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THE EDUCATIONAL ORGANISATION OF THE DOMINICANS IN ENGLAND AND WALES 1221-1348: A MULTIDISCIPLINARY APPROACH

BY
MAURA O'CARROLL SND

I. INTRODUCTION

For many years now historians of medieval England have lamented a paucity of written records for the Dominicans in England and Wales. Scholars with a particular interest in the Order of Preachers have gleaned a variety of sources for references to Dominicans, as the articles of Fr. C. F. R. Palmer, O.P. in such reviews as *The Antiquary* and *The Reliquary*, and of his Dominican successor, Walter Gumbley who gathered numerous references from a variety of documents in the Public Record Office, exemplify. Although he was primarily a Franciscan scholar, Dr. A. G. Little did not narrowly confine his interest to the Friars Minor but included other Mendicant Orders, especially the Dominicans, in his studies¹. In his valuable monograph, *The Early English Friars Preachers*, Fr. Hinnebusch drew many of the strands of previous research into a comprehensive whole. He provided, moreover, an archaeological survey of Dominican foundations in England and Wales which threw much light on the life of the Order. By so doing he pointed a way of looking outside more conventional sources for historical information about the Dominicans. In recent years Dr. A. B. Emden

¹ William A. Hinnebusch, O.P., *The Early English Friars Preachers*, Institutum Historicum FF Praedicatorum, Dissertationes Historicae, Fasciculus xiv, S. Sabina. (Roma 1951); hereinafter referred to as Hinnebusch EEFP.

The Bibliography pages XVII-XL contain references to the work of Fr. Palmer, Fr. Gumbley, and Dr. A.-G. Little.

A general modern survey of Dominican and Franciscan education in the 13th century has been published after this paper was written.

Dieter Berg, *Armut und Wissenschaft. Beiträge zur Geschichte des Studienwesens der Bettelorden im 13. Jahrhundert*, Düsseldorf 1977.

taking up the mantle of Palmer and Gumbley, has provided another collection of source material by collating references from episcopal records relating to the ordinations and granting of confessors' licences to Dominicans². This paper which is an attempt to integrate the newer information of Emden with that already established by Palmer, Little, Gumbley and Hinnebusch, is concerned chiefly with the external organisation of Dominican education in England and Wales: the place of its schools, the number of men, the function of the visitation, that is with the educational plant, rather than with individual teachers, curriculum, and books. As the end product of Dominican education was a trained preacher, the list of confessors has been examined for any educational implications. The starting point of this paper is the article by Dr. Little on *The Educational Organisation of the Mendicant Friars* published in 1894³. Therein Little drew attention to the transcript by Palmer of the Register of Master General Raymund of Capua⁴. This paper makes use of both that transcript and of Kaeppeli's edition, but drawing of the fourteenth century records only. As well as using traditional historical sources, however, this paper is an attempt to combine with historical method the use of maps, statistics, graphs and place-names. It is necessary to describe briefly the reasons for, and the use of, this largely geographical method.

II. METHODOLOGY

A map is a concise way of recording, illustrating and relating piecemeal information about an area. Thus the mapping of the Dominican houses in England and Wales by visitation showed the pattern of visitation more clearly and emphasised regional links. The map also provided a pictorial background for the lists of ordinands and confessors, sug-

² A.-B. Emden, *A Survey of Dominicans in England* (Rome 1967). Records of ordination preceded by a valuable introduction; hereinafter referred to as Emden Survey. "Dominican Confessors and Preachers" in *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*, Vol. 32 (1962) 180-210; hereinafter referred to as Emden AFP.

³ A.-G. Little, "The Educational Organisation of the Mendicant Friars in England" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, New Series*, Vol. VII (1894) 49-70.

⁴ British Museum MS Additional 32446 Catalogue of Additions Vol. 14 (1882-1887) 119. T. Kaeppeli O.P. has edited the Manuscript *Registrum litterarum Fr. Raymundi de Vineis Capuani, magistri Ordinis 1380-1399 Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* Vol. XIX (Rome, 1937) hereinafter referred to as Kaeppeli: *Registrum litterarum*.

gesting the possibility of place-name and diocesan relationships, and providing a context in which to place and analyse the statistics.

The information provided by Emden⁵ has been card-indexed in three sets: ordinands; confessors; Dominicans linked with Oxford and Cambridge within the period 1221-1348. The card indexes are the source of statistical tables in this paper. In the compilation and use of these historical statistics several factors modify the interpretation. Due to problems of orthography and incompleteness of records, it is not always possible to be precise about the name of a Dominican. Where, from a concurrence of information, e.g. about dates, diocese, record of education, it is possible to identify two or more entries as one person, the identification has been made. If, however, the identification has not been clear, the names have been left as records of separate individuals. Medieval people had their popular names as we have, and the preponderance of John's, Richard's, Henry's, William's, Robert's requires more than one concurrence before identifying one individual. So while the mathematical accuracy of the work with the statistics has been controlled and checked as carefully as possible, the base number in each group cannot be assumed to possess the same accuracy. Rather it is a mathematical approximation. Similarly it is necessary to be cautious about statistics themselves. Because they possess an inner logic and high degree of mathematical accuracy it cannot be assumed that the inferences drawn from them possess the same qualities. Their function is to help substantiate or record facts, but not to be prime facts in themselves. Moreover, with reference to the statistics drawn from Emden's records, it is important to note that the lists do not provide a statistical sample in its strict meaning. They are sets which statistically record all the available information which is itself incomplete. Thus instead of studying scientifically designed samples which only draw on proportions of the whole, this paper uses all the available, but incomplete information analysed statistically. The other statistics which are tabulated are drawn from the information about the size of Dominican communities given in *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*⁶.

⁵ A.-B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford*, 3 Vols. (Oxford, 1957-1959); hereinafter referred to as BRUO.

A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge (Cambridge, 1963); hereinafter referred to as BRUC.

⁶ David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses in England and Wales*, second edition, (London 1971) 213-220; hereinafter referred to as Knowles and Hadcock.

The use of graphs and diagrams in this paper is mainly to clarify method. They do, however, in some cases illustrate facts better than words. The two graphs recording information about Dominican entries in episcopal records show quickly the span of diocesan registers, their dating, their omissions — notably of London and Norwich, two of the most important dioceses of medieval England — and, in the case of the confessors their relative numbers.

The card indexes, however, contain another source of information, place-names. While it is generally true that in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, surnames which are also place-names, toponymics, are not necessarily indicative of the person's place of origin, in the case of religious there is a different practice. When they entered an Order, novices often took the name of their birthplace⁷. Presumably if they already possessed a surname in regular use, e.g. a patronymic, or a common name, they retained it. A study of the surnames in two of the card indexes, namely ordinands and confessors, using the *Concise Place Name Dictionary*⁸, was made within eight categories. These were: names belonging to a town or village within the diocese of the ordinand or confessor; name belonging to a town or village within the visitation of the friar; name belonging to the region, e.g. Nevile from Northumbria or Montacute from Somerset or Carew from the Westcountry; patronymics; common names, e.g. Brown, Staunton, Sutton, Weston; names which were geographically outside the visitation being analysed; names which were unknown, that is in the place-name dictionary; and, finally, names which were uncertain, that is in reference to the dictionary because the place-name, while not common, could be found in different regions of the country. Some, not all, of the totals have been

⁷ Beryl Smalley, *English Friars and Antiquity* (Oxford 1960) 51, footnote 3: Waleys "was a common surname, and does not necessarily imply a recent Welsh origin. Religious, however, took the name of their birthplace when they joined an Order...". It is generally understood that a toponymic preceded by "de" does indicate the individual's place of origin. Père Creytens comments that in some cases friars would take the name of the convent where they entered, or in which they took the habit, or the convent wherein they made profession. A friar could thus be known as "filius conventus". The application of this information to the list of names (Appendix I) in Set A Ordinands, out of 976 names only 58 names referring to 26 convents are relevant; in the BRUO/BRUC group Set C, 185 names, 11 names represent 9 convents; in the list of confessors Set B, 27 names (including 7 repetitions) out of 379 names represent 13 convents. In no category is this a number large enough to modify the broad conclusions from the place-name study.

⁸ Eilert Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place Names*, fourth edition, (Oxford 1960).

turned into percentages calculated as whole numbers. This numerical selectivity is intended to diminish, rather than enhance, the mathematical aspect of the statistics in the place-name study.

This paper would be simple if the methods outlined above could be analysed consecutively. The significance and interest, however, lie not just in the information one particular approach identifies, but in their interaction and mutual clarification.

III. THE PLACE OF THE VISITATION IN SOME OTHER PROVINCES OF THE ORDER OF PREACHERS: 1275-1344

While, as we have seen, information about the subdivisions of the English province of the Order of Preachers has been scarce; similar information has been fuller in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries for some other provinces particularly Provence⁹ and Rome¹⁰. Other studies referring more or less directly to the subdivisions of Provinces have also been made¹¹. The problem was the practical one of effective administration in provinces which were not only geographically large but which were growing fast in numbers of friars especially in the latter half of the thirteenth century¹². The solution was to make dependent subdivisions of the provinces possible. Between 1271 and 1275 the General Chapter of the Order passed legislation to enable the provinces to be subdivided into vicariates for the purposes of visitation and correction.

"Statuimus autem ut in singulis provinciis priores provinciales instituant vicarios aliquos per totam suam provinciam, quibus certas domos visitandas et corrigendas assignent"¹³.

⁹ C. Douais, *Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Ordinis FF Praedicatorum* (Province de Provence, Province Romaine, Province d'Espagne) (Toulouse 1894); hereinafter referred to as Douais ACTA.

¹⁰ T. Kaeppli O.P. and A. Dondaine O.P., *Acta Capitulorum Provincialium Provinciae Romanae* (1234-1344) *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum Historica* Vol. XX (Romae 1941); hereinafter referred to as MOPH XX.

¹¹ C. Douais, *Essai sur l'organisation des études dans l'Ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs* (Paris Toulouse 1884); hereinafter referred to as Douais Essai, G. Meersseman, 'Les Nations' dans l'Ancienne Province Dominicaine de France', *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* Vol. VIII (1938) 231-252; hereinafter referred to as Meersseman AFP. A. Mortier, *Histoire des Maîtres Généraux de l'Ordre des Frères-Prêcheurs* 8 Vols. (Paris 1903-1920) Vol. I 501 seq. and Vol. II 34 seq. particularly. H.-C. Scheeben, 'Prediger und Generalprediger im Dominikanerorden des 13. Jahrhunderts' *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* Vol. XXXI (1961) 112-141; hereinafter referred to as Scheeben AFP.

¹² Meersseman AFP 232.

¹³ *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum* Vol. I 158 Monu-

Between 1273 and 1275 the General Chapter was careful so to phrase the constitutions that the visitations remained subordinate to the total province through the prior provincial and the provincial Chapter exercising their rights of assignment of priors and lectors¹⁴. The mandatory function of the vicariates was to be a manageable means that visitation could be fully implemented. Nevertheless once the vicariates existed they become useful units for other purposes — much as the office of JP from the sixteenth century gathered numerous functions apart from the initial one of maintaining local law and order. Because there was no legislation about these other purposes, the provinces used the vicariates in differing ways, even giving them different names.

The best example is the Province of Provence. Very full records showing the functioning of the vicariates are found in the Acts of the Provincial Chapters¹⁵. In 1275, the Provincial Chapter held at Perpignan divided the Province into six vicariates of Avignon, Bordeaux, Limoges, Marseilles, Montpellier and Toulouse. The records specify the priories in each vicariate which was itself named after the main priory in the group.¹⁶ This Provincial Chapter also declared that the vicariate was to be the unit for organising the schools of the Province:

« Ordinamus quod in qualibet vicaria sit unum studium logicale... »¹⁷.

The Chapter not only appointed the six lectors and assigned students and priories, but extended the principle further by establishing one “studium naturarum” between each two vicariates: Perigueux for Bor-

menta Ordinis Praedicatorum Historica Vol. III (Rome 1898); hereinafter referred to as ACTA.

¹⁴ “Statuimus autem quod in singulis provinciis priores provinciales vel eorum vicarii et diffinitores capituli provincialis provincias suas per vicarias distinguant, secundum quod eis videbitur expedire, quibus singulos vicarios praeficiant, qui non sint priores neque lectores actu legentes, nisi prius a suis officiis absolvantur, requisito consilio fratrum praesentium ad dictas vicarias pertinentium, qui sunt de corpore capituli provincialis. Qui vicarii in domibus suis assignatis prioris provincialis plenarie gerant vices, excepta dumtaxat institutione et destitutione priorum et lectorum, et ubique teneant loca sua nisi in capitulo, dum officium suae vicariae exercent, quorum potestas die immediate praecedente electionem diffinitorum capituli provincialis expiret. Hos autem vicarios priores provinciales possunt corrigere vel vel ex causa rationabili amovere” Legislation of General Chapter held at Lyon 1274 and Bologna 1275; ACTA I 171 and 177.

¹⁵ Douais ACTA 193-471.

¹⁶ Ibid., 193.

¹⁷ Ibid., 194.

deaux and Limoges; Béziers for Toulouse and Montpellier; Avignon for Marseilles and Avignon¹⁸. For twenty seven years we have full records of assignment of schools. Analysis of these records shows several interesting facts. The numbers of actual schools fluctuated considerably at this time, showing increase in numbers¹⁹. The schools for teaching of the Arts and Philosophy moved annually to a different priory in the vicariate while the schools of Theology remained in the same priories being increased in number from 8 in 1279 to 15 in 1302. The priory at the head or each vicariate possessed a school of theology. These were distinct from the "studia generalia" at Montpellier and Toulouse. Only twice in this quarter century were the schools for Arts and schools for Philosophy not designated. In 1285 because of famine the Provincial Chapter did not establish these schools, but left the prior provincial to solve the problem of the education of the able students²⁰. Again in 1295 a note in the margin of one of the manuscripts of the Chapter Acts shows that the schools of Arts and of Philosophy were once again not established, this time through war²¹. The Provincial Chapter also made preaching assignments, but these seem less clearly linked to the structure of the vicariates in Provence than were the schools.

The other Province about which there is detailed information is the Roman Province¹⁰. The information, however, while spread over a longer period, 1281-1344, is covered by records of only forty five Provincial Chapters. In this province the emphasis is different. Nearly every Chapter has the phrase "Facimus visitatores" followed by the names of the brethren and the priories they are to visit. Analysis of the

¹⁸ Ibid., 195.

¹⁹ In 1283 ten schools of theology, *ibid.*, 266; in 1286 nine schools of theology, *ibid.*, 296; in 1297 fifteen schools of theology, *ibid.*, 412-413.

²⁰ « Cum in hoc anno nullum conventum provincie potuerimus invenire qui voluerit aliquod studium logicale vel naturale recipere, propter nimiam paupertatem et communem sterilem terre, et alia multa gravamina propter que non possunt sibi sufficere ad sustinendum fratres quos habent... ». *Ibid.*, 287. This comment shows the close link economically between the priory and its local urban community, through practice of mendicant poverty.

²¹ « Isto anno fuerunt pretermisita artium et naturarum studia propter guerras, que erant in partibus Vasconie inter regem Anglie et Francie propter ducatum Aquitanie ». *Ibid.*, 396. Philip IV of France had declared the Duchy of Aquitaine, which Edward I of England held of the French king, forfeit to France because Edward I had not appeared in person to swear fealty. The war in Gascony which followed this event was one more phase in the struggle between the kings of England and France for control of territories in France. See F.-M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (Oxford 1961) 644-654.

lists of houses show that there are six sets or visitations. The priories, however, while nearly always being placed in the same visitation, are not consistently in the same groups, for example, Arezzo, Siena, Rieti, Viterbo, S. Maria sopra Minerva, Santa Sabina and some others are not always found in identical groups. This possibly reflects the geographical proximity of the priories in the Roman province, and possibly too the the personal arrangements of the named visitors²². The links then between the priories of the visitations and the schools are not established in the same way as in the province of Provence. Nevertheless analysis of the records of the Roman province shows that, similarly to the province of Provence, the schools of Arts and Philosophy, particularly Arts, were moved from priory to priory much more than were the schools of Theology. Nevertheless while in the province of Provence the schools of Arts and Philosophy rarely stayed in the same house in consecutive years; the same kinds of schools in the Roman province seemed to stay in one priory for several successive years. The schools of Theology, however, were much more consistently placed, often for many years at a time in the same priory, for example,

²² In 1292 visitors were assigned to each of the following groups in the Roman province: MOPH xx 108-109.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Pisa	Città di Castello	Civitavecchia	All in	Abruzzi	Apulia
Lucca	Gubbio	Viterbo	Terra di		
Pistoia	Perugia	Narni	Lavoro		
Prato	Foligno	Tivoli	Aversa		
Florence	Todi	Minerva	Suessa		
Siena	Spoletto	St. Sabina			
Arezzo	Rieti	Anagni			
		San Sisto			

In 1297 visitors were assigned to each of the following groups in the Roman province: MOPH xx 134.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Pisa	Siena	Civitavecchia	Viterbo	Abruzzi	Apulia
Luca	Arezzo	Lodi	Minerva		
Pistoia	Cortona	Foligno	St. Sabina		
Prato	Città di Castello	Spoletto	Tivoli		
Florence	Gubbio	Narni	Anagni		
Sarzana	Perugia	Rieti	San Sisto		
		Bevagna			

In most of the Chapter records, the variants in visitation groups are found within the first four.

* In 1292 Visitation 1 corresponded to Tuscany, and visitation 2 to Umbria.

Florence, from 1311 a "studium generale"; S. Maria s. Minerva; Siena; Perugia. From 1310 onwards distinctions are often made in the Provincial Chapter records between "studium bible" and "studium particulare in theologia" ²³. From 1329 the former type disappears from the records and only the latter type remains ²⁴. As in Provence, the Roman records of the Provincial Chapters record assignments of preachers, though not on a discernible visitation basis. By contrast with the "première province de Provence" and the Roman province, records for two other provinces are limited indeed. The province of Spain, like that of Provence, set up six vicariates at the Provincial Chapter of Leon in 1275:

« Provinciam Hispanie in has distinguimus vicarias videlicet Cathaloniam, Aragoniam et Navarram, Castellum cum Frontaria, Legionem, Galliciam, Pirtugaliā » ²⁵.

There are, however, no continuous records as for Provence and Rome. In 1281 the Provincial Chapter of Estella referred to the "studium ebraicum" and the "studium arabicum". Whether these schools lasted more than one year it is not possible to know with certainty. At the same chapter students were assigned to different types of schools, e.g. "ad logicam" and "pro doctore"; but no places of schools were actually named ²⁶ except in the only other records from the Spanish province, those from the chapter held at Barcelona in 1299. This chapter assigned specific numbers of brothers to study different subjects, e.g. "grammaticam", "logicam veterem" or to go "ad studium naturarum" in forty three different priories ²⁷. The Provincial Chapter of Leon did require the vicars to provide for the students as ordained by the Chapter of Estella ²⁸. The necessities of effective administration of a school pattern would surely indicate that the practices laid down for the Spanish province at Leon were the foundation of development, just as the Provincial Chapter at Perpignan laid down the pattern for the

²³ MOPH XX 1311, 182; 1313, 189; 1318, 207-208.

²⁴ Ibid., 1329, 250; 1331, 261; 1332, 273; 1338, 296; 1339, 309; 1340 323; 1344, 355.

²⁵ Douais ACTA 618.

²⁶ Ibid., 625-626.

²⁷ Ibid., 637-646.

²⁸ « Admonemus vicarios omnes quod diligenter curent, secundum ordinationem in Stellemsi capitulo factam, studentibus providere... »; Ibid., 624 (This is obviously a chapter held at Estella preceding the chapter of Leon 1275).

province of Provence. It is possible that the Spanish province had a system of schools similar to that of Provence.

The chapter of Leon, however, made one regulation not found in the records of other provinces with regard to preaching:

« Volumus et ordinamus quod vicarii et visitatores conveniant et tractent inter se de limitationibus praedicationum; et referant ad sequens capitulum quod videbitur expedire »²⁹.

Whether other provinces had similar methods, but unrecorded, of settling the practical problems of boundaries between preaching areas of the local priories is not known; but a similar agreement could be the foundation of the assignments of preachers made by the chapters in other provinces.

The records of the province of France are more like those of the English province than of the Roman or Provençal provinces, sparse. Meersseman shows, however, that by the early fifteenth century the French province possessed seven "nations": Brittany, Champagne, Burgundy, Poitou, Normandy, France, Flanders and Picardy³⁰. It seems reasonable to assume that the origins of these divisions of the French province in "nations" stems from the same legislation of the General Chapters 1271-1275 as do the *vicariates* of Provence and Spain; and the *visitations* of the Roman province.

Information about the German province seems as limited as that for England. Scheeben, however, in his article (11) shows the link between the practical organisation of preaching and the provincial chapter³¹. In the early years of the Order of Preachers, the conventual prior had the task of assigning brothers to preach³². As the pattern of settlement was established, greater clarification of preaching areas was needed to prevent clashes within the Order. As we have seen, the Roman province and the province of Provence actually named preachers; while in 1275 the Spanish province directed the vicars of the newly established divisions of the province to settle the limits of preaching areas with the visitors. It is common sense to assume that the practical organisation of preaching areas was a task which both Priors Provincial and Priors conventual were happy to assign to the vicars of the vicariates/nations/visit-

²⁹ Ibid., 624.

³⁰ Meersseman AFP 238-244. A helpful map is found on page 241.

³¹ Scheeben AFP 134.

³² Ibid., 139.

ations. At this point only tentative conclusions can be drawn: that after 1275 the provinces of the Order of Preachers set up lesser divisions so that the task of visitation could be carried out more effectively; that these divisions received different names in different provinces — visitation, vicariate, nation; that these divisions proved useful units for the organisation of education and preaching in the provinces; that while there was more similarity than difference in the way in which vicariate organisation was used in education, there was no uniformity across the Order about this.

IV. THE PLACE OF THE VISITATION IN THE EDUCATION AND MINISTRY OF THE DOMINICANS IN THE ENGLISH PROVINCE

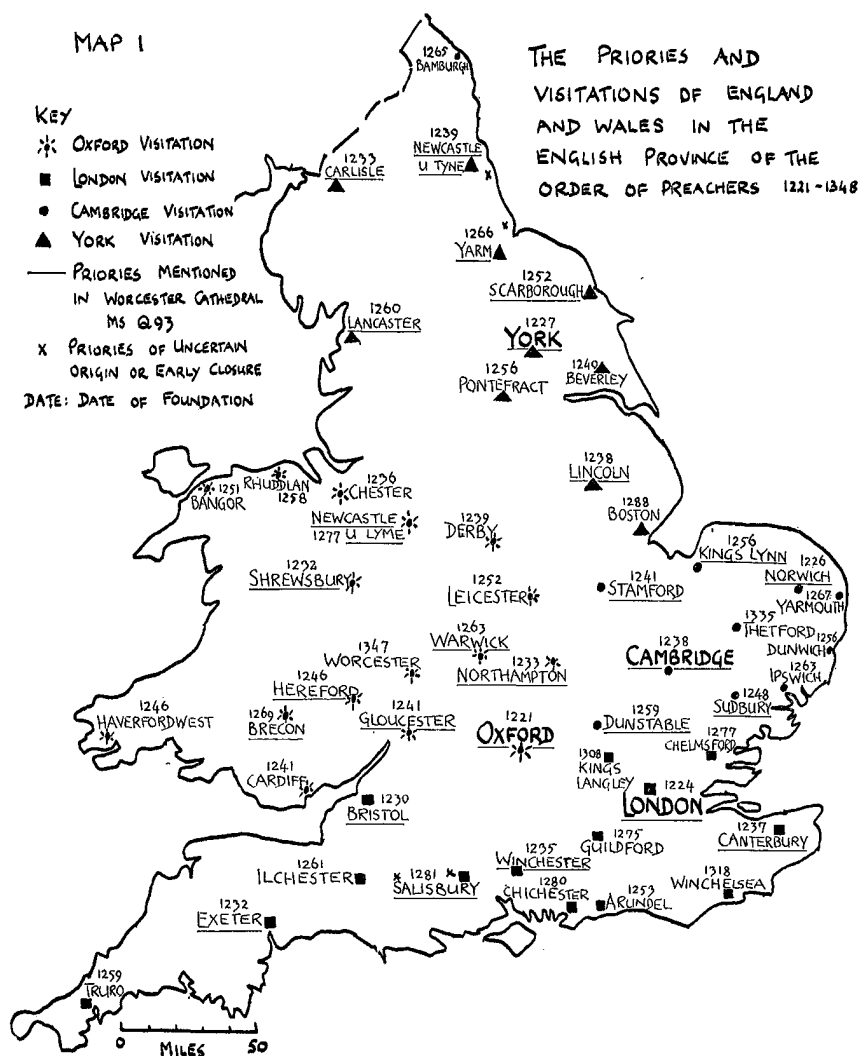
The "visitation" was a subdivision of the English province whereby the visitors appointed annually by the Provincial Chapter could visit each priory in the area and report on the quality of its religious life and its studies to the next Chapter. There were four such visitations in England and Wales, named after the main priory within its boundaries: Oxford, London, Cambridge and York. A partial list of the visitations was published in 1919 by Dr. Little. He found the record on the fly-leaf of MS Q 93 of Worcester Cathedral Library³³. Fr. Hinnebusch and Dom David Knowles ascribed the unlisted houses to visitations³⁴. Map 1 records this information together with the date of the foundation of each priory. Dartford has been omitted, as the function of the friars there was chaplaincy. It will be seen that apart from Boston, Derby, and Leicester, the priories on the boundaries between visitations are Leicester, the priories on the boundaries between visitations are assigned by the medieval record. The General Chapter placed King's Langley in the Cambridge visitation in 1426. It had been assigned to the London visitation before this date³⁵. Hinnebusch comments:

"The English province was divided into four visitations which had probably hardened into four separate and invariable groups of priories by 1275". (11)

³³ A. G. Little "The Administrative Divisions of Mendicant Orders in England" *English Historical Review*, Vol. XXXIV (1919) 205-209.

³⁴ Hinnebusch *EEFP* 493-494: Knowles and Hadcock 213-214.

³⁵ Hinnebusch *EEFP* 212.



In the light of the General Chapter evidence (13) (14), it seems that this conclusion of Hinnebusch needs modification: that from 1275 the English province was divided into four visitations which probably became settled by 1300.

Map 2 shows the relationship between the diocese of England and Wales and the Dominican visitations. There is no diocese except Roch-

MAP 2

THE DIOCESES OF
ENGLAND AND WALES
IN RELATION TO
DOMINICAN VISITATIONS AND
PRIORIES: 1221 - 1348



ester without a house of Preachers. In the light of canon (Ten!) of the Fourth Lateran Council³⁶ by which bishops were urged to foster preach-

³⁶ H. J. Schroeder O.P., *Disciplinary Decrees of the General Councils* (St. Louis 1937) 251-252. "... Wherefore we decree that bishops provide suitable men, powerful in work and word, to exercise with fruitful result the office of preaching; who, in place of the bishops, since these cannot do it, diligently visiting the people

ing by trained men if they were unable themselves to preach, this settlement pattern is significant. The visitations follow diocesan boundaries, except in the diocese of Lincoln and London visitation. Lincoln diocese, for which episcopal registers of the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries are numerous, contains Dominican houses from all visitations: King's Langley from the London visitation; Dunstable and Stamford from the Cambridge visitation; Boston and Lincoln from the York visitation; Leicester, Northampton and Oxford from the Oxford visitation. This means that for the Dominicans, Lincoln records have to be interpreted in the light of the visitations. London, Oxford and Bristol are borderline foundations in that being riverine cities their hinterlands contain more than one diocese. London and Oxford are in the visitations covered by their dioceses, while Bristol is in the Worcester Diocese, but placed in the London visitation³⁷.

Little declares that the visitation had some connection with education. This is not unexpected in the light of the information about the provinces of Provence and Rome.

"The method of the combination of convents – the question which convents sent students to which *studium particulare* is even more obscure. Probably the system of grouping had some reference to the division of the province into visitations. Each visitation certainly formed a unit for some educational purposes. Each of the four visitations (or nations, as they were sometimes called) sent a friar to each of the two convents at Oxford and Cambridge to study for the *magisterium theologiae*"³⁸.

But he admits that the data is insufficient to draw conclusions.

This paper will try to show that analysis of the information about Dominicans garnered by Dr. Emden from episcopal registers strengthens considerably the probability that the visitation was the normal unit for the education of the standard Dominican preacher. Appendix I shows the relationship between the three sets of numbers. The adjusted score gives a total of 1308 Dominicans over 80 years for ordination records, over 48 years for licence records. The two graphs show that

committed to them, may instruct them by word and example". Mansi: *Sacrosancta Concilia ad Regiam editionem exacta quae nunc Quarta parte* (Paris, MDCLXXI) Tom XI Pars I MCXCVIII-MCCLXXXIV colum 161.

³⁷ Clarification of "border-line" towns in relation to diocese has been gained by study of *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae* at Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291 (London 1802).

³⁸ Little TRHS 54-55.

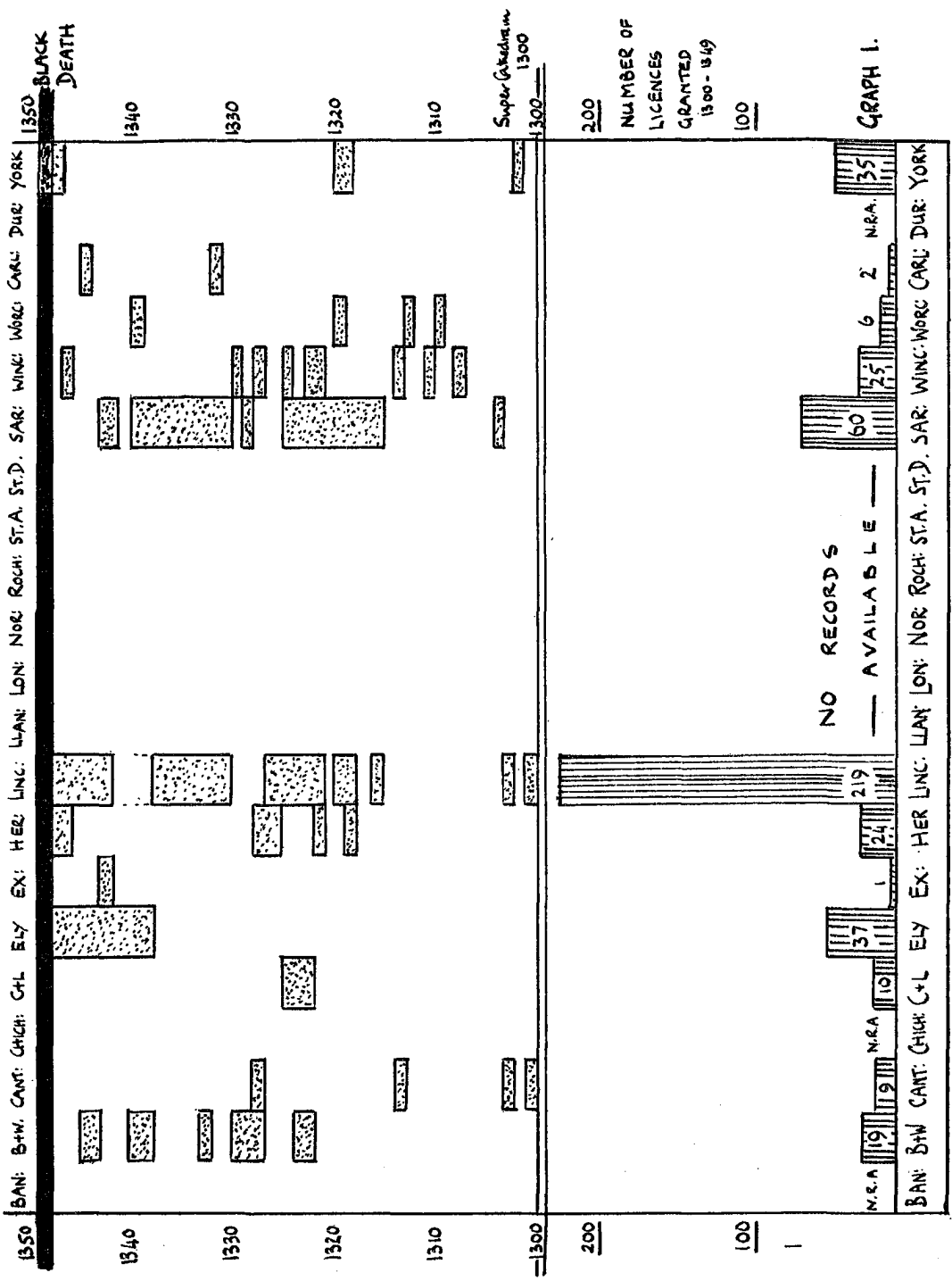
information at source is incomplete. Graph 1 reveals lack of information about ordinands in the dioceses of Bangor, Bath and Wells, Chichester, Llandaff, London, Norwich, St. Asaph, St. David's, Salisbury; while Graph 2 shows up the lack of information about the appointment of confessors in the dioceses of Bangor, Chichester, Llandaff, London, Norwich, Rochester, St. Asaph, St. David's, Durham. Graph 2 does record the number of licences in each diocese, so that the variation in episcopal practice of licensing is noted. Thus the analysis is least complete for the Cambridge visitation, especially the lack of records from the heavily populated Norwich diocese. The London visitation too is bereft of information of the important diocese of London. So the information is least complete for the richest and most densely populated part of the country. The lack of records for any part of Wales is only offset by the fact that the population was comparatively scanty. One implication, however, of the lack of information, is the knowledge that the total of 1308 Dominicans, however approximate, is a minimum total only.

Appendix II contains sixteen tables of statistics. The breakdowns look at the numbers in the context of dioceses and visitations. Tables 1-4, 10-12 record simple information. Table 5 shows how the place-name group was selected so that the same person should not appear twice in the tables. Tables 6, 7 and 8 contain the results of the place-name study.

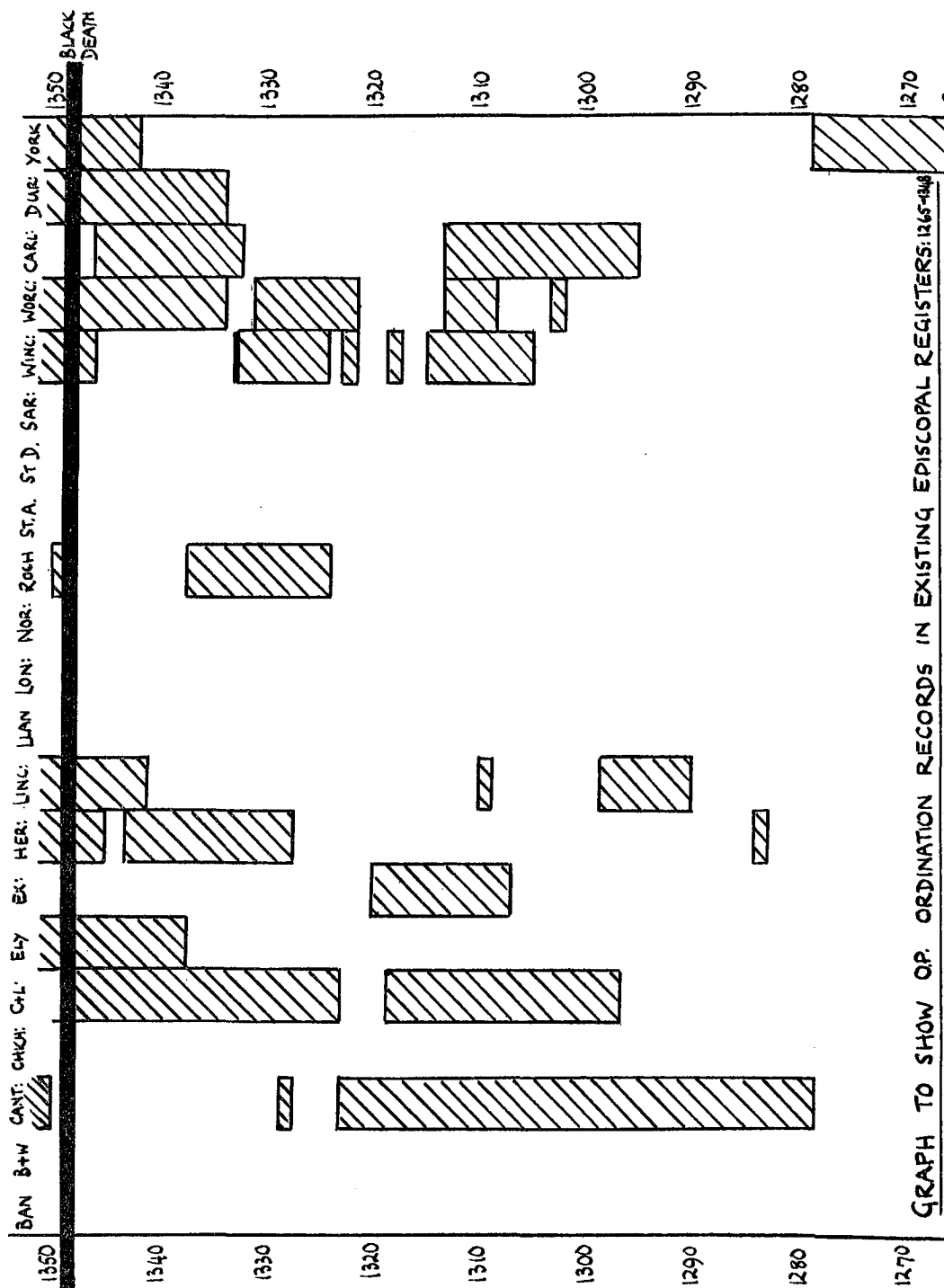
The place-name study yields interesting results. The analysis is based on two assumptions: that a young man is more likely to enter a priory near his home than one further away; that the first order of priesthood, in all but a few cases, that of acolyte⁸⁹, is likelier to be bestowed in the priory the young man entered or one nearer it than in one more distant from it. So the acolytes were separated from the other ordinands, and their names arranged in the eight categories already described.

Of 199 names, 54 belonged to places in the diocese of the ordinand, 51 to the visitation of the ordinand's diocese, 14 were regional names. So 60% of the acolytes' names had a real link with their visitation of ordination; while only 15 names, about 8%, possessed names which belonged to places outside the visitation. Common names are being virtually disregarded, together with patronymics, and, of course, the un-

⁸⁹ Tonsure is mentioned as the first minor order about four times, most often in conjunction with the order of acolyte, e.g. Richard Carru, Exeter. Emden AFP 89.



GRAPH TO SHOW NUMBERS OF O.P. LICENCES FOR CONFESSOR-PREACHERS IN EXISTING EPISCOPAL REGISTERS: 1900-1948



GRAPH 2

known and the uncertain. When the same process of name analysis was carried out for the major ordinands, the same pattern of preponderance emerged, although the proportions varied. Of 736 names 350, that is 47 + % of the total, were found to have names which belonged either to the diocese of ordination, or to the visitation of the diocese of ordination, or to the region. The common name percentage is 8 as opposed to 6; but the percentage of names from outside the visitation has nearly doubled to 15% representing 112 names in the table. This difference in proportion among the major ordinands is interesting. It is also interesting to notice the pattern of Welsh names in Table 7. There are no records available for any of the Welsh dioceses, yet 12 Welsh names appear in three non-Welsh dioceses in the Oxford visitation. A similar phenomenon, but involving a smaller total, is observed in the London visitation in that a few major ordinands in the Winchester diocese have Cornish surnames. On the other hand a certain "across-visitation" movement is discernible in the Rochester diocese where, out of 12 names of outsiders 7 belong to Suffolk. On the whole, however, the variations observed above suggest that the interpretation of the mobility between dioceses reflects the movement of major ordinands from school to school within the visitation, in preference to movement across visitations⁴⁰.

A study of Tables 10-13 corroborates this interpretation. These tables contain an analysis of ordination patterns related to dioceses and visitations for those ordinands for whom more than one order is recorded. The actual number of Dominicans decreases as the geographical scope of the table is widened: 173 Dominicans were ordained within one diocese, 65 Dominicans were ordained in different dioceses within one visitation, 10 Dominicans were ordained across dioceses and across visitations. If the records were more complete, the above totals would increase, but the proportions between the categories would probably be similar. Again the interpretation would seem to be that more Dominicans were ordained within one visitation, some of them in one diocese only, than received their orders in two or more visitations. The place-name correlation in Table 11, of 43 out of 65 is quite high. Of the four visitations, the place-name correlation is higher in the visitations of London and York, than it is in the visitations of Oxford and Cambridge.

⁴⁰ The mobility of ordinands also raises the question of the mobility of schools. The study so far done on the episcopal records has not looked at this point, but the possibility is promising.

Undoubtedly a proportion of Dominicans did receive ordination across visitations. How can the small number be accounted for? In the first place this number can only be compared within Tables 10-14, that is 10 compared with 65 and 173; not with the set of 736. Table 12 shows that some are accounted for by geographical convenience, e.g. 3 Dominicans were ordained between the diocese of York and the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. The link between the 3 Dominicans ordained in the Worcester and Winchester dioceses could well be the Bristol house which was in the London visitation but in the Worcester diocese. The remaining four in this table, however, are not accounted for by geography. Is it unreasonable to suppose that the men who were ordained across visitations were the promising young men who were noted by the prior, or master of students, or visitors for higher studies in due time? The Acts of the General Chapter make provision for this ⁴¹.

There is a third form of corroboration of the above suggestion when the figures on Table 8 are examined. This table contains the place-name analysis of the confessors. Contrary to expectation of an even lower correlation of place-names and visitation, that is, a wider spread of confessor-preachers throughout the province, there was a total, 161, out of 286 names within the diocese within the visitation and within the region, 56% of the set. The number of those from outside the visitation was 35 of the total, 12%. The only interpretation open here is that once men were ordained and working as preachers and confessors, many of them tended to serve in their native visitation, even native diocese. The tables then seem to show a trend for the early education of the friar preacher to take place within his native diocese and visitation; but the more education the friar preacher receives, the more likely it is that he travels more widely through the province. In the apostolate, on the other hand, when his education is complete, at whatever stage he has reached, a friar preacher seems to preach and hear confessions more often in his native area than outside it. The apostolate of Robert Hol-

⁴¹ *Acta Capitulorum Generalium Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Vols. I and II in series *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica* III and IV, (Rome, 1898-1899), hereinafter referred to as *ACTA I/II*. Several Chapters referred to this kind of selection, e.g. 1259, 1305, 1315, cf. Chapter at Genoa 1305, *ACTA II* 13. "Et ut hec omnia firmiter observentur, volumus et iniungimus quod visitatores singulis annis teneantur de hiis qui ad legendum logicalia, naturas at sentencias, et ad mittendum ad studia generalia apti fuerint, diligenter inquirere et lectores, a quibus audierint, necnon et magistri studencium ab eis in eorum conscentiis requisiti teneantur fidele testimonium perhibere ».

cot is a good example of this ⁴². He was probably born near Northampton, his surname is a place name in that shire. No details are known of his early life, or of his ordination. He was appointed a confessor in the Salisbury diocese after 1328. About 1332, he incepted as a Doctor of Theology at Oxford. He is known to have taught at Cambridge for some time. From 1343-1348 he is mentioned four times as licensed to hear confessions in the archdeaconry of Northampton. Holcot was preaching and teaching outside his visitation for some time; but some time after he completed his official education and University teaching he was assigned back to his native area. On a slightly larger scale the same trend can be seen. Table 16 shows that of the 82 Dominicans in set C who are recorded as having a University degree in Theology, most of them doctorates, 21 appear on the (incomplete) list of licensed confessors and preachers. Of these 21, 10 are recorded as confessors in their native area, according to place-name, and a further 2 within their visitation. So the trend, as shown by Table 8, for confessors to minister within their native visitations is borne out by a similar trend amongst 21 recorded most highly educated confessor-preachers.

Although the figures for the Cambridge and London visitations are less complete than those for the Oxford and York visitations, the trend is the same. In the set available to us, more friars are ordained within their own visitation than outside it. It seems reasonable to conclude that from about 1275, from which date the visitation boundaries could have been assigned, the available records for ordinands, which begin about 1267, show that a significant proportion of them were ordained within their own visitation, and were thus prepared, or educated, for ordination within their own visitation too. The visitation, then, was very probably the normal unit for organising the education of the friars preachers of England and Wales. These statistics have been studied only up to 1348. For the period 1275 to 1348 there is little written evidence for Dominican educational organisation in England and Wales. There is, however, a later written source which can be used. This is the Registers of the Masters General of the Order. British Museum MS Additional 32446 is a transcript made in 1881-1882 by the indefatigable Fr. Palmer, of all references to English Friars Preachers from the then existing Registers of the Masters General ⁴³. Whereas Dr. Little used as well the

⁴² BRUO II 946-947; Emden AFP 197, 199, 202; Smalley Friars 135-136.

⁴³ British Museum MS Add 32446 fo 1 "The earliest register of the acts of the Master General 1390-1399 is an authenticated transcript made in 1752 from the original".

transcript information of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries to reconstruct the Dominican school system in the middle ages, it seemed more suitable, in considering the Dominican educational organisation from 1221-1348 to use only the late fourteenth century evidence from the Register of Raymund of Capua who was elected General in 1380, and who died in 1399. The Register only survives from 1390-1399. References are given to Kaeppli's edition⁴⁴. The dating used here is that reported in the manuscript without adjustments for calendar reforms since 1390.

Before looking at the extracts concerned with education, it is worth considering the entry made on 15th September 1397⁴⁵. Here the Master General records the appointments of four vicars, one for each visitation. Each vicar was a Master of Theology, and each was given full authority for his vicariate under the vicar-general of the Province, William Bakthorp. Whether this action is a totally new departure reflecting the deposition of William Parker from the office of Prior Provincial in 1395 is not clear. It does, however, illustrate that the existence of the visitations was well enough established and accepted for his authority to be given them at this time. According to the Register, the Master General made different kinds of appointments: appointments to teaching posts; appointments implying the function of master of students; appointments to read degrees at Oxford and Cambridge. This power is a development of the earlier practice of the General Chapter requiring the Master General to care for the *studia generalia*, especially Paris. Most of the important teaching posts in the Order were filled either by the General Chapter or by the Master General. The distinctions of appointments made above find their unity in the continuing requirement in the Order to train enough teachers of the quality needed for the various *studia*. At this point only the assignments to read for a degree at Oxford or Cambridge will be considered.

On May 24th 1391, fr. Thomas Crochin who had been lector at Guildford, was given permission to go to Oxford as cursor⁴⁶. In 1393

⁴⁴ Kaeppli, *Registrum litterarum* 171-201.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 186, p. 196 « Die 15 mensis Septembris fuerunt facti vicarii in visitatione Oxoniensi frater Johannes Bromzard, magister; in visitatione Canthabrigiae frater Ricchardus Bachon, magister; in visitatione Londoniarum frater Wilhelmus Brostumber, magister; in visitatione Eboraci frater Wilhelmus Helmeslay, magister, cum omni et plenaria auctoritate, sub regimine tamen et auctoritate vicarii generalis provinciae magistri Wilhelmi Baktorp ».

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 22 p. 173.

on April 1st, however, an even more interesting set of permissions is given for brothers to start on university theology degrees: one from the Cambridge visitation to read at Oxford on behalf of the Cambridge visitation; another from the Oxford visitation was to lecture on the *Sentences* at Cambridge; while a third from the Cambridge visitation was to study at Oxford⁴⁷. The following day, April 2nd 1393, fr. John Cawd was assigned to lecture on the *Sentences* at Oxford, on behalf of the York visitation⁴⁸. By 1397 his studies were complete and he was appointed lector at Newcastle upon Tyne⁴⁹.

On November 23rd 1393, fr. William Scorbinium was assigned to read the *Sentences* in the convent of Oxford, "in the next place pertaining to his visitation"⁵⁰. On the same day, fr. John Winstorpp was assigned to read the *Sentences*, proceeding to M. Th. at Cambridge⁵¹. On December 31st 1395, fr. John Edmititorem was assigned to read the *Sentences* at Cambridge⁵². In 1396 only one appointment to study for M. Th. was made, on July 3rd, fr. Griffin Welfrey was assigned to Cambridge⁵³. This entry also records the names of the masters who testified to Griffin's suitability. On 28th March 1397 fr. William de Snayth was given permission to study for his M. Th. at Oxford⁵⁴. Later in the same year, fr. John Leek from Yarm was given permission to study at Oxford after two years if he were able to obtain the "grace" from the University⁵⁵. In September 1397, trouble is hinted at in that fr. John Lambley was forbidden to take the place assigned to fr. John Edimicton⁵⁶. These appointments were made, on the whole, every two years, 7 for Oxford, and 4 for Cambridge. In five of them, the Master

⁴⁷ Ibid., No. 43, 44, 45, pp. 175-176.

⁴⁸ Ibid., No. 52, p. 176.

⁴⁹ Ibid., No. 126, p. 191.

⁵⁰ Ibid., No. 70, pp. 178-179. « Item die xxiii Novembris fratrem Guillelmum Scorbinium assignavit ad legendum sententias in conventu Oxon' in loco proximiori pertinenti ad visitationem predicti fr. G. et immediate post fratrem Johannem Goadalmrying ».

⁵¹ Ibid., No. 74, p. 179.

⁵² Ibid., No. 95, p. 183.

⁵³ Ibid., No. 113, p. 189.

⁵⁴ Ibid., No. 119, p. 190.

⁵⁵ Ibid., No. 183, p. 196.

⁵⁶ Ibid., No. 188, p. 197. The two variants on this brother's name (n. 52) is an interesting example of the problems of medieval orthography, and of determining identity. (It seems that brother John Edimicton did gain a place at Cambridge, as on January 15 1398 he was translated from Cambridge to read the *Sentences* in the convent at Cologne. No. 212, p. 199).

General was making these educational assignments to the highest level possible, on an explicit visitational basis. The pressure for this kind of study opportunity was very great, as the demand obviously exceeded the supply, hence the establishment of a "queue" for priority. This late fourteenth century written evidence seems to imply that the Masters of Theology needed for the schools of the Province were chosen largely on the criterion of the visitation, and were afterwards re-appointed to their visitation to teach. Moreover, these assignments reflected educational interchange among the visitations. This accords well with the trends emerging from the statistics of confessors, that a good proportion of confessors were ministering in their native visitations. Moreover, it gives written support, albeit fifty years later, to the visitation being the likely unit for the education of the friar preacher.

One last argument in favour of the visitation being the normal unit for the educational organisation is to be found in common sense. Once visitations existed for their purpose of correcting and evaluating the mode of life and work of the brethren, and, given that part of the visitation enquiry was an examination of the education being imparted in the priory schools, it was not likely that a fresh pattern for organisation of education should be established.

The convergence, then, of various styles of evidence: geographical, statistical, written and practical leads to the conclusion that from the latter half of the thirteenth century there is a very strong probability that the visitation was the normal means in which and by which the educational system of the Dominicans in England and Wales was organised. Thus the English province would be similar to the other provinces, especially Provence and Rome, in using the visitations for educational purposes.

IV. INDIVIDUAL SCHOOLS

The General Chapter of the Order of Preachers laid down the general policy for the education of its members. From the first Constitutions of 1228, through Chapters like Paris, 1246; Valenciennes, 1259; Lyons, 1274; the Order showed flexibility and adaptation in its educational means, but always maintained fidelity to its clear aim — the provision of well-educated preachers for the service of the Church. In the early fourteenth century; a series of General Chapters; Besancon, 1303; Genoa, 1305; Padua, 1308; Saragossa, 1309; Metz, 1313; London, 1314; and Bologna, 1315; carried through a further re-organisation of studies in the Order, codifying and rationalising items from the preceding years,

e.g. the rights of students — many of them men in their thirties and forties — the establishment of more *studia generalia*; the clarification of the education in Logic and Philosophy; the authoritative position of St. Thomas in the teaching of Theology. In England and Wales this capitular preoccupation with education took place against the background of dispute with the University of Oxford over the presentation of students for Theology who had not followed the university course in Arts. Apart from curriculum changes, and changes in the organisation of the schools, especially the greater significance of the master of students' functions, the biggest material change in organisation followed from the modifications in siting of schools introduced by the Bologna Chapter in 1315⁵⁷. It was declared that where *studia generalia* were established, because of problems of providing sustenance, *studia artium* and *studia philosophie* were not to be placed in the same priories. The same Chapter, moreover, required that brothers who were studying arts or philosophy courses should not be sent out of their own convent unless there were no teacher for them. If the latter were the case they were to be sent to the nearest house, not one far away⁵⁸. The Chapter of 1335 in London reiterated the regulation of each province having specialised schools for its students⁵⁹. Whether this legislation confirmed a practice which had grown up in the previous decades, as much capitular legislation did, or whether repetition indicates non-observance of the ordinance is not clear. In 1346, the General Chapter held at Brives confirmed the educational legislation of the previous decades⁶⁰. To 1348, then the educational aims and means of the Order maintained a homogeneous pattern.

How far these Chapter provisions were carried out in the English province is difficult to state. Some of them highlight the problems of mendicant poverty in the maintenance of large communities. On the other hand some of the regulations outlined above would have been well

⁵⁷ ACTA II, 78-86 especially 79: « Cū conventus, in quibus sunt generalia studia, graventur fratrum multitudine numerosa necnon et aliis oneribus adeo, quod fratres suos sufficienter non possunt deficientibus necessariis sustentare, volumus ... Studia vero artium vel philosophie ullo modo in eisdem conventibus non ponantur... ».

⁵⁸ ACTA II, 83.

⁵⁹ ACTA II, 229 « ... quod singuli priores provinciales in suis provinciis et vicariis eorum generales et diffinitores capitulorum provincialium provideant de studiis theologie, philosophie naturalis et arcium taliter, quod ad minus in singulis provinciis sint duo studia theologie et duo philosophie naturalis et duo arcium... ».

⁶⁰ ACTA II, 309.

served by the visitational organisation in the province. There is, however, no contemporary written evidence for schools in England apart from the two *studia generalia* at Oxford and Cambridge⁶¹. Nevertheless, if the Chapter stipulations were obeyed, and there is no evidence that they were not observed, there must have been some corresponding development of educational organisation within the English province, one that probably led to a diffusion, rather than a concentration, of schools.

The available written evidence concerns a few priories in the province. The most obvious is Oxford. Established in 1221, it was the only house in England until foundations were made in London, 1224; Norwich, 1226; and York, 1227 (see Map 1). This indicates that novices were being trained at Oxford until there was a sufficient number of friars to make new foundations in accordance with the Constitutions. In 1248, the General Chapter designated Oxford a *studium generale*, that is, a house of advanced theological studies open to students from every province in the Order. The English brethren, however, perhaps fearing the economic burden of "extern" students, or perhaps being insular, did not comply. The chapter of 1261, held at Bologna, took stern action. It deposed the Prior Provincial, Simon of Hinton, and assigned him to Cologne as lector until the Chapter should release him; forbade the diffinitors to exercise office for seven years; imposed penances on all those involved; and commanded that Oxford be a *studium generale*⁶². And it was done. Dr. Little writes:

"Certainly many of the friars mentioned in the Oxford University registers spent all their student years at Oxford; but Oxford was not only a 'studium generale', it was also a 'studium provinciale' of theology, a 'studium artium', and no doubt a 'studium naturalium'. A Dominican might go through the whole curriculum of arts, natural philosophy, and theology, without leaving the Oxford convent"⁶³.

This could well have been true of the Oxford school in the earlier part of the thirteenth century, but, despite the disobedience of 1248-1261 it seems less likely, in view of the dispersal of schools required in 1315,

⁶¹ The records of licensed confessors refer thrice to the teaching function of the licensee, viz. Robt. de Holm', lector at Lincoln, licensed 15 ii 1323; Jo de Wyn-ton, lector at Winchester, licensed 13 ii 1326; Gilbert de Leddrede, lector at Bristol, licensed 18 i 1337.

⁶² ACTA I, 110-111.

⁶³ Little TRHS, 56.

that all these schools remained at the Oxford priory. Even more so, because Oxford was a centre for Theology, places would be required for Theology students not only at the *studium generale* but also at the *studium provinciale*, or specialised school of Theology for training lectors for schools in the Province. As appears later, the Cambridge visitation had a *studium generale* at Cambridge, and a school of philosophy and grammar at Lynn. Why should Oxford, whose numerical capacity was equal to that of Cambridge be significantly different in educational function? Furthermore, Dr. Little gives the impression that a Dominican's studies were continuous. For the Dominican destined for the standard preaching apostolate, the initial preparation, which followed the Order's pattern and was based largely on priory schools, was continuous. But for the Dominican who was selected for training as a lector, there was no such peaceful continuity. After studying one stage of his course, he then had to teach it before being allowed to resume study for the next stage. Very few lectors in training seemed to stay in one place. The real significance of the Oxford Dominican school was its Theology courses, and the possession of a chair of Theology in the University.

Cambridge possessed a Dominican priory from 1238. The foundation of the Theology faculty in the University was made by the Franciscans⁶⁴. Dominicans, however, were teaching in Cambridge, both in the priory and in the university before 1260. The *Vitae Fratrum* compiled 1256-1260 describes Brother William as lector in Cambridge⁶⁵; while Brother Siger is declared to be "famed in life, knowledge and good name, lector in the University of Cambridge"⁶⁶. The regency of fr. Grenesby at Cambridge in 1280⁶⁷; and the record of fr. John Trussebut's vespers for his M. Th. in 1280⁶⁸; and of fr. Simon's role of responding in disputation under fr. John Trussebut⁶⁹ are all clear indications of a flourishing school of Theology at Cambridge, probably a *studium provinciale*, with strong university links by the last quarter of the thirteenth century. By 1314, this school is certainly reg-

⁶⁴ A. G. Little, *Franciscan Papers, Lists and Documents* (Manchester 1943) 135.

⁶⁵ BRUC 640; *Vitae Fratrum* ed. B. M. Reichert, MOPH I (Rome 1897) 273 «Frater Guillelmus, lector universitatis, Kantebrigie defunctus...».

⁶⁶ BRUC, 527-528; *Vitae Fratrum* op. cit. 63 Siger... «Frater quidam, vita, scientia et fama praeclarus, lector in universitate Cantebrigie...».

⁶⁷ BRUC, 270.

⁶⁸ BRUC 596.

⁶⁹ BRUC 528. More background for these three friars is found in A. G. Little and F. Pelster, *Oxford Theology and Theologians* (Oxford 1934).

arded as a *studium generale* by the Master General;⁷⁰ and is described as such by the General Chapter in 1320⁷¹.

The evidence for London is meagre, but significant. In 1314, following the General Chapter held in London, the Master General wrote a letter to the Irish vicariate of the English Province defining the rights he was granting to Irish brethren for representation at Chapters, and for places at schools in England⁷⁰. The Irish were given the right to place two students each at Oxford, Cambridge and London. London appears here in equality with Oxford and Cambridge; not the equality of a *studium generale*, but of a *studium provinciale*. By the early fourteenth century, the General Chapter was developing the practice of assigning lectors to the more important *studia* within the Order. In 1331, the first Englishman recorded, Richard Wichele, M. Th. was appointed lector in Bologna⁷². In 1350 the General Chapter at Montpellier ruled: "We place as lector of London in the Province of England fr. Thomas Hopeman M. Th."⁷³. Thomas Hopeman⁷⁴ probably entered the Order at Dunwich. It seems likely that he incepted as Master of Theology about 1344, and taught at Cambridge. He was licensed to hear confessions in the Ely diocese in 1347 and 1348⁷⁵. In this case he was probably no longer regent master, but still a member of the community. In 1350 then, London was given by the General Chapter a Master of Theology experienced both in teaching and in the apostolate. No other English assignments of this kind were recorded again until 1370, when two lectors of *Sentences* were appointed, one to Oxford, one to Cambridge. The cumulative nature of the evidence together with consideration of its large housing capacity, 80 friars, implies that the London priory contained an important school of Theology, most probably a *studium provinciale*.

Consideration of York which should logically be given here is deferred for lack of direct evidence. Other more general written evidence,

⁷⁰ Hinnebusch EEFP Appendix VIII 506-508. « Ad haec concedo ... quod duos Studentes libere habeatis in Conventu Monasterii Oxon. et duos aequae libere in Conventu Cantabrigiae ... ac duos Studentes Londin ... » 507.

⁷¹ ACTA II, 124. « Item precipit Magister ordinis de diffinitionum consilio et assensu magistris et bacalareis studiorum Parisiensis, Oxoniensis et Cantabrigiensis... ».

⁷² ACTA II, 215 « Item assignamus in lectorem in conventu Bononiensi fratrem Ricardum Wichele magistrum in theologia de provincia Anglie ».

⁷³ ACTA II, 337. « Ponimus lectorem Londini de provincia Anglie Fr. Thomam Hopeman, magistrum in theologia ».

⁷⁴ BRUC 313.

⁷⁵ Emden AFP 32, 189.

later than the period being examined, will now be looked at. The aforementioned *Registers* of Master General Raymund of Capua contains appointments to lectorships and the office of student master, as well as the assignments — already considered — for studying for degrees at Oxford and Cambridge.

On 11th July 1390 fr. Andrew Yakislei was assigned as lector to London ⁷⁶; and on December 1st 1391, the same friar, now entitled Master, was confirmed in London for a triennium. On the same day, fr. John de Badewrllis was appointed lector in Norwich for a triennium ⁷⁷. On April 17th 1393, fr. William Shyrburne was assigned as lector to Winchester ⁷⁸. In 1395, on November 24th, fr. Thomas Yswercke was appointed principal lector at Thetford for two years ⁷⁹. In June 1397 several teaching appointments were made: 20th June fr. John Odington was assigned to London and fr. Philip Raymundi to Worcester ⁸⁰; while two days later fr. John Sygar, having gained acceptance from his students was appointed lector at Ipswich until the next General Chapter ⁸¹. On July 4th, the same year, fr. John de Omstat was "assignatus conventui Ghidefordiae pro studente" ⁸². In September on the 16th, fr. Thomas Truro, Master, was made lector in the convent of his native Truro ⁸³. On the same day, fr. John Cawod who had previously gained his M. Th.(48), was made lector in the convent of Newcastle upon Tyne ⁸⁴. The last appointment in the year 1397 is that of fr. Gerard Koke, "assignatus auditor Philosophiae" for two years at Lynn ⁸⁵. The last teaching post for England assigned to by this Master General was made on January 1st 1398 when fr. Henry Sucton was appointed lector in Winchelsea for three years ⁸⁶. As well as appointments to lectorships there is appointment to the task of master of students. This office, which was a step to qualifying ultimately as a Master of Theology, was found only in communities with a more than local

⁷⁶ Kaeppli, *Registrum litterarum*, No. 16, p. 172.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 26, p. 173.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 62, p. 178.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 86, p. 180.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, No. 151, 152, p. 193.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, No. 165, p. 194.

⁸² *Ibid.*, No. 185, p. 196.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, No. 187, p. 196.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 191, p. 197.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 199, p. 198.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 209, p. 199.

school. On 13th June 1390, fr. John Muren was appointed master of students at Lincoln ⁸⁷.

One appointment was made to the Oxford visitation at Worcester; two to the York visitation at Lincoln and Newcastle upon Tyne; while seven appointments were made to give places in the London visitation — London, Guildford, Truro, Winchelsea and Winchester; in the Cambridge visitation four assignments were made to Ipswich, Lynn, Norwich and Thetford. In the last decade of the fourteenth century, then, London, Newcastle upon Tyne and Truro were assigned lectors who were masters in Theology. The appointment at Thetford was a 'principal' lectorship which implies a theology post. It seems most probable that Norwich was also a theology school as on July 4th 1398, fr. John Endowe was assigned there to read theology for two years ⁸⁸. Lincoln, also, with an appointed master of students, was probably an important school. Gerard Koke's assignment implies that Lynn was a school for philosophy. Guildford possibly had the same scholastic function, as fr. Thomas Crochin had been lector at Guildford before going to Oxford as cursor. He had perhaps been teaching Philosophy ⁴⁶. It is not yet possible to be certain whether the Master General exclusively appointed lectors to the *studia generalia* and *studia provincialia*. What is certain, is that the need for training preachers meant that each priory school had to be a school of theology. But this does not imply that all priory schools were exactly the same. At present, there is no other written information by which to assess the status of the priory schools to which Raymund of Capua made appointments.

Nevertheless, the evidence from Raymund of Capua's Register corresponds with the growth of the appointment system as seen in the Acts of the General Chapter, whereby capitular and magisterial general appointments were made in order to provide a steady succession of highly trained and qualified lectors for the important schools in the Order. Sometimes the system is defeated by the ambition of an individual furthering his own career, a hint of this is perceptible in the rebuke to fr. John Lambley, (56) but it is difficult to discern anything like motive in the terse records available. The pattern of placing by the Master General favours the theory of the diffusion of the English Dominican schools, rather than a close concentration on Oxford and Cambridge. Before drawing any further conclusions, however, it is neces-

⁸⁷ Ibid., No. 8, p. 172.

⁸⁸ Ibid., No. 215, p. 200.

sary to examine information available about the size of priories, venues of the Provincial Chapter; what may be called the physical capacity of a priory to sustain a school other than the standard priory school.

Map 3 and Table 17 record some of this type of information. Map 3 shows three things: the average number of friars in each priory in arabic numerals; the arabic numeral in square brackets of number of friars for whom the priory was specifically built; the number of known times the Provincial Chapter was held in a given priory in small roman

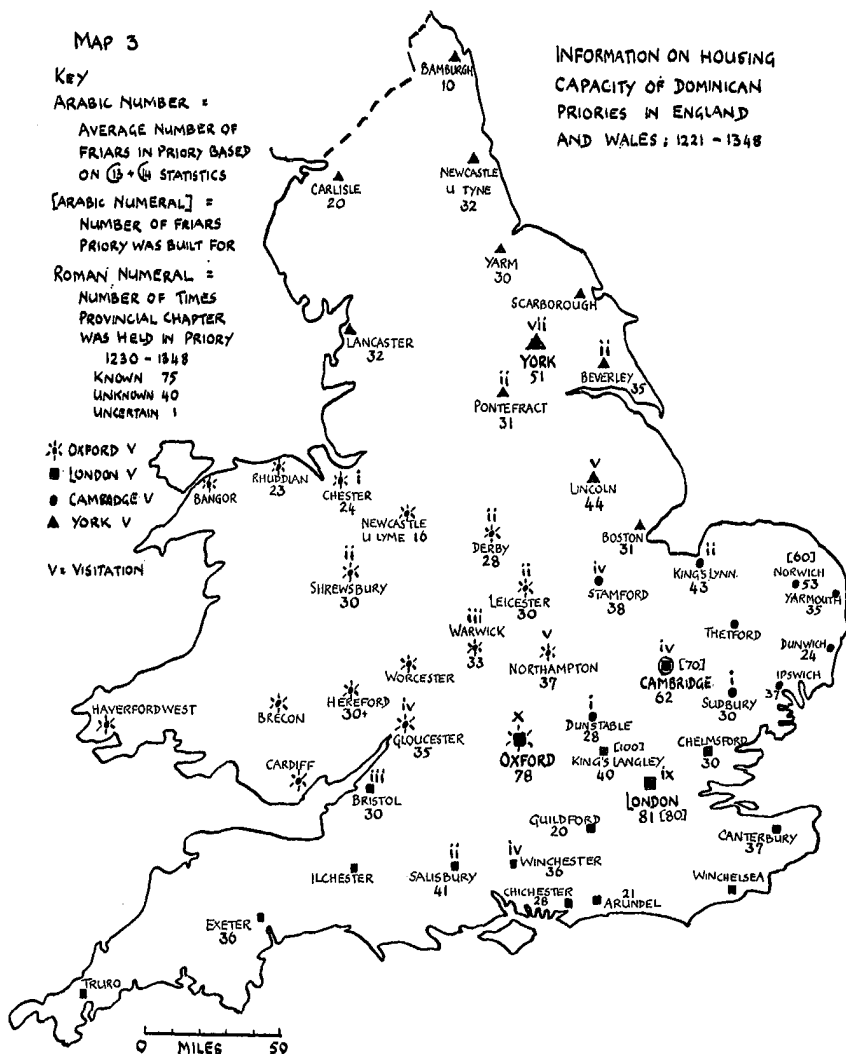


TABLE 17

NUMBER OF OP'S IN COMMUNITY	PRIORIES ACCORDING TO VISITATIONS AND NUMBERS OF CHAPTERS				TOTALS	
	OXFORD VISITATION	LONDON VISITATION	CAMBRIDGE VISITATION	YORK VISITATION	PRIORIES	CHAPTERS
50+	OXFORD 10	LONDON 9	CAMBRIDGE 4 NORWICH	YORK 7	5	30
40-49		SALISBURY 2 KING'S LANGLEY	LYNN 2	LINCOLN 5	4	9
35-39	GLOUCESTER 4 NORTHAMPTON 5	CANTERBURY EXETER WINCHESTER 4	IPSWICH STAMFORD 4 YARMOUTH	BEVERLEY 2 SCARBOROUGH	10	19
30-34	HEREFORD LEICESTER 2 SHREWSBURY 2 WARWICK 3	BRISTOL 3	BOSTON CHELMSFORD SUDBURY 1	NEWCASTLE ON TYNE LANCASTER PONTEFRAC 2 YARN	12	13
20-29	CHESTER 1 DERBY 2 RHUDDLAN	ARUNDEL CHICHESTER GUILDFORD	DUNNICH DUNSTABLE 1	CARLISLE	9	4
UNDER 19	NEWCASTLE UNDER LYME			BAMBURGH	2	
SAID TO BE SMALL	BANGOR BRECON CARDIFF	ILCHESTER		(BAMBURGH)	4 (5)	
NO NUMBER AVAILABLE	(BANGOR) (BRECON) HAVERFORDWEST WORCESTER	(ILCHESTER) TRURO WINCHELSEA	THETFORD		5 (8)	
TOTAL PRIORIES	16	13	12	10	51	
TOTAL CHAPTERS	29	18	12	16		75

numerals. These three sources of information are contemporaneous, so that it is valid to map them together. The figures used for making the average number of friars in a community are drawn from the available thirteenth and fourteenth century statistics. Apart from one Oxford statistic dated 1233, the earliest in the series is dated 1270; while the latest date, apart from one Oxford statistic of 1377, is 1337. So there is a homogeneity about the existing known figures which makes a comparison between the houses valid⁸⁹. Unlike monks, friars were mobile: so that even if annual statistics were available, the mobility of the friars, and its effect on the numbers in a community could not show in a table. Nevertheless, despite this mobility, the average total of friars in any given priory would probably be fairly constant, otherwise the balance between the religious community and the urban community on which

⁸⁹ Knowles and Hadcock, 213-220. In the preface, the authors state that they have incorporated all recent information. This perhaps accounts for some discrepancies between the numbers quoted by them from those quoted in Hinnebusch EEFP. The statistics for Map 3 are drawn from information in the royal records about gifts of money at standard rates for food and clothing for the brethren. This information is collated by Knowles and Hadcock.

the former depended for alms would be seriously disturbed. The information about the Provincial Chapters has been taken from a list of English Provincial Chapters from 1238-1336 printed by Dr. Galbraith in her work on the Dominican Constitutions. This had been collated with the list printed by Bede Jarrett O.P.⁹⁰. This list dates from 1230-1510. Between the years 1221 and 1338 the place of meeting is known for 75 Provincial Chapters.

Table 17 rearranges the map information in a different way. Provincial Chapters to which each priory had the right to send representatives had to take place in priories large enough to accommodate the number of capitulars, even if conditions were cramped. Table 17 shows that the four houses which were the heads of the four visitations fall into the same large category of over 50 members in community, and between them housed 30 of the 75 Chapters of which the place of assembly is known. In the priories whose average size of community was 35 +, the Provincial Chapter was held 58 times out of the known 75. Is it unreasonable to conclude that perhaps the facility of these priories to contain a Provincial Chapter lay in the fact that they possessed extra living space to accommodate friar students beyond their own community? The geographical spread of the Chapters is also interesting. Most of the places where Chapters were held were within easy reach of the existing Roman road system. For men who had to walk everywhere, good roads were an important consideration. Similarly ease of communication could be a factor in the establishment of the specialised schools in the province. Of the nineteen priories in the 35 + size categories, eight — Oxford, London, Cambridge, Ipswich, Lincoln, Lynn, Norwich, Winchester — are priories to which Master General Raymund of Capua appointed lectors, or masters of students. Of the remaining five priories to which he appointed lectors, namely, Newcastle upon Tyne, Thetford, Truro, Winchelsea and Worcester, we have no figures except for Newcastle which falls into the 30-34 category. We know, too, from the records of licensed confessors that Bristol, Lincoln and Winchester had well-qualified lectors at least once in the early fourteenth century⁹⁰. Bristol belongs to the 30-34 category. It seems safe to conclude that the known schools were placed in the largest priories. There are several significant omissions that a glance at maps 1, 2 and 3 will

⁹⁰ G. R. Galbraith, *The Constitution of the Dominican Order 1216-1360* (Manchester 1925) 261-265. Bede Jarrett O.P., *The English Dominicans* (London 1920); Appendix II, Provincial Chapters, p. 228 seq. drawn up by Walter Gumbley O.P.

disclose: e.g. Northampton, Gloucester, Shrewsbury, Pontefract, York. There is, as yet, no direct written evidence about their scholastic function in the Dominican system; though possibly if more existing Dominican manuscripts, such as text books, etc. were studied⁹¹ fresh evidence which could add another piece to the jigsaw might emerge. Nevertheless it is possible to discuss further the position of York. It has been shown that in the other visitations the priory which was head of the visitation contained a significant school of theology. So far no written evidence has accrued for York. The ordination records of the Dominicans for this diocese and visitation are of interest⁹². Table 18 contains statistics for the years 1342-1348. Figures are available for ten only of the twenty one dioceses of England and Wales. This, however, is the highest set of records available in the period 1221-1348. There are no figures at all for London in this period; and it is difficult to identify ordinations for Oxford. In the Ely diocese, however, all the ordination records must come from Cambridge, as that is the only Dominican house in the diocese. The number of ordinations in the York diocese is significantly larger than the number for any other diocese in the same period. As far as visitations are concerned it is not possible to compare validly, as the London and Cambridge visitations are so poorly represented. Oxford visitation, however, without the Welsh dioceses, and bearing in mind the visitation boundaries in the Lincoln diocese totals 42 ordinations for the same period. Of the 54 ordinations to the priesthood in the York diocese, 26 are in York itself. The remaining 28 are divided between Beverley, Doncaster, Newark, Skipton and Thirsk. An analysis of the Lincoln ordinations to the priesthood in the same years shows 2 in no stated place, 3 at Stamford, 5 at Northampton Blackfriars, 1 at Leicester Blackfriars, 2 at Bardney Abbey, and 1 in Lincoln Cathedral. During medieval times the place of ordination was more dependent on the itinerary of the bishop than in later times. In the context of education, however, ordination to the priesthood takes place either at the end, or towards the end, of a theology course. The times between orders differed, but many of the Dominican records show a time span of between two and three years as an average for receiving major orders.

⁹¹ Fr. L. E. Boyle O.P. "Notes on the education of the 'fratres communes' in the Dominican Order in the thirteenth century" in *Xenia medii aevi historiam illustrantia oblata Thomae Kaeppli O.P.* (Rome 1978) 249-267.

⁹² Emden, Survey, Coventry and Lichfield 69; Ely 85-86; Lincoln 123-124; Rochester 169; Winchester 186; Worcester 199; Carlisle 218; Durham 221; York 226-227.

TABLE 18. TO SHOW DOMINICAN ORDINATIONS TO THE PRIESTHOOD 1342-1348

YEAR	CAMEL ELY	SUB TOT	OXFORD VISITATION				SUB TOT	LONDON VIS:		SUB TOT	YORK VISITATION			SUB TOT	TOTAL
			C+V	HERE	LINC	WORC		ROCH	WING		CAR	DUK	YORK		
1342	1	1	✓	1		1	2					2	8	10	13
1343	✓		✓	4			4					3	6	9	13
1344	5	5	✓		2	✓	2					3	13	16	23
1345	✓			3	✓	2	5				✓	1	3	4	9
1346	1	1		3	3	8	14		3	3	✓	1	5	6	24
1347	2	2	3	✓	1		4		9	9			5	5	20
1348			2	1	8	✓	11	✓	✓				14	14	25
	9	9	5	12	14	11	42		12	12		10	54	64	127

KEY ✓ = ORDINATION TO SOME ORDER eg. Subdeacon
 NUMBER = ACTUAL NUMBER OF PRIESTS ORDAINED

Some candidates, possibly older men with much education behind them, could be ordained within twelve months; others, perhaps young men who had not reached canonical age, might receive their orders over four or five years. There is, nevertheless the fact that 26 of the 54 ordinations in the York diocese, 1342-1348, took place in York itself. This together with the other facts about York: that the priory was founded fourth in the province; that it was situated in the capital of the Northern Province of *Ecclesia Anglicana*; that the priory had the capacity to sustain a large community; suggest that the York priory contained a significant school. It is possible to take the supposition a step further. If the priories at the heads of the other three visitations possessed more than ordinary schools of Theology, is there any valid reason that York should be an exception⁹⁸? It seems that the possibility that York also possessed a *studium provinciale* is well supported by the convergence of non-written evidence. Moreover, if the arguments about the function of the visitation put forward in the previous section are accepted as valid, the position of York as a probable *studium provinciale* is further strengthened.

⁹⁸ In the Province of Provence the houses after which the visitations were named contained Provincial schools of Theology.

V. CONCLUSION

The English province possessed two *studia generalia* at Oxford and Cambridge. Only after a long experience of study alternating with teaching did a friar gain a place in the queue to start reading for the M. Th. Highly qualified lectors were appointed to the Provincial schools of Theology. There was one in each visitation, in the priory at the head of the visitation. Many Dominicans who could not, for lack of places, do a university degree at Oxford or Cambridge or Paris, completed an equivalent Theology course within the *studia*, a veritable university, of the Order. All students of Theology, according to the Order's plan of studies, had to study grammar, old and new logic, natural philosophy, as well as Theology. Of all the curricular areas, however, Theology was the most important. It is likely that the organisation of the specialist schools required by the General Chapters of the fourteenth century was implemented in England and Wales on the basis of the visitation⁹⁴. The London and Cambridge visitations have Guildford and Lynn linked with the teaching of philosophy. Should other such schools be looked for in the English province, but in the visitations of Oxford and York?

A number of questions remain: would detailed analysis of the ordination lists through the medieval period throw light on the organisation of Theology teaching, perhaps, too, on the question of mobility of schools; could an economic survey relating towns to priories illustrate the material viability of a school; would manuscript analysis shed more light on the books actually used in the priory schools; and would it be reasonable to try to make a comparative study across some of the Provinces using particularly the evidence from the provinces of Rome and Provence to interpret the information from the English province? Without more information it would be imprudent to take the story further. The picture of the Dominican educational system in England and Wales is incomplete, but there is sufficient evidence to show that the modest beginnings in the early thirteenth century grew into a regionally organised nationwide network in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, helping to provide each diocese with its trained Preachers. The English Province in the period 1221-1348 was faithful to its Dominican aims.

⁹⁴ If the experience of the provinces of Provence and Rome are significant for the English Province then Table 17 probably gives some clues about the placing of specific schools.

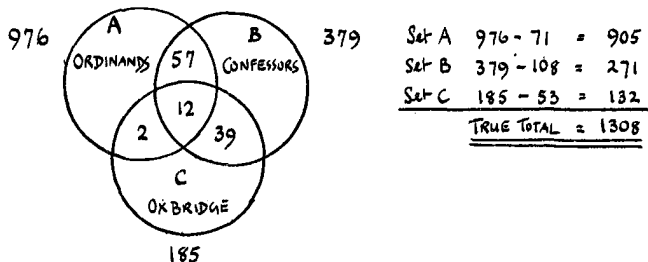
TO SHOW SOURCES OF NUMBERS USED IN TABLES

SET C = DOMINICANS CONNECTED WITH OXFORD AND 185 NAMES
CAMBRIDGE 1221 - 1348
1540

But,

12	names	are	common	to	3	sets
14	names	are	common	to	A	and C
69	names	are	common	to	A	and B
51	names	are	common	to	B	and C

To find the true score a VENN DIAGRAM is used



CONCLUSION 1308 actual Dominicans are recorded to have been ordained, and/or to have been preaching and studying in England 1221-1348. The weight of the numbers falls in 14th Century and latter 13th Century.

BRUC
BRUO
Emden AFP
Emden Survey

1. ANALYSIS OF SET A: 976 ORDINANDS 1267 - 1348

SUB-GROUP	NUMBER	NOTES	TOTALS
1. ACOLYTES	199	including 35 also in group 3.	164 + [35]
2. MAJOR ORDINANDS	736	omitting across diocese ordinands	736
3. ORDINANDS OBTAINED IN MORE THAN ONE DIOCESE - "MIXED" GROUP	76	60 were obtained in more than one diocese but in one visitation	60
4. ORDINANDS IN SET B, CONFESSORS	69	16 were obtained in more than one diocese, and more than one visitation	16
			<u>976</u>

2. ANALYSIS OF SET B: 379 CONFESSORS 1300-48*

VISITATION	DIOCESE	NUMBER	NO NAME	TOTALS
CAMBRIDGE	ELY	25		25
	B+W	24		
	CANT.	10		
LONDON	EXON:	1		96
	SARUM	26		
	WINC:	34	1	
	C+L	10		
OXFORD	HERE:	16		199
	LINC	165	3	
	WORC	3	2	
YORK	CARL	1		36
	YORK	35		
ACROSS DIOCESES		23		23
TOTALS		373	6	379

(* INCLUDING 15 FOR WINC BEFORE 1280)

3. ANALYSIS OF ACROSS DIOCESE GROUP: 23

INCLUDED AS CONFESSORS ON ORDINANDS' LIST

5

ACROSS DIOCESES TOTAL	ACROSS DIOCESES TOTAL
IN ONE VISITATION	AND VISITATIONS
CAMBRIDGE 5	HERE - SARUM 6
LONDON 3	LINC - SARUM 2
YORK 1	LINC - WINC 1
TOTALS 9	+ 9 + 5 = 23

4

ANALYSIS OF GROUP COMMON TO SET A AND SET B 69

CAMBRIDGE VISITATION	0
LONDON VISITATION	15
OXFORD VISITATION	24
YORK VISITATION	4
ACROSS VISITATIONS	26
TOTAL	69

5

SELECTION OF PLACE NAME GROUP

FROM SET B

SIZE OF SET 379

OMIT

1. CONFESSORS ON ORDINANDS' LIST 69
2. GROUP WITHOUT NAMES 6
3. ACROSS DIOCESE GROUP WITHOUT ORDINANDS 18

93

PLACE NAME GROUP = 286

ANALYSIS OF THE NAMES OF DOMINICANS OF SET A AND SET B ACCORDING TO
PLACE-NAME AND KNOWN PATRONYMS, RELATING THESE TO DIOCESES AND VISITATIONS

6

ACOLYTES FROM SET A: 199

VIS	DIOCE	No	NAMES				
			DIO VIS	REG	PATR	COM	OUT UNK UNC
C.V.	ELY	4		1	1		2
L.V.	CANT.	15	2	6		3	1 1 2
	EXON.	8	3*		2	2	1
	ROCH.	4		2		1	1
	WINC	48	6	14	3	10	3 6 6
O.V.	C+L	1	1				
	HERE	32	7	12	1	4	5 2 1
	LINC	22	9	4		5	1 3
	WORK	15	3	1	3	3	1 1 2
Y.V.	CARL.	17	9	7		1	
	DUR	8	3	3		2	
	YORK	25	8	5	3	3	1 2 2 1
TOTALS		199	51	54	14	34	12 15 10 9
%				60		6	7.5

KEY:

VIS/V	VISITATION	* CORNISH
C.V.	CAMBRIDGE	** WELSH ()
L.V.	LONDON	+ DANELAW
O.V.	OXFORD	O OXF. VIS.
Y.V.	YORK	Y YORK VIS
DIO	DIOCESE	LINC) LINC DIO.
REG.	REGIONAL NAME	L.) IN Y.V.
PATR.	PATRONYMIC	
COM.	COMMON NAME	
OUT	OUTSIDE VISITATION	
UNK	UNKNOWN	
UNC	UNCERTAIN	

7

MAJOR ORDINANDS FROM SET A: 736

VIS	DIOCE	No	NAMES				
			DIO VIS	REG	PATR	COM	OUT UNK UNC
C.V.	ELY	26	4	12	2	1	3 3 1
L.V.	CANT	72	6	17	5	11	21 3 9
	EXON	24	4	9		1	3 3 3 1
	ROCH	30	6	5			3 12 2 2
	WINC	125	16	40*	2	15	10 20 8 14
O.V.	C+L	89	24	19 (2)		16	4 12 6 8
	HERE	55	6	13 y	8 (y)	16	3 3 4 2
	LINC	112	28	17 6		15	12 12 9 13
	WORK	72	6	20	4	19	3 5 9 6
Y.V.	CARL	40	6	20		1	5 4 4
	DUR	24	7	6		1	2 4 2 2
	YORK	67	16	7 7	1	6	5 13 2 10
TOTALS		736	129	198	23	90	61 112 51 72
%				47.5		8	15

8

CONFESSORS' PLACE NAME GROUP: 286 (SET B)

VIS	No.	DIO VIS	REG	PATR	COM	OUT UNK UNC
C.V.	21	4	4		4	3 40 1 1
L.V.	73	28	3	1	8	8 15 6 4
O.V.	24	7	4		2	3 1 4
LINC	138	25	61	14	9	8 6 5 10
YV	30	8	2		2	1 7 (w) 5 5
TOTALS	286	72	74	15	25	23 35 (w) 18 24
%			56		8	12

9

LINCOLN DIOCESE FROM SET B ABOVE: 138

DIO	O.V	LY	YL	LV	OUT	REG	PATR	COM	UNK	UNC
25	37	11	11	2	6	14 (5)	9	8	5	10

ANALYSES OF ORDINANDS RECORDED AS HAVING RECEIVED TWO OR MORE ORDERS

10

Table a) 173 DOMINICANS IN SET A WERE ORDAINED WITHIN ONE DIOCESE

VIS	DIO	ORDERS			TOTAL
		4	3	2	
C.V	ELY		1	1	2
	CANT		1	8	9
L.V	EXON		2	6	8
	ROCH			1	1
	WINC		3	30	33
	C+L			9	9
O.V	HERE	1	2	16	19
	LINC		14	23	37
	WORC		1	7	8
Y.V	CARL	1	1	11	13
	DUR		1	3	4
	YORK	2	7	21	30
TOTALS		4	33	136	173

KEY: ORDERS

4 ORDERS = PRIESTHOOD, DIACONATE, SUB-DIACONATE, Acolyte

3 ORDERS = ANY 3 OF ABOVE

2 ORDERS = ANY 2 OF ABOVE

CV CAMBRIDGE VISITATION

LV LONDON VISITATION

OV OXFORD VISITATION

YV YORK VISITATION

11

Table b) 65 DOMINICANS IN SET A WERE ORDAINED IN DIFFERENT DIOCESES WITHIN ONE VISITATION

VISITATION	ORDERS			TOTAL	PLACE NAME CORRELATION
	4	3	2		
CAMBRIDGE	1	1	3	5	2
LONDON		2	7	9	8
OXFORD	2	5	25	32	17
YORK	3	5	11	19	16
TOTALS	6	13	46	65	43

12

Table c) 10 DOMINICANS IN SET A WERE ORDAINED ACROSS DIOCESES AND ACROSS VISITATIONS

COMBINATION	NUMBER OF ORDINANDS
COVENTRY+LICHFIELD AND YORK	3
ELY AND HEREFORD	1
CANTERBURY AND LINCOLN	2
HEREFORD AND WINCHESTER	1
WINCHESTER AND WORCESTER	3
	10

13

PLACE-NAME LINKS IN TABLES b) and c) 75

NAMES	LINK
43	FIT IN WITH PLACE NAMES IN DIOCESES AND VISITATIONS CONNECTED WITH ORDINANDS
12	PATRONYMS
17	NO LINK
3	UNCERTAIN
75	

ANALYSES OF LINKS BETWEEN ORDINANDS AND CONFESSORS

14 NAMES COMMON TO SET A AND SET B : 69

Table a) ORDINAND FOUND AS
CONFESSOR IN ONE DIOCESE

VISITATION	DIOCESE	NUMBER
CAMBRIDGE		0
LONDON	B + W	
	CANTERBURY	1
	EXETER	
	ROCHESTER	
	WINCHESTER	2
OXFORD	C + L	
	HEREFORD	1
	LINCOLN	12
	WORCESTER	
YORK	CARLISLE	
	DURHAM	
	YORK	1
		17

15 Table b) ORDINANDS FROM A VISITATION
FOUND AS CONFESSORS IN THE SAME VISITATION

VISITATION	NUMBER
CAMBRIDGE	0
LONDON	15
OXFORD	24
YORK	4
	43
ORDINANDS FOUND AS 26 CONFESSORS ACROSS VISITATIONS	
	69

16 NAMES COMMON TO SET A, SET B, AND SET C

OF THESE, 82 DOMINICANS HAVE A RECORDED UNIVERSITY DEGREE

DEGREE	CONFESSORS	LECTORS AND CONFESSORS	TOTALS
D.Th. 67+1?	19	1	20
B.Th. 10	2	1	3
D/B.Th. 4	0		
None mentioned		2	
81+1?	21	4	