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The Early Years of Keynsham Abbey

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By NICHOLAS VINCENT

The death of a teenage son is invariably tragic, a private catastrophe, made public and hence all the more terrible if the boy is heir to great estates. Robert, heir to the earldom of Gloucester, was just such a child. Born at Cardiff some time after 1150, his were amongst the greatest expectations of the twelfth century. The only son of William Earl of Gloucester, by rights he should have succeeded to one of the most extensive lordships in England. Instead, aged barely sixteen, he fell mortally ill. Death came slowly. There was time for his father to make offerings for the boy's survival, and for Robert himself to express his last wishes. His final days were spent at Cardiff, from where he was carried for burial to the family manor of Keynsham in Somerset.¹ The repercussions of his death were to be felt far beyond the immediate family circle. Henceforth the vast honour of Gloucester was doomed to pass out of the male line. Within a decade the King had intervened to secure it for his youngest son, Count John. From this sprang one of the most bitter dynastic wrangles of the thirteenth century, a major factor in the events leading up to the issue of Magna Carta in 1215, still poisoning relations between crown and barons as late as the 1260s.² At the same time, Robert's death gave rise to a stream of pious bequests by his grief-stricken family. The greatest of these was at Keynsham, where, in accordance with Robert's dying wish, Earl William established a house of Augustinian Canons. Keynsham Abbey was amongst the wealthier Augustinian houses in England, yet surprisingly little is known of its early history.³ Its foundation-charters have been assumed lost. The rediscovery of these lost texts, and their publication here, assist us to a far greater understanding of Keynsham's early years, shedding light not only on the abbey's territorial settlement, but upon the pre-occupations, political and religious, of its founders.

The charters themselves, or rather transcripts of them, came to light during a recent survey of the muniments of Winchester cathedral. They survive, together with transcripts of more than ninety other early monastic documents, in Winchester cathedral ms. XXB, a register of foundation charters compiled by Sir John Prise and his notary, William Say. Prise was a bureaucrat turned antiquary, one of the visitors of the monasteries appointed by Thomas Cromwell in the 1530s. That he compiled a register of foundation charters is a fact long known to historians.⁴ Copies taken from his register survive in many antiquarian collections, forming a nucleus of materials later used by Dugdale and Dodsworth in their great *Monasticon*. However, until the rediscovery of Winchester ms. XXB, it had been assumed that the original Prise-Say register was lost. Even now, its history before coming to rest in Winchester remains obscure. At some time it fell into the hands of Archbishop Parker or his secretaries who paginated it in distinctive red crayon. Later it belonged to Sir Nicholas Stuart, chamberlain of the exchequer under Charles II. Stuart gave it to Samuel Woodford, canon of Winchester, who presented it c. 1700 to the cathedral library. There it has remained, more or less unremarked, for the past three centuries. For present purposes it is only necessary to note that the Keynsham charters enjoy no special place in the Prise-Say register, which was compiled on a seemingly random basis, without attention to particular founders or the geographical location of houses.⁵ Prise himself is not known to have been amongst the visitors of Keynsham in 1535–6.⁶ It is likely that

he took his information either from original charters acquired by his colleagues on the visitation of that year, or from transcripts later re-copied into his register at some central location, most likely London. The Keynsham texts, like the others in the register, appear to have been written by William Say, whose notarial mark is found on the opening leaf. Prise then went through the volume, checking Say's work against a master-copy and adding his own notarial signature 'Rhesus Regestor'. It may well have been Prise who was responsible for the various corrections and marginalia to the Keynsham texts.

Up to now our knowledge of Keynsham's early years has been based principally upon a brief abstract of Earl William's confirmation-charter printed by Sir William Dugdale. Dugdale describes his source as being amongst the collection of Sir Henry Spelman.⁷ The version which he prints is virtually identical to abstracts found in a wide variety of antiquarian collections, including Bodleian Library ms. Eng. Hist. c241, once in Spelman's possession.⁸ On examination it transpires that all of these, including the Bodleian manuscript, are derived, albeit at one or more removes, from the original Prise-Say collection. In other words, it seems likely that Dugdale's abstract was taken not from a lost Keynsham cartulary nor from the original foundation charter but from Spelman's copy of the Prise-Say text, this latter now at Winchester. Keynsham may well have possessed a cartulary, but there is no proof that any such document survived the Reformation. Prise, Say, Spelman and Dugdale were all dependent on the same basic text, printed for the first time below.

No Keynsham cartulary is known to have survived, but antiquaries of the sixteenth century may well have had access to a lost collection of Keynsham annals. William Camden in his *Britannia* refers to a register of Keynsham and Tewkesbury Abbeys used as the source of genealogical notes on the earls of Gloucester.⁹ This can probably be identified as a brief chronicle of Tewkesbury later printed by Dugdale.¹⁰ Writing a decade or so later, John Stow refers on several occasions to a source he describes as *Liber Kensham*. The material extracted from it is of a general historical character, covering the years 1272 to 1304. The *Liber* is referred to only once in the original edition of Stow's *Annals* published in 1592, but more extensive excerpts appear in the second edition, published in 1601.¹¹ Stow was not the most careful scholar in his citation of sources; but of the eight direct references said to be taken from the *Liber Kensham*, more than half are of local west-country interest, demonstrating a familiarity with Bristol and its history which would fit well with a chronicler writing at nearby Keynsham. In the absence of a manuscript or any more direct evidence, the case remains unproven, but it may well be that the abbey's annals still await rediscovery in an archive as yet inadequately catalogued.

Beyond the abstract given by Dugdale, various other early Keynsham charters are known. The most important of these is a confirmation of the abbey lands given by Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester (1217–1230).¹² But only now, with the rediscovery of texts of Earl William's two foundation charters (the first providing a detailed account of the circumstances of the foundation, the second confirming the abbey's lands) is it possible to determine which of the gifts listed by Earl Gilbert were included in the original endowment. Here, though, we must admit a reservation. Neither of our two texts survives in the original. Both are known from copies made nearly four hundred years after the charters themselves were issued. Superficially, both texts appear to be genuine. The events which they describe, the details they provide of the abbey's endowment, and above all their witness lists, are free from any glaring anomaly which would proclaim them as forgeries. Nonetheless, we would do well to treat both texts with a certain degree of suspicion.

Forgery can take many forms. Where medieval charters are concerned, it seldom involved the creation *ex nihilo* of completely spurious texts. Far more often, a forger would rework or

remodel a genuine original.¹³ Such reworking could be relatively innocuous, as the result of damage to the original, the loss of a seal or some such accident which might jeopardize a charter's legal integrity and lead to the production of a replica.¹⁴ More frequently, the forger set out to doctor the terms of a genuine text, introducing or omitting phrases in a deliberate effort to deceive. Forgeries of this sort can be extremely difficult to detect, since the motives which justified their creation are as obscure to twentieth-century eyes as they were important to the forger at the time. To a religious community it might have appeared essential that their foundation-charter grant them freedom not only, shall we say, from secular services, but from tolls, so essential indeed that a forgery would be produced with the all-important word inserted. Providing that the job were done well and that the forger introduced no obvious anachronism into his text, there is little chance of the deception being unmasked. It is into this category of forgery that the Keynsham foundation charters may fall. Although they are superficially unimpeachable, and though for the most part they almost certainly follow the terms of genuine charters issued at the time of the abbey's foundation, there are strong grounds for supposing that they were reworked, probably within the first fifty years of the abbey's existence.

The grounds for suspicion are twofold. Firstly the addresses to both texts are anachronistic. In none of over 120 charters of William Earl of Gloucester edited by Professor Patterson does the earl address himself to 'all of Christ's faithful both present and future'. Elements of this address occur in several genuine charters, the closest parallels being the forms 'to all (my) men, English and French, both present and future', and 'to all the faithful of holy mother church', which are used many times.¹⁵ On one occasion, in a confirmation for Tewkesbury Abbey addressed to the local diocesan, William writes 'to the venerable and most beloved lord and father in Christ, Nicholas bishop of Llandaff'.¹⁶ Nowhere, however, does the earl's chancery employ the name of Christ within a general, rather than a specific, address. The Keynsham texts were issued in close co-operation with Earl William's brother, Roger Bishop of Worcester, whose chancery might conceivably have been employed in their composition. But here, too, our objection still stands since none of the bishop's fifty or so charters incorporates Christ's name into its address.¹⁷ In general, the form *omnibus* (or *universis*) *Christi fidelibus* came into common use in England only during the late 1170s. Amongst episcopal chanceries it first occurs with any regularity in the charters of Richard Archbishop of Canterbury (1174–1184).¹⁸ Within the Earldom of Gloucester it does not appear until after 1217, suggesting that both of our texts may have been reworked at some time, perhaps as late as the mid-thirteenth century.

Our other cause for suspicion is focused specifically upon the second of the two charters printed below, the general confirmation of Keynsham's lands which, taken at face value, would require a date before 1174. The lands and liberties which it rehearses were undoubtedly held by Keynsham Abbey. Many of them were secured by individual charters from Earl William, of unquestioned authenticity, surviving in sources over which the canons of Keynsham had no control and hence unlikely to have been tampered with for the canons' own benefit. There can be little doubt that they represent a true account of the priory's endowment, since they are repeated more or less word for word in the confirmation of Keynsham's lands and liberties issued by Gilbert de Clare between 1217 and 1230, a text whose authenticity is not in doubt. Nonetheless, the collection of these individual grants into a single foundation charter may have taken place later than the date which the charter itself would suggest. It would have been surprising, if not impossible, had the earl been in a position to confirm all of the canons' lands in such detail, so early in the abbey's history. Coupled with the anachronism of the charter's address, this suggests that it may in fact be a later compilation, modelled no doubt on authentic grants, but composed some time after the foundation itself had taken place. As we shall see, during the thirteenth century the canons of Keynsham were subject to prolonged litigation,

against various of their tenants and more significantly against the crown. Any one of these disputes might have provided the incentive to rework their original charter of foundation, to insert a grant of liberties which their founder had inconveniently failed to include, or to omit some clause which might have given rise to problems in the courts. The foundation charter must have been in existence by 1230 since it was used as the basis of Earl Gilbert's charter of confirmation; indeed it may have been drawn up specifically for this purpose. None of these suspicions is proved. It is possible that either or both of our charters are perfectly genuine and that their oddities are the result not of reworking, but of the adoption of peculiar forms to meet a particular need. Even if our suspicions are correct, the contents of the charters, their witness lists and the circumstances which they describe still provide the most accurate account we are likely to obtain of what actually took place at Keynsham in the early 1170s. The fact that they may have been reworked does little to detract from their value as historical sources. If anything, it makes them more rather than less intriguing. So much for the texts themselves, but what do they tell us of Keynsham's early history?

Robert, son of Earl William died in 1166 and was buried at Keynsham, a manor which had passed together with many surrounding estates to Earl William's father, a bastard son of King Henry I. Beyond mere ownership, Keynsham enjoyed close links to Earl William and his family. It was probably held as part of the earl's demesne. The abbey founded there was not liable for knight service, implying that the land had not been given into the hands of sub-tenants prior to 1166. The earl's brother Roger had been rector of Keynsham before his promotion as Bishop of Worcester in 1163. It has even been suggested that Bishop Roger held the manor itself as a gift from his family.¹⁹ Certainly he was to play a leading role in Keynsham's transfer to the religious.

On his deathbed, the boy Robert had begged his father to establish a monastery for the salvation of his soul. The first indication that his request would be granted came in March 1167, when Pope Alexander III wrote to Roger Bishop of Worcester, the boy's uncle, approving Roger's scheme to found a house of regular canons at Keynsham for the souls of his ancestors and especially for the soul of his nephew, Robert. Papal permission was necessary because Keynsham lay outside Roger's own see of Worcester in the diocese of Bath, vacant since September 1166.²⁰ At much the same time William Earl of Gloucester appears to have obtained licence for the foundation from King Henry II, presumably because it was considered necessary, or at least prudent, to obtain royal permission before alienating a major tenancy-in-chief to the religious, thereby impairing the land's potential to support knight-service.²¹

Thus far, Earl William and his brother Roger appear to have worked side by side, winning papal and royal approval for what was in effect a joint memorial to Robert, their son and nephew. But at this stage political considerations intervened. Late in 1167 Bishop Roger was forced into exile by the controversy then raging between Henry II and Archbishop Becket. He was to remain abroad for most of the next five years.²² In Roger's absence, Earl William continued to foster the projected foundation at Keynsham. There survive several charters of the earl granting individual churches and estates to the 'church of St. Mary and St. Peter of Keynsham, and the regular canons there', later incorporated within the comprehensive confirmation charter of 1172-3. Amongst these preliminary bequests were the churches of Eltham and Brasted in Kent, the church of Burford in Oxfordshire, an estate within the city of Winchester and quittance from tolls and secular services throughout the earl's lands.²³ In addition it appears that Earl William assigned the canons land at Ashmore in Dorset yielding £10 a year, an award subsequently rescinded in the confirmation charter of 1172-3.²⁴ Keynsham itself had already been chosen as the site of the new house. In 1169 the annals of Cardiff, a convent dependent on Tewkesbury, of which the earls of Gloucester were lay patrons, recorded that 'the church of Keynsham was begun (*inchoata est*) by William Earl of Gloucester',

presumably a reference to the construction of the abbey church and buildings.²⁵ By this stage a community of Augustinian canons had been introduced to the site, where they may have already begun their spiritual mediation for the souls of Robert and his family. As yet, however, they appear to have had no abbot or superior officially assigned over them; they had not yet obtained possession of their lands, still held in trust for them by Earl William, nor had the precise details of their order been established.

The charters printed below suggest that it was only after Bishop Roger's return from exile that the 'official' ceremony of foundation took place. According to the version of events given in Earl William's charter, having obtained the king's permission and having provided fully for the convent's needs in buildings and possessions (*tam de officinis quam possessionibus*), on the advice of Bishop Roger the earl invited Bartholomew, Bishop of Exeter, to the site. There, in the presence of many churchmen and seculars, Earl William and Bishop Roger jointly offered the church and manor of Keynsham to the perpetual service of God, designating it as an abbey of canons following the rule of St. Victor of Paris. On the same day, earl and bishop presented a man named William to the Bishop of Exeter, who, in his capacity as vicar of the vacant see of Bath, instituted him as Keynsham's first abbot. At the same time Earl William transferred to the abbot-elect full possession of those lands and benefices he had previously assigned to the house but which until that moment he had retained in his own hands.²⁶

The date of this ceremony can be established with a fair degree of precision. Amongst the many dignitaries in attendance was Baldwin, Abbot of Forde, previously Archdeacon of Totnes, an office which he had resigned at some time after 29 September 1169. The process by which he was admitted to the Cistercian order and elected Abbot of Forde is likely to have taken several months, perhaps years.²⁷ As for our other dating limit, the see of Bath is said to have been still vacant when the ceremony at Keynsham took place, arguing a date before the consecration of Reginald as Bishop of Bath on 23 June 1174, and almost certainly before Reginald's election in late April 1173. William, already styled Abbot of Keynsham is recorded as witness to a judgment by Roger Bishop of Worcester, dated 16 October 1173.²⁸ Between these limits, September 1169 to April 1173, Roger is known to have been in England briefly in the summer of 1171, returning permanently only after May 1172.²⁹ Taken all in all, this suggests a date for our charters between May 1172 and April the following year.

Turning from the date of the foundation to its nature, one fact stands out above all others: the choice of the order of St. Victor to colonize the new abbey. By tradition the earls of Gloucester were wedded to patronage of the established monastic orders. Their honour brought with it a role as patron of the Benedictine abbey at Tewkesbury to which Earl Robert, father of Earl William, added a dependency at St. James', Bristol. From his estates in South Wales Robert endowed a Cistercian abbey at Margam in 1147, having been instrumental some years earlier in the foundation of another Cistercian house at nearby Neath. However, by the 1160s the vogue for the Cistercians had passed, the spread of the order greatly slowed by a statute, passed by the Cistercian general chapter in 1152, which in theory, though not in practice, prohibited the order's acceptance of any new foundation.³⁰ Instead, patrons looked increasingly to the various orders of regular canons, the Premonstratensians and Augustinians, more responsive to episcopal and patronal control than the White Monks. Even so, of all the congregations of canons which Earl William might have selected, that centred on the abbey of St. Victor in Paris was amongst the least influential in England.

Despite their reputation for learning and their control over numerous French daughter houses, the Victorines were never to prove a particularly popular order across the Channel. Besides Keynsham, founded *c.* 1172-3, they were restricted in the twelfth century to St. Augustine's, Bristol, and Wigmore in Herefordshire.³¹ The foundations of both these houses

were complicated affairs. The canons of Wigmore, originally introduced in the 1140s, spent much of the next twenty years at nearby Shobdon, their final site being established only in 1172 by the marcher baron Hugh de Mortimer.³² Likewise, St. Augustine's, Bristol, an offshoot of Wigmore, was established over many years, being dedicated as a Victorine abbey at some time between 1162 and 1184, through the joint efforts of Henry II and Robert of Berkeley.³³

Ernisius, Abbot of St. Victor *c.* 1162–1172, may well have been born in England. Certainly he was in correspondence with several leading figures across the Channel, including Robert of Warwick Abbot of St. Augustine's, Bristol, Lawrence Abbot of Westminster, Gilbert Foliot Bishop of Hereford, and King Henry II over a loan contracted by the royal treasurer, Richard of Ely.³⁴ The teachings of the school of St. Victor played no small part in the Becket conflict.³⁵ Abbot Ernisius was to be employed as a mediator by John of Salisbury in negotiations between King Henry II and the exiled clergy.³⁶ Hence, it is no mere accident that the foundation of Keynsham in 1172–3, the refoundation of Wigmore in 1172, and the entry of the canons of St. Augustine's into their new church at Bristol *c.* 1173 coincide so closely in time. For a brief period the Victorines were very much the fashion in England.

As to their particular attraction to Keynsham, William Earl of Gloucester, Keynsham's joint founder, was already in contact with the order as a major patron of St. Augustine's, Bristol.³⁷ However, it is to Roger, Bishop of Worcester that we must look for the chief impetus behind the installation of the Victorines at Keynsham. Roger is traditionally supposed to have studied at the schools of St. Victor in Paris, a supposition to which his role at Keynsham adds extra weight. In exile after 1167, he had lived for a time at the Victorine house of Ste. Barbe-en-Auge in Normandy, a house which had interests of its own in Gloucestershire.³⁸ Together with Bartholomew Bishop of Exeter, his friend and collaborator in the foundation of Keynsham, he was present at the dedication of the church of St. Augustine's, Bristol, in all probability in 1172–3.³⁹ Both Richard Abbot of St. Augustine's and Andrew Abbot of Wigmore, a noted theologian, are said to have attended the foundation ceremony at Keynsham in 1172–3.⁴⁰ In all probability the canons of the new abbey were recruited from one of these two houses, Bristol being the closer and therefore the more likely source.

As late as the Dissolution, the canons of Keynsham continued to describe themselves as Augustinians following the rule of St. Victor.⁴¹ But, beyond their basic constitution, the ties binding them to their mother house in Paris had already begun to fade by the early thirteenth century, dwindling as the links between England and the Plantagenet lands in France dissolved away. Around 1216 the abbots of Bristol, Wigmore and Keynsham addressed a joint letter to the Victorine general chapter, apologizing for their non-attendance, judged prejudicial by the King and his advisers who had yet to acknowledge the full privileges of their order.⁴² Some sort of chapter for the English province of St. Victor appears to have been held as late as the sixteenth century.⁴³ Yet, despite its brief flowering in the 1160s and a temporary revival after 1208, when several churchmen exiled by King John appear to have followed the example of Becket's generation in seeking refuge with the Victorines in Paris, the order was never to prove significant in England. After Keynsham, there were to be only a few very minor houses established in the shadow of the earlier, greater foundations; at Stavordale and Woodspring in Somerset, close to Keynsham and Bristol, and at Wormsley and Ratlinghope in the Welsh marches, both of them probably dependencies of Wigmore.⁴⁴

A member of a very small English congregation, isolated from its mother-house in France, it was natural that Keynsham should look for mutual aid and identity not so much to the Victorine order but to that loose federation of houses, Benedictine, Cistercian, Premonstratensian and Augustinian, united by the patronage of the earls of Gloucester and their successors, the Clare earls of Gloucester and Hertford. Already at the foundation ceremony of 1172–3 we find the

Victorine abbots of Bristol and Wigmore far outnumbered by those of other west-country houses, St. Peter's Gloucester, Evesham, Pershore, Forde, Taunton, Bath, Cirencester, Bruton; and of convents, some of them directly under the patronage of the earls of Gloucester, others beneficiaries of the earls' largesse: Margam, Neath, and Durford in Sussex. At various times in the following century we find the abbot of Keynsham acting in company with one or other of these family foundations; attending the funeral of Earl Gilbert in 1230, standing surety in marriage settlements and loans for his son and great-grandson.⁴⁵

By some such means the abbey was able to overcome its isolation. But beyond this spiritual and constitutional sense of community, the canons needed material resources to guarantee survival. One of the chief attractions of the regular canons lay in the comparative cheapness of their foundations, giving rise to a spate of new convents in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, often set up by men of relatively humble status, knights and minor officials whose resources might not have stretched to the endowment of a Cistercian or Benedictine abbey. By no means all such convents were inadequately provided for; a few such as Leicester or Cirencester came to rival the richest of the Cistercian foundations. However, the very fact that they could be established at relatively less expense ensured that many Augustinian houses were poorly or inadequately endowed, their founders anxious to obtain the spiritual benefits and social cachet that attended patronage of the religious, but often unmindful of the need to provide for the long term future of their foundations. Some went under almost immediately. Others lingered on in poverty, to face dissolution or amalgamation long before the Reformation of the sixteenth century.⁴⁶ In these terms, how generous was the endowment provided by Keynsham's founders?

Here our starting-point must be the list of churches and estates set out in Earl William's charter of confirmation (appendix no. 2), supposedly issued at the time of the installation of Keynsham's first abbot. Besides this we have very little to guide us: no general royal or papal confirmations, no cartulary or charter collection, and only the inadequate valuations provided by the papal taxation of 1291 and the *Valor* of the 1530s. The earl's confirmation charter must be treated with caution. It draws together numerous individual grants set out elsewhere in charters of unquestioned authenticity. Its witness-list is free from any anomaly, and it served as the basis of a confirmation by Gilbert de Clare (1217 X 1230) of unimpeachable authenticity. Although it may have been reworked at some time between the 1170s and 1230, it nonetheless provides us with our only clear picture of the lands with which Keynsham was endowed.

This is not the place to give an exhaustive account of the abbey lands from foundation to dissolution. The best that we can do is to sketch the basic outline. To begin with then, the spiritualities, consisting of the churches and subordinate chapels of Keynsham, the three Bristol churches of St. Mary's le Port, St. Werburgh's and the Holy Sepulchre (otherwise known as the parish church of St. Lawrence), St. John the Baptist at Burford, Eltham and Brasted in Kent, High Littleton in Somerset, and the chapel of St. Peter at *Sudbur*.⁴⁷ This latter can perhaps be identified as Chipping Sodbury in Gloucestershire, a fee within the honour of Gloucester.⁴⁸ The same chapel at *Sulbury* is mentioned in earl Gilbert's confirmation of 1217 X 1230, but appears to have been lost by the late thirteenth century.⁴⁹ No reference to it is to be found in the taxation records of 1291, or at any later time. Of the other churches granted in 1172-3, most were retained by the abbey. Earl William's charter states specifically that he had granted the abbey all the churches of which he held the advowson, a major concession in itself. However, the value of such awards varied greatly, depending on the precise degree of control exercised by the recipients over the churches in their jurisdiction.

At one extreme the canons might merely exercise the advowson, leaving the revenues of a church entirely to the rector they presented. Alternatively, and depending upon the influence

they could exert over the local bishop, they might take a pension from the church and its rector, or at best serve the church themselves by a rector drawn from their own convent, thus enjoying virtually the entire revenue, although they might be required to pay a small stipend to a vicar or chaplain. In this way, by 1291 and probably from their foundation, the canons enjoyed the entire appropriated income of the parish church of Keynsham, valued in 1291 at 50 marks a year, beyond which they paid £5 a year to a vicar.⁵⁰ Likewise Burford, from which they received £30 a year in 1291, had been appropriated with papal licence in June 1224, saving a vicarage and various pensions assigned to other convents.⁵¹ In Kent, the canons were granted the appropriation of the church of Eltham in 1242 and continued to present vicars up to the Dissolution, although no profits from Eltham are recorded in either of the valuations, of 1291 or the 1530s.⁵²

Elsewhere, the abbey's spiritualities were far less lucrative. At St. Mary's le Port and St. Lawrence's, Bristol, in 1291 they received annual pensions valued respectively at only £1 and 2 shillings.⁵³ In 1236 the bishop and monks of Worcester confirmed an annual pension to Keynsham of 100 shillings a year from the church of St. Werburgh, Bristol, but this agreement may have lapsed even before 1291. By the 1530s Keynsham's annual revenues from St. Werburgh's and St. Mary's le Port, Bristol, were valued at only 2 marks.⁵⁴ In Kent, the church of Brasted began by paying an annual pension, set at 12 marks in 1215. However, by 1291 this was reduced to 10 marks, and by the 1320s had been entirely lost. In compensation, the canons received the appropriation of the church of High Littleton in Somerset, where formerly they had done no more than exercise the advowson.⁵⁵ Their receipts there were valued at just over £4.⁵⁶

Altogether the spiritualities conferred by earl William in 1172–3 produced an annual income of between £60 and £100, a sum by no means lavish, drawn for the most part from the two appropriated churches of Keynsham and Burford. Various acquisitions over the next century or so did little to boost these receipts. From Hamo de Valognes, a leading tenant of Earl William and a witness to the foundation charters of 1172–3, the canons acquired numerous advowsons in the Irish diocese of Limerick, but the profit from these can never have been very great. By the fourteenth century it appears to have been quite outweighed by the cost of litigation and collection.⁵⁷ Various chapels and churches were recognized as dependencies of Keynsham parish church, and by 1291 included in the overall valuation of 50 marks a year.⁵⁸ Small pensions of half a mark each were obtained in the churches of Marshfield and Newton St. Loe in Somerset.⁵⁹ However, a grant of the advowson of Pimperne in Dorset proved ineffective; and although, as early as the 1190s, the canons received the appropriation of the church of Hardington in Somerset, no receipts from this source are recorded in 1291 and, by the 1530s, Hardington was in the hands of a rector, implying that it had passed out of the canons' control.⁶⁰ In the fourteenth century, to alleviate their poverty and to compensate for the decline in their revenues from Ireland and Wales, the canons received the appropriation of West Harptree in Somerset, valued at just over £6.⁶¹ They also came to exercise the advowsons of Holecombe and Ubley, and to present vicars to the church of Cloford, implying that the latter was appropriated, though in what circumstances remains obscure.⁶² At Cloford, as early as 1193, they had agreed to pay a pension of thirty pence a year to the monks of Montacute.⁶³ By the 1530s they were also in receipt of an annual pension of £6 from the parish church of Newport in South Wales.⁶⁴ Without citing a source, Leland claims that the canons acquired the mastership of a school in Bristol from William Earl of Gloucester, originally established for the instruction and conversion of the city's Jews. This was a mission which would have suited the scholarly reputation of the Victorines. Andrew of St. Victor, Prior of Wigmore and witness to Keynsham's foundation, had engaged in prolonged discussions with the Jews of Paris,

incorporating rabbinic methods and teaching within his own commentaries on scripture. However, in the absence of any firm evidence, we must treat Keynsham's supposed mission to the Bristol Jewry with caution.⁶⁵ The scheme was unlikely to have yielded much profit, either in converts or in cash.

In general, the picture is one of great expectations never properly realized. The abbey began with a rich crop of churches, all of which might have been appropriated, providing a splendid endowment. Instead, the canons obtained only a meagre profit from their spiritualities, subsisting for the most part upon the income of Burford and of Keynsham itself. The reason for this is clear. Keynsham was founded as a memorial to the boy Robert, and thus to the demise of the old honour of Gloucester, henceforth doomed to pass into other hands. The men who succeeded to Earl William's title and estates had little inclination to foster what was in effect the mausoleum of a defunct male-line.

Turning from the spiritual to the landed endowment, much the same pattern can be observed in respect to Keynsham's temporalities. The rich estate bestowed by Earl William was to be followed by only meagre additions and acquisitions thereafter. As listed in the supposed confirmation charter of 1172-3, the abbey lands consisted principally of eight librates within the manor of Keynsham together with tithes, the income from certain pleas and amercements, a mill, commons, mast for 200 pigs, gardens, and ground upon which to build a cemetery. At nearby Brislington the canons received a mill, a fishpond and a fishery on the Avon. Originally they had been awarded £10 p.a. in land at the earl's manor of Ashmore in Dorset, but by 1172-3 this had been replaced by an award of £7 p.a. in lands at *Bichenestoch*, probably to be identified as Chew Stoke, also known as Stoke Abbots, a few miles west of Keynsham.⁶⁶ The manor of Marshfield was amongst their more valuable assets, as was quittance from tolls and control over pleas emanating from the fair at Charlton. Within Bristol and its suburbs they were granted rents and gardens, and further afield there were awards of a rent at Brasted in Kent, of land within the city of Winchester, and of a mill and a burgage at Petersfield in Hampshire, this last the earliest recorded evidence for the existence of a borough at Petersfield.⁶⁷

Thus far, the majority of the endowment was concentrated upon lands, rents and fisheries within a few miles of the abbey buildings, easily managed by the monks. However, Earl William was also lord of a major honour in southern Wales. At Newport the canons were given fisheries on the river Usk, a garden with adjoining lands and a park called *Riduna*, perhaps to be identified as Rhiwderin (literally 'Birdshill'), a village within a mile of Newport which may preserve a memory of its former status in the place-name 'Parkwood'. The earl's castle at Newport had only recently been transferred to a new site; the foundation charter for Keynsham provides a possible *terminus a quo* for this transfer since there was no stream at the former site, at Stow Hill, capable of supplying the mill referred to in our text.⁶⁸ Further west, at Cardiff, the canons received fishponds and a fishery on the Rhymney river, all clearances (*landas*) at Roath and the entire forest of Cibwr (*Kibur*) saving those parts of it which had already been tenanted, and saving rights to the earl's men there to take brushwood (*nemora*) as long as the land remained unassarted.⁶⁹ The term forest in this context is misleading, at least to modern ears: Cibwr appears never to have been densely wooded, but consisted of scrub land and heath, lying between Caerphilly mountain and the sea.

Beyond these territorial awards, Earl William provided the canons with various rights and quittances throughout his lands in England, France and Wales. These included quittance from all toll in the earl's markets, boroughs and fairs; the right freely to acquire new lands and estates within the earl's fee; and the right to all pleas and amercements of men living

within the abbey's fee held of the earl, save the right to pleas involving life and limb where the canons were nonetheless to have the chattels and lands of convicted felons sentenced outside their court. This last award appears to be the origin of the abbey's claim to jurisdiction over the hundred of Keynsham. When tested before the king's court in the 1290s, the canons were unable to show any royal warrant for their control of the hundred, which was nonetheless judged to them as having been held since the reign of Henry II, by ancient custom.⁷⁰

All in all, Earl William's endowment was a generous one. Indeed, with very few additions, it was sufficient to carry the abbey through the next three centuries reasonably well provided for. Of their gross income, estimated at some £419 by the 1530s, the canons owed the vast majority both in spiritualities and temporalities to the original largesse of Earl William. Compared to many other Augustinian and most Cistercian houses, Keynsham was, if not wealthy, then at least comfortably well off. The canons' £419 compares favourably with the £132 of Neath and the £181 of Margam, the Cistercian abbeys established by Earl William's father, Robert. Earl Robert's foundation at St. James', Bristol was worth only £57 a year. The other leading Victorine houses, Wigmore and St. Augustine's Bristol, were valued respectively at £261 and £670, their poorer offshoots at Stavordale and Woodspring at only £50 and £91.⁷¹ However, whilst Keynsham was by no means poor, it is important to note the difficulties it experienced in attracting patronage after the demise of its founder. By contrast to other houses, whose endowment underwent significant augmentation following an initial foundation, Keynsham remained very much as its creator had left it.

We obtain our best illustration of this by comparing the endowment listed in the supposed confirmation charter of 1172–3, with its counterpart listed in a charter of Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester and Hertford *c.* 1230.⁷² Very little had been added to Keynsham's lands in the intervening half century. To the gifts bestowed by Earl William, Earl Gilbert's charter adds the whole manor of Keynsham, with its members at Queen's Charlton, Stockwood and Fitton — not so much additions as consolidations of the original award. There were also minor grants in the earl's Hampshire manors of Petersfield and Mapledurham, by the gift of Richard of Cardiff and master Samson, both of them members of the household of Earl William and witnesses to the foundation charter of 1172–3.⁷³ Thomas de Bayeux, another man who appears in the witness-lists to Earl William's charters, gave the canons a virgate of land at Backwell, now in Avon, and yet another of Earl William's retainers, William fitz Henry, granted the advowson of Hardington in Somerset.⁷⁴ Amongst other grants, not mentioned in Earl Gilbert's charter, Simon de St. Lô, a follower of Earl William who witnesses Keynsham's foundation charter, and Robert de St. Lô his son, appear to have granted an estate at Marshfield, and at Wingfield, just over the county boundary in Wiltshire.⁷⁵ Hamo de Valognes, one of Earl William's principal lieutenants, gave the canons various spiritualities in Ireland as did yet another of Earl William's knights, Roger Waspail.⁷⁶ Set against such grants, all of them by men attached to the original founder, there were only meagre acquisitions from Earl William's principal heirs, the men who had succeeded to his lands and title as Earl of Gloucester. William's widow, Hawise, gave the abbey nineteen acres of land at Mapledurham. William's son-in-law, Aimery de Montfort, recognized after 1199 as Earl of Gloucester, granted a minor tenement in the same manor. Beyond this, however, the abbey appears to have attracted little or no patronage, either from Count John, lord of the Gloucester estates between 1183 and 1199, or from the Clare earls of Gloucester and Hertford who acquired the honour after 1218.

Any convent unable to augment its estates or incapable of playing much part in the local land market, was doomed to decline. Within a century of Keynsham's foundation, the legacy of war

in Wales and the problems of communication with Ireland had effectively cancelled out the canons' income from their more distant estates; the Welsh lands, for example, were valued at only £8 in 1291 and £15 by the 1530s.⁷⁷ In the same way, their church of Brasted, in far-away Kent, very quickly ceased to render any profit. By the 1220s the abbey was subject to a stream of litigation from local Somerset and Gloucestershire men, contesting title to various lands and services.⁷⁸ In 1230 the abbey sued, apparently without success, for the manor of Up Wimbourne and a quarter of the manor of Ashmore in Dorset, perhaps in an attempt to win back the £10 of land at Ashmore bestowed on them by Earl William but rescinded even before their official foundation in 1172–3.⁷⁹ In 1234, despite paying a £5 fine to the Crown, the canons faced the suppression of their market at Marshfield, judged to injure the nearby markets at Bristol.⁸⁰ There were also problems within the convent itself. In 1235 the bishop of Bath was forced to intervene in a dispute between the canons and their abbot, perhaps resolved only in 1244 when abbot John was transferred to Wigmore.⁸¹

Subject to such difficulties, external and internal, the abbey obtained little or no assistance from the heirs of its founder. After 1218 the Honour of Gloucester and the patronage of its various religious foundations passed to the family of Clare, but the Clares proved indifferent patrons of Keynsham. There is no record of their granting the canons any land; and as early as the 1220s they appear to have shown reluctance even to warrant the abbey's charters.⁸² The reasons for this are easy to guess. The Clares already commanded the patronage of several religious houses on their family estates in East Anglia. Within their new honour of Gloucester, they looked principally to the greatest of the honour's monasteries, the Benedictine abbey at Tewkesbury, whose wealth and prestige far outshone that of such houses as Keynsham. The first Anglo-Norman earl of Gloucester, Robert, had been buried at St. James', Bristol. His son, Earl William, elected to be buried at Keynsham.⁸³ One might expect the heirs to their earldom to follow suit, or at least to show proper reverence to the resting place of their ancestors. This might well have been the case had the new earls been *parvenus*, anxious to bolster their connection to an ancient lineage and estate. But the Clares were already a well-established dynasty. Through Tewkesbury they could claim associations stretching back beyond the Norman Conquest, to a Saxon earldom of Gloucester, the creation of myth but nonetheless of even greater antiquity and prestige than their more recent connection to the Anglo-Norman earls of the twelfth century. Henceforth the Tewkesbury chroniclers wrote very much as Clare family apologists. It was to Tewkesbury that the Clares gave land and money, and it was at Tewkesbury that all three Clare earls of Gloucester chose to be buried.⁸⁴

Keynsham abbey owed its existence to the untimely death of Robert of Gloucester. It was founded on a demesne manor of Robert's family, and endowed with a parish church where the boy's uncle had been rector. Robert's father, Earl William, and his uncle, Roger Bishop of Worcester, secured the abbey's lands. Through the same family influence the abbey was given into the hands of canons of St. Victor. In 1183, when Earl William died with no male heir to succeed him, it was at Keynsham, next to the body of his only son, that he chose to be buried. Thereafter, the abbey benefited, if only briefly, from the largesse of Earl William's family, friends and retainers. Every religious foundation is the product of special circumstances. The death of the boy Robert, the Becket conflict, the brief vogue of the Victorines in England, the imminent extinction of the old Earldom of Gloucester, all played their part in Keynsham's history. Yet the circumstances which gave the abbey birth, contributed to its subsequent decline; a rare and isolated Victorine house, its potential prosperity never fully realized; a mausoleum to extinguished hopes, commemorating the end of a dynasty and a defunct male line.

APPENDIX 1

Account by William earl of Gloucester of the foundation of Keynsham Abbey and the installation of William, Keynsham's first Abbot.

[29 September 1169 X April 1173, ? May 1172 X April 1173
possibly reworked at a later date, ?before 1230]

B = Winchester Cathedral Library ms. XXB, pp. 64–5 (c. 1536). In both margins, various lines are marked with accents, not shown below.

Willelmus comes Gloec' universis Christi fidelibus tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Ut de fundacione abbacie de Kainesham quam ego, Deo annuente, de mea hereditate legitime fundavi certa memoria et cognitio futuris temporibus habeatur, noverint tam presentes quam futuri quod Robertus filius et heres meus, in extremis positus, de domo religionis pro salute anime ipsius fundanda coram viris religiosis et aliis fidelibus multis me precibus, Deo sibi inspirante, obstrinxit, cuius petitioni et desyderiis volens satisfacere, ipsum cum defunctus fuit, apud Keinsham spe et intencione religionis ibidem constituende^a sepeliri feci, et cum de abbacia ibidem fundanda domini mei regis H(enrici) filii Matildis imperatricis gratiam et licentiam impetrassem, et eidem loco ad conventum ibi ponendum tam de officinis quam possessionibus plenius providissem, consilio domini Rogeri Wigorn' episcopi fratris mei, Bartholomeum Exon' episcopum, Bathon' ecclesie tunc vacan(tis) vicarium, ad me apud Kainesham invitavi, et coram ipso et aliis multis, tam personis ecclesiasticis quam viris secularibus, predictus frater meus Rogerus episcopus et ego pariter ecclesiam et locum de Kainesham ad perpetuum Dei servitium obtulimus nominatim ad abbaciam canonicorum regularium secundum ordinem sancti Victoris Parrhisiacensis, et ipso die venerabilem virum dominum Willelmum communiter in abbatem electum, predicto B(artholomeo) Exon' episcopo presentavimus, qui eum vice et auctoritate Bathon' ecclesie ad curam et regimen loci illius suscepit et solempniter instituit, et ego possessiones et beneficia que prius loco illi dederam et usque tunc in mea tenueram manu, predicto electo quiete tradidi ad usus et sustentacionem canonicorum qui se loco illi ad servitium Dei redderent; et ut res ista pure et solempniter facta firma et stabilis imperpetuum permaneat ego tam locum ipsum, sicut eum pure servitio Dei et religioni perpetue dedi et concessi, quam ordinem sancti Victoris communiter ibi per me et fratrem meum R(ogerum) Wigorn' episcopum positum, presenti charta confirmavi quantum ad me sicut advocatum et fundatorem pertinere potest. Huic rei interfuerunt Barth(olomeus) Exon' et Rogerus Wigorn' episcopi, Hamel' abbate^b Gloec', A(dam) abbas de Evesham, R(eginaldus) abbas de Persor', C(onan) abbas de Margan', B(alduinus) abbas de Forda, R(adulphus) abbas de Nethe. A(ndreas) abbas Cirenc' cum pluribus canonicis suis, R(icardus) abbas sancti Aug(ustin)i de Brist', A(ndreas) abbas de Wigorn', abbas de Dereford^c, P(etrus) prior Bath, S(tephanus) prior Taunton, A(dam) prior de Bradenestoch, Philippus prior de Briweton', S(imon) archidiaconus Wigorn', Matheus archidiaconus Gloec', Gill' capellanus domini Wig(orniensis), Gill' capellanus comitis, magister Samson et magister Silvester clerici domini Wig(orniensis), Haw(isia) comitissa^d Gloec', comitissa Ela, Ricardus de Card', Hamo de Valon', Alexander de Monteforti, Rogerus Witheng, Simon de Sancto Laudo^e et Iohannes frater eius, Simon de Card', Reginaldus filius Simon', Henricus Crassus, Willelmus filius Gregorii et Robertus frater eius, Gill' de Aumari, Wido de Rocca, Alexander de Tichesia, Robertus Bibois, Bartholomeus de Sancto Mauro et alii multi tam clerici quam laici^f.

^a ms. p. 65 ^b sic ms. ^c name left blank ms. ^d ms. commia underlined and corrected in the margin by another hand under the initials t.d. ^e the name Sancto Laudo underlined, with a note Seint Lou in a later band in the margin ^f followed by the signature of John Prise: Concordant cum originalibus Rheseus Regestor.

APPENDIX 2

Confirmation by William earl of Gloucester of the churches, lands and liberties of Keynsham Abbey

[29 Sept. 1169 X April 1173, ? May 1172 X April 1173:
possibly reworked at a later date, before 1230]

B = Winchester Cathedral Library ms. XXB, pp. 61–4 (c. 1536). Headed by a marginal note, in the same hand which provides correction elsewhere: *Willelmus comes Glocest' fundavit hoc monast(erium) canonicorum in honorem Dei et beate Marie et Petri et Pauli tempore Henrici secundi*. Accents in the margins as in no. 1 above.

Willelmus comes Gloec' omnibus baronibus et hominibus suis Francis et Angl(is) atque Walensibus et universis Christi fidelibus tam presentibus quam futuris salutem. Sciatis quod Robertus filius et heres meus positus in infirmitate, qua, Deo ita volente, ex hac vita subtractus est, Deo sibi inspirante coram viris religiosis postulavit ut pro salute anime ipsius domum religionis construerem, quam petitionem et desyderium filii mei cum domino meo regi H(enrico) filio Matildis imperatricis significassem et ipse me de hac re sua gratia benigne exaudisset, consilio domini Rogeri Wigorn' episcopi fratris mei et aliorum religiosorum et fidelium meorum pro salute domini mei regis et pro salute anime mee et Hawisie comitissae^a uxoris mee et predicti filii nostri R(ober)ti et aliorum liberorum et antecessorum nostrorum, ad honorem Dei et beate Marie et sanctorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli, abbatiam canonicorum regularium in manerio meo de Cheinesham fundavi, cui abbatie ad sustentacionem servorum Dei qui ibi fuerint dedi et concessi in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam, in quantum ad advocatum et dominum fundi pertinere potest, ecclesiam de Cheinesham cum capell(is) et omnibus aliis rebus ad eam pertinentiis, et omnes alias ecclesias de feodo meo in Anglia quarum tunc advocacionem habebam, scilicet in Bristow ecclesiam beate Marie et ecclesiam sancte Werburge et ecclesiam sancti Sepulchri, et ecclesiam sancti Iohannis Baptiste de Burford, et ecclesiam de Helteham, et ecclesiam de Litleington', et capellam sancti Petri de Sudbur', et ecclesiam de Bradested, singulis cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, et in manerio de Cheinesham octo libratas terre liberas et quietas ab omni exactione consuetudine et servitio seculari, et viveam^b meam de Chainesham, et gardinum meum cum molendino quod est subtus gardinum, et totam terram iuxta gardinum in qua bertonam mea fuit, et ad curiam suam et cimiterium dilatand' quinque mesuagia, et decimam totius feni mei de Cheinesham ita libere sicut de blado meo, et alterum vivariorum meorum de Brestelton', scilicet illud quod est propinquius ville de Bristow, cum molendino, et totam piscariam et piscationem de Avena cum omni iure et libertate que pertinet ad Chainesham. Dedi etiam ipsis canonicis de tenemento de Chainesham septem libratas et decem solidatas terre apud Bichenestoch similiter liberas et quietas ab omni servitio seculari^c, quam terram dedi eis in escambium x. libratarum terre quas eis ante dederam in Eissemera. Concessi etiam eis et quietum clamavi theloneum et omnem consuetudinem quam habere solebam de feria sancte Margarete apud Cherleton', et si tempore ferie placitum vel forisfactum ibi evenerit, ipsum forisfactum et placitum cum emendacione sit canonicorum. Preterea dedi ipsis canonicis manerium de Meresfeld' cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in bosco et plano, in pratis, in aquis, in molendinis et in omnibus rebus et libertatibus ad idem manerium pertinentibus, preter servitium Gilleberti de Turbevill' et Pagani de Meresfeld, similiter libere et quiete sine omni servitio seculari. Dedi etiam eiisdem^d canonicis ortum meum de Bertona de Brist' simul cum ortolano et cum tenemento ipsius, et septem solidatas et vi. nummatas terre in Berehulle extra fossatum ferie inter gardinum meum et aquam Avene, et totum redditum meum de pipere et cumino apud Bristou' intra villam et extra, et terram quam tenuit Robertus Lupard supra Avenam contra portam castelli australem, et eam partem terre que est de feodo meo ultra pontem Avene ad caput ipsius pontis supra viam qua descenditur ad Avenam. Preterea dedi ipsis canonicis totam terram quam habui apud Winton' extra portam septentrionalem inter murum civitatis et abbatiam de Hida, salvis hospiciis meis cum Wintoniam venero, ad costamentum meum in omnibus rebus, ita ut nec in domibus conservandis et reparandis nec in novis faciendis oportet eos aliquid expendere, et intra murum civitatis totam terram illam quam Gaufridus Burgensis tenuit de comite Roberto patre meo et de me in magno vico iuxta domum Thome Oysun ex parte australi ipsius vici, xx sol(idos) annuatim inde reddendo, et apud Petresfeld novum molendinum quod Willelmus de Aumari

tenuit, et unum burgagium in Petresfeld quod similiter tenuit idem Willelmus. Dedi etiam predictis canonicis meis in perpetuam elemosinam unam marcatam redditus apud Bradested ad luminare ecclesie de Kainesham, scilicet ix sol(idos) de decima fori de Bradsted, et de alio redditu ipsius ville quod sufficiat ad predictam marcam perficiendam. Preter hec dedi ecclesie et canonicis de Chainsesham in perpetuam et liberam elemosinam apud Novum Burgum in Walliis piscariam meam et totam piscationem de Uscha, et valisonam anguillarum de vivariis^e meis de Novo Burgo, et gardinum quod est subtus molendinum castelli ad aquilonem cum mesuagio uno ibidem et una acra ad idem mesuagium pertinente, et totum parcum de Riduna sicut illum habui quando Robertus filius meus obiit, et totam piscariam et piscationem fluminis de Rummia, et utrumque vivarium de Raz cum molendino et magnum vivarium subtus Kibur ad occidentem, et omnes landas de Raz, et totam forestam de Kibur libere et quiete et ita plene et integre sicut fuit in manu mea in obitu Roberti filii mei, salva communia hominum meorum dum ibi nemus duraverit, et cum nemus fuerit sartatum remaneat terra omnino quieta predictis canonicis preter terram quam ego inde dederam ante hanc donationem. Preter hec libertates et quietancias quas ecclesie de Chainsesham pro amore Dei et pro pace et quiete religionis quam ibi per gratiam Dei fundavi, concessi, presenti carta distinguere et confirmare volui ut ipse libertates et quietancie in perpetuum firme et stabiles permaneant. Concessi itaque ecclesie et canonicis de Chainsesham in manerio de Chainsesham, scilicet tam in ipsa villa de Chainsesham quam in membris eius, communam in bosco et plano, in pratis et pasturis, ut boves et oves, porci et alia pecora de dominico canonicorum eant et pascant in omni loco, tam per hiemem quam per estatem, ubicumque pecora de dominico meo pascere debent, libere et quiete sine omni vexatione et consuetudine que a canonicis inde requiratur, sive pro herbaggio sive pro pannaggio sive pro alia aliqua re, et ubicumque in feodo meo persona fuerit concessi ibi canonicis usque ad ducentos porcos sine pannaggio. Concessi etiam eiusdem canonicis ut de omni placito et forisfacto quod in feodo ipsorum quod de me habent evenerit, nisi morte vel membrorum truncatione puniend' sit, suam habeant curiam, et si aliquis de tenentibus ipsorum per feloniam vitam forisfecerit et placitum extra curiam ipsorum fuerit, terra et catalla sine contradictione canonicis remaneant quantum ad me et heredes meos pertinet, et omnem emendacionem quam in feodo quod de me habent, tam in terra quam in aqua, sive in molendinis sive in piscariis sive vivariis sive in aliis rebus facere poterint, concessi ut libere sine vexacione faciant. Concessi etiam ut capellani et clerici et familia canonicorum que ad opus et usum eorum proprium pertinent, quiete et sine consuetudine emant et vendant in omnibus burgis et mercatis et^f nundinis meis. Omnia vero prenomina in ecclesiis, in terris, in molendinis, in vivariis, in piscariis et piscationibus et in omnibus aliis rebus prememoratis tam in Anglia quam in Walliis, cum libertatibus predictis, dedi ecclesie de Chainsesham ita libere et quiete habend' in perpetuum, ut canonici eiusdem ecclesie nemini homini de aliquo servitio seculari debeant respondere, et omnes possessiones et libertates ecclesie de Chainsesham sicut eas pure pro amore Dei dedi, meis heredibus successoribus conservandas et manutenendas causa Dei commendo ut et Deus illis vitam conservet eternam. His test(ibus): Rogero Wigorn' episcopo, Barth(olomeo) Exon' episcopo, Hamel' abbate Gloec', A(da) abbate de Evesham, R(eginaldo) abbate Persor', Bald(wino) abbate Ford', C(onano) abbate de Margan', R(adulpho) abbate de Neth', R(icardo) abbate sancti Augustini de Brist', Andrea abbate de Wigo(more)^g, S(tephano) priore Tanton', Philippo priore Briwet', Simone archidiacono Wigorn', Matheo archidiacono Gloec', Samsone et Silvestro clericis domini Wigorn' episcopi, Hawisia comitissa^a Gloec', Ricardo de Card' tunc dapifero, Hamo(ne) de Valon' constabulario, Rogero Witheng, Simone de Sancto Lauda, Rogero de Berkel, Helia filio Roberti, Willelmo de Card' et Simone fratre eius, Gilleberto de Aumari, Willelmo filio Gregorii, Roberto fratre eius, Bartholomeo de Sancto Mauro et aliis pluribus.

^a ms. *Commie underlined and corrected in the margin by another hand under the initials t.d.* ^b ?vineam reading uncertain ms. ^c ms. p. 62 ^d sic ms. ^e ms. p. 63 ^f ms. p. 64 ^g ms. Wigorn'.

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6. M.D. Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (1948–59), iii, 476.
7. Sir William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. J. Caley. H. Ellis and B. Bandinel (1846), vi, 452. Reprinted from this source in *Cartae et alia Munimenta quae ad dominium de Glamorgancia pertinent*, ed. G.T. Clark and G.L. Clark, 2nd ed. (Cardiff 1910), i, 146–7; *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, no. 99.
8. Oxford, Bodleian Library ms. Eng. Hist. c241, ff. 9v–12v, which gives abbreviated versions of both texts published below, only one of which was printed by Dugdale. The ms. was given to Spelman by the herald, Henry Lily, and was later acquired by Dr. Cox Macro (d. 1767). Sold at Sotheby's 30 March 1936, lot no. 92, as part of the library of Hudson Gurney. The Lily/Spelman ms. is undoubtedly the source of copies of the Keynsham charters by another herald, Richard St. George, in London, British Library, ms. Lansdowne 447, f. 14r–v; and probably the source of further, early seventeenth century copies in a ms. sold at Phillips, Son and Neale, 22 March 1990, lot no. 1, now in the possession of Dr. Simon Keynes of Trinity College, Cambridge. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College ms. 111, p. 191 carries a brief abstract in English by John Stow, taken in 1566 directly from what is now Winchester Cathedral ms. XXB.
9. William Camden, *Britain or a Chorographical description of the most flourishing kingdomes*, ed. Philémon Holland (1610), 368. The marginal notes of these sources in Holland's text appear to be a final editorial insertion, being absent from the original Latin edition, William Camden, *Britannia* (1586), 195–6, and indeed the last Latin edition of 1607 (p. 259).
10. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii, 59–65, from British Library ms. Cotton Cleopatra C iii.
11. John Stow, *The Annales of England faithfully collected out of the most authentick authors* (1592), 303; *The Annales of England* (1601), 303, 306, 310, 314–16, 321. Of the eight references to the *Liber* in the 1601 edition, one is similar to that in the 1592 edition, save that an event said to have taken place at Exeter is transferred to Oxford. Three of the references said in 1601 to be taken from the *Liber* occur in the 1592 edition but without any source being cited there. The remaining four are all new insertions in

- the 1601 edition, entirely missing in that of 1592. The 1601 text was reprinted in 1605 from the same blocks, and served as the basis of later editions; see for example *The Annales or Generall Chronicle of England* (1615, reprinted 1631), 198b, 200b, 203, 205–6, 209.
12. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 452–3, taken from an *inspeximus* by Edward II dated 5 January 1318; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1317–1321* (1903), 68. Also in 1318 the same charter of Earl Gilbert was read out in the manor court at Petersfield; London, British Library ms. Cotton Vespasian E xxiii (Durford cartulary), ff. 116r–117r.
 13. In general see C.N.L. Brooke, 'Approaches to Medieval Forgery', in Brooke, *The Medieval Church and Society* (1971), 100–20, and the numerous papers in *Fälschungen im Mittelalter: Internationaler Kongress der Monumenta Germaniae Historica, München, 16–19 September 1986, Monumenta Germaniae Historica Schriften xxxiii* (Hannover 1988). M. Chibnall, 'Forgery in Narrative Charters', *Fälschungen*, iv, 331–46, provides parallels to the narrative of Keynsham's foundation given below, Appendix 1.
 14. See, for example, C.N.L. Brooke, 'Episcopal Charters for Wix Priory', in *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. P.M. Barnes and C.F. Slade, Pipe Roll Society new series xxxvi (1962), 45–62.
 15. *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, nos. 21, 25–6, 101, 115, 118, 169, 174. I am especially grateful to Robert Patterson for alerting me to the possibility that both Keynsham texts are forged.
 16. *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, no. 288.
 17. M.G. Cheney, *Roger, Bishop of Worcester 1164–1179* (1980), appendix 1.
 18. Compare *English Episcopal Acta*, ed. D.M. Smith, C.R. Cheney and others (1980–), especially vol. ii nos. 46–232 for archbishop Richard.
 19. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, 13.
 20. H.M. Bannister, 'Bishop Roger of Worcester and the Church of Keynsham', *English Historical Review* xxxii (1917), 387–8; Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, 339.
 21. Above, Appendix no. 1.
 22. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, 34–55, 377–8.
 23. *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, nos. 100–4, whose dating needs to be revised in light of the charters printed below, Appendix nos. 1, 2.
 24. Above Appendix no. 2.
 25. British Library, ms. Royal 6 B xi, f. 105r: *ecclesia de Keynsham inchoata est a Willelmo comite Glouc'*; and see the related annals printed as 'Chronicle of the Thirteenth century Ms. Exchequer Domesday' (no author cited), *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, 3rd series viii (1862), 275: *Willelmus comes Gloucestriae construxit Keynsham*, references which I owe to Martin Brett.
 26. Above Appendix no. 1.
 27. A. Morey, *Bartholomew of Exeter bishop and canonist* (1937), 120–1; *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales 940–1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and V.C.M. London (1972), 132, where his earliest recorded appearance as abbot is dated 1169 X 1175.
 28. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, 293–5.
 29. *Ibid.*, 51–5, 378.
 30. *Statuta Capitulum Generalium Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 1, ed. J.-M. Canivez, Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique ix (Louvain 1933), 45, drawn to my attention by Christopher Brooke.
 31. For the Victorines in England see J.C. Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons and the Continent in the Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series i (1951), 73–9, 85–9. For the order in general see F. Bonnard, *Histoire de l'Abbaye royale et de l'ordre des chanoines réguliers de St-Victor de Paris* (Paris 1908).
 32. J.C. Dickinson and P.T. Ricketts, 'The Anglo-Norman Chronicle of Wigmore Abbey', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists Field Club* xxxix (1969), 413–45, and see *Heads of Religious Houses*, ed. Knowles and Brooke, 155 n. 2.
 33. J.C. Dickinson, 'The Origins of St. Augustine's Bristol', *Essays in Bristol and Gloucestershire History*, ed. P. McGrath and J. Cannon (Bristol 1976), 109–26.
 34. *Patrologiae Latinae Cursus Completus*, ed. J.-P. Migne (Paris 1844–64), cxcvi, cols. 1381–8; and see *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke (1967), no. 138; Bonnard, *Histoire de St-Victor*, 214ff.

35. B. Smalley, *The Becket Conflict and the Schools* (1973), 28–30, 55–7, 83–5, 135–6.
36. *The Letters of John of Salisbury*, ii, ed. W.J. Millor and C.N.L. Brooke (Oxford Medieval Texts 1979), no. 161.
37. *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, nos. 11–33.
38. Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, 9–10, 53; *Letters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. Morey and Brooke, no. 91 and notes.
39. Dickinson, 'St. Augustine's Bristol', 115–16, where no notice is taken of Bp. Roger's absence abroad 1167–71.
40. Above Appendix nos. 1, 2.
41. Cambridge, University Library ms. Dd.III.60, recording the election of an abbot in 1526.
42. London, British Library ms. Cotton Charter iv. 58, nos. 42–3, noticed by Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons', 85–6; printed in R. Hill, *Ecclesiastical Letter Books of the Thirteenth Century* (Privately printed 1936), 65, 236–7, and see 285–7.
43. A. Sabin, 'Computus Rolls of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol for the years 1503–4 and 1506–7', *TBGAS* 73 (1954), 197. The form for such a chapter is preserved in the cartulary of St. Augustine's Bristol: Berkeley castle ms. Muniments 'Cartulary', ff. 213v–14v, printed in T.D. Fosbrooke, *British Monachism; or, the manners and customs of the monks and nuns of England*, 3rd ed. (1843), 164–7.
44. Dickinson, 'English Regular Canons', 78–9, 88; *Medieval Religious Houses England and Wales*, ed. D. Knowles and R.N. Hadcock, 2nd ed. (1971), 171, 174, 180.
45. *Annales Monastici*, ed. H.R. Luard, Rolls Series (1864–9), i (Tewkesbury), 76, 151; S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (1955), 118.
46. In general see J.C. Dickinson, 'Early Suppressions of English Houses of Austin Canons', *Medieval Studies presented to Rose Graham*, ed. V. Ruffer and A.J. Taylor (1950), 54–77.
47. For the identification of St. Lawrence's, Bristol, with the church of the Holy Sepulchre see Weaver, 'Keynsham Abbey', 61; John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535–1543*, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1907–10), v, 87, where it is claimed that the church stood in the midst of the city's Jewry.
48. Both Weaver, 'Keynsham Abbey', 61, and *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, 172, identify *Sudbur'* as Soulbury, Bucks., although there is no known connection there with either Keynsham or the honour of Gloucester. Soulbury's church is dedicated to All Saints; *VCH Buckinghamshire*, iii 418–19.
49. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 453b; R. Atkyns, *The Ancient and Present state of Glocestershire* (1712), 660–2, where the family of Gros, tenants of the earls of Gloucester, is confused with that of the earls of Aumale.
50. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae, auctoritate Papae Nicolai IV, circa 1291*, ed. S. Ayscough and J. Caley (1802), 199b; *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henrici VIII, auctoritate regia institutus*, ed. J. Caley and J. Hunter (1810–34), i, 181, 184; *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. W.H. Bliss and others (1894–1961), iv, 524.
51. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 32, 44b; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 182, ii, 179; J.E. Sayers, *Papal Government and England during the Pontificate of Honorius III (1216–1227)* (1984), 249 no. 43, and for Burford and its subject chapel at Fulbrook see *Liber Antiquus de Ordinationibus vicariarum tempore Hugonis Wells, Lincolniensis episcopi, 1209–1235*, ed. A. Gibbons (Lincoln 1888), 4; *Rotuli Hugonis de Welles episcopi Lincolniensis A.D. MCCIX–MCCXXXV*, ed. W.P.W. Phillimore and F.N. Davis, Canterbury and York Society (London 1907–9), ii, p. 28, iii, p. 94, which suggests that some sort of settlement regarding the church was reached in 1214–15.
52. *Registrum Roffense*, ed. J. Thorpe (1769), 345–53, esp. 348–9; *Registrum Hamonis Hetbe, diocesis Roffensis, A.D. 1319–1352*, ed. C. Johnson, Canterbury and York Society (1948), i, 37–8, 402–3, ii, 853; L.L. Duncan, 'The Renunciation of papal authority by the clergy of West Kent, 1534', *Archaeologia Cantiana* xxii (1897), 296. The church was valued at 20m in 1291 with a vicarage of £5: *Taxatio Ecclesiastica* 6b. In the 1530s the vicarage was valued at £3, with no reference to Keynsham's profits; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 118.
53. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 220. Early in Keynsham's history, abbot William secured a quitclaim from the abbess and convent of Shaftesbury of all right in the church of St. Mary, Bristol, in exchange for an annual pension of half a mark. However, by 1291 Keynsham appears to have been merely a pensioner

- there whilst Shaftesbury's pension had lapsed altogether: London, British Library ms. Harley 61 (Shaftesbury cartulary), ff. 27v–28r, witnessed amongst others by John abbot of St. Augustine's Bristol and Walter prior of Bath.
54. *Annales Monastici*, iv (Worcester), 427–8; *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory*, ed. R.R. Darlington, Pipe Roll Society, new series xxxviii (1968), no. 485; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 182b. St. Werburgh's appears in the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 220 without any mention of a pension to Keynsham.
 55. *Acta Stephani Langton Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi A.D. 1207–1228*, ed. K. Major, Canterbury and York Society 50 (1950), no. 25; Lambeth Palace Library ms. 1212 (Archbishopric cartulary), ff. 42r, 110v; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 7; *Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Dean and Chapter of Wells* 1, Historical Manuscripts Commission (1907), 210.
 56. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i 182.
 57. T.J. Westropp, 'Notes on Askeaton, County Limerick, part 1', *The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland*, xxxiii, 5th series xiii (1903), 29; *The Black Book of Limerick*, ed. J. MacCaffrey (Dublin 1907), 47–8, 83–5, 177n., which includes a grant of the church of Rathkeale by Roger Waspail (1213 X 1228); *Calendar of Papal Registers*, vi, 231–2, vii, 509, viii, 494, ix, 52–4, 137–9, and esp. xii, 101.
 58. *Two Chartularies of the Priory of St. Peter at Bath*, ed. W. Hunt, Somerset Record Society vii (1893), part ii, 49–50; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 199b. By the 1530s the two dependent chapels of Brislington and Publow were valued separately at £13 and £6, implying that they had obtained independence from the mother church at Keynsham; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 182. For Publow see also *Pedes Finium, commonly called feet of fines for the county of Somerset: Richard I to Edward I*, ed. E. Green, Somerset Record Society vi (1892), 182.
 59. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 199, 221; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 182.
 60. For Pimperne see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 453b. For Hardington see *Calendar of the Manuscripts of Wells* i, 367; *Calendar of the Register of John de Drokensford, bishop of Bath and Wells, A.D. 1309–1329*, ed. E. Hobhouse, Somerset Record Society i (1887), 175; *The Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury, bishop of Bath and Wells 1329–1363*, ed. T. Scott Holmes, Somerset Record Society ix–x (1896), 564, 575, 584; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 162, 200b. The £2 recorded from Hardington in 1291 appears to be from land rather than spiritualities: *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 203b. The church itself was valued at 20m: *ibid.*, 197b.
 61. *Two Chartularies of Bath*, part ii, 147; *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, 298–300, 510–11, 538, 584–5; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 182b.
 62. *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, 10, 160, 270, 561, 573; *The Registers of Oliver King, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1496–1503, and Hadrian de Castello, bishop of Bath and Wells, 1503–1518*, ed. H. Maxwell Lyte, Somerset Record Society liv (1939), nos. 18, 565, 752, 1050. The canons had obtained the advowson of Ubley in 1225 following litigation against Robert de Aimery; *Feet of Fines Somerset* i, 48. For Holecombe, whose advowson was acquired in the 1240s and which does not appear to have been appropriated, see *ibid.*, 111; *Register of Ralph of Shrewsbury*, 512, 765; *Registers of King and Castello*, nos. 385, 872.
 63. *Two cartularies of the Augustinian priory of Bruton and the Cluniac priory of Montacute in the county of Somerset*, ed. H.C. Maxwell Lyte and others, Somerset Record Society viii (1894), 155. The farm of the rectory there was valued at just over £3; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 203; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 182.
 64. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iv, 363.
 65. Leland, *Itinerary*, v, 92; and note that Keynsham's church of St. Lawrence lay within the Bristol Jewry: above n. 47. For Andrew of St. Victor and the Jews see B. Smalley, *The Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages*, 3rd ed. (1983), 126, 149–72.
 66. The identification was made by Weaver, 'Keynsham Abbey', 60, but without citing any authority. In the 1320s the canons claimed to receive tithes at Chewstoke by gift of their founder, earl William: *Calendar of the Manuscripts of Wells* i, 210; and see *Kirby's Quest for Somerset*, ed. F.H. Dickinson, Somerset Record Society iii (1889), 64. By the 1530s their receipts there from land were valued at £11 11s. 8d.: *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 181b.
 67. For Petersfield borough see *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, no. 54. The property at Winchester seems to have been swiftly lost or exchanged. It is unmentioned either in 1291 or the 1530s, although

- see Weaver, 'Keynsham Abbey', 24; *Calendar of Patent Rolls 1321-1324* (1904), 29, where in 1321 the canons were licensed to receive £2 of land in Winchester and Petersfield from the canons of Durford. As late as the 1530s Durford abbey owed £1 a year to Keynsham for land at Petersfield; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, vi, p. xiii. In 1318 the charter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester (1217 x 1230), confirming Keynsham's liberties in Petersfield, was read out in the manor court; London, British Library ms. Cotton Vespasian E. xxiii (Durford cartulary), ff. 116r-117r.
68. Information supplied by David Crouch. For the two castles at Newport see D.L.C. Cathcart King, *Castellarium Anglicanum* (New York 1983), i, 286, 289; A.C. Reeves, 'Newport', in *Boroughs of Medieval Wales*, ed. R.A. Griffiths (Cardiff 1978), 188, 214-16.
 69. For Roath see W. Rees, *Cardiff a History of the City* (Cardiff 1969), 30-1, and 'The Survey and Presentment of the Manor of Roath-Keynsham in Glamorgan' (no author cited), *Archaeologia Cambrensis* 4th series xiv (1883), 109-27. For the forest of Cibwr, mentioned as early as the 1120s, see Rees op. cit., 5, 7, 10-12; *Cartae de Glamorgancia*, ed. Clark, i, 54-6, 140.
 70. *Placita de Quo Warranto*, ed. W. Illingworth and J. Caley (1818), 690b-91.
 71. *Medieval Religious Houses*, ed. Knowles and Hadcock, 52, 57, 113, 138, 141, 143-4.
 72. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, vi, 452-3, where for 'Mapledurham' read 'Maplederwell'.
 73. For Richard and Samson see *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, *passim*. Master Samson also served in the household of Roger, bishop of Worcester; Cheney, *Roger of Worcester*, *passim*.
 74. For Thomas and Backwell see *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, no. 288; *Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I, John and Henry III*, 17 vols. (London 1925-91), xii, nos. 6, 78, 879; *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 203; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 181. For Fitz Henry and Hardington see *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, nos. 5, 105, 221-2, above n. 60.
 75. *Curia Regis Rolls*, viii, 218, 245, 327-8, ix, 28, 292, x, 11, 58, 175, xii, nos. 6, 1809; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 181b, where the estate at Wingfield was valued at £12 in the 1530s. For Simon de St Lô see *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, nos. 44, 47, 96, 99, 115.
 76. Above n. 57. For Waspail see *Gloucester Charters*, ed. Patterson, nos. 2-3, 44, 67.
 77. *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*, 281, 284b; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, 182. To the latter valuation of £15 we should perhaps add the pension of £6 from the church of Newport and a further £6 and 13 shillings, described as the farm of *Pull Mowre* (in the Deanery of Newport) recorded in *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, iv, 363-4.
 78. *Curia Regis Rolls*, viii, 218, 245, 328, ix, 28, 292, x, 11, 58, 175, xi, nos. 659, 813, 2176, 2729, xii, nos. 16, 1162, 1862, xiii, no. 1102, xiv, nos. 1244, 1836, xv, no. 1000; *Feet of Fines Somerset* i, 22-3, 48, 62, 111, 122, 145, 160, 182, 168, although various of these pleas and fines suggest that the abbey remained active in the local land-market, acquiring as well as losing land.
 79. *Close Rolls 1227-1231* (1902), 389, 392-3. There is no record of the plea itself, nor of any final concord.
 80. *Curia Regis Rolls*, xv, no. 1084. In the 1290s the canons claimed that the market at Marshfield had been guaranteed to them by gift of Earl William, confirmed in a charter of Henry II. The market was revived in the 1260s by charter of Henry III: *Placita de Quo Warranto*, 248.
 81. *Annales Monastici*, i (Tewkesbury), 96, 134.
 82. *Curia Regis Rolls*, ix, 292, x, 34, 53, 282, xi, nos. 261, 1421, xii, no. 6.
 83. Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii, 61, where Earl William's death is misdated to 1173.
 84. For Tewkesbury and the Clares see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ii, 61-2; *Annales Monastici*, i (Tewkesbury) *passim*; and in general see J.C. Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment: the Foundations of the Clare Family, 1066-1314', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, xxxii (1981), 427-51, esp. 447-8.