

Datum anno Domini millesimo trecentesimo tricesimo octavo, indictione sexta, in kathedra sancti Petri.

Original sur parchemin, autrefois muni de deux sceaux. H. 138 mm.; repli 14/16 mm.; L. 220 mm. Sur le dos, d'une main du XIV^e siècle: *Littera fraternitatis fratrum de Superiori Altha*; en écriture du XVII^e siècle: 1338, 26, PP; en écriture du XVIII^e siècle: 728.

MUNICH, Hauptstaatsarchiv, Windberg, Kl. Urk., 83.

Monasteria Angliae, saeculo decimo sexto.

D. D. KNOWLES, O. S. B., anno 1961, t. III edidit operis sui eximii : *The Religious Orders in England*. Tomus tertius in specie agit de : *The Tudor Age* (xiv-522 pp.). Cambridge, University Press.

Angliam decurrente decimo sexto saeculo perturbationes gravissimas perpassam fuisse, tum sub respectu politico, tum sub respectu religioso, omnibus profecto notum est. Saepius iam eventus illi ab historiographis expositi fuerunt. Respectus vero sub quo dom Knowles facta historica illa tractat, veram lacunam complet. Eo quod nobis clarius quam antea ostendit quomodo possibile fuerit vitam religiosam catholicam, aut magis specificè, vitam communem in monasteriis Angliae tam prompte ad finem perductam fuisse.

Ordo Praemonstratensis in plurimis domibus Angliae, inde fere ab incunabulis Ordinis, firmum fundamentum acquisierat. Ad tres Circarias pertinebant illa monasteria (Cfr. N. BACKMUND, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, II (1952), pp. 15-91). De statu canoniarum istarum varia memorabilia a Knowles referuntur.

Priusquam autem praecipua haec memorabilia paucis exponere vellemus, conclusionem finalem operis auctoris (p. 468) transcribimus. Conclusio ista redit ad hoc : Fidelitas firma servetur apud religiosos formae constitutivae Ordinis ! Ita scribit Knowles :

« At the end of this long review of monastic history, with its splendours and its miseries, and with its rhythm of recurring rise and fall, a monk cannot but ask what message for himself and for his brethren the long story may carry. It is the old and simple one ; only in fidelity to the Rule can a monk or a monastery find security. A Rule, given by a founder with an acknowledged fullness of spiritual wisdom, approved by the Church and tested by the experience of saints, is a safe path, and it is for the religious

the only safe path. It comes to him not a rigid, mechanical code of works, but as a sure guide to one who seeks God, and who seeks that he may indeed find. If he truly seeks and truly loves, the way will not be hard, but if he would love and find the unseen God he must pass beyond things seen and walk in faith and hope, leaving all human ways and means and trusting the Father to whom all things are possible. When once a religious house or a religious order ceases to direct its sons to the abandonment of all that is not God, and ceases to show them the rigours or the narrow way that leads to the imitation of Christ in His Love, it sinks to the level of a purely human institution, and whatever its works may be, they are the works of time and not of eternity. The true monk, in whatever century he is found, looks not to the changing ways around him or to his own mean condition, but to the unchanging everlasting God, and his trust is in the everlasting arms that hold him. Christ's words are true : He who doth not renounce all that he possesseth cannot be my disciple. His promise also is true : He that followeth me walketh not in darkness, but shall have the light of life ».

De statu canoniarum Praemonstratensium versus initium saeculo decimi sexti laute edocti sumus ope conclusionum plurimarum visitationum quas instituit prior, deinde abbas et episcopus Redman († 1505). « Registrum Visitationum » Redman asservatur in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms Ashmole, 1519. Editum fuit Registrum illud cura card. A. GASQUET, *Collectanea Anglo-Praemonstratensia*, 2 voll. Londini, 1904-1906. Richardus iste Redham inde ab anno 1459 ad obitum suum usque anno 1505, Visitor Circariarum Angliae fuit nomine Abbatis Generalis. Registrum visitationum abbatis Redham fontem praeclarum constituit vitae regularis quae practice in usu erat in regionibus Angliae illis temporibus. Singulis quadrienniis, interdum singulis trienniis visitationem canonicam instituit Redman in 29 domibus Ordinis. Et singulis vicibus in suo « Registro » notabat tam ea quae statum generalem singularum domuum respiciebant quam ea quae potius casus particulares dicenda erant. Testatur dom Knowles, l. c., p. 40 : « Redman's register has a particular value not only because it includes all the houses of a homogeneous group, but also because it gives for all these houses the records of seven or eight consecutive visitations, together with lists of the communities concerned. It is therefore possible to geth something like an

adequate view of the state of the white canons shortly before the Dissolution. The register, moreover, has several characteristics due to the personal qualities of the compiler. The bishop was a canon himself ; he knew, therefore, the spirit of his order ; he was, besides, ready to praise as well as to blame ; he was billing, on occasion, to assess the relative excellence of a house among its fellows ». Idem notat H. O. OVENETT, *The last Stages of Medieval Monasticism in England*, in *Studia Monastica*, II, 1960, (pp. 387-419), p. 390 s. : « Among the Black Benedictines, chapters and visitations were held regularly, while the records or Prior Redman's visitations of the twenty-nine English houses of the Premonstratensian Canons, in his capacity as commissary-general for the Abbot of Prémontré, enable us to see something at fairly close quarters of the state of affairs in one order which may well reflect that in others. Redman was an able man of county family, and successively bishop off St. Asaph, Exeter and Ely, dying in 1505. He visited each of the twenty-nine houses from six to eight times in twenty-seven years and Dow Knowles characteristically observes that he must have got to know the country-side of his routes very well. The canons were not, one need hardly add, all in the most flourishing condition ; the order had its black sheep and its black spots. But taken all in all, Dom Knowles' penetrating survey of the evidence enables us to form some picture of an order by no means in stagnation, let alone vicious, with a disciplinary organisation functioning regularly and efficiently, and even showing occasional traces of a continuing apostolate. The canons still did work in the fields themselves and in general their houses were economically sound, though not, by comparison with others, rich. There is an appearance (for the most part) of a decent regularity of life and observance ».

Ex iis quae a visitatore Redman notantur, patet statum generalem apud Praemonstratenses in Anglia ad finem saeculi decimi quinti bonum esse dicendum. « The Premonstratensians, though not abounding in numbers and animated by no extraordinary fervour, were on the whole a well-disciplined body of which the members, with certain exceptions, lived a tolerably observant life » (Knowles, p. 51).

Regno Henrici VIII absoluto, monasteria Praemonstratensia non amplius qua talia subsistebant. De suppressione ex parte gubernii illarum canoniarum plurima refert Knowles. Nomine gubernii, Layton varia monasteria adivit, ut de statu eorum iudicare posset

ac modum « aptum » dissolutionis imponere. In annotationibus ipsius Layton, varia de canoniis Praemonstratensibus referuntur. Cum vero hae annotationes Layton conficiebantur ad hoc ut facilius et aptius dissolutio monasteriorum decidi et in praxim redigi posset, dubitari posset utrum ea quae a Layton proferuntur undequaque cum veritate obiectiva concordent. De methodo non raro usitata ut abbatiae Angliae tunc facilius ad finem deducerentur, « surrender » dicta, notat Dom SCHMITZ in *L'Histoire de l'Ordre de Saint Benoît*, Maredsous, t. III (1948), p. 263 : « Le procédé par « surrender » était plus simple, et moins violent. On l'employa sur une grande échelle en 1538. Il consistait simplement à inviter les abbayes à « s'abandonner » (Surrender) volontairement au roi. Deux précédents avaient déjà eu lieu. En 1535, les prémontrés de Langdon, dans le Kent, avaient « cédé » au roi leur monastère et, en 1537, l'abbé bénédictin de Chertsey, John Cordrey avait abandonné au souverain son abbaye en échange d'une forte pension, afin que les revenus en fussent appliqués au prieuré augustin rétabli de Besham, qui devenait abbaye bénédictine avec l'abbé de Chertsey pour chef ».

Methodus ista « surrender », secundum quam monasteria simpliciter sese regi tradebant ut pensio vitalis deinceps religiosis concederetur, applicata fuit canoniae Praemonstratensi de Langdon, postquam Layton accusationes graves in ultimum abbatem (W. Dayton) moverat, quasi iste abbas potui fuisset addictus : « worse than all the rest, the drunkenest knave living ». Monasterium Langdonense sese « dedit », die 12 novembris 1535. Paulo post, ineunte anno 1536, Layton similiter abbatiam de Hornby ad « surrender », astrinxit.

Paulo post, opus destructionis vitae communis religiosae ulterius perductum fuit. Atque religiosis aperte opportunitas proponitur ut matrimonium contrahant. Quod, ut refert Knowles (p. 311), canonicis West Dereham propositum fuit, sed statim a religiosis aperte repulsum.

Maioris momenti erat abbatia de Barlings. Abbas erat tunc Mackerell, episcopus Chalcedonensis in partibus. Huc accesserunt milites, currente anno 1536, atque abbatiae maxima damna intulerunt, et ita et haec domus paulo post ad finem deducta fuit.

Finiente anno 1537, abbatia de Tichfield ad finem devenit. Iuxta Knowles, factum est hac ratione : erat tunc in Tichfield, abbas commendatarius, monachus Ordinis S. Benedicti, John Salisbury, qui, opera Cromwell, factus est episcopus suffraganeus in Thetford

et abbas commendatarius in Tichfield. Iste abbatiam « dedit », per « surrender » regi. (De hoc abbate commendatario nihil dicit N. BACKMUND, *Monasticon Praemonstratense*, t. II, 1952, p. 78). Et ita, ut notat C. L. HUGO, *Ordinis Praemonstratensis Annales*, vol. II, Nanceii, 1737, col. 964 : « Anno 1538. temporibus Henrici VIII. in commendam abierat Tichfeldia, et illi praesidebat Johannes, perpetuum se Monasterii Commendatarium inscribens. Sub tali Rectore dilapsa est cum fide, religionis avita observantia ».

Hac ratione, varia dici possent de strage singularum canoniarum Ordinis nostri in Anglia, quae illis annis omnibus et singulis finem apposuit. Dom Knowles plura de his eventibus scite variis in locis notat. Item in variis appendicibus, accurate indicatis annis, inveniuntur plura scitu utilia de visitationibus ac visitatoribus, de fine singularum domuum, etc. Index (non omissa bibliographia ornatisima) omnes illas indicationes clare summarie refert.

Percurrendo historiam Praemonstratensium Angliae saeculi decimi sexti, statim apparet relative multos episcopos Praemonstratenses tunc in Anglia vixisse. Ex iis, quae, tum a H. M. COLVIN, *The White Canons in England*, Oxford, 1951, tum a KNOWLES in sua iam saepe citata *The Religious Orders in England*, t. III, historia de aetate Tudor dicta, referunt, compleri possunt ea quae olim ab A. ZAK in *Analecta Praem.*, publicata fuerunt sub titulo : *Episcopatus Ordinis Praemonstratensis*, t. IV-V, 1928-1929.

1. Richardus REDMAN fuit ex praestitissimis abbatibus Ordinis Angliae. Cfr. A. ZAK, l. c., V, 1929, p. 144 ; L. GOOVAERTS, *Ecrivains, Artistes et Savants de l'Ordre de Prémontré*, t. 2, 1902, p. 80 ; Egerton BECK, *The Churches of the White Canons*, in *Anal. Praem.*, V, 1929, p. 101 s. Scribit et ipse Card. GASQUET, *Collectanea Anglo-Praemonstratensia*, t. I, Londini, 1904, p. XIV : « Anno 1466, Redman was appointed by Simon de la Terrière, abbot of Prémontré, to act as commissary and visitor in England. — Ms. Ashmole 1519 is an original Register of the acts of Bishop Redman and records the visitations he made and other business transactions he had with the Order in England during the long period at the end of the fifteenth century when he was practically the superior ». Idem, l. c., p. XIX s. : « In 1478, Redman was nominated by the abbot of Prémontré his vicar in England. By this time he had already been bishop of St. Asaph for then years, although he still continued to hold the abbacy of Shap with full jurisdiction, and spent

much of his time in the practical government of his house. Redman was evidently a man of great energy and determination. He found the cathedral church of his see of St. Asaph a mere heap of ruins, in which state it had remained since Owen Glendower had destroyed it in 1408. He set to work to restore it, and when in 1496, he was translated to Exeter, substantially as it appears to-day. In 1501 he was again translated to Ely, and he died at Ely House, Holbort, in August 24, 1505. Practically during all his long episcopate, extending over thirty-seven years, Redman continued to exercise the office of Visitor of his Order in England ». In universitate de Oxford, Redman lauream Artium Magisterii obtinuerat. Quandonam professionem emisit in abbatia Shap non constat. Abbas huius canonice factus anno 1459, paulo post varia munera ab abbate Praemonstratensi in Ordine exercenda ipsi committuntur. Munera ista sibi commissa Redman strenue suscepit. Quamvis difficultates non modicas in his muneribus exercendis superare debuerit, potissimum in colligendis collectis pro administratione centrali Ordinis, gubernium eius iure uti meritissimum celebrari debet. Remanens abbas in Ordine, dioecesis St. Asaph regenda ipsi committitur cum dignitate episcopali. Instauratio ecclesiae cathedralis incoepa a suo praedecessore ad foelicem exitum perducere ipsi datum fuit. Anno 1487, implicatus fuit in insurrectione Lamberti Simmel adversus regem Henricum VII ; favorem regis tamen ideo non amisit ; electus siquidem a rege isto fuit ut simul cum aliis allaboraret paci instaurandae in Scotia, anno 1492. Factus deinde membrum consilii privati regis, anno 1495, translatus fuit ad dioecesim Exeter regendam. Tandem transfertur ad regendam dioecesim Eliensem (Ely) ; moritur die 24 augusti 1505. Sepultus fuit in cathedrali Eliensi ; sepulcrumque eius ad nostra usque tempora ibidem servatum dicitur.

Praeter episcopum Redman, cui vere successive plures dioeceses actu regendae commissae fuerunt, plures alii Praemonstratenses episcopi consecrati fuerunt, qua suffraganei episcoporum, vel episcopi « in partibus », uti tunc designari solebant.

2. Matthaeus MACKARELL, canonicus erat abbatiae praem. de Cockersand (circa 1480-1537). Doctoratum in s. Theologia obtinuerat apud universitatem Friburgensem. Anno 1519, abbas factus in Alnwick, postea (uti videtur, anno 1522) fit abbas in Barlings. Anno 1524, consecratus est episcopus Chalcedonensis « in partibus infidelium », eiusque nomen deinceps occurrit qua episcopus coadiutor in dioecibus York et Lincoln. Anno 1537, simul cum quibusdam aliis

sacerdotibus, mortem subiit, in Tyburn. COLVIN, l. c., p. 321, n. 9, causam mortis ita paucis enuntiat : « His complicity in the Pilgrimage of Grace brought him to the scaffold in 1537 ». Ista Pilgrimage of Grace » erat oppositio armata contra modum agendi regis Henrici VIII. GASQUET, *Henri VIII et les monastères anglais*, trad. J. LUGNE PHILIPON - DU LAC, t. II, Paris, 1894, ita de hac « pereginatione pacis » scribit : « Dans la résistance armée qu'ils opposèrent à la politique royale, les « Pèlerins de Grâce » semblent s'être avant tout inspirés de leurs sentiments religieux. Ils sentaient que supprimer les abbayes, c'était porter un coup fatal à la religion et aux pauvres de ces contrées et causer le plus grand dommage à tout le reste du royaume. La question de la suprématie royale n'était, à leurs yeux, qu'un fragile caprice d'Henri VIII et une prétention sans précédent dans l'histoire ; tandis qu'ils regardaient le rejet de l'autorité papale comme subversif du principe de l'unité de l'Eglise chrétienne et comme un premier pas vers la diversité des doctrines et des pratiques. Ce sont, on n'en peut douter, toutes ces considérations qui poussèrent les comtés du nord à se révolter contre la politique du roi » (p. 96). Knowles (l. c., p. 333) ex sua parte, scribit : « The abbot of Barlings, Matthew Mackerell, bishop of Chalcedon, was tried with others of Guildhall and executed at Tyburn on 29 March. He was accused, and admitted the charge, of having consouled the monks to hide and sell the plate and ornaments of the house. It was suggested that this showed him to have had foreknowledge of the rising, and therefore to be guilty of misprision of treason, if not of treason itself. Mackerell replied that he had advised the liquidation of the abbey's assets because he anticipated that the larger houses would soon go the way of the smaller ones. He was probably speaking the truth, but to anticipate the king's unexpressed desings and endeavour to forestall them was as reprehensible as rising against thim ; in any case the abbot's action was both canonically and moraly questionable. Still, it was not treason. The assistance he had given to the insurgents, on the other hand, might fairly be construed as such. An equitable court would no doubt have admitted the abbot's plausible excuse that he had acted under moral duress, and had given no help beyond victuals, but such a plea was unacceptable at a Tudor treason trial, and the bishop of Chalcedon who, with his canons, had strained more than one point to secure tranquillity, paid the same penalty as a martyr or a rebel ». Remittit Knowles, in n. 1, pag. 334, « for

Mackerel's trial » ad M. H.-R. DODDS, *The Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536-1537, and the Exeter Conspiracy, 1538*, 2 voll., Cambridge, 1915, II, p. 154-4157.

Trium insuper canonicorum Praemonstratensium Angliae, saeculo decimo sexto, evectorum ad dignitatem episcopalem, nomina indicantur a Knowles, l. c., p. 493 s., nempe Iohannes Maxey, R. Burgh, Christophorus Lord. De horum singulorum vitae curriculo pauca refert COLVIN, l. c., pp. 363-366.

3. Anno 1519, Richardus BURGH, successor Rich. Redman in praelatura canonica de Shap, occurrit qua episcopus « Suriensis », vel « Syrenensis », et auxiliaris episcopi de Carlisle.

4. IOHANNES MAXEY, prius canonicus in Lavendon, anno 1507-1518, regit, qua abbas, Newhouse ; deinde, anno 1519, est abbas in Welbeck, paulo post, designatus episcopus de Elphin, in Hibernia, vices agens episcopi auxiliaris de York ; retinens vero simul munus abbatiae in Welbeck et abbatiam de Tichfield « in commendam ».

5. Christophorus LORD, factus abbas in Newhouse, qua successor Iohannis Maxey. Anno 1533, consecratus est episcopus Sidonensis ; adiutorium suum praestitit in dioecesi Cantuariensi, usque ad annum mortis, seu 1534.

J. B. VALVEKENS, O. Praem.

Histoire de l'abbaye de Lieu-Restauré.

C'est dans la première partie du XII^e siècle que fut fondée l'abbaye de Lieu-Restauré ¹⁾. Il n'y avait auparavant en ce lieu qu'une modeste chapelle, à côté d'une demeure, dont la tour ne fut d'ailleurs démolie qu'en 1750, et qui dépendait du château de Bonneuil. En 1131, Luc de Roucy ²⁾, qui fut abbé de Cuissy, demanda cette église au comte de Crépy, Raoul de Vermandois, en lui promettant de la faire desservir par des chanoines réguliers

¹⁾ Lieu-Restauré est situé au bord de la rivière l'Automne, à 9 kilomètres de Crépy en Valois (Oise).

²⁾ Sur Luc de Roucy, voir *L'abbaye de Cuissy* par M^{me} MARTINET, *Mémoires de la Fédération des Sociétés d'histoire et d'archéologie de l'Aisne*, 1964, tome X.