Registers and Registration under William Wickwane and John le Romeyn, Archbishops of York (1279-1296)

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Abstract

Episcopal registers have hitherto been seen as administrative records that became increasingly efficient throughout the thirteenth century. Viewed through this lens, the registers of Archbishops William Wickwane and John le Romeyn have been characterised as steps forward in the efficiency of York's archiepiscopal registers.

This thesis takes inspiration from scholarship of the 'archival turn' and the 'social church' to re-evaluate the development and use of registration under these two archbishops. Part One analyses Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers as objects and records to offer a new assessment of the development of registration in York. It shows that registers were the products of distinctly personal approaches to archiepiscopacy, shaped by individual archbishops and their administrators, while registration practices were learnt, often through trial and experiment.

Part Two explores the functions of registration within archiepiscopal practice. It uses thematic chapters (disputes and *cura animarum*) to explore how different types of archiepiscopal business were handled in and out of the registers. It reveals the distinct ways in which Wickwane and Romeyn used their registers to preserve certain aspects of their archiepiscopacy. In doing so, it reframes the registers as political documents designed to support specific archiepiscopal aims, as well as the broader aim of shaping future archbishops' practice.

Overall, the thesis reveals a far closer relationship between archbishop and register than has typically been acknowledged. In understanding differences between registers, we must look first at the archbishops for whom they were kept rather than an abstract idea of advancement or efficiency. Despite their brevity, these archiepiscopates brought significant learning in registration practices and using registers to support particular modes of archiepiscopacy. At the core of this was the selection and omission of material. In choosing what to register, the archbishops and their administrators constructed and memorialised specific ideas of archiepiscopacy to shape future practice.

Table of Contents

Abstract **2**
Table of Contents **3**
List of Tables **6**
List of Figures **7**
Acknowledgements **9**
Author's Declaration **10**
Note on Conventions **11**
Introduction **12**
Historiography 14
Bishops and Registers (A Question of Subject) 14
Writing, Record-Keeping, and the Archival Turn (A Question of Approach) 21
Two Archbishops, Two Registers: Study and Approach 29
Part One **36**
Chapter One: The Registers of William Wickwane **36**
Introduction 36
I. The Two Versions of Wickwane's Register 39
II. Creation and Use 53
Appearance 54
Insertions 67
III. Behind the Register 72
Chancery 73
Household and Extra-Household Administrators 76
Conclusion 84
Chapter Two: The 'Register' of John le Romeyn **86**
Introduction 86
I. Register and Registration 88
Structure 89
Scribal Practices 97
II. Function and Record 108
The Archival Register: Insertion or Entry 109

Form and Formulary 115
Absence: The Vicar-General's Register 121
III. Personnel: Continuity and Change 125
Continuity 127
Change 129
Conclusion 134
Part Two 137
Chapter Three: Disputes 137
Introduction 137
I. The Durham Dispute: Material and Record 140
Durham's Archives 143
Wickwane's Register 153
Romeyn's Register 166
II. Canterbury and York: Writing and Archiepiscopacy 176
Strategies of Writing and Record: Canterbury and the Curia 178
Registration and Relationships: The York Chapter 189
III. Thinking about Record: Influence and Agency 195
Acquisition and Preservation 197
Controlling the Record 200
Responding and Influencing 202
Conclusion 205
Chapter Four: Cura Animarum 207
Introduction 207
I. Clerical Standards 211
Ordination 212
Education 222
II. Visitations 232
Visitation Notices 234
Corrections 244
III. Penalties: Discipline, Penance, and Excommunication 252
Clerical Discipline 254
Penance and Absolution 258
Excommunication 266

Conclusion 274
Conclusion 277
Abbreviations 287
Bibliography 288
Unpublished Primary Sources 288
Published Primary Sources 290
Published Secondary Sources 292
Unpublished Secondary Sources 307

List of Tables

Table 1: Sectional divides in Wickwane’s Two Registers 42
Table 2: Sections in Wickwane's register omitted from Romeyn's register 90
Table 3: Sectional divides in Romeyn’s register 91
Table 4: Visitation dispute material in Wickwane’s register 156
Table 5: Durham dispute material in Romeyn’s register 168

List of Figures

Figure 1: Use of folios in Wickwane's original register, year 1 45
Figure 2: Use of folios in Wickwane's original register, years 2-5 46
Figure 3: Wickwane MS, fol.155r, 'York Chapter' years 3-5 47
Figure 4: Wickwane MS, fol. 160r, 'Chapter of Ripon and Otley', years 2-4 48
Figure 5: Wickwane MS, fol. 97r, 'Chapter of York' heading, original register, year one .. 55
Figure 6: Wickwane MS, fol. 100r, 'Chapter of Southwell' heading, original register, year one 55
Figure 7: Wickwane MS, fol. 130r, 'Officiality of York' decorative heading, original register, year one 56
Figure 8: Wickwane MS, fol. 133r, 'Officiality of Carlisle' decorative heading, original register, year one 56
Figure 9: Wickwane MS, fol. 141v, marginal face 57
Figure 10: Wickwane MS, fol. 162r, heading and face 58
Figure 11: Wickwane MS, fol. 168r, heading and face 58
Figure 12: Wickwane MS, fol. 191v, heading and face 58
Figure 13: Wickwane MS, fol. 105r, original register, visitation of Selby 62
Figure 14: Wickwane MS, fol. 104r, original register, faint manicules on left 63
Figure 15: Wickwane MS, fol. 26v, later version, manicule indicating correction 64
Figure 16: Wickwane MS, fol. 56r, later version, manicule linking entries 64
Figure 17: Wickwane MS, fol. 104r, for(ma) marginal notes 65
Figure 18: Wickwane MS, fol. 104v, for(ma) marginal notes 66
Figure 19: Wickwane MS, fol. 6v, copied for(ma) marginal notes 67
Figure 20: Romeyn MS, fol. 26, beginning of 'York Archdeaconry' section 99
Figure 21: Romeyn MS, fol. 8v, 'York Officiality', 1287, marginal yearly heading 99
Figure 22: Romeyn MS, fol. 8v, 'York Officiality', 1287, heading at bottom amended by the same scribe who wrote the (second) marginal year 99
Figure 23: Romeyn MS, fol. 12r, 'York Officiality', 1288, marginal heading in the same ink and hand as the previous year's entries 100
Figure 24: Romeyn MS, fol. 130r, amended 'Suffragan Letters' heading 101
Figure 25: Romeyn MS, fol. 115r, amended Ballivarum heading 102
Figure 26: Romeyn MS, fol. 105v, 'archbishop in distant lands' drawing 103
Figure 27: Romeyn MS, fol. 115v, hunting drawing 103
Figure 28: Romeyn MS, fol. 107r, 'Chapters' year eight, heading 104
Figure 29: Romeyn MS, fol. 92v, 'Chapters' year one and two, erased names 105
Figure 30: Romeyn MS, fol. 146r, Intrinseca year one, crossed out entries 106
Figure 31: Romeyn MS, fol. 96r, Adderbury's collation crossed through with a memorandum of his refusal and a manicule added on the right 107
Figure 32: Romeyn MS, fol. 3r, index-calendar 116
Figure 33: Romeyn MS, fol. 69r, amendments in same ink as entry 119
Figure 34: Romeyn MS, fol. 11r, inserted as example of form 121

Figure 35: Romeyn MS, fol. 32r, ‘Archdeaconry of York’, 1288/89, vicar-general’s ‘register’ and return of the archbishop 123
Figure 36: Romeyn MS, fol. 40v, ‘Archdeaconry of York’, 1291, heading for vicar-general's register 123
Figure 37: DCD Misc.ch.5820/18, Canterbury’s notarisation clause and mark 147
Figure 38: BL Cotton MS Julius D IV, fol. 175r, Canterbury’s notary mark on right, potentially a copy 151
Figure 39: Wickwane MS, fol.139r, third and fourth entries in section 159
Figure 40: Wickwane MS, fol. 176v, East Riding ‘licences to study’, one licence and five memoranda 228
Figure 41: Wickwane MS, fol. 184r, Cleveland ‘licences to study’, two licences and four memoranda 228
Figure 42: Register entries by section for Wickwane’s visitation notices for monastic houses and cathedral chapters 236
Figure 43: Register entries by section for Romeyn’s visitation notices for monastic houses and cathedral chapters 236
Figure 44: Wickwane MS, fol. 134r, ‘Corrections in the Archdeaconry of York’ 249
Figure 45: Romeyn MS, fol. 26v, 'II' marginal symbol linking entries 261
Figure 46: No. of entries related to excommunication by year in Wickwane’s register. 267
Figure 47: No. of entries related to excommunication by year in Romeyn’s register 268
Figure 48: Romeyn MS, fol. 69r, signification with interlining 272

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Author’s Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work, and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for a degree or other qualification at this University or elsewhere. All sources are acknowledged as references.

Note on Conventions

For the sake of consistency, I have modernised first names, place names, and toponymic names, and only kept the preposition *de* for the nobility. Therefore, *Nicholaus de Pontefracto* becomes Nicholas of Pontefract, whereas *Ricardum de Vescy* becomes Richard de Vescy.

To aid the reader, I have referenced William Brown's (1907, 1913, and 1917) editions of the registers throughout, giving the entry numbers he used, although I have included folio numbers where pertinent. The transcriptions follow those from the editions where Brown provided them, although these have been checked against the manuscript; all other transcriptions are my own (as noted). All translations are my own unless otherwise stated.

All images of the York registers are from York's Archbishops' Registers website, https://archbishopsregisters.york.ac.uk/home_page/index, which are under a Creative Commons licence.

Introduction

This thesis offers the first close examination of registers and registration (and the relationship of both to archiepiscopacy) under two archbishops of York, William Wickwane (1279-85) and John le Romeyn (1285-96). Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were some of the earliest kept in York and they have been taken as evidence for the development of registers in this period.[1] Scholars have seen Wickwane's register as a step forward from that of his predecessor, Walter Giffard, and considered Romeyn's another advance that made it the 'basic model' for future registers. Yet framing each register as an advance on the one before overlooks changes within the registers themselves and the many forms of learning integral to their production. These two relatively short archiepiscopates produced substantial registers, both of which bear evidence of changing practices and ideas.

The relative brevity of this period means that both archbishops faced many of the same challenges in the archdiocese and further afield. They occupied the see in the middle years of Edward I's reign, a period associated with the development of royal government (including its records) and the rise of parliament.[2] It was also a period when expectations of pastoral reform had taken root, yet were not straightforwardly enacted, with both men facing challenges in fulfilling their duties as they understood them. The Fourth Lateran Council (1215) and, more recently for Wickwane and Romeyn, the Second Council of Lyons (1274) had set out high expectations for spiritual care and reinforced the episcopate's duty to oversee the fulfilment of these expectations in their dioceses, as well as emphasising high standards of episcopal behaviour.[3] By the late

[1] Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were the third and fourth kept in York; the first had been kept under Walter de Gray (1225) in roll form, and the second under Walter Giffard (1266) in codex form. York was at the forefront of this development, second only to Lincoln, where Hugh of Wells' register was begun in 1214x17. A new edition of Walter de Gray's register is forthcoming, edited by Sethina Watson and Maureen Jurkowski.

[2] Michael Prestwich, "English Government Records, 1250-1330," in *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West, 1200-1330*, ed. Richard Britnell (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 95–106; Adrian Jobson, ed., *English Government in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004); Caroline Burt, *Edward I and the Governance of England, 1272-1307* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Andy King and Andrew M. Spencer, eds., *Edward I: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2020).

[3] The impact of councils in the thirteenth century has been extensively debated; while 1215 is no longer seen as a such a watershed moment, it typifies broader concerns about pastoral care seen in the thirteenth century and more widely; examples of expectations of bishops include: Lat. IV: Canon VI on

thirteenth century, the challenge for bishops and archbishops was to develop the systems and precedents that would allow them to bring about such changes. This shared context allows for a more pointed exploration of the differences between the two men, how they approached their office, and their registers.

Scholars have recognised Wickwane's and Romeyn's significance, both in terms of their registers and their practice of archiepiscopacy.[4] Yet the relationship between the archbishops and their registers remains overlooked, reflecting a wider lacuna in the study of relationships between registers and archiepiscopacy. Registers were kept on behalf of archbishops: while it was not the archbishop himself putting quill to vellum, the register was nonetheless about his practice of archiepiscopacy, a term taken here to mean the concept and fulfilment of the archiepiscopal office. In situating registers and registration at the heart of the practice of archiepiscopacy, this thesis lays bare the ways in which Wickwane and Romeyn approached their role and gives new meaning to the choices of registration that occurred under them.

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the role of bishops in correcting offences (especially those of clerics) and reforming morals, Canon X on bishops appointing preachers, Canon XXVII on bishops needing to prepare candidates for priesthood; Lyons II: Canons XXIV and XXVI on penalties for bishops' financial misdemeanours. See Norman Tanner, "Pastoral Care: The Fourth Lateran Council of 1215," in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G. R. Evans (London: Cassell, 2000), 112–25; William J. Dohar, "'Since the Pestilence Time': Pastoral Care in the Later Middle Ages," in *A History of Pastoral Care*, ed. G. R. Evans (London: Cassell, 2000), 169–200; Julia Barrow, "Ideas and Applications of Reform," in *The Cambridge History of Christianity: Volume 3: Early Medieval Christianities, c.600–c.1100*, ed. Julia M. H. Smith and Thomas F. X. Noble (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 345–62; Peter Biller, "Confession in the Middle Ages: Introduction," in *Handling Sin: Confession in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2013), 3–34; William H. Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care in 13th-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

[4] The main study on Wickwane and Romeyn is Robert Brentano's *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction and Papal Judges Delegate (1279-1296)* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959), which will be considered below. Other studies, notably Hoskin's article on the development of episcopal chanceries and Taubman's thesis on interactions between clergy and laity, have drawn on Wickwane and Romeyn's registers for case studies: Philippa Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries through the Signification of Excommunication," *Tabularia: Sources Écrites Des Mondes Normands Médiévaux* 11 (2011): 35–47; Andrew Taubman, "Clergy and Commoners: Interactions between Medieval Clergy and Laity in a Regional Context," PhD thesis (University of York, 2009).

Historiography

Bishops and Registers (A Question of Subject)

Despite their relatively brief archiepiscopates, and on the basis of their registers, Wickwane and Romeyn have been characterised as archbishops who sought to fulfil the broadest parameters of their role, exercising their duties with 'energy' and 'restless activity' and asserting their rights.[5] Their attempts to do so (and the challenges these attempts caused) were the basis of Robert Brentano's study, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction and Papal Judges Delegate*.[6] It remains the only dedicated study of Wickwane and Romeyn prior to this thesis. Although Brentano used Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers, his approach typifies the way that registers have tended to be used by historians – for the information they recorded.[7] This leaves open the questions of how Wickwane and Romeyn actually used their registers, not just to capture information but to remake it, and to what extent this was linked to their attempts to fulfil their role.

Large-scale efforts to publish episcopal registers have made them accessible and have fundamentally shaped how they have been understood and used. The Surtees Society (since 1834) and the Canterbury and York Society (1904) have published edited and calendared versions of York's archiepiscopal registers in series. Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were edited by William Brown in the early twentieth century.[8] Since then, each has been seen as a step forwards in the development of registers. Wickwane's register brought the first iteration of the sectional divides that became typical of York's later registers, while refinements under Romeyn made his 'a model for the future'.[9] Yet analysis of the registers themselves has remained superficial. In framing

[5] Brown, *Reg. Romeyn*, vii; *Reg. Wickwane*, xvi.
[6] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*.
[7] For other examples, see the use of registers in: Lindsay Bryan, "Periculum Animarum: Bishops, Gender, and Scandal," *Florilegium*, 2002, 49–73; Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*; Michael Jones, "St Mary's, Southwell, and the Archbishops of York, c. 1100–1540," *Northern History* 57, no. 1 (2020): 3–19.
[8] The Surtees Society is an organisation dedicated to publishing manuscripts from the area which had been the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria. Brown edited York's archiepiscopal registers from Giffard's to Greenfield's, which were published in chronological order between 1904 and 1940.
[9] The idea of Romeyn's register as a 'model' was set out by Brown and Hamilton Thompson and reiterated in Smith's catalogue of episcopal registers. All three framed both Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers as advances on what had come before: Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, xviii; *Reg. Romeyn,* iv; Hamilton Thompson, A., "The Registers of the Archbishops of York: An Address Delivered at the Annual Meeting of the

changes from one register to the next as advances, a teleological model has been assumed and the registers judged in terms of (imagined) ideals of efficiency and completeness. As yet, there remains little challenge to this model beyond Philippa Hoskin's groundbreaking work on the rolls of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1235-53), and on episcopal chanceries more widely.[10] She found a 'period of continued experimentation' instead of a 'trajectory of increased efficiency' in mid to late thirteenth-century episcopal chanceries.[11] Even today, efforts to make registers accessible through editions and now in digital form have been the primary focus for work with episcopal registers, seen in the recent *Archbishops' Registers Revealed* project at the University of York digitising the York series.[12] However, the potential for registers to be used in new ways has begun to be recognised through York's *The Northern Way* project. This thesis intends to contribute further to approaches for using digitised registers, alongside both manuscripts and editions.

For most of the twentieth century, scholarship concerning registers and registration asked when registration began, what registers have survived, and whether the two go hand-in-hand. Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century scholarship was divided over whether the earliest registers to survive were the first to be created.[13] In

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Canterbury and York Society in London, November, 1934," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 32, no. 127 (1935): 249; David M. Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers of England and Wales: A Survey from the Middle Ages to the Abolition of the Episcopacy in 1646* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1981), 234–35. N.B. Some attempt to classify material had occurred under Giffard, but Wickwane's register offers the first structured arrangement of sections in the form that became habitual.

[10] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries"; Philippa Hoskin, "Authors of Bureaucracy: Developing and Creating Administrative Systems in English Episcopal Chanceries in the Second Half of the Thirteenth Century," in *Patrons and Professionals in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2010 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Paul Binski and Elizabeth A. New (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2012), 61–78; Philippa Hoskin, ed., *Robert Grosseteste as Bishop of Lincoln: The Episcopal Rolls, 1235-1253* (Martlesham: Boydell Press, 2015). Hoskin's examination of York's significations of excommunication and its implications for the episcopal chancery will be considered in Chapter Four.

[11] Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste as Bishop of Lincoln*, xxv.

[12] University of York, "York Archbishops' Registers," accessed August 6, 2024 https://archbishopsregisters.york.ac.uk/.

[13] Several, including James Raine, the editor of Walter de Gray's register, believed those that remain are the first created with the exception of a first register for de Gray now lost, whereas Irene Churchill and Claude Jenkins argued that lack of survival does not preclude existence of earlier registers and that twelfth-century church administration was sufficiently advanced to produce them: James Raine, ed., *The Register, or Rolls, of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York: With Appendices of Illustrative Documents* (Durham: Published for the Society by Andrews & Co., 1872), viii; Irene Josephine Churchill, *Canterbury Administration: The Administrative Machinery of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, Illustrated from Original Records* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; The Macmillan Co., 1933), 4; Claude Jenkins, *Ecclesiastical Records: Three Lectures* (London: S.P.C.K., 1920), 41.

1950, C. R. Cheney posited that there was insufficient evidence to conclusively prove the case either way but thought Hugh of Wells' (Lincoln) and Walter de Gray's (York) were most likely the earliest.[14] By the 1980s, David Smith and Daniel Frankforter considered registration to be a fundamentally thirteenth-century enterprise.[15] Smith's and Frankforter's respective works remain essential for the study of registers. Smith's catalogue of surviving episcopal registers provides invaluable descriptions of the extant registers, arranged by diocese.[16] Frankforter examined the origins of registration. Like Smith, he considered the extant registers and references to earlier registers that no longer exist, as well as the milieu in which registration developed.[17] He made a compelling case for registration being driven (and at times delayed) by early thirteenth-century religious and political developments, notably the resolution of the Interdict. While general studies such as these have recognised the broader forces that drove the emergence of registers, the relationship between a particular bishop and his register, and the choices of registration under different bishops remains less studied.

Just three recent studies have closely examined the relationship between a bishop and his register, and they have reached contrasting conclusions. First, Adam Davis argued that Archbishop of Rouen Eudes Rigaud's (1247-75) register was a valuable tool for bringing about reform, working as both a calendar and an archive that allowed Rigaud and his successors to hold those in his archdiocese to account.[18] Rigaud's register primarily recorded his visitations; it included upcoming plans which were then amended, providing a frequently-used day-to-day record of his activities.[19] Second, in examining Bishop Robert Grosseteste's rolls – archidiaconal rolls of

[14] C. R. Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1950), 106–10.
[15] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, vii; A. Daniel Frankforter, "The Origin of Episcopal Registration Procedures in Medieval England," *Manuscripta* 26, no. 2 (1982): 67–89.
[16] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*.
[17] Frankforter, "The Origin of Episcopal Registration Procedures in Medieval England."
[18] Davis emphasised the 'meticulous collection of data' that supported Rigaud's work: Adam J. Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat: Eudes Rigaud and Religious Reform in Thirteenth-Century Normandy* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013), 9.
[19] Jeremiah Francis O'Sullivan, ed., *The Register of Eudes of Rouen*, trans. Sydney M. Brown (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Adam J. Davis, "A Thirteenth-Century Franciscan Money Manager: Archbishop Eudes Rigaud of Rouen, 1248–1275," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 56, no. 3 (2005): 431–54; James M. Powell, Jessalynn Bird, and Edward Peters, "The Register of Eudes Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen, 1260–1269," in *Crusade and Christendom* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 385–88.

institutions – Hoskin found they were updated infrequently, which she argued resulted from Grosseteste's belief in his personal responsibility for his flock's salvation and his concern that administration created a barrier to this.[20] While the different natures of these registers shaped Hoskin's and Davis' conclusions about how the bishops used them, the more basic question at the heart of these studies – how the register was working (or not working) for the bishop – remains useful for approaching Wickwane and Romeyn's registers. What were these archbishops trying to achieve and how were their registers used for those aims?

This question was at the core of the third study of bishops and their registers, James Richardson's 2016 PhD thesis, which remains the only comparative study of bishops and their registers prior to this thesis.[21] Taking the registers of Bishop Richard Swinfield (1282-1317) in Hereford and Bishop John of Pontoise (1282-1304) in Winchester – registers similar in form and comparable in material – Richardson sought to develop new methodologies for using episcopal registers: close examination of formulaic records, examination of particular kinds of records, use of the original manuscript, and use of material outside the register. In doing so, he made links between registration and episcopal activity and recognised the ways in which a bishop's agendas and relationships influenced his register. While the value of these methods is clear, and inform this thesis throughout, differences between the dioceses of Hereford and Winchester inevitably shaped how episcopacy was practised within each. By comparing two consecutive registers and archbishops in the same archdiocese, this thesis reveals the influence of specific individuals with shifting approaches to archiepiscopacy and allows us to consider more closely how registration developed in York. This approach lays bare the choices and many acts of learning that have been lost in broader comparisons.

[20] Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste as Bishop of Lincoln*; Philippa Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln: An English Bishop's Pastoral Vision* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).
[21] James Richardson, "A Bishop and His Diocese: Politics, Government, and Careers in Hereford and Winchester Dioceses, 1282-1317," PhD thesis (University of York, 2016); E. F. Jacob's comparison of York and Canterbury's registers also offers a helpful overview but focuses on the broad development of registers rather than close analysis of bishops and their registers: Ernest Fraser Jacob, *The Medieval Registers of Canterbury and York: Some Points of Comparison* (London: St. Anthony's Press, 1953).

Over the last few years, interest in York's archiepiscopal registers has surged thanks in particular to the efforts of *The Northern Way* project, culminating in the publication in 2024 of *The Church and Northern English Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Archbishops of York and Their Records*.[22] This collection of twelve essays draws on the registers to examine varied aspects of archdiocesan administration, as well as political and religious developments recorded in the registers, showcasing the registers' value for local and national religious and political histories. One important essay, by Sarah Rees Jones, explores the production of registers from 1304-1405, including the prodigious registers of William Greenfield (1306-15) and William Melton (1317-40).[23] Rees Jones situated the production of these registers in their administrative context, and offered a broad-ranging statistical analysis of entry patterns across the fourteenth-century registers. She argued that registers were integral to delegation, a feature of archiepiscopal administration that has its roots in earlier practice but became more formalised throughout the century as senior administrative officials' roles were refined.

This thesis has been researched and written concurrently with *The Northern Way* project and focuses instead on the thirteenth century, a period when registration was a less established endeavour. This offers the potential to situate registration in a more dynamic context and allows us to consider how registration drove and was the product of learning. It finds that, while the roots of later practices can be found in this period (such as the recording of delegations), registers were intensely personal and registration was unsettled, responding to challenges each archbishop faced in fulfilling their role as they understood it. Wickwane's and Romeyn's archiepiscopates spanned five and a half years and ten and a half years respectively. During each, significant changes were made

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[22] University of York, "The Northern Way: The Archbishops of York and the North of England, 1304 – 1405," *University of York*, accessed July 22, 2024, https://www.york.ac.uk/history/research/northern-way/; Paul Dryburgh and Sarah Rees Jones, eds., *The Church and Northern English Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Archbishops of York and Their Records* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, in association with The Boydell Press, 2024).

[23] Paul Dryburgh and Sarah Rees Jones, "Introduction," in *The Church and Northern English Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Archbishops of York and Their Records*, ed. Paul Dryburgh and Sarah Rees Jones (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, in association with The Boydell Press, 2024), 6; Sarah Rees Jones, "The Administrative Records of the Archbishops of York, 1304-1405," in *The Church and Northern English Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Archbishops of York and Their Records* ed. Paul Dryburgh and Sarah Rees Jones (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, in association with The Boydell Press, 2024), 59.

to the way York's registers were constructed and used. In re-examining these changes not simply as markers of efficiency but as choices made in response to the demands of archiepiscopacy, changing ideas of administration, and experiments in the potential of registration itself we can reframe this period as one in which administrators learned to keep registers in ways that would support the practice of personal and often-contested archiepiscopacy.

This thesis also draws on recent developments in the broader scholarship of episcopacy. Until late in the twentieth century, studies often tended towards biographies of bishops who were considered particularly noteworthy, either for their saintliness or for their navigation of tensions between Crown and Church.[24] In terms of the practice of episcopacy, interest was primarily concerned with reform, specifically the transmission of the canons of the Fourth Lateran Council, or the 'machinery' of administration.[25] Over the last few decades, however, scholarship has focused on more varied but specific areas of episcopacy, such as episcopal sanctity, lordship, and administration, often drawing on episcopal records to do so.[26] Katherine Harvey, for instance, has examined different expressions of episcopal sanctity, while Sophie Ambler has explored the central roles that bishops played in the changing political landscape of thirteenth-century England.[27] Such studies have reframed episcopacy as

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[24] See, for example, R. W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste: The Growth of an English Mind in Medieval Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Meryl Jancey, ed., *St Thomas Cantilupe, Bishop of Hereford: Essays in His Honour* (Hereford: Friends of Hereford Cathedral, 1982); Joseph Dahmus, *William Courtenay: Archbishop of Canterbury, 1381-1396* (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1966); J. H. Denton, *Robert Winchelsey and the Crown, 1294-1313: A Study in the Defence of Ecclesiastical Liberty* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980); Roy Martin Haines, *Archbishop John Stratford: Political Revolutionary and Champion of the Liberties of the English Church, ca. 1275/80-1348.* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1986).

[25] Marion Gibbs and Jane Lang, *Bishops and Reform, 1215-1272, with Special Reference to the Lateran Council of 1215* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934); Paul 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).

[26] Several edited volumes bring together different studies on individual bishops or broader aspects of archiepiscopacy, for example: Robert Dunning, ed., *Jocelin of Wells: Bishop, Builder, Courtier* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2010); David Rollason, ed., *Princes of the Church: Bishops and Their Palaces* (New York: Routledge, 2017); Anthony Lappin and Elena Balzamo, *Dominus Episcopus: Medieval Bishops Between Diocese and Court* (Stockholm: Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien, 2018).

[27] Katherine Harvey, "Episcopal Emotions: Tears in the Life of the Medieval Bishop," *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 87, no. 238 (2014): 591–610; Katherine Harvey, "Food, Drink, and the Bishop in Medieval England, ca. 1100–ca. 1300," *Viator* 46, no. 2 (2015): 155–76; Katherine

something to be constructed and performed, a more self-conscious endeavour than we have typically considered it, if using exceptional cases or events. In exploring the relationship between registers and archiepiscopacy, this thesis considers whether registers offered a space to construct or perform archiepiscopacy in the everyday activities of archbishops who have generally been considered unexceptional.

Alongside this, a shift towards examining the people and relationships at the heart of episcopacy and administration has contributed to new approaches to the study of medieval bishops. Michael Burger's studies of communication between bishops and archdeacons, and reward and punishment, have emphasised the relational aspects of diocesan governance, shedding light on the complexity of attachments between bishops and their subordinates.[28] Ian Forrest's approach to diocesan administration has likewise elucidated the relationships, local knowledge, and social conventions that shaped diocesan administration more than bureaucratic 'machinery'.[29] Forrest's *Trustworthy Men* sets out 'a social church' approach, a phrase coined by him and Sethina Watson.[30] This approach sees the Church as 'an amalgam of clergy, bishops, law, and formal institutions' and 'an identity, something to which people felt they belonged, and an endlessly shifting constellation of real relationships'.[31] It offers a more person-driven lens for exploring episcopal administration in contrast to the focus on

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Harvey, "Episcopal Virginity in Medieval England," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 26, no. 2 (2017): 273–93; Sophie Ambler, "The Montfortian Bishops and the Justification of Conciliar Government in 1264," *Historical Research: The Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 85, no. 228 (2012): 193–209; Sophie Ambler, *Bishops in the Political Community of England, 1213-1272* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Angelo Silvestri, *Power, Politics and Episcopal Authority: The Bishops of Cremona and Lincoln in the Middle Ages (1066-1340)* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2014); John S. Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c.1050–1150* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

[28] Michael Burger, "Officiales and the Familiae of the Bishops of Lincoln, 1258–1299," *Journal of Medieval History* 16, no. 1 (1990): 39–53; Michael Burger, "Bishops, Archdeacons and Communication between Centre and Locality in the Diocese of Lincoln, c. 1214-99," in *Thirteenth Century England: Proceedings of the Newcastle upon Tyne Conference 1993*, ed. Peter Coss and Simon Lloyd (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), 195–206; Michael Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance in Thirteenth-Century England: Reward and Punishment* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[29] Ian Forrest, "The Archive of the Official of Stow and the 'Machinery' of Church Government in the Late Thirteenth Century," *Historical Research* 84, no. 223 (2011): 1–13; Ian Forrest, "The Transformation of Visitation in Thirteenth-Century England," *Past & Present* 221, no. 1 (2013): 3–38.

[30] Ian Forrest, *Trustworthy Men: How Inequality and Faith Made the Medieval Church* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), 4–5; Sethina C. Watson, *On Hospitals: Welfare, Law, and Christianity in Western Europe, 400-1320* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), vii.

[31] Forrest, *Trustworthy Men*, 4–5.

institutional systems that has often characterised administrative studies.[32] Its reframing of institutions 'more as the sum of multiple actions and habits of thought rather than simply organizational structures' provides an approach for examining archiepiscopal administration as the product of the actions and relationships of the individuals involved.[33] In extending this concept to registers, this thesis reframes registration as a dynamic and relational endeavour – not an increasingly efficient administrative tool.

Writing, Record-Keeping, and the Archival Turn (A Question of Approach)

While archiepiscopal registers and registration have provided the focus of this thesis, scholarship concerned more broadly with the development of writing, record-keeping and archives in the Middle Ages has heavily influenced my approach. Since 1979 and the publication of Michael Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record*, many studies have approached medieval records and archives as objects of study.[34] Clanchy argued that lay literacy was primarily driven by bureaucracy, focusing on the use of documents for administrative purposes. This initiated a wealth of scholarship on 'Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit' (pragmatic literacy) in German scholarship in the 1980s and English-language scholarship in the 1990s.[35] Although some of Clanchy's arguments have since been questioned, especially his assumptions that the survival of more documents meant more documents were produced and that there was a gulf between oral and literate mentalities, the greater focus on documents, records, and

[32] For example, Roy Martin Haines, *The Administration of the Diocese of Worcester in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century* (London: S.P.C.K., 1965).
[33] Forrest, *Trustworthy Men*, 5.
[34] Two subsequent editions have been published, the most recent being: M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066-1307* (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013).
[35] For an overview of the impact of 'Pragmatische Schriftlichkeit' on the German Academy, see: Christel Meier, "Fourteen Years of Research at Münster into Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages. A Research Project by Collaborative Research Centre 231: Agents, Fields and Forms of Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages," in *Transforming the Medieval World: Uses of Pragmatic Literacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Franz J. Arlinghaus et al. (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2006), 23–39; Richard Britnell, ed., *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West, 1200-1330* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997).

archives that has emerged in his wake has opened up fruitful new avenues.[36] It has underpinned a documentary and archival 'turn' in scholarship.

The scholarship is vast and varied but centres around two interrelated ideas: that documents themselves were constructed in specific ways to bring about particular responses, bestowing them with authority or even agency; and that preserving material was a context-specific act that gave material new meaning. The first has been particularly applied to legal documents. Heather MacNeil used records of jural acts to trace how written records were transformed from aide-memoires into acts, from the eleventh to the seventeenth century.[37] Shannon McSheffrey and, more recently, Tom Johnson explored the agency of documents in legal processes: documents were instrumental in judicial processes, and in being archived 'the written record then becomes what happened'.[38] In another sphere, Kathleen Neal examined Edward I's letters and argued that they held political and social meanings, and even authority, not in spite of their formulaic nature but because of it.[39] In considering how documents were constructed for particular effects, Andrew Prescott's argument that administrative documents 'are as deceptive and full of invention as more self-consciously literary works' challenges us to complicate the distinction between pragmatic or administrative documents and literary texts.[40] This idea was taken up by Isobel Staton in her recent PhD thesis, which made a convincing case for appreciating the 'capacity for creativity

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[36] For a critical approach to Clanchy's thesis, see Nicholas Karn, "Information and Its Retrieval," in *A Social History of England, 900-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 373–80; Nicholas Vincent similarly framed the increase in material from the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries as a matter of efforts to conserve it rather than increased production in his "Why 1199? Bureaucracy and Enrolment under John and His Contemporaries," in *English Government in the Thirteenth Century*, ed. Adrian Jobson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2004), 27; Paul Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe: The Social Dimensions of a Writing Revolution 1250-1350*, trans. Graham Robert Edwards (Turnhout: Brepols, 2019) emphasised the increasing authority of documents and the desire to compile information that drove efforts to preserve material.

[37] Heather MacNeil, "From the Memory of the Act to the Act Itself: The Evolution of Written Records as Proof of Jural Acts in England, 11th to 17th Century," *Archival Science* 6, no. 3 (2006): 313–28.

[38] The quotation is from Shannon McSheffrey, "Detective Fiction in the Archives: Court Records and the Uses of Law in Late Medieval England," *History Workshop Journal* 65, no. 1 (2008): 73; Tom Johnson, "Legal Ephemera in the Ecclesiastical Courts of Late-Medieval England," *Open Library of Humanities* 5, no. 1 (2019); both draw on the idea of the 'future perfect' of the archive as set out by Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 7.

[39] Kathleen Neal, *The Letters of Edward I: Political Communication in the Thirteenth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2021).

[40] Andrew Prescott, "Tall Tales from the Archive," in *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland, 500-1500*, ed. Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner, and Elizabeth M. Tyler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 356–69; see also Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe*, 126.

and for performance' found in manorial documents.[41] This approach asks us to consider how material could have agency or might be used creatively or performatively in its original form and again in its insertion into the register.

The second idea has brought a wealth of scholarship exploring archives 'not only as repositories of information but.... as instruments of power', and questioning the processes of preservation and the role of the archivist in their creation, a development termed the 'archival turn'.[42] While 'the archive' has been extensively theorised across different fields, this thesis focuses on its particular implications for studies of the medieval period.[43] It takes 'the archive' in a broad sense, to include compilations like registers and cartularies that were produced through choices of record and preservation.[44] It argues, in essence, that registers can be understood as a form of archive, or at least as products of archival processes. Cartularies have received particular interest in this regard, less so registers, even though registers and cartularies were not necessarily distinguished by their compilers in the Middle Ages, often being 'conflated... under the umbrella term of *registrum*'.[45] Importantly for us, the idea that 'to record is to choose ways of recording, it is not a neutral collection but a socially and individually selective one' is equally applicable to episcopal registers.[46] This has several implications for my approach to registers.

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[41] Isobel Harriet Staton, "Writing the Manor: Manorial Officers and Rural Writing Culture, c. 1425–1518," PhD Thesis (University of York, 2023), 180.
[42] Hermínia Vasconcelos Vilar, "From Copy to Register: Organising Memory in the Diocese of Évora in the First Half of the Fourteenth Century," in *From Charters to Codex: Studies on Cartularies and Archival Memory in the Middle Ages*, ed. Rodrigo Furtado and Marcello Moscone (Basel: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d 'Etudes Médiévales, 2019), 233–56; Patrick Geary, "Medieval Archivists as Authors: Social Memory and Archival Memory," in *Archives, Documentation, and Institutions of Social Memory: Essays from the Sawyer Seminar* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 106–13.
[43] The most influential theoretical study remains Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression*, trans. Eric Prenowitz (London: University of Chicago Press, 1996); see also, Steedman, *Dust*.
[44] For examination of the idea of 'compilatio' see: M. B. Parkes, *Scribes, Scripts, and Readers: Studies in the Communication, Presentation, and Dissemination of Medieval Texts* (London: Hambledon Press, 1991), chap. 3.
[45] Kathryn Lowe, "Creating and Curating an Archive: Bury St Edmunds and Its Anglo-Saxon Past," in *Medieval Historical Writing: Britain and Ireland, 500–1500*, ed. Jennifer Jahner, Emily Steiner, and Elizabeth M. Tyler (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 193.
[46] Andrew Butcher, "The Functions of Script in the Speech Community of a Late Medieval Town, c.1300-1550," in *The Uses of Script and Print, 1300-1700*, ed. Julia Crick and Alexandra Walsham (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 157–70.

Firstly, compilation. Compiling documents into registers was an act of interpretation that shaped written memory. Patrick Geary's *Phantoms of Remembrance* explicitly linked cartularies with the curation and preservation of memory rather than simply administrative purposes.[47] Since then (1994), more attention has been paid to the processes of compiling cartularies, and archives more widely.[48] In examining medieval reworkings of the past in France, Constance Brittain Bouchard argued that by compiling existing charters, cartulary scribes were 'reworking and reconceptualizing those records by the very act of organizing and copying them' in order to shape the collective memory of a church or monastery.[49] Jessica Berenbeim emphasised the processes of definition and interpretation inherent to preserving documents in cartularies, whereby the compilers' choices suggest certain meanings.[50] It was not only choices of preservation that mattered but those of destruction, as Nicholas Karn has stressed: the inevitable 'winnowing of records in accordance with a sense of their usefulness and importance' resulted in the 'extensive destruction of records'.[51] While evidence of destruction cannot necessarily be gleaned from the registers, comparison with other materials does shed light on the significance of omission in registration. The selectivity of episcopal registers has often been overlooked, but choices of preservation and omission were inherent to registration. The majority of episcopal documents that were not registered have since been destroyed, either deliberately or simply by time. Recognising this reframes registers not as products of administrative efficiency but of human choices to preserve and destroy.

Secondly, control. Controlling the archive – and so crafting an official memory – allowed it to be deployed by those in control for their own aims. This was partly about access to information, an idea that has been particularly influential in scholarship of the

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[47] Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994).
[48] See, for example, the collection of papers in: Anders Winroth and Adam J. Kosto, eds., *Charters, Cartularies and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West: Proceedings of a Colloquium of the Commission Internationale de Diplomatique (Princeton and New York, 16-18 September 1999)* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002).
[49] Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 18–19.
[50] Jessica Berenbeim, *Art of Documentation: Documents and Visual Culture in Medieval England* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2015), 45–47. Geary also considered the role of the archivist in "Medieval Archivists as Authors."
[51] Karn, "Information and Its Retrieval," 374, 378.

later medieval and early modern periods. In examining the registers of the fifteenth-century Sicilian chancery, Alessandro Silvestri argued that '[registers] allowed the authorities to monopolize the "knowledge" of the state, whilst at the same time facilitating their access to information'.[52] Paul Bertrand also saw the management of information through writing as key to monitoring property and people, with the thirteenth century as a period of significant advancement in the use of documents to this end in various spheres.[53] Likewise, we know that royal writs to examine episcopal and other kinds of ecclesiastical archives were issued. Alison McHardy found that chancery writs sought information from bishops regarding advowson disputes or the rights of a benefice, and in some cases even instructed that a bishop's register be consulted.[54] Access to such information allowed those in power to declare a basis for their rights and assert claims of entitlement.

Controlling the archive allowed the past to be redeployed for the present: Jan Bulman's work on the court book of Mende saw its curation of written memory as key to the construction of secular episcopal lordship.[55] The idea that episcopacy could be formulated through texts, actions, and images provided the premise for Sigrid Danielson and Evan A. Gatti's edited volume, *Envisioning the Bishop*, which saw the bishop as 'simultaneously an individual, an ideal, and a symbolic entity'.[56] While the idea that texts were fundamental to the construction of episcopacy has not yet been applied to episcopal registers, Sebastian Zanke has thought more creatively about papal registers as a source of self-affirmation for the Avignon popes.[57] Extending to the registers this question of constructing episcopacy challenges the assumption that episcopal

[52] Alessandro Silvestri, "'That Register Is the Most Ancient and Useful of the Kingdom': Recording, Organizing, and Retrieving Information in the Fifteenth-Century Sicilian Chancery," *Viator* 49, no. 2 (2018): 308.
[53] Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe*, 427–33.
[54] Alison K. McHardy, "Kings' Courts and Bishops' Administrations in Fourteenth-Century England: A Study in Cooperation," *Studies in Church History* 56 (June 2020): 155.
[55] Jan K. Bulman, *The Court Book of Mende and the Secular Lordship of the Bishop: Recollecting the Past in Thirteenth-Century Gévaudan* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008).
[56] Sigrid Danielson and Evan A. Gatti, "Introduction," in *Envisioning the Bishop: Images and the Episcopacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sigrid Danielson and Evan A. Gatti (Turnhout: Brepols, 2014), 1–2, 10.
[57] Sebastian Zanke, "Imagined Spaces? The Papal Registers in the Pontificate of John XXII (1316-1334)," in *Images and Words in Exile: Avignon and Italy during the First Half of the 14th Century*, ed. Elisa Brilli, Laura Fenelli, and Gerhard Wolf (Firenze: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2015), 457–74.

registers were simply for administrative purposes, instead raising the question of how self-aware archbishops and their administrators were in the choices of what to register.

Thirdly, construction. As compilations of documents, episcopal registers gave new meaning to the material they recorded, creating something new. Registering material not only recorded information but could be used to construct relationships, models of archiepiscopacy, or administrative systems. However, the ways in which registering material repurposed it have rarely been considered. This repurposing – an idea at the core of Henry Bainton's work on Angevin history-writing – could be distinct from its original use.[58] Bainton argued that history-writers incorporated copies of documents into their narratives as truth-claims to add credence to their accounts. Reframing the act of registration under Wickwane and Romeyn as a form of repurposing challenges us to think in new ways about the relationship between documents and authority. This could be proactive, as archbishops sought to extend their authority, or defensive, when the archbishops thought their rights were threatened.

The potential for records to create or defend authority has shaped interest in record-keeping as a responsive activity more widely. For example, in her study of monastic, episcopal, and civic record-keeping in Città di Castello, Maureen Miller argued that innovation in writing practices was driven by 'political instability and its related economic effects' rather than reform efforts in the wake of Lateran IV.[59] She attributed the development of record-keeping practices to the need for ecclesiastical leaders to protect their economic assets in light of political uncertainty and the rise of communal governments that might try to tax ecclesiastical properties. Likewise, Adam Kosto's work emphasised the relationship between records and the contexts in which they were produced, recognising that the same type of written record could vary in purpose depending on the needs of the time.[60] In his study of the cartulary of the counts

[58] Henry Bainton, *History and the Written Word: Documents, Literacy, and Language in the Age of the Angevins* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2020).
[59] Maureen C. Miller, "The Bishops' Books of Città Di Castello in Context," *Traditio* 76 (2021): 215, 241–43.
[60] Adam J. Kosto, *Making Agreements in Medieval Catalonia: Power, Order, and the Written Word, 1000-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Adam J. Kosto, "Documentary Culture in Catalonia and England, c.975–1050," *Early Medieval Europe* 30, no. 4 (2022): 514–35; Adam J. Kosto, "The Liber Feudorum Maior of the Counts of Barcelona: The Cartulary as an Expression of Power," *Journal of Medieval History* 27, no. 1 (2001): 1–22.

of Barcelona, the *Liber feudorum maior*, Kosto linked the function of the cartulary to the historical context in which it was produced, noting that 'cartularies tend to appear at times of institutional crisis and reform'.[61] He also recognised that features of the cartulary itself, such as its structure and even blank pages, could reveal its function and the historical circumstances in which it was produced. This led him to conclude that the *Liber* was not purely administrative but was 'a written expression of power'.

Useful comparison can also be made between episcopal registers and Inquisition registers, which John Arnold argued not only recorded events but provided 'sites of discourse that are inextricably part of the performance of power and authority'.[62] In his approach, Arnold sought to adapt the methodological approach to Inquisition registers from 'a question of "trust"' to 'a question of "power"' and asked how the records themselves formed part of power relations. While episcopal registers differ from Inquisition registers, recording a variety of activities and exchanges rather than a particular process, both preserved certain voices. The question of who kept the record and what choices they made is key to understanding both episcopal and Inquisition registers. Considering registration processes and the themes of memory and authority inherent in repurposing documents into the register challenges assumptions that bishops' registers were solely an administrative record.

The approach of this thesis is also inspired by the 'material turn', a shift towards analysing manuscripts as objects alongside textual analysis, which has occurred in conjunction with the archival turn. Paul Harvey was one of the first to argue for the necessity of examining the material features of written records, as set out in the introduction to his edition of Cuxham's manorial records.[63] The idea underpinned the first half of Clanchy's study, although its significance has been overshadowed by Clanchy's influence on studies related to 'pragmatic literacy'.[64] Nonetheless, various studies have developed material – also referred to as 'archaeological' as well as

[61] Kosto, "The Liber Feudorum Maior of the Counts of Barcelona," 1–2, 9.
[62] John H. Arnold, *Inquisition and Power: Catharism and the Confessing Subject in Medieval Languedoc* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 8, 79.
[63] P. D. A. Harvey, ed., *Manorial Records of Cuxham, Oxfordshire, circa 1200-1359* (London: H.M.S.O., 1976), 5.
[64] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*.

'codicological' – approaches to manuscripts.[65] These approaches continue to be used alongside pragmatic literacy studies in a broad range of contexts.[66] Such approaches have been used to consider how people interacted with manuscripts and their contents. For example, Joanna Tucker's study on Glasgow Cathedral's and Lindores Abbey's earliest cartularies reframed these cartularies as 'active manuscripts'.[67] Looking at the blank pages and later additions of material in these cartularies, she made a case for them being a communal space with which many people interacted, rather than a static record. This type of approach poses the question of how registers were deployed over the course of an archiepiscopate, and even beyond it.

An emphasis on the close study of manuscripts has also presented further challenges to the binary distinction between pragmatic and literary texts, as Tom Pickles argued in his examination of another cartulary, the Whitby *Abbot's Book*, which contains a book list and a refoundation story with property lists.[68] Previously, these lists had been considered institutional and bureaucratic, yet when restored to their manuscript context, they were shown to be contributing to a 'monastic culture of moral accountability' and a culture of collective memory.[69] This type of combined textual and material approach underpinned Jinming Yi's PhD thesis.[70] Yi explored the relationship between creating documents and keeping records through the study of a fourteenth-century civic custumal, the Freemen's Register of York, and made a case for the blurring of pragmatic and literary texts in York's civic culture. Combining this kind of close

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[65] Armstrong offers a thorough overview of the development of the material turn in her introduction to Abigail S. Armstrong, *The Materiality of Medieval Administration in Northern England* (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2024); Patrice Beck, *Archéologie d'un Document d'Archives: Approche Codicologique et Diplomatique des Cherches des Feux Bourguignonnes (1285-1543)* (Paris: Publications de l'École Nationale des Chartes, 2006); Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe*.

[66] Some of the most recent (and most diverse) approaches can be seen in an edited volume examining both China and Europe that stemmed from an online workshop, "Keeping Record: The Materiality of Rulership and Administration in the Pre-Modern World," hosted by Heidelberg University, 24–25th March 2022: Abigail S. Armstrong et al., eds., *Keeping Record: The Materiality of Rulership and Administration in Early China and Medieval Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024).

[67] Joanna Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies: Multi-Scribe Manuscripts and Their Patterns of Growth. A Study of the Earliest Cartularies of Glasgow Cathedral and Lindores Abbey* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020).

[68] Thomas Pickles, "Were Early Medieval Lists Bureaucratic? The Whitby 'Abbot's Book', Folios 1r–4v," *Österreichische Zeitschrift Für Geschichtswissenschaften* 32, no. 3 (2021): 66–90.

[69] Ibid., 89.

[70] Jinming Yi, "A Study of York's Civic Administrative Literacy: Writing, Records and Archives, 1272-1377," PhD thesis (University of York, 2022).

analysis of Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers with an examination of registration in practice yields new insights into the complex uses of registers in archiepiscopacy.

This thesis sets out to offer a new way of studying registers and registration processes as part of the broader shift in approaches to records as instruments of power stemming from the archival turn. It challenges any sense of the registers as passive records and reframes them as instruments (and at times even agents) for the construction of archiepiscopacy. By combining this approach with that of the 'social church', the thesis explores registration as a human endeavour and an activity that needed to be learnt. It recasts the registers as products of the ongoing choices made by the archbishop's administrators and examines how these choices gave registered material new meaning and purpose.

Two Archbishops, Two Registers: Study and Approach

This thesis puts registers at the heart of archiepiscopacy, not simply as reflections of it but as contributors. It reframes Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers and their creation not merely as windows into historical phenomena but as historical phenomena in themselves. Their short archiepiscopates and dynamic registers offer case studies for a micro-history of record. Examining Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers creates the opportunity to investigate change within the registers (and so under each administration), as well as comparatively, between the two registers (and thus between their administrations). Doing so elucidates the human learning that underpinned changes to registration during this period and explores how individual approaches to archiepiscopacy shaped these developments.

Examining the registers of two consecutive archbishops of York who faced several of the same challenges and dealt with many of the same individuals facilitates close analysis of the impact of Wickwane's and Romeyn's backgrounds, households, and relationships on their approaches to archiepiscopacy and registration. Both Wickwane and Romeyn were elected by the York chapter (and were then re-elected at Rome following concerns about proper election procedure) but had notably different

backgrounds and relationships with the chapter before and after their elections. It serves briefly to introduce the two archbishops' backgrounds.

Prior to his election as archbishop in 1279, Wickwane's career is poorly documented, but he held the office of chancellor of York Minster by 1264.[71] A letter-book survives from Wickwane's time as chancellor.[72] The letters it contains relate little about Wickwane's background but reveal some of his duties, ranging from presentations to a vicarage to the appointment of a *magister scolarum*. He appears to have had a good relationship with his predecessor as chancellor, John of Exeter, who presented him to the church of Ivinghoe in January 1264 after being made bishop of Winchester.[73] Wickwane's relationship with his archiepiscopal predecessor, Walter Giffard, was more varied: Giffard's register reveals that Wickwane clashed with the then archbishop over payments he believed he was due.[74] Following Giffard's death, Wickwane was elected by the chapter but then appointed by Pope Nicholas III (due to concerns about the validity of his election).[75] Once enthroned at York on Christmas Day 1279, he remained in the Northern Province until an ill-fated journey to Rome to make a case for his visitation rights in Durham, whereupon he died *en route* at Pontigny in late August 1285, and was buried there. Throughout his archiepiscopate, Wickwane continued to turn to the chapter for support, an aspect of his approach to archiepiscopacy that will be considered in Chapters One and Three.

John le Romeyn (the Roman) was likewise well-connected in York, through his father of the same name and his own holdings.[76] His father had been a canon of York by 1218, and held a succession of offices, as subdean, archdeacon of Richmond, and then treasurer of York Minster. Romeyn junior held the church of Bolton-le-Sands (in northern

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[71] C. R. Cheney, "Letters of William Wickwane, Chancellor of York, 1266-1268," *The English Historical Review* 47, no. 188 (1932): 626–42; R. B. Dobson, "Wickwane, William de (d. 1285), Archbishop of York," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/29351; Charles Travis Clay, ed., *York Minster Fasti*, vol. I (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing, 1958), 20; Charles Travis Clay, ed., *York Minster Fasti*, vol. II (Wakefield: West Yorkshire Printing, 1959), 58–59.
[72] This is now the first fourteen pages of Ox. Bod. MS. Rawl. C. 775; Cheney has transcribed the letters in "Letters of William Wickwane."
[73] Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, v.
[74] *Reg. Giffard*, no. CXLV.
[75] Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, vi.
[76] David M. Smith, "Romanus, John [John Le Romeyn] (c. 1230–1296), Archbishop of York," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/24042; Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, 1959, II:79–80; Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, viii–ix.

Lancashire), and for a time the church of Melling (in York archdiocese), and later Warthill (a prebend of York Minster). However, he appears to have preferred Lincoln Cathedral during his early career, surrendering Melling in order to become chancellor of Lincoln where he received the prebend of Kelsey, which he later exchanged for the precentorship and the prebend of Nassington.[77] He returned to York only as archbishop. The influence of his Lincoln connections (and his volatile relationship with the York chapter) will be examined in Chapters Two and Three.[78] Romeyn was also a professor of theology in Paris by 1276 and continued to own property there during his archiepiscopate. Described as a 'cosmopolitan figure' by Brentano, Romeyn was far more concerned than Wickwane with external affairs throughout his archiepiscopate, travelling to Gascony, Aragon, and Béarn and appointing a vicar-general to act in his stead during his absences.[79] His archiepiscopate was also longer than Wickwane's; elected by the chapter in October 1285, he was re-elected and consecrated in Rome in early 1286 before his enthronement in York Minster in June 1286. He died suddenly at Bishop Burton in March 1296 and was buried in York Minster.

The contrast between the York-centred Wickwane and more outward-looking Romeyn offers a case study for comparing how archiepiscopacy was fundamentally shaped by the individual in office. This study explores the people and relationships behind the institutions and administrative 'machinery' – those at the core of Wickwane's and Romeyn's attempts to fulfil their office as they understood it.[80] In doing so, it situates record-keeping, namely registration, in the context of specific challenges, aims, and relationships throughout Wickwane's and Romeyn's archiepiscopates.

This thesis has three key aims. Firstly, it examines the changing shape of registration under these two archbishops. It seeks to identify the distinct codicological features of Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers and how these differed between and within the registers so as to reveal the choices of registration behind them. Secondly, it investigates how registers functioned as archives. This opens up questions around the selectivity of material and the long-term effects of preserving material; it considers

[77] Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, viii–ix.
[78] Ibid., xx–xxi.
[79] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 54.
[80] Forrest, "The Archive of the Official of Stow."

registers not simply as reflections of archiepiscopacy but as agents for its construction. Thirdly, it explores the registers' role in day-to-day administration. This intends to get to the root of how registers were working in the practice of archiepiscopacy under Wickwane and Romeyn, asking what Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers could actually tell them about their archdiocese and what this reveals about the place of these registers in the archbishops' wider administrative systems. Together, these reveal why registers were kept in these particular ways under Wickwane and Romeyn.

In putting registers at the centre of the thesis, I have approached them as material compositions and explored their use, rather than simply extracting source material from them. I explore both the material within the registers and the registers as material compositions so as to understand how they were created and deployed. To this end, I have consulted the register manuscripts digitally, using the folio images on the Archbishops' Registers Project website, and physically. I have used the published editions alongside these, partly as an aid to navigate the manuscripts and partly drawing on transcriptions where these have proven useful. While these editions make the registers' content more accessible, the digitised manuscripts have proven vital for close analysis of writing features which are not conveyed in an edition, such as gaps, marginal comments, and changes in hand, and the physical manuscript has been examined for evidence of registration processes, like the composition of quires and insertion of material. This combination of drawing on the registers in edition, in digitised form, and as physical manuscript has facilitated the two-fold approach at the core of this thesis: addressing both registers as material compositions and registration as a process.

This is a thesis of two parts: Part One – the first two chapters – examines the registers individually, as material and documentary compositions, in order to reveal the people and processes that created them. Its approach aims to challenge the teleological model of registration, drawing out the registration activities and ideas that shaped the two registers, rather than assuming administrative efficiency was the driving force. It also allows us to examine the relationship between each archbishop, their administrators, and their register, revealing the ways in which the registers were the products of two different archbishops and their administrations.

Chapter One interrogates Wickwane's register through close examination of the manuscript. It survives as two copies now bound together and the chapter analyses changes between and within these copies to reflect on how approaches to registers and registration changed even during Wickwane's short archiepiscopate. Initially, the first chapter was going to consider Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers together, but the need for more concentrated analysis of each register became apparent when examination of the manuscript of Wickwane's register challenged the existing picture and revealed the complexity of the register itself. A material approach draws on aspects of the register's structure, *mise-en-page*, and inserted material to make a case for reframing Wickwane's register as the product of a series of registration initiatives, not simply a working register and neat version, but the dynamic working out of registration itself. In recasting the register as such, the chapter engages with the questions of who and what were influencing these initiatives, and what the choices of registration reveal about the register's potential uses. This humanises changing registration practices under Wickwane and sees them as evidence of learning, rather than simply steps in the increasing efficiency of registration.

Chapter Two offers a close study of Romeyn's register in order to lay bare the registration activities behind it. It draws on the ideas of learning and initiative developed in Chapter One to rethink how registration changed under a new archbishop. As set out above, changes between Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers have typically been seen as evidence of advancement, but this chapter shows that they stemmed from different approaches to archiepiscopacy and a changed administration, as much as ideas of administrative efficiency. It argues that this was a key moment not merely in the formatting of a register, but in the conceptualisation of registration as a process revealed through the inclusion of explicit references to registers and registration. The novelty, and thus the significance, of this has not yet been considered, despite frequent mention of Romeyn's register as an advance. The chapter argues that the development of registration was conceptual, rather than merely bureaucratic or mechanistic.

Part Two (the third and fourth chapters) shifts the focus to the use of registers in the practice of archiepiscopacy. It examines how Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were used in two aspects of York archiepiscopacy: disputes and the *cura animarum*.

These have been chosen as two of the most substantial aspects of archiepiscopacy during this period for both contemporaries and historians, and two heavily represented in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. These studies facilitate, and indeed require, closer examination of the register material itself, in order to consider how the activity of writing performed archiepiscopacy and how entry into the register gave material new purpose. This challenges our understanding of the functions of registration – laying bare how long-term and short-term uses interacted – and makes a case that learning in registration was driven by events and ideas, not just a desire for efficiency. In doing so, it develops the distinctly personal character of archiepiscopacy under Wickwane and Romeyn introduced in Part One and situates their registers within their approaches.

Chapter Three focuses on Wickwane's and Romeyn's disputes, most notably with Durham and Canterbury, and also with the York chapter. Disputes were a main theme of Brentano's study of Wickwane and Romeyn.[81] However, this chapter uses the disputes as a way of understanding the registers, rather than using the registers to understand the disputes. It asks what disputes reveal about the use of registers to construct archiepiscopacy and to support archiepiscopal authority. To do so, it uses close analysis of the registered material and examination of how it was repurposed in the register. It takes particular inspiration from scholarship of the archival turn, considering the effects of preserving material both for the present and for the future. In doing so, it argues for a greater sense of self-consciousness in the use of registers to record archiepiscopal practice than has been recognised thus far.

Chapter Four turns to the main duty of the archbishop – overseeing the *cura animarum* – and asks how the registers were deployed to support it. It asks what the examination of pastoral care reveals about Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers and the registration activities behind them. This interrogates the idea that a register was a working record that gave the archbishop the information needed to administer the archdiocese's spiritual needs. It takes three aspects of the *cura animarum* (clerical standards, visitations, and penalties) as vehicles for examining how registers were used for routine administration. It asks what exactly was recorded and to what extent this

[81] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*.

allowed the archbishop to monitor the spiritual condition of his archdiocese. It argues that while the registers reflect Wickwane's and Romeyn's concern for pastoral care, the use of the registers to monitor its provision fluctuated throughout the period, and other records were more useful for holding clerics to account. In particular, it addresses the interaction between authority and accountability in choices of what to register, and how these differed across Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers.

Overall, this thesis challenges the current picture of the development of registration in late thirteenth-century York and gives new significance to this period as one not only in which the mechanics of registration developed but the very idea of registers took shape. It reframes the changes seen between (and within) Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers as the results of human choices and learning. The registers recorded archiepiscopacy in action. It asks how and why in order to shed light on contemporary understandings of record and archiving and how these shaped archiepiscopal administration. In doing so, it situates these practices within changing approaches to archiepiscopacy and broadens our understandings of registers from working records to instruments – agents – for the construction of archiepiscopacy in a form that would be preserved long beyond the end of the archiepiscopate.

Part One

Chapter One: The Registers of William Wickwane

Introduction

Wickwane's register was the third archiepiscopal register to be kept in York. The first was that of Walter de Gray (1215-55), which was in the form of rolls and likely shaped by his experience as a royal chancellor. The second was kept by Wickwane's immediate predecessor, Walter Giffard (1266-79), who had brought part of his register from Bath and Wells.[1] In contrast, Wickwane had been chancellor of York Minster for over a decade prior to his election to the see. His register was produced by an administration that included Giffard's administrators, as well as others in the York chapter, under an archbishop intimately connected with the archdiocese. How this shaped the register remains overlooked. This chapter interrogates Wickwane's register for the first time in order to establish how and why it was kept, and how this changed.

The chapter examines Wickwane's register on its own terms, asking how registration was deployed under Wickwane and how it produced this register. Scholars have predominantly considered Wickwane's register in relation to its predecessor or successor. Both Hamilton Thompson and Smith saw Wickwane's register as 'an advance' on Giffard's due to its sectional divides and increased number of entries, though considered it less refined than Romeyn's thanks to fluctuations in those sections.[2] Hamilton Thompson described the 'not wholly consistent' attempt to arrange material into archdeaconries under Giffard, Wickwane's adoption of a 'method of classification that became habitual', and the transformation of 'the too minute classification [under Wickwane]… into a workable form' under Romeyn.[3] This focus on the structure of the register has meant little consideration has been given to the processes of registration that produced it. While Hoskin has challenged the idea that

[1] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*, 107–108; Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, viii.
[2] Hamilton Thompson, "The Registers of the Archbishops of York," 248; Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 234–35.
[3] Hamilton Thompson, "The Registers of the Archbishops of York," 247-249.

thirteenth-century episcopal chanceries were on a 'trajectory of increased efficiency', the question of how registers themselves were being developed remains open.[4] This chapter reframes registration not merely as a single endeavour to produce a register but as a series of activities that shaped the register over the course of Wickwane's archiepiscopate.

Wickwane's register is unique in that it survives in two versions, now bound together. While *sede vacante* registers were sometimes copied – the dean and chapter kept a working register during an episcopal vacancy and in some cases a neat copy was made for the incoming bishop – this was not the case with typical episcopal registers.[5] It has been assumed that Wickwane's two versions were likewise a working record and a neat copy and the relationship between the two versions has never been the subject of any in-depth study. Smith suggested that one (fols. 1-96) was copied from the other (fols. 97-200), towards or even at the end of Wickwane's archiepiscopate, noting that the blank folios between sections in the 'working register' did not occur in the copy.[6] In his edition of Wickwane's register, Brown was dismissive of any differences between the two versions, describing them as 'unimportant'.[7] Yet closer inspection of the manuscript reveals changes not only between the two copies but within them, indicating that registration was in flux during Wickwane's short archiepiscopate.

This chapter interrogates the two versions of Wickwane's register to reflect on changing approaches to registers and registration under Wickwane. Rather than framing Wickwane's register as a step in a trajectory of improving registers, it argues that the register was the product of a series of registration initiatives. These initiatives were not simply about increasing efficiency but stemmed from changing understandings of the potential of a register. This challenges the current 'working record' and 'neat copy' model of Wickwane's register and gives new significance to Wickwane's archiepiscopate in the development – or learning – of registration.

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[4] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries"; Hoskin, "Authors of Bureaucracy".
[5] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, x.
[6] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 235. The versions were once foliated separately but the foliation is now continuous.
[7] Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, i.

The chapter takes inspiration from two particular approaches. The first is a material approach: using the physical characteristics of Wickwane's register to reveal the registration activities behind it. While close studies of literary manuscripts have tended to outnumber those of administrative records, a point noted by Prescott, this approach has been applied to other episcopal records, if not yet registers.[8] Abigail Armstrong used a material approach to examine the bishopric of Durham's financial accounts from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries to explore record-making processes and their use for administration.[9] Similarly, in her study of the court book of Mende (created in the 1260s), Bulman drew on the book's physical characteristics to reveal the circumstances of its creation. In doing so, she recognised the scribes' experimentation, arguing that 'in the court book, we see the episcopal scribes working through formidable problems associated with the regularization and preservation of court documents'.[10] Their work has emphasised the scribal choices behind documents and records, as well as the relationship between form and use. As Prescott argued, extending material approaches from literary manuscripts to administrative records reveals the 'innovations' and 'achievement' of medieval scribes.[11] This chapter draws upon these methodologies, examining Wickwane's register as a material composition in order to lay bare the registration activities behind it.

The second approach underpinning this chapter (and the thesis more widely) is that of the 'social church'. The role of scribes in episcopal registration has long been recognised, notably in Cheney's study of episcopal chanceries and, more recently, by Hoskin.[12] But, as Forrest showed in his study of the official of Stow's archive, considering scribal activity through a 'social church' lens can reveal the people and relationships behind bureaucratic 'machinery'.[13] Burger also emphasised relationships, revealing how affection and devotion – indeed, friendship – between bishop and

[8] Andrew Prescott, "Administrative Records and the Scribal Achievement of Medieval England," in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700, v.17: English Manuscripts before 1400*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards and Orietta Da Rold (London: The British Library, 2012), 173–99.
[9] Armstrong, *The Materiality of Medieval Administration in Northern England*.
[10] Bulman, *The Court Book of Mende*, 43–52, quotation from p.47.
[11] Prescott, "Administrative Records."
[12] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*; Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries"; Hoskin, "Authors of Bureaucracy."
[13] Forrest, "The Archive of the Official of Stow"; Forrest, *Trustworthy Men*.

administrator were key to diocesan administration.[14] This chapter's close study of Wickwane's register reveals many of the relationships at the core of his approach to archiepiscopacy. By considering the register as a material composition, alongside the people of Wickwane's administration, this chapter aims to humanise the development of registration: registration was about human endeavour, as much as any abstract idea of 'efficiency'.

This chapter explores Wickwane's register, registration, and administrators in order to establish how it was kept and how this changed over the course of his archiepiscopate. The first section examines the register versions, looking at their arrangement so as to distinguish a series of registration initiatives and outline their chronology. The second section builds on this to examine further the particular characteristics of these initiatives and what they reveal about the ways in which Wickwane's register was created and understood. The third section turns to Wickwane's administrators, asking who may have influenced the keeping of his register, and what can be established about the administrative context in which it was produced. In doing so, it situates the development of registration in a period of administrative learning under an archbishop whose administration was less about machinery and office and more about relationship and activity.

I. The Two Versions of Wickwane's Register

Turning first to the material composition of Wickwane's register, it is helpful to set out its current condition. The current binding – comprising the two versions in a single codex – stems from 1902.[15] This gave the manuscript a brown leather cover, although its contemporary limp parchment case was bound with it. The codex has one hundred and sixty-eight folios (plus insertions), each measuring approximately twenty-nine centimetres in length and nineteen to twenty centimetres in width. There is some variation due to unevenly cut folios, particularly in the first half of the register. Thirty-two

[14] Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*.
[15] Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, i; James Raine, *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers* (London: Longman & Co., 1873). The most recent foliation was likely done in conjunction with this rebinding as Raine used earlier folio numbers in his references to Wickwane's register.

pieces of parchment have also been inserted, which vary in size. As the 1902 foliation included these insertions, the folio numbers now run from 1 to 200 (the foliation cited in this thesis).

The two versions of the register had been bound together prior to 1902; the exact date remains unclear, but both have been foliated several times, which gives some clue. While these foliations all post-date Wickwane's archiepiscopate, two sets of early modern (most likely sixteenth to seventeenth century) foliations indicate a change from the versions being considered two separate entities to being bound together. One foliation runs through the original register (now folios 97-200), numbering it 1-87 (including the insertions but omitting blank folios). The other foliation from this period runs through both versions together while a note was added at the bottom of folio 1r, 'see this folio description fol. 58 etc' (most likely from the seventeenth century), referring to the corresponding folio in the original register.[16] The two versions must have been bound at some point between these two sets of foliations, likely in the sixteenth or seventeenth century.

Our current model for understanding the two versions of Wickwane's register, as posited by Smith, is that a working register was kept throughout Wickwane's archiepiscopate, and a copy made towards the end, or possibly after his death.[17] Although the later version was copied from the original, the two are not identical. In order to avoid reinforcing the idea that they were duplicates, I refer to the two versions as an 'original register' (fols. 97-200) and a 'later version' (fols. 1-96). Examining these versions allows us to delineate a series of registration activities throughout Wickwane's archiepiscopate. In doing so, this section sets out to challenge two key assumptions about Wickwane's register: the first, that differences between the two versions are negligible; the second, that Wickwane's register brought 'an advance' on Giffard's.[18]

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[16] Wickwane MS, fol. 1r: 'vide hec folio descripta fol. 58 &c'; fol. 58 is now fol. 97.
[17] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 234–35. The only other potential example of a copied register from this period is the register of Simon of Ghent, bishop of Salisbury (1297-1315), but the evidence for this is limited as only a small number of copied folios are extant and the argument for a working copy and fair copy made by the editors is based on the absence of quires from a numbered sequence: M. C. B. Dawes and C. T. Flower, eds., *Registrum Simonis de Gandavo Diocesis Saresbiriensis A.D. 1297-1315* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934), lv.
[18] Hamilton Thompson, "The Registers of the Archbishops of York," 248.

As one of the most commented-on features of Wickwane's register, sectional divides offer an ideal starting point for comparing the two register versions. Sectional divides were used from the start of registration under Wickwane; there were notably more sections, and they were followed more consistently, than the loose attempts to divide entries into archdeaconries in Giffard's register. On the surface, the sections are largely the same across the two versions of Wickwane's register. Both versions have sections for the cathedral chapters (York, Southwell, Beverley, and Ripon), archdeaconries, and other jurisdictions of the archdiocese, as well as certain types of business or material; wider provincial material is included on occasion, such as for the visitation of Durham. Across both, most items were entered in chronological order within the sections. Some chronological subdivisions were used, although these were more variable and warrant closer examination. For ease of comparison, I have set these out in table 1 (below).

It is helpful to note that during an episcopate a register existed as a collection of loose quires, which was only bound together at the end of the episcopate.[19] The tightness of the current binding makes it difficult to ascertain each quire with confidence, but it is clear that neither version has sections that perfectly correspond to its quires and in many cases quires are irregular.[20] In the original register, there are frequently blank pages between sections, suggesting that a number of folios had been allocated for each section, but these do not typically constitute whole quires for each section.[21] In the later version, sections run on one from another: when one section ended on the *recto* of a folio, a new section began on the *verso*.[22] While this has been taken to show that one was copied from the other, with sections copied in sequence rather than onto pre-arranged folios for each section, neither arrangement is self-evident and closer examination of each reveals distinct choices in the register's production. I will set these out below.

[19] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, x.
[20] Comparison with Giffard's register, which has been disbound and mapped by Catherine Firth at the Borthwick Institute for Archives, who kindly showed me the diagrams she created, indicates that the quires of York's thirteenth-century registers were frequently irregular.
[21] Having sections within or crossing over quires limited the extent to which rearrangement of those sections could occur, although additional folios could be added to expand them.
[22] E.g. Wickwane MS, 'York Chapter' runs fols. 1r-3r; 'Southwell' 3v-4r; 'Beverley' 4v-5r.

Table 1: Sectional divides in Wickwane's Two Registers

Original Register		
Folio	**Section**	**Years**
97r	York Chapter	1
100r	Southwell Chapter	1
101v	Beverley Chapter	1
102v	Ripon Chapter	1
104r	York Archdeaconry	1
108r	Hextildesham jurisdiction	1
109r	Howden jurisdiction	1
110r	St. Oswald's Gloucester jurisdiction	
111r	Richmond Archdeaconry	1
113r	Cleveland Archdeaconry	1
117r	East Riding Archdeaconry	1
120r	Nottingham Archdeaconry	1
122v	Obedience of the dean of Lincoln	1
123r	*Extrinseca*	1
126r	*Intrinseca*	1
130r	York Officiality	1
133r	Carlisle Officiality *sede vacante*	1
134r	Corrections of the cloister in the archdeaconry of York	
136v	Nottingham Corrections	
138r	Richmond Corrections	
139r	Provincial visitation in Durham diocese	
145r	Durham Officiality *sede vacante*	
146r	Letters to the pope	
154r	York Chapter	2
155r		3/4/5
157r	Beverley Chapter	2
157v		3
158r	*Prepositura*	2/3/4
158v	Southwell Chapter	2
159v	Jurisdiction of the archbishop at Southwell and Laneham	2
160r	Chapter of Ripon and Otley	2/3/4
162r		2

Later Version		
Folio	**Section**	**Years**
1r	York Chapter	1
2r		2
3r		3
3v	Southwell Chapter	1
4r		2
4v	Beverley Chapter	1
5r		2/3
5v	Ripon Chapter	1
6r	Ripon and Otley Chapter	2/3
6v	York Archdeaconry	1
9r		2
10r		3
11r	Richmond Archdeaconry; Cleveland Archdeaconry	1
13r	Nottingham Archdeaconry	1
15r		2
16r		3
16v		4
17r	East Riding Archdeaconry	1
19r		2
20r		3
20v	Richmond Archdeaconry	2
21v	Cleveland Archdeaconry	2
24r		3
24v	Corrections in the Archdeaconry of York	
26r	Corrections in the Archdeaconry of Nottingham	
35r	Corrections in the Archdeaconry of Richmond	
35v	Provincial visitation in the diocese of Durham	
38v	Letters to the Pope	
47v	York Officiality	1
48r		2
48v		3
49r	Officiality of Carlisle	4

162v	Jurisdiction of St. Oswald's Gloucester	3
164v	Jurisdiction of Howden	2
166r	Jurisdiction of Hextildesham	2/4
168r	York Officiality	2
168v		3
169r		4
169v		5
170r	York Archdeaconry	2
171r		3
172r		4/5
174r	East Riding Archdeaconry	2
175v		3
176r		4
176v	Licences to Study	
177v		3
178r	Nottingham Archdeaconry	2
179r		3
181r		4/5
181v	Licences to Study	
182r	Cleveland Archdeaconry	2
182v		3
184v	Richmond Archdeaconry	2
187r	York Officiality (blank)	
188r	*Intrinseca*	2
191r	Obligations	2
191v	*Liberationes*	2
192r	*Extrinseca*	2
195r	*Intrinseca*	3
196r	*Liberationes*	3
197r		4/5
198r	Obligations	3
199r	*Extrinseca*	3

49v	Vacancy of the officiality of Durham	
50r	Jurisdiction of Hextildesham	1-4
50v	Jurisdiction of Howden	1
51r	Jurisdiction of St. Oswald's Gloucester	1
51v		2/3
51v	Jurisdiction of the archbishop at Laneham and Southwell	2/3
56r	*Prepositura*	2
	Extrinseca	1
57r		2
59r		3
59v	*Intrinseca*	1
67v		2
70r		3
72	Insertion	
73r	Blank Folios	
78r	Untitled section (varied material)	
91	Insertions	

Firstly, examining the sections – particularly the chronological subdivisions – within Wickwane's original register reveals two different arrangements, and therefore a change in registration practices within this register. In the first half of the original register (fols. 97-153), the sections for the first archiepiscopal year (1279-80) follow consecutively: first for the chapters of York, Southwell, Beverley, and Ripon (97r to 103v); then for the archdeaconries and other jurisdictions (104r to 122v); folios 123r-133v contain first-year sections for categories of material, such as *Intrinseca* and *Extrinseca*. Although these are not specifically titled as 'year one', the material is dated from the first year of Wickwane's archiepiscopate. Folios 134r-153v contain sections relating to particular activities, including corrections from visitations, the provincial visitation of Durham, and the vacancy of Durham. These were not designated as a specific year and include some material from later in Wickwane's archiepiscopate. Taken together, folios 97r-133v form a cohesive compilation of first-year material, which is followed by a series of sections created for specific activities (134r-153v).

Secondly, from folio 154r to the end (200v), a new arrangement was used. Sections include annual subdivisions with consecutive years (two to five) following one-after-another, indicated by annual subtitles. This arrangement occurs consistently in sections for archdeaconries, chapters, and the 'Officiality', although the *Extrinseca*, *Intrinseca*, and *Liberationes* sections break the pattern. Despite these few exceptions, a clear change of structure occurred from Wickwane's first year to years two to five. Thus, we can identify two distinct registration initiatives – a first-year register and a compound register for years two to five. This reveals a more changeable picture of registration under Wickwane than has been assumed. Rather than the use of sectional divides in Wickwane's register being a single advance, choices about arrangement and structure continued to be made as part of a dynamic registration process.

In addition, we can identify two deliberate decisions in the production of this compound register for years two to five. First, a choice was made to create a new register for Wickwane's second year. The sections that comprise folios 97r-153v were not specifically entitled 'year one'. Had the scribe or registrar wanted to integrate subsequent years into these existing first-year sections, they could have used the numerous blank folios found between sections (fig. 1). For example, the first-year

entries for the 'York Chapter' section end on folio 98v, with 99r and 99v left blank. Faint lines on 99r indicate that some folios were pricked and ruled in preparation for writing. This pattern then occurs throughout the original register with folios being left partly or wholly blank, several of which were pricked and lined. Moreover, unbound registers meant that additional folios or even quires could have been incorporated to expand existing sections. The choice to start afresh did not stem simply from running out of room.

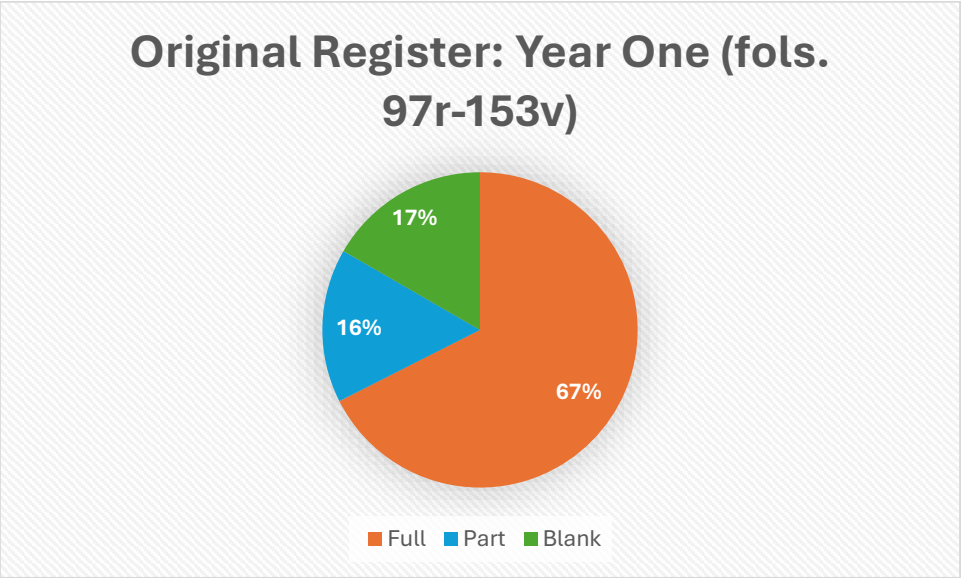

Figure 1: Use of folios in Wickwane's original register, year 1[23]

In fact, later material was included in the sections on folios 133r-153v. 'Corrections of the cloisters in the archdeaconry of York' contains both first- and second-year material and the 'Papal Letters' section has material up to and including Wickwane's fourth year.[24] Moreover, due to the dates of the events, the sections for the Durham visitation and vacancy must have been later additions. The creation of a second-year register including most, but not all, of the register sections kept so far was therefore a deliberate choice about how a register should be structured and used.

[23] For both pie charts, full indicates at least ¾ writing space is filled; part is less than ¾ full; and blank indicates no writing but may be lined.
[24] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 432, 494; Wickwane MS, fols. 135v, 152v.

A second decision was made to use this second-year register for subsequent years. This may have stemmed from two particular registration patterns: increased empty folios and a reduction in entries. Despite fewer folios being allocated for years two to five (154r-200v) – forty-six folios (and one insertion) – in comparison to the fifty-three folios (and one insertion) for year one alone (97r-153v), a reduction in entries meant that proportionally more folios were left blank or partly blank than in year one (fig. 2).[25] Indeed, the number of entries per year continued to decrease year-on-year. It is plausible that the intention had been to have a new register for each year, but that reducing entries meant more folios remained unfilled and so the scribes decided to use the same sections instead.

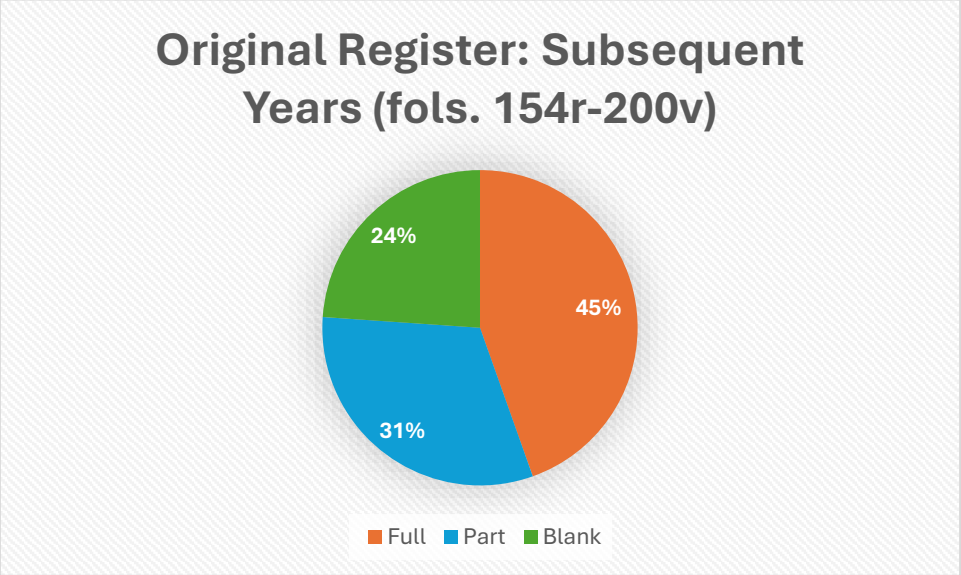

Figure 2: Use of folios in Wickwane's original register, years 2-5

Even after the decision to have subsequent years following one after another in each register section, scribes took different approaches in implementing this. In some places the next year starts on the next folio, in others it follows immediately below. For example, in the 'York Chapter' section, the second year ends mid-page (fol. 154v), and the third year begins on the next folio. In contrast, the fourth and fifth years were added

[25] Bulman found evidence of a similar pattern with scribes estimating how much space a case would require, which led to gaps in the court book: Bulman, *The Court Book of Mende*, 45.

immediately below the third on the same folio (fig. 3). It appears that the scribes made a judgement according to the number of entries or, perhaps, anticipated entries. The final page for the second-year 'York Chapter' entries (fol. 154v) is around two-thirds full. For the 'Chapter of Ripon and Otley', the second, third, and fourth archiepiscopal years are all on folio 160r but collectively only fill half the page (fig. 4). The choice to continue on the same page appears to have occurred in response to how full the page was, rather than a specific decision for years three, four, or five.

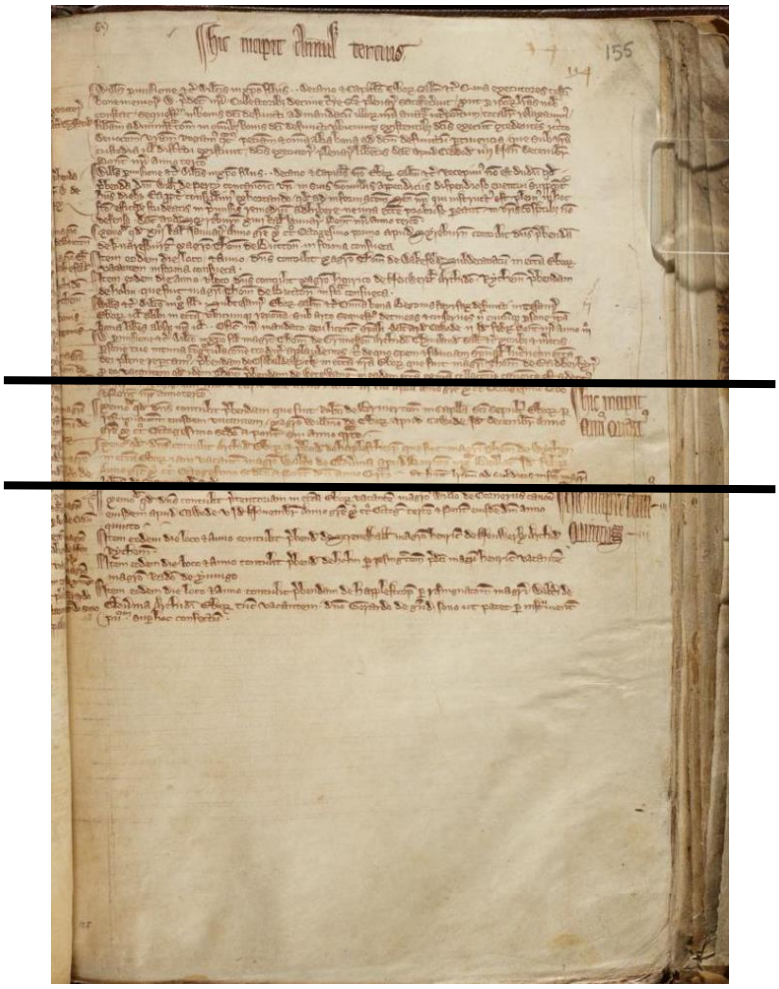

Figure 3: Wickwane MS, fol.155r, 'York Chapter' years 3-5

Figure 4: Wickwane MS, fol. 160r, 'Chapter of Ripon and Otley', years 2-4

In some places, the heading for a new year was added but no entries made for that year indicating that the creation of annual subdivisions and the writing of yearly headings pre-empted the entry of material. This occurs for years three and four for *Prepositura* (fol. 158r), year five for 'Howden' (fol. 164v), year four for 'Richmond' (fol. 186r), and an undated year for 'York Officiality' (fol. 187r). By *Prepositura* year three, an 'n' for 'nichil' has been added. The headings will be examined in more detail in the next section but here it is helpful to recognise that this pre-emptive writing of headings suggests that scribes were proactively deciding where material should go.

Structuring Wickwane's register was an ongoing activity. The creation and use of sections was not a one-time 'advance' in the register's structure but the result of ongoing trialling. The attempts of Wickwane's scribes to develop their system can be framed around two separate initiatives: the creation of a register in year one (1A), and

another in year two (1B), which was amended for use in subsequent years by the addition of yearly subheadings.

That Wickwane's scribes learnt from their trials and implemented what they had learnt is evident in the later version of his register. As table 1 above shows, archiepiscopal years follow consecutively within each section (except when a section was only kept briefly). There are very few blank pages in this version, with the exception of one run of blank folios (73r-77v) at the end of the formal structure. New sections tend to begin on the next page and annual subdivisions usually follow on the same folio after a small gap, building on the practice of 1B. This version was the result of a conscious effort to combine the first-year sections with those for subsequent years, in effect a refashioned copy (2A).

The scribes who created this later version were evidently continuing to think about how a register should be structured. But why? When was this version created? What was its intended use? Smith suggested that it was created around the end of Wickwane's archiepiscopate or even after his death; he described it as 'never completed' on the grounds that there was missing material.[26] However, examining the revised arrangement of this version more closely reveals a deliberate decision to omit, rather than an abandoned copy. This later version contains no fifth-year sections and blank folios were not left to allow for its ongoing use. It was likely intended for reference rather than to facilitate further registration. In some instances, the first-year entries for one section follow immediately from the fourth year of the previous section, as Smith noted.[27] For example, on folio 49r the 'Officiality of Carlisle' section begins immediately below the material for the fourth year of 'York Officiality'. In the original register, 'York Officiality' has a fifth-year subsection (albeit with only one entry); either this was deliberately omitted from the later version, or the later version was produced prior to the fifth-year entries being made in the original register, likely around the end of 1283 or early 1284.

[26] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 235.
[27] Ibid., 235; note the Howden example Smith gives is on fol. 50v not 36v.

The creation of this refashioned copy (2A) at a particular moment in Wickwane's later years sits in contrast to a notable reduction in register entries in the original register during this period. Fourth- and fifth-year sections in the original are short, with only a few entries. Therefore, the creation of this later version coincided with a reduction in the frequency of entries in the original register. This makes the decision to create a new version more surprising: the lack of consistent registration in the existing register is at odds with the effort of copying it.

The most likely explanation for this phenomenon is that the refashioned copy (2A) was created in preparation for Wickwane's upcoming trip to Rome. By May 1284, he was preparing to make his case before the pope regarding his visitation rights in Durham.[28] If 2A was created around the end of 1283 or the first half of 1284, as suggested above, it would have allowed Wickwane to take one version with him and to leave one in York with those administering the archdiocese in his absence, likely an *officialis* or the York chapter.[29] In a sense, this anticipates the later copying of *sede vacante* registers to give one to the incoming archbishop, while the other was kept by the cathedral chapter.[30] *Sede vacante* registers are distinct from registers kept under a bishop because they were produced by the chapter rather than bishop's chancery, but here offer an example of two versions of a register being kept in separate places, potentially for different audiences. It may well have been prudent for one copy to accompany Wickwane to Rome and another to be given to those administering the archdiocese in his absence. While the movement of Wickwane's chancery remains opaque, his chancellor, Robert of Sleaford, did accompany him to Rome, making it likely that a contingent of the chancery was with him, who expected to make use of the register.[31] This gives a sense of the register as a useful record after its initial creation;

[28] Brown noted that Wickwane had wanted to travel to Rome as early as winter 1282 but business prevented him until 1284: Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, xviii–xix. See *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 922.
[29] Wickwane's register does not refer to a vicar-general, unlike Romeyn's.
[30] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 232–33. Two extant copies remain for the 1315-17 *sede vacante* register, and then occasionally from 1397. As Smith notes, it is difficult to establish clearly which of the versions was kept by whom, but an indication may be gained from the 1480 *sede vacante* register, as its neater version is marked 'pro cancellario [for the sake of the chancellor]'.
[31] Sleaford will be considered below, p. 74.

despite being kept inconsistently in later years, what had been recorded was nonetheless considered worthwhile for reference.

The refashioned copy (2A) does not comprise the entire later register as it exists today: a final untitled section (2B) has since been appended to it, to which later insertions were also added. The main body of this section begins on folio 78r and runs to 90v (including one insertion, fol. 82, a mandate from the king). It is preceded by a series of blank folios (73r-77v) and followed by several inserted parchments (now fols. 91-96). This untitled section does not correspond to the patterns of registration described thus far for this version: it has no annual subdivisions, and the material is not in chronological order. Folios 78r-87v appear to be the effort of just one or two scribes; 88r-90v show some variation, likely due to different scribes. Throughout this section entries follow continuously after one another, with few marginal notes and some amendments added.[32] Moreover, the entries do not appear in the original version. This raises the questions of what this section was for and when it was created.

As this untitled section is missing headings, and marginal notes are sparse, we need to turn to the material itself to understand what it was. It contains a broad range of documents, issued by the archbishop and his predecessors, as well as the king and the pope. It includes among other documents a letter from Pope Nicholas III to Wickwane detailing Wickwane's election process in September 1279, along with Nicholas' mandates to those who owed obedience to the new archbishop (no. 740), and a 1284 mandate from Wickwane to the dean of Christianity regarding wandering clerics (no. 741). The latest entries integrated in this section (with the exception of a clearly later addition) date from June and July 1284, giving us a *terminus post quem* for the section's creation around the time that Wickwane left for Rome (his exact departure date is uncertain).[33] Conversely, some material predates Wickwane's archiepiscopate. There is a 1256 dispensation from Pope Alexander IV allowing a canon of Salisbury to hold an extra ecclesiastical benefice, in addition to the one he already held in York (no. 760), and an indult from Innocent IV in 1252 allowing his nephew, John de Camesan, to hold

[32] There is a change of ink on fol. 85v but it appears to be the same hand – the 't' for <et> consistently uses an upwards line curling into the 't', 'in' typically has a faint diagonal stroke over the 'i', and where the text ends partway across a line squiggles are usually used to fill to the end of line.
[33] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 728, 732; Wickwane MS, fols. 81v, 83r.

other benefices, specifying one in the diocese of York (no. 739). Although varied in form and author, the material is all from the mid-thirteenth century onwards and the type of material that we might expect to find in the archbishop's archives.

Why it was compiled is less clear. An entry (no. 769) added later in a different hand at the bottom of folio 90v indicates a likely end to the timeframe for its creation, and thus some context. The entry, dated May 1286, is a grant by Wickwane's successor, Romeyn, of an annual pension to a king's clerk, Giles of the Wardrobe, to continue until he was provided to a benefice. It is a later intrusion into the register, written in a different hand and ink to the preceding entries and extends into the left-hand and bottom margins. While insertions will be considered in the next section of this chapter, it is helpful to note here that two insertions (nos. 933 and 935) made in this section also date from Romeyn's archiepiscopate, in April 1286.[34] These insertions, along with the added entry on folio 90v, reinforce the dating of this section, as the rest of this section was likely completed prior to this, either during Wickwane's lifetime or shortly afterwards. It was most likely produced after he had left for Rome for those administering the archdiocese in his absence or for the incoming archbishop.[35] Examining insertions more widely across the register versions (in the next section) will help to clarify how the versions and their constituent parts were used.

Reflecting on the structure of the two versions of Wickwane's register, it becomes evident that the mere fact of sectional divides is insufficient for understanding the development of registration. Looking instead to the changing relationship between chronological divides and the sections for the parts of the archdiocese and types of material across the registration initiatives suggests a dynamic approach to registration. Instead of simply an original (working) register and a copy, Wickwane's administrators were trialling and adapting the register. This is evident from the second archiepiscopal year onwards with successive archiepiscopal years being entered consecutively, although the decision to do this was likely made at the start of the third year rather than the second. This development was then used in the creation of a unified copy (2A). This

[34] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 933, 935. N.B. Brown collated inserted material separately, hence the break in number sequence of this section.
[35] Romeyn was consecrated at Rome in February 1286, reached Cawood in late May, and was enthroned on 9th June.

picture is further complicated by the final section (2B), made up of additional material that does not appear in the original register, extending the chronology of the register's use for entries beyond Wickwane.

In total, four distinct registration initiatives can be distinguished: the first year, when the original register was begun (1A), organised by jurisdictions or types of business (1279-80); a 'reboot' (1B) at the start of the second year (1280), gathering successive archiepiscopal years within a given section, a system that was messy but continued through to 1284 in some sections; a new version (2A) of the register copied around early 1284, with material from 1279 to 1283, to which a final section (2B) was added containing varied material related to York archdiocese, likely created after Wickwane left for Rome but before May 1286. Within each of these, changing registration activities were reflected in the register's material composition. The use of sections was not a straightforward step forwards in the advancement of registers but part of the learning of registration that occurred throughout Wickwane's archiepiscopate and potentially after his death.

II. Creation and Use

It was not only the sections that changed with the different registration initiatives behind Wickwane's register. Examination of their codicological features reveals changing ideas of how the register was intended to be used, how material was inserted, and the conditions in which it was produced. Not only does this further distinguish the initiatives, but it reveals more of the learning that occurred during Wickwane's archiepiscopate, particularly around how the architecture of the register could support its uses. Armstrong argued that 'studying the documents as artefacts in themselves can reveal much about the (intended and actual) use of written records'.[36] This section is particularly concerned with the register's 'intended' uses and how these shaped the different initiatives.

[36] Armstrong, *The Materiality of Medieval Administration in Northern England*, 30.

The first section of this chapter laid out the basic framework of the register. This section examines aspects of the register's materiality to consider how this framework was constructed and used: its appearance and the insertion of additional parchments. Where pertinent, it considers the material's content in order to reveal how registration was working. It asks to what extent the different initiatives reflected changing ideas of the register and changing conditions of its production.

Appearance

On first glance, the two versions of Wickwane's register and the initiatives within them appear very similar. Both were written in a late thirteenth-century form of *cursiva Anglicana* with minor changes in ink and scribal hand.[37] Although different scribes were writing, their hands appear remarkably similar, indicating a strong style to which they were expected to conform. The entries form a central body of text with margins on all four edges of the page, varying between approximately two and four centimetres, and the binding obscures part of the inner margin of each page. New items start on a new line and are typically marked with a pilcrow (¶). These conventions mean that, on the whole, the registers look similar in arrangement when placed side-by-side, especially in the earlier folios of each section. Nevertheless, more in-depth study of their physical appearance yields insights into the changes between and within the two versions. This is most evident in the space around the entries: the headings and the margins reveal changing conditions of production and intentions for the different initiatives.

In both versions, headings distinguish the start of a new section or archiepiscopal year. These typically appear to be in the same ink as the main body of text, and so were contemporary inclusions, but are stylised in different ways. The original register – both for the first year and years two to five – has more varied headings than the later version. For instance, those for the chapters of York, Southwell, Beverley, and Ripon are quite simple in year one, with slightly embellished capital letters (figs. 5 and 6). Small embellishments are found on others, such as on folio 104r ('York

[37] The inserted material and marginal notes are more varied in hand.

Archdeaconry') and folio 120r ('Nottingham Archdeaconry'). There are also more elaborate headings, including those for the 'Officiality of York' (fol. 130r, fig. 7) and the 'Officiality of Carlisle' (fol. 133r, fig. 8). These particular examples are very similar stylistically, using the same style of thick and thin strokes for the letters, and incorporating decoration at the left of the word, and a face in the capital 'O'. There is variation throughout the register, both in the headings at the top of the page and where marginal headings were used to indicate a new year.[38] For instance, on folio 158r, the heading at the top of the page, and those in the margin for the 'third' and 'fourth' years are all in different hands. Scribes operated within the parameters of an established style but were able to add elements of personalisation to the register.

Figure 5: Wickwane MS, fol. 97r, 'Chapter of York' heading, original register, year one

Figure 6: Wickwane MS, fol. 100r, 'Chapter of Southwell' heading, original register, year one

[38] See, for example, Wickwane MS, fols. 160r, 171r, 177v, 182v, 183r, 197r

Figure 7: Wickwane MS, fol. 130r, 'Officiality of York' decorative heading, original register, year one

Figure 8: Wickwane MS, fol. 133r, 'Officiality of Carlisle' decorative heading, original register, year one

The faces seen in some of the examples further emphasise the creativity of the scribes in the creation of the original register. More than fifteen drawings of heads are found in the original register, in the headings and margins. These are simple ink drawings that appear to be predominantly (if not exclusively) male. For example, on folios 141v and 142v, a shield has been drawn around a marginal comment, with a face added in it (fig. 9).[39] The bottom of the shield is used as the chin and jawline, with facial hair lightly sketched to give the appearance of a pointed beard.

[39] These particular examples are in the section dealing with the attempted visitation and subsequent excommunication of Durham; another face can be found on fol. 158r, but it is slightly obscured by the binding.

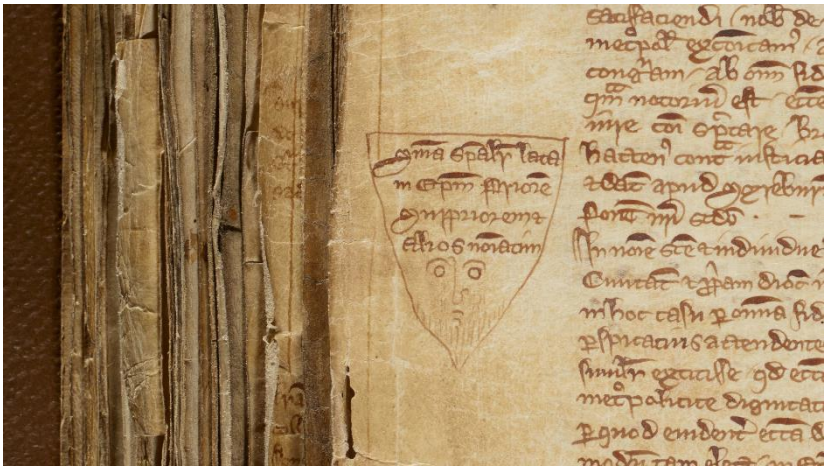

Figure 9: Wickwane MS, fol. 141v, marginal face

The faces in the headings take a similar form with simplistic eyes, noses, and mouths, and varying levels of facial hair.[40] They were usually drawn in the same ink as the headings themselves, suggesting they were done at the same time. Sometimes, they are integrated into the heading itself, such in the centre of the 'O' seen above (figs. 7 and 8), and sometimes next to it.[41] In both cases, they tend to accompany headings with flourishes and decoration.

As with the headings, slight differences between the heads suggest that multiple scribes drew them. In folios 162r (fig. 10), 168r (fig. 11) and 191v (fig. 12), the heads in headings are similar in style, all facing right, with prominent noses and circular chins with facial hair. Nevertheless, closer inspection reveals small distinctions: the dashed line from which the head is drawn on folio 168r does not appear on the other two, instead they are drawn directly from the letters. The hairs on the chin on folio 191v appear to have been drawn upwards as the lines are thicker at the bottom, whereas the other two use downward strokes, fading towards the bottom. While scribes may have experimented with their drawings, the most likely reason for these subtle changes is that separate scribes drew them but were responding to one another's efforts. The original register (at least) was a collaborative endeavour with a group of scribes – the

[40] See, for example, Wickwane MS, fols. 126r, 168r.
[41] Wickwane MS, fol. 126r.

archbishop's chancery – working in a shared (and even playful) manner. Moreover, that several of those scribes chose to draw what appear to be fairly rough doodles raises questions about the culture of the chancery and the expected audience of the register. It appears that the scribes were interacting with one another through the register – perhaps even as the primary audience of the register.

Figure 10: Wickwane MS, fol. 162r, heading and face

Figure 11: Wickwane MS, fol. 168r, heading and face

Figure 12: Wickwane MS, fol. 191v, heading and face

These types of ink sketches have tended to be overlooked in manuscript scholarship, but scribal doodles are found in various administrative records. Elizabeth Danbury and Kathleen Scott found that 'quickly rendered sketches', including profiles of human heads (often more elaborate and more political than those in Wickwane's register), became more frequent in the fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Common

Plea rolls.[42] Fewer such illustrations and decorations have been analysed for the period around Wickwane's archiepiscopate, although Harriett Webster examined the marginal ink drawings of heads in the slightly later (1307) canonisation dossier of Thomas Cantilupe.[43] She found that they were placed next to certain testimonies and seem to represent the testifying individual. She argued that the heads were added early on and perhaps by a single scribe, as most are on a single quire, and some have been partially obscured by red and blue paraphs that were added later. Such distinctions are not apparent in Wickwane's register, where drawings are spread throughout and not clearly linked with particular entries. In both cases though, the potential for scribal agency – a response to the text, or to the moment – is evident.

Carolyn Dean identified several reasons why scribes might doodle on official records.[44] She drew on notarial records in the *Archivo Regional* in Cuzco, Peru (1630-1810), to challenge E. H. Gombrich's argument that 'scribal ennui' and 'tedium' were responsible.[45] Dean used the term 'non-prescribed marking' to avoid the assumptions of value inherent in 'doodle' and argues the records offered a discursive space where scribes were not constrained by formulaic text.[46] Non-prescribed marking demonstrates the scribe's pen skill and draws attentions to these anonymous scribes. Although scribes were crucial to episcopal registration, they are rarely identified and their handwriting is very similar, at times indistinguishable. Moreover, the registers were designed to reflect the bishop or archbishop's (arch)episcopate. By including their drawings in the register, the scribes could disrupt an otherwise business-like record, offering a reminder of the individuals who were responsible for its creation, and allowing them to interact with one another and any other administrators who read the register.

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[42] Elizabeth A. Danbury and Kathleen L. Scott, "The Plea Rolls of the Court of Common Pleas: An Unused Source for the Art and History of Later Medieval England, 1422–1509," *The Antiquaries Journal* 95 (September 2015): 157–210.
[43] Harriett Webster, "Mediating Memory: Recalling and Recording the Miracles of St Thomas Cantilupe," *Journal of Medieval History* 41, no. 3 (2015): 297. E.g. BAV, MS Vat. Lat. 4015, fols. 44v, 45r, 45v, 46v.
[44] Carolyn Dean, "Beyond Prescription: Notarial Doodles and Other Marks," *Word & Image* 25, no. 3 (2009): 293.
[45] E. H. Gombrich, *The Uses of Images: Studies in the Social Function of Art and Visual Communication* (London: Phaidon, 1999), 212–25.
[46] Dean, "Beyond Prescription."

Thus, the original register appears to have functioned to some extent as an internal record for Wickwane's chancery.

The inclusion of these drawings also reflects the time and conditions in which the original register was produced, with opportunities for this kind of experimenting – or perhaps simply boredom – to occur, along with freedom for the scribes to add personal touches to the register. Moreover, it emphasises the role of collaboration in the creation of the register; while the register bore Wickwane's name, there was a team of individuals responsible for its production, who left their marks.

In contrast, headings in the later version are more uniform (with the exception of the untitled section (2B) where they are omitted). Sectional headings have small embellishments (similar to the simpler examples from the original shown in figs. 5 and 6 above) but are not as decorative as many in the original register. Marginal headings were frequently used for new years and new sections. The placement of sectional headings at the top of the page is largely limited to the first six folios (containing sections for the York, Southwell, Beverley, and Ripon chapters). After this, sectional headings shift to the margins, with only three exceptions.[47] The hand in which these headings are written is more consistent than in the original version of the register. They appear to be in the same style (regardless of placement) with a bolder, more decorative first letter and subsequent letters in a similar hand to the main entries. This consistency reinforces our picture that the refashioned copy (2A) of the later version was a single initiative, with a consistent style.

The first few folios of the original and the later version are most similar, but moving through each, the headings tend to become more decorative in the original, whereas in the copy they are more often marginal and less decorative. This gives the impression that there was a shared style for both registers, but the execution differed, so the later version is similar but does not replicate the original. The omission of drawings of heads also reinforces the more professionalised appearance of the later version. It suggests that the refashioned copy (2A) was a less experimental space than

[47] Wickwane MS, fols. 20v ('Richmond Archdeaconry'), 47v ('York Officiality'), 51v ('Jurisdiction of St. Oswald's Gloucester').

the original. This may be down to the conditions in which it was produced compared to the original register, with less time and thus less creativity, or about the intended audience of the register. If this so-called 'fair copy' was intended for a new audience – most likely to be passed on to the *officialis* or the York chapter in Wickwane's absence – it may have been that a more professional appearance was desired. This was a register that could be passed on for another's reference.

The copied part (2A) and the appended section (2B) of the later version also differed in appearance. The omission of headings from the appended section contributed to the section's distinct appearance and reflected the broad range of material in this part of the register. This material could not easily be classified nor divided into sections that would warrant headings. It is material without a clear form or unifying link. The lack of headings contributes to the denser appearance of this section: very few gaps are left in the main block of text on each page and small decorative dashes have been used as line fillers if the text stops partway across the page.[48] This distinct *mise-en-page* reinforces the idea of this as a separate (fourth) registration initiative, distinct from the refashioned copy. While the later register began as a more refined version of the register, this later addition was not made to fit with the refashioned copy.

Marginal notes and *manicules* also reveal how the register versions diverged at times in their creation and use. In both versions of Wickwane's register, some scribes added notes when entering material, some added notes later (evident when the hand and ink of a marginal note differs from that of the entry to which it refers), and some omitted marginal notes entirely. The majority of marginal notes give some indication of the content of an entry – the name of recipient, the church, or the type of material, such as like 'p(ro) W(illiam) de Clifford' or 'p(ro) penitentib(us) de Beuerlac(i)' – although the detail varies.[49] Most are either contemporary or were added shortly afterwards in thirteenth-century hands. Those in the original are often found in the copy, albeit with

[48] Wickwane MS, fol. 88v is the exception to this; fols. 80r, 81r, 87r, 87v.
[49] Wickwane MS, fols. 139v, 157v. One contemporary exception to this occurs on fol. 157v, a note that Henry of Gloucester was at Cawood, which appears unrelated to the nearby entries (the only other mention of Gloucester in the register is that he was presented to the church of Sutton by the prior and convent of Worksop, no. 264).

some minor amendments.[50] The appended section (2B) is again distinguished, having no contemporary marginal comments on folios 78r to 83r, although some appear intermittently on folios 83v to 87v, before being omitted again. Marginal notes were recognised as integral to the register from its beginning, but variations occurred in practice.

Both versions have later marginal comments, including in late fifteenth- or sixteenth-century hands. These often state the name of the church more clearly alongside entries of presentations and collations or the record of a visitation. For instance, in the original register, folio 105r records the visitation of Selby, with a contemporary note 'visitat(i)o comp(er)ta ad Seleby' in the left-hand margin, and a later marginal note – 'Silby (sic)' – on the right (fig.13).[51] Folio 175r adds 'Thweng' and 'Birstall' to the right-hand margin.[52] In 2A, similar marginal notes have been added, including over the water damage on the first two folios (1v and 2r).[53] Evidently, both versions of the register were used long after Wickwane's and Romeyn's archiepiscopates.

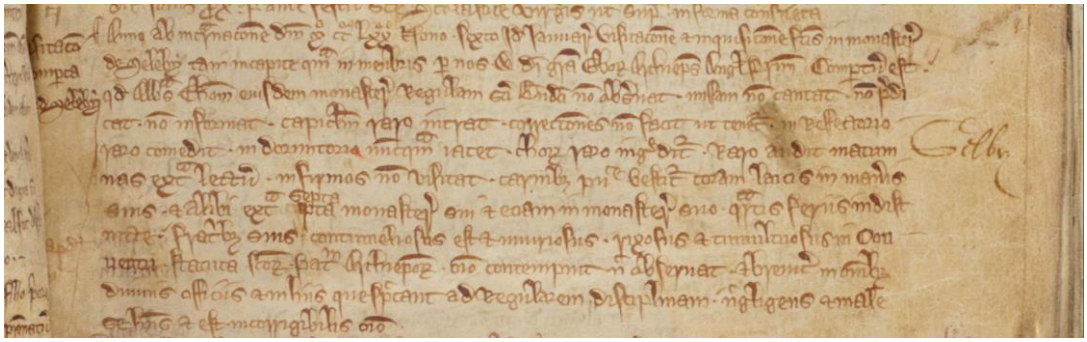

Figure 13: Wickwane MS, fol. 105r, original register, visitation of Selby

In contrast to the similar patterns of marginal comments, *manicules* were used less frequently in the later register than the original. In the original register, some pages

[50] See, for example, Wickwane MS, York archdeaconry, fols. 104r-v and 6v: marginal comments are largely the same with some words shortened.
[51] Wickwane MS, fol. 105r.
[52] Further examples can be found on fols. 179r, 181r, and 183r.
[53] See fols. 10v, 14v for examples of longer notes.

have a *manicule* for almost every entry. These are typically in a different ink from the main text, lightly sketched and now faded (fig. 14). In the later version – both the copy and the appended section – there are far fewer.[54] Where they do occur, they tend to draw attention to one specific entry on a page, such as identifying a correction (fig. 15) or linking one entry to another (fig. 16). It appears that while both versions were used after their creation, the original register was used more frequently (or perhaps less discerningly), whereas use of the later version was more deliberate. This would accord with the original register being used constantly by Wickwane's chancery, while the later version was not copied unthinkingly but reworked by scribes who were intending to pass it on.

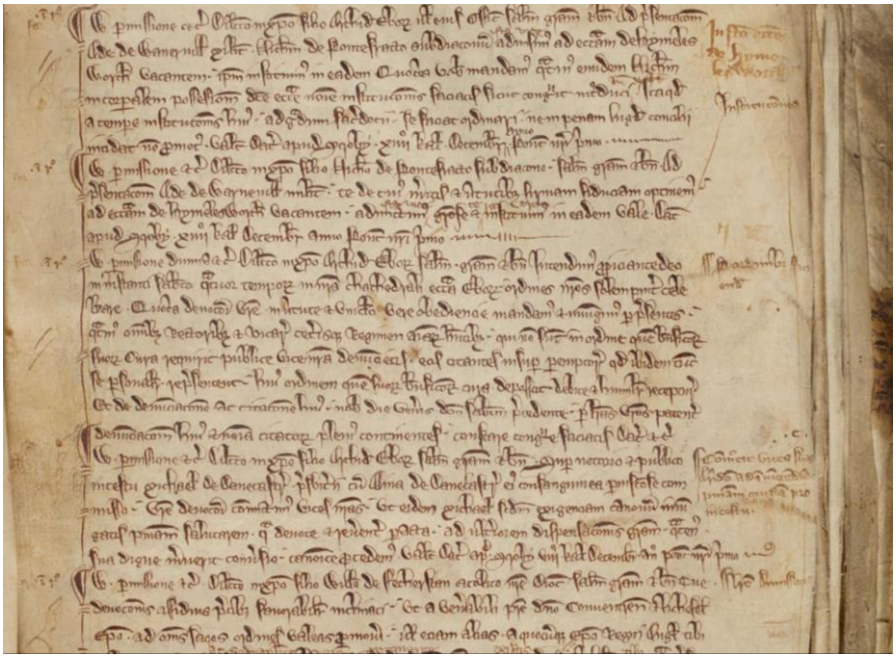

Figure 14: Wickwane MS, fol. 104r, original register, faint manicules on left

[54] Only one *manicule* is found in the appended section (fol. 80r).

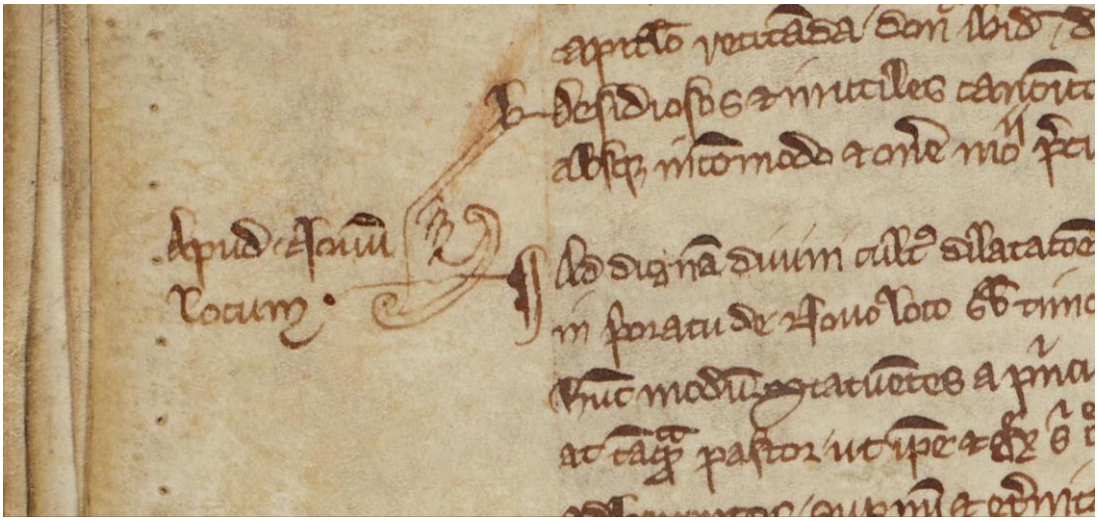

Figure 15: Wickwane MS, fol. 26v, later version, manicule indicating correction

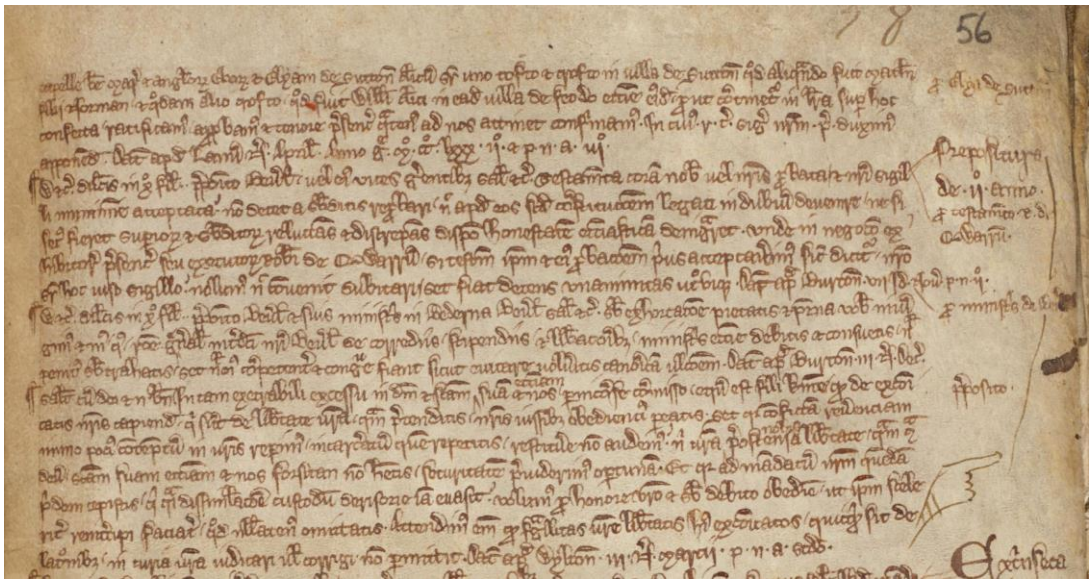

Figure 16: Wickwane MS, fol. 56r, later version, manicule linking entries

The margins reveal further the diverse ways in which material was used in both versions of the register. While notes typically indicate the content of an entry (aiding navigation), some specify that an entry was an example of form. Hoskin noted the use of Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers as formularies, commenting on a note identifying

arengae in Wickwane's register.[55] Explicit (albeit tentative) efforts to mark particular entries as a 'for(ma)' were made in slightly different forms across the two versions of his register. In the original register, under the 'Archdeaconry of York', 'for(ma)' has been added in the opposite margin to the other marginal notes for some entries, along with some *manicules* and an abbreviation likely to be 'i(n) r(esponsio)' (fig. 17). On the following folio, 'for(ma)' has been written just above the marginal notes (fig. 18). As the ink used for these differs from that of the entry itself, they must have been added after the entry itself, responding to the use of the register for examples of form.

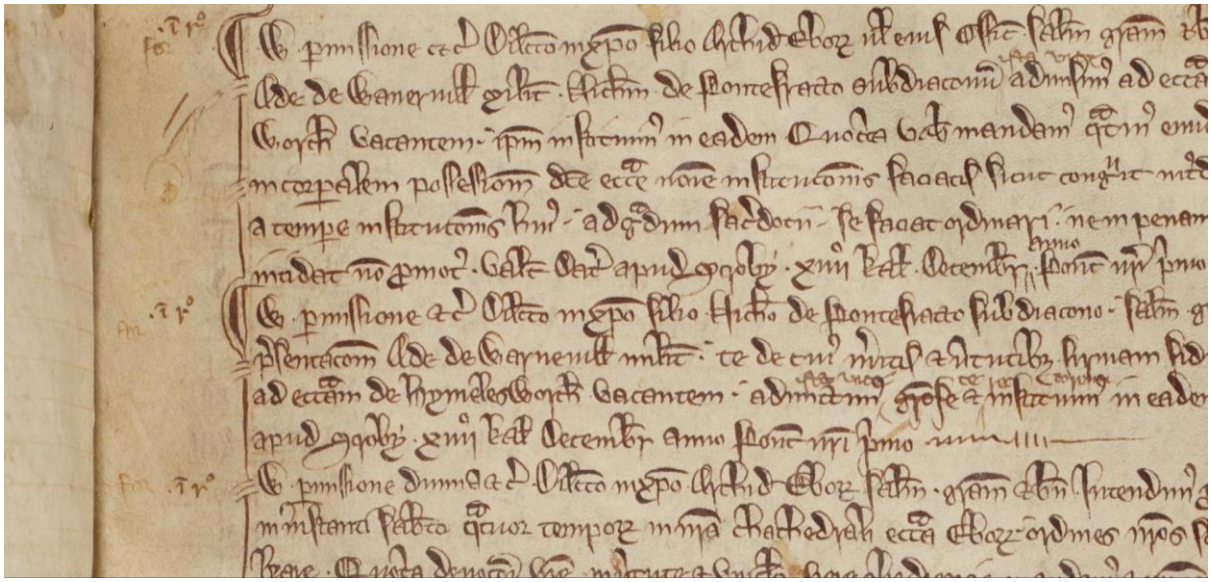

Figure 17: Wickwane MS, fol. 104r, for(ma) marginal notes

[55] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries," 39; Hamilton Thompson also saw the preservation of forms as one of the reasons for the keeping of registers: A. Hamilton Thompson, *The English Clergy and Their Organization in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947), 8. N.B. Hoskin's example was from the appended section of Wickwane's register (fol. 83v) but represents a wider pattern of noting forms. Reg. Wickwane, nos. 734-736 with additions in the margin. Marginal notes identify them as 'Haranga alia pro indulgencies' and 'Alia haranga ad idem'.

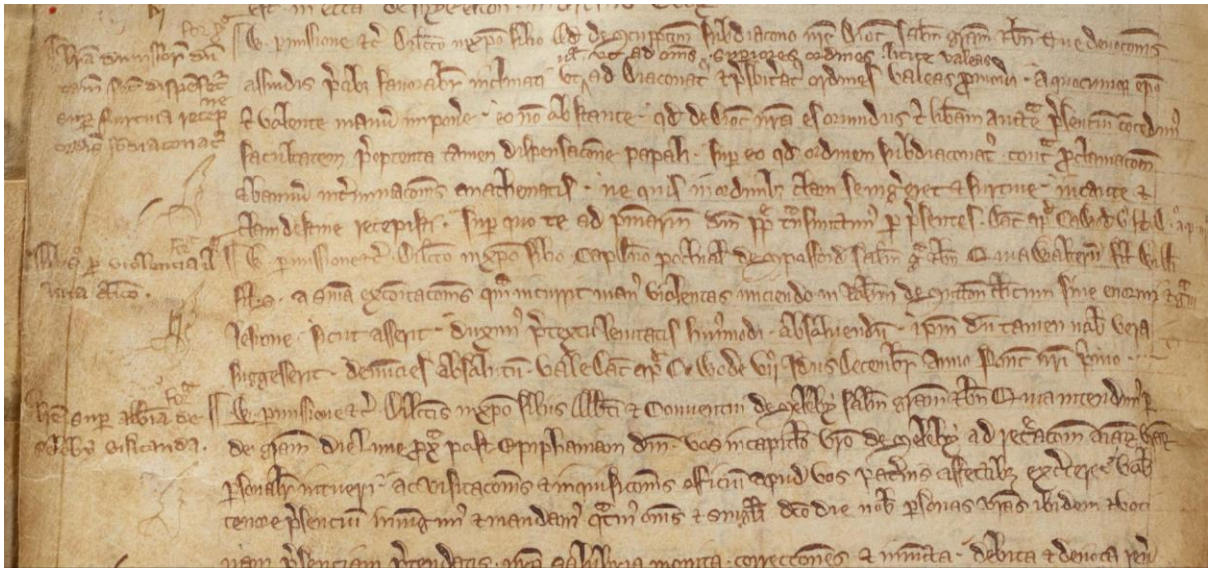

Figure 18: Wickwane MS, fol. 104v, for(ma) marginal notes

Both versions of Wickwane's register contain marginal notes identifying examples of form. Some of the 'for(ma)' labels examined above were copied alongside their corresponding entries in the later register. For example, on fol. 6v several marginal notes have 'for(ma)' written above them, seemingly copied from fol. 104v (fig. 19). The choice to include them must have been contemporaneous with the creation of this version as they are in the same hand and ink as both the entries and marginal notes on that folio. This also makes it likely that the notes identifying forms on 104v had been made prior to the creation of the later register version. In contrast, those on 104r – where 'for(ma)' was written in the opposite margin to the rest of the notes – were not copied. Either scribes deliberately omitted the notations from the later version, or these particular notations were only added to the original at a later date. In either case, scribes were continuing to think about and use the register for document forms as part of the wider use of registers under Wickwane.

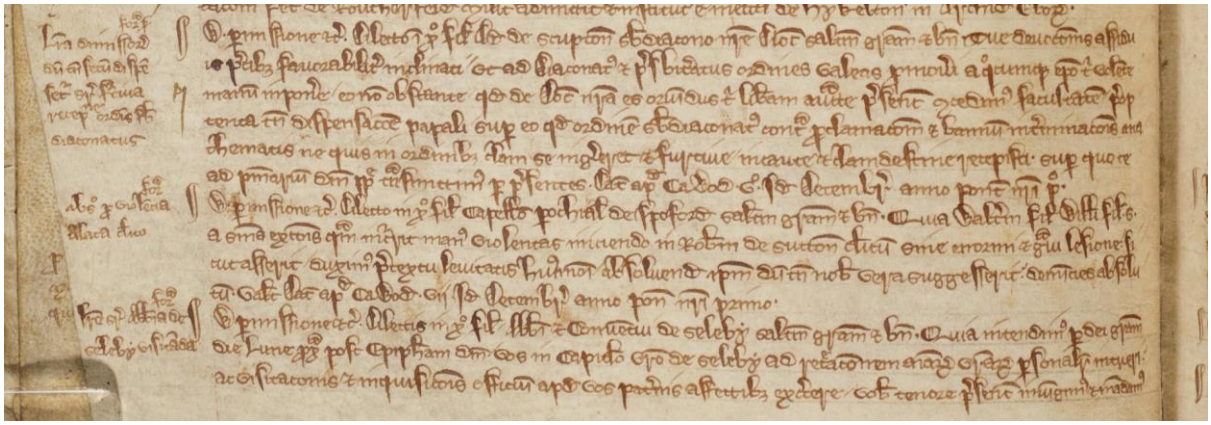

Figure 19: Wickwane MS, fol. 6v, copied for(ma) marginal notes

Overall, similarities in appearance across Wickwane's registration initiatives suggest coherent ideas for a register's appearance and use. Yet subtle changes stemmed from the conditions of production, as well as the intentions for each version's use, with the original register primarily kept as a chancery record and bearing evidence of the scribes' interactions with one another through their drawings, and the later version initially produced as a professionalised copy to be passed on, most likely to those administering the archdiocese in Wickwane's absence. Neither version remained static. A fundamental shift occurred with the addition of the appended section (2B) to the refashioned copy (2A), disrupting its more professionalised appearance, but throughout both versions the addition of marginal notes, drawings, and *manicules* continued to shape their appearances.

Insertions

More than thirty pieces of parchment have been inserted into Wickwane's register. These vary in size, but the majority are slips of parchment less than half the size of the register folios. They are now bound into the register and are included in the most recent (1902) foliation. However, when the register versions were first foliated together (and presumably bound) in the early modern period, the insertions in the original register were foliated but those in the later version were not, raising the question of

when the insertions were made and whether they were used differently. The question of how insertions relate to the surrounding folios is one that Brown chose not to tackle in his edition of Wickwane's register; instead, he relegated most insertions to an appendix.[56] While there is inevitably some tentativeness about when these insertions were added, the close connection of the material to that of the register, evidence of long-standing attachment (some have previous stitch holes), and the nature of the register as a collection of booklets with which loose parchments could easily be kept mean that we should not discount the inserted material.[57] Examining these insertions opens up the use of the register beyond its original creation under Wickwane. In particular, insertions reveal how the register was understood as an archive. In this, a clear distinction emerges between the original and later version but less so between the parts within each.

The original register contains only two insertions. One is a copy of a return from an inquisition completed by Thomas of Adderbury (one of Wickwane's officials) into a proposal to increase the income of Blyth vicarage dated September 1281.[58] The parchment is wider but shorter than the register's folios, folded on the left to prevent it sticking out and sewn in on this fold. Its inclusion here may be explained by its link to an entry on the previous folio from November 1281 recording that an ordinance had been issued to increase the portion for the vicarage of Blyth.[59] In this case, the insertion gives more extensive detail about the situation than the short register entry. The other insertion, folio 116, is longer than the surrounding folios and has been folded over at the top. It has a slightly different format to the register's other folios, with its text divided into two blocks and no margins. Yet it functions similarly to register folios: it is not one deed, but a record of several entries dated from July and August 1280 relating to the East Riding, the majority of which concern an intrusion into the church of North Ferriby. This was a particularly contentious incident when Richard de Vescy, the church's rector, was excommunicated by Wickwane but refused to leave the church, barring it to his

[56] Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, 333–42.
[57] Examples of previous stitch holes can be found on Wickwane MS, fols. 23, 27, 28, 91.
[58] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 251; Wickwane MS, fol. 180.
[59] Brown combines these as *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 251; Wickwane MS, fol. 179v.

replacement.[60] The folio has been inserted immediately before the section for the East Riding in the first-year register, which also contains entries about the incident. Both insertions relate directly to material nearby, seeming to offer additional information or relevant entries, although no marks were added to the register to direct readers to this material. These were deliberate and rare additions to supplement specific material from the first two years of Wickwane's archiepiscopate.

The vast majority of insertions are within the later version of the register. Despite the tightness of the most recent rebinding, it is possible to identify that some insertions were added between different quires, and some within a given quire. They are found throughout the later version but often in succession, such as those now foliated 27-34, 52-55, 61-65, and 91-96. The insertions bear less direct relevance to the surrounding folios than those in the original – they were not inserted into the relevant register section – and they are much more varied in terms of content, date, and author. Moreover, the earliest foliation in this section excludes them, making their place in the register less certain. While the point at which they were added to register is unclear, examining them reveals the ways in which the later version was understood, including beyond Wickwane's lifetime.

The inserted material ranges in date from around the beginning of the thirteenth century to 1291. Some insertions are from Wickwane himself, including a letter to Pope Martin IV (dated December 1282) apologising for being unable to visit Rome, and an undated protestation that he had not impeded collection of the Tenth.[61] There are also earlier mandates from Archbishop Walter Giffard (June 1278), Pope Clement IV (May 1266), and Edward I (May 1276); papal licences and dispensations (December 1243 and May 1258); and an undated letter of protection for the church of Beverley granted by the dean and chapter of York, appearing to be from Simon de Apulia's time as dean of York (between 1193 and 1214).[62] These are largely copies, although the mandate from Pope Clement IV (fol. 32) is in a distinctly different (in this case, papal) hand, indicating some originals were included.[63] While the insertions vary widely in terms of author and date,

[60] *Reg. Wickwane* nos. 329, 330, 332, 333, and 334 related to de Vescy; 331 is a licence to study.
[61] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 922, 928; Wickwane MS, fols. 52, 64.
[62] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 915, 916, 929, 931; nos. 918, 921; no. 920.
[63] See also Wickwane MS, fols. 54, 92, 94,

they bear witness to a number of rights and precedents that affected the archdiocese of York. These included instances when an external authority, such as the king or the pope, had intervened. This was material that could be drawn upon by the archbishop and his administrators. Its inclusion specifically in the later version suggests two different purposes for insertions across the two versions: in the original, insertions were included judiciously to add relevant material. In the later version, the register was used as an archive for documents related to archiepiscopacy in York more widely.

This engagement with archival material was not a new endeavour – material pre-dating Wickwane's archiepiscopate had been entered into the original register, particularly in the '*Extrinseca*' section, but it had been entered as part of body of text, not inserted. For example, folio 194r has two 'indulgences for the archbishop of York'.[64] The first is from Pope Innocent III (1201), stating that no archbishop of York could be excommunicated without special papal permission.[65] This is followed immediately by Pope Honorius III's granting of authority to the archbishop to absolve those who had been excommunicated for laying violent hands upon clerks (1223).[66] The association of archiving and archiepiscopal rights will be considered in Chapters Three and Four but here it is helpful to recognise that archival sensibilities shaped choices of registration throughout Wickwane's archiepiscopate. However, the insertion of historic material (that which pre-dated Wickwane) into the later version was a distinct way of deploying it, one which shapes the picture of this later version as form of archive.

At least some of the activity of inserting extra material must have post-dated Wickwane. Several insertions are included from John le Romeyn's archiepiscopate. These include permission for Sir Roger of Malton and Sir Hugh of Methley to go on pilgrimage to Pontigny (29th May 1291), a mandate to his official to order prayers for the king (29th November 1288), an indulgence granted to those praying for the soul of Lady Christina Ledet (27th April 1286), and a notice of visitation to the prior and convent of

[64] Wickwane MS, fol. 194r: 'indulgencia s(anc)ta archiep(iscop)o Ebor(acensis)'.
[65] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 609.
[66] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 610. See also *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 615, 617, 618; Wickwane MS, fol. 199r: a grant by the priors of Worksop and Newstead of Misterton church to Walter de Gray (undated), a 1249 mandate from Pope Innocent IV forbidding all archbishops, bishops, and archdeacons to excommunicate the Hospitallers, and a 1239 mandate from Henry III to the sheriff of Yorkshire to appoint two trustworthy men to have custody of the archbishop's coin-stamp.

Thurgarton (27th April 1286).[67] All refer to Romeyn as archbishop. Their dates indicate that their insertion must have occurred after Romeyn's own register had been created. Their inclusion in Wickwane's register was not simply an interim measure but a deliberate choice, showing that Wickwane's register continued to be used under Romeyn.

The choice to insert material almost exclusively to the later version of the register leads to the question of the movement of each register. If the original register was taken to Rome by Wickwane and his administrators, and the later version left in York then the insertion of material appears to have been a continuation of the compilation of additional material into the later register, as occurred with the appended section. This may have been somewhat incidental, if it was the only register present in York, or it may have been a deliberate choice to insert the material into this later version if it occurred under Romeyn and Wickwane's original register had been returned to York after his death. In either case, the insertion of material into the later version of the register indicates that it was treated as a form of archive in the years after Wickwane had died.[68]

Examining the physical register demonstrates how Wickwane's chancery were thinking about registration in new ways. Hoskin argued that 'administrative development required time, as well as effective leadership, to develop'.[69] While the question of effective leadership is less clear (as will be explored below), scribal practices and choices of entry continued to change throughout Wickwane's archiepiscopate and beyond it. The original register appears to have been primarily intended as an internal record, in which scribal interactions can be found. The later version, with its more professionalised appearance, was likely intended as a reworked copy to be passed on to those administering the archdiocese in Wickwane's absence, but then became a space for archiving, through the addition of the appended section and the insertion of additional material, which continued (if not primarily occurred) after Wickwane's death.

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[67] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 911 (date from Romeyn's register, no. 1288), 925, 933, 935; these were also entered into Romeyn's own register. N.B. Pontigny was where Wickwane died so Malton and Methley appear to have been going on a pilgrimage to his tomb.
[68] This idea will be picked up in Chapter Two.
[69] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries," 45.

III. Behind the Register

This picture of constant imaginative labour (initiatives) by Wickwane's administrators raises the question of who was behind these initiatives. This presents a challenge. In some rare instances, a thirteenth-century episcopal registrar has been identified: John Scalby was Bishop Sutton's registrar in Lincoln (1280-99), and John of Beccles was Archbishop Pecham's in Canterbury (1279-92).[70] However, for the most part, such men remain unnamed.[71] While it is not clear who was responsible for Wickwane's register, asking which administrators – in his chancery and more widely – appear in his register (or elsewhere) sheds light on the register's context, patterns of archiepiscopal administration, and the relationships that shaped archiepiscopacy under Wickwane. This section therefore asks which of Wickwane's *familia* and other administrators appear in the register, and if any can be identified in other material. How were they recorded? What does this tell us about the administrative culture in which the register was produced, and Wickwane's administration more broadly?

This section begins by identifying some of the clerks in Wickwane's chancery and then turns to consider those in his wider household. Studies on medieval households have tended to focus on secular households, although in recent years the *English Episcopal Acta* series has driven episcopal studies, such as Hoskin's and Burger's works on episcopal households in Durham and Lincoln.[72] Hoskin noted the challenge of examining episcopal households – 'the personnel and structure of a bishop's household are always elusive' – but used witness lists to gauge the level of continuity in Durham's

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[70] Rosalind Hill, "Bishop Sutton and His Archives: A Study in the Keeping of Records in the Thirteenth Century," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 2, no. 1 (1951): 43–53; Mary Bateson, "Scalby, Scalleby, Schalby, John de (d 1333)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 1897, https://doi.org/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.013.24775; Forrest, "The Archive of the Official of Stow," 5–6; Decima L. Douie, *Archbishop Pecham* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1952), 60; Ronald C. Finucane, "Two Notaries and Their Records in England, 1282–1307," *Journal of Medieval History* 13, no. 1 (1987): 1–14; Rees Jones also identified Nicholas de Burton as Archbishop John of Thoresby's registrar: Rees Jones, "Administrative Records," 14, 40.

[71] Hoskin sets out what can be ascertained of episcopal chanceries, finding them to be large bodies of scribes, many of whom had specialist training, yet extant material significantly limits the identification of individuals and the work they undertook: Hoskin, "Authors of Bureaucracy," 62–68.

[72] C. M. Woolgar, *The Great Household in Late Medieval England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999); Philippa Hoskin, "Continuing Service: The Episcopal Households of Thirteenth-Century Durham," in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, ed. Philippa Hoskin, Christopher Brooke, and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 124–38; Burger, "Officiales"; Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*.

episcopal households.[73] Witness lists are rarely included in Wickwane's register, but those that are can be complemented with occasional entries recording appointments to specific offices, registered instructions to a particular individual, or other references to clerks or officials in wider material. Burger argued that 'the more such commands a clerk received, the longer the period of time over which they were received, and the weightier the commission, the stronger the case that the clerk should be considered the bishop's clerk'.[74] Wickwane's register is a rich source for commands to administrators and although the exact offices that individuals held are often opaque, we can identify some of the men who administered the archdiocese and the types of duties they performed.

In doing so, this section reflects on these men and their record in the register (or lack thereof) to consider how we could characterise administration under Wickwane. It examines the significance of both relationships and skills for the culture of administrative practice. Forrest noted 'the increase in the use of written records, the emergence of formulaic documents, the specialization of tasks within episcopal household and cathedral chapter' that have contributed to the idea of diocesan administration as machinery, but he emphasised the humans behind it.[75] In ending this chapter with an examination of the people behind Wickwane's administration, this section draws out some of the key relationships that underpinned Wickwane's administration as much as the tools they used. It makes a case that the changeableness of the physical register reflects the changeableness of administration more widely in this period. This was a period of learning, not only of how to keep a register, but of how to administer the archdiocese.

Chancery

Turning first to Wickwane's chancery, we can establish some of the men who oversaw the production of written material under Wickwane, albeit not those who we

[73] Hoskin, "Continuing Service," 124.
[74] Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*, 7.
[75] Forrest, "The Archive of the Official of Stow," 2.

can be sure contributed to his register. While subtle changes in scribal hand indicate that a group of scribes kept the register, the similarities of these hands to one another limit the extent to which we can identify separate scribes. Even with the administrators we can identify, it is harder to establish exactly what their roles were and how long they held those positions for. This is partly the nature of the records and partly the nature of episcopal clerks. As Hoskin found, officials in episcopal writing offices had specific duties within it but were not 'exclusively attached' to it.[76]

We see this fluidity in Wickwane's chancellors. The bishop's chancellor (distinct from the cathedral chancellor) seems to have been responsible for the archbishop's seal by this point in the thirteenth century.[77] Cheney thought the first appearance of an archbishop's chancellor at York was under Romeyn, but Wickwane's register includes references to two men – Nicholas of Wells and Robert of Sleaford – who appear to have been Wickwane's chancellor at different points.[78] Wells had previously been Giffard's treasurer.[79] In May 1281, Wells, 'then chancellor and commissary', and James of Langtoft, 'our cleric' and 'scribe', verified Thomas of Grimston's holding of Warton church.[80] In June 1281, Wickwane granted him leave to study for three years.[81] In August 1281, Robert of Sleaford was recorded as chancellor.[82] He was clearly well-known to Wickwane prior to this, with Wickwane describing him as 'our beloved and dear table-companion and clerk' in March 1281 and granting Robert authority to act on his behalf and to excommunicate in the Durham dispute, 'confident in [his] well-considered

[76] Hoskin, "Authors of Bureaucracy," 67.
[77] Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*, 6; Philippa Hoskin, "Administration and Identity: Episcopal Seals in England from the Eleventh to the Thirteenth Century," in *A Companion to Seals in the Middle Ages*, ed. Laura Whatley (Leiden: Brill, 2019), 195; Brentano noted that Wickwane appears to have used his existing chancellor's seal prior to his archiepiscopal seal being prepared, according to a letter he wrote to John Kirkby, then canon of York: Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 183.
[78] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*, 41–42. He noted one instance that the succentor of York was referred to as chancellor under Walter de Gray but thought this an exception.
[79] Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, 1958, I:vii; *Reg. Giffard*, no. DCCCXXXVI.
[80] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 389: 'tunc cancellarium et commissariumnostrum'; 'clericum nostrum, scriptorem'. The only other reference to a scribe in Wickwane's register is a memorandum, added at the bottom of folio 87v (no. 751), that Alan of Beverley, a scribe of Lincoln, was staying at William of Lincoln's house.
[81] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 39.
[82] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 783; see also John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300: VI, York*, ed. Diana Greenway (London: University of London, 1999), 94; Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, 1958, I:vii.

diligence and firm conscience'.[83] In both cases, the men seem to have been trusted by Wickwane and had some level of administrative ability, but did not fulfil the office for the entirety of Wickwane's brief archiepiscopate, instead moving between offices and further study.

Some of the men deployed by Wickwane clearly had specialist skills. A single register entry records payment to William 'the notary' for the expenses of 'our clerks' at Warwick.[84] Brentano identified him as William of Somerby, whose notarial licence is found in Nicholas III's register and whose first name appears in material from Wickwane's dispute with the chapter of Durham over visitation rights.[85] The register entry is dated from September 1283, just before a 'York Court' met at Warwick to deal with the dispute.[86] Somerby was also named as one of Wickwane's *familia* present at Warwick when the archbishop was cited (through a proctor) in December 1283.[87] While this does not tell us about the register, it does reflect a system where Wickwane employed trained notaries to oversee clerks and ensure suitable records were produced on his behalf.[88] Moreover, Somerby appears in Romeyn's register in 1290, indicating a longer association with the archbishopric.[89]

Somerby had a specific role that took him away from Wickwane on occasion, and the question of who was responsible for Wickwane's register remains. One potential registrar should be considered, at least for the initial keeping of the register. During Wickwane's time as chancellor of York Minster, a letter-book was compiled,

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[83] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 448: 'dilecto et precordiali ac commensali clerico nostro…', 'De tua industria circumspecta et solida consciencia confidentes…'
[84] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 865.
[85] Somerby had received a received a papal notarial licence in 1279 while a clerk in minor orders at Lincoln; Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 77; M. Jules Gay, ed., *Les registres de Nicolas III (1277-1280)* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing, 1898), 255–56; C. R. Cheney, *Notaries Public in England in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 31.
[86] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 126.
[87] DCD Loc.XIV:1g trans. in Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 187.
[88] While Somerby's relationship with Wickwane's register is unclear, Burger noted (and complicated) a broader link between Continental notarial practices spreading to England and the use of memoranda in registers: Michael Burger, "Evidence Regarding Bishops' Use of Hall and Chamber in Later Thirteenth-Century England, with Observations Regarding Notarial Influence," in *Princes of the Church: Bishops and Their Palaces*, ed. David Rollason (London: Routledge, 2017), 216; Foote found the use of notaries in key to the development of thirteenth-century episcopal administration in the Italian context: David Foote, *Lordship, Reform, and the Development of Civil Society in Medieval Italy: The Bishopric of Orvieto, 1100-1250* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2004), 127–28.
[89] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 264.

containing thirty-two letters connected to Wickwane.[90] Cheney argued that Henry of Sandford was the likely compiler because several of the letters specifically relate to Sandford's ordinations as deacon and then priest, and Cheney thought him the author of a letter in the collection.[91] While the hands in the register differ from those in the letter-book, it remains possible that Sandford was involved in overseeing the creation of Wickwane's register in its earliest stages. He was certainly deployed as a trusted agent of Wickwane's from the beginning of his archiepiscopate: in November 1280, Wickwane appointed him as curate to the rector of Bainton 'relying on [his] holiness and diligence'.[92] While this would have ensured his separation from Wickwane's household and makes it unlikely he was integral to the chancery, it does suggest that Wickwane relied on him over an extended period of time and that he turned to those people he knew from his chancellorship when he was archbishop. Moreover, it indicates a system where administrative skills were considered somewhat interchangeable – a skilled treasurer could be expected to take on the chancellorship, or a chancellor act as the archbishop's commissary. Although some specialist skills were recognised, clerics were deployed as Wickwane saw fit rather than because their particular office demanded it.

Household and Extra-Household Administrators

Movement between roles contributes to the challenge of identifying Wickwane's household more broadly. Some individuals are described as 'our clerk' in Wickwane's register, or their designated office noted. Yet such descriptions were inconsistent, and much of the time we have to discern other potential household clerics from instructions to them and the few witness lists included in the register. Here, I will not draw a sharp distinction between the men who were physically present as part of Wickwane's household and those whose activities took them away from the archbishop. As Burger found, extra-household administrators like the *officialis* may be described as *familiares*

[90] This now forms the first fourteen pages of Ox. Bod. MS. Rawl. C. 775.
[91] Cheney, "Letters of William Wickwane, Chancellor of York, 1266-1268," 627–28.
[92] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 338: 'tua sanctitate et industria confidentes'. N.B. This is the only reference to Sandford in either Wickwane's or Romeyn's registers.

– 'a language of intimacy which fell somewhat short of the actual situation'.[93] Hoskin explored the complex relationship between a bishop's movement and that of his administration.[94] She considered the movements of the episcopal household as the bishop was travelling – members of the household were 'constantly breaking off and going elsewhere' to buy goods for the household, take messages, or prepare lodgings.[95] This section focuses on those who Wickwane used in his administration even if their roles took them out of the household itself. In examining those people that can be identified, three particular patterns have emerged.

Firstly, Wickwane turned to men he knew and trusted as administrators. This is primarily seen in his relationship with the York chapter. Although by the thirteenth century, 'being a canon no longer meant that one was *ex officio* an administrative officer of the bishop', this did not stop Wickwane from turning to the York chapter for support.[96] This stemmed from his time as chancellor. Three of the letters in his letter-book from that period reveal the dean and chapter acting on his behalf.[97] His register shows that this relationship continued during his archiepiscopate, such as in his consultation of the York chapter during his dispute with Durham and his appointment of Thomas Corbridge, chancellor of York, as a proctor at Rome (both considered further in Chapter Three).[98] Another entry records that he granted power during his trip to Rome to make appointments to cathedral churches to Thomas of Wakefield, subdean of York.[99] Likewise, Nicholas of Wells, who had been Giffard's treasurer, was made Wickwane's chancellor; and Hugh of Evesham, a fellow canon of York, was appointed as Wickwane's proctor to the papal curia (prior to his election as cardinal).[100] While new

[93] Burger, "Officiales," 48.
[94] Philippa Hoskin, "How to Travel With a Bishop: Thirteenth-Century Episcopal Itineraries," in *Princes of the Church: Bishops and Their Palaces*, ed. David Rollason (New York: Routledge, 2017), 169–78.
[95] Ibid., 171–72.
[96] Quotation is from Julia Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800-c. 1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 266; see also, Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*, 6; Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*, 40.
[97] Cheney, "Letters of William Wickwane, Chancellor of York, 1266-1268," 630, nos. XXVII, XXX, XXXI. Ox. Bod. MS. Rawl. C. 775.
[98] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 24, 25, 484, 693. See also Chapter Three, p. 164.
[99] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 923; Wickwane also instructed the dean and chapter to pay Giffard's executors with money they held that belonged to him: *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 27. The same Thomas (the subdean) was one of Wickwane's executors, along with the archdeacon: *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1488.
[100] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 466.

archbishops typically brought new men from outside the diocese, Wickwane had been chancellor of York Minster for a decade and a half before his election to the see – it is unsurprising that he turned to the chapter for his administrators.

Moreover, while bishops could be effusive in the language of friendship, there is evidence of genuine affection between Wickwane and his clerks. William de Capella acted as official *sede vacante* in Carlisle during its vacancy and was described as 'our beloved cleric' in an entry asking the rector of Stonegrave to let his church to Capella.[101] Thomas of Grimston, archdeacon of Cleveland, was referred to as 'our beloved and familiar cleric'.[102] Cheney found the inclusion of archdeacons in episcopal *familia* common in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, noting the financial benefit of using archdeacons and canons as administrators because they already had benefices rather than needing to be paid out of a bishop's own pocket.[103] On the other hand, the archdeaconry could be a reward for a bishop's clerk.[104] Just two months after his appointment as *officialis*, John of Crowcombe was appointed archdeacon of the East Riding in January 1280.[105] Moreover, some affection was reciprocated: Roger of Malton and Hugh of Methley later requested and received permission from Romeyn to go on pilgrimage to Pontigny, where Wickwane died and was buried.[106] Wickwane's affectionate language for his clerks appears to have reflected his positive relationships with them, which in turn shaped his choice of administrators.

Secondly, despite Wickwane's preference for men with whom he had a relationship, there is evidence of an increasingly professionalised, or at least educated, administration developing under him. In addition to his use of a notary, many of Wickwane's household and other administrators had the title of *magister*, a trend that Julia Barrow had identified beginning in the twelfth century.[107] Although few witness lists

[101] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 543; no. 194: 'dilecto cleric nostro'.
[102] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 442: 'dilectus et familiaris clericus noster'.
[103] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*, 8–9.
[104] Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*, 7.
[105] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 13; Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, 1958, I:42–43; Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*. Burger considered appointments to the archdeaconry.
[106] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 911.
[107] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 253–54. See also Marie Lovatt's examination of Archbishop Geoffrey's *familia* in *English Episcopal Acta 27: York, 1189-1212* (Oxford: Oxford University Press for The British Academy, 2004), cvi-cxii.

were registered, several of those who appear on them – Thomas of Adderbury, Nicholas of Wells, Walter of Gloucester, Thomas of Grimston, William de Capella, Thomas of Corbridge, and Henry of Newark – are described as 'magister'.[108] Likewise, Wickwane chose *magistri* for his proctors at Rome, including Hugh of Evesham, Ralph of Tadcaster, Simon of Patrington, and William of Bollington.[109] While the title alone did not necessarily denote a good administrator, serving under successive archbishops suggests they fulfilled their roles well.[110] Brentano identified an 'impressive group of learned scribes' who served under successive archbishops: 'the Pickerings, Adderbury, Crowcombe, the Nassingtons, Newark, and Corbridge'.[111] That Wickwane's administrators were deemed useful by his successors – and two of them went on to become archbishop themselves – shows that their skills were held in high regard.

Moreover, the duties they were entrusted with were not always purely episcopal: Brentano found references to John of Crowcombe (Wickwane's *officialis*) as a royal clerk after Wickwane's death, in addition to him also acting as *officialis* under Romeyn.[112] As Barrow emphasised, 'the qualities and qualifications which made [clerks] useful to kings were the very ones which made them useful to bishops'.[113] Henry of Newark was one such man, straddling the boundary between archiepiscopal and regnal duties during Wickwane's lifetime (as well as his own archiepiscopate). In 1281, Wickwane received a letter from Edward I about hastening the collection of the tenth, which informed him that Newark would write to him regarding the king's wishes.[114] Newark was archdeacon of Richmond at the time, and was clearly trusted by Wickwane, being heavily involved in Wickwane's attempts to visit Durham and entrusted with 300 marks to do Wickwane's business at the curia.[115] Skilled administrators were in high demand and were certainly valued by Wickwane.

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[108] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 53, 630.
[109] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 465, 472, 490.
[110] Julia Barrow, "Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons in England and Germany 1100-1225," *Viator* 20 (January 1989): 135.
[111] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 82.
[112] Ibid., 73–74.
[113] Barrow, "Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons," 135.
[114] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 616.
[115] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 77; *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 840.

Thirdly, administrative offices did not necessarily have clearly defined parameters; instead, Wickwane commissioned individuals to take on particular duties based on their skills or relationships. Although specific titles had appeared in the twelfth century, these roles were not exclusive and additional offices or duties were sometimes granted, as we will see with the *officialis*.[116] The difficulty identifying individuals with a specific office was as much a matter of the fluidity of the roles themselves as it is an issue of record.

Wickwane's main *officialis* is one of the easiest figures to identify in his register: John of Crowcombe.[117] His exact role is less clear, despite the register section dedicated to instructions to him.[118] By the late thirteenth-century, the *officialis* oversaw the archbishop's consistory court but his role was much broader than this.[119] Brentano described it as 'something of a general secretarial office', and the broad range of tasks assigned to Crowcombe in Wickwane's register reflects this.[120] The 'York Officiality' section includes instructions to Crowcombe about excommunications, ordinations, administering church revenues, and various other matters.[121] He was given additional responsibilities, including the power to collate prebends of York, Southwell, Beverley, and Ripon while Wickwane was abroad, and appointed archdeacon of the East Riding.[122] Thus, the register gives the impression that the office of *officialis* was a broad-ranging role that could be held alongside other offices.

[116] Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 253–54.
[117] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 495 (Crowcombe's appointment as official).
[118] Burger argued that frequent written commissions to the *official* confirmed his absence from the episcopal household as those present in their household could receive instructions orally: Burger, "Officiales," 43.
[119] Similarly, Smith argued that evidence from thirteenth-century registers indicated officials undertook 'extensive administrative duties': David M. Smith, "The 'Officialis' of the Bishop in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century England: Problems of Terminology," in *Medieval Ecclesiastical Studies in Honour of Dorothy M. Owen*, ed. M. J. Franklin and Christopher Harper-Bill (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995), 201–20; Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 72.
[120] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 71.
[121] See, for example, *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 497, 498, 507 (regarding excommunications); 520A, 531 (ordinations); 521, 527, 528 (church fruits).
[122] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 768. Similar permission was granted to Thomas of Wakefield, subdean of York.

Brentano thought Thomas of Adderbury was also an *officialis* due to him being referred to as such in a papal rescript from 1282.[123] It is unclear whether he replaced Crowcombe for a time; a single entry in the register uses 'our official' in reference to Adderbury carrying out the inquisition into Blyth's income examined above, while the return on the inquisition describes him as 'official of the Church of York'.[124] He appears to have been deployed in a specific capacity, rather than fulfilling the office of *officialis* over an extended period of time. Indeed, Crowcombe was again referred to as *officialis* in an entry in Wickwane's register in August 1284 and there is no record of Adderbury's appointment. Whether *officialis* or another type of official, the register reveals that Adderbury clearly played a role in Wickwane's household. Witness lists were rarely included in the register, but Adderbury appears first on two that do: a bond for the archbishop's payment of twenty marks a year to the York treasurer for the manor of Bishopthorpe and an undertaking from John of Dalton that he would not commit adultery.[125] Another entry records Thomas of Adderbury, along with Walter of Gloucester (who likewise appears on the aforementioned witness lists), providing absolution to Edmund of Everley for holding two churches.[126] In this, they are described as clerks and 'vices gerentibus' of the archbishop – holding his delegated authority.[127] Walter of Gloucester appears elsewhere as the archbishop's receiver in October 1280, and then treasurer, prior to his appointment as archdeacon of York in 1283.[128] Although administrators were given particular offices this does not appear to have limited how Wickwane put them to use.

What light does this shed on Wickwane's register? It is evident from the examples above that identifying members of Wickwane's household and other

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[123] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 74, 206–7. The reference has changed slightly since Brentano was writing and is now DCD 4.2.Pap.2. As Brentano identified, the text mistakenly referred to the convent of Carlisle as being of the order of St. Benedict instead of St. Augustine. It is conceivable that the reference to Adderbury as *officialis* was a similar mistake.
[124] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 251; Wickwane MS, fol. 180.
[125] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 53 and 630. Adderbury also appears first in the list of Wickwane's *familia* that names Somerby: DCD Loc.XIV:1g.
[126] *Wickwane*, no. 213.
[127] Smith considered the terminology of vicegerent and other terms used for episcopal agents in Smith, "The 'Officialis,'" 212–19.
[128] Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, 1958, I:37. He was also given the prebend of Haplesthorpe in February 1283 but had resigned the prebend by November of that year when it was passed on to Sir Gerald de Grandison: *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 904; see also *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 788.

administrators often relies on incidental references in register entries or other documents. The register was not treated as a space to record their appointments. Yet Forrest argued that local knowledge and relationships were key to diocesan administration, and it is evident that those using Wickwane's register, or receiving the registered instructions, were expected to know who the individuals were.[129] This is clearest in the *Liberationes* section, which includes payments for services and other expenses. In most of these entries, the receiver of York was instructed to pay an individual who we can assume was known to them. Some surnames are included but often entries refer to a first name and their position. For instance, Colin the chamberlain appears three times.[130] References to Nicholas the chamberlain, Nicholas from the treasury, and Colin the butler also likely refer to the same person.[131] Another chamberlain called Henry and Walter, clerk of our kitchen, are also referred to.[132] Exactly what their roles were is unclear, although Burger notes that 'the clearly domestic chamberlain was also often, perhaps usually, a clerk'.[133] These men were likely just a few of the many clerks in Wickwane's household.

In fact, some of the most significant members of Wickwane's household do not appear (or appear rarely) in the register. Edward I's patent rolls record that Walter of Bradford, Henry de Cruce, Laurence of Holbeck, Robert of Sleaford, Ralph of Buckingham, and Bartholomew of Thwing were granted letters of protection to accompany Wickwane to Rome in 1284.[134] Bradford, de Cruce, and Thwing do not appear in Wickwane's register; a single entry notes payment to Laurence of Holbeck, 'our valet'; Robert of Sleaford was chancellor (considered above); and Ralph of Buckingham appears once in the witness list for Richard of Escrick's obedience for Giggleswick.[135] With the exception of Robert of Sleaford, those men considered most

[129] Forrest, "The Archive of the Official of Stow"; Forrest, *Trustworthy Men*.
[130] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 795, 883, 885.
[131] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 835, 860, 864.
[132] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 808, 887.
[133] Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*, 7.
[134] H. C. Maxwell Lyte, ed., *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office: Edward I*, vol. II, 1281–1292 (London: HMSO, 1895), 128, 130.
[135] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 876. N.B. No. 659 refers to William Waryn as valet.

essential to accompany Wickwane to Rome were not those who appeared most frequently in his register.

Such omissions from the register reflect a broader issue of administration in the thirteenth century: written instructions were more often issued for those who were not consistently part of the bishop's entourage. As Burger found, this was the case with *officiales*, who were more likely to receive written commissions, whereas 'constant members of the *familia* naturally could and presumably did, receive their orders *viva voce*'.[136] While this has proven a particular problem in regard to the lack of material relating to Wickwane's chancery, it most likely indicates that Wickwane's chancery, including an unknown registrar, remained with the archbishop and received direct orders from him.

Although efforts to keep the register were significant under Wickwane, the keeping of the register supported administration off the page. The register was not intended as a comprehensive record of administrators and administration, and references to individual administrators were incidental. These references shed light on an administration that relied heavily on those with whom Wickwane already had a relationship, often other canons from York Minster. While we cannot identify those responsible for the register by name, it is likely that they were also closely connected to York and may have undertaken similar roles for Giffard or worked directly for Wickwane when he was chancellor.

Wickwane's role as chancellor was behind his deployment of established York canons and administrators, which facilitated the launch of his register from the beginning of his archiepiscopate. Importantly though, those keeping the register began Wickwane's archiepiscopate with new ideas of how a register should be kept, they did not merely refine the arrangement of Giffard's register. In addition, it meant that he himself was an experienced administrator, familiar with the ways in which records could be deployed in ecclesiastical administration. Indeed, his drive to record – to register – was reflective of a wider culture at York, with parallel efforts made to produce a minster

[136] Burger, "Officiales," 43.

cartulary around 1280.[137] While there is no evidence of Wickwane's direct involvement in the cartulary, it is unsurprising that the same body of canons from which Wickwane drew his administrators had the skills and motivation to undertake similar compilation efforts to those of the archiepiscopal chancery.

Under Wickwane, offices were developing, and skilled men were appointed to them, but their duties changed as Wickwane saw fit. Those who proved themselves skilful and trustworthy could be given additional responsibilities or offices. This fluidity raises the question of how specialised the keeping of the register was understood to be. We cannot know for certain: the lack of any references to a registrar being appointed or moved to a new position may well be an indication that it was a specialised role held by one individual, but it could be that the changing registration initiatives were influenced by changes in personnel. For instance, the decision to use the second-year register for subsequent years likely occurred around the end of Wickwane's second in September 1281, the month after Robert of Sleaford first appears as chancellor. While it is unclear whether Sleaford was directly involved in the register, his appointment was typical of the changeableness of Wickwane's administration. Those keeping the register had to learn to respond to and support a changing administration. This type of learning was inherent to Wickwane's administration, with many of those serving Wickwane needing to adapt to new responsibilities or a move to a new office.

Conclusion

Wickwane's short archiepiscopate was one of particular endeavour in regard to registration. Wickwane came into the role as an experienced chancellor with an administration comprising those who were already familiar with York, as well as a new vision for registration. From the beginning, registration was a priority, but it was not straightforward. The approach to registration was dynamic, and administrators continued to learn how to keep and deploy the register in new ways. This learning was

[137] BL Cotton Claud. B.III. See also G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland* (London: The British Library, 2010), 221.

not simply about the mechanics of the register but about how the register was intended to work and the changing context of its production.

Examining Wickwane's register as a material composition has revealed the distinct stages of registration activities behind it. From the beginning of Wickwane's archiepiscopate, concerted efforts were made to create a register that would support his administration. The use of sections was not simply an advance upon the inconsistent attempts to divide material into archdeaconries made under Giffard but the first of a series of efforts to shape the register in accordance with its intended uses. Indeed, there was constant recalibration throughout Wickwane's archiepiscopate as the intentions for the register shifted and personnel changed. Although we cannot be sure which administrators were directly involved in the keeping of the register, changes in administrators and in the register occurred in parallel with one another. Moreover, while the scribes behind the register remain nameless, evidence of their sense of agency – perhaps even ownership – is found throughout the register. The distinct registration initiatives were very much driven by the scribes and administrators trialling and adapting their practices.

In addition, new registration initiatives reflect the potential uses of the register as well as the divergences between its intended and actual uses. The creation of a new version to be referenced during Wickwane's absence from the archdiocese reflects the perceived usefulness of the register – this was a valuable tool for archdiocesan administration and one that would be needed in two different places. Moreover, the later version's more professionalised appearance was the result both of a more concerted effort to produce it over a short space of time and of the intention to pass it on. It also reflects broader uses than it was originally intended for. The lack of empty folios indicates it was meant for reference, rather than ongoing entries. It was nonetheless added to, first in the appended section, and then through the insertion of additional material. That at least some of this activity occurred under Romeyn leads us to the questions of how registration was carried out under Romeyn and how his register differed from Wickwane's, and thus our next chapter.

Chapter Two: The 'Register' of John le Romeyn

Introduction

At first glance, John le Romeyn's (1285-96) register appears very similar to Wickwane's. Bound in brown leather on behalf of the Surtees Society in the early twentieth century, it comprises one hundred and sixty-five folios, including insertions and eight pages of paper containing a seventeenth-century index. As with Wickwane's register, its original limp parchment cover is bound with it. Yet closer examination of Romeyn's register reveals significant contrasts between how it and Wickwane's register were constructed and used. Its structure and conventions differed from Wickwane's, and it exists as a single copy, into which material was entered over the entire duration of Romeyn's archiepiscopate. It was the product of a new archbishop, with new administrators and experience from outside the archdiocese. Examining Romeyn's register offers a window into the activities, ideas, and people behind its production, shedding light not merely on how it differed from Wickwane's but why.

Historians have typically framed Romeyn's register as another step forwards for administrative efficiency in York's archiepiscopal chancery. The 'further modification' of its sections from Wickwane's register, along with the inclusion of an index-calendar, the uniformity of hand, and the quality of the letters it contains ('long after cited as specimens of the epistolary art'), have seen it described as the 'basic model for later York registers'.[1] As with Wickwane's register, consideration of Romeyn's register has been limited to its physical features, in other words the 'machinery' of the register. The question of how a new archbishop and his administrators shaped the register has been neglected. Yet the physical features of Romeyn's register bear witness to the registration activities behind them and the changing ideas of record-keeping that drove those endeavours. By drawing more explicitly on scholarship of the archival turn alongside close material analysis, this chapter further develops the idea of registration initiatives and situates it within a broader shift in understandings of record-keeping. Recording –

[1] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 235; Brown, *Reg. Romeyn I*, iv.

registration – was not a neutral act.[2] As Brittain Bouchard argued in regard to cartularies, organising and copying records in a new form reconceptualised those records for a new purpose.[3] The same was true of registers. Examining the ways in which Romeyn's register was constructed as a record to suit the particular context of his archiepiscopate complicates the idea that Romeyn's register was simply a more refined version of Wickwane's.

This chapter examines Romeyn's register as a product of developing registration practices and new ideas about registers. Building on the approach of Chapter One, it uses material analysis to examine the register's form and composition so as to reveal the registration activities and ideas behind it. It also explores the people who comprised Romeyn's administration. This approach is underpinned by comparison with Wickwane's register throughout. Through this, it reveals the specific ways in which registration was deployed by Romeyn's administrators and considers the driving forces behind these uses, shedding light on the changed context of Romeyn's archiepiscopate and the ideas of registration it brought. As well as complicating the idea of advancement in registration, this gives new significance to Romeyn's archiepiscopate as a period of learning.

The chapter has a similar structure to Chapter One. The first section examines Romeyn's register so as to reveal the registration practices behind it. It focuses particularly on its structure and appearance, asking to what extent the register's physical features reveal a changed approach to registration from Wickwane's archiepiscopate. By asking what changed and why, changes are revealed not only in the 'machinery' of the register but in the very idea of a register. It then turns to more distinct functions of the register – as an archive, a formulary, and a record of archdiocesan activities even in Romeyn's absence – to explore the relationship between the register and developing ideas of record-keeping. Finally, it considers how far Romeyn's archiepiscopate brought new administrators and a new administrative culture to York, and whether this had any effect on the register. Overall, the chapter reframes Romeyn's register not simply as a step forward in efficiency or skill but the result of ongoing

[2] Butcher, "The Functions of Script," 157–70.
[3] Brittain Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and* Ancestors, 18–19.

developments in how registration was understood, driven by a new archbishop and his administration.

I. Register and Registration

As set out above, Romeyn's register initially appears very similar to Wickwane's, thanks to both its original *mise-en-page* and the manuscript's subsequent treatment, particularly its twentieth-century binding. It is slightly larger than Wickwane's, with folios measuring approximately thirty-one by twenty-one and a half centimetres and inserted parchments of varying sizes. As with Wickwane's register, the foliation is post-medieval. Two sets of folio numbers run through the register. An early modern set of ink numbers in the top margin omits the insertions.[4] This foliation was used in James Torre's paper index, added at the back of the manuscript in the late seventeenth century.[5] The more recent foliation has been done in pencil in the top-right corner of each folio; like in Wickwane's, this were most likely done in conjunction with the early twentieth-century rebinding of the manuscript.[6] Such similarities have contributed to the view of Romeyn's register as an advance upon Wickwane's.

The idea that Romeyn's register was an advance on Wickwane's has also rested on the implicit assumption that Romeyn's administrators took Wickwane's register and saw ways to improve it. This began with the initial set-up of the register, using fewer, broader sections than Wickwane's register, but it was also about the ongoing practice of registration as a routine activity with consistent conventions. Scribes used marginal notes for every entry and added titles denoting the section and year to each folio. Perhaps more importantly, they continued to register material on a frequent basis for the whole of Romeyn's archiepiscopate. This section focuses particularly on the register's structure and scribal conventions to consider how registration changed. In doing so, the changes from Wickwane's register are revealed not simply as

[4] Some have been crossed through in pencil. Both sets are use Arabic numerals with post-medieval number forms and so were added after Romeyn's archiepiscopate.
[5] Brown, *Romeyn* I, iii; Hamilton Thompson, "The Registers of the Archbishops of York," 245.
[6] The same folio numbers are also commonly found in the bottom-left corner, although these are obscured by the binding in some instances, which likely explains the duplication.

improvements in bureaucratic machinery but as the result of the ongoing working out of registration and register to suit the needs of a new archbishop.

Structure

As with Wickwane's register, the structure of Romeyn's register – the choice of sections and their arrangement – has been seen as evidence of its advance upon its predecessors. Smith described a 'further modification and to some extent simplification' of the sections compared to Wickwane's.[7] Yet equating simplification (in other words, having fewer, broader sections) with advance does not explain why those changes occurred. Asking what changed and why sheds light on how Romeyn and his administrators approached the register and archdiocesan administration more widely. Most importantly, we will see that the changes to sections did not occur in isolation but were part of a broader reimagining of the register.

The most obvious change under Romeyn is a reduction in the number of register sections. Several sections used in Wickwane's register were omitted from Romeyn's (table 2). The omitted sections were predominantly those kept for specific kinds of material or activity or for particular jurisdictions. In regard to the sections for the visitation of Durham and the officiality of Durham *sede vacante*, this was because they simply were not needed. Romeyn did not attempt to carry out a visitation there, and the see did not fall empty during Romeyn's archiepiscopate. Alongside this, distinct choices were made not to use the register for certain kinds of material; for instance, Carlisle became vacant during Romeyn's archiepiscopate but no material relating to the vacancy was registered. Fewer sections for specific types of material were included and material was entered elsewhere: corrections from visitations were entered into the relevant archdeaconry section or the 'Chapters' section, as were licences to study, while payments and grants can be found in the *Intrinseca* section rather than in distinct sections for 'Obligations' and *Liberationes*. As far as we can tell, these types of sections for specific material were omitted at the point of the register's creation, they were not trialled and then discontinued. From the beginning, then, Romeyn's administrators were

[7] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 235.

thinking in new ways about what material should be included in the register and how to arrange it.

Table 2: Sections in Wickwane's register omitted from Romeyn's register

Omitted Sections
Hextildesham jurisdiction
St. Oswald's Gloucester jurisdiction
Extrinseca
Carlisle Officiality *sede vacante*
Corrections
Visitation (Durham)
Durham Officiality *sede vacante*
Letters to the pope
Jurisdiction at Southwell and Laneham
Licences to study
Obligations
Liberationes

In addition, there was a reworking of sections that had been used (or were very similar to those used) in Wickwane's register, as well as the inclusion of new sections. Table 3 sets out the structure of Romeyn's register; within each section, annual subdivisions were used (as had occurred with Wickwane's later version). It reveals a distinct change to the use of sections between Wickwane's register and Romeyn's. I will examine the substantial front matter below but in terms of the arrangement of sections, changes are evident from the start. Wickwane began with the 'York Chapter' section, then proceeded to the archdeaconries, followed by other jurisdictions and types of material. In contrast, Romeyn's register places the section for 'York Officiality' (material sent to the official or relating to his activities) first. This is followed by sections for the archdeaconries of York, Cleveland, East Riding, Nottingham, and Richmond. Next, the minster chapters of York, Beverley, Southwell, and Ripon are combined into one 'Chapters' section, rather than separate sections as in Wickwane's register. This is followed by a section for the peculiar jurisdictions of Howden and Alverton, a new section called *Ballivarum cum prepositura Beverlaci* (including a wide range of material related to what Smith described as 'the archbishop's personal temporal and spiritual

jurisdictions'), a new 'Suffragan Letters' section, and an *Intrinseca de camera* section.[8] These are bookended with a contemporary *kalendarium* (index-calendar) and list of indulgences at the beginning, and material entitled 'constitutions of Pope Boniface VIII' (1294-1303) at the end. Although there is significant overlap in the sections in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers, there are notable changes to both the choice of sections and their order.

Table 3: Sectional divides in Romeyn's register

Folio	**Section**
3r	Front matter: *kalendarium*, indulgences
7v	York Officiality
26r	York Archdeaconry
50r	Cleveland Archdeaconry
59r	East Riding Archdeaconry
69r	Nottingham Archdeaconry
86r	Richmond Archdeaconry
91r	Minster Chapters (York, Beverley, Southwell, Ripon)
110r	Howden and Alverton
115r	*Ballivarum cum prepositura Beverlaci*
130r	Suffragan Letters
142r	*Intrinseca de camera*
153r	End matter: Constitutions of Pope Boniface VIII

It is helpful to note that while registers remained unbound until the end of an archiepiscopate, we can be reasonably sure that the current order of Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers reflects their contemporary order. As noted above, the copied version of Wickwane's register placed sections consecutively within quires, significantly limiting rearrangement.[9] With Romeyn's register, the current arrangement of the section corresponds to that set out in its contemporary index-calendar (*kalendarium*), created early in Romeyn's archiepiscopate, as we will see. The revision of the sections into the arrangement seen today was therefore a contemporary choice – one that yields insights into how Romeyn and his administrators understood the register and archdiocese.

[8] The creation of the 'Suffragan Letters' section will be examined further in Chapter Three. For further discussion of the development of register sections see Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 235; Jacob, *The Medieval Registers of Canterbury and York*, 11-13.
[9] Chapter One, p. 41.

These changes indicate a re-envisioning of archdiocesan administration under Romeyn. In particular, the placement of the 'Officiality' section at the beginning of the register suggests an increased emphasis on the role of the *officialis*. The development of the office has been much considered for this period.[10] Romeyn's *officiales* will be examined in the third part of this chapter, but here it is helpful to note that in the first half of his archiepiscopate, Romeyn appointed men who had served under Wickwane, in other words, men experienced in York's administration.[11] Moreover, it appears he deployed them in different ways from Wickwane: Wickwane's registered instructions to his *officialis* were broadly concerned with matters of justice, money and goods, and excommunications. Many such instructions in Romeyn's register are of a similar nature but they also include material regarding writs from the king, especially those related to taxes, mandates to pray for the king and his relatives (as well as for fine weather), and more entries regarding ordination (Wickwane tended to instruct his archdeacons concerning ordination).[12] This points to a more extensive role for the *officialis*. It is possible that the breadth of entries in the 'Officiality' section was partly shaped by the increased frequency of recording – twenty-four entries were made in the section during Romeyn's first year, compared to seventeen in Wickwane's, and the section continued to be updated throughout Romeyn's archiepiscopate. Nevertheless, whether the *officialis'* duties expanded or not, there was an increased effort to use the register to record a wider range of his duties.

Restructuring went hand-in-hand with increased use throughout the register. Registration became a more consistent activity under Romeyn. Although some fluctuations in the number of entries occurred over the years, entries continued to the end of Romeyn's archiepiscopate. Unlike in Wickwane's register, almost all of the sections in Romeyn's register have entries for each archiepiscopal year. The exceptions to this are: the sections for the 'York Officiality' and 'Suffragan Letters', where headings are given for the eleventh year, but no entries made; the section for 'Howden and Alverton', which does not include years five, ten or eleven; and the *ballivarum* section, which omits year eleven. All the others include at least a few entries for Romeyn's

[10] Burger, "Officiales"; Smith, "The 'Officialis.'"
[11] For example, John of Crowcrombe continued to serve as *officialis* under Romeyn; see p. 127.
[12] E.g. Reg. *Romeyn*, nos. 28, 35, 36, 82, 93.

eleventh and final year (the 'Nottingham Archdeaconry' section has seven). This is more impressive when we recognise that Romeyn's archiepiscopal years began in February. As Romeyn died in the March of his eleventh year, a lack of entries cannot be taken to mean the section had been neglected, only that it was not necessarily updated every month. The 'Howden and Alverton' section was kept less regularly throughout: it occupies just three folios in total. Nevertheless, the lack of entries for this section very much stands out as the exception. For the rest of the register, the picture is one of consistent recording. Thus, the development of sections occurred in conjunction with the development of registration as a systematic activity with the register updated almost every month.

The unbound nature of the register was key in facilitating this ongoing use of the sections established at the beginning of Romeyn's archiepiscopate. As with Wickwane's register, the tightness of the modern binding combined with numerous insertions makes it difficult to discern quires. What can be discerned indicates a similar inconsistency to Wickwane's register in the relationship between sections and quires. For instance, folios 1 and 2 appear to comprise a single bifolio containing the title page and several memoranda. This is followed by a small quire of just two bifolia for the index-calendar and 'Indulgences' section (fols. 3-6), and some indulgences were entered on the next folio.[13] After this, the quires become less defined. Each section begins on the *recto* and, in some cases, we can be confident this is the start of a new quire: folio 7 is the start of a new quire for 'York Officiality' and folio 10 begins a new quire for Howden and Alverton. Other discernible quires begin partway through sections: one beginning at folio 54 is partway through the section for 'Cleveland Archdeaconry', while another quire beginning at folio 63 is within the 'East Riding Archdeaconry'. It is likely that each section began as an unfixed 'gathering', potentially a quire, that was then expanded through the insertion of additional quires or folios.

While this presents a challenge for researchers, it seems to have been a feature of Romeyn's register (and York registers more generally, at least in the thirteenth

[13] Apart from some additions at the bottom of the folio, the indulgences on fol. 7r appear to be in a single hand and those that are dated are from April 1286. The preceding folios have indulgences as late as 1289 suggesting that they may have been a later addition, potentially filling blank folios after the index-calendar.

century): the unbound nature of the register meant that sections could be easily expanded through the insertion of additional folios or quires while maintaining the overall structure of the register.[14] In her work on Glasgow Cathedral's and Lindores Abbey's early cartularies, Tucker argued that space for small-scale additions was 'inherently part of the cartulary's design', encouraged by the incorporation of new gatherings and lack of a fixed binding.[15] She termed them 'active manuscripts', a phrase equally applicable to episcopal registers.[16] A clear structure was established for Romeyn's register from the point of its creation but the sections that comprised this structure were continually being expanded through the insertion of additional quires and folios to facilitate their ongoing use.

Examining the structure of the register also reveals how the space of the register was used in new ways. The 'front matter' and 'back matter' largely comprises reference material – the index-calendar (fols. 3r-5r) is the most widely recognised but the inside of the title page (fol. 1v) contains memoranda: lists of cardinals and canons of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary and the Holy Angels, as well as evidence of several precedents, such as for ecclesiastical courts; while folios 6r-7r record indulgences.[17] Although the inclusion of this type of material was not novel, its form was. Lists of canons of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary and the Holy Angels are also found in Wickwane's register but on a small scrap of parchment in a late thirteenth- or early fourteenth-century hand, inserted within the 'Cleveland Archdeaconry' section.[18] In Romeyn's register, the inner cover of the register acted as a space where useful reference material was brought together, suggesting that it was intended to be easily accessible.

[14] As noted in Chapter One, Giffard's disbound register reveals significant irregularities in the quire structures with varying combinations of bifolia, folios, and attached parchments.
[15] Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*, 147.
[16] Ibid., 25.
[17] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1542, 1543, 1544, 1546; the entry of indulgences could be said to comprise a section in itself with entries made in batches on separate occasions but was not kept throughout the archiepiscopate nor does it have the annual divisions typical of the main register sections hence its inclusion here.
[18] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 910 (Wickwane MS, fol. 22); *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1543.

The back matter comprises material entitled 'Constitutions of Pope Boniface VIII' (fols. 153r-154v). This is a series of five decrees, issued 8th April 1295.[19] These were written by two scribes, either in the final year of Romeyn's archiepiscopate or soon after.[20] Brown did not transcribe them as he considered them to be of 'no local interest'.[21] Neverthless, asking why these were included reveals Romeyn's concerns and the parameters of his register. Rees Jones considered the inclusion of the New Catechism and rules of conduct for the laity in Archbishop John Thoresby's (1352-73) register, seeing it as indicative of an increasing concern for pastoral care in the wake of the Black Death.[22] The decrees recorded in Romeyn's register were issued on the same day, early in Boniface's pontificate, and include expectations of *conservatores* and judges, as well as the cancellation of provisions made by his predecessors, Celestine V and Nicholas IV.[23] Romeyn had complained vehemently about the number of papal provisions made in York.[24] While it is possible that this material was added after Romeyn's archiepiscopate, the choice to add decrees that specifically related to an issue that concerned Romeyn suggests it was more likely to have been added for him to use for reference. As with the memoranda at the front of the register, this reflects Romeyn and his administrators deploying the register as a reference tool.

Although the fact of changed sections in Romeyn's register has been commented on by various historians, less attention has been given to the relationship between these sections and a changing understanding of the register itself. Cheney argued that 'the idea of "the bishop's register" as an authentic document of special importance, distinct from subsidiary registers, was current in the fourteenth century; it may not have been so a hundred years before'.[25] In particular, he queried whether the earliest registers (those of Hugh of Wells, Walter de Gray, and Robert Grosseteste) were

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[19] August Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab a. post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a. MCCCIV*, vol. 2 (London: D. Nutt, 1874), nos. 24060-24064. All but one of these appear to have been antecedents of those included in the *Liber Sextus*, VI 1.14.1, 1.14.15, 1.3.8, 2.1.2.
[20] The hand changes slightly at the top of 154r.
[21] Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, xxxvi.
[22] Sarah Rees Jones, "York and the North: The Black Death, 1349-1373" (York, 2024).
[23] A sixth decree was issued that day regarding the naming of a church after the king of Sicily, which was not registered: Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum*, no. 24065.
[24] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1185.
[25] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*, 108. He noted a single use of the word register in Gray's rolls.

actually considered to be distinct registers by the bishops for whom they were kept. While consideration of the earliest rolls is beyond the scope of this inquiry, Romeyn's register indicates that the idea of a 'register' was very much a live issue in late thirteenth-century York. Under Romeyn, we see a language of registration emerge – *registrum* and *registrare* begin to appear frequently after being omitted completely from Wickwane's register. This language was fluid: *registrum* was used to describe both the register as a whole and some of its component sections. For instance, the index-calendar is described as a 'calendar of the register of Lord J[ohn] archbishop of York…' and a heading on folio 7 refers to 'the register of Lord John, by the grace of God, archbishop of York, primate of England…', both referring to the register as a whole.[26] Alongside this, all sections except for 'Indulgences', 'York Officiality', and *Intrinseca de camera* are entitled 'registrum'. Thus, Romeyn's *registrum* actually comprises a series of *registra*. After Romeyn, the use of *registrum* to describe register sections ceases, suggesting this was a specific moment where the concept of a register was being worked out.

This conceptual development went hand-in-hand with a new sense of order for the register. It was not merely that the structure was changed from Wickwane's but that there was a clear intention for how those sections should be used and what conventions should be followed. When these were not followed, notes were added to clarify where material should have been entered. On folio 104v, a note in the margin reads, 'this of the agents ought to be registered below, within the suffragans [section]'.[27] It has a *manicule* pointing to it and appears to have been added in a different ink and slightly different hand to both the main body of entries and the other marginal entries. On folio 102r, a note in the margin reads, 'memorandum that all the six above-written letters under "year five", inscribed in the margin with A., B., C., D., E., et F., ought to be registered in the beginning of this year [six], but an error of writing was made'.[28] This

[26] Romeyn MS, fol. 3r: 'kalendarium registri d(o)m(ini) J. Ebor(acensis) archiep(iscop)i…'; fol. 7r: 'Registrum d(o)m(ini) Joh(ann)is dei gr(ati)a Ebor(acensis) Archiep(iscop)i Angli(ci) prim(us)…'
[27] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1129A; Romeyn MS, fol. 104v: 'Hoc procuratorium debuit registrari infra inter suffraganeos'.
[28] Romeyn MS, fol. 102r, this is now partially obscured so Brown's transcription must be trusted: Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, 1, fn.1: 'memorandum quod omnes littere vj numero suprascripte infra annum quintum, intitulate in margine A., B., C., D., E., et F., deberent registrari in principio hujus anni, set fuit error scribentis'.

suggests that the register continued to be used for reference after the initial entries were made and efforts were made to rectify errors. Moreover, the term *registrare* was being used explicitly throughout the register to refer to the entry of material and particularly the ways in which material ought to be registered. Romeyn's administrators were not only imposing order on material and ensuring it followed the register's conventions, but this sense of order was integral to their idea of registering.

It is easy to oversimplify the changes from Wickwane's register to Romeyn's as the condensing and broadening of register sections. Yet this restructuring was symptomatic of a more significant change – the conceptual and linguistic development of the register and registration. Changes to the physical structure of the register occurred alongside a developing sense of how material should be categorised and the development of registration as an intentional and consistent activity. Alongside this, broader developments occurred in the scribal practices behind the register, seen most clearly in examining the appearance of the register folios, which will be considered now.

Scribal Practices

Romeyn's register has a similar style to Wickwane's: entries were written in a small *cursiva Anglicana* by a group of scribes, with the beginning of each entry marked by a pilcrow in the margin.[29] While little is new in terms of the register's *mise-en-page*, we see much greater consistency throughout the register in how the features that comprised this were deployed. The uniformity this creates points again to the emergence of a more coherent idea of what a register should look like and how it should function. However, uniformity did not preclude further innovation. Closer inspection of the appearance of Romeyn's register reveals the ways in which scribal innovation occurred alongside more consistent framing of the register.

Examining the paratext of Romeyn's register reveals a unified sense of what a register should look like among his scribes and a consistent effort to put that into practice. Framing conventions appear consistently. Taking the beginning of the 'York

[29] Although changes in hand can be identified, hands followed an incredibly similar style.

Archdeaconry' section as an example, a title at the top of the page gives both AD and pontifical years (fig. 20).[30] At the bottom of the page, the register section and the archiepiscopal year are given. Throughout the register, if the year changes partway down a folio, a marginal title has been used and a gap left to indicate the new year. The titles at the top and bottom of the folio were most likely added in conjunction with the first entries on that page (or in preparation for those entries), although there are several occasions where they were later amended to reflect additional years covered on that folio. For instance, folio 19v has the title 'Anno gr(aci)e m cc nonag(esim)o' to which '<et> nonag(esim)o p(ri)mo' has been added. On folio 8v, the addition of '<et> de secundo' appears to be in the same hand and ink as the marginal year (figs. 21 and 22). As the marginal titles also seem to be in the same ink as the entries closest to it, it is most likely that the same scribe wrote the entries, added the marginal year, and amended the title at the bottom of the page. Indeed, the ink used for the marginal years frequently corresponds to that of at least some of the entries on the page. For example, on folio 12r the title for the third year is in the same ink as the final entries for the second year, indicating that it was added in advance by the same scribe at the end of the second-year entries (fig. 23). As different scribes added these marginal years, there was some variation, such as whether space was left between the entries for each year, but the practice of adding them was maintained throughout.[31]

[30] Dates are often but not always given at the top of a folio when it is not the start of a section.
[31] See, for example, Romeyn MS, fol. 21r, which has a gap, and 19v where no space is left.

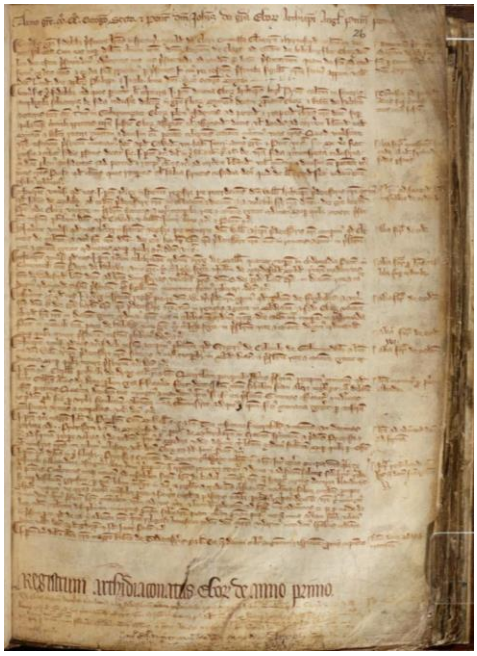

Figure 20: Romeyn MS, fol. 26, beginning of 'York Archdeaconry' section

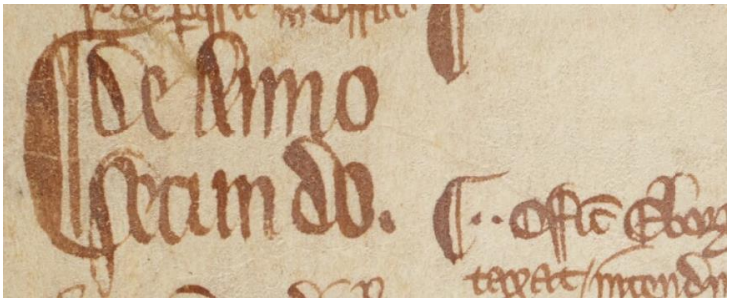

Figure 21: Romeyn MS, fol. 8v, 'York Officiality', 1287, marginal yearly heading

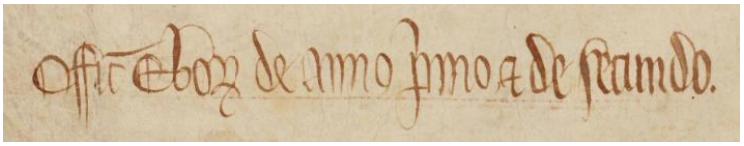

Figure 22: Romeyn MS, fol. 8v, 'York Officiality', 1287, heading at bottom amended by the same scribe who wrote the (second) marginal year

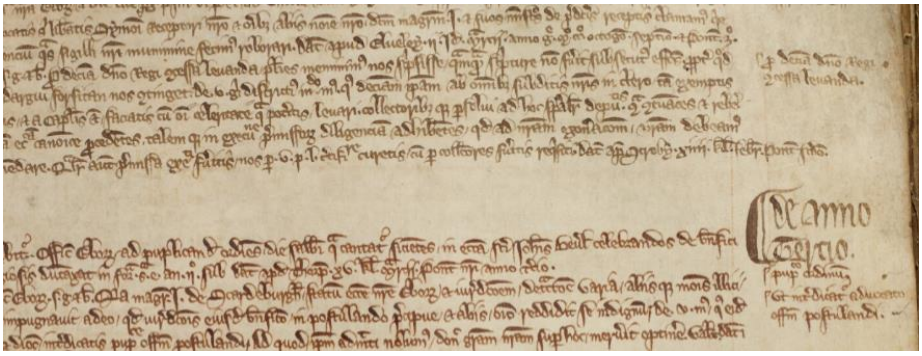

Figure 23: Romeyn MS, fol. 12r, 'York Officiality', 1288, marginal heading in the same ink and hand as the previous year's entries

As well as the titles, marginal notes became more consistent in Romeyn's register. These were often more detailed than those in Wickwane's, summarising the type of material and who it concerned; for instance, 'letter directed to the official for the ordination at Tadcaster' and 'letter directed to the lord by the king, which he sent to the official to execute, evidently, to pray for the king of Scotland'.[32] There was some variation in the level of detail but they effectively provided short summaries of the entries, facilitating quick reference for the register's users. Moreover, they were used for every entry, typically added in the same hand, and so in conjunction with the entry itself. From the beginning, the framing of entries using marginal notes and years was part of the activity of registering. Not only did this contribute to the register's consistent presentation, but it meant one could open the register on any folio and immediately see the year, the section, and short descriptions of the material there.

As register conventions became more consistent, the sections themselves were being refined. In some cases, the headings for sections were subsequently adapted in a different hand and ink. For example, the title for the 'Suffragan Letters' section at the bottom of folio 130r was changed from 'Register of letters directed [to] the suffragan bishops' and to a much broader 'Register of the letters [of or concerning] the suffragan bishops' (fig. 24).[33] This reveals something of the adaptability of the register; despite the more rigid framework, the understanding of these sections was developing, and their

[32] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 27: 'littera directa officiali pro ordinandis apud Tadcastre'; no. 29: 'littera directa domino per regem, que fuit missa officiali ad exequendum, videlicet, ad orandum pro rege Scotie'.
[33] Romeyn MS, fol. 130r: 'Registrum litterae [de] episcopis suffraganeis ~~directarum~~ de anno primo'.

parameters could change. While it cannot be said with certainty when the 'Suffragan Letters' title was updated, it accords with material added to the section. The penultimate entry in Romeyn's first year was a letter to king about clergy not paying their subsidies; in his sixth year, an interdict of all the places through which the bishop of Durham passed was registered, followed by a letter to the king about the interdict.[34] The alteration to the title was likely driven by the need to register material concerning the suffragans but not addressed directly to them. A similar adaptation occurred in the 'Register of all the *ballivarum* of the archbishopric of York from the first year' with the addition of 'and the jurisdictions of the same with the *prepositura* of Beverley' (fig. 25).[35] Again, this was likely a response to the entry of material; from early in Romeyn's first year, material blurs the boundaries between different kinds of archiepiscopal authority – one entry records the appointment of the bailiff of Southwell, while the next concerns a commission to admit novices and two clerks as canons at St. Oswald's, Gloucester.[36] Other entries directly concerned Beverley.[37] The change to the title must have occurred in Romeyn's first year as the second-year title includes the addition (with the 'Suffragan Letters' a shortened title was used for the second year so it is unclear whether this occurred in the first year). Although the register had a clear structure and conventions from its creation, the first year (at least) still brought a period of learning and evaluating how effective that structure was and making necessary adaptations.

Figure 24: Romeyn MS, fol. 130r, amended 'Suffragan Letters' heading

[34] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1368, 1369.
[35] Romeyn MS, fol. 115r: 'Registrum ballivarum omnium archiepiscopatus Ebor. de anno primo', 'et jurisdiccionis earundem cum prepositura Beverlacensi'.
[36] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1209, 1210.
[37] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1225, 1227, 1228.

Figure 25: Romeyn MS, fol. 115r, amended Ballivarum heading

As well as developments in what we might call the framework of Romeyn's register, there is evidence that new codicological features were being trialled. This is seen in the drawings. Romeyn's register has two drawings that are not *manicules* or heads. Closer examination of these drawings reveals a connection between them and nearby entries. Both were in the same ink as the surrounding entries – likely drawn by the same scribes – and they correspond to the content of the entries. The first is on folio 105v: a curious drawing of a creature with two human heads, two dragon heads protruding from the tops of each human head, with two feet below and a curved tail. This has been drawn next to the title that introduces the vicar-general's register and states that the archbishop was 'occupied in distant [lands]' (fig. 26).[38] As it is placed directly to the left of the heading, it most likely represents the scribe's idea of the remote lands the archbishop has gone to (in this case, Italy). The other drawing (fol. 115v) is more easily identified as a dog catching a stag, which appears in the margin next to an entry relating to the archbishop's hunting arrangements (fig. 27). Both draw the reader's attention and indicate what the material contained. This gives them a functional role, rather than being purely decorative or the doodles of a bored scribe. While it would be easy to see the more consistent framework of Romeyn's register as evidence of the register as a less creative space than Wickwane's, his scribes continued to innovate.

[38] Romeyn MS, fol. 105v: 'hic incipit registru(m) mag(ist)ri J de craucumbe vicarii g(e)n(er)alis d(omi)no.. archiep(iscop)o in remotis agente'. The use of the register for the vicar-general will be explored below, see p. 121.

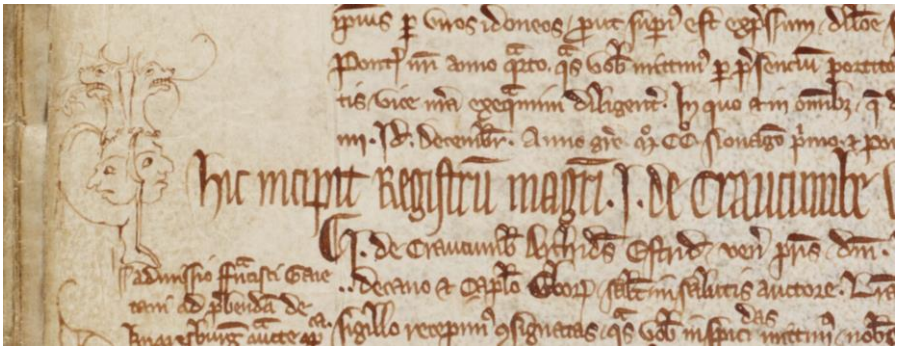

Figure 26: Romeyn MS, fol. 105v, 'archbishop in distant lands' drawing

Figure 27: Romeyn MS, fol. 115v, hunting drawing

Romeyn's register contains fewer drawings of heads and *manicules* compared to Wickwane's register. In two places, both a head and a *manicule* were drawn alongside an entry (fols. 73v and 153v); three were attached to titles (86r, 104v, and 112v); two others were attached to marginal notes (another on 104v, which also has a *manicule*, and one on 133v). This is fewer than half the number in Wickwane's register, and far fewer are in prominent places, which contributes to a more professionalised appearance. They point to a more deliberate use, drawing attention to particular entries. On folio 73v, a head and *manicule* appear next to an entry recording a papal provision, while on 153v, a head and *manicule* were drawn next to part of one of Boniface VIII's decrees rectifying the actions of his predecessors.[39] The other instance where both a head and *manicule* appear together is next to an entry of a mandate to preach the Crusade, while the marginal note with a head on 133v is a memorandum that an entry

[39] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 774; Potthast, *Regesta Pontificum*, no. 24061.

should have been made in the section for the 'Spirituality of Howden and Alverton'.[40] This more selective use of heads to draw attention to individual entries, rather than purely for decoration or for scribes to leave their mark, was paralleled in the use of *manicules* throughout the register. Again, these were used less frequently and often identified the correction of an entry or the inclusion of memoranda about the material.[41] This points to drawings being used more discerningly throughout the register, typically to highlight particular entries. Scribes were thinking about how the register was being interacted with and how they could shape this.

Other scribal experiments changed the appearance of the register. For instance, red ink (rubrication) was used on a single folio (107r) to decorate the titles at the top and bottom of the page (fig. 28). It is unclear why this particular folio was chosen; it is within the 'Chapters' section and records material from Romeyn's eighth year. It may simply have been considered a relatively inconspicuous place to experiment, or it may be that it was the particular scribe working on it who wanted to trial rubrication. It appears to have been a small experiment but again indicates that Romeyn's scribes continued to think about how the register could be used. The red ink draws the reader's eye and could indicate greater expense being put into the register. Moreover, the fact that it occurred late in Romeyn's archiepiscopate shows that ideas about how the register should be framed continued to develop beyond the register's initial creation. These experiments tended to be more subtle than the 'reboot' that occurred under Wickwane, or his later initiatives, but they nonetheless point to ongoing innovation in Romeyn's chancery.

Figure 28: Romeyn MS, fol. 107r, 'Chapters' year eight, heading

[40] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1133.
[41] See, for example, Romeyn MS, fols. 8v, 12r, 19v.

Continued innovation among Romeyn's scribes can be seen within some of the register's entries. In places, the neatness and regularity of the register entries appears to be disrupted but closer examination of these instances reveals ongoing efforts to further the uses of the register. For example, there are noticeable crossings-out on folio 92v ('Chapters', fig. 29), and folios 145r to 148r (*Intrinseca de camera*, fig. 30). These take two different forms. On 92v, several entries regarding the installation of prebendaries have been partly erased and lines drawn through the gaps this created, presumably to prevent anything being added in their place. Here, it seems that details have been redacted: a number of the gaps appear where a name would have been, such as 'mag(ist)ro _____', as well as the prebend. This was most likely an effort to use certain register entries as examples of form, a use that will be explored in the next section.[42] A single scribe did this to several entries on this folio.[43] Elsewhere, the recipient's name was replaced with 'A. de B.'[44] Removing names already written was the innovation of one particular scribe in the first year of Romeyn's archiepiscopate.

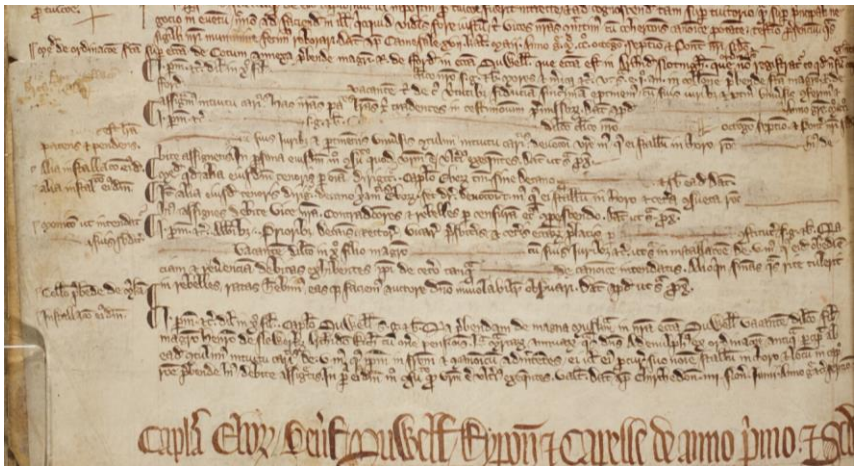

Figure 29: Romeyn MS, fol. 92v, 'Chapters' year one and two, erased names

[42] See below, p. 115.
[43] The only other place where this occurs is in an unrelated letter from Edward I on an inserted folio (16).
[44] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 699.

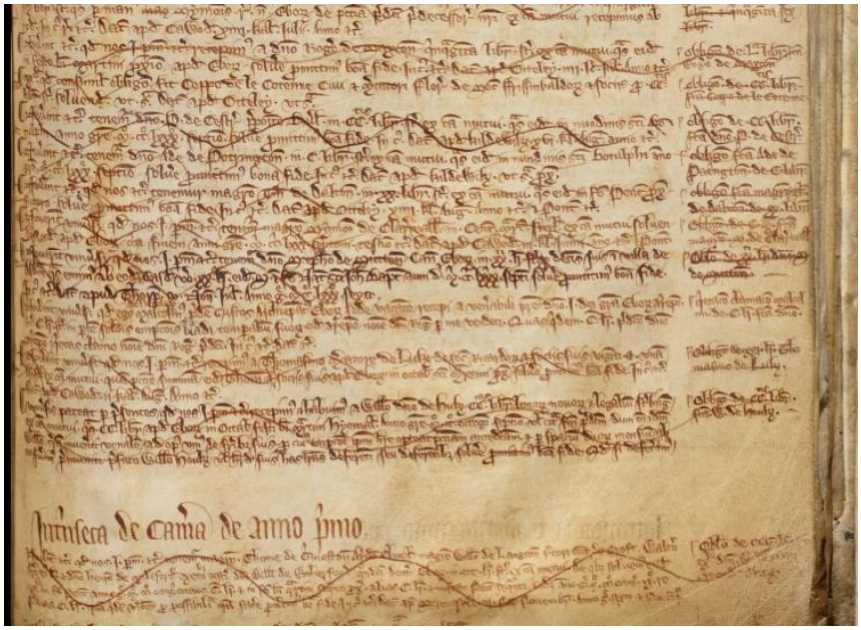

Figure 30: Romeyn MS, fol. 146r, Intrinseca year one, crossed out entries

The crossing out on folios 145r to 148r was another initiative, this time undertaken by several scribes. These folios are within the *Intrinseca de camera* section and the entries concern bonds. These are crossed out in a very different style from the examples above, usually with a wavy line, and sometimes an 'x' is used to cross through the corresponding marginalia. This most likely indicates that the bond had been cancelled. The original entry is still visible and readable, allowing the entry to be used for reference. In these cases, the crossing out is in the same ink as the entry itself, indicating that the scribe who wrote the entry immediately crossed it out. This type of crossing out occasionally occurs elsewhere in the register. For instance, Thomas of Adderbury's collation to the archdeaconry of Cleveland in Romeyn's fourth year is crossed through (fig. 31).[45] Adderbury refused the collation, which may explain the crossing out. It seems that it was considered worthwhile to record the refusal of an appointment or a bond that had been cancelled but efforts were made to indicate in the register that these were no longer in effect.

[45] Adderbury also refused the archdeaconry of Nottingham; this was not crossed out, but the marginal note stated that he had not accepted: Romeyn MS, fol. 70v.

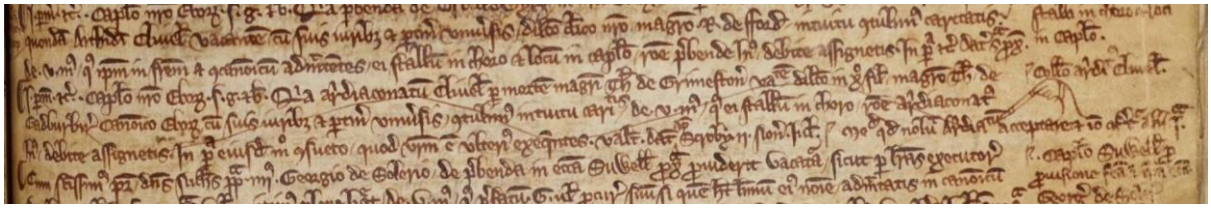

Figure 31: Romeyn MS, fol. 96r, Adderbury's collation crossed through with a memorandum of his refusal and a manicule added on the right

The more routine conventions of Romeyn's register compared to Wickwane's have been given little thought and generally associated with the advancement that Romeyn's register supposedly brought. As with closer examination of the structure of Romeyn's register, analysing its paratext and the choices of drawing, decoration, and deletion that continued to shape the register, complicate this picture. Consistency in some aspects of registration did not preclude creativity in others. During the course of Romeyn's archiepiscopate, the apparatus of the register was refined: the use of headings and marginal notes, as well as the consistency of entries, give the register a more uniform appearance. Scribal innovations continued alongside this refinement, with several instances of experimentation in the use of pictures or decoration, as well as the entry of material, that changed the register's appearance.

Overall, the evidence of learning seen in Romeyn's register appears more subtle than the distinct new initiatives in Wickwane's, yet his archiepiscopate brought important developments in the very understanding of the register. Both the structure and the conventions of the register reflect a more coherent sense of what a register was and how it should function. From the beginning of his archiepiscopate, there was a clear idea of how the register should be structured, with certain conventions (titles and marginal notes) used routinely, and other features (such as *manicules*) being used more discerningly. Within this framework, subtle refinements were made to some sections in Romeyn's first year, and scribal initiatives sought to develop the register further throughout his archiepiscopate, trialling the use of rubrication and illustrative drawings. Alongside changes to how the register was being kept, there was a more substantial linguistic and conceptual change. *Registrum* was used both to mean Romeyn's register as a whole and to describe the smaller units within it, while *registrare* was used in

instructions about how and where material should have been entered. Changes to Romeyn's physical register reflected a broader reimagining of the very concept of a register.

II. Function and Record

New elements were introduced to Romeyn's register and existing elements adapted. The register contains an index-calendar directing the user to example forms for different material; it records material from Romeyn's vicar-general in subsections entitled 'register of the vicar-general'; elsewhere, its potential as an archive was deployed in new ways. The development of these features reflects changing ideas about how a register could serve archiepiscopacy in York. This section explores how certain features of the register supported its functions, and to what extent these changed under Romeyn. In doing so, it sheds light on how developing ideas of record-keeping informed changes to Romeyn's register. In particular, we see the development of what Karn referred to as an 'archival mentality'.[46] Like royal government administrators, Romeyn and his administrators were thinking in new ways about how material could be preserved for his own ends. Keeping material could be as much about memory and identity as administration.[47] Moreover, preservation allowed material to be deployed to new ends. We see this in action with *inspeximus* charters, which Bainton argued offered a 'radical form of memorial repurposing'.[48] This raises the question of how Romeyn and his administrators preserved and redeployed material in ways that reflected changing ideas about the written word.

This section examines features of Romeyn's register as evidence of changing registration activities and emerging ideas about how the register could be used. It takes

[46] Nicholas Karn, "Centralism and Local Government in Medieval England: Constitutional History and Assembly Politics, 950-1300," *History Compass* 10, no. 10 (2012): 743.
[47] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*; Patrick Geary, "From Charter to Cartulary: From Archival Practice to History," in *Representing History, 900-1300: Art, Music, History*, ed. Robert Maxwell (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2010), 181–86; Tucker, *Reading and Shaping Medieval Cartularies*; Georges Declerq, "Originals and Cartularies: The Organization of Archival Memory (Ninth-Eleventh Centuries)," in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. Karl Heidecker (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 155.
[48] Bainton, *History and the Written Word*, 54.

three aspects of the register's functions – archiving, form, and absences – as lenses with which to examine features of the register that have been recognised but not yet examined. These include the insertions, index-calendar, and 'vicar-general's register', which will be analysed in terms of what they reveal about registration and the ideas behind it. In doing so, this section reveals key developments in the practices and ideas of registration that influenced the register's shape.

The Archival Register: Insertion or Entry

As with Wickwane's register, material was not only copied into Romeyn's register, but additional leaves or parchment fragments were inserted, and not all material dated from within his archiepiscopate. Inserting rather than copying both contemporary and historic material distinguished it from the main body of entries and allowed it to be moved or removed as required. It reflects the idea of the register as a place for preserving selected material – in other words, as an archive. Elsewhere in the register, Romeyn's administrators copied archival material into the main body of the register, integrating it with the everyday records. The choice of whether to copy material or insert material (both contemporary and historic) was based on contemporary needs and ideas. This raises the question of what was behind these different archiving choices? How did Romeyn's administrators engage with and deploy different kinds of material? Examining first the inserted materials and then historic material copied into the register reveals the distinct choices made about how to use the register and how to repurpose the material it preserved.

Thirty-two parchments were inserted into Romeyn's register. These are varied in nature but, as with those in Wickwane's original register, they can frequently be linked to the surrounding material. For example, in the 'York Officiality' section (fols. 7-25), several slips of parchment have been inserted close to folios with related entries. This was particularly clear with contemporary royal letters and writs (often originals) that Romeyn was acting upon. Inserted folios 9 and 10 – a letter (January 1288) and a mandate (February 1288) from the king regarding the collection of the thirtieth – correspond to an entry on folio 12r instructing the collectors of the thirtieth to pay what

had been collected (March 1288).[49] Here matching symbols were used to link the inserted material with the references to them within the entry. The inserted folio 24 is a royal writ (November 1295) directing that Frenchmen holding benefices within thirteen miles of the sea be moved further inland, which was behind an entry on folio 22v of a commission to inquire into aliens holding benefices near the sea (also November 1295).[50] Three entries on 12v record that Romeyn had issued mandates for the implementation of royal writs regarding the collection of the tenth; in each of these entries, transcriptions of the writs were included. The original writs were also included nearby as insertions (fols. 15, 16, and 18).[51] The selective inclusion of particular royal letters was not merely about their content but about their physical form. Inserting original writs demonstrated the royal authority behind Romeyn's actions. This was a distinct choice made for certain kinds of material; other royal letters were copied into the register with no insertions, typically those relating to particular churches or clerics (usually prompting Romeyn's own action).[52]

The choice to insert some royal writs and letters was reflective of a wider pattern: approximately half of the insertions contain material not produced by Romeyn's own chancery (including some historic material). On occasion, material was inserted because it was being deployed. Romeyn's (1287) reissue of Walter de Gray's (1233) corrections of Selby Abbey was inserted within the 'York Archdeaconry' section.[53] While this was not the original document of corrections, by reissuing it, Romeyn asserted a clear precedent for his instructions to Selby and aligned himself with his predecessor. As with the insertion of contemporary royal material, this underscored Romeyn's authority demonstrating that Romeyn was acting in accordance with his predecessors' actions.

This does not explain all of the inserted material. For instance, there is mandate from Giffard inquiring into the extent of Jordan de la Laund's land in the barony of the

[49] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 62.
[50] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 108.
[51] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 65, 66, 67.
[52] For instance, *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1253 is a mandate forbidding Romeyn to cite the prior and convent of St. Oswald's, Gloucester, and no. 619 mandates Romeyn to admit a presentee to the church of Foston, both of which are entered.
[53] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 168; Romeyn MS, fol. 29.

archbishop of York, as well as a contemporary mandate from papal judges-delegate to cite the prior of Holy Trinity York to appear at Lincoln to prosecute his action against Romeyn, both between the 'Howden and Alverton' and the *Ballivarum* section.[54] These touch upon issues of the archbishop's possessions and rights, although there is little indication of how these were being used beyond reference and neither fit neatly into the established register sections. Other insertions provide additional information, such as a list of houses of friars and where they were to preach the Crusade (fol. 39).[55] Moreover, some material written by Romeyn was also inserted. Folios 117, 119, and 121 appear to be drafts of letters to bailiffs about issues of justice, which are entered within the *Ballivarum* section.[56] Overall, while the insertions cover a wide range of material, they tend to fall into two categories: either material complementing an entry in the register or material that provides information useful to the archbishop but without an obvious place of entry in the register. Unlike with many of the insertions in Wickwane's register, the act of inserting material seems to have been part of the contemporary registration process, where material was being collated with the register but inserted rather than copied. This distinguished it from the rest of the register.

As noted in Chapter One, some of the insertions in Wickwane's later register were written by Romeyn and likely inserted during Romeyn's archiepiscopate. Only one has a clear link to Wickwane, a licence giving permission for Sir Roger of Malton and Sir Hugh of Methley to go on pilgrimage to Pontigny where Wickwane had been buried.[57] The insertion is undated, but the licence was also entered in the *Ballivarum* section of Romeyn's register, which gives the date as 29th May 1291.[58] Two others date from 27th April 1286: an indulgence for those praying for Lady Christina Ledet's soul and visitation notice for Thurgarton priory; there is a mandate regarding prayers for the king dated 29th November 1288 according to the insertion in Wickwane's register. [59] These were also entered in Romeyn's own register. The indulgence regarding prayers for Christina Ledet's soul is on folio 7r (in 'Indulgences'); the mandate to pray for the king is on 7v ('York

[54] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1550, 1551.
[55] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 309.
[56] *Reg. Romeyn* II, see p.49, fn.2; no. 1336.
[57] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 911.
[58] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1288.
[59] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 925, 933, 935; these were also entered into Romeyn's own register.

Officiality, Year One'); and the visitation notice is on folio 69r ('Nottingham Archdeaconry, Year One').[60] In Romeyn's register, the mandate regarding prayers for the king has been heavily amended with words and phrases interlined; these included the addition of a later date (29th November 1288), the original date was 1st May 1286. The version inserted into Wickwane's register also contains the amendments. While there does not appear to be a clear pattern behind the choice to both insert this material into Wickwane's register and enter it into Romeyn's register, it nonetheless hints at the ways in which Romeyn's administrators treated Wickwane's register as an archive.

The indulgence and visitation notice from 27th April 1286 were produced during Romeyn's journey northwards after his consecration at Rome in February and before he was enthroned at York in June. Another insertion into Wickwane's register (folio 65r) contains two mandates issued by Archbishop Pecham and one by his commissary to prevent Romeyn from carrying his cross in the Southern Province (dated from March and April 1286), which were not entered into Romeyn's register. While it is unclear exactly when Romeyn's register was first created, more than thirty entries date from before he had reached Cawood on or just before 24th May. Importantly, these early entries were not all written up in a single hand as a batch at a later date. It is likely that Romeyn's administrators had begun to create his register even before they reached Cawood. The insertion of material into Wickwane's register most likely happened shortly after this. Thus, early in Romeyn's archiepiscopate, his administrators were turning to Wickwane's register and seemingly using it as a kind of portable archive alongside creating Romeyn's own register.

The use of Wickwane's register under Romeyn was not a one-off event. At least some of the insertions were added later, such as mandate to pray for the king (November 1288) and the licence to go to Pontigny (May 1291).[61] Alongside this, the insertion of material from Wickwane himself and of historic material may well have occurred under Romeyn. If the argument that Wickwane's later register was produced in preparation for him going to Rome holds up, then insertions must have been added in 1284 or later. Inserted material, both historic and contemporary, was varied in nature:

[60] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 20, 28, 702.
[61] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 911, 935.

some material was from previous archbishops of York, including a grant issued by Walter de Gray to the chaplain of York, some had an unclear link to York, such as two papal licences from 1258 to the abbot and convent of convent of Abingdon to appropriate certain churches.[62] Likewise, material from Wickwane's archiepiscopate was varied in nature, including some of Wickwane's own letters along with those of other churchmen, such as a bond from Robert, prior of Thurgarton, to Robert of Sleaford, and Sleaford's appointment of a proctor.[63] There is not a clear pattern in where material is inserted. Insertions tend to follow one-after-another in places, but do not appear to link to each other or the surrounding material. It may well be that Romeyn's administrators were simply attempting to archive loose material and saw Wickwane's (later) register as a space to do that. Indeed, archiving of varied material had already occurred in the appended section of this later register version. While any conclusions about exactly when or why insertions were added into Wickwane's register are tentative, what is clear is that under both Wickwane and Romeyn there was a keen awareness of the value of archiving material and of how it could be used.

Under Romeyn, there was also a growing effort to deploy archival material in new ways in the main body of entries in his own register, rather than through insertion. Brentano noted Romeyn's citation of de Gray's register for an example of precedent during the Whithorn vacancy.[64] Romeyn's use of historic material went far beyond that. His register includes several *inspeximus* charters – charters that he had inspected, confirmed, and had copied into register. Bainton argued that such charters 'could thus gain their authority afresh – or lose it at once – through the repetition of their contents'.[65] In Wickwane's register, the word 'inspeximus' tended to be used when confirming his subordinates' actions.[66] In Romeyn's register, it was used several times to reissue material from his predecessors, as well as from Pope Honorius IV and Henry II. Examples include confirmation of Giffard's and Wickwane's letters allowing Edmund of Everley to hold a mediety of Treswell and ratification of Archbishop Geoffrey's

[62] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 924, 921.
[63] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 926, 927.
[64] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 107–8.
[65] Bainton, *History and the Written Word*, 54.
[66] For example, *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 342, 396.

confirmation of Henry II's grant of a pension to Launde priory.[67] It was also used in a mandate to his official to publish Honorius IV's contemporary bull outlawing Apostolic Brethren (1286).[68] The choice to inspect was a deliberate one: it repurposed the documents for Romeyn's own ends, asserting his right to confirm the validity of rights and decrees for York archdiocese. Elsewhere, Henry III's confirmation of a charter concerning the archbishop's lands in Nottingham was copied into Romeyn's register without the claim that Romeyn had 'inspected' it.[69] Thus, a distinction can be drawn between archival material that was entered because Romeyn's reaffirmation of it was entered and archival material that was entered for another end, such as setting out an archiepiscopal right (as in the charter regarding his lands).

The entry of historic material into the register has two key implications: firstly, that Romeyn and his administrators preserved and consulted it, which facilitated its reproduction in the register. It is unclear where exactly this material was being preserved, although Romeyn's confirmation of Giffard's and Wickwane's letters regarding Edmund of Everley took place 'in our chapel of Cawood'.[70] Cawood was one of the main administrative centres (along with Bishopthorpe) through the fourteenth century, making it a potential location for a repository.[71] Secondly, reissuing the charters and having them copied into the register bolstered Romeyn's own authority, emphasising that he was acting on papal authority, or echoing the precedents of his predecessors.

Whether inserted or copied, Romeyn's register reveals processes whereby historic material was being consulted and, in some cases, redeployed for a new purpose. Geary, and also David Foote, addressed the way that cartularies (and in Foote's case, registers too) could be used to organise the past, and Foote saw

[67] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 713, and 829; a copy of 829 is also inserted on fol. 165.
[68] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 94 (fol. 21r-v),
[69] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1224.
[70] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 713: 'in capella nostro de Cawood'.
[71] Rees Jones, "Administrative Records," 53, 70; Stefania Merlo Perring, "Structuring Episcopal Authority: Palaces and Residences of the Archbishop of York," in *The Church and Northern English Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Archbishops of York and Their Records*, ed. Paul Dryburgh and Sarah Rees Jones (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, in association with The Boydell Press, 2024), 208–24.

cartularies and registers 'as seeds of historical consciousness'.[72] Romeyn's register demonstrates an awareness of what archival material could offer, and the potential for the future use of his own register. In many ways, this was closely linked to the use of contemporary authoritative material, such as royal writs, to bolster Romeyn's own instructions. The deployment of such material, both historic and contemporary, was done deliberately in Romeyn's register, typically in relation to attempts to exert his authority. Alongside this, Romeyn's administrators were likely using Wickwane's register as an archive for loose material, related to the archbishopric of York and, in some cases, produced in the earliest weeks of Romeyn's archiepiscopate. Under Romeyn, archiving was a deliberate and valued part of registration, shaped by the desire to use material to support archiepiscopal authority, but one that was varied in practice.

Form and Formulary

Changing ideas about the authority of the written word also drove the use of the register for form. The authority of a document or letter was often rooted in its particular form, alongside marks of authenticity.[73] Collections of models of different forms, such as formularies, were kept in the archiepiscopal chancery. The inclusion of an index-calendar (*kalendarium*) that allowed Romeyn's register to function as a formulary has long been recognised.[74] Yet comments on the index-calendar have generally been restricted to its existence, obvious use for reference, and similarity to Bishop Sutton's register; the register's wider uses for form have remained little-examined. It is easy to see why: the index-calendar is entitled 'calendar of the register of Lord J[ohn], Archbishop of York, of all the forms of letters *cursoriarum* preserved in it'.[75] It is a list of registered documents that show particular forms, divided into sections corresponding to those of the register (see fig. 32). For each, it notes the year under which an entry can

[72] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*; Geary, "Charter to Cartulary"; Foote, *Lordship, Reform, and the Development of Civil Society in Medieval Italy*, 147.
[73] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries"; Neal, *The Letters of Edward I*; Nicholas Karn, "William the Conqueror's Writ for the City of London," *Historical Research* 96 (2022): 5.
[74] Romeyn MS, fols. 3r-5r; Brown, *Reg. Romeyn I*; Hill, "Bishop Sutton and His Archives"; Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*; Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries."
[75] Romeyn MS, fol. 3r: 'Kalendarium registri domini J., eboracensis archiepiscopi, de omnibus formis litterarum cursoriarum contentarum in eo'.

be found.[76] While its use, and therefore the register's use, for form seems plain, closer examination of the index-calendar and other markers of form has implications for how we understand Romeyn's register, and how registration developed under him.

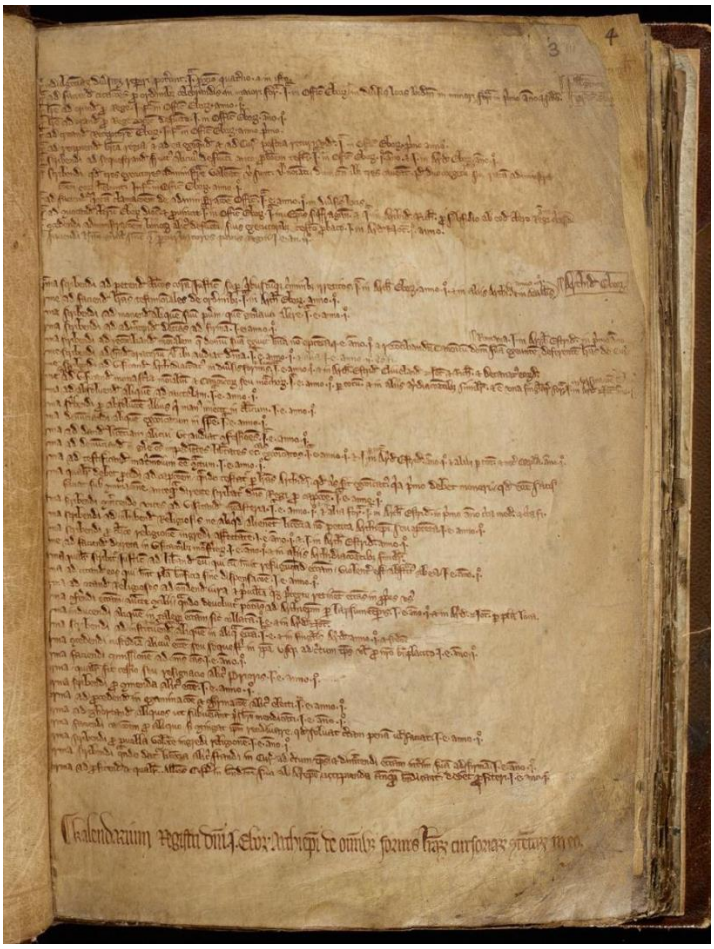

Figure 32: Romeyn MS, fol. 3r, index-calendar

The index-calendar was largely created at a specific moment, most likely in the second year of Romeyn's archiepiscopate. The main hand is consistent and the *mise-en-page* uniform. The entries that are referenced typically date from the first year of Romeyn's archiepiscopate with only a few second-year entries. A second hand added a few additional second-year examples and added a few missing years in the *Intrinseca*

[76] E.g. *Reg. Romeyn*, p.179 (not numbered): 'Forma littere ad orandum pro rege in officialitate Eboracensi, anno j [Form of letter to pray for the king in the Officiality of York [section], year one]'. This differs from the index in Sutton's Lincoln register, created by Scalby, which does include specific quires.

de camera subsection of the index-calendar. A single reference to an entry from Romeyn's eighth year was added under 'Howden' on fol. 4v, and a much later hand adds a comment at the top of 5r but, beyond these, there is little evidence that it was being added to beyond the second year. Although Brown described it as 'for the most part contemporary, but with many later additions', it appears that all but the single addition in a later hand were contemporary and the vast majority was produced by one particular scribe in Romeyn's second year, with a second scribe making small additions not long after.[77] This makes it the result of a specific registration initiative early in Romeyn's archiepiscopate.

This initiative reveals wider developments in the register. The sections of the index-calendar, indicated by headings in the margin, follow the order of the register sections. These sections appear to have been written successively by the same scribe, who left a similar sized space between each section, even where the number of entries varied, and a second scribe made the additional entries mentioned above. Moreover, the order of these entries in the index-calendar reflects that of the entries within the register sections, with some cross-referencing to include entries from later within the same section or another section where pertinent.[78] Therefore, the scribe was working with the register as a whole, able to navigate its arrangement to find additional examples of a given form.

This tells us two things. Firstly, the arrangement of the register must have been decided by the time the index-calendar was created in Romeyn's second year. The index-calendar was responding to material already in the register: the decision to register material predated the decision to include it in the index-calendar. Either the index-calendar was created in response to a new idea about how the register should be used, or it was intended to aid an existing use of the register. Examining the broader references to form in the register below will help to clarify this. Secondly, the explicit

[77] Brown, *Reg. Romeyn I*, iv.

[78] E.g. *Reg. Romeyn II*, p.179 (not numbered): 'Forma scribendi ad sequestrandum fructus alicujus defuncti ante probacionem testamenti, infra in officialitate Eboracensi j° anno, et infra in archidiaconatu Eboracensi anno j° [Form for the purpose of writing on the fruits of a certain dead person to be sequestrated before evidence of [their] will, below in the officiality of York [section] year one, and below in the archdeaconry of York [section] year one]' refers to entries 39 and 135 (as identified by Brown) in two different register sections.

references to particular sections indicate that the register was fully laid out and understood as a compilation of smaller units that were intended to work together. Even though the register's sections were bound at the end of the archiepiscopate, the directions to sections reflect the use of the register as a compilation. The development of the register as a whole thus facilitated the creation of the index-calendar. Turning now to the broader use of the registers for form further develops our sense of the relationship between the development of the registers, their use for form, and their other purposes.

The use of Romeyn's register for form was much wider than the index-calendar. Entries that offered a model form can be found both in the main body of entries and in material added subsequently, such as at the bottom of a folio or as an insertion. Hoskin identified the use of interlined plurals and inclusion of alternative forms in a signification of excommunication from Romeyn's register.[79] Examining this entry in the manuscript, the amendments appear to be in the same hand and ink as the original entry and so were made at the same time (fig. 33). Moreover, the marginal note for this entry explicitly identifies it as a 'form for capture'.[80] This is one of three marginal notes on this folio (69r, 'Nottingham Archdeaconry') that identify entries in the main body of text as a 'form for…', some of which were amended for common use.[81] In 'another form for the unbeneficed', the recipient's name is replaced with 'A. de B.' as mentioned above.[82] Such examples appear throughout the register: for instance, 'a form of denouncing anyone excommunicated *in specie*' is included in the 'York Archdeaconry' section.[83] Again, 'A. de B.' is given in place of a named individual and the excommunication is attributed to their 'contumacy and offences', a typical rationale for excommunication.[84] These examples come from Romeyn's first year, indicating that the register was used for form prior to the creation of the index-calendar.

[79] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries," 40.
[80] Romeyn MS, fol. 69r (marginal note): 'For(ma) p(ro) capc(i)o(n)e' (my transcription).
[81] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 699 (two marginal notes), 700.
[82] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 699 (second part): 'Alia forma pro non beneficiatis'.
[83] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 122: 'Forma denunciandi aliquem excommunicatum in specie'.
[84] Ibid: 'contumacias et offensas'; F. D. Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England: A Study in Legal Procedure from the Thirteenth Century to the Sixteenth Century* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1968), 43–44.

Figure 33: Romeyn MS, fol. 69r, amendments in same ink as entry

The margins were not only used to identify models of form in the main body of entries but were used as a space to include additional models. In the bottom margin of folio 69 ('Nottingham Archdeaconry, year one'), additional entries were added in another hand, one of which was described as a 'form of writing for the liberation of that person who is incarcerated for deception'.[85] A marginal note on 70r directs the reader to another form given below, another later addition at the bottom of the folio.[86] This reflects the ongoing use of the register to record examples of form. Cross-referencing these later additions with the index-register allows us to establish a tentative timeline for these activities. While the addition to 69r was made after the main body of entries on the folio, it was included in the index-calendar in the hand of the first scribe. Therefore, it must have been added between the initial registration of entries and the creation of the index-calendar, and so later in the first year of Romeyn's archiepiscopate or early in the second year. Even in the first two years under Romeyn, therefore, we see three stages of form influencing registration: in the initial choice of entries and their representation in the register, in the subsequent addition of examples of form in the margins, and in the creation of the index-calendar itself.

Furthermore, later entries and notes make it clear that form continued to influence the keeping and use of the register after the index-register was created. One such way was through the addition of marginal notes that cross-referenced later entries of form. For instance, a marginal note on folio 7v next to a mandate to pray for the king

[85] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 701: 'Forma scribendi ad liberacionem illius qui ad capcionem incarceratur'.
[86] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 718.

of England from Romeyn's first year directs the reader to 'another form in year ix'.[87] The scribes must have continued to cross-reference and add to earlier parts of the register into the final years of Romeyn's archiepiscopate. Such references to a form used in another entry appear throughout the register. For example, in Romeyn's sixth year, the appointment of his vicar-general for the East Riding was noted as being 'in the same form as in the "Archdeaconry of Richmond" [section]… with the [form] interlined there'.[88] The whole register was actively being used for form with different sections and years being cross-referenced.

Another, less common, way that the register was used for examples of form was through the insertion of material. In 'York Officiality, Year Ten' a memorandum for a 'citation for the celebration of ordination' records that on 2nd May 1295 'the lord wrote to the official of York, or the commissioner general of the same, that he himself was to cause to be published the ordination that was to be celebrated' (fol. 22v).[89] The final line of this memorandum directs the reader to an insertion in another part of the register, stating 'and he has a letter in the new form, just as it is enclosed by stitching on a certain page in the second year'.[90] This enclosed example takes the form of a small piece of parchment, now folio 11 (fig. 34). It appears to be a draft, from the crossings out and insertion of text seen below. It is unclear why it was attached to the second year, as it is dated from Romeyn's tenth year, and seems to have been prompted by the development of a 'new' form of ordination notice. However, it does reinforce the case that insertions were part of the contemporary design of Romeyn's register and that material was selected for its contemporary use for reference, including for form.

[87] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 28: 'Alia forma infra anno ix'.
[88] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 632; Romeyn MS, fol. 65r: 'in for(ma) i(dem) in Arch(idiaconi) Rich(mondi)…cum interlineari ibidem' (my transcription); Brown commented that here was no interlineation in the entry referenced (no. 970), however, an amendment had been added above, which was likely the intended inclusion; see also, for example, nos. 760, 777A, 831, 837.
[89] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 105: 'Citacio pro ordinibus celebrandis'; '…dominus scripsit officiali Eboracensi, vel ejus commissario generali, quod faceret puplicari ipsum fore celebraturum ordines…'
[90] Ibid: 'Et habet litteram in forma nova, in quadam cedula sicut est ij anno consuta contenta.'

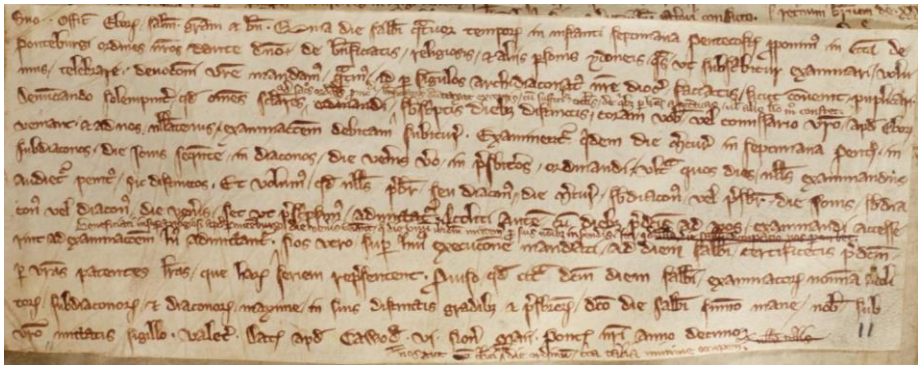

Figure 34: Romeyn MS, fol. 11r, inserted as example of form

The use of Romeyn's register for form was a more complex and continuous process than the index-calendar alone suggests. From the start of Romeyn's archiepiscopate, the register as a whole was used for models of form. Particular entries made in the routine practice of register were adapted and had marginal notes identifying them as model forms. In some places, additional examples were added in the margins. The index-calendar was created early in Romeyn's second year and offered a way of navigating the register to find particular examples. Further examples continued to be added, including through insertions. Thus, throughout the entirety of Romeyn's archiepiscopate, the register was being used for examples of form.

Absence: The Vicar-General's Register

The use of Romeyn's register for archiving and form both had their roots in Wickwane's archiepiscopate. Alongside these functions, we see new initiatives to meet the specific demands of archiepiscopacy under Romeyn, namely his absences. Romeyn left the province to travel abroad twice. First, in 1288, he went to the king in Gascony and then accompanied him to Béarn and Aragon; in 1292, he spent several months in Italy. Unlike with Wickwane's journey to Rome, where little has been recorded of his intentions for archdiocesan administration during his absence, Romeyn's register explicitly recorded administration in these periods. Romeyn appointed vicars-general – Henry of Newark in 1288 and John of Crowcombe in 1292 – whose activities were

recorded in the register. The way in which this occurred has implications for how Romeyn's register was understood and how it was adapted during his archiepiscopate.

Subsections were created for the vicar-general within the existing register sections. These subsections occur within the 'York Archdeaconry', 'Cleveland Archdeaconry', 'East Riding Archdeaconry', 'Nottingham Archdeaconry', 'Chapters', Howden and Alverton', and 'Suffragan Letters' sections.[91] They are found within the relevant year and follow the same conventions as the rest of the register in terms of the materials' entry: each entry begins with a pilcrow and has a marginal note. No entries were made into the 'York Officiality' and 'Richmond Archdeaconry' sections during either absence, and some material that Romeyn issued from Viterbo was later added to the *Ballivarum* and *Intrinseca* sections.[92]

These subsections were embedded into the main body of text, but given titles to distinguish them from the surrounding material, not just noting that it was the vicar-general acting for Romeyn but declaring: 'here the register of the vicar-general begins'.[93] The archbishop's point of return is marked with 'the return of the lord from remote [lands]', again as part of the body of text.[94] These headings vary somewhat in size, and tend to be larger and clearer for the 1292 absence; in the 'York Archdeaconry' section, the title from 1288 on folio 32r (fig. 35) is only slightly larger than the surrounding entries, whereas that from 1292 on 40v (fig. 36) is larger than the heading at the top of the page. In the 'Cleveland' section in 1288, a small title was added in the margin (on fol. 51v) but in 1292 a much larger title was used and a *manicule* added, further emphasising it (fol. 53r). The headings are consistently in the same ink and hand as their surrounding entries, indicating that they were written by the scribes writing those entries, and the creation of these subsections was becoming increasingly routine by Romeyn's second absence.

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[91] For 'Howden and Alverton' and 'Suffragan Letters', this only occurs for Romeyn's second absence (1292) and no entries were made during his 1288 absence.

[92] In the *Ballivarum* section, the entries from Romeyn's absence are in the same hand and ink as entries from after his return, while the order of material is disrupted in the *Intrinseca* section, suggesting material was likewise being added in later.

[93] For example, Romeyn MS, fols. 32r, 40v: 'hic incipit registru(m) vicar(ii) g(e)n(er)al(is)…' (my transcription).

[94] Romeyn MS, fol. 32r: 'Reditus d(o)m(in)i de remotis' (my transcription).

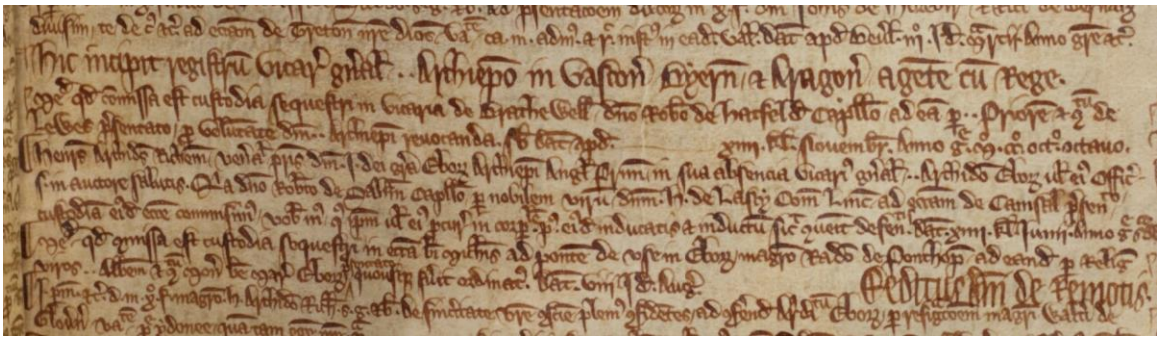

Figure 35: Romeyn MS, fol. 32r, 'Archdeaconry of York', 1288/89, vicar-general's 'register' and return of the archbishop

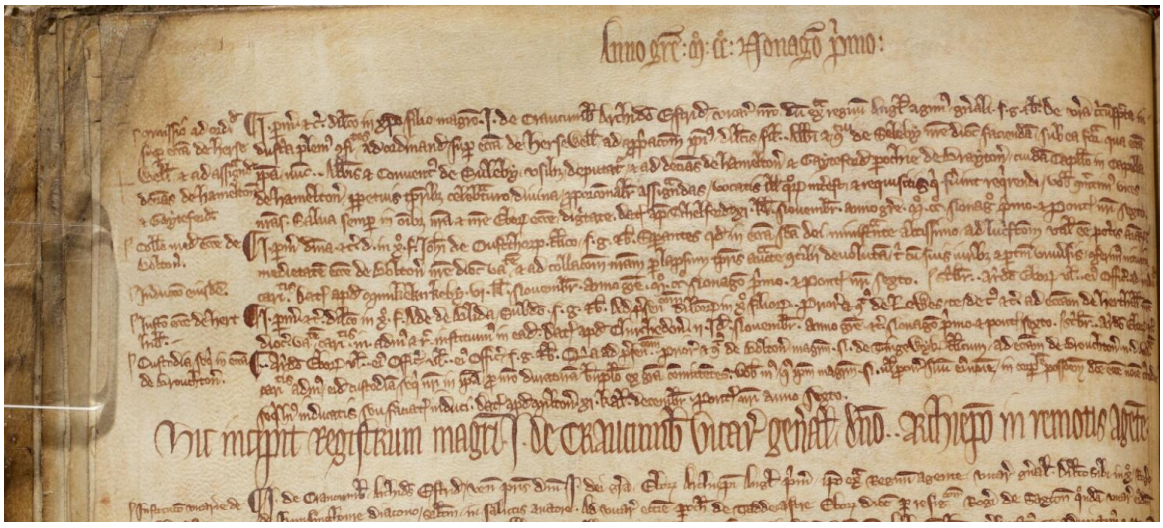

Figure 36: Romeyn MS, fol. 40v, 'Archdeaconry of York', 1291, heading for vicar-general's register

As well as evidencing the increasing routine of registration under Romeyn, the choice to title these sections the 'vicar-general's register' reveals more of how the idea of the register developed in conjunction with broader administrative practices. As with the use of the term *registrum* for some sections of the register, it emphasises the plasticity of the idea of a *registrum*, both as a smaller unit (a section or gathering) and a compound whole (a codex). The parts marked 'vicar-general's register' are effectively subsections demarcated as *registra*.[95] In the fourteenth century, we know that the vicar-

[95] In some cases, Crowcombe's name is included but not consistently.

general kept a separate register.[96] This was tied to the further development of the position as a permanent office. We can therefore consider the inclusion of the vicar-general's register within Romeyn's register as a reflection of the way the role was envisaged under him – an officer acting in the archbishop's stead.

The definition of *registrum* inherent in the inclusion of the 'vicar-general's register' also reveals a broader shift in the relationship between archbishop and register. As set out in Chapter One, registration in its usual form diminished throughout Wickwane's archiepiscopate and ceased altogether when he left for Rome. Richardson similarly found a link between the number of entries and the movements of the bishop in Richard Swinfield's (1282-1317) and John of Pontoise's (1282-1304) respective registers, with a notable reduction in entries during their absences.[97] Under Romeyn, a different choice was made: to record the vicar-general's activities in the same register as the archbishop to create an ongoing record of administration. This was a subtle but significant moment in redefining the register as a record of archdiocesan administration undertaken on behalf of the archbishop, rather than of the archbishop's own actions. In other words, the focus shifted from person to administration. This reveals the need for written records of archdiocesan administration to continue in the archbishop's absence, which likely reflects an administration that was less personally reliant on the archbishop himself. Indeed, this is the first period in York where we see *officialis* and vicar-general both being used and, more importantly, being used to refer to distinct roles.

Considering the vicar-general's *registrum* alongside the register's uses as an archive and formulary reveals the complex drivers influencing registration under Romeyn. Registration responded to the growing authority of the written word by repurposing historic material through attaching or copying it in conjunction with its use by Romeyn. Romeyn's and his administrators' use of historic material was in itself an indication that material had been preserved and organised in such a way as to make it accessible, while its subsequent insertion or registration repurposed it, asserting its authority afresh to support Romeyn's agendas. Similarly, the inclusion of contemporary

[96] Rees Jones, "Administrative Records," 32–33.
[97] Richardson, "A Bishop and His Diocese," 262–64.

royal and papal documents, particularly royal writs, emphasises the perceived authority of original documents.[98] Much of the authority of documents, both contemporary and historic, resided in their adherence to certain conventions of writing: it was not simply what had been written but how it was written that mattered. The register offered a space for this material to be put alongside the record of Romeyn's own actions, validating them. In addition, the register was deployed as a tool for Romeyn's administrators to produce their own authoritative material. Whether writing a citation for ordination or denouncing someone as excommunicate, precise forms were key for ensuring that writing would offer the legal mechanisms intended, and we can see the register being deployed in different ways to provide numerous model forms.[99]

As well as the furthering of these functions that we had seen to lesser degree in Wickwane's register, Romeyn's register was given an additional use: recording the vicar-general's archdiocesan management. This was a key moment where the register was adapted to record a new feature of administration under Romeyn – the appointment of a vicar-general. Under Romeyn, the changing shape of the register was about how administration was working and the centrality of record-keeping to that administration. As with Wickwane's register in Chapter One, we are left with the question of who influenced these ideas of record and who may have sought to put them into practice. The next section will turn to the question of the people who shaped Romeyn's administration, and thus his register.

III. Personnel: Continuity and Change

Romeyn came to York from Lincoln in 1286, during an era when registration was becoming established in these two dioceses; consecutive registers had been kept by his two immediate predecessors and another had preceded these.[100] He had held the roles of chancellor (1274-78) and then precentor (1278-85) of Lincoln Cathedral under

[98] E.g. *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 108 on Frenchmen holding benefices near the coast.
[99] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 105, 122.
[100] Although Romeyn was connected to York through his father of the same name, he appears to have spent little of his career in York prior to his election, pursuing studies at Oxford and Paris, and preferring his positions at Lincoln.

Bishops Gravesend (1258-79) and Sutton (1280-99). Both roles had created connections that would mould his understanding of archiepiscopacy and of his register. Indeed, it is likely that Romeyn brought clerks and ways of working with him. His time as chancellor, in particular, provided administrative experience in a cathedral context where record-keeping efforts were extensive both in the chapter and episcopal chancery. [101] This raises the question of how far Romeyn's register was shaped by his experience of Lincoln's record-keeping and the personnel he relied on.

As with Wickwane's register, Romeyn's register gives little indication of who the scribes or registrar were. The handwriting is different enough between the two registers to suggest that changes in scribes (or at least scribal oversight if scribes adapted their handwriting) occurred from Wickwane to Romeyn, but we need to look at the patterns of administrators more widely to recognise the extent of changes in administration. Scholars have examined the relationships between bishops and their clerks, particularly in transitions from one episcopate to the next. Hoskin found significant continuity in her work on Durham's episcopal households but made a case for this being an exception, linked to Durham's unique combination of spiritual and secular power.[102] She also recognised a contemporary expectation that new bishops would reward those who had previously served them. The idea of reward was at the centre of Burger's study of thirteenth-century bishops and clerks. He argued that 'the "core" of an episcopal administration, when there was one, was a by-product of who chose to stay, and whom the bishop wished to stay, rather than some sort of standing entity'.[103] As we will see below, Romeyn kept some of Wickwane's administrators but also appointed new men. This section asks who Romeyn kept from Wickwane's administration, who he introduced to the archdiocese, and what these choices reveal about his approach to administration. In particular, it considers how far the developments in registration during his archiepiscopate can be attributed to the cross-pollination of people and ideas from Lincoln diocese.

[101] C. W. Foster, ed., *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln,* vol. 1 (Hereford: Printed for the Lincoln Record Society by the Hereford Times, 1931).
[102] Hoskin, "Continuing Service."
[103] Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*, 190.

Continuity

Some of Wickwane's administrators continued to serve Romeyn. While the reason for an individual's appointment was not necessarily recorded in the register, it is safe to assume (not least because of their financial cost) that those chosen were either skilled or had a relationship with Romeyn. Due to the see's limited finances, Romeyn intended to keep his household as small as possible, refusing in 1286 to employ Edmund de Bakepuiz, valet of Edmund, Earl of Lancaster, on the grounds that 'we are not able without multiplying the daily expenses' and that 'thus far the resources are not sufficient'.[104] While it is possible that in this particular case archiepiscopal finances offered an excuse to turn down a potentially unwanted appointment, the register bears evidence of the significant expenses Romeyn occurred following his election.[105] The administrators he employed had to be considered worthwhile or holding a diocesan office with its own income.[106] So who did Romeyn consider worthwhile?

Certain positions seem to have demanded particular archdiocesan experience. This was the case with the *officialis*: three out of four of those Romeyn appointed to the position had served Wickwane. The first was John of Crowcombe in 1286, who had been one of Giffard's clerks before being appointed *officialis* under Wickwane.[107] His collation to the archdeaconry of the East Riding in 1280 indicates that Wickwane had deemed him worthy of a permanent administrative office.[108] While Romeyn could not easily dismiss him from the archdeaconry, he did not have to appoint him *officialis*; that he chose to do so suggests Romeyn valued his experience in York.[109] In March 1288, Romeyn appointed Thomas of Adderbury, a prominent member of Wickwane's household, *officialis*.[110] He was clearly valued as an administrator as Romeyn attempted to collate him to the archdeaconries of Cleveland and Nottingham, although

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[104] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1416: 'sine cotidiano dispendio multiplicare non possumus', 'adhuc non suppetunt, facultates'.
[105] For example, Romeyn had to pay Wickwane's executors over £1000 (*Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1488); Brown set out Romeyn's expenses in his introduction to the second part of the register: Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, xiii–xiv.
[106] As mentioned in Chapter One, Cheney noted the financial benefits of using archdeacons who had an established income: Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*, 8–9.
[107] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 34.
[108] Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae, York*, 43, 78.
[109] Burger, *Bishops, Clerks, and Diocesan Governance*.
[110] Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae, York*, 40, 93, 108. Romeyn, no. 623.

Adderbury refused both offices.[111] Romeyn's register also refers to Robert of Pickering as *officialis* in 1289 and 1290; then Robert de Lacy from 1293 to 1296.[112] Pickering had been one of Wickwane's commissaries in the Durham visitation and one of his proctors.[113] De Lacy, the final *officialis* and longest-serving, is the exception. He does not appear in Wickwane's register. He was likely part of the de Lacy family; potentially the Robert de Lacy recorded as being appointed to Winchester Cathedral in 1281 and later rector of Bawton in Lincolnshire.[114] His connection to Romeyn prior to his appointment remains obscure, although he went on to become treasurer of Lincoln Cathedral in 1307.[115] It appears that in the first half of his archiepiscopate, Romeyn made a particular effort first to keep Wickwane's *officialis* in the same role, and then to redeploy other experienced York administrators in that office, but this did not remain the case for the rest of his archiepiscopate.

Romeyn also turned to other skilful and experienced men from York for various administrative positions. Robert of Sleaford seems to have retained his role as archbishop's chancellor after Romeyn's election, described as such when he appears as a witness.[116] William of Pickering (Robert of Pickering's brother and a professor of canon law) appears as Romeyn's commissary (in 1286) and archdeacon of Nottingham (in 1287).[117] His position under Wickwane is a little unclear. In 1281, he was described as 'official of the lord of York in these parts then vice-gerent'.[118] Henry of Newark, who had been heavily involved in the Durham dispute and was archdeacon of Richmond, appears as Romeyn's vicar-general in 1288.[119] As noted above, Newark was also a royal clerk, a man whose skills were in demand.[120] In addition, Romeyn used the same public

[111] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 733 and 1077.
[112] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 589, 590, 1085 (Pickering); 411, 427, 683, 880 (Lacy).
[113] Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae, York*, 57, 80–81; *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 460, 462, 695.
[114] Edward de Lacy-Bellingari, *The roll of the house of Lacy; pedigrees, military memoirs and synoptical history of the ancient and illustrious family of De Lacy, from the earliest times, in all its branches, to the present day* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1928), 161.
[115] Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, 1959, II:53–54.
[116] Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae, York*, 94; *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1456, 1407, 646A.
[117] Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae, York*, 46, 72–73, 76, 80, 106; Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, 1958, I:45. *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 188, 1046.
[118] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 34: 'domini officialis Eboracensis inter partes ipsas tunc vices gerente'. Romeyn's register also refers to Walter of Gloucester and Thomas of Adderbury as Wickwane's vice-gerents (*Reg. Romeyn*, no. 713) but does not record Romeyn using any vice-gerents.
[119] E.g. *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 465, 484, 970.
[120] See Chapter One, p. 79.

notary as Wickwane, William of Somerby, on at least one occasion.[121] All four of these men, along with those appointed as *officialis*, had experience and talent.

It is clear that Romeyn continued to employ several of Wickwane's administrators for the key positions of *officialis*, vicar-general, and chancellor in the early years of his archiepiscopate. Less clear is whether this relatively small number found in the register reflected practice more widely or was simply the result of the inconsistent recording of administrators across both Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers, limiting those who can be traced. Nevertheless, Romeyn's choice to retain at least some of Wickwane's administrators points to a culture where skills and experience in York's archdiocesan administration were valued. This was particularly the case for the office of *officialis*, with an archdeaconry deemed a fitting reward for those who fulfilled it well. Moreover, keeping Wickwane's *officialis* and chancellor in place suggests a concern for ensuring a smooth transition in archdiocesan administration and in the chancery specifically. Yet the men named above were only a fraction of the administrators found in Romeyn's register, and the next subsection will reveal a significant influx of new administrators under Romeyn.

Change

Romeyn had been a canon of York before becoming archbishop, but his positions as precentor and then chancellor of Lincoln Cathedral connected him more closely to Bishops Gravesend's and Sutton's administrations than Giffard's or Wickwane's. How these connections influenced his register and approach to archiepiscopacy have been little-considered. The cross-pollination of registration practices between dioceses has seen surprisingly little interest more widely. Smith remarked that it was 'conceivable' that Walter Giffard's use of a codex stemmed from Bath and Wells, where Giffard had already been keeping a register.[122] Post-Giffard, consideration of external influences on the York registers is limited, with the exception of Rosalind Hill, who will be addressed below. This section first considers the influence

[121] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 264 (he may also be 'W. the notary' referred to in 741).
[122] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 234.

of Romeyn himself, before turning to his administrators, in order to establish how far Romeyn's archiepiscopate brought new ideas and new people to York.

One element of Romeyn's register has been tentatively linked to his experience in Lincoln. Hill posited that as Romeyn had previously held the prebend of Nassington under Bishop Sutton (1280-99) then the index-calendar in Romeyn's register was likely copied from one designed for Sutton by John Scalby (Sutton's registrar, 1282-1299).[123] While the loss of Sutton's memoranda rolls from the years 1280-90 means this cannot be proven, Sutton's register points to a 'careful and elaborate' system of cross-referencing. Hill also noted that Scalby included references to Lincoln's earlier registers and used drawings to distinguish particular types of business, such as heads with scholars' caps for university business and croziers for material related to the court of Canterbury.[124] While we cannot assume that similar uses of drawings in Romeyn's register, or references to earlier York registers were directly influenced by practices at Lincoln, it is unsurprising that similar practices emerged.

Romeyn's links to Lincoln's administration were more secure than Hill suggested. Romeyn's precentorship overlapped with Scalby's time as Sutton's registrar, and he appeared in the witness list of Sutton's constitutions regarding the dean (May 1284).[125] Moreover, the early creation of Lincoln Cathedral's *Registrum Antiquissimum* (in the 1220s with later additions) demonstrates a strong record-keeping culture in the Lincoln chapter itself beginning before Romeyn became a canon.[126] Romeyn was firmly embedded in Lincoln cathedral's chapter, had notable experience in its chancery, and had at least some contact with Sutton himself during a period where innovation occurred in episcopal registration. It is difficult to imagine that Romeyn's approach to his register was not influenced to some extent by the culture at Lincoln.

This link becomes more secure when we consider Romeyn's employment of administrators from Lincoln. One such individual has been recognised for his potential

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[123] Hill, "Bishop Sutton and His Archives," 46.
[124] Rosalind Hill, ed., *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-1299*, vol. I (Hereford: Printed by the Hereford Times Limited for the Lincoln Records Society, 1948), xviii.
[125] Christopher Wordsworth, ed., *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral, Arranged by the Late Henry Bradshaw, Part One* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892), 299.
[126] Scalby has been identified as the *Registrum Antiquissimum's* late thirteenth-century redactor (but this occurred after Romeyn had gone to York): Foster, *The Registrum Antiquissimum*, xxviii-xxxix.

influence on Romeyn's register. Hamilton Thompson thought John Nassington (a clerk from the prebend of Nassington, which Romeyn held) was introduced to the diocese by Romeyn and was possibly behind the changes to the register's sectional divides but this seems speculative.[127] John Nassington's name does not appear in Romeyn's register, which is not surprising if he was a scribe or registrar, but it does make his role difficult to trace.[128] Matthew Sullivan's study of the Nassington family found that Nassington was rector of Courteenhall in Northamptonshire in 1287, and was vicar-general in York in 1304-15.[129] His first appearance in the York registers is in the *sede vacante* register following Newark's death when he appears as official and commissary of the chapter.[130] He must have been well-respected in the archdiocese prior to this appointment and an earlier role in keeping the register is possible but his activities before this point remain opaque. His relative, Robert Nassington, was certainly prominent under Romeyn, holding various roles, such as proctor, receiver, and clerk.[131] Robert's move to York coincided with (if it was not caused by) Romeyn's – he was deputy of the Court of Canterbury in 1285 but had become dean of Beverley and Auditor of Accounts at York by 1287.[132] While the direct influence of the Nassington family on Romeyn's register cannot be ascertained, their appointments are illustrative of a wider trend where Romeyn brought his own administrators to York.[133] This created more opportunities for Lincoln's administration to influence York's.

Romeyn's use of those he knew from Lincoln is most clearly illustrated by his commissions to Durand of Lincoln and William of Lincoln. Durand of Lincoln was one of

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[127] Hamilton Thompson, A., "The Registers of the Archbishops of York," 249; Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries," 39.
[128] Hoskin thought he was vicar-general in 1288, but this was when Henry Newark was vicar-general and I have not found any evidence that Nassington worked alongside him: Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries," 39, fn.21.
[129] Matthew Sullivan, "The Role of Nassington Family in the Medieval English Church," *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 37 (1993): 56.
[130] Calendared in *Reg. Romeyn II*, "Sede vacante," nos. 374, 401.
[131] Sullivan, "The Role of Nassington Family in the Medieval English Church," 55. See also *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1314, 1529.
[132] Robert Nassington was also dean of Ripon in 1290, parson of Dunnington in 1292, and rector of Keighley in 1293; Romeyn sought Edward I's assistance for Nassington when a lay force prevented him from carrying out his duties as parson in Dunnington in 1292: London, TNA, SC 8/331/15591.
[133] Barrow argued that from the mid-twelfth century onwards bishops were more likely to appoint members of their *familia* to cathedral prebends rather than vice versa: Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, 266. Romeyn appears to have done this, appointing William of Blyth, one of his trusted administrators, as subdean of York in 1290 (*Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1096).

Bishop Sutton's clerks and archdeacon of Stow (1289-91), but Romeyn appointed him in 1289 as a commissary in an ongoing dispute with Bogo de Clare over the church of Adlingfleet and in 1291 as arbitrator in his attempts to reach peace with Durham regarding visitation rights.[134] William of Lincoln appears as one of Romeyn's clerks, undertaking various duties on his behalf, including at Rome in 1290.[135] He seems to have been in Lincoln during Wickwane's archiepiscopate as his house there is referred to in Wickwane's register. [136] He was still described as rector of Sausthorpe in Lincoln when he appears on a witness list in November 1286 but the following month Romeyn collated him to a prebend in Beverley, likely cementing his position as one of Romeyn's clerks in the Northern Province.[137] Although Durand was not appointed to any prebends or churches in York, Romeyn evidently commissioned him to represent him in complex negotiations during his disputes regarding Adlingfleet and Durham. While the York chapter was supportive in the dispute with Durham, the Adlingfleet dispute contributed to significant tensions between Romeyn and Robert of Scarborough, dean of York.[138] It is thus unsurprising that Romeyn turned to one of his own close connections. Not only does this demonstrate Romeyn's use of his Lincoln connections in his administration but it further establishes the link between Romeyn and Sutton, notably with Romeyn choosing one of Sutton's clerks for his own commissary. It seems that for routine archdiocesan administration, Romeyn used experienced men from Wickwane's administration, but when he needed his interests to be best represented, he was more likely to turn to his own men.

Although few examples are as clear as these, Romeyn's choice of papal proctors indicates that his appointments of new administrators, particularly those from Lincoln, was a wider pattern. Regarding the long-standing Adlingfleet dispute, the register records Romeyn's appointment of Masters George de Iteranno and Peter de Tyatheno as

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[134] John Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae, 1066-1300: III, Lincoln*, ed. Diana Greenway (London: University of London, 1977), 95–96. Rosalind Hill, ed., *The Rolls and Register of Bishop Oliver Sutton 1280-1299,* vol. II (Hereford: Printed by the Hereford Times Limited for the Lincoln Records Society, 1948-75), 56; *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 240, 1361.
[135] See, for example, *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 892, 982, 1103, 1116.
[136] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 751: this is a memorandum regarding an inquiry about Alan of Beverley, who remained in William's house in Lincoln.
[137] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1023, 1033.
[138] Both disputes will be explored further in Chapter Three.

his proctors in 1287; they replaced Master Cursius de Sancto Gemeniano, whom Romeyn had previously substituted in place of Wickwane's proctor, Master William of Bollington.[139] Cross-referencing these names across the two registers, Bollington appears numerous times in Wickwane's register, as one would expect. George de Iteranno, Peter de Tyatheno, and Cursius de Sancto Gemeniano are all absent from Wickwane's register. Cursius, also spelt Cursus, does appear in an entry in Pope Nicholas IV's register from 1289, where he is identified as the proctor of Master Richard of Sotwell, rector of Berkeley, in Lincoln diocese, in his case against the bishop of Lincoln.[140] While Iterrano's and Tyatheno's backgrounds are less clear, their absence from Wickwane's register makes it likely that they were appointed by Romeyn, via Lincoln connections.

The appointments recorded in Romeyn's register more broadly indicate that there was a significant change in personnel, particularly in the early years of his archiepiscopate (in contrast to the *officialis*, vicar-general, and chancellor's roles). Of thirty-two individuals whose appointments were recorded in the *ballivarum* section (the section with the most entries of appointment, although these included temporal responsibilities), eight (25%) can be identified with individuals who also appeared in Wickwane's register. These were typically men with established positions to whom Romeyn gave additional responsibilities, and in some cases men whom he could not easily remove. For example, Simon of Barnby had been dean of Christianity, then became treasurer and receiver at York in 1286.[141] The prior of Hexham was made penitancer of Hexham (1286).[142] They were often men with judicial responsibilities: John de Lythegreyns, sheriff of Yorkshire, was made seneschal (1286); Galfrido Aguylun, king's justice at York, and Richard of Bamfield, Wickwane's seneschal, were made justices at the assize of Beverley (1286); Walter of Wragby, bailiff at Sherburn, was appointed dean in the bailiwick of Beverley (1289).[143] Of those that appear to be new appointments, none can be directly shown to have served Romeyn in Lincoln but some

[139] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 180.
[140] William Henry Bliss, ed., *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters,* vol. 1, 1198-1304 (Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprint, 1971), 503.
[141] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 42, 398; *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1208.
[142] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 22; *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1211.
[143] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 110, 611, 664, 833; *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1216, 1225, 1261.

names indicate that their origins were likely in Lincoln diocese: W. of Yarwell, R. of Theuilby or Theilby (likely Thurlby or Thealby, both in Lincolnshire), Robert of Bytham (Castle Bytham), and the Nassingtons.

While Romeyn selectively deployed some of Wickwane's experienced administrators, his archiepiscopate brought a significant influx of administrators from Lincoln, particularly for roles that were concerned with representing Romeyn's interests, such as his proctors. In addition, as chancellor and then precentor of Lincoln Cathedral, Romeyn himself had significant administrative experience in another diocesan context and, while we cannot prove Lincoln's episcopal registers directly influenced Romeyn's, it is unsurprising that there were similarities between them. It is worth highlighting here that both Wickwane and Romeyn had been cathedral chancellors and would have developed relationships with scribes and administrators in particular. Moreover, Romeyn's use of at least one of Sutton's clerks (Durand of Lincoln) suggests an ongoing link between him and Lincoln. It is unclear how far these connections influenced the choice of people behind the register: while Robert of Sleaford remained chancellor, there no indication that he was involved in registration, and no registrar is named. If Romeyn's choice of a registrar and scribes followed his wider patterns of appointments, he likely chose them from those he knew at Lincoln. While such a conclusion is necessarily tentative, it reveals the potential for further research into the relationship between the movement of bishops and their clerks on the development of registration.

Conclusion

Examining Romeyn's register has revealed more significant changes to registration under him than has typically been assumed. His archiepiscopate was as much a period of innovation as Wickwane's. It brought not only improvements to the efficiency of registers but fundamental developments in the idea of what a register was and how it should function. The emergence of a language of *registrum* and *registra* used for (but not exclusively for) Romeyn's register demonstrates the ways in which this particular type of record was being defined and becoming associated with a specific set

of conventions, such as marginal notes for every entry, consistent titles for sections, and dates on every folio. This increasing clarity over register conventions saw registration become routine but not static. While the changed structure of the register has been the most noted difference between Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers, other evidence of learning appears more subtle – amendments to headings, tentative uses of drawings and different coloured inks – but demonstrates the ways in which scribes were thinking about how the register would be used for reference. Innovations throughout Romeyn's archiepiscopate demonstrate that there was not one big advance from Wickwane's register to Romeyn's but ongoing efforts to respond to live issues of writing and record-keeping.

One of the most pertinent developments was the emerging authority of record, which drove attempts to use material in Romeyn's register for distinct purposes. The use of Romeyn's register (and Wickwane's too) as a form of archive supported Romeyn's redeployment of material, both contemporary and historic, often to assert a basis for his instructions. Romeyn and his administrators used material from his predecessors, as well as popes and kings, to demonstrate that there was a precedent or a papal or royal premise for his actions. This was done in distinct and deliberate ways, through a combination of insertion, copying, or reissuing, depending on the material. This suggests a sharp understanding of the authority that certain material held and how it could be asserted. A key component to the authority of a document was its form and Romeyn's register was used as a formulary, most evident in the inclusion of an index-calendar, supporting the production of material that conformed to the specific forms needed to exert archiepiscopal authority in writing. While Wickwane and his administrators had understood the ways in which documents revealed or demonstrated authority, Romeyn's register shows a more consistent approach for how to use the register as a tool to that end. In particular, the development of the register as a regular record of archdiocesan administration, even in Romeyn's absence, through the inclusion of the vicar-general's *registra*, demonstrates an increasing sense of the value of record-keeping.

While the names of the individuals responsible for these new ways of understanding registers and practising registration cannot be known, it is clear these

changes did not simply emerge but were shaped by the talent and ideas of a new archbishop and his administration. Romeyn's archiepiscopate brought an influx of new administrators with experience in another diocese with a strong record-keeping tradition, facilitating the interplay of existing York practices with new ideas from Lincoln. While Romeyn's register has much in common with Wickwane's, it does not simply demonstrate a refining of the register but a reimagining. As Ian Forrest eloquently put it, 'this was a machine staffed by human beings'.[144] It is hardly a coincidence that such significant changes in the register occurred in conjunction with significant changes in personnel.

Having explored Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers as material compositions to reveal the registration activities, people, and ideas behind them, we have seen how innovative this era of registration was and how the registers stemmed from the archbishops' individual administrations. The second part of the thesis shifts the focus to the question of how the registers were used in the practice of archiepiscopacy. It uses two key aspects of archiepiscopacy in York (disputes and the *cura animarum*) to examine how Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were used to support the archbishops' agendas in carrying out the duties they saw as fundamental to their office. In this, we have seen how the different background of the two archbishops shaped their administrations and thus their registers. In examining their registers in the practice of archiepiscopacy, Wickwane's and Romeyn's distinct approaches to their office come to the fore, as well as the specific ways in which their registers supported and portrayed these approaches. This part particularly considers the long-term and short-term uses of the registers, building on the idea of the register as a form of archive and asking how this interacted with its use as a working record. In doing so, it reveals a dynamic sense of past, present, and future as the archbishops used their registers not only to record archiepiscopacy but to construct it.

[144] Forrest, "The Archive of the Official of Stow," 2.

Part Two

Chapter Three: Disputes

Introduction

> Yesterday I was consecrated their bishop; and today I will excommunicate them? No obedience will induce me to do this. [1]

The practice of archiepiscopacy in York was fundamentally contested.[2] Bishop Anthony Bek's vehement refusal to excommunicate the Durham chapter as Wickwane instructed illustrates a key challenge: suffragans and other subordinates did not always recognise the archbishop's authority. In particular, York's claim to primacy over Durham (and Durham's rejection of this claim) created significant tension. Tensions came to a head in 1281 when Wickwane tried to carry out a visitation of the cathedral and chapter. This generated extensive written material, capturing the imaginations of chroniclers, provoking flurries of letter-writing to the papal curia, and prompting a series of court hearings for which various instruments and records were created.[3] Many of these materials have been preserved, including in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers, and Brentano used the registers and other records to examine the dispute and the archbishop's authority.[4] Yet the questions of how disputes shaped the registers, how the registers were used, and what this reveals about registration have thus far been overlooked.

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[1] 'Heri fui consecratus eorum Episcopus; et hodie excommunicabo eos? Ad hoc faciendum nulla obedientia me inducet.' These words were attributed to Bek by Robert Graystanes, an early fourteenth-century chronicler at Durham, James Raine, ed., *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (London: J. B. Nichols and Son, 1839), 64; R. B. Dobson, *Church and Society in the Medieval North of England* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2003), 175–77.

[2] Episcopacy was contested more widely but the office of archbishop of York had inherent weaknesses, as set out by Dobson, *Church and Society*, 53–54.

[3] Herbert Eustace Maxwell, ed., *The Chronicle of Lanercost 1272-1346*, vol. I (Cribyn: Llanerch Press, 2001), 19–20; Harry Rothwell, ed., *The Chronicle of Walter of Guisborough, Previously Ed. as the Chronicle of Walter of Hemingford or Hemingburgh* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1957), 349–51; Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 42–45.

[4] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*.

This chapter examines Wickwane's and Romeyn's disputes with the bishop and chapter of Durham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and the dean and chapter of York, in order to consider registration as part of the contested practice of archiepiscopacy in York. Disputes with Durham and Canterbury were two of the most significant and long-standing challenges to York's archiepiscopal rights; tensions with the York dean and chapter were more intermittent but reveal fundamental distinctions in how Wickwane and Romeyn understood their role. The Durham dispute in particular was at the centre of Brentano's *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction* for many of the reasons that I examine it here: described as 'the most revealing point in these [Wickwane's and Romeyn's] careers', it lays bare the inherent tensions in the archbishop's position, reveals how Wickwane and Romeyn sought to exercise authority, and was well-recorded in and out of the registers.[5] However, rather than using this material to understand the disputes as Brentano did, I use the disputes to examine registration. By asking what material was registered and how, this chapter aims to elucidate the ways in which registration was shaped by disputes, how the registers were deployed in contested archiepiscopal activities, and the extent to which registration expressed, or even constructed, archiepiscopacy.

The chapter also takes the idea of registers as archives as its premise and explores how the specific challenges that Wickwane and Romeyn faced shaped their choices of preservation and omission. Cheney attributed the choice of what to register to the discretion of the clerks who chose from the 'multifarious documents' in the bishop's chancery.[6] Yet Part One complicated the processes behind this, arguing that changing ideas of record, the learning of registration, and changes in personnel influenced the format and content of Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. Drawing on scholarship of the archival turn, this chapter considers how the archival processes of registration responded to and were deployed in Wickwane's and Romeyn's disputes.

Scholars have linked record-keeping practices to the instability of or perceived threats to an institution in both ecclesiastical and secular contexts. Miller attributed the early development of the chapter's and then the bishop's records in thirteenth-century

[5] Ibid., v–vi.
[6] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*, 99–100.

Città di Castello to a desire to protect assets from rising communal powers.[7] Kosto likewise situated the creation of a cartulary for the counts of Barcelona in Count Alfons I's reassertion of comital rights, while Bouchard saw the cartulary of the nuns of St-Julien of Auxerre 'as a tool in a specific quarrel' between the nuns and the counts of Joigny.[8] While Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were not created in response to their disputes, they were used in particular ways in those disputes. Here, the idea that internal developments in record-keeping responded to external political events further complicates understandings of how and why registers were kept under these two archbishops. Building on Part One's reframing of registration as a series of initiatives, by examining the registration of dispute material, this chapter will address the questions of how the registers were both influenced by and used in the archbishops' disputes.

The value of records in disputes is also closely linked to the idea that records offered a form of memory, one that could hold authority for those who controlled it. The idea of records as memory was at the core of Clanchy's seminal study, and more recently Bertrand explored memory as a live issue that shaped compilation practices.[9] In addition, Bulman's work on the court book of Mende is particularly helpful for considering the relationship between memory and authority.[10] The bishop of Mende, Guillaume Durand the Younger, used the court book and other archival material that evidenced his predecessors' secular lordship to compose a treatise arguing for his secular rights. Bulman argued that managing the archive demonstrated Durand's lordship while allowing him to use historical memory to claim that his secular rights had a precedent.[11] Archives were not 'static arsenals of information, but sites in which a variety of contemporary and later actors have exercised and negotiated agency, identity and power'.[12] Exploring registers through this lens challenges a long-standing idea that

[7] Miller, "The Bishops' Books of Città Di Castello in Context."
[8] Kosto, "The *Liber Feudorum Maior* of the Counts of Barcelona," 2; Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Three Cartularies from Thirteenth-Century Auxerre* (Toronto: Published for the Medieval Academy of America by University of Toronto Press, 2012), 8.
[9] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*; Bertrand, *Documenting the Everyday in Medieval Europe*, 115.
[10] Bulman, *The Court Book of Mende*, 3–5, 92.
[11] Ibid, 93.
[12] Alexandra Walsham, "The Social History of the Archive: Record-Keeping in Early Modern Europe," *Past & Present* 230, Supplement 11 (2018): 11; Filippo de Vivo, "Archival Transformations in Early Modern

bishops' registers were primarily for information management or reference.[13] While questions of archiepiscopal rights and authority have been at the core of various studies of bishops, the place of registers (especially English registers) in proving these rights has been overlooked. In examining Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers in the context of their disputes, this chapter asks how the archbishops used their registers to control and deploy what was remembered to assert their rights.

This chapter selects a series of case studies of disputes to elucidate how Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were produced and used in the contested aspects of their role. The first section takes the Durham dispute as a way to explore the use of archiepiscopal registers in comparison to other forms of archiving, notably that of the Durham chapter. It particularly focuses on choices of preservation, considering to what extent the disputes shaped registration and other record-keeping activities. The second section focuses on disputes with the archbishop of Canterbury and the chapter of York to examine how dispute material was repurposed into Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. It asks what the material itself tells us about archiepiscopacy and how its incorporation into the registers constructed individual perspectives of archiepiscopacy. The third section draws on all three disputes to consider whether registration itself had any influence on the disputes. It considers the significance of the registers in Wickwane's and Romeyn's approaches to the disputes and for the long-term construction of archiepiscopacy.

I. The Durham Dispute: Material and Record

Tensions between York and Durham occurred throughout the High Middle Ages. These stemmed from a range of jurisdictional, political, and personal grievances. That

European History," *European History Quarterly* 46, no. 3 (July 1, 2016): 421. See also, Silvestri, "That Register Is the Most Ancient and Useful of the Kingdom"; Randolph C. Head, *Making Archives in Early Modern Europe: Proof, Information, and Political Record-Keeping, 1400-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020); Hanna Nüllen, "The Power of Bookkeeping in Late Medieval Friedberg and Gelnhausen," in *The Power of Bookkeeping in Late Medieval Friedberg and Gelnhausen* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2024), 271–94.

[13] The idea of registers being used for information management has been implicit in various studies and editions: Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*; Hamilton Thompson, A., "The Registers of the Archbishops of York"; Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*.

the bishops of Durham held estates in York archdiocese and vice versa was one ongoing source of strife. Election disputes were another. In 1147, Hugh du Puiset, then treasurer of York and archdeacon of the East Riding, objected to the election of Henry Murdac as archbishop, and tensions continued for several years; Murdac subsequently objected to du Puiset's election as bishop of Durham in 1153.[14] In 1189, du Puiset also objected to the election of Geoffrey Plantagenet as archbishop of York (1189-1212), leading to a dispute that was not settled until 1192.[15] The thirteenth century brought a better relationship between York and its suffragan diocese until 1274, when a new source of tension emerged: the question of visitation.

In 1274, Walter Giffard took advantage of the see's vacancy to carry out what Brentano described as a 'tactful visitation'.[16] After setting the date for Robert of Holy Island's confirmation as Bishop of Durham, Giffard announced that he would visit the chapter the day before. On the appointed day he preached a sermon at the chapter house, announced his intention to correct, and questioned several of the older men in the chapter, seemingly peacefully.[17] This was only the beginning of York's renewed efforts to exert primacy over Durham. Tensions erupted when, on 11th March 1281, Wickwane announced his intention to carry out a visitation while the see was occupied. His attempts to do so were met with fierce opposition. The dispute continued throughout his archiepiscopate, and Wickwane left for Rome to garner support in 1284 but died en route.[18] Under Romeyn, an agreement over visitation was reached in 1286, but the issue of York's supremacy continued. Tensions emerged with the next bishop of Durham, Anthony Bek, whose official prevented appeals to York. Bek refused to attend convocation and ignored Romeyn's requests to dismiss his official. Problems culminated in Romeyn's excommunication of Bek in 1292, which prompted retribution

[14] G. W. S. Barrow, "Puiset, Hugh du, earl of Northumberland (c. 1125–1195), bishop of Durham." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22871; Janet Burton, "Murdac, Henry (d. 1153), abbot of Fountains and archbishop of York." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/19557.
[15] Marie Lovatt, "Geoffrey (1151?–1212), archbishop of York." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 Sep. 2004, https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10535.
[16] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 112–14.
[17] Raine, *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, 56.
[18] Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, xix.

from the king as Bek had been acting as Edward's commissary at the time.[19] Romeyn was made to answer before the king and fined for flouting royal authority. Thus, neither Wickwane nor Romeyn saw a satisfactory conclusion to the dispute.

The York-Durham dispute produced substantial written material: letters, court records, papal instruments, and other documents were integral to the unfolding of the dispute. Much but not all of this was preserved. The extant material takes different forms, some original, some copied or summarised into other records, and is primarily found in the Durham Cathedral Archives and in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. By asking what was recorded and how, this section aims to elucidate how the dispute influenced registration practices under Wickwane and Romeyn.

The quantity of material and its preservation by both parties offers a case study of parallel forms of archiving to explore how registers were deployed in distinct ways. This section first considers how the Durham chapter preserved dispute material. As the chapter kept more extensive material than appears in the registers, examining this material gives a better indication of the material produced in the dispute than the registers. Moreover, it provides a template for ecclesiastical archiving practices during a political and legal dispute, offering a context and a counterpoint for archiepiscopal registration. The section then delves into registration practices under Wickwane and Romeyn. Examining the dispute material in Wickwane's register builds on the idea of registration initiatives developed in Chapter One by considering the relationship between registration and events. Romeyn's register then reveals more of the particular characteristics of the two archbishops and their registers. Together, they demonstrate the selectivity of registration under Wickwane and Romeyn, while comparison with the Durham Cathedral Archives lays bare the specific qualities of registers. Through this, I argue that while both parties sought to bolster their authority by controlling their respective archives, archiepiscopal registers offered new possibilities for the construction of memory compared to contemporary record-keeping practices at Durham.

[19] Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, xxvii–xxxi; Michael Prestwich, *Edward I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017), 352.

Durham's Archives

No contemporary Durham episcopal register survives from the period of the York-Durham dispute.[20] However, significant material compiled by the Durham chapter remains in the cathedral archives, now held by the university. Material related to the dispute is concentrated in the period 1281-85, when Wickwane's attempts to visit prompted outrage from the cathedral chapter, although it includes some documents from Romeyn's archiepiscopate. The collection comprises a mixture of loose, original and copied documents, and contemporary compilations of multiple documents. Two manuscripts containing selected dispute material originated in Durham in the late thirteenth or fourteenth century but have since found their way into private hands and are now in the British Library.[21] Only some dispute material was entered in these manuscripts, and only some appears in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. What follows will examine the collation and preservation of dispute material by the Durham chapter. It investigates record-making and record-keeping, and the use of preserved material, to consider how the dispute shaped archiving processes in the Durham chapter.

Record-Making and Record-Keeping

The bulk of extant dispute material kept by the Durham chapter is now found in the 'Locelli' series, which comprises legal and administrative documents, or among 'Miscellaneous Charters', which contains various mandates, letters, and other documents.[22] In particular, documents concerning the dispute over Wickwane's visitation are largely found in DCD Loc.XIV and Misc.Ch. 5820. These collections contain notarial instruments, both original and contemporary copies of court

[20] Smith and Fraser were convinced of the existence of Bek's register by a reference to it in Bishop Hatfield's register but no further evidence survives: Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, 264; C. M. Fraser, ed., *Records of Antony Bek* (Durham: Published for the Society by Andrews & Co., 1953), vii. N.B. Fraser's *Records* does not reflect an episcopal archive, and the material is collated from elsewhere, including the chapter records.
[21] BL Cotton MS Julius D IV and BL Stowe MS 930.
[22] The Locelli series (arranged by subject) was initially created in the late Middle Ages but has been rearranged since, most likely by Joseph Stevenson who catalogued the collection in the 1840s; he also collated the 'Miscellaneous Charters' material.

processes, appeals, mandates, and various other documents. Material issued by the archbishop of York, such as a visitation agreement between Romeyn and the chapter, is stored in one of three boxes of 'archiepiscopalia'.[23] The material is largely in the form of loose documents, which, along with the quantity and variety of original documents, reflects the nature of cathedral chapter archives: they were continuous, stationary, and extensive.

Although many changes have been made to Durham's cathedral archives since the thirteenth century, traces of their medieval arrangement survive. W. A. Pantin used surviving fragments of catalogue rolls and early inventories to trace the archive's development.[24] He found evidence of efforts to collate and classify material from the thirteenth century onwards, with substantial endeavours to develop archival systems in the mid-fourteenth to mid-fifteenth centuries.[25] The current numbering of the documents within three boxes of 'archiepiscopalia' closely follows that assigned in the *Repertorium Magnum*, a catalogue compiled c.1462x1464 by the cathedral chancellor Richard Billingham, which reflects the compartments of the boxes in which they were kept.[26] For instance, an indenture of the 1286 agreement between Romeyn and the prior and chapter is now referenced as 4.2.Archiep.3, meaning that it was the third document in the fourth compartment of box two.[27] Other changes have occurred across the rest of the archives, and the current arrangement of the Locelli series is believed to be the work of Joseph Stephenson, who catalogued the cathedral's muniments in the mid-nineteenth century.[28] However, traces of early archiving efforts from the thirteenth century onwards raise the question of what was driving those efforts; in particular, is there any evidence that Durham's archiving practices were shaped by the dispute?

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[23] DCD 4.2.Archiep.3.
[24] W. A. Pantin, *Report on the Muniments of the Dean and Chapter of Durham* (Frome: Butler & Tanner Limited, 1939).
[25] Cartularies offered some of the earliest attempts to collate material; see, for example, DCD 'Cartuarium Vetus', a cartulary of charters related to the priory's rights created in the 1220s; DCD Misc.Ch.7177 comprises fragments of a cartulary containing episcopal charters and papal documents; an inventory, *Repertorium parvum* (DCD Rep. Parv.) was created around 1400.
[26] DCD Rep. Mag.
[27] This mirrors the medieval catalogue with the exception of the final number, as a letter was used in place of a document number and a number was used to indicate a subgroup within the box compartment until the eighteenth or nineteenth century.
[28] Durham University, "Durham Cathedral Archive: Catalogue of Locelli," accessed June 15, 2023 https://reed.dur.ac.uk/xtf/view?docId=ark/32150_s1wd375w28x.xml;query=5820#1.

The dispute material at Durham falls into three categories. Firstly, a number of original documents with seals were kept (although many seals are no longer extant), often those concerned with long-term rights or agreements.[29] For example, the chapter kept their part of their original 1286 agreement with Romeyn, which settled the issues of visitation and vacancies.[30] This still has attached the seals of Romeyn, Bek, the bishop of Carlisle, and the prior of York. Romeyn had it copied into his register and his original version is no longer extant.[31] For the chapter, originals with seals bolstered their authority when asserting contested rights.[32] This seems to have been the case for the York chapter as well. In 1316, the dean and chapter of York attempted to use the agreement between Romeyn and Durham to claim jurisdiction during the vacancy of both sees, suggesting they retained their original version of the agreement and sought to deploy it. According to records kept at Durham, a notarial transcript of the agreement was sent to the pope for a decision.[33] While the lack of extant material at York from either the archbishop or chapter makes it difficult to directly compare practices, it is clear (if unsurprising) that both chapters sought to preserve material that would safeguard their rights in the long term.

Secondly, the Durham chapter preserved originals and (usually contemporary) copies of material that had specific short-term purposes, in other words, ephemera.[34] Misc.Ch. 5820 comprises a substantial collection of loose documents, both original and

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[29] For example, DCD 4.1.Archiep.3a, 3b, and 3c (all duplicates of Wickwane and Claxton's agreement to submit to arbitration in 1283); DCD 1.2.Archiep.9 (Romeyn's renunciation of proceedings against Durham). Originals were preserved for a wide range of documents issued by the archbishop, for example, DCD 4.1.Archiep.4a (Wickwane's ordination of the church of Skipwith as a prebend of the church of Howden).

[30] DCD 4.2.Archiep.3.

[31] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1023.

[32] For examination of how seals were deployed and how they worked to validate documents, see: Hoskin, "Administration and Identity"; Philippa Hoskin and Elizabeth A. New, "'By the Impression of my Seal'. Medieval Identity And Bureaucracy: A Case Study," *The Antiquaries Journal* 100 (2020): 190–212; for a broader examination of the ways in which seals worked see: Brigitte Bedos-Rezak, *When Ego Was Imago: Signs of Identity in the Middle Ages* (Boston: Brill, 2010), esp. p.28 on the idea of seals as 'active agents'.

[33] DCD 2.2.Archiep.8.

[34] Johnson's definition of legal ephemera as authoritative documents that had a transient function and were thus disposable is helpful here, "Legal Ephemera", 5-7. Occasionally both an original and a copy survive or multiple copies survive together, e.g. DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1g is a copy of Misc.Ch. 5820/1w, a letter by the abbot of Waltham, papal judge-delegate, excommunicating Wickwane for his contumacy in the case against Durham; DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1c, DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1d, and DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1e are copies of the same mandate to the bishop of Lincoln to revoke Wickwane's excommunication of the bishop, prior, and convent of Durham.

copies, related to various aspects of the dispute.[35] It includes, among other documents, a mandate from the papal judges-delegate to summon Wickwane to answer the appeal from Durham; Durham's appointments of proctors; and appointments of subdelegates for the case by the dean of St. Paul's London (one of the papal judges-delegate).[36] Several mandates and commissions from papal judges-delegate citing Wickwane to appear in Carlisle are also preserved.[37] Such written instruments directed an immediate action, but were preserved after they had been enacted. In his examination of visitation records, Forrest argued that the choice to preserve ephemera was 'because they were valuable evidence of jurisdiction in a range of disputes'.[38] Johnson too saw ephemera as 'evidence for the exercise of authority', which '[had] a potential afterlife as "records"'.[39] For Durham, mandates, excommunications, appeals, and the like were authoritative; preserving these ephemera offered written evidence of how the threat from York was challenged (and ultimately overcome).

Durham went to particular efforts to acquire and preserve material related to the dispute. The chapter sought to obtain their own copies of material by employing a public notary: Edmund of Canterbury. Edmund's hand is in numerous instruments, identifiable in his notarisation clauses and notary's mark (see fig. 37). He was licenced by Pope Nicholas III in 1279 and was employed by the Durham chapter for at least 1281-85, before going on to make records for the archbishop of Canterbury by 1288.[40] Edmund did not simply issue the chapter's documents. He produced notarial instruments reciting proceedings, ranging from records of papal judges' seals to copies of appeals by Durham's proctors, which were then kept in the chapter's archives.[41] Frank Barlow also identified Edmund's hand in a public instrument recording the

[35] While 'Miscellaneous Charters' was created by Stephenson's efforts in the nineteenth century, the majority of the documents that now comprise Misc.Ch. 5820 had previously been collated in the medieval Locelli series as Loc.XIV.
[36] DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1a; Misc.Ch. 5820/1f, Misc.Ch. 5820/1u-1v.
[37] Loc.XIV:2c(i)-(v); several of these have evidence of previous sealing but now only stubs remain: e.g. DCD Loc.XIV:2c(iv); DCD Loc.XIV:2c(v), DCD Loc.XIV:2c(vii).
[38] Ian Forrest, "The Survival of Medieval Visitation Records," *Archives: The Journal of the British Records Association* 37, no. 125 (2012): 2. See also Forrest's exploration of the archiving efforts of the Official of Stow: "The Archive of the Official of Stow," 5–6.
[39] Johnson, "Legal Ephemera," 6.
[40] Cheney, *Notaries Public*, 31; Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 162, fn.75.
[41] For example, DCD Loc.XIV:2g (details of seal), DCD Loc.XIV:2k (appeal of John, son of Bertram, proctor of prior and convent of Durham), DCD Loc.XIV:4d (appeal to the apostolic see).

proceedings of the judges-delegate at Carlisle from October 1284 and found evidence that he recorded court processes at Stamford in February 1282.[42] While the employment of public notaries developed more widely in thirteenth-century England, Durham's continued use of Edmund in the dispute with Wickwane illustrates a particular drive to acquire legal ephemera for their own archives in a way that does not appear to have been the case in previous iterations of the York-Durham dispute. Documents that might previously have been destroyed had gained a new importance as records to be preserved.

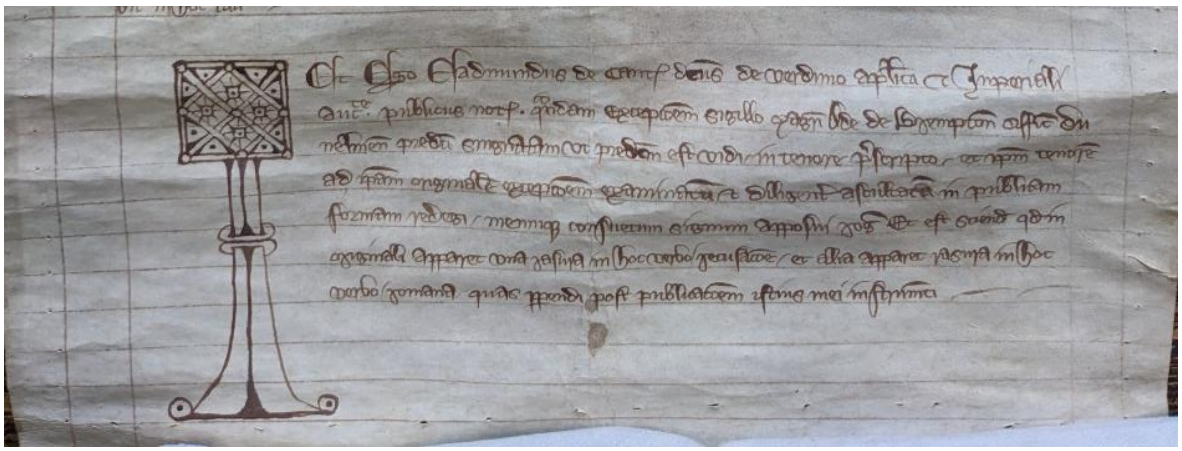

Figure 37: DCD Misc.ch.5820/18, Canterbury's notarisation clause and mark[43]

The third group of dispute material was also the result of the Durham chapter's deliberate archiving efforts. Several documents contain a series of entries regarding the dispute collated together on a single sheet of parchment or a roll. For example, Loc.XIV:4j is a single membrane containing copies of documents pertaining to the Wickwane dispute from August to December 1281; Loc.XIV:2e is also a single sheet with copies of an appeal by Wickwane's proctor and a mandate from Wickwane to excommunicate the individuals involved, as well as a memorandum of a petition against Robert of Holy Island's executors (all from 1284). The more extensive DCD

[42] BL Cotton MS Julius D IV, fols. 125r–184r; Barlow identified at least three different hands from this period: Frank Barlow, ed., *Durham Annals and Documents of the Thirteenth Century* (Durham: Published for the Society by Andrews & Co., 1945), xxxi. This manuscript will be examined below in relation to the repurposing of dispute material.

[43] Reproduced by kind permission of the Chapter of Durham Cathedral.

Loc.III:50 is a four-metre parchment roll that records documents related to the dispute between Wickwane and the Durham chapter in the first half of 1281.[44] It begins with Wickwane's refusal to institute Adam of Barnby to the church of West Rounton due to the convent's omission of the word 'obedience' from their letter of presentation in early 1281.[45] It includes a mandate from Wickwane stating his intention to visit and requiring the prior and convent to be present (one also in Wickwane's register), as well as several documents concerning Durham's response (which are not registered).[46] A heading added in a slightly later hand identifies it as a record of proceedings between the archbishop and chapter regarding the presentation and Wickwane's attempted visitation of the chapter.[47] From the early stages of their dispute with Wickwane, the Durham chapter sought collate related material. In some cases, these were small compilations with only a few entries, but they nonetheless demonstrate how the Durham chapter were compiling material in new ways in response to the perceived threat to their rights.

Wickwane's attempted visitation provided a stimulus for preserving material that could guarantee the chapter's rights or evidence the processes by which those rights were defended. This entailed an expansion in the quantity and type of material that was preserved: it was no longer simply the charters and documents intended to prove their rights for posterity that were considered worth preserving but also the ephemeral documents created as they defended those rights. Together, the archived ephemera and the compilations examined above form some of the earliest extant efforts to compile material for the chapter outside cartularies, although similar efforts were subsequently made in the chapter's dispute with Bek (1300-1307).[48] For the chapter, innovation in record-keeping was tied to the defence of their rights against an external threat.

[44] Brentano draws on this in his account of the dispute: Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 115–20.
[45] Ibid., 115–16; Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, viii–ix.
[46] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 447.
[47] DCD Loc.III:50: Incipit pl(ac)ita int(er) W(illiam) archiepi(scop)u(m) Ebora(censis) <et> cap(itu)l(u)m Dunelm(ensis) <et> p(rimus) p(ro)pt(er) p(rae)stat(i)o(ne)m obedient(is) cui p(raese)ntat(i)one ad eccl(es)iam de Rongton ac deinde p(ro)pt(er) visitat(i)one cap(itu)li Dunelm(ensis).
[48] Material from the Bek dispute is now under DCD Loc.VII; for example, DCD Loc.VII:14 collates the priory's pleas made against Bek.

Re-Use

The preservation of dispute material allowed the chapter to repurpose it in new ways. From the late thirteenth century onwards, dispute material was redeployed into two composite manuscripts. These manuscripts showcase collating and repurposing as ongoing practices at Durham that continued for decades and even centuries after the material was originally created. Bainton argued that repurposing documents 'subordinat[ed] that text to a new perspective, a new point of view, and a new purpose'.[49] As we shall see, dispute material was given meaning through its collation with other material in these two manuscripts. Together, they incorporated it into the history and rights of the Durham chapter and even authorised that history.

One of the manuscripts, Stowe 930, is a composite register, primarily compiled in parts throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries with some fifteenth-century additions.[50] Its contents, described by Cheney as 'chapter statutes and various material suitable to a monastic register', broadly relate to the see of Durham and date from the twelfth to fourteenth centuries.[51] A small part of the manuscript (fols. 15-25, dated c.1245-75) fits Pantin's description of a monastic register, or letter-book, as 'a record, kept chronologically, of letters and other documents issued by the abbot and convent' (in other words, the monastic equivalent of an episcopal register).[52] The rest comprises smaller compilations of a wide range of material.[53] They begin with thirteenth-century diocesan statutes, and include the earliest of four known copies of the 'Boldon Buke', dating from the fourteenth-century, as well as a mixture of papal bulls, charters, grants, and financial records. The penultimate section comprises a fourteenth-century copy of 'The controversy between the archbishop of York and the bishop of Durham in the king's court' – the same record of the case as that in the Parliament Rolls – followed by

[49] Bainton, *History and the Written Word*, 37–38.
[50] BL Stowe MS 930.
[51] C. R. Cheney, *English Synodalia of the Thirteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1941), 70. Cheney also linked the statutes in the manuscript with York archdiocese.
[52] W. A. Pantin, "English Monastic Letter Books," in *Historical Essays in Honour of James Tait*, ed. J. G. Edwards, V. H. Galbraith, and E. F. Jacob (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1933), 201.
[53] The manuscript's contents are summarised in: British Museum: Department of Manuscripts (Stowe MSS), *Catalogue of the Stowe Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1895), 613-17.

an agreement between the prior and bishop of Durham.[54] The final section, a collection of royal grants from Henry II to Edward I, was added in a fifteenth-century hand.[55] While this ordering offers little explanation of the manuscript's arrangement, the groupings show that written material was being repurposed in two steps: first in the ongoing collation of material according to topic or type (statutes, grants, and the like) and then in their compilation into a single manuscript throughout the fourteenth century.

Collation and compilation gave the material new meaning. Bouchard argued that cartulary scribes saw the past not as 'a *chain* of events' but a '*collection* of events, each with a very present and ongoing significance', which seems to be the case with this register.[56] This raises the question of the dispute material's inclusion. While Bek also clashed with the chapter, Edward I's defence of him could be interpreted as the defence of Durham's independence against an external threat – the archbishop. Moreover, it drew a line under almost twenty years of tension and did so in Durham's favour. The link to their rights is made more explicit by the inclusion of an agreement between the bishop and chapter immediately after the court record. Seeing the dispute material this way explains the manuscript as a whole, as a collection of material that evidenced the chapter's rights, status, and possessions – in effect, a mini-archive. It is not certain exactly when the manuscript was bound in its current form.[57] Nevertheless, in compiling this material, the compilers created new associations between previously disparate types of material to curate an archive of Durham's history and rights.

The chapter's incorporation of dispute material into Durham's history takes a different form, that of a chronicle, in a second British Library manuscript, Cotton Julius

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[54] BL Stowe MS 930, fols.156r-160v: 'Controversia inter Archiepiscopum Eboracensem et Episcopum Dunelmensem in curia Regis.' Strachey, ed., *Rotuli Parliamentorum: ut et petitiones, et placita in Parliamento tempore Edwardi R. I.*, vol. I (London: S. N., 1767), 102–5. I am especially grateful to Theo Long for taking additional photos that allowed me to confirm these records matched following the cyber-attack on the British Library. This may indicate another instance when Durham had their own contemporary copy of court proceedings made, but I have not found a such a document in their archives.

[55] BL Stowe MS 930, fols. 161r-171v.

[56] Constance Brittain Bouchard, "Monastic Cartularies: Organising Eternity," in *Charters, Cartularies, and Archive: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2022), 28.

[57] The majority of the cathedral library remained intact following the Dissolution but the manuscript's first appearance after this was in the hands of Michael Lort, an eighteenth-century antiquary, before it made its way to Stowe House, and subsequently the British Library: Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, 71.

D IV.[58] As with the Stowe manuscript, this repurposing occurred in two stages: in the late thirteenth century, dispute material was compiled into a chronicle entitled 'Legal proceedings between Lord William Wickwane, archbishop of York, and the prior and convent of Durham concerning the obedience and visitation to be carried out'.[59] It was written in thirteenth-century hands, one of which was identified by Barlow as Edmund of Canterbury.[60] Canterbury's familiar notary mark is identifiable in the margin of folio 175r (fig. 38), although it is rougher than those seen above in the Durham archival material and so may have been copied by another. Whether Edmund or another scribe, the thirteenth-century hands indicate that this 'chronicle' was created in conjunction with or in the decades immediately following the dispute, although headings and marginal notes were added in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. It remained in this form for at least a century as it was listed in an inventory of books of the chancellor of the prior of Durham in 1421 and was foliated 1-62 in the fifteenth century.[61]

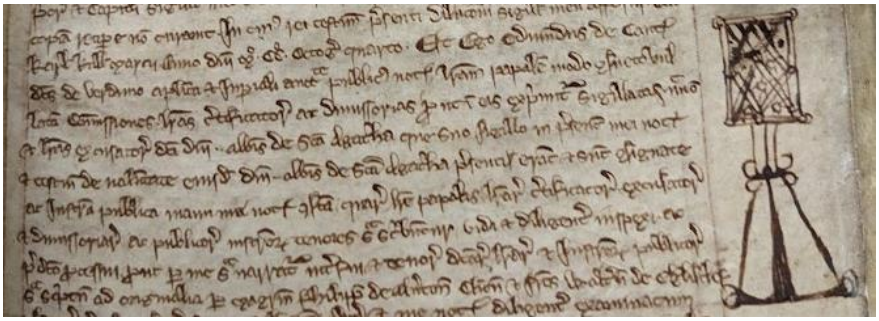

Figure 38: BL Cotton MS Julius D IV, fol. 175r, Canterbury's notary mark on right, potentially a copy

The chronicle comprises sixty-three folios containing material compiled from the Durham Cathedral Archives. Barlow noted that it comprises six uneven gatherings and the sixth gathering should have been placed between the second and third

[58] BL Cotton MS Julius D IV (dispute section fols. 125r-184r).
[59] BL Cotton MS Julius D IV, fol. 1r: 'Placita inter d(omi)n(u)m Will[iam] Whikwan archiep(iscop)um Eboracensem et priorem conventumq(u)e Dunelmenses supre obeditentia et visitation facienda' (my transcription).
[60] Barlow, *Durham Annals and Documents*, xxxi.
[61] Pantin, "English Monastic Letter Books," 210–11.

gatherings, which has disrupted the chronological order.[62] Like Loc.III:50, it begins with Wickwane's refusal to institute Adam of Barnby to the church of West Rounton due to the chapter's omission of the word 'obedience' from their letter of presentation.[63] It then records Wickwane's visitation announcement and the response from the chapter and bishop, including their appeals, before detailing Wickwane's attempted visitation.[64] It includes much of the ongoing dispute and legal proceedings that followed, including copies of court proceedings and other documents found at Durham in Loc.XIV and Misc.Ch.5820.

The use of dispute material in a chronicle reflects the chapter's understanding of documents in history-writing. Bainton's argument that chronicles and documents were similar in both language and form so cannot be clearly separated is helpful for recognising the way that documents could be integrated into, and even function as, history.[65] Many of the documents found in the manuscript – commissions, submissions, acta and the like – relate significant developments in the dispute without the aid of a narrative (although some narrative is also used).[66] Documents were commonly included in high medieval history-writing; Bainton attributed this to the external nature of documents, which 'authorise[d] narrative and authenticate[d] history'.[67] Durham's repurposing of documents into a chronicle both helped to construct their account of the dispute and bolstered the authority of that account.

This 'dispute chronicle' was later bound with other chronicles. The first in the manuscript is the 'Brut Chronicle' (fols. 1r-47v), to which a 'Chronicle of the Foundation of the Church of Durham' was added in the (very large) margin. Folios 48r-118v contain the 'Chronicle of the Kings of England after the Conquest'; however, as Barlow argued, 'it has become a Durham chronicle' from folio 82r with minimal (and often inaccurate) details of outside events.[68] This is followed by a mixture of historic material and annals

[62] Barlow, *Durham Annals and Documents*, xxviii.
[63] BL Cotton MS Julius D IV, fol. 125r-v.
[64] Ibid., fols.126r-130r; fols. 130r-132v.
[65] Bainton, *History and the Written Word*, 8, 14–15.
[66] See, for example, BL Cotton MS Julius D IV, commissions on fols. 140v, 157v, 164r; submission fol.162; acta 163r.
[67] Bainton, *History and the Written Word*, 1–3, 13–14.
[68] Barlow, *Durham Annals and Documents*, xxix.

covering the years 1274-1328 (fols. 119r-124v). There is a visible contrast between these: the 'Brut Chronicle' was rubricated and set out with large margins on the right and at the bottom of each folio; the first part of the 'Chronicle of the Kings of England' is rubricated and has marginal dates, although these drop off partway through; the 'dispute chronicle' has no rubrication and has a mixture of contemporary and later marginal notes. However, despite distinct appearances, these chronicles were products of fundamentally similar efforts to collate histories from preserved materials.

Durham's archiving of documents offered a basis for contemporary and later history-writing. In the Stowe manuscript, the dispute material was included with statutes and privileges and the like evidencing Durham's rights. In the Cotton manuscript, documents were repurposed into a chronicle, which was then collated with other chronicles to create a broader history of the chapter. In both cases, copying and collation took place in parts over an extended period of time.

Wickwane's Register

Parallel but distinct archiving efforts shaped the registration of dispute material under Wickwane. Unlike at Durham, these efforts centred on the contemporary collation of material into a single manuscript, although as Chapter One showed, registration was a changeable endeavour. Moreover, disputes and the extensive material they produced were inherently disruptive, presenting scribes and registrars with choices of what to register and how. Examining these choices sheds light on how the visitation dispute shaped Wickwane's register, and conversely how the register was intended to be used in the dispute.

In order to examine Wickwane's register in relation to the visitation dispute, it is helpful to set out in more detail how the dispute unfolded under him. On 11th March 1281, Wickwane announced his intention to visit Durham.[69] In response, appeals were written on behalf of Bishop Robert of Holy Island, Prior Richard Claxton and the chapter, and the clergy and laity of the diocese.[70] All three appeals emphasised a lack of

[69] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 446.
[70] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 451, 452, 453.

precedent, alongside specific existing grievances: Robert of Holy Island was involved in an unresolved case against Wickwane's commissary; and the prior and convent were appealing to Rome against Wickwane's refusal to institute Adam of Barnby to West Rounton. On 25th June 1281, Wickwane proceeded to Durham, dismissing their 'tricks and obstacles… [and] foreign and remarkable unknown immunities against [his] universal and familiar jurisdiction', but found the gates barred against him.[71] He preached an open-air sermon and excommunicated everyone who impeded his visitation.[72]

Wickwane sent commissaries for a second visitation attempt in September of the same year, which was also unsuccessful.[73] Both sides appealed to Rome, and papal judges-delegate were appointed to hold courts in England; Wickwane was cited to appear at Stamford in June 1282 but his non-appearance combined with factionalism among the judges and their subdelegates meant that contradictory sentences were announced, prompting further appeals.[74] Robert of Holy Island died on 7th June 1283 and Wickwane claimed jurisdiction. He attempted to visit in July of that year and was again prevented, although accounts of this vary.[75] Further appeals, citations, and excommunications followed, and Wickwane only consecrated Anthony Bek as the new bishop of Durham due to pressure from Edward I. Tensions continued under Bek and Wickwane set off for Rome in autumn 1284 but died en route at Pontigny the following year.[76] Only some of these events appear in his register, raising the questions of what the register sought to record and in what ways it reflected and engaged with the dispute.

Material and Arrangement: The Durham Dossier

The first questions that arise are what was registered and how. Table 4 sets out material related to the dispute by register section (following the order of the original

[71] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 454: 'dolos et obices… extraneas et incognitas immunitates singulares, contra universalem et notoriam ordinariam jurisdiccionem nostram'.
[72] Wickwane, nos. 454, 455, 456.
[73] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 123–24.; *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 461-462.
[74] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 125-132.
[75] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 133-34; BL Cotton MS Julius D IV, fols. 173v-174r; the account in the Graystanes Chronicle is transcribed by Raine, *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, 65-66.
[76] Brown, *Reg. Wickwane*, xix.

register), allowing us to chart its entry. The entries largely comprise letters and other documents issued by Wickwane himself, such as notices of visitation, excommunications, and letters appealing for support. There are some exceptions to this, most notably appeals against the visitation from Durham, which will be considered below: letters to the archbishop are marked with * in the table. Examining this material and its entry into the register, particularly the question of where it was entered, reveals the live choices of registration: what was being memorialised in the register and to what end? Where was material entered in the register, and what drove the choices of where to enter it?

While registering material issued by Wickwane's own chancery was typical practice, the arrangement of dispute material is less so, as we shall see. As illustrated by the table, most material was collated into two sections: a dedicated section – a newly created 'Provincial Visitation of Durham Diocese' section – and 'Papal Letters'. Several entries have been included elsewhere; these are scattered throughout the register and include two entries in the appended section of Wickwane's later register (2B).

'Provincial Visitation of Durham Diocese' was a unique section. The attempted Durham visitation of 1281 is not just the only visitation given its own section, but the only event to be given one. It comprises only five folios (139r to 143v) with seventeen entries and must have been included with the original register either from its initial creation or shortly afterwards as it was copied into the later version.[77] There are no sections dedicated to specific visitations in Giffard's register or any subsequent registers; this was a particular invention for a particular challenge under Wickwane, a new element of registration to suit the archbishop's needs.[78] Examining it reveals key elements of how the register was deployed in the dispute.

[77] The relationship of this section to the quires is unclear, folio 143 is noticeably shorter than preceding folios and those that follow are varied and likewise do not appear to form a clear quire.
[78] William Greenfield had a separate visitation roll, which seems to have been typical for later English bishops when visitations were recorded.

Table 4: Visitation dispute material in Wickwane's register

Durham dispute material in Wickwane's register (using Brown's document nos.)	
Section: Provincial Visitation of Durham (using Brown's document nos.)	
11th Mar. 1281	446. Visitation notice to Robert of Holy Island, bishop of Durham; bishop, prior and convent to be present at the chapter-house at Durham.
11th Mar. 1281	447. Similar notice and mandate to the prior and convent of Durham.
11th Mar. 1281	448. Authority to Robert of Sleaford to act in the Durham matter with permission to excommunicate.
21st April 1281	449. Bishop of Durham to be present at visitation. Notice of excommunication.
Undated	450. Robert of Holy Island's profession of obedience*
Undated	451. Protest by William de Fennum against visitation on bishop's behalf.*
Undated	452. Prior and convent of Durham's appeal against Wickwane's visitation and any excommunication.*
Undated	453. Clergy and laity of Durham's appeal against visitation.*
Undated	454. Excommunication of all impeding Wickwane's visitation of Durham. The bishop, prior, and convent to appear at visitation.
Undated	455. Excommunication of the bishop, the prior, and other officials at Durham.
25th June 1281	456. Mandate to the bishops of Carlisle, Whithorn, and Lincoln to publish the excommunication.
22nd July 1281	457. Letter from Edward I asking Wickwane to deal gently with Durham.*
23rd Aug. 1281	458. To William Corner, visitation adjourned until Nov. 2; visitation notice.
29th Aug. 1281	459. Mandate to Adam of Darlington, prebendary of Howden, to publish the excommunication in Howdenshire and Allertonshire churches and wherever the prior and convent of Durham have patronage.
13th Sept. 1281	460. The sub-dean of York and Robert of Pickering appointed as Wickwane's commissaries at the Durham visitation with power to excommunicate.
13th Sept. 1281	461. Mandate to commissaries to excommunicate Robert Avenel, prebendary of Howden, and other adherents of the bishop.
13th Sept. 1281	462. Mandate to the same to summon R. Avenel, Roger le Count, and William of St. Quintin to show who was official, and who vicar of the bishop.
Section: Papal Letters	
8th July 1281	475. To the cardinal of St. Lorenzo asking for help in his case at the curia.
8th July 1281	476. Letter to cardinals complaining about the Durham issue.
8th July 1281	477. To Master John, asking for help at the curia against the bishop of Durham.
19th July 1281	478. To John, cardinal deacon of St. Maria in Cosmedin, asking that he order Cincius de Pyna, canon of Southwell, to aid York in the Durham case.
8th July 1281	479. Appointment of Bollington as proctor – variants on this (in relation to bishop, prior and chapter of Durham, and his own chapter).
4th Sept. 1282[79] Undated	480. To cardinal Hugh, asking for his help at the curia in the Durham quarrel. To the same, asking for help with Durham – Hugh under greater obligations to York.
Undated	481. To cardinals Jordan and Ancher, praying for continued help against Durham.
23rd Oct. 1281	482. Similar letter to Matthew, cardinal of St. Maria in Porticu.

[79] Here, there appears to be an error with the dating of Wickwane's archiepiscopal year and it should be 1281 (year three is given but its place in the sequence suggests this should still be year two).

23rd Oct. 1281	483. To cardinal Hugh, about compromise with Durham.
23rd Oct. 1281	484. Mandate to Thomas of Corbridge, the chancellor, to present letters at the curia.
23rd Oct. 1281	485. To William of Bollington. Pay Ralph of Tadcaster the money advanced. Warning to be crafty. A compromise with Durham suggested.
23rd Oct. 1281	486. To Ralph of Tadcaster. Has written to Bollington about paying money. Letters to be delivered to certain cardinals. Doubts if compromise with Durham is possible.
23rd Oct. 1281	487. To Master H. of Patrington, warning about enemies at the curia.
10th Dec. 1281	489. To Thomas of Corbridge, come home as the cause will begin in England.
27th Dec. 1282	494. Appointment of Bollington as proctor in all causes including Durham.
Section: York Chapter (Year Two)	
14th July 1281	24. To dean and chapter asking them to persuade the chancellor, Thomas Corbridge, to be his counsel at Rome against Durham
4th Aug. 1281	25. To the same asking their opinion on agreement with Durham suggested by William de la Corner, canon of York.
7th Aug. 1281	26. The dean and chapter to the AB. Changes to settlement with Durham.*
Section: York Officiality (Year Two)	
21st April 1281	516. To the official, persuading bishop of Durham of the need for visitation.
Section: *Intrinseca* (Year Two)	
Undated	699. To Carlisle prior and convent, complaining they got him and his official excommunicated and ordering them to get it revoked.
Section: *Extrinseca* (Year Two)	
29th Mar. 1201	609. Indulgence by Pope Innocent III. No archbishop of York shall be excommunicated except by special mandate of the pope.*
Section: *Intrinseca* (Year Three)	
1st Oct. 1281	702. To Godfrey Giffard, asking him to send the letters in which the bishop and convent of Durham acknowledge the archbishop's right to visit.
Section: Obligations (Year Four)	
30th May 1284	893. Grant of indemnity to the subprior and precentor of Easby in the Durham cause.
Section: Appended Section (Later Register 2B)	
13th July 1284	742. To the bishop of Dunkeld asking for support against Durham.
Undated	765. To the abbot of Alnwick, a judge in the York-Durham dispute, asking for his goodwill.

Firstly, the choice to frame it as a section for the 'Provincial visitation in the diocese of Durham' elucidates a key distinction between Wickwane's approach to the dispute and Durham's. Wickwane saw the dispute as being about his right to visit Durham, which he believed was part of his spiritual duty and his right as metropolitan. The first entry, his visitation notice, claimed that 'the zeal of our concern for [Bishop Robert of Holy Island]' caused him 'to devote [himself] vigilantly to the reform of

subordinates'.[80] In contrast, both Loc.III: 50 and the dispute section in the Cotton manuscript begin by recording Wickwane's refusal to institute Adam of Barnby to the church of West Rounton.[81] The title of Loc.III:50 (likely added in the fourteenth or fifteenth century) explicitly refers to the presentation, indicating this was considered a significant part of the dispute. Wickwane's register makes no mention of his refusal to induct, except for where it is mentioned in Durham's appeal against his visitation (entered in this section), although his mandate to induct Adam of Barnby to West Rounton on 24th June 1281 and Barnby's admission to the church on 29th August were registered in the 'Howden' section.[82] Wickwane's decision to induct Barnby the day before he attempted to visit Durham was unlikely coincidental, yet the lack of reference to it in the Durham visitation section suggests that Wickwane and his administrators deliberately separated it from the dispute. Instead, they framed the dispute as being specifically about visitation.

Secondly, the keeping of this section can be linked to the events of the dispute. It opens with three entries dated 11th March 1281: a visitation notice with instructions to be present sent to Robert of Holy Island; a similar notice to the prior and convent; and a letter granting authority to Robert of Sleaford to act for the archbishop in the Durham visitation and to excommunicate if needed.[83] Together, they set out Wickwane's intentions for the visitation, particularly his responsibility for reform and correction. The letters appear to be entered in the same hand and ink as the heading, indicating that the section was created for this material. Subtle changes in hand, such as thicker and shorter abbreviation marks, can be seen from the fourth and final entry (no. 449) on 139r onwards, suggesting different scribes continued to add to the section (fig. 39). This entry is a notice to the bishop of Durham to be present at the visitation, dated 21st April 1281. The most likely point of creation was therefore between 11th March and 21st April, likely when the initial three letters were written, in anticipation of difficulties.

[80] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 446: 'Sollicitudinis nostre studium [eo]… vigilancius reformacionem impendere subditorum…'
[81] DCD Loc.III: 50; BL Cotton MS Julius D IV (dispute section fols. 125r-184r).
[82] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 452, 562, 564.
[83] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 446, 447, 448.

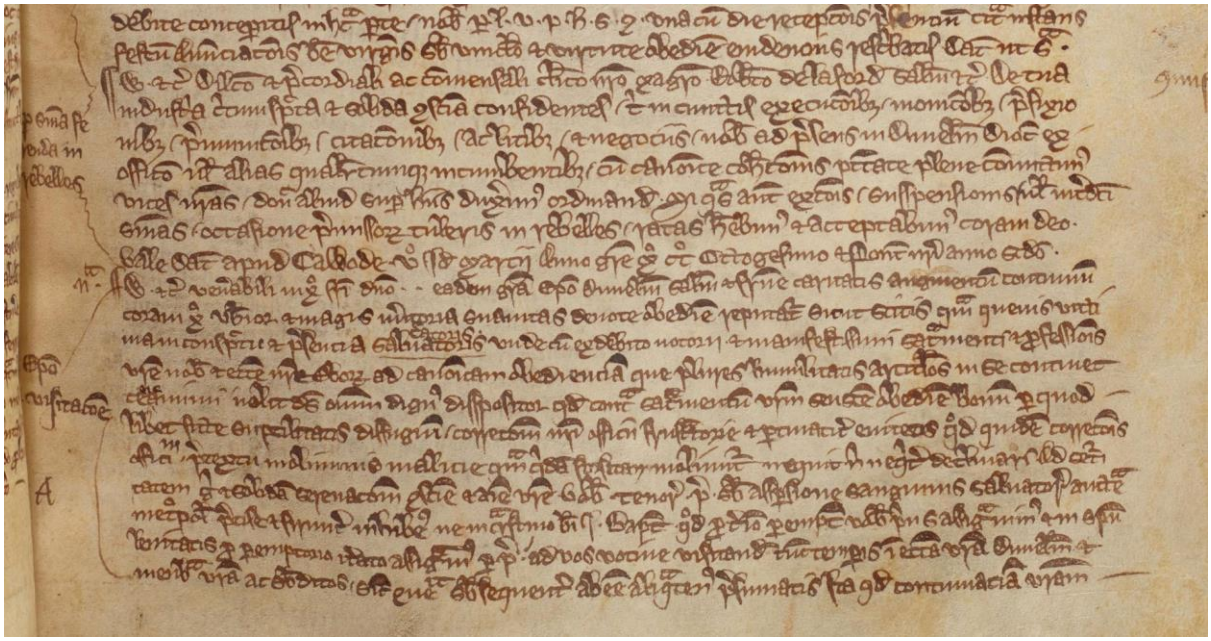

Figure 39: Wickwane MS, fol.139r, third and fourth entries in section

The material covers a relatively short time (between 11th March and 13th September 1281) and, even in this short period, different stages of registration can be traced. After its creation with the first three entries, subsequent entries appear to have been made in small batches (very slight changes in hand can be seen). From the fourth entry (no. 449) in this section (21st April) to the notice to publish excommunications issued on the day of attempted visitation (25th June, no. 456), material was almost exclusively entered in this visitation section, with just one exception – a letter to his official announcing the visitation (no. 516), which entered into 'Officiality'. Although entries 451 to 455 were not given a date in the register, they are appeals produced following the bishop of Durham assembling the clergy around Easter (13th April), and conditional excommunications intended to deter opposition to the planned visitation, so were issued prior to 25th June.[84]

The final entries in the visitation section, from 13th September, show Wickwane's preparation for a second attempt, this time through his commissaries, which was to occur on 17th September 1281.[85] This attempt was equally unsuccessful (and entries

[84] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 117; Raine, *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, 59.
[85] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 451, 452, 453.

were made elsewhere), yet nothing else was added to this section of the register.[86] The most likely explanation for this is that there was little left to do in regard to Durham itself: the excommunications of all who impeded his visitation had already been pronounced, and mandates had been sent to instruct others to publish the excommunications.[87] When Wickwane's commissaries failed to complete the visitation, the next step lay in Rome. Thus, the dispute section only recorded material directly related to the dispute as it unfolded in Durham, over a period of just six months. This was a short-lived registration initiative that specifically recorded Wickwane's visitation notice, certain appeals from Durham, and his reaction to the challenges faced, particularly his excommunications and the delegation of his authority.

This leads us to the third implication for the relationship between register and dispute: both the material itself and its arrangement in this section worked to justify Wickwane's visitation in the face of opposition. The first entry – the notice of visitation to Robert of Holy Island – sets out Wickwane's position, emphasising his fear that 'out of neglect, we have scorned the responsibility for the Lord's flock, which is entrusted to us' and the need for 'reformation'. [88] While the letter makes clear (or at least uses the language of) Wickwane's responsibility for spiritual oversight over Durham, the material in the visitation section worked to bolster his right to exercise this oversight. Surprisingly, this is best illustrated by the inclusion of three of Durham's appeals against Wickwane's visitation.[89] The register primarily recorded documents issued by Wickwane and no other appeals criticising Wickwane were included. Yet, these were only three of the numerous appeals written by the bishop, prior, and convent of Durham.[90] Their inclusion here was a deliberate, exceptional choice. Their position in the register, directly below Robert of Holy Island's (1274) profession of obedience on folio 139v,

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[86] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 489.
[87] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 454, 459.
[88] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 446: 'si commissi nobis gregis Dominici curam ex negligencia contempserimus… reformacionem'; Wickwane's emphatic declaration of his responsibility for Durham is very similar to that of Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, in his management of a dispute between the bishop and prior of Durham, which Walker saw as typical of his response to threats to Geoffrey's own authority: Kyly Walker, "The Expression of Authority in Twelfth-Century English Episcopal Charters" PhD thesis (University of Leeds, 2023), 128–30, 207.
[89] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 451, 452, 453.
[90] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 117; BL Cotton MS Julius D IV, fols. 126r, 127r; DCD Loc.III:50. m. 2; Raine, *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres*, 59.

makes them appear starkly incongruous.[91] Importantly, obedience was professed not only to Giffard himself but to the 'sacred church of York' and to '[Giffard's] successors'.[92] The material that follows Durham's appeals against the visitation – the excommunications of those involved – not only refute Durham's appeals, criticising their 'obstacles' and 'contumacy', but explicitly refer to the bishop of Durham's obedience to York.[93] This portrays the bishop of Durham as perfidious, particularly in contrast to Wickwane's grave concern for the spiritual state of the diocese.

Redeploying the obedience in this way emphasises the authority of the written word among Wickwane and his administrators. The entry is prefaced with a reminder that, before being consecrated bishop, the profession must be given 'in writing'.[94] It also includes a cross representing the bishop's signature to reinforce his declaration that he had 'sign[ed] with [his] own hand'.[95] Moreover, in his excommunication of those preventing his visitation, Wickwane emphasised his physical possession of the obedience:

> Our venerable brother, Lord R[obert], now bishop of Durham, likewise fashioned and consecrated by the seat of York, whose declaration, having been written with an oath of obedience, we hold in our hands…[96]

The redeployment of material to support Wickwane's rights is something that occurs on other occasions, as stated in Chapter One.[97] In his case, it is not merely the possession of the material but the arrangement of the appeals and obedience, which worked together to emphasise that the very bishop who had sworn obedience was now refusing to co-operate.

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[91] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 450; the profession of obedience is undated in the register, but Robert of Holy Island was consecrated on the 9th of December 1274, and it refers to Walter (Giffard) who was archbishop at that time.
[92] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 450: 'sacrosancte Eboracensi ecclesie', 'ejus successoribus'.
[93] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 454, 455.
[94] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 450: 'in scripturis'.
[95] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 450: 'manu propria subscribe'.
[96] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 455: 'venerabili fratri nostro, domino R., nunc episcopo Dunelmensi, ab eadem sede Eboracensi conformato et consecrato, cujus professionem in scriptis factam cum juramento obediencie corporali penes nos habemus…'
[97] Chapter One, p. 70.

This section, related to one specific issue and dealing with only a few months, is distinct from the other sections of Wickwane's register. It was not intended as a complete record of material related to the Durham dispute. Instead, it justifies the visitation: setting out its announcement, contradicting the arguments of the bishop, prior, and chapter, and showing how early events unfolded. As argued in Chapter One, Wickwane's register (or registers) was not merely a working register and a copy but the product of distinct registration initiatives. The creation of the Durham section adds to this picture of registration as a responsive activity under Wickwane. It was created in response to the specific challenge he faced in Durham. Here, a parallel can be drawn with the evidence Forrest and Whittick found in Hereford of Bishop Swinfield's parish visitation records from 1284 being collated to support episcopal jurisdiction.[98] An association between copying material and contested jurisdictions was evident in Durham's archives.[99] Under Wickwane, contested jurisdiction drove registration activities.

Considering how registration activities responded to the dispute adds to the more fluid picture of registration we have seen under Wickwane, a contrast to long-running assumptions about the efficiency or systematisation of registration. In Georges Declerq's work on cartularies and Traditionsbücher, he argued that most copybooks were not a 'systematic collection of all the solemn privileges of an institution, but rather ad hoc dossiers offering a selection of diplomas and privileges related to specific issues'.[100] The idea of a dossier related to a particular issue offers a helpful way of thinking about the Durham visitation section, although rather than being ad hoc, it was carefully crafted to justify Wickwane's attempt to visit. Moreover, its place in the register was solidified by its inclusion in the later version. This adds to the sense of responsiveness we have seen so far with Wickwane's registration initiatives: collating material that would support Wickwane's position in Durham was part of the response to the dispute.

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[98] Ian Forrest and Christopher Whittick, "The Thirteenth-Century Visitation Records of the Diocese of Hereford," *The English Historical Review* 131, no. 551 (2016): 743–44.; Hereford Cathedral Archives (HCA) 1050a.
[99] See, for example, DCD Loc.III:50.
[100] Declerq, "Originals and Cartularies," 152.

Registration Activities: Response and Remit

Dispute material was also entered elsewhere in Wickwane's register. Exploring these choices of entry develops the relationship between the unfolding of the dispute and registration activities. Registration patterns changed throughout the stages of the dispute, and depending on the jurisdictions in which the dispute was being played out. Examining these patterns reveals two distinct stages of registration that occurred alongside the keeping of the Durham dossier; these can be mapped onto the events of the dispute and Wickwane's response to it.

Firstly, the period from July to December 1281 saw material entered into different parts of the register (overlapping with the keeping of the dispute dossier). Sixteen entries relating to the visitation dispute were made in the 'Papal Letters' section, the majority of which were letters to cardinals seeking to gain their support.[101] The earliest entries in this section date from 8th July 1281 (shortly after Wickwane's failed visitation on 25th June). Three letters were entered: one to Hugh of Evesham, one that was sent to five different cardinals (according to the marginal note), and another to John the Monk.[102] These were likely written in response to Durham's attempts to garner support from Rome. Durham's Roger Methley and Stephen Howden set off for Rome on 7th July, while Wickwane's letters seeking to ready his proctors at the curia and invoke the aid of various cardinals followed the day after. A series of six letters dated 23rd October 1281 is also entered in the 'Papal Letters' section: two to cardinals, and the others to his agents about strategy and payments.[103] These likely coincided with Wickwane's preparation for the dispute to be heard by judges-delegate. On 26th September, the *auditor contradictarum litterarum* at Rome named judges-delegate to hear the case, and on 10th December that Wickwane ordered Thomas Corbridge to return home due to the cause beginning in England.[104] Wickwane not only wrote to the curia in response to particular stages of the visitation dispute but had those letters recorded in his register.

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[101] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 480 contains three separate letters, two of which were related to the Durham dispute.
[102] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 475, 476, 477.
[103] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 482-87.
[104] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 484.

Alongside this, three entries in 'York Chapter' record Wickwane's requests for help from the York chapter and their response, dated from July and August 1281. One is a letter to the dean and chapter, asking that they convince Thomas Corbridge, the chancellor, to be his proctor at Rome.[105] Another is a letter asking for the chapter's advice on a plan for an agreement with Durham proposed by William de la Corner (a canon of York, papal chaplain, and archdeacon of Northumberland); this was followed by their reply.[106] As with the letters to cardinals, these were about the specific events of the dispute at that moment. These letters were from the interim period between the attempted visitations when Wickwane was trying to build his case. Like the 'Papal Letters' section, these entries in the 'York Chapter' section record his requests for help. Material in the visitation dossier from this period tends to concern issues of archiepiscopal authority – exercising his right to excommunicate and delegating to his commissaries.[107] Distinct registration choices occurred in response to the unfolding of the dispute and the material produced.

Secondly, from December 1281 onwards, entries into Wickwane's register concerning the visitation dispute almost entirely stop with just a few exceptions, despite the papal judges-delegate holding court in England. Just four entries relate to the dispute: two are Wickwane's requests for support (one from 1284 and the other undated) entered in the appended section at the end of the later register (fols. 78r to 90v); one is his 1284 appointment of William Bollington as his proctor in all cases, including Durham, registered in 'Papal Letters'; and one is a grant of indemnity entered under 'Obligations'.[108] This is in stark contrast to the quantity of material preserved in the Durham Cathedral Archives. Moreover, as explored in Chapter One, Wickwane employed a public notary, William of Somerby, and made payments to him for clerks at Warwick in September 1283, just before the 'York Court' met at Warwick.[109] Like Durham, he had his own copies of material made. A lack of court material in the register is not surprising – the register does after all largely contain material produced by

[105] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 24.
[106] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 25, 26.
[107] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 458, 459, 460, 461.
[108] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 742, 765, 893.
[109] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 865.

Wickwane's own chancery and the material may simply have been kept elsewhere. Yet the lack of further instructions by Wickwane, such as the appointment of proctors, further requests for support, and preparations for his travel to Rome – the types of material that had previously been registered – indicate a deliberate omission of dispute material.

The reduction in entries from the point at which the dispute moved to the courts reveals the ways in which the register was understood as a record of archiepiscopacy. The registration of dispute material depended on where the dispute itself was taking place: Durham and the wider Northern Province, Rome, and the Church courts. As the dispute moved between these different forums, register entries fluctuated, with the most entries being made when the dispute was unfolding in Durham and when Wickwane was attempting to exert influence at Rome. That the dispute's move to the Church courts coincided with the almost complete omission of material from the register demonstrates the register's role as a record of the archbishop's exercise of authority and influence. When the dispute moved out of Wickwane's remit, it moved out of the register's remit, despite its implications for archiepiscopal authority.

Under Wickwane, registration was not simply the recording of episcopal business but a series of acts that responded to the unfolding of the dispute. These acts were part of a process of collecting and collating material to further his claims to visitation rights in Durham. Material was not simply accumulated; it was given shape. The nature of the register as a portable archive required greater selectivity than the archives of Durham chapter. Much was omitted – from the tensions regarding Adam of Barnby's presentation to the court records. Material that set out Wickwane's case, such as the visitation notice or his requests for aid, was more likely to be selected. Through the keeping of the register, material was arranged and deployed in deliberate ways so as to construct the archbishop's case for his visitation rights. Thus, the production of the register was bound up with – and became a record of, and even a tool for – Wickwane arguing his case.

Romeyn's Register

Under Romeyn, the dispute with Durham continued to centre on York's primacy but was given a new focus in the form of Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham from 1285. Romeyn reached a settlement regarding visitation with the Durham chapter in 1286, whereby he solidified his right to visit during a vacancy but relinquished any right to do so while the see was occupied.[110] However, problems began when Alan of Easingwold, Bek's official, prevented appeals from Durham's court to York's.[111] This was exacerbated by Bek ignoring Romeyn's repeated mandates to appear in York to discuss the king's tenth in late 1290. Attempts at arbitration the following summer failed, and Romeyn demanded that Bek denounce Easingwold as excommunicate.[112] Bek refused. As Bek was under the king's protection, Romeyn hesitated to proceed against him and allowed him eight days to make amends.[113] No amends were made. Tensions rose further when Romeyn's clerks, William of Wrelton and John Amelia, went to Durham to cite Bek but were imprisoned by the constable by 23rd September 1291.[114] When they had not been released a month later, Romeyn put under interdict all places in the archdiocese of York where Bek had been.[115] The interdict was relaxed on 10th October 1291, likely at the king's behest.[116] Tensions were not quelled, and Romeyn excommunicated Bek in April 1292. As Bek was acting as Edward I's commissary, Romeyn was accused of acting in contempt of the king.[117] He was ordered to appear before the king and council in May 1293, where he was found to have infringed the royal prerogative and was fined 4000 marks (which was never paid).[118] As with the dispute over visitation, the Romeyn-Bek dispute was rooted in the issue of York's primacy over Durham and the disregard both Bek and his official showed for this.

As with Wickwane's register, Romeyn's register records some but not all of the material produced in relation to his dispute with Bek. Building on the arguments in

[110] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 175–76; *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1023.
[111] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1353.
[112] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1364.
[113] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1362.
[114] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1367.
[115] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1368.
[116] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1370.
[117] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1377.
[118] Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, xxvii–xxxi; Prestwich, *Edward I*, 352.

Chapter Two that Romeyn's archiepiscopate brought not just developments in the machinery of registration but changing ideas of what a register was and how it was bound up in the authority of written records, this section asks what material from the Bek dispute was registered and what it reveals about how Romeyn's register was used in practice. In doing so, it compares how Romeyn's register was deployed to Wickwane's register and to the Durham chapter archives. This section looks first at the dispute material that was registered, and its arrangement, to consider how the choices of registration compared to those of Wickwane's register. This will lead on to an examination of how Romeyn's register was used during the dispute. In particular, it builds on the consideration of 'the register' in Chapter Two, to consider how a more developed sense of what a register was and how it should be structured shaped the entry of dispute material, and so the account of the dispute created by Romeyn's register.

Material and Arrangement

As argued in Chapter Two, Romeyn's register was generally kept more consistently and had more defined conventions than Wickwane's. Yet, like Wickwane's register, not all dispute material was entered, and thus the choices of what to register and where warrant examination. Examining how register entries fluctuated over the course of the dispute lays bare what choices were made and what this means for how Romeyn's register was being used. Table 5 (below) presents the relevant numbered entries under their section with the yearly subdivisions so as to show how the entries fluctuated over the course of the dispute (all are addressed from the archbishop unless otherwise stated).

Table 5: Durham dispute material in Romeyn's register

Durham dispute material in Romeyn's register (using Brown's document nos.)	
Officiality (Year Five)	
9th Dec. 1290	83. Letter to the king. Convocation has voted a tenth; all were present except the bishop of Durham and his clergy.
Chapters (Year One)	
2nd Nov. 1286	1023. Agreement between Romeyn and the Durham chapter about jurisdiction in Durham during a vacancy.
9th Nov. 1286	1024. Revocation of all sentences pronounced against Durham prior and chapter.
Chapters (Year Six)	
31st July 1291	1129A. Appointment of Henry de Tymparon and William of Thornton as proctors for the archbishop and chapter against the bishop of Durham.
Howden and Alverton (Years Five and Six)	
4th Nov. 1291	1201. Commission to Crowcombe and Pickering to act against prior and convent of Durham for appropriating churches of Alverton and Eastrington.
Suffragan Letters (Year One)	
6th Oct. 1286	1343. Letter to bishop of Durham, he had been asked to treat with clergy about the king's letter and is now commanded to be at York on Nov. 13th.
Suffragan Letters (Year Four)	
	1353. Letter to bishop of Durham, complaining Alan of Easingwold (his official) prevented appeals from Durham consistory court to York court.
Suffragan Letters (Year Five)	
16th Nov. 1290 10th Dec. 1290	1358. First summons to bishop of Durham to send proctors to consider granting a benevolence to the king. Second summons – no-one was sent nor any excuse made. More time given for Durham to send proctors.
Suffragan Letters (Year Six)	
21st Mar. 1291	1360. Mandate to bishop of Durham to denounce those infringing liberties of the church of York as excommunicate.
31st July 1291	1361. Letters of attorney nominating William de Hothum, Durand of Lincoln, William of Pickering and William de Greenfield as proctors in Durham case.
28th Aug. 1291	1362. To William of Wrelton. Bishop of Durham has refused Romeyn's letters and retains Alan of Easingwold. If he does not make amends within 8 days, he is to be cited to appear at York on 5th Oct.
29th Aug. 1291	1363. To official of archdeacon of the East Riding. The prior and monks of Durham have appropriated the churches of Northallerton and Eastrington, and exercise jurisdiction in Howden, Welton, etc. They are to be cited to appear at York. Similar letters to the official of the archdeacon of Cleveland and Will of Wrelton.
Dat., etc.	1364. Robert de Lacy, official of the court of York, to the bishop of Durham. Denounce Alan of Easingwold as excommunicated.
24th Aug. 1291	1365. Citation to bishop of Durham for 5th Oct in York Minster.
24th Oct. 1291	1367. Mandate to bishop of Durham. Two of Romeyn's clerks have been arrested by Bek's order; he is commanded again to free them and to find out who their captors are and denounce them.
23rd Oct. 1291	1368. An interdict announced for all the places through which the bishop of Durham would pass.

Dat., etc.	1369. Response to the king's letter about relaxing the interdict. Romeyn is coming to Edward soon and will explain the reason for the interdict.
10th Nov. 1291	1370. Notice that the interdict had been relaxed.
17th Nov. 1291	1371. Mandate to bishop of Durham. John of Maidstone and others who have imprisoned Romeyn's clerks are excommunicated. Bek is to free the clerks and make amends within 12 days or will be excommunicated.
8th April 1292	1377. Mandate to excommunicate Bek for allowing the clerks to be imprisoned. Form to be used if the clerks are not liberated. Form if they are. Another form if they are not.
Suffragan Letters (Year Six and Seven)	
12th Nov. 1292	1378. Appointment of proctors in Durham quarrel.
Suffragan Letters (Year Eight)	
7th March 1293	1383. Mandate to bishop of Durham's official. He had been ordered to levy 2*d* in the mark from each Durham benefice but had not and so was commanded to do it now and pay it to the Provincial Council's receiver.
25th July 1293	1385. Mandate to the official of Durham. He had refused Romeyn's letters; he was instructed to levy the 2*d* in each mark from all Durham benefices under pain of excommunication.
***Intrinseca de Camera* (Year One)**	
12th May 1286	1417. Letter to Labro Wlpelli of Lucca.[119] Instructions about business at the curia (including Durham and the carrying of the cross).
12th May 1286	1418. Letter to Reginald of St. Albans, about the cross, jurisdiction over Durham in vacancies, delaying letters in the Durham matter, judges in Durham quarrel, etc.
12th May 1286 12th May 1286	1419. Letter to Bernard of Carcassonne, papal chaplain, about carrying the cross; instructing him to try and delay Durham matter. Similar letter to Guy of Novarra.
Dat… *anno gracie sine pontificatu*	1427. Letter to cardinal Matteo Rubeo, praying for his good offices in issue of carrying the cross and Durham chapter over vacancies.
Miscellanea (Brown's title not Romeyn's)	
Undated	1548. Judges' names in the case against Alan of Easingwold

As with Wickwane's register, the majority of Romeyn's registered material relating to the dispute takes the form of letters or mandates. Both registers include letters to the representatives at the papal curia, appointments of proctors, and the publication of excommunications. Nevertheless, there were key differences. Unsurprisingly, given the focus of the contest, Romeyn's register has more entries directed to the bishop of Durham himself. It also registers dispute material over a much longer period of time, from 1286 to 1293. Furthermore, no additional section was

[119] This is likely an alternative spelling of Labro Vulpelli, who would be paid by Edward I for his services at Rome in 1290: Maxwell Lyte, *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward I*, vol. II, 394.

created for Durham material. This meant that entries were made in existing sections, within the parameters of the register's architecture. As argued in Chapter Two, the structure of Romeyn's register was decided during the first year of his archiepiscopate, although the sections could be adapted in response to material.[120] Dispute material was thus entered in chronological order into the relevant register section. The majority of entries were made in the 'Suffragan Letters' section, reflecting the new focus of the dispute. This contains section numerous letters, mandates, and summons directed to Anthony Bek, in contrast to Wickwane's whole register (which only includes a notice of visitation and instructions to be present directed to Robert of Holy Island).[121] Letters to representatives at the curia were entered under *Intrinseca* (which was used for a wide range of business, including appointments, letters, and bonds) and a few other entries were made elsewhere. The entry of dispute material into this structure sheds light on how the register sections, particularly those introduced or adapted under Romeyn, were being used in the dispute and reveal the ongoing choices of registration. As we shall see, entering material into the register's structure gave it new shape and meaning.

The choice to integrate dispute material into sections that were established early in Romeyn's archiepiscopate shapes the impression of the dispute and the archbishop's approach to it. For example, the agreement with the Durham chapter and revocation of sentences passed against them are in the 'Chapters' section.[122] This gives less prominence to the Durham dispute and contributes to the sense of Romeyn's register being less responsive than Wickwane's. While only one letter to cardinal was registered, it and letters to Romeyn's agents at the papal curia were integrated into the *Intrinseca* section.[123] This was another change from Wickwane's register, which had included a specific papal letters section. The *Intrinseca* section was not new – it had been included in Giffard's register – but it had changed in use. E. F. Jacob loosely defined it as the 'material from the Archbishop's wardrobe and household' but the inclusion of Romeyn's letter to Cardinal Matteo Rubeo reflected a wider shift to including papal letters (as we shall see more clearly in relation to the Canterbury

[120] See Chapter Two, p. 91.
[121] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 446, 449.
[122] Romeyn MS, fols. 91r-109v.
[123] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1427; see also, nos. 1417, 1418, 1419.

dispute).[124] These broader sections combined dispute material with day-to-day administrative material. The shape of the register did not change to accommodate the dispute, as Wickwane's had done; instead, the dispute material conformed to the shape of the register. This portrays Romeyn and his administrators as less reactive than Wickwane; the dispute was part of the business of archiepiscopacy, rather than its defining event.

Even in the new 'Suffragan Letters' section, where the bulk of the material regarding Durham was entered, entries about the dispute were interspersed with other (unrelated) entries. For instance, in the year six subsection, a series of entries concerning Alan of Easingwold's imprisonment of two York clerks is interrupted by a commission to the bishop of Whithorn to perform pontifical duties in the archbishop's absence.[125] This gives the impression that although the dispute with Durham was prominent, Romeyn's other archiepiscopal business continued. In addition, incorporating the Bek material into the 'Suffragans' section offered a firm statement of Durham's position as a suffragan, and implicit comparison with Romeyn's less troublesome suffragans. It also reflected the changed nature of the dispute: under Wickwane, the dispute centred on the act of visitation; under Romeyn, it was about Bek's repeated denial of York's jurisdiction over Durham. Putting Romeyn's letters to Bek in the 'Suffragan Letters' section quite literally put Bek in his place in the register. While the tensions with Durham caused significant problems for Romeyn, the register itself appears less reactive, instead reinforcing a clear understanding of Durham's place within the province.

Moreover, the material itself did not necessarily deal exclusively with Durham, reinforcing the impression that the dispute was only one aspect of archiepiscopacy. Unlike Wickwane's letters that frequently expounded a single issue, Romeyn's letters often included Durham alongside other archiepiscopal business. For instance, the letters to agents at the curia from May 1286 refer first to the issue of carrying the cross through Canterbury before addressing Durham; they also deal with issues of payment

[124] Jacob, *The Medieval Registers of Canterbury and York*, 13–14.
[125] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1360-1371; no. 1366 is the commission to the bishop of Whithorn.

and attempts to acquire the fruits of vacant benefices.[126] In both his register and his activities, Romeyn integrated the dispute into his wider business, unlike Wickwane's separate, novel dossier, and his numerous appeals for support from cardinals and the York chapter. In contrast to Brentano's suggestion that 'Romeyn seems to have moved from dispute to dispute, antagonized and antagonizing, without any particular over-all plan', his register presents a less reactive archbishop, one who was not consumed by a particular issue in the way that Wickwane seemed to be.[127] Taking a register-centric approach thus allows us to consider how the archbishop framed his interests and how the material worked to construct a particular image of him.

In many ways, the approach to registration outlined above demonstrates how changing ideas of what a register was and what it should look like worked in practice. As argued in Chapter Two, the development of the language of registration reflects a substantial conceptual change in how Romeyn's register was understood and the sense of order in how material should be entered. This had implications for the choices of entry regarding dispute material, although exactly how to put this into practice was still being developed and errors occurred. On occasion, comments were added in the margins to say that entries should have been made elsewhere. This occurs in relation to the Bek dispute when the appointment of Henry de Tymparon and William of Thornton as proctors for Romeyn and the York chapter against the bishop of Durham was recorded on fol. 104v, in the 'Chapters' section under year six. A memorandum was added in the margin of 134r (in year six of the 'Suffragans' section). This reads:

> Memorandum that one *procuratorium* for the purpose of managing the form of peace with the bishop of Durham is written above to him [in] year six within the Chapter [section] which nevertheless ought to be registered here.[128]

The choice of where to register dispute material was actively being worked out over the course of Romeyn's archiepiscopate and attempts were made to rectify past mistakes. Scribes made a deliberate effort to create precedents and set parameters for where

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[126] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1417, 1418, 1419.
[127] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 34.
[128] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1365, fn.1; Romeyn MS, fol. 134r: 'Memorandum quod unum procuratorium ad tractandum de forma pacis cum Dunemensi episcopo scribitur supra ei anno vj^{to} inter Capitula quod tamen debet registrari hic' (links to 1129A).

material should be entered; integrating dispute material into these sections was part of this process.

Omissions

The decision to enter dispute material within the structure of Romeyn's register was only one of the choices made in the registration process. When compared with the material preserved by the Durham chapter, a much more fundamental choice becomes clear: the choice not to register. As we saw with Wickwane's register, omission occurred for a number of reasons. Some material was beyond the remit of the register or related to a forum where the archbishop had no jurisdiction. In refining the structure and idea of the register as a record of archdiocesan management, Romeyn's register effectively constructed its own account of the dispute – an account that omitted the extent of the consequences Romeyn faced for his pursuit of Bek.

Only one entry in Romeyn's register alludes to the king's displeasure regarding his punishment of Bek. An entry from November 1291 records a letter from Romeyn to Edward I, in which Romeyn tells the king that he is coming to him soon and would 'explain step by step to you the cause and manner of the interdict and suspension, and our pressing reasoning'.[129] A marginal note describes this as response to the king about the relaxation of the interdict, referring to the interdict Romeyn pronounced against the places the bishop of Durham would travel through (entered further above on the same folio).[130] This letter makes it clear that Romeyn did not intend to relax the interdict. However, the entry immediately above it is a notice that the interdict had been relaxed (dated 10th November).[131] While the letter to Edward is undated, it refers to a letter from the king received 2nd November, so would have been sent in the interim period between receiving Edward's letter and the interdict being relaxed. Its inclusion in the register preserves evidence of Romeyn's (unsuccessful) attempt to challenge the king. While some subsequent entries concerned other aspects of the dispute, this was the

[129] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1369: 'causam et modum interdicti et suspensionis, ac raciones nostras urgentes vobis intimabimus seriatim'.
[130] Ibid.: 'Littera responsive domino regi ut relaxetur interdictum scribenti'; no. 1368 is the interdict.
[131] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1370. Brown swapped the order of these two entries in his edition.

register's only indication of Edward's displeasure and it gives little indication of the seriousness with which Edward treated the matter.

Romeyn was made to answer for his actions in the king's court in May 1293. The case was recorded in the Close Rolls and Parliament Rolls.[132] The Parliament Rolls detail Romeyn's claims that he was acting only in a spiritual capacity in his excommunication of Bek and had not infringed upon the king's temporal power. He argued that his mandates against Bek were canonical, and it was his duty to correct Bek's disobedience.[133] These arguments were refuted by Richard de Brettevill, who was suing for the king, and Romeyn was fined 4000 marks. None of this appears in Romeyn's register. As with Wickwane, the omission of any material relating to this was a deliberate choice about what account of the dispute the register should preserve. This omission further diminished the presence (and significance) of the dispute in Romeyn's register. The registered material gives the impression that Romeyn exerted his authority over Bek. Even the appointments of his advocates in the case against Bek avoid explicit mention of the king's court.[134] This is in stark contrast to the deliberate inclusion of the case in the king's court in Durham Priory's Stowe manuscript.[135] By omitting this material, Romeyn's register obscured the severity of the consequences he faced for excommunicating Bek. While this is similar to Wickwane's omission of visitation dispute material from 1282 onwards, in Wickwane's case, there was a wider reduction in register entries from this point. In Romeyn's register, registration continued as a more routine activity through to the end of his archiepiscopate: the omission of certain dispute material was very much a deliberate omission. This fundamentally shaped the impression of Romeyn's dispute with Bek given by his register, making it appear a smaller and less significant aspect of his archiepiscopate.

The Durham dispute elucidates the ways in which both the archbishops and chapter deployed documents and archives to defend the rights they believed they held. For the Durham chapter, this initially focused on the acquisition and preservation of

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[132] H. C. Maxwell Lyte, ed., *Calendar of Close Rolls, Edward I*, vol. III, 1288–1296 (London: HMSO, 1904), 330–34; Strachey, *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, I:102–5.
[133] For further consideration, see Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, xxvii–xxxi; Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 170–74.
[134] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1378.
[135] See above, p. 149-150.

their own copies of material in large quantities – sealed original documents alongside copies of court proceedings, showing the processes by which they defended their rights. The desire to preserve such documents contributed to the development of an extensive archive that continued to be adapted over the following centuries. Alongside this, small experiments with collation occurred, bringing together groups of documents to create accounts of aspects of the dispute. This material continued to be compiled to different effects. In particular, its later redeployment into compilatory manuscripts saw the dispute integrated into the chapter's longer history.

This type of experimenting occurred in both Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers but over a shorter period of time. Registration forced the archbishops' administrators to wrestle with the challenges of archiving as they constructed and used the registers. The registers also offered something distinct from the preservation of originals in an archive, creating a far more selective account of the dispute from the get-go. The contemporaneous nature of registration activities allows us to reflect on registration as part of the archbishops' responses to the challenges they faced. Repurposing was inherent to registration rather than a separate act. Under Wickwane, the responsiveness of registration is evident in the creation of a section, or dossier, specifically related to the visitation dispute. This made a case for his visitation rights but only preserved a small part of the dispute. For Romeyn, responsiveness is more implicit in the developing understanding of how material should be registered or not be registered. His administrators responded to material from his dispute with Bek by integrating it into the register's established structure or omitting it from the register. In both cases, the selective inclusion and positioning of material in the registers (or its omission) constructed a particular case for the archbishop. Wickwane's register set out his case for visitation rights, explicitly engaging with and rejecting the appeals against him. Romeyn's register reiterated over and over again that Bek was one of his suffragans and ought to behave as one. In this, record-keeping became part of the dispute, with each party curating their own recorded case.

II. Canterbury and York: Writing and Archiepiscopacy

The dispute between the archbishops of York and Canterbury was a long-standing issue over primacy. Roy Martin Haines attributed its beginning to the failure to implement Pope Gregory the Great's instructions to Augustine of Canterbury in 601 that Augustine should appoint a bishop at York who would remain his subject for the rest of Augustine's lifetime but then become independent.[136] Gregory intended for each metropolitan to have twelve suffragans and for the two men to work together, with the one who was consecrated first taking precedence. However, political events led to Canterbury developing as the powerful head of the Southern Province while York failed to establish itself. From the Norman Conquest onwards, Canterbury's expectation that York would profess obedience emerged, and from the twelfth century the dispute centred on the question of whether an archbishop could have his primatial cross carried before him while in the other's province. The issue of the cross was at the core of tensions under Wickwane and Romeyn. In contrast, disputes with the York chapter were of a more transient nature but are nonetheless illuminating, bringing to the fore the personal relationships that underpinned archiepiscopacy. As with the Durham dispute, writing was integral to both disputes, especially evident in the archbishops' attempts to gain support from the curia. The letters produced in these disputes offer some of the clearest expressions of how Wickwane and Romeyn understood their role. The registering of such letters in turn gave them long-term significance as models and reference points for future archbishops. This preservation shows how the registers themselves constructed archiepiscopacy in both the present and the future.

This section examines Wickwane's and Romeyn's letters in relation to their disputes with Canterbury and York (the most common form of relevant material in the registers), and the choices of registration that preserved them. The formulaic nature of thirteenth-century letters has sometimes seen their significance disregarded compared

[136] Roy Martin Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana: Studies in the English Church of the Later Middle Ages* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 69–105; see also Michael Richter, *Canterbury Professions* (Torquay: The Devonshire Press, 1973), lvii–lxxiv.

to their twelfth-century forerunners.[137] Episcopal letters in particular often used set forms. As Forrest argued, although episcopal letters 'were often based upon formularies which meant there were standard ways of writing about recognizable issues.... there was as much meaning in formulae as there was in studied originality'.[138] Similarly, Neal's work on the letters of Edward I emphasised the social functions of medieval letters: as well as exercising authority, letters could reinforce social networks, setting out shared values and reiterating the relationship between sender and recipient.[139] By drawing on the social functions of the letters for their initial recipients, alongside the effects of their entry into the register, this section aims to further our understanding of how the registration of this material gave it new meaning.

This section considers the concept of archiepiscopacy more explicitly, examining how it was both reflected and constructed by Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. For this, a new methodological approach is needed. The section uses close reading of the Canterbury dispute material to consider how Wickwane and Romeyn sought to advance their case at the curia, and what this reveals about their understandings of archiepiscopacy. It then considers how the registering of this material redeployed it to construct ideas of archiepiscopacy under Wickwane and Romeyn, and how the registers acted as tools to facilitate their particular *modus operandi*. Finally, it turns to the disputes with the York chapter to examine how the registers portrayed the archbishops' relationships with the chapter, and how these relationships influenced the very choices of registration made under the archbishops.

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[137] Giles Constable was particularly dismissive of thirteenth-century letters, describing the 'decline' of epistolarity and arguing that 'epistolary style and content became both degraded and mechanical' in *Letters and Letter-Collections* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1976), 36–37; Michael Sheehan was more positive about the personal insights letters could offer regarding an archbishop's 'hopes, affection, disappointment, resentment and judgments' in "Archbishop John Pecham's Perception of the Papacy," in *The Religious Roles of the Papacy: Ideals and Realities, 1150-1300*, ed. Christopher Ryan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1989), 303–4.

[138] Ian Forrest, "Trust and Doubt: The Late Medieval Bishop and Local Knowledge," *Studies in Church History* 52 (2016): 169.

[139] Neal, *The Letters of Edward I*.

Strategies of Writing and Record: Canterbury and the Curia

An archbishop's right to have his cross carried before him was a persistent issue in the late thirteenth century. As Haines argued, from Giffard's archiepiscopate through to the mid-fourteenth century, 'regular skirmishing' occurred between York and Canterbury, with occasional escalations.[140] Dobson thought the inherent weakness of York's archiepiscopal office was behind what he described as the 'notorious readiness of them all [the archbishops] to risk ridicule and personal humiliation, not to say the irritation and downright hostility of the king himself'.[141] Wickwane was no exception. During his archiepiscopate, the highest point of tension was upon his return from Rome in September 1279 after being consecrated. Bolstered by a bull from Pope Nicholas III (*Cum inter Cantuariensis*) urging Archbishop Pecham of Canterbury to show forbearance in regard to his carrying the cross, Wickwane raised his cross while crossing the Channel.[142] Pecham was not cowed and issued what Decima Douie referred to as 'the usual letters'.[143] These declared that if Wickwane had his cross carried through Canterbury, 'the churches were to be locked at his approach, no *Te Deums* were to be sung, no one was to genuflect for his benediction, and every place he passed through was to be laid under interdict'.[144]

When Wickwane arrived in England and attempted to proceed through the Southern Province, Pecham's official, Adam de Hales, sought to physically stop him. Wickwane described how de Hales opposed him at Rochester with 'nothing save insults, clashes, [and] violence' and then broke his cross into pieces.[145] Six years later, Romeyn's consecration at Rome prompted Pecham to issue excommunications and interdicts to those people and places that allowed Romeyn to pass with his cross held erect.[146] The involvement of the king helped to quell the tensions upon Romeyn's return to England and avoided a physical altercation. Yet the issue remained unresolved. This led both Wickwane and Romeyn to seek support from the papal curia.

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[140] Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, 86. See also, *Reg. Giffard*, no. DLXX.
[141] Dobson, *Church and Society*, 177–78.
[142] Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, 88.
[143] Douie, *Archbishop Pecham*, 229; Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, 88.
[144] Douie, *Archbishop Pecham*, 229.
[145] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 464: 'nihil nisi improperia, conflictus, violencias'.
[146] These were entered in Wickwane's register as noted in Chapter One: *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 929.

Both registers contain several of the letters the archbishops wrote to the curia concerning the dispute with Canterbury, revealing the approaches each took. In Wickwane's register, these are found within the 'Papal Letters' section.[147] They are addressed to the pope, several cardinals, and his papal agents. Romeyn's register has several letters to his agents (and one to Cardinal Hugh of Evesham) included in the *Intrinseca de Camera* section, but these tend to address other concerns alongside Canterbury, including his dispute with Bek.[148] Comparing these letters reveals the strategies Wickwane and Romeyn deployed and the specific characteristics of each. In this subsection, I consider how Wickwane and Romeyn used their letters to garner support at the curia, before exploring how each repurposed these letters into their registers to give them new significance.

Shared Causes and Familial Language

Wickwane and Romeyn used letter-writing to pursue existing connections at the curia. The formalities of medieval letter-writing generally required certain terms of endearment and set phrases that reinforced the relationship between sender and recipient: Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers reveal how they deployed such phrases to influence the recipients of their letters. Here, Neal's argument that the formulaic nature of Edward I's letters was key 'in shaping and sustaining the relationship between the monarch and his allies' offers a model with which to approach the letters in the archbishops' registers.[149] Both Wickwane's and Romeyn's letters to the curia follow similar conventions in their relational language, addressing recipients with phrases such as 'To the reverend and beloved in Christ… [from] his most devoted priest' and 'to his beloved friend in Christ'.[150] These types of interactions affirmed the relationship between the sender and recipient.

[147] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 463, 464 (containing several letters).
[148] E.g. *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1417, 1418, 1419; 1428 is the letter to Hugh of Evesham. A letter from two cardinals about carrying the cross when meeting the archbishop of Canterbury in London is also registered in the 'Chapters' section, along with Romeyn's reply (no.1174).
[149] Neal, *The Letters of Edward I*, 8–9.
[150] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 464: 'Reverendo et precordiali in Christo… suus devotissimus Sacerdos'; *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1417: 'amico sibi in Christo karimisso'.

Similar language was used to describe other individuals referred to in the letters. For instance, Wickwane's letter to Jordan Orsini, Cardinal of St. Eustace and a canon of York, asks him to speak to others at the curia:

> I ask you to communicate these matters, if it is pleasing, to my most beloved and benevolent friend Master Matthew, and also to Master Benedict, whom you [can] trust intimately and from the heart, so that whichever well-wisher might devote a helping hand.[151]

Likewise, in a letter to Labro Wlpelli, Romeyn referred to 'our illustrious and familiar cleric, master W. of Lincoln'.[152] In some cases, Wickwane emphasised the connection between the recipient and others to whom he referred. For example, his letter to Cardinal Matthew refers back to this letter and the connections between the three men: 'Beloved and [worthy to be] loved father, I wrote, not without sorrow and disturbance of heart, [to] my most dear and trusted [friend], lord Jordan, your cardinal and brother…'[153] The rhetoric of friendship deployed in Wickwane's and Romeyn's letters offered a means of reinforcing relationships with the recipients of the letters and with others whose help they sought.

These types of phrases are found in many letters from the period so are not particularly unusual. Indeed, there is a broad-ranging historiography of medieval friendship and its rhetoric.[154] Yet some choices were specific to the individual archbishops. For instance, Wickwane's letters include numerous references to York. As Greenway stated, '[Wickwane] was able to address his complaints to no fewer than six high-ranking papal officials – three of them cardinals – who were also either members or relations of members of the York and Southwell chapters'.[155] His letters explicitly emphasise shared connections to York. For example, his letter to Ancher, cardinal of St.

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[151] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 464: 'Hec, si placet, amantissimo amico et benivolo meo, domino Matheo, communicare peto; et eciam magistro Benedicto, [de] quo confide intime et ex corde, ut quilibet benivolus manum applicet adjutricem.'
[152] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1420: 'clarum et familiarem clericum nostrum, magistrum W. de Lincolnia'.
[153] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 464: 'Pater precordialis et amande, scripsi, non sine amaritudine et turbacione cordis, karissimo et confidenti benivolo meo, domino Jordano, vestro concardinali et confratri…'
[154] See, for example, Sara Moens, "Twelfth-Century Epistolary Language of Friendship Reconsidered: The Case of Guibert of Gembloux," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 88, no. 4 (2010): 983–1017; Neal, *The Letters of Edward I*; R. Jacob McDonie, *Friendship and Rhetoric in the Middle Ages: The Linguistic Performance of Intimacy from Cicero to Aelred* (New York: Routledge, 2019).
[155] Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae, York* (rev. ed. by Greenway), xxvi.

Prassede, emphasises 'our shared cause' of the offence to 'our common church of York'.[156] The phrase 'our common church of York' is used twice in this letter. Wickwane had previously clashed with Ancher when his predecessor, Walter Giffard, had granted Ancher a pension.[157] Nevertheless, Wickwane expected him to be moved 'by reason of the sweetness of duty [or loyalty]' to join Jordan and 'our other shared friends'.[158] The sense of obligation that Wickwane referred to may reflect his own relationship with the chapter.[159] It indicates an expectation of bonds that could be affected even when one or both parties had moved on to other places or institutions.

In many ways, Wickwane's ongoing connection to the York chapter was a kind of kinship. Neal argued for the effect on kinship on political matters:

> Kinship did not offer automatic preferment in matters to be discussed, but provided a structural foundation for selective amplification and activation of "affective" bonds that might influence the goodwill of relevant parties, potentially facilitating desired outcomes.[160]

In other words, there was no guarantee that his appeals would find favour, but these connections offered a basis for Wickwane to seek help. Moreover, Wickwane expected these connections to 'affect' those whose help he sought. This was particularly the case in regard to Hugh of Evesham, who Wickwane described as 'our beloved and special cleric' and 'our canon of York'.[161] When Hugh was made cardinal in 1281, Wickwane was quick to emphasise their ongoing relationship and his expectations of support for York: 'Revered father, in the rewards and troubles of our church of York henceforth we will flock boldly to the protection of your dutiful conduct [to] the same'.[162] The expectation of Hugh's continued loyalty to York was exemplified further when Wickwane wrote to Hugh in his dispute with Durham asking for help on the grounds that Hugh had greater

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[156] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 464: 'Causam nostram communem… ecclesie nostre Eboracensis communis…'
[157] *Reg. Giffard*, nos. XXIV, XXVI.
[158] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 464: 'ex pietatis saltem dulcedine', 'ceteris amicis nostris communibus'.
[159] See also Chapter One, p. 72-84.
[160] Neal, *The Letters of Edward I*, 96.
[161] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 466: 'precordialem et predilectum clericum nostrum… canonicum nostrum Eboracensem'.
[162] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 474: 'in honoribus et negotiis nostre Eboracensis ecclesie eo confidencius ad presidia pietatis vestre amodo confluemus'.

obligations to York than Durham.[163] It is clear that the familial bonds that Wickwane had cultivated in the chapter continued to underpin his expectations of loyalty from York canons.

The ways in which such bonds were utilised differed between Wickwane and Romeyn. The extent to which these connections and expectations of loyalty were referenced was a distinct feature of Wickwane's (a man with deep York ties) writing. Romeyn also drew on these relationships: his letter to Hugh expresses his thanks for Hugh's 'welcome protection' and 'excessive kindnesses' in administering the difficulties with the cross.[164] However, his lack of reference to the church of York itself and his addressees' connections to it contrasts sharply with Wickwane's. Moreover, Romeyn's requests for aid tend to take a more business-like tone with phrases such as 'we boldly seek your esteemed benevolence in our agendas' and 'we surrender our work to your effective protection, if it pleases'.[165] This likely reflects Wickwane's and Romeyn's backgrounds. Wickwane wrote to people who had been his peers in the York chapter; long-standing York connections were central to his approach to the dispute (and his approach to archiepiscopacy more widely) and were repeatedly emphasised in his letters. Romeyn did not claim a shared connection to York as the foundation for his requests for help.

Control of Information

Once the bond between the archbishop and the recipient of the letter had been sufficiently reinforced, the letters had to communicate the archbishop's problem and convince the recipient to support his case. For both Wickwane and Romeyn, suspicions about the curia shaped their approaches, and their letters reveal careful strategies for ensuring information reached those they intended. Yet they used distinct approaches to convince their readers of their cause, which reflected their approaches to archiepiscopacy more generally.

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[163] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 480.
[164] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1428: 'acceptum patrocinium', 'impensis beneficiis'.
[165] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1419: 'Probatam benivolenciam vestram in agendis nostris confidenter requirimus'; no. 1428: 'operam damus, cui vestrum efficax, si placet, presidium'.

The curia was a source of suspicion for both archbishops. Brentano laid out the changing political landscape and factionalism of thirteenth-century Rome and recognised the 'nervous insecurity' in prelates' views of the curia.[166] He attributed this to a combination of inexperience and 'some personal knowledge.... not only from making appeals and petitions, but sometimes from expensive and confusing confirmations of their elections'. Changing factions created both opportunities and concerns for the English episcopate.[167] Wickwane was particularly worried about the prospect of poisonings, writing to Hugh of Evesham upon his appointment as cardinal, urging him to avoid allowing any decoctions in his house.[168] The exhortations to ensure secrecy in Romeyn's letters reflected similar fears about the plotting and deception of the curia.[169]

One way they approached the curia with caution was by limiting the information contained within letters, save to chosen individuals. In Wickwane's register, the extent to which his disagreement with Canterbury was expounded varied between letters. His letters to the pope and to Jordan Orsini were notably more detailed than his letters to other cardinals. Wickwane's letter to the pope extensively recounts his assault by Adam de Hales, official of the archbishop of Canterbury. It was a particularly emotive account, relating that:

> finally, master Adam de Hales, official of the lord of Canterbury, with Satan and his attendants and accomplices cleaving to him and, as if a shameless and raging man, violently attacked my household and cross, by breaking up the cross into parts.[170]

Wickwane's letter to Jordan Orsini was almost as emphatic in describing the assault. It recounts how de Hales and his companions, 'dishonouring the Crucifixion, with the shamelessness of the times and by the assault of a discourteous attack rudely broke my cross into pieces near Rochester' and that subsequently 'this official did not omit to

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[166] Robert Brentano, *Rome Before Avignon: A Social History of Thirteenth-Century Rome* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Robert Brentano, *Two Churches: England and Italy in the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 19.
[167] Richardson examined how these developments shaped Bishop Pontoise's approach in "A Bishop and His Diocese," 72–75.
[168] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 474; Brentano briefly considered this in: Brentano, *Two Churches*, 19.
[169] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1418.
[170] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 463: 'demum magister Adam de Hales, officialis domini Cantuariensis, cum Sathane suisque satellitibus et complicibus sibi adhaerentibus, [in] familiam et crucem meam, velut effrons et furiosus, irruit violenter, ipsam crucem in partes perperam confringendo', trans. Raine, *Historical Papers*, 60–63.

make frequent attacks against myself and my men again during my passage'.[171] This is followed by an aside that it would be tedious for the reader to recite all the trouble caused but that he would explain more fully to the pope.[172]

In contrast, Wickwane's subsequent letters ask for aid but point the recipients to Jordan, whom he expected to elaborate on the issue. According to the letter to Benedict, apostolic notary, Wickwane had 'recited [our] side with anguish' to Cardinal Jordan, and tells Benedict '[having been] supplied, our aforesaid most beloved father and lord [Jordan] will share the papal letters with you thus'.[173] It seems that Wickwane was seeking to limit the letters that contained details of the assault circulating around the curia, and was confident in Jordan's discretion, although his descriptions of the assault were emphatic when included.

Romeyn's approach was also underpinned by a desire to control how information circulated at the curia; however, there are key changes in how this was expressed. Romeyn's letters tend to combine the dispute with Canterbury with other issues, with the exception of one letter to Hugh of Evesham.[174] They also have a notably different tone, less emotive and more strategic than Wickwane's bursts of outrage. He expresses surprise at the lack of progress in his cause but follows this with instructions about how to proceed and with whom information should be shared.[175] For instance, a letter to Bernard of Carcassonne, papal chaplain, referred to a 'secret petition' which was to remain secret between him, Labro Wlpelli and J. de Novara, although '[he] might boldly share all the other things with the aforementioned master R[eginald] of St. Albans besides that secret petition'.[176] Likewise, his letter to Reginald of St. Albans specified that 'you should by no means seek out Lord H[ugh], cardinal, who we wish to escape notice' and that 'truly, thus you might cautiously and secretly give our letters both

[171] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 464: 'recitavimus lacius cum dolore,' 'qui crucem meam, in ignominam Crucifixi, apud Roffam, cum effronti euorum et inhumane irrupcionis impetu inhumaniter confregerunt', 'officialis varios et frequentes insultus in me et meos in meo transitu iterum facere non omisit'.
[172] Ibid: 'vos ipsi, si placet, pro misericordia Dei, ordinacionem utilem et utrique ecclesie fructiferam procuretis'.
[173] Ibid: 'si placet, dictus amantissimus pater noster et dominus communicabit brevibus sic suggesta'.
[174] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1428.
[175] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1418.
[176] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1419: 'secretam peticionem', 'Prefato autem magistro R. de sancto Albano preter illam secretam peticionem communicetis omnia alia confidenter'.

patent and closed to the same B[ernard] and [so] none living except you besides himself might perceive that'.[177] Romeyn's letters demonstrate his cautious and politic approach to the curia. He made use of trusted agents and instructed them in his particular strategies for ensuring that information reached those he needed it to. His letters were key in this but, unlike Wickwane, Romeyn gave instructions and expected them to be followed, he did not include emphatic accounts of the wrongs against him.

Romeyn's pragmatism is further illustrated in his response to a letter from the cardinals of Albano and Palestrina suggesting that neither he nor Pecham carry their cross when meeting in London.[178] Romeyn's response emphasised the long-standing precedent for carrying his cross but ultimately conceded to their suggestion. While both archbishops had a firm belief in their right to have their cross carried in the Southern Province, Romeyn was more prudent in his strategies for defending that right and was willing to make concessions if needed.

These letters have revealed the archbishops' particular approaches. Romeyn appears cautious and strategic whereas Wickwane's letters tend to be highly emotive, emphasising the wrongs done to the Church of York, to which he expected the recipient to react strongly. Both attempted to control the spread of information at the curia and relied on their connections to do so but Wickwane's emotive, anguish-ridden account and directions to share this sit in contrast with Romeyn's careful manoeuvring. Moreover, while both deployed standard conventions of episcopal letter-writing, the distinct choices of language reveal fundamentally personal approaches that reflect to their understandings of archiepiscopacy more widely. Wickwane's approach was rooted in his personal connections and the expectation that his relationships with the York chapter would provide a basis for ongoing loyalty. In particular, he expected the recipients of his letters to share his outrage at the indignity wrought on York. While Romeyn wrote to trusted agents, he did so in a far more politic manner, instructing them in how to act without drawing attention in order to gain the result he wanted.

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[177] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1418: 'dominum H. cardinalem, quem hec latere volumus, nullatenus requiratis', 'Litteras vero nostras, tam patentes quam clausas, ita caute et secrete eidem B. tradatis quod preter vos et ipsum dumtaxat percipiat nullus vivens'.
[178] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1174.

Registration of Letters

Having considered how Wickwane and Romeyn used writing to advance their cases at the curia, we now turn to the question of registration: how did registering this material give it new meaning? For both archbishops, registering these letters provided a record of what had been sent and when, allowing them to be used for reference and as model letters. In places, Romeyn's register included additional information about the processes of sending the letters, which likewise recorded precedents for letter-writing during his archiepiscopate. As with the Durham dispute, registering material gave it new shape and new meaning. Examining this material in the registers reveals how the processes and uses of registration changed under the two archbishops.

The letters to cardinals and agents at the curia described above were typically registered in full under both Wickwane and Romeyn. Exceptions occurred when multiple letters contained overlapping material, or if variations of the same letter were sent to multiple people, in which case a reference to the material in the first entry was made. For instance, Wickwane's register records a series of letters to the curia; while many of these are written in full, the entry of his letter to Benedict, the apostolic notary, summarises the letter 'concerning the carrying, etc., as above'.[179] It also uses an abbreviated valediction in places, 'Conservet e s s t p l' for 'Conservet vestram dominacionem ecclesie sue sancte per tempora longiora (May he preserve your lordship over his holy church for a longer time)'. Presumably, these were choices made in the register entry, rather in than the letters themselves. Romeyn's register uses similar markers for repeated material and also uses memoranda to record that similar letters had been sent to multiple recipients.[180] Despite efforts to avoid the duplication of material, the typical registration of letters in full indicates that what had been written mattered for future reference. In both cases, the words, ideas, and relationships of the archbishop were preserved.

Differences in how exactly the material was entered reveal a changing emphasis on recording systems of administration. In Wickwane's register, entries of letters dealing with the disputes tend to consist of a transcript of just the letter, with little additional

[179] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 464; Wickwane MS, fol. 146v.
[180] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1420, 1421, 1422, 1423.

information or framing. On the page, the entries appear consistent and marginal notes are minimal, often only providing a name or brief topic. Romeyn's register provides details of the processes of writing and sending the letters. Several marginal notes record information about the material or how it was sent, such as 'another letter… but not sealed'.[181] The detail in these comments varies, 'Another [letter] directed by the same to master R. of St. Albans at the curia' or 'letter in answer to the same' but they contrast sharply with the minimal marginal notes in Wickwane's register.[182] This signifies a shift in Romeyn's register, with it becoming more concerned with recording the processes of sending, particularly who conveyed them, and not just the letters themselves.

In some cases, more extensive information about sending letters was included as its own entry in Romeyn's register. For instance, a memorandum on fol. 144r reads:

> A memorandum that it was arranged by the lord that the aforesaid four letters to Labro Wlpelli, master R[eginald] of St. Albans, Master B[ernard] of Carcassonne and Master G[uy] de Novaria ought to have been sent by *Grosseteste*, but because he considered that his business in the curia would be arranged more quickly and well by Master W[illiam] of Lincoln, his household clerk, than by the said *Grosseteste*, therefore, these same aforementioned letters were handed to the very same Master W[illiam] unsealed, so that through these [letters] he could be informed more definitively in relation to his [the archbishop's] actions. And the lord wrote to the same [men] in the following form, with the other preceding form as far as certain omitted [clauses], and certain [clauses] remaining whole.[183]

[181] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1419: 'Alia littera directa ad curiam magistro B. de Karkasona, set non fuit sigillata'.
[182] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1418: 'Alia directa per eundem ad curiam magistro R. de sancto Albano'; no. 1174: 'Littera responsiva eisdem'.
[183] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1419: 'Memorandum quod ordinatum fuit per dominum quod iste predicte iiij^{or} littere Labro Wlpelli, magistro R. de sancto Albano, magistro B. de Karkasona et magistro G. de Novaria per Grossum Capud mitti debuerant, set quia perpendit quod cicius et melius ordinarentur negocia sua in curia per magistrum W. de Lincolnia, clericum suum familiarem, quam per dictum Grossum Capud, idcirco iste littere predicte tradebantur eidem magistro W. non sigillate, ut per illas posset in suis agendis cercius informari. Et scripsit dominus eisdem sub forma subsequenti, alia forma precedenti quo ad quedam pretermissa et quo ad quedam integra remanente.' See also *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1420. N.B. 'Grossum Capud' likely refers to a member of the Grosseteste family (I am grateful to Philippa Hoskin for sharing this with me) – and so another link to Lincoln – but I have been unable to identify a specific individual to whom this was referring.

This is in the main body of the text and seems to be in the same hand and ink as the entries above (the four letters to which it refers), suggesting it was entered at the same time as those letters. It captures a process where four unsealed letters were given to William of Lincoln to be passed on to his contacts at the curia because William was expected to work more efficiently for Romeyn's business than Grosseteste, who would have been expected to take the letters. The entries that follow it are letters of credence for William of Lincoln addressed to the same four men, presumably to counteract the issue of the letters sent via William of Lincoln being unsealed.[184] According to the entries for these letters, some clauses from the unsealed letters were included in these letters of credence, as well as instructions that William was to be trusted. These entries intentionally recorded not just the material but the processes by which that material was deployed and the thought behind that, offering both an example and an explanation for future practice.

In such memoranda, we hear the voice of the scribe as distinct from the archbishop himself. This has implications for the sense of the register as a record of archiepiscopacy, not merely a collection of material for the archbishop to reference. The description of William of Lincoln as '[Romeyn's] household clerk' is particularly intriguing in this regard as it raises the questions of who Grosseteste or *Grossum Capud* was and why he was not considered to be as effective, and who this description was intended for.[185] This is the only mention of Grosseteste in the register so his relationship with Romeyn is unclear, although he was presumably not one of Romeyn's household clerks, nor as trusted as William. In terms of its inclusion in the register, the letter was from May 1286, early in Romeyn's archiepiscopate when the new administration was being established. It may have been that the changes in administrators from Wickwane to Romeyn meant that descriptors were useful for the other administrators who might use the register. But it may have been intended for future users of the register. We know that Romeyn used his predecessors' registers and most likely expected his own register to be used by his successors. Entries recording of the practice of archiepiscopacy could

[184] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1420-23.
[185] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1419: 'clericum suum familiarem'.

have been shaped by intentions for future use, preserving not only the material itself but how it was deployed.

While inclusions of specific details about processes were limited to Romeyn's register, in both registers, the collation of material related to the dispute worked cumulatively to set out the archbishops' claims of their rights and of their approaches to the role. Wickwane's and Romeyn's letters to the curia offered fundamental statements of their position. Particularly under Wickwane, the inclusion of his accounts of the altercation with Adam de Hales memorialised his defiance in the face of what he saw as an outrageous attack against the church of York. The series of letters in his register set out the highly relational approach he took, where the York chapter was envisaged as the central point of his network. Romeyn's register creates an account of a far more pragmatic archbishop. As we saw with the Durham dispute, choices of what to register and what to omit were deliberate decisions about what aspects of archiepiscopal business were intended to be memorialised. By recording not just the letters themselves but the processes by which those letters were deployed, Romeyn's register acted as a handbook of archiepiscopacy.

Registration and Relationships: The York Chapter

Choices of registration also portrayed the archbishop's relationship with the York chapter in distinct ways. As we saw in the Durham dispute, registers could downplay or emphasise the significance of a dispute. For both Wickwane and Romeyn, tensions arose with members of the York chapter, although in some cases the archbishop had support from other members of the chapter. This was most notable with Bogo de Clare, a canon of York, who was notorious for his pluralism and absenteeism.[186] Outside this, however, Wickwane's relationship with the chapter was generally good. Romeyn's relationship was more varied: he shared Wickwane's disdain for Bogo de Clare and also had significant disagreements with Robert of Scarborough, dean of York, and with the

[186] Bogo supposedly held as many as thirty-one churches or parts of them, along with cathedral prebends in York, Exeter, Wells, Lichfield, Chichester, and Llandaff across the period 1255-1294; for more on him, see Henry Summerson, "Clare, Bogo de (1248–1294), Ecclesiastic and Figure of Scandal," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 23 September 2004, https://doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/50346.

wider chapter.[187] These differences were both reflected in and constructed by their registers.

The dispute with Bogo de Clare offers a window into how both Wickwane and Romeyn treated the chapter and, more importantly, how choices of registration constructed that relationship for future reference. De Clare was a royal favourite. Edward I collated him to the prebend of Masham in York in 1265 (along with many other holdings) and then the prebend of Wilton and the treasurership of York in 1285.[188] To the archbishop and chapter he was 'an almost constant source of scandal and cause for embarrassment'.[189] The dispute began when de Clare brought a cause over his right to the church of Adlingfleet against Walter Giffard, who had collated the church to Robert of Scarborough (then archdeacon of the East Riding). The cause was continued against Wickwane and then Romeyn. Under Wickwane, this dispute seems to have united Wickwane and the chapter; under Romeyn the case was the root of further disagreement.

As with the disputes with Durham and Canterbury, Wickwane's register records his alignment with the York chapter in its entries concerning de Clare. An entry recording his revocation of proctors explicitly refers to the case between 'Bogo de Clare on one part [and] us and Robert of Scarborough… on the other'.[190] Likewise, a citation to Wickwane to appear in Lincoln Cathedral regarding the case describes it as being a case against Wickwane, his predecessor [Giffard], and Scarborough.[191] This association is unsurprising, given that the first entry in Wickwane's register is his confirmation of Scarborough's election as dean.[192] Thus Wickwane's register portrays de Clare as a shared problem for both Wickwane and Dean Scarborough.

Romeyn's ongoing dislike for de Clare was evident in his register. He faced the same issues with Adlingfleet in the first half of his archiepiscopate.[193] Later on, in a

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[187] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1026, 1053.
[188] Summerson, "Clare, Bogo de (1248–1294), Ecclesiastic and Figure of Scandal"; Le Neve, *Fasti Ecclesiae, York*, xxv, 26, 88, 109.
[189] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 33.
[190] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 670; Wickwane MS, fol. 188r: '…Bogone(m) de Clara ex p(ar)te una nos <et> magistri Rob(ertu)m de Scartheburg… ex alt(er)a…' (my transcription).
[191] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 593.
[192] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 1.
[193] See, for his example, his appointment of proctors at the curia for the case: *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1501.

report to John Pecham from 1291 registered in the 'Chapters' section, Romeyn listed Bogo's extensive holdings in the archdiocese, complained that de Clare had not shown his 'alleged privilege' for non-residence, and commented that as de Clare rarely stayed in the north Romeyn could say nothing as to his morals.[194] Yet from early in his archiepiscopate, Romeyn's frustration turned instead to Dean Robert of Scarborough, who had possession of Adlingfleet church yet refused to contribute to the case. On 11th December 1286, Romeyn sequestrated Adlingfleet.[195] This was the first of a series of attacks against the dean: Romeyn accused Scarborough of contumacy for not being present at the visitation of Beverley, excommunicated him, and deprived him of various possessions.[196] The disagreement was so severe that an external arbitrator was required to forge an agreement between Romeyn and Scarborough in 1290, which deprived Scarborough of his position and possessions (albeit leaving him with a pension of 400 marks a year).[197] The development of what had begun as a shared problem with a troublesome canon into a vendetta against the dean demonstrates the volatile relationship between Romeyn and the chapter.

The recording of the dispute in Romeyn's register has much in common with the register's portrayal of his dispute with Anthony Bek. Extensive entries registered Romeyn's pursuit of Scarborough, not unlike the entries of his excommunication of and other actions against Bek. The register records mandates to cite Scarborough and to sequestrate the fruits of Adlingfleet in response to Scarborough's refusal to pay the costs of the case.[198] It records Romeyn's excommunication of Scarborough, as well as the agreement that was ultimately reached between them.[199] It does not record the tensions with the king that arose as a result of his pursuit of Scarborough. In September 1287, Edward I wrote to Edmund, earl of Cornwall and lieutenant in England, instructing him to prohibit the mayor and citizens of York from interfering in the conflict between

[194] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1118. These appear to have been shared complaints as letter from 'H., dean and chapter of York', most likely Henry of Newark who became dean in 1290, was inserted into Wickwane's register, criticising de Clare vehemently: *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 718; Wickwane MS, fol. 72.
[195] Brown, *Reg. Romeyn* II, xx.
[196] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1026.
[197] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1063; the arbitrator was initially William of Middleton, bishop of Norwich, although he was replaced by Gilbert de S. Leofardo, bishop of Chichester.
[198] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 145, 555, 148.
[199] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1048, 1063, 1094.

Romeyn and the dean and chapter.[200] Scarborough then travelled to Gascony to discuss the dispute, and Edward sent another letter to Edmund to ensure Scarborough's protection.[201] In December, Romeyn wrote to Edmund explaining that he had removed his sentence of excommunication but could not withdraw all displeasure.[202] Tensions continued to rise and Edward ordered that Romeyn be distrained due to his breach of surety regarding the oppression of royal clerks.[203] Romeyn himself subsequently travelled to the king in Gascony to discuss the matter but Edward insisted that the business was to be dealt with by the council, writing again to Edmund to clarify this.[204] This material was preserved by the royal chancery, although its arrangement has since been altered.[205] None appears in the register.

With the exception of Romeyn's own letter to Edmund, we would not expect these particular letters to have been in Romeyn's register. They were after all royal correspondence, not archiepiscopal. Yet Romeyn's register does not simply omit material related to this aspect of the dispute, it disguises the reasons for his travel to the king. The headings for the 'Vicar-General' sections in 1288 note '…the archbishop spending time in Gascony, and Béarn, and Aragon with the king'.[206] Although 'agente' could be taken as 'dealing with', it is the same term used for Romeyn's later travels, where he is described as 'in remotis agente', making it unlikely to denote legal proceedings. This led Brown to overlook the link between Romeyn's visit to the king in 1288 and his troubles with Scarborough, attributing the visit to political matters on the Continent and seeing the rising tensions between Edward and Romeyn as a result of his quarrel with Bek.[207] As we have seen with Durham, this was part of a wider pattern

[200] TNA SC 1/12/145; Neal examined this letter and the wider case in relation to justice and royal anger: Kathleen Neal, "Letters and Political Discourse Under Edward I," in *Edward I: New Interpretations*, ed. Andy King and Andrew Spencer (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2020), 150–51.
[201] TNA SC 1/12/146.
[202] TNA SC 1/30/206: the letter is in poor condition, but the essential details can be discerned.
[203] TNA SC 1/45/59 trans. in William Prynne, *The History of King John, King Henry III and the Most Illustrious King Edward the I* (London: Philip Chetwind, 1670), 1293; Brown discusses Scarborough's royal service: Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, xx;.
[204] TNA SC 1/12/148, transcribed in Prynne, *History*, 1294.
[205] Prynne described TNA SC 1/45/59 and 1/12/148 as being part of a bundle in the Tower of London: Prynne, *History*, 1293-94.
[206] See, for example, Romeyn MS, fol. 94v: 'archiepiscopo in vasconia, et byernia, et aragonia agente cum rege' (*Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1062).
[207] Brown, *Reg. Romeyn II*, xx–xxi, xxiii–xxv.

where tensions with the king were omitted from the register. This also occurred in Romeyn's pursuit of Bogo de Clare himself. A draft of a letter from Edward to Romeyn postponing his summons to answer for molesting de Clare survives from January 1287.[208] This again points to a more volatile relationship with the king than Romeyn's register presents.

It is unclear whether these omissions stemmed from the register being refined as a record of archdiocesan management or from a concerted effort to omit entries of royal challenges to Romeyn's authority. In either case, the effect was the same. In the disputes with the chapter, Romeyn's register was almost exclusively a record of his actions and thus the exercise of his authority against the chapter's troublesome members. Indeed, his register shows Scarborough was not the only member of the chapter to face Romeyn's wrath. In 1290, Thomas Corbridge resigned the chancellorship of York for the chaplaincy of Chapel of St. Mary and Holy Angels but was blocked from taking it up. He attempted to reclaim the chancellorship, but Romeyn had already promoted Thomas of Wakefield to the office and excommunicated Corbridge.[209] This was subsequently resolved, and Romeyn used Corbridge as a proctor in his dispute with Canterbury the following year. Although clearly not as significant as his deprivation of Scarborough, such entries create an account of Romeyn exercising his authority over the chapter, similar to the impression given of his treatment of Bek.

Wickwane's register not only presents a more positive picture of his relationship with the chapter (as we would expect), but his concern for their rights influenced the register itself. Wickwane hesitated to use his register to record his exercise of authority over the chapter. This is seen most clearly in regard to visitation rights. Wickwane had supposedly conducted a visitation of the York chapter in January 1280. His register records a notice of visitation to the dean and chapter and a mandate to the official to give notice of the visitation.[210] Yet there is no written evidence of the visitation taking place either in the register or elsewhere. While visitations were not necessarily registered, the extensive recording of the material concerned with Durham has

[208] TNA SC 1/14/15.
[209] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1103A.
[210] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 11, 501.

indicated that contested visitations were likely to be registered. For Brentano, the omission of material indicating that the visitation had taken place raised the question of whether Wickwane had actually visited York, even though Wickwane claimed he had visited York in response to the appeals from Durham.[211] Brentano suggested that if Wickwane had visited then 'he purposefully hesitated to make a bold assertion of the fact that he had visited' as such an assertion risked alienating the chapter and saw it as evidence of Wickwane's sympathy towards them. This omission prevented Wickwane's register being used as evidence of a precedent of archiepiscopal visitation. Records mattered to Wickwane: his own use of material to assert his primacy over Durham has been shown above.[212] Evidence of a York visitation would have bolstered his claims to visit Durham, since part of their opposition lay in their belief that he had not visited the York chapter first, yet Wickwane did not deploy any such material in his register, or seemingly outside it. It appears he was hesitant to register evidence of him exercising his rights over the chapter that could be used by future archbishops.

Romeyn had no such qualms. His register records his in-person declaration from 1st July 1286 in the chapter-house that he would begin his diocesan visitation that day in the city of York.[213] The chapter claimed exemption and an agreement setting out his right to visit was only reached in 1290, after Henry of Newark was made dean. It was registered in his 'Chapters' section, along with a letter to Pope Nicholas IV appointing proctors to secure papal confirmation of the agreement, another asking the pope to confirm the agreement, and another from the chapter asking the same.[214] Both in the agreement itself, and its entry (along with other related material) into the register Romeyn sought to use writing to formalise his rights in relation to the chapter. This reflects his wider pattern of using the register to preserve – and so memorialising – his exercise of authority over the chapter.

Writing was integral to the disputes with Canterbury and York, as well as with Durham. It did not simply record action but drove it. How Wickwane and Romeyn used

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[211] Brentano, *York Metropolitan Jurisdiction*, 33–34; *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 454, 455.
[212] See, for example, his use of Robert of Holy Island's declaration of obedience, p. 160-161.
[213] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1017 records his visitation notice.
[214] Brown groups these four documents together as *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1116; the agreement itself is transcribed by James Raine, ed., *The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops*, vol. III (London: Klaus Reprint Ltd., 1965), 216–20.

writing in the disputes was closely bound up in how they understood their role as archbishop and thus their strategies for pursuing their rights. In particular, the ways in which ideas of archiepiscopacy, friendship, and authority were described in Wickwane's and Romeyn's writing offered fundamental statements of position, both for the initial recipients, and for future users of the register. In registering material each portrayed different attitudes and concerns for both present and future: Wickwane's register primarily recorded documents, whereas Romeyn's sought to capture the administrative processes – and the people who undertook them – behind the documents. Wickwane's collated documents portray the vehemence with which he asserted his archiepiscopal rights, along with his firm connection to the York chapter and expectation of loyalty from those similarly connected. Romeyn's register constructs the image of a more strategic administrator, deploying his agents to advance his cause. Moreover, in choosing material to register, Wickwane was careful not to set a precedent of his authority over the chapter, whereas Romeyn's register offers a record of him continually seeking to exert his authority over the chapter. While this was in many ways a reflection of reality, it was also about the preservation of particular modes of archiepiscopacy, and the archbishops' recognition of the future potential for their registers' use. The dispute material explicitly gave language to the ways in which Wickwane and Romeyn understood their role; in compiling it, each archbishop created and preserved an account of archiepiscopacy as they understood it.

III. Thinking about Record: Influence and Agency

These disputes demonstrate that archiepiscopacy had to be articulated and argued for in person and in writing. I have shown above that the registers were part of this but here I will examine more closely the significance of the registers as a space for arguing. While the use of the registers as agents in the disputes can only be suggested, examining the processes that created the registers offers a window into the ways of arguing for and constructing ideas of archiepiscopacy in the late thirteenth century, under two very different personalities.

The keeping of material in relation to contested rights was a far wider phenomenon than we have seen in the registers, or even in Durham's archives. As mentioned above, Forrest linked the survival of parish visitation records to their use as evidence in jurisdictional disputes.[215] He argued that neat copies of visitation records (not unlike episcopal registers) were likely to have been intended for litigation.[216] Here, as in the disputes examined above, the production of documents was integral to contested activities, but their preservation (whether as originals or collated in another record) allowed them to be put to use in the future. More broadly, John Ott argued for the emergence of 'the episcopate's historical consciousness' from the late eleventh century onwards and the view of 'written documents as a locus of authority and memory'.[217] We have already seen some instances where Wickwane and Romeyn deployed documents as evidence of their authority but this section explicitly considers how documents were acquired, preserved, and deployed in ways that would support contested archiepiscopal rights.

This section draws on material from the disputes with Durham (both over visitation and Bek), Canterbury, and the York chapter explored above to examine the processes of arguing for archiepiscopal rights. In particular, it considers registration under Wickwane and Romeyn as part of a wider culture of written proof to explore the significance of such record-keeping in their approaches to these disputes. It will first investigate the importance of physical possession of written proof and reflect on the significance of registration for safeguarding this. It will then explore the relationship between authority and control of the archive. Finally, it will reflect on the multiple roles of the registers, how registers could be understood as both a product of archiepiscopal disputes and an agent for the future fulfilment of archiepiscopal rights.

[215] Forrest, "The Survival of Medieval Visitation Records," 2.
[216] Ibid., 6–7.
[217] Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northwestern Europe, c.1050–1150*, 20.

Acquisition and Preservation

Written evidence was central to Wickwane's and Romeyn's approaches to all three disputes, and both made attempts to secure it. Without sufficient evidence, controversial rights could not be proven, and the archbishops knew it. Bold claims that 'we and our predecessors, from time that does not exist in memory, had our cross carried before us through all of England, just as it is admissible for us, with the law allowing' had little weight in the thirteenth century without written evidence.[218] In consequence, Romeyn had to comply with the bishops of Albano and Palestrina's instruction that he should not carry his cross when meeting with Archbishop Pecham in London. The question arises as to how Wickwane and Romeyn acquired and incorporated documents into their registers as proof of contested rights.

Wickwane's register records a particular attempt to acquire evidence of his right to visit Durham. The *Intrinseca* section includes a letter to Godfrey Giffard, bishop of Worcester and brother of Walter Giffard, dated 1st October 1281.[219] The letter asks Giffard to send the letters by which the bishop and convent of Durham had acknowledged the archbishop of York's right to visit. Godfrey had been archdeacon of York and was involved with Walter's executors following his death, taking possession of some archival material and cathedral possessions.[220] The letter states 'indeed, we believed those letters to be kept back securely under your safe-keeping, perhaps among the other instruments transferred to you'.[221] This highlights a particular issue he had found at York where some of Walter Giffard's documents had been taken by his brother, rather than remaining in York for Wickwane's use. Although it is unclear whether these letters were ever produced, this entry stems from the need for written proof that shaped Wickwane's response to the dispute. It was part of a wider pattern: in 1280, he had

[218] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1174: 'Et licet nos et predecessores nostri, a tempore quo non extat memoria, crucem coram nobis fecerimus per totam Angliam bajulari, sicut nobis jure competit approbante…'
[219] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 702. Wickwane had been chancellor of York by 1264 and remained in this post through Giffard's archiepiscopate so would have known of Giffard's visitation of Durham and seems to have considered it sufficient grounds for his own visitation.
[220] Wickwane had previously written to Godfrey Giffard asking for a meeting with him and his brother's executors regarding accounts: Wickwane, no. 701; Walter Giffard had also given Godfrey certain ornaments from York Minster, which Godfrey promised to return: Wickwane, no. 600.
[221] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 702: 'quas quidem litteras sub vestra tutissime credimus reservari custodia, inter cetera instrumenta ad vos forsitan devolutas'.

petitioned Edward I to examine royal deeds for evidence that York held the right to present to the church of Knaresborough.[222] Wickwane did not rely on the records he had in York but sought to acquire additional material. When he did possess documents related to his rights, he deployed it in response to the challenges he faced. For instance, the inclusion of a papal privilege stating that the archbishop of York could not be excommunicated (except with papal permission) can be directly attributed to his rebuttal of attempts to excommunicate him.[223] Acquiring and using such documents could be a powerful statement of the archbishop's authority when challenged.

While Romeyn's register does not have such a request in relation to the disputes, a letter to his proctor, Reginald of St. Albans, contains a similar request for evidence of his rights regarding the incomes of vacant benefices. As well as discussing the contests regarding the cross and Bek, Romeyn employed Reginald to procure letters that would prove his claim to the incomes of vacant benefices. Romeyn's letter states:

> Certainly, because we did not have the original of the letters of our predecessors concerning the fourth of the [vacant] benefices to hand, we send the enclosed to you with [these] present, so that you might easily obtain the likeness of the same.[224]

As with Wickwane's request to Godfrey Giffard for a letter proving his right to visit Durham, Romeyn sought to acquire letters that would support his claims to receive a quarter of the fruits of vacant benefices.[225] It is slightly unclear why the version he had seems to have been inadequate as proof, but it appears new or authorised letters would confirm Romeyn's right. The letters he sent to Reginald were not copied into the register and there is no indication of whether an authorised version was obtained. Nevertheless, it demonstrates that both archbishops sought to gather letters and documents from outside the register, acquiring and deploying them to prove their contested rights.

The need for such proof reflected a wider trend of increasing trust in documents across medieval Europe, as traced by MacNeil, who argued that 'charters were gradually

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[222] TNA SC 8/46/2275, "Petitioners: William Wickwane, Archbishop of York" 1280.
[223] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 609.
[224] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1418: 'vero, litterarum predecessorum nostrorum super quarta beneficiorum, quia originale ad manus non habuimus, vobis mittimus presentibus interclusum, ut impetretis ad instar facilius earundem'.
[225] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 702; *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1418.

transformed from an aide-memoire of an oral act to the indisputable proof of that act' from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries.[226] This shift saw archives – including registers – used as a source of both information and authority. Their use extended beyond the specific institution that created them: ecclesiastical archives were not only considered useful for churchmen. McHardy examined chancery writs in the fourteenth century that ordered bishops to search their registers and other archives, and Edward I turned to monastic archives to prove his right to rule Scotland.[227] Moreover, Romeyn's belief that original letters were needed suggests that ideas of authenticity and evidence were developing. According to Dijkhof Eef, such critical thinking about the reliability of documents occurred in conjunction with 'documentary proof… becoming more and more accepted and used'.[228] Both archbishops recognised a need for written evidence of the rights they claimed to possess and, while they asserted that long-standing precedents existed, they nonetheless made efforts to acquire written documents.

Wickwane's and Romeyn's attempts to secure documentary evidence illustrate two key challenges with this growing emphasis on physical proof: preservation and access. The registers offered a solution to both. Clanchy argued that the format of material affected its chance of survival and that one reason for registering material was to ensure its survival.[229] While registers were more robust and thus more likely to survive than loose documents, we have also seen deliberate effort to ensure a copy of Wickwane's register survived and remained in the see, regardless of his movements. Likewise, the decision to use Romeyn's register for the vicar-general's activities during Romeyn's absences established it as an ongoing archdiocesan record, rather than one of Romeyn's personal possessions. In contrast, loose documents risked falling into the possession of an executor (as seen in Wickwane's letter to Godfrey Giffard). Moreover, many of the features already examined, from sectional divides to marginal comments,

[226] MacNeil, "From the Memory of the Act to the Act Itself," 316–17.
[227] McHardy, "Kings' Courts and Bishops' Administrations"; Bainton, *History and the Written Word*, 11–12; Rees Jones, "Administrative Records," 15–16.
[228] Dijkhof Eef, "Goatskin and Growing Literacy: The Penetration of Writing in the Former Counties of Holland and Zeeland in the Thirteenth Century in Relation to the Changes of the Internal and External Features of the Charters Issued," in *Charters and the Use of the Written Word in Medieval Society*, ed. Karl Heidecker (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2000), 107.
[229] Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 86.

aimed to help future clerks navigate Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. These were deliberately collated archives for archdiocesan administration.

Registers were just one of the solutions to 'the need for proof, for supporting record', which R. N. Swanson argued 'forced the retention of ever-increasing amounts of material'.[230] Although the registers inevitably preserved a smaller amount of material compared to static archives, such as those of Durham Cathedral, they were portable, curated collections for an itinerant archbishop and were passed on to successors. Romeyn's register explicitly records that he made use of his predecessors' registers: in February 1295, Romeyn's register records how Romeyn used letters from Walter de Gray's register to successfully argue for his right to exercise jurisdiction in Whithorn during a vacancy against the archdeacon of Whithorn who also claimed the right.[231] Romeyn and his administrators were using existing registers as an authority on archiepiscopal rights.[232] It is likely that he expected his own register to be used in a similar way.

Registration was part of a wider shift in the association of documents with rights. The shift 'from memory to written record', as Clanchy termed it, was a much wider phenomenon, yet the implications for the archbishops and their contested rights are clear. The collation of documents into Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers went hand-in-hand with their efforts to acquire and deploy documents that would support their rights. Moreover, both archbishops sought to ensure that their registers (or at least a version of it) remained in the see, becoming a permanent archdiocesan record.

Controlling the Record

The growing authority of the written word brought concerns about who would control the record and what should and should not be committed to writing. This led to

[230] R. N. Swanson, "Universis Christi Fidelibus: The Church and Its Records," in *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West, 1200-1330*, ed. Richard Britnell (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 157.
[231] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1392.
[232] The royal writs to examine registers that McHardy explored indicate that registers went on to be perceived as an authority more widely in the fourteenth century: McHardy, "Kings' Courts and Bishops' Administrations."

some reluctance about what should be recorded. For instance, in Romeyn's visitation agreement with the York chapter in 1290, one of the key stipulations by the chapter was that any corrections were to be made 'without writing'.[233] This would prevent a record of the chapter's failings and the archbishop's authority over them being created. (It also raises the question of whether Wickwane had visited without writing as a way of maintaining his relationship with the chapter.) As Bulman argued, 'the right to control the archival information gave the prevailing authority its force and rights of authority'.[234] It seems that to the chapter, limiting Romeyn's right to control the record was integral to limiting his authority over the chapter. Moreover, that the agreement itself was intended to be committed 'to the perpetual memory of that which has been written' reflects a belief in the permanence of written record to which the chapter did not want their transgressions added.[235] The use of writing was therefore perceived by the chapter as both a safeguard of the agreement and a threat to their autonomy if held (and wielded) by the archbishop. It is helpful to recognise that the lack of record from Wickwane's alleged visitation likely contributed to the tensions between Romeyn and the chapter – a clear written record of Wickwane visiting would have challenged the chapter's claim to exemption.

The link between record and authority in episcopal registers is not a new one but it has taken different iterations over the years. In 1951, Hill's examination of Sutton's register and those of his predecessors presented the register as 'as record of the use of a bishop's authority, and as such it was his greatest safeguard if that authority was challenged'.[236] This close relationship between the use of archiepiscopal authority and its record is particularly pertinent to Wickwane's and Romeyn's disputes. All three disputes were driven by challenges to the archbishop's rights, which created the

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[233] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1116, trans. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III:216–20, no. CXXXIX: 'sine scriptura'.
[234] Bulman, *The Court Book of Mende*, 4.
[235] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1116; trans. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III:216–20, no. CXXXIX: 'Ad perpetuam memoriam subscriptorum'.
[236] Rosalind Hill, "Bishop Sutton and His Archives: A Study in the Keeping of Records in the Thirteenth Century," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 2, no. 1 (1951): 47–48; more recently, Britnell reflected on this idea of record as a safeguard in his consideration of pragmatic literacy not as a creator of authority but as the means of protecting or extending authority: Richard Britnell, "Pragmatic Literacy in Latin Christendom," in *Pragmatic Literacy, East and West, 1200-1330*, ed. Richard Britnell (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 3.

challenge of what to register when the archbishop's rights could not be asserted. Both archbishops' registers give an incomplete picture of this; as argued above, material showing the extent of the challenges to archiepiscopal authority was often omitted. While the registered material outlined the disputes, it inevitably presented a limited picture, and one that focused on the archbishop's actions and the case for his rights.

Recording was a political act – one that was known and negotiated as part of the archbishops' attempts to establish their rights and jurisdictions. That the chapter had to negotiate this omission indicates that they recognised the archbishop's control of the written record (including his register) and sought to take advantage of the negotiations of the agreement to exert some influence. The archbishop's ability to control the record was in itself authoritative and the register was a tangible product of that authority.

Responding and Influencing

Finally, we turn to the question of how far the registers responded to the disputes, and how this relates to their agency in the future practice of archiepiscopacy. As set out above, Miller and Kosto attributed the creation of the records they examined in Italy and Spain to political and economic problems.[237] While perhaps not as visible as the initiation of a new form of record-keeping or the creation of a cartulary, the influence of the disputes on Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers was nonetheless significant. As set out above, choices of entry directly responded to external events. Yet these choices were fundamentally about what would be preserved for the future and had the potential to influence future practice. This section examines how responsive registration choices sought to influence practice.

The registers were curated to reflect the archbishops' individual responses to the disputes. As argued above, the arrangement of material in Wickwane's register emphasises the disputes, especially that with Durham, with the creation of an entire section (or dossier); and the recording of emotive letters to the curia has the effect of magnifying the difficulties faced. In contrast, the more rigid but broader categories of

[237] Miller, "The Bishops' Books of Città Di Castello in Context," 217; Kosto, "The Liber Feudorum Maior of the Counts of Barcelona," 2.

Romeyn's register tend to diminish the apparent significance of the disputes. This happens even more when a dispute crosses into different jurisdictions and so register sections, as in Romeyn's dispute with Robert of Scarborough, which saw material entered in the 'York Archdeaconry', 'York Officiality', and 'East Riding Archdeaconry' sections. Material was made to fit the register, rather than the register being made to fit the dispute material, as had occurred to an extent under Wickwane. This contrast mirrors the archbishops' approaches outside their registers. Wickwane's determination to physically carry out contested rights, be it carrying his cross or visitation, are well-documented in and out of the registers. The apparent emphasis given to the disputes in his register, especially with Durham, corresponds to the way he constantly acted to assert his rights regardless of the opposition he faced. Although Romeyn also clashed with several of his contemporaries, this was more likely to be from a distance, through issuing letters and other documents rather than through physical altercations. These fundamentally personal reactions to the opposition they faced were reflected in the choices of material and its arrangement in their registers.

This leads to the question of what archbishops sought to do through their registers. In examining the registers of the Avignon popes in the fourteenth century, Zanke argued that the demand for 'archival storage methods' was not just about 'technical progress or legal reasons but included aspects of self-affirmation, legitimation and eventually even applied politics and rulership'.[238] This was particularly important for the exiled Avignon popes. In the face of opposition, the archbishops too sought to legitimise their contested rights, not just for the present but increasingly for those to come. Registers offered a way to safeguard both the rights they sought to exert and their very ideas of archiepiscopacy in a form that would outlast the archbishop himself. This was something the archbishops themselves recognised. Romeyn's own consultation of earlier registers as well as his agreement with the chapter being committed to 'the continuous memory of that which has been written' shows an awareness of the longevity of his registers as tools in future disputes, and so their agency in promoting archiepiscopal rights.[239] While the preservation of great quantities

[238] Zanke, "Imagined Spaces?," 460.
[239] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1116; trans. Raine, *Historians of the Church of York*, III: 216–20, no. CXXXIX: 'Ad perpetuam memoriam subscriptorum'.

of records at Durham (and likely at York too) reveal a growing reliance on the written word, the registers offered much more than the 'reference copies for ease of access' that Swanson described, but evidence of archiepiscopacy being practised in distinctly personal ways that could offer a model for future practice.[240] They offered a means to curate records of archiepiscopal rights and practices and memorialise them for the future.

Davis thought Eudes Rigaud's (Archbishop of Rouen, 1247-75) register was not a self-conscious record, intended only for him and his successors.[241] In contrast, the documents and letters preserved in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers reveal the deliberate construction of archiepiscopacy – the rights and precedents they claimed in their pronouncements against those who challenged them, their use of rhetoric in establishing the relationships that they would draw on for support, and (conversely) what they left out. They knew that record mattered, and they used it judiciously. Registering dispute material was not merely about the immediate contests in which Wickwane and Romeyn engaged but about long-term archiepiscopal rights. The audience beyond future archbishops and their administrators is unclear (although it is likely Wickwane intended to take a copy of his register to Rome, this may still have been for him and his administrators). Yet this did not remove self-consciousness. The disputes that Wickwane and Romeyn engaged in often spanned generations and they themselves sought to use their predecessors' registers for evidence of rights and precedents. Their own registers offered a means of influencing their successors in a similar way, not only through evidencing rights but preserving carefully constructed accounts of how they sought to fulfil the demands of their office, in other words, models of archiepiscopacy.

In light of the increasing association of authority and writing, it is unsurprising that Wickwane and Romeyn turned to their registers in the disputes that they faced. The registers gave new shape to external documents and preserved them for years to come, safeguarding and curating evidence of rights that they sought to defend. That the form of the registers demanded selectivity allows us to glean certain (albeit curated)

[240] Swanson, "Universis Christi Fidelibus: The Church and Its Records," 159.
[241] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, 1.

impressions of the disputes, and the archbishops more widely, through the registration choices they made. The registers were not simply about preserving as much material as possible but about curating that material into an authoritative account. Indeed, the very creation of the registers was a statement of authority, allowing the archbishops to select what material would be committed to 'continuous memory'. The registers were expected to preserve documents so as to influence future practice. In creating the registers, the archbishops were building on past practice but looking to the future of archiepiscopacy.

Conclusion

The disputes show that neither Wickwane nor Romeyn could exercise the full extent of their archiepiscopal responsibilities and rights as they understood them. Those rights had to be negotiated in person and in writing. The nature of the disputes, particularly their longevity, demanded that the archbishops both draw from the past and look ahead to the future practice of archiepiscopacy. Both Wickwane and Romeyn sought to use their predecessors' registers and wider documents to support their claims. They also made deliberate choices about what contemporary documents should be preserved and how. Unlike the Durham chapter's archives, which preserved large quantities of original documents and contemporary copies, Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were inherently selective. In registering documents, the archbishops and their administrators constructed and preserved accounts of how archiepiscopacy was understood and practised in specific ways under each archbishop. As such, we can consider Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers as being rooted in the current practice of archiepiscopacy while looking ahead to what would be preserved for their successors.

While the disputes reveal the overlaps in the archbishops' concerns and interests, their approaches to the disputes lay bare key distinctions in how they conceived of their role. Examining the disputes through Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers has brought to the fore how fundamentally relational, and therefore individual, archiepiscopacy was. This chapter has sought to demonstrate the human choices that shaped both archiepiscopacy and record. Registration constructed the archbishops in

particular ways. Wickwane approached his office as an extension of his role in the York chapter: the choices of registration under him evidence this close relationship and avoid recording material that would diminish their rights. Moreover, the responsiveness of his register in the creation of the Durham dossier reflects his own reactiveness to the disputes. In contrast, dispute material was made to conform to Romeyn's register. This reflects a deliberate practice of using the register to emphasise certain aspects of his practice while omitting others. This approach emphasised Romeyn's exercise of authority over the chapter, while diminishing the extent of the challenges he faced. These records were intended to be passed on the archbishops' successors, offering evidence not only of Wickwane's and Romeyn's rights but of how they approached their office.

The ways in which Wickwane and Romeyn used their registers were rooted in wider shifts in how documents and archives were understood. Each recognised the significance of written records for asserting their archiepiscopal rights and the potential for their registers to shape the future practice of archiepiscopacy. In this, their registers both preserved and reflected their fundamentally personal, and thus distinct, approaches to archiepiscopacy. We have seen how their contrasting relationship with the York chapter and their differing levels of experience outside York directly influenced their approaches to their office, especially when that the rights of that office were threatened, as well as their choices of registration. This was a particular feature of thirteenth-century archiepiscopal registers in York, with those in the fourteenth century increasingly supporting delegated archiepiscopal practice, as argued by Rees Jones.[242] Ultimately, examining Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers in their disputes has portrayed registration under Wickwane and Romeyn as a far more self-conscious endeavour than it has previously been seen, with the archbishops looking ahead to the future practice of archiepiscopacy.

[242] Rees Jones, "Administrative Records".

Chapter Four: Cura Animarum

Introduction

> …for the salvation of the flock entrusted [to you] and the reform of the same, you are obliged to keep watch with such great eagerness, so that by dying temporally for the same you might spiritually prepare for yourselves eternal life.[1]

Neither Wickwane nor Romeyn stand among the great ecclesiastical reformers of the thirteenth century. They did not hold provincial reform councils, nor did they author any of the pastoral manuals or *summae* that circulated in the thirteenth century or beyond.[2] Yet Wickwane's letter to the bishop of Durham (above) makes clear his understanding of the episcopal duty to ensure the salvation of their 'entrusted flock'. By the mid-thirteenth century, this responsibility was widely recognised and gave shape to the ideals and practices of the episcopate, as well as the Church more widely.[3] Pastoral care, or *cura animarum*, sought to inculcate the beliefs and practices that would lead individuals to salvation. Scholarship has tended to focus on the question of reform across the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries – to what extent the pastoral aims set out by the Fourth Lateran Council were implemented – and registers have been drawn upon as sources of information on pastoral care.[4] This chapter turns the question on its head: it asks what examining *cura animarum* reveals about registers and the registration activities behind them.

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[1] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 446: '…pro salute commissi gregis et reformacione ejusdem, tanto debetis studio vigilare, quod, pro eodem temporaliter moriendo, vitam vobis eternam spiritualiter comparetis'.
[2] Romeyn's attempts to hold convocations in 1290 and 1295 were driven by financial demands from the Crown.
[3] For an overview of the conciliar legislation, see: Anne J. Duggan, "Conciliar Law 1123-1215: The Legislation of the Four Lateran Councils," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 318–66; Tanner, "Pastoral Care."
[4] Reform as a 'continuous reality' was explored by Hayden and Greenshields: J. Michael Hayden and Malcolm R. Greenshields, *Six Hundred Years of Reform: Bishops and the French Church, 1190-1789* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2005), 7; Dohar, "'Since the Pestilence Time': Pastoral Care in the Later Middle Ages"; Helen Birkett, "The Pastoral Application of the Lateran IV Reforms in the Northern Province, 1215–1348," *Northern History* 43, no. 2 (2006): 199–219; Bryan, "Periculum Animarum."

Examining *cura animarum* gets to the heart of the day-to-day practice of archiepiscopacy and the extent to which Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers supported this practice. Registers have long been seen as the 'working record' of diocesan administration, a tool to manage the information needed to administer the spiritual needs of the archdiocese.[5] Yet there is not a clear consensus on how far they actually fulfilled this role. Hoskin saw the rolls of Robert Grosseteste, bishop of Lincoln (1235-53), as part of the bureaucracy which he considered a barrier to the personal ministry his role demanded.[6] She argued that Grosseteste's chancery was more concerned with preserving original documents and used the rolls to record additional information, or to provide a point of access, 'perhaps even a finding aid', for original records.[7] In contrast, Davis argued that Eudes Rigaud, archbishop of Rouen (1247-75) 'viewed meticulous data collection and record keeping as a necessary mechanism for religious reform' and his register provided the means for this.[8] These distinct findings stem from both the nature of the registers (Grosseteste's rolls of institutions differed from Rigaud's register, which primarily contains visitation records) and the bishops' approaches. At the core of both approaches, however, is the question of the relationship between the register and the bishop's pastoral care.

Although Hoskin minimised the significance of Grosseteste's rolls for his spiritual care, her recognition that the rolls referred to original material in Grosseteste's archive has implications for situating registers in relation to other records and archived documents.[9] While extant documents outside the register are lacking for our period, Smith identified two fourteenth-century visitation rolls in York.[10] Forrest and Whittick also found that Bishops Thomas Cantilupe (1275-82) and Richard Swinfield (1282-1317) in Hereford maintained separate visitation rolls or registers.[11] This raises the question of how episcopal registers were intended to work with other records and what

[5] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, ix; Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*; Brian Stock, *The Implications of Literacy: Written Language and Models of Interpretation in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1983), 62; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*.
[6] Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste as Bishop of Lincoln*; Philippa Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln: An English Bishop's Pastoral Vision* (Leiden: Brill, 2019).
[7] Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste as Bishop of Lincoln*, xliv–xlvii.
[8] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, 103.
[9] Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste as Bishop of Lincoln*, xliv–xlvii.
[10] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, x.
[11] Forrest and Whittick, "Thirteenth-Century Visitation Records," 739–43.

distinguished them from those other records. Cheney distinguished 'Registers' from other episcopal records by their permanent value:

> While the term Register is usually applied to the permanent collection in which clerks recorded those privileges and agreements which were of permanent value to the diocesan, it is obvious that every bishop's registry must have kept far more than one register, some of them being specialized temporary records, such as the visitation books which have occasionally accidentally survived.[12]

Although it may have been obvious to Cheney that other records were kept, surprisingly little attention has been given to the relationship between episcopal registers and other records.[13] Forrest noted that episcopal administration 'relied upon a world of ephemeral records that informed, preceded, and emanated from the registers'.[14] Both Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers refer to other records, allowing us not only to identify records now lost but to situate registers in a wider administrative system and to establish the specific ways that archiepiscopal registers were deployed to support the practice of archiepiscopacy.

This chapter uses *cura animarum* to explore the role of Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers in the administration of pastoral care, asking what material was registered, where it was entered, and what uses this had for pastoral care. In particular, it interrogates how far the information contained would allow Wickwane and Romeyn to manage their subordinates or show that they themselves were meeting the expectations set out in reform councils, asking whether this changed across different activities. It also explores what other uses the register had in supporting the administration of pastoral care and the place of the registers in a broader system of administrative records.

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[12] C. R. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitations of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1931), 6; Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*.

[13] Barraclough had considered this in the fourteenth-century papal context, arguing that the documents in *Formularium Notariorum Curie* were copied from registers and recognising the specialised nature of different types of papal registers: Geoffrey Barraclough, *Public Notaries and the Papal Curia: A Calendar and a Study of a Formularium Notariorum Curie from the Early Years of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Published for the subscribers to the Faculty of Archaeology, History & Letters by Macmillan and Co. Limited, 1934), 122–31.

[14] Forrest, *Trustworthy Men*, 333.

The chapter is formed of three sections: clerical standards, visitation, and penalties. Each explores one of the ways in which Wickwane and Romeyn sought to provide spiritual care or ensure spiritual discipline in their archdiocese and examines the register's role in it. These have been selected as three fundamental areas of the archiepiscopal administration of pastoral care. They offer three distinct facets of administration, beginning with the basic, routine activities of clerical standards; moving to the more complex issues of oversight in the visitation of both religious communities and archdeaconries; and then to the complicated coordination of discipline. They also elucidate the registers' uses in both the short-term and long-term. Pastoral care could be both urgent and long-term: efforts to improve clerical standards often had short-term goals, such as ensuring an appointee was ordained priest within a year or granting a leave of absence for study of up to three years. Penalties also sought to bring about swift reconciliation, although this did not necessarily occur. With visitations, while it was hoped that improvements would be made quickly, corrections were long-standing, with the archbishops using their predecessors' corrections as a measure for a religious house and reissuing them if needed. These brought differing demands and saw Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers used in distinct ways.

For each section, I will ask what material was registered, how and where it was registered, and what this reveals about the use of the register for administering pastoral care. Taken together, these three areas reveal Wickwane's and Romeyn's administration of pastoral care for the archdiocese, and the registers' role in this. In doing so, this chapter situates the learning of registration within a wider system of archiepiscopal administration, laying bare the ways in which registers were adapted to the individual archbishops and the specific qualities of registers that distinguished them from other records.

I. Clerical Standards

By the time Wickwane became archbishop, the standards expected of priests had been made clear, as had a bishop's role in enforcing those standards.[15] While institutions to benefices have long been seen as the core records of episcopal registers, the focus here is not institutions themselves (and the archbishop's role as a gatekeeper) but on what happened after a presentee had been instituted and the extent to which he could ensure that individual clerics met the conditions of their appointment.[16] Ordination to the priesthood, for which candidates were expected to meet certain standards of priestly knowledge, was typically stipulated for those not already ordained. This section considers how far Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers helped them enforce these conditions.

In examining registered material concerning ordination and education, this section essentially asks what the register told the archbishop about these activities in his diocese. Both ordination and education relate to standards of clergy at appointment and the archbishop's ability to hold individual appointed clerics to account in meeting these standards.[17] The archbishop set specific conditions which the subject was expected to meet within a set amount of time – for example by being ordained or by travelling to a centre of study and returning to their parish within a specified timeframe. This raises the question of whether Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were intended to provide granular detail about specific clerics in the archdiocese and so facilitate the archbishops holding those clerics to account, and whether this changed over the two archiepiscopates.

In examining the archbishop's management of individual clerics in the archdiocese and the role of the register in facilitating this, this section reflects on the relationship between information-management, accountability, and delegation. As

[15] Canon XXVII of the Fourth Lateran Council (1215) ordered bishop to prepare and instruct candidates for the priesthood in divine services and sacraments; Canon XIII of the Second Council of Lyons (1274) further clarified the knowledge and morals expected of priests.
[16] The role of a bishop as a gatekeeper to benefices has been examined extensively by James Richardson, who made a convincing case that registered records of institution communicated Bishops Swinfield's and Pontoise's commitment to reform ideals: Richardson, "A Bishop and His Diocese."
[17] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*; Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*; Richardson, "A Bishop and His Diocese."

noted above, Davis saw Rigaud's register as a tool that managed information about the spiritual condition of Rouen archdiocese and so gave Rigaud and his successors immediate access to the information needed to hold those visited to account in making improvements.[18] Rigaud's register was a record that accompanied him and was frequently amended in response to his activities. In contrast, both Rees Jones and Hoskin saw registers as part of administrative systems that allowed bishops to delegate. For Rees Jones and the fourteenth-century archbishops of York, this offered a solution to the administrative challenge of the archdiocese; for Hoskin and Grosseteste, it risked becoming a barrier between the bishop and his flock.[19] These contrasts challenge us to consider how Wickwane and Romeyn approached their responsibilities and the ways in which their registers were adapted to support their particular practices. We have already seen distinctions between the two archbishops' approaches to archiepiscopacy in the disputes, but how did this compare to the more routine aspects of archiepiscopacy, and how did their registers facilitate these approaches?

Ordination

Provision of ordination was one of the key responsibilities of an archbishop. He carried out ordination ceremonies that incoming priests were expected to attend if they were of a lower order than their office required.[20] Ensuring benefice holders were ordained required information: the names and clerical statuses of those holding benefices with care of souls, the conditions of their presentations, and their suitability for ordination. For those who had been instituted already, Lyons II had set the limit for ordination to priest as a year from the appointment, and it could be enforced sooner.[21]

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[18] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, 85, 164.
[19] Rees Jones, "Administrative Records"; Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste as Bishop of Lincoln*; Hoskin, *Robert Grosseteste and the 13th-Century Diocese of Lincoln*.
[20] For an exploration of the grades of ordination see: Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World*, chap. 2.
[21] Canon XIII (*Licet canon*) of The Second Council of Lyons (1274) set the time limit of ordination as priest within one year of appointment and confirmed the ordinary's right to grant a dispensation for reasonable absences; Richardson found evidence of episcopal attempts to enforce this canon in Hereford: Richardson, "A Bishop and His Diocese," 131–43; Leonard E. Boyle, "The Constitution 'Cum Ex Eo' of Boniface VIII: Education of a Parochial Clergy," *Mediaeval Studies* 34 (1962): 263–302; more recently Campell has examined systems for clerical learning in

This expectation did appear in some (but not all) institution records in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers when the appointee was not a priest. For example, Alan of Thornholme, who was only a deacon when appointed to the vicarage of the church of Batley in February 1280, was instructed 'to be ordained as priest during next occasion of ordination'.[22] Wickwane's register does not record Alan's ordination but an entry recording an exchange of the vicarages of Batley and Rothwell in September 1280 refers to Alan as a priest so we can assume it had taken place.[23] In this case, the record of Alan's priestly status was incidental. The omission of a deliberate register entry of his ordination raises a wider question of whether Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers facilitated their management of their clergy's ordination statuses and, if not, then what records were used?

Firstly, we must ask what material was registered and what was not. Both registers primarily record the archbishops' mandates and letters arranging for an ordination service to take place.[24] In Wickwane's register, entries show that notices were sent to the relevant archdeacon for where an ordination was to take place, and on one occasion, his official; under Romeyn, notices were consistently sent to his official.[25] These mandates and other letters specified when and where the ordination was to take place and stressing the need for the details to be published. For example, an entry from November 1279 records Wickwane's letter to the archdeacon of York announcing his intention to celebrate ordination in the church at York on the next Ember Saturday, and that those holding benefices with care of souls who were not in the required orders were to be cited.[26] Across both registers, instructions given about ordination services were registered, although in Romeyn's register, memoranda were used, rather than complete copies of the letters.

Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*, 46–57; William J. Dohar, "Sufficienter Litteratus: Clerical Examination and Instruction for the Cure of Souls," in *A Distinct Voice: Medieval Studies in Honor of Leonard E. Boyle, O.P.*, ed. Jacqueline Brown and William P. Stoneman (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1997), 305–22.

[22] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 81: 'in proximis ordinum temporibus [te] in presbiterum ordinari faciens…'

[23] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 99, 101.

[24] Brown tends to calendar these as 'notices of ordination', but they vary notably in recipient and form.

[25] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 61, 531; *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 27, 44.

[26] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 61. Ember Days were days of fasting and prayer that took place on the Wednesday, Fridays, and Saturdays following St. Lucy's Day, the first Sunday in Lent, Pentecost, and Holy Cross Day.

However, these entries are limited – only five entries in Wickwane's register record notices of upcoming ordinations directed to his agents; a sixth commissions the chancellor of York and Hugh of Evesham, then canon of York, to undertake an examination of candidates for ordination; and two other entries confirm that an individual had been ordained.[27] These entries relate to a total of six specific ordination events.[28] Although other entries refer to ordination, such as collations and institutions that specify ordination would be needed, these do not deal with arrangements for a specific ordination, only a requirement that an individual would be ordained.[29] Romeyn's register has several more entries relating to upcoming ordinations (as we would expect from his longer archiepiscopate), yet still only eleven overall, and four of these occurred in the same church (St. John's, Beverley).[30] In both cases, references to ordination services (an average of only one per year) fall far short of the frequency with which we would expect ordination to occur. It was customary to hold ordinations on the four Ember Saturdays each year, and the archbishop could also ordain at Easter.[31] Indeed, Archbishop William Zouche had a separate ordination register (the only surviving one for York), which frequently records four or more ordinations per year in the years prior to the Black Death.[32] It is likely that the lack of record was simply that, a lack of surviving record, rather than a reflection that Wickwane and Romeyn rarely held ordinations.

Even for those ordinations where material was registered, the register did not include all the material produced, although it alludes to some of this material. For example, an entry in Wickwane's register makes clear that ordinands' names were to be included in published notices despite not being included in the register. A letter to the

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[27] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 61, 135, 173, 520A, 531; 73 instructs the chancellor and canon Hugh of Evesham about examining the candidates; 95 confirms that Robert of St. Nicholas was ordained and 250 confirms John Colston was ordained.

[28] The examination of candidates corresponds to one of the ordination events already recorded, while one of the confirmations that an individual was ordained refers to a separate event.

[29] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 60, 187.

[30] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 27, 44, 47, 52, 59, 69, 76, 77, 82, 105 (records two ordinations); six of these are notices and five are memoranda that notices were sent.

[31] John Raymond Shinners and William J. Dohar, *Pastors and the Care of Souls in Medieval England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 50–51.

[32] The register begins with an ordination in December 1342, then contains four ordinations in 1343, six in 1344, seven in 1345, and six in 1346 before problems with registration occurred; see David M. Smith, ed., *York Clergy Ordinations 1342-1352* (Unpublished, 2021).

archdeacon of York instructs him to publicly announce the upcoming ordination 'enclosing the names of the cited fully'.[33] Either Wickwane's chancery must have possessed details of those who had not been suitably ordained, or the archdeacon himself had them. Either way, the scribes did not deem it necessary to include those names in the register. They did not record that an ordination had taken place nor include lists of those who had been ordained, although other episcopal registers did from this period onwards.[34] Walter Giffard's (Wickwane's predecessor) register includes lists of names in an attempted ordination section.[35] Wickwane's omission was a choice.

Eudes Rigaud's register shows how a register could be used to monitor ordinations, if desired.[36] It includes charts of those he had ordained, arranged by their order, which were updated with details of deaths, resignations, and deprivations. In contrast, Wickwane's register has only two notices specifying that an individual had been ordained: one entry records that a cleric had been ordained by another diocesan, Oliver Sutton, bishop of Lincoln, and the other records that Wickwane had ordained Robert of St. Nicholas and given him letters patent.[37] Similarly, the only entries referring to a scrutiny, or examination, take the form of instructions to examine or directing when the examination should take place, often as part of the notice.[38] It appears that for ordination, at least, Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were intended as a record of instructions issued, in other words a record of delegations, rather than a tool for managing information about individual clerics.

Despite these omissions, Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers indicate that the archbishops had information about who had been ordained and used it in their management of clergy. An entry in Romeyn's register declares the church of Londesborough vacant, due to the rector not being ordained.[39] Elsewhere in the register, letters testimonial confirmed priests' ordination statuses, as we will see below. On the

[33] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 61: 'nomina citatorum plenius continentes'.
[34] Dohar, "Sufficienter Litteratus: Clerical Examination and Instruction for the Cure of Souls," 306; Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*, 101.
[35] *Reg. Giffard*, fols. 89r-93v; fols. 92 and 93 appear to be inserts – potentially lists that were written up separately and subsequently added to the register.
[36] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, 105.
[37] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 250, 95.
[38] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 73; *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 27.
[39] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 593.

other hand, Wickwane mandated his official not to proceed against two men for not being ordained.[40] Both registers record the archbishops taking actions that relied on knowing whether incumbents had been ordained priest but did not record that information themselves. How did the archbishops manage this information, if not through the registers?

The entry of several letters testimonial into Romeyn's register offers an explanation.[41] These letters were issued by Romeyn to confirm an individual's ordination status. One says that John of Selby had been ordained subdeacon and deacon by Wickwane himself and then priest by the bishop of Carlisle when the see of York was vacant. Another letter states that Clement of Melton had been ordained priest by the bishop of Carlisle due to 'our predecessor then spending time in distant [lands]'.[42] A third confirms that Thomas of Foxholes had been ordained subdeacon by the bishop of Carlisle on account of Wickwane's absence and then deacon by the same during the subsequent vacancy. All three of these letters had been issued 'from the inspection of a register of Archbishop Lord William [Wickwane] of pious memory, our predecessor'.[43] This presents a problem. Wickwane's extant register does not contain any entries after he left for Rome (his only absence from the diocese), therefore it does not contain these entries.[44] This leaves us with two options: either Wickwane's register had additional sections that were removed after Romeyn's archiepiscopate, or there were additional records from Wickwane's archiepiscopate containing details of ordinations. Considering Romeyn's own register and its multiple constituent 'registers' (examined in Chapter Two), as well as the later keeping of ordination records under Archbishop Zouche, the second option seems the more likely.[45] Under Wickwane and Romeyn,

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[40] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 511.
[41] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 113.
[42] Ibid.: 'ipso predecessore nostro tunc in remotis agente'.
[43] Ibid.: 'ex inspeccione registri pie recordacionis domini Willelmi archiepiscopi, predecessoris nostri'. This could be parsed as 'the register of the pious memory of Archbishop Lord William', although my translation above seems more likely.
[44] Although some material was later inserted this was from Romeyn's archiepiscopate, none dates from this period.
[45] Smith found references to Melton's ordination registers in archival inventories of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; in some cases, including Hereford, it was the official who kept an ordination list: David M. Smith, "Lost Archiepiscopal Registers of York: The Evidence of Five Medieval Inventories," *Borthwick Institute Bulletin* 1 (1975): 34; Francis Charles Hingeston-Randolph, *The Registers of Walter*

then, there may well have been another 'register', or other 'registers', used for different types of activities or information, one of them for ordinations. This lost 'register' would have facilitated the monitoring of ordination.

This furthers our understanding of thirteenth-century episcopal registers. As addressed in Chapter Two, Romeyn's archiepiscopate brought significant conceptual developments to the idea of the 'register'. The use of 'registrum' to refer to his register as a whole, its constituent parts, and now too a separate register from Wickwane's archiepiscopate demonstrates the multivalence of the very idea of a register in the late thirteenth century. As Smith has noted, it is particularly difficult to define an episcopal register – recognising the diverse ways in which the term 'register' was used by those who kept them goes some way in explaining why.[46] It also gives context for the conceptual developments that occurred under Romeyn. The increasing clarity of how his main register should be arranged and how material should be entered did not occur in isolation: it was part of the development of a broader system of record-keeping.

The omission of ordinands' names from Wickwane's and Romeyn's main registers meant that neither register contained sufficient information to monitor those individuals. But did this matter? The keeping of multiple records, or registers, reflects a more developed information management system than the surviving registers suggest, one that could facilitate the monitoring of ordination status by archiepiscopal administrators. This challenges us to consider the relationship between the archbishop, his officials, and his 'register'. The separate recording of information needed by the archbishop's official or other agents makes most sense if the main register travelled with the archbishop (as is believed to be the case) or with the vicar-general during his absences. Separate records could be sent to administrators in different parts of the archdiocese. Romeyn's register records that Walter of Wragby (dean in the bailiwick of Beverley) was instructed that 'all the rolls of accounts and revenues and also of all the other business of our archbishopric' were to be given to the seneschal and that the two

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Bronescombe (A.D. 1257-1280), and Peter Quivil (A.D. 1280-1291), Bishops of Exeter: With Some Records of the Episcopate of Bishop Thomas de Bytton (A.D. 1292-1307); Also the Taxation of Pope Nicholas IV, A.D. 1291 (Diocese of Exeter) (London: G. Bell & sons, 1889), 215; O. F. Robinson, ed., *The Register of Walter Bronescombe, Bishop of Exeter, 1258-1280*, vol. II (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 93.

[46] Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, ix.

men were to produce a chirograph.[47] While these other rolls were primarily financial, they nonetheless emphasise the need for movable records that were separate from the archbishop. Likewise, an 'ordination register' could remain at York or be in the possession of the official or archdeacon to whom the archbishop had delegated ordination preparations. Hoskin's distinction between the episcopal chancery and the episcopal archive is helpful here: the chancery moved (largely) with the bishop; the archive – 'more along the lines of a modern records management store' – remained in the cathedral.[48]

A static archive in York, most likely at Cawood or Bishopthorpe, used alongside movable records, could have facilitated the type of information management needed for administration, particularly when delegated officials acted separately from the archbishop himself.[49] As noted above, Wickwane delegated the publication of ordination notices and expected his *officialis* or the relevant archdeacon to cite individuals for ordination.[50] This required them to have the information needed to do so. Likewise, Romeyn expected his *officialis* to have, or be able to access, this information in order to:

> decisively cause to be cited all rectors, vicars and others occupying benefices and ecclesiastical offices that hold care of souls of our diocese, who have not been ordained into the priesthood, that they show themselves before us on the aforesaid day and place, to receive from our hands the sacred orders that their office requires.[51]

In delegating the citations for ordinations, Romeyn reiterated his own role in actually bestowing holy orders. Yet while he needed to personally carry out the ordination, he did not need to manage the preparations and so readily access the names of ordinands. Instead, it would have been the *officialis* who needed to consult this material. While the extent of an episcopal archive at York is uncertain, it seems likely that some kind of

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[47] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1222: 'omnes rotulos computorum et reddituum necnon aliorum omnium negociorum archiepiscopatus nostri'.
[48] Hoskin, "How to Travel With a Bishop," 173–74.
[49] Chapter Two, p. 114.
[50] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 61.
[51] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 27: 'citari peremptorie faciatis omnes rectores, vicarios, alios nostre diocesis beneficia ac ecclesiastica curam animarum habencia optinentes, qui non sunt in presbiteros ordinati, quod predictis die et loco nostro se conspectui humiliter representent, sacros ordines, quos eorum cura requirit, de nostris manibus suscepturi'.

record containing the ordination status and benefices of clerics was contained there, or that the *officialis* used separate, movable records.

If the archbishop delegated arrangements for ordination to the *officialis* or archdeacons (in Wickwane's case), then the question of why any ordination material was entered into the registers arises. I have found three potential reasons. Firstly, an attempt to record delegations of episcopal responsibilities developed alongside the role of the *officialis*.[52] In Wickwane's register, the few entries were made individually in the relevant archdeaconry section, and were directed to primarily to the archdeacons, and (on one occasion) his *officialis*. In Romeyn's register, instructions about ordination are all in the 'York Officiality' section and all directed to the *officialis* or the *officialis*' commissary.[53] This likely stemmed from the responsibility being entrusted to the *officialis* rather than the archdeacon; although it may simply be that Wickwane issued verbal instructions to his *officialis* and wrote to his archdeacons, and written instructions were more likely to be registered. In either case, entering these instructions in the officiality section separated them from Romeyn's normal management of the archdeaconries and into business that was typically becoming part of the *officialis'* remit. This would mean a shift in the register's purpose, from recording activities to managing the archbishop's relationship with his *officialis*. Using the register as a tool to hold the *officialis* to account, as Rees Jones suggested was the case with the fourteenth-century registers, rather than those who needed to be ordained, therefore seems to have begun under Romeyn, albeit inconsistently.[54] It may have been rooted in the development of precedents around the *officialis'* role – registering instructions to them helped to define their remit. This reveals a moment of refining how the register was working – not simply a development of administrative efficiency but an experiment in understandings of the register and accountability.

Romeyn's use of the register as a tool to manage the *officialis* (and other agents) was part of a broader shift to use the register as a record of administrative processes

[52] Smith and Burger have examined the changing role of the *officialis*; Burger's exploration of the movement of the official out of the episcopal household is particularly useful for considering how bishops interacted with their officials and the need for written instructions: Burger, "Officiales"; Smith, "The 'Officialis'."
[53] Letters testimonial, etc., are included in the relevant archdeaconry for the person to whom they refer.
[54] Rees Jones, "Administrative Records," 12–13.

and people under him. As with Romeyn's registration of the disputes in Chapter Three, his register did not only record documents but the processes by which those documents had been deployed. Here, memoranda were included about how actions had been carried out. A letter dated from the fifth year of Romeyn's archiepiscopate (but registered under the sixth) excuses the rector of Sancton for not being ordained due to illness.[55] It includes a memorandum that states:

> that Patrick of Hutton, clerk, at the instance of masters J[ohn] of Crowcombe, R[obert] of Pickering, and W[illiam] of Beverley, had a copy of that [act] without a seal, and an attestation of the institution of Walter Durand to the church of Sancton, as well as the above ordinations to the priesthood, under a seal at Brunton near St. Agatha, in accordance with a specific order of the lord [archbishop], in the seventh year of his pontificate.[56]

This sets out the involvement of Romeyn's *officialis*, along with others of his key agents. As noted in the first two chapters, John of Crowcombe acted as *officialis* for both Wickwane and Romeyn while Robert of Pickering had been appointed as one of Wickwane's commissaries in the Durham visitation and later became Romeyn's *officialis*.[57] William of Beverley's position is less clear; he was likely another member of Romeyn's household as he also accompanied Romeyn in his visitation of North Ferriby.[58] Patrick of Hutton seems to have acted as a kind of scribe or secretary preserving specific documents at the behest of the archbishop and his agents. The registering of their directions fits into the wider pattern of Romeyn's register being a place to record the processes of administration. This offered another way to delineate and monitor his agents' actions, ensuring that Romeyn had a record of specific actions they had taken and could distinguish between his actions and theirs.

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[55] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 606.
[56] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 606 (memorandum in margin of fol. 64v): 'quod Patricius de Hoton, clericus, ad instanciam magistrorum J. de Craucumb', R. de Pikering', et W. de Beverlaco, habuit copiam istius sine Sigillo, et testimonium institucionis Walteri Durandi in ecclesia de Santon', et super ordinibus in presbiterum, sub Sigillo apud Brunton' juxta Sanctam Agatham, de precepto domini speciali, pontificates sui anno septimo'. Hutton does not appear again in the register.
[57] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 34; *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 460. See above, p. 80, 127-128.
[58] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 646A.

A second reason for the registration of some ordination material is that it offered a record of specific practices that demonstrated the archbishops' concerns: in this case, how to prepare ordinands for ordination. Wickwane's register records his instructions to Hugh of Evesham, then canon of York, to examine the clergymen who were to be ordained, and states that he can summon the dean of Christianity who would be 'circumspect in regard to an exam of this sort'.[59] Wickwane clearly had a sense of how the examination for ordination should be carried out and who would be suitable; as set out in Chapter Three, Hugh was one of his most trusted friends in the York chapter.[60] Recording both the instructions themselves and that they were sent to Hugh preserved evidence of how an examination should proceed, including delegation to a trusted York canon. Romeyn's register contains a letter to his official regarding an ordination at Tadcaster, which sets out the specific days for examinations and the requirement of testimonial letters from the dean.[61] Neither register recorded all the ordinations that took place but what was registered provided precise instructions to his agents to ensure the candidates were prepared for the archbishop's own role in actually ordaining them. These few but detailed entries could provide an example for future reference by the archbishop, his administrators, and his successors.

The third reason for their entry was that these letters provided examples of different forms. All ordination entries into Wickwane's register and some of those in Romeyn's are written in full.[62] Their use for form at least under Romeyn is reflected by the second entry in Romeyn's index-register, which directs the scribes to the 'Officiality' section where they can find a 'Form for the purpose of writing citations for orders to be celebrated: in a greater form below in [the section concerning] the officiality of York and in diverse places there; in a lesser form in the first and second year'.[63] The marginal notes for 44 and 47 (here clearly contemporaneous with the entries themselves) identify these entries as 'citations for ordination' without any place names, suggesting that

[59] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 73: 'in hujusmodi examine circumspectum'.
[60] See Chapter Three, p. 181-182.
[61] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 27.
[62] E.g. *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 27, 44, 47.
[63] *Reg. Romeyn II*, p.179 (unnumbered): '*Officialitas Eboracensis, Indulgencie*.... Forma ad faciendum citaciones pro ordinibus celebrandis in majori forma infra in officialitate Eboracensi et in diversis locis ibidem; in minori forma in primo anno et secondo'. Brown has added the corresponding numbers to find these in his edition (nos. 27 and 44).

users of the register would be looking for the type of material, rather than details about a particular place.[64]

While both archiepiscopal registers include only selected ordination material under Wickwane and Romeyn, they were not intended to act as a comprehensive record of ordination. Instead, a separate 'ordination register' was likely kept with the necessary details for arranging and monitoring ordinations. What was included in Wickwane's and Romeyn's main registers offered a record of specific practices and concerns for both archbishops, as well as examples of forms. This was made explicit in Romeyn's register with the inclusion of a reference to ordination citations in the index-calendar at the front of his register. Under Romeyn, the increased entry of ordination notices occurred in conjunction with what appears to be increased delegation to his *officialis*, as well as broader efforts to record more of the administrative processes that were integral to his activities.

Education

On 27th January 1293, Romeyn instructed his official 'that rectors attending [theological lectures] by the chancellor of York were in no way to be harassed on account of non-residence'.[65] By the late thirteenth century, the need for clergy to be suitably educated had been well-established, as had the bishop's responsibility for ensuring that this was the case.[66] In 1281, Wickwane's and Romeyn's contemporary, John Pecham, archbishop of Canterbury, set out the knowledge expected of those with care of souls in the ninth canon of the Lambeth Council, *Ignorantia sacerdotum*.[67] Gaps in knowledge could be rectified through teaching, either within the archdiocese, such as

[64] Romeyn MS, fol. 8v: 'citac(i)o p(ro) ordinib(u)s' (my transcription).
[65] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 90: 'Quod rectores audientes theologiam a cancellario Eboracensi pro non residencia nullatenus molestentur'.
[66] Canon XI of the Fourth Lateran Council decreed that each cathedral church was to have a master to teach grammar, and a theologian to teach scripture and offer instruction in the care of souls; Canon XIII (*Licet canon*) of The Second Council of Lyons specified the need for candidates to the priesthood to have suitable knowledge. Haines set out the 'essentials of priestly knowledge' according to the statutes of 13th-century English bishops in *Ecclesia Anglicana*, 130–31.
[67] For the full constitutions, see: F. M. Powicke and C. R. Cheney, eds., *Councils and Synods with Other Documents Relating to the English Church II: AD 1205-1313*, vol. II, 1265–1313 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), 892–918.

that offered by York's chancellor, or at a university.[68] While it is unclear how many of the York clergy attended the chancellor's lectures, Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers frequently record grants of licences to study at university.[69]

Licences to study were granted directly to individual clerics, allowing them to leave their parish to pursue university study.[70] Each was granted either for a set number of years (usually one, two, or three) or until a certain date, usually a feast day, and other terms were often included, such as whether he could go oversees to study or must remain in England.[71] Some licences required the recipient's ordination upon their return.[72] As with ordinations, ensuring that these terms were met required accountability. Not all clerics fulfilled the terms of their licence, as shown by Wickwane's mandate to the dean of Christianity instructing him to find out the names of wandering clerks and cause them to attend school or lose the archbishop's protection.[73] Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers contain substantially more licences to study than ordination notices: Wickwane's register records thirty-five licences or memoranda that licences were issued while Romeyn's register has thirty. Moreover, unlike ordination notices, entries of licences to study specify the individual to whom the licence was granted. The question emerges as to why licences to study were recorded so differently from ordination material. Could these entries facilitate the archbishop

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[68] Reeves' extensive study examined the dissemination of Christian faith from the bishops to lower clergy and through them the laity: Andrew Reeves, *Religious Education in Thirteenth-Century England: The Creed and Articles of Faith* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Charles Homer Haskins, *The Rise of Universities* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1965); Gaines Post (+) and William J. Courtenay, *The Papacy and the Rise of the Universities* (Boston: Brill, 2017).

[69] Honorius III's decree, *Super speculam* (1219), allowed bishops to send clerics to university for study, although Haines thought this was intended to train theology teachers rather than for all beneficed clergy. In 1298 Boniface VIII issued the bull, *Cum ex eo*, which allowed for absences of up to seven years to be granted; Haines, *Ecclesia Anglicana*, 138–55; Boyle, "The Constitution 'Cum Ex Eo' of Boniface VIII."

[70] More has been done on the period following Boniface's bull, *Cum ex eo*: John R. Shinners, "University Study Licenses and Clerical Education in the Diocese of Norwich, 1325-35," *History of Education Quarterly* 28, no. 3 (1988): 387–410; F. Donald Logan, *University Education of the Parochial Clergy in Medieval England: The Lincoln Diocese, c.1300-c.1350* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2014).

[71] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 204 records Autelinus Day's licence to study in Paris; no. 102 grants a leave of absence to R. Oakton for two years, or one year if he remains in England. *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 421 records a licence granted to J. de Dalton to study for three years in England.

[72] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 204 specifies that after feast of St. John the Baptist, 'that then [Autelinus Day] return and cause himself to be ordained into the priesthood at the next ordinations (ita quod tunc redeat et faciat se ordinari in presbiterum in proximis ordinibus)'.

[73] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 741; Helen Waddell, *The Wandering Scholars* (London: Constable, 1954) remains the definitive study on *clerici vagantes*.

holding individual clerics to account? What does this tell us about the uses of Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers?

We begin by asking how and why the registers recorded licences to study. Both registers contain a mixture of copied licences and memoranda that a licence was issued.[74] The memoranda reveal a key change in the recording of the archbishop's actions. In Wickwane's register, memoranda record that a cleric either 'has' (*habere*) or 'obtained' (*obtinere*) a licence to study and the terms of the licence.[75] There is only one exception: a memorandum that 'the lord granted favour' to the rector of Stokesley by ensuring he would not be troubled on account of non-residence.[76] No further information is given that distinguishes the rector of Stokesley from his peers but the entries on this folio – all licences to study – are written in several different hands, and this form may simply be the product of a different scribe.[77] The majority of memoranda concerning licences in Wickwane's register record the possession of a licence to study and its terms. In Romeyn's register, however, the vast majority of memoranda of licences record that 'the lord gave (*dedere*) a licence to…'[78] Changing the subject of the entry from the cleric in possession of the licence to the archbishop's act fundamentally changes the sense of the recording – rather than a record of a particular right, the register entry becomes a record of the archbishop's granting of that right. This shifts the record from one of possession to one of action.

What may seem a small change in language has implications for how we understand the relationship between the archbishop and his register. Firstly, the increase in third-person references to the archbishop draws attention to the scribes who were keeping the register, giving a sense of their 'voice' recording the archbishop's actions.[79] This occurs more frequently under Romeyn. Secondly, in recording the

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[74] Wickwane's register contains twenty-five memoranda regarding licences to study; Romeyn's has eighteen.
[75] For example, *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 103: 'obtinuit licenciam studendi'; no. 204: 'habet licenciam commemorandi in studio'.
[76] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 426: 'dominus fecit graciam'. Graciam could also be rendered as permission or privilege.
[77] *Reg. Wickwane*, fol. 184r.
[78] For example, *Reg. Romeyn*, no.528; Romeyn MS, fol. 57v: 'me(morandum) q(uo)d d(omi)n(u)s dedit li(ce)n(t)iam'; just two examples record the recipient having or receiving the licence (nos. 884 and 1307).
[79] This has been seen in the context of Romeyn sending letters about the Canterbury dispute, see Chapter Three, p. 187-188.

archbishop's granting of licences, the register recorded his exercise of authority. It provided written confirmation that this was a power exercised by the archbishop himself – a power that was exclusively his (there is no indication that the *officialis* or archdeacon exercised it). It also reflects a shift from registering the possession of licences to study under Wickwane to recording the archbishop's exercise of authority under Romeyn.

In some cases, licences were written out in full in the register. In contrast to the consistency of the memoranda, licences themselves were not standardised. Recording them preserved both the terms and the form. Variations in form may explain the choices of recording. Even common stipulations, such as the need for the priest to appoint a suitable vicar in his place, or the provision that he would not need to attend councils, were phrased in different ways. The first licence in Wickwane's register reads:

> From W[illiam], etc., to Master W[illiam] Clifford, canon of Southwell, greetings, etc. Hoping that through the labours of study you will usefully send forth new growth to the health of the holy church of God and of the laity entrusted to you, we permit you a period of three years towards that [end], on this side of the sea or beyond, and on the condition that during the absence of study you not forsake the direction of souls, and that you should prudently send forth a suitable proxy in your place for that period.[80]

The next licence, granted to Nicholas of Wells, begins identically but then diverges in the second half:

> and we wish that in regard to citations, disturbances, or confiscations, [in] the continuing time thus granted, you will not be disturbed to any extent by the official or whichever [of] our other ministers; provided that you have a suitable proxy in your place for that period.[81]

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[80] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 37: 'W., etc., dilecto in Christo filio, magistro W. de Clifforde, canonico Suwellensi, sal., etc. Sperantes quod sancte Dei ecclesie et plebi tibi commisse per studii labores pululabis [pullulabis] utiliter ad salutem, tibi ad id, citra mare vel [ultra], triennii spacium concedimus graciose, ita quod per absenciam studii [sic] regimen non deseras animarum, et quod ydoneum responsalem circumspecte dimittas interim loco tui'.

[81] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 39: 'W., etc., dilecto in Christo magistro Nicholas de Welles, canonico Suwellensi, sal., etc. Sperantes quod sancte Dei ecclesie et plebi tibi commisse per studii labores pululabis utiliter ad salutem, tibi ad id, citra mare vel ultra, triennii spacium concedimus *per presents; et volumus quod in citacionibus, vexacionibus, vel sequestris, durante tempore sic indulto, per officialiem vel quoscumque*

Even within one register, under one archbishop, the form was changeable. Likewise, Romeyn's register records multiple variations. For example, the need for a suitable agent in the absentee's place takes several different forms: one specifies that 'we wish that you place a suitable agent in your very place in the intervening time'; another states 'that to your aforementioned church you might send a suitable agent'.[82] In another case, the register entry simply ends 'we wish that a suitable agent etc'.[83] It was clearly common to issue this instruction, but licences were issued on an individual basis and did not conform to precise formulas, even when a clause had the same intent. Recording them in the register provided examples that could be drawn on and adapted for future licences.

This reflects a broader issue around the development of the chancery. Standardisation did not occur evenly. As Hoskin has shown, significations of excommunication were standardised by this time in York.[84] Yet it was not necessarily desirable for all types of material: variation could be deliberate. In their introduction to *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke argued that formulae and variation occurred together in Foliot's writing office.[85] With Foliot's charters, they found that by the 1170s there were 'ruling themes and a stock of formulas', but clerks had 'some measure of choice'. This was particularly the case with the corroboration clause, which 'was normally expected to show a new variation on the standard theme'. Under Wickwane and Romeyn, licences to study followed a similar pattern with a range of stock phrases, formulas, and components that were adapted in different ways when deployed for individual clerics. As with Foliot's charters, it appears that scribes 'took a special delight in providing variety within a uniform medium'.[86]

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alios ministros nostros aliquatenus non vexeris; dum tamen ydoneum responsalem interim habeas loco tui. Vale'.

[82] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 548: 'Et volumus quod procuratorem ydoneum ibidem in medio tempore constituas loco tui.' 709: 'quod in predicta ecclesia tua procuratorem ydoneum dimittas…'

[83] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 271, fol. 36v: 'et vol(umus) q(uo)d p(ro)cur(atorem) ydoneu(m) <et>c' (my transcription).

[84] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries."

[85] Christopher Brooke, Z. N. Brooke, and Adrian Morey, eds., *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester (1139-48), Bishop of Hereford (1148-63) and London (1163-87)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), 23–28. Esp. 28.

[86] Ibid., 23.

That the choice to vary forms for licences was deliberate, rather than a product of a less developed practice, is reinforced by the variations in licences seen in the later York registers. For example, Archbishop William Greenfield's registers reveal that variations in licences to study continued into the fourteenth century. Variations on specific clauses occurred, such as 'in a place where a centre of study is known to flourish in England or in parts overseas' or 'on this side of the sea or beyond', and clauses were added for particular individuals.[87] For example, Adam of Spiriden, rector of St. Saviour's in the Marsh, York, was granted seven years to study. His licence suggests this reflected the regard he was held in: 'applying the aptitude of your innate character and your praiseworthy plan of engaging in scholastic studies, so that you prevail to bring fruit in regard to the church of God with the passage of time'.[88] There were common forms, or at least stock phrases, but these continued to be adapted. Development did not equate to conformity.

Differing choices were also made in where to enter licences under Wickwane.[89] Several licences are entered in main sections for the relevant minster chapters (in the case of canons) or archdeaconries for the first two years of his archiepiscopate.[90] But there are also three subsections recording licences to study and memoranda that licences were issued. One is for East Riding licences on the *verso* side of the folio for the fourth year of the 'East Riding Archdeaconry' section (176v, fig. 40); one records licences for clerics in Nottingham, on the final folio of the 'Nottingham Archdeaconry' (181v); another is for Cleveland, at the end of the 'Cleveland' section (184r, fig. 41)'. Their placement within the archdeaconry sections suggests that they were intended function as part of those sections (their exact positions within the quires remains uncertain without disbinding the manuscript) but were distinguished from the other

[87] William Brown and Alexander Hamilton Thompson, eds., *The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York, 1306-1315*, vol. I, no. 232: '…in loco ubi vigere dinoscitur studium generale in Anglia vel in partibus transmarinis…'; vol. II, no. 673: 'citra mare vel ultra'.
[88] Ibid., vol. II, no. 803: 'attendentes tue indolis habilitatem tuumque propositum laudabile insistendi in scolasticis disciplinis, ut fructum in ecclesia Dei processu temporis afferre valeas'.
[89] In Romeyn's register, they were consistently recorded in the relevant archdeaconry section or the 'Chapters' section.
[90] See, for example, *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 37, 39, 79, 102.

entries. This raises the question of when these subsections were created and to what end.

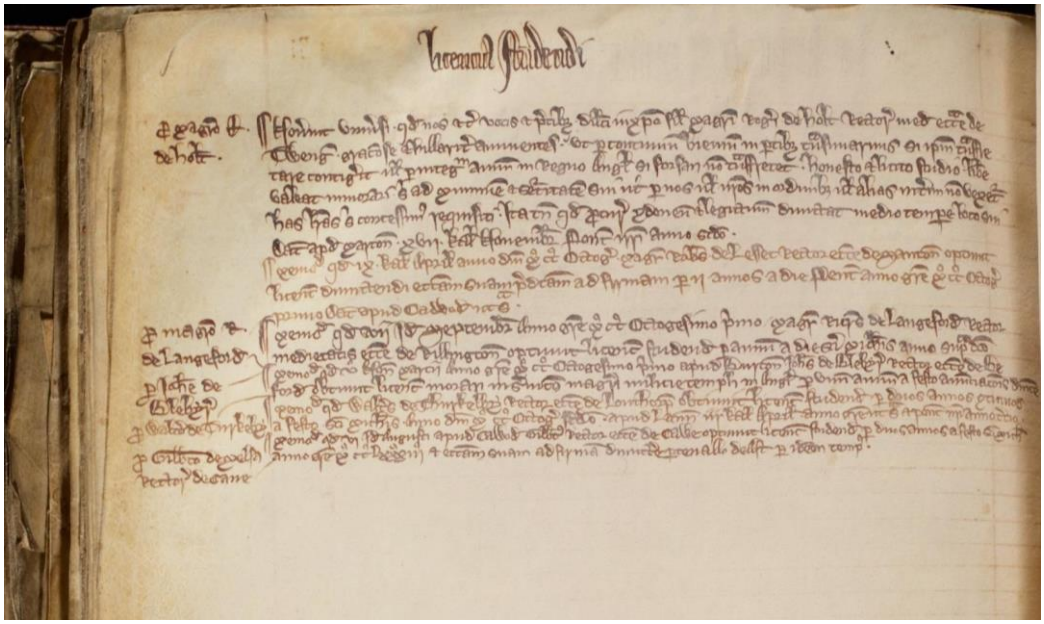

Figure 40: Wickwane MS, fol. 176v, East Riding 'licences to study', one licence and five memoranda

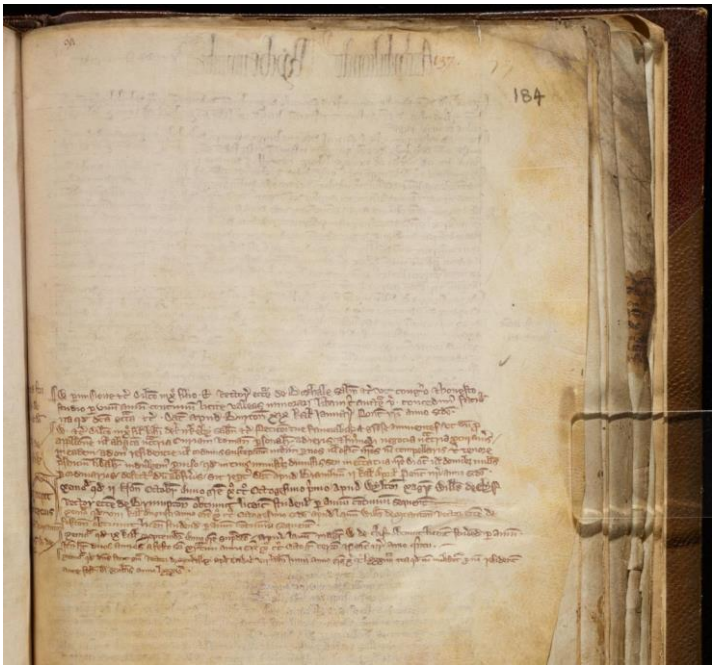

Figure 41: Wickwane MS, fol. 184r, Cleveland 'licences to study', two licences and four memoranda

Examining the entries themselves yields some insights into the creation of these subsections. The heading on folio 176v (East Riding) – 'Licences to Study' – seems to be in the same ink as the first entry on that folio.[91] If the first entry and heading were made when the licence was issued then we can place the initial creation of the subsection around 18th October 1280. Neither the Nottingham nor Cleveland subsections have headings, and their entries only begin around halfway down the page, perhaps suggesting an intention to add the first year of licences above. The first entries in each are dated 17th October 1280 and 14th December 1280, which indicates that all three subsections were initiated within two months of one another, although why they were only created for three archdeaconries is unclear.[92] Comparing the three subsections, the hands of the first entry in each are subtly different from each other – so it does not appear that a particular scribe was responsible for all three. However, they do seem to have been an initiative from a particular moment: their creation in late 1280 would situate them around the time that the sections for Wickwane's second year were created – a period of trialling and refining registration practices, as Chapter One has shown.

While their creation can be ascribed to a particular moment in the development of registration under Wickwane, the subsections were used over a longer period. Entries were made chronologically but intermittently. The East Riding material comprises six entries of licences between October 1280 and August 1283. Changes in ink and hand indicate that entries were made on separate occasions over a period of almost three years before ceasing completely. A similar pattern occurs with Nottingham and Cleveland licences, with different hands and inks used over a period of time. These are the only registered entries of licence to study for Cleveland and the East Riding, although one licence from 1279 had been entered in the main 'Nottingham Archdeaconry' section. There was a clear effort to collate licences in these subsections over an extended period of time. However, these subsections were not included in the

[91] *Reg. Wickwane*, fol. 176v: 'licencia studendi'; a different style of hand was used for headings even when it was the same scribe, which makes it difficult to know for sure whether it was the same scribe who wrote both heading and entry, but the ink appears to be the same for both, suggesting both were written at once.

[92] It appears that Cleveland and Nottingham were vacant at this point, but the East Riding was not, so it was not simply that they were created while the archbishop had jurisdiction.

later version of the register: this suggests that they lacked long-term value. This omission, along with an absence of subsections for the other archdeaconries (York or Richmond) or for the cathedral chapters, indicates that they were tentative experiments and did not continue long-term.[93]

These experiments point to a deliberate effort to collate licences to study within the archbishop's register. As we saw in Chapter Three, the question of what ought to be included in registers was a live one, which was tied to issues of authority and areas of jurisdiction. Registering licences to study explicitly brought them under the archbishop's remit. Moreover, collating them together created the potential for the register to act as *the* record of licences to study, facilitating quick reference of when a licence had been issued and for how long. However, the register gives no indication of ongoing reference; its records of licences were not updated with a cleric's return.[94] The same was true of Romeyn's register. In fact, those granted licences rarely appear in the register again, except in the event of their death, via the administration of their will or the vacancy of their benefice.[95] The registers were not being used to monitor licences to study.

The archbishops appear to have monitored clerical absences in other ways. In July 1286, Romeyn licenced John Devereux to study for three years.[96] The following January, and again the following year, he arranged to collect the fruits of the fourth part of Devereux's benefice for non-residence, citing apostolic privilege.[97] Romeyn's claim relied on having knowledge that Devereux had actually left his prebend. Such information does not appear in the register but was likely to have been kept elsewhere. Likewise, when Roger Marmion's church was sequestrated by the official of Richmond due to his absence, Wickwane wrote to ask the *officialis* to relax the sequestration as

[93] Licences were entered in the main second-year sections for Southwell, and also Ripon and Otley instead.
[94] Rigaud's register was frequently updated as the archbishop's plans changed or an individual changed status: Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*.
[95] For instance, in the case of Autelin Day: *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 204 (licence) and 260 (administration of will).
[96] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1018; variations on the spelling occur – Evreux and Evros are used interchangeably but seem to refer to the same canon of Ripon.
[97] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1035, 1059.

Wickwane had authorised Marmion's absence until Easter.[98] Marmion's licence to study was not recorded in the register itself – Wickwane's letter to the *officialis* concerning it was the first entry in the Richmond section (dated 26th November 1279). Wickwane seems to have had access to the licence, most likely in a separate record. Both Wickwane and Romeyn had more information about absent clerics than their registers indicate.

Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were both kept for archbishops who were concerned with clerics meeting the standards of education and priestly status set out in the reform councils of the thirteenth century. However, these registers were of limited use for holding individual clerics accountable in doing so: only some of the documents produced for ordinations and absences to study were registered. Neither Wickwane's nor Romeyn's main registers provided all the information needed to monitor clerical standards and additional records were kept outside the registers. For the ordinations at least, these likely took the form of another register, intended to be accessed by the officials to whom Wickwane and Romeyn delegated arrangements. This may be partly a reflection of the nature of ordination: ordination events included large numbers of clerics, and the archbishop delegated the responsibility for their arrangement to his archdeacons or *officialis*. In contrast, the granting of licences to study was a right exercised solely by a bishop or archbishop. In both cases, register entries recorded more of the archbishops' management of these standards than the information required for them to hold individual clerics to account in meeting them.

While Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers both demonstrate efforts to record documents related to clerical standards, especially those contained their instructions or the permissions granted, there were nonetheless differences between them. Wickwane's register primarily recorded documents, with some efforts to collate certain kinds of documents together, as seen with the licences to study. Romeyn's archiepiscopate brought an increasing concern for the recording of his actions and his authority, especially its delegation. Recording that 'the lord granted' a licence to study, or that a record of ordination had been preserved with a seal at his request helped to

[98] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 170.

distinguish his acts from those of his agents. This change in recording priorities was likely linked in part to the developing role of the *officialis* (seen here in the increasing mandates to him regarding ordination) and the potential to use the register to hold him to account in carrying out the archbishop's instructions. Turning now to visitations sheds light on the use of registers for the archbishops' own accountability in providing spiritual instruction and considers the longer-term uses for the registers.

II. Visitations

Visitation was one of the main mechanisms an archbishop had to improve standards in his archdiocese. Archbishops visited religious houses, minster chapters, archdeaconries, parishes, and some hospitals.[99] In doing so, they produced significant quantities of written documents.[100] Most of these documents were ephemeral, with 'strictly temporary' value.[101] Yet the registration of some visitation material gave it permanence, allowing Wickwane's and Romeyn's successors to consult it, and Romeyn (if not also Wickwane) drew on visitation material issued by his predecessors. This raises the questions of what was registered, how it was intended to be used, and who was expected to use it.

Visitations began with notices being sent to those responsible for the place or places to be visited – typically a prior or archdeacon.[102] These could contain various requests, usually an instruction to be present on a particular day, perhaps an exhortation to the community to behave.[103] Material could include articles for inquiry, as in the visitation of Bolton Priory in 1275 in Walter Giffard's register, which may have been

[99] Forrest saw the second half of the thirteenth century as the crucial period in which visitation of parishes in particular developed as a tool of episcopal governance and social regulation: Forrest, "The Transformation of Visitation."
[100] Cheney, *Episcopal Visitations of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century*, 95–99; David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1948), 81–96.
[101] Hill, "Bishop Sutton and His Archives," 44.
[102] For more on the processes of visitation in York, see Rosalind Hill, *The Labourer in the Vineyard: The Visitations of Archbishop Melton in the Archdeaconry of Richmond* (York: St Anthony's Press, 1968), 1-5.
[103] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 254, 446; *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 118.

sent in advance.[104] In the case of archdeaconries, Wickwane and Romeyn instructed that information about local clergy be collated.[105] During the visitation itself, depositions (*detecta*) were taken from members of the house, or from local trustworthy men, and used to create a list of corrections (*comperta* or *corrigenda*).[106] From these, written injunctions may also have been issued to the house or archdeacon, typically with instructions for their observance and frequent reading included, and with the archbishop's seal attached. Therefore, for a single visitation, four types of documents were typically produced: a notice, *detecta*, corrections, and injunctions. This material typically had a transient function, but choices were made to preserve it, both in and out of episcopal registers. This section asks what was preserved in the registers (and elsewhere) and why.

Several reasons for the preservation of visitation material have been put forward. As noted in Chapter Three, Forrest saw efforts to preserve visitation records as rooted in jurisdictional disputes.[107] In contrast, Davis attributed Eudes Rigaud's registration of visitation material to his desire to improve spiritual standards in Rouen, allowing those he had visited to be held accountable to him and his successors.[108] Richardson likewise argued that accountability was behind the registration of visitation material but that the bishops themselves needed to demonstrate their accountability; he saw the inclusion of visitation injunctions (particularly those enforcing enclosure) in Pontoise's register as 'a testimony to the bishop's work in responding to Boniface VIII's agenda'.[109] In reconciling these two facets of accountability, John Sabapathy gives useful language to the episcopate's experience: 'the conditional algebra linking prelates' spiritual accountability and the conduct they themselves required of others was a commonplace of the period'.[110] In other words, bishops had to look both up and down in

[104] *Reg. Giffard*, no. DCCCCIII; other extant lists of articles have been found for the diocese of Coventry in the *Burton Annals* and for Archbishop's Winchelsey's metropolitical visitation; see Cheney, *Episcopal Visitations of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century*, 71–75.
[105] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 382, 383.
[106] Cheney, *Episcopal Visitations of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century*, 95–99.
[107] Forrest, "The Survival of Medieval Visitation Records," 2.
[108] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*.
[109] Richardson, "A Bishop and His Diocese," 195–96.
[110] John Sabapathy, *Officers and Accountability in Medieval England 1170-1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 161–62; Robert F. Berkhofer III, *Day of Reckoning: Power and Accountability in Medieval*

fulfilling their role. In order to distinguish between these levels of accountability, I will use 'accountability' to refer to the archbishop holding those below him to account and 'responsibility' to refer to his sense of duty in fulfilling his role and the associated obligation to account for his actions.

This section explores what visitation material was preserved in the registers. It asks what the effects of committing otherwise ephemeral material to permanent record were. How did ideas of accountability and responsibility shape the registration of visitation material under Wickwane and Romeyn? Were these choices more concerned with holding communities to account so as to improve spiritual conditions, or to ensure long-term evidence of the archbishop himself as a reformer? To answer these, this section turns first to the preliminary material that was preserved – primarily visitation notices – and then the material produced following the visitation – the corrections and injunctions.

Visitation Notices

The first step in discerning why ephemeral material was made permanent is to establish what was kept. Visitation material for monastic houses and cathedral chapters in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers primarily comprises visitation notices (or commissions to visit under Romeyn), and corrections and injunctions instructing the house (or commissions to his own agents to correct).[111] No depositions were registered. Turning first to the visitation notices, Wickwane's register contains fourteen entries of visitation notices (or memoranda that a notice was sent) covering thirteen different houses and chapters. Romeyn's register contains substantially more: sixty-six notices or related material across forty-four houses, chapters, and hospitals.[112] This section

France (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004). Berkhofer's examination of the relationship between record-keeping and accountability in eleventh- and twelfth-century French monasteries considers the relationship between ministering and administering, and approaches accountability as a fiscal, judicial, and moral endeavour.

[111] Cheney thought the procedures for monastic houses and cathedral chapters were likely very similar in his examination of Rigaud's register, the same appears to be the case under Wickwane and Romeyn: Cheney, *Episcopal Visitations of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century*, 75.

[112] By related material, I mean commissions to visit and memoranda that a notice was sent.

asks how and why visitation notices were registered, and why there was such an effort to register them under Romeyn in particular.

In both registers, visitation notices and memoranda of notices sent were entered in the sections for the archdeaconries of York, the East Riding, Cleveland, and Nottingham (see figs. 42 and 43).[113] Wickwane's register also includes an entry in each of the 'York Officiality' and the 'Provincial Visitation of Durham' sections, while Romeyn's includes entries in the 'Richmond Archdeaconry' and 'Chapters' sections. In both registers, the 'York Archdeaconry' section contains the most entries, although the proportion of entries in the other sections shifts, with a notable decrease in the percentage of entries made in 'Cleveland Archdeaconry' under Romeyn. Romeyn's new, combined 'Chapters' section was also used for a substantial number of entries, whereas no entries were made in the individual 'Chapters' sections kept under Wickwane. None were entered in Romeyn's 'Officiality' section. Despite some overlap in the choices of entries, broader changes to the registers shaped entry patterns.

There was also a shift in the number of entries for each house, as reflected in the outer circle of each chart. With the exception of Marton Priory, Wickwane's register typically records one notice per house; under Romeyn up to four notices per house were registered. It may be that he visited more frequently but the increase points to a concerted effort to register material.

Despite increased entries under Romeyn, neither archbishop's register recorded all visitation notices issued. Indeed, some corrections were recorded for communities where a visitation notice had not been registered. Such omissions raise the question of what material was chosen to be registered and to what end. I have found three potential explanations for why particular notices were registered: problems, precedents, and delegations. Considering them collectively reveals how the register functioned as a record of the archbishop's activity and what ideas of archiepiscopacy were chosen to be preserved.

[113] Note that entry into register sections was governed by jurisdiction and these did not always match geographical location (e.g. Snaith is recorded under York as a daughter priory of Selby Abbey (in York archdeaconry) even though the priory is actually situated in the East Riding; similarly, St. Bee's, Coningshead, and Cartmel).

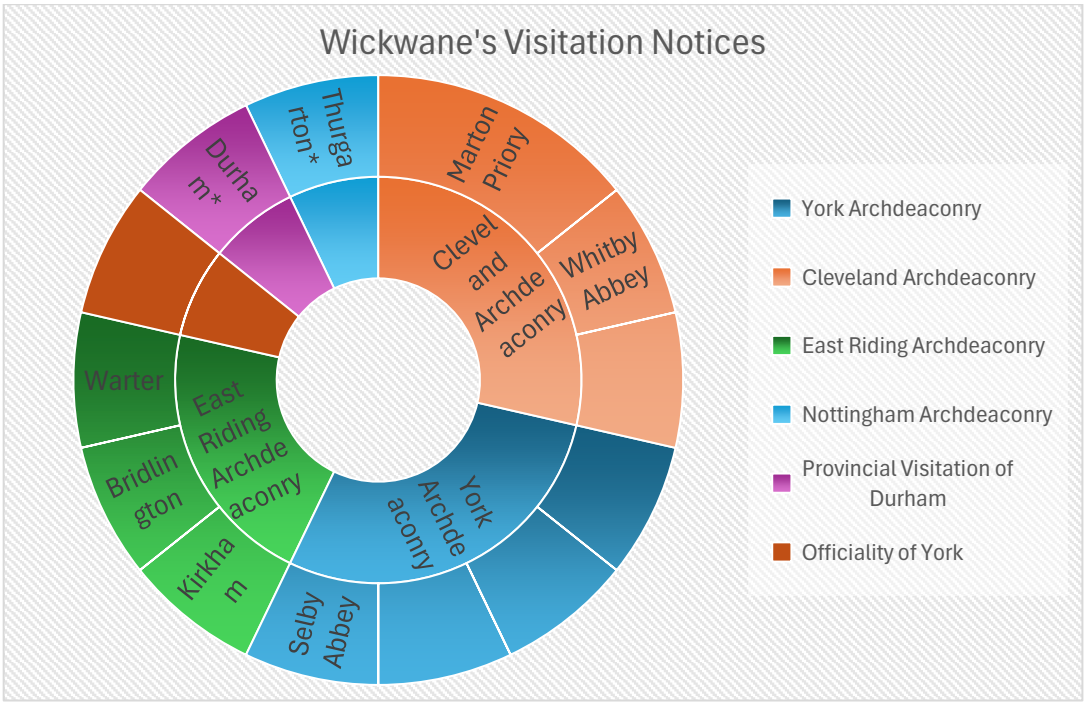

Figure 42: Register entries by section for Wickwane's visitation notices for monastic houses and cathedral chapters

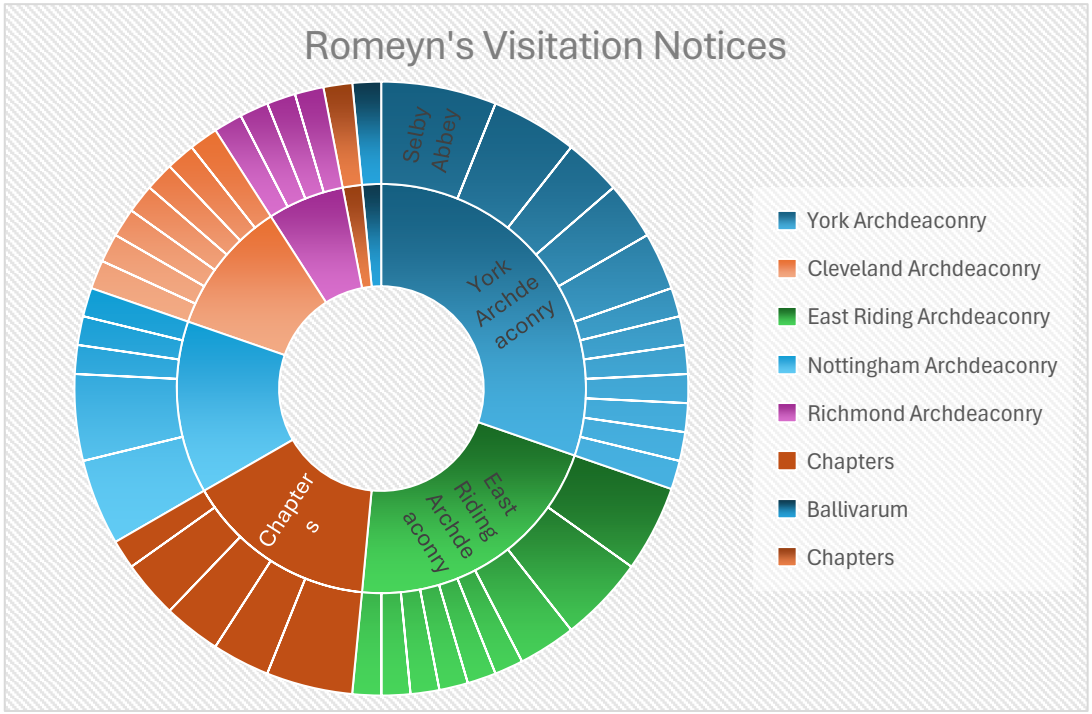

Figure 43: Register entries by section for Romeyn's visitation notices for monastic houses and cathedral chapters

Firstly, at least some of the registered visitation notices were for houses with poor reputations. The language of the visitation notices followed precise conventions regarding this, at least under Romeyn. One entry explains this:

> Memorandum that a similar letter was sent on the same day for the purpose of visiting the prior and convent of Healaugh on the Thursday immediately before the feast of the translation of Saint Thomas, *without the word 'inquisition', because that word ought not to be used except for manifest reason, namely, if a house has been defamed, or regarding a house otherwise accused* (emphasis mine).[114]

Romeyn and his administrators saw fit to include the word 'inquisition' in several cases, including for Sinningthwaite Priory, Bolton Priory, Monk Bretton Convent, and Moxby Convent.[115] This choice of language was likewise noted when memoranda were used: one records that 'the lord mandated his letters for the purpose of visiting the prior and convent of Blyth in the customary form with the words "visitation" and "inquisition"'.[116] If it also applies to Wickwane's register then the notoriety of a house appears a more significant factor for registration. In Wickwane's register, all visitation notices for monastic houses, except Kirkham, refer to 'visitandum et inquirendum' or 'visitandum et inquisicionis'.[117] This potentially indicates a correlation between the *infamia* or poor reputation of the house and the registration of the notice.

The entries themselves reinforce a link between registration and *infamia* under Wickwane, at least. For instance, Wickwane's letter to Thurgarton Priory in his third year alludes to his previous dealings with them:

> We warn you therefore, each and every one, nonetheless strongly enjoining [you] in regard to the holy virtue of obedience and canonical strictness, that accordingly in the meantime, by multiplying devotions and customs sacredly and commendably, in turn

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[114] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 119: 'Memorandum quod consimilis littera emanavit eodem die ad visitandum priorem et conventum de Helawe die Jovis proxima ante festum translacionis Beati Thome (July 4), sine verbo inquisicionis, quia illud verbum non debet poni nisi ob magnam causam, videlicet, si domus fuerit diffamata, vel alias, de domo diffamata'.
[115] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 119, 123, 286, 443.
[116] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 836; Romeyn MS, fol. 77r: 'me(morandum) q(uo)d… d(omi)n(u)s mandavit l(itte)ras suas ad visitand(um) priore' <et> con(ven)tu(m) de Blida in for(ma) consueta cu(m) v(er)bis visitac(i)o(n)is <et> inq(ui)si(ta)c(i)onis' (my transcription).
[117] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 90, 70.

> you adjust together gently [so] that we are able to find anyone we already know to need manifold restoration happily corrected by you.[118]

As recorded in the first year of his register, Wickwane had previously issued corrections for Thurgarton, which accords with the need for 'manifold restoration' referred to in his third-year notice.[119] The first-year corrections were wide-ranging, requiring the prior's discretion regarding temporal matters, for fasts to be observed, and for the vicar of Sutton to be removed. As the notice for this earlier visitation was not registered, it seems likely that Wickwane's prior experience of the house prompted the later record.

While the relationship between recording visitation notices and corrections is not straightforward, as we will see below, comparison of the two indicates a correlation. The houses with multiple registered visitation notices tended to be those where problems had been identified. Selby was the house with the greatest number of visitation notices recorded: four in Romeyn's register and one in Wickwane's.[120] Problems with the abbey were abundant. Following Wickwane's visitation in January 1280, not only was a substantial list of corrections generated, but the abbot was deposed. Wickwane's register contains both documents, along with a letter to the king about the deposition.[121] A similar pattern can be seen with Marton Priory: it was the only house for which two visitation notices were included in Wickwane's register.[122] Corrections or injunctions were registered for Marton Priory under both Wickwane and Romeyn.[123] Of the houses with three or more visitation notices in Romeyn's register – Drax, Bridlington, Swine, Thurgarton, and Blyth – Swine was the only one not to have corrections or related material in either Wickwane's or Romeyn's registers. While problems with a particular house did not guarantee that material concerning that house would be registered, there is a correlation. This corresponds to the findings from

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[118] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 254: 'Precipimus igitur vobis, omnibus et singulis, nichilominus in virtute sancte obediencie et districcionis canonice firmiter injungentes, quatinus sic interim sancte et commendabiliter multiplicatis devocionibus et moribus vos invicem mitius coaptetis quod apud vos reperire possimus feliciter correcta, que jam novimus reparacione multiplici indigere'.
[119] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 437.
[120] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 159 (two entries), 280, 379, also see 422 for another memoranda about visitation; Wickwane, no. 70.
[121] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 75.
[122] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 183, 408.
[123] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 442; *Reg. Romeyn*. 447.

Chapter Three, where Wickwane's extensive recording of Durham material was likely rooted in Wickwane's (anticipated) problems carrying out the visitation. Problems with a particular house, either regarding behaviour or authority, increased the likelihood that material would be registered. It appears that the archbishops and their administrators sought to preserve their efforts to manage problematic houses.

A second reason for registering visitation notices was precedent. The influence of precedent was twofold: under both archbishops, registration could create or reinforce a precedent for visitation of a particular house; Romeyn's register also frequently appears to follow a precedent that had been created under Wickwane. Wickwane's register contains the first substantial efforts to record visitation notices seen in the extant York registers. Although Giffard's register contains some visitation material, this comprises statutes from visitations, along with one list of articles for inquiry, not visitation notices.[124] In comparing the visitation notices of Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers, however, the overlap is clear. All monastic houses and cathedral chapters (excluding the chapter of Durham) for which a visitation notice was included in Wickwane's register also have a notice recorded in Romeyn's. While there was a substantial increase in the entries under Romeyn, this overlap indicates a connection – either registering because it had been registered in Wickwane's register and Romeyn sought to continue and build on his practices, or because both archbishops faced similar problems with a house and material was registered in response. We know that Romeyn drew upon Wickwane's register and other records, which likely shaped his choices of registration.

Registering visitation notices reinforced one of the archbishop's most significant rights. As Rees Jones argued, 'the right to visitation… most completely defined their perception of their diocesan and even metropolitan authority'.[125] Registering visitation notices was not simply routine, it asserted the archbishop's right to visitation, a right integral to the archbishop's authority. While in most cases the archbishop's right to visit was uncontested, problems did arise, as seen in Chapter Three. In the case of Monk Bretton Priory, Romeyn's authority was challenged by Cluniac priors who intended to

[124] E.g. *Reg. Giffard*, nos. DCCCCXVIII, DCCCCXXI; DCCCCIII is the list of articles for inquiry.
[125] Rees Jones, "Administrative Records," 32.

visit.[126] In these cases, documents became increasingly important. McSheffrey's argument concerning the effects of archiving legal documents is helpful to consider when asking why visitation notices were registered; she argued that:

> …legal archives also include documents that recorded what someone thought should happen, hoped would happen, wanted to pretend had happened – and yet sometimes had not happened at all, or at least not as recorded in the document. In being archived, however, those aspirational documents in a sense *become* what happened.[127]

Notices of visitation fit this definition: they recorded the archbishop's intentions to visit. This did not mean that a visitation took place. Indeed, Brown thought that Romeyn did not carry out visitations at Cartmel, St. Bees, and Coningshead, due their distance, his increasing infirmity, and his quarrel with Bek.[128] While the archbishop's right to visit does not appear to have been contested in these particular cases, as Head argued, records were expected to serve future unanticipated needs.[129] Whether visitations were completed or not, recording notices in the register staked the archbishop's claim to the right of visitation if any issues arose in the future. An example from Hereford demonstrates how this could work in practice: Bishop Trillek only reached an agreement that secured his right to visit Bromfield Priory and receive procurations after evidence of that right was found in the cathedral registry.[130] As written evidence became key for proving rights, the potential for registers to offer a legal basis for precedents, and so cement the bishop's rights, was being explored.[131]

This was particularly important when visitation rights were challenged. In Romeyn's register, a memorandum that a visitation notice was sent to Southwell is immediately followed by a letter from Romeyn to the Southwell chapter.[132] Southwell had disputed Romeyn's right to visit, and Romeyn's letter responded to their challenge, which he thought 'astonishing, indeed we might say foolish'.[133] As both are in the same

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[126] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 243.
[127] McSheffrey, "Detective Fiction in the Archives," 66.
[128] Brown, *Reg. Romeyn I*, 350, fn.1; *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1001, 1002; he licenced the bishop of Carlisle to ordain (although apparently not visit) in his place, nos. 1003, 1008.
[129] Head, *Making Archives in Early Modern Europe*, 96.
[130] Forrest and Whittick, "Thirteenth-Century Visitation Records," 739–40.
[131] MacNeil, "From the Memory of the Act to the Act Itself."
[132] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1153.
[133] Ibid: 'Mirabilia, ne dicamus inania…'

hand and ink, the visitation notice was apparently registered in conjunction with Romeyn's response. This pattern is seen more widely, including Wickwane's recording of the Durham dispute explored in Chapter Three.[134] In both cases, challenges to the archbishop's right to visit were framed as frivolous, and the archbishop's intention to fulfil his right was reasserted.

The breadth of material in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers reflects efforts to record precedents for visiting numerous houses. Under Romeyn, visitation notices asserted his rights to visit thirty-three different monastic houses and cathedral chapters. Although Wickwane did not register as many, the visitation notices are concentrated in the first half of his archiepiscopate, up to the end of 1281, making it likely that registration efforts prioritised the first visitation of a given house. Romeyn's register recorded visitation notices throughout the entirety of his archiepiscopate, but still rarely more than one per house.[135] In both registers, then, recording visitation notices staked the archbishops' claims to their visitation rights for a wide range of monastic houses and cathedral chapters, rather than providing a thorough record for a particular visitation.

Restrictions in the archbishop's visitation rights also appear in Romeyn's register. A privilege from Pope Urban IV to St. Mary's Abbey in York dated 18th August 1262 stipulated that the archbishop was not to be accompanied by secular clerks in his visitations there, except two or three of his canons, was entered on folio 30v.[136] Immediately below it is a letter from Pope Honorius III to Walter de Gray specifying that he was only to visit the house once a year, or twice in the case of urgent necessity.[137] As argued in Chapter Two, historic documents were typically only copied into Romeyn's register when he reissued them.[138] This exception suggests that this privilege was considered particularly pertinent. While these examples enforced limits for visitation,

[134] Chapter Three, p. 158.
[135] Tillotson mostly focused on the period after *Cum ex eo* but noted an increase in the number of visitation notices for nunneries under Romeyn: John Tillotson, "Visitation and Reform of the Yorkshire Nunneries in the Fourteenth Century," *Northern History* 30, no. 1 (1994): 3.
[136] *Reg. Romeyn*, no.178.
[137] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 179; see also Raine, *The Register, or Rolls, of Walter Gray,* appendix to part one, no. XXVII.
[138] Chapter Two, p. 113.

they also clarified the archbishop's rights: he could visit St. Mary's once a year (or twice if necessary), with two or three of his canons. Rather than challenging the archbishop's authority, they delineated the processes by which he could exercise that authority.

A third reason for registering visitation notices and related memoranda was to record arrangements for delegated visitations and distinguish them from the archbishop's own. Wickwane's register records instructions to his *officialis* and commissaries in the attempted Durham visitation.[139] Romeyn's register records several delegations of visitations, and both registers record commissions to correct following a visitation.[140] Romeyn's register also records the archbishop's own spoken announcement of a visitation while in the chapter-house at York:

> the words written below were declared verbally by the lord, sitting in the chapter of York.... "Because we aim by the grace of God to perform the duty of visitation that is incumbent on us, throughout our diocese of York, today we propose to begin that visitation in our city of York, and anything we omit at the present we aim to carry out subsequently at suitable times".[141]

Although the transcription of Romeyn's speech here is exceptional (the only other occasion when Romeyn's spoken words were registered was in instances of degradation), it reflects a wider pattern of recording the activities of archiepiscopal administration, not merely its documents, under him.

This pattern also occurs in the archbishops' visitations of archdeaconries and deaneries. Under Wickwane, only three notices of visitations of archdeaconries and deaneries were registered – those for the deanery of Bulmer (February 1279), the archdeaconry of Richmond (March 1281), and the deanery of Copeland (April 1281) –

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[139] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 460 (appointment of commissaries), 516 (instructing his official to convince the bishop of Durham of the need for the visitation).

[140] See, for example, *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 130 which commits his visitation of Arthington Priory to Robert of Pickering, Henry Sampson, and Robert of Sleaford. Similarly, *Reg. Wickwane* no. 390 commissions the archdeacon of Richmond to correct excesses found in visitation; and Romeyn no. 175 commissions the abbot of St. Mary's to make corrections.

[141] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1017: 'verba infrascripta fuerunt proposita per os domini, sedentism in capitulo Ebor.... Quia intendimus per Dei graciam visitacionis officium, quod nobis incumbit, per nostram diocesim Ebor. exercere, ipsam visitacionem in civitate nostra Ebor. hodie inchoare censuimus, et quod ad presens omittimus alias intendimus adimplere temporibus oportunis'.

and no corrections.[142] The notice for Bulmer was addressed to the archdeacon of Cleveland, the one for Richmond to the archdeacon of Richmond and his official, and the one for Copeland to the archdeacon of Richmond, his official, or the dean of Copeland. Each provided instructions for how they should prepare. Under Romeyn, a significant increase in entries occurred. Fifty notices of visitation, memoranda that a visitation was announced, or commissions to complete a visitation were recorded.[143] Most concerned the visitation of a deanery, but notices were sent regarding the visitation of the city of York, provostry of Beverley, and jurisdictions of Otley, Ripon, and Beverley.

For both archbishops, visitations of archdeaconries and deaneries relied on delegating certain duties to the archdeacons. The visitation notices Wickwane sent the archdeacon of Richmond offer a model for how this occurred.[144] The archdeacon was instructed to make inquiries into the value of churches and the status of incumbents (their orders, number of benefices, whether they were resident). All benefice holders were to be summoned to appear on a designated day, and further instructions were given for clergy to show dispensations for pluralism, for abbots and priors to show titles if they held a church or pension, and for any clergy beneficed since the Second Council of Lyons who had not been made into priests within a year to receive censure. More so than monastic visitations, these visitations required actions to be taken beforehand to gather 'trustworthy parishioners' (*parochianos fidedignos*) and to collate information about the archdeaconry or deanery.[145] Registering these visitation notices preserved these instructions, offering a model for future practice and the potential for those to whom responsibilities had been delegated to be held to account.

While both archbishops delegated preparations for archdeaconry and deanery visitations (and sometimes the visitation itself), distinct entry patterns suggest that changes occurred in how visitation duties were delegated and registered. Under Romeyn, not only were more notices to the archdeacons registered but so too were

[142] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 183 (Bulmer), 382 (Richmond), 383 (Copeland).
[143] N.B. Fifty entries specifically concern visitations of archdeaconries, deaneries, and other jurisdictions, although entries for Southwell and Ripon Chapter request that the clergy and people of prebends also be summoned for visitation.
[144] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 382.
[145] E.g. *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 118 (City of York) and 542 (Archdeaconry of the East Riding).

commissions of the archbishop's own agents. For example, following the entry of a visitation notice for the deaneries of Cleveland and Whitby Strand a memorandum states 'that the lord is occupied in respect to his other duties [so] he commissioned Master W[illam] of Blyth for the purpose of visiting the aforementioned deanery'.[146] Likewise, following the visitation notice for the deanery of Holderness, a memorandum was added commissioning William of Blyth, Robert of Laneham, and William of Somerset to make the visitation.[147] Romeyn's register demonstrates a particular effort to record instances where Romeyn's right to visit had been delegated to one of his agents.

Visitation notices offered statements of the archbishops' concern for the spiritual condition of their archdiocese, as well as affirming their right to carry out visitations. While the choice to register visitation notices was likely linked to problems they had previously found, they were primarily a statement of intent. Visitation notices alone did not create accountability for a particular house or chapter, although registering them and related memoranda could allow the archbishop to hold his agents and others to whom instructions had been given (archdeacons and priors) to account in preparing suitably for the visitation. Under Romeyn, an increased effort to register visitation notices occurred alongside the inclusion of memoranda about how visitations were to be carried out. This was part of the wider shift we have seen between Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers, with increasing efforts to record the practice of archiepiscopacy as much as its documents under Romeyn.

Corrections

Registering visitation notices asserted rights, reinforced precedents, and recorded instructions, creating a record of archiepiscopacy in practice (or at least intended archiepiscopal practice). The registration of corrections raises the question of the extent to which the archbishops used the registers to monitor their implementation. Corrections necessitated action. Davis saw Rigaud's recording of his findings as

[146] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 511; Romeyn MS, fol. 57r: 'Me(moran)d(um) q(uo)d d(omi)n(u)s circa alia occupat(ur) vices suas ad visi(tandum) d(i)c(tu)m de(can)at(um) mag(ist)ro W. de Blid' commisit' (my transcription).
[147] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 676; Romeyn MS, fol. 67v.

'doctors' notes' that allowed him and his successors to track the spiritual health of his archdiocese.[148] How far was this the case with Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers? What corrections were chosen to be registered? Did the registration of corrections seek to facilitate the long-term accountability of those visited?

Both registers include a number of entries made after visitations had taken place. They were framed in different ways. Wickwane's register contains one entry of *comperta*, seventeen sets of 'corrections', one commission to correct, and one mandate to obey the archdeacon who had been sent to correct following a visitation. Romeyn's register has fourteen 'decrees' following visitation, nine commissions to correct, and one memorandum of instructions to the deaneries of Nottingham archdeaconry to receive *comperta* in specified churches. In both cases, problems with clergy were identified, some of which were registered. Examining these documents in the registers reveals distinctions between the archbishops' approaches to the problems they found and their uses of registers in these approaches.

In Wickwane's register, the majority of post-visitation entries are lists of instructions described as 'corrections' in the margin or the text itself.[149] One entry records what are described as 'comperta' – a list of problems.[150] The entries that follow it record that the abbot was to be deprived of office and sent to the monastery of Durham and that a letter had been sent to the king informing him of this. This example was likely exceptional, justifying the abbot's removal. The other entries (the 'corrections') primarily comprise instructions of what each community needed to do, indicated by words of ordering such as *injungimus* and *praecipimus*.[151] In Romeyn's register, the entries use the same kinds of language – the majority record his instructions to the community – but they are described as 'decrees'.[152]

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[148] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*.
[149] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 184, 185.
[150] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 75 (Brown groups here a *comperta*, deprivation, and letter to the king as one entry but these are separate in the manuscript).
[151] See, for example, Wickwane, no. 302 (corrections at Bridlington Priory). N.B. Walker found that *praecipere* was used throughout the twelfth century to indicate episcopal authority, particularly in the context of disputes, and notes it had been adapted from royal diplomatic: Walker, "The Expression of Authority," 2, 117, 119.
[152] E.g. *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 133 records the 'decretum in visitacione monasterii de Boulton in Cravene'.

Whether corrections or decrees, both registers recorded solutions rather than problems. Actions required could be discrete – such as removing an individual from office, as in the case of William of Snaith, subprior at Drax Priory – or address ongoing endeavours, like avoiding rows.[153] Common themes emerge, such as the reading of the corrections, and instructions that silence be observed, the sick be well-treated, and monks not leave the house without permission (and a companion).[154] Non-appearance at visitation was taken seriously: at Beverley, the chapter was mandated to sequestrate the daily stipends of the sacrist and seven other clerks due to their non-appearance, while canons who did not attend the visitation at Ripon were to be cited.[155] The amount of detail recorded varied on a case-by-case basis. Problems were found at Monk Bretton, but Wickwane's register merely records that corrections were given orally: 'both in the spiritual and temporal, we found suitable corrections, setting forth by oral pronouncement to the same [community] [the things] to be corrected medicinally'.[156] There was not one set way to record findings in the register, although Wickwane and Romeyn both prioritised registering the instructions that had been issued over the processes of the visitation itself.

These patterns of recording shed light on the archbishops' expectation that they (or their successors) would hold the community to account in making the required improvements. In the case of Monk Bretton, Wickwane expected to see an improvement upon his return: 'that in our next visitation in that place we might discern an honourable way of life of the same with blooming and fruitful developments in equal measure, to the praise of the Only Son of God, who sent us to work in his vineyards as he has chosen'.[157] Likewise, his corrections at the hospital of St. Giles Beverley were to be implemented before '[his] next visitation'.[158] Romeyn similarly expected to return to Shelford Priory and 'that [we] might consider the pleasing fruit of this our current

[153] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 430, 436.
[154] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 433, 434, 435, 436.
[155] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1027, 1131.
[156] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 432: '…tam in spiritualibus quam in temporalibus, correccione digna invenimus, vive vocis oraculo eisdem exponentes medicinaliter corrigenda'.
[157] Ibid: '…ut in proxima inibi visitacione nostra honestam conversacionem eorundem floridis pullulare cernamus incrementis pariter et fructiferis, ad laudem Unigeniti Filii Dei, qui nos misit operari in vinea sua quam elegit'.
[158] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 431: 'proximam visitacionem nostram'.

visitation in our next visitation'.[159] While only a few explicit references to a subsequent visitation appear, they nonetheless reflect an expectation that Wickwane and Romeyn (or their successors) could visit the house and hold them accountable for implementing the corrections; including corrections in the register allowed it to act as a reference tool on such occasions.

In addition, Romeyn's register reveals the potential for communities to be held accountable over much longer periods. It records his reference to (and in some cases reissuing of) his predecessors' corrections. Romeyn reissued the decrees from Walter de Gray's visitation of Selby Abbey with his own additions and inserted a copy of both into his register.[160] This reflected a wider practice: Walter Giffard had included Godfrey Ludham's statutes from the visitation of Newburgh priory in his register, as well as a copy of Ludham's approval of de Gray's statutes for Newstead priory, along with his own additions and with statutes from the priors of Nostell and Guisborough.[161] Romeyn also referred to documents and letters held by the monasteries themselves, instructing the monks of Blyth to follow 'the decrees of the venerable father, our predecessor, that remain in your hands'.[162] He also decreed that 'the letter of the same abbot [of Holy Trinity, Rouen – Blyth's mother house], preserved among [you], that we have rightly approved, is to be read aloud at least once a month before you in the chapter, with everyone silent except the reader'.[163] Drax Priory was similarly instructed to read Romeyn's decrees and those of his predecessor while Wickwane's corrections at Kirkham Priory instructed that they observe his predecessors' corrections.[164] Romeyn

[159] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 747: 'quod hujus visitacionis nostre fructum in visitacione nostra proxima attendamus placidum'.
[160] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 168; Raine, *The Register, or Rolls, of Walter Gray,* 327-328 (de Gray's decrees for Selby Abbey were not in the register itself and so must have been preserved in other records that Romeyn could access but have been included in an appendix in the edition). The insertion in Romeyn's register contains de Gray's and Romeyn's decrees in the same hand, so it was a contemporaneous copy. De Gray's decrees (those that Romeyn explicitly reissued with his own additions) were the only one included in Romeyn's register, echoing the earlier argument that his register typically only included historic material when he reissued it himself.
[161] *Reg. Giffard*, nos. DCCXVII, DCCXV.
[162] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 757: 'decreta venerabilium partum, predecessorum nostrorum, que penes vos resident'. No indication is given of which predecessors' decrees were meant by this.
[163] Ibid.: 'et littera ejusdem abbatis, quam approbamus merito contentorum in ipsa, saltem semel in mense coram vobis in capitulo, silentibus preter lectorem omnibus, recitetur'.
[164] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 427; *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 303.

(and Wickwane to a lesser extent) viewed corrections as having long-term authority over a religious community and looked to both the past and future in issuing corrections.

If corrections were intended to be implemented both in the short-term and by the archbishops' successors then the question emerges of how exactly they were registered and what this meant for their future reference. Giffard's register included loosely gathered visitation material but not in a clearly defined section.[165] Under Wickwane, corrections were initially entered into the relevant archdeaconry sections. However, partway through his first year, dedicated register sections were created for 'corrections in the cloisters' of the archdeaconries of York, Nottingham, Richmond, and Cleveland (fig. 44).[166] Across these four sections, fifteen entries were made in total. These contain material issued between May 1280 and December 1281, with the exception of two later entries – one instructing that a canon of Marton be sent to a place of safe custody, dated 5th August 1283, and another confirming provisions for the former prior of Thurgarton from 1284.[167] Within these sections, the material appears to have been written up in batches, mostly in chronological order. As with the subsections for licences to study, this would have made corrections more easily consultable, rather than needing to look through all activities in an archdeaconry.

[165] Giffard MS, fols. 141r-146v.
[166] Wickwane MS, fols. 134r-138v.
[167] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 445, 438.

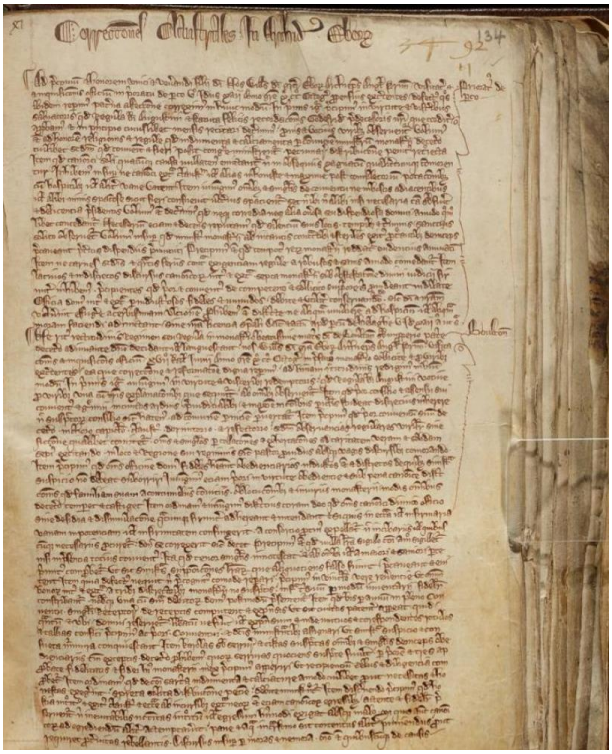

Figure 44: Wickwane MS, fol. 134r, 'Corrections in the Archdeaconry of York'

Like the 'licences to study' subsections, 'corrections' sections appear to have stemmed from a short-lived effort to collate material that would allow the archbishop to directly monitor the standards of individual houses into the register, ensuring they were readily accessible for the archbishop. Both recording activities began in 1280, with the sections for corrections beginning around May and the subsections of licences around October (the second-year register was also created around September that year). This was the key phase of experimentation under Wickwane, not simply in the administrative efficiency of the register but in the question of how it was used. The register was being thought about in terms of activities and types of material. Formatting the register around specific activities prioritised its use for reference, particularly in regard to two activities for which accountability was integral. 'Corrections' sections were included in the later version of Wickwane's register (unlike those for licences to study), suggesting they were deemed more useful for easy reference.

Romeyn's register recorded some corrections ('decrees') in the archdeaconry sections, preserving them for long-term reference as part of his wider archdiocesan

records. However, separate rolls were used for the immediate implementation of corrections, at least for his visitations of archdeaconries. He commissioned William of Blyth and William of Nottingham to correct the excesses '[recorded in] the rolls we send to you'.[168] Likewise, his commission to Robert of Nassington, Robert of Laneham, and the dean of Christianity of York instructed that they correct *comperta* at Pontefract and Doncaster 'in these attached rolls'.[169] While it cannot be ascertained from these references how extensive these rolls were or how they were arranged (whether by archdeaconry or individual place), the fact that they were rolls, rather than individual documents or folios, suggests that they were fairly extensive records. This would accord with contemporary practices identified elsewhere, such as in Hereford, and also in fourteenth-century York.[170] When we consider this in light of the references to ordination registers, noted above, it becomes clear that Romeyn's administration was using separate, portable records for activities that required delegation to his agents, and his main register was beginning to be used to record instructions regarding their use.

The need for portable visitation records also corresponds to an increase in delegations to correct recorded under Romeyn. Wickwane's register only records two instances of delegation – one of which was for the semi-autonomous archdeaconry of Richmond, where the archdeacon had extensive rights. It instructs the archdeacon to undertake 'the correction and reformation of the excesses discovered in our visitation'.[171] The other is seen in his mandate to the prior and convent of Marton to obey the archdeacon of Cleveland, who was sent to carry out his orders from the visitation.[172] Under Romeyn, nine commissions to correct were registered. With some monastic houses, Romeyn commissioned priors and abbots to undertake corrections.[173] When correcting archdeaconries and deaneries, the documents often name the *officialis* along with some of the archbishop's other clerks. For instance, the *officialis* (then Robert de Lacy), William of Blyth (subdean of York from 1290) and Robert of Laneham

[168] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 840: 'rot(u)lor(um) q(uos) vob(is) mittim(us)' (my transcription).
[169] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 382, fol. 45v: 'in rot(u)lis hiis annexis'.
[170] Forrest and Whittick, "Thirteenth-Century Visitation Records," 739–43; Smith, *Guide to Bishops' Registers*, x.
[171] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 390: 'Correccionem et reformacionem excessuum, compertorum in visitacione nostra…'
[172] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 442.
[173] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 175 (St. Mary's York), 649 (Warter).

('our clerk') were commissioned to correct *comperta* arising from a visitation in Nottingham.[174] On two occasions, deans of Beverley (William of Jarrow and then William of Somerset) were commissioned alongside Blyth.[175] How far this reflected a diminishing role for the archdeacon and an increasing role for Romeyn's *officialis* and other agents is difficult to discern from just a handful of entries. However, it is clear that Romeyn delegated certain powers to his agents – his *officialis* and other clerks – and these delegations were deliberately registered. This had the effect of delineating the roles of the *officialis* and other agents and creating a potential resource for monitoring their fulfilment of those roles.

In both registers, visitation material demonstrates that the archbishops had a firm sense of their spiritual responsibilities for the archdiocese and provides accounts of their attempts to fulfil these. Registering visitation notices preserved the archbishops' agendas and asserted their visitation rights; corrections were part of those agendas, but they also raised the problem of how to hold those visited accountable in implementing those corrections. In Wickwane's case, the creation of dedicated 'corrections' sections as part of a period of innovation around 1280 reflected a new vision for how the register could support accountability. Wickwane's desire to hold those visited to account is reflected in his explicit references to his 'next visitation' in some of his corrections. The inclusion of these 'corrections' sections in Wickwane's later register suggest that they were found to be useful for subsequent reference, although the broader use of the register for accountability was limited.

Under Romeyn, two key shifts occurred. Firstly, there was a greater (or at least more explicit) sense of the permanence of visitation decrees – as he used his predecessors' decrees so too did he expect his own decrees to be upheld. Recording corrections in the register preserved them, offering a model and a source of reference for his successors, which could support them in holding particular communities and archdeaconries to account in the long term. Secondly, an increased recording of delegation to his agents, in corrections and visitations themselves, reflects both a shift in visitation practices and in the register's use for accountability. Recording that

[174] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 921: 'clerico nostro'; see also, nos. 653, 679, 840.
[175] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 653, 679.

Romeyn commissioned his *officialis* and other agents to carry out corrections reflects the emerging practice of using his register to record, and potentially monitor, the activities of his agents. These entries also allude to his wider system of movable records – such as visitation rolls – that provided the tools needed for holding those visited to account in the day-to-day. In this, the register becomes only a small part of a wider system of accountability.

III. Penalties: Discipline, Penance, and Excommunication

The final part of this chapter examines the use of registers for managing the forgiveness of sins. The issuing and oversight of appropriate consequences for transgressions offers one of the clearest forums for exploring the archbishop's responsibility for salvation in his archdiocese. While many sins could be dealt with by the parish priest, certain sins were reserved to the bishop or archbishop (typically those requiring public penance), who held overall responsibility for ensuring suitable provision was made and for correcting the sins of the clergy.[176] Systems for managing the consequences of sin were also closely linked to episcopal rights and law.[177] This is perhaps clearest in Wickwane's and Romeyn's administration of excommunication, which could require the invocation of the secular arm.[178] The close connection between spiritual care, episcopal rights, and law brings to the fore the ways in which registers were used to support authority, accountability, and responsibility under Wickwane and Romeyn.

Episcopal responsibility for managing the forgiveness of sins has long been recognised, and material from episcopal registers used in studies of sin. Hill used

[176] Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*, 164–65. Lateran IV Canon VII set out the episcopal responsibility for correcting offences and reforming morals, especially of clerics.
[177] Rosalind Hill, "Public Penance: Some Problems of a Thirteenth-Century Bishop," *History* 36, no. 128 (1951): 213–26; Rob Meens, "Confession, Penance, and Extreme Unction," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Anders Winroth and John C. Wei (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 421–36; Peter D. Clarke, "Excommunication and Interdict," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Anders Winroth and John C. Wei (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 550–70.
[178] Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm*; Alexander Murray, *Conscience and Authority in the Medieval Church* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

examples from Bishop Sutton's register in her study on public penance, while Lindsay Bryan drew on documents from several episcopal registers – including Wickwane's and Romeyn's – to consider whether gender affected how bishops dealt with sin.[179] Yet studies on the use of registers in this capacity have been limited. Hoskin examined the standardisation of significations of excommunication in conjunction with the development with episcopal registers, drawing on Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers; although this was significant for understanding the development of registers, it did not set out to consider the registers' role in managing the excommunications.[180] In unpicking how Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers worked in this crucial duty, we come back to the question of accountability versus responsibility: did these registers align with Davis' 'doctors' notes' approach to Rigaud's register or Richardson's findings that registers 'created purposeful images of the bishops, a form of self-promotion that ensured they were accountable'?[181] The question of the self-consciousness of registers is at the core of this distinction: were registers about the archbishop or about his flock?[182]

This section explores how Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers recorded penalties for sin. It examines how they used their registers in managing the consequences of sin for secular clerics, religious, and some laity, through clerical discipline, penances and absolutions, and excommunications. These three strands required management – monitoring to see that they were completed and follow-up if not – particularly when delegated. By asking what the registers recorded about the archbishop and his flock, this section explores what the archbishops sought to achieve, how the registers portrayed this, and the extent to which the registers facilitated Wickwane's and Romeyn's management of penalties.

[179] Hill, "Public Penance"; Bryan, "Periculum Animarum."
[180] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries."
[181] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*, 1–2, 4, 85; Richardson, "A Bishop and His Diocese," 180.
[182] The concept of episcopacy being constructed was at the core of Danielson and Gatti's *Envisioning the Bishop: Images and the Episcopacy*, while the idea of the performative nature of documents was particularly developed by Isobel Staton in her PhD thesis, "Writing the Manor."

Clerical Discipline

Expectations around clerical behaviour had been refined and promulgated through the canons of various reform councils of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Clerics were expected to behave in ways that set them apart from the laity. Canons forbade gluttony, drunkenness, and incontinence, and regulated pluralism, behaviour, and residence, which bishops were expected to enforce.[183] Generally, scholarship has focused on the extent to which bishops issued statutes as a way of measuring the spread of reform.[184] More recently, however, Richardson made a convincing case that episcopal attempts to bring about reform are best evidenced by their activities, particularly their issuing of mandates, and that registering such mandates evidenced their reform efforts.[185] This section asks what Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers record of their attempts to manage troublesome clerics. Were Wickwane and Romeyn using their registers to portray themselves as reformers or for another end?

Both archbishops' registers record instructions to the *officiales*, archdeacons, and deans to enforce good behaviour. Wickwane's first registered instruction to John of Crowcombe after appointing him *officialis* was that he compel rectors and curates to be resident.[186] His mandate explicitly refers to 'the decree published at the Council of Lyons' and instructs Crowcombe to 'cause [it] to be heeded firmly and inviolably in the future in our consistory court'.[187] Likewise, when Master Rayner Gilbert, rector of the church of Stokesley, 'left his personal residence for a long time so much so that he is not acquainted with his flock, nor are they acquainted with him', Romeyn wrote to the

[183] The canons of Lateran IV gave some of the clearest expressions of these concerns: Canons XIV-XVI prohibited incontinence, gluttony, and drunkenness, and set out regulations for behaviour and dress; XXIX sets out the need for papal dispensation for pluralism; Lyons II, Canon XIII specified the need for priests to reside in their parish.
[184] Gibbs and Lang, *Bishops and Reform*.
[185] Donahue concluded that 'the diocesan statute was a principal vehicle for reform in France; in England it was not' but focused on the application of statutes (or lack thereof) whereas Richardson put forward an alternative: Richardson, "A Bishop and His Diocese," 140–44, 158–59; Charles Donahue Jr., "Thoughts of Diocesan Statutes: England and France, 1200-1500," in *Canon Law, Religion, and Politics: Liber Amicorum Robert Somerville*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Anders Winroth, and Peter Landau (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2012), 271.
[186] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 496.
[187] Ibid: 'constitucionem, editam in Concilio Lugdunensi… faciatis in posterum in nostro consistorio firmiter et inviolabiter observari'.

dean of Cleveland to warn Gilbert to reside.[188] Wickwane and Romeyn evidently sought to enforce particular behaviours as set out in conciliar canons.

Yet clerics misbehaved in various ways. Wickwane told the dean of Nottingham:

> Also, you should warn and induce with effect master Robert, vicar of the church of Blessed Mary of Nottingham, that the goods of the hospital of Blessed John of Nottingham, which, as it is said, he transported from the same, he might willingly cause to be restored and put back without delay…[189]

Likewise, a mandate ordered the official of the archdeacon of Nottingham to seek out and keep in custody clerics from his diocese 'entangled in sin [or crime]'.[190] The archbishops sought to have clerics rectify their behaviour with the oversight of the relevant archdeacon or dean, or through his own *officialis*. These types of instructions are found throughout the archdeaconry sections of both Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. Registration preserved the archbishops' attempts to enforce the conciliar decree against non-residence, and to tackle other problems they found with their clergy, through instructions to their subordinates. These entries could facilitate accountability, but they also emphasised the archbishops' management of problematic clerics.

Occasionally, the register recorded that the archbishop directly carried out an activity. This was the case with degradation: the removal of one's clerical status. In January 1291, Romeyn degraded several clerics for their various thefts, ranging from John of Howden's theft of three gold and six silver coins to William of Baildon's theft of fourteen silver spoons.[191] The clerics had confessed 'before us, J[ohn]'.[192] The entry records the words used for the pronouncement and a memorandum in the margin refers to the archbishop ceremonially undressing them. Entries of the degradation of Henry Peyt in October of that year and of several other clerks in May 1295 also refer to them

[188] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 494: 'suam personalem residenciam, adeo jam diu est deseruit, quod non cognoscit oves suas, nec sue eum non cognoscunt'.
[189] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 205: 'Moneas et inducas eciam cum effectu magistrum Robertum, vicarium ecclesie Beate Marie de Notingham, ut bona hospitalis Beati Johnnis Notinghamie, que voluntarie, sicut dicitur, transtulit ab eodem, indilate restitui faciat et reponi'.
[190] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 200: 'criminibus irretitos'.
[191] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1117.
[192] Ibid: 'coram nobis, J[ohn]'.

coming before Romeyn.[193] These are unusual entries because they record the archbishop's words and actions.[194] While registration of the archbishop's actions was rare, it nonetheless echoes the use of Romeyn's register in particular for the recording of archiepiscopacy, not merely the documents issued (or sometimes received) as part of his practice.

The other example of the archbishops' direct management of clerics was the use of bonds to hold clerics to account for their behaviour. Wickwane's register only records one such example. It is an undertaking from John of Dalton, clerk, that if he were convicted of adultery or fornication again then the archbishop could eject him from the liberty of Ripon.[195] The agreement is recorded in full, including the names of its witnesses. While this is the only example of such a bond, suggesting they were not ordinarily registered, it immediately follows a mandate Wickwane sent to two canons of Ripon to excommunicate those imprisoning John of Dalton, clerk.[196] It appears this was a wider issue, responding to a secular intrusion into the archbishop's jurisdiction (the imprisonment of a cleric), which may explain why it was registered. Under Wickwane, the register was not used to monitor bonds.

A few bonds for good behaviour are found in Romeyn's register, though not enough to suggest that they were commonly registered.[197] Following a series of decrees against Richard, vicar of Bingham, 'written vehemently across several articles' by the *officialis*, Richard agreed to be bound by a sum of ten pounds 'to be paid over [to] the venerable father lord of York, who(ever) it shall be at that time…'[198] The register also includes a bond concerning Robert, the rector of Bingham, for fifty pounds for good behaviour dated in July 1287; a memorandum at the top of the same folio notes this was cancelled and a thirty-pound bond promised instead, indicating that the entry was

[193] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1134 and 1169.
[194] As considered above, Romeyn's register recorded his oral announcement of a visitation at York, p. 194, 242.
[195] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 53.
[196] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 52.
[197] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 153 (bond not to commit adultery), 457 (bond for good behaviour), 750 (bond for good behaviour), 1020 (bond not to commit adultery).
[198] This was dated from Wickwane's archiepiscopate (1283) but was entered in Romeyn's register: *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 735 (misnumbered as 765): 'super pluribus articulis vehementer notatum'; 'venerabili patri domino Ebor., qui pro tempore fuerit…'

referred to after it was made.[199] The bond proved an insufficient deterrent in the long term as in September 1293 Romeyn wrote to the archdeacon about Robert, who had been accused of incontinence with a woman living in Oxford.[200] While Romeyn's register contains more of these bonds than Wickwane's, there were still only four overall.[201] They were all worth at least ten pounds and were likely intended to be preserved beyond Romeyn's own archiepiscopate if needed, facilitating his successors holding the men to account. This echoes the findings from examining registered corrections – that Romeyn was aware of the potential for the future use of his register and sought to preserve documents that his successors could use to assert their rights and validate their own instructions to clerics and religious houses.

Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers recorded how the archbishops used the tools at their disposal to compel clerics to adhere to the standards they set. Their engagement with reform canons, both explicitly and implicitly, indicates that they sought to fulfil their role in disciplining the clerics under them. This was primarily seen through the registration of their instructions to various agents and subordinates to address problems. This mirrors pattern we have seen with clerical standards and visitations where responsibility and accountability went hand-in-hand, with registration preserving archiepiscopal agendas and creating the potential to hold those with delegated responsibilities to account. Under Romeyn, there was an effort to record particular instances where the archbishop directly exercised his authority in the degradation of clerics, as well as in cases where a troublesome cleric had pledged a high bond for his good behaviour. The bonds were payable to the archbishop himself, or his successors, and their entry into the register could facilitate long-term accountability. This reflected an awareness of the register's future use, simultaneously preserving evidence of archiepiscopal authority and creating the potential for accountability in particular circumstances.

[199] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 750; Romeyn MS, fol. 72r.
[200] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 901.
[201] See also *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 153, 457.

Penance and Absolution

The management of penance and absolution was another key element of archiepiscopal responsibility for *cura animarum*. While most sins came under the remit of the local parish priest and were expected to be addressed through annual confession, forgiveness of certain sins was reserved to the bishop or archbishop: those that required public penance, such as issues of violence, and excommunication.[202] The oversight of such penances was bound up in episcopal rights, and Rob Meens argued that 'the imposition of penance could at times more function as a show of force on behalf of a bishop or other ecclesiastical authority than reflect a real concern for the sinner'.[203] This raises the question of whether Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers recorded the exercise of archiepiscopal authority, demonstrated their responsibility, or provided a record to ensure that penance was completed?

Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers both contain entries related to penance, although the material varies subtly between them. Wickwane's register contains seventeen entries concerning penance, concentrated in his first two years.[204] Most record mandates to administer penance, ordering penances or receiving penitents.[205] These are typically directed to the relevant dean, archdeacon, or prior and are registered in the relevant archdeaconry or chapter section depending on the penitent. The majority of penitents are religious or secular clergy, but some lay penitents are recorded, including instances of adultery, incest, and the execution of clergy.[206] In some cases, instructions to absolve following the penance were included, although separate entries were also made regarding absolution.[207] On two occasions penances were

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[202] Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*, 164–67; Joseph Goering, "The Internal Forum and the Literature of Penance and Confession," in *The History of Medieval Canon Law in the Classical Period, 1140-1234: From Gratian to the Decretals of Pope Gregory IX*, ed. Wilfried Hartmann and Kenneth Pennington (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2008), 381–90. Goering delineated the structure and personnel of diocesan systems of penance.

[203] Meens, "Confession, Penance, and Extreme Unction," 432.

[204] The latest of these entries is dated 2nd Nov. 1281.

[205] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 48 (dean of Beverley mandated to order penances); 178 (prior of Guisborough mandated to receive a canon who had completed penance); 132 (dean of Christianity mandated to meet Beverley penitents and conduct them to the Minster), 307 (dean of Holderness mandated to administer a penance).

[206] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 201 (adultery), 62 (incest), 122 (executing priests).

[207] E.g. *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 132 (absolution to be granted to the Beverley penitents after completing their penance and giving oaths of obedience); 213 (absolution to Edmund of Everley for holding two churches); 703 (commission to absolve those liable for laying hands on clerks).

included in visitation corrections (and included within the 'corrections' sections).[208] One entry records the appointment of a penitancer and another gives the Friars authority to absolve.[209] On the whole, entries relating to penance in Wickwane's register record his management of penances for individuals or groups of named individuals.

Romeyn's register has nineteen entries relating to penance spread throughout his (longer) archiepiscopate. Several record commissions to administer penances – six were appointments of penitancers and another granted the Preaching Friars authority to set penances.[210] While this is still a relatively small number of registered appointments, the increase from Wickwane's register echoes previous findings that it was becoming more common to register delegations of power under Romeyn. The entries concerning individual penances predominantly relate to secular clergy and religious men, five of which were incorporated in his visitation decrees.[211] Only two focus on lay sin and only one of these names lay people by name.[212] Twenty-two further entries record absolutions, commissions to absolve, and the granting of powers to absolve, while another records a warning to the sheriff of Westmoreland to fulfil the oath he took when he was absolved.[213] While neither register provides a complete record of the archbishops' dealings with penance, Romeyn's register records more of his delegations, and thus how archiepiscopal authority was being deployed, compared to Wickwane's.

Examining these entries reveals how archiepiscopal authority shaped choices of registration, and also how instrumental authority was in Wickwane's and Romeyn's fulfilment of their pastoral duties. This is clearest in regard to sins that warranted a public penance, such as bloodshed, especially when against clerics or in a church, entries of which are found throughout the various archdeaconry and chapter

[208] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 430, 431.
[209] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 569, 764.
[210] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 1015, 1211, 1266, 1276, 1302; Langtoft is seemingly appointed twice for Beverley in both the first and fifth years of Romeyn's archiepiscopate, nos. 1015, 1276.
[211] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 361 (Monk Bretton), 427 (Drax), 447 (Newburgh), 730, 757 (Blyth).
[212] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 162 gives the dean of Pontefract instructions about penances for carnal sins among other things; no. 994 commissions the rector of Grasmere to absolve named parishioners for paying tithes to the wrong person.
[213] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 995.

sections.[214] Wickwane's register records his instructions to the dean of Holderness regarding a man who 'beat a certain man in the doorway of the church of Pagula, until the outpouring of blood…'[215] He specified:

> that in the doorway of the church, standing before a multitude of parishioners, for three solemn days, immediately after the reading of the Gospels, with the cause set forth, he might receive three *disciplinas*, and bring before the great altar in the chapter half a wax candle [weighing] a Roman pound, for as long as [the candle] remains burning.[216]

While oversight of the performance of the penance was being delegated, Wickwane gave specific instructions about how it was to be undertaken and had those instructions registered. Recording the penance could allow him to hold the deans and archdeacons to account, as well as creating a record of Wickwane's right to set such penances. In particular, their inclusion within the main archdeaconry and chapter sections suggests that registering them was part of the general practice of registering material, rather than the type of effort to group material for reference, as occurred with corrections and licences to study.

Violence, especially against clerics, also prompted record in Romeyn's register, although the absolutions were more often recorded than penances in these cases. Romeyn's letter to the prior and convent of Thurgarton for W. of Bingham (a canon) who had assaulted a clerk in the conventual chapter committed the man's absolution to the prior.[217] The absolution of Walter, chaplain of Loftsum, for striking Matthew of Newsam,

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[214] Laying violent hands on a cleric was prohibited by canon 15 of the Second Lateran Council, which was subsequently incorporated in Gratian's *Decretum* (C.17 q.4 c.29); see R. H. Helmholz, "'Si quis suadente' (C.17 q.4 c.29): Theory and Practice," in *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Medieval Canon Law*, ed. Peter Linehan, (Citta del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1988), 425-438. See also chapter on 'Violence, Clerical Status, and the Issue of Criminous Clerks' in Hugh M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066–1216* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). N.B. It was particularly problematic if one cleric was violent towards another, which also risked violating canon XVIII of the Fourth Lateran Council forbidding clerics from shedding blood. Reconciliation was a specific episcopal right and Wickwane's register includes a letter from Pope Honorius III in 1223 granting the archbishop of York the right to absolve both clerics and laymen for laying violent hands on clerics: *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 610.

[215] Wickwane, no. 307: 'quendam hominem in hostio ecclesie de Pagula, usque ad effusionem sanguinis, percusserit…'

[216] Ibid: 'quod in ostio ecclesie, adstante parochianorum multitudine, tribus diebus solempnibus, statim post lectum Evangelium, causa exposita, tres recipiat disciplinas, ac coram magno altari in cancello cereum dimidie libre cere conferat, dum duraverit accendendum'. In this context, *disciplinas* most likely involves physical punishments, such as scourging.

[217] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 823.

acolyte, is recorded in the main body of the text on folio 26v.[218] Two other absolutions have been added at the bottom of that folio for related offences: one for 'N. de S.' for striking 'John de E.' without knowing he was a cleric, and another for a canon who had struck a cleric in minor orders. A faint 'II' symbol (fig. 45) next to the marginal notes for the absolutions of both Walter and 'N. de S.' directly links these entries, as though adding a footnote. It seems this was a deliberate effort to group material on the subject, while the use of abbreviated names suggests that the form, and perhaps Romeyn's exercise of the right, were the priority, rather than the individual sinner.

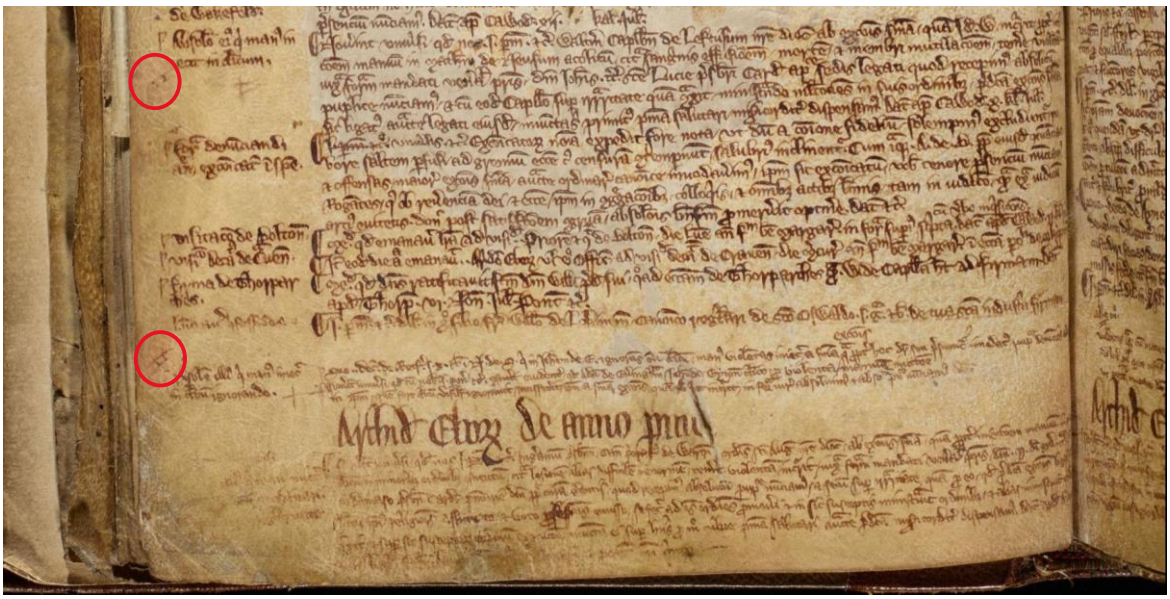

Figure 45: Romeyn MS, fol. 26v, 'II' marginal symbol linking entries

Certain cases of violence against clerics required the archbishops to navigate papal authorities in managing penance and absolution. When Robert of Carnaby (a priest) struck another priest with a sword and attacked other clergymen with 'violent hands', Wickwane wrote to the dean of Dickering requesting that he send Carnaby to him, claiming he was acting '[by] the authority of the penitentiary of the lord pope'.[219]

[218] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 121.
[219] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 299: 'manus violentas'; 'auctoritate littere penitenciarii domini pape…'
For an examination of the papal penitentiary and entry of letters into episcopal registers, see: P. D. Clarke, "Central Authority and Local Powers: The Apostolic Penitentiary and the English Church in the Fifteenth Century," *Historical Research* 84, no. 225 (2011): 416–42.

Wickwane also wrote to Carnaby with a letter from the papal penitentiary enclosed, which stated that 'we sent [Carnaby] back to you [Wickwane] absolved from the excommunication that he fell into on account of this according to the form of the church, with the authority of the lord pope' and that he was 'commit[ed] to your fatherly authority'.[220] In a similar fashion, Romeyn absolved Ingeramum, a canon of Warter, 'in accordance with the form of the mandate we received from the venerable father, lord M., by the grace of God cardinal priest of San Lorenzo in Damaso, who bears the office of the penitentiary of the lord pope'.[221] These types of entry explicitly recorded the interactions between the archbishop's jurisdiction and that of the papal penitentiary. As with the inclusion of St. Mary's visitation privilege in Romeyn's register, registering such material delineated the archbishop's authority and preserved the processes by which he exercised that authority for future reference.[222]

A concern to record archiepiscopal authority may also explain entries of 'permissions to absolve', granted to the Friars Minor. Wickwane's register includes an undated grant of the right to absolve '[those] excommunicated [on the basis of] canon law on account of the violent laying of hands on clergymen… so that the power relinquished to you might augment the increase of salvation and might in no ways extend itself beyond the canonical limits…'[223] This was a specific and significant delegation of episcopal authority in managing absolution. Romeyn's 1287 grant was broader: he authorised the Friars 'to hear confessions, enjoin penances, preach the word of God, and celebrate divine offices in the diocese'.[224] This closely mirrored Pope Martin IV's 1281 bull, *Ad fructus uberes*, which gave the Friars permission to hear confessions, absolve, and enjoin penances without needing permission from the

[220] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 299: 'ad vod, auctoritate domini pape, ab excommunicacione quam propter hoc incurrit, remittimus juxta formam ecclesie absolutum…', 'Paternitati vestre auctoritate committentes…'
[221] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 121: 'juxta formam mandati venerabilis patris, domini M., Dei gracia tituli Sancti Laurencii in Damaso presbiteri cardinalis, penitenciarie domini pape curam gerentis, quod recepimus…'
[222] See above, p. 241-242.
[223] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 764: 'excommunicatos a canone propter violentam manuum injeccionem in clericos… *ut concessa vobis potestas salutis cumulum augeat et ultra fines canonicas nullatenus se extendat…'* This likely refers to 'si quis suadente' in practice.
[224] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 160: '…audire confessions, injungere penitencias, verbum Dei proponere, et divina celebrare in diocesi'.

diocesan.[225] The inclusion of this grant, as well as several others throughout Romeyn's register asserted the archbishop's oversight of the Friars in his diocese despite the fact it was unnecessary in this case.[226] By registering these grants, Romeyn preserved evidence of him exercising his jurisdiction for any future users of his register.

Penances were also included in records of the archbishop exercising his authority over monastic houses, often as part of visitation decrees. At Drax Priory, Wickwane criticised several canons, including Elias, who was set penance for violently hitting John of Lincoln, his fellow canon.[227] Similarly, Adam of Rotherham, cellarer of Worksop, was not to leave the cloister but to complete penance for his sin.[228] Romeyn's register records the more detailed instructions for the penances to be undertaken by monks at Monk Bretton in his visitation decrees:

> Item, that brothers Roger of Kelsey, Walter of Holgate, and Nicholas of Pontefract should faithfully complete penance imposed by us for their transgressions. Roger, namely, may not leave the cloister for a year, and must be last in convent; every Wednesday and Friday, during that time he is to be content merely with bread, beer, and pulses, and in Lent every Friday bread and water.[229]

Similar but less severe penances were issued for Walter and Nicholas, and for Roger of Sowerby at Newburgh.[230] While these examples could have allowed the archbishops or their successors to hold specific monks to account, as we have already seen how

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[225] The status of the Friars Minor was changeable in this period: Nicholas III's papal bull *Exiit qui seminat* (1279) stated that the Friars should not preach without the bishop's approval. See Heinrich Denifle and Emile Chatelain, *Chartularium Universitatis Parisiensis*, vol. I (Paris: Ex Typis Fratrum Delalain, 1889), 592; Campbell, *The Landscape of Pastoral Care*, 144.

[226] See also, *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 246, 541, 712, 875. Forrest identified a similar pattern in regard to Ripon cathedral: 'the York registers are full of carefully monitored permissions for Ripon to act in particularly sensitive cases, where in fact no permission was needed', *Trustworthy Men*, 338.

[227] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 430.

[228] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 434.

[229] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 361: 'Item, fratres Rogerus de Kelsey, Walterus de Holgate, et Nicholaus de Pontefracto penitenciam pro commissis devote peragant per nos injunctam. Rogerus, videlicet, claustrum per annum non exeat, et ultimus sit in conventu, omni quarta et sexta feria per id tempus pane, cervisia, et leguminibus, ac in Quadragesima omni sexta feria pane et aqua sit contentus tantummodo.'

[230] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 447; David Knowles considered the penances Wickwane, Romeyn, and Greenfield set for monks and thought they were suitably completed: Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 93–94.

corrections were intended for long-term reference, registering them preserved evidence of the archbishop exercising his authority over the monks.

Other records of monastic penance (not registered as part of corrections) also reinforced aspects of the archbishop's authority over monks. Wickwane's register includes a letter arranging for John of Pontefract, a canon of Bolton, to be sent to Hexham to complete penance.[231] Romeyn wrote to the abbot and convent of Whitby about William of Wadworth undertaking penance while with them, and mandated the prior of Blyth to send Thomas Russell to the mother house for his penance, both of which were registered in the 'Archdeaconry of Cleveland' and 'Archdeaconry of Nottingham' sections respectively.[232] Such interventions were not always unwelcome. In some instances, heads of monastic houses actively sought the archbishop's help in dealing with troublesome monks. For example, Wickwane's register records a request from the prior of St. Andrew's, York, that he denounce two canons as excommunicated for leaving the house.[233] Wickwane duly obliged. This highlights an important facet of archiepiscopacy: the exercise of archiepiscopal rights was frequently the fulfilment of the archbishop's responsibility for his flock. Registering these portrayed the archbishop as fulfilling his spiritual duties and preserved evidence of his exercise of authority over monastic communities.

Finally, documents relating to penance were more likely to be recorded when the transgression was against the archbishop himself, particularly under Wickwane. Wickwane's authority being challenged by the burgesses of Beverley prompted the most substantial recording effort concerning penance across either archbishop's register. The burgesses provoked Wickwane's ire by 'the appeal alleged and pursued by them for the protection of the court of Canterbury against the liberty and privilege of [his] church of York…'[234] Three consecutive entries in the 'Chapter of Beverley' section record instructions to the dean of Beverley: to publish the excommunication of the burgesses; to order them to undertake penance; and to conduct the penitents to Bishop Burton for

[231] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 429.
[232] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 505, 730.
[233] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 97.
[234] *Reg. Wickwane* no. 47: 'in appellacione per eos ad tuicionem Curie Cantuariensis interposita et prosecuta contra libertate et privilegia ecclesie nostre Eboracensis…'

the first part of their penitential journey.[235] When they reached York, the dean of Christianity at York was to meet them and conduct them to York Minster.[236] While these entries explicitly recorded Wickwane's management of penance, they implicitly reinforced his success against the burgesses. Registration was a responsive endeavour; threats to the archbishop's authority drove registration as much as penances themselves.

Extensive entries were also made when Wickwane attempted to remove Richard de Vescy (who he had excommunicated) from the church of North Ferriby. One entry in particular saw the recording of penance in response to challenges to the archbishop's authority: Wickwane's mandate to the official of the East Riding to administer penance to Roger of Ellerker, one of de Vescy's supporters.[237] Ellerker had been excommunicated on account of his support of de Vescy. Registering his penance asserted the sinfulness of Ellerker's transgression against Wickwane's authority and the archbishop's role in reconciling him.[238] This happens to a lesser extent in Romeyn's register, which includes a commission to absolve Kirkby's parishioners who had paid tithes to Alan of Easingwold (an intruder) and not Walter of Maidstone (the church's rightful occupant).[239] It later records the absolution of three men who had been excommunicated for intruding into Kirkby on Easingwold's behalf.[240] These entries emphasised both the archbishop's spiritual lordship and his successful action against those who disrupted his authority.

Penances and absolutions were not routinely entered in either Wickwane's or Romeyn's registers. This partly stems from the complex nature of the sins that were brought to the archbishop. As individual decisions were made about how to respond to

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[235] *Reg. Wickwane*, nos. 47, 48, 49; for more on penitential journeys see John Jenkins, "Northern Ways? Pilgrimage, Politics and Piety in the Fourteenth-Century Administrative Records of the Archdiocese of York," in *The Church and Northern English Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Archbishops of York and Their Records*, ed. Paul Dryburgh and Sarah Rees Jones (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, in association with The Boydell Press, 2024), 247–67.
[236] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 132 (this was in the 'Archdeaconry of York' section). Further entries were also made throughout the register, see for example, *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 605, Brown groups several letters as one entry but these are a series of entries in the manuscript (Wickwane MS, fols. 192v-193r), no. 744.
[237] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 335.
[238] Ibid: 'in majoris excommunicacionis sentenciam, contra Ricardum de Vescy, in ecclesiam de Feriby notorium intrusorem, ejusdemque complices et fautores'.
[239] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 994; seemingly the same Alan of Easingwold who was Anthony Bek's *officialis*.
[240] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 999.

these sins, so too were individual decisions made about what to register and how. We have also seen particular efforts to register documents related to penance and absolution when they occurred as part of the archbishop's exercise of authority, notably over monastic communities, or as part of a direct challenge to his authority, as in the penance and absolution of the burgesses of Beverley, Roger of Ellerker, and the intruders at Kirkby. In Wickwane's case, these entries formed only a small part of wider efforts to collate and register extensive material in response to challenges to his authority, emphasising that registration was, at least at times, a reactive endeavour. Under Romeyn, more concern was given to recording the exercise and delegation of his authority – creating a written record that would show how he performed particular rights and delineating his personal exercise of authority from those to whom he had granted those rights. In both cases, the registration of documents related to penance and absolution preserved evidence of the archbishops defending, exercising, or delegating their rights in a form that offered a precedent for future reference.

Excommunication

The administration of excommunication was one of the best-recorded activities in Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. Both registers have more than forty entries recording the threat, pronouncement, and (occasionally) revocation of excommunications, as well as the right to grant it. This was partly a reflection of the frequency of excommunications – as Hill noted, 'in the thirteenth century the sentence of excommunication was widely – indeed too widely – used'.[241] This is unsurprising when we consider the stubbornness and willingness to antagonise shown by Wickwane and Romeyn in the disputes of Chapter Three. Yet, as we have seen before, the relationship between register entries and the frequency of an activity was not straightforward. The choice to register material was distinct from the choice to produce it in the first place. Therefore, we must ask what excommunication material was entered into the registers (and what was not) and what this suggests about the use of the registers. Furthermore,

[241] Hill, "Public Penance," 214; Rosalind Hill, "The Theory and Practice of Excommunication in Medieval England," *History* 42, no. 144 (1957): 1–11; see also Richard H. Helmholz, "Excommunication in Twelfth Century England," *Journal of Law and Religion* 11, no. 1 (1994): 235–53.

the nature of excommunication was such that it required support from other members of the church hierarchy, and even the secular arm if the person was not suitably reconciled. The navigation of this system may give some clue as to why the archbishop sought to record his use of excommunication.

In both registers, the greatest numbers of entries administering excommunication are found in the first year (41% in Wickwane's register and 28% in Romeyn's; figs. 46 and 47). Looking more closely at their content, it is clear that particular issues tended to generate multiple writings, which were then entered into the register. Richard de Vescy's refusal to leave North Ferriby church contributed to the high number of entries in Wickwane's first year (five out of twenty-two entries). This was more pronounced with Wickwane's visitation dispute with Durham in the second year of his archiepiscopate, which prompted several notices, threats, and mandates to pronounce excommunications (eight out of nineteen for that year). In Romeyn's case, his dispute with Bek at Durham came to a head in his sixth year when repeated mandates to denounce those involved as excommunicate contributed to the spike in register entries during this period (four out of eight entries). These disputes prompted threats and notices of excommunication as well as their recording in the register.

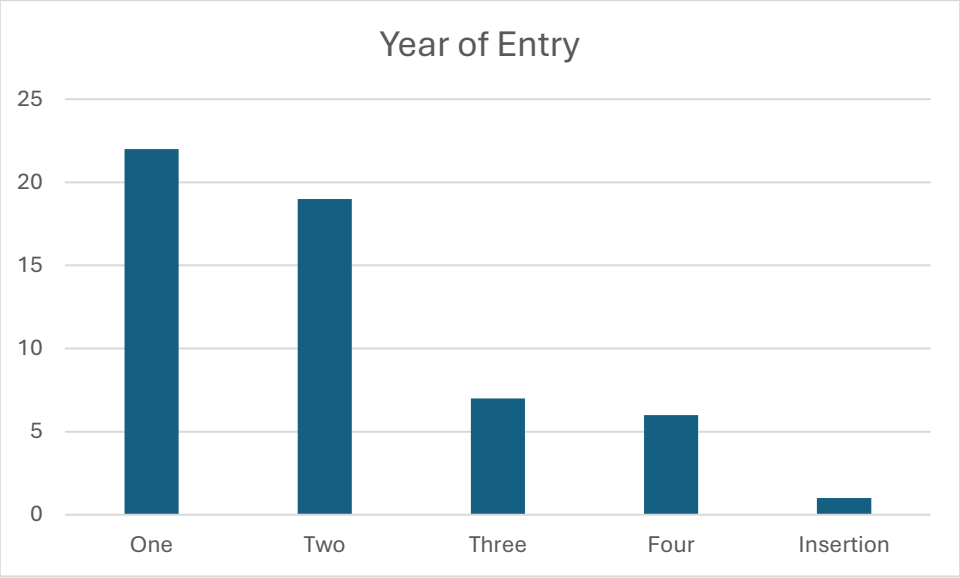

Figure 46: No. of entries related to excommunication by year in Wickwane's register

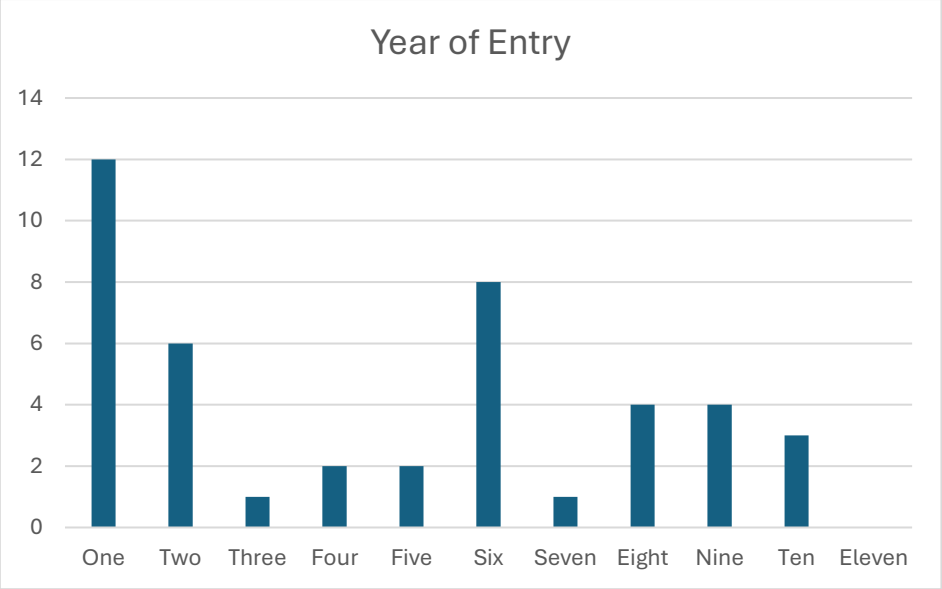

Figure 47: No. of entries related to excommunication by year in Romeyn's register

While particular issues could generate numerous notices and mandates about excommunication, registering excommunications was an extensive endeavour under both Wickwane and Romeyn. The high number of documents managing excommunications registered in Romeyn's first year does not appear to have a clear cause, although several could be loosely linked to the protection of church liberties, suggesting he made a particular effort to establish his protection of church liberties in the first year of his archiepiscopate.[242] Moreover, both Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers recorded excommunication notices and related material in every year of their archiepiscopates. This was a deliberate practice of recording. A few reasons may explain what was behind this practice.

Firstly, excommunication was in itself an act of episcopal authority. It was the Church's most severe sanction, an act reserved to popes and bishops. It was also a tool deployed in response to challenges to authority, as seen in the disputes of Chapter Three. Both Wickwane and Romeyn announced the excommunication of those impeding them in their disputes with Durham. This included the bishops themselves, Robert of Holy Island and Anthony Bek, and Bek's official, Alan of Easingwold. It was

[242] *Reg. Romeyn*, nos. 127, 550, 553, 1031 explicitly refer to infringing ecclesiastical liberties, while the sense is implicit in others dealing with threats to ecclesiastical people and goods, nos. 552, 717, 1036.

also deployed against otherwise insignificant individuals: Peter of Thoresby, a cleric in Richmond who had sought to prosecute his case against the abbot of Jervaulx in the court of Canterbury, was warned not to proceed on pain of excommunication.[243] In registering excommunications, the archbishops asserted their superior status and their role as defender of ecclesiastical rights, especially when York's rights were challenged. As was the case with penance and absolution, registering excommunications preserved evidence of their exercise of authority over their suffragans and other troublesome clerics (and, at times, laity) in the archdiocese, offering proof of precedent for future reference.

Secondly, each instance of excommunication was an individual case, requiring the archbishop to decide on the parameters and conditions of that excommunication. Excommunication could be major or minor; it could be against a named individual or a group. Sometimes, excommunication was used in response to sinful acts that had occurred and remained unresolved. For instance, Romeyn's register records a mandate to denounce William of Thorner as excommunicate for hitting Thomas of Otley, both clerics.[244] It could be used as a threat against present and future actions. This was the case in a general sentence of excommunication against those impeding the execution of the last will and testament of Almeric of Scarborough, a Templar.[245] Romeyn likewise mandated that the dean of Holderness exhort those who withheld thraves to pay or otherwise excommunicate them.[246] In these examples, the transgressors were not identified by name. It was not always the individual that was important but the act and form of issuing. Even more general was a mandate (from 1291) to the dean and chapter of York to publish the excommunication promulgated in the council at Beverley (c.1261) against anyone infringing upon the Church, saving the king and his children.[247] As excommunication was deployed to various ends, no single form could be captured in short memoranda, and so entries in both registers tend to be of complete letters.[248] This

[243] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 973.
[244] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 161.
[245] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 551; see also 550, 552, 553.
[246] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1036.
[247] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 1123. Romeyn also issued this excommunication more pointedly to the bishop of Durham the day before this general proclamation was issued.
[248] N.B. This was not the case with significations of excommunication, which will be explored below.

preserved extensive examples of how excommunication was deployed, and the forms that were used to deploy it.

Thirdly, excommunication had broader implications that could affect other archiepiscopal rights. For example, excommunication affected an individual's role as a patron, as well as any office they held in the Church, which could give the archbishop additional powers to collate or appoint. In Romeyn's register, a mandate to the archdeacon of York or his official to induct Alan of Thornton into the church of Adel is followed by a memorandum that the mandate made no mention that the prior of the Holy Trinity (the patron) was excommunicated.[249] The memorandum specified that Romeyn enjoined the same 'that the prior meanwhile might bring himself in and come before the lord to make amends according to conscience and offence'.[250] The register also records Romeyn's mandate to the dean of Christianity to induct Nicholas of Gloucester to the Church of All Saints in North Street, York.[251] In the register, this was followed by a memorandum that Romeyn had conferred the church on him for the sake of H. de Cressingham, as the prior and convent of the Holy Trinity had the presentation but were excommunicated, and a notice of the prior's excommunication. Here, neither presentation document mentioned that Romeyn had collated the men because of the prior's excommunication, but this link was made explicit in the register's memoranda, giving clear evidence of a precedent for future archbishops and administrators.

While this indicates a substantial effort in registering material related to excommunication, omissions still occurred. These omissions lay bare the choices of registration and allow us to infer some of the other ways in which documents could be kept. Thanks to the survival of royal chancery material, this is clearest when we consider the involvement of secular government in the administration of excommunication. Excommunication did not always have the desired effect. In these cases, the secular arm could provide recourse. For example, William of Stormsworth, a monk of Selby, remained excommunicated for more than a year 'on account of his

[249] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 364.
[250] Ibid: 'Et injungitur ei quod priorem ipsum interim inducat quod veniat coram domino satisfacturus de consciencia et offense'.
[251] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 375; another entry (670) informs the king of the prior's excommunication.

numerous offences and the sin of apostacy'.[252] Wickwane's register records his request to the king for help through letters of capture, as does another entry regarding brothers John and Henry of Barton, while a letter to the royal guardians of the liberty of Durham invokes the secular arm against excommunicates.[253] Romeyn's register records a similar letter on account of Stephen, vicar of Lexington.[254]

Yet these were only a small fraction of such requests, as revealed by the significations of excommunication from Wickwane and Romeyn (and the dean during the vacancy between them) that are preserved in the chancery records now held at The National Archives.[255] The number of significations from Wickwane and Romeyn in the royal chancery far exceeds the notices of excommunication in their registers. As we can assume that an individual needed to be denounced as excommunicated and then fail to reconcile for at least forty days, there must have been significantly more people excommunicated than those recorded in the registers. Hoskin counted 109 examples of one form of signification under Wickwane and during the vacancy following him, and 32 of a second form.[256] In response to these, a writ would typically have been issued and sent to the relevant sheriff (or sheriffs).[257] Yet only a handful of significations (or letters of capture) were entered into either archbishops' register and none of the resultant writs.

The most likely explanation for their omission is that these documents were recorded elsewhere and were only registered if they had another purpose. The choice to register excommunication material was a choice to give it permanent significance. Both significations and writs were types of what Johnson defined as 'legal ephemera… that were oriented towards the performance of a legal process, which after they had served

[252] *Reg. Wickwane*, no. 682: 'pro sua multiplici offense et apostasie vicio excommunicacionis sentencia involutus…'
[253] Wickwane, nos. 179, 545.
[254] *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 700.
[255] Wickwane's and Romeyn's significations of excommunication are now found in TNA C85/171-175; the omission from the registers also occurred in the fourteenth century, see Jonathan Mackman, "Ad Insolenciam Ipsius Rebellis Salubrius Reprimendam: William Thorntoft, the Abbey of Rufford and Significations of Excommunication in the Northern Province," in *The Church and Northern English Society in the Fourteenth Century: The Archbishops of York and Their Records*, ed. Paul Dryburgh and Sarah Rees Jones (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, in association with The Boydell Press, 2024), 172–90.
[256] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries," 38–39.
[257] For more on the issuing of writs see Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm*, 91–99.

their purpose were not ordinarily conserved'.[258] Indeed, although the original significations were kept by the royal chancery, the writs issued in response were not enrolled and did not need to be returned to the chancery: as a result, few survive.[259] While it was in the archbishop's interests to monitor the process of excommunication to its end, it is likely that temporary records – perhaps even another register or roll – were kept and then destroyed, whether accidentally or deliberately.

The omission of these documents accords with what we have seen so far about the register recording not merely the routine business of administration but the exercise and delegation of the archbishop's authority. Significations of excommunication explicitly recognised the failure of the archbishop's act to reconcile the excommunicated. The need for help from the king was, in a sense, an admission of the limits of the archbishop's authority. Most were omitted. Those few that were registered had another purpose – likely for examples of form. Hoskin considered the development of form in significations of excommunication, including under Wickwane and Romeyn.[260] She found that under Wickwane two versions of the signification were used (with the exception of two unusual examples early on) and one of these was used consistently under Romeyn. The single signification that is included in Romeyn's register has interlined comments and variations (fig. 48) and a marginal comment of 'form for arrest'.[261] This would suggest it was intended as a single example for the scribes of Romeyn's chancery.

Figure 48: Romeyn MS, fol. 69r, signification with interlining

[258] Johnson, "Legal Ephemera in the Ecclesiastical Courts of Late-Medieval England," 5.
[259] Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm*, 97.
[260] Hoskin, "Delineating the Development of English Episcopal Chanceries," 38–39.
[261] Ibid., 40; *Reg. Romeyn*, no. 700: 'Forma pro capcione'.

Excommunication documents were registered extensively but selectively in both Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers. Excommunication itself was closely tied to archiepiscopal authority, and when challenges were made to the archbishop's authority, excommunication was often pronounced and registered. Registration efforts centred on preserving those documents that demonstrated the archbishop's authority in pronouncing excommunications, while the vast majority of documents that were produced when that authority failed were omitted, with the exception of rare examples of form. Although no references to external records appear in the register, it is clear that the archbishops and their administrators were monitoring excommunications and issuing significations if excommunicates had not been reconciled within a suitable timeframe. Some form of external record was almost certainly used in doing so. The choice of registration was primarily about archiepiscopal authority, rather than holding an individual excommunicate to account.

Overall, this section has shown that penances and punishments were recorded when they had implications for archiepiscopal authority, rather than being used to hold individual clerics to account. Often, entries recorded the archbishop's performance of his rights, be it issuing an excommunication or setting a penance. Registering mandates to his agents and other clerics in the archdiocese preserved the archbishop's delegation of that authority and distinguished delegated acts from the archbishop's own. Recording delegations also created the potential for the archbishop's agents to be held to account but the registers give little indication of how far this occurred. In particular cases, the archbishop's own actions were recorded, as with degradation. This occurred more in Romeyn's register as part of an ongoing and deliberate effort to record archiepiscopacy in practice. For both Wickwane and Romeyn, their registers helped to define the archbishop's and his subordinates' respective remits, creating precedents for the delegation of duties. In doing so, they recorded current practice with an eye to the future.

In some rare instances, entries do appear to have been used to create accountability (or at least the potential for accountability) for individual clerics, as in the case of the recording of certain bonds. Those that were registered were all worth at least ten pounds and appear to have been intended to be preserved beyond the

archiepiscopate, being payable to any future archbishops. The choice to enter these particular bonds likely stemmed from the expected longevity of registers, rather than the routine use of the registers for accountability. That there was not a clear routine for registering documents relating to either lay or clerical transgressions limited how far either register could be used to hold individuals to account in making amends. Cumulatively, registered documents concerning discipline, penance, and excommunication reveals much about the state of the flock, while primarily recording the archbishop's management of that flock.

Conclusion

Both Wickwane and Romeyn had a keen sense of their spiritual responsibility for the Northern Province. The registered material demonstrates the ways in which the archbishops sought to manage pastoral care, ensuring that clerics were meeting expected standards, that behaviour in religious communities was appropriate, and that individuals were reconciled after completing suitable penance. Implicitly and explicitly, their actions were aligned with the expectations of pastoral reform set out and refined through the reform councils of the preceding century. The question of how to use registers in this was a live one, and part of a broader question about archiepiscopal administration.

Monitoring and improving pastoral care required vast amounts of information so as to hold individuals to account in fulfilling their duties, be it getting ordained, implementing corrections in a monastic house, or undertaking a public penance. As this chapter has shown, attempts were made to use the register to this end under Wickwane. The short-term keeping of subsections for licences to study and sections for corrections from visitations within the register reflect efforts to use the register as a monitoring tool that would facilitate the archbishop holding individuals and institutions to account. Yet the effective use of the register for this purpose never developed. In contrast to Rigaud's frequently updated ordination charts, minimal amendments were made after the original entries in either Wickwane's or Romeyn's registers. Across both registers there is a distinct lack of certain types of information and some kinds of

document, such as names for ordination and depositions from visitations. The register was only a small part of a much wider system for archiepiscopal administration. Other records were kept for at least some of these activities, such as the visitation rolls. Only select material, even from activities that were commonly registered, was included.

So, what was chosen for the register? Many of the entries included in the registers had longer-term consequences beyond holding particular individuals to account: they recorded the practice of archiepiscopacy in ways that allowed it to be drawn upon in the future. Recording visitation corrections, for instance, facilitated their reissuing long after the archbishop and the individuals visited had passed away. Recording the archbishops' exercise of rights allowed those practices to be drawn upon as evidence of long-standing precedents for those rights, be it visitations, granting licences to study, or absolving violence against clerics. Moreover, recording this material portrayed both archbishops as active diocesans, seeking to improve standards. While it is unclear whether (and if so, how) the registers were intended to be used to demonstrate the archbishops' own accountability as Richardson suggested, these two archbishops knew their registers would be used in the future. While both archbishops drew on existing material, Romeyn's register explicitly recorded his consultation and reissuing of his predecessors' registers; it was almost certainly anticipated that his own register would be used in the same way. The self-consciousness explored in relation to the disputes of Chapter Three also underpinned the choices of registering *cura animarum*: both registers preserved material that portrayed the archbishops actively fulfilling their pastoral duties to the archdiocese. Present ways of working were recorded so as to offer a record, perhaps even a manual, of archiepiscopacy for future archbishops of York, preserving evidence of the archbishop exercising his authority but fundamentally showing how he used that authority to improve pastoral provision.

Ideas of accountability and authority were shaped by the particular nature of archiepiscopacy under each archbishop, as well as the challenges they faced. The attempts to use Wickwane's register to facilitate the monitoring of standards and behaviour was reflective of his personal approach to archiepiscopacy. As we saw in his disputes with the chapter of Durham and the archbishop of Canterbury, Wickwane was

keen to fulfil his duties and proclaim his rights in person – it mattered that he was seen to be carrying out visitations and having his cross paraded before him – while his personal connections provided the basis for his strategies to gain support. It is unsurprising that he would want to have, or at least demonstrate an effort to have, knowledge of individual clerics and institutions in his archdiocese.

The transition to a more devolved administration under Romeyn was likewise reflected in his register, which recorded far more of the delegations of authority and the processes by which particular administrators carried out their duties. Under Romeyn, more effort was given to using the register to record systems of administration, not only the documents produced. This occurred in conjunction with the development of the *officialis'* role and reflected a broader shift to an administration that was less reliant on the archbishop himself. This shift was not simply about administration, let alone administrative efficiency, but stemmed from Romeyn's personal approach. Romeyn was a more worldly and politic archbishop whose administration relied less on his own presence in the archdiocese but on the management and exercise of his authority, delegated as he saw fit. This fundamentally shaped how his register was used in the management of *cura animarum*. Put alongside one another, Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers reveal the ways in which registration practices were adapted to each archbishop's specific ways of working in a short space of time.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore how Archbishops Wickwane and Romeyn used their registers in the practice of archiepiscopacy. Examining both manuscripts and material reveals a more dynamic and personal picture of late thirteenth-century registration than has often been assumed. Rather than a series of advances occurring with the creation of a new register under each archbishop, changes to the registers occurred throughout Wickwane's and Romeyn's archiepiscopates. In exploring these changes, a 'social church' approach has proven vital for recognising the significance of the individual archbishops, particularly their connections and backgrounds; registration developed in conjunction with archiepiscopacy, shaped by the individual who held the office. Alongside this, considering registers in light of the 'archival turn', seeing them not merely as administrative records but as potential instruments of power, has revealed the ways in which documents were given new significance through their entry into the register and the ways in which the registers created deliberate accounts of archiepiscopacy. Through this approach, several key points have emerged.

First, this thesis has shown that Wickwane and Romeyn were two fundamentally different archbishops with distinct modes of archiepiscopacy, each of which produced different registers. While other studies have drawn links between bishop and register, comparison between two consecutive archbishops in the same archdiocese has lain bare the importance of their individual backgrounds and personalities in shaping their modes of archiepiscopacy and thus their registers. Although the question of the individual archbishops and their respective modes of archiepiscopacy was not initially set up as one of the main research questions of this thesis, it has proved the basis of many of the distinctions I have found in their registers, and thus it is helpful to give it shape here.

Wickwane was reactive, provocative, and personal. He endeavoured to carry out his duties in person, despite risks of physical altercations in the Southern Province and at Durham, and when those attempts failed, he himself set off for the curia. His registered letters preserve his vehement and emotional reactions to the challenges he faced, while registration itself was part of his response to disputes: not only was

evidence collated and arranged to support his position, but a whole section – or dossier – was created in response to his dispute with the Durham chapter. Wickwane was also fiercely loyal to the York chapter and expected those who had been his peers in the chapter to retain a similar sense of loyalty. His administration relied heavily on men from York, and he continued to turn to the chapter for advice throughout his archiepiscopate. The lack of entries recording Wickwane exercising his authority over the chapter shows his reluctance to create a record that could be used to demonstrate a precedent of archiepiscopal authority over them (a choice which later hindered Romeyn in his visitation plans). Wickwane's approach was shaped by his relationships, both positive and negative, which in turn gave shape to his register.

Romeyn was more strategic and politic. Although he engaged in disputes as readily as Wickwane, he was more likely to do so through issuing documents from afar and deploying his agents to work discretely at the curia, a stark contrast to the example of Wickwane preaching an open-air sermon at the north gates of Durham. His register was accordingly less reactive than Wickwane's: its structure was established within the first two years of his archiepiscopate and remained consistent thereafter; material was arranged so as to emphasise the exercise of archiepiscopal authority and diminish the significance of threats to that authority. The use of his register for the vicar-general during Romeyn's absences also indicates that registration was less shaped by the personal actions of the archbishop, unlike under Wickwane, and more by the exercise of archiepiscopal authority. On the other hand, his relationship with the York chapter was more volatile: although he deployed experienced administrators from York, he brought in his own men from Lincoln, asserted his visitation rights, and clashed with the dean. His register repeatedly recorded his exercise of authority over the dean and, as with his dispute with Durham, downplayed the consequences he faced for doing so. Thus, under both archbishops, we see distinct modes of archiepiscopacy shaping the ways in which their registers were kept and used. Rather than abstract or teleological explanations for changes to the registers, we must first look to the archbishops themselves.

Second, this thesis has set out the rapid pace of change that occurred in the relatively brief period under these two archbishops. In examining the codicological features of Wickwane's and Romeyn's register, I have distinguished key stages of

development shaped by changing ideas of registration and administrative practices. This was particularly the case under Wickwane, as a series of registration initiatives emerged in response to the challenges he faced and the ways in which he sought to fulfil his duties. Registration under Wickwane began with separate, annual registers. In contrast to the arrangement of Giffard's register, which was 'in many respects chaotic', there was a clear attempt to impose order from the beginning, with sections for a combination of types of material and jurisdictions.[1] These were not static, and a period of particular experimentation followed throughout 1280 and 1281, with subsections created for licences to study, sections for corrections, a dossier kept for the Durham visitation dispute, and the second-year register adapted to include subsequent years. From Wickwane's third year, there was a noticeable decline in the number of entries made into the register year-on-year. Yet a notable effort was made to produce a second version of the register in anticipation of Wickwane's travel to Rome, which was informed by the learning that had already occurred. This later version essentially became an archive, with documents inserted or incorporated into the appended section, at least some of which occurred under Romeyn. At no point under Wickwane did registration become routine; both versions of his register (and their constituent elements) were the products of hard-won learning, shaped by ongoing response and experiment in the registration of documents.

Romeyn's archiepiscopate brought further changes: the changes to sectional divides have been much commented on by historians, but there were also efforts from the beginning to undertake registration as a more consistent activity. As with Wickwane's register, the first two years were a period of particular endeavour to establish a framework and set of conventions that would allow the register to be kept routinely and used effectively. The creation of an index-calendar and the routine use of titles and marginal comments established Romeyn's register as a coherent and navigable record. Perhaps more significantly, Romeyn's register reveals an explicit engagement with the very idea of a register. The language of *registrum* and *registrare* began to be used; while these were not solely applied to the register as we know it today, their use occurred alongside a conceptual development in the idea of what an

[1] Brown, *Reg. Giffard*, vi.

archbishop's 'register' should look like and how it should function, namely as a record of archiepiscopacy. Cheney queried how far the bishops for whom the earliest registers were kept actually thought of those records as distinct registers.[2] This thesis has shown that in York at least, it was under Romeyn that ideas of what exactly a register was and how it should be kept were taking shape.

Third, both Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers record how the archbishops sought to draw on the authority of the past for the present, and in turn intended their own registers to be passed on and used in the future practice of archiepiscopacy. Under Wickwane, this was primarily about gathering material. It is not always clear how or why historic documents were being redeployed, but there was nonetheless an effort to collate material that evidenced archiepiscopal rights in York. Wickwane himself actively sought to acquire material that evidenced his rights, as in his request to Godfrey Giffard requesting evidence of his right to visit Durham, in order to assert his claim. Alongside this reliance on material from the past, there was a deliberate concern for preserving his own material for the future. This is evidenced most clearly in the creation of the later version of his register. Producing a second version of his register to be left in York suggests that Wickwane was concerned that a version of his register remain in York for those administering the archdiocese in his absence or even after his death.

Romeyn also turned to the records of his predecessors and his register preserves specific cases where information was drawn from those records. It records his reissuing of historic material, such as through *inspeximus* charters and reissuing visitation corrections. Moreover, at least some material was inserted into Wickwane's register under Romeyn; it was not simply a point of reference but was being deployed as an archive. This engagement with the past suggests an awareness of the potential uses of his own register under future archbishops. As with Wickwane's later register, there was also a particular effort made to keep the register in the see. That Romeyn left the register with the vicar-general during his absences abroad shows how it was understood as a record for the archdiocese. It was intended to be passed on to his successors as record of archiepiscopacy.

[2] Cheney, *English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250*, 108.

Examining these choices has shed light on a wider issue: archiepiscopacy was something to be performed and constructed. Registers offered a tool to do this. I argue that this was just as much about what was not registered as what was registered. Omissions from the register did not simply stem from the volume of material produced by the archiepiscopal chancery and the registrar's inability to keep up. While some material was not typically registered, the occasional entries of letters received by the archiepiscopal chancery, rather than written by it, such as royal letters, reveal that the parameters for what could be registered were not fixed. Instead, choices were ongoing. This also worked the other way: in the dispute with Durham, it was not only the court material that was omitted from Wickwane's register, but any material related to preparations for those court cases. As Wickwane sought to ignore the authority of the 'Durham court', so too did his register avoid recognising its authority. Similarly, while much of Romeyn's pursuit of the York dean, Robert of Scarborough, was registered, the problems this caused with the king were not. That this was a deliberate choice is further evidenced by the misrepresentation of Romeyn's visit to Edward I in 1288. Butcher's argument that 'to record is to choose ways of recording' has proven as applicable to the registers as the civic records he was examining.[3] Even if the only intended audience was the archbishops' successors and their administrators, the registers were highly selective and far from neutral; in focusing on the exercise of archiepiscopal authority, they sought to portray Wickwane and Romeyn as effective and authoritative archbishops.

It is here that the significance of recognising episcopal registers as a form of archive comes to the fore. As illustrated most clearly in Romeyn's agreement with the York chapter that he could visit but their faults would not be committed to 'continuous memory', control of the archive was a recognised and contested right. While this agreement was not limited to the recording of corrections in the register, it nonetheless demonstrates the significance of recording practices for the construction and performance of archiepiscopacy. By recording archiepiscopal activities, especially when those activities were contested, the register offered a testament to archiepiscopacy as Wickwane and Romeyn understood it. As McSheffrey argued, in the

[3] Butcher, "The Functions of Script," 157–70.

archive 'the written record then becomes what happened'.[4] This was crucial for establishing their legacies, especially in cases when neither archbishop could effectively fulfil their role in the way they wanted.

Fourth, the role of registers as working records was more limited for these archbishops than previous scholarship has suggested. Both Wickwane and Romeyn sought to fulfil their responsibility to their flock and enforce the clerical standards set out in reform councils: they expected priests to be present in their parish, to be sufficiently educated, and to be ordained within a year of their appointment. They visited religious houses, cathedral chapters, and archdeaconries to examine standards of spiritual provision and oversaw a penitential system that sought to reconcile sinners. This required significant amounts of information and led to the production of many documents. Although registers offer some of the best-preserved examples of these documents, they were only one of many records of archdiocesan administration being kept for the archbishops, and other rolls and registers were used for day-to-day accountability in specific activities. Therefore, the place of the registers within the daily workings of the archbishops should not be overstated.

That said, the questions of what should be registered and how that might support day-to-day archiepiscopal practice were live ones. Wickwane's register bears evidence of attempts to incorporate types of material that would allow him to monitor the standards of pastoral care more easily. The brief keeping of subsections for licences to study, for instance, indicates that efforts were made to facilitate the use of the register for reference. Similarly, the use of sections for corrections demonstrates another effort to arrange material for easy consultation. Yet, unlike Archbishop Eudes Rigaud's register in Rouen, there is limited evidence of engagement with register entries after they had been made – occasional amendments or notes were added but we do not see the type of frequent updates that make it likely the register was a key tool for the day-to-day monitoring of the archdiocese.[5] The collation of particular kinds of material might better be seen as evidence of working out how to arrange the register so as to make it

[4] McSheffrey, "Detective Fiction in the Archives," 73.
[5] Davis, *The Holy Bureaucrat*.

navigable, as occurred under Wickwane, more than the register being used as an effective tool for regular accountability.

Under Romeyn, the register was more frequently used to record the delegation of archiepiscopal authority, typically through the use of memoranda denoting the people and processes of administration used. This was a pattern in York's fourteenth-century registers, as Rees Jones argued, but it appears to have had its roots in Romeyn's archiepiscopate.[6] Moreover, as Romeyn's business took him out of the archdiocese in a way that Wickwane's had not, his register was adapted to record the exercise or delegation of archiepiscopal authority in his absences, through the inclusion of the 'vicar-general's register'. This occurred in conjunction with the development of the vicar-general's role, as well as that of the *officialis*. As with Wickwane's register, there is little evidence that such entries were frequently updated, but they nonetheless stood as evidence of delegation at a particular moment, and could, in theory, allow the archbishop to hold his agents accountable.

Another key finding is that the importance of registers to an archbishop's administration cannot simply be measured by the number of entries. If this were the case, the significant reduction in entries from Wickwane's later years would suggest its diminishing importance for his office. While his register cannot have been the sole record for administering the archdiocese, the later copy simply would not have been produced if the register was viewed as marginal; moreover, the creation of the final appended section in the period after Wickwane had left for Rome and the insertion of at least some documents into the register during Romeyn's archiepiscopate skews patterns of entry. Indeed, while the role of the register in providing the archbishop with information needed for the day-to-day practice of archiepiscopacy has perhaps been overstated, registers were distinguished by their intended permanence, and their significance for the construction of ideas of archiepiscopacy has not been sufficiently recognised. They were a record of archiepiscopacy in action, shaped by the present but with an eye to the future – a space for collating the archbishop's voice and actions, along with rights and precedents of the office, to be passed on to their successors.

[6] Rees Jones, "Administrative Records."

Moreover, different uses of the register coexisted: I have shown that both registers were used for form, but how this occurred and how important it was compared to other uses fluctuated over the period. These varied uses cannot simply be measured by the number of entries.

This thesis has also demonstrated the value of examining the physical register alongside the material it contains. The manuscripts have yielded extensive insights into the activities that produced them and how scribes and administrators engaged with them. The creativity of the scribes in the margins of the registers, for example, has revealed more of the stages of learning and conditions of production than the material itself. In Wickwane's register, decorative titles and doodles of heads distinguish the original register from the later version. In addition, although both registers comprised smaller gatherings, under Romeyn there was a clear sense of the register as a coherent record with a clear order from early in his episcopate, a point demonstrated by codicological study of the index-calendar alongside examples of the language of *registrum* and *registrare*. In particular, using the digitised versions of the registers has facilitated far closer consideration of how exactly material was registered, cross-referencing it with the editions, without the usual constraints of visits to the archive. Doing so has allowed for a more detailed examination of how the space of the register was used beyond the material itself – marginal notes, headings, amendments, and the like reveal how the scribes were physically engaging with the register. These features have proven key to recognising the distinct registration initiatives and ongoing learning that occurred throughout the period.

Through its comparative approach, the thesis has fundamentally laid bare the specific ways in which archiepiscopacy and registration were shaped by Wickwane's and Romeyn's individual understandings of their office and attempts to fulfil it. It has identified some of the important relationships and background influences that determined how they did so. Such a comparative approach could be applied fruitfully to examine the learning of registration in other dioceses. Canterbury offers the most obvious parallel: the registers of John Pecham and Robert Winchelsey have been used in studies of the two archbishops, but less thought has been given to how their distinct approaches to archiepiscopacy shaped the keeping of their registers. Similarly, while

Richardson's study of Bishops Richard Swinfield (in Hereford) and John of Pontoise (in Winchester) examined the relationship between each bishop and his register, comparison within Hereford, between Swinfield's register and that of his predecessor, Thomas Cantilupe, offers the opportunity to examine the development of registration in a context where more episcopal material survives or has been identified.[7] Cantilupe's and Swinfield's visitation records, examined by Forrest and Whittick – could reveal with greater clarity what decisions were being made about what to register.[8] Another avenue would be to compare different ways of archiving material related to a given issue, as this thesis did with the Durham dispute.

Investigating how distinct modes of archiepiscopacy shaped archiving even within the same diocese or institution also opens up new questions for archival studies more broadly. Often such studies have focused on a particular moment: the production of a cartulary as a response to a threat to the institution, or an individual's desire to validate their authority. These have tended to focus on the newness of a particular record or style of record-keeping and have been shaped by similar ideas of development and efficiency to registers. Asking how archiving practices changed from one leader to the next, be it a bishop, prior, king, or count, offers a way of examining the archive as something that was in flux, adapted to suit the specific needs of the person or institution for whom it was kept. Moreover, examining registers alongside cartularies has the potential to reveal more of the specific ways in which different types of documents were being redeployed through their compilation into a permanent record and the versatile uses of record to support institutional authority.

Overall, this thesis has shown that Wickwane's and Romeyn's registers were kept not simply as tools to support their day-to-day practice of archiepiscopacy but as a space to construct and preserve the ways in which archiepiscopacy was understood and practised as a broader phenomenon. Neither was intended to be a complete record of archiepiscopal activity. But they were a deliberate record. There was an inherent sense of the permanence of registers, an 'archival mentality', that shaped the choices of entry. These registers were produced in the specific contexts of Wickwane's and

[7] Richardson, *A Bishop and his Diocese*.
[8] Forrest and Whittick, "The Thirteenth-Century Visitation Records of the Diocese of Hereford."

Romeyn's archiepiscopates but with an eye to both the past and the future of archiepiscopacy in York.

Abbreviations

BL	British Library, London
Bod.	Bodleian Library, Oxford
DCD	Archive of the Dean and Chapter of Durham
Giffard MS	Borthwick Institute for Archives, Abp Reg 2: Walter Giffard (1266-1270)
Reg. Giffard	*The Register of Walter Giffard: Lord Archbishop of York, 1266-1279*, ed. William Brown (Surtees Society, 1904)
Reg. Romeyn	*The Register of John Le Romeyn: Lord Archbishop of York, 1286-1296*, ed. William Brown, 2 vols. (Surtees Society, 1913-17)
Reg. Wickwane	*The Register of William Wickwane: Lord Archbishop of York, 1279-1285*, ed. William Brown (Surtees Society, 1904)
Romeyn MS	Borthwick Institute for Archives, Abp Reg 4: John Le Romeyn (1286-1296)
TNA	The National Archives, Kew
Wickwane MS	Borthwick Institute for Archives, Abp Reg 3: Wiliam Wickwane (1279-1285)

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Borthwick Institute for Archives, York

Abp Reg. 2 (Register of Walter Giffard)

Abp Reg. 3 (Register of William Wickwane)

Abp Reg. 4 (Register of John le Romeyn)

British Library, London

Cotton MS Claudius B.III (Minster Cartulary)

Cotton MS Julius D IV (Durham Chronicle)

Stowe MS 930 (Durham composite register)

Durham Cathedral Archives, Durham University Library Archives & Special Collections, Durham

DCD 4.1.Archiep.3a (Wickwane and Claxton's agreement to submit to arbitration in 1283)

DCD 4.1.Archiep.3b (duplicate of 3a)

DCD 4.1.Archiep. 3c (duplicate of 3a)

DCD 4.1.Archiep.4a (Wickwane's ordination of the church of Skipwith as a prebend of the church of Howden)

DCD 1.2Archiep.9 (Romeyn's renunciation of proceedings against Durham)

DCD 2.2.Archiep.8 (ratification of agreement between dean and chapter of York and prior and convent of Durham during vacancies)

DCD 4.2.Archiep.3 (indenture of agreement between Romeyn and prior and convent of Durham)

DCD 4.2.Pap.2 (mandate from Pope Martin IV regarding Adderbury's excommunication)

DCD Cartuarium Vetus (cartulary compiled 1220-1230)

DCD Loc.III:50 (record of dispute between Wickwane and the chapter)

DCD Loc.VII:14 (pleas in the dispute between Bek and the prior)

DCD Loc.XIV:1g (certification of Pecham regarding the dispute between Wickwane and the chapter)

DCD Loc.XIV:2g (notarial instrument reciting inspeximus of seal of papal-judges delegate's commissary)

DCD Loc.XIV:2k (notarial instrument reciting appeal of John, son of Bertram, proctor of prior and convent of Durham)

DCD Loc.XIV:4d (notarial instrument reciting appeal to the apostolic see)

DCD Loc.XIV:2c(iv) (mandate of papal judges-delegate)

DCD Loc.XIV:2c(v) (mandate of papal judges-delegate)

DCD Loc.XIV:2c(vii) (mandate of papal judge-delegate)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1a (mandate of papal judges-delegate)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1c (mandate of principal papal judge-delegate and commissaries of the chancellor of Lincoln)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1d (mandate of principal papal judge-delegate and commissaries of the chancellor of Lincoln, copy of 1c)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1e (mandate of principal papal judge-delegate and commissaries of the chancellor of Lincoln, copy of 1c)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1f (prior and convent's appointment of proctors)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1g (letter of papal judge-delegate and commissaries excommunicating Wickwane, copy of 1w)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1u (appointment of subdelegates by dean of St. Paul's)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/1v (appointment of subdelegates by dean of St. Paul's)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/14 (notarial instrument reciting procuration and appeal by Durham's proctors)

DCD Misc.Ch. 5820/18 (*provocatio* on behalf of Wickwane)

DCD Misc.Ch. 7177 (cartulary fragment)

DCD Rep. Mag. (*Repertorium magnum*)

DCD Rep. Parv (*Repertorium parvum)*

Hereford Cathedral Archives

1050a (visitation roll)

The National Archives, Kew

C 85/171-175 (Significations of excommunication, York, 1276-96)

SC 1/12/145 (Edward I to Edmund, earl of Cornwall, on Romeyn's dispute with York chapter)

SC 1/12/146 (Edward I to Edmund, earl of Cornwall, protection for the dean of York)

SC 1/12/148 (Edward I to Edmund, earl of Cornwall, regarding Romeyn)

SC 1/14/15 (Edward I to Romeyn, postponing summons)

SC 1/30/206 (Romeyn to Edmund, earl of Cornwall, on Bogo de Clare)

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