

Community and Identity in the Shadow of York Minster:

The Medieval Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is her own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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Abstract

This thesis examines the development of the institutional identity of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, York, from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.

Following its foundation next to York Minster in the late 1170s, the chapel went through a series of reforms and re-foundations. It is these moments of activity and change which enable us to examine how the chapel's identity was being constructed and conceived. Over the course of its history, the community and its identity developed in response both to the wishes of its founder and its relationship with the cathedral church. This thesis accordingly explores the relationship between the constitutions, administration, personnel and liturgy of the two institutions.

The thesis is split into two parts: Part One examines the foundations and constitution of the chapel. Chapter One surveys existing approaches to the chapel and examines the context of the foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels' within the cathedral close and some elements of its early purpose and function. Chapter Two explores the development of the chapel's constitution in the thirteenth century, with a focus upon its administrative figures. Chapter Three considers the challenges to the chapel and its identity from external influences upon its personnel and architectural developments within the cathedral in the fourteenth century. Part Two focuses on the long fifteenth century. Chapter Four is a prosopographical study of the chapel's canons, demonstrating the cohesion between the communities of the chapel and minster. Chapter Five offers a study of the York Antiphonal, considering its relevance to the York Use and liturgical renewal in the fifteenth century. Chapter Six addresses aspects of the liturgical identity of the chapel using the York Antiphonal. Chapter Seven concludes the history of the chapel and considers the community and dissolution of the chapel in the sixteenth century.

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Abbreviations

Aylmer and Cant, <i>History of York Minster</i>	G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant, eds, <i>A History of York Minster</i> (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977; repr. 1979)
BI	Borthwick Institute
<i>BRUC</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Cambridge to 1500</i> (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963)
<i>BRUO</i>	A. B. Emden, <i>A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to AD 1500</i> , 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957)
<i>CPL</i>	W. H. Bliss, ed., <i>Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland: Papal Letters Volume 1 AD 1198-1304</i> (London: HMSO, 1893)
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Patent Rolls</i>
<i>EYC</i>	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , YASRS Extra Series, 12 vols (1914-65)
<i>JEH</i>	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
<i>ODNB</i>	<i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> (Oxford University Press, 2004) < www.oxforddnb.com >
Raine, <i>HCY</i>	James Raine, ed., <i>The Historians of the Church of York and its Archbishops</i> , 3 vols (London: Longman, 1879-94)
SS	Surtees Society
<i>Testamenta</i>	<i>Testamenta Eboracensia: A Selection of Wills from the Registry at York</i> , 6 vols, SS (1836-1902)
<i>YAJ</i>	<i>Yorkshire Archaeological Journal</i>
YAS/YASRS	Yorkshire Archaeological Society/Yorkshire Archaeological Society Record Series
<i>York Statutes</i>	James Raine, ed., <i>The Statutes, etc., of the Cathedral Church of York</i> , 2nd edn (Leeds: Richard Jackson, 1900)

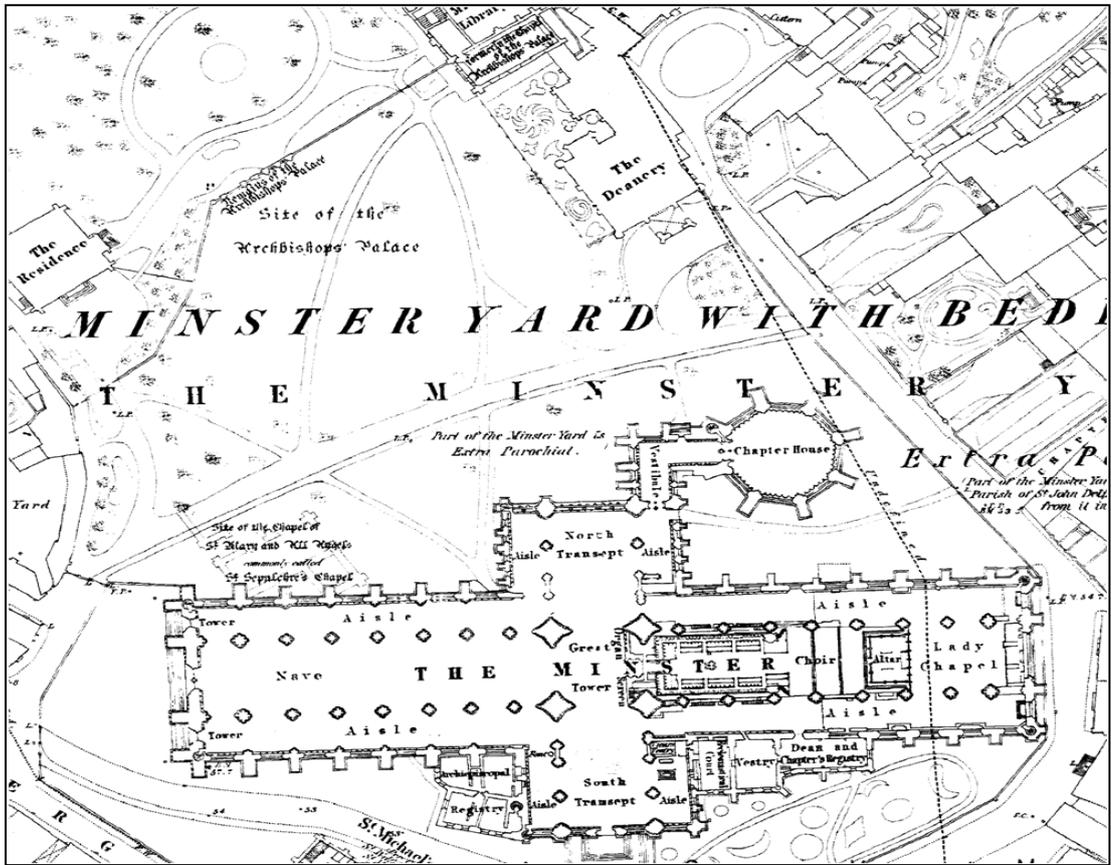
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Maps



Map 1: Plan of York Minster taken from Ordnance Survey 1852 [OS Grid SE65] © Crown Copyright and Landmark Information Group Limited (2013) All rights reserved (1852)

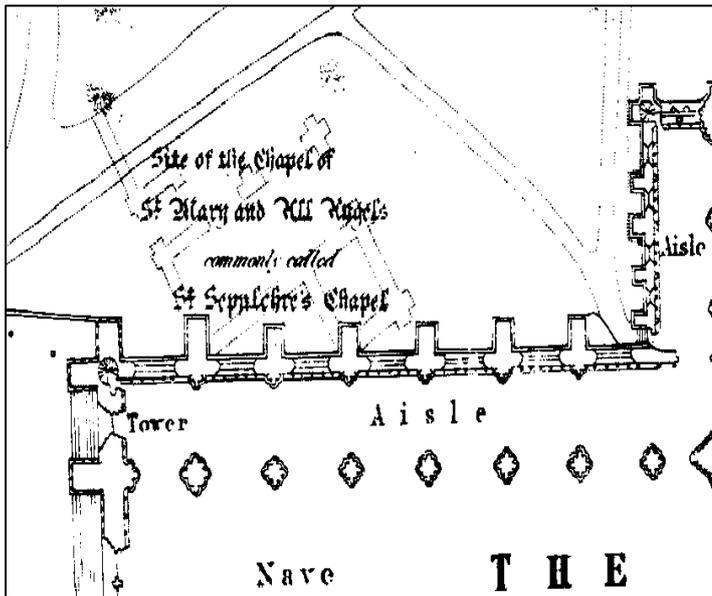
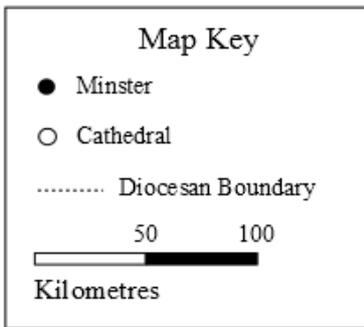


Figure 1: Detail of Map 1 showing the supposed location of St Sepulchre's chapel, based upon John Browne's excavations (1847)



Map 2: The Diocese of York

[drawn by Stephen Werronen after Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154* (London: Longman, 1979), p. 322]

Introduction

In the later twelfth century Roger of Pont l'Évêque, Archbishop of York from 1154 to 1181, founded a collegiate chapel on the north side of York Minster. The chapel was dedicated to St Mary and the Holy Angels, but from the mid-thirteenth century onwards it became commonly known as St Sepulchre's.¹ It was a large foundation, initially of thirteen secular clerics, one of whom held the position of sacrist, and who was responsible for the management of the chapel and had overall control of the finances. The chapel was constitutionally conjoined to the minster, and its early organisation is known from copies of two archbishops' charters. The earlier of these documents may be regarded as Archbishop Roger's foundation charter and can be dated to between 1177 and 1181.² In 1258 the chapel was re-founded by Archbishop Sewal de Bovill (1256-58), augmenting both its endowments and the number of clergy, and confirming the status of the chapel as a community of secular canons.

The chapel was dissolved at the Reformation and no buildings now stand on the site, which lies in what is known as Dean's Park. An elaborate blocked-off doorway in the minster north-nave aisle and two doors in the buttress outside it (Figures 2 and 3) are assumed to have connected to the collegiate buildings, either directly or via a passage or vestibule. This monumental doorway is the only surviving

¹ During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries some churches were re-dedicated to the Holy Sepulchre as a result of the influence of the crusades and the church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem. Frances Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications: or, England's Patron Saints*, 3 vols (London: Skeffington and Son, 1899), I, pp. 35-36. I suggest that the name of the chapel in York derives partly from a commemoration of the Holy Sepulchre and more specifically from its liturgical use in the rites of Holy Week and Easter. This is discussed further in Sections 1.6 and 6.2. Mention of the chapel as St Sepulchre's first appears in 1266, in *CPR: Henry III, 1258-1266* (London: HMSO, 1910), p. 557. The next use of the name is found in 1282, in William Brown, ed., *The Register of William Wickwane, Lord Archbishop of York 1279-1285*, SS, 114 (1907), p. 332; BI, Register 3, fol. 155^r, 'in capella sancti sepulchri Ebor'. The use of this name in the archbishop's register is unusual. In official documents, and indeed elsewhere in the same register, the chapel is referred to by its official dedication to St Mary and the Holy Angels. A chronological distinction is made in this thesis with regard to the name St Sepulchre's, which is only used when referring to the chapel after the mid-thirteenth century, or in more general historical terms.

² The dating of this charter is discussed in Section 1.3.

witness to the potentially imposing structure which stood beside the minster. Although the two buildings were physically close they lay under different jurisdictions.³ The minster was the responsibility of the dean and chapter of York, whereas the chapel was under the authority of the archbishop. The chapel stood towards the edge of what tradition regards as the *curia* of the archbishop's palace (Map 1).⁴ The physical relationship between the minster and the chapel therefore in many ways reflects their institutional relationship.⁵ The aim of this thesis is to illuminate the chapel's internal history and examine its institutional identity: what form the institution took, its liturgical life, function, personnel, and its relationship with York Minster. The significance of the chapel derives from the size of its community, its proximity to the cathedral church and its position under the patronage and authority of the Archbishop of York, combining to make this an unusual institution which deserves closer attention than it has hitherto received.

³ In this it resembled the rest of the city of York which was also characterised by different but closely adjoining franchises.

⁴ Barrie Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages 1215-1500', in Aylmer and Cant, *History of York Minster*, pp. 44-109 (pp. 94-95); Christopher Norton, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at York and the Topography of the Anglian City', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 151 (1998), 1-42 (pp. 11-12); Christopher Norton, *Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux and the Norman Cathedral at York*, Borthwick Papers, 100 (York: BI, 2001), pp. 11-13. Also see Section 1.1.

⁵ The words 'chapel' and 'minster' are used throughout this thesis with a dual meaning, representing both a physical structure and an institution, or sometimes both at once.



Figure 2: North-West corner of York Minster, Dean's Park



Figure 3: Door to St Sepulchre's, north aisle of the minster nave, second bay from the west end. Carvings show a figure of the Virgin Mary flanked by two angels

The study of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels is a delicate operation because the surviving records are scattered and fragmentary. The dissolution of the chapel appears to have been the cause of the loss of its internal records, as well as its physical structure.⁶ There is much speculation concerning the potential architectural splendour of the chapel, the reality of which may never be ascertained. A. G. Dickens recognised that ‘perhaps the most grievous artistic loss resulting from the Edwardian changes was the chapel of St Sepulchre’s College’.⁷ A key approach in this thesis has been to focus on the relationship of the chapel with a much better documented institution: York Minster itself.

Study of the chapel has hitherto been marginalised in scholarship on York’s ecclesiastical institutions, and on the cathedral in particular. There is much wide-ranging scholarship on the English secular clergy, especially the cathedral canons.⁸ In addition to these large-scale studies, smaller prosopographical studies have proved useful for numerous groups of clergy in medieval England.⁹ Barrie Dobson’s work is

⁶ Those institutions which survived the Reformation, such as the cathedral and the college of the vicars choral of York, in a slightly altered form, have managed to retain many of their medieval records. See Frederick Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College: The Story of the Vicars-Choral of York Minster* (London: Murray, 1952), p. x.

⁷ P. M. Tillott, ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of Yorkshire. The City of York* (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 117.

⁸ Kathleen Edwards compares the constitution of St Sepulchre’s with that of later colleges of resident chantry priests, in *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages: A Constitutional Study with Special Reference to the Fourteenth Century* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1949), pp. 303-04. See Sections 1.4 and 2.3 for more on Edwards’ discussion. A. H. Thompson, *The English Clergy and their Organisation in the Later Middle Ages: The Ford Lectures for 1933* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947; repr. 1966); David Lepine, *A Brotherhood of Canons Serving God: English Secular Cathedrals in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1995). There are also several bodies of work on the lives of secular clergy in England which are important: *BRUO*; *BRUC*; John Le Neve and B. Jones, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1300-1541, volume VI: Northern Province* (London: Athlone Press, 1963); there are various notes on the York canons in numerous volumes of the Surtees Society, the most comprehensive are those in A. H. Thompson, ed., *Miscellanea*, SS, 127 (1916), pp. 291-302.

⁹ Julia Barrow has published extensively on cathedral canons in the twelfth century using a prosopographical approach, see: ‘Cathedrals, Provosts and Prebends: A Comparison of Twelfth-Century German and English Practice’, *JEH*, 37 (1986), 536-64; ‘Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons in England and Germany 1100-1225’, *Viator*, 20 (1989), 117-38; ‘Origins and Careers of Cathedral Canons in Twelfth-Century England’, *Medieval*

especially relevant, dealing as he often has, with the cathedral canons of York.¹⁰

Roberta Gilchrist has highlighted that even recent scholarship on English cathedrals has focused upon the cathedral church, generally excluding the surrounding precinct; yet the cathedral landscape permits a long-term interdisciplinary perspective.¹¹ Only recently has literature emerged on the secular collegiate institutions of England, with the aim of ascertaining how they operated, how they were used and the nature of their contribution. Clive Burgess and Martin Heale, in particular, have suggested that one of the themes to emerge from this recent work is the mutability of the college: as institutions, they could offer a variety of forms and functions.¹² This thesis therefore provides a useful contribution to this relatively neglected field of study, in particular examining how such smaller collegiate churches could function in relation to the

Prosopography, 21 (2000), 23-40; 'Clergy in the Diocese of Hereford in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 26 (2003), 37-53. Also see: Marilyn Oliva, 'All in the Family? Monastic and Clerical Careers among Family Members in the Late Middle Ages', *Medieval Prosopography*, 20 (1999), 161-80; Nicholas Bennett, 'Pastors and Masters: The Beneficed Clergy of North-East Lincolnshire, 1290-1340', in *The Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History: Studies Presented to David Smith*, ed. by Philippa Hoskin, Christopher Brooke and Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 40-62; David Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy in Cleveland and the East Riding 1306-1340*, Borthwick Papers, 37 (York: St Anthony's Press, 1969); Joel T. Rosenthal, 'The Northern Clergy: Clerical Wills and Family Ties', *Medieval Prosopography*, 20 (1999), 147-59. Also see Peter Heath, 'Between Reform and Reformation: The English Church in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries', *JEH*, 41 (1990), 647-78, which provides a review of some of the scholarship on the later medieval clergy.

¹⁰ Barrie Dobson: 'Residentiary Canons of York in the Fifteenth Century', *JEH*, 30 (1979), 145-74; 'Cathedral Chapters and Cathedral Cities: York, Durham and Carlisle in the Fifteenth Century', *Northern History*, 19 (1983), 15-44; 'Recent Prosopographical Research in Late Medieval English History: University Graduates, Durham Monks, and York Canons', in *Medieval Lives and the Historian: Studies in Medieval Prosopography*, ed. by Neithard Bulst and Jean-Philippe Genet (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications Western Michigan University, 1986), pp. 181-200.

¹¹ Roberta Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2005; repr. 2006), p. 1.

¹² Clive Burgess and Martin Heale, eds, *The Late Medieval English College and its Context* (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press, 2008); Anna Eavis, 'The Commemorative Foundations of William of Wykeham', in *The Medieval Chantry in England*, ed. by Julian M. Luxford and John McNeill (Leeds: Maney, 2011), pp. 169-95; Clive Burgess, 'Fotheringhay Church: Conceiving a College and its Community', in *The Yorkist Age: Proceedings of the 2011 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Hannes Kleineke and Christian Steer, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 23 (Donington: Tyas, 2013), pp. 347-66.

larger cathedral churches, and demonstrating the multi-functionality of St Mary and the Holy Angels’.

The disparate nature of the sources perhaps explains the chapel’s relative absence within existing scholarship, with scholars focusing on only certain aspects of the institution, whilst scholarship on York Minster, especially its archaeological and architectural history, continues to be extensive.¹³ The main objective of this thesis is to draw out the chapel’s history from that of the minster. Even though there were two large institutions side by side no-one has questioned the minster’s relationship with the chapel. Such an approach helps to define the chapel, whilst also providing new ways of thinking about and potentially re-defining the minster.

Strong antiquarian interests have surfaced at different times. In the nineteenth century significant scholarship on York Minster emerged, with John Browne and James Raine entering into various debates concerning the history of the minster and the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.¹⁴ Indications of the chapel’s site rest on written references and the discovery of foundations to the north-west of the cathedral nave in 1847 by Browne (see Map 1 and Figure 1).¹⁵ Brief episodes of excavation

¹³ In addition to the works mentioned below, there have also been a number of studies dedicated to York’s vicars choral. Julian D. Richards, *The Vicars Choral of York Minster: The College at Bedern* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 2001); there are four essays dedicated to the vicars choral at York in *Vicars Choral at English Cathedrals: Cantate Domino. History, Architecture and Archaeology*, ed. by Richard Hall and David Stocker (Oxford: Oxbow, 2005). Barrie Dobson has suggested that there is a paradox in the scholarship concerning English cathedrals: ‘the dramatic contrast between the enormous amount of scholarly attention paid to the cathedral as a building and the more or less complete neglect, until very recently, of the men who actually worshipped within that building.’ See Dobson, ‘The English Vicars Choral: An Introduction’, in *Vicars Choral*, ed. by Hall and Stocker, pp. 1-10 (pp. 9-10).

¹⁴ Raine established the Surtees Society in 1834 in order to publish documents relating to the region which constituted the old kingdom of Northumbria, and in 1858 Raine edited and published *The Fabric Rolls of York Minster*, SS, 35 (1858). Browne and Raine entered into several lively debates with one another through their publications. See the introduction to Raine’s *Fabric Rolls* and John Browne, *Fabric Rolls and Documents of York Minster: or a Defence of ‘The History of the Metropolitan Church of St Peter, York’*, Addressed to the President of the Surtees Society (York: [n. pub.], 1862).

¹⁵ Browne was responsible for excavating what he believed to be parts of St Sepulchre’s complex, the results of which he published in *The History of the Metropolitan*

during the repairs dating from 1967 to 1972 revisited parts of Browne's excavation and added to knowledge of its vicinity, but left interpretation unresolved.¹⁶ The connecting features (Figures 2 and 3) and the chapel itself were variously mentioned in the great work of the twentieth century on the cathedral, G. E. Aylmer and Reginald Cant's *A History of York Minster* (1977) and more recently by Sarah Brown.¹⁷ Christopher Norton has proposed pre-Conquest influences on the historical topography of the minster precinct, suggesting that the chapel inherited a much older religious site, partly explaining its unusual orientation.¹⁸ In parallel, a current English Heritage research project, being carried out by Norton and Stuart Harrison, is attempting to reconstruct the eleventh- and twelfth-century minster, which has special relevance for the architectural and artistic milieu of Archbishop Roger's work, and in particular his rebuilding of the east end of the minster.

A. H. Thompson's 1944 essay is the only study dedicated entirely to St Sepulchre's, pointing the way for several avenues of research. The complete destruction of the chapel has directed both Thompson's and my own research towards the documentary material.¹⁹ Thompson's essay deals primarily with the chapel's constitution, as set out in its two foundation charters. Beyond this, he states that 'of the internal history of the institution little record remains apart from memoranda of

Church of St Peter, York, 2 vols (London: Longman, 1847), I, pp. 180-81. See Section 1.5.

¹⁶ Derek Phillips, *The Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux: Excavations at York Minster, Volume II* (Swindon: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, 1985), pp. 51-52.

¹⁷ Barrie Dobson included the chapel in his discussion of the minster's chantries, in 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 94-95; John H. Harvey has discussed the communicating architectural features, in 'Architectural History from 1291 to 1558', in Aylmer and Cant, *History of York Minster*, pp. 149-92 (p. 181); David E. O'Connor and Jeremy Haselock have suggested that there are possible fragments of glass elsewhere in the minster that belonged to the chapel, in 'The Stained and Painted Glass', in Aylmer and Cant, *History of York Minster*, pp. 313-93 (pp. 378-83). Sarah Brown, *'Our Magnificent Fabrick': York Minster, an Architectural History c. 1220-1500* (Swindon: English Heritage, 2003), pp. 107-08.

¹⁸ Norton, 'Anglo-Saxon Cathedral', p. 14.

¹⁹ A. H. Thompson, 'The Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, otherwise known as St Sepulchre's Chapel, at York', *YAJ*, 36 (1944), 63-77, 214-48 (p. 63).

collations of prebends, which are plentiful'.²⁰ Thompson has made full use of these 'plentiful' records to produce a detailed list of the chapel's canons with biographical notes. He comments that the account in the *Victoria History of the County of York* is generally accurate, but that it omits any positive statement with regard to the chapel's purpose.²¹ Thompson provides examples from elsewhere of later chantry colleges, which he sees as comparable to St Sepulchre's, but concludes that none were ever as large or the chaplains of such high status as at York. He does not make any further suggestions about the possible site of St Sepulchre's.²²

The most recent scholarship is still based on Thompson's essay and tends to repeat his view that the chapel was an early chantry foundation. Even so, the chapel has never been satisfactorily considered or defined, and the issue of it being regarded as a chantry is more complex than currently appears in the scholarship. I argue that the term 'chantry' does not represent the institution accurately, nor does it cover its history adequately. This definition of the chapel's function is discussed in Chapter One, with the purpose of establishing what has already been said regarding the nature of the foundation.

Assumptions made in the early scholarship on the chapel have been perpetuated and need to be readdressed. Moreover, there are elements about this supplementary institution, concerning its institutional and liturgical identity, which are missing in the current literature. The physical relationship of the two structures bears

²⁰ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 72. Thompson wrote essays on various aspects of collegiate and chantry communities and the English clergy more widely, therefore his essay on St Sepulchre's is part of this larger body of work. See especially, A. H. Thompson, 'The Collegiate Churches of the Bishoprick of Durham', *The Durham University Journal*, 36 (1944), 33-42 (p. 39), for comments similar to those he makes regarding St Sepulchre's chapel.

²¹ William Page, ed., *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of the County of York, Volume 3* (London: University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1913; repr. 1974), pp. 383-85.

²² For example, Thompson mentions the chapel of St Elizabeth at Wolvesey Castle and the chapel founded by Bishop Adam Houghton at St David's Cathedral. Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 66-67. See Section 1.5 for further examples of chantry chapels and bishops' chapels which are comparable with York.

on the matter of how St Sepulchre's functioned liturgically in relation to the minster, and has never been considered for this purpose before. The site of the chapel is therefore considered, in Chapters One and Six, in the context of other examples of bishops' chapels and early intercessory foundations and in terms of its liturgical use and identity, rather than attempting to reconcile the physical issues.

The main focus is necessarily on the people and activities that filled the now lost chapel buildings. The investigation of St Sepulchre's community provides a greater understanding of how the cathedral community as a whole functioned.²³ The community was not self-contained and should be understood within the contexts of the cathedral, diocese and the development of secular collegiate and cathedral churches. As Ian Stuart Sharp has recently suggested in considering the minsters of Ripon, Beverley and Southwell, their study provides the opportunity for exploring the complex web of relationships and influences that surrounded such smaller institutions, and between the greater and smaller chapter (see Map 2 for these minster churches).²⁴

The chapel's two foundation documents provided the legal authority upon which its institutional, liturgical and communal identity was continually reconstructed throughout the rest of its history. Such a focus, which is the main theme of this thesis, requires the acceptance of identity as something which can be consciously redefined, and an answer to the question of what identity actually constitutes for such institutions. The key elements of such an institutional identity, and those which are to be considered here, are its perceived history, institutional structures and the individuals within it. Changes to these elements and administrative decisions can shape this

²³ This reflects the conclusion of Edwards in her study, revealing the complex and varied interests which were represented by the number of separate organisations which grew up in the cathedral close. Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 326.

²⁴ Ian Stuart Sharp, 'The Minster Churches of Beverley, Ripon and Southwell 1066-c.1300' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Hull, 2009), p. 7.

identity.²⁵ Furthermore, by examining these charters over the long view of the chapel's history, it is clear that they were continually appealed to because they were important legal foundation documents that must be adhered to. The lack of internal records for St Sepulchre's is therefore not as much of a hindrance to writing the constitutional history of the chapel as one might expect when these episcopal charters are considered in this way.

Of both Archbishop Roger's and Sewal's charters, no originals survive, but they are known from copies inserted into Archbishop William Greenfield's register (1306-15) at the beginning of the fourteenth century.²⁶ Part One of this thesis addresses the foundations and constitution of the chapel from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. The contents of the charters are reconsidered in Chapters One and Two in order to establish the chapel's constitution, intended purpose, the initial construction of its identity, and the role of its administrative figures.²⁷ This theme is continued in Chapter Three, but with the focus on how the institutional identity could be challenged when the legal constitution of the chapel was ignored, and the attempts of the archbishops of York to deal with these challenges, by appealing to the chapel's legal foundation documents.²⁸

Part Two covers the main chronological focus of the thesis: the long fifteenth century. This was a period of both turmoil and prosperity. The building and the liturgy of both the cathedral and chapel underwent a process of final completion, indicating a period of fruitful patronage and stability for the community at York. As not much has been said about the later history of the chapel the focus of this project on the later Middle Ages offers a new approach. Thompson's study of St Sepulchre's serves as an

²⁵ Sharp, 'Minster Churches', p. 26.

²⁶ BI, Register 7, fols 3^r-5^r; A. H. Thompson, ed., *The Register of William Greenfield, Lord Archbishop of York 1306-1315*, 2 vols, SS, I: 145 (1931), p. 9. The text of the charters are given in full in Appendix 2.

²⁷ See Sections 1.3 and 2.1.

²⁸ See Section 3.2.1.

important starting point for the investigation of the fifteenth-century community.²⁹ Chapter Four considers the individual members of the chapel, based on Thompson's work, and how their careers within St Sepulchre's related to their wider ecclesiastic careers, through a prosopographical study. Any prosopography of a medieval community must to some extent be incomplete due to its reliance upon what information is extant in the surviving records.³⁰ Nevertheless, this study has revealed that the community of St Mary and the Holy Angels' was constructed of individuals who were also important members of the cathedral community and chapter.

Although this is primarily the study of one specific institution within its very immediate local contexts, this is not strictly a local or regional history. It is my understanding that the study of such a secular ecclesiastical institution in the late medieval period can never strictly be 'regional'; as Jonathan Hughes describes in his work, the clergy of such an institution were important figures in universities, court and government, as well as regionally diverse ecclesiastic institutions.³¹

One significant new source enables us to readdress the matter of the chapel's liturgical relationship with the minster: a late fifteenth-century antiphonal which has been identified as belonging to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.³² The current scholarship on the York Antiphonal is extremely significant and is part of an

²⁹ Thompson's list of canons covers the history of the chapel up until its dissolution, but provides limited analysis of the community. Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 214-48.

³⁰ In her prosopography of people featured in Domesday Book, K. S. B. Keats-Rohan has expressed that no absolute certainty is claimed for any of the results, and that the entire programme of research was based on the idea of uncertainty, expressed as degrees of probability. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166. 1. Domesday Book* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), p. 59. Also see Marilyn Oliva for discussion of the advantages and limitations of a prosopographical approach, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350-1540* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1998), p. 220.

³¹ Jonathan Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries: Religion and Secular Life in Late Medieval Yorkshire* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1988), p. 4.

³² Arundel Castle Archives, MS s.n. (York Antiphonal). *The Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music (DIAMM)* <www.diamm.ac.uk> contains images of the whole manuscript. The reasons for the ascription of the manuscript to St Sepulchre's are discussed in Chapter 5.

important study into the York Use, which has been neglected until fairly recently. Andrew Hughes has considered the polyphony found at the beginning of the manuscript and certain elements of the book's decoration.³³ Matthew Salisbury has provided the most in-depth examination of the antiphonal thus far through a comparison of its responsory series with other York Use books.³⁴ This scholarship has helped to contextualise the manuscript in certain ways, but the questions so far asked of the antiphonal are not relevant to the focus of this thesis. It is the manuscript's rubrics which enable us to fully appreciate the significance of this book to both the history of the chapel and minster and to the York liturgical rite, and these have not previously been systematically examined. Two different methodologies are therefore employed in the examination of the York Antiphonal. Chapter Five considers the history of the book, in the context of the fifteenth-century community, through the Reformation and into the modern period. This has never been considered before and has helped to link the antiphonal to the community and history of the chapel. The existing scholarship on the York Use is also considered in Chapter Five, in light of the nature of the antiphonal's rubrics. Chapter Six examines the contents of significant parts of the antiphonal, namely the general rubrics and those for Holy Week and Easter, to consider more fully the chapel's purpose, function and identity with a new focus: the role of the chapel and its community in the wider liturgical programme of the cathedral church of York.

The records for the sixteenth-century community of St Sepulchre's differ from those of the previous century and provide rare instances of the personnel of the chapel

³³ Andrew Hughes, 'Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony Discovered in Norwich and Arundel', *Music and Letters*, 59 (1978), 148-58 (pp. 154-58); Andrew Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts for Mass and Office: A Guide to their Organisation and Terminology* (London: University of Toronto Press, 1982), pp. 291-92.

³⁴ Matthew Cheung Salisbury, *The Use of York: Characteristics of the Medieval Liturgical Office in York*, Borthwick Papers, 113 (York: BI, 2008).

as a complete group.³⁵ The nature of these records and these clusters of canons are examined in Chapter Seven of this thesis, to consider whether the change in the records reflects a change in the identity of the community. I suggest that, whilst the sixteenth century heralded little change in the chapel until its eventual dissolution, it is the fifteenth century in which we can see the characteristics of the community most clearly and the chapel in full swing. Nevertheless, to fully understand the significance of what happened in the fifteenth century and to examine the development of institutional patterns, we must consider the extended history of the chapel, from foundation to dissolution.

The thesis is structured chronologically, following Richard Pfaff's approach to liturgical history, in which he suggests that any attempt to write history must respect chronological sequence as a primary mode of structure. However, as Pfaff has done, chronology will only provide a framework rather than being consistently privileged; in each period we are presented with different types of evidence and at certain points it is necessary to discuss earlier or later matters where they are most appropriate thematically.³⁶ In its entirety, therefore, the thesis covers the period between the establishment of Norman constitutions and liturgies in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the liturgical changes brought about by the Reformation of England in the sixteenth century. These are the limitations employed in Frank Harrison's classic work, in which he suggests that the end of the Latin rite marks the close of the medieval period, because English music was so intimately bound up with ritual tradition.³⁷

³⁵ These records include the 1520s Clerical Subsidy, the 1535 *Valor Ecclesiasticus* and the chantry surveys of 1546 and 1548.

³⁶ Richard W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 16, 18.

³⁷ Frank L. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1958), p. xiii.

It is necessary for me to make links between different types of evidence available and also between sources from varying periods in the chapel's history, and to use a range of different methodological approaches.³⁸ It is from the foundation documents that we know the chapel performed important liturgical duties on behalf of the minster, and this relationship has now been tested through examination of the York Antiphonal. The chapel may appear sporadically in the records, but there are fluxes of activity and key moments in which it comes into focus. Overwhelmingly, these are moments in which attempts are made to confirm or reconstruct the chapel's identity through appeals made to the legal foundation of the chapel. Taking an interdisciplinary approach to the chapel demonstrates the extent to which the various elements of it - its legal constitution, community of canons and liturgy - were intimately connected. This reveals a clearer impression of how the institution functioned than is often the case in the study of ecclesiastical institutions of medieval England.

Different aspects of the chapel's relationship with York Minster are addressed across this thesis, alongside consideration of the attempts to create an identity distinct from that of the cathedral church. The findings suggest that as adjunct institutions the two cannot be considered apart and a study of St Sepulchre's is thus inherently necessary to an understanding of the minster itself. Furthermore, I argue that the later medieval history of York Minster can no longer be considered without distinct reference to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.

³⁸ To avoid repetition, connections are indicated by cross-referencing between chapters. In different periods different kinds of evidence present themselves. Diana Greenway has discussed this for the earlier period covered by this thesis, in 'Ecclesiastical Chronology: Fasti 1066-1300', *Studies in Church History*, 11 (1975), 53-60.

Part I

Foundations and Constitution

Chapter One

Founding the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels

The Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels was founded in the late twelfth century by Archbishop Roger of Pont L'Évêque. The foundation charter of Roger underpinned the constitutional framework of the chapel and demonstrates his concerns, which the foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels' was intended to address, within the cathedral and diocese.¹ Such an overtly large and wealthy foundation must be considered in terms of the context in which it was built. This chapter introduces the chapel and its constitution by discussing the actions of Roger, the motivations and purposes behind the foundation, and the institutional nature of the chapel. It is necessary to reconsider the nature of the foundation and its institutional and devotional functions in order to understand the early relationship between the chapel and the cathedral church.

As such, the first part of the chapter considers the chapel's foundation within the context of Archbishop Roger's career and building works at York. The chapel's early foundation charter enables us to examine what was instituted within the chapel and what this can tell us about its function. Existing scholarship on St Sepulchre's has failed to satisfactorily define the nature of the institution; although Norton sees the institution in terms that are too simplistic, he is right when he describes it as 'something of an oddity'.² That the chapel was built on land belonging to the archbishop and under his authority has helped to perpetuate the view that St Mary and the Holy Angels' was little more than a personal and private foundation for

¹ Usually statutes would offer a legalistic rendition of the founder's intentions, but if statutes had indeed existed alongside the foundation document they have not survived. See Magnus Williamson, 'The Eton Choirbook: Its Institutional and Historical Background' (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1997; revised for publication by Digital Image Archive of Medieval Music, 2009), p. 8.

² Norton, 'Anglo-Saxon Cathedral', p. 14.

Archbishop Roger. However, the interesting contrast between an institution under archiepiscopal control yet linked physically and with access to the minster needs to be given greater consideration.³ The evidence of the chapel's constitution and site indicates a far more significant role for St Mary and the Holy Angels' in the history and liturgy of York Minster than has previously been suggested.

1.1 The Diocese and Cathedral of York

Before considering the chapel itself, it is necessary to say something about the cathedral and diocese of York and its organisation. This is the framework in which the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels belonged and from where its canons largely came. The five archdeaconries of York covered the entire diocese, which included the West and East Ridings of Yorkshire, Cleveland, Richmondshire and the county of Nottinghamshire. At its southern-most tip the diocese stretched beyond Nottinghamshire into Leicestershire, and north-west over the Peak District, bordering Lichfield and Chester, it stretched beyond the western moors into Lancashire, Cumberland and Westmorland (see Map 2).⁴ This was a huge and expansive territory. Under Archbishop Thurstan (1114-40) many new religious houses were founded, many of which were new centres of regular Austin canons, whose influence was to be felt among the scattered population of such wide and untamed territories. Thurstan

³ Maureen C. Miller considers that where episcopal chapels are concerned it is often difficult to distinguish whether such an institution was part of the liturgical complex of the cathedral, or part of the archbishop's palace, in *The Bishop's Palace: Architecture and Authority in Medieval Italy* (London: Cornell University Press, 2000), p. 39.

⁴ Donald Nicholl, *Thurstan: Archbishop of York (1114-1140)* (York: Stonegate Press, 1964), p. 17; Thompson, *English Clergy*, pp. 64-65. Julia Barrow has highlighted the importance of understanding the ecclesiastical geography of a diocese to the study of its clergy, because the study of parishes and settlements helps us to understand the lives and career patterns of the clergy, providing the framework within which we can place them: Barrow, 'Clergy in the Diocese of Hereford', p. 38.

made no attempt to reform the secular communities of the existing minsters of Beverley, Ripon and Southwell.⁵

Thurstan's eventual successor in 1141 was William Fitzherbert (1141-47 and 1154), a royal chaplain and treasurer at York Minster. William represented secular intervention in ecclesiastical affairs and his election was a blow to the reforming group in the north, which Thurstan had championed. William was soon replaced in 1147 by a man much more amenable to those who wished to see the spread of such monastic foundations, Henry Murdac, Abbot of Fountains. But Murdac was never wholly accepted in York, and with the re-instatement of William in May 1154 and the subsequent succession of Roger of Pont L'Évêque that same year, the See of York was firmly placed in the hands of the secular clergy.⁶

Archbishop Roger felt that Thurstan had never committed a graver error than by building religious foundations.⁷ Roger's attempts to keep his diocese financially stable and to provide all the clerics needed to run it were constantly being frustrated by the fact that, under Thurstan, so much wealth had passed into monastic hands. William of Newburgh ascribes to Roger a hatred for men in religious houses and a penchant for secular clergy, as was the tradition of the Norman prelates, because secular communities represented valuable opportunities for patronage.⁸ During his

⁵ Nicholl, *Thurstan*, pp. 111, 125-28, 143-45. Several local families were responsible for these new foundations, some of whom were also connected to foundations more relevant to this thesis. William and his wife Cecily de Rumilly introduced Augustinian canons to Embsay; their daughter, Avice de Rumilly, later donated Harewood church to the foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels, and married William Paynel, the founder of Drax priory. See Sections 1.3 and 2.3.4 for the families associated with Roger's foundation. See Section 5.2.3 for the significance of the connection to William Paynel.

⁶ Nicholl, *Thurstan*, pp. 241-42.

⁷ William of Newburgh, *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II and Richard I*, ed. by Richard Howlett, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1884-89), I (1884), p. 226.

⁸ William of Newburgh, *Historia*, I, p. 226; Nicholl, *Thurstan*, p. 211. Roger's friend, Bishop Hugh de Puiset, founded six secular collegiate churches in the county of Durham. See D. M. Loades, 'The Collegiate Churches of County Durham at the Time of the Dissolution', *Studies in Church History*, 4 (1967), 65-75 (pp. 65-66).

pontificate, therefore, we see a demonstrated concern for the secular churches of the diocese.

The idea of a fully secular chapter of canons enjoying separate incomes was introduced to the cathedral community at York by the first Norman archbishop, Thomas of Bayeux (1070-1100). It conformed to the model to which he had been accustomed in Normandy. The decision by Archbishop Thomas to reject both a community of regular canons, which he had inherited at York, and the alternative model of a monastic chapter, influenced the physical appearance of the minster precinct.⁹ Norton has suggested that Thomas can be credited with the division of the minster precinct between the archbishop and the dean and chapter.¹⁰ The minster became the responsibility of the dean and chapter, whilst Thomas reserved for his successors the area of the archbishop's palace on the north side of the present minster. It was on the edge of this area that Roger built his collegiate chapel, dedicated to St Mary and the Holy Angels.¹¹

⁹ Charles Johnson, ed., *Hugh the Chanter: The History of the Church of York 1066-1127*, rev. by M. Brett, C. N. L. Brooke and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), pp. xxiv-xxv, 18-19; Rosalind M. T. Hill and Christopher Brooke, 'From 627 until the Early Thirteenth Century', in Aylmer and Cant, *History of York Minster*, pp. 1-43 (p. 22); Norton, *Archbishop Thomas*, pp. 5-9. Thomas was not alone in introducing this kind of reform; there were soon a total of nine secular cathedrals in England, all staffed by secular clergy who abandoned their communal life and acquired individual property. See Stanford E. Lehmborg, *The Reformation of Cathedrals: Cathedrals in English Society, 1485-1603* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), pp. 4-5. The eleventh-century archbishops of York had encouraged secular communities of canons living a communal life. Janet M. Cooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*, Borthwick Papers, 38 (York: St Anthony's Press, 1970), p. 1.

¹⁰ Norton, *Archbishop Thomas*, pp. 12, 28. For Thomas's rebuilding and re-ordering of the cathedral at York see *Hugh the Chanter*, pp. 2-21.

¹¹ Norton, *Archbishop Thomas*, pp. 12-13. Norton argues that the *curia* or 'enclosure' to the north of the minster must represent the site of the Anglo-Saxon minster. Norton, 'Anglo-Saxon Cathedral', p. 12. It does look as though there was a pre-Conquest enclosure, as Norton describes, but whether the Anglo-Saxon cathedral was inside it has not been substantiated. The Anglo-Saxon cemetery was not in this 'enclosure'; that has been found to the south side of the present cathedral. Richard Morris suggests that there is no reason to doubt that the Anglo-Saxon minster lies anywhere other than the vicinity of the eleventh-century church, as at Winchester, Wells and Exeter, where a Norman prelate chose to erect a new cathedral alongside the old. See Richard Morris, 'Alcuin, York and the Alma Sophia', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and Archaeology in Honour of Dr*

The boundary between the areas of the archbishop's and dean and chapter's jurisdiction was the source of much conflict and contention between the two parties at several points throughout the medieval period.¹² The archiepiscopal household originally constituted the cathedral chapter, but, although the line of distinction was not clear, it came to denote the men who formed the permanent staff of the archbishop, separate from the chapter.¹³ The members of St Mary and the Holy Angels' were often clerks of the archbishop, suggesting that, as the cathedral chapter became more distinct from the archbishop's household, the community of the chapel took its place as the route of his clerks into ecclesiastic benefice.

Maureen C. Miller has considered this pattern of change in medieval Italy, where the formation of cathedral chapters, with their institutional and spatial autonomy, complicated the space of the cathedral. In response to the cathedral chapters, the Italian bishop's particular space became his palace, and to compensate for the loss of the sacred space of the cathedral he added his own sacred space to his residence in the form of a private chapel.¹⁴ Archbishop Roger seems to have taken the idea of a separate episcopal sacred space one stage further. As well as building a chapel as part of the episcopal palace,¹⁵ he also constructed a new collegiate institution in the form of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, which was under his authority, but whose community were involved in the liturgical workings of the cathedral. In this way Roger could directly influence the sacred space of the cathedral and the preferment of canons into the cathedral chapter.

H. M. Taylor, ed. by L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris, *Research Report 60* (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1986), pp. 80-89 (p. 80).

¹² The archbishop's authority within the minster was limited; the cathedral statutes say that the dean is second to none within the chapter, and this often became a contentious issue, especially during archbishop's visitations of the cathedral. *York Statutes*, p. 3.

¹³ Janet E. Burton, ed., *York 1070-1154*, *English Episcopal Acta*, 5 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), p. xxxiii.

¹⁴ Miller, *Bishop's Palace*, pp. 14-15. See Section 1.5 for other examples of bishop's palace chapels.

¹⁵ This chapel survives now as part of York Minster Library.

1.2 Roger of Pont L'Évêque: The Dispute with Canterbury and Architectural Aspirations

Despite the imposition of such a large institution at York, and with it the archbishop's presence within the minster, it seems unlikely that Roger had intended to found St Mary and the Holy Angels' as a rival body to the chapter of York. The political context of the foundation suggests rather that Roger was doing all he could to strengthen York's prestige and not to cause animosity within its chapter, whose support was vital to his ambitions. Roger inaugurated the first age of great building at York since Thomas of Bayeux and, like Thomas, he also used his architectural campaigns as political tools in the primacy dispute with Canterbury.¹⁶ The dispute between York and Canterbury has been well documented; however, Roger's conflict with Canterbury also involved a more personal rivalry, which further explains the reasons behind his building campaigns within the diocese of York.

Royal and ecclesiastical patronage assisted Roger's rapid promotion at a time of major change and upheaval in Anglo-Norman politics.¹⁷ His career began at Canterbury Cathedral, where, by 1148 he had become archdeacon under Archbishop Theobald (1139-61). In 1154 the York chapter were persuaded by Theobald to elect Roger as their archbishop following the death of William Fitzherbert.¹⁸ Theobald gave

¹⁶ Thomas's building was a message to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury that York was a force to be reckoned with. The dispute over primacy between York and Canterbury was a theme which lasted for much of the Middle Ages. One of the major themes of Hugh the Chanter's chronicle is the struggle of Archbishop Thurstan (1114-1140) to preserve the independence of the see. This is highlighted by a secondary plot relating the struggle between the monks of Canterbury and the secular clerks of York. See *Hugh the Chanter*, p. xxiii; Burton, *York 1070-1154*, p. xix. For the origins of the dispute, dating from Augustine's foundation at Canterbury, see Nicholl, *Thurstan*, pp. 36-37.

¹⁷ Roger of Howden records that Roger succeeded to the archiepiscopate from the gift of King Stephen, in *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedene*, ed. by William Stubbs, 4 vols (London: Longman, 1868-71), I (1868), p. 213. Also see, Marie Lovatt, ed., *York 1154-1181*, English Episcopal Acta, 20 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. xxiii.

¹⁸ Roger is first noticed as a clerk in the household of Archbishop Theobald shortly after Theobald's consecration in 1139. Frank Barlow, 'Pont L'Évêque, Roger de (c. 1115-1181)', *ODNB* [accessed 23 March 2010]. William of Newburgh records how Theobald

the archdeaconry, left vacant by Roger's elevation, to another of his clerks, Thomas Becket, and a year later Theobald also secured Becket as the king's chancellor. However, the death of Theobald and the choice of Becket to succeed him drastically changed the scene.¹⁹ Roger became embroiled in an irreconcilable feud between Becket, now Archbishop of Canterbury, and King Henry II, culminating in the usurpation by Roger in the coronation of Prince Henry in 1170 and delivering a decisive blow to Canterbury's rights and Becket's pride; Canterbury's most prized privilege had been violated.²⁰

Becket's infamous murder took place in December 1170, around which time Roger was reconstructing the eastern arm of York Minster. Roger's grand rebuilding of York's east end can be seen as part of his ambitions to pursue York's primacy and rights, by challenging Canterbury's architectural prestige. Roger sought to improve on the model of Canterbury's 'glorious' choir.²¹ Fragments of Roger's new choir and his surviving crypt at York show it was one of the most impressive buildings of the late twelfth century, with an innovative design which departed from Canterbury with a

advanced Roger's election through effective cunning, whilst the king turned a blind eye, *Historia*, I, p. 95

¹⁹ Roger of Howden records these events in *Chronica*, I, pp. 213, 215, 218-19; Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1066-1154* (London: Longman, 1979), p. 94; Barlow, 'Pont L'Évêque', *ODNB*.

²⁰ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, II (1869), pp. 4-5. John of Salisbury describes how the Archbishop of York and all the bishops who took part in the illegal coronation of the new king were subsequently suspended from episcopal office. See *The Letters of John of Salisbury: Volume Two, The Later Letters (1163-1180)*, ed. by W. J. Millor and C. N. L. Brooke (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), no. 304, p. 719; Frank Barlow, *Thomas Becket* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1986), p. 207; Anne Heslin, 'The Coronation of the Young King in 1170', *Studies in Church History*, 2 (1965), 165-78 (p. 176).

²¹ Malcolm Thurlby, 'Roger of Pont L'Évêque, Archbishop of York (1154-81), and French Sources for the Beginnings of Gothic in Northern Britain', in *England and the Continent in the Middle Ages: Studies in Memory of Andrew Martindale*, ed. by John Mitchell (Stamford: Tyas, 2000), pp. 35-47 (p. 37); Christopher Wilson, 'The Cistercians as "Missionaries of Gothic" in Northern England', in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. by Christopher Norton and David Park (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), pp. 86-116 (p. 91); M. F. Hearn, 'Ripon Minster: The Beginning of the Gothic Style in Northern England', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, 73 (1983), 1-196 (p. 92); Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 9.

rectangular eastern end, and which inspired the spread of Gothic architecture in the north of England.²²

Nevertheless, whatever Roger had gained against Canterbury with his grand rebuilding was soon lost through the unexpected death and subsequent canonisation of Becket, just two years later.²³ Furthermore, after the fire of 1174 a new chapel was built at Canterbury to house the shrine of St Thomas and the rebuilding of the east end enabled Canterbury to re-establish its architectural prestige.²⁴ Canterbury was intended to stand as testimony to the highest and most allegorically rich vision of patronage of its time, and the rebuilding provided a peculiar resolution to its special predicament as the shrine-church of an exceptional cult.²⁵

²² Influenced by Burgundian Cistercian sources it was thereafter notably adopted by the Yorkshire Cistercian houses. Wilson, 'The Cistercians', pp. 91-115; Thurlby, 'Roger of Pont L'Évêque', p. 47; Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, pp. 5-6; Hearn, 'Ripon Minster', p. 92. Also see, W. R. Lethaby, 'Archbishop Roger's Cathedral at York and its Stained Glass', *Archaeological Journal*, 72 (1915), 37-48. New research conducted by Stuart Harrison and Christopher Norton suggests that Roger's east end may not have been strictly rectangular. Two east-west returns found cutting through the 'square' have suggested an extension to Roger's east end, with a possible rotunda, like those found at St Germain, St Bertin and the later corona at Canterbury (post 1174). Harrison has suggested that this possible rotunda may have been used as a Lady Chapel, in 'Reconstructing a Lost Cathedral: York Minster in the 11th and 12th Centuries', IMS Open Lecture Series, University of Leeds, 15 November 2011. A similar suggestion has been made at Wells Cathedral, where foundations at the east end of Bishop Reginald's church are assumed to have been a Lady Chapel of c. 1180. Warwick Rodwell, ed., *Wells Cathedral: Excavation and Structural Studies 1978-93*, 2 vols (London: English Heritage, 2001), I, pp. 136-37. See Section 1.5 for further discussion of the Lady chapels at Wells. If this was the case at York then the issue of Archbishop John Thoresby's (1352-73) building of the fourteenth-century Lady Chapel needs wholly revising, and would alter suggestions surrounding the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels as a possible Lady Chapel. See Chapter 3 for Thoresby's Lady Chapel and Chapter 6 for liturgical suggestions that St Sepulchre's served the function of a Lady Chapel. There are further examples of twelfth-century east end Lady chapels, such as at Hereford Cathedral. R. K. Morris, 'The Architectural History of the Medieval Cathedral Church', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London: Hambledon Press, 2000), pp. 203-40 (pp. 212, 237).

²³ Hearn, 'Ripon Minster', p. 92.

²⁴ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, II, p. 70; Peter Draper, *The Formation of English Gothic: Architecture and Identity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 15.

²⁵ Paul Binski, *Becket's Crown: Art and Imagination in Gothic England 1170-1300* (London: Yale University Press, 2004), pp. 27, 29.

Becket's murder, subsequent canonisation and immediate cult must have had a dramatic impact on Roger; his rival in life had now become his perpetual rival.²⁶

Roger could not now compete with Becket the saint; but his architectural aspirations and his desire to promote York and the diocese extended beyond the cathedral itself.

Alongside the new archiepiscopal palace, within the grounds of which St Mary and the Holy Angels' lay, Roger also promoted a massive rebuilding programme at Ripon Minster, a further sign of his devotion to secular communities of canons.²⁷ The rebuilding of Ripon was part of the development of a cult to rival St Thomas of Canterbury, through the promotion of St Wilfrid. Roger's patronage of Ripon Minster is significant because it has been described as the first completely Gothic building in the north of England and is his only surviving near-complete work.²⁸

No doubt the canons of York had regarded Roger's election as an imposition from Canterbury, but he was tireless in upholding the rights of his see. Through his work at Ripon, the construction of his own elaborate chapel and the sumptuous edification of York Minster and its precinct, Roger ensured that he left his own mark at York and a deliberate statement of the see's importance.²⁹ Witness lists to charters

²⁶ Many contemporaries suspected Roger of complicity in Becket's murder. Hill and Brooke, 'From 627', p. 38; *John of Salisbury*, no. 306, pp. 739-43, no. 307, pp. 744-49. However, Lovatt believes that some of Roger's *acta* reveal a sense of repentance in his hostility towards Becket and that instances of Becket's miracles at York persuaded him to finally repent. Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, pp. ix, xxiii, xxix, xxx. For the miracles of St Thomas involving York, see James Robertson, ed., *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury*, 7 vols (London: Longman, 1875-85), I, pp. 253-54, 334-36.

²⁷ At York, along the northern boundary of the area now called Dean's Park survives an arcade, which some historians have attributed to Roger's building works at the palace. See R. M. Butler, 'Notes on the Minster Close', *York Historian*, 14 (1997), 10-25 (p. 13); Norton, 'Anglo-Saxon Cathedral', p. 9.

²⁸ Hearn, 'Ripon Minster', p. 1. The date of St Mary and the Holy Angels' suggests it would have been a fully Gothic structure like that at Ripon. However, Roger may have chosen to make stylistic differences in the architecture of the chapel, as has been suggested of the difference between his crypt and choir, to reflect its liturgical use. Thurlby, 'Roger of Pont L'Évêque', pp. 35-37; Draper, *Formation of English Gothic*, p. 215.

²⁹ It is possible that the building work on St Mary and the Holy Angels' had already begun before Becket's new shrine was constructed, and therefore Roger's chapel may not have been a direct answer to the Canterbury cult. However, it can be seen as part of Roger's wider ambitions to promote York, and one may perhaps assume that the personal relationship

provide some indication of the relationship between Roger and the canons of York, since those clerks who were known and trusted by the archbishop would most likely appear as witnesses to important documents. Roger seems to have rewarded such men for their long service by promoting them to high office within the church and bestowing them with canonries in the collegiate churches of Ripon, Beverley and Southwell, and, at York, in the minster or in the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.³⁰ Roger's policy seems to have worked favourably and the loyalty of the cathedral chapter to him never seriously wavered, despite the foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels', which Roger seems to have used to establish his own authority within the cathedral close.³¹

The rivalry with Canterbury and Roger's subsequent desire to promote the See of York explains his large scale building works at York and Ripon. The foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels' was a part of this wider scheme, but its more specific purpose and the needs which it fulfilled for Roger can only be understood by examining the nature of the chapel's constitution and institutional identity.

1.3 Roger's Foundation Charter

The date limits of Archbishop Roger's charter for the chapel depend primarily on the use of titles and the positions of leading witnesses.³² Master Guy, one of the witnesses, likely became master of schools following the death of Robert Magnus on 27

and antagonisms between the two archbishops in life continued to affect Roger after Becket's death.

³⁰ Roger's affinity with his cathedral personnel is noteworthy in contrast to that of his successor, Geoffrey Plantagenet (1189-1212), whose chapter attest none of his later charters. Geoffrey also suffered serious disputes and problems with the loyalty and behaviour of the cathedral chapter. Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, pp. l-liii; Marie Lovatt, ed., *York 1189-1212*, English Episcopal Acta, 27 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. xlii, lix, lxi; Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, III (1870), pp. 31-32, 222-23.

³¹ Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, p. xliii. Roger of Howden does not reveal any instances of disputes between them, although this may have been a reflection of his own personal feelings towards Archbishop Roger.

³² The charter uses Roger's legatine title; Alexander III first addresses Roger as Legate in a papal bull of 30 September 1164; Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, p. lvi.

September 1177; assuming that the position of Guy above the archdeacons in the witness list also implies he was master of schools by this time, the charter must date from after 1177.³³ It can therefore be dated to the last four years of Roger's life, between 1177 and 1181, and as Thompson suggested, 'we probably should not be far wrong if we placed it in 1179'.³⁴ As such, this must have been among the latest acts of Roger's pontificate.

Turning to the contents of Roger's charter we can see that the preamble is reflective, which, as he was probably into his sixties at the time and had achieved many great things, is understandable.³⁵ It expresses thanks for all the things which the divinity had deigned to be accomplished in his time, which, he states, cannot be expressed briefly. Roger dedicated the chapel for his successors; the succeeding archbishops of York therefore became its patrons and were responsible for its survival. There were to be thirteen clerics of diverse ranks: four priests, four deacons, four subdeacons and a sacrist. The sacrist was to report to the archbishop on whatever was done in the chapel and he also had overall control of the finances; he was to receive any excess of the revenues after the clerics had been paid, but he was not to bear any deficit. The priests were to receive ten marks, the deacons one hundred shillings, and the subdeacons six marks per year. However, if the revenue of the endowments was not sufficient to supply this then they would receive less, in order that the sacrist would always receive ten marks. Despite the sacrist's role, the foundation deed demonstrates that it was the archbishop who retained ultimate authority. The clerics were expected to be resident near to the chapel, and any of them residing outside the

³³ Master Guy witnesses six of Roger's charters as master of schools, but as Robert and Guy never appear together in the charters, those of Guy were presumably issued after Robert's death. C. T. Clay, 'The Early Precentors and Chancellors of York', *YAJ*, 35 (1943), 116-38 (p. 133); Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, pp. xxxix, 144; David Carpenter, 'The Dignitaries of York Minster in the 1170s: A Reassessment', *Northern History*, 43 (2006), 21-37 (p. 22).

³⁴ Clay, 'Early Precentors', p. 133; Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 65.

³⁵ For the diplomatic terminology used in Roger's charters see Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, pp. lviii-lxiv.

city and unwilling to return at the admonition of the archbishop would be removed and his portion assigned to another of the same rank.³⁶

The intention of Roger seems to have been to supply the staff of the chapel with clergy from his own service or household, maintaining the connection between the chapel and minster through the person of the sacrist.³⁷ The appearance of Hamo among the witnesses of the foundation charter not only helps to date the document, but also demonstrates his relationship with Archbishop Roger. Hamo was a member of the York chapter and precentor of the cathedral when Roger appointed him as the chapel's first sacrist. His appointment was intended to create a permanent link between the cathedral chapter and the new chapel.³⁸ Hamo was thereafter promoted to treasurer and finally to dean of York Minster by 1217. Thompson suggests that Hamo resigned the office of sacrist of the chapel on his accession to the deanery, but provides no evidence for this. Nevertheless, Hamo died before April 1220.³⁹ Hamo's rise under Roger over several years indicates that he was one of Roger's well-trusted clerks; therefore, his appointment as sacrist also established a very significant relationship between this office, the archbishop and the York chapter, which remained influential for many centuries.⁴⁰ By appointing his own clerks to the chapel Roger could exercise a level of control and influence over the preferment of canons into the personnel of the cathedral and its chapter.

³⁶ Appendix 2: 1.

³⁷ The role of the chapel as the route to benefice for the archbishops' clerks continued throughout its history and can be seen expressly in the fifteenth century. See Chapter 4.

³⁸ An assize from 1204 records that Hamo had been appointed sacrist by Roger, and still held the post at that date. See C. T. Clay, ed., *Three Yorkshire Assize Rolls for the Reigns of King John and King Henry II*, YASRS, 44 (1911), pp. 21-22.

³⁹ The treasurership, at the time when Hamo held it, was still combined with the archdeaconry of the East Riding; the two were separated under Archbishop Walter de Grey in 1218, the charter to which Hamo, as dean, witnesses himself. C. T. Clay, *York Minster Fasti*, 2 vols, YASRS, I: 123 (1957), pp. 2-3; James Raine, ed., *The Register, or Rolls, of Walter Gray, Lord Archbishop of York, with Appendices of Illustrative Documents*, SS, 56 (1870), pp. 132-33; Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 68, 214; Carpenter, 'Dignitaries of York Minster', p. 35.

⁴⁰ The role of the sacrist is discussed further in Section 2.3.

The chapel and its clergy were to be supported by a number of church endowments. Five of these had belonged wholly or in part to the archbishop, and would remain free and quit of charges: Otley, Bardsey, Everton, Hayton, and Sutton with the chapel of Scroby. These ancient archiepiscopal estates in Yorkshire and Nottinghamshire, out of which the chapel's income was carved, reinforce the position of St Mary and the Holy Angels' as the archbishop's own college distinct from the cathedral itself. By demising a portion of his demesne to the chapel, Archbishop Roger was also delegating much of the management of the property forming the endowment to the institution, thereby relieving his own administration. Furthermore, since the foundation of such a college could generate further finances indirectly for the archbishop through lay investment, a further four churches were acquired from the gift of certain faithful and prominent persons of the diocese for the endowment.⁴¹ These churches and their donors were: Calverley (William Scot), Hooton Pagnell (William Paynel), Harewood (Avice de Rumilly), and Thorp Arch (Adam de Brus and his wife Ivetta de Arches).⁴² These families may have expected intercessory masses to be said for them within the chapel. They would certainly have hoped that their 'good work' of endowing a collegiate community to celebrate the divine office would earn them heavenly credit.⁴³ All these churches now enjoyed the archbishop's protection, but would continue to pay synodal and other dues to the archbishop and his officials.⁴⁴

⁴¹ Charles Fonge, 'Patriarchy and Patrimony: Investing in the Medieval College', in *Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Hoskin, Brooke and Dobson, pp. 77-93 (p. 91).

⁴² The history of these churches as endowments illustrates the difficulties many ecclesiastical foundations experienced in keeping hold of churches when the fortunes of their donors changed. Some of them are discussed further in Section 2.3.4.

⁴³ Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, p. 25.

⁴⁴ Archbishop Sewal de Bovill's re-foundation charter for St Mary and the Holy Angels' provides further details concerning the chapel's endowments. See Section 2.3 and Appendix 2.

1.4 ‘Ob peccatorum nostrorum remissionem’: the Foundation of an Early Chantry

The foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels’ was part of a wider scheme of works by Roger; nevertheless, it provided a different kind of patronage from Roger to that of his other building works at the cathedral, because he could claim complete jurisdiction within it. Thompson states that ‘it needs no stretch of imagination to regard the foundation of the chapel as Roger’s thank-offering for the blessings of his episcopate’.⁴⁵ He goes on to assert that ‘constitutionally Roger’s chapel was an early example of the colleges of resident chantry priests which became common at a later date’.⁴⁶ The motivations behind the foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels’ and its intended purpose were outwardly to give thanks to God and provide for constant intercession, through the celebration of the divine office, ‘iuxta constitutionem ecclesie beati Petri’, for the glory of Roger’s successors and the remission of his sins.⁴⁷ The intercessory function of the chapel cannot be denied, but, as Thompson himself points out, this was the primary object of every religious foundation of the Middle Ages. Beyond the two sentences already quoted, Thompson does not comment any further on the chapel’s purpose or use.⁴⁸

More recent scholars seem to have been willing to accept Thompson’s views ever since. Scholars have hitherto clung to the idea of the chapel’s function as an early form of chantry, focusing on the phrase in Roger’s foundation document, ‘ob peccatorum nostrorum remissionem’, with little further consideration given to its

⁴⁵ Thompson, ‘The Chapel’, p. 65. The opening statement of intent in Roger’s foundation charter indicates that this was the case. See Appendix 2: 1.

⁴⁶ Thompson, ‘The Chapel’, p. 66.

⁴⁷ Appendix 2: 1. Lovatt suggests that the foundation for the remission of sins shows signs of Roger’s repentance towards Thomas Becket. Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, pp. xxix, xxx.

⁴⁸ Thompson implied by his critique of the account of St Sepulchre’s in the *Victoria History of Yorkshire* that he would supply a positive statement of the chapel’s purpose, but he fails to push his analysis any further. Thompson, ‘The Chapel’, pp. 65-66; Page, *History of the County of York*, 3, pp. 383-85.

constitution.⁴⁹ David Crouch provides the most considered view of this issue to date: that the appearance of early chantries can be seen in the late twelfth century, with the existence of secular communities facilitating the evolution of the late medieval chantry. He describes St Mary and the Holy Angels' as a 'collegiate chapter church' and suggests that such a foundation can be seen as a prototype secular chantry; however, he concedes that as a collegiate community in its own right St Mary and the Holy Angels' was not strictly speaking a chantry in the late medieval sense.⁵⁰

The organisation of St Mary and the Holy Angels' did indeed have much in common with later colleges of resident chantry priests: the churches appropriated to the chapel were regarded as appropriated to the sacrist as an individual, and its personnel were to be paid a fixed stipend from a general fund.⁵¹ On the other hand, Roger's foundation was influenced by the penitential teaching of the twelfth century, as well as by a growing awareness of the need to reform canonical life.⁵² The provision of three ranks of clergy was necessary to ensure proper observance of the liturgy and the expectation of residence demonstrates his desire to promote a more

⁴⁹ Appendix 2: 1. Dobson says that its consideration as an early chantry college is open to question, but he provides no other suggestions, in 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 94. Norton describes St Mary and the Holy Angels' as 'a kind of chantry chapel for Roger and his successors' and 'essentially a large chantry foundation at a period long before such institutions had come into fashion'. Norton, 'Anglo-Saxon Cathedral', pp. 11, 14.

⁵⁰ David Crouch, 'The Origin of Chantries: Some Further Anglo-Norman Evidence', *Journal of Medieval History*, 27 (2001), 159-80 (pp. 174, 178). Howard Colvin had previously suggested that chantries appeared in the thirteenth century out of a growing demand for masses that monastic foundations could not supply, in 'The Origin of Chantries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 26 (2000), 163-73 (p. 163). Also see David Crouch, 'The Culture of Death in the Anglo-Norman World', in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History, 1995*, ed. by C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), pp. 157-80 (pp. 172-75).

⁵¹ Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, pp. 303-04; K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries in Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), pp. 11-12, 83-84.

⁵² For example, that reflected in the work of Orderic Vitalis in the 1130s. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. by Marjorie Chibnall, 6 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), IV (1973), viii. 17, pp. 236-50; Paul Jeffery, *The Collegiate Churches of England and Wales* (London: Hale, 2004), p. 16; Crouch, 'Culture of Death', pp. 171-72; Martin Heale, 'Colleges and Monasteries in Late Medieval England', in *Late Medieval English College*, ed. by Burgess and Heale, pp. 67-86 (p. 68).

intensified clerical community at York, perhaps along the lines of a ‘reformed’ community, following a more regular life.⁵³ In this way it served a compensatory role; a new community of this kind provided additional support to the cathedral as a whole, and served to increase the splendour of divine service. However, at York, beyond the requirement of perpetual residence, it is not clear how the community of St Mary and the Holy Angels lived, and Roger’s preference for the secular model meant that he also instituted aspects of a secular community similar to that of the cathedral chapter.⁵⁴ Therefore, its members enjoyed separate incomes and, especially in the later Middle Ages, held multiple prebends, with the result that they would most likely have seldom resided continually at the chapel.⁵⁵

Roger Bowers has recently discussed the differences between what has come to be termed a ‘chantry’ college and a non-‘chantry’ college, the main differences concerning residence and payment, and the use of chaplains and canons. St Mary and the Holy Angels’ fits the category of the chantry college, having an intercessory function and stipendiary chaplains who are bound to permanent residence. However, its early date and the increasing non-residence of the community, who are referred to as canons by the thirteenth century, reflects Bowers’ description of the non-‘chantry’ college. Moreover, Bowers points out that there is no distinction between the bodies of work performed by these two types of college: the sole primary purpose of any

⁵³ Beverley Minster seems to have had the most collective structure, initially with no prebends per se but instead assigned canons to the church’s altars and paid them from the common fund. Nevertheless, all three smaller minsters were also secular communities. Sharp, ‘Minster Churches’, p. 47.

⁵⁴ See Section 3.3.1 for the later erection of residences for the ministers of the chapel. The fragmentary arcading which now stands in Dean’s Park to the north of York Minster could have been part of a cloister belonging to the chapel, which would have been necessary for regular life. Butler and Norton suggest that this arcade belonged to the episcopal palace (Butler, ‘Notes on the Minster Close’, p. 13; Norton, ‘Anglo-Saxon Cathedral’, p. 9), but it could just as easily have been part of St Mary and the Holy Angels’, as the extent of the chapel’s complex is unknown.

⁵⁵ The ideal and reality of residence is something which is returned to throughout this thesis. The wider careers of the fifteenth-century canons are discussed in Chapter 4.

collegiate church was the greater glorification of God, accomplished by the increase in divine worship and the augmentation of the number of those devoted to it. The soul of the founder drew benefit from his having procured an expansion in the overall volume of worship; any intercessory aspect, such as mass, was just an extra feature.⁵⁶ Indeed, although the intercessory role of St Mary and the Holy Angels' is clear, in Roger's foundation charter he makes no direct reference to the saying of masses, and identifies the motive for foundation as being the celebration of divine worship, specifically the divine office, for the honour of God.⁵⁷ Burgess and Heale suggest that the functions and the titles of such communities were to a large degree interchangeable.⁵⁸ St Mary and the Holy Angels' seems to exemplify the theme of 'mutability' of the collegiate institution, expressed by Burgess, who suggests that colleges were able to adapt to and fulfil any and all of the prime obligations of a religious community.⁵⁹

St Mary and the Holy Angels' was not a unique type of institution in the late twelfth century. Charles Fonge has identified twenty-three collegiate institutions, including the chapel at York, founded by bishops during the period from 1120 to 1340. Fonge suggests that the prevalence of the provision of patronage as a defining motif in the history of these institutions tends to obscure their wider relevance. In many cases, the need for sources of patronage merged with a desire to in some way check or subvert the growing authority of cathedral chapters. The aim of founding such institutions was, therefore, not necessarily to establish rival chapters, but to reassert the authority and independence of the diocesan.⁶⁰ However, Fonge also warns against confining interpretations to episcopal-capitular relations and suggests that certain

⁵⁶ Roger Bowers, 'Liturgy and Music in the Role of the Chantry Priest', in *Medieval Chantry in England*, ed. by Luxford and McNeill, pp. 130-56 (pp. 130-32).

⁵⁷ See Appendix 2: 1.

⁵⁸ 'Introduction', in *Late Medieval English College*, ed. by Burgess and Heale, pp. xiii-xviii (pp. xiv-xv).

⁵⁹ Clive Burgess, 'An Institution for all Seasons: The Late Medieval English College', in *Late Medieval English College*, ed. by Burgess and Heale, pp. 3-27 (p. 12).

⁶⁰ Fonge, 'Patriarchy and Patrimony', pp. 77-78, 90.

cases (such as the colleges at Warwick and Westbury in the diocese of Worcester) demonstrate the interconnections, as well as tensions, that could also exist between college and diocese.⁶¹

One of the collegiate institutions included in Fonge's list was at Marwell, Hampshire, where Bishop Henry of Winchester (1129-71) founded a chantry for four secular priests to pray for the souls of the bishops of Winchester and the kings of England. The priests were enjoined to live a common life in perpetual residence.⁶² Although on a much smaller scale, the chapel at Marwell shares similarities with St Mary and the Holy Angels'. The chapels at York and Marwell were both very early examples of their type, and despite Fonge's assertion that we should not confine our interpretation of such institutions to episcopal-capitular relations, both were under the jurisdiction of bishops, and were, significantly, built next to their episcopal palaces.⁶³

The purpose of St Mary and the Holy Angels' was to provide additional support to the cathedral chapter and to enhance worship within the cathedral as a whole, with a grand liturgy of its own. Its constitutional organisation, with thirteen clerks of three ranks, and the addition of choristers, enabled the chapel to fulfil these purposes and to deliver proper observance of the divine office.⁶⁴ These aspects of St Mary and the Holy Angels' became increasingly popular in later medieval foundations, when there was a shift towards investment in fully residential communities, driven by the desire and necessity to ensure the reliable performance of mass and office. For

⁶¹ Fonge, 'Patriarchy and Patrimony', pp. 86, 89.

⁶² Fonge, 'Patriarchy and Patrimony', p. 90; 'Carta Foundationis ejusdem per Henricum de Blois olim Winton. Episcopum', in William Dugdale, ed., *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and Other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, 6 vols (London: James Bohn, 1846), VI, iii, p. 1344; A. H. Thompson, 'Notes on Colleges of Secular Canons in England', *Archaeological Journal*, 74 (1917), 139-239 (p. 162).

⁶³ K. L. Wood-Legh recognised the chantry at Marwell as the first English example for which she could find evidence of foundation. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual Chantries*, p. 4.

⁶⁴ The nature of the chapel's grand liturgy and the use of boy choristers within the chapel are discussed in Chapters 5 and 6.

example, in 1302, Bishop John of Pontoise founded St Elizabeth's college at Winchester, close to the gate of the bishop's palace, to be served by seven chaplains, six clerks and seven choristers who were to be permanently resident and live communally. Incentives for residence also emerged in the fourteenth century at the colleges of St George's (Windsor), St Stephen's (Westminster) and Ottery St Mary. All of these colleges were provided with an elaborate chapel personnel, which enabled them to maximise the number of masses and deliver a grand liturgy similar to that of Salisbury Cathedral, just as St Mary and the Holy Angels' was designed, to some extent, to replicate the liturgy of York Minster.⁶⁵

1.5 The Site and Architectural Models

From the late twelfth century onwards a chapel within an episcopal palace was the norm, an effect of the development of the cathedral chapter and the bishops' desire to reassert their authority over the chapter and to create a space undisputedly and exclusively their own in reaction to these changes.⁶⁶ For Roger, the foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels' next to his episcopal palace was significant for this reason, but there are other considerations to be made, both liturgical and topographical, which help to explain the physicality of his chapel.

Little is known about the site or appearance of St Mary and the Holy Angels': the exact location, size and shape of the chapel buildings have never been ascertained. All remnants of any buildings on the site have now gone, therefore any indications regarding the location rest on extremely limited written references and antiquarian sources, and these often do little to help understanding of the potential site. It appears that the physical destruction of the chapel after the Dissolution was a protracted affair.

⁶⁵ Eavis, 'Commemorative Foundations of William of Wykeham', pp. 172-73.

⁶⁶ Miller, *Bishop's Palace*, pp. 106, 223. At Winchester, the prominent location of St Elizabeth's college, next to the episcopal palace, influenced Bishop William of Wykeham to build his own college alongside it, in the later fourteenth century. Eavis, 'Commemorative Foundations of William of Wykeham', p. 172.

William Hargrove records that there was a building still on the site in the early nineteenth century, but that it was demolished in 1816.⁶⁷ However, the ambiguity of the antiquarian sources and a lack of any drawings of the chapel, suggests that, although there continued to be buildings in the appropriate area, by the early seventeenth century there was little in terms of physical structures which could be easily recognisable as the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.⁶⁸ Thomas Gent's eighteenth-century references to the location of the chapel are contradictory and confusing, describing it as being both 'close to the side of the cathedral', previously joined to the minster at the point of the door in the north aisle of the minster nave, and 'partly now standing northward of the chapter-house'.⁶⁹

However, examining the liturgical uses of the chapel enables us to draw firmer conclusions about the physical configuration of the chapel from such apparently scanty evidence, including its position at the north-west end of the cathedral and that it was likely situated on an upper floor.⁷⁰ The nature of the physical constraints in the minster close also determined the location and structure of the chapel and its relationship with the minster building. During the repairs to the minster from 1967 to 1972 the supposed site of St Sepulchre's was revisited.⁷¹ Derek Phillips suggested that

⁶⁷ William Hargrove, *History and Description of the Ancient City of York: Comprising all the Most Interesting Information already Published in Drake's Eboracum, Enriched with much Entirely New Matter from other Authentic Sources*, 2 vols (York: William Alexander, 1818), II, pp. 126-29; Tillott, *The City of York*, p. 338.

⁶⁸ The post-Dissolution history of the chapel and site is discussed further in Section 7.3.

⁶⁹ Gent later remarks that Roger 'founded the chapel of the Sepulchre and Holy Angels, northward of the chapter-house, and not that which once adjoined to the north west end of the church'. Thomas Gent, *The Ancient and Modern History of the Famous City of York; and in a Particular Manner of its Magnificent Cathedral, Commonly Call'd, York Minster* (York: [n. pub.], 1730), pp. 24-25, 72.

⁷⁰ See Section 1.6.2 and Chapter 6 for the connection between the chapel's liturgical uses and physical configuration.

⁷¹ Phillips, *Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas*, pp. 51-52. Norton has suggested that the foundations uncovered by Browne (published in his *History* in 1847) and again partly seen in 1972 are more likely to have belonged to a passage or ante-chapel leading to the chapel. Norton, 'Anglo-Saxon Cathedral', p. 11. R. M. Butler suggested they were likely the foundations of a gatehouse range of the archbishop's palace rather than St Sepulchre's. Butler

the location, and in particular the axis, of the Norman cathedral might have been influenced by pre-Conquest topography and standing structures on the site, such as Roman and Anglo-Saxon fabric and foundations. The cathedral is also constrained to the south by the town: the south side of the minster is therefore its public face. In choosing a location for St Mary and the Holy Angels', Archbishop Roger would have been similarly constrained. In addition, Roger was also constrained by the cathedral itself and he would have necessarily chosen the north side of the minster, which was the archbishop's 'private' space and the location of the episcopal palace. Furthermore, Phillips suggested that the alignment of the chapel conformed neither to that of the Anglo-Norman church nor to that of the Roman fortress which lies underneath the minster, although it was closer to the latter.⁷² This unusual orientation within the cathedral precinct has been partly explained by the suggestion that Roger's chapel recalled the site of an ancient Anglo-Saxon church of St Mary.⁷³

Phillips pointed to the example of Bishop Robert Stillington's chapel at Wells Cathedral in the context of such recollection of ancient ritual sites.⁷⁴ In the late fifteenth century Stillington rebuilt the twelfth-century Lady Chapel-by-the-Cloister at

and Phillips also suggest that if the chapel was 'hard by' the cathedral, as implied by their interpretation of the use of the word 'juxta' in Roger's charter (Appendix 2: 1), then it would have to have been rebuilt when the minster nave was widened after 1291. Whether this was the case is still uncertain. Butler, 'Notes on the Minster Close', p. 22.

⁷² Phillips, *Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas*, pp. 51-53; Derek Phillips and Brenda Heywood, *Excavations at York Minster Volume I: From Roman Fortress to Norman Cathedral, Part 1. The Site* (Swindon: Royal Commission on Historical Monuments of England, 1995), p. 17.

⁷³ Norton, 'Anglo-Saxon Cathedral', p. 14; Norton, *Archbishop Thomas*, p. 11. The axis of the chapel of the bishop's palace at Norwich Cathedral varies slightly from the cathedral and its close proximity to excavated Saxon burials has prompted the suggestion that it was in the location of a Saxon parish church. Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close*, pp. 149-50. Similarly, at Hereford there are several different alignments of buildings, all divergent from the present cathedral. The main alignment is taken from the bishop's chapel, which was built before the present cathedral was started, and may have been aligned with the Anglo-Saxon cathedral. Ron Shoesmith, 'The Close and its Buildings', in *Hereford Cathedral*, ed. by Aylmer and Tiller, pp. 293-310 (pp. 297-98). There was a trend of re-using ritual sites in the confines of the cathedral close.

⁷⁴ Phillips, *Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas*, p. 51. Also see Butler, 'Notes on the Minster Close', p. 10, who also proposes Stillington's chapel as a comparative example of the recollection of a Saxon church.

Wells to create a sumptuous setting for his own chantry. Significantly, this twelfth-century Lady Chapel already recalled the site of an earlier Norman chapel of St Mary, which itself had been built on top of an Anglo-Saxon mortuary chapel. The site continued to be a significant place of burial throughout the medieval period, and Stillington's late medieval chantry chapel therefore held a position of unusual importance in the life of the cathedral.⁷⁵ Moreover, there are similarities between the Wells and York chapels which have not been previously highlighted. Stillington's chapel followed the cathedral's east-west alignment, but like St Mary and the Holy Angels', it appears that all the earlier structures on the site followed the original Roman alignment. References to the twelfth-century chapel at Wells (c. 1196) nearly all contain the qualifying clause 'capella juxta claustrum' to distinguish it from the main Lady Chapel which projected from the east end of the cathedral beyond the altar, and which was in use by c. 1180.⁷⁶ The role of Archbishop Roger's chapel at York as a Lady Chapel is still speculative, but there seems to have been an attempt to distinguish this space, in which intercessory masses and some Lady offices took place, from any Lady Chapel which lay at the east end of the minster; in terms of its official dedication, the chapel is always referred to as St Mary and the Holy Angels', rather than just the chapel of St Mary or the Lady Chapel.⁷⁷

Thompson gives little attention to the site of the chapel: his only real consideration made to the chapel's location is a reference to the description of it in the register of Archbishop William Wickwane (1279-85) as being 'ultra portam palatii

⁷⁵ Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral*, I, pp. 4, 87.

⁷⁶ Rodwell, *Wells Cathedral*, I, pp. 136-37, 161. The influence and connection between York and Wells has emerged elsewhere in examining the fifteenth-century community of St Sepulchre's and is something that has not been considered before. Robert Stillington was canon of St Sepulchre's from 1448 to 1459; it is possible that his knowledge of the York chapel influenced his rebuilding of the chapel at Wells along similar lines. Aspects of Stillington's career are discussed in Chapter 4.

⁷⁷ See Sections 3.3.2 and 6.2.3.

nostri Eboracensis'.⁷⁸ Although this phrase is ambiguous, Thompson states that this means that the chapel was beyond the gateway near the churchyard, thus suggesting one possible explanation of the name 'St Sepulchre's'. He believes this theory to be more probable than the idea that the chapel's popular name derived from the fact that the Easter Sepulchre of the minster was kept within the chapel. However, he admits that the latter theory cannot be dismissed as wholly groundless.⁷⁹ Phillips has considered the ambiguity of the phrase 'ultra portam palatii' in terms of the chapel's location. He indicated that the reference had raised the possibility that the chapel stood over the gateway rather than beyond it, meaning inside the gate, but that there is still difficulty in accepting 'above' as a translation of *ultra*.⁸⁰

However, I suggest that, based upon the chapel's liturgical function, and coupled with this textual evidence and examples of two-storied bishops' chapels, St Mary and the Holy Angels' was most likely 'over' the gateway, situated on an upper storey.⁸¹ Indeed, the only architectural evidence which does survive shows a door at first floor level in the external buttress of the cathedral church (Figure 2). This could have provided access to the gatehouse range, but equally could have been an internal stair between two levels of a double chapel, or upper-floor chapel. Eric Fernie suggests that in England bishops' chapels followed a variety of forms and there was not just one architectural type, as in Germany.⁸² However, the prevalence of two-storied chapels is significant.

The bishop's chapel at Hereford Cathedral and the college of St John the Evangelist at Norwich Cathedral, referred to as the Canary Chapel, were both two-

⁷⁸ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 67. BI, Register 3, fol. 53 (this is an interpolation in the register); *Register of Wickwane*, p. 337.

⁷⁹ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 67. See Section 1.6.2.

⁸⁰ Phillips, *Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas*, p. 51. See Section 6.2.2.

⁸¹ The liturgical reasons which suggest that the chapel was a first floor structure are discussed further in Chapter 6, see especially Section 6.2.2.

⁸² Eric Fernie, *The Architecture of Norman England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 242.

storied structures, linked typologically to a large number of such chapels on the continent, especially within the Holy Roman Empire.⁸³ Hans J. Böker has suggested that it is in the development of Romanesque façades, including that of Hereford Cathedral itself, that we might search for an indication of the proper typological context for the Hereford chapel.⁸⁴ The York chapel might also be considered in such a context. Archbishop Roger is thought to have been responsible for adding a new west-work to York Minster: a pair of towers which stood outside the west end of Archbishop Thomas's late eleventh-century nave. David Stocker suggests that to the north-west of the cathedral there was a range of buildings belonging to St Mary and the Holy Angels', which were structurally connected with the west towers, and were perhaps part of the same building programme.⁸⁵ This west-work would have created a new ceremonial entrance to the minster, through which penitents would have traditionally re-entered the church on Maundy Thursday in order to be reconciled before the celebration of the Eucharist on Easter day. Through this new west entrance the community of St Mary and the Holy Angels' may have had direct access to the area outside the west front, where the penitential reconciliation ceremony would have taken place at York.⁸⁶ This possibility is further strengthened when we consider the

⁸³ Richard Gem, 'The Bishop's Chapel at Hereford: The Roles of Patron and Craftsmen', in *Art and Patronage in the English Romanesque*, ed. by Sarah Macready and F. H. Thompson (London: Society of Antiquaries, 1986), pp. 87-96 (pp. 88, 92). In parallel with the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels at York, the Carnary Chapel at Norwich was, significantly, not the chapel of the bishop's palace, but a separate college established by Bishop John Salmon to serve as his own chantry foundation. See Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral*, pp. 145, 149.

⁸⁴ Hans J. Böker, 'The Bishop's Chapel at Hereford Cathedral and the Question of Architectural Copies in the Middle Ages', *Gesta*, 37 (1998), 44-54 (p. 47).

⁸⁵ Stocker suggests that due to the rebuilding of the minster nave after 1291, a quantity of late twelfth-century stone from the minster west towers and the college of St Sepulchre's was made available for re-use, and that some of it was re-used in the Bedern chapel in the early 1340s. David A. Stocker, *The College of the Vicars Choral of York Minster at Bedern: Architectural Fragments* (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1999), pp. 232-33, 240. Eric A. Gee, 'Architectural History until 1290', in Aylmer and Cant, *History of York Minster*, pp. 111-48 (p. 125). See Section 3.3.1 for Archbishop Melton's rebuilding of the west end of the minster and possible works on the Chapel of St Sepulchre.

⁸⁶ Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, pp. 4, 6; Kenneth Stevenson, *Jerusalem*

liturgical role of St Mary and the Holy Angels' and its known connections to the rites which took place on Maundy Thursday, which are discussed below.

The supposed location of the chapel in the vicinity of the north-west corner of the minster, as well as the probability that it was two-storied or over the gate, can therefore be linked to the ritual re-use of the site, models for episcopal chapels elsewhere, and the development of the west end of the minster. However, whilst St Mary and the Holy Angels' was a chapel founded by an archbishop, it does not seem wholly comparable to other examples of bishops' chapels; the archbishop's palace at York had its own two-storey chapel, which might fit the Hereford model better. The Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels was something more than a private sacred space for the archbishop, and its location and structure were also significant to several important elements of its liturgical function and identity.

1.6 York's Liturgical Jerusalem

1.6.1 The Maundy Rite

The establishment of such a large community right next to the minster church was potentially antagonising for the cathedral chapter. Thomas Stubbs, a fourteenth-century Dominican friar and chronicler of the church of York, records the potential unease and Roger's attempt to placate the chapter.⁸⁷ As well as appointing a member of the chapter as sacrist of the chapel, Roger aimed to create a union between the two institutions through their liturgy. Stubbs says that the minster canons had complained to Roger about the building of St Mary and the Holy Angels' for his own canons and

Revisited: The Liturgical Meaning of Holy Week (Washington, DC: The Pastoral Press, 1988), p. 41; Sarah Hamilton, 'Rites for Public Penance in Late Anglo Saxon England', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield, Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia, 5 (London: Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 65-103 (p. 71).

⁸⁷ It is probable that Stubbs was responsible only for the continuation of a chronicle already begun some one hundred and fifty years earlier. Nevertheless, Raine suggests that the section of the chronicle under which Archbishop Roger falls can be ascribed to Stubbs. See Raine, *HCY*, II (1886), pp. xxi-xxv; David M. Smith, 'Stubbs, Thomas (fl. 1343-1381)', *ODNB* [accessed 3 July 2010].

the exoneration of his successors, and related that Roger had therefore transferred certain duties to the sacrist of the chapel regarding the rites of Maundy Thursday.⁸⁸ Roger must have perceived early on the possibility of tensions between the two communities: the chapel's foundation charter specifies that the sacrist should indeed pay for expenses incurred by the minster on Maundy Thursday. This included the sacrist supplying, at his expense, wafers, wine, ale, and water for washing the feet of the canons and poor clerics, known as the Mandatum rite.⁸⁹

Thompson only makes reference to this section of the charter in his descriptive translation of the document, and he makes no observation whatsoever about it. The provision regarding the rites of the Maundy is, in itself, extremely significant and Thompson's neglect of the matter is surprising. The Mandatum carries meanings of humility, intimacy and service, in imitation of Christ, and paralleled his actions at the Last Supper of washing the disciples' feet and commanding them to do the same for one another.⁹⁰ The washing of feet is also part of the baptismal liturgy of Easter, having a purifying element and reflecting Christ as the giver of salvation through baptism. Thus, Roger was integrating the chapel into the minster's important Holy Week rituals.

According to the same part of Roger's charter the sacrist was also to provide ten shillings for the service of the poor clerics, and a further sixty shillings for the living of the same poor, which appears to have been a stipend for the year. The use of

⁸⁸ Thomas Stubbs, *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, in Raine, *HCY*, II (1886), p. 399. Stubbs uses the word *canonici* to refer to the chapel's clergy, although this is not what Roger calls them, reflecting that by the fourteenth century, when Stubbs was writing, the status, or perception of status, of the community had changed. Although this chronicle is from around two hundred years after the events it describes, evidence from Roger's charter seems to corroborate Stubbs's account.

⁸⁹ See Appendix 2: 1.

⁹⁰ Susan E. Von Daum Tholl, 'Life According to the Rule: A Monastic Modification of Mandatum Imagery in the Peterborough Psalter', *Gesta*, 33 (1994), 151-58 (p. 151); John Walton Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week: Its Services and Ceremonial* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 109. This brings to mind the upper room in which the Last Supper took place, which is considered in Chapter 6.

the term ‘poor clerks’ is known at other institutions to mean secondaries or clerks of the second form.⁹¹ These clerks were young men in training at a cathedral, who used their clerical education to become priests or vicars in the cathedral or elsewhere. They had duties to help the chantry priests in the celebration of their offices at specified altars and also in choir.⁹² The cathedral would usually have to provide for the living and education of these poor clerks. The statutes of Wells ordered that their ‘altarists’ were to receive sufficient stipends from the common goods of the chapter.⁹³ At Exeter, emoluments were paid partly in cash and partly in kind. The arrangement for supporting secondaries was that each senior canon was assigned a secondary to provide with meals, and sometimes lodging and a stipend was paid from the revenue of endowments held in common.⁹⁴

It is not completely apparent whether the poor clerks in Roger’s charter were associated strictly with the cathedral or the chapel. If they were the cathedral’s clerks then the minster was receiving an annual subsidy from St Mary and the Holy Angels’, which bore some of the financial burden of these young men on behalf of the cathedral canons. Nevertheless, the poor clerks were being both financially and liturgically provided for on Maundy Thursday by the sacrist of the chapel, with specific mention of them being included in the Mandatum. Furthermore, the provision of their living suggests that this included living arrangements, and potentially their

⁹¹ For example at Lincoln, see Henry Bradshaw and Christopher Wordsworth, eds, *Statutes of Lincoln Cathedral*, 3 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1892-97), I (1892), p. 350.

⁹² The secondaries at Exeter Cathedral often left their training to minister in outlying areas from where they had come. Nicholas Orme, *The Minor Clergy of Exeter Cathedral 1300-1548: A List of the Minor Officers, Vicars Choral, Annuellars, Secondaries and Choristers* (Exeter: University of Exeter, 1980), p. xix. At Salisbury the ‘sacrist’s boys’, as they were known, were supposed to help the sacrists of the cathedral, and on Maundy Thursday were to carry round the wine and ale of the bishop’s Maundy Loving Cup to the vicars choral and cantarists. Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, pp. 309-12.

⁹³ Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 312.

⁹⁴ Orme, *Minor Clergy*, pp. xv, xviii.

education and training, the strongest indication thus far that St Mary and the Holy Angels' was also an educational college and that these clerks belonged to the chapel.

Through the actions on Maundy Thursday of maintaining the poor clerics and the Mandatum ritual, Roger aimed to establish a community between the two institutions. His decision to make part of this particular liturgical rite the responsibility of the chapel shows considered thought. The Mandatum reminded the canons of Christ's humility and formed an intimate bond between the cathedral chapter, the chapel and the poor clerics. Roger's desire was that in everything the brotherhood and unity of the church should be preserved, which echoed Christ's commandment to his disciples that they should love one another, as he loved them.⁹⁵ This was a powerful ritual, in which both the archbishop and his canons humbled themselves before one another by the washing of feet. The association of the chapel with this rite shows a highly functional liturgical choice: at a time when there was a propensity for chapters and bishops to be at odds, this rite offered an annual opportunity for reconciliation before the Easter vigil.⁹⁶

In considering the Mandatum, Miller has suggested that bishops' chapels did not usually become ritual sites in the great liturgies of the year, but instead were incorporated into the calendar of saints' feasts. She argues that the extant liturgical sources suggest that episcopal chapels remained distinct sacral spaces, used for the personal devotional life of the bishop.⁹⁷ Roger's charter only indicates that the sacrist of the chapel was to be responsible for the provisions needed for Maundy Thursday, rather than that the Mandatum itself was to take place within the chapel or was to be performed by the chapel's clerics. However, evidence from St Sepulchre's fifteenth-

⁹⁵ 'Ut in omnibus fraternitas et unitas ecclesie conservetur'. Appendix 2: 1. John 13: 3-20, 34-35.

⁹⁶ Miller, *Bishop's Palace*, p. 247.

⁹⁷ Miller, *Bishop's Palace*, pp. 248-49.

century antiphonal suggests the possibility that the Mandatum was to partly take place in the chapel itself. The instructions in the manuscript are ambiguous, but the association of St Sepulchre's with Maundy Thursday as well as the appearance of the Mandatum rite within the York Antiphonal is extremely significant given the connotations and meaning behind the ritual.⁹⁸ Furthermore, the stress laid on the chapel's role in the Maundy Thursday celebration is also appropriate for an institution with such an intercessory function, and for a first-floor chapel, with connotations of the Cenaculum in Jerusalem, the location of the Last Supper. The liturgical use and physical configuration of the chapel established by Roger, must, therefore, have been intimately connected to the community's corporate identity from the beginning.⁹⁹

1.6.2 Roger's Memorial and the Easter Sepulchre

The chapel's dedications, both formal and informal, and its connection to Maundy Thursday indicate that the chapel had specific liturgical functions in the Easter rite. Part of this function may have been the provision of a permanent Easter Sepulchre for the minster, in which the consecrated host would be ritually buried and reserved on Holy Thursday. The possibility of the chapel as Easter Sepulchre is also connected to another of the chapel's functions, that of Archbishop Roger's memorial chapel. The location of Roger's burial has never been ascertained: the written sources are ambiguous and Roger was so connected with both the chapel and the minster choir, it is no surprise that his burial has been associated with both locations.¹⁰⁰

Roger of Howden records that Bishop Hugh of Durham (1154-95) buried Roger's body in the choir of the secular canons of the metropolitan church of York,

⁹⁸ York Antiphonal, fols 93^r-93^v. The Mandatum rite in the York Antiphonal is considered in Section 6.1.1.

⁹⁹ The significance of the chapel's role on Holy Thursday and as an intercessory space to its situation in a liminal location and on an upper-storey, representing the Cenaculum, are considered in Section 6.2.2.

¹⁰⁰ See Chapter 3 for further discussion of the debate surrounding those prelates who were buried in the cathedral choir and supposedly moved by Archbishop Thoresby in the fourteenth century.

implying that Roger was buried in the east end of the minster.¹⁰¹ Stubbs, in his fourteenth-century life of Roger, supports this, recording that Roger was buried in the middle of the choir of the church of Blessed Peter, which he had newly constructed.¹⁰² However, more recent suggestions have favoured St Mary and the Holy Angels' as the location of Roger's tomb. Francis Drake's eighteenth-century history of York says that Roger was buried near the door of St Sepulchre's chapel, in the tomb which is set in the wall of the minster nave to the east of the (now blocked) doorway (Figure 4).¹⁰³ In the nineteenth century, Browne suggested that it was more probable that Roger was interred in St Mary and the Holy Angels' chapel itself, which the archbishop had built at so great a cost and so liberally endowed. However, Browne was keen to write the history of the chapel into his history of the minster, so it is unsurprising that he favours the idea of Roger's burial in that place, rather than in the minster choir. He also argued that the table tomb, referred to by Drake, could not have belonged to Roger, as the wall it sits in was not built until well over a hundred years after Roger died.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ Roger of Howden, *Chronica*, II, p. 264. However, the reference to secular canons as opposed to 'canons of York' as they were commonly known, may mean Howden was referring to the chapel and not the minster choir. See Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, p. xxv.

¹⁰² Stubbs, *Chronica Pontificum*, p. 400.

¹⁰³ Francis Drake, *Eboracum: or the History and Antiquities of the City of York, from its Original to the Present Times. Together with the History of the Cathedral Church, and the Lives of the Archbishops of that See* (London: [n. pub.], 1736), pp. 421-22. For the architectural features of the doorway see Section 3.3.1, and Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, pp. 107-08.

¹⁰⁴ Browne, *History*, I, p. 19. Browne argues that the table tomb belongs to Archbishop John Thoresby who died in 1373. See Section 3.3.2 for the counter-argument regarding where Thoresby was buried.



Figure 4: Table Tomb and Doorway to St Sepulchre's, north aisle of York Minster nave

This wall-dating is itself not a hindrance to the tomb belonging to Roger; the contents of the tomb was examined in 1862 and found to hold a lead box not big enough to be a coffin. Therefore the tomb in question held, not a burial, but a re-interment. Browne's suggestion that Roger would be buried in the chapel which he had founded for the remission of his sins is logical. One possibility is that after the dissolution of St Sepulchre's in 1548, Roger's tomb was removed from its position in the chapel and his remains re-interred in a new monument as close to the site as possible.¹⁰⁵ The possibility of the presence of Roger's tomb earlier within the chapel

¹⁰⁵ Charles McCarter, 'A Minster Puzzle, Whose Tomb?', *The Friends of York Minster Annual Report*, 70 (1999), 46-48.

cannot be ruled out, especially when the chapel's role in the Easter rites is considered.¹⁰⁶

If Roger had intended for the chapel to be his mausoleum and the home of the Easter Sepulchre from its foundation then this was a powerful combination. The Easter Sepulchre served as a reminder of mortality and also as a promise of resurrection, and the combination of a donor's tomb with this intensified these associations, and provided a prominent place for burial.¹⁰⁷ If Roger's tomb had been located in the chapel, it would be possible to make a stronger case for suggesting that the chapel was the home of the minster's Easter Sepulchre from its foundation; although, it seems unlikely that if this was the case that neither Archbishops Roger nor Sewal would mention it in their charters. Nevertheless, I suggest that there was also a wider association with the original church of the Holy Sepulchre, connected to the chapel's role on Maundy Thursday and an association between the Easter rites and the west end of the church, where the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels lay. Such a liturgical association would not necessarily be described so directly in the foundation documents, which were written for constitutional purposes, and must be inferred from elsewhere.

As discussed above, it has been suggested that St Mary and the Holy Angels' was designed as part of the west-work scheme of Archbishop Roger at York. Carol Heitz has suggested an association between the celebration of Easter in the Gallican rite and the west-work of churches, based on tracing the performance of the commemorative Holy Week and Easter rites at a locus towards the western end of the

¹⁰⁶ However, it seems unlikely that Roger would be buried in the chapel when there is no other evidence for burial or even request for burial in that location. See Section 6.2.2 for discussion of requests for burial near to St Sepulchre's, but within the minster.

¹⁰⁷ Pamela Sheingorn, *The Easter Sepulchre in England* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1987), p. 3.

church.¹⁰⁸ David Parsons has refuted Heitz's notions of 'embryonic Easter drama' taking place within the west-work, and points out that there is no reason to assume that the performance of the Easter drama was a liturgical requirement which gave rise to the west-work in England, where, furthermore, the tradition grew of locating Easter sepulchres in the chancel, rather than in the west façade as was continental practice.¹⁰⁹

However, there was a strong association between the Holy Week liturgy and the west end, as described above, and Pamela Sheingorn supports the idea of an association between the west-work and the Easter rites, suggesting that as the architectural practice of erecting west-works disappeared, the Easter rites were forced into the nave, aisles and chapels, west of the choir. In these new interior structures the sepulchre was no longer a separate free-standing structure, but was assimilated into the church. Sheingorn has also argued that, deprived of its function as a work of architecture, it was inevitable that the Holy Sepulchre inside a church would come to be viewed as existing less to commemorate the original Holy Sepulchre than to call to mind those events which had happened and which were re-enacted in the Holy Week and Easter rites.¹¹⁰ Meaning was not necessarily conveyed by the appearance of the monument, but by its associations, which could be symbolic, religious or liturgical.¹¹¹

Most Easter Sepulchres were temporary structures, therefore a permanent tomb is significant and often served additional functions.¹¹² Permanent Easter Sepulchres usually surfaced as physical monuments in the fourteenth century, by which time they

¹⁰⁸ Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre*, pp. 14-15; Carol Heitz, *Recherches sur les rapports entre architecture et liturgie à l'époque carolingienne* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1963), pp. 189-209.

¹⁰⁹ David Parsons, 'The Pre-Romanesque Church of St-Riquier: The Documentary Evidence', *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 130 (1977), 21-51 (p. 50).

¹¹⁰ Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre*, pp. 16-17.

¹¹¹ Veronica Sekules, 'The Tomb of Christ at Lincoln and the Development of the Sacrament Shrine: Easter Sepulchres Reconsidered', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Lincoln Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions for 1982, 8 (Oxford: BAA, 1986), pp. 118-31 (p. 119).

¹¹² Sekules, 'Tomb of Christ at Lincoln', p. 120.

had found a consistent location, on the north wall of the chancel near the altar. But there were also other groups of permanent Easter Sepulchres, including separate chapels with Easter associations.¹¹³ Sheingorn suggests that in the case of these separate chapels, they were likely to have funerary associations since these chapels also often served as chantry chapels. She suggests that the chapel at York was one such example since its name suggests a connection with the Holy Sepulchre, Easter Sepulchre, or both.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, at York, the foundation of a separate chapel as part of Roger's west-work scheme would have enabled St Mary and the Holy Angels', with its strong intercessory functions, to serve as both a commemoration of the original Holy Sepulchre and a space in which the Easter liturgy could be performed.¹¹⁵

It is difficult to determine whether the association between the chapel and the liturgy of the Easter Sepulchre developed as part of Roger's foundation or some time later. However, I suggest that those functions established by Roger, as an intercessory space with a role on Maundy Thursday, were connected to the development of the chapel as a representation of the Holy Sepulchre, and the rites which commemorated the last events of Christ's life. Furthermore, the location of the chapel was significant as a ritual re-use of space, and as part of its liturgical associations.

1.7 Conclusion

The difficulty in defining the nature of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels has been the main focus of scholarly interest on the chapel thus far. Attempts to make the chapel fit into pre-existing ideas of institutional development in medieval England

¹¹³ For example, the Holy Sepulchre chapel at Winchester Cathedral, located in the north transept. David Park, 'The Wall Paintings of the Holy Sepulchre Chapel', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Winchester Cathedral*, British Archaeological Association for 1980, 4 (1983), pp. 38-62 (p. 50).

¹¹⁴ Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre*, pp. 34-36, 43, 45, 364.

¹¹⁵ See Chapter 6. These funerary associations were strengthened by Archbishop Sewal's re-foundation in 1258, in which he enjoined the community specifically to say the Office of the Dead. Since the first known appearance of the St Sepulchre name occurs in 1266 it is possible that the association developed after the re-foundation of the chapel. *CPR: Henry III, 1258-1266*, p. 557. See Section 2.1 and Appendix 2: 2.

have created an unsatisfactory understanding of the institution. Far from simply being an early private chantry foundation, the chapel appears to have fulfilled numerous functions. Roger's foundation is an early example of an episcopal college with a multi-functional purpose, and can be compared to later medieval colleges, such as those founded at Oxford and Winchester by William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, which combined educational, charitable and chantry functions. Collegiate foundations became popular during the fourteenth century for patrons of wealth and influence because they were flexible enough as institutions to embrace such a combination of functions, and were designed to maximise the capacity for faithful observance of a full liturgy.¹¹⁶

Firstly, therefore, whether or not Roger was interred in his chapel, St Mary and the Holy Angels' did perform an important role in memorialising him, as a chapel for the intercession of his and his successors' souls. Yet, the chapel was much more than a personal place for Roger's commemoration. Roger's ambitions were also for the cathedral, and were both political and devotional. Therefore, secondly, the chapel was a means of maintaining his presence and authority within the minster and creating a more regular community there, with a possible educational function, and providing additional support to the cathedral's celebration of the divine office. The constitutional organisation of the chapel, with such a large number of clerks of differing ranks, enabled Roger to achieve these aims. It also involved the re-organisation of pastoral care for those parishes which were now appropriated to the sacrist.¹¹⁷ Moreover, through the construction of his own elaborate chapel and the sumptuous edification of the east end of the minster and its precinct, Roger ensured that he left his own mark at York and a deliberate statement of the see's importance.

¹¹⁶ Eavis, 'Commemorative Foundations of William of Wykeham', p. 172.

¹¹⁷ Archbishop Sewal further increased the compensatory nature of the chapel on behalf of the cathedral and further enhanced this organisation of pastoral care, see Chapter 2.

The physical constraints of the cathedral close determined the location of the chapel and its relationship with the minster building. However, the site of the chapel cannot be separated from its liturgical function and identity, and demonstrate that its location must have been consciously received, combining these elements from the beginning. The chapel had a number of associations with the liturgy of Christ's burial and resurrection. In addition to its role in the Maundy, the chapel is a strong contender for the home of the Easter Sepulchre. Moreover, the chapel can be seen as the location of York's liturgical Jerusalem, representing the original church of the Holy Sepulchre and acting as the setting of the liturgical rites which re-enacted the events which happened there.¹¹⁸

As such, the evidence suggests that the chapel was a significant part of the liturgical complex of the cathedral, rather than simply a part of the private space of the archbishop's palace. Although as John McNeill suggests of the chantry chapel more generally, this was an intermediate place neither entirely within nor without the church, neither entirely private, nor entirely public, and as such it was perfect as an intercessory space.¹¹⁹ The chapel had a complex relationship with the minster and was designed to fulfil several purposes for both Roger and the cathedral church. The way in which this relationship developed in the following century is explored in the next chapter.

¹¹⁸ See Chapter 6 for further discussion on these matters.

¹¹⁹ John McNeill, 'A Prehistory of the Chantry', in *Medieval Chantry in England*, ed. by Luxford and McNeill, pp. 1-38 (p. 14).

Chapter Two

Sewal de Bovill's Re-foundation:

Augmenting the Constitution and Endowment

The chapel's constitution and its relationship with the minster did not long lay unchanged. In 1258, less than a century after its foundation, it underwent a process of re-foundation by Archbishop Sewal de Bovill, with a new episcopal charter. This was a period of wider ecclesiastical reform and Sewal was reacting to a period of confusion and difficulty. His charter makes certain significant changes to the relationship between the community of the chapel and that of the minster, increasing the ties already established by Archbishop Roger. The augmentations to the chapel also increased the compensatory nature of the chapel's community on behalf of the cathedral chapter, with the aim of improving the overall celebration of the divine office at the See of York. Such developments enable us to further consider the framework of this constitutional relationship and the chapel's legal foundation. Sewal also augmented the chapel's parochial endowments and ordained vicarages in them; this chapter considers the nature of these changes and the role of the chapel's sacrist and his emergence as a significant administrative figure.

2.1 The Sacrist and Endowments

2.1.1 The Role of the Sacrist

The sacrist of St Mary and the Holy Angels' appears to have had much more power and authority than one might expect for a person who held this position in a collegiate chapel. Evidently the term 'sacrist' did not mean here what it did either within the cathedral at York, or elsewhere. For example, at Lincoln the term was equivalent to the position of subtreasurer, whilst at Salisbury the position was a minor one, concerned with bell ringing and maintaining good order during services. Kathleen

Edwards compared the role of the sacrist of St Sepulchre's to the heads of later chantry colleges and concluded that the absence of close supervision by the dean and chapter at York allowed the powers of the sacrist to be much greater.¹ The two archbishops' charters show that St Sepulchre's sacrist was effectively dean of the chapel, holding the rectorships of the churches with which the chapel was endowed, and having the responsibility of paying the chapel's personnel from the common fund. Comparison with the minsters of Ripon, Beverley or Southwell, none of which had a dean for any extended period of time during the years from 1066 to 1300, shows that instead, each of these colleges, including St Sepulchre's, had a figurehead appropriate to its needs.² The sacrist held the responsibility for the chapel and its endowments, including the care of vestments and candles and other liturgical duties. If the sacrist was not resident then his deputy was to be entrusted with this great responsibility instead.³ In addition to having such control over the chapel's finances, the power of the sacrist was inhibited only by the archbishop, because, unlike in the cathedral, the chapel's canons did not constitute a chapter who took part in decision making. In addition, Sewal's charter displays an increase in the authority of the sacrist, who

¹ In discussing cathedral sacrists, Edwards has suggested that the power of the office was highly variable and indeed the title of sacrist or *custos* could be given to cathedral treasury officers of almost any rank. Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, pp. 227-29, 303-04.

² At Beverley the equivalent office was that of the provost, but there the provost was kept, along with the other offices of the minster, at a level of dignity slightly below that of the chapter. Nevertheless, it was an office with control over many of the minster's resources and the provost of Beverley appears to have had the authority to make grants and had nominal control over the appointment of the minster's other offices. The chapter of Ripon, much like Southwell, appears to have been without an official head for much of the period under discussion. See Sharp, 'Minster Churches', pp. 89, 99, 100-02, 106.

³ Barbara Harvey has discussed the role of the warden of the Lady Chapel at Westminster Abbey, who was custodian of a cherished part of the monastery's devotional life, having the care of the Lady Chapel, its altar and images, candles and vestments and all its urban properties. Barbara Harvey, 'The Monks of Westminster and the Old Lady Chapel', in *Westminster Abbey: The Lady Chapel of Henry VII*, ed. by Tim Tatton-Brown and Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2003), pp. 5-31 (pp. 14, 18).

became responsible for the removal of the chapel's additional ministers, which had been established in the same document.⁴

The chapel was constitutionally stable because the sacrist held the revenues, which were well-defined, but this also meant that the administration of the chapel and its benefices depended heavily upon just one person and the degree of care that this individual took with his responsibilities. The control that the sacrist had over the chapel's endowments and their revenues must have made this a very attractive living, and this situation did not always attract sacrists with the best intentions, as seen in the following chapter. However, the chapel's first two sacrists, Hamo and Gilbert de Tywa, seem to have done much to establish the chapel and manage its community and endowments.⁵

2.1.2 The Provision of Endowments

The foundation of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels was a long and expensive process that was not undertaken lightly. Roger's chapel was part of his rebuilding and aggrandisement of the cathedral church of York, but unlike the rest of his building works at York it involved the readjustment of parochial arrangements within the diocese.⁶ The pattern of the chapel's parochial holdings appears akin to the chapters of York, Beverley and Southwell, which had jurisdiction over wide and scattered parishes, and which gave the archbishop a power base in these areas to help maintain control in the diocese.⁷ St Mary and the Holy Angels' can therefore be seen as part of a move to improve pastoral care in the diocese. Rather than these institutions

⁴ See Sections 1.3 and below 2.3.1.

⁵ Gilbert de Tywa was sacrist from at least 1225, when 'G sacrist' is mentioned in an agreement with Nun Monkton Priory over the churches of Thorp Arch and Walton. See below Section 2.1.3. See Appendix 1 for the list of sacrists with dates.

⁶ Thompson, *English Clergy*, p. 159.

⁷ Ripon's parish was more concentrated than the other great churches of the diocese. Thompson, *English Clergy*, p. 73; Nicholl, *Thurstan*, pp. 16-18; Cooper, *Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops*, p. 1; Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 228-29.

being distinct entities, a dense network of ties existed between the cathedral and its collegiate and parish churches, forming a wider diocesan community. They were closely interconnected through complex relationships involving administration and the shaping of liturgy.⁸

The chapel's endowments were, in fact, more or less limited to two clusters of parishes, one along the lower Wharfe valley and one around Retford in Nottinghamshire. But, considering that these were the responsibility not of the whole community but only of the sacrist, they are widely scattered.⁹ However, Roger's charter says little about the administration of these churches or how the cure of the parish was provided for on the ground; this can only be gleaned from the period following the chapel's foundation and its re-foundation charter of 1258.

It is likely that after their initial appropriation to the chapel in the later twelfth century, the parishes had been served by stipendiary chaplains or rectors: a grant by Simon Mohaut to the monks of Pontefract, dated from c. 1185 to c. 1200, is witnessed by William, parson of Harewood, and Peter, chaplain of Bardsey.¹⁰ Walter of Wisbech, archdeacon of the East Riding, is referred to as rector of the churches of Bardsey and Collingham in an undated document from Archbishop Walter de Grey's episcopate (1215-55).¹¹ However, there is evidence that vicars were in place at some of these

⁸ The churches with which St Mary and the Holy Angels' was endowed would have been improved as part of the plan, but we can only really see distinct attention paid to pastoral care in the thirteenth century, most likely as a result of the 1215 Lateran Council. Jeffery, *Collegiate Churches*, p. 11. David Lepine, "'And alle oure paresshens": Secular Cathedrals and Parish Churches in Late Medieval England', in *The Parish in Late Medieval England: Proceedings of the 2002 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Clive Burgess and Eamon Duffy (Donington: Tyas, 2006), pp. 29-53 (pp. 29, 52).

⁹ The chantry survey of 1548 for Otley describes the parish as 'wide and foule to travel in winter'; but it was not the chapel's sacrist who was responsible for serving the cure, with assistance from no-one except for the chantry priests, it was Edward Lyndley who is named as the incumbent. *The Certificates of the Commissioners Appointed to Survey the Chantries, Guilds, Hospitals, Etc., in the County of York*, 2 vols, SS, II: 92 (1893), pp. 395-96.

¹⁰ *EYC*, III (1916), p. 476-77.

¹¹ George E. Kirk, *All Hallows' Church Bardsey, near Leeds* (Leeds: [n. pub.], 1937),

churches before Sewal's charter of 1258, in which he establishes the ordination of vicarages. For example, at Calverley the first vicar was named Henry; he witnesses documents as vicar in 1254 and 1256, and therefore Sewal's charter is an official confirmation of existing practice already introduced.¹²

The parishioners of these appropriated churches would have found that their parochial payments were not being used in their locality, but were transferred miles away for purposes over which they had no influence. The realities of appropriation allowed an urban institution to tap into such rural wealth.¹³ This situation sometimes caused conflicts of interest, which manifested themselves in official disputes in the decades following the chapel's foundation by Archbishop Roger.

2.1.3 Retaining the Chapel's Endowment

In the early thirteenth century the sacrist faced some difficulties in retaining the chapel's endowments. This situation seems to have emerged when the original patronage of the church was not in the hands of the archbishop, suggesting that it could be difficult to keep hold of churches when the fortunes of their donors changed. For example, the churches of Harewood and Calverley, both part of Roger's original foundation, were the gift of Yorkshire landowning families, whose descendants made claims against the sacrist for their patronage. In the twelfth century, when St Mary and the Holy Angels' acquired the church of Harewood, the manor and church were held

p. 32; W. T. Lancaster and William Paley Baildon, eds, *The Coucher Book of the Cistercian Abbey of Kirkstall, in the West Riding of the County of York*, Thoresby Society, 8 (1904), p. 250. The document can be dated most probably to between 1218 and 1227 due to the appearance of Walter Wisbech, here described as archdeacon of the East Riding. *York Minster Fasti*, II: 124 (1958), p. 21.

¹² William Paley Baildon and Samuel Margerison, eds, *The Calverley Charters: Presented to the British Museum by Sir Walter Calverley Trelvelyan, volume 1*, Publications of the Thoresby Society, 6 (Leeds: Thoresby Society, 1904), nos. 44, 45, pp. 40-42.

¹³ R. N. Swanson, 'An Appropriate Anomaly: Topcliffe Parish and the Fabric Fund of York Minster in the Later Middle Ages', in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church c. 1100-c. 1700: Essays in Honour of Claire Cross*, ed. by Diana Wood, Studies in Church History Subsidia, 12 (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1999), pp. 105-21 (pp. 105, 121).

by the Rumilly family, in the hands of Avice de Rumilly.¹⁴ However, Harewood is not included in Sewal's re-foundation charter, implying that in 1258 the chapel did not hold the advowson, though the details of the removal of Harewood church from the chapel's endowment are unclear. In 1200, upon the voidance of the church, a suit was instituted by Alice de Curcy, granddaughter of Avice, and her husband Warin Fitz-Gerold, claiming the advowson against the canons of St Mary and the Holy Angels'.¹⁵ The assize was to establish who presented the last parson to the church. William de Cave, a canon of York Minster, gave testimony that Avice de Rumilly had given the church to St Mary and the Holy Angels', and provided as evidence the charter of Avice, which also showed the confirmation of Archbishop Roger. Nevertheless, it appears that, because Archbishop Geoffrey was absent, and because of the confusion about the role of the sacrist as rector and holder of the advowson, the canons were unable to properly plead their case, and the chapel lost its right to the church.¹⁶

A very similar dispute also occurred over the church of Calverley, which had been given to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels by William Scot. In 1204, William's grandson Roger Scot attempted to recover the church by claiming that it should not be in the possession of the archbishop and the sacrist of the chapel. Roger Scot alleged that the last two priests of Calverley had been presented successively by his grandfather William.¹⁷ The chapel's sacrist, Hamo, successfully defended the claim by stating that the church was not vacant and that there should be no assize because he was the parson of Calverley, by the gift of Archbishop Roger.¹⁸ Two charters were produced by Hamo as evidence of the grant against Roger Scot. The

¹⁴ *EYC*, III, p. 468.

¹⁵ *EYC*, III, pp. 471-72.

¹⁶ *Curia Regis Rolls of the Reigns of Richard I and John: Preserved in the Public Record Office, volume I* (London: HMSO, 1922), pp. 130-31.

¹⁷ Alexander is named priest of Calverley in 1198 and Jordan de Calverley is named in 1200. It is likely that William Scot died not long before 1200.

¹⁸ *EYC*, III, p. 311.

first was Archbishop Roger's foundation charter, in which was found William Scot's gift, and the second was a charter in which it stated that Archbishop Roger had granted to Hamo, precentor of York, the sacristanship of the said chapel. The jurors ruled that William Scot had given the church to the archbishop and that Hamo should therefore hold it.¹⁹ As such, St Mary and the Holy Angels' retained the church of Calverley, thanks to the efforts of the chapel's sacrist, who evidently was considered parson or rector of the church.²⁰

In the cases of Harewood and Calverley it was the actions of later generations of the benefactors' families and the need to clarify the chapel's patronage, which caused problems for the chapel. But in other cases it was the actions of the original benefactor which was the cause of conflicting interests and later disputes. In a period in which many new ecclesiastical institutions were being founded it seems that for some lay landholders it was not always clear where best to donate their property. In any collection of twelfth-century charters there are numerous references to the gifts of churches to religious houses; but in many cases such gifts became ineffective, being subsequently given to other institutions. For example, around 1151 William de Arches and his wife Jueta granted the church of Thorp Arch, among others, to their daughter Matilda, for the foundation of Nun Monkton Priory. This gift was confirmed by Archbishop Henry Murdac, before 1153, and by Archbishop Roger in another charter of c. 1159-1162.²¹ William de Arches also had another daughter, named after his wife Jueta. As heir to her father and possessor of his lordship in Thorp, Jueta de Arches subsequently granted the church of Thorp Arch to Archbishop Roger's new

¹⁹ *Three Yorkshire Assize Rolls King John and King Henry II*, pp. 21-22; *Calverley Charters*, p. xxxiv; C. T. Clay, 'The Early Treasurers of York', *YAJ*, 35 (1943), 7-34 (p. 28).

²⁰ There was only one further attempt, made in 1290, by the lords of Calverley to recover the church. This also failed and a formal release of all rights to the advowson of the church was subsequently given. The deed is printed in *Calverley Charters*, pp. xl-xli.

²¹ *EYC*, I (1914), pp. 414-15. Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, p. 76.

foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels' at York.²² The double grant of Thorp Arch to both Nun Monkton and Roger's chapel appears not to have been settled until the thirteenth century. In 1225 an agreement was made between the prioress and convent of Nun Monkton and one 'G. sacrist of our chapel', presumably Gilbert de Tywa, over the church at Thorp Arch and its possessions.²³ The nuns were to give to the mother church of Thorp Arch two torches on All Saints' Day, annually, each containing one pound of wax. The church at Thorp Arch was dedicated to All Saints; the donation of wax therefore symbolises the priory's patronage to the church on its dedication feast. The priory was to remain in possession of all that it had held at the time the suit began: the chapel at Walton (a dependency of Thorp Arch), with all the tithes and obventions from the town, a toft adjacent to Walton chapel and half a carucate in Thorp. The priory was also to receive milk, wool, calves and pigs, and all the tithes of animals or gardens, coming from eight tofts in Thorp Arch; Tywa was to retain a certain area in Thorp Arch, which belonged to his manse, and which the nuns restored to him. The priory ceded all their rights to the church of Thorp Arch, and the charters of Archbishops Henry, Roger and Geoffrey, which had confirmed the church to them. The archbishop and the sacrist renounced all right in the chapel of Walton.²⁴ This appears to have been a careful negotiation rather than a problematic dispute, but its success indicates the important role of such negotiators as Tywa in a period in which foundations were still finding their feet in terms of rights and responsibilities.

²² In Roger's foundation charter for the chapel, the gift of Thorp Arch comes from Adam de Brus and his wife Jueta de Arches; see Appendix 2:1. Brus was Jueta's first husband, but he died in 1143. Jueta subsequently married Roger de Flamvill, who died no later than 1169, but her inheritance descended to the Brus family. *EYC*, II (1915), p. 12; C. T. Clay, ed., *Early Yorkshire Families*, YASRS, 135 (1973), p. 2.

²³ This would be the earliest reference to Gilbert de Tywa. It is possible he took over the sacristy after Hamo. See Appendix 1.

²⁴ The charters of Henry Murdac and Roger, in which Thorp Arch is confirmed to Nun Monkton, are mentioned above. In this agreement the priory was ceding the actions of these charters. *Register of Gray*, p. 2.

2.2 A New Clerical Administration

The thirteenth century was a period in which the cathedral and diocese went through a series of upgrades. It is in the period of Grey's episcopate (1215-55) that we can see the influences upon and causes of Sewal's re-foundation of the chapel, which was part of these wider developments. The developments appear to have much to do with those individuals who were key figures at the cathedral in this period. The clerks of York had suffered from the lack of an effective and respected leader since Archbishop Geoffrey Plantagenet's flight from England in 1207, and in some ways from as long ago as the death of Archbishop Roger in 1181.²⁵ The history of York Minster between 1215 and 1255 is a testimonial to the reforms that could be made under the aegis of an archbishop with little taste for jurisdictional conflict. Grey made significant changes to the minster's organisation; this included creating new prebends which were usually the product of complicated arrangements made to provide additional financial support to existing prebends. He had also been a great champion of distributing endowments and re-organising parochial administration.²⁶

Much of Archbishop Grey's success was due to his ability to collate a new group of professional clerical administrators to key positions. The dean of York during the first four years of Grey's pontificate was Hamo, that same clerk who had served the cathedral and then chapel since the early 1170s. But by the middle of the 1220s it is clear that a new generation of canons was in control.²⁷ Grey was exploiting the most powerful instrument at his disposal, his right to collate to canonries and prebends.²⁸ One member of this new group of clerical administrators was Sewal de

²⁵ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 46-47; Lovatt, *York 1189-1212*, p. xxx.

²⁶ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 52.

²⁷ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 46-47.

²⁸ For the most part, at York, canonries and prebends were the same thing. However, the offices of treasurer, precentor and chancellor were not attached to prebends from the

Bovill. He was a canon of York by 1236 and held the prebend of Fenton in October 1240. He was archdeacon of York between 1245 and 1247, resigning the archdeaconry to become dean of the cathedral.²⁹

Like secular cathedral chapters everywhere in England, the chapter of York Minster was forced to come to terms with the problem of completely unregulated non-residence. Under Grey, absenteeism in the minster was regularised by the production of the *statuta de residentia* in 1222. These survive as the oldest recorded statutes of the Church of York and demonstrate the first serious attempt on the part of the York chapter to impose some structure on the administrative confusion caused by the uncontrolled expansion of the cathedral's wealth and personnel in the previous century.³⁰ The statutes required the continuous residence of the *quatuor personae* of the cathedral and required that all canons who decided to be resident should spend a minimum of half the year living near the minster, attending matins, vespers and mass.³¹

There is some similarity between these regulations and those ordered by Archbishop Roger for the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, in that the *clerici* were required to live close to the chapel in order specifically to attend matins and vespers. Although Sewal was not dean of York at the time of the 1222 statutes, he must have witnessed the gradual application of these principles to the chapter. In 1252 new statutes were enacted by Sewal as dean of the cathedral, in which every canon of

formation of the chapter, and at no time during the Middle Ages did the dean of York have a prebend attached to his own office. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 48, 53.

²⁹ C. L. Kingsford, rev. by Philippa Hoskin, 'Bovill, Sewal de (d. 1257)', *ODNB* [accessed 1 November 2012]; *BRUO*, I, p. 233. Sewal witnesses a document as dean on 21 September 1249. *York Minster Fasti*, I, p. 6; *Register of Gray*, p. 212.

³⁰ *York Statutes*, pp. 14-17; Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 48-49.

³¹ *York Statutes*, pp. 10-11. Those canons of the minster intending to be resident had to reside initially for a period of twenty-six weeks, known as 'greater' residence, when they were first instituted. After this he would receive daily commons paid for attendance and an equal share of any surplus of the common fund. This was an important step in drawing a clear distinction between canons in and out of residence. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 49-50.

the cathedral had to declare, on his appointment, whether he intended to be resident and if he was not resident he must employ a vicar.³²

It was to men like Sewal, among a triumvirate of future archbishops, including Godfrey de Ludham and William Wickwane, that the thirteenth-century chapter owed its growing sense of continuity. By the time of Archbishop Grey's death in 1255 these men were confident of their own position as the real masters of the chapter.³³ It was from this position that Sewal moved from dean to archbishop and brought this confidence in administration and awareness of the needs of the cathedral and chapel to the community of St Mary and the Holy Angels at York. Sewal's regulation of absenteeism in the cathedral as dean was emulated in the chapel when he became archbishop.

Sewal had obviously been well respected as dean of the cathedral and had a good relationship with the chapter, who petitioned for his election as archbishop.³⁴ His popularity as archbishop among the chapter was also due to his resistance to papal intrusion. On Sewal's promotion to the archbishopric the deanery was given to Godfrey de Ludham, but shortly afterwards a papal nominee, Master Jordan, was entered to the decanal stall, much to Sewal's and the chapter's indignation. Sewal opposed the intrusion and both he and Godfrey were excommunicated by the pope. Jordan withdrew after accepting a pension of one hundred marks annually, and the

³² Harrison, *Life in a Medieval College*, pp. 27-28; Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 89; Dobson, 'English Vicars Choral', p. 5; A. D. M. Barrell, 'Abuse or Expediency? Pluralism and Non-Residence in Northern England in the Late Middle Ages', in *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700*, ed. by John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Stroud: Sutton, 1997), pp. 117-30 (p. 123).

³³ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 50.

³⁴ A royal licence was granted to Sewal, as dean, and the chapter of York to elect an archbishop, on 28 May 1255. The canons of York elected Sewal to the vacant see. However, King Henry III, who did not want the temporalities of the see to pass so swiftly from his hands, refused consent on the grounds of Sewal's illegitimate birth. The chapter appealed to Rome and in March 1256 Pope Alexander IV granted a dispensation on account of his illegitimacy, enjoining the chapter to pay obedience to Sewal and confirming the election. The keepers of the archbishopric were ordered to restore the temporalities to Sewal. *York Minster Fasti*, I, p. 6; *CPR: Henry III, 1247-1258* (London: HMSO, 1908), pp. 411, 471; *CPL*, p. 328.

sentence was revoked. Sewal's vigour and persistency in upholding the rights of his cathedral when they were menaced in such a way won him the favour of his contemporaries.³⁵ Aspects of Sewal's re-foundation of the chapel helped to further unite the two institutions of the cathedral and chapel and can be seen as a continuation of these good relations. There is a strong relationship between the thirteenth-century developments in the minster and chapel, with parallel moves taking place concerning prebends, vicarages and the regulation of non-residence.

Furthermore, it was Gilbert de Tywa who was central to Sewal's re-foundation of the chapel, as well as in the period leading up to it. He had been appointed as sacrist under Archbishop Grey and therefore, although Grey was not responsible for the chapel's re-foundation, the man he had appointed as sacrist was intimately involved in its implementation. Not much more is known of Tywa's career, but he can be seen as part of the new group of clerical administrators who emerged under Grey. Tywa held the sacristy until his death; his successor was presented by the crown in February 1266.³⁶ The continuity of the chapel's sacrist, alongside that of Sewal, through this period, was central to the administrative developments made in the chapel in the 1250s.

2.3 Sewal's Re-foundation Charter

The purpose of Sewal's re-foundation of the chapel was to continue the work of Archbishop Grey within the cathedral and diocese. An examination of the language of Sewal's charter reveals his approach to these matters. Sewal is keen to say that he is establishing extra things within the chapel and is attempting to create something which worked better than the original constitution. He does not use language which indicates that the chapel needed reforming because it was in a particular state of decay,

³⁵ *York Minster Fasti*, I, pp. xiii, 6-7; W. H. Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses. Lives of the Archbishops of York: volume 1*, ed. by James Raine (London: Longman, 1863), pp. 298-99.

³⁶ *York Minster Fasti*, II, p. 24; *Register of Gray*, pp. 2, 74.

but his re-foundation still reflects reform rhetoric. Sewal wanted to confirm what Roger established but he deals with those matters which have not been upheld, such as the residence of canons, in a pragmatic way. The confirmations and augmentations he made to the chapel's constitution, endowments and community fulfilled the purpose of compensating for the absence of canons within the cathedral, which had become a problem under Grey, and therefore directly improving the performance of the liturgy in both institutions and increasing the splendour of worship.

2.3.1 A New Constitution

One of the main features of Sewal's re-foundation is his augmentation of the number of ministers serving the chapel and the laying down of further rules for the duties, conduct and payment of them. In this way the charter deals with issues of non-residence both in the chapel and also in the cathedral.³⁷ Sewal's charter states that the twelve canons and prebends originally established were to be continued, fixed and unaltered. He specifically uses the words *canonici* and *prebendae* to now refer to those benefices in the chapel which Roger had founded, even though they are still of different ranks. In Roger's charter the members of the chapel are all called *clerici* not *canonici*; since the members of the cathedral chapter were called canons, Roger was making a distinction between the two communities. The change in terminology by Sewal suggests that the status of these clerics, or at least the perception of them, had changed.³⁸ In addition to his prebend, each of these canons, residing near to the chapel

³⁷ See Appendix 2: 2, for Sewal's charter.

³⁸ Julia Barrow has discussed the meaning of the word *praebenda* in Germany and England. In England it usually referred to the canon's benefice with its material appurtenances, in lands, tithes and churches. An exception to the rule was Exeter, where the word *praebenda* meant merely a share in the communal revenues, as it seems to have meant for St Mary and the Holy Angels'. The Exeter canons held their lands communally and received their prebends in the form of fixed annual money payments of four pounds, with additional chapter income being distributed in the form of daily, weekly and quarterly commons. This is in some ways similar to the arrangement in the York chapel, although the chapel's endowments were not held communally, but by the sacrist individually, whilst Exeter did not even have a provost in

as ordered by Roger, now received an extra payment of three pence for attending matins, high mass and vespers in the chapel. The perpetual residence of the canons, as stipulated in Roger's charter, is therefore requested by Sewal. But there is still no sign of communal living arrangements, only a suggestion that they would need to live close enough to present themselves for offices in a timely way. This follows the Norman model of secular institutions, in which canons were not expected or required to live a communal life. The canons were now not threatened with removal if they failed to reside, merely given an extra incentive to attend. This new clause indicates that the canons were not permanently resident and that Sewal accepted some level of absenteeism as normal. Payments are referred to as coming from the sacrist or his deputy, suggesting that the sacrist himself was one of those not upholding Roger's orders of residence; although, this may have been a development to deal with the sacrist's responsibilities of visiting the chapel's parochial endowments. With the introduction of an additional payment system for the canons, for services which they actually attended, there was the potential for a more informal arrangement of deputies substituting for the canons and receiving these additional payments.³⁹

Sewal established extra duties to be performed by the chapel's clergy within the minster, linking the liturgical duties of the two institutions more closely and increasing the compensatory nature of the chapel on behalf of the cathedral. The canons of the chapel holding priest-prebends were to celebrate matutinal or high mass at the altar of the cathedral. They would take turns throughout the week, in place of any absent cathedral canons, at the request of the precentor who would give notice in the chapel to the canons on the preceding day if they were needed. This new duty

charge of distributing the revenues. Barrow, 'Cathedrals, Provosts and Prebends', pp. 537-38, 557.

³⁹ There is evidence later of the canons of St Sepulchre's also having deputies in the chapel. See Chapter 4.

indicates an attempt to deal with the situation of non-residence or slackness in attending services of the cathedral canons. The deacons and subdeacons of the chapel were to assist the priests at the high altar, and all were to be paid, receiving an additional one or two pence for attending.

This interchange between the chapel and cathedral is significant as this regulation transgressed the normal rule that no-one below the rank of a member of the cathedral chapter was to celebrate at the high altar.⁴⁰ It suggests that the canons of the chapel were considered equal in status to the cathedral chapter. The cathedral chapter must have, to some extent, supported Sewal's ordination that the canons of St Mary and the Holy Angels' were to provide service in the minster, because it gave them legitimacy to be absent. This further established the chapel's identity as an institution supplementary to the minster and yet intimately involved in its services and liturgical life.

As well as establishing extra duties and payments for the canons, there are details in Sewal's charter concerning the correction of misdemeanours. Payments could be withdrawn or reduced for offences of absence, brawling or insolence, and the revenue transferred back to the use of the sacrist.⁴¹ These punishments are less severe than Roger's threat of removal from a prebend for non-residence, and indicate an understanding of the realities of the community by Sewal. His stipulations also indicate that such misdemeanours were common enough for them to be written into the re-foundation charter, but they do not seem to have been so serious that the chapel was unable to function.

Sewal's charter has a strong intercessory focus, the provision for which also further dealt with the issues of non-residence within the chapel and also by extension

⁴⁰ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 70.

⁴¹ Appendix 2: 2.

within the cathedral. In addition to the thirteen *canonici* of the chapel, a further two priests, two deacons and two subdeacons were to be installed to serve in the chapel. Whereas in Roger's charter a distinction was made between the *clerici* of the chapel and the *canonici* of the cathedral, now a distinction was being made between the *canonici* and *clerici* of the chapel itself.⁴² This seems to be an early example of a trend in collegiate institutions, which, by the fifteenth century at least, were often staffed by both canons and clerks. Burgess suggests that the latter were increasingly involved and entrusted with liturgical elaboration, and may have borne the burden of the *opus dei* in the choir.⁴³ Indeed, this was the case for St Mary and the Holy Angels', where the six additional clerics were essentially set with the task of keeping the chapel running whilst the supposedly resident twelve remaining canons were absent, either serving in the minster or elsewhere. The two additional priests were specifically given the duty of performing the Office of the Dead, whilst the deacons and subdeacons were to be continually present to perform the divine office in the chapel alongside the priests, and they were also to be present at the canonical hours and mass. The original prebendal canons were supposed to say each day the Placebo, Dirige and other services for the dead. However, Sewal anticipated that they might omit to do so, due to negligence or error; therefore, the additional priests were ineluctably held to say these offices fully every day. These clerics should also sing the psalter on behalf of the dead, presumably meaning the seven penitential psalms usually sung at burial services, even when absent from choir due to illness. The new priests, deacons and subdeacons were paid a stipend from the sacrist of five marks, three marks and two and a half

⁴² See Chapter 4 and Appendix 4: Table 2 for the extent to which any of these prebends and extra benefices were filled during the fifteenth century.

⁴³ Burgess, 'An Institution for all Seasons', p. 13.

marks respectively, which, as was the case for the rest of the canons, would be reduced if they misbehaved or were absent.⁴⁴

The intercessory focus of the chapel appears to be much stronger in Sewal's charter than in Roger's. A focus on the Office of the Dead would be more suited to the date of the second charter in the mid-thirteenth century, with the development in the quantitative use of intercessory masses, than to Roger's in the 1170s. The changes might reflect a shift in the prominence of intercessory language in liturgical documents of the period as well as the corresponding need to stipulate the provision of additional services for the dead. When Roger founded the chapel, the action of foundation and a brief statement regarding its intercessory function was sufficient for its purpose as a memorial chapel to be clear. The emphasis in Sewal's charter and the addition of extra canons to say mass appear more like the functions of a chantry than that which Roger had established, but the chapel community could still not be described as serving only that of a chantry.

2.3.2 The Ordination of Vicarages

The changes made by Archbishop Sewal in the liturgical provision of St Mary and the Holy Angels' involved the need for additional income for the chapel to support the extra ministers and additional payments. Sewal's need to address the inner working of the chapel and cathedral caused him to make changes to the chapel's endowment and once again changed the relationship between several rural parishes and their diocesan church. To the three churches in Nottinghamshire were added Retford and Claborough with its chapels of Gringley, Welham and Bolham. The church at Harewood seems to have been wholly removed, and in its place the church of Collingham appeared. These new churches all appear to have been part of the archbishop's estates, rather than the gift of lay persons, and must have been part of

⁴⁴ Appendix 2: 2.

what was left of the archbishop's lands that had not already been assigned to either the minster prebends or the chapel.⁴⁵ Sewal also ordained vicarages in all of the parish churches which constituted the chapel's endowment. This was a period where there was a concern for pastoral care, demonstrated at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215. The process of appropriation and the ordination of vicarages are significant because they reflect Sewal's continuation of the work of Archbishop Grey within the diocese, and reveal Sewal's attempt to address the difficulties concerning the chapel's endowment, which was discussed above, by laying down more precisely the subdivision of responsibilities and income.

Sewal's charter specifies that because vicarages have now been ordained in each of the churches pertaining to the chapel, neither divine service nor alms-giving would be neglected in the parishes. The sacrist was responsible for the presentation of vicars, although the archbishop would hold the right of institution and removal. Each of the parishes was to be served by a perpetual vicar who was under obligation to be resident. This would provide greater stability and would be better for the incumbent, as it provided security of tenure and a guaranteed source of revenue, and better for pastoral care.⁴⁶ The cure of souls was deputed to the vicar; the sacrist's duty to St Mary and the Holy Angels' absolved him of any duty to his parishioners. The usual method of ordaining vicarages when a church was appropriated to a prebendal stall in a cathedral or college was to assign the small tithes of the parish, together with

⁴⁵ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 68. Collingham seems to have been acquired through its connection to Bardsey (see below). Archbishop Thomas had held land in Clarborough at the time of *Domesday*, so it is likely that the land of the church was part of the archbishop's estate there. The origin of Retford is more obscure; the archbishop held some land there in *Domesday*, so again it is likely this was part of the archbishop's estate. Sewal's charter is the first mention of a church in Retford.

⁴⁶ Browne says that the churches had been ill served until Sewal erected these vicarages, but he provides no evidence for this assertion. Browne, *History*, p. 58. Although, the statement in Sewal's charter regarding the divine service and alms-giving suggests that this may have been the case. Nicholas Bennett discusses the process of ordaining vicarages in Lincolnshire, in 'Pastors and Masters', p. 45.

oblations or altarages and casual offerings to the vicar. A more satisfactory alternative was to pay a fixed stipend out of the profits of the church.⁴⁷ The chapel's charter indicates that a combination of these two systems was employed. Some vicars were to receive all of the altarage and a tenth of the tithe of the church from the sacrist, but in other cases the vicars were to receive a fixed stipend out of the altarage.⁴⁸ The variations between the arrangements in the different parishes do not appear to reflect whether the church was from the gift of the archbishop or from a lay family. The local agricultural references in the parishes look specific to each place rather than generic, and may reflect a respect for existing practice between the parish and their patrons, before they were appropriated to St Mary and the Holy Angels'.

Sewal's charter of 1258 reveals the actions of the chapel's sacrist, Gilbert de Tywa, in acquiring the additional endowments for the chapel and the improvement of them. The charter specifies that since Tywa had worked hard for the chapel's improvement an anniversary mass was to be celebrated for him each year within the minster, the chapel and all the churches pertaining to the chapel.⁴⁹ This specification demonstrates that each of these churches, big and small, were part of a network of co-dependent institutions that worked alongside each other, connected by the liturgical uses and the communities which they served.

2.4 Conclusion

During the period under archbishops Roger of Pont L'Évêque, Walter de Grey and Sewal de Bovill, their control and influence upon the administration and development of the cathedral and diocese of York included the foundation and re-foundation of the

⁴⁷ Thompson, *English Clergy*, pp. 106, 117-18.

⁴⁸ The payment and arrangement of parochial vicars differed from that of the vicars choral of the cathedral. See Nigel J. Tringham, 'At Home in the Bedern: The Domestic Life of the Vicars Choral of York Minster', in *Vicars Choral*, ed. by Hall and Stocker, pp. 188-91 (p. 188); Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 58.

⁴⁹ Appendix 2: 2.

Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels. For both Roger and Sewal the purpose of foundation of the chapel was in part compensatory, in order to support and increase the divine service of the cathedral as a whole, through an elaborate liturgy. They did so by increasing the number of clergy within the precinct, who could fulfil various liturgical and administrative roles. This could only be achieved by providing the chapel with adequate endowments to support a full complement of staff.

The chapel's re-foundation suggests that Sewal was concerned with several issues. The first was an attempt to maintain what Roger had established, by ensuring the adequate functioning of the chapel and the performance of the divine office. The second was the provision of additional support for the performance of mass in the cathedral church, as part of a general need to reform the clergy and a concern with liturgical provision. In this sense, Sewal was instrumental in the maintenance and development of liturgical performance in both the chapel and the cathedral. The third concern was the provision of dedicated priests to celebrate the Office of the Dead in a suitable place. Sewal's final action of increasing the endowment and ordaining vicarages was the result of his need to increase the chapel's income in response to the other changes he made to the chapel's constitution. It was also necessary to improve the administration of the endowment, because of the shaky nature of some of the chapel's sources of funding. The actions of Sewal can be seen clearly as a continuation of his predecessor's reforming principal.

Central to the chapel's administration and re-foundation was the role of the sacrist. Both Hamo and Tywa were important administrators who were ultimately responsible for the chapel's success in this difficult early period. However, as Thompson commented, 'if master Gilbert de Tywe [sic] had been diligent in building up [St Sepulchre's] solvency and augmenting its resources, his successors were

perfectly ready to reap the fruits of his labours without emulating his personal industry', as we will see in the following chapter.⁵⁰

⁵⁰ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 72.

Chapter Three

Challenges to Institutional Identity, 1266-

1373: A Conflict of Interests?

This chapter addresses the challenges which were posed to the institutional identity of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels during a period in which the relationship between the archbishops of York and the chapel began to be influenced by external circumstances and in which the cathedral underwent a major building programme. These challenges were both political and physical. As we have already seen, the chapel was supposed to be a place in which the archbishop had ultimate authority, to express his liturgical needs and to promote his own trusted clerks. However, towards the end of the late thirteenth century tensions began to emerge between three distinct parties, challenging the chapel's constitutional identity. The archbishop, the pope, and the king all wished to use the chapel as a source of patronage, causing a conflict of interests that can subsequently be seen on the community of St Mary and the Holy Angels'. In particular, vacancies of the see caused conflicting appointments to the sacristy by the crown. In this period, the archbishops tended to side with the papacy, therefore the struggle for influence was primarily between crown and papacy, rather than the archbishop. In the mid-fourteenth century the archbishop regained control of his chapel and the influence of the crown and the papacy were thereafter increasingly reduced. By the fifteenth century, restrictions to papal provisions were in force and, as a result, the king also demonstrates less immediate influence over the affairs of the minster. The removal of strong papal involvement in appointments meant that the king could, to a certain extent, afford to pull away. Furthermore, the nature of the episcopal

bench in the fifteenth century, being occupied by men who had been in the service of the crown, enabled the king to influence preferment by indirect means.¹

The archbishops of York had to struggle to implement Sewal's re-foundation programme and administer the chapel, but all of them, from Sewal to John Thoresby (1362-73), displayed a readiness to put their considerable administrative experience at the service of their diocese and province.² Several of York's archbishops, following the death of Walter de Grey, naturally identified themselves almost exclusively with the see: Bovill and Ludham (1258-65) were ex-deans, Wickwane (1279-85) and Thomas Corbridge (1300-04) were ex-chancellors and John le Romeyn (1285-96) was the illegitimate son of an ex-treasurer. Corbridge indeed never left his diocese at all after his enthronement in 1300. With Corbridge's death, the surprisingly long succession of York cathedral clergy to the see came to an end: between 1304 and 1373 the See of York was in the hands of four outstandingly distinguished royal clerks, Greenfield (1304/06-15), William Melton (1316-40), William de la Zouche (1340-52) and Thoresby.³ Nevertheless, with the exceptions of Walter Giffard (1266-79) and Thoresby, the archbishops of York from 1215 to 1373 were freely elected by the chapter, often in the face of both papal and royal opposition.⁴ The rebuilding of the minster nave was undertaken by Archbishop Romeyn and completed under Melton in the 1330s, followed by the reconstruction of the eastern end of the cathedral by Thoresby, demonstrating the interest of these prelates in their cathedral church.

¹ The nature of the episcopal bench and the crown's influence over York's clerical appointments in the fifteenth century are discussed further in Sections 4.1 and 4.4.

² Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 76-77.

³ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 77-78.

⁴ A. Tindal Hart, *Ebor: A History of the Archbishops of York from Paulinus to Maclagan 627-1908* (York: Ebor Press, 1986), p. 51.

3.1 A Struggle for Authority

3.1.1 Archbishop Sewal de Bovill's Legacy and External Influences

By the late thirteenth century the impact of Sewal's reforms may only have begun to be felt in practice. It would have taken some time for the liturgical and pastoral provision in the chapel, cathedral and parishes to be implemented. Indeed, the period following Sewal's charter suggests that his re-foundation did not automatically lead to the establishment of a reformed and smoothly operating institution. However, the role of the sacrist continued to be extremely influential in the management of the chapel and the construction of its identity. The acquisition of either the sacristy or a prebend in the chapel depended upon variable factors, such as the life-expectancy of the previous incumbent, the archbishop's own ability to retain his freedom to collate against external pressures and a vacancy of the see. For example, Tywa's immediate successor as sacrist was Peter de Erehun. Because this was also the year in which Archbishop Ludham died and the see was vacant, Erehun was presented by the crown.⁵ His presentation by the king demonstrates the prerogative of the crown to take full advantage of the opportunity provided by the vacancy of the archbishopric.⁶ In addition, as elsewhere in England, the growth of papal provisions and the invasion of curial officials and cardinals was becoming an issue at York from the 1260s and was only really curtailed after the outbreak of the Great Schism in 1378. Throughout the intervening period papal involvement created new pressures within the two chapters at

⁵ The see was vacant until the appointment of Walter Giffard. There had been two unsuccessful appointments to the see. William Langton's election was quashed in 1265 and Bonaventura resigned before his confirmation in 1266. *CPR: Henry III, 1258-1266*, p. 557.

⁶ The increase in the number of prebends at York under Grey after about 1218 enabled the king and pope to gain from a greater range of ecclesiastical patronage at the minster. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 52; Section 2.2.

York. Successive archbishops fought a series of long battles to prevent the complete erosion of their patronage at the cathedral of York.⁷

Both the cathedral chapter and the chapel had little alternative but to accept that a number of its richest benefices formed part of a system operating in the interests of papal and government officials.⁸ The office of sacrist of the chapel attracted a similar level of interest and dispute to that witnessed by the position of dean of York.⁹ However, unlike the dean of York, who after 1215 was appointed by a supposedly 'free' capitular election, rather than by the archbishop,¹⁰ the sacrist of the chapel was under the direct jurisdiction of the archbishop, and this made the archbishop's relationship with the crown and papacy even more significant to their influence over appointment to that office.¹¹ However, the role of the archbishop could still be a powerful one. The papal appointments can be seen as the rationalisation of a wider need and part of a strategy to build a closer relationship between Rome and the Northern Province of England. Such appointments can help to elucidate the complexity of the chapel as an institution and the wider role it played in the complex relationships between diocesan church, papal curia and royal government. One of the main challenges to the chapel's administration in this period occurred when the sacrist was alienated from the archbishop. This threatened the important relationship between the two offices which had been so carefully established by Roger and Sewal.

⁷ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 79; E. F. Jacob, *The Fifteenth Century 1399-1485* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961), p. 267.

⁸ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 57; C. H. Lawrence, 'The Thirteenth Century', in *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages*, ed. by C. H. Lawrence (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), pp. 117-56 (pp. 148-50).

⁹ The position of dean of York held such wealth that the choice of dean was never a matter of indifference to senior ecclesiastics in the service of the papacy, the royal government and the archbishop. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 64.

¹⁰ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 64.

¹¹ See Sections 1.3 and 2.1.1.

3.1.2 Percival de Lavagna: Sacrist 1267-90

One such appointment was that of Percival de Lavagna to the sacristy of St Sepulchre's in c. 1267.¹² Percival's appointment was part of a strategic alliance between Archbishop Giffard and the papacy, and demonstrates an interesting relationship emerging between the archbishops of York and the papal see.¹³ There seems to have been a desire by Giffard to appoint to the sacristy an individual closely connected to the papacy, in a strategic turn towards Rome and to the detriment of the English crown.¹⁴ Percival was a member of the Genoese family of Fieschi, lords of Lavagna. He was the brother of the legate Ottobuono, a nephew of Pope Innocent IV, who became pope in 1276.¹⁵ Giffard also reveals a concern for the pastoral care of the churches with which St Sepulchre's was endowed, reflecting the reforming principals of the thirteenth century and suggesting that the implementation of Sewal's re-foundation was still at the forefront of the chapel's administration in this period. Giffard's notification of Percival's collation takes the form of a reminder to Ottobuono that the archbishop had kindly collated his brother Percival to the sacristy and that it would be disgraceful to the church if that office, and Percival's other prebends, should be transferred by the apostolic see to any other person. Giffard's plea for Percival to obtain the sacristy appeals to the needs of the management of the chapel and its endowments: that they would suffer, especially in pastoral care, if Percival was replaced. This document makes clear the level of duty and responsibility with which the sacrist was entrusted, mentioning specifically the cure of souls,

¹² He already held the prebend of Wistow at York, to which he had been collated by the pope. William Brown, ed., *The Register of Walter Giffard, Lord Archbishop of York of York 1266-1279*, SS, 109 (1904), pp. 148-49; BI, Register 2, fol. 63^r; *York Minster Fasti*, II, p. 87.

¹³ Giffard himself had been promoted by papal provision to the see in 1266. *Register of Giffard, Archbishop of York*, p. ii.

¹⁴ *Register of Giffard, Archbishop of York*, pp. x, xii.

¹⁵ William Brown, ed., *The Register of John le Romeyn, Lord Archbishop of York 1286-1296*, 2 vols, SS, I: 123 (1913), p. 365, n. 1.

churches, ornaments and houses, of the parishes and vicarages with which St Mary and the Holy Angels' was endowed.¹⁶

There were many ways in which Percival could show his devotion to the chapel and implement effective administration: ensuring a good income, maintaining the chapel's endowments through visitation or appointing good vicars to take care of the cure, building connections with individuals in influential positions or those who had the means to make charitable donations, and appointing a good deputy. Percival held other benefices alongside the sacristy;¹⁷ he was therefore a pluralist and seems not to have attended to his duties in St Mary and the Holy Angels' personally, but through the appointment of a proctor or deputy in the chapel, Master John de Luco.¹⁸

The archiepiscopal registers reveal the complexity of the layers of administration and jurisdiction created by a system of proctors, deputies and vicars. Such a system also reveals how Sewal's re-foundation was being implemented. Luco appears to have been a responsible and efficient deputy in managing the chapel's (not inconsiderable) endowments on behalf of the sacrist. As an example, let us examine his role in the management of Otley church. St Sepulchre's held half, or a mediety, of the church of Otley out of the archbishop's estate, as stated in Roger's foundation charter.¹⁹ The other mediety of the church was part of the cathedral prebend of South Cave, which was probably also granted by Archbishop Roger from his estate, but it was the sacrist of St Sepulchre's who appears to have been responsible for the vicar of

¹⁶ *Register of Giffard, Archbishop of York*, pp. 148-49; BI, Register 2, fol. 63^r. Also see James Raine, ed., *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers* (London: Longman, 1873), p. 13.

¹⁷ In 1268 Percival was collated to the archdeaconry of Buckingham and also held the prebend of Aylesbury from 1285 to his death in 1290, both in Lincoln Cathedral. *York Minster Fasti*, II, p. 87.

¹⁸ This individual also appears in the archbishops' registers as John de Luck or Luk.

¹⁹ Appendix 2: 1.

Otley.²⁰ There seems to have been a period in the 1280s when the archbishop was renting the tithes of Otley church from Luco as Percival's deputy. Then, in a strange twist of deputisation, the archbishop became responsible for paying the vicar of Otley.²¹ Furthermore, Sewal's establishment of vicarages and the sacrist's responsibility over them had not been fully implemented by this time. For example, there seems to have been uncertainty over the position of Percival in relation to the presentation of vicars at Otley. In a mandate of 1288, inducting William de Leverton to the vicarage of Otley, on the presentation of the sacrist of the chapel, the archbishop expresses his intention to investigate whether the presentation of the vicar should pertain to the sacrist or the collation should pertain to the archbishop by right in full.²² In February the following year, we find that Luco appears again as Percival's proctor, being instituted himself to the church of Otley, indicating the extent of this individual's role as Percival's deputy, which appears to have extended to the provision

²⁰ *York Minster Fasti*, II, p. 18; John Le Neve and Diana E. Greenway, *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, volume VI: York* (London: Institute of Historical Research, 1999), p. 65. In the 1547 chantry survey there are two named parsons of the church, one is Thomas Magnus, sacrist of St Sepulchre's, and the other is William Holgil, prebendary of South Cave. *Certificates of the Commissioners*, II, p. 395; Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, p. 44.

²¹ In 1281 John de Luco was provided with a bond from Archbishop William Wickwane for the autumn fruits, obventions and tithes of the coming year, from the mediety of the church of Otley pertaining to the chapel; ten marks was to be paid on the octave of St Peter and Paul and twenty marks was to be paid to the vicar of Otley. The following year, in May 1282, a similar bond was made, but ninety marks was payable on the octave of Peter and Paul, and in July Luco was paid sixty pounds for the rent of Otley for the term of St Peter and Paul last. *Register of Wickwane*, pp. 320, 325, 329. In June 1286 an even stranger arrangement occurred, with a notice made to the bailiff of Otley that the archbishop had let the altarage of the church of Otley to Roger de Abberford for fifty marks, out of which Abberford was to pay ten pounds at Easter and ten pounds at St John the Baptist's day, and twenty marks at the same terms to the vicar of Otley for his stipend. *Register of Romeyn*, II: 128 (1917), p. 46; BI, Register 4, fol. 115^f. These arrangements may be partially explained by an entry in Romeyn's register dated 9 July 1286 in which Luco had demised to the archbishop the fruits and revenues belonging to the sacrist in the parish of Otley and the adjoining vill, for a period of one year from the Nativity of St John the Baptist 1286, at a yearly rent of twenty-seven marks. The archbishop was to pay the vicar of Otley twenty marks for his stipend during that period. This entry was apparently cancelled, 'quia satisfactum', perhaps because the archbishop already had control of Otley's tithes as demonstrated by the entry of June 1286 above. *Register of Romeyn*, II, p. 154; BI, Register 4, fol. 146^f.

²² *Register of Romeyn*, II, p. 60; BI, Register 4, fol. 125^f.

of pastoral care for this particular parish.²³ The other ten parish churches with which St Mary and the Holy Angels' was endowed barely surface in the archbishop's records, suggesting that they encountered little administrative difficulty.

Appointing a good deputy could be sufficient to ensure effective administration of the chapel. However, Percival's own misdemeanours as sacrist did not go unnoticed, leading to one of the first appeals by the archbishops of York to the legal foundation of the chapel. In March 1290, when Percival was still sacrist, a mandate was issued by Archbishop Romeyn to the official of York to sequester the fruits of the sacrist until he paid the canons the three pence a day due to them 'ex antiqua ordinacione' for daily service.²⁴ Even such a small threat to the chapel's effective administration caused Romeyn to reiterate the chapel's constitution in the official record. Romeyn was making reference to the additional payments for attending services established by Archbishop Sewal. The specific mention of the ancient foundation of the chapel indicates that Romeyn saw the chapel's foundation documents as a source of his own legal authority in the administration of the chapel.

3.1.3 Non-residence in the Chapel under Archbishop John le Romeyn (1285-96)

Archbishop Romeyn's relationship with the Chapel of St Sepulchre was characterised by the challenges to its institutional identity from both within the community itself and from continued external influences, and by his response in appealing to its legal foundation. The chapel's canonries were highly sought-after and the papacy and crown took the opportunity to make provision to the chapel whenever they could.

Archbishop Romeyn himself was chosen at Rome by electors nominated by the pope,

²³ *Register of Romeyn*, II, p. 60; BI, Register 4, fol. 125^r. This was not necessarily a lone incident in the chapel's history. In 1485 Richard Godson was instituted to the vicarage of Clarborough, on the presentation of John Hert. Godson later appears, in 1487, as proctor to John Hert, sacrist of the Chapel of St Sepulchre, being instituted to the rectory of Sutton-on-Derwent. Eric E. Barker, ed., *The Register of Thomas Rotherham, Archbishop of York 1480-1500: Volume 1*, The Canterbury and York Society, 69 (1976), p. 136, 157. See Sections 5.1 and 5.2.3.

²⁴ *Register of Romeyn*, I, p. 384; BI, Register 4, fol. 97^v.

yet in spite of this he saw the invasion of papal nominees as a frustrating obstacle to his ambitions for the diocesan church.²⁵ In July 1290 Pope Nicholas IV provided William de Tange to the canonry that should next become vacant in the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels; in 1294 Tange is found entering the prebend which had belonged to William de Somerdeby.²⁶ The king was no less opportunistic: in September 1296 Edward I granted his clerk Robert de Bardelby a prebend in the chapel, which was in the king's gift by reason of the voidance of the archbishopric following Romeyn's death that same year.²⁷ The chapel's canonries were at full capacity in Romeyn's episcopate, indicating their popularity by all concerned: an undated entry in Romeyn's register lists the members of the chapter of St Mary and the Holy Angels' in order of the rank of their prebend.²⁸

Nevertheless, one of the constitutional challenges to the chapel was the issue of non-residence. Non-residence appears to have been the crying evil in every case of visitation in the cathedral, but residence was never formalised in the chapel in the same way. In St Sepulchre's, Archbishop Romeyn repeatedly insisted upon residence, revealing that he saw it as a necessary part of the chapel's constitution. Indeed, the statutory requirement of continual residence in the chapel, which its constitution and the object of its foundation imply, made Romeyn's appeal for residence in St

²⁵ A list of Romeyn's early benefices and the papal dispensations he received for them can be found in *Register of Romeyn*, II, pp. ix-x; *CPL*, p. 484; Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 329. Romeyn lamented in a letter the systematic plundering of the church of York by foreign cardinals. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 79; *Register of Romeyn*, II, pp. xiv-xvi, 28-29.

²⁶ *Register of Romeyn*, I, p. 387; BI, Register 4, fol. 98^v. The oblation entry is dated 8 May 1284 (fol. 107).

²⁷ *CPR: Edward I, 1292-1301* (London: HMSO, 1895), p. 197.

²⁸ *Register of Romeyn*, II, p. 175; BI, Register 4, fol. 1^v. The list names four priest canons, Hugo de Metholey, Henry de Mileford, Thomas le Seneschal, and William de Brumpton; four deacon canons, William Skirlock, William de Clere, John de Luco, and Ralph de Knoyvile; and four subdeacon canons, Mylo, Symon le Crocer, John de Alna and Robert de Sexdecim Vallibus.

Sepulchre's central to maintaining the chapel's institutional identity.²⁹ In 1289 Romeyn attempted to check the non-residence of the chapel's canons by issuing a mandate to the official of the court of York to summon the canons of the chapel to reside. His description in the mandate of the chapel's community is rather uncomplimentary: 'they who rarely provide the appropriate service; they who weigh reward in wine do not labour; they who are thirsty for advantage do not acknowledge the burdens; and so the inheritance of Christ is irreverently withdrawn from divine honour, uselessly squandered'.³⁰ The mandate demonstrates that there was mass non-residency and that Romeyn was concerned about the level of divine service being provided in the chapel.

Romeyn's appeal for residence in the mandate is made to the foundation and origins of the institution, perhaps a formulaic convention for any attempt at reform, but especially relevant and recurrent in the reconstruction of the identity of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.³¹ Appealing to the legal foundation was also a means of asserting the distinction between the constitutions of the two neighbouring institutions, the minster and chapel, over the matter of residence.

Following his mandate to the chapel to reside, Romeyn ordered the sequestration of the fruits of the canons of the chapel who were non-resident, except those of Henry de Mileford and Ralph Knovill. On the following day, a mandate was issued to the archbishop's official to warn Simon of Oxford, known as le Crocer,

²⁹ *Register of Romeyn*, II, pp. xviii-xix, xxi. Barrell suggests that because the system of appointing deputies in the collegiate churches of the diocese was less firmly rooted than in the cathedral, it was open to abuse. Barrell, 'Abuse or Expediency?', p. 123.

³⁰ At the same time Romeyn issued another monition on non-residence, to the canons of Ripon. These two mandates suggest that St Sepulchre's and Ripon shared similar concerns over non-residence, or at least that Archbishop Romeyn shared similar concerns about both. *Register of Romeyn*, I, pp. xvi, 375-76; BI, Register 4, fol. 95^v; Raine, *HCY*, II, pp. 214-15; J. T. Fowler, ed., *Memorials of the Church of Saints Peter and Wilfrid, Ripon*, 2 vols, SS, II: 78 (1884), pp. 15-16.

³¹ 'Quam sancte et salubriter pia patrum, praedecessorum nostrorum, devotio antiquorum ad Divini cultus augmentum laboraverit'. BI, Register 4, fol. 95^v; Raine, *HCY*, II, p. 214.

canon of the chapel, to come into residence before the feast of St Michael (September 29) or to appear in York Minster on the day after the feast of St Matthew to explain himself.³² It is likely that, as a consequence of Crocer's non-residence, he was subsequently deprived of his prebend, as we find the appointment of his successor, William de Somerderby, a few months later.³³

All of these attempts by Romeyn to correct the non-residence of the chapel's canons were evidently unsuccessful. In February 1295 he had to issue another monition to his official to cite the canons of the chapel to appear before the Nativity of the Virgin Mary to answer for non-residence.³⁴ Nevertheless, it was the perceived history of the community's obligation to residence which made the issue of non-residence more of a serious matter in the official records than it may actually have been regarded in practice. In certain pre-arranged circumstances non-residence was permitted, either for a canon to be in the service of another prelate or for study. For example, William de Clera, rector of Brafferton and prebendary in the chapel, was given leave to be non-resident in 1286 for a period of three years, in order to be in attendance of Robert Burnel, who was Bishop of Bath and Wells and chancellor of England at this time.³⁵ John de Luca was given at least two leaves of absence, in 1289 and 1293, in order to study.³⁶

³² *Register of Romeyn*, I, pp. 379-80; BI, Register 4, fols 96^r-96^v.

³³ Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 72-73; *Register of Romeyn*, I, p. 381; BI, Register 4, fol. 96^v.

³⁴ *Register of Romeyn*, II, p. 22; BI, Register 4, fol. 108^r.

³⁵ *Register of Romeyn*, I, pp. 355-56; BI, Register 4, fol. 91^r.

³⁶ On 13 June 1289 a licence was given to John de Luca, canon of the chapel, to continue his non-residence until Michaelmas. *Register of Romeyn*, I, p. 378; BI, Register 4, fol. 96^r. Again in April 1293 Luca was given leave to study from the day after the feast of St William until Michaelmas (June 9 to September 29) 1293. *Register of Romeyn*, II, p. 16; BI, Register 4, fol. 106^v. This John de Luca, who is here canon of the chapel, and John de Luco, previously proctor of Percival de Lavagna, are likely the same person.

3.1.4 Thomas Corbridge as Sacrist and Archbishop: 1290-1304

The events concerning the sacristy after Percival's death further reveal the role of deputies in the administration of the chapel and its finances, and the extent of papal involvement in the chapel's community. On 16 June 1290, Thomas Corbridge was collated to the sacristy of the chapel, which had been without a native sacrist for some time. The appointment of Corbridge features prominently in Archbishop Romeyn's register, primarily due to papal involvement. The collation had been granted to the archbishop by Pope Nicholas IV in a bull dated 22 April 1290, in which it was stated that an Englishman of legitimate birth was to be collated, who should be either a master in theology, a doctor in decrees, or a professor in civil law, and who was obliged to be resident.³⁷ Following Corbridge's collation, an entry in Romeyn's register, dated July 1290, describes him as being of legitimate English birth, namely from the province of York, and also proven to be master in theology, thus fulfilling all the criteria for the position of sacrist, as specified in the papal bull.³⁸

As W. H. Dixon asserted, this office was an honourable and lucrative one, but it involved its occupant in no little difficulty and annoyance.³⁹ However, the first of these annoyances demonstrates just how lucrative the sacristy was to hold and therefore why it attracted the interests of archiepiscopal, papal and royal patronage. The sacrist was always likely to receive more than the minimum ten marks established by Archbishop Roger, which was the value, for example, of both the chancellorship and the precentorship at Beverley Minster.⁴⁰ As Sewal's re-foundation made clear, all

³⁷ *Register of Romeyn*, I, pp. 385-86; BI, Register 4, fol. 98^r. The bull of Pope Nicholas occurs in *CPL*, p. 512.

³⁸ *Register of Romeyn*, I, p. 388; BI, Register 4, fol. 99^r. He was likely born in Corbridge, Northumberland.

³⁹ Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 354.

⁴⁰ The principal source for ecclesiastical revenues for this period is the 1291 taxation record (*Taxatio*) of Pope Nicholas IV. Unfortunately the fruits of the sacristy are not noted in the *Taxatio*, but the chapel is valued at £88 6s 8d. Given that the total expenditure on the stipends of the prebendal canons was a total of £62 13s 4d (the chapel prebends are taxed at

of the income pertaining to the chapel went to the sacrist directly. Indeed, as the events of 1290 show, the sacristy continued to be a source of income even after death. In July 1290, following Corbridge's collation, a proctor, Gradus Pini, was appointed by the archbishop to receive the fruits due to Percival, now deceased, from the chapel for the last year.⁴¹ Pini was held to answer to the archbishop concerning the revenues of the sacristy and was also now responsible for paying the stipends of the canons of the chapel.⁴² This indicates that Corbridge was not yet entitled to any of the income of the chapel, which was still considered to belong to Percival even after his death. This situation was not unique to the Chapel of St Sepulchre. A statute of Archbishop Thurstan directed towards the cathedral and the minsters of Ripon, Beverley and Southwell, stipulated that for a year after a canon's death the income from that prebend would go towards the deceased canon's soul and would not be available to support a new canon. For St Sepulchre's this regulation only applied to the sacrist because the rest of the chapel's canons were paid from a common fund rather than from the income of a prebend in the traditional sense. The cathedral also had statutes regarding the minimum time for exchanging a prebend, which would be necessary in such circumstances, whereas the chapel did not.⁴³

The next difficulty occurred when, on Corbridge's appointment he gave up the chancellorship of the cathedral, to which Thomas de Wakefield, sub-dean, was

the values given in Archbishop Roger's foundation charter), the sacristy was not particularly valuable when compared to some of the cathedral prebends. However, the whole of the chapel's income pertained to the sacrist. T. Astle, S. Ayscough and J. Caley, eds, *Taxatio ecclesiastica angliae et walliae auctoritate P. Nicholai IV circa A.D. 1291* (London: [n. pub.], 1802), pp. 297-98, 302.

⁴¹ The papal mandates to fill up Percival de Lavagna's vacant benefices are dated 22 May 1290; *CPL*, pp. 512, 524. *York Minster Fasti*, II, p. 87.

⁴² *Register of Romeyn*, I, p. 387; BI, Register 4, fol. 98^v. Gradus Pini was by the sounds of it another Italian. In August 1290 a receipt for twenty-five pounds is entered into the archbishop's register to John Pini for stipends of the canons. It is probable that this John Pini and the above Gradus Pini are the same person. *Register of Romeyn*, II, pp. 167-68; BI, Register 4, fol. 150^v.

⁴³ *Memorials of Ripon*, I: 74 (1881), p. 293. See Section 4.3.1.

appointed. However, Corbridge's acquisition of the sacristy was hindered by claims against him over the endowment of the chapel: John Scot, the descendant of William Scot who had originally given the church of Calverley to Archbishop Roger, claimed the revenues of the church of Calverley against the sacrist.⁴⁴ Corbridge, finding that he was impeded in obtaining peaceful possession of the chapel by intruders upon its property, resumed the chancellorship, throwing the chapter of York into confusion and hindering Wakefield and William de Blida, who had gained the sub-deanery, from installation. The chapter supported Corbridge, and accordingly came into collision with Archbishop Romeyn, who supported Wakefield and refused to give the chancellorship back to Corbridge. Corbridge was excommunicated on 31 July by Romeyn, but having anticipated the sentence he had set off to Rome to appeal to the pope. Scot had meanwhile resigned all claims to Calverley church and Romeyn ordered Corbridge to send someone to take possession of it.⁴⁵

The issue was only partially resolved in the following January, 1291, when Corbridge received letters of protection in which he was entitled chancellor of the church of York. The first of these apostolic letters concerned the conditions of his residence as sacrist, stipulating that he would be considered as resident in the chapel if residing there the greater part of the year, or in York Minster, or if absent on the business of the minster or sacristy.⁴⁶ Corbridge's obligation of residence suggests that his predecessor Percival had been an absent sacrist, and indicates that this absence had caused problems, or at least that it was seen by the archbishop and the pope to have threatened the constitutional identity of the chapel. The second letter concerned a

⁴⁴ Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 354. William Scot's grandson Roger had already made a claim against the chapel's sacrist Hamo in 1204, and now the church was being disputed again. See Section 2.1.3.

⁴⁵ Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, pp. 354-55. *Register of Romeyn*, I, pp. 387, 389; BI, Register 4, fols 98^v-99^r. William Brown, ed., *The Register of Thomas of Corbridge, Lord Archbishop of York, 1300-1304*, 2 vols, SS, II: 141 (1928), p. xiii. An account of these events is also given in *York Minster Fasti*, I, pp. 20-21; Tindal Hart, *Ebor*, p. 56.

⁴⁶ *Register of Romeyn*, I, pp. 385-86, n. 5; *CPL*, p. 524.

mandate made to the archbishop not to require Corbridge to resign the chancellorship before he obtained possession of the chapel, and to revoke the sentence of excommunication issued against him. The pope did not intend Corbridge to hold both the chancellorship and the chapel, but if he could not obtain peaceful possession of the latter, he was to continue to hold the former.⁴⁷ In March 1291 Corbridge's sentence of excommunication was revoked in obedience to these apostolic letters.⁴⁸ Soon after this, Corbridge entered into possession of the sacristy, and the incident was finally closed. But, whilst resigning his dignity in the church as incompatible with the sacristy, he kept the prebend of Stillington and remained a member of the cathedral chapter.⁴⁹

The rest of Corbridge's sacristy seems to have passed without much incident, judging from the silence of the episcopal registers. Corbridge remained sacrist until 1299, when, on the death of Archbishop Henry Newark (1296-99), King Edward I gave the York chapter permission to elect a new archbishop; the majority fixed upon Thomas Corbridge and he resigned the sacristy of the chapel and the prebend of Stillington. However, the conflict of interests which followed over these vacant benefices ultimately hindered the governance of the chapel, not only under Corbridge, but for the next thirty-three years.⁵⁰

Both the vacant sacristy and the prebend of Stillington were given by Pope Boniface to his great-nephew Francis Gaetani. The consecration of a bishop was a common reason for a papal grant, as any promotion at papal instigation rendered the clerk's former benefices liable for provision. Boniface had insisted on re-appointing Corbridge as archbishop on his own authority, thus reasserting the papal right to

⁴⁷ *Register of Romeyn*, I, pp. 385-86, n. 5; *CPL*, p. 524; *CPR: Edward I, 1281-1292* (London: HMSO, 1893), pp. 379-80.

⁴⁸ *Register of Romeyn*, II, p. 2; BI, Register 4, fol. 102^r.

⁴⁹ It is unclear why the chancellorship and sacristy were seen as incompatible benefices, when in the previous century Hamo had been simultaneously sacrist, precentor and treasurer.

⁵⁰ *Register of Corbridge*, II, pp. xxix-xxx. The events which followed are chronicled in Stubbs, *Chronica Pontificum*, pp. 411-12.

provide to that office.⁵¹ Archbishop Corbridge supported the admission of Gaetani; however, King Edward I wished that one of his own clerks, John Busshe, should have both the sacristy and the prebend of Stillington, considering them to be in the king's gift by reason of the voidance of the archbishopric following the death of Archbishop Newark.⁵² Corbridge refused the king's right and pleaded the claims of the pope, thus creating a double dispute between Busshe and Gaetani over these two benefices. A papal mandate was subsequently issued, supported by Corbridge, to protect Gaetani against those molesting him in his prebends and benefices.⁵³ It is unlikely that Gaetani was ever resident and in 1303, attracted by the prospect of the vacant treasurership of York, he resigned his claim to the chapel, and Corbridge appointed Gilbert Segrave as sacrist.⁵⁴ Edward I was so provoked that he brought Corbridge before the king's court, where Corbridge pleaded in defence that the pope had made collations to both the prebend and chapel; Corbridge lost his cause and was deprived of the temporalities of his see. Edward I renewed the claims of Busshe and mandates were made to Corbridge to induct him into the prebend and chapel in May 1304.⁵⁵ Corbridge still refused, but his death in September that year enabled the king to appoint Busshe to both benefices.

⁵¹ A. D. M. Barrell, 'The Effect of Papal Provision on Yorkshire Parishes, 1342-1370', *Northern History*, 28 (1992), 92-109 (pp. 94, 97); Tindal Hart, *Ebor*, p. 56.

⁵² The grant to Busshe was made by Edward I on 30 April 1300. *CPR: Edward I, 1292-1301*, p. 512.

⁵³ *CPL*, p. 596; Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 356.

⁵⁴ Gaetani employed a deputy to conduct his duties, with the presentation of vicars to the churches of Thorp Arch and Calverley in the year 1302 carried out by a Master Juncta de Sancto Geminiano. *Register of Corbridge*, II, p. 76. Segrave was collated to the sacristy on 2 August 1303. He was known to Corbridge; in January 1301 Segrave had been appointed as one of his proctors in the parliament which was to be held at Lincoln. *Register of Corbridge*, II, p. 43. A bull of Boniface VIII, dated 14 May 1303, provided Gaetani to the treasury at York, thus rendering vacant the chapel which he had held. *Register of Corbridge*, II, p. 27.

⁵⁵ *Register of Corbridge*, II, p. 31. The royal mandate is entered on the Patent Rolls, dated 5 May 1304. *CPR: Edward I, 1301-1307* (London: HMSO, 1898), p. 227.

3.2 A Problematic Sacrist: John Busshe 1304-33

As the fourteenth century progressed the promotion of royal clerks to ecclesiastical benefices became more popular. As well as the king's right to present to canonries during a vacancy of the see, a situation which was seized upon at every opportunity, the crown was also able to place overwhelming pressure on the archbishops to allocate the minster's and chapel's benefices to the king's own clerks.⁵⁶ The fortunes of the chapel and its endowments were closely tied to the attitude with which the sacrist approached his duties, therefore, when the sacrist was alienated in such a way from the archbishop and without the due concern of a good deputy, the chapel's administration could suffer, and more significantly its identity was challenged. Delivering the sacristy to Busshe, a busy clerk in the king's service, proved to be most unsatisfactory and had adverse consequences for the management of the chapel, for he paid no attention to his duties.⁵⁷

Little is known of Busshe or his background, but his sacristy was characterised by the conflict of interests surrounding his appointment. Part of the chapel's institutional identity was based upon the relationship between the archbishop and sacrist, and often the chapel and cathedral. The appointment of Busshe, against the wishes of both archbishop and papacy, threatened this identity in a way that it had not been previously contested. Busshe's sacristy is narrated by a continuous series of entries in the archiepiscopal registers, which relate to and list his failures in all aspects of the administration of the chapel.

The threat to the chapel's identity by the failures of Busshe to administer the community and its endowments effectively resulted in a reconstruction of this identity by Archbishops Greenfield and Melton. The archiepiscopates of Greenfield and

⁵⁶ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 80.

⁵⁷ Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 356.

Melton are marked by their registers, which Thompson described as the ‘finest volumes in the whole series’.⁵⁸ These prelates appear to have been diligent in their own duties towards the Chapel of St Sepulchre; they demonstrated administrative responsibility for its upkeep and the behaviour of its canons and sacrist, and ensured that the chapel was being run according to its founder’s wishes and constitution. It was the characteristics of Greenfield and Melton in their attitude to the diocese as a whole which caused them to respond to Busshe in the manner they did, and inadvertently provided us with some of the most illuminating evidence we have for the chapel’s administration.

3.2.1 Archbishop Greenfield’s Register

The death of Corbridge facilitated the election of a new archbishop. The York chapter settled upon William Greenfield, an illustrious statesman, who was at that time dean of Chichester and chancellor of England.⁵⁹ Following Greenfield’s election in 1304, however, it was two years before he was present in York itself and, in the meantime, the king obtained his wish for St Sepulchre’s by admitting Busshe to the sacristy in November 1304, presumably with Segrave having resigned without contest.⁶⁰ For the whole of Greenfield’s episcopate his efforts towards the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels were influenced by the imposition of Busshe as sacrist, and this is reflected in his episcopal register.

On his return to York as archbishop in 1306 Greenfield would have found that the chaotic events which had plagued the latter years of Corbridge’s life in relation to

⁵⁸ A. H. Thompson, ‘The Registers of the Archbishops of York’, *YAJ*, 32 (1936), 245-63 (p. 250).

⁵⁹ He was kinsman of Archbishop Giffard and, as one of the clerks of Edward I he was involved in numerous affairs of the state. In September 1302 he was made Lord Chancellor of England, having been previously clerk to the chancery. Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, pp. 361-64.

⁶⁰ Busshe retained the sacristy until his death, shortly before 21 June 1333. *Register of Corbridge*, II, pp. xxix-xxx, 169; Thompson, ‘The Chapel’, p. 73; *York Minster Fasti*, I, p. 29; *York Minster Fasti*, II, pp. 69-70; Browne, *History*, I, p. 116.

St Sepulchre's had not been resolved. As claims to the sacristy had been in dispute for some four years from 1300 to 1304, Greenfield must have felt that dealing with the administration of the chapel was a priority. This concern manifested itself in a renewal of the chapel's foundation charters and an assertion of its founders' wishes.

Greenfield began his primary visitation of the diocese only five months after his arrival in York in 1306. On the second folio of Greenfield's register there is a notice, dated 13 September 1306, of a visitation of the Chapel of St Sepulchre, which was to take place on the eve of St Matthew the Apostle (September 20).⁶¹ The visitation of St Sepulchre's seems to have entailed a general tidying up of matters concerning the chapel. On the first few pages of Greenfield's register there are numerous references to the chapel, including a mandate to the archbishop's official to warn the canons that they must be ordained to the orders that their prebends required, about which they had been previously warned by Archbishop Corbridge.⁶² Still later, in April 1307, two canons of the chapel, John de Luco and Robert de Sexdecim Vallibus, were warned personally to come to the ordination in Whit week to be ordained to such orders as their prebends required. A third canon of the chapel, Robert de Insula, was to come to the ordination on the Saturday after the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (16 September).⁶³ Whether these individuals went through with their ordination is questionable, because shortly afterwards both Luco and Insula are found resigning their prebends in the chapel.⁶⁴ Following the visitation in September 1306, the register records a commission to the archbishop's official and William de Jafford, who was later briefly canon in the chapel from 1311 to 1312, to correct, restore and

⁶¹ *Register of Greenfield*, I, p. 8; BI, Register 7, fol. 2^r.

⁶² A. H. Thompson, ed., *The Register of Thomas of Corbridge, Lord Archbishop of York, 1300-1304*, 2 vols, SS, I: 138 (1925), p. 18; *Register of Greenfield*, I, p. 10; BI, Register 7, fol. 5^r.

⁶³ *Register of Greenfield*, I, p. 17; BI, Register 7, fol. 7^v.

⁶⁴ John de Luco resigned on 25 May 1307 and Robert de Insula on 20 October 1307. *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 23, 29.

renew certain digressions and failings which were found in the visitation of the chapel.⁶⁵ No details of the offences or corrections are entered into the register. However, at the end of this entry, copies of the chapel's two foundation charters are found.⁶⁶

Of both Archbishop Roger's and Sewal's charters, no originals exist; the survival of these documents is due to this insertion into Archbishop Greenfield's register. Greenfield's actions and specifically the reproduction of these documents demonstrate an acute awareness of the value of these records as a crucial resource for the life of the chapel's community and as the legal authority of its patrons, and can be seen as a further 're-foundation'. The purpose of the archbishop's register was to provide common forms and models for future occasions, and as a source for constant reference in administering the diocese; the insertion of the chapel's foundation documents is frank evidence for this. The copying of these charters indicates that they were being referred to in order to settle disputes and clarify or consolidate the rules, duties and identity of the community. The re-listing of benefactors and re-recording of the injunction to pray for the archbishop's successors secured these individuals in the perpetual memory of the diocesan records.⁶⁷ The immediate context within the register certainly suggests that their purpose here was to confirm what should be being done and re-order the chapel and the behaviour of its canons, in line with its founders' intentions, and in light of the visitation.⁶⁸ These documents are central to the

⁶⁵ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 217. *Register of Greenfield*, I, p. 8; BI, Register 7, fol. 3^r.

⁶⁶ Sewal's document is entered first in the register, immediately preceding Roger's. BI, Register 7: fols 3^r-3^v for Sewal's charter; fols 3^v-5^r for Roger's charter. See Appendix 2.

⁶⁷ Eamon Duffy, *The Voices of Morebath: Reformation and Rebellion in an English Village* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 47-49.

⁶⁸ A comparative example of this can be seen in the case of the statutes of the vicars choral at Wells Cathedral. Bishop Ralph incorporated the College of Vicars Choral at Wells in 1348; the original statutes have not survived, but they were copied and incorporated into Bishop Bekynton's statutes in 1459. This was the year in which Bekynton made a visitation of the vicars' close at Wells, and finding much wanting, he reissued and enlarged upon Bishop

continuous construction of the chapel's legal and liturgical identity by Archbishop Greenfield. Nevertheless, even Greenfield's appeal to the legal foundation of the chapel did not dispel the difficulties facing the administration of the chapel under Busshe.

Numerous entries in Greenfield's register relate to Busshe's misadministration of the chapel in regard to its finances and his responsibilities to the chapel's endowments. For example, in June 1307, a warning was given to Busshe that he should pay the alms to the parishes which were appropriated to the chapel, 'juxta ordinacionem in littera contentam'.⁶⁹ The mandate refers explicitly to the chapel's charter, which has been examined by Greenfield, and the amounts that Busshe is to pay in alms to the poor of each parish are listed again as they are found in Sewal's charter. Busshe is admonished to pay the said alms, and should make amends for anything that was not previously paid, otherwise he would be punished.⁷⁰ This admonition appears to have done nothing to alter Busshe's long-term behaviour and attitude towards his responsibilities: there was a dispute in 1307 and 1308 between Busshe and the vicar of Otley over the sacrist's responsibility of the payment of the vicar and what the vicar was owed.⁷¹ In 1312 a commission was made to the dean of Doncaster to go to the church of Hooton Pagnell and inquire whether the sacrist of the chapel had paid the alms to which he was obliged. The same commission was also made to the dean of Pontefract for the church of Calverley, the dean of Ainsty for the churches of Thorp Arch, Bardsey and Collingham and to the dean of Otley for the

Ralph's statutes of 1348. See Warwick Rodwell, "Begun while the Black Death Raged..." The Vicars' Close at Wells', in *Vicars Choral*, ed. by Hall and Stocker, pp. 111-37 (pp. 115-16).

⁶⁹ *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 18-19; BI, Register 7, fol. 11^v.

⁷⁰ What this punishment would be is not stated. *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 18-19; BI, Register 7, fol. 11^v.

⁷¹ Archbishop Sewal's charter of 1258 had set out that the vicar of Otley was to receive either twenty marks from the altarage of the sacrist or all of the altarage, for which the vicar had to answer to the sacrist for twenty marks. *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 28, 192.

church there.⁷² Furthermore, Busshe hindered Greenfield's own right to authority over the chapel and its endowments. In January 1313 and May 1314 a dispute arose out of Greenfield's visitation in Nottinghamshire; Busshe appears to have obstructed or in some way impugned the archbishop's right of visitation of the chapel and its churches.⁷³

At Greenfield's visitation in 1313 certain articles were found against Busshe and a commission was made to the archbishop's official to proceed against him; this was made separately from the commission to correct the excesses found in the chapel itself, which was included in a more general entry regarding the visitation of the city of York and the chapel.⁷⁴ On 3 December 1313, in light of the recent visitation of the chapel, Greenfield issued a new *ordinacio* for the chapel, thus confirming his attempt at a further re-foundation of the chapel which he had begun in 1306 with the re-issuing of the chapel's foundation charters. This document records that following the visitation, the archbishop's commissioner, John de Nassington, had ordered that the sacrist should pay a fine of one hundred shillings if he neglected and delayed to pay the canons of the chapel their fixed stipends, with the canons apparently having complained of such neglect. The archbishop now ordered that the penalty to the sacrist could be raised if the payments were further delayed, and that the fruits and income of

⁷² *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 84-85.

⁷³ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 74; *Register of Greenfield*, I, p. 98; BI, Register 8, fol. 18^r. A visitation by the archbishop was to take place on 25 May 1313, but on 16 May it is noted that the visitation had been postponed until 28 May. *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 87-88; BI, Register 8, fol. 12^r. A cause paper against John Busshe survives, which may relate to this dispute, although it cannot be dated precisely. It may alternatively relate to a monition issued by Archbishop Melton in 1320 against Busshe. D. M. Smith, *Ecclesiastical Cause Papers at York: The Court of York 1301-1399*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 14 (York: BI, 1988), p. 84; *Cause Papers in the Diocesan Courts of the Archbishopric of York, 1300-1858* <www.hrionline.ac.uk/causepapers> [accessed 26 July 2012]; BI, GB 93, CP.E.10.

⁷⁴ *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 87, 149; BI, Register 8, fols 15^v, 32^v.

the sacrist were to be sequestered to immediately pay whichever of the canons or ministers of the chapel were owed payment.⁷⁵

The new document also addressed the matter of blood-lettings, providing information on this that is absent elsewhere in records of the chapel and cathedral, as well as an interesting comparison with monastic practices. According to Greenfield's register it had been ordered previously that each of the canons residing in the chapel should have twelve blood-lettings a year, and were allowed to be absent for up to three days on each occasion, whilst still receiving their accustomed daily distributions from the chapel.⁷⁶ This seems to be an unusually high frequency of blood-letting, even when compared to the context with which it is more usually associated, that of the monastery. At Westminster in the mid-thirteenth century it has been suggested that due to the size of the community and the requirements of the liturgical calendar, monks would be bled in a rota of seven or eight times a year.⁷⁷ Julie Kerr suggests that at some Benedictine monasteries the monks were bled up to nine times a year. However, in Carthusian houses the monks were routinely bled only five times a year, and in Cistercian houses it was not uncommon to be bled only four times, with up to four pints of blood being drained on each occasion.⁷⁸ Such differences in the frequency of blood-letting must mean that the quantity of blood removed also varied, and therefore much less blood must have been taken on each occasion, than was the case for the Cistercians, at the places where it was allowed more frequently, such as at York.

⁷⁵ *Register of Greenfield*, I, p. 92; BI, Register 8, fol. 14^r.

⁷⁶ *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 92-93; BI, Register 8, fol. 14^r.

⁷⁷ Barbara Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 97.

⁷⁸ Julie Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister* (London: Continuum, 2009), p. 73; 'Bloodletting', *The Cistercians in Yorkshire* <<http://cistercians.shef.ac.uk/glossary/bloodletting.php>> [accessed 5 February 2014].

However, Greenfield thought that the canons were often absent for blood-lettings without necessity and were not able to minister. The canons were therefore no longer permitted the twelve blood-lettings. Such restrictions were also imposed at St Augustine's, Canterbury, where it was ruled that the monks were only to have blood let every seven weeks. Some monks feigned illness in order to request blood-letting because of the 'post-treatment perks' they benefitted from, such as extra food, including meat, a comfortable, warm night in the infirmary, and relaxations on talking to one another.⁷⁹ It seems less likely that such 'perks' were the reason for St Sepulchre's canons desiring frequent blood-lettings, as they lived much more comfortable daily lives than that of monks.⁸⁰ However, Greenfield's restrictions suggest that the canons were to some extent abusing the system in order to be absent from their daily duties. The resident canons of St Sepulchre's were now allowed blood-letting as often as it was truly required, conducted in the presence of the sacrist or his deputy, after which they could rest for one day only. With the focus again upon those canons in residence, this *ordinacio* makes the chapel appear much more like that of a regular community of canons than has been suggested by any other source beyond Roger's foundation charter. If the canon was absent for more than one day on account of blood-letting he would not receive his payment for that day, unless he was unavoidably absent on account of sickness or excessive debility of the body. In this case, if the canon desired to receive the distribution for those days he must provide divine service with a special oath in the presence of the sacrist or his deputy.⁸¹ The document does not mention where the location of this blood-letting was to take place. The statutes for the cathedral church indicate that the resident cathedral canons were

⁷⁹ Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister*, p. 74.

⁸⁰ See Section 4.5.2 for discussion of the canons' households and pursuits.

⁸¹ *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 92-93; BI, Register 8, fol. 14^f.

also bled, although there is no indication of how often.⁸² It seems likely that, given the confines of space within the cathedral close, both communities of canons would have been bled in the same location. Therefore, somewhere in the complex of buildings within the cathedral precinct there was a space for such activity and its associated recuperation, accessible to both the minster and chapel canons.⁸³

Unlike Greenfield's attempt to maintain the identity of the chapel through the assertion of its foundation documents in 1306, this response, in 1313, was to correct aspects which were not working effectively by establishing new rules to be followed. His new *ordinacio* is more closely related to aspects of the everyday running and organisation of the chapel and its personnel, rather than a concerted effort to protect the chapel's identity in terms of its perceived history. However, the need for such actions seems to have still stemmed from Busshe's lack of administration in the chapel.

3.2.2 Archbishop William Melton

After Greenfield's death in 1315, William Melton was chosen as the new Archbishop of York on the king's request. His register shows that he was an energetic prelate, zealous in the suppression of vice and irregularity.⁸⁴ However, Greenfield's monitions to Busshe concerning the payment of the chapel's canons and of alms to the parishes pertaining to St Sepulchre's appear to have done little to correct the sacrist's behaviour or attitude. Busshe's misdemeanours as sacrist of the chapel did not subside and these are reflected in Melton's register. Busshe again came under serious monition on a number of occasions for detaining daily distributions due to the canons of the chapel. Yet despite all of his failings, at no point did Busshe commit such an

⁸² *York Statutes*, p. 11.

⁸³ A final part of the document describes complaints concerning the state of vestments and books in the vestry. This is discussed in Section 6.2.1 regarding the interior space of the chapel and its building(s).

⁸⁴ Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, pp. 399-411.

offence that he was removed from that office. On 24 July 1320 a mandate was made to the dean of Christianity of York to warn Busshe that within eight days, on pain of suspension and excommunication, he must pay Adam de Spiriden twenty shillings from his prebend in the chapel and ten shillings for his daily commons due on 18 May 1320. The archbishop had already condemned Busshe to pay the canons their stipends at the four usual terms in a document of April 1320.⁸⁵ In addition, in March and November 1327 two separate warnings were made to Busshe to pay the alms owed, in accordance with the ordinance of Archbishop Sewal, within the shortest possible time, under threat of canonical punishment.⁸⁶ Furthermore, in May 1329 a note of commission was made to John de Nottingham, the archbishop's receiver at York, to sequester the revenues of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, because of dilapidations which Busshe had failed to rectify, and his failure to meet other obligations of the sacristy. These dilapidations may have spurred Archbishop Melton to action regarding works on the chapel buildings.⁸⁷ Busshe's sacristy demonstrates an overwhelming lack of concern for his duties: failing to pay the canons, the vicars and the alms to the poor.

Whether Busshe was an absent sacrist, or just a negligent one, is unknown. He appears sometimes to have fulfilled his duties personally, especially in regard to the presentation of vicars.⁸⁸ Busshe does appear to have had a deputy in the chapel,

⁸⁵ The deanery of the Christianity of York was one of five deaneries into which the archdeaconry of York was divided, and included the parishes of the city with the exception of those which were peculiars of the dean and chapter of the cathedral. *Register of Greenfield*, II: 149 (1934), p. xi. Busshe was warned again in November 1320 and in 1327 to pay the revenues and commons due to all canons. Rosalind M. T. Hill, ed., *The Register of William Melton Archbishop of York 1317-1340*, 6 vols, The Canterbury and York Society, V: 93 (2002), pp. 35, 37-39, 80.

⁸⁶ *Register of Melton*, V, pp. 71, 80.

⁸⁷ *Register of Melton*, V, p. 101. See below, Section 3.3.1.

⁸⁸ He is named as presenting: John de Alverthorpe to the vicarage of Hooton Pagnell in 1306; Robert Poer to the vicarage of Calverley in 1314; John de Sutton to the vicarage of Hayton in January 1318; Richard de Shirburn to the vicarage of East Retford in the following January; Thomas Sweton to Clarborough vicarage in 1322; John de la Gore to Sutton cum

Master William de Seton, to whom a mandate of December 1306 concerning the vicar of Otley is addressed.⁸⁹ However, the mandate is not strictly addressed to William de Seton alone, but also ‘cuicumque procuratori sacriste capelle [...] et cuicumque procuratori firmarii porcionis sacriste ejusdem in ecclesia de Otteley’.⁹⁰ This seems to suggest that whilst William de Seton was recognised as Busshe’s official proctor, there were others who may have fulfilled different roles on Busshe’s behalf, potentially causing either inefficient or chaotic administration of the chapel, depending upon the concern of these deputies for the welfare of the chapel and its endowments. All other business, which overwhelmingly concerns Busshe’s personal omissions, is addressed to him.

3.2.3 Reclaiming Control: Melton’s Kinsmen

Despite Melton’s role and connections in government, his relationship with the personnel of the chapel was primarily marked by ties of kinship rather than him bowing to the external pressures of king and pope which had plagued his predecessors. From the beginning of his archiepiscopate Melton had been filling the chapel with his own kinsmen. In 1317 Robert de la Mare was instituted to a deacon prebend in the chapel, followed in 1322 by the collation of William de la Mare to a separate deacon prebend. The de la Mares were one of several families related to Melton that produced clerks who were beneficed in the diocese in the archbishop’s lifetime.⁹¹ In 1326 a Richard de Melton was instituted to a priest prebend in the chapel, and was given some level of responsibility by the archbishop in the chapel’s building works, which

Lound vicarage in September 1331. *Register of Greenfield*, II, pp. 1, 184; *Register of Melton*, IV: 85 (1997), pp. 4, 17, 61, 151.

⁸⁹ *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 10-11; BI, Register 7, fols 5^r-5^v.

⁹⁰ *Register of Greenfield*, I, p. 10; BI, Register 7, fol. 5^r.

⁹¹ L. H. Butler, ‘Archbishop Melton, his Neighbours, and his Kinsmen, 1317-1340’, *JEH*, 2 (1951), 54-68 (p. 66). Robert was presented by the crown, the see having been vacant for two years after Melton’s election in 1315. Thompson, ‘The Chapel’, p. 218; Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 432. William de la Mare resigned his prebend in the chapel in 1327 to take up the position of treasurer in the cathedral church. *Register of Melton*, V, p. 43.

are discussed below. After the death of Busshe in 1333 Melton was able to regain a level of control and patronage over the chapel and its personnel which had not been seen since the time of Sewal de Bovill. It seems no coincidence that it was in the same year as Busshe's death that building works related to the chapel are recorded under Melton, and that the sacristy was filled by one of his own kinsmen, Thomas de la Mare.⁹²

Thomas had held the cathedral prebend of Weighton since 1323.⁹³ According to Melton's register, he was collated to the sacristy on 21 June 1333 in the person of William de Athelingflet, his proctor, and in October 1333 he presented William de Sutton to the vicarage of Sutton.⁹⁴ The remainder of Melton's register includes little mention of the chapel or its sacrist, so the role Athelingflet played as Thomas's proctor is uncertain. Nevertheless, the relative quiet in the record must be a reflection of the lack of disputes, controversy and administrative problems concerning the chapel and its benefices, in contrast to the period under Busshe.

However, we know something more of Thomas de la Mare than any of his predecessors because of the survival of his will, which highlights the kinship ties and possible care of the chapel that characterised the period between 1333 and his death in 1358. His will is dated in September of that year; it reveals Thomas was an intellectual man, and a sacrist who felt some degree of identification with the chapel and its community.⁹⁵ Thomas bequeathed to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, one hundred shillings and his best vestments of red velvet. To the church of Weighton, the cathedral prebend he held, he also bequeathed one hundred shillings for the acquiring

⁹² The new sacrist Thomas de la Mare was the brother of William de la Mare, by then treasurer of the minster. A list of benefices *c.* 1333, unexplained but possibly vacant, appears in Melton's register and includes the sacristy of the chapel. *Register of Melton*, III: 76 (1988), p. 128; *Register of Melton*, V, p. 137. Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 218-19.

⁹³ *Register of Melton*, V, p. 173.

⁹⁴ *Register of Melton*, V, p. 137; *Register of Melton*, IV, p. 170.

⁹⁵ *Testamenta*, I: 4 (1836), pp. 68-70.

of books and vestments. He refers to numerous members of his family, and bequeathed goods to them that included silver spoons, other items of silver plate and vessels, and several horses. To his chaplain John de Sendale he left a missal, his portable breviary and his chapel vestments, a chalice and his book of Decretals. He also left items to eight named servants, who included his cook, chamberlain, falconer and baker, demonstrating the large household of personal staff whom he clearly wanted to ensure were not left without income.⁹⁶

Thomas's will further demonstrates the ties he had to the chapel by the choice of one of his executors, John de Cotyngham, likely the same individual who resigned a prebend in the chapel in 1373.⁹⁷ In addition, his will is dated at Clarborough, one of the churches of which, as sacrist of St Sepulchre's, he was rector, and he bequeathed a robe with an adornment of blue to the vicar of Clarborough. This suggests that he himself visited his benefices. His will was proved less than a month after it was dated and the actual location of Thomas's death and burial is uncertain. The provision he made for his funeral and burial suggest that he expected to return to York before his death. He requested that his body be buried in the cathedral church before the door of the Chapel of St Mary and of the Holy Angels, or near to the tomb of Archbishop Melton. The architectural carving of the door, and perhaps this new entrance itself, was the work Melton.⁹⁸

⁹⁶ The nature of Thomas's goods and household is also found in some of the wills of the fifteenth-century canons of St Sepulchre's. See Section 4.5.2.

⁹⁷ Cotyngham's admission to the chapel is not recorded in the episcopal registers. *Testamenta*, I, p. 70; Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 224.

⁹⁸ There is some discrepancy in the scholarship over the location of Melton's tomb and the cathedral font, near to which he is said to have been buried. It seems most likely that Melton was buried either in the centre of the nave or towards the south aisle. However, Plan 5 of the minster in Raine's *Fabric Rolls* (p. xxviii) shows Melton's tomb just in front of the door to St Sepulchre's. See Section 6.2.2 for full discussion of this and of the liturgical implications of Thomas's burial location and funeral.

3.3 Rebuilding the Cathedral Church

The mid-fourteenth century is the period for which we have the most evidence regarding what the chapel might have looked like stylistically, due to the surviving door, possible window fragments and the building works on the minster, which were potentially completed by the same master mason, and which survive in the present cathedral building. These building works posed a physical challenge to St Sepulchre's, and affected the relationship between the minster and chapel, influencing the chapel's liturgical identity.

3.3.1 Melton's Works and the Doorway to St Sepulchre's

Archbishop Melton gave a very large sum of money to the fabric of the minster; he restored the tomb of St William and finished the western portion of the nave which Archbishop Romeyn had begun. Melton's munificence is commemorated above the central western doorway, over which sits his fine Gothic window.⁹⁹ After the death of Busshe in 1333, Melton was able to turn his attention and patronage towards St Sepulchre's. In that year he granted a licence to Richard de Melton, his kinsman and canon of the chapel, to build new prebendal dwellings, which were to be used by him and the ministers of the chapel. The houses were to be built *extra* the entrance to the archbishop's palace, in a corner formed by the wall that extended from the side of the cathedral up to the old gates of the palace.¹⁰⁰ Whether this site was within the walled precinct of the cathedral close or outside the gates and wall of the palace is not completely clear; the Chapel of St Sepulchre appears to have been within the gates of the archbishop's palace in the area of the archbishop's jurisdiction.¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 423; Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁰ 'Aream illam extra januas palatii nostri Ebor in quodam angulo jacentem que se extendit a pariete ecclesie nostre beati Petri Ebor usque ad veteres portas palatii nostri supradicti'. *Register of Melton*, V, p. 137.

¹⁰¹ See Chapter 1.

Although it is unlikely that the canons of St Sepulchre's ever lived communally, Melton's grant shows that some of the canons of the chapel were living in the same fashion as those cathedral canons who had prebendal houses within the cathedral precinct, and at least some of them were still expected to be resident near to the cathedral. Such prebendal houses played a central role in the display of wealth and status through hospitality for England's secular canons.¹⁰²

Melton's licence to the chapel coincides with the building works taking place at the west end of the minster, which presumably precipitated changes to the chapel and its linking to the new nave.¹⁰³ The physical challenge to the chapel also potentially changed its liturgical relationship with the minster. The truncation of the chapel buildings and subsequent repairs could not have been affected before the walls of the present nave were finished in the late 1330s.¹⁰⁴ Indeed, before the enlargement of the nave the chapel may not have been physically connected to the minster at all. Even after the enlargement of the nave the chapel appears to have been an independent structure, connected to the minster by a passage or vestibule, through the surviving doorway, creating an easier route for liturgical provision into the minster.¹⁰⁵

The chapel's surviving doorway in the minster's north nave aisle would seem to belong to the same phase of work as the great west window of the minster, which

¹⁰² Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, pp. 114-15, 120. The detail of such hospitality can be gleaned from surviving canons' wills and inventories, which often mention servants, silverware and other luxury goods; this is discussed further in Section 4.5.2.

¹⁰³ The work on the nave, which had been taking place since at least 1291, had affected some work on the chapel under Archbishop Greenfield; the keeper of the fabric of the cathedral had seized timber, stone and plaster, of no moderate expense, belonging to the chapel. Having been given sufficient warning to compensate the chapel, and having not done so, a mandate was issued in September 1307 to the official of York to sequester the materials. During the same month a memorandum was issued regarding this sequestration of timber and stone for use in the chapel and palace. This indicates that the building materials for the chapel and archbishop's palace were seen as distinct from that of the minster's works. *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 23, 192-93; BI, Register 7, fols 14^v, 86^r.

¹⁰⁴ The nave is presumed to have been roofed by February 1339 when the west window was commissioned, so the walls must have been completed prior to that date. Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 109.

¹⁰⁵ Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, pp. 107-08.

was paid for by Melton.¹⁰⁶ Ivo de Raghton was Melton's mason, and in 1331 Melton paid him five marks for stone bought at Tadcaster 'for our work at York'.¹⁰⁷ Had this money been for the nave it would have been paid to the keeper of the fabric, which suggests that this was for a more personal project, such as refurbishing the archiepiscopal palace or St Sepulchre's. Raghton was certainly one of the most distinguished and original of the architects of the minster. It is likely that he was also responsible for any works of the same period on the chapel, which must therefore have been similarly splendid and have followed in magnificence the curvilinear style he employed in the west window.¹⁰⁸ The architecture and window scheme surrounding the doorway seem to have been influenced by the chapel's devotional iconography. Thus, whilst the building works on the minster potentially affected the chapel's own fabric, the identity of the chapel influenced the minster's architectural features and liturgical geography. Above the door is a carved figure of the Virgin and Child flanked by two angels; all three figures are now decapitated, presumably by iconoclasts when the chapel was dissolved.¹⁰⁹ Brown has made comparisons with the Virgin figure and the sculptures on the lower west wall of the nave, around the west door; the diagonal pleating of drapery on the triforium figure with sheathed sword is very similar to that of the Virgin on the chapel's door. The geometric design of the nave, begun under Archbishop Romeyn, was abandoned in Melton's time with the introduction of the decorated style of the flowing organic tracery of the great west

¹⁰⁶ The records of Melton's loans and gifts and the careful management of his finances are discussed in Butler, 'Archbishop Melton', pp. 54-68.

¹⁰⁷ Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 93.

¹⁰⁸ Harvey, 'Architectural History', pp. 157-58, 181; Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 93. T. W. French has shown that the date of the contracts for the west windows is 1339. T. W. French, 'The West Windows of York Minster', *YAJ*, 47 (1975), 81-85 (p. 82).

¹⁰⁹ Harvey, 'Architectural History', p. 181; Margaret Aston, 'Public Worship and Iconoclasm', in *The Archaeology of Reformation 1480-1580*, ed. by David Gaimster and Roberta Gilchrist (Leeds: Maney, 2003), pp. 9-28 (pp. 16, 20-21).

window. The chapel doorway is to the west of the construction break in bay five of the nave aisle, and therefore reflects this new architectural style.¹¹⁰



Figure 5: Detail of the Virgin and Child, flanked by two angels, above door in north aisle of the nave. Two shields bear a fleur-de-lis and the three lions.

The date of the sculpture is unknown. The apex of the doorway is poorly coursed and the sill of the window above has been awkwardly cut out to accommodate the upper parts of the Virgin figure and its canopy (Figure 5). Brown therefore suggests that, although the doorway in this bay was intended from the outset, its enrichment with sculpture appears to be a later addition. She suggests that the two shields underneath the Virgin figure, bearing the arms of France and England (an intricate fleur-de-lis on one and the three lions on the other), indicate the union of

¹¹⁰ Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, pp. 128-29; Charlotte A. Stanford, 'Archbishop Melton's Donations to York Minster: Strengthening the See', *YAJ*, 75 (2003), 77-89 (p. 82). See Figures 6-8 in Appendix 3.

Edward II and Isabella of France, which took place in 1308.¹¹¹ However, John Harvey has suggested that they probably refer to Edward III claiming the throne of France in 1337, providing a *terminus post quem* for the carving, in line with the other works.¹¹² Both kings had tentative connections with York and Archbishop Melton.¹¹³ On the one hand, it seems unlikely that the door and its heraldic carving are as early as Edward II, given that the carving on the door could not have been affected until the nave walls were complete. On the other hand, it would be more usual for the arms of England and France to be quartered on a single shield to represent Edward III's claim to both thrones. As such, the shields do little to help date the sculpture. Brown notes that the ballflower on the upper canopy of the sculpture can probably be assigned to after 1322 when Master Hugh de Boudon may have taken over as mason.¹¹⁴ It seems most likely that the sculpture dates from after this and coincides with the work on the west wall of the nave, linking the two architectural schemes.

The window currently above St Sepulchre's doorway (nXXVIII), in the second bay from the west end, is a Marian window dated to around 1335, though it has been much altered. Several of the panels contain devotional material which could be related to its location by the entrance of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.¹¹⁵ This window is also a key window as it acts as a bridge between the earlier style of the

¹¹¹ Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 129.

¹¹² Harvey, 'Architectural History', p. 181.

¹¹³ Edward II had resided and held numerous parliaments in York during his wars with Scotland, and Archbishop Melton had become his ally in battle against the Scottish attack on Yorkshire in September 1319. J. R. S. Phillips, 'Edward II (1284-1327)', *ODNB* (online edition 2008) [accessed 24 July 2012]. However, Edward III's marriage to Philippa of Hainault was confirmed by Melton in York Minster on 24 January 1328, and their infant son William of Hatfield was later buried in the north choir aisle. W. M. Ormrod, 'Edward III (1312-1377)', *ODNB* (online edition 2008) [accessed 24 July 2012].

¹¹⁴ Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 117.

¹¹⁵ The window is numbered according to the notation of the *Corpus Vitrearum Medii Aevi: Medieval Stained Glass in Great Britain* <www.cvma.ac.uk/index.html> [accessed 10 September 2013]; Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, pp. 288-89. Panel 1b contains a fifteenth-century angel supporting the arms of St Peter; 2a-3a show the Virgin and Child; 5a-6a show the Annunciation of the Virgin. In the tracery, A1 and A2 show angels with candlesticks, whilst B1 displays the Coronation of the Virgin. See Appendix 3.

nave aisles, probably glazed *c.* 1315 to *c.* 1320, and the later style of the west wall of the minster nave, reflecting the break in the building scheme at this point along the aisle.¹¹⁶

Such a monumental doorway indicates that the chapel and its liturgical function must have been of great interest to the minster. Unfortunately the fabric rolls of the minster do not survive as far back as Archbishop Melton's time, so it is difficult to infer whether this elaborate doorway was considered part of the fabric of the minster or whether its sculpture was added separately as part of works on the chapel.¹¹⁷ The whole construction of the nave occupied some seventy years, and was likely complete by about 1360, in time for operations to begin on the eastern arm in the next building phase.¹¹⁸

3.3.2 The East End of the Minster

The building works at the east end of the minster in the mid-fourteenth century throw into question the historiographic identity of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels and reveal that such physical changes potentially caused a conflict of interests regarding the chapel's liturgical function and identity. As has been suggested in Chapter One, one of the intended purposes of the chapel was as a chantry for Archbishop Roger and his successors. In 1350 Archbishop William de la Zouche began building a chantry chapel for himself on the south wall of the cathedral choir, to be served by two chaplains, for which he left the sum of three hundred marks in his will. As it was not completed before his death, he was buried near the altar of St Edward the Confessor, possibly in the south transept. There is no record of the chantry

¹¹⁶ Thomas French and David O'Connor, *York Minster A Catalogue of Medieval Stained Glass: Fascicule 1, The West Windows of the Nave* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 19; O'Connor and Haselock, 'The Stained and Painted Glass', p. 358.

¹¹⁷ The first surviving roll is undated but James Raine has dated it to 1370 based on the names of the master mason and carpenter. Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 1.

¹¹⁸ Harvey, 'Architectural History', p. 158; Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 94.

ever having been established.¹¹⁹ If St Sepulchre's was commonly perceived by the archbishops of York as their personal chantry, Archbishop Zouche would presumably have directed his funds and efforts there, rather than construct his own chapel. This suggests that St Sepulchre's may have had other liturgical functions, perhaps judging from its primary dedication as a chapel for the celebration of the Lady Mass and office.

Major building work on the eastern arm of the minster suggests that the liturgical relationship between the chapel and cathedral was not straight-forward, and the matter of whether St Sepulchre's functioned as a Lady Chapel is difficult to resolve. However, this is a distinct possibility and therefore the challenge to St Sepulchre's potential identity as a Lady Chapel from the building works in the minster needs to be reconsidered. In 1360 Archbishop Thoresby (1352-73) laid the foundations of the new minster choir, making an immediate donation of one hundred marks and contributing two hundred pounds a year until his death.¹²⁰ To the east end of the new choir he added a presbytery, within which a new altar dedicated to the Virgin was located: a new Lady Chapel. Thoresby devoted the wealth he had amassed as a crown servant and ecclesiastical careerist to his building projects in the cathedral. Like his predecessors, Roger of Pont l'Évêque, Walter de Grey and William Melton, Thoresby used his cathedral as a tangible expression of the status of his office.¹²¹

Most scholars agree that the available sources of funding, as well as the structural and heraldic evidence, make it impossible to doubt that at least the two eastern bays of the Lady Chapel were complete by Thoresby's death in 1373, where

¹¹⁹ The amount Zouche left in his will for the chantry chaplains would, at a rate of perhaps five pounds per chaplain per year, only last twenty years. Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, pp. 447-48; Browne, *History*, I, p. 129. Brown argues that the chamber currently designated the 'Zouche Chapel', is unlikely to have been the chapel built by Archbishop Zouche. Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, pp. 170-75.

¹²⁰ Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, pp. 482-83.

¹²¹ Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 137.

his body was interred before the altar of the Virgin.¹²² The *Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, ascribed to Stubbs, records that Thoresby was buried in the new east end, and that this was also the location of a new altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary. The chronicle also records that Thoresby moved the remains of his predecessors, which had been buried in the old Norman choir, to precipitate the rebuilding of the choir. The chronicle does not specifically say where the bodies of Thoresby's predecessors were moved to, but given that the context of the passage is the building of the new choir and Lady Chapel, it seems reasonable to infer that this was the location of their re-interment.¹²³

However, Browne disagreed with the consensus of opinion, arguing that the new choir and Lady Chapel in the presbytery would not have been finished by the time of Thoresby's death in 1373, and therefore there was no possibility that he could have been buried there and nor could he have translated the bodies of his predecessors into that location. Browne suggested that Archbishop Thoresby was first buried in St Sepulchre's chapel, but that his remains now lie in the table tomb in the north nave aisle near the door to St Sepulchre's.¹²⁴ He also suggested that Thoresby's predecessors were moved to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, rather than

¹²² Dixon and Raine argued that after the choir was begun it seems unlikely that the fabric fund was ever less than six hundred pounds, as such it could easily be finished in less than twelve years. Dixon, *Fasti Eboracenses*, p. 484; Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. xv; Robert Willis, *The Architectural History of York Cathedral* (London: Archaeological Institute, 1848), pp. 34-35; Harvey, 'Architectural History', p. 163; Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabric*, pp. 137-38, 141.

¹²³ 'Sepultusque est coram altari Beatae Mariae Virginis in novo opera chori'. Stubbs, *Chronica Pontificum*, p. 421. Stubbs was a near-contemporary witness to these events. Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. xvi-xvii. Also see Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabric*, pp. 139-40, for these events.

¹²⁴ See Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 4-5; also Browne's reply in Browne, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 102-03. Browne, *History*, I, pp. 183, 330. For the differences in opinion between Browne and Willis, also see George Benson, *John Browne, 1793-1877: Artist and the Historian of York Minster*, Annual Report of the Yorkshire Philosophical Society for 1917 (York: Coultas and Volans, 1918), 1-10 (p. 8). For discussion of the table tomb see Section 1.6.2.

the new presbytery of the minster.¹²⁵ The historiography of the new Lady Chapel concerns the provision of a place in the minster suitable for the daily Mass of the Virgin. Part of the indenture made by Thoresby for erecting a new choir in the cathedral mentions that there was no place in the church suitable for the daily celebration of the Lady Mass.¹²⁶ From this indenture it was inferred by Raine that it was part of Thoresby's design to provide an altar in the new presbytery for the service of the Blessed Virgin.¹²⁷

Raine suggests that the altar of the Blessed Virgin was originally situated in the crypt, in which case a new space for the daily Mass of the Virgin was probably needed for convenience.¹²⁸ However, Browne infers that a votive Mass of the Virgin would always have been celebrated at the high altar of the minster choir, and so interprets Thoresby's indenture to mean that the archbishop intended only to rebuild the choir as a place suitable for this daily votive mass and not a separate Lady Chapel. He argues that the chronicle's reference to a Lady Chapel was in fact a reference to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, supposing that the repairs to the chapel site, due to the enlargement of the minster nave, had still not been completed by the time Thoresby became archbishop in 1352 and that Thoresby would not have neglected to complete these works.¹²⁹

¹²⁵ Browne also suggests that the writer of the 'Stubbs' chronicle has recorded much erroneous material, and implicit confidence cannot be given to his statement of the removal of Thoresby's predecessors from the choir. Browne argues that John Leland's sixteenth-century itinerary of the minster, upon which Raine relied heavily in his argument, does not even give transcripts of any monumental inscriptions, but has simply recorded the names and dates of certain archbishops of York. Browne, *History*, I, pp. 183, 185; John Leland, *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1910), V, pp. 134-35.

¹²⁶ The indenture is printed in the section of 'Illustrative Documents' in Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 174-75.

¹²⁷ Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 4 (notes).

¹²⁸ Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 294; Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 164.

¹²⁹ Browne, *History*, I, pp. 173, 177, 181-82.

However, it is unlikely that the cathedral church would not already have had a Lady Chapel, or at least a separate Lady altar, before the mid- to late fourteenth century. It is also unlikely that Thoresby only intended to improve the cathedral choir as an appropriate setting for Lady Mass, as Browne suggests. The need for a separate Lady Chapel emerged when the daily Lady Mass clashed with the services at the high altar and also to facilitate the trend for an increase in choir boys who were employed in the Lady Mass. In the course of the twelfth century many communities, of religious and of secular clerks alike, instituted a daily votive mass of the Virgin, until then performed only each Saturday in the weekly cycle of assorted votive masses celebrated at the high altar. This mass was celebrated ceremonially and therefore made demands upon the furnishing and fittings of the church. Thereafter, the building or rebuilding of a Lady Chapel for this votive mass gradually occurred.¹³⁰ By the end of the thirteenth century a large proportion of great churches, including Norwich, Hereford, Worcester and St David's Cathedral, had been provided with an eastern extension specifically for the celebration of the daily Mass of the Virgin, to enhance the liturgy.¹³¹ It is clear that Thoresby did build a Lady Chapel at the east end of the new cathedral choir and that it was probably completed to some degree by his death.

¹³⁰ Harvey, 'The Monks of Westminster', pp. 5, 7; Roger Bowers, 'The Musicians and Liturgy of the Lady Chapels of the Monastery Church, c. 1235-1540', in *Westminster Abbey*, ed. by Tatton-Brown and Mortimer, pp. 33-57 (pp. 33-34); Roger Bowers, 'The Musicians of the Lady Chapel of Winchester Cathedral Priory, 1402-1539', *JEH*, 45 (1994), 210-37 (p. 212).

¹³¹ Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 164; M. F. Hearn and Lee Willis, 'The Iconography of the Lady Chapel of Salisbury Cathedral', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Salisbury Cathedral*, ed. by Laurence Keen and Thomas Cocke, British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 17 (Leeds: Maney, 1996), pp. 40-45 (p. 40); Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 78; Morris, 'Architectural History of the Medieval Cathedral Church', p. 237; John Harper, 'Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600', in *Hereford Cathedral*, ed. by Aylmer and Tiller, pp. 375-97 (p. 383); Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close*, p. 76.

This new Lady Chapel was part of the expansion of personnel associated with the Lady Mass.¹³²

The question therefore remains as to whether the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels was ever the setting for the Lady Mass and office. This issue is ultimately unresolvable, but it is likely that the cathedral already had a Lady Chapel at the east end, and therefore that St Sepulchre's was not considered to be the minster's Lady Chapel. If the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels still needed repairs, as Browne suggested, then Archbishop Thoresby would most probably have completed these, but it does not follow that the chapel of the Virgin Mary referred to by Stubbs's *Chronica* is therefore that of St Sepulchre's. However, as discussed further in Chapter Six, there is evidence for St Sepulchre's celebrating Lady Vespers in the fifteenth century and a possibility that the chapel was using the cathedral's choir boys to do so. Therefore I suggest that St Sepulchre's functioned as an additional Lady Chapel, both before and after the reconstruction of the minster's east end, much like the additional chapels for Lady Mass found at Wells and Hereford cathedrals.¹³³

It is possible that part of the reason why these matters surrounding Thoresby's Lady Chapel have been so contested by Browne is because of its challenge to the historiographic identity of St Sepulchre's. The foundation and building of Archbishop Zouche's chantry chapel and Thoresby's Lady Chapel question the function and purpose of Archbishop Roger's foundation. Such new liturgical spaces would not be needed if St Sepulchre's was both archbishops' chantry and the minster's place of

¹³² French thinks it is likely that Archbishop Arundel (1388-96) was responsible for the completion of the Lady Chapel, but that it was probably dedicated within Thoresby's lifetime. French, 'Dating the Lady Chapel', pp. 315-16. Harvey, 'Architectural History', p. 165. See Section 6.2.3 for the use of choir boys in the Lady Mass.

¹³³ See Section 1.5 for the Lady Chapel-by-the-Cloister at Wells. Morris, 'Architectural History of the Medieval Cathedral Church', pp. 230-31; Harper, 'Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600', p. 391. Further consideration, using evidence from St Sepulchre's fifteenth-century antiphonal, is made of the chapel as the home of the Lady Mass and office in Section 6.2.3.

Marian devotion. That Archbishop Zouche wanted to found his own chantry is not so surprising in a period of increasing pressure for intercession. Perhaps this action indicates that Roger's chapel was not perceived by Zouche in the same way as the later medieval chantry. Indeed, I have argued in Chapter One that the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels was a place of intercession, but was not simply a chantry chapel. Although I have suggested that it is unlikely that St Sepulchre's was the cathedral Lady Chapel, there are still matters concerning the devotional relationship between the chapel and the Virgin which need to be considered; these are addressed in Chapter Six.

3.4 Conclusion

The chapel's history in the period between 1258 and 1373 demonstrates the difference between persons who showed concern over the proper functioning of the chapel and those who did not. For the sacrists of the chapel this period highlights the significance of each individual's own attitude to his position of responsibility over the chapel and of the influence of his patron. These two factors seem to have been intimately connected, with the latter often influencing the former. The archbishops faced challenges to the chapel's identity when their patronage of the sacristy was alienated from them, because often papal and royal candidates made no direct contribution to the work of the cathedral or chapel.¹³⁴ The periods in which there was a vacancy of the see were problematic because the relative power of the archbishop was a major factor in the effective functioning of the chapel's community.

It was always in cathedral churches where the number of foreign preferments was highest; the lesser colleges and poorer cathedrals were usually beneath the interest of cardinals and curial officials. For example, Exeter Cathedral was too remote and ill-

¹³⁴ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 57.

endowed for its prebends to sustain the attention of kings, popes, and their servants.¹³⁵ The interests of the crown and papacy in preferments to the Chapel of St Sepulchre, especially the sacristy, therefore indicate that the chapel's canonries were seen as valuable in terms of both income and status. It was the success of both the founding and re-founding of the chapel in the earlier period which made its prebends an attractive prospect.

The challenges to the chapel's identity explain the extent of the detailed information we have regarding its management in this period compared with other decades. The nature of episcopal records means that they are often biased in a negative sense, in favour of those who did not fulfil their duties.¹³⁶ It is Busshe's failures as sacrist which have provided us with the most illuminating evidence for the role of the sacrist. His behaviour also inspired Archbishop Greenfield to copy the chapel's charters into his own register, without which the institutional identity of the chapel may have been subject to greater change. The fullness and fineness of the registers of Greenfield and Melton also reflect the way in which they approached their diocesan duties and the importance they attached to providing models of careful registration. This period also demonstrates how the chapel's foundation charters were appealed to as legal documents, in order to maintain the chapel's institutional identity, and as a source of the succeeding archbishops' own authority.

The fourteenth-century building works at the cathedral influenced the physical and liturgical relationship between the two institutions. Archbishop Melton showed particular interest in the community and complex of the chapel, integrating his building works on the minster with those of the chapel, and connecting the two institutions architecturally and artistically. The rebuilding of the eastern arm of the

¹³⁵ A. K. McHardy, 'Patronage in Late Medieval Colleges', in *Late Medieval English College*, ed. by Burgess and Heale, pp. 89-109 (pp. 90, 95).

¹³⁶ Bennett, 'Pastors and Masters', p. 59.

minster, with a new dedicated Lady Chapel, was part of the fashion for creating eastern extensions for the expansion and elaboration of the liturgy, in particular that of the Virgin Mary, and the desire to accommodate more choir boys within this liturgy. In this context, the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels most likely served as an additional space for the celebration of Lady Mass and office within the cathedral complex.

At Archbishop Thoresby's death in 1373 the sacristy of St Sepulchre's was held by John Waltham, who had obtained the position in 1358 on the death of Thomas de la Mare. Thoresby had considerable influence on the careers of his kinsmen and Waltham's appointment reflected the close relationship between the archbishop and sacrist whenever the archbishop had free reign to appoint the sacrist (without interference from the pope or king): Waltham was Thoresby's nephew.¹³⁷ The end of Thoresby's pontificate marks a distinctive change in the governance and administration of the cathedral close. Whilst by the late fourteenth century the influence of the papacy on the Northern Province had been curtailed, the influence of the crown and national politics had begun to have an even greater impact than before. The implications of these events are discussed in the following chapter.

¹³⁷ Jonathan Hughes, 'Thoresby, John (*d.* 1373)', *ODNB* [accessed 11 January 2011]. There is some confusion in the scholarship between this John Waltham, sacrist of St Sepulchre's, and his kinsman of the same name and similar dates, who became archdeacon of Richmond and Bishop of Salisbury. See Section 4.4.1.

Part II

The Long Fifteenth Century

Chapter Four

The Canons and Community of St Sepulchre's in the Long Fifteenth Century

In an institutional history it is necessary to address the fact that the institution was made up of collections of individuals, and therefore the aim of this chapter is to suggest the value of a prosopographical study of the fifteenth-century canons of St Sepulchre's.¹ Following both a brief introduction to the politics of the long fifteenth century and a discussion of the methodology employed, the chapter is split into three main sections. The first deals with the canons' careers and their movements in and out of the chapel, to establish how the chapel prebends related to and reflected their wider ecclesiastic careers. Suggestions are made regarding the extent to which the chapel was staffed. The second part of the chapter considers the nature of patronage upon the presentations to the chapel prebends. The final section is concerned with thematic characteristics of the community, such as education, patronage, wealth and other activities, especially those which connected the canons to the cathedral church.

The purpose is to identify patterns in the nature of the community, considering how both the characteristics of the canons as a group and their recruitment patterns shaped the chapel's sense of communal or corporate identity, or reflected the existing identity of the chapel. The relationship between the chapel and cathedral is again central, here examined through connections between personnel and the involvement of members of the chapel in activities connected to the cathedral. The study of St Sepulchre's canons reveals divergent interests within the cathedral close and enables

¹ Oliva suggests that historians can achieve a richer understanding of an institution by analyzing the biographical data of people in a particular organization, rather than just focusing on the constitutional or legal frameworks within which the institution existed. Oliva, *Convent and Community*, p. 220.

us to reassess and redefine the complexity of the communities found serving the diocesan church.

4.1 The Long Fifteenth Century

The period at the end of the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries was a turbulent time for both national politics and the diocesan church of York. Archbishops Alexander Neville (1374-88), Thomas Arundel (1388-96), Robert Waldby (1396-98) and Richard Scrope (1398-1405) all played an important part: two of them were driven into exile and one was executed. The accession of Neville to the archbishopric in 1374 can be regarded as the last major turning point in the medieval history of the church of York. There followed a period in which the see was held by equally grand but usually much more distant figures.² The history of the relationship between York's archbishops and the clergy of the diocese was not a smooth one. However, the constitutional problems which had arisen at St Mary and the Holy Angels' repeatedly during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries had gradually been resolved. By the fifteenth century some level of understanding had been reached, leading to a more settled period of administration in which we can see the characteristics of the community most clearly and the activities of the chapel in full swing.³ In the cathedral, the comparative lack of dramatic confrontations was partly the result of archiepiscopal absence; the archbishops of the fifteenth century were heavily preoccupied with royal and diocesan administration and were infrequent visitors to the cathedral, wise enough not to compete with the York canons on their own ground.⁴ The archbishops were rarely missed and the diocesan machinery continued to function smoothly without

² Michael Wilks, 'Thomas Arundel of York: The Appellant Archbishop', in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church*, ed. by Wood, pp. 57-86 (pp. 57-58); Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 98. See Chapter 3 for the characteristics of the archbishops in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

³ Thompson, *English Clergy*, pp. 3-4. The fifteenth-century liturgy of the chapel is discussed in the following chapter.

⁴ Dobson, 'Cathedral Chapters and Cathedral Cities', pp. 20-21.

them,⁵ likely due to the capable administrators which characterise the York chapter and chapel.

The men who became archbishops of York in the fifteenth century had often reached such a position through service to the state and crown. As such, the king wielded less direct influence over the matter of placing his own clerks within the cathedral and its chapters, large and small, than had previously occurred. The fifteenth-century archbishops bore the influence of the crown, and would themselves choose clerks beneficial to royal and episcopal interests, without the direct hand of the king.⁶ Of the ten archbishops between 1374 and 1500 not one had been a dignitary of the minster nor had ever resided in the cathedral close, and only four had ever held a York prebend. Four of the archbishops represented a group of ‘magnate prelates’ from whom the See of York had hitherto remained surprisingly immune: Neville, Arundel, Scrope, and George Neville (1465-76). Henry Bowet (1407-23), John Kempe (1425-53), and the half-brothers William and Laurence Booth (1452-64; 1476-80) were central figures in three of those well-connected clerical dynasties which amassed so much of the ecclesiastical wealth and power of fifteenth-century England.⁷ The minster itself could not escape the allegiances of its clergy; symbols of patronage and coats of arms in glass and stone made the minster an expression of political loyalties. The fifteenth century was a period of flux, both regionally and nationally, and the role which the See of York played in national politics can be seen reflected in the communities of both the chapel and cathedral.

4.2 A Prosopographical Approach

In Thompson’s 1944 essay on the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, he published biographical details of all the canons and sacrists of the chapel he had

⁵ Tindal Hart, *Ebor*, p. 67.

⁶ See Section 4.4.

⁷ Dobson, ‘The Later Middle Ages’, p. 98.

identified, from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. His research of the individual canons has provided a substantial resource in order to further consider the community. Much of the information used for the prosopography in this chapter is based upon the work conducted by Thompson.⁸ Thompson made no attempt to use this information to produce a prosopography of the chapel's community, but he spent much time and effort piecing together the names and dates of canons in the chapel; in many cases he has managed to identify who replaced whom within a chapel prebend. The information provided by Thompson has been augmented here by information gathered from other records, such as surviving wills and the minster fabric rolls, in addition to the work of A. B. Emden.

The work of Dobson on the fifteenth-century cathedral canons of York is also significant to this chapter. He identified two main groups into which the York canons fell: a majority of royal clerks and university scholars who rarely or never visited York, and a minority of administrators in archiepiscopal service who spent their lives in the diocese.⁹ Dobson suggested that the residentiary canons of fifteenth-century York were a self-selecting elite, an 'elderly oligarchy of proven and attested administrative merit', becoming a self-perpetuating corporation. They created an ever-increasing concentration of power, designed to limit the number among whom the common fund had to be shared; at this they were 'disturbingly successful'.¹⁰ This identification of certain characteristics of the canons as a collective group provides a model with which the nature of the community of St Sepulchre's can be compared.

Furthermore, several of the cathedral canons Dobson has discussed in his various studies can be identified with canons of the chapel. Out of the thirty-four

⁸ Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 214-48.

⁹ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 105.

¹⁰ Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', pp. 152, 154; Dobson, 'Recent Prosopographical Research', pp. 192-95.

canons Dobson identified who became residentiaries of the York cathedral chapter in the fifteenth century, six were also, at some stage of their careers, members of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels: William Cawode, Thomas Grenewod, Thomas Parker, John Wodham, John Gysburgh and John Hert. Dobson acknowledges that little might ever be known about the individual characters of the residentiary canons of York, but argues that we are undoubtedly better informed as to their recruitment, employment, ambitions and interests than any comparable group of men in fifteenth-century England.¹¹ Most significantly, the identification of these six residentiary canons demonstrates how the community of the minster and the community of the chapel were constructed of the same individuals and suggests that being a member of St Sepulchre's was one step in the progression towards the special status of *canonici residentiari*.¹²

The period covered by this chapter, described as the long fifteenth century, begins where the previous chapter concluded, in the last quarter of the fourteenth century, and includes members of the chapel between the years 1381 and 1512. This allows for consideration of the important political events at the end of the fourteenth century which shaped the identity of the cathedral close at York for much of the fifteenth century. In the year 1388 a change in the Archbishop of York coincided with a new sacrist for the chapel, creating a natural point at which to begin the prosopography.¹³ Nevertheless, the individuals surveyed in this chapter have been extended back to 1381 in order to include Cawode, who exchanged his chapel prebend that year, but went on to be a significant administrator in the cathedral church of York.

¹¹ Dobson, 'Recent Prosopographical Research', p. 188; Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', pp. 146, 174.

¹² It is probable that the original intention of Archbishop Roger was to supply the staff of the chapel with clergy from his own service or household, maintaining the connection between the chapel and minster through the person of the sacrist. See Chapter 1.

¹³ Roger Weston received a grant of the sacristy from King Richard II in September 1388. *CPR: Richard II, 1385-1389* (London: HMSO, 1900), p. 503.

This earlier date also enables us to witness the potential difficulties affected on the personnel of the chapel at the turning point of 1388. After 1512 there is a sizeable gap in the records for admissions or exchanges to chapel prebends; according to Thompson's work the next recorded admission appears in 1531.

Many of the findings can only be very approximate. No figures can be completely accurate, but rough proportions and trends can be attempted and if treated with caution are useful.¹⁴ Gaps in the evidence must often be filled with sensible speculation. There is an important methodological issue in relation to the nature of the evidence: those canons with the most prominent careers are more prominent in the records, and are not necessarily representative of the whole community. It was not always those canons with the most prominent careers who had lengthy attachments to the chapel; often the exact opposite is found. However, just because there is little record of a canon, this does not mean that they had an insignificant career. Nevertheless, there is a significant enough proportion of canons where evidence of their careers shows them to have been prominent churchmen, to say that they are a substantial part of the community of the chapel.

4.3 The Chapel, its Prebends and its Canons

The prosopography is based upon the identification of 145 individuals within the date limitations set out above. This number does not distinguish between sacristis and prebendaries. These individuals represent a series of 164 different exchanges and moves in and out of chapel prebends (see Appendix 4: Table 1). This figure indicates initially that a number of canons held more than one prebend in the chapel. In fact it represents for certain individuals the holding of multiple successive prebends, the holding of both a prebend and the sacristy, and a number of complicated manoeuvres in and out of the same prebend.

¹⁴ Barrow, 'Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons', pp. 134, 137.

For 105 of these prebendal moves both an entry and exit date can be identified for the person holding that particular position. This includes occasions where there is no direct record, but a date can be surmised from evidence of other canons' movements. For twenty-five of the positions no entry date can be determined, and for thirty-four it is unknown when the canon left the chapel. Canons left their prebends in the chapel in three different ways: either by death, resignation, or by direct exchange with another clerk for a benefice. For thirty-eight of the positions held by canons no known reason can be identified for their vacating the prebend. In only one case, counted within the prosopography's date limits, it is the chapel's suppression which is the cause of the vacation of a prebend; that individual is the chapel's last sacrist and one of the chapel's longest serving members, Thomas Magnus.

4.3.1 A Sought-after Career? Filling the Chapel Prebends

The prebends in St Sepulchre's appear to have been fairly sought-after, with the majority of canons steadily replaced and prebends filled as they became vacant.¹⁵ In 135 cases it is known, on the admittance of a new canon to the chapel, whose prebend was being filled. The line of the chapel's sacrists can be followed continuously from the early thirteenth century, in the person of Tywa, until the dissolution of the chapel, in the person of Magnus (see Appendix 1). For the rest of the canons it is difficult to trace the line of individual prebends very successfully past one or two individuals holding it. But by using the entry and exit dates which are known, it is possible for a partial reconstruction of the state of the occupancy of the chapel's prebends at any one time to be attempted. There are points at which the data is not forthcoming and the fullness of the chapel's prebends cannot be determined with any certainty. In some of

¹⁵ Only one example where this was not the case stands out. Thomas Gaitte was admitted to the chapel on 6 December 1428 and resigned within the year. However, this prebend was not filled until September 1431 when we find Thomas Kyngg being admitted to the prebend vacant by the resignation of Thomas Gaitte. Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 234; Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 69 and 70.

the registers the collations of prebends are recorded with some regularity, but there are intervals in which for some years none are noted. It is unlikely that during these periods the chapter remained unchanged.¹⁶ However, for much of the period it is possible to see the composition of the chapel's prebends in terms of how fully occupied they were at specific chosen moments.

On examining the number of prebendaries every decade from 1400 to 1510 there is no point at which fewer than seven of the chapel's prebends are found to have been filled. In all of these cases there are also a number of other canons who were possibly holding their prebends at these chosen points in time, but these cannot be confirmed because the relevant data is missing.¹⁷ At several points, when we include those prebends which are confirmed as full and those which are potentially full, the chapel reaches almost its full capacity of thirteen canons.¹⁸

In the period between 1380 and 1400 it is much more difficult to determine the extent to which the chapel's prebends were full. This again reflects the problems caused by the nature of the surviving evidence, or lack thereof, during this turbulent period. Although in the years 1387 to 1388 eight appointments are known to have been made to prebends in the chapel, in the year 1390 we only know that the sacristy and four other prebends in the chapel were definitely occupied. Conflicting entries regarding appointments and a lack of evidence of canons vacating their prebends mean that there is uncertainty over the state of the chapel's prebends in this decade.¹⁹ It is likely that the nature of evidence for this period is a reflection of the disturbed state of affairs in York at the end of Archbishop Neville's episcopate, but whether it

¹⁶ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 75.

¹⁷ For example, in 1400, alongside nine known prebendaries in the chapel, William Bedeman and John Canoun may still have been canons there, being known to have been holding prebends in 1395 and 1398 respectively, but the dates of their vacation from the chapel are unknown. Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 15 and 24; Table 2 and Table 3.

¹⁸ Appendix 4: Table 2.

¹⁹ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 5-13; Table 2.

reflects the reality of the state of the chapel is questionable. In the following century, evidence suggests that the chapel was most likely filled to capacity and evidence from both the thirteenth century and the sixteenth century, even at its suppression, indicates that the chapel prebends were full.²⁰ It is therefore probable that in the late fourteenth century this was also the case.

Given that there are likely to be further gaps in the data at other points in time, the conclusion which can be drawn from this is that in the long fifteenth century the chapel's prebends were an attractive prospect and were steadily filled. In all probability the chapel's prebends were full, or nearly full, throughout the fifteenth century to the level established by its founder in the twelfth century. That is not to say that all of these prebendaries were resident, but if a prebend was filled there is more chance that the prebendary would at least appoint a deputy to fulfil his duties. It can be suggested therefore that the chapel maintained enough personnel to function effectively and thus maintain the chapel's liturgical routine and responsibilities. This was clearly not an institution in decline in the fifteenth century.

4.3.2 Exchanging Prebends in the Chapel

Out of those canons where a date for leaving a particular prebend can be ascertained, fifty-two are known to have resigned their prebends in the chapel; in these cases another benefice was likely to be taken up soon after if not before. However, directly exchanging a benefice for a canonry was the only way of obtaining a canonry without the support of a bishop, patron, the king or pope.²¹ In twenty-six cases the reason for a canon leaving their prebend was a direct exchange of benefices. Eight of these benefices were rectories of parish churches, eight were prebends in collegiate

²⁰ BI, Register 3, fol. 22 (*Register of Wickwane*, p. 333); BI, Register 4, fol. 1^v (*Register of Romeyn*, II, p. 175); *Valor Ecclesiasticus Temp. Henr. VIII. Auctoritate Regia Institutus: Volume V* ([n.p.]: Record Commission, 1831), pp. 18-20; *Certificates of the Commissioners*, I: 91 (1892), pp. 5-6, II, pp. 428-30. Appendix 4: Table 2.

²¹ Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 36.

churches, four were prebends in cathedral churches, one exchange was made for two chantries in York Minster, one for the mastership of a hospital, and another for a chapel at St Paul's Cathedral.²² One exchange took place between the sacristy and a prebend in the chapel in 1453, between Richard Wetwang and John Gysburgh, creating two separate exchanges in and out of positions in the chapel.²³ These benefices can be seen as relatively equivalent in income and status, and, in some cases in the absence of cure of souls, to the chapel prebends. However, by examining the wider careers of the canons who exchanged their prebends in St Sepulchre's for benefices elsewhere we can tentatively suggest what the benefit of such an exchange might be, or in what way the chapel was a part of their longer term career.

As previously mentioned, the nature of the surviving evidence means that those canons with more prominent careers are more likely to appear, and thus more can be said about them as individuals. This is not necessarily a problem as these individuals represent a significant proportion of the canons of St Sepulchre's, and therefore indicate an important aspect of the nature of the community and its identity. For example, William Cawode exchanged his chapel prebend in 1381 for that of the church of Beelsby in Lincolnshire early on in his career, and he later progressed to prominence as archbishop's administrator and residentiary canon of York Minster.²⁴ Therefore, from the records, Cawode's canonry in the chapel appears as a small stepping stone to more prominent positions, rather than a significant aspect of his career. By contrast the person he exchanged his prebend with, Thomas Brunflet, does not feature in the history of the church of York in the way that Cawode does; this exchange is all that is known of Brunflet's career. Therefore, his exchange of Beelsby

²² Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 1, 4, 9, 17, 18, 30, 33, 40, 41, 46, 47, 51, 56, 57, 73, 78, 82, 83, 99, 103, 117, 125. Clewer church features twice on two separate occasions in an exchange of benefices (Table 1 nos. 58 and 74).

²³ The exchange of the sacristy and prebend is counted as two exchanges. See Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 91-95.

²⁴ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 1 and 2. Cawode is discussed further below.

for the canonry appears to be a significant move. This may be merely what is suggested by the surviving evidence, rather than the reality of Brunflet's career.

Nevertheless, we can see in this one exchange two possible patterns in the complexion of the community.

In the later fourteenth and fifteenth centuries a prebend in the chapel was often a step or an accompaniment to a much more valuable prebend in the cathedral chapter at York. In such cases these chapel prebends were seldom held for long by those who were busy amassing and exchanging benefices. The York cathedral prebends had also tended to change hands at a rapid rate, but by 1325 the cathedral statutes included a clause allowing canons to exchange or resign their prebends only after a minimum of three years.²⁵ It appears that no such regulation was in force for the chapel's prebends. The length of tenure can be determined for 105 positions and, out of those, twenty-one canons are found to have held a prebend in the chapel for less than three years due to either resignation or exchange, with several examples of admissions and resignations taking place within a few months or even days. These exchanges suggest an expedient which ensured some financial advantage to the parties involved.²⁶

Thomas Grenewod, who died in May 1421 within months of applying for residence within the cathedral, was one York canon who flirted briefly with a career in St Sepulchre's chapel and took advantage of the opportunity for exchanging benefices

²⁵ *York Statutes*, p. 39; Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 54.

²⁶ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 76-77. See Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 5-7, 9, 10, 23, 28, 34, 42, 47, 48, 53, 54, 56, 59, 69, 82, 88, 89, 112, 117, 137, 142, 143 and 144. Both John York and John Suthwell may have only held their prebends for very short tenures in 1388, but as discussed below the moves between this prebend are confused (nos. 6, 7, 10). The date of Thomas Barowe's resignation is uncertain but on 4 March 1475 John Hopton is admitted to the prebend made vacant by the resignation of Master Thomas (no surname given) and so Thompson has suggested that this is likely a reference to Thomas Barowe (no. 112). Richard Carter entered into the prebend lately held by Cuthbert Lightfote on 18 September 1498 (no. 143). The date of his exit from the chapel is unrecorded, but on 27 October 1498 William Rowkeshawe enters into a prebend in the chapel, described as that of Lightfote (no. 144). It is possible that Carter only held this prebend for a month before being replaced by Rowkeshawe, hence both prebends are named as that belonging to Lightfote.

as readily as he desired. On 20 August 1415 Grenewod was admitted to a prebend in the chapel and three days later he exchanged it with John Wodham for the prebend of Bishop's Norton in Lincoln Cathedral, which he held until his death in 1421.

Grenewod's very brief appointment with St Sepulchre's therefore came quite close to the end of his life and career, but still before he held any prebend within York Minster. He obtained Thockrington prebend in York Cathedral on 1 March 1416, but quitted it for Grindale prebend on 14 October 1416.²⁷ Grenewod's successor, Wodham, also held only the briefest of attachments to the chapel. Wodham was admitted to the chapel prebend following Grenewod's resignation on the 23 August 1415, and resigned the prebend himself only seven days later, before going on to hold two archdeaconries and two cathedral prebends and becoming a residentiary canon of York.²⁸

In the minster only a minority of canons were ever likely to hold the same prebend for more than a decade. In itself, the frequency with which both the cathedral and chapel prebends changed possession only increased the competitive instinct of those clerks who wished to secure one.²⁹ But whilst frequent exchanges were common in the chapel, forty-six of the chapel's prebends are known to have been held for at least ten years, with just less than half (twenty-two) of those canons dying whilst in possession.³⁰ Length of tenure cannot be said, therefore, to correlate directly to the

²⁷ Grenewod held Knaresborough prebend from 1418 until his death on 2 May 1421. Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 230; Thompson, *Miscellanea*, p. 295; Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 153. Appendix 4: Table 1 no. 47.

²⁸ Wodham subsequently held the archdeaconries of Nottingham and then the East Riding and the York prebends of Fenton and Stillington. Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 230-31; Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 164. Appendix 4: Table 1 no. 48.

²⁹ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 54.

³⁰ This number includes the cases of Walter Patteswyk and Thomas Wyot, who both moved prebends within the chapel, but were members of the chapel for more than ten successive years. See Appendix 4: Table 1, for Patteswyk (nos. 32, 36 and 52) and for Wyot (nos. 43 and 49). There are also two cases where the sacristy and a prebend were held by the same person for over ten years: John Hert (nos. 114 and 120) and William Warde (nos. 128 and 134).

position in which the prebend fell within a specific canon's life and career.

Nevertheless, there appear to be a few clusters of years in which canons who entered the chapel during a similar period remained in their prebend for over ten years. For example, in 1397 Simon Marcheford, Thomas Barnardcastle, John Blakwell and John Barnardcastle were all collated to prebends in the chapel that year and all held their prebends for at least ten years, even if their reasons for finally vacating the chapel varied between exchange, resignation and death.³¹

Several of the canons appointed during the years 1405 to 1409 held their prebends for fairly lengthy periods. In these cases their positions as clerks to the respective archbishops, Scrope and Bowet, who appointed them may explain their relative loyalty to the chapel.³² Three canons appointed to the chapel in 1423, the last year of Archbishop Bowet's episcopate, held their prebends for over ten years. Whilst it is unknown whether any of them were clerks to the archbishop, one, William Yoxhale, was both a legate and witness of Archbishop Bowet's will, suggesting a close personal relationship between clerk and archbishop.³³ Several canons held successive prebends in the chapel and some appear to have very quickly resigned their prebend only to be found re-entering the same or another prebend in the chapel soon after.³⁴

³¹ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 17, 18, 19 and 21.

³² Appendix 4: Table 1, entries for Patteswyk (nos. 32 and 36), John Newark (no. 37), Thomas Pannall (no. 39), John Storthwayt (no. 40) and Wyot (no. 43). Patteswyk and Newark were household clerks to Archbishop Scrope and Storthwayt and Wyot were both clerks to Archbishop Bowet. Pannall was king's clerk in 1405 and was presented by the crown to his prebend in St Sepulchre's during a vacancy of the see. Archiepiscopal patronage of clerks is discussed further below, see Section 4.4.

³³ *Testamenta*, I, p. 401. Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 61-63. For further examples of such clustering see Table 1 nos. 85-87, 99-102.

³⁴ Appendix 4: Table 1, entries for: John Popilton (nos. 25-26), Nicholas Tydde (nos. 27 and 30), Patteswyk (nos. 32, 36 and 52), Wyot (nos. 43 and 49), Thomas Parker (nos. 33 and 42). There are also a series of moves between Richard Wetwang and John Gysburgh between prebend and sacristy (nos. 91-95). One John Cartmell is found replacing another John Cartmaile in 1475; this may be the same individual re-entering into the same prebend, but

A large proportion of canons (forty-seven) died whilst holding a position in the chapel. This is no particular surprise, because the chapel's prebends could be held in plurality alongside one or more benefices elsewhere, so there was little real imperative to resign. For example, John Hert was canon of the chapel from 1475 and sacrist from 1479 until his death in 1495, during which time he was also prebendary and residentiary canon in the minster.³⁵

However, for the majority, being a member of St Sepulchre's was a part of their careers from which they progressed, through resignation or the continued exchange of benefices. Many of St Sepulchre's canons who did go on to very prominent ecclesiastic careers, as bishops or residentiary canons, tended to have resigned their prebends in the chapel earlier on in their careers. In the case of those individuals who held both a prebend in the chapel and the cathedral it appears that the more valuable minster prebends were viewed as a move up the career ladder, in the majority of cases either by holding the two simultaneously or moving from a chapel to a minster prebend, although not always directly. Of the thirty-six prebends in the minster, twenty-one have been identified as being held by members of St Sepulchre's, at one time or another in the long fifteenth century. Thockrington appears to have been the most popular in this period, with two different sacrists and three other canons of the chapel holding that prebend.³⁶ Such cases demonstrate how the chapel was perceived by members of its own community and the ambitious secular clergy of England more widely. These men did not wish to maintain ties with a benefice which had served its purpose for them; they saw the chapel as a training ground, a useful step

Thompson suggests that the first Cartmaile does not seem to hold a university degree, whilst the second does: Table 1 nos. 85 and 115.

³⁵ Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 174; Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 239-40. Hert's career is discussed further in Section 5.1.

³⁶ William Cawode (1408-14), Thomas Grenewod (March 1416), Thomas Tanfeld (1449-51), Ralph Bird (1479-83) and John Hert (1483-88).

in their career, in which they could hone their administrative skills and benefit from the archbishop's attention, in order to attract further preferment.

4.3.3 The Advantage of a Prebend and the Canons as Administrators

Canonries in collegiate churches were highly sought-after and readily accumulated because of the wealth and status they brought. But even those that were not very valuable were without cure of souls and could therefore be held in plurality with little responsibility.³⁷ The stipends received by the community of St Sepulchre's were relatively low compared to what could be obtained from a York cathedral prebend. However, York's prebends were the most valuable in England and are therefore an unfair comparison in terms of direct value. The reason for the difference in value between the chapel and minster prebends was one of the major constitutional differences between the two institutions. The chapel's canons were paid a fixed sum from the common fund of the chapel, whilst in the minster the prebendal canons earned whatever the value of the endowment of that prebend was worth. Therefore, as well as varying between prebends, the cathedral prebends were usually worth more than that of the chapel's fixed stipends.³⁸ Compared to overall livings obtained by England's secular clergy in the later Middle Ages, St Sepulchre's canons could expect to earn at least as much as the cathedral prebendaries at Exeter, which unusually had prebends of equal value, at four pounds each.³⁹ However, Julia Barrow has suggested that it must have been Exeter's poor endowments that were responsible for ensuring

³⁷ Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 73.

³⁸ See Sections 1.3 and 2.3.1. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 54-56.

³⁹ Four pounds was the value of a subdeacon prebend in the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, the lowest value stipend. York's cathedral prebends averaged forty-eight pounds in 1291. The value of prebends varied considerably from cathedral to cathedral and within chapters; for example, the prebend of Masham at York was famously the 'golden prebend' worth £120 in 1535. See Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 3.

that this system survived, for it did not make Exeter prebends popular among ambitious clergy.⁴⁰

Holding a prebend in the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels brought with it the status of a canonry and a secure, fixed income. The canons of St Sepulchre's had little responsibility, as the prebends held no cure of souls and since the sacrist of the chapel was rector of the chapel's endowments they even escaped the responsibility of having to provide a parochial vicar. However, a prebend in the chapel could be advantageous in a number of ways, beyond its inherent monetary value. As an institution under the direct jurisdiction of the archbishop, the chapel offered the potential of gaining further notice and patronage from the archbishop for an archbishop's clerk or educated cleric. This could be an advantageous route into the community of the church of York and to the more valuable and prominent minster prebends for those who desired to progress their careers. The Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels certainly seems to have held a position of significance in the careers of York's wealthy clergy and as a place for the expression of archiepiscopal patronage. A prebend in the chapel was an attractive option for such clerks and it should not be seen as the destination of priests of low social status. The chapel served canons of the highest ecclesiastic status, including those going on to become residentiary canons, bishops and archbishops, such as John Thoresby and Robert Stillington.⁴¹

The late medieval minster served as the most important instrument in the north for diverting economic wealth from local parishes and churches towards a comparatively small group of professional ecclesiastical administrators.⁴² The role

⁴⁰ Barrow, 'Cathedrals, Provosts and Prebends', p. 557.

⁴¹ The chapel had earlier housed two future archbishops of York during its history: Thomas Corbridge, sacrist of St Sepulchre's from 1290 to 1300 and Archbishop of York from 1299 to 1304; John Thoresby, prebendary of St Sepulchre's from 1327 to 1335 and Archbishop of York from 1352 to 1373. Robert Stillington, prebendary from 1448 to 1459, became Bishop of Bath and Wells.

⁴² Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', p. 45.

which the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels played in the development of the careers of many of these canons, outlined above, was an essential part of this. The opportunity to become a professional administrator within the cathedral and diocese made working in the chapel advantageous to the canons who served it. In addition, the archbishop could use the chapel to promote and reward his own clerks, ensuring that men he knew and trusted entered into the cathedral community. From a position in the chapel it was much easier for canons to acquire important administrative responsibilities within the cathedral and diocese, which often involved acting on behalf of the archbishop. The archbishop would also wish to advance clerks to dignities and prebends in the cathedral chapter, in order to promote his own interests there, where he held no jurisdiction.

Canons of St Sepulchre's can be found as vicars-general, commissary-general, as the archbishop's chancellor and as important witnesses in episcopal documents, or performing other duties on behalf of the archbishop, dean or chapter. The archbishop could ensure that his administrative clerks, who were essential to the successful running of the church and diocese, especially in the fifteenth century when so many of the archbishops were absent for long periods, were men he could rely on and trust. For example, Thomas Burstall and Richard Conyngeston were appointed to inform Archbishop Scrope about the election of the new dean in 1402. Conyngeston features prominently in Scrope's register as his chancellor, attending to duties that would seem to be his own responsibility, such as making absolutions, ordinations and dispensations.⁴³ Thomas Wyot was succentor of the minster in 1423 when he was described as 'meo capellano' and bequeathed, among other items, one hundred shillings in the will of Archbishop Bowet. He also appears as executor to Bowet, itself

⁴³ R. N. Swanson, *A Calendar of the Register of Richard Scrope Archbishop of York 1398-1405*, 2 vols, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province, I: 8 (1981), pp. 5-6.

an indication of the close relationship between this archbishop and his household clerk.⁴⁴

Cawode, having resigned his prebend in the chapel in 1381, became a significant and active benefactor and administrator of the church of York.⁴⁵ He was vicar-general to Archbishop Arundel in 1393 and Archbishop Waldby in 1397. As vicar-general under Waldby, Cawode was responsible for the daily administration of the diocese, and Waldby's archiepiscopal register can be regarded more accurately as the register of Cawode.⁴⁶ As a residentiary canon he was appointed as proctor to the chapter of York in June 1416 during Archbishop Bowet's visitation of that year, and was responsible for asserting the rights of the chapter against the archbishop.⁴⁷ Cawode was active in promoting the fabric of the minster and appears in the fabric rolls in 1371 and 1415, connected with improvement to the nave and then the sale of roofing material and the employment of carpenters.⁴⁸

Evidence from the minster fabric rolls also sheds light upon the other roles performed by the canons associated with St Sepulchre's within the administration of the cathedral church. Nicholas Keld was keeper of the fabric in 1422, in which year Archbishop Bowet gave £4 16s 5d, which was accepted through the hands of another previous canon of the chapel, Thomas Parker. It is uncertain how this specific gift was

⁴⁴ *Testamenta*, I, pp. 400-01. See Section 4.5.3 for the significant role of executors. Richard Arnall, another canon appointed under Archbishop Bowet, was sub-dean of the minster. Robert H. Skaife, ed., *The Register of the Guild of Corpus Christi in the City of York: with an Appendix of Illustrative Documents*, SS, 57 (1872), p. 25.

⁴⁵ The notes on Cawode, in *Memorials of Ripon*, II, p. 212, record that he was collated to Thockrington 'being then prebendary of St Mary's Chapel in York and vicar-general to the Archbishop'. It is unclear what is meant by this as Cawode was not prebendary of St Sepulchre's chapel in 1408, unless there is another unrecorded admission of him to a second prebend in the chapel. He became resident of York in December 1411 and died in March 1420, holding the prebend of Husthwaite in York Minster. Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 174.

⁴⁶ David M. Smith, *A Calendar of the Register of Robert Waldby Archbishop of York, 1397*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars: Records of the Northern Province, 2 (York: University of York, 1974), pp. ii, 1, 37.

⁴⁷ Thompson, *Miscellanea*, pp. 195-96.

⁴⁸ Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 10, 33.

applied, but Bowet continued to encourage the ongoing work at York, and both Bowet and Parker are associated with a window in the north choir aisle.⁴⁹ In a record for expenses of 1473 William Poteman and John Gysburgh (sacrist 1453-62) are named for riding from York to Middleham for three days on church business; they are paid 44s 5d for going, resting and returning. They are also paid 3s 10d to make a similar trip to Stamford Bridge.⁵⁰

One William Warde is named as keeper of the fabric in 1470 to 1471, 1478 to 1479, 1481 to 1482 and 1485. It is likely that he is the same individual who held a prebend in the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels and was sacrist there from 1495 to 1497. In the first roll in which Warde appears as keeper of the fabric he is described as vicar of the parish church of St Lawrence, Walmgate. By the time of the next occurrence of his name he has become ‘parson’ of the cathedral church, likely indicating his status as a chantry priest. The next surviving fabric roll comes from 1497 and names the keeper of the fabric as Richard Godson.⁵¹ That a new keeper of the fabric occurs from 1497 appears to coincide with the death of Warde, sacrist of the chapel, that same year, suggesting that this Warde was one and the same.⁵² From the fabric rolls we can therefore trace the development of Warde’s career, from city vicar to cathedral chantry priest and then prebendary and sacrist in St Sepulchre’s. Perhaps Warde does not fall into the category of career canons who were university educated

⁴⁹ Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 46. For Parker and Keld see Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 33 and 79.

⁵⁰ The journey to Middleham was probably to visit the Duke of Gloucester, who had his residence there. The Duke was meditating the foundation of the college at Middleham, which was soon after carried out. In the title deeds of that institution the names of Poteman and Gysburgh are found. The duke was also a great benefactor of the minster. Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 81-82.

⁵¹ In 1487 Godson was named as proctor to the sacrist of St Sepulchre’s, John Hert, on Hert’s institution to the church of Sutton-on-Derwent. *Register of Rotherham*, p. 136. See Section 5.1.

⁵² Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 74, 83, 84, 86, 89. *Register of Rotherham*, p. 105.

and benefitted from royal or archiepiscopal patronage, but he ended his career in a prominent and lucrative benefice as sacrist of St Sepulchre's chapel.

The business entrusted to such clerks indicates that they possessed the legal, administrative and financial skills required, and thus that the community of St Sepulchre's was comprised of men with such skills.⁵³ It also demonstrates that being a member of the chapel enabled the development of such skills and the opportunity to acquire such administrative roles, which were ultimately advantageous to both the canon and the archbishop. Evidence of such positions and duties bestowed upon those who were at some point in their careers part of St Sepulchre's community illustrates the extent to which the personnel of the two institutions, the chapel and the minster, were intertwined.

4.3.4 Governing the Chapel: The Sacrists and Issues of Residence

The Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels was constitutionally stable because of the responsibility entrusted to the sacrist for the chapel's endowments and finances, which had been established by Archbishop Roger at its foundation.⁵⁴ Those individuals who became sacrists had reached the top position available within the chapel, and in this way they can be differentiated from the rest of the chapel's canons. However, the pattern of their careers is not necessarily distinct from the rest of the chapel's canons.

Of the eleven sacrists of the chapel from 1388 until its dissolution in 1548, all held at least one other benefice at the same time as the sacristy. For four of the sacrists the benefices they held in plurality with the sacristy were prebends or dignities in the minster, linking the two institutions inextricably to one another.⁵⁵ Six sacrists resigned the sacristy and therefore continued their careers after this. Of these, four went on or

⁵³ Bennett, 'Pastors and Masters', p. 62.

⁵⁴ See Chapters 1 and 2.

⁵⁵ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 50, 95, 101 and 120.

continued to hold a prebend in the minster.⁵⁶ Four of the sacrists died whilst in the office of sacrist.⁵⁷ Magnus held the sacristy until the chapel's dissolution and was pensioned, dying only two years later.

As busy clerks it is unlikely that the sacrists and canons of St Sepulchre's were continually resident at the chapel. Little can be said about many of the canon's duties or careers within the chapel. Often all that can be seen is the series of admissions and exchanges, which create an overall picture of movements and of the stability and composition of the community. Although non-residence was discouraged, the obligation of residence was never strictly enforced, and there is no indication that a statute was made by which, as in the cathedral, residence was regulated.⁵⁸ The evidence of a system of deputies is therefore scant.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that the canons were delegating their duties to proctors or deputies. Proctors could be employed on a long-term basis to fulfil the duties of the sacrist of the chapel, or, due to the payment system introduced by Archbishop Sewal, by more casual arrangement. They were often employed by canons to represent them on an occasional basis on cathedral business or when they were instituted to a new benefice.⁵⁹ There are cases where proctors, sometimes named, appear in the registers when a canon was being instituted to a prebend in the chapel.⁶⁰ Beyond their names it is unclear who these proctors were or whether they were simply

⁵⁶ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 50, 89, 95 and 101. Richard Wetwang resigned the sacristy after a year and returned to his prebend in the chapel, but little is known of the rest of his career. Edmund Carter resigned the sacristy in 1504 but never held a York cathedral prebend.

⁵⁷ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 13, 60, 120 and 134.

⁵⁸ See Chapter 3.

⁵⁹ Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 131.

⁶⁰ The following canons were admitted to the chapel in the person of their proctor, given in brackets: Thomas Popilton (proctor not named), Thomas Hilton (John de Welton), Richard Conyngeston (William Neuport), John Burell (Nicholas Bromehall) and Henry Haunshard (John Barell).

filling in on behalf of the prebendary on that occasion, or were to thereafter represent the canon in the chapel and perform all of his duties.

Yet, non-residence and the appearance of proctors are not necessarily signs that the management and responsibilities of the chapel were suffering. The steady replacement of prebendaries suggests that the administrative framework of the chapel was working well, and that such a position was consistently sought by canons with varying patterns to their careers. Furthermore, evidence from later in the century, in the form of a new liturgical manuscript, implies that the chapel was indeed flourishing liturgically, financially and administratively.⁶¹

4.4 Presentations to Prebends

Archiepiscopal activity affected changes in the personnel of the chapel, as we have already seen in earlier centuries. Such changes which influenced the cathedral chapter also affected the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels. All means of acquiring a canonry lay through a network of patronage and kinship. However, in the fifteenth century the bishops of England generally had more control over appointments than they had in the fourteenth century, when the right to collate had been restricted by the pope and king. The restriction of papal provisions in the later fourteenth century had the effect of also reducing the king's need for such a strong hand in the matter of clerical appointments.⁶² The appointment of canons to prebends in the chapel in the long fifteenth century reflects the influence of the archbishop and the wider political context.

The fifteenth century marks the steady growth in the influence of the crown over the choice of spiritual rulers of the church, especially at York and Canterbury,

⁶¹ See Chapter 4.

⁶² Archbishop Greenfield had only appointed ten out of thirty-four new canons to the cathedral chapter during his episcopate, whilst the king and pope had appointed twelve each. Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, pp. 20, 22. See Chapter 3.

where all the fifteenth-century archbishops were drawn from the *sublimes* and *litterati* who had won preferment and amassed pluralities in the service of the crown.⁶³ The nature of the episcopal bench at York meant that the king had an indirect influence over the affairs of the minster. But the north still contributed four out of six archbishops of York from 1374 onwards; most had made their careers outside the province, but the crown recognised the appropriateness of northern bishops for northern sees.⁶⁴

Only four of the ten holders of the see between 1374 and 1500 were buried in the cathedral: Scrope, Bowet, George Neville and Thomas Rotherham (1480-1500). However, the minster was remembered in all the surviving archiepiscopal wills; their gifts testify to the generally cordial if often physically distant relationship between archbishop and his cathedral church. The one exception is Alexander Neville, who aggressively asserted his authority over the canons of York and Beverley, and questioned their privileges upon their prebendal estates, leading to a long dispute.⁶⁵

4.4.1 The Troublesome Years

On the accession of Neville to the see of York in 1374, John Waltham held the sacristy of the chapel. Waltham was a member of a family active in royal service and was nephew to Archbishop Thoresby and related to the chancery clerk Richard Reverser, who took a leading part in the rebellion of the canons of Beverley and York against Neville.⁶⁶ The canons called on the protection of the king who took the right of

⁶³ Thompson, *English Clergy*, pp. 31, 38.

⁶⁴ Richard G. Davies, 'Alexander Neville, Archbishop of York, 1374-1388', *YAJ*, 47 (1975), 87-101 (pp. 88, 91).

⁶⁵ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 100-01.

⁶⁶ There is confusion in the scholarship over this John Waltham, sacrist of St Sepulchre's, and his kinsman of the same name and similar dates. *CPR: Richard II, 1385-1389* (p. 348) identifies Waltham, archdeacon of Richmond, with the sacristy, as does A. H. Thompson in 'The Registers of the Archdeaconry of Richmond, 1361-1442', *YAJ*, 25 (1919), 127-268 (pp. 257-60). Thompson also claims it was the sacrist who became Bishop of Salisbury. Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 222. However, both T. C. B. Timmins and Emden suggest that it was a different John Waltham who was archdeacon of Richmond and Bishop of

collation into his own hands. Neville's last years ended with his flight from England and condemnation by Parliament, as the target of those vehemently opposed to the crown. Waltham no doubt shared his family's antipathy to Neville, and when Neville was overthrown and transferred to St Andrew's in 1388, Waltham was preferred to the bishopric of Salisbury.⁶⁷

The Patent Rolls of June 1386 to September 1388 reflect the king's right of collation at the end of Neville's episcopate, being full of collations to prebends in the cathedral and the ratification of estates; this may partially explain why the archiepiscopal register is wanting, and comes to a sudden end in 1384.⁶⁸ In the period from 1381 to the end of Neville's episcopate, only three canons were appointed to the chapel.⁶⁹ However, during the last year of Neville's episcopate, and in the following year, the king took advantage of the vacancy of the see and seven canons were presented to the chapel by the crown in less than a year, at least two of whom were king's clerks and including the appointment of a new sacrist.⁷⁰

However, because the registers are very defective for this period, there are conflicting entries over a particular prebend which had been held by John Giffon. Giffon was first succeeded by John Gretham, at an unknown date, and Gretham was then succeeded in this prebend by John Bridale, who resigned after less than a year. Bridale was succeeded in his prebend by John Deen in September 1388, but on 27

Salisbury. T. C. B. Timmins, ed., *The Register of John Waltham, Bishop of Salisbury 1388-1395*, The Canterbury and York Society, 80 (1994), p. ix; Richard G. Davies, 'Waltham, John (d. 1395)', *ODNB* (online edition 2008) [accessed 14 August 2013]. Emden also claims that John Waltham, sacrist of the chapel, died in 1384. *BRUO*, III, pp. 1973-74. However, the grant to the next sacrist of the chapel, Roger Weston, occurs in 1388 and the grant of 1388 to John de Akum for a prebend in the chapel mentions John Waltham as sacrist. *CPR: Richard II, 1385-1389*, pp. 498, 503; Tindal Hart, *Ebor*, p. 69; Davies, 'Alexander Neville', p. 96.

⁶⁷ It seems likely that this was in fact the same John Waltham. Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 74.

⁶⁸ Thompson, 'Registers of the Archbishops of York', p. 254; Davies, 'Alexander Neville', pp. 97-99.

⁶⁹ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 2-4.

⁷⁰ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 225. Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 5-13.

March John York was admitted to the prebend lately held by Giffon, and on the 17 April John Suthwell also had his estate ratified in the prebend late of Giffon.⁷¹

Thompson has suggested that these entries may reflect the disturbed state of public affairs in this year, regarding the fall and flight of Archbishop Neville.⁷² In addition, therefore, to the crown's involvement, this series of prebendal moves shows how political events directly influenced both the historic record and the shape of the chapel's personnel, and that collations were not operating smoothly in this period.

Roger Weston became sacrist of St Sepulchre's by a grant from Richard II in the same year that John Waltham was promoted to the See of Salisbury.⁷³ Despite the continuing political unrest, Weston's tenure of the sacristy remained undisturbed during the changes of 1399 as well as the aftermath of Archbishop Scrope's execution in 1405. Weston continued in possession of the sacristy through four different archbishops and an extended vacancy of the see, until early in 1417. Despite Weston's lengthy tenure of the sacristy we know little about his activities during that time, or indeed about the rest of his career. This must be partly due to the deficiency in the archbishops' registers during much of this period.⁷⁴

The archiepiscopal registers continue to be imperfect after Neville's deprivation, and the period of 1388 to 1405 is a complete contrast to the age of Greenfield and Melton.⁷⁵ After Neville's deprivation, the succeeding vacancies gave

⁷¹ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 4-7, 10 and 12.

⁷² Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 225.

⁷³ Weston received confirmation from Richard II of the grant of the sacristy in February 1396/97, presumably during the vacancy of the see following the translation of Archbishop Arundel to Canterbury. *CPR: Richard II, 1385-1389*, p. 503; *CPR: Richard II, 1396-1399* (London: HMSO, 1909), p. 83.

⁷⁴ In 1393 he received a papal indult for a portable altar. From 1397 he held the prebend of St Katherine's altar in Beverley Minster. He held this prebend and the sacristy until his death in early 1417. Thompson says that he vacated his Beverley prebend by his death before 25 January 1417. Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 76.

⁷⁵ Thompson, 'Registers of the Archbishops of York', p. 254.

the crown many opportunities for patronage.⁷⁶ Arundel's register from 1388 to 1396 is entirely without any notices of admissions to prebends in the chapel; it seems unlikely that there were no changes in the chapel's personnel during this period. As had occurred in 1388, further episcopal vacancies were fully exploited by the king, as prebends were attractive rewards for royal servants, much as they were for episcopal servants. Under the next very short vacancy of the see between Arundel and Robert Waldby in 1397, the Patent Rolls record five admissions to prebends in the chapel.⁷⁷

The register of Archbishop Waldby is again wanting, although he appears to have been responsible for the presentation of Thomas Popilton in his short episcopate.⁷⁸ Waldby's links with the Northern Province during his brief episcopate were tenuous and he deputed the day to day administration of his diocese to his vicar-general, William Cawode.⁷⁹ In the following short vacancy of the see in 1398 two canons were presented by the crown to the chapel.⁸⁰

4.4.2 The Influence of Archiepiscopal Patronage

It is not until the translation of Richard Scrope from Coventry and Lichfield to York that anything like a systematic record of institutions to benefices throughout the diocese is regained. Scrope was in fact resident in the diocese for most of his tenure of the see. Residing for three or four months at a time at each of his manors, Scrope's register suggests a fairly settled and efficient administration. However, this itinerary does not suggest much room for visitation of the diocese, and indeed there is no visitation material in Scrope's register.⁸¹

Cathedral or collegiate church canons were among the most highly mobile members of the secular clergy of England and St Sepulchre's canons were among the

⁷⁶ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 76.

⁷⁷ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 16, 17, 18, 19 and 21.

⁷⁸ Appendix 4: Table 1 no. 23. *Register of Waldby*, p. 36; BI, Register 15, fols 13^r-13^v.

⁷⁹ *Register of Waldby*, pp. i-iii.

⁸⁰ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 24 and 25.

⁸¹ *Register of Scrope*, I, p. v; *Register of Scrope*, II: 11 (1985), p. v.

much-beneficed pluralists who can be found travelling throughout the country in substantial numbers. Archiepiscopal patronage based on educational associations and former servants was often the reason for the influx of canons from outside the diocese, due to the appointment of archbishops from elsewhere, who brought in canons from their previous diocese.⁸² All six of those individuals whose collations to chapel prebends appear in Scrope's register in the years 1400 to 1405 have been identified as in the service of Scrope at Lichfield, as clerks of his household. Two of these, Nicholas Tydde and Walter Patteswyk, appear to have held two successive prebends in the chapel.⁸³

Scrope's patronage towards his clerks extended to rewarding them with the more valuable cathedral prebends, and several of those referred to above also appear connected to one another through the exchange or succession of their chapel and other prebends. Thomas Parker had been in the service of Scrope at Lichfield. He appears as a canon of St Sepulchre's in March 1405, when he is found exchanging his prebend in St Mary and the Holy Angels', with Thomas Hilton, for the prebend of Carlton-cum-Thurlby in Lincoln Cathedral.⁸⁴ Parker's admission to the chapel prebend is not recorded, so the duration of his membership of St Sepulchre's at this time is uncertain. His first recorded preferment in the diocese of York appears to have been the church of Huggate in May 1401, but it is possible that his admission to the chapel was earlier. However, in June 1409 Parker appears again, being admitted to a second prebend

⁸² Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 46. Philippa Hoskin has argued that the ties of patronage that held the episcopal household to their bishop were personal ones involving loyalty to one man. On the rare occasions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries when bishops were translated from one see to another, members of their existing households can be seen to travel with them. Philippa Hoskin, 'Continuing Service: the Episcopal Households of Thirteenth-Century Durham', in *Foundations of Medieval English Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Hoskin, Brooke and Dobson, pp. 124-38 (p. 126).

⁸³ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 27-28, 30-32, 34, 35-37, 52.

⁸⁴ *Register of Scrope*, II, p. 9. Appendix 4: Table 1 no. 33.

within St Sepulchre's, by exchange of the hospital of St Giles, Hexham.⁸⁵ He resigned this chapel prebend in September of the same year. Parker's career after 1401 and his progression to becoming a residentiary canon at York in 1419 suggest that he did physically move with Scrope to York when he was collated to these benefices in the diocese.⁸⁶

For Hilton, the chapel prebend he acquired by exchange with Parker in 1405 was not Archbishop Scrope's first act of patronage towards him. In May 1400, Hilton had been collated to Barnby prebend in York Minster, which he quitted in March 1404 for that of Weighton. In both of these cathedral prebends Hilton succeeded Richard Conyngston, whom he had also succeeded to the prebend of Carlton-cum-Thurlby in 1396.⁸⁷ Conyngston held a prebend in St Sepulchre's in May 1405 and had also been in Scrope's service at Lichfield, later becoming the archbishop's chancellor at York.⁸⁸ However, he had been presented by the crown to the prebend of Barnby in 1386, long before Scrope was translated to York. Conyngston was clearly a valued and respected clerk and administrator, whose connections to Scrope did not hinder his further progression under Archbishop Henry Bowet, who appointed him to further positions of trust as his official of the court of York and his deputy in convocation.⁸⁹

During the period of extended vacancy at York from 1405 to 1407 there were nine royal grants made to York cathedral prebends, whilst trying to find a successor for Archbishop Scrope.⁹⁰ But in contrast to the vacancies at the end of the fourteenth

⁸⁵ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 229.

⁸⁶ Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 174.

⁸⁷ Therefore, the prebend of Carlton-cum-Thurlby in Lincoln Cathedral was successively held by three of St Sepulchre's canons from 1388 to 1411, at which point Thomas Parker exchanged it for the church of Bolton Percy.

⁸⁸ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 227.

⁸⁹ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 227-28; Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, p. 31.

⁹⁰ Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, pp. 25-26.

century, the crown only made two presentations to St Sepulchre's in this period.⁹¹ Of course, prebends could only be filled as and when they became vacant, but perhaps the difficult relationship between the crown and the church of York after Scrope's execution limited the influence the king thought he could wield in the archbishop's own chapel.

Following this vacancy a new Archbishop of York was accompanied by a new dean. These two men, Henry Bowet and John Prophete, were the most influential figures upon the York chapter, and both were loyal supporters of the new Lancastrian regime of Henry IV.⁹² Archbishop Bowet's administration (1407-23) was characterised by being orderly and carefully run, and something like the relationship between bishop and his *familia* seems to have prevailed. Bowet was on good terms with his canons and officials and was a liberal benefactor to the cathedral at York, contributing to the stability of the province after the preceding years of turmoil. Bowet took over the glazing of the new east end of the minster, where the windows bear witness to the unity of purpose in this period, which guided relations between the archbishop and his canons.⁹³

York's archbishops had always appointed men that they held in positions of trust and loyalty, whether they were a household clerk or a family member; but family influence was closely bound with patronage and service.⁹⁴ In England, bishops did

⁹¹ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 38 and 39.

⁹² Tindal Hart, *Ebor*, p. 76. Bowet was translated from Bath and Wells, to which he had also been nominated by Henry IV in 1400. Jacob, *Fifteenth Century*, pp. 268-69.

⁹³ T. F. Tout, revised by J. J. N. Palmer, 'Bowet, Henry (d. 1423)', *ODNB* (online edition 2008) [accessed 6 January 2011]; Thompson, *English Clergy*, p. 88; Joan Kirby, ed., *The York Sede Vacante Register 1423-1426: A Calendar*, Borthwick Texts and Studies, 38 (York: BI, 2009), p. v. The windows' imagery involved leading members of the cathedral chapter both past and present, displaying the interwoven relationships between the different figures in the windows and expressing a consciousness of York's heritage. Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabric*, pp. 220-22, 226.

⁹⁴ Barrow, 'Origins and Careers of Cathedral Canons', pp. 36-37; Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 75. There are recurrent family names among St Sepulchre's canons: Pickering, Thoresby, Barnardcastle and Cotingham. These may also indicate the places of

promote their own kinsmen, but, as Barrow has pointed out, the number of their kinsmen anxious to pursue ecclesiastic careers was usually far smaller than the number of prebends that fell vacant during their pontificates.⁹⁵ During Bowet's episcopate he was able to present eighteen canons to St Sepulchre's. Clerical affinities were not so bound by kinship ties in the long fifteenth century as the clerks of Archbishop Thoresby's circle had been, but under Bowet there was a level of nepotism at work. Two of the clerks presented to St Sepulchre's were Bowet's nephews: Henry Bowet (sacrist 1416 to 1422) and Robert Bowet (prebendary 1422 to 1423). Both were lawyers like their uncle. Henry Bowet subsequently became archdeacon of Richmond and prebendary of Masham and Laughton, whilst Robert Bowet was archdeacon of Nottingham and prebendary of Ampleforth.⁹⁶ However, the other sixteen canons collated by Bowet seem to have gained preferment due to their usefulness to the archbishop, as clerks and administrators.⁹⁷ One is known to have been in Bowet's service at Wells before he was translated to York.⁹⁸ Five appear as legatees and witnesses to Bowet's will in 1423, indicating a close and trusted relationship, and perhaps suggesting that these individuals were members of Bowet's household.⁹⁹

family origin, although toponymic surnames cease to be particularly useful after the late fourteenth century. Virginia Davis, 'Episcopal Ordination Lists as a Source for Clerical Mobility in England in the Fourteenth Century', in *England in the Fourteenth Century: Proceedings of the 1991 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by Nicholas Rogers (Stamford: Watkins, 1993), pp. 152-70 (pp. 156-57).

⁹⁵ Barrow, 'Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons', p. 133.

⁹⁶ Tindal Hart, *Ebor*, p. 78; Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, pp. 23-24, 28, 49, 65, 67, 79. Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 50 and 59.

⁹⁷ Barrow argues that it was the usefulness of a clerk to the bishop which was of central importance to recruitment, and administrative experience, often gained through higher education, was what counted, rather than family background. Barrow, 'Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons', p. 135.

⁹⁸ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 40.

⁹⁹ Thomas Wyot, John Wodham, Thomas Bryan, Richard Colhom and William Yoxhall. *Testamenta*, I, pp. 400-01.

In the following three-year vacancy, four canons were presented by the crown, including one who has been identified as the king's clerk.¹⁰⁰ Bowet's successor John Kempe was archbishop for twenty-seven years from 1425 to 1452, but spent very little time in the diocese and the larger portion of his register is that of successive vicars-general.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, he filled the dignities of York with an exceptionally able staff of clerks, including the appointment of twenty clerks to canonries in the chapel.¹⁰²

In the fifteenth century the potential for indirect royal influence in appointing canons was greater due to the careers of the archbishops of York. The king could rely upon his trusted servants on the episcopal bench to promote clerks who served royal interests. Several of the canons appointed during Kempe's episcopate demonstrate the influence of the crown: William Lochard was clerk of the chapel royal and John Howden held a prebend at Windsor, in which he was succeeded by Thomas Passh, who was sub-almoner of the king in 1449.¹⁰³ Of the rest, Thomas Tanfeld was Kempe's chaplain, whilst John Sendale, who was sacrist from 1449 to 1452 was the archbishop's registrar, and Robert Balard had been the archbishop's household chaplain.

Under Archbishop William Booth eleven canons, including two sacrists, were collated to the chapel. Gysburgh (1453-62) had been Archbishop Kempe's and was then Archbishop Booth's household clerk, and was the receiver to the archbishop's exchequer during his tenure of the sacristy. The second sacrist appointed under Booth was Ralph Bird (1462-79), whose career exemplifies the progression of a priest under episcopal patronage, but also a life and career focused upon the diocese from which he

¹⁰⁰ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 64-67.

¹⁰¹ Thompson, 'Registers of the Archbishops of York', p. 255.

¹⁰² Thompson, *Miscellanea*, pp. 136-37, 145. Those whose admission dates are unknown are not included in this number, although it is likely that Nicholas Keld and Thomas Skelton were also appointed under Kempe. Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 68-91.

¹⁰³ Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 234-35.

originated. Bird had been Kempe's domestic chaplain, and he was equally in favour with Kempe's successors. He was chaplain to Booth and held prebends in Southwell Minster. In 1443 he became rector of Stonegrave church and held this position until his death, describing himself as such in his will, dated 25 March 1483.¹⁰⁴

Ten canons were collated under the period of Archbishop George Neville, of whom again at least two were archbishop's chaplains.¹⁰⁵ Under William Booth's half-brother, Laurence Booth, four canons were collated, but nothing is known directly of their patrons. Archbishop Rotherham (1480-1500) was likely responsible for twenty-one presentations to chapel prebends, including a few individuals whose admission dates are unknown but are likely to have been collated under Rotherham. Several of these canons were connected with Jesus College in Rotherham, founded by the archbishop in 1483: William Graybarn was appointed provost and Edmund Carter and William Aleyson were fellows there; John Spicer was witness to the college's decree.¹⁰⁶

Thomas Savage (1501-07) was responsible for ten collations under his tenure of the see; John Carver (Aley) had been Savage's vicar-general prior to his collation to the chapel in 1507. Savage's successor Christopher Bainbridge (1508-14) collated at least four canons between 1511 and 1512. This takes us to the last collation that is dealt with in this prosopography of the long fifteenth century, that of Christopher Radcliff (1512). After this, the next known admission date to the chapel is not until 1531, although in the interim two decades the clerical subsidy provides a snapshot of members of the community, most of whom do not appear earlier in the records.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 163; Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 237-38. Bird held the masterships of two Ripon hospitals, the town from which he originated. *Testamenta*, III: 45 (1865), pp. 282-83; BI, Probate Register 5, fol. 80^r. Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 95 and 101.

¹⁰⁵ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 107 and 109.

¹⁰⁶ *Register of Rotherham*, p. 249.

¹⁰⁷ See Chapter 7.

Birth, education and service to either the church or crown were the surest route to a canonry or dignity for clerics in the later medieval period. In the case of those who pursued long and successful careers, these routes often involved a considerable degree of geographical mobility and patronage or nepotism. Like the cathedral canons and residentiaries, many of the canons of St Sepulchre's chapel benefitted from archiepiscopal patronage, but it seems that this was because they had earned and obtained positions of trust.¹⁰⁸ Having considered the type of career that a holder of such a position could obtain and the ways in which canonries in the chapel fitted into such a career, let us now turn to the more personal characteristics of the canons of St Sepulchre's, such as education, intellectual pursuits and their devotional lives.

4.5 Characteristics of St Sepulchre's Canons

4.5.1 Education

One feature of the English medieval episcopate and the higher clergy of the cathedrals is that by the end of the fifteenth century they were an elite overwhelmingly composed of Oxbridge graduates. Many of those who benefitted from episcopal patronage did so because they attracted notice through a good education and due to the advantage of becoming known through their connections at university.¹⁰⁹ The same can be said for many of the canons of St Sepulchre's chapel in the fifteenth century. It has been recognised by T. H. Aston and Dobson that it is hazardous to use the information found in Emden's biographical registers of graduates of the universities of Oxford and Cambridge statistically. Those who proceeded to study in a higher faculty were more likely to have more prominent subsequent careers and therefore leave a trace in the records, and the 15,000 alumni in Emden's Oxford list constitute only a fraction of the

¹⁰⁸ Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 156.

¹⁰⁹ Dobson, 'Recent Prosopographical Research', p. 185. Between 1426 and 1500, 83 per cent of York canons had a university degree. Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 57; T. H. Aston, G. D. Duncan and T. A. R. Evans, 'The Medieval Alumni of the University of Cambridge', *Past and Present*, 86 (1980), 9-86 (p. 85).

actual number.¹¹⁰ As Dobson highlighted, using such data we can only suggest hypothetical patterns, rather than establish statistical certainties.¹¹¹ Nevertheless, with full awareness of the hazards, such statistics can shed light upon the make-up of St Sepulchre's canons in terms of education. Thirty-five of St Sepulchre's 145 canons in this study have been positively identified as having attended the universities of Oxford or Cambridge. This number includes two sacrists of the chapel, Bird and Hert. A further five canons can likely be matched with individuals of the same name who were university educated, and Thompson describes another twenty-two, including four more sacrists, as *magister* or indicates that they held university degrees.¹¹² Therefore, it can be suggested that sixty-two of St Sepulchre's canons, a significant proportion, were university educated. Furthermore, although there are notable canons, such as Gysburgh, who are known not to have attended university, it is likely that many more for whom we have no record did have university degrees.¹¹³

Most cathedral canons who had been university educated held degrees in canon or civil law, or both, and this is also the case for St Sepulchre's canons. They often combined this legal training with administrative duties, which made them ideal candidates for cathedral prebends. Episcopal registers reveal that bishops placed a higher value on the services of capable lawyers pursuing ecclesiastical careers within their cathedrals and diocese, than those clergy who faithfully followed a pastoral

¹¹⁰ T. H. Aston, 'Oxford's Medieval Alumni', *Past and Present*, 74 (1977), 3-35 (pp. 5, 8); Aston, Duncan and Evans, 'Medieval Alumni of Cambridge', pp. 10-11.

¹¹¹ Dobson, 'Recent Prosopographical Research', pp. 186-87.

¹¹² Appendix 4: Table 1. Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 224-45. Barrow discusses the dispute over the use of the title *magister* in the twelfth century, where a change took place from meaning the title given to the *magister scholarum*, to the title given to someone who had completed some form of higher education. Therefore, by the fifteenth century we can safely assume that the title of *magister* does indicate higher education. See Barrow, 'Education and the Recruitment of Cathedral Canons', p. 118.

¹¹³ Gysburgh had begun as Archbishop William Booth's personal chaplain and household clerk; an example of how a clerk's position of trust within the archbishop's household often led to promotion in the church. He was the only residentiary canon of York appointed between 1435 and 1500 not to have a university education. Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 163; Aston, Duncan and Evans, 'Medieval Alumni of Cambridge', p. 11.

vocation. This indicates that what bishops hoped to get out of their preferments were capable administrators who could preserve religious orthodoxy.¹¹⁴ Many of St Sepulchre's canons became members of the cathedral chapter and also held important administrative positions within the cathedral or diocese on behalf of the chapter or the archbishop.¹¹⁵

Much like now, a university education was expensive. Some of St Sepulchre's canons appear to have financed their studies by acquiring benefices prior to entering university. John Storthwayt held a prebend in the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels from 1408, alongside the rectory of Curry Mallet in Somerset, the county in which he lived and served. In 1410 he was given leave of absence by Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells, to study for two years at Oxford University, and by 1413 he had returned to the diocese of Bath and Wells as a Bachelor of Canon and Civil Law. Aside from his chapel prebend, Storthwayt's career was located wholly within the diocese of Bath and Wells, and he was therefore unlikely to have ever been resident at, or have even visited, York during the sixteen years in which he held a prebend in St Sepulchre's.¹¹⁶ In February 1444, Bird received a licence from

¹¹⁴ R. L. Storey, *Diocesan Administration in Fifteenth-Century England*, Borthwick Papers, 16 (York: St Anthony's Press, 1972), p. 18. See Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, pp. 58-62, for discussion of the academic qualifications of canons at the secular cathedrals of England.

¹¹⁵ See above, Section 4.3.3.

¹¹⁶ He served both Bishop Henry Bowet, before he was translated to the See of York, and Bishop Bubwith. Storthwayt later became chancellor and residentiary canon of Wells. See Appendix 4: Table 1 no. 40. Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 56; Storey, *Diocesan Administration*, pp. 10-11; Thomas Scott Holmes, ed., *The Registers of Walter Giffard, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1265-66, and of Henry Bowett, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1401-07*, Somerset Record Society, 13 (1899), p. 59; Thomas Scott Holmes, ed., *The Register of Nicholas Bubwith, Bishop of Bath and Wells 1407-1424*, 2 vols, Somerset Record Society, I: 29 (1913), p. 12; H. C. Maxwell-Lyte and M. C. B. Dawes, eds, *The Register of Thomas Bekynton, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1443-1465: Part 1*, Somerset Record Society, 49 (1934), pp. 1-2, 172, 178.

Archbishop Kempe allowing him to be absent from his living at Stonegrave for three years to study at an English university.¹¹⁷

Out of the thirty-five canons of St Sepulchre's identified by Emden, there are twenty-six where both the entry and exit dates of their chapel prebend are known. Out of these, in ten cases the date of their graduation from university falls within the time when they held their chapel prebend, indicating that they would have been absent from York for a number of years. For example, John Deen held a prebend in the chapel from 1388 to 1400 and in 1390 he became Doctor of Canon Law. However, he was already *magister* by 1378, prior to his collation to the chapel prebend.¹¹⁸ These numbers are therefore not mutually exclusive; a canon could have become *magister* before acquiring his prebend, but then proceed to a higher level of degree during his prebend. For example, Thomas Barnardcastle was master of Peterhouse, Cambridge from 1400 to 1421, and held his prebend in the chapel from 1397 to 1417.¹¹⁹ However, the majority (88 per cent) had attended university and received at least a baccalaureate degree before acquiring their prebend in the chapel.¹²⁰

The dates of study at university, alongside ordination dates, are also useful for considering the ages of the chapel's canons. The data for both of these statistics is limited, and only for a small proportion of the overall population of the chapel can even vague suggestions be made. However, in the case of those canons where the date of either their study at university or ordination is known alongside the date of their entry into the chapel, it was not uncommon for prebends in the chapel to be acquired when a cleric was in his late twenties or thirties.¹²¹ This seems to correlate to those

¹¹⁷ *Testamenta*, III, p. 283; BI, Register 19, fol. 87^r.

¹¹⁸ *BRUC*, p. 180.

¹¹⁹ *BRUC*, p. 39.

¹²⁰ Twenty-three canons are known to have had degrees before being collated to the chapel.

¹²¹ This assumes that a cleric became a priest around the age of twenty-five, and graduated from university by the age of thirty. Jo Ann Hoepfner Moran, 'Clerical

canons who went on to hold numerous other benefices after their prebend in the chapel, although, as mentioned before, it is those canons who went on to have prominent careers that feature most prominently in the records at all stages of their careers.

Those without a benefice or family resource had to rely on charity or patronage to finance their education. Educational bequests are a common theme in clerical wills, providing money or books to a potential scholar.¹²² For example, Thomas Grenewod bequeathed twenty marks to a William Grenewod, who appears to be his nephew, and another twenty marks to John Grenewod, both for their learning of grammar.¹²³ Robert Stillington, canon of St Sepulchre's from 1448 to 1459, used his wealth and position to provide local educational patronage. In 1483 he founded a college dedicated to St Andrew in the place of his origin, Nether Acaster near Selby, on land inherited from his father, John Stillington, for a provost and three fellows, in order to provide free education in the area.¹²⁴ Thomas Magnus, sacrist from 1504 to 1548, also founded a school in his home town of Newark-upon-Trent in 1529: there were to be two priests to provide education in grammar, singing and music for six children.¹²⁵

Oxford University features more than Cambridge in the education of St Sepulchre's community, being much bigger at this time, which reflects the general

Recruitment in the Diocese of York, 1340-1530: Data and Commentary', *JEH*, 34 (1983), 19-54 (p. 48).

¹²² Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 56.

¹²³ *Testamenta*, III, pp. 62-63.

¹²⁴ H. C. Maxwell-Lyte, ed., *The Registers of Robert Stillington, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1466-1491, and Richard Fox, Bishop of Bath and Wells, 1492-1494*, Somerset Record Society, 52 (1937), pp. xi-xiv; *BRUO*, III, pp. 1778-79. On 2 October 1485 a licence was granted by the Archbishop of York for an oratory for three years in the chapel at Acastre Selby. Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 241.

¹²⁵ Claire Cross, *York Clergy Wills 1520-1600: I Minster Clergy*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 10 (York: University of York, 1984), p. 87; Cornelius Brown, *A History of Newark-on-Trent: Being the Life Story of an Ancient Town, volume 2 From the Reign of Edward VI to that of Edward VII* (Newark: Whiles, 1907), p. 186. Magnus is discussed further in Chapter 7.

trends for cathedral canons across the country.¹²⁶ Local recruitment patterns and close links between cathedrals and individual university colleges are difficult to establish. This reflects the relatively small part that colleges played in university life for much of the medieval period, where only a small proportion of resident members of the university were members of colleges, with the majority residing in halls.¹²⁷ Stillington received his doctorate of civil law at Deep Hall, Oxford, but was also a fellow of All Souls College, Oxford, which held the best legal library in later medieval Oxford, with over eighty legal manuscripts in its chained library and a hundred legal volumes in its lending library. This environment and these resources must have furnished both Stillington's education in civil law and his career in government well; indeed, in 1482 the university wrote to him asking for his help towards the rebuilding of the Canon Law School.¹²⁸ Sometimes deliberate episcopal policy influenced university recruitment. Under Archbishop Arundel, Cambridge replaced Oxford as the intellectual centre for York clergy, and in the second half of the fifteenth century the improvement in Cambridge's performance is startling. The thirty-seven appointments of Cambridge men to cathedral prebends, as against only twenty of Oxonians in the period from 1476 to 1500, reflect the succession of two Cambridge archbishops, Laurence Booth and Rotherham.¹²⁹ This trend is reflected on a much smaller scale in

¹²⁶ For numbers elsewhere in the country see Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, pp. 62-63. Out of the thirty-five canons and sacrists of St Sepulchre's identified in Emden's registers, twenty-two attended Oxford, nine attended Cambridge and three are unknown.

¹²⁷ Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, pp. 62-63; Aston, 'Oxford', pp. 4-5.

¹²⁸ Aston, 'Oxford', p. 15; *BRUO*, III, p. 1777. Stillington became Keeper of the Privy Seal in July 1460 and Bishop of Bath and Wells in 1465, on the wishes of King Edward IV. His salary on becoming keeper was no less than £365 a year, and he was wealthy enough to be able to lend King Henry VI money. *Registers of Stillington*, pp. x, 1, 2. Stillington rebuilt and founded a chantry for himself in the Lady Chapel-by-the-Cloister at Wells Cathedral, as discussed in Section 1.5.

¹²⁹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp. 177, 185-87; Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 63; Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 158; Aston, Duncan and Evans, 'Medieval Alumni of Cambridge', p. 74.

the chapel; out of those nine canons known to have attended Cambridge almost all appear after 1470, and most after 1480.¹³⁰

The standard of education of the canons of St Sepulchre's was not universal. However, as with most of the evidence relied upon for this study, it gives a biased view. We can only say that certain canons did attend university, but cannot provide numbers for those who did not. Nevertheless, a substantial minority of the total number of canons in the study (43 per cent) are known to have attended university.¹³¹ Furthermore, the timing of their education suggests that whilst a university degree was not a necessity to collation for a chapel prebend, it provided the skills and qualities that the archbishops of York looked for in clerks they wished to promote.¹³²

4.5.2 The Canons' Households, Intellectual Pursuits and Patronage

Those canons we can identify with most clarity are those who were patrons of the arts, or who leave us significant clues to their intellectual pursuits in their wills and through their libraries. The cathedral and chapel prebendaries held positions of privilege among the secular clergy and even when major building projects had been completed canons regularly made donations to the fabric fund for maintenance, with the cathedral being the major focus for their artistic patronage.¹³³ They sometimes appear as benefactors to the fabric of the church in the minster's fabric rolls, through donations which continue after death. For example, a few years prior to his death in

¹³⁰ Appendix 4: Table 1.

¹³¹ See Appendix 4: Table 3 for the composition of university-educated canons in each decade. This does not reflect whether the canons were already *magister* when they acquired their prebend, only that they attended university at some point in their careers.

¹³² Aston, Duncan and Evans ('Medieval Alumni of Cambridge', p. 67) have pointed out that we should not lose sight of the possibility that at any time a significant number of men with some kind of university training were without an adequate living. The likely existence of this unmeasurable and largely unknown element among the alumni of England's universities should warn us against seeing the medieval university too exclusively as a mere training school for the hierarchy and bureaucracy of church, crown and nobility.

¹³³ Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 188.

1421, Grenewod gave £4 6s 8d to the fabric of the cathedral.¹³⁴ Parker was associated with Archbishop Bowet in the glazing of the north choir aisle, by donating window nIX, in which the figures of St John of Beverley, St Thomas of Canterbury and St William of York are displayed. This choice of saints linked the cults of other local saints with the popular cult of Scrope, under whom Parker had earlier served, and also expressed the parallels which had been made between Scrope's execution (1405) and Becket's martyrdom.¹³⁵ These cults were used by the York canons to assert their historical traditions and the prestige of their cathedral; the community was ever mindful of the riches of Canterbury and was aware of the great wealth to be gained from the exploitation of their own local saints and cults.¹³⁶

Vestments were an essential tool for mass and office and also played a key role in the commemoration of the dead, by an acknowledged association with their donors. These associations were carefully and consistently recorded in inventories. An inventory of the cathedral, surviving from soon after 1500, records the piety of the donors. For example, the list of *Capae Virides* includes the gift of John Gysburgh, described as a green cope of tissue, a rich cloth often interwoven with gold or silver, with a clasp which displays an eagle standing above a book; similarly the gift of Robert Stillington is described as a green cope with an eagle on the clasp. Kate Heard has suggested that vestments were not notable for their uniqueness, as they appear to us, but for their synthesis and compatibility with their setting. Therefore, such

¹³⁴ Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 38.

¹³⁵ Thompson ('The Chapel', p. 230) and Brown (*Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 226) agree that Parker's window was in the north choir aisle, but Dobson says it is in the north nave aisle ('Residentiary Canons', p. 171). Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp. 311, 316.

¹³⁶ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, p. 318; J. W. McKenna, 'Popular Canonization as Political Propaganda: The Cult of Archbishop Scrope', *Speculum*, 45 (1970), 608-23 (p. 609); Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 230.

descriptions can provide an image of the lost visual culture of commemoration and of the liturgical setting in which they were used.¹³⁷

Clerical wills can also tell us much about the intellectual interests of canons and the nature of their households. In his will Gysburgh left bequests to five ‘generosi famuli’ and fifteen other named servants, an indication of the size of the households of York prebendaries.¹³⁸ Bequests to households and servants show a desire to maintain the continuity and harmony of the household, but just as the canons were dependent upon fellow canons and parishioners for intercession, they may have felt both a responsibility towards and dependence upon their household servants.¹³⁹

Many of the canons of St Sepulchre’s were part of the same intellectual group as the cathedral canons. Dobson has suggested that the surviving inventories of the residentiary canons of York reveal their libraries to be the largest collections of legal works in the north of England.¹⁴⁰ For example, Grenewod’s will and inventory is a prime example of a library comprising both legal and liturgical volumes. His other possessions and household goods reveal his worldly wealth and lifestyle. He bequeaths a total of nine gowns or cloaks to various family members, including one of polecat fur, one of either tartan or of a rich silk cloth from the East, and another of a fine and valuable linen. He left several bequests to St Mary’s Abbey York, including, to the high altar of the abbey, two great silver dishes and six plates, inscribed with the sign of Lord de Ros; to Abbot Thomas he left his sacred vessel that had touched the relics in Rome and Jerusalem; and to Prior William Dalton of St Mary’s Abbey he left a silver oil lamp. What is remaining of his inventory enables a sum total of his goods

¹³⁷ Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 231; Kate Heard, ““Such stuff as dreams are made on””: Textiles and the Medieval Chantry’, in *Medieval Chantry in England*, ed. by Luxford and McNeill, pp. 157-68 (pp. 162, 164-66).

¹³⁸ Dobson, ‘Cathedral Chapters and Cathedral Cities’, p. 28.

¹³⁹ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, p. 54.

¹⁴⁰ Dobson, ‘Residentiary Canons’, p. 157.

to be valued at £899 13d.¹⁴¹ Testaments like Grenewod's bring us closer to being able to visualise the lives of the higher clergy of York, through their wealth, luxury goods and libraries.¹⁴²

The York canons often made bequests of books on canon and civil law, as well as of the more usual clerical bequests of service books, such as portatives or breviaries.¹⁴³ Often to whom or where these books were bequeathed can tell us about the relationships and ties of the canons. The giving of books to family members or fellow clerics demonstrates that the canons acknowledged the intrinsic value of such items for their learning, over and above their monetary value. As mentioned above, legal and liturgical books were left as charitable bequests to family members, but there were often stipulations. Robert Barra bequeathed ten legal books to his nephew if he wished to become a priest or all of his grammatical and legal books if he wished to study law or canon law.¹⁴⁴ Robert Semer, sub-treasurer in the minster and canon of St Sepulchre's, bequeathed to Robert Helperby a volume containing Richard Rolle's 'Commentary on Job'.¹⁴⁵ William Rowkeshawe bequeathed to Lowthorpe church copies of 'Catholicon' and 'Summa Confessorum' to be chained in choir and also bequeathed to Catton church a copy of 'Pupilla Oculi' to chain in choir.¹⁴⁶ Thomas Passh gave five books to Merton College, Oxford, indicating his appreciation and attachment to his old college.¹⁴⁷

It is more unusual to find that books were intended to be sold. However, William Cawode was a university-educated lawyer like many of St Sepulchre's canons, holding a substantial library of both legal and liturgical books. In his will he

¹⁴¹ Will dated 20 April 1421, *Testamenta*, III, pp. 61-65.

¹⁴² Lehmborg, *Reformation of Cathedrals*, p. 265.

¹⁴³ Robinson, *Beneficed Clergy*, pp. 47-48; Peter Mackie, 'Chaplains in the Diocese of York, 1480-1530: The Testamentary Evidence', *YAJ*, 58 (1986), 123-33 (p. 126).

¹⁴⁴ Cross, *York Clergy Wills: I*, p. 7.

¹⁴⁵ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp. 204, 206.

¹⁴⁶ *BRUC*, p. 493.

¹⁴⁷ *BRUC*, III, p. 1432.

bequeathed his Psalter, glossed with Cassiodorus's gloss, to be chained in the stall of Thorpe prebend in Ripon Minster, for the use of the ministers remaining there perpetually. But the rest of his books, more unusually, Cawode desired to be sold and the money be appropriated for the erection of a reredos at the high altar of York Minster.¹⁴⁸ In his will of 1421, Archbishop Bowet lists the contents of his library, with a fine collection of law books, and directs that all should be sold, presumably with the profit directed towards his own soul; but his kinsman Henry Bowet, sacrist of the chapel, should be allowed to purchase any at a reduced price.¹⁴⁹

4.5.3 Death and Commemoration

The study of wills has certain methodological problems which have been considered by those attempting to use them as evidence for proclamations of faith or the nature of personal relationships based upon what a testator did and did not leave to certain people.¹⁵⁰ Nevertheless, the wills of the fifteenth-century canons of the chapel and cathedral illuminate the cohesion and close relationship between the members of these two chapters. They gave each other their most precious possessions, served as one another's executors and often chose to be buried in adjoining graves.¹⁵¹

The role of the executor is perhaps more significant than the formulaic nature of their inclusion at the end of most testators' wills suggests. Often the executors are individuals already named in the will, but they were carefully chosen and the responsibility was only given to those who had the testator's confidence and with whom he had a close personal relationship, such as family members and fellow clergy, but could also include trusted household servants.¹⁵² Therefore, the appearance of

¹⁴⁸ *Memorials of Ripon*, II, pp. 212-13; *Testamenta*, I, pp. 395-96.

¹⁴⁹ *BRUC*, pp. 83-84; Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 164; *Testamenta*, I, p. 400.

¹⁵⁰ Rosenthal, 'Northern Clergy', pp. 147-48; Mackie, 'Chaplains in the Diocese of York', p. 132; Cross, *York Clergy Wills: I*, p. v.

¹⁵¹ Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 104-05.

¹⁵² Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 129. As mentioned above (Section 4.3.3) Thomas Wyot appears as Archbishop Bowet's executor.

canons of St Sepulchre's as executors indicates the closeness of certain clerical relationships. For example: Cawode was executor to Thomas Dalby, archdeacon of Richmond, in 1400; John Symson (canon of St Sepulchre's from 1501 to c. 1524) was executor to the will of Henry Carnebull, archdeacon of York, in 1512.¹⁵³ John Hert made William Warde, canon in St Sepulchre's and Hert's successor as sacrist, his executor, alongside Richard Godson, Hert's chaplain and proctor.¹⁵⁴

There is little evidence for kinship towards benefices held early on in the careers of the canons, but near death they demonstrate certain ties to the churches, large and small, from which they received their income.¹⁵⁵ Bequests to the parish churches for which they was responsible demonstrate a concern on the part of the rector to ensure the parishioners harboured no ill feeling towards him. However, this sense of responsibility to people with whom he may have had little contact also reflects his dependence upon the prayers of laymen. In the surviving wills of St Sepulchre's canons most asked to be buried in the chancels of these churches, with the majority of those who were also York cathedral canons being buried in the minster church. Hert died on 8 December 1495, having resigned the sacristy shortly before death.¹⁵⁶ In his will dated 23 November 1495, he desired to be buried in the nave of the cathedral near St William's tomb.¹⁵⁷ Parker desired to be buried either in York Minster, at the head of his lord Archbishop Scrope, before the altar of St Mary in Beverley Minster, or in the choir of Bolton Percy church.¹⁵⁸ These provisions for

¹⁵³ *Testamenta*, I, p. 264; *Testamenta*, V: 79 (1884), pp. 30-31.

¹⁵⁴ *Testamenta*, IV: 53 (1868), p. 113; BI, Probate Register 5, fol. 471^v.

¹⁵⁵ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, pp. 53-54.

¹⁵⁶ *Register of Rotherham*, p. 103. William Warde was admitted to the sacristy of the chapel on 20 November 1495, it being vacant by the resignation of John Hert. The mandate for the induction of the sacristy was directed to the dean and chapter, although the see was not vacant at this time. It is of great interest that the power of appointing to this office devolved to the dean and chapter in the possible absence of an archbishop, and is one indication of the close relationship between the two institutions.

¹⁵⁷ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 240; BI, Probate Register 5, fols 471^v-472^f.

¹⁵⁸ Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 229-30.

burial are characteristic of the residentiary canons of York, nearly all of whom made provision for burial in the cathedral. Burial in the cathedral was an expression of personal commitment and acknowledged loyalty to the institution which had given them status, protection and livelihood. The specificity of Parker's burial in the minster, near to Archbishop Scrope, was traditional for the canons of York, who often chose burial near to the tombs of the archbishops to whom they owed their early success.¹⁵⁹ Nevertheless, Parker's multiple options for burial could also reflect his expectations about where he would most likely be at the time of death, indicating the places at which he spent the greater part of his time.

Grenewod bequeathed a total of £33 14s 4d to several ecclesiastical houses and named individuals to pray for his soul, including twenty-five pounds to a chaplain to celebrate for his soul within the cathedral four times weekly for a period of five years, under peril of the chaplain's own soul.¹⁶⁰ Grenewod made no specific provision in his will for burial, other than wishing to be buried in the cathedral church of York. His apparent distaste of the pomp of this world is accompanied by elaborate directions for the celebration of funeral masses, obits and prayers. However, this expression of moderation may have been a conventional statement in the wills of the York canons.¹⁶¹ In common with his fellow residentiaries, Grenewod left bequests of money to the vicars, deacons, vestry clerks, thuribulers and choristers, sacrists, residentiary canons and other persons present at his funeral, having the effect of making the liturgical celebration considerably more elaborate.¹⁶² He made a request to his executors for masses to be said for his soul and the souls of those to whom he had

¹⁵⁹ Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 168; Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 189. Thomas de la Mare in 1358 and Thomas Magnus in 1550 also requested to be buried near to Archbishops Melton and Savage respectively.

¹⁶⁰ Will dated 20 April 1421, *Testamenta*, III, pp. 62-63.

¹⁶¹ Robert Barra, canon of St Sepulchre's before 1499 and canon of the cathedral church, also stated in his will, dated 4 October 1526, that he wished his funeral to be conducted 'decently and without pomp'. Cross, *York Clergy Wills: I*, p. 7.

¹⁶² Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 169; *Testamenta*, III, p. 62.

been temporally connected in life. He adds to this that, were it acceptable to God, he would wish a thousand masses to be said in the city and suburbs of York, a clause that demonstrates just how the accumulative power of masses was viewed.

4.6 Conclusion

There is not one definitive pattern in the lives and careers of St Sepulchre's fifteenth-century canons that can be traced, but a number of trends can be identified which show us what sorts of men were recruited to St Sepulchre's, and the nature of their careers. Through the examination of the prebends and benefices that the canons held, an understanding can be formed of the administrative framework of the diocese into which the canons can be placed.¹⁶³

The community of St Mary and the Holy Angels' was made up of a group of canons who were near to or at the top of the clerical elite in England. As with many other matters, the history of the canons of St Sepulchre's is hard to untangle from that of the cathedral. In terms of the nature and characteristics of individuals, the inter-connections make it hard to distinguish the chapel community from that of its neighbour, and its identity as a homogenous group distinct from the minster is difficult to establish. However, there are subtle distinctions, particularly in terms of income and influence.

The chapel prebends were of a level comparable in wealth and status to other collegiate churches and some secular cathedrals in England. For those canons whose careers are more visible to us, the majority appear to have been pluralists, holding other comparable benefices alongside their chapel prebend. In such cases a general pattern of career progression can be suggested. Often the canons began as domestic chaplains with either episcopal or royal patrons. The frequency of archbishops' chaplains appointed as sacrists and canons seems to suggest that the archbishops

¹⁶³ Barrow, 'Clergy in the Diocese of Hereford', p. 38.

maintained the tradition of appointing trusted clerks to their personal chapel. This suggests that the archbishops did indeed remember their predecessors' actions, and made reference to the founders of the chapel through their own appointments. The canons tended to gain a university education, either before or most usually after they acquired their first benefice. For those canons for whom several benefices within their career are known, the prebends in St Sepulchre's were not usually their first, and many had attended university before obtaining their positions in the chapel.

The chapel worked as a training ground for promising clerks who later assumed prominent careers. A prebend in the chapel was often followed by a place among the chapter of the cathedral, one of the most highly sought after and wealthiest positions anywhere among the secular clergy of England in the later medieval period. The canons held multiple prebends and this gave them the means to pursue wide interests, and many became significant figures in Church and State. The study of the chapel's canons and their careers demonstrates how the chapel was part of a network of institutions which existed throughout the diocese and beyond, across the secular churches of England. However, the network was both fairly limited, with only nine secular cathedrals in England, and highly dependent upon patronage. It is therefore unsurprising that there were close links between the clergy of these institutions. The study of these fifteenth-century canons shows that this was a period of continued wealth and prosperity for the community. This suggestion is also supported by the chapel's liturgical identity in the fifteenth century, which is discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter Five

The York Antiphonal: History and Use

An examination of the liturgy of St Mary and the Holy Angels' is essential to our understanding of the chapel's identity and the workings of its community. The liturgy reinforced a sense of history, whilst the copying of manuscripts and the promotion of the liturgy and its use bound a community together, giving it a common sense of purpose, unity and identity.¹ The aim of this and the following chapter is to address the assumptions in the existing scholarship about the liturgical function of the chapel and to consider how St Sepulchre's related to the wider liturgical programme of the cathedral church of York. A new assessment of these matters is possible due to the survival of a late fifteenth-century antiphonal, which has been identified as belonging to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.² The manuscript is now held at Arundel Castle Archives in Sussex. According to Matthew Salisbury the Arundel book is the sole surviving manuscript of its genre from York and there are no extant printed antiphonals. For this reason it is commonly known as the York Antiphonal.³ This chapter examines the history of the antiphonal from its place in the fifteenth-century community of St Sepulchre's, to the changes made to it amid the liturgical

¹ Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, pp. 187, 195.

² Arundel Castle, MS s.n. The manuscript's provenance seems to have been first published in 1874 in *The Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts: First Report* (London: 1874), p. 45. Then subsequently by N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, 2nd edn, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, 3 (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1964), p. 218; Hughes, 'Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony', p. 155. The reasons for its ascription to the chapel are discussed below. See also Charles Hamm, ed., *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources for Polyphonic Music 1400-1550*, 5 vols (Hansler-Verlag: American Institute of Musicology, 1979-88), I (1979), pp. 8-9; Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 393; Gareth Curtis and Andrew Wathey, 'Fifteenth-Century English Liturgical Music: A List of the Surviving Repertory', *The Royal Musical Association*, 27 (1994), 1-69 (p. 5); Salisbury, *Use of York*, p. 55.

³ Salisbury, *Use of York*, pp. 40, 55. The antiphonal was digitised by the *DIAMM* as part of the Becket Project, which aims to construct a history of the texts and chants of the liturgical office of St Thomas Becket. *The Becket Project* <www.becket.ca> [accessed 10 June 2010].

developments of the sixteenth century and through its post-Reformation journey into the modern day. The manuscript is also considered in the context of the extant York Use books and late medieval liturgical expansion, revealing that this is an institution-specific version of the York Use, representing a grand liturgy, with details concerning York Minster which are not found elsewhere.

5.1 John Hert: Sacrist 1479-95

An exact date for the production of the York Antiphonal is difficult to determine. Both Neil Ker and Andrew Hughes agree that it is from the fifteenth century.⁴ A closer dating of *c.* 1480 seems to be based upon the polyphony contained on flyleaves at the beginning of the book (discussed below), rather than on the main body of the antiphonal, although this is not stated in either of the catalogue entries in which the date is given.⁵ Nevertheless, given this date, the York Antiphonal can most closely be associated with the sacristy of John Hert from 1479 to 1495.

This was an appropriate and opportune time for liturgical renewal and the production of the antiphonal, both in a local and national context. The York Antiphonal represents a re-foundation of the chapel's identity, and was part of a wider liturgical renewal emanating from the minster at this time with the printing of York Use books. Liturgical texts may be produced to bring about a more elaborate worship or to stress a particular cause, such as a new feast. The presence of polyphony in the antiphonal indicates that Hert's sacristy was a period of musical innovation within St Sepulchre's.⁶ These renewals in the chapel and cathedral would have been influenced by the final completion of building works on the minster and its re-consecration in

⁴ Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 218; Hughes, 'Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony', p. 155.

⁵ The *DIAMM* gives the date of the manuscript as *c.* 1480, as does the *Census-Catalogue of Manuscript Sources*, I, pp. 8-9. These both reference Hughes, 'Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony', although Hughes himself only says that the manuscript is fifteenth-century.

⁶ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 3.

1472. Some of the rubrics in the antiphonal seem to refer to an older ordinal, which may be presumed to refer to that of the cathedral before the completion of Thoresby's building works at the east end of the minster. It would have taken some time for the customs appropriate to the new building to be collated and drawn up into a new ordinal, when the number of alterations being made to the old books became too cumbersome, as Pfaff suggests would have happened at Salisbury Cathedral.⁷ The date of the antiphonal is therefore appropriate for the period of Hert's sacristy, as it appears to represent, not only by its production but also in its rubrics, a new ordinal for use in the new liturgical space of the cathedral and chapel. This connection between the completion of the long process of rebuilding at the minster in the fifteenth century and the probability of an old and new ordinal at York has never before been fully explored.⁸

The end of the fourteenth century and the fifteenth century was a period of religious crisis and war. It is during this time that we see a resurgence of colleges with lavish celebrations of liturgy, aiming to shore-up orthodoxy by increasing divine service. To name only a few of these new institutions, for example, colleges were founded at Eton, Leicester, Pleshey, Fotheringhay, Kirkby Overblow, Cobham and Winchester.⁹ In the diocese of York, this was also a period of liturgical expansion for

⁷ The old customary for Salisbury relates to ritual practice of the first cathedral there, which began to be replaced in 1220. The new cathedral at Salisbury was nearing completion in the mid-thirteenth century, but the new customary seems to have emerged in the later fourteenth century. Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 385, 414-16; John Harper, Christopher Hodkinson and Matthew Cheung Salisbury, eds, 'The Versions of the Sarum Customary', *Sarum Customary Online* <www.sarumcustomary.org.uk> [accessed 13 September 2013].

⁸ Pfaff suggests that parts of the York Gradual might be based upon an old ordinal, of which there is no trace in the extant missals, but he does not relate the distinction between the possibility of an old and new ordinal to any of the building works in the minster. Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 453. See Sections 5.3.3 and 5.3.4 below.

⁹ These colleges followed the trend begun by the royal colleges of St George at Windsor and St Stephen at Westminster. Burgess, 'An Institution for all Seasons', pp. 12, 18-19, 21-23. For discussion of the particularly grand liturgy at Fotheringhay, see Burgess, 'Fotheringhay Church', pp. 347-66.

monastic churches, where there was a desire for correct observance and elaboration of the liturgy. In particular, some of the Cistercian houses of Yorkshire expressed this by adding large bell towers to their churches in the early sixteenth century, with reform-minded abbots placing great emphasis on rigorous observation of the ringing of bells and calls to celebrate the office. At Fountains Abbey, the tower built by Abbot Huby (1495-1526) was adorned with inscriptions of texts from the Cistercian Breviary, demonstrating the importance of the Sunday offices for the convent and Huby's dedication to monastic reform.¹⁰ The purpose of St Sepulchre's was to increase the scale and splendour of the divine service within the cathedral as a whole, and evidence from the antiphonal reveals the presence of an elaborate liturgy, discussed further below.¹¹ There is strong evidence to demonstrate that the grandeur of the liturgy at York was being increased in the fifteenth century, in ways similar to other institutions, both old and new: the copying of the antiphonal, the presence of polyphony within it, the production of a new ordinal, and the building works at the minster, with the provision of a large Lady Chapel and a corresponding increase in choir boys.

The production of the York Antiphonal is a sign of patronage, prosperity and stability within the community of St Sepulchre's. The decision to produce such a manuscript must have emanated from the chapel's sacrist: Hert had the kind of career which would have supported, and which also coincided, with such a period of innovation within the chapel. The sixteen years that Hert held the sacristy of the chapel belonged to a tumultuous political period in which four different kings held the throne of England. However, Hert was a significant and talented administrator in both

¹⁰ Michael Carter, 'Abbot William Marshall (1509-28) and the Architectural Development of Kirkstall Abbey, Yorkshire, in the Late Middle Ages', *The Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies*, 1 (2012), 115-42 (pp. 116-17, 128); Martin Heale, *Monasticism in Late Medieval England c. 1300-1535* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009), pp. 21, 28-29; Michael Carter, 'The Tower of Abbot Marmaduke Huby of Fountains Abbey: Hubris or Piety?', *YAJ*, 82 (2010), 269-85 (pp. 269, 271, 277, 284).

¹¹ Section 5.3.

the chapel and in the cathedral church of York, and he represents the kind of individual who could provide a level of stability in both institutions. He held a canonry in the chapel from 1475, maintaining this alongside the sacristy from 1479 until his death. He was also appointed subtreasurer of York Minster in 1475.¹² He held three successive cathedral prebends (Thockrington, Botevant and Fridaythorpe), and was a residentiary canon simultaneously with the sacristy.¹³ For the last year of Hert's life, from 1494 to 1495, he also held the precentorship of the cathedral, with the annexed prebend of Driffield, making him simultaneously responsible for both the liturgy of the chapel and the minster.¹⁴ Evidence that Hert was a benefactor of the minster and of some of the churches which were appropriated to St Sepulchre's indicates his ties to these places. In the codicil to his will, dated 3 December, Hert left bequests of vestments to the churches of Otley and East Retford, of which, as sacrist of the chapel, he was rector. Hert also requested that an obit be celebrated for him in the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.¹⁵

In addition to the role of Hert himself, evidence of the rest of the community of St Sepulchre's adds to the suggestion that this was an opportune time for a renewal

¹² Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 239. Hert was still subtreasurer in 1485. Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 86-87.

¹³ He succeeded Ralph Bird in Thockrington, whom Hert had also succeeded in the chapel sacristy, but who now vacated the minster prebend by death. Hert succeeded Oliver King in both the prebends of Botevant and Fridaythorpe. *Register of Rotherham*, pp. 93, 98-99.

¹⁴ Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 174; Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 239-40. In 1484 Archbishop Rotherham attached prebends to both the precentorship and chancellorship of the cathedral with the result being that these dignities became even more valuable. The wealth of the cathedral was drawn into even fewer hands, especially when, as in Hert's case, they were in the hands of residentiary canons. Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 5. At Westminster Abbey in the fifteenth century Thomas Arundel and John Waterden both held the wardenship of the Lady Chapel and the precentorship of the abbey concurrently. This was a period of further innovation in music in the Lady Chapel, which may explain the combination of the two offices in a single person. Harvey, 'The Monks of Westminster', p. 19.

¹⁵ In 1485 John Hert gave £6 13s 4d for work on the altars in the cathedral church for the chaplains of the king. In the beginning of his reign, Richard III gave orders for the establishment of a college of a hundred chaplains in the church of York. Although nothing so large was ever completed, there is notice of the erection of six altars in the minster, intended for the king's chaplains, to which Hert's gift must relate Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 86-87; BI, Probate Register 5, fol. 471^v.

of the chapel's identity through its liturgy. During Hert's sacristy, the chapel's prebends were as full as, or fuller than, at any other point in the fifteenth century. In 1480, nine of the chapel's thirteen prebends are known to have been filled, with a further four having been possibly filled, potentially taking the chapel to full capacity of canon prebends. In 1490 eleven prebends were definitely occupied, with a possible further two in addition.¹⁶ These numbers only give us a representation of the possible state of the chapel's community and its administration; however, as explained in the previous chapter, they suggest that the liturgical duties of the chapel were likely being fulfilled by someone, even if that someone was a vicar or deputy of the prebendary. Furthermore, on examining the individuals represented by these statistics more closely, Hert's sacristy seems to have been characterised by a fairly stable cohort of canons, providing a level of continuity which may have helped in the consolidation of the chapel's identity in this period. William Dawtre held his prebend for the whole of Hert's sacristy and beyond, from 1464 to 1511, in total a period of forty-seven years.¹⁷ Including Dawtre and Hert himself, holding the sacristy and a prebend, six of the chapel's prebends were held by the same individuals in 1480 and 1490.¹⁸ Moreover, in 1490 two future sacrists of the chapel, William Warde and Edmund Carter, held prebends there.¹⁹

5.2 The York Antiphonal

5.2.1 Description

The York Antiphonal is an example of one of the books containing the texts of the divine office which would have been used in choir, alongside its non-musical partner, the breviary. Antiphonals are therefore usually distinct from books pertaining to the

¹⁶ See Appendix 4: Table 2.

¹⁷ Little is known of Dawtre's life or career. He studied canon law at Cambridge and was rector of Kirkheaton, Yorkshire, from 1479 until his death in 1511. *BRUC*, p. 179.

¹⁸ See Appendix 4: Table 3 to compare levels of continuity between other decades: a continuity of six individuals is the maximum number found in the fifteenth century.

¹⁹ Appendix 4: Table 1 nos. 122, 128, 134 and 139.

liturgy, such as an ordinal, which regulated the rites and described their performance, but were not used in the service itself.²⁰ The antiphonal was for use by the choir and contained the antiphons, to be sung to psalms and canticles, and the responsories, to be sung after the readings at matins, made alternately between the priest and choir.²¹ An antiphonal will sometimes contain a section giving the tones, known as a tonary, which gives generic examples of the basic chants for psalms, canticles, prayers and readings. The opening folios of the York Antiphonal, which contain extensive general instructions for the whole year, include some tones for the singing of kyries, psalms and the collect tones. For example, the rubrics instruct that the kyries should be sung high or low, that is with C or high B or with low F, according to the determination of the precentor or succentor. The inclusion of these tones demonstrates the benefit of the manuscript, in amalgamating information from a tonary, which would enable the celebration of the office without extensive need for reference to other books.²²

It is difficult to determine what type of use the Arundel book received. The rubrics it contains suggest that part of its use may have been for reference as they are so numerous that they could not have been read easily during the office; but the size of the book would have easily enabled its use in choir. By extension this also indicates that the chapel must have had at least one large lectern to support the book. It is possible that this was one of two antiphonals, if one was required for use by each side of the choir, as suggested by the rubrics in the manuscript itself which make reference

²⁰ In the later medieval office the liturgical books tended to contain much of what was needed, but there might also be additional books used during the office, such as office lectionaries (which contain the readings for matins), hymnals (used to supply the music for the office hymns, which were often only given in incipit in the antiphonal), collectars (for the prayers) and psalters (for the psalm and canticle texts). Eric Palazzo, trans. by Madeline Beaumont, *A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1998), p. 174.

²¹ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 122-23.

²² Antiphonal, fols 3^{vb}, 4^{ra}, 4^{rb}, 5^{va} and 6^{va}. The manuscript's two columns are referenced as 'a' and 'b' in this thesis. This matter is discussed further below.

to the two sides. There is no indication that the book was chained, perhaps suggesting that it was used as both a choir and reference book; however, this assumes that the board covers are completely contemporary with the book's production, which appears to be unlikely.

None of the current catalogue descriptions of the Arundel manuscript describe its construction beyond the following: the antiphonal consists of 257 parchment folios and measures 408 x 280 mm. It consists of mainly monophonic music for the Temporale and Sanctorale; there is a polyphonic piece which appears on two flyleaves in black mensural notation, described briefly below.²³ The Arundel manuscript can be ascribed to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels due to several of the categories described by Ker.²⁴ Firstly, its binding: the antiphonal is currently bound in oak board covers, which bear the inscription 'ISTE LIBER P[ER]TINET AD CAPELLAM B[EA]TE MARIE & S[ANC]TOR[UM] ANGELOR[UM] & ARCHA[N]G[ELORUM] EBOR[ACUM]'. These are assumed not to be completely original to the main body of the manuscript, for reasons described below, and appear to be connected to Ker's second categorisation: an *ex libris* inscription on folio 2^v which contains the same inscription, copied twice in two different forms of secretary hand. The first reads 'Iste liber p[er]tinet ad capellam b[ea]te marie [et] s[anc]tor[um] angelor[um] [et] archa[n]g[elorum] ebor[acum]', and the second reads 'Iste liber p[er]tinet ad capellam b[ea]te marie virginis et s[anc]tor[um] angelorum'. It seems likely that the inscription on the cover was copied from the inscription on folio 2^v. Nevertheless, the third category for ascription is the contents of the rubrics and liturgy

²³ Hughes, 'Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony', p. 155.

²⁴ Ker has summarised the ways in which ascriptions of liturgical books are made to specific churches in the revised preface to *Medieval Libraries*, pp. ix-x; Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 195.

of the manuscript itself, which contain references to the ‘capella’ and the minster, strongly indicating its use in the liturgy of the cathedral church of York.

The Arundel manuscript is complete, containing all services for the Temporale and the Office of the Dead towards the end of the Sanctorale, but contains no Kalendar or Common of Saints, nor does it have a separate hymnal or psalter bound with it. It therefore follows the much simpler continental form, as opposed to the British form.²⁵ Hymns, lessons and psalms take up a relatively large amount of space, but do not need much instruction, so they are often bound separately rather than included in the main body of office books. These items must have been contained elsewhere, in a book now lost. Numerous references are in fact made to a psalter in the antiphonal’s general rubrics, to which the ‘reader’ is directed for the full psalms. The book’s numerous and detailed rubrics therefore partly reflect the need for more instruction for antiphons and responses than lessons and hymns, although the level here is highly unusual for the genre of book.

Much of the interest so far connected to the York Antiphonal lies in the emergence of polyphony; it has been passed by elsewhere in studies of York’s music.²⁶ Andrew Hughes first discussed the polyphonic music that is contained in two flyleaves, but not in the context of its possible use within the chapel. Folio 1^r contains the antiphons and psalm terminations for Saturday and Sunday vespers, roughly written in black ‘longa’ notation. Folios 1^v-2^r contain ‘Asperges me domine ysopo’, used for the blessing of water, for four voices. The polyphony begins with ‘Domine

²⁵ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 242; Salisbury, *Use of York*, p. 16. The Office of the Dead occurs on fol. 245^v of the antiphonal, as part of All Saints’ Day; the manuscript ends on the feast of St Catherine (Antiphonal, fols 255^v-57^v).

²⁶ Lisa Colton, ‘Music in Pre-Reformation York: A New Source and Some Thoughts on the York Masses’, *Plainsong and Medieval Music*, 12 (2003), 71-88. Colton excludes the York Antiphonal from her study as, she says, it is unrelated to the bindings she discusses. A facsimile of fol. 24^v (Nativitas Domini) of the York Antiphonal appears in Peter Aston’s essay, ‘Music since the Reformation’, in Aylmer and Cant, *History of York Minster*, pp. 394-429 (p. 394) but he mentions the book no further.

ysopo', omitting the solo intonation.²⁷ Whilst the polyphony appears to be written on what would be the usual blank pages left at the beginning of a manuscript, the very beginning of the Temporale begins incomplete on folio 3^r, part way through a sentence, 'a pueris uel a diaconis'. This indicates that the manuscript lost some pages before being bound in its current covers, which are therefore unlikely to be original. It also suggests that the polyphony itself is an addition to the rest of the manuscript, being either earlier or contemporary with the wooden covers currently binding the book.

Hughes argues that the polyphony is clearly the product of a skilled musician, and suggests that an examination of the late fifteenth-century records of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels may be of value.²⁸ Whilst the records for the chapel have not enabled the suggestion of a composer for the polyphony, they have enabled an understanding of the community and even the individuals who are likely to have been singing it. Such direct evidence of polyphony itself indicates that both an accomplished musician and singers were associated with the chapel, and that the manuscript was produced as part of a period of musical innovation within the chapel, and by extension, the minster. The chapel had a grand liturgy and the appearance of polyphony for vespers and the blessing of water suggests that the Lady Mass would also have been sung with polyphony, with a corresponding increase in choristers.²⁹ It also reflects the institutional size and wealth of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, which were important to any involvement with composed polyphony.³⁰

²⁷ Hughes, 'Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony', p. 155.

²⁸ Hughes, 'Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony', p. 158.

²⁹ See Section 6.2.3 for the use of choir boys in the minster and chapel. Harper, 'Music and Liturgy, 1300-1600', pp. 392-93.

³⁰ Caroline M. Barron, 'Church Music in English Towns 1450-1550: An Interim Report', *Urban History*, 29 (2002), 83-91 (p. 85).

Writing out a service book like the York Antiphonal was a highly skilled task. In both size and decoration the antiphonal was an expensive volume.³¹ The text is arranged in two columns and scribal style is indistinguishable between the rubrics and chants. The services for major festivals are begun with an ornamented capital letter and follow a hierarchy of size and decoration. There are fourteen large, highly decorated initials. These are predominantly red, blue and white, with gold decoration and marginal ascenders and descenders. In the Temporale they identify the first responsory of the feast at matins, and occur at the First Sunday of Advent, the Nativity of Christ, Ascension, Pentecost, Holy Trinity and Dedication.³² In the Sanctorale they occur at the feasts of St Andrew, the Purification of the Virgin Mary, the Annunciation of Mary, the feasts of John the Baptist, Peter and Paul, the Assumption and Nativity of the Virgin Mary, and All Saints, usually at the first antiphon of first vespers.³³ These large initials mark the most important feasts for the year, making them easy to find within the manuscript. There does not seem to be a hierarchy among these initials; although they all differ to some extent and some are marginally more elaborate than others, this appears to be more a result of the positioning of the letter on the page.

It is unusual for a manuscript with such a liturgical connection to Easter, discussed in Chapter One and further in Chapter Six, that one of these highly decorated initials does not announce that feast. The first responsory for Easter Sunday Matins, *Angelus domini descendit*, has a decorated initial, but it is of the smaller type,

³¹ A rare document survives in the York Minster chapter acts, dated to 1346, which describes the writing and illumination of a service book, in this case a psalter, with kalendar, hymnal and collectar. It is probable the book was intended for the use of the minster as it appears among the formal acts of the dean and chapter, and so a comparison can be made with the production of the York Antiphonal. A considerable sum is paid to the scribe (16s 33d) and the illumination of letters is described with the colours to be used in particular places, including gold, vermilion and azure. See Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 165-66.

³² Antiphonal, fols 7^{ra}, 24^{va}, 116^{ra}, 120^{vb}, 126^{rb} and 151^{ra}.

³³ Antiphonal, fols 156^{ra}, 176^{ra}, 187^{rb}, 196^{vb}, 200^{va}, 219^{va}, 229^{vb} and 241^{vb}. See Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 291.

with only red and blue pen-work and small red marginal foliage, and is not distinguishable from an initial on the same folio beginning the antiphon *Ego sum qui*. The Easter day liturgy of the chapel and minster is intertwined and, if the personnel of the chapel were celebrating in the cathedral and not in the chapel on this day, this might explain why Easter is not announced very prominently within the antiphonal.³⁴

There are also less elaborate initials, some coloured blue with red pen-work when at the margin, and some smaller black calligraphic capitals with black pen-work, for musical items not at the margin. Blue paraph signs mark important places within the rubrics and alternating blue and red capitals begin the verses of hymns. Hughes has suggested, on the basis of these colour and initial characteristics, that both the Ranworth and Wollaton antiphonals must originate from the same workshop as the York Antiphonal, although he admits that the similarities between the York and Ranworth books are greater than with the Wollaton.³⁵ However, the York Antiphonal has no illuminations whereas the Ranworth book is full of very colourful illuminated initials and pages. This could be an indication of the patronage of the Ranworth Antiphonal, with the possibility that the illuminations were added after someone had bought the book.³⁶

5.2.2 Defacing St Thomas: Reform and Use up to the Dissolution

The survival of a liturgical book which belonged to an institution dissolved and wholly destroyed constitutionally in the sixteenth century is significant. Liturgical books of the York Use are few, and those which do still exist primarily seem to bear witness to institutions which survived the Reformation, albeit in changed forms, such

³⁴ The details of this are discussed further below.

³⁵ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, pp. 291-92. Arthur Du Boulay Hill suggested that the Wollaton Antiphonal must date to between 1412 and 1459 due to its heraldic shields. Du Boulay Hill, 'The Wollaton Antiphonale', *Transaction of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire*, 36 (1932), 42-50 (p. 47).

³⁶ Patricia Mockridge, *The Parish Church of St Helen's, Ranworth (Redruth: Temprint, [n.d.])*, p. 3.

as parish churches. In the context of the Henrician and Edwardian reformations in England, the survival and state of a book can indicate the extent and continuity of its use by an institution. Magnus Williamson has written of the Eton Choirbook:

no effort seems to have been made to destroy or deface it [...]. Perhaps this was because, by the time it had become theologically and liturgically unacceptable, between 1548/9 and 1553, it had been lying neglected and forgotten in the chest on the rood loft for a number of years [...]. From the number of liturgical books which had to be bought after the restoration of Catholicism, we know that most or all of the antiphoners, graduals, missals, breviaries, lectionaries and other books had been sold or destroyed during the early 1550s. The most plausible reason for the survival of MS 178 [the Eton Choirbook] was that it had been put away and forgotten about, only to be found in 1553/4, when the rood loft and sacristy were combed for books of Salisbury Use.³⁷

There is evidence of some defacing of material in the York Antiphonal, in particular of the office of St Thomas Becket. In 1538 this office was removed or defaced in many British liturgical books, following a second set of injunctions under Henry VIII, which struck at the heart of the cult of saints, and a proclamation of further reforms, which specifically attacked the memory and cult of St Thomas. The final clause of the proclamation was in fact not included in the draft Henry had amended in November 1538 and was an attempt to regain ground for the reforming cause, against Henry's traditionalist attitudes. This clause denounced Becket as a 'maintainer of the enormities of the Bishop of Rome, and a rebel against the king'.

³⁷ Williamson, 'Eton Choirbook', pp. 17-18.

Becket was no longer regarded as a saint; his images were removed and his name and office were to be erased from all liturgical books.³⁸

Varying levels of conformity to this instruction can be observed in the surviving books, which can suggest something about the use and location of the book at the time of the injunctions. For example, in the Bodleian copy of the 1493 York Breviary St Thomas's feast remains undamaged, which suggests to Hughes that the book was either not in England at the time, that it was hidden, or that King Henry VIII's commissioners, who were instructed to check all liturgical books, did not make it this far north.³⁹ However, the defacing of the York Antiphonal and several other books from York diocese indicates that this last suggestion is unlikely. For example, the Bate copy of the 1493 York Breviary has been defaced with cross-hatching on the main feast and translation of St Thomas.⁴⁰ In the kalendar of Leeds University Library, Ripon Cathedral MS 7, fragments of a breviary of the York Use, the York saints have been defaced: William, Cuthbert, Wilfrid and John of Beverley have been lightly crossed through, and are still readable, but St Thomas has been wholly erased, as has the word 'pape' in every case.⁴¹ In the Wollaton Antiphonal the pages containing the service of St Thomas have even been cut out.⁴² However, in the Ranworth Antiphonal

³⁸ Eamon Duffy, *The Stripping of the Altars: Traditional Religion in England c. 1400-1580*, 2nd edn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 410-12.

³⁹ Andrew Hughes, Matthew Salisbury and Heather Robbins, *Cataloguing Discrepancies: The Printed York Breviary of 1493* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), p. 19.

⁴⁰ Hughes, *Cataloguing Discrepancies*, p. 14. For discussion of the 1493 York Breviary, including the Bodleian and Bate copies, see below.

⁴¹ Leeds, Leeds University Library, Ripon Cathedral, MS 7. This manuscript belonged to the parish church of Cottingham, East Yorkshire; the obit of Thomas Barrowe, rector of that church, is found, dated 1493, on fol. 17^r. I suggest that it is possible this Thomas Barrowe, rector of Cottingham, is the canon of the same name who held a prebend in the Chapel of St Sepulchre in 1475. See *BRUC*, p. 40, for Barrowe, rector of Cottingham, where 1499 is given as the date of his death. To this kalendar has been added later obits in a different hand, most likely from the time of its use at Cottingham church. Interestingly, the St Thomas material in the kalendar of a surviving psalter from Ripon has not been defaced at all. Leeds, Leeds University Library, Ripon Cathedral, MS 8.

⁴² The feast begins on fol. 52, which is scored across with pen: Du Boulay Hill, 'Wollaton Antiphonale', p. 43.

the services for St Thomas have been merely crossed-through with the faintest of pen-strokes, indicating its use after 1538, and enabling the continued performance of the Becket office. Ranworth's antiphonal is probably typical of many country liturgical books, where the parishioners hoped that the king's commissioners would not inspect their books and that they could get away with such token gestures of reform. Indeed, at Ranworth the feasts of St Thomas were restored under Mary's reign.⁴³

The defacing and damage of the Becket office in these liturgical books allows us to infer that they continued in use after the injunctions of Henry VIII in 1538, and in the case of the York Antiphonal, possibly up until the chapel's eventual dissolution.⁴⁴ But at York, unlike at Ranworth, it appears that the community of St Mary and the Holy Angels' could not get away with token crossings-out. In the York Antiphonal the parts of the office of St Thomas which appear on folios 38^v and 39^f have been erased to such an extent as to make it unreadable and therefore unusable. However, these pages have only been left in because they contain other material. As at Wollaton, the pages containing the main part of the office have been cut out: there are two missing leaves between fols 38^v and 39^f. This may reflect the position of the chapel under the close supervision of the Archbishop of York, Edward Lee, who, above all else, felt the need to demonstrate his obedience to the crown.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, for the manuscript to have avoided the same destruction which the chapel and its buildings ultimately faced, and to survive in such good condition, even now retaining its pre-Reformation binding and covers, the book must have been safely removed without notice at an opportune moment before the final destruction or confiscation of all the chapel's belongings. Its whereabouts for several hundred years after the

⁴³ The Ranworth Antiphonal survived even the destruction of Elizabeth's reign, before disappearing for three hundred years, having possibly been hidden by the lords of the manor, the Holdych family. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 418-19 (Plate 132); Mockridge, *St Helen's Ranworth*, p. 4.

⁴⁴ Hughes, *Cataloguing Discrepancies*, pp. 69-70.

⁴⁵ See Chapter 7.

dissolution are unknown, and it is only its reappearance in the records of the nineteenth century which hint at the book's careful preservation. It is to this more recent history of the book which we will now turn.

5.2.3 The Constable Family and Everingham Park: Tracing the York Antiphonal

The loss of nearly all physical reminders of the chapel highlights the importance of the York Antiphonal to our understanding of St Sepulchre's and brings into focus questions concerning how and why this book has survived. This post-medieval history of the antiphonal has never been considered before. To enable any possible understanding of the York Antiphonal's post-Reformation journey it is easiest to work backwards from its known current location. The York Antiphonal is now held at Arundel Castle Archives in Sussex, the seat of the Duke of Norfolk, and currently occupied by the Howard family. Hughes indicated that the manuscript had 'East Anglian, and specifically Norwich, connections, in that it occurs [...] in the library of the Duke of Norfolk at Arundel Castle', but went on to suggest that 'the association seems to be coincidental, since the provenance of the book [...] is most probably York'.⁴⁶ Hughes failed to recognise any connection between the Duke of Norfolk and York, despite the fact that a very prominent line of the Howard family owns a vast Yorkshire estate, and despite Hughes's own reference to the book's inclusion in the 1874 *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, which identifies its earlier location in Yorkshire. The association between the current owners of the book and its York provenance is in fact far from coincidental.

The *Royal Commission* records that in 1874 the York Antiphonal was held at Everingham Park in Yorkshire, which was owned at that time by William Constable Maxwell, the 10th Lord Herries.⁴⁷ The manuscript was transferred to Arundel from

⁴⁶ Hughes, 'Fifteenth-Century English Polyphony', p. 154.

⁴⁷ *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 45.

Everingham through the marriage of William's granddaughter, Gwendolen Mary, to Henry Howard, the 15th Duke of Norfolk, even though Gwendolen herself remained at Everingham until her death in 1947. The manuscript has remained at the home of the Duke of Norfolk ever since.⁴⁸

Although the book's immediate post-Reformation journey is unclear, by delving further into the histories of both the Constables and Everingham, some speculative but significant connections can be made between them and the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.⁴⁹ Both the Constable Maxwells of Everingham and the Howards of Arundel are long-standing recusant Catholic families, and it seems unlikely that the connection between this medieval liturgical manuscript and such a family in the East Riding of Yorkshire is coincidental. The following connections which have been identified are completely new to the history of the book and have never been suggested before.

The first suggestion for why and when the antiphonal found its way to Everingham, involves the renewal of Catholic liturgy in the nineteenth century. Tradition relates that the village and estate of Everingham bears the name of St Everild, who founded a nunnery there in the Anglo-Saxon period.⁵⁰ Whilst there is no

⁴⁸ Gwendolen Mary was the only child of her parents, Marmaduke Francis Constable Maxwell, 11th Lord Herries of Everingham, and Angela Mary Charlotte Fitzalan Howard, the daughter of the second son of the 13th Duke of Norfolk. 'Constable-Maxwell Family, Barron Herries of Everingham, and Caerlaverock and Terregles, Scotland', *Landed Family and Estate Papers Subject Guide*, University of Hull, University Archives <www.hull.ac.uk/arc/collection/landedfamilyandestatepapers/maxwell.html> [accessed 19 January 2010]; *The Duke of Norfolk's Archives*, Arundel Castle Archives <www.arundelcastle.org> [accessed 19 January 2010]. However, the manuscript is not in the *Bibliotheca norfolciana: A Catalogue of Selected Manuscripts and Printed Books in the Library of His Grace the Duke of Norfolk*, from 1961. See Salisbury, *Use of York*, p. 55.

⁴⁹ Unfortunately William Constable Maxwell fails to inform us himself, in his history of Everingham, of how his family acquired the manuscript. Constable Maxwell, *Everingham in the Olden Time: A Lecture by Lord Herries* (Market-Weighton: St William's Catholic Reformatory School, 1886).

⁵⁰ Constable Maxwell, *Everingham*, p. 3. The link between the saint and the place-name has also been made by Laurence Butler, 'Church Dedications and the Cult of Anglo-Saxon Saints in England', in *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture and*

evidence for such a foundation, in the nineteenth century her cult was being perpetuated at Everingham. In 1839 the 10th Lord Herries built a Catholic chapel dedicated to the Virgin and St Everilda. William Constable Maxwell had married the daughter of Sir Edmund Vavasour, connecting two major Catholic families, and he used this new connection to assemble formidable musical resources for the consecration of the chapel.⁵¹ The Vavasours' ancestors were liberal benefactors to the fabric of York Minster: above the west entrance to the minster is the statue of a member of the Vavasour family, who granted free passage through their lands for the conveyance of stone for the building.⁵² It is not unreasonable to suggest that this recusant family might have acquired various relics at the Reformation.⁵³ It also seems probable that the York Antiphonal, which we know to have been at Everingham in Lord Herries's lifetime, was kept in the new chapel, as a relic of traditional religion and significantly one which contains the feast of St Everild.⁵⁴ Therefore, it is possible that, during the collecting of musical resources in the nineteenth century, the York Antiphonal was acquired by the Constable Maxwells of Everingham through their new connections to the Vavasour family. In this case, it would have been the liturgy of the manuscript, with its associations to both St Mary and St Everild, which attracted

Archaeology in Honour of Dr H. M. Taylor, ed. by L. A. S. Butler and R. K. Morris, Research Report 60 (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1986), pp. 44-50 (p. 48).

⁵¹ Thomas Muir, 'Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam: Catholic Church Music at Everingham and Stonyhurst 1839-1914', *British Postgraduate Musicology*, 5 (2002) <www.bpmonline.org.uk/bpm5-admajorem> [accessed 19 January 2010].

⁵² John Browne, *Browne's Guide for Strangers and Visitors to York Minster, with Numerous Wood Engravings* (York: [n. pub.], [n.d.]), pp. 12, 16. The Vavasours were further commemorated in the minster with a chantry founded for Sir Henry Vavasour at the altar of St John the Evangelist. Eric Gee, 'Topography of Altars, Chantries and Shrines in York Minster', *Archaeological Journal*, 64 (1984), 337-50 (p. 342).

⁵³ Dr Thomas Vavasour was one of the most courageous and outspoken lay Catholic recusants of the 1560s and 1570s. Hugh Aveling, 'The Catholic Recusants of the West Riding of Yorkshire 1558-1790', *Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, 10 (1963), 191-306 (p. 201).

⁵⁴ The York liturgical Use is the sole surviving source for St Everild's cult. Salisbury, *Use of York*, p. 22. The feast appears on fol. 207^v of the York Antiphonal.

William Constable Maxwell to acquire it for his chapel, which was dedicated to those two saints.

However, more personal connections found between Everingham and St Sepulchre's potentially take the history of the manuscript right back to the sixteenth-century dissolution and may more fully explain the presence of the York Antiphonal at Everingham. The register of Archbishop Rotherham records that Hert, sacrist of St Sepulchre's and potential commissioner of the York Antiphonal, became rector of Everingham church, on the presentation of John Sothill, on 23 May 1482.⁵⁵ Hert held the rectory until his death in 1495, and in his will he requests that an obit be celebrated for him in Everingham church.⁵⁶ The connection between Hert and Everingham is significant, but in itself is unlikely to have been a strong enough reason for the family at Everingham to wish to acquire the York Antiphonal, because the manuscript was in use in the chapel until after 1538. However, in the early sixteenth century, the heiress of Everingham Park, Barbara Sothill, married Marmaduke Constable, the second son of Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough (1443 to 1518), thus transferring the estate to the Constable family.⁵⁷ Barbara Sothill was the granddaughter of John Sothill and Joan Poucher. The Poucher family had descended in line from the Paynels of Drax and West Rasen. Therefore, Barbara's ancestor was William Paynel, whose second wife, Avice de Rumilly, is named in Archbishop Roger's foundation charter for the

⁵⁵ Hert exchanged the rectory of Catwick for that of the church of Everingham. *Register of Rotherham*, p. 16.

⁵⁶ According to Thompson, Hert resigned the rectory of Everingham in December 1487 on being instituted to the church of Sutton-on-Derwent. Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 239. Hert was indeed instituted to the rectory of Sutton-on-Derwent, but in the person of Richard Godson, his proctor. Rotherham's register records that on 9 December 1495 John Reynald was instituted to the rectory of Everingham, vacant by the death of John Hert; therefore Hert did not resign this benefice in 1487, as Thompson has suggested. *Register of Rotherham*, pp. 85, 136. BI, Probate Register 5, fol. 471^v.

⁵⁷ 'Constable-Maxwell Family', Hull University Archives; Charles Best Norcliffe, ed., *The Visitation of Yorkshire in the Years 1563 and 1564, made by William Flower*, Harleian Society, 16 (1881), p. 63. The will of Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough describes his son as 'Marmaduce Constable of Everyngham' in 1518, so he had already married and inherited the estate by this date. *Testamenta*, V, p. 91.

Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels as the donor of Harewood church.⁵⁸ It was also William Paynel's nephew, also William, who donated the church of Hooton Pagnell to Archbishop Roger and the chapel through the inheritance of his father Alexander's lands.⁵⁹ The Constables of Everingham, therefore, had an indirect but significant connection to the twelfth-century foundation of St Mary and the Holy Angels' through their links to the Sohill and Paynel families, whilst the sacrist of St Sepulchre's had also been the rector of Everingham parish church in the late fifteenth century.

Furthermore, the presence of another medieval manuscript at Everingham in the early twentieth century suggests that the Paynel connection is the key to the post-Reformation history of the York Antiphonal. In the sixteenth century Marmaduke Constable of Everingham was rewarded by Henry VIII for his active military career and for his loyalty to the king, with five East Riding estates and the priory of Drax. Marmaduke was one of the many ambitious men who benefitted from the dissolution by acquiring and re-ordering the sites of monastic and ecclesiastical buildings.⁶⁰ However, Marmaduke's acquisition of Drax priory does not appear to be random; the priory had been founded by William Paynel, ancestor to Marmaduke's wife Barbara,

⁵⁸ See *Early Yorkshire Families*, pp. 68-69; C. V. Collier, 'Documents at Everingham', *Transactions of the East Riding Antiquarians Society*, 22 (1919), 1-31 (p. 21); Paul Dalton, 'Paynel Family (per. c. 1086-1244)', *ODNB* (online edition 2008) [accessed 30 November 2011]; C. T. Clay, ed., *Early Yorkshire Charters: volume VII, the Honour of Skipton*, YASRS Extra Series, 5 (1947), p. 7.

⁵⁹ Dalton, 'Paynel Family', *ODNB*.

⁶⁰ Marmaduke Constable's will contains an instruction to give to his servant Hughe Hungate 'the late dissolved house of Drax which I have of the king to me and mine heirs for 21 years'. *Testamenta*, VI: 106 (1902), pp. 200-02. In contrast to the rewards given to Marmaduke for his loyalty, his elder brother Robert, having been involved in the Pilgrimage of Grace, was later executed. In spite of the Everingham Constables' continued Catholic faith after the Reformation, by the seventeenth century they were the owners of substantial amounts of landed property in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire. Constable Maxwell, *Everingham*, p. 9; 'Constable-Maxwell Family', Hull University Archives; Peter Roebuck, 'The Constables of Everingham, the Fortunes of a Catholic Royalist Family during the Civil War and Interregnum', *Recusant History*, 9 (1967-68), 75-87 (p. 75); Iain Soden, 'The Conversion of Former Monastic Buildings to Secular Use: The Case of Coventry', in *Archaeology of Reformation*, ed. by Gaimster and Gilchrist, pp. 280-89 (p. 288).

in the 1130s.⁶¹ The acquisition of Drax explains the presence of a deed held at Everingham in 1919 relating to the priory: a confirmation by Archbishop Roger of Pont L'Évêque to the Augustinian canons of St Nicholas of Drax, of the churches of Drax, Bingley and Foston, with all their appurtenances in the diocese of York. This document was most likely transferred along with the estate to Marmaduke Constable in the mid-sixteenth century.⁶²

The presence of these two medieval manuscripts - the Drax deed and the York Antiphonal - at Everingham in the modern period therefore represents the careful collecting and preservation of items belonging to dissolved institutions with connections to the family of that estate. Although Marmaduke Constable died three years before the suppression of St Sepulchre's chapel, the family's ancestral connections to the foundation of St Sepulchre's and the possible knowledge that the antiphonal's commissioner was associated with the church at Everingham create a strong historic link. It is probable that the York Antiphonal made only a short journey from York to Everingham in the mid-sixteenth century, alongside other medieval manuscripts made redundant at the Reformation. The antiphonal found its way into the hands of the Constables of Everingham, descendants of the Paynels, and a recusant family with strong associations to the wider community and history of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels.

Furthermore, there is evidence that the Constables of Everingham held other medieval manuscripts with connections to York in their collection in the nineteenth century. One of them is a copy of the Anglo-Norman didactic verse *Les Manuel des Péchés* (Leeds, Leeds University Library, MS 1), which bears the armorial bookplate of William Constable Maxwell, 10th Lord Herries (1804 to 1876) and a newspaper

⁶¹ Rosemary Horrox, 'Constable, Sir Marmaduke (1456/7-1518)', *ODNB* [accessed 30 November 2011]; Dalton, 'Paynel Family', *ODNB*.

⁶² Collier, 'Documents at Everingham', pp. 2-3, 7.

cutting, determining its York provenance.⁶³ In contrast to Leeds MS 1 and the Constable Maxwell's family records, which are now held in Hull University Archives, the York Antiphonal has remained in what is now the descending line of the Constables and Paynels. This suggests that the manuscript was of particular importance and significance to the family, as a historic artefact, as a symbol of traditional religion, and perhaps more significantly as a memorial of their own status and history.

5.3 The Liturgical Use of York

5.3.1 The Historic Use of York

The origins of the York Use have not been definitively established. One suggestion put forward is that the York liturgical rite was the product of Thomas of Bayeux's Norman re-structuring of the cathedral. Hugh the Chanter records that the church had been destroyed by fire when Archbishop Thomas arrived at York, and that he rebuilt the church and furnished it with clerks, books and ornaments. New liturgical manuscripts would have been needed to carry out the services, and Thomas would most likely have looked to a rite familiar to him from Normandy as a model.⁶⁴

Another possibility stems from the suggestion that during the pontificate of Roger of Pont l'Évêque after 1154 York diocese began to show a marked prosperity. Roger's grand rebuilding of the east end of the minster could accommodate, in theory, four dignitaries, five archdeacons and thirty-two canons, and marks a period of stability

⁶³ Oliver Pickering and Katja Airaksinen, 'The Medieval Manuscripts in Leeds University Library', *Bulletin of International Medieval Research*, 14 (2008), 3-23 (p. 3). The manuscript was purchased from the catalogue of a book dealer which also contained another manuscript of the 'Manuel des Pechiez', which belonged to the Duchess of Norfolk, Gwendolen Mary Howard. More interestingly this second manuscript of the Anglo-Norman poem apparently had belonged to St Mary's Abbey, York. Paul Barbier, "'The Manual of Sins': Medieval MS Retained for Yorkshire' (Undated cutting held with Leeds University Library, MS 1).

⁶⁴ *Hugh the Chanter*, pp. 18-20; Salisbury, *Use of York*, p. 38.

and growth for the minster.⁶⁵ This rebuilding may be an indication of a reformed liturgy, as has been argued for Lincolnshire. In Lincolnshire, Bishop Remegius instituted a new Norman rite in the eleventh century with a new form of burial service, with a prominence of ringing bells in conjunction with invocations to St Michael. The external symbol of this new liturgy was a St Michael chapel in the north transept at Lincoln Cathedral. This rite may have provided the model for Lincolnshire's church towers, which are a peculiar feature of the post-Conquest period, and are a symbol of the new liturgy.⁶⁶ Therefore, York's liturgical rite could stem from the time of Archbishop Roger, when, accompanying his rebuilding, the circumstances for a 'reformation' of the liturgy might have led to a tightening-up of liturgical life in the cathedral and, by extension, the diocese.⁶⁷ As already discussed, building works in the minster in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries coincided with an expansion and increase in splendour of the liturgy at that time.⁶⁸

Roger's founding of a new collegiate chapel in the form of St Mary and the Holy Angels', as part of his building works at York, may indeed indicate the archbishop's involvement in establishing a distinctive liturgical rite at York. As discussed below, the incorporation of the chapel into specific parts of the minster's liturgical routine would have surely required alterations to the cathedral's liturgy at the time of the chapel's foundation. Archbishop Roger's charter instructs the canons of the chapel to devote themselves to the divine hours, according to the constitution of

⁶⁵ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 446, 449.

⁶⁶ Very few bell-towers feature elsewhere in the country in the same period. See David Stocker and Paul Everson, *Summoning St Michael: Early Romanesque Towers in Lincolnshire* (Oxford: Oxbow, 2006), pp. 88-92.

⁶⁷ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 461-62. Pfaff provides evidence from an 1195 canon ordering the correction of the canon of the mass in line with a previous 'exemplar'. He argues that this exemplar probably bore Roger's imprint, as the then archbishop, Geoffrey Plantagenet, was in constant disagreement with the York chapter.

⁶⁸ See Sections 3.3.2, 5.1 and 6.2.3.

the Church of St Peter.⁶⁹ Although the term ‘use’ is not used directly, the implication is that the chapel was following the specific customs of the cathedral church. The instruction to follow the minster rather than any more general York Use may stem from the proposed liturgical relationship between the two institutions, rather than the lack of a York Use at this time. Moreover, by creating a new institution from scratch Roger could express his own liturgical sense *de novo*. Such a college could reflect the personal liturgical tastes of the patron.⁷⁰

However, even as late on as the sixteenth century there appears to have been controversy and confusion over the way in which the chapel was to follow the cathedral, whether in the times of its services, or in its manner. Archbishop Lee issued an injunction in 1535 to the chapel, that to avoid ambiguity, matins, mass and vespers in the chapel should be undertaken at the same time as in the minster.⁷¹

5.3.2 The Extant Office Books and the 1493 York Breviary

One of the reasons why it has been so difficult to establish the origin of the York Use, or even what is meant by that term, is that there are relatively few extant service books from the province, and even fewer that can be identified as being intended for use in the cathedral. This makes determining the specificity of the liturgy in the York Antiphonal to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, as distinct from the liturgy of the cathedral, a difficult task. It also makes it difficult to assess whether the copying of the antiphonal in the late fifteenth century was part of a wider programme of

⁶⁹ Appendix 2: 1.

⁷⁰ There is a comparable, although much later, case at Exeter, where Bishop John de Grandisson (enthroned 1328) completed a new ordinal within nine years of gaining the see. In the same year, 1337, a royal licence was given to Grandisson for a new collegiate foundation at Ottery St Mary. The provision of this new establishment was a continuation of his work at Exeter Cathedral, but whereas there he was constrained by existing fabric, personnel and customs, the provisions for Ottery were those of the cathedral writ large and fresh. See Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 398-409; Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 78.

⁷¹ ‘Visitations in the Diocese of York, Holden by Archbishop Edward Lee (AD 1534-1535)’, *YAJ*, 16 (1902), 424-58 (p. 450). See Chapter 7 for further discussion of Archbishop Lee’s visitation and injunctions.

liturgical renewal in the chapel and minster at this time, as seems to have been the case with the foundation of the chapel in the twelfth century. Nevertheless, such confusion and uncertainty with regard to the York Use highlights the significance of this work on the York Antiphonal, and what is clear from the evidence of the antiphonal is that the chapel had a grand liturgy. Few manuscripts of the York office chants survive. The York Antiphonal is the sole surviving book of its genre from York, either in manuscript or print.⁷² Some of the books which do survive can help us to understand what might be going on in the antiphonal, in terms of institution-specific use, the peculiarity of the book, and therefore its relevance to the wider work examining the York Use.

In particular, consideration of the York Breviary, the partner book of the antiphonal, is useful in this task. There are roughly two dozen manuscript York breviaries extant, but the version of the York Breviary most used and studied is the printed breviary of 1493. Little work has been done on the manuscripts of the York office beyond descriptions in catalogues. Salisbury's work has attempted to fill this gap by identifying the properties by which the York liturgy differed from the dominant pattern of the Sarum Use, and then by determining what distinctive properties the York manuscripts share. His identification of these liturgical features, which can tentatively be described as characteristic of the York Use sources, has provided a 'result more complex than a simple comparison with the printed breviary',

⁷² Salisbury, *Use of York*, pp. 40, 55. There appears to have been confusion at some point as to whether a second antiphonal also existed, still held as part of the collection of Lord Herries, either at Everingham Park or at Durham University library. However, Matthew Salisbury has confirmed that only one exists, which was once held at Everingham in the nineteenth century, and was removed to Arundel after the Herries title was assumed by the Fitzalan-Howards. *Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts*, p. 45; Hughes, *Cataloguing Discrepancies*, p. 119. The Wollaton Antiphonal was adopted for use in the York diocese, when it was sold to the rector of St Leonard's church in Wollaton, Nottinghamshire. Certain York feasts were added to its kalendar, but its internal evidence follows Sarum rather than York, and is therefore not considered to be an antiphonal of the York Use. Hughes, *Cataloguing Discrepancies*, pp. 68, 72-73.

pointing to a more varied Use of York, which has hitherto been ‘obscured by simplistic reliance on the 1493 breviary’.⁷³ Nevertheless, this is the one used here for convenience. This project relies upon Stephen Lawley’s edition of the 1493 printed York Breviary, being as Salisbury points out, the ‘only modern texts of the York pattern that are available’.⁷⁴ The 1493 breviary is about the same date as the antiphonal, so at the very least it enables us to place the antiphonal within some liturgical context.

Lawley’s edition is a transcription of the Bodleian copy of the 1493 printed York Breviary, which lacks the last two leaves. Lawley fails to mention in his introduction to the edition that this is one of two extant copies of the 1493 breviary; the second, and complete, copy is the Bate copy, which came from St Helen’s church in Ashby-de-la-Zouch and is now in the Bate Collection at Loughborough University.⁷⁵ As such, any comparison with Lawley’s edition only shows that the text deviates from the text of a single printed edition. Salisbury has also found quantitative proof of inconsistencies between the edition and the manuscript tradition, through detailed comparison of the responsory series of a large group of manuscripts.⁷⁶ As service books came to be printed their texts appeared to be standardised, with verbal variations smoothed into uniformity, but, as Pfaff has pointed out, we need to maintain

⁷³ Salisbury, *Use of York*, pp. 7-9.

⁷⁴ Salisbury, *Use of York*, p. 8; S. W. Lawley, ed., *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie Eboracensis*, 2 vols, SS, I: 71 (1880), II: 75 (1883) [hereafter referred to in footnotes as York Breviary].

⁷⁵ The Bodleian copy was bequeathed to the Bodleian Library, Oxford, taking the name of its last owner, where it is now Gough Missals 6. Hughes, *Cataloguing Discrepancies*, pp. 14, 17-18.

⁷⁶ Salisbury, *Use of York*, pp. 8, 19. The use of collation tables is a more recent development in liturgical studies and the editing of liturgical texts. These tend to rely heavily on incipits, but as I am not looking at the chants or incipits in detail, I am not using this method of collation tables. Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 149-50.

vigilance against a tendency to suppose that a text or rubric found in a later, especially printed, book, can invariably be used to illuminate the liturgies of an earlier period.⁷⁷

Furthermore, Lawley ignored the question of manuscript models for the printed breviary.⁷⁸ There appears to be a divergence between the edition and manuscript traditions, as Salisbury concluded from his own research. One manuscript breviary, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough liturg. 1 (formerly Gough Missals 30), c. 1400, is of choir size, c. 440 x 345 mm, just slightly larger than the York Antiphonal. It has quite full lessons, and comparison of this book with the printed editions shows the manuscript to be somewhat fuller. This suggests that at least sometimes in choir the lessons at matins may have been longer than in the printed editions.⁷⁹ Hughes reasons that a ‘commission to have the York Breviary printed must have emanated from the Minster’, but many of the copies printed must have been for distribution in the diocese, and ‘no evidence suggests [...] either of our books [the Bodleian or Bate copies] was ever used at the Minster’.⁸⁰ Pfaff has identified one manuscript breviary which appears to have been for use in the minster, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud misc. 84, which shows a high degree of correspondence with the Sanctorale of the printed breviaries.⁸¹ Nevertheless, the 1493 breviary and the York Antiphonal suggest that there was a renewal of liturgy taking place in the diocese.

⁷⁷ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 148.

⁷⁸ Unlike W. G. Henderson, who, when editing the York Missal for the Surtees Society edition, inferred that a single manuscript most likely provided the model for the first printed edition of the missal. W. G. Henderson, ed., *Missale ad Usus Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis: volume 1*, SS, 59 (1874), p. xiii; Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 455.

⁷⁹ The lessons for Jerome and St William in the Sanctorale of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Gough liturg. 1 are longer than the 1493 printed breviary. Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 455.

⁸⁰ Hughes, *Cataloguing Discrepancies*, p. 20.

⁸¹ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 455.

Salisbury has concluded that the term ‘use’ may imply a greater uniformity than ever existed and that the context needs to be determined in every case.⁸² Therefore, the aim here is to establish what went on in the chapel liturgically, using what is known about the chapel and its constitution, rather than attempting to resolve the current problem of the York Use.⁸³ Examining the detail of the liturgy enables us to suggest elements of the ceremonial and rite in the antiphonal that appear to be institution-specific to St Mary and the Holy Angels’, and which tell us about the chapel’s identity, community and devotional role within the cathedral close.

Many of the problems identified in using the modern editions of the York Use books, especially the breviary, are highlighted when they are compared with the York Antiphonal. Using such a methodology has revealed that the Arundel book is special and peculiar in a number of ways. As well as being the only extant antiphonal of the York Use, the book’s rubrics are numerous and detailed. This supports Salisbury’s assertion of a more varied use within the manuscripts than has been previously suggested. The manuscript contains details in its rubrics concerning the minster church which are not found elsewhere, and therefore reveals much which has thus far been left wanting with regard to the liturgical life of York Minster.⁸⁴ The antiphonal contains additions, expansions and variations to the rubrics found in the edition of the 1493 breviary. The expansions are presumably not institution-specific, but most likely represent details which have been lost elsewhere.⁸⁵

However, there are also portions of the text in which the antiphonal has an alternate liturgy to the breviary. Some of this content can be found in other York books, such as the York Missal and Processional, but even here there is some

⁸² Salisbury, *Use of York*, p. 40.

⁸³ Although the findings indicate the potential of the York Antiphonal to further inform our understanding of the York Use.

⁸⁴ Some of these details are described below in Section 5.3.4 and those for the Holy Week and Easter liturgy are discussed in Chapter 6.

⁸⁵ See below Section 5.3.3 for these details.

distinction between the antiphonal's rubrics and those found elsewhere. There are at least two possible reasons for this, but these are not mutually exclusive. Firstly, the antiphonal may have been produced by copying from a much fuller book that no longer survives; secondly, the antiphonal includes additional instructions in the rubrics, specific to the chapel and its relationship with the minster, which may not have been necessary for use in the cathedral or for more general use across the diocese. These two possibilities are discussed in more detail below. The peculiar nature of the manuscript in some ways reflects the peculiarity of the institution itself, and must reflect the unique relationship between the chapel and the cathedral.

5.3.3 Liturgical Renewal: Evidence for the York Use

The following section is a more detailed survey of the nature of, and relationship between, the extensive rubrics of the antiphonal and the rubrics of some of the extant York Use books. The details of the antiphonal reveal that the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels went through a period of liturgical renewal and that in the late fifteenth century it was home to an elaborate liturgy, comparable to that of the cathedral church, and designed to enhance the splendour of divine worship there. Like other late medieval collegiate institutions, for example William of Wykeham's college at Winchester, the chapel at York aimed to deliver the performance of a full liturgy and to maximise the number of daily masses.⁸⁶

The general rubrics of the antiphonal introduce us to the special nature of the book. Its most unusual and important feature is that several books seem to underlie the antiphonal: these include large parts of an ordinal, but there also seem to be parts of a tonary, collectar and possibly gradual. There are references to mass and references to a manual, processional and missal in the rubrics, as well as the kind of instructions which would be usual for these other genres of book. For example, the antiphonal

⁸⁶ Eavis, 'Commemorative Foundations of William of Wykeham', p. 177.

instructs that the blessing of the salt and water should take place as in the manual or processional or else as it is contained in the missal.⁸⁷ An ordinal is a set of summary indications, which would bring together the liturgy for both mass and office, as to what is said and done at every occasion throughout the liturgical year, with a certain amount of information as to who is supposed to do it. When books began to be printed at the end of the fifteenth century, many of the instructions of the ordinal were absorbed into the text and rubrics of the breviary and missal.⁸⁸

Most of the surviving service books contain relatively few rubrics. This lack of rubrics presupposes that the books should be used alongside an ordinal. Even recent work on the extant York Use manuscripts assumes that there was no evidence for a surviving York Ordinal.⁸⁹ However, here we have a manuscript containing large parts of this book. The antiphonal, and some of the York books which also contain fuller instructions, indicate that they were in part copied from now lost exemplars, and that they may have been designed to be used without a separate ordinal.⁹⁰

The York Antiphonal begins with over three folios, recto and verso, of detailed rubrics, describing the general performance of the liturgy throughout the year.⁹¹ This level of rubric would be normal in an ordinal, but not an antiphonal. In an antiphonal, such liturgical complexities might be expressed in the manuscript's kalendar, but in the absence of a kalendar the instructions for the year found at the beginning of the York Antiphonal appear to be an attempt to write the kalendar in full. The general rubrics at the beginning of the antiphonal are wholly different to what is found in the

⁸⁷ Antiphonal, fol. 9^{va}: 'Fiant autem benedictio salis et aque ut in manuale. uel processionali aut in missali continetur'.

⁸⁸ This has been found to be the case with books like the 'Missale ad usum insignis et praeclarae ecclesiae Sarum', and perhaps with the York Missal. Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 365, 378-79; John Harper, *The Forms and Orders of Western Liturgy: From the Tenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), pp. 60-61.

⁸⁹ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 450, 456.

⁹⁰ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 453, 457.

⁹¹ Antiphonal, fols 3^{ra}-6^{ra} contain the general rubrics; this is followed by the First Sunday of Advent (fols 6^{ra}-10^{va}), which contains further detailed instructions for the year.

general rubrics of the edition of the 1493 breviary. However, rather than demonstrating the lack of certain important actions taking place in the liturgy represented by the breviary, the extensive rubrics of the antiphonal seem to represent a very different kind of book. There is a whole section at the beginning of the book which reads as a mini treatise on the collects and how to end them properly, depending on whether the prayer is directed to the Father, the Son, or the Holy Spirit. It provides very specific examples, such as how to end the collect for exorcism, in which, the antiphonal explains, the devil is exorcised through the judgement of God, in order that he should withdraw from God's creature, and the prayer is thus ended, 'per eum qui venturus est'.⁹² This sort of information from a collectar might occasionally be found in a tonary, but is highly unusual in an antiphonal.

Various parts of the general rubrics seem to represent parts of an ordinal which have been incorporated into the antiphonal. As well as providing words and music, the antiphonal includes details of vestments, censuring, bell-ringing, personnel and their actions and movements, and such ceremonial details indicate that the chapel had an elaborate liturgy. Certain parts are highly unusual, for example, certain versicles are instructed to be sung *a puero versiculario*, demonstrating the use of choir boys and the different levels of singers within the liturgy.⁹³ There are detailed instructions for the *pneuma*, which is a prolonged group of notes sung to a single syllable at the end of the melody, intended to express pious joy. For example, throughout the year on both ferials and feasts, at all of the hours, the antiphons should be concluded with the *pneuma*, except at compline and at prime, when the antiphon about the Trinity follows upon the psalm *Quicumque vult*.⁹⁴

⁹² Antiphonal, fol. 4^v.

⁹³ See Section 6.2.3 for the discussion on the use of boys in the cathedral and chapel.

⁹⁴ Antiphonal, fol. 3^{ra}.

The ceremonial details create a particularly vivid impression of the conduct within the chapel, such as the instructions regarding the censuring of the choir. The antiphonal specifies that the thurifer should first cense the priest, followed by the ruler of the choir, and then two thurifers should simultaneously cense each side of the choir. This was to happen on feasts of nine simple lessons and on double feasts. The choir was to be censed in matins at *Benedictus* and at mass after the gospel, and in vespers at *Magnificat*.⁹⁵ There are also sections on bell-ringing, for example, before the blessing and sprinkling of water on Sundays, the bell was to be rung three times.⁹⁶ The physical movements and positions of the clergy are a significant feature of the antiphonal's rubrics throughout the manuscript, providing a further layer of ceremonial detail which would enable, to a certain extent, a physical reconstruction of the liturgy. For example, during the confession at compline the priest was to alternately turn to face in the direction of the altar and then turn himself to the choir. The choir should also alternately turn towards the priest and the altar. Furthermore, there is a section in the rubrics for the First Sunday of Advent concerning the prostration of the choir and the priest: the *Kyrieleyson* and prayers should be said at vespers and at lauds with the prostration of the priest and the choir, on ferias outside of Easter time. Then after the psalm *Miserere mei*, the priest alone should rise to say *Exurge domine adiuua nos*. However, it is noted that only in matins and vespers the priest should rise at the verse *Exurge domine*, with the choir prostrated. In the other hours, the priest should also remain prostrated along with the choir up until the prayer, *Deus qui de beate marie*, when all should rise.⁹⁷ At Vespers for Holy Thursday the antiphonal includes, in addition to what is found in the breviary, the instruction that

⁹⁵ Antiphonal, fol. 3^{vb}.

⁹⁶ Antiphonal, fol. 9^{va}.

⁹⁷ Antiphonal, fols 5^{vb}, 11^{ra}. There are further details of movements and processions discussed in the Easter liturgy in Chapter 6.

the choir is to be directed by two rulers, vested in silk copes, who were serving in the same mass. The remaining antiphons should be begun ‘a canonicis et personis ecclesie descendendo’.⁹⁸ These unusual features might suggest that using the term ‘York Antiphonal’ to describe this highly detailed manuscript needs revising.

The reason for the inclusion of this information in the manuscript is still elusive; with nothing to compare it to it is difficult to assess whether the antiphonal is representative of the nature of all of the chapel’s liturgical books, or to what extent it represents an amalgamation of previous books. It is possible that the chapel’s unique relationship with the minster made it necessary for such a detailed and complex description of the liturgy to be provided.

The number and detail of the antiphonal’s rubrics are themselves an indication that the manuscript was copied in part from an ordinal, but it also contains references to mass, scattered throughout both the general rubrics and other parts of the Tempore.⁹⁹ Whilst they do not provide detailed instructions for the celebration of mass, as the rubrics do for the office, the inclusion of such references is surprising for an office book. This suggests that the antiphonal was being copied from an ordinal, since that book would mix mass and office in the order that they were celebrated.

⁹⁸ Antiphonal, fol. 92^{vb}. The rubric ‘descendendo’ may mean that the antiphons are to be sung in descending tones; however, this would be an unusual instruction, with the more usual being in ascending tones. The antiphons which follow this instruction do not seem to be descending musically. Alternatively this could be describing the action of the canons and cantarists, in terms of the liturgical topography, that is they are ‘going down’, or more neutrally ‘going out’ or ‘leaving’. David Parsons has discussed the potential meaning of the verb ‘descendere’ in the context of the Easter liturgy at St-Riquier, in ‘The Pre-Romanesque Church of St-Riquier’, pp. 46-47. At York, the cantarists were known as the *personae* ‘parsons’ of the church; see Dobson, ‘The Later Middle Ages’, p. 96. References to the cantarists as *personae* appear in *CPR: Henry V, 1413-1416* (London: HMSO, 1910), p. 368; *Testamenta*, I (will of Henry Bowet Archbishop of York), p. 399; *Testamenta*, III, (the will of William Duffield), p. 143; Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 72; *York Statutes*, pp. 23-24.

⁹⁹ See Antiphonal, fols 3^{vb} and 4^{tb} in the general rubrics. During Holy Week and Easter references to mass occur on fols 92^{vb}, 93^{tb}, 93^{va}, 97^{va}, 97^{vb}, 100^{tb} and 101^{va}. In almost all of these cases the reference to mass is, as would be expected, not found in the comparative part of the York Breviary. The York Antiphonal is a different kind of book, including parts of a different source.

References are also made to an ordinal in the text itself. These are most likely referring to the book from which the scribe was copying, but in one place it seems that the rubric is actually referring to the antiphonal itself as an ordinal: ‘legatur tabula secundum modum prenotatum supra in principio istius ordinalis’.¹⁰⁰ A further example also sheds light upon the possible exemplars being used. In the rubrics describing the representation of the resurrection on Easter Day, it explains that ‘secundum modernos’ this should take place before matins, but that ‘secundum vero antiquos’ it should take place after *Benedicamus domino* at matins, ‘ut in ordinale notatur’.¹⁰¹ The scribe must be copying out the instructions of this rite from the ordinal, but does not copy the whole instruction, which was perhaps too lengthy and unnecessary, and so refers the user to the original book.¹⁰² This suggests that an attempt was being made to enable performance of the liturgy by referring to as few books as possible; the antiphonal was already required in choir, so the inclusion of parts of the ordinal would mean that that book only occasionally needed to be looked at, but was still available for reference. The way in which the ordinal is mentioned here suggests that, despite the antiphonal’s extensive rubrics, an ordinal was still intended to be used at least occasionally alongside the antiphonal, as would be expected.

¹⁰⁰ Antiphonal, fol. 9^{va}.

¹⁰¹ Antiphonal, fol. 99^{rb}. According to the *Regularis Concordia* the representation of the resurrection should take place before Matins for Easter day. Thomas Symons, trans., *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London: Nelson, 1953), pp. 48-51.

¹⁰² There is a similar possibility in the Lincoln Consuetudinary (c. 1260), which was entered in to the *Liber niger* a century or so later, in which is entered a fair amount concerning ceremonial, but little on what would have made practice at Lincoln verbally distinct. The regulations in the Lincoln Consuetudinary presuppose an ordinal, which is referred to in the text at least six times, but which does not survive and would be necessary, as with York, to give us anything like a full picture of the use of Lincoln. See Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 499-500.

Pfaff has suggested the possibility of two exemplar ordinals at York.¹⁰³ The rubrics described above (fol. 99^{rb}) also suggest that there were two ordinals in existence and in use by the chapel. It is possible that a new ordinal was produced after the building works to the minster nave aisles, which likely caused changes to the access between the chapel and minster in the early fourteenth century, or even more recently, following the final completion of the east end of the minster. If changes had occurred regarding processional routes or liturgical geography at either of these points, this would also be a chance to review the rest of the liturgy, such as the time of the representation of the resurrection. Therefore, the reference to the ‘antiquos’ here would most likely be referring to the original liturgy of the chapel instituted by Archbishop Roger, and the ‘modernos’ to the post-building works ordinal, which is also represented by the production of the antiphonal itself.

5.3.4 Provenance

On occasion the rubrics indicate the nature of the institution for which a book was made and used. The sole extant York Gradual is Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. b.5. This manuscript is a book of the mid-fifteenth century that belonged to the parish church of East Drayton in Nottinghamshire.¹⁰⁴ Its provenance, much like the York Antiphonal, is revealed by an inscription reading ‘Iste liber [...] ville de Est drayton’. This gradual does not include ordinary week-days, Ember days or week-days in Lent, indicating its parochial use. Copying a gradual is a highly labour-intensive task, and omitting what would not be used was efficient in terms of labour and expense.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, the inclusion of such detailed rubrics in the York

¹⁰³ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 453; see below Section 5.3.4.

¹⁰⁴ There appear to be no printed copies of the York Gradual. Hamm, *Census-Catalogue*, II (1982), p. 284. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. liturg. b.5. also appears in the index of Ker, but does not appear in the list of surviving books. Ker, *Medieval Libraries*, p. 382.

¹⁰⁵ Walter Howard Frere, ‘The Newly-Found York Gradual’, *Journal of Theological Studies*, 2 (1901), 578-86 (pp. 578-79); Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 452-53.

Antiphonal indicates that they were not only necessary for the chapel's liturgical performance but that this was also a highly valuable book.

There are several extant York missals, but these seem to have been made for use elsewhere rather than at the minster.¹⁰⁶ One of the manuscript missals used by W. G. Henderson in his Surtees Society edition, Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 33 (Henderson's MS D), contains rubrics that differ from the conspectus readings of the printed missals, and can be considered as for use in the minster. It typically contains fuller rubrics, and might have been designed to have been used without an accompanying ordinal.¹⁰⁷ The East Drayton Gradual has different and sometimes fuller directions for the Adoration of the Cross on Good Friday than do the missals used for Henderson's edition. This suggests that there may have been two ordinals at York in the fifteenth century, one used for copying into books intended for the minster and one for those intended for parish use. Another possibility is that the rubrics in this part of the York Gradual are based upon an older ordinal, of which there is no trace in the extant missals.¹⁰⁸

Pfaff has indeed found a distinction in the York missals, between those intended for use in *majori ecclesia* and those to be used in parish churches, pointing out that they display differences in their rubrics, such as on the requirement of personnel. For example, the rubrics of a fourteenth-century missal from Cuckney parish church, Nottinghamshire (now Oxford, Oxford University College, MS 78B)

¹⁰⁶ Pfaff describes the seven manuscript missals used by W. G. Henderson in his edition of the York Missal, edited for the Surtees Society, as well as four others, not identified by Henderson, which are worthy of note. Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 451-52.

¹⁰⁷ One manuscript missal of the Hereford Use (Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Library, MS F.161) appears to be a cathedral book, demonstrated by its unusually extensive rubrics. These rubrics seem to represent something like the Hereford Ordinal, and are a feature of the one surviving Hereford Gradual (London, British Library, MS Harley 3965), which was almost certainly originally a cathedral book. Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 451, 456-57, 477-78.

¹⁰⁸ Frere, 'Newly-Found York Gradual', pp. 584-85; *Missale Eboracensis*, pp. 105-06; Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 453.

make plain that adaptations from minster practice were permitted and references to specific cathedral personnel are replaced with more general language.¹⁰⁹ The York Antiphonal reflects its intended place of use and the chapel's liturgical relationship with the cathedral: there are details in the rubrics concerning the minster and chapel, and a full body of personnel was expected to perform the liturgy, at least in ideal circumstances. Various clergy members are mentioned in the antiphonal who would only be present in the context of the minster, for example, the dean, precentor, succentor and treasurer. The *prelatus* also features fairly frequently at key liturgical points, and the evidence suggests that this is referring to the archbishop, clearly indicating that the intended context is the cathedral. For example, in the general rubrics describing confession, the antiphonal states that *Fidelium anime per misericordiam* should be said by the prelate, and in the absence of the prelate it should be said by the dean. However in the absence of both the prelate and the dean then it should be said by the celebrating priest.¹¹⁰

For much of the manuscript it is difficult to identify which parts of the liturgy are specific only to the chapel. With regard to this there are several things to consider; the first is making a distinction with those parts which may represent a more general York Use. The second is considering the parts where the liturgy is specific to and would take place within the space of the chapel, and thirdly considering the parts of the liturgy where the chapel canons are to take part in the cathedral's liturgy within the minster. One example surrounds the office of St William, which one might expect to find in the York Antiphonal, as the cathedral was the centre of his cult. However, only First Vespers for William is found; the rest of his office was to be celebrated

¹⁰⁹ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 450-51, 454.

¹¹⁰ Antiphonal, fols 5^{vb}, 9^{va}, 10^{ra}.

according to the Common of Saints.¹¹¹ As the main celebration of St William's feast would take place within the cathedral, the canons in the chapel building may not have performed the whole of William's office. Similarly, in the antiphonal's general rubrics, reference is made to St William which describes cathedral-specific topography, distinct from the chapel building: 'deinde descendet ad tumbam sancti Willelmi thurificandam, per australem partem choro'.¹¹² Whilst these rubrics are obviously specific to the cathedral context, it is possible that they are also particular to the chapel, in the sense that if the canons of St Sepulchre's were presiding in the minster, in a ceremonial role, they might require additional details about the minster's liturgy.

5.4 Conclusion

The long fifteenth century was a period of liturgical expansion and expression of devotion, with the founding of large new collegiate institutions, such as at Fotheringhay, and the reform of monastic liturgy in Yorkshire through the physical elaboration of abbey churches, as at Kirkstall and Fountains. The production of the antiphonal was a point of renewal for the chapel's communal and institutional identity, representing a period of prosperity and stability in the chapel's administration under John Hert. Furthermore, the details within its pages reveal that the chapel was home to a grand liturgy in the fifteenth century, comparable in its ceremony with that of the cathedral church, and intimately connected to it. The antiphonal provided for a large staff of canons, clerks and choristers, as well as cathedral dignities, including the archbishop. The relationship between the chapel and minster seems to be significant in explaining why the York Antiphonal is so detailed. The unique relationship between a cathedral church and its daughter chapel, which were physically, communally and

¹¹¹ Antiphonal, fols 195^v-96^r.

¹¹² Antiphonal, fol. 3^{vb}. The manuscript says *descendet* not *descendat*, but it should be translated as 'he should descend'. These rubrics are not found in the 1493 York Breviary and so likely represent a more specific liturgy than is represented by that printed edition, in which some of the details may have been lost or removed.

liturgically connected, seems to have produced an equally unique manuscript in order to deal with the potential liturgical complexity of the situation.

The antiphonal, displaying a full and rationalised liturgy of the late fifteenth century, remained in use throughout the Henrician changes. The history of the manuscript up to and beyond the Reformation also indicates that significant value was placed upon it by contemporaries. The manuscript's survival, when all other records and material culture belonging to the chapel have been lost, can now be explained. The identification of the Constable family's place in the history of St Mary and the Holy Angels', indicates that the book's survival was an intentional part of this Catholic family's preservation of their own history and religion.

The demonstration that this book is part antiphonal and part ordinal is significant to any further study of the York Use and any attempts to understand what is meant by that term. The York Antiphonal is a very special book which contains parts of the York Use previously thought to be lost. Furthermore, the extent of the ceremonial details which it contains demonstrates that at York in the fifteenth century there was a desire to create a grand and splendid liturgy, with the purpose of elaborating the liturgy of the cathedral as a whole, just as we see at numerous collegiate, monastic and cathedral churches throughout England in this period.

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Chapter Six

Liturgy and Devotion in the Late Fifteenth Century

This chapter reconsiders the chapel's liturgical identity and devotional uses by examining certain significant parts of the York Antiphonal. The main focus is on the liturgies of the last three days of Holy Week (the Triduum) and Easter, which are important to the chapel's identity because of the inclusion of the sacrist's responsibilities for Maundy Thursday in Archbishop Roger's foundation charter. I suggested in Chapter One that, coupled with the chapel's site and Roger's other works, his charter indicated that St Sepulchre's played a significant role in the Holy Week and Easter liturgies. The chapel's role on Maundy Thursday and as the home of the Easter Sepulchre are readdressed, with further suggestions made regarding the possibility that St Sepulchre's was the site of York's liturgical Jerusalem. Connected to these matters, this chapter also reconsiders the chapel's role as an intercessory space and as a Lady Chapel.

6.1 The Liturgy of Holy Week and Easter

The liturgy for the Triduum and Easter Day was different from the forms of worship for the rest of the year, and the corresponding rubrics in liturgical manuscripts provide a level of ceremonial detail that often surpasses that of other times.¹ The resurrection of Christ 'is the main event around which the whole of Christian life is built' and therefore Easter Sunday, the day which commemorates the resurrection, 'is the day around which the most important part of the church year is ordered'.² The sections of the *Regularis Concordia* devoted to the rites of Holy Week and Easter are the longest and most detailed in the document. It is here that the 'dramatic' character that has

¹ John Harper, 'The Vicar Choral in Choir', in *Vicars Choral*, ed. by Hall and Stocker, pp. 17-22 (p. 19).

² Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 3.

become the *Concordia*'s principal claim to fame is most clearly seen.³ The essential core of the Holy Week and Easter liturgies was commemoration, or entering into a communal memory.⁴ The liturgical preparation for Holy Week began much earlier in the liturgical year, with the suppression of *alleluia* from Septuagesima onwards, the liturgy of Ash Wednesday and the expulsion of penitents and the omission of *Gloria patri* from the Invitatory.⁵

The description and distinction in liturgical vestments which are instructed to be worn in the York Antiphonal highlight the level of ceremonial detail during this part of the year and indicate different ranking feasts. It is unlikely that these instructions are institution-specific to the chapel; this kind of information is representative of an ordinal and most likely represents information from that type of book which has been lost elsewhere. Nevertheless, such requirements give a good impression of the desired level of conduct and liturgical splendour within the chapel.⁶ For example, at the very end of the rubrics for Holy Saturday the antiphonal includes instructions on the colour of vestments to be worn during the Easter season: red vestments were to be worn during Easter week, whilst white vestments were to be worn from the Sunday of the octave of Easter up until Pentecost.⁷ The distinction in vestments also indicates differences between services even on the same day. For example, at First Vespers and Prime for Maundy Thursday the choir was to be directed by two priests or rulers in silk copes, indicating that this was a principal feast. However, for the Mandatum rite the deacon, subdeacon, cross-bearer and candle

³ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 79-80. For example, see Symons, *The Monastic Agreement*, pp. 48-51.

⁴ Joanne M. Pierce, 'Holy Week and Easter in the Middle Ages', in *Passover and Easter: Origin and History to Modern Times*, ed. by Paul F. Bradshaw and Lawrence A. Hoffman (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), pp. 161-85 (p. 177).

⁵ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, p. 139.

⁶ Copes are mentioned on ten occasions throughout the Maundy Thursday to Easter liturgy in the antiphonal, but do not occur at all for this liturgy in the York Breviary. Antiphonal, fols 89^{vb}, 92^{vb}, 97^{vb}, 98^{rb}, 98^{vb}, 100^{rb}, 100^{va} and 101^{va}.

⁷ Antiphonal, fol. 98^r.

bearers should all wear albs. The priest should also wear albs for washing the altars.⁸ The humility symbolised by the Mandatum was being signified not only through the canons' actions, but also their dress.

6.1.1 Maundy Thursday

In examining the York Antiphonal's rubrics for Maundy Thursday, it is immediately clear that the liturgy for this day is special. Although none of the largest illuminated initials which feature in the manuscript occur over the Holy Week and Easter liturgies, the services of Maundy Thursday are announced much more prominently than in the 1493 York Breviary.⁹ There is significant additional material to that found in the York Breviary which suggests that such full instruction was necessary on these days, where the chapel's community played a significant part in the liturgy of the cathedral church and therefore when the chapel's liturgy was especially complex and grand.

One of the main features of the Maundy Thursday liturgy is the lighting and extinguishing of candles during the *Tenebrae*, the collective name for the services of matins and lauds on the last three days of Holy Week. The liturgy of the York Antiphonal follows that found in the York Breviary for most of these services. In both books it is instructed that twenty-five *Tenebrae* candles are to be lit at matins on Maundy Thursday. The Lord's Prayer was to be said after each candle was lit, in a position of prostration; after which, everyone should rise and the ruler of the choir, in his stall, and having not changed his vestments, should begin the antiphon *Zelus domus tue comedit*. A. J. MacGregor suggests that the description of the arrangement of lights at York means that they stood upon a single horizontal length of wood,

⁸ See Harvey, 'The Monks of Westminster', p. 6; Antiphonal, fols 89^{vb}, 93^{va}.

⁹ See Antiphonal, fols 89^{vb}-90^{ra}. At the start of the rubric concerning Maundy Thursday, the antiphonal includes the additional rubric, 'De primis vesperis in Cena Domini'. At Maundy Matins the breviary begins only with 'Ad matutinas', whereas the antiphonal has 'De seruicio nocturnali in cena domini. In CeCena domini. Ad matutinas'. The presence or absence of rubrics which serve as signposts for the structure of the liturgy may to some extent be meaningless, but there must be a reason for their existence.

developed from the choir beam. One of them was to be placed in the middle of this beam, more prominently than the rest.¹⁰ The use of twenty-five lights is a variation on the more common use of twenty-four, which has been suggested to collectively symbolise Christ as the light of the world, who illuminates his Church by day and night, with each light representing an hour of the day. The twenty-four candles have also been identified with the Old Testament prophets and the twelve apostles, and in this case the twenty-fifth light at York represents Christ, which also accounts for its prominent position on the Tenebrae hearse.¹¹

According to the York Antiphonal the candles were to be extinguished in the following sequence: in each of the three nocturns of matins, one candle was to be extinguished after each of the three psalms, one after the verse and response, and one after each of the three responsories. This takes us to a total of twenty-one candles extinguished, but in the third nocturn of matins the responsories which follow the three lessons were to be repeated and a candle was to be extinguished after each.¹² The last candle, representing Christ, remained lit until after the *Benedictus* at the end of lauds, after which it was to be extinguished and the service was ended in darkness. The end of the service was signalled by the succentor banging a book with his hand, and a lit candle was brought forward, signifying the resurrection.¹³ The number of lights was therefore not only determined by their symbolism, but also by the structure

¹⁰ Antiphonal fol. 90^{ra}; York Breviary, I, p. 375; A. J. MacGregor, *Fire and Light in the Western Triduum: Their Use at Tenebrae and at the Paschal Vigil* (Collegeville, MN: The Liturgical Press, 1992), p. 68.

¹¹ MacGregor, *Fire and Light*, pp. 53, 60-61. In the Hereford Breviary the twenty-five candles are described as being prepared before the altar 'juxta' the figure of Christ and the prophets and apostles. This could mean that the candles were either placed next to the figures or that the candles were representing Christ and the prophets and apostles. Walter Howard Frere and Langton E. G. Brown, eds, *The Hereford Breviary: volume 1*, Henry Bradshaw Society, 26 (1904), p. 308.

¹² Antiphonal, fols 90^{ra}, 92^{ra}.

¹³ Antiphonal, fols 92^{rb}, 92^{vb}; York Breviary, I, p. 382.

of matins and lauds, which provided twenty-four convenient points at which to extinguish the candles.¹⁴

The person responsible for extinguishing the lights was the sacristan. The York Breviary instructs that each candle was to be extinguished by one of three sacrists, likely indicating the number of personnel expected to serve in the cathedral, which provided the model for use. The cathedral's three sacrists would be responsible for the daily conduct of divine worship in the minster. They had a chamber of their own and were responsible for the provision of lights in the church, the opening and closing of various doors and for ordering processions.¹⁵ In contrast, the antiphonal demonstrates an institution-specific variation in its rubric, instructing that the candles are to be extinguished by the sacrist, singular. Whether this is referring to the chapel's sacrist, in the meaning that has been used throughout this thesis, that is, the head and controller of finances in the chapel, or is a more general use of the word, carried over from its meaning in the cathedral context, is not clear. If this rubric is referring to the chapel's sacrist in the first sense, this is one of the few indications of his liturgical role in the chapel, and it is possible to connect named individuals, such as Hert, to this rite.¹⁶ However, if this is the case then it implies that Hert would not have been the celebrant of the service itself.¹⁷

According to the old Sarum Customary (c. 1220), the lights, of which there were only twenty-four, were to be extinguished at the beginning of each antiphon and

¹⁴ MacGregor, *Fire and Light*, pp. 105-06. The Hereford Breviary also explains that one candle should be extinguished at the beginning of each antiphon and responsory, as there are just as many candles as antiphons and responsories. *Hereford Breviary*, p. 308.

¹⁵ York Breviary, I, p. 376. Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 74-75; *York Statutes*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁶ Antiphonal, fol. 90^{ra}.

¹⁷ At Westminster Abbey's Lady Chapel the warden of the chapel would normally be present at Lady Mass but not necessarily as the celebrant. Harvey, 'The Monks of Westminster', p. 18. See Section 2.1.1 for the role of the sacrist of St Sepulchre's, in comparison with the use of the term at other institutions.

responsory on all three days of the Triduum.¹⁸ However, the rubrics in both the York Antiphonal and breviary are ambiguous as to on how many nights the Tenebrae is to take place in its entirety. At the end of Lauds for Maundy Thursday it instructs that ‘hoc ordine fiet qualibet nocte istarum trium noctium’, which may suggest that the rite could be performed just once but on any of the three nights, or that there could be optional repetitions.¹⁹ The instructions for the Tenebrae do not appear in full on Good Friday or Holy Saturday, and the rubrics are similarly ambiguous on both of these days. At the end of Matins for Good Friday, the responsory *Tenebre* should be repeated and one candle should be extinguished, which seems to indicate that some form of the Tenebrae is taking place. The rubrics for Lauds for Good Friday simply state that, ‘in laudibus idem ordo seruetur ut in die precedenti’ and that ‘ordo ut supra in Cena Domini hac nocte seruetur’.²⁰ Similarly the rubrics for Holy Saturday say, ‘ad matutinas, eo ordine agatur quo superius’.²¹ It is therefore unclear as to whether this is specifically referring to the extinguishing of lights, or simply the order of the service.

During Holy Week the offices are characterised by omissions rather than additions, possibly representing the original and simpler form of office.²² The rubrics of the antiphonal for Maundy Thursday deal greatly with omissions of the customary versicles and responses for the Triduum.²³ These omissions represent the funeral

¹⁸ John Harper, Christopher Hodkinson and Matthew Cheung Salisbury, eds, ‘The Old Customary from the Old Register, Chippenham, Wiltshire & Swindon Archives, D1/1/1 [OCO]’, *Sarum Customary Online* <www.sarumcustomary.org.uk> [accessed 13 September 2013], p. 95. ‘In Cena Domini ante matutinas, xxiiiijor candele accendantur, quarum singule ad inceptionem uniuscuiusque antiphone et responsorii extinguantur. Similiter fiat in vja feria et in sabbato’. The Tenebrae does not appear to feature in the new Sarum Customary.

¹⁹ Antiphonal, fol. 92^{vb}.

²⁰ Antiphonal, fols 95^{rb}-95^{va}.

²¹ Antiphonal, fol. 95^{vb}.

²² Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 245.

²³ During the Triduum the following parts of the office were to be omitted: *Domine labia*, *Deus in adiutorium*, *Gloria patri* and the pneuma after the antiphons and after the versicles, *Gloria patri* after the psalms, except after seven psalms, in the completion of which to every psalm *Gloria patri* is added, *Jube domine* and *Tu autem domine* and the versicle of

aspect of the Tenebrae and mark the mourning into which the church is plunged. The tone of the whole office is noticeably mournful, with the lessons in the first nocturn of matins taken from the Lamentations of Jeremiah. Three lessons are to be sung by boys, with varied inflection, as though lamenting.²⁴ In addition, the antiphonal instructs that the lessons taken from the Exposition of St Augustine, of Psalm 63, should be recited in the manner of lessons for the dead, which likely indicates a low monotone.²⁵

The celebration of Tenebrae on Maundy Thursday was an anticipation of the events of the following day and the use of light was in a sense detached from the events of Maundy Thursday itself.²⁶ However, one of the main events of Maundy Thursday was the reservation of the host in the Easter Sepulchre for use at the Mass of the Pre-Sanctified on Good Friday. This also anticipated the following day's events, with the ritual burying of the host, representing Christ's body in his tomb before he had been crucified. In this sense neither of these actions, the Tenebrae nor the reservation of the host, represents the historical events of Holy Thursday, which are represented by the giving of alms, the meal and the washing of feet.

The cathedral statutes, which can be dated to a codification made in around 1317, include rules for the Mandatum, which correspond to the liturgical instructions regarding the Mandatum found in the antiphonal and support the fact that, as instructed in Roger's foundation charter, it was the responsibility of the chapel's sacrist to support the provision of the Mandatum. The statutes state that on Maundy Thursday the dean of the cathedral is to accept the penitents, and after the meal is to perform the Mandatum, washing the feet of the poor with the other canons, entirely at

the priest before lauds, *Dominus vobiscum* and *Benedicamus domino*. Antiphonal, fols 90^{ra} and 92^{vb}.

²⁴ Antiphonal, fol. 90^{rb}: 'Tres prime lecciones de Ieremia quasi lamentando cantantur a pueris, variata terminacione ultima in fine'. These lessons follow the Roman rite; see Ludwig Eisenhofer and Joseph Lechner, *The Liturgy of the Roman Rite*, trans. by A. J. and E. F. Peeler, ed. by H. E. Winstone (London: Nelson, 1961), p. 191.

²⁵ Antiphonal, fol. 91^{ra}.

²⁶ MacGregor, *Fire and Light*, p. 113.

the expense of the sacrist of the chapel.²⁷ The rite of the Mandatum, which is rightly absent from the York Breviary, surprisingly features in great detail in the antiphonal's rubrics. The ceremonial detail described would be more suited to an ordinal, but during the Triduum the distinctions between office and mass are blurred, and this may partly explain the Mandatum's appearance in the antiphonal.²⁸ We would expect to find the Mandatum in the gradual or missal, although usually the Mandatum would be performed by one priest, the celebrant, so the choir would not need these instructions.

W. H. Frere says that the service for Maundy Thursday in the York Gradual is the same as that in the edition of the York Missal, so must contain the Mandatum in the shortened form it is found there.²⁹ There are two parts involved in the rite for the washing of feet; the first is that the feet of the poor are washed in an act of humility and the second is that designated priests should wash the feet of their own community.³⁰ The missal mentions both but contains no instruction for the poor, only instructing that, with the Mandatum of the poor done, the Mandatum of the canons should take place.³¹

The antiphonal contains the fullest version of this rite, with the washing of the feet of the poor and of the community of canons described in some detail, providing a good idea of the liturgical conduct of the chapel's canons. The prominent nature of the Mandatum within the antiphonal suggests that this rite was a significant part of the chapel's Holy Week liturgy. Whilst the unexpected presence of it within an antiphonal cannot be fully explained, part of the key to understanding the context of this rite within the chapel's liturgy is in the contents of Archbishop Roger's foundation charter for the chapel. The antiphonal's rubrics imply that the Mandatum is to be performed

²⁷ *York Statutes*, p. 3; Dobson, 'The Later Middle Ages', pp. 48-49, 63.

²⁸ Hughes, *Medieval Manuscripts*, p. 271.

²⁹ Frere, 'Newly-Found York Gradual', p. 584; *Missale Eboracensis*, pp. 94-101.

³⁰ Harper, *Forms and Orders*, pp. 143-44.

³¹ *Missale Eboracensis*, p. 101.

by multiple members of the clergy; after the meal, around the hour of vespers, the prelate and all of the clerics of the church are to assemble at the church. The prelate, dean and other notables of the church, with bare feet and prepared with linen cloths, should wash the feet of the surrounding poor in the northern part of the body of the church.³² The antiphons should be sung continuously whilst the canons wash the feet of the poor, up until the poor have drunk their health.³³ This is followed by the instruction that alms should be distributed according to the statute of the same church, which may be referring to the cathedral statutes, but could just as well be a reference to the instruction made in Archbishop Roger's foundation charter that ten shillings were to be distributed by the sacrist of the chapel for the service of the poor on Maundy Thursday.³⁴ Therefore, Roger's attempt to form an intimate bond between the two institutions, by creating an association between the chapel and the events of Maundy Thursday, is demonstrated in practice in the liturgy of the fifteenth-century community.

With the Mandatum of the poor finished, the antiphonal instructs that the canons as well as the vicars should ascend into the choir, singing, and there the fraternal Mandatum will take place. All the canons and vicars sitting together in the choir upon footstools or benches should wash the feet of one another, according to what is ordered.³⁵ After this the deacon, the subdeacon, the cross-bearer and the torch-bearers should proceed, vested in albs, into the middle, where the deacon should read

³² Antiphonal, fol. 93^{tb}: 'prelatus et decanus et ceteri maiores ecclesie, nudis pedibus, accincti lintheis, lauent pauperum pedes circumsedencium in insula aquilonari corporis ecclesie'.

³³ This must be a reference to the Maundy 'love-cup' (potus caritatis) which is found in the Mandatum rite elsewhere, although it is not described as such in the antiphonal. See Tyrer, *Historical Survey of Holy Week*, pp. 110-11.

³⁴ Antiphonal, fol. 93^{tb}: 'de elemosina secundum statutum ecclesie distribuunt eisdem'. See Appendix 2: 1 for Roger's charter.

³⁵ Antiphonal, fol. 93^{tb}: 'Finito mandato pauperum: ascendant tam canonici, que vicarii in chorum, cantantes ea que secuntur et ibi fiet mandatum fraternale. Mandatum fratrum. Omnibus in choro consedentibus tam canonicis quam vicariis super scabella uel formulas, ex utraque parte chori, ad hoc ordinate, lauet unusquisque alterius pedes'.

the lessons. Meanwhile a cloth, wafers and wine should be placed by the ministers of the church into the presence of the prelate and the others sitting together, as if to eat supper.³⁶

The reference to the dean in the first part of the Mandatum suggests that the rite was to take place within the cathedral church rather than the chapel.³⁷ The description of the liturgical geography for the Mandatum and meal could all easily be referring to the cathedral building. However, the inclusion of this rite within the chapel's manuscript indicates that the chapel's personnel needed such instructions, suggesting that they took part in the ritual act of the washing of feet, alongside the cathedral's canons. Furthermore, the rubrics are ambiguous and the lack of comparable material elsewhere in the extant books suggests that the whole Mandatum and meal may have been centred on the physical space of the Chapel of St Sepulchre. The instruction for the washing of the feet of the poor in the northern part of the church may mean the north aisle of the cathedral nave, near to the door of the chapel. The instruction for the canons to then 'ascend' into the choir for the fraternal Mandatum and meal may indicate the physical movement into the chapel, which I suggest was on an upper storey, symbolically representing the Cenaculum of the Last Supper in Jerusalem, as discussed below in this chapter.³⁸

In place of the instructions in the antiphonal for the Mandatum and the washing of the altars, the York Breviary provides the various instructions for the blessings and graces throughout the year, whilst the antiphonal directs the reader of the book towards the pages for the feast of Holy Trinity where the blessings for the

³⁶ Antiphonal, fol. 93^{va}: 'Interim a ministris ecclesie ponantur coram prelato et ceteris consedentibus nappe et nebule cum vino quasi ad cenandum'.

³⁷ In the chronicle of the lives of the archbishops of York it is recorded that Archbishop Arundel (1388-96) gave to the minster a silver chalice with a cover, for the use of the chapter of York for the Mandatum on Holy Thursday. Raine, *HCY*, II, p. 426.

³⁸ The Mandatum and physical configuration of the chapel was discussed in Sections 1.5 and 1.6. The idea of the chapel as the *cenaculum* is considered below in Section 6.2.2, in relation to the chapel's associations with burial and as a liminal space.

whole year can be found.³⁹ The antiphonal says that in the ‘ecclesiastic service’ a change of blessings and thanks is observed, and therefore seems to be making a distinction between the liturgy of the chapel and that of the minster, implying that for the chapel’s liturgy it is unnecessary for the blessings to be located in this part of the book, because no change was taking place.⁴⁰

6.1.2 Holy Saturday

Much of the offices of matins and lauds on Holy Saturday are presented in the same way in the antiphonal as in the York Breviary; there are few rubrics in both, and little that is particular to the antiphonal. However, the antiphonal includes a number of additional instructions for Mass on the Vigil of Easter, demonstrating the unusual nature of this ‘office’ book. The detail of vestments is particularly prominent in the rubrics for this mass, indicating the importance of such ceremonial aspects of the liturgy and creating a good impression of its grandeur: the *Gloria in excelsis* is sung and the tower bell should be rung, meanwhile the vicars are to sing *Alleluia* from the pulpit, vested in white copes. Everyone in choir is to remove their black copes and the mass should be completed vested in surplices. It is also instructed that from this hour, up until the following octave, and on every double feast after this, up until Compline on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, the clergy are to retire from the church and then reappear in surplices and amices. The last part of this rubric only features in MS D of Henderson’s edition of the York Missal, which he assigns to the cathedral. This might indicate that this instruction is institution-specific to the cathedral and chapel, or that these two manuscripts were copied from a fuller exemplar, or both.⁴¹ Pfaff has

³⁹ See Antiphonal, fols 126^{vb}-127^{ra} for the blessings on Holy Trinity.

⁴⁰ Antiphonal, fol. 93^{tb}: ‘Omnes benedicciones et gratias per annum, require in festo Sancte Trinitatis, quia ubi fit mutacio de seruicio ecclesiastico ibi notatur mutacio benedictionum et graciaram in prandio’.

⁴¹ Antiphonal, fols 97^{va}-97^{vb}; *Missale Eboracensis*, p. 124.

suggested the possibility of two exemplar ordinals at York, with a distinction between books intended for use in *majori ecclesia* and those to be used in parish churches.⁴²

Vespers follows immediately after the instructions for mass in the antiphonal, and is to begin after the sacrament has been completed and with all those who wished to partake having received communion. Incense is to be burned at the altar and in the choir at mass and vespers; however, it should not be burned at the bier or the sepulchre at mass or vespers during the vigil.⁴³ It is difficult to determine whether these rubrics are institution-specific; they do not feature in the edition of the York Breviary, but as has been established already, it is the extent of the ceremonial detail in the antiphonal which is unusual, rather than its absence in the breviary. Nevertheless, this instruction is clearly deemed necessary for the location in which the liturgy is taking place and reference to the sepulchre is significant with regard to the Chapel of St Sepulchre.

6.1.3 Easter Sunday: The Cross and Sepulchre

The ceremonial details in the York Antiphonal, presumably gathered and copied from an ordinal, hint at the splendour of the liturgy for Easter Sunday. Various details in the antiphonal's rubrics, especially regarding the number and types of personnel, suggest that they are referring specifically to the liturgy of the minster, rather than the chapel. There are details in the antiphonal regarding the minster's important Easter liturgy which have not been identified elsewhere in the York Use. But as already suggested, the liturgy of these two institutions was deeply intertwined, especially during Easter, and the antiphonal's rubrics support this, suggesting that for much of Easter Sunday the chapel's liturgy merged with that of the cathedral.

⁴² Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 453; see Section 5.3.4.

⁴³ Antiphonal, fol. 97^v.

During certain parts of the liturgy it appears that the community of St Sepulchre's were taking part in the performance of the Easter liturgy within the cathedral. The requirements of personnel and their vestments indicate the grandeur of the liturgy within the cathedral and chapel. According to the antiphonal, at Matins for Easter day there were to be four rulers of the choir who should sing the Invitatory, vested in white silk copes, whilst the lessons were to be read by canons chosen by the chancellor or sub-chancellor.⁴⁴ The reference to canons demonstrates that this rubric is institution-specific to the cathedral close, but it seems unlikely that there would be four rulers of the choir in the chapel and the remaining part is clearly referring to officers belonging to the cathedral. Further instructions for Matins for Easter day refer to numerous vicars of differing ranks which must also be specific to the minster.⁴⁵

The idea that the chapel was home to the minster's permanent Easter Sepulchre has been discussed in Chapter One. The sepulchre's usual location in English churches, within the chancel, meant that ritual space was restricted.⁴⁶ If York Minster's Easter Sepulchre was in fact housed in the chapel which bore its name, this would have enabled the parts of the Easter liturgy which required ceremonial processions to a symbolically 'secret' location to have been conducted with added drama. The liturgical evidence from the antiphonal further suggests that the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels is a strong contender for the location of the Easter Sepulchre. One of the main parts of the liturgy associated with the Easter Sepulchre was the veneration and then deposition of the cross within it on Good Friday. These rites associated with the cross on Good Friday are not normal features of an antiphonal,

⁴⁴ Antiphonal, fols 98^{rb} and 98^{vb}: 'a canonicis secundum dispositionem cancellarii vel subcancellarii'.

⁴⁵ Antiphonal, fols 98^{vb}-99^{ra}. The first response, *Angelus domini descendit de* is to be begun, 'a tribus vicariis in capis sericis', in the middle of the choir. The second response and verse is begun 'a tribus vicariis senioribus in capis sericis'. The third response is begun 'a tribus vicariis antiquioribus [...] seu a personis vel a canonicis per assignatum cantoris'.

⁴⁶ Sheingorn, *Easter Sepulchre*, pp. 24, 34.

and nor do they occur in our unusual example. Evidence for these rites elsewhere in the York Use books does not provide any firm indication as to the location of the Easter Sepulchre. For example, the description of the deposition of the cross in the York Missal, even in the cathedral manuscript which Henderson uses in his edition [MS D], provides no indication of liturgical geography.⁴⁷ The edition of the York Processional suggests that the sepulchre was north of the high altar, but this could well be a more general indication of the sepulchre's usual location in English churches.⁴⁸

Furthermore, the cross and sepulchre feature in the rubrics of the York Antiphonal for Easter Sunday. The institution-specific nature of the rubrics for the resurrection scene in particular suggests that there was no sepulchre within the minster itself and that subsequently the home of the minster's Easter Sepulchre was the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels. According to the antiphonal, in 'matrici Ecclesia' two boys were to sing from a high location, holding candles and clothed in amice and albs, in imitation of the angels announcing the resurrection of the lord.⁴⁹ The rubrics then give the instructions for what should happen in 'ecclesiis exterioribus', meaning the chapel and the parish churches, which are specifically mentioned as the places where, on Good Friday, the cross is placed in the sepulchre.⁵⁰ The exclusion of the minster from this rubric suggests that the cross is not placed

⁴⁷ *Missale Eboracensis*, pp. 106-07; MacGregor, *Fire and Light*, p. 470.

⁴⁸ 'Tandem adorata Cruce bajulant eam duo Presbyteri ascendentes per partem aquilonarem Chori usque ad sepulcrum'. W. G. Henderson, ed., *Manuale et Processionale ad Usum Insignis Ecclesiae Eboracensis*, SS, 63 (1875), p. 163.

⁴⁹ Antiphonal, fol. 99^{rb}: 'Sint duo pueri in altis leuati tenentes candelas multiplices in manibus accensas amittis et albis induti in similitudinem angelorum resurrectionem domini annunciantes et alternatim canant *Adam nouus*, et cetera ut in processionali continetur'. This is another direct reference to a book from which the antiphonal must have, in part, been copied. This part of the liturgy does not feature in the edition of the York Processional, again indicating the variability of the York Use and the extent of it that was assumed to have been lost. There are further mentions of a processional in the York Antiphonal, for example at Prime on Easter Sunday. Antiphonal, fol. 100^{ra}: after the sprinkling of water, a procession was to be performed by everyone, 'ut patet in processionali'.

⁵⁰ Antiphonal, fol. 99^{rb}: 'In Capella uero et in ecclesiis perochialibus ubi crux in die perasceue ponitur in sepulcro'.

within a sepulchre in the minster on Good Friday. With regard to the representation of the resurrection in the chapel and parish churches, the antiphonal instructs that the chaplains and parishioners are to approach the church, and then whilst the antiphon, *Christus resurgens ex mor*, is sung, the cross should be brought forward from the sepulchre by two chaplains or by a chaplain and deacon or by one chaplain, if there are no more present.⁵¹ Such instructions create a good impression of the visual and processional aspects of the liturgy. These rubrics suggest a deliberate distinction between the minster and chapel with reference to the cross and sepulchre, and again suggest that the sepulchre itself was located within the chapel.

The next part of the instruction is more ambiguous but still seems to be making a distinction between liturgical spaces, and strongly suggests that the liturgy of the two institutions was united, moving from one liturgical space to the other, as appropriate for the Easter drama: those who have brought the cross forward from the sepulchre should process round the body of the church, by passing through the southern part and around the font, and returning through the northern part into the choir.⁵² These directions are likely to be general enough to apply to the parish churches, but whilst there is no mention of moving from the chapel into the cathedral, the mention of the font suggests that the procession is to take place in the minster. Therefore, the antiphonal seems to indicate that, after the ‘angels’ have announced the resurrection within the minster, the cross is brought forward from the chapel, processed around the cathedral and then into the cathedral choir.

⁵¹ Antiphonal, fol. 99^{rb}: ‘dum cantatur antiphona proferatur crux de sepulcro a duobus capellanis seu a capellano et diacono, vel ad uno capellano ubi plures non habentur’.

⁵² Antiphonal, fol. 99^{rb}: ‘circueant corpus ecclesie eundo per australem partem et circa fontem et redeundo per borealem partem in chorum precedentibus cereis et ceteris luminariis cum thuribulo’. It seems most likely that the cathedral font was located in the south nave aisle, as shown in Plan 5 of the minster in Raine’s *Fabric Rolls*, p. xxviii, despite Brown’s suggestion that the position of the font can be inferred from the ‘dragon’ which still survives in the north triforium and, she suggests, was used to raise the font cover. Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 123. The evidence here from the antiphonal also seems to support the suggestion that the cathedral font was on the south side of the church.

At vespers a procession to the font is to take place. Again the rubrics are institution-specific, with mention of the minster, parish churches and chapel. The first description of the personnel who are to be involved suggests that these rubrics are describing the liturgy taking place within the minster.⁵³ Following this are instructions for the procession in the ‘external’ churches, meaning the parish churches. The antiphonal states that this procession did not take place within the chapel, presumably because the chapel did not have a font, suggesting that the chapel’s canons were to take part in the cathedral procession. However, there is a much simpler liturgy included for vespers in the chapel, suggesting that at least some of the chapel’s personnel were required to be there at that time.⁵⁴

Mention of the parish churches in such an institution-specific manuscript presumably refers to those with which St Mary and the Holy Angels’ was endowed. But it is no easy matter to define what is meaningfully to be understood by the phrase ‘parish church’ in liturgical terms. In the case of St Sepulchre’s endowments we must factor in the degree to which the resources of the chapel, as the mother church in this relationship, are brought to bear in a parish setting.⁵⁵ The parish churches are mentioned generally in the antiphonal, but from at least as early as 1258 the chapel had to some extent influenced the liturgy of its endowments.⁵⁶ The inclusion of instructions regarding the parish churches suggests some liturgical influence or involvement on the part of the chapel’s personnel, but exactly what this was is not known.

⁵³ Antiphonal, fols 100^{vb}-101^{ra}.

⁵⁴ Antiphonal, fol. 101^{va}. Interestingly, this reference to the chapel does occur in the York Breviary, but the meaning of this is difficult to interpret. At no other point, when what appear to be institution-specific rubrics, either for the minster or chapel, occur in the antiphonal, do they also occur in the breviary. Hughes commented that there was no evidence that the Bodleian copy of the 1493 breviary, upon which Lawley’s edition is based, was ever used at the minster. Hughes, *Cataloguing Discrepancies*, p. 20.

⁵⁵ Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, pp. 509-10.

⁵⁶ See Chapter 2.

6.2 Liturgical Space

6.2.1 Environs and Interior of the Chapel

The level of ceremonial detail in the York Antiphonal and other fragments of evidence enable at least some suggestions to be made concerning the potential complex of space associated with the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels. The shape of the chapel itself is unknown: it would be logical for it to have been uni-cameral, with side rooms, rather than cruciform with a separate ‘choir’ space. In the antiphonal, reference is invariably made to the choir. This may well be a general usage of the word referring to the whole space of the chapel, because this was where the chapel’s ministers (or choir) performed the liturgy, rather than an indication that the chapel had two separate spaces.

Evidence from the antiphonal and Archbishop Greenfield’s fourteenth-century *ordinacio* for the chapel, discussed in Chapter Three, indicates that the chapel had a vestry which could be directly accessed from the ‘choir’ space of the chapel. For example, references in the antiphonal to the changing of vestments imply a space in which to change.⁵⁷ In the antiphonal’s general rubrics and those for the First Sunday of Advent at the beginning of the book, there are indications of a separate vestry space, into which the canons and clerks could move from the choir, in order to change their vestments or to bring vestments out.⁵⁸ Greenfield’s *ordinacio* addresses the matter of the canons’ vestments and provides further indications of the various physical spaces which constituted the institution of St Mary and the Holy Angels. At Greenfield’s visitation of the chapel in 1313, the sacrist, John Busshe, had alleged that the canons and ministers were accustomed to laying down their garments in the chapel’s vestry

⁵⁷ Some examples of this have already been mentioned above in this chapter. See Section 6.1.2 for the changing of vestments during the Mass for the Easter Vigil.

⁵⁸ Antiphonal, fol. 3^{ra}: ‘exeat presbiter ebdomadarius in vestibulum et induat se capa serica’; fol. 9^{vb}: ‘afferat clericus de vestibulo capam sericam et induat sacerdotem’.

and then taking them up again from whichever place they had left them, and that this repeated action led to the theft of said garments.⁵⁹ This demonstrates that, wherever the vestry was, the canons both deposited and picked up their vestments in a very casual manner before and after service in the chapel, and that the location of the vestry was not completely secure. However, the identity of those removing the vestments is not disclosed, which is unfortunate as this would have provided more information concerning access to the vestry. Nevertheless, a further complaint in Greenfield's visitation report may shed more light on this: sometimes wet garments were abandoned over the books and vestments, which stained them and led to evident deterioration. This suggests that the canons and ministers may have been entering the vestry from outside, where they were getting wet, and then leaving their wet garments in the vestry.⁶⁰

The references in the antiphonal concerning a lack of changing of vestments also hint at the need for haste: the phrases 'loco nec habitu mutato' and 'habitu non mutato' are used frequently.⁶¹ The language of haste can identify sacred time and space. For example, the use of *statim* in rubrics suggests that actions should be conducted quickly and indicates a requirement to be in the right place at the right time. In practice there were probably few ministers celebrating in the chapel, but as with the minster choir, provision had to be made for liturgies of considerable splendour, with a

⁵⁹ Again the distinction between the use of the terms *canonici* and *ministri* demonstrates the different types of personnel who served in the chapel. *Register of Greenfield*, I, p. 93; BI, Register 8, fol. 14^f.

⁶⁰ The canons were to continue to put their garments in the vestry in such a way until another suitable place could be provided. However, if any of the canons or ministers should cause any loss or expense to the sacrist, who was responsible for such matters, the canon should make amends to the sacrist by a reasonable estimation of the damage and the subtraction of that amount from his stipend. Greenfield's document also indicates that the chapel complex contained a space which could accommodate blood-letting and its associated period of recuperation. *Register of Greenfield*, I, pp. 92-94; BI, Register 8, fol. 14^f. See Section 3.2.1.

⁶¹ Antiphonal, fols 3^{va}, 4^{ra}, 4^{rb}, 4^{vb}, 7^{ra}, 9^{va}, 10^{rb}, 90^{ra}, 92^{ra} and 99^{vb}.

liturgical space capable of accommodating the thirteen canons and four extra ministers of the chapel's constitution.⁶²

6.2.2 Burial, Remembrance and Liminal Space

Other elements of the chapel's devotional uses, such as funerary associations, help us to further understand what has already been suggested above concerning the chapel's significance in the Holy Week and Easter rites. There is evidence for three of the chapel's canons, two of whom were sacrists, requesting to be buried in the minster nave aisle, near to the door of the chapel. The will of Ralph Bird, canon in the cathedral church and also sacrist of St Sepulchre's from 1462 to 1479, asks that he be buried within the cathedral of York near to the door of the chapel of the Blessed Mary and Holy Angels. Bird had resigned the sacristy four years before his death, so his choice of burial location indicates a strong association with this community as part of his life, and his desire to be near them in death.⁶³ John Hertley, canon of St Sepulchre's from 1511 to his death in 1529, also requests in his will that he be buried in the north aisle of the cathedral, near to the chapel door.⁶⁴ The will of Thomas de la Mare, sacrist of St Sepulchre's from 1333 to his death in 1358, raises more interesting questions about the liturgical use of the chapel. Thomas requested for his body to be buried in the cathedral church of St Peter either before the door of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels or next to the tomb of Archbishop Melton.⁶⁵

⁶² Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*, p. 449. The word 'statim' appears six times in the York Antiphonal between Maundy Thursday and Easter Sunday.

⁶³ *Testamenta*, III, pp. 282-83; BI, Probate Register 5, fol. 80^r.

⁶⁴ *Testamenta*, V, pp. 274-75.

⁶⁵ *Testamenta*, I, pp. 68-70; Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 219. Raine shows the location of Melton's tomb right next to the door to St Sepulchre's in the north aisle. Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. xxviii. However, Drake says that Melton was buried near to the font at the west end of the cathedral, which I suggest was on the south side. Drake, *Eboracum*, p. 433. The evidence of Thomas de la Mare's will also implies that the door to St Sepulchre's and Melton's tomb were in two different locations, although both at the west end of the minster. Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 94. See Section 3.2.3.

In addition to payments to the canons and vicars of the cathedral attending his funeral, Thomas bequeathed to all of the canons of St Sepulchre's, being in the chapel and performing his funeral service, 3s 4d, and to all of the ministers of the chapel being in that same place at his funeral, two shillings. These arrangements imply that his funeral was to take place within the chapel itself. The chapel as a funeral location would be appropriate especially given that Archbishop Sewal's re-foundation charter had enjoined the community to say the Office of the Dead, by specifying additional priests and clerics within the chapel for this purpose, and by founding the perpetual anniversary mass for Gilbert de Tywa. This seems to point at a votive, perpetual observance of the Office of the Dead.⁶⁶

The three requests for burial indicate that the canons wanted to be buried in a ritually significant place, but their choice of burial location in the minster nave aisle, rather than the chapel itself, may also have been a practical consideration. There are no records of burials within the chapel itself, and this, alongside the reference to the chapel as 'ultra portam palatii', led R. M. Butler to suggest that the chapel was above the palace gate on an upper storey.⁶⁷ The suggestion that the chapel was on an upper storey has been largely dismissed.⁶⁸ However, the silence of evidence for burials within the chapel itself is significant, in particular the absence of Archbishop Sewal, and potentially Archbishop Roger.⁶⁹ Coupled with the chapel's liturgical connection

⁶⁶ However, in the York Antiphonal the office does not appear as a separate section of the book, but falls within the Sanctorale on All Saints' Day, which begins on fol. 241^v, with the Office of the Dead on fol. 245^v.

⁶⁷ If the chapel was on an upper storey it is possible that Thomas de la Mare's body would not have been carried up there for his funeral. It would be highly unusual for his body not to be present, but there is no mention, for example, of candles to be burned around his body during the funeral, which would have indicated otherwise. See Section 1.5 for discussion of this ambiguous phrase. Butler, 'Notes on the Minster Close', p. 22.

⁶⁸ Phillips, *Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas*, p. 51; Brown agrees with Phillips that it is more likely that 'ultra' means 'beyond' and thus inside the close, on the archbishop's land. Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, p. 107.

⁶⁹ Sewal was buried in the south transept next to his predecessor Walter de Grey. See Section 1.6.2 for discussion of Roger's burial.

to Maundy Thursday, especially the Maundy meal with the provision of wine and ale, I suggest that the chapel was in fact situated on an upper floor, with the chapel functioning as a representation of the Cenaculum, used for the liturgical representation of the Last Supper on Holy Thursday.⁷⁰

Peter Fergusson has argued that the refectories of regular canons in England were conscious reflections of the Cenaculum in Jerusalem, the room traditionally associated with the Last Supper between Christ and his apostles. The Cenaculum in Jerusalem was, from the second century onwards, identified as being located at Mount Zion, also the location of the Virgin Mary's bodily assumption into heaven. These refectories were made up of two storeys, with the eating hall raised above a vaulted undercroft, and became especially prevalent in the last two decades of the twelfth century following the involvement of England in the Third Crusade.⁷¹

Such a symbolic meaning for St Sepulchre's would indicate that the whole design and purpose of the chapel was intimately connected with this Maundy rite in a much more significant way than is even demonstrated by Archbishop Roger's foundation charter. Furthermore, the chapel's dedication to Mary and the Holy Angels can most closely be associated with the Assumption of Mary into heaven, and therefore its corresponding association to Mount Zion.⁷² The liturgical functions instituted at the chapel's foundation took place at a time when there was both an increased level of contact between England and the Holy Land, and an impulse for imitating, or creating 'representations' of, holy archetypes in architecture, which

⁷⁰ See Section 1.5 for examples of two-storey bishops' chapels and the physical constraints of the chapel's site. The chapel as Cenaculum has been mentioned above in regards to Maundy Thursday. See Section 6.1.1.

⁷¹ Peter Fergusson, 'The Refectory at Easby Abbey: Form and Iconography', *The Art Bulletin*, 71 (1989), 334-51 (pp. 334, 338, 340-42).

⁷² Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), pp. 56-57. The devotional association of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels with the Assumption of the Virgin Mary is discussed below (Section 6.2.3).

stimulated a ‘rememoration’ of events of the past.⁷³ Furthermore, in Cistercian monasteries the Mandatum was conducted within the cloister, adjacent to the refectory, therefore creating an association between the Mandatum and refectory. This gave architectural definition to the liturgical event and the cloister was symbolically transformed during the ritual, not only to represent the chamber in which Christ washed the feet of the apostles, but also to signify the biblical and heavenly spaces.⁷⁴ The separate space of the chapel at York, distinct from the minster church, could be transformed into the biblical and liturgical Jerusalem. Alongside the models for episcopal chapels, this reading of the chapel enables Archbishop Roger’s actions to be understood as representing a complexity of ideas in which liturgical representation, memory and architecture were combined and the liturgical identity of the chapel was intimately linked from the beginning with the rites of Maundy Thursday.

The suggestion that burial around the door of the chapel, but on the minster side, may have been a practical consideration does not detract from the significance of the testators’ choice to be buried there. The site of the chapel was itself in a liminal space, near to the gateway of the archbishop’s palace and at the interface between the archbishop and his cathedral, representing the difficult relationship between the two over many years. This physically liminal location is appropriate for an institution which was founded in part with an intercessory function, in order to accommodate the negotiated transition between life and death. The liminality of the space would have also made the chapel an appropriate location for the cathedral’s Easter Sepulchre, the representation of Christ’s tomb. In addition, the location of these burials on the ‘boundary’ between the two institutions equates with the soul awaiting judgement

⁷³ Fergusson, ‘Refectory at Easby’, pp. 342, 347.

⁷⁴ Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and Their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), pp. 63-64.

before crossing from earth to the afterlife, and suggests that those buried there had a heightened awareness of the boundaries between these worlds.⁷⁵

The occupation of space in death often corresponded to the occupation of space in life. The location of burial on the threshold between the chapel and minster therefore represented the identification of the canons with both communities in which they had lived and worked. The location in the minster aisle, as opposed to the chapel itself, would have also ensured that it was not only the canons of the chapel who passed by, but the numerous clergy and pilgrims who might have stopped to read the inscriptions on their tombs.⁷⁶

6.2.3 St Sepulchre's as Lady Chapel

One of the final devotional and liturgical uses of the chapel which needs to be reconsidered is the possibility that St Sepulchre's functioned as a Lady Chapel. In Chapter Three I suggested that it was possible that the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels functioned as a Lady Chapel, but that the minster's Lady Mass was likely celebrated at the high altar of the cathedral, or even in a Lady Chapel at the east end, before the reconstruction of the minster's choir and presbytery by Archbishop Thoresby. The devotional association between the chapel and the Virgin cannot be denied and further consideration of the liturgical elements of this relationship suggests that St Sepulchre's functioned as an additional Lady Chapel even after the changes to the cathedral in the fourteenth century.

⁷⁵ Paul Everson and David Stocker have considered the location of St Leonard's, Kirkstead in such terms, in 'St Leonard's at Kirkstead, Lincolnshire: The Landscape of the Cistercian Monastic Precinct', in *Medieval Landscapes: Landscape History after Hoskins, volume 2*, ed. by Mark Gardiner and Stephen Rippon (Macclesfield: Windgather Press, 2007), pp. 215-30 (p. 225); Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces*, p. 235; Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the Holy: The Delineation of Sacred Space', in *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Andrew Spicer and Sarah Hamilton (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 1-23 (p. 11).

⁷⁶ Lepine, *Brotherhood of Canons*, p. 136.

Mary was a versatile saint who could incorporate different roles and meanings; devotionally she was the Queen of Heaven, and angels therefore implied her presence there. She was a mediator between the people and her son.⁷⁷ Mary was the saint of the deathbed, and as Our Lady of Pity she is associated with bereavement and as a protector against physical and spiritual terrors.⁷⁸ Several of the largest illuminated initials in the York Antiphonal pronounce the Marian feasts; none is distinctively more prominent than another, but, as mentioned above, the chapel's formal dedication suggests a closer association with her Assumption than with any other Marian feast.⁷⁹ Since the Assumption celebrated the hope of heavenly intercession, which linked heaven and earth, the York chapel's primary dedication is therefore directly linked to intercession and indicates its function as an intercessory space.⁸⁰

An association with the Office of the Dead and other commemorative masses is appropriate for a Lady Chapel. For example, at Hereford Cathedral, the Lady Chapel was the location of daily Lady Mass as well as the performance of a daily office and a Mass of the Dead. In the early sixteenth century, Bishop Edmund Audley (c. 1439-1524) built his chantry chapel at right angles to Hereford's thirteenth-century Lady Chapel, breaking out of its exterior wall half-way down to form a five-sided

⁷⁷ See Clive Burgess, 'Time and Place: The Late Medieval English Parish in Perspective', in *Parish in Late Medieval England*, ed. by Burgess and Duffy, pp. 1-28 (pp. 26-27); Rubin, *Mother of God*, p. 74.

⁷⁸ Duffy, *Voices of Morebath*, pp. 72-73.

⁷⁹ However, in the York Antiphonal, neither the feast of the Assumption nor the Dedication feast provides any particular clues to this. The Dedication feast follows the twenty-fifth Sunday after Pentecost and provides very general instructions for the liturgy; that is, it does not indicate what the specific dedication is. The rubrics for the Dedication feast begin on fol. 150^{ra}, with the first responsory of matins on fol. 151^{ra}. The Assumption begins on fol. 219^{va}.

⁸⁰ Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces*, p. 88; Rubin, *Mother of God*, pp. 132, 140.

apse.⁸¹ Such intercessory functions are reflected in the foundation documents for St Mary and the Holy Angels'.⁸²

Moreover, there is evidence in the York Antiphonal of a liturgy connected to the Virgin that suggests the chapel played a significant role in Marian devotions. For example, in the general rubrics there is a large section on the saying of Lady Vespers, which should be sung in the chapel throughout the year, except on double feasts and on particular octaves. On a feast of nine lessons Lady Vespers ought to be said on the following day. Such omissions on the greater feasts were made for practical purposes, in view of the great length of high mass and office on these days. It should also not be celebrated on the three days immediately preceding Easter Sunday (the Triduum), and on the commemorations of those three days.⁸³ These instructions are part of the long rubrics at the beginning of the antiphonal which are not found in the York Breviary. However, such lengthy rubrics would not be copied into the manuscript if they were not required by the community of St Sepulchre's, and they were therefore deemed important to record in a permanent way for the canons to use.

The antiphonal also includes references to the commemoration of St Mary, which include the singing of votive antiphons in her honour: at lauds, *Ave maria grati plena*, at vespers, *Beata es maria que credidisti*, and at Vespers for Easter Sunday, *Alma redemptoris*.⁸⁴ After the Maundy meal, a commemoration of the Virgin should be said, with the psalm *De profundis* for the dead.⁸⁵ These two duties, of singing daily both at Lady Mass and an evening Marian votive antiphon, became the standard

⁸¹ Cathy Oakes, 'In Pursuit of Heaven: The Two Chantry Chapels of Bishop Edmund Audley at Hereford and Salisbury Cathedrals', in *Medieval Chantry in England*, ed. by Luxford and McNeill, pp. 196-220 (pp. 197, 205).

⁸² See Section 2.3 and Appendix 2.

⁸³ Antiphonal, fol. 4^{vb}. In the rubrics for Maundy Thursday, Vespers of the Lady is to be said at the end of first vespers (fol. 90^{ra}). Bowers, 'Musicians of the Lady Chapel of Winchester', p. 212.

⁸⁴ Antiphonal, fols 9^{rb}, 10^{rb}, 101^{ra}.

⁸⁵ Antiphonal, fol. 93^{rb}.

obligation of Lady Chapel singing-boys in all monastic churches which maintained them.⁸⁶

In the late medieval period the cult of the Blessed Virgin grew in popularity, as Mary was entrusted with the care of the realm during a period of war. Many of the new collegiate institutions of the fifteenth century were dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and elaborate Lady chapels began to appear in parish churches, as well as cathedrals.⁸⁷ Towards the last years of the fourteenth century, in both monastic and secular communities, boys' voices were preferred in the music of the daily Lady Mass, often to tackle a more ambitious repertory of polyphonic music, and their numbers were increased accordingly.⁸⁸ At York, the Lady Mass would therefore be more associated with the minster, which would have had a choir of boys. Indeed, there were originally seven boys who normally sang at obits and chantries in the minster, but in 1425 the number was increased to twelve, due to a gift of money from Thomas Dalby, Archdeacon of Richmond.⁸⁹ This increase in the number of boys at York was part of the expansion of liturgical provision for Lady Mass and was directly related to the building of a new Lady Chapel at the east end of the minster by Thoresby, a point which has not been so definitively made before.⁹⁰ In 1439 Archbishop Kempe (1425-52) decreed that a solemn Mass of the Virgin should be celebrated in Ripon Minster at least on Saturdays, Sundays and feasts, since it was already celebrated daily in York

⁸⁶ Bowers, 'Musicians of the Lady Chapel of Winchester', pp. 218-19.

⁸⁷ Burgess, 'An Institution for all Seasons', pp. 23, 25.

⁸⁸ At Winchester four boys were trained to take part in the Lady Mass. Bowers, 'Musicians of the Lady Chapel of Winchester', pp. 214, 218. At Wells the number of boys increased from six to twelve. Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, pp. 11-12, 77; Oakes, 'In Pursuit of Heaven', pp. 205-06; Heale, *Monasticism in Late Medieval England*, p. 29.

⁸⁹ It is unclear whether at York Minster the organists or the *succentor vicariorum* were also responsible for instructing the choristers, but by the mid-sixteenth century the post of master of choristers had become firmly established, and in 1531 Thomas Kirkby was admitted to the double office of organist and master of choristers at a salary of £13 6s 8d. Aston, 'Music since the Reformation', pp. 396-98.

⁹⁰ See Section 3.3.2.

Minster.⁹¹ There are numerous references to boys within the antiphonal's rubrics; it is impossible to resolve whether these were the cathedral's boys or whether the chapel had its own choristers. However, it would be surprising if the chapel did not also have some of its own.

The increase in the number of boys in the cathedral in the fifteenth century and the new Lady Chapel at the east end is significant to the timing of the production of the York Antiphonal, which, as discussed in Chapter Five, seems to reflect the liturgy of a new ordinal, prompted by such changes.⁹² This use of boys demonstrates an expansion and elaboration of liturgy in the chapel and cathedral, which was part of a general trend in secular cathedrals and colleges. Choristers would be used, not only for Lady Mass, but to enhance the ceremonial aspect of divine service, serving as thurifers, crucifers, taperers and bearers of holy water. For example, in the late fourteenth century, Bishop Wykeham's colleges at Winchester and Oxford were provided with sixteen choristers each. This was more than even at Salisbury Cathedral, which had only fourteen.⁹³ At York the choristers also served in musical aspects of the liturgy un-related to Lady Mass. Many of the references mention the *puer versiculus* and instruct that 'dicatur versiculus a puero versiculario'.⁹⁴ This may be a specific part of the York rite, because junior members of the choir were not usually meant to sing versicles. On Sundays three boys were to begin the responsory *Aspiciens* and sing the verse, with the choir singing the respond.⁹⁵ These references to boys all occur in the long general rubrics or rubrics for the First Sunday of Advent at the beginning of the Temporale. References to boys in the antiphonal's liturgy for Holy Week and Easter instruct that they were to sing the *Kyrieleison* and *Christeleison*, and represent the old

⁹¹ Harrison, *Music in Medieval Britain*, p. 78; *Memorials of Ripon*, II, pp. 148-49.

⁹² See Sections 5.1 and 5.3.3.

⁹³ Eavis, 'Commemorative Foundations of William of Wykeham', p. 177.

⁹⁴ Antiphonal, fols 3^{va}, 4^{ra}, 4^{rb}, 5^{rb}, 6^{va}, 7^{ra}, 10^{rb}.

⁹⁵ Antiphonal, fol. 7^{ra}.

liturgy, found in the *Regularis Concordia*, rather than representing any new version of the ordinal expressed in the antiphonal.⁹⁶ At Lauds for Maundy Thursday both books direct that five boys should be provided by the succentor. This number of boys must be a reflection of the cathedral's liturgy.⁹⁷

The information regarding 'poor clerics' in Archbishop Roger's charter indicates that the chapel's canons, or at least the sacrist, were already responsible for the living, and potentially training, of such a group of young clerks, who had no other means of support aside from the hospitality of the canons.⁹⁸ Whether this system of training and support extended to either the cathedral's boy choristers or the chapel's own is unclear. The large number of boys in the cathedral suggests that there may have been some overlap in the use of boys between the cathedral and chapel, with the chapel utilising the cathedral's choristers as part of a reciprocal transfer of personnel that seems to have characterised the relationship between these two institutions. But if this were the case it is unlikely to have been a daily arrangement, because it would take the boys out of their training programme in the cathedral.

In conclusion, therefore, the antiphonal suggests that the chapel was celebrating Lady office even after the rebuilding of the east end of the minster and the creation of a new devotional space dedicated to the Virgin. However, it does not seem to have been celebrating on behalf of the minster, and so, from at least the fifteenth century onwards, it seems to have functioned as an additional Lady Chapel, celebrating Lady Mass and office as part of its own distinct liturgical routine, either using the cathedral's boys or its own.

⁹⁶ Antiphonal, fols 92^{rb}, 92^{va}, 95^{va}, 97^{va}. Symons, *The Monastic Agreement*, p. 36.

⁹⁷ Antiphonal, fol. 92^{rb}.

⁹⁸ See Section 1.6.1.

6.3 Conclusion

The York Antiphonal provides new evidence for the chapel's liturgical identity within the cathedral close, of which there appear to be several main elements: the chapel's role on Maundy Thursday in the Mandatum, as part of the cathedral's Easter liturgical programme, the home of the Easter Sepulchre, as a Lady Chapel, and as an intercessory space for members of the community. As such, the current way in which the chapel is written into the history of York and the cathedral does not do it justice. The Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels demonstrates the multi-functionality of the collegiate church or chapel. Providing for an enhanced Marian liturgy and a permanent location for the Easter Sepulchre at York, Archbishop Roger and his successors were enabling a greater glorification of worship.⁹⁹

The chapel's liturgical functions cannot easily be separated, as each one informs the others. The level of ceremonial detail in the antiphonal for the Triduum and Easter demonstrates the distinctive nature of the liturgy for this season of the year, and also its grandeur and complexity in the chapel and cathedral more widely. On Maundy Thursday the liturgy, in sound and sight, is mournful, in anticipation of the events of Good Friday. The detailed description of the Mandatum in the antiphonal indicates that this was a significant part of the chapel's liturgy, involving both the cathedral and chapel canons in the humbling action of the washing of feet. As such, this indicates that the chapel's late medieval liturgy was an elaborated version of that intended by Archbishop Roger at its foundation. Furthermore, the references to liturgical geography suggest that the Mandatum was to partly take place within the nave of the cathedral and partly within the chapel, with the Maundy meal also taking place within the chapel. St Sepulchre's liturgical use as a Maundy chapel, is therefore

⁹⁹ Bishop Audley's chantry chapels at Hereford and Salisbury provide late medieval examples of the multi-functionality of such spaces, encompassing Marian and Easter liturgy respectively. Oakes, 'In Pursuit of Heaven', pp. 206-07, 215.

connected to its physical configuration, located on an upper floor, and representing the Cenaculum in Jerusalem.

Institution-specific rubrics for Easter strongly suggest that the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels was the home of the minster's permanent Easter Sepulchre. This suggestion is also testified by the chapel's intercessory and funerary associations, and its liminal location at the gateway to the archbishop's palace. Such associations also make the chapel an appropriate setting for Lady Mass and office. The fifteenth-century liturgy of the chapel reveals a distinct Marian aspect, corresponding to the late medieval growth in the cult of the Blessed Virgin. This change was facilitated by the expansion in buildings and personnel, witnessed at York in the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries.

Chapter Seven

Epilogue: The Sixteenth-Century Community and the Dissolution of the Chapel

By way of concluding the history of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels this chapter takes the form of an epilogue, bringing us into the sixteenth century proper and the period of Reformation in England. The story ultimately concludes with the chapel's dissolution in 1548, following the Second Act of Parliament in 1547 to dissolve all chantries and colleges in England.¹ The lands, site and possessions of the chapel passed to the crown, and subsequently into the hands of individuals, a story which reflects that of numerous institutions during this period.

Simon Roffey suggests that the major question in Reformation studies is whether or not there was growing inclination for reform in the decades leading up to Reformation.² Approaches to this period of English history have conversely considered it in terms of either inevitable decline or the strength of 'traditional religion'.³ Gareth Dean has discussed whether medieval York went through a period of decline in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but concludes that the ideas of 'decline' or 'decay' may be far more complex than is often believed and are tied up

¹ In 1545 Henry VIII, having forced the surrender of the monasteries, had already begun plans to suppress all hospitals, chantries and chapels. John W. Clay, ed., *Yorkshire Monasteries: Suppression Papers*, YASRS, 48 (1912), pp. 81-82; Alan Krieder, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (London: Harvard University Press, 1979), p. 5.

² Simon Roffey, 'Deconstructing a Symbolic World: The Reformation and the English Medieval Parish Chantry', in *Archaeology of Reformation*, ed. by Gaimster and Gilchrist, pp. 341-55 (p. 346).

³ Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey have considered the way in which scholarship on the late medieval church changed in the latter part of the twentieth century, in 'Mapping the Soundscape: Church Music in English Towns, 1450-1550', *Early Music History*, 19 (2000), 1-46 (pp. 3-6). A. G. Dickens is a proponent of the view that 'a schism with the Pope became manageable without arousing much opposition within the realm'. See Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: Batsford, 1964), p. vi. The revisionist view is expressed most noticeably by Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, especially Part I, pp. 9-376, from where the term 'traditional religion' is borrowed.

with changes to the social structure of the city.⁴ This thesis has attempted to study the fifteenth-century community of St Sepulchre's without looking forward to what was to happen in the mid-sixteenth century, an approach considered by Clive Burgess and Andrew Wathey.⁵ In this way it has demonstrated how the late medieval community was a product of its earlier history, rather than a precursor to its later history.

Nevertheless, it is fruitful to consider the nature of the community of St Sepulchre's in its last decades and whether it substantially differed from that which had gone before. Furthermore, we must consider how the dissolution and eventual destruction of the chapel, both as an institution and as a building, have influenced how we have been able to study its history in the post-Reformation period, again through comparison with its neighbouring cathedral church, which has constitutionally changed little since the medieval period.

7.1 Eve of Dissolution: A Community in Decline?

By asking of the sixteenth century those questions we have of earlier centuries, concerning the relationship between the archbishop, his chapel and its sacrist, it is possible to assess any changes to the community that may have taken place. Thomas Magnus was sacrist of St Sepulchre's chapel from 1504 until its dissolution and is therefore a significant figure in this period of the chapel's history. The archbishop of greatest import and interest to the chapel in the sixteenth century was Archbishop Edward Lee (1531-44), who governed the church in York through a period of major change. Both men were deeply embroiled in the events of Henry VIII's Reformation and significantly, in a region of rebellion and upheaval, remained conservative, royalist and strongly Catholic.⁶ Along with Brian Higdon, dean of York Minster from

⁴ Gareth Dean, *Medieval York* (Stroud: History Press, 2008), pp. 132, 178-79.

⁵ Burgess and Wathey, 'Mapping the Soundscape', p. 6.

⁶ D. M. Palliser, *The Reformation in York 1534-1553*, Borthwick Papers, 40 (York: BI, 1971), p. 5; Dickens, *English Reformation*, p. 44.

1516 to 1539, they belonged to an important group of Henrician clerical officials whose training in civil law predisposed them to stand invariably on the side of the national State over the international Church, despite their religious convictions.⁷

Edward Lee was a favourite of Henry VIII. In September 1531 the king asked the pope to provide Lee with the archbishopric of York. Lee was determined to keep on good terms with King Henry, but he could not approve the religious policies which were being pushed by the crown. Lee disliked the idea of royal supremacy but informed King Henry that the pope had no power in England and promised to obey him; he then refused to publish the king's new title in the minster, yet preached on the injuries that the pope had done the king, before a congregation which included Thomas Magnus.⁸

Lee feared the suppression of foundations in his diocese and attempted to quash any need for government interference through a series of his own visitations of the religious institutions in 1534 and 1535. These visitations, although a part of the normal diocesan administration, were, in terms of their timing, perhaps an answer to the royal commissioners and an attempt to save his institutions from dissolution.⁹ His actions reflect the external pressures on a man deeply involved in politics as much as in the internal workings of York Minster.¹⁰

Lee conducted a visitation of St Sepulchre's chapel that reveals much about the liturgical relationship between the chapel and the minster and something of the general conduct of the canons, and shows a continuation of the same issues that have been examined in this thesis. For example, although the visitation's main aim was to

⁷ A. G. Dickens, ed., *Clifford Letters of the Sixteenth Century*, SS, 172 (1957), p. 41.

⁸ *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 12 (1890), part 1, no. 786, pp. 341-42; Tindal Hart, *Ebor*, pp. 98-99; Palliser, *Reformation in York*, p. 5.

⁹ 'Visitations in the Diocese of York', pp. 424-25; Claire Cross, 'From the Reformation to the Restoration', in Aylmer and Cant, *History of York Minster*, pp. 193-232 (p. 195).

¹⁰ W. J. Shiels discusses the nature of visitation records in 'The Altars in York Minster in the Early Sixteenth Century', *Studies in Church History*, 35 (1999), 104-15.

report on the behaviour of St Sepulchre's canons, even before the visitation could be conducted the main grievance of Archbishop Lee appears to have been the non-residence and absence of canons in services. Having visited the chapel on the date he had specified for visitation, Lee found several canons still absent, and therefore he could not complete the visitation.¹¹ However, following a successfully completed visitation a series of injunctions were produced for St Sepulchre's, dated 5 September 1535, informing the clergy of their errors and what was in need of reform. Grievances included canons arriving late and leaving early at services, attending only long enough to secure the penny due to them for each attendance. Some of them were continuously absent and delegated their duties to deputies or substitutes, which, the injunction states, blindly dishonoured the wishes and foundations of Archbishops Roger and Sewal.¹² These complaints indicate that the system introduced by Sewal of additional payment for attending services was being abused, and did not have the intended effect of encouraging canons to reside. Lee's complaint, that being continually absent was a violation of the founder's wishes, is consistent with the number of attempts made by the archbishops to encourage or enforce residency in line with Archbishop Roger's establishment of the constitution.¹³ However, we have also seen that the employment of deputies on seemingly both a casual and more long-term basis had become the norm for the canons, and for the sacrist, of St Sepulchre's.¹⁴ This rarely seems to have caused any great administrative difficulties and therefore we can see Lee's injunction as part of the rhetoric of reform which led the archbishops to periodically address the non-residency of the canons and refresh in their minds the intentions of the chapel's

¹¹ The canons were informed of a second day, 13 May 1535, on which they must appear in the chapel, although it was stipulated that if they were still not present then the visitation would proceed anyway. 'Visitations in the Diocese of York', pp. 436-37.

¹² 'Visitations in the Diocese of York', p. 448: 'voluntates et fundaciones bone memorie Rogerii et Sewalli, predecessorum nostrorum et eiusdem capelle fundatorum, temere violantes'.

¹³ See especially Section 3.1.3.

¹⁴ See Sections 3.1.2 and 4.3.4.

founders, which were so central to the construction of the chapel's institutional identity. Lee's use of his predecessors' names demonstrates a continuing awareness of the authority with which he could order his own reforms. Again, the chapel's foundation charters were being used and appealed to as legal documents to consolidate the rules, duties and identity of the community.

Furthermore, Lee's reference to both Roger and Sewal as the founders of the chapel indicates that Sewal's re-foundation was considered by his successors to be every bit as significant to the institutional identity and constitution as Roger's original foundation. All attempts by succeeding archbishops to reform the chapel were just that, reforms rather than legal foundations; even in the case of William Greenfield, who, I suggested, had in some ways 're-founded' the chapel through a new *ordinacio* and the reissuing of the chapel's foundation documents, was reasserting the wishes of Roger and Sewal, rather than his own. This again confirms the significance of the efforts of Sewal, and his sacrist Tywa, in acquiring additional endowments for the chapel and augmenting its constitution.¹⁵

Further complaints in Lee's visitation include the behaviour of the canons when they were present in services: they were found to hurry over their singing, often omitting words and talking, thus causing serious offence. Instead, it is ordered, they must celebrate devotedly without haste, saying the words distinctly and clearly so that in singing and reciting they can be understood fully by bystanders. If they do not reform their behaviour they will lose their penny, and the money will go to the use of the fabric of the chapel, through the sacrist or his deputy.¹⁶ In Lee's report there seemed to be an eagerness to show compliance with the royal will, but also an attempt

¹⁵ See Sections 2.3 and 3.2.1.

¹⁶ 'Visitations in the Diocese of York', p. 451. It appears that the sacrist, unlike the canons, was allowed to have a deputy, perhaps because this system was formalised in Sewal's re-foundation charter.

to distance himself from some of the reforming measures. Lee welcomed the positive provisions of the crown's 1538 injunctions concerning the better instruction of the people. It is probable therefore that his injunction to St Sepulchre's regarding the unintelligibility of words was part of this sixteenth-century reform rhetoric. In 1538 he issued further injunctions to his diocese that encouraged vernacular instruction and the reading of the Epistle and Gospel in English.¹⁷

Lee's injunctions suggest that the liturgical ideal expressed in the York Antiphonal was divergent from the liturgical realities of the community, because the splendour of the liturgy suggested by the number of personnel in the antiphonal may not have been true in practice. However, all of the chapel's personnel would have attended the important feasts such as Easter, even if they were absent or used deputies for ordinary time. Furthermore, the value of the antiphonal lies in the presentation of the ideal, in order to understand the liturgical and institutional identity of the chapel and its relationship to the cathedral church.

Martin Heale has suggested, in the context of late medieval monasticism, that visitation records have an inherently negative character, but that recurring problems cannot be ignored; they display genuine faults, but meanwhile are unlikely to reveal deep spirituality where it did exist. Moreover, Heale suggests that comparison between thirteenth-century and fifteenth-century visitation reports does not indicate any significant decline in standards.¹⁸ The same can be found in the case of St Sepulchre's: Lee's visitation records neither the picture of immorality favoured in the royal visitations of many religious foundations nor an unblemished record of the canons' conduct. It reports on grievances that were common in secular cathedrals across England on the eve of the Reformation, which Stanford E. Lehmberg ascribed

¹⁷ Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 412-14.

¹⁸ Heale, *Monasticism in Late Medieval England*, pp. 25-26.

to a reflection of ‘human frailty’ and a ‘lack of devotion’.¹⁹ It would be easy to read these visitations as a sign of declining standards among the chapel’s community. However, these issues, especially non-residence and attendance, were not symptomatic of the sixteenth century: they were chronic throughout the chapel’s history. Moreover, as Edwards optimistically suggested, non-residence did not necessarily imply laziness in other spheres of life.²⁰ The canons of St Sepulchre’s, alongside their cathedral counterparts, were civil servants and scholars, as much in the sixteenth century as they had always been.

The timing of Lee’s visitations suggests that the archbishop was acknowledging what was in need of reforming, indicating that the crown need not step in, and that he could make the necessary reforms himself.²¹ Unfortunately, they did not prevent the government from sending its own commissioners to assess the situation in the north and to intimate the wishes of the court to the archbishop. But visitations were part of the normal administration of the diocese and we must not see these events as pre-empting what eventually happened: dissolution was not necessarily seen as a certainty. Indeed, the defacing of the York Antiphonal after 1538 indicates that services in the chapel were expected to continue, although altered.²²

The royal commissioners may in fact have justified their own visitations due to the incapacity of ordinary methods of visitation to effect substantial reform. The effects of bishops’ visitations were impermanent, and the keeping of injunctions depended on the head of the institution to enforce them. As a result, old faults reappeared and new injunctions merely repeated what had been said before.²³ We

¹⁹ Lehmborg, *Reformation of Cathedrals*, pp. 35-37.

²⁰ Edwards, *English Secular Cathedrals*, p. 36.

²¹ ‘Visitations in the Diocese of York’, p. 435.

²² See Section 5.2.2.

²³ A. H. Thompson, ed., *Visitations in the Diocese of Lincoln 1517-1531*, Lincoln Record Society, 33 (1940), pp. ciii-civ.

have seen this numerous times already, as successive archbishops attempted to enforce the ideal of the community's identity and legal constitution.

As regards St Sepulchre's community, in the sixteenth century the chapel's prebendaries were wealthy men by any standard of the time, as had always been the case, and at its head was a member of the Yorkshire clergy who was a prominent local figure and pluralist. Magnus was the embodiment of everything that the chapel's sacrist was and could be: an important administrative figure, a pluralist, and a career ecclesiastic involved in Church and State.

Like Archbishop Lee, Magnus was heavily involved in the political affairs of the day. Indeed, Dickens suggested that 'should one wish to sense in one life the inwardness of the Henrician revolution, one should study Thomas Magnus rather than Thomas More'.²⁴ Magnus may be generally less well-known to history than More, but Dickens's assessment seems fairly accurate when we consider Magnus's career. Magnus helped to subjugate the northern convocation over the king's divorce and occupied a prominent place on the Duke of Richmond's council, as its surveyor and receiver-general.²⁵ Evidence from wills, letters and civic records reveals the extent to which Magnus was involved in civic proceedings and legal matters, and shows him as both socialite and priest.²⁶ Magnus's numerous benefices, including the Chapel of St Sepulchre, the hospital of St Leonard, York, and the archdeaconry of the East Riding,

²⁴ Dickens, *English Reformation*, p. 45.

²⁵ Dickens, *English Reformation*, p. 44. The will of Thomas Ryther, Esq., describes Magnus as 'director' to the Lord of Richmond. *Testamenta*, V, p. 229. The Duke of Richmond at this time was Henry Fitzroy, Henry VIII's illegitimate son. Beverley A. Murphy, *Bastard Prince: Henry VIII's Lost Son* (Stroud: Sutton, 2001), pp. 62-63.

²⁶ The York Civic Records illustrate some of Magnus's roles in a period of great difficulty for governors of the city due to economic decline and restless inhabitants. Angelo Raine, ed., *York Civic Records*, YASRS: 106 (1942), pp. 121-23; 108 (1943), p. 8. A letter sent in March 1542 from Thomas Magnus to Henry Clifford, the first Earl of Cumberland, demonstrates how Magnus's social and religious roles were combined. In the letter Magnus thanks the earl for a 'grete and fatt stagge' he had received from him and briefly mentions the recent visit of King Henry VIII to York. Magnus assures Clifford of his 'hearty prayer and to have [him] as [his] loving priest and beadman' and wishes him good and prosperous health and a long life. *Clifford Letters*, p. 87.

were bestowed on him due to his tireless devotion to the crown and his diplomatic work.²⁷ But his position on the northern political stage surely left little time to have much personal involvement in the daily running of St Sepulchre's, at least in the later part of his sacristy. His responsibilities must have been deputised, as had often been the case for St Sepulchre's sacrists. Magnus was a strong royalist, unwaveringly loyal to Henry VIII throughout his reign and in his decision to split from the pope, and he continued to direct this loyalty to Edward VI.²⁸

Despite Magnus's untiring devotion to the crown, he can have had little sympathy with Protestantism. Magnus died in 1550 an old man, a wealthy catholic, and faithful to traditional religion. Dickens suggested that his final wishes were made void by the Dissolution and were not carried out. However, the end of Magnus's will instructs that all previous versions of his will should be utterly void, and therefore his instruction for a sermon to be made to the people to 'exhort them to learn to die' rather than for any payments for masses, obits or chantries, is likely a result of a revision of his will. It must have been plain to most testators after 1549 that attempts to secure traditional intercessory activities would be counterproductive, especially by means of a will, which had to be proved in the ecclesiastical courts.²⁹

²⁷ For Magnus's life, career and benefices see Cross, *York Clergy Wills: I*, pp. 86-87; Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 44-45; C. A. McGladdery, 'Magnus, Thomas (1463/4-1550)', *ODNB* [accessed 23 March 2010]. In 1539, as an obedient crown servant, Magnus surrendered the mastership of St Leonard's hospital, which was subsequently dissolved. Claire Cross and Noreen Vickers, *Monks, Friars and Nuns in Sixteenth-Century Yorkshire*, YASRS, 150 (1995), pp. 511-12.

²⁸ In his will, Magnus describes Edward VI as 'Defender of the Fathe and of the Church of Englande and also Ierlande in the eearth the Supreme Head [...]'. Cross, *York Clergy Wills: I*, p. 88.

²⁹ He is recorded as being eighty-six years old in the chantry certificates, so he must have been nearly ninety when he died in 1550. His will is printed in Cross, *York Clergy Wills: I*, p. 88, and reveals much about his more personal relationships with fellow clergy. Dickens, *English Reformation*, pp. 44-45; Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 504-08. Magnus asked to be buried either in York Minster next to Archbishop Savage or in the parish church of Newark-upon-Trent, from where he originated. However, his brass effigy is found in the parish church of Sessay, of which he was rector, where he is commemorated as 'archdeacon of th'est riding of the metropolitan church of Yorke, and parson of this church'. Cross reproduces the epitaph in *York Clergy Wills: I*, p. 87; for an illustration of the brass, see Hugo

Magnus's accumulation of wealth by the time of dissolution was extensive. The chantry certificate of 1548 for the chapel records his income. His living from St Sepulchre's was £43 5s, a fairly sizeable amount, but still only a small part of his overall income which came to a total of £615 13s 9d. The livings of the rest of the canons from the Chapel of St Sepulchre were quite small in comparison, with the priests receiving only £11 4s 7d and the clerks just 13s 4d.³⁰

D. M. Loades has argued, in his study of Durham collegiate churches, that by the dissolution such places could no longer be used to reward the good offices of important men, and that a prebend itself was no more remunerative than a humble curacy, with most clerics holding other ecclesiastical preferment and additional incomes. Loades concludes that the dissolution of the four major Durham colleges of his study was justified even without religious reformation, on account of the pointless state to which the prebends had deteriorated.³¹ Archbishop Lee had bewailed that the low value of the livings in Yorkshire, which were often less than eight pounds, were so small that no educated man would take them.³² St Sepulchre's subdeacons earned a little over this, at £8 11s 3d, but these prebends were still of relatively low value. Nevertheless, throughout the chapel's history its canons and sacrists had held multiple benefices and such a situation was therefore not necessarily an indication of declining standards or a loss of income.

The clerical subsidy of 1523 to 1528 was an important precursor to the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* [VE] of 1535. It lists 170 individuals who shared 189 posts between

Blake and others, 'From Popular Devotion to Resistance and Revival in England: The Cult of the Holy Name of Jesus and the Reformation', in *Archaeology of Reformation*, ed. by Gaimster and Gilchrist, pp. 175-203 (p. 187).

³⁰ Magnus's living from other benefices came to £572 8s 9d. The prebends were valued at the same level in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535 and the chantry survey of 1548: priests at £11 4s 7d; deacons at £9 11s 3d; subdeacons at £8 11s 3d. *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, p. 19; *Certificates of the Commissioners*, II, pp. 428-29.

³¹ Loades, 'Collegiate Churches of County Durham', pp. 69, 74.

³² Krieder, *English Chantries*, p. 21.

them, including sixteen positions in the Chapel of St Sepulchre. Those who were taxed as chaplains of the chapel were also taxed in other posts that they held. For example, Robert Atkirk paid tax on his income of forty shillings as chaplain of St Sepulchre's and also a further one hundred shillings which he received as cantarist of Foss Bridge. Whilst income levels as expressed by the taxation assessments do not necessarily present a reliable guide to an individual's actual income, as some individuals were only taxed in one post and other sources of income were ignored, the taxation records do provide a relative comparison for how the incomes of St Sepulchre's clergy had changed. The subsidy also provides us with the names of the members of the community at one particular moment in its history, much like the *VE* and the chantry certificates.³³

These lists of members of St Sepulchre's show the extent of occupancy both just before and at the moment when dissolution was imminent. The *VE* and the chantry survey demonstrate that there was still a full set of canons filling the prebends.³⁴ The information in these records also enables us to consider how the nature and characteristics of the canons compared to the previous century. In the *VE* only four of the chapel's thirteen canons are recorded as *magister* (30 per cent). The 1548 chantry certificate recorded the standard of education of the chapel's personnel. We know that Magnus was *magister* from the *VE*. In addition, in the chantry survey one priest is listed as Doctor of Divinity and another as Bachelor of Divinity. For the rest, they are described as a combination of being 'indifferently well-learned', 'well-

³³ C. C. Webb, 'A Census of York Clergy? The Clerical Subsidy of 1523-1528', in *Life and Thought in the Northern Church*, ed. by Wood, pp. 257-93 (pp. 257, 262-64).

³⁴ The *VE* names a full constitution of sacrist, four priests, four deacons and four subdeacons, as well as two chaplains. *VE*, pp. 18-20. The chantry survey names the sacrist, twelve prebendaries (three priests, five deacons, four subdeacons), two priests conduct and two clerks. *Certificates of the Commissioners*: I, pp. 5-6; II, pp. 428-30.

learned', 'indifferently learned', 'meanly learned', and 'not learned'.³⁵ It is unclear what criteria the commissioners used to judge the learning of the canons or what is really meant by any of these phrases, and Alan Krieder has suggested that it is unwise to read too much into such categories. However, Krieder comments that of those described as 'well-learned' few possessed university degrees, suggesting, as the chantry certificate for St Sepulchre's itself does, that the commissioners would record university degrees if the incumbents held them.³⁶

The evidence for education of the chapel's canons in the long fifteenth century provided a total of 43 per cent who were known or likely to have studied at university.³⁷ In terms of canons holding prebends at any one time, for most decades in the fifteenth century half or just over half of the canons held university degrees, so this average percentage is generally accurate.³⁸ However, at certain points the results indicate that evidence may be incomplete. For example, out of the twelve canons who held prebends in 1430, just two are known to be university educated, and in 1440 out of ten canons there is no evidence that any held degrees. Yet, in 1480, nine out of thirteen canons can be described as *magister*, and in 1510 nine out of twelve can. The statistics for the fifteenth century also do not distinguish between whether a canon attended university before, after or during his prebend in the chapel, just that at some point they obtained a degree. Therefore, comparing these results to those in the *VE* and chantry survey suggests that in the decade or so before the dissolution there may have been some slight fall in the number of canons of the chapel who were educated to a higher faculty, but not a complete change in the composition of the chapel's personnel.

³⁵ There is a marked difference between the chantry certificates of 1546 and those of 1548. The Edwardian articles were much more interested in the quality of personnel. Krieder, *English Chantries*, pp. 11-12; *Certificates of the Commissioners*, II, pp. 428-30.

³⁶ Krieder, *English Chantries*, pp. 28-29.

³⁷ See Section 4.5.1.

³⁸ Appendix 4: Table 3.

The 1548 chantry certificate also provides an indication of matters, such as age, which have been more difficult to establish elsewhere. Magnus was the oldest member of the community, at eighty-six, but not far behind him was Humfrey Ogle, aged eighty. The majority of the twelve canons holding prebends were in their fifties and sixties, with the two youngest both recorded as thirty-five years old. The two clerks were young men of only twenty-one and twenty-three years old. Unfortunately, because of a lack of data, it is difficult for us to form an understanding of how these ages reflect the age at which certain individuals entered the chapel. However, the younger ages of the canons in the chapel are more likely to reflect those who had more recently become members of St Sepulchre's. Indeed, Cuthbert Scott, aged thirty-five and Doctor of Divinity, had only been admitted to his prebend the previous year, and this also seems to reflect the trends witnessed among the canons of the fifteenth century.³⁹

The members of St Sepulchre's who were serving the chapel at its dissolution seem to have also had similar relationships with one another and with the wider York clergy as their fifteenth-century counterparts. Surviving wills from after the dissolution of the city's chantries reveal the names of several of St Sepulchre's former canons and clerks. For example, John Houseman, one of the two young clerks of St Sepulchre's in 1548, was witness to the will of John Hogeson, curate of St Mary Bishophill Junior, in 1550, and also received a handkerchief and twenty pence.⁴⁰ Three ex-members of St Sepulchre's appear as witnesses to the will of John Barnard, rector of All Saints, Peasholme, in 1551: William Kirkby, John Walker and Robert Gybbon. Although some of these wills show less valuable bequests than we have seen for several prominent ecclesiastics in the fifteenth century, the relationships are no

³⁹ See Chapter 4.

⁴⁰ Claire Cross, *York Clergy Wills 1520-1600: II City Clergy*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 15 (York: University of York, 1989), pp. 55-56.

less significant.⁴¹ Indeed, Robert Gybbon, who was unbeneficed after the loss of his chantry in the minster and his prebend in St Sepulchre's, seems to have benefitted from a number of close relations with his former fellow clergy. In addition to his role in Barnard's will, Gybbon was bequeathed a black gown by Thomas Magnus, and from William Kirkby, who had been a priest conduct rather than a prebendary in St Sepulchre's, Gybbon received ten shillings, a velvet cap and a cony-fur cape.⁴² The strength of the ties between the chapel's clergy seems to have remained even after the dismantling of St Sepulchre's.

As such, there seems to have been no real period of decline leading up to the chapel's dissolution, in Dean's terms implying a loss of wealth or population, which in the chapel's case would be its canons and endowments.⁴³ Evidence from this period shows the chapel and community continuing to exist in much the same way as they always had, although there are understandable signs of concern from Archbishop Lee during the period in which the institutions of his diocese were being dismantled.

7.2 Final Days: Dissolution

Archbishop Lee died in September 1544, having already granted into the king's gift the 'grant of the next advowson of the sacristy or mastership of the chapel called the Holy Sepulchre's or St Mary and the Holy Angels beside York Cathedral'.⁴⁴ In the event, Magnus continued as sacrist for the remaining three years of the chapel's existence; nevertheless, this grant demonstrated what was swiftly to come for St Sepulchre's. On Christmas Eve 1547, the House of Lords passed the bill which received royal assent the same day. Early in 1548, commissioners began touring the

⁴¹ Cross, *York Clergy Wills: II*, pp. 56-57.

⁴² Gybbon also appears as supervisor to William Pinder's will in 1558, alongside William Kirkby, for which he was bequeathed ten shillings. From Thomas Layther, rector of St Saviour's York, Gybbon was bequeathed a bonnet and five shillings in 1566. Cross, *York Clergy Wills: I*, p. 88; Cross, *York Clergy Wills: II*, pp. 78-79, 83, 91.

⁴³ Dean, *Medieval York*, p. 132.

⁴⁴ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, 21 (1908), part 1, no. 970, p. 485.

realm to survey the lands and possessions of the doomed institutions. On Easter Day 1548, all of the surveyed institutions, St Sepulchre's included, came into the possession of the crown.⁴⁵ Therefore, when the chapel was eventually dissolved it was Robert Holgate who was Archbishop of York, a man sympathetic to the Reformation and one of whose first actions as archbishop was to alienate some sixty-seven diocesan manors to the crown, to the impoverishment of the see.⁴⁶

The 1545 Act had dissolved only certain sizeable foundations purely for monetary gain, whereas the 1547 Act attacked all obits and anniversaries as well as lamps and lights. But if the Henrician act was for the larger and wealthier institutions, it seems surprising that St Sepulchre's was not dissolved until after the 1547 Act. The reason was that Henry's act did not set a date for dissolution, nor did it even assume that all the institutions surveyed would be suppressed. The 1545 Act only granted to the king immediately those institutions which had already been dissolved by private initiative. It allowed others to stand until the king expressed his pleasure for each one individually.⁴⁷ The Edwardian Chantries Act of 1547 provided that all of the specified institutions would be vested in the king on a fixed date, to dispose of as he saw fit. The suppression this time would be total, immediate and unconditional.⁴⁸

The effects of the dissolution on those parishes which were appropriated to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels would have been numerous. The appropriation of parishes by such institutions often rendered the parochial incumbents too poverty-stricken to hire priestly assistance needed to serve cures adequately.⁴⁹ Such harmful effects may have been acute in Otley, where St Sepulchre's held a

⁴⁵ Krieder, *English Chantries*, p. 1.

⁴⁶ H. L. Parish, 'Holgate, Robert (1481/2–1555)', *ODNB* [accessed 21 August 2013]; Cross, 'From Reformation to Restoration', p. 198.

⁴⁷ Krieder, *English Chantries*, pp. 176-77.

⁴⁸ Krieder, *English Chantries*, pp. 191-92.

⁴⁹ Krieder, *English Chantries*, p. 57.

mediety of the parish church from the twelfth century.⁵⁰ Despite being appropriated to two wealthy institutions, only one curate was appointed to serve 1,700 parishioners in a territory that was, especially in winter, difficult to travel. However, four chantry priests of the parish provided vital assistance to the vicar of Otley in the late medieval period. One result of the dissolution of St Sepulchre's, therefore, was the removal of these extra priests serving the parish. The chapel's appropriation of the parish's income also ceased, but this appropriation was taken over by the crown, and the siphoning of money away from the parish would have continued.⁵¹ Peter Marshall suggested that the transfer of patronage to the crown seemed to represent an extreme intrusion of external state power into the heart of the local community. But the crown did not long hold on to its windfall of advowsons.⁵²

7.3 Post-Dissolution Legacy

After the dissolution of 1548, another survey was made of the contents of the colleges, chantries, chapels and guilds that had come into the king's hands by the act of parliament. Matthew White, the surveyor of the king's land and possessions in York, made an inventory of the plate within York Minster on 20 May 1549, which shows how little of the furniture belonging to the altars in the minster still remained at this point. The inventory for St Sepulchre's chapel appears to have more remaining than most of the minster chantries: two chalices, a gilded pyx for keeping the host, a pair of partially gilded censers and a basin.⁵³ However, bearing in mind the size and wealth of

⁵⁰ The other mediety of Otley church was part of the cathedral prebend of South Cave. See Section 3.1.2.

⁵¹ Krieder, *English Chantries*, pp. 57-58; *Certificates of the Commissioners*, II, pp. 395-96.

⁵² Peter Marshall, 'The Dispersal of Monastic Patronage in East Yorkshire, 1520-90', in *Reformation Old and New: Essays on the Socio-Economic Impact of Religious Change c. 1470-1630*, ed. by Beat A. Kümin (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996), pp. 124-46 (pp. 145-46).

⁵³ 'Inventory of the Plate within the Church of York', in Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 313-14.

St Sepulchre's, there is very little recorded. By this date much of the contents of the chapel must have already been sold or secreted for safety.⁵⁴

By 1550 parts of St Sepulchre's endowments, being now in the crown's possession, had begun to be granted away. A grant was made on 1 August 1550 to Silvester Leigh and Leonard Bate, 'gentlemen' from Pontefract and Wakefield, for the tithes of grain, corn and hay from Micklethwaite grange, which 'belonged to the late chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels called Seynt Sepulcres Capell within York Cathedral'.⁵⁵ On 19 November 1551 the revenues of several parishes belonging to St Sepulchre's were assigned to George Webster for a term of twenty-one years. This assignment was confirmed on 3 April 1562 when Webster surrendered the old patent of the Court of Augmentations and a new lease was created. This grant leased, for a further thirty-one years, 'the late chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels commonly called Sepulchres Chappell by York Cathedral and the tithes and all other possessions of the said chapel', for a yearly rent to the crown of £137 19s 2 ½d. Further reservations of the lease were that Webster was to distribute yearly alms to the poor of the specified parishes. The same sums were assigned to those parishes for which the sacrist of St Sepulchre's had previously been responsible.⁵⁶

⁵⁴ Sales from 1547 onwards represent not a swing towards reform, but a panic-stricken stampede to prevent theft by the crown. Duffy, *Stripping of the Altars*, pp. 484-91. See Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3 for the use and history of the York Antiphonal up to and beyond the Reformation.

⁵⁵ *CPR: Edward VI, 1549-1551* (London: HMSO, 1925), pp. 257-60. Micklethwaite grange was part of the manor of Bardsey and Collingham.

⁵⁶ *CPR: Elizabeth, 1560-1563* (London: HMSO, 1948), pp. 283-84. The sections of Archbishop Roger's and Sewal's charters concerning the chapel's endowments (their vicarages and alms) are copied onto a document which appears to date to the sixteenth century. The exact origin or purpose of this document is unknown, but could have been a case of making sure that all of the endowment was correctly recorded before it was passed on at the dissolution. The document is now held with a collection of papers relating to the Calverley estate, suggesting that it originated in some way from the church there, which was appropriated to St Mary and the Holy Angels'. YAS, Clarke Thornhill of Fixby Collection, DD12/II/30/32.

The survival of the cathedral at York, as both building and institution, has undoubtedly skewed the scholarship, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis, towards the archaeological and architectural history, because of the wealth of evidence gatherable from the surviving building. Antiquarian records have been employed in the study of medieval York Minster, often with reference to various tombs and inscriptions that have subsequently now been lost. Conversely, the loss of nearly all physical remnants of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels has shaped the way in which we think about that institution and the questions we can answer. Despite their inherent limitations, the antiquarian sources are very valuable to our investigation of St Sepulchre's.

Dickens's account in the *Victoria History* for the city of York suggests that the dissolution of St Sepulchre's cannot have been widely regarded as a calamity, because it had little impact upon the lives of the people of York, in contrast to the guilds and chantries.⁵⁷ It is true that for most of St Sepulchre's canons their stipend from the chapel was by no means their only source of income and even the alms that were to be paid by the sacrist to those parish churches which had been appropriated to the chapel were now to be paid by the crown and then Webster. However, Dickens's approach underestimates the loss of the chapel's liturgical role in the minster, the particular place it occupied in the lives of the archbishops of York, and the loss now felt of any remnants of the chapel and its buildings.

St Sepulchre's did not manage to survive the sixteenth-century changes by transforming itself and accepting an altered role in society, as York Minster, and most of the secular cathedrals in England, did.⁵⁸ Many other collegiate churches were also redesigned along Protestant lines, often as educational colleges. When it came to this

⁵⁷ Tillott, *The City of York*, p. 147.

⁵⁸ Lehmborg, *Reformation of Cathedrals*, p. 306; Cross, 'From Reformation to Restoration', pp. 196, 201.

crucial moment in its history, St Sepulchre's appears to have been viewed primarily as an intercessory institution, rather than an educational one. Furthermore, the other elements of its identity, as a Maundy chapel, Easter Sepulchre and Lady Chapel, would have been swept away with the Catholic liturgy and Latin rite.

St Sepulchre's was no longer seen as a necessary institution. Its dissolution was a moment of complete loss and destruction, which would have altered the whole liturgical routine of the cathedral, because of the removal of a significant number of personnel who had supported the liturgical life of the cathedral throughout the Middle Ages. Indeed, it was the grandeur of the chapel's liturgy and its intimate connection with the minster, which made St Sepulchre's dissolution so catastrophic. Similar losses were felt at Fotheringhay College, which was one of the largest and most magnificent colleges in late medieval England: a church of considerable grandeur and ambition, comprising a master, twelve fellows, eight clerks and thirteen choristers, serving one of the more impressively-delivered liturgies. Right up until its dissolution, new members were being recruited at Fotheringhay and new music for mass and office was being acquired. Although its choir school was re-founded as a grammar school, the college was dissolved in 1548 and the collegiate buildings were subsequently attacked: the church choir and the community's accommodation are now entirely gone.⁵⁹

With the institution of St Sepulchre dissolved, the chapel itself had no further liturgical use, but the post-Dissolution history of the building is obscure. The first grant of the chapel made to Webster occurred only four years after its dissolution, therefore it is likely that any buildings were still standing at that time, however, what

⁵⁹ David Skinner, 'Music and the Reformation in the Collegiate Church of St Mary and All Saints, Fotheringhay', in *Late Medieval English College*, ed. by Burgess and Heale, pp. 253-74 (pp. 255, 260-61, 264-65); Burgess, 'Fotheringhay Church', pp. 347-48; Nigel Saul, 'Fotheringhay Church, Northamptonshire: Architecture and Fittings', in *The Yorkist Age*, ed. by Kleineke and Steer, pp. 367-79 (pp. 368, 379).

Webster did with them is unclear. The physical destruction seems to have been somewhat protracted, with some buildings still associated with the chapel's site in the nineteenth century (see below). However, by 1600 the archbishop's palace was ruinous and the whole site was leased in 1618 to Sir Arthur Ingram, who built a large Jacobean mansion on the north side of the minster. This has also since vanished, but the history of the site suggests that the Chapel of St Sepulchre was in a ruinous state by the early seventeenth century, after which its buildings were demolished and amalgamated into the early modern secular use of the site.⁶⁰

Drake does not mention any buildings on the site of St Sepulchre's in his history of 1736, which would seem unlikely if there was anything still in existence that could be closely identified with the chapel at that time. Nevertheless, there are references to the use of the site in the early modern period. William Hargrove recorded that 'after the edifice [of the chapel] had ceased to answer the purposes originally intended, part of it was converted into a public-house, known by the name of the "Hole in the Wall"'. In 1816 this building was demolished, at which time what Hargrove suggests was an ecclesiastical prison was found underground, being used as the pub cellar.⁶¹ By the time of Browne's excavations in the mid-nineteenth century there was nothing remaining of St Sepulchre's at all above ground, and little archaeological evidence that could be positively identified as the chapel itself. Any remaining archaeology on the north side of the minster in Dean's Park may have been

⁶⁰ R. M. Butler, 'York Palace, a Vanished Jacobean Mansion', *York Historian*, 8 (1988), 25-45 (pp. 26, 35).

⁶¹ Hargrove, *History and Description of the Ancient City of York*, II, pp. 126-29; Tillott, *The City of York*, pp. 338, 497. John Bilson refers to this underground space as the 'dungeon', but suggests that it was a crypt underneath the Chapel of St Sepulchre. Bilson, 'Notes on a Remarkable Sculptured Representation of Hell Cauldron, Lately Found at York', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London*, 2nd series, 21 (1905-07), 248-60 (p. 257).

destroyed during the wartime excavation for static water tanks in the first half of the twentieth century.⁶²

St Sepulchre's destruction was so complete that interest concerning its scale and importance has, until now, been lacking. Indeed, were it not for the connecting architectural features that still remain, there would be no indication, at first glance, that a building once stood at the north-west corner of York Minster. Thompson's study of St Sepulchre's succeeded in realising the significance of the chapel and the members of its community, but ultimately failed to express the extent to which the history of the chapel was connected to that of the minster. Some of Browne's arguments regarding the involvement of the chapel in the lives and deaths of the archbishops of York may have at times been far-fetched; but his attempt to include the Chapel of St Sepulchre in the history of York Minster was valid and important. Whilst the lack of archaeological and architectural evidence must ultimately define our approach to St Sepulchre's, as distinct from that of the minster, there is plenty of evidence to show that these two institutions were closely connected with one another.

⁶² Phillips, *Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas*, p. 5.

Conclusion

The history of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels had previously appeared sparsely in existing scholarship and what had been said was limited to a consideration only of the constitution of the chapel and as a side note in discussions about the architectural history of York Minster. The existing scholarship had also oversimplified its purpose and identity: St Sepulchre's had been considered only as a chantry chapel, although as something of an oddity because of its early date for such an institution, with a subordinate relationship to the minster. This thesis has not only demonstrated how much more there is to say about the institutional history of the chapel, but has questioned the way in which we must now think about York Minster. The ways in which the two institutions were dependent upon each other, demonstrated by this thesis, strongly suggest that we cannot write authoritatively about the minster without reference to the chapel.

The chapel was maintained and was solvent for far longer than its apparent status as an archbishop's 'chantry chapel' might suggest. St Sepulchre's shared many institutional similarities with the minster, and its community was similar to the minster's secular community of canons and clergy, though under the direct control of the sacrist rather than of a cathedral chapter. In general, developments in the chapel appear to have followed reorganisations or renewals in the cathedral church. The chapel's proximity to the cathedral and its foundation under archiepiscopal control defined its relationship with the minster. The archbishop was responsible for instigating major changes to the constitution of the cathedral, its prebends, personnel and fabric. Therefore, whenever an archbishop addressed any of these matters in the cathedral, often shortly afterwards similar developments can be seen in the chapel. However, St Sepulchre's was not a cathedral church, with the same security which

that status provides. The history of the chapel could have gone a number of ways and the pattern of institutional development, in which it kept its independence yet had a good working relationship with the minster, was by no means guaranteed when Archbishop Roger founded the chapel in the twelfth century.

Throughout St Sepulchre's history, it was the role of the archbishop and his authority within the chapel which was crucial to its institutional survival. The role of the sacrist was also significant and to a great extent the chapel's ability to function depended upon the relationship between sacrist and archbishop. The chapel had a strong liturgical and corporate identity, which has emerged by looking at the chapel from a long perspective across the entirety of its existence. In each period the identity of the chapel was formed around the projection of the chapel's legal foundation by Archbishops Roger and Sewal.

The foundation of the chapel was discussed in Chapter One, in order to establish both the historic context of Archbishop Roger's episcopate and building works at York and the nature of the chapel's constitution. The chapel can be seen as part of a pattern of wider development of cathedral closes and bishop's palaces, in a period when bishops were attempting to regain, or at least define, the areas of their jurisdiction, and to create liturgical spaces in which they could express their own autonomy. Archbishop Roger's development of the cathedral close at York was also part of his ambition to assert the province's and see's importance against Canterbury, a unique situation in the development of English cathedrals. Roger's foundation was intended to serve both his own needs for an intercessory commemorative space and, by means of appeasing his cathedral chapter, some of the liturgical needs of the minster, with specific roles in the Holy Week and Easter liturgy. Significantly, it was these elements of the chapel's function, neglected in previous scholarship on both the

chapel and minster, which were integral to its institutional identity, and which played an important role in the construction of the minster's own history and identity.

In the decades following Roger's initial foundation, the sacrist of the chapel had to deal with the issues which arose when the rights to property, tithes and land changed hands. These matters were addressed in Chapter Two. The result of these challenges was Archbishop Sewal's re-foundation of the chapel, in which he took measures to reform pastoral care in the diocese and to re-order the constitution of the chapel, as his predecessor, Walter de Grey, had done in the cathedral. By examining the early thirteenth century and Sewal's re-foundation it became clear that an industrious sacrist with a good relationship with the archbishop, such as Gilbert de Tywa, was a significant administrative figure, who was central to the success of these measures and the effective implementation of both Roger and Sewal's wishes for the chapel.

Chapter Three addressed the challenges which the chapel faced in terms of its institutional identity in the late thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These challenges came from external influences upon the chapel's personnel and from physical developments within the cathedral. The chapel's canonries were highly sought after by both those seeking preferment and those wishing to promote their clerks and kinsmen, indicating the success of both Roger and Sewal in founding the chapel. The legal foundations of these two archbishops were important for the maintenance of the chapel's institutional identity in the period covered by Chapter Three. The ideal of residence was not followed strictly, but succeeding archbishops attempted to uphold the founder's wishes and used the chapel's foundation charters as legal documents to order the canons to reside. The threat to the chapel's institutional identity from non-residence is reflected in the official records, but never seems to have caused significant problems in practical terms to the functioning of the chapel. More

significant to the effective administration of the chapel was its sacrist. Chapter Three's examination of problematic appointments and neglectful sacrists demonstrated the importance of the sacrist to the institution's proper functioning. When the sacrist was alienated from the archbishop and failed to take care of his responsibilities, such as with John Busshe's appointment, the chapel struggled. Chapter Three also considered the physical challenges to the chapel's identity. Archbishop Melton's building works at the west end of the minster nave showed the close physical relationship between the two institutions, also suggesting a close liturgical relationship. The rebuilding of the east end of the minster in the fourteenth century meant that St Sepulchre's was, thereafter, not the only liturgical space dedicated to the Virgin, but enabled us to consider St Sepulchre's role as a place of Marian devotion, and foreshadowed the further discussion of this matter in Chapter Six.

Chapter Four addressed the community of St Sepulchre's in the long fifteenth century, with the aim of establishing the corporate identity of the canons and how the canonries in the chapel fitted into the wider network of secular ecclesiastical benefices within the diocese and England. The results of the prosopographical approach to the canons demonstrated that the personnel of the chapel overlapped with that of the minster. For those who feature prominently in the records, we can see from their activities that these were ambitious men with much to offer the archbishop. In return the chapel acted as a training ground for promising clerks and could provide an important step in their preferment, which often led to progression into prebends in the minster and other secular cathedrals. In terms of background, education, ambition and career, there is little to differentiate the canons of St Sepulchre's from those of the minster, so matters which affected the cathedral chapter often had the same impact on the chapel. Those canons about whom we have less information nevertheless provide enough basic data to indicate that a prebend in the chapel was a popular benefice and

that the chapel was likely at full occupancy for most of the fifteenth century. This suggests that, whether the canons were resident or not, the chapel would have been staffed by some level of personnel. Indeed, in the late fifteenth century the strength of the chapel's corporate identity, under sacrist John Hert, created an opportune time for a renewal and reconstruction of the chapel's identity through a period of liturgical innovation, which was addressed in Chapters Five and Six.

The evidence for this liturgical renewal was the production of the York Antiphonal. Chapter Five considered the antiphonal in the context of the fifteenth-century community of St Sepulchre's, the later history of the book, and its wider significance within the study of the York Use and its surviving books. The history of the antiphonal has suggested that, whilst the chapel was being dismantled in the sixteenth century, a significant part of its identity was purposefully saved. This perhaps indicates more about the way in which the remnants of such institutions were distributed, sold and secreted, than about the importance of the chapel itself. However, the suggestions made about the connection of the Sothill/Constable family to the foundation of the chapel, tells us something about how such families reacted to the dissolution of their religion and their personal connections to the institutions which represented it.

Chapters Five and Six demonstrated the unusual nature of the York Antiphonal, in terms of the detail and number of its rubrics, and suggested that the book reveals large parts of an ordinal, previously presumed to be lost in the extant York Use books. In Chapter Six, examining the liturgy in the York Antiphonal enabled those suggestions made in Chapters One and Three, regarding the liturgical identity of the chapel, to be more solidly established. The consideration of the role of the chapel in the Maundy rite is new and signifies an even greater involvement of the chapel in the Easter liturgy, making it essential to the cathedral's liturgical life. The chapel can now

be regarded as a strong contender for the home of the minster's Easter Sepulchre.

Moreover, it represented the space with which the Easter liturgy and its expressions of Christ's life, death and resurrection were associated.

The production of the antiphonal and the ceremonial detail found within it, reveals a liturgy potentially associated with a new ordinal, and demonstrates that the chapel was home to a grand and elaborate liturgy in the fifteenth century, which was a period of wider liturgical expansion across the churches of England. The chapel's liturgy was connected to the expansion of liturgical provision in the minster, through the building of a new Lady Chapel and the subsequent increase in the number of choir boys for the celebration of Lady Mass. The different liturgical and devotional aspects of the chapel's identity which have been suggested - as a chantry chapel with funerary associations, Maundy chapel and Cenaculum, Easter Sepulchre and Lady Chapel - are all intimately connected to one another, each strengthening the likelihood of the others, and combine to indicate that St Sepulchre's was a significant liturgical space in its own right and as part of the cathedral's complex.

The exact physical location of St Sepulchre's within the area of the archbishop's jurisdiction to the north of the minster has still not been established, and perhaps cannot be without large-scale archaeological excavation. Nevertheless, the identification of the chapel's association with Maundy Thursday, as well as the limited textual and architectural evidence, suggests that the chapel was located on an upper floor. The closeness of the liturgical relationship which has now been established between the chapel and cathedral strongly suggests that the chapel lay physically close to and adjoined the minster church, to enable the easy access of canons from the chapel to the high altar of the minster on a daily basis and for processions and movement from one liturgical space to another.

Chapter Seven considered whether there was any distinctly visible change in the community of the chapel or its relationship with the Archbishop of York during the period of Reformation in England. The results showed that the chapel continued to function much as it always had, and therefore that its dissolution was not an inevitable result of declining standards or a lack of interest in the chapel on the part of the canons or archbishop. Most studies of ecclesiastical institutions, including those of York Minster, rely upon standing fabric and archaeological remains. Chapter Seven briefly concluded that the study of St Sepulchre's is ultimately shaped by the chapel's history and identity: its dissolution and failure to transform itself into an institution acceptable to Protestant ideas has led to the loss of its fabric and internal records. However, faced with an institution without such evidence, this project demonstrates the type of study which can be conducted by looking at the institution from the perspective of its community and its legal and liturgical identity. Moreover, such an approach is essential to understand the complexity and life of an institution, and to recreate an impression of the institution as it was used for worship. Therefore, even those institutions for which there is plentiful physical evidence should be considered from this perspective, using the architectural evidence to support suggestions regarding these matters.

This thesis has also revealed areas where there is scope for further research. The collective history of the parish churches with which St Mary and the Holy Angels' was endowed is an avenue of research which was not possible to explore within the extent of this thesis, but a more detailed study, especially of the archbishop's relationship to some of these estates and of the lay families who were patrons of others, could reveal much about the organisation and administration of the diocese. There is potential for further research on the chapel's personnel using a prosopographical approach to the community in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

For the fifteenth century the connections between the chapel's canons and other secular institutions, especially the interesting link with the cathedral at Wells, could be further explored, providing a more complete understanding of the network of clergy and institutions which existed in late medieval England. The exploration of the York Antiphonal has perhaps revealed the area of greatest significance for future research. The identification of detailed, institution-specific rubrics and the suggestion that the book was copied in large part from an ordinal indicate a number of exciting possibilities stemming from a complete examination of the rubrics of this manuscript, with regard to the study of the York Use, an area of liturgical studies which has only recently been considered more extensively. Furthermore, the approach to the York Antiphonal in this thesis, as a source for the history of its specific institution, has demonstrated the value of such methodology.

To return to the title of the thesis, the phrase 'in the shadow of the minster' has been used in some configuration by both Thompson and Norton to refer to the fact that the chapel was subsidiary to the cathedral, both physically and institutionally.¹ The loss of the chapel's physical remains and its internal records after the dissolution, and thereafter within the scholarship on the cathedral's history, seems to have cemented its position. It is hoped that this thesis has helped to draw the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels out from under this long shadow.

¹ Thompson, 'The Chapel', p. 63; Norton, 'Anglo-Saxon Cathedral', p. 10.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Sacrists of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels c. 1179-1548

Hamo	<i>c.</i> 1179- <i>c.</i> 1217/20
Gilbert de Tywa	<i>c.</i> 1225-1265
Peter de Erehun	1265- <i>c.</i> 1267
Percival de Lavagna	<i>c.</i> 1267-1290
Thomas Corbridge	1290-1300
Francis Gaetani	1300-1303
Gilbert Segrave	1303-1304
John Busshe	1304-1333
Thomas de la Mare	1333-1358
John Waltham	1358-1388
Roger Weston	1388-1416
Henry Bowet	<i>c.</i> 1416-1422
Thomas Bryan	1422-1449
John Sendale	1449-1452
Richard Wetwang	1452-1453
John Gysburgh	1453-1462
Ralph Bird	1462-1479
John Hert	1479-1495
William Warde	1495-1497
Edmund Carter	1497-1504
Thomas Magnus	1504-1548

Appendix 2: Foundation Documents

Document 1: Archbishop Roger of Pont L'Évêque

The Register of William Greenfield 1306-1315: BI, Register 7, fols 3^v-5^r.¹

Marginal title: Ordinacio Rogeri.

Rogerus Dei gratia Eboracensis archiepiscopus, apostolice sedis legatus, omnibus successoribus suis, et decano et capitulo Eboracensi. Universis sanctae matris ecclesie filiis hanc cartam visuris vel auditoris salutem. Quantas bonitati Divine gratias referre debeamus, super his que ad honorem suum tempore nostro efficere dignata est, breviloquio expedire non posset.² Inter que capellam, quam sub nomine Beate et Intemerate Virginis Marie et Omnium Angelorum iuxta maiorem ecclesiam construximus et dedicavimus, silencio preterire fas esse³ minime credimus; in qua, ut in eternum ad Dei honorem et successorum nostrorum gloriam et ob peccatorum nostrorum remissionem divina celebrentur, proposuimus ut tresdecim clerici diversi ordinis ibi imperpetuum faciant mansionem, et horis matutinis et divinis, iuxta constitutionem ecclesie beati Petri, semper deserviant. Horum autem quatuor esse sacerdotes decernimus, quatuor diaconos, quatuor subdiaconos, et unum sacristam, qui ad nutum archiepiscopi et arbitrium in his que intus agenda⁴ sint sedulus semper existat. Ut autem ipsis necessaria non desint, providimus, tam ex largicione nostra, quam quorundam fidelium, unde imperpetuum sustentari possint; de dono nostro, medietatem ecclesie de Otteleye, ecclesiam de Everton', ecclesiam de Sutton cum

¹ Printed from this register as 'The Ordination, by Roger, Archbishop of York, of his Chapel of St Mary and the Angels near York Minster', in Raine, *HCY*, III (1894), pp. 75-77. Also printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, iii (1846), pp. 1181-82. There appear to be some small discrepancies between the manuscript and the editions found in Raine and Dugdale. Lovatt lists the extant manuscript copies of Archbishop Roger's charter, which all appear to be copies of the version she calls 'B', which is this copy found in the Register of William Greenfield, BI, Register 7: Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, p. 43.

² Raine's edition reads 'non possumus'. Lovatt agrees with my transcription 'non posset', and the following punctuation and capital letter for 'Inter'.

³ fas esse fas esse.

⁴ agenda: first 'n' marked with two dots underneath, presumably as a sign for deletion.

capella de Scroby, et ecclesiam de Hayton, [et]⁵ ecclesiam de Berdeseye; de dono Willelmi Scoty, ecclesiam de Calverley; de dono Willelmi Paynell, ecclesiam de Hoton; de dono Avicie de Rummilly, ecclesiam de Harewod; de dono Ade de Brus et Ivette uxoris sue de Arches, ecclesiam de Thorp. In hiis autem omnibus ita⁶ indemnitati nostre et successorum nostrorum et officialium providimus, ut in ecclesiis, que non sunt de dominio nostro, in quibus nos et officiales nostri sinodalia et alia que ad nos vel ad ipsos de iure spectare noscuntur hactenus percipere solebant, absque ulla contradiccione libere percipiant; reliquas vero ecclesias, que sunt de dono et dominio nostro, ita libere et quiete teneant, sicut aliquit⁷ qui eas ante eos tenuerant, liberius et quietius aliquando tenuerunt.

Statuimus autem ut nulli praedictorum clericorum extra civitatem moram facere liceat; si vero fecerit, et ad commonicionem Archiepiscopi redire noluerit, liceat ipsi archiepiscopo alii eiusdem ordinis porcionem⁸ eius, qui remotus fuerit, assignare, qui assiduus, secundum quod constitutum est, in dicta capella deserviat. Statuimus preterea ut unusquisque presbiterorum predictorum habeat per annum decem marcas; unusquisque predictorum diaconorum habeat per annum centum solidos; unusquisque predictorum subdiaconorum habeat per annum sex marcas argenti; que omnia recipiant per manus sacriste quem constituimus predictorum omnium reddituum procuratorem. Si vero redditus predictarum ecclesiarum non potuerint sufficere ad perficiendam summam unicuique per aliquam occasionem, tunc detrahatur de uniuscuiusque porcionis quantitate ut decem marce remaneant sacriste. Quando autem quantitas reddituum sufficere poterit ad perficiendam integre omnium porcionum summam, quod residuum fuerit cedit in usum sacriste.

⁵ Lovatt, *York 1154-1181*, p. 43.

⁶ Raine's edition has this as 'tam'; Lovatt agrees 'ita'.

⁷ Lovatt: aliquem. Raine: aliquot.

⁸ The manuscript reads 'possessionem' with an insertion mark on the line and with 'porcionem' in the margin. Evidently meant as a correction, but 'possessionem' is not erased.

Ut autem in omnibus honor ecclesie beati Petri conservetur, volumus et precipimus quatenus predictus sacrista in Cena Domini sumptibus suis in hiis que ad canonicos matricis ecclesie, scilicet⁹ beati Petri, spectant, tam in nebulis, quam in vino, cerevisia, et vasis, et aqua ad ablucionem pedum canonicorum et clericorum pauperum, ad opus eorumdem pauperum, decem solidos, et ad victum eorumdem pauperum, scilicet¹⁰ sexaginta, ea que necessaria sunt [inveniat]¹¹, ut in omnibus fraternitas et unitas ecclesie conservetur. Hiis testibus Roberto decano, Hamone cantore, Magistro Gwydone, Radulfo Archidiacono, Johanne Archidiacono.

⁹ silicet.

¹⁰ silicet.

¹¹ Raine: sint [inveniat]. This is omitted in the manuscript and must be Raine's insertion.

Document 2: Archbishop Sewal de Bovill

The Register of William Greenfield 1306-1315: BI, Register 7, fols 3^r-3^v.¹²

Marginal title: Ordinacio Sewalli super fundacione beate marie et Sanctorum Angelorum Eboracensis.

Universis Christi fidelibus presentes literas inspecturis, Sewallus Dei gratia Eboracensis Archiepiscopus, Angliae primas, salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Noveritis quod nos de approbacione et consensu capituli nostri, procurante instanter et expresse consentiente magistro Gilberto de Tywa, tunc sacrista capelle nostre beate Marie virginis et sanctorum Angelorum Eboraci, pro se et successoribus suis ejusdem capelle sacristis, ad honorem et gloriam omnipotentis Dei, gloriose virginis matris ejus, et omnium sanctorum, ad augmentum divini cultus in eadem capella futuris temporibus exhibendi, statuimus et inperpetuum ordinamus, quod duodecim canonici et prebende duodecim eorumdem canonicorum, et alia in capella ipsa predecessorum nostrorum temporibus ordinata firma et illibata perpetuis temporibus perseverent. Hoc ex nostra ordinacione adjecto, quod unusquisque canonicus ejusdem capelle in civitate predicta circa ipsam capellam residens, singulis diebus seu noctibus, ad matutinas unum denarium, ad magnam missam alium, et tercium ad vespervas qui interfuerit de bursa sacriste per manum suam vel procuratoris sui, preter proventus prebende olim constitute, percipiat. Ita quod si aliquis canonicorum predictorum a predictis horis vel ipsarum aliqua absens fuerit, vel presens rixam vel insolentiam fecerit, pro hora in qua fuerit absens, vel presens predicta commiserit, denarius subtrahatur. Quis autem

¹² Printed from this register as 'The Ordination of the Chapel of St Mary and the Angels, York, made by Archbishop Sewall', in Raine, *HCY*, III (1894), pp. 175-81. Words in square brackets appear in Raine's edition but not in the manuscript. Also printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, VI, iii (1846), pp. 1182-83.

canonicorum rixam vel insolentiam hujus[modi] commisisse videatur, sacriste vel ejus procuratoris arbitrio duximus committendum.

Ordinamus preterea quod in capella predicta, preter duodecim canonicos supradictos, sint duo sacerdotibus¹³ pro defunctis singulis diebus celebrantes, duo diaconi, et duo subdiaconi; qui diaconi et subdiaconi jugiter celebrantibus in ipsa capella sacerdotibus ministerium devotum exhibeant. Qui etiam sacerdotes, diaconi, et subdiaconi ad horas canonicas et magnam missam diebus singulis suam presentiam exhibentes, cum ceteris dicte capelle canonicis et ministris omni die dicant plene Placebo, Dirige, et aliud servicium pro defunctis. Et licet canonici et ministri per negligenciam vel culpam seu alio modo omiserint idem servicium pro defunctis dicere, dicti duo presbyteri, diaconi, et subdiaconi ad hoc necessario teneantur.

Unusquisque autem dictorum duorum sacerdotum quinque marcas, unusquisque vero duorum diaconorum tres marcas, et unusquisque duorum subdiaconorum duas marcas et dimidiam annuas pro stipendiis de bursa sacriste percipiat. Quibus quidem cum horis, magne misse, vel officio exhibendo pro defunctis non interfuerint, vel presentes rixam vel insolentiam fecerint, sacerdoti denarius, diacono et subdiacono obolus pro hora cui non interfuerit, vel presens rixam vel insolentiam commiserit, sacriste, vel procuratoris sui, arbitrio subtrahatur. Et licet canonicorum capelle institutio et destitutio ad nos et successores nostros debeat inperpetuum pertinere, istorum tamen duorum sacerdotum, duorum diaconorum, et duorum subdiaconorum ad sacristam institutio et destitutio pertinebit, et qui quidem sacerdotes, diaconi, et subdiaconi, preter casus alios in jure expressos, propter incontinentiam, infidelitatem, seu insolentiam, pro voluntate sacriste absque judiciali strepitu poterunt amoveri.

¹³ Raine and Dugdale: sacerdotes.

Ordinamus preterea quod canonici, habentes sacerdotales in dicta capella prebendas, missam matutinalem vel majorem in altari majoris ecclesie per septimanas vicissim, prout opportunum fuerit debeant celebrare juxta ordinationem cantoris denunciantis eisdem in capella die precedenti. Qui autem de istis capelle canonicis missam matutinalem vel majorem in dicto altari majoris ecclesie celebrante quolibet die quo celebraverit, sic ibidem duos denarios recipiet de bursa sacriste; diaconus vero et subdiaconus canonici capelle ministrantes in dicta missa majori cum ipso sacerdote canonico similiter duos denarios percipient, diaconus unum, et subdiaconus [alium] preter antiquos prebende sue proventus, et preter tres denarios ad matutinas magnam missam et vespervas in capella, quos debet ex hac nostra ordinatione percipere, sicut superius est expressum; verum si contigerit quod ex ordinatione majoris ecclesie duo capelle canonici in magno altari ejusdem ecclesie eodem die debeant celebrare, unusquisque illorum taliter celebrantium duos denarios de bursa sacriste percipiat eo die. Omnia autem capelle canonicis, presbiteris, diaconis, subdiaconis propter absentiam rixam vel insolentiam subtrahenda in usus sacriste ad suum arbitrium convertentur; si autem contigerit quod dicte capelle canonici, diaconi et subdiaconi per infirmitatem vel alio quoquomodo quod absit noluerint, vel non potuerint, aliquo die magno altari majoris ecclesie tunc deservire, tunc diaconus et subdiaconus chori, deservientes altari a sacrista aliquid non requirant, sed illis duobus solidis, quos ante hanc ordinationem solebant percipere, sint contentis.¹⁴

Ne autem in ecclesiis ad capellam predictam pertinentibus animarum cura aliud¹⁵ Divinum obsequium seu exhibende pie in parochis elemosine negligantur. Ordinamus quod in unaquaque de cetero ecclesiarum ipsarum sint perpetui vicarii constituti, quorum presentatio ad sacristam, ad nos vero et successores nostros

¹⁴ Raine and Dugdale: contenti.

¹⁵ Raine and Dugdale: aut.

institutio et destitutio pertinebit. In quibus quidem ecclesiis vicarias et elemosinas in forma que sequitur ordinamus, videlicet quod vicarius de Thorp Arches habeat totum alteragium et mansum ecclesie, salvo sacriste aysiamto eundi [et] redeundi ad grangiam, et reponendi blada siccanda in crofto ante grangiam, et tassum faciendi si necesse fuerit, habeat eciam vicarius decimam decime ad sacristam pertinentis vel duas marcas de bursa sacriste; et duas marcas det sacrista illius loci pauperibus annuatim.

Similiter vicarius de Colingham habeat totum alteragium, exceptis decimis feni et nutrimentorum animalium provenientius de dominico domini Regis. Habeat [etiam] vicarius duos toftos simul junctos pro manso, et unam bovatam terre et decimam decime illius ville, vel duas marcas a sacrista in anno ad duos terminos, scilicet Sancti Martini et Pentecostes, et due marce annue dentur illius loci pauperibus a sacrista. Vicarius autem de Berdeseie habeat totum alteragium ipsius ecclesie, exceptis feno et proventibus animalium provenientius de dominico domini Regis. Item habeat decimam dominici sacriste in eadem villa et unam bovatam terre versus Rouleye pro manso, a sacrista mansum ei providerit, et ibi dentur tres marce annue a sacrista. Vicarius vero de Otteleye habeat ad valorem viginti marcarum de alteragio de portione sacriste, vel totum habeat, scilicet quantum pertinet ad sacristam, et respondeat de viginti marcis sacriste. Sacrista autem det illius loci pauperibus per annos singulos octo marcas. Vicarius quidem de Calverley habeat quindecim marcas de alteragio ipsius ecclesie, vel totum alteragium, et respondeat de sex¹⁶ marcis sacriste, apud eandem parochiam det sacrista pauperibus annuatim pauperibus sex marcas. Vicarius de Hoton Paynel habeat alteragium et decimam dominici sacriste, vel viginti solidos et sacrista det decimam decime vel duas marcas pauperibus ejusdem loci. Vicarius de

¹⁶ Raine: quindecim. This would make more sense; this may be an error in the manuscript.

Sutton habeat alteragium et decimam dominici et mansum in villa et decimam feni de Scroby; et dictus sacrista det quatuor marcis per annum pauperibus loci illius. Vicarius de Everton habeat alteragium et totam terram ecclesie, vel dimidiam marcam de bursa sacriste, et decimam feni ultra villam de Scaftworth directe versus Bautre. Inveniat autem sacrista vicario mansum vel det ei dimidiam marcam pro manso annis singulis, et det sacrista ibidem pauperibus tres marcas. Vicarius Hayton habeat alteragium et terram ecclesie ejusdem ville cum gardino, et ibi det sacrista pauperibus tres marcas. Vicarius de Clarburgh habeat alteragium cum tofto et crofto proxime cimiterio adjacenti, et decimas croftorum de villa inclusorum, et decimam molendinorum de Bolum, et honestam sustentationem inveniat capellano de Grenley, etsi altero capellano deserviat apud Clareburgh, Wellum, et Bolum et sacrista det pauperibus ejusdem parochie quinque marcas. Vicarius de Retford habeat centum solidos de alteragio et minutas decimas, scilicet, pullorum, porcellorum, aucarum, et panem et cervisiam quos contigerit deferri ad altare, et sacrista det pauperibus ejusdem ville decimas molendinorum.

Si autem aliqua vicariarum sit superius taxatarum minus valeat quam decem marcas, per juramentum sacerdotis et duorum fidelium de parochia, ad nostrum debet arbitrium augmentari. Vicarii quod ultra decem marcas vel tantum habentes, quod secum possint habere sacerdotem, teneantur de altero presbitero ecclesiis deservire. Ordinamus etiam quod omnes vicarii reparare cancellos et invenire in eis necessaria teneantur.

Illi etiam in quorum ecclesiis procuraciones debentur, Archidiaconis suis respondeant de eisdem. Ne autem inter vicarios et sacristam de hiis que superius sub de[fini]tione¹⁷ ponuntur oriatur materia questionis, utrum videlicet sacriste vel vicariis

¹⁷ Raine: definitione. Dugdale: disjunctione. The manuscript is unclear.

optio competat. Ordinamus quod in hujus[modi] disjunctis non vicariorum sit optio set sacriste.

Si autem aliquis vicariorum Otteleye, Calverley vel Retford, per se vel per quemcumque ministrum, de obventionibus seu quibuscumque aliis pertinentibus ad sacristam aliquid omnino subtraxerit, ad quorum fidelem custodiam volumus omni vicarios et suos ubique teneri vicaria ipsa ipso iure omnino privatus, ipsoque vicario absque judiciali strepitu omnino amoto vicaria ipsa alteri omnino conferatur. Sane si aliquis superadditorum presbiterorum, duorum diaconorum vel duorum subdiaconorum ministrare per infirmitatem fuerit impeditus in veritate et non fecte, nichil ei occasione hujus[modi] subtrahatur set cantet si possit in die psalterium pro defunctis.

Ceterum quoniam dignus est operarius mercede sua, et magister Gilbertus de Tywa fideliter laboravit, tam circa acquisitionem beneficiorum ad capellam supradictam pertinentium, quam circa eorumdem meliorationem et istam ordinationem obtinendam. Ordinamus quod ejus anniversarium solempniter fiat singulis annis inperpetuum in ecclesia nostra Eboracensi, et in capella predicta et in omnibus ecclesiis pertinentibus ad capellam, superius nominatam.

In premissorum autem testimonium et evidenciam pleniorum, nos et decanus et capitulum Eboracense, atque dictus magister Gilbertus de Tywa sigilla nostra apponi fecimus huic scripto. Actum iii. Nonas May, anno Domini millesimo CC quinquagesimo octavo.

Appendix 3: Windows in York Minster



Figure 6: York Minster nave looking west

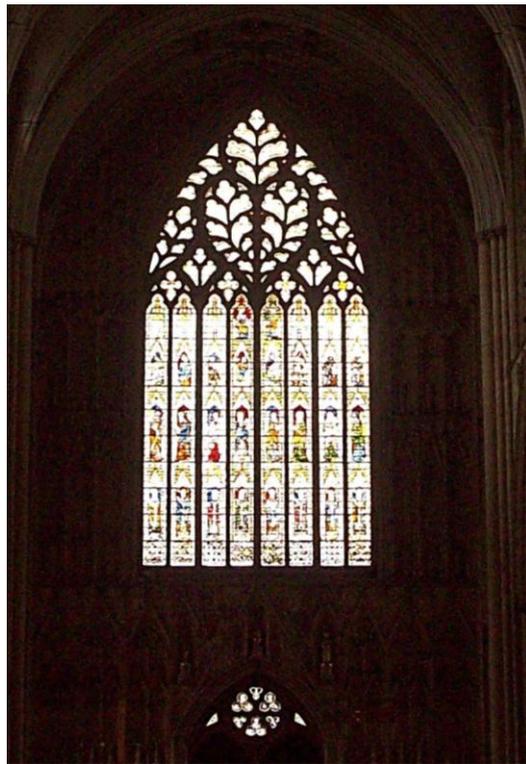


Figure 7: West Window commissioned by Archbishop Melton, 1339



Figure 8: West front of York Minster, exterior of west window

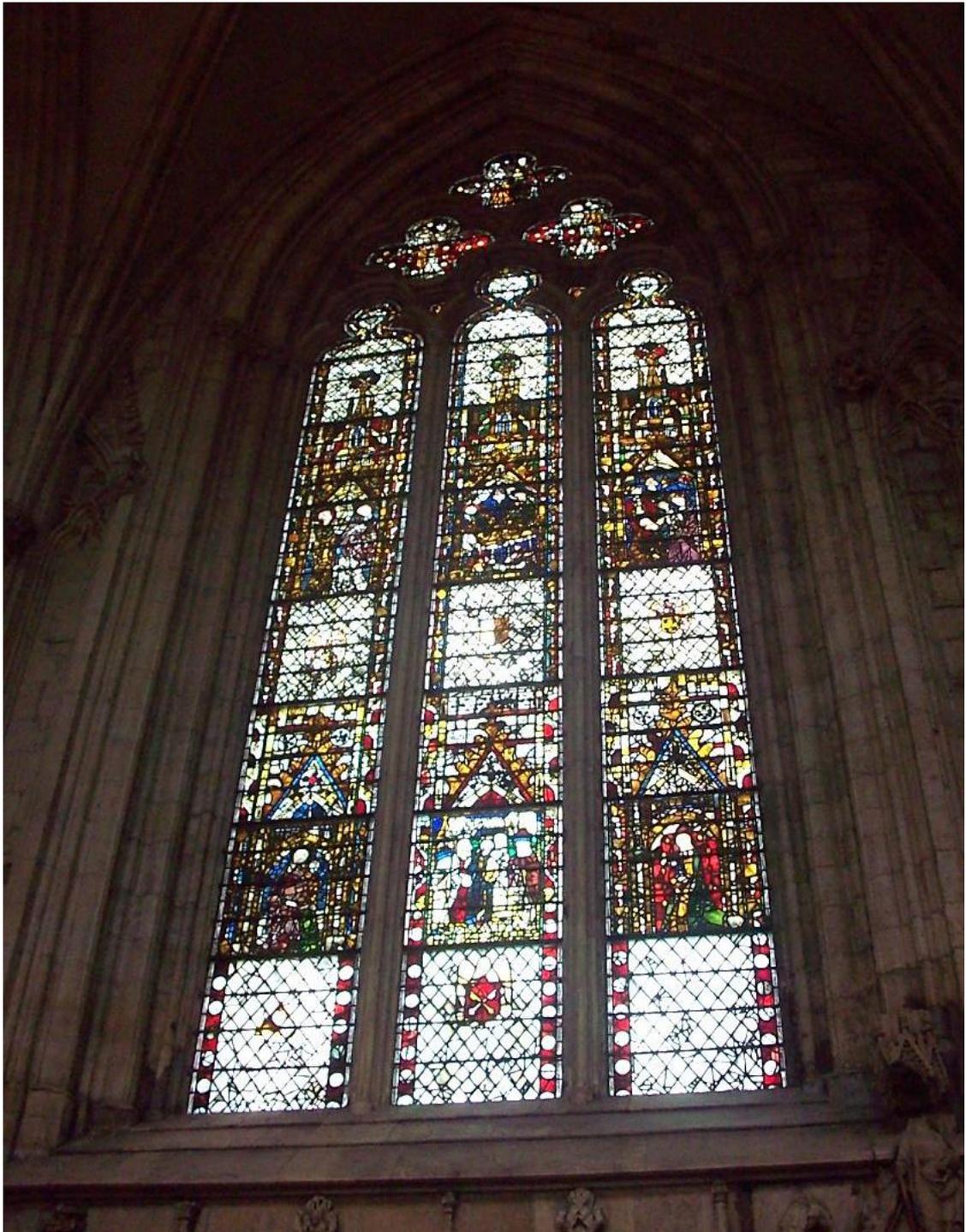


Figure 9: Window nXXVIII in the minster nave north aisle. In the corner of the image can be seen the top portion of the carving of the Virgin Mary which decorated the door to the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels. A Marian window much altered.¹

¹ 1a-1c Grisaille, much patched. Panel 1b contains a fifteenth-century angel supporting the arms of St Peter. 2a-3a Virgin and Child. 2b-3b Presentation in the Temple. 2c-3c Female saint with a fifteenth-century head. 4a-4c Patched grisaille with the shields of Ingram with a cock and crest and date of 1623. 5a-6a The Annunciation of the Virgin Mary. 5b-6b The Nativity. 5c-6c Adoration of the Magi. 7a and 7c Grisaille with crossed swords. 7b Grisaille with pelican in her piety. In the tracery, A1 and A2 show angels with candlesticks,



Figure 10: nXXVIII, 1b – fifteenth-century angel supporting the arms of St Peter

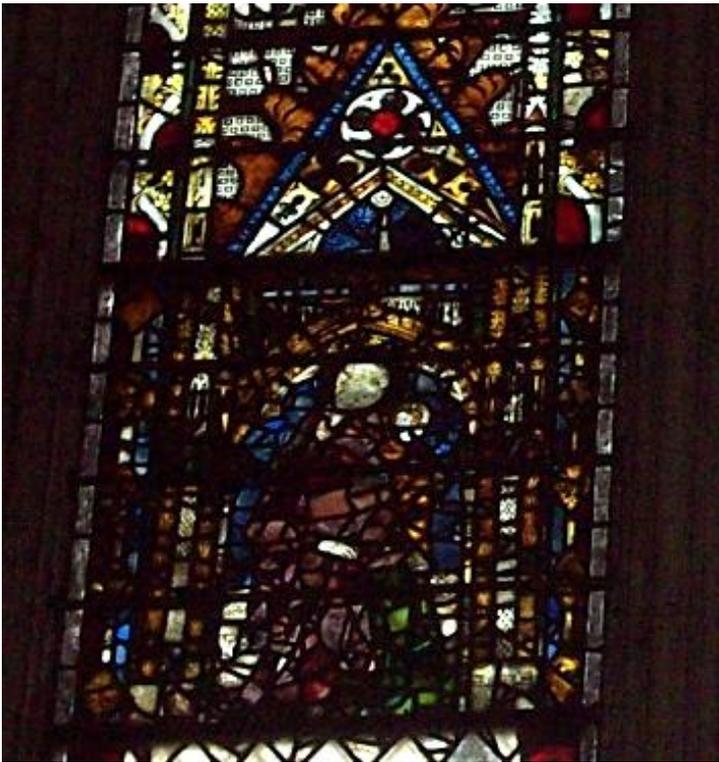


Figure 11: nXXVIII, 2a-3a – Virgin and Child

whilst B1 displays the Coronation of the Virgin Mary. See Brown, *Our Magnificent Fabrick*, pp. 288-89.

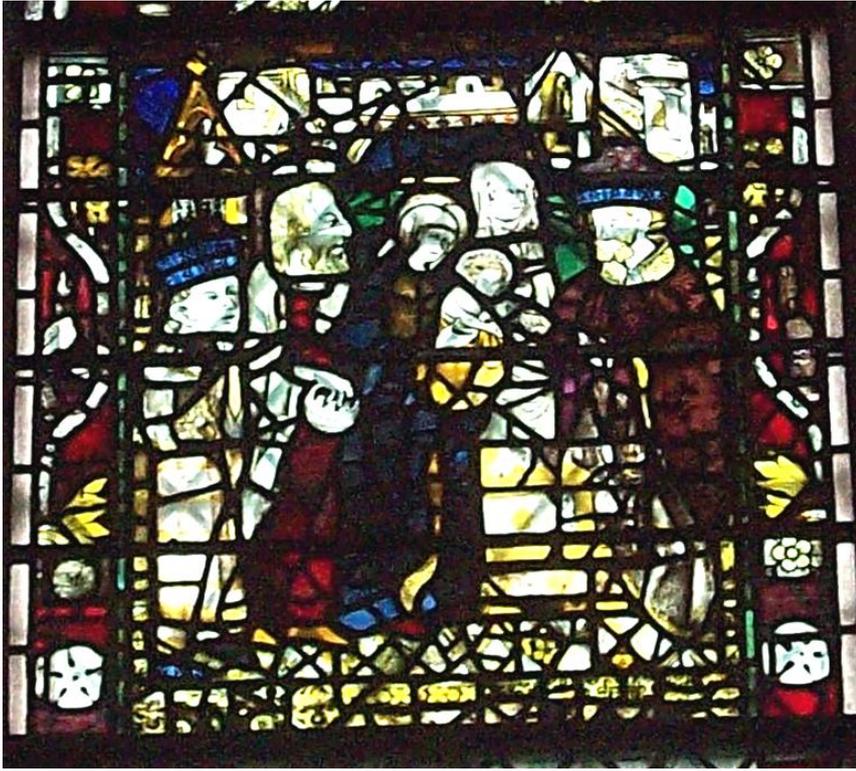


Figure 12: nXXVIII, 2b - Presentation in the Temple



Figure 13: nXXVIII, 5a-6a – The Annunciation

Appendix 4: Prosopographical Databases

Table 1: Canons of the Chapel of St Mary and the Holy Angels, 1381-1512¹

Key to colours:

Admission date unknown	Date vacated unknown	Both dates known or surmised	Exchanged prebend	Resigned prebend	Died whilst holding prebend
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	Canon Prebend	Date of Admission	Replaced Who (Reason)	Date of Vacation	Reason for Vacating	Patron/Significant Benefices/Other	Education ²
1	William Cawode	Not recorded		1381	Exchanged with Thomas Brunflet for Beelsby church, Lincolnshire	1393-1420 Thorp (Ripon) ³ 1408 Thockrington ⁴ 1411 Resident in Cathedral 1414 Botevant 1419 Husthwaite Vicar-general at York	1376 B.C.L. 1393 Lic.C.L. ⁵

¹ If otherwise not noted, all information is from Thompson, 'The Chapel', pp. 214-48.

² Abbreviations are as follows: B. (Bachelor); M. (Master); Lic. (Licentiate); D. (Doctor); C.L. (Civil Law); Cn.L. (Canon Law); Th. (Theology); A. (Arts); Med. (Medicine).

³ Held until death in 1420. Replaced in Thorp prebend by Henry Bowet, then sacrist of St Sepulchre's.

⁴ For career see: Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, pp. 37, 58, 83; Thompson, *Miscellanea*, pp. 195-96, 292-93.

⁵ *BRUO*, III, p. 2160.

2	Thomas Brunflet	11 Jan 1381	William Cawode (exchange of Beelsby church)				
3	Roger Pykering	Not recorded					
4	John Gretham	Not recorded	John Giffon (died)	1387	Exchanged with John Bridale for Rotherhite church		
5	John Bridale	21 June 1387	John Gretham (exchange of Rotherhite church Surrey)	1388	Resigned	Gretham had apparently succeeded John Giffon. Now Bridale held Giffon's prebend to be succeeded by John York/John Suthwell	
6	John York	27 March 1388	John Giffon (deceased)			Presented by crown	
7	John Suthwell	17 April 1388	John Giffon			King's clerk	
8	Adam Thorpe	Not recorded		1388			

9	Thomas Stanley	23 May 1388	Adam Thorpe	Sept 1388	Exchanged with John Akum for a prebend in Norton church	Norton collegiate church, Co. Durham King's clerk	
10	John York	1 July 1388	John Suthwell			Presented by crown to the same prebend he had occupied above (no. 6)	
11	John Akum	30 July 1388	Thomas Stanley (exchange of Norton prebend)			Presented by crown	
12	John Deen (de Roughton)	12 Sept 1388	John Bridale (resigned)	1400	Died	Presented by crown	Cambridge: ⁶ 1378 Magister 1390 D.Cn.L 1382 Master of Trinity Hall
13	Roger Weston (sacrist)	13 Sept 1388	John Waltham (resigned)	Jan 1416-17	Died	Presented by crown	
14	Simon Romayn	Not recorded		1395			

⁶ BRUC, p. 180.

15	William Bedeman	5 Oct 1395	Simon Romayn			Estate ratified in 1395 Admission not recorded	
16	John Bateman	6 Oct 1397		1406	Resigned	Estate ratified in 1397 Admission not recorded	
17	Simon Marcheford	11 Oct 1397		1413	Exchanged with Stephen Percy for a prebend in Wherwell church	Wherwell church, Hampshire	
18	Thomas Barnardcastle	11 Oct 1397	Robert Neuton	1417	Exchanged with John Akum for Grencroft prebend in Lanchester church	Estate ratified in 1397 Admission not recorded Lanchester collegiate church, Co. Durham	Cambridge: ⁷ 1400-21 Master of Peterhouse
19	John Blakwell	17 Oct 1397		1428	Resigned	Estate ratified 1397 Admission not recorded	
20	Thomas Scot	Not recorded		1397			
21	John Barnardcastle	4 Nov 1397	Thomas Scot	1418	Died	Estate ratified 1397 Admission not recorded	

⁷ BRUC, p. 39.

22	William Neuton	Not recorded		1397	Resigned		
23	Thomas Popilton	13 Dec 1397	William Neuton (resigned)	1398	Resigned		
24	John Canoun	3 Feb 1398	Henry Graynesby			Estate ratified 1398 Admission not recorded	
25	John Popilton	13 May 1398	Thomas Popilton (resigned)	1398	Resigned	Presented by crown Entered into same prebend below (no. 26)	Oxford: ⁸ Feb. 1380 Licence to study at Oxford for three years
26	John Popilton	15 Dec 1398	John Popilton	1406	Resigned	Re-entered same prebend (no. 25) with addition of church of Patrick Brompton	
27	Nicholas Tydde	17 Aug 1400	Nicholas Cave (died) ⁹	1400	Resigned	Archbishop Scrope's clerk	
28	Thomas Burstall	5 Oct 1400	John Deen (died)	1401	Resigned	Archbishop Scrope's clerk 1401 Bilton prebend ¹⁰	Magister

⁸ *BRUO*, III, p. 1500.

⁹ *Register of Scrope*, I, p. 3.

¹⁰ *Register of Scrope*, I, pp. 3-4.

29	William Gysburn	Not recorded		1400	Died		
30	Nicholas Tydde	20 Oct 1400	William Gysburn (died)	1405	Exchanged with Richard Conyngeston for a prebend in St John's, Chester ¹¹	Same canon as above (no. 27), entering into new prebend	
31	John Newark	20 Oct 1400	Nicholas Tydde (resigned)		See no. 37	This is the prebend in no. 27, Tydde now moved to another (no. 30) ¹² Archbishop Scrope's clerk	
32	Walter Patteswyk	26 May 1401	Thomas Burstall (resigned)	1405?	Resigned See nos. 36 and 52	Held three prebends in chapel, perhaps progressed from subdeacon to priest Archbishop Scrope's clerk	

¹¹ St John's Chester in the diocese of Coventry and Lichfield. See Timothy N. Cooper, 'The Papacy and the Diocese of Coventry and Lichfield 1360-1385', *Archivum Historiae Pontificae*, 25 (1987), 73-103, (p. 90).

¹² *Register of Scrope*, I, p. 4.

33	Thomas Parker	Not recorded		1405	Exchanged with Thomas Hilton for Carlton-cum-Thurlby prebend at Lincoln	Archbishop Scrope's clerk 1410-23 Ampleforth	
34	Thomas Hilton	31 March 1405 ¹³	Thomas Parker (exchange for Carlton-cum-Thurlby)	1405	Resigned	Archbishop Scrope's clerk 1400 Barnby 1404 Weighton ¹⁴	
35	Richard Conyngeston	2 May 1405	Nicholas Tydde (exchange for St John's Chester)			Archbishop Scrope's clerk Re-presented to prebends by crown after Scrope's death 1387 Barnby 1400 Bole 1403 Weighton 1405-14 Laughton	Magister 1388 D.C.L. ¹⁵
36	Walter Patteswyk	7 May 1405	Thomas Hilton (resigned)	1418	Resigned for third (priest) prebend	See nos. 32 and 52	

¹³ *Register of Scrope*, I, p. 9. Hilton was collated to the chapel prebend in the person of John de Welton, his proctor.

¹⁴ In both of these cathedral prebends Hilton succeeded Richard Conyngeston, who he had also succeeded to the prebend of Carlton-cum-Thurlby in 1396. The prebend of Carlton-cum-Thurlby in Lincoln cathedral was successively held by three of St Sepulchre's canons from 1388-1411, at which point Thomas Parker exchanged it for the church of Bolton Percy. Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, p. 31; *Register of Scrope*, I, p. 10.

¹⁵ *BRUO*, III, p. 2164.

37	John Newerk	9 Dec 1405	Nicholas Tydde (resigned)	1425	Died	Likely this is the same prebend as no. 31 Estate ratified by the crown after Scrope's death	
38	John Cristemasse	18 June 1406	John Bateman (resigned)	1408	Died	Sede vacante: presented by crown	
39	Thomas Pannall (Paynell)	31 Aug 1406	John Popilton (resigned)	1422	Died	Presented by crown King's clerk	Oxford: ¹⁶ 1406 Clerk 1412 Magister
40	John Storthwayt	4 April 1408	John Cristemasse (died)	1424	Exchanged with John Burell for a prebend in Chichester	This was his only benefice in the diocese of York Henry Bowet's registrar at Wells ¹⁷	Oxford: ¹⁸ 1411 B.C.L. 1414 B.Cn.&C.L. 1441 Lic.C.L.
41	Nicholas Tydde	Not recorded		1409	Exchanged with Thomas Parker for the hospital of St Giles, Hexham	Third appearance of Tydde, but lack of dates so difficult to say whether this was not the same prebend retained by Tydde since 1400	

¹⁶ *BRUO*, III, p. 1423.

¹⁷ *Registers of Giffard and Bowett, Bishop of Bath and Wells*, p. 59.

¹⁸ *BRUO*, III, p. 1792; *Register of Bubwith*, p. 184.

42	Thomas Parker	28 June 1409	Nicholas Tydde (exchange for hospital of St Giles Hexham)	1409	Resigned	Same person as no. 33	
43	Thomas Wyot	22 Sept 1409	Thomas Parker (resigned)	1415	Resigned and re-entered 1415, finally resigned 1423	See no. 49 Executor to Archbishop Bowet 1421 ¹⁹	Magister ²⁰
44	John Colston	Not recorded		1412	Died		Magister
45	Richard Arnall	17 April 1412	John Colston (died)	1418	Resigned	1418-38 Barnby ²¹ 1438 Langtoft 1436 & 1439 Vicar-general	1399 B.C.L. ²² 1440 D.Cn.L.

¹⁹ *Testamenta*, I, pp. 400-01.

²⁰ *Register of Corpus Christi Guild*, p. 22.

²¹ *BRUO*, III, p. 2145.

²² *BRUO*, III, p. 2145.

46	Stephen Percy	11 Dec 1413	Simon Marcheford (exchange of Bathwick prebend Wherwell)	1425	Exchanged with Robert Semer for chantries at St Michael's altar and altar of St Agatha, St Lucy and St Scholastica in York Minster	The chantries were for Archbishop Grey and Thomas Dalby respectively. ²³	
47	Thomas Grenewod	20 Aug 1415	Thomas Wyot (resigned)	23 Aug 1415	Exchanged with John Wodham for Bishop's Norton prebend Lincoln	Vicar-general under Bowet 1416 Thockrington 1416 Grindale 1418 Knaresborough 1421 Resident ²⁴	Magister B.Cn.&C.L.
48	John Wodham	23 Aug 1415	Thomas Grenewod (exchanged for Bishop's Norton)	30 Aug 1415	Resigned	1410 Bowet's registrar Witness to Bowet's will ²⁵ 1415-18 Archdeacon Notts 1418-36 East Riding 1419 Fenton 1428-36 Stillington	1410 B.C.L. 1414 Lic.Cn.L. ²⁶

²³ See *York Sede Vacante 1423-1426*, p. 61.

²⁴ Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 153.

²⁵ *Testamenta*, I, p. 401.

²⁶ *BRUO*, III, p. 2229.

49	Thomas Wyot	30 Aug 1415	John Wodham (resigned)	1423	Resigned	See no. 43 Re-entering prebend he had resigned ten days earlier	
50	Henry Bowet (sacrist)	c. 1416-17 admission not recorded	Roger Weston (died)	1422	Resigned	1416 South Cave 1422-47 Masham Archdeaconries: 1416 East Riding 1418-42 Richmond ²⁷	
51	John Akum	22 March 1417	Thomas Barnardcastle (exchange of Grenecroft prebend Lanchester)	1426	Exchanged with John Langtoft for Wolvey prebend, Lichfield	Unlikely this is the same John Akum as no. 11	Cambridge: ²⁸ 1406 B.Th. 1411 Lic.Th. D.Th.
52	Walter Patteswyk	18 July 1418	John Barnardcastle (died)			Third mention of Patteswyk; see nos. 32 and 36	
53	John Wyles	24 July 1418	Walter Patteswyk (resigned)	1421	Resigned		Magister

²⁷ All from Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, pp. 23, 26, 43, 67.

²⁸ *BRUC*, p. 4.

54	Thomas Bryan	25 Dec 1418	Richard Arnall (resigned)	1419	Resigned	1422 Sacrist (see no. 60)	
55	Stephen Rudstan	2 March 1419	Thomas Bryan (resigned)	1423	Resigned		
56	Richard Colhom (Colham/ Cowlam)	6 April 1419	John York	1421	Exchanged with John Corynham for Campsall church	Witness to Archbishop Bowet's will 1414 Thockrington 1416-25 Ulleskelf	Magister
57	John Bolton	24 Jan 1421	John Wyles (resigned)	1424	Exchanged with William Bramley for Spotborough church		
58	John Corynham	2 June 1421	Richard Colhom (exchanged this and Wonston church Hants, for church of Campsall, Doncaster)	1432	Exchanged with William Lochard for Clewer church, Berks	Clerk to the king's closet 1415-44 prebend in St George's Windsor	Magister

59	Robert Bowet	16 July 1422	Thomas Paynell (died)	1423	Resigned	1419-30 Archdeacon Notts 1423-30 Ampleforth	Oxford: ²⁹ 1419 B.Cn&C.L. 1422-23 University College
60	Thomas Bryan (sacrist)	27 Dec 1422	Henry Bowet (resigned)	1449	Died	Same person as no. 54 Archbishop Bowet's will ³⁰ 1423-24 St Katherine's altar (Beverley) 1424-49 Monkton (Ripon)	
61	George del Thwenge	19 May 1423	Stephen Rudstan (resigned)	1458	Died		
62	William Yoxhall (Yoksall, Yoxhale)	6 Oct 1423	Robert Bowet (resigned)	1435	Died	Legatee and witness of Archbishop Bowet's will ³¹	

²⁹ *BRUO*, I, p. 235.

³⁰ *Testamenta*, I, p. 401.

³¹ *Testamenta*, I, pp. 400-01.

63	Thomas Wilton	9 Oct 1423	Thomas Wyot (resigned)	1448	Died	1426 Ordained priest ³²	Oxford: ³³ Oriell college 1414 D.Med.
64	John Burell	5 July 1424	John Storthwayt (exchange of East Marden prebend Chichester)			Presented by the crown Burell was admitted in the person of Nicholas Bromehall, his proctor ³⁴	
65	William Bramley	3 Dec 1424	John Bolton (exchanged this and All Saints Pavement for Spotborough church)			Presented by the crown	
66	Robert Semer	16 May 1425	Stephen Percy (exchange of two chantries in York Minster)	1432	Died	Presented by the crown 1418-32 Sub-treasurer York Minster ³⁵	

³² *BRUO*, III, p. 2055.

³³ *BRUO*, III, p. 2055.

³⁴ *York Sede Vacante 1423-1426*, p. 30.

³⁵ Hughes, *Pastors and Visionaries*, p. 206; Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 221.

67	Henry Haunshard	13 Jan 1426	John Newark (died)	1446	Died	Presented by the crown Clerk of the king's chapel	
68	John Langtoft	6 May 1426	John Akum (exchange of Wolvey prebend at Lichfield)				
69	Thomas Gaite	6 Dec 1428	John Blakwell (resigned)	1428	Resigned		
70	Thomas Kyngg	6 Sept 1431	Thomas Gaite (resigned)				
71	William Lochard	2 March 1432	John Corynham (exchange of Clewer church)			Clerk of the chapel royal, 1413-32 St George's Chapel Windsor	
72	John Appelton	22 Nov 1432	Robert Semer (died)	1454	Died		
73	John Vautort	Not recorded		1434	Exchanged with John Houden for Caer prebend, Llandaff		

74	John Houden (Howden)	24 June 1434	John Vautort (exchanged for prebend of Caer)	1449	Exchanged with John Kette for Clewer church	1438 Windsor prebend ³⁶	
75	Unnamed	16 April 1435	William Yoxhall (died)				
76	William Saundirs	Not recorded		1438	Died		
77	Henry Gunne	16 May 1438	William Saundirs (died)	1442	Died		
78	Abel Lyvermer (Levermere)	30 Oct 1442	Henry Gunne (died)	1463	Exchanged with Christopher Burgh for chapel of St Radegund at St Paul's		
79	Nicholas Keld	Not recorded		1445	Died	Keld is described as canon of the chapel in 1434-35 ³⁷ 1422 Keeper of the fabric ³⁸	

³⁶ Succeeded at Windsor by Thomas Passh (no. 84).

³⁷ *Register of Corpus Christi Guild*, p. 33.

³⁸ Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, p. 46.

80	Robert Stele (Stile)	5 May 1445	Nicholas Keld (died)	1447	Died		
81	Thomas Skelton	Not recorded		1446	Died		
82	Thomas Tanfeld	1 Jan 1446	Thomas Skelton (died)	1446	Resigned (but seems to be an exchange with Alexander Etton below)	Archbishop Kempe's chaplain 1449 Thockrington 1451 Ricall 1459-76 Strensall	Oxford: ³⁹ 1442 B.Th. 1471 D.Th.
83	Alexander Etton	20 Aug 1446	Thomas Tanfeld (resigned but exchanged this and East Gilling for Laxton church, Notts)	1454	Exchanged with William Preston for Hurworth church, Co. Durham and Pelton prebend, Chester-le-Street	It seems that Tanfeld exchanged his chapel prebend and East Gilling church with Etton for Laxton church	

³⁹ BRUO, III, p. 1848.

84	Thomas Passh	8 Oct 1446	Henry Hansard (died)			1440 Ordained priest ⁴⁰ 1449 Windsor prebend ⁴¹	Oxford: ⁴² Merton College 1436 B. 1439 Fellow
85	John Cartmaile (Cartmell)	18 April 1447	Robert Stele (died)	1475	Resigned	Possibly re-admitted 1475 until 1477 (see no. 115)	
86	Robert Stillington	2 June 1448	Thomas Wilton (died)	1459	Resigned	Chaplain and chancellor to Bishop Bekynton (Wells) 1451 Fenton 1459 Wetwang 1466 Bishop of Bath and Wells 1467 Chancellor of England ⁴³	Oxford: 1443 D.C.L. ⁴⁴
87	William Osgodby	12 Dec 1448		1476	Resigned		Oxford: ⁴⁵ 1475 Magister Cn.&C.L

⁴⁰ *BRUO*, III, p. 1432.

⁴¹ Succeeded John Houden (no. 74).

⁴² *BRUO*, III, p. 1432.

⁴³ *BRUO*, III, pp. 1777-79, has a full list of all benefices.

⁴⁴ *BRUO*, III, p. 1777.

⁴⁵ *BRUO*, II, p. 1408.

88	John Kette	29 Sept 1449	John Houden (exchange of Clewer church)	1452	Resigned		Magister
89	John Sendale (sacrist)	25 Nov 1449	Thomas Bryan (died)	1452	Resigned	1454 Barnby 1462-67 Weighton ⁴⁶	Magister
90	Robert Balard	1 July 1452	John Kette (resigned)	1458	Resigned	Archbishop Kempe's household chaplain	
91	Richard Wetwang	Not recorded		1452	Resigned to take up sacristy		B.Cn.L.
92	Richard Wetwang (sacrist)	July 1452	John Sendale (resigned)	1453	Exchanged with John Gysburgh		
93	John Gysburgh	July 1452	Richard Wetwang	1453	Exchanged with Richard Wetwang for sacristy		
94	Richard Wetwang	6 Oct 1453	John Gysburgh (exchange)	1463	Died		

⁴⁶ Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, pp. 32, 89.

95	John Gysburgh (sacrist)	7 Oct 1453	Richard Wetwang (resigned)	1462	Resigned	Archbishop Kempe's clerk Archbishop Booth's clerk ⁴⁷ 1457-60 Precentor 1459-82 Bugthorpe ⁴⁸	
96	Peter Bardesley	4 March 1454	John Appilton (died)				
97	William Preston	20 Nov 1454	Alexander Etton (exchange of this and East Gilling)	1477	Died	This exchange seems to indicate that Etton had earlier acquired East Gilling from Thomas Tanfeld along with the chapel prebend	1449 Possibly B.Cn.L. ⁴⁹
98	Philip ap Ris	4 July 1458	Robert Balard (resigned)				Magister D.Cn.L.
99	John Worsley	9 Dec 1458	George Thweng (died)	1465	Exchanged with William Betson for prebend in St Peter's, Wolverhampton	Commissary-general to the court of York ⁵⁰	Oxford: ⁵¹ 1452 Magister 1455 B.Cn.&C.L.

⁴⁷ Dobson, 'Residentiary Canons', p. 163.

⁴⁸ Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, pp. 11, 41.

⁴⁹ *BRUO*, III, p. 1520.

⁵⁰ Notes to the will of William Worsley: *Testamenta*, IV, p. 156.

⁵¹ *BRUO*, III, p. 2089.

100	John Grymeston	28 May 1459	Robert Stillington (resigned)	1486	Resigned		
101	Ralph Bird (Brid) (sacrist)	14 Nov 1462	John Gysburgh (resigned)	1479	Resigned	Archbishop Kempe's chaplain Archbishop Booth's chaplain 1422 Ordained deacon 1470-79 Fridaythorpe 1479-83 Thockrington ⁵²	1444 Licence to study for three years at an English University
102	Thomas Crossby	27 March 1463	Richard Wetwang (died)	? 1475 (see no. 112)	Died?		
103	Christopher Burgh	25 May 1463	Abel Lyvermer (exchange of chapel of St Radegund in St Paul's)	1468	Exchanged with Edmund Mynskip for Siggleshorpe		
104	Robert Knayton	Not recorded		1464	Resigned	Died 1464	

⁵² Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, pp. 51, 83.

105	William Dawtre	11 Jan 1464	Robert Knayton (resigned)	1511	Died		Cambridge: ⁵³ 1466 Cn.L.
106	William Betson	13 Nov 1465	John Worsley (exchange of prebend in St Peter's, Wolverhants)	1466	Died		
107	John Hardyng	23 May 1466	William Betson (died)	1475	Resigned	Archbishop's chaplain	Magister
108	William Langton	Not recorded		1468	Died	1451 Ordained priest 1452 & 1459 vicar general to Archbishop Booth ⁵⁴	Oxford: ⁵⁵ c. 1457 B.Cn&C.L.
109	William Warton	30 Aug 1468	William Langton (died)	1475	Died	Archbishop's chaplain	

⁵³ *BRUC*, p. 179.

⁵⁴ *BRUO*, II, pp. 1102-03.

⁵⁵ *BRUO*, II, pp. 1102-03.

110	Edmund Mynskip	1 May 1468	Christopher Burgh (exchange of Sigglesthorne church)	1492	Died		Oxford: ⁵⁶ Th.
111	Robert Swannesley (Swanesby)	3 Jan 1475	William Warton (died)	1483	Died		Magister B.Cn.L
112	Thomas Barowe	13 Jan 1475	Thomas (died) see no. 102	March 1475	Resigned	1478 Langtoft ⁵⁷	Cambridge: ⁵⁸ 1460 B.C.L. 1475 Lic.C.L.
113	John Hopton	4 March 1475	Magister Thomas (resigned) [probably Barowe]	1485	Resigned		

⁵⁶ *BRUO*, II, p. 1335.

⁵⁷ *BRUC*, p. 40.

⁵⁸ *BRUC*, p. 40. Emden does not confirm that his Thomas Barowe is the same as the canon of St Sepulchre's, but it seems likely as Thompson says he is Licentiate of Laws and the dates fit. Thomas Barowe, rector of Cottingham, has his obit entered in the Ripon Breviary (Leeds, MS 7).

114	John Hert	24 April 1475	John Hardyng (resigned)	1495	Died	Hert became sacrist in 1479 (no. 120). Not certain if he held this prebend with the sacristy for the whole time, no record of this prebend being filled.	
115	John Cartmell (Cartmaile)	7 June 1475	John Cartmell (resigned)	1477	Resigned	May be re-admission of same person, but that Cartmell (no. 85) does not seem to have a university degree.	Oxford: ⁵⁹ 1466 University College 1470 Magister
116	Robert Alston	26 Feb 1476	William Osgodby (resigned)				
117	John Alston	22 Jan 1477	John Cartmell (resigned)	1478	Exchanged with John Smert for Nunburnholme		B.Cn.L.
118	Robert Middleham	5 Oct 1477	William Preston (died)	1512	Died		Oxford: ⁶⁰ 1476 B.Th. 1480 D.Th.

⁵⁹ *BRUO*, I, p. 365.

⁶⁰ *BRUO*, II, p. 1273.

119	John Smert	2 Nov 1478	John Alston (exchange for church of Nunburnholme, East Riding)	1490	Died		Possibly at Oxford: ⁶¹ B.C.L.
120	John Hert (sacrist)	25 Sept 1479	Ralph Bird (resigned)	1495	Died	1475-88 Subtreasurer 1483 Thockrington 1488 Botevant 1490-94 Fridaythorpe 1494-95 Precentor ⁶² Also see no. 114	Possibly at Cambridge: ⁶³ c. 1473 B.Cn.L.
121	William Laybrone	Not recorded		1481	Died	Archbishop George Neville's chaplain ⁶⁴	Oxford: ⁶⁵ 1453 B.C.L. 1458 B.Cn.&C.L.
122	Edmund Carter	8 Nov 1481	William Laybrone (died)	1493	Resigned	Fellow of Jesus College Rotherham ⁶⁶ Sacrist in 1497 (no. 139)	

⁶¹ *BRUO*, III, p. 1713.

⁶² All from Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, pp. 12, 38, 51, 83.

⁶³ *BRUC*, p. 300.

⁶⁴ *BRUO*, II, p. 1114.

⁶⁵ *BRUO*, II, p. 1114.

⁶⁶ *Register of Rotherham*, p. 249.

123	John Topclyff (Topcliffe)	Not recorded		1482	Resigned		Possibly at Oxford: ⁶⁷ 1466 B.Cn.L.
124	Cuthbert Lightfote	18 Sept 1482	John Topclyff (resigned)	1498	Died		
125	Robert (Richard) Bryndholme	16 Aug 1483	Robert Swanesby (died)	1497	Exchanged with John Spicer for Studley prebend at Ripon (no. 138) ⁶⁸	1489 Commissary to Archbishop Rotherham ⁶⁹	Cambridge: ⁷⁰ 1473 B.Cn.L. 1489 D.Cn.L.
126	John Spicer	Not recorded		1484	Resigned	Witness to decree of Jesus College Rotherham ⁷¹	Cambridge: ⁷² 1448 Eton College 1460 Magister
127	Robert Welynton (Warton)	24 July 1484	John Spicer (resigned)	1492	Resigned	1492 Ulleskelf 1485-91 rector of Sessay church ⁷³	Magister

⁶⁷ *BRUO*, III, p. 1886.

⁶⁸ See *Register of Rotherham*, p. 105.

⁶⁹ *Register of Rotherham*, p. 121.

⁷⁰ *BRUC*, p. 100.

⁷¹ *Register of Rotherham*, p. 249.

⁷² *BRUC*, p. 545.

⁷³ The rectory of Sessay was subsequently held by Richard Carter (no. 143) and Thomas Magnus (no. 152).

128	William Warde	30 April 1485	John Hopton (resigned)	1497	Died	1495-97 Sacrist (no. 134) Possibly keeper of the fabric of York Minster ⁷⁴	
129	Thomas Bromlay	28 Feb 1486	John Grymston (resigned)				
130	William Grabarn (Grabary)	15 March 1490	John Smert (died)	1501	Resigned	Provost of Jesus College Rotherham 1483 ⁷⁵	Magister
131	William Aleykson	14 April 1492	Edmund Mynskip (died)	1497	Died	Fellow of Jesus College Rotherham 1483 ⁷⁶	
132	Nicholas Hawsewell (Halswell)	16 Oct 1492	Robert Welyngton (resigned)	1496	Resigned	1492 Ordained priest 1499-1524 Langtoft ⁷⁷	Oxford: ⁷⁸ 1468 Fellow of All Souls College 1473 B.A. 1487 D.Med.

⁷⁴ Raine, *Fabric Rolls*, pp. 74, 83, 84, 86, 89.

⁷⁵ *Register of Rotherham*, p. 249.

⁷⁶ *Register of Rotherham*, p. 249.

⁷⁷ *BRUO*, II, p. 858.

⁷⁸ *BRUO*, II, p. 858.

133	William Carpentar	24 April 1493	Edmund Carter (resigned)				Oxford: ⁷⁹ 1494 B.C.L. 1500 D.Cn.L.
134	William Warde (sacrist)	20 Nov 1495	John Hert (resigned before death)	1497	Died	Warde held the prebend which he had received in 1485 (no. 128) together with the sacristy until his death	
135	William Croke (Cooke)	Not recorded		1496	Resigned		Possibly at Cambridge: ⁸⁰ 1500 Lic.Cn.L. D.Cn.L. at Bologna
136	William Symond	22 May 1496	William Croke (resigned)	1505	Died		
137	John Wigmore	8 Nov 1496	Nicholas Hawsewell (resigned)	1498	Resigned		

⁷⁹ *BRUO*, I, p. 362.

⁸⁰ *BRUC*, p. 158. Emden does not confirm that his William Cook is the canon from St Sepulchre's.

138	John Spicer	13 Aug 1497	Richard Bryndholme (exchange for Studley prebend, Ripon) ⁸¹	1502	Resigned (with a pension of £4)	See nos. 125 and 126. This is the second prebend held by Spicer in the chapel after an interval of thirteen years	
139	Edmund Carter (Carver) (sacrist)	27 Aug 1497	William Warde (died)	1504	Resigned	See nos. 122 and 146. This is likely the same individual	
140	Thomas Gree	27 Aug 1497	William Warde (died)	1505	Died		
141	John Briggs	27 Aug 1497	William Aleykson (died)	1507	Resigned		
142	Richard Hogh	19 April 1498	John Wigmore (resigned)	1499	Resigned		
143	Richard Carter	18 Sept 1498	Cuthbert Lightfote (died)			Rector of Sessay church ⁸²	

⁸¹ *Register of Rotherham*, p. 105.

⁸² Succeeded by Thomas Magnus. *Register of Rotherham*, p. 152.

144	William Rowkeshawe	27 Oct 1498	Cuthbert Lightfote (died)	1506	Died ⁸³	1480 Succentor of York Minster ⁸⁴	Cambridge: ⁸⁵ 1460-72 Fellow of Peterhouse 1460 Magister 1471 B.Th. D.Th.
145	Robert Barra	Not recorded		1499	Resigned	1472 Vicar Choral 1482 Husthwaite 1488 Botevant 1498-1526 Osbaldwick	1504 D.Cn.L. ⁸⁶
146	Edmund Carter	25 Aug 1499	Robert Barra (resigned)		No record of leaving this prebend, possibly resigned prebend at same time as sacristy (1504)	See nos. 122 and 139. Possible that Barra had succeeded Carpenter in the prebend which Carter had resigned in 1493 and to which Carter now returned	

⁸³ Emden says Rowkeshaw died in 1504, but Thompson says he held his prebend in the chapel until his death in 1506. It seems that this is the same individual from the other benefices he held. See *BRUC*, p. 493.

⁸⁴ *BRUC*, p. 493.

⁸⁵ *BRUC*, p. 493.

⁸⁶ D. M. Smith, *The Court of York, 1400-1499: A Handlist of the Cause Papers and an Index to the Archiepiscopal Court Books*, Borthwick Texts and Calendars, 29 (York: University of York, 2003), p. 49; BI, GB 193, CP.F.285 records Magister Robert Barra as Doctor of Decrees (Canon Law); Cross, *York Clergy Wills: I*, p. 7.

147	Robert Hancock	26 Aug 1499	Richard Hogh (resigned)				
148	John Symson (Simpson)	21 July 1501	William Grabarn (resigned)			Appears in 1524 clerical subsidy ⁸⁷	
149	John Mild	3 Feb 1502	John Spicer (resigned)			Appears in 1524 clerical subsidy ⁸⁸	Magister
150	Richard Spurtt	Not recorded		1504	Died		
151	William Kirkham	4 June 1504	Richard Spurtt (died)	1506	Died		Magister B.Cn.&C.L.
152	Thomas Magnus (sacrist)	17 Nov 1504	Edmund Carter (resigned)	1548	Chapel suppressed	1497 Rector of Sessay church (where he was buried) ⁸⁹ 1504-51 Archdeacon of East Riding ⁹⁰	Magister

⁸⁷ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, 4, (1870), part 1, p. 423.

⁸⁸ *Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, 4, (1870), part 1, p. 423.

⁸⁹ Succeeded Richard Carter in Sessay church: *Register of Rotherham*, p. 152.

⁹⁰ Le Neve and Jones, *Fasti: Northern Province*, p. 23.

153	John Dennys	10 Nov 1505	Thomas Gree (died)				
154	Thomas Wilkinson	7 Jan 1506	William Symond (died)				
155	William Burclever	12 Jan 1506	William Rowkeshawe (died)	Aug 1506	Died		
156	James Harington	20 Aug 1506	William Burclever (died)	Jan 1512	Resigned	1507-09 Husthwaite 1507 Subdean 1508-12 Dean of York 1509-12 Bugthorpe	Oxford: ⁹¹ 1455 M.A.
157	Lewis Williams	10 Oct 1506	William Kirkham (died)				Magister
158	John Carver (Aleyn)	16 May 1507	John Briggs (resigned)	1515	Died	1501 Vicar-general 1508 Vicar-general of the province 1504-15 Archdeacon of York 1506 Weighton 1509-15 Strensall	Oxford: ⁹² 1478 B.Cn.&C.L. 1494 D.Cn.L.

⁹¹ *BRUO*, II, p. 874.

⁹² *BRUC*, p. 125.

159	Edmund (Edward) Chollerton	4 July 1508				Appears in 1523 clerical subsidy Crown presentation	Cambridge: ⁹³ 1499 B.Th. 1512 Fellow of King's Hall
160	Thomas Harwod	27 Feb 1511	William Dawtre (died)				
161	? Sparowe	Not recorded		1511	Died		Possibly Magister John Sparow ⁹⁴
162	John Herteley	8 July 1511	Mag. Sparowe (died)	1529	Died	Asks to be buried next to chapel door ⁹⁵	
163	Thomas Harpeham	8 Jan 1512	James Harington (resigned)				
164	Christopher Radclif	3 May 1512	Richard Middleham (died)				Magister

⁹³ *BRUC*, p. 135.

⁹⁴ Possibly John Sparow, B.Cn.L. 1482: *BRUC*, p. 544.

⁹⁵ *Testamenta*, V, pp. 274-75.

Table 2: Capacity of Chapel Prebends¹

Key: Blue squares = canonry known to be occupied. Pink squares = canonry potentially occupied.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1280 ²	Blue																		
1390	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Blue	Pink	Pink	Pink											
1400	Blue	Pink	Pink																
1405	Blue	Pink																	
1410	Blue	Pink																	
1420	Blue	Pink																	
1430	Blue	Pink	Pink	Pink	Pink	Pink													
1440	Blue	Pink	Pink	Pink															
1450	Blue	Pink																	
1460	Blue	Pink	Pink																
1470	Blue																		
1480	Blue	Pink	Pink	Pink	Pink														
1490	Blue	Pink																	
1495	Blue	Pink	Pink																
1500	Blue	Pink	Pink	Pink															
1510	Blue	Pink	Pink	Pink	Pink														
1548 ³	Blue	Pink	Pink	Pink	Pink														

¹ This table shows the maximum nineteen offices in the chapel along the top (thirteen canons and six ministers), and the dates down the side. For the long fifteenth century it is mainly unknown which order of prebends were filled.

² *Register of Wickwane*, p. 333; BI, Register 3, fol. 22.

³ *Certificates of the Commissioners*, II, pp. 428-30.

Table 3: Capacity of Chapel Prebends 1400-1510 (colour-coded as in Table 2)¹

M. indicates *magister* (university educated at some point in career)

1400	1410	1420	1430	1440	1450	1460	1470	1480	1490	1500	1510
Roger Weston	Roger Weston	Henry Bowet	Thomas Bryan	Thomas Bryan	M. John Sendale	John Gysburgh	M. Ralph Bird	M. John Hert	M. John Hert	M. Edmund Carter	M. Thomas Magnus
John Bateman	Walter Patteswyk	Walter Patteswyk	M. John Coryngham	John Appelton	John Appelton	M. William Preston	M. William Preston	M. Robert Swanesley	M. Edmund Carter	M. Edmund Carter	John Sympson
Simon Marcheford	Simon Marcheford	Stephen Percy	George Thweng	George Thweng	George Thweng	M. John Worsley	Thomas Crossby	John Hopton	Cuthbert Lightfoot	William Symond	M. John Mild
M. Thomas Barnardcastle	M. Thomas Barnardcastle	M. John Akum	William Yoxhall	John Houden	Abel Lyvermer	Abel Lyvermer	M. William Dawtre	M. William Dawtre	M. William Dawtre	M. William Dawtre	M. William Dawtre
John Blakwell	John Blakwell	John Blakwell	M. Thomas Wilton	M. Thomas Wilton	Alexander Etton	John Grymes-ton	John Grymes-ton	John Grymes-ton	M. Robert Byrndholme	M. John Spicer	M. James Harington
John Barnardcastle	John Barnardcastle	M. John Wyles	Robert Semer	Henry Gunne	M. John Cartmaile	M. John Cartmaile	M. John Cartmaile	M. John Hert	M. John Hert	Thomas Gree	M. John Carver

¹ The correlation across rows does not indicate that a certain canon replaced the previous canon in that prebend, but is organised so that if certain canons recur they are placed in the same row, so as to be able to see the changes in personnel.

M. John Popilton	John Newark	John Newark	Henry Haunshard	Henry Haunshard	M. Robert Stillington	M. Richard Wetwang	M. John Hardyng	M. Robert Middleham	M. Robert Middleham	M. Robert Middleham	M. Robert Middleham
Nicholas Tydde	M. Thomas Pannall	M. Thomas Pannall	John Burrell	Nicholas Keld	M. William Osgodby	M. William Osgodby	M. William Osgodby	M. John Smert	M. John Smert	M. William Grabarn	M. Edmund Choller-ton
M. Thomas Burstall	M. John Storthwayt	M. John Storthwayt	William Bramley	Thomas Skelton	M. John Kette	Peter Bardesley	M. Edmund Mynskip	M. Edmund Mynskip	M. Edmund Mynskip	John Briggs	John Dennys
William Bedeman	M. Thomas Wyot	M. Thomas Wyot	John Langtoft	Unnamed	M. Thomas Passh	Robert Knayton	William Warton	Robert Alston	M. Robert Welynton	M. William Rowke-shawe	Thomas Wilkyn-son
John Canoun	M. John Colston	Stephen Rudstan	John Vautort					M. William Laybrone	William Warde	M. William Carpenter	M. Lewis Williams
		M. Richard Colhom	William Saundirs					M. John Topclyff	Thomas Bromlay	Richard Carter	M. Sparowe
								M. John Spicer		Robert Hancock	

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