

# Leeds Studies in English

## Article:

Oliver S. Pickering, 'Two English-Language Documents from Pre-Dissolution Marrick Priory, North Yorkshire', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 37 (2006), 415-26

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## Two English-Language Documents from Pre-Dissolution Marrick Priory, North Yorkshire

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Marrick Priory, on the banks of the River Swale a few miles west of Richmond in the old North Riding, was one of the small and impoverished Yorkshire nunneries that struggled through the later Middle Ages to the Dissolution.<sup>1</sup> Founded in the 1150s, it had a community of thirteen Benedictine nuns when it was surrendered to the authorities in September 1539.<sup>2</sup> Two documents in English from amongst its surviving archives, both to be dated within the last fifty years of its life, testify in different ways to its need, perceived and actual, to protect its property and privileges. They are also of obvious linguistic interest, being so precisely localized. We have no way of knowing whether the two different scribal hands represented in them belong to members of the female community, or to one of the nuns' employed male servants, such as their steward, or to a chaplain.<sup>3</sup> The only surviving evidence of intellectual interests at the nunnery appears to be the illuminated copy of the English translation of Deguileville's *Pèlerinage de l'Ame* donated to it by Dame Agnes Radcliffe c. 1500.<sup>4</sup>

The principal sources for the pre-Dissolution history of Marrick Priory are found among the collections of Marrick estate documents held in Hull University Library and Leeds University Library. As is common for medieval English nunneries, the sources are few in number, and the only Marrick document to have been studied in detail is a set of accounts for 1415-16, which forms the main focus of John Tillotson's history of the priory.<sup>5</sup> On the basis of these accounts, of some later surviving rentals, and of comparative evidence from other nunneries, Tillotson discusses the nature of Marrick's income and expenditure, its domestic organization, and the standard of living of the nuns, concluding that 'the impression left by the accounts is of an economy dependent on careful management of barely adequate resources' and that 'nothing [. . .] would suggest anything other than a very modest household by contemporary upper-class

standards'.<sup>6</sup> He establishes earlier that Marrick seems never to have attracted patronage in the form of substantial grants of land, and remained set within its restricted local community.<sup>7</sup> However, Tillotson provides little information about the later history of the priory, in the years leading up to the Dissolution, and says nothing about its post-Dissolution relationship with its immediate landowning neighbours, the subject of unpublished research by Sarah Costley.<sup>8</sup>

Judging by the surviving late-medieval documents in the Leeds collection, difficulties with neighbouring landowners formed one of the priory's principal concerns during the thirty years before its surrender to the king's commissioners in 1539. It had been founded by a Richmondshire knight, Roger de Aske, and the Askes remained patrons until the death of William Aske (and with him the failure of the male line) in 1512. William Aske, in his will, divided the neighbouring manor of Marrick between his two granddaughters Anne and Elizabeth, conditional on their marrying into local families.<sup>9</sup> Anne (who received two-thirds) married Sir Ralph Bulmer, and it is Bulmer's actions, as effective lord of the manor, which stand out as of great concern to the priory, as is clear from the second document, below, and from later-sixteenth-century versions of the same material.

The first English-language document to be discussed (Leeds University Library, Marrick Priory archives, 2/7) is, however, of more general content, although, being an imprecation or 'sentence of cursing', it can be read as a premonition of difficulties to come. It is written on one side of a narrow piece of paper of vertical orientation (405 x 130 mm) in a confident and rather angular secretary hand of the Tudor period, and can broadly be dated c. 1500. In content it severely warns that no one trouble the monastery or deprive it of its possessions, on pain of excommunication and the possibility of damnation at the Day of Judgement. Conversely those who assist the monastery are promised spiritual and eternal reward. The status of the document is hard to determine. It begins as if a continuation of something now lost ('Overmor'; 'þe beforseyd monestere'), but the initial capital of 'Overmor', in size and decoration, clearly marks the beginning of at least a new section. Marrick is not named, and the general nature of the imprecation, together with the use of the terms 'monestere' and 'my bull' and the reference to the 'cowrtt off Rome', makes it likely that this is a standard form of curse, issued by the Pope or his agents for the use of religious houses that felt the need to protect themselves against powerful potential predators, and here rendered into English. It bears some similarities to the 'sentence of cursing' often found in manuscripts containing Middle English prose,<sup>10</sup> but the examples of this

genre so far recorded do not appear to concern, as here, the protection of a religious house. Instead they typically take the form of a parish priest warning the laity about a far wider range of misdemeanours leading to excommunication.

In the version of the text that follows I have modernized punctuation, capitalization, word division, and paragraphing, and silently expanded suspensions and contractions; ampersand has been used to render the Tironian symbol for 'and'. The letters y and 'thorn' often take the same graphic form, as is usual in late-medieval northern English texts, but I have distinguished them here according to their phonetic value. Apparently otiose strokes through or at the end of letters are ignored. Emendations are enclosed within square brackets. Explanatory and textual notes follow the transcription.

*Leeds University Library, Marrick Priory archives, 2/7*

Overmor we commande on all wysse þat itt be noght leffull vnto no man for to dises ne dystrubell þe beforsayd monestere, ne to take fra þam þar possesscyones ne þar gudes, ne to hald þam fra þam, ne to lesse þam, ne to vex ne to trubell þam, ne to harm þam, bott alle þar gudes be to þam saffyd & keyyd hayll & sownde. 5  
For to thar governaunce & sustynaunce þay ar gyffen, and onto þar vsse in thym endless to cum, saffand þe right and þe actorite that falles to the cowrtt off Rome and þe lauffull ryght off þe dyosys, þat is off þe byschope and off þe ersdeken.

Wherffor whatsoeuer he be in tym commynge, man off haly ky[r]ke or seculer man, þat wyttandly & wylfully dar take on hym folely to do oghtt agaynes my bull: oons and twysse & þe third thym [he schall be] ammonysched; bott yff he amendes hys presumpcyon (þat is hys mystakynge), he schall be depravyd off the dignyte off hys powre and off his hous. And weytt he well, for hys wykkednes that he has don he schall be gylty in þe domme off God and putt away fra þe most hallyest sacramentt off þe body & þe blode off our lorde God & our agaynebyere Jhesu Crist, and to be putte vnto þe straytte vengauce in hys laste examynyng. 10 15

Morover, in contrare maner, vnto all thos that be keband, helpand & supportand þe ryght off þe housse [b]e gyffyn the pese and þe blessyng off owr lord Ihesu Criste, swa þat þay may ressayff 20

and take þe froyte off gud werkes in thys world and befor þe strayte  
 juge ffynde þay and take þe medes ande the rewardes off euerlastyng  
 pesse. Amenn etc etc.

25

*Textual Notes*

7. *thym*, i.e. time. 9. *ersdeken*, i.e. archdeacon. 11. *ky[r]ke*] *kyke* MS. 13. *he schall be*] not present MS, supplied editorially. 14. *depravyd*, i.e. deprived.  
 18. *agaynebyere*, i.e. again-buyer, redeemer. 21. *[b]e*] *he* MS.

In contrast, the second English-language document (Leeds University Library, Marrick Priory archives, 2/10) was undoubtedly prepared by the nunnery itself, or by a legal representative of the prioress. It is headed 'Memorandum þat þes be þe artykylles off wronges þat be done to God & ovr lady & Scant Andro off Marryke', and lists a series of ten specific grievances against 'þe lord off þe town'. In this case the text continues on to the upper part of the second side of a single paper leaf (205 x 145 mm), and is written in two less angular hands of apparently later date than that of document 2/7. Although at first written with some care, with each item beginning on a fresh line and a sequence of corresponding arabic numerals in the left-hand margin, the document is probably a draft and not a final, formal presentation of the case. Items 7-10 appear to be the work of a second, less careful scribe, and the writing becomes particularly compressed on the second page, the text eventually tailing off in some confusion, quite possibly unfinished.

Fortunately assistance with elucidation is provided by a number of other Marrick documents, of post-Dissolution date, for this is a tale not of one conflict but of two. In 1545 John Uvedale, a leading government administrator and the royal commissioner who had taken the surrender of the priory in 1539, purchased the whole estate, leaving it, at his death in 1549, to his son and heir, Avery Uvedale, who died in 1583.<sup>11</sup> Meanwhile the manor of Marrick had passed, by 1559, to Sir Ralph Bulmer's daughter Dorothy and thus into the control of her husband John Sayer, who died in 1584. Sayer renewed his late father-in-law's attempts to constrain the privileges enjoyed by the priory estate, to the extent that Avery Uvedale, needing to defend his rights, assembled what earlier documents he could, and copied them out in his own hand. Certain of these copied

documents survive in the Marrick archive at Leeds, all probably to be dated to the 1560s or 1570s.<sup>12</sup>

The most important for the present purpose (though it is physically defective and possibly unfinished) is 3/1/49, headed 'Articles of wronges doone by Sir Raff Bulmer of Marrike knight in the right of dame Anne his wiff against dame Isabell Barningham priores and the nonnes of Marrike'. Uvedale here not only transcribes the articles of wrongs from a document very close in wording to 2/10 (perhaps the eventual fair copy, no longer extant), but in every case supplies detailed contextual information, usually longer than the article itself, about how the point of contention was resolved and how the situation then continued. From this it emerges that a settlement of the original dispute was partly due to the intervention, apparently on the nuns' side, of a Mr Robert Bowes, very likely either the husband of Sir Ralph Bulmer's sister-in-law, Elizabeth Aske, or this husband's brother.<sup>13</sup> The 'answer' to the first article also dates its resolution to 1526-27 ('this claime of the saide Sir Raff Bulmer was determindede by Mr Robert Bowes esquier and others abowt the xvij yeare of king henrye the viij'), evidence that the first dispute between the priory and Sir Ralph can be dated to the earlier or mid-1520s, which may therefore give an approximate date for document 2/10. The original of 3/1/49 must have been written no later than 1530, the year of death of the prioress Isabell Barningham named in the heading.<sup>14</sup>

The two other documents in Avery Uvedale's hand, now 3/1/40 and 3/1/45 in the Leeds collection, are of a different nature but go over the same ground. Instead of being written in the first person plural (e.g. 'we can nott haue no resonabyll way', 2/10), the phrasing is now formally in the third person (e.g. 'whether the saide priores owght to haue a reasonable waie', 3/1/40), suggesting that the two documents may originally have been drawn up by a lawyer. The text in 3/1/45 ('Articles of variance betwixte Sir Ra[l]ph Bulmer and my ladye priores of marrigge abbaye'), which has been crossed through, perhaps by Uvedale when he realised its lack of value, looks to be a first draft at what became 3/1/40: the order of items is close to that in 2/10, and no commentary on the points at issue is yet provided. In contrast 3/1/40 is a lengthy document listing twelve grievances in a decidedly new order, and each is furnished with an 'answer' that at times matches the wording of the comments in 3/1/49. However, there is no mention now of the original dispute having been settled with the help of Mr Robert Bowes and others, and the heading to 3/1/40 ('Articles to be commonide [*i.e. debated*] betwixte Sir Raff Bulmer and mi ladie prioresse and the Covent of Marrigge anno .27. Henrici octau'i') seems to establish that the dispute between the priory and Sir

Ralph Bulmer had flared up again, in 1535-36. But given that there is no reference to a renewed dispute in the commentary supplied by Uvedale in 3/1/49, it may be that '27' in this heading is a scribal slip for '17', i.e. 1525/26. The only textual evidence within 3/1/40 for a date in the 1530s is the phrasing under point 2, 'and the priores encloside another close which her succes[sor] occupieth to this daie', which would seem to refer to Marrick's final prioress, Christabel Cowper, unless Avery Uvedale (who elsewhere in 3/1/40 refers to the Dissolution as having taken place) is here referring to himself.

I now print the text of document 2/10, using the same transcriptional conventions as in 2/7. Emendations made on the basis of document 3/1/49 are enclosed within square brackets. The notes that follow detail the relationship between the two documents at these and other points.

*Leeds University Library, Marrick Priory archives, 2/10*

[*recto*] Memorandum þat þes be þe artykylles off wronges þat be done to God & owr lady & Scant Andro off Marryke.

[1] In primis þe lord off þe town doth mercy vs for apperance in hys cowrt as hys frehold, þe wych we deny.

[2] Item he hath inclossyd a grett parte off the more þe wych we clame enter commone in, & itt lay opyn euer more, ne sufer vs to gitt no eldyng nor no lyng to owr husys.

[3] Item he wyll pay no tende att þe Schaw ffor intakes þat ys latly inclossyd, ne latt hys tennandes pay none, in pane of loseying of þar farmoldes.

[4] Item we can nott haue no resonabyll way to bryng Godes partt fro þe towne feld bott to pay þerfore euery yere.

[5] Item because we wold nott pay mercymntt for þe aftercrope off a certyn grownd callyd þe Pykalles, þe wich we haue þe ouercrope & schold haue þe after, þe last yere he toke an ox to strys, & thys yere he causyd all þe towne cattyll to be put þerin.

[6] Item he wyll pay vs no tende off þe mylne þe wich we haue a specyall grantt off by owr fyrst fownder.

[7] Item yf þer be ony þat mak ony vareans within owr presynkes he wyll nedes haue þe fray [ne suffer vs to haue no stokes within owr self, wherin

we rekkyn þat he dothe vs wrong, for as we trist by owr fyrst ded of gyft þat we ar mayd fre within owrselff].

[8] Item he wyll nott sufer vs to haue no fold to fold þe cattyll þat cumys into owr feld, bott says we schall haue þam to þe towne fold; moreouer he says yff we oppyn ony grownd we schall not haue þe ovre.

[*verso*] [9] Item he hase comma[n]dyd stratly, yff ony of owr gudes cum in þe newe close þat he hase latly inclosyd, þat euere hed schal pay iiijd.

[10] Item a rayn callyd Browdles wych we haue had euer more in pessabyll possesscyoun onto a laytt tyme [and the mill vnder owr howse at marrike], þe wych þe tennandes hathe put vp in þe lordes cowrtt for þe lordes tenement & so hath takyn yt fro vs.

### Textual Notes

Explanatory notes (mainly lexical) are in each case placed first, and textual notes (mainly variant readings), second. MED refers to the *Middle English Dictionary*, which is used as the primary point of reference; OED refers to the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

#### [Heading]

*Scant Andro*, i.e. St Andrew, to whom the priory church was dedicated.

3/1/49 adds *as folowithe* at the end. As noted earlier, it also has the overall heading, *Articles of wronges doone by Sir Raff Bulmer of Marrike knight in the right of dame Anne his wiff against dame Isabell Barningham prioeres and the nonnes of Marrike*.

#### [1]

*mercy vs for apperance in hys cowrt as hys frehold*, apparently 'levy a fine to make us attend his (manorial) court as he claims is his freehold right' (MED *mercien* v. (2)). The commentary in 3/1/49 maintains that the prioress was not liable to attend because she kept her own court. 3/1/40 says that the prioress was a tenant by free alms, i.e. by divine service (cf. MED *almes*(se n. 5).

*þe lord off þe town*] Sir Raff Bulmer 3/1/49.

#### [2]

*enter commone*, i.e. common rights over the entire area. *eldyng*: fuel (MED *elding* n.). *lyng*: ling, the heather, also used as a fuel.

*Item he*] Item the saide Sir Raff Bulmer 3/1/49. *enter commone in*] additional *in* inserted above the line after *enter* 2/10; *entire comon in* 3/1/49, but with *entire*



crossed through and *interest as tenantes in* inserted above the line. *ne sufer vs*] *sufer vs* inserted above the line 2/10, *ne he will not suffer hus* 3/1/49. (With the shorthand syntax of *ne sufer vs*, cf. the same phrase in [7] below. In both cases 3/1/49 has longer, more 'correct' phrasing.) *nor no lyng*] *anye more apon the moore nor pull ling* 3/1/49.

[3]

*tende*: tithe (MED *tenth(e num. 2 (b))*). *att þe Schaw*: the Shaw, a local farmhouse, was where the manorial courts were held (I owe this information to Sarah Costley). *intakes*: MED *intak n.*, a piece of land taken in from a moor or common. *farmoldes*: see MED *ferme n. (2), 1 (c)*, 'a tract of leased or rented land'.

[4]

*Godes partt*: apparently 'portion due to God', i.e. tithe, though the phrase is not recorded in MED or OED. Cf. 3/1/40, *a reasonable waie to carrie her tithe corne from the towne fieldes*.

[5]

*mercymantt*: a fine (MED *merciment*). *aftercrope*: the second or later crop (produce) of a piece of land (OED *aftercrop*; not in MED). *ouercrope*: surplus crop? Not recorded in MED, and not in OED except in the sense of an excessive crop. *to strys*, i.e. as a distraint (MED *stres(se n., 4)*; the phrase 'to stress' is not recorded there).

*mercymantt*] *no merciamentis* 3/1/49. *þerin*] in 3/1/49.

[6]

This item does not occur in 3/1/49 or 3/1/45, but is present in 3/1/40.

[7]

Items [7] and [8] are reversed in 3/1/49.

*vareans*: quarrel (MED *variaunce n., 4*), here seemingly in the sense of brawl. *haue þe fray*, apparently, take over the punishment of the affray (the phrase is not in MED or OED). *stokes*: stocks.

*vareans*] *fraye or varians* 3/1/49. *ne suffer vs to haue no stokes within owr self* [. . .] *þat we ar mayd fre within owrselff*] 2/10 places *ne suffer vs to haue no stokes within owr self* at the end of this block of text; the adopted word order is that of 3/1/49.

[8]

*to fold*, i.e. in which to pen (MED *folden v. (1)*). *oppyn ony grownd*, i.e. dig into any piece of ground (for the purpose of extracting minerals). *ovre*: ore. *feld*] *grownde* 3/1/49. *says (1)*] *sayethe that* 3/1/49. *says (2)*] *sayes that* 3/1/49. *we schall not*] *he* before *we* crossed through 2/10.

[9]

*stratly*: strictly, rigorously (MED *streitly* adv., 3 (b)). *gudes*: livestock (OED *good* sb., C, 7e; cf. MED *god* n. (2), 12 (b)). *hed*, i.e. *headde of cattaile* (3/1/45). *comma[n]dyd*] *n* after *a* not indicated 2/10, *commawndide* 3/1/49. *latly inclosyd*] *encloside latelye* 3/1/49. *iiijd*] reading uncertain 2/10, *xijd* 3/1/49, *iiijd* 3/1/40, 3/1/45.

[10]

This item occurs as item [6] in 3/1/49.

*Item*: in this case to be understood as, 'Another thing there is a dispute about is [. . .]', because an ungrammatical sentence follows. *rayn*: a strip of land forming a boundary (MED *rein* n. (2)). *put vp* [. . .] *for þe lordes tenement*: seemingly, (successfully) petitioned that it is the lord's freehold (MED *putten* v., 26 (b); *tenement* n. (a)).

*euer more*] *more* uncertain 2/10, *alwayes* 3/1/49. *a laytt tyme*] *of late time* 3/1/49. *and the mill* [. . .] *at marrike*] not present 2/10, supplied from 3/1/49. (Much of Avery Uvedale's commentary in 3/1/49 concerns the mill, and it seems likely that the clause has been accidentally omitted from 2/10.) *for þe lordes tenement*] in 2/10 written directly below *cowrte & so hath*, apparently to be read as an insertion after *cowrte*; in 3/1/49 the phrase is placed at the end of the sentence, after *fro* vs.

The northern character of the two documents printed here is readily apparent from their phonological and morphological forms, as well as from their orthography and lexis.<sup>15</sup> The combination of *þay*, *þam* and *þar* for 'they', 'them', and 'their' alongside *gud(es)* 'goods', *fra* 'from', *swa* 'so', and *haly* / *hallyest* 'holy' / 'holiest' is sufficient to place the language of document 2/7 north of a line running from north Lancashire to the Humber (and tends to confirm a date of not later than c. 1500). The assemblage of forms for those items recorded in the *Linguistic Atlas of Later Mediaeval English* would not, however, allow a closer 'fit' than this were the local origins of the document unknown;<sup>16</sup> but there is nothing in it that is not consistent with a localization in the Marrick area. Other typically northern forms and spellings include *noght* 'not', *ne* 'nor', *bott* 'but', *agaynes* 'against', and present participles ending in *-and*; spellings with internal *-f(f)-* such as *gyffen* 'given' and *saffand* 'saving' may also be noted.

Document 2/10 has fewer phonological and morphological forms characteristic of northern England, no doubt partly because of its seeming later date. Thus we find *nott* rather than *noght* and *fro* rather than *fra*; third-person

present-tense verbal endings in -s and in -th sit alongside each other, but the plural form *hathe* in item [10] is likely to be an erroneous hypercorrection to a presumed standard, typical of sixteenth-century northern scribes (cf., in contrast, northern *cumys* in item [8]). However, 2/10, because of its much more specific subject-matter, contains examples of distinctive northern vocabulary, most obviously *elding*, *ling* and *rayn* (all from Old Norse), *intakes*, *tende*, and probably *gudes* in the sense of livestock.

NOTES

<sup>1</sup> For the pre-Dissolution history of the priory, see especially John H. Tillotson, *Marrick Priory: A Nunnery in Late Medieval Yorkshire*, Borthwick Papers, 75 (York: Borthwick Institute, 1989).

<sup>2</sup> Tillotson, p. 3, drawing on *Yorkshire Monasteries: Suppression Papers*, ed. by John Wm. Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 48 ([Leeds]: [printed for the Society], 1912), p. 134. For a recent note on the surrender, with a list of the nuns and their pensions, see Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire*, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series, 150 ([Leeds]: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1995), pp. 525-28. The most recent account of the foundation of the priory is in Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire: 1069-1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 129, 140-42

<sup>3</sup> Tillotson prints an account roll dating from 1415-16 (Hull University Library, DDCA 2/29/108) – approximately a century earlier – but although it comprises the accounts of three female office-holders, it is most unlikely to have been written by any of them; see V. M. O'Mara, 'Female Scribal Ability and Scribal Activity in Late Medieval England: The Evidence?', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 27 (1996), 87-130 (p. 103, mentioning this case). Tillotson discusses the priory's servants in 1415-16 on pp. 13-14.

<sup>4</sup> The manuscript in question, which has been dated c. 1430, is now New York Public Library, Spencer 19. See *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. by N. R. Ker, 2nd edn (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 129; Tillotson, p. 43 (n. 95); and Mary C. Erler, 'Exchange of Books between Nuns and Laywomen: Three Surviving Examples', in *New Science out of Old Books: Studies in Manuscripts and Early Printed Books in Honour of A. I. Doyle*, ed. by Richard Beadle and A. J. Piper (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1995), pp. 360-73 (pp. 362-64).

<sup>5</sup> See n. 3 above. Many of the documents from the collection now in Hull, together with five of those now at Leeds, were printed by 'T. S.' (T. Stapleton?) under the title 'Ground Plan and Charters of St Andrew's Priory in the Parish of Marrigg, North Riding, Co. Ebor', in *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, ed. by John Gough Nichols, 8 vols (London: Nichols, 1834-43), v (1838), 100-24 and 221-59. The accounts published by Tillotson and the two documents now printed here, from the Leeds collection, were not amongst them. For a recent summary of the surviving records from pre-Dissolution Marrick, see Nigel Ramsay and Maureen Jurkowski, 'Medieval English Monasticism: The Records', *Monastic Research Bulletin*, 5 (1999), 43-53 (pp. 48-53). Certain of the twelfth-century charters were printed in *Early Yorkshire Charters*, ed. by Charles Travis Clay, Yorkshire Archaeological Society,

Record Series, extra series 1-2, 12 vols ([Leeds]: Yorkshire Archaeological Society, 1935-36), iv-v: *The Honour of Richmond*, pts 1-2.

<sup>6</sup> Tillotson, pp. 12-13.

<sup>7</sup> Tillotson, p. 7. But, on the plus side, Tillotson shows that the priory apparently made larger than usual charitable donations, and experienced no disciplinary problems.

<sup>8</sup> I am grateful to Sarah Costley (York City Archives) for sharing the results of her work with me, and assisting with the interpretation of the historical background.

<sup>9</sup> See *Victoria County History: Yorkshire North Riding*, ed. by William Page, 2 vols (London: [n. pub.], 1914-23), i, 98.

<sup>10</sup> For an initial survey of manuscripts, see O. S. Pickering, 'Notes on the Sentence of Cursing in Middle English: Or, A Case for the *Index of Middle English Prose*', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 12: *Essays in Honour of A. C. Cawley* (1981), 229-44. For a survey of manuscripts noted subsequently, see Niamh Pattwell, 'A Sentence of Cursing in Pembroke College, Cambridge, MS 285', *Leeds Studies in English*, n.s. 35 (2004), 121-36 (pp. 122-23).

<sup>11</sup> For a detailed account of Uvedale's career, and some information about his son, see J. D. Alsop, 'Uvedale, John (d. 1549)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

<sup>12</sup> The complexity of the interlocking land-holdings of the two sides is well brought out in the crown lease of 6 June 1542 by which John Uvedale first took possession of the priory estate, now Hull University Library, DDCA2/29/122. After a long list of separate parcels of land, the document continues: 'etiam [. . .] omnia terras tenementa prata et pasture infra villam et campos de Marryke predict' *que iacent in diuersis locis insimul inter terras Radulphi Bulmer militis et domine Anne uxoris sue* (my italics). I am grateful to Helen Roberts of Hull University Library for supplying me with a copy of this lease.

<sup>13</sup> See *VCH North Riding*, i, 98: William Aske's will left 'one-third of the manor on a marriage to be made between [his daughter] Elizabeth and Richard, or in default Robert, son of Sir Ralph Bowes'.

<sup>14</sup> For a list of prioresses, see *Collectanea Topographica et Genealogica*, v, 259. Isabella Berningham (as she is there called) became prioress in 1511. She was succeeded by Christabel Cowper, the prioress who surrendered Marrick to John Uvedale.

<sup>15</sup> For assistance with what follows I am indebted to the kindness and expertise of Margaret Laing and Derek Britton of the Department of English Language in the University of Edinburgh.

<sup>16</sup> Angus McIntosh, M. L. Samuels, and Michael Benskin, *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Mediaeval English*, 4 vols (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1986).