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FRANCISCAN LECTORS AT CHRIST CHURCH CATHEDRAL PRIORY, CANTERBURY, 1275–1314

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Monasticism had played a vital role in the preservation and communication of classical and theological texts in the early Middle Ages, but by the twelfth century the initiative and leadership in theological study were generally passing to the cathedral schools. The rise of the universities of Paris and Oxford, the only centres awarding a degree in theology in the early thirteenth century, coincided with the beginning of the mendicant movement and its spectacular expansion. By the middle of that century the monastic Orders were beginning to take more interest in the study of theology in the universities and looked to the newer mendicant Orders for initial assistance to establish their own schools. The cathedral priory of Christ Church at Canterbury was part of this movement and, between 1275 and 1314, it engaged Franciscan lecturers until monks emerged from the new universities. The comparative dearth of extant materials on Franciscan schools in medieval England contrasts sharply with the priory's rich collection of documents: the letter books and register of Prior Henry of Eastry (1285–1331), the account books and the necrology, providing a wealth of information on the friars who lectured there, the *socii* who assisted them, the regular letters of application to the friars' provincial chapters. The account books offer a glimpse into the finances required for such a school and, by extension, give an unusually detailed insight into the level of expenditure incurred by the Franciscans in running their own schools.

I. THE EMPLOYMENT OF A FRANCISCAN LECTOR, 1275

When the monks of Christ Church decided to establish a school of theology, they looked to the Franciscans for short-term help. This decision reflects the way in which the mendicants were monopolising theological study from the 1220s and 1230s onwards and the cathedral chapter's resolve to obtain the best theological education for its monks.

1. Franciscan Schools of Theology

The appeal of Saint Francis of Assisi reached most sectors of society and among those who joined the nascent fraternity at the Portiuncula in Assisi about 1215 were *quidam litterati viri*.¹ By late 1223 or early 1224, Francis had recognised the need for sound theological instruction and commissioned Saint Anthony of Padua to instruct the friars in the university city of Bologna.² At a very early date the friars gravitated towards university cities where they quickly attracted large numbers of young men, masters and scholars alike. For instance, on Good Friday 1224–25 Gregory of Naples, the minister provincial of France, clothed four masters, including Haymo of Faversham and Simon of Sandwich, in the Franciscan habit at Saint-Denis in Paris.³ The *plurimi scolares* entering the two mendicant Orders in Paris were mentioned by Master Eudes de Châteauroux, in a sermon preached on 18 March 1229.⁴

Within six weeks of their arrival in England the Franciscans had reached Oxford, that is by late October 1224.⁵ Vowed to absolute simplicity, they were eager to study the Scriptures and theology in order to promote their apostolate of preaching.⁶ Around 1230 Agnellus of Pisa, the minister provincial, enlarged the friary buildings at Oxford, constructed a small school and engaged Master Robert Grosseteste to instruct the friars in theology.⁷ With the dispersal of the University of Paris in 1229 *plures alii fratres probatissimi de Anglia oriundi*, who had become friars in Paris, returned to England⁸ and Oxford, where recruitment among both masters⁹ and bachelors had already begun. While the friars were dwelling in Robert le Mercer's house *multi probi bachelarii* were admitted.¹⁰ The *boni bachelarii* subsequently conducted themselves both zealously and laudably as preachers or as

¹ Thomas of Celano, 'Vita prima S. Francisci', in *Analaecta Franciscana*, 10, Florence, 1926–1941, n.57, 1–115, 43.

² *Opuscula Sancti patris Francisci Assisiensis*, (Ed.) C. Esser, (Bibliotheca Franciscana ascetica medii aevi, 12), Rome, 1978, 95.

³ *Fratris Thomae vulgo dicti de Eccleston Tractatus de adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, (Ed.) A.G. Little, Manchester, 1951, VI, 27–28.

⁴ A. Callebaut, 'Le sermon historique d'Eudes de Châteauroux à Paris, le 18 mars 1229. Auteur de l'origine de la grève universitaire et de l'enseignement des Mendicants', in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 28 (1935), 81–114, 111. Henceforth to be abbreviated as *A FH*.

⁵ Eccleston, II, 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, VI, 27.

⁷ *Ibid.*, XI, 48.

⁸ *Ibid.*, VI, 29–31.

⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 15.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, IV, 22.

lectors and in the government of the Order.¹¹ From Oxford the study of theology began to spread throughout the province and this enabled Albert of Pisa, minister provincial (1236–39), to appoint lectors to the friaries at London, Canterbury, Hereford, Leicester, Bristol and Cambridge; before 1254, there were thirty lectors and three or four who taught without disputations.¹² Following the Dominican practice, the Franciscans assigned a lector to every sizable community.¹³ The construction and organisation of these schools of theology with lectures and disputations in the seven custodies were noted by Matthew Paris.¹⁴

Already by the year 1235 the Franciscans were renowned for their *fama scientiae et praedicationis*.¹⁵ Theological studies flourished so much among the friars that the other provinces of the Order began to look to England for lectors. English friars lectured at *studia* in France, Germany and Italy as early as the 1220s and 1230s. Simon Anglicus was released from the office of minister provincial in Germany by the minister general to become lector at Magdeburg in 1228 and, on his death in 1230, he was replaced by Bartholomaeus Anglicus;¹⁶ Haymo of Faversham lectured at Tours, Bologna and Padua;¹⁷ between 1232 and 1239 Philip of Wales and Adam of York were assigned to Lyons at the request of the minister general;¹⁸ Sanson Anglicus lectured at Parma about 1238;¹⁹ in 1248 the minister general sent Stephanus Anglicus to lecture at Genoa and then Rome;²⁰ one of Robert Grosseteste's unnamed pupils was appointed by the minister general to lecture in Lombardy and in the papal court;²¹ and John Pecham served as the *magister curiae* in Rome before becoming archbishop of Canterbury in 1279.²²

¹¹ *Ibid.*, XV, 88.

¹² *Ibid.*, XI 48–50.

¹³ Little, 'Educational Organisation of the Mendicant Friars in England (Dominicans and Franciscans)', in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Series, 8 (1894), 49–70, 64–65.

¹⁴ Matthew Paris, *Historia Anglorum*, (Ed.) F. Madden, (Rolls Series 44, ii, to be abbreviated as RS.), London, 1866, 110.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 384.

¹⁶ *Chronica Fratris Jordani*, (Ed.) H. Boehmer, (Collection d'études et de documents sur l'histoire religieuse et littéraire du Moyen Age, VI), Paris, 1908, nn.54–60, 47–54.

¹⁷ Eccleston, VI, 28.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, XI, 49.

¹⁹ *Cronica Fratris Salimbene de Adam*, (Scrittori d'Italia, nn. 232–33), (Ed.) G. Scalia, Bari, 1966, 147.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 431, 455, 459.

²¹ Eccleston, XI, 52, n.r. Little suggests that this friar may have been Stephanus Anglicus.

²² *Ibid.*, XI, 53.

2. Scholastic Theology, Friars and Monks

Writing about 1272, Roger Bacon testifies that for the past forty years the seculars had neglected study and had become dependent on the mendicants for their education, even using the friars' notes for lectures, disputations and sermons.²³ A.B. Wolter observes that at the end of the thirteenth century there was a long line of senior friars waiting to occupy the Franciscan chair of theology at Oxford.²⁴ R.H. and M.A. Rouse assert that in this period there seems to have been a queue for the post, which was filled according to seniority.²⁵ Aware that the Franciscans had numerous theologians trained at Paris, Oxford and Cambridge, the monastic Orders began to turn to them for instruction in scholastic theology. The monks of Christ Church were already familiar with the Franciscan school in Canterbury, established in the late 1230s.

Having described the slender and disparate sources for the Franciscan school in Canterbury, C. Cotton comments that the scene of the most interesting intellectual activity of the friars in the city of which we have information was the cathedral priory. He suggests that the rise of the Dominican and Franciscan schools of theology had stirred the monks to action and that, in choosing a Franciscan as their lector, they sought to assert their independence of Robert Kilwardby, the Dominican archbishop.²⁶

Matthew Paris records that the Cistercian monks, following in the footsteps of the black monks, had constructed suitable buildings in Paris and elsewhere.²⁷ W.A. Pantin explains that, unlike the mendicants, the English Benedictines had no connection with the early development of the universities, but by the middle or the later part of the thirteenth century they became conscious of the need to get in touch

²³ Roger Bacon, 'Compendium studii philosophiae', c.5, in *Opera quaedam hactenus inedita*, v.1, (Ed.) J.S. Brewer, (RS.15), London, 1859, 428-9.

²⁴ A.B. Wolter, 'John Duns Scotus on the Primacy and Personality of Christ', in *Franciscan Christology*, (Franciscan Institute Publications, Franciscan Sources, 1), (Ed.) D. McElrath, New York, 1980, 139-82, 139.

²⁵ (Eds.) R.H. Rouse and M.R. Rouse, *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, (Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues), London, 1991, p. cxliii.

²⁶ C. Cotton, *The Grey Friars of Canterbury 1224 to 1538*, (British Society of Franciscan Studies, Extra Series, 2), Manchester, 1924, 34-5. To be abbreviated as *GFC*.

²⁷ Matthew Paris, *Chronica Majora*, (Ed.) H.R. Luard, (RS., 57, v), London, 1880, 195. In 1250 he reports that the Cistercians had taken up studies lest they should be held in contempt by the Dominicans and Franciscans. Cf. J.G. Bougerol, 'Le Commentaire des Sentences de Guy de l'Aumône et son 'Introitus' - Edition de Textes', in *Antonianum*, 51 (1976), 495-519, explores the connections between the Franciscan school at Paris and the Cistercians who had recently arrived at the university.

with the universities and scholastic theology; and this was to be done partly by introducing theological lectures into the monasteries and partly by sending students to the universities. He maintains that Christ Church was probably one of the pioneers in the promotion of studies.²⁸ Monks from Christ Church were sent to study at Paris as early as about 1288,²⁹ though it is not certain when their first students arrived in Oxford.³⁰

The priory appointed a Franciscan, William of Everel, as the first lecturer in 1275. Misgivings about this break with a glorious past and a proud tradition, reaching back via Saint Anselm (1093–1109) to Archbishop Theodore (668–90) with Abbot Hadrian, were expressed by the monastic chronicler, Gervase of Canterbury:

Circa festum Sancti Michaelis conventus ecclesiae Christi Cantuariensis, de voluntate ipsorum admiserunt quandam fratrem de ordine Minorum, Willelmum nomine, cognomento de Everel, ad legendum theologiam; qui dictus frater incepit legere die Sancti Nicasii martyris: et istud a retroactis temporibus inauditum; et quid per istam lectionem et scholam subsequetur, in futuro patebit, quoniam novitates pariunt discordias.³¹

His sense of foreboding and prophecies of discord proved to be ungrounded. On the contrary, all the surviving documents portray an agreement for which Henry of Eastry expressed his gratitude to the Franciscans and his respect for the lecturers.

Little is known about the theological background of William of Everel, Ralph of Wodehey and Robert of Fulham. Their academic titles indicate that they were graduates of the principal Franciscan schools at Paris, Oxford and Cambridge. They may have had studied at more than one of these universities, since there was already a degree of movement between Paris and Oxford from the 1230s and also between Oxford and Cambridge. William of Everel and Ralph of Wodehey had attained the title of *doctor*³² and Robert of Fulham that of *professor*.³³ They are not mentioned in the biographical notes on Oxford and Cambridge Franciscans compiled by A.G. Little and J.R.H. Moorman, though they

²⁸ W.A. Pantin, *Canterbury College Oxford*, IV, (Oxford Historical Society, new series, 30), 1985, 1 and 3.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 78.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 3–4.

³¹ *Gervase of Canterbury, Historical Works*, (Ed.) W. Stubbs, (RS. 73, ii), London, 1880, 281.

³² British Library, Arundel MS.68, f.39r, Lambeth Palace Library, MS.20, f.212v, and Cambridge University Library, MS.Ee.V.31, f.34r.

³³ Pantin, *op. cit.*, 210.

may have studied or lectured there in a junior capacity. Henry of Eastry eulogises the teaching gifts of each of the lectors whom he had engaged. By the middle of the 1270s there were several theologically articulate friars capable of lecturing with distinction in the vast network of schools within the English province. It is probable that these three friars gained their early experience as lectors in such studia, and possibly within the custody of London with its friaries at Canterbury, Chichester, Lewes, London, Salisbury, Southampton, Winchelsea and Winchester.

3. *The Formal Application to the Provincial Chapter*

The decision to engage a Franciscan was probably taken in the second half of 1274 before the death of Prior Adam de Chillendenne on 13 September, 1274, or early 1275. Negotiations with the Franciscans may have been started with the local friary and then passed to provincial level, resulting in a formal request to the provincial chapter. Even a successful petition required time for implementation, as Gervase of Canterbury testifies, with the decision being taken around the feast of Saint Michael and the lector taking up his duties well into advent. Having received the approval of the provincial chapter, questions concerning the theological curriculum had to be settled with the officials of the priory. The extant formal applications for the appointment of lectors were all made in the period immediately before the provincial chapter, which in England was held generally on 15 August or 8 September.³⁴ One of the responsibilities assigned to the provincial chapter was the *ordinatio lectorum*.³⁵ The account books yield evidence of various arrangements made between the monks and friars for clothing, accommodation and other expenses.

Neither the register of Prior Thomas de Ringmere nor the initial letters of application have survived. However, there are some records of the representations made to the provincial chapter. William of Everel and his *socius* received 7s. 11d. from the prior for small debts which they incurred in attending the chapter in 1277; Henry de Depham was given 10s. for his journey to the provincial chapter at Cambridge *pro lectore nostro* in 1279 and a *puer* was paid 2s. for carrying letters to the

³⁴ Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists, and Documents*, (University of Manchester, n.284, Historical Series, 81), 1943, 208–16.

³⁵ (Ed.) M. Bihl, 'Statuta generalia Ordinis edita in Capitulis generalibus celebratis Narbonae an. 1260, Assisi an. 1279 atque Parisius an. 1292 (Editio critica et synoptica)', in *AFH.*, 34 (1941), 13–94 and 284–358; X, n.17, 303.

chapter at Cambridge in 1285.³⁶ The prior and his chapter sent a letter annually to the chapter between 1285 and 1298, asking for the reappointment of Ralph of Wodehey.³⁷ The last extant letter was addressed to the chapter at Nottingham in 1298.

4. *The Worcester Application*

The same procedure appears to have been followed by Godfrey Giffard, Bishop of Worcester, who made a formal application to William of Gainsborough, the vicar provincial, and definitors, on 1 August, 1285, that is shortly before the provincial chapter held at Cambridge on 15 August. Like Henry of Eastry, Giffard petitions the provincial chapter to appoint a particular friar, Robert de Crull. The application shows that negotiations had already reached an advanced level and that provisional agreement had been reached concerning the terms of the contract and the identity of the lector to be appointed.

In his study of the friary at Worcester Little records that Giffard requested Gainsborough, who ironically was to succeed him as Bishop of Worcester, to appoint Robert lector to the convent at Worcester.³⁸ In his monograph on the Oxford friary he is more specific and asserts that Giffard applied for the appointment of Robert as lector to the monks of Worcester.³⁹ Moorman reiterates this latter view, citing Little's second text;⁴⁰ both Little and Moorman appeal to the same passage in Giffard's Register.

Only a few years later Moorman seems to place a different interpretation on Giffard's text and describes Robert as lector in the friary at Worcester in 1285.⁴¹ Similarly, J. Cannon records the

³⁶ Pantin, 167, 168 and 170.

³⁷ Cotton, 'Notes on the Documents in the Cathedral Library at Canterbury relating to the Grey Friars', in *Collectanea Franciscana* ii, (British Society of Franciscan Studies, 10), C. Kingsford et al., (Eds.) Manchester, 1922, 1-9, 5, to be abbreviated as 'Documents'.

³⁸ Little, 'The Grey Friars, Worcester', in *VCH Worcester*, ii (1906), [reprinted London, 1971], 169-73, 169. Cf. (Ed.) J.W. Willis Bund, *Episcopal Registers, diocese of Worcester: register of Bishop Godfrey Giffard, September 23rd 1268 to August 15 1301*, (Worcestershire Historical Society, 15), 1898 and 1902, 263.

³⁹ Little, 'The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century', in *AFH*. 19 (1926), 803-74, 821, n.2. J.R.H. Moorman's index of Franciscans in England has only a single entry for de Crull, and that concerns the passage from Giffard's register.

⁴⁰ Moorman, *Church Life in England in the Thirteenth Century*, Cambridge, 1945, 384, n.3.

⁴¹ *Id.*, *The Grey Friars in Cambridge 1225-1538*, Cambridge, 1952, 21-22, n.6, citing Little's study of the Grey Friars in Worcester.

appointment of a lector in the Franciscan school at Worcester in 1285.⁴²

In their research on the city and cathedral of Worcester neither A.F. Leach⁴³ nor J.M. Wilson and C.A. Gordon⁴⁴ mention the presence of a Franciscan lector in the cathedral priory. By contrast several of the Canterbury priory and diocesan documents refer to the employment of the Franciscan lectors. Moreover, these friars are known only through sources external to the Franciscan Order.

Giffard's register removes much of the ambiguity caused by J.W. Willis Bund's translation, demonstrating that the appointment in question was *ad peculiarem conventum nostrum Wygorn*. The adjective *nostrum* militates against the hypothesis that the friars had prevailed upon Giffard to use his influence with the provincial chapter to secure the appointment of Robert to the friary school. Taken together with a barely legible marginal annotation about the appointment of a lector to the Worcester monks, *lectore . . . monachis Wyg . . .*,⁴⁵ the evidence shows that Giffard wanted to have Robert appointed to lecture to the monks.

5. Letters of Application the Provincial Chapter

The earliest extant letter of application to the provincial chapter was written on 14 August, 1285. By then Thomas de Ringmere had resigned as prior on 17 March, 1285, to become a Cistercian at Beaulieu in Hampshire and had been succeeded by Henry of Eastry, who was

⁴² J. Cannon, 'Inghilterra' in 'Panorama geografico, cronologico, e statistico sulla distribuzione degli Studia degli ordini mendicanti' in *Le scuole degli ordini mendicanti (secoli XIII-XIV)*, (Convegni del centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale, XVII), Todi, 1978, 93-126, 120.

⁴³ A.F. Leach, *Documents illustrating early education in Worcester, 685 to 1700*, (Worcestershire Historical Society), 1913.

⁴⁴ (Eds.) J.M. Wilson and C.A. Gordon, *Early computus rolls of the priory of Worcester*, (Worcestershire Historical Society), Oxford, 1908.

⁴⁵ A.M. Wherry, the County Archivist of the Hereford and Worcester County Council, transcribed the passage in Giffard's register and the fading marginal annotation and subsequently supplied me with a photostat copy of the register. I am most grateful to him for his assistance. A similar debt of gratitude is due to Dr Joan Greatrex, currently a visiting Fellow at Robinson College, Cambridge, whose detailed knowledge of the Worcester records and encouragement prompted me to address the ambiguities in the translation of Giffard's register. Little, 'Educational Organisation of the Mendicant Friars in England (Dominicans and Franciscans)', 64-5, cites one example of how the Franciscans of Hereford prevailed upon John Prophet, dean of Hereford, in 1400 to secure to appointment of John David to the friary school in the city. Two of the dean's letters on this subject are extant.

installed as prior on 10 April of that year by John Pecham.⁴⁶ The letter is much longer than those written in subsequent years and copied into the letter book. A longer letter may have been deemed appropriate because Henry of Eastry had only recently been made prior and felt the need to make a more formal application, although there are signs that he was no stranger to the vicar provincial. The friars were thanked for the generosity which they had already shown towards the monastery.

The original letter was written on 14 August and sent to the provincial chapter; fortunately, it was copied into the *Registrum Henrici Prioris* and thus survived. Ralph was praised and an extension of his term as lector was requested:

littera directa capitulo generali fratrum minorum in Anglia (in red)

*Venerande discrecionis viris vicario fratrum minorum Anglie et diffinitoribus in capitulo Cantebregia constitutis. Henricus permissione divina prior ecclesie Christi Cantuarie et eiusdem loci capituli humilem salutem in salutis auctore. Si de benigna vestra affectione et benevolencia erga nos et ecclesiam nostram diu est concepta non recoleremus in laqueum ingratitude incidere pro quibus ad presens vobis gratiarum referimus actiones. Et quia frater Radulphus de Wydeheye in scolis nostris diu est legit, cuius mores honestos modum et legendi laudabilem satis sumus experti, ac ipse familiarem nostri dinoscitur habere noticiam, vestram affectuose benignitatem imploramus quatenus predictum fratrem Radulphum nobis assignare velit in scolis nostris ut prius lecturam perfectam ne eiusdem mutacio nostre imputetur instabilitati. Valet in Christo et virgine gloriosa. Datum Cantuarie in capitulo nostro in crastino assumptionis beate marie. Anno domini MCC. octogesimo quinto.*⁴⁷

The register contains *memoranda* of letters sent to various chapters. Henry of Eastry wrote to the minister provincial on 1 September, 1286, referring to his letter of the previous year and apologising for the delay in writing to the chapter of which he had been unaware.⁴⁸ Similarly short letters were dispatched on 14 August, 1287, to the chapter at London⁴⁹ and, on 9 August, 1288, to the chapter at Lincoln.⁵⁰ On 30 August, 1292, a much longer letter was addressed to the chapter at Cambridge.⁵¹ On 30 July, 1293, 12 August, 1294, 27 August, 1295 and

⁴⁶ (Ed.) D.E. Greenway, *John Le Neve Fasti Ecclesie Anglicanae 1066-1300, II Monastic Cathedrals* (Northern and Southern Provinces) London, 1971, 12.

⁴⁷ Cambridge University Library, MS.Ee.V.31, f.21v. Cf. (Ed.) D. Wilkins, *Concilia magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae ab anno MCCLXVIII ad annum MCCCXLIX*, II, London, 1737, 122-3 where the letter is transcribed, but not without error.

⁴⁸ Cambridge University Library, MS.Ee.V.31, f.24v.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, f.28r.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, f.29r.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, f.34r.

20 July, 1298, brief letters were sent to the chapters at Cambridge, Oxford, Lincoln and Nottingham.⁵² Such *memoranda* provide a guide on the frequency and the venue of provincial chapters and the length of Ralph of Wodehey's term of office. Already by 1285 there are petitions that he be permitted to continue and he is mentioned in the last of the communications in 1298.

A letter by William of Gainsborough, who was elected minister provincial in 1285, to Henry of Eastry is transcribed by Cotton and dated Nottingham on the Saturday after the Assumption, that is 17 August, 1286; the phrase *in hac nostra congregatione* certainly refers to that provincial chapter. Gainsborough states that the continued absence of Ralph of Wodehey will cause him difficulty and that he will be deprived of Ralph's prudence in so many tasks; reference is made to the sterling work which Ralph was carrying out at the cathedral priory. William commends himself and the friars to the prior's prayers.⁵³ Another subsequent, but undated, letter from the same minister provincial to the prior is extant. Succumbing to the prior's prayers, William authorises Ralph to continue as lector.⁵⁴

II. LECTORS ENGAGED, 1275-1314

The plethora of documents from the cathedral priory reveals a great deal about the conditions under which the Franciscan lectors worked and their literary and ancillary resources. It also offers an unusual amount of detailed information on the cost of conducting a theological school, with details on the remuneration given to lectors and their *socii*, the annual grant for parchment, oil and other necessary materials.

1. Venue, Timing and Mode of the Lectures

Information regarding the lectures at Christ Church is scarce and the venue of the lectures remains unspecified. The terms *lector claustris*, *in schola claustrali* need not, argues Pantin, literally refer to the cloister.⁵⁵ William of Everel and Ralph of Wodehey are both described as

⁵² *Ibid.*, ff.47v, 62r, 65v and 77v.

⁵³ Cotton, 'Documents', 5-7 and *GFC.*, 35.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, I am grateful to Dr Michael Stansfield, the Deputy Cathedral Archivist at Canterbury, for the information that only two letters from the minister provincial to the prior are to be found in the correspondence of Henry of Eastry.

⁵⁵ Pantin, *op. cit.* 69.

lecturing *in claustro Cantuarie*,⁵⁶ as is Stephen of Faversham.⁵⁷ The term *in scolis nostris* is used in all three of the prior's extant letters,⁵⁸ perhaps indicating either a number of buildings or different aspects or stages of the theological instruction provided by the friars. The *scola noviciorum*, situated close to the cistern, is mentioned in a report on the building works carried out between 1275 and 1290.⁵⁹

Similarly, the precise horarium of the school remains unknown. The thirteenth-century instructions for the novices of Christ Church assign several periods to study: the morning between prime and terce and at intervals throughout the afternoon, between dinner and compline. It seems most probable that the lectures were given between prime and terce.⁶⁰

According to the injunctions issued in 1298 by Robert Winchelsey, Archbishop of Canterbury, theological lectures were to be attended daily by the majority of the monks.⁶¹ This interpretation derives some support from the experience of Martin of Clive, an elderly and learned man who had previously been regent master in arts and possessed a considerable library of theological books which passed to the priory library on his death in 1301.⁶² Winchelsey, in a letter to the prior and convent on 20 October, 1295, exempted Martin from certain conventual duties on account of his weakness and old age in consideration of his prolonged labours, first as a regent master in arts and subsequently as a student of theology at Christ Church.⁶³

The Benedictine instruction regarding attendance at lectures resembles the practice among the mendicants. Moorman asserts that each convent was to have its own lecturer, partly to give the necessary groundwork to novices and young friars, but also to deliver lectures to the whole community in order to help them in their preaching.⁶⁴ There

⁵⁶ BL., Arundel, MS.68, ff.39r and 40r, and Lambeth Palace Library, MS.20 ff.212v and 214v-215r.

⁵⁷ BL., Arundel, MS.68, f.32v, and Lambeth Palace Library, MS.20, f.197v.

⁵⁸ E.g., Cambridge University Library, MS.Ee.V.31, ff.21v and 34r and Pantin, 210.

⁵⁹ British Library, Cotton Galba, MS.E.iv, f.101r.

⁶⁰ Pantin, *op. cit.*, 69. Cf. Robert Grosseteste, *Epistolae*, (Ed.) Luard, (RS. 25), London, 1861, 346-7. About 1240 Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, urged the masters at Oxford to continue the Parisian custom of reserving the morning to lecture *ordinarie* on the Scriptures. Cf. Roger Bacon, *Opus Minus*, 328-29, writing c. 1267, complains that the best hours for lecturing are being devoted to the study of the *Sentences* instead of the Scriptures.

⁶¹ Pantin, 69, Wilkins, 246, c.3.

⁶² Cotton, *GFC.*, 36, nn.2 and 3.

⁶³ Idem, 'Documents', 6-8.

⁶⁴ Moorman, *The Grey Friars in Cambridge 1225-1538*, 19.

is abundant evidence to indicate that the lector in the Franciscan convent was appointed not merely for the instruction of young or junior friars. In 1248, a Benedictine bishop of Corsica, exiled from his diocese by the emperor and resident in Genoa, daily attended mass in the Franciscan church and then went to hear Stephen the Englishman lecturing in the schools.⁶⁵ At Oxford in 1256 there was at least one secular priest attending the lectures of Henry of Wodestone.⁶⁶

2. Libraries

R.H. and M.A. Rouse believe that the lectures in the Franciscan schools must have concentrated on what the friars regarded as the heart of Christian learning: the Scriptures and the teaching of the Fathers.⁶⁷ Such priorities were no doubt communicated by the friars lecturing at Christ Church. The monks there had at their disposal a vast array of Christian literature, and its excellent collection of patristic and biblical texts is attested by the *Registrum Anglie*, which was compiled by English Franciscans in the early fourteenth century, probably at Oxford.⁶⁸

The catalogue of the books in the library drawn up by order of Henry of Eastry reveals a wealth of biblical texts, the Fathers of the Church, including eastern luminaries such as John Chrysostom. Early medieval theology is represented by Anselm and Bernard and the universities by Robert Grosseteste, Jean de la Rochelle and several treatises by Thomas Aquinas.⁶⁹ The purchasing policy in this period is reflected in the obituary notice of Henry of Eastry who was remembered as an outstanding benefactor of the library:

*ac libros diversarum facultatum magni precii plures quam aliquis predecessorum suorum perquesivit, et ecclesie reliquit.*⁷⁰

Parchment was bought regularly throughout the period in which the friars were lecturing at the priory. The amounts spent vary from 12*d.* in 1282–83 to 5*s.* 2*d.* in 1291–92, when there were two payments. The

⁶⁵ Salimbene, 460.

⁶⁶ Little, 'The Franciscan School at Oxford in the Thirteenth Century', 815–16.

⁶⁷ Rouse and Rouse, p. cxlii.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 247–9.

⁶⁹ M.R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, Cambridge, 1903, 13–142. A new volume on the library of Christ Church, Canterbury, is being planned in the Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues.

⁷⁰ British Library, Arundel MS. 68, f.23v. and Lambeth Palace Library, MS.20, f.178v. Cf. James, pp. xxxv–xliv, 143–5 for a list of the texts donated by Henry.

sum of 6s. was given in 1290–91, but that included an allowance for a garment for the lector's *pueri*. The average was in the region of 3s. *per annum*. In some years two payments were made, as in 1283–84 with 18d. and 12d., and 1286–87 with 6p. and 3s.

The friars had access to enviable resources of Christian literature and prepared their lectures in one of the finest libraries of the thirteenth century. In addition they may have had some more limited access to the riches of Saint Augustine's library, though such privileges may have been withdrawn in the not infrequent bouts of tension between the two great monastic houses of Canterbury.

The lectors and *socii* had the use of another collection of manuscripts in the city, that is, the Franciscan library. Franciscan libraries in the Middle Ages grew rapidly, largely through the personal bequests of benefactors or friars entering the Order and the manuscripts left by deceased friars. Though identifiable remains of the friary library are few, the signs are that by the last quarter of the thirteenth century it housed a good collection. It had already received books from two scholarly prelates with an academic background, Ralph of Maidstone, Bishop of Hereford (1234–39), who became a friar in 1239, and Richard Wich, Bishop of Chichester (1245–53); a later benefactor was Henry of Rye, who became Rector of Croydon in 1290 before becoming a friar.⁷¹ Among the extant thirteenth-century volumes are several glosses on books from the Old and New Testaments as well as the writings of Anselm, Thomas Gallus and the sermons of Philip the Chancellor.

3. *Socii Lectorum*

Throughout the period when the Franciscans lectured at Christ Church the account books frequently refer to the lector's *socius*. Philip is mentioned seven times, William twice, and both Robert and Gilbert once. Pantin speculates that perhaps the Franciscan appointed a *socius* for reasons of discipline.⁷² But there was also a more practical dimension.

The role and duties of the *socius* are set out in numerous early texts concerning the Franciscan schools. Jocelin Anglicus was the *socius* of Stephen Anglicus at Genoa in 1248⁷³ and Rome.⁷⁴ The *socius* was,

⁷¹ N.R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* (Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 3), London, second edition, 1964, 48 and 246 and Cotton, *GFC.*, 33.

⁷² Pantin, 68–9.

⁷³ Salimbene, 431–2

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 459.

according to Little, a younger friar who acted as secretary and whose time was almost entirely at the lector's disposal.⁷⁵ He was appointed by the minister provincial, as the letters of Adam Marsh reveal. Adam commends A. de Hereford as affectionate and of good character, docile and well-read and far more capable than some of those appointed to lecture. The position was onerous and for this reason Adam petitioned the minister provincial that his *socius* be permitted to proceed to London for study and that Laurence de Sutthon be appointed in his place.⁷⁶ Concern was expressed that W. de Maddele, who was lecturing in the Oxford *studium*, was wearing himself out by having to copy his own material by hand, whereas his predecessors in the school had great volumes and were provided with *socii*.⁷⁷ Adam recommends that Thomas Bachun, a friar at Nottingham, would be both suitable and competent in *adjutorio competenti secretae societatis in officio subveniendi et scribendi subsidio* to Richard Rufus of Cornwall.⁷⁸ The *socii lectorum* at Christ Church carried out a similar range of duties for their lectors.

Philip is mentioned by name as the *consors* or *socius* of the lector between 1277–78 and 1280–81; his name occurs in the accounts for 1278–79 and 1279–80.⁷⁹ William appears as the *socius* or *clericus* of Ralph of Wodehey in 1285–86 and 1297–98, though there are other references to the lector in the intervening period.⁸⁰ There may have been two *socii* of this name. If not, William was the companion of Ralph of Wodehey for a very long time. Robert is mentioned only once, in 1306–07, when he received 19s. 6d., perhaps on the occasion of Ralph's death.⁸¹ Gilbert is the last *socius* to be named in the accounts for 1313–14, when he went to a provincial council at the request of the prior and received 40d.⁸²

Among the duties customarily assigned to the *socius* was the provision of parchment and the preparation of texts. In 1278–79 Philip received 2s. *ad parcamenum*. In the following year the same sum was

⁷⁵ Little, *The Grey Friars in Oxford*, (Oxford Historical Society, 20), Oxford, 1892, 33–4.

⁷⁶ *Monumenta Franciscana*, I, (Ed.) Brewer, (RS.4, i), London, 1858, 314–16.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 354–5.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 349.

⁷⁹ Pantin, 168–9. Cf. *Ibid.*, 167–76, reproduces most of the entries concerning payments made to the Franciscans. In order to avoid tiresome repetition, I will generally cite these accounts only on particular topics.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 170 and 172.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 174.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 176. Wilkins, 444–5, reproduces the summons to the provincial council to be held at Saint Paul's cathedral, London, on 6 July.

given to him *ad parcamenum emendum* and in 1280–81 the grant was 15*d.* In 1281–82 the sum of 18*d.* was entrusted to the *socius* for the purchase of parchment and other things. This suggests that on occasion the *socius* had to leave Canterbury to purchase sufficient parchment for the school. In 1283–84 the *socius* received 12*d.* In 1285–86 William was given 12*d.* and in the following year the unarmed *socius* 6*d.* In 1291–92, he received 14*d.* In the early fourteenth century the payments were made to both Ralph of Wodehey and Robert of Fulham rather than their *socii*.

The sum of 12*d.* occurs regularly in the accounts as the annual payment to the *socius*, though in 1276–77 there were two payments made, one for 12*d.* and the other for 6*d.* There are no stipends recorded between 1280–81 and 1305–06. The next entry, 1306–07, is by far the highest payment made, 19*s.* 6*d.*, and may represent arrears. Thereafter there are regular payments made until the friars' withdrawal.

4. Conditions Enjoyed by the Friars

Cotton was disinclined to believe that the lectors lodged in the nearby friary, arguing that it was more likely that they resided in the priory and put up with the inconveniences.⁸³ It is probable that the conditions experienced by the lectors in the priory were superior to those unusually prevailing in a friary. A letter of Walter Reynolds, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1321, discloses that the lector was given a study in the infirmary – most incongruously, as it seemed to him.⁸⁴ Pantin adds that the infirmary was the easiest place in which to find a private chamber that was secluded, yet accessible.⁸⁵ In the year 1277–78, the sum of 5*s.* 3*d.* was spent on different works carried out *in camera lectoris nostri*,⁸⁶ perhaps these represent improvements made for the new lector. New studies were constructed in the priory in 1317–18.⁸⁷

The lector and his *socius* regularly received expenses for their clothing and religious habits and here the account books provide a much fuller list of figures than they do in recording the payments made to the friars. Amounts paid out for clothing are recorded for almost

⁸³ Cotton, *GFC.*, 36.

⁸⁴ *Litterae Cantuarienses*, I, (Ed.) J.B. Sheppard, (RS., 85, i), London 1887, 46.

⁸⁵ Pantin, *op. cit.*, 69. Cf. 'Statuta generalia Ordinis edita in capitulis generalibus celebratis Narbonnae an. 1260.', IV, 16, 57, which identify one of the privileges accorded to lectors, that is, the exemption from the dormitory and the provision of a *camera clausa*.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁸⁷ British Library, Cotton Galba, MS. E.iv, f.101v.

every year and generally the formula *pro habitu lectoris nostri et socii sui* is employed. On other occasions, additional details are supplied. For instance, in 1277–78 the friars' messenger received 3*d.* for going to Dover *pro vestura lectoris nostri*.⁸⁸ In 1274–75 mention is made of mantles and covers for William of Everel and his *socius*. Payments were also given for the friars' bedding in 1278–79. The following year they purchased their own *vestura* for the sum of 30*s.* In 1288–89 payment was made for white tunics for the friars' work and in 1307–08 for bed coverings. Inflation clearly did not affect the figures much, since in 1276–77 and 1314–15, the last year, the sum was 34*s.* 3*d.*, even though it rose to 45*s.* 6*d.* in 1281–82.

A regular entry is made in the account books for the purchase of oil. It is usually entered as *oleum ad opus magistri* or *ad opus lectoris nostri*, perhaps to enable him to carry on his studies and prepare his lectures after dusk. Payments were made regularly from 1278–79 to 1291–92, ranging from 4*d.* to 14*d.* per year.⁸⁹

The two friars had a servant (*garcio, puer, valectus*) to look after them and run their errands. He received an annual robe or livery. In 1282–83 and 1284–85 there is mention of the lector's clerk as well as his servant, and in the accounts between 1285 and 1293 clerk and servant alternate. It is possible that they were one and the same person and their robes are of about the same value. From 1293 on, the clerk alone is mentioned.⁹⁰ Sometimes the payments were made to the lector to provide his cleric with a robe, as in 1305–06 and 1306–07.

5. The Three Lectors

The Canterbury records describe the contribution made by these three friars and the length of their appointments, thereby serving as a supplementary source for the history of the friars in England. Attempts to gauge the seniority of the lectors at the time of their appointment are thwarted by the fact that all three proceeded to ordination in the period before the episcopal registers were kept systematically in most dioceses.

⁸⁸ Pantin, *op. cit.* 168. '*Statuta generalia Ordinis edita in capitulis generalibus celebratis Narbonnas an. 1260.*', II, nn. 1–12, 42–44, which lay down regulations regarding the Franciscan habit, including the ruling that no friar should have two. The old one was to be returned to the guardian before a new one could be accepted. The friars at Christ Church appear to have changed their habits more regularly than their confrères at the local friary.

⁸⁹ Pantin, 167–71.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 69, and 167–6.

(i) Doctor William of Everel (1275–81)

William began his lectures on the feast of Saint Nicasius the martyr, 14 December, 1275. The Christ Church necrology records the anniversary of his death on 22 August, adding important information on his academic attainment and the duration of his stay at the priory school:

*Item obiit frater Willelmus de Deverell de ordine fratrum minorum qui per quadrennium extitit doctor theologie in Claustro Cantuarie.*⁹¹

The *Registrum prioratus sancte Trinitatis* was compiled at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and is clearly dependent upon obituary rolls and other materials which are no longer extant. There are good reasons for believing that he lectured to the monks for more than the four years specified in the *Registrum*, as the account book for 1281 records:

*Item cuidam qui duxit libros lectoris nostri in primo adventu suo XXXIIIId.*⁹²

The entry specifies the arrival of the new lector to take up his position in the priory in the autumn of 1281 rather than the subsequent arrival of more manuscripts assigned for his use. Since the accounts were drawn up annually greater weight should be placed upon this entry than upon a text compiled in the early fifteenth century, albeit from earlier documents. The evidence from the account books and the *registrum* shows that William died on 22 August, 1281, and implies that his name was entered in the necrology because he died while still holding the office of lector.

The account books record various expenses incurred by William. In 1277 the sum of 7s. 11d. was paid for small debts arising from his journey to the provincial chapter, along with his *socius*.⁹³ The following year 2s. 6d. was paid for the lector and his *socius*⁹⁴ and 7d. in 1279–80 for medicine.⁹⁵ Was William's health failing by this stage? In 1280–81, there were two payments, for 10s. and 6s. respectively, for different items deemed necessary for the lector.⁹⁶ The lectors' level of

⁹¹ British Library, Arundel MS.68, f.39r, and Lambeth Palace Library, MS.20, f.212v.

⁹² Lambeth Palace Library, MS.242, f.64r. The accounts for 1281–82 are not expressly said to run from the feast of Saint Michael to the same feast in the following year, but the payment for the transfer of manuscripts appears close to the beginning of the accounts for that year.

⁹³ Pantin, *op. cit.*, 167.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 168.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 169.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 169.

remuneration initially resembled that of his *socius* and only later does a gap open up between the two levels of payment; the former's payment increases more sharply than that of the *socius*. In 1280–81, the lector received 18*d*.

(ii) *Doctor Ralph of Wodehey (1281–1307)*

Ralph moved to Canterbury in the autumn of 1281 to replace William of Everel, when the priory paid for the removal of his manuscripts, the sum implying that he had moved from a friary outside the city, perhaps in the custody of London. It is probable that he had been transferred from another friary school. Henry of Eastry's first letter to the minister provincial and definitors in 1285 asks that Ralph be permitted to continue his lectures to the monks.

The register further contains a series of letters from the prior to the minister provincial and chapter between 1285 and 1298, asking them to allow Ralph to continue in the office of lector. An undated letter of William of Gainsborough bows to the prior's petition that Ralph be permitted to continue and assures him that the lector, as long as he remained would be obedient to the prior as he had been to his minister provincial.⁹⁷

On 30 August, 1292, Henry of Eastry wrote to the vicar provincial and the definitors in the chapter at Cambridge. Tribute was paid to Ralph's labours on behalf of the monks and the friars were thanked. Mindful of the moral qualities required of Franciscan theologians, Henry drew attention to Ralph's *mores et habundantia virtutum* and the worthy apostolate which he was exercising among the monks: *conversacionem eiusdem fratris laudabilem et nobis conformem meminimi modum et legendi graciosum ipsum habere sumus experti*. This preamble led to a further request that Ralph be permitted to remain *in scolis nostris*. The whole letter seems to be a response to speculation on the part of the friars that Ralph would be withdrawn from the cathedral priory and appointed to a Franciscan *studium*.⁹⁸

Ralph was one of six Franciscans to whom Robert Winchelsey on 23 June, 1300, granted a special licence to hear the confessions of both men

⁹⁷ Cotton, *GFC.*, 35–6.

⁹⁸ Cambridge University Library, MS.Ev.5.31, f.34r. The brief description in red ink above the letter states that the addressee is the *vicarius* and the same noun appears at the beginning of the letter proper. However, there the name *minister* has been written above that of *vicarius*. One of the responsibilities of the vicar of the province may have been the appointment of lectors. The extant letters of Henry of Eastry and William of Gainsborough are all addressed to this official.

and women in the diocese of Canterbury in response to the petition of the minister provincial and in accordance with the terms of Boniface VIII's recent bull *Super cathedram* controlling the friars' work as confessors.⁹⁹

The lector's stipend increased significantly during Ralph's time, and by 1284–85 the payment had been increased to 3s., though in 1290–91 it had reached 5s. Records of such payments are clearly incomplete and begin only in 1290–91, with no recorded payments made between 1284–85 and 1290–91. Stipends are frequently passed to the lector by the prior, subprior or their officials. The remuneration was paid to the individual lectors and *socii* and not to the provincial authorities or to the friary in Canterbury. 2s. were paid to Ralph who attended the provincial chapter at Oxford in 1294¹⁰⁰ and in 1303–04 14s. were paid to him '*pro albo panno and langel*'.¹⁰¹

The register commemorates Ralph's death on 31 August, adding that:

*Item obiit frater Radulphus de Wodehaye de ordine fratrum minorum qui per XXIII annos et amplius legebatur theologiam in claustro Cantuarie.*¹⁰²

The priory made a payment of 10s. *ad pitenciam* to the Franciscans on the day of Ralph's funeral in 1306–07, perhaps in recognition of his twenty-six years of service to the priory;¹⁰³ while the friary remains unspecified, this was undoubtedly one of the many grants made to the Canterbury friary of which Ralph was a member. The two entries, coupled with the knowledge that the accounts for that year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas, establish both the year and the day of Ralph's death, that is, 31 August, 1307, and they also suggest that Ralph, too, died in office. Both William and Ralph were probably buried in the nearby friary.

(iii) Robert of Fulham (1307–1314)

Ralph was succeeded by Robert of Fulham, who continued his lectures until late 1314. Unlike his two predecessors, Robert probably arrived at Christ Church in middle age, since he lived for at least fourteen years

⁹⁹ R. Graham, (Ed.), *Registrum Roberti Winchelsey Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi*, (Canterbury and York Society, 51), London, 1952, 391.

¹⁰⁰ Pantin, *op. cit.*, 171. The expenses were incurred by Ralph's attendance at a *capitulum generale*. This confusion between provincial and general chapter occurs several times in both the account books and the letter book of Henry of Eastry.

¹⁰¹ Pantin, *op. cit.*, 173.

¹⁰² British Library, Arundel MS.68, f.40r and Lambeth Palace Library, MS.20, ff.214v–15r.

¹⁰³ Pantin, *op. cit.*, 174.

after his withdrawal. In a letter written on 18 November, 1314, Henry of Eastry heartily thanked Richard Conington, the minister provincial, and members of the province for the supply of distinguished lecturers who had served the cathedral priory. Special praise was heaped upon Robert who is described as a *professor* in whom the monastic community had enormous confidence and the benefits of his lectures are depicted in colourful terms:

cuius doctrine in urbe redolet Cantuarie ac plures nostre congregacionis fratres . . .

The prior informs the friars that Robert's lectures had borne fruit in that many of those who heard him had been deemed suitable to discharge the office of lector in that school and that the chapter had decided to appoint one of them to fill the post, paying tribute to the last of three Franciscan lecturers:

*Considerantes igitur condiciones laudabiles et mores imitabiles prefati fratris Roberti, cuius conversacionem omni honestati conformem, modum eciam legendi invenimus graciosum, ipsum tanquam benemeritum vobis omnibus et singulis specialiter recommendamus.*¹⁰⁴

This may mean that Stephen of Faversham was among those who had attended the lectures of Robert before going to study at Paris. However, since Stephen was in Paris about 1295, it is more probable that he studied first under Ralph. He was back in Canterbury by 27 August, 1314,¹⁰⁵ and may then have assisted Robert for a short time. Stephen took over, either in late 1314 or early 1315, and was remembered on his anniversary, 2 July, as the

*primus lector sacerdos et monachus nostre congregacionis qui per XII annos et amplius fuit lector theologie in claustro Cantuarie.*¹⁰⁶

Robert received 6s. 8d. in 1314–15, the highest sum by far paid to the lector; this higher figure may have been determined by the friars' imminent withdrawal. The accounts for that year confirm that the change-over occurred in the late 1314, since early in that financial year there were payments made in close succession to Robert and Stephen, probably both before the turn of the year.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 210 and 70–71.

¹⁰⁵ Cambridge University Library, MS.Ee.V.31, f.155v, in which Henry of Eastry recommends Simon and S.de Sancto Paulo to Walter Reynolds.

¹⁰⁶ British Museum, Arundel MS.68, f.32v, and Lambeth Palace Library, MS.20, f.197v.

¹⁰⁷ Lambeth Palace Library, MS.242, f.297r.

After his withdrawal from the cathedral priory payments continued to be made intermittently to Robert who received 2*s. per suppriorum* in 1321–22, 6*s. 8d.* in 1323–24, when he is styled as *quondam lector noster*,¹⁰⁸ and 6*s. 8d.* for his habit in 1326–27.¹⁰⁹ Perhaps he was then lecturing in the local friary.

The account books and the register indicate that William and Ralph died as lectors and this may be the reason why both men feature in the necrology. Even though Robert's whereabouts were known to the monks, who made subsequent payments to him, the fact that he did not die in the office of lector may have resulted in his not being included in the necrology. In later years Robert may have moved beyond Canterbury and died at a date and friary unknown to the monks responsible for maintaining the obituary roll, bringing to an end the temporary arrangement between the priory of Christ and the Franciscan friary in Canterbury.

Henry of Eastry's letter to Richard Conington brought to an end the period in which three Franciscans lectured in theology at Christ Church. In 1275, their help was needed by the priory, but, by late 1314, the priory was able to organise its own school, with monks serving as lectors. These Franciscan lectors had fulfilled the directive of the constitutions of Narbonne that the friars had been called not only for their own salvation, but also for the edification of others through example, advice and life-giving exhortations.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁸ Pantin, *op. cit.*, 177.

¹⁰⁹ Lambeth Palace Library, MS.242, f.361r. This is one of the pertinent passages which Pantin did not transcribe.

¹¹⁰ 'Statuta generalia Ordinis edita in capitulis generalibus celebratis Narbonnae an. 1260.', I, n.2, 39.