardsea and Urswick,

[120] Ibid., p.52.
[121] David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), p.7.
[122] Sandra Raban, *England under Edward I and Edward II, 1259–1327* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Limited, 2000), p.79.
[123] Roose text 3, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.177, V. & R., p.456; Confirmation of the exchange of Bardsea, Ros, and Crivelton (1153–1159), TNA, DL 25/342; Roose text 7, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.178, V. & R., p.457 (described in Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.26, V. R., p.75); Grant of Fordbottle, Crivelton and Ros (1175–1187), TNA, DL25/342.
[124] See esp. Roose text 7, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.178, V., p.457 (described in Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.26, V. & R., p.75); Powicke, 'The abbey of Furness', pp.127–128.
[125] See esp. Urswick texts 1–2, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.175, V., pp.451–452.

prioritising the delineation of manorial boundaries less than the spiritual boundaries within a narrative context across roughly contemporaneous texts.[126]

Part of the reason for the relatively low priority within the wider narrative framework afforded to Roose and Crivelton could be because they either assumed less of an importance in c.1412 than in c.1150 for determining the effective boundary between the two Manors, or because the settlements no longer existed, as in the case of Crivelton. Although Thomas West believed that Crivelton, like neighbouring Fordebodle, had been destroyed by coastal erosion,[127] the Coucher Book records that Crivelton may have changed its name, *pur Roos et Crevylton, qore sount appelle Ruse et Neuton*.[128] This indicates that, despite the key role that Crivelton had played in the memory of early interactions between Furness Abbey and the le Flemings of Aldingham, the Coucher Book compilers probably did not regard Crivelton as the most important outcome which Furness Abbey sought from the negotiations of c.1150. This perception is contrasted by comparison with a confirmation by William, Count of Boulogne, of the exchange made concerning Urswick and Crivelton, in which Crivelton is regarded as being at a critical juncture between the two manors and a particular locus for clarifying the manorial boundaries.[129] Even more so, a text issued by Michael, son of William le Fleming, a second generation after the exchange of c.1150, remembered the initiative for the negotiations lying with his grandfather Michael le Fleming, especially regarding ownership of the town and church of Urswick.[130] He assigned a particularly seigniorial significance to Roose, Crivelton and Bardsea not just for delineating boundaries but also, especially in the case of Bardsea, for their fisheries and the income that they could provide.[131] The 12th-century Urswick and Aldingham texts therefore appear to have been included within the Coucher Book primarily to highlight the right of Furness Abbey to act as the spiritual guardian for eastern Furness through the church of Urswick. This would, by extension, work towards superseding the temporal significance of the Lords of Aldingham, thus feeding into an image of the abbey as being the effective representative, spiritual and temporal, of Furness itself.

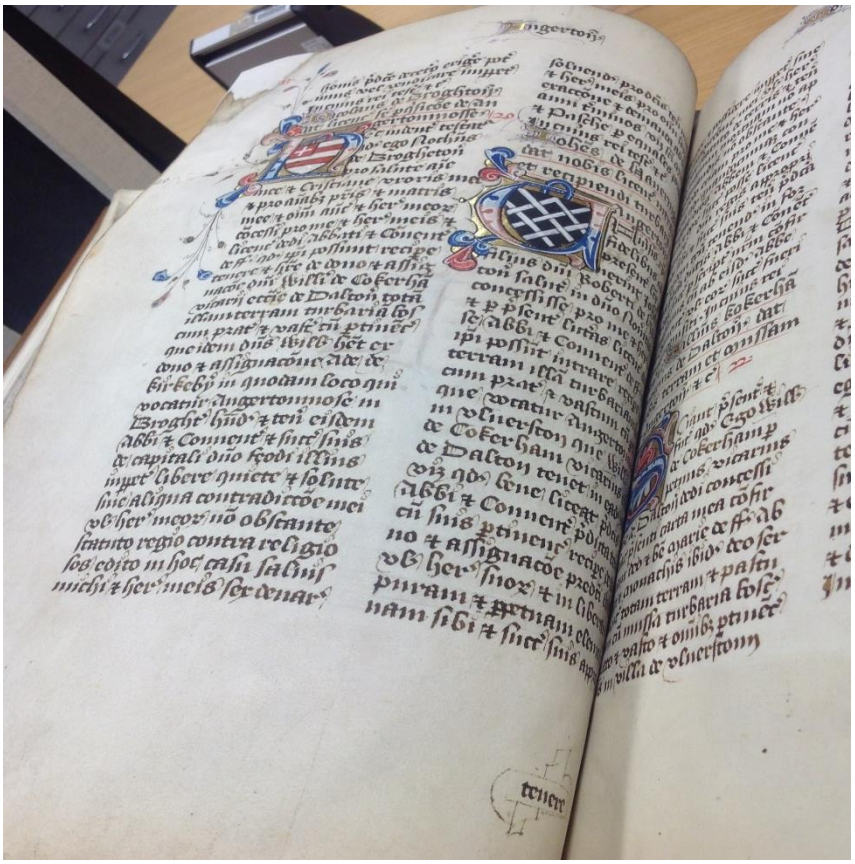
[126] Roose text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.177, V., p.454.
[127] West, *The Antiquities of Furness*, p.21.
[128] 'For Roose and Crivelton, now called Roose and Newton', Bardsea text 9, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.174, R., p.451; William Rollinson, 'The lost villages and hamlets of Low Furness', in *TCWAAS*, vol.63 (1963), p.162.
[129] Confirmation of the exchange of Bardsea, Ros, and Crivelton (1153–1159), TNA, DL 25/342.
[130] Grant of Fordbottle, Crivelton and Ros (1201–1216), TNA, DL25/344.
[131] Roose text 7, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.178, V., p.457 (described in Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.26, V. & R., p.75).

A significant proportion of datable 13th-century texts within the Coucher Book for which there is corresponding original material concern privileges granted to Furness Abbey by successive English kings. This formed part of an overall pattern of seeing the abbey, through the lens of the Coucher Book, maintaining a special benefactor relationship with the English Crown.[132] However, this articulation by the Coucher Book compilers begins to shift, as Furness Abbey is interpreted to have taken on a more active role in the political and economic environment of Furness, setting less stock by its benefactor relationship with the Crown. In this regard, perhaps the most important deed from this period is the establishment of Dalton Fair by Henry III in 1246.[133] The significance with which this deed was regarded by the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412 is reflected by its duplication within the Coucher Book itself, once after an inquisition by Henry III of the Foundation Charter and its successive confirmations, and the other after a series of confirmations of sheriff's tourn within the demesne lands of the abbey.[134] The positioning of the deed at the end of a succession of royal confirmations of privileges could have been intended to demonstrate the historic connection of Furness Abbey within its demesne lands in Low Furness by c.1412 and representing the abbey as if it were the representative of Furness itself. The Coucher Book compliers of c.1412 appear to have portrayed the Dalton Fair charter as the culmination of previous royal benefactions, prioritising the legal over economic privileges pertaining to the fair. Yet, the prominent placement and the content of both texts concerning the Dalton Fair charter implies that Furness Abbey was the main driving force behind securing the privileges of the fair.

An original corresponding version of the charter for Dalton fair exists only for the second named deed within the Coucher Book (i.e. after the sheriff's tourn confirmations), which permits the fair to take place upon the Feast of the Vigil of the Translation of Edward the Confessor (13th October),[135] whereas the first named deed (i.e. after the inquisition) has the fair take place on the day after All Saints Day (2nd November).[136] This would therefore imply that first named deed could have been the first charter issued by Henry III, later moved to a different day and the final text of the Dalton Fair charter has consequently been preserved in corresponding original form. Although the Coucher Book compilers most likely interpreted Furness Abbey as the main party negotiating the most favourable day to hold the fair, the

[132] Brian Marshall, *Lancashire's Medieval Monasteries* (Blackpool: Landy Publishing, 2006), p.83.
[133] Dalton text 14, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.51, R., p.131; Dalton text 22, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.60, V. & R., p.149 *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records Vol.1: Henry III (1226-1257)*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office, 1903), Charter Roll, Vol.I (23 Henry III), m.4, p.243.
[134] Dalton text 13, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.51, V. & R., p.129; Dalton text 21, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.59–60, V. & R., pp.145–149.
[135] Grant to Furness abbey of a fair at Dalton (1246), Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters, TNA, DL10/84.
[136] Dalton text 22, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.60, V. & R., p.149.

original deed appears to ascribe greater influence to royal munificence. The royal motivations for establishing the fair on its terms may be underlined by the fair taking place on the Feast of the Translation of Edward the Confessor, which Henry III was instrumental in establishing,[137] and the influence of Richard of Cornwall, brother of Henry III, can be detected by his prominent place among the witnesses.[138] The general impression being generated by the compilers here is that English royal benefaction was still highly valued, but that Furness Abbey was not dependent upon such benefaction.



Picture 5: Example of coats-of-arms as a means of commemorating the Broughton and Harrington benefactors in the Angerton Moss texts in the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (TNA: DL42/3, fol.133v), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

[137] David A. Carpenter, 'King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult', in *The English Historical Review*, vol.122, no.498 (2007), pp.866–867, p.890.
[138] Grant to Furness abbey of a fair at Dalton (1246), Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters, TNA, DL10/84.

One of the most significant features of the 13th-century texts within the Coucher Book is their testimony as to how Furness Abbey came to employ the services of agents or third parties, as transactions of property became increasingly couched in terms of profit. [139] This can be witnessed in the pivotal role played by John Fergheser, Richard Lombard and Thomas Skilhar in the acquisition of Angerton Moss. In fact, the single greatest concentrated survival of corresponding original documents within the Coucher Book are directly related to Angerton Moss. The rights in Angerton Moss were first quitclaimed by Alan, son of Ralph de Kirkby, to Thomas Skilhar,[140] with a confirmation of the quitclaim by his liege lord, Richard, son of Simon de Broughton, within whose domain Angerton Moss was initially deemed to lie.[141] Thomas Skilhar consequently granted the lands and rights which these benefactors had given him to Furness Abbey.[142] It would appear from the actions of Thomas Skilhar recounted in both the original documents and the Coucher Book copies that he was acting in the interests of Furness Abbey from the beginning. He acted in a systematic manner, in concert with Richard Lombard and John Fergheser, in ensuring that the title to the land at Angerton Moss held good in the face of a number of potential claimants.[143] The need for the actions of Furness Abbey and its agents to be held to account throughout the transaction is indicated by the significant survival of original documents within the Duchy collections.

The economic value of the peat reserves of Angerton Moss,[144] in addition to the political capital gained from constructive negotiation with a series of Furness nobles, is elaborated within the Coucher Book. This is shown in the quitclaim by Adam de Huddleston to Furness Abbey of forty wagonloads of turf per annum, which he had formerly rendered to Richard, son of Simon de Broughton as his liege lord.[145] The possession of economic resources and seigniorial jurisdictions were considered by the Coucher Book compilers of c.1412 to run in tandem, reinforcing the impression of Furness Abbey as the most significant political power within Furness among a widespread network of Furness nobles. Defining the exact boundaries of Angerton Moss itself is a prominent preoccupation throughout the Angerton Moss texts,

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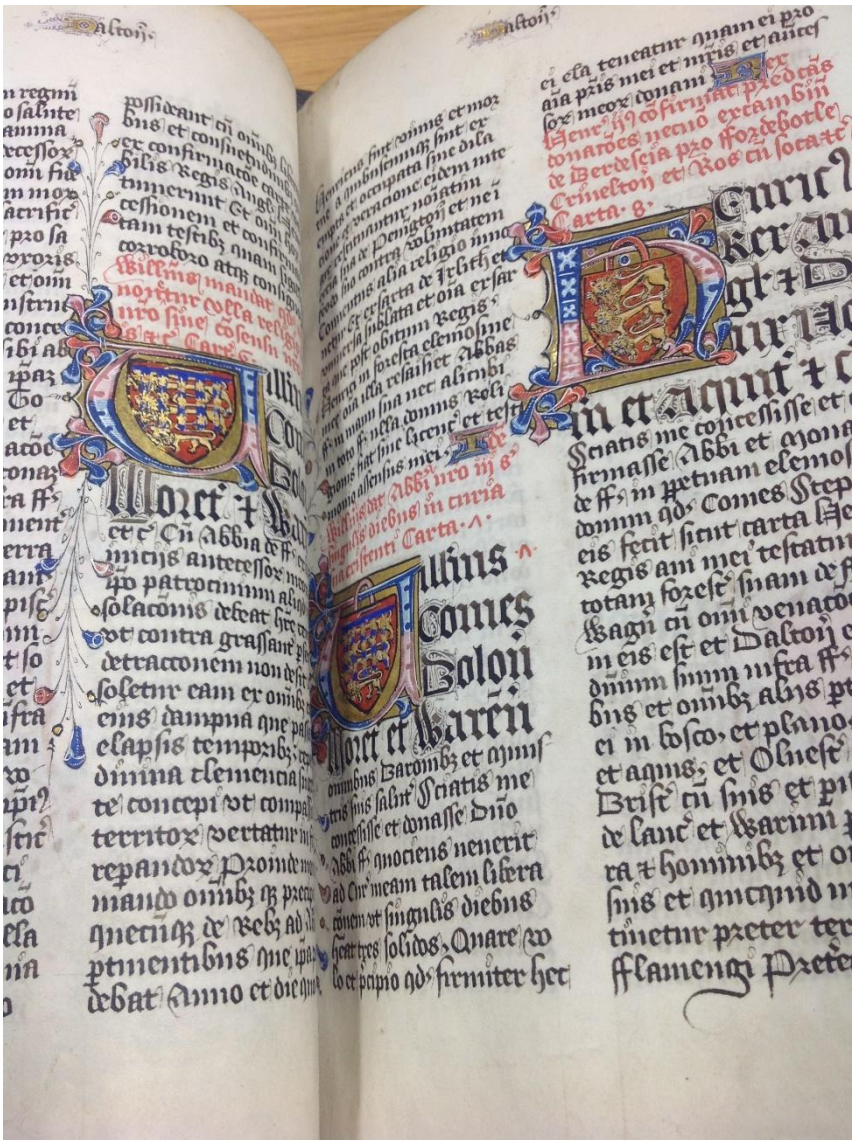
[139] Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, p.62, p.73.
[140] Angerton Moss text 3, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.127, R., p.227, pp.324–325; Quitclaim relating to Angerton Moss (1276–1290), TNA, DL25/383.
[141] Angerton Moss text 4, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.127–128, R. & V., pp.325–326; Grant in Angerton Moss (1261–1272), TNA, DL25/381.
[142] Angerton Moss text 8, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.129–130, R. & V., pp.330–331; Grant in Angerton Moss (1261–1272), TNA, DL25/386.
[143] The first reference to all three individuals is in Angerton Moss text 7, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.129, V & R., pp.329–330.
[144] Bill Shannon, 'Angerton', *VCH Cumbria*, https://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/sites/default/files/Angerton%20(30.4.15).pdf, [accessed 04 October 2018].
[145] Angerton Moss text 14, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.132, V., p.337; Adam de Hodelston to Furness Abbey: Quitclaim of 40 cartloads of turves per annum in Angerton Moss (1325), TNA, DL25/392.

since the area itself was vulnerable to tidal fluctuations and was therefore situated at various times between the manorial boundaries of Broughton-in-Furness and Millom.[146] By the time Angerton Moss fell into direct possession of the abbey, it was determined within the surviving texts as being within the boundaries of the manor of Ulverston.[147] Angerton Moss was thus deemed to fall within the abbey territories of Low Furness as far as the compilers in c.1412 were concerned.

The 14th-15th-century texts appear to be primarily concerned with consolidating the seigniorial authority of the abbey within Furness from how they are presented in the Coucher Book. As well as the higher likelihood of survival for original texts from this period for a range of reasons, this period seems to be associated with an impetus to use such texts to present a more coherent identity for Furness Abbey. The consolidating sense of Furness Abbey being coterminous with its Furness environment that emerged during the 13th-century texts was increasingly being underwritten by assertions of abbatial authority within the 14th-15th-century texts. It is ultimately this language of power and authority within which the Coucher Book compilers expressed the institutional memory and identity of Furness Abbey, superimposing its presumptions of seigniorial connection between the abbey and its benefactors upon earlier periods, a theme which will be explored in relation to the Boyville and Huddleston benefactors in Chapter Three.[148]

[146] Farrer, 'Angerton Moss', pp.408–409.
[147] Angerton Moss text 8, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.129–130, R. & V., p.330.
[148] See Chapter Three, p.140, pp.158-159.



Picture 6: Conspicuous employment of royal and Duchy of Lancaster coats-of-arms in the Dalton texts in the Furness Abbey Coucher Book, (TNA: DL42/3, fols.48-49), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

A particular concern of the 14th-15th-century texts was the relationship between Furness Abbey and the Duchy of Lancaster, which is one of the most exceptional instances of how the institutional identity of Furness differed from its monastic counterparts elsewhere. The Duchy connection is supplemented by the more traditional narrative of continuous royal benefaction to the abbey throughout the Dalton texts. However, the influence of the Duchy upon how earlier periods were interpreted in c.1412 can perhaps be detected through the stylistic portrayals of

earlier texts. This is most apparent in the decoration of the initial of the so-called Foundation Charter with an anachronous Duchy coat-of-arms, as if to emphasise an unbroken connection between Count Stephen, as Lord of the Honour of Lancaster, and the Duchy of Lancaster under Henry IV.[149] There appears to be a political imperative felt among the compilers in c.1412 to assimilate earlier memories of royal interaction with Furness Abbey into a form that emphasised the Duchy as the heir to the royal benefactions of a favoured English monastery. The aim would therefore seem to be to encourage Henry IV and the Duchy of Lancaster to acknowledge the historical significance of Furness Abbey to the kings of England, and to the Duchy Inheritance in particular.[150]

The textual relationship between the Coucher Book and the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster must be seriously considered, since the latter cartulary arguably exercised a pronounced influence over how the Furness compilers constructed their cartulary. The Great Cowcher was compiled 1402-1408, commissioned by Henry IV (1399-1413) to catalogue the estates he held as Duke of Lancaster upon his accession to the throne, to mark the Duchy as a distinct and independent administration from the Crown.[151] Robert Somerville remarked on how the organisation of the Great Cowcher texts resembled that of the Coucher Book, whereby each text had a number corresponding to the number against the entry in the Great Cowcher, and this applying to each unit.[152] This could imply that the Coucher Book compilers used similar administrative techniques when compiling the cartulary to that used by the Duchy administration. There is even a kind of 'clockwise progression' around the Duchy estates in the organisation of the Great Cowcher by counties, which illustrated how the compiler, most likely the Receiver General John Leventhorpe, was very familiar with the estates in question,[153] and this approach is arguably imitated in, or shared by, the Coucher Book.

[149] Dalton text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.47, V., p.122.
[150] The Duchy Inheritance refers to the foundational estate of the Earldom of Lancaster under Edmund Plantagenet, 1st Earl of Lancaster, from 1267, see Robert Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster: Volume One, 1265–1603* (London: The Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1953), pp.8–9.
[151] Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', pp.598–600.
[152] For example, *The Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster* (c.1402–c.1408), no.2 vol.II, fol.1, contains two distinct documents under no.2, the second of which has in the margin the original note *ii caret quod simul ligature* (two of which are bound together); similarly, under no.2, vol.I, fol.926, several documents are grouped together, cited in Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', p.603.
[153] Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', p.604.

Picture 7: Illuminated initial depicting Henry IV (1399-1413) granting the Duchy of Lancaster to himself and his heirs in the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster (TNA), DL42/1, fol.51v), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

The illumination strategy is perhaps the most conspicuous influence of the Great Cowcher upon the Coucher Book. Its large initial letters display new late-14th century styles of historiated figure drawing, such as the figure of Henry III (1216-1267) granting the Honour of Lancaster to his son Edmund,[154] or Henry IV granting the Duchy of Lancaster to himself and his heirs.[155] This corresponds to the use of historiated initials in the Coucher Book to emphasise moments of benefaction, such as the grant of Roger de Orgrave in the Orgrave texts,[156] or confirmation of abbatial elections in a bull of Pope Clement VI.[157] Even more significant is the

[154] *The Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster* (c.1402–c.1408), vol.I, fol.1, cited in Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', p.611.
[155] *Great Cowcher*, vol.I, fol.51, cited in Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', p.611.
[156] Orgrave text 1, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.94, V. & R., pp.227–228.
[157] Clement VI text 2, *CB Vol. I*, Part III, fol.230, V. & R., pp.567–568.

systematic use of coats-of-arms in the Great Cowcher as both an organisational schema for the Duchy estates and for framing the institutional memory of the Duchy itself. As a rule the heraldry includes the arms of England, and of the earldoms of Lancaster, Leicester, Derby, and Lincoln, with slight variations in the arrangement.[158] All these arms and others appear again in a series of sixteen banners at the beginning of the Great Cowcher Volume II, contemporary with and integrated with the general organisational scheme for the rest of the cartulary.[159] The use of coats-of-arms as an organisational schema in the Coucher Book is quite exceptional among monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland.

Acknowledgement of abbatial seigniorial rights within Furness are attested particularly through such influential grants of the right to levy tolls on trade into Dalton via John of Gaunt, 2nd Duke of Lancaster, for which an original corresponding record exists.[160] The Coucher Book version of the grant of tollage rights upon merchants entering Dalton places this deed within a narrative context extending to the original grant of Dalton Fair in 1246,[161] reinforced by successive grants of sheriff's tourn,[162] to emphasise a direct connection between the assertion of political and mercantile rights of the abbey within its own domain. The surviving original deed presents the right of the abbey to these political and mercantile rights as a devolution of seigniorial authority within Furness to the abbey, representing a close institutional relationship between the Duchy and Furness Abbey.[163] The Coucher Book version displays more Old French influences over how this deed was compiled, with terms such as *iurata* and *iniuria* translated as *jurament* and *injurea*.[164] This could indicate a desire for the compilers to ingratiate the abbey within the patronage circles of the Duchy of Lancaster, especially since French and English had become vernacular language among the 15th-century English nobility.[165]

The connection of the seigniorial authority of Furness Abbey within Furness with the execution of Crown authority within the region is perhaps best illustrated by the concession of Edward II in 1326 of the right of the abbey to appoint its own coroner.[166] The original document preserved in the Chancery archives, although not directly correlating with the concession of a

[158] Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', p.611.
[159] Ibid., p.611.
[160] Dalton text 23, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fols.60-61, V. & R., pp.140-142; Letters patent by John, Duke of Lancaster, of exemplification of a plea between William de Walton of Preston, mercer, and William Fletcher of Dalton (1388), TNA, DL25/446.
[161] Dalton text 14, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.51, R., p.131.
[162] Dalton texts 15-20, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fols.51-58, V. & R., pp.131-145.
[163] Letters patent by John, Duke of Lancaster, of exemplification of a plea between William de Walton of Preston, mercer, and William Fletcher of Dalton (1388), TNA, DL25/446.
[164] 'Jury' and 'Injury', Dalton deed 23, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fols.60-61, V. & R., pp.140-142.
[165] Chris Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (Hambledon: Cambridge University Press, 2004), pp.141-142; A.G. Rigg, *A History of Anglo-Latin Literature, 1066-1422* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), p.242.
[166] Dalton text 24, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.62–63, R. & V., p.157.

coroner recounted in the Coucher Book, nevertheless concerns the Chancery proceedings which led to the concession in the same year. They concur with the Coucher Book version that a coroner appointed by the abbey was necessary owing to the perils of traversing the Morecambe Bay tides and the many deaths that resulted attempting to report cases to the coroner in Lancaster.[167] This is arguably a significant moment in consolidating a crucial element of the abbey's institutional identity in portraying Furness as an island.[168] The island metaphor here is expressed not so much in geographical as in political terms, wherein as far as contemporaries were concerned, 'Furness was like an island'.[169] This expression of insularity enabled Furness Abbey to claim seigniorial authority within Furness as de facto representative of the peninsula itself, to the point where it could exercise certain legal powers as its own.[170] By comparing how Furness Abbey is conceived in the original record, we can see the impact of this narrative articulated within the Coucher Book but with precedents long before its compilation in c.1412. As far as non-Furness observers were concerned, the Furness peninsula and Furness Abbey amounted to one and the same by c.1412.

One of the more notable cases of corresponding original 14th-15th century texts within the Coucher Book, for how it reveals manipulation of memory on the part of the compilers, can be found among the Marton texts, with the inquisition and subsequent royal licence granted by Richard II for the right of Furness Abbey to mine iron ore beneath land granted to it by William de Marton.[171] The original documents survive as Chancery proceedings in the Chancery archive concerning whether it would be to the disadvantage of the Crown if the mining rights were to be granted to the abbey. The only relevant Chancery proceedings that survive concern the inquisition into mining rights,[172] while the royal licence itself is preserved only in the Coucher Book.[173] The compilers in c.1412 seem preoccupied with preserving evidence of the grant of exclusive mining rights, and this is asserted in the Coucher Book text of the inquisition.[174] However, a definite exclusive grant of iron ore mining rights is not extant within the

[167] Appointment of a coroner for Furness Abbey (1326), Chancery Court Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum (Henry III to Richard III), TNA, C/143/189/5.
[168] Fiona Edmonds, 'The Furness Peninsula and the Irish Sea Region: Cultural Interaction from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth', in *Jocelin of Furness: Essays from the 2011 Conference*, ed. by Clare Downham (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2013), p.17.
[169] Powicke, 'The abbey of Furness', p.114.
[170] Adam Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship, Seigneurial Power and the Commercialization of Milling in Medieval England* (Ashgate: University of Wollongong, 2014), pp.220–221.
[171] Marton text 7, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.117, V. & R., pp.299–300.
[172] Marton texts 1–2, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.112–113, V. & R., pp.288–291; Grant by William de Merton of mining rights to Furness Abbey (1397), Chancery Court Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum (Henry III to Richard III), TNA, C/143/427/14.
[173] Marton text 3, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.113–114, V. & R., pp.292–293.
[174] Marton text 2, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.112–113, R. & V., pp.290–291.

corresponding originals, and this could potentially have disrupted the narrative flow of how the iron ore mining rights in Marton were acquired.

The Coucher Book version presents an inexorable process of legitimation and concession of mining rights in Marton, with the initiative coming from Richard II to effectively command John of Gaunt to grant the mining rights to Furness Abbey.[175] The Coucher Book then records how the mining rights were disputed and seized by the royal escheator, recovered at the Court of Chancery after lengthy litigation.[176] The implication is that the king tacitly supported the rights of the abbey from the beginning and continued to defend its privilege of effectively monopolising iron ore mining within Furness. However, the surviving Chancery proceedings portray instead an alternative memory of Richard II prioritising the value of the land being alienated in case of future requisition, which did in fact occur, and represented the interests at court of William de Marton and other affected Furness parties.[177] In this case, it was the financial value of the iron ore and the prejudice of the affected parties which were at issue, more than the right of the abbey to the iron ore, presumed as fait accompli by the Coucher Book compilers.[178] Described as a *goldsmyth* within the Coucher Book texts and original document,[179] William de Marton would have been a wealthy and influential figure within Marton, especially when his name survives so prominently among the Chancery proceedings. He appears to have been able to negotiate the terms of the concession more independently than is otherwise attested of him in the Coucher Book interpretation.

These proceedings point to the growing confidence of local Furness nobles to confront Furness Abbey on their own terms when negotiating transactions throughout the 14th-15th centuries, but is particularly pronounced by the Duchy Chancery Court records from the early-16th century.[180] This can be compared, on a larger scale, to the covetousness among some of the local aristocracy in the early-15th century for the estates of Fountains Abbey, especially from the Percy Earls of Northumberland, at a time of disputed elections for the abbacy and growing factionalism among the lower ranks of nobility.[181] The difficulty of obtaining clear results that

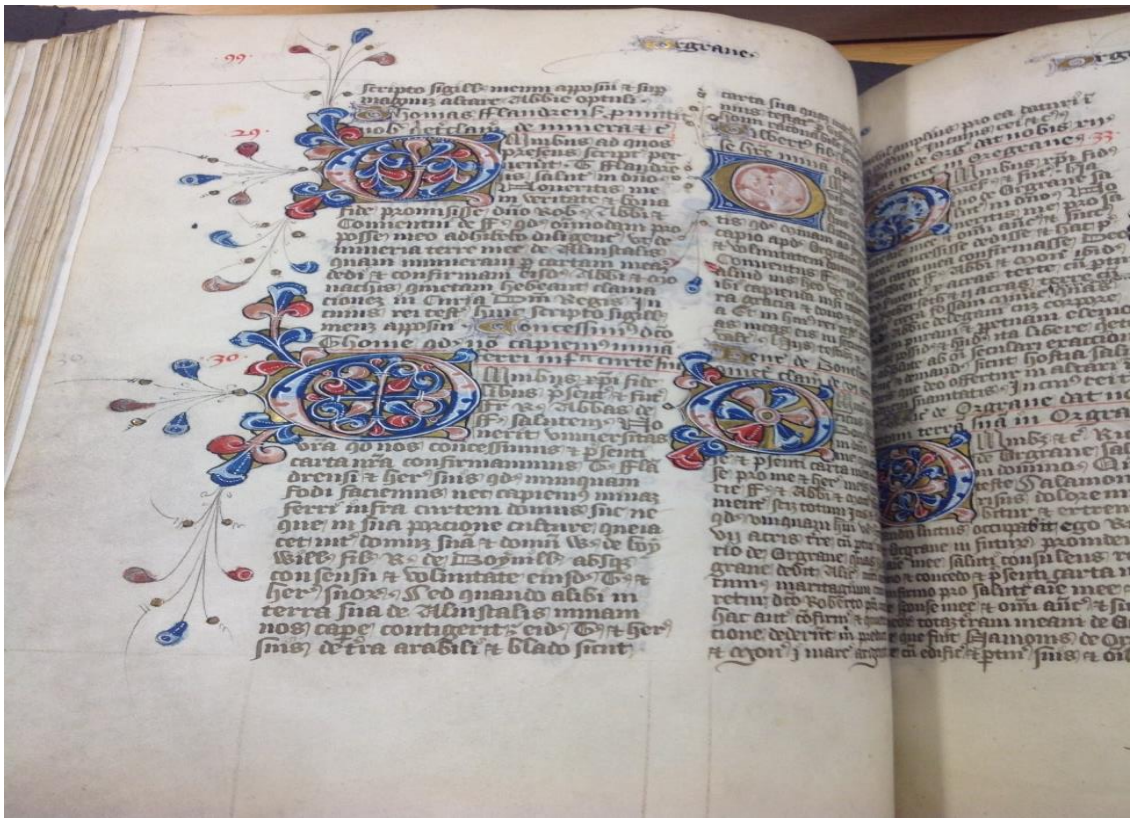
[175] Marton text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.112, V. & R., pp.288–289.
[176] Marton text 5, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.114–116, R. & V., pp.295–298.
[177] Grant by William de Merton of mining rights to Furness Abbey (1397), Chancery Court Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum (Henry III to Richard III), TNA, C/143/427/14.
[178] Anne Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey, with Special Reference to Winterburn–in–Craven', in *THSLC*, vol.80 (1928), pp.75–76.
[179] 'Goldsmith', Marton text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.112, V. & R., pp.288–89; Grant by William de Merton of mining rights to Furness Abbey (1397), Chancery Court Inquisitions Ad Quod Damnum (Henry III to Richard III), TNA, C/143/427/14.
[180] See especially a dispute of c.1520 concerning customary arrangements of double rent levied as an entry fine by the abbey upon the children of deceased tenants outside the town of Dalton, and an obligation to sell to the abbey any wheat required by the abbey at 1d per strike less than the Dalton market price, cited in West, *The Antiquities of Furness*, p.151.
[181] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, pp.45–47, p.133.

accorded with a narrative of continual expansion throughout Furness resulted in the Coucher Book record obscuring many of the local compromises which were made during the process of acquisition. Having undertaken an in-depth analysis of some of the most representative texts from the 12th-15th centuries concerning how they were made to contribute towards the creation of an institutional memory and identity for Furness Abbey by c.1412, we are now in a position to deduce some of the key considerations within the editorial priorities of the Coucher Book compilers.

Editorial priorities of the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I) compilers

One of the most significant themes to emerge from this comparison between the Coucher Book copies and their original equivalents within the Duchy of Lancaster collections concerns the prioritisation of places within the context of the episode of memory that was being evoked. The copies were included primarily within a geographical recollection that implied, from the outset, that the corporate identification of Furness Abbey would be intimately linked with the environment of Furness. This echoes earlier efforts at constructing a Cistercian monastic identity within monasteries such as Fountains and Rievaulx, connecting the natural landscape of their surrounds with prevailing trends in 12th-century Cistercian monasticism seeking to establish an authentic monastic community in 'places of horror and vast solitude'.[182] In the case of Furness Abbey, by c.1412 at least, this does not seem to have been the principal reason for organising the cartulary material so much as for asserting political power over its tenants and in relation to neighbouring Furness nobles. Benefactor relationships remained important to how the abbey community interpreted their past and present, but their relevant texts were organised principally according to a geographical schema that traced the manorial boundaries and thence the natural domain of Furness Abbey. The greatest exception to this axiom is the consistent reference throughout the Coucher Book to the importance of the English Crown in enabling the abbey to establish itself and expand throughout the territories which the compilers believed were owed to the Crown. Particular attention is therefore devoted within the Coucher Book to portraying the royal texts in the most positive and influential light, eventually assimilating this royal patronage into how the abbey understood itself as an institution.

[182] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p.57.



Picture 8: Agreement with William de Boyville on mining boundaries beneath his land in Orgrave in the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (c.1412), (TNA: DL42/3, fol.99r), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

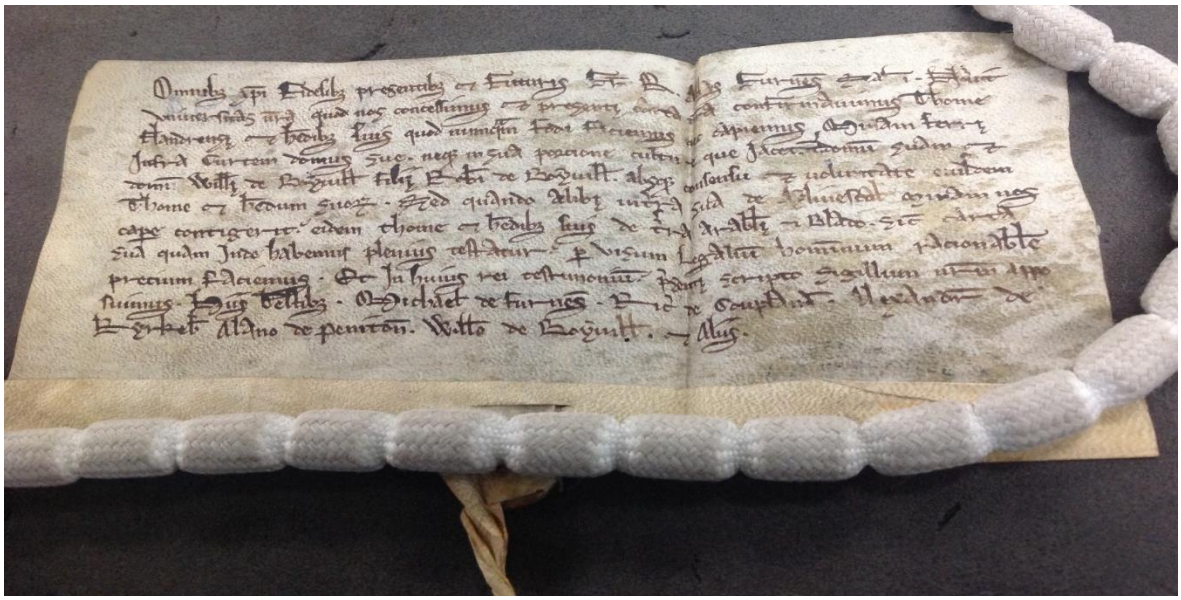
The biggest difference between original documents and Coucher Book copies concern the inclusion of more comprehensive witness lists than the abbreviated and selective forms extant in the Coucher Book. This could be because the witnesses, their relations or even the matter itself were no longer of relevance by c.1412 to warrant comprehensive transcription of the witness list, but political priorities behind the selective inclusion of witnesses cannot be ruled out in certain cases. A typical example of this selective treatment of supposedly identical archival material can be illustrated through investigation of the agreement of William de Boyville of c.1230 on boundaries for mining beneath his land in the Orgrave texts. Below is a transcript of the original record for this agreement, with sections omitted from the Coucher Book copy highlighted in italics:[183]

[183] Grant of mining rights in Elliscales (1211–1222), TNA, DL25/394.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus presentis et futuris Frater R(obertus), Abbas de F(urnes) salutem. Noverit universitas vestra quod nos concessimus et presenti carta nostra confirmavimus Thome Flandrensi et *heredibus suis* quod numquam fodi faciemus nec capiemus minam ferri infra curtem *domus sue*, neque in sua portione culture que jacet inter domum suam et domum Willelmi de Boyvill filiii R(oberti) de Boyvill absque consensu et voluntate eiusdem Thome et *heredum suorum*.[184] Sed, quando alibi in terra sua de *Aylinescal* minam nos capere contigerit, eidem Thome et *heredes suis* de terra arabili et blado, sicut carta sua quam inde habemus plenius testator, per visum legalium hominum rationabile pretium faciemus.[185] *Et in huius rei testimonium presentis scripto sigillum nostrum apposuimus. Hiis testibus: Michael de Furnes, Ricardo de Coupland, Alexander de Kyrkebi, Alano de Peniton, Willelmo de Boyvill, et aliis.*[186]

To all the faithful of Christ present and future Brother Robert (de Denton), Abbot of Furness, greetings. Let it be known that we grant and have confirmed by our present charter to Thomas le Fleming and his heirs that we will never cause to be dug nor take away iron ore below the court of his house, nor within his cultivated field which lies between his house and the house of William de Boyville, son of R(obert) de Boyville without the consent and will of the aforesaid Thomas and his heirs. But, when we shall happen to take ore elsewhere in his land of Aylinescal (Elliscales), we shall give the aforesaid Thomas and his heirs by view of lawful men a reasonable price for the arable land and corn as his charter which we have thereof fully testifies. And in present testimony to those things written, we affix our seals. These witnesses: Michael de Furness, Richard de Copeland, Alexander de Kirkby, Alan de Pennington, William de Boyville, and Others'.[187]

[184] Cf. 'Heredibus suis (to his heirs)', 'domus suae' (of his house) and 'heredes suorum' (of his heirs), in Orgrave text 30, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.99, R., pp.250–251.
[185] Cf. 'Alinscales' (Elliscales), and 'heredibus suis' (to his heirs), in Orgrave text 30, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.99, R., pp.250–251.
[186] Witness clause absent in Orgrave text 30, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.99, R., pp.250–251.
[187] Grant of mining rights in Elliscales (1211–1222), TNA, DL25/394.



Picture 9: Agreement with William de Boyville on mining boundaries beneath his land in Orgrave (1211-1222), (TNA: DL42/3, fol.99r), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

The witness list is not included in the Coucher Book version, not only because the death of the original witnesses had outlived their immediate utility in consolidating this grant, but because the abbey was able to undertake a retrospective remembrance of the original boundaries after the land of Orgrave had been exploited for iron ore in c.1412. Furness Abbey, therefore, was able to interpret how its land in Orgrave came into its possession in a manner that suited its interests now that the memory of the grant had passed into its written record. The presumed capacity of Furness Abbey to remember the original boundaries is implied by the conclusion of the deed with the claim that the abbey would offer a *rationalibe pretium* for mining rights in Elliscales.[188] This placed the abbey as the dominant negotiating party and thereby in a position to determine where future boundaries would lie, especially since Orgrave and Elliscales lay within the presumed domain of Furness Abbey. This stands in contrast to the more dynamic character of negotiations implied in the Duchy version, where the prominent inclusion of local Furness nobles among the witness list likely to be affected by such mining activities. The reference throughout to the consent required of the liege lords of Thomas le Fleming, the Boyvilles,[189] illustrates how Furness Abbey had to integrate itself within existing political

[188] 'Reasonable price', Orgrave text 30, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.99, R., pp.250–251.
[189] Grant of mining rights in Elliscales (1211–1222), TNA, DL25/394.

networks if it were to advance its mining operations in Orgrave. The abbreviated treatment of personal names in the Coucher Book version could testify to the relatively low priority of the compilers in fully transcribing the names of the parties to this contract, in contrast to the more comprehensive inclusion of personal names in the original document, which had to stand as a witness in closer proximity to the original contract than was the case with the Coucher Book version.

Although it may appear that the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412 were actively limiting the personal profiles of benefactors at the expense of the land and privileges which they provided, this could most likely be explained by the limited space available for transcription within the cartulary in the context of other texts compiled alongside this particular example. Such selective treatment of benefactors can be seen in the Byland Cartulary, where not all original charters of the founding Mowbray benefactors are preserved but Mowbray grants, even within a separate section of the cartulary dedicated to them, are not given as much priority as they might otherwise be.[190] As a result, we must therefore view the inclusion of the Coucher Book texts in context if we are to understand more fully the editorial priorities behind their compilation. Nevertheless, a political imperative can be detected in how this deed is treated, since the compilers in c.1412 took pains to delineate the precise boundaries of the land in complete accordance with the Duchy version. This was intended primarily to consolidate the iron mining rights of the abbey within Orgrave and Elliscales, which by c.1412 held more value as an assertion of political authority within the locality than claiming future reserves.[191] The text was presented as granting to Furness Abbey iron mining rights within its Furness domain, as far as the compilers in c.1412 were concerned, because the abbey and its land were deemed to be axiomatic. Therefore, the Coucher Book text was intended to serve a political purpose of consolidating a seigneurial identity for Furness Abbey in c.1412 and defending its economic and political rights within Furness against potential claims by Furness nobles who were not necessarily amenable to respecting the interests of the abbey above their own.[192]

[190] *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. by Burton, pp.xxviii-xxxii.
[191] Especially if, as Alfred Fell presumed, mining activities within Low Furness had been mostly exhausted by 1400, the date of the last of the Merton texts relating to iron mining rights within Low Furness, in Fell, *The Early Iron Industry in Furness*, p.22.
[192] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.38; Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', p.75.

The original documents sometimes indicate attempts by Furness benefactors to construct their own alternative memory of the event being chronicled, as well as to construct a particular noble identity for themselves that suited their own interests. This is especially the case with the agreement between Furness Abbey and Richard de Copeland over Bolton-in-Adgarley chantry chapel, which survives in corresponding original form.[193] The original deed demonstrates how Richard de Copeland manipulated the memory of the arrangement away from the Coucher Book version of pious endeavour towards articulating the noble identity of the Copeland family relative to the abbey.[194] It describes the agreement over the chantry chapel *pro salute animae suae* over the Coucher Book's *pro salute animarum nostrum*,[195] perhaps attributing greater initiative to Richard de Copeland than is otherwise implied in the Coucher Book. As if to detract from the influence of Richard de Copeland over the deal, the Coucher Book version is more preoccupied with the boundaries of Urswick church, to which Bolton chapel was attached, than with how the deal with Richard de Copeland was actually broached.[196] This demonstrates how competing versions of the memory of a given event could be construed in different contexts.

[193] Bolton text 8, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.203, V. & R., pp.517–518.
[194] Grant, indented, of the chantry of the chapel of Bolton in Furness (1201–1233), TNA, DL25/283.
[195] 'For the salvation of his soul', Grant, indented, of the chantry of the chapel of Bolton in Furness (1201–1233), TNA, DL25/283; 'For the salvation of our souls', Bolton text 8, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fol.203, V. & R., p.518.
[196] Ibid., pp.517–518.

Conclusion

From this investigation of the Furness Coucher Book (Volume I), it appears as though this cartulary cannot be completely treated as an objective record for understanding the history of Furness Abbey. According to the compilers themselves, the Coucher Book was intended not just to act as a repository of the property and privileges of Furness Abbey by c.1412, but as the embodiment of a particular understanding of the institutional memory and identity of the abbey.

An identification of Furness Abbey with the Furness peninsula, as if it was the natural heartland of the abbey, does not appear to have been present before compilation began, but emerged out of the process of an institution coming to terms with its past for reconciliation with its present. From honouring the spiritual and social obligations of Furness Abbey towards its benefactors and their descendants, the Coucher Book increasingly articulated the position of the abbey relative to its physical as well as political environment. The most consistent means available to the compilers in c.1412 for interpreting the place of the abbey within Furness was to assume that the natural place of the abbey was within Furness and that the abbey was therefore coterminous with the Furness peninsula. This idea actively shaped the development of an institutional memory of Furness Abbey and the determination of material and its place within the Coucher Book tantamount to reinforcing this memory. The culminating narrative, however, is not the only interpretation that can be detected within the Coucher Book, as different layers of memory relevant to these periods and the people the abbey interacted with can still be detected even at a broad stroke.

Comparing the textual record of the Coucher Book to that of the enrolled versions, particularly pertaining to the royal texts, there was a greater likelihood of survival of the relevant texts within the enrolled collections of central government institutions than as original documents within the Furness Abbey archive itself. This could testify to the imperative felt during the compilation of the Coucher Book to organise the monastic archive into a representative cartulary, in contrast to the preservation of royal acts that likely underpinned the bureaucratic imperatives of central government institutions. The same material was treated differently according to different institutional priorities, in the case of Furness Abbey to sustain a collective memory of the abbey as being particularly favoured by English royalty, and this is shown by the distinctive manner in which royal grants and confirmations are accorded prominence within the Coucher Book. The selective inclusion of material within the cartulary, as well as a vicissitudes of documentary survival across different record contexts, was determined by the compilers in terms of how such material advanced a particular vision of Furness Abbey's past and present, one which was strongly rooted in a regional paradigm

connected to its Furnesian domain and yet which was capable of being expanded beyond Furness. Selective inclusion of witnesses, long after their passing and therefore practical relevance to the confirmation of grants, testifies to an imperative shared by the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412 to control the narrative behind those grants in the favour of Furness Abbey; otherwise, witness lists would have been considered surplus to requirements and omitted entirely from the earliest material in the cartulary. A similar dynamic of consolidating a Furnesian perspective on Furness Abbey institutional memory and identity can be observed when comparing what papal enrolments could be identified within the limitations of this thesis with extant papal documents in the Coucher Book. In these cases, it appears as though the papal chancery was informed by its interactions with Furness Abbey principally by how the abbey perceived of its history and identity within Furness itself. The papal bulls that do survive in association with Furness Abbey indicate that the main driver behind how the ecclesiastical landscape of Furness was to be perceived was the abbey, which was underpinned by the dominance of the abbey over key Furness churches. The Furness churches also served a critical function in delineating the boundaries of Furness Abbey within Furness, with the international Cistercian element of that identity seemingly diminished within the overall narrative promoted by the Coucher Book. Yet, the Cistercian element clearly remained a favoured dimension of the abbey's institutional identity, since the preponderance of papal and Cistercian privileges remain within the cartulary. Instead, the compilers in c.1412 sought to emphasise only those elements of the abbey's Cistercian identity that served to bind Furness Abbey even closer to its regional sensibility whilst projecting the importance of this regional dimension upon an international context.

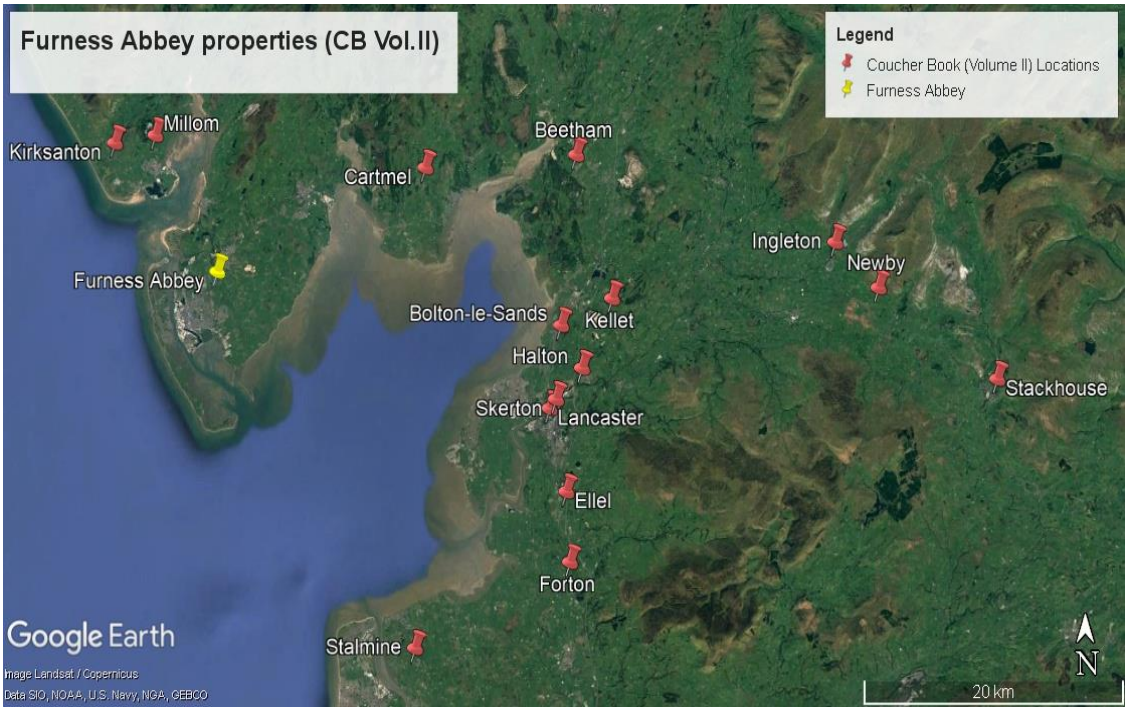
This sense of Furness Abbey seeking to consolidate a distinctive regional sensibility to its institutional identity, whilst at the same time placing seeking to emulate the highest standards in cartulary design, can be witnessed in the conspicuous influence that the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster exercised upon the illuminative design and organisation of material within the Coucher Book. The strategy of using illuminated coats-of-arms to highlight the role of favoured benefactors within the institutional memory of Furness Abbey bears a striking similarity to how the heraldic banners and coats-of-arms were used to illustrate the history of the Duchy of Lancaster in the Great Cowcher. These illuminations were employed in determining the organisational strategy for the Great Cowcher and the Coucher Book, perambulatory models for organising their material prevailed in both cartularies, and there were strong incentives in both cartularies for promoting the secular authority and even identity of the institutions which compiled them. It therefore appears that Furness Abbey actively incorporated many of the key features of the Great Cowcher for its own cartulary, and this influenced the design and even the narrative which was employed throughout the Coucher Book. The

compilers in c.1412 effectively created a quite exceptional example of a monastic cartulary, through its conspicuous adoption of secular trends in cartulary production at the highest level of political authority, and equating this kind of authority with how Furness Abbey was to perceive of its relationship to its Furness domain. The Great Cowcher, therefore, greatly influenced how the institutional memory and identity of Furness Abbey was conceived and communicated in c.1412 through the means of its cartulary, as a consistently positive relationship with the Duchy, and by extension the Crown of England, was emphasised throughout the Coucher Book, and the abbey came to associate its authority and political identity through a shared aristocratic connection to English royalty and its Furnesian benefactors.

The Coucher Book (Volume I) exhibited a developing sense of Furness Abbey as Furness, and Furness as the abbey, defined by how relationships between Furness Abbey and its Furnesian benefactors, the Cistercian Order and the papacy, and especially the Duchy of Lancaster came to be characterised by determination of the exact boundaries of its political authority within Furness. This was underpinned by a deeper seated connection between the abbey and its natural domain within Furness, a strong regionalisation of memory and identity that could nonetheless be adapted beyond its Furnesian context by tapping into a wider discourse as to what constituted aristocratic identity and authority, which shall be further investigated in relation to Furness Abbey benefactors in Chapter Three.

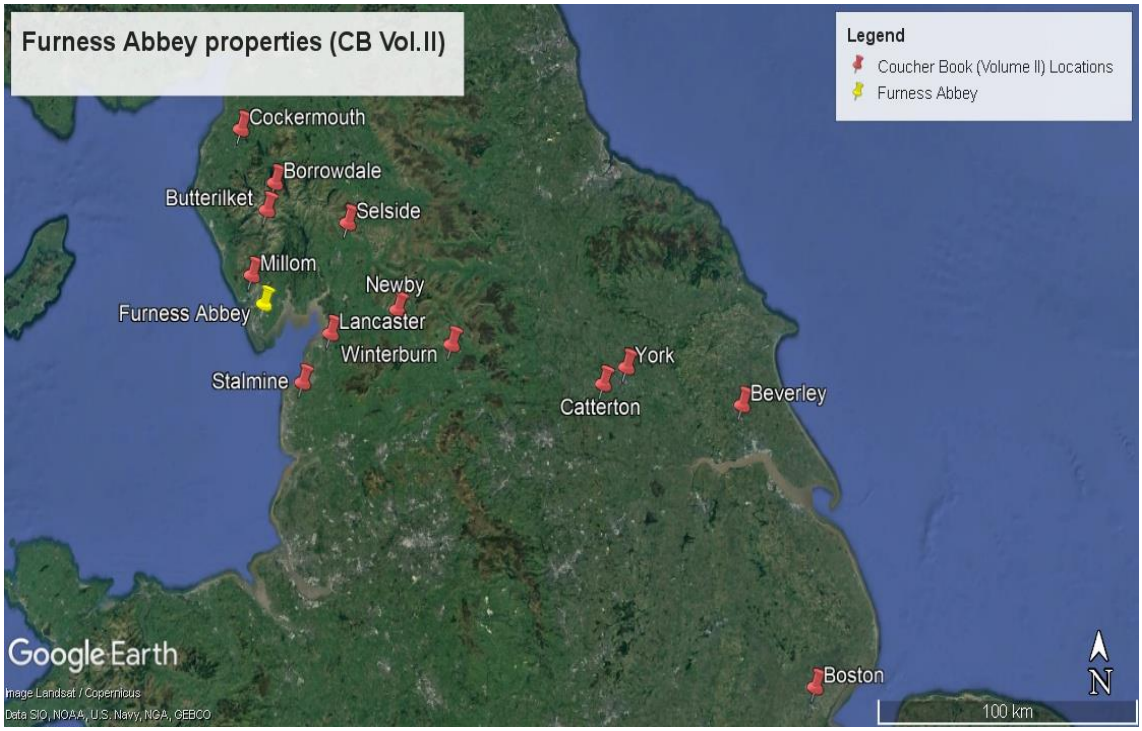
In Chapter Two, I will now undertake a similar analysis to see if any of the editorial priorities revealed for Volume I are extant in Volume II. The Coucher Book was arguably conceived in c.1412 as two distinct but complementary components of the same cartulary, but were separated into two volumes after the Dissolution, and so treating them systematically in two separate chapters seems a logical course to take.

Chapter Two: The Furness Abbey Coucher Book (Volume II) in its archival context



Picture 10: Map 1 of Furness Abbey properties as listed in the Tabulated Index of the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (Volume II), images courtesy of Google Earth

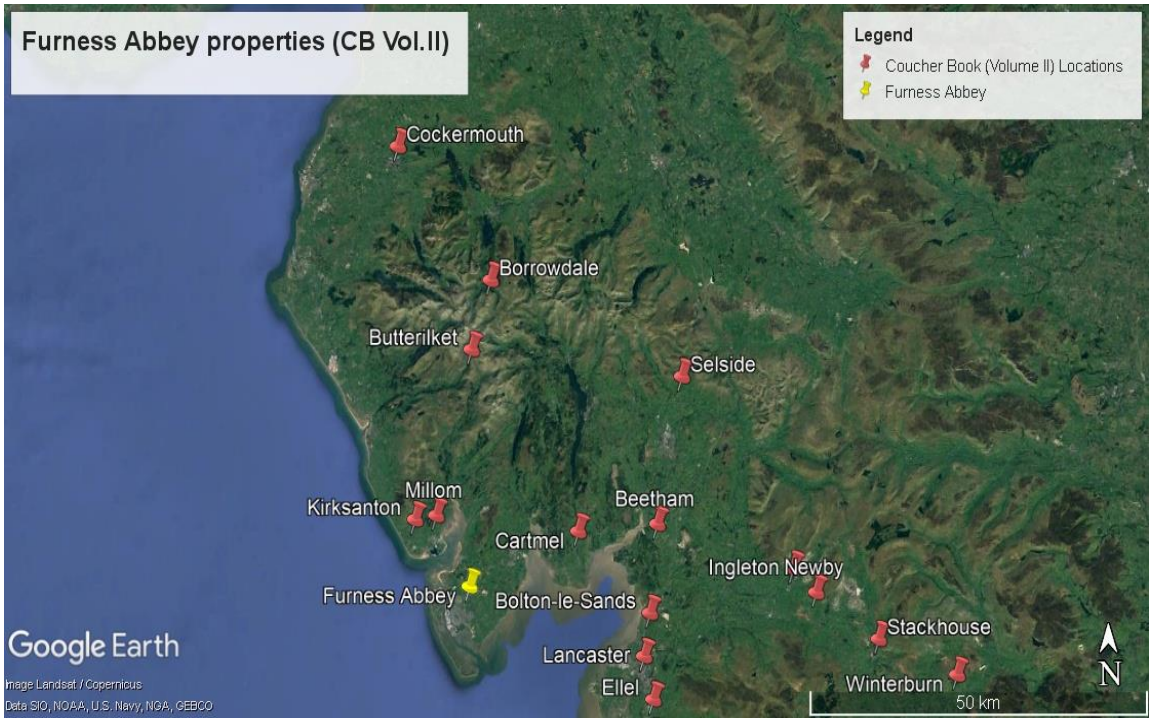
The Furness Coucher Book (Volume II), like the preceding volume, is principally a register of property owned by Furness Abbey, this time beyond Furness. Owing to its separation from the Coucher Book (Volume I) after the Dissolution, the two volumes have often been treated as separate parts with separate codicological histories. This is especially evident in how the Coucher Book (Volume II) contains more information on properties beyond Furness than its counterpart discussed in Chapter One. However, it shall be demonstrated here that the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II) was intended to form part of the overarching structure of the Coucher Book from its conception. Using similar methods of detailed quantitative analysis, this chapter will illustrate how the Coucher Book was used in the construction of an institutional memory and identity for Furness Abbey in c.1412. In particular, a Furnesian core of the abbey came to be distinguished from its extra-Furnesian possessions and incorporated as a key component of the overall narrative of the cartulary as a whole.



Picture 11: Map 2 of Furness Abbey properties as listed in the Tabulated Index of the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (Volume II), images courtesy of Google Earth

This chapter shall be structured, as far as possible, according to the extant order of material within the Coucher Book, as was the case with Chapter One, and the same methodology as was employed for the Coucher Book (Volume I) will be deployed to ascertain how an institutional memory was formed based on the treatment of original and copied material. In order to appreciate the Coucher Book in its archival context, which is essential in being able to distinguish the monastic interpretation of the material in the Coucher Book from its survival into a later record context, a brief synopsis of the post-Dissolution history of the cartulary will now be undertaken.

The origins and purpose of the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II)



Picture 12: Map 2 of Furness Abbey properties as listed in the Tabulated Index of the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (Volume II), images courtesy of Google Earth

The Coucher Book (Volume II) is in a state of 'very good preservation', surviving in a more or less compact form compared to Volume I.[1] After its removal to the collections of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1537, the Coucher Book (Volume II) remained together with Volume I throughout the 16th and 17th centuries.[2] According to the *Notitia* of Bishop Tanner (d.1735), the Coucher Book (Volume I) was kept by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, while the Coucher Book (Volume II) was kept by the Auditor.[3] Since most of the material of the Coucher Book (Volume II) relates to the possessions of the abbey outside Furness, this could account for its separation, with Brownbill conjecturing that 'it was probably of no use to the Duchy officials, and may have been sold as lumber or given by one of them to an antiquarian friend'.[4] By 1747, according to an inscription on the flyleaf of the Coucher Book (Volume II), it was

[1] Introduction, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, p.vii.
[2] Ibid., p.viii.
[3] Ibid., pp.viii–ix.
[4] Ibid., p.ix.

owned by Ralph Palmer of London,[5] and from him it passed into the hands of his relative Ralph, 2nd Earl Verney, whose coat-of-arms were pasted onto the cover of the binding.[6] The Coucher Book (Volume II) was subsequently offered for sale in 1783 and was owned by Sir William Burrell until, after his death in 1796, it was purchased by Lord Douglas, later Duke of Hamilton.[7] When the Hamilton Library was purchased by the Prussian Government in 1887, it was offered to the British Museum,[8] where it remains as part of the Manuscripts collections of the British Library.

The heraldic mutilation which the Coucher Book (Volume II) had been subjected to, like that with Volume I, gives a significant indication as to the post-Dissolution use of the cartulary. In the case of the Mythop coat-of-arms on Folio 27, the coat-of-arms have been cut out and another illuminated letter has been substituted from another book.[9] This could show how the mutilator had access to similar archival material as a substitute and the treatment which they were able to bring to bear upon the cartulary. According to John Brownbill, the heraldic mutilations were made after the Harleian MS 5855 was compiled by Henry Lily in 1597, containing extracts from the Coucher Book that include the missing coats-of-arms.[10] This would imply that the heraldic mutilator removed the initials after 1597, and that the two volumes were kept in close proximity to each other among the Duchy collections. That both volumes were subjected to similar antiquarian treatment at a close proximity in time and place, even including identical binding and clasps to that of the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster,[11] could suggest that both were still kept together as part of the Duchy collections in c.1600. The retention of both volumes together would not have made archival sense if they had not already been deemed to bear a significant documentary relationship to each other from the time they entered into Duchy possession.

[5] Ibid., p.ix.
[6] Ibid., p.ix.
[7] Ibid., pp.ix–x.
[8] Ibid., p.x.
[9] Free Passage text 1, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.27, R., p.83.
[10] Introduction, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, p.iv, p.viii.
[11] Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', p.612, p.615.

The Coucher Book (Volume II) is prefaced by a Metrical Introduction, which shall be investigated in detail in a later chapter. The Metrical Introduction clearly states that the Coucher Book (Volume II) formed the *pars ista secunda registri*, compiled at the request of Abbot William Dalton in c.1412.[12] There is no historical exposition of the origins of the abbey, unlike in Volume I. This could imply that the Coucher Book (Volume II) served a different but complementary function to Volume I. Within the illuminated initial of the Metrical Introduction to the Coucher Book (Volume II), there is a white monk writing a manuscript with a banner bearing the words, *Stella, parens Solis, John Stell rege, munere prolis*.[13] This was intended to ascribe the authorship of the cartulary to John Stell, who assumes a prominent personal role in the composition of the cartulary, apparently in contradiction of Cistercian principles against assuming overtly personal influence within a corporate capacity.[14] The banner is a play on his name, which means 'star' in Latin, perhaps in conscious recognition of the Cistercian vision recounted by Caesarius of Heisterbach (d.c.1240) of the Virgin sheltering beneath her cloak of stars the monasteries of the Order.[15] If this is the case, then this phrase could represent more than the personal advertisement of John Stell, as it simultaneously alludes to a wider sense of Cistercian identity of which Furness Abbey was a part. The entire cartulary was intended to be communicated to different audiences, in this case outside of Furness, which influenced in turn how both narratives were internalised by the compilers, as this chapter shall now investigate.

[12] 'This second part of the register', MA, *CB Vol. II*, p.1.
[13] 'Oh Star, parent of the Sun, direct to John Stell, the favour of your son', Portrait of John Stell, from *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol. 1, V., p.2.
[14] See Introduction, pp.18–19, pp.28–30.
[15] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p.128

The Tabulated Index and organisation of texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II)

This chapter employs the same methodology for understanding the Tabulated Index for the Coucher Book (Volume II) as the preceding discussion of the Index to the Coucher Book (Volume I). The aim is to determine which texts survived in the order and form in which they were envisaged according to the Index. Similarly, in this chapter texts contained within the Coucher Book (Volume II) are compared with their equivalent originals in the Duchy of Lancaster collections contained within The National Archives. The objective is to understand the editorial priorities of the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412, by investigating what and how the texts within the cartulary came to be copied into the finished article.

The Index of the Coucher Book (Volume II) is organised principally according to geographical area. It thus shared similarities with many late mediaeval cartularies in Britain in determining a logical order to locate texts defined mostly by land grants,[16] even though much depended upon how monastic cartulary compilers conceived of their material, either through content or through the documents themselves.[17] The Index in fact begins with reference to specific privileges, namely Rights of Free Warren, Rights of Free Passage and Rights to Wax.[18] Placing them at the beginning of the Index could demonstrate how important the compilers in c.1412 regarded the securing of unimpeded access to abbey lands outside Furness, with a decidedly seigniorial perspective being applied to interpreting these texts within a paradigm of abbatial authority over Furnesian and non-Furnesian domains. Yet, it could also imply a focus on geography, since the organisation of the consequent texts are based on their proximity to Furness Abbey. The geographical sequence of the Index begins by effectively circumnavigating Morecambe Bay, from Cartmel and Beetham to Lancaster and Stalmine.[19] The direction of travel then turns towards West Yorkshire, with the granges of Beaumont and Winterburn forming particularly significant foci, for they comprised the principal waystations between the abbey and its possessions east of the Pennines.[20] After traversing the Pennines, the Index focuses upon the ecclesiastically and economically significant urban centres of York, Beverley

[16] See Chapter Five, p.199.
[17] Walker, 'Medieval Cartularies', in *The Study of Medieval Records*, ed. by Bullough & Storey, p.132.
[18] Free warren texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fol.2, V., p.3; Free passage texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fol.2, V., p.3; Wax texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fol.5, R, p.5.
[19] Cartmel texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fols.4–5, V. & R., p.4; Beetham texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fol.5, R, p.5; Lancaster texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fols.45–59, V. & R., pp.18–21; Stalmine texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fols.65–80, V. & R., pp.22–27.
[20] Bolton–le–Sands texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fols.25–34, V. & R., pp.11–14; Winterburn texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fols.107–160, V. & R., pp.38–62.

and Boston, before returning to Furness via Cumberland.[21] The journey thus outlined seems to hint at an image of the abbey being exported beyond Furness, having been expressed in detail in the Coucher Book (Volume I), and articulated with relevance to Furness but from a non-Furnesian perspective. As noted previously, the Great Cowcher was arguably a particular influence on the cartulary,[22] which could render the Furness example quite exceptional among monastic cartulary organisational models.

The non-Furnesian perspective towards which the Coucher Book (Volume II) was orienting can be most clearly illustrated by the 1411 petition, placed at the end of the Winterburn texts, by Abbot William Dalton for authority to appoint attorneys to act on behalf of the abbey in the wapentake courts of Craven.[23] This was to enable the abbot to defend his proprietorial claims outside of Furness without needing to risk crossing Morecambe Bay to attend litigation hearings. However, it could be argued that this represented the imagination of a non-Furnesian perspective of Furness Abbey as being somehow remote from the rest of the country, in which the abbey community both valued and resented this sense of isolation fostered by their location. Indeed, to contemporaries, as seen in this petition, Furness was not a peninsula but an 'island'.[24] Yet, there is a pronounced anxiety in this petition to show that Furness Abbey was not isolated but connected beyond its Furness heartland. Winterburn, in West Yorkshire, is accorded particular importance in this narrative of connection beyond Furness. By placing the petition within the Winterburn texts, in the most geographically central location of all texts copied into the Coucher Book (Volume II), which is reflected by how the Winterburn texts comprise the midway component of the Tabulated Index, the Coucher Book compilers perhaps sought to reposition Furness Abbey firmly within an English political context.[25]

This represents an interesting contradiction in how the compilers engaged with the wider British and Irish dimension of the institutional identity of the abbey, and this perhaps reflects the different purpose towards which the Coucher Book (Volume II) was directed. Indeed, Furness Abbey appears exceptional within its particular cross-border context in consciously redirecting the locus of its historical awareness away from its British and Irish dimensions towards a more national paradigm, particularly through the medium of an ostensible

[21] York texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fols.165–171, V. & R., pp.63–67; Beverley texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fol.173, V. & R., p.67; Boston texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fols.174–176, V. & R., pp.68–69; Kirksanton texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fol.2, V. & R., Kirksanton texts, Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fols.179–185, V. & R., pp.69–72.
[22] See Chapter One, pp.70–74.
[23] Winterburn text 153 *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.161–162, V. & R., p.472; cf. Furness Abbey 1411 Petition, in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504, Vol.VIII, Henry IV, 1399–1413*, ed. by Chris Given–Wilson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p.537 (8 Henry IV).
[24] Edmonds, 'The Furness Peninsula and the Irish Sea Region' p.17.
[25] Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fol.159, R., p.61; Furness Abbey 1411 Petition, in *Parliament Rolls*, p.537 (8 Henry IV).

record of property. For example, Kelso Abbey Cartulary was organised topographically, according primacy to benefactors associated with the consolidation of the Kingdom of Scotland in the aftermath of the Wars of Independence, but this did not necessarily result in a neglect of earlier periods of cross-Border interaction.[26] By contrast, although the Coucher Book compilers did not systematically deny the place of earlier material within the cartulary, they did omit them. Their importance within the cartulary schema appears to have been much reduced, especially since the entire volume under discussion in this chapter was conceived and executed entirely with the English possessions of Furness Abbey in mind.

The Byland Cartulary offers an instructive comparison for how the Coucher Book compilers related to their archives in c.1412 when compiling the cartulary, especially in relation to determining the Furnesian from non-Furnesian lands of Furness Abbey. One aspect which both cartularies share is their preoccupation with defining the extent of their monastic patrimony. For example, the Byland Cartulary making an explicit exception to its alphabetical topographical arrangement by including separate sections for the Liberty of Byland entitled *Libertates*, and a section entitled *Clamates* for claims made by the abbey to various privileges and liberties,[27] many relating to the *Quo Warranto* proceedings of Edward I from 1279.[28] By the same token, the Coucher Book is preoccupied with defining the extent of the core territory of Furness Abbey, not least with its especially Furnesian perspective implied in its section entitled *Ecclesie* in Volume I.[29] The separate section in Volume II entitled *Liber Passagium* was intended to ground this volume from the outset by delineating abbatial authority beyond Furness by extending the free passage rights otherwise assumed for Furness into non-Furnesian territories.[30]

As in the Coucher Book (Volume I) each deed within the Index is granted an index number, or 'Scripto', for when it appeared in consecutive order for each geographical location, and a number labelled 'Folio' corresponding to the supposedly original monastic numbering system for the text itself.[31] In comparison to Volume I, the Coucher Book (Volume II) has not been subjected to any significant degree of reordering of texts to different folios and the original ordering of the texts has, on the whole, been maintained. Again, a number of texts and images have been removed for antiquarian purposes since the Reformation. This is particularly the case

[26] Andrew Smith, 'The Kelso Abbey cartulary: context, production and forgery', unpublished PhD Thesis (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2011), pp.81–85, pp.99–100.
[27] *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, ed. by Burton, pp.xxxii–xxxii.
[28] Ibid., pp.xxxii–xxxiii.
[29] See esp. Churches text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part III fol.269, V. & R., p.642, and Churches text 18, *CB Vol.I*, Part III fol.278, V., p.668.
[30] Free Passage text, Index, *CB Vol. II*, fol.2, V., p.3; Free Passage text 1, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.27, R., p.83.
[31] See Chapter One, pp.40–41.

with the Edward III grant to Furness Abbey of free warren within their demesne lands in Lancashire, Cumberland and Yorkshire,[32] which considering similar examples of royal coats-of-arms elsewhere in the cartulary, was mutilated for its fine royal heraldic insignia. The other significant missing folio concerns that of folio 131, containing the first of the Winterburn texts, which most likely contained the Graindeorge coat-of-arms and was therefore of value to the mutilator.[33] The only other significant check upon the original monastic schema for organisation comes from the post-Dissolution rebinding of the cartulary, which resulted in the folio numbers being re-designated by Brownbill when classifying a continuous numbering system for the cartulary.[34] Otherwise, it can be said that the original monastic ordering system has been preserved remarkably well.

The organisation of the texts in the Coucher Book (Volume II) may be clarified further by a comparison with original texts in the Duchy of Lancaster collections.[35] Some of these extant texts, which originated in Furness Abbey, were copied into the cartulary. As was the case with the Duchy documents investigated in Chapter One, two different Roman Numeral Gothic and Arabic numbering systems were written upon the back of documents themselves.[36] The documents appear to have been organised according to geographical area for ease of reference, but the few extant survivors do not bear any close geographical correlation to each other in their ordering.[37] However, there are indications of awareness of how these documents were produced, interpreted and organised at Furness Abbey, even at a remove from the abbey itself, as some endorsements make explicit reference to the Coucher Book (Volume II) organisation.[38] This implies a hitherto underappreciated degree of crossover in archival contexts between the original Furness archive and the Coucher Book, which contributes to a wider recognition in monastic cartulary scholarship of the degree of interaction between cartularies and other types of records.[39] A similar quantitative comparative exercise will now be attempted between archival contexts for the Coucher Book (Volume II) as was undertaken for the Coucher Book (Volume I) in Chapter One.

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[32] Free Warren text 1, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.26, p.81.
[33] Winterburn texts 1–3, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.131–132, V. & R, p.354.
[34] Introduction, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, pp.1v–v, pp.vi–vii.
[35] See Fig.1 for the overall number of original documents corresponding to the Coucher Book texts.
[36] For example, in Grant of pasture in Selside and Birkwith (1190), TNA, DL 25/478, and Grant of land in Kirksanton (1194), TNA, DL 25/462, both bear a Roman Numeral Gothic numeral of '3' and an Arabic numeral of '3'; see Chapter One, pp.40-41, for analysis of the dating of the different numbering systems.
[37] See esp. Confirmation of a grant of land in Kirksanton (1233), TNA, DL 25/464, and Grant in Stalmine (1240–1246), TNA, DL 36/3/138b, listed as '11' and '12' in Roman Numeral Gothic numeral, and '2' and '15' in Arabic numeral respectively.
[38] See esp. Grant of land in Stalmine called Corcola (c.1200), TNA, DL 36/3/71, where the note on the back of the text states 'De Stalemina Primi'.
[39] See esp. Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, pp.220–222, pp.224–227.

Total material composition of texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II)

The Coucher Book (Volume II) contains 546 texts in total, differing significantly in length and content throughout the volume, spread over 226 Folios. Unlike Volume I, there are no original documents appended to the Coucher Book (Volume II) which date from before c.1412, although additions have been made to the cartulary since its compilation.[40] The most significant example of a post-compilation addition is the King's Tenth tax return of 1478, found at the very end of the Coucher Book, and most likely included to value the assets of Furness Abbey relative to those of other monastic houses in Northern England.[41] Other texts that postdate the compilation of the Coucher Book in c.1412 include the injunction obtained by the abbey in Star Chamber against Robert Southworth in 1518, included at the end of the Bolton-le-Sands texts, and most likely included to delineate abbatial jurisdiction against that of neighbouring Lancashire nobles.[42] Both of these examples point to the Coucher Book being a living document, or even a 'lived form of identity' as Joanna Tucker understands the role of the Glasgow Cathedral and Lindores Abbey cartularies to be,[43] intended to be expanded and developed according to changing political circumstances in order to defend the rights of the abbey outside of Furness. This imperative was reimagined as an image of a monastic house defined by its ability to project its political influence beyond Furness while remaining rooted within the context of its domains. Furness Abbey was distinct in consciously linking its sense of itself as an institution with its Furnesian surroundings on its own terms through the medium of the Coucher Book.

In stark contrast to Volume I, there are only four missing texts from the Coucher Book (Volume II), according to their stated position in the Tabulated Index. The only missing texts within the Coucher Book (Volume II) were located on folios 1 and 107, containing the Edward III grant of free warren to the abbey within its demesne lands in Lancashire, Cumberland and Yorkshire,[44] and the first three of the Winterburn texts granting and confirming the lands of William Graindeorge in Winterburn respectively.[45] In both cases, the strong suspicion is that their loss is due to the particularly fine heraldic illumination they are believed to have contained, especially in the case of the Edward III grant of free warren. As the opening deed of the entire Coucher Book (Volume II), this deed would have been exceptionally illuminated to

[40] See Fig.1 for the proportion of original documents within the Coucher Book.
[41] The King's Tenth (1478), *CB Vol.II*, Part II, fol.227, V. & R., pp.582–583.
[42] Bolton–le–Sands text 35, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.59, V., p.154.
[43] Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, p.220.
[44] Free Warren text 1, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.26, p.81.
[45] Winterburn texts 1–3, *CB Vol.II*, Part II, fols.131–132, V. & R., p.354.

convey the strongest possible impression of the seigniorial authority of Furness Abbey within its core Furness domain. Despite Cistercian monasteries such as Roche Abbey and Clairvaux Abbey defining themselves by their physical environment,[46] their understanding of their place in that environment was not articulated along the same considerations of lordship as in the case of Furness Abbey.

The Coucher Book (Volume II) has remained a very compact cartulary almost from its compilation in c.1412,[47] almost as if it was intended to be tightly bound for reducing likelihood of loss of material and for ready transportation beyond Furness. However, a more likely explanation for the loss of material could be that the Coucher Book (Volume I) was subject to more systematic rearrangement of material while within the collections of the Duchy of Lancaster compared to Volume II, and that Volume II became somewhat side-lined as less pertinent to the Furness area within the context of the Duchy archives. This enabled the Coucher Book (Volume II) to become gradually detached from its more Furnesian counterpart and subject to informal loaning to interested antiquaries, particularly after c.1590, as this cartulary became effectively surplus to requirements.[48] This could explain the significant amount of heraldic mutilation which beset the cartulary, with some armorials being pasted back in after being written on the back in a late-16th -century hand.[49] Apart from this antiquarian treatment, the Coucher Book (Volume II) remains remarkably complete as a cartulary, and as a result the original monastic organisation can be more easily detected.

[46] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, p.56.
[47] Introduction, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, pp.vii–viii.
[48] Ibid., pp.viii–ix.
[49] Ibid., p.viii.

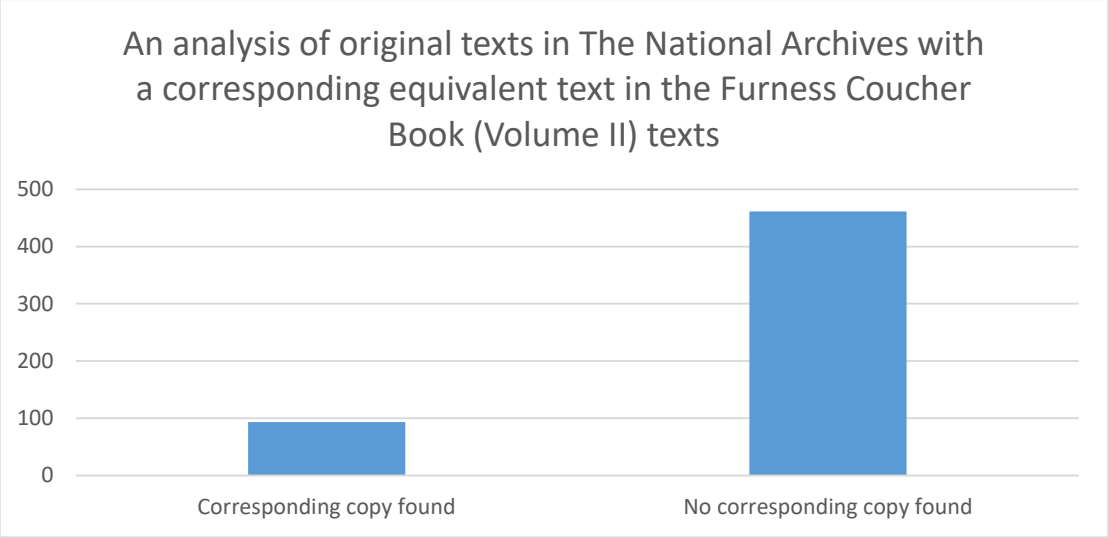

Fig.8: A bar chart showing how many corresponding copies with original documents from the Duchy collection can be found within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II) as a whole

Based upon a direct comparison between documents contained within the Duchy of Lancaster collections and the Furness Coucher Book, 17% of original documents can be found in copied form within the Coucher Book (Volume II).[50] As was elaborated in Chapter One, this most likely reflects the vulnerability of mediaeval manuscript material to deterioration and disappearance if not kept in multiple sources and formats, such as enrolments, to ensure its best chance of survival.[51] As a result of a process of selective recycling of existing information into new forms, priority would be given to the information was felt to matter most to the compilers in c.1412. In order to understand further the editorial priorities of the Coucher Book (Volume II) compilers in selecting archival material to preserve, this chapter will now investigate in order of prominence the most common types of texts within Volume II: grants of land or service; confirmations; quitclaims; and litigation records.

[50] Out of 117 original documents pertaining to Furness Abbey which were discovered through multiple searches on the National Archives catalogue, 70 of these original documents had a corresponding text extant in the Coucher Book (59.83%), while 47 of these original documents did not have a text extant in the Coucher Book (40.17%); see Fig.8 for the number of corresponding copies of texts within the Coucher Book as a whole.

[51] See Chapter One, pp.46-47; Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp.xvii–xviii.

Analysis of the types of texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II)

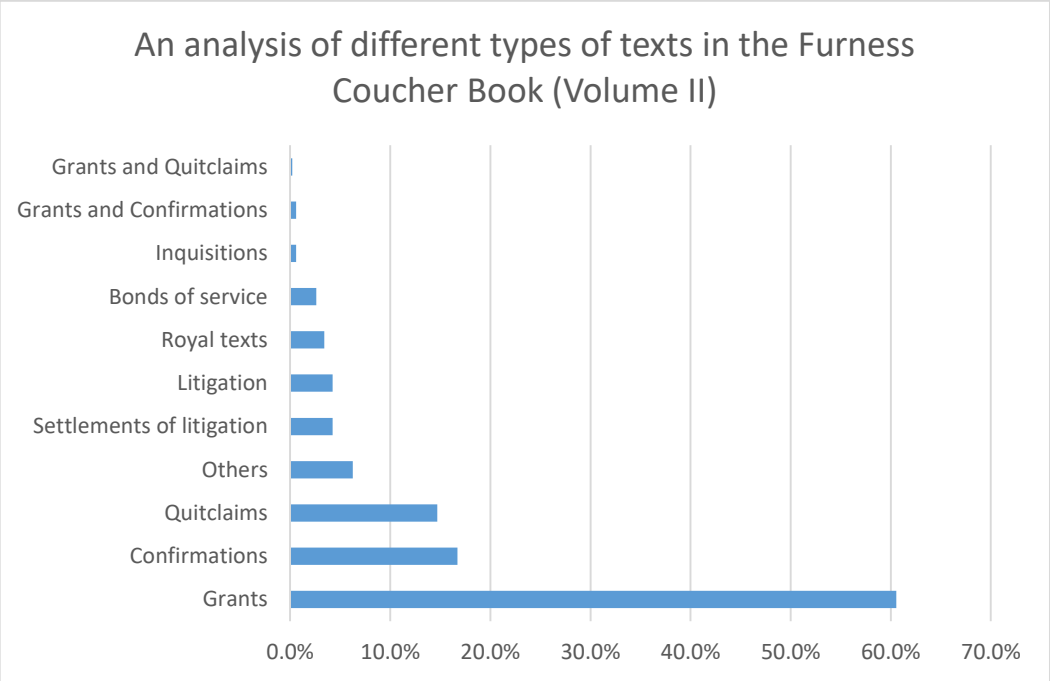

Fig.9: A bar chart showing the proportion of the most prominent types of texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II)

The vast majority of texts that survive within the Coucher Book (Volume II), 60.6% of total texts (see Fig.9), are grants of land, money or service to Furness Abbey in varying forms depending upon the circumstances of each patron. In contrast to the proportion of grants present in Volume I, supplementary forms of grants, such as grants with confirmations or grants with quitclaims, are in a minority within Volume II (0.6% and 02% of total texts respectively, see Fig.9). This could be because the compilers in c.1412 concentrated on procuring material which provided a more definitive guarantee of title for properties outside Furness and consolidating abbatial authority over such properties in the process. As a result, the Coucher Book goes at length towards projecting a narrative of smooth acquisition and consolidation of extra-Furnesian territories over time by de-emphasising the relative importance of other types of tenurial record within the Furness Abbey archive. There may have been different types of land donated, not

least uncultivated land,[52] but a similar agenda of affiliating these types of land with the core lands in Furness can nonetheless be detected.

Confirmations of grants or quitclaims are the next most significant types of texts in the Coucher Book (Volume II) (16.7% and 14.7% of total texts respectively, see Fig.9), issued contemporaneously with or after the issuing of the grants themselves. In contrast to how confirmations and quitclaims are presented in the context of Volume I, the situation in Volume II effectively uses both types of texts to trace and establish credible title to land or service for Furness Abbey. The nature of the surviving material suggests that creating a property record supplemented an interpretation of how that property was acquired which accorded with the social and political circumstances that Furness Abbey faced in c.1412, in the case of Volume II to defend the existing rights of the abbey against encroachment by competitors. Compromise with benefactors in a dynamic social and political environment, presented in an inherently practical medium of property record, was demonstrated by how the Rievaulx Abbey Cartulary accorded priority of remembrance to benefactors who enabled its local presence to be consolidated.[53] A creative understanding seems to have emerged as a result of this interactive process with local benefactors, and a similar process can be observed in the Coucher Book.

Notable by their absence are any papal bulls or documents which specifically refer to the granting of spiritual privileges, such as ownership of churches or tithes. There is a marked preoccupation instead with material which reinforces the temporal authority of Furness Abbey beyond Furness, principally in the form of rentals and bonds of service.[54] Cartularies such as the President Book of Fountains Abbey, compiled c.1435-1468 partly to creatively redact information connected with disputed abbatial elections at the abbey, could show how spiritual documents such as papal bulls were actively neglected, if not obliterated from the record, in favour of property records that assumed greater priority for Fountains Abbey c.1435-1468.[55] By contrast, the Byland Abbey Cartulary prioritised spiritual privileges, especially papal bulls, over royal and noble grants for a monastic community that wanted to value its Cistercian identity.[56] Yet, the spiritual dimension was arguably inherent throughout direct grants included within the texts, because of the 'functional reciprocity' of the abbey to remember the benefactor for the salvation of their souls,[57] and this did indeed become a prominent part of a wider narrative on how Furness Abbey developed. The lack of direct spiritual privileges extant within the Coucher

[52] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', pp.64-66, pp.83-85
[53] Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', pp.69–71.
[54] See Fig.2 for the proportion of bonds of service contained within the Coucher Book (2.6% of total texts).
[55] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, pp.51–52, p.60.
[56] *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, p.xxxiii.
[57] Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men*, pp.88–89; See Chapter One, pp.58–59.

Book (Volume II) suggests that the spiritual memory of Furness benefactors supplemented and became subservient to a historicised narrative in c.1412 that effectively sought to spiritualise the Furness peninsula by its connection to Furness Abbey, and this connection is constantly invoked by the compilers.

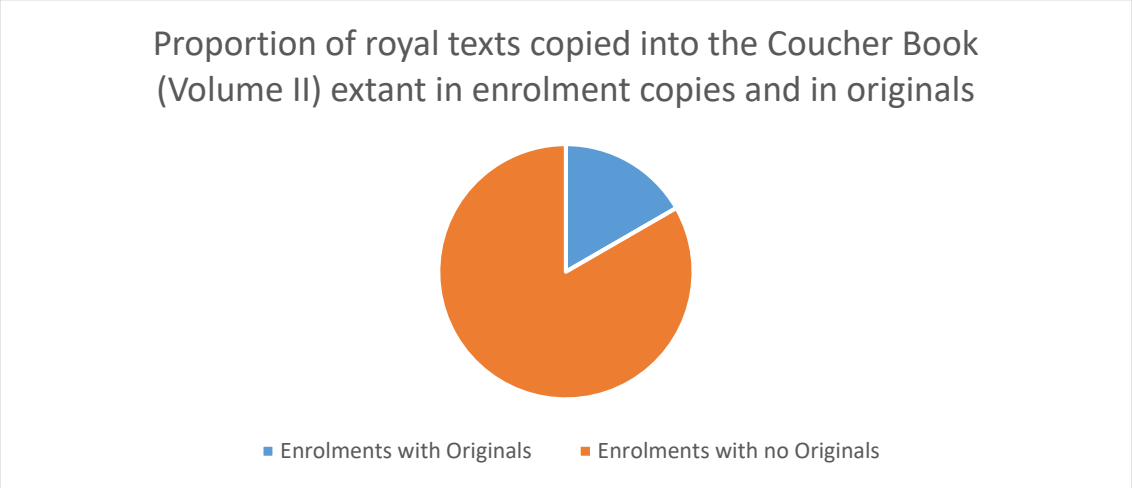

Fig.10: A pie chart showing the proportion of enrolled royal texts copied into the Coucher Book (Volume II) that are extant in enrolment copies and originals

The proportion of royal texts amount to less as a proportion of the overall texts in Volume II than is the case in Volume I.[58] Nevertheless, the royal texts that were included were intended to draw maximum attention to those aspects of the history of Furness Abbey for a potentially royal or noble audience.[59] These texts were deployed in a select manner within the Coucher Book (Volume II) primarily to reinforce the proprietary rights of Furness Abbey to given territories outside of Furness, but, like the spiritual privileges, are otherwise essentialised within the overall narrative of continuous expansion of abbey influence beyond its heartland. While cartularies such as that of Kelso Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital, York, made conspicuous use of royal texts in seeking confirmation of their privileges,[60] they did not actively relegate the royal role within an institutional identity defined on the same terms as Furness Abbey was able to achieve.

[58] See Fig.9 for the proportion of royal texts contained within the Coucher Book (3.4% of total texts); see Fig.3 for the proportion of royal texts contained within the Coucher Book (Volume I) (14.5% of total texts).
[59] See esp. Lancaster texts 1–4, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.70, V. & R., pp.184–186, for detailed surviving illumination of royal texts.
[60] Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, pp.24–25; *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, p.xxxix.

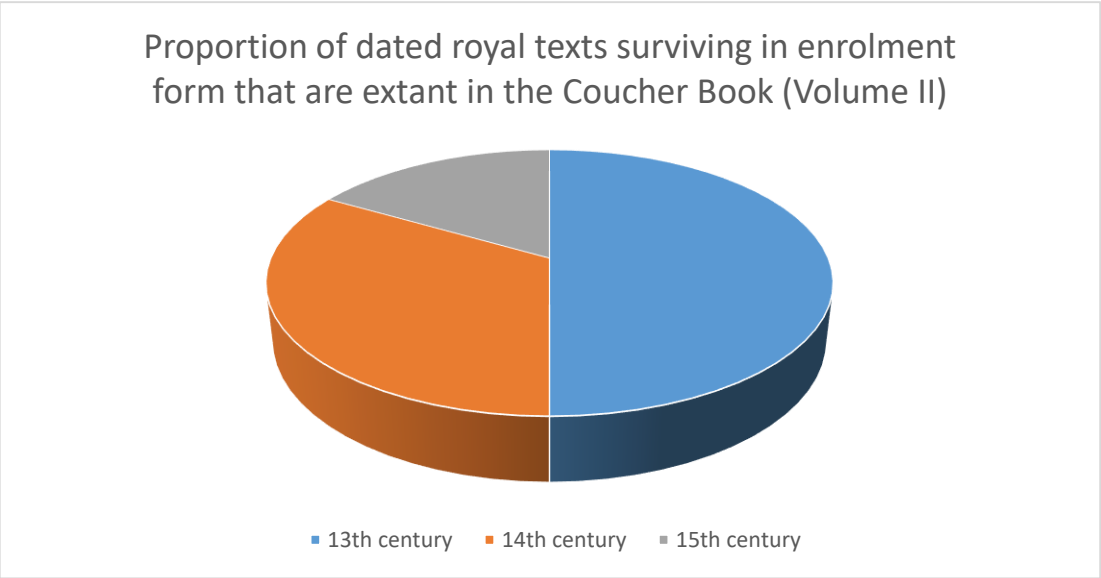

Fig.11: A pie chart showing the proportion of dated royal texts copied into the Coucher Book (Volume I) that are extant as enrolled copies

Of the royal texts included within the Coucher Book (Volume II), 12 enrolment copies have been identified, mostly of a 13th-14th century date, and of those 12 enrolled copies there are 2 extant original documents independent of the cartulary.[61] As was the case with the Coucher Book (Volume I), most of the royal texts that are enrolled date to the 13th and 14th centuries.[62] Despite the much smaller scale of royal texts compared to the Coucher Book (Volume I), similar trends in document survival at a general level and selective prioritisation at an institutional level prevail in relation to the Coucher Book (Volume II). The nature of the royal texts principally deals with granting and confirming the seigniorial privileges of Furness Abbey and their inclusion within the Coucher Book incorporated this seigniorial element as a key component of the image of the abbey that the compilers promoted in c.1412.

One of the examples of an enrolled text where an original and Coucher Book copy survive for the document concerned is the grant by Edward I in 1281 of free warren within abbey lands in Winterburn, Hetton and Flasby.[63] The enrolled version is very incomplete compared to the Coucher Book version, which includes an illuminated royal coat-of-arms and

[61] See Fig.10 for the proportion of royal texts with associated enrolments (16.6% of total royal documents in Coucher Book Volume II).
[62] See Fig.11 for the proportion of 13th and 14th century royal texts in enrolled form (83.3% of total royal documents in Coucher Book Volume II).
[63] Winterburn text 151, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.161, V. & R., pp.470–471.

the full text of the grant except the witness clause,[64] supplied by the enrolment and the original document.[65] This demonstrates the importance to the compilers of according this document particular importance in their historical interpretation of Furness Abbey expansion in Winterburn, since it appears to bookend the Winterburn documents as the first of a series of royal documents.[66] Winterburn Grange was of central importance to managing some of the wealthiest sheep farms of the abbey in West Yorkshire, as well as rearing horses, cattle and pigs in large numbers.[67] The witnesses are most likely omitted because their testimony was less important than royal confirmation in establishing the legitimacy of Furness Abbey property in Winterburn in c.1412, not simply due to the passage of time but more because of how this document accorded with a narrative of continuous royal favour that permeated much of the cartulary.

By contrast, the other example of an enrolled and original version surviving for a corresponding Coucher Book copy is the grant by Edward III in 1362, at the request of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, that all judicial sessions be held in Lancaster and not elsewhere in the county.[68] The corresponding original version survives within the records of the Corporation of Lancaster and not as part of the Furness archive,[69] perhaps indicating that this record was deemed less important to preserve in original form. As if to underline the lesser priority accorded to this document, not only is it included at the end of the Lancaster documents but the Coucher Book version omits a key clause prohibiting the holding of judicial sessions elsewhere in Lancashire.[70] Given how this would have impacted upon the semi-independent judicial authority and responsibilities of Furness Abbey within Furness, and the numerous instances of summoning coroners from Lancaster for service in Furness that are documented in the enrolments but not in the Coucher Book,[71] this perhaps explains why this document, despite its

[64] *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records Vol.1: Edward I (1272-1281)*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office, 1901), Charter Roll, (9 Edward I), m.5, p.255.
[65] Grant of free warren at Winterburn, Hetton and Flasby (1281), Duchy of Lancaster Royal Charters, TNA, DL10/152.
[66] Winterburn text 151, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.161, V. & R., pp.470–471.
[67] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', p.71
[68] *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records Vol.5: 15 Edward III- 5 Henry V (1341-1417)*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office, 1916), Charter Roll (36 Edward III), m.8, pp.173–174.
[69] John Brownbill, *CB Vol.II*, footnote 3, on Lancaster text 28, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.84, V., pp.216–217.
[70] Lancaster text 28, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.84, V., pp.216–217.
[71] For example, *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records Vol.13: Edward III (1369-1374)*, ed. by H. C. Maxwell Lyte (London: Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office, 1911), Close Roll (43 Edward III), m.34, p.4, and *Calendar of the Close Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records Vol.3: Richard II (1385-1389)*, ed. by H. C.

survival elsewhere, was not accorded the same careful treatment as other royal texts. In both cases, the royal texts were incorporated into a particular historicised conception of Furness Abbey that equated abbatial authority with its connection to territories beyond Furness as if they were Furnesian, and if they did not sufficiently advance this agenda then they were skilfully arranged in organisation or content until they did.

There are more examples within the Coucher Book (Volume II) where enrolments survive but original documents do not, and one of these concerns the confirmation by King John to the abbey in 1215 of all of Borrowdale. The enrolled text includes the witness and dating clauses otherwise omitted in the Coucher Book version, but it excludes a clause that makes reference to the earlier charter granted to the abbey by Alice de Rumeli.[72] The Coucher Book version is therefore the most complete version of this document that exists, and the only original document that relates to the acquisition of Borrowdale is the grant by Alice de Rumeli herself in 1209.[73] The Coucher Book compilers were therefore in the best position to assess the relative importance of these documents and prioritised the initial grant over the royal confirmation by making reference to the Alice de Rumeli grant three times within the Borrowdale documents. Yet, the royal confirmation was accorded due respect by including illuminated coats-of-arms and using it to bookend the narrative of how Borrowdale came into Furness Abbey possession.[74] This illustrates how royal texts were used to prioritise a pre-existing element within the collective memory of Furness Abbey deemed of greater significance than solely appealing to royal munificence. It only served to underline how the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412 sought to remain in control of the narrative of how Furness Abbey expanded its estates beyond Furness and the place of favoured benefactors within that narrative. The role of royalty within such a narrative was principally to affirm the outcome more than determine the course of developments.

Legal documents constitute the most significant proportion of the Coucher Book (Volume II) texts after grants, confirmations and quitclaims.[75] They were primarily intended to act as a record and defence of the acquisitions of Furness Abbey beyond Furness up to c.1412. In the process, a creative interpretation was evoked by selecting legal documents that justified possession of such property and privileges. The general impression is one of a monastic institution anxious to construct a legal memory of such transactions to suit its own interests of

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Maxwell Lyte (London: Her Britannic Majesty's Stationery Office, 1921), Close Roll (10 Richard II), m.2, p.243.

[72] *Rotuli chartarum in turri Londinensi asservati*, ed. by Thomas Duffus Hardy (London: G. Eyre & A. Spottiswoode, 1837), (17 John), m.7, p.213.

[73] Borrowdale text 4, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.222, R., pp.572–573.

[74] Ibid., p.572.

[75] See Fig.9 for the proportion of litigation records and settlements of litigation contained within the Coucher Book (4.2% and 4.2% of total texts respectively).

protecting its benefactions behind a written record. The records in their current form reveal more about how information was valued in c.1412 than in the 12th and 13th centuries, and therefore gives us a crucial insight into how it was used to foster collective understandings of past and present priorities for the Furness Abbey monastic community.

From the above insights, it would appear that the Coucher Book (Volume II) conforms to a more conventional historiographical model which views monastic cartularies as fundamentally temporal records reflecting the propertied power of monasteries.[76] This would ostensibly make for interesting comparisons with how similar material was treated in the Coucher Book (Volume I), and one purpose of this chapter is to elucidate such differences. However, the Coucher Book (Volume II) cannot be treated as an objective property portfolio for Furness Abbey any more than has been shown to be the case with Volume I. A detailed quantitative analysis of the dates of the texts will now be undertaken, to show how different editorial priorities for the surviving material in Volume II determined how it sought to portray its own interpretation of the collective interpretation of the history and identity of Furness Abbey from a perspective beyond Furness.

[76] See Introduction, pp.20–23.

Analysis of datable texts within the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II)

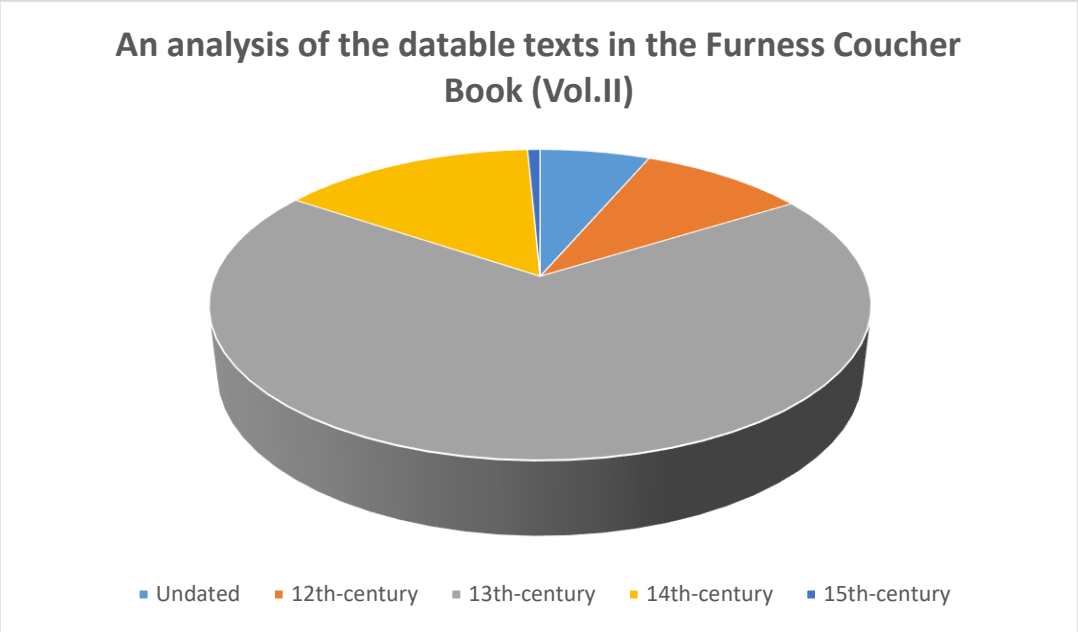


Fig.12: A pie chart showing the proportion of datable texts within the overall context of the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II)

This detailed quantitative analysis of datable texts within the Coucher Book (Volume II) enables more meaningful insights and comparisons to be drawn with the Coucher Book (Volume I) concerning how layers of memory and identity can be detected at a broad level. Compared to Volume I, the Coucher Book (Volume II) has a significantly greater number of texts that can be precisely dated, based on the presence of dating clauses and corresponding witness lists.[77] The majority of datable texts in the Coucher Book (Volume II) can be dated to the 13th century (68% of total texts, see Fig.12), with 14th -century texts surviving at 15% of total texts in Coucher Book Volume II (see Fig.12), a similar proportion to that present in Volume I. In common with Volume I, the main purpose of the Coucher Book (Volume II) was to preserve rights to property securely for Furness Abbey, and since most of its acquisitions took place during the 13th century, this most likely reflects the preponderance of 13th-century copied material within the Coucher Book.[78] However, the extent of surviving 13th-century material in Volume II is remarkable compared with Volume I and, at least in bald numerical

[77] 35 out of 546 total texts are undated (6% of texts in Coucher Book Volume II); see Fig.12 for the overall proportion of texts within the Coucher Book (Volume II).
[78] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp.101–102.

terms, forms the bulk of content around which the compilers arranged their material. By contrast with Volume I, Volume II displays much less 15th-century material, which suggests that it was envisaged as a more compact product compared to the more organic evolution inherent in the post-1412 material incorporated into Volume I. The exclusion of 15th-century material by the compilers in c.1412 was perhaps intended to bound the memory of acquisitions and interactions beyond Furness in order to convey a more consistent narrative of how the abbey developed outside its core territory. From this initial quantitative overview, it would appear that, whereas Volume I evolved in how it interpreted and propagated an historicised narrative connecting Furness Abbey to its Furness environs, Volume II represented a more consolidated version of this same process, with the end result being an interpretation of what Furness Abbey stood for and how it came to be which both Furnesians and non-Furnesians could accept.

A significant proportion of the 12th-century material concerns the benefactors associated with Winterburn Grange, near Newby, in particular that of the Graindeorges.[79] The presence of Furness Abbey's grange at Winterburn was established under William Graindeorge when he granted and confirmed the whole of Winterburn, together with the wood and pasture of nearby Flasby, c.1155-c.1190.[80] The copied grant of Winterburn does not survive in the Coucher Book,[81] but the confirmation by William, son of William Graindeorge, in c.1200 survives in the original,[82] demonstrating a strong familial bond with Furness Abbey established by the initial generosity of the original benefactor. The fact that William Graindeorge in c.1155 could afford to be generous in his initial benefaction demonstrated the considerable political leverage which he held in Craven, not least through his liege lord, Roger de Mowbray, himself a prolific and influential benefactor of Cistercian houses throughout Yorkshire.[83] The prominence of the Mowbray family in the narrative of the abbey's expansion into Craven is reflected in a genealogy incorporated into the Coucher Book,[84] thereby placing them above the Graindeorges in order of political precedence.

By comparison, the next generation of Graindeorges could not exercise the same level of largesse beyond confirming the grants of their predecessors, although William, son of William Graindeorge, added land in Langlands in his grant of c.1200.[85] Compared to the

[79] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', p.60, p.62.
[80] Winterburn text 12, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.136–137, V. & R., pp.362–365.
[81] For the missing grant see Winterburn text 1, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.131, V. & R., p.354.
[82] Grant of Winterburn to Furness Abbey (1216), TNA, DL 27/134.
[83] See Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.67, for the importance of the Mowbray charters in the Rievaulx cartulary; Paul Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship: Yorkshire, 1066–1154*, Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, 4th series, ed. by D.E. Luscombe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.278.
[84] Newby text 1, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.106, V. & R., pp.289–292.
[85] Winterburn text 12, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.136–137, V. & R., pp.362–365.

original deed, the description of boundaries of the Winterburn grant in the confirmation of William, son of William Graindeorge, is slightly more curtailed in the Coucher Book.[86] However, this could reflect the revision of boundaries since c.1412, since the original grant was ostensibly vague about the true extent of the land being donated. From the perspective of the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412, the Graindeorge benefactors in Winterburn were coterminous with the development of Winterburn Grange, the principal link between Furness Abbey and its possessions in Yorkshire, and as such it made sense to portray the Graindeorges as pious benefactors with a strong interest in facilitating the expansion of abbatial territory beyond Winterburn. This arguably lay behind the portrayal of the debt of familial memory to the original Graindeorge benefactor shown in later Graindeorge charters of the 12th-century Winterburn texts, but this same act could represent an alternative memory being invoked by the Graindeorges to honour their ancestor without necessarily endorsing further expansion of Furness Abbey upon their domains. The co-opting by the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412 of the Graindeorge benefactors within a narrative focused upon the development of Winterburn Grange could thus potentially conceal more complex negotiations over the extent of land in Winterburn. The 12th-century Winterburn texts were therefore characterised by different versions of memory of that same transaction from the multiple parties involved in the negotiations as recorded in the Coucher Book (Volume II).

The critical importance of Winterburn Grange within the historical viewpoint of Furness Abbey, as interpreted by the compilers in c.1412, is further illustrated by the inclusion of the confirmation of Archbishop Roger of Pont L'Eveque of York c.1155-c.1166 of the grant of Winterburn by William Graindeorge and of the site of Furness Abbey itself granted by Count Stephen in 1127.[87] This explicitly linked the foundation of Furness Abbey with the establishment of Winterburn Grange, effectively incorporating this grange into the understanding of the abbey as almost the physical embodiment of Furness Abbey beyond Furness. One could even venture that the Coucher Book (Volume II) was composed with Winterburn Grange as its principal inspiration and focus for contending with the *malvuillantz* of competing monastic houses in Yorkshire.[88] The Winterburn texts constitute the greatest single category of texts within the Coucher Book (Volume II), likely a product of litigation with neighbouring monasteries,[89] and are bookended by the 1411 petition effectively advocating the

[86] Grant of Winterburn and land in Flasby (c.1200), TNA, DL25/484.
[87] Winterburn text 26, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.141, V. & R., pp.373–374.; A refined date of 1154-1164, probably before October 1159, is offered in *English Episcopal Acta 20: York, 1154-1181*, English Episcopal Acta, vol.20, ed. by Marie Lovatt (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp.34-36.
[88] 'Malignants', Furness Abbey 1411 Petition, in *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England, 1275–1504*, p.537 (8 Henry IV).
[89] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', pp.68-70

use of the cartulary as a legal substitute for the abbot in judicial sessions beyond Furness.[90] This text effectively seals off the Mowbray confirmations of the Graindeorge grants of land in Winterburn, also effectively bookending the narrative of the acquisition of Winterburn through archiepiscopal authority. The preceding Winterburn texts appear to be arranged according to the proximity of the benefactors to the Furness monastic community itself within the narrative of the Winterburn grant, with those most helpful to the abbey (i.e. the Graindeorges) from the earliest days being accorded greater prominence. In addition, Winterburn Grange perhaps represented the closest proximity with the outside world beyond Furness linking the abbey to the reforming Orders, arguably attempting to transcend the Insular dimension of its institutional identity which is otherwise conspicuously absent as an organising feature within the Coucher Book.

The 12th-century Winterburn texts appear, from this analysis, to have been included within the Coucher Book primarily to acknowledge the secular and spiritual debt owed by Furness Abbey to the intervention of influential benefactors for expanding beyond its core Furness lands. However, tension exists within how that expansion was interpreted regarding the extent of the influence of the Graindeorge benefactors upon how the abbey expanded into Craven, which the compilers in c.1412 sought to resolve by relating both locations directly to the Furnesian dimension of how Furness Abbey defined itself, effectively adopting these nobles as Furnesian benefactors, but only on terms determined by and deemed favourable to the abbey. Similar tensions have been documented by Emilia Jamroziak regarding the expansion of Rievaulx Abbey being dependent on how it appealed to benefactors, some of whom, such as the Brus family, did not display the same enthusiasm as earlier generations did.[91] Yet, the Rievaulx Abbey Cartulary played an important role in connecting the memory of those benefactors with the understanding fostered by the abbey of itself as a shared forum for these propertied interests to be accommodated.[92] By essentialising the benefactors within the Furnesian dimension of Furness Abbey, it was hoped that the territories they granted would be deemed similarly Furnesian, or at the very least exhibiting a conscious connection to the Furness domain of the abbey itself.

The majority of datable 13th-century texts within the Coucher Book for which there are extant originals consist of grants and confirmations of land and access agreements, involving a wider range of benefactors from different social groups than in the earlier period. However, the character of land acquisition changed as the role of female benefactors is particularly pronounced in negotiating more complex transactions at a time when grange organisation was

[90] Winterburn text 154, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.184, V. & R., p.474.
[91] Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.64, pp.68–69.
[92] Ibid., p.71.

becoming more developed, with the abbey beginning to treat future benefactions increasingly as economic investment opportunities.[93] The development of grange economic structures in the era of 'high farming' in the 13th century marks out much of the content of the 13th-century texts.[94] During this period, Furness Abbey undertook a 'quiet accumulation of estates' beyond Furness,[95] and began to make productive use of the land granted to it to establish the basis for what would become one of the wealthiest Cistercian monastic houses in England.[96] This made a marked impact upon how Furness Abbey was portrayed as an institution by c.1412, and the historical interpretation evoked in the Coucher Book was primarily concerned with chronicling the economic and territorial development of the abbey beyond its core Furness domains.

The development of a grange economy that would become characteristic of the Cistercian Order can be detected within the Hetton texts,[97] of which many originals survive, and which chronicle the progressive expansion and consolidation of the presence of Furness Abbey as an economic agent in Craven. The scale and diversity of the grange activities carried on at Winterburn is demonstrated by grant by Walter de Archis in c.1220 of four oxgangs of land in Hetton and the right to transport turves, hay, corn, cattle, horses and swine across his lands to Winterburn Grange.[98] It is clear that the local benefactors in Hetton could sense an opportunity for Furness Abbey to develop their otherwise marginal lands into significant economic assets and were prepared to invest their secular as well as spiritual concerns into the development of a monastic economy in Craven.[99] The establishment of Pickering Grange by Rievaulx Abbey in 1158 specifically to render wasteland productive, and the absence of quitclaims in the Fountains Abbey Cartulary for land upon which Bramley Grange was built, suggest that it was established on previously uncultivated land.[100] Cistercian monasteries, therefore, developed and cultivated a reputation for effective management of wasteland,[101] which filtered into the narratives of later times. The economic value of the lands is reflected in the Coucher Book historical account, but perhaps of greater value by c.1412 was the assertion of title to these vital tributary lands for Winterburn Grange against encroachments by competitors. This was deemed of higher priority during a period of economic uncertainty that resulted in the leasing of granges and their sites by

[93] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', pp.84-85; see Chapter Two for the role of Alice de Rumeli the Younger in negotiating the sale of Borrowdale to Furness Abbey, pp.120–123.
[94] James Bond, *Monastic Landscapes* (Stroud: Tempus Publishing Ltd., 2004), p.43.
[95] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', p.59.
[96] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, p.29.
[97] Colin Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England: A Reassessment* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1969), pp.11–12.
[98] Winterburn text 40, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.144, V. & R., pp.380–381.
[99] Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069–1215*, pp.226–227.
[100] Ibid., pp.256–257.
[101] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp.186–188.

the early-15th century.[102] Nevertheless, it is clear that lay benefactors to Furness Abbey in Craven made a significant impact upon the development of its understanding of itself as an economic powerhouse, and that this likely influenced how the abbey treated these lands within its historical perspective.

Despite the relative absence of 13th-century royal texts within the Coucher Book, there are examples of their selective use to justify abbey acquisition and consolidation of benefactions, especially in contested areas for which the cartulary was produced to uphold such claims. Indeed, in the Byland Abbey Cartulary, there is an entire section devoted to claims arising from the *Quo Warranto* proceedings during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307),[103] indicating how important the rendering of litigation within the organisational schema of monastic cartularies had become to defend monastic interests. In the Coucher Book (Volume II), this can be seen in the use of royal confirmations of the acquisition of Eshton Tarn, in Craven, according to the Mortmain legislation.[104] The grant by John de Eston, son of Sir John de Eston, in 1299 of Eshton Tarn with fishing rights was included within the Coucher Book,[105] with a confirmation by Edward I to bolster the claims of the abbey,[106] since the tarn lay on the fringes of Fountains Abbey territory in Malham.[107] It is extremely significant that the 1411 petition against the Abbot of Furness attending wapentake courts in Craven to contest his claims should appear in the Coucher Book immediately after the 1299 grant of Eshton Tarn,[108] implying that Fountains Abbey was principal among the litigants referred to in the petition. This therefore demonstrates the importance of Eshton Tarn to how Furness Abbey was being portrayed as an institution in c.1412, and the Coucher Book compilers make perhaps the greatest use of royal confirmations of any in the cartulary outside of the Lancaster texts. The connection between Furness Abbey and Eshton Tarn in fact goes back to c.1260, with the grant of a fishery upon the tarn by Sir John de Eshton, coupled with deliverance of seisin for the same.[109] Furness Abbey had in fact maintained a consistent benefactor relationship with the Eshtons since c.1200, with a series of small initial grants in Eshton by William, son of Gervase de Eshton,[110] and consolidated by the bequest of the body of John de Eshton for burial at the abbey in c.1230.[111] The Coucher Book compilers thus placed a greater emphasis upon the

[102] Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England*, p.94.
[103] *The Cartulary of Byland Abbey*, pp.xxxii–xxxiii.
[104] Raban, *England under Edward I and Edward II, 1259–1327*, p.79.
[105] Winterburn text 146, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.181, R., pp.467–468.
[106] Winterburn text 152, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.183, V. & R., pp.471–472.
[107] Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p.232.
[108] Winterburn text 153, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.183–184, V. & R., pp.472–473.
[109] Winterburn text 142, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.180, R., pp.463–464.
[110] Winterburn texts 126–130, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.174–176, V. & R., pp.449–454.
[111] Winterburn text 132, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.176, V. & R., p.455.

personal benefactor connection with the Eshtons than royal support for abbey activities in Eshton as underlining the legitimacy of Furness Abbey to possession of Eshton Tarn. However, the character of the benefactor relationship had shifted by the end of the 13th century towards using the Eshtons as effectively abbey tenants in defining an independent sphere of jurisdiction within Craven, and in order to achieve this royal confirmation of proprietorial rights took precedence over spiritual obligation to the benefactors within the context of the documentary record.

The 14th- and 15th-century texts are distinguished in the Coucher Book by consisting more of confirmations than grants, when monastic land grants had to be conducted according to more bureaucratic norms governed by Mortmain legislation.[112] The principal preoccupation of the 14th-century texts is in consolidating the acquisitions of the 13th century against future generations of benefactors and establishing clear boundaries of jurisdiction over its assets.[113] It is during this period where the majority of royal texts are to be found, used both to reinforce the legitimacy of Furness Abbey to its lands beyond Furness and, more significantly, to foster a particular interpretation of its image of itself similar to that which it had developed in relation to its Furness domain. In this regard, the 14th and 15th-century texts can be seen as contributing to the process of associating the extra-Furnesian lands of Furness Abbey with its Furnesian core.

The most conspicuous examples of 14th- and 15th-century royal texts within the Coucher Book can be found among the Lancaster texts, where the compilers in c.1412 sought to appeal directly to the historic connection, as they understood, between Furness Abbey and the Duchy of Lancaster, for consolidation of their tenurial rights within the Lancaster area. The 1347 grant by Henry of Grosmont, 4th Earl of Lancaster, of the right to take timber from the Forest of Lancaster, along with a fishery in Lancaster,[114] appears in the Coucher Book as the culmination of a series of texts stretching back to c.1153 vindicating the right of Furness Abbey to timber and fishing rights in Lancaster.[115] In the Coucher Book version, this deed is represented by the royal coat-of-arms,[116] underlining the importance within the historical interpretation of c.1412 of obtaining royal support for the economic activities of the abbey in Lancaster. Throughout the Lancaster texts royal coats-of-arms are prominently displayed, even anachronistically in the case of the c.1153 grant of the fishery and timber rights by Count William of Boulogne &

[112] Raban, *England under Edward I and Edward II*, p.79.
[113] Ibid., pp.188–189.
[114] Lancaster text 9, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fols.73–74, V. & R., pp.191–193; Duchy of Lancaster Forest Proceedings, 39/17/1, cited in Ronald Cunliffe Shaw, *The Royal Forest of Lancaster* (Preston: The Guardian Press, 1956), p.144.
[115] For the earliest dated royal text in the Lancaster texts see Lancaster text 1, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.70, V., p.184.
[116] Lancaster text 9, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fols.73–74, V. & R., p.191.

Mortain, where the Earldom of Lancaster arms are displayed.[117] This appears to illustrate a conscious effort on the part of the compilers in c.1412 to directly associate the 14th-century royal and ducal confirmations of the privileges accorded to Furness Abbey in Lancaster within a narrative of consistent royal favour bestowed upon the abbey.

As can be seen in the Coucher Book (Volume I), the contributions of the Kings of England and Dukes of Lancaster towards augmenting the influence of Furness Abbey were incorporated into the institutional identity of the abbey.[118] By adopting a seigniorial element to this identity, the abbey seemingly connected its Lancaster grants and privileges with the core Furnesian domains of the abbey in asserting its hegemony over Morecambe Bay as a whole. It is notable, for instance, that the focus of the privileges accorded to the abbey in Lancaster were not meant to face the town itself but across Morecambe Bay, with the fishery and the timber required to service the fishery intended to satisfy the material requirements of Beaumont Grange. This is especially apparent in the 1336 plea from the abbey that the timber from the Forest of Lancaster was most needed for maintaining the fishery for Beaumont Grange.[119] The apparently sharp behaviour of Furness Abbey in asserting its rights in Lancaster are recorded in the Coucher Book as effectively endorsed by royal and ducal agency, such as the 1389 royal pardon to the abbey for obtaining two burgages in Lancaster and the fishery of Lancaster Priory at Bulk without licence,[120] and the 1393 favourable verdict in the Duchy Chancery Court of the right of the abbey to a burgage in Lancaster, allegedly obtained without licence.[121]

These texts underscore the increasingly competitive behaviour of Furness Abbey in the face of local competition for urban resources and the development of a tenurial attitude of the abbey towards those who fell under what it regarded as its jurisdiction, adopting a more combative approach to protecting its rights at law.[122] A similarly defensive posture adopted towards protecting the seigneurial rights of an English monastery consolidating its local power can be seen in how the increasing use of professional lawyers to assert the lordship of Peterborough Abbey was adopted in the aftermath of the Statute of Mortmain (1279).[123] The role of the royal and ducal texts, therefore, did not assume so much significance in themselves upon articulating historical memories or corporate conceptions of Furness Abbey as much as

[117] Lancaster text 1, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.70, V., p.184.
[118] See Chapter One, pp.58–59.
[119] Lancaster text 26, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fols.81–83, V. & R., pp.211–215; Duchy of Lancaster Forest Proceedings, 39/17/1, cited in Shaw, *The Royal Forest of Lancaster*, pp.149–150.
[120] Lancaster text 24, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.80, V. & R., pp.206–208.
[121] Lancaster text 25, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fols.80–81, V. & R., pp.208–211.
[122] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, pp.38–39.
[123] Sandra Raban, 'Lawyers retained by Peterborough Abbey in the Late Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Laws, Lawyers and Texts: Studies in Medieval Legal History in Honour of Paul Brand*, ed. by Susanne Jenks, Jonathan Rose & Christopher Whittick (Brill: Leiden, 2012), pp.211–214.

being means to the end of upholding the territorial presence of the abbey in lands beyond Furness. The abbey was thus regarded as coterminous with its core domain, grounded in a particular interpretation of the historical development of Furness Abbey as being in close relationship with Crown authority within Furness.

The tenurial attitude increasingly adopted by Furness Abbey over the course of the 14th and 15th centuries can be demonstrated in 14th and 15th-century texts relating to Stalmine, which is situated on the River Wyre near the Fylde coast. In the case of the Wras of Rawcliffe Wra, the abbey can be seen acting as custodian for the estates of local benefactors via female inheritances. The grant of c.1300 by Eda, daughter of William de Wra, to her sister Agnes of half an acre in Rawcliffe Wra, near Stalmine,[124] was consolidated by texts copied into the Coucher Book by quitclaims from her husband, William Sparbuttur of Hambleton, and herself.[125] However, the original grant from Agnes de Wra has not been preserved, which could indicate that, given the preoccupation with quitclaims on the part of the compilers in c.1412, the priority by that time was to establish clear manorial boundaries between Furness Abbey territories and those of increasingly formidable local nobles in Stalmine. Against a background of resentment at the interference of Furness Abbey within Stalmine,[126] reflected perhaps in the sheer volume of Stalmine texts preserved in the Coucher Book,[127] the compilers sought to connect its territories in Stalmine more consciously with its Furnesian heartland.

The animosity of later generations of benefactors towards the presence of Furness Abbey in Stalmine is reflected in the legal challenges mounted by the Oxcliffs over the exact delineation of past grants to the abbey. In 1318, for example, Nicholas de Oxcliff extracted from Furness Abbey the right to five acres of wasteland, one messuage and one salthouse in Stalmine, in return for acknowledging the right of the abbey to its mill and millpond abutting his territories near Stalmine Grange.[128] That these concessions were granted within the Furness Abbey Chapter House itself demonstrated the scale of importance in which they were regarded by both parties, for they effectively determined the territorial boundaries of Furness Abbey near the core of its economic operations in Stalmine. Yet, this deed is not as conspicuously highlighted within the Coucher Book, with the compilers assigning the Oxcliff coat-of-arms instead to a quitclaim by Nicholas de Oxcliff to 8s per annum rent due on his lands from the

[124] Stalmine text 46, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.100, V., pp.257–258.
[125] Stalmine text 47, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.99, V., p.258.
[126] See William Farrer, 'The parish of Lancaster: Stalmine with Staynall', in *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 7*, ed. by William Farrer & John Brownbill (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1912), footnote 40, p.252 concerning litigation for trespass by Nicholas Butler on Stalmine Grange in 1535–36; Marshall, *Lancashire's Medieval Monasteries*, p.89.
[127] Stalmine texts 1–60, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fols.90–105, V. & R., pp.232–271.
[128] Stalmine text 50, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fols.100–101, V. & R., p.260.

abbey and acquittal from the abbot attending county and wapentake courts in his lands.[129] As well as highlighting a more favourable outcome between the abbey and the Oxcliffs, the emphasis on acquittal from attending his courts fed into the overall purpose behind the compilation of the Coucher Book (Volume II), namely to act as proxy for upholding the rights of Furness Abbey to its extra-Furnesian lands. The subtext throughout these 14th-century texts, therefore, concerned the right of Furness Abbey to its tenure within Stalmine by equating its Stalmine territories with its Furness heartland. The earlier texts, chronicling the litigation between the abbey and the Oxcliffs over rights of common pasture and free tenement from 1311,[130] are relegated to the end of the Stalmine texts by the compilers, detached from an otherwise favourable interpretation of its relationship with the Oxcliffs implied by the positioning of the outcome of the litigation. Similarly, a plea concerning disputed common pasture between Furness Abbey and all the Wra benefactors is detached from the seamless transition of manorial rights implied earlier in the Coucher Book.[131] The end result was an understanding that regarded such benefactors in a more tenurial light and the abbey as vindicated in its right to exert its authority by such means. As if to show, against the tide of legal proceedings referring to pasture rights from the 14th century onwards, that the power of Furness Abbey could still be felt in Stalmine, the Stalmine texs end with how Thomas Skilhare of Dalton, the same clerk who acquired Angerton Moss,[132] managed to release land granted to Robert de Wath, Vicar of Dalton, to the abbey.[133] This affirmed the direct connection between the patrimony of the abbey and the Fylde Coast conceived within its institutional 'identity', which arguably harkened back to the early beginnings of the abbey itself in Amounderness.[134] Having undertaken an in-depth analysis of some of the most representative texts from the 12th-15th centuries concerning how they were made to contribute towards the creation of an institutional memory and identity for Furness Abbey by c.1412, we are now in a position to deduce some of the key considerations within the editorial priorities of the Coucher Book compilers.

[129] Stalmine text 49, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.100, R., p.259.
[130] Stalmine texts 54–56, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fols.103–104, V. & R., pp.265–268.
[131] Stalmine text 57, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.104, V. & R., pp.268–269.
[132] Angerton Moss text 3, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol.127, R, pp.324-325; Quitclaim of Alan, son of Ralph de Kirkby Ireleth, of his right in land called Angerton Moss (1276-1290), TNA, DL25/383.
[133] Stalmine deed 58, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.105, V., p.270
[134] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.110

Editorial priorities of the Furness Coucher Book (Volume II) compilers

One of the most significant themes to emerge from this comparison between the Coucher Book (Volume II) texts and the originals within the Duchy collections concerns the conceptualisation of the lands of the abbey beyond Furness in relation to its core Furness domain. The compilers organise and treat the copies within the Coucher Book that relate to lands beyond Furness as distinct yet logical extensions of the Furness heartland. This implies that, from the outset, the Coucher Book was conceived of as a two-volume tome, with Volume II explicitly providing the 'Other' dimension to reinforce the internalised sense of self articulated in Volume I.

The organisation of the Coucher Book texts can be compared to a 'pilgrimage' construction, which took its cue from practical mnemonic devices designed to aid in recalling the memory of benefactions and territories possessed by the monastery.[135] This can be observed through the construction in the cartulary of a geographical schema which perambulated the territories of Furness Abbey beyond Furness. This perambulatory model was fundamental to determining the conception of the institutional identity of the abbey, since a similar model was at work for similar purposes in the Coucher Book (Volume I). The compilers in c.1412 sought to conceive of the extra-Furnesian possessions on the same terms by which they constructed a historical connection between Furness Abbey and its core seigniory in Furness, enabling both volumes of the cartulary to communicate the same narrative differently. Unlike Volume I, Volume II retains a consistent geographical focus throughout, which suggests that this was intended for wider consumption by audiences beyond Furness. The overall impression is of the Coucher Book (Volume II) being a much more complete and assured accomplishment, growing out of Volume I, reflective of the growing confidence of the compilers in compiling the archival material.

The biggest difference between original documents and Coucher Book (Volume II) copies concern the inclusion of more comprehensive witness lists than the abbreviated and selective forms extant in the Coucher Book. This could be because most of the witnesses and their relations were no longer extant, or the matter itself was no longer of relevance by c.1412 to warrant comprehensive transcription of the witness list, but political priorities behind the selective inclusion of witnesses cannot be ruled out in certain cases. A typical example of this selective treatment of supposedly identical archival material can be illustrated through investigation of the grant by Godard de Boyville of 1152 to the abbey of one carucate of land in

[135] Carruthers & Ziolkowski, 'General Introduction', pp.6–7, p.17.

Copeland called Foss in the Kirksanton texts. Below is a transcript of the original grant, with sections omitted from the Coucher Book copy highlighted in italics: [136]

> Omnibus sancte matris ecclesie filiis *tam presentibus quam futuris Godardus de Boivilla salutem*.[137] Sciatis me concisse et dedisse et presenti carta confirmasse Deo et abbatie Sancte Marie de Furnesio et monachis ibidem Deo servientibus, pro salute anime mee et pro animabus antecessorum meorum et successorum meorum, quandam carrucatam terre in Cauplandia, Fossam nomine, cum omnibus pertinentiis et appendiciis suis, in puram et perpetuam elemosinam, liberam et quietam ab omni servitio seculari et consuetudine et exactione, in bosco et plano, in pratis et paschuis, in moris et mariscis, in viis et semitis et omnibus aliis aisiamentis per omnes divisas sicut unquam melius et liberius eam tenuit pater meus. Hanc terram ego et heredes mei predictis monachis contra omnes homines warantizabimus et ab omni servitio adquietabimus. *Hiis testibus: Ketello de Cauplandia, Ewardo de Cauplandia, Rogero de Kirkebi, Roberto de Boivilla, Willelmo clerico de Kertmel, Ailwardo de Broctuna, Dolfino de Kirkebi, Benedicto de Penigt(una), Rannulfo de Berdeseia, Rannulfo de Penigt(una) et multis aliis*.[138]

> ‘To all the faithful of the holy Mother Church now present or future Godard de Boyville sends greeting. Know that I grant and give and by this present charter confirm to God and the Abbey of St. Mary of Furness and the monks there serving God, for the salvation of my soul and for the souls of my ancestors and my successors, a certain carucate of land in Copeland, by the name of Fossa, with all its appurtenances and additions, in pure and perpetual alms, free and quit from all secular service and custom and exaction, in wood and field, in meadows and pastures, in moors and marshes, on roads and footpaths and all other easements by all these divisions as well and free as it was held by my father. Myself and my heirs will warrant this land of the aforesaid monks against all men and acquit them from all service. These witnesses: Ketel de Coupland, Eward de Coupland, Roger de Kirkby, Robert de Boyville, William cleric of Cartmel, Ailward de Broughton, Dolfin de Kirkby, Benedict de Pennington, Ralph de Berdsey, Ralph de Pennington, and many others’[139]

[136] Grant of land in Copeland called Fossa (1152), TNA, DL27/131.
[137] This clause is absent in Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., pp.522–523.
[138] Witness clause is absent in Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., pp.522–523.
[139] Ibid.

The witness list is not included in the Coucher Book version, again not only because of the death of the original witnesses but more importantly because it enabled the abbey to undertake a retrospective remembrance of the boundaries of Foss from a later perspective and in a manner that suited its interests.[140] Indeed, in a later deed, Foss is referred to as *Munkfoss*,[141] testifying to just how far the grant of Foss had been assimilated into the later interpretation of where this grant fitted within a wider historical perspective. By that token, it would have been taken for granted by the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412 what the exact meaning of *Fossam* was in the 1152 grant of Godard de Boyville,[142] and one might have expected Godard himself to figure prominently in the later historical narrative for having enabled such an important benefaction to the abbey. Yet, the Coucher Book diminishes the agency of Godard de Boyville in the grant of Foss, since he is not even mentioned in the Coucher Book version, in significant contrast to the original. The Tabulated Index does mention Godard de Boyville as the benefactor for this deed,[143] but the entry is very sparse in comparison to the succeeding entry referring to the confirmation of the grant of Foss by Henry de Boyville in 1180.[144] The Coucher Book version instead assumes that the grant of Foss was almost a foregone conclusion, that the Boyville benefactor was expendable in remembering exactly how the abbey acquired Foss. The focus would instead be on how Foss became Monkfoss, and particularly how the Boyville benefactors helped Furness Abbey to expand the strategic potential of Foss as a bridgehead between its Furnesian heartland and the extra-Furnesian territories in Cockermouth and Borrowdale. The role of the Boyville benefactors, in this instance, appears to be geared towards reinforcing a sense of historical connection between the abbey and its extra-Furnesian territories.

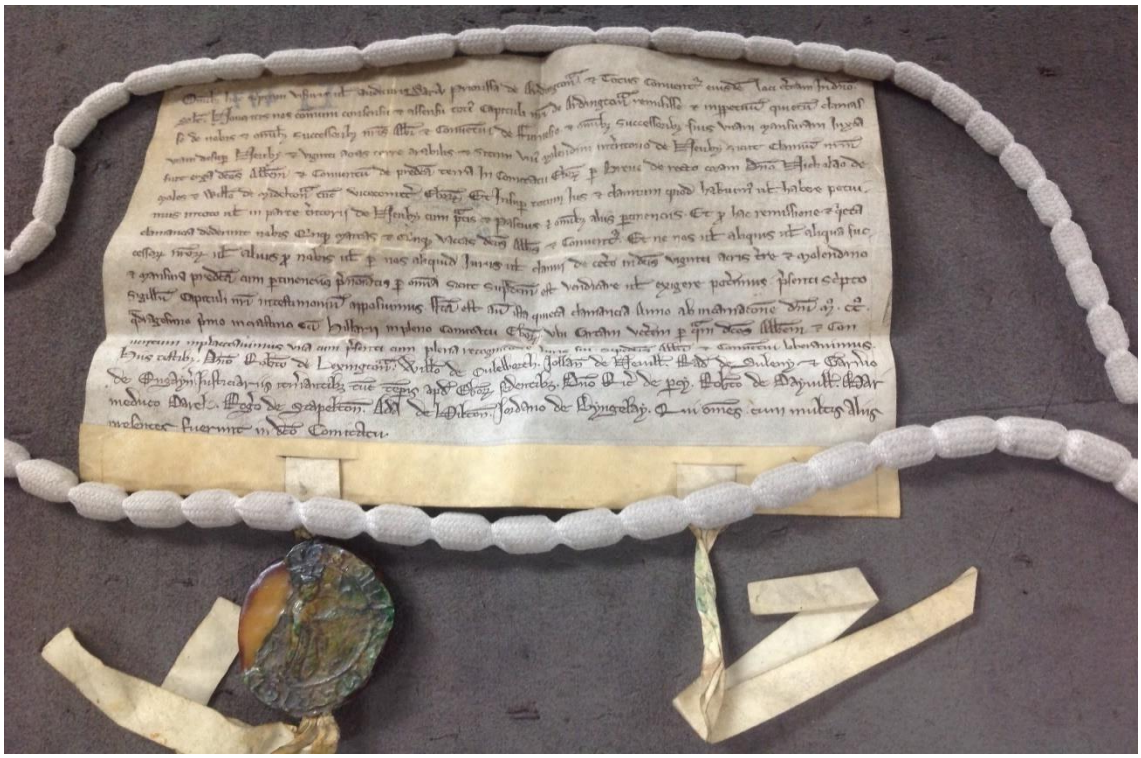
Although it may appear that the Coucher Book compilers were actively limiting the personal profiles of benefactors at the expense of the land and privileges which they provided, this could be explained by the limited space available for transcription within the cartulary in the context of other texts compiled alongside this particular example. As well as the prominence of the family throughout the Kirksanton texts, the compilers were keen to emphasise the prominence of the Boyville contribution towards the acquisition of lands for the abbey in the Newby texts.[145] We must therefore view the inclusion of the Coucher Book texts in context if we are to more fully understand the editorial priorities behind their compilation. Nevertheless, the treatment of the subject of this deed, the grant of Foss, is accorded greater priority within

[140] Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., p.523.
[141] 'Monkfoss', Kirksanton text 15, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V. & R., p.524.
[142] 'Foss', Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., p.523.
[143] Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, fol.25, V., p.71.
[144] Ibid., p.71.
[145] See, for example, Newby text 15, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.113, V., pp.303–304.

how subsequent texts are interpreted within the Coucher Book than any consistent recollection of the benefactor relationship with the Boyvilles.

The grant of Godard de Boyville, followed immediately after by the confirmation of his son Henry de Boyville,[146] is succeeded by the grants of Alan son of Ketel and William Mording of 1180,[147] and then by an undated quitclaim of two carucates of land in Foss in return for right of burial within the abbey cemetery.[148] In each of these examples after the Boyville confirmation, the names of the benefactors are not recorded in the Coucher Book (Volume II) transcript and are only recoverable from the Tabulated Index.[149] Yet, in each of these texts, *Fossa* is mentioned consistently,[150] being referred to as *Munkfossam* in the grant by Alan son of Ketel.[151] This implies that the principal priority for remembrance, as far as the compilers in c.1412 were concerned, was the grant itself, and particularly with ensuring that the claim to the grant of Foss was secure from as many different avenues as possible, since the Boyville grant on its own could not guarantee effective control over Foss.

[146] Kirksanton text 15, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V. & R., p.524.
[147] Kirksanton text 16, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, R., pp.524–525.
[148] Kirksanton text 17, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.205, V., p.525.
[149] Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II,* fol.25, V., p.72.
[150] 'Foss', Kirksanton text 16, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, R., p.524; 'Foss', Kirksanton text 17, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.205, V., p.525.
[151] 'Monkfoss', Kirksanton text 15, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, R., p.524.



Picture 13: Quitclaim of lands in Newby from Arthington Nunnery to Furness Abbey (14th January, 1242), (TNA: DL25/477), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

The attitude of Furness Abbey towards other religious establishments beyond Furness is treated differently within the Coucher Book deeds compared to corresponding original documents. A particularly proprietorial approach is apparent in the texts incorporated into the Coucher Book which deal specifically with religious establishments, with ownership of land prioritised over amicable relationships with competitor houses in the institutional memory presented in c.1412. This is displayed in the quitclaim by Arthington Nunnery of 1241 of their right in a messuage, mill site and land in Newby, in return for compensation of five marks and five cows.[152] The text is presented in the Coucher Book within a relatively innocuous location in the Newby texts, after an acquittal of the abbey from suit of court at Burton-in-Lonsdale,[153] as if to underline the judicial independence of the abbey over its territories in Newby and thus attach them more firmly to the institutional identity articulated in relation to its 'natural' Furness

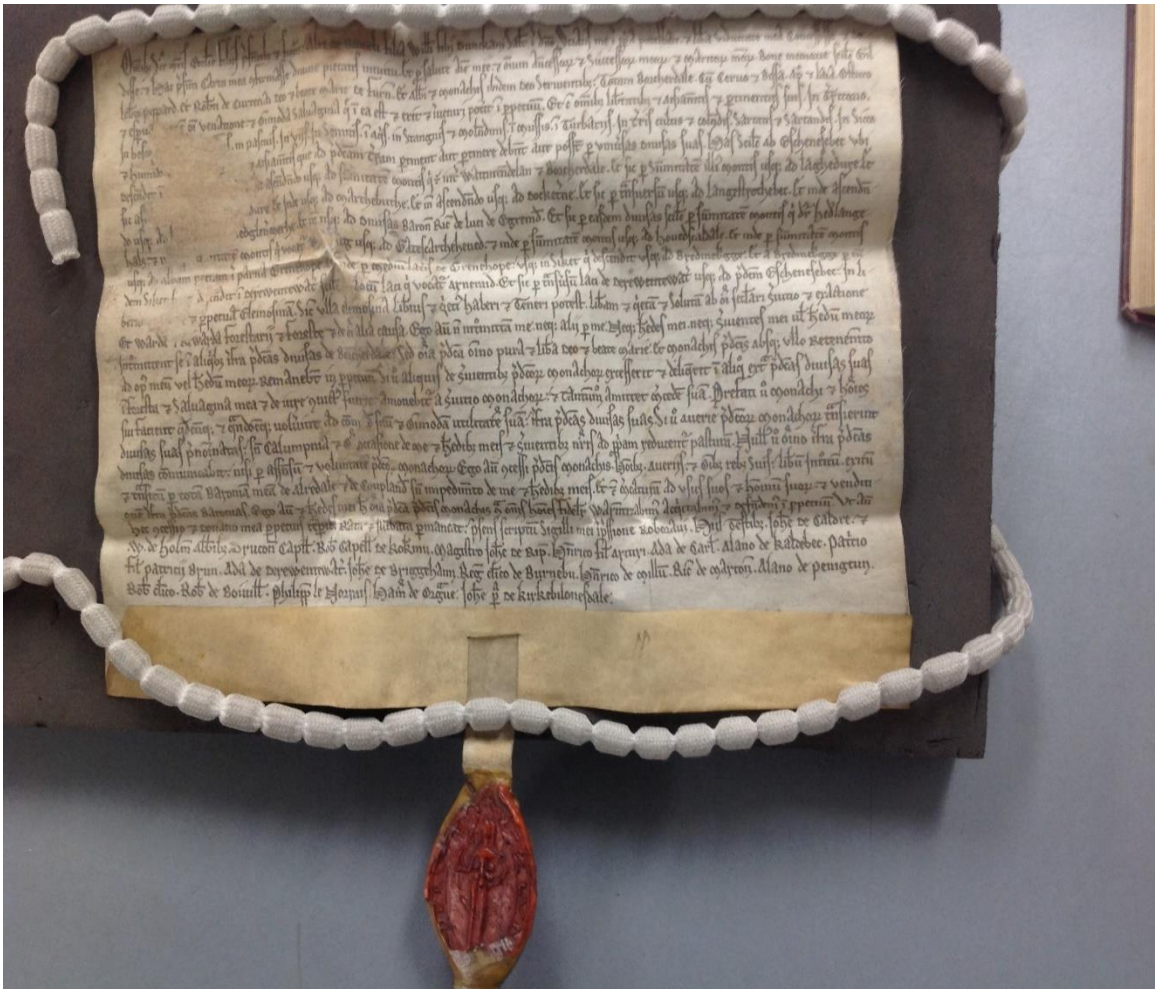
[152] Newby text 8, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.111, V., pp.298-299
[153] Newby text 7, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.110, R, pp.297-298

domain. Arthington Nunnery contested the right of Furness Abbey to a mill site in Newby, thereby directly challenging its jurisdictional rights in the village, and took the matter to the full county court in York, the context from which the original document originated.[154] Both texts testify to how the abbey brandished a *cartam veterem* to assert its rights over the mill site in Newby and effectively forced the nunnery to relinquish its claims.[155] The witness list preserved in the Coucher Book version lists only three witnesses,[156] and does not include the itinerant justices presiding over the case, unlike the original document.[157] This could imply that the Coucher Book (Volume II) compilers in c.1412 sought to nullify the impact of this case upon the institutional memory of gradual acquisition and consolidation of land and rights in Newby during a time of increasing litigation against the abbey from competing Yorkshire establishments.[158]

The dynamic character of the court proceedings otherwise hinted at in the original document is not as apparent within the institutional memory. The witness list, more comprehensive in the original document, is written in a different hand from the rest of the text, which is most likely a retrospective recollection of the witnesses after the event, since the '*multis aliis*' are referred to as present in the past tense at the proceedings.[159] This hints at a public clash of memory over the events between the two parties, especially during the production of charters, and an increased level of agency for Arthington Nunnery during the litigation that is otherwise not portrayed within the Coucher Book narrative. For the compilers in c.1412, the institutional identity of Furness Abbey could not be permitted to be dependent upon how it interacted with other religious establishments. Instead, such an identity would be determined according to where the land upon which those religious establishments were situated in relation to the natural Furness domain. This underpinned an entitlement to seigneurial influence which the abbey felt able to wield based upon its conception of its Furnesian identity

[154] Arthington Nunnery to Furness Abbey: Quitclaim of lands in Newby (Plenary County Court in York, 14th January 1242), TNA, DL25/477
[155] 'Ancient charter', Newby text 8, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.111, V., p.299; Arthington Nunnery to Furness Abbey: Quitclaim of lands in Newby (Plenary County Court in York, 14th January 1242), TNA, DL25/477
[156] Lord Robert de Lexington, William de Culeworth and Jollano de Nevill are the named witnesses in Newby text 8, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.111, V., p.299
[157] Lord Robert de Lexington, William de Culeworth, Jollano de Nevill, Ralph de Sulney & Garnier de Engayne (itinerant justices at that time sitting at York), Lord Richard de Percy, Robert de Dayvill, Marmaduke Darel, Roger de Stapelton, Adam de Hilton and Jordan de Byngelay are the named witnesses in Arthington Nunnery to Furness Abbey: Quitclaim of lands in Newby (Plenary County Court in York, 14th January 1242), TNA, DL25/477
[158] See esp. Winterburn text 153, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.183-184, V. & R, pp.472-473, for the 1411 petition seeking to excuse the abbot of Furness from regularly attending wapentake court sessions in Craven
[159] Arthington Nunnery to Furness Abbey: Quitclaim of lands in Newby (Plenary County Court in York, 14th January 1242), TNA, DL25/477

beyond Furness, one principally couched in an intense association between the abbey and Furness as politically coterminous.



Picture 14: Grant of Borrowdale from Alice de Rumeli the Younger to Furness Abbey (14th January, 1242), (TNA: DL27/132), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

The original documents sometimes indicate attempts by Furness benefactors to construct their own alternative memory of the event being chronicled, as well as to construct a particular noble identity for themselves that suited their own interests. This can especially be seen in the grant by Alice de Rumeli the Younger in 1210 of Borrowdale to Furness Abbey.[160]

[160] Borrowdale text 2, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.221–222, V. & R., pp.569–571.

Alice de Rumeli was daughter of William Meschin, Lord of Egremont and Skipton,[161] who exercised overlordship over prominent Furness Abbey benefactors in Cumberland, not least the Boyvilles. The marriage of her mother, Alice, to William Fitz Duncan, nephew to King David I of Scotland, in c.1135-c.1140 brought the Lordship of Copeland within Scottish political influence,[162] and together they acted as potent benefactors to monasteries in Craven, including Fountains Abbey and Bolton Priory.[163] When William died in 1154 she married Alexander Fitz Gerald, brother of the royal chamberlain Henry Fitz Gerald,[164] and she continued to shape her new husband's benefactor activity towards the Yorkshire monasteries patronised by her late husband until her death in 1187.[165] Alice de Rumeli the Younger, third daughter of William Fitz Duncan, married Gilbert Pipard, an itinerant justice in Wiltshire, and then Robert Courtenay, most likely a close relative of the justiciar Richard de Lucy, and succeeded to the Barony of Allerdale and Copeland which William Fitz Duncan had held.[166] By the time she was once again widowed by 1210, she had accumulated such independent political capital that she had taken to using a pioneering form of a standing female figure on her personal seal.[167] The original document demonstrates how Alice de Rumeli exercised significant agency in casting the memory of her benefaction as a pious action, independent of the interpretation which the abbey may have sought to place upon her act, which accorded with her own familial interests and not the corporate interests of the abbey. This is evident in the style of the dedication not only for her souls and her ancestors and successors, but specifically for the husbands of her late mother, Gilbert Pipard and Robert de Courtenay,[168] indicating a strong desire to determine the terms of the grant herself as a femme sole. Her priorities inherent in the order and style of her dedication seems to indicate a desire to distance herself from her Borrowdale estate by associating it with the souls of her late husbands, thereby unloosening the seigneurial ties which may have been bound up in the estate, and thus to remove an unprofitable asset from her ledger.

[161] Ivor John Sanders, *English Baronies: A Study of Their Origin and Descent 1086–1327* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), pp.142–143.
[162] Judith Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), pp.122–123, pp.366–367.
[163] Katrina Jane Legg, 'An Edition of the Coucher Book and Charters of Bolton Priory (Yorkshire)', 2 vols., vol.1, PhD Thesis (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 2002), pp.41–42, p.47; Katrina Jane Legg, *Bolton Priory: Its Patrons and Benefactors, 1120-1293*, Borthwick Papers, no.106, ed. by Philippa Hoskins & Edward Royle (York: Borthwick Institute for Archives, 2004), pp.7-9.
[164] Ilona Hanna Kilpi, 'Non–comital women of twelfth–century England: a charter based analysis', PhD thesis (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 2015), p.160.
[165] Ibid., pp.160–161.
[166] Joseph Nicolson & Richard Burn, *The History and Antiquities of the Counties of Westmorland & Cumberland, Vol.II* (London: W. Strahan, 1777), pp.8-9; Dalton, *Conquest, Anarchy and Lordship*, p.230
[167] Susan Johns, pp.131–132; Legg, 'An Edition of the Coucher Book and Charters of Bolton Priory (Yorkshire)', p.167.
[168] Grant from Aliz de Rumeli to Furness Abbey of all Borrowdale (1210), TNA, DL27/132.

The grant of Borrowdale therefore may not have been as indebted to the intervention of Furness Abbey as is otherwise presented in the Coucher Book (Volume II) version, which presents this deed alongside an abbreviated version of her original deed,[169] appearing to indicate a desire on the part of the compilers in c.1412 to see Furness Abbey playing a larger role in her decision to grant Borrowdale to the abbey. There are a number of quitclaims,[170] and even details of payment for completing the transaction,[171] which accompany the original Borrowdale grant in the Duchy collection, more so than in comparable sections of the Coucher Book (Volume II). All of these accompanying texts in the Coucher Book, however, do not survive in the original. This could imply that the Coucher Book compilers were anxious to procure as much proof of title as possible in c.1412 to substantiate claims to what was by then a lucrative asset for Furness Abbey, and was held to be especially valuable to the understanding of the abbey as a shrewd business practitioner being portrayed here as much as associating Borrowdale with the Furness heartland.

The transcript of the original of the Borrowdale grant in the Coucher Book (Volume II) is mostly accurate, notwithstanding different naming conventions for place-names, but the witness list is limited only to the abbots of Calder and Holm Cultram.[172] Even though most of the original witnesses were deceased, and their presence was therefore less useful for verifying the grant from the perspective of c.1412, its limitation to abbatial witnesses most likely reflects an attempt by the compilers to portray the influence of Furness Abbey upon Alice's decision to grant Borrowdale to the abbey. Calder and Holm Cultram were both Cistercian monasteries with close links to Furness, who could be expected to support the abbey in its attempts to negotiate a beneficial settlement with Alice de Rumeli, and remembering their contribution arguably took priority in this case of monastic editing. Within the original, the full witness list includes established benefactors of Furness Abbey, such as Robert de Boyville and Hamo de Orgrave, and sympathetic witnesses for the abbey which have appeared in other texts in the Coucher Book, such as Alan de Pennington and Phillip le Norreis, are also present.[173] The choice of witnesses seems on the face of it to be a direct result of Furness Abbey pressure for a good deal from Alice de Rumeli, but it could just as easily be a deliberate abdication by Alice

[169] Borrowdale texts 1–2, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.221–222, V. & R., pp.568–571.
[170] Borrowdale text 6, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.223, V., p.574; Borrowdale text 11, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.224, R., p.578.
[171] Borrowdale texts 9–10, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.224, R., p.577.
[172] Abbot John of Calder and Abbot W. of Holm Cultram are the named witnesses in Borrowdale text 2, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.221–222, V. & R., pp.569–571.
[173] Abbot John of Calder, Abbot W. of Holm Cultram, Drucone (chaplain), Chaplain Robert of Cockermouth, Master John de Ripon, Henry son of Arthur, Adam de Carlisle, Alan de Kaldebec, Patrick son of Patrick Brun, Adam de Derwentwater, John de Briggaham, Roger (cleric of Burnebu), Henry de Millom, Richard de Marton, Alan de Pennington, Robert (cleric), Robert de Boyville, Phillip le Norreis, Hamo de Orgrave and Parson John of Kirkby Lonsdale are the named witnesses in Grant from Aliz de Rumeli to Furness Abbey of all Borrowdale (1210), TNA, DL27/132.

de Rumeli from her seigneurial position within Borrowdale, if she was indeed the main driving force behind the benefaction and the determination of its subsequent terms. The large number of pro-Furness witnesses may in this case indicate the relative insignificance of Furness Abbey in brokering the deal, since in other benefactions, such as from John de Huddleston of his forest in Egremont,[174] an equal number of witnesses from both tenurial circles were sought in order for Furness Abbey to make its influence felt upon the decision of the benefactor. If this was indeed apparent to the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412, then the reduction of the witness list to the two abbots would have been intended to minimise the scale of her agency over the decision to grant Borrowdale and those of the associated witnesses.

The significant degree of individual agency exercised by Alice de Rumeli in determining the terms of her benefaction to Furness Abbey was interpreted by c.1412 as a typical but notable benefaction within the compilers' interpretation of the abbey's historical development and highly prized within their subsequent perception of the abbey as an institution. Nevertheless, that interpretation could not permit for significant agency independent of the abbey to be displayed within the context of a cartulary intended to bind the seigneurial and conceptual ties from beyond Furness to the core Furness domain. The grant of Borrowdale therefore needed to be qualified alongside texts which affirmed the priority of Furness Abbey in the mind of Alice de Rumeli, that the interests of the abbey always came first, and that the title of the abbey to Borrowdale could be confirmed beyond sole reliance upon a single benefactor. This demonstrates how competing versions of the memory of a given event could be construed in different contexts, and later chapters connected with key benefactors of Furness Abbey will attempt to unpick the different layers of memory that can be discerned from the Coucher Book, beyond the perspective of c.1412.

[174] Butterilket text 5, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.219, V., pp.565–566.

Conclusion

From this investigation of the Coucher Book (Volume II), it seems as though this volume was intended from the outset to complement many of the same themes in developing an institutional memory and identity for Furness Abbey as explored for the Coucher Book (Volume I) in Chapter One. Comparisons between both volumes demonstrate how they were deployed to render a particular account of the abbey's past and present, as Furness Abbey was rendered coterminous with the Furness peninsula in terms of abbatial authority over its inhabitants increasingly defined in landed terms. This conception influenced how abbey territories beyond Furness were incorporated into a narrative of inexorable expansion and an understanding of the seigneurial authority of the abbey over those territories considered as if they were Furnesian.

As was the case with the Coucher Book (Volume I), an institutional identity of Furness Abbey emerged out of different processes of interaction with the political circumstances of the very different regions through which its perambulatorical organisation of material passed in time and space. The Coucher Book (Volume II) increasingly articulated the position of the abbey relative to its physical as well as political environment, even as past benefactors and their descendants found their place within this story of expansion. Yet, the importance of place as a natural idiom comparable to that employed towards its Furness territories was less pronounced in the Coucher Book (Volume II), because its relationship to non-Furnesian territories was defined principally by defining how Furnesian such territories were, both in proximity to Furness and in terms of the authority wielded by the abbey in such places. This contributed towards a memorial context which prioritised people over places within an increasingly seigniorial medium. Selective inclusion of witnesses, long after their passing and therefore practical relevance to the confirmation of grants, testifies to an imperative shared by the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412 to control the narrative behind those grants in the favour of Furness Abbey; alternative versions of that narrative could be preserved but ultimately subordinated to the agenda of rationalising how the Furnesian institutional identity of Furness Abbey came to be established beyond Furness. By the time of the compilation of the Coucher Book (Volume II), the sense of Furness Abbey as Furness, and Furness as the abbey, had become consolidated, and was actively deployed to bind its territories beyond Furness on the basis that they were effectively 'Furnesian'. A focused study of the Boyville and Huddleston benefactor families, and how different versions of memory and identity in relation to Furness Abbey emerged through their interactions with the abbey, will now be the subject of Chapter Three.

Chapter Three: The Significance of the Boyville and Huddleston benefactors in the Furness Coucher Book

Picture 15: Huddleston coat-of-arms in the initial to a quitclaim of Adam de Huddleston relating to Angerton Moss in the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (TNA: DL42/3, fol.132v), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

The discussion so far has explored the Furness Coucher Book as a whole, and now this chapter will focus on particular benefactor families, in order to elicit richer insights into how the abbey and its benefactors interpreted different versions of the same grants, and thus the monastic institutional memory should be displayed more clearly in the process. With this in mind, the Boyville and Huddleston benefactors present themselves as suitable case studies, both for the longevity of their benefactor relationship with the abbey and their shared location,

enabling changes in the relationship over time to be more accurately accounted for. The Boyvilles and Huddlestons were both noble families who were lords of Millom, in southern Cumberland, through whom the lordship descended without dispersal.[1] The earliest record of the Boyvilles concerns a grant by William de Meschines, lord of Egremont, to the father of Godard de Boyville in c.1134.[2] Godard de Boyville, also known as *Godardus Dapifer*,[3] and his son Arthur are among the earliest benefactors recorded in the Coucher Book,[4] and they became so closely associated with the Millom locality that Henry, son of Arthur de Boyville, became known as de Millom.[5] The de Milloms became extinct in the male line when Joan de Millom, daughter and sole heiress of Adam de Millom, married Sir John Huddleston in c.1250.[6] The Huddlestons had originated from Huddlestone in Yorkshire,[7] but quickly integrated into the local political environment of Millom, establishing a benefactor relationship with Furness Abbey that lasted right up to the compilation of the Coucher Book in c.1412.

The Coucher Book was exceptional among monastic cartularies for actively using coats-of-arms as devices for organising and presenting a collective memory of its benefactors, as described in Chapter One in comparison with the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster.[8] The compilers seem to have displayed familiarity with growing trends in rendering coats-of-arms as identifiers of nobility,[9] which they actively used to portray Furness Abbey as intimately connected with the Furness nobility. The coats-of-arms of the Boyvilles and Huddlestons are prominently displayed in the Coucher Book, indicating the importance placed by the compilers in c.1412 upon maintaining a memory of these benefactors upon terms determined by the abbey. This chapter will now begin to investigate these families in more detail in relation to material extant in the Coucher Book and associated original documents in relation to these families. The discussion will be structured according to the recorded benefactor relationships between Furness Abbey and the Boyvilles and Huddlestons, first by their appearance in Volume I and then of Volume II of the Coucher Book. In this way, it is hoped that the general themes identified in Chapters One and Two can be investigated more specifically in relation to these families, with

[1] C. Roy Huddleston, 'Millom Families: Part II', in *TCWAAS*, vol.93 (1993), p.87.
[2] H.S. Cowper, 'Millom Castle and the Hudlestons', in *TCWAAS*, vol.24 (1924), p.203.
[3] 'Godard the Seneschal', in *Early Yorkshire Charters: Volume 7, The Honour of Skipton*, ed. by William Farrer & Charles Travis Clay (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1947), reprinted 2013, pp.182–183; William Whellan, *The History and Topography of the Counties of Cumberland and Westmorland* (Pontefract: W. Whellan & Co., 1860), p.403.
[4] Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., p.523; Kirksanton text 2, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.178, V., p.514.
[5] Whellan, *The History of Cumberland and Westmorland*, p.404.
[6] Cowper, 'Millom Castle and the Hudlestons', p.203.
[7] Huddleston, 'Millom Families: Part II', p..87.
[8] See Chapter One, pp.70–74.
[9] Michael A. Hicks, *English Political Culture in the Fifteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.59; David Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility: Constructing Aristocracy in England and France, 900–1300* (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), pp.159–160.

the relative agency of the abbey and the benefactors assessed in turn. Since both of these families represented prominent landowners commanding political authority and power within their localities and that of the Furness area, they shall be referred to in this chapter as nobles. The core domains of the benefactors were located close to that of Furness Abbey, although they were technically non-Furnesian benefactors, with their patrimonies outside of the Furness peninsula itself. Nevertheless, the Coucher Book compilers treated them as if they were Furnesian benefactors by incorporating them as key features of the Furnesian paradigm by which the historical development and identity of Furness Abbey was conceived. Given how far the Coucher Book compilers sought to align Furness Abbey with the noble identities of its benefactors, and to assist in comprehending the influence of the Boyvilles and Huddlestons as noble benefactors upon the abbey itself, a wider discussion of this social status would be helpful at this point.

The definition of nobility as a concept to characterise mediaeval upper-class society has been subject to persistent historiographical debate since the Middle Ages itself,[10] arguably beginning in debates on the nature of chivalry in Arthurian literature and instructional manuals produced in the late-12th century.[11] Within an English historiographical context, the nobility were characterised more by their fixed territorial and legal presence within English political culture,[12] even posited as naturally emerging from an established social contract.[13] The idea of a gentry class emerging from within the nobility originated among social historians of the 14th century.[14] Peter Coss, for instance, declared that the gentry emerged in the 14th century out of the aspirations of a local landowning elite to achieve social mobility and local political influence.[15] Nevertheless, gentry classes have been identified in multiple mediaeval historical contexts by these terms, being identified as 'gentlemen farmers' below the ranks of earls in 10th-11th-century England,[16] or as emerging in the mid-12th century as a result of transforming expectations of the military and social power exhibited by those aspiring to nobility.[17] It has

[10] David Crouch, *The English Aristocracy, 1070–1272: A Social Transformation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), pp.37–39, pp.193–195.
[11] Ibid., pp.195–198.
[12] Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp.173–174, pp.198–pp.204.
[13] Henry J.S. Maine, *Ancient Law* (London: John Murray, 1861), p.79; Frederic William Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1897, reprinted 1960), p.398; Frank M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066–1166*, 2nd edition (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), pp.7–28; Maxine Berg, *A Woman in History: Eileen Power, 1889–1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp.208–209.
[14] Ibid., p.183.
[15] Peter R. Coss, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambride: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.58–65, p.239.
[16] John Blair, *Early Medieval Surrey: Landholding, Church & Settlement before 1300* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Limited, 1991), pp.160–161.
[17] John Gillingham, 'Thegns and Knights in Eleventh–Century England: Who was Then the Gentleman?', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, vol.5 (1995), pp.129–131, p.134.

since been recognised that the nobility were not necessarily a homogeneous group analogous to modern concepts of class, but characterised by a 'cultural diffusion' of ideas and values associated with being noble.[18] Indeed, nobles could access to varying degrees commonly shared upper-class assumptions of what it meant to be noble, exemplified in David Crouch's theory of knightly 'avatars'.[19]

A singular definition of nobility cannot therefore encompass the multitude of socio-cultural assumptions associated with being noble, but nonetheless it can serve a useful function in identifying an important social group for the purposes of this thesis as being characterised by possession and exchange of landed interests. This underscores how shared understandings of what constituted a noble identity were represented in the cartulary record under investigated here. The connection between noble identity and piety will also be addressed here, with Furness Abbey acting as a conduit by which shared expressions of noble identity could be exhibited among the Furness nobility. For the most part, the Boyvilles and Huddlestons can be characterised as gentry, because despite their occasional involvement in national political affairs, they chiefly expressed their noble identity through their association with Furness Abbey, and their territorial power was not as pronounced as that of some magnates. Nevertheless, insofar as they were perceived as such by the Coucher Book compilers, towards fostering an understanding of Furness Abbey that aligned with their interests and perception of their social standing within the Furness area, I will refer to them here as nobles.

The connection between nobility and piety has also been appreciated, with Constance Bouchard demonstrating how Burgundian nobility closely associated the extent of their political influence with the reformed piety exemplified by monastic orders such as the Cistercians.[20] From the perspective of the nobility, David Crouch illustrates how the noble identity of the Counts of Eu was expressed through their 14th-century seigneurial cartulary, by their prodigious patronage of monastic houses across England and Normandy over six generations of the family, principally at Eu, Foucarmont and Hastings.[21] Patterns of monastic patronage among the nobility was preoccupied for most of the Middle Ages with a concern for resolving conflicts over property rights, as well as demonstrating pious noble largesse as a conspicuous component

[18] Georges Duby, *The Chivalrous Society*, trans. Rodney H. Hilton (London, 1977), pp.171–177, cited in Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, p.208; see wider discussion on the development of the idea of cultural diffusion in Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp.207–209.
[19] Ibid., p.80.
[20] Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter & Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca Cornell University Press, 1987), pp.225–229, pp.247–248, pp.251–253.
[21] David Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000–1300* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp.311–313, p.321.

of their identity.[22] As well as seeking to associate themselves with new fashions in reformed monasticism, a more direct level of noble intervention in monastic life can be observed throughout the period up to c.1412, such as acting as advocates, requesting services from or acceptance into the monastic community.[23] The benefactor relationship was, however, still very much one of 'give-and-take', to participate in long-term connections that embedded monasteries further into noble networks and even began to affect how monastic communities perceived of themselves.[24] Longstanding noble connections arguably grew in importance for monasteries like Furness by c.1412, as late mediaeval patronage patterns shifted from rural to urban monastic houses, resulting in a fragmentation of the traditional benefactor base that rural houses depended upon.[25] As a result, Furness Abbey cultivated its place within a shared network of conventional noble piety in Furness that mutually reinforced pre-existing notions of noble identity during a period of change for both parties in c.1412.

Existing monastic scholarship on benefactor relations with English monasteries has tended to emphasise the landed nature of their transactions, reflecting the propensity of material contained within cartularies themselves.[26] However, recent scholarly trends are seeking to transcend the prevailing paradigm of cartularies as primarily repositories of property, and how richer insights can be obtained through reimagining how such records were used, often in conjunction with other genres. In the example of the chronicle cartulary of San Vincenzo of Volturno by John of Vincentio (1144), emphasising the landed history of the monastery in the chronicle element influenced how the monastery remembered its benefactors in the cartulary element.[27] Physical representations within the monastery itself have also been considered, regarding the changing nature of aristocratic burials within Cistercian churches by the early-13th century, as benefactors sought burial close to the galilee porches of churches such as that of Isabella de Roos at Rievaulx Abbey in 1264.[28] In consideration of 10th-century monastic chroniclers and cartulary compilers, Patrick Geary claims that they were often engaged in 'suppressing or transforming the past…in terms of presentist needs' when dealing with their

[22] Jonathan Lyon, 'Nobility and Monastic Patronage: The View from Outside the Monastery', in *Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West: Volumes 1 and 2*, ed. by Alison I. Beach & Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), p.848.
[23] Ibid., pp.857-858, pp.861-862.
[24] Ibid., pp.861-862.
[25] Elisabeth Lusset & Bert Roest, 'Late Medieval Monasticism: Historiography and Prospects', in *Medieval Monasticism in the Latin West: Volumes 1 and 2*, ed. by Alison I. Beach & Isabelle Cochelin (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), pp.930-931.
[26] Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, p.46, pp.54–55; Bates, 'Charters and Historians of Britain and Ireland', pp.2–3; Rasmussen, 'Monastic Benefactors in England and Denmark', pp.78–79.
[27] Hofmann, 'Artikulationsformen historischen Wissens in der lateinischen Historiographie des hohen und spaten Mittelalters', in *La literature historiographie des origins a 1500, Vol.1: Grundriss der romanischen Literaturen des Mittelalters XI/1*, ed. by A. Biermann et.al., pp.427-428, cited in Roest, 'Later Medieval Institutional History', p.278, p.280.
[28] Megan Cassidy–Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2003), pp.232–233.

benefactors.[29] This has been modified and expanded upon in specific case studies of cartularies such as the Rievaulx Cartulary, where memory was 'an important tool in resolving conflicts and redefining relationships in new circumstances'.[30] The contemporaneous focus on the manipulation of memory in scholarship has been applied to modify the stereotype of monasteries as isolated from the communities they served,[31] which has been a particular focus in Cistercian scholarship for some time.[32] Regarding monasteries located along the frontiers of Latin Christendom,[33] recent work on Irish and eastern European monasteries has illustrated how competition for memory of the benefactor relationship was often differentiated on the basis of political, cultural and even ethnic lines.[34] My study of the Boyvilles and Huddlestons adds a new dimension to these debates by considering how the retrospective recollection of benefactor relationships by monastic compilers can be combined with the collection and appreciation of contemporary contests over the definition of institutional memory and identity for European monasteries. In this, I hope that the dynamic character of mediaeval cartularies will be highlighted, to demonstrate how they could be used for more than practical purposes.

[29] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p.6.
[30] Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.64.
[31] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp.189–190.
[32] Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*, p.378.
[33]David Abulafia, 'Introduction: Seven Types of Ambiguity, c.1100–c.1500', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by David Abulafia & Nora Berend (Ashgate Publishing Limited: Aldershot, 2002), p.34.
[34] Brendan Smith, 'The Frontiers of Church Reform in the British Isles, 1170–1230', in *Medieval Frontiers: Concepts and Practices*, ed. by David Abulafia & Nora Berend (Ashgate Publishing Limited: Aldershot, 2002), p.244, p.250; Emilia Jamroziak, 'Cistercians and Border Conflicts: Some Comparisons between the Experiences of Scotland and Pomerania', in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages*, ed. by Janet Burton & Karen Stober (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp.40–43.

The Boyvilles in Volume I

From the outset of their appearance in the Coucher Book (Volume I), the role of the Boyvilles as Furness Abbey benefactors illustrates how far the compilers were prepared to go to fit them into an historicised narrative beyond their time, but also their continuing influence upon the collective memory of the abbey even in c.1412. The Coucher Book (Volume I) texts focus particularly on the role of the Boyvilles in conceding to Furness Abbey mining rights in Orgrave, in the vicinity of Dalton-in-Furness. The only Orgrave deed in the Coucher Book for which an original document exists is the agreement between Abbot Robert de Denton of Furness and Thomas Fleming of c.1230 on boundaries for mining beneath his land.[35] Its place here is to illustrate the exact nature of the benefactor relationship between the Boyvilles and Furness Abbey in the Orgrave area in the early-13th century and how the narrative of that relationship altered between c.1230 and c.1412. The original mentions William, son of Robert de Boyville, as a neighbouring noble to Thomas Fleming, with claims to mining rights in Orgrave implied by the close proximity of their houses.[36] William de Boyville himself is also mentioned as a witness to the agreement, but significantly is placed last, possibly delineating the position of the Boyvilles within the local political society of Orgrave.[37] Since the Boyvilles were not technically Furnesian nobles, this could indicate that their presence in Orgrave was accounted for mostly by the presence of iron ore reserves,[38] not on account of particularly close relationships with neighbouring nobles in the area. Since the witness lists for the rest of the Orgrave texts do not survive,[39] it is difficult to be certain that the Boyvilles were indeed regarded as less than significant to Orgrave political society, but this does not mean that they did not play an important role as witnesses to charters within this area. For instance, Boyvilles appear in charters in Elliscales and Merton,[40] and William de Boyville is listed in the witness list of a 1234 grant by Walter de Lacy as *sensecallo eiusdem Abbatis*.[41]

The Boyvilles were therefore able to wield significant levels of political influence within the monastic community at Furness Abbey, and their association with the core domain of the abbey further underlies just how close the benefactor connection had become. As far as their

[35] Grant of mining rights in Elliscales (1222), TNA, DL25/394; Orgrave text 30 *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.99, R., p.250; see Chapter One, pp.77–81.
[36] Grant of mining rights in Elliscales (1222), TNA, DL25/394.
[37] Ibid..
[38] Fell, *The Early Iron Industry in Furness*, p.22.
[39] Orgrave text 42 *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.99, R., p.259.
[40] Elliscales texts 1–5, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.103–105, V. & R., pp.261–267; Elliscales text 9, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol.60, V. & R., pp.270–271.
[41] 'Steward to the aforesaid Abbot', Pre–Coucher text 9, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.4, V., pp.18–20; Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, pp.198–199.

interaction with Furness Abbey was concerned in the case of this deed, the Boyvilles were recognised by the compilers from an early stage as an important political element of Orgrave political society which the abbey needed to negotiate with in order to establish firm rights to its iron ore reserves. In spite of the low positioning of William de Boyville in the witness list, the abbey promised that *numquam fodi faciemus nec capiemus ferri minam infra curtem domus suae, neque in sua portione culturae que jacet inter domum suam et domum Willelmi de Boyville*.[42] The necessity to seek his consent, coupled with the close proximity of their properties, indicted that he was a figure of importance in the locality. The political prominence of the Boyvilles in the Orgrave and Elliscales area is further underlined by the grant and confirmation of Hugh de Morisby, heir of Simon de Boyville, of iron ore rights beneath his land in Elliscales,[43] implying that the interest of the Boyvilles in maintaining mining rights in the area was undiminished and possibly connected with that of the earlier jurisdiction outlined in the Thomas Fleming agreement. This indicates that the Boyvilles exercised significant political influence at the heart of Furness, despite their non-Furnesian provenance. Furness Abbey therefore had to engage with the Boyvilles on terms which the abbey had not initially chosen, but this was not reflected in the later recollection of the c.1230 agreement, as the exclusion of the witness list and juxtaposition of the deed within the Coucher Book alongside grants of mining rights in Orgrave unrelated to the Boyvilles attests.

Given the importance of the iron industry for Furness Abbey behind this Boyville benefaction, consideration of wider scholarship on the role of monasteries in mediaeval iron production, and by extension in developing marginal land such as motivated many benefactions to monasteries such as Furness, seems appropriate. Population and economic expansion in 13th-14th-century England suggest that exploitation of iron reserves across the country enabled settlement of marginal lands.[44] Michael Postan proposed that marginal land would be the easiest land to cultivate in a period of agricultural expansion.[45] Although critics claim that he overlooked the multiple uses to which marginal land could be put beyond the agricultural,[46] Postan did not regard industrial and commercial activities as being insignificant, including the

[42] 'We will not mine nor take iron ore within his courtyard, nor in his portion of field which lies between his house and the house of William Boyville', Grant of mining rights in Elliscales (1222), TNA, DL25/394.
[43] Elliscales text 1, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol.103, V., pp.261–262.
[44] Alexandra Sapoznik, 'Rural Industry and the Peasant Agrarian Economy: A Study of the Iron Industry in Medieval England', in *Custom and Commercialisation in English Rural Society: Revisiting Tawney and Postan*, Studies in Regional and Local History, vol.14, ed. by J.P. Bowen & A.T. Brown (Hatfield: University of Hertfordshire Press, 2016), p.56, p.69.
[45] Michael M. Postan, *Essays on Medieval Agriculture & General Problems of the Medieval Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), p.14.
[46] Mark Bailey, *A Marginal Economy?: East Anglian breckland in the later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), cited in Sapoznik, 'Rural Industry and the Peasant Agrarian Economy', p.55.

contributions of monasteries.[47] Indeed, without significant iron capacity to produce agricultural tools and other implements, marginal land would likely have never been settled.[48] Iron was in great demand throughout the Middle Ages, especially for monastic institutions, who were themselves consumers as well as producers of iron. For example, bar iron purchased by Robertsbridge Abbey in 1360 was used to repair carts,[49] and in 1308-1309 Prior Henry Eastry bought 15cwt of Spanish iron for works at Canterbury.[50] Royal records reveal similarly reveal considerable demand for iron, such as the 500,000 crossbow bolts purchased by the English Crown for wars in Wales, Scotland and France between 1223 and 1297.[51] On a wider European level, growing demand for iron ore reserves from Styria, Carinthia and the Basque provinces was matched by restrictive mining practices designed to protect seigniorial rights to the ore,[52] and arguably to increase its price on the open market. For example, Styria turned out only 2,000 tons of iron ore per annum in the early-14th century, while Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV conceded in the 1356 Golden Bull that mining rights devolved to the lordship of the territories of the Empire, facilitating a trickle-down effect in noble exploitation of reserves in their own territories.[53] The development of silver mines in Goslar and Freiburg enabled the Holy Roman Emperors to dominate northern Italy in the 12th century, and output from the tin mines of Devon and Cornwall rose tenfold from c.1150 to 1338, and millions of tons of iron were extracted in the 13th century to build European cathedrals, while towns flourished off its export.[54] The importance of iron within the mediaeval economy was clearly immense, and Furness Abbey stood as one of the principal providers of some of the most desirable iron ore in Europe.[55]

Considering the contribution of the monasteries to the mediaeval economy as a whole, it has been argued that they pioneered new industrial techniques and management practices from the late-11th century onwards that enabled a transition from a 'feudal' to an early modern economy to progress.[56] This complemented earlier scholarship that asserted how the establishment of a seigneurial monopoly over resources by the monastic orders enabled them to

[47] Michael M. Postan, *The medieval economy and society: An economic history of Britain, 1100–1500* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p.183.
[48] Sapoznik, 'Rural Industry and the Peasant Agrarian Economy', p.56.
[49] Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.343.
[50] Ibid., p.343.
[51] Sapoznik, 'Rural Industry and the Peasant Agrarian Economy', p.58.
[52] Gerald A.J. Hodgett, *A Social and Economic History of Medieval Europe* (London: Routledge, 1972), p.160.
[53] Ibid., pp.160–161.
[54] Ibid., pp.157–158.
[55] Sapoznik, 'Rural Industry and the Peasant Agrarian Economy', p.58.
[56] Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilisation*, (New York: Harper, 1934), and Lynn White Junior, *Medieval Religion and Technology*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), cited in Adam Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship, Seigneurial Power and the Commercialization of Milling in Medieval England* (Ashgate: University of Wollongong, 2014), p.307.

experiment with new industrial practices and augment yields from their possessions.[57] By developing the industrial potential of their estates, monasteries were able to create a surplus iron supply for export and generate new markets as part of the 'internal colonisation' of uncultivated land which they were engaged in.[58] The Cistercians have long been seen as agricultural pioneers,[59] although historians have also emphasised how their 'practical-minded management and admirable flexibility' enabled them to become industrial pioneers as well.[60] The Cistercians certainly took the initiative early on in opening up mineral reserves on their estates,[61] and the development of an entrepreneurial, even ruthless, streak within their approach to estate management can be observed in the hostile reception amongst some contemporaries.[62] The scale of iron working on Cistercian monastic sites has been documented in various archaeological surveys, with Rievaulx Abbey arguably 'at the vanguard' in developing blast furnace technology at Laskill by the eve of its dissolution in 1538.[63] Monasteries in West and South Yorkshire, such as Fountains Abbey and Kirkstall Abbey, are among the best documented sites of industrial exploitation of iron ore reserves,[64] demonstrating the immense importance of the industrial activites of the monasteries at a regional level. On a European scale, Fountains Abbey exported its lead reserves in Nidderdale for international export via Hull, Culross Abbey engaged almost 200 ships in transporting its coal exports and the silver mines of Kutna Hora enabled Sedlac Abbey to make a marked impact on European monetary circulation after they were exploited from 1282.[65]

Nevertheless, the influence of the monasteries over the development of new industrial and agricultural techniques can be exaggerated, since different motives and priorities in developing their estate can be observed across monastic orders.[66] Despite the revival of manual labour as a monastic ideal in the 12th century, monastics themselves, even the Cistercians, were

[57] Marc Bloch, 'The Advent and Triumph of the Water Mill', in *Land and Work in Medieval Europe*, ed. by Marc Bloch, trans. by J.E. Anderson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), pp.143–147, p.152, pp.156–157.
[58] Robert Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1994), p.4, pp.153–155.
[59] See, for example, Richard D. Oram, 'Holy Frontiersmen: Twelfth– and Early–Thirteenth–century Monastic Colonisation and Socio–economic Change in Poland and Scotland', in *Britain and Poland–Lithuania: Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795*, ed. by R. Unger (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p.111; this interpretation has been specifically applied to Furness Abbey by Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', p.85.
[60] Lekai, *The Cistercians: Ideals and Reality*, p.321.
[61] Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.343.
[62] Ibid., pp.300–303, p.356, pp.394–396.
[63] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp.178–179.
[64] Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.344, p.346; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp.178–179.
[65] Ibid., p.181.
[66] Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship*, p.307.

often not themselves undertaking manual labour,[67] and they were often motivated primarily towards satisfying the immediate needs of the monastery before enabling export of goods to market.[68] In the case of the Cistercians, prohibitions from the General Chapter on receiving revenue from land, mills and markets were not officially overturned until the early-13th century; therefore early investments in water-powered industry such as iron mining 'cannot have been geared towards market consumption'.[69] In most instances, Cistercian monasteries appear to have been responding to market demand for their iron produce rather than shaping the market in pursuit of their commercial interests. In the Forest of Dean, Flaxley Abbey was permitted to mine there soon after its foundation, becoming one of the chief iron providers for the English Crown,[70] while exploitation of iron reserves in the Weald by monasteries such as Boxley Abbey was driven by satisfaction of domestic demand in the context of expanding rural populations more than seigneurial consolidation of a distinctive plan for development of these resources.[71] The iron mining industry was dominated by small-scale peasant enterprises across the country,[72] and there is little evidence to suggest that the monasteries were the key drivers behind the expansion of English mining activities in the 12th-13th centuries, instead appearing as one of many agents in facilitating economic expansion.[73] Even though blast furnaces producing cast iron began to appear in south-east England after 1490, there is no evidence that monasteries played a major part in their introduction,[74] contradicting the notion of a seigneurial monopoly or a distinctively monastic approach to resource exploitation. The monasteries played an important part in contributing towards new industrial technology and stimulating economic exchange, but they were not great innovators in iron mining or industrial practice and instead exploited techniques used long before their arrival on the scene.[75]

As far as identifying a typically Cistercian industrial enterprise is concerned, to illustrate similar socio-economic considerations governing the benefaction in Orgrave, the well-documented case of the mill on the River Arrow in Worcestershire built by Bordesley Abbey can serve as a good example. In 1175, a timber mill was built on this site, but after burning down within a few years of its establishment it was rebuilt. Excavations revealed evidence for one of the earliest water-powered metalworking mills in England, and documentation shows that it was regularly refurbished throughout the 13th century. The mill was clearly regarded by

[67] Ibid., p.307; Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp.160–161.
[68] Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship*, p.307.
[69] Ibid., p.336.
[70] Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.343; Hodgett, *A Social and Economic History of Medieval Europe*, p.160.
[71] Ibid., p.343; Sapoznik, 'Rural Industry and the Peasant Agrarian Economy', p.65.
[72] Ibid., p.69.
[73] Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, pp.354–355.
[74] Ibid., p.347.
[75] Ibid., p.355; Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship*, p.307.

Bordesley Abbey as capable of making a significant return on investment, producing items for monastic use such as knives, tools and nails, as well as items for market consumption such as weaponry, buckles and brooches. Similarities in this industrial development process exist in the establishment of the mill at Orgrave by the imperative to consolidate a wider area for encompassing the industrial activities associated with the site in the Coucher Book.[76] Unfortunately, details on the development of this particular mill are lacking, and the picture of monastic mining practices throughout Furness in general is very incomplete, despite the prominence of iron ore within the peninsula.[77] According to the 1292 *Taxatio* copied into the Coucher Book, the iron mines do not appear to have been worked to a great extent,[78] even the income from iron ore was assessed at £6 13s 4d, the highest single source of revenue in the *Taxatio*.[79] Most likely, the sheer value of quality haematite did not induce Furness Abbey to release too much iron ore onto the market at once, or to retain the iron for its own use in agriculture and grange maintenance.[80] Nevertheless, its value is demonstrated when in a raid of 1316 the Scots were *maxime delectabantur multitudine ferri, quam ibi invenerunt, quia non est Scotia ferro dives*.[81]

The 'bump of acquisitiveness' which Beck attributes to the enthusiasm of Furness Abbey to obtain mining rights within its Furness jurisdiction was not unique to this abbey.[82] Monastic institutions across England in the 13th-14th centuries were eager to exploit the potential for mineral deposits on their lands and,[83] amidst the general paucity of mediaeval records on mining practices,[84] monastic records maintained a particularly detailed record of how their mining rights came to be acquired. The Coucher Book, especially, has been highly valued by historians for the particular insight it offers on techniques of mediaeval iron mining otherwise not attested elsewhere.[85] For instance, one particular Orgrave deed describes the mining practice employed there as *ad fossam ubi foditur mineria*.[86] Comparing this to mediaeval bell pit

[76] Ibid., pp.220–221.
[77] Ibid., p.221.
[78] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.235.
[79] Taxation text 2, *CB Vol. I*, Part III, fols.265–266, V. & R., p.633–636; Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship*, p.220
[80] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', p.77.
[81] 'The Scots especially delighted in the abundance of iron which they found there, because Scotland is not rich in iron', in *The Chronicle of Lanercost* (1272–1326), trans. Sir Herbert Maxwell (Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1913), in 'Chronicle of Lanercost', *De Re Militarii*, https://www.deremilitari.org/RESOURCES/SOURCES/lanercost.htm, [accessed 13/06/2020].
[82] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.199.
[83] Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship*, p.308; Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.343.
[84] Sapoznik, 'Rural Industry and the Peasant Agrarian Economy', p.56.
[85] Fell, *The Early Iron Industry in Furness*, p.22; John Christopher Atkinson, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, p.229, pp.238–239, re: Orgrave text 3, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fols.94–95, V. & R., p.229, and Orgrave text 14, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.96, V. & R., pp.238–239; Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', pp.76–77.
[86] 'To the trench where ore is dug', Orgrave text 14 *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.96, V. & R., pp.238–239.

practices in Cleveland, John Christopher Atkinson posited that this suggested a continuous trench system presupposing a mineral reserve very close to the surface and easily extractable.[87] This would have rendered the iron ore deposit especially desirable for Furness Abbey and explains why such great lengths were taken to ascertain the exact parameters of its mining rights in Orgrave.[88] Atkinson also supposed that the monastic mill at Orgrave represented in the Coucher Book likely used running water not only to wash the ore but for powering the furnaces,[89] although beyond cursory reference given in the relevant Orgrave deed to *minerium lavandum*,[90] there is no documentary evidence to support the existence of a forge there.[91]

In the case of the series of Elliscales texts, an additional imperative appears to have been to link the mining activities there with the economic demands of the Furness Abbey grange at nearby Lindal-in-Furness, judging by the build-up of landed interests in this area represented in the Coucher Book.[92] It seems clear that the expansion of iron mining activities by Furness Abbey coincided with and fuelled agricultural expansion within Furness.[93] In this sense, Furness Abbey was indeed typical of other monasteries in how it used its iron ore reserves to further its own economic expansion. This has important implications in terms of how Furness Abbey came to be defined, since it came to identify its right to the iron as being axiomatic with the core Furness domain it was promoting in the Coucher Book. The abbey can be seen as atypical among iron-ore producing monasteries because of the significant reserves it held within Furness.[94] However, the same value of iron ore that lured the abbey to exploit reserves on its doorstep also induced local nobles to prospect for iron, and if mismanaged these relationships could deteriorate easily.

The necessity for Furness Abbey to integrate itself within the local political network of which the Boyvilles were a part in Orgrave and Elliscales is further indicated by the grant by Gilbert, brother of William de Boyville, of two carucates of land in Orgrave to the abbey that had previously been granted to him by his brother.[95] Establishing connections with a junior member of the Boyville family proved critical to enabling the abbey to remain on good terms with William de Boyville, as well as expanding the benefactor circle of which Gilbert de

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[87] Atkinson, *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, pp.238–239, re: Orgrave text 14, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.96, V. & R., pp.238–239.
[88] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', p.73.
[89] Atkinson, *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, p.229.
[90] 'Washing the ore', Orgrave text 3, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fols.94–95, V. & R., p.229.
[91] Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship*, p.221.
[92] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', p.60, p.75, p.78.
[93] Ibid., p.73, p.77, p.85.
[94] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', pp.73-78; Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship*, pp.221-223.
[95] Orgrave text 42 *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.99, R., p.259; for a genealogy of the Boyvilles of Millom, see Mary C. Fair, 'Notes on Early Copeland', in *TCWAAS*, vol.37 (1937), p.84, pp.86–88.

Boyville was a part.[96] This is shown by the subsequent grant and confirmation of Gilbert de Bardsea, as he was styled in this Elliscales deed, to the abbey of all his lands in Elliscales acquired by gift from his mother Margaret de Bardsea.[97] Furness Abbey needed to utilise its existing benefactor connection with the Bardseas to strengthen its benefactor connection with the Boyvilles, but only by acknowledging its role as intercessor in the dynastic affairs of both families, of which the grants in Orgrave and Elliscales were a part. The abbey, in other words, needed to adjust to the exigencies of local noble politics and to present itself as an effective arena for enacting dynastic affairs as well as expressing familial piety through association with the abbey.

The strength of the benefactor connection established with the Boyvilles within Furness is demonstrated by the succession of Elliscales texts attributed to Hugh de Morisby, heir of Simon de Boyville.[98] Their placement at the beginning of the Elliscales texts in the Coucher Book implies that by c.1412 the Boyville presence in Elliscales encountered by Furness Abbey in the 13th century was recognised as being of primary importance to the narrative of how the abbey expanded its influence in Elliscales. If the order in which these Elliscales texts are represented in the Coucher Book is chronologically consistent, then the initial grant and confirmation of iron ore mining rights in his lands in Elliscales was checked by a consequent agreement with the abbey concerning the extraction of iron ore on his land.[99] The outcome of the negotiations is presented in the Coucher Book as particularly favourable to Furness Abbey, with a general quitclaim by Hugh de Morisby of all rights and suits concerning his lands in Elliscales, grant of full power to extract iron ore wherever it could be found beneath his lands,[100] and a compensation awarded to him to receive supply of iron ore for one hearth.[101] The relatively dynamic negotiations are preserved in the narrative of c.1412, but are arranged on terms which ultimately benefited the abbey more than the heir of the Boyvilles, most likely implying that the iron ore rights were seen as axiomatic with the seigniorial influence of Furness Abbey. The Boyvilles were being presented more as supplicants than benefactors by this point in the late-13th century. The subsequent layers of memory, while detectable within the Coucher Book itself, are nonetheless subsumed beneath a wider agenda on the part of the compilers to

[96] For the dynastic connections between the Boyvilles and Bardseas, see Rev. W.S. Sykes, 'Ulf and his descendents', in *TCWAAS*, vol.41 (1941), p.127, p.141, and John F. Curwen, 'Some Notes on the de Bardesey Family of Bardsea Hall, Furness', in *TCWAAS*, vol.6 (1906), p.177.
[97] Elliscales text 7 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.104–105, V. & R, p.268.
[98] Elliscales texts 1–5 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.103–105, V. & R, pp.261–267.
[99] Agreement represented in Elliscales text 2 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol.103, V. & R, p.262; the second half of the chirograph for this text has not survived.
[100] Elliscales text 3 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.103–104, V. & R., pp.265–266.
[101] Elliscales text 7 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol.105, V. & R., p.267.

present the texts in a manner that exemplified Furness Abbey as the principal landed power in Furness in c.1412.

The Boyville family exercised a much wider presence on the Furnesian political scene than in Orgrave, although this is the principal area where the family is remembered within the Coucher Book as benefactors. This could testify to a desire on the part of the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412 to define the Boyvilles as non-Furnesian benefactors in order to consolidate their definition of what constituted a Furnesian benefactor within the core domain of Furness Abbey. Reconciling the influence of non-Furnesian benefactors within this domain formed a critical component of the Coucher Book project to redefine the historical narrative of Furness Abbey in accordance with a 15th-century understanding of the monastery as intrinsically connected with Furness.

The papal bulls of Eugenius III and Clement III played a similar role in consolidating a Furnesian self-conception for the abbey in c.1412, by connecting the extra-Furnesian territories of the abbey directly to its Furnesian base.[102] These bulls most concerned the Coucher Book compilers by confirming to Furness Abbey the possessions it had accrued by that point in time, emphasising the importance of the Furnesian possessions especially by c.1412. From this vantage point, the inclusion of the lands in Kirksanton and Horrum, near Millom, granted by Robert de Boyville, and half of Fosse granted by Godard de Boyville, in the Eugenius III bull of 1152 are presented as one among many possessions confirmed to the abbey by that point.[103] In particular, the placing of the Kirksanton and Horrum grant immediately after the foundation charter confirmation in the bull affirms the importance of the Boyvilles as being among the earliest benefactors to Furness Abbey, but this juxtaposition inherently prioritises the Furnesian territories at the expense of the Boyvilles themselves.[104] The papal bull itself, interestingly, narrates the possessions of Furness Abbey in a perambulatory fashion, extending north from Furness through the Boyville lands towards Egremont before returning back to Furness and then towards the Isle of Man.[105] In this narration, the Boyville lands form a notable geographical waypoint in this perambulation, demonstrating the importance of the family within the mid-12th-century institutional memory to recalling the lands which Furness Abbey possessed by 1152. By the mid-12th century, papal chancery proceedings had developed increasingly bureaucratic means of processing requests from across Christendom, imitating petitions in how bulls were administered. This would indicate that perambulatory recollections of familial land grants were

[102] Eugenius III text 1 *CB Vol. I*, Part III, fol.246, V. & R., pp.591–595; Churches text 17 *CB Vol. I*, Part III, fols.276–278, V. & R., pp.666–668.
[103] Eugenius III text 1 *CB Vol. I*, Part III, fol.246, V. & R., pp.591–595.
[104] Ibid., p.593.
[105] Ibid., pp.593–594.

more deeply ingrained at Furness Abbey than has hitherto been appreciated, and that the impetus for organising material across the Coucher Book as a whole likely came from Furness more than a desire to imitate similar perambulatory models in cartularies such as the Great Cowcher.[106] The Coucher Book was thus capable of encapsulating earlier iterations of institutional memory and adapting them for different purposes by c.1412.

A particularly Irish Sea element to the institutional identity of Furness Abbey is evoked in the Eugenius III bull, as the priority for recollection is accorded to grants in Calder by William FitzDuncan, nephew of David I of Scotland,[107] and to the detailed recollection of grants in the Isle of Man in connection with the foundation of its daughter-house at Rushen.[108] By contrast, the narration of possessions in the Clement III bull of 1190 concentrates especially on the granges of Furness Abbey, with a significant emphasis on the Furnesian possessions.[109] The only significant exceptions are Boyville grants in Kirksanton, Horrum and Fosse, and of one house in York.[110] This could point towards a significant change in conceptions by the monastics of Furness Abbey by c.1190 as orientating increasingly away from an Irish Sea dimension and beginning to conceive of itself according to a Furnesian dimension. Yet, the Boyvilles were still remembered in the late-12th century as being of particular significance for their early benefaction of Furness Abbey and therefore formed a significant part of the historical understanding of the abbey despite not technically being Furnesian nobles. By c.1412, with the Boyvilles replaced by the Huddlestons, the imperative to remember the Boyvilles as a significant component of this historical understanding had diminished. Arguably of greater significance for this papal bull was how it was reinterpreted by the Coucher Book compilers to distinguish Furnesian from non-Furnesian territories more clearly. The Boyvilles were therefore used as an 'othering' device for the institutional identity to be perceived, in relation to this papal bull, as non-Furnesian, by being appended into the list of exceptions to the principal focus on Furnesian lands portrayed on a topographical basis. The Boyvilles had served their purpose in defining the limits of the Furnesian domain of Furness Abbey and their importance to later times was diminished.

[106] See Chapter One, p.71
[107] Ibid., p.593.
[108] Ibid., 594.
[109] Churches text 17 *CB Vol. I*, Part III, fols.276–278, V. & R., pp.666–667.
[110] Ibid., p.667.

The Huddlestons in Volume I

Where the Boyvilles made multiple appearances in the Coucher Book (Volume I), the sole appearance of their Huddleston successors here as benefactors in their own right is in Angerton Moss, near Broughton-in-Furness, on the north-western extremity of the Furness peninsula.[111] This was a region which was renowned for its significant peat reserves, which constitutes much of the thrust behind securing this territory for the abbey as represented in the Angerton Moss texts.[112] Because peat exploitation was a critical driver behind many of the land acquisitions of Furness Abbey, it is worthwhile to consider how the exploitation of peat contributed to the wider environmental and economic impact of mediaeval monasteries.

Peat was highly valued in the Middle Ages as fuel and fertiliser,[113] extracted at first along accessible coastal or riverine deposits in the Early and High Middle Ages, limited to local consumption.[114] However, by the Late Middle Ages, urban and commercial expansion, with the consequent demand for fuel from charcoal, wood and other sources, led to greater exploitation of larger peat reserves, especially in moorlands that had been harder to work earlier in the period.[115] Much recent scholarship on mediaeval peat extraction has focused on the Low Countries, particularly in the Meuse-Rhine delta, where mass peat extraction resulting from land reclamation efforts has been claimed responsible for causing significant environmental damage.[116] In English scholarship, the focus has been upon monastic competition for rights to peat extraction in the Norfolk Broads, an area of large peat lakes created as a direct result of peat extraction during the Middle Ages.[117] Competition among monasteries for determining the extent of their rights resulted in frequent litigation over boundaries, especially as land reclamation resulting from their activities in this area intensified.[118] Nevertheless, the dominance of monastic records as a result of this competition for claims may have obscured much of our understanding and appreciation of the reclamation and peat extraction that

[111] Shannon, 'Angerton', *VCH Cumbria,* https://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/sites/default/files/Angerton%20(30.4.15).pdf, [accessed 04 October 2018].
[112] Angerton Moss texts 3–8, *CB Vol.I,* fols.127–130, V. and R., Part II, pp.324–332.
[113] Eduard A. Koster & Tim Favier, 'Peatlands, Past and Present', in *The Physical Geography of Western Europe,* ed. by Eduard A. Koster (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p.175.
[114] Koster & Favier, 'Peatlands, Past and Present', p.175.
[115] Ibid, p.175.
[116] Piet N. Nienhuis, *Environmental History of the Rhine–Meuse Delta: An ecological story on evolving human–environmental relations coping with climate change and sea–level rise* (Nijmegen: Springer Science, 2008), p.58.
[117] Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.75; Iason Jongepier, Tim Soens, Erik Thoen, Veerle Van Eetvelde, Philippe Crombe & Machteid Bats, 'The brown gold: a reappraisal of medieval peat marshes in Northern Flanders (Belgium)', *Water History*, vol.3 (2011), pp.90–91.
[118] Ibid., p.75.

occurred before the advent of the monasteries.[119] This has implications, particularly for the Cistercian Order, concerning how far a particularly monastic approach can be corroborated in the written record,[120] and if such an approach was in general new and distinctive in the context of the mediaeval economy as a whole.[121] Here my discussion concerns how the records produced by monasteries can reveal not only the economic priorities of the monastics themselves, but also an historical interpretation of how they acquired their peat reserves. Furness Abbey was most interested in peat extraction in order to power industrial processes,[122] iron mining chief among them, and especially in relation to Angerton Moss, agricultural cultivation and salt extraction for use as a preservative.[123] The Coucher Book indicates that *salinae* on Angerton Moss, to dam up the high water for evaporation and extracting the salt,[124] developed as a significant industrial concern by the time Angerton Moss was acquired for the abbey by 1299.[125]

Most of the material here consists of the Huddlestons detaching themselves from further involvement in the Furnesian lands of Furness Abbey. Original documents survive for two out of three of the Coucher Book texts which directly concern the Huddlestons as benefactors, the first being the quitclaim in 1297 by John de Huddleston of rights to land in Angerton Moss,[126] and the second being the quitclaim in 1325 by Adam de Huddleston, son of John de Huddleston, of his rights to forty loads of turf per annum.[127] The placing of these texts within the Coucher Book indicated that the primary concern for the compilers in c.1412 was to demonstrate the process by which Furness Abbey expanded its rights in Angerton Moss and then pre-empting any potential for counterclaims by noble families with interests in the area. Since boundaries of Angerton Moss were fluid and crossed over different jurisdictions,[128] the interests of the Huddlestons needed to be accounted for, not only in c.1300 but also in c.1412, because the

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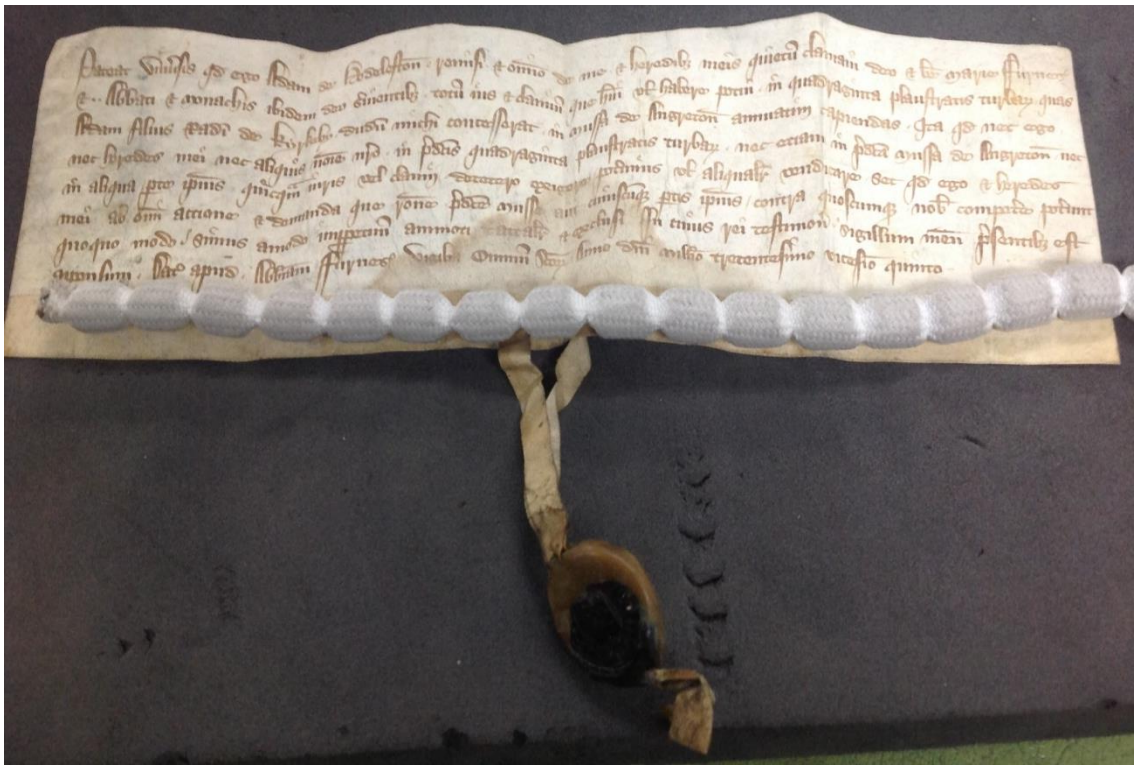
[119] Ibid., p.84.
[120] Ibid., pp.34–35, p.43; Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, pp.233–234; Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp.153–155.
[121] Burton & Kerr, *The Cistercians in the Middle Ages*, pp.149–150, pp.160–161; Constance Berman, 'Medieval Agriculture, the Southern French Countryside and the Early Cistercians: A Study of Forty–three Monasteries', *TAPS*, new series 76, vol.5 (1986), p.37.
[122] Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', pp.77–78.
[123] Shannon, 'Angerton', *VCH Cumbria*, https://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/sites/default/files/Angerton%20(30.4.15).pdf, [accessed 04 October 2018; Cottam, 'The Granges of Furness Abbey', p.65, pp.77–78.
[124] 'Saltworks', Angerton Moss text 8, *CB Vol.I*, Part II, fols.127–130, V. & R., pp.331–332.
[125] Shannon, 'Angerton', *VCH Cumbria*, https://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/sites/default/files/Angerton%20(30.4.15).pdf, [accessed 04 October 2018; Atkinson, *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey*, p.331.
[126] Angerton Moss text 13 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.131–132, V. & R., pp.336–337.
[127] Angerton Moss text 14 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol. 132, V., p.337.
[128] Shannon, 'Angerton', *VCH Cumbria*, https://www.cumbriacountyhistory.org.uk/sites/default/files/Angerton%20(30.4.15).pdf, [accessed 04 October 2018].

family still existed by the time the Coucher Book was compiled. For instance, the de Lancaster Barons of Kendal had been amongst the earliest benefactors of Furness Abbey and the subject of one of the earliest arbitrations between both parties, attested by the preservation of the 1196 partition of the Furness Fells within the Coucher Book.[129] Yet, the Huddlestons are prioritised straight after the quitclaim of John de Lancaster in the placement of texts,[130] signifying their continuing and arguably greater importance to the collective memory at the time of the quitclaim.



Picture 16: Quitclaim of Adam de Huddleston relating to Angerton Moss (30th March, 1297), (TNA: DL25/385), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

[129] Pre–Coucher text 1, *CB Vol. I,* Part I, fol.1, V. & R., p.1.
[130] Angerton Moss text 12 *CB Vol. I,* Part II, fol.131, V. & R., pp.335–336.

The original document includes significant details omitted in the Coucher Book version that testify to the impact which John de Huddleston could make in determining the terms of his benefaction. The witness list, not included in the Coucher Book version, emphasises the considerable connections which the Huddlestons maintained among some of the closest benefactors the abbey, including Robert de Harrington of Gleaston, Sir William de Asmunderlaw, and Adam FitzRalph de Kirkby.[131] The role of the de Kirkbys was emphasised in the Coucher Book record of how rights in Angerton Moss were acquired, because of their Furnesian provenance and their exercise of primary seigniorial jurisdiction within the area which later became associated with abbatial authority.[132] However, because the Huddlestons maintained dynastic connections with the de Kirkbys via the de Bardseas,[133] who had been granted rights to a fishery and sixty cartloads of turf in Angerton Moss,[134] their interests had to be accounted for as if they were a Furnesian noble. The historical understanding of the Huddlestons by the Furness Abbey community in c.1300 therefore took account of their complex interconnections with Furnesian noble families and enabled Furness Abbey to be seen in their time to act as an arena for arbitration of those familial interests. This is further reinforced by the dating clause in the original document recording its witnessing in Furness Abbey itself, with pious affirmation of Huddleston interests in conjunction with those of the abbey taking paramount importance.[135] There is no Huddleston coat-of-arms included with this text in the Coucher Book, which perhaps implies the influence which John de Huddleston was capable of wielding in negotiating the terms of his quitclaim with Furness Abbey.[136] As a non-Furnesian benefactor, he could afford to disassociate himself from further entanglement with the abbey with minimal loss in his own Millom seigniory. The later narrative therefore seems to have treated the first Huddleston lord of Millom with less priority than he assumed at the time of his quitclaim.

In the next generation of Huddlestons, the dynamics of the benefactor relationship begin to change towards a more accommodating stance between both parties. Adam de Huddleston, son of John de Huddleston, had been granted in 1312-1313 by Adam FitzRalph de Kirkby the right to take forty cartloads of turf per annum from Angerton Moss,[137] and this right was

[131] Quitclaim relating to Angerton Moss (30th March, 1297), TNA, DL 25/385.
[132] See esp. Angerton Moss text 3, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol.127, R., pp.324–325.
[133] William Farrer & John Brownbill, 'Kirkby Ireleth', in *A History of the County of Lancaster, Vol. 8*, ed. by William Farrer & John Brownbill (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1914), pp. 392–400; William Farrer, 'Angerton Moss', in *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 8*, ed. by in William Farrer and John Brownbill (London: Archibald Constable & Co. Ltd., 1914), p.408.
[134] Angerton Moss text 14 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol. 132, V., p.337.
[135] Quitclaim relating to Angerton Moss (30th March, 1297), TNA, DL 25/385.
[136] Angerton Moss text 13 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.131–132, V. & R., pp.336–337.
[137] Angerton Moss text 1 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol. 126, V. & R., pp.320–323.

recognised in his quitclaim to Furness Abbey in 1325 that specified it as such.[138] As far as the Coucher Book compilers were concerned, the importance of this text lay in tracing the exact lines of jurisdiction to the natural resources of Angerton Moss and thus the boundaries of the Manor of Broughton-in-Furness which the abbey had acquired around the same time.[139] This text is practically identical in content to that of a text of a deed later in the Coucher Book which is a similar surrender and quitclaim of these forty cartloads of turf, except that this text grants the rights to William Cockerham as Vicar of Dalton and not Abbot of Furness.[140] This was most likely intended to coincide with the process of granting Angerton Moss to the Vicar of Dalton that was initiated by Thomas Skilhar,[141] but this text does not have a surviving original. The original document on the matter of turbary rights, however, grants the rights to Furness Abbey itself,[142] which most likely indicates that the abbey had already acquired the manor of Broughton-in-Furness by this time and was therefore in a more advantageous position to negotiate on favourable terms with the Huddlestons over turbary rights. Different dynamics within the developing memories of these events can therefore be detected in the Coucher Book in relation to the Huddlestons, even in the absence of original documentary evidence. The absence of a witness list is curious for the 1325 quitclaim,[143] especially given the inclusion of one for his father in the 1297 quitclaim.[144] This, combined with the dating clause mentioning its witnessing at Furness Abbey, could imply that the original document was itself produced at Furness Abbey.[145] Within the context of the Coucher Book, this text was afforded much greater prominence than the 1297 quitclaim had been. This can be illustrated by the inclusion of the Huddleston coat-of-arms in the initial of the 1325 quitclaim,[146] whose inclusion would make more logical sense if appended to the text of the first Huddleston Lord of Millom than that of his son, especially since the content of the 1297 quitclaim ostensibly dealt with matters of more pressing territorial importance.

The interpretation of the 1325 quitclaim from c.1412 therefore portrayed Furness Abbey as the dominant partner in the benefactor relationship with Adam de Huddleston, reinforced by an association of Angerton Moss as concomitant with the Furnesian element of the institutional identity of the abbey and rendering the Huddlestons as effectively Furnesian

[138] Angerton Moss text 14 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol. 132, V., p.337.
[139] See discussion on this in Chapter One, pp.28–29.
[140] Angerton Moss text 18 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols. 132–133, V. & R., p.339.
[141] Angerton Moss text 4 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols. 127–128, V. & R., pp.325–327.
[142] Quitclaim of 40 cartloads of turves per annum in Angerton Moss (31st October 1325), TNA, DL25/392.
[143] Ibid.
[144] Quitclaim relating to Angerton Moss (30th March, 1297), TNA, DL 25/385.
[145] Quitclaim by Adam de Huddleston to Furness Abbey of his right in 40 cartloads of turves (31st October 1325), TNA, DL25/392.
[146] Angerton Moss text 14 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol. 132, V., p.337.

benefactors by association with the Furnesian domain of the abbey. Although this interpretaton is not exactly coincident with that which prevailed in 1325, there does appear from this stage to be a trend towards viewing the role of the Huddlestons in the story of the abbey more along the lines of what were conceived in c.1412. From personal to territorial association, the benefactor relationship between Furness Abbey and the Huddlestons can serve as an important leitmotif for future developments in how the abbey conceived of its place in time and space against those of its neighbours.

The Boyvilles in Volume II

By contrast with the Furnesian focus of Volume I, the presence of the Boyvilles in the Coucher Book (Volume II) as benefactors in their own right is predominantly represented in the Kirksanton texts, within their Millom heartland. The first Kirksanton text, the grant of Robert de Boyville of his land of Kirksanton and Horrum,[147] was intended in c.1412 to represent the Boyvilles as quintessentially pious benefactors from the earliest period of the presence of the abbey in Furness. They were effectively rendered as Furnesian benefactors by the Coucher Book compilers, as shown by the embellishment of the grant of Arthur de Boyville with the Boyville coat-of-arms.[148] Yet these early Boyville texts, as they are presented in the Coucher Book, resemble a distinct group of documents organised according to the family, suggesting that the Boyvilles used the abbey as a key agent for advancing their own spiritual and secular interests. This is particularly the case with regards to the earliest Kirksanton text with an original document, the grant by Godard de Boyville c.1135-c.1152 of Monkfoss, near Whitbeck in Copeland.[149] Embellished with the Boyville coat-of-arms,[150] the grant of Godard de Boyville in the Coucher associated the Boyville benefactors with a locus of land that assumed significance for Furness Abbey within Kirksanton. This was arguably a retrospective acknowledgement of the intimate degree of interaction between the abbey and the Boyville benefactors as arbiters of the spiritual and secular interests of the family.

[147] Kirksanton text 1, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.178, V., pp.513–514.
[148] Kirksanton text 2, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.178, V., p.514.
[149] Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., p.523; Grant of land in Coupland called Fossa (c.1135–c.1152), TNA, DL27/131.
[150] Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., p.523.

The omission of the remainder of the introductory sentence from the Coucher Book version, which included reference to Godard de Boyville by name,[151] perhaps implied a desire on the part of the compilers to de-emphasise the significant agency which Godard de Boyville exercised in determining the terms of his grant. His influence among many of the key early benefactors of Furness Abbey is demonstrated in the witness list, omitted from the Coucher Book version, where Roger de Kirkby, Benedict de Pennington and Ralph de Bardsea are mentioned.[152] The familial character of this grant is also underlined by the inclusion of members of his tenurial circle as chief among the witnesses, such as Ketel de Copeland and Robert de Boyville, as well as the Boyville seal illustrating the martial prowess of the family as crusaders.[153] The imperative for Godard de Boyville appears to have been to ensure that his tenurial interests in Monkfoss would be respected by Furness Abbey, and the fairly even split of non-Furnesian and Furnesian nobles in the witness list perhaps testifies to the character of this grant as a negotiation of familial interests as much as an act of piety.[154] The Boyville version of the process behind the acquisition of Monkfoss c.1135-c.1152 appears to be one of Godard de Boyville ascertaining ownership of his father's lands in Kirksanton through the arbitration of Furness Abbey. Nevertheless, the Boyvilles proved to be enthusiastic benefactors of the abbey throughout the 12th century, whether by patronising the secular male infirmary at the abbey site,[155] or holding land from the abbey as free tenants,[156] but only insofar as it suited their familial interests to maintain influence over how subsequent benefactions would be distributed.

The first Boyville benefaction recorded among the Kirksanton texts, the grant of Kirksanton and Horrum to Furness Abbey before 1152 so that Godard de Boyville may hold them as a free tenant on his return from pilgrimage, has been constructed within the Coucher Book record as the act of an especially pious benefactor, suitably embellished with the requisite coat-of-arms.[157] However, this grant presents itself in its original form as a familial grant, similar to the form in which the grant of Godard de Boyville presented itself.[158] The reproduction of the content of the text in full in both Coucher and original versions perhaps testifies to the enduring impact of this grant upon how Furness Abbey articulated its memory and identity through benefactors such as the Boyvilles. This was done by associating the Kirksanton grant with particularly pious ends and exemplifying noble familial bonds which the abbey had come to assume guardianship over by c.1412. The occasion of the grant being that

[151] Ibid., p.523.
[152] Grant of land in Copeland called Fossa (c.1135–c.1152), TNA, DL27/131.
[153] Ibid., DL27/131.
[154] Ibid., DL27/131.
[155] Kirksanton text 5, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.179, V. & R., pp.516–517.
[156] Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., pp.522–523.
[157] Ibid., pp.522–523.
[158] Grant of land in Copeland called Fossa (c.1135–c.1152), TNA, DL27/131.

for preparation for pilgrimage could be said to have drawn upon a family tradition of crusading among the Boyvilles,[159] but the familial character is best represented in the witness list, which consists almost entirely of close Boyville kin and their retinue.[160] The grant was subsequently made firm in a separate grant by Arthur de Boyville before 1152, cousin of Robert de Boyville, couched in similarly terms of familial solidarity in the salutary clause, and the witness list here also includes many of the same close Boyville kin.[161] The close familial bonds of the Boyvilles exemplified in these texts enabled Furness Abbey to find a place as spiritual guardian of their interests, but the terms of the grants are clearly emphasised as being within the ability of the Boyvilles to determine.

Future generations of the Boyvilles sought to determine the exact extent of their grants to Furness Abbey, as shown by the grant by William de Boyville c.1175-c.1194 of rights of pasture, fishing, gathering deadwood and grinding flour to Furness Abbey within specified boundaries.[162] There was a growing acknowledgement of the increasing territorial presence of the abbey within their territories resulting from the pious activities of their ancestors, a trend which can be identified with a number of benefactors to Cistercian monasteries elsewhere by the late-12th century.[163] Needless to say, this impression is otherwise absent in the Coucher Book version of the Boyville benefactor relationship, with the succession of concessions granted over the late-12th century in Kirksanton presented as a continuation of an otherwise exemplary relationship between both parties. The growing influence of Furness Abbey in the benefactor relationship can be witnessed by the number of Furnesian nobles among the witness lists of the William de Boyville and Robert de Boyville grants. In the case of William de Boyville the proportion of non-Furnesian to Furnesian nobles is roughly equal;[164] by the time of his son Robert c.1190-c.1204 the proportion of Furnesian nobles has increased.[165] The terms of the previous benefactions, however, are made more explicit in this confirmation to determine the exact extent of the jurisdiction of Furness Abbey within Kirksanton,[166] and the absence of any further benefactions attributed to Robert de Boyville perhaps shows that this represented a moratorium on additional grants to the abbey and thus maintaining the seigniorial primacy of

[159] Whellan, *The History of Cumberland and Westmorland*, pp.403–404.
[160] Grant of land in Copeland called Fossa (c.1135–c.1152), TNA, DL27/131.
[161] Kirksanton text 2, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.178, V., p.514.
[162] Kirksanton text 3, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.178, R., p.514; Grant of land in Kirksanton (c.1174–c.1194), TNA, DL25/462.
[163] Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, pp.63–64, p.149.
[164] Kirksanton text 3, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.178, R., p.514.
[165] Kirksanton text 12, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.178, V. & R., pp.521–522; Grant of land in Kirksanton (c.1190–c.1204), TNA, DL25/463.
[166] Grant of land in Kirksanton (c.1190–c.1204), TNA, DL25/463.

the Boyvilles within the Kirksanton area.[167] This resulted in a certain tension over how much influence should be accorded to the Boyvilles in subsequent interpretations of their importance in the later narrative of how Furness Abbey developed, especially when much had been invested initially in representing them as benefactors of exemplary piety.

Outside of the patrimony of the Boyvilles in Millom, the family could still wield significant influence in its benefactor relationship with Furness Abbey which was otherwise not appreciated fully in the later reinterpretation of events. This can be illustrated by the grant by Robert de Boyville, his wife Margaret, and their sons c.1170-c.1180 of a part of Newby to the abbey.[168] In the Coucher Book this grant is illustrated with the Boyville coat-of-arms and accorded a significant place within the narrative of c.1412 on how Furness Abbey came to acquire Newby.[169] However, the terms of the grant also indicate the limits of abbatial authority within this region of West Yorkshire, as the abbey needed to acknowledge the forinsec service due for land, contradicting Cistercian legislation,[170] and supply compensation to Robert de Boyville and his wife for the alienation of the land.[171] The interpretation of c.1180 therefore clearly highlights how Furness Abbey needed to use their existing relationship with the Boyvilles in order to penetrate new benefactor circles in Newby, but the terms of benefaction would be set by the Boyvilles from the outset. This grant could have been an example of a sale in disguise, since the secular services were attached to the land grant and valued according to consequent compensation payment,[172] but the grant in pure and perpetual alms similarly highlights the religious nature of the gifts bestowed.[173] Robert and Margaret de Boyville were concerned with maintaining the favourable benefactor relationship their family had established with Furness Abbey. In any case, they were obliged to honour the familial investment that had been made in order to ensure effective spiritual guardianship of the souls of their kin. Boyville family interests were represented in this grant by the local proximity of many of the witnesses to the Boyvilles, including Peter de Kirksanton and Agnes, wife of Benedict de Pennington.[174] However, they are substituted by witnesses linked with the benefactor circles of Furness Abbey, such as William FitzRoger de Kirkby and Gilbert, Parson of Dalton.[175] This hints at the degree

[167] The final Boyville benefaction in the Kirksanton texts is the Confirmation by Henry de Bovill in c.1180–c.1210 of his ancestors' donations, Kirksanton text 14, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.178, V., p.523.
[168] Chirograph of a grant of the moiety of Newby (c.1170–c.1180), TNA, DL25/475; Newby text 15, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.113, V., pp.303–304.
[169] Ibid., pp.303–304.
[170] Dom J.M. Canivez, *Statuta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensium ab Anno 1116 ad Annum 1220*, vol.I (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue, 1933), p.1, p.65; Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, pp.69–72, p.149.
[171] Chirograph of a grant of the moiety of Newby (c.1170–c.1180), TNA, DL25/475.
[172] Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, p.69, p.73.
[173] Newby text 15, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.113, V., pp.303–304.
[174] Chirograph of a grant of the moiety of Newby (c.1170–c.1180), TNA, DL25/475.
[175] Ibid., DL25/475.

of trust shared between the Boyvilles and the abbey that fairly equal proportions of Furnesian and non-Furnesian witnesses could be marshalled to represent the interests of both parties. This interconnection between the abbey and its Boyville benefactors made a significant impression on the abbey seeing itself as an institution representing Furnesian noble interests.

The mutually beneficial arrangements between Furness Abbey and the Boyvilles established in Newby, and the reinforcement of familial bonds which accompanied this, can be seen in the release of Margaret, widow of Robert de Boyville, to the abbey c.1210-c.1230 of 8s per annum from one carucate of land in Newby which the abbey used to render, in return for 8 marks in compensation.[176] The release clearly states that this was done *pro salute anime mee et pro anima mariti mei videlicet Roberti de Boivilla*,[177] and the surviving witness list in the Coucher Book specifies William de Boyville, brother of her late husband, as chief among the witnesses.[178] As an intimately familial concession, its survival in the Coucher Book testifies to the enduring presence of the Boyvilles as significant benefactors of Furness Abbey in Newby and beyond. The version of that narrative remains surprisingly consistent within both the Kirksanton and Newby texts, and although it was employed for different purposes in c.1412 the necessity to remember the Boyvilles as a distinct family unit remained from the late-12th century.

Given the prominence of female Boyville benefactors in negotiating the terms of remembrance of the relationship with Furness Abbey, it is worth considering at a wider level how historiographical treatment of female benefactors to monasteries as a whole has changed. Between 1050 and 1200, there was a shift in forms of interaction between Cistercian monasteries and their benefactors, emphasising simpler forms of commemoration in contrast to more sophisticated individualised commemoration promoted by the Benedictines.[179] In reality, most Cistercian commemorations became highly individualised after c.1200, with liturgical commemorations reduced in favour of permitting individual lay burials within the monastery church.[180] As a result, there was much scope for female benefactors to make their own mark on how they and their family would be commemorated by Cistercian monasteries, even if their material contributions were often limited. This is particularly marked in the case of widows, who were dependent on their immediate male kin for support,[181] but who could freely alienate

[176] Newby text 6, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.110, R., p.297.
[177] 'For the salvation of my soul and for the soul of my aforesaid husband Robert de Boyville', Newby text 6, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.110, R., p.297.
[178] Newby text 6, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.110, R., p.297.
[179] Jordan, 'Gender Concerns', p.85; Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.72.
[180] Ibid., p.72, p.75; Cassidy–Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings*, p.232.
[181] Rasmussen, 'Monastic Benefactors in England and Denmark', pp.89–90.

land in their own right and one-third of their late husband's that was held in fee during their marriage.[182] While it has been argued that benefactions by widows to monasteries was mostly transactional and for pious satisfaction in the afterlife,[183] the widow was in fact deeply integrated into wider lay networks of piety through her pious gift-giving that could elicit further support for her in her widowhood more than has been appreciated.[184] They were therefore not an inconsiderable demographic for abbeys such as Furness to appeal to. Their value as guardians of familial memory, as Karl Leyser has highlighted with respect to the influence of widows on Ottonian monasteries in early mediaeval Saxony,[185] placed widows in a position of particular power to negotiate their place and that of their family within the historical narrative being constructed of their relationship with monasteries. In the case of the Boyvilles the status that Margaret gained as a widow within the esteem of the Coucher Book compilers is most respectable.

Traditional historiography has usually assigned a passive or relatively insignificant role to women as benefactors, in comparison to men,[186] since they do not feature as prominently in the documentary record and their benefactions in their own right are often seen as paltry.[187] Nevertheless, there is now a growing appreciation of the importance of women acting in concert with male benefactors in promoting shared familial interests,[188] and the proportion of women as benefactors in their own right is significantly larger than was once thought.[189] Noblewomen were especially valued as guardians of the family memory,[190] especially if the family concerned had a long pedigree or a high reputation in the present. From the 10th century on, Patrick Geary argues that reformed monasteries, in their efforts to achieve 'manipulation of memory' through their cartularies of the institutional history of the house, placed themselves ahead of women as the 'only guarantors of proper continuity'.[191] This status as arbiters of memory on behalf of

[182] Ibid., pp.89–90.
[183] Ilana F. Silber, 'Gift-giving in the Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West', *European Journal of Sociology* vol.36, no. 2 (1995), pp.210-4.
[184] Mikkaela Bet Bailey, *Relict: Widows and their Expressions of Agency through Personal Piety and Religious Devotion in Fifteenth-Century England*, MA Thesis (Clemson: Clemson University, 2019), pp.20-23.
[185] Karl Leyser, *Rule and Conflict in Early Medieval Society* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1979), pp.72-73.
[186] Rasmussen, 'Monastic Benefactors in England and Denmark', pp.78–79; Erin L. Jordan, 'Gender Concerns: Monks, Nuns, and Patronage of the Cistercian Order in Thirteenth–Century Flanders and Hainaut', in *Speculum*, 87, no.1 (2012), pp.62–64.
[187] R.W. Southern, *Western Society and the Church in the Middle Ages* (London: Penguin Books, 1970), p.217; Roberta Gilchrist, *Gender and Material Culture: The Archaeology of Religious Women* (London: Routledge, 1994), p.24, p.91.
[188] Jordan, 'Gender Concerns', p.67; see Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.68 on how the Rievaulx Cartulary was ordered to prioritise aristocratic family interests.
[189] According to Rasmussen, 'Monastic Benefactors in England and Denmark', p.89, women constituted 14% of all benefactions to the English monasteries.
[190] Van Houts, 'Introduction', pp.1–2.
[191] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p.6.

women benefactors remained strong throughout the 12th-13th centuries, with the Cistercian Order developing its own distinctive relationship with female benefactors.[192] As the example of abbatial mediation with female members of the Boyville family demonstrate, the abbey recognised the importance of negotiating the terms of remembrance with this key benefactor demographic in order to take full advantage of the strong familial and spiritual bonds generated by interaction with past and present generations of the family.

Further evidence of the strong familial bonds among the Boyvilles can be seen outside the Coucher Book in relation to Newby, by the combined quitclaim of William de Boyville and his brothers to Furness Abbey in c.1180 of a rent of 8s per annum due from them in respect of one carucate of land in Newby.[193] In all these cases, the abbey acted as the lynchpin around which the Boyvilles could express their familial identity, and the abbey was in turn influenced by their significant investment of familial piety and emotional bonds in their benefactor relationship. It could be argued, therefore, that the impact of the actions of significant benefactors with connections to Furness made a profound impression upon the development of the institutional identity of Furness Abbey, shaping the methods by which it remembered those actions and their actors for posterity.

[192] Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.75.
[193] Harley BL 46, I, 44, cited in *CB Vol.II*, Part II, pp.313–314.

The Huddlestons in Volume II

The impact of the Huddlestons upon the formation of a particular interpretation of identity for Furness Abbey is similarly apparent in the Coucher Book (Volume II), with significant agency being granted to this family in the memory being cast of them in c.1412. The principal appearance of the Huddlestons in the Coucher Book (Volume II) as benefactors in their own right is within the Millom and Butterilket texts. The earliest datable Huddleston text for which there is an original document is a grant by John de Huddleston to the abbey c.1260-c.1280 of waste land in Millom within specified boundaries leading through Copeland.[194] As far as the Coucher Book compilers were concerned, this acted as the pretext for consolidating the main access route between the possessions of Furness Abbey in Millom and Borrowdale. The terms of the grant, however, principally convey the importance of consolidating the relative boundaries between the new Lord of Millom and Furness Abbey so as to enable a favourable benefactor relationship to be developed.[195] In so doing, John de Huddleston was exerting his seigniorial primacy in the Millom locality through his benefactor relationship with the abbey, and this placed him in an advantageous position to influence how previous grants to Furness Abbey in this locality were remembered. This is reflected in the prominence of Alan de Pennington of Muncaster and Alan de Copeland among the witnesses,[196] both closely connected with the tenurial circle of the Huddlestons. Yet, the conciliatory character of the grant is also underlined by the equal presence of Furness Abbey benefactors in the witness list, especially Alexander de Kirkby and Hugh de Morisby.[197] The original version of this deed further underlines the seigniorial influence of the new Lord of Millom upon the shape of this grant with the inclusion of the Huddleston coat-of-arms in its seal,[198] whereas the Coucher Book version omits not only the witness list but the coat-of-arms for the earliest surviving Huddleston benefaction in the Millom texts.[199] This could hint at a later attempt to gloss over the agency of John de Huddleston in setting the terms behind the further expansion of Furness Abbey in Copeland. By contrast, in the aftermath of the Statute of Mortmain (1279),[200] the contemporary interpretation of this deed was concerned above all with ensuring that the title of the abbey to

[194] Millom text 16, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.211, V. & R., pp.538–539; Grant of land in Millom, TNA, DL25/460.
[195] Whellan, *The History of Cumberland and Westmorland*, p.404.
[196] Grant of land in Millom, TNA, DL25/460.
[197] Ibid., DL25/460.
[198] Ibid., DL25/460.
[199] Millom text 16, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.211, V. & R., pp.538–539.
[200] Raban, *England under Edward I and Edward II, 1259–1327*, p.79.

the Boyville grants was secure, seeking to honour the legacy of previous favoured benefactors and build upon this with their descendants.

Other Huddleston texts within the Coucher Book received more prominent treatment by comparison. The earliest example of a Huddleston text with their coat-of-arms included is the grant by John de Huddleston to Furness Abbey c.1260-c.1280 of a salthouse and turbary with a specified right of common pasture in Millom.[201] The terms of the grant are rendered in a specified fashion, similar to that laid out in the contemporaneous boundary delineations in Copeland investigated earlier, as pasture rights were granted for eight oxen, four cows and two horses, for example.[202] There is no surviving original version for this deed and the witness list has been lost, but the juxtaposition of the salthouse in *mussa mea de Millum sine vasto* indicates that the abbey was determined to respect the boundaries delineated in the previous deed.[203] That this was granted, like with the confirmation of boundaries, *in puram, liberam et perpetuam elemosinam*,[204] emphasises how both parties sought to establish mutually beneficial relations with each other that could respect the delineated boundaries both had set for themselves. A similar vein of mutual respect for seigniorial boundaries is also evident in the quitclaim by John de Huddleston in c.1289-c.1295 of all claims to hunting rights in his chases between the Rivers Esk and Duddon.[205] The narrative of c.1412 cast this as part of the progressive expansion of the influence of Furness Abbey within Copeland, connecting its Millom and Borrowdale territories to its core Furnesian territory. In context with the aforementioned contemporaneous Huddleston grants, the historical interpretation here is grounded more as a negotiation between two noble powers than the monolithic advance of a corporate body. The quitclaim is made to Abbot William Cockerham of Furness instead of Furness Abbey itself, and John de Huddleston promised to ensure that the boundaries would be respected by him.[206]

Transferring property rights to Abbot Cockerham himself operated within a similar interpersonal context as characterised the negotiations over the transfer of Little Marton and Angerton Moss,[207] as the abbot was effectively the agent by which the rights would be transferred to the abbey as an institution. The influence of the Cockerham family itself was held in high esteem in the collective memory of the abbey by providing three members of the dynasty for election to the abbacy.[208] Nevertheless, it is striking how conspicuously the abbots

[201] Millom text 18, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.212–213, V. & R., pp.542–543.
[202] Ibid., p.542.
[203] 'My moss of Millom without waste', Ibid., p.542.
[204] 'In pure, free and perpetual alms', Ibid., p.543.
[205] Millom text 19, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.213, V. & R., pp.543–544.
[206] Ibid., pp.543–544.
[207] See Chapter One, pp.68–69.
[208] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.239.

of Furness, especially in this scenario,[209] held themselves and were considered to be nobles in their own right.[210] Later instances of villages levelled to make room for deer parks,[211] and the emphasis within the Coucher Book (Volume II) on securing rights of free warren as a prerequisite for exerting noble authority beyond Furness,[212] testify to the persistent interest in the abbots in delineating hunting rights as axiomatic with their self-image as Furness nobles of the highest order. Furness Abbey may seem exceptional in its prioritisation of hunting rights as a prerequisite to exerting political authority over Furness, but its methods of manipulating a suitable version of how those rights were granted was by no means unprecedented.[213] What is quite exceptional in the case of Furness Abbey, however, is how the noble identity associated with the abbots of Furness filtered through into the institutional identity, and how this identity affected the way copies such as the John de Huddleston quitclaim were perceived. This shift towards an almost noble dimension of identity for Furness Abbey can be observed through the character of this text, as the abbot was quite prepared to present himself as a noble with interests common to that of even non-Furnesian benefactors such as the Huddlestons.

The development of a noble element within the self-perception of Furness Abbey can be witnessed in the grant by John de Huddleston in 1292 of quittance of suit at his court in Millom.[214] The Coucher Book compilers presented this as further projection of the power of Furness Abbey over its benefactors as the principal secular lord in Furness. The importance of this text in this narrative was emphasised by including the Huddleston coat-of-arms and the significant space allotted to it within the Millom texts.[215] The original version is a chirograph, dated in 1292 before the Itinerant Justices in Cumberland, and was most likely the Furness Abbey half of the chirograph.[216] This is because written on the back of the chirograph are the words *Cyrographium inter nos et Johanni de Hodelston de libero transitu*,[217] implying that this was in the possession of the abbey scribes at the time of the judgement. By contrast with the Huddleston determination of land boundaries, the words on the back of the chirograph read *Carta Johanni de Hodelston*,[218] signifying the greater personal input of John de Huddleston on the form of the deed and that, if this chirograph did form part of the Furness Abbey archive,

[209] Farrer, 'Angerton Moss', p.408; Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, pp.241–242.
[210] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.248; Powicke, 'The abbey of Furness', pp.114–115.
[211] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, pp.39–40, on the destruction of Sellergarth village in 1513 to establish a new deer park for Furness Abbey.
[212] See Chapter Two, pp.90–92.
[213] Ellen F. Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), pp.110–111.
[214] Millom text 17, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.211–212, V. & R., pp.539–540.
[215] Ibid., pp.539–540.
[216] Grant, indented, to be quit of suit at the Huddleston court of Millom, TNA, DL25/458.
[217] 'Chirograph between us and John de Huddleston on free passage', Grant, indented, to be quit of suit at the Huddleston court of Millom, TNA, DL25/458.
[218] 'Charter of John de Huddleston', Grant of land in Millom, TNA, DL25/460

John de Huddleston assumed prominence within the institutional memory long before the compilation of the Coucher Book. The witnesses are omitted from the Coucher Book,[219] but they are predominantly represented by Cumberland aristocracy connected with the Huddlestons, especially William de Dacre, Alan de Copeland, Thomas de Culwen (Curwen) and Alan de Pennington.[220] They are described as *milites* in a way not specified in relation to the represented Furnesian aristocracy, such as William de Cantsfield and Hugh de Morisby.[221] The agency of the Huddlestons in determining the terms of this quittance of suit is therefore strongly represented, even if the concessions to Furness Abbey were on the face of it considerable. Along with suit of court, the abbey was also released from pannage, puture, bode and witness man duties within the Huddleston lands leading up to Butterilket.[222] These concessions were meant to enable Furness Abbey to operate effectively as a political and economic unit in Copeland, albeit with the blessing of its principal lord, and this was represented as such within the contemporary narrative. In order to continue to receive this blessing, the abbey had to act with respect to the seigniorial interests of the Huddlestons and integrate into its political culture, with visible consequences for how the abbey perceived itself.

The integration of Furness Abbey within the political culture of Copeland can be seen in the permission by John de Huddleston to the abbey c.1284-c.1290 for enclosing their pastures of Butterilket and Lingcove within his forest and adjoining that of the Lord of Egremont.[223] The narrative of this grant evoked in the Coucher Book casts this as part of the advance of Furness Abbey into Copeland and creating an identity axiomatic with the nobility in connecting this region with its core Furness domain. By contrast, the original version places such articulations of memory and identity firmly within the political culture of Copeland.[224] Furness Abbey had been granted Butterilket and Lingcove by Alan de Pennington in 1242,[225] and had subsequently developed these lands for pasture, with the risk of encroachment upon the territories of neighbouring lords.[226] The need to control the movement of people and livestock of the abbey can be seen, for example, in the 1288 grant of free movement by Alan FitzRichard de Copeland across his lands in Copeland.[227] As far as John de Huddleston was concerned, he sought to prevent his benefactor relationship with Furness Abbey from potentially jeopardising his

[219] Millom text 17, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fols.211–212, V. & R., pp.539–540.
[220] Grant, indented, to be quit of suit at the Huddleston court of Millom, TNA, DL25/458.
[221] 'Knights', ibid., DL25/458.
[222] Ibid., DL25/458.
[223] Butterilket text 5, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.219, V., pp.565–566.
[224] Licence to enclose pastures in Botherhulkil and Lyncoue, TNA, DL25/234.
[225] Butterilket texts 2–3, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.218, V. & R., pp.563–566.
[226] Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.55.
[227] Bolton text 4, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol.202, V., pp.563–566.

relationship with his liege lord, the Lord of Egremont.[228] Thus, this text emphasises the significant agency of John de Huddleston in the benefactor relationship in restraining the ambitions of Furness Abbey from expanding further into Cumberland noble politics. This time, the delineation of boundaries was expressed in terms of hunting rights, with Furness Abbey counted as one more Cumberland noble in that regard, for John de Huddleston sought for the enclosure to be low enough to allow deer to leap over it.[229] The seigniorial rights of hunting for all affected nobles were to be respected, not least those of the Huddlestons. Alan de Pennington and Alan de Copeland are among the witnesses who would be affected by this grant, and the inclusion of Furnesian benefactors of the abbey such as Alexander de Kirkby and Hugh de Morisby emphasised the commitment of the abbey to respecting the wishes of the Huddlestons.[230] It is notable, however, that the witness list is omitted from the Coucher Book.[231] Considerations of lack of space and relevance of the witnesses to circumstances in c.1412 notwithstanding, the importance of this grant to the later narrative of Furness Abbey expansion into Copeland arguably led to the Huddleston coat-of-arms being included for this deed.[232] John Huddleston, a non-Furnesian benefactor, was therefore able to exert considerable independent influence over how this benefaction was remembered at the time of the grant to suit his own interests. The contrast with the relative reduction of the presence of the Huddlestons within the institutional memory and identity of the abbey evoked in c.1412 could not be more pointedly emphasised.

[228] Cowper, 'Millom Castle and the Hudlestons', p.226.
[229] Licence to enclose pastures in Butterilket and Lingcove in his forest, TNA, DL25/234.
[230] Ibid., DL25/234.
[231] Butterilket text 5, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.219, V, pp.565–566.
[232] Ibid., pp.565–566.

Conclusion

From this investigation of the Boyville and Huddleston benefactors in the Furness Coucher Book, it appears as though the cartulary represents the culmination of developments in institutional memory and identity for Furness Abbey, although these developments did not point in a predetermined direction. Different versions of institutional memory, both at the time between both parties, and at a remove from the original benefactions, were contingent upon serving the perceived interests of the abbey at the time they were being conceived. To this extent, the subsequent interweaving of these different versions of memory served particular functions in the context of the overall narrative being consolidated in the Coucher Book, although this was not the whole story. Perhaps the best analogy in this context is one of negotiation between benefactor and abbey over which version served them best, and this negotiation could continue even after the benefactors themselves had faded out of existence.

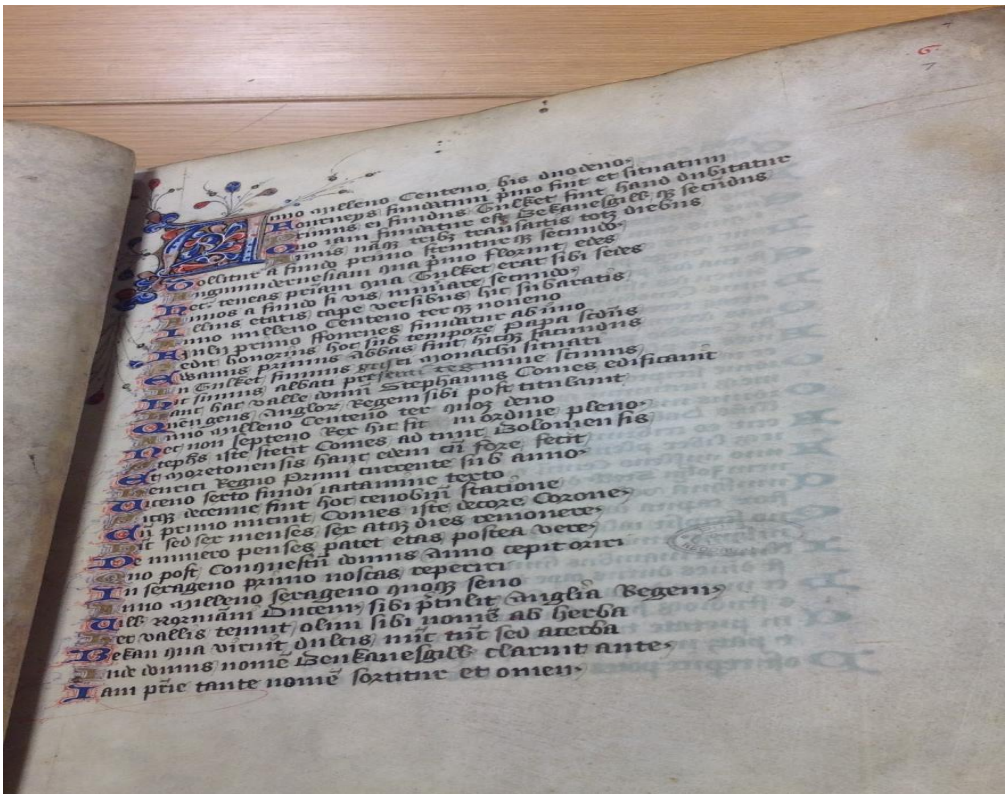
Even within Furness, in spite of the Coucher Book version emphasising the abbey as the principal power in Furness with a manifest destiny to dominate its heartland, non-Furnesian benefactors could not be easily assimilated as Furnesian agents augmenting the power of the abbey. The act of benefaction, and how that benefaction was to be remembered, as articulated by the Boyvilles and Huddlestons, continued to influence how the abbey recalled those benefactions, and the image of the abbey was similarly impacted by their negotiations with them. The dynamic character of the negotiations with the Boyvilles mining rights in Orgrave, for instance, was otherwise not highlighted within the later narrative recorded in the Coucher Book. Nevertheless, the non-Furnesian context of the Boyvilles was utilised in c.1412 to assign a Furnesian element to the abbey's identity, even attempting to render non-Furnesian benefactors as Furnesian when engaging upon the core territories of Furness Abbey. The omission of the wider Irish Sea dimension of benefactors such as the Boyvilles formed part of a process of consolidating a sense of what Furness Abbey was around its core domain, although within the Coucher Book itself the Irish Sea dimension was still acknowledged c.1412. Thus, previous historical perspectives from the 12th century could be preserved in partial form into the 15th century, albeit modified to suit different purposes. In the case of the Huddlestons in Furness, the preoccupation of the Coucher Book compilers was with determining the extent of the boundaries of Angerton Moss vis-à-vis the Lordship of Millom in a form favouring the abbey. This narrative was meant to be constructed around a non-Furnesian 'Other', with the Huddlestons acknowledging the right of Furness Abbey to exert authority over the peninsula. However, the involvement of the Huddlestons with the abbey in Furness demonstrates a greater degree of interconnectedness between Furnesian and non-Furnesian political cultures than is

otherwise recognised in the Coucher Book. What is more, the Huddlestons were capable of showing considerable agency in determining the terms of their benefactions even within the core domain of Furness Abbey. Yet, trends are detectable in the Huddleston benefactor relationship indicating a shift towards presenting Furness Abbey as the dominant party in negotiations over terms of benefaction, and consequently how they were assimilated into a vision of abbey expansion presented in the Coucher Book.

Outside of Furness, despite the best efforts of the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412, the agency of the Boyville and Huddleston benefactors in influencing how Furness Abbey conceived of its historical place and identity was considerable. The Boyvilles maintained an intimate, pious benefactor relationship with Furness Abbey, granting considerable privileges within their Millom heartland. Yet, their priority in the benefactor relationship was one of reinforcing bonds of kinship by using the abbey as an arena for exhibiting their religious and political interests. Subsequent generations sought to both respond to the growing power of the abbey in their domains and to advance their familial interests. The nature of the interactions made a significant impression upon Furness Abbey, which ensured a prominent place for the Boyvilles in the Coucher Book long after the family ceased to be.

This focused consideration of the Boyville and Huddleston benefactors reinforces many of the central themes on the development of monastic institutional memory and identity explored throughout this thesis. The Coucher Book was both a retrospective exercise in manipulating perceptions of benefactors of Furness Abbey at the time of its compilation, yet at the same time permits a window upon how understandings of memory and identity were negotiated over time through the documentary record it contains. However, the incompleteness of the documentary record represented in the cartulary, and especially the selection and emphasis of relevant material, preclude an objective understanding of benefactor relations even as they reveal much about how the compilers determined how those relations should be remembered and valued. This has important implications for encouraging revision of prevailing scholarly approaches to monastic cartularies as repositories of information, and particularly how that information could be used to reflect different and changing priorities in the process of recreating their past and present. Having undertaken an in-depth quantitative, documentary and case-study analysis of the Coucher Book as a historical artefact in its own right, this thesis will now address the Metrical Introduction to see what it can reveal about how it portrayed an historicised understanding for Furness Abbey through a different but peculiar medium.

Chapter Four: The Metrical Introduction to the Furness Coucher Book



Picture 17: The first folio of the Metrical Introduction in the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (c.1412), (TNA: DL42/3, fol.6r), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

Where the preceding chapters undertook quantitative and qualitiative analysis of the Furness Coucher Book as a whole, I will now undertake a literary analysis of the Metrical Introduction to the cartulary, to determine how an institutional memory and identity developed for Furness Abbey by c.1412. Having analysed the Metrical Introduction itself, this chapter shall set it against the context of late-mediaeval monastic education and poetic skills, and make comparisons with extant examples of monastic poetry to understand how distinct the Metrical Introduction is as a poetic work within a cartulary context.[1] The focus is primarily upon how the author of the Metrical Introduction, Richard Esk, expressed how the monks of Furness understood their historical consciousness, although multiple layers of memory from earlier

[1] *MA Vol.I*, pp.21–23; *MA Vol.II*, p.2.

times were incorporated into this expression. As maintained in previous chapters, it seems apparent from the outset that the Coucher Book was consciously envisaged as an exemplary artefact embodying a particular understanding how the abbey interpreted its past and present as an institution.[2] The inclusion and prominence of a work of poetry in a monastic property record warrants more detailed investigation in the context of this thesis, to demonstrate the multiple functions which monastic cartularies fulfilled.

The construction of institutional memory and identity in the Metrical Introduction

The Metrical Introduction consists of two Latin poetic accounts introducing the date, authorship and purpose of the Furness Coucher Book, which appear towards the beginning of Volume I and Volume II respectively.[3] The Introduction begins with an account of the foundation of Furness Abbey, including its original foundation at Tulketh and refoundation by Count Stephen, and names the first Abbot of Furness as Ewan d'Avranches.[4] After establishing a date for the foundation of the abbey in Furness in the Vale of Bekansgill, the Introduction then invokes royal and divine protection upon Furness Abbey and explains the order of material in the cartulary.[5] Finally, it attributes the authorship of the Coucher Book to Abbot William Dalton, concealing the name of the compiler in a pun, and curses any who does not treat the cartulary with care.[6] The poem's composition most likely dates to c.1412, after the compilation of the Coucher Book had been concluded, since it states that the 'Register Book of the Abbey' had been completed in that year by John Stell.[7] The exact authorship of the Metrical Introduction has been much debated.[8] Where John Stell appears prominently in the account for overseeing the compilation of the cartulary, a scribe called Richard Esk has been identified as the author of the Introduction from internal evidence in the text.[9] Esk is also singled out as the author of the Tabulated Index,[10] confirming that both were produced concurrently, and he perhaps appears from this as a supervisor above Stell. The Introduction shall be referred to for

[2] See Chapter One, p.36, p.39, and see Chapter Two, p.89.
[3] The most complete transcription of the Metrical Introduction, from the Coucher Book (Volume I), can be found in Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', pp.100–107; all subsequent references from the Metrical Introduction derive from this citation and are rendered as: 'Metrical Introduction, p.100, line 1'.
[4] Metrical Introduction, p.101, lines 1–20.
[5] Ibid., p.103, lines 35–45, p.105, lines 50–73.
[6] Ibid., p.107, lines 73–90.
[7] Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.98.
[8] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.288; Barnes, *Barrow and District*, pp.35–36.
[9] See Metrical Introduction, p.106, lines 67–68, and explanatory note in Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.107; Gaythorpe, 'On the Date of the Foundation of Furness Abbey', p.216.
[10] Metrical Introduction, p.106, lines 68–69.

the purposes of this chapter in the singular, since sufficient textual similarities exist between the two versions, both attributed to the same author and for similar purposes within the context of the cartulary, for the poem to be treated as a singular enterprise, while at the same time considering important differences in textual composition between the two versions.

The Metrical Introduction of the Furness Coucher Book is much more extensive in Volume I compared to Volume II,[11] and thus in this chapter the version in Volume I will be the subject of the most detailed investigation,[12] with checks in relation to Volume II where appropriate. This is in itself significant if the theory advanced in Chapter Two that Volume II was intended primarily for consumption by audiences outside of Furness is to be taken seriously.[13] Therefore, it seems apparent that the Volume I version of the Metrical Introduction was intended from the outset to be an exposition of the institutional memory and identity of Furness Abbey for the monastic community itself, and that the function of the cartulary, by implication, was envisaged with that end in mind by the compilers. Based on its similarity and brevity, it seems as though the Volume II version of the Metrical Introduction was intended as a follow-on from the Volume I version.[14]

The purpose of the Coucher Book, according to the Metrical Introduction, was to be a repository for the land grants, charters of privileges, final concords, pleadings and papal privileges and obligations granted to Furness Abbey since its foundation.[15] Being situated before the Tabulated Index, it refers to the table *ordine scriptorum possessorum foliorum*.[16] Therefore, although ostensibly compiled to arrange a portfolio of abbey property and privileges, there is no explicitly stated order of material in the Metrical Introduction. This implies that the Metrical Introduction was completed after the compilation process was completed in c.1412, independently of John Stell's exertions, and was consequently seeking to make sense of the ensuing material for a wider audience to comprehend it. More than establishing a sense of order to the compilation, however, I would argue that the Metrical Introduction advocated a particular way for readers to read the cartulary in a manner which accorded with the version of history that was being portrayed by the Coucher Book compilers across the cartulary. What is noteworthy at this stage is that Richard Esk and John Stell, if indeed they were working coincidentally but independently on different components of the Coucher Book, expounded different means of interpreting that same version of history, even in c.1412. The implication in the Metrical Introduction is that the material in the Coucher Book was mostly arranged topographically,

[11] Ibid., p.98.
[12] *MA Vol.I*, pp.21–23.
[13] See Chapter Two, p.89.
[14] *MA Vol.II*, p.2.
[15] Ibid., p.104, lines 47–53.
[16] 'Arranged in the order of writings, or owners, or pages', Ibid., p.106, line 54.

though most significant perhaps is how it relates that material specifically back to Furness as the focal point from which these grants and privileges can be understood.[17] It appears therefore that Richard Esk, assuming that he was a Furness scribe, consciously sought to invoke the link with the core lands of the abbey to its shared history, and especially given the conspicuous patronage of Abbot William Dalton, implicitly associates those lands with the authority of the abbot who ordered the Coucher Book to be compiled.

The Coucher Book is dedicated to Abbot William Dalton (1405-1417), who, according to the Metrical Introduction, *condere librum fecit*.[18] The implication is, therefore, that the Metrical Introduction effectively ascribes the compilation process of the Coucher Book to the period between c.1405 and c.1412. The process of compiling the Coucher Book is not portrayed so much as a communal effort of devotion, but as the personal initiative of the incumbent abbot of Furness at the time when the Metrical Introduction was composed. Nevertheless, a growing appreciation of the role of multiple scribal input into the creation of cartularies has cautioned historians against attributing overarching agency to a single individual. An extreme example can be seen in the analysis of multiple scribal input in the Lindores Cartulary, which was compiled over many generations and developed a haphazard structure in terms of how its material was organised, giving room for different individual scribes to influence the overall shape of the cartulary.[19] Multiple scribal input has also been attributed to the copying of 12th-13th century Welsh poems in the Hendregadredd manuscript (c.1282-c.1350), one of the most significant sources of Welsh court after the Red Book of Hergest (c.1382).[20] Both sources incorporate the poetry of the Gogynfeirdd, Welsh court poets active from the 12th-14th centuries in preserving memories of legacies of rule by the Welsh princes, in the case of the Red Book of Hergest to 'gather into one book the classics of Welsh literature'.[21] The Hendregadredd manuscript itself produced at Strata Florida Abbey,[22] copying much of the input of the Gogynfeirdd for posterity. Daniel Huws has identified at least three 'strata' of poetry within the overall oeuvre.[23] The first 'stratum' comprised the work of one individual and the second and third 'strata' contributing a number of contemporary poems written in the early-14th century.[24] Nearly forty different hands were involved in the last two 'strata', indicating the considerable aptitude for monastic poetry at Strata Florida by the mid-14th century.[25] Even though the evidence for original poetry as an

[17] See Chapter Two, pp.90–91.
[18] 'Caused this book to be compiled', Metrical Introduction, p.107, lines 74–75.
[19] Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, p.6.
[20] David Stephenson, *Medieval Powys: Kingdom, Principality and Lordships, 1132-1293* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2016), pp.17-18
[21] Daniel Huws, *Medieval Welsh Manuscripts* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2000), p.82
[22] Ibid., pp.82-86
[23] Ibid., pp.193–226
[24] Ibid., pp.208-212
[25] Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, p.31.

integral part of monastic chronicles in Britain is slim, this does not mean that poetry cannot be used to illustrate the institutional identity of monasteries themselves, and indeed for poems to draw inspiration and evidence from monastic chronicles. This appears to be the case with the *Speculum Augustinianum*, an unfinished history of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, produced by Thomas Elmham, while he was a monk of the abbey, as the mid-13th-century abbey cartulary supposedly supplied him with the source of the texts used in the latter part of the *Speculum* up to c.1192.[26] In the case of the Furness Coucher Book, there is a case to be made for the compilation being ascribed to Abbot William Dalton, while the authorship of John Stell and Richard Esk is more conspicuously advertised. A comparison can perhaps be drawn here with the Great Cowcher, which was commissioned by Henry IV in 1402 and compiled by John Leventhorp, and was arguably envisaged from the beginning of its compilation as an act of legitimising Duchy of Lancaster authority over its territories, with particular freedom to act within this parameter being delegated to John Leventhorp in accordance with this project.[27] This does not, however, detract from the communal scribal involvement in the compilation of the cartulary, and arguably Richard Esk perceived his role as bringing out a historical narrative of Furness Abbey that multiple scribes from the community had contributed towards under Stell's direction.[28]

Although S.B. Gaythorpe attributed the figure shown in the illuminated initial at the beginning of the Coucher Book (Volume I) to Richard Esk, since he is shown supplicating the Virgin Mary for protection and is situated facing the folio upon which his name would be revealed,[29] this does not prove any link between the author of the Metrical Introduction and the figure shown, which could have been a separate endeavour from the Introduction itself. Equally likely, the figure could show Abbot William Dalton, for whom the Coucher Book was compiled, appealing for the protection of his Abbey from its patron saint.[30] Contrary to Gaythorpe's assertions of Richard Esk's humility,[31] such a quality would appear to be more in keeping with the public image which Abbot William Dalton would have sought to portray through the Coucher Book, since he is the only key figure out of the three personalities behind the Coucher Book not to be singled out for personal exposure. It therefore appears that the Metrical Introduction is justified in ascribing the motivation for compiling the Coucher Book to Abbot William Dalton, but the pronounced personal influence of Richard Esk within the

[26] Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature*, p.298, see fn. 185.
[27] Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', pp.598-599.
[28] See Introduction, p.19; Joanna Tucker, 'Understanding Scotland's medieval cartularies', *Innes Review*, vol.70, issue 2 (2019), pp.149–150.
[29] Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.108; illuminated initial present at Tabulated Index, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.7, V., p.24.
[30] Metrical Introduction, p.104, lines 45–46.
[31] Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.108.

Introduction seems the strongest evidence to attribute authorship of this poetic preface to this monastic individual.

Between the corporate directive of Abbot William Dalton and the personal influence of Richard Esk upon the creation of the Metrical Introduction, the poetic preface embarks upon its task, shared by both commissioners, of presenting a version of history and a collective perspective that was amenable to the Furness community. The Volume I version of the Metrical Introduction begins with an extensive exposition of the foundation history of Furness Abbey.[32] Richard Esk recounts in detail how the monastic community was founded first at Tulketh in 1124, before moving to Furness in 1127. Yet, his dating practice here appears to be somewhat flawed, or at least limited by the poetic parameters to which he confined himself, such as his claim that from the foundation at Tulketh to that at Furness there was an interval of *annis namque tribus transactis totque diebus*,[33] which was in fact three years all but three days.[34] The wording also implies that the abbey was founded at Furness much earlier than 1127, possibly mixing it up with the date of the move from Tulketh in 1124.[35] The exact date for the foundation of Furness Abbey is therefore not definitively established in the Metrical Introduction, except for the name of the first abbot, Ewan d'Avranches.[36] Ewan is described by Richard Esk as *hicque facundus*,[37] and he is referred to elsewhere in the Coucher Book as *magnae scientiae et non minoris sanctitatis vir*.[38] This evocation of Ewan d'Avranches bears similarities with how Vitalis, abbot of Savigny at the time of the Tulketh foundation, was described in his mortuary roll and in the *Vita* as a man of great learning and sanctity.[39] However, the Savigniac history of Furness Abbey is never explicitly acknowledged within the Metrical Introduction as part of the foundation narrative. Instead, the narrative begins with the 1124 foundation at Tulketh while ignoring the Savigniac input beyond the name of the first abbot.

[32] *MA Vol.I*, pp.21–22.
[33] 'Three years and three days had elapsed', Metrical Introduction, p.100, line 5.
[34] Gaythorpe, 'On the Date of the Foundation of Furness Abbey', pp.219–221.
[35] Ibid., pp.218–219.
[36] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.110, p.118.
[37] 'An eloquent man', Metrical Introduction, p.100, line 14.
[38] 'A man of great learning and no less sanctity', Pre–Coucher Book text 4, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.1, V., p.8.
[39] Hugh Feiss, Maureen M. O'Brien & Ronald Pepin, 'Introduction to *The Life of the Blessed Vitalis of Savigny*', in 'The Lives of Monastic Reformers, 2: Abbot Vitalis of Savigny, Abbot Godfrey of Savigny, Peter of Avranches and Blessed Hamo', *Cistercian Studies Series: Number Two Hundred Thirty* (Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2014); Robyn Parker, 'Creating the 'Hermit–Preachers': Narrative, Textual Construction, and Community in Twelfth– and Thirteenth–Century Northern France', PhD Thesis (Sheffield: University of Sheffield, 2014), pp.18–21, pp.36–37.

Identifying the precise origin and development of the Savigniac Congregation has proven a vexed issue for historians as much as it seems to have done for the Coucher Book compilers. Constance Berman, in particular, maintained that the merger of the Savigniac congregation with the Cistercian Order, traditionally believed to have occurred in 1147, was not in itself proof that a distinct Cistercian 'Order' had emerged. This is because the 1147 General Chapter at which that merger supposedly occurred is only substantiated in the relevant portions of the *Vita Prima* of Bernard of Clarivaux that she dates to no earlier than 1153.[40] What is more, Berman claims that there is no indication in the royal charters for the Savigniac Congregation to indicate that it had embraced Cistercian customs enthusiastically before 1154, positing 1158, when Abbot Alexander of the Cistercian daughter-house of Grandselve became Abbot of Savigny, as the most likely date for the merger.[41] Janet Burton maintains that this interpretation does not take into account the explicit date of 1147 for the merger found in the late-12th century *Historia Fundationis* of Byland Abbey,[42] while the Pope Eugenius III mandate which Berman took issue with is quite clear about addressing a well-defined group, what Holdsworth refers to as a 'family', of Savigny.[43] Despite Berman's contention that such sources exist but 'could be forgeries',[44] the papal bulls existing as copies in Cîteaux place Eugenius III's movements to Sainte-Seine, where a number of Cistercian statutes had been issued prior to the mandate.[45] Furness Abbey played an important role in opposing the 1147 merger,[46] and continued to have problems with maintaining uniformity and discipline within the Cistercian Order into the late-12th-early-13th centuries.[47] How the monastic community reconciled itself with its role in opposing the merger may have played a significant part in how the Coucher Book compilers interpreted this part of the abbey's history for a later generation.

The Cistercian credentials of Furness were advertised within the Metrical Introduction by their different dress codes, where *in Tulket fuimus grisei monachi situati hic summus albati praesenti tegimine scimus*,[48] even though the actual colour of the Savigniac habit is not

[40] Berman, *The Cisterican Evolution*, p.145.
[41] Ibid., p.146.
[42] Janet Burton, 'Introduction', in *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, Borthwick Texts and Studies, vol.35, ed. by Janet Burton (York: University of York, 2006), pp.xxv–xxvii.
[43] Christopher Holdsworth,, 'The Affiliation of Savigny', in *Truth as Gift: Studies in Medieval Cistercian History in Honor of John F. Sommerfeldt,* ed. by Martha L. Dutton, Daniel M. La Corte, & Paul Lockey (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 2004), p.46.
[44] Berman, *The Cisterican Evolution*, p.145.
[45] Francs R. Swietek & Terrence M. Deneen, 'The Episcopal Exemption of Savigny, 1112–1184', *Church History*, vol.52, issue 3 (1983), pp.290–292; Holdsworth, 'The Affiliation of Savigny', pp.45–48, pp.83–86.
[46] Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, pp.103–107.
[47] Ibid., pp.114–115.
[48] 'In Tulketh where we were situated we were grey monks, but here we are the utmost white, as we know by the present covering', Metrical Introduction, p.100, lines 15–16.

definitively established as grey.[49] The emphatic shift from perfect to present tense underlines how far the version of Furness Abbey's history presented here sought to distinguish its Savigniac past from its Cistercian present. The compilers were aware of the abbey's Savigniac past, shown by incorporating copied historical accounts preceding the Introduction which recall the Savigniac origins of Furness daughter-houses in Ireland.[50] However, the emphasis upon the change in habits in the Metrical Introduction probably indicates a desire to use the Savigniac element of Furness Abbey history to demonstrate how the abbey had reformed itself. For instance, the prominent role of Furness in resisting the 1147 merger with the Cistercian Order is noticeable by its absence in the Metrical Introduction,[51] but is otherwise apparent from the Cistercian General Chapter documents and papal investigations uncovered by Christopher Holdsworth.[52] The implication from the outset was that how Furness Abbey understood itself in c.1412 should be attached firmly to its Furness lands, towards which the early monastic community in Tulketh was destined to settle.

In common with the rest of the Coucher Book, the Metrical Introduction places great store upon the role of Count Stephen of Boulogne and Mortain in the foundation of Furness Abbey, especially emphasising his royal pedigree.[53] Richard Esk was keen to point out that Count Stephen still retained the royal connection which Furness Abbey had benefitted immensely from by c.1412, even at the time of its foundation. Stephen is described as being *Quem gens Anglorum Regem sibi post titulavit* by the people of England,[54] becoming king *in ordine pleno* but Count of Boulogne and Mortain when *hanc aedem cum fore fecit*.[55] Richard Esk implies that it was still Stephen's favoured monastery by being still standing after ten years *cum primo micuit Comes iste decore Coronae*.[56] Even the physical labour of building the monastery at Furness is ascribed to Count Stephen, for *hanc hac valle domum Stephanus Comes aedificavit*, and *fundi iactamine texto*,[57] in the sense of the timber foundations for the abbey church, laid during the reign of his uncle Henry I. The clear implication is that Count Stephen should take a prominent part, perhaps even the dominant part, in the process of foundation of Furness Abbey. This complements Helen Birkett's argument that Jocelin of Furness' *Life of Waltheof* shows awareness of the significance of Count Stephen to the abbey, by virtue of the

[49] Hill, *English Cistercian Monasteries*, p.88.
[50] See esp. Pre–Coucher Book text 4, *CB Vol.I*, fol.1, V., p.8.
[51] Metrical Introduction, pp.103–107.
[52] Holdsworth, 'The Affiliation of Savigny', pp.46–50, pp.55–56, p.61.
[53] Gaythorpe, 'On the Date of the Foundation of Furness Abbey', p.220.
[54] 'He whom the people of England afterwards entitled King', Metrical Introduction, p.102, line 18.
[55] 'In due order', Ibid., p.102, line 20; 'When he caused this house to be founded', Ibid., p.102, line 22.
[56] 'When Count Stephen first gleamed with the grace of his crown', Ibid., p.102, line 26.
[57] 'In this vale (of Bekansgill) Count Stephen did build this house', Ibid., p.102, line 17; 'Bound the foundations together', Ibid., p.102, line 24.

ornate language shared between the *Life* and the Foundation Charter of Furness Abbey preserved in the Coucher Book.[58]

It is significant that the wordplay employed by Richard Esk to determine the date of foundation of Furness Abbey is connected to a keen historical awareness of the place of the abbey in the story of the Anglo-Norman kings.[59] This results in the wider Insular context of the foundation of the abbey being downplayed in favour of English royal links. Further to this, the Metrical Introduction actively incorporates an element of nobility within the narrative, by recalling how *iam patriae tantae nomen sortitur et omen*,[60] in association with the pedigree *Comitis Regumque*.[61] This statement could perhaps have pre-empted the consistent use of coats-of-arms as an integral feature of the Coucher Book, or it could equally have had broader implications in associating Furness Abbey with past generations of English aristocracy. In any case, this feature of the Metrical Introduction appears to have been predicated upon a historical understanding of the place of English nobility and royalty within its narrative, which subsequently informed the institutional identity portrayed here and throughout the Coucher Book. However, Esk stresses how *Praedicti Comitis Regumque rescripta docent haec gestis praeteritis quae Chronographi reticent*.[62] The Coucher Book itself, by incorporating copied material from kings and counts themselves, was deemed to carry greater historical validity than a purely literary exposition of the abbey's past. In so doing, Esk ensured that power over crafting an historicised understanding for Furness Abbey would rest with the compilers of the Coucher Book, by presenting the cartulary as if it were a chronicle whilst letting the assembled material evidence act as expositions of that memory.

A close connection between the natural environment of Furness and abbey is illustrated in the Metrical Introduction by attributing the name of the valley in which the abbey was founded, the Vale of Bekansgill, to *Bekan qua viruit dulcis nunc tunc sed acerba*.[63] This has been understood to refer to the Woody Nightshade plant (*Solanum Dulcamara*) that was said to grow within the Vale of Bekansgill, which tasted at first bitter and then sweet.[64] Yet, Thomas Alcock Beck, while acknowledging the apparent genesis of the name, maintained that it was a 'creation of the monastic fancy'.[65] S.B. Gaythorpe proposed that the Vale of Bekansgill was

[58] Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness*, pp.136–137.
[59] Gaythorpe, 'On the Date of the Foundation of Furness Abbey', pp.220–221.
[60] 'It now receives a name and fortune befitting so noble a dwelling', Metrical Introduction, p.104, line 36.
[61] 'Of the Count and the Kings', Ibid., p.104, line 37.
[62] 'Decrees of Kings and a Count aforesaid tell of things in events of the past which chroniclers do not relate', Ibid., p.104, lines 37–38.
[63] 'The herb Bekan, which bloomed there, in taste now sweet, but first bitter', Ibid., p.104, line 34.
[64] Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', pp.108–109.
[65] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, pp.2–3.

instead derived from the Hiberno-Norse personal name, Beccán, which became associated with the valley.[66] Beck's explanation lay in the foundation of Clairvaux Abbey in the Vale of Wormwood, so called because of the plant which grew there.[67] However, given that the Metrical Introduction is the first known attribution of the valley's name to the Woody Nightshade plant, it was most likely a trope adjusted in c.1412 to serve the interests of constructing a particular version of how Furness Abbey was to be understood. By describing the properties of Woody Nightshade as being *dulcis nunc tunc sed acerba*,[68] Richard Esk arguably invokes a trope common to Cistercian foundation narratives, such as Fountains and Clairvaux, which emphasise creating a community in *locum tunc scilicet horroris et vastae solitudinis*,[69] juxtaposing the creation of a reformed utopia of the 'desert' out of the chaos of the surrounding environment. In the case of Furness, the bitterness of the Woody Nightshade plant could represent the unreformed surroundings which greeted the monks when they arrived in Furness in 1127, now rendered 'sweet' thanks to the missionary and especially political endeavours of the abbey as recounted in the pages of the Coucher Book.

Thus, the Metrical Introduction served the purpose of framing the essential narrative premises within which the institutional memory and identity of Furness Abbey was to be interpreted, even acting as a benchmark against which the selection, organisation and prioritisation of material within the Coucher Book could be measured. According to a grant of Herbert of Ellel in c.1190-c.1220, Furness Abbey was known then as *domui Sancte Marie de Bechanesgile*,[70] but by the time Richard Esk penned the Metrical Introduction in c.1412 the abbey was known as St. Mary of Furness, as Richard Esk himself points out.[71] The inference, therefore, is that the name of Bekansgill does not bear a logical connection to the Woody Nightshade plant so much as with the people of Furness with whom the valley was associated. The natural connection appears to have been concocted by Richard Esk in c.1412, from his personal knowledge of the Woody Nightshade's properties,[72] and superimposed upon the prevailing Coucher narrative of Furness Abbey history to eliminate any pre-existing human connection with the Vale of Bekansgill in order for the location to conform to Cistercian foundation narrative topoi and thus emphasise the Cistercian element of the institutional identity of the abbey in that regard. This consequently places the onus for transforming the Furness

[66] Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.105.
[67] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, pp.30–31.
[68] 'Now sweet, but first bitter', Metrical Introduction, p.104, line 34.
[69] 'A place of horror and a vast wilderness', *Exordium Cistercii* (c.1115), in Waddell, *Narrative and Legislative Texts from Early Citeaux*, p.146.
[70] 'The house of St. Mary of Bechanesgile', Ellel text 1, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.86, V., p.224.
[71] Metrical Introduction, p.104, line 48, and explanatory note in Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.105.
[72] Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.105, pp.108–109.

landscape in its own image upon Furness Abbey itself and the paradigm of place that has been demonstrated to be such a prominent feature in how the compilers in c.1412 interpreted the place of their monastery in time and place.

Contextual appraisal of poetry in late mediaeval English monastic education

In order to examine how exceptional the Furness Abbey Metrical Introduction is as an example of a poetic preface to a monastic cartulary, it needs to be considered in the context of contemporary examples of poetic endeavour in c.1412. Late mediaeval monastic education focused primarily upon theology and liturgical training,[73] with monasteries valuing a university education in particular to improve the skills of their monks in conducting the liturgy and copying manuscripts.[74] As part of a reforming effort to enforce discipline outside the cloister while monks were away studying, monastic edicts, particularly from the Benedictine Order, forbade monks from studying poetry, claiming it was a distraction from their pursuit of the contemplative life.[75] Nevertheless, by c.1412, there was widespread exposure to poetry within monastic education, particularly at Oxford and Cambridge, with several monks amassing private libraries containing the works of Classical authors such as Horace and Ovid, or 12th-13th-century works such as the Grail cycle.[76] Even though it was not formally part of monastic education, because of the considerable amount of time monks spent between university terms, monks such as Thomas Walsingham had the opportunity to broaden their literary interests and acquire works that were valued especially for their antiquity.[77] John Stell may have spent time at Oxford University, if a register from 1400 of the Fellows' Chambers at University College, Oxford, is to be believed, which demonstrates that Furness Abbey maintained a link with the university in the education of some of its monks.[78] It is possible that Richard Esk could have similarly received his education at Oxford, if he was indeed a Furness monk, as Gaythorpe claimed.[79] Other monasteries in the

[73] James G. Clark, 'University monks in late medieval England', in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. by George Fercozo & Carolyn Muessig (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), pp.56–57.
[74] Aidan Bellenger 'A medieval novice's formation: reflection on a fifteenth–century manuscript at Downside Abbey', in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. by George Fercozo & Carolyn Muessig (London: Leicester University Press, 2000), p.38.
[75] Clark, 'University monks in late medieval England', p.57; Jean Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God: A Study of Monastic Culture*, 3rd ed. (New York: Fordham University Press, 1982), p.135; William Abel Pantin, 'Documents Illustrating the Activities of the General and Provincial Chapters of the English Black Monks, 1215–1540', *Camden Society*, 3rd series, vol.45 (1931), pp.55–58, pp.72–82.
[76] Ibid, p.67.
[77] Ibid., p.64; Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature*, pp.297–298.
[78] *Historical Manuscripts Commission Rep*ort, Volume V, p.478, cited in Powicke, 'The abbey of Furness', p.125.
[79] Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.108.

North, such as Fountains and St. Mary's York, sent a certain number of their number to be educated at the universities, although differing levels of wealth and commitment meant that not all of these monasteries could afford to send monks there on a regular basis, leaving monasteries in the South like St. Albans or Christchurch Canterbury to send monks more regularly.[80] It all adds up to a picture of considerable activity in providing a university education for monks, and through this channel it appears as though poetic interests could be more openly cultivated away from the cloister.

The monastic veneration of antiquity, as Leclercq saw it, had long driven monks such as Bede to transcribe Classical literature and integrate it into wider monastic works, particularly chronicles, and by c.1412 a similar veneration was shown towards 11th-12th-century literature and poetry.[81] This has often been taken as evidence of a monastic mentality that emphasised simple accumulation of records on the basis of their antiquity without attributing individual creativity to monks themselves by virtue of the monastic culture that they inhabited.[82] However, the boundary between the cloister and the world beyond was more fluid than Leclercq had supposed, as especially by the time of the compilation of the Coucher Book monastic influences were influencing works of secular literature and vice versa. This can be seen most clearly in the works of the monk John Lydgate, who employed monastic topoi in his poems, particularly on the monastic value of rumination communicated through vernacular verse to a secular audience.[83] Similarly, Thomas Elmham of St. Augustine's, Canterbury, employed Leonine hexameter and absorbed contemporary Classical interests in constructing his poems and chronicles.[84] As a result, the author of the Metrical Introduction inhabited a vibrant environment where monastic and secular themes in poetry could be readily incorporated into each other, and which could thereby be transposed into different forms of monastic production ranging from poetry and chronicles to cartularies.

The Furness Coucher Book is notable for being one of the few cartulary prefaces that was produced in verse. Most examples of original monastic versification in this period can be found in chronicles or hagiographies, such as Anonymous of Westminster or Thomas of Elmham.[85] Comparable examples of poetry found in monastic cartularies, such as Ely, concern older or non-monastic poetry incorporated into a wider work,[86] making the peculiarity of the

[80] Clark, 'University monks in late medieval England', p.57.
[81] Leclercq, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, p.134, p.136.
[82] Milis, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men*, pp.100–102.
[83] Jacob Riyeff, ''Tenlvmyne' the *Laetabundus*: John Lydgate as Benedictine Poet', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, vol.115, no.3 (2016), pp.371–374, see pp.381–382 for discussion on the communication of monastic values of rumination to a secular audience in Lydgate's *Laetabundus*.
[84] Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature*, p.298.
[85] Ibid., pp.299–300.
[86] Eleanor Parker, ''Merry sang the monks': Cnut's Poetry and the *Liber Eliensis*', *Scandinavica*, vol.57, no.1 (2018), pp.15–16.

Furness Coucher Book Metrical Introduction even more notable. The Metrical Introduction in the Coucher Book was explicitly commissioned to frame and recount the history of Furness Abbey, and if this method was a deliberate decision endorsed by the institution itself then that marks this part of the cartulary out as exceptional among monastic poetry. From an appreciation of the context of monastic poetry against which the Metrical Introduction was produced, this chapter will now investigate the Introduction itself in comparison with other cartularies and monastic literature.

Comparison of the Metrical Introduction with other cartularies and chronicles

It can by now be appreciated that the Metrical Introduction encapsulates a much broader scope of purpose than describing the Coucher Book as a property portfolio. It can be seen equally, and perhaps more importantly, as a literary account of the historical development of Furness Abbey, one that provides rich insight into how the institutional memory and identity of the abbey was understood in c.1412. Many monastic cartularies never had poetic prefaces of the kind which Furness Abbey produced, with the notable exception of the poetic translation of early mediaeval charters from Old English into Latin by John Lydgate, monk of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey, in the Curteys Cartulary of the same monastery, produced on the occasion of the admission of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, into the monastic community in 1433-34.[87]

Despite this, the Furness Metrical Introduction seems to have been part of a growing trend towards imitating secular verse trends in 15th-century monastic chronicles.[88] In particular, the 'culture of anonymity' that had hitherto been prevalent among monastic chroniclers was breaking down, and monks were increasingly pitching their verses towards secular patrons.[89] This can be seen in the acrostic revealing the name of Thomas Elmham, prior of Lenton, in a poem dedicated to Henry V,[90] and a similar dedication to the same king by Thomas Walsingham of St. Albans Abbey in his *Ypodigma Neustriae*.[91] In the case of Walsingham, he referred to his 'greater chronicles',[92] advertising his potential to utilise his Classical learning beyond his monastic profession. The Metrical Introduction also shared a contemporary preoccupation with

[87] Lowe, 'Curating and curating an archive', pp.204–207.
[88] Given–Wilson, *Chronicles*, pp.143–145, pp.147–150, p.152.
[89] Ibid., p.149.
[90] Ibid., pp.147–148; Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature,* p.300.
[91] Given–Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.150.
[92] Thomas Walsingham, *Ypodigma Neustriae a Thoma Walsingham* (1419), trans. & ed. by H.T. Riley (London: Rolls Series, 1876), p.306, cited in Given–Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.150.

versified genealogical roll chronicles common to monastic houses by c.1412.[93] A mid-15th century roll created at Watton Priory includes a poetic doggerel designed to aid the community in remembering and preserving the history of the English kings, reinforced by roundel illustrations of all English kings from 1066 onwards.[94] It appears as though verse was seen as a valuable instrument in helping monastic communities to consolidate wider historical understandings beyond the experiences in the cloister, and that techniques that were applied in relation to secular audiences could be adapted to suit monastic demands as well.

The literary prowess of Richard Esk is borne out especially in the prominent use of wordplay to illuminate his authorship of the Metrical Introduction. *Est dives durus* is accompanied by subsequent instructions as to how to decipher an otherwise incomprehensible Latin phrase on its own terms to reveal his name.[95] The same is applied to how John Stell supposedly wrote on the Coucher Book *cuiusquam volucris*,[96] through the phrase *arbor genteque tumba* and deciphering the adjective *argentum* for the kind of pen he used.[97] According to Beck, this reference represents the first known use of a silver pen in Furness,[98] and the prestige attached to using it is underlined by its use among the Eastern Orthodox Patriarchs for subscriptions.[99] The use of a silver pen in this fashion appears to imply a didactic approach, almost as if John Stell was endowed with administering how collective beliefs about Furness Abbey would be understood in the manner of an ecclesiastical patriarch for the community.

Similar forms of wordplay are relatively common means within late mediaeval Latin texts of revealing English names or vernacular phrases which otherwise did not suit the rhyming patterns of mediaeval Latin.[100] An early example of onomastic wordplay in English, French and Latin was employed by Robert Partes of Reading Abbey in 1181, and he employs greetings in acrostics in his poems to Peter of Celle, abbot of St-Remi.[101] Cistercian monastic versifiers such as Matthew of Rievaulx (fl.1216) focus on using rhymed hexameters to criticise vices affecting

[93] Given–Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.144.
[94] Ibid., p.145.
[95] 'The rich hard', a pun on his name, Richard; see Metrical Introduction, p.106, line 67, and explanatory note in Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.107.
[96] 'Without the quill of any bird', Ibid., p.106, line 62.
[97] 'Tree, people, tomb', an otherwise meaningless statement which reveals 'silver' in each of the three prefixes of the words; see Metrical Introduction, p.106, line 63, and explanatory note in Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.107.
[98] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.287.
[99] Thomas Dudley Fosbroke, *Encyclopaedia of Antiquities and Elements of Archaeology, Classical and Mediaeval: Volume I* (London: M.A. Nattali, 1843), p.344.
[100] For other examples of this wordplay, see Rylands Latin MS 394, Summa Dictaminis Epistolarum (c.1400–c.1450), fol.27, nos. 22 and 24, in which the variant, *dis durus* ('push hard'), with the same meaning, occurs; Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.107.
[101] William H. Cornog, 'The Poems of Robert Partes', *Speculum*, vol.12 (1937), pp.215–250.

monks and to praise the Church Fathers and notable writers such as Hildebert and Peter Riga.[102] By the late-13th century, versification was incorporated into chronicles by monastic contributors, the most prolific being Henry de Burgo of Lanercost; between 1280 and 1292 the Lanercost Chronicle contains fourteen of his poems.[103] Most of these poems contained hexameters commenting on personal developments, such as his wrongful imprisonment while on archiepiscopal business, or national events such as the proclamation of Edward I's overlordship of Scotland in 1291.[104] Later developments in wordplay in monastic works arguably arose out of the greater attention given to writing about literature than to practising it, as the proficiency of monastic authors in Anglo-Latin literary forms by c.1412 had enabled them to impart greater flexibility in their syntactical expression.[105] For instance, cryptograms were used by John Ergom, Augustinian friar of York, in a manuscript written between 1362 and 1364 associated with the *Prophecy* of John of Bridlington, to reveal the name of the author.[106] This linguistic device demonstrates not only the personal interest of Richard Esk in wordplay, but perhaps also a latent desire to ensure that his mark would be recognisably his own to any prospective audiences of the Coucher Book. On the other hand, the Leonine versification employed in the Metrical Introduction could have been commissioned to embellish the image of Furness Abbey among those who came into contact with the cartulary, thereby expressing and consolidating a collective conception that emphasised the power as well as sophistication of the abbey itself.

Richard Esk operated within a context of professional monastic poets working across secular and monastic boundaries. One example of such a poet was Walter of Peterborough, formerly a monk of Revesby Abbey. He accompanied Edward the Black Prince and John of Gaunt on campaign at the battle of Najera (1367), and he composed a poem for them based on the battle.[107] The epilogue to the poem on Najera states that *balsama tanta metro mandare monet meus abbas*,[108] implying that he was employed by Revesby Abbey to compose a work that connected the monastery to the patronage enjoyed by their former member in the service of the Duke of Lancaster, quite possibly to render the memory of the battle palatable to a monastic

[102] Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature,* p.136; cf. the Cistercian anthology of moral poems produced at Rufford Abbey, BL Cotton Titus D. XXIV (c.1200), fols.5–143, cited in Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature,* p.151.
[103] Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature*, p.227.
[104] *Chronicon de Lanercost MCCI–MCCCXLVI*, trans. & ed. by Joseph Stevenson (Edinburgh: Bannatyne Club, 1839), pp.105–147.
[105] Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature*, p.242.
[106] Add the first letter of *miserationis* (M) to the *consequentiae notam* ('note of consequence'), and one gets 'Ergom' as the *nomen obscurum* ('obscure name), in T. Wright, *Political Poems and Songs relating to English history from the accession of Edward III to that of Richard II*, 2 vols., vol.1, Rolls Series (London, 1859–61), p.123, cited in Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature,* p.268.
[107] Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature,* p.276.
[108] 'My abbot bids me set such balms in verse', in Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, p.123, cited in Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature,* p.278.

audience, if the use of *balsama* is intended to imply as much. Yet, he was clearly also employed as a professional poet by his secular patrons as well, as he described a no longer extant poem on Ovid's *Metamorphoses* being written for John of Gaunt (*duce pro nostro*).[109] It is therefore conceivable that Richard Esk, like Walter of Peterborough, may not necessarily have been a monk of Furness Abbey in c.1412, since nothing in the Metrical Introduction specifically connects Richard Esk to the abbey itself. There is confusion, for instance, over whether to attribute the illuminated figures in both Coucher Book volumes to John Stell or Richard Esk. The Metrical Introduction has John Stell *digitis monachus scripsit*, but Richard Esk was reported as *haec metra dictantis*.[110] This perhaps indicates the distance which Richard Esk had from the finished work of John Stell and perhaps of his distance from the abbey itself. Nevertheless, through close association with the Coucher Book compilers, and by attending closely to the material which he had at his disposal as the compilation process proceeded, Richard Esk may have sharpened his awareness of the particular narrative that was being crafted for the abbey. For example, the proximity of illuminated royal grants in the Dalton texts to the Metrical Introduction, effectively the first texts to be introduced after the Tabulated Index, indicates that the close relationship with English royalty cultivated in the Metrical Introduction was replicated in the Coucher Book as a running theme within the historical narrative of c.1412.[111]

As far as explaining to its audience how the the Coucher Book (Volume I) was intended to be used, the Metrical Introduction begins with a detailed historicised account of the foundation of Furness Abbey in 1127,[112] before explaining how the Coucher Book can be used to locate documentary material pertaining to the abbey contained within its pages.[113] The foundational moment of Furness Abbey was clearly intended by Richard Esk to take up a seminal place in the historical narrative of the abbey, and the Metrical Introduction can almost be read as a didactic instruction for future generations of Furness monastics to assign significance to the foundation of the abbey within their memory. Employment of foundation accounts, as in the case of the Fountains Abbey *Narratio* included before its cartulary,[114] was common practice among monastic communities for similar historicisation purposes as seen in

[109] 'For our Duke', in Wright, *Political Poems and Songs*, p.98, cited in Rigg, *A History of Anglo–Latin Literature*, p.277.
[110] 'With his fingers wrote', line 61, and 'dictating these lines', line 68, in Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', p.108.
[111] Dalton text 1, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.47, V., p.122.
[112] Metrical Introduction, pp.100–104, lines 1–38.
[113] Ibid., pp.104–106, lines 39–72.
[114] *The Foundation of Kirkstall Abbey*, ed. & trans. by E.K. Clark, in *Miscellanea*, Thoresby Society, vol.4 (1895), pp.169–208.

the Coucher Book.[115] The personal intervention of Abbot Bernard of Clairvaux and Archbishop Thurstan of York is emphasised from the moment of its foundation, echoing Cistercian reform tropes identified in the *Vita Prima* of Bernard of Clairvaux.[116] Perhaps the active association of the abbot can be seen most clearly in the *Historia Fundationis* preceding the Byland Abbey Cartulary.[117] Here, the role of Abbot Philip (1196-1198) in compiling its *Historia Fundationis* and the value of his predecessor Abbot Roger in contributing material to the *Historia* were critical to the function of the literary device in portraying the abbots as patrons of the institutional memory of Byland.[118] The role of Abbot Ewan d'Avranches within the literary equivalent outlined in the Furness Metrical Introduction is similarly pronounced.

However, while the influence of the abbot of Furness appears prominently in the Metrical Introduction, it can perhaps be seen more broadly as an agent for memorialisation in itself. The Coucher Book Metrical Introduction served a memorial function for the monastic community at Furness to envisage their past, primarily revolving around the significance of the Furness site itself to how the Furness community would understand itself. Apart from Abbot Dalton, the only two figures deemed of significance to the historical narrative that are recorded in the Introduction are Ewan d'Avranches, the first Abbot of Furness, and Count Stephen of Boulogne & Mortain.[119] The Metrical Introduction takes great pains to establish the particular date of foundation during Ewan's abbacy, and a similar exactitude is applied with rhetorical flourish in relation to the life of Count Stephen.[120] It then conspicuously assumes a memorial role in relation to Count Stephen in particular by claiming that *Praedicti Comitis Regumque rescripta docent haec gestis praeteritis quae Chronographi reticent nec*.[121] This implies that the Metrical Introduction was envisaged as an explicit counter to alternative interpretations of the history of Furness Abbey, claiming that the documentary basis of its version of the abbey's history is a more accurate reflection of *gestis praeteritis* that better serves the needs of the community at Furness.[122] This bears a striking similarity to how future generations of scholars have treated the Coucher Book as, in the words of Alfred Fell, the light by which they can light

[115] L.G.D. Baker, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey', *Northern History*, vol.4, issue 1 (1969), pp.29–31; Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp.16–17.
[116] Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, p.100, p.103, p.291.
[117] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655), ed. by J. Caley, H. Ellis, & B. Bandinel, vol..5 (London, 1817–30), pp.349–354.
[118] Ibid., p.16, p.110, pp.288–289.
[119] Metrical Introduction, pp.100–102, line 14, lines 17–18.
[120] Gaythorpe, 'On the Date of the Foundation of Furness Abbey', p.218, p.219, p.221.
[121] 'Decrees of Kings and the Count aforesaid tell of things in events of the past which chroniclers do not relate', Metrical Introduction, p.104, lines 37–38.
[122] 'Events of the past', Ibid., p.104, line 38.

their ‘little torches’ on the history of Furness Abbey,[123] by relying heavily upon a documentary record that was in fact constructed with a particular purpose in mind.

The version of historical memory of Furness Abbey articulated in c.1412 was therefore an act of conscious construction, and the reference to extra-cartulary material in the Metrical Introduction suggests that this memory was intended for consumption beyond the confines of the Furness cloister. This is reflected, as has been discussed in Chapter One, in the arrangement and highlighting of the royal texts in the Coucher Book (Volume I) that follow immediately after the Tabulated Index.[124] In this sense, the layout of documentary material is made to reflect the account of how that material is meant to be perceived, according to the Metrical Introduction. It is significant, for instance, that Furness benefactors are accorded priority in terms of memorialisation in the Metrical Introduction, while the English kings are rendered confirmers of these gifts.[125] As is also clear from the treatment of royal acts in the Coucher Book, the relationship between the abbey and the English kings was rendered an invaluable component of how the abbey understood its historical place.[126] Yet, the Metrical Introduction is clear that the Furness peninsula attained priority in the memorial account, and by implication the memorialisation of Furness-based benefactors.

Conclusion

From this initial investigation of the place of the Metrical Introduction within the context of the Coucher Book, it appears as though its primary purpose was not simply to introduce the reader to the contents of the succeeding folios, but to construct the overarching premises by which the institutional memory and identity of Furness Abbey was to be conceived. Similar invocation of themes of the royal connection and the influence of the natural environment of Furness upon the abbey can be detected in the interpretations of Richard Esk and John Stell. Yet, these themes are much more visible in the Metrical Introduction than they are in the Coucher Book, since the compilation process itself meant that such themes were necessarily inconsistently rendered. Even commissioning such a piece, therefore, signalled the intention of the compilers to ensure that a particular historical narrative of the development of Furness Abbey could be more clearly communicated.

[123] Fell, *The Early Iron Industry in Furness*, pp.13–14.
[124] See Chapter One, pp.39–41, pp.53-54.
[125] Metrical Introduction, p.104, lines 48–51.
[126] See Chapter One, pp.66–67.

The impression given between the two authors is one of discovery of a distinct sense of how Furness Abbey developed since 1127 and where it stood at the time of compilation in c.1412, and of an organic process of reconciling its present with its past infuses the work undertaken. Although Richard Esk and John Stell composed in different styles, and even for different purposes within the context of compilation, they arguably shared a similar vision for how the past and present understanding of Furness Abbey was to be represented. This vision seems to have been inherent from the outset of the project to compile the Coucher Book, at least insofar as this was communicated by Richard Esk in commemorating the contribution of the patron, Abbot William Dalton, to bringing it to fruition. Yet the full extent towards which this vision of Furness Abbey as being representative of Furness as a region and a political entity would only come to fruition once John Stell and his team of scribes could identify and align relevant records of property and privilege that could substantiate it. The Coucher Book did not, therefore, develop haphazardly over time resulting from the contribution of multiple editors over time, but was conceived and delivered as an expression of institutional memory throughout the process, even as the exact contours of that institutional memory remained unclear until its compilation was complete. By c.1412, when the Metrical Introduction set the finishing touches to the labours of John Stell's editorship, the Coucher Book could finally claim to be an authentic literary monument to Furness Abbey and its benefactors, which had remained the overarching objective for all contributors to the Coucher Book throughout its compilation.

The Coucher Book shall now be considered in comparison with cartularies of similar historical provenance, to set it in a wider context of monastic cartulary production in Britain and Ireland. In this way I ask how far the particular facets of the Furness cartulary, including the Metrical Introduction that has been investigated here, constitute an exceptional feature in terms of constructing and conveying institutional memories and identities.

Chapter Five: The Furness Abbey Coucher Book within the wider context of cartulary production

As well as a significant literary artefact in its own right, the Furness Abbey Coucher Book occupies an important place within a wider context of cartulary production in Britain and Ireland from the 12th to the 15th centuries. This chapter will now seek to understand how far the processes of articulating institutional memory and identity identified in the preceding chapters were reflected within similar cartularies to the Furness example. Similarities and differences between the Coucher Book and cartularies from Britain and Ireland shall be investigated at a general quantitative level, and then a more in-depth comparison of the Coucher Book with three representative samples of cartularies from Britain and Ireland will be undertaken. The general quantitative comparison was undertaken in accordance with the schema for identifying cartularies from Britain and Ireland outlined by G.R.C. Davis,[1] and will be the subject of the following paragraphs.

Davis' typology of cartularies, defined according to the degree of property information they contained, was endorsed by Trevor Foulds, who distinguished between a cartulary and a register by how far the former contained 'muniments' while the latter predominantly did not.[2] A general definition of a cartulary, reflecting this view of them as propertied artefacts, was proposed in 1993 as a 'planned transcription…of diplomatic documents…in order to ensure conservation and ease of consultation'. However, Joanna Tucker demonstrates that the Davis typologies were only occasionally mentioned in the description of an item in the catalogue, and were therefore 'more impressions than distinct categories'.[3] Despite the recognition of cartularies as more than purely property records, the Davis schema is adopted here as a model for quantitative comparison because it has been conventionally utilised to understand the state of the field of British and Irish monastic cartularies as a whole. It is hoped, however, that this methodology can lead to achieving new understandings of trends in cartulary production beyond the property information hitherto valued in scholarship.

[1] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp.xiv–xvii.
[2] Trevor Foulds, 'Medieval cartularies', *Archives*, vol.18, no.77 (1987), p.6.
[3] Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, p.10.

The three select examples of cartularies for investigation in comparison with the Coucher Book are: Lanercost Priory;[4] St. Leonard's Hospital, York;[5] and Kelso Abbey.[6] The first example demonstrates change and continuity in trends in cartulary production between c.1300 and c.1412. The cartulary from St Leonard's illustrates how far the Coucher Book represented 15th-century trends in cartulary production. Finally, the third example indicates how far the Coucher Book typified trends in cartulary production in a wider Insular context. Each example is intended to place the Coucher Book across a prolonged expanse of time, within its own time and within a wider Insular context of cartulary production respectively. These representative samples are juxtaposed against a general comparative analysis of all the monastic cartularies listed in the Davis catalogue for England, Scotland and Ireland between the late-12th and early-16th centuries. Observing general trends in British and Irish cartulary production through statistical analysis can highlight how the Furness cartulary stood out as exceptional, and help provide a useful framework against which comparable cartularies can be assessed. A single cartulary was selected for analysis from each monastery listed in the Davis catalogue, as close as possible in time to the production of the Coucher Book. This keeps the amount of comparative material manageable and situates the Coucher Book within its contemporary context and hence assess the typicality, or otherwise, of its methods of articulating memory and identity.

The Davis catalogue does not contain a complete record of all British and Irish cartularies that existed, cartularies for Welsh monasteries are listed under the English section, and only those available at the time of its publication in 1958, and subsequent revision in 2010, are discussed here. In particular, cartularies for secular corporations, and especially certain cartularies from Ireland, were explicitly omitted from the original edition, and new discoveries have since come to light, including the Athelney Abbey and Rufford Abbey cartularies.[7] Davis attributed the survival of monastic cartularies after the Dissolution primarily to their value in consolidating title to the estates of the new owners of monastic land, or for use in legal disputes.[8] He therefore calculated that one-third of all cartularies in his catalogue remained extant in 1958, while he estimated more than 100 cartularies reported to have survived the

[4] 'The Lanercost Cartulary (Cumbria County Record Office MS DZ/1)', ed. by John Murray Todd, *The Publications of the Surtees Society*, vol.203, and *Transactions of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeological Society*, Record Series 11, joint publication, (1997); Philippa Hoskin, 'Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: Amendments and Additions to the Davis Catalogue', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, vol.2, (1996), p.6.
[5] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, ed. by David Carpenter (York: Yorkshire Archaeological Society & Borthwick Institute for Archives, 2015), principally Bodley MS Rawlinson B.455.
[6] *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou: Registrum Cartarum Abbacie Tironensis de Kelso, 1113–1567*, ed. by Cosmo Innes, 2 vols. (Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Club, 1846).
[7] Claire Breay, Julian Harrison & David M. Smith, 'Preface' (2010), in Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.vi.
[8] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp.xviii–xviii.

Dissolution were extant until the 17th century.[9] Nevertheless, Davis did not seem to fully appreciate the organic development of these artefacts so much as whether they survive in the form we have them today or not. This can obscure precisely how monastic communities engaged with their cartularies, such as creating forgeries in response to destruction or absence of original documents as was the case with Kelso Abbey,[10] or even creating cartularies without intending them to be used in proving title to land, as Richard Southern argued with respect to Hemming's Cartulary in Worcester Cathedral Priory.[11] Principally viewing these artefacts as products of a landed estate serving landed interests, this arguably limited his scope for conceiving how monastic cartualries could be traced through alternative avenues. This all adds up to the impression that the overall picture of monastic cartulary survival in Britain and Ireland is incomplete, and therefore any quantitative analysis, including this based on the Davis catalogue, will be partial at best. Yet, despite its limitations, the Davis catalogue offers a good starting point for situating the Coucher Book in its wider context, principally through the firm statistical basis upon which meaningful quantitative analysis can be undertaken, in the absence of a similar statistical exercise surveying the state of British and Irish monastic cartularies that could otherwise be utilised.

My quantitative analysis covered a total of 134 British and Irish surviving monastic cartularies that were produced as close as possible to the Coucher Book in c.1412 and specifically referred to in the Davis catalogue as a cartulary or general cartulary. This analysis incorporated details on the locations of monasteries by country, monastic order of the monasteries under investigation, the date of foundation of monasteries, the date of production of the monastic cartularies under investigation, the date of the latest additions to the cartularies, the date of any tables or indexes, arrangement of material within the cartularies, and details of illustrations. Each of these categories were derived directly from the terms employed in the Davis catalogue, and I use the same terms to enable consistent analysis. To keep the data consistent across each monastery in Britain and Ireland, one cartulary from each monastery was selected, identified by Davis as a cartulary or general cartulary.[12] Where multiple cartularies from the same monastery were present, the cartulary produced closest to the time of the Coucher Book was selected, in order to set it in its historical context, which was the purpose of this exercise. However, to demonstrate how monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland changed over time, cartularies from beyond the early-15th century were incorporated into this analysis to place the Coucher Book in a longer-term context. A consistent pattern of date ranges employed

[9] Ibid., p.xviii.
[10] Smith, 'The Kelso Abbey cartulary: context, production and forgery', pp.91–92, pp.125–126.
[11] Richard William Southern, 'Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing 4: The Sense of the Past', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, vol.23 (1973), pp.249–250.
[12] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.xv.

in each exercise of analysis charts changes in monastic history and how monasteries related to their material, as well as reflecting the nature of the cartulary information available through this method. For each century, date ranges were delineated according to the early part of the century (e.g. 1400-1449) and the later part of the century (e.g. 1450-1499), in order to render statistical presentation as neat as possible.

The vagaries of monastic record survival were affected not only by the Dissolution but by the 'preservation bias' which beset monastic record keeping as a whole, whereby particular documents were assessed according to their value for the particular circumstances of succeeding generations.[13] This gradual but informed process of selective preservation therefore resulted less in the deliberate destruction of cartularies than their being superseded by new editions. This can be seen in the Llanthony Priory Cartulary, whereby during reorganisation of existing cartularies in the early-15th century, a separate cartulary was compiled in 1408 for its Irish estates, which had hitherto been stored in separate divisions of the Great Cartulary.[14] At least five cartularies can be identified for Fountains Abbey between the 13th and 16th centuries, each of which substantially reproduced much of the material originating before 1300, although the very process of copying rendered the earlier material vulnerable to creative redaction on the part of the compilers.[15] Deliberate destruction of monastic cartularies during the mediaeval period is extremely rare, especially in a British and Irish context; only the Culross Abbey Cartulary was described by Davis as being 'destroyed', although it is unclear whether this was the result of post-Dissolution or monastic efforts.[16] It therefore seems justified to use a methodology in this thesis that reflects this tendency to update existing records as opposed to actively destroying them, and to provide a working model for how those updated cartularies were being used at the time of the compilation of the Furness Coucher Book.

[13] Adam J. Kosto, 'Laymen, Clerics and Documentary Practices in the Early Middle Ages: The Example of Catalonia', *Speculum*, vol.80 (2005), cited in Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, p.55.
[14] Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', p.148.
[15] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, pp.55-56.
[16] Tucker, 'Understanding Scotland's medieval cartularies', p.148

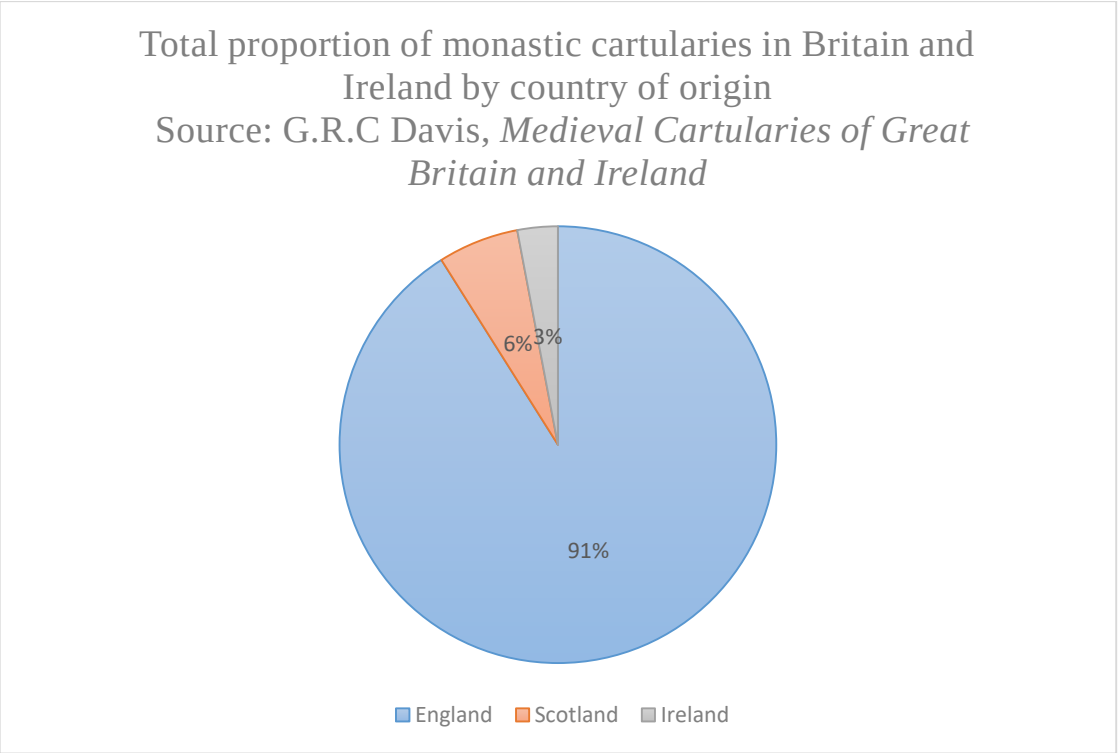


Fig.13: A pie chart showing the total proportion of monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue represented by the country of origin of the monastery where they were produced

From a total number of 134 monastic houses in Britain and Ireland surveyed by Davis, with one cartulary recorded per house according to this exercise, 91% were produced in England during the period c.1000-c.1500.[17] This is most likely because the monastic estates of the English monasteries had developed more complex methods of estate management compared to the other kingdoms,[18] which required an equally more sophisticated mechanism of record management as the total English monastic estate expanded.[19] However, it also likely reflects the cartularies which Davis had access to in the British Museum, since many of the Scottish & Irish cartularies were not referenced in his catalogue.[20] For instance, the number of Scottish cartualries to have survived the 16th century increased from 77 to 108 in the updated Davis

[17] 122 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland were produced in England (see Fig.13).
[18] Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, p.85, pp.250–251; Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, p.27; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p.146.
[19] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, p.27; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p.146.
[20] Claire Breay, Julian Harrison & David M. Smith, 'Preface', in G.R.C Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, revised by Claire Breay, Julian Harrison & David M. Smith (London: The British Library, 2010, originally 1958), pp.vi–viii.

catalogue, with known manuscripts held at the National Library of Scotland expanding from 23 to 27.[21] This represents 29% of all extant Scottish cartularies according to the Davis catalogue, meaning that even by its own standards only a partial analysis can be attempted of monastic material surviving from the 16th century. Documents relating to Pittenweem Priory as part of the St. Andrews Cathedral Priory Cartulary, for instance, were not included in the original Davis catalogue, but referred to under the same entry for St. Andrews. Being divided into distinct sections concerning St. Andrews and Pittenweem Priory, this manuscript has been considered to contain a surviving cartulary, or cartulary material, produced at Pittenweem Priory.[22]

Although the Coucher Book is part of the monastic cartulary record of England, due to Furness' location on the margins of other kingdoms, it was well placed to incorporate material not specifically relating to England. This can be seen in the inclusion of original 12th-13th century documents relating to its monastic estates in Ireland into the beginning of the Coucher Book (Volume I),[23] and the inclusion of grants by benefactors owing fealty to Alexander II of Scotland in the Coucher Book (Volume II).[24] There is even evidence of crossover of material with neighbouring monasteries such as Lanercost Priory and Holm Cultram Abbey which,[25] together with the work of Jocelin of Furness,[26] stand as ample testimony to the wider Insular connections fostered by the abbey during its 12th-13th century period of expansion. This was precisely the period when much of its property documents that would be copied into its 15th-century cartulary were being produced. Nevertheless, the Coucher Book displays a significant amount of English focus in its inclusion and presentation of its material, as has been illustrated in previous chapters.

[21] Joanna Tucker, 'Medieval cartulary manuscripts in the National Library of Scotland', vols.25–26, *Scottish Archives*, p.25.
[22] Tucker, 'Medieval cartulary manuscripts', p.27.
[23] Pre–Coucher texts 5–7, 9, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.2, fol.4, V. & R., pp.11–15, pp.18–21.
[24] Newby text 12, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.112, V., pp.301–302; Selside text 4, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.112, V., pp.337–338.
[25] Boston text 1, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.196, V., pp.507–508.
[26] Birkett, *The Saints' Lives of Jocelin of Furness*, pp.6–16; Stringer, *The Reformed Church in Medieval Galloway and Cumbria*, p.15.

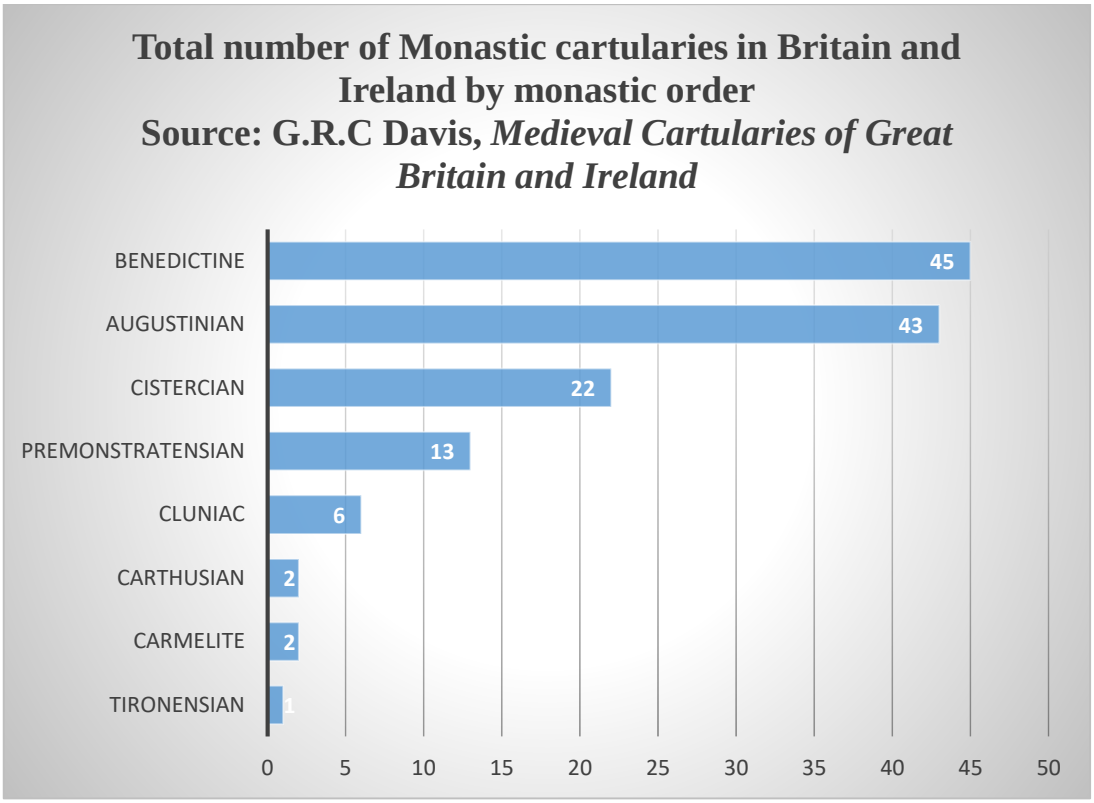


Fig.14: A bar chart showing the total number of monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue represented by the monastic order of the monastery in which they were produced

Representing the total number of monastic cartularies by the monastic order which produced them is important in contextualising the Cistercian production of the Coucher Book in a wider context of who else was producing them. In total, the Benedictines accounted for 34% of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland surveyed by Davis.[27] Constituting over two-thirds of the total English monastic estate, with often spread-out estates and complex tenancy management systems, they arguably had the greatest incentive to produce cartularies to keep track of their endowments.[28] However, the Augustinians come a close second to the Benedictines, at 32% of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland.[29] This could be because their estates, like the Benedictines, tended to be highly scattered within a series of landed complexes.[30] For the Augustinians this was further complicated by church appropriations

[27] 45 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland were produced by the Benedictines (see Fig.14).
[28] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, p.27.
[29] 43 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland were produced by the Benedictines (see Fig.14).
[30] Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship*, p.143.

straddling multiple parishes and their deeper involvement in the affairs of the secular clergy compared to the Benedictines.[31] The Cistercians are the third most important producers of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland, accounting for 16% of the total, for similar reasons as the Benedictines, and similar reasons are true for the Premonstratensians as they are for the Augustinians, accounting for 10% of the total.[32] These figures show how the number of surviving monastic cartularies reflects the absolute number of monastic houses relative to each other, in which there were more Augustinian and Benedictine establishments than Cistercian or Premonstratensian.[33] Nevertheless, they also reflect a concern for documenting and preserving records of property transfer within the context of scrambled land holding patterns in England.[34] This observation holds for Scotland and Ireland to a similar extent, since Cistercian and Augustinian foundations are most represented there.[35] This is most likely due to the relative absence of established Benedictine foundations enabling expansion from the 12th century of Continental monastic orders upon frontier settlements to an extent not otherwise encountered in England as a whole.[36]

Against this context, the Coucher Book could be seen to be following a typical Cistercian trajectory for cartulary production, essentially imitating the Benedictines in collating and preserving material relating to more complex methods of estate management.[37] However, the Coucher Book is distinctive in that the organisation of its material consists of a perambulation of the abbey estates, with Furness itself as the locus. Its Cistercian credentials are, to an extent, vindicated in its acquisition and consequent development of marginal land in Angerton Moss (Volume I) and Winterburn (Volume II).[38] Yet, the Coucher Book displays considerable priority afforded to acquisition of churches, especially in the Furness area such as Urswick and Kirkby, thereby associating an understanding for the abbey specifically with its Furness environs.[39]

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[31] Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain*, p.247.
[32] 22 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland were produced by the Cistercians, and 13 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland were produced by the Premonstratensians (see Fig.14).
[33] 233 Augustinian, 213 Benedictine, 102 Cistercian and 34 Premonstratensian monasteries are recorded in the Valor Ecclesiasticus (1536) undertaken at the Dissolution; figures from Nick Peyton, 'The Dissolution of the English Monasteries: A Quantitative Investigation', *Economic History Working Papers*, no.316 (2020), p.13.
[34] Chris Given–Wilson, *The English Nobility in the Late Middle Ages: The Fourteenth Century Political Community* (London: Routledge, 1987), pp.103–105; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p.146.
[35] Of the 12 monasteries represented in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue (see Fig.13), according to the cartularies which survive for them, 5 were Cistercian and 4 were Augustinian.
[36] Ian B. Cowan & David E. Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses Scotland*, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1976), pp.8–9; Stringer, *The Reformed Church in Medieval Galloway and Cumbria*, p.4, pp.16–17.
[37] Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp.167–169.
[38] See Chapter One, pp.68–69; see Chapter Two, pp.105–107.
[39] See Chapter One, pp.58–59.

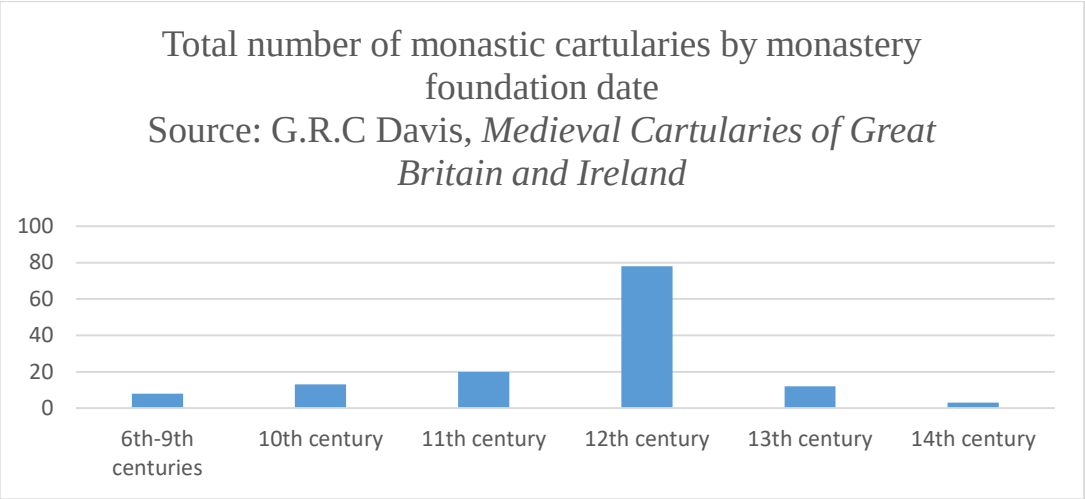

Fig.15: A bar chart showing the total number of monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue represented by the foundation date of the monastery in which they were produced

It is now time to consider a chronological analysis, of the relative number of monastic foundation dates, of the date of composition of cartularies, and the consequent difference between these dates. This will contextualise the Coucher Book by analysing the lag between monastic foundation and cartulary composition date, and therefore how this could have affected how the cartulary related to the collective memory that had built up in that intervening period. 58% of cartularies surveyed by Davis were produced by monasteries founded in the 12th century,[40] an era of high monastic farming,[41] and expansion of new reforming monastic enterprises across the frontiers of Latin Christendom.[42] Against this context, cartularies were produced to cope with the consequent expansion of written records produced to prove deed of title and to present a monastic version of why their expansion occurred.[43] This was essentially the documentary context against which Furness was founded, although significant qualifications to how exactly the monastery expanded from the 12th century onwards account for differences in how it constructed its interpretation of expansion by the time of the Coucher Book.

[40] 78 out of 134 Cartularies from Britain and Ireland were produced in monasteries founded during the 12th century (see Fig.15).
[41] Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, p.43.
[42] Bartlett, *The Making of Europe*, pp.153–155.
[43] Declerq, 'Originals and Cartularies', p.147.

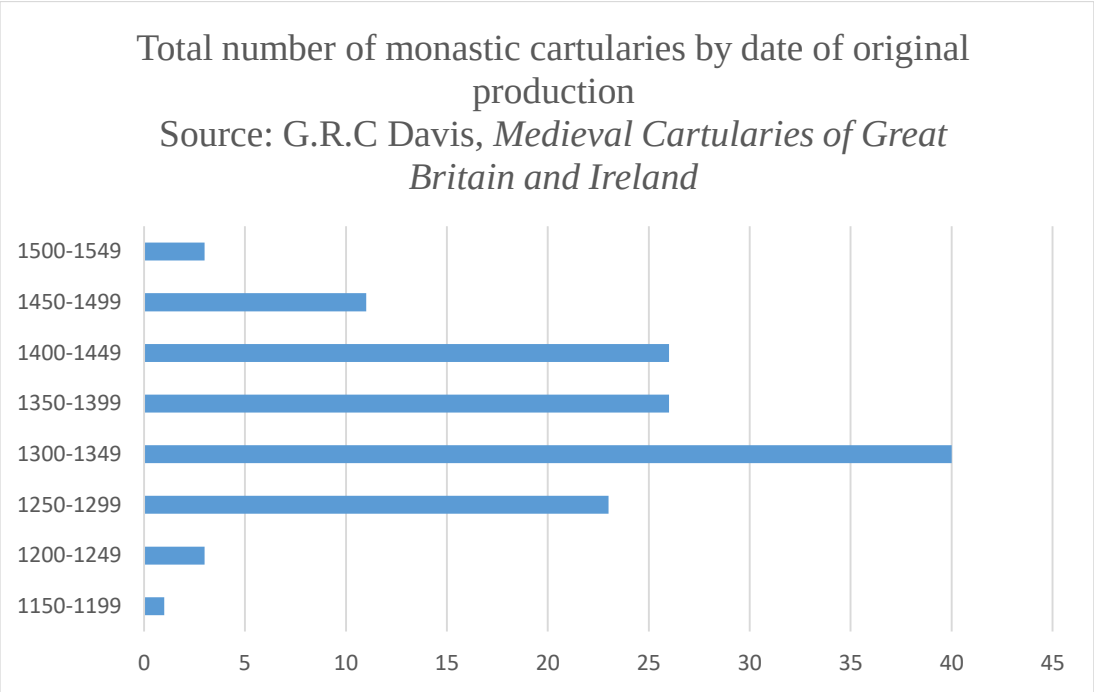

Fig.16: A bar chart showing the total number of monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue represented by the date of their original production

30% of surviving monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland surveyed by Davis were produced in the early 14th century (1300-1349),[44] after the end of the period of monastic expansion in the High Middle Ages and consolidation of rental and service arrangements with the advent of adverse socio-economic circumstances.[45] 17% and 19% of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland respectively were produced in the late-13th century (1250-1299) and the late-14th century (1350-1399),[46] reflecting how the production of cartularies straddled the period before and after c.1300 and continued to evolve as a genre right up to the 15th century.[47] The early-15th century (1400-1449), accounting for 19% of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland, arguably represents the climax of monastic cartulary production in Britain, as the total number of cartularies declines into the 16th century.[48] By c.1400, cartularies themselves served

[44] 40 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland were compiled in the period 1300–1349 (see Fig.16).
[45] Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England, Volume II*, pp.311–313, pp.327–330; Bond, *Monastic Landscapes*, pp.38–39.
[46] 23 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland were compiled in the period 1250–1299 and 26 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland were compiled in the period 1350–1399 (see Fig.16).
[47] Bouchard, 'Monastic Cartularies', pp.31–32; Randolph C. Head, *Making Archives in Early Modern Europe: Proof, Information, and Political Record–Keeping, 1400–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), pp.55–57.
[48] 26 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland were compiled in the period 1400–1449 (see Fig.16).

as narrative memorials to earlier periods of expansion and the piety expected of future generations of benefactors and particularly the servile on monastic lands.[49] The Coucher Book can therefore be seen as representative of a wider trend towards the production of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland that emphasised their role as devices for retrospective construction of memory.

This evolution in the form and function of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland spans the century from c.1250 to c.1350. During that time the means by which monasteries engaged with their records changed according to their relationship with the land and people and how those entities were remembered within consolidating notions of monastic identity,[50] and the Coucher Book appears to be representative of this process.

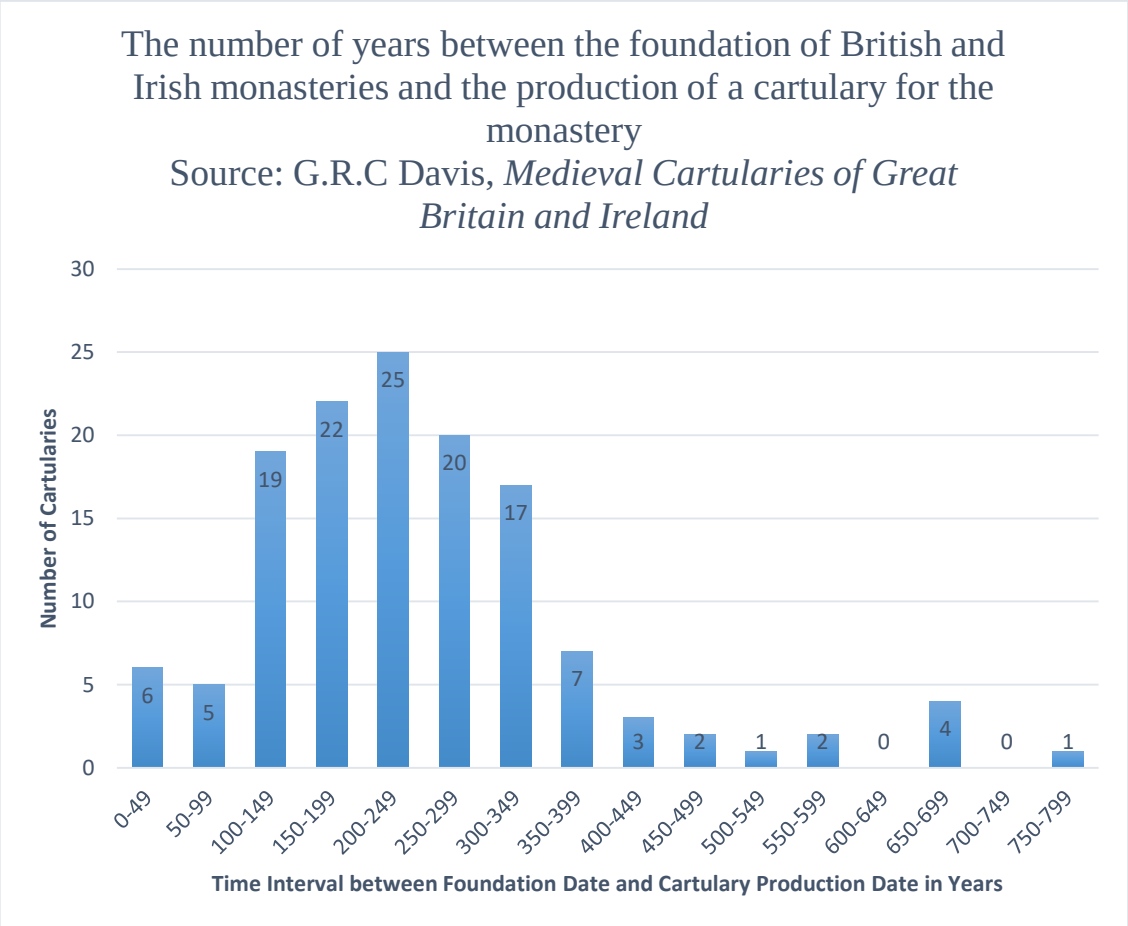

Fig.17: A bar chart showing the numbers of years between the foundation of the monastery and the production of a cartulary for the monastery as contemporary as possible with the Furness Coucher Book from among the monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue

[49] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, pp.93–94; Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', p.71.
[50] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, pp.16–18, pp.27–28.

According to Davis' catalogue, the newer the monastic foundation, the more incentive there was to produce a cartulary in accordance with 14th-15th century norms of cartulary production.[51] Older foundations, such as St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, and Peterborough Abbey, exhibited a considerable time lag between foundation and production of cartularies by the 15th century.[52] This could be because they already had earlier cartularies or archives to fall back on and there was not the same imperative to display the power and authority of the monastic establishment as newer, more vulnerable institutions. Smaller foundations, particularly priories such as London Charterhouse Priory and Lanercost Priory, produced cartularies shortly after their foundation, although much can be explained by the relatively recent provenance of the monastic orders themselves (especially the Carthusians).[53] The greatest time lag between foundation and production of cartularies contemporary with the Coucher Book is approximately 200-249 years, accounting for 25 abbeys in total.[54] This coincides with the establishment of monasteries at their peak in the 12th-13th centuries and subsequent need felt to codify evidence of property granted to them in these centuries. Nevertheless, there is no clear quantitative relationship between the 12th and 14th-15th centuries on this basis alone, and all monasteries exhibited a continuing engagement with their archival material across the centuries, without necessarily resulting in the production of a cartulary.[55] Against this context, the Coucher Book was fairly typical in being produced nearly 300 years after the foundation of Furness Abbey, but less typical in being the only cartulary produced by the abbey that is known to have been produced, since the trend in other monasteries was towards updating previous cartularies from the early-14th century or earlier.

[51] See Fig.17 for the overall trend between foundation of monastery and production of cartularies across the period c.550–c.1550.
[52] St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (est.c.598), produced its cartulary in c.1450 (time lag of 652 years); Peterborough Abbey (est.966), produced its cartulary in c.1380 (time lag of 414 years); Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, pp.40–41, p.154.
[53] London Charterhouse Priory (est.1371), produced its cartulary in c.1400 (time lag of 29 years); Lanercost Priory (est.1165–1174), produced its cartulary in c.1250 (time lag of 76–85 years); Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.121, p.106.
[54] See Fig.17.
[55] Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', pp.132–133.

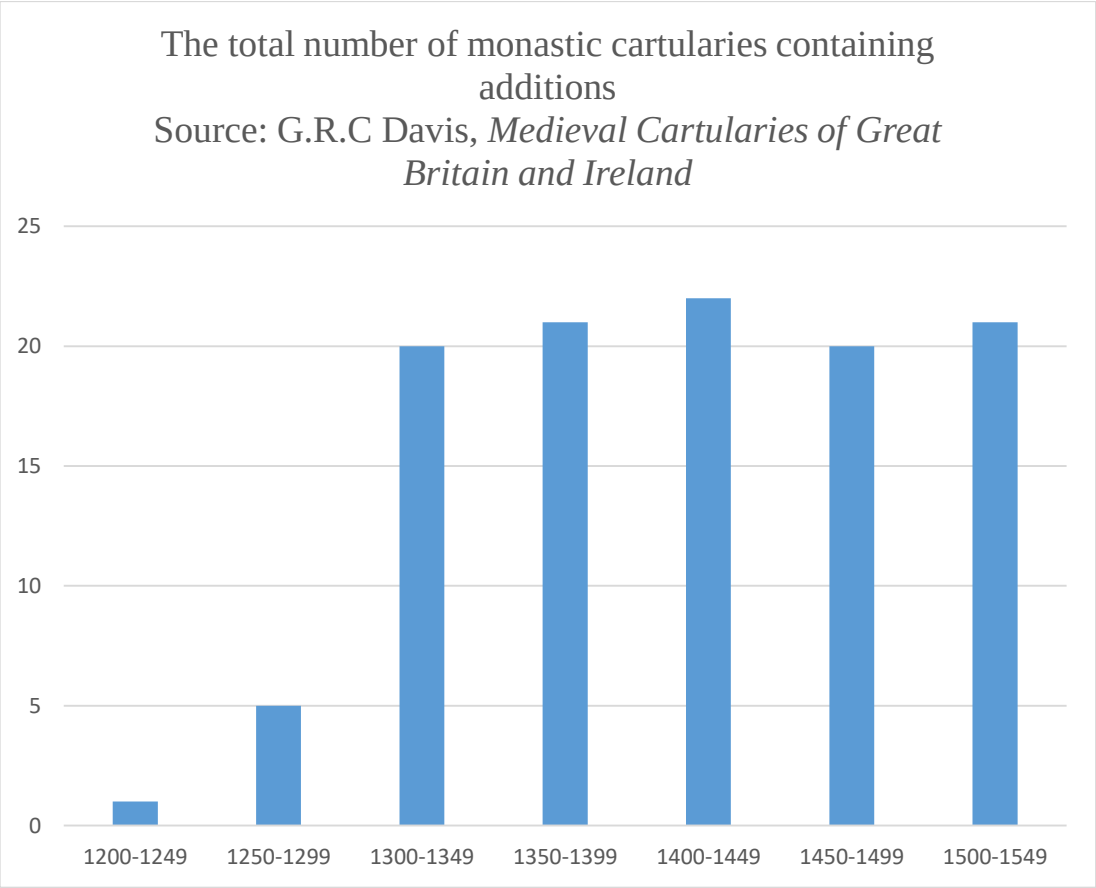

Fig.18: A bar chart showing the total number of additions incorporated into the monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue after the original date of their production

Trends in additions to British and Irish monastic cartularies will now be considered. Even though Davis' original intention was not to chart the course of additions to monastic cartularies, this phenomenon can be glimpsed through the dates of cartularies he provided.[56] According to Davis, 31% of total additions to monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland were made over the course of the 15th century.[57] This is slightly greater cumulatively compared to total additions extending up to the end of the 14th century, at 30% of the total, although additions continued to be made to 16% of cartularies into the 16th century.[58] This indicates that monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland were conceived of and operated as cumulative, organic and evolving archival repositories of the monastic communities which curated them. In

[56] Tucker, 'Medieval cartulary manuscripts', p.35.
[57] 42 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland produced between 1400–1499 contained additions (see Fig.18).
[58] 41 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland produced between 1300–1399, and 21 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland produced between 1500–1549 contained additions (see Fig.18).

many ways, the monasteries defined themselves and the extent of their territorial power by the subsequent additions to and revisions of their cartularies.[59] There are few examples of cartularies with a confined date range of incorporated material, such as Meaux Abbey I and Lanercost Priory, suggesting that they were produced in response to litigation.[60] Yet, this priority arguably influenced the long additions to all monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland, since recycling old material in line with new standards in record keeping within new political and social contexts remained standard practice among cartulary compilers, especially pronounced in earlier centuries.[61]

The relative absence of additions from earlier centuries suggests the recycling of old material and dearth of original 12th-13th century material, with the initiative likely arising from the need for monasteries to review their increasing accumulation of such material and orient their organisation towards documenting their title to property.[62] This interpretation would support claims that cartularies were principally repositories of archival information on monastic landholding,[63] especially when the Statute of Mortmain helped to incentivise the production and revision of cartularies as a means of proving title.[64] However, cartularies remained flexible instruments for articulating and transmitting monastic institutional memory and identity into later periods and thus cannot be treated solely as objective resources for understanding the monastic estate. In particular, the production of cartularies centuries after the original material had been issued resulted in the hazards of 'preservation bias' in the material included, which influenced not only how the originals would be recycled but what additions were deemed worthy of inclusion, as Michael Spence has discovered in relation to the third Fountains Abbey Cartulary produced in the early 15th century.[65]

The Coucher Book, in this context, represents the majority of cartularies with additions into the 15th-16th centuries, as well as incorporating material from earlier periods. For instance, in common with most monastic cartularies, blank folios are present at the end of the Bolton texts (Volume I) and Stalmine texts (Volume II) in anticipation of new material which was not

[59] Insley, 'Remembering Communities Past', pp.41–43.
[60] *The Lanercost Cartulary*, pp.34–35.
[61] Patrick J. Geary, 'Oblivion between Orality and Textuality in the Tenth Century', in *Medieval Concepts of the Past: Ritual, Memory, Historiography*, ed. by Gerd Althoff, Johannes Fried & Patrick J. Geary (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.111–112; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp.147–148.
[62] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, p.158.
[63] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, p.14.
[64] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, pp.171–172; Raban, *England under Edward I and Edward II, 1259–1327*, p.79.
[65] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, pp.55–56.

forthcoming.[66] The appending of material pertaining to Ireland at the beginning of the Coucher Book (Volume I) also shows how growing awareness of the monastic archive over time was reflected in the development of the Coucher Book itself.[67] However, appreciation of its wider Irish Sea context is not effectively prioritised. This is apparent in the Coucher Book (Volume I), where this material is not incorporated into the central narrative of the development of the abbey in Furness and is rendered fairly expendable by its positioning even before the Metrical Introduction.[68] Similarly, in the Coucher Book (Volume II), the 1478 King's Tenth is placed in an innocuous location at the end of the cartulary,[69] where it arguably would have been more appropriate to place it within the Taxation texts of the Coucher Book (Volume I).[70] It appears as, if not necessarily an afterthought, then perhaps a deliberate de-prioritisation of the material in contrast to the royal and papal privileges. This would have suited the image of the abbey as an exceptional political power in Furness more than its submission to royal taxation. Yet, it is entirely possible that this later material was compiled in this way due to lack of space elsewhere in the cartulary. Therefore, although the accumulation of additional material for the Coucher Book may indeed have assumed an organic form, the presentation of that material was most likely determined within artificial parameters by the compilers in c.1412.

[66] Bolton text 22, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.209–213, V. & R., pp.535–536; Stalmine text 60, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.82, V. & R., pp.270–271.
[67] Pre–Coucher texts 5–7, 9, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fol.2, fol.4, V. & R., pp.11–15, pp.18–21.
[68] Ibid., pp.11–15, pp.18–21.
[69] King's Tenth text 1, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.206, V. & R., p.582.
[70] Taxation texts 1–6, *CB Vol. II*, Part III, fols.265–267, V. & R., pp.624–638.

Fig.19: A bar chart showing the numbers of years between the production of a monastic cartulary in Britain and additions to the cartulary from among the monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue

Most monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland produced between the 13th and 15th centuries incorporated contemporaneous additions or none,[71] suggesting that their primary function was to codify at a particular moment in time the state of their monastic archives and to project a particular image of monastic power and authority through the mechanism of the cartulary. Nevertheless, over half of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland include additions extending beyond their temporal context,[72] demonstrating how cartularies were treated as flexible instruments of organising and projecting monastic archival information to modify wider dimensions of memory.

[71] 24 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland contain no additions and 36 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland contain contemporaneous additions (see Fig.19).
[72] 74 out of 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland contain additions that are not contemporary (see Fig.19).

Depending on the precise production of their cartularies, the more established monastic houses included additions well beyond the date of the cartulary, as they continued to acquire new grants and privileges and were well-versed in producing and revising cartularies.[73] Having said that, newer monastic houses showed the same propensity for longevity in their additions.[74] Furness Abbey is typical of most monasteries for having a cartulary with additions into the 16th century, but where it differs is that that the fundamental nature of its cartulary did not change and no imperative was felt to produce a revised cartulary in the future.

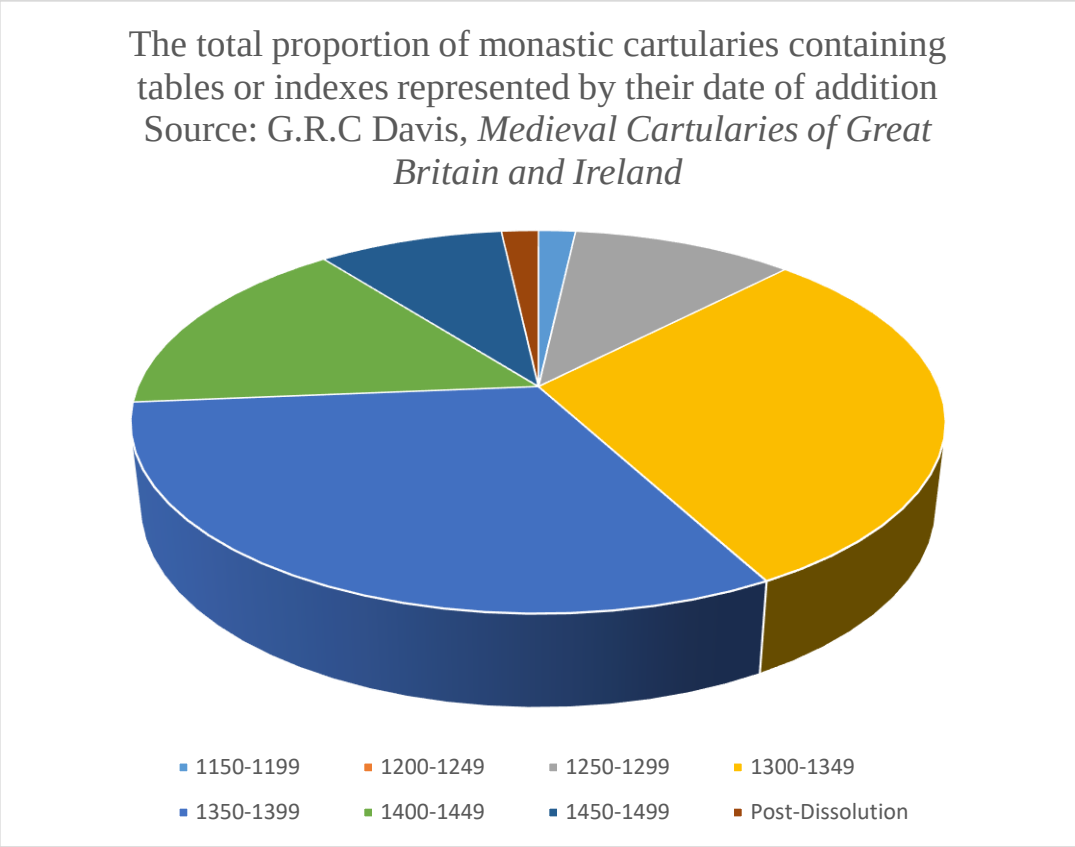

Fig.20 A pie chart showing the total proportion of dates of tables or indexes added to the monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue after the original date of their production

[73] Christchurch Cathedral Priory, Canterbury (est.598), produced its cartulary in c.1275 and included additions up to c.1430 (time lag of 155 years); Bardney Abbey (est.c.697), produced its cartulary in c.1275 and included additions up to c.1500 (time lag of 225 years); Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.37, p.5.

[74] Walsingham Priory (est.c.1153), produced its cartulary in 1293 and included additions up to c.1500 (time lag of 207 years); Bilsington Priory (est.1253), produced its cartulary in c.1300 and included additions up to c.1500 (time lag of 200 years); Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.200, p.14.

It is worth considering how the use of indexes to organise cartulary material, as was the case with the Coucher Book, mapped out on a wider scale. 30% of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland with contemporary tables or indexes can be found in the early-14th century and 31% from the late-14th-century.[75] The use of tables and indexes to organise material only appears from the early-14th century onwards,[76] which could highlight a growing trend in organisation of cartulary material on a topographical basis. This implies that monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland were increasingly being viewed across the 14th century as more than just repositories of information but as instruments for projecting monastic power, memory and identity.

It is notable that indexes and tables tend to be added to existing cartularies to aid in retrieving information.[77] The Index is used in the Coucher Book for a similar retrieval function, with texts organised topographically in relation to the monastery site so that, for instance, the Dalton texts and royal texts take the greatest priority for locating information.[78] However, the Coucher Book differs significantly from comparable cartularies in including a Metrical Introduction before the Indexes for each volume.[79] This was designed specifically to articulate the narrative of how Furness Abbey developed and what it represented in the present before the act of searching for information even begins, thus subconsciously influencing the reader to search for material which represents the abbey most effectively.

[75] 17 out of 57 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland containing tables or indexes date from 1300–1349, and 18 out of 57 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland containing tables or indexes date from 1350–1449 (see Fig.20).
[76] See Fig.20.
[77] Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', pp.134–135.
[78] See Chapter One, pp.61–62., p.66.
[79] Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. I*, Part I, fols.7–43, V. & R., pp.24–122; Tabulated Index, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fols. 2–26, V. & R., pp.3–80.

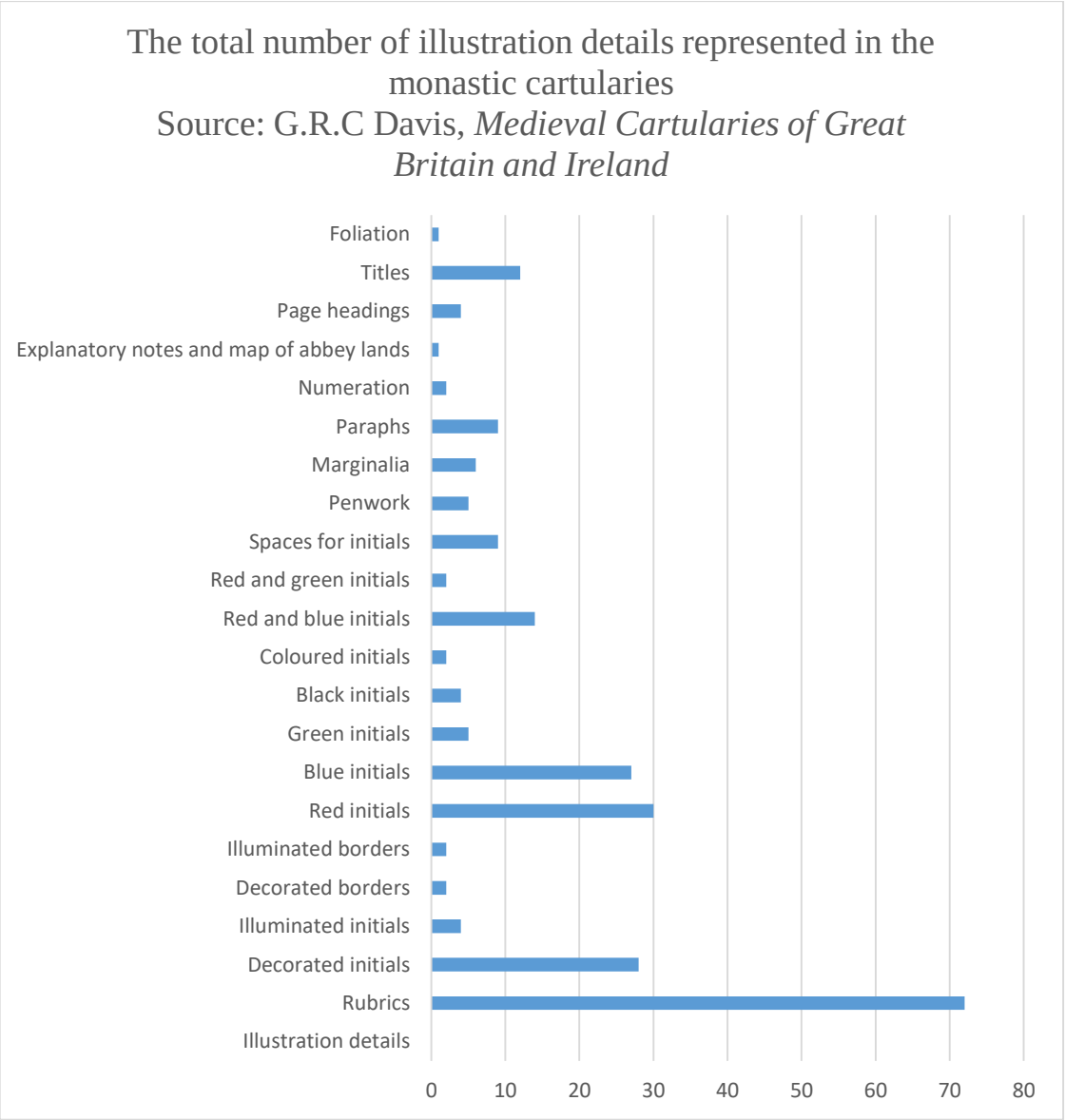

Fig.21: A bar chart showing the total number of illustration details represented in the monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue

The Coucher Book is notable for sharing with London-based monasteries the use of illuminated initials in their cartularies, especially Christchurch Priory, Aldgate, and 'Cok's Cartulary' of St. Bartholomew's Priory, Smithfield.[80] It is also unique within the Davis catalogue for being noted as having illuminated miniatures and coats-of-arms among its

[80] See J. Young & P. Henderson Aitken, *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of the Hunterian Museum in the University of Glasgow*, (Glasgow: University of Glasgow, 1908), no.215, and *Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, ed. by Nellie J.M. Kerling (London: Lund Humphries Publishers Ltd., 1973); Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.122, p.123.

illustrations.[81] This implies that the Coucher Book compilers placed a peculiar emphasis upon its benefactor relationships, employing secular artistic techniques and a preoccupation with heraldry that is otherwise unusual on this scale in the context of a monastic cartulary.[82] Other monastic cartularies placed a significant emphasis on the genealogical descent of founders and significant benefactors, as can be seen for example in the Rievaulx Cartulary.[83] Yet, the Coucher Book, while exhibiting genealogies within the text, seems to employ a heraldic schema for a similar purpose of exemplifying significant benefactors. As Chapter One has argued, there is significant crossover between the heraldic schema used in the Coucher Book and a very similar use of coats-of-arms in the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster, almost as though Furness Abbey was deliberately setting the standard of its cartulary production against this most prestigious example of a secular cartulary.[84]

The majority of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland have rubrics and initials, although only a minority are illuminated, owing to the expense of the practice, a further sign of how exceptional the Coucher Book is in this regard.[85] Initials tended to be red and blue, the cheapest colours in contrast to black and green,[86] and this colour combination is found in the Coucher Book outside of the eye-catching illuminated sections.[87] It shares this tendency with other monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland, along with numerous incomplete sections.[88] Penwork decoration is most especially found among southern English monastic cartularies, such as Athelney Abbey and Wombridge Priory, where greater resources for illumination of manuscripts could be invested.[89] The evidence suggests that Furness stretched itself considerably to illustrate its Coucher Book in its bid to compete with the big players in the monastic 'league table'.

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[81] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.86.
[82] See Jonathan G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p.121, p.143, p.149, for examples of secular influences upon monastic illumination in the 14th and 15th centuries.
[83] See, for example, the inclusion of a genealogy of Roger de Mowbray, founder of Rievaulx Abbey, in John Christopher Atkinson, 'Cartularium Abbathiae de Rievalle', *Surtees Society*, vol.83, (1887), cited in Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors', pp.67–68.
[84] See Chapter One, pp.71–72.
[85] Of the 224 total number of illustration details recorded across all 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland surveyed, 28 had decorated initials and 2 had decorated borders, whereas 4 had illuminated initials and 2 had illuminated borders (see Fig.21).
[86] Of the 224 total number of illustration details recorded across all 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland and Ireland surveyed, 30 had red initials and 27 had blue initials, whereas 4 had black initials and 5 had green initials (see Fig.21).
[87] See, for example, Pennington texts 3–6, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.194–195, V. & R., pp.487–492.
[88] See for example, Bolton text 22, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.209–213, V. & R., pp.338–339.
[89] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, p.4, p.216.

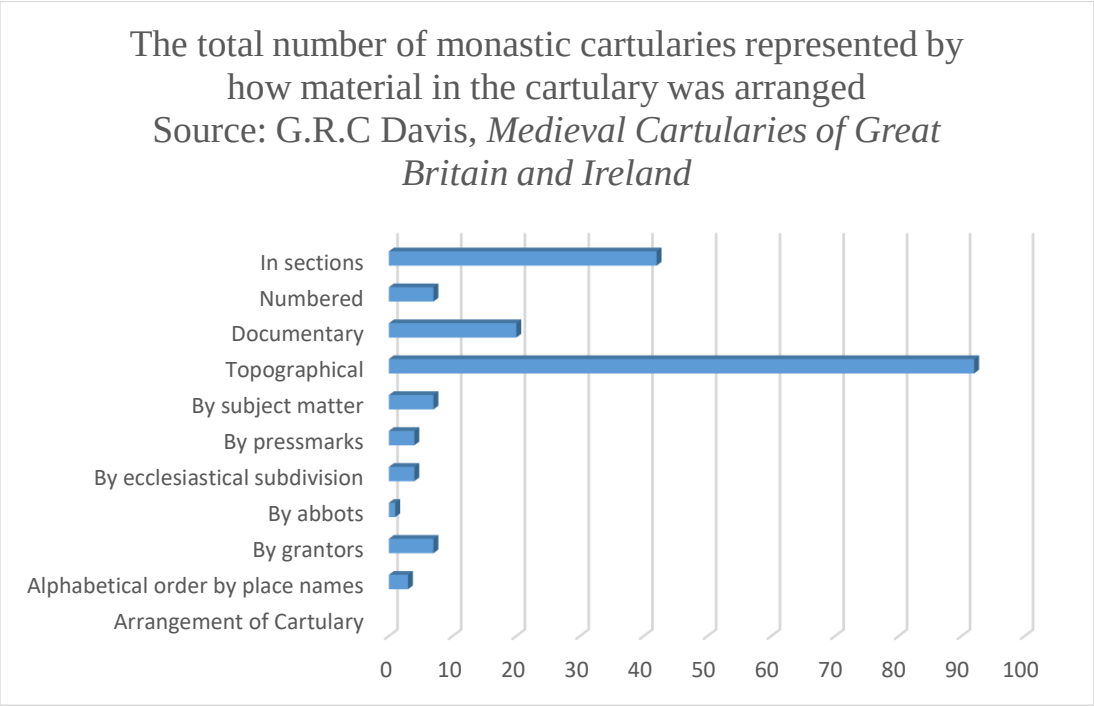

Fig.22: A bar chart showing the total number of monastic cartularies contained in the G.R.C. Davis catalogue represented by how material in the cartulary was arranged

The vast majority of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland organised their material topographically,[90] a method which emerged over the course of the 14th century in response to estate management.[91] Earlier methods of organisation, by document type and by benefactor, continued to be used to differentiate the purpose to which cartularies were put within their particular social contexts, but the general trend was towards a topographically organised cartulary with particular sections devoted to particular documents or places within the context of the overall cartulary.[92] The Coucher Book organises its material topographically, although it appears to be quite distinct in organising its material. In both volumes, the topographical organisation is invariably that of a perambulation of the monastic estates in direct relation to the abbey site itself that directly informed how the Coucher Book articulated the institutional identity of Furness Abbey.[93]

[90] 92 out of 197 organisational methods recorded across the total 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland surveyed were recorded as arranged topographically (46.5%) (see Fig.22).
[91] Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', p.135.
[92] Of the total 134 monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland surveyed, 20 out of 197 organisational methods were recorded as arranged by document type (10%), 7 out of 197 organisational methods were recorded as arranged by grantors (3%), 42 out of 197 organisational methods were recorded as arranged in sections (21%), and 10 out of 197 organisational methods were recorded as arranged by counties and wapentakes (5%) (see Fig.22).
[93] See Chapter One, p.40; see Chapter Two, pp.90–91, p.94.

From this overall quantitative analysis, although the Coucher Book is not fundamentally different from comparable monastic cartularies throughout the period c.1300-c.1500, I would argue that it is distinctive in its type and readily detectable, especially in terms of its organisation of material and illustration of texts. The Coucher Book is typical in being produced in an English monastery, by a monastic order with substantial interests in upholding titles to property, and in being produced during a period when consolidating records of such property rights was being pursued across monasteries in Britain and Ireland. It functioned as a conventional monastic cartulary in being open to further additions beyond the initial period of production, as well as in organising its material along topographical lines. However, it utilised this topographical organisation towards portraying a particular vision of how the history and identity of Furness Abbey should be expounded through the cartulary, and its deployment of coats-of-arms within this organisation of memory is exceptional among monastic cartularies of its date and type. An in-depth comparison with select examples of monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland from across this period will now be undertaken to understand further the similarities and differences between the Coucher Book and comparable cartularies of its type.

The Lanercost Cartulary and the Furness Coucher Book compared

As a typical example of a mid-13th century monastic cartulary, from a monastery located in a similar frontier situation as Furness Abbey, the Lanercost Cartulary provides a useful point of comparison to determine how developments in monastic cartulary production developed over time. The Lanercost Cartulary was produced c.1252-c.1256 to produce legal title to land claimed by Thomas of Moulton, Baron of Gilsland, probably from records hitherto kept at Carlisle Castle for safekeeping,[94] and later evolved as 'a precaution against future debacle'.[95] As its editor John M. Todd puts it, 'the Lanercost Cartulary was a child of crisis'.[96] By comparison, the Furness Coucher Book was conceived of from the beginning as a statement of how Furness Abbey developed and came to be represented, from a position of strength relative to its secular and monastic competitors. Litigation over abbatial ownership of Piel Castle likely impacted the development of the Coucher Book, and even provided motivation for its compilation, though unlike with the Lanercost Cartulary, the Furness cartulary was arguably being compiled from a position of confidence in the authority of the abbey over what it

[94] *The Lanercost Cartulary*, pp.34–35.
[95] Ibid., p.35.
[96] Ibid., p.35.

considered was its own domain.[97] Both cartularies may have been produced within a specific temporal context initially, but the relative degrees of agency in defining the ultimate shape of their cartularies was very different.

The Anglo-Scottish Border exercised a major influence upon the institutional memory and identity of Lanercost Priory, which had suffered badly at the hands of frequent Scottish raids which compromised confidence in the security of their records within the priory itself.[98] This influenced the shape of the cartulary in how the compilers referred to the boxes from which the records had come, often with reference to their location in Carlisle Castle, quite possibly being the abbey archive itself.[99] By contrast, apart from the 1316 and 1322 Scottish raids, Furness Abbey was not as starkly exposed and could therefore be more confident of the security of its own archives.[100] Thus the Anglo-Scottish frontier exercised a very different effect upon the institutional memory of Furness Abbey, with the Coucher Book orienting the focus for memory towards the core territory of the abbey over external threats.

Three hands within the Lanercost Cartulary, identified as 'the compiler', 'the tidier', and 'the researcher', utilised the cartulary for different purposes according to the context in which they engaged with it.[101] In contrast, the Coucher Book contains two identifiable figures, John Stell, editor of the Coucher Book as a whole, and Richard Esk, composer of the Metrical Introduction.[102] Unlike the Lanercost Cartulary, the identities of the compilers of the Coucher Book are prominent, to the point where they influence the narratives which are subsequently outlined. The Lanercost Cartulary, despite originating within a specific litigation context, continued to develop over time, with new material added and existing material revised according to different historical contexts. The 'compiler' accumulated and referenced as many extant materials as possible relevant to the legal battle with Thomas of Moulton, and in the process making the monastic archive more accessible and comprehensible to the priory.[103] The sense being invoked in this period was one of an embattled Border community vindicating their right to coexist among neighbouring secular benefactors.[104] The 'tidier' consolidated this version of history identifying where the material was located within the context of the cartulary, as opposed to the physical location of the documents themselves.[105] Finally, the 'researcher' added new material within the context of the pre-existing schema, thus preserving the late-13th

[97] See Introduction, p.18.
[98] Ibid., p.33.
[99] Ibid., pp.32–33.
[100] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, pp.252–256; Barnes, *Barrow and District*, pp.31–33.
[101] *The Lanercost Cartulary*, p.34.
[102] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.288.
[103] *The Lanercost Cartulary*, pp.35–36.
[104] Ibid., pp.34–35.
[105] Ibid., p.36.

century historical interpretation within an early-14th century context.[106] This new historical sensibility could be linked to the production of the Lanercost Chronicle, which exhibits interpolated material from the Lanercost Cartulary, but there is little evidence to connect the 'researcher' of the cartulary with the chronicler.[107] Lanercost Priory seems to have used its cartulary as a primary reference point for conceiving of its interpretations of its history through different historical periods. Furness Abbey made similar antiquarian use of the Coucher Book, but this process was encapsulated within the particular historical context of its production in c.1412. In contrast to the approach taken in the Lanercost Cartulary, the Coucher Book resembles a concerted effort by Abbot William Dalton to project the power and authority of the abbey over its Furness dominions into the distant past.[108]

The Lanercost Cartulary divided its material into 15 'parts' corresponding to the boxes within which the original charters were contained, organised principally according to document location.[109] This probably reflected the archival arrangement of the Lanercost archive kept at Carlisle Castle, with the compiler thinking primarily in terms of documents rather than people or places,[110] but the marks on the surviving material do not sufficiently prove this theory.[111] It appears that, although the documents were initially organised according to original box location, the endorsements of the 'researcher' represent change in archival arrangement by the 14th century.[112] This could represent organic evolution of the documentary record as it became more organised over time or, more likely, artificial rearrangement of this record to make the narratives represented in these records relevant to updated circumstances for the priory. One section in particular is singled out for legal information, so that it could be easily retrievable in the context of the 1252-1256 litigation with Thomas of Moulton.[113]

In the Coucher Book, there was a similar balance between organic evolution of the record and artificial arrangement according to changing priorities. Nevertheless, from the outset the Coucher Book compilers had determined that topography was the most effective arrangement for retrieving relevant information. There was little imperative felt to include a separate section for a specific legal case, and instead litigation material is included throughout

[106] Ibid., p.36.
[107] A.G. Little, 'The authorship of the Lanercost Chronicle', in *Franciscan Papers*, (1943), pp.42–54, and H.S. Offler, 'A note on the northern Franciscan Chronicle', in *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, vol.xxviii, (1984), p.55, cited in *The Lanercost Cartulary*, p.37.
[108] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, pp.283–284, p.288.
[109] *The Lanercost Cartulary*, p.32.
[110] Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', p.134.
[111] *The Lanercost Cartulary*, pp.32–33.
[112] Ibid., p.32.
[113] Ibid., p.28, pp.34–35.

the Coucher Book to reinforce abbatial rights in particular locations.[114] The Coucher Book compilers most likely felt that they had greater power over the availability of material and, more importantly, how best to use that material towards articulating a coherent narrative for the abbey.

The Lanercost Cartulary was concerned with commemorating its benefactors in contributing to the development of the priory by the time of its production in c.1256. This is most apparent in the inclusion of benefactor coats-of-arms beside their relevant texts from folios 1-37 and folios 74-85, which appear to have been added in the late-14th or early-15th century, and a list of the Barons of Gilsland down to Thomas de Dacre (d.1458).[115] This resembles a similar trend towards incorporating secular benefactors into the historical narrative of the monastery as represented in the prolific use of coats-of-arms and genealogies in the Coucher Book.[116] The Lanercost Cartulary could well have witnessed attempts by the late-15th century to adapt the cartulary to new trends in conspicuously commemorating benefactors within the monastic written record.[117] However, the place of benefactors could not be permitted to hold such a prominent position within an institutional identity defined from the outset by opposition to secular encroachment. As a relatively impoverished monastic house by the time these commemoration techniques were employed,[118] the Lanercost Cartulary compilers arguably could not afford to expend much time or resources upon benefactor commemoration at the expense of safeguarding the monastic archive. This likely accounts for the disappearance of coats-of-arms after folio 37 and their irregular re-inclusion later on, as well as the use of ink over illumination in the heraldry itself.[119] It appears that, after the coat-of-arms scheme was discontinued, marginal drawings regularly accompany the texts, possibly originally to act as a guide to the contents in conjunction with the heraldic insignia to draw attention to the nature of specific texts.[120]

Throughout the cartulary the marginalia become progressively more mundane, resulting in a profusion of marginal drawings quite exceptional in the context of monastic cartularies.[121] This stands in contrast to the Coucher Book, which reproduces illuminated coats-of-arms throughout the cartulary, especially for benefactors considered especially important in the development of the abbey.[122] What marginalia exists within the Coucher Book is limited,

[114] See Chapter Two, p.91, p.103.
[115] *The Lanercost Cartulary*, p.28.
[116] See Chapter Three, pp.126–127.
[117] Crouch, *The Birth of Nobility*, pp.159–160.
[118] *The Lanercost Cartulary*, p.28.
[119] Ibid., pp.38–39.
[120] Ibid., p.41.
[121] Ibid., pp.42–43.
[122] See Chapter Three, pp.126–127.

mainly acting as a guide to particular texts, and does not match the scale of marginalia in the Lanercost Cartulary.[123] This could indicate that the Coucher Book was intended as an object for display as much as reference, with visual aids confined to what was deemed most acceptable to display, through the medium of illuminated heraldry and images of benefactors.

In conclusion, it seems as though the Lanercost Cartulary represents developing practices in cartulary production and organisation throughout the period c.1250-c.1400, with the Coucher Book standing at the culmination of this period and representing developed practices pioneered during the preceding centuries. Yet, this should not be taken to refer to a linear progression in cartulary production, since much of the same techniques and processes for articulating institutional memories and identities can be identified in both cartularies. Lanercost and Furness produced their cartularies against particular historical backgrounds for particular purposes. Yet, in comparison to a Coucher Book whose compilers seemed confident from the outset as to how their narrative should be portrayed, the Lanercost compilers continued to revise their narratives with each successive generation and in response to circumstances beyond their control.

The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, and the Furness Coucher Book compared

Although St. Leonard's Hospital, York, was a different type of institution from an abbey, the contemporaneous production of its cartulary with that of Furness Abbey provides interesting points of comparison, especially concerning its management of its institutional narrative. The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York, most likely dates to between c.1410 and c.1420, during the Masterships of William Feriby (1409-1415) and Robert FitzHugh (1415-1428), with few additions into the later 15th century.[124] The sheer size and opulence of the St. Leonard's Cartulary, along with the scope of its contents, indicate that this was intended to illustrate the wealth, importance and history of the richest hospital in York by the 15th century.[125] It appears to have been commissioned as 'an act of aggrandisement' by one of the aforementioned Masters,[126] an ambitious exercise in projecting an institutional memory and identity of the 15th-century hospital into its distant past. A comparable exercise can be seen in

[123] See, for instance, '*Her(edibus) Will(elm)i Sleeph.*' in the margin of Lancaster text 12, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.53, V. & R., pp.198–199 and '*Stodey*' in the margin of Lancaster text 20, *CB Vol. II*, Part I, fol.206, R., pp.203–204, indicating specific persons and places of importance within the organisational schema of this cartulary section respectively.
[124] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, pp.xxxix–lxxiv, p.xxxix, p.lvi.
[125] Ibid., p.xxxix, p.xlvii.
[126] Ibid., p.xxxix.

the commissioning of the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster by Henry IV shortly after his accession as king in 1399.[127] The sheer size and scale of illumination present in the Great Cowcher,[128] its preoccupation with historicising the development of the Duchy within almost chivalric norms,[129] and its promotion of an historical understanding for the Duchy independent of the Crown lands could have set the tone for how the St. Leonard's Cartulary conducted itself.[130] Nevertheless, the hospital was beset by poor practice in record-keeping,[131] economic decline throughout the late-14th century and resistance from tenants, particularly regarding its right to the thraves (tithes) of its East riding properties.[132] The purpose of the cartulary therefore seems to have been influenced more by an imperative to maintain the historical reputation of the hospital amidst adverse circumstances than with creating an accessible instrument for utilising the hospital records.[133]

The Furness Coucher Book similarly acts as an aggrandisement of the abbacy of its commissioner, Abbot William Dalton.[134] Similar to the hospital, the abbey was beset by economic problems caused by war and pestilence,[135] an apparently poor archival situation if the Metrical Introduction is to be believed,[136] and increasingly truculent benefactor relations within its Furness domain.[137] The influence of the Great Cowcher upon the Coucher Book likely resulted in Furness Abbey coming to share such a close relationship with the Duchy of Lancaster that the abbey came to see its authority over Furness as second only to that of the King and Duke of Lancaster.[138] Henry IV was determined to preserve his legitimate title to the Duchy of Lancaster should he or his heirs lost the crown,[139] and this preoccupation with legitimacy is illustrated in the preceding folios of the Great Cowcher by the heraldic banners of the historic earldoms which constituted the Duchy Inheritance.[140] The Coucher Book seems to have been conceived with a similar imperative for establishing abbatial legitimacy over its Furness territories in mind, and employing coats-of-arms as organisational and presentational tools, including those of the Duchy itself, were actively incorporated throughout the Coucher

[127] Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', p.598.
[128] Ibid., p.598, p.610.
[129] Ibid., p.611.
[130] Ibid., p.615; *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, p.xxxix.
[131] Ibid., p.xxxix.
[132] Ibid., pp.xli–xlii.
[133] Ibid., xlii.
[134] Atkinson, 'Prefatory Notice', in *CB Vol.I*, Part I, p.iii.
[135] Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, p.288.
[136] *MA Vol.I*, pp.22–23.
[137] Barnes, *Barrow and District*, pp.38–40.
[138] See Chapter One, pp.70–74.
[139] Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster: Volume One*, p.139.
[140] *Great Cowcher*, vol.I, fols.1-16; Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', p.611.

Book.[141] The proximity of these two political authorities, the Duchy of Lancaster and Furness Abbey, within north Lancashire arguably led to a greater probability of transmitting new secular trends in cartulary production at the same time as both authorities were seeking to consolidate their historical legitimacy within the same area. Furness Abbey was thus incentivised to undertake a project of institutional memory along similar lines to that being undertaken by the Duchy of Lancaster. By contrast, the purpose of the St. Leonard's Cartulary appears more detached from engaging with the present circumstances of the hospital itself compared to the Coucher Book, arguably to gloss over the parlous state the hospital was finding itself in.[142] The St. Leonard's Cartulary was conceived, from the outset, as more of an antiquarian exercise compared to the Coucher Book.

One anonymous scribe originally produced the St. Leonard's Cartulary c.1410-c.1420, ostensibly in stages.[143] The different hands appearing in the cartulary do not differ considerably in style, indicating that he returned to the cartulary after working at other projects.[144] Even though he may or may not have been a member of the hospital, the scribe displayed considerable affinity with, and knowledge of, the properties of the hospital, as is apparent in several texts throughout the cartulary.[145] The texts were copied meticulously and accurately, but the scribe did not give much indication as to where the material came from or the state of the monastic archive, concerned only with rendering an authentic record of the material he came into contact with.[146] He began with a certain level of curiosity about the material, as surviving marginalia indicate the provenance of the material and what they refer to, but the marginalia vanish after a certain point and the material is copied in full with minimal indication of provenance.[147] This could demonstrate that the scribe had become more confident with his material by this point and worked within the parameters he had established for himself, or that he lost interest in his material and considered the St. Leonard's Cartulary as one professional job among many.

By contrast, the Coucher Book is attributed to one named scribe, John Stell, and a team of scribes working beneath Stell appear to account for the variety of hands extant within the

[141] See, for example, Dalton text 5, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.48, V., p.125, and Lancaster text 22, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.79, V., p.205
[142] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, p.xlix.
[143] Ibid., p.lii.
[144] Ibid., pp.xlix–l.
[145] Ibid., p.xlix.
[146] Ibid., pp.xlix–l.
[147] Ibid., p.l, p.lx–lxi; see R357, *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, fol.99, V. & R., pp.424–425, for a particularly detailed example of marginalia concerning its provenance, and the last point in the cartulary from which major examples of marginalia can be detected.

cartulary.[148] This could indicate that Stell and his team were most likely monks of Furness, especially since Stell is shown in the Cistercian habit,[149] and they could therefore invest more emotional energy into producing the cartulary. Stell appears to take the credit for the most conspicuous texts in the Coucher Book, especially those connected to the Duchy.[150] Otherwise, he seems less concerned with reproducing a completely accurate record of every text so much as authentically recollecting select texts for embellishing an historical narrative of the development of Furness Abbey. Away from the prestigious sections on Dalton and the Duchy, sections such as those on Bolton-with-Adgarley and Stalmine have less attention paid to their accuracy and appearance.[151] This is because they would ultimately have less bearing upon public visual perceptions of the abbey based on the cartulary, and it was anticipated, judging by the empty folios in these sections, that they would incorporate further additional material as the cartulary developed.[152]

Both cartularies are organised topographically in sections, with the St. Leonard's Cartulary ordering its sections alphabetically by place-name wherever possible, thus imparting a more systematic organisational system for readily recollecting texts.[153] The sections in the Coucher Book are not ordered alphabetically, but instead encompass a thorough spatial awareness of the lands of the abbey through a circular mental act of perambulation.[154] The Coucher Book compilers appear to have been more familiar with the geographical shape of the Furness Abbey properties than their monastic archive and this informed their awareness of the overall shape of the cartulary itself. The St. Leonard's Cartulary compiler, by contrast, seems to have thought only in terms of what each successive copied text would look like,[155] leaving it to his patrons to interpret what significance particular texts would represent in the context of the cartulary. The Coucher Book compilers, therefore, rendered its topographical organisation meaningful to them and their monastic audience more than is otherwise apparent in the St. Leonard's Cartulary.

The exceptional level of illumination throughout the St. Leonard's Cartulary and Furness Coucher Book bears much comparison with that of the Great Cowcher,[156] arguably to

[148] See Bolton text 18, *CB Vol.I*, fols.209–213, V. & R., pp.530–531, and Stalmine text 59, *CB Vol.II*, fol.82, V. & R., p.270, for evidence of different hands at work in the Coucher Book.
[149] Portrait of John Stell, *CB Vol. II*, fol. 1, V., p.2.
[150] Dalton texts 1–8, *CB Vol.I*, fols.45–49, V. & R., pp.122–128.
[151] Bolton text 18, *CB Vol.I*, fols.209–213, V. & R., pp.530–531; Stalmine text 59, *CB Vol.II*, fol.82, V. & R., p.270.
[152] Bolton text 22, *CB Vol.I*, fols.209–213, V. & R., pp.535–536; Stalmine text 60, *CB Vol.II*, fol.82, R., pp.270–271.
[153] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, p.lxv.
[154] See Chapter Two, p.90–91, p.94.
[155] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, p.xlix–l.
[156] Ibid., xxxix.

place the prestige of both institutions on the same level as that of the royal institution from which they hoped to elicit favour. Yet, the St. Leonard's Cartulary only has six total examples of illuminated capitals and then numerous decorated capitals at the beginning of each deed section, with less concern for depicting benefactor coats-of-arms in comparison to the Coucher Book.[157] The decorated capitals act as a schema for delineating new copies, in addition to rubrics,[158] and this is replicated in the Coucher Book.[159] In the case of the Coucher Book, though, conspicuous attempts are made to draw attention to particular copies and sections by the scale of illumination employed and the inclusion of benefactor coats-of-arms against particularly favoured Furness benefactors.[160] This priority is not replicated to the same extent in the St. Leonard's Cartulary, with the illumination included principally in the first couple of sections which would be most likely to be seen in public, especially against those sections of historical revision which were commissioned at the time of arrival of a new Master for the Hospital.[161] Furness Abbey, by contrast, was keen to project its institutional identity in the eyes of the Duchy of Lancaster through its illumination techniques, prioritising especially the royal documents in the Coucher Book for illumination treatment.[162] There is a greater imperative in the illumination strategy of the Coucher Book to make Furness Abbey 'punch above its weight' within the 'league table' of monastic houses that is much less conspicuous in the St. Leonard's Cartulary.

The St. Leonard's Cartulary incorporates a foundation history of the hospital into its cartulary and makes significant use of earlier collective understandings woven into the interpretation of this history in subsequent claims to service within Yorkshire.[163] For example, the earliest grants to the hospital included in the Cartulary date from 1089/1095, when William II granted to the canons of York Minster a piece of land in front of the Minster for building a hospital for poor and sick pilgrims. Reference to *colidei* during the reign of Athelstan (r.924/925-929) hint at memories of an early mediaeval foundation on the site of the hospital, possibly connected to Gaelic ecclesiastical enterprises.[164] This prior memory of the presence of

[157] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, p.li.
[158] See R1, *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, fol.1, R., p.4, and R6, *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, fol.2, R., p.18, for examples of illuminated initials opening the sections for Acomb and Docker.
[159] For an example of the rubric and initials schema used to organise texts in order of precedence in the Coucher Book, see Pennington texts 3–6, *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.194–195, V. & R., pp.487–492.
[160] See Chapter Three, pp.126–127.
[161] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, p.lvi.
[162] Dalton texts 1–8, *CB Vol.I*, fols.45–49, V. & R., pp.122–128.
[163] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, pp.xxxix–xl.
[164] 'Clients of God', transliteration of Gaelic '*celi De*', British Library Cotton MS Nero D iii, fol. 7r–v; printed in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (1655), vol.6, pp.608–609, cited in Fiona Edmonds, *Gaelic Influence in the Northumbrian Kingdom: The Golden Age and the Viking Age* (Melton: Boydell & Brewer Inc., 2020), pp.118–119.

a pre-reformed ministry could have influenced the repeated claims in the *Historia Fundationis* that the hospital was founded in the 10th century.[165] This elaborated claim to particular antiquity places the St. Leonard's Cartulary within a long monastic tradition of extending the origins of monasteries into the distant past, as can be seen in 11th-century examples of monastic foundation traditions in the cartularies of St. Bertin and Cluny,[166] or in English examples such as Worcester Cathedral Priory.[167] Unlike the relatively newer foundation of Furness, the older established monasteries had a greater incentive to discover and incorporate elements of an ancient past within their institutional memories. Within the contemporary context of the production of St. Leonard's Cartulary, the use of foundation narratives is typically couched within a more proprietorial perspective than was the case with earlier foundation narratives. These, according to Patrick Geary, used such traditions as reassurance against adversity, to perpetuate a continuing connection to an imagined past when times were more favourable.[168] The Fountains Abbey Cartulary, for instance, incorporated a *Narratio de Fundationis*, surviving in a single manuscript but unrelated to the later cartulary,[169] which effectively sought to relate the present circumstances of the abbey to a perceived origin narrative.[170] Foundation narratives therefore became increasingly fashionable embellishments to early-15th century monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland, as monasteries sought to come to terms with the adverse socio-economic circumstances of the period and reconnect with the perceived origins of their orders.[171]

Similar anxieties can be detected within the *Historia Fundationis* of St. Leonard's Cartulary, but the extension of monastic authority into the distant past is instead used to delineate and define property rights.[172] Beyond this abstract conceptualisation of their past within the boundaries of the material and documentary culture within which the compiler operated, the *Historia Fundationis* sought to pin down precise details of rights, privileges and services and harness them for the purpose of the present.[173] Thus, the *Historia Fundationis* used

[165] Ibid., pp.xl–xlii.
[166] Declerq, 'Originals and Cartularies', pp.157–160.
[167] Barrow, 'How the Twelfth–Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past', pp.53–4.
[168] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, p.6, p.82, p.180.
[169] Janet Burton, *The Foundation History of the Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx*, Borthwick Texts and Studies, vol.35 (York: Borthwick Institute for Archives, 2006), p.xxxvi; dated to c.1225-1226, on the basis of internal evidence within the text and after the death of Abbot Serlo, by Baker, 'The Foundation of Fountains Abbey', Northern History, p.33.
[170] L.G.D. Baker, 'The Genesis of English Cistercian Chronicles: The Foundation History of Fountains Abbey I', *Analecta Cisterciensia*, vol.25, (1969), pp.14–41.
[171] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, pp.132–133, p.139; Joan Greatrex, 'After Knowles: Recent Perspectives in Monastic History', in *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, vol.18 ed. by James G. Clark (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), p.44.
[172] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, pp.xl–xlii.
[173] Ibid., pp.xlix–l; Edmonds, *Gaelic Influence in the Northumbrian Kingdom*, pp.118–119.

its assertion of 10th-century origins to claim that the thraves of York were granted to the hospital by Athelstan, during his campaign against Constantin, King of Scots (900-943), for maintenance of the paupers of the city.[174] The collection of thraves were a 'constant source of dispute' between the hospital and its tenants, resulting in high levels of arrears, and tensions would exacerbate so much that by 1469 they were a significant cause behind the outbreak of the East Riding Rebellion of 1469, leading to the abolition of the thraves to the hospital by Edward IV.[175]

The Coucher Book does not contain a separate foundation history of the abbey, but this is substituted by the incorporation of a Metrical Introduction which serves a similar function.[176] This absence could testify to the confidence of the compilers that their interpretation of the historical development of Furness Abbey would be made apparent throughout the Coucher Book. The memory of foundation is renewed at various points throughout the cartulary, from the so-called Foundation Charter at the beginning and the papal privileges that specify rights over its Furness territories in Volume I,[177] to the geographical progression and connection with Furness whenever the opportunity permits as material is presented in Volume II.[178] In all this, the Coucher Book was less of an exercise of antiquarian investigation and more of an instrument for consolidating abbatial authority associated ipso facto with its Furness seigniory.

In conclusion, it appears as though the Cartulary of St. Leonard's, York, represents an exceptional example of early-15th century monastic cartulary production intended principally to consolidate claims to property and privileges within a context of antiquarian investigation of the origins and present condition of the hospital itself. By contrast, the Coucher Book was a living artefact, the result of and the means towards expressing how the monastic community of Furness Abbey conceived of themselves past and present. Both cartularies followed secular fashions in cartulary production, especially imitating Great Cowcher, which consequently influenced how they understood their historical narratives along increasingly secular lines. St. Leonard's Cartulary used its size and illumination levels to compare itself, and by extension the hospital, with the prestige enjoyed by the Great Cowcher, but there was less of an imperative to actively associate the hospital with the Duchy of Lancaster than was the case with the Coucher Book. The Furness cartulary, by contrast, took the illumination techniques seen in the Great Cowcher as a strategy for organising its material and projecting its institutional memory, with the Duchy perhaps serving as a significant audience for the Coucher Book itself. This further

[174] *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York*, p.xli.
[175] Ibid., pp.xli–xlii.
[176] See Chapter Four, pp.165–167.
[177] Dalton text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.47, V., p.122; see esp. Churches text 1, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fol.269, V. & R., pp.642–643 and Churches text 16, *CB Vol.I*, Part III, fols.274–276, V. & R., pp.661–665.
[178] See Chapter Two, p.90–91, p.94.

highlights how exceptional Furness Abbey was in using its cartulary to associate its institutional identity with one of the most prestigious political institutions in England, using this association to reinforce its regional sensibilities while simultaneously justifying its place among the most prestigious of monastic houses.

The Kelso Abbey Cartulary and the Furness Coucher Book compared

In placing the Furness Coucher Book within a wider Insular context of cartulary production, comparison with the Kelso Abbey Cartulary is particularly helpful. There has been recent appraisal of the Kelso Cartulary in terms of the context of its production and the subjectivity of the archival record it represents.[179]. Both monasteries were established by future kings of England and Scotland, Stephen of England and David I of Scotland respectively,[180] and this characterised the treatment of material in both of their cartularies. Both abbeys became some of the most powerful monastic establishments of their Order within their kingdoms, with Kelso achieving a significant degree of power within its domains similar to that achieved by Furness Abbey further south.[181] Similar incentives therefore existed to create historical interpretations and present understandings that were grounded both in their relationship to royalty and in association of their political power to their place. Nevertheless, as will be shown here, different circumstances governing the conception and development of their cartularies resulted in different versions of how they conceived of their place within a wider political network as much as the presence of material within their cartularies.

The Kelso Abbey Cartulary has been dated from internal evidence to between c.1321 and c.1326, with additional material dating to the early-16th century.[182] However, it contains significant original 13th-century material, especially a Rental Roll from 1290,[183] and has been valued by historians as one of the earliest extant monastic cartularies from mediaeval Scotland.[184] Consequently, the Kelso Cartulary has been heavily relied upon as a seemingly

[179] See esp. The National Library of Scotland (NLS): Adv. MS 34.5.1, cited in Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary:*, pp.200–213; Dauvit Broun, 'The Writing of Charters in Scotland and Ireland in the Twelfth Century' in 'Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society', *Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy*, vol.5, ed. by Karl Heidecker (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), pp.113–119.
[180] Geoffrey W. S. Barrow, *The Kingdom of the Scots*, 2nd edition (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2003), pp. 179–180; Leach, *A History of Furness Abbey*, p.11.
[181] *An Atlas of Scotland History to 1707*, ed. by P. G. B. McNeill & H. L. MacQueen (Edinburgh: The Scottish Medievalists and Department of Geography, University of Edinburgh, 1996), p. 363.
[182] *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou*, ed. by Innes, pp.xvii–xviii; Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, p.118.
[183] *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou*, ed. by Innes, pp.445–473.
[184] Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, p.1.

objective record of not only the monastic estate of Kelso Abbey, but of significant political events in Scottish history, such as the succession of Robert I and the renunciation of English sovereignty over Scotland in 1327.[185] Nevertheless, as Andrew Smith has shown, the Kelso Cartulary contains a significant number of forgeries among its material, composed in order to legitimise the claim of Robert I to the throne of Scotland and bring order to the ravaged Border country around Kelso, and therefore extreme caution in treating the cartulary as an objective record has been advised.[186] Perhaps the most important motivation for composing the Kelso Cartulary is related to the devastation suffered by the abbey during the Anglo-Scottish Wars and a desire to recover and organise its existing archive.[187]

Although providing an opportunity to reconnect with the abbey's past, the Kelso Cartulary was primarily concerned with retaining records pertaining to the present needs of the abbey for the purposes of recovery.[188] As a result, the grants of favoured benefactors such as the Douglases, whose castle at Roxburgh stood close to Kelso Abbey,[189] and whose ancestors, such as James the Good, had fought with distinction during the Anglo-Scottish Wars,[190] were retained in significant numbers.[191] The preservation and highlighting of the confirmation of the foundation charter by the future David I at the beginning of the cartulary similarly indicated the importance of the royal relationship to Kelso Abbey.[192] The preservation of the original 1290 Rental Roll was most likely to trace and retain revenue among its existing early-14th-century tenants that was crucial to the survival of the abbey.[193] The Coucher Book, although composed in c.1412, displayed the effects of the Anglo-Scottish Wars prominently within the historical narrative of Furness Abbey, as the incorporation of detailed church taxation returns in Furness adversely affected by the Scottish raids of 1316 show.[194] Otherwise, the Anglo-Scottish dimension of this historical narrative, or indeed its wider political dimension, has been significantly de-emphasised by the compilers. The motivation behind the production of the Coucher Book arose within a much less turbulent context than that which befell Kelso Abbey, but with a similar imperative to organise extant material from earlier periods towards creating a meaningful historical narrative for Furness Abbey in c.1412. However, this was grounded in a

[185] Ibid., pp.22–25.
[186] Ibid., pp.122–124, pp.200–201.
[187] Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, pp.81–85.
[188] Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, p.93.
[189] Richard Oram, *Domination and Lordship: Scotland, 1070–1230* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), pp.67–69.
[190] David R. Ross, *James the Good: The Black Douglas* (Ann Arbor: Luath, 2008), pp.54–58.
[191] *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou*, ed. by Innes, p.xxvii.
[192] Ibid., no.1, pp.1–3.
[193] Ibid., pp.445–473.
[194] Taxation texts 3–4, *CB Vol. II*, Part III, fol.266, V. & R., pp.636–637; Beck, *Annales Furnesienses*, pp.252 –256.

greater awareness of the importance of place compared to Kelso Abbey, as the Coucher Book was deliberately organised to reflect the suzerainty of the abbey over its Furness lands. The Metrical Introduction, absent from the Kelso Cartulary, sets great store by the location of Furness Abbey as a key component of how the abbey understood itself.[195] Furness Abbey also did not set as significant a store behind its relationship with English royalty within its understanding.[196] This is probably because, unlike Kelso Abbey in c.1326, significant royal support was not the main priority behind the decision to compose the cartulary.

The Kelso Cartulary is organised mostly topographically,[197] distinguished by rubrics used for the titles of charters and at the top of pages until the 164th folio.[198] The main exception to this rule was the incorporation of the foundation charter at the beginning of the cartulary.[199] This illustrated the importance of the foundation charter within the institutional memory and identity of Kelso Abbey, although this has been demonstrated to have been a possible early-14th century forgery by Andrew Smith.[200] This so-called foundation charter was most likely drafted to emphasise the royal connection before Robert I during efforts at rebuilding the economy of the monastic estate in the aftermath of war, although the charter may have been based on a now lost original.[201] In any case, the foundation of Kelso Abbey in 1128 assumed such seminal importance within the context of its cartulary that it seems reasonable to assume that appeals to the goodwill of the Bruce dynasty were not the sole reason for according the so-called foundation charter such pride of place.[202]

The so-called foundation charter of Furness Abbey is similarly granted special treatment by the Coucher Book compilers, heading the Dalton texts alongside a host of royal texts unconnected specifically with Dalton-in-Furness.[203] As noted, this charter may not have been based on the original foundation charter that exists outside the Coucher Book.[204] The main difference with the Kelso Cartulary in this regard, however, is that the so-called foundation charter is not singled out from the main record but incorporated within the texts deemed to be most representative of the political power of Furness Abbey within Furness. The Coucher Book is organised, like the Kelso Cartulary, topographically and distinguished by rubrics, to reflect

[195] See Chapter Four, pp.165–167.
[196] See Chapter One, pp.70–74.
[197] Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, pp.99–100.
[198] *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou*, ed. by Innes, p.xvii, footnote m.
[199] Ibid., p.xvii.
[200] Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, p.196.
[201] Ibid., pp.196–197, p.227.
[202] Ibid., pp.90–93.
[203] Dalton texts 1–5, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fols.47–48, V. & R., pp.122–125.
[204] See Chapter One, p.47.

the association of the political power of the abbey to its place.[205] Yet, within this topographical schema both cartularies prioritise particular benefactors whose charters span categories of place. In the Kelso Cartulary, the Douglases straddle multiple sections of the cartulary,[206] while in the Coucher Book non-Furnesian benefactors such as the Boyvilles and Huddlestons are highlighted in the record.

The Kelso Cartulary was produced at a time of developing practices of topographical organisation in cartularies from Britain and Ireland, but still prioritised the memory of favoured benefactors and their attenuated relationships. The impact of the Anglo-Scottish Wars, however, resulted in an imperative of time and resources which was not shared by the Coucher Book compilers in c.1412. Witness lists were culled in significant numbers throughout the cartulary, especially when the texts concerned appeared to be confirmations of existing grants.[207] The Coucher Book similarly displays a considerable loss of witness lists from its texts, but the omission appears to have been a more selective process than it appears in the Kelso Cartulary, as the omissions related more to the specific context of the relationships between the abbey and its benefactors as was conceived from the perspective of c.1412.[208]

The Kelso Cartulary was intended to serve a utilitarian purpose of maintaining a developing record of abbey property, and this is reflected in the two sets of hands, one early-14th century and one early-15th century.[209] The Coucher Book similarly had two sets of hands, one early-15th century and one early-16th century,[210] reflecting the relatively compact time periods found in the Kelso Cartulary. Both cartularies were therefore intended to incorporate further material to update the property record as time passed, yet were established from a particular time period to serve a particular purpose in managing how those records were to be perceived.

Illumination is significant by its absence in the Kelso Cartulary, which is otherwise distinguished by its red rubric schema.[211] By contrast, the Coucher Book is lavishly illuminated and distinguished by coats-of-arms for identifying favoured benefactors of Furness Abbey.[212]

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[205] See Chapter One, pp.39–41; see Chapter Two, p.90–91, p.94.
[206] *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou*, ed. by Innes, p.xxvii; for examples of Douglas texts, see ibid., no.107, pp.78–79, no.116, pp.84–85, no.189, pp.154–155, and no.202, pp.168–169.
[207] *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou*, ed. by Innes, pp.xviii–xix; for examples of culled witness lists, see ibid., no.9, p.10, no.34, pp.29–30, no.119, pp.86–87.
[208] See esp. Orgrave text 30, *CB Vol.I*, Part I, fol.99, R., pp.250–251 and Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., pp.522–523.
[209] *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou*, ed. by Innes, pp.xvii–xviii; Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, pp.115–118
[210] See Gaythorpe, 'Richard Esk's Metrical Account of Furness Abbey', pp.98–99, for discussion on the 15th–century square hand used in the Coucher Book; for an example of a 16th–century hand, see Bolton–le–Sands text 35, *CB Vol.II*, Part I, fol.33, R., p.59.
[211] *Liber Sancte Marie de Calchou*, ed. by Innes, p.xvii.
[212] See esp. Kirksanton text 13, *CB Vol. II*, Part II, fol.204, V., p.523, and Angerton Moss text 14 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fol. 132, V., p.337.

This could be seen to reflect the relative poverty of Kelso Abbey during the period of the production of its cartulary c.1321-c.1326. However, given that the same format was adopted throughout the working life of the cartulary, and that other cartularies from Britain and Ireland which were not adversely affected by war did not adopt illumination, this is most likely not the reason behind the absence of illumination. The Kelso Cartulary seems to have been intended as a practical document to be used for a particular purpose at a particular point in time, and yet to be afforded the maximum scope for recovery of future records.[213] Therefore, elaborate and costly illumination would only hinder the ability of future compilers to incorporate future material or to organise extant material to reflect changes in how the past and present of the abbey would be presented. Arguably, it is this in-built capacity for flexibility in treating its written record that has led historians into thinking that monastic cartularies were intended to reflect an objective, updated written record.[214] This observation renders the Coucher Book notable for its commitment to illumination as a strategy for organising its material, while building in capacity for flexible future treatment of that material, as can be seen in the presence of incomplete coats-of-arms perhaps intended to allow for change in how the benefactor was perceived.[215]

In conclusion, it appears as though the Kelso Abbey Cartulary and Furness Coucher Book were representative of wider trends in 14th-15th-century British and Irish cartulary production, even notwithstanding the adverse circumstances influencing the agenda behind the production of the cartulary. However, the Coucher Book appears exceptional in adopting conspicuously secular terms, not least through its illumination strategy, and its strong emphasis upon its place expressed in terms of its core Furness domain.

[213] Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, pp.206–209; Walker, 'The Organization of Material in Medieval Cartularies', p.132; Foulds, 'Medieval Cartularies', pp. 4–5, p. 31.
[214] Smith, *The Kelso Abbey cartulary*, pp.25–28.
[215] See esp. Angerton Moss text 13 *CB Vol. I*, Part II, fols.131–132, V. & R., pp.336–337.

Conclusion

By placing the Furness Coucher Book within a wider statistical analysis of British and Irish monastic cartularies produced between c.1300 and c.1500, the cartulary has been shown to be representative of some particularly pertinent trends in cartulary production for its time. It remained conventional in its topographical organisation of material, time lag between monastic foundation and production of a cartulary and in its use of additions to keep the cartulary open to amendment and reinterpretation of new and existing records. Yet, the Coucher Book does exhibit distinct use of some of these common features, in particular the topographical organisation, in a manner that reflected how the cartulary was being creatively used to present its records beyond a preoccupation with preserving them. Its illumination strategy is particularly notable, especially its use of coats-of-arms to highlight particular benefactors or grants, which is unusual in the wider context of British and Irish monastic cartulary production.

Detailed comparison with representative samples of British and Irish monastic cartularies revealed further both the conventionality of the Furness cartulary and its distinctiveness within its own genre. The Lanercost Cartulary highlighted how the Coucher Book represented a culmination of trends in organising and presenting cartularies from previous centuries, yet which showcased a capacity for seizing control of its own narrative from the outset of the project of compiling a cartulary for Furness. The St. Leonard's, York, Cartulary, demonstrated how the Coucher Book appealed beyond its monastic community and towards secular audiences at the highest level when organising and presenting the cartulary, and how this affected the interpretation of institutional memory that was being offered in c.1412. The Kelso Abbey Cartulary confirmed how representative the Coucher Book was as a monastic cartulary in a 14th-15th-century British and Irish context, but was characterised in this context by a strong identification with its core Furness domain and the consequent weaving of a strategy of memory and identity centred on that domain. As an instrument for articulating institutional memory and identity, the Coucher Book stands as an exceptional example of its type.

Conclusion

Picture 18: Initial depicting a Furness monk petitioning the Virgin Mary in the Furness Abbey Coucher Book (c.1412), (TNA: DL42/3, fol.7v), Duchy copyright material in the National Archives is the property of His Majesty the King in Right of His Duchy of Lancaster and is reproduced by permission of the Chancellor and Council of the Duchy of Lancaster

The finger of John Stell has blazed a complex yet consistent trail since his invocation of blessing from the parent of the Sun. In following his editorial preoccupations, this research has sought to determine if his lasting legacy, the Furness Coucher Book, embodied an institutional historical narrative for Furness Abbey, and how that narrative influenced its identity. The Coucher Book was indeed used to articulate a particular historical narrative of the development of Furness Abbey, which exercised a pronounced influence upon how the monastic community at Furness perceived their past and their present identity as an institution. Quantitative representation and comparison of the texts copied into the Coucher Book against surviving original documents has revealed more about how Furness Abbey maintained relationships with its benefactors and how those relationships were subsequently remembered. This has been substantiated by in-depth investigation of selected case studies of 12th-13th-century Furness

Abbey benefactors, uncovering new insights as to how the abbey was perceived on both sides of the benefactor relationship and how that relationship was reimagined from the perspective of c.1412. An in-depth quantitative reinterpretation of the cartulary has been supplemented by a new understanding of the Metrical Introduction which commences the Coucher Book. I interpreted it according to how it contributed to the narrative propagated in the rest of the cartulary as well as appraising the Introduction as an exceptional example of monastic poetry within the context of a documentary artefact. Finally, quantitative and documentary comparisons were drawn between the Furness Coucher Book and monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland produced at a similar time, setting the Coucher Book in a wider context within which to appraise its significance as a distinct example of its type as an instrument for crafting an institutional memory for a British monastic house. Some of the principal themes which have been uncovered will now be drawn together to emphasise the importance of what has been uncovered through this investigation to wider monastic scholarship.

In the first place, the Coucher Book was intended from the outset, and actively used, both as an instrument for constructing an institutional memory for Furness Abbey as much as to preserve records of property and privilege. The material selected for copying into the Coucher Book was informed by a pre-existing sense on the part of the compilers of how Furness Abbey, in its past and present guises, should be understood by readers of the cartulary, as an integral part of the physical and political landscape of Furness. Nevertheless, a distinct memory only emerged through the process of compilation itself, formed as a result of engagement with the legacy and memory of past and present benefactors. The project of the Coucher Book, in other words, was heavily informed by pre-existing layers of memory, preserved through the process of compilation, to give those layers a distinct form that would ultimately serve the interests of Furness Abbey in promoting a collective version of memory meaningful to its monastic community in c.1412. The Coucher Book was never simply a collection of records for posterity; it was a carefully crafted device for creating and sustaining collective memories.

Perhaps the most enduring collective memory of all was a notion of Furness as being the natural environment for the abbey that mapped onto abbatial authority within Furness. This Furnesian paradigm that came to prevail in Volume I gained a more coherent expression in Volume II, wherein a ‘perambulation’ was undertaken from Furness to territories owned by the abbey beyond Furness, in the process defining the Furnesian territories increasingly according to place. This expanded geographical scope for the Coucher Book also enabled it to appeal to audiences beyond Furness, and particularly within a non-monastic context, incorporating secular fashions in cartulary design to influence the compilation of the entire Coucher Book. Looking especially to the example of the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster, the Coucher Book compilers transmitted a vision of identity for the abbey that cast it as a political

power in Furness with equivalent prestige and authority to that of royalty and the Duchy. The compilers played heavily upon the abbey's royal and ducal connections in constructing its historical sensibility for the Coucher Book, emphasising such royal or ducal texts within the cartulary organisation and illumination, which filtered through into how the abbey was to perceive its political authority within its Furness domain. This process rendered the Coucher Book quite distinctive as a monastic cartulary of its date and type, and by c.1412 the Furness monastic community had constructed a basis for defining the institutional identity of Furness Abbey as a political power intimately connected with its Furness physical and political environment.

Detailed investigation of the relationship between the Boyville and Huddleston benefactor families and Furness Abbey reveals that there was no predetermined direction by which the memory of these benefactors would develop or be presented in the Coucher Book. Nevertheless, a different version of their memory, closer to the time of their original benefactions, can be distinguished from the version of memory developed by the cartulary compilers in c.1412. This later version of memory was predicated upon satisfying the corporate interests of Furness Abbey, with memory of the Boyvilles and Huddlestons being co-opted into an increasingly institutional articulation of the abbey's identity in relation to Furness. This suggests that a pragmatic perspective was adopted in terms of how such propertied settlements worked in the abbey's interests without having to honour the benefactors personally. Yet, the Coucher Book compilers went out of their way to honour the legacy of these Furnesian benefactors, presenting them as integral to the consolidation of a firm monastic presence within Furness and actively associating the abbey itself with noble, even secular, expressions of identity within the cartulary record. This implies that, even by c.1412, the Boyvilles and Huddlestons continued to exercise a pronounced influence within the collective memory of the Furness monastic community, resulting in a spiritual obligation to sustain their presence within a more consolidated version of that memory, even as it was adapted to suit new institutional demands being placed on how they were remembered. The Coucher Book was thus created with an express intention of honouring the memory of benefactors from the distant past of the abbey, but this did not prevent later generations of monastics at Furness from determining how they should be remembered.

The documentary treatment of texts and benefactors was supplemented in the Coucher Book by literary and visual modes of expressing the institutional memory and identity of the abbey found in its Metrical Introduction and conspicuous use of coats-of-arms. The Metrical Introduction not only introduced the reader to the contents of the succeeding folios, but also constructed the overarching premises by which the institutional memory and identity of Furness Abbey was to be conceived. The significance of Furness Abbey as a political power intimately

connected with its Furness surroundings was underlined here, indicating a possible partnership between compilers and versifiers as similar themes in the historical narrative of Furness Abbey were shared. The Coucher Book is quite distinct among monastic cartularies in Britain and Ireland for possessing a poetic introduction to a register of property, and further scholarly investigation into the use of poetry in contemporary monastic literary contexts is warranted. Prevailing monastic scholarship on late mediaeval monastic poetry has hithertho concentrated on how monasteries were patrons of poets, particularly in Welsh Cistercian monasteries,[1] or on how Benedictine monasteries could foster poetic talent among its individual members.[2] Whilst research into how monastic poetic talent was fostered in earlier periods has been pioneered, less attention has been paid to the role of poetry in the context of monastic cartularies during this period.[3] It nevertheless seems clear that the Metrical Introduction was intended, from the outset, to complement many of the principal themes of the version of memory and identity being espoused in the rest of the cartulary, including Furness as the natural domain of the abbey, the political power of the abbot over this domain, and the association of both with English royalty and nobility. This latter theme is particularly noteworthy in the extensive employment throughout the Coucher Book of coats-of-arms as key signifiers of organising and presenting texts within the cartulary. They were used to draw attention to texts deemed by the compilers to represent the version of memory they deemed most expedient to advertising the power of Furness Abbey, especially of favoured royal and noble benefactors, and to the relative prestige which they consequently held in the collective memory of the abbey. This conscious use of heraldry to organise and create memory is exceptional among British and Irish monastic cartularies, and drawing attention to this aspect of the Coucher Book is a major contribution of this thesis.

Situated within a wider context of monastic cartulary production in Britain and Ireland in the 12th to 16th centuries, the Furness Coucher Book represented developed practices for preserving and managing monastic property records within increasingly narrative frameworks quite common to comparable 15th-century monastic cartularies. Nevertheless, the Coucher Book was a distinctive example of its type and exceptional in how it conveyed the institutional identity of its monastery. In contrast to several monastic cartularies of its date and type, the Coucher Book was compiled at a more fixed moment in time, enabling a more singular

[1] Karen Stober, 'The Social Networks of Late Medieval Welsh Monasteries', in *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles*, ed. by Janet Burton & Karen Stober (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), pp.20-24; Dafydd Johnston, 'Monastic Patronage of Welsh Poetry', in in *Monastic Wales: New Approaches*, ed. by Janet Burton & Karen Stober (Gwasg Prifysgol Cymru: University of Wales Press, 2013), pp.177-190.
[2] James G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), pp.213-230.
[3] Anna Lisa Taylor, *Epic Lives and Monasticism in the Middle Ages, 800-1050* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp.4-16, pp.119-136.

historical understanding to develop while acknowledging the presence of multiple interpretations that had been generated prior to c.1412. This meant that it could consciously imitate secular as well as monastic fashions in cartulary production to consciously invoke and manipulate an historical memory of its monastery in the early-15th century. Furthermore, similar techniques for expressing shared manifestations of memory and identity in monasteries were shared across a wider Insular context, yet the Coucher Book was exceptional in that context for how far the compilers were prepared to forego the place of the Insular world within their own understanding of the collective memory of Furness Abbey. If anything, the institutional memory they created became more insular than the Insular world which gave birth to the abbey itself.

One of the most significant contributions this thesis has made is to demonstrate how the Furness Coucher Book was intended from the outset to formulate an institutional memory and identity for Furness Abbey, providing an exceptional example of a cartulary that appealed to its own community and beyond the cloister, by setting the terms by which its institutional narratives were to be interpreted. Monastic cartularies are increasingly being appreciated as subjective artefacts, and further research can be conducted on how diverse versions of the memory of past events embodied in these cartularies. The research of Joanna Tucker, for instance, on multi-scribal activity in the cartularies of mediaeval Scotland, illustrates the importance of considering how multiple scribes, even within a constrained time frame for cartulary compilation, can nonetheless exercise distinct influence over the eventual shape of the memories they are compiling.[4] An appreciation of how such multi-scribal activity could be coordinated under, and exist alongside, efforts at abbatial control of the narrative of memory in the cartulary is similarly shown in the case of Fountains Abbey.[5] The influence of the President Book, produced under the direction of Abbot John Greenwell (1442–1471), was projected over earlier and contemporaneous cartularies produced at Fountains Abbey, as creative redaction was undertaken to de-emphasise the circumstances behind the abbatial election of Greenwell.[6] This illustrates the dynamism of the compilation process across multiple scribes even within a constrained time frame, and it underlies how the compilation of monastic cartularies really consisted of the compilation of memories. There is potential for extending this investigation into how narratives of memory were constructed in monasteries that achieved a stable existence after a century or more of foundation, which was the most likely timeframe determined by Jamroziak for when a cartulary would be produced, once all direct links with the original benefactors had been severed.[7] One could, therefore, select representative samples of monastic cartularies from

[4] Tucker, 'Understanding Scotland's medieval cartularies', pp.142-144.
[5] Spence, *The Late Medieval Cistercian Monastery of Fountains Abbey, Yorkshire*, pp.113-120, pp.139-142.
[6] Ibid., pp.75-78.
[7] Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132–1300*, p.24.

Britain and Ireland within that average timeframe, making use of comparative contextualisation such as was undertaken in this thesis for the Furness Coucher Book, and analyse how memories of foundation and benefaction were preserved and organised across that time period. This could demonstrate how far the link with original benefactors had really been permitted to fall into oblivion, as well as yield rich insights into how memories of such benefactors could be repurposed to suit the monastic community across an extended period of time.

An increased awareness of how monastic cartularies could be influenced by secular fashions in cartulary design has been a particularly important finding in this thesis. Within the geographical context investigated here, the Coucher Book appears to have been exceptional for its use of secular tropes of identity within a monastic context, as well as appropriating such secular imitations for its own institutional end of fostering a particular interpretation of the collective memory of Furness Abbey. The Coucher Book sets a significant example for monastic scholarship as to how a monastic cartulary was actively used to promote a particular memory of its development as an institution, embodying an institutional historical narrative that influenced its identity in turn as a monastery that was thoroughly embedded within its lordship over Furness. Recent scholarship on the influence of favoured benefactors, particularly the Beauchamp Earls of Warwick, upon Tewkesbury Abbey in the late-15th century influenced the prominent secular artistic themes, especially the heraldic achievements, incorporated into the manuscript.[8] Similarly, the influence of founding benefactors over monasteries on the frontiers of Latin Christendom to promote lordship over their new territories can be seen in the treatment of Duke Henry I the Bearded of Silesia (d.1228) in the cartulary of the Cistercian abbey of Henrykow.[9] The integrated role of monasteries in their local political contexts has been the subject of much recent research on how monastic cartularies recorded, and managed the memory thereof, of cooperation and conflict between nobles and monasteries.[10] Recent research has expanded upon how the notion of monasteries as forums for expressing aristocratic identity investigated in this thesis, such as the extent of foundation and aristocratic recruitment to Cistercian monasteries in Sweden.[11] As well as expanding research into how exactly secular cartularies influenced monastic cartularies, with the Great Cowcher of the Duchy of Lancaster

[8] *The Founders' Book: A Medieval History of Tewkesbury Abbey*, ed. by Julian Luxford (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2021), pp.1-10.
[9] Piotr Górecki, *A Local Society in Transition: The Henryków Book and Related Documents* (Toronto: University of Toronot Press, 2007), pp.81–86.
[10] Steven Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900–1100* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2013), pp.93-96; Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*, pp.161–169.
[11] Catharina Andersson, 'Cistercian Monasteries in Medieval Sweden – Foundations and Recruitment, 1143-1420', *Religions*, vol.12, no.582 (2021), pp.2-6, pp.15-18, file:///C:/Users/admin/Downloads/religions-12-00582.pdf, accessed 18/07/2022.

being a prime example in a British context,[12] future research could concentrate upon the agency of monasteries in adapting their cartularies within this milieu of late mediaeval practices of aristocratic remembrance and influencing such practices in turn.

Ultimately, approaching the further study of monastic cartularies from a perspective of multiple selective readings of history, within a dynamic context of institutional engagement with that history, has the potential to reap rich rewards for future scholarship. The example of the Coucher Book suggests the potential of this open approach to a diversity of recollection within the supposedly unitary ambitions of controlling memories that may otherwise be assumed. The monks of Furness who crafted a picture of memory, in the name of identity, embraced diversity of memory under unity of purpose.

[12] Somerville, 'The Cowcher Books of the Duchy of Lancaster', pp.598–600.

Appendix: Enrolments corresponding to Furness Coucher Book texts

Coucher Book reference	Page Number	Enrolment Type	Enrolment Date	Enrolment Citation	Description
Pre-Coucher Vol I 1	1	Pipe Roll	N/A	*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, pp.310-312	Henry II Confirmation of Division of Furness Fells between the Abbey and William Fitz Gilbert
Pre-Coucher Vol I 8	15	Fine Roll	1196	'Fines of Richard I', No.116, in *Lancashire Final Concords*, i., 4	Agreement and Fine before the King's Justices at Westminster of the Division of the Furness Fells between Furness Abbey and Gilbert Fitz Roger Fitz Reinfred (1196)
Dalton 1	122	Pipe Roll	1127	*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, pp.301-303	Foundation Charter
Dalton 2	123	Pipe Roll	N/A	*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, pp.303-304	Henry I Confirmation of Foundation Charter
Dalton 4	124	Charter Roll	N/A	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iv, 445, cited in *CB Vol. II*, Part III, pp.736-737	Stephen Confirmation of Foundation Charter
Dalton 8	128	Pipe Roll	1155	*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, pp.317-318	Henry II Confirmation of Foundation Charter and Exchange of Roose and Crivelton

					(Nottingham, 1155)
Dalton 12	128	Charter Roll	1200	*Rotuli Cartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati* (1 John), m.19, p.41	John Confirmation of Royal Protection
Dalton 9	128	Charter Roll	N/A	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, iv, 444, cited in *CB Vol. II*, Part III, p.737	Richard I Confirmation of Royal Protection
Dalton 13	129	Charter Roll	1227	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll, Vol.I (11 Henry III, Part I), m.20, p.18	Henry III Inspeximus
Dalton 14	131	Charter Roll	1239	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll, Vol.I (23 Henry III), m.4, p.243	Henry III Charter for Dalton Fair (Westminster, 13th May 1239)
Dalton 15	132	Quo Warranto Roll	1354	*Placita de Quo Warranto*, pp.370-371	Edward III Letters Patent concerning Sheriff's Tourn (Tower of London, October 1344)
Dalton 16	138	Patent Roll	1346	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll, Vol.7 (10 Edward III), m.6, p.286	Edward III Confirmation of Sheriff's Tourn (8th May 1346)
Dalton 22	149	Charter Roll	1246	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll, Vol.I (30 Henry III), m.6, p.295	Henry III Grant of an Annual Fair at Dalton (Oxford, 20th July 1246)
Dalton 24	157	Close Roll	1338	*Calendar of Close Rolls*,	Edward III Concession of

				Close Roll (12 Edward III, Part II), m.25, p.438	right of the Abbey to appoint a Coroner (Walton, 26th June 1338)
Dalton 27	165	Close Roll	1342	*Calendar of Close Rolls*, Close Roll (16 Edward III, Part I), m.42d, p.471	Edward III Authorisation for the Abbey to elect a Coroner in place of a Coroner lately deceased (Stamford, 7th November 1342)
Dalton 30	173	Charter Roll	1337	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (10 Edward III), m.7, p.382	Edward III Grant of Free Warren in Lancashire, Yorkshire and Cumberland (Bothwell, 20th November 1337)
Dalton 33	177	Patent Roll	1398	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (20 Richard II), m.7, p.294	Richard II Exemption of the Abbey to provide Corrodies (Westminster, 5th June 1398)
Dalton 38	181	Pipe Roll	N/A	*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, p.316	Richard I Concession of his Special Protection to the Abbey
Dalton 42	182	Charter Roll	1227	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll, vol.I (11 Henry III, part i), m.20, p.18	Henry III Exemption from Toll, Pontage, Passage and other Customs upon the men and possessions of the Abbey (Westminster, 25th March 1227)
Dalton 43	182	Patent Roll	1227	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*,	Henry III Concession of his

				Patent Roll (12 Henry III), m.7, p.172	Special Protection to the Abbey and Licence to purchase Provisions in Ireland (Durham, 9th December 1227)
Dalton 41	182	Patent Roll	1258	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (42 Henry III), m.10, p.624	Henry III Concession of his Special Protection to the Abbey (Westminster, 23rd April 1258)
Dalton 44	183	Charter Roll	1227	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll, vol.I (11 Henry III, part i), m.20, p.18	Henry III Exemption from Toll, Pontage, Passage and other Customs upon the men and possessions of the Abbey (Westminster, 25th March 1227)
Dalton 45	184	Patent Roll	1233	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (17 Henry III), m.6, p.11	Henry III Concession of his Special Protection to the Abbey (Westminster, 8th February 1233)
Dalton 45	184	Patent Roll	1277	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (5 Edward I), m.20, p.198	Edward I Licence to the Abbey to buy Provisions in Ireland (Nayland, 15th April 1277)
Dalton 46	185	Patent Roll	1397	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (21 Richard II, Part II), m.36, p.249	Richard II Inspeximus (Westminster, 6th November 1397)

Dalton 53	200	Charter Roll	1401	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (13-14 Henry IV), m.8, pp.444-446	Henry IV Confirmation of previous Charters (Westminster, 10th Feburary 1401)
Dalton 49	211	Charter Roll	1210	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (13 Henry III), m.9, p.93	John Grant of Burgage Privileges to the Vill of Liverpool and Henry III Constitution of Liverpool Vill as a Free Burgh (Watton, 28th August 1210)
Dalton 52	215	Chancery Roll	1404	*County Palatine of Lancaster Chancery Rolls*, 5 Henry IV, no.14, cited in John F. Curwen, 'Piel Castle, Lancashire', *TCWAAS*, vol.10 (1910), p.274	Henry IV Mandate to the Escheator of Lancashire concerning the Seizure of Walney Island in the King's Name (1404)
Dalton 53	216	Charter Roll	1411	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (13-14 Henry IV), m.8, pp.444-446	Henry IV Confirmation of previous Charters (Westminster, 19th December 1411)
Dalton 54	217	Charter Roll	1412	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (13-14 Henry IV), m.8, pp.444-446	Henry IV Exemplification of previous Charters (Westminster, 30th January 1412)
Dalton Misc	226	Patent Roll	1415	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (3 Henry V, Part II), m.32, p.365	Henry V Authorisation of the Abbot to Constitute and Empower

					Attorneys to act for the King in Distant Courts of Law (Westminster, 16th October 1415)
Marton 3	292	Patent Roll	1396	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (20 Richard II, Part I), m.13, p.32	Richard II Royal Licence to William de Marton, goldsmith, for the Abbey to extract Iron Ore in Marton (Westminster, 28th October 1396)
Angerton Moss 7	329	Patent Roll	1299	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (27 Edward I), m.22, p.422	Edward I Licence for the Abbey to receive the Manor of Bolton and Angerton Moss, the Statute of Mortmain notwithstanding (Charing, 18th June 1299)
Ulverston 1	343	Pipe Roll	N/A	*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, pp.310-312	Henry II Confirmation of the Agreement between the Abbey and William Fitz Gilbert concerning the Partition of the Furness Fells (Woodstock)
Ulverston 7	352	Close Roll	1347	*Calendar of Close Rolls*, Close Roll (21 Edward III, Part I), m.16, p.205	Edward III Precept to the High Sheriff of Lancashire to Summon William, son of

					Edmund de Neville, and his wife Alina to show Cause why certain Lands and Tenements in Ulverston should not Devolve according to a terms of a Fine duly alleged (Reading, 25th April 1347)
Ulverston 9	361	Patent Roll	1405	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (6 Henry IV, Part I), m.13, p.484	Henry IV Grant to his son John, Duke of Bedford, of all Manors and Lordships lately held by Philippa, Duchess of Ireland (Westminster, 24th January 1405)
Ulverston 13	368	Patent Roll	1347	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (21 Edward III, Part II), m.6, p.370	Edward III Grant to John de Coupland of Half the Manor of Ulverston, prefaced by Genealogy of the co-heiresses of William de Lancaster III (Reading, 10th August 1347)
Ulverston 15	375	Patent Roll	1356	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (31 Edward III, Part III), m.5, pp.642-643	Edward III Grant to the Abbey of the Reversion of Half the Manor of Ulverston on the death of Sir John de Coupland and his wife Joan

					(Woodstock, 29th November 1356)
Roose 5	457	Pipe Roll	1158	*Lancashire Pipe Rolls*, pp.309-310	Henry II Undertaking to Extend his Royal Protection to the Abbey, with an Acknowledgement of the Exchange of Bardsea for Roose and Crivelton with Michael le Fleming (1155/1158)
Aldingham 1	457	Patent Roll	1227	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (11 Henry III), m.2, p.147	Henry III Grant to the Abbey of the Homage and Service which Michael le Fleming gave to the Crown, in return for £10 per annum Subsidy to the Exchequer (Westminster, 15th October 1227)
Aldingham 4	457	Charter Roll	1267	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (51 Henry III), m.1, p.83	Henry III Confirmation of the Foundation Charter of Stephen, Count of Boulogne and Mortain, and Confirmation of the Land Rights of William, son of Michael le Fleming, and his heirs to Muchland (Westminster,

					18th October 1267)
Aldingham 7	457	Charter Roll	1267	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (51 Henry III), m.1, p.83	Henry III Mandate to the Abbey to abide by the terms of his Charter concerning the payment of the £10 per annum Subsidy awarded to his son Edward for the Lands of Michael le Fleming (1267)
Aldingham 12	457	Close Roll	1290	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Close Roll (18 Edward I), m.12d, p.125	Edward I Mandate to the High Sheriff of Lancashire to Command William, son of Richard de Cantsfield, to Render the Proper Services due to the Abbey for the Manor of Aldingham (Westminster, 8th February 1290)
Bolton 6	515	Patent Roll	1299	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (27 Edward I), m.22, p.422	Edward I Licence, the Statute of Mortmain notwithstanding, to Richard Lombard and John Fegheser to Grant to the Abbey the Manor of Bolton, and to Thomas Skilhar to Grant Angerton Moss to the Abbey (1299)

Churches 1	642	Special Bull	1194	*Jaffe 17106*, vol.ii, p.605	Celestine III Confirmation to the Abbey of the Benefices of Dalton and Urswick, of the Right of Appointing the Vicars-Incumbent of their Churches, and of the Election of the Bishops of Mann and the Isles (Rome, July 1194)
Churches 10	652	Grant	1228	Registrum Magnum Album, pars.ii, 21b, in *Registers of Archbishop Gray* (Surtees Society), pp.160-161	Authoritative Arrangement by Archbishop Walter of York regarding the Impropriation by the Abbey of the Benefices of Dalton, Urswick and Millom, and the Vicarages Constituted therein (May 1228)
Churches 14	657	Confirmation	1348	Archbishop of York Registers, Register 10, f.71 (verso), Entry 1, *The Northern Way*	Official Declaration by Archbishop William de la Zouche of York as to the Validity of the Impropriation by the Abbey of the Benefices of Dalton and Urswick, and Half that of Millom, and a Certain Payment

					(Ripon, 7th November 1348)
Churches 20	670	Grant	1352	Archbishop of York Registers, Registe r 5A f.114 (recto), Entry 2, *The Northern Way*	Settlement of a Suit concerning Payment to the Abbey, out of the Revenues of their Half of Millom Church, of a Certain Pension to the Keeper of the Altar of St. Michael in York Minster (York Minster Chapter House, 23rd February 1352)
Post-Coucher Vol I 13	705	Patent Roll	1413	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (13 Henry IV, Part I), m.11, p.362	Henry IV Grant, apparently in Response to the Petition of the Abbey to for the Power of Collecting and Transferring to England the Revenues from its Possessions in Ireland, to the Abbey of the Licence and Favour contained in the Petition (Westminster, 1st February 1413)
Free Passage 1	81	Charter Roll	1336	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (10 Edward III), m.7, p.382	Edward III Grant to the Abbey of Free Warren in their Demesne Lands in Lancashire, Cumberland and Yorkshire (Botheuil, 20th November, 1336)

Lancaster 3	185	Charter Roll	1227	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (11 Henry III), m.20, p.18	Henry III Confirmation to the Abbey of their Fishery at Lancaster (Westminster, 15th March 1227)
Lancaster 4	185	Charter Roll	1252	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (36 Henry III), m.23, p.374	Henry III Confirmation to the Abbey of the Grants of Timber from the forest of Lancaster made by Count William of Warenne and Count John of Mortain (York, 5th January 1252)
Lancaster 10	193	Patent Roll	1351	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll (25 Edward III, Part I), m.18, p.60	Edward III Letters Patent, Granted with the Assent of Parliament, whereby Henry of Grosmont, then Earl, was created Duke of Lancaster (Westminster, 6th March 1351)
Lancaster 28	216	Charter Roll	1362	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll (36 Edward III), m.8, pp.173-174	Edward III Grant, at the Request of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, to the Mayor and Burgesses of Lancaster that all Pleas and Sessions of the Justices shall be Held in the County Town and not elsewhere in the County (Westminster,

					13th November 1362)
Winterburn 144	465	Charter Roll	1278	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll, (6 Edward I), m.3, p.208	Edward I Confirmation to John de Eston of the Manor of Thornton by Pickering, Hamilton and Appeltrewyk near Skipton, and Esthon Tarn (7th November 1278)
Winterburn 151	470	Charter Roll	1281	*Calendar of Charter Rolls*, Charter Roll, (9 Edward I), m.5, p.255	Edward I Grant to the Abbey of Free Warren in their demesne lands of Winterburn, Hetton and Flasby (Westminster, 24th October 1281)
Winterburn 152	471	Patent Roll	1299	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll, (27 Edward I), m.12, p.436	Edward I Licence to John de Eston to Bestow Eshton Tarn upon the Abbey (Canterbury, 12th September 1299)
Winterburn 153	472	Parliament Roll	1412	C65/72, *Rolls of Parliament*, vol.iii, m.9, p.657	Exemplification of the Petition of Abbot William de Dalton for Authority to Appoint Attorneys to Act for him in the Courts of Craven, on account of the Perils of Traversing Morecambe Bay (Westminster, 1st

					February, 1411-1412)
Winterburn 154	474	Patent Roll	1412	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll, (13 Henry IV, Part I), m.11, p.362	Henry IV Notification that he has Granted to the Abbey the right to Appoint Attorneys in the Courts of Craven (1st February, 1411-1412)
York 6	492	Confirmation	1228	Registrum Magnum Album, pars.ii, 46b, in *Registers of Archbishop Gray* (Surtees Society), p.232	Confirmation by Archbishop Walter de Gray of York to the Abbey of One Toft in the Suburbs of York near Micklegate Bar (York, 24th May, 1228)
York 16	499	Patent Roll	1354	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Patent Roll, (28 Edward III, Part I), m.12, p.37	Edward III Licence for Alienation in Mortmain of the Messuage in Skeldergate (Westminster, 7th May, 1354)
Borrowdale 4	572	Charter Roll	1215	*Rotuli Cartarum in Turri Londinensi Asservati* (17 John), m.7, p.213	John Confirmation to the Abbey of the Grant by Alice de Rumeli of all of Borrowdale (Oxford, 19th July, 1215)

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