Religious Institutions and Urban Society

The Nature of Lay-Religious Gift Giving in Angevin York and London

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Abstract

This thesis explores the ways in which lay benefactors in the cities of London and York interacted with their local religious houses through ostensibly pious gifts and what this might indicate about their ideas of law, spiritual belief and practices, and personal piety and charity c.1150-c.1250. The focus is on the cartulary records of four religious institutions. These are the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell and Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, in London; and St. Mary's Abbey, and St. Leonard's Hospital in York. Using the charters copied into the cartularies, the thesis argues that through a close reading of the source material, with a focus on grants made for ostensibly pious purposes, it is possible to examine the relationship between lay and religious from a nuanced position. Furthermore, research into *Angevin* London and York, seeks to investigate an earlier time-period that has generally received less attention from historians.

The body of the following work is divided informally into an introduction, four chapters and a conclusion. The first chapter is an examination of the purpose and function of the cartularies of religious houses, including a detailed description of the five main sources used. The second chapter discusses the cities of London and York, their citizens and the place (both physically and conceptually) of the religious institutions within them. These are followed by two chapters that seek to develop ideas about lay interaction with religious houses. The charter diplomatic and manipulation of legal patterns in charitable and pious benefactions is the focus of Chapter Three, while Chapter Four draws attention to the specific bequests and requests made by lay donors. What emerges is a visible connection between the donation patterns of the laity and developing legal structures, and ideas of personal piety and charity.

This thesis is dedicated to my wife Helen,

my mother Brenda, two little degu skeep-lings

called Starbuck and Racetrack, and a certain

scruffy little Bichon Frisé called Ragnar,

without whose love and support I could

not have managed to produce the work

that you are about to read.

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<u>Author's Declaration</u>

I here declare that this MPhil thesis is a presentation of my own original work. I am the sole author and nothing was produced in collaboration.

This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Introduction and Thesis Outline

Research Topic and Historiography

This thesis explores the ways in which lay benefactors in the cities of London and York interacted with their local religious houses through ostensibly pious gifts and what this might indicate about ideas of law, piety and charity c.1150-c.1250. Doing so facilitates a deeper understanding of the relationship between the urban laity of the two cities and the religious men, women and institutions that were their neighbours. To do this, this investigation focusses particularly on the records of four religious communities: the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell and Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, in London, and St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital in York.[1]

London was the largest city in England, with a cosmopolitan population of c. 80,000 by the year 1300.[2] Meanwhile York was the most significant northern city, with a similarly diverse population numbering somewhere over 20,000 by the fourteenth century.[3] Furthermore, this thesis focusses on four different types of religious foundation (one female convent, one Augustinian priory, one male Benedictine abbey and one hospital) and asks how urban society used the religious houses that existed around them. It will develop comparisons about the nominally pious interactions of the laity with houses differing in both size and wealth, and in their mission. Further, it will offer some comparisons between practices in York and London, highlighting certain similarities and apparent differences. The outcome is a detailed overview of identifiable behaviour patterns as they pertained to the chosen institutions in the chosen cities. Nevertheless, with reference to existing scholarship, the conclusions reached are placed firmly in context and add to the scholarly discussion of the use of religious institutions by the laity in this period.

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[1] The order in which these are placed is due to the composition of the cartulary manuscripts, as explained below.

[2] C. M. Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.4.

[3] D. Palliser, *Medieval York 600-1540* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 128-129; see also S. Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City 1068-1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 236-237.

Historiography

In asking questions concerning the nature of lay-spiritual interaction in each of the four institutions, reference to the existing scholarship in the fields of monastic and urban history has been essential. Having identified the overall research aim, namely to compare these practices in four different religious institutions in two different cities, it was necessary to examine studies that, while dealing with different specific topics, had similar overall aims. At the most fundamental level, much of the scholarly foundation of this thesis rests with studies into the history of London and York as cities. To name only a few examples, the work of Caroline Barron and Derek Keene, alongside Sarah Rees Jones and David Palliser has been integral to the development of ideas about the respective cities. Each has done much to shape ideas surrounding the development of secular institutions of government within the cities, relationships with royal government, or on topography and economy. The work of Rees Jones is a prime example. Handling sources and concepts from the Norman Conquest through to the Black Death, the research within *York: The Making of a City 1068-1350* examines the role of the Crown, Church and citizens in the overall development of the city.[4] In the case of London, Derek Keene's work was especially useful when examining the topography of the city in the high Middle Ages.[5] Studies such as these helped to frame the ideas presented in this thesis within existing concepts of the two cities and their development.

Beyond the general historical contexts, consideration of the role of religious houses in towns has also been the subject of substantial research. Historians such as Salter, Urry, Slater, Camsell, Harvey, Rosser and Rees Jones have examined the importance of such institutions to the development of urban entities. Principally, such studies have tended to consider the place of the religious primarily from an economic and topographic standpoint, examining patterns of landholding, employment and other similar topics.[6]

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[4] S. Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City 1068-1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

[5] In particular, see D. Keene, 'Medieval London and Its Region', The London Journal 14 (1989), pp. 99–111 and 'Suburban Growth', in R. Holt and G. Rosser, The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1200-1540 (London and New York: Longman, 1990), pp. 97-119.

[6] See especially: H. E. Salter, 'Survey of Oxford (2 Volumes)', eds. W. A. Pantin and W. T. Mitchell, *Oxford Historical Society* 14 and 20, (1960-69); W. Urry, *Canterbury Under the Angevin Kings* (London: The Athlone Press, 1967); T. R. Slater, 'Domesday Village to Medieval Town: The Topography of Medieval Stratford-upon-Avon,' in ed. R. Bearman, *The History of an English Borough: Stratford-upon-*

Westminster, for example, has been investigated by both Harvey and Rosser in order to establish a deeper understanding of the development of that area. In this example, the records of Westminster Abbey proved essential for both studies. To cite just one example, Harvey uses the abbey cartularies and charters as a tool for identifying the abbey's early free tenants.[7] Shaw and Rees Jones have also developed some understanding of the role of urban religious institutions in the development of civic communities, a topic to which this thesis returns in Chapter Four.[8] Such examinations of the importance of religious institutions, particularly in their use of charter evidence, form a corpus of material to which this research speaks. The work presented here has used the same source-types as the studies mentioned above, but seeks to utilise them differently, using close-reading of the texts to identify patterns of behaviour and potential trends in the attitudes of the citizens of London and York to the four institutions.

In terms of religious institutions themselves, various scholars such as Burton, Cullum and Watson (amongst others that are cited throughout the thesis) have worked to understand further the role of religious institutions in the development of lay religious practice.[9] Watson, for example, has contributed significantly the understanding of the nature and purpose medieval hospitals.[10] Burton, especially has done much to expand the existing literature on monastic institutions, especially in Yorkshire and Wales, and similarly has constructed a valuable insight into the early history of St. Mary's Abbey.[11] On urban institutions, Rawcliffe, has examined hospitals in Norwich, whilst Jamroziak

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Avon 1196-1996 (Stroud: Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1997), pp. 30-42; M. M. Camsell, *The Development of a Northern Town in the Later Middle Ages: The City of Durham C. 1250-1540* (York: York, 1985); B. F. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); and G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster, 1200-1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). It should also be noted that each of these scholars has published other works, some of which can be found in the Bibliography here.

[7] Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 115-117.

[8] SRJ, especially Chapter Five (pp. 138-185); and D. G. Shaw, 'Social Networks and the Foundations of Oligarchy in Medieval Towns', *Urban History* 32 (2005), pp. 200-222.

[9] See Bibliography and following chapters for numerous references to these historians and their work.

[10] S. Watson, 'The Origins of the English Hospital (Alexander Prize Essay),' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series no. 16 (2006), pp. 75–94.

[11] For various works by J. Burton, see bibliography, especially: 'St Mary's Abbey and the City of York', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Annual Report* (1989), pp. 62-72, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069-1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), and 'The Monastic Revival in Yorkshire: Whitby and St Mary's York', in eds. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), pp. 41-52.

has studied Cistercian houses in towns, specifically St. Mary Graces in London.[12] These studies often focus upon the institutions themselves, from the inside out. In investigating the lay attitudes to religious institutions and their patterns of ostensibly pious gift-giving, this research seeks to turn the question around, somewhat, looking at the four institutions from the outside (namely from the viewpoint of the laity) in.

Such an approach is not without precedent. To varying degrees, each of the scholars already mentioned have also approached their topics from the perspective of the laity. One example of a scholar who has done this more specifically, though, is Dave Postles, whose work has been fundamental to the methodology and conclusions of this thesis. By investigating the charters of religious houses across medieval England, and especially in the same time-period used by this thesis, works such as 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk' and 'Pittances and Pittancers' have sought examine patterns of giving specific gifts to religious institutions generally, and extrapolate the significance that such gifts might have held the eyes of the laity.[13] This thesis will engage with much of this literature, and seek to expand upon it. By examining four distinct institutions, in the two most significant English cities, and using extensive charter evidence, what follows hopes to build upon the work of all of those mentioned above and develop further the understanding of lay-religious gift giving.

As a final note, it is important to point out that the preceding discussion has only touched upon the existing work on religious institutions in medieval towns and the laity that interacted with them. To that end, some of the relevant, topic-specific, historiography is discussed directly in each chapter. Nevertheless, it is useful to make some general comments about how the overall approach and research mission of this thesis fits within the context of scholarship on urban lay society, religious institutions and the cities of London and York.

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[12] C. Rawcliffe, *The Hospitals of Medieval Norwich* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1995); E. Jamroziak, 'St. Mary Graces: A Cistercian House in Late Medieval London', in P. Trio and M. de Smet, *The Use and Abuse of Sacred Places in Late Medieval Towns* (Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2006), pp. 153-164.

[13] D. Postles, 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk: 'Popular' Devotion Before the Black Death', *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), pp. 97-114, and 'Pittances and Pittancers', in eds. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame, *Thirteenth Century England IX: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2001* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 175-186.

Thesis Outline, Research Choices and Methodology

Thesis Outline

Altogether, this thesis will help to develop understanding of lay-religious interaction in urban communities. It will begin to examine two fresh avenues of analysis by revealing something of the methods and motivations for the donations and interactions between urban citizens of London and York and local religious institutions. Finally, it seeks to develop some answers as to how donations by the laity to urban religious houses enhance our understanding of the nature and development of gift-giving in towns. Working through the various topics of each chapter, it will argue that religious institutions such as monasteries and hospitals played an important part in the spiritual life of urban citizens in a period in which mendicant orders and local guilds and fraternities were in their infancy. Furthermore, they were very much part of the local societies that surrounded them.

Overall, this piece of work is divided into two parts, the first two chapters detailing much of the surrounding context (both historical and historiographic) for the subsequent chapters that deal with two specific aspects of lay-religious interaction in Angevin London and York. The result is that chapters One and Two are both shorter and less analytical, but provide important discussions about the composition, purpose and uses of cartularies, and the history and people of York and London. Chapters Three and Four then seek to utilise the cartulary evidence to uncover more about how the laity viewed and used religious houses for their own ends. Chapter Three highlights legal and diplomatic patterns that suggest that charters of gifts to religious houses were part of an emerging legal and spiritual culture that was manipulated by the laity for their own ends. Meanwhile Chapter Four examines the ostensibly charitable and pious provisions and requests that were added to the charters to reveal details of how the laity of York and London perceived the duties of local religious institutions.

This thesis asks what the ostensibly spiritual grants of the laity can reveal about the role of religious communities in the manipulation of legal practices for pious ends, as well as their position in terms of attitudes towards wealth and poverty. This facilitates an interesting discussion about legal and religious practices of the laity, as they pertained to

religious houses, and to the spiritual wellbeing of the grantors. The first two chapters introduce and examine various aspects of the history of cartularies and charters, followed by discussion of the religious institutions, and the cities and inhabitants of York and London. Thereafter, two detailed studies suggest some models for considering how religious houses were used by the urban laity in terms of legal patterns and apparently charitable and spiritual intent. Doing so helps contribute to a new explanation of the nature of urban legal, religious and social development during this period.

Primary Sources

The fuller analysis of charters and cartularies in the first chapter explains much about the context for each of the sources and the methodology surrounding their use in later chapters. Nevertheless, it is important to introduce them briefly before extensive discussion begins. The major primary sources are the charters relating to the acquisition and management of their estates as survive in five cartularies. There exists one each for Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate and St. Mary Clerkenwell in London. Meanwhile, that of St. Leonard's is in two parts, only one of which, held at the British Library, pertains to the property within the city of York. Similarly, although several cartularies from St. Mary's Abbey survive, only the *Liber G* and *Liber Officiorum* include charters relating to their estate in York. The thesis argues that through a close reading of the charters of four religious houses, it is possible to examine the relationship between lay and religious from a nuanced position, with a specific focus on grants made ostensibly for pious purposes.

Such an investigation is not without precedent. One of the most intriguing studies into the history of Cluny, by Rosenwein, opens with the assertion that 'the processes of property transfers reveal much about the meaning of property in the tenth and eleventh centuries.'[14] In particular, Rosenwein's focus is on the meaning of gifts of property from the local laity to the abbey and how such gifts shaped relationships between lay and religious peoples in that period.[15] To an institution like Cluny, a gift of arable land could have as much significance as a church or dependent house, and to those granting to it

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[14] B. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1989), p. 1.

[15] Rosenwein, *Saint Peter*, p. 1.

their benefactions and interactions were equivalent to dealing directly with St. Peter himself.[16] The conclusions of this thesis are on something of a different scale, placing less emphasis on a single institution and community. Rather, it seeks to use similar methods of historical study to compare, and develop the understanding of, donation practices in two of the most important cities in medieval England.

A further point that merits attention is the order in which each cartulary is discussed, and thus the typical order in which each institution is examined throughout the thesis. Firstly it is organised by city, with the two London houses being discussed before those of York. The principal reason for this is simply that London was the larger and wealthier city and thus it seems logical for it to come first. A further reason, which becomes more apparent in later discussions, is to allow easier contrast and comparison between the institutions of the two cities, including issues with editions and ideas about composition. Within this subdivision, the cartularies have been discussed in chronological order. Thus for London the Clerkenwell manuscript is discussed before the Holy Trinity Aldgate cartulary, while for York those of St. Mary's Abbey come before that of St. Leonard's Hospital. The aim here is to be consistent and systematic in the discussion of the sources, making distinctions between them clear, and the details easier to follow. [17]

Finally, a brief note on Latin translations and transcriptions. Unless otherwise stated, all translations of the Latin sources are my own. In most cases, the translations have been used in the first instance, with the Latin text provided in a footnote below. That said, there are instances (particularly in the discussion of legal patterns etc in Chapter Three) in which the Latin has been included within the main body of the text, with translation either next to it in-text or else in a footnote. At times, the translation may not be literal, as an effort has been made to render the English more intelligible than it might otherwise be. In all cases, the Latin is translated and transcribed to the best of my ability, and hopefully with as few errors as possible. Where errors do occur, the reader is asked to show patience and understanding.

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[16] Rosenwein, *Saint Peter*, pp. 75-77.

[17] While this is the case generally throughout the thesis, there are some exceptions that arise at instances in which it makes sense to discuss them out of order, for example when discussing charity in Chapter Four.

Scope: Time Period, Urbanism and The Laity

On a practical level, in seeking to analyse this vast amount of material it was necessary to limit the period investigated and thus the sheer volume of charters in the cartularies. Of more importance, however, the time-period chosen for this thesis was significant in terms of legal, spiritual and social developments. Thus, focussing upon the latter years and end of the reign of King Stephen, c.1150, until midway through the thirteenth century, c.1250, allows the research to be framed by the emergence of mendicant orders and religious fraternities in England, evolution of the Common Law and changing contemporary ideas about what constituted a city.[18] From a historiographical perspective, this period in English history is also significant in that it falls between the Norman Conquest, and its more immediate repercussions, and the distinctive 'later' Middle Ages. Both periods have tended to receive more by way of extensive study, while work focussing on the 'Angevin' period is somewhat less frequent, especially when it comes to urban religious institutions.[19]

On both a scholarly and practical level, then, this period provides grounds for extensive investigation. The obvious limitation here is that this thesis does not explore the developments of fraternities, and other such topics, as they appeared after 1250 in any detail. A key development in the later Middle Ages, for example, was the foundation of chantries. Much like the additions to donations that are discussed in Chapter Four, supporting a chantry was a method for citizens of lesser means to involve themselves in a religious foundation, even if they could not afford grand donations.[20] Such donations were not found directly in the charters of these four religious houses, and thus have not been discussed here.[21] Furthermore, beyond some brief discussion of the early histories of each institution in Chapter Two, little attention is paid to early donation practices of the

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[18] Various points about each of these, including references to existing scholarship, are made throughout this thesis.

[19] Some notable exceptions include the work of Burton, Cullum and Watson, as cited throughout the thesis and in the bibliography.

[20] D. Postles, 'Small Gifts, But Big Rewards: The Symbolism of Some Gifts to the Religious', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), p. 33.

[21] It should be noted that Postles has pointed out that chantry support was an important part of lay interaction with the religious, as well as part of significant social interactions similar to those discussed in this thesis. Thus, while they have not been discussed here, attention should be drawn to Postles's article 'Small Gifts', as cited above (pp. 33-36).

principal patrons and benefactors. This choice was a deliberate attempt to direct the study away from these forms of grant and more towards those benefactions from the non-patronal laity.[22]

This relates to the thesis' broad definition of 'urbanism' within the context of this project. As discussed in Chapter Two and Chapter Four, London and York were, in this period, undergoing something of a transformation. The establishment of specifically civic institutions, local government and ideas of the city was underway, but far from complete. Furthermore, the extent to which people considered themselves urban citizens is debatable, especially in cases where they did not actually live in the cities.[23] Urbanism, then, refers here less to the people and more to the places that feature in the cartularies. Thus, the primary source material has been refined to include only those charters pertaining to land within the cities and immediate environs of London and York, and discussion and analysis has similarly been narrowed in this way.

In most cases, the 'laity' is understood to mean those members of the London and York communities (namely anyone who owned land or was involved in city business or government) that were not members of the religious institutions under investigation, nor fully ordained members of the clergy and who can be observed in each of the cartularies. Thus, at different times, the thesis discusses members of local nobility alongside merchants, artisans and local governing élites. Of interest are those members of urban society that are recorded in the charters as making grants of land or rent to the religious institutions. As such, the research has a focus on a subset of the population who owned, managed or were involved in urban real estate.

Details about this population for each city are outlined and discussed in Chapter Two, with particular reference to both the various individuals, their offices and occupations, as well as issues relating to relative social statuses within the context of

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[22] Once again, various historians have examined this topic. To name only two, Burton, for example, has discussed the early foundation and support of St. Mary's Abbey and other Yorkshire houses in 'St Mary's Abbey and the City of York', *Yorkshire Philosophical Society Annual Report* (1989), pp. 62-72 and *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire 1069-1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Meanwhile, Cownie, similarly, has done extensive work on the topic in *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England: 1066-1135* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998).

[23] For discussion, see pp. 60-62.

wider social networks.[24] Chapters Three and Four then proceed to discuss particularly significant individuals or grants on a case by case basis.[25] Due to limitations of thesis length and scope, however, the consideration of social networks and how different members of society influenced each other when it came to pious donations is kept relatively non-specific. Rather it is considered in more conceptual and broad terms through trends that can be observed in the charters, and by understanding the legal and sociological ideals that existed at the time.[26]

In Brief

This thesis aims to expand upon existing understanding of the relationship between the laity of York and London, and the religious institutions that were influential in their local areas. Close-reading of cartularies and charters, alongside a detailed understanding of the use of such documents by both lay and religious people, allows for an interesting comparison between both the cities and the institutions. Furthermore, the temporal scope of this research develops these theories in a period that has received relatively little attention. Focussing on a period that saw extensive religious reform at the higher levels of the Church, political and legal evolution in England and elsewhere, and the emergence of new forms of religious expression and obligation, an attempt to assess certain aspects of the mentalities and attitudes of urban citizens provides an intriguing insight into the ways in which the lay and religious communities used each other to navigate the world around them.

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[24] See Chapter Two from p. 59 to the end of the chapter.

[25] For example, the discussion on the sons of Lefwin and their extended families, especially pp. 54-55, and pp. 115-117 especially ns. 209, 211 and 213.

[26] The importance of social connections, for example, is an important part of the discussion of charity and piety, as well as explaining evidence as discussed in Chapter Four, pp. 127-133.

Chapter One

Cartularies as Historical Sources

This chapter introduces the primary source material used throughout the course of this thesis, namely cartularies containing copies of charters recording gifts to religious institutions. It begins with a systematic introduction to the five cartularies that are used, describing each source in terms of when and how it was composed, highlighting certain similarities and differences and finally discussing available editions and transcriptions. The primary purpose of cartularies, both specific and general, is then considered to explain further the nature of this source material. Following this, the nature of charters (the sources that were copied *into* cartularies) is examined. This discussion is broken down into three parts: first, there is an overview of what charters were, how they were used and why they are significant; the second part is a brief comment on the dating of charters in cartularies and how this has influenced this study; the final section then draws some conclusions about the organisation of the charters in the five cartularies that may be indicative of certain developments in, and differences between, London and York. Throughout this discussion, references are made to existing scholarship to illustrate how charters are used and understood by historians, as well as to highlight the more nuanced approach taken in the following chapters.

The Cartularies of St. Mary Clerkenwell and Holy Trinity Aldgate, London, and St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital, York

Before examining how historians have already used charters, and how this informs the methodology of the following chapters, it is necessary to understand fully the specific primary source material used in this thesis. The provenance and date of the cartularies have been derived from printed editions, where possible, and from descriptions such as those in the revised edition of G. R. C. Davis', *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Northern Ireland*. Some additional critical analysis is made of the printed editions of the

London material. Finally, in order to place specific examples into a wider circle of evidence, a discussion of the differences in organisation among the five manuscripts, with some suggestions to explain them, is included.

Beginning in London, then, only one cartulary each survives from St. Mary Clerkenwell and Holy Trinity Priory. British Library Cotton MS Faustina B ii contains, amongst other documents, the cartulary of the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell in London.[27] Bound relatively recently in a single volume, this 111 folio manuscript measures 250x165mm. It has been cropped and is divided roughly into two parts. Folios six to sixty are principally royal charters to the house as well as deeds relating to property not held in London itself. From the sixty-first folio onwards, all charters pertain to property that was within the City boundaries and suburbs.[28] It is worth pointing out here that all but the Aldgate cartulary have wide estimates for their dates of composition. The main reason for this is that precise dates of their composition are not always clearly provided in the sources themselves, and thus it is left to historians, archivists and palaeographers to fill in the details.[29] In the case of the Clerkenwell manuscript, the scribal patterns indicate that it was composed as a single work in the first half of the thirteenth century by more than one scribe, and contains later additions in various hands.[30] Illumination is minimal; initials were written in red or blue, and titles in red.[31]

The printed edition of the Clerkenwell cartulary by W. O. Hassall includes both a reasonably full transcription and calendar of the whole document. The edition has been

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[27] These other documents, which include writs, letters and similar records that pertained to the nunnery, were seemingly included in the process of a later manuscript binding. Dating from the reign of Edward I until the dissolution, Hassall noted that, beyond the fact that they relate to Clerkenwell and its business, there is no direct connection between these documents and the cartulary. It would thus appear that they were placed together at a later stage, perhaps for convenience more than any other reason. (Hassall, p. 255.)

[28] G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Northern Ireland - Revised by Claire Breay, Julian Harrison and David M. Smith* (London: The British Library, 2010) p. 53; and W. O. Hassal, 'Introduction and Appendices', ed., *Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1949), pp. xv-xvi.

[29] M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, Third Edition (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2013), pp.103-105.

[30] Hassal, pp. xv-xvi.

[31] Hassal, pp. xvii-xviii.

commended, although it has some flaws.[32] One reviewer noted that a whole clause following the word *monialibus* (i.e. nuns) in entry 200 is missing.[33] Furthermore, by Hassall's own admission, the transcription only includes the cartulary itself, despite the known existence of other sources of information regarding the nuns' property, some of which have been transcribed separately by Hassall himself.[34] The first appendix also lists documents not contained within the cartulary and provides references for where these might be found.[35] Fortunately for this present investigation, these additional sources are of little direct relevance, pertaining primarily to earlier, and primarily non-urban, transactions, alongside giving details about the rights and privileges of the convent that would be the focus of a different study.[36] Thus, despite some issues, the printed edition was a useful tool in the completion of this thesis.

For Holy Trinity Aldgate, the *Cartularium Prioratus Sanctae Trinitatis Infra Aldgate Londini,* the larger of the two London manuscripts, is part of the Hunterian Collection held by Glasgow University Special Collections (MS Hunter 215 (U.2.6)). In this case, the compiler is named as Thomas de Axebridge, who wrote the body of the cartulary between 1425 and 1427 and even includes a clear statement of intent as discussed below.[37] It comprises 208 folios in a single bound volume, with individual folios measuring 345x235mm, and the text is written in clear paragraphs on both sides. The first seven folios provide a chronicle relating to the foundation and early history of the house, as well as the statement of intent. The rest of the text pertains to land held by the priory in the City of London, with folios 149-200 specifically focussing on the soke of Aldgate and the priory's interest in St. Katherine's Hospital.[38] Illumination is also present to a higher

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[32] For a review see: M. Chibnall, 'Cartulary of St Mary Clerkenwell by W. O. Hassall (Review),' *The Economic History Review, New Series* 4, no. 2 (1951), 267–268.

[33] R. G., 'The Cartulary of the Nunnary of St. Mary, Clerkenwell by W. O. Hassall (Review),' *The English Historical Review* 65, no. 255 (1950) p.277. The missing words in question are as follows: '*ibidem deo servientibus domum meam lapideam cum omnibus', CSMC 54r/200.*

[34] These are a pair of papal bulls relating to the convent, written by Urban III in 1186 and Celestine III in 1194. W. O. Hassall, "Two Papal Bulls for St. Mary Clerkenwell," *The English Historical Review* 57, no. 225 (1942), 97–101.

[35] Hassall, pp.275-277.

[36] Hassall, p. viii.

[37] G. A. J. Hodgett, *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (London: London Record Society, 1971) pp. xii-xiii; for statement of intent, see discussion of cartularies in the next section.

[38] G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 122.

degree than found in most cartularies, with evidence of four different hands at work, providing an ornamental appearance to the administrative document.[39]

A printed edition of the manuscript was produced by G. A. J. Hodgett in 1971, and is a calendar of the whole cartulary. Much like the Clerkenwell edition, this work has proved exceptionally useful as a quick-reference tool and a source of basic information from each charter. Overall, the edition was received positively by historians.[40] However, there are problems with an edition that is only a calendar and it has often proved more productive to go back to the original manuscript. This was especially important in chapters three and four in which the precise text of the charters was required for analysis. Furthermore, Hodgett did not collate the Glasgow manuscript with that of the British Library (Lansdowne MS. 448).[41] The Lansdowne manuscript, alongside two others (BL Cotton Roll xiii.18 and TNA E 164/18) consist of various royal, papal and episcopal charters, as well as copies of deeds in the main cartulary. Most of these are either direct copies of existing material that is in the cartulary, or else pertain to later material that is outside the scope of the present study.[42]

Moving to the material from York, the surviving records from St. Mary's Abbey consist of five separate cartularies, in five manuscript volumes (amounting to a total of 977 leaves), and are held in different locations.[43] BL Additional 38816 and BL Harley 236 are both relatively short manuscripts that include a foundation history, royal charters, fraternity and parish church lists and miscellaneous deeds pertaining to abbey property.

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[39] F. Wormald, 'The Illuminations in the Aldgate Cartulary: A Note', in ed. G. A. J. Hodgett, *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (London: London Record Society, 1971), pp. xxii-xxiii.

[40] For reviews see B. Harvey, 'Review: G. A. J. Hodgett (ed.) The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Priory Aldgate,' *The Economic History Review, New Series* 26, no. 1 (1973), p.162; and S. Reynolds, 'Review: The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate - Ed. G. A. J. Hodgett,' *The English Historical Review* 88, no. 346 (1973), pp.175-176.

[41] Hodgett, p. vii.

[42] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 122. The British Library manuscripts are undated. Lansdown MS. 448 is a fragment of the Register book or second cartulary of the priory, the details of which can be found in Davis, here referenced, or else in the British Library catalogue. The Cotton Roll contains copies of twenty-nine miscellaneous documents pertaining to the priory's churches, and dating from the twelfth century until the fifteenth, and was composed sometime between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with later additions. Meanwhile, TNE E 164/18 is a two-volume collection of rents and custumals of the priory's land dating from the thirteenth or early fourteenth century – again, further details can be found in Davis or the National Archives catalogue.

[43] P. Young, *The Cartularies of St. Mary's Abbey York: A Quick Guide to Their Contents* (Unpublished: York, c.2013), p.1.

Meanwhile *Liber B*, held by York Minster Archives (YMA xvi A.1) contains property deeds for Yorkshire's North Riding.[44] While equally important for the history of the abbey, the remaining two are of more relevance for an investigation into St. Mary's' urban connections.

The larger of these volumes (MSS Lat. 220-221) is held in Manchester by the John Rylands Library. Technically two 'books', with folios measuring 310x230mm, this manuscript suffers from an inconsistent binding and thus complex interspersion of both texts. *Liber C* covers charters from the East and West Ridings of Yorkshire, while *Liber G* pertains to land in the city and immediate vicinity of the abbey. The precise date of composition is unclear, but it seems to have been written during the reign of Edward III.[45] Furthermore, while *Liber G* primarily contains charters that relate specifically to the city and its suburbs, these have lost their original topographical arrangement due to the aforementioned binding, with no clear order; thereby making the deed identification and dating process far more complex.[46]

The final cartulary is the *Liber Officiorum*, held by York Minster Archives (YMA MS xvi A.2). A self-contained codex, bound in the eighteenth century, two parts make up the entire manuscript: a severely damaged calendar and the actual c.1347 cartulary, also damaged, with later additions. Most of part one is lost, while around sixty-four folios seem to be missing from part two.[47] In terms of organisation, this manuscript shows property assigned to certain offices of the abbey, hence the name. These were the sacristan, almoner, builder and plumber, refectorer, infirmarer, chamberlain and an apparent master of 'the common stock of spices.'[48] The charters themselves are then numbered by a later hand, the same that wrote the damaged calendar, providing a useful system of reference and identification. Peter Young has pointed out that some of what is lost can be gleaned from the later additions that cross reference the now lost folios. Similarly, there is evidence of a degree of overlap between *Liber G* and *Liber Officiorum*,

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[44] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, pp. 223-225.
[45] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, pp. 224-225.
[46] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, pp.224-225; and Young, *Cartularies*, pp.16-17.
[47] Young, *Cartularies*, p.58.
[48] Young, *Cartularies*, p.58.

which can aid interpretation. [49] To date, there is currently no printed edition of these sources.

The Hospital of St. Leonard (formerly St. Peter's) in York compiled, in the early fifteenth century, a huge, once three-volume cartulary to list its property holdings entitled *Rigistrum Cartarum et Munimentorum Hospitalis Sanci Leonardi Ebor'*. Volume One, pertaining principally to landholding in the City of York and its suburbs and thus the focus of this study, is held by the British Library in London (Cotton Nero D iii). Consisting of 242 folios, of 395x280mm dimensions, this is the longer of the two extant manuscripts.[50] It also contains copies of royal and miscellaneous deeds and charters that highlight the general privileges of the hospital.[51] The second volume (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B.455) is shorter than the first, consisting of 152 folios measuring 420x305mm, and it contains the deeds to land managed by the hospital in the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire.[52] A third volume, now lost, appears to have recorded some 350 charters concerning the North Riding. The fate of this third volume is unknown, beyond notes made by Roger Dodsworth in July 1632.[53] Together, these appear to have been written at roughly the same time as a single work.[54] The cartulary was, with a few exceptions, written by a single hand, a scribe who appears to have valued accuracy and neatness, and it is illuminated.[55]

In contrast to the London sources, for St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital in York there are currently no printed editions of the available urban cartularies, though some individual charters have appeared in print in Early Yorkshire Charters.[56] Of the latter, David X Carpenter has undertaken the transcription process of the Rawlinson

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[49] Young, *Cartularies*, pp. 60-61 and 17. Some examples of overlap include, but are not limited to, *Liber G* fos. 2r, 5r-v, 7r-13v, 14v-18v, 25r-26v (now fos. 55r, 58r-v, 60r-66v, 67v-71v, 78r-79v).

[50] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 226.

[51] D. E. Greenway, 'A Lost Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital,' *The Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 42 (1971), p. 178.

[52] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. 226.

[53] Greenway, 'A Lost Cartulary', pp. 178-180.

[54] Greenway, 'A Lost Cartulary', p. 179.

[55] D. X. Carpenter, *The Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, York: Rawlinson Volume*, 2 Volumes (York and Woodbridge: Yorkshire Archaeological Society and the Borthwick Institute for Archives and the Boydell Press, 2015), p. xlvii.

[56] W. Farrer, ed., *Early Yorkshire Charters*, Volumes 1-3 (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1914-16).

volume of the cartulary containing the deeds relating to the West and East Ridings.[57] Unfortunately, the Cotton manuscript, pertaining to the City of York itself, still requires much more work. The *Database of Medieval Title Deeds for the City of York,* compiled by Rees Jones, does go some significant way towards a more accessible selection and identification of key data. This unpublished resource acts as a digital calendar of some 4285 title deeds pertaining to the City of York from the eleventh to sixteenth centuries, including those of St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital.[58] This work also inspired the creation of a similar database of the London material, written specifically for this thesis.[59] These databases provided a quick reference overview of the sources that could easily be scrutinised for pieces of information and overall patterns.

The Monastic Cartulary

Business-like, formal and often very much functional documents, medieval monastic cartularies are an exceptional resource for historians. The majority were compiled in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and were, principally, collections of copied charters and other such documents relating to the rights, holdings, affairs and privileges afforded to the houses to which they pertained.[60] They were written for monastic and religious houses to keep track of, and preserve, such information as was deemed important or relevant to the existence of the house in question. Furthermore, cartularies served as memoranda of the various economic and social networks, bolstering claims to support and ownership in times of dispute and, in theory, fostering friendship and patronage.[61]

Ostensibly, then, cartularies were compiled for practical purposes. Yet they also served another, more specific, function for some religious houses. At times, the estate and

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[57] Carpenter, *Cartulary of St. Leonard's.*

[58] S. Rees Jones, *Database of Medieval Title Deeds for the City of York: A Guide for Users* (York: Sarah Rees Jones, 1996) pp. 5 and 9.

[59] This work was undertaken by myself and included all of the deeds found in the Clerkenwell and Aldgate cartularies that pertained to urban property in the time period covered by this thesis. These were compiled from the printed editions by Hassall and Hodgett.

[60] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, pp.xiv-xv.

[61] E. Jamroziak, 'How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered Its Benefactors', in eds. J. Burton and E. Jamroziak, *The Religious and the Laity 1000-1300* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishing, 2007), pp. 153-164: p. 64.

business of a house formed a large part of its sense of identity and history. Records of land acquisition and estate growth were part of an institution's history and thus cartularies sometimes provided something of a 'historical narrative' within the pages of legal documents.[62] Conveniently, the fifteenth century (1425-1427) compiler of the *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate,* Thomas de Axebridge, stated the purpose of *his* work.

> As the world has progressed to such evil and contradicts ancient facts
>
> unless copies of charters are everywhere produced in evidence, I,
>
> brother Thomas de Axebridge called son of John de Cornwall, have
>
> made this rental not arranged under the tenure of each prior but
>
> according to the order of ancient books with the names written in
>
> them, also the tenements and the abutments, so that posterity may be
>
> better informed. O son of the most glorious Virgin urge me forward.[63]

The result is that their uses are widely accepted to be manifold. The data allows not only monastic but also economic, urban and social historians to investigate aspects of their fields, looking at developments within broader contexts. Furthermore, specific information such as people and place names may be taken with a greater or lesser degree of accuracy.[64]

Cartularies consist primarily of copies of charters, both to and from an institution. In most cases, and certainly for those of the institutions examined in this thesis, most or all original documents have long been lost or destroyed, and it is through cartularies that historians must examine these sources. For the four institutions under examination, there appear to be very few remaining original documents from this period. As has been noted above there are other sources pertaining to the lands held by St. Mary Clerkenwell (namely the papal bulls) and Holy Trinity (namely the BL Cotton Lansdowne Roll xiii.18

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[62] J. Burton, 'Constructing A Corporate Identity: *The Historia Fundationis* of the Cistercian Abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx', in eds. A. Müller and K. Stöber, *Self-Representation of Medieval Religious Communities* (Berlin: LIT Verlag, 2009), pp. 327-339: p. 337.

[63] CHTA/8r/31; Translation by Hodgett in Aldgate p. 5, and the latin test is transcribed in Hodgett, pp. 233-234. It is worth noting that while this is a useful statement of intent on the part of Thomas de Axebridge, the making of cartularies was, as early as the thirteenth century, a commonplace and well understood practice, especially in monastic houses. (Clanchy, *Written Record,* pp. 104-105.) It is thus important to remember that Thomas was composing an introduction that was probably built upon existing tropes as well as his own fifteenth century agenda. It should thus be read cautiously, though it remains a useful and interesting insight into why the Aldgate cartulary was composed.

[64] See: Chibnall, 'Review', pp. 267–268.

and TNA E 164/18 manuscripts).[65] Several charters and other documents from St. Mary Clerkenwell do exist, but all date to the period after 1250.[66] For Holy Trinity Aldgate, one charter that is less relevant to this study, but would be for a much deeper examination of the history of the priory, is TNA E40/4913. Addressed to Walter, bishop of Rochester, Thomas Becket grants to the priory the church of St. Mary, Bexley, sometime between June 1162 and October 1164.[67] Otherwise, all other documents appear to date from after the composition of the cartulary.[68] Surviving evidence from St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital follows the same trend, with additional charters being either royal or papal grants, confirmations or privileges, or else coming from a later date.[69]

This presents certain issues. Not least among these is the fact that not every document was included when a cartulary was compiled, and those that were are often incomplete reproductions.[70] A good example of this is the usual absence, or significant reduction, of witness lists as demonstrated by the Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate in which it is common to see only a few named witnesses, sometimes followed by phrases such as 'and others', or nothing.[71]

Furthermore, Michael Gervers has warned that modification, though not necessarily outright forgery, is a possible pitfall when examining these sources and that the 'original' source of the compiler may not have been the original deed itself but rather a pre-existing copy.[72] The late date of composition poses potential problems for historians of

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[65] See p. 14.

[66] For a comprehensive list, see the bibliography of B. Sloan, *The Augustinian Nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell, London: Excavations 1974-96*, MOLA Monograph 57 (London, Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2012), pp. 265-266.

[67] TNA E40/4913. The dates for this acta have been taken from a printed version in *English Episcopal Acta II: Canterbury 1162-1190*, ed. C. R. Cheney and B. E. A. Jones (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), pp. 13-14.

[68] See bibliography of J. Schofield and R. Lea, *Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, The City of London: An Archaeological Reconstruction and History*, MOLS Monograph 24 (London, Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2005) pp. 266-267.

[69] See for example: St. Mary's Abbey charters in W. Farrer, ed. *Early Yorkshire Charters,* Volume 1 (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1914), pp. 207-217 and 264-277; and for St. Leonards, pp. 141-167.

[70] M. Gervers, 'The Medieval Cartulary Tradition and the Survival of Archival Material as Reflected in the English Hospitaller Cartualry of 1442', *Medieval Prosopography* 16 (1995), p. 513.

[71] See CHTA and Hodgett, misc. entries, for example, 72v/361 or 31v/150.

[72] M. Gervers, 'Introduction', in ed. M. Gervers, *Dating Undated Medieval Charters* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp.1-10: p. 5; and M. Gervers, 'Medieval Cartulary Tradition', p. 504.

earlier periods. As already stated, most were compiled in the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries. The later they were compiled, the more likely they are to include, or indeed be composed of, revisions to original content. Meanwhile earlier, more contemporary, documents prove rare, though not non-existent.[73] Furthermore, the compiler's knowledge of events sometimes three hundred years in the past may not be complete. To illustrate this point, religious institutions sometimes acted as legitimised money-lenders and purchasers, essentially exchanging sums of money (usually represented as *gersumae* in the charters) for land, small rents or other gifts, and the charters for this sort of transaction are written in the same way with no obvious distinction.[74] As an example, Thomas de Axebridge appears to have undertaken his work on the Aldgate cartulary with all due diligence, but according to the compiler of the 1974 edition, he remained ill-informed and inaccurate about some points, especially from the thirteenth century.[75]

Additionally, the motives of the compilers must be considered. Cartulary 'authors' were not archivists in the modern sense, and could just as easily be undertaking a literary or artistic exercise as an actively administrative one.[76] These can be somewhat difficult to assess, considering the compilers were not always known and certainly, even when they were, the reasons that they compiled their cartulary is not always clear. Axebridge, for example, is clearly looking for evidence pertaining to properties that would be useful in the event of disputes over land, yet retained something of a historian's narrative flair.[77] The extensive records kept by St. Mary's Abbey, however, are divided into several manuscripts, as described below, and thus not by a single author. In this case, though, the sheer number of charters, and details such as the division of the *Liber Officiorum* between certain offices of the abbey, allow a comfortable assessment that the compilation was indeed administrative and indicative of the importance of land to the abbey's existence.[78]

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[73] Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, p. xv. See, for example, the cartulary of Rievaulx.

[74] V. Chandler, 'Politics and Piety: Influences on Charitable Donations During the Anglo-Norman Period', *Revue Bénédictine 90* (1980) p.65.

[75] Hodgett, pp. xii–xiii,

[76] D. Walker, 'The Organisation of Material in Medieval Cartularies', in eds. D. A. Bullough and R. L. Storey, *The Study of Medieval Records: Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 132-150: pp. 132-133.

[77] This is prevalent in CHTA/8r/31 as already cited, but also generally in the chronicle in the beginning of the cartulary.

[78] Young, *Cartularies*, pp. 1 and 58. See also the organisation of the *Liber Officiorum.*

Nevertheless, the lack of explicit statements of intent often leaves the details up to historical interpretation.

It may then be asked how, with such manifold problems, can charters and cartularies be considered useful. However, as with most historical sources, it is fundamental to proceed with caution, but not to dismiss out of hand information that may be uncovered. Definitive conclusions ought to be avoided, or else supplemented by existing evidence, analysis and context.[79] One practical example is the identification and dating of an individual's term as head of a house. Having such information is in many ways crucial for a discussion on the interaction between institutions and their surrounding environment. The very mention of 'x prior of y' in a charter might indicate details about when a previously undated charter was written, the type of person overseeing it and the duties and interactions of the head of the community.[80] Thus, with a fairly holistic approach, much can be uncovered.

The use of cartularies, and by extension charters, in historical investigation is by no means new. It is important to note that many urban historians rely greatly on cartulary and charter evidence to uncover various aspects of life in medieval towns and cities. For example, on the history of York, Rees Jones has added significantly to understanding various aspects of topographic and economic developments of the medieval city, focussing especially upon the influence of local civic authority and structures alongside the more traditional royal initiatives.[81] Charters, title deeds and various forms of estate records are the primary sources used for doing this.[82] Another northern town, Durham, has been discussed in Bonney's work that, once again, utilises charters to uncover the people and governance of the town after 1250.[83] London and its environs have also

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[79] M. Gervers, 'Introduction', p. 3.

[80] Indeed, they were one of the main methods used in the creation of *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales.* See: D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and V. London, eds., *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, Volume 1: 940-1216,* Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); and D. M. Smith and V. London, eds., *Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales, Volume 2: 1216-1377,* Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[81] SRJ, pp. 1-2.

[82] SRJ, *York*, p. 14.

[83] M. Bonney, *Lordship and the Urban Community – Durham and Its Overlords 1250-1540* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990). For discussion and examples, see pp. 6, 24, 46-47 and 59-60.

received a great deal of attention, with Keene, especially, developing understanding of the city and its people through investigation of charters.[84]

Prevalent in the studies above is the importance and development of monastic or religious estates in the medieval city landscape in England. This is even more explicit in the respective studies of medieval Westminster by Harvey and Rosser. Both studies, by necessity, make extensive reference to the surviving evidence concerning the estates of Westminster Abbey and how this shaped the urban landscape around it.[85] Harvey's work, especially, is significant due to its emphasis upon landholding and economic networks from the perspective of the Abbey, including some consideration of members of the *civic* community and their relationships with both the institution and individual members of the *religious* community.[86]

Only a few of the scholars and studies that have worked on medieval towns and religious houses whilst using cartularies and charters are named above, but others have been useful in the development of this thesis and are referenced in various places in the following discussion. It is worth noting, however, that many of these examples are concerned primarily with patterns of estate management, land-holding and topography rather than individual people and their needs and desires. Similarly, research by monastic historians such as Burton, Jamroziak and others, have more often used charters to investigate the history of abbeys or religious orders, but focus on the history of the institutions/orders themselves.[87] The work contained in these pages, then, seeks to some

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[84] See D. Keene, 'From Conquest to Capital: St Paul's c1100-1300', in eds. D. Keene, A Burns and A. Saint, *St Paul's: The Cathedral Church of London 604-2004* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 17-32, and 'Medieval London and Its Region', *The London Journal 14* (1989), pp. 99–111.

[85] B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*; and G. Rosser, 'The Essence of Medieval Urban Communities: The Vill of Westminster, 1200-1540', ed. R. Hold and G. Rosser, *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History: 1200-1540* (London and New York: Longman Publishing, 1990), pp. 216–237, and *Medieval Westminster*.

[86] See for example, Harvey, *Westminster Abbey*, pp. 2, 37-40 and 115-117.

[87] See for example, Jamroziak, 'St. Mary Graces', pp. 153-164; and J. Burton, 'Citadels of God: Monasteries, Violence, and the Struggle for Power in Northern England, 1135-1154', *Anglo-Norman Studies 31: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2008* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), pp. 17-30, and 'Documenting the Lives of Medieval Nuns', in eds. J. Boffey and V. Davis, *Recording Medieval Lives: Proceedings of the Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2009), pp. 14-24. It should be noted, however, that there have also been articles that *do* address similar issues to this thesis, and these should not be over looked. Such studies include, but are far from limited to: J. Burton, 'St Mary's Abbey'; P. H. Cullum 'St. Leonard's Hospital, York: The Spatial and Social Analysis of an

extent to bridge the gap between these approaches and thus build a greater understanding of the function and role of religious institutions in urban environments.

Charters: The Material that Makes a Cartulary

Put simply, charters were written records of transactions usually made between two parties (for example a religious house and a local citizen). They were principally legal documents, designed, through both their use and language, to solidify a transfer of property and ensure obligations such as regular payment of rents, effective ownership or hereditary rights were met.[88] Technically, any form of property could be conveyed in a charter. However, the predominant concern of most were the rights over land and associated rents or income. Furthermore, Michael Clanchy described charters as being 'a kind of open testimonial', providing a legitimate legal document to a verbal agreement.[89] Yet, as the following chapters demonstrate, charters were not just legal documents representing the spoken word. They also embodied symbolic and pious evidence of a transaction taking place, often representing a deeper connection between donor and recipient.[90]

Though extant before 1066, in many ways it was after the conquest that such written testimonials acquired greatest importance. Transactions such as the post-obit gift or other conveyances were predominantly legitimised by ceremony and symbolic oral transmission.[91] However, Hudson suggests that, where they were written down, one might often find evidence of deviation from normal practice.[92] Yet moving later into the Anglo-Norman period and beyond, written record began to take precedence over the traditional ceremonies. Overall, usage of charters increased to the point where a

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Augustinian Hospital', in eds. R. Gilchrist and H. Mytum, *Advances in Monastic Archaeology* (British Archaeological Reports British Series, 227, 1993), pp. 11-18, and though discussing early-medieval material, Rosenwein, *Saint Peter.*

[88] J. Hudson, *Land, Law and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), p. 57.

[89] Clanchy, *Written Record,* p. 87.

[90] Hudson, *Land, Law and Lordship,* p. 164.

[91] Sheehan, *The Will,* pp. 107-108 and 111-113; and Clanchy, *Memory to Written Record,* p. 54.

[92] Hudson, *Land Law and Lordship,* p. 4.

transaction was not considered valid without at least one. Indeed, by the mid-thirteenth century, the developing Common Law in England rendered them a legal necessity.[93]

A degree of regularisation of form was a natural development of this increased usage. Put briefly, documents such as these were ultimately produced in huge numbers by the later Middle Ages and were predominantly written by the professional scribes and clerks. These *scriptores* or *clerici* are difficult to identify, rarely being explicitly named in charters.[94] Scholars, such as Hodson and Postles, have explored theories and methods that seek to discover more about these elusive figures, especially cases in which they were the 'last witness,' though overall this practise was not automatic.[95] In most cases they remain unknown.

In general, these scribes developed structures that could more easily be copied and pasted many times over. However, there were differences depending on scribe and region, and there was never any single 'official' form for charters. Furthermore, for charters, it was only after around 1250 that more stringent regulations began to affect how documents were composed.[96] Nevertheless, it can be said that the language that was used developed into fairly recognisable, if flexible, formulae that are common across the period.[97] Indeed, the significance of patterns of change in charter diplomatic has been observed as indicative of developing legal terminology.[98] The importance of the charter

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[93] M. Sheehan, *The Will in Medieval England: From the Conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1963), p. 113; and Clanchy, *Written Record*, pp. 54-55.

[94] D. Postles, 'County *Clerici* and the Composition of English Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Charters', in ed. K. Heidecker, *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society: Utrecht Studies in Medieval Literacy Vol. 5* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), pp. 27-42: p. 32.

[95] Postles, 'County Clerici'; and J. H. Hodson, ''Medieval Charters: The Last Witness', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 5 (1974), esp. pp. 75-76.

[96] Clanchy, *Written Record*, p. 87, M. Chibnall, 'Dating the Charters of the Smaller Religious Houses in Suffolk in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' in ed. M. Gervers, *Dating Undated Medieval Charters* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 51-60: pp. 54-56; V. Gazeau, 'Recherches Autour De La Dation Des Actes Normands Aux Xe-XIIe Siècles' in ed. M. Gervers, *Dating Undated Medieval Charters* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2000), pp. 61-80: pp. 69-70.

[97] This has been integral to the work of Michael Gervers and others, who have used these patterns, and specifically the changes over time, as a method of dating charters that otherwise have no obvious indication of their time of composition. This has been a relatively common palaeographical practice, but has, more especially, been undertaken on a larger scale by projects such as DEEDS at the University of Toronto in the 2000s. More information about this can be found in the various articles included in M. Gervers, ed. *Dating Undated Medieval Charters* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002).

[98] Chibnall, 'Dating the Charters', pp. 52-53.

diplomatic that is observed in these cartularies is a significant component of Chapter Three. The language used is indicative of legal patterns, changes and responses to wider historical events.

Beneath the surface of the legal formulae, there remains a certain flavour of the donor's original intent. Even when a charter was written by a professional scribe or clerk the actual desires of the grantor would often form the body of the text. Furthermore, contrary to a common assumption, charters to religious institutions were not necessarily composed exclusively by the beneficiary.[99] Writing, in this period, was a skill of its own rather than a partner to reading as it is today; many people, so it has been argued, could actually read, even if they could not write. Thus, while a grantor may not have capable of writing down a document him/herself, the reliance on scribes and dictation was simply a necessary utilisation of a skilled person.[100] Some grantors would have been able to read and change the document, and would certainly have had to agree to the text as it was. Furthermore, widespread understanding of the legal formulae, and thus how things should be said, would have been common, resulting in a greater awareness of how to phrase things officially, yet still get a point or desire across.[101]

When it comes to grants to religious houses, there exists an additional, spiritual, dimension to the composition of charters, which is a principal focus of this thesis. While many donations and transactions were temporal in nature, the charters of religious houses from c.1150-1260 form a corpus of material that can be used to analyse certain spiritual intentions. This was especially the case once, as John Arnold explains, the development of firmer purgatorial ideas throughout the thirteenth century meant that there was an increasing feeling that prayers and good deeds in life (including gifts to religious institutions) could assist not only one's own soul, but also those of others, in the afterlife.[102]

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[99] Postles, 'County *Clerici*', p.29.
[100] Clanchy, *Written Record*, p. 234.
[101] Clanchy, *Written Record*, p. 234; and M. Chibnall, 'Dating the Charters', p. 52.
[102] J. H. Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief in Medieval Europe* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005), p. 163. While purgatorial beliefs were developed more substantially after 1250, concern for the afterlife was still a very prevalent part of medieval Christianity. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapters Three and Four, the ideas of what was required of a good Christian were developing in this period, and such developments had a noticeable effect on the donation patterns.

One consequence of this development was the increasingly common usage of the last will and testament, particularly towards the end of the period studied and into the second half of the thirteenth century. These were envisioned by the testator to provide for those left behind, but more especially designed to make sure that their soul was in good hands. Donations to churches, charitable acts and many other things included in this formal document, left the dying person certain that provisions would be made, not only for the disposal of worldly goods, but also for the health of the soul.[103] Yet the written will remained relatively rare until the mid-thirteenth century, at which point the form and content started to assume regular patterns. Indeed, until that point, a 'will' was not largely distinct from a charter, normally absorbing aspects of the latter's form and structure.[104] In England at that time, most people divided their contents orally before witnesses when on their deathbed. At times, these were written down, but it was not until this development that such steadfast legal and moral force was granted to these documents.[105]

Yet for many people, post-mortem concern was something also considered during their lifetime and it was in charters that they could provide for the benefit of their everlasting soul. Before the written will, the most 'official' method of marking concern for one's soul to posterity was through gifts to a religious institution. Written charters granting such gifts offered the opportunity for medieval men and women to commit their soul to God in full view of witnesses, religious authorities and God himself. Indeed, John Hudson noted their very public nature that was not only a point of law, securing the validity of a gift and combating challenges, but also a key part of spiritual and social interaction. The swearing of oaths, pledging of faith and support of witnesses all played a key part in securing both the temporal land and the spiritual soul.[106] In both chapters three and four, this religious aspect of charters is central to the analysis of source material. The 'legal' provisions for souls and for ostensibly pious purposes reveal more than just linguistic difference and arbitrary statements, and can be used to investigate something of the mind-set of the medieval laity when it came to grants to religious houses.

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[103] Clanchy, *Written Record*, p. 234.

[104] M. Sheehan, *The Will*, pp. 142-144 and 193.

[105] Sheehan, *The Will*, pp. 113,144-147 and 187; and M. Clanchy, *Written Record*, p.256.

[106] Hudson, *Land Law and Lordship*, pp. 157-159.

Dating Charters and the Scope of this Study

The date of the charters under investigation is a significant part of Chapter Three, and thus a topic to which this thesis returns.[107] However, it is worth noting here some issues and general trends inherent in this material, specifically, where the charters in the stated time-frame fit in relation to the rest of the cartularies in which they are found. Almost all the charters in the five cartularies are undated in the original text itself. This is a problem inherent in surviving English charters in general, probably due to the Norman tradition of 'brevity and conciseness' when composing such documents.[108] Indeed, such was the scale of this absence of a date that Michael Gervers suggests that those anomalous examples that do have them are significantly more likely to be forgeries, deliberately written to add temporal force to a given transaction.[109]

The somewhat ambiguous dating of many of the charters means that a precise timescale is impossible, but giving or taking some years on either side, this study focusses on charters ostensibly written in the century occurring post-Anarchy, c.1155-c.1255. Of Holy Trinity Aldgate, the earliest charters investigated here date to the priorate of Ralph beginning in 1147.[110] Using Hodgett's complete 'Chronological Table of Contents', with the exclusion of Husting pleas, papal letters and other such entries, the cartulary contains some 460 charters dating from 1042 until 1426. Of these, 272 date from 1147-1260, meaning that the period in question accounts for 59% of the available cartulary data. Furthermore, after one other peak in the early 1270s, from this point Holy Trinity's market appears to have levelled out, with significantly fewer new charters per year.[111] A similar trend may be observed in the Clerkenwell material in which the earliest charter dates to c.1150.[112] Excluding royal charters, the total number of urban charters relating to London is 145, compared to 213 country deeds, accounting for around 40% of the total between 1150/80 and 1250/70. Ninety of these documents (61%) occur after the turn of the century, making

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[107] See from p. 80.
[108] Gervers, 'Introduction', pp. 9-10.
[109] Gervers, 'Introduction', pp. 4-5.
[110] See for example: CHTA/154v/895 and 165v/948.
[111] Hodgett, pp.xxiv-xxvii.
[112] CSMC/84v/302.

up 25% of the entire cartulary. These same ninety charters, too, are double the amount pertaining to rural property post-1200, which stands at a mere forty-three.[113]

As already discussed, the material from York is somewhat less complete (and certainly less straightforward) than is the case for London. The quantity and spread of this material makes management and analysis much harder to achieve. However, by narrowing the focus of study, entries pre- and post- 1150-1260 can be removed. Using the *Database* as a guideline, it is then possible to estimate the extent of urban interests within this time-frame. St. Leonard's Hospital, would appear to have 293 charters out of 693 that concern urban property between c.1150 and c.1260; thus amounting to 42% of that total.[114] Meanwhile, the earliest entry in the surviving *Liber Officiorum* was written c.1180, and overall, 63% (82) of the 129 charters date between c.1180-c.1251.[115] Finally, 54% (308) of *Liber G*'s 572 charters are from c.1150-c.1254.[116] It is thus possible, even at a glance, to notice that this period would appear to have been similarly as significant in York as it was London. Thus, while the material examined here is far from the complete records from these four institutions, a narrowed focus on a specific timeline allows for a more refined and revealing study.

The Organisation of the Charters in the Manuscripts

An interesting point of contrast between the cartularies, especially from London and those from York, is worth brief consideration, namely in how the charters are organised. In the cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate, the charters are, for the most part, divided and organised neatly by parish. Starting with the combined parishes of Holy Trinity, St. Michael, St. Mary Magdelan and St. Katherine, the collections move gradually through each of the London parishes, ending appropriately with the Soke of Aldgate and the Hospital of St. Katherine, before including some miscellaneous charters.[117] St. Mary

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[113] Hassall, pp. xix-xx. In this way, the importance of urban property can be demonstrably proved by a simple glance at the raw numbers.

[114] For the earliest dated charters, see for example CSLH/176v/5 and 142v/7. Note that the date estimate for this is anything between 1150-1200, thus meaning that while they are the earliest in principal, it is possible that they fall a little later than 1150.

[115] LO/2r/1.

[116] A total of 55% from the complete St. Mary's material. For the earliest entry in 1150, see LG/140v/5.

[117] CHTA.

Clerkenwell's Cartulary, on the other hand, is far less neat. Beyond the division of county and city there would appear to have been little by way of formal arrangement of the charters into easily-referenced order.[118] That said, a notable feature of the charters generally is that reference to a parish is far more common than to a specific street.

There are two possible reasons for this difference between Holy Trinity and Clerkenwell. The first is the time of their composition. As mentioned above, Holy Trinity's cartulary was written in the fifteenth century, at a time when cartulary making and administrative organisation was more securely developed. The earlier composition of the Clerkenwell cartulary, thus, may have been the result of relative inexperience. Another interpretation, however, is simply that the difference reflects the overall organisation of the storage of original charters in both institutions. This last point may, in fact, be attested by the financial and administrative difficulties suffered by the nuns after 1250, as is discussed in Chapter Two.[119]

Moving to the York material, the binding of *Liber G* of St. Mary's Abbey poses some problems when understanding the organisation. However, generally it appears to be ordered in much the same way as the other York documents: namely topographically *by street*. This is demonstrated, though in a somewhat different manner, by the *Liber Officiorum*. The division between different monastic offices has a visible influence on the overall layout of the Cartulary. In the first instance, it is arranged by these offices in the order mentioned above, and is then subsequently divided by street or place.[120] In the case of St. Leonard's, the charters are again ordered by street or place in a manner that, Carpenter suggests, was shaped by the administrative and archival needs of the hospital.[121]

In general, that all four contain specific reference to places is unsurprising. Since the very purpose of a cartulary was to collate property deeds and other such documents, arranging them by reference to those places makes sense.[122] Indeed, with the exception of Clerkenwell, the care taken in arranging the material in this way would certainly have

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[118] Hassall, p. xvi. Indeed, Hassall himself suggests that 'reference to a particular entry must have been very hard to one who was not familiar with the contents.'

[119] See Chapter Two, p. 47.

[120] Young, *Cartularies,* pp. 58-61.

[121] Carpenter, *Cartulary of St. Leonard's*, p. xlvii.

[122] Walker, 'Organisation of Material', p. 134.

made finding particular entries much simpler.[123] This is rendered further apparent by the sub-divisions of the *Liber Officiorum*, which was by no means unique (see also collections from Bury St. Edmunds, St. Peters Gloucester, Peterborough Abbey and others).[124] The fact that location was more important than individual person is similarly unsurprising since the compilers and the documents themselves were not concerned with people *per se*. This is especially the case when copying charters dating from one or two centuries previous to the composition. Evidence does exist, for example from Rievaulx, of benefactors being documented and listed as part of an attempt to 'remember' certain donors in a spiritual and social network.[125] Nevertheless, such lists were (much like royal charters, papal bulls and other such documents) placed outside the more structured topographical format.[126]

An apparent difference between the organisation of material in London and in York would appear to be the significance of parishes as points of reference. Specifically, in London both Holy Trinity and Clerkenwell appear to place much more emphasis on the parish in which land or rent was based, whilst in York far more prevalent is reference to individual streets. In the charters of Holy Trinity cartulary, for example, land is usually located first and foremost in the parish, such as can be seen in a grant of land in the parish of St. Sepulchre by John Testard in 1212-1223.[127] Similarly, the headings of charters in the Clerkenwell cartulary, though not consistent, often state the parish in which land or rent is situated; for example, in the grant of Geoffrey Blund of land *'in parochia Sancti Michaelis versus Thamisiam.'*[128] However, it should be pointed out that, in both cartularies, there *are* also charters that reference property by street rather than by parish.[129] Meanwhile in York,

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[123] Carpenter, *Cartulary of St. Leonard's*, p. xlvii.

[124] Walker, 'Organisation of Material', p. 133-4.

[125] E. Mason, 'The Role of the English Parishioner, 1100-1500', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 27 (1976), p.20; and E. Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey', pp. 65-67; see also E. Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context 1132-1300: Memory, Locality and Networks* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2005). This forms part of the discussion in chapter four below.

[126] D. Walker, 'Organisation of Material', p. 135.

[127] CHTA/143v/829.

[128] CSMC/68v/246.

[129] For example, CHTA/100r-v/515-517 and CSMC/90r and 93r/328 and 334 (the two are the same). It ought to be remembered, however, that while the text may mention street names, the organisation of the Holy Trinity manuscript is still principally by parish.

the charters are overwhelmingly referenced by streets, as demonstrated by the examples from Ousegate, Coppergate and Launelidgate (now Victor Street) cited below.[130]

From the twelfth century onwards, parishes were increasingly separated from their purely pastoral role, and began to take on a more economic function to church authorities, specifically on raising money and power from the laity.[131] However, city by city, the extent to which this was practical, or indeed true, was variable. Thus, part of the reason for the difference in the focus of the cartularies may stem from the relative development of the parochial systems in each city. London, by the thirteenth century, had a reasonably well-defined set of parishes and churches, the layout of which was not subject to a great degree of change.[132] Indeed, it seems that, to a greater or lesser extent, the parishes matched the administrative wards of the city, at least as far as the city walls.[133] Throughout the twelfth century in York, meanwhile, the parishes were potentially less stable.[134] Population flux and endowment size appears to have affected how many churches there were and what an individual parish was like. Development, renovation and closure of parish churches was a constant feature in the late 1200s, and the parish boundaries were not set in stone, as demonstrated by fifteenth-century disputes over tithes.[135]

It is possible, therefore, that the relative stability of parishes and parish boundaries had a demonstrable impact upon how the compilers of these cartularies chose to organise their material. Collating charters with an eye for easy understanding and reference, along with hopes that the cartulary would remain useful in the future, a cartularist in York

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[130] LG/56r/2-3; LO/2r/1-2; and CSLH/163v/1-3.

[131] Mason, 'English Parishioner', pp. 18-20.

[132] C. N. L. Brooke and G. Keir, *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1975), p. 122.

[133] Brooke and Keir, *London 800-1216*, p. 143.

[134] D. Palliser and S. Rees Jones, 'York 1066-1272' in ed. K. D. Lilley, *The British Historic Towns Atlas, Volume 5: York – Introduction and Gazetteer,* (York: The Historic Towns Trust and York Archaeological Trust, 2015), pp. 27-36: p. 33.

[135] D. Palliser and S. Rees Jones, 'York 1272-1536' in ed. K. D. Lilley, *The British Historic Towns Atlas, Volume 5: York – Introduction and Gazetteer* (York: The Historic Towns Trust and York Archaeological Trust, 2015), pp. 37-48: p. 44; and D. Palliser and S. Rees Jones, 'York 1066-1272', p. 33. This is combined with the separate fact that, overall, parish churches gradually changed hands from secular lords to, primarily, monastic ones. This, combined with increased regulation by ecclesiastical authorities on all churches, as well as a developing secular administrative function, changed the dynamic of the parish in the city in much the same way. (Palliser and Rees Jones, 'York 1066-1272', p. 33.)

would certainly have sought to avoid potential confusion due to shifting parish boundaries by focussing instead on specific streets and areas of the city. Meanwhile, especially in what was a *larger* city with many more individual streets, scribes in London had the benefit of utilising a far more secure system of parishes to facilitate neater organisation and reference of their material.

It is, nevertheless, possible that this last point about the relative size of each city is the crux of the reason that the cartularies were compiled differently. The purpose of this discussion, however, is not to provide a definitive answer to questions about the composition of the cartularies. Rather it is to highlight the various ways in which the five cartularies were compiled and to pose questions about the possible reasons for the differences and similarities. Ultimately, to answer fully these questions is outside the scope of the present thesis, but may be worth investigating in the future. Nevertheless, this section has served to introduce further the material used in the following chapters, by demonstrating that beyond the manuscript text and its uses, there is much more to these documents than meets the eye. Thus, much that can be uncovered by studying them.

Cartularies and Charters as Historical Sources and their Use in this Thesis

In order to lay the foundations for the following discussions, this chapter has sought to introduce cartularies and charters in some depth. Since the five cartularies of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital are such integral sources in this thesis, it is important to understand the nuances of their composition, significance and problems. Nevertheless, the study of cartularies and their component charters is not new, and this investigation owes much to the existing literature, both on charters specifically and to those historians that have made extensive use of charters for other studies, some of which have already been cited above.

The relationship between the laity and religious institutions in London and York has, naturally, been the focus of various studies. To name a few examples, Watson, has considered the precise origins and functions of medieval English hospitals, and Cullum

and Goldberg, have examined *later* medieval charity in York overall.[136] Meanwhile J. A. F. Thomson has considered charitable behaviour in, again later medieval London.[137] A common factor in many of these studies, however, is their emphasis on the period post-1250. There is much more to be understood about the histories of London and York in the high Middle Ages, and cartularies are a significant avenue for research. This is revealed to some extent in Chapter Two, in which the religious institutions themselves are discussed in relation to the cities and their citizens. Specifically, the final sections of the chapter have used the cartularies to answer questions about what types of citizen were interacting with the institutions between c.1150 and c.1250.[138] Thus, this thesis has used cartularies and material from a relatively under-examined period to ask some questions about the urban laity.

Moving forwards from this, linguistically and stylistically, what a donor stated in a charter to a religious institution can be an exceptionally revealing and rewarding process. John Husdon's monograph *Land, Law and Lordship* set about analysing these source-types to establish how laws changed and developed in the context of the actual people to whom they pertained.[139] One of the common themes of his conclusions is that central to land ownership and disposal was power, in other words one Lord being more important than the other men around him.[140] However, it is not Hudson's conclusions to which attention must be drawn. His approach to charters sheds light not only on his own topic, but also on some other aspects that are more social and religious than legal. By looking at charters not as mere documents with facts and figures, but as broader source-types in a context, it is possible to get much more out of them than meets the eye.[141]

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[136] S. Watson, 'The Origins of the English Hospital (Alexander Prize Essay),' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th Series no. 16 (2006), pp. 75–94; and P. H. Cullum and P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Charitable Provision in Late Medieval York: 'To the Praise of God and the Use of the Poor'', *Northern History* 29 (1993), pp. 24-39.

[137] J. A. F. Thomson, 'Piety and Charity in Late Medieval London', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 16 (1965), pp. 178-195.

[138] See Chapter Two below, pp. 59-67.

[139] Hudson, *Land, Law and Lordship*, p. 10.

[140] Hudson, *Land, Law and Lordship*, pp. 1 and 10.

[141] Other historians that have similarly influenced and inspired the development of this approach, and are further discussed and cited in the following chapters, include: B. Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum:* Lay and Ecclesiastical Attitudes to the Property of the Church' in ed. C. Harper-Bill, *Religious Belief and Ecclesiastical Careers in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1991)

Such an examination is not without pitfalls, however, some of which have been discussed above. More importantly, though, when undertaking this type of research, it is necessary to be aware that not all charters are as straightforward as they might appear. Furthermore, donors were often reticent about their motives for a donation (whether economic, spiritual or part of larger transactions) beyond general spiritual concerns.[142] With this in mind, there is a small margin of error in the interpretations of the material used here. However, where possible, effort has been made to address these issues on a case by case basis. Furthermore, the volume of evidence used ameliorates this margin to some extent, especially when discussing general themes and trends in the sources. Mindful of this, attention now turns to the religious institutions, London and York and the citizens who were granting to religious communities.

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pp. 197-238; P. R. Hyams, 'The Charter as a Source for the Early Common Law', *The Journal of Legal History 12* (1991), pp. 173-189 and 'Warranty and Good Lordship in Twelfth Century England', *Law and History Review 5* (1987), pp. 437-503. The work of Postles has been especially informative, articles such as 'Gifts in Frankalmoign, Warranty of Land, and Feudal Society', *The Cambridge Law Journal 50* (1991), pp. 330-346 and 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk: 'Popular' Devotion Before the Black Death', *Journal of Medieval History* 25 (1999), pp. 97-114; and 'Pittances and Pittancers', in eds. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame, *Thirteenth Century England IX: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2001* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 175-186, amongst others cited below helped to shape much of the discussion in Chapters Three and Four.

[142] J. Walker, 'Alms for the Holy Land: The English Templars and their Patrons', in eds. A Ayton and J. L. Price, *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995) pp. 63-64.

Chapter Two

London and York c.1150-1250: The Cities and their Inhabitants

Following the discussion of cartularies and charters, this chapter provides an overview of the people who used them and the cities they inhabited. This includes a description of the cities of London and York themselves. The population size and spatial distribution, including the importance of hinterlands and suburbs, will be explained with reference to existing scholarship and the relevance to the religious houses in question. Beyond this, consideration of the control of parish churches by the institutions reveals much about where they fit into local religious networks. Finally, beginning with a discussion of some key events in the 1190s, aspects of urban social structures, the individuals and social groups who interacted with the religious bodies are considered. Discussion of local élites and other powerful citizens is paired with an overview of the various occupations of donors, tenants and even witnesses found in the charters. For many English towns, most information is derived from archaeological finds and official or private records and documents. Using such evidence, it is possible to extract some sense of how men and women regarded the places they called home, and the institutions present therein.[1] Overall, the discussion provides some in-depth context about the cities, citizens and religious institutions, much of which underlies the following two chapters.

In terms of research, London has always been of great interest to historians of medieval England, with numerous extant studies of its history, though once again with somewhat fewer that focus upon the century following 1150. Barron has done much to explore aspects of the city in the later Middle Ages, including its relationships with the crown, the developing administrative structures and parochial functions.[2] Keene, too, has

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[1] Brian Ayers, for example, makes use of such evidence to uncover details of the topography of Norwich: B. Ayers, 'The Urban Landscape', in eds. C. Rawcliffe and R. Wilson, *Medieval Norwich* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 1-28. It is also worth looking at Postles' use of such evidence when discussing Loughborough, particularly as it was a town that was relatively independent of the local religious house, Garendon Abbey: D. Postles, *A Town in its Parish: Loughborough, Origins to c.1640* (Loughborough: David Postles, 2015).

[2] See for example, C. Barron, 'The Quarrel of Richard II with London 1392-7', in eds. F. R. H. Du Boulay and C Barron, *The Reign of Richard II: Essays in Honour of May McKisack* (London: Athlone

contributed extensively to the history of London, not least by placing it and its environs into context among other towns and cities in medieval England.[3] Their work builds upon that of earlier generations. One of the oldest scholars to have informed recent scholarship remains J. H. Round, whose investigations into various aspects of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin city are both fascinating and inspiring, if now somewhat out of date.[4] Similarly, Sir Frank Stenton studied the city as it was before 1189, making extensive use of the *Description of London* by William FitzStephen, discussed below.[5]

In 1975, Christopher Brooke and Gillian Keir produced a substantial study of London's history between 800 and 1216.[6] This work, despite its age, has remained something of a staple text for the history of London, especially for the period studied by this thesis. Yet its age and scope mean that it should be used with caution, as it is at times out of date, or discusses certain topics very briefly.[7] More recent studies have built upon this and several scholars have focussed on different aspects of land ownership and the development of administrative practices among local élites.[8] Archaeological research has revealed much about the history of the city in general, as well as specific institutions. Thus, for example, John Schofield has published an archaeological history of the city between 1100 and 1600.[9] Similarly, Museum of London Archaeology (MoLA) has

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Press, 1971), pp. 173-201; 'The Parish Fraternities of Medieval London', in eds. C. Barron and C Harper-Bill, *The Church in Pre-Reformation Society: Essays in Honour of F. R. H. Du Boulay* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1985), pp. 13-37; and 'Lay Solidarities: The Wards of Medieval London', in eds. P. Stafford, J. Nelson and J. Martindale, *Law, Laity and Solidarities: Essays in Honour of Susan Reynolds* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), pp. 218-233.

[3] See Keene, 'Medieval London', pp. 99-111.

[4] J. H. Round, *The Commune of London and Other Studies* (Westminster: Archibald Constable and Co, 1899).

[5] F. M. Stenton, 'Norman London', ed. F. D. Logan, *Norman London by William FitzStephen* (New York: Italica Press, 1990), pp. 1-45.

[6] Brooke and Keir, *London 800-1216*.

[7] As an example, the discussion of Holy Trinity Priory is rather short, amounting to only a few paragraphs in the discussion of parishes. Brooke and Keir, *London 800-1216*, pp. 144-147.

[8] For example, Jamroziak, 'St. Mary Graces', pp. 153-164; though discussing issues much later than this thesis, J. M. Jennings, 'London and the Statute of Mortmain: Doubts and Anxieties Among Fifteenth-Century London Testators,' *Mediaeval Studies* 36 (1974), pp. 174-177; and finally J. McEwan, 'The Seals of London's Governing Élite in the Thirteenth Century', in eds. J. Burton, P. Schofield and B. Weiler, *Thirteenth Century England XIV: Proceedings of the Aberystwyth and Lampeter Conference 2011* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2013), pp. 43-59.

[9] J. Schofield, *London 1100-1600: The Archaeology of a Capital City* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Ltd., 2011).

published a series of monographs recording histories and surveys of various historical sites in the city; including St. Mary Clerkenwell and Holy Trinity Aldgate.[10] A final source worth highlighting is the Historic Towns Atlas volume on the city of London, in which the chapter on 800-1270 is also written by Brooke.[11]

York has recently been the subject of a substantial corpus of scholarship. Most notable are the respective investigations of Palliser and Rees Jones, both of whom have focussed extensively upon the history of York as a city. Palliser sometimes takes a broader view of York's history, placing it into the context of other historic towns and time-periods. His 2014 book *Medieval York 600-1540,* for example, divides its discussion chronologically, providing an in-depth period by period examination of the city.[12] Meanwhile his more specific studies, some of which are referenced below, have examined such topics as the naming of streets, evolution of the parochial frameworks and also of the liberties and organisation of the city's government structure.[13] Rees Jones, meanwhile, has, among other things, published a detailed study of the growth and development of York as a civic entity, focussing especially upon topography and patterns of landholding in the city 'between the Norman Conquest and the Black Death.'[14] Furthermore, in the new Historic Towns Atlas for York, both Palliser and Rees Jones are the principal contributors for the period covered by this thesis.[15]

These works are informed by secondary material by other historians, though relatively little of it has focussed upon the period c.1150-1250. Palliser, for example, describes Edward Miller's discussion of York for the Victoria County History volumes as 'one of the finest histories in print of any English medieval town,' though noting the absence of the archaeological evidence that has been uncovered since its publication in

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[10] Schofield and Lea, *Aldgate*; and Sloane, *Clerkenwell.*
[11] See: C. N. L. Brooke, 'The Central Middle Ages: 800 to 1270', in ed. M. D. Lobel, *The City of London From Prehistoric Times to c.1520* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), pp. 30-41.
[12] Palliser, *Medieval York.*
[13] See for example: D.M. Palliser, 'The Birth of York's Civic Liberties, c. 1200-1354', in ed. S. Rees Jones, *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter* (York: Borthwick Institute, 1997), pp. 88-107; 'The Medieval Street-Names of York', *York Historian* 2 (1978), pp. 2-16; and 'The Unions of Parishes at York, 1547-1586', *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 46 (1974), pp. 87-102.
[14] SRJ, p. 1.
[15] Rees Jones and Palliser, 'York: 1066-1272' and 'York: 1272-1536', pp. 27-36 and 37-48.

1961.[16] By contrast, Rees Jones has substantially disagreed with Miller's conclusions about the importance of the city to the crown, and investigated in greater depth the influence of local élites and landlords.[17] Meanwhile, the work of Barrie Dobson, especially on the Jewish communities in medieval York has done much to influence the approaches of historians studying the life and growth of the city.[18] This has informed and inspired various pieces of research into the history of the city.[19] Finally, the York Archaeological Trust (YAT) have published a great deal of material, from recent excavations, which enhances our understanding of the topographical development of York.[20]

London and York: An Overview

Keene has estimated that London c.1200 was, in various respects, significantly more important than any other English town. It was a substantial source of royal income, and its wealth grew exponentially throughout the Middle Ages and beyond (between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries it went from being twice as large or wealthy to five times that of the next largest towns).[21] It was very much a commercial centre, with the Thames, much like the Ouse and Foss in York, providing ample opportunity for trade, attracting imports and exports alike, as well as overseas connections stretching across Western Europe.[22] It was also a place of administrative importance, taking many of the royal governmental functions away from Winchester, notably the treasury, and benefitting from the royal patronage of Westminster Abbey.

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[16] Palliser, *Medieval York*, p. vi.

[17] SRJ, Chapter Four, pp. 84-137.

[18] For various articles, see for example: R. B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 1996); *The Jewish Communities of Medieval England: The Collected Essays of R. B. Dobson*, ed. H. Birkett (York: Borthwick Institute, 2010); R. B. Dobson and D. M. Smith, eds. *The Merchant Taylors of York*, Borthwick Texts and Studies 33 (York: Borthwick Institute, 2006).

[19] See especially various articles from S. Rees Jones and S. Watson, eds., *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts* (York: York Medieval Press, 2013)

[20] For example, R. B. Dobson and S. Donaghey, *The History of Clementhorpe Nunnery*, The Archaeology of York Volume 2, Fascicule 1 (London and York: The Council for British Archaeology, 1984); and B. Wilson and F. Mee, *St. Mary's Abbey and the King's Manor, York: The Pictorial Evidence*, The Archaeology of York Supplementary Series (York: York Archaeological Trust, 2009).

[21] Keene, 'Medieval London,' p. 99.

[22] Keene, 'Medieval London', pp. 100-101.

London retained its own identity as a city, and royal absences, whether due to wars with Scotland or actual disputes, appear to have done little harm to its successes.[23] London was a focal point for trade, politics and influence. Indeed, London and its citizens heavily influenced the process leading to Magna Carta, not least through its connections with the baronial rebels, such as Robert FitzWalter.[24] Furthermore, King John's attempts to secure the loyalty of the citizens in 1215 completely failed. The subsequent fallout was to see the balance shift in the favour of the rebels generally, but also to bear witness to a vast increase of support for the baronial cause in the South.[25] In several respects, the citizens of London held significant sway over national events.

In discussing the history of London, there is one contemporary source that stands out when describing the medieval city: the *Description of London* by William FitzStephen. This text, composed as part of the prologue in his hagiographic *Life of Thomas Becket*, provides a detailed insight into the city as it was sometime around 1183. The source provides a strong insight into the idealised city of this period, in this case as a foreground to Thomas Becket's life.[26] The panegyric tone is obvious from the beginning, when it is said that the city itself 'spreads its fame wider, sends its wealth and wares further, and lifts its head higher *than all others*.'[27] Another example of a glorified description of a medieval town is Lucian of St. Werburgh's *De Laude Cestrie*, extolling the virtues of medieval Chester in the twelfth century. This text, much like FitzStephen's, had a specific purpose. In this case, Lucian was reacting to local events that were putting strain upon the relationship between the monks and clerks of Chester, focussing on similarities and everything that made their city great and worth protecting from 'predatory outside

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[23] Keene, 'Medieval London', pp. 101-102.

[24] D. Carpenter, *Magna Carta* (London: Penguin Books Ltd., 2015), p. 264.

[25] Carpenter, *Magna Carta,* pp. 301-303.

[26] F. D. Logan, 'Preface and Introduction' to ed. F. D. Logan, *Norman London by William FitzStephen* (New York: Italica Press, 1990), pp. ix-xv.

[27] William FitzStephen, 'A Description of London', ed. F. D. Logan, *Norman London by William FitzStephen* (New York: Italica Press, 1990), p. 47; my italics.

influences.'[28] Meanwhile FitzStephen was crafting a solid, idealised background for the rest of his work.[29]

Nevertheless, the account of Norman London remains a valid, if idealised, eyewitness description of a medieval city that was foremost among those of England at the time.[30] Following his account, London was beautiful, with well-fortified castles and high walls, the Thames river was 'teeming with fish' and in the suburbs the citizens had tree-filled gardens that were 'spacious and fair.'[31] The citizens, of whom there were many, were 'of a kindly and liberal temper' and 'are everywhere regarded as illustrious and renowned beyond those of all other cities for the elegance of their fine manners, raiment and table.'[32] Militarily it '[won] honour by its men and glory by its arms;' economically 'from every nation that is under heaven, merchants rejoice[d] to bring their trade in ships;' and spiritually 'almost all bishops, Abbots and Magnates of England [were], as it were, citizens and freemen of the city.'[33]

York, c.1200, was also well-defended site, with walls surrounding the main city and two castles, built by William the Conqueror, on both sides of the Ouse. It, too, was an exceptionally important city in England, emphasised and imagined by medieval contemporaries (such as monastic map-makers) as a northern counterpart to London: a royal, defensive, religious and administrative capital.[34] Strategically, the city was an important centre of royal control in the North, as well as being a centre of military

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[28] J. Doran, 'St. Werburgh's, St. John's and the *Liber Luciani De Laude Cestrie'*, in ed. C. A. M. Clarke, *Mapping the Medieval City: Space, Place and Identity in Chester c.1200-1600* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), pp. 57-77: pp. 65 and 70.

[29] Unfortunately, no such description exists for the city of York. In many respects this is surprising. Both Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth considered York to be an integral part of England's history, especially because of its religious significance. Meanwhile, as discussed later in this section, it came to be seen also as a strategic bastion against Scottish incursions into the North of England. (SRJ, pp. 6-8). Yet despite all this, there remains no surviving description of the city like those of Lucian and FitzStephen. It is unclear whether this is because no such text was ever written or because it has been lost, but the absence of such a work potentially raises interesting questions about contemporary conceptions of cities as a whole, and York specifically, and their importance in historical narratives. As it is, such questions are outside the overall scope of this particular thesis, and an overview, with references to relevant discussions, can be found in Rees Jones' *York* as already cited here.

[30] Keene, 'Medieval London', p. 99; and Stenton, 'Norman London', pp.32-34.

[31] FitzStephen, 'A Description of London', p. 49.

[32] FitzStephen, 'A Description of London', pp. 48 and 50.

[33] FitzStephen, 'A Description of London', pp. 50, 54 and 55.

[34] SRJ, pp. 7-8

organisation in wars with Scotland throughout the Middle Ages. However, through the twelfth century and into the thirteenth, this royal influence was set to decline somewhat with the notable exception of financial demands from the crown.[35] It also had a royal house that had been constructed by the early Norman Kings and was, at one point, among the most important in the country (though it had ultimately been abandoned and parts given to the Dominicans by 1227).[36] Indeed, this is reflected by the fact that the custodian of the house was given only 2d less per day (namely 5d) than was given to the keeper of Westminster in the 1130s.[37] Furthermore, Christopher Norton has pointed out certain similarities to Winchester, specifically how dominant the Minster was to York's topography and image.[38]

In 1150, York was a city that was on the cusp of substantial recovery and new growth. While the nature and effect of William the Conqueror's Harrying of the North on York is much disputed, it has been suggested that this and other military activity in the late eleventh century caused a reduction in the city's population and security.[39] Yet by 1250, much of this damage had been completely reversed, several new religious institutions had been founded, and civic government was well established and set to develop further into the fourteenth century.[40] Indeed, from the time of Richard I, the city made gradual progress towards becoming 'free' of the crown. This desire for self-government was solidified by the charter of King John in 1212.[41] That said, the charter of 1212 was not a cure-all for relations between city and crown. By 1215, and extending into 1216, some members of the city's élite had joined in the civil war against the king. Notable amongst these was William Fairfax, a former reeve of the city. This pattern of decline and

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[35] S. Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims', in eds. S. Rees Jones and S. Watson, *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts* (York: York Medieval Press, 2013) pp. 17 and 26-27. For a fuller discussion on the relationship between York and the crown, see SRJ Chapter Four as cited above.

[36] SRJ, p. 91.

[37] Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims', pp. 18-19.

[38] C. Norton, *St. William of York* (York: York Medieval Press, 2006), pp. 21-22.

[39] Rees Jones and Palliser, 'York: 1066-1272', p. 27.

[40] Rees Jones and Palliser, 'York: 1066-1272', p. 27; See also SRJ Chapter 5 'Church Landlords', pp. 138-185.

[41] D. Palliser, 'The Birth of York's Civic Liberties, c. 1200-1354', in ed. S. Rees Jones, *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter* (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1997), pp. 92-93.

recovery in the context of some resistance to royal interventions in the city raises interesting questions about the role of religious houses as focal points for the laity.[42]

The ownership of property within London and York by the laity and religious houses influenced both their physical appearance and development, as well as their development as municipal jurisdictions. Many of the wealthier lords, notably the two cathedrals and larger religious houses, exercised administrative rights over the tenants of their urban estates.[43] As in other towns the precise location of the boundaries between such jurisdictions could be difficult to determine, leading to disputes and increasing the need for documentation.[44] Although such legal boundaries might be invisible, in addition some highly visible features of the city landscape, such as the walls of both the city and of its religious precincts, also created different zones of activity across the city and its suburbs. Both kinds (those created by invisible jurisdictions and those created by visible physical features) might help constitute neighbourhoods that were not merely 'territorial', but also social, political and perhaps religious.[45] This issue is of some importance to this thesis. Suburbs are particularly important since all four of the religious institutions occupied liminal or suburban sites in the cities, and their influence was not limited to the city walls.[46]

London, certainly, was not restricted merely to its city walls. Indeed, it was made up of several different suburbs and areas within a few miles radius of the mural boundary. Outside the walls, FitzStephen describes:

> Gardens of the citizens that dwell in the suburbs… On the North are
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> pasture lands and a pleasant space of flat meadows, intersected by
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> running waters, which turn revolving mill-wheels with merry din.

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[42] SRJ, p. 117. See, for example, the discussion of the sociological importance of charity in Chapter Four.

[43] See: Brooke and Keir, *London 800-1216*, especially chapters 9 and 12; Keene, 'Medieval London'; Palliser, 'Civic Liberties', pp. 100-101; and SRJ, especially Chapter 6, pp. 186-234.

[44] C. P. Lewis, 'Framing Medieval Chester: The Landscape of Urban Boundaries', in ed. C. A. M. Clarke, *Mapping the Medieval City: Space, Place and Identity in Chester c.1200-1600* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), pp. 42-56: pp. 42-43.

[45] D. Keene, 'Medieval London', p. 99: and SRJ, pp. 45-50.

[46] This becomes especially apparent in Clerkenwell's central role as a parish church as well as religious house, and also discussions about St. Mary's Abbey's stakes in the suburb of Bootham, both of which are discussed below. Furthermore, the importance of social development, and the place of religious houses within that, is discussed in Chapter Four.

> Hard by there stretches a great forest with wooded glades and lairs of wild beasts… The corn fields are not of barren gravel, but rich Asian plains such as "make glad the crops" and fill the barns of their farmers "with sheaves of Ceres' stalk".[47]

Classical references aside, this description was to a certain extent accurate. Surrounding the city was likely a large amount of arable land that was divided between the growing of crops and various materials required for livestock and horses, pastures and woodlands to provide for the city, and part of this fell under the purview of Holy Trinity due to its holdings just outside Aldgate as discussed below.[48] On top of this, Clerkenwell, Holywell and Saint Clement's Well are praised by FitzStephen as wells 'whose waters are sweet, wholesome and clear.'[49] In other words, these, and by association the local institutions such as the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell, were areas of importance not least because of the water-sources on which people relied. Thus, extra-mural regions of the city, as FitzStephen makes clear, were certainly considered essential components of the urban landscape, even though they did not form part of the 'main' town.

Rees Jones has done much to untangle the topographical patterns of York's suburbs, and close examination reveals that there were similarities between the two cities when it came to the territory outside the 'defended urban core.'[50] In much the same way as London, the surrounding areas were often laid out in such a way as to facilitate agricultural practices, and indeed references to crofts, carucates and other such terms is indicative of this pattern of surrounding farmland.[51] St. Mary's Abbey, for example, was in possession of one toft with a croft and buildings in Bootham that it let to Jeremiah, son of Nicholas de Bretgate, who in turn sub-let the land to Lawrence de Bootham in one of the later charters in the *Liber Officiorum*. This land was to be maintained by Lawrence and all dues paid to the abbey in the same

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[47] FitzStephen, 'A Description of London', pp. 49-50.

[48] Keene, 'Medieval London', p. 104. See mention of the Portsoken Ward of the city and grant of the *Cnihtengild.*

[49] William FitzStephen, 'A Description of London', p. 50.

[50] SRJ, p. 76.

[51] SRJ, pp, 76-77;

method as the abbey's other tenants.[52] Private charters also reveal that areas including Newbiggin, Walmgate and Monkgate were similarly organised with substantial plots of arable land or pastures. Furthermore, the presence of two meat markets, archaeological evidence of a meat-rich diet and a similar need for useful crops would further suggest that this land was used to keep, and provide for, livestock as well as some food.[53]

Some understanding of the differences between 'main' city and suburbs is reasonably important when considering the religious institutions of this thesis. St. Mary Clerkenwell and St. Mary's Abbey were both outside the city walls (something that, for the York Abbey, became very important after 1250 as described below). Suburbs in general were often residential, providing a place for (sometimes poorer) citizens to live and be part of urban life. Yet in some respects, these same areas could be distinctly different from the main city.[54] Take, for example, the extensive farm land rather than housing discussed in the preceding paragraphs. Keene has highlighted, furthermore, the various public or market functions of places such as Smithfield (horse fairs) in London, Bristol and York where physical space within the walls might have been limited.[55]

As it was, larger geographical 'suburbs' of towns could generally include rural land and settlements as far as five miles away.[56] Indeed, in the thirteenth century the crown produced legislation on the status of suburbs that placed them definitively under the control of cities, though administrative realities of this were not always straightforward.[57] Finally, as can be observed by example of the liturgical processions at Rogation and Pentecost that involved both York Minster and St. Mary's Abbey, the spiritual links between suburb and city were not as estranged as might be assumed.[58] Thus, in a real sense, suburbs such as Clerkenwell and Bootham

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[52] LO/45r-v/3.

[53] SRJ, pp. 77-80.

[54] D. Keene, 'Suburban Growth', in R. Holt and G. Rosser, *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History 1200-1540* (London and New York: Longman, 1990), pp. 97-119: pp. 114-115.

[55] Keene, 'Suburban Growth', pp. 98 and 110.

[56] Keene, 'Suburban Growth', p. 98.

[57] SRJ, pp. 133-135.

[58] SRJ, p. 267.

were, while occupying space outside the walls of London and York, very much an economic extension of the walled cities next to which they lay.

Overall, then, both London and York were complex and diverse urban entities in the Middle Ages. The walled parts of the city were shaped by a variety of factors, especially the citizens themselves, commerce and the interests of the crown. Similarly, alongside the residential and commercial aspects, the suburbs appear to have served significant agricultural roles in both cities. It remains to be seen, however, the extent to which St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital affected London and York respectively. Keene, for example, has suggested that St. Mary's Abbey may have in some ways hindered commercial activity in the Bootham area, while Holy Trinity was built in an area of London that was largely unoccupied.[59] The following section aims to situate the four institutions in their localities and, albeit briefly, consider their impact throughout the period.

The Religious Institutions

The physical presence of religious precincts, from York Minster and St. Pauls to the institutions studied here, did much to shape the topography of London and York. Walls, for example, were also a relatively common feature of monastic sites. Again, using Chester as an external example, both the abbey and St. John's collegiate church had physical boundaries that set them apart from the town itself. Initial defences of ditches and timber palisades were gradually replaced by stone walls, thus increasing their separation from the city.[60] In London, the archaeological data concerning the layout of the Clerkenwell and Aldgate precincts in this early period is uncertain, but can be estimated and assumed from the final layout.[61] Meanwhile in York, the work of Burton and Cullum, combined with extensive excavations and studies undertaken by York Archaeological

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[59] Keene, 'Suburban Growth', pp. 117-118.
[60] Lewis, 'Medieval Chester', p. 44.
[61] Sloane, *Clerkenwell*, pp. 145-147.

Trust, help to uncover aspects of the 'presence' of St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital in the topography of York.[62]

The order in which each institution is discussed in the ensuing pages follows the same organisation as the discussion of the cartularies. In other words, the London houses are discussed first, starting with St. Mary Clerkenwell and then Holy Trinity Aldgate. York then follows, with St. Mary's Abbey being third, and St. Leonard's Hospital last. The principal reason for this is simply consistency. By placing them in the same order, namely first by city and then by date of cartulary composition, the discussion is easier to follow and is neater. The main issue with this, however, is that each place is discussed out of chronological sequence in terms of its foundation. If such was the case, St. Leonard's Hospital is allegedly the oldest institution (dating back to a claimed foundation in 936 as discussed below), St. Mary's Abbey was then founded c.1086/88 (again as discussed below).[63] Holy Trinity Priory was founded at the behest of Queen Matilda in 1107, and St. Mary Clerkenwell was the latest to be founded, sometime during the reign of King Stephen.[64] Overall, though, this has little effect on the discussion, as all were established before 1150, namely the beginning of the time period studied in this thesis.

St. Mary Clerkenwell, London

The nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell has, relatively speaking, received little attention as a focus for historical study. Yet its place in the history of London ought not to be overlooked too readily. The convent was situated to the north-west of the extra-mural city, within a complex of land that included the convent itself, a functional water well known as the Clerks' Well (i.e. Clerkenwell), several tenements, an orchard, a boarding house, a brewhouse and other similar buildings (the precise layout of which is unknown). These were later enclosed behind a wall. The gatehouse was located on the south side, separated from the main thoroughfare past the convent.[65] In the fourteenth century, there appears to have been only 15 or 16 resident nuns in the community, and by the

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[62] References to these excavations can be found in Wilson and Mee, *The Pictoral Evidence*, and articles by Burton and Cullum cited below.

[63] See discussions in each sub-section, pp. 50-54.

[64] Hodgett, pp. xv-xvi; Hassall, p. viii.

[65] Sloane, *Clerkenwell*, pp. 145-147.

dissolution it was down to a mere 11. However, the entire convent community would have been larger, with staff, guests and male religious authorities, for example priests of the parish or with an interest in the nunnery, inhabiting the site.[66]

Furthermore, St. Mary Clerkenwell was very popular amongst the women of London's mercantile families, some of whom joined the community as members. However, normally their support was financial, achieved by the granting of donations to the nunnery.[67] This was often through, or with, a male family member (such as was the case with an 1198 grant from John de St. James with his sister Juliana) but also included prominent women such as Agnes Becket, the sister of Thomas Becket, donating in their own right.[68] It also appears to have had an almost spotless reputation, with no obvious scandals or major disputes occurring throughout its history.[69] That said, there is evidence suggesting that from the 1250s, the nuns' management of their estates was insufficient to ensure continued prosperity. In the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, there are examples of various prioresses appearing before the city mayor in relation to debts owed, royal pardons for failures to pay dues and ultimately the appointment of local laymen as stewards.[70]

Nevertheless, the nunnery remained popular with certain grantors, and certainly seems to have retained its status as a key site in London's religious topography.[71] This was probably further emphasised by the fact that Clerkenwell was not simply a monastic institution, but also served as a parish church for the area. Indeed, in the 1190s, the church was rebuilt to a length of 55.7m (a size indicative of the relative wealth of the nunnery)

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[66] D. Sturdy, 'The Medieval Nunnery at Clerkenwell', *The London Archaeologist* 2 (1974), p. 217; J. Burton, 'Cloistered Women and Male Authority: Power and Authority in Yorkshire Nunneries in the Later Middle Ages', in eds. M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame, *Thirteenth Century England X: Proceedings of the Durham Conference 2003* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 155-165: p. 155; Sloane, *Clerkenwell*, pp. 151-155; and Hassall, p. xii.

[67] Sturdy, 'Medieval Nunnery', p. 217; Hassall, p. xiv.

[68] CSMC/72r/258 and 72r/257. Interestingly, this gift from Agnes Becket appears to be a one-off donation that had no obvious effects on wider or ongoing support of the nuns. This is not to say that it definitely did not inspire other grants, but there are no further references to this grant in the cartulary.

[69] Sturdy, 'Medieval Nunnery', p. 217.

[70] Sloane, *Clerkenwell*, pp. 60-61.

[71] Sloane, *Clerkenwell*, p. 60.

and was divided into two sections, conventual and parish.[72] The religious significance of this area was complemented by the presence of the priory of St. John's Hospitallers just to the south, also established by the same Jordan de Briset who founded the St. Mary convent.[73] Indeed, there is evidence that the popularity of the one house could directly affect the fortunes of the other. In 1340, for example, a corrodian and supporter of the Hospitallers named William Langeford took over a rent of 16 marks due to the nuns and in 1346 made generous bequest before his death.[74] Overall, then, the nunnery of St. Mary would have been an impressive monastic site, based naturally around the well, that would have at once set it apart from the city and surrounding area, but also drawn attention to the religious house and its parochial functions.

Holy Trinity Aldgate, London

The Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity, situated on the east side of London at Aldgate was among the first houses of regular canons to be founded in England.[75] The person responsible, principally, was Queen Matilda, the wife of Henry I, and the advice of Archbishop Anselm led to the choice of the first prior, Norman.[76] From the outset, the Augustinian canons were directed towards missionary work, bringing the word of God to local areas, much like the friars from the thirteenth century, and as such they found cities to be prime locations to make their presence felt. From their inception, throughout the Middle Ages, they became intertwined with the daily politics and management of city affairs, both temporal and spiritual.[77] It is thus unsurprising that their institutions, especially the Aldgate priory, ultimately became integral parts of the local topography.

Built within the city walls, the Holy Trinity precinct became a focal point for spiritual and economic interests in the east of the city, and it would appear to have been at least partially responsible for the development of Aldgate and the surrounding streets

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[72] Sloane, *Clerkenwell*, p. 142.
[73] Hassall, pp. vii-viii; Sturdy, 'Medieval Nunnery', p. 217.
[74] Sloane, *Clerkenwell*, p. 60.
[75] Schofield and Lea, *Aldgate*, pp. 141-143.
[76] Hodgett, pp. xv-xvi.
[77] D. Postles, 'The Augustinian Canons in English Towns, c.1100-1350', *Historical Research: The Bulletin on the Institute of Historical Research* 66 (1993), pp. 2 and 4.

into built-up metropolitan areas.[78] As already stated, this Augustinian priory was the first of its kind to be built within the city of London, and one of the first in England. The layout of the building appears to owe as much to its position next to the city wall as to existing architectural precedent.[79] The surrounding streets and likely a rough-stone wall of some sort, marked out the priory precinct, and certainly the entire complex would have dominated the surrounding area.[80] Evidence of this physical impact on the surrounding area is found in the cartulary, in which a notification of Henry I from 1122 informs the bishop and sheriff of London that the priory was allowed 'to enclose a road between their church and conventual buildings and the wall of the City.'[81]

A combination of other factors, also helped to establish Holy Trinity and its locality as a key location within the city of London. One of the main events was the donation of what became the Portsoken ward to the priory from the *Cnihtengild* in 1125.[82] As well as substantially increasing the property and income of the priory, this donation also made the prior the *ex-officio* alderman of the area, giving him a position in the affairs of the city on a political as well as spiritual level.[83] Beyond the priory complex, administration of parish churches also raised the prestige of Holy Trinity by proxy. The parish of Fenchurch, for example, which was given to them as part of the *Cnihtengild* grant and confirmed by the bishop of London, established a spiritual connection between priory and parish, along with a 2s annual payment to Holy Trinity.[84] Furthermore, as is the case for all four institutions, extensive purchases of urban property (especially, in this case, under the priorate of Ralph), made the prior and convent an important landowner and thus influential force within the city.[85] Indeed, the chronicle at the beginning of the cartulary suggests that, even before the accumulation of wealth by successive priors, the

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[78] Schofield and Lea, *Aldgate,* pp. 154-156.

[79] Schofield and Lea, *Aldgate,* pp. 141-143. Archaeological details about the process of building and development at the Aldgate site can also be found here. These are not of direct relevance to the present discussion, and have thus not been included here. Nevertheless, they are useful for gaining an appreciation for the development of the site over the course of the Middle Ages.

[80] Schofield and Lea, *Aldgate,* pp. 145-147.

[81] CHTA/4r/12.

[82] CHTA/149r-150v/871-876.

[83] Hodgett, pp. xiii and xv.

[84] CHTA/24v/109. See also a letter from Innocent III in 150r-v/876 confirming the right to serve St. Botolph, St. Katherine and St. Michael parish churches with two of their canons, dated 18 May 1201.

[85] Hodgett, p. xv.

priory attracted generous attention from local citizens, specifically 'some pious women of the City [who] individually undertook to bring a loaf of bread on Sundays and to persuade others to do the same.'[86] In short, Holy Trinity was a landmark from the beginning, and certainly in the century surrounding 1200, it was a significant location in the city of London.

St. Mary's Abbey, York

The importance of St. Mary's Abbey in relation to a monastic revival in the north of England has been noted and investigated by, most significantly, Burton. The early history of the abbey was inextricably linked to the resurgence of communal religious life, and the potentially incompatible self-improvement and retreat from the world.[87] Through a series of events, explored by Burton in the article cited below, by 1086 Abbot Stephen and a group of followers had settled in York at what was the church of St. Olave, located on Marygate next to the ultimate location of the abbey. In 1088, William II granted them the site of the main abbey, next to the church, and thus laid the foundation for the growth of the abbey and community in the suburbs of York.[88]

Initially, both the location and the significance of early royal patronage bolstered the prestige and ambition of the religious house. It was a significant addition of a major religious establishment to the city, albeit outside the walls, that was set to last until the dissolution.[89] Placing the abbey in an urban location was, in all likelihood, a deliberate decision that ensured the financial success of the institution (due to expected local and visitor patronage) as well as instituting a new, physical and religious presence to the city

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[86] CHTA/3v/10. Translation by Hodgett, see Aldgate, p. 2. It should be noted that this information is derived from the chronicle written in the cartulary by Axebridge, and thus the extent to which it actually happened, or the regularity with which it happened, could possibly be called into question. For more on this, see the discussion in Chapter One, ns. 63 above, and of food in Chapter Four, pp. 160-161.

[87] J. Burton, 'The Monastic Revival in Yorkshire: Whitby and St. Mary's York', in ed. D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich, *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), pp. 41-52: pp. 41-43. Details of this can be found in this article, but are not of direct relevance to this thesis.

[88] Burton, 'Monastic Revival', p. 44.

[89] Burton, 'Monastic Revival', p. 50; and 'St. Mary's Abbey', p. 62.

landscape.[90] Furthermore, Burton has suggested that, from the perspective of the Conqueror and William II, the abbey served as a royal outpost of sorts, with the re-dedication of the abbey to St. Mary over the Norwegian St. Olaf, among other things, being a deliberate move to bring the North into line with Norman rule. Thus, when it was founded, its physical location was extremely significant, though how much the citizens of York were aware of this is impossible to tell.[91]

By 1150, and the period covered by this thesis, this physical presence had extended somewhat due to the acquisition of large amounts of land and property, especially in the city itself, as is attested in the abbey cartularies.[92] Much of this was acquired by the abbey soon after foundation, as the result of Norman aristocratic patronage, and many of its later transactions, specifically in the Bootham suburb, were part of an extended consolidation of its estate.[93] One consequence of this was a level of administrative importance and influence on the surrounding areas (especially Bootham). In the gatehouse, the abbey had its own court to manage its affairs and hear disputes, and beyond 1250 it oversaw its own gaol and gallows in the Bootham area.[94] These liberties are directly related to the physical presence of the abbey in the topography of the city by way of the disputes that arose over Bootham and the extent to which the abbey was part of 'the city.'

Most of the recorded disputes occurred later than 1250, and thus are technically outside the scope of this study, but not by much. In 1262, some of the York citizens launched a violent attack on the abbot and the abbey's holdings, probably seeking to regain some of the revenue lost to the city. Then, a few years later, the building of a strong stone wall around the abbey precinct began. Finally, in 1275, St. Mary's, and thus Bootham, were granted exemption from city administration and taxation as a free borough with its own liberties; a decision that precipitated a series of disputes throughout the later Middle Ages.[95] While not directly occurring in the period studied by this thesis, this contention may have been somewhat rooted in underlying tension, related to the

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[90] Burton, 'St. Mary's Abbey', p. 64.
[91] Burton, 'St. Mary's Abbey', p. 65.
[92] Burton, 'St. Mary's Abbey', p. 68; for the charters see *Liber G* and the *Liber Officiorum.*
[93] SRJ, pp. 160-162.
[94] Burton, 'St. Mary's Abbey', pp. 67 and 69.
[95] Burton, 'St. Mary's Abbey', pp. 69-70.

growth and power of the abbey versus the City, that merely came to a head in the 1260s.[96] The physical expansion of the abbey's interests and freedoms, and thus the effect this had on the shape of city authority and topography, is important to remember when discussing the more positive and cooperative relations in the following chapters.

St. Leonard's Hospital, York

In many ways, medieval hospitals were typically very much an urban phenomenon. While rural houses were not unheard of, it is significant that in Yorkshire 72 out of 90 were situated in towns.[97] It is not surprising, then, that in the twelfth century, York was home to some 24 hospitals, the most prominent of which was that of St. Leonard, located within the south-west angle of the Roman fortress walls.[98] Staffed by men and women who appear ultimately to have followed loosely the Rule of St. Augustine, St. Leonard's Hospital was potentially the largest hospital in England, and certainly it was the second most valuable religious institution in York after St. Mary's Abbey.[99] By the fifteenth century, the hospital traced its history back to a foundation in the reign of Athelstan in 936. It was originally part of the Minster community rather than an establishment in its own right and was thus referred to as the Hospital of St. Peter, even during the period covered by this thesis. It was then after the Norman Conquest that it initially moved to make space for expansions to the Minster and was re-dedicated to St. Leonard with the building of a new church by King Stephen.[100] This, alongside the granting of an indulgence for benefactors of the new church by Archbishop Theobald sometime in the 1150s, significantly bolstered the status of the hospital within the city.[101]

Medieval hospitals were, in several respects, unique, in so far as they were by design institutions framed around, and supported by, the local community. Their interactions

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[96] Burton, 'St. Mary's Abbey', p. 69.

[97] D. M. Palliser, 'The Topography of Monastic Houses in Yorkshire Towns', in eds. R. Gilchrist and H. Mytum, *Advances in Monastic Archaeology* (Oxford: British Archaeological Reports, 1993), p. 3.

[98] Palliser, 'Topography of Monastic Houses', p. 3.

[99] Cullum, 'St. Leonard's Hospital', p. 11.

[100] Cullum, 'St. Leonard's Hospital', p. 14; see also P. Cullum, *Cremetts and Corrodies: Care of the Poor and Sick at St. Leonard's Hospital, York, in the Middle Ages,* (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, 1991), p. 5.

[101] SRJ, p. 163.

with that same community were far more familiar than was the case with many other institutions (especially before the arrival of the friars) and thus their position, both physical and conceptual, was significant.[102] Unlike the ostensibly cloistered existence of other institutions such as St. Mary's Abbey, the doors of a hospital such as St. Leonard's were, literally, open to those of the city that needed help.[103] St. Leonard's had an extra boost to its status within the city by virtue of the fact that it was quite possibly the only hospital in York until the mid-1100s, and thus was the sole or main provider for the poor and sick for a long time.[104]

Physically, the hospital had a large precinct that extended from the Roman walls into Petergate near the Minster. Interestingly, some architectural remains beneath the present Theatre Royal were uncovered and excavated by York Archaeological Trust in 2015.[105] In terms of buildings, it seems to have had a main church and cloister, alongside an infirmary and chapels. Furthermore, it seems that the community was initially mixed, then sometime between 1225 and 1255, the treasurer of York Minster, John Romanus, built a new expansive infirmary with separate spaces for men and women.[106] Overall, it was a key location in the city that served an important social and spiritual function, as will become more apparent in the following chapters.

St. Leonard's was also becoming one of the most prominent landholders in York, with a collection of properties that was constantly expanding. Property was acquired from various locations across the city, especially Walmgate, and the influence of the hospital consequently spread throughout York.[107] Rees Jones has highlighted that this approach to land acquisition and property management was distinct from that of the abbey of St. Mary's. Where the abbey focussed on consolidation of rights principally in the suburb of

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[102] Watson, 'Origins', p. 94.

[103] J. Henderson, 'Healing the Body and Saving the Soul: Hospitals in Renaissance Florence', *Renaissance Studies* 15 (2001), p. 189. It ought to be pointed out that the idea that other institutions, such as St. Mary's Abbey, were removed from society is one that is questioned in the following chapters, in which it seems clear that there was very definite semi-personal interaction between cloistered communities and the urban laity of London and York. The point here, rather, is that they were *supposed* to be removed from society, while hospitals were not.

[104] Cullum, *Cremetts and Corrodies,* p. 6.

[105] York Archaeological Trust Website: http://www.yorkarchaeology.co.uk/2015/05/excavate-stage-right/, accessed online on 02/01/2017 at 16.20.

[106] Cullum, *Cremitts and Corrodies,* p. 8; and 'St. Leonard's Hospital', pp. 14 and 18.

[107] SRJ, p. 162.

Bootham, St. Leonard's was actively attempting to expand its presence within the city walls themselves.[108] It was in Walmgate, in fact, that the hospital's non-medical spiritual significance was focussed thanks to its possession of three parish churches in that area. Around 1170, Walter son of Faganulf granted, amongst other property, the churches of St. Mary's and St. Margaret's, while Alexander the Priest of St. Denys conferred his church into the care of the hospital.[109] Thus, it was a place of some significance in the city of York that attracted a great deal of attention from local citizens and was a significant part of the overall topography and overall shape of the city.

Violence and Rebellion: 1173, 1190 and 1196

In the overview of London and York at the beginning of this chapter, it was noted that both cities were the sites of tension during the reign of King John. London, and agreements over its liberties and control, was a major factor in the lead up to Magna Carta, while York was involved in the northern civil-war against the King. In talking about the two cities in this period, then, it is important to remember that, alongside the land transactions and pious sentiments that run through this thesis, there are examples in both cities that show the less peaceful and cooperative side of medieval city life. In addition to those already mentioned above, three examples particularly warrant mention and brief discussion as they highlight the internal disputes in each city: the role of York citizens in the rebellion against Henry II in 1173-4; the massacre of the York Jews in 1190; and finally, the revolt of William Longbeard in London in 1196.

The first took place in York in 1173-4, but was part of a wider series of events that challenged Henry II's control in the north of England. Hugh son of Lefwin, a significant figure in York society, alongside other leading townsmen, was involved in a revolt against the king that was borne from wider challenges to Henry's rule from his family and the King of Scots, William the Lion.[110] The citizens of York, possibly reeling against financial pressures imposed by the king's sheriff, as well as the ability of other royal boroughs to

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[108] SRJ, p. 165.
[109] CSLH/9r-v/1-7.
[110] Palliser, *Medieval York,* pp. 102-103; Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims', p. 27.

manage their own farm to the crown, were convinced by Roger de Mowbray to reject royal prerogative, and ultimately seek greater freedoms for the city. As part of this, around 1173, Hugh son of Lefwin and others may have tried to establish a 'commune' for the city of York.[111] The precise details of these events, what caused them, and indeed what this 'commune' represented are unclear. Rees Jones, for example, has argued that no such formal entity existed at all, and that the use of the word in the pipe roll fines was synonymous with an accusation of conspiracy, not an attempt at an organised governing body.[112] Nevertheless, the result was a harsh punishment of several citizens of York. Indeed, Hugh son of Lefwin and his family ultimately had to pay around £1000 to the crown for this alone, alongside other charges that accrued through Henry II's reign.[113]

These events have some significance to the history of St. Mary's Abbey. The family of Hugh son of Lefwin were intimately involved in the abbey's affairs. Specifically, his mother, Juliana, and stepdaughter, Bela de Bonville, gave substantial rents, derived from various properties across York, as gifts to the abbey between 1180 and 1212. Indeed, Rees Jones has pointed out that the net worth of those rents, not including non-financial and unrecorded gifts, amounted to £2. 11s. 5d., a generous sum by contemporary standards.[114] Furthermore, in relation to the ostensibly pious motives discussed in Chapter Four below, it is significant that the confirmation of Juliana's donation by Hugh is given 'for the welfare of her soul [namely that of Juliana] and for the souls of my father and all my ancestors' and it is stated that the donation is for the provision of wax for candles to burn at the high altar every year.[115] This powerful, and at times controversial, family were clearly friends of the abbey, providing it substantial support in both financial and spiritual terms.

Of less direct significance to St. Mary's or St. Leonards, the next event that contributed to the history of York was the Massacre of the Jews in 1190. The path leading to the events that took place in York, on a single night in March, began with the coronation of Richard I at which violence broke out, and spread to London. That incident

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[111] Palliser, *Medieval York,* pp. 102-103; Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims', p. 27.
[112] Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims', p. 28.
[113] Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims', pp. 28-29.
[114] SRJ, p. 160. For the charters, see LO/2v-3r/3-6.
[115] LO/2r/1. Text reads *'pro salute anime sue et pro anime patris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum.'*

was of itself relatively minor, but was significant enough for Richard to protect Jewish men and women in England by royal decree.[116] Interestingly, some of the Jews who were present, and injured at the time, were from York. Indeed, the prior of St. Mary's Abbey was in London, and seems to have been responsible for the short-lived conversion of Benedict of York to Christianity.[117] Richard's decree appears to have held until he left on crusade, at which point anti-Semitic violence spread north and culminated with events at York. A series of attacks led Jewish citizens and their families, numbering somewhere around 150, to seek refuge in what is now Clifford's Tower, hoping for protection in a royal outpost in the city. Instead events took a much darker turn. Whether by directly murdering them themselves, or by driving the victims to commit suicide, the perpetrators were responsible for the deaths of all those who had sought refuge.[118]

York had a Jewish community from around the 1170s, with moneylenders from Lincoln settling in the city after the events of 1173-4, most notably in the areas of Coney Street and Bretgate. However, references to Jews in the York charters are few and far between, with the bulk of the information coming from the Jewish Exchequer plea rolls that mostly pertain to the community post-1190.[119] Notably, beyond comments about properties that were not to be sold on to them, as well as separate references to them as neighbours, there seem to be no obvious references to Jews in the charters of St. Mary's Abbey or St. Leonard's hospital in the period studied.[120] Nevertheless, the relationship between Jews and Christians in medieval cities is historically important. Their apparent absence from the charters of religious institutions is worth noting, if for no other reason than to provide context to events that were taking place at the time. Furthermore, though lack of clear evidence prevents full identification of the perpetrators, amongst those citizens who were fined in relation to the atrocity (whether as punishment, or simply

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[116] S. Watson, 'Introduction: The Moment and Memory of the York Massacre of 1190', in eds. S. Rees Jones and S. Watson, *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts* (York: York Medieval Press, 2013), pp. 1-14: p. 4.

[117] Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims', p. 31.

[118] Watson, 'Introduction', p. 1; and Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims', pp. 31-32.

[119] Rees Jones, 'Neighbours and Victims', pp. 25 and 29.

[120] Examples of not sub-letting to Jews include, but are not limited to: CSLH/119r-v/5 and LG/55v/7. As for neighbours, one example is a later charter written by Albreda, daughter of Paulinus de Mobray and widow of Alan de Richmond, to the hospital of property in Coney Street/Stonegate that has 'Aaron the Jew' listed as one of the neighbours: see CSLH/104r/1.

because they were the wealthiest and thus most financially responsible citizens) were various men who appear in the witness lists of the charters of St. Mary's and St. Leonard's.[121] It should also be borne in mind that the violence in London may well have involved some of the citizens who were interacting with Clerkenwell and Aldgate, though this is purely speculative.

London was, however, more directly involved in the third and last event to occur in the final quarter of the twelfth century, namely the attempted 'revolt' of William FitzOsbert/Longbeard in April 1196. FitzOsbert came from London. He was involved in the mixed fortunes of the Third Crusade and was probably loyal to King Richard. Once home, he found that the London élite had successfully established a functioning 'commune' that gave them and the city significant freedoms, but that they had simultaneously extorted a huge sum of money from the poorer members of society to pay the ransom for the captured Richard.[122] FitzOsbert then proceeded to become a self-appointed hero, expounding the injustices faced by the poor and attempting to bring order to chaos in the name of King Richard. It was not to last, however, and he and nine of his supporters were captured on the initiative of the archbishop of Canterbury, and justiciar of England, Hubert Walter. They, and thus FitzOsbert's attempt at what might be called a 'popular revolution', were put to death.[123]

Entwined within the events of 1196 are various social, political and religious factors that have been discussed elsewhere and need not be discussed in depth here.[124] Of significance to the present study was the apparent achievement of the 'commune' of London and the establishment of the position of 'mayor' in the city government. These marked the beginning of a period of jurisdictional change (though ironically arising from support given to John in the early 1190s).[125] It is important to note that, much like that of York discussed above, the precise nature of this 'commune' is not certain. Furthermore,

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[121] See examples and discussion provided by Rees Jones in 'Neighbours and Victims', pp. 32-38.

[122] A. Cooper, '1190, William Longbeard and the Crisis of Angevin England', in eds. S. Rees Jones and S. Watson, *Christians and Jews in Angevin England: The York Massacre of 1190, Narratives and Contexts* (York: York Medieval Press, 2013), pp. 91-105: pp. 91-93.

[123] Cooper, 'William Longbeard', pp. 93-94.

[124] See: Cooper, 'William Longbeard'.

[125] Cooper, 'William Longbeard', pp. 92-93.

the liberties that London ostensibly received were not officially confirmed until 1215.[126] Similarly, the events of 1196 suggest that those who were not leading citizens felt no such freedom or liberty.[127]

Nevertheless, what can be observed in 1190s London is the emergence of a stronger sense of self-government and identity, and Holy Trinity Aldgate appears to have had a part to play. As alderman of a city ward, namely that of Portsoken, it is likely that the prior had some vested interest in the affairs of the city, and the priory certainly appears to have been connected to some of those leading citizens that were so despised by FitzOsbert. Specifically, Henry FitzAilwin, the first mayor can be found granting to Holy Trinity a quit rent from the parish of St. Mary Bothawe amounting to 5s *per annum* in alms and for the soul of himself and the King on his death, and the charter was confirmed with FitzAilwin's seal.[128] His name also appears in the Clerkenwell cartulary, granting a quitrent of 5s from an unnamed parish to supplement an existing 10s paid to the nuns by the convent of St. Edmund.[129] Furthermore, both he and the next mayor, Serlo the Mercer, appear as witnesses in a number of charters to both Clerkenwell and Holy Trinity (cited below).[130] Meanwhile, William FitzOsbert does not seem to appear in any of the charters for either house in this period.

In relation to the religious houses, to a certain extent these events prove very little. For the most part, they do not seem to have been involved. However, it is extremely likely that these four institutions would have been affected by, or certainly aware of, the events here described, especially considering the connections with leading citizens as

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[126] Brooke, *London*, p. 47; doubts about the nature of the commune go as far back as the nineteenth century, with J. H. Round spending no small amount of time discussing it and its role in the city government, see Round, *Commune of London*, pp. 219-260.

[127] Cooper, 'William Longbeard', pp. 95-97.

[128] CHTA/82r/426. It should be noted, though, that another charter from Robert, son of John Cherunburt, grants a stone house alongside various lands and rents in several parishes to Holy Trinity, stipulating that a yearly payment of 2s was due from the priory to FitzAilwin (CHTA/191v-192r/1022).

[129] CSMC/78v/279.

[130] For Clerkenwell, FitzAilwin was witness to eight charters (CSMC/66r/235, 66v-67r/238-9, 68r/243, 70r-v/251, 79v-80r/283-4 and 88r/320). For Holy Trinity, nine charters (CHTA/10r-v/41, 18r-v/76, 53r-v/270, 53v-54r/273, 122v/663, 125r/687, 188r/1012, 191v-192r/1022, 192r-v/1024). Meanwhile, Serlo appears as witness in Clerkenwell charters five times (CSMC/61r-v/222, 67r-v/241, 68v/245, 71v-72r/256, 92v-v/332) and in Holy Trinity eleven times (CHTA/86r/442-3, 86v/449, 102r-v/527-8, 106r/546, 117r/629, 134v/761, 174v-175r/993-4, 193r/1028).

demonstrated above. The point, here, is that religious houses existed and functioned within complex societies that did not always fit a model paradigm of 'kindly and liberal' tempered Christians, to use FitzStephen's words.[131] Furthermore, despite their ostensibly pious and charitable behaviour, exhibited through religious institutions, it is important to remember that there was also this more controversial, and politically active, side to the inhabitants of both cities. The importance of the connections with these urban élites is reflected in the following chapters. The next chapter discusses the legal frameworks visible in the charters, but also pays special attention to the manipulation of the formulae to add spiritual clauses intended to benefit the soul.[132] Indeed, the various sociological factors that influenced these grantors is a significant focus of Chapter Four below.[133] In both cases, many of the examples and details that are uncovered pertain to those at the higher end of the social ladders of London and York.

The Inhabitants and Social Structures of Angevin London and York

Discussion of the politics of the 1190s raises important questions about the nature, size and social structures of the urban populations of London and York, and of those men and women found in the institutions' cartularies. It is important now to consider precisely who these citizens were and what sorts of people were interacting with the religious communities through charters. The final section of this chapter, then, aims to inform the rest of the thesis by providing an overview of the people of both cities as they appear in the cartularies. Chapters Three and Four each discuss how, why and in what ways people were involved in the affairs of religious institutions, but do not particularly break them down into social groupings, except when discussing specific examples. This is principally because the arguments are looking at trends and patterns in their entirety, not issues pertaining to singular social groupings. It would be wrong, however, to ignore the variety

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[131] FitzStephen, 'A Description of London', p. 48.

[132] See Chapter Three; and J. Burton, 'Material Support II: Religious Orders', in eds. M. Rubin and W. Simons, *The Cambridge History of Christianity Volume 4: Christianity in Western Europe c.1100-c.1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 107-113: pp. 107-108.

[133] See Chapter Four, and for a summary of sociological issues and ideas see I. F. Silber, 'Gift-giving in the Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West', *European Journal of Sociology* 36 (1995), pp. 209-243.

of donors and benefactors. Thus, while there remains ample scope for further study beyond this thesis, the following attempts to highlight some of that variety and place those citizens of London and York featured below into some level of context.

Population and Immigration

Firstly, it is worth establishing the approximate population of each city. In general terms, assessing the number of people who lived in a medieval city is exceptionally difficult. One possible indicator, though, is the number of parish churches (whether known or estimated). Parishes, certainly, were important and well-known entities in the urban centres of medieval England. So much so, that the precise boundaries were rarely, if ever, formally written down or planned.[134] In this way, London had around 110 parishes, while other towns such as York, Norwich, Lincoln and Winchester had closer to fifty.[135] Pursuant to this, estimates place the population of London at a high of some 100,000 inhabitants in 1300, growing steadily across the period until the Black Death and other epidemics notably slowed expansion.[136] Meanwhile York has been estimated to have had somewhere between 20 and 25,000 inhabitants in the same period, roughly equivalent to Norwich.[137]

These population figures, of course, are maximal estimates for the beginning of the fourteenth century. The earlier levels are even less certain. However, clearly, throughout the period studied here, both London and York saw a gradual increase between 1100 and 1200. Keene has reasoned that London had around 25,000 inhabitants in 1100, and that a contemporary estimate of 40,000 for 1199 by Peter of Blois is 'credible'.[138] York, meanwhile, was in a substantially weaker position after 1086. Palliser has noted that the messuages that were classed as 'inhabited' (or at least paid rent) dropped from around 1900 in 1066, possibly amounting to some 9000 people, to somewhere between 1000 and

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[134] Lewis, 'Medieval Chester', p. 46.

[135] Keene, 'Medieval London', p. 99.

[136] Keene, 'Medieval London', p. 101.

[137] SRJ, pp. 236-237; Palliser, *Medieval York*, pp. 128-129; B. M. S. Campbell, 'Benchmarking Medieval Economic Development: England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, c.1290', *Economic History Review* 61 (2008), pp. 908-912.

[138] Keene, 'Medieval London', p. 107.

1200 in 1086.[139] Nevertheless, across the twelfth century and into the thirteenth, the subdivision of properties, planning and growth of suburbs, and archaeological evidence of improvements to housing quality all suggest an overall growth in population; to the point that there was probably a degree of overcrowding within the city walls.[140]

There are various possible reasons for this. One of the most significant was likely to have been an influx of new inhabitants, many of whom moved to urban centres from rural areas. Immigration was commonplace for a large city such as London, and it appears to have attracted people from a wide variety of locations, including from overseas.[141] The inhabitants of York, similarly, came from various locations. As has already been established, York was in several respects the capital of the North, and certainly seems to have been second to London in importance. The rivers and roads encouraged trade, while its royal and ecclesiastical prestige 'brought much legal and administrative business to the city.'[142] This can be observed to some extent in the toponyms that occur in the charters of the religious institutions, especially those that are recorded in surviving witness lists.

Between 1170 and 1197, for example, Benet de Hull can be found witnessing a grant of Prior Stephen of Holy Trinity and Robert the Cook in the parish of St. Alphage. Ralph de Coventry appears as a witness to a grant of land in All Hallows Barking by Prior Peter to Ralph the Capper in the first quarter of the 1200s. John de Northampton witnessed a grant of a quitrent by William Wylehale to Holy Trinity in 1253/4.[143] In the Clerkenwell charters, Alan of Norway witnessed a charter by Sabina, daughter of William Senex, granting Clerkenwell property in Westcheap. Finally, Robert de Antioch was witness to a grant of rent from St. Bride that was given to the nuns by Thomas, son of William de Haverhill.[144] From the cartulary of St. Leonard's in York can be found a grant of two messuages to the hospital that was witnessed by, among others, Robert de Skegness (who was a seneschal of St. Mary's Abbey), William de Brinklow, Robert de

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[139] Palliser, *Medieval York*, pp. 67 and 94.

[140] Palliser, *Medieval York*, p. 125.

[141] Keene, 'Medieval London', p.103. Keene discusses immigration principally around the later 13th and 14th centuries, and notes, for example, that many of the local migrants were from the East of England and that there was a noticeable lack of immigration from Southern counties.

[142] Palliser, *Medieval York*, p. 129.

[143] CHTA/124r/678; 36r/181; 97r/501.

[144] CSMC/76r-v/273; 68r-v/244.

Glisewthe and Robert de Giggleswick.[145] Furthermore, Robert de Skegness is witnessed granting land with buildings to St. Leonard's by several men including a Master Nicholas de London.[146] In the court of St. Mary's Abbey, Quenilda, widow of Thomas son of Jocelin, and Mariota de Fossgate made a final agreement on a quitclaim in Marygate that was witnessed by many people including Adam de Rome and John, his brother, William de Pontefract, and his brothers John and Simon, and John de Beverley.[147]

This cites only very few examples, and to analyse all the names would be the focus of a completely different study. Similarly, it should also be noted that being a witness to a charter does not necessarily mean that one was a citizen of York or London. Furthermore, not all those who were 'citizens' necessarily lived in the city. Citing the evidence of some fourteenth century wills, Keene has shown that, the wealthier inhabitants would sometimes actually move out of the city to the surrounding countryside, while still managing their affairs and businesses in the city such as, for example, property.[148] Additionally, the position of an immigrant to one of the cities was not necessarily straight-forward. Names could be inherited, and in some instances at least, migrants retained a sense of regional identity and loyalty from home, and would in fact travel between the two places.[149] Nevertheless, these examples serve to illustrate that, even with these caveats in mind, the inhabitants of both London and York who were interacting with local religious institutions, were not simply 'locals,' but rather came from a variety of places in both England and Europe. This demonstrates, in some ways, the importance of each of the four institutions outside their local environments. Furthermore, while the rest of the discussion focusses primarily on urban donors and property-holders, immigration status and variety is not always reflected accurately in the surnames alone, meaning that some understanding of the above is necessary.

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[145] CSLH/190v/1.

[146] CSLH/73r/2.

[147] LO/56r/1.

[148] Keene, 'Medieval London', p. 105.

[149] Keene, 'Medieval London', p. 105.

Occupations and Women

Other aspects of the lives of London and York's citizens worthy of consideration are their occupations and genders. In both cities, the variety and number of different trades and professions featured in the charters of the four institutions is impressive and suggests that, along with leading figures such as those discussed above, there were in fact a variety of social and economic groups that interacted with the institutions. Indeed, it is principally from such evidence that urban historians may assess the various types of occupation that the citizens held. Donors, recipients, neighbours and witnesses often had occupational surnames that bear witness to their role in society, and sometimes their connection to a religious house.[150]

For the later Middle Ages, Heather Swanson has sought to place artisans, as their own distinct group, into the political and economic frameworks of English towns, especially York. This group spanned an entire economic and social structure, from the wealthy to the poor, with the skills themselves being the common ground.[151] This spread of social statuses is very important when considering who was interacting with religious houses in the high Middle Ages. Abbeys and other such institutions needed association with a diverse range of people, since it was neither economically viable, nor realistic, to rely on the patronage of royals or the nobility.[152] Meanwhile donors and (more especially) witnesses were able, through the symbolic and oral nature of charters discussed in the previous chapter, to show off and confirm their own social status as well as tacitly receive spiritual benefits by their connection to a religious authority.[153]

One type of person that does seem to appear occasionally in the charters is the *staff* of the institutions themselves. Thus, for example, can be found 'Thomas de St. Mary's Abbey' in receipt of a grant confirmation by Peter de Barnby (by the consent of his wife Helen) in the 1190s. Of interest, though, are two subsequent charters, dated to 1247 and sometime a little after 1250. The first sees Mariota, daughter of Thomas *the Janitor*,

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[150] Stenton, 'Norman London', p. 29.

[151] H. Swanson, *Medieval Artisans: An Urban Class in Late Medieval England* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp.1-3.

[152] D. Postles, 'Religious Houses and the Laity in Eleventh- to Thirteenth-Century England: An Overview', *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2002), p. 4.

[153] Postles, 'Religious Houses', pp. 6-7.

confirming a smaller grant of land, also in Marygate, to Michael, the cook for the abbey infirmary. Meanwhile the second is a similar grant confirmation from Alina de Chamber, widow of Thomas the Janitor, to Michael 'of the infirmary.'[154] It is likely that the first Thomas 'de St. Mary's' was the same as Thomas the Janitor, and that the two subsequent grants by Mariota and Alina were parts of the same piece of land, though the details in the charters do not allow a concrete assertion that this was the case. Similarly, in the cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell is a grant from the 1250s by Geoffrey, the porter of Clerkenwell, and his wife and daughter Alice and Elena, of a 6d quitrent from property in the parish of St. Mary Clerkenwell and the fee of St. John's Hospital.[155]

Witness lists can also reveal the names of some of the clerks, scribes and officials employed by the institutions. Thus Thomas de Langwith William, Richard, Robert 'and other clerks of the hospital' can be found witnessing a grant from Witemay and Julia, her daughter, to St. Leonard's (here written as St. Peter's).[156] At Holy Trinity, Robert the Chaplain is listed as the priory's clerk when witnessing a grant by Prior Stephen to Roger the Bursar in the last quarter of the 1100s.[157] In a charter from 1236/7 Master Matthew de Walencin is stated to be 'then the procurator of the house of Clerkenwell' when witnessing a substantial gift by Fulk de Ebgate and Denise, his wife, to clothe two of the nuns.[158] Finally, in a series of charters pertaining to property in Bootham, several probable members of the St. Mary's Abbey staff can be found in the witness lists of *Liber G*. These include Master John de Oketon (senechal), Robert de Couton and Robert de Wetheral (clerks), Adam (of the almonry, possibly one of the monks, though it is not made clear) and Stephen (a messenger).[159]

Again, these examples are not exhaustive. Furthermore, it should be stated that, in the period in question at least, direct references to members of staff, although undoubtedly present, are still rare. There are, however, instances in which, for example, someone such as Robert the Cook is granted land by the Prior of Holy Trinity in the late

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[154] LO/51v-52r/3-4 and 52r/2.

[155] CSMC/103r-v/363.

[156] CSLH/85v/5.

[157] CHTA/126r/700.

[158] CSMC/93v-94r/337. Text reads: '*Tunc procuratore domus de Clerek.*'

[159] LG/137r-138r/2-5.

1100s, or Hugh de Clifton (also a cook) who confirmed land to St. Leonard's in the 1200s.[160] Though not explicitly stated as such, it is possible that these men were, or at least had been, in service to Holy Trinity or St. Leonard's at one point. Nevertheless, charters such as those in the previous paragraph facilitate a degree of insight into who some of the institutions' staff were and what their function was. They also suggest that some employees may have been tenants or benefactors of the Abbey as well as staff.

Examination of the occupations of various people also provides a useful overview of the variety and diversity of those who interacted with religious institutions. A glance at the donor lists of each cartulary reveals people with multiple different profession-based surnames who were either granting land and rents, or else involved in transactions that were of relevance to the religious communities. Thus in *Liber G* are grants from people such as Simon Mascetrarius (a butcher), Walter Aurifaber, son of Godwin (a goldsmith), William the Butler and Lambert Talliator de York (a tailor).[161] St. Leonard's' cartulary contains charters from William Medicus, son of Martin de York (a doctor), Radulf Cordwainer (a cobbler), and Adam le Verrour (a glazier).[162] Meanwhile, people such as Nicholas the Lorimer, Osmund the Carter and John the Tanner are among those with occupational names in the Clerkenwell cartulary.[163] The Aldgate cartulary, finally, also has examples such as Nicholas de Gippeswich (a clerk), William the Chamberlain and Martin the Baker of Cornhill.[164] Combined with the various examples that can be found throughout this thesis, it is possible to get a sense of some of the diverse occupations held by the citizens of London and York, and certainly of those who interacted with the religious institutions of one or other city.

Finally, another group of people who were involved in the business of religious institutions was women. Unsurprisingly, most those who had business with the four institutions in question are male. However, lest their historical importance be lost beneath that of their male counterparts, it is worth noting that women, in their own right, can easily be found donating gifts or confirming land transactions. At some time between

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[160] CHTA/124r/678 and CSLH/84r/2.
[161] LG/54v-55r/1, 55r/2, 56r/2 and 76v/6.
[162] CSLH/106r/1, 199r/3, 109r/1.
[163] CSMC/86v/312, 85r-v/306 and 80r/285.
[164] CHTA/32r-v/154, 106r/545-546, 135v/771.

1200 and 1250, Helen, the daughter of Geoffrey de Stamford Bridge, quitclaims land in Petergate, alongside the 12s rent from the same, to St. Leonard's Hospital.[165] Similarly, St. Mary's Abbey received a confirmation and grant of land with appurtenances and buildings in Marygate from Christine de Carlisle, widow of Gilbert Pistor (i.e. Baker) sometime after 1205. This land was held from her husband (possibly already from the Abbey) and this charter was composed after his death in pure, free and perpetual alms 'for the welfare of the soul of Gilbert, once my husband, and for the welfare of my own soul.'[166] Around 1210 in London, Rose, widow of Alan (the purveyor of oats), grants to the nuns of Clerkenwell land in their fee that she and her husband had purchased sometime previously.[167] Meanwhile in 1225, the prior and convent of Holy Trinity seem to have purchased rights to a yearly rent of 18d from land in the parish of St. Mary Aldermary from Alice, daughter of Ralph, for 10s and services for herself and her heirs.[168]

Women also appear as co-donors, usually with their husbands. In this way, Michael Capra and his wife Rose gave a notification to the bishop of London and the dean that they had granted land outside Ludgate (held by Boneface the Doctor) to the nuns of Clerkenwell between 1156 and 1162.[169] A quitrent from two shops in Soper Lane was purchased by Holy Trinity in 1257, at the very end of the period studied by this thesis. Of specific interest was that it was sold by William de Totham and his wife Margery, daughter of Walter de Essex, in the presence of their daughter and heir Christine, from whom the canons were entitled half a mark of silver should she ever want to sell the property.[170] Returning to York, Stephen Wariner and his wife Christiana release the rights over substantial properties in Ousegate and Coppergate (including one with a 'bakehouse') to St. Leonard's Hospital in 1249. In fact, this may be a reversion of property to the hospital, as Stephen and Christiana are listed as their tenants.[171] The final example from St. Mary's' *Liber G* is release and quitclaim to the Abbey of one toft with

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[165] CSLH/179r/2.

[166] LG/63r/1. Text reads: '*Pro salute anime Gilberti quondam mariti mei et pro salute anime mee.*'

[167] CSMC/66r-66v/236-237.

[168] CHTA/125r/690.

[169] CSMC/84v/302.

[170] CHTA/97v-98r/505.

[171] CSLH/165v/4.

appurtenances in Bootham by Elias de Ethelingthorpe and Julia, his wife, sometime between 1190 and 1240.[172]

The purpose here, and indeed of this chapter, is not to provide an exhaustive list or thorough examination of the various people found in the charters, nor the history and topographies of London and York. To do so would be part of a much larger, and very different, investigation. Rather, the intent is to provide substantial context for the discussions of the following two chapters. An overall sense of where Holy Trinity, St. Mary Clerkenwell, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital fit into the developing urban and social structures of London and York is important when considering how, and why, citizens interacted with them at an ostensibly pious level. Similarly, the discussion of occupations and women demonstrates the variety of support received by the institutions. In other words, men and women of various backgrounds, not just the richest and most important élites, were interacting with and supporting religious communities. The following chapters pick up and expand upon several of these themes. Notably, the following chapter demonstrates more specifically how national political and legal developments can be observed changing the ways in which grantors were composing charters, meanwhile Chapter Four explores more fully the sociological importance of these institutions in the emergence of communal and civic identity.

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[172] LG/76r/4.

Chapter Three

Lay Charters with Spiritual Intent: Diplomatic and Legal Patterns of Lay Donations

The primary focus of this chapter is the development of a legal framework that facilitated and sustained grants to religious institutions and established spiritual paradigms in charter diplomatic. It seeks to place the text of the charters copied into the five cartularies, and the legal and diplomatic trends within them, into the context of spiritual donations and the piety of the citizens of London and York. Specifically, what do patterns of donations in alms and care for donors' souls reveal about the legal status of grants of this type, and about lay attitudes to religious innovations. Both lead to a consideration of the attitudes of both the church and the laity to ecclesiastical landholding. The law surrounding tenure in alms was in flux around 1200, and aspects of this development may be observed in the charters.[1] Finally, the motivation for such grants will then be considered by examining what was meant by *pro anima* clauses, and thus foregrounding the discussion in Chapter Four about ostensibly charitable and pious intent. In so doing, it is possible to observe some aspects of how the four religious institutions functioned in the eyes of the laity.

The charters that are the principal focus of this discussion contain two diplomatic elements common to grants from the laity to religious institutions in the Middle Ages: an alms clause and a *pro anima* clause. Sometime around 1243, Richard, son of Benet the Goldsmith, gave a quit-rent of 1s 10d per annum to Holy Trinity Priory in London. The rent was to come from land, held of the grantor by John Suffolke, which lay next to the lands of Pentecost Wodemongere and Richard May. The grant is given in alms to the house '*pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum et successorum meorum.*'[2] Similarly, in 1229/30, the nuns of Clerkenwell received from Adam, son of Peter Neuelun, 8s quit-rent

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[1] Discussion of the changes in the law at this time run throughout this chapter, but for particular discussions see particularly the section titled 'Frankalmoign and Land Tenure' and the subsequent discussion of the developments towards Mortmain.

[2] CHTA/49v-50r/250; Trans: 'For the welfare of my soul and the souls of my ancestors and descendants.'

from a property in the London parish of St. James in the Vintry. It was to provide 4s for pittances on the 30 January, the anniversary of the death of Adam's brother Nicholas, and then 4s to do the same upon his own death. This grant was given '*pro salute anime mee et pro animabus omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum… in puram et perpetuam elemosinam.*'[3] Meanwhile, in York at around the same time, the Benedictine monks of St. Mary's Abbey can be observed participating in an exchange of land with Lawrence Postard. Little detail is given in this cartulary copy, particularly not a witness list, therefore estimating a precise date or other information is not possible. One detail that does remain is that the exchange was made by Lawrence in pure and perpetual alms '*pro salute anime mee et Agnetis matris mee et antecessorum meorum.*'[4] Finally, in 1225, Thomas son of Thomas de Youl, confirmed and quit land in Coney Street to the Hospital of St. Leonard's. The gift was '*caritatis intuitu pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum et succesorum meorum*' in pure and perpetual alms.[5] It is to grants and charters of this type that attention is now paid.

References to Gifts in Alms and For Souls in the Charters

It is necessary first to consider the construction of the charters and how references to gifts for alms and souls were inserted into the diplomatic formulae. This highlights how these additions to the charters were made, as well as the extent to which their placement differs between the documents in the cartularies. This is significant because these clauses were spiritual additions to standard formulae. It is worth understanding simply how they appear in the text of charters, and that, while they were conscious changes to a legal document, their exact form and position was not pre-set. Understanding the deliberate but varied nature of these additions is an important part of the following discussion, in

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[3] CSMC/74r/265. Trans: 'For the welfare of my soul and for the souls of all my ancestors and successors… in pure and perpetual alms.'

[4] LG/57r/6. Trans: 'For the welfare of my soul and that of my mother Agnes and my ancestors.'

[5] CSLH/105v/6. Trans: 'Out of love/charity, for the welfare of my soul and the souls of my ancestors and successors.' It is worth noting here that the phrase 'caritatis intuitu' could have several meanings, one of which is simply a formal way of saying 'please', while if taken literally caritatis could very well mean 'love'. Here and elsewhere it has been translated as 'out of love/charity', but it is understood that this might not fully reflect the meaning of the term.

which it becomes apparent that there may have been external contexts that affected a donor's motivations when including a spiritual clause.

While the overall language and content may vary, it is often the case that the actual structure remains constant within each cartulary. Thus, in the Clerkenwell cartulary, the alms and *pro anima* clauses tend to be found immediately after the address clause. To provide an example, in 1196, Geoffrey Blund composed a charter that read as follows:

> Let all those present and in the future know that I, Geoffrey Blund, concede and give and surrender, and with this my present charter confirm to God and the church of St. Mary Clerkenwell and the nuns serving God there, in free, pure and perpetual alms for the welfare of my souls and Ide my wife and my sons and for the souls of my parents/relatives and friends, my land in the parish of St. Michael…[6]

This formula follows the pattern of a general address clause stating who the grantor is, what he or she is doing and to whom. Those that are giving in alms will then state it immediately, before going on to stipulate the spiritual intent in terms of souls. Alms grants are indicated by variations on the phrase *in liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam* (namely free, pure and perpetual alms), the three adjectives being apparently interchangeable.[7] Finally, after that point, the discussion moves on to the parcel clauses relating to land in question, a warranty clause, witnesses and other standard legal features.

Such formulae, however, are by no means universal. While in both the Clerkenwell and St. Mary's cartularies the souls are usually placed at the forefront of a grant, the grant in alms is often found elsewhere. So it is that, among the charters of St. Mary's, from sometime after 1200 is found a grant by William Brown. His soul and those of his parents are mentioned in the second line, but it is not until after the parcel clause that the land is

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[6] CSMC/68v/246; Hassall, p.159. Text reads: *'Sciant presentes et futuri quod ego Galfridus Blundus concessi et dedi et dimisi et hac presenti carta mea confirmaui deo et ecclesie beate Marie de Clerek'w'll' et monialibus deo seruentibus in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et Ide uxoris mee et filiorum meorum et pro animabus parentum et amicorum quondam terram meam in parochia Sancti Michaelis.'*

[7] E. Kimball, 'Tenure in Frank Almoign and Secular Services', *The English Historical Review* 42 (1928), pp. p. 344.

said to be held 'in pure, free and perpetual alms free of all secular services and exactions.'[8] Similarly, in a grant from 1211/12 in the Clerkenwell cartulary, we find, after the description of the land and rents involved, that: 'for the nuns to have and hold freely and exempt from services in pure and perpetual alms.'[9] Worth noting, also, is that just before this was a desire for the money given to be used 'to provide them with a pittance on the anniversary day of Radulf, my aforementioned brother.'[10] Indeed, such stipulations for anniversaries are often found later in the body of a charter. One such example, which will be discussed in depth later, is the Mayor of London Henry fitzAilwin, who grants in the early 1190s and gives an anniversary stipulation near the end.[11]

As something of an aside, there is an additional feature that exists, but is not commonly found within the sources; namely statements that grants are made with charitable and pious intent. Such grants are not regular, as such, but occur frequently enough to be of possible interest. A suitable example would be a grant from Thomas son of Thomas de Youl to St. Leonard's in 1225, in which the charter is made 'out of love/charity for the welfare of my soul and those of my ancestors and successors.'[12] This seems to have been the common practice, where such additions were included, meaning that the charitable (and sometimes pious) intent was made explicit before the *pro anima* details. Another example would be from the *Liber G*, in which Walter the Goldsmith makes a grant with the same addition for the upkeep of the abbey infirmary.[13] Of note is that such phrases would also seem to be one of the examples of a later terminological development, as they do not appear to be found in the charters before 1200.[14]

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[8] LO/46v/4. Text reads: '*In puram liberam et perpetuam elemosinam libere integre ab omnuim seculari servitionem et exactionem.*'

[9] CSMC/70v/252; Hassall, p. 163. Text reads: '*Habendum et tenendum eisdem monialibus libere et quiete integre finabiliter in puram et perpetuam elemosinam.*'

[10] CSMC/70v/252; Hassall, p. 163. Text reads: '*Ad pitanciam earum in die aniuersarii predicti Radulfi fratris mei.*'

[11] CHTA/82r/426.

[12] CSLH/105v/6; also: CSLH/105v/7 and 106r/1. Text reads: '*Caritatis intentu pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum et successorum meorum…*'

[13] LG/58v/7. This charter is also mentioned below in Chapter Four, n. 73.

[14] A further investigation into this phenomenon might focus of this term; specifically, perhaps further into the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, and examine the extent to which it was a unique feature to this later period, or indeed to a certain city, and to which offices/institutions it applied.

These diplomatic characteristics are, in essence, spiritual additions to the standard secular forms.[15] In one Clerkwenwell charter from 1222, for example, Goceus the baker acknowledged a payment of 8s 10½d due from him to the nuns with no mention of any spiritual services. The address clause is followed by a statement of the rent and when it will be paid and from where the money is coming. It then states that the due was acknowledged by compulsion of a writ of gavlet, a form of restitution or insurance in the event of non-payment of rent. Goceus's seal is then said to be attached and witnesses are listed.[16] While this would seem to be a charter made in the exceptional circumstances of a dispute of some sort, it is still a useful example of a non-religious grant and how it was different.

One way in which alms did change the diplomatic of grants, however, concerns the warranty clause by which a grantee received assurances of tenure and protection of rights from the grantor.[17] Both Hyams and Postles have discussed warranty at length, the details being unnecessary here.[18] In brief, the overall impression is that the relationship between alms and perpetuity of tenure was uncertain, the diplomatic being rather vague. When desired, the religious had other forms of ensuring perpetuity, such as pledges of faith and oaths, which became the most common form of security.[19] Furthermore, where warranty clauses do appear with grants in alms, it may have been an attempt by religious

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[15] Kaye, *Conveyances*, especially pp.169-70 and 175.

[16] CSMC/73r-73v/262; Hassal, p.170. The Writ of Gavelet is an elusive legal phenomenon that appears to have been unique to London. It is possible that it is related to the Gavelkind land tenure in Kentish legal custom that was essentially a form of free holding for an annual rent, see J. Hudson, *The Formation of the English Common Law: Law and Society in England from the Norman Conquest to Magna Carta* (London and New York: Longman, 1996), pp.92-93 and F. Pollock and F. W. Maitland, *History of English Law,* 2nd Edition, Vol 1, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), pp. 186 and 402. Furthermore, it provided some degree of safeguard in the event of non-payment of rent so that the tenant might keep his holding but might also provide restitution for arrears to the relevant landlord. (J. Hudson, *Common Law*, p.219 and Pollock and Maitland, *English Law I,* p. 355 n.1.) Irrespective of the precise meaning of the writ, the charter formula is the same but with the added explanation for why the grant is being made, and thus is still a useful example.

[17] Hyams, 'Warranty', p. 453.

[18] Much of the discussion focuses upon lay lordship and tenure in a way that is not relevant to this discussion of alms and souls clauses.

[19] Postles, 'Gifts in Frankalmoign', pp. 339-342. Several good examples may be observed in the Aldgate cartulary, in which the canons ask for fealty from their tenants, therefore ensuring that the land was in their overall control, see for example: CHTA/36r/181 and 183, 40r-40v/204 and 122v-123r/666.

bodies to emphasise in words the perpetuity of tenure that was already assumed.[20] The overall result of this, and indeed the paragraphs before, is that the charters given in alms or for souls not only deviated from formulae that was developing in private charters between laymen, but also did not provide a steady diplomatic pattern within their own wording.

The Number of Grants Including Spiritual Additions in the Cartularies

With diplomatic patterns, or the lack thereof, in mind, it is useful to demonstrate statistically, how many grants were given to St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's and St. Leonard's for a legally stated spiritual purpose. The basic raw numbers can be observed in Table 3.1, in which the number of grants containing spiritual elements is compared to the total number of charters that are contained in the cartularies and can be dated between c.1140 and c.1260. Spiritual elements, in this case, includes grants in alms, for souls and those granting for services such as pittances or anniversary remembrance. The percentage then demonstrates how many of the total are granted in this way, or with these stipulations. The result is a useful overview of the rough trends within the charters contained within the cartularies. An unavoidable caveat to these figures, however, is the possibility of lost, misread or incorrectly copied data by the scribe and the nature of the cartulary documents.[21] These percentages are thus better used as estimates of broad trends in donation habits to these institutions. As Rosenwein pointed out, 'statistics can befuddle as well as clarify, and in this instance (as in all) must be used with care.'[22]

These raw figures are not entirely representative. It is important to observe that these *percentages* are relative to the total number of charters in the cartularies. When the actual figures in column two of table 3.1 (concerning the number of individual charters granted in alms and for spiritual purposes) are compared, the difference in number between St. Mary Clerkenwell and St. Mary's Abbey is only ten charters (74 and 64). Thus, that actual number of grants, while still being lower than the nunnery and hospital, was

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[20] Hyams, 'Warranty', p. 442 and Postles, 'Gifts in Frankalmoign', pp. 333-334.

[21] As discussed in Chapter One, pp. 17-18.

[22] B. H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006)*, p. 82.

not as different as the percentages make it appear. Holy Trinity remains below the average, but not to the same extent. Generally, the number of grants given in alms, for souls, etc., remains substantial, particularly when the fuller range of materials included in each cartulary is taken into account.

	Total Number of Charters c.1140-c.1260	Number of Charters granted in alms and for spiritual purposes	% of total
St. Mary Clerkenwell	142	74	52
Holy Trinity Aldgate	287	42	14.6
St. Mary's Abbey	330	64	19.4
St. Leonard's Hospital	254	95	37.4

Table 3.1: Number of Charters for Spiritual Purposes in the Cartularies[23]

Indeed, the range of materials copied into each cartulary varied from house to house. Among those copied, a significant number pertain to the management and leasing of estates by the institutions, rather than records of gifts to them.[24] This division of material may be observed in Table 3.2. Furthermore, there are several examples of charters being included in the cartulary as accompaniments to a grant, sometimes in alms or similar, that pertain to the origins and proprietary history of a piece of land. This increases the overall number of charters copied by adding extra entries to some grants, meaning that for one grant in alms, there may be several extra charters with no spiritual intent. This occurs to different extents in the cartularies.

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[23] Data collected from CSMC, CSLH, LO, LG and CHTA.
[24] As an example, see LO/1r-v/2-3.

	Grants to Institution	% of Total	Grants from Institution	% of Total	Estate Management/ Proprietary History	% of Total
St. Mary Clerkenwell (142 Total)	96	68	22	15	24	17
Holy Trinity Aldgate (287 Total)	112	39	141	49	34	12
St. Marys Abbey: Liber G (273 Total)	78	29	77	28	118	43
St. Marys Abbey: Liber Officiorum (57 Total)	23	40	2	4	32	56
St. Leonards Hospital (254 Total)	137	54	28	11	89	35

Table 3.2: Division of Material in the Cartularies by Grant Type[25]

[25] Data Collected from LO, LG, CSLH, CSMC and CHTA.

	Total Number of Grants to Institution	Number of Charters Granted in Alms and for Spiritual Purposes	% of total
St. Mary Clerkenwell	96	74	77
Holy Trinity Aldgate	112	42	38
St. Mary's Abbey	101	64	63
St. Leonard's Hospital	137	95	69

Table 3.3: Number of Charters for Spiritual Purposes Relative to Number of Gifts

One example from the Clerkenwell cartulary from 1240 explicitly states that, in order more fully to cement and protect the gift, the charters that the grantor's father held concerning the land were given to the nuns.[26] In this case, those documents were not then copied. On the other hand, in the St. Mary's Abbey cartulary, there are examples of the progeny of a grant being recorded alongside it. One of the most striking of these is a series of charters in the *Liber Officiorum* relating to land ultimately given to the abbey by John, son of Walter, and Bela de Bonvill in the 1120s.[27] Such issues help to explain why there appears to be a smaller percentage of charters with religious motivation in certain cartularies, and higher percentages in others. The overall result of this is that the figures can be amended slightly to represent a more accurate percentage of spiritual donations relative only to grants *to* the institutions as illustrated in Table 3.3. Such recalculation is important as it allows for a more reflective assessment of granting patterns as they appear in the cartularies and narrows further any margin of error.

The institution most commonly endowed with grants for explicitly religious reasons was the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell. Of the charters in the cartulary granting to the house, 77% employed some form of religious gift. Previous studies of female religious

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[26] CSMC/98r-98v/349; Hassall, pp. 232-233.
[27] LO/2r-2v/3-6 and 3r/1.

houses suggest that women were perceived to be performing an important curative role when it came to the purity of souls. Many people generally viewed women as perfect for performing charitable acts, their compassion leading to sympathy and aid. They were powerfully effective vessels for piety and communion with God, if often under the condition that they were supervised by men.[28] Furthermore, the influence that nuns had on both the temporal and spiritual lives of the surrounding communities was, in many respects, reflected in the support that they received.[29] Indeed, it would also appear from studies such as that of Nancy Bradley Warren that nuns were, at the very least considered to be, better at and more conscientious in filling the charitable, pious role than monks were.[30] Through such acts, nunneries were providing an invaluable service to surrounding communities, providing spiritual aid that could easily be supplemented by lay grants.[31] The evidence of the popularity of such grants in the cartulary, as shown above, suggests that St. Mary Clerkenwell was no exception. This raises questions about the role of female religious in society, a discussion to which this thesis returns several times in the following chapters.

In a similar vein to the role of women in religious society is the role of hospitals. St. Leonard's Hospital's cartulary contained the second greatest number of charters with religious or spiritual intent: 69%. This figure is significant because of its status as a hospital. Hospitals were founded to provide, and thus represented, charity and good Christianity in a physical and very real sense, as is further discussed in Chapter Four below. The care for the sick and poor provided by them, though very different from what we would consider a modern hospital to provide, was an essential part of medieval conceptions of charitable behaviour.[32] Indeed, in Norwich, providing for the sick and disadvantaged was a major concern of testators' wills in the period post 1250.[33] It is no

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[28] Arnold, *Belief and Unbelief*, p. 148.

[29] R. Gilchrist and M. Oliva, *Religious Women in Medieval East Anglia* (Norwich: Centre of East Anglian Studies, University of East Anglia, 1993), p. 57.

[30] N. B. Warren, *Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England* (Philadelphia: Universityof Pennsylvania Press, 2001), p. 67.

[31] M. Oliva, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medeival England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350-1540* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), p. 139.

[32] Rawcliffe, *Hospitals*, pp. 13 and 16.

[33] Rawcliffe, *Hospitals*, p. 17.

surprise, then, to find that the Hospital of St. Leonard in York was a focal point for many donations from the local citizens.[34] This was not least a result of the benefits received by the hospital as a result of the patronage of Stephen and Matilda, who clearly favoured the house and intended for it to prosper.[35] By granting to the religious stationed there for the benefit of souls, it was often felt that those same souls tacitly took part in the same work undertaken by them, if only by association and confraternity.[36] Indeed, such sentiments are occasionally found directly stated in the cartulary with words along the lines of 'so that I, and Hugo my aforementioned brother, and our ancestors and successors, or our heirs, can participate in all prayers, alms and other good works that are done or will be done in the aforesaid house of God in perpetuity.'[37]

The Benedictine abbey of St. Mary's Abbey follows in a close third place with 63%. From the early Middle Ages, the prescribed roles and duties of a Benedictine abbey were not always clear-cut. Less inclined towards pastoral care, the monks of a Benedictine abbey were, ostensibly, to be primarily focussed on prayer, devotion and love of God. Any other concerns were to be performed within this context.[38] However, the monks of a Benedictine abbey were not totally extracted from their surrounding environments and their rejection of the outside world was not as strict as some twelfth-century church reformers may have liked. It has been noted by scholars such as Chibnall that the laity would sometimes seek out a Benedictine establishment and be involved in any services

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[34] Cullum, for example, has noted that among the York houses, the Hospital was the second most valuable institution in the city (St. Mary's being first) at the time of the Dissolution and was possibly the largest in England. Furthermore, there is evidence that some laymen took over the role rector of the hospital at certain times, alluding to its popularity. See. Cullum,'St. Leonard's Hospital', p. 11.

[35] See, for example, CSLH/1v/4; SRJ, p. 163. See also pp. 50-52 for further discussion about the hospital itself.

[36] B. Thompson, 'Free Alms Tenure in the Twelfth Century', in ed. M. Chibnall, *Anglo-Norman Studies XVI: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1993* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), pp. 221-243: p.226.

[37] CSLH/102v/4. This charter is examined further below, pp. 97, 113, 117 and 169; another example is CSLH/9r/2. Text reads: '*Ut ego et Hugo predictis frater meus et antecessores et successors siue heredes nostri simus participes omnium oracionum elemosinarum et aliorum beneficiorum que fuit vel facienda sunt in prefata domo dei in perpetuum.*'

[38] B. Ward, 'Pastoral Care and the Monks: *'Whose Feet Do You Wash?''*, in ed. G. R. Evans, *A History of Pastoral Care* (London: Cassell, 2000), pp. 77-89: p. 85.

that were taking place.[39] However much they may have tried, those of a monastic vocation were very much part of the world around them.[40] This was no less the case in the high Middle Ages than it was in the early, and that fact is attested by the number of grants given to St. Mary's Abbey with spiritual intent. As discussed throughout this thesis, especially later in this chapter, the abbey retained an important role in Angevin York between 1150 and 1250, especially when it came to matters of spiritual importance.

With 38%, the priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate is notable for the relative paucity of 'spiritual' grants recorded in its cartulary, when compared to the total number for this period. One possible reason for the lower number of grants to the regular canons was, perhaps, the nature of their order. With a greater focus on preaching and pastoral work, Augustinians ministered directly to the laity in surrounding neighbourhoods.[41] As a result, they had an active role in the day to day spiritual life of those around them. This aspect was a main reason for the support they received from bishops in England, and from successive popes. To an extent they were ecclesiastical tools for easing the load on the 'normal' clergy, whilst simultaneously providing for the laity.[42]

There is a further, political, element. During the reign of King Stephen, as Jean Truax has examined, the ties between priory and royal court were strong, with both Stephen and Matilda doing much to support the house in a similar way as with St. Leonard's Hospital.[43] Indeed, prior Ralph served as Matilda's confessor. The importance is that, unlike St. Leonard's Hospital's predominantly spiritual significance, for example, Holy Trinity came to occupy a distinct political role during Stephen's reign due to its situation in London. The canons became a focal point for royal authority in the city, facilitating mutual vested interests with the city and its citizens.[44] This aspect was further

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[39] M. Chibnall, 'Monks and Pastoral Work: A Problem in Anglo-Norman History', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 18 (1967), p. 167.

[40] T. L. Amos, 'Monks and Pastoral Care in the Early Middle Ages', in eds. T. F. X. Noble and J. J. Contreni, *Religion, Culture and Society in the Early Middle Ages* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), pp. 165-180: p. 165.

[41] J. Burton, *The Religious Orders in the East Riding of Yorkshire in the Twelfth Century* (York: East Yorkshire Local History Society, 1989), p. 7.

[42] Burton, *East Riding*, p. 7; and J. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 48.

[43] See, for example, CHTA/172v-173r/973-978.

[44] J. Truax, 'Winning Over the Londoners', *The Haskins Society Journal* 8 (1996), pp. 55-56.

strengthened by the substantial grant by the Cnihtengild in 1125, through which the priors of Holy Trinity became the aldermen of the Portsoken ward.[45] In short, the canons' main role within the city was far more complex than simply being a religious house and landlord, and this could easily have had an unspoken effect upon the nature of grants made out to them.

In comparing the four houses, the motives for the cartulary compositions has already been discussed at length in Chapter One and to some extent is represented in the preceding discussion in this chapter.[46] Of relevance here is that the resulting percentages in table 3.3 should be considered in light of the *type* of institution to which each pertains, thus addressing an important comparative point concerning variation between orders and genders. Doing so allows a more detailed understanding of what role each of these religious foundations played in their respective environments. The following chapter takes this further, seeking to consider the actual content of gifts and what this might represent in terms of motivation and intent.

Trends and Change Over Time

Discussion will now focus on how these patterns changed over time. First, it must be acknowledged that there are problems in dating the material. All four of the cartularies discussed here have already been investigated by scholars, and approximate dates supplied for many of the charters.[47] In most cases, these have been accepted as reasonable, but are not treated as definitive. Any perceived error is here taken on a case by case basis when necessary. Yet the fact remains that, even if amended, the dating of these charters is often circumspect. Where, for example, a witness list contains only one name, or no details of the senior officers of the institution, the process of dating with precision is near impossible without further corroborating evidence. The result is that several charters from

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[45] CHTA/149r-150v/871-876.

[46] See Chapter One, pp. 15-18 and the discussion and tables above.

[47] For the London houses, the editions by Hodgett and Hassall contain dates that can, for the most part be trusted, both citing throughout the reasons for their estimates. The material for York has been collated in the *York Database*, compiled by Sarah Rees Jones and others, and most charters are similarly dated.

York have date margins of up to 60 years, or indeed cannot adequately be dated at all beyond speculation.[48] The precise figures have been included in Table 3.4 below.

As a result, the margin for error on the following graphs (figures 3.1-3.3) is rather large. To overcome this, the median dates between those estimated has been chosen. The data has then been organised by decade in 3.1 and 3.2, and by thirty year intervals in 3.3, rather than by precise date. Figures 1 and 2 show the specifics of granting patterns in London and York as accurately as possible. Another issue that should be noted is that problems with the St. Mary's and St. Leonard's material have resulted in rather too large a spike in the 1200s and 1210s respectively, where the spread was probably slightly more evenly spread across the surrounding decades. However, that all three tables show evidence of a similar growth over time suggests that, while some of the numbers may be anomalous, the trend itself is not.

Something else to keep in mind is that scholars such as Michael Gervers have undertaken extensive projects that have attempted to use phraseology to identify key words or phrases as chronological 'fingerprints' that aid the process of dating.[49] In charters of this type, as will be more fully discussed below, the inclusion of 'pure' in the alms clauses may be indicative of charters written post 1200. Following this method, then, some of the more difficult date ranges in the St. Mary's and St. Leonard's charters have been refined, at least in part, to a more comfortable place in the early decades of the thirteenth century, where the median already lay, thus further reducing the margin for error. Then, by broadening the fields into four thirty-year sections, a more reflective pattern for all four institutions together may be observed in 3.3.

Burton pointed out that until c.1158, grants of all types were still being made to the abbey of St. Mary's in York in fairly substantial numbers, notably in defiance of the

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[48] For example, LG/74r/1 of St. Mary's contains only the name of Abbot Robert, who was in charge between 1189 and 1239. The date of this charter can thus only be dated to that same date range.

[49] M. Gervers, 'The Dating of Medieval English Private Charters of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in eds. J. Brown and L. E. Boyle O.P., *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), pp. 455-505: p. 459.

	Total Number of Grants to Institution in Alms and for Spiritual Purposes	Number of Ambiguous/Broadly Dated (Over 30 Years Difference)	% of total
St. Mary Clerkenwell	74	0	0
Holy Trinity Aldgate	42	0	0
St. Mary's Abbey	64	52	81
St. Leonard's Hospital	95	55	57
Combined Total	275	**107**	**39**

Table 3.4: Number of Ambiguous/Broadly Dated Charters in the Cartularies
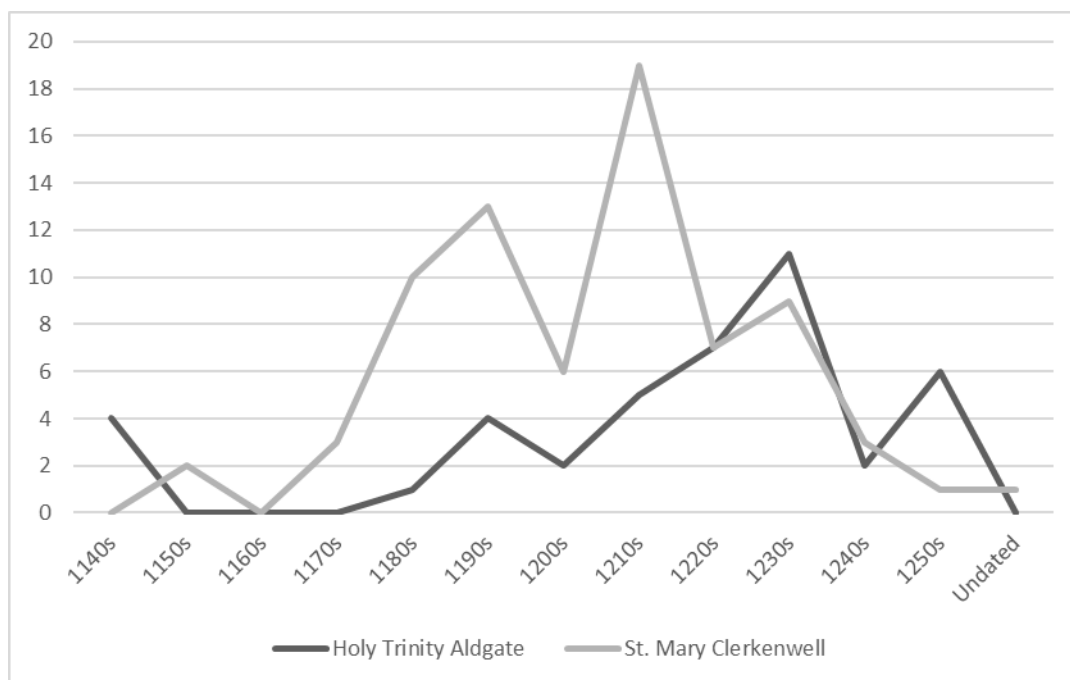
Figure 3.1: London Cartularies: Spiritual Grants by Decade[50]

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[50] CSMC, Hassall, CHTA and Hodgett.
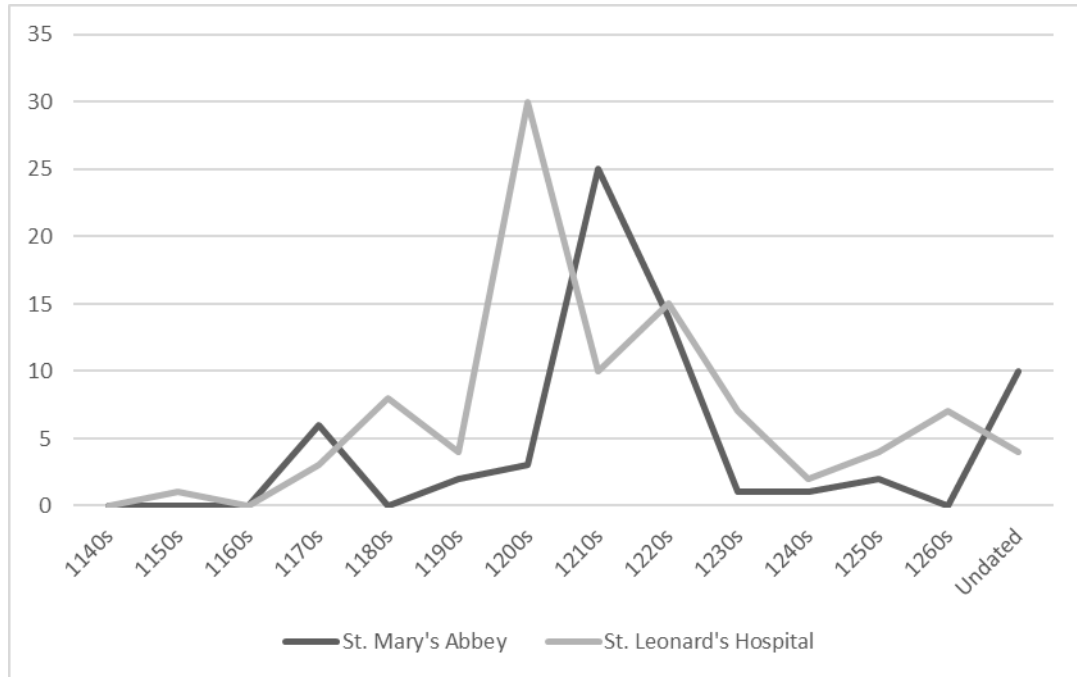
Figure 3.2: York Cartularies: Spiritual Grants by Decade[51]
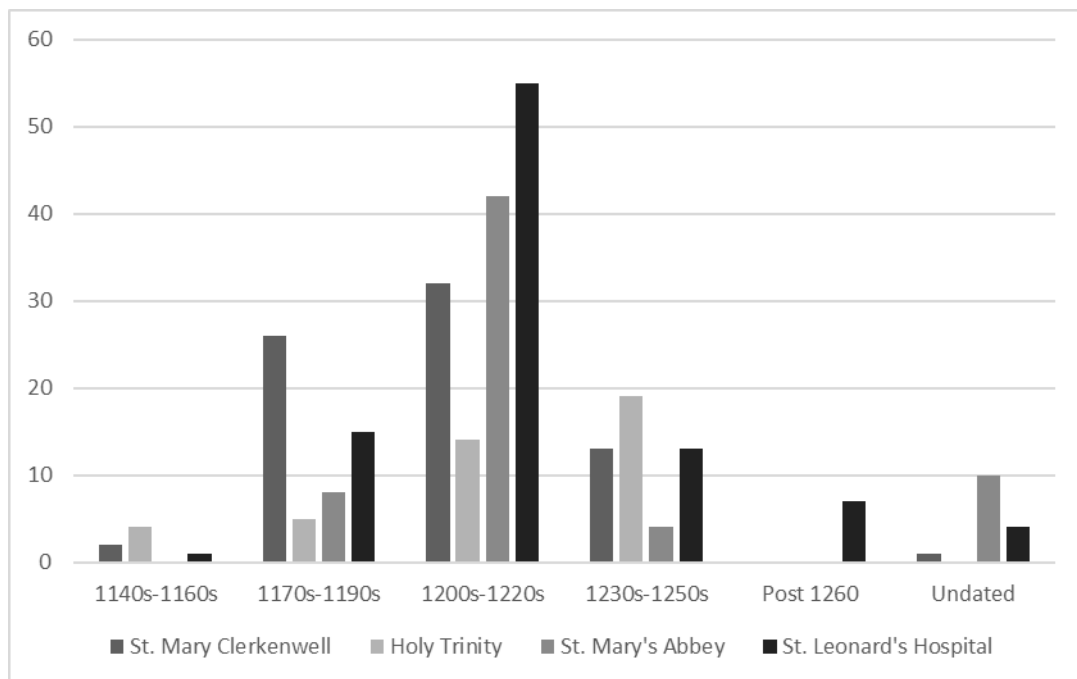
Figure 3.3: Spiritual Grants to All Four Institutions by Thirty Year Intervals[52]

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[51] *Database of Medieval Title Deeds for the City of York.*

[52] Based on figures 1 and 2.

growing support and popularity of the Cistercians.[53] Furthermore, she notes that, by the end of the twelfth century, there was a decline in the number of grants to the Abbey, which, though smaller in scale than the decline in grants for others, such as Selby Abbey, was a fairly universal pattern in monastic endowments at this time.[54] Post 1200, the success of the abbey is said to have been rather hit and miss. Indeed, by 1206 it appears thatthe moral and financial reputation of the abbey was under fire.[55] In terms of particularly spiritual donations, however, the pattern emerges differently. Figures 3.1-3.3 demonstrate that in the early thirteenth century, St. Mary's abbey, and indeed the other institutions, was very popular in terms of grants for pious purposes. Even allowing for error, both St. Leonard's and St. Mary's received more than three times as many grants that were made explicitly for spiritual benefits in the years between 1200 and 1230 than in either of the preceding or proceeding thirty years.[56]

The London institutions follow a similar pattern to an extent. The nuns of Clerkenwell achieved a peak in the 1210s after a small decline. Unlike the Yorkshire houses, though, this decline occurred in the 1200s after a period of significant popularity in the 1180s and 90s.[57] It is important to note that in real terms from 1170 to 1230, Clerkenwell proved relatively consistent in terms of the number of grants given. The difference in number between 1170-1200 and 1200-1230 is only six, followed by a large decline in the following decades.[58] The canons of Holy Trinity, meanwhile, after a small dip in the 1200s, experienced a longer period of increased popularity in spiritual terms. It received, between 1210 and 1240, twenty-three grants of this nature, amounting to over half of the spiritual grants in one thirty-year period.[59]

It is thus apparent that all four of these urban religious communities received substantial boosts in donations with spiritual intent in the decades post 1200. There are

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[53] J. Burton, *The Origins and Development of the Religious Orders in Yorkshire c.1069 to c.1200*, Unpublished D. Phil Thesis (University of York, 1977), p. 38.

[54] Burton, *Origins and Development*, p. 38.

[55] Burton, *Origins and Development*, p. 44.

[56] See especially Figure 3.3. St. Mary's grows from eight to forty-two before a drop to four grants in each segment. St. Leonard's similarly increases from fifteen to fifty-five before moving back down to thirteen.

[57] See especially Figure 3.1.

[58] This can be observed in Figures 3.1 and 3.3.

[59] See Figure 3.1.

several possible reasons for this, the most intriguing of which is developments in spiritual and legal frameworks. As it pertains to the institutions of London and York, to a certain extent these points coalesce and are difficult to separate. In what follows, then, the changing approach to religion and piety is considered. This leads to a discussion of the legal developments that were in part influenced by the evolution of spiritual practice. The final section then considers the legal and spiritual dimensions involved in the inclusion of *pro anima* clauses in charters. In so doing, lay ideas of spirituality and what constituted religious observance had a tangible effect on the way in which men and women in London and York were using legal diplomatic in the charters to St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital.

Developments in Christian Ideology and Expression of Piety

It is important first to consider how the religious environment of England was changing. What emerges is that the timing of the apparent increase in spiritual donations is not insignificant. England, and indeed the whole of Europe, was at this point experiencing substantial ideological and doctrinal changes that built upon the various reform movements of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[60] From developments in pastoral concerns and parish organisation following the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, to the coming of the Friars, the first half of the thirteenth century was a significant period in the history of the Church. In this context, the boost in spiritual donations to the religious institutions here considered makes sense.

The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215 was in many ways the defining moment in the high-medieval church reform movements. Reacting to the development of Catharism, emergence of new religious movements and criticisms levelled at the clergy, both the Fourth and the earlier Third Lateran Councils sought to consolidate and firmly define the Christian ideology.[61] It was increasingly felt that the laity did not know enough about the

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[60] For a broad overview of these changes and further reading, see C. Morris, *The Papal Monarchy: The Western Church from 1050 to 1250* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991).

[61] A. Vauchez, 'The Pastoral Transformation of the Thirteenth Century', in ed. D. E Bornstein and trans. M. J. Schneider, *André Vauchez, The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional*

faith to which they were devoted, performing well-practised rituals without understanding the religious significance of the acts performed. Meanwhile, bishops, and those of a monastic vocation, were faced with existing commitments that did not leave time for extensive care of the laity.[62] The result was that, while belief in the afterlife and broad teachings of the church were no doubt held by a vast majority of people, alongside performance of rituals such as joining a religious institution later in life, or granting to it to achieve confraternity, it was the reforms of 1215 that spearheaded a boost in religious understanding and practice.[63] In such circumstances, it is to be expected that the laity may have been more inclined to think about their own, and others', souls and thus be more likely to donate to religious institutions.

The decades after 1215, and the pastoral application of the Fourth Lateran decrees, have been investigated in depth by several scholars. Paul Pixton, for example, has written on the effect on and implementation of them in Germany between 1215 and 1245, focussing primarily on the efforts of bishops.[64] Meanwhile, of more direct relevance to this study, is the work of Helen Birkett, specifically her consideration of the effect of the reforms in the English Church, especially in North. Through study of attendance at the council itself, Birkett has shown conclusively that the decrees laid out in Rome had a definite transmission to the British Isles. Canons of the minster, monks of Durham and several others attended on behalf of their sees and brought back the results directly.[65]

Practices (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), pp. 95-106: p. 99. For an extensive and critical overview of the pastoral concerns of the Fourth Lateran Council, see Tanner's article 'Pastoral Care: The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215', in ed. G. R. Evans, *A History of Pastoral Care* (London: Cassell, 2000), pp. 112-125.

[62] Vauchez, 'Pastoral Transformation', p. 100.

[63] A. Vauchez, 'Lay Belief Around 1200: Religious Mentalities of the Feudal World', in ed. D. E Bornstein and trans. M. J. Schneider, *André Vauchez, The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), pp. 85-93: pp. 85-87 and 90-92; see also N. Tanner and S. Watson, 'Least of the Laity: The Minimum Requirements for a Medieval Christian,' *Journal of Medieval History* no. 32 (2006), pp. 399-401.

[64] P. B. Pixton, *The German Episcopacy and The Implementation of the Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 1216-1245: Watchmen on the Tower* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995). The work of André Vauchez also covers much in relation to pastoral care and the effects of the Fourth Lateran Council on Europe (see references above).

[65] H. Birkett, 'The Pastoral Application of the Lateran IV Reforms in the Northern Province, 1215-1348', *Northern History* 43 (2006), pp. 202-203 and 212.

Moreover, throughout England, it seems the reforms were not only accepted but also were already, in part at least, set in motion.[66]

Nonetheless, it is necessary not to overstate this position. Such developments were taking place, but even Birkett notes that they were slow to progress.[67] Tanner and Watson, also, highlight that the reforming attitudes of Bishop Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln and later Peter Quinel of Exeter were unusual, and the procedures they tried to introduce far from universal.[68] Ultimately, the reception and implementation of the reforms were variable depending upon region, with local custom or the drive of particular bishops tending to dictate extents.[69]

Even with such inconsistency, however, it is undeniable that conceptions of pastoral care and lay interaction with the spiritual were changing in England. Thus, increased efforts on the part of clergy to improve religious practices must have, one way or another, transferred into the actions of the laity. Vauchez points out that, in Europe as a whole, monasticism in the eleventh and twelfth centuries experienced something of a revival, not least as one of the principal forms of salvation and communion with God.[70] Furthermore, in a rural setting, the increase in monastic presence led to a greater degree of interaction between religious and laity, thus increasing their influence on them.[71] In post-Conquest England, especially in Yorkshire, this was noticeably the case with houses of Benedictines, Regular Canons and hospitals emerging in many places, especially in towns.[72] It is not unreasonable, then, to assert that these changes are reflected in figures

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[66] Birkett, 'Pastoral Application', p. 203.

[67] Birkett, 'Pastoral Application', p. 219.

[68] Tanner and Watson, 'Least of the Laity', pp. 401-402. R. W. Southern also noted that much of Grosseteste's work was seen to be exception, rather than rule, and was very much a critic of the established order. Certainly, it would seem that the chronicler Matthew Paris was emphatic about how different the Bishop was compared to his contemporaries. See: R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe,* Second Edition (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), especially pp. 3 and 6-8.

[69] Tanner and Watson, 'Least of the Laity', p. 418.

[70] Vauchez, 'Pastoral Transformation', p. 97.

[71] A. Vauchez, ''Ordo Fraternitatis': Confraternities and Lay Piety in the Middle Ages', in ed. D. E Bornstein and trans. M. J. Schneider, *André Vauchez, The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1987), pp. 107-117: p. 112.

[72] Burton, *Origins and Development,* p. 314. Proof of the significance of such institutions in towns is evident from both the preceding and proceeding discussion.

3.1-3.3. Before the arrival of the friars, institutions such as St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital were demonstrably immensely popular.[73]

Historians have previously noted that the very existence of a particularly dominant religious figure or house in a local environment could be an important driving force spurring local spiritual belief. Holdsworth, for example, noted that anchorites or hermits could build up their reputation to such an extent that their isolation and self-deprivation became almost iconic amongst certain members of society.[74] Religious people influenced the non-religious and this could change profoundly the mind-set of those who might previously have cared little about religious matters. Certainly, Holdsworth noted that, as more internalised ideas of what religion was and meant to the individual were becoming common-place, it was the external factors provided by religious men, women and institutions that provided much of the groundwork for spiritual devotion.[75] Furthermore, the proselytising role of the Augustinian canons fell in line with the ideals of the Fourth Lateran council before the advent of the friars. Decrees ten and eleven state that bishops ought to 'appoint suitable men to carry out with profit this duty of sacred preaching' as well as increase levels of teaching in their sees.[76] In these respects, religious institutions filled the roles perfectly, especially in a period of pastoral reform.

On the other hand, it has also been suggested that established religious orders fell short of the pastoral role expected of them in towns and cities. Such assertions are built upon the principle that institutions, specifically those of the Benedictines, represented a perfect Christian ideal based on seclusion and *withdrawal* from society, even when situated in towns. The result was that the perfect 'Christian ethics consequently had barely affected lay morality.'[77] Furthermore, with the noted exception of the Regular Canons' 'half-hearted effort', institutions actively avoided towns and cities and paid more

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[73] See tables above.

[74] C. J. Holdsworth, *"Another Stage... A Different World": Ideas and People Around Exeter in the Twelfth Century* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1979), p. 19.

[75] Holdsworth, *Ideas and People*, pp. 20-21.

[76] Tanner, 'Pastoral Care', p. 116; *Decrees of the Fourth Lateran Council 1215,* accessed online at http://www.papalencyclicals.net/Councils/ecum12-2.htm on 26/01/2015.

[77] J. B. Freed, *The Friars and German Society in the Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 1977), p. 1.

attention to their own affairs, resulting in a moral degeneration in urban environments.[78] Thus, groups such as the friars were needed to balance that equation. Certainly, the evidence would appear to suggest that the friars were immensely popular in England, once they arrived in the 1220s.[79] Röhrkasten's work on the mendicants in London, for example, has shown that the early Franciscan supporters included several of the more prominent families in the city, including some with royal connections.[80] Such support for both orders seems to have resulted in jealousy on the part of monasteries and other religious, who felt that their resources (specifically gifts and support from the laity) were being taken away from them.[81]

Yet even so, Röhrkasten also points out that the actual value of donations to mendicants was usually rather small, and while they may have been supported generally, distrust of anything new probably featured in the minds of those around them.[82] Furthermore, Guy Geltner has shown that cases of violence against the mendicants in the British Isles were all situated in towns, not least because of their status as strangers who were ignorant of local customs and power structures.[83] To labour the point is unnecessary; while the friars clearly did cause a fuss and take some of the revenue away from other institutions, mendicants did not supersede them in importance.[84]

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[78] Freed, *The Friars*, pp. 8-9.

[79] For the date of their arrival in England, see W. A. Hinnebusch, *The History of the Dominican Order* (New York: Alba House, 1965), p. 94; and Thomas of Eccleston, "On the Coming of the Friars Minor to England", ed. and trans. in E. Gurney Salter, *The Coming of the Friars Minor to England and Germany* (London: J.M. Dent and Sons Ltd, 1926)/ (Latin) *Tractus De Adventu Fratrum Minorum in Angliam*, ed. A. G. Little (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1951).

[80] J. Röhrkasten, 'Mendicants in the Metropolis: The Londoners and the Development of the London Friaries', in eds. M. Prestwich, R. H. Britnell and R. Frame, *Thirteenth Century England VI: The Proceedings of the Durham Conference 1995* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 61-75: pp. 66-68.

[81] G. Geltner, *The Making of Medieval Antifraternalism: Polemic, Violence, Deviance and Remembrance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), p. 5.

[82] Röhrkasten, 'Mendicants in the Metropolis', p 73.

[83] G. Geltner, 'Mendicants as Victims: Scale, Scope, and the Idiom of Violence', *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010) pp. 129 and 131.

[84] The literature on mendicant activity and reception in England in the thirteenth century is extensive, and a full discussion is neither relevant, nor possible here. However, alongside those referenced above, some of the following provide an overview and context. A. A. Anisimova, 'Mendicants in the Monastic Towns of South-Eastern England', in ed. N. Rogers, *The Friars in Medieval Britain* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 319-330; W. A. Hinnebusch's textbooks on the Dominicans, especially in England; M. Robson, *The Franciscans in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006) and 'A Ministry of Preachers and Confessors: The Pastoral Impact of the Friars', in ed. G. R.

Mindful of this, the figures in 3.1-3.3, at first surprising, considering competition from the friars, seem to be reasonable and significant. In London in the 1220s and 30s, when the friars were still newcomers, donations to both Holy Trinity and Clerkenwell remained, by their standards, high. Indeed, it is the 1230s that was a peak for the Aldgate canons.[85] Furthermore, in York, both the Dominicans and Franciscans were not fully established until c.1230, with the Carmelite and Augustinian friars following in 1253 and 1272.[86] This, in fact, correlates with the evidence of donations provided above, suggesting that the friars did, once established, start to compete with the existing institutions. Yet before that happened, Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity, St. Mary's and St. Leonard's, at least, experienced a substantial growth of support (perhaps as a direct result of increased religious sentiment by the laity in London and York).

This religious sentimentality was, potentially, not entirely without cause. The Fourth Lateran Council would not have taken immediate effect, as already suggested above. Yet the data in figures 3.1-3.3 attests to a rather vigorous support of religious institutions by the laity at the same time. The reason for this is revealed by research done by Gervers and Hamonic arising from the DEEDS project. In this, they note that the diplomatic of charters changed significantly during the period between the 15th April 1207 and 2nd June 1211, with a notable exclusion of the phrase *deo servientibus* in grants to religious houses.[87] The reason for this was that England had been placed under interdict at this time due to tensions between King John and the Papacy, thus creating a sentiment that 'whatever went on in the monasteries was not considered to be done in God's service

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Evans, *A History of Pastoral Care* (London: Cassell, 2000), pp.126-147; and work by Röhrkasten as above. Additionally, various articles by Penn Szittya, for example *The Antifraternal Tradition In Medieval Literature* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 1986), and Geltner, specifically *Medieval Antifraternalism*, deal with the concept of anti-mendicant sentiment in contemporary society. For later medieval cooperation, see Joan Greatrex, 'Monks and Mendicants in English Cathedral Cities: Signs of a Mutual Benefit Society?', in ed. N. Rogers, *The Friars in Medieval Britain* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2010), pp. 97-106. Finally, this was core to the topic of my own MA dissertation undertaken at York.

[85] See Figure 3.1.

[86] Palliser, *Medieval York,* p. 152.

[87] M. Gervers and N. Hamonic, *'Pro Amore Dei*: Diplomatic Evidence of Social Conflict During the Reign of King John', in eds. M. Gervers, N. Hamonic, K. Pennington and M. H. Eichbauer, *Law As Profession and Practice in Medieval Europe: Essays in Honour of James A. Brundage* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), pp. 231-259: p. 246.

because one could not serve God when the country was under interdict.'[88] Any pastoral services that may have been rendered by them were suddenly cut out. Therefore, after the interdict had been lifted, so Gervers and Hamonic argue, the whole population of England actively sought to redress the spiritual shortfall by granting in alms and for souls in large amounts; a pattern which began to dwindle after John's death in 1216.[89]

This would appear to correlate with the data compiled from the York and London houses. Donations to Holy Trinity increased gradually after 1200, peaking in the 1230s before declining. St. Leonard's Hospital would appear, from table 3.2, to have experienced a boom sometime before the interdict, dropping significantly in the 1210s before a brief rise and gradual decline in the 1220s and 1230s. Most reflective, perhaps, is the data from both St. Mary Clerkenwell and St. Mary's Abbey in which both spike significantly in the 1210s before dropping off very soon after 1220.[90] If, indeed, the response to the interdict was felt by all, coupled with the results of the Fourth Lateran Council the growth in donations in the period between 1210 and 1230 appears to make sense. Clearly the religious sentiments of the laity were being nudged in certain directions by surrounding events.

What does this mean about how people were viewing religious institutions in London and York? The above demonstrates that spiritual donations to the four institutions examined in this thesis take place in a contextually interesting period of church history. Pastoral developments from the top had a distinct effect the people to whom they applied, which then had a knock-on effect to the spiritual bodies that surrounded those same people. Tanner noted that that the main purpose of pastoral care was to focus the enthusiasm of lay men and women into productive and useful outlets.[91] The graphs above would suggest that, in the two most significant towns of Angevin England, the energy was at first channelled into the existing religious institutions, specifically those established post-conquest, before ultimately shifting in other directions after the 1230s/40s.

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[88] Gervers and Hamonic, 'Diplomatic Evidence', pp. 245-246.
[89] Gervers and Hamonic, 'Diplomatic Evidence', pp. 249-250.
[90] All data taken from tables 2.1-2.3.
[91] Tanner, 'Pastoral Care', p. 117.

In the words of Keene, 'a town cannot be understood in isolation from the wider society of which it forms a part.'[92] In this respect, both York and London ought to be considered in relation to other towns in the same period, and one of the most significant features of medieval urban environments was their religious frameworks.[93] Speaking generally, the church and its agents (namely the various religious institutions) were to a large extent social foci, promoting hegemony and harmony in the surrounding areas.[94] While not the sole function of many religious houses, the pastoral role of those living a religious vocation, from the early Desert Fathers to the high Middle Ages, was significant.[95] Following a gradual decline, as described above, after 1250 this became predominantly manifest in the friaries, parish churches and religious guilds that emerged. Before that it was the monastic and quasi-monastic institutions that gained the favour of the laity.[96]

The growth in support experienced in the decades around 1200 in London and York, as observed through examination of the cartularies of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital, may be further vindicated by studies by scholars such as Rosser on Westminster, Urry on Canterbury and others working on large towns such as Norwich. For example, Rosser has noted that in this period, the Abbey of Westminster attracted many donations from the laity, often given for prayers or other services, not least as part of the Gothic rebuilding of the abbey. This continued until the 1240s, in which it appears that Henry III's support allowed laymen to devote their attention to parish churches instead.[97] In Canterbury, the monks of Christ Church were prolific record keepers and administrators, allowing much insight into their extensive land-holdings in the surrounding town.[98] In this way, Urry noted that while donations to the abbey were not as significant as actual purchases by the monks, the

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[92] Keene, 'Medieval London', p. 99.

[93] R. Holt and G. Rosser, 'Introduction: The English Town in the Middle Ages,' in eds. R. Holt and G. Rosser, *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History: 1200-1540* (London and New York: Longman Publishing, 1990), pp. 1-18: p. 2.

[94] Indeed, this aspect of their existence in London and York forms a substantial part of the discussion of Chapter Four below, pp. 127-133.

[95] Ward, 'Pastoral Care', pp. 77.

[96] Holt and Rosser, 'Introduction', p. 13.

[97] G. Rosser, 'Vill of Westminster', pp. 227-228; See also Rosser's work in *Medieval Westminster*.

[98] W. Urry, *Canterbury Under the Angevin Kings* (London: The Athlone Press, 1967), pp. 1-3.

emergence and growth of the cult of Thomas Becket seems to have inspired a greater number of donations as well as generic charitable gifts.[99] Norwich, as a comparable example of a large non-monastic town, was by no means short of religious institutions that proved popular with the surrounding citizens. The Cathedral Priory shared donations with several hospitals and Augustinian houses around the city.[100] Furthermore, like London and York, any pastoral support and subsequent popularity of the cathedral-priory dwindled in the mid-thirteenth century. In this case, the principal cause was tension with the laity over payments due to the cathedral, but was also a result of support given to the already well-established parish churches.[101]

The trend visible in London and York in the first half of the thirteenth century was part of a more general development of lay religious activity across England. In terms of grants with pious intent, and thus the spiritual role that monastic and religious institutions filled at that time, the laity to some extent lost much of their interest in established foundations, choosing instead to focus upon the newer and more personal options that became available from the 1230s.

Frankalmoign and Land Tenure

Another significant development in the charter diplomatic may be observed in a legal context. For a grant to a religious institution to be an act of 'charity', and thus a legitimately pious act, a grant needed to be made in alms and free from other services. The following section of this chapter examines how the words expressing a grant in alms changed over this period and how closely this reflects, or affects, contemporary understanding of the legal procedures surrounding donations to religious houses. Similarly, it considers what was expected when a grant was made for the soul of a donor, or others, and what significance this may have had in terms of the writing of the charter. Once these elements are understood, along with those discussed above, the details and

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[99] Urry, *Canterbury*, pp.28-29.

[100] C. Harper-Bill and C. Rawcliffe, 'The Religious Houses,' in eds. Carole Rawcliffe and Richard Wilson, *Medieval Norwich* (London and New York: Hambledon and London, 2004), pp. 73-120: pp. 73-74.

[101] Harper-Bill and Rawcliffe, 'Religious Houses', pp. 85-86.

ideas of what was given, received and why may then be discussed in detail in the following chapter.

Free alms tenure, or Frankalmoign, was the principal way in which church institutions held land, and other sources of income, in the medieval period. Hudson argues that this change was very much an Anglo-Norman development, probably spurred on by church reform, replacing the Anglo-Saxon language of inheritance in the charters.[102] To understand the significance of free alms tenure, it is necessary first to explain precisely what that meant in legal terms. In 1235, Bracton, in his work *De Legibus Et Consuetudinibus Angliæ*, describes church landholding thus:

> Similarly there are those that are either free and perpetual alms or
> pure, free and perpetual, which are considered both the property of
> men and of God, since they are given not only to God and such a
> Church, but to the abbots and priors there serving God.[103]

Put simply, once property had been given to a religious institution, it lost all temporal ties and essentially became spiritual property, in the sense that it pertained to the church. The result was, nominally at least, that the grant was thus free from secular services due to any lord and lay jurisdiction.[104] The Church was understood to be its own highest lord, and thus could not hold land from anyone else, and most ties to the original grantor were likewise severed, except when s/he was expected to defend against some other claim. The result was that the grant was then available for full exploitation by the ecclesiastical body to whom it had been given. Furthermore, the grant was, whether explicitly stated or not, expected to be perpetual.[105] This is primarily how free alms tenure was characterised by Pollock and Maitland.[106]

In more recent scholarship, however, it has become clear that Maitland's broad definition does not necessarily match the *de facto* meaning of an alms grant to a religious

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[102] Hudson, *Common Law*, p. 91.

[103] S. E. Thorne, (trans.), *Bracton On the Laws and Customs of England,* Volume III, (London, Publications of the Selden Society, 1968-77), p. 127. The passage in Latin reads: '*Item liberorum aliud libera et perpetua elemosina aliud pura et libera et perpetua, quæ quidem sunt tam in bonis hominis quam bonis dei, quia dantur non solum deo et tali ecclesiæ sed abbatibus et prioribus ibidem deo servientibus.*'

[104] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*' p. 202.

[105] Hyams, 'Warranty', p. 442.

[106] Pollock and Maitland, *English Law,* p. 240-251.

institution. Thus, in 1928, Elizabeth Kimball re-examined the idea of frankalmoign in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. She established that, in real terms, there were at least two types: one in which some service could be exacted and the other in which it could not. Furthermore, she argues, it was not until the fourteenth century that all variations of an alms clause were considered free of secular service.[107] She also points out that another section of Bracton expands upon that quoted above, establishing that 'land may be granted in free, or free and perpetual alms for a service due to the donor, or in free, pure and perpetual alms for no such service;' that said service can also only be quit when it pertains to the grantor directly, unless arrangements have been made with a higher lord to whom service is due.[108] More recently, the discussion has been examined by scholars such as Audrey Douglas and Dave Postles. Both have built upon Kimball's work and demonstrated that the conclusions are applicable to the twelfth century as well as later periods.[109]

An interesting example is knight-service owed on land held by the laity and sometimes of religious houses. It is not necessary to dwell on this issue, as it has already been excellently examined by Postles, yet it illustrates effectively one of the more problematic elements of grants in alms. Essentially, any services pertaining to a grant of land fell into two categories; *intrinsic*, namely obligations between grantor and grantee such as rent or *gersuma*, and *forinsec*, those due to the lords of the fee or the crown.[110] In England, the main tenet of *forinsec* service was the provision of knights (an act firmly entangled in the political and temporal concerns of crown and country).[111] Postles' study reveals that, in this instance, the daily practice was often variable. Benedictine houses, for example, were familiar with military obligations from the time of the Conquest, while houses of other orders tended to be outside the established frameworks. Thus, whilst

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[107] E. G. Kimball, 'Secular Services', pp. 341-2 and 344.
[108] E. G. Kimball, 'Secular Services', p. 343.
[109] A. Douglas, 'Tenure *in Elemosina*', p. 95, Postles, 'Gifts in Frankalmoign', p. 332.
[110] Kimball, 'Secular Services', pp. 341-3; D. Postles, ''Tenure in Frankalmoign and Knight Service in Twelfth-Century England: Interpretation of the Charters', *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 13 (1992), p. 20.
[111] Postles, 'Tenure in Frankalmoign', p. 20.

many of the monasteries of Yorkshire found themselves owing knightly service on some grants, St. Leonard's Hospital appears to have escaped such obligations.[112]

In terms of lay urban society, however, knight-service was irrelevant in the context of property held by burgage tenure. But, as elsewhere, when a grantor gave in alms to a religious house, it was often the attitude of the tenant in chief that determined what service was owed.[113] Burgages might be burdened with burghal taxation, but these payments were often integrated into the rental cost of land and became subsumed in the overall economic development of the land market.[114] Indeed, it was the exemption from such burgage levies by ecclesiastical institutions that fed into the adoption of the Statutes of Mortmain, as described below.[115] It is thus to such monetary arrangements that more attention will be paid.

It is at this point that the significance of the word '*puram*' in the alms clauses becomes manifest. Much of the scholarly discussion focusses upon the diplomatic formulas used in grants to religious houses. As mentioned above, alms clauses were subject to a degree of adjectival variance. Whether the *elemosinam* was free, pure or perpetual was entirely dependent upon what was written in the charter. On one level, it might appear that the wording was random, depending upon the scribe and people involved. However, the scholarship mentioned above demonstrates that the meaning of each word was rather significant. Of interest is whether secular services were expected or not. Ultimately, a gift made out *in elemosinam* could be treated as any other land transaction until the precise nature of what was and was not owed was established.[116] The lay person, in granting to a religious institution, was primarily concerned with what the gift was going to provide for the grantee.

A consensus among legal historians suggests that the word '*puram*' was often the deciding factor in what services were owed. By the end of the twelfth century the desire to exempt religious institutions from secular services was formalised, albeit inconsistently, in

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[112] Postles, 'Tenure in Frankalmoign', pp. 19 and 23-25.

[113] Postles, 'Tenure in Frankalmoign', p. 22; Thompson also covers this in 'Free Alms Tenure', p. 231.

[114] Postles, 'Tenure in Frankalmoign', pp. 25-26. See also P. Taylor, 'The Bishop of London's City Soke', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 53 (1980), pp. 174-176.

[115] C. Gross, 'Mortmain in Medieval Boroughs', *The American Historical Review* 12 (1907), pp. 733-734. For discussion of Mortmain legislation see below in this chapter.

[116] Kimball, 'Secular Services', p. 348.

the use of the word 'pure' to designate truly free grants, as ultimately reflected in Bracton.[117] By explicitly granting something as pure alms, a donor sought to further his/her own cause by channelling the donation to definitive pious purpose without the temporal shortfall.[118] However, the charters from the institutions considered here demonstrate that the reality was not always so simple. Indeed, it is apparent that in the decades post 1200, while the word *puram* became more common, the actual meaning was unclear and there are several examples in which it appears with names services still owed.

In the cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, many of the documents that appear around or post 1200 are given in 'pure' and 'perpetual' alms, with 'free' being rather less prominent. For example, sometime in the early 1200s in Coney Street, Gerard, son of Lefwin, gave a gift to the hospital on the following terms:

> For the welfare of my soul and that of my father and of Hugo my
>
> brother, and of all our ancestors and successors or heirs… in pure and
>
> perpetual alms… so that I, and Hugo, my aforementioned brother,
>
> and our ancestors and successors, or our heirs, can participate in all
>
> prayers, alms and other good works that are done or will be done in
>
> the aforesaid house of God in perpetuity.*[119]*

There was no mention, in this charter, of any reserved payments that ought to be taken out of the gift; all was to go to the hospital to assist in the good work it undertook. Meanwhile, John de Curcy gave property to the hospital on similar terms in Lendal.[120] Similarly, William son of Hugh de York granted land in Ousegate in pure and perpetual

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[117] Douglas, 'Tenure in *Elemosina*', pp. 128 and 131; see also, for example, Kimball, 'Secular Services' and Thompson, 'Free Alms Tenure', pp. 230-231. Kaye also noted that, in England, 'between c.1140 and c.1280 about three fifths of those using the formula *in liberam et puram elemosinam* made the grantees subject to secular services.' (Kaye, *Conveyances*, pp. 170-171.) Worth noting here, too, is that the increased usage of the word pure, as now understood, allows for the more precise dating of some of the charters in the cartularies under consideration. It is for this reason that the trends observed in figure 3.3 above can be refined and thus proven more reflective.

[118] Thompson, 'Free Alms Tenure', p. 231.

[119] CSLH/102v/4. Text reads: 'Pro salute anime mee et patris mei et Hugonis fratris mei et omnium antecessorum et successorum siue heredum nostrorum… in puram et perpetuam elemosinam… ut ego et Hugo predictis frater meus et antecessores et successores siue heredes nostri simus participes omnium oracionum elemosinarum et aliorum beneficiorum que fuit vel facienda sunt in prefata domo dei in perpetuum.'

[120] CSLH/105v/7.

alms with no services.[121] In Ousegate, John Niger and Robert, son of Jordan, both did the same at around the same time.[122] Again in Coney Street, Alex Peppercorn granted in this way with no further payments due.[123] With examples such as these as evidence, it does seem that the word *puram* often carried with it the exemption from any other payments due, and furthermore that a fair number of the charters were granted in this way.

This may be demonstrated further by other examples in which a gift was given in alms, notably without the stipulation 'pure', and some form of payment was expected. At the very end of the period under consideration in the 1260s, Nicholas son of Paulinus gives land to the hospital that lies next to the churchyard of St. Mary's Church in Castlegate in an example demonstrating that exemption from payment was not automatic. The land is given in alms and for souls, and seems normal. Yet it emerges that the Church of St. Mary's had a claim on that land, and thus the grant stipulates that a 2s payment is to be retained as rent. This payment was not merely nominal either, since Rector Robert Saham and the Hospital grant it to Robert Gray to hold with the same 2s rent on top of the 12d owed to St. Leonard's.[124] Moreover, Albreda, daughter of Paulinus de Mowbray and widow of Alan de Richmond, grants land with buildings retaining a 2s rent to Dominus Alan, son of Brian, as chief lord of the fee. This grant was made out only as in free and perpetual alms.[125] Finally, Nicholas, son of Simon, quits land in Walmgate in free and perpetual alms, saving a 28d payment to Robert Burdon and his heirs as lords of the specified land.[126]

St. Mary's Abbey's charters show a similar trend, with a great number of them being given in free, pure and perpetual alms. For example, in Marygate and Bootham, Goda Gleghe and Radulf Borlebraet are involved in a grant and confirmation, respectively, on two plots of land. The alms clauses are free, pure and perpetual and the grant amounts to 3d. Beyond this, there were no additional payments to anyone.[127] Taken together these two charters demonstrate how it was possible for a grant to serve two

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[121] CSLH/163v/1.

[122] CSLH/164v/6 and 164v-165r/7.

[123] CSLH/104r/2 and 104r-v/4.

[124] CSLH/101v/2 - 101v-102r/3.

[125] CSLH/104r/1.

[126] CSLH/199v/6.

[127] LG/62v/4-5.

interests at the same time, namely that of the grantor and of the confirmer, by way of exemption from any service owed making the gift more complete. Grants such as this occur in both the *Liber G* and *Liber Officiorum*.[128] Unlike St. Leonard's, the inclusion of 'free' seems to have been more common for the abbey. Whether this reflects different intent is unclear, but in general terms it seems not to have had much of an effect. In most cases, there is no *stated* service due on the land, suggesting either that no additional payments were due or that they were not felt to be worth recording or copying into the cartulary.[129] For example, Simon Mascetrarius, the butcher, gave St. Mary's 4s rent along with 12d yearly in perpetual alms. No further payments were required on the part of the abbey, suggesting that Simon retained responsibility for any payments due on the land from which the rent was drawn.[130]

On the other hand, payments on land were not entirely unusual. Where 'pure' was not included, there was a definite opening for additional charges to be levied on gifts granted in alms. In one of the more difficult to date charters, Elias Flour, son of William de Markington, confirmed land in Newbiggin in perpetual alms sometime between 1185 and 1240. This land retained a 22½d service to Thomas de Aslakby as lord of the fee.[131] Between 1205 and 1235, the tailor, Lambert Talliator de York, gave land with appurtenances to the abbey in alms saving 6s to the heirs of John Malbis from whom

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[128] See for example: LO/2v-3r/6, 3r/1 and 56v/4-5.

[129] On the motives of the scribes and the purpose of the cartularies, see above pp. 17-18. A further possible reason is that the lack of stated/recorded service was due to the land in question being demesne land of the abbey. This is especially the case with land in the Bootham suburb of the city, in which the abbey had not only a great degree of influence but also significant vested interest. Successive charters to and from the abbey in this area reflects this. Furthermore, while it was not until the later thirteenth century that the abbey began to enclose itself behind a wall, thus creating a physical boundary between it and the city, it was clear that the monks very much wanted to give, take and provide for this suburb. Of course, a large amount of this was the desire to repossess land that was already in their own fee. (SRJ, pp. 160-161). It is possible that their position there meant that certain grants to the abbey were not 'new' acquisitions as such but rather examples of this repossession. If such was the case, it would not be unusual to have no payment to lord of the fee; the abbey could not pay itself. As it is, establishing what was already owned by the abbey is problematic. For the most part, such issues do not affect the charter diplomatic as such. A grant to the abbey in its own fee was still a grant in which the possession was 'free, pure and perpetual' since it would be the monks that benefited from it completely.

[130] LG/54v-55r/9.

[131] LG/81v/6.

Lambert held the land.[132] In Clementhorpe, meanwhile, Stephen, son of Bertram, granted land in alms to St. Mary's. In this case, the current tenant, Harvey, was to pay rent of 3s per annum to the monks; but also, he paid 11d to the donor's son in fee and hereditament. This extra cost to Harvey was potentially a retained payment on the land, the responsibility for which was considered due, but deferred from St. Mary's to the tenant.

When it comes to charters from London, there are some important differences and exceptions that stand out. Considering the Augustinian canons first, there can be found grants made in pure alms that, as would be expected, retain no service. Nothing is due in c.1243 on a 1s 10d quit-rent given to the canons by Richard, son of Benet the Goldsmith, in the parish of Andrew Hubbard, in free, pure and perpetual alms.[133] Alongside this, land granted by William the Chamberlain in St. Mary Aldermary in pure and perpetual alms is free from any obligations.[134] Once again, the omission of 'pure' did not automatically mean payment was due. Ernald, son of Simon the Chaloner, granted land and a house in St. Clement Candlewick c.1222-1248 in free and perpetual alms with nothing further asked of the canons. Equally, where payments *were* due on land given in alms, they usually were not considered to be pure. On the 11th March 1250, Peter fitzRoger gives a quit-rent of 4s in St. Dunstan in the East that includes a payment of 1½d socage to the crown.[135] What makes this charter of further interest is that later in the cartulary there is another version of the same document, possibly as a correction to this one, in which the same gift is given, but the text is different and the service due to the King is raised to 3½d.[136] Finally, a free and perpetual alms gift of money was given by William de Belmonte in 1227 in the parish of St. Mary Newchurch, saving a 3d rent to the soke of the bishop of London.[137]

There are some grants, however, that appear to be given in pure alms, but retain some form of due payment or service. Sometime between 1193 and 1212, for example, Robert, son of John Cherunburt, granted a stone house, land and rents in free, pure and perpetual alms ('*liberam, puram et perpetuam elemosinam*') in the parishes of St. Mary

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[132] LG/56r/2-3.
[133] CHTA/49v-50r/250.
[134] CHTA/106r/546.
[135] CHTA/44r/218.
[136] CHTA/203r-203v/1056.
[137] CHTA/188v-189r/1014.

Woolnoth, St. Mary Abbechurch and St. Mary Newchurch. The inclusion of '*puram*' in this case, though, did not exempt the land from secular services. The canons were to pay 2s per annum to Henry son of Ailwin (the first mayor of the city) and his heirs, 1d for the King's soke and 2s to the monks of Merton.[138] On top of this, while not a service due, there is one example of a grant being made in free, pure and perpetual alms, yet expecting a payment back in gersuma for the land given. This was the case when Gilbert son of Benet gave Holy Trinity a quit-rent of 3s 6d in 1222-48, but in return he was given 20s in gersuma.[139] For the Augustinian canons, at least, the stipulation that a grant was pure appears not to have carried the same weight as it might have done elsewhere.

Intriguingly, there are many similar instances in the Clerkenwell cartulary. William de Winton, son of Nicholas de Winton, for example, grants land and houses in the parish of St. Martin Orgar in 1240. The grant is in pure and perpetual alms ('*in puram et perpetuam elemosinam*'), but retains 'services due to the lord of the fee, namely 2s from that land.'[140] Additionally, in 1218/20, one John Buchuinte granted land to the nuns on the same terms in the parish of St. Andrew Holborn. The gift is stated to be for the nuns' shoes, a topic to which the next chapter returns, and is given for the souls of John, Juliana, his wife, and his ancestors. However, the grant also saves a 3s rent per annum due to Peter, son of Walter, son of Robert the tailor, which the nuns are to pay two times across the year.[141] As a final example, in much the same way Rosamund, daughter of James Finke, gives a 10s quit-rent alongside a stone house to Clerkenwell after the death of her parents. On top of this she gave land in St. Martin Outwich and 1d of rent due from one Roger, son of Remfrid. All of this is given in pure and perpetual alms for her soul and those of her mother, father, ancestors and descendents, including all the Christian dead. Yet just after stating that the grant is 'pure' the charter continues with 'without violation of the services due to the lord of the fee.'[142] It thus appears that in London, the concept of

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[138] CHTA/191v/1022.

[139] CHTA/158r/908.

[140] CSMC/98r-98v/349. Text reads: '*Servicio domini feodi scilicet duobus solidi de eadem terra.*'

[141] CSMC/92r-92v/332.

[142] CSMC/80v-81r/288. Text reads: '*Salvo seruitio capitalis dominorum feodorum.*'

'pure' alms was still in development even as late as the 1240s, and indeed beyond, and its inclusion in a charter was by no means automatic.[143]

The Clerkenwell cartulary also contains examples more in line with what would appear to be standard procedure concerning services due, though it is noticeable that these are significantly fewer than in other cartularies when compared to those with 'pure' in the alms clause. The examples given in the paragraph above are just a few of several that can be found when scrutinising the cartulary. The reason for this is unclear, but might be linked, once again, to the position of Clerkenwell as a nunnery rather than a house of male religious. If there *was* an understanding that the inclusion of 'pure' in the alms clause did indeed make the grant stretch farther, the higher levels of spiritual support that the nuns were perceived to provide may have led some grantors to seek to extend what they were giving, even when certain services were retained.[144] Unfortunately, this is merely speculation. The only significant difference is in the alms clause diplomatic, with most other sections remaining fairly standard.[145] Nevertheless, it is important that such differences do not go by unnoticed and without comment.

There are several charters in the Clerkenwell cartulary that do follow standard procedure. One charter contains a grant that is given in free and perpetual, but not pure, alms in 1187/9, and retains a 6d yearly service to Nicolas Ladel and his heirs for service. It is given by Hersent Bukerell in the parish of St. Dunstan. Interestingly, in this case the grant is made free of all secular services and exactions that pertain to the grantor and her heirs, yet retains that 6d on the land itself. Accompanying this entry is a confirmation by Nicholas the Lorimer, who appears to be the same as Nicolas Ladel, in which he confirms the above in free and perpetual alms along with receiving a gersuma of 15d from the nuns.[146] In another charter made out in 1179, Alice Capra gives land and houses to the

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[143] CSMC/104v/'F' is one of those charters not included in the original document, but copied in later by a different hand, and is dated by Hassall to be from sometime in the 1250s or early 1260s. This charter, too, grants in free, pure and perpetual alms but also saves a 3s rent to the lords of the fee.

[144] See the discussion of grants with spiritual intent above.

[145] Both provisions for souls and the specific services etc requested are discussed below. See especially pp. 108-118 and Chapter Four.

[146] CSMC/86r-86v/311-312. Hassall considers that the two Nicolas-es are one and the same, and the terms and diplomatic of the charters seem to confirm this assumption; Hassall, pp. 204-205.

nuns in Philip Lane in perpetual alms only, retaining a 6s service to the nuns of Stratford.[147]

On those on which nothing is owed, one charter of note is a gift of part of a rent to the nuns from Agnes Becket, sister of St. Thomas Becket. Setting aside the significance of who was giving this grant, the relevance here is that the gift is of 2s quit-rent that amounts to half of a 4s rent owed to Agnes by William Karretarius on land in the parish of St. Mary Colemanchurch sometime after 1173.[148] This is a charitable gift of 2s, given:

> Out of love/charity and for the welfare of my soul and all my
> ancestors and heirs… in free, pure and perpetual alms quit of all
> secular services and exactions in perpetuity.[149]

What is most interesting here is that, alongside being given in pure alms, it is specifically stated that no secular services or exactions are to be taken from it, perhaps because any due were paid by the remaining 2s collected by Agnes. Inclusion of a specific statement of exemption is reflective of the (to use a word favoured by Postles) incohate nature of the law surrounding frankalmoign at this time.[150] A further testament to this is that the charter before that of Agnes, relating to a quit-rent granted by Solomon de Basing, one of the London mayors. From a 12s rent on a shop, paid by John Herlicun, 4s is given to the nuns in free and pure alms sometime in the first two decades of the thirteenth century, probably the 1210s.[151] While not definitive, the inclusion of 'pure' in this charter is probably reflective of developing, even if not concrete, ideas about what was and was not expected of a grantee, as described above. As a concluding, but by no means the last demonstrable, example, Matilda de Barrow grants a 10s quit-rent to the nunnery from property in the parish of St. Alphege within Cripplegate for the commemoration of the

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[147] CSMC/84v-85r/303.

[148] CSMC/72r/257.

[149] Text as it appears in Clerkenwell, p. 167. Latin reads: 'Caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et omnium antecessorum ac heredum meorum… in liberam et puram et perpetuam elemosinam quietam ab omni servitio et exactione seculari in perpetuum.' Once again, 'caritatis intuitu' here is a problematic phrase – see Chapter Three, footnote 5 above.

[150] See discussion above as well as Postles, 'Gifts in Frankalmoign', p. 333.

[151] For the details of the dating of this charter, see the entry in Hassall, pp. 166-167.

anniversary of her death by the nuns in the refectory. As with many of the examples already given, the gift is given in pure and perpetual alms for no services owed.[152]

Overall, grantors were exceptionally varied in terms of what they wanted to give to religious institutions. As far as the legal developments go, the extent to which the individual grantors understood the changes taking place is not clear. Charters as documents are sometimes seen as being rather rigid or focussed on more 'present' and temporal concerns. In Chapter One, it is shown how the number of charters produced was vast, and that the majority were written by professional scribes and clerks, not grantors themselves. Moreover, until standardisation efforts later in the thirteenth century, the frequency with which these documents were written meant that regularity of form was combined with clerical shortcuts in order to make the job easier.[153] Even when official standards *were* introduced, many of the Anglo-Norman and Angevin charters were unregulated until after 1250 when stricter checks and balances were in place on land transactions, especially those of the church through the Statutes of Mortmain discussed briefly below.[154]

Nevertheless, grantors were not merely passive observers of the composition of these documents, nor were they completely ignorant of the legal process of granting land and rent. The result was that the intent of the grantor played a much greater role in how a charter was written. Even when it comes to charters being written by a professional scribe or clerk, thereby introducing local, regional or personal variations to a document's wording, the actual desires, and in many cases understanding, of the grantor form the body of the text. It is likely, therefore, that in many of the charters cited above, the wording was not simply accidental, but came from the grantors' various perceptions of how the law stood at that time.

The concept of what tenure *in elemosina* precisely meant *de jure,* then, cannot be said to be clear cut, even by medieval understanding. Certainly, it was undergoing a process of change and evolution throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and this

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[152] CSMC/72v/260.

[153] For more discussion on this, see Chapter 1 on charters, issues with cartulary copies, and how they were being used generally in Angevin England. See also: Chibnall, 'Dating the Charters' pp. 51-52 and Clanchy, *Written Record*, p.87.

[154] Chibnall, 'Dating the Charters' pp. 54-6; Gazeau, 'Recherches Autour', pp. 69-70.

is especially the case considering the overall legal developments concerning church landholding. The thirteenth century was a period that has long been recognised as significant in terms of legal development; from Magna Carta to the emergence of the Common Law, much was changing. This was especially the case in terms of the church's claims on land. In general terms, the giving of land or alms to a religious institution was seen as a 'good work' that would assist one's soul after death. This was not least because by granting land, or other gifts, the donor was making an active contribution to the pious work of a group of religious and as such expected some form of 'vicarious penance' for his/her own soul.[155]

Developments Toward Mortmain

It is important to note that, alongside this, was a clear sentiment that the church and its agents were taking rather too much of the economic pie. As early as 1164, the assize *Utrum*, part of the Constitutions of Clarendon, sought to place more vigorous checks on church landholding; not least concerning which lands were considered spiritualities and which were held in temporal fee.[156] Yet this distinction would appear to have remained ill-defined throughout the twelfth century and, indeed, much of the thirteenth.[157] It is clear that in the mid thirteenth century, religious claims to land, rents and tenancy rights was seen to have reached something of a zenith that had to be overcome. In simple terms, the Church was believed quite simply to hold too much land, and it was the responsibility of those in control to balance that equation.[158]

Postles has argued that there was probably a semi-automatic understanding that grants in alms would be held long term, primarily due to the undying corporation that was the Church.[159] If so, one of the main motivations for granting in alms was the extended support of an institution that would continue after death, thus providing pre- and post-mortem assistance to the soul. The complication arises in terms of what such

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[155] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', p.212.
[156] Douglas, 'Tenure in *Elemosina*', pp. 96-97.
[157] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', p. 212.
[158] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', pp. 208-209.
[159] Postles, 'Tenure in Frankalmoign', p. 21; 'Gifts in Frankalmoign', pp. 333-334. This is the primary jumping point for his consideration of warranty, with his suggestion being that later legal developments resulted in a greater care to include specified perpetuity.

grants gave away from the tenants in chief and those who might inherit. To provide an example, the negative backlash from grants to religious foundations, such as contributed to the adoption of the Mortmain statutes, may be illustrated by a scenario provided by Hudson. In discussing heirs and grants, he notes that of two parties (say a father and a son) the impending death of the current 'owner' may alter his desires so that they are thus in conflict with the successor. Where matters had been clear in good health, both agreeing and happy, the fear of damnation and aspiration to salvation of the dying man would lead him on the socially acceptable course of donating to a religious institution in alms, quite possible for his soul. However, the point of contention was that it was now the church (specifically the grantee) who gained in the event of the grantor's death, thus causing inheritor to feel cheated of his due.[160] Ultimately, this scenario was resolved in *Glanvill* c.1189, in which the grantor was considered out of his rational mind due to stress and illness in instances such as these and thus, unless the heir assented to the donation, it was considered void.[161]

The significance here is not the issue of inheritance, *per se*, but rather the diversion of wealth from lay hands to the Church. By being given the freedoms from certain payments, services and other such obligations, lords, state and heirs were facing significant shortfalls in military and economic revenue.[162] These shortfalls might include the communal chores that came with being in a town such as upkeep of walls. It was the exemption from murage tax that, as a result, burdened the citizens of London with nearly a third of the cost and led them to complain in 1312.[163] Similarly, in 1275 the Hundred Rolls stated that the city of Lincoln had a shortfall of around £196 from property, held by no fewer than fifty-three religious houses, which 'used to be geldable, and liable for customs and services to the king and the city, but now they are withdrawn, to the great

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[160] Hudson, *Land, Law and Lordship*, p. 195.

[161] J. Hudon, *Land, Law and Lordship*, p. 195. The example provided here is part of a longer, and different, discussion that it is not necessary to discuss here. Needless to say, however, the precise legal reasons, contexts and effects were more complex than described above, and the full details can be found in *Land, Law and Lordship*, pp. 194-197.

[162] C. Stebbings, 'Charity Land: A Mortmain Confusion', *The Journal of Legal History* 12 (1991), p. 8.

[163] S. Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp. 5-6.

damage of the king and the city.'[164] Certain burgesses thus tended to harbour resistance to granting land and rents to institutions that fell under the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical sokes, thereby denying the civic government, such as it may have been at any given time, the potential revenue such property might contain.[165]

It is possible to find some evidence of these concerns in the examples provided from cartularies above. Another that is worth comment is a gift of Robert son of Peter to the Hospital of St. Leonard 'in pure and perpetual alms… for the welfare of my souls, and my father and mother, and for the soul of the aforementioned Alice and Wulfstan' and dated to sometime before 1200.[166] Here, the grant explicitly contains a statement that the tenants of the property, Gunner and Sigerith, two women who are seemingly cousins of Robert, are to pay the husgabel on the land alongside their rent of 12d. Husgabel was the burghal rent in York that was paid directly to either king or archbishop as the very highest lords of the fee and was paid by a large proportion of the city landholders.[167] The explicit statement in this charter that such payment was definitely to be made, especially when the land was given in pure alms, shows that exemption was not always expected, and certainly did not always possible. In this case, of course, the hospital itself evades these payments, but that they are still there when the lordship of the land has been transferred to a religious institution is significant.

Such concerns about the holding of land in mortmain were not unique to the period post 1250. In the second reissue of Magna Carta in 1217, there were two clauses added which demonstrate some degree of unhappiness with how land was being alienated to religious houses. Clause 39 stipulates that, for all forms of landholding, the tenant had a duty to ensure that he did not give away so much of his holding that he was

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[164] Gross, 'Mortmain', p. 737; Quote is from *Rotuli hundredorum Temp. Hen. III et Edw. I in Turr' Lond' et in Curia Receptae Scaccarij West. Asservati* (London: Record Commission, 1812-1818), pp. 312-313, translation by Gross, p. 737.

[165] Gross, 'Mortmain', pp. 733-734.

[166] CSLH/199r/2. Text reads: '*In puram et perpetuam elemosinam… pro salute anime mee et patris et matris mee et pro anima predicte Aliz et prenominati Wulfstani.*'

[167] SRJ, p. 35.

not then able to pay everything that was due to the higher lord.[168] Similarly, Clause 43 was aimed at preventing fraudulent and illegal transfer of land to a religious house, and then rent from the same, at the expense of secular lords.[169] Both of these clauses were attempts to ensure that ecclesiastical holdings were not, ultimately, held at the expense of the secular lord, specifically the king. It is interesting to note that, in 1259, Bracton protected the rights of the tenant to alienate to whomever he or she wished; with the principal exception being those instances laid out in 1217.[170] Furthermore, Gross argued that these clauses represent the ineffectiveness of previous laws, and that civic governments were attempting to limit alienations long before both 1217 and 1279.[171]

This may be further observed to some extent in what remains of a survey of York land held in Mortmain that was compiled sometime around 1228.[172] This document was probably created to account for those properties held in free alms by religious institutions in the city on the orders of King Henry III, who had already shown some concern in the 1217 reissue of Magna Carta as discussed below.[173] The details need not be discussed at length here beyond a recognition that such a survey reveals certain aspects of attitudes to grants in frankalmoign at that time. From the King's perspective, it shows evidence of ecclesiastical institutions gaining land and revenue at the expense of the Crown; this also extended to other local officials.[174] Unfortunately, the survey is incomplete. Only four, damaged, membranes are present, with stitch holes suggesting at least one lost attachment at the end. Furthermore, Rees Jones has pointed out that a large proportion of the ecclesiastical landholding is not represented in full, among which omissions is the

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[168] Magna Carta, 1217 Reissue Under Henry III, ed. W. Stubbs, *Select Charters and Other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the Earliest Times to the Reign of Edward the Fist*, Ninth Edition, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921), pp. 340-344.

[169] Magna Carta, 1217 Reissue; see also P. A. Brand, 'The Control of Mortmain Alienation in England 1200-1300,' in ed. J. H. Baker, *Legal Records and the Historian, Papers Presented to the Cambridge Legal History Conference, 7-10 July 1975 and in Lincoln's Inn Old Hall on 3 July 1974* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1978), pp.31-32.

[170] Brand, 'Control of Mortmain', pp. 32-33.

[171] Gross, 'Mortmain', pp.741-742.

[172] TNA E/135/25/1, *Exchequer: Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Documents*.

[173] SRJ, p. 157, n. 100

[174] D. Palliser, 'An Early Mortmain Inquest', in ed. D. M. Smith, *The Church in Medieval York: Records Edited in Honour of Professor Barrie Dobson* (York: Borthwick Texts and Calenders 24, 1999), pp. 1-15: pp. 2-3; SRJ, p. 116.

property of St. Mary's Abbey.[175] Furthermore, it appears that in London there was no such survey until 1282/1293 when a roll of tenements alienated in mortmain in the city was compiled by the exchequer.[176] Nevertheless, what does exist is a useful indicator of some of the sentiments surrounding gifts in alms at that time.

From the civic perspective, there is evidence that local officials in towns and cities were also concerned about grants in mortmain. Though not necessary to reproduce here, Gross produced a list of charter references from the charters of liberties of twenty-five towns across England that contain clauses that denied burgesses the right to grant property to religious institutions without consent of the lord or other restrictions.[177] Of particular interest is that, in individual charters of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital are found similar stipulations by the institutions when *they* were granting land as a safeguard against alienation of their lands/estates by third parties.

Thus in 1222-8, Prior Richard and the convent of Holy Trinity granted land to Agnes, daughter of William, for a rent of 1s 4d with the proviso that she was not to pledge the land to Jews or another religious house, and that the priory was to have precedence of 1s if she ever wanted to sell the property.[178] Sometime between 1209 and 1245, Rector Hugh and the brothers of St. Leonard's gave Alan Kademan property in Skeldergate for 20s and 1lb pepper, to do with as he wished except give to Jews and religious.[179] Abbot Thomas of St. Mary's can be observed as having issued an affidavit to Roger Stute in which the properties are to be maintained and not given to Christians or Jews.[180] Finally, a similar statement is made in a charter from 1186-92 in which Prioress Ermengarde of Clerkenwell grants land to Thomas son of Wulward that is not to be passed on to any other religious institution.[181] While definitely interested and willing to receive grants in

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[175] Palliser, 'Mortmain Inquest', p. 2 and SRJ, pp. 175-176.

[176] TNA E/163/1/37, *Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Miscellanea of the Exchequer – Roll of Tenements Alienated in Mortmain in the City of London.*

[177] Gross, 'Mortmain', pp. 739-740.

[178] CHTA/30v/142.

[179] CSLH/197r/3.

[180] LG/137r/2.

[181] CSMC/99r/351.

alms and without services, it appears that all four of these institutions, albeit inconsistently, were at times averse to the alienation of their own lands in a similar way.[182]

The culmination of these developments was principally in the two Statutes of Mortmain in 1279 and 1290. Enacted by Edward I, these were created in order to limit church acquisition of land without royal assent, ostensibly due to concerns about the security of England against external threats being somewhat at stake when its land was not under lay control.[183] Ultimately, though, they were about money and the retentions of power by the crown and other tenants in chief, especially since there were, at that point, few effective counterweights to the church's expansionism.[184] However even these, ultimately, proved difficult to enforce. Sandra Raban has, for example, noted that despite the overreaching nature of the statutes, there were still some legal loopholes that 'restored in practice much of the freedom theoretically denied by the crown' that could be exploited by religious institutions.[185] Furthermore, Jennings has noted that in the city of London, as in other places, there was a feeling that curtailing 'freedom of disposal' went against the customary rights of London citizens; a fact that led to conflict and controversy in the following centuries.[186]

Nevertheless, it would seem that in a majority of cases, the landed interests of the church institutions were more or less curtailed and strictly regulated to an extent never previously seen.[187] Indeed, it appears that it affected members of all church bodies, whether rich or poor, exacting great losses from religious bodies in favour of the gains, both feudal and economic, of the laity.[188] Extensive discussion of Mortmain legislation itself is outside the scope of this thesis.[189] However, the build-up to it in the century beforehand cannot be ignored. As has already been discussed, developments in legal and

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[182] These examples are not exhaustive, as several more can be found in the charters. Other examples include, but are not limited to: CHTA/19r-v/82 and 79v-80r/406; CSLH/198r/1 and 186v/4; LG/137v/3 and several implied agreements such as LO/45r-v/3; and CSMC/67v/242 and 91r-91v.

[183] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', p. 208.

[184] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', p. 209 and S. Raban, 'Mortmain in Medieval England', *Past and Present* 62 (1974), p. 3.

[185] Raban, 'Mortmain in Medieval England', p. 5.

[186] Jennings, 'Mortmain', p. 174.

[187] Raban, 'Mortmain in Medieval England', pp. 17-18.

[188] Raban, *Mortmain Legislation*, pp. 2 and 27.

[189] For details about Mortmain itself, see work by Raban, as already cited, who has written extensively on the topic: See for example 'Mortmain in Medieval England' and M*ortmain Legislation*.

religious practice or purpose also changed the actual diplomatic of the grants, one way or another.[190] One aspect of such legal changes was the gradual movement towards Mortmain, which may, in fact, be partially responsible for the decline in grants in alms and for souls post 1220 as represented in the figures above. St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital all fall within a period in which the law was very much in a state of evolution.

In this context, the diplomatic of the alms clauses found in the charters of their cartularies can be shown to be significant. Despite the resistance to church landholding by some, the data from the cartularies proves that such sentiments were by no means universal and that men and women still viewed religious houses as valid and positive grantees for land. From this context, it is possible to understand more clearly the motivation for spiritual donations to religious institutions alongside what was being given by the grantors. While the details of what a grantor might give, and expect to receive, are the focus of the next chapter, these considerations lead into an important discussion concerning what was meant by a grantor when he or she added a *pro anima* clause to a grant, and how these clauses fit into patterns of diplomatic change.

The *Pro Anima* Clause

One of the primary goals of giving to a religious institution was the hope that there would be some form of tacit benefit for one's soul, or those of others, if the good work of giving to the Church, and thus to God, was carried out. Certainly, as Raban notes, one of the main implications of free alms tenure as discussed above was that some form of spiritual duty would be performed in return for the gift given to the monastery, hospital or other institution. This duty could take many forms, was often vague and unspecified, and usually is considered to involve prayers or remembrance for the souls of the grantors.[191] This final section of the present chapter examines *pro anima* clauses, and in so doing directs the discussion towards the topic of the next chapter.

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[190] Gervers, 'Private Charters', p. 459.

[191] Raban, *Mortmain Legislation*, p. 4.

The precise meaning of the *pro anima* clause in the charters of religious institutions is to some extent unclear. It is therefore necessary, before considering individual cases, to consider what was sought when one granted a specific thing for souls. When looking at a document that grants for the soul of the grantor, his/her family and others, it is natural to assume that the ultimate intention was for the religious men and women to pray in a certain way at certain times.[192] Or, indeed, simply to keep the grantor in their thoughts as they went about their religious duties. However, this may not have been the case. In discussing the inclusion of *pro anima* clauses in the charters of Cluny, Rosenwein states firmly that they are not grants for prayers for the donor's soul. Indeed, she notes that very few at all actually ask for prayers before 1049 and considers the pro anima clause to be a short and simple way of demonstrating the spiritual benefits of relinquishing worldly property to a higher, godly, authority, rather than having anything to do with intercessory prayers.[193] In this instance, the phrase is one that connotes an automatic confraternity with St. Peter, achieved through donation to Cluny, with provisions for souls being a separate desire altogether. Thus, a grant to Cluny was a grant to God, and no more needed to be done.[194] When it comes to souls clauses themselves, this observation might be important. It should be noted that Rosenwein's focus is on a continental, Cluniac house, over a century before that with which this thesis is concerned. Examination of the charters of the present study reveals similar patterns.

It is notable that few charters, if any, actually make explicit the idea that the souls of their donors would be prayed for, and those that do, tend to include such stipulations in separate clauses elsewhere in the document.[195] It would seem, in that case, that the same statement can be said for the charters of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital: grants made *pro anima* were not stipulations about prayers or active intercessory activity, but rather a more general act of communion with God and His servants. One would expect, then, to find evidence of grants being made directly to God or a saint. Interestingly, grants to saints were uncommon in these

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[192] As described by Raban above, *Mortmain Legislation*, p. 4.
[193] Rosenwein, *Saint Peter*, p. 41.
[194] Rosenwein, *Saint Peter*, pp. 138-139.
[195] See Table and Figures 4.4 in Chapter 4, p. 162.

documents, though not entirely absent. For example, in one Clerkenwell charter the grant is made to God, the Blessed Mary and the nuns of Clerkenwell.[196]

However, when it comes to grants to God, the story is rather different. In many instances, those grants to the institutions made for souls are given not simply to the institution in question, but to the highest authority of all. Thus we find in St. Mary's charters confirmations to '*deo et Ecclesie Sancte Marie Ebor*'.[197] Such a formulation also occurs in the St. Leonard's material in which grants are made to '*deo et pauperibus hospitalis*.'[198] Grants to Clerkenwell were sometimes even further divided granting to '*deo et Sancte Marie de Clerkenwelle et monialibus ibidem deo seruentibus.*'[199] Such formulations appear in various forms across those documents, while grants that do not contain a *pro anima* clause adopt a much simpler form, granting to the men, women and institutions themselves, with Clerkenwell seeming to be the exception.[200] A more notable exception, however, is the Aldgate cartulary, in which grants of all types would appear to have been made out primarily to the prior and convent rather than to God.[201]

Furthermore, a gift given for someone's soul was not merely something akin to the alms clause, as it might seem, but something distinct. Benjamin Thompson suggests that granting in alms was considered by the laity to be a pious work that, on a worldly level, helped towards the vicarious amelioration of their sins and drew the positive attention of God, therefore increasing one's chances of salvation.[202] On the face of it, this sounds much like Rosenwein's conclusions about grants *pro anima* in the charters of Cluny. However, the two clauses are, in fact, different: the grant in alms was almost prescriptive where the grant for souls was descriptive and/or directive. In other words, to grant something *in* alms was an act in and of itself, with the associated benefits; whereas to grant *for* souls was a statement about whom the act was to affect, or what it was supposed to achieve.

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[196] CSMC/77r/275; Hassal, p. 179.

[197] Trans: 'To God and the Church of St. Mary's York.' LO/54v/4.

[198] Trans: 'To God and the poor of the hospital.' See for example, CSLH/101v/2, 102v/4, 120r/2 and 123v/2.

[199] Trans: 'To God and St. Mary od Clerkenwell and the nuns there serving God.' CSMC/67r-v/241; Hassal, p. 155.

[200] See for example, CSLH/123v/7; LO/2r/2. In Clerkenwell, grants that do not include souls were often still given first to God and then to the nuns, see CSMC/66v-67r/238 as one example.

[201] For example, CHTA/44r/218 (with souls but not to God) and 192v/1025 (non-alms or souls grant).

[202] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', p. 212.

This has been noticed by Thompson who states that the stipulation that a gift was for a soul or souls was a straightforward statement of the main purpose.[203]

The positioning of a *pro anima* clause, too, highlighted its spiritual intent and distinct role in the gift. In most of the charters cited in this chapter, the statement that a grant was for souls is usually at the beginning, near the address clause and before the parcel clauses.[204] Where such a statement is positioned in a charter can, furthermore, can prove highly significant in examining the overall intent of the grantor. Thompson, once again, illustrates this when he describes a request for a service of prayers being made before any secular services in a charter from the cartulary of Coxford. By placing the spiritual desires firmly at the forefront of the expected services, the grantor was explicitly highlighting the religious benefits that he wished to claim.[205] With gifts made for souls, the positioning of a *pro anima* clause at the very beginning of a charter similarly emphasises the desire to assist in the salvation of those named souls.

The consideration of souls in a *pro anima* clause, then, must be understood in a rather more circumspect and nuanced way than it might at first seem. The grant *pro anima* was as much about the overall religious intent of the grantors in relation to God as it was a request for the religious institutions actively to assist their souls. This is reflected in the charters by how often the clauses are found in relation to each other. The composition of most is either of grants in alms, without *pro anima* clauses at all, or of both together, i.e. with both an alms clause and provision for souls. Of all the charters containing spiritual intent, as discussed above, only 15 of 275 (5.5%) contain provisions for souls alone: six from St. Mary Clerkenwell, six from Holy Trinity, three from St. Mary's Abbey and none from St. Leonard's Hospital.[206] At the same time, these figures demonstrate that donations for the soul were both distinct from alms clauses and not generally considered enough, in terms of expression of intent, in and of themselves.[207]

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[203] Thompson, 'Free Alms Tenure', p. 224.

[204] See citations above.

[205] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', p. 198.

[206] See Table 3.1 above. The charters are: CHTA/35v/178, 66v-67r/337, 172v/975-977, 190r/1017; CSMC/78v/279, 85v/307, 87v/317, 93r/335, 96v-97r/345, 98v/350; LG/78v/6, 79r/2 and 108r-v/4.

[207] A similar conclusion was reached by Thompson, 'Free Alms Tenure', p. 235.

The institutions themselves, then, essentially acted as conduits for this idea of spiritual devotion. Thus, while land or rents might have been physically granted to the religious community in alms, by so doing a grantor was allowing him/herself to come somewhat closer to God through His servants for the benefit of whichever soul or souls were mentioned. That the religious might, then, pray for their souls on certain occasions became a separate stipulation implied within the text of a charter itself, as will be discussed in chapter three. This is not to imply that the *pro anima* grants are thus any less significant. Rather they become more important as expressions of personal piety and of religious sentiment.

Demonstrative of this is a charter from the Liber G of St. Mary's in which Geoffrey Hageth, a royal justice and leading York resident, is seen to grant 3s annual rent from property in Coney Street 'for the welfare of my soul, and those of my father and mother and ancestors, and especially for the soul of Bertrand my brother' sometime between 1180 and 1195.[208] Geoffrey, for an unstated reason, has clearly asked that his brother be specifically highlighted amongst those for whom he wishes his grant to benefit. There is no indication that this is the execution of the desires of Bertrand after his own death, and the statement appears to have been made entirely of Geoffrey's own volition.[209] This shows a clear concern for his brother, if not indeed an element of fraternal love, in a way not seen in many, if any, other documents of this type. Geoffrey saw a grant to St. Mary's Abbey as a legitimate way to commit the soul of his brother to God. The status of Bertrand at the time of this charter's composition is not clear. Though, whether dead or alive, the explicit emphasis on consideration of his soul remains significant.

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[208] LG/54v/6; date estimate by Farrer, EYC I, p.193. Latin reads: '*Pro salute anime mee et patris et matris mee et antecessorum meorum et maxime pro anima Bertrandi fratris mei.*'

[209] It is unclear, from manuscript sources, when Bertrand died, and little seems to be known of him. In EYC I, p.495, Farrer concluded that Bertrand was the older brother of Geoffrey, and furthermore that he was alive at least as late as 1175/80 (EYC II, p.224). Several charters show him to have been active in the Yorkshire 'property market' around 1150 (EYC I, p.414-415, EYC II, p.437 and references above). It is thus not unreasonable to suppose that, when Geoffrey was granting to St. Mary's after 1180 and some thirty years later at least, that Bertrand had recently died and that Geoffrey was attempting to help his brother's soul post-mortem. Admittedly, without further information, this is purely speculation based only on Farrer's assumptions that might not be always correct. Yet such a timeline does seem reasonable.

Like this charter of Geoffrey Hageth are three charters by Gerard, son of Lefwin, in the St. Leonard's Hospital Cartulary, which reveal much about how religious institutions were being used in York at that time, especially in terms of provisions for souls. First and foremost, the significance of these documents, like that of Hageth, is in the people who are involved within them, namely sons of Lefwin. Hugh son of Lefwin, to whom these charters directly relate, is noted by Rees Jones as being 'one of the leading citizens and wealthiest individual landowners in twelfth century York.'[210] Furthermore, both men and their relations appear in the documents of both St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital as grantors, grantees and witnesses.[211] These were members of the urban élite, significant townspeople (the likes of which are discussed in chapter four below) whose actions are like that of Geoffrey Hageth and thus are probably reflective of others in that social sphere.

Of the charters themselves, 102v/2-4 suggest that, sometime after a transaction took place between Geoffrey Hagath and Hugh son of Lefwin at the turn of the thirteenth century, Gerard, son of Lefwin, was entrusted for an unknown reason with the task of confirming grants of land in the name of his brother sometime before 1220.[212] What these charters essentially achieve is a situation in which Gerard is using the hospital to dispense some of the lands of Hugh, possibly surrounding the time of Hugh's death.[213] Then he

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[210] SRJ, p. 160.

[211] SRJ, p. 160. See for example: LG/56v/5, Hugh also appears in LO/2v/3-5 granting to his step-daughter Bela de Bonville, who then grants to the abbey. As witnesses, Gerard appears in for example LG/96v/4 and 107v/6, Hugh CSLH/104v/7. There is even one grant by William son of Roger from probably the 1220s, in which Hugh son of Lefwin and his wife are named and their souls catered for as thanks during the resolution of some form of dispute. This raises questions concerning gifts to religious houses being used in friendship/conflict resolution, while bringing income to the community. Indeed, questions such as this are scope for further investigation of the sources using the close-reading methodology employed here. CSLH/170v/5.

[212] CSLH/102v/2-4.

[213] Christopher Daniell has estimated that Hugh died between Easter and 22nd June 1208. Specifically, the fact that Hugh's name ceases to appear in the Pipe Rolls after 1209 suggests that he has died. This seems like a fair deduction. However, Daniell also suggests that the grant from Gerard was made earlier than this (no later than 1203) based on the dating of the charter by Farrer in *Early Yorkshire Charters*. Yet in the footnote to this, he admits that Farrer stated no reason for his date. As such, the later date range provided in the *Database of Medieval Title Deeds for the City of York* would appear to be more reasonable, and certainly would account for Gerard's grant on behalf of his brother. Thus, rather than no later than 1203, the grant by Gerard is more likely to have been made somewhere between 1208 and 1220, and more than likely on the earlier end near Hugh's time of death. See: C.

states that it is 'for the welfare of my soul, that of my father and of Hugh my brother, and all of our ancestors and successors or heirs.'[214] While less emphatic than the grant of Hageth, this grant contains a similar express concern for the soul of the grantor's brother, with the directive that it is for the soul of Hugh probably hoping to assist its passage into Heaven. These institutions attracted various members of society as places where granting for souls would inevitably help a person in the afterlife.

As far as the diplomatic is concerned, changes in the language used in charters can be both significant and revealing. In a pair of charters from the St. Mary Clerkenwell cartulary, for example, alterations to the *pro anima* clauses can be seen to be significant. Charters 260 and 261 both date from the 1210s and concern a 10s quit-rent from St. Alphage within Cripplegate. In the first, Matilda de Barrow granted 'in pure and perpetual alms for the welfare of my soul and that of my husband Betrand and for the welfare of my ancestors and successors… so that I may be remembered on the day of my anniversary in the permitted refection of that place' c.1208/16.[215] The second is in the form of a confirmation by Thomas de Barrow, Matilda's son, who appears to have been confirming the grant after her death, sometime between 1216 and 1220. In this, the *pro anima* clause is almost the same except that '*domini mei*' is changed to '*patris mei predicti*'.[216] Of note is that he did not grant for the soul of his mother, who made the initial grant in the first place. What he did do, on the other hand, is give her body to the house along with his confirmation. By doing this, as well as confirming her charter, he was basically giving her soul a boost in the afterlife in a different way. Burial in a religious foundation was one

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Daniell, 'Family, Land and Politics: Ralph Nuvel's Family and Ancestors in York (c.1120-1240), *York Historian* 12 (1995), p.7 and EYC, pp. 194-195. One potential problem with this interpretation is that CSLH/102v/3, a similar grant by Gerard but to Paulinus son of William, contains the name '*Hugone fratris ejus*' in the witness list and is again dated earlier by Farrer and later in the *Database*. In this case, the words come after another name, Nicolas de Buggethorpe, and it is unclear whose brother this Hugh is. Again, the later date estimate and the ascription of Hugh the witness as brother of Nicholas de Buggethorpe appears to make more sense, Hugh son of Lefwin being dead and Gerard granting on his behalf. As it is, ultimately, the details do not matter entirely to the point being made in the main text as either way there is still that element of fraternal concern.

[214] CSLH/102v/4. Latin reads: '*Pro salute anime mee et patris mei et Hugonis fratris mei et omnium antecessorum et successorum siue heredum nostrorum*.'

[215] CSMC/72v/260. Text reads: 'I*n puram et perpetuam elemosinam pro salute anime mee et domini mei Bertrammi et pro salute antecessorum meorum et successorum meorum… ad memoriam mei faciendam in die anniuersarii mei in refectione conuentus eiusdem loci*.'

[216] CSMC/73r/261.

of the most highly valued services provided by institutions, the sanctity of the location itself being supplemented by masses and prayers said during funeral procedures. Through all of this, it was hoped that a soul might find its way more easily into the embrace of God and avoid the torments of hell or purgatory.[217] Fortunately, in this case, the reason for the change in the *pro anima* clause is explained.

This is not so for all of them. A rather complicated example can be cited from St. Mary Clerkenwell. Two charters are copied concerning a gift of half a mark of quit-rent given to the nuns from a stall that lay between that of William, son of Benedict, and that which was of William de Haverhill in the parish of St. Peter Westcheap. The first was given by Alan, son of Alan of Norway, in free and perpetual alms, to Clerkenwell and is dated in the edition between c.1198 and 1220.[218] The second comes in what would appear to be a re-grant of the same payment by Marsilia de Walencins, wife of Herbert de Donmawe, some years later (c.1230/1).[219] It should be noted that Hassall added a note to the end of these charters in which he observes a missing annotation in the margin of the original manuscript that might have contained more of an explanation of what actually occurred.[220]

Nevertheless, the grants of Alan and Marsilia provide a useful illustration of the potential importance of a change in the *pro anima* clause. The most obvious point of interest in these charters is that fact that Charter 225 is almost identical to 224 in terms of legal formulae and the parcel clause. Indeed, the first fifteen lines are, with one exception, the same apart from a few minor changes such as the word *beati* instead of *Sancti*.[221] Otherwise, the grant contains an address clause and standard warranty clauses, which are naturally different, but then goes on to give the same information concerning what the payment should be, who owned the land surrounding the stall in question, and provisions concerning the process of distraining the land, if necessary, in the main body of

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[217] Rawcliffe, *Hospitals*, p. 16.

[218] CSMC/62r-62v/224; Hassall, pp.142-143.

[219] CSMC/62v/225; Hassall, p.143.

[220] In the absence of this, any interpretations of these charters are, what he terms, 'hazardous' and should thus be read with a great deal of caution (Hassall, p. 143). This is perhaps due in part to the nature of cartularies as discussed in Chapter One. The absence of both the original charters and the annotation may distort what comes across in the reading of these copies.

[221] Hassall, p. 143.

the charter.[222] Furthermore, the charters are so similar that the names provided in the witness lists are written in the second as 'ut supra,' perhaps suggesting that Hassall was wrong in his dating of these charters.[223] The aim of the charters economically, then, is essentially the same.

Of greatest significance to this chapter, though, is one important deviation in the text of the second charter. This change appears in the *pro anima* clause, where the significance of the rent being given by different grantors can be seen. The first reads *'pro anima patris mei et matris mee et omnium antecessorum et successorum meorum'*, which would appear to be a common clause in the Clerkenwell charters.[224] Many of them contain similar clauses that potentially would suggest a standardised form of writing that had little meaning in real terms. However, charter 225, from Marsilia, shows that this is not necessarily the case. Where the other details are the same, the *pro anima* clause reads *'pro anima patris mei at matris mee et omnium parentum et omnium antecessorum meorum.'*[225] Not only is there the addition of *'et omnium parentum'*, but the exclusion of *'successorum meorum'* from this section.[226] This suggests a deliberate change in the formula to reflect the interests of the donor; illustrative of the very deliberate choosing of the content of *pro anima* clauses.

Under other circumstances, this would be unremarkable as some variation in the exact wording was not unusual. Indeed, in the vast number of donations given '*pro anima*' in the Clerkenwell document, variation in form is almost regular in its inconsistency. Alterations in language did occur in the Clerkenwell charters and it might be natural to assume that either a scribal or time difference, between the grants of Alan and Marsilia may have resulted in a change of language. Yet there does not appear to have been much

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[222] On distraint, see references to '*namiare*' and '*namiandum*' in the charter texts already referenced.

[223] CSMC/62v/225. The fact that the witness lists are the same might suggest that the two charters were, in fact, made at the same time and at the same 'event.' This would mean that the second is not so much a re-grant as a concurrent grant/release of land by someone with a relevant, or even original, claim, potentially as lord and tenant.

[224] Trans: 'For the souls of my father, and my mother and all my ancestors and successors.'

[225] Trans: 'For the soul of my father and my mother, and all dead family/parents and all my ancestors.' Note that some of the following discussion works with the translation of 'parentum' as pertaining to parents. Yet the word could also mean, more broadly, 'relatives', thus changing the significance slightly. Nevertheless, the charters are still worth discussing, but with some caution.

[226] CSMC/62r-62v/224-5.

by way of consistent change that would prove this to be the case. The 'standard' language of the charters does not alter significantly throughout the cartulary. Even once some charters start to take the form of 'Omnibus Christi Fidelibus' or similar as an opening clause, there is no systematic or automatic shift in how the documents are written. For example, one grant from 1214/22 begins as such, while a later one by Prioress Hawis from 1230/40 begins with the standard '*sciant presentes et futuri...,*' which tends to be the more common format.[227] Another still from 1250 then reads '*omnibus ad quos presens scriptum pervenerit.'*[228] The apparent alterations do not seem to follow any pattern, but rather change on a case by case basis, with some charters saying similar but markedly different things. A similar trend is obvious in the diplomatic of *pro anima* clauses. From charter to charter the clause is changed with one saying '*et omnium antecessorum ac heredum meorum'* from 1173, and another from 1179 grants with the words *'et pro animabus predecessorum meorum.'* This comes after *'pro salute anime mee'* in both.[229] Written not long after each other, they clearly are not saying the same thing. Such specific variations are often found.

Of relevance to the example of Alan and Marsilia above, from around the year 1210 consideration of parents specifically became more normal. Three different charters from 1216/17, 1222 and 1240, for example, all give for the souls of their parents and ancestors, but not their successors.[230] This might attest to Hassall's later dating of the second charter were it not for the fact that several even later charters do not say the same at all, and resemble more the earlier charters than the late.[231] It is thus possible that while Marsilia's alterations may have been in keeping with a general development in how charters were being written, the content itself was still very deliberate, reinforcing a slightly different spiritual intent from Alan, namely concern for the souls of her immediate predecessors.

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[227] Trans: 'Let all those present and in the future know.'

[228] Trasns: 'All to whom this present text reaches.' CSMC/67r-67v/241; 91r-91v/330; 103v/364.

[229] CSMC/72r/257 and 84v-85r/303.

[230] CSMC/85v/308; 73v/263 and 98r-98v/349. The reason for this may be linked to the pastoral developments described above, with new concepts enacted by the Fourth Lateran Council or the arrival of new orders changing how people were thinking about their souls and religion in general.

[231] CSMC/74r/265 and 71v-72r/256; similarly, two others dating from around the 1230s CSMC/76v/274 and 77r/275.

A further consideration must be the omission of successors from the *pro anima* clause. The re-wording makes it very much a retrospective consideration of souls that accounts neither for her husband, nor any children that one might assume they had. This is even more noteworthy since the charter does contain the warranty clause with the suggestion that '*heredes*' either were or would be extant.[232] It is thus possible that Marsilia was deliberately wanting to limit the future power of the grant by excluding descendants who may have benefited from it. Of course, the inheritor of property was not necessarily a child, especially if none had been born, and could have been any siblings or other relatives of Marsilia instead. Ultimately the act of warranting a grant was a necessary legal process from the time of King Stephen that served to protect the interests of all involved, irrespective of familial ties.[233] Without further evidence little can be said for certain at this point.

Although many of the details of the preceding discussion concerning Alan and Marsilia can be little more than conjecture, what these two charters demonstrate is the potential significance in what appear to be minor alterations to the diplomatic of *pro anima* clauses. Thus, while the change in the text of the clause might be small, the actual implications can be more major. The importance of all of this is to demonstrate in part the role played by religious institutions when it came to the care of souls from the perspective of the laity of the surrounding areas. What the above examples provide are demonstrative samples of how *pro anima* clauses seem to have worked. The spiritual role of these institutions was not lost on the citizenry of the two cities, and they were keen to put not only their own names, but those of friends and loved ones into the intercessory pool.

Charter Diplomatic, External Developments and Donation Practices

Within the cartularies of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital there is much that may be observed when it comes to 'spiritual clauses' in the charters. Taken as raw data, the proportion of grants in alms and for souls, in relation to other non-spiritual grants, is exceptionally revealing. In the first

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[232] CSMC/62v/225.

[233] Thompson, 'Free Alms Tenure', p. 232.

section of this chapter it was seen that the figures were reflective of the general trends one might expect to see when examining grants to a religious institution. The hospital and nunnery were most significant attracting much attention from the surrounding area due to their perceived spiritual healing. St. Mary's Abbey benefited from the pastoral function, active or otherwise, performed by Benedictines in this period. Meanwhile, the relatively low figure for Holy Trinity suggests a more economic focus in terms of landholding, with the pastoral role proving external and distinct.

The findings discussed above also illustrate how religious institutions, and gifts to them, were affected by events that were occurring around them, as alluded in the previous chapter. In this way, the decades after 1200 saw something of a boost in pious donations to religious institutions, partly in response to the religious developments occurring in the early thirteenth century. Renewed vigour was sparked not only by developments in Rome and ecclesiastical movements, however. The political and religious turmoil caused by the actions of King John appears to have changed how religious institutions were seen by the laity when the country was under interdict. The result was a dip in spiritual donations followed by a huge increase in the 1210s that may be observed in figures 3.1-3.3. External events that influenced the laity thus appear similarly to have had a corresponding effect on donation practices.

These patterns became even more significant in terms of the developing legal procedures in England. To a greater or lesser extent, each house was met with a similar approach concerning how grants with religious intent were made out to them. In legal terms, the establishment of the common law was just that, a set of laws that were universally applied across the whole country, in theory at least. Within this context, concepts of giving to a religious foundation in alms, specifically 'pure' alms, were developed, understood and utilised by church and laity alike. However, frankalmoign tenure was revised and redefined in various ways, and its implementation was far from consistent.[234]

By examination of charter diplomatic, and thus how grants were being made to religious institutions, it has proven possible to understand in depth some of the factors

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[234] Thompson, 'Free Alms Tenure,' pp. 236-7 and 241.

that influenced grantors and their desires. From attempts to minimise the payments and services due on land, to fraternal love, to explicit directions concerning whose soul was to benefit most from the good work of giving in this way, the charters to religious houses allow an impressive insight into the medieval mind-set. The following chapter continues this process by analysing the explicit additions to the charters that were made with pious or charitable intent, as well as what was requested from the institutions. Where external events and developments resulted in the patterns presented in this chapter, more internal personal and sociological motives are visible in the next.

Chapter Four:

Piety and Charity

The previous chapter established that the legal and diplomatic frameworks of donations enabled donors to grant to religious houses with a considerable degree of flexibility, allowing them, through the manipulation of legal language, to express ideas that reflected pious sentiments. This chapter seeks to build upon this by asking what was being given to religious institutions and what did the laity expect in return. These questions enable a fuller consideration of the broader purposes for lay support of urban religious houses, and create an opportunity for the development of answers to wider questions about the ways in which reciprocal relationships between lay and religious shaped urban communities. Although much of the broader secondary comparative context for such discussion is not distinctly urban, or else does not specifically concern this period, this chapter will include some consideration of the specifically urban issues and concerns that affected lay behaviour towards these institutions and is revealed by specific religious bequests in the cartularies of these four houses between 1150 and 1250.

In terms of the motivations and attitudes of gifts from the medieval laity of London and York to urban religious foundations, there is much still to be discussed. Medieval charity has been understood in moral terms. Charity was imperative for those seeking salvation, expounded by the words and deeds of Christ, and was something that religious institutions (especially hospitals) were intended to provide.[1] This can be observed in the Rule of St. Benedict, in which the reception of guests, especially pilgrims and the poor, is stated to be equivalent to reception of Christ.[2] Figuratively, Christ was the man or woman in need. By providing for the needy, a medieval Christian was regarded as providing for Christ, and doing so brought with it salvation. Conversely, those who ignored the poor and sick were ignoring their duty and would suffer because of it.[3] This

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[1] N. Orme and M. Webster, *The English Hospital 1070-1570* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), p.56.

[2] St. Benedict, *The Rule of Saint Benedict in English*, ed. T. Fry (Collegeville: The Liturgical Press, 1982), pp. 73-75.

[3] Orme and Webster, *English Hospital*, pp. 56-57.

sentiment shaped the mentality of lay piety and was reflected in various ways, especially in medieval towns.

Almsgiving, Sociology and Gift Exchange

In addition to the explicit spiritual function of gifts to religious institutions, it is worth considering the sociological importance and context of charity, almsgiving and provisions. In a particularly influential article, Peter Brown provided a general discussion of the role that charity played in conceptions of society across history, including definitions and ideas distinctly relevant to this present thesis.[4] An important point is that care for the poor, and those generally unable to look after themselves, occupied a central role in the theological and religious frameworks of Islam, Judaism and Christianity.[5] This was not least because the 'forgettable' poor or disadvantaged personified the fears of those more able, who worried that they might also be forgotten after death and thus neglected in the afterlife. Therefore, by undertaking charitable acts, both the recipients and the donors were included in a universal spiritual existence that would ensure remembrance and salvation.[6]

This conception of charity was directly linked to the existence of the Church and its related bodies, especially religious institutions, and for contemporaries was an essential part of identification as a good Christian. Charity was a beautiful ideal that contrasted with the realities of the living world, which were often ugly. Institutions that furthered that cause were as important as the act itself, providing a spiritual service achieved through temporal means.[7] Furthermore, if such entities were ignored, then not only the needy but also belief in God himself was at stake. The wealthiest in society had to be reminded of their pious duties, especially towards the poor and needy, lest they, and by association God, be forgotten.[8] If laymen did nothing to help those in need, such as

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[4] P. Brown, 'Remembering the Poor and the Aesthetic of Society', in *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 35 (2005), pp. 513-522.

[5] Brown, 'Remembering the Poor', p. 518.

[6] Brown, 'Remembering the Poor', p.519.

[7] Brown, 'Remembering the Poor', pp.518 and 521.

[8] Brown, 'Remembering the Poor', p. 522.

granting to institutions to support them and their function, the very security of their souls and society was in danger.

The nature of almsgiving to religious houses such as those considered here was a pious activity, but such piety has also been understood within the context of wider social motivations. The work of French sociologist Marcel Mauss has long been recognised as the authority on gifts and exchange culture.[9] Mauss established that in many cultures, especially those of the past, the exchange of goods (whether they be specifically material or more ceremonial) between two groups or individuals forms a complex system of obligation and reciprocity that extends into multiple spheres of social interaction.[10] Furthermore, as Lester K. Little has noted, unlike a market economy in which every item has an assigned value, the gift economy, especially when it comes to matters of charity and piety, is based on an idealisation of value that is fluid and uncodified.[11] Within this, self-interest is the key for all parties involved.[12] The way in which charity and almsgiving fits into this seems clear. Ultimately, according to Mauss's theories, the concept of alms is linked firmly with the idea of sacrifice and the importance of dispensing with wealth to help the poor; the result is that the giver will thereby have a higher moral standpoint and thus receive benefits in this life or the next. In his words, 'it is the old gift morality raised to the position of a principle of justice.'[13]

The previous chapter pointed out that religious motivation could frequently be the spur for the general grants to religious institutions. One of the principal reasons for this was that, in Thompson's view, granting to religious communities and members of the clergy was in and of itself considered a pious, and earnestly charitable, act that would also benefit the grantors' souls in the eyes of God.[14] Much like the written Will and Testament that was to develop later, the gift contained in a grant was essentially a written statement

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[9] See, for example, extensive discussion of his theories and the implications of them in Rosenwein, *Saint Peter*, especially Chapter Two, pp. 49-77.

[10] M. Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, English Version trans I. Cunnison (London: Cohen & West LTD, 1996), pp. 1-3.

[11] L. K. Little, *Religious Poverty and the Profit Economy in Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1978), p. 4.

[12] Mauss, *The Gift*, pp. 4-5.

[13] Mauss, *The Gift*, p. 15.

[14] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', p. 212.

of pious will and devotion, expressed through giving to the religious.[15] This was reflected in the legal formulae, as discussed above, but it can also be observed within the small additions to the charters and the subtle contexts surrounding grants that are not necessarily visible at first glance. Grants to religious institutions could be examples of earnest personal piety, and one of the main ways that this could be achieved was through acts of charity.[16]

Yet this came with the expectation of a return, often in the form of spiritual services that by the 1200s was commonly stated in the charters recording gifts to religious institutions.[17] As Postles has pointed out, even the general spiritual donations given *in elemosinam* or *pro anima* more than likely still anticipated similar returns, if merely a tacit association with the religious house in question, but that it was left undefined and thus open-ended. Specific provisions or requests, on the other hand, laid down in no uncertain terms what was to be done with the gift that was given and what was to be received in return, in other words, what was being exchanged.[18] Outside the broader and more common methods of donation and legal-diplomatic practice, grants such as those considered in this chapter were deliberate, conscious additions to what have already been established as similarly deliberate and conscious additions.[19] This understanding of gift exchange frames much of this chapter as it considers why the laity were granting the things they were and what the resulting benefits were for both grantor and grantee. Between these ideas, it is possible to speculate on the nature of religious motivation when it came to gift giving in medieval York and London.

Such charitable and pious sentiments did not exist in a vacuum, and existing scholarship has done much to explain some of the context for the motivation of the urban laity in London and York when it came to religious provision and services. Brown notes that, in a general sense, care for the poor, and the associated religious practices, were linked to the conception of an 'aesthetic of society' that was built around ideas of what

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[15] Cullum and Goldberg, 'Charitable Provision', p. 25.

[16] V. Chandler, 'Politics and Piety: Influences on Charitable Donations During the Anglo-Norman Period', *Revue Bénédictine* 90 (1980), p. 64.

[17] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', p. 212.

[18] D. Postles, 'Small Gifts, But Big Rewards: The Symbolism of Some Gifts to the Religious', *Journal of Medieval History* 27 (2001), p. 25.

[19] Postles, 'Small Gifts', pp. 24-25; See discussion in Chapter Three.

was 'good' versus what was 'ugly.' This is an idea that can be connected to developing ideas of cities and their role as economic and administrative centres, as well as large-scale communities and the position of individuals within the social structures.[20] This was not a uniquely 'English' phenomenon, as Maureen C. Miller has found such sentiments amongst the social climbers of Verona. These citizens tried to copy the donation habits of the élite nobility, and thus 'raise' themselves into a position of social significance.[21] Similarly, André Vauchez and John Henderson have studied the importance of charity in the formation of urban saints' cults and fraternities, topics that overlap with the importance of religious institutions in English towns.[22]

In England, urban lay charity has been observed and analysed by scholars such as Burgess for the period after 1349. He found that increased wealth also lead to increased generosity and spiritual concern.[23] He also noted that the merchants of English towns tried to use their charity to form particular ties, whether actual or 'virtual', to various groups of the poor and needy and this often extended to the foundation of schools and trusts designed to help others.[24] Further aspects of charity and piety in England are discussed by historians such as Watson, Goldberg and Cullum.[25] Watson especially pointed out the distinctly local nature of early hospitals, noting that they were shaped both by their surroundings and by the very public displays of their benefactors intentions and support. This draws attention to the very personal, but also distinctly social, nature of charitable

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[20] Brown, 'Remembering the Poor', pp. 515-517; this can also be observed in FitzStephen, *Description of London*, as discussed in Chapter Two.

[21] M. C. Miller, 'Donors, Their Gifts and Religious Innovation in Medieval Verona', *Speculum* 66 (1991), p. 33.

[22] A. Vauchez, 'A Twelfth Century Novelty: The Lay Saints of Urban Italy', in ed. D. E. Bornstein and trans. M. J. Schneider, *The Laity in the Middle Ages: Religious Beliefs and Devotional Practices* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1993), pp. 51-72: esp. pp. 60-62; and J. Henderson, *Piety and Charity in Late Medieval Florence* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994).

[23] C. Burgess, 'Making Mammon Serve God: Merchant Piety in Later Medieval England', in eds. C. M. Barron and A. F. Sutton, *The Medieval Merchant: Proceedings of the 2012 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2014), p. 188.

[24] Burgess, 'Making Mammon Serve God', pp. 196-197.

[25] Cullum and Goldberg, 'Charitable Provision', pp. 24-39; and S. Watson, 'Origins', pp. 75–94. See also: J. Greatrex, 'Monastic Charity for Jewish Converts: The Requisition of Corrodies by Henry III' in ed. D. Wood, *Christianity and Judaism* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1992), pp. 133-143; M. Rubin, 'Corpus Christi Fraternities and Late Medieval Piety' in eds. W. J Shiels and D. Wood, *Voluntary Religion: Studies in Church History 23* (1986), pp. 97-109 and Walker, 'Alms for the Holy Land', pp. 63-80.

endowments that, as will be discussed below, was important in the evolution of both religious institutions and communities in the towns of medieval England.[26]

The social functions of charitable giving in relation to collective lay identity in English towns has been considered by scholars such as Holt and Rosser.[27] Unlike the rural villages and manors, towns contained a broad cross-section of medieval society that fostered particular communal interactions that transcended the bonds of family.[28] Central to this was the notion that pious and charitable behaviour could assist in the development of a civic identity and shape the ideas of social order.[29] The return and exchange, then, was not merely spiritual but also highly social in origin. Charity and piety served deep social functions even if these were expressed as spiritual. Indeed, between 1150 and 1250 the leading laity of London and York were working towards a collective image that fostered unity and pride in 'the city'.[30] Their gifts to religious institutions has an important part to play in these developments.

The function of lay charitable giving in creating a collective civic identity is evident in the case of London. In the 1190s, London was granted a commune by John, brother of King Richard, in return for its support. This was a significant step on the path towards civic autonomy.[31] Economically, however, London was in a difficult position. Rural peasants, who were facing increasing difficulties from the ambitions and acquisitions of their lords, migrated to cities such as London only to find themselves excluded from the opportunities controlled by the highly skilled and wealthy mercantile élites and craftsmen. This was coupled with a general trend of economic depression in Europe before c.1200 that affected, amongst other things, food supplies.[32] It was at this point that William FitzOsbert and his supporters were vociferous in their condemnation of the excessive wealth of London élites and their exploitation of the poor.[33]

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[26] Watson, 'Origins', p. 86.

[27] Holt and Rosser, 'Introduction', pp. 2 and 5; see also, Rosser, 'Vill of Westminster', pp. 216-237.

[28] R. Hilton, 'Towns in English Medieval Society', in eds. R. Holt and G. Rosser, *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History: 1200-1540* (London and New York: Longman Publishing, 1990), p. 28.

[29] Holt and Rosser, 'Introduction', p. 2.

[30] See also the discussion in Chapter Two.

[31] Cooper, 'William Longbeard', p. 92-93.

[32] Cooper, 'William Longbeard', pp. 99-101.

[33] Cooper, 'William Longbeard', pp.

Thus, at a time when London was trying to establish itself as an autonomous civic entity poverty was a major, and very visible, issue. The pious and charitable work of religious communities, combined with economic recovery in the 1200s and renewed spiritual vigour after the interdict, was thus able to provide a focal point for socially conscious citizens to express their own importance, and at the same time appear to be helping those less fortunate. Furthermore, as landowners and women religious, St. Mary Clerkenwell was influential amongst the merchants (especially their daughters). While not directly involved in the development of the city, it probably did have some influence on its financial and economic growth through its benefactors.[34] Meanwhile, as an alderman of the city, the prior of Holy Trinity, and thus by extension the house itself, would have found itself *directly* involved in the political evolution of the city of London.[35]

York, similarly was in developing its status as an autonomous urban community during a period of political instability and economic recovery.[36] It was in 1212 that York received a substantial amount of autonomy from King John, a culmination of a process begun in the late 1180s.[37] Rees Jones has identified that the association of the laity in York with the various religious institutions, especially St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital, was a key aspect of their growing sense of civic unity prior to the period of the royal charters. St. Leonard's, for example, was a unifying focal point for the developing communal consciousness, and was a mutual outlet for the piety and good works of citizens of varying social statuses.[38] Indeed, the popularity of St. Leonard's as a recipient of charitable giving after 1200, as demonstrated by figures 4.2 and 4.3 below, may indicate that poverty was a very visible and real issue in York at this time, especially in light of warfare and Northern rebellions in the first half of the century.[39] Similarly, St. Mary's Abbey was heavily involved in the development and welfare of the suburb of Bootham

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[34] D. Sturdy, 'The Medieval Nunnery at Clerkenwell', *The London Archaeologist* 2 (1974), p. 217.

[35] See Chapter Two, especially pp. 48-50.

[36] SRJ, pp. 3-8.

[37] SRJ, pp. 116-117.

[38] SRJ, p. 164-165. See Chapter Two above (from p. 59 to the end of the chapter) for a discussion of these differing social groups that can be found in the charters and what this can explain about the position of the religious institutions in urban society.

[39] For more on this, see SRJ, pp. 116-118; and Palliser, *Medieval York,* pp. 104-106.

outside the city walls, especially since its courts provided a focus for communal organisation.[40]

In Angevin England, it is therefore possible to observe that those at the top of urban society wished to present themselves as 'good' in order to retain power and authority, while those at the lower end wanted to raise themselves by emulating that same behaviour.[41] For this to be effective, these citizens (especially those of means) made themselves stand out amongst their peers. By witnessing, arbitrating and writing charters or gifts that lavishly assisted religious institutions, these citizens sought to show off their status and importance.[42] In addition to the general grants for spiritual intent that were discussed in the preceding chapter, the individual material bequests and spiritual requests discussed below can thus be understood as taking place in a much more complex network of social, spiritual and material exchange.

The previous chapter demonstrated that there was, in the early 1200s, something of a boom in pious donations.[43] Each of the four institutions central to this study received a larger number of 'spiritual' grants in the first three decades of the thirteenth century than they did in the preceding 50, and following 30 years. Furthermore, it emerged that these general trends in donation patterns were closely associated with external developments in legal procedures, alongside the changing face of religious and political realities. Yet the discussion also highlighted that grants *in elemosinam* or *pro anima* were not, in and of themselves, active participation in, or support of, religious services. Granting in this way, while being for general spiritual purpose, did not automatically imply that the grantor wanted any specific service in return. This chapter aims to address those cases in which grantors *did* seek specific purposes for their grants. Ultimately, acts of charity (represented in part by grants *in elemosinam*) and gifts were often not merely facets of diplomatic and legal practice as discussed above. Rather, they had a very definite significance and purpose in both the minds of those who granting and to those who were receiving. These grants had two main forms, sometimes within one charter: charitable

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[40] SRJ, pp. 158-165.

[41] Shaw, 'Social Networks', pp. 203-205.

[42] Shaw, 'Social Networks', p. 218.

[43] See Figures 3.1-3.3 above.

bequests *providing for* specific items or acts (such as pittances and assistance for the poor and sick), and those that explicitly requested prayers and other services *from* the religious.

To provide one example: in the cartulary of Holy Trinity Priory, there is a charter that grants to the New Hospital without Bishopgate in London. It is made by Serlo the Mercer (a common figure in Holy Trinity's affairs) and is dated between c.1197 and c.1225.[44] It appears in Holy Trinity's cartulary because it included a rent of 10s due to the priory as lords of the fee in the parish of St. Lawrence Pountney. Serlo granted this land in free alms 'for the safety of his soul and that of Isabel his wife etc… *for the maintenance of the poor*.' Serlo the Mercer was a major figure in London during this period, holding the office of Mayor six times, and being the third after the office's creation. His actions are likely to have been informed and well thought out, much like those of Geoffrey Hageth and Gerard son of Lefwin in York.[45] In general terms, the provision for souls is in the same style as other charters, and it is likely that he did specifically desire the gift, in and of itself, to act in favour of his own salvation. He gave all his lands in St. Lawrence Pountney, and the total rent amounted to more than a mark of yearly rent to the lords of the fee alone, never mind the remaining revenue for the hospital. It is possible, though not conclusive, that such a large grant might have occurred towards the end of his life, stemming from increased thoughts about his own mortality concern for his and Isabel's souls after their deaths.

Such grants are the most common examples of grants given with spiritual intent: those given for reasons of personal salvation. Charitable motivation and pious behaviour led to certain types of grant that may be observed in all four institutions and others in the two cities.[46] Thus the example of the grant by Serlo the Mercer above has additional significance due to the direct stipulation about the maintenance of the poor. Many gifts to religious institutions contained extra phrases or stipulations about how the grant was to be spent, whether on candles to burn before the high altar of the chosen house or to pay for pittances on the anniversary of the grantor's death. It is to the direct impact, on both

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[44] CHTA/78r-v/397.

[45] See discussion of these men in Chapter Two (pp. 54-55) and Chapter Three footnotes 209, 211 and 213 (pp. 115-117).

[46] It can also be seen from this charter that such attitudes were not limited to the religious foundations considered in this thesis, but can also be observed in relation to other institutions in the city.

grantor and grantee, of these specific provisions and requests that this chapter turns its focus, aiming to analyse further how the laity understood the spiritual functions of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Priory, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital.

Content of Explicit Gifts and Observable Trends

Attention now turns to how these expressions of charity were included in the charters to the four religious institutions, and what significance such additions may have had. More especially, it is important to examine what explicit evidence there is that such charitable sentiment existed at all. A useful method to achieve this is to contextualise these instances considering the previous chapter, and as such it is important to note that most of these instances accompanied the legal formulae of an alms or *pro anima* clauses. Thus, charters can be found such as one from St. Mary Clerkenwell dating to sometime after March 1190, which contain each of the following pieces of information.

> I, Robert Brown, son of Michael, for the welfare of my soul and the soul of Walter Brown my uncle, and the souls of our ancestors and successors and all the faithful dead, give and concede… *for pittances by the said Bartholomew Curteys [the tenant on the land] and his heirs perpetually on the anniversary of my death…* in free, pure and perpetual alms…[47]

In this case, the *pro anima* clause follows a regular pattern, granting for the souls of the grantor, his uncle Walter, his ancestors and descendants and the faithful dead. Similarly, the alms clause was made out in free, pure and perpetual alms, as discussed above.[48] It is the central section that is particularly of interest to this chapter. The gift, which amounts to half a mark from 40s that Robert had to pay in the parish of St. Pancras, was granted to provide pittances on the anniversary of his death. As will become clear below, providing

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[47] CSMC/90r/327; for text see Clerkenwell, pp. 213-214. Text reads: '*Ego Robertus Brunus filius Michaelis pro salute anime mee et anime Walteri Brun auunculi mei et animarum antecessorum et successorum nostrorum et omnium fidelium defunctorum dedi et concessi…* ad pitanciam conuentus de dicto Bartholomeo Curteys et heredibus suis in perpetuum in die obitus aniuersario mei… *in liberam puram et perpetuam elemosinam.*' Emphasis my own.

[48] Though notably before granting in pure alms became commonplace.

pittances (or, more usually, money to procure them) and other food-related gifts, was an important part of pious and charitable behaviour that was by no means uncommon in the medieval period.

Additions such as this occur in various charters of all four of the institutions under consideration. The provisions and requests often varied, with different grantors asking for different things.[49] Table 4.1 illustrates the variety of provisions that were accounted for in the charters of each house. The graph presented in Figure 4.1 presents this data visually, facilitating an easier comparison of the expectations facing each house in relation to the grants. It is important to note that some of the charters contain more than one of each type of provision or request. For example, a charter in the *Liber Officiorum,* to which discussion returns below, grants money to be used for multiple purposes; this included for masses and the infirmary, as well as providing for tablecloths in the abbey refectory.[50] The result is that the total number of provisions or requests can be higher than the number of charters. In this way, for example, Holy Trinity contains twelve provisions and ten inherent requests, but they are spread throughout only ten charters. The tables below, then, represent the types of grant given and their frequency, rather than the number of charters containing such grants. The number of charters *is* given, however, in Table 4.3, which also includes references to requests by donors that contained no explicit provisions, a topic that is discussed later in this chapter.

Such additions to the general legal and diplomatic aspects of the charters are not present in every single case. For example, in charter 55r/I in the *Liber G* of St. Mary's Abbey only the legal clauses are found, rather than anything extra. Thus, Simon Mascetrarius, the butcher, grants to the abbey 4s 12d rent from a property in what is now the Shambles. It was granted in perpetual alms only and 'for the welfare of my soul and

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[49] As has been indicated elsewhere in this thesis. Nevertheless, this is discussed briefly below: first in the section on food and pittances, especially in the paragraphs surrounding Table 4.3, and secondly towards the end of the chapter in the section on burials, in which the relevance of Henry FitzAilwin, the first mayor of London, can be seen providing for the soul of the king.

[50] LO/3r-v/1.

	St. Mary Clerkenwell	Holy Trinity Aldgate	St. Marys Abbey[52]	St. Leonards Hospital
(Money For) Food/ Pittances	9	8	0	3
Candles, Wax and Lights	4	2	4	3
Wine and Provisions for Mass	1	1	1	3
Maintenance of Poor, Sick, Infirmary etc.	1	1	1	4
Clothing	4	0	0	1
Misc.	1	0	1	1
Total	20	12	7	16

Table 4.1: Material Gifts Provided for in the Charters of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Marys Abbey and St. Leonards Hospital[51]

[51] Data collected from CHTA, CSMC, CSLH, LG and LO.

[52] For the purposes of this table, the data from the cartularies has been combined for the sake of clarity. It is worth noting, though, that of the charters mentioned here, only one is found in *Liber G*, namely for the poor and the sick.
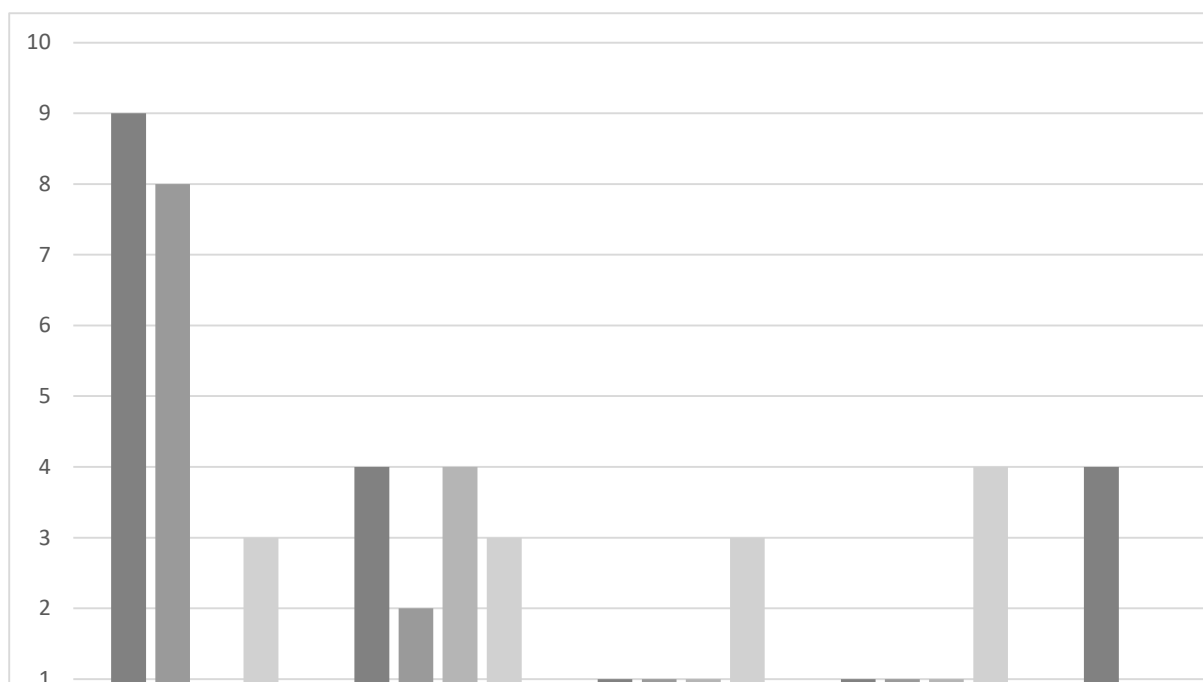
Figure 4.1: Number of Material Gifts Provided for in the Charters of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital As Presented in Table 4.1

	Number of Charters Granted in Alms and for Spiritual Purposes	Number of Charters Containing Specific Provisions or Requests	% of total
St. Mary Clerkenwell	74	20	27%
Holy Trinity Aldgate	42	10	24%
St. Mary's Abbey	64	5	8%
St. Leonard's Hospital	95	29	31%

Table 4.2: Number of Charters Containing Specific Provisions or Requests Relative to Number of Charters Granted in Alms and For Spiritual Purposes Generally

those of my parents.'[53] Similarly, to St. Leonard's hospital sometime after 1200 was granted a tenement and 20d rent by John de Curcy. 'Out of love/charity and for the welfare of my soul and the souls of my ancestors and successors,' this gift was made in pure and perpetual alms.[54] These are just two examples of what was, in fact, the most common method of granting to these institutions at that time, namely without further stipulations. Postles has previously identified this point as one of the principal problems when examining this sort of gift. He notes that, in comparison to the more common forms of grant in which no religious sentiment is expressed, these ostensibly pious additions are at face value insignificant. However, by examining them further, it emerges that such apparent insignificance in actual fact masks an important area of study that should not be overlooked.[55]

As described in the previous chapter, a grantor probably believed that the grant was enough, in and of itself, to assist his/her soul after death. Table 4.2 illustrates how the number of grants with specified intent compare with those granting in alms and for souls generally. The first column here reflects the charters as represented in tables 3.1-3.3, concerning the number of charters granted in alms and for spiritual purposes in the cartularies of each institution. Meanwhile the second concerns the number of charters that contained the specific additions that are of current interest. The final column illustrates the percentage of the grants with spiritual intent that contained these additions.

What emerges is that the percentage of the spiritual gifts that contained additional stipulations was remarkably similar across the board, barring the lower percentage for St. Mary's Abbey. Of the 74 charters with spiritual intent made out to St. Mary Clerkenwell, 27% (20 charters) contained specific provisions. Meanwhile, for Holy Trinity and St. Leonards, they made up 24% and 31% (10 and 40 charters) respectively. In other words, around a quarter of the spiritual grants to these three institutions contained specific provisions or requests. This would appear to reflect, in an earlier period, a trend that Cullum and Goldberg identified in the wills of the fourteenth and fifteenth century, in

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[53] LG/54v-55r/9. Text reads: 'P*ro salute anime mee et parentum meorum,*' again with parentum being translated as parents rather than relatives more generally.

[54] CSLH/105v/7. Latin reads: '*Caritatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et animarum antecessorum et successorum meorum.*'

[55] Postles, 'Small Gifts', p. 24.

which about a quarter of the surviving wills written by the laity in York contain bequests to assist in 'pious works' and provide charitable provisions, though not necessarily to religious institutions as such.[56] In certain respects, this underscores the fact that, with the possible exception of St. Mary's Abbey, these religious institutions would appear to have served a particular spiritual function in this period that went beyond the more general bequests for souls and alms.[57]

A further trend that emerges is that in all four houses the number of such additions within the charters was highest in the period between 1200 and 1230. Correlating significantly with figure 3.3 above, figures 4.2 and 4.3 show that at precisely the same time as there was an overall spike in spiritual grants to religious institutions in York and London, there was also a greater number of charters with specific provisions and requests for each house. St. Leonard's is striking, with 11 of the 30 instances of provisions occurring within that thirty-year period. St. Mary Clerkenwell, too, received 8 such grants (nearly half) between 1200 and 1230, and a further 7 between 1230 and 1260, meaning that three quarters of the donations of this sort occurred after 1200. Meanwhile, in both Holy Trinity and St. Mary's, such provisions are completely absent, it would seem, until the first half of the thirteenth century. The first three decades of the thirteenth century also appear to have been some of the most popular when it came to requests for religious services. This is the same pattern as identified in Chapter Two concerning the diplomatic changes. Though important to remember that the present figures are much smaller, such similarity would suggest some degree of correlation. As one aspect increased, so did the other, further attesting that there were motivating factors such as those considered in Chapter Two, and those discussed below.

While it is important to remember that correlation does not always imply causation, it is unlikely that these trends were merely coincidental. The preceding chapter has already discussed how there was an overall change in attitudes towards pastoral care.

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[56] Cullum and Goldberg, 'Charitable Provision', p.24.

[57] For a discussion about the paucity of such explicit grants to St. Mary's Abbey, see the discussion on inexplicit grants and the almonry of St. Mary's below.
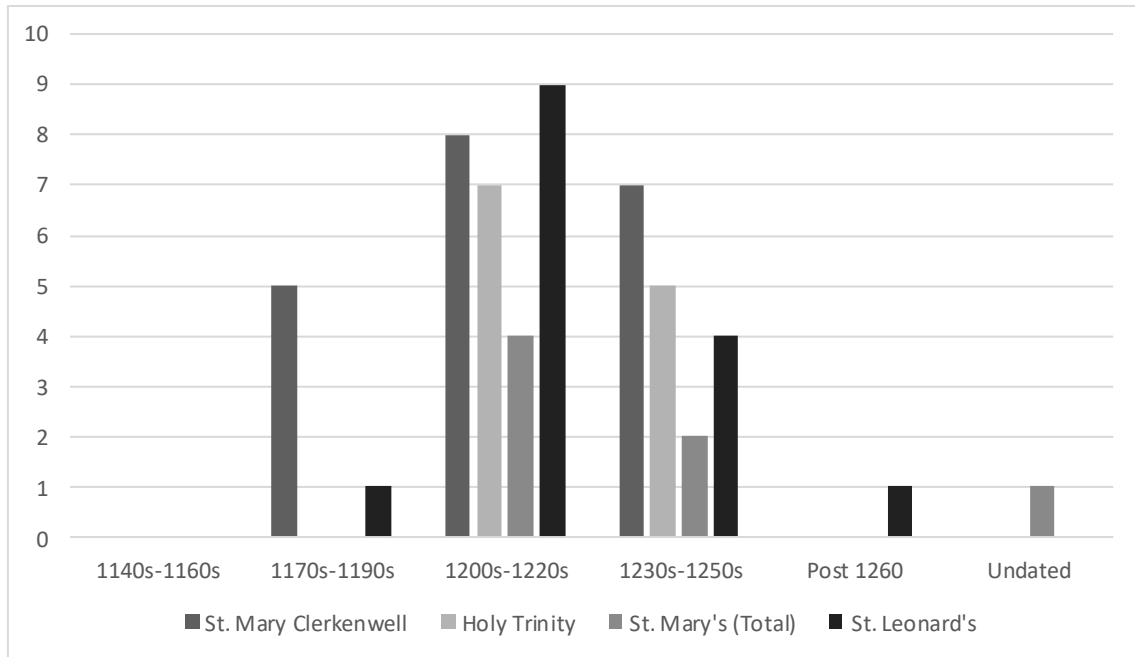
Figure 4.2: Occurrence of Charters Containing Material Gifts Over Time

Figure 4.3: Occurrence of Requests for Religious Services Over Time

Especially so after 1215, when the dissemination of the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council in England seems to have had a definite effect upon the religious sentiments of the laity when it came to donations to religious houses in a general sense.[58] In general terms, then, it seems reasonable that suc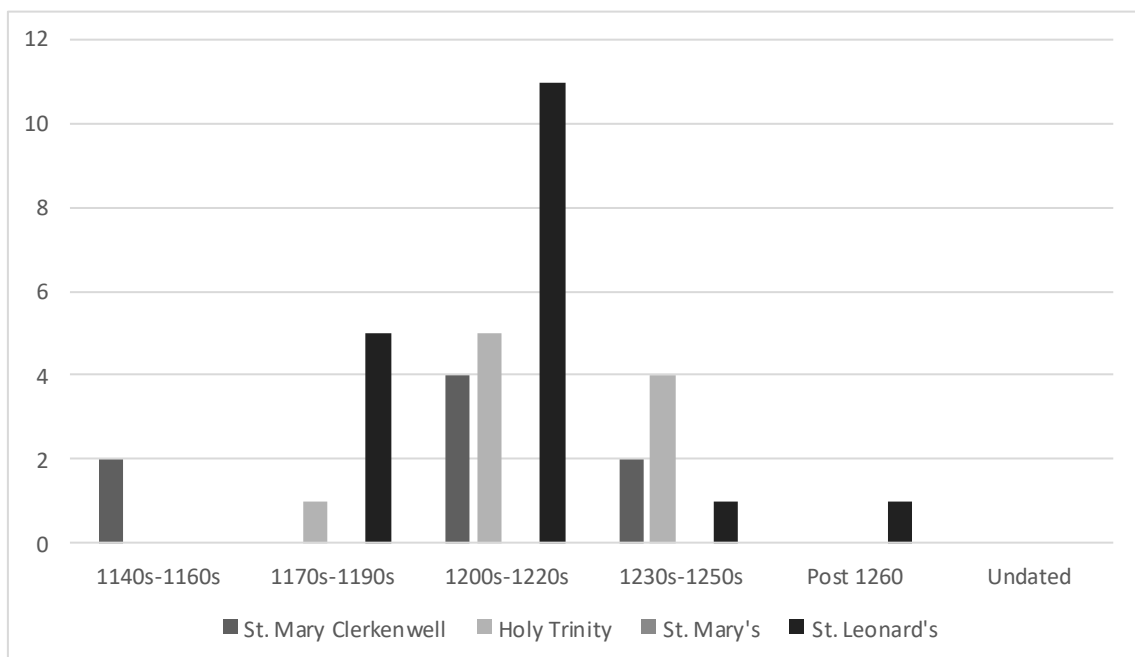h changes may have also affected the specifics that were being granted by the laity in York and London. For England as a whole, Postles suggests that, as the importance of the parish grew and overall benefactions to religious houses declined, small gifts, especially those of, and for, specific things became more deliberate and significant.[59] Similarly, this period saw the beginnings of a much more prevalent spiritual conviction that was to spread across Europe and grow exponentially throughout the later Middle Ages and beyond: namely that concern for the poor and the sick was not merely an economic or social concern that was somebody else's problem, but rather a spiritual responsibility for the whole of society. [60] The tables above provide specific evidence from the four institutions in London and York, and are illustrative of the general trends that have been identified, showing that towns were very much part of the developing ideologies.

That being said, a point that ought to be raised concerns those grants that appear to be part of such exchanges, but that were in fact merely sales or transactions made by a religious institution in charter-gift form.[61] In this way, sacristans looking to purchase wax and candles, as Postles suggests, may have done so either by appealing to the spiritual needs of a potential donor, or else simply by composing a charter to look like a gift rather than a business transaction.[62] Similarly, he identified examples from Southwick Priory and Shrewsbury Abbey in which lights were provided by the houses as part of secular-economic transactions, rather than any active spiritual purpose.[63] Such instances are not always clearly visible in the charter diplomatic. However, as will be discussed in greater depth below, although the explicit motivation might at times have been financial, the overall result was actually one of spiritual prestige that sweetened the deal between

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[58] See discussion in Chapter Three above, pp.82-87.

[59] Postles, 'Small Gifts', pp.26-27.

[60] Miller, 'Donors', p.36.

[61] H. M. Thomas, 'Lay Piety in England From 1066 to 1215', in ed. C. P. Lewis, *Anglo-Norman Studies XXIX: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2006* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), p. 180.

[62] Postles, 'Small Gifts', p. 26.

[63] Postles, 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk', pp. 105-106.

parties.[64] By offering such incentives to the laity, religious institutions were more able to convince them to make transactions that they perhaps would otherwise have avoided.[65] Rees Jones has pointed out that, in general terms, the services and expectations that were being catered for by religious houses in York were becoming gradually more expensive. This was especially the case when it came to providing charity and, in the case of St. Leonard's, hospital care. One of the best ways to counteract this was to increase the size of their estates.[66] In this way, even when such additions to charters were not necessarily a deliberate act of personal piety, they still constituted an important social and religious function.[67] As it is, where such instances occur, an attempt has been made to highlight them in the discussion below.

Thus, the occurrence of these additions to grants to the houses in London and York at that particular period in time is not without context and cause. Indeed, the fact that they correspond heavily with the trends noted in the previous chapter, as well as research by other scholars, demands the investigation that follows in the rest of this chapter. There is demonstrable evidence that some grants were made for charitable purposes. The next section considers those instances where alms and charitable provisions are not explicitly stated, but were ultimately catered for by grants from the laity. This will take note of the role of the Almonry at St. Mary's Abbey as well as Holy Trinity's association with hospitals. Grants of money for pittances, which were in some ways a bridge between explicit material gifts and requested spiritual services, are then examined in depth. Finally, the discussion moves towards an assessment of the spiritual services requested and the material gifts given to aid them. Building on existing historiography and understanding of charity and piety, this argument will reveal further that these services had a very particular purpose in the eyes of the laity of York and London.

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[64] Thomas, 'Lay Piety', p. 180.

[65] Postles, 'Small Gifts', p. 26.

[66] SRJ, p.185 and D. K. Maxfield, 'St. Anthony's Hospital, London: A Pardoner-Supported Alien Priory, 1219-1461,' in ed. J. Gillespie, *The Age of Richard II* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1997), pp. 225-247: pp.226-227.

[67] Chandler, 'Politics and Piety', p. 64.

Inexplicit Charity, Almsgiving and 'Pious Work'

Counterbalancing the obvious additions to the charters that are discussed in the section above, many donations for charitable purposes were often either not explicit in the charter diplomatic beyond the legal *elemosinam* clause, or else took the form of very minor additions stating charitable intent. The sections below discuss how a financial gift was made with the proviso that it was to be used in a certain way; namely to provide specified material gifts or services. Earnestly charitable intent, on the other hand, is rather more difficult to pin down and separate from more general economic transactions. Yet a closer examination of the sources can unveil, to some extent, those cases where charity was a motivating factor in grants to the religious institutions.

'And after the death of the said Cecelia, the said 3s. quitrent per year is to be kept by the nuns to spend on Good Friday in service of the poor by washing their feet.'[68] In this charter to St. Mary Clerkenwell, Nicholas de Warewell grants to the nuns 3s quitrent on land in their own parish of St. Mary Clerkenwell. Specifically, it is given to Cecilia, the sub-prioress of the convent, to have throughout her lifetime. It is requested that, after her death, these three shillings be used in the washing of the feet of the poor by the nuns. Cecilia, meanwhile, gave 20s gersuma back to Nicholas for the grant, the payment of which suggests perhaps that, first and foremost, this grant was an economic transaction between the two parties, perhaps as part of an attempt by Clerkenwell to reclaim some land into their demesne. The purpose of the charter itself, then, may not have originally been spontaneous piety on behalf of Nicholas. Nevertheless, this charter provides an example of how provisions and requests for acts of piety were *added* to charters granting to religious institutions.

As may be observed in figure 4.1, explicit charitable provisions constitute a very minor type of stipulation in the four religious houses of York and London. The example from St. Mary Clerkenwell is, in fact, the only such provision that occurs in the nunnery's cartulary. Similarly, the grant by Serlo the Mercer discussed at the beginning of this

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[68] CSMC/92v/333. Text reads: *'Et post obitum predicte Cecilie predicte tres solid' quieti redditus per annum remaneant monialibus ad expendendum in die absolucionis in usus pauperum ad magnum mandatum scilicet in lauacione pedum.'*

chapter is the only example found in the cartulary of Holy Trinity, and it, rather than being a provision for the priory, was a grant to the New Hospital.[69] St. Mary's Abbey, too, contains only one grant that appears to fit this structure, by way of supporting the sick. For example, Walter the Goldsmith of York, with the consent of his wife, makes a grant to the abbey that comprises a rent of 3s from land next to the churchyard of Holy Trinity on Goodramgate. It is made in free alms, and is to maintain the brothers of the abbey infirmary.[70] The only institution that appears, from this data alone, to have had some, *relative*, popularity when it came to grants to maintain the poor and the sick was St. Leonards, which received four grants of this nature (see figure 4.1). However, it is important to remember that pious gifts and acts of charity were often considered to be the same thing by contemporary donors, and are thus difficult (or indeed impossible) to differentiate between the charters. As a result, while it would appear from these grants alone that charitable considerations were of little interest to the laity of York and London, further examination of each institution reveals a somewhat different perspective.[71]

Regarding St. Leonard's Hospital, charitable acts were an important part of its existence. Indeed, of all the types of provisions, those that were for the maintenance of the poor, sick and infirm were the greatest. Three charters, especially, each provide money for the hospital to perform its duties of caring for the poor, sick, infirm and even children. In the acquisition of one of the parish churches of Walmgate, Alexander, the priest of St. Denis, states that the transfer of authority is 'in order to sustain the poor and infirm of the Hospital of St. Leonards.'[72] Then Walter, son of Fagunulf, granted land to the hospital between 1170 and 1186 in pure and perpetual alms to care for the infirm and orphans.[73] Sometime between 1203 and 1217, Thomas de Huby quitclaimed land to the hospital for

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[69] CHTA/78r-v/397.

[70] LG/58v/7.

[71] Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p. 182.

[72] CSLH/9v/7. Text reads: *'Ad sustentacionem pauperum et infirmorum hospitalis sancti leonardi.'*

[73] CSLH/199r-v/4. Alongside the fresh approach taken by this thesis, the significance of these grants, and the acquisition of the parish churches of St. Mary and St. Margaret (also in Walmgate), is noted by Rees Jones. (SRJ, p. 164). In both these cases, the grants are representative of a shift in the dynamics of the city, with the Hospital, as a foundation supported by royal authority, taking 'control' of the area of Walmgate from a cluster of local families with their own patrimonies and areas of influence. This was part of the development of a relatively unified urban community, as discussed above.

the use of the paupers.[74] Finally, and somewhat differently, William Medicus, son of Martin de York, grants land out of love/charity and piety (*'caritatis et pietatis intuitu'*) to provide for and sustain a chaplain in the new infirmary of the hospital in 1257.[75] The upkeep of a hospital, especially one as large as St. Leonard's, was exceptionally expensive due to the need for hospital staff over and above the normal administrative and staffing costs for a religious institution.[76] Charitable grants such as these, aimed to support the poor and sick by alleviating some of the expense involved in their care.

When discussing the foundation of hospitals, Watson has described these institutions as 'a form of sited alms' that was generally variable in form and structure.[77] Yet they also represented single bodies that were, in many ways, more personal and connected to the laity than the monastic institutions.[78] St. Leonard's, specifically, was in an exceptionally good position to provide for those in need, being as it was at least one of, if not the, most wealthy hospitals in the country and being located within York's city walls.[79] The process of almsgiving that was organised by the hospital was exceptional, catering to a large proportion of those who required such assistance in the city, including providing food and drink to the leper houses and prisoners in the Castle.[80] Alongside their 'normal' function for the patients within the site of the hospital itself, providing support to the hospital in any form was a significant charitable act by the laity of York. The gift by Walter, son of Fagunulf, that provided for orphans is similarly significant, as of all the hospitals in Yorkshire, it was the only one that cared for children.[81] Granting land and money to religious institutions would support their spiritual and charitable function, especially so in the case of a hospital such as St. Leonard's, and would provide a form of

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[74] CSLH/85v/6. The word 'paupers' here could refer either to the brothers of the house, or the poor that made use of the hospital's services; however, the precise meaning is unclear. Either way, the grant is still intended to support the charitable function of the hospital and should be considered in this respect.

[75] CSLH/106r/1.

[76] Maxfield, 'St. Anthony's Hospital', p. 227.

[77] Watson, 'Origins', p. 90.

[78] Watson, 'Origins', p. 94.

[79] Cullum, 'St. Leonard's Hospital', pp. 11-12.

[80] Cullum, 'St. Leonard's Hospital', p. 17.

[81] Cullum, 'St. Leonard's Hospital', p. 16.

'vicarious penance' for the laity; and they were very much aware of that fact, as these phrases and donations demonstrate.[82]

The Almonry of St. Mary's Abbey

In the cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital, there are indications of more subtle, tacit support of the charitable function that do not fit into the categories of specific provisions as described above. These come in the form of the very occasional phrase *'caritatis intuitu'*, as has already been noted in the two examples above.[83] This acknowledgement of the charitable function of the hospital is similarly recognised in a charter by Thomas, son of Thomas de Youl, who uses the same phrase in his grant of land to the hospital in 1225.[84] Such instances are important as they demonstrate that grantors were aware of the function of the hospital and the good that their grant could do, even if it did not provide for any specific charitable acts.[85]

In this light, the smaller number of donations to other institutions can be explained and mitigated. In the case of St. Mary's Abbey, such unstated charitable support by the laity of York may be observed in grants to the Almonry. One of the key points to emerge from table 4.2 above is that overall St. Mary's Abbey received significantly fewer donations with specific intent than did the other institutions under investigation. Only 8%, i.e. five charters, of those grants in alms or for souls in the two cartularies of the abbey contained individual provisions or requests. When considered next to the total number of grants to the institution, those five charters make up only 5% of the whole. By these charters alone, it seems that St. Mary's Abbey was not often considered the most obvious choice when making charitable requests.

Yet to suggest from this that the abbey was not involved in charity and almsgiving, and further that the laity did not notice or care, would be incorrect. When discussing Cistercian relationships with towns, Jamroziak points out that one of the key elements of monastic ideology, specifically of those based upon the Benedictine rule, was

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[82] Thompson, '*Habendum et Tenendum*', p. 212.
[83] CSLH/105v/7 and 106r/1.
[84] CSLH/105v/6.
[85] Though it ought to be noted that 'caritatis' could also refer to 'love' rather than 'charity', depending upon the interpretation of the Latin.

the function of charity and assisting the needy.[86] Furthermore, in the case of St. Mary Graces in London, she has highlighted the fact that such charitable works were perhaps the most prominent feature that connected the abbey to the citizens of London in the later medieval period.[87] In the case of St. Mary's Abbey, it would appear that the defining relationship between monks and laity was based upon that of a tenant and landlord.[88] However, it has been noted by Burton that the role of charity and almsgiving by the abbey was by no means insignificant, as the monks were obliged to perform such duties in service of those in need. The office that was then in charge of this duty was that of the almoner.[89]

It has already been stated in this thesis that one of the key motivations for lay interaction with religious houses in York and London was spiritual benefit. One of the ways this was done was by trying to associate oneself with monastic culture and life, and indeed behaviour, through grants and association, as will be further discussed below.[90] Yet in the content of the charters alone, St. Mary's Abbey falls short in terms of explicit charitable provisions. However, a closer investigation of the charters reveals that, where explicit specifications of charitable intent are lacking, the almonry yet benefited from general lay grants, especially those made to the office itself. The *Liber Officiorum*, as discussed in chapter one, was divided principally between the holdings and rights as they pertained to various monastic offices, particularly the sacrist. Yet and entire section pertains specifically to property that was held and managed by the almoner. It is thus from this property, both donated to, and managed by, the almonry, that a proportion of the abbey's charitable work was derived. This, in turn, came from the purses of the laity, both by explicit grant and tacit association.

The almonry of St. Mary's was located somewhere near the main gate of the abbey and served as the main location for the house's almsgiving, and for the education of poor boys in an abbey school that was also located there. The almoner and his servants, then, were to make the care of the poor their highest priority. Be it by providing food (usually

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[86] Jamroziak, 'St. Mary Graces', p. 162.
[87] Jamroziak, 'St. Mary Graces', p. 163.
[88] Burton, 'St. Mary's Abbey', p. 69. This relationship is further discussed by Rees Jones in SRJ.
[89] Burton, 'St. Mary's Abbey', p. 70.
[90] Postles, 'Religious Houses', p. 9.

remnants of monastic meals) clothing or even just a warm place to stay in winter, performing tasks in chartable service of the poor was the primary aim.[91] Grants to and from the almonry, as documented in the *Liber Officiorum*, make up only 11%, i.e. seven of the fifty-nine charters collected for this period. Bearing this in mind, the role of donations to the almonry should not be overstated. Considering the variety of offices operating within a monastic institution, alongside the fact that most grants were not given specific direction to any one of them, this aspect of the abbey's expenditure (and the laity's donation habits) is by no means negligible. Indeed, the 1535 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* surveyed the abbey's provisions for the poor and established that, alongside more general charitable acts and other tasks, each person in the almonry's care was to receive around 3d a day.[92]

Two of the seven charters that pertain to the almoner in the *Liber Officiorum* appear to relate to property already owned by the abbey, or at least within its fee. Highlighting each chronologically, the first is a quitclaim by Geoffrey, son of Radulf Lesquire, to Simon de Hunmanby in 1204 of land in the suburb of Bootham worth a total of three marks. St. Mary's Abbey was lord of the fee, hence the interest, and the chief recipient of any income from that land was the almoner.[93] Then, in 1214, Roger, son of Hugh de Riplingham, granted land to Robert, son of Geoffrey Sutor in Bootham. This grant, however, came with a stated reservation of 7s to the almoner and the provision of one man to work on the abbey field making hay one day a year.[94] In each of these, the almoner, as the chief individual manager of the land in question, was given a reasonable income, which was most likely intended for charitable work. In the case of Geoffrey, son of Radulf Lesquire, any benefit to the spiritual wellbeing of the rent-payer was probably incidental. It is possible that the involvement of the almoner was not considered at all significant as it was he who merely held the land on behalf of the abbey. Conversely, the grant by Roger, son of Hugh de Riplingham, may have been much more consciously for the benefit of the

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[91] This information is revealed in a fourteenth century custumal of the abbey as discussed by Burton in 'St. Mary's Abbey', p. 71.

[92] Burton, 'St. Mary's Abbey', p. 71; see also the Gazetteer and discussion in the ed. K. D. Lilley, *The British Historic Towns Atlas, Volume 5: York – Introduction and Gazetteer* (York: The Historic Towns Trust and York Archaeological Trust, 2015).

[93] LO/28r/2.

[94] LO/28r-v/3.

almonry, especially since the provision of manual labour alongside the grant specifically to the almoner would have created strong ties between the grantor and the recipient. The use of manual labour ensured that the abbey was in direct contact with its tenants and holdings beyond the more common cash payments.[95] In both cases there is an element of association with the religious institution that, while possibly not as deliberate as grants in alms, served to boost the charitable activity of the abbey through lay support.

This idea is present also in three other grants to the almoner, LO/26r/1-3. While they are three separate charters, these documents in fact pertain to a single piece of land in Fishergate that was, it appears, part of some property already owned by the abbey. The first charter is an affidavit written by Nicholas, son of Richard de Fulford, in which he confirmed that the land and rent belonged to Aldusa, daughter of Roscelin, whose father owned the property before her. This piece of land was, by this document, confirmed also to Benedict Cementarius, son of Jordan, as Aldusa's husband.[96] The next two charters grant this land to the abbey, first from Benedict, and then from Aldusa as the principal landowner 'without constraint.'[97] The grant is made to Abbot Robert and the abbey in general, but by its position in the *Liber Officiorum*, ultimately seems to have been given to the almoner. This process was likely an instance of St. Mary's Abbey reclaiming its land in fee, thus, in modern terms, consolidating its estate. It was granted at some point between 1186 and 1239, during the abbacy of either Robert I de Harpham (1186-1195) or Robert II de Longchamp (1197-1239).[98] The consolidation efforts of the abbey were well underway by the abbacy of Robert II, and may have begun as early as the abbacy of Abbot Clement (1161-84).[99] That it was given to the almoner perhaps suggests that the fact that the revenue of this land would be used for charitable purpose was an unstated incentive. Without such statements in the documents, though, this can only remain a theory.

More concrete, however, are the final two charters to the almoner in the *Liber Officiorum*, LO/27r/1 and LO/27v/2, which concern a piece of land in Bootham. The first is a charter made by William de Lilling in which he quitclaims 7s from the land in free, pure

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[95] SRJ, pp. 161-2.
[96] LO/26r/1.
[97] LO/26r/2-3. Text reads: '*In ligia potestate mea.*'
[98] Knowles, Brooke and London, *Heads of Religious Houses,* p. 84.
[99] SRJ, p. 161.

and perpetual alms directly to the almonry of the abbey sometime between 1244 and 1258.[100] The abbey then confirmed the same piece of land to Richard, son of Robert Supe, who had already been a tenant there. The total rent in this second grant was higher, at 8s 4d, of which 7s was to go to the almoner and 16d to the cellarer.[101] What is happening here seems to be a combination of a gift and a consolidation of land. Ultimately, William de Lilling seems to have released land worth 7s that the abbey possibly already owned, thereby allowing the almoner to receive at least that amount of money. The second grant then gives overall control of the land to Richard who then had to pay more, perhaps to cover what remained of the land's value after William had released his claim. The overall effect, is that the almonry received a substantial 7s rent from the land as income, while the cellarer also benefited, if to a lesser extent. Both the lay parties involved would probably have had some sense of benefit from the support of the almonry. Certainly, that William's charter is given in alms suggests that his intent was motivated by spiritual concerns; and, indeed, confirms that grants in alms were not merely legal or economic formulae.

The case for the role of the almonry in the eyes of the laity is far from certain. The charters cited above are few and do not, with one exception, openly demonstrate any sense of personal piety on the part of the laity involved in the transactions. Yet, in general terms, an almoner was much like any other obedientiary in so far as he retained a degree of independence, especially when it came to the estates that he managed.[102] Furthermore, it has been suggested that part of the reason for this was due to the pious bequests of the laity.[103] Certainly, the charters pertaining to the almoner of St. Mary's indicate that whoever held that position also held a fairly substantial network of properties derived principally from the grants of the laity. Burton has noted that the work of an almoner was essential to the daily function and routines of religious houses in the Middle Ages, providing as he did assistance to those in need both within and without the monastic precinct.[104] This work was not always private, and affected, whether directly or indirectly,

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[100] LO/27r/1.
[101] LO/27v/2.
[102] C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism: Forms of Religious Life in Western Europe in the Middle Ages* (London and New York: Longman Publishing, 1984), p. 108.
[103] Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism,* p. 108.
[104] Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders,* p.173.

many people who would either have used these services or at least been aware of their existence.[105]

The almonry, and indeed charitable sentiments, were not the principal consideration of the men and women of York between 1150 and 1260 in terms of St. Mary's Abbey. Yet the almonry as a charitable entity would not have gone unnoticed. By supporting an almonry, whether by grants or the payment of rents, a lay person would have felt that he or she was doing charitable good. Certainly, as the charters cited above demonstrate, it was understood to have had a role in the abbey's spiritual function. It is not unreasonable to speculate that some of the grants made to the abbey, especially those made in alms, may have been intended to support the charitable role that the abbey could perform. Unfortunately, this cannot extend far beyond speculation due to the nature of the sources. Nevertheless, even if this was not the intention, it is probable that infirmary care and almsgiving were used by the abbey as a means of projecting its good works into lay consciousness. This was done in such a way as both to encourage grants and to demonstrate how they might be used; especially through the work of the almonry.[106] Thus consideration of the almonry's role in the eyes of the laity is an important way to gain a deeper, if tentative, understanding of lay motivation in grants to St. Mary's Abbey. It reveals that, while the explicit statements of charitable intent may be low, the overall appreciation of the work done by the abbey almoner might have been significant.

Holy Trinity and St. Katherine's Hospital

For Holy Trinity Aldgate, there existed a similar association that may have driven at least some support to the priory: care of the hospital of St. Katherine's. In the absence of an almoner, one of the ways enabling Holy Trinity to engage in charitable work was, in theory at least, by their management of, and association with, the hospital. Founded in c.1148, the Hospital of St. Katherine was built upon land that had belonged to Holy Trinity, and was then placed into the custody of the canons of the priory.[107] Copied into

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[105] D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, Second Edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), p.482-484.

[106] Burton, *Monastic Order*, p. 215.

[107] Schofield and Lea, *Aldgate,* p. 150.

the cartulary, charters pertaining to the hospital detail an exchange of six librates of land for that upon which the hospital was built as made between the canons and Queen Matilda, Stephen's wife, in 1147/8.[108] Then, a little later, Matilda granted the hospital and all its lands back to the priory along with a gift of £20 a year in free alms, on the condition that the attached mill would be moved to a more suitable location and that thirteen poor people would be cared for forevermore in service of the souls of the royal family.[109] This is accompanied by a confirmation of the same by King Stephen and is ratified by Archbishop Theobald and Pope Alexander III.[110]

In a general sense, the Augustinian regular canons appear to have had close ties with hospitals. Burton has drawn attention to a sense in which, to medieval men and women, the distinction between regular canons who provided hospitality to guests and spiritual services in their duties, and hospitals who cared for the poor and the sick was not always a clear one. Furthermore, it was not uncommon for a priory to have a hospital as a dependent.[111] The priory's role was, first and foremost, to act always in defence of the everlasting Church, and one of the main ways of pursuing this goal was in the administration of spiritualities such as hospitals and parish churches.[112] Holy Trinity was no different, and this can be observed to some extent through its supervision of the hospital of St. Katherine. Indeed, Jamison, in her study of the hospital, pointed out that the purpose of Matilda's grant was precisely to add the act of caring for travellers, the sick and the needy into the principal roles of the Aldgate canons. This could not be done in the priory precinct, and thus the hospital became something of a vicarious extension to the spiritual function of Holy Trinity and its residents.[113]

Of course, one of the main side-effects of such possessions was revenue derived from them, especially from donations of support from the laity. So significant was this

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[108] CHTA/172v/974.

[109] CHTA/172v/975.

[110] CHTA/172v/976 and 173r/980 and 981.

[111] Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 49.

[112] N. Nichols, 'The Augustinian Canons and Their Parish Churches: A Key To Their Identity', in eds. J. Burton and K. Stöber, *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishing, 2011), pp. 313-337: p. 336.

[113] C. Jamison, *The History of the Royal Hospital of St. Katherine By the Tower of London* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1952), p. 7.

income that, in many cases, it formed the backbone of their financial stability and prosperity.[114] In this way, by close association with charitable institutions, regular canons were able to gain support from the laity. Some indication of the canons' support of the hospital (and, more especially, how it was derived from grants of the laity) may be observed in two grants from priors Robert and Peter, one that is apparently a correction of the other, in the late 1210s that grant to the hospital over 30s from various rents paid to the priory by the laity.[115] Each sum is taken from rents from various properties held by the priory, but notably not included in the cartulary itself except in this grant. Thus, for example, 2s comes from rent on land that Robert Norensis held in All Hallows Staining; 5s comes from Simon Chaloner who paid the rent on land in the same parish; and Ralph le Bureller held land worth 12d rent in the parish of St. Olave by the Tower.[116] Overall, from twelve different lay rents, the total grant confirmed to the hospital amounted to 31s 4d per annum, with a 4d rent retained by Holy Trinity and a payment of 29 marks in gersuma for the grant.[117]

The direct involvement of the laity in this grant is unclear. Yet it seems unlikely that they would be unaware of where their rent payments were going. It is possible, for example, that the original terms by which the rents were paid stipulated that they were to go the hospital. By the principle already stated throughout the above discussion, then, it is reasonable to assert that they would have felt some degree of association with the good works done by the hospital. Even if they were merely paying rent, the lay people's understanding of what a hospital represented in terms of spiritual care through charitable means may have encouraged their support and prompt payments.

An assertion that the urban laity was aware of Holy Trinity's association with the hospital and ultimately supported both institutions may be confirmed in a series of notes found near the end of the Aldgate cartulary in which attention is drawn to an intense dispute between the canons of Holy Trinity and the hospital itself (using the name of

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[114] Nichols, 'Parish Churches', pp. 313 and 322. The possession of parish churches is further discussed in Chapter Two, pp. 44-52.
[115] CHTA/174v-r/993 and 994.
[116] CHTA/174v/993.
[117] CHTA/175r/994.

Queen Eleanor via royal writ) in the 1250s.[118] At the exchequer court of Westminster in 1254, a plea was held in which Prior John was accused of falsely holding the hospital and abusing his authority over it.[119] Arising from claims of drunkenness and disorder on the part of the hospital brothers, John decided to place one of the Holy Trinity canons in direct control of the hospital, a move that was clearly unpopular and sparked the conflict.[120] Significantly, when asked during an inquisition into the hospital in the same year, Mayor Ralph Hardel and the aldermen of the city (of whom, it should be remembered, the prior of Holy Trinity was one) declared firmly in favour of the priory, stating that it had a legitimate claim to the hospital stretching back to the reign of King Stephen.[121] As it was, the dispute was ultimately resolved in favour of the hospital and the Queen due to her sway over Bishop Fulk of London, and ultimately the rights were transferred to Eleanor and subsequent queens in 1261.[122]

Support provided by the mayor and aldermen was more for a political than for any other reason. As alderman himself, the prior was one of their own, and the support could have been as much a rejection of outsider-critics' largesse as a specific defence of a religious institution and its rights.[123] Yet there is evidence that the mayors of London had something of a close connection to the priory and its dealings. Henry FitzAilwin was a significant supporter of the house and was even buried at the chapter house door of the priory.[124] Through connections such as these, the priory certainly played a very active part in city life. One of these functions was its administration of the Hospital of St. Katherine's. It is highly unlikely that their charitable association would have been missed, especially since foundations such as St. Mary's Bishopgate (the same as granted to by Serlo the

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[118] A full discussion of the events can be found in C. Jamison, *The History of the Royal Hospital of St Katharine by the Tower of London* (London: Oxford University Press, 1952), from p. 11.

[119] CHTA/173v/982.

[120] Jamison, *Hospital of St. Katherine*, p. 11.

[121] CHTA/173v/983.

[122] CHTA/173v-174r/984-987; See also, Jamison, *Hospital of St. Katherine's*, p. 13.

[123] Jamison, *Hospital of St. Katherine*, pp. 11-12.

[124] D. Keene, 'Henry fitz Ailwin (d. 1212), First Mayor of London', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* accessed online at http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9526 on 30/07/2015.

Mercer in the charter at the beginning of this chapter) were greatly supported by the laity of London from foundation to dissolution.[125]

Holy Trinity's close association with St. Katherine's Hospital, then, was well known by the Londoners and quite probably inspired a certain amount of the support experienced by the priory. While it is again not possible to state this with absolute certainty, the support shown to the priory regarding its administration of the hospital, along with the unlikelihood of lay ignorance of the hospital's charitable role and the priory's involvement in that role suggests that some of the donations to the priory may have had an unstated charitable purpose. It is further of note that Holy Trinity did not have a dedicated almoner to whom pious and charitable donations could be made. Thus, perhaps, the custody of a hospital may have taken on something of an extra significance to the charitable laymen. External charity was, no doubt, funded in part by the grants, and through these the laity could benefit spiritually.

It thus emerges that, to some extent at least, charitable motivation and support were present in the donations from the laity to religious institutions in London and York. However, as has been noted, it was relatively unexpressed in the wording of the charters themselves. This does not mean that it was not a consideration, though, due to the conscious understanding of the pious and charitable role of certain aspects of the religious' duties. Hospitals, for example, were attractive sources of charitable intent, whether directly as in the case of St. Leonard's, or by association in the case of St. Katherine's and Holy Trinity. Similarly, the work of the almonry of St. Mary's Abbey was a well-known and respected part of the abbey's role in the city. Precise details concerning how much this influenced grants to the religious institutions in York and London is unclear due to the absence of explicit statements in the charters, yet it seems clear that they were to some extent a motivating factor. It is at this point that consideration should be made of those provisions and motivations that *were* made explicit, and what significance these had in the minds of the laity.

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[125] Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 49.

Donations for Pittances and Food

Charitable and pious sentiment, then, can clearly be found in the charters and the behaviours of the four institutions. Indeed, closer examination reveals that this charitable function was an essential part of religious life, for both the donors and the recipients. Providing something of a bridge between charitable donations and those given to encourage religious services, the importance of pittances is worth some consideration. Something to bear in mind is that, in all the following cases, what is provided by the lay donors is not usually the food itself, but rather a source of income so that pittances could be procured. The primary function of such donations was spiritual, the food being consumed in memory of the donor and thus benefitting his or her soul, a form of commemoration through the charitable act of providing for the sustenance of both those within the religious house and the poor of the local area.[126] Pittances were additional portions of food, and sometimes drink, which were not usually part of the monastic diet or else were of higher quality than normal. The result could sometimes be nothing short of a feast, though in most cases that term would be an exaggeration. Certainly, once the religious men and women had eaten, whatever was left over was then given to the poor as alms.[127]

In the charter diplomatic, provision for pittances were not standardised. Often, but by no means always, they seem to appear immediately after the parcel clause and take a simple but explicit form. Thus William the Chamberlain's 23d grant in the parish of St. Mary Aldermary was given 'to provide pittances on the day of the anniversary of my death.'[128] Similarly, Agnes, daughter of Adam Bacheler, gave 5s that were 'to provide pittances and services for my soul and for the souls of all the faithful dead on the day of my anniversary when that should come.'[129] On the other hand, in 1208/16, Matilda Barrow granted 10s quitrent to the nuns 'so that I may be rememberd on the anniversaty of my

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[126] Postles, 'Pittances and Pittancers', p. 175; and B. F. Harvey, 'Monastic Pittances in the Middle Ages', in eds. C. M. Woolgar, D. Serjeantson and T. Waldron, *Food in Medieval England: Diet and Nutrition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 215-227: p.216.

[127] Harvey, 'Monastic Pittances', p. 216.

[128] CSMC/87v/317. Text reads: '*Ad pitanciam conuentus in die anniuersarii obitus mei.*'

[129] CSMC/76v/274. Text reads: '*Ad pitanciam et seruitium faciendum pro anima mea et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum in die anniuersarii mei annuatim quando euenerit.*'

death in the refection of that place.'[130] In this instance no explicit statement of pittances is made, but it can be assumed from context that the 10s given for an anniversary commemoration in the refectory was primarily made for pittances. Furthermore, there is one instance in which a gift was made by William, son of Roger, to St. Leonard's Hospital 'so that peace can be reached between myself and Thomas de Langwith… to increase the pittance that Reginald de Warthill gave to the infirmary.'[131] Thus, as part of a deal to resolve a dispute between himself and Thomas de Langwith, William made a grant increasing the amount of pittance already provided, that did not serve himself, but rather the souls of others.[132]

Pittances could also be coupled with pious acts of charity aimed directly at the institutions themselves. A prominent example of this may be found in the Clerkenwell cartulary in a grant made by the executors of Henry de Edmonton in 1138/9, already referenced above. In it, 24s is divided between Henry's two daughters; Matilda, a nun of Clerkenwell and Marsilia a nun of St. Leonard Stratford. Specifically, the donation is a charitable, and strongly paternal, act to provide the clothing of each of the sisters during their lives in the respective convents. It is then, after their deaths, that the same money is to be used to provide a pittance on the anniversary of Henry's death.[133] Initially, Henry can be observed caring for his family members in the convent. Provision for clothing, though, was also an act of charity. In this case, the act of charity and explicit piety is taken even further by the redirection of the money from clothing to pittances once Matilda and Marsilia died. Henry, through the executors of his will, was supporting his daughters, the nunneries and his own soul.

Gifts made towards pittances were an important part of lay interaction with religious houses, not least because they were a low-cost method of providing charity and

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[130] CSMC/72v/260. Text reads: *'Ad memoriam mei faciendam in die anniuersarii mei in refectione conuentus eiusdem loci.'*

[131] CSLH/170v/5. Text reads: *'Pro pace factam inter me et Tomae de Langwath… ad incrementum pitancie quam Reginaldus de Warthil dedit infirmatorio.'*

[132] Interesting to note here is that the use of pittances in this way may be part of developing ideas of penance and peace-making practices that existed in the fourteenth century, and is thus an avenue for future research in this area, though outside the boundaries of the current argument.

[133] CSMC/98v/350.

receiving religious benefits of some kind.[134] This point is perhaps one of the most significant aspects of pittance provisions to religious houses. In this period, there was an increasing sense, possibly driven by the grantees, that monetary provision was a more effective and sustainable means of granting in this way to a religious institution.[135] In a more urban setting in which parish churches were becoming ever more integral to lay spirituality, smaller donations became ever more significant.[136] Moreover, donating money to provide food was something that almost any donors could do, even if they themselves had a low income, due to the relatively small expenditure involved.[137] Indeed, Postles has suggested that it may have been one way in which the 'lesser laity,' perhaps feeling the work of the parish was not enough, were able to appropriate some of the behaviour of the élite in terms of donating to religious communities.[138]

In the cases of London and York specifically, it is important to remember that several parish churches were, in fact, under the control of the four institutions as already discussed.[139] It is therefore possible that the divisions between religious house and parish church was not always clear-cut. St. Mary Clerkenwell, for example, served as a parish church itself and the nuns themselves received several grants for pittances, as described below. St. Leonard's Hospital, meanwhile, did not receive as many grants for pittances in its function as a hospital, but it held popular churches that were on the opposite side of the city. The support of one may, as a result, have implied the support of the other. Nevertheless, as it pertains to the charters contained in the cartularies, the importance and relevance of *these* low-cost donations as expressions of lay piety remains the same, since they were given directly to the houses themselves, not through parish churches.

Of the twenty charters from all four of these institutions that contain pittances, the relatively low cost can be observed, albeit with exceptions. The details of how much money was given in each charter are given in Table 4.3. One observation from this data is

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[134] C. M. Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food in Late Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History* 37 (2011), p. 6.

[135] Harvey, 'Monastic Pittances', p. 225.

[136] Postles, 'Pittances and Pittancers', p. 178.

[137] Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', p. 8.

[138] Postles, 'Pittances and Pittancers', p. 178.

[139] See Chapter Two on the institutions and discussion of St. Leonard's above, pp. 45-54.

	Amounts Granted to Provide Pittances
St. Mary Clerkenwell	12s, 10s, ½ Mark, ½ Mark, 5s, 5s, 3s 1d, 2s, 1s 11d
Holy Trinity Aldgate	20s, 1 Mark, 1 Mark, 1 Mark, 7s, ½ Mark, ½ Mark, 2s
St. Mary's Abbey	None
St. Leonard's Hospital	4s, 1s, 1s

Table 4.3: Amount of Money Granted to Provide Pittances in Each Charter[140]

that fourteen of the twenty grants are in single figure shillings. One amounts to 10s, while CHTA/126r/701a is a 20s grant that is to be divided for two people and thus amounts to 10s for each person. Each of these grants is reasonably small, and on a yearly basis the spiritual return would have greatly outweighed the minor financial losses. Following this, the remaining four are all much higher figures. CHTA/76r/380, for example, is one of those amounting to a full mark. This seems like a large amount, but it is a grant of land with a house and thus the pittances are likely part of a larger exchange between grantor and priory. Half a mark was to be used for a pittance on the day after St. Edmund King and Martyr (namely, the 21st November), while the other half was to be paid while the grantor is alive on the 2nd October (St. Leodegarius) and on the day of his death.[141] In the Clerkenwell charters, the 12s grant is the same as that of Henry de Edmonton discussed above. To labour this point would be to place too much emphasis on precise amounts without comparable data concerning, for example, how great a share of the grantor's total holdings was being set aside for pittances.[142] These figures, then, are interesting as indicators of the diversity of grants and the amount of money given towards food. Furthermore, what table 4.3 does show is the overall trend of pittance provision in the charters. It is to this that attention is now turned.

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[140] As found in CHTA, CSMC, LG, LO and CSLH, and various cited below.

[141] CHTA/78r/380.

[142] This limitation is pointed out in Thomson, 'Piety and Charity', p. 182.

Pittances were especially important in London, it would seem. Following the trend observed in Chapter Three, of the seventeen grants for pittances in both the Holy Trinity and Clerkenwell charters, sixteen of them occur in dates, or ranges, that occurred after the interdict in the reign of King John.[143] This corresponds directly with the trends that have already been identified. For example, William the Chamberlain, son of Jordan Camer, granted a mark of rent in free alms in the parish of St. Mary Aldermary to Holy Trinity for pittances on the anniversary of his death.[144] Thomas de Haverhill, in c.1218, gave the canons a grant of 3s quitrent in the parish of St. Clement, 3s from land in Cockeslane and a substantial amount of land in St. Edmund. The condition for this grant was that half a mark was to be spent on pittances on the anniversary of Thomas's death.[145] Meanwhile, to Clerkenwell examples include the grant of Geoffrey de Frowike in 1235/5 in which 5s was given to be spent on pittances on the day of his death and for his wife on the Sunday after Easter.[146] Around the same time, between 1227 and 1237, William, son of Benedict, gave a half mark quitrent on a shop in St. Pancras to provide a pittance on the anniversary of his death.[147]

Like grants for the souls of relatives as discussed in the previous chapter, money for pittances was also spent upon the wellbeing of family members. Thus, for example, one of the expensive full mark grants to Holy Trinity was made by Simon, son of Robert Blund, on the anniversary of his father's death, not his own.[148] Dating to 1220-1, this grant may be one from a prominent citizen trying to care for the soul of another, his father. It is also no surprise to find Holy Trinity, the prior being an alderman, involved in the commemoration of one of the leading members of London society.[149] Meanwhile, in the

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[143] See discussion of the interdict above, pp. 90-91.

[144] CHTA/106r/546.

[145] CHTA/193r/1028.

[146] CSMC/89v/326.

[147] CSMC/93r/335.

[148] CHTA/86v/449.

[149] Members of the, or perhaps a, Blund family were some of London's leading citizens. Pamela Nightingale has, for example, identified Edward Blund as the King's chamberlain from the 1160s to 1182, as well as pointing out his role as the 'chief purchaser' for the crown and coroner, specifically in London. (P. Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community: The Grocers' Company and the Politics and Trade of London 1000-1485* (New Haven: Yale University Press; 1995). pp. 54-56). While the name Blund was common, and tracing exact familial ties is tenuous, it is reasonable to suggest that Simon and Robert may have been part of the same family.

Clerkenwell cartulary can be found a grant from John de Tanton from 1205-16 in which 3s 1d is given from land in Newington.

> With pious intent and for the welfare of my soul and thos of my
> father and mother and all my ancestors, and for Joanna my sister…
> and let it be known that the nuns are to spend all of this rent on
> pittances on the anniversary of the death of the aforementioned
> Joanna, my sister.[150]

In this instance, the pittances were to be used for John's sister, who may have died not long before this grant was made. Alongside the standard diplomatic patterns and more general spiritual considerations, John states his pious intent and specifies that his sister's soul is to be the primary recipient of the positive benefits of this act.

While the charters meeting the trend of post-1200 grants are interesting, it is misleading to suggest that provision for food was unheard of before this point. Sometime in the 1190s, Robert Brown, son of Michael, grants to the nuns half a mark from 40s rent he has in the parish of St. Pancras 'to provide pittances for the said Bartholomew Curtys [the tenant on the land] and his heirs perpetually on the anniversary of the day of my death.'[151] While this may be the earliest grant of this sort, it does demonstrate that the idea of pittances was not unprecedented before 1200, even if explicit provision for them is not commonly observed in the charters. Meanwhile, the provision of food to Holy Trinity was certainly something grounded in precedent stretching back to the priory's foundation, at least in theory. At the beginning of the cartulary, in the 'chronicle,' can be found the statement that:

> At first the house was so poor that some pious women of the City
> individually undertook to bring a loaf of bread on Sundays and to
> persuade others to do the same. This secured the weekly supply of
> bread to the house until such time as its revenues were increased by,

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[150] CSMC/78v/280; for text see Clerkenwell, pp.183-184. Text reads: *'Pietatis intuitu et pro salute anime mee et partis et matris mee et omnium antecessorum meorum et pro salute anime Iohanne sororis mee… sciendum est quod predicte sanctemoniales tenentur expendere totum hunc redditum in pitancia conuentus in die anniversarii predicte Iohanne sororis mee.'*

[151] CSMC/90r/327. Text reads: *'Ad pittanciam conuentus de dicto Bartolomeo Curteys et heredibus suis in perpetuum in die obitus aniuersarii mei.'*

amongst other things, Matilda's grant of the sake and soke of Aldgate.[152]

This example, though certainly *in part* a piece of fifteenth century rhetoric on the part of Thomas de Axebridge, explains in its own words how the provision of food could be seen as a pious act in support of a religious house by contemporaries. Furthermore, the suggestion that the increase in revenues decreased the granting of food may indicate one of the reasons for the lack of provisions before 1200, as already noted. As a wealthy house, Holy Trinity was perhaps not felt to need donations of food, at least not explicitly. London, then, appears to have seen something of a general increase in the granting of pittances post 1200 that re-ignited the existing pious sentiments surrounding food in the minds of the London citizens.

Meanwhile, in York, the importance of explicit grants for pittances seems to have been significantly lower, almost to the point of non-existence. St. Mary's Abbey received no such bequests in the period between 1150 and 1250, while St. Leonard's Hospital received only three.[153] In some respects this is remarkable. Barbara Harvey has explained that Benedictine and Cluniac houses were used to the idea of pittances, to the point that some of the older more established houses had something of a surplus that was provided to them on 'normal' days.[154] Part of the reason for this may, once again, lie in the role of the almonry. In theory, when a monk died, his allotted food was still kept for at least thirty days, a whole year if he was an abbot, and was distributed to the poor through the almoner.[155] Similarly, for hospitals, it was common for them to provide food to the poor as part of their daily routine.[156] Cullum and Goldberg estimate that a weekly sum of 4d was spent to feed each individual in the infirmary of St. Leonard's Hospital, and that this expense was then bolstered by pittances in the later Middle Ages.[157] Indeed, of the three

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[152] CHTA/3r-v/10; Trans. Aldgate, p. 2. This donation is also discussed in Chapter Two above, pp. 49-50.

[153] CSLH/73r/2, 73v/4 and 170v/5.

[154] Harvey, 'Monastic Pittances', p. 217.

[155] Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', p. 15; for the almoner, see the discussion above, pp. 145-150.

[156] Woolgar, 'Gifts of Food', pp. 14-15.

[157] Cullum, 'Cremetts and Corrodies', pp. 17-18.

examples found in the St. Leonard's cartulary for this period, two post-date 1140, and the other was sometime between 1210 and 1240.[158]

It is thus possible that in York the regular provision of pittances was a later-medieval trend that was not considered as necessary in the period under investigation, especially considering the existing function of institutions such as a Benedictine monastery and a hospital. In much the same way as the explicit bequests for charitable purpose, provision for pittances in York are not visible in the charters. Yet they were not completely non-existent in the period. As has can be observed in Table 3.3 and the previous chapter, gifts in alms (i.e. with general spiritual intent) to these two institutions were reasonably common. While such grants were at times as much reflective of diplomatic patterns as genuine spiritual intent, the previous chapter showed that they do, in general, demonstrate some degree of spiritual interest on the part of the laity. Furthermore, the discussion of charitable donations above demonstrated that even when not mentioned explicitly, there remains a solid foundation for believing that some things were implicit in the mind of the grantor. Explicit provision of food may have been less common in York, but feeding the poor is still likely to have been understood as one of the charitable roles carried out by St. Mary's and St. Leonard's and thus supported by general grants in alms.

Pittances and financial arrangements to provide food for both the religious and the poor can therefore be observed as a small, but important aspect of spiritual grant to religious institutions in York and London. In terms of what might be considered the mentality of pittances, this is again linked to the idea of gift-exchange, in the sense that a positive good was being given both to and by the brothers and sisters of a specific institution, and in return the grantors were to receive a degree of intercession from the recipients. Furthermore, to some extent at least, a gift such as this was an attempt by the laity to ingrain themselves into the monastic or religious cycle of their chosen institution and thus be part of the liturgical order of business. In both cases, this was very often unstated, but no doubt implicit in the terms of the exchange.[159] Indeed, Postles has suggested that one of the reasons for the lack of explicit requests in this sense may have

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[158] Respectively: CSLH/73r/2, 73v/4 and 170v/5.
[159] Postles, 'Pittances and Pittancers', pp. 176 and 179.

been part of the social awareness described above, in which the grantor was seen to be doing pious and charitable work, yet did not demean his or her honour by demanding something in return, even though such a return was expected. The act of charity was one of social prestige that reflected well upon the grantor and the community to which he, or indeed she, was attached.[160]

One aspect of the grants that was often explicit, was that they were firmly entwined with requests and provisions for religious services. Specifically, the anniversary of a grantor's death appears to have become a very conscious focal point for those who wished to provide pittances to religious institutions, emerging as a specified feast day that was distinct from the normal routine.[161] The request for pittances to be served on particular days was, of course, not always met since it was at times more convenient from them to be provided on a day of the institutions' choosing.[162] Yet in general terms, the sentiment remained a constant and the overall effect was clearly considered to be the same. Arrangements for pittances could also come combined with grants of other items such as lights in the institution's churches or something similar.[163] These gifts and requests were important, and often served as the backbone for many grants to these religious institutions. Yet they were, importantly, less charitable in nature and were often made with a clearly stated spiritual purpose and expectation. It is to these provisions and services that the second part of this chapter now turns.

Explicit Requests and Expected Spiritual Services

The above discussion has highlighted much about what was given and received in the charters to religious houses that can be considered 'pious' or 'spiritually motivated.' To a variable extent, many of the lay people who made gifts to religious houses included additions to the standard legal diplomatic that served ostensibly spiritual purposes. This included gifts to support the members of the religious communities, such as clothing and

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[160] Postles, 'Pittances and Pittancers', p. 179; See the discussion of contexts and communal ideologies above and below.

[161] Harvey, 'Monastic Pittances', p. 218-219.

[162] Harvey, 'Monastic Pittances', p. 219.

[163] See, for example, CSMC/87v/318.

practical items such as tablecloths as already discussed. Chief among these gifts were stipulations that the proceeds from grants were to be used as some form of charity. It was thus that the poor and sick were catered for by St. Leonard's Hospital. Pittances provided the 'spiritual poor' with more substantial meals, from which the leftovers helped the destitute of York and London. Furthermore, on a superficial level, wax and candles were among gifts given (or indeed purchased) for the fabric of the religious buildings themselves.

Discussion now moves on to ask further questions about the reasons these gifts were given. It is explicit in the charters themselves, for example, that a significant number of the donors made active requests for spiritual services that would benefit their souls. Much like those described above, such charters expanded upon the legal patterns discussed in Chapter Three to represent an explicitly pious purpose. Such an examination develops some of the ideas already detailed in the previous section. It also raises questions concerning the nature of gifts themselves and what they may suggest about contemporary approaches towards piety and charity.

In accompaniment to Table 4.1 and Figure 4.1 above, the data in Table 4.4 and Figure 4.4 represents the requests that donors made of religious institutions. These typically fall into three different categories: explicit request for prayers or association with a religious house; provisions for burials in the grounds of an institution; and finally the desire for the inhabitants to perform anniversary celebrations on behalf of the donors and their souls. The tables below facilitate a useful illustration of some of the explicit spiritual functions that were, ostensibly, expected from a religious house.

Burials, Prayers and Anniversaries

Notable amongst these charters is the absence of requests for burials. In medieval society, burial in sacred spaces and the associated rituals were important events for the laity. Not only were religious motives at play, but also expressions of political, social and familial ties, often to a particular location or institution.[164] In particular, burial in a monastery was considered one of the most potent symbols of spiritual assistance (an aid

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[164] Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey', p.71.

	Prayers/Association	Burial	Anniversary Celebrations	Total
St. Mary Clerkenwell	2	0	6	8
Holy Trinity Aldgate	0	2	9	11
St. Mary's Abbey	0	0	0	0
St. Leonard's Hospital	15	2	1	18

Table 4.4: Spiritual Services Requested in the Charters of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital[165]
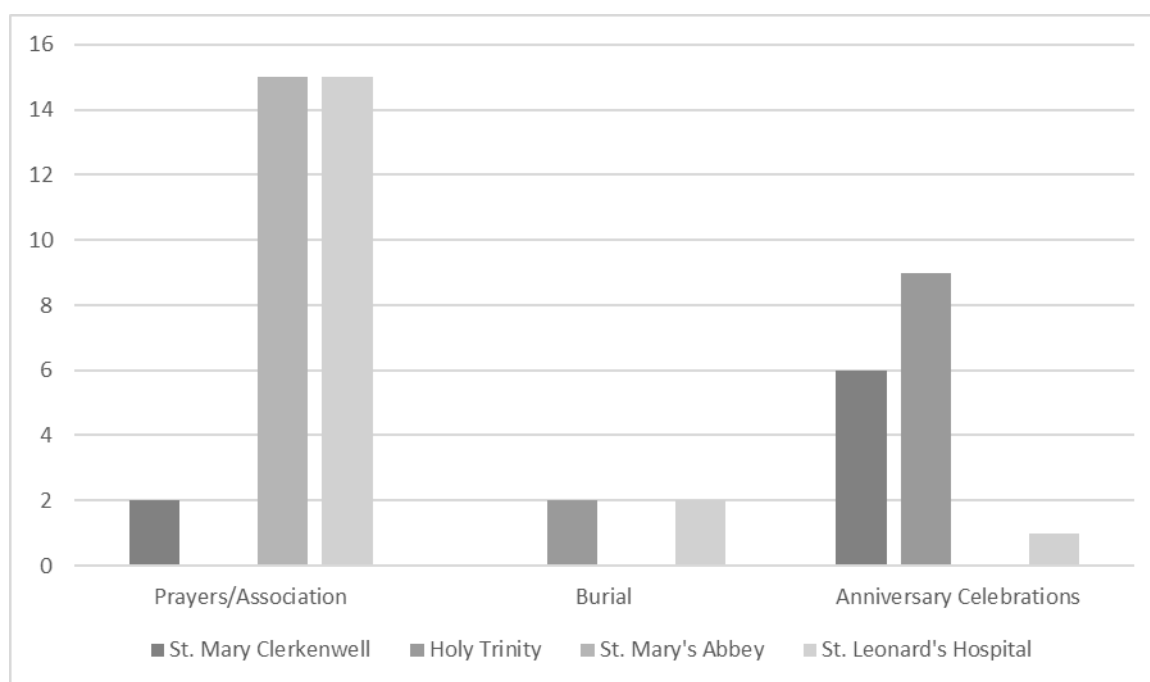
Figure 4.4: Number of Spiritual Services Requested in the Charters of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital as Presented in Table 4.4.

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[165] Data collected from CHTA, SCMC, LG, LO and CSLH.

towards salvation), and close physical ties between a donor and his or her chosen house.[166] Furthermore, it was an active removal from the parochial, and thus less spiritually significant, community that was intended to benefit the soul.[167] Yet while this may be true, it ought to be remembered that burial in this way was, principally, a patronal privilege. It was not the usual practice for 'ordinary' lay men and women to be buried in their local religious house, and those that were often came from the social élite or particularly favoured benefactors.[168] Indeed, in the cartulary entries pertaining to the four institutions of this study, only three specifically request burial of the donors within the monastic precinct.[169]

To St. Leonard's Hospital, Cecilia, daughter of Maria de Witingham and Hugh, son of Robert Palmer, and his wife Julia, daughter of Maurice grant their bodies for the benefit of their souls.[170] In both cases, land was granted to the hospital for its use. Cecilia gave land in Fishergate that had contained a hall, previously belonging to her father, in free alms along with her body for the souls of her and her family.[171] Hugh and Julia gave land in Layerthorpe that was under the lordship of the Vicars Choral of the Minster, amounting to three acres in two places; this included all the land, buildings, goods and chattels. This grant was given in free alms along with their bodies to benefit their souls.[172] In neither case is burial explicitly requested, though the grant of their bodies would suggest that this was the intent. Both, though undated in the manuscript itself, were probably written post 1200.

The entry into the cartulary of Holy Trinity is not a charter, but a will. The last of three related entries, this document was composed by Master Alexander de Dorchester sometime between 1227 and 1244. In the preceding charters, land in St. Mary Colechurch is first given to Gilbert de Waleton by Geoffrey de Mandeville, 2nd Earl of Essex and 4th of

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[166] Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey', p. 71.

[167] D. Postles, 'Monastic Burials of Non-Patronal Lay Benefactors' in *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 47 (1996), p. 622.

[168] Postles, 'Monastic Burials', pp. 623 and 630-631.

[169] Though it should here be noted that charter CSMC/73r/261 stipulates that the donor's mother was to be buried in the Clerkenwell precinct. This has not been included here, since it seems to be a secondary donation on behalf of the deceased, rather than a request by the donor himself.

[170] CSLH/123/1 and 150/1.

[171] CSLH/123/1.

[172] CSLH/150/1.

Gloucester in return for homage and service sometime shortly before his death in 1216.[173] Gilbert then sold the land to Alexander in 1220/1 for 20 marks in silver.[174] In the will of Alexander, it is stated that his body is to be buried in the church of Holy Trinity, and all his rents in both the market and the parish are to go to the priory and any defaults on the rents are to be paid by his executors. Holy Trinity is then to receive one half mark for pittances on the testator's anniversary 'for ever.' This is to be obtained from his money by the provision of his executors.[175]

Postles has previously noted that the absence of charter evidence for lay burial in monasteries is something of a problem when trying to assess its significance. The use of charters in this way was relatively new, and was rapidly overtaken by the use of wills.[176] In this way, the third example, from Holy Trinity, is of some significance since it is a copy of a will, not a charter. Cullum and Goldberg have noted that such documents were primarily made at or near the time of a testator's expected death. The result is that most wills care more about the disposal of goods and burials, than any manifestation of charitable or pious sentiments, beyond the 'professions of faith' inherent in such a document.[177] It was principally in wills, and not in charters, that such requests or arrangements for burials were usually made.[178]

It thus comes as little surprise that burials feature so rarely in the charters of these religious houses. After 1200, there were clearly instances in which such desires were manifest. Yet at this time, the shift towards wills was beginning to shape the nature of grants in various ways breaking them down into smaller, far more specific segments that were spread to a wider net of recipients.[179] Furthermore, while pious sentiment seems to have remained central to such donations to religious institutions, the recipients changed

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[173] CHTA/102r/527.

[174] CHTA/102r/528.

[175] CHT/102v/529.

[176] Postles, 'Monastic Burials', p. 625.

[177] Cullum and Goldberg, 'Charitable Provision', pp. 24-25

[178] Cullum and Goldberg, 'Charitable Provision', p. 25.

[179] A. Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift as Agent of Social Bonding and Political Power: A Comparative Approach' in eds. E. Cohen and M. B. De Jong, *Medieval Transformations: Texts, Power and Gifts in Context* (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 123-156: pp. 148-149.

with the arrival of new orders, mendicants and religious guilds.[180] Burial, as a result, appears not to have been a major function of the *charters* to the four houses in York and London. This is not to say that monastic burial did not exist, as the examples above clearly demonstrate that it was available. Yet Postles has illustrated that more information can be gleaned from other source-types, such as registers and house books.[181] However, in so far as this thesis is concerned, it seems that burial within an institutional precinct was not high on the priorities of donors granting by means of charters.

The will of Master Alexander de Dorchester contains something of more significance; namely that *alongside* the burial, Alexander made provision for pittances on the *anniversary* of his death. It is the addition of these requests to grants to religious houses that ultimately demonstrate much more about the explicit, ostensibly pious, motivation of grantors. As already mentioned, wills were often functional documents that were as much about reaffirming the piety of the testator, thus safeguarding the soul, at the time of death. Indeed, as Cullum and Goldberg note, 'virtually all testators' made provision for their burial and bequeathed their soul to God and the Saints.[182] This was not the case for charters. Chapter Three revealed that grants made to religious institutions in alms or for souls often represent typical legal formulae that are only ostensibly for any pious purpose. The first section of this chapter demonstrated that of those, less than one third in each cartulary contain any explicit spiritual bequest or request.[183]   However, among these requests, anniversary celebrations and the inclusion of donors in the prayers of the house appear remarkably popular.

Of the thirty-seven explicit requests detailed in Table and Figures 4.4, no fewer than thirty-three request outright some kind of *post obit memoria*. These primarily take two forms: the explicit request for prayers (as opposed to the more general *pro anima* clause discussed in Chapter Two) and provisions for the celebration of anniversaries. The first of these is self-explanatory. An interesting example can be found in the St. Leonard's

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[180] Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift', p. 150 and I. F. Silber, 'Gift Giving in the Great Traditions: The Case of Donations to Monasteries in the Medieval West', *European Journal of Sociology* 36 (1995), p233-234. Aspects of this change are further discussed in the proceeding discussion.

[181] Postles, 'Monastic Burials', p. 625.

[182] Cullum and Goldberg, 'Charitable Provision' p. 25.

[183] See Table 3.3.

cartulary, included in a grant from Agnes de Percy, widow of Jocelin de Louvain. In this charter, she grants the hospital land at the churchyard of St. Mary Castlegate, alongside 3s. rent in alms. In return, she explicitly requests that the return for the grant is inclusion of herself and her family in the prayers of the hospital. Furthermore, obits are to be performed for each family member in front of thirty paupers.[184] Similarly, Gerard son of Lefwin, Hugh son of Lefwin's brother, can be found confirming land to the hospital, apparently acting as his brother's heir and thus possibly executor. Granting in pure and perpetual alms for his, his father's, Hugh's and all their ancestors' and descendants' souls, the grant is made so that all may 'participate in all prayers, alms and other good works that are done or will be done in the aforesaid house of God in perpetuity.'[185]

Requests for prayers were part of a social exchange between lay and religious, particularly for the lay person who sought to include themselves vicariously in the services of an institution both in life and after death.[186] Throughout the Middle Ages, and especially in the later thirteenth century, poor church attendance, confessional problems and liturgical ignorance on the part of the laity, was a constant struggle for church authorities; especially when many men and women were busy with other, worldly, concerns much of the time.[187] For the laity, however, vicarious association with religious foundations was a useful method of circumventing other religious duties.

Yet if this was true across the board, the number of explicit requests for prayers ought to be higher, and spread more evenly across all four houses; especially so in the earlier period before mendicant and guild activities developed.[188] That this is not the case perhaps suggests that these explicit additions, as extensions to the more general *pro anima* clauses, were deliberately intended to make a stronger association with the religious community than was otherwise achieved by more basic grants. In this way, that St. Leonard's Hospital attracted more grants of this kind than did the other institutions may

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[184] CSLH/103r/1.

[185] CSLH/102v/4. Text reads: '*Participes omnium oracionum elemosinarum et aliorum beneficiorum que fuit vel faciendum sunt in prefata domo dei in perpetuum.*'

[186] Rosenwein, *Saint Peter*, p.38.

[187] C. Rider, 'Lay Religion and Pastoral Care in Thirteenth Century England: The Evidence of a Group of Short Confession Manuals', *Journal of Medieval History* 36 (2010), especially pp. 336-339.

[188] This point was discussed by Rosenwein concerning requests for prayers from Cluny in the tenth and eleventh centuries, see *Saint Peter*, especially the first chapter, pp. 41 onwards.

be partially explained. As has already been explored, English hospitals were somewhat more down to earth than their monastic counterparts, absorbing aspects of the surrounding communities into their own. They were close, accessible, familiar and visible sites of religious devotion, and this made them popular with the laity.[189] It is not wholly surprising, then, to find that St. Leonard's was something of a focal point for a reinforcement through prayer of lay devotion.

The grant of Agnes de Percy above also introduces the next, and in many ways more common, form of service that was explicitly requested from the laity. Anniversaries, also known as obits, were a service that was related to request for prayers, but were of a rather different nature. Grantors would specify that a gift was intended to facilitate the celebration of an anniversary service, usually on the day of the person's death. [190] Agnes, for example, requested that this should be done by St. Leonard's Hospital for her whole family.[191] Another example, from 1196, is found in the cartulary of Holy Trinity when it received various quitrents from William, son of Brithmar, of Haverhull seemingly to resolve outstanding debts to the priory. Part of the return for this, however, was that the canons were to remember William and his family on the anniversary of his death.[192] This charter, furthermore, neatly demonstrates the reciprocal nature lay interaction with religious houses. Explicitly, the promise of an anniversary (and thus religious) service was a condition of the financial transfer of the quitrents to the priory. In other words, it was part of the exchange culture that existed between laity and religious.

Put simply, anniversary services were conceptualised as a form of *memoriam*, intended to keep the memory of the benefactor firmly in the minds of the beneficiary. In theory, such a 'celebration' was performed over a two-day period every year. In the later medieval parish, the rector, vicar or other appropriate members of an institution, would perform a mass, consisting primarily of funerary rites, and prayers would be spoken for

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[189] Watson, 'Origins', p. 94.

[190] C. Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead: The Form and Function of the Anniversary in Late Medieval Bristol', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 105 (1987), pp. 183-211: p. 183.

[191] CSLH/103r/1.

[192] CHTA/192r-192v/1024.

the souls of the deceased.[193] In some ways, requests for such services might be said to be the next step up after general provision for prayers. Yet the celebration of an anniversary, in general terms, was not always a cheap or easy affair. Indeed, many such services during that period involved the use of wax candles, alms-giving and special meals (i.e. the pittances discussed above).[194]

Grantors could essentially pay, often pre-emptively, for their own services, and it is no surprise to find that being reflected in some of the charters to the four houses under investigation. Without repeating the discussion above, it is worth re-stating the role of pittances as they appear in the charters. Thus, for example, on top of those instances already cited, of the nine requests for anniversary services in the cartulary of Holy Trinity, seven are given in the form of provisions for pittances.[195] To give just one detailed example, in this way Avice, daughter of William Wilekin, gives rents amounting to 7s. from various parishes to the priory in free alms and for the souls of herself and her former (probably deceased) husband Richard. This is then made conditional on the canons using half on the anniversary of Richard's death and the other half on the anniversary of the death of Avice herself.[196]

Provisioning a celebration for someone other than oneself was also not unheard-of. Thus, for example, a 5s. quitrent grant of Henry FitzAilwin, probably before he became Mayor of London, was given principally so that an anniversary could be said for Henry II on the day of FitzAilwin's death whenever that should come.[197] This example is particularly intriguing because of the nature of grants that named services for the King. Stephen Marritt has examined baronial charters and has suggested that such inclusions are significant. They are notably uncommon and their inclusion was designed to have a definite effect on the relationship between donor and crown.[198] It is not impossible that,

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[193] Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', pp. 183-4 and 186-190. It should, however, be noted that the full late medieval parish service may not be fully reflective of arrangements of Angevin religious houses.
[194] Burgess, 'A Service for the Dead', p.184.
[195] Previous examples: CSMC/87v/317, 72v/260 and 76v/274. In CHTA: 74r-v/371, 75v-76r/380, 86v/449, 102v/529, 106r/546, 188v/1013 and 193r/1028.
[196] CHTA/188v/1013.
[197] CHTA/82r/426.
[198] S. Marritt, 'Prayers for the King and Royal Titles in Anglo-Norman Charters', in ed. C. P. Lewis, *Anglo-Norman Studies XXXII: Proceedings of the Battle Conference 2009* (BLAH), pp. 196-199.

even before the granting of the commune in 1193, FitzAilwin was already in such a position of importance that he believed that granting for the soul of Henry II at an institution that was founded by the King's grandparents (Henry I and Matilda) might bring him additional prestige. Unfortunately, too little is known to conclude one way or another. Yet, if true, this is a fascinating example of a financial grant being made with an expected spiritual service in exchange, and with the additional socio-political motives of one of London's leading citizens.

Another provision that accompanies anniversary requests, and indeed appears independently, was (money for) wax or candles. In 1220/21, Simon, son of Robert Blund, confirmed a quitrent worth 14s. 8d. to Holy Trinity from the parish of St. Martin Vintry. In the description of how this is to be used, he states that one mark is to be used for pittances on the anniversary of his father's death, but additionally requires that 16d. be used to buy wax to provide the lighting.[199] Also to Holy Trinity, Ernald, son of Simon the Chaloner, gave land and a house in St. Clement's Street to the priory sometime between 1222 and 1248. As a condition, alongside payments to the lords of the fee and others, half a mark was to be used on pittances on the day of his death *and* for as long as he lives, while another half a mark was to be spent on candles for the refectory whenever required.[200] Equally, at Clerkenwell Richard, son of John, granted, between 1215 and 1230 for the sake of his and his family's souls, a quitrent of 2s. for pittances and a lamp.[201]

The gifting of provisions for wax, candles and similar items was not simply a passive, practical addition to pittances and anniversary requests. Rather, it was in some ways perceived as a symbolic gift of light that was intended to fend off the darkness of sickness, poverty and sin. Certainly, by the twelfth century, the official liturgical use of candles and the more 'popular' vision of the laity had blurred to an extent, and the symbolism and importance of candles was a form of piety that could be expressed in gifts to the religious.[202] Thus, by apportioning part of a gift for lighting in a religious institution a grantor was attempting to solidify further the active pious motives of their grant and to

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[199] CHTA/86v/449.
[200] CHTA/75v-76r/380.
[201] CSMC/87v/318.
[202] Postles, 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk', pp. 98 and 102-103.

secure the return of a spiritual benefit. This was especially so for grantors who were giving smaller financial sums as part of their grant. Richard, son of John, for example, only gave 2s., while another donor, Thurstan le Franceis, similarly gave 2s to the nuns for lighting, half of which was to be spend specifically in the dormitory.[203]

An important point to remember at this point is that lighting provisions should not automatically be considered as either 'pious' or 'gifts.' Rather, as Postles has explored, the gift of candles or wax may have in some cases been part of a purely economic transaction. Grants, rents and purchases often had services attached to them, as discussed in the previous chapter, and sometimes this would include financial 'donations' towards lighting or other such furbishing somewhere in the institutions.[204] As a result, instances such as a half a mark grant to light the altar of St. Edmund's in St. Leonard's Hospital by Alice de Mothhaut, widow of Radulf Mauleverer, may have been formality, or else part of an existing rent due to the hospital from that land.[205] In some cases, without further information, it is not possible to state with certainty that such a grant was made with any implicit spiritual purpose.

Nevertheless, though not always explicitly stated as such, lights in many instances did act as an understood form of remembrance; not least for those citizens of lesser status who could not necessarily afford to give elaborate gifts.[206] The expectation of a spiritual return in exchange for lighting is further emphasised by its inclusion in the grants that *do* mention anniversaries and pittances as well as cited in the paragraphs above. In short, provision for lighting was in many ways an explicit request for a spiritual service in and of itself, as well as an expansion to existing grants. Much like the grants for prayers or anniversary celebrations, furnishing the lighting of a religious institution was an important benefaction that sought in return to bring the grantor closer to God in their lifetime and beyond.[207]

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[203] CSMC/75r/269 and 87v/318.

[204] Postles, 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk', p. 112.

[205] CSLH/88r/1.

[206] Postles, 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk', p. 113: As the title suggests, this is also the subject of much of this article generally.

[207] Postles, 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk', p. 114.

Considering each of these aspects together, the significance of such forms of pious activity is not new. It has been noted by various scholars of the early medieval period, for example, that the process of making lasting connections with a religious institution such as a monastery was the strongest method of receiving intercession on the donor's behalf.[208] One factor that distinguishes this form of association from the early and late Middle Ages is that such connections were less specific in nature. The creation, and subsequent maintenance, of social bonds with the religious was more important than specific provisions. By creating ties with 'potentially powerful intercessors', the laity were able to safeguard their souls.[209] They were also able to enhance their public status as civic leaders through explicitly charitable donations.

Religious Institutions, Lay Gifts and Mutual Exchange

In the first part of this chapter, charitable behaviour was considered good in and of itself and had a distinctly social dynamic surrounding prestige and image. Those instances in which specific services were requested, however, represent more internal and personally-pious desires on the part of the laity. Clearly, in both instances, however, the religious institutions in London and York were being utilised, and in some cases manipulated, as outlets for the charitable and pious sentiments of the laity before 1250. Some of the functions of religious institutions that have been described gradually shifted to other outlets such as the parish church and guild chapel, as they began to take precedence over the older and larger institutions.[210]

This process was in place before 1250. Postles, for example, has noted that the acquisition of parish churches by larger 'monastic' institutions created something of a

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[208] Jamroziak, 'Rievaulx Abbey', p. 72. This is discussed in, for example, Rosenwein, *St. Peter*; O. G. Oexle, 'Memoria und Memorialüberlieferung im Früheren Mittelalter', in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 10 (1976), pp. 70-95.and M. McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (Ithica and London: Cornell University Press, 1994) amongst others, many of whom are summarised in Bijsterveld, 'The Medieval Gift', pp. 123-156.

[209] McLaughlin, 'Consorting with Saints', p. 252.

[210] McLaughlin, 'Consorting with Saints', p. 254; and J. T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: The Social Function of Aristocratic Benevolence, 1307-1485* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1972), pp. 11-12.

blurred line between grants to one and grants to the other.[211] It was also in this period that local saints' cults began to take shape and gain significance in the minds of the laity. In London, this was manifest in the growing veneration of St. Thomas Becket. Martyred in 1170, a shrine to St. Thomas was erected in the middle of London Bridge during its re-construction in stone between c.1176 and 1209, donations to which helped with the upkeep of the structure.[212] At the same time in York, a similar instance was taking place at Ouse Bridge and the chapel of St. William of York.[213] Both of these cults, and the associated fraternities, guilds and shrines, were set to develop into the later Middle Ages as their popularity grew, but it is important to remember that they were also contemporaneous with the successes and utilisation of the religious institutions as described in this thesis.

The idea of community responsibility and support was ultimately to take on distinct forms in the later medieval period, with craft guilds and fraternities developing into focal points of both religious and civic authority. Barron, for example, has suggested that the city companies of London as good as replaced religious houses as methods whereby the citizens could associate themselves with charity and piety. Through these entities, merchant groups and pious individuals could provision trust funds, pay for memorial services and commission priests and chantries, amongst other things.[214] Meanwhile, as Goldberg and Rubin have demonstrated, the craft guilds of York sought to mirror themselves in Corpus Christi plays, and acquired important organisational and religious roles amongst the urban laity who were keen to be involved.[215] Similarly, Dobson and Rees Jones suggest that the foundation and maintenance of chantries, and provisions for *post-obit* services, had a distinct effect on the patterns of landholding in later medieval York. Indeed, the Minster and, in fact, St. Leonard's Hospital adopted a central role in these developments, whilst newer monastic communities lost out to the city corporation and more personal religious organisations. St. Mary's Abbey, meanwhile, managed to

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[211] Postles, 'Lamps, Lights and Layfolk', pp. 102-104.

[212] Barron, *London*, p. 50.

[213] SRJ, pp. 171, 223-227, 231 and 269.

[214] Barron, *London*, pp. 225-226.

[215] See: P. J. P. Goldberg, 'Craft Guilds, The Corpus Christi Play and Civic Government', in ed. S. Rees Jones, *The Government of Medieval York: Essays in Commemoration of the 1396 Royal Charter* (York: Borthwick Institute, 1997), pp. 141-163; and M. Rubin, 'Corpus Christi Fraternities', pp. 97-109.

survive due to its existing holdings and support, some of which are described here, as well as its significance in Bootham.[216]

However, before these developed, the principal route whereby local burgesses, merchants, lords and citizens expressed their charity and piety was by means of religious houses and institutions such as St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital. Grand donations of patrons and wealthy benefactors were decreasing, but were replaced by the smaller and increasingly specific gifts from the local urban laity.[217] Looking to adopt, or take a vicarious part in, monastic and religious life, the charters composed by the laity to urban institutions contained charitable and pious additions that were intended to facilitate the good works of religious men and women. Yet inherent within this support was often the expectation of a spiritual return for the gift given, and this was sometimes explicitly stated or understood in the text of the donation charters.[218]

This is significant because it comes right at the centre of a period of transformation in both the social and religious structures of the medieval West. The discussion in Chapter Three correlates with Table and Figures 4.2 in this chapter, in which there is an apparent spike after 1200 in both grants to the urban religious foundations made for souls or in alms, and those that contained other forms of charitable and pious sentiment. Furthermore, it has been seen that at the same time, the conception of civic identity in each of cities was developing and moving forward. The four institutions studied here played an active role in these developments, from the sociological importance of charity to the stated role of personal piety. In exchange for their services, the laity of York and London were willing to assist them in their existence and function, and they were happy to return the favour.

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[216] SRJ, pp. 170-172.
[217] Postles, 'Religious Houses', p. 4.
[218] Postles, 'Religious Houses', pp. 9-13.

<u>Conclusion</u>

What can cartularies, and the charters copied into them, reveal about the attitudes of the laity of York and London to the religious institutions that were present in their cities in the Angevin period? This question has been central to the discussion throughout this thesis. Yet in very simple terms, the answer is very simple: a lot. Cartularies are full of information that at face value gives various details about individual men and women, as well as the property and estates of religious institutions. This is something that has long been understood and positively exploited by historians to reveal much about various aspects of medieval life. From the topography of towns to estate management, biographies of individual men and women to histories of entire institutions, cartularies provide significant grounds for research.

This thesis has built upon this research, but also sought to go beyond by using the cartularies as the principal source for research into lay attitudes towards, and perception of, religious institutions in the two most powerful cities in England: London and York. The institutions that were chosen, too, were amongst the most significant in the country. Built around a major water-source and performing the dual role of convent and parish church, the nunnery of St. Mary Clerkenwell in London was the first of these houses. The cartulary was the earliest to be composed of those here studied and it provides a great deal of information about the nuns' property holdings and investments in the city before c.1250. The Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity at Aldgate in London was the second institution under investigation. Possibly the first formal Augustinian house in England, this somewhat understudied priory became one of the wealthiest and most influential sites in medieval London. In the North, the Abbey of St. Mary's in York was similarly a foundation of supreme importance in the region, attracting grants from across the social spectrum and becoming something of a focal point in the evolution of the suburb of Bootham in the city of York. Finally, St. Leonard's Hospital was technically the oldest of the four communities, originally being founded as the Hospital of St. Peter, a dependent of the minster. Re-foundation by King Stephen sparked the hospital's rise towards exceptional prosperity and success. All four of these institutions attracted substantial

support from the surrounding communities, and their surviving cartularies suggest some diversity among their benefactors, tenants and friends.

The nature of cartularies and their component charters formed the first chapter of this present work. Each of the five (one each from St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate and St. Leonard's Hospital, and two from St. Mary's Abbey) was discussed individually, with full descriptions and summary. Similarly, the nature of charters themselves, the individual legal documents that were copied into cartularies, was examined in some depth. It thus was established that cartularies are an exceptional resource for historians, especially those looking to gain insight into lay attitudes. The approach taken by this research, furthermore, was a fresh attempt at close reading the sources, looking underneath the surface of the source text and identifying trends, patterns and information.

Yet cartularies are not without their problems as historical sources. One of the aspects of this research that makes it unique is its focus upon the Angevin period of English history (i.e. c.1150-1250). The use of charters dating to this period is less common, though notably not completely absent, in existing scholarship than it is for those before and after. An important point that arises from such an investigation, then, is the fact that the cartularies used were all compiled substantially later than the historical period under investigation. The details are not always accurate, whether due to lack of information or deliberate fabrication on the part of the compilers, nor necessarily complete. The result is that substantial caution must be taken when attempting to extrapolate any findings. Nevertheless, for this time frame, only the charter copies remain and are the principal resource for substantial research as undertaken here. It was thus established that main problem was for historians looking for specific details about individual cases and people, but that in the context of identifying trends and ideas, the issues were not as problematic as they might otherwise have been.

The discussion of cartularies in Chapter One also raised some important questions about the nature of the documents themselves. The organisation and composition of the manuscripts in terms of the order in which charters were copied into them, and the choices made by the compilers/authors proves to be potentially very interesting in terms

of the history of religious institutions. Discussion of this in the chapter was kept brief, as it is rather outside the scope of an MPhil, and no definitive answer was given. Yet, the overall objectives of cartulary composition and how they were influenced by the circumstances in which they were written would be an interesting avenue of further research.

Circumstances and context in general, however, are of course important, and the second chapter of this thesis aimed to situate the religious institutions under investigation firmly into the cities and period in which they existed. Each institution, one way or another, affected the shape of the cities that surrounded them and had very definite significance for local communities in and of themselves. This is especially the case where parishes are concerned, as all four institutions were tied to the parochial life of the cities through possession and administration of local churches. Chapters Three and Four investigated the ways in which the laity of both cities interacted with religious houses through the manipulation of legal practices and the addition of pious and charitable intent into land transactions, yet before this could be understood and explored, it was necessary to understand the physical presence of the four religious communities in their local areas.

What emerged was that the development of the four institutions was inextricably connected to the development of the cities themselves. In describing both London and York in detail, emphasis was placed upon important comparisons. Thus, their relative importance on a national political and economic scale was examined in conjunction with a consideration of their local development and significance. Both cities were, in this period, experiencing a substantial amount of immigration and population growth, and this affected the physical topography of each. In this context, the physical changes to suburbs and population density were linked to the more conceptual ideas of the cities as urban centres. Religious houses were very much part of this evolution. St. Mary Clerkenwell and St. Mary's Abbey, especially, were directly involved in the extra-mural affairs of the suburbs of Clerkenwell in London and Bootham in York, and those liminal positions may well have driven some of the patronage by leading local citizens through charitable and pious work. Religious communities were not simply passive observers of the events that

occurred around them, but were at times directly involved in the affairs of the local citizens and society.

This observation foregrounds the ideas in Chapters Three and Four by demonstrating the ways in which religious and lay communities were interconnected. Indeed, this was made more apparent regarding certain events that occurred during the period, for example the civil wars during the reign of King John, as well as local movements that challenged the nature of urban poverty. Furthermore, discussion of the identities of principal benefactors and associates of the religious houses revealed the diversity and variety of support that religious bodies attracted. The discussions of Chapter Two in some respects only scratch the surface of the prosopographical potential of using the twelfth and thirteenth century charters that were copied into cartularies. Indeed, this research would have formed part of a full PhD, and certainly is open for future investigation. In both Chapters Three and Four, there are instances in which greater understanding of individuals and their social statuses might help develop the arguments here and go deeper into the lives of specific lay benefactors as well as ideas of social and communal development in London and York. Nevertheless, by placing St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital firmly into the context of the cities and people that surrounded them, it was possible to understand more fully the reasons why these institutions were the focal points of pious and charitable sentiments in London and York.

After understanding the overarching themes of the source material and chosen locations, the thesis then took the form of two specific studies. Both topics address two unique, yet related, aspects of the nature of lay-religious interaction. The first of these concerned medieval law and legal practices in relation to donations with spiritual intent and asked questions about the legal context in which charters enabled the laity to make grants to religious institutions for ostensibly pious purposes. It investigated the ways in which grants of this sort evolved during the period of study and the extent to which the laity could use or adapt the use of charters to suit their own purposes. The second continued this avenue of research by looking at the specific additions to the text of charters that represent ostensibly pious sentiments on the part of lay citizens. Once again,

the content and text of the charters was examined closely to reveal the extra stipulations that lay donors added to their charters to achieve a specified or understood spiritual and charitable purpose. Doing so allowed the exploration of contemporary ideas and attitudes towards charity, piety and the function of religious institutions. Connected to this was the spiritual requests that were also included in donation charters, detailing what grantors expected in return for their benefactions, and what they revealed about some of the reasons for gifts to the religious, charity and collective identity.

One of the most interesting conclusions of this investigation was the extent to which there was a spike in the popularity of granting for apparently spiritual reasons to religious communities in the decades following the turn of the thirteenth century. This was particularly significant in the face of declining support for religious houses generally, as well as the advent of new religious orders and movements such as the friars. The beginning of the thirteenth century was a very interesting period in terms of both the development of the city and urban structures as well as ideological conceptions of good Christianity and piety. On the one hand, the political (and, indeed, religious) turmoil of the reign of King John changed the nature of civic autonomy and allowed the emerging desires for greater urban independence from the crown to come to fruition. Meanwhile, on a European scale, the nature of Christianity and piety was developing, with the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils establishing a set idea of what was and was not expected and allowed by the church.

In this context, the research of this thesis found that giving to the religious institutions of London and York appeared to reflect these developments. A great deal of time is spent considering the legal formulae that were used in grants to religious houses in England, especially in comparison to other diplomatic trends, alongside how these patterns changed over the period. It became clear that, to some extent at least, the laity used these legal developments for their own benefit, while institutions themselves encouraged deviation from standard practice. In this light, donations and gifts made in alms (*in elemosinam)* and for souls (*pro anima*) demonstrated the importance that such additions to the legal diplomatic could have for the spiritual and ideological views of the laity. Analysing the diplomatic of gifts enabled the chapter to explore the extent to which the

laity were constrained by, or able to influence, emerging legal conventions concerning grants to religious institutions.

Attention was then directed towards the ostensibly pious and charitable motives for grants to the religious. A major part of this was a consideration of the nature of medieval charity, and thus how it was manifest in the lay charters to religious houses. The legal discussion of Chapter Three, especially the discussion of *pro anima* clauses led to how charity and spiritual engagement was represented in the charters. Much of this section was based upon data gathering and interpretation. Both existing sociological theories and historical research into patterns of gift exchange were a recurring theme that helped to develop the conclusions reached.

Many of the gifts appear earnestly charitable in nature, serving as deliberate and specific spiritual additions to the existing structures. Charity and charitable giving were and important part of medieval Christian life and a socially accepted way to express it was through pious and charitable gifts to religious institutions. In the later Middle Ages, this tended to find an outlet in the form of saints' cults (such as that of St. Thomas in London and St. William in York) as well as craft guilds, fraternities and the newer religious orders. Before such innovations, however, the established religious communities were important avenues for the expression of pious sentiments. Furthermore, this charitable behaviour appears to have arisen directly in response to the overarching developments in ideas of the city, and in response to current affairs. The act of charity was part of a sociological imperative that bound the communities of London and York together, as well as, in theory at least, attempted to help those in need and strengthen the social hegemony of the urban communities.

Underlying all of this, of course, were ideas of personal salvation and piety. Analysing religious and charitable gifts in this way, therefore, helped to develop answers to questions about the various ways in which the laity understood their relationship with the religious house to be a reciprocal one, and what function these gifts served in lay urban culture and society. In return for their gifts, men and women sought salvation, or at the very least an amelioration of their sins after death. Though charitable in nature and intent, the grants of the laity maintained an underlying sense of self-orientated desire to be

remembered by religious communities, and thus have a greater chance of achieving their place in heaven.

Finally, throughout the thesis there runs a comparison of the four institutions in question. A key aspect of this research topic was the differing natures of each community: St. Mary Clerkenwell was a nunnery, Holy Trinity Aldgate a priory, St. Mary's Abbey a Benedictine monastery and St. Leonard's Hospital a hospital. Each of the cartularies revealed interesting aspects of the religious communities to which they belonged and highlighted the similarities and differences between them, and the ways in which the laity were interacting with them. Table 3.1, for example, revealed that, relative to the total number of charters copied into the cartularies, there was a notable difference between the number of 'spiritual' donations. St. Mary Clerkenwell and St. Leonard's Hospital both appear to have attracted more pious gifts than Holy Trinity Priory and St. Mary's Abbey: possibly reflecting the established roles of female religious and hospitals. This was also reflected in the evidence and discussion of Tables 4.2 and 4.3 in which it appears clear that, in terms of property transactions as recorded in the cartularies, the charitable role of St. Mary's Abbey was expressed not as much through charters, as it was with the other three, but rather through the almonry.

The differences, or lack thereof, were also of relevance to the conclusions of Chapters Three and Four. That there was an apparent spike in popularity of all four institutions after 1200, for example, could only have been observed with multiple data sets. The fact that this spike was evident in four distinct locations, each of which having potentially differing roles in their respective communities, was integral to the conclusion that may have been a surge in spiritual donations in both cities after the reign of King John. This was further supported by the charitable donation patterns discussed in Chapter Four, which saw a corresponding increase in the thirty years after 1200. By examining the differences and similarities between the four houses, therefore, it was possible to draw and substantiate the conclusions of Chapters Three and Four in a way that would not have been possible in a more limited study. Indeed, further investigation, using source material from other religious houses as well, might do more to examine and explain these trends.

There are, of course, several areas of investigation that could not be achieved fully in an MPhil thesis, and thus present themselves as avenues for further study using the same methodology. In Chapter Three, for example, footnote 211 highlights the use of charters as a form of conflict resolution between lay donors, raising further questions about motives and the ways in which individual members of the laity may have considered religious gifts convenient ways to pacify their peers. Similarly, in relation to the discussion in Chapter Four, a longer or different study may have examined further the various donation patterns that existed between grantors from differing social, economic or manufacturing backgrounds. Both would serve to deepen the prosopographical potential of research of this kind, as already mentioned above, and demonstrate that there is still much more that can be achieved using the research methods employed by this thesis.

Ultimately, then, it emerges that the nature of giving to religious institutions in London and York during the Angevin period had many different layers, and was not as simple as it may appear. A close reading of the cartularies of St. Mary Clerkenwell, Holy Trinity Aldgate, St. Mary's Abbey and St. Leonard's Hospital thus facilitates a deeper understanding of each of these different aspects of pious giving, as well as opens the potential for further investigations into how the laity were dealing with their local religious houses. The religious and lay communities of Angevin London and York were, it seems, inextricably linked in various religious, social, political, economic and historical ways. There is much more still to be learned.

List of Abbreviations

Aldgate	G. A. J. Hodgett, ed., *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (London: London Record Society, 1971).
CHTA	Glasgow University Special Collections, MS Hunter 215 (U.2.6): *Cartvlarivm Prioratvs Sanctae Trinitatis Infra Aldgate Londin*i.
Clerkenwell	W. O. Hassall, ed., *Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1949).
CSLH	British Library: Cotton MS Nero D III, fos. 3-218: *Cartulary of St. Leonard's Hospital York.*
CSMC	British Library: Cotton MS Faustina B II, fos. 6–116: *Cartulary of Clerkenwell Priory.*
EYC	W. Farrer, ed., *Early Yorkshire Charters,* Volumes 1-3 (Edinburgh: Ballantyne, Hanson & Co., 1914-16).
Hassall	W. O. Hassall, 'Introduction and Appendices', W. O. Hassall, ed., *Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1949) pp.vii-xxi and 275-290.
Hodgett	G. A. J. Hodgett, 'Introduction', G. A. J. Hodgett, ed., *Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (London: London Record Society, 1971) pp.xi-xxi.
LG	John Rylands Library: MSS 220-1: *Cartulary of St. Mary's Abbey, York: Liber G.*
LO	York Minster Archives: YMA MS XVI A.2: *Cartulary of St. Mary's Abbey: Liber officiorum.*
SRJ	S. Rees Jones, *York: The Making of a City 1068-1350* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
York Database	S. Rees Jones, *The Database of Medieval Title Deeds for the City of York: A Guide for Users*, (York: The University of York; Occasional Papers in History, Number 3, 1996).

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Cotton MS Faustina B II, fos. 6-116: *Cartulary of Clerkenwell Priory.*

London, The National Archives

E/163/1/37, *Exchequer: King's Remembrancer: Miscellanea of the Exchequer – Roll of Tenements Alienated in Mortmain in the City of London.*

E/135/25/1, *Exchequer: Miscellaneous Ecclesiastical Documents*.

Manchester, John Rylands Library

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