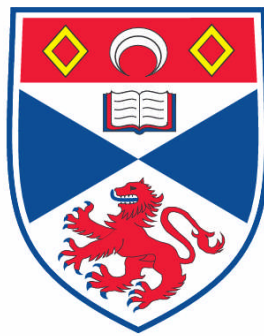


**THE MONASTIC PATRONAGE OF KING HENRY II IN ENGLAND,
1154-1189**

Amanda M. Martinson

**A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St. Andrews**



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**Submitted for the degree of PhD
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13 July 2007

Abstract

The subject of this study is Henry II's monastic patronage in England 1154-1189. Past studies have examined aspects of Henry II's patronage but an in-depth survey of Henry's support of the religious houses throughout his realm has never been completed. This study was therefore undertaken to address modern notions that Henry's monastic patronage lacked obvious patterns and medieval notions that the motivations behind his patronage were vague. The thesis seeks to illustrate that Henry's motivations for patronage may not have been driven by piety but rather influenced by a sense of duty and tradition. This hypothesis is supported by examining and analyzing both the chronology and nature of Henry's patronage.

This thesis has integrated three important sources to assess Henry's patronage: chronicles, charters, and Pipe Rolls. The charters and Pipe Rolls have been organized into two fully searchable databases. The charters form the core of the data and allow for analysis of the recipients of the king's patronage as well as the extent of his favour. The Pipe Rolls provide extensive evidence of many neglected aspects of Henry's patronage, enhancing, and sometimes surpassing, the charter data. The sources have allowed an examination of Henry's patronage through gifts of land and money rents, privileges, pardons and non-payment of debt, confirmations and intervention in disputes. The value, geography and chronology of this patronage is discussed throughout the thesis as well as the different religious orders that benefited and the influences Henry's predecessors and family had upon the king. Quantitative analysis has been included where possible.

Henry II was a steady patron throughout his reign and remained cautious with his favour. He maintained many of the benefactions of his predecessors but was not an enthusiastic founder of new monasteries in England. There is no sign that neither the killing of Thomas Becket, nor the approach of Henry's own death, had a marked effect on his patronage.

Declarations

I, Amanda M. Martinson, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 71,700 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

Date:

Signature of Candidate:

I was admitted as a research student in September 2003 and as a candidate for the degree of PhD in September 2004; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2003 and 2007.

Date:

Signature of Candidate:

I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of PhD in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

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I would like to thank all of my friends and family for their support but there are a few who went above and beyond the call of duty. Mailys Suncic kept me supplied in packages and encouragement throughout the thesis while Ruth Hardy listened to so many of my ideas and allowed me to bore the computer scientist with medieval history. Tatiana Rothschild kept me afloat with funny e-mails. Special thanks are due to Dr. Julie Kerr, a true friend, for her reading of the thesis as well as all her help and encouragement. Nanny, Papa, Grandma and Grandpa, thank you for always checking up on me and letting me know I am loved. Huge thanks must also go to Aunt Ruth, whose financial and emotional support have helped me to get where I am today. Last, but certainly not least, I owe a huge debt of gratitude and love to my parents, Katherine and Terry, and my sister, Becca. This would never have been possible without the three of you supporting and believing in me at every step: thank you.

Abbreviated References

<i>Abingdon</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis</i> , ed. and trans. J. Hudson (2 vols., Oxford, 2002, 2007).
<i>Acta of Henry II</i>	AHRB-British Academy ‘ <i>Acta of the Plantagenets</i> ’ Project, ed. J. C. Holt and N. Vincent.
<i>Amt, Accession</i>	E. Amt, <i>The Accession of Henry II in England: Royal Government Restored 1149-1154</i> (Woodbridge, 1993).
<i>Battle Chronicle</i>	<i>The Chronicle of Battle Abbey</i> , ed. and trans. E. Searle (Oxford, 1980).
<i>Cartae Antiquae I</i>	<i>The Cartae Antiquae: Rolls 1-10</i> , ed. L. Landon (Pipe Roll Society, NS 17, 1939).
<i>Cartae Antiquae II</i>	<i>The Cartae Antiquae: Rolls 11-20</i> , ed. J. C. Davies (Pipe Roll Society, NS 33, 1960).
<i>CChR</i>	<i>Calendar of the Charter Rolls, 1226-1516</i> (6 vols., London, 1903-27).
<i>Chibnall, Matilda</i>	M. Chibnall, <i>The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English</i> (Oxford, 1991).
<i>CPR</i>	<i>Calendar of Patent Rolls</i> (in progress, 1891-present).
<i>Domesday</i>	<i>Domesday Book: A Complete Translation</i> , ed. and trans. A. Williams and G. H. Martin (London, 2003).
<i>Dialogus</i>	<i>Dialogus de Scaccario</i> (attributed to Richard fitz Neal), ed. and trans. C. Johnson (Oxford, 1983).
<i>Diceto, Ymagine</i> s	Ralph of Diceto, <i>Ymagine</i> s <i>Historiarum</i> in <i>Opera Historica</i> , ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series 68, vol. ii, London, 1876).

<i>Epistolae Cantuarienses</i>	<i>Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I</i> , ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series 38, vol. ii, London, 1865).
<i>EYC</i>	<i>Early Yorkshire Charters</i> , vols. i-iii, ed. W. Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914-6); index to vols. i-iii, ed. C. T. and E. M. Clay; vols. iv-xii, ed. C. T. Clay (Yorks. Arch. Soc. Rec. Ser. Extra Ser., 1935-65).
Gerald, <i>Kambriae</i>	Gerald of Wales, <i>Descriptio Kambriae And Itinerarium Kambriae</i> , ed. J. F. Dimock (Rolls Series 21, vol. vi, London, 1868).
Gerald, <i>Principis</i>	Gerald of Wales, <i>De Principis Instructione</i> , ed. G. F. Warner (Rolls Series 21, vol. viii, London, 1891).
Gervase, <i>Chronica</i>	Gervase of Canterbury, <i>Historical Works</i> , ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series 73, vol. i, London, 1879).
<i>Haughmond Cart.</i>	<i>The Cartulary of Haughmond Abbey</i> , ed. U. Rees (Cardiff, 1985).
<i>Heads of Religious Houses</i>	<i>The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216</i> , ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, V. C. M. London (Second edn., Cambridge, 2001).
Holt, 'Writs of Henry II'	J. Holt, 'The Writs of Henry II', in J. Hudson (ed.), <i>The History of English Law: Centenary Essays on 'Pollock and Maitland'</i> (Oxford, 1996), 47-64.
Howden, <i>Chronica</i>	Roger of Howden, <i>Chronica</i> , ed. W. Stubbs (4 vols., Rolls Series 51, London, 1868-71).
Keefe, <i>Assessments</i>	T. K. Keefe, <i>Feudal Assessments and the Political Community under Henry II and his Sons</i> , (Los Angeles, 1983).
Map, <i>Nugis</i>	Walter Map, <i>De Nugis Curialium</i> , ed. M. R. James, rev. C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1983).

<i>Medieval Religious Houses</i>	<i>Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales</i> , ed. D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock (Second edn., London, 1971).
<i>Monastic Order</i>	D. Knowles, <i>The Monastic Order in England</i> , (Second edn., Cambridge, 2004).
<i>Monasticon</i>	<i>Monasticon Anglicanum</i> , ed. W. Dugdale, rev. J. Caley, H. Ellis, B. Bandinel (6 vols. in 8, London, 1817-30).
Newburgh, <i>Historia</i>	William of Newburgh, <i>Historia Rerum Anglicarum</i> , in <i>Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I</i> , ed. R. Howlett (Rolls Series 82, vol. i, London, 1884).
Niger, <i>Chronica</i>	<i>Radulfi Nigri Chronica</i> , ed. R. Anstruther (Caxton Soc., 5, 1851).
<i>PR</i>	<i>The Great Roll of the Pipe</i> (Pipe Roll Soc., London, 1884-present).
<i>Reading Cartularies</i>	<i>Reading Abbey Cartularies</i> , ed. B. R. Kemp (2 vols., Camden Soc., 4 th Ser., 31, 33, 1986-7).
<i>Recueil Henry II</i>	<i>Recueil des actes de Henry II, Roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie concernant les provinces Françaises et les Affaires de France</i> , ed. L. Delisle and E. Berger (3 vols., Paris, 1916-27).
Rolls Series	<i>Rerum britannicarum medii aevi Scriptores</i> ('Rolls Series') (251 vols., London, 1858-96).
<i>RRAN</i>	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154</i> , ed. H. W. C. Davis <i>et al.</i> (4 vols., Oxford, 1913-69).
Sanders, <i>Baronies</i>	I. J. Sanders, <i>English Baronies: A Study of their Origin and Descent 1086-1327</i> (Oxford, 1960).

- Torigny, *Chronica*
- Robert of Torigny, *Chronica*, in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (Rolls Series 82, vol. iv, London, 1890).
- Urry, *Canterbury*
- W. Urry, *Canterbury under the Angevin Kings*, (London, 1967).
- V.C.H.
- The Victoria History of the Counties of England* (London, in progress). With abbreviation of county.
- Vincent, 'Henry II and Battle'
- N. Vincent, 'King Henry II and the Monks of Battle: *The Battle Chronicle* unmasked' in R. Gameson and H. Leyser (eds.), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford, 2001), 264-86.
- Warren, *Henry II*
- W. L. Warren, *Henry II* (London, 1973).

Chapter 1: Introduction and Sources

Henry II has never been known as a particularly pious king, but commonly viewed as a power hungry monarch determined to exercise his authority over Church and State. Analysis of Henry's monastic patronage can afford the historian both a glimpse of his religious behaviour and an idea of how he used patronage to promote the stability and security of his reign.

To date scholarship on Henry II and the Church has tended to focus on the political element or his struggle with Thomas Becket and its aftermath. There have been general studies on Henry's role as a monastic founder,¹ his relations with specific monasteries,² and his penance for the Becket martyrdom.³ While this scholarship has addressed a small part of Henry's relations with the Church, there has been no study that examines Henry's overall monastic patronage.

¹ J. T. Appleby, 'The Ecclesiastical Foundations of Henry II', *The Catholic Historical Review*, 48 (1962), 205-15, E. M. Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 28 (1977), 113-32.

² Vincent, 'Henry II and Battle', E. M. Hallam, 'Royal Burial and the Cult of Kingship in France and England 1060-1330', *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 359-80, E. M. Hallam, 'Henry II, Richard I and the Order of Grandmont', *Journal of Medieval History*, 1 (1975), 165-86, E. M. Hallam, 'Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses c. 1130-1270', (University of London, 1976), A. W. Lewis, 'Six charters of Henry II and his family for the monastery of Dalon', *English Historical Review*, 110 (1995), 652-65, J. Martin and L. E. M. Walker, 'At the feet of St. Stephen Muret: Henry II and the Order of Grandmont *redivivus*', *Journal of Medieval History*, 16 (1990), 1-12.

³ A. J. Duggan, 'Ne in dubium: The Official Record of Henry II's Reconciliation at Avranches, 21 May 1172', *English Historical Review*, 115 (2000), 643-58.

This thesis aims to examine Henry's patronage in England through the use of charters⁴ and Pipe Rolls, which are discussed below. These two sources have provided the raw data which has been organized into two searchable databases.⁵ This data will be presented according to patronage via gifts, confirmations, debts, and disputes. The following chapters each address one of these four categories and assess Henry's patronage to the religious orders and specific monasteries. This thesis is essentially source-driven rather than question-driven and its main objective is to investigate Henry's role as a monastic patron and the form his patronage took.

Elizabeth Hallam has conducted a comparative study of the patronage of the French and English kings in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁶ This analysis, therefore, is not intended to examine facets of the religious patronage of a range of kings but focuses on the patronage of one king, Henry II, and simply looks at other monarchs to set Henry's actions in context. These monarchs included Henry I, Stephen and Louis VII. This approach enables us to correlate the data to a greater extent than in the past and allows the

⁴ The thesis was undertaken under the advisement that the *Acta* of Henry II would be published in 2004 and the charter evidence would be consolidated. However, the *Acta* volumes remain unpublished and the databases I have created offer a summary of Henry II's monastic charters.

⁵ The databases have replaced many of the footnotes for quantitative evidence. All the information in tabular form can be found in the databases. The databases utilize FileMaker Pro software and were built to contain information on the recipients, the sources (including bibliographic references), the issue dates, place of issue, type of grant, a summary of the charter and the witness lists. There are additional fields indicating the country of the monastery and which religious order it belonged to. The user interface for FileMaker Pro allows for easy searching of the material and offers numerous methods of organizing the data.

⁶ Hallam, 'Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses c. 1130-1270'.

conclusions to be based on facts and not the perceptions and interpretations of others.

Many studies of Henry II focus on both England and France, attempting to compare the two countries and the decisions made by Henry in both places. This approach assumes the two countries are similar enough to permit comparison. On account of the number and the nature of surviving sources, this analysis will focus on England. The English data provides a consistent body of information while the French data is hardly reliable and presents different methodological problems. Moreover, there is a preponderance of acts for the English monasteries, both charters and writs. According to Holt, director of the Angevin Acta Project, of 887 surviving writs (a fraction of the total number of surviving acts) only 163 (19%) are concerned with Normandy and France.⁷ The surviving charter distribution is probably similar. In addition to the acts, there is a continuous series of Pipe Rolls in England from 1155 onward but there are few surviving Norman Pipe Rolls.⁸ The nature of evidence surviving requires that each country be examined separately; only later will comparison be possible.

Henry II contributed to the rebuilding and design of certain monasteries,⁹ including his foundations made as penance for Becket's murder. The majority of this patronage, however, occurred in France and accordingly

⁷ Holt, 'Writs of Henry II', p. 56.

⁸ There are only two Pipe Rolls from Normandy, which were for 1179-1180 and 1183-4. These rolls have been compiled in a new edition by V. Moss; V. Moss, *Pipe Rolls of the exchequer of Normandy for the reign of Henry II 1180 and 1184*, (Pipe Roll Soc., ns, 53, 2004). These rolls only encompass Normandy and do not include Anjou or Aquitaine, Henry's other major possessions in France.

⁹ This included work at Amesbury, Witham and Waltham.

this analysis is not concerned with his architectural patronage.¹⁰ Surviving architectural evidence can demonstrate the evolution of design and indicate what individuals preferred in terms of aesthetics. The fact that a king participated in architectural patronage could advance a certain style. For example, the Norman style came to England largely due to William the Conqueror and his descendents. In many ways architecture was a means of leaving a permanent mark of patronage upon any foundation. An analysis of Henry's architectural patronage can relay different details than the information found in the charters and the Pipe Rolls. However, this study concentrates on fiscal patronage and not architectural patronage due to the larger amount of surviving data.

The core data pertains to the monasteries,¹¹ the military orders, the hospitals and general charity to the poor and infirm.¹² Not all of the hospitals studied were attached to the monasteries and independent establishments have been included. The secular cathedrals, which were an important part of ecclesiastical life, have been included for comparative purposes only for they would require an independent analysis. Thus, by including the lepers and hospitals and excluding the secular cathedrals, the thesis is able to focus on Henry's monastic rather than religious patronage.

Henry, as a king as well as an individual, was influenced by his surroundings. The kingdom Henry II inherited from Stephen was a very different one from the one Stephen inherited from Henry's grandfather, Henry

¹⁰ See, for example, L. Grant, 'Le patronage architectural d'Henri II et de son entourage', *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale Xe-XIIe Siècles* 37 (1994), 73-84.

¹¹ The Benedictine cathedral priories have been included in this analysis as have some of the corresponding bishops.

¹² The hospitals include those founded to care for lepers as well as the general sick.

I. From Stephen's accession in 1135 to his death in 1154, much of England was ravaged by civil war. The source of the argument was who had the right to be king: Stephen, Henry I's nephew, or Matilda, Henry I's daughter. Stephen's control over his kingdom was limited for significant periods; he was able to exert royal control over certain areas of his kingdom but those remote areas, as well as ones controlled by Angevin partisans, were often lost to royal control. A legacy of royal weakness is one factor that must be taken into account when examining Henry's monastic patronage.

In addition to his problems with the kingdom and his barons, Stephen's relations with the Church deteriorated. By the end of his reign, Stephen's relations with both the archbishops of York and Canterbury¹³ and the Pope were poor due to various difficulties.¹⁴ However, one of the areas where Stephen did show strength and cohesion was in his religious patronage and he founded eight monasteries including his mausoleum of Faversham in Kent.¹⁵ There are also charters recording gifts made to other houses, most of which were in England and included lands strongly under his control. However, there were issues early

¹³ Stephen and Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury also were at odds by the end of Stephen's reign and the king forced Theobald to leave the country at one point. R. H. C. Davis, *King Stephen* (3rd ed., London, 1990), p. 102.

¹⁴ For more information see Davis, *King Stephen*, p. 96-103.

¹⁵ C. Holdsworth, 'The Church', in E. King (ed.), *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign* (Oxford, 1994), p. 220. Stephen is said to have founded Launceston (Augustinian), Furness (Savigniac), Longvilliers (Savigniac), St. Peter's York (Hospital), Buckfast (Savigniac), Cowley (Knights Templar), Carrow (Benedictine), Witham (Knights Templar), Coggeshall (Savigniac), Faversham (Benedictine), St. Katherine's, London (Hospital), Eagle (Knights Templar), Ivychurch (Augustinian), and Thornholm (Augustinian). Notably all of these foundations, with the exception of Longvilliers, were located in England, indicating that Stephen's control of any of Henry I's continental lands was negligible. Hallam, *Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses c. 1130-1270*, p. 377.

in Henry II's reign involving lands that both Stephen and Matilda had granted to their supporters and to the monasteries which would need to be addressed or which led to disputes throughout Henry II's reign.

Perhaps the person with the greatest amount of influence upon Henry II was his mother, the Empress Matilda, who was Henry I's daughter. Matilda was married to the German Emperor at the age of eight, returned to her father after her husband's death 16 years later and then married to a man almost ten years her junior, and was embroiled in a struggle with Stephen over the Crown of England. Henry, who grew up in the shadow of his mother and most likely spent his earliest years with her,¹⁶ probably learned much about Henry I from Matilda; his desire to restore England to that time most certainly stemmed from his upbringing. Throughout the anarchy Matilda and Henry issued a number of joint charters for their supporters and various monasteries in both England and France. Not least of all, Matilda also provided a model for Henry's religious patronage, founding abbeys at Loxwell (Stanley),¹⁷ Notre-dame-de-Voeu at Cherbourg,¹⁸ Bordesley, Radmore (Stoneleigh),¹⁹ Le Valasse,²⁰ and La Noë.²¹ Moreover, she was also a benefactor of many other houses in England and France and was known as a generous patron of Bec. The Empress was buried in the abbey church at Bec upon her death in 1167.²²

¹⁶ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 144.

¹⁷ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 158.

¹⁸ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 179.

¹⁹ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 181.

²⁰ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 186.

²¹ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 187.

²² Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 190.

The influence of Henry's father, Geoffrey of Anjou, on his son is harder to assess for he died aged thirty-nine and there is little evidence to reveal just how much time the two spent together. There are numerous chronicles and charters which attest to him being with his mother but there are few that do the same with his father. In all likelihood, Henry learned some of his military tactics from his father, and certainly inherited Geoffrey's courage, but the fact that his father died so young makes it likely that he had less influence on Henry's development than Matilda.

Henry I's influence on his grandson is problematic for the king died when Henry was only two years old. Henry II would have heard of his grandfather's exploits from Matilda. When Henry II became king he was determined to return England to the state it had been upon his grandfather's death. There is also evidence, as it will be seen, that in many ways Henry pursued his grandfather's pattern of patronage, especially to Henry I's foundation at Reading. Judith Green has described Henry I's monastic patronage as traditional in scope with an attention to defending both lay and ecclesiastical rights.²³ Like his predecessors, Henry I was a patron of Bury St Edmunds, Westminster Abbey, St Albans Abbey, Durham Priory and Battle Abbey in England and the ducal houses of St Etienne and La Trinité at Caen, Montebourg, Bec, Notre Dame du Pré, Marmoutier and Cluny in France.²⁴ Henry I encouraged not only the established orders of Benedictines and Cluniacs but also the newer orders of Augustinian Canons and Savigniacs.²⁵ Moreover, as previously noted, he was responsible for the founding of Reading

²³ J. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 282.

²⁴ Green, *Henry I*, p. 277-8.

²⁵ Green, *Henry I*, p. 274, 280.

Abbey as well as houses at Cirencester, Dunstable, Carlisle Cathedral Priory, Wellow by Grimsby, St Mary's Colchester, Holy Innocents London, St Giles Holborn, Holy Trinity Aldgate, Sts James and Mary Chichester, St Bartholomew's Oxford, St John's Cirencester, Newcastle-on-Tyne, St Giles Shrewsbury, St Giles Wilton and St Denys at Portswood near Southampton.²⁶ In France, he founded Mortemer and Bonne-Nouvelle in Rouen²⁷ and developed links with Fontevrault after the marriage of Matilda to Geoffrey of Anjou. His daughter, Juliana, became a nun there.²⁸ Henry I enjoyed a reputation as a relatively generous benefactor and it was most likely a combination of personal, dynastic and political motives that inspired his giving.²⁹ While the personal interaction between Henry I and Henry II was minimal, it is likely that Henry I's memory and consolidation of his kingdom loomed large in the life of Henry II.

Sources

The study of Henry II's monastic patronage relies mainly on the use of two important sources: charters and Pipe Rolls. A third source, chronicles, provides information on disputes and on Henry's piety.

Part One: The Charters

There are roughly 3000 surviving acts of Henry II,³⁰ including French and English recipients; of these I have found 1506 acts of Henry II that were

²⁶ Hallam, 'Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses c. 1130-1270', p. 377.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Green, *Henry I*, p. 281.

²⁹ Green, *Henry I*, p. 282.

³⁰ Holt, 'Writs of Henry II', p. 52.

issued to the monasteries of England.³¹ These numbers indicate that roughly 50% of Henry's surviving acts were issued to the English monasteries. This study has focused on acts issued during Henry's reign as king (1154 x 1189) but those issued from Henry's years as Duke of Normandy have been used to trace the longevity of his patronage behaviour. The acts are made up of charters and writs. For the purposes of this thesis, a simple distinction has been made. Writs are essentially brief letters with instructions. Charters are longer documents which contain much more information.

The acts, depending on their form and the type of transaction, provide valuable information. Gift charters record the item given, occasionally include a monetary value, and almost always state place names of any lands involved. With a few rare exceptions, the text does not contain a specific reason for the gift but occasionally further study of the place and time of issue can provide clues. Some charters were issued at the institution concerned and it is possible that Henry was asked to produce charters during his stay.³² There is also no firm charter evidence to indicate if Henry was petitioned for these charters while he was there or if he gave them of his own free will. Occasionally the chronicle sources can provide further information on Henry issuing charters during his stay but they do not always state whether they were given freely or requested.³³ Other charters can be connected to events in Henry's reign that prompted an increase in grants, such as his accession to the throne in 1154, bouts of illness and occasionally deaths of family members. However, analysis

³¹ There were an additional 107 charters issued to the secular cathedrals and local churches in England.

³² It is unknown if the king was staying at the monastery itself or in the surrounding area.

³³ See below, p. 26-7.

suggests that surprisingly, Thomas Becket's murder had little impact on the overall scale of Henry's monastic patronage. An exception is Henry's support for the Carthusian Order but, importantly, Henry did not favour the Carthusians above and beyond the established orders after their introduction.³⁴

The information contained in confirmation charters is similar to the gift charters. As with the gifts, the confirmation charters were sometimes issued at the institution and may have been requested while the king was visiting. They include the place names of the land being confirmed at times with the extent of the lands. Sometimes monetary values are mentioned. Confirmations of privileges specify what precisely these are. Occasionally the charter states that the confirmation was made by the petition of another donor or patron. The institutions themselves also requested charters, often with or without the document mentioning a petition. The chronology and content of these charters varied but most were issued early in Henry's reign.³⁵

Charters and writs regarding disputes took many forms and sometimes involved a confirmation of a final agreement made between two parties. The text often states the exact terms of the settlement and was most likely requested by one or both parties to ensure permanence of the settlement. As with the other charters, they contain information about the people and also the land or money involved. This category of acts also includes writs used as injunctions to either party to adhere to a specific judgment. There are writs issued ordering inquests to be made as well as a host of other commands. The dating of these

³⁴ See Chapter 2.1 and Chapter 2.2 for more on Henry's gift patronage to the Carthusian order.

³⁵ See Chapter 4 on confirmations, which will detail the chronology and content of these charters.

charters and writs often allows further investigation into the people and land involved and occasionally the dispute can be traced in chronicle sources.

There are three main difficulties in using Henry II's acts to assess his monastic patronage: survival, forgery, and dating. What survives of Henry's acts is probably a very small proportion of what originally existed and many that we have are later copies of originals. Based on the collected writs of Henry II, there are 887 writs still surviving.³⁶ Given an estimate of 3000 total acts for Henry II, it is possible there are roughly 2100 charters surviving.³⁷ The writs indicate that 81% (719) were issued for English recipients, 15% (131) for Norman recipients and 4% (32) for the rest of France.³⁸ Holt predicts that the charters would follow a similar pattern to the writs. Socially speaking, of the 887 writs, 653 were issued for monastic institutions (including the military orders and hospitals), 131 to cathedral churches, 64 to individuals (mostly laymen), 21 to towns and 18 to miscellaneous recipients.³⁹ This indicates that roughly 70% of the surviving writs were issued to the monasteries with an additional 15% issued to cathedral churches.

Forgery presents a significant problem when dealing with Henry's acts. Roughly 70 (5%) of those issued to the English monasteries have been deemed spurious by historians on account of evidence found in the text, in their witness lists, or in other irregularities. Many of Henry II's forged charters were made during his successors' reigns but some were also compiled during his own reign. For example, a number of the surviving charters which Battle Abbey used in its

³⁶ Holt, 'Writs of Henry II', p. 56.

³⁷ Holt, 'Writs of Henry II', p. 52.

³⁸ Holt, 'Writs of Henry II', p. 56.

³⁹ Holt, 'Writs of Henry II', p. 60.

case against the Bishop of Chichester were forged in the 1170s and as such post-date the actual dispute.⁴⁰ However, it is not clear upon what evidence the community actually based their dispute. Forged acts were often used to gain rights and privileges that the monastery had previously enjoyed or desired. They could also be used as evidence in disputes and as a result, the repercussions of forgery could impact the monastery long after the forged document was made.

Very few of Henry's charters contain precise dates but in recent years the possible dating range of individual charters has been narrowed significantly. With the information available it is possible to create a rough time line of his monastic patronage. The convenient introduction of the 'dei gratia' clause in 1172 has assisted greatly in assigning dates to genuine acts and particularly to those surviving as originals. Still, there are a number of documents that can only be given a dating range of Henry's entire reign.

Part Two: The Pipe Rolls

The Pipe Rolls are the records from the Exchequer, the accounting body that was responsible for the collection of the revenues from the king's lands and rights in the various counties. On average these rolls, made of sheepskin, measure between 3' and 4'8" long and 13½" and 14" wide.⁴¹ The entries are very formulaic and appear under the name of the county, or of the land in custody. The name of the sheriff is recorded directly beneath this along with the amount of money the sheriff had already paid into the treasury. This is followed by the payments the sheriff had made on the king's behalf in alms (*elemosinae*),

⁴⁰ Vincent, 'Henry II and Battle', E. Searle, 'Battle Abbey and Exemption: The Forged Charters', *English Historical Review*, 83 (1968), 449-80.

⁴¹ *Dialogus*, p. 29.

tithes (*decimae*), liveries (*liberationes*) and given lands (*terrae datae*). The *terrae datae* are the king's lands that had been given away. Since money could not be collected from these alienated lands, the sheriff was not responsible for paying them to the king. Following the *terrae datae* are the payments made by the sheriff on the king's behalf by royal writ. These include payments for casks of wine, wood for building, clothes and other day to day requirements.

The entries that follow record additional payments the sheriff owed or paid into the Exchequer such as fines for purpestures (encroachments made by building or occupation upon royal lands),⁴² for manors and woods, fines for assarts (clearing of forests)⁴³ and for escheats (lands that had reverted back to their lord, in this case the king).⁴⁴ Also recorded are debts owed from justice and taxes such as Danegeld, scutage, *dona*, aid and tallage. These are often interspersed with pardons for specific people or religious houses. All of these entries were taken into account when producing the final sum the sheriff owed the king for that Exchequer year. Payments made at the Exchequer were then deposited in the treasury.⁴⁵

The Exchequer and the treasury were not the only channels for royal income. The king could also use the chamber, which was originally the king's retiring room; the servants of the chamber were accountable for guarding the king's rooms, jewels and possessions.⁴⁶ The chamber, headed by the chamberlain, was responsible for making payments and purchases for wardrobe

⁴² *Dialogus*, p. 93.

⁴³ *Dialogus*, p. 56-7.

⁴⁴ *Dialogus*, p. 94.

⁴⁵ *Dialogus*, p. 61-2.

⁴⁶ J. E. A. Jolliffe, *Angevin Kingship* (Second edn.; London, 1963), p. 226-31.

items, the payment of messengers and other 'recoverable' expenses.⁴⁷ The 'non-recoverable' expenses were those such as gifts, expenses incurred with foreign guests and the fees of certain knights.⁴⁸ The chamber travelled with the king not only in England but also in Normandy. It was funded by money from the treasury or by loans and it is therefore possible that Henry made grants from here to the religious houses that were not recorded.⁴⁹ However, the lack of records makes it difficult to determine what percentage of his patronage was exercised in this manner and the Pipe Rolls is a more revealing source for Henry's monastic patronage.

The Pipe Rolls are a valuable source for the study of Henry's patronage. While they are not a complete account of all of Henry's income and expenditure, they indicate where a portion of Henry's resources were going. Additionally, the Pipe Rolls contain information on pardons and outstanding debts, another and important form of Henry's patronage. These were not payments made by the Exchequer but rather payments owed to the Exchequer but not exacted. The following chapters investigate this outflow of income in greater detail. The Pipe Rolls' strength comes from their regularity - they survive for years 2-34 of Henry's reign - and their detail regarding the monetary payments to monasteries made on Henry's command and behalf. Unlike the acts, the Pipe Roll entries almost always include monetary values. They also provide a chronological timeline that is not affected by survival and forgery.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 151. Recoverable expenses were temporary outgoing payments. The money would be replaced and would not negatively affect the balance of the chamber account.

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 152. Non-recoverable expenses were payments for which the chamber would not be reimbursed. These were often considered exceptional payments.

⁴⁹ H. G. Richardson and G. O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh, 1963), p. 229-34.

The Pipe Rolls have been used both as an independent source of information and to supplement and support data given in the acts. In rare instances a gift of land mentioned in a charter can be traced to the Pipe Rolls. Moreover, charters which grant quittances can be matched with pardons in the Pipe Rolls. In both of these cases the Pipe Rolls provide additional information on the recipients and types of patronage. Compared with the charters, however, they do not offer details regarding acreage, motivation or petitions. The Pipe Roll entries are brief and it is sometimes difficult to trace the earlier history of a particular entry prior to Henry II's reign. There is only one surviving Pipe Roll prior to Henry II's reign, the Pipe Roll 31 Henry I. This contains few references to payments still made in the time of Henry II. Several other references can be found in the charters of Henry I and Stephen. It is difficult to ascertain exactly how many of the grants revealed by Pipe Roll entries originated with Henry II.

Part Three: The Chronicles

Chronicles provide an interesting, more personal view of Henry II both as an individual and more specifically as a patron. The works examined below present a framework of Henry's life allowing one to place the charters and Pipe Rolls in the wider context and also provide details of events that might have influenced Henry's patronage.

Part 3A: The Chroniclers

Henry's reign saw an increase in contemporary writings but there was still a fairly small pool of writers, most of whom were writing in the second half of Henry's reign.⁵⁰ Many of the writers knew each other, borrowed from each other and from earlier writers. However, all of these writers had their own

⁵⁰ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to 1307* (London, 1974).

views and opinions based on his personal experiences and proximity to the king. While some felt nothing but animosity towards Henry, others sought to find justification and tolerance for his actions. Each work could vary in its details and focus depending on the individual writer's purpose. This creates a very rich collection of events but it can also introduce conflicting opinions and contradicting facts.

The local monastic chronicles provide supplementary information. These chronicles are much narrower in scope than the works of individuals and tend to mention royal affairs only when they impacted on the monastery. For example, both the Abingdon and Battle Chronicles are mainly concerned with the events affecting their respective abbeys but record events such as Henry's accession, his dealings with the monastery and his assistance in protecting the monks.⁵¹ These house chronicles are a rich source for evaluating disputes and Henry's role in them.⁵² The many lives of Thomas Becket have not been included in this analysis since they are overly hostile towards Henry II and add little of relevance to information on Henry II's patronage.⁵³

⁵¹ See, for example, *Abingdon and Battle Chronicle*.

⁵² The following house chronicles have been used: *Abingdon, Battle Chronicle*, J. Sayers and L. Watkiss (eds. and trans.), *Thomas of Marlborough: History of the Abbey of Evesham* (Oxford, 2003), D. Greenway and J. Sayers (trans.), *Jocelin of Brakelond's Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* (Oxford, 1998), J. Fairweather (trans.), *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth* (Woodbridge, 2005), W. Stubbs (ed.), *Historical Works, the Chronicle of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I, by Gervase, the monk of Canterbury*, (2 vols., London, 1879-1880), W. D. Macray (ed.), *Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis* (London, 1886), W. T. Mellows (ed.), *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus* (Oxford, 1949), J. Raine (ed.), *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Society, 9; London, 1839).

⁵³ I am grateful to Dr. Michael Staunton for his assistance and advice on where to find mention of Henry II's monastic patronage in the Becket source material.

The following writers have been used to examine the contemporary opinion of Henry's piety and patronage.

A. Robert of Torigny

Robert of Torigny was born in Normandy c. 1110 and was Abbot of Mont-Saint-Michel from 1154 to 1186.⁵⁴ During his tenure as abbot, Torigny wrote his two main works: the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* ('The Deeds of the Dukes of Normandy') and *Roberti accessiones ad Sigebertum* ('Robert's Additions to Sigebert of Gembloux's 'History of the World)'). Torigny was mainly interested in the events affecting his monastery and Normandy in general. He did, however, have impressive contacts with many of his contemporaries, allowing him access to a greater amount of material.

B. Walter Map

Walter Map (c.1130 x c.1209) was a secular clerk who had entered royal service by 1173.⁵⁵ Map rose in Henry's service and was the king's representative at the Third Lateran Council in 1179. He remained in Henry's service until the king's death in 1189.⁵⁶ Map's work *De Nugis Curialium* or 'Courtier's Trifles' was written around 1181 or 1182, with later revisions. Map's work was light-hearted, a satire of sorts and differed greatly from the chronicles. His observations and his own contacts enrich his work.

⁵⁴ A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307* (London, 1974), p. 261.

⁵⁵ Map, *Nugis*, p. xvi.

⁵⁶ Map, *Nugis*, p. xvii.

C. Ralph Niger

Ralph Niger was attached to the court of Henry the Young King, the son of Henry II, and it is possible that the Young King was Ralph's patron.⁵⁷ Ralph was a prolific writer, producing works on theology in addition to his own chronicle, which was written in the late twelfth century. Ralph was very antagonistic in his view of Henry II. Indeed, Ralph of Coggeshall, or another continuator of Niger's original chronicle, wrote an apology that was added stating that Ralph had been harsh towards the king and was to blame for neglecting to record Henry's positive qualities and failing to explain his actions as king.⁵⁸

D. Gerald of Wales

Gerald of Wales (1146-1223) was a friend and younger contemporary of Walter Map and also a royal clerk for both Henry II and Richard I.⁵⁹ He was writing between 1189 and 1220. On Henry's piety, the works *Expugnatio Hibernica*, *Itinerarium Kambriae*, and *De Principis Instructione* contain the most relevant information. Gerald's writing style and his views towards Henry and his sons changed over time. He was fairly admiring in the *Expugnatio Hibernica* but by the end of *De Principis Instructione* Gerald found the Angevins, and Henry in particular, to be the spawn of the devil.⁶⁰ Part of Gerald's animosity originated in the conflict over the election to the see of Saint David's. Instead of selecting Gerald, the final appointment for the bishopric, made by Henry, went to Peter de Leia, the prior of Much Wenlock.

⁵⁷ G. B. Flahiff, 'Ralph Niger: An Introduction to his Life and Works', *Mediaeval Studies*, 2 (1940), 104-26 at 108.

⁵⁸ Niger, *Chronica*, p. 169-70.

⁵⁹ R. Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales 1146-1223* (Oxford, 1982), p. 15.

⁶⁰ Gerald, *Principis*, p. 301-9.

E. Roger of Howden

Roger of Howden, author of both the *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica Magistri Rogeri de Houedne*, began writing his *Chronica* between 1192 and 1202.⁶¹ The information for the *Gesta* was compiled between 1169 and 1192 and written between 1192 and 1193.⁶² While Howden was a very thorough chronicler, recording many events of Henry's reign, he had very little to say about Henry's spiritual practices and attitudes.

F. Gervase of Canterbury

Gervase, a monk of Canterbury, was the author of his *Chronica*, which he began around 1188.⁶³ Much of Gervase's history was based around Christ Church and both the struggles the archbishop had with St. Augustine's and Christ Church's own struggle with Archbishop Baldwin. Gervase continued his literary career with a work entitled *Gesta Regum*, which was intended to be an account of the history of England.⁶⁴ He was also the author of a work on the archbishops of Canterbury.⁶⁵ Gervase was not a supporter of Henry II and in fact came to dislike Henry and his successors because of their reluctance to help the community in their dispute with Archbishop Baldwin.⁶⁶

⁶¹ D. Corner, 'The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, Parson of Howden', *Bulletin of Historical Research*, 56 (1983), 126-44 at 126.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 253.

⁶⁴ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 254.

⁶⁵ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 260.

⁶⁶ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 257.

G. Ralph de Diceto

Ralph de Diceto (1120/30 x c. 1201) was a canon of Saint Paul's in London. His work, *Ymagines Historiarum*, covers history from 1148 to 1200. For the most part, Diceto did not address Henry's piety.

H. William of Newburgh

William of Newburgh, canon of an Augustinian house in Yorkshire, was requested by Abbot Ernald of Rievaulx to compose his chronicle *Historia Rerum Anglicarum*, which he wrote between 1196 and 1198.⁶⁷ William dedicated a large portion of his work on Henry to the Becket crisis.

Part 3B: Chronicle Themes

The contemporary writings of Henry II's reign provide several views of events and the king himself. They are useful for snapshots and for background information for this study. Often they omit the relevant details of patronage and focus on disputes without stating the gifts given. In general, these works shed light on Henry's general piety and behaviour, his actions towards the religious orders and his patronage; it is worth exploring each of these themes in more detail.

a. General Piety and Behaviour

The writers comment on Henry's behaviour to varying degrees. According to Walter Map:

He does nothing in a proud or overbearing fashion, is sober, modest, pious, trustworthy and careful, generous and successful, and ready to honour the deserving.⁶⁸

⁶⁷ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 263.

⁶⁸ Map, *Nugis*, p. 486-7.

In contrast, Henry's many faults were noted by Ralph Niger whose bitter tirade against Henry began by pointing out Henry's many flaws: disposing of vacant monasteries, confiscating property and stealing relics.⁶⁹ The most interesting allegation here is the stealing of relics. None of the other writers mention this and it is not known precisely what Ralph was referring to here. Perhaps one of the more amusing and condemning faults is Ralph's observation of Henry's behaviour during mass when the king was wont to 'pass the time in whispered conversation or drawing.'⁷⁰ It is clear that in Ralph's opinion Henry's behaviour was unacceptable. Ralph's chronicle contains no positive views of Henry's piety or behaviour and does not even mention Henry's almsgiving or donations, providing a negative but unbalanced view of the king.

Gerald of Wales had his own opinions of Henry's behaviour. One of Gerald's most vivid descriptions is a vision he records of Saint Godric where Henry and his sons are seen as defiling an altar in a church and then suffering violent deaths.⁷¹ Gerald was keen to point out that Henry had been given

⁶⁹ Niger, *Chronica*, p. 167. Latin: 'Monasteriis vacantibus solícite disposuit, non qualiter beatus Gregorius subarrhando, sed quomodo Vectius, qui monumentum patris exarando coluit; abbates, hippodromos et canum custodes fecit, possessiones ecclesiarum confiscavit, et quas ipse Deo imprudenter obtulit, impudens revocavit; episcopis testamentum facere permisit, sed relictá ecclesiae callide subtraxit; relictá privatis violenter eripuit.' Translation: 'He carefully disposed of vacant monasteries, not however as Blessed Gregory pledged, but in what manner of Vectius, who inhabited the dug up monument to his father; Abbots, he made keepers of horses and guardians of dogs, he confiscated the possessions of churches, and what he unintentionally offered to God, he shamelessly recalled; he permitted the witness by bishops, but he cunningly took away the relics of the church; he violently snatched [them] away depriving [them] of the relics.'

⁷⁰ Niger, *Chronica*, p. 169.

⁷¹ Gerald, *Principis*, p. 313.

numerous opportunities by God to reform his ways but had always refused to do so.

One of the most common complaints against Henry was his treatment of vacant bishoprics and abbeys. Walter Map attributed this bad habit to Henry's mother Matilda and maintained that she had encouraged her son to retain vacant posts to exploit the revenues.⁷² This was claimed as a royal right, and had probably been established under the reign of William Rufus, or even William I.⁷³ Gerald of Wales in the *Expugnatio Hibernica* accuses Henry of forgetting his royal duty towards the church and using vacant churches as a source of royal income.⁷⁴ In his later works, he continues to comment upon Henry's exploitation of vacant bishoprics, stating that the king seized the possessions of the church and spent the money irresponsibly on lay rather than spiritual matters.⁷⁵

Just like the other writers, William of Newburgh had an opinion on the king's exploitation of vacant bishoprics and stated that Henry 'allowed vacant bishoprics to remain void a long time, that he might receive the emoluments which thence accrued, and he sent to his treasury the profits, which should rather have been applied to ecclesiastical purposes.'⁷⁶ William, however,

⁷² Map, *Nugis*, p. 478-9.

⁷³ M. Howell, *Regalian Right in Medieval England* (London, 1962), p. 5-6.

⁷⁴ A. B. Scott and F. X. Martin (eds.), *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* (Dublin, 1978) p. 130-1.

⁷⁵ Gerald, *Kambriae*, p. 21-2. Translation: L. Thorpe (ed.), *Gerald of Wales: The Journey through Wales and the Description of Wales* (London, 2004) p. 82.

⁷⁶ Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 280-1. Translation: J. Stevenson (ed.), *The History of William of Newburgh and the Chronicles of Robert de Monte* (London, 1856) p. 551. Latin: 'excepto eo, quod vacantes episcopatus, ut provenientia perciperet commoda, diu vacare voluit, et ecclesiasticis potius usibus applicanda in fiscum redegit.'

claimed 'he was an especial defender and preserver of the property and liberties of the church, as clearly appeared after his death.'⁷⁷

Many of the writers also comment upon Henry's taxation policies. For instance, Gerald of Wales states,

And after he ascended to the throne of the realm, he hammered the church with such great burdens. So unjustly did this tyrant rule. In doing evil, he was resolute and incomparable.⁷⁸

In this example Gerald draws attention to Henry's exactions on the church. William of Newburgh also comments on Henry's taxation policies, stating that Henry 'more than any other prince, never summoned tribute from the church or monasteries; he protected them with immunity from compulsory service and public exactions.'⁷⁹ This is corroborated in the Pipe Rolls which recorded pardons of certain taxations to the religious orders. Unlike Gerald of Wales, William did not regard Henry as forever disgraced in God's eyes but as tested by God with a hope that Henry would be rewarded in another life.⁸⁰ William was the only writer of this group who expressed any concern or belief that Henry would be redeemed.

Not surprisingly, most authors mention the Becket martyrdom, an incident which shook Western Christendom. Roger of Howden's treatment of the Becket crisis, which may have been compiled from letters,⁸¹ records in great detail Henry's pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1174, painting a picture of a humble

⁷⁷ Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 282. Translation: Stevenson (ed.), *The History of William of Newburgh and the Chronicles of Robert de Monte* p. 552. Latin: 'rerum et libertatum ecclesiasticarum, sicut post mortem ejus claruit, defensor et conservator praecipuus.'

⁷⁸ Gerald, *Principis*, p. 153.

⁷⁹ Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 282. Translation: Stevenson (ed.), *The History of William of Newburgh and the Chronicles of Robert de Monte* p. 552.

⁸⁰ Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 281.

⁸¹ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 to c. 1307*, p. 226.

and penitent king.⁸² Ralph de Diceto's work, if more detailed, is also more revealing than the other accounts. He claims that Henry swore that he had not participated in the murder of and gave £40 for candles around Becket's tomb.⁸³ Diceto continues his account of Henry's penance by detailing the three-day fast and vigil that the king underwent as part of his pilgrimage and concludes that as a result of this, Henry was rewarded with the capture of King William of Scotland.⁸⁴ This reward, a sign that the king had atoned for his wrongs, becomes a popular theme in the contemporary writings.

Many of the writers incorporate pilgrimage into Henry's penance for Becket's death. Torigny records Henry's pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1174 following Becket's death. He describes how Henry appeared to be devout in prayer and succumbing to tears, a sign of his great remorse.⁸⁵ In his later work, *De Principis Instructione*, Gerald of Wales is sceptical of Henry's innocence in the Becket martyrdom and angered by the king's penance.⁸⁶ Ralph de Diceto's description of the pilgrimage is similar to Howden's⁸⁷ while William of Newburgh provides a short summary of the murder itself and records the king's

⁸² Howden, *Chronica*, ii. 61-2.

⁸³ Diceto, *Ymagines*, p. 383. Latin: 'rex publice protestatus est, Deum testem vocans in animam suam, quod mortem archiepiscopi nec mandavit.' Translation: 'The king publicly proclaimed, with God hearing the testimony in his soul, that he did not command the murder of the archbishop.' Latin: 'assignans insuper annuos redditus xl librarum ad luminaria jugiter circa martyrem in venerationem martyris concinnanda.' Translation: 'Assigning a yearly payment of £40 for perpetual candles to be illuminated around the martyr in reverence of the martyr.' This can be corroborated with the Pipe Rolls. See database.

⁸⁴ Diceto, *Ymagines*, p. 384.

⁸⁵ Torigny, *Chronica*, p. 264. Translation: Stevenson (ed.), *The History of William of Newburgh and the Chronicles of Robert de Monte* p. 784.

⁸⁶ Gerald, *Principis*, p. 169.

⁸⁷ Diceto, *Ymagines*, p. 383.

grief at the event.⁸⁸ He prudently makes no allegations of Henry's guilt and instead records the papal legates' opinions at Avranches that Henry's humility helped to absolve the king of the guilt of his participation.⁸⁹ William also records Henry's pilgrimage to Canterbury and echoes the idea that as a result of Henry's humility, the king was rewarded by the capture of King William of Scotland.

There were other pilgrimages that Henry undertook. Robert of Torigny reveals that the king made a pilgrimage to Rocamadour in 1170 'for the purposes of prayer/devotion' [*causa orationis*].⁹⁰ This occurred after Henry's recovery from illness and was most likely undertaken to give thanks for his survival. This pilgrimage is also mentioned by Roger of Howden.⁹¹ Conversely, Gerald of Wales criticised Henry's lack of commitment for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and denounced Henry's 'foundations' at Waltham, Amesbury and Witham as half-measures undertaken instead of the pilgrimage.⁹²

b. Relationship with Particular Religious Orders

Only one writer, Walter Map, provides any detail on Henry's relations with specific religious orders. Walter Map commented on both the Cistercians and the order of Grandmont. In a chapter concerning the Order of Grandmont, Map states that 'Our lord, I mean King Henry II, to whom they lay everything open, is so lavishly bountiful towards them in the way of charity that they are

⁸⁸ Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 163.

⁸⁹ Newburgh, *Historia*, p. 164-5.

⁹⁰ Torigny, *Chronica*, p. 248.

⁹¹ Howden, *Chronica*, ii. 6. Latin: 'Deinde post multum temporis rex Henricus pater de infirmitate sua convalescens, peregre profectus est ad Sanctam Mariam de Rupe Adamatoris.'

⁹² Gerald, *Principis*, p. 170.

nowhere in want.’⁹³ This is substantiated to a certain extent by French charters issued to Grandmont. However, as the English Grandmontine houses were founded in the thirteenth century.⁹⁴

c. Patronage

According to Robert of Torigny’s writings, Henry visited Mont-Saint-Michel twice during Torigny’s tenure as abbot; one of these visits was with Louis VII in 1158.⁹⁵ Henry’s first visit occurred in 1158 and Torigny stated:

Then the king came to Mont Saint Michel and after hearing mass at the high altar, he ate in the monks’ refectory with his barons. Abbot Robert, with great difficulty and many prayers, induced him to do so. After, in the new chamber of the abbot, he gave the churches of Pontorson to Saint Michel, the abbot and the monks of the same place...⁹⁶

Here we have evidence of the king visiting a monastery, attending mass and eating in the refectory. Torigny stressed that he had to persuade Henry to eat in the refectory and this was perhaps intended as a show of humility. What is most important about this extract, however, is that it illustrates Henry giving the monastery a gift during this visit to the abbey. This may have been a show of gratitude for their hospitality or perhaps intended to mark the occasion of this visit.

In the same vein, Walter Map commented on Henry’s general almsgiving, praising the king’s generosity. He stated, ‘this same King Henry was a man of many and large and fat alms deeds, but in secret, lest it should be known to his left hand what his right hand gave.’⁹⁷ In addition to these examples of

⁹³ Map, *Nugis*, p. 115.

⁹⁴ There are at least 12 charters issued to Grandmont in the collection of Delisle and Berger, *Recueil Henry II. Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 108.

⁹⁵ Torigny, *Chronica*, p. 198.

⁹⁶ Torigny, *Chronica*, p. 197.

⁹⁷ Map, *Nugis*, p. 482-3.

generosity, Map explains that Henry sent 60,000 marks to Jerusalem to help win the fight against Saladin.⁹⁸ Henry was evidently not shy in sending or promising money to the Holy Land but he never did fulfil multiple promises to journey there as a pilgrim or to fight.⁹⁹ Gerald of Wales corroborates this image of Henry's generosity in the *Expugnatio Hibernica*. He discusses Henry's attitudes and habits towards the church stating that 'he was incomparably generous in his almsgiving, and one of the chief supporters of the land of Palestine.'¹⁰⁰

Roger of Howden also records Henry's other form of penance for his involvement in Becket's murder: the foundation of monasteries. One entry recorded the re-foundation of Waltham, stating the following:

Then the lord king, by the authority of the lord Pope, placed in the same church of Waltham, canons regular taken from diverse houses of England, and he placed Walter de Gaunt, taking the canon from the church of Oseney, as the first abbot of this congregation and he enriched them with large rents and beautiful houses.¹⁰¹

Howden continued this description of Henry's re-foundation with Amesbury:

In the same year, the king expelled the nuns of the abbey of Amesbury on account of their intemperance and by means of constraining them he distributed the custody to another religious house. The same abbey of Amesbury he gave to the abbess and house of Fontevrault in perpetual possession.¹⁰²

⁹⁸ Map, *Nugis*, p. 482-3.

⁹⁹ Henry was not the only king who delayed his departure to the Holy Land. King Phillip II of France also delayed his journey to the Holy Land and did not actually go until King Richard I went after Henry II's death.

¹⁰⁰ Scott and Martin (eds.), *Expugnatio Hibernica: The Conquest of Ireland by Giraldus Cambrensis* p. 130-1.

¹⁰¹ Howden, *Chronica*, ii. 118.

¹⁰² Howden, *Chronica*, ii. 118-9.

These two accounts show how Henry 'founded' two of his monasteries. The author was careful not to describe these as selfless and pious acts but it can be seen how Gerald and others could have seen these foundations as half hearted attempts.¹⁰³

What is clear from the works of these authors is that there are diverse views of Henry's behaviour and spirituality. His inner thoughts were unreachable for these writers and in turn for the historian. There is no indication that the king regularly prayed or read religious texts. Many writers mention his almsgiving in the form of gifts and foundation, or re-foundation as the case often was. What most of them accuse him of is the collection of lucrative rents from vacant bishoprics and abbeys. Despite the relative paucity of concrete information, the works of these authors provide a useful framework and suggest the potential conclusion that Henry was not an obviously pious individual and encourage the search for other reasons behind his actions.

¹⁰³ The areas of patronage and Henry's interactions with particular religious orders are also evident in the house chronicles.

Chapter 2.1: Gifts of Land

Henry by the grace of God, King of the English, duke of the Normans and Aquitainians, and Count of the Angevins to the archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs and all his ministers and faithful men, greeting. Know that I give in perpetual and free alms and by the present charter confirm to the church of St. John the Baptist of Godstow and the nuns there in the service of God, the church of (High) Wycombe with all that pertains to it. Therefore, I wish and firmly order that the aforesaid church and the nuns of that church are to have the above mentioned church of (High) Wycombe well and in peace and free and quit, wholly and honourably with all that pertains and its liberties and free customs. Witnesses: Bishop G(eoffrey) of Ely, Bishop B(artholomew) of Exeter, Bishop John of Norwich, Richard de Lucy, Ranulph de Glanville, Hugh de Gund, Reginald de Pauelli, William Basset, William Fitz Ralph, Ralph Fitz Stephen. At Stansted.¹

The above grant made to Godstow Abbey between December 1175 and April 1179 represents one of the most common forms of patronage: gifts. The main stated reason for gifts was to receive the community's prayers but other motives included the commemoration of a certain event, the fulfilment of penance or the start of a particular relationship.

Royal gifts often took the form of land or of rents rendered from the king's manors. The terms of these grants varied and their interpretation occasionally led to misunderstandings and disputes.² There were also gifts of tithes and churches. In addition to land, patrons might give objects such as gold and silver plate. A king, with a potentially wide variety of resources, could grant the right to have a fair and collect the revenues. He might grant an abbot or a monastery the right of warren in their own lands or in royal lands. Warren allowed the hunting of animals, a privilege normally enjoyed by the king. Finally, the king could grant a variety of quittances which relieved the monastery from payments on an array of tolls and taxes such as Danegeld, pontage, castle building, tolls on goods or at markets and even expenses that arose from justice.

¹ *CChR*, iv. 186-7.

² See Chapter 5 on disputes.

There are problems for the historian in interpreting this type of patronage. Charters, which contain the bulk of the information, are not always clear on whether these were new gifts or simply re-issues of old ones. Some of the charters did mention their previous grantors but other charters do not contain this information. However, this dilemma can be largely addressed by examining earlier royal gifts. An additional problem is the difficulty in determining the value of the gifts which is seldom recorded. Sometimes the Pipe Rolls provide additional information but not often. Another potential problem is that individuals, kings in particular, took credit for a gift or even a foundation made by another. For example, Empress Matilda gave the land on which Waleran de Beaumont, Count of Meulan and Earl of Worcester, founded the monastery of Bordesley in 1136.³ When Waleran de Beaumont, originally an adherent of King Stephen, joined the side of the Empress she demanded he hand over the patronage of Bordesley Abbey.⁴ Matilda later issued a charter between 25 July 1141 and 24 June 1142, stating that she had founded the monastery of Bordesley.⁵ Henry II adopted and perpetuated his mother's role

³ *RRAN*, iii. 42 no. 115. Latin: 'Sciatis me dedisse et imperpetuam elemosinam confirmasse deo et Sancte Marie et abbacie mee de Bordesleia totam terram Bordesleie...' Translation: 'Know that I have given and in perpetual alms have confirmed to God and St Mary and my abbey of Bordesley the entire land of Bordesley.' Matilda's charter was not issued until c. 1141.

⁴ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 134-5.

⁵ *RRAN*, iii. 43 no. 116. Latin: 'Pro dei amore et pro anima Henrici regis patris mei et Mathildis regine matris mee et parentum et antecessorum meorum et pro salute Gaufridi comitis Andegavorum domini mei et mea et Henrici heredis mei et aliorum filiorum meorum, et pro pace et stabilitate regni Anglorum, fundasse abbatiam quandam que dicitur Bordesleia, de ordine Cisterciensi in honore Beatissime Virginis Marie regine celorum.' Translation: 'For love of God and for the soul of King Henry my father and Queen Matilda my mother and my family and my ancestors and for the salvation of Geoffrey count of Anjou, my lord, and myself and my heir Henry and all my other sons, and for the peace and stability of the realm of England, I have

as founder and in a later charter, issued 1156 x 1159, stated, 'Know that my lady and mother Empress Matilda and I founded the abbey of Bordesley, of the Cistercian Order, in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary.'⁶ While Matilda originally gave the land to Bordesley for its foundation, which is arguably the defining aspect of foundation, the foundation itself was not by her design or by Henry's but by that of Waleran de Beaumont.

My treatment of gifts is split into two parts. Chapter 2.1 examines the gifts of land recorded in charters and *terrae datae* recorded in the Pipe Rolls. Chapter 2.2 looks at gifts of money, churches and privileges. Each chapter considers the religious orders and houses and details the chronology of these gifts.

I. Land and Charter Evidence

In total, I found that seventy-five charters record gifts of land.⁷ They provide a variety of information. In some cases they are very specific, specifying the extent of the land or declaring its value.⁸ In other cases, the charter simply states the place name with no further details.⁹ It is rare to find the information in these charters in the Pipe Rolls and those that can be found relate to gifts of

founded the abbey that is called Bordesley, of the Cistercian order, in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary, queen of heaven.'

⁶ *Recueil Henry II*, i. 221-3 no. 117. Latin: 'Sciatis dominam et matrem Matillidim imperatricem et me fundasse abbatiam de Bordeslegha, de ordine Cisterciensi, in honorem beate Virginis Marie.'

⁷ A summary of each of these charters can be found in the attached database.

⁸ For example, in a charter Henry issued to Bishop Walter and the Church of Coventry, he gave the bishop and community 1500 acres of assart that had been made since the death of Henry I. The charter specified the amount of the assart and where it was located; *CChR*, ii. 347. In a second example, Henry granted Marton Priory 40s of land in the vill of Huby; *CChR*, iii. 396.

⁹ For example, Henry gave Merton Priory the grant of a fishery at Brentford. The charter did not indicate the type of fish, how many, or any other details regarding the grant; *CChR*, iv. 472.

land, which were listed as *terrae datae*. Some of the gifts were made from the farms of the various counties and are sometimes indicated in the charter text by way of ordering the Barons of the Exchequer to assign a rent from specific manors.¹⁰

Of course, the king's gift patronage would bring prestige, as well as support, to any monastery. Henry II was reluctant to give out land to laymen as a consequence of the numerous alienations and baronies created by Stephen.¹¹ It is unlikely that he intentionally applied the same policy to the monasteries but significantly the surviving charters recording grants are much fewer in number than those recording confirmations or disputes.¹² A gift of land was particularly valuable, for it enabled the monastery to produce food and profit from surplus but the land could also be rented out to farm. Moreover, gifts of land had a sense of permanence and were seldom granted for a set period of time. Unlike gifts to laymen, which rarely used perpetuity language, the gifts to monasteries almost always used the terms 'in perpetual alms' or 'in perpetuity'.

A. Charter Case Studies

To illustrate better the use of patronage in regard to gifts of land, two case studies of Haughmond Abbey and Athelney Abbey are presented.

¹⁰ For example, Henry issued a writ in 1164 ordering the Barons of the Exchequer to pay the monks of Reading £40 annually from the king's manor of Hoo. The gift then appeared in the Pipe Rolls in 15 Henry II as *terra data*; *Reading Cartularies*, i. 321 no. 396, *PR 15 Henry II*, p. 161.

¹¹ Amt, *Accession*, p. 24-5, J. E. Lally, 'Secular Patronage at the Court of Henry II', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, 49 (1976), 159-84 at 159-62.

¹² This was probably also true of Henry I. For more information see C. W. Hollister and A. Clark Frost (ed.), *Henry I* (New Haven, 2001), J. A. Green, 'The Piety and Patronage of Henry I', *The Haskins Society*, 10 (2001), 1-16, J. A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006).

a. Land: Haughmond Abbey

Haughmond Abbey, possibly founded as early as 1110 as a small Augustinian community, was either re-founded or more richly endowed by William FitzAlan c. 1130.¹³ The house benefited first from the Empress Matilda's patronage and then from her son's, Henry II.¹⁴ Possibly one of Henry's boyhood tutors, Alured, was consecrated as the new abbot of Haughmond c. 1163.¹⁵ There is a strong possibility that Henry granted Haughmond royal favour due to Alured's position. Henry issued fourteen charters to Haughmond Abbey over the course of his reign; seven of these charters recorded gifts¹⁶ and seven recorded confirmations.¹⁷

Henry's gift of land to Haughmond was made c. 1175.¹⁸ His charter states, 'Know that I have granted and given in free, pure and perpetual alms to the brothers of canons at the Church of Haughmond, for their sustenance, the entirety of Stitt.' Henry's gift of Stitt is typical of the land grant charters. There is no indication as to whether this gift was made on a special occasion. It provides little detail about the land either in terms of value or acreage and grants the land in perpetuity, as most, if not all, the other gifts do. Some of the other land grant charters include a dedication or state to whom the gift is in honour. Haughmond's charter does not indicate this, and is not complete in its surviving version, but it contains the basic elements of a land grant charter.

¹³ *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 5, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 159.

¹⁴ *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 228 nos. 1250 and 1251.

¹⁵ *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 8, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 165.

¹⁶ *Cartae Antiquae II*, p. 91 no. 453, *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 141 no. 679, p. 149 no. 723, p. 217 no. 1180, p. 141-2 no. 680, p. 98 no. 443, p. 109 no. 492.

¹⁷ *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 93 no. 411, p. 25 no. 30, p. 86, 113 nos. 367, 528, p. 177 no. 889, p. 251 (Appendix C) no. i, p. 48 no. 151, p. 94 no. 421.

¹⁸ *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 217 no. 1180.

b. Man and Land: Athelney Abbey

Athelney Abbey was founded in Anglo-Saxon times by King Alfred but it is unknown if it had a continuous history as a monastery from that time.¹⁹ Early in Henry II's reign, between 1155 and August 1158, the king issued a charter to his sheriff and ministers of Somerset.²⁰ In this charter, Henry gave notice of a gift he made to Athelney Abbey of his man Gilbert of Curry Load along with Gilbert's land and service. The monastery was held responsible, as long as the king wished, for the payment of the 7s 6d to the sheriff of Somerset 'de firma', which Gilbert was accustomed to render. There is no record of this grant in the Pipe Rolls. In contrast to the gift of land to Haughmond, this gift to Athelney granted a person with his lands. Gilbert had more standing than the peasants who normally accompanied a gift of land. While Gilbert would continue to hold the land, he was no longer responsible for paying the 7s 6d to the sheriff. Henry's gift to Athelney is not simply a land grant but an example of attornment or the transferring of a person with their lands/services over to a new lord.²¹ The monastery, in addition to gaining Gilbert's land, received another man who could defend the community and provide for their knight service to the king.

B. Values

While many of the land grant charters do not reveal the value of these grants, there are other ways to determine this. From the charters that do contain values and the records from Domesday Book, it emerges that 25 land grants can be assigned annual monetary values and are listed in the table below.

¹⁹ V. C. H. Somerset, ii. 99, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 59.

²⁰ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 85.

²¹ J. Hudson, *Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England* (Oxford, 1994), p. 227.

The total of these land grants is roughly £250 but this is probably a rather low estimate given inflation between 1086 and Henry II's reign.

Recipient	Land	Value²²
Athelney Abbey	Land of Gilbert of Curry Load	7s 6d
Boxley Abbey	Manor of Boxley	£55
Bury St Edmunds Abbey	Holdings of Manor of Beccles	£1 18s
Daventry Priory	Manor of Fawsley	£15 TRE ²³
Faversham Abbey	Fish of Seasalter	£1
Gloucester Abbey (St. Peter)	Manor of Ruddle	£2 TRE, 10s 1086 ²⁴
Godstow Abbey	Church of High Wycombe	13s 4d
Godstow Abbey	Church of Bloxham	2s
Holme Abbey (St. Benet)	Land of Waxham	At least 6d
Knights Templar	Manor of Eagle	£11
Knights Templar	Manor of Bisham	£8 TRE, £12 1086 ²⁵
Knights Templar	Manor of Strood	£13
Knights Templar	Witham (Market and ½ hundred)	£10 TRE, £20 1086 Dues and profits: £34, £4 ²⁶

²² The values expressed here are taken from the charters or from *Domesday Book*. The *Domesday* 'value' is what the holdings were worth at the time of 1086 and the figure may have represented an entire manor and not its individual parts. The charter references are found in the database.

²³ *Domesday*, p. 591.

²⁴ *Domesday*, p. 467.

²⁵ *Domesday*, p. 148.

Llanthony Priory	Fishery of Hersepol	£1
Marton Priory	Land of Huby	£2
Newstead-on-Ancholme Priory	Island of Ancholme	£8 10s
Northampton Priory (St. Andrew)	Church of Potton	£3 6s 8d
Norwich Cathedral Priory	Church of Wighton	13s 4d
Quarr Abbey	Loxwell	£5
Radmore Abbey (Later Stoneleigh Abbey)	Radmore	£17 15s
Ramsey Abbey	Hundred of Hursingstone	£2 13s 4d
Reading Abbey	Church of Berkeley	£13 6s 8d (For all churches of Berkeley Hernessee, Berkeley is one of these) ²⁷
Sandford (Littlemore) Priory	Land	£2
Thorney Abbey	40 acres of land	£5
Trentham Priory	Church of Trentham	Around £30
Total		£251 16s 4d

The remaining land grants whose values are not known are shown in the following tables.

²⁶ *Domesday*, p. 970.

²⁷ *Reading Cartularies*, i. 229-33.

Table 1. Lands with no values

Recipient	Details
Haughmond Abbey	1 manor-Stitt

Table 2. Churches with no values

Recipient	Details
Canterbury Hospital	Church of Bredgar
Clerkenwell Priory	Church of Sittingbourne
Haughmond Abbey	Church of Hanmer
Knights Templar	Church of St. Clement the Dane
Newhouse	Church of Glentworth
Newstead	Church of Ault Hucknall
Sherborne	Church of Stalbridge

Table 3. Mills

Recipient	Details	Value (Yes/No)
Bristol Abbey	Mill in Bedminster fee	5s ?
Haughmond Abbey	Mill of Wrockwardine at Allscott	no

Table 4. Land with Measurements

Recipient	Details	Value
Finchale Priory	2 bovates at Sadberge	30 acres
Haughmond Abbey	½ hide of land at Leebotwood	60 acres (+ 15 acres of assarts)
Knights Templar	1 carrucate	120 acres
Kingswood Abbey	12 acres	12 acres
Rievaulx Abbey	2 carrucates	240 acres
Thurgarton Priory	40 acres	40 acres
Total		502

Table 5. Assarts

Recipient	Amount	Value
Evesham Abbey	60 acres assart	60 acres
Kingswood Abbey	140 acres assarts	140 acres
Lenton Priory	80 acres assarts	80 acres
Coventry Cathedral Priory	1500 acres assarts	1500 acres
Coventry Cathedral Priory	Assarts-Cannock and Longdon	No extent
Malling Abbey	25 acres assarts	25 acres
Merton Priory	50 acres assarts	50 acres
Merton Priory	40 acres assarts	40 acres
Selby Abbey	17 acres assarts	17 acres
Total of those with Values		1912 acres

Table 6. Hermitages

Recipient	Details	Value
Colchester Abbey	Hermitage	No value
Colchester Abbey	Hermitage and daily allowance	4d per day
Colchester Abbey	Hermitage	No value
Kirkstead Abbey	Hermitage	No value
Lenton Priory	Hermitage	No value
Shrewsbury Abbey	Hermitage, 1 carrucate of land and mill	120 acres

Table 7. Woods, Meadow, Pasture and Other Supplies

Recipient	Details	Value (Yes/No)
Canterbury Priory (St Gregory)	Horse load of wood daily	No
Gloucester Abbey	Wood of Sutridge	No
Gloucester Abbey	Wood of Sutridge	No
Harbledown Hospital	Daily load of wood	No
Haughmond Abbey	2 clearings	No
Haughmond Abbey	Pasture of Long Mynd	No
Hereford Priory (St. Guthlac)	2 loads of wood daily	No
Pipewell Abbey	Pasture of Beanfield Lawn	No
Reading Abbey	Enclose park	No
Rievaulx Abbey	Waste in Pickering	No

Table 8. Privileges

Recipient	Details	Value (Yes/No)
Knights Templar	Hundred of Shamwell	No
Knights Templar	Water of Fleet, right to make mill	No
Merton Priory	Fishery-Brentford	No

Table 9. Buildings

Recipient	Details
Colchester Abbey	Hospital
Fountains Abbey	Right to build in York

Table 10. Miscellaneous (Multiple grants)

Recipient	Details	Value
Colchester Abbey	Land in city and fairs	No
Jersey Abbey	Mill, church and marsh	No
Knights Templar	Many lands in Ireland	No

While it is impossible to establish the monetary value to these gifts of land, the above tables give some indication of their extent. What benefits did these lands actually bring to the monasteries? Were they a large part of the community's holdings or was their value negligible compared to their total endowment? These questions are difficult to answer since much of the evidence regarding the monastic holdings has been lost. However, based on the examples of Ely Cathedral Priory, Thorney Abbey, Crowland Abbey and Glastonbury Abbey, some preliminary conclusions can be made. All of these houses were

older foundations and by the time of Henry's reign held considerable property. The bishopric and cathedral priory of Ely had lands in Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire, the Isle of Ely, Essex, Hertfordshire, Suffolk and Norfolk.²⁸ At the time of the Domesday Survey, the Bishop of Ely had a total gross income and total net income of £484.²⁹ The Pipe Rolls reveal that Henry II granted the Bishop of Ely £84 5s during his reign³⁰, which would have been 5.9% of the bishop's total gross and net incomes c. 1086. There are no surviving charters that record other gifts granted to Ely.

A similar pattern emerges for both Thorney and Crowland which were also pre-Conquest foundations although neither as large, nor as important, as Ely. Henry II gave the hundred of Normancross, worth £5, to Thorney Abbey³¹ but there are no surviving charters of land grants made to Crowland. Moreover, the Pipe Rolls contain no figures for *terrae datae* for either one of these houses. The initial impression is that Henry's land grant patronage had little effect on the real income of either abbey.

The final monastery whose accounts offer some idea of the impact of Henry's land grants is Glastonbury Abbey. Again, Glastonbury Abbey is not entered on the Pipe Rolls as receiving *terrae datae* and there are no surviving charters of Henry II recording gifts of land. Its estates and the various audits of them demonstrate that the value of the abbey's holdings fluctuated but the community was not solely reliant on the king's patronage for support.

²⁸ E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely: The Social History of an Ecclesiastical Estate from the Tenth to the Early Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 87.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 94.

³⁰ This includes grants of *terrae datae*, alms, liveries and tithes. It does not include the amount of pardons or outstanding debts that the king allowed the bishop.

³¹ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 2721H.

According to Domesday Book, in 1086 Glastonbury's holdings were worth £566.³² During the reign of Henry I, this value had increased to £695 4s 4d per annum.³³ By the end of Henry of Blois' tenure as abbot (1126 x 1171), the value of the abbey was £618 11s 4d but this excluded peasant rents and demesne at Damerham.³⁴ From 1180 to 1199, the annual income of the abbey was between £600 and £700, with £300 of this supplying the monks with food and other necessities.³⁵ Clearly Henry's land grant patronage for any of these monasteries, based on the amounts recorded in the surviving charters, accounts and the Pipe Rolls, would have had minimal impact on their total income.

The gifts of land that Henry gave were small compared to the endowments and current holdings of many of these monasteries. The value of most of these lands would increase over time, which has been seen in the examples above, and could have provided more income at a later date. In all probability, these grants of land would have benefited the smaller and newer houses more than the larger and more established communities. An example, which is discussed later, is the Hospital of Hornchurch. Henry founded this hospital and his initial endowment of *terrae datae* at Havering-atte-Bower most likely provided the hospital with a significant source of income.³⁶ The actual value of Henry's land grants is difficult to determine but the symbolic importance and prestige of the land grants was likely greater than the actual monetary value.

³² N. E. Stacy (ed.), *Surveys of the Estates of Glastonbury Abbey c. 1135-1201* (Records of Social and Economic History NS 33; Oxford, 2001) p. 26.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 27.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ *PR 5 Henry II*, p. 4, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 365.

C. Geography

In addition to examining the value of these land grants, it is possible to consider their geographical context. The following table notes the number of charters issued to houses in particular counties. These charters might illustrate the geographical significance of Henry's patronage and focuses on the geographical concentration of the monasteries and not their possessions.

County	Number of Charters ³⁷
Kent	6
Staffordshire, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire	4
Gloucestershire	4
Nottinghamshire	3
Oxfordshire, Shropshire, Norfolk, Lincolnshire	2
Somerset, Suffolk, London, Essex, Worcestershire, Durham, Jersey, Surrey, Dorset, Isle of Wight, Huntingdonshire, Berkshire, Warwickshire, Cambridgeshire, Herefordshire	1

It appears that Henry's patronage by land grants focused on the centre and south of England. Kent, an area mostly devoted to King Stephen during the Anarchy, appears at the top of the list. This, however, is likely as Kent was the site of many 'ancient' monasteries. It is no accident that Henry's patronage to

³⁷ These numbers do not include the Knights Templar as there was no indication given to which preceptories the grants were given to. All of this information can be found in the charter database.

Gloucestershire houses was relatively high as Gloucestershire had been a stronghold of Empress Matilda and Henry might have been rewarding his mother's supporters.³⁸ Other than this, the geography does not appear to follow any particular pattern. Some counties had more monasteries than others and it is possible that petitions and personal preference of religious houses played a greater role in Henry's land grant patronage than geography.

Of the 75 land grant charters, eight were issued in the same town as the monastery, perhaps during the king's stay at the abbey. It is unknown if Henry actually stayed at the monasteries or elsewhere in the towns. These include grants to Bury St Edmunds (at Bury St Edmunds), five grants to Colchester Abbey (at Colchester), Hereford Priory (at Hereford), and Gloucester Abbey (at Gloucester). Some monasteries in towns that Henry had supposedly visited at some point in his reign also received land grants but there are at least 43 monasteries in towns that Henry is never recorded as visiting.³⁹ This suggests that, as a rule, it does not appear that Henry visited the places he patronized or patronized the places he visited. It also indicates that Henry was not inclined to be overly generous when staying at or near the monasteries.

There is not an obvious pattern linking geography and chronology but a fairly even distribution of charters over Henry's reign. As expected, there is a concentration of charters in the first half of Henry's reign as Henry was making his mark as a new king. This chronology is discussed further below.

For the majority of these grants of land, the lands or possessions were relatively close to the monastery. There were exceptions, especially in the case of the hermitage of Writtle granted to Colchester Abbey, Llanthony Priory's

³⁸ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 121.

³⁹ This number does not include the Knights Templar.

grant of the fish of Hersepol and Malling Abbey's grant of Wimbish. The fact that many of these grants were close to the monastery demonstrates the desirability of close holdings while those given further away seem to have been for the purpose of dependent cells or hermitages.

D. Chronology

Time Period	Number of Charters
Pre 1154	5
1154 x 1172	41
1173 x 1189	28
1154 x 1189 (no further refining of date)	1

Decade	Number of Charters
1140 x 1149 (pre accession)	2
1150 x 1154 (pre accession)	3
1154 x 1159	25
1160 x 1169	6
1154 x 1169	3
1170 x 1179	20
1170 x 1189	10
1180 x 1189	2
1154 x 1172	3
1154 x 1189	1

Both of these tables illustrate that the majority of Henry's land grant charters were issued in the first half of his reign. The first half decade of Henry's reign (1154 x 1159) had the greatest number of land gift charters. The

following decade saw a decrease but between 1170 and 1179 there was an increase to 20 charters. Of these surviving charters for 1170 x 1179, there is no indication in their text that they were the result of the murder of Thomas Becket. The chronological layout of the land grant charters follows the pattern of Henry's other charters. Both the charters of confirmation and those recording disputes were issued earlier in Henry's reign. Analysis of the religious houses that received more than one charter shows no pattern regarding the dates of issue. While some had multiple charters issued within the same time period, others had charters issued during the first half of Henry's reign and then during the second half of Henry's reign.

There are a few slight deviations when the charters are examined according to order and chronology. The charters have been divided first according to the use of the 'dei gratia' clause, which produces two natural divisions: 1154 x 1172 and 1173 x 1189. After this initial division, the charters were further categorized according to decade, or span of decades depending on the dating range that was available.

I. Augustinians

a. General Division

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1172	8
1173 x 1189	10
Total	18

b. Further Division by Decades

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1159	3
1160 x 1169	4
1170 x 1179	8
1170 x 1189	2

II. Benedictines

a. General Division

Time Period	Number of Charters
Pre 1154	2
1154 x 1172	20
1173 x 1189	11
Total	33

b. Further Division by Decades

Time Period	Number of Charters
1150 x 1154	2
1154 x 1159	12
1154 x 1169	2
1160 x 1169	2
1170 x 1179	5
1180 x 1189	1
1170 x 1189	5
1154 x 1172	4

III. Cistercians

a. General Division

Time Period	Number of Charters
Pre 1154	3
1154 x 1172	4
1173 x 1189	4
Total	11

b. Further Division by Decades

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1159	3
1170 x 1179	3
1170 x 1189	2

IV. Gilbertine

Time Period	Number of charters
1166 x 1173	1

V. Hospitals

Time Period	Number of Charters
1155 x 1158	1
1184 x 1185	1
Total	2

VI. Premonstratensians

Time Period	Number of Charters
1172 x 1189	1

VII. Knights Templar

a. General Division

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1172	6
1173 x 1189	2
1154 x 1189 ⁴⁰	1
Total	9

b. Further Divisions by Decade

Time Period	Number of Charters
1170 x 1179	3
1154 x 1159	5

It emerges that the Augustinian order is the only one to have received more land grant charters in the second half of Henry's reign. The majority of these were issued between 1170 and 1179. While this may indicate that the Augustinians rose in Henry's favour during his reign and be evidence for preferential treatment of a religious order, significantly none of the houses that received the grants between 1170 and 1179 were royal foundations although one, Bristol Abbey, had received attention from Henry II in the past.⁴¹ Moreover, of

⁴⁰ The dating range of this charter could not be further refined.

⁴¹ *Recueil Henry II*, i. 55-6 no. 49*. This charter was issued prior to Henry's accession.

these 8 charters, 3 were issued to Haughmond Abbey, which is examined more fully below.⁴² None of the charters can be linked to Thomas Becket's death.

The patterns of chronology and the Benedictine order are unremarkable and follow the already mentioned trends. Interestingly, the Cistercian order had an equal number of charters issued in the first half of Henry's reign as in the second half. They also had the greatest number issued before Henry's accession, which was a period of rapid growth for the order. The early charters were probably due to the influence of Empress Matilda. The results for the other religious orders indicate that while they were included in Henry's patronage, they were not particularly favoured with gifts of land.

E. Recipients

Religious Order	Number of Charters
Benedictine	33
Augustinian	18
Cistercian	11
Knights Templar	9
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	2
Gilbertine	1
Premonstratensians	1

These numbers indicate that the majority of Henry's land grant charters were being issued to Benedictine recipients. This is not surprising given the monastic landscape of England and the prevalence of Benedictine houses. During the time of Henry's reign, there were roughly 318 Benedictine houses of monks and nuns, 92 houses of Cistercian monks and nuns, 162 houses of

⁴² It may be possible, as seen above, that Henry favoured Haughmond Abbey.

Augustinian canons and about 18 houses of Gilbertine canons and nuns.⁴³ The Augustinians were second after the Benedictines followed by the Cistercian order. Both of these orders were relative new comers to England and while it is clear that their popularity was increasing, it had not yet reached the levels of patronage to the Benedictine houses. The Cistercian houses were also more numerous in the north of England, which appears to be farther from the areas Henry tended to patronize. The Knights Templar, with a high representation of charters, were growing in favour due to their usefulness with financial services as well as their role in the Holy Land.

It is difficult to provide an exact value of the gifts granted to each religious order. The range of the gifts of land was varied and does not allow for easy comparison. The religious houses who received more than two land grants are listed in the table below.

Religious House	Number of Charters
Haughmond Abbey	6
Colchester Abbey	5
Coventry Cathedral Priory, Gloucester Abbey, Merton Priory	3
Godstow Abbey, Kingswood Abbey, Lenton Priory, Reading Abbey, Rievaulx Abbey	2

Haughmond Abbey received the greatest number of land grant charters. It was not a royal foundation but as mentioned earlier, Abbot Alured (1163 x

⁴³ *Medieval Religious Houses.*

?1177) may have been the childhood tutor of Henry II and this personal connection may have influenced Henry's generosity to Haughmond Abbey.⁴⁴

There are no obvious connections between Colchester Abbey and Henry II. Essex had been a stronghold of King Stephen and Colchester had benefited through patronage of Stephen's barons but this does not explain Henry's patronage here as he was often reluctant to forge links between his reign and Stephen's reign.⁴⁵ It is possible that more of Colchester's charters survived or that the abbey actively petitioned Henry II.

Henry's patronage of Gloucester Abbey, Merton Priory, Godstow Abbey and Reading Abbey is linked to family connections. Gloucester Abbey was in the heartland of the Angevin lands during the Anarchy. Gilbert Foliot, bishop of Hereford and of London, had been the abbot from 1139 to 1148.⁴⁶ Merton Priory was where Thomas Becket had been educated as a boy and it was where he returned after his appointment as archbishop, supposedly leaving behind his previously decadent lifestyle for that of a humble archbishop.⁴⁷ Of the charters issued to Merton Priory, all were issued before 1173. The association of Merton Priory with Thomas Becket, at least before the falling out between king and archbishop, may have played a role in Henry's patronage. Godstow Abbey, while not a royal foundation, saw its patron, Reginald de Saint Valery, hand over his patronage to Henry II. More importantly, Henry's mistress, Rosamund Clifford, was buried at Godstow c. 1176 before the high altar, which increased

⁴⁴ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 165, *Haughmond Cart*, p. 8.

⁴⁵ *Amt, Accession*, p. 65.

⁴⁶ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 53.

⁴⁷ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 56, 455.

Henry's links to the abbey.⁴⁸ Reading Abbey, founded by Henry I, had strong ties to both Henry II and his mother, Empress Matilda. Henry issued many charters for Reading and it is certain that familial ties and practice influenced his patronage. Reading Abbey allowed Henry II to show himself as his grandfather's successor and the rightful heir to the throne of England.

The remaining houses including Coventry Cathedral Priory, Kingswood Abbey, Lenton Priory and Rievaulx Abbey are harder to analyze. There were not any overt royal connections or obvious links to explain Henry's interest or favour. Rievaulx Abbey had the famous Ailred as abbot from 1147 to 1167.⁴⁹ Henry, however, was not knowingly influenced by Ailred's teachings or writings. These abbeys present difficulties when determining why they were favoured with land grants.

F. Outside Influences

Finally, what other influences may have played a role in Henry's land grant patronage? Henry, as king, did inherit patronage and abbeys from his predecessors. Some of the gifts Henry made, especially privileges, were also granted by King Stephen and King Henry I. In the case of Faversham Abbey, the Treaty of Westminster specifically protected Faversham Abbey and Henry was obliged to continue Stephen's benefactions.⁵⁰ Henry also inherited the

⁴⁸ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 119.

⁴⁹ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 140.

⁵⁰ *RRAN*, iii. 97-9 no. 272. Latin: 'Ecclesiam de Favresham cum pertinentiis suis dux confirmavit et alia aliis ecclesiis a me data vel redditae, consilio sancte ecclesie et meo confirmabit.'

grants made by his mother, the Empress Matilda, and some of the charters are his own issues of these grants.⁵¹

Family association clearly played a role in Henry's patronage. Henry did patronize abbeys connected with the royal family, his extended family and his royal predecessors. For example, Reading Abbey, founded by his grandfather Henry I, Bury St. Edmunds home of the relics of the martyred King Edmund, and Red Moor founded by Stephen and Matilda were all monasteries that benefited at varied levels from Henry's patronage. It is reasonable to assume that Empress Matilda influenced Henry's early patronage, especially when he was the young Duke of Normandy. Since the bulk of his mother's and his father's lands were in France, it is difficult to say decisively what influence his parents had on his patronage in England or as a whole. There is also the role of Henry's wife, Queen Eleanor, to consider but again her influence was probably more prevalent in France than England.

II. Land in the Pipe Rolls

A. Terrae Datae

The king granted out lands, or *terrae datae*, which were often recorded in the Pipe Rolls. The sheriffs of each county were required to provide an account of these lands, including their names and values, so that they would not be held

⁵¹ Henry confirmed many of the gifts made by his mother to Godstow Abbey, Kington St. Michael Priory, Haughmond Abbey, Oseney Abbey and St. Frideswide's Priory, Oxford; A. Clark (ed.), *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford, written about 1450* (3 vols., Early English Text Soc., 129, 130, 142, 1905-11), ii. 654 no. 877 and *Acta* of Henry II, no. 1181 (5452H); *Acta* of Henry II, no. 4707H; *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 94 no. 421; *Monasticon*, vi. 253; *Cartae Antiquae I*, no. 159; S.R. Wigram (ed.), *The Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Frideswide at Oxford* (2 vols., Oxford Historical Soc., 28, 31; Oxford, 1894, 1896), i. 30 no. 26, ii. 117 no 819.

responsible for paying associated revenues into the Exchequer.⁵² I found a total of 1952 entries for *terrae datae* in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II and 73 religious institutions received these.⁵³ The individual values of these lands ranged from a few pence to £100.

a. Values

The values of the *terrae datae* given to the religious institutions fluctuated during Henry's reign. The *terrae datae* for six houses have been selected to represent the variety of orders. Each example also has a substantial number of grants to permit analysis. The values of each Pipe Roll year are listed in Appendix i.

i. Boxley Abbey, Kent

Boxley Abbey, a Cistercian house located in Kent, first received a grant of *terra data* in 4 Henry II (1157-8).⁵⁴ This entry is in the account of the sheriff of Kent and is for £55 at Boxley.⁵⁵ It is repeated also in the Pipe Rolls 5-13 Henry II. In Pipe Roll 14 Henry II, the *terra data* was reported at £27 10s because the accounts for Kent were reported by two different sheriffs. Hugh of Dover gave account for the farm of Kent for half the year and did not account for the *terra data* to Boxley Abbey.⁵⁶ Gervase of Cornhill rendered account for the second half of the year and it was his account for £27 10s to Boxley Abbey that appeared

⁵² R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (London, 1973), p. 134.

⁵³ There are an additional 33 entries for secular cathedrals and 16 entries for local churches.

⁵⁴ *PR 4 Henry II*, p. 180. Boxley Abbey was entered in Domesday Book as one manor, worth £30; *Domesday*, p. 21.

⁵⁵ Prior to Henry's accession, the county of Kent was mostly held by William de Ypres although Faramus of Boulogne was the castellan of Dover Castle. Both were adherents of King Stephen; Amt, *Accession*, p. 86-91.

⁵⁶ *PR 14 Henry II*, p. 208-9.

on the Pipe Roll for 14 Henry II.⁵⁷ For three years, 19-21 Henry II, the amount rose to £60 a year but after 21 Henry II, the *terra data* returned to its normal level of £55 and continued until the end of Henry's reign. In 22 Henry II, a second property was added to their *terrae datae*. The Pipe Roll does not record the location but the amount was £1 7s 2d and from the servant William.⁵⁸ This *terra data* continued until 34 Henry II but was reduced to 17s 2d after its first year.⁵⁹ If the yearly values of Boxley's *terrae datae* are totalled for the whole of Henry's reign, they amount to £1709 3s 10d.

ii. Faversham Abbey, Kent

As a foundation of King Stephen's, Faversham Abbey was also the burial place of the late king. Beginning in 2 Henry II, there is an entry for Faversham, Kent for *terra data* worth £100.⁶⁰ The actual place of the *terra data* is not named until 6 Henry II, when it is listed as Faversham itself.⁶¹ The entry continues, uninterrupted, until 20 Henry II when it is not reported. In 21 Henry II, however, there are two amounts of £100 recorded, one for this year and one, presumably, for the previous year.⁶² From 22 Henry II, the entry continues for £100 per annum. In total, for the length of Henry's reign, this *terra data* would have been worth £3,300. As with all of the Pipe Roll totals, these amounts do not include any values for Pipe Roll 1 Henry II, which has not survived.

⁵⁷ *PR 14 Henry II*, p. 209-10.

⁵⁸ *PR 22 Henry II*, p. 206.

⁵⁹ *PR 23 Henry II*, p. 203.

⁶⁰ J. Hunter (ed.), *The Great Roll of the Pipe for the Second, Third and Fourth Years of the Reign of King Henry II* (London, 1844), *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 65.

⁶¹ *PR 6 Henry II*, p. 53. Faversham, a royal manor, was valued by Domesday Book to be worth £80; *Domesday*, p. 7.

⁶² *PR 21 Henry II*, p. 208, 212.

iii. Hospital of Hornchurch, Essex

The Hospital of Hornchurch, dedicated to Saints Nicholas and Bernard, was founded by Henry II in 1159 as the only English dependency of the hospice of St. Bernard of Mountjoux.⁶³ Beginning in 5 Henry II, the hospital received *terra data* worth £25 at Havering-atte-Bower in Essex.⁶⁴ The manor of Havering-atte-Bower was assessed at 10 hides according to Domesday Book and was worth £40. It was also a royal manor.⁶⁵ Hornchurch Hall, one of the smaller manors that made up the manor of Havering-atte-Bower, was part of the original endowment of the Hospital of Hornchurch.⁶⁶ In 6 Henry II, this *terra data* was supplemented by an additional grant of land at Chislehurst in Kent, worth £8.⁶⁷ These two grants of land continued throughout Henry's reign, but in some years had lower values. There were no further grants to Hornchurch recorded in the Pipe Rolls. If the sum for *terrae datae* is totalled for the Hospital of Hornchurch, they amount to £1005 during Henry's reign.

iv. Knights Templar

The Knights Templar benefited from both *terrae datae* in the Pipe Rolls and what was known as the Templar's mark, a grant of one mark (13s 4d) from each county of Henry's lands. The Templars' first grant of *terrae datae* was for the manor of Eagle, Lincolnshire. The manor was worth £11 and first occurred

⁶³ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 365.

⁶⁴ *PR 5 Henry II*, p. 4.

⁶⁵ *Domesday*, p. 970. The value in 1086 was £40 but the sheriff received £80 from the farm in rent and £10 in exactions.

⁶⁶ *V. C. H. Essex*, vii. 31. Thus the entire manor of Havering-atte-Bower was not given to Hornchurch Hospital.

⁶⁷ *PR 6 Henry II*, p. 53.

in 2 Henry II.⁶⁸ There were three years where the value of the *terra data* was less: 16 Henry II, 23 Henry II, and 31 Henry II. All three of these years recorded £5 10s, or half the usual amount. This was most likely due to the farm only being presented for half of the year instead of the full Exchequer year.⁶⁹ However the entry for Eagle occurs in all of the remaining Pipe Rolls and would have been worth £346 10s for the entirety of Henry's reign.

The second *terra data* is the land of North Curry in Somerset. This entry first appears in 2 Henry II and is for £5.⁷⁰ The entry was short lived, however, as it ceased after 8 Henry II. The value remained at £5 with the exception of the entry's last year, 8 Henry II, when the amount was £2 10s, again half the amount.⁷¹ There was no indication in the Pipe Roll as to why this particular *terra data* stopped. For the seven years it was listed, the grant was worth a total of £32 10s.

The third manor was Kingswood in Kent. This entry first occurs in 2 Henry II and is for £1.⁷² The entry continues throughout Henry's reign with only four deviations. In 7 Henry II there are two separate entries, one for 5s and one for 15s.⁷³ In 14 Henry II the manor of Kingswood was reported at 10s. As noted with Boxley Abbey's *terra data*, the manor of Kingswood was also affected by the two sheriffs of Kent for that year.⁷⁴ Finally, there is no entry for

⁶⁸ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 24. The manor of Eagle, Lincolnshire, was held by Earl Waltheof and was valued at £12 by the Domesday Survey; *Domesday*, p. 948.

⁶⁹ *PR 16 Henry II*, p. 140, *PR 23 Henry II*, p. 106, *PR 31 Henry II*, p. 81. There are other instances of this deviation present in the Pipe Rolls.

⁷⁰ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 30. There is no information regarding this manor in Domesday.

⁷¹ *PR 8 Henry II*, p. 21.

⁷² *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 65.

⁷³ *PR 7 Henry II*, p. 60-1.

⁷⁴ *PR 14 Henry II*, p. 209.

Kingswood in 20 Henry II but there are two entries, each for £1, in 21 Henry II.⁷⁵ The second of these entries, like the entry for Faversham Abbey, specifies that it was for this (i.e. 21 Henry II) year. Both this entry and the similar entry for Faversham indicate that some attempt was made to supply back pay of *terrae datae*. In total, the manor of Kingswood was worth £32 10s during Henry's reign.

The Templar's fourth manor was Deal in Kent. This entry first appears in 4 Henry II and was initially for £4 10s.⁷⁶ In the next year, 5 Henry II, the entry for Deal went up to £6 in value and remained at that amount.⁷⁷ In 7 Henry II there are two entries for Deal, one for £1 10s and one for £4 10s; these add up to the customary £6.⁷⁸ Again in 14 Henry II half the amount was reported or £3.⁷⁹ Like the entry for Kingswood, there is not an entry for 20 Henry II for Deal but in 21 Henry II there are two entries, again both for £6, with one of them is tagged 'this year.'⁸⁰ If the entries for Deal are totalled, they are worth £181 10s for Henry's reign.

Beginning in 5 Henry II, the Knights Templar are also listed as receiving the manor of Strood in Kent. This manor was initially valued at £3 5s for that first year but increases to £13 in 6 Henry II.⁸¹ In 7 Henry II the entry is again split in two with one amount of £3 5s recorded and a second amount of £9

⁷⁵ *PR 21 Henry II*, p. 208, 212.

⁷⁶ *PR 4 Henry II*, p. 180. There were at least two manors that made up the larger manor of Deal according to Domesday Book. One of these was worth £7 and the other was worth £3; *Domesday*, p. 4.

⁷⁷ *PR 5 Henry II*, p. 58.

⁷⁸ *PR 7 Henry II*, p. 60-1.

⁷⁹ *PR 14 Henry II*, p. 209.

⁸⁰ *PR 21 Henry II*, p. 208, 212.

⁸¹ *PR 5 Henry II*, p. 58, *PR 6 Henry II*, p. 53.

15s.⁸² There is also a reduced entry for 14 Henry II when Strood is recorded as £6 10s.⁸³ Again, as with the other Templar entries in Kent, there is no entry for Strood in 20 Henry II but there are two in 21 Henry II, each for £13.⁸⁴ If all of these yearly amounts are totalled, the manor of Strood gave the Templars a total income of £373 15s.

The last of the Templar's regular *terrae datae* was the manor of Keele in Staffordshire. It first occurs in Pipe Roll 15 Henry II and is listed for £2 3s 7d.⁸⁵ This entry continues without interruption for the remainder of Henry's reign. There is only one deviation in its value, in 27 Henry II, where it is recorded as £2 4s 7d.⁸⁶ If the values are totalled, the manor of Keele was worth £43 12s 8d.

The Knights Templar had other entries of *terrae datae* which were not regularly occurring. One of them occurred while the bishopric of Lincoln was in the king's hand and was honouring the bishopric's obligation of 7s which had been given to the Templars.⁸⁷ This entry would not appear as a regular Pipe Roll entry as it was normally accounted for by the bishop of Lincoln. Other single entries included £24 in Dover, Kent in 5 Henry II⁸⁸, £1 in Shropshire for a mill in 15 Henry II⁸⁹ and 13s 4d from Northampton in 20 Henry II.⁹⁰ The entry from Northampton was most likely a misplaced Templar's Mark. The city of Northampton did not pay its mark in 20 Henry II but the *terra data* entry

⁸² PR 7 Henry II, p. 60-1.

⁸³ PR 14 Henry II, p. 209.

⁸⁴ PR 21 Henry II, p. 208, 212.

⁸⁵ PR 15 Henry II, p. 68.

⁸⁶ PR 27 Henry II, p. 115.

⁸⁷ PR 14 Henry II, p. 78, PR 16 Henry II, p. 152, PR 17 Henry II, p. 112, PR 18 Henry II, p. 96.

⁸⁸ PR 5 Henry II, p. 58.

⁸⁹ PR 15 Henry II, p. 111.

⁹⁰ PR 20 Henry II, p. 51.

above does mention the city of Northampton.⁹¹ The entry from Dover may have been tied to a charter the Knights Templar had been granted which gave them quittance of all tolls and customs for their horses in Dover. The charter was issued between 1154 and 1162.⁹² The Pipe Roll entry may have been reimbursement for tolls paid out. There is no indication in the Pipe Roll text why the £24 in Dover was paid out. The mill in Staffordshire was from the gift of Henry of Essex and was not a grant of Henry II's.

There is a series of entries regarding a farm of Trentham in Staffordshire, collected both in Worcestershire and Staffordshire with varying amounts. Trentham was a royal manor at the time of the Domesday survey. It was assessed at 120 acres and worth £5 15s.⁹³ Trentham had been held by Earl Ranulph II of Chester and Ranulph had granted 100 solidatae of land from Trentham and its appurtenances to Trentham Priory.⁹⁴ When Ranulph died in 1153, his lands and his heir became the ward of Henry II until he came of age in 1162.⁹⁵ In 8, 9 and 10 Henry II the annual sum of £3 was given to the Knights Templar from the sheriff of Worcester for the farm of Trentham.⁹⁶ Similar to other manors examined above, the manor of Trentham was probably made up of smaller manors, allowing the Knights Templar to receive *terra data* along with Trentham Priory. This entry moved from the farm of Worcester to Staffordshire

⁹¹ *PR 20 Henry II*, p. 51.

⁹² *Acta of Henry II*, no. 4700H.

⁹³ *Domesday*, p. 673.

⁹⁴ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 177, G. Barraclough (ed.), *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester c. 1071-1237* (Rec. Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire, 126; Gloucester, 1988), p. 132-3 no. 118.

⁹⁵ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 365.

⁹⁶ *PR 8 Henry II*, p. 56, *PR 9 Henry II*, p. 5, *PR 10 Henry II*, p. 5.

in 11 Henry II but was still listed as £3 for the farm of Trentham.⁹⁷ The entry disappears until 15 Henry II when it reappears in Staffordshire but for £9 for the farm of Trentham.⁹⁸ The entry does not occur again; most likely because the lands were surrendered to Earl Hugh of Chester. The final *terra data* which is mentioned is the land of Sowerby in Westmorland. It is first referred to in 24 Henry II and is for £10.⁹⁹ The entry occurs again in 25 Henry II for the same place and same amount but never occurs again.¹⁰⁰ Henry II had granted Hugh de Morville the right to farm the barony of Knaresborough,¹⁰¹ which included the county of Westmorland.¹⁰² Hugh de Morville lost the land in 1172 or 1173 owing to his role in Thomas Becket's murder.¹⁰³ The lands were granted to Ranulph de Glanville in 1179.¹⁰⁴ These dates coincide with the entries in the Pipe Rolls which ceased after the land was once again farmed out. If all of these random *terrae datae* are added up, they are worth £68 1s 4d.

If all the *terrae datae* granted to the Knights Templar are totalled, they are worth £1075 9s.

v. Reading Abbey

Reading Abbey, founded by Henry I, first received their *terra data* in the form of *terre misse*, or land that has been let go, in 2 Henry II. This was the

⁹⁷ PR 11 Henry II, p. 76.

⁹⁸ PR 15 Henry II, p. 69.

⁹⁹ PR 24 Henry II, p. 74.

¹⁰⁰ PR 25 Henry II, p. 25.

¹⁰¹ Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 59.

¹⁰² J. F. Curwen (ed.), *The Later Records relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby* (Kendal, 1932) p. 1-2.

¹⁰³ Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 59.

¹⁰⁴ Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 59. Curwen (ed.), *The Later Records relating to North Westmorland or the Barony of Appleby* p. 1-2.

manor of Blewbury in Berkshire and was valued at £56.¹⁰⁵ This entry and the second entry of Reading's *terra data* detailed below are the only occasions where the term *terre misse* are used in Henry's Pipe Rolls. Both Empress Matilda and King Stephen had granted the manor of Blewbury to Reading Abbey.¹⁰⁶ Hendred, the second manor, is only recorded in a charter of King Stephen's so it is unknown if Empress Matilda had also granted the manor. If she had not, then another reason for the use of *terre misse* must be sought.¹⁰⁷ The entry is changed to *terra data* in 3 Henry II and is still from the manor of Blewbury for £56.¹⁰⁸ The entry continues for the remainder of Henry's reign with only two deviations. The first occurs in 7 Henry II when Blewbury is entered with a value of £42 (three-fourths of the total amount).¹⁰⁹ The second occurs in 16 Henry II when Blewbury is entered with a value of £28 (half the amount).¹¹⁰ In both of these cases, the reduced values were the result of problems with the sheriffs. In 7 Henry II, Adam de Catmera rendered account for just three-quarters of the year.¹¹¹ In 16 Henry II Hugh of Bochland rendered account for Berkshire for half of the year.¹¹² In total, the manor of Blewbury would have been worth £1806 over the course of Henry's reign.

¹⁰⁵ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 34.

¹⁰⁶ *Reading Cartularies*, ii. 5-7 nos. 667, 668, 669. The manor of Blewbury, a royal manor, was valued at £60 in the Domesday Survey and had a church worth £5. There was also an additional manor worth £1; *Domesday*, p. 137-47.

¹⁰⁷ *Reading Cartularies*, i. 41-2 no. 8.

¹⁰⁸ *PR 3 Henry II*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁹ *PR 7 Henry II*, p. 52.

¹¹⁰ *PR 16 Henry II*, p. 69.

¹¹¹ *PR 7 Henry II*, p. 52.

¹¹² *PR 16 Henry II*, p. 69.

There is a second record of *terre misse* for the manor of Hendred, Berkshire, which was valued at £25 in the same year.¹¹³ Like the entry for Blewbury, the entry for Hendred appears as *terra data* in 3 Henry II with the value of £25.¹¹⁴ As at Blewbury, there are only two deviations of the entry for Hendred. The first occurs in 7 Henry II and is a reduction of the value to £18 15s (three-fourths of the total amount).¹¹⁵ The second occurs in 16 Henry II and is a reduction to £12 10s (half the total amount).¹¹⁶ In total, the manor of Hendred was worth £806 5s for Henry's reign.

Both of the *terrae datae* at Hendred and Blewbury are previous grants of Empress Matilda, King Stephen and Henry before he became king. It is Reading Abbey's third grant of *terra data* which is new. This does not begin until 12 Henry II. It is originally recorded under the sheriff of Kent and does not have a named manor. The amount in this first year is for £13 6s 8d (20 marks).¹¹⁷ When it occurs again in 13 and 14 Henry II, the value remains the same but is raised in 15 Henry II to £26 13s 4d (40 marks), double the original amount.¹¹⁸ The *terra data* remains at the value of £26 13s 4d for the rest of Henry's reign. As with the other grants of *terrae datae* listed in Kent, there is no entry for 20 Henry II but there are two entries, both for £26 13s 4d, in 21 Henry II.¹¹⁹ This *terra data* would have been worth £573 6s 8d in total. The total amount of *terrae datae* recorded for Reading Abbey is £3185 11s 8d.

¹¹³ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 34. Hendred, also a royal manor, was worth £15 but rendered £20 according to Domesday. St. Albans Abbey also held £10 of this manor; *Domesday*, p. 140-5.

¹¹⁴ *PR 3 Henry II*, p. 80.

¹¹⁵ *PR 7 Henry II*, p. 52.

¹¹⁶ *PR 16 Henry II*, p. 69.

¹¹⁷ *PR 12 Henry II*, p. 111.

¹¹⁸ *PR 13 Henry II*, p. 198, *PR 14 Henry II*, p. 209, *PR 15 Henry II*, p. 161.

¹¹⁹ *PR 21 Henry II*, p. 209, 214.

vi. Waltham Abbey

Waltham, famously re-founded by Henry II in 1177 to atone for his role in the murder of Thomas Becket, first received *terra data* in 23 Henry II. This *terra data* is £14 from the manors of Epping and Sewardstone from the sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire.¹²⁰ The value of these manors increases to £28 in 24 Henry II.¹²¹ The manors remain at this amount for the rest of Henry's reign. In total, the manors were worth £322.

The second entry of *terra data* begins in 24 Henry II. It is also listed under the sheriff of Essex and Hertfordshire for the farm of Waltham but is for 17s 1d.¹²² The entry continues without change until 32 Henry II, when it is not entered on the Pipe Roll. It starts up again in 33 Henry II but with no mention of its previous absence or addition to recoup what was lost in 32 Henry II. This *terra data* was in total worth £8 10s 10d.

There are five entries which are not regular *terrae datae*. The first, the only one that recurs, is first entered in 27 Henry II. It is for 8s and is for the land of one P. de Claverham.¹²³ The entry does not reappear until 29 Henry II, for the same amount, and again appears in 30 Henry II.¹²⁴ The entry is skipped in 31 and 32 Henry II but returns in 33 Henry II and 34 Henry II for the 8s recorded earlier.¹²⁵ This would have totalled £2.

¹²⁰ *PR 23 Henry II*, p. 156. This was recorded under the farm of Waltham. The manor of Epping was worth 15s according to the Domesday Survey, Sewardstone was not recorded; *Domesday*, p. 980.

¹²¹ *PR 24 Henry II*, p. 37.

¹²² *PR 24 Henry II*, p. 37.

¹²³ *PR 27 Henry II*, p. 114.

¹²⁴ *PR 29 Henry II*, p. 25, *PR 30 Henry II*, p. 134.

¹²⁵ *PR 33 Henry II*, p. 128, *PR 34 Henry II*, p. 39.

In 30 Henry II, there is a series of entries for *terrae datae* to Abbot Walter of Waltham. The first is for 20 marks (£13 6s 8d) and is intended to pay the debt of the lord of Waltham.¹²⁶ The entry is from the sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdon and is also of the king's gift. In the same year, but in the county of Berkshire, is another payment of *terra data* to satisfy Waltham's debt.¹²⁷ This entry is for £8 6s 8d. The third is from Oxfordshire and is for 40 marks (£26 13s 4d) from the gift of the king and by the writ of R. Glanville.¹²⁸ The last of these entries is from Essex and Hertfordshire.¹²⁹ It is again for 20 marks (£13 6s 8d) and is to resolve the debt of the house of Waltham. These payments for the debts along with the land of P de Claverham would have totalled £61 13s 4d. The payment of Waltham's debt illustrates another aspect of patronage. In total, Waltham would have received £394 4s 2d in *terrae datae*.

These examples taken from the Pipe Rolls show the wide range of *terrae datae* that the religious houses and orders of England enjoyed. They also reveal that the amounts of *terrae datae* varied considerably amongst them and, unlike the charter examples, illustrate the wide range of information that can be found in the Pipe Rolls relating to land grants. These examples are just a few of the many entries of *terrae datae* in Henry's Pipe Rolls but demonstrate how Henry's land patronage could function.

¹²⁶ *PR 30 Henry II*, p. 10.

¹²⁷ *PR 30 Henry II*, p. 53.

¹²⁸ *PR 30 Henry II*, p. 70.

¹²⁹ *PR 30 Henry II*, p. 129.

b. Recipients

There were a wide variety of recipients of the grants of *terrae datae*.¹³⁰ As the above examples have illustrated, some of the *terrae datae* were older grants made by Henry's predecessors; others were new grants he made himself. Of the 1952 entries, the numbers granted to specific religious orders are revealing.

Religious Order	Number of <i>Terrae Datae</i> Entries
Cistercian	531
Benedictine	506
Augustinian	396
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	272
Knights Templar	171
Gilbertine	35
Fontevrault	22
Carthusian	15
Unknown ¹³¹	2
Hermits	1
Premonstratensian	1

This pattern is a marked contrast to any of the other patterns found for this study. For the first time, the Cistercians received more grants than either the Benedictines or the Augustinians. This may demonstrate the rise of the Cistercian order in England and also suggest that Henry II was a supporter of the white monks. However, it may also reflect Stephen's favour of the Order since it is difficult to ascertain when exactly these grants of *terrae datae* began,

¹³⁰ A comprehensive list is included in the database.

¹³¹ There a few entries in which the religious houses could not be identified.

given that no Pipe Roll for Stephen's reign survives. The Benedictines, as the oldest established order in England, were still well represented in terms of numbers of entries. While they had fewer entries than the Cistercians, the total value of these entries was greater.¹³² It is also possible that since the Cistercians were a newer order, their gifts of land were smaller but more numerous to take into account a reduced number of large parcels of available land. The Augustinians' placement, while third, indicates that this order was growing in popularity and numbers. The grants of *terrae datae* to the hospitals, sick and lepers also show the growing popularity of patronage of this sort. The other statistics only help to reinforce that the monastic landscape of England was dominated by the Cistercians, Benedictines and Augustinians.

While the Cistercians received the most grants of *terrae datae*, the Benedictines received the most valuable in monetary terms.

Religious Order	Total Value of <i>Terrae Datae</i>
Benedictine	£8160 3s 8d
Cistercian	£6220 15s 8d
Augustinian	£3720 1s 8d
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	£1504 12.5s 6d
Knights Templar	£1078 9s
Fontevrault	£581 14s 10d
Gilbertine	£218 2s 4d
Carthusian	£98 9s
Premonstratensian	£2
Unknown	4s
Hermit	3s 10d

¹³² See the values below.

This table reinforces that, with a slight rearranging of the religious orders, the Benedictines, Cistercians and Augustinians received the most *terrae datae* in England—a reflection of numerical dominance. The Benedictines had the most houses in England; the Cistercians were increasing in popularity and the Augustinians in favour. As seen with the number of *terrae datae* entries, the hospitals, sick and lepers were receiving larger sums of *terrae datae* than the remaining religious orders in England. This could indicate a growth in the importance of charity or institutionalized care.

Analysis also reveals a wide variety of houses throughout England that received *terrae datae*. In total 73 different religious institutions are represented. The following table shows the religious houses that received total *terrae datae* worth £500 and more.

Religious House	Total Amount of <i>Terrae Datae</i>
Faversham Abbey (Ben)	£3330
Reading Abbey (Ben)	£3185 11s 8d
Boxley Abbey (Cis)	£1709 3s
Waverley Abbey (Cis)	£1156 8d
Bordesley Abbey (Cis)	£1074 3s 6d
Hornchurch Hospital (Hosp)	£1005
Cirencester Abbey (Aug)	£957
Stanley Abbey (Cis)	£954 5s
Beckford Priory (Aug Alien Priory)	£900
Red Moor Abbey (Cis)	£776 2s 6d
Amesbury Abbey (Font)	£576 14s 10d
Dunstable Priory (Aug)	£510

In the case of *terrae datae*, the religious houses that received the greatest monetary amount were not recipients of *terrae datae* in the surviving Pipe Roll of Henry I, which indicates that these grants were made either by Stephen or Henry II. The two highest totals, those for Faversham and Reading Abbeys, are interesting as they are both royal affiliated monasteries. Faversham Abbey's *terrae datae* was most certainly the result of King Stephen and parts of Reading Abbey's *terrae datae* were the result of Henry II's generosity. Faversham Abbey was protected under the treaty of Westminster and the Pipe Rolls illustrate that this protection was upheld by Henry II.¹³³ Bordesley Abbey had a tentative connection with Henry II through his mother's patronage, and supposed role as founder, and Hornchurch Hospital was a foundation of Henry II's. The relatively large amounts of *terrae datae* granted to Boxley Abbey and Waverley Abbey are slightly more puzzling. Boxley Abbey's *terra data* was tied to their founder, William of Ypres.¹³⁴ William had held the manor of Boxley (worth £55) as a grant of royal demesne.¹³⁵ When Henry II became king, he allowed William to retain his possessions until 1157, in which year the entries of *terrae datae* for Boxley Abbey begin.¹³⁶ The land William held at Boxley was then given to his foundation, Boxley Abbey.¹³⁷ Henry II did not increase Boxley Abbey's *terrae datae* until later on in his reign.¹³⁸ Waverley Abbey had received

¹³³ Amt, *Accession*, p. 161.

¹³⁴ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 116.

¹³⁵ Amt, *Accession*, p. 91.

¹³⁶ Amt, *Accession*, p. 91, *PR 4 Henry II*, p. 180.

¹³⁷ Amt, *Accession*, p. 91.

¹³⁸ *PR 22 Henry II*, p. 206. (Entry for £1 7s 2d). This amount decreases to 17s 2d in *PR 23 Henry II*, p. 203 and remains at that amount.

a gift of £5 at Neatham from King Stephen.¹³⁹ In Pipe Roll 2 Henry II, this gift of £5 was entered on the roll for Neatham, Hampshire.¹⁴⁰ While there are no surviving charters of Henry II recording gifts to Waverley, beginning in 3 Henry II, the land at Neatham had increased and then remained at £37 13s 4d.¹⁴¹

There are other high totals of *terrae datae* recorded for the religious houses of England, including Beckford Priory (£900), Cirencester Abbey (£957), and Stanley Abbey (£954 5s). Beckford Priory had been founded by a grant of land by Rabel de Tancarville c. 1128.¹⁴² Henry I confirmed this gift but during the reign of Stephen the land was claimed by William de Beauchamp and the canons were ejected twice. When Henry II became king, the gift was re-entered on the Pipe Rolls. There is no indication of a particular royal connection to Beckford beyond the initial confirmation by Henry I. Cirencester Abbey was founded in Anglo-Saxon times but was endowed and converted to the Augustinian order by Henry I c. 1117.¹⁴³ The *terrae datae* listed in the Pipe Rolls were originally gifts made by Regenbald, a possible chancellor of Edward the Confessor, and later confirmed by Henry I.¹⁴⁴ In the case of Cirencester Abbey, it was their previous history along with Henry I's interest and support of the Augustinian order which ensured their continued patronage under Henry II. Finally, Stanley Abbey's high value of *terrae datae* is also due to family connections. The Abbey was founded by Empress Matilda and her chamberlain,

¹³⁹ RRAN, iii. 335-6 no. 921, Amt, *Accession*, p. 163.

¹⁴⁰ PR 2 Henry II, p. 54.

¹⁴¹ PR 3 Henry II, p. 105.

¹⁴² V. C. H. Gloucester, viii. 253.

¹⁴³ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 154.

¹⁴⁴ C. D. Ross and M. Devine (eds.), *The Cartulary of Cirencester Abbey, Gloucestershire* (3 vols., London, 1964-77), i. p. xix, S. Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (sic)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 185-222.

Drogo c. 1149 at its original site of Loxwell.¹⁴⁵ With the first of Henry's surviving Pipe Rolls, Stanley was the recipient of £7 of *terra data* at Midgham as well as £32 worth of *terra data* in Great Faringdon.¹⁴⁶ There is a surviving charter issued by Henry II which details a dispute between Thame Abbey and Stanley over land Henry had granted to Stanley from Great Faringdon (the £32 Pipe Roll entry) c. 1186.¹⁴⁷ This charter also states that Stanley Abbey had been founded by Empress Matilda and Henry.

c. *Terrae datae* Conclusions

a1. Value

In total, Henry gave out £21,586 17s 6d in *terrae datae* over the course of his reign. As previously discussed,¹⁴⁸ it is unlikely that the monasteries relied solely on this income; it most likely supplemented their holdings. There were probably exceptions to this. Hornchurch Hospital's grant of *terra data* was one of their main gifts of endowment. Both Reading Abbey and Faversham received considerable sums of *terrae datae* which would have increased their total worth. While the total for *terrae datae* is much larger than the total that was calculated for the land grant charters, the regularity of the Pipe Roll records has allowed for more precise and complete calculations.

b1. Geography

The nature of the Exchequer and the Pipe Rolls means that there is a greater representation of patronage spread across the counties of England. All of the counties are represented although the amounts of *terrae datae* allotted

¹⁴⁵ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 125, Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 134-5.

¹⁴⁶ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 34-5.

¹⁴⁷ *Recueil Henry II*, ii. 305-7 no. 682.

¹⁴⁸ See pages 40-2.

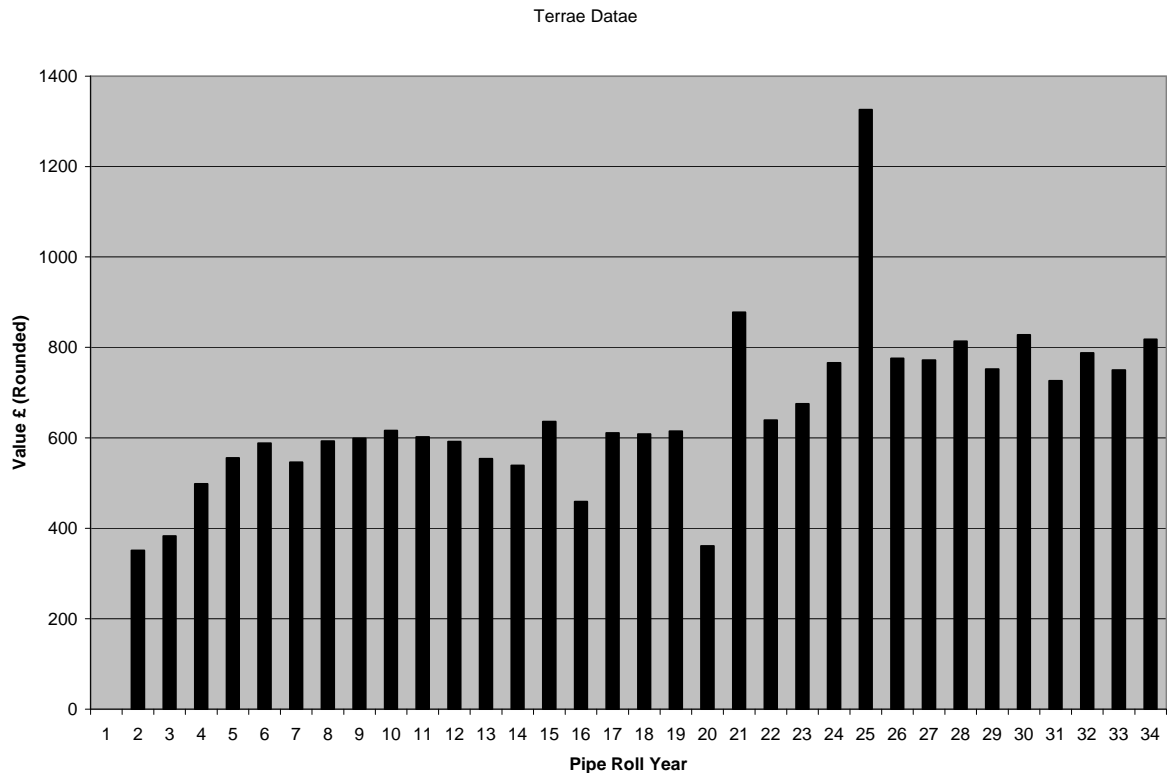
from each county vary. Counties having a greater amount of royal demesne also tend to have a greater number of *terrae datae* entries. For example, in Kent alone the *terrae datae* over the course of Henry's reign totalled £7198 13s 5d. In contrast, the *terrae datae* for Staffordshire is £380 12s 8d. Many of the lands granted as *terrae datae* were near the monasteries and tended to be in the same county. For example, the lands granted to Faversham Abbey were in Kent, the original lands granted to Reading Abby were in Berkshire but their later alms were in Kent and Cirencester Abbey was given lands in Gloucester.

c1. Chronology

The picture that emerges when examining the chronology of Henry's grants of *terrae datae* is steadier than that which was found with the land grant charters; however they are two different types of record. The *terrae datae* occurred yearly and were reported at their traditional values as long as there was stability in the sheriff of the farm. New entries were added and old ones dropped but there was not a huge fluctuation during the years of Henry's reign after the first few years. The values might be influenced when Henry held honours, abbeys and bishoprics during vacancies. In these cases, Henry received the income from the vacancies but he also took on the obligations that these institutions had. This meant that Henry tended to honour the established alms and *terrae datae* and these payments were accounted for in the Exchequer while the property was in the king's hand.¹⁴⁹ These payments would have ended when the vacancy was filled. The Pipe Roll evidence and the charter evidence

¹⁴⁹ One example is Henry's payment of alms to Thirteen Lepers of Peterborough, made while Peterborough Abbey was in the king's hands. *PR 23 Henry II*, p. 105. A second example is the alms Henry honoured while the English lands of the Abbot of Fécamp were in his hands. He paid 3s 3.5d to a group of recluses in 34 Henry II. *PR 34 Henry II*, p. 6.

for land grants does suggest that few of the *terrae datae* were initiated by Henry II. The following chart illustrates the fluctuations of *terrae datae* over the course of Henry's reign.



This chart indicates that there was a gradual increase in *terrae datae* values over the course of Henry's reign.¹⁵⁰ Understandably, as the graph illustrates, the first part of Henry's reign did not see the highest yearly totals for *terrae datae*. Henry did not have the disposable income or lands available to him in the early years of his reign as a result of the anarchy of Stephen's reign. As his realm stabilized and the Exchequer was repaired, the returns increased. The highest annual total was £1326 1s 10.5d reported in 25 Henry II (1178 x 1179). The years preceding and following had totals that were close to each other: £765 15s 9.5d in 24 Henry II (1177 x 1178) and £775 13s 4d in 26 Henry II (1179 x 1180). There is no clear reason for this one-year rise in *terrae datae*

¹⁵⁰ It must also be noted that this is cumulative type of grant.

values.¹⁵¹ The second highest value, £877 15s 2.5d for 21 Henry II (1174 x 1175), owes its higher totals to the fact that the farm of Kent was not reported for 20 Henry II (1173 x 1174) and the amounts reported in Kent for 21 Henry II included full back payments for the previous year.¹⁵² The common factor among the other high value years is that they were later in Henry's reign, from 24 Henry II onwards, and certainly reflect a king who had built up his wealth and holdings throughout his early reign and was better able to distribute them freely.

d1. Outside Influences

Even more so than the land grant charters, it is difficult to determine which of the gifts of *terrae datae* were made by Henry's predecessors. Based on the information from Henry I's only surviving Pipe Roll, it seems that none of his gifts of *terrae datae* continue in Henry II's Pipe Rolls. While none of Stephen's Pipe Rolls survive, the charter evidence reveals that Faversham Abbey and Boxley Abbey's *terrae datae* date from Stephen's reign. It is harder to pinpoint the impact outside events and family influence had on Henry's *terrae datae* grants since the Pipe Rolls, unlike the charters, do not record if the *terrae datae* were given in honour of family members. However, many of the recipients were monasteries that had strong connections with the royal family and some were Henry's foundations. The pattern of increased giving over the

¹⁵¹ Explanation for this rise can be attributed to Henry subsidising the re-foundation of Amesbury Abbey as part of his penance for the Becket murder. The Pipe Roll for 25 Henry II records at least £100 in *terra data* given to the abbey for this one year as well as a *terra data* pension for Abbess Beatrice; *PR 25 Henry II*, p. 57, 101. The £100 paid to the abbey does not appear again but the pension for Abbess Beatrice recurs until 29 Henry II. *PR 29 Henry II*, p. 141.

¹⁵² *PR 20 Henry II* and *PR 21 Henry II*.

course of Henry's reign indicates that Henry was not influenced by single events but that his patronage operated independently of the affairs of his realm.

C. Conclusions

The data, including the charters, the number of *terrae datae* entries, their values and the specific recipients, indicates that Henry was a cautious patron when it came to gifts of land. He did not particularly favour any of the newer, smaller religious orders and the houses that received great values of land grants were often established royal favourites. He was not inclined to grant large gifts of land around the time of the Becket murder¹⁵³ but as part of his penance founded a priory at Witham c. 1178-9, and consequently introduced the Carthusian order to England with this foundation.¹⁵⁴ Still, Henry did not shower them with favour once they were established. As the *terrae datae* in the Pipe Rolls show, Henry gave Witham (and the Carthusians) only £98 9s. The early life at Witham was harsh and plagued with financial difficulties. The third prior, Hugh of Avalon, was instrumental in Witham's survival and growth and their relationship with Henry. It must be remarked that Henry was not an enthusiastic monastic founder. With Witham he made the initial endowment but did not continue to patronize them to the same extent as his grandfather's foundation, Reading Abbey. However, these were also two very different foundations, made for different reasons and belonging to different religious orders. Outside of Henry's role as a monastic founder, the Pipe Roll suggest that as a patron he remained consistent throughout his reign. There are no

¹⁵³ The only exception to this is Henry's contributions to the re-foundations at Amesbury and Waltham, which along with Witham formed Henry's penance for Becket's murder. Henry cannot be seen as atoning for Becket's murder beyond the prescribed penance.

¹⁵⁴ *Monastic Order*, p. 381.

major breaks from the patronage of the Benedictine, Cistercian or Augustinian orders, nor is there one dominant pattern that emerges from the charter and Pipe Roll data. He was not a great reformer and while he did support the newer religious orders that were appearing, there was not a significant amount of patronage given to them in comparison to the Benedictines, Cistercians and Augustinians. The data suggests that Henry was a cautious patron who used grants of land to favour monastic houses of his grandfather and his mother as well as those with which he had developed a special bond. He distributed considerable amounts to the orders that were already established, keeping up old ties and obligations, patronizing the newer orders to a lesser extent.

Chapter 2.2: Gifts of Money, Churches and Privileges

I. Gifts of Money Rents and Churches from Charter Data

A gift of money could be a one time payment, given to record or celebrate a special event, but money could also be granted perpetually. This sum provided the monastery with immediate funds with which the community could, for example, expand its holdings, increase the splendor of its church, pay for aid in its defense, or buy food, wine, clothing and other necessities.

Gifts of money, especially those tied to land rents or *terrae datae* via the Exchequer, show greater fluctuations in value than gifts of land and privileges. Since many of these were short-term gifts rather than perpetual gifts, they were potentially easier to revoke and were more likely to suffer change upon the accession of a new monarch. Further, they might be neglected in times of rebellion or political upset.¹ Since these gifts of money relied upon the generosity of the patron, the monastery was dependent on their good will and promise to pay.

In addition to gifts of land and money rents, there were also charters which recorded grants of churches.² Up until the Gregorian Reform, many churches had been controlled by laymen. After this, however, lay control of these churches was deemed inappropriate.³ The churches devolved, slowly, to the monasteries who received the income from the church and often the

¹ For instance, liveries assigned to the sheriffs of the county farm seem to have gone unpaid in times of unrest. This has been seen in the Pipe Roll entries for *terrae datae* in the previous chapter.

² These have been included in the totals for land grants but are discussed here due to the privileges that accompanied them.

³ Brian Kemp, 'Monastic Possession of Parish Churches in England in the Twelfth Century', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 31 (1980), 133-60 at 134.

advowsons.⁴ The churches, similar to other forms of gifts, provided prestige to the monastery. Moreover, the right to choose the priest of the church enabled the monastery to exercise patronage. It also allowed major patrons to suggest candidates to the monastery for local priests or other positions, as was done for Godfrey de Lucy with the church of Wye, which belonged to Battle Abbey.⁵

Gifts of churches are not recorded in the Pipe Rolls and accordingly their value is difficult to ascertain. The charters, however, are helpful in shedding some light on some of the aspects of this type of patronage; the distribution of gifts of money and churches is best illustrated through two case studies.

A. Money Rent: Christ Church Canterbury, Kent

As mentioned in Chapter One, Henry II undertook a pilgrimage to Canterbury in 1174 to atone for the murder of Thomas Becket. In a charter dating between 14 and 18 July 1174, Henry made a grant to Christ Church Canterbury and St. Thomas giving £40 to be rendered from Barksore, Hook, 'Aisse', Rushdown and Leysdown, Kent.⁶ This is a perpetual money grant based on specific rents (*terrae datae*) in the Pipe Rolls. In the Pipe Roll 19 Henry II, the first payment of *terra data* was made for £7 10s from the land of Milton Regis, which was not one of the manors mentioned in the charter. The Pipe Roll entry, however, states that the land at Milton Regis was for half a year's payment of land that had been granted by the king to St. Thomas.⁷ This

⁴ Ibid. at 135.

⁵ Godfrey was given the church of Wye upon the request of Richard de Lucy, a patron and supporter of Battle Abbey. Battle Abbey later brought a complaint against Godfrey in which they challenged his right to hold it; *Battle Chronicle*, p. 268-71, 320-35.

⁶ *Cartae Antiquae I*, p. 93 no. 185, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 462 (121H). (For dating purposes only).

⁷ The original grant in the Pipe Rolls was for £30 of land, not £40.

entry does not occur again until 21 Henry II when the amount increases to £15, or two payments of £7 10s. There is an additional entry from the manor of Milton Regis in this year, which is for £2 10s. The Pipe Roll states this is from an additional £10 of land that Henry had granted to Christ Church.⁸ There is a third entry in 21 Henry II which is for £25 of *terra data* in Milton Regis, Kent as part of a £40 grant.⁹ The entry for £25 at Milton Regis continues for the remainder of Henry's reign but there are no entries for the specific lands listed in the charter. It is possible that they were part of the larger manor of Milton Regis. This gift could be said to be *terrae datae*, since it was land based, but the original charter specifies that it was a gift of money. It is clear from the Pipe Roll records that the entire amount was not given as a land grant and that the other portion of the gift must have come from another source. The money was paid out of the Exchequer in the form of rents from the sheriff of Kent. This case study also provides a surprisingly rare example of the correlation that can be made between charter data and Pipe Roll data.

B. Church: Daventry Priory, Northamptonshire

The Priory of Daventry was founded around 1090 as a Cluniac priory by Hugh of Leicester, the sheriff of Northamptonshire.¹⁰ Early in Henry's reign, between 1155 and August 1158, the king issued a charter to Bishop Robert of Lincoln, Earl Simon and all his barons notifying them of a gift he had made to Daventry Priory. Henry granted the priory the church of Fawsley from the king's manor along with three virgates of land that Sheriff William claimed from the demesne of the manor. As well as the church of Fawsley, the monks were to

⁸ *PR 21 Henry II*, p. 208.

⁹ *PR 21 Henry II*, p. 213.

¹⁰ *V. C. H. Northants.*, ii. 109.

have the socage of Fawsley, Welton and Thrupp with one mill.¹¹ These properties are not listed in the Pipe Rolls and it is therefore not possible to correlate the values. This charter illustrates the different appurtenances which could be given along with the church. In this case it included land and a mill.

Money Rent Analysis

This section will examine the values, geography and chronology of Henry's money patronage.

a. Values

The following table lists the gifts of money rents recorded in charters and includes their annual values.

Religious House/Order	Annual Amount
Canterbury Priory (Christ Church)	£40 p.a.
Lazarites of Jerusalem ¹²	£26 13s 4d p.a. (40 marks)
Reading Abbey	£26 13s 4d p.a. (40 marks)
Harbledown Hospital	£13 6s 8d p.a. (20 marks)
Bermondsey Priory	£7 p.a.
Wroxall Priory	£6 13s 4d (10 marks)
Hereford Priory (St. Guthlac)	£1 10s 5d p.a. (1d daily)
Sick of Shrewsbury	£1 10s p.a.
St. Albans Hospital	£1 10s 5d p.a. (1d daily)
Knights Templar	1s 4d p.a.

¹¹ Socage was a form of tenure which relied on payment of fixed services, such as rent. J. Hudson, *The Formation of the English Common Law: Law and Society in England from the Norman Conquest to Magna Carta* (London, 1996), p. 246.

¹² This order of hospitals had its main house in England at Burton Lazars; *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 348.

These gifts of money would have totalled £124 18s 10d per annum, a small amount compared to Henry's gifts of land. Even more than land grants, these donations of money did not significantly affect the endowment of the monasteries. The hospitals, however, are different. There are four hospitals or groups of sick represented here and Henry's monetary gifts likely made a significant impact since they were not as richly endowed as the monasteries. Accordingly, any gift, no matter the size, was important for their survival. In the case of Harbledown Hospital and the Lazarites, both hospitals received money in the denominations of marks. Both were founded to care for lepers. St. Albans Hospital was also a leper hospital but the sick men of Shrewsbury are never identified as anything beyond sick. Christ Church Cathedral Priory received the highest amount of annual alms, £40, and as mentioned above this was given as penance for the murder of Thomas Becket. Henry I's foundation of Reading Abbey and the Lazarites both received £26 13s 4d (40 marks).

b. Geography

It is interesting to consider where the recipients of Henry's monetary grants were located. The following table indicates the counties where the recipients were located and the number of charters recording gifts of money.

County	Number of Charters¹³
Kent	3
Herefordshire, Leicestershire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, Surrey, Hertfordshire, Berkshire	1 each

¹³ The Knights Templar are not included in this table as the charter did not indicate which preceptory was the recipient. See the database for more information.

Of the charters issued to monasteries in Kent, two were to Christ Church Canterbury. This prevalence of monasteries receiving money in Kent echoes the pattern discovered with the gifts of land and *terrae datae*.¹⁴ Of the 11 charters, none were issued in the same town as the recipient. From the chronicles, we know that Henry visited Canterbury many times throughout his reign, including the occasion of his public penance in 1174. Henry clearly visited Shrewsbury, St. Albans, Hereford and Reading for there are other charters issued in these towns but there is no record of him visiting Wroxall, Bermondsey or Harbledown. As is the case with all of these places, it is not known if Henry stayed at the monastery but it is unlikely Henry would have stayed at a hospital.

c. Chronology

The chronology of Henry's gifts of money reveals the course of Henry's patronage.

Table 1. Charter Distribution

Time Period	Number of Charters
Spurious	1
Pre 1154	1
1154 x 1172	5
1173 x 1189	4

¹⁴ See Chapter 2.1, p.43-4, 72-3.

Table 2. Charter Distribution by Decade

Time Period	Number of Charters
Spurious	1
Pre1154	1
1154 x 1159	3
1160 x 1169	2
1170 x 1179	3
1180 x 1189	1

Table 3. Benedictine Chronology

Time Period	Number of Charters
Spurious	1
Pre1154	1
1154 x 1172	2
1173 x 1189	2
1160 x 1169 (decade)	2
1170 x 1179 (decade)	2

Table 4. Hospitals

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1172	2
1173 x 1189	2
1154 x 1159 (decade)	2
1170 x 1179 (decade)	1
1180 x 1189 (decade)	1

Table 5. Knights Templar

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1159	1

As the tables indicate, the bulk of Henry's monetary gifts were given in the first part of his reign. Of the four charters issued after 1173, two were gifts of money to Canterbury and one was the gift to Harbledown Hospital, located near Canterbury. These charters were all issued c. 1173 x 1174. The only gift of money given towards the end of his reign was to the Lazarites.

When this chronology of gifts is examined in relation to the various religious orders, the distribution is fairly evenly spread. The Benedictines have one spurious charter and one charter issued before 1154 but of the four remaining charters, two were issued 1154 x 1172 and two 1173 x 1189. When the dates are broken down by decade, it is clear that Henry did not issue any gift charters to the Benedictines after 1179, which is striking as it implies he did not favour this order in the later half of his reign. The distribution among the hospitals is slightly different. The total number of charters is spread evenly: two in the period 1154 x 1172 and two in 1173 x 1189. Breaking down by decade yields two charters issued 1154 x 1159, one 1170 x 1179 and one 1180 x 1189. The only charter issued for the Knights Templar was issued 1154 x 1159.

The chronology data indicates that the majority of Henry's gifts, according to charter evidence, occurred in the first part of his reign. Of the gifts given later in his reign, two of the charters and possibly a third to Harbledown Hospital were connected to his public penance. Otherwise there does not seem to be an explanation for the chronological distribution of Henry's money gift charters.

d. Recipients

Of the 11 charters recording gifts of money, the religious order distribution is as follows.

Religious Order	Number of Charters
Benedictine	6
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers ¹⁵	4
Knights Templar	1

Table 2. Individual Recipients

Religious House	Number of Charters
Canterbury Priory (Christ Church)	2
Bermondsey Priory, Harbledown Hospital, Hereford Priory (St. Guthlac), Lazarites, Reading Abbey, St. Albans Hospital, Shrewsbury Sick, Wroxall Priory	1

The small number of charters recording gifts of money stands in marked contrast to the larger number of charters recording gifts of land. It is possible this low number is due to charter survival. Another interesting point is that there are no surviving charters recording gifts of money to the Augustinian, Cistercian, Gilbertine and Premonstratensian houses. The Cistercians were theoretically prohibited from owning 'churches, tithes, manors, serfs or rents.'¹⁶ While this prohibition could possibly be stretched to include money the Pipe

¹⁵ Of these, Harbledown was an independent house for lepers, the Lazarites were governed by the Order of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem, and St. Albans was the monastic hospital. Only the Sick of Shrewsbury were not part of an institution; *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 313-39.

¹⁶ R. Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1225* (Oxford, 2000), p. 431.

Roll entries prove otherwise and record grants of alms, liveries and tithes to Cistercian houses.¹⁷ We have seen them receive lands as well. There do not appear to have been any similar restrictions placed upon the Augustinians, Gilbertines and Premonstratensians beyond the general notion that all the foundation's property was to be held in common. Hospitals often relied on alms as well as gifts of lands to maintain their inmates. These alms could be given in the form of rents, mills, or tolls on produce or market goods.¹⁸ Henry's grants of money to the hospitals demonstrate that he was a participant in what came to be a popular form of patronage which was clearly accessible to more than the nobility.

e. Outside Influences

Of these 11 gifts of money, there are several that were possibly influenced by events or associations. The two gift charters recording Henry's gift of £40 to Christ Church Canterbury were most likely the result of his public penance and pilgrimage to Canterbury. The charter to Harbledown Hospital, also in the area of Canterbury, may also have been influenced by this pilgrimage. The gift of money to Reading Abbey had several motivations behind it. The first was Henry's familial tie to his grandfather's foundation. The second, and the reason for the charter's issue, was the dedication of Reading Abbey's new church in 1164. Therefore, with this charter Henry marked an important event in the lifecycle of any ecclesiastical establishment. Beyond these connections with Christ Church and Reading, there are neither family associations nor political

¹⁷ These will be demonstrated later in this chapter. The values of the liveries and tithes granted to the Cistercians were significantly less than the values they received for alms.

¹⁸ N. Orme and M. Webster, *The English Hospital 1070-1570* (New Haven, 1995), p. 92-4. Hospitals needed very little for endowment, namely a site, building and suitable staff. Orme and Webster, *The English Hospital 1070-1570*, p. 39.

events that influenced his other gifts. In all likelihood Henry was either petitioned by the patron or the establishment to issue these gifts.

II. Gifts of Money in the Pipe Rolls

A. Alms

I found 2199 entries for alms in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. Alms (*elemosina*) were grants of money that were not associated with specified manors. The vast majority of the recipients were recluses, hospitals, and the sick but there were also significant alms given to the Knights Templar and various monastic communities. The following case studies illustrate the content of these entries.

i. Knights Templar

Beginning in 2 Henry II, each county and its sheriff was responsible for providing at least one mark (13s 4d) of alms for the Templars. These entries account for half of the Pipe Roll entries for alms, or 1154 entries in total. When the yearly totals of alms given to the Knights Templar is calculated, it reveals that they received a total of £1115 5s 2d. This is an average of £33 15s 10d over the course of 33 years. The vast majority of the entries occur every year with little deviation in their values. If a year was missed, the amount was often made up in the following year.

ii. Derby Priory, Derbyshire (Later known as Darley Priory)

A second example is the alms given to Derby Priory. This grant began in 2 Henry II and was for 10s from the combined counties of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire.¹⁹ This entry was only modified once, when the value of the alms

¹⁹ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 38.

was reduced to 5s in 16 Henry II.²⁰ It returned and remained at 10s for the rest of Henry's reign. In total, these alms were worth £16 5s.

iii. Ivychurch Priory, Wiltshire

Ivychurch Priory, an Augustinian house, received annually £2 5s 7d in alms beginning in 2 Henry II.²¹ The alms were from the county of Wiltshire. Every king from 1155 onwards gave alms to Ivychurch of 1.5d daily, which amounted to £2 5s 7.5d annually but for an unspecified reason.²² The alms continue with only one change in their value, in 33 Henry II. For this year, the reported amount is £1 2s 9.5d, half the original sum.²³ In total, these alms were worth £74 1s 5.5d.

However, this was not the only entry of alms for Ivychurch Priory. They received a second set of alms beginning in 27 Henry II, also from Wiltshire.²⁴ The alms were for £1 10s 5d and intended for the administration of the king's chapel at Clarendon. These alms were entered for the remainder of Henry's reign although the amount was decreased in 33 Henry II to 15s 2.5d, or half the original amount.²⁵ In total these alms were worth £11 8s 1.5d.

iv. Holy Trinity London

Beginning in 2 Henry II, Holy Trinity London received annual alms of £25 12s 6d from the county of Devonshire.²⁶ This alms gift originated with the priory's initial endowment from the farm of Exeter, Devonshire by Queen Maud,

²⁰ *PR 16 Henry II*, p. 80.

²¹ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 57.

²² *V. C. H. Wilts.*, iii. 289.

²³ *PR 33 Henry II*, p. 173.

²⁴ *PR 27 Henry II*, p. 93.

²⁵ *PR 33 Henry II*, p. 173.

²⁶ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 46.

the wife of Henry I, c. 1107.²⁷ This annual amount remained the same until 23 Henry II, when it was halved for that one year to £12 16s 3d. After 23 Henry II, however, it returned to the level of £25 12s 6d and remained at that level for the rest of Henry's reign. In total, Holy Trinity London received alms worth £832 16s 3d.

v. Malmesbury Abbey, Wiltshire

The final example is Malmesbury Abbey, which received £6 10s worth of alms from Wiltshire beginning in 3 Henry II.²⁸ The Pipe Roll records that these alms were for the shire and hundred. The explanation for this can be found in Henry II's charter. The charter itself was issued between 1155 and 1158 and confirmed the holdings of Malmesbury Abbey.²⁹ It also states that Henry gave the abbey £6 10s to pay for the quittance of the hundred and shire and the hundredsilver (*hundredessuluer*), which the abbey had purchased.³⁰ The hundredsilver was the same as customs of the hundred.³¹ Henry included the quittance as well as the payment of £6 10s;³² this is the alms of £6 10s which appeared in the Pipe Rolls. The entry occurs in 4 Henry II but not 5 Henry II. It reappears in 6 Henry II, for the same amount, and continues at the value of £6 10s until 32 Henry II. In 33 Henry II the value decreases to £3 5s, or half the original amount, but it returns to £6 10s in 34 Henry II.³³ In total, the alms were worth £191 15s.

²⁷ V. C. H. London, i. 465.

²⁸ PR 3 Henry II, p. 77.

²⁹ Cartae Antiquae II, p. 110-1 no. 482.

³⁰ Cartae Antiquae II, p. 110-1 no. 482.

³¹ H. M. Cam, *The Hundred and the Hundred Rolls*, (London, 1930), p. 166.

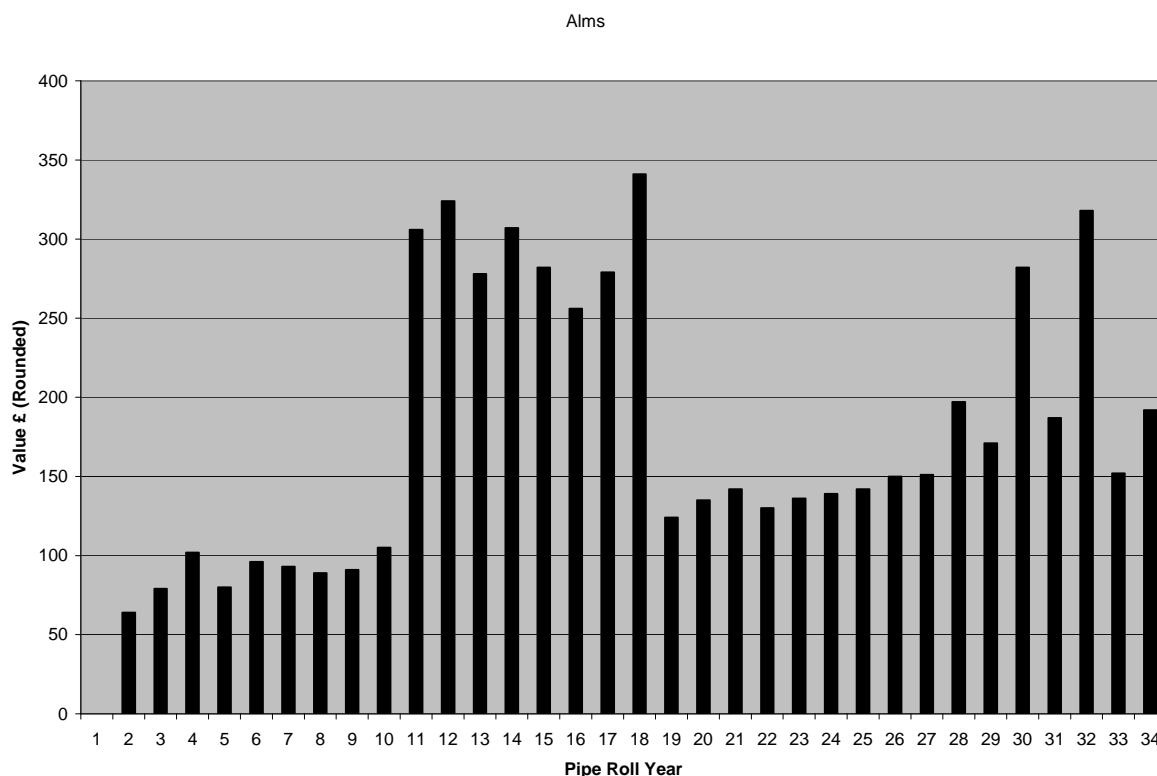
³² Cartae Antiquae II, p. 110-1 no. 482.

³³ PR 33 Henry II, p. 173, PR 34 Henry II, p. 136.

Alms Analysis

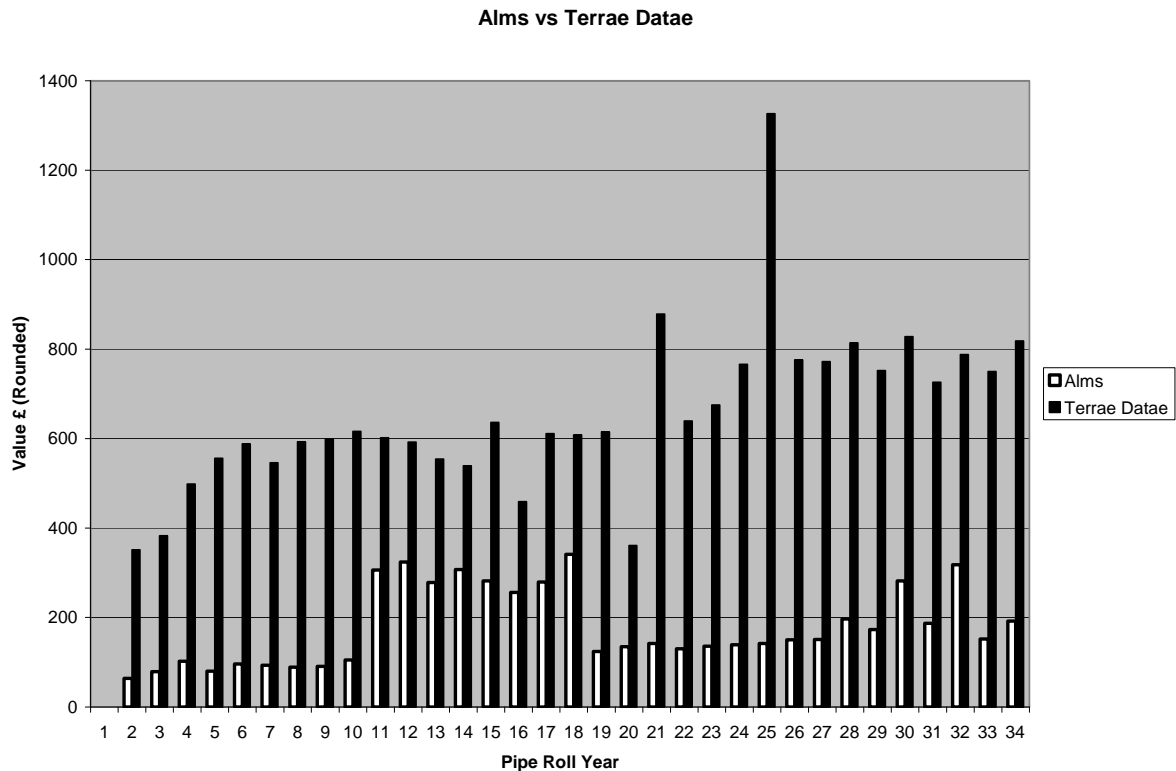
a. Values

In total, I have found that Henry II spent £5905 9s 5.5d on alms from 2 Henry II to 34 Henry II. The following chart illustrates the fluctuations of the alms in the Pipe Rolls.



The totals indicated are cumulative and the table illustrates the values reached by totalling each entry for alms, whether or not they were reoccurring. There are several years in which the annual amounts are larger compared to other years but there is an overall gradual increase over the course of Henry's reign. The higher annual amounts occurred in 11 Henry II-18 Henry II (1164-1165 to 1171-1172), in 28 Henry II (1181-1182), in 30 Henry II (1183-1184) and in 32 Henry II (1185-1186). The increase in alms for 11 Henry II can be explained by both an increase in the total number of entries (from 52 to 67) and an increase in the number of entries to the Knights Templar (from 32 to 36).

Furthermore, additional religious houses were added to the list of alms in 11 Henry II, which also increased the total. In 12 Henry II there is a decrease in the number of entries (67 to 62) and a decrease in the number of entries to the Knights Templar (36 to 34) but some of the entries introduced in 11 Henry II were continued in 12 Henry II. The larger numbers in the later years also seem to follow this pattern. There is a large decrease in the number of entries in 19 Henry II (77 in 18 Henry II and 65 in 19 Henry II) and as a result the values also decreased. There is an increase from 76 entries in 27 Henry II to 90 entries in 28 Henry II, from 78 in 29 Henry II to 79 in 30 Henry II and from 88 in 31 Henry II to 96 in 32 Henry II. The final number of entries in 34 Henry II is 83. These fluctuations are influenced by recipients dropping in and out of the alms lists and many of the later fluctuations, particularly the one from 29 to 30 Henry II, were affected by one off payments. The number of Pipe Roll entries for alms fluctuates each year as does their values. It is difficult to ascertain why there were such large fluctuations and why certain religious houses would drift in and out of the alms distribution but some of these were likely the result of who was holding the sheriffdom and whether or not the farms were reported for that year. It was also likely to be influenced by one off payments of alms.



The chart demonstrates that the patterns for the values of the alms and *terrae datae* do not always correspond but that both experienced a gradual nearly three-fold increase over the course of Henry's reign. In the years with increasing *terrae datae*, the alms remained fairly steady or even decreased and then increased. The years when the alms increased seem to see a decrease in *terrae datae*. This leads to the conclusion that the *terrae datae* values and the alms values operated independently of each other.

b. Geography

The Pipe Rolls include an account of the shire farms and, as a result, most of the counties in England are represented in varying amounts.³⁴ There are not a consistent number of entries in each county and not all the alms for a monastery are given in the county where they were located. Due to the large

³⁴ There were occasions where the farms for Cheshire and Durham were reported but this was not a regular occurrence.

number of alms payments to the Knights Templar, who have not been identified according to preceptory, it is not possible to assess their geographical distribution. Of the remaining entries, the geographical distribution is centred on lands in central and southern England. The following table illustrates counties for which payments of alms are recorded in Henry's Pipe Rolls.³⁵

County	Number of Pipe Roll Entries
Norfolk	197
Suffolk	196
Northamptonshire	121
Lincolnshire	119
Combined Counties of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire	114
Herefordshire	109
Wiltshire, Shropshire	105 (each)
Oxfordshire	94
Huntingdonshire	76
Devonshire	69
Cambridgeshire	67
Sussex	60
Essex	54
Hertfordshire	53
Yorkshire	50
Gloucestershire	48
Combined counties of Bedfordshire and Buckinghamshire, Kent, Middlesex	40

³⁵ These figures do not include lands or honours that were in the king's hand during vacancies.

(including London)	
Surrey	36
Worcestershire	35
Berkshire, Cheshire, Northumberland, Somerset	34
Leicestershire	33
Staffordshire, Warwickshire	32
Dorset	29
Hampshire	25
Cornwall	17
Cumberland	13

The table demonstrates that the majority of the alms entries were from Norfolk and Suffolk, not Kent and Wiltshire, as seen with the previous data. According to Domesday Book, the king held vast amounts of lands in both Norfolk and Suffolk, which suggests that these may have provided considerable resources for Henry II. Many of the other entries are for counties where royal demesne was extensive such as Wiltshire. While the geographical pattern is different from the charters, it is possible that the counties represented here are ones that successfully exploited the financial resources of the king's lands.

c. Chronology

The alms entries in the Pipe Rolls demonstrate the longevity of this type of gift over the course of Henry's reign. As the earlier bar chart indicated, Henry's alms patronage did fluctuate. In the early Pipe Rolls, the yearly amounts were at their lowest, ranging from £63 16s 3d at the lowest in 2 Henry II and £105 2s 2d in 10 Henry II at its highest during this early period. After 10

Henry II, the amount of yearly alms rose to £305 11s 5.5d. There then followed a fluctuation from roughly £300 to £200 before the amounts stabilized in the £100 range. According to this data, Henry's annual alms giving reached a peak midway through his reign and then declined before reaching relatively steady values in the £100 range. This suggests that the chronology of Henry's alms gifts operated independently of his *terrae datae* patronage. Again, key events of Henry's reign do not appear to have had a significant impact on the chronology of the alms gifts.

d. Recipients

Table 1. Number of Alms Entries and Religious Orders

Religious Order	Number of Alms Entries
Knights Templar	1154
Benedictines	324
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	307
Augustinian	214
Hermits	149
Cistercian	35
Unknown Houses	15
Premonstratensians	1

Table 2. Totals for Alms Given to Religious Orders

Religious Order	Total Amount of Alms Given
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	£2499 11s 5d
Augustinian	£1194 13s 3.5d
Knights Templar	£1115 5s 2d
Benedictine	£726 6d
Hermits	£195 3s 2.5d
Cistercian	£142 3s 4d
Unknown Affiliation	£30 6s 10.5d
Premonstratensians	£3

In the case of alms, the Knights Templar had the greatest number of grants. The Knights Templar benefited from the mandatory mark assessed on each county, which explains their large number of alms. The next largest recipient was the Benedictines, who were the largest order in England. The hospitals, sick and lepers, and the Augustinians, however, need other explanations. The granting of alms to hospitals, the sick and the lepers was a traditional method of patronage for these establishments but they also cultivated land grants. Many of these foundations relied on begging and the generosity of patrons and others to care for the sick.³⁶ From the standpoint of a king, the patronage of a hospital fulfilled the basic Christian tenet of caring for the poor and ill. Alms given to the sick were viewed as an essential act of charity and it is this reason more than any other which likely explains the amount of alms Henry gave to the hospitals, sick and the lepers. The high number of alms given to the Augustinians can possibly be explained by their increasing

³⁶ Orme and Webster, *The English Hospital 1070-1570*, p. 97-101.

popularity. It is also likely that at least some of the alms to Augustinian houses may have been inherited. Henry's grandfather, Henry I, had been a strong advocate for the Augustinian houses and it is possible that many of these alms were established under him or during the reign of his successor, King Stephen.³⁷ There are also several Augustinian Houses that fulfilled certain functions for the king, such as Ivychurch Priory, who provided for the king's chapel at Clarendon.³⁸ The king paid Ivychurch £1 10s 5d in alms to cover this cost. The hermits most likely did not hold land but depended on alms to maintain themselves. Finally the Cistercians received less alms than their main competitors—the Benedictines and the Augustinians—but there is no obvious explanation for this.

e. Outside Influences

There are at least three alms gifts that Henry II may have inherited from Henry I and which are shown in the surviving Pipe Roll of Henry I (31 Henry I). The first is Henry's payment of alms to Nostell Priory for £18 5s which reappears in 10 Henry II.³⁹ In earlier Pipe Rolls of Henry II the gift to Nostell is entered as a tithe and after 10 Henry II it continues to be entered as a tithe. However, the terminology in the Pipe Rolls appears to be fluid and flexible. The second gift of alms by Henry I is the £1 he gave to Huntingdon Priory.⁴⁰ This gift appears in 2 Henry II where the amount is increased to £2.⁴¹ It is unclear if King Stephen or Henry II was responsible for this increase. The third gift that Henry may have inherited is the payment of £1 to Northampton Priory by Henry

³⁷ *Monastic Order*, p. 175.

³⁸ *PR 27 Henry II*, p. 93.

³⁹ *PR 31 Henry I*, p. 24, *PR 10 Henry II*, p. 11.

⁴⁰ *PR 31 Henry I*, p. 44.

⁴¹ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 13.

I, which begins in 4 Henry II.⁴² The rest of the gifts of alms either originated with King Stephen or were gifts of Henry II.

B. Liveries

I found 277 entries in the Pipe Rolls for liveries (*liberationes*). Liveries were similar to alms in that they were grants of money rather than pieces of land. According to The *Dialogus de Scaccario*: 'Some payments [or 'liveries'] are to the poor...others are to servants, who receive them in place of wages...These are therefore, different classes of payments, being paid from different motives, they are, however, reckoned amongst the 'fixed payments'.'⁴³ The vast majority of the recipients of liveries were hospitals, the sick and hermits but there are also a significant number of entries for small local churches. It is most likely that half of the liveries were one time payments while others carried on throughout Henry's reign. In contrast to the other grants in the Pipe Rolls, the liveries do not occur as regularly as alms or *terrae datae*. Moreover, the entries are not consistent from year to year and recipients drop in and out of the livery lists.

There are liveries that occur frequently. For example, Henry II gave £1 10s 5d in alms to St. Giles Hospital, Holborn starting in 5 Henry II.⁴⁴ The hospital had been founded by Queen Matilda, the Empress Matilda's mother and Henry II's grandmother.⁴⁵ The appearance of this livery fluctuated. It appears in the Pipe Rolls 5-7 Henry II, 10-12 Henry II, 14-17 Henry II, 19 Henry

⁴² *PR 31 Henry I*, p. 135, *PR 4 Henry II*, p. 143.

⁴³ *Dialogus*, p. 86.

⁴⁴ *PR 5 Henry II*, p. 55.

⁴⁵ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 365.

II and 21-34 Henry II but its value never changes.⁴⁶ The entry for St. Giles Holborn is one of the few which appears fairly regularly on the Pipe Rolls of Henry II.

Liveries Analysis

a. Values

The total value of the liveries for Henry's surviving Pipe Rolls was £909 7s 7d. This is a much lower figure than the combined totals of *terrae datae* and the alms. Again, it is difficult to ascertain the precise impact these liveries would have had on the income of the monastery or hospital. In the case of the large and established monasteries, the liveries were relatively insignificant but for the hospitals, the groups of sick and the hermits, they would have been instrumental to their survival and maintenance.

b. Geography

Unlike the categories of *terrae datae* and alms, there are fewer counties reporting liveries each year and over the course of Henry's Pipe Rolls each county is not represented. Kent, for example, does not have any entries for liveries.

⁴⁶ In 9 Henry II, 13 Henry II, 18 Henry II and 20 Henry II the amount of £1 10s 5d was entered as alms instead of liveries.

County	Number of Entries for Liveries
Combined counties of Essex and Hertfordshire	63
Farm of Windsor	54
Combined counties of Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Surrey	38
Staffordshire	24
London and Middlesex	17
Gloucestershire	15
Oxfordshire	11
City of Winchester	9
Wiltshire	5
Combined counties of Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire	4
City of Southampton	3
Sussex, Norfolk and Suffolk	2
Worcestershire, Lincolnshire, Northumberland	1
Miscellaneous Honours and Vacant Abbeys ⁴⁷	28

The recipients themselves are fairly widespread throughout Henry's realm. Many of them were centred in the towns, such as groups of ill or poor, and were not always organized institutions. Not all of the entries state precisely

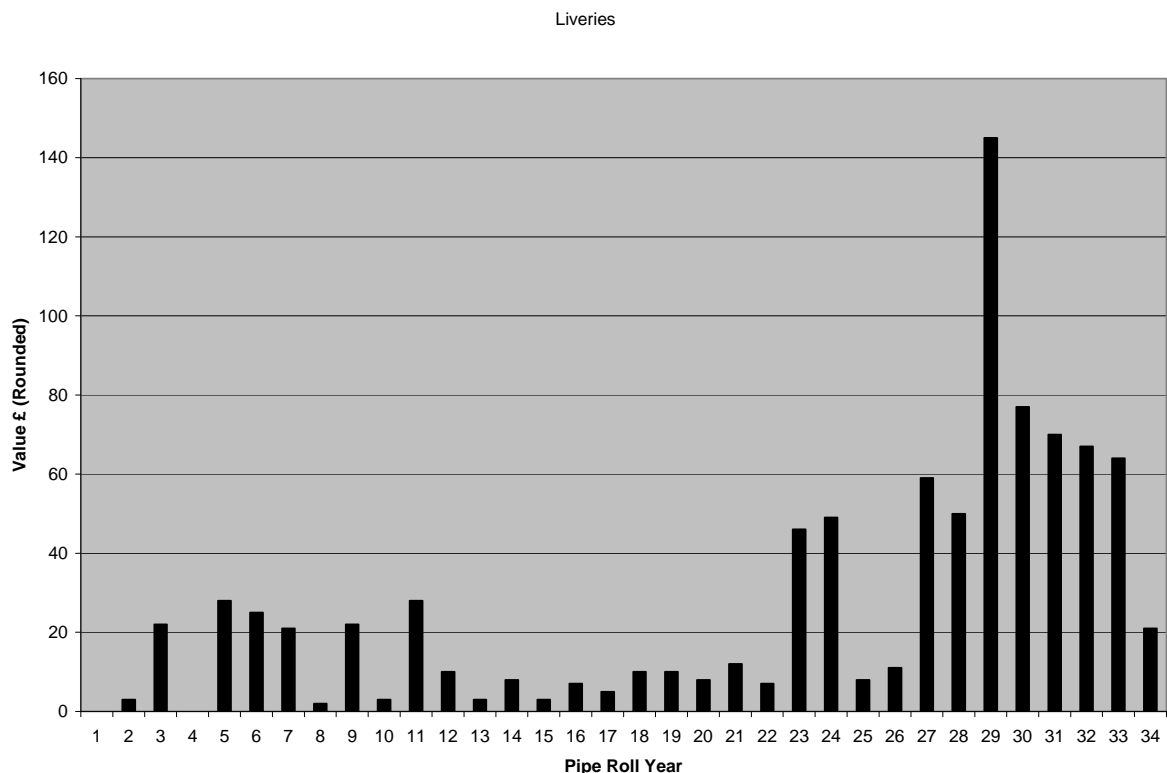
⁴⁷ The Exchequer not only paid the liveries from the king's farms but out of honours and abbeys the king held during vacancies.

who or where the recipients were and there are entries solely for ‘the sick’ or ‘the sick of’.⁴⁸

With *terrae datae* and even the alms, there are several counties that contain multiple entries. This is not the case with at least the early livery entries. Later in Henry’s reign there are counties with multiple entries but never to the same extent as the *terrae datae* and alms.

c. Chronology

There is at least one entry for liveries in each of Henry’s surviving Pipe Rolls even if the annual values are small. There are more entries per year as Henry’s reign progressed.



As the graph demonstrates, there was a general increase in liveries in the Pipe Rolls and the final years of Henry’s reign saw the most valuable grants.

⁴⁸ For example, Oxfordshire records a livery for 23 Ill, which allowed them £19 15s 5d; *PR 3 Henry II*, p. 82.

The Pipe Roll year 29 Henry II stands out in comparison to the other years. 29 Henry II records two abbeys that Henry took into his hand as a result of vacancies.⁴⁹ The liveries recorded in 29 Henry II were for the communities' sustenance. These later years also saw an increase in Benedictine recipients as well as the hospitals and sick.

d. Recipients

Religious Order	Number of Entries
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	118
Benedictine	43
Hermits	41
Augustinian	31
Unknown Houses	31
Fontevrault	5
Cistercian	4
Knights Templar	3
Premonstratensians	1

⁴⁹ The abbeys were Lillechurch and Chertsey. *PR 29 Henry II*, p. 18.

Table 2. Religious Orders and Livery Totals

Religious Order	Total Liveries
Benedictines	£427 10s 5.5d
Hospitals, Sick and the lepers	£295 4s 1.5d
Hermits	£62
Augustinians	£57 9s 5d
Fontevrault	£43 8s 6d
Unknown	£16 8s .5d
Knights Templar	£3 11s
Cistercian	£3 10d
Premonstratensians	15s 2.5d

In total, the liveries given out during the Pipe Rolls of Henry's reign were worth £909 7s 7d. Given the previous data on the other Pipe Roll entries, there is no surprise in seeing that the value of the liveries given to the Benedictines was the largest. The Benedictines were still the dominant religious order in England. The Benedictine house which was mentioned the most was Lillechurch Priory, a house for nuns. The other Benedictine houses which benefited from this patronage were Ankerwyke Priory, Kilburn Priory, Cheshunt Priory, Stratford-at-Bow Priory and Ickleton Priory. These were all foundations for nuns and it is important to note that the nuns received more in liveries than they did in many of the other categories. In general, while the Benedictine houses did not have the greatest number of entries, their worth was larger. Many of the liveries to the Benedictine houses were for larger amounts, such as

Lillechurch Priory, who received a sporadic livery ranging from £36-49,⁵⁰ or Tewkesbury Abbey, who received a one time livery of £12 10s.⁵¹ Again the hospitals, sick and lepers received a greater number of entries than the other orders and the second highest amount. As in the case of alms, the liveries were another form that royal patronage to these 'charities' to care for the ill could take. The hospitals were instituted to care for the sick and poor and according to the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, these were the common recipients of liveries.

e. Outside Influences

Notably, there are no liveries from 31 Henry I which reappear in Henry II's Pipe Rolls but it is difficult to ascertain which entries may have been created by Stephen. It is possible that there was at least one instance of family influence: Henry's livery to St. Giles Holborn, which was founded by his grandmother. Henry not only gave them a livery of £1 10s 5d per annum but an additional £3 annually in the form of a rent from the Exchequer.⁵²

C. Tithes

I found a total of 470 entries for tithes (*decima constituta*) in Henry's Pipe Rolls. The traditional Scripture requirement for a tithe is one-tenth of an income, whether it be in money, produce or goods, which is paid to the church. These tithes were given to religious institutions of all orders and also to the secular cathedrals.

⁵⁰ PR 29 Henry II, p. 18, PR 30 Henry II, p. 136, PR 31 Henry II, p. 45, PR 32 Henry II, p. 199, PR 33 Henry II, p. 30.

⁵¹ PR 32 Henry II, p. 201.

⁵² CChR, iv. 192-4.

i. Colchester Priory, Essex

Beginning in 2 Henry II, the canons of Colchester received a tithe of £5 from the county of Essex.⁵³ The Pipe Roll recorded that this was for the tithe of Hatfield. Hatfield Broad Oak, a royal manor, was worth £60 in 1086 but the sheriff received £80 from it along with £2 worth of exactions.⁵⁴ Between 1102 and 1107 Henry I had granted Colchester Priory the tithes of his demesne from the church of Hatfield Broad Oak.⁵⁵ The manor of Hatfield Broad Oak had been granted by King Stephen to Geoffrey de Mandeville but escheated to the Crown after Geoffrey died in revolt in 1144.⁵⁶ The entry does not occur in 3 or 4 Henry II but appears in 5 Henry II, and remains on the Pipe Roll for the rest of Henry's reign.⁵⁷ In 7 Henry II, the entry is split into two transactions, one for £1 5s and one for £3 15s.⁵⁸ In both 15 Henry II and 16 Henry II, the value reported each year is only £2 10s.⁵⁹ There are no other deviations. In total, the tithe given to Colchester Priory was worth £150.

⁵³ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 16.

⁵⁴ *Domesday*, p. 970.

⁵⁵ *V. C. H. Essex*, viii. 180.

⁵⁶ *V. C. H. Essex*, viii. 165, 180. There was a later dispute between Colchester Priory and Hatfield Broad Oak Priory over the tithe of the church. Audrey de Vere had also granted the tithe to Hatfield Broad Oak Priory. In the end, it was decided that Hatfield Priory was to have the small tithes while the canons were to retain the tithes of geese and grains among other things.

⁵⁷ *PR 5 Henry II*, p. 3.

⁵⁸ *PR 7 Henry II*, p. 63-4.

⁵⁹ *PR 15 Henry II*, p. 122, *PR 16 Henry II*, p. 103.

ii. St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, Kent

St. Augustine's received their tithe of £10 beginning in 2 Henry II. The entry was from the accounts of the Sheriff of Kent.⁶⁰ The entry reoccurs from 3-5 Henry II but is not recorded for 6 Henry II. The entry reappears in 7 Henry II but is split into two transactions, one for £2 10s and one for £7 10s, which add up to £10.⁶¹ The entry is present in the Pipe Rolls 8-13 Henry II and again in 14 Henry II the tithe is split into two payments, this time for £5 each.⁶² From that point on, there are additional deviations. There is not a tithe listed in 18 Henry II or 20 Henry II but there are two entries for £10 in 21 Henry II and 25 Henry II. From 26-34 Henry II, the entry is posted every year and for the £10. In total, over the course of Henry's reign, St. Augustine's received a total tithe worth £320.

iii. Church of Wycombe, Buckinghamshire

The tithe granted to the church of Wycombe begins in 4 Henry II. It is for 13s 4d and came from the farm of Wycombe.⁶³ The entry continues without change until 18 Henry II. There is no entry for 19 Henry II but the tithe is picked up again in 20 Henry II and continues on until 27 Henry II. The payment is never again entered after 27 Henry II and there is never a deviation in the value. In total, the tithe paid £15 6s 8d. This end date possibly corresponds with the granting of the church of Wycombe to Godstow Abbey

⁶⁰ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 64.

⁶¹ *PR 7 Henry II*, p. 60-1.

⁶² *PR 14 Henry II*, p. 208-9. The total amount was accounted for in 14 Henry II from the accounts of Kent. This is in contrast to the half values of *terrae datae* that were reported from the same county in the same year.

⁶³ *PR 4 Henry II*, p. 141.

between 1176 and 1179.⁶⁴ The tithe never appears as granted to Godstow Abbey under the Pipe Rolls but it is possible that the church was simply granted over to Godstow and the royal tithe ceased with the grant of the church.

Tithe Analysis

a. Values

The total amount of tithes given from Henry II's Pipe Rolls was £2307 1s .5d. In comparison to the other Pipe Roll entries, it is greater than the liveries but less than the alms and *terrae datae*. Based on their total value, the tithes did not greatly affect the holdings or the income of the monasteries.

b. Geography

The tithes were not fixed to specific land rents. Unlike the *terrae datae* entries, not all of the counties are represented. They also fluctuate in appearance with some counties having multiple entries in one year but not appearing the next.

County	Number of Tithe Entries
Worcestershire	130
Kent	70
Yorkshire	52
Essex	48
Herefordshire	32
Gloucestershire	31
Lincolnshire	27
Staffordshire	3
City of Southampton, Oxfordshire, Norfolk and Suffolk	2

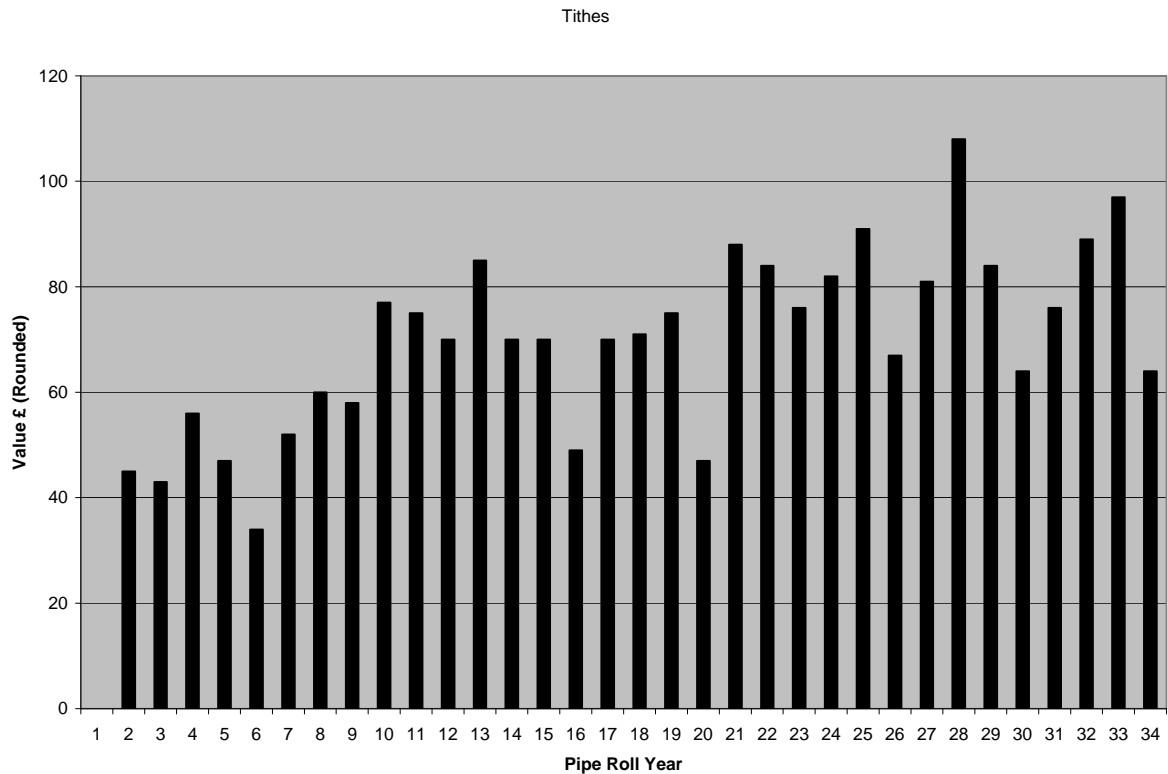
⁶⁴ *CChR*, iv. 186-7.

Farm of Windsor, Farm of Grimsby, Northamptonshire, Dorset and Somerset, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire	1
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The remaining entries belonged to honours that were in Henry's custody. As seen with the liveries, Henry maintained the tithes of honours and abbeys in his hand during vacancies. The geographical distribution seen here has some similarities with the other gift types. One deviation is the prevalence of tithes granted out of the farm of Worcestershire. This has not been seen before. There were just five recipients of tithes in Worcestershire: Westminster Abbey, Gloucester Abbey, Malvern Priory, Tewkesbury Abbey and a recluse at Stoke.⁶⁵ Only two of these recipients were located in Worcestershire: Malvern Priory and the recluse. The entries for Westminster, Gloucester or Tewkesbury do not state why the tithes came from Worcestershire and not counties nearer their foundation. It is possible they were granted the tithes of churches in Worcestershire.

⁶⁵ See the Pipe Roll database.

c. Chronology



As seen with the majority of the Pipe Roll data, the number of tithe entries increased over the course of Henry's reign as did their annual values. There was not an overly large fluctuation in these values over the years. The yearly totals also never reached the yearly highs of the *terrae datae* and alms. The tithes, more than any other of the Pipe Roll entries, demonstrate a fairly steady amount of patronage neither influenced by chronology nor geography.

d. Recipients

A range of institutions were given tithes. When the recipients are broken down according to their religious association, the following patterns appear.

Religious Order	Number of Tithe Entries
Benedictine	257
Augustinian	102
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	82
Hermits	21
Unknown Houses	5
Cistercians	3
Knights Templar	1

Religious Order	Total Amount of Tithes
Benedictines	£1129 11s 2.5d
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	£143 9s 7.5d
Augustinians	£85 10s 5d
Hermits	£31 10s 6.5d
Unknown Houses	£13 4s
Cistercians	£7 2s 5d
Knights Templar	13s 4d

The Benedictines received the greatest number of tithes and the greatest value of tithes, a reflection of the Benedictines' dominance in England. As discussed previously, the Cistercians were not allowed to hold tithes under their rule but did receive some here, possibly for the care of guests or the sick. The hospitals, sick and the lepers received the third highest value of tithes and as

pointed out by Orme, tithes were an easy way of endowing hospitals.⁶⁶ The fact that only one tithe was granted to the Knights Templar and that this was relatively low in value indicates that tithes were not a common form of patronage for this order.

III. Fairs

Fairs and markets comprised another area of gift giving. They were an opportunity, either in a weekly, monthly or annual format, for groups of artisans and producers to sell their wares. The fairs, the larger of the two, were often held annually over several days and could include performances or other activities. The markets, often meeting weekly, were sources for food. People would come from the surrounding areas to trade for goods. In addition to the commerce, fairs and markets were accompanied by tolls and dues. All the monastic institutions would benefit from the income received from the trade of goods, tolls on local produce and the sale of goods in nearby markets. Up until this point there were many unofficial markets but the need for charters to licence them was increasing. Markets and fairs were an area where the English kings, especially in the twelfth century, were trying to claim the right of suppression and licence with moderate success.⁶⁷ Fairs and markets were most often given as a perpetual gift, which could be renewed by later kings.⁶⁸

The grant of a market or fair brought the monastery prestige, whilst the right to trade would bring travellers to their towns, money into their coffers and visitors to their churches. Fairs drew audiences both local and far flung to a

⁶⁶ Orme and Webster, *The English Hospital 1070-1570*, p. 93.

⁶⁷ R. H. Britnell, *The Commercialisation of English Society 1000-1500* (Manchester, 1996), p. 11.

⁶⁸ Some of Henry II's charters mention fairs granted by his predecessors, including Empress Matilda. See p. 114 fn.

specific place and accordingly could work in the same way as a saint's relics. If the grant of the market or fair was given with the accompanying tolls and taxes, the foundation would also benefit from monetary profit, which could be used to buy products, improve the community's holdings or purchase further lands. This was a welcome supplement to the monastery's income and the ability to hold the market or fair also meant there was a ready and easy outlet for their surplus goods. Therefore, fairs and markets were a greatly valued gift.

It is difficult to place monetary values on such grants but case studies can reveal something of the importance of the fairs. The first example is a fair granted to Nuneaton Priory. Nuneaton was founded c. 1153-5 as a daughter house of Fontevrault by Earl Robert of Leicester and his son-in-law, Gervase Paynel.⁶⁹ Henry II's charter issued between September 1155 and September 1165 grants the nuns a four-day fair at Eaton on the feast of the Invention of the Holy Cross.⁷⁰ The charter states that the nuns should have and hold the fair with all its liberties and free customs, which most likely included the tolls and profits from the fair.

The second example is the grant of an annual fair to the Priory of St. Martin at Dover. The Priory was founded by the Archbishop of Canterbury around 1130. Between 1156 and January 1163, Henry issued a charter for a fair. The opening differs from the first example of Nuneaton and states: 'Know that I give and in perpetuity grant to the church of St. Martin of Dover and the monks there in God's service for love of God and the salvation of my soul and for the safety of my boys and the stability of my realm a fair of eight days at Dover.'⁷¹

⁶⁹ V. C. H. Warwick., ii. 66.

⁷⁰ *Recueil Henry II*, i. 394-5 no. 247.

⁷¹ *Acta of Henry II*, no. 781 (1006H).

The fair was to occur every year to mark the anniversary of the dedication of their church. Henry further stipulated that those attending should enjoy the king's peace on their way to and from the fair. The monks were to have [at the fair] 'all the liberties and customs which were established in the old fairs of my realm.' Here is an example of a fair being granted to celebrate an important event in the lifecycle of a monastic foundation: the building and consecration of a church. Dover Priory's receiving of a fair upon the dedication of its church can be compared to Reading Abbey receiving 40 silver marks, annually, to celebrate its church's dedication.⁷²

The nuns at Godstow had originally been granted a fair by the Empress Matilda.⁷³ Henry, between April 1172 and July 1188, issued an order that all the merchants who came to the three-day fair that began on the feast of St. John the Baptist should not be injured or disturbed.⁷⁴ The merchants were to have the king's peace. While this charter was not directly issued to or concerned with the nuns, it was important for their own fair and was likely issued at their request. Merchants would be more likely to attend the fair if they, and their goods, were properly protected. The more merchants who attended the greater likelihood that the fair would be successful and people would continue to attend.

There is limited information in the Pipe Rolls concerning fairs and markets. One of the few entries is for St. Frideswide's in Oxford. The Priory

⁷² *Reading Cartularies*, i. 321 no. 396.

⁷³ *RRAN*, iii. no. 369.

⁷⁴ *Acta of Henry II*, no. 1193 (4076H), A. Clark (ed.), A. Clark (ed.), *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford, written about 1450* (3 vols., Early English Text Soc., 129, 130, 142, 1905-11) ii. 659 no. 880.

received £1 5s annually for their customary fair.⁷⁵ There is no evidence as to why St. Frideswide received this sum but it may represent the priory's share of the profits from the fair tolls which were collected for the king and then distributed.

Fair Analysis

a. Duration

There are a total of 13 charters giving fairs or markets. While none of these record values for the fairs and markets, their duration, at least for the fair, varied from one day to over five and is shown in the table below.

Type of Gift	Number of Charters	Duration (If Applicable)
Fair	12	1-4 days: 9 5+ days: 3
Market	1	1 day weekly

b. Geography

The following is a table representing the counties where the monasteries were located that received the markets and fairs.

County	Number of Charters
Oxfordshire, Yorkshire	2
Kent, Sussex, Nottinghamshire, Warwickshire, Berkshire, Hampshire, Huntingdonshire, Essex, Norfolk	1

⁷⁵ *PR 2 Henry II*, p. 36, *PR 3 Henry II*, p. 82, *PR 4 Henry II*, p. 149, *PR 5 Henry II*, p. 34, *PR 6 Henry II*, p. 9, *PR 7 Henry II*, p. 25, *PR 8 Henry II*, p. 26, *PR 9 Henry II*, p. 47, *PR 10 Henry II*, p. 7.

Of the 13 gifts of fairs, all of them were in the same county as the recipient. All of the fairs granted to the 13 monasteries were in or near the towns of their foundation, which is not surprising. The recipients are further discussed below but it is important to note that the data reveals that the majority of Henry's gifts of fairs and markets were located in the north and centre parts of his realm, a marked contrast from the southern pattern seen in the *terrae datae*.

c. Chronology

The pattern of the market and fair charters coincides with the other chronology patterns.

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1172	10
1173 x 1189	3

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1159	2
1154 x 1169	5
1160 x 1169	3
1170 x 1179	2
1170 x 1189	1

This indicates that the majority of these charters were issued in the first part of Henry's reign. 75% of the total number of the charters was issued 1154 x 1169. Of the two issued 1170 x 1179, none can be correlated with the Becket Martyrdom. The pattern indicates that Henry issued more charters in the first

part of his reign than the second part. It is also likely that many of these gifts of fairs and markets were confirmations of fairs and markets given by Henry's predecessors and reissued by him.⁷⁶

d. Recipients.

There were 13 religious institutions represented and six religious orders.

Religious Order	Number of Charters
Benedictine	8
Augustinian	2
Premonstratensian; Hospitals, sick and the Lepers; Fontevrault	1

Religious House	Number of Charters
Dover Priory	1
Durford Priory	1
Bolton Priory	1
Eynsham Abbey	1
Godstow Abbey	1
Hedon Hospital	1
Lenton Priory	1
Nuneaton Priory	1
Reading Abbey	1
Romsey Abbey	1
St. Neots Priory	1

⁷⁶ Two of the charters refer to Henry I or Empress Matilda. See, for example, the fair granted to Romsey Abbey, *CChR*, ii. 104, and the above mentioned fair to Godstow Abbey given by Empress Matilda.

Wix Priory	1
Wormegay Priory	1

The recipients include one royal favourite: Reading Abbey.⁷⁷ Godstow's charter has also been mentioned.⁷⁸ The remaining monasteries and the hospital did not have any particular links with Henry.

The distribution among the religious orders is unsurprising. The Benedictines were at the forefront. After that the Augustinians appeared next. Both the Benedictines and Augustinians were most often located in towns while the Cistercians were more isolated. The Cistercians are completely absent but this is probably due to their ideal of little to no contact with the outside world and their desire for a more ascetic lifestyle.

IV. Quittances

Quittances differed slightly from the two types of grants discussed already. They were not simple gifts, nor were they as tangible as land or even money. Quittances could be granted for many different things, for example, relief from tolls such as those on bridges, ports or roads and from dues on goods. But quittances could be granted on other things. Payments made to the Exchequer for fees arising from justice, for example, could be excused as well as payments for assarts or fees associated with the forest.

The idea of exemption and legal or financial privilege has not normally been studied in as much depth as patronage by land and money but it is equally important. Quittances benefited both the king and the monastery. The grant of

⁷⁷ *Reading Cartularies*, i. 56-7 no. 28.

⁷⁸ *Acta of Henry II*, no. 1193 (4076H), Clark (ed.), *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford, written about 1450*, ii. 659 no. 880.

quittances did not require land or money to be at the king's immediate disposal although the king would have to part with future revenue; however, the monastery would see some relief in the many payments they were responsible for and, in turn, this saving could then be put to other use. There are entries of pardons in the Pipe Rolls which record the various quittances afforded the monasteries. The following examples illustrate charters granting quittance on tax and toll. The Pipe Rolls record other circumstances for quittance, which are discussed in a later chapter.⁷⁹

A first example of quittance relates to Bridlington Priory, Yorkshire, between December 1154 and August 1158.⁸⁰ Henry granted the canons of Bridlington the quittance of pannage for their pigs in the king's forest of Scalby, 'where all their pigs are in pasture.'⁸¹

A second example is a charter Henry issued to Bourne Abbey, Lincolnshire between 1155 and March 1166.⁸² In this charter, Henry orders that the Canons of Bourne and their men should have all things necessary for the rebuilding of their church 'quit of tolls, passage and all customs.' This quittance would have been very important in the rebuilding of their church as it would allow them to purchase and then transport the goods without paying the extra tolls and dues, which could be hefty. A patron could help pay for the building

⁷⁹ See Chapter 3 on Pardons and Outstanding Debts and Chapter 4 on Confirmations. The quittances have been divided according to charter evidence and Pipe Roll evidence. The charters contain general quittances of taxes and tolls while the Pipe Roll quittances tend to be for more specific assessments such as Danegeld, scutage, and aid.

⁸⁰ *EYC*, i. 283 no. 363, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 302 (3311H) (For dating purposes only),

⁸¹ *EYC*, i. 283 no. 363. Pannage was the right or privilege to pasture pigs in the king's forest; Bartlett, *England under the Norman and Angevin Kings 1075-1225*, p. 326, Warren, *Henry II*, p. 393.

⁸² *CChR*, iv. 15-6, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 289 (1038H). (For dating purposes only).

materials themselves and there are records in the Pipe Rolls for the king supplying the building material for monasteries.

There are two charters to Abingdon Abbey, Berkshire granting quittances. In the first, issued between 1155 and August 1158, Henry grants the monks of Abingdon all the things that they and their men need for food and clothes quit of tolls, passage and all customs.⁸³ The second, issued between 1155 and April 1172, is a mandate to the same effect—an order stating: ‘the monks of Abingdon are quit of tolls, passage and all customs of all things that they need for their food and clothes.’⁸⁴

The final example is a quittance granted to the abbey of St. Benet of Holme, Norfolk. In a charter issued between 1154 and March 1166, Henry grants Holme Abbey quittance of the tolls in all of England ‘in the city and outside, in the burgh and outside, in fairs and markets and in the sea ports and in all places.’⁸⁵ Henry also gave them the freedom of royal licence to transport their things and money throughout his lands without paying custom. This charter provides more detail than some of the previous charters regarding the quittance and its terms.

Quittance Analysis

a. Values

A total of 141 charters granted quittances. The nature of these quittances varied and it is difficult to compare the amounts or to calculate values for these charters. The quittances would have fluctuated due to what they were for and how often they were granted.

⁸³ *Abingdon*, ii. 350-1, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 8 (2303H). (For dating purposes only).

⁸⁴ *Abingdon*, ii. 346-7.

⁸⁵ *Cartae Antiquae II*, p. 85 no. 441.

b. Geography

The following table illustrates the county and number of charters found there and indicates that Berkshire had the most monasteries receiving the greatest number of quittance charters, chiefly owing to Abingdon Abbey and Reading Abbey. Yorkshire prominence is linked to its position as home to a large number of Cistercian houses; there were 26 houses for monks and nuns in Yorkshire alone.⁸⁶ Only four of the charters in Yorkshire were for non-Cistercian houses. What this table shows is that Henry's quittance charters were scattered geographically but not necessarily in those areas which benefited most from his land grant charters.

County	Number of Charters
Berkshire, Yorkshire	11
Nottinghamshire	9
Hampshire	8
Essex, Lincolnshire, Gloucester	6
Northumberland, Shropshire, Dorset, London, Huntingdonshire	5
Oxfordshire, Somerset, Surrey, Kent, Norfolk, Suffolk,	4
Glamorgan, Northamptonshire	3
Sussex, Durham, Lancashire, Herefordshire, Cumberland, Warwickshire, Cambridgeshire, Bedfordshire	2
Staffordshire, Leicestershire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire,	1

⁸⁶ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 112-5, 272.

Monmouth, Wiltshire, Worcestershire	
Scotland	1
No counties (Knights Templar, Lazarites)	3

c. Chronology

Chronology of Charter Distribution

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1172	121
1173 x 1189	20

The chronology of Henry's grants of quittance shows little deviation from the land grant distribution. The very considerable majority of the charters were issued in the first half of Henry's reign. Quittances were most likely to be handed out upon the accession of a new king as monasteries wanted to ensure they kept their exemptions granted to them by previous kings.⁸⁷ Those issued later on in Henry's reign include five religious houses that had already received quittances in the first half of Henry's reign. The remainder had never been issued with grants of quittance, perhaps as they did not petition for these new issues until later on in Henry's reign. It must also be stated that some of these quittances may have been confirmations of quittances granted by Henry's predecessors.

⁸⁷ There are many charters in the database which indicate that the monasteries were requesting the same quittances they had under Stephen or Henry I. For example, Wherwell Abbey was granted a quittance in the first half of Henry's reign, giving them the quittances they had in the time of Henry I; *CChR*, ii. 29.

d. Recipients

Table 1. Religious Orders and Charters of Quittance

Religious Orders	Number of Charters of Quittance
Benedictine	79
Cistercian	31
Augustinian	21
Premonstratensians	6
Knights Templar	2
Gilbertine	1
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	1

A familiar pattern can be found between the layout of the quittances and the other forms of patronage already discussed. The Benedictines, Augustinians and Cistercians received the largest number of charters. This is similar to the land grant charters. It is possible that Henry found quittances as a way to patronize the Cistercian order. The other orders received fewer charters and there was a large difference in the numbers. This both reflects the monastic landscape of England and indicates that Henry patronized the established monastic orders. It is also possible that quittances were associated with established rights and customs.

V. Warren and Woodland Rights

The right of warren was related to the forests and the king's control of them through forest law.⁸⁸ The forests included moorland, pasture, agricultural land and even villages but not all forest was royal demesne.⁸⁹ Heavy penalties protected the king's rights and his animals. The king, however, could grant certain rights or privileges. One of them, the right of pannage, has already been mentioned. Another privilege was the right to gather wood for fire, but only wood that had fallen to the forest floor. The right of warren was an additional important privilege.

To have the right of warren meant that a person could hunt freely except where restrictions were imposed.⁹⁰ A monastery could be given a grant of warren limited to its own lands or it could be given general warren, allowing the community the right to hunt not only in its demesne but in the warrens of other landholders. Finally, a beneficiary could receive the right to hunt in the king's forest.⁹¹ The king's grant was required to hunt in the royal forest, a separate and distinct right from warren. The right of warren covered the red deer, the fallow deer, the roe and the wild boar.⁹² The other animals, i.e. hares, rabbits, foxes, wolves, wildcats, partridges and pheasants, could be hunted without warren but still required the king's licence.

⁸⁸ C. R. Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 1979), p. 3.

⁸⁹ C. Petit-Dutaillis and W. T. Waugh (trans.), *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History* (vol. ii; Manchester, 1914), p. 150.

⁹⁰ Young, *The Royal Forests of Medieval England*, p. 46.

⁹¹ Petit-Dutaillis and Waugh, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, p. 154.

⁹² Petit-Dutaillis and Waugh, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, p. 150.

Warren was an important and useful resource for a monastery. It meant that the foundation could acquire the game it needed to feed its community. It added prestige to their institution. It allowed the abbot to entertain his guests, and patrons, in a lavish manner.⁹³ From the king's point of view, the managing of his licence of warren allowed him to control who could hunt. He could distribute the rights as he saw fit—punishing offenders by withdrawing their rights; the royal forests were under their set of rules and had their own courts to deal with infringements and punishment. Henry did not lose money or land but possibly did suffer from decreasing his hunting stock depending on where the warren was given. However, the penalties and fines associated with hunting without a licence increased the royal coffers and protected royal rights. There is no indication in Henry's charters if the penalties arising from poaching or other encroachments were given to the monasteries as well as the warren. However, in the Pipe Rolls there is one entry concerning the penalty for hunting without a licence. In 31 Henry II, the Bishop of Chichester was entered under Sussex for owing 20 marks (£13 6s 8d) for hunting in the woods without the king's licence.⁹⁴ In the following year, 32 Henry II, the amount the bishop owed had decreased to 10 marks (£6 13s 4d) since he had paid 10 marks of his debt.⁹⁵ The entry was present in 33 Henry II but was paid off by 34 Henry II. This indicates

⁹³ For example, Abbot Samson of Bury St. Edmunds is recorded as having kept a huntsman with hounds. Jocelin of Brakelond states, 'If any important guest was being entertained, the abbot would sit with his monks in a woodland clearing to watch the hounds giving chase...' D. Greenway and J. Sayers (trans.), *Jocelin of Brakelond's Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* (Oxford, 1998), p. 26.

⁹⁴ *PR 31 Henry II*, p. 171.

⁹⁵ *PR 32 Henry II*, p. 182.

that these fines most definitely went to the king and not the recipient of the warren.⁹⁶

To analyze further circumstances and types of warren, several specific cases are considered. The first is a grant of warren to Christ Church Canterbury between December 1154 and August 1158.⁹⁷ Henry granted that the monks of Christ Church should have warren in their land of Risborough, Hatton, Newington and Brightwell Baldwin. A second charter, issued within the same time period, is a grant of warren in Bocking, Stisted, Lawling, Milton and Southchurch.⁹⁸ In a third, related charter issued at the same time, Henry ordered that no one should hunt in the lands of Archbishop Theobald and his successors without the archbishop's licence, which implies that the archbishop had the right to the fines.⁹⁹ This, however, is simply speculative. This prohibition extended to stags, hinds, roe-bucks and hares. A second version of the prohibition was issued as well at the same time.¹⁰⁰ Henry issued a fourth charter between 1154 and August 1158, to protect the monks' warren at Cheam,

⁹⁶ The Bishop of Chichester did have warren in Selsey, Manhood, Amberley and Henfield but there is no indication in the Pipe Rolls where the bishop was caught hunting without a licence; *CChR*, iv. 440.

⁹⁷ *CPR Henry VI 1429-36*, p. 418-9, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 433 (138H). (For dating purposes only).

⁹⁸ L. Delisle, 'Recueil de 109 Chartes Originales de Henri II Roi D'Angleterre et duc de Normandie rassemblées et photographiées par Le Rev H. Salter', *Bibliothèque de L'Ecole des Chartes*, 69 (1908), 541-80 at 553-4 no. 27. *Acta* of Henry II, no. 434 (128H). (For dating purposes only).

⁹⁹ *CPR Henry VI 1429-36*, p. 419 no. 21, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 435 (130H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁰⁰ *CChR*, iv. 360, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 436 (1138H). (For dating purposes only).

Merstham, Horsley, Patching and Wootton.¹⁰¹ None of these charters specify which hunting rights are included and the monks were restricted to the priory's lands.

The second example is warren given to Bromfield Priory, Shropshire between December 1154 and May 1172.¹⁰² Henry granted the monks their woods at Mocktree, 'Esrugge', and 'Ailricheswude' and the licence to hunt and have warren there. As with many of the other charters, the charter includes the clause that those hunting without licence would be met with a £10 fine. There was a second charter, issued in June 1175, ordering that the monks should keep their hunting rights in their woods and hays, which were all named.¹⁰³ They were also to be left undisturbed by the king's foresters.

A third grant of warren was given to Ginges Priory and Thoby the Hermit between 1173 and 1176 which permitted them to have their hounds hunt in the king's forest of Essex.¹⁰⁴ Thoby was most likely Tobias, the prior of Ginges Priory from the mid-twelfth century.¹⁰⁵ The licence was to cover hare and fox. This grant differs from the earlier examples as it was the right to hunt hares and fox in the king's forest and not simply on the priory's own lands. Given Henry's protective stance on the game of the forest and his control over it, the gift to

¹⁰¹ Delisle, 'Recueil de 109 Chartes Originales de Henri II Roi D'Angleterre et duc de Normandie rassemblées et photographiées par Le Rev H. Salter', at 549 no. 7. *Acta of Henry II*, no. 438 (129H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁰² *CChR*, i. 210, *Acta of Henry II*, no. 332 (675H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁰³ W. H. Hart (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (3 vols., Rolls Series 33, London, 1863-7), ii. 215-6 no. 777, *Acta of Henry II*, no. 334 (715H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁰⁴ *Acta of Henry II*, no. 5154H

¹⁰⁵ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 185. Ginges Priory was later renamed Thoby Priory, perhaps in honour of the Prior Tobias; *V. C. H. Essex*, ii. 162.

hunt in the king's forest is a significant example of prestige granted to a monastery.

Warren Analysis

a. Value

None of the 26 warren charters contain a monetary value of this privilege. However, they can be classed according to the type of warren granted: warren on the monastery's land, warren on the king's land or warren in the royal forests. These have been listed in order of increased prestige or at least privilege. Of these 26 charters, 23 of the grants of warren are for the monastery's own lands and there are three charters which granted warren in the king's forest. Not all of the charters include the £10 fine clause for hunting without the licence and those that do, do not state who the recipient of the fine was. The fine, in all likelihood, went to the king because ultimately it was his rights that were being infringed.¹⁰⁶

There is no indication in the Pipe Rolls as to how much a gift of warren would have been worth. Its value was certainly dependent on the extent of the warren as well as the animals that were covered. It probably did not increase the monastery's wealth by a significant amount but it did provide for the monastery in terms of food and rights and was a status symbol of royal favour.

b. Geography

The geographic distribution of these lands varied. The majority of the warren given for land was near the monasteries themselves and attached to their manors.¹⁰⁷ The exceptions to this were the grants of warren on the king's

¹⁰⁶ Petit-Dutaillis and Waugh, *Studies and Notes Supplementary to Stubbs' Constitutional History*, p. 155.

¹⁰⁷ See the database for charters and the extent of the rights.

lands or forests, which were not in the immediate vicinity of the recipients but were nonetheless nearby. The three grants of warren given in the king's forests were for Gloucester Abbey, Peterborough Abbey and Ginges Priory. Gloucester Abbey was given a tithe of the king's game and warren in the land beyond the Severn.¹⁰⁸ Peterborough Abbey was given the tithe of the king's hunting in Nottinghamshire.¹⁰⁹ Finally, Ginges Priory was given the right to have hounds for hunting in the king's forest in Essex.¹¹⁰ With the exception of Peterborough Abbey, all of these royal rights were near the monastery.

The geographical distribution of the recipients is as follows.

County	Number of Charters
Kent	9
Essex, Gloucestershire, Norfolk, Hertfordshire	2
Berkshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire, Bedfordshire, Oxfordshire, Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Devon, Northamptonshire	1

Six of the charters for Kent were for Christ Church Canterbury.

¹⁰⁸ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 1174 (4747H).

¹⁰⁹ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 478H.

¹¹⁰ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 5154H.

c. Chronology

The breakdown of the charters according to chronology is as follows.

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1172	24
1173 x 1189	2

Time Period	Number of Charters
1154 x 1159	18
1160 x 1169	1
1154 x 1169	2
1154 x 1172	3
1170 x 1179	2

The distribution of the warren grants indicates that the vast majority were issued in the first half of Henry's reign. Roughly 70% of these charters were granted in the first five years of his reign. In terms of content, the grants of warren were probably charters that would be issued early on to maintain rights that had been given by Henry's predecessors or to establish rights early in Henry's reign. Of the two grants issued in the second half of Henry's reign, one was to Ginges Priory, discussed above. Gloucester Abbey, the other grant, also received a grant of warren in the first half of his reign,¹¹¹ which suggests it may have been the result of a new abbot seeking confirmation of his abbey's possessions at the start of his rule. There was a new abbot installed in 1179.¹¹²

¹¹¹ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 1174 (4747H), W. H. Hart (ed.), W. H. Hart (ed.), *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae* (3 vols., London, 1863-7) ii. 176 no. 717.

¹¹² *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 53.

d. Recipients

Religious order	Number of Charters
Benedictines	25
Augustinians	1

Religious House	Number of Charters
Christ Church Cathedral Priory	6
Gloucester, Rochester, St. Albans	2
Abingdon, Bromfield, Burton, Colchester, Elstow, Eynsham, Holme, Malling, Norwich, Ramsey, Tavistock, Thorney, Peterborough, Ginges	1

As the other forms of grant patronage have shown, the Benedictines received the highest number of charters but they also had the greatest number of foundations. 6 of the 25 charters to the Benedictines were for Christ Church Canterbury but these charters covered lands in different counties. After the Benedictines, however, there is a change and only one other religious order is represented, the Augustinians, who received only one charter. What is interesting is the lack of charters of warren given to the Cistercians and the other orders and the very small number given to the Augustinians. The warren could have been connected to the actual holdings of the monastery. The Cistercians preferred isolation and 'waste' lands or lands that had not been cultivated, which were not conducive to hunting. It is likely that the Cistercian ascetic life style discouraged their abbots from hunting, which would explain the

lack of gifts of warren to the order.¹¹³ The Augustinians appear to have received smaller endowments than the Benedictine houses and this also may have influenced the viability of hunting and warren.

As for the specific religious institutions represented, Christ Church Canterbury had connections with their archbishop that probably influenced their great number of charters. Of all the recipients, only two houses, Abingdon Abbey and Christ Church Canterbury, had royal connections.

e. Outside Influences.

Since the forest was dependent on the king, it is likely that each king pursued his own policy towards it. While none of the grants indicate they were the result of a petition, it is likely that many of them were, especially houses that enjoyed warren under previous kings. Grants of warren were a form of patronage. In this case, warren was a grant that could only be made by the king who could sell this licence. This meant that the king could make a profit while also giving a monastery the right to hunt. Since there is no indication of the fines accompanying the warren, it appears that, at least in the case of warren, the king had little to lose.

VI. Conclusions

The data presented from the charters and Pipe Rolls indicates that Henry's grant patronage extended from land and money to fairs, quittances, warren and woodland rights. All of these grants provided income and possessions to help maintain and enrich the English monasteries as well as increase their prestige.

Analysis of the data as a whole shows a range of patterns regarding the various religious orders, specific houses and the chronology of the gifts. The

¹¹³ *Monastic Order*, p. 210-1.

Benedictines, with few exceptions, were the most favoured and received great numbers of grants and had high totals in the Pipe Rolls. Given their primacy in England, this is not surprising. Second place was invariably taken by either the Augustinians or Cistercians. These were both popular orders during the twelfth century which saw a surge in numbers and a rise in patronage. Both orders also had ties with Henry I and King Stephen, Henry II's predecessors. Henry's patronage of the Knights Templar and the hospitals, sick and lepers is interesting. The Knights Templar seemed to experience a considerable amount of patronage when compared to the other orders, much more than can be determined from the surviving Pipe Roll of Henry I. This may be a direct result of their increasing popularity as well as their ties to the Holy Land. The growth of patronage towards hospitals, while important under the Anglo-Norman kings, was only beginning during the twelfth century and would continue to expand as more people were able to support and found the hospitals.

The charter evidence suggests that Henry granted more charters for land than any other type of grant. However, when the Pipe Roll data is considered, it appears that he gave more monetary gifts in the form of alms, liveries and tithes. While some religious houses received visibly larger amounts of gifts than others, Henry does not appear to have been a particularly generous patron to just one house but spread his favour widely. He gave gifts to many of the established orders and houses and several of the royal favourites, such as Reading Abbey and Abingdon Abbey, received more charters than houses which had no royal affiliations. Henry was also a patron of houses that his mother had patronized which suggests that his patronage was influenced by the patterns of his family as well as his royal predecessors.

The Pipe Rolls indicate that Henry was throughout his reign a patron who utilized various means of gift-giving at his disposal while his charters suggest that the majority of his patronage was given during the first half of his reign. However, it is important to note that the Pipe Rolls were cumulative whereas the charters were not. Henry appears to have been a steady, if cautious, patron throughout his reign and fairly predictable. This, of course, only offers a partial insight into Henry's role as a patron and the following chapter examines the importance of pardons and outstanding debt.

Chapter 3: Pardons and Outstanding Debt

Patronage has almost always been examined in the form of gifts of land and money; tangible goods. Yet, the Pipe Rolls show that in addition to alms, tithes and *terrae datae*, patronage could be given in the form of pardons and non-collection of debts. This form of patronage was not, however, open to all and kings were better resourced and able to exercise benefaction of this kind due to the extent and nature of their holdings.

The information in the Pipe Rolls regarding the pardons and outstanding debts is vast and records debts which were excused or were allowed to go uncollected. These monetary figures provide not only an indication of the payments Henry was forgiving but also an idea of the religious orders and monasteries that benefited from these practices.

I. Pardons

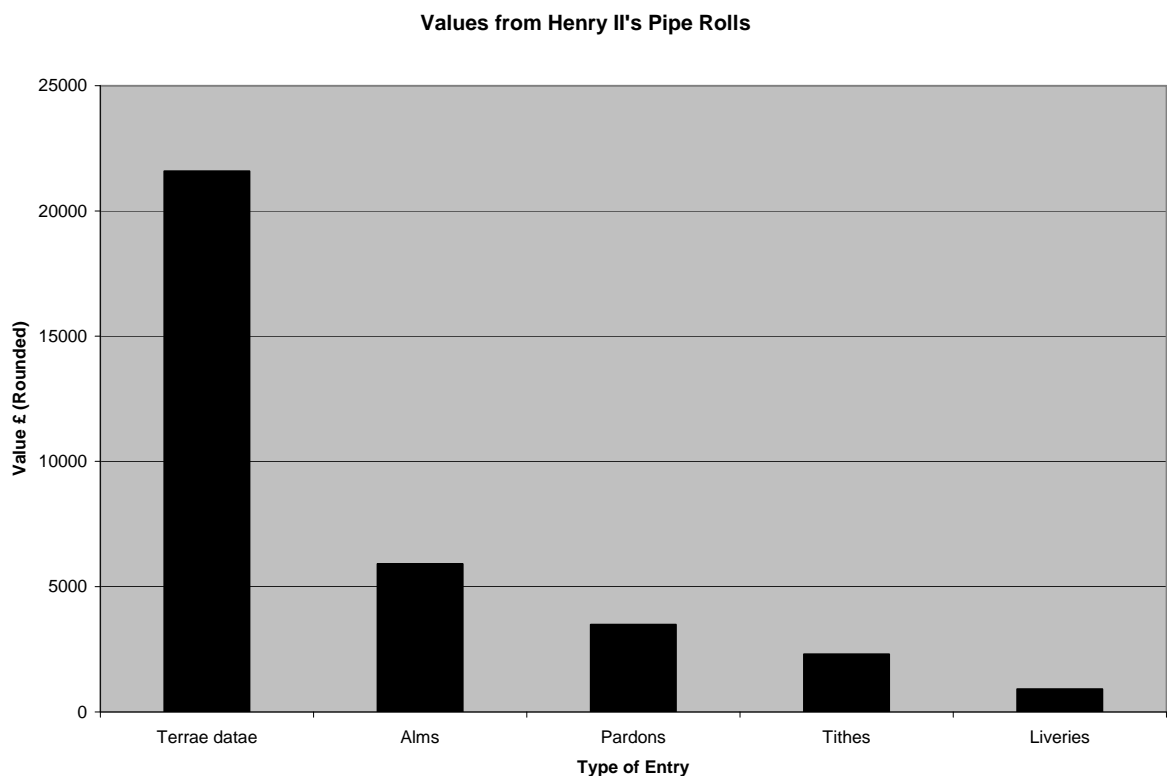
Some 1, 856 pardons for the monasteries of England are recorded in the Pipe Rolls of Henry II. Their values fluctuate yearly and peak early in Henry's reign although there are periods later in his reign where the values rise again. These fluctuations were heavily influenced by the collection of the Danegeld in the early years of Henry's reign. After the Danegeld lapsed in 1162, the fluctuations centred upon scutage, *dona* (gifts) and fines arising from transgression of the assizes or findings of the eyres. Scutage was assessed on both lay and ecclesiastical tenants but the ecclesiastical holders, on occasion, were also asked for a voluntary gift [*donum*] in addition to the scutage.¹ Henry needed to raise money for several campaigns early in his reign as well as to

¹ Keefe, *Assessments*, p. 29.

rebuild the royal treasury. These taxes were one way to raise money.² The Pipe Rolls also record pardons for waste, the murder fine, pleas, disseisin, assarts, amercement and other justice related fines. The pardons will be examined according to their values, geography and chronology.

a. Values

The pardons recorded in Henry II's Pipe Rolls total £3492 15s 2d. The following chart compares this with the values of the other Pipe Roll entries to set them in a wider context.

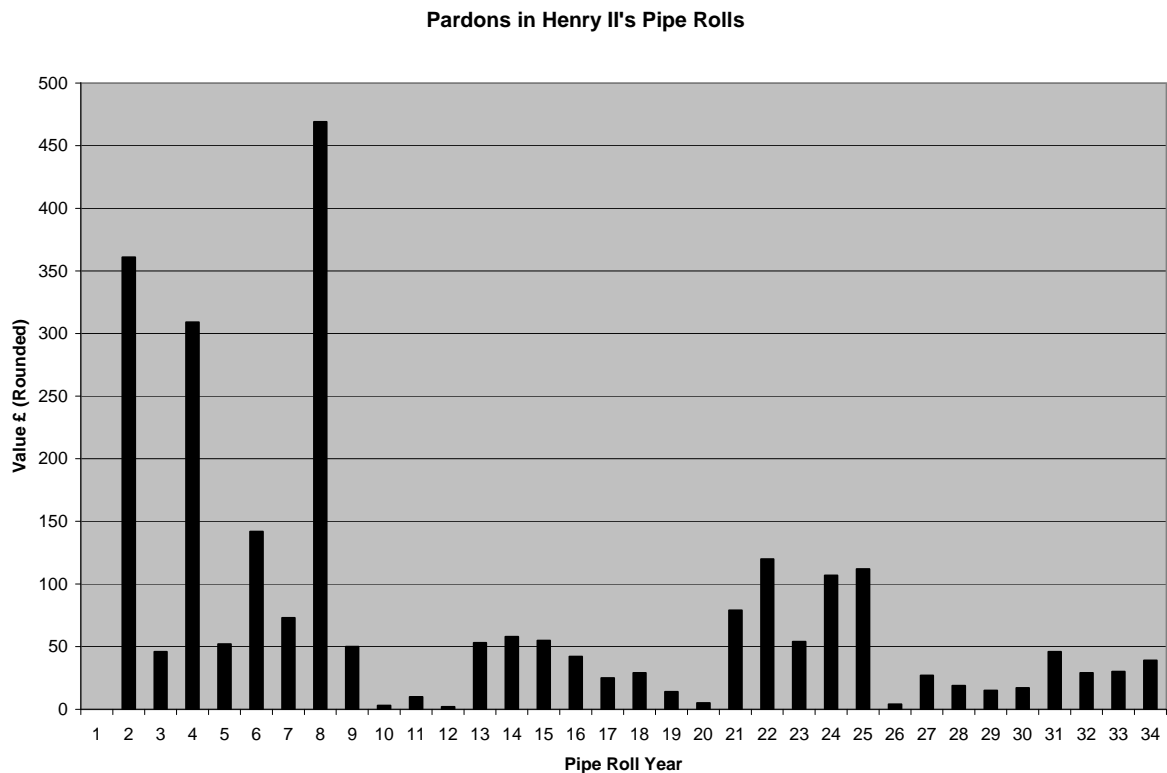


The chart suggests that the pardons, while still valuable, were significantly less than the values of alms and *terrae datae* and would have been unlikely to have had a significant impact on the overall wealth and income of the monasteries. Still, the pardons may have had a considerable short-term effect on the prosperity of a monastery. The values of the pardons were erratic over

² Amt, *Accession*, p. 113.

the course of Henry's Pipe Rolls; the following chart shows that the yearly values fluctuated and the chronology of these is discussed further below.

Graph (a).



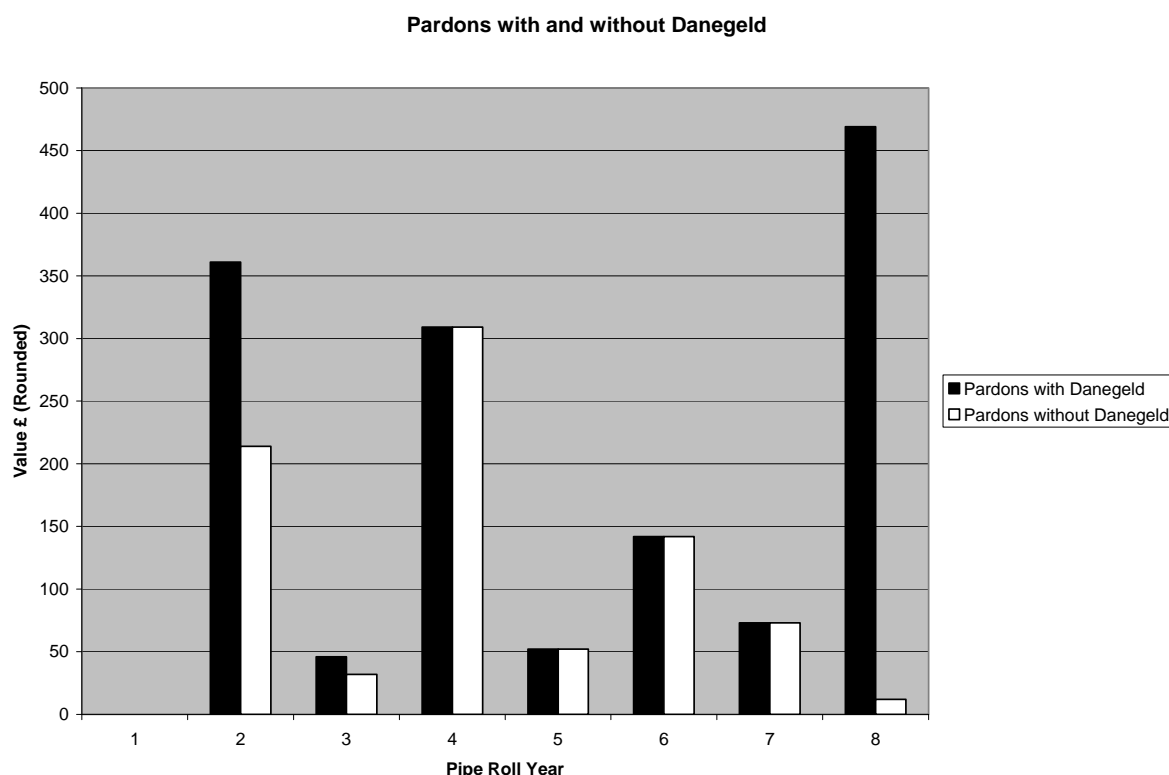
The chart shows that the year with the lowest amount of pardons was 10 Henry II (£3 14s 8d) and the highest point of the pardons was 8 Henry II (£468 11s 10d).³ The high total for 8 Henry II can be attributed to Henry's last Danegeld collection. The low value for 10 Henry II indicates that the debts had either been paid off or taken off the Pipe Rolls and few new pardons entered on the roll for that year. There are smaller fluctuations for the years 13-18 Henry II and 21-25 Henry II. An aid taken in 14 Henry II for the marriage of the king's daughter, Matilda, most likely explains the spike around this time but it does not explain the rise in 13 Henry II. Many of the entries for pardons in 13 Henry II were for the murder fine or for pleas, which indicates there were other factors

³ All the data can be found in the Pipe Roll database.

at work with Henry's pardons. There was also a scutage taken in 18 Henry II but no corresponding spike in pardons. There was not a corresponding scutage for the years 21-25 Henry II but yet there was a rise in pardons. Other events, however, may have impacted the spikes in both 13-18 Henry II and 21-25 Henry II, namely the two general eyres of 1166 (12-13 Henry II) and 1168-1170 (14-17 Henry II). Many of the entries for this time period were for pleas, the murder fine, the hundred court, and assarts. Otherwise, the annual values of the pardons remained close to £50.

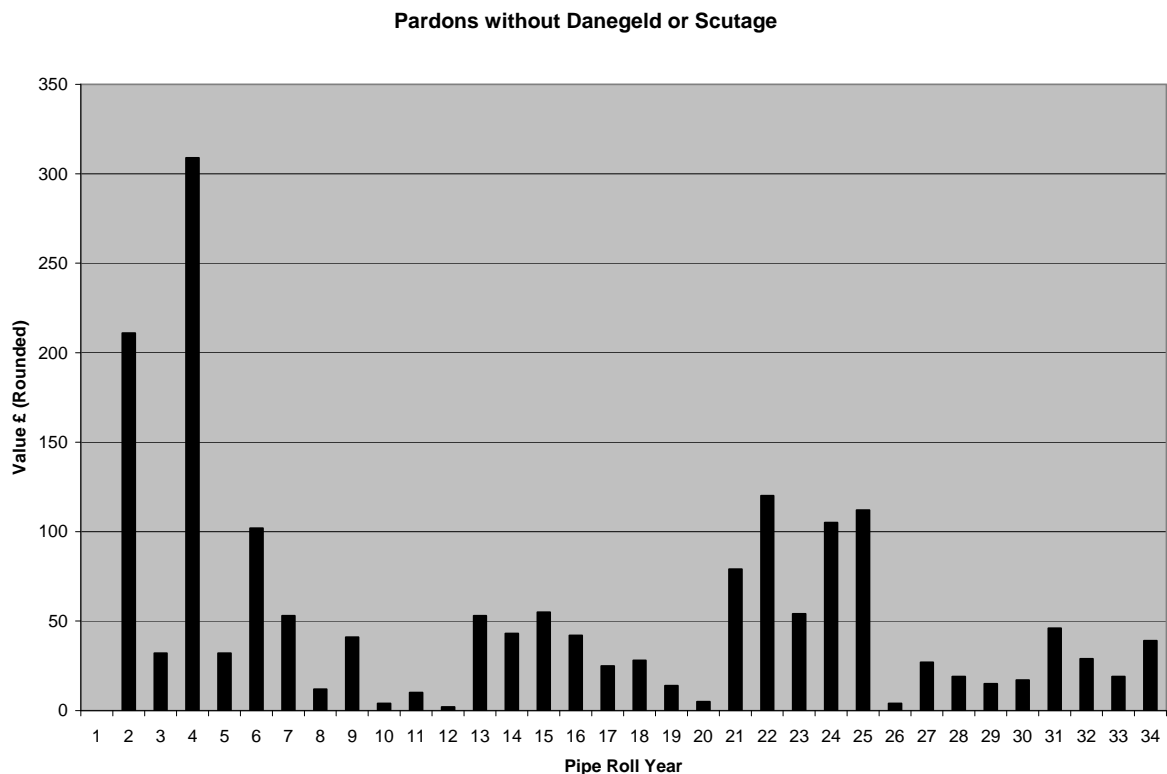
The pardons can be further examined by comparing the total pardons to the pardons without Danegeld, scutage, *dona* and aid to show the overall impact of these particular types of pardons. The first chart shows that for the two years of Danegeld, 2 Henry II and 8 Henry II, the values of pardons versus the values of pardons without Danegeld were significantly smaller without the Danegeld.

Graph (b).



Significantly, in 8 Henry II, but not 2 Henry II, the Danegeld pardons amounted to almost all of the pardons. Clearly the pardons for 2 Henry II were related to payments other than Danegeld. In contrast, removal of the Danegeld pardons has little impact on the other years, with the exception of 3 Henry II and this difference can be attributed to pardons left over for Danegeld from 2 Henry II. The large pardon total in 4 Henry II cannot be explained by Danegeld but a combination of *dona* and fines from the hundred courts and the murder fine.

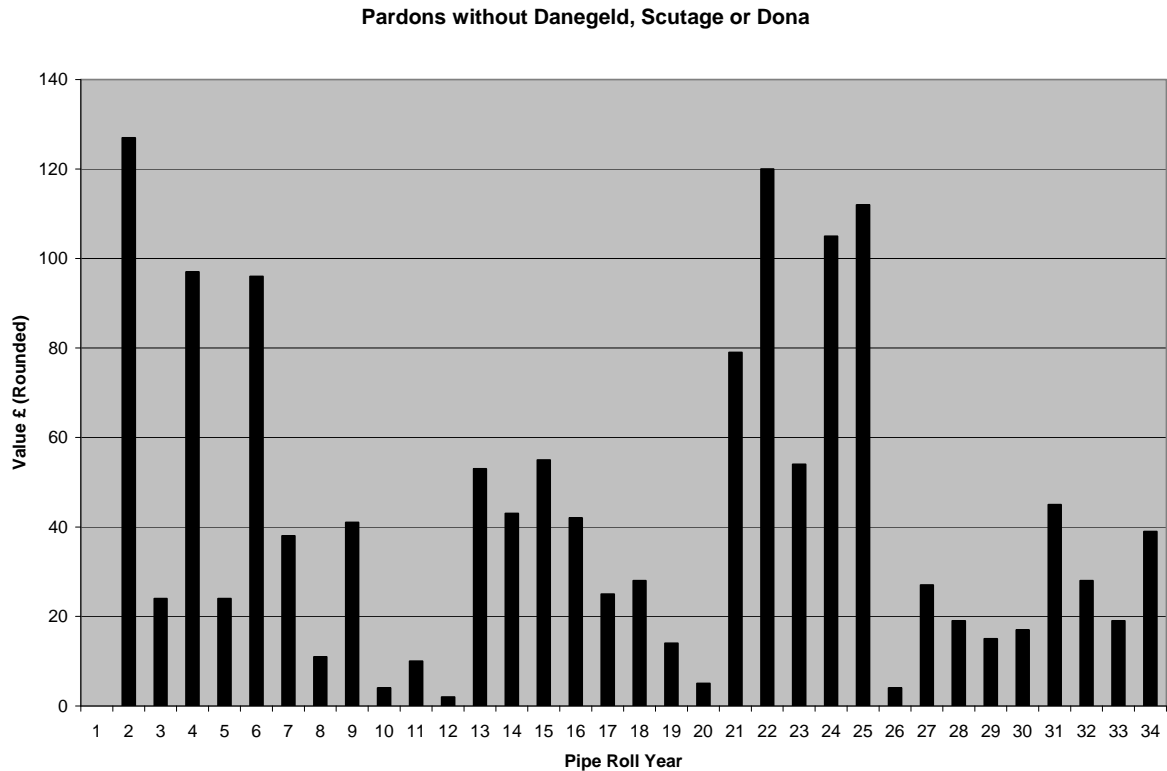
Graph (c).



When both the Danegeld and scutage pardons are removed the pattern for years 2-8 Henry II is roughly the same but 5 Henry II shows a decrease in the pardons that was not apparent when only the Danegeld was removed. This suggests that the remaining pardons were heavily influenced by scutage. The year 4 Henry II sees the highest annual pardon value and the spikes around 13-

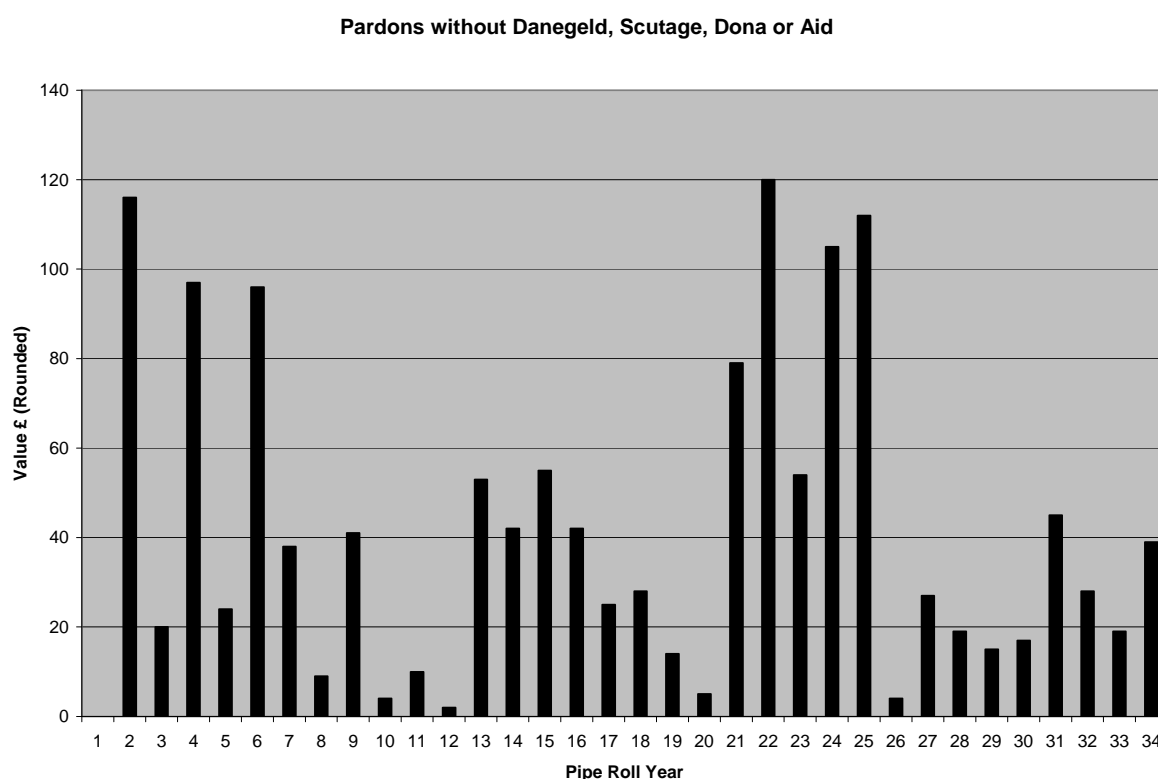
18 Henry II and 21-25 Henry II are still present. The total value in 14 Henry II decreased owing to the number of scutage entries for that year. Otherwise the general pattern is the same as that seen in the graph (a).

Graph (d).



When the third assessment (*dona*) is removed from the annual totals, the values appear to fluctuate more widely. The annual values from 2-8 Henry II decrease by almost a quarter, which makes graph (d) appear to have larger fluctuations. After 8 Henry II, the annual values are the same as for the previous graph (c). There are only deviations in these annual values for years 31-33 Henry II and for small amounts. This shows that with the exception of 2-8 Henry II, the *dona* did not generate large valued pardons.

Graph (e).



The final graph (e) shows the pardons with the exclusion of Danegeld, scutage, *dona*, and aid. It reveals small deviations in the annual values in 2 Henry II, 3 Henry II, 8 Henry II, and 14 Henry II. It is likely that the values from 2, 3 and 8 Henry II were related to the assessment of Danegeld and scutage at that time. However, Danegeld and scutage were distinct from aid in the circumstances they could be used. The aid could also have been paid in lieu of scutage by non-military tenured houses.⁴ The slight decrease in 14 Henry II was most certainly the result of pardons offered upon the aid taken to marry Henry's eldest daughter, Matilda, to Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony.⁵ Other than these deviations, the annual values remained the same.

⁴ Keefe, *Assessments*, p. 35.

⁵ Warren, *Henry II*, p. 221-2.

b. Chronology

There are pardons listed for each of the surviving Pipe Rolls of Henry II. The values, however, fluctuated. The highest total pardon values were granted in 8 Henry II (£468 11s 10d) followed by 2 Henry II (£361 4s 11.5d) and 4 Henry II (£309 8s 8d) but never reached these high values again.⁶ These large fluctuations in the pardons can be explained by the following key assessments.⁷

Year	Type of Assessment	Corresponding Pipe Roll Year(s)
1155-1156	Danegeld	2 Henry II
1156	Scutage and <i>Dona</i>	2 Henry II
1159	Scutage and <i>Dona</i> (Toulouse)	5 Henry II
1162	Danegeld and <i>Dona</i>	8 Henry II
1165	Scutage and <i>Dona</i> (Wales)	11 Henry II
1168	Aid (Marriage of Eldest Daughter)	14 Henry II
1172	Scutage and <i>Dona</i> (Ireland)	18 Henry II
1187	Scutage and <i>Dona</i> (Galloway)	33 Henry II

The charts illustrating the yearly totals of the pardons indicate that years of high value pardons correspond closely with these assessments [scutage, *dona*, Danegeld, aid]. For the years immediately following the assessments, there

⁶ These figures include pardons for all types of assessment.

⁷ Keefe, *Assessments*, p. 30, 134-40. The table below is a consolidation of Keefe's data.

were occasional pardons that pertained to the previous years. However, most of the pardons dropped drastically after the first year the assessment was collected.

Analysis of the pardons indicates that Henry's political world could influence and shape his patronage. Events in Henry's reign and, not least of all, military campaigns led to feudal assessments on all lay and ecclesiastical tenants of the king. As the data demonstrates, many of the ecclesiastical tenants were excused these payments in total or in partial amounts. The charts above indicate that Henry utilized pardons throughout his reign but the most valuable pardons took place early in his reign, when he was still using the Danegeld as an assessment tool. The less valuable pardons of his reign indicate that Henry either employed pardons less as a patronage tool or that the need for them declined as assessments changed to forms of taxes that did not require numerous pardons. It is also possible that Henry utilized taxes that allowed him to escape the customary geld quittances for which many of the monasteries had charters. Other events which may have affected the number of pardons granted include the various assizes and eyres⁸ that occurred during Henry's reign and resulted in pardons for the murder fine, hundred courts, assarts, waste and other fines.

c. Geography

The following table illustrates the geographical spread of the pardons in Henry's Pipe Rolls and is quite different from the layout for the other types of Pipe Roll patronage.

County	Number of Pardon entries
Lincolnshire	239

⁸ Assizes were legislation while the eyres were visitations of the king or his justices.

Essex and Hertfordshire	189
Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire	148
Warwickshire and Leicestershire	134
Norfolk and Suffolk	125
Huntingdonshire	91
Surrey	87
Oxfordshire	83
Wiltshire	75
Berkshire	74
Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire	65
Kent	62
Northamptonshire	58
Devon	50
Yorkshire	46
Hampshire	45
Gloucestershire	42
Dorset and Somerset,	39
London and Middlesex	28
Cumberland	27
Sussex	22
Staffordshire	19
Worcestershire	17
Shropshire	12
Lancashire	9
Herefordshire	7
Rutland	5
Miscellaneous Farms and Honours	58

Lincolnshire is at the forefront of this list even without the inclusion of pardons granted to the secular priory at Lincoln Cathedral, which was a regular recipient of both charters and Pipe Roll entries. Many of the pardons issued in Lincolnshire were for Gilbert of Sempringham and the houses of his order. The Order of Sempringham was an English order and most of the houses were in Lincolnshire.⁹ Essex had a large concentration of monasteries of various religious orders as did Warwickshire and Leicestershire together, which explains the number of pardons the counties were granted, but Hertfordshire, Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire had fewer religious houses. However, many religious houses did have holdings in these counties, which possibly explains the number of pardons granted. The counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Huntingdon, Surrey and Oxford had a number of monasteries as well as royal demesne. Royal demesne was sometimes granted to the monasteries and when the monasteries were pardoned, these pardons would have been for wherever their lands were located.¹⁰ Wiltshire, while not densely populated with monasteries, was an area with a large portion of royal demesne, as was Kent, and many monasteries in other counties had holdings in these counties. The geographical spread indicates that most of the pardon entries related to the central and southern counties of England. However, it is difficult to determine if the spread of these pardons is the result of a patronage strategy or if it relates

⁹ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 194-99.

¹⁰ For example, Hornchurch Hospital was given land out of the royal demesne in Essex. (See above, Chapters 2.1 and 2.2.) They were pardoned for Danegeld in 8 Henry II in the counties of Essex and Hertfordshire. *PR 8 Henry II*, p. 70. Similarly, Faversham Abbey had been given land from the royal manor of Faversham, in Kent. In 8 Henry II, the abbey was also pardoned for Danegeld in Kent. *PR 8 Henry II*, p. 55.

to the geographical distribution of the monasteries and their holdings. Since the pardons pertain to a wider range of recipients than the other gifts examined so far, it is possible that the above geography does not represent Henry's preferences.

d. Recipients

The following table lays out the pardon recipients according to religious order.

Religious Order	Number of Pardon Entries
Benedictine	722
(Benedictine Cathedral Priories)	(302)
(Benedictine Monasteries)	(420)
Cistercian	364
Knights Templar	291
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers ¹¹	254
Augustinian	122
Gilbertine	70
(including Gilbert of Sempringham)	
Fontevrault	9
Premonstratensian	5

The table shows a familiar pattern with the Benedictine order receiving the greatest number of pardons in England. The total, however, includes 302 pardons granted to bishops whose home cathedral was a Benedictine priory. Still, 420 pardons were granted to the Benedictine monasteries, which is the

¹¹ These are not all monastic hospitals but include entries for the general sick.

highest number received by any order. Given the number of Benedictine houses in England it is little surprise that they received the most pardons. Moreover, many Benedictine houses owed knight service to the king and this in turn influenced the number of scutage pardons that were granted to the order.

The Cistercians are also in a familiar place near the top of the recipient list. The Knights Templar, however, have priority here over the Augustinian Order, which is a deviation from the pattern in previous tables. The Hospitals, also, are higher on the list than the Augustinian Order. Of these three orders, none had knight service quotas and their pardons, while still including Danegeld and *dona*, were often for murder fines or other justice related fees.

It is interesting to consider the individual houses. The following table illustrates the fifteen monasteries who received the greatest number of pardons in the Pipe Rolls as well as the number of quittance charters they received from Henry II.

Monastery	Number of Pardon Entries	Number of Quittance Charters
Ely Cathedral Priory and Bishop	142	0
Battle Abbey	77	1 ¹²
Reading Abbey	57	7 ¹³
Winchester Priory and Bishop	53	5 ¹⁴

¹² *Acta* of Henry II, no. 135. This charter was for quittance from shire, hundred, tolls and customs.

¹³ *Reading Cartularies*, i. 54 no. 23, 55 no. 25, 55-6 no. 26, 57-8 no. 30, 305 no. 373, 451 no. 608, 452 no. 610. These quittances were for transporting goods through the king's forest, quittance from the assize, quittance of tolls and passage, quittance from shire and hundred and quittance from pleas.

Worcester Priory and Bishop	53	1 ¹⁵
Westminster Abbey	48	1 ¹⁶
Christ Church Canterbury	43	1 ¹⁷
Sempringham Priory	37	1 ¹⁸
Merton Priory	31	2 ¹⁹
Colchester Abbey	27	4 ²⁰
Carlisle Priory	25	0
Waltham Abbey	24	0
Warden Abbey	24	1 ²¹
Vaudey Abbey	20	0
Garendon Abbey	19	1 ²²

¹⁴ CChR, iv. 172, V. H. Galbraith, 'Royal Charters to Winchester', *English Historical Review*, 35 (1920), 382-400 at 399-400. These charters are for quittance from tolls, customs, the assize, and the shire and hundred.

¹⁵ R. R. Darlington (ed.), *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory* (Pipe Roll Soc., NS 38; London, 1968) p. 29 no. 48. The charter is a quittance from tolls and customs on the monks' corrody.

¹⁶ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 4633H. This charter was a quittance for the almoner of Westminster and encompassed quittance from pleas, the shire, and the hundred.

¹⁷ L. Delisle, 'Recueil de 109 Chartes Originales de Henri II Roi D'Angleterre et duc de Normandie rassemblées et photographiées par Le Rev H. Salter', *Bibliothèque de L'Ecole des Chartes*, 69 (1908), 541-80 at 569 no. 97. This quittance was for the 100 measures of wine granted by King Louis of France.

¹⁸ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 3214H. This charter was a quittance granted to all the houses of Sempringham. It gave them quittance from tolls and customs.

¹⁹ Maj. A. Heales (ed.), *The Records of Merton Priory in the County of Surrey* (London, 1898) Appendix p. xiii nos. 10, 11. These quittances were for the shire, hundred, pleas, tolls and customs.

²⁰ *Cartae Antiquae II*, p. 188 no. 608. S.A. Moore (ed.), *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste in Colecestria* (2 vols., Roxburghe Club, London, 1897) i. 19-20, 57-8. Henry granted Colchester quittance from Danegeld, hideage, assarts, waste, and scutage.

²¹ *CPR Henry VI 1452-61*, p. 426-7. This was for quittance from tolls and customs.

The pardons that the above institutions as recorded in the Pipe Rolls include those from the murder fine, from the hundred, from assarts, Danegeld, scutage and aid. Some of these institutions received charters granting them quittances from these assessments.²³ There are two established royal favourites at the top of this list: Battle Abbey and Reading Abbey. Battle Abbey, founded by William the Conqueror to commemorate and atone for his victory in 1066, has no gifts of land or money recorded in the Pipe Rolls and the abbey's surviving charters are simply confirmations of various lands. However, as Chapter 5 will show, Henry II was involved in the affairs of Battle Abbey to a degree unseen with many other monasteries. Henry had also close ties with his grandfather's foundation at Reading but this is the first table in which it features so prominently. Unlike Battle Abbey, Reading Abbey did receive gifts of land which are recorded in the Pipe Rolls and charters.²⁴ Westminster Abbey, which also received confirmation charters as well as gifts of money recorded in the Pipe Rolls, was one of the monasteries that owed knight service to the king and many of its pardons were for Danegeld, scutage and *dona*. There were other entries which were for justice related fines as well. The pardons granted to Sempringham Priory were not associated with Danegeld, scutage or *dona* but were concerned with the hundred courts and the murder fine. Merton Priory was pardoned for many different things including assarts, Danegeld, *dona*, the murder fine and fines arising from the hundred courts. Of the remaining

²² *CChR*, ii. 101-2. This gave the abbey quittance from customs and tolls.

²³ The discussion of the individual houses is focusing on monasteries rather than the cathedral priories.

²⁴ See Chapter 2.1, p. 36, 39, 51-3, 62-4; Chapter 2.2 p. 81. See the attached database for the Pipe Roll entries and charters granted to Reading Abbey.

monasteries, a few recipients stand out. Waltham Abbey, Henry's re-foundation, was within the top 10 recipients of pardons. Again, its pardons were of Danegeld early on in Henry's reign but after this point they included pardons for assarts, the hundred courts and the murder fine. Perhaps one of the most interesting observations is that some of the recipients on this list were Cistercian houses. Since none of the Cistercian houses owed the king knight service based on their land holdings (i.e. they did not hold land of the king in exchange for providing knights), it is possible that the pardons reflected here concern the waiving of fines and payments that were assessed on the monasteries.

The pardons in the Pipe Rolls suggest that Henry was not limited to the 'normal' forms of patronage in the shape of gifts and confirmations and that his pardons of various assessments and payments were important. While these were not a source of income, they did provide the monastery with an important source of financial relief. In comparison to other Pipe Roll entries it is clear that with his pardons Henry reached a much wider range of monasteries than with his other patronage and indeed some communities that received pardons are not even mentioned in Henry's surviving charters or as recipients of grants in the Pipe Rolls.

II. Outstanding Debts

There are some 572 entries recording outstanding debts in Henry's Pipe Rolls. Unlike the pardons, the annual values of the outstanding debts were smaller at the beginning of Henry's reign but saw much greater yearly fluctuations.²⁵

²⁵ This applies to both the cumulative totals and the non-cumulative totals.

There are two ways to evaluate these outstanding debts. The first method is to examine the cumulative totals or the amount reached when all entries concerning debt are totalled, including multiple entries for debts spread over many years. The second method is to exclude the repeated entries and include the new entries only, which produces more moderate values but masks the impact of the length of time these debts were carried. Both of these methods are used in the following case studies to evaluate the amount of money that Henry allowed to go unpaid.

A. Case Studies

a. Westminster Abbey

There are 92 entries of outstanding debt for Westminster Abbey, which had two of the longest running debts in Henry's Pipe Rolls. The first debt, from the farm of Worcester, began in 3 Henry II and ran until 34 Henry II. However, it was not reported in 8 Henry II but listed as pardoned for that year.²⁶ This debt was an annual payment of £20 for scutage. If the cumulative total of this debt is calculated, it comes to £620. If the non-cumulative total is examined, it totals £20. The second outstanding debt, which was in Gloucestershire, also began in 3 Henry II and ran until 34 Henry II. It too was £20 for scutage.²⁷ The cumulative total would have been £640 while the non-cumulative total would have been £20. The Abbot of Westminster had one final outstanding debt for scutage, this time from the combined counties of Essex and Hertfordshire. This debt first appeared in 4 Henry II and was for £20.²⁸ It continued until 22 Henry II when it ceased. The Pipe Roll for 22 Henry II indicates that the abbot

²⁶ *PR 8 Henry II*, p. 57.

²⁷ *PR 3 Henry II*, p. 100.

²⁸ *PR 4 Henry II*, p. 135.

was in respite for this by the king's writ and until he said otherwise.²⁹ After 22 Henry II, there are no further entries, no payments are listed, nor are there any pardons from Essex and Hertfordshire for the Abbot of Westminster after this time. The cumulative amount of debt outstanding was £380 but the non-cumulative total would have been £20. The last of the cumulative debts was for amercement. This debt was first recorded in 12 Henry II and was for £50. It continued without change until 15 Henry II. In 16 Henry II the entry states that the abbot had paid in £25 of his debt but still owes £25.³⁰ There were no further payments until 23 Henry II, when abbot Laurence's successor paid £10 towards the remaining £25 debt; the abbot owed £15.³¹ Finally in 25 Henry II the abbot paid the remaining £15 with the help of an unnamed bishop, a man named Benedict and a Jew.³² The cumulative amount of debt outstanding was £420 but the non-cumulative total would have been £50. The third scutage debt for Westminster was never entered as paid or pardoned: it just disappeared. However, the other debts were either paid off or allowed to continue through Henry's reign.

The entries for Westminster Abbey demonstrate two of the circumstances for outstanding debts in the Pipe Rolls: scutage and amercement. Scutage and unrecognized knights, or the difference between the old and new knights fees determined in 1166,³³ were by far the most common reasons for these debts. There were also debts for waste, default, encroachment, *dona*, pleas and other justice or forest related fines. It is possible that Westminster's outstanding debt

²⁹ *PR 22 Henry II*, p. 2. Latin: 'Sed sunt in respectu per breve regis donec rex inde loquatur.'

³⁰ *PR 16 Henry II*, p. 16.

³¹ *PR 23 Henry II*, p. 199.

³² *PR 25 Henry II*, p. 126.

³³ Keefe, *Assessments*, p. 15.

was also connected with a quittance charter from Danegeld and scutage which has not survived. The entries for Westminster Abbey also demonstrate how these debts, if they were examined according to their cumulative value, could have amounted to large values of money.

b. Peterborough Abbey, Northamptonshire

There are 26 entries of outstanding debt for Peterborough Abbey. While Westminster Abbey had the greatest number of entries for outstanding debt, Peterborough Abbey had the largest cumulative debt. This debt first appeared in 18 Henry II and is listed in 19 and 20 Henry II for £200 (300 marks) each year.³⁴ The Abbot of Peterborough, William Waterville, owed £200 for the men that Peter of St. Medardo killed. The St. Medardo family held land from Peterborough Abbey amounting to 10 hides and three parts of one virgate.³⁵ There is no indication as to why Peter killed the men and why the Abbot was held responsible for payment made for the homicide. It is possible that since the Abbot of Peterborough was Peter's lord, he was being held responsible for Peter's actions. William Waterville, the abbot in question, was deposed by Henry II in 1175.³⁶ In 21 Henry II the abbot made a payment of £66 13s 4d (100 marks) towards this debt and in 22 Henry II the amount owed was reduced to £133 6s 8d (200 marks). The entries in 23 Henry II and 24 Henry II state that the abbot still owes £133 6s 8d (200 marks).³⁷ In 25 Henry II, he paid £36 13s 4d towards the debt but still owed £96 13s 4d.³⁸ The debt continued to be reduced in the following years. In 26 Henry II the abbot paid £34 6s 8d leaving

³⁴ *PR 18 Henry II*, p. 37, *PR 19 Henry II*, p. 35, *PR 20 Henry II*, p. 53.

³⁵ W. T. Mellows (ed.), *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus* (Oxford, 1949) p. 162.

³⁶ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 60.

³⁷ *PR 23 Henry II*, p. 90, *PR 24 Henry II*, p. 49.

³⁸ *PR 25 Henry II*, p. 62.

£63 6s 8d outstanding and in 27 Henry II he paid £16 13s 4d reducing his debt to £46 13s 4d.³⁹ The following year the abbot paid £33 6s 8d and finally in 29 Henry II he made the final payment of £13 6s 8d and was quit.⁴⁰ The entry was struck from the roll. Two entries in 31 and 32 Henry II are related to Peter of St. Medardo. The first is a payment of £15 6s 8d made by the abbot for Peter of St. Medardo's amercement to the king for the forest.⁴¹ The second is a further payment of £12 for this amercement and for the pledge of Jordan Waterville, most likely a relation of the deposed abbot.⁴²

In addition to the St. Medardo debt, the Abbot of Peterborough also owed £100 in Lincolnshire for detaining the lands of Laurence and possessing the cattle of the Bishop of Lincoln while the bishopric was in the king's hand. This is recorded in Pipe Roll 34 Henry II.⁴³ There is no indication here or elsewhere of who Laurence was or why the Abbot of Peterborough was supposedly detaining the cattle of the Bishop of Lincoln.

The entries of outstanding debt for Peterborough Abbey offer an interesting contrast to the rather mundane entries for Westminster Abbey. The Westminster debt was related to scutage and knight service while the Peterborough debt was related to justice and the fines arising from it. Both illustrate the kind of debts that were being recorded in the Pipe Rolls but they also illustrate different levels of patronage. Westminster Abbey was allowed to carry its debt for a much longer time period than Peterborough Abbey. There is evidence in the Pipe Rolls of both abbots paying off their debt.

³⁹ *PR 26 Henry II*, p. 82-3, *PR 27 Henry II*, p. 67.

⁴⁰ *PR 28 Henry II*, p. 130, *PR 29 Henry II*, p. 119.

⁴¹ *PR 31 Henry II*, p. 47.

⁴² *PR 32 Henry II*, p. 3.

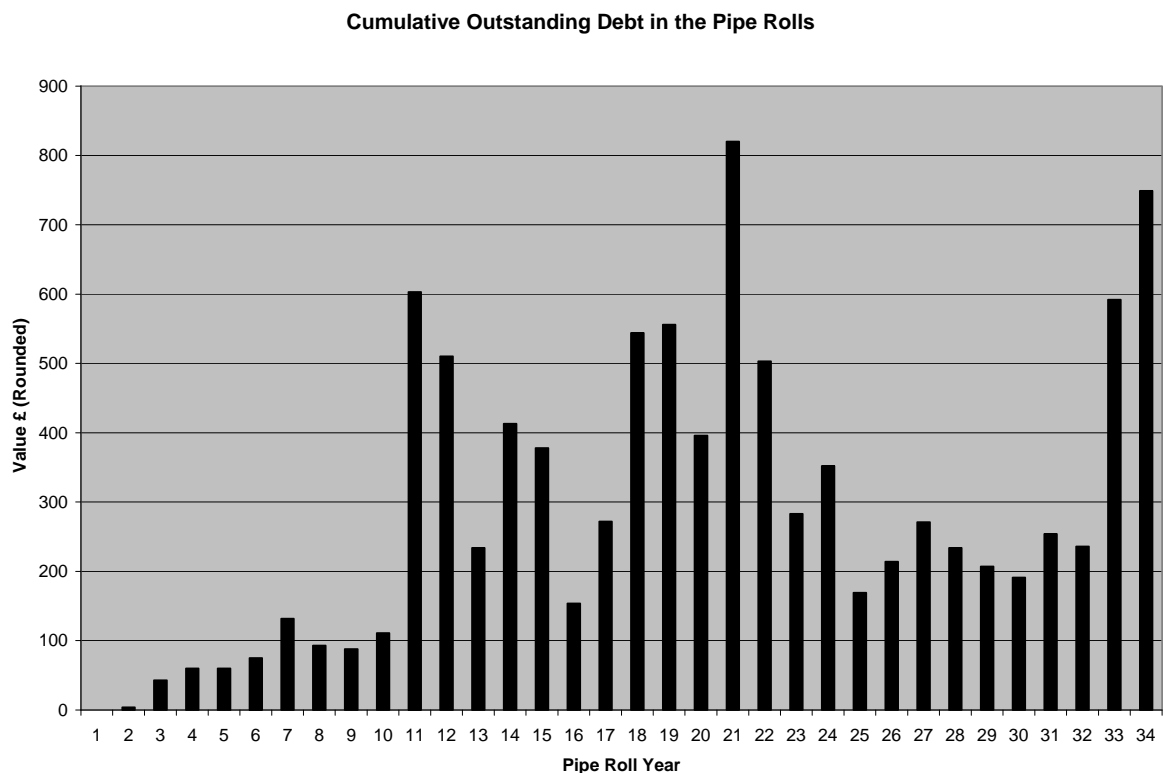
⁴³ *PR 34 Henry II*, p. 71.

B. Analysis

a. Value

The outstanding debts cover a much wider range of circumstance than the pardons and are often for greater amounts. Unlike the pardons, there are occasions where the outstanding debts are carried over a period of many years.

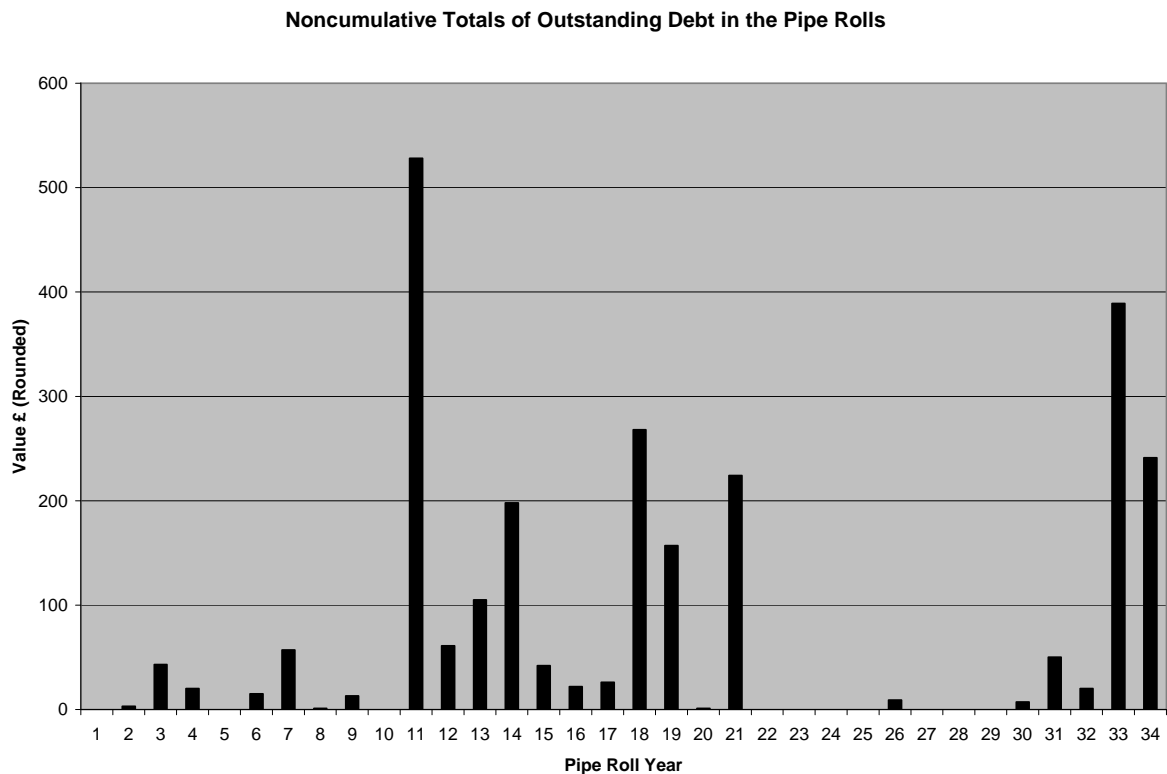
In the following section, both the non-cumulative and the cumulative values of the outstanding debts are evaluated.



This table illustrates a general trend of an increasing amount of outstanding debt. There are large fluctuations particularly in the years 11 Henry II, 21 Henry II and 34 Henry II. A large portion of the entries for 11 Henry II and 34 Henry II were related to the scutage assessment.⁴⁴ While there was no scutage assessed in 21 Henry II, the majority of entries for this year were carried

⁴⁴ 11 Henry II was a scutage for Wales. There was another scutage for Galloway in 1186, which would have corresponded with 33 and 34 Henry II; Keefe, *Assessments*, p. 46-7.

over from earlier scutages thereby inflating the values.⁴⁵ It is important to compare this chart with the following on non-cumulative debt in the Pipe Rolls.



Analysis reveals a marked contrast between the two charts. Primarily the values in the second chart do not on average reach the high values in the first chart and there are greater periods of fluctuation. In general, it appears that according to the non-cumulative totals, a few years had high totals but over all, there was not an increasing trend. The outstanding debt was erratic. The two highest years of new outstanding debts were 11 Henry II (£528 2s 6d) and 33 Henry II (£388 18s 4d). In 11 Henry II, there were just four entries: an amercement for Bury St. Edmunds (£133 6s 8d or 200 marks), Gloucester Abbey (£38 2s 6d), an amercement for the Bishop and Priory of Winchester (£266 13s 4d or 300 marks) and for the Bishop and Priory of Durham for the

⁴⁵ 21 Henry II can also be linked to the rebellion of Henry's sons.

property of one Aschil Brun (£90 or 15 gold marks). None of these were related to scutage or knights fees. In 33 Henry II, there were more entries and a greater range of reasons. The Bishop and Priory of Durham reappear, this time for a debt of £333 6s 8d (500 marks) for holding pleas in the church court. This is the largest debt; the remaining debts for that year range from £40 for scutage for Glastonbury Abbey to 13s 4d (1 mark) for waste demanded from Kneesall Hospital. The chronology of the outstanding debts, when examined according to the non-cumulative totals, is not as consistent as the grants and confirmations. There are years where no outstanding debt is reported and years with relatively low values of outstanding debt. Many of the entries recorded for these years are for scutage or unrecognized knights; however, there are just as many entries for waste and forest encroachments as for scutage.

b. Geography

The following table relates the counties to the entries for outstanding debt and shows Somerset and Dorset and Norfolk and Suffolk as the most common recurring counties.

County	Number of Entries of Outstanding Debt⁴⁶
Somerset and Dorset	111
Norfolk and Suffolk	79
Worcestershire	59
Yorkshire	45
Surrey	43
Berkshire, Gloucestershire	32

⁴⁶ The full information can be found in the Pipe Roll database.

Northamptonshire	26
Hertfordshire and Essex	21
Hampshire	20
Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire	15
Devonshire, Wiltshire	14
London and Middlesex	12
Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, City of Southampton	10
Kent, Lincolnshire	6
Warwickshire and Leicestershire	5
Honours	3
Buckinghamshire and Bedfordshire, Sussex	2
Miscellaneous	3

Many of the counties represented here had a significant concentration of monasteries so the pattern is fairly unsurprising. Kent, a county with large amounts of royal demesne and seen quite prominently in the land and money grants has a small number of entries. Wiltshire, however, a county which was prominent in the pardons and also appears here has relatively fewer entries. The table suggests that Henry's allowance of outstanding debts was largely concentrated on the central to southern part of England, a pattern similar to the pardons.

c. Religious Orders

A variety of religious orders is represented but the actual distribution of the number of entries is rather unbalanced.

Religious Order	Number of Entries
Benedictine	542
Hospitals, Sick and Lepers	10
Cistercian	8
Augustinian, Knights Templar	4
Fontevrault	2
Premonstratensian, Gilbertine	1

It is clear that the preponderance of outstanding debt entries for the Benedictines was massive. Given their vast numbers and the fact that many of the ancient Benedictine monasteries had knight service quotas, it is not surprising that they are at the forefront of these figures. The hospitals, sick and lepers were entered for debts relating to the forest, to waste lands and transgressions against the assize; offences not related to scutage or knight service. The same can also be said for the Augustinians and Knights Templar and indeed about the other religious orders. The prevalence of the Benedictines in this instance can most likely be attributed to houses of the Order owing Henry knight service. Analysis of the individual monasteries corroborates this and the following table shows the top fifteen recipients.

Monastery	Number of Occurrences for Outstanding Debt
Westminster Abbey	92 ⁴⁷
Norwich Cathedral Priory and Bishop	40 ⁴⁸
Durham Cathedral Priory and Bishop	39 ⁴⁹

⁴⁷ 79 of these entries were for scutage.

⁴⁸ 38 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

Shaftesbury Abbey	36 ⁵⁰
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey	36 ⁵¹
Chertsey Abbey	36 ⁵²
Winchester Cathedral Priory and Bishop	34 ⁵³
Glastonbury Abbey	28 ⁵⁴
Peterborough Abbey	26 ⁵⁵
Abingdon Abbey	26 ⁵⁶
Worcester Cathedral Priory and Bishop	24 ⁵⁷
Cerne Abbey	20 ⁵⁸
Hyde Abbey	14 ⁵⁹
Bath Cathedral Priory and Bishop	14 ⁶⁰
Reading Abbey	13 ⁶¹

Of the above monasteries, Reading Abbey alone did not owe the king knight service.⁶² The numbers of knights each monastery was responsible for

⁴⁹ 31 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

⁵⁰ 31 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

⁵¹ 33 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

⁵² 34 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

⁵³ There was a greater variety of entries for Winchester, including assize transgressions, waste, encroachment and a few entries for unrecognized knights.

⁵⁴ 22 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

⁵⁵ 14 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

⁵⁶ 21 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

⁵⁷ 17 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

⁵⁸ 18 of these entries were for unrecognized knights.

⁵⁹ 5 of these entries were for aid; the remaining entries did not contain additional information.

⁶⁰ 13 of these entries pertained to knights and aid.

⁶¹ The majority of Reading's entries were for encroachment, waste and default.

varied and, as expected, did not influence the number of outstanding debts for scutage or the total debt that the monasteries were allowed to carry. Peterborough Abbey owed the greatest number of knights of this group, namely 60 but, significantly, is not at the top of this recipient list. While Westminster Abbey provided only 15 knights, the abbey has the most numerous outstanding debts. The majority of their entries are for scutage or amercement. Norwich Cathedral Priory was responsible for 40 knights and as seen above, about 95% of their outstanding debt entries were for unrecognized knights. Durham Priory was liable for only 10 knights and roughly 80% of their entries pertained to unrecognized knights. This pattern continues with Shaftesbury Abbey, which was only responsible for seven knights yet was fourth in the number of outstanding debt entries. Bury St. Edmunds, however, like Norwich, was liable for 40 knights. Accordingly, there seems to be correlation between knight service and the extent of outstanding debt allowed in Henry's Pipe Rolls but it is clear that much of this was related to scutage and other military assessments. Similar to the pardons, it is clear that the monasteries Henry allowed to maintain outstanding debt varied from ancient foundations to smaller, newer foundations.

III. Conclusions

It is difficult to determine patterns among the amounts of pardons and outstanding debts for there is little consistency in the amounts recorded. Moreover, both types of entry were influenced by the use of knight service and the requirements placed on certain institutions. When these types of pardons and outstanding debts are removed, the landscape that remains is similar to

⁶² A full table of the religious institutions, including the secular bishoprics, with the knight service values can be found in Appendix ii.

that found in the other areas of Henry's patronage, namely, Benedictine houses remain at the forefront. This is most likely explained by the high number of Benedictine houses, many of which owed the king knight service.

The pardons and outstanding debts also reveal that there was a wider variety of individual institutions that Henry patronized than the charters and other Pipe Roll data would suggest. Institutions are mentioned here which do not appear elsewhere as well as many of the royal favourites such as Reading and Westminster. Henry's strategy may have involved giving grants as well as pardons and outstanding debts to his personal favourite houses or institutions with familial connections while granting pardons or allowing outstanding debts to other, lesser known houses. But this is simply speculative since it is not known if Henry himself actually made the decision regarding pardons and deferment of payment or if this was the routine working of the Barons of the Exchequer. Many of the charters recording quittances are for tolls and customs or justice related fees and payments, which are not generally included in pardons in the Pipe Rolls. There is only one charter granting a monastery quittance from geld assessment to the almoner of Westminster Abbey.⁶³ It is possible that many of the pardons for scutage, unrecognized knights and other geld assessments were related to earlier charters granted by Henry's predecessors. Certainly they are not related to Henry's surviving charters.

Not least of all, the pardons and outstanding debts are an interesting insight into Henry's financial policy, especially in respect to his use of scutage, *dona*, and the Danegeld. The institutions owing knight service to the king were pardoned numerous times and many of their debts relating to knight service were allowed to go unpaid. While it appears that these assessments applied as

⁶³ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 4633H.

much to lay and ecclesiastical tenants, many, if not all, of the ecclesiastical tenants were allowed leeway, perhaps an acknowledgment that taxing the church was a practice that, while tolerated, was not exactly acceptable.

What all of these factors indicate is that the pardons and outstanding debts were an effective patronage tool. They provided financial relief to the ecclesiastical institutions while enabling Henry to present himself as a benevolent patron of many institutions and religious orders. While these are not generally viewed with as much importance as Henry's grants, these two Pipe Roll entries reveal significant and important data on the different forms Henry's patronage could take.

Chapter 4: Confirmations

Henry, King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou to the Bishop of Exeter and his sheriff, reeves and ministers of Exeter and all his barons and faithful men of Devonshire and all the burgesses of Exeter, greeting. Know that I concede and confirm to the church of the Holy Trinity of London and the canons there serving God in perpetuity for the soul of King Henry my grandfather and Queen Matilda my grandmother and my [soul] £25 at a fixed rate [*ad scalam*]¹ every year of the render of the city of Exeter which King Henry and the aforesaid Queen Matilda gave them in perpetual alms. Therefore, I wish and firmly command that the sheriff who is or will be in Exeter shall render this to the canons every year just as ever, well and fully they shall receive this and these terms that they [the canons] have become accustomed to. Witnesses: Queen Eleanor, Bishop Herbert of Avranches, Thomas the Chancellor, Richard de Lucy, Humphrey de Bohun-steward, and Ralph of Hastings. At London. [1154 x August 1158]²

The above charter is an example of Henry II's confirmation of one of his predecessor's grants, in this case a grant made by his grandfather, Henry I. His reason for doing so, as indicated by the charter, is for the souls of his grandparents as well as for himself. However, as this chapter will demonstrate, confirmation charters were issued for a variety of reasons and in many different situations.

Confirmation charters were not issued to grant additional property or rights but rather to enforce or remind people of the possession of these properties or rights. One of the most popular times to secure confirmation charters was upon the accession of a new king and bishops, abbots and other religious heads depended upon the new king confirming and thereby safeguarding their possessions and liberties. Moreover, this was also an important way to regain possession of any lands or goods that had been lost

¹ Payment made 'ad scalam' was for the original amount plus an additional 6d for every pound.

R. L. Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1912), p. 32, 63.

² *Cartae Antiquae I*, p. 67-8 no. 401.

under the previous regime. It was important for a new prelate to obtain confirmation of the property of the abbey upon his succession. Confirmations were also sought to resolve disputes. Thus, if any land or possessions were in dispute, the final resolution, or what was hoped to be the final resolution, could be marked by the king's confirmation, which acted as an endorsement of the outcome and also a deterrent to future discord over the same matter. Finally, patrons could appeal to have their own grants or their ancestors' grants confirmed.

Confirmation charters reflect the wider nature of the patron's role. While patrons were expected to contribute to the funds and holdings of a religious institution, they were also expected to protect the foundation and its possessions. At a local level this could include physical protection as well as verbal warnings but on occasion it was necessary to appeal to a more powerful protector. On such occasions the king had multiple obligations. As anointed king, and protector of the church, Henry was responsible for maintaining all the ecclesiastical institutions of his realm. On a personal level, he was also responsible for ensuring that the houses which he and his family patronized were protected. Through issuing confirmation charters, Henry would fulfil both of these duties.

In the case of confirmations, however, it is difficult to attribute much of the initiative to Henry for in comparison to the grant charters, confirmations were more likely to be requested by the recipient. Moreover, evidence of payments for a range of charters during the reigns of Henry's predecessors suggests these were business deals rather than exercises in selfless giving. Thus, there are three examples of the abbots of Abingdon Abbey paying for the privileges of charters. Abbot Reginald paid William Rufus '£50 of public money,

together with two horses suited for royal use'³ to guarantee the return of land he had alienated to his nephew, Robert.⁴ Abbot Faritius paid Henry I £60 to regain the land of Sparsholt⁵ and Abbot Vincent paid Henry I 300 silver marks to confirm his possession of the market in Abingdon.⁶ The only example of this practice that occurred during the time of Henry II is recorded in *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*. This states that Abbot Walter de Lucy 'went to the king and, as seemed proper in such a matter, showed his respect with gifts, and spoke with him about his charter.'⁷ This marks Battle Abbey's famous attempt to obtain confirmation of its episcopal exemption.⁸ Abbot Walter's presentation of gifts could thus be seen as a bribe or an incentive for the king's aid to secure its privileged status. Unfortunately, the chronicle gives no indication of the value of these gifts. None of the other chronicles record payments for their confirmation charters as this was perhaps a matter of routine business or even an embarrassment to the monasteries who considered it prudent to remain silent.

To address fully the significance of confirmation charters in relation to Henry's patronage, this chapter closely considers the different types of confirmation charters. It pays particular attention to the dating of these charters, the purported reasons for issue, as well as the various religious institutions and orders represented.

³ *Abingdon*, ii. 50-1.

⁴ Latin: 'ad ultimum apud regni principem cum oblationibus orationum, etiam pecunie mercede, adeo institit, ut imperiali decreto terra eadem ecclesie libertati redderetur.' *Abingdon*, ii. 50.

⁵ *Abingdon*, ii. 184-5.

⁶ *Abingdon*, ii. 230-1.

⁷ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 160-1.

⁸ The king did not immediately confirm the abbey's charter but he did eventually confirm it after consultation with a group of his barons.

I. General Confirmations

Before examining the various reasons for the issuance of general confirmation charters, it is important to define the characteristics of these charters. In the first instance, a general confirmation was issued to confirm all land, men and rights of a religious institution. These charters could be general or detailed. There are examples of general confirmations that are only a few lines long but also ones that extend over many pages listing multiple donors and possessions.⁹ These confirmations were not limited to gifts given and then confirmed by Henry II who often confirmed gifts given by his predecessors, his barons and other patrons.¹⁰ These were not restricted to possessions and lands but often included confirmation of the monastery's liberties, which were also important to the monasteries.

There are 250 general confirmation charters out of a total of 702 confirmation charters.¹¹ Of these general confirmations, two were issued before Henry's accession in 1154 and five are now considered spurious.¹² Of the

⁹ For example, Henry issued a confirmation charter to the Lazarites of Jerusalem between 1175 and 1179. This charter, a short version of a general confirmation, was for 'all things they had been reasonably given' and did not include the details of their holdings; *Recueil Henry II*, ii. 118-9 no. 543. A second example was a charter Henry issued to Eynsham Abbey between 1159 and 1162. In this charter, Henry confirmed the possessions of Eynsham in great detail with the names and the measurements of their lands. It also included the information of the abbey's previous donors; *Recueil Henry II*, i. 331-3 no. 198.

¹⁰ There are roughly 30 general confirmation charters of Henry II in which he specifically confirms grants of earlier kings.

¹¹ There are an additional 7 general confirmation charters issued to the secular cathedrals. There are also an additional 71 confirmation charters issued to the secular cathedrals and local churches. This means in total there were 257 general confirmation charters and 773 confirmation charters.

¹² These spurious charters are still included in the analysis.

remaining general confirmation charters, 153 were issued between 1154 and 1172 and 90 issued between 1173 and 1189.¹³

The tables in Appendix iii indicate how the confirmation charters can be further broken down by decade. 103 confirmation charters were issued between 1154 and 1159 and this five-year total surpasses the total for any other decade of Henry's reign. 19 charters were dated between 1154 and 1172 but cannot be narrowed in scope. There is a drop in general confirmation charters issued between 1160 and 1169 with only 9 charters issued but this is not, perhaps, surprising as in comparison with the first four years of Henry's reign, when the greatest number of general confirmations were issued, there were few events in the 1160s to warrant the need for more general confirmation charters. Indeed, with the exception of Nuneaton Priory and Thorney Abbey, the religious institutions receiving general confirmations between 1160 and 1169 did not receive a general confirmation charter between 1154 and 1159. It is also possible that the early general confirmation charters were sufficient until the coming of a new abbot or other occasions that would warrant the issue of new confirmation charters.

There is a rise, however, in the general confirmation charters issued between 1170 and 1179. This decade saw the issue of 53 general confirmation charters. Of these charters roughly 18 can be linked to the start of a new abbacy. While the years immediately following the Becket martyrdom clearly had an impact, these charters are not evidence that they were issued as signs of Henry feeling guilty or penitent. Indeed, it is likely that the large number of charters issued at this time can be attributed to the succession of new abbots as well as

¹³ See tables in Appendix iii.

the issue of general confirmation charters to houses that had not petitioned for one earlier in Henry's reign. For example, Christ Church Canterbury had a confirmation charter issued after Becket's death which was related to the arrival of a new prior in 1175.¹⁴ Christ Church's charter was issued c. 1175 and was a confirmation of all the possessions of the community.¹⁵ A second example was Bicknacre Priory, who received a general confirmation charter between 1174 and 1179.¹⁶ Bicknacre had not received a general confirmation earlier in Henry's reign and their patron, Maurice of Tilty, petitioned Henry for this charter. These are just two examples that illustrate that charters issued around the time of Becket's death can not necessarily be attributed to any feelings Henry might have had regarding his involvement in Becket's death.¹⁷ 23 charters can be dated to 1172 x 1189 but cannot be further refined. Fifteen of these were to religious institutions that had not received a previous general confirmation charter. Finally 19 charters were issued for the decade 1180 x 1189, fourteen of which were granted to religious institutions that had not received a general confirmation charter in the past.

A. Reasons for General Confirmation Charters

There were four main motives behind the issuance of the general confirmation charters: the accession of a new king, the election of a new abbot (or other religious head), a dispute and petitions by patrons or their families. Each of these is considered more closely below.

¹⁴ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 34.

¹⁵ *Cartae Antiquae II*, p. 173 no. 576.

¹⁶ *Monasticon*, vi. 446 no. 2, *Acta of Henry II*, no. 226 (2798H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁷ See Appendix iii or the database for more information.

a. Accession of a new king

The Battle Chronicle describes the process that occurred when a new king was crowned:

Our lord, Duke Henry, arrived and on 19 December in the same year, at Westminster he was enthroned and crowned...By his authority he confirmed the churches in the possessions and privileges conferred by his predecessors. The following Lent he convened a general council in London and renewed the peace and restored the laws and customs established from ancient times throughout England. There too a number of bishops and abbots had the charters and privileges of their churches confirmed by the writ and seal of the present king.¹⁸

It was Henry's duty to protect the possessions of the church and the issuance of confirmations on his accession was one way of fulfilling this expectation. As the Battle Chronicle illustrates, however, confirmation was not automatically granted by the king but might require the recipient to request, and most likely pay for, the charter.

The general confirmation charters issued upon Henry's accession do not state that they were issued upon succession in the text but by considering the potential dates of the charters, it is possible to speculate which were issued as a result of Henry's accession. Those charters dated before 1160 are most likely to have been issued as a direct consequence of Henry's accession. 113 confirmation charters included information relating to a new abbot or the petition of a patron, and these have been excluded from this category because there were other circumstances influencing their issue. For example, the following charter was issued to Bodmin Priory between December 1154 and August 1158:

Henry, King of England and Duke of Normandy and Aquitaine and Count of Anjou, et cetera. Know that I concede in perpetual alms to the church of Bodmin and the prior and canons regular there serving God all

¹⁸ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 152-5.

their land and their holdings in woods and plains, in meadow and pasture, in roads and paths, in water and mills, in ports and markets, in burghs and outside of burghs, and in all places they are to hold well and peacefully, freely and honourably, and quit and wholly just as the church of Bodmin held these best, free and quit in the time of King William my great grandfather and the time of King Henry my grandfather with soke and sake, toll and team, and infangentheof and with all their other liberties and customs and quittances they held during the time of the aforesaid King Henry my grandfather, and I prohibit anyone from doing them or their things injury or harm. Witnesses: Thomas the Chancellor, Henry de Essex-constable and many others.¹⁹

This charter does not list all the holdings or possessions of Bodmin but provides a general confirmation and is an example of the shorter version of the confirmation charter. The longer general confirmation charters include the names of the properties and sometimes details to the size of the holdings. Henry mentions both William I and Henry I as points of reference for the priory's holdings but uses Henry I's reign as reference for the priory's liberties, which are listed. There is no reference to Stephen's reign and any liberties the canons may have gained during that time are not specified. The general confirmation charter issued on Henry's accession benefited the king and the religious institutions. Henry, by issuing the charters, might prevent disputes and misunderstandings about holdings and, in addition, would gain the community's prayers. The religious institutions would have a royal charter confirming their possessions which could be used as proof and would give them increased prestige.

b. Succession of a new Religious Head

A second occasion prompting the issuance of general confirmation charters was the installation of a new abbot, prior or bishop. As the new head of the foundation, the abbot would seek to guarantee that he held what his predecessors had held in terms of land and liberties. These charters were most

¹⁹ *Cartae Antiquae I*, p. 74 no. 140.

likely requested of the king by the new abbot and could be as general or as detailed as the situation required. Most of these charters state the name of the new office-holder and often include the name of his immediate predecessor. These charters were issued throughout Henry's reign but would have been less influenced by the events in his reign than many of the other types of patronage.

This can be further illustrated in the following example. In 1159 Abbot Walkelin was installed at Abingdon Abbey and c. May 1159 Henry issued a charter of confirmation.²⁰

Henry King of the English and Duke of the Normans and Aquitainians and Count of the Angevins to his archbishops, bishops, abbots, earls, barons, justices, sheriffs, officials and all his faithful men, French and English, of the whole of England, greeting. Know that I have granted and given to Abbot Walkelin the abbey of Abingdon with everything pertaining to this abbey. And so I wish and firmly order that the aforesaid abbot may have and hold the aforesaid abbey with all its appurtenances, well and in peace, freely and undisturbed, fully and completely and honourably, with sake and soke and toll and team and infangentheof and grithbrech and forestal and hamsocn and flemenforthe, in borough and out of borough, in wood and plain, in meadows and mills, in waters and streams, on roads and tracks, in feast and without feast, and with all the other customs, as best and most freely and undisturbed and honourably as any of his predecessors ever held in the time of King Henry my grandfather, and his charter witnesses. Witnesses: the bishop of Evreux and the bishop of Bayeux and William de Chesney. At Rouen.²¹

This charter, while slightly longer than the above charters, is very similar to the charter issued to Bodmin Priory upon Henry's accession and confirms Walkelin with the abbey and possessions and liberties belonging to Abingdon. Details are given about the liberties but not the holdings of the abbey, which were likely confirmed elsewhere or in other more general charters, which do not survive for Henry II's reign. These charters of confirmation could be used by Henry as a valuable political tool for, in theory, if Henry had not approved of the

²⁰ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 25, *Abingdon*, ii. 299.

²¹ *Abingdon*, ii. 298-9.

appointment of a particular abbot, he could withhold his confirmation. The confirmation could also serve as a reference point for future abbots, demonstrating and securing what had been given and confirmed earlier, continuing custom and tradition.

The second example is not a typical general confirmation charter but demonstrates characteristics of both a general and a specific confirmation. It relates to Thomas of Grimsby's succession to the abbey there c.1173.²² Henry issued a charter around this time to the cathedral chapter of Lincoln, stating that he had confirmed Thomas as the abbot of Grimsby and that he should receive the benediction and consecration for the Abbey of Grimsby by the cathedral chapter.²³ Grimsby was in the diocese of Lincoln, which explains why the charter was addressed to the cathedral chapter of Lincoln. Henry also stipulated that they should protect the abbot and the abbey and should not allow anyone to make him forfeit any of his possessions. The lack of surviving evidence makes it difficult to determine if every episcopal priory received a charter confirming the appointment of abbots in their jurisdiction, advising on the abbot's benediction, and entrusting the bishops and their chapters to henceforth protect the abbey and their possessions. This charter is unique for it is the only surviving charter of Henry II that makes arrangements for the benediction of an abbot. While *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey* notes arrangements made for Odo of Canterbury's installation, there is no surviving charter evidence to support this.

²² *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 189.

²³ C. W. Foster and K. Major (eds.), *The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln* (10 vols., Lincoln Rec. Soc., Hereford, 1931-73) i. 121 no. 195.

c. Disputes

A third reason prompting the issuance of general confirmations of possessions and/or liberties was to resolve a dispute. These confirmations could record the actual settlement or survive as one stage of the dispute. The evidence for these types of charters is vast and is discussed in a later chapter. It is likely, however, that many of the confirmation charters were intended to prevent disputes or issued in relation to or as a result of a dispute other evidence for which does not survive.

d. Petition of Patron

Finally, a fourth reason for the issuance of general confirmations was the petition of a patron or a patron's family. These charters might be requested to confirm the religious institution as part of the foundation process but might also be requested for the reasons discussed above, namely upon accession of a new head or to resolve disputes. An example is Henry's confirmation of the possessions and liberties of Faversham Abbey between 1155 and 1158. The charter states,

Know that I concede and confirm by the prayers and petition of my kinsman, Earl William of Warenne, to the monks of Faversham according to the second order of Cluny there serving God, that abbey of Faversham which King Stephen founded on the manor of Faversham where my kinsmen rest, namely King Stephen and his wife Queen Matilda and their son Eustace.²⁴

William was the surviving son of King Stephen and, in this situation, he was most likely trying to fulfil his role as the patron of his father's foundation. This charter indicates that William appealed to a higher authority, Henry, to maintain Faversham's possessions. The charter includes confirmation of the abbey's liberties and lists some of their holdings and original patrons. It is an

²⁴ *Monasticon*, iv. 573 no. 2.

especially significant charter given the relationship between Henry and Stephen and Henry's reluctance, once king, to form any association with his predecessor. William, however, was a powerful landholder and it is likely that Henry issued this confirmation to maintain good relations with William.

B. Religious Institutions and Orders

176 religious institutions received general confirmation charters and the vast majority were granted only one.²⁵ 34 religious institutions had two general confirmation charters, nine received three, and four received four general confirmation charters. While Montacute Abbey received six general confirmation charters, Christ Church Canterbury received the greatest number—seven charters.

These religious institutions represent a wide range of religious orders, locations and history. The Benedictine order received the largest proportion of general confirmation charters with a total of 96. The Augustinian order was second, receiving 78 charters and then the Cistercians with 48. The next group, the hospitals, sick and lepers, received significantly less with 15 general confirmation charters. The Premonstratensians received seven charters, the order of Fontevrault three, the Gilbertine order two and the Knights Templar one charter. Again these results mimic the ecclesiastical landscape of England and certainly take into account the dominance of the Benedictine houses. However, it must be noted that contrary to other data for this study of Henry's patronage, the Benedictine houses do not have a huge numerical advantage over the other religious orders. They received just twenty more charters than the Augustinian houses. This is a significant break from previous charter and Pipe Roll data relating to other forms of patronage. One possible explanation for this

²⁵ See table in Appendix iii.

is the relative newness of the Augustinian houses in England and the comparative ease of their foundation. Many were founded towards the end of Henry I's reign, and during Stephen's reign, and as such may have needed confirmations to ensure the possession of their lands.²⁶ Also new houses needed more confirmations than established ones as they were still trying to assert and protect their rights to land and liberties. For example, Bodmin Priory was founded c. 1121 and received only one surviving general confirmation charter from Henry II.²⁷ Newstead Abbey, founded c. 1163, was a newer foundation and received two general confirmation charters.²⁸ All of the Cistercian houses were also quite recent. While the Cistercians enjoyed the protection of their mother house at Cîteaux, it was a protection and recourse that the Augustinian houses did not have. However, the Cistercians still needed the confirmation of both king and pope.²⁹ There were several Cistercian houses who received multiple general confirmation charters: Biddlesden, Combe, Fountains, Kirkstall, Pipewell, Rievaulx, Sibton, and Woburn. Only Fountains was founded before 1140.³⁰ The Benedictines, in contrast, did not require a great number of general confirmation charters as many had ancient charters, including royal ones, which went back generations and stated their claims. They were more likely to need specific confirmations to prevent disputes. The relatively smaller proportion of general confirmation charters received by the minor orders reflects their situation in England and is probably less a reflection

²⁶ *Monastic Order*, p. 175.

²⁷ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 138, *Cartae Antiquae I*, p. 74 no. 140.

²⁸ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 142, *Monasticon*, vi. 474 no. 1, H. E. Boulton (ed.), *The Sherwood Forest Book* (Thoroton Soc., 23; Nottingham, 1965) p. 174-5.

²⁹ There were 48 general confirmations granted by Henry II.

³⁰ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 112-5.

of Henry's preference for the Benedictine and Augustinian houses than a testimony to the prevalence of Benedictine houses in England, the newness of the Augustinian and Cistercian orders and their subsequent need for protection to guarantee their recently granted possessions.

II. Specific Confirmations

401 specific confirmation charters were issued by Henry II during his reign. Of these, 268 charters were issued between 1154 and 1172, 112 between 1173 and 1189 and 15 issued before 1154; four charters are considered spurious and two had dating ranges which could not be more closely dated than 1154 x 1189. The pattern is similar to that of the general confirmation charters, namely the majority of charters were issued in the first half of Henry's reign.

For a more meaningful analysis these specific confirmations can be further broken down into decades. A total of 127 specific confirmation charters were issued between 1154 and 1159 and an additional 63 charters were issued between 1154 and 1172. The decade 1160 x 1169 saw a decline and only 42 documents were issued. Of the specific confirmations issued 1160 x 1169, 11 were granted to recipients who had already received a specific confirmation between 1154 and 1159. Six of these charters concerned the same property and rights as the earlier charters but another five were concerned with different properties or rights. This implies that at least 31 of these charters were new specific confirmations. The years 1170 to 1179 saw a rise to 62 specific confirmations. In 1170 x 1179, 27 charters were issued to religious institutions that had received specific confirmations in the previous decade and 35 new specific confirmations when compared to the charters issued up to 1172. The decade 1180 x 1189 had 22 specific confirmation charters issued and the number

of reoccurring institutions was also reduced during this period with only four charters issued to religious institutions that had already received specific confirmations and 18 new specific confirmations. 31 charters are more broadly dated to 1170 x 1189.

The criteria for the specific confirmations are different from the general confirmations. While the majority of the specific confirmation charters are shorter in length than the general confirmation charters, this is not a reliable method to differentiate between the two categories. The specific confirmations were issued to confirm a single holding or possession, a small group of holdings or a very particular set of liberties and customs. They could also be granted to confirm that a religious institution was under the king's protection. As with the general confirmations, the specific confirmation charters often confirmed grants made by Henry, his predecessors or other patrons.

A. Examples of Specific Confirmations

a1. Individual or Small Groups of Possessions

These charters of confirmation record confirmation of individual or small groups of possessions. They encompass lands, rents and churches. Many of these charters mention the original donors of these grants in addition to details about the possession being confirmed. For example, between 1155 and March 1166 Henry II issued a confirmation to Bermondsey Abbey,³¹

Know that I give and confirm to Saint Saviour of Bermondsey and the monks there in the service of God, the mill of Bedford which Milo de Beauchamp gave to them in perpetual alms and his charter confirms with the assent of his heirs. Therefore I wish and command that the aforesaid monks are to hold it freely and quietly, no one is to do them injury or harm.

³¹ *CChR*, iv. 183.

This charter confirms a single possession of Bermondsey Abbey, the mill of Bedford, and explains that this was made with the assent of Milo's heirs, an important way to prevent future disputes. The confirmation may in fact have been issued because of a dispute over the mill. In fact, it is likely that many of the specific confirmations confirming one possession were the result of disputes. However, most of these specific confirmations do not appear to have other surviving charters to indicate a previous claim.

A second example of a specific confirmation was issued to Bolton Priory, which was originally established as an Augustinian house at Embsay, by William Meschin and his wife Cecilia de Rumilly c. 1120.³² The foundation was moved to Bolton c. 1154-5.³³ Henry's charter, issued between 1155 and January 1166, is a confirmation of an exchange of land made by Alice de Rumilly³⁴ and states 'I concede that the canons of St. Cuthbert of Bolton are to hold well and in peace, free and quit, honourably and justly their exchange [of land], namely Bolton that Alice de Rumilly gave them for Skibeden [Skipton] and Stirton just as the charter of Alice attests.'³⁵

a2. Associated Rights, Liberties and Additional Privileges

In relation to the specific confirmation of a possession is the specific confirmation of rights and liberties associated with a religious institution's possessions and holdings. This included rights to build roads, clear land, use pastures, hunt in the king's forest, pannage, and rights to water. Often these rights were confirmed in separate charters and were not always included in

³² *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 148.

³³ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 148.

³⁴ Alice de Rumilly was the heir of her sister Cecilia de Rumilly. She inherited the honor of Skipton in Yorkshire from her sister; Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 142.

³⁵ *EYC*, vii. 68 no. 19.

general confirmations or other confirmations. For example, between 1155 and 1166, Henry issued a confirmation to Worcester Cathedral Priory regarding their right to pasture land.³⁶ The charter records that the monks should have their pasture lands, both in woods and plains, just as they enjoyed them in the time of Henry I. The charter does not specify where the priory's pasture lands were located but it is a blanket confirmation of all their pastures.

An example of a grant of the right to hunt is Henry's confirmation charter to St. Mary's Abbey, York issued between 1155 and 1158.³⁷ In this charter, Henry confirms the abbey's ability to hunt in the entire tithe of the king's lands in Yorkshire, a right they had been given by his grandfather Henry I. Henry further ordered that his sheriffs of Yorkshire should not harm or disturb the abbey of this right.

Physical rights, such as the ability to build roads, divert water and clear land were also important. Between 1154 and 1158, Henry issued a charter confirming to Athelney Abbey a watercourse which ran below the abbey.³⁸ The abbey was also granted the privilege to divert the road to 'prevent damage to their lands caused by travellers.'³⁹ This particular confirmation guaranteed Athelney Abbey two things: access to water and the ability to protect their lands from the damage wrought by travellers on the road. There are other examples

³⁶ R. R. Darlington (ed.), *The Cartulary of Worcester Cathedral Priory* (Pipe Roll Soc., NS 38; London, 1968) p. 20 no. 26.

³⁷ *CChR*, iii. 112.

³⁸ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 83 (4284H).

³⁹ Latin: 'sciatis me concessisse et confirmasse in perpetuam elemosinam monach(is) de Atheln' illum conductum et cursum aque quem fecerunt per moram iuxta ecclesiam suam in australi parte ad commutandum antiquum iter illis qui iuxta locum suum preterire voluerint, ne pretereuntes dampnum eis faciant in ortis vel virgultis suis'.

of Henry confirming a religious institution's right to assarts and pannage as well as the above associated rights.

The confirmation of these associated rights was just as important if not more so than the confirmation of specific lands and possessions. These associated rights were often concerned with the feeding and care of the religious individuals and provided for their physical well being. Henry, by confirming them, could ensure that the rights associated with land holding were afforded to the religious institutions to whom they justly belonged.

There were other liberties that were just as vital to a monastery. These liberties included the right to freely elect an abbot or prior and the right to hold a court. The ability and right to elect and appoint their own leader was a much sought privilege of the English religious houses. It granted them a measure of control over their environment and spiritual life. It was also a privilege the king liked to control.⁴⁰ Between 1163 and 1170, Henry issued a charter to St. Osyth's Priory. In this charter, Henry confirmed to the priory the licence to appoint a prior of their choice into their church of Blythburgh.⁴¹ Henry ordered that the priory should not be injured and was under his protection, 'just as my demesne alms.' [sicut meam dominicam elemosinam.]

The second example is a confirmation of the liberties of a bishop. This charter, issued between 1155 and 1158, was concerned with the liberties of Bishop Hugh of Durham. Henry granted Bishop Hugh 'all lands and customs and laws and quittances of all which he was seised of for the aforesaid church on

⁴⁰ *Monastic Order*, p. 395, 399. One of the best examples of the process of electing a new abbot can be found in *Jocelin of Brakelond's Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*. It also provides an insight into the king's role in this process.

⁴¹ C. Harper-Bill (ed.), *Blythburgh Priory Cartulary* (2 vols., Suffolk Rec. Soc., 2, 3; Woodbridge, 1980-1) i. 56 no. 63.

the day that Bishop William I lived and died.’⁴² The charter also mentions that Bishop Hugh should have the customs that were afforded to Bishop Ranulf as well, and if any of his possessions had been disseised, then he was to be resealed of them.

A third example is another charter to the Bishop of Durham. This charter, issued between 1155 and 1158, commanded that Bishop Hugh of Durham should have his court and everything that pertained to it just as his predecessors had.⁴³ The right to hold a court and hear cases provided prestige, honour and income to a religious institution. It elevated the bishop or abbot.

A fourth example is a confirmation of liberties granted to Bishop Nigel of Ely. This charter is much more detailed in the description of the liberties. The charter was issued between 1155 and 1158.⁴⁴ In it, Henry commanded that Bishop Nigel of Ely should have and hold all his customs, ‘namely soke and sake, toll and team, infangentheof and hamsocn and grithbrech and fihtwite, ferdwite and all other forfeitures in the hundred and a half of Wicklaw just as the same church of Ely had on the day that King Edward lived and died and was proved in the time of King William my great-grandfather at Kentford.’

The final example is related to abbatial vacancies. The charter, issued between 1155 and 1158, is for Haughmond Abbey. In this charter, Henry confirmed that, in future, the abbey should be given over to the custody of William fitz Alan and his heirs during any vacancies.⁴⁵ The charter also states that Abbot Alfred, who was Henry’s foster-son, requested this of the king. The

⁴² J. Raine (ed.), *Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres* (Surtees Society, 9; London, 1839), Appendix p. li no. 34.

⁴³ Ibid, Appendix p. l-li no. 32.

⁴⁴ *Recueil Henry II*, i. p. 161-2 no. 60.

⁴⁵ *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 93 no. 411.

vacancy case is slightly peculiar. It is the only surviving charter of Henry to grant the vacancy of an abbey to a specific person and his heirs. The survival of this charter, however, may be related to an inquest in the reign of Henry III, which sought to determine the right of vacancy to Haughmond Abbey. Henry II's charter was possibly used as evidence in this inquest.⁴⁶ The inquest found that the fitz Alan family had the right of custody in regard to Haughmond Abbey.⁴⁷

b. Protection

Closely related to the confirmation of liberties and possessions is the grant or confirmation of royal protection. While all of the ecclesiastical institutions of England were under the protection of the king, these charters could be issued as a reminder to others not to injure the religious houses. These charters of protection might be issued to prevent disputes or in response to ongoing disputes, ordering that the religious institution should not be further disturbed.

Protection confirmations could put a stop to petty aggravations and may have been a way to prevent harassment or a dispute. For example, Henry II issued a charter which prescribed that Romsey Abbey should hold its land of Hullasey Ho as it had in the time of Henry I but also stipulated that 'no one was to do harm to the church or its things as they and their things are in the king's hand, custody and protection.'⁴⁸ There are no surviving charters indicating disputes that Romsey Abbey was involved in, or at least none that reached the king's court or attention; the charter appears to have been an effective deterrent.

⁴⁶ *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 93 no. 412.

⁴⁷ *Haughmond Cart.*, p. 93 no. 412-4.

⁴⁸ *Recueil Henry II*, i. 490 no. 350.

It should also be noted that until c. 1160, King Stephen's daughter was the abbess of Romsey and this royal connection may have resulted in Henry's confirmation of protection.

Another example of the king's protection, which also confirms several specific possessions, was issued to Christchurch Twineham Priory, Hampshire between 1163 and 1172.⁴⁹ In this charter, Henry states that he had received the lands and tenements of the canons of Christchurch into his protection. The canons should not be placed in plea except in front of the king, saving the service they owed him. Christchurch had been given to Richard de Redvers by Henry I.⁵⁰ When the de Redvers family received the land of Christchurch it also gained the patronage of Christchurch Twineham Priory.⁵¹ In 1162 Richard II de Redvers died leaving his son Baldwin II de Redvers as heir.⁵² It is possible that before Baldwin II succeeded to his estate, Henry had possession and, therefore, protection of all his holdings but it may be that Henry's charter was issued for two vacancies at the abbey c. 1161 and c. 1169.⁵³

A third example, relating to Athelney Abbey, incorporates the elements of the previous two confirmations of protection. Henry issued this charter between 1155 and 1158. It had several purposes, for it was to confirm the abbey's possessions but also to state that the abbey should not be impleaded except in front of the king.⁵⁴ Additionally, a clause stipulates that neither the abbey nor their things should be injured 'as all their things [res] and possessions

⁴⁹ *Acta* of Henry II no. 607 (3200H).

⁵⁰ Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 112.

⁵¹ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 154.

⁵² Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 137.

⁵³ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 159.

⁵⁴ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 81 (4285H).

are in my hand, custody and protection.’ There was no abbatial vacancy at Athelney in the early years of Henry’s reign but the abbey had a long history of royal patronage, dating back to King Alfred.⁵⁵ It is possible that on this occasion Henry was continuing the custom of royal protection.

There are many examples of charters granting and confirming the king’s protection, which tend to be short and not overly detailed. As a whole, the protection charters are irregular for while some relate to religious institutions that were engaged in disputes or litigation, others concern houses where there was a vacancy or the death of a patron had left them without protection. Nevertheless, some charters cannot be explained by either of these reasons and in these cases it is possible that the religious institutions anticipated future difficulties and petitioned for the king’s protection as a precautionary measure.

B. Reasons for Charter Issue

There were various reasons behind the issuance of these charters and, as with the general confirmation charters, these included disputes, petitions by donors and in the case of the specific confirmations, the royal confirmation of gifts made by other donors. These will be examined more closely.

a. Disputes

As noted above, a later chapter will discuss the disputes and the confirmation charters issued in relation to them but it is important to note that many of the specific confirmations are likely related to disputes, whether attempts to prevent disputes or to protect and aid a religious institution involved in one.

⁵⁵ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 59.

b. Petitions by Patrons

It is difficult to assign a royal motive to any charter and it is likely that a large number of the confirmation charters were issued in response to petitions by the religious institutions. However, a set of specific confirmations was requested by the patron. These are generally for individual possessions or to confirm a recent grant. Fountains Abbey received one such charter between August 1175 and September 1181.⁵⁶ This was issued 'by the petition of William de Stutville' and was for the grants that William had made to Fountains, namely land at Cayton, Gollecroft and Stainley. The charter indicates that Fountains Abbey had retained William's charter for further proof of the grant. A second charter issued to Dunstable Priory between 1172 and 1179 states, 'Know that I, by the petition of Alexander of Studham, concede and by this my present charter confirm to the church of St. Peter of Dunstable and the canons there serving God the church of Studham with all its appurtenances.'⁵⁷ In this case there is not mention of Alexander's charter. A final example is a charter granted to St. Augustine's Abbey in Bristol between 1155 and 1171, which reads, 'Know that I, by the assent and petition of Robert fitz Harding, grant and concede and by my present charter confirm to the canons of St. Augustine of Bristol [the land of] Horfield, namely that land which Robert fitz Harding gave to them when they entered their new church.'⁵⁸ Significantly Henry states he has received the assent of the original donor to issue this confirmation, a rather unusual inclusion in the confirmation charters. While the document does not mention a

⁵⁶ EYC, i. 388 no. 505.

⁵⁷ G. H. Fowler (ed.), *A Digest of the Charters preserved in the Cartulary of the Priory of Dunstable* (Beds. Historical Rec. Soc., 10, 1926) p. 36 no. 101.

⁵⁸ D. Walker (ed.), *The Cartulary of St. Augustine's Abbey, Bristol* (Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc., 10; Bristol, 1998) p. 5 no. 7.

previous charter issued by Robert fitz Harding,⁵⁹ it does reveal another reason for issuing grant charters, namely to commemorate the building of a new church.

Of all the potential reasons for specific confirmation issue, disputes and patron petition were probably the most common. Not least of all, these charters provide an official and royal record of the grant and solidified the claim of the religious institution. They could also serve as a reminder to the patron's heirs and deter them from trying to reclaim the land at a later date.

⁵⁹ The original grant charter of Robert fitz Harding, if it existed, has not survived.

C. Religious Institutions

A total of 177 religious institutions received specific confirmations.⁶⁰

Religious Institution	Number of Charters Received
Gloucester Abbey	15
Winchester Priory	12
Romsey Abbey	11
Bristol (St. Augustine) Abbey	9
Abingdon Abbey	8
Worcester Priory	
Hereford Priory	7
Malling Abbey	
Oseney Abbey	
Reading Abbey	
Whitby Abbey	
Bermondsey Abbey	6
Christ Church Canterbury Priory	
Fountains Abbey	
Ramsey Abbey	
St. Albans Abbey	
Godstow Abbey	5
Haughmond Abbey	
Kirkstead Abbey	
Llanthony Priory	
St. Denys Priory	

⁶⁰ See table in Appendix iii.

A number of institutions received smaller numbers of charters and these are listed in Appendix iii.

Of the religious orders represented, 224 of the specific confirmation charters went to Benedictine houses, 93 to Augustinian houses, 54 to Cistercian houses, 12 to the Premonstratensians, ten to the hospitals sick and lepers, five to the Knights Templar, and three to Gilbertine houses. There is a greater difference between the number of charters issued to the Benedictine order and the Augustinian order than there was with the general confirmations. However, the margin is less noteworthy than with Henry's other types of patronage. There is still a significant gap between the Augustinians and the Cistercians and, as with the general confirmations, the Augustinian order received a greater number of charters than the White Monks.

III. Conclusions

Of Henry II's charters to the religious institutions of England, the charters of confirmation are the most numerous. These confirmation charters include those dealing with disputes, general confirmations and specific confirmations. As has been demonstrated, they were issued for a wide variety of reasons and for different occasions.

When examined in comparison to other forms of patronage, Henry's issuance of confirmations is important but not as decisive as his grant patronage. Confirmations were a passive form of patronage and required little effort and no loss of land or money on Henry's part. However, the confirmations did provide a service and security to the religious institutions. They helped prevent disputes, safeguard the community's holdings and ensure a new ruling head was properly invested upon his succession. As a form of

patronage, Henry's issuance of confirmations extends beyond the simple definition of a patron as a gift giver. Confirmations were a form of protection that was expected and indeed demanded of an anointed king. By issuing the confirmations, Henry fulfilled his role as a chief landholder and took responsibility for those who held of him. While confirmations are not as rich a category as grants, Pipe Roll patronage or even disputes, they probably represent the routine, and most requested, backbone of Henry's patronage.

Chapter 5: Disputes and Intervention

The term patron now implies a relationship focused on gift giving or monetary support. Usage in the Middle Ages of the Latin '*patronus*', however, shows that such a man was 'a protector, defender, and patron...a defender before a court of justice, an advocate or pleader.'¹ This aspect of Henry's patronage is important, particularly in relation to his intervention in disputes as protector of the religious houses. This chapter begins with four case studies which illustrate Henry's intervention and then analyzes the various types of disputes in further detail. I thereafter consider the various ways in which Henry could participate in these situations, and finally the religious orders involved and a brief chronology of the disputes.

I. Case Studies

A. Active Involvement: Battle Abbey vs. the Bishop of Chichester

Perhaps one of the best known disputes of the early years of Henry's reign was the disagreement between Battle Abbey and the Bishop of Chichester over the abbey's claimed exemption. It is largely known from the Battle Chronicle, written in the later half of the twelfth century.² According to this account, King William I founded the abbey with these specific privileges:

From the beginning and with royal authority he granted and conveyed to this abbey this privilege: that it might have its court for all pleas, and a royal liberty, and the custom of managing its own affairs and its own business within all its estates; and its judgments enforced by itself; and that it should be free and quit for ever from all subjection to and exaction of bishops, and from any claim of Marmoutier, and from the domination of whatever persons, like Christ Church Canterbury. ³

¹ C. Lewis and C. Short, *A Latin Dictionary* (Oxford, 1879), p. 1316.

² *Battle Chronicle*, p. 8.

³ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 68-9.

This supposed grant was purported to provide the basis of Battle's claim of exemption throughout the whole dispute yet it is likely taken from a forged charter written in the twelfth century. The text of the chronicle is remarkably similar to a known forged charter of King William, made in 1154, after the death of King Stephen.⁴ According to recent scholarship, the Chronicle itself and many of the charters related to Battle have been deemed suspicious and the accuracy of the events represented in the Chronicle may be questionable.⁵

Following Battle's foundation, the first instance of this supposed exemption was traced to the second abbot, Gausbert (1076 x 1095),⁶ who was faced with a dilemma when Bishop Stigand of Chichester would not give him his blessing unless he came to Chichester.⁷ Gausbert appealed to King William, who ordered Stigand to bless Gausbert in Battle's church.⁸ According to the chronicle, William ordered that Bishop Stigand should not be given hospitality on the day of Gausbert's consecration. The chronicler wrote that this precedent proved that Battle Abbey was free from the exaction and submission to the Bishop of Chichester.⁹ As Searle points out in a footnote to this passage, there is no mention of a charter presenting this privilege which rests on oral tradition, or even pure invention.

Gausbert's successor, Henry (1096 x 1102)¹⁰, was not able to continue in this tradition. We are told that, 'at length at the instigation of his favourites, but

⁴ E. Searle, 'Battle Abbey and Exemption: The Forged Charters', *English Historical Review*, 83 (1968), 449-80 at 454-5.

⁵ Vincent, 'Henry II and Battle'.

⁶ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 29.

⁷ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 70-3.

⁸ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 70-3.

⁹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 72-3.

¹⁰ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 29.

also, it must be said, on the advice of Archbishop Anselm, though against the rights of his own church, he [Henry] ill advisedly went to ask his blessing at Chichester.’¹¹ There is no mention of the consecration either of Abbot Ralph (1107 x 1124) or of the Bishop of Chichester’s rights over the abbey until c.1120 when a case was brought before the bishop regarding the chapel outside of the walls of the abbey.¹² At this court, it was decided that the chapel of Battle should be free from episcopal customs. In addition, the court confirmed that the abbot would not be summoned to the bishop’s synod.¹³

The next abbot, Warner (1125 x 1138), was summoned to a synod by Bishop Seffrid of Chichester, who was also appointed in 1125. We are told that Warner asked the convent for advice as to whether or not he should answer this summons.¹⁴ The chronicle states that the monks advised Warner that he should not be forced to attend due to their royal privileges.¹⁵ The abbot was advised that he could go voluntarily and Warner decided to do so. He allegedly pleaded his case with Bishop Seffrid regarding Battle’s privileges and Seffrid was miraculously appeased by this. The appeasement instantly sends up warning signs, for why should a bishop yield his episcopal rights so easily unless this event did not take place in quite the manner described by the chronicler?

The situation came to a head under the leadership of Warner’s successor, Walter de Lucy (1139 x 1171), who came into conflict with Hilary, who replaced

¹¹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 102-3.

¹² *Battle Chronicle*, p. 124-7.

¹³ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 126-7. 'Also, the abbot may not be summoned to attend synod, an agreement we have mentioned above, nor may he be coerced.' This was taken from a charter, which is suspect; *Battle Chronicle*, p. 126 fn. 1.

¹⁴ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 136-7.

¹⁵ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 136-7.

Seffrid in 1147. The chronicle here expands its commentary, focusing on what was obviously seen as a very important case. In the words of the chronicler:

It does not seem out of place that we should treat of them at length and in detail. It will be delightful to the present generation, useful to future generations, a supreme memorial of the privileges of this church of St. Martin of Battle, and, thus put on record for ever, it will act as an invincible shield against the plots of envious assailants.¹⁶

This passage in particular provides not only the justification for the chronicler spending so much time relating this dispute but may also explain the reason for the forgeries and procedure to safe guard these privileges.

Hilary, we are told, summoned Walter to synod at Chichester many times but the abbot refused, sending his excuses and citing the (forged) privileges granted by William I.¹⁷ Hilary grew tired of these excuses, and what must have appeared as Walter's disobedience, and finally threatened the abbot with interdict and excommunication.¹⁸ A synod was called and when Walter did not attend, Hilary put into force the interdict.¹⁹ In response, Walter took the matter to Stephen, who arranged for the abbot and the bishop to discuss their case before the king. When the bishop failed to appear, the king ruled that the abbey should be given its exemption. Significantly, the only surviving charter of Stephen that contains any reference to this claim is considered spurious.²⁰ It is clear to the modern historian that Battle's claim hinges on forgery and an oral tradition.

¹⁶ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 146-7.

¹⁷ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 148-9.

¹⁸ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 150-1.

¹⁹ This, of course, is the action recorded by the Battle Chronicle and this version of events might be slightly exaggerated.

²⁰ *RRAN*, iii. 18-9 no. 51.

In 1154 Stephen died and Henry succeeded to the throne. The new king was soon beset with requests to renew charters. Battle, according to the Chronicle, was one of the many petitioners for renewal but Hilary was also taking advantage of this rare opportunity. The year deadline that he had assigned Walter had run out and 'in solemn synod he excommunicated the abbot for not obeying the summons to Chichester.'²¹ News reached the justiciar, Richard de Lucy, who was Abbot Walter's brother, and the matter was taken to Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury. Proceedings were suspended and sentence delayed until after Henry's coronation when it was decided that Theobald would address the situation. A great council was held in London in 1155 and the abbot of Battle attended, bringing with him 'the charters and writs of King William and of other kings.'²² Hilary heard of this and went directly to Theobald, telling him Battle had charters that infringed the rights of both Chichester and Canterbury. Theobald, in turn, discussed the affair with Henry and asked the king to delay confirming the charters until the matter could be properly resolved. Henry agreed.²³

Walter learned of this and when he confronted Henry at mass the king assented and had his seal affixed to Battle's charter. Hilary rushed in and protested immediately but Henry countered this declaring he was confirming Battle's charter but that a meeting hosted by the archbishop would take place.²⁴ This meeting was to include the bishop, abbot and the chancellor and would discuss the charters and, if necessary, correct them. The meeting took place at

²¹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 152-3.

²² *Battle Chronicle*, p. 154-5.

²³ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 154-5.

²⁴ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 156-7.

Lambeth in 1155 and the charters (forged) made their appearance. Great debate ensued over the exemption and there was to be no compromise.²⁵ The chancellor, Thomas Becket, was aware of the disagreement and took the charters to the king to be kept until a final agreement could be reached.²⁶

While Walter returned to Battle empty handed he did not give up his quest. Soon after the siege of Bridgnorth in 1155, he journeyed to Henry to ask about the abbey's charters. According to the chronicler Battle was aided by its patron saint, Martin, and due to the counsel of patrons Earl Reginald of Cornwall and Richard de Hommet, 'who were joined to Richard de Lucy and Abbot Walter in a pact of friendship,'²⁷ Henry decided to return the charter. It appeared that the issue was resolved.

In 1156, however, the conflict began anew. Abbot Walter received a letter from Pope Adrian, brought to the abbey by two deans of Chichester. This was read out and it was decided that the abbot would be required to come to Chichester to discuss it.²⁸ The matter was brought before the dean and chapter of Chichester where it was argued that the pope himself was not supportive of Battle's episcopal exemption.²⁹ Walter defended himself and the problem was not resolved. Walter then sent a messenger to his brother Richard de Lucy explaining what had transpired. Richard in turn advised Henry and the king commanded Bishop Hilary to let the issue rest until Henry could return to England. The case was deferred to a council the king held at Bury St. Edmunds

²⁵ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 158-9.

²⁶ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 158-9.

²⁷ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 160-1.

²⁸ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 162-3.

²⁹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 164-7.

in 1157.³⁰ The case was too complex for a quick solution at Bury and Henry deferred it until his arrival at Colchester.

At Colchester Henry sent for a group of advisors including Thomas Becket, Robert, Earl of Leicester, Richard de Lucy and others.³¹ Walter appeared before these men and produced the charters of Battle, including the forgeries related to the 'original' grant of privileges from William I.³² Henry examined these and is said to have praised his great-grandfather's actions and his endowment of Battle.³³ This passage reflects the chronicler's opinion that the king was on Battle's side or, if he had been wavering, he was now won over. Thomas Becket, the king's chancellor, attempted to argue the case impartially but Richard de Lucy and others soon came to Battle's defence.³⁴ Henry decided that he needed to hear the bishop's version and would only then pursue some sort of settlement.

Accordingly, Hilary was summoned and the case began in earnest. Henry attended as well as leading dignitaries including Archbishop Theobald, Archbishop Roger of York, Bishop Richard of London, Bishop Robert of Exeter, Bishop Robert of Lincoln, Abbot Silvester of St. Augustine's, Abbot Geoffrey of Holme, Thomas Becket, Earl Robert of Leicester, Earl Patrick of Salisbury, Henry de Essex, Reginald de Warenne, Richard de Lucy and Warin fitz Gerold.³⁵ Richard de Lucy opened the proceedings and appealed to Henry's notions of familial loyalty by praising William's foundation of Battle and the

³⁰ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 174-5.

³¹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 176.

³² *Battle Chronicle*, p. 176-9.

³³ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 178-9.

³⁴ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 178-81.

³⁵ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 180-1.

privileges he had bestowed. As a parting shot, Richard stated, 'but if this is not in accordance with your will, order my brother its abbot to leave the place and give way to some other who will be a friend.'³⁶ This could, of course, mean that Battle would be dealt the double injury of losing its exemption privileges as well as a beloved abbot and champion.

Walter presented the charters in question and then Bishop Hilary was invited to speak. He appealed first for a compromise and when this failed began his defence by delineating the two powers on Earth, the spiritual and temporal, and then arguing further by claiming that no layman, not even a king, should give ecclesiastical privileges and exemptions to churches.³⁷ We are told Henry was greatly angered at the direct attack on his royal prerogative, another indication that our source, the Battle chronicler, presented the king, and wider sentiment, as on the side of Battle.

Hilary was forced to back pedal and apologize for this insult. He continued by telling the assembled men of his own consecration, at which the Abbot of Battle was present, of the abbot's appearance at one of the bishop's synods and Hilary's own visit to Battle.³⁸ He maintained that, in all of these cases, proper behaviour was demonstrated by both parties and there was no discussion of exemption or rights. Hilary claimed that it was only after these events that the situation changed and Walter began sending others to synod in

³⁶ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 182-3.

³⁷ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 186-7.

³⁸ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 188-91.

his place. He maintained that while he had called the abbot to Chichester to discuss this, Walter did not attend, forcing Hilary to issue the interdict.³⁹

The chancellor, Thomas Becket, in an ironic turn given his later life, came to Battle's defence. He justified Walter's actions upon Hilary's consecration and claimed that the exemption allowed the abbot to choose whether or not he would participate.⁴⁰ Thomas continued by refuting Hilary's story of hospitality at the abbey, stating that it was the custom of all churches to receive any bishop in this manner and it was not related to his rights. The next element of the story called into question by Becket was the letter from the Pope. It was the view of many of those assembled, including Becket and Henry, that Hilary had requested the letter from Pope Adrian. Hilary swore he had not requested this letter and maintained that one of the abbey's clerks had gone to Rome and slandered Hilary there.⁴¹ He, thus, claimed the letter from the Pope was made of the Pope's free will in recognition of Hilary's high and valued reputation.⁴²

Having heard this evidence, Henry was approached by Archbishop Theobald, who asked Henry to allow the case to be settled in the ecclesiastical court.⁴³ Henry refused but agreed to consider the archbishop's counsel, a preview, perhaps, of the difficulties that would later plague Henry's relationship with Becket. The chronicler may, however, have inserted this to further the claim of royal patronage. Henry subsequently left and took the counsel of those who were present. He finally called in the bishop and then the abbot and Henry

³⁹ This viewpoint, of course, was also recorded through the Battle Chronicler and may not have been the actual truth.

⁴⁰ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 198-9.

⁴¹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 204-5.

⁴² *Battle Chronicle*, p. 204-5.

⁴³ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 204-7.

convinced the bishop to acknowledge that Battle was quit of all claims and charges he had made.⁴⁴ The issue was finally concluded with the kiss of peace between the king and the bishop and the bishop and the abbot. The controversy receded during the remainder of Walter's abbacy but when Odo of Canterbury succeeded him in 1175 it was feared that the dispute would arise once again. According to the chronicler, 'those around the king urged him to have the abbot elect blessed in his own presence by any of his bishops, lest if he were blessed elsewhere, out of the king's presence, the bishop and canons of Chichester might raise a dispute against him that would one day subject him to harassment.'⁴⁵ This indicates that Battle was still aware of the precarious nature of its exemption. Ultimately the matter was not finally settled until the thirteenth century when it was determined in 1234 that Battle could claim exemption from the bishop of Chichester.⁴⁶

There is only one surviving charter issued by Henry that can be associated with this dispute and its authenticity has been called into question recently on account of various inconsistencies.⁴⁷ This charter, issued, if genuine, between December 1154 and April 1161, was a confirmation of privileges and liberties granted to the monks by William the Conqueror.⁴⁸ Henry cites a long list of quittances and ends by stating that the abbot should 'remain free and quit from all subjection and oppression of the bishops or of

⁴⁴ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 206-7.

⁴⁵ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 304-5.

⁴⁶ D. Knowles, 'Essays in Monastic History IV: The Growth of Exemption', *The Downside Review*, 31 (1932), 201-31 at 225.

⁴⁷ Vincent, 'Henry II and Battle', E. Searle, 'Battle Abbey and Exemption: The Forged Charters', *English Historical Review*, 83 (1968), 449-80.

⁴⁸ *Acta of Henry II*, no. 134 (2271H).

whatever exaction of any other persons in perpetuity, just as Christ Church Canterbury.’⁴⁹ Confirmation of Battle’s holdings with the names of its manors followed. Vincent has identified that the charter is very closely modelled upon a forged charter of Henry I, which also contains a reference to Christ Church Canterbury.⁵⁰ The text in this charter was borrowed from a questionable charter of William I. Henry II’s charter also has certain inconsistencies: it is addressed to Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury and the bishops, earls, and barons of France and England, and the sheriffs and ministers in whose counties the church of Battle had lands.⁵¹ This address is not suspicious until it is compared to the witness list, which includes Archbishop Theobald, Thomas (Becket) the chancellor and Richard de Lucy.⁵² Vincent argues that this address and witness list which both cite Archbishop Theobald truly make it unacceptable as a genuine document.⁵³ He questions why Theobald would consent to a charter that granted Battle Abbey an exemption and aided his own house, Christ Church, in obtaining its exemption from him. The double appearance of Theobald as both an addressee and witness combined with the use of ‘*dei gratia*’, a later development in the charters of Henry, as well as the absence of a place of issue and word irregularities contribute to the spurious nature of this document.⁵⁴

The Battle example provides a very detailed record of a dispute that generated wider attention. Henry’s involvement began roughly a half to two-

⁴⁹ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 134 (2271H).

⁵⁰ Vincent, ‘Henry II and Battle’, p. 278.

⁵¹ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 134 (2271H).

⁵² *Acta* of Henry II no. 134 (2271H), Vincent, ‘Henry II and Battle’, p. 279.

⁵³ Vincent, ‘Henry II and Battle’, p. 279.

⁵⁴ Vincent, ‘Henry II and Battle’, p. 279.

thirds of the way through the dispute. The chronicle portrays Henry as an active protector who initially issued the confirmation charters, referred the dispute to the archbishop at the first sight of trouble and then took the responsibility of hearing the further disagreements in person until he made the final judgment. However, there are aspects of this dispute that challenge this interpretation, not least of all Abbot Walter's persistence. The abbot after all did not surrender his claim and it is likely that Henry's high level of involvement can be attributed to Walter's pursuing the king and constantly petitioning him. Another factor is the input and protection of Abbot Walter's brother, Richard, whom the chronicler depicts as a great advocate of Battle and its abbot. As justiciar, Richard had the required access and influence to gain Henry's attention. He defended both Walter and the abbey at the meeting at Colchester and also advised the king when making his final decision. Subsequently, the de Lucy brothers played a large role in this dispute and in ensuring Henry's involvement in it. Exactly how much of Henry's role in the dispute can be laid at the dedicated and persistent feet of the de Lucy brothers cannot be ascertained. Of course, Battle also held a special position as a royal foundation, which would surely have been an incentive for Henry to take an active interest in its welfare. While Battle's experiences could be classified as unique, and Henry's involvement here may also have been based on this special royal affiliation, this particular case is nonetheless significant since it demonstrates just how Henry could assume an active role as *patronus* of the monasteries.

B. Active Involvement: Battle Abbey vs. Gilbert de Bailleul

A second case study of Henry's involvement in a dispute concerning Battle shows his personal involvement and the persistence of Battle's allies. In this dispute and the previous one, Battle appealed to Henry to protect the abbey

and resolve the disputes. However, this second dispute is different in two ways for it involves a layman rather than a prelate and the dispute centred on land, not privileges. Ostensibly Henry seems to play a more active role in the Chichester dispute but this may simply be a consequence of the detailed treatment this case is given in the chronicle. What is also clear is that the beneficiary's persistence probably played a significant role in the king's involvement.

According to the Battle chronicle, a campaign to increase the abbey's lands was begun during Ralph's abbacy (1107 x 1124).⁵⁵ Notably, Ralph bought three wists of land at Barnhorn for £2 17s from Ingram, a tenant of Withelard de Bailleul.⁵⁶ Withelard confirmed the sale, and an additional tithe of money Ingram gave from his land at Buckholt, but also gave Battle land 'called to this day St. Martin's Marsh.'⁵⁷ These charters, suspected forgeries, are discussed further below. Later in the chronicle, the writer tells us these two gifts and charters were confirmed by Henry I and Withelard's lord, Count Henry of Eu.⁵⁸ The abbey began a series of improvements and built a mill in the marsh.⁵⁹

In the meantime, Abbot Ralph died and was succeeded by Warner and difficulties began, most likely owing to the war between Stephen and Matilda. The lord, whom the chronicle does not name but must have been one of the de Bailleuls, now demanded payment from the fief. The abbot gave up in the face of the continued demands and the lord took the property from Battle and gave it

⁵⁵ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 29.

⁵⁶ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 118-9.

⁵⁷ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 118-9.

⁵⁸ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 210-1.

⁵⁹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 210-1.

to Siward of Hastings.⁶⁰ The monks appealed to Stephen but as the chronicler claimed, 'in his time justice seldom prevailed.'⁶¹ The comparison between the reigns of King Stephen and King Henry II is one that the Battle chronicler makes often and it certainly elevates the image of Henry II as returning justice to England. Abbot Walter de Lucy took up the claim when Henry became king and peace returned. According to the text Count John of Eu was ordered to do full right to the abbot concerning the holding.⁶² Withelard had been succeeded by his descendant Gilbert de Bailleul, who was summoned by the count, sheriff and abbot but Gilbert found excuses not to attend these summons. Walter, ever tenacious, continued to appeal to Henry until the dispute was taken to the royal court.⁶³

The dispute was brought before Henry between 1163 and 1166 at Clarendon.⁶⁴ According to the chronicle, 'since there was no essoining, both parties were present, the king presiding over the court.'⁶⁵ What ensued is another example of the alleged oratorical skills of Abbot Walter's brother, Richard de Lucy, and Henry's predisposition to Battle's side. The history of the land and dispute were recounted for the sake of the king and his assembled justices. Thereafter the charters recording the original gift were read out. At this point Gilbert de Bailleul raised his objections, stating that his ancestors' seals were not on these documents.⁶⁶ Richard de Lucy, quite boldly, asked de

⁶⁰ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 210-3.

⁶¹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 212-3.

⁶² *Battle Chronicle*, p. 212-3.

⁶³ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 212-3.

⁶⁴ Vincent, 'Henry II and Battle', p. 271.

⁶⁵ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 214-5.

⁶⁶ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 214-5.

Bailleul if he had his own seal to which de Bailleul replied that he did. Richard then condescendingly told him that in the past, most knights did not have a seal—this was the prerogative of kings and important men.⁶⁷ But Richard's parting shot, which is rather ironic given Battle's history of forgery, was his remark that in previous times malice did not "make men pettifoggers and cavillers, as it true nowadays."⁶⁸

Nevertheless Gilbert continued his objection, this time challenging Henry I's confirmation charter. Henry responded in typical fashion saying, "By God's eyes, if you could prove this charter false, you would make a profit of a thousand pounds in England."⁶⁹ He continued stating that if the monks could prove they had a right to Clarendon by using a similar charter, he would give it to them. In short, Henry demonstrated his great faith in the charters of Battle and his strong support of them. Henry offered the monks the opportunity to gather further proof but they refused and according to the chronicler 'the whole royal court decided unanimously that everything demanded upon the evidence of their charter should be restored to the abbot and church of St. Martin of Battle.'⁷⁰ Henry then issued charters for the restoration of Barnhorn, the marsh and Buckholt.⁷¹

⁶⁷ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 214-5.

⁶⁸ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 214-5, J. C. Holt, 'More Battle Forgeries', *Reading Medieval Studies*, 11 (1985), 75-86 at 75-6.

⁶⁹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 216-7.

⁷⁰ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 216-7.

⁷¹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 218-9. There was a later case of a claim made by the Icklesham family for a meadow in the boundary area of these lands. The dispute was settled in favor of the abbey. *Battle Chronicle*, p. 218-21.

Three of Henry's charters relating to this dispute survive. As with the Chichester charters, they are also forgeries, perhaps made after 1172.⁷² The first, allegedly issued at Clarendon between 1155 and April 1166, is Henry's confirmation of three virgates of land at Barnhorn with the marsh pertaining to it.⁷³ The charter evokes his grandfather, Henry I, and Walter of Battle's evidence against Gilbert.⁷⁴ This charter does not mention the tithe of Buckholt, which was included in the court hearing but what makes this, and the other two charters below, suspect is the use of the 'dei gratia' clause before its accepted introduction in 1172, as well as other deviations in the text.⁷⁵

The second charter was also issued at Clarendon between 1155 and April 1166 but was addressed to Count John of Eu and the sheriff of Sussex.⁷⁶ In it, Henry ordered that Battle should have its land of Barnhorn, which the community had proven.⁷⁷ Its genuineness is suspect for many of the same reasons, especially the 'dei gratia' clause. The third charter, issued at Westminster between 1155 and March 1166, is similar to the first.⁷⁸ It again confirmed the three virgates of land at Barnhorn and evoked Henry I.⁷⁹ Battle

⁷² Vincent, 'Henry II and Battle', p. 272-6, Holt, 'More Battle Forgeries', at 83-4.

⁷³ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 137 (2549H). Latin: 'tres virgatas terre in Bernehorn' cum marisco ad eas pertinente'.

⁷⁴ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 137 (2549H). The Chronicle does not mention the presence of Reinger, who was the descendant of Ingram. Reinger's son, John of Northeye, brings a plea to King John stating that the case above took place while Reinger was a minor and ward of Alured de St. Martin; Vincent, 'Henry II and Battle', p. 274.

⁷⁵ Vincent, 'Henry II and Battle', p. 273-4.

⁷⁶ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 138 (2548H).

⁷⁷ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 138 (2548H).

⁷⁸ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 139 (2275H).

⁷⁹ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 139 (2275H).

was to have this land and the marsh 'free and quit and with all services and land customs,'⁸⁰ a clause also contained in the first charter.

As with the Chichester dispute, Henry was personally and visibly involved in this dispute. It was not as protracted but it was important enough to warrant explanation in the chronicle. Henry's role, perhaps due to the slightly simpler nature of the dispute, is less visible than in the Chichester dispute. Yet again there is evidence of Abbot Walter, and his predecessors, appealing to the king as its protector to help the abbey maintain its claims. This dispute was eventually transferred to the royal court, with Henry presiding. Richard de Lucy's presence and role must also be noted as it is evidence of the triangle of aid formed by Richard, Walter and Henry. Here, Henry heard the arguments of both sides but this does not appear to have made him an impartial judge. Significantly, the decision for this case was not made by Henry alone as king, but by Henry with the backing of the royal court.⁸¹ This, however, may simply be the impression the chronicler gives since he insinuates that Henry decided upon the verdict of the Chichester case but was simply part of the deciding body for the de Bailleul verdict.

C. Delegation: Abingdon Abbey and Thurstan fitz Simon

On other occasions Henry did not act as a presiding or deciding judge but delegated the matter to his justices or sheriffs in the county courts. One such example occurs in the Abingdon Chronicle. During the abbacy of Reginald (1084 x 1097),⁸² the abbot made a grant of the church of Marcham to his son,

⁸⁰ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 139 (2275H).

⁸¹ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 216-7. Latin: 'unanimi consensu totius curie regie adiudicatum est'.

⁸² *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 24.

William, with the convent's assent.⁸³ The chronicle states that there were other possessions granted as well, which consisted of one hide of land at Appleford, one hide at Milton, and a dairy farm in Marcham.⁸⁴ William served as priest at Marcham and eventually made the decision that he would not pass on these possessions to any of his heirs. In addition, he returned the lands at Appleford and Milton along with the dairy farm to Abbot Faritius (1100 x 1117).⁸⁵ William fulfilled his duties at Marcham and when he became ill he entered Abingdon, where he took the habit and died.⁸⁶

In the meantime, Abbot Faritius died in 1117 and there was a vacancy at Abingdon for four years. Simon, a relative of the above mentioned William, who was also Henry's dispenser, approached Henry I regarding Marcham and the other lands.⁸⁷ He convinced Henry of his claim and facing no resistance from the abbey, 'seized the land'.⁸⁸ It was not until a new abbot, Vincent (1121 x 1130)⁸⁹, was appointed that the matter was again brought before the king and a settlement was reached. According to the terms of the agreement, Simon released his claim to the church of Marcham and the land that went with it, namely two hides pertaining to the church, one mill, one dairy farm, a hide of land at Garford, one at Milton, one at Appleford, a chapel in Milton with ½ a hide of land pertaining to it.⁹⁰ Abbot Vincent, in exchange for this surrender, offered Simon 3 ½ hides of the land of Garsington in fee and inheritance as well

⁸³ *Abingdon*, ii. 58-9.

⁸⁴ *Abingdon*, ii. 190-3.

⁸⁵ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 25.

⁸⁶ *Abingdon*, ii. 190-3.

⁸⁷ *Abingdon*, ii. 234-5.

⁸⁸ *Abingdon*, ii. 234-5.

⁸⁹ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 25.

⁹⁰ *Abingdon*, ii. 234-9.

as the manor of Tadmarton in fee for an annual rent of £15.⁹¹ An additional clause concerned potential non-payment:

If either Simon himself or his heirs after him failed to render the farm of this manor, the church of Abingdon would without contradiction reseise the manor of Tadmarton into its own demesne, and would make no further answer to anyone concerning this or the above-mentioned possessions left to the church's right by the aforesaid man.⁹²

This was, presumably intended to prevent a similar situation recurring and to safeguard the abbey's possession. The clause, however, was a convenient protection for the abbey and, consequently, we must be wary of trusting the abbey's account.

Later, in Stephen's reign, Simon's daughter was married to the knight, Walter son of Hingham. Simon gave Walter the village of Tadmarton, with the intent that Walter should pay the £15 rent to the abbey.⁹³ According to the chronicle while Walter held the village, he 'rendered nothing at all for it.'⁹⁴ By the terms of the settlement, this was reason enough for the abbot to take the land back and was subsequently done by one of the monks. Simon and Walter's reaction is hardly surprising—they are described by the chronicler as bitter and intent to create as much opposition to the decision as possible.⁹⁵ In 1153, after Henry and Stephen had made the treaty over the succession, Thurstan, the son of Simon, approached the king and told him that the abbey had unjustly taken his hereditary property. Through giving Stephen gifts, Thurstan won the king

⁹¹ *Abingdon*, ii. 236-7.

⁹² *Abingdon*, ii. 236-7.

⁹³ *Abingdon*, ii. 238-9.

⁹⁴ *Abingdon*, ii. 238-9.

⁹⁵ *Abingdon*, ii. 238-9.

over and was repossessed of the land.⁹⁶ When Abbot Ingulf heard of this he contemplated how he should react but Thurstan regarded this delay as non-compliance and once again went to Stephen to complain. Stephen ordered Sheriff Henry of Oxford to examine the dispute and proceed according to royal law.⁹⁷ This, however, did not take place, for the Chronicle records that Thurstan bribed Henry of Oxford into simply placing the land in his possession. It is only at this point that it is apparent that the land Thurstan was seeking was not Tadmarton, as one would logically expect, but Marcham, Milton and Appleford.⁹⁸

Soon after, Stephen died and Henry succeeded to the throne. The monks of the abbey took their complaint against Thurstan to Henry, who summoned both Thurstan and the abbot to the county court of Berkshire.⁹⁹ Thurstan did not attend and managed to avoid the court for roughly two years. Abbot Ingulf once again approached Henry and asked for his help to settle the matter. In turn, Henry called his justices together and ordered them to resolve the situation.¹⁰⁰ After hearing the evidence, the justices deliberated and decided that while Thurstan was unjust in his seizure of the land they did not want to remove all his land unless the king himself ordered it. They relayed their decision to Henry and asked for his (final) judgment. Henry offered Thurstan the following terms: Thurstan was to return what he had acquired and pay for any damages done to the church. However, he could hold the manor of

⁹⁶ *Abingdon*, ii. 238-9.

⁹⁷ *Abingdon*, ii. 240-1.

⁹⁸ *Abingdon*, ii. 240-1.

⁹⁹ *Abingdon*, ii. 240-1.

¹⁰⁰ *Abingdon*, ii. 242-3.

Tadmarton from the abbot for £15 annually, as his father had done.¹⁰¹ The damages they decided upon were 60 marks for Tadmarton and 3 marks for Marcham and the other five hides of land. Thurstan ultimately decided that he could not afford the rent and damages; Henry declared that any future claims by Thurstan were invalid and the land was returned to Abingdon.

Later in the chronicle there are two more references to this dispute between Thurstan and the abbey. The first involves the church of Marcham, which Thurstan gave to Ralph of Tamworth to hold without any land.¹⁰² Ralph was one of Henry's clerics, which probably increased the likelihood that Henry would be involved in the matter. Ralph was also part of an embassy to Pope Alexander in 1166 regarding the Becket dispute.¹⁰³ When Thurstan lost his claim to Marcham and the other lands, Ralph's possession of Marcham church was called into question. Ralph sought compensation and used his position with the king to obtain letters regarding his claim. He wanted to use these letters to convince the abbot that Abingdon should allow him to hold the land of the abbey.¹⁰⁴ Ralph was not, however, successful and instead appealed to the Pope. Meanwhile, a new abbot was installed, Walkelin (1159 x 1164), who resisted Ralph's claim and took the problem to Henry, recounting Ralph's behaviour towards the abbey. Henry was allegedly angered and replied that if Ralph wished to remain in his kingdom, he should make peace with

¹⁰¹ *Abingdon*, ii. 242.

¹⁰² *Abingdon*, ii. 244.

¹⁰³ J. E. Lally, 'Master Ralph of Tamworth, Staffs.-a royal clerk of the twelfth century', *South Staffordshire Archaeological and Historical Society*, 15 (1973), 33-9 at 36. Ralph of Tamworth was witness to eleven of the charters in the database. These included charters to St. Helier of Jersey, Mont-Saint-Michel, Saint Sauveur, Braemore, St Guthlac's Priory in Hereford, Llanthony, the Priory of St. Gregory in Canterbury, and Colchester Abbey.

¹⁰⁴ *Abingdon*, ii. 244.

Abingdon.¹⁰⁵ The end result was that the church was restored to Abingdon. Thurstan had also held the tithe of the village of Marcham, which financed the lighting of the altar of the abbey church at Abingdon.¹⁰⁶ Thurstan did not surrender this tithe and the monks took their complaint to Henry, who was then overseas, and Henry issued a writ ordering that the matter should be investigated in the county court of Berkshire.¹⁰⁷ The county court decided Thurstan was holding the tithe unjustly and that it was to be restored to Abingdon.

All of the documents relating to the dispute over Marcham and the other lands are recorded in the chronicle of Abingdon. The first writ, dated between 1155 and July 1158, was an order to sheriff Henry of Oxford and his officials.¹⁰⁸ It stipulated that if the Abbot of Abingdon had been unjustly disseised of the church of Marcham and its accompanying properties, he should be resealed without delay.¹⁰⁹ Evidence from the chronicle's narrative, indicates that this writ was probably issued upon Abbot Ingulf's trip to see Henry at Woodstock, before the trial was held before Henry's justices.¹¹⁰ This hypothesis is supported by the *nisi feceris* clause which reads 'if you do not do this, my justice will make it done.'¹¹¹ Thurstan's recorded inaction in response to this writ likely led to the issuance of the second. The second writ, issued between September 1155 and

¹⁰⁵ *Abingdon*, ii. 244-5.

¹⁰⁶ *Abingdon*, ii. 306-9.

¹⁰⁷ *Abingdon*, ii. 308-9.

¹⁰⁸ *Abingdon*, ii. 348-9 no. 297c. This appears only in Manuscript B.

¹⁰⁹ *Abingdon*, ii. 348-9 no. 297c. This appears only in Manuscript B.

¹¹⁰ *Abingdon*, ii. 242-3.

¹¹¹ *Abingdon*, ii. 348-9 no. 297c.

September 1157, is addressed to Richard de Camville, sheriff of Berkshire.¹¹² It is similar in content to the first and orders that if Abingdon had been disseised of the land of Marcham, Milton, and Appleford the abbey should be reseised immediately. As with the first writ, the *nisi feceris* clause referred the dispute to the king's justice.¹¹³ The third writ, possibly issued between September 1155 and September 1157, is similarly addressed to the sheriff of Berkshire and concerns the tithe of March.¹¹⁴ According to this, if Abingdon had received this tithe for lighting the abbey church in the time of Henry I, and had subsequently been disseised of it, then the monks should be reseised. In addition, the dispute could be settled in the abbot's court, if the abbot could prove he did not default in justice towards Thurstan.¹¹⁵

The Abingdon dispute sheds light on a different aspect of Henry's involvement for in this case, although the abbot and monks continually petitioned Henry, the king ultimately delegated the majority of the decision making to his sheriffs and justices. While Henry was still involved and after all formulated the sentence given to Thurstan, this was done after his justices had decided what their verdict was. This level of engagement is also evident in the other two cases connected with the dispute between Thurstan and Abingdon. The conflict with Ralph of Tamworth received slightly more input from Henry, most likely due to Ralph's status as Henry's cleric, but as far as we can tell, it also did not result in a court hearing. The trouble over the tithe of Marcham was delegated by Henry to the county court of Berkshire, where it was settled

¹¹² *Abingdon*, ii. 348-9 no. 297e. This appears only in Manuscript B.

¹¹³ Marcham, Milton and Appleford (Oxfordshire) were near the border of Berkshire, which might explain why there were two different sheriffs involved.

¹¹⁴ *Abingdon*, ii. 306-9, 348-9.

¹¹⁵ *Abingdon*, ii. 306-9.

and did not require any further involvement by Henry. Presumably, had further action from the king been needed, it would have progressed in a similar manner to the previous dispute. Clearly Henry's aid through all the disputes, as in the Battle cases, was requested and not given lightly.

D. Confirmation of a Settlement: Coggeshall Abbey vs. the family of Godwin the Cleric

A third level of involvement called for less input on Henry's part. In the following case between the Cistercian monks of Coggeshall and the daughters and family of Godwin the Cleric we only have charter evidence. The charter, issued between 1163 and 1172,¹¹⁶ is the confirmation of a final agreement reached in the presence of Ralph Brito and the knights of the honour of Boulogne. This took place at (Great) Tey, Essex in the honour court of Boulogne.¹¹⁷ After the death of Count William of Boulogne, son of King Stephen, in 1159, the honour was placed in the custody of Ralph Brito. Coggeshall Abbey was founded by Queen Matilda and King Stephen c. 1139 x 1141 with the gift of the manor of Coggeshall, Essex.¹¹⁸ Coggeshall was part of the honour of Boulogne, which Stephen and Matilda held jointly through Matilda's inheritance.¹¹⁹ The various members of the Godwin family involved in the dispute included Matilda, Odile, Eudo, their nephews and other kinsmen. It was decided that one half of the land that Godwin held in Coggeshall should remain with the abbey while the other should be divided amongst Godwin's

¹¹⁶ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 651 (4695H). This date has been further refined by the editors of the *Acta* project to possibly 1163 x March 1166.

¹¹⁷ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 651 (4695H).

¹¹⁸ *RRAN*, iii. 76 no. 207.

¹¹⁹ H. J. Tanner, *Families, Friends and Allies: Boulogne and Politics in Northern France and England c. 879-1160* (Leiden, 2004), p. 335.

descendents, who would hold this of the abbey.¹²⁰ It is assumed that Godwin originally held all of this land from the abbey and that what was in question here is the issue of its heritability. Ralph of Coggeshall's chronicle sheds no further light on this matter, which may be due to the small nature of the claim or because the dispute was settled in the court of the honour of Boulogne and went no further.

This third case study differs from the others as Henry's presence is not recorded. The case itself, as noted, was heard before Ralph Brito and the barons and knights of the honour of Boulogne. At this time William's sister, Mary, who was the abbess of Romsey, was removed from conventual life and married to Matthew of Flanders.¹²¹ She subsequently became the Countess of Boulogne. This dispute took place between the time of William's death and Mary's ascension as countess. This third example of involvement illustrates Henry confirming the final outcome of disputes heard and solved elsewhere. Without chronicle evidence for comparison, it is not known if the abbey had petitioned Henry at an earlier date and if he then referred the case to the honourial court or if it was sent there directly. This third type of involvement was probably the most routine and common and required relatively little effort on Henry's part.

II. Classification of Disputes

Many different legal situations might require Henry's involvement. This section considers disputes regarding alienability, heritability and disseisin which arose over immoveable property, rights and moveable goods. These disputes could be handled in various ways. If the dispute could not be solved

¹²⁰ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 651 (4695H).

¹²¹ J. H. Round, 'The Counts of Boulogne as English lords', *Studies in Peerage and Family History* (London, 1901), 147-80, at 172. *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 219.

through mediation and discussion, it could be handled in an honour court, a county court, an ecclesiastical court or the royal court. All of these possible outlets for settlement depended on the parties involved and the strength of individual cases.

a. Alienability

According to the strictures of canon law, churches were not allowed to alienate their land or other holdings permanently. While in theory this was to be observed, in practice alienation of ecclesiastical holdings did occur. Abbots gave land to family members and the monasteries and their officers gave land out to supporters, defenders or others. There were instances where the communities were forced into alienation by others or needed to alienate land in order to provide military service to the king.¹²² The process of revoking these alienations could prove difficult. The king's role here stemmed from his role as a protector of the Church, who maintained all of its lands and possessions, and also from his role as a grantor, taking interest in lands that he or his ancestors had given to the religious houses.¹²³

For example, in a charter dated between 1163 and 1172, Henry issued an order permitting the prior and monks of Christ Church Canterbury to make an examination into their manors and holdings which had been alienated without the license and assent of the community.¹²⁴ No mention is made of specific lands that were alienated or even who alienated them in the first place. The writ was issued 'at their petition' [ad eorum petitionem] which implies that Christ

¹²² J. Hudson, *Land, Law, and Lordship in Anglo-Norman England* (Oxford, 1994), p. 233.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 247.

¹²⁴ *Cartae Antiquae I*, p. 101 no. 206. Latin: 'Precipio quod liceat priori et monachis ecclesie Cristi Cant' facere fieri recognitiones in maneriis suis de tenementis suis que alienata sunt de ipsis maneriis absque licentia et assensu conuentus eiusdem ecclesie'.

Church may have been trying to regain alienations made by Archbishop Theobald and maybe even Archbishop Thomas Becket. This writ is an example of how an ecclesiastical community could regain lands that had been alienated by its predecessors or by a prelate. It is unclear from this writ if Christ Church had already tried to recall the alienated lands without the king's aid.

A second more specific example relates to a charter issued to Tavistock Abbey c. 1155.¹²⁵ The writ was addressed to the bishop of Exeter, Richard de Redvers, and Henry's barons and faithful men of Devon and Cornwall. According to this, Abbot Walter of Tavistock was to regain all the lands of the church's demesne which had been alienated, especially those which Abbot Geoffrey had given for knight service.¹²⁶ The writ specified that two churches, Carey and Panson, should be returned. Panson was part of the original foundation made by King Aethelred in 981.¹²⁷ The land had been alienated by 1066 and was not recovered until the abbacy of Wymund (1096 x 1102).¹²⁸ Wymund then put Panson into military fee, where it remained during the reign of Stephen.¹²⁹ The church of Carey is not mentioned in the foundation charter.

¹²⁵ H. P. R. Finberg, 'Some early Tavistock charters', *English Historical Review*, 62 (1947), 352-77 at 357 no. 12.

¹²⁶ Ibid. Latin: 'Uolo et concedo et firmiter precipio quod abbas Walterus de Tavistok' retrohabeat ad dominium ecclesie omnes illas terras quae fuerunt de dominio, preter illas quas Galfridus abbas dedit ad seruicium milicie.'

¹²⁷ H. P. R. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey: A Study in the Social and Economic History of Devon* (Cambridge, 1951), p. 278-83, Appendix B. The Electronic Sawyer has varying opinions on the charter's authenticity (S 838) but the majority view is that it is authentic.

<https://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/sdk13/chartwww/eSawyer.99/S%20832a-946.html>

¹²⁸ Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, p. 11, *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 72.

¹²⁹ Upon the arrival of William I and the introduction of military tenure, Tavistock became responsible for providing fifteen knights. In comparison with St. Albans, who only had to provide six knights, it appears that Tavistock was overly taxed. The later abbots, i.e. Wymund

These two examples illustrate the process required to revoke alienations. The first demonstrates the recall of all alienated lands while the second pays special attention to specific holdings. In both of these situations Henry's role was to aid the heads of the communities to recall their alienated lands. The fact that Henry issued no additional charters relating to these two cases is perhaps an indication that both houses successfully retrieved their lands.

b. Heritability

Land might be granted to hold simply for the duration of the donor's life or it could be given heritably. Disputes arising from heritable grants were often caused by disagreement over whether or not the land could and should be passed on. An example of an inheritance dispute is between Sherborne Abbey and Richard, son of Hildebrand.¹³⁰ Richard claimed the land of Bradford Abbas and Corscombe from the heirs of Humphrey de Prato.¹³¹ The manor of Bradford Abbas had allegedly been given to Sherborne by King Aethelstan in exchange for prayers and masses for the redemption of his soul while the gift of Corscombe was made by King Cuthred.¹³² The history of this dispute can be unravelled in the charter text. It emerges that Richard fitz Hildebrand was claiming land that presumably his father, Hildebrand, had held. Bishop Roger of Salisbury (d. 1139) had taken these lands during his episcopate and given them to his brother,

and Geoffrey, added at least two and a half knight fees to their limit of fifteen. Finberg, *Tavistock Abbey*, p. 8-16.

¹³⁰ *Monasticon*, i. 340 no. 7.

¹³¹ Latin: 'sicut precipuus heres Hunfridi de Prato clamabat'.

¹³² *V. C. H. Dorset*, ii. 63. None of the surviving charters of King Cuthred of Wessex record this gift.

Humphrey, to hold, thereby dispossessing Richard.¹³³ According to the settlement confirmed by Henry between 1155 and March 1166, Richard should have all of Bradford Abbas 'except for two and a half hides, all of Corscombe and the two and a half hides that Sherborne Abbey quit claimed.'¹³⁴ Upon Richard's death, however, all of the land was to revert back to the abbey. This case, while involving heritability, differs from the Bardolf case seen below in that the claim was made through the heirs of the original claimant and not by the heir himself.

A second dispute which is linked to inheritance is a dispute between Bardney Abbey and Thomas and Rose Bardolf concerning the land of Edlington, Lincolnshire.¹³⁵ Rose, who was the heir of Ralph I de Hanselin, held half of the barony of Shelford, Nottinghamshire,¹³⁶ while Thomas was a member of Henry's court who appeared as a witness in 11 of the monastic charters in the database,¹³⁷ the majority of which postdate 1172/3. In his quitclaim against Bardney Abbey, stated that he and Rose 'are remitting the charge which we have made against the abbot and monks of Bardney by the king's writ.'¹³⁸ It emerges that Thomas had claimed the land on behalf of his wife and heirs [ex parte uxoris mee et heredum meorum] but there is no indication whether he and his

¹³³ Latin: 'sicut carta Rog(eri) Saresb' episcopi testatur se illas iniuste ab ecclesia abstulisse et Hunfrido fratri suo prestasse'. Bishop Roger of Salisbury had done much to increase Sherborne's wealth and holdings as a protector of the monastery as well as aiding his family. So little information is known about Humphrey, Roger's brother, that it is possible he was the Humphrey de Prato in this charter but it is difficult to establish.

¹³⁴ *Monasticon*, i. 340 no. 7.

¹³⁵ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 96 (2541H). R. C. Van Caenegem (ed.), *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I* (Seldon Society, 107; London, 1991) p. 526-7 no. 485 a-b.

¹³⁶ Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 76.

¹³⁷ These charters can be found in the database.

¹³⁸ Van Caenegem (ed.), *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I* p. 526-7 no. 485a. Latin: 'remittimus calumpniam quam fecimus versus abbatem et monachos de Bard' per breve regis.'

wife received anything in exchange for this land or how they came to claim it in the first place but it appears as if Rose is claiming the land as part of her inheritance.¹³⁹ Thomas' writ, and a second recording the final agreement, were both issued c. 12 March 1176.¹⁴⁰ A second writ, which also records the agreement, adds that the case had been heard before Hugh de Gundeville, William fitz Ralph and William Basset. Henry's charter, a confirmation of the settlement made by Thomas, Rose and Bardney Abbey, was issued between March 1166 and August 1177.¹⁴¹

As the examples of Sherborne Abbey and Bardney Abbey indicate, the issue of heritability was just as important as alienability. In the case of Sherborne Abbey, the dispute involved not only heritability of land but possibly the alienability of it as well. The case of the Bardolfs and Bardney Abbey is less clear but is likely similar. Both cases demonstrate the necessity for a religious institution to withhold grants of land by inheritance and in both instances the lands were eventually returned to the monasteries. Henry's role in these disputes, however, differs. In the Bardney dispute he ordered Thomas Bardolf to make his quitclaim while in the Sherborne dispute he confirmed the final outcome of the dispute.

c. Disseisin

Disseisin took place when land or chattels were taken away. The reasons for disseisin could include non-payment of rent, unfulfilled obligations, loss due to treachery or simple seizure. According to Henry's charters, disseisin was mainly dealt with by writ and inquest. There were investigations or inquests

¹³⁹ It is likely their claim to the land was through Rose's inheritance.

¹⁴⁰ Van Caenegem (ed.), *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I* p. 526-7 no. 485a-b.

¹⁴¹ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 96 (2541H).

into the disseisin to determine if it was just or not and, depending on the complexity of the case, it might proceed to another court or even the royal court.

The first example of disseisin is taken from the Abingdon Chronicle. In the seventh year of the reign of Henry I (1106 x 1107), Miles Crispin made a gift 'in alms to the church of St. Mary and to the monks in Abingdon a house (in which lived a man called Egelward) at Colnbrook on the road to London, and half a hide of land, together with all the attached meadows, pastures and woods.'¹⁴² Miles gave this in recognition of the care he received from Abbot Faritus when he was ill. The gift was confirmed by Henry I c. 1107 and c. 1115¹⁴³ and by Pope Eugenius II (c. 1145 x 1153).¹⁴⁴ In the early years of his reign, Henry II issued a writ to Riulf de Cesson between 1155 and August 1158.¹⁴⁵ According to this if the monks of Abingdon had been 'disseised unjustly and without judgment of the land of Nigel of Colnbrook,' presumably one of the previous tenants who held the land of the abbey, 'they should be resealed immediately as they had been in the time of Henry's grandfather, Henry I.'¹⁴⁶ Since this writ was issued so early in Henry's reign, and no documentation of an earlier claim survives, the disseisin may actually have occurred during Stephen's

¹⁴² *Abingdon*, ii. 142-3. Latin: 'in elemosina ecclesie sancte Marie et monachis in Abbendonia quoddam hospicium in uia Lundonie apud Colebroc, in quo manebat quidam uocabulo Aegelwardus, et dimidiam hidam terre, pariter cum omnibus illi adiacentibus pratis, pascuis et siluis.'

¹⁴³ *Abingdon*, ii. 160-3.

¹⁴⁴ *Abingdon*, ii. 264-71.

¹⁴⁵ *Abingdon*, ii. 350-1 no. 297h. Riulf de Cesson had been granted the land of Iver, Buckinghamshire, which was close to the land of Colnbrook in dispute here. *Abingdon*, ii. 350-1 fn. 77, *V. C. H. Bucks.* iii. 287.

¹⁴⁶ *Abingdon*, ii. 350-1. Latin: 'Si monachi de Abbendonia sunt dissaisiti iniuste et sine iudicio de terra Nigelli de Colebroc, quam clamant, tunc precipio quod iuste et sine dilatione eos inde resaisias, sicut inde saiti fuerunt tempore regis Henrici aui mei.'

reign but either the abbey was not able to make its claim until later or their earlier attempts are simply unknown. Colnbrook was evidently returned to Abingdon for it appears in a list of revenues pertaining to the chamber, which Hudson attributes to the same hand as the history and dates to c. 1170.¹⁴⁷

A second example of disseisin is the dispossession of a manor belonging to Westminster Abbey. Westminster had been given the land of Claygate in Surrey by Tostig and his wife, Leofrin, in the eleventh century. Edward the Confessor confirmed this grant between 1056 and 1066¹⁴⁸ and William the Conqueror reconfirmed this 'little manor' of Claygate upon his succession.¹⁴⁹ This land is mentioned in a charter of Henry I from 1103 x 1104, giving the abbey quittances of pleas, scots, aids and all other customary exactions for their lands at Paddington, Fanton and Claygate.¹⁵⁰ The lands at Paddington, Fanton and Claygate were later assigned to the almonry of the abbey.¹⁵¹ Stephen also issued a charter with the same quittances, which referred to the time of Henry I and 'carta regis Edwardi.'¹⁵²

Some time during Stephen's reign, however, the church was disseised of this land. In a writ dating between 1154 and May 1172, Henry ordered the sheriff of Surrey that if the abbey of Westminster had been 'unjustly disseised,

¹⁴⁷ *Abingdon*, p. xxvi, 398.

¹⁴⁸ B. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 1977), p. 358.

¹⁴⁹ D. Bates (ed.), *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I (1066-1087)* (Oxford, 1998) p. 892-3 no. 298. Bates argues that this charter of William I is a possible forgery or an elaboration of an authentic charter of William.

¹⁵⁰ *RRAN*, ii. 37 no. 667.

¹⁵¹ Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*, p. 358. Stephen's charter was given a broad issue date of 1135 x 1152 but the editors place it earlier due to Stephen's reference to his mother and father and the lack of reference to his wife's death.

¹⁵² *RRAN*, iii. 343 no. 936.

and without judgment, of any part of their land of Claygate,' the monks should be 'justly resealed without delay.'¹⁵³ There are no further surviving charters regarding this disseisin but there is a potentially spurious charter of Henry II dated between 1154 and August 1158, confirming the customs seen in the charters of Stephen and Henry I, which mentions Claygate.¹⁵⁴ The abbey must have been resealed of the land as it was later rented out to Geoffrey fitz Peter, the Earl of Essex (c. 1200 x 1213), for an annual sum of £3.¹⁵⁵

III. Levels of Involvement

Henry's participation in disputes can be seen as a special mark of patronage and, accordingly, elevate the importance of a religious house. Moreover, his involvement might serve as an active deterrent to future disputes over the same land. Here, Henry's obligations as protector of the church as well as his duties as chief landholder played a key part in his participation. Given that all of the land in England was the king's land and was held of him, Henry was responsible for protecting his lands, even those he did not hold directly.

The previous examples indicate that Henry's participation in these disputes could take various forms. He could play a fairly active role and hear the dispute with his court, or he could assume a more passive role and simply issue final confirmation once the dispute had been settled elsewhere. There

¹⁵³ E. Mason, J. Bray, and D. J. Murphy (eds.), *Westminster Abbey Charters 1066-c.1214* (London Rec. Soc., 25; London, 1988) p. 70 no. 125. *Acta* of Henry II, no. 245H. Latin: 'si abbatia de Westmonasterio est dissaisita iniuste et sine iudicio de aliqua parte terre sue de Claigata, tunc precipio quod eam inde sine dilatione et iuste resaisias'.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 70 no. 126. *Acta* of Henry II, no. 4633H.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 314-5 no. 484. The land was still held upon the Dissolution by Henry VIII when it was valued, along with a second purchased manor at Claygate, at £7 5s 4d. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*, p. 358.

were three main roles which Henry fulfilled in disputes: as adjudicator and mediator, as a delegating authority, and as a confirming authority. To examine Henry's participation in disputes more fully, each of these roles is analyzed.

A1. Henry as Adjudicator

Henry's role as an adjudicator was the highest level of involvement open to the king. This required him to hear disputes as an adjudicator and to take an active part. Henry fulfilled this role by sitting with his court, hearing the evidence and then deliberating with the justices or barons who sat with him. While Henry took counsel from the court, the final decision was most likely his and it was his responsibility to decide on any punishment to give. An example of this is recorded in *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey* and concerns the dispute between Battle Abbey and the Bishop of Chichester over episcopal exemption. When the time came to decide the outcome of the dispute, Henry asserted that he and not the archbishop should settle it, although he would take counsel.¹⁵⁶ The *Chronicle* continues by explaining that Henry first withdrew with those who were present to discuss the matter and then called in the bishop for further discussion.¹⁵⁷ While this is a rather unusual case and is not indicative of routine procedure, it is unlikely that other more common disputes were heard by the king alone. There are several other examples that are significant and merit closer consideration.

The manor of Dogmersfield, Hampshire was given by Henry I to Bishop Godfrey of Bath and his successors c. 1133-1136.¹⁵⁸ At some point, most likely during Stephen's reign, the manor fell into the hands of or was taken by Henry

¹⁵⁶ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 204-7.

¹⁵⁷ *Battle Chronicle*, p. 206-7.

¹⁵⁸ *RRAN*, ii. 262 no. 1762, *V. C. H. Hants.*, iv. 72.

de Tilly, baron of Marshwood.¹⁵⁹ Henry II's charter recording a settlement reached between Bishop Reginald of Bath and Henry de Tilly has been dated c. 13 January 1177.¹⁶⁰ This states: 'know that it was settled in my court between Bishop Reginald of Bath and Henry de Tilly of the manor of Dogmersfield that the bishop claimed to have in his demesne and fee of Dinder that, just as the bishop said, Godfrey of Dinder gave of his holding and that Henry claimed to hold of the bishop.'¹⁶¹ This opening illustrates several important things. First that the dispute was heard in the king's court [curia mea], second that the manor of Dogmersfield was in the demesne of the bishop and the fee of Dinder and was given by Bishop Godfrey of Dinder to the chapter. The third point the charter reveals is that Henry de Tilly claimed to hold this land of the bishop. The charter continues stating that the agreement was reached 'in my court, in front of me and my barons.'¹⁶² The final decision, however, was that Henry de Tilly should return the manor to Bishop Reginald, who, in turn, was to pay Henry de Tilly 100 marks. King John is recorded as confirming this in 1207, which indicates that while the dispute was successfully resolved the result still needed further confirmation.¹⁶³

¹⁵⁹ Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 64. Henry de Tilly inherited the barony of Marshwood via his mother, Denise, the daughter of Ralph, a son of Geoffrey I de Mandeville by his second wife.

Marshwood was disputed by de Tilly and Geoffrey II de Mandeville.

¹⁶⁰ *CChR*, iii. 471-2. *Acta* of Henry II, no. 126 (984H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁶¹ *CChR*, iii. 471-2. Latin: 'Sciatis quod cum placitum esset in curia mea inter Reginaldum episcopum Batoniensem et Henricum de Tilli de manerio de Dokemeresfelda quod episcopus clamabat habere in dominico suo et de feodo de Dinra quod, sicut dicebat episcopus, Godefridus de Dinra debebat de eo tenere in capite, et quod Henricus clamabat tenere de episcopo'.

¹⁶² Latin: 'in curia mea coram me et baronibus meis'.

¹⁶³ *V. C. H. Hants*. iv. 72.

The second dispute took place between Bury St. Edmunds and Master Nicholas and G. of Melford between 1154 and 1172.¹⁶⁴ The opening of the charter reveals that they had brought a complaint against the abbey. Unlike the previous example, this charter does not mention the king's court but it does reveal that the quit claim was made in the king's presence.¹⁶⁵ Both Nicholas and G. of Melford quitclaimed the following: the manor of Culford, the mill of Babwell, Southwold, the land of Saxham, the land in the jurisdiction [*foro*] of St. Edmund and the entire inheritance that Nicholas had outside the burgh, the manor of Coney Weston and land G. had in Melford. In his closing, Henry reiterated that all this had been done in his presence. Unfortunately, no place name is given in this charter and whilst it is impossible to establish if it was dealt with solely by the king, it is most likely that the court was involved.

The manor of Over in Cambridgeshire was given to Ramsey Abbey in 1044 by Bishop Eadnoth II of Dorchester, a former monk of Ramsey.¹⁶⁶ Previous to this gift the holders of the manor of Over had maintained a close familial relationship to Ramsey. After his death in 986, Athelstan Mannesson, the holder of Over, left the manor to his wife, who was related to Ramsey's founder, St. Oswald.¹⁶⁷ The land must have passed through her to Bishop Eadnoth, who in turn gifted the manor to Ramsey. By 1066 the manor was made up of 10 $\frac{3}{4}$ hides of a fifteen hide vill total.¹⁶⁸ According to the Ramsey Chronicle, the land was leased in 1088 to William Pecche and his wife

¹⁶⁴ D. C. Douglas (ed.), *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* (London, 1932) p. 106 no. 102, *Acta of Henry II*, no. 361 (2972H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁶⁵ It is likely that the court's presence may have been synonymous with the King's presence.

¹⁶⁶ *V. C. H. Cambs.*, ix. 343.

¹⁶⁷ *V. C. H. Cambs.*, ix. 343. Eadnoth was also a relation of this family.

¹⁶⁸ *V. C. H. Cambs.*, ix. 343.

[Aelfwynn] for their lifetimes.¹⁶⁹ After their deaths, William's heir made a claim for the land and this dispute between William's heirs and Ramsey Abbey continued through the reigns of Henry I and Stephen.¹⁷⁰ Henry II, however, did not become involved in this until late in his reign. In a charter issued between December 1186 and February 1187, Henry noted that a dispute had arisen between Ramsey and Geoffrey Pecche.¹⁷¹ His charter records that an agreement was made before him at Clarendon between Abbot Robert and the monks of Ramsey and Geoffrey Pecche regarding the entire land that Geoffrey held in the vill of Over.¹⁷² The charter reveals that this plea was held 'in my court' and in this case the Abbot of Ramsey conceded to Geoffrey the land of Over with its fish and all appurtenances for the annual rent of £7. After Geoffrey's death the land was to revert to Ramsey on the understanding that none of Geoffrey's or Hamo's heirs should attempt to reclaim it. As with the first example, we have here the key words that the dispute was heard 'in my court' [in curia mea] and 'in front of me' [coram me], a clear reminder of Henry's personal involvement in the proceedings. This case was not finished however, for Geoffrey's brother, Gilbert, brought a claim against Ramsey between 1194 and 1200 for two carrucates of demesne land.¹⁷³ Presumably he

¹⁶⁹ W. D. Macray (ed.), *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis* (London, 1886) p. 228.

¹⁷⁰ For a full discussion on this dispute, see: J. Hudson, 'Life-Grants of Land and the Development of Inheritance in Anglo-Norman England', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 12 (1989), 67-80.

¹⁷¹ W. H. Hart and P. A. Lyons (eds.), *Cartularium Monasterii de Rameseia* (3 vols., London, 1884-93) i. 122-3 no. 32.

¹⁷² Latin: 'Conuentionem factam coram me apud Clarendon inter Robertum abbatem Ram' et eiusdem loci conuent et Galfr' Pecche de tota terra quam idem Galfr' tenuit in uilla de Oure'.

¹⁷³ V. C. H. *Cambs.*, ix. 343.

was claiming this through his familial and inheritable relationship to Geoffrey. Gilbert's son, Hamo, finally abandoned this claim in 1237.¹⁷⁴

The dispute between Ramsey Abbey and the Pecche family offers an insight into Henry's role as an adjudicator. Henry was not the first royal to participate in this matter for his grandfather, Henry I, had been involved: Stephen, however, did very little. The manor of Over represented lost income for Ramsey and it was important that the community re-established the original lease for a lifetime. It is unlikely that Henry stumbled upon this dispute and more probable that another Pecche successor appeared on the scene and renewed the dispute. In this case, Henry and his court heard the arguments and pronounced the final verdict.

A2. Henry as Mediator

One of the most famous conflicts of the later part of Henry's reign, and the most drawn out, was that between Archbishop Baldwin and the community of Christ Church Canterbury. Archbishop Baldwin started his career as the archdeacon of Exeter before leaving to become a Cistercian monk at the Abbey of Ford,¹⁷⁵ where he succeeded to the abbacy around 1175.¹⁷⁶ Thereafter he was elevated to the see of Worcester. In 1184 the see of Canterbury was vacant and, according to Knowles, there were at least three other (and more) suitable candidates than Baldwin: Odo, prior of Christ Church and Abbot of Battle; Peter de Leia, bishop of St. David's and Theobald, abbot of Cluny.¹⁷⁷ Baldwin was chosen and accepted the office on the understanding that the monks of Christ

¹⁷⁴ V. C. H. Cambs., ix. 343.

¹⁷⁵ *Monastic Order*, p. 317.

¹⁷⁶ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 132. No precise date for Baldwin's abbacy has been determined by the editors except for his resignation to become bishop in 1180.

¹⁷⁷ *Monastic Order*, p. 318.

Church agreed to his succession.¹⁷⁸ While this relationship appeared to have such inauspicious beginnings, it soon became clear that Baldwin's Cistercian background was not compatible with the dynamic of the community of Christ Church.

According to Peter of Blois, the initial problem between Baldwin and the monks arose over his appropriation of a portion of the convent's property due to 'moral delinquencies'.¹⁷⁹ Gervase of Canterbury traces this to Archbishop Baldwin, who denied the convent their Christmas offerings from their manors and three churches that were appropriated to the almonry.¹⁸⁰ Baldwin had, however, received papal letters permitting him to do so. Perhaps the breaking point was Baldwin's announcement in 1186 that he intended to found a collegiate church at Hackington, outside Canterbury, dedicated to St. Thomas (Becket) and St. Stephen. This foundation, it appeared, would replace Christ Church as the archiepiscopal cathedral. The seats of this new foundation would be financed by prebends with one seat for the king and one for each of the bishops. The foundation would endow vicars, raise funds by subscription and, significantly, would be staffed by clerks of learning and not monks.¹⁸¹ Where and how did Baldwin come up with this idea? Various contemporary writers, including Peter of Blois and Gervase of Canterbury, attributed this largely to Henry, claiming it was his idea and influence.¹⁸² What ensued was a long drawn

¹⁷⁸ *Monastic Order*, p. 318. As Knowles points out, the monastic cathedral chapters were an English anomaly. They were incompatible with canon law and probably helped to aggravate the ensuing struggle.

¹⁷⁹ *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, Appendix, p. 554-7 no. 571

¹⁸⁰ *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. 2, Gervase, *Chronica*, p. 332.

¹⁸¹ *Monastic Order*, p. 320.

¹⁸² Gervase, *Chronica*, p. 538-42.

out battle between Christ Church and Archbishop Baldwin that involved both the king and the Pope. At one point between January 1188 and August 1189, the monks were trapped in the cloisters when a number of Baldwin's partisans, including some men from the town of Canterbury, seized control of the gate and outer offices of the monastic complex.¹⁸³ The monks endured this 'siege' for about a year and a half receiving aid from the citizens of Canterbury who sympathized with their cause. Interestingly, many of the monks' sympathizers and supporters were Jews.¹⁸⁴

The seven surviving charters issued by Henry that related to this affair. A writ regarding the endorsement of Baldwin's plan was addressed to the archbishops, bishops, abbots and all the King's faithful men.¹⁸⁵ Henry stated that he had seen the letter of Pope Urban III ['inspectis litteris domini Urb' pape tertii'] regarding Baldwin's wish to found a church in memory of the martyrs, St. Stephen and St. Thomas and voiced his support for the foundation and also for Archbishop Baldwin's granting of parish churches as prebends. In doing so, Henry shows that, at least prior to the siege of the monks c. February x August 1187, he was supportive of Baldwin's endeavour.¹⁸⁶

The first writ issued to Christ Church was made between July 1186 and July 1188.¹⁸⁷ This informed the community that Henry had heard their complaints and accordingly was disturbed and troubled that the Archbishop had

¹⁸³ Urry, *Canterbury*, p. 166.

¹⁸⁴ Urry, *Canterbury*, p. 166.

¹⁸⁵ *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. 7-8 no. 7.

¹⁸⁶ *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. 7-8 no. 7, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 432 (4901H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁸⁷ *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. 27-8 no. 31, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 474 (4903H). (For dating purposes only).

been aggravating them.¹⁸⁸ The king maintained he would himself speak to Baldwin the next time he was at court but reminded the convent of the respect they owed the archbishop as their spiritual father.¹⁸⁹ Clearly, the monks of Christ Church had appealed to Henry for his help in this matter and while Henry agreed to speak to Baldwin on their behalf, he did not blatantly state that he would take their side. In this writ Henry appears to take a neutral stance and acts as an arbiter.

The second writ, issued in January or February 1187, was addressed to the convent of Canterbury.¹⁹⁰ This reveals that Henry was sending the Bishop Elect [and papal legate] Hugh de Nonant of Coventry as well as Bishop John of Norwich and Bishop William of Worcester to advise the convent on the matter that had arisen between them and their archbishop. Henry also remarked that he was troubled by the prior of Christ Church travelling to France without his license [*'absque licentia nostra, transfretavit prior vester'*] to appeal to the King of France. The next series of writs further illustrates the steps taken to reconcile the monks and the archbishop. Henry informed the community that he would speak to Baldwin but warned that they should not prolong the conflict.¹⁹¹ Various writs issued between 1188 and 1189 disclose Henry's efforts to send

¹⁸⁸ *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. 27-8 no. 31. Latin: 'moti sumus et molestati, et plurimum perturbaremur si dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus manum suam aggravaret super vos'.

¹⁸⁹ Latin: 'vos autem debitam reverentiam curetis ei exhibere, sicut patri vestro spirituali, ita quod honori Dei et ecclesie et ipsius et vestro actiones vestre congrue dinoscantur'.

¹⁹⁰ *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. 83-4 no. 99, *Acta of Henry II*, no. 475 (4905H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁹¹ *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. 90-1 no. 114, *Acta of Henry II*, no. 477 (4908H). (For dating purposes only).

different mediators to Christ Church to advise them and resolve the dispute.¹⁹² Alas, it appears none of the parties was successful.

These writs contrast strongly with Gervase of Canterbury's claim that the proposal of the foundation at Hackington was Henry's idea and wholeheartedly supported by him. Rather, they show Henry advising and mediating on the behalf of the convent more than for Baldwin. The lack of surviving writs to Baldwin, however, makes it difficult to pinpoint whose side, if any, Henry was actually on. Other evidence might show a different perspective. Henry died before the conflict was resolved and in desperation the monks appealed to his successor, Richard I, who arranged a compromise in their favour.¹⁹³ The situation between Baldwin and Christ Church ended with Baldwin's death on Crusade at Acre but its outcome, and the events themselves, had far reaching implications.

Henry's mediation in the Canterbury affair here shows another possible form of intervention which is quite different role to his previous role of an adjudicator. Here, Henry did not hear the dispute as a member of the court but actively sought to reconcile the two parties, neither of which was clearly in the wrong. The dispute between the two parties involved land to a certain extent but also, and perhaps more importantly, privileges for it threatened the very status of Christ Church Canterbury as a monastic cathedral and the leading community in the country. Moreover, given that this took place shortly after Becket's death, Henry was surely eager to avoid further unrest with the archbishop of Canterbury. While Henry did not have the authority to solve this

¹⁹² Gervase, *Chronica*, p. 412, *Epistolae Cantuarienses*, p. 544-5 no. 562, 297 no. 312. *Acta* of Henry II, no. 478 (4869H), 480 (4870H), 481 (4871H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁹³ *Monastic Order*, p. 322, Gervase, *Chronica*, p. 473-5.

dispute, he was empowered to counsel both sides and offer the advice of others. As on other occasions, Henry's involvement here was probably due to his obligation as a protector of the church, and was probably undertaken to help maintain the stability of his kingdom.

B. Instructions to Officials

Henry would also participate in disputes from a distance. Here he was informed of the proceedings but passed the handling of them on via instructions to his justices, sheriffs or other courts. Some of these situations resulted in further confirmation by the king. The delegation of these cases is often indicated by ending the charter with the phrase 'nisi feceris' ('unless you do it').¹⁹⁴ The 'nisi feceris' clause was intended as a safeguard and is an example of the king potentially delegating disputes to other royal officials.¹⁹⁵ An illuminating example of this is the dispute that arose between Colchester Abbey and William de Chesney of Norwich between December 1154 and August 1158¹⁹⁶ over the land of Stoke in south-western Suffolk, in the diocese of Norwich. William de Chesney, also called William of Norwich, was the lord of Blythburgh in north-eastern Suffolk.¹⁹⁷ Henry addressed his writ to William and in this stated that William should maintain the agreement he had made with the monks of Colchester before the Bishop of Norwich at his synod.¹⁹⁸ Colchester

¹⁹⁴ The clause would read 'et nisi feceritis, iusticia mea faciat,' or 'and if you do not, my justice is to do so.' *Abingdon*, p. 348-9.

¹⁹⁵ J. Boorman, 'Nisi feceris under Henry II', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 24 (2001), 85-97 at 85-6.

¹⁹⁶ S. A. Moore (ed.), *Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Johannis Baptiste in Colecestria* (2 vols., Roxburghe Club, London, 1897) i. 41, *Acta* of Henry II, no. 659 (2896H). (For dating purposes only).

¹⁹⁷ Sanders, *Baronies*, p. 16.

¹⁹⁸ Latin: 'precipio firmiter quod sine dilatione teneas monachis Colecestrie finem quem fecisti cum illis de terra de Stokes coram episcopo Norwicensi in Synodo sua'.

was to be seised of this land of Stoke and William was warned that unless he did this, Henry's justice of Norfolk would make sure it was done.¹⁹⁹ This dispute was initially settled in the Bishop of Norwich's synod and Henry's writ was likely the result of a petition to ensure the terms of settlement were upheld. Rather than hearing himself, however, Henry referred it to his justice of Norfolk, who presumably enforced the settlement or re-heard the dispute if necessary. Of the surviving charters of Colchester, not one mentions Stoke or William de Chesney, which suggests that the settlement was upheld.

Another example involves St. Peter's Abbey in Gloucester and Earl Hugh of Chester and Countess Matilda. Between April and May 1153, Earl Ranulph II of Chester had given Gloucester Abbey the rent from the mill of Olney in Buckinghamshire and confirmed his sister's gift of the mill of Tathwell in Lincolnshire.²⁰⁰ In a writ dated 1155 x August 1158, Henry ordered the Earl and Countess to make sure that Gloucester Abbey received the rents from these two mills.²⁰¹ An interesting addition to this charter is Henry's expression of displeasure that the matter had not been addressed.²⁰² While the problem may not at this stage have turned into a full blown dispute, Henry nonetheless warned 'unless you do it, my sheriff or my justice will do it so I do not hear further claim for want of right.'²⁰³ Thus, even if the case did become a dispute, Henry had taken the necessary steps to refer it to his sheriff or justice rather

¹⁹⁹ Latin: 'nisi feceris iustitia mea de Norfolca faciat fieri'.

²⁰⁰ G. Barraclough (ed.), *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester c.1071-1237* (Rec. Soc. of Lancs. and Cheshire, 126; Gloucester, 1988) p. 131 no. 116.

²⁰¹ R. B. Patterson (ed.), *The Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey Gloucester c. 1122 to 1263* (Bristol and Gloucs. Arch. Soc., 11; Gloucester, 1998) p. 40 no. 49.

²⁰² Latin: 'displicet mihi quod hoc non fecistis sicut per alia breuia mea'.

²⁰³ Latin: 'nisi feceritis vicecomes mei uel iusticiarius faciat ne inde clamorem amplius audiam pro penuria recti'.

than the royal court. No other charters issued by Henry survive for Gloucester Abbey and it is therefore not known if his sheriff or justice was later involved in the matter.

A third example, which also involves Earl Hugh of Chester and Countess Matilda, concerns Stixwould Priory, which was founded by Countess Lucy of Chester, the mother of Ranulph II of Chester c.1135.²⁰⁴ Lucy made the gift of the land of Honington to Stixwould about the time of the foundation.²⁰⁵ In Henry's writ, issued between 1155 and May 1172, he stipulated that this should be recognized by Chester's barons of Lincolnshire whether or not Arnulf fitz Peter had lost the land of Honington in Henry I's court.²⁰⁶ Then, they should determine if Countess Lucy and Earl Ranulph II had granted this land to Stixwould in alms. As with the two previous examples, the *nisi feceris* clause indicates 'my justice' ['iusticia mea']. A second charter, issued at the same time, and with the same address, states that if it was indeed demonstrated that Arnulf had lost the land, then Stixwould should have possession of the land as they had been given it by Earl Ranulph II and Countess Lucy. Henry added the proviso that the nuns should not be placed in plea against this order as a result of the complaint made by Arnulf and his heirs. As with the other Stixwould writ, Henry added the important warning: 'unless you do it, my sheriff or justice will make it done.'²⁰⁷ The matter was eventually resolved in favour of Stixwould for the land

²⁰⁴ Barraclough (ed.), *The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester c. 1071-1237*, p. 29.

²⁰⁵ Ibid. p. 29-30 no. 19.

²⁰⁶ Van Caenegem (ed.), *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I* p. 336 no. 376a-b.

²⁰⁷ Latin: 'nisi feceritis, uic' meus uel iusticia faciat fieri'.

of Honington appears in a later general confirmation charter of Henry II dating between 1177 and November 1181.²⁰⁸

These three examples show another aspect of Henry's participation. Each lack the key phrases 'coram me' or 'in curia mea' revealing Henry was not personally involved and the matter was delegated—one mentions a settlement made in a synod while the other two seem to relate to the first stages of possible disputes, which were resolved by the lower courts or deterred by royal threat. While Henry was not involved in these disputes in person, he was seemingly aware of the proceedings. Indeed, it is possible that if the disputes had continued, Henry would have taken a more active role.

C. Confirmations

A third level of Henry's involvement required even less of an active role. This category of disputes differs to the others for it represents those which were not heard by Henry but by honourial, ecclesiastical or other courts. These disputes also relate to situations in which Henry granted a confirmation of a settlement reached between two parties, often requested by one or both parties. Accordingly, there is little or no referral of these disputes to the royal courts. This does not mean that the houses represented here were second rate or lacked Henry's protection for these confirmations could in fact mask a greater level of royal involvement. The following examples relating to Bath Abbey, St Benet's Abbey and Christ Church Canterbury offer an insight into this more covert involvement.

The first example relates to a dispute between the monks of Bath, Ralph of Stokes and Gilbert Crok. Henry's charter, issued between 1156 and August

²⁰⁸ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 2862H.

1166,²⁰⁹ opens by stating this dispute had been brought, heard and decided in the court and presence of the Bishop of Bath.²¹⁰ Henry indicates in his charter what the terms of the settlement are: Ralph and Gilbert were to hold the manor of Olveston from the monks, paying a rent of £12 every year. Henry also mentions Bishop Robert's charter, which recorded this settlement.²¹¹ Henry's role here was to confirm the result for the security of both parties.

The other example concerns a settlement reached between Christ Church Canterbury and Lambin Frese, who was a moneyer from Canterbury.²¹² In all likelihood this was not a dispute but the juggling of a tenant's land. Still, it would have developed into a dispute if the necessary action had not been taken. Henry's charter, dated May 1175 x April 1179, confirmed a settlement reached between the two parties ['sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse conuentionem.']²¹³ There is no mention in the charter of where the agreement was reached or before whom. The settlement required Lambin to return the land he held above the gate of the cemetery, quit of all claims by him and his heirs, and the monks in return would give him the land against Hottemelne, near the ford, that was Godwin Grom's and also all the land that was Gerold le Tanur's.²¹⁴ For this land, Lambin was to pay a rent of 5s a year. It is possible that the fire which consumed the church in 1174 began in Lambin's workshop

²⁰⁹ *Acta* of Henry II, no. 129 (3194H).

²¹⁰ Latin: 'Sciatis me concessisse et presenti carta confirmasse conuentionem illam quam Rad(ulf)us de Stokes et Gill(bertus) Crok cum uxoribus suis fecerant cum monachis Bathon' de manerio de Olueston' coram Roberto episcopo Bathon'.

²¹¹ F. M. R. Ramsey (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta: Bath and Wells 1061-1205* (vol. x, Oxford, 1995) p. 11-3 nos. 15, 16.

²¹² Urry, *Canterbury*, p. 114.

²¹³ Urry, *Canterbury*, p. 414-5 no. 36.

²¹⁴ Urry, *Canterbury*, p. 414-5 no. 36.

outside the grounds of Christ Church and that the monks were here attempting to prevent a similar situation from reoccurring.²¹⁵ Henry's charter also mentions a *cyrographum* made between the two parties. The royal confirmation of this agreement would certainly have benefited both sides and prevented later problems from emerging.

The above examples illustrate several points relating to the types of disputes and the nature of Henry's involvement. Most of the disputes were concerned with issues of alienability, heritability and disseisin and could be dealt with by mediation or court hearings. Henry's involvement in the disputes could take many forms. He might act as an audience and adjudicator along with his council, hearing evidence and pronouncing verdicts or he could defer disputes to his officials, both his sheriffs and justices, electing not to hear the arguments in person. On other occasions, Henry confirmed settlements and agreements made in other courts by judges who were not necessarily part of the royal court. Significantly, Henry does not appear to have had any preferred method in dealing with these disputes with religious houses. For example, while several of Battle Abbey's disputes were heard in Henry's presence, others were resolved with less royal input.

IV. Religious Orders and Chronology

A. Religious Order Distribution

A total of 148 surviving charters explicitly concern disputes among the monasteries of England. These charters were selected according to whether or not they mentioned a dispute, confirmed an agreement, referred to disseisin or

²¹⁵ Urry, *Canterbury*, p. 115.

other legal issues and orders to uphold a ruling. The following table illustrates the findings amongst the religious orders.

Religious Order	Number of Charters
Benedictine	124
Augustinian, Cistercian	10
Hospitals	3
Gilbertine, Knights Templar	1

These numbers alone suggest that Henry's intervention was heavily skewed towards the Benedictines. This, however, can be explained for many of the key royal houses, such as Abingdon, Battle and Reading, were founded as Benedictine houses. Interestingly, the Cistercians and the Augustinians, said to have been personal favourites of Henry, did not demonstrate nearly as much involvement. Since the Benedictine Rule did not restrict the houses' holdings, these communities often had possessions far from the site of the monastery. Gifts made to the ancient houses over the centuries created problems in maintaining these holdings. Accordingly Benedictine houses leased their land to tenants but in doing so matters of heritability and claims made on this account led to many tangled situations. Even with these explanations, it is still striking how many disputes the Benedictines were involved in.

The Cistercian Rule, in contrast, emphatically denied the possession of feudal fees and the right to hold advowsons and other 'normal' possessions of the church.²¹⁶ Unlike the Benedictine orders, who held manors and churches throughout the kingdom, the Cistercians, at least initially, sought to consolidate their holdings and directly farmed their lands as demesne, thereby avoiding any

²¹⁶ *Monastic Order*, p. 210. We have seen this in previous chapters to be untrue.

potential difficulties in controlling and exploiting distant holdings. This, combined with their protection by the papacy, may have reduced the number of potential disputes and also meant they had a different route available for any litigation. Of the disputes that have surviving writs relating to the Cistercians, the majority deal with land division or rights to waste.²¹⁷ Some, including the above-mentioned case involving Stixwould, were also concerned with restoring specific gifts, many of which were made upon their foundation. Another potential explanation for the lack of Cistercian intervention and one which also applies to the Augustinians is that there were significantly fewer Cistercian and Augustinian houses than Benedictine foundations at this time and the proportion of charters would accordingly be expected to be less. Moreover, many of these other religious houses were much smaller in size than the Benedictine houses.

The Augustinian Canons followed a rule similar to the Benedictines, which required a less austere life than the Cistercians. The order's popularity grew during the reigns of Henry I and Stephen,²¹⁸ and perhaps as a testimony to this Henry II made his re-foundation at Waltham an Augustinian house. The ten surviving charters issued to Augustinian houses deal with many of the issues already examined in this chapter namely settlements over land and churches, harassment and the withholding of gifts.

²¹⁷ For example, Furness Abbey made an agreement with William fitz Gilbert over land division. William was to pay Furness £1 for the part of their land he was holding; J. C. Atkinson and J. Brownhill (eds.), *The Coucher Book of Furness Abbey* (2 vols. in 6 parts, Chetham Soc., NS 9, 11, 14, 74, 76, 78; Manchester, 1886-1919) i. 1-2 no. 1. A second example was a confirmation charter granted to Rievaulx Abbey. In this charter, Henry initiated an inquest as to the abbey's right to the waste of Pickering; *Recueil Henry II*, ii. 439-40 Supplement no. 15.

²¹⁸ *Monastic Order*, p. 175.

Some 60 different Benedictine monasteries are mentioned in the dispute charters. They include royal favourites, such as Abingdon, Battle and Reading as well as smaller (and some lesser known) houses. Abingdon, Christ Church Canterbury, Reading and St. Benet of Holme have left the greatest number of surviving charters dealing with disputes and intervention, with totals of nine, twelve, sixteen and fifteen charters respectively. The other house concentrations vary but do not reach the numbers of these other four. A full list of the recipients is included found in the database. It does appear, however, from the charter evidence, that Henry favoured certain monasteries with his assistance in disputes. This was perhaps due to the assistance of patrons and petitions, which is certainly borne out in the examples.

B. Chronology

The matter of chronology is slightly more difficult for many of the charters cannot be dated precisely. Still, with what is available, a rough chronology can be made is set out in the following tables.

Dating Range	Number of Charters
Pre 1154	4
1154 x 1172	93
1173 x 1189	46
1154 x 1189	4

Decade	Number of Charters
1154 x 1159	41
1160 x 1169	18
1154 x 1169	22
1154 x 1172	11

1170 x 1179	18
1180 x 1189	16
1170 x 1189	13

These numbers correspond with a general trend which places the majority of Henry's charters within the first two decades of his reign. Still, it is significant that a sizeable number of disputes took place throughout Henry's reign. Disputes could occur at random times throughout a king's reign and were often tied to the death and inheritance of tenants. Significantly, there was not a greater concentration of charters issued around the time of the Becket dispute or indeed during the rebellion of the Young King. Of all the forms of patronage examined in this thesis, this was probably the least affected by tumultuous events in Henry's reign bar his ascension.

To return, however, to the issue of patronage and how Henry's intervention in these disputes can be seen as an aspect of his patronage: as previously noted, the term *patronus* suggests that a patron was not expected to be a gift giver alone. It was also anticipated that he would maintain and defend the object of his patronage which included defending the community's rights and possessions. Henry, as king, was perhaps under an even greater obligation since he was expected to defend and protect all the ecclesiastical institutions of his kingdom. In order to do this he needed to be informed of developments and, not least of all, be willing to help. Further, he needed to be prepared to delegate disputes to others since it would clearly be impossible for him to hear every dispute. While it would be reasonable to think that Henry would be more involved in the high profile disputes, this does not appear to always have been the case. Although many of the high profile disputes did to some extent involve

Henry, a number of examples, some of which have been discussed, reveal Henry's participation in more mundane problems. This makes it inevitably more difficult to assign motive to the nature of Henry's involvement in these disputes and to decipher concrete patterns. Henry appears to have made himself available as a judicial resource to a wide range of religious institutions and not simply his established favourites. In comparison to the other areas of Henry's patronage that have already been considered, namely gifts, pardons, outstanding debts and confirmations, gifts of land and money were the only areas where Henry's monetary generosity could be visibly measured. Patronage via royal confirmation and participation in disputes was likely more routine but would have been expected and even demanded of the king. Yet, it is only by examining all of these forms of patronage and analyzing each in turn that a complete portrait of Henry as a patron emerges.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

Analysis suggests that Henry II was not an innovator when it came to monastic patronage. He was influenced by his royal ancestors, particularly the patterns set down by his grandfather, Henry I, who had himself followed the model of his parents, William the Conqueror and Queen Matilda.¹ This included patronage to Battle Abbey in Sussex as well as to William and Matilda's foundations in Normandy. Henry I was a recognized benefactor of the Augustinian and Cistercian orders among many others.² Henry II continued royal patronage of his grandfather's foundation at Reading Abbey and was concerned to restore the realm to its state in the time of his grandfather. It is only natural that he would also look to his grandfather's example for matters of patronage. The continuing of his ancestors' patronage patterns enabled Henry II to provide constancy and insure the continuance and development of religious life in England.

As previously suggested,³ another strong influence on Henry II and his patronage was his mother, the Empress Matilda, who in turn was influenced by her father and perhaps her first husband, Henry V of Germany. Matilda brought with her a knowledge and affinity for the Premonstratensian order from Germany.⁴ Like her father, and in turn her son, she was also a supporter of the Augustinians and Cistercians, founding her own houses dedicated to these orders.⁵ Matilda may have also introduced Henry II to the Grandmontines, an

¹ J. A. Green, 'The Piety and Patronage of Henry I', *The Haskins Society*, 10 (2001), 1-16 at 12.

² Ibid. at 12-3.

³ See Chapter 1.

⁴ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 180.

⁵ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 181.

order Henry supported in France.⁶ Neither mother nor son was known as a saintly ruler: they contributed alms and protection to the monasteries but were not reputed for their pious behaviour.

It is clear from the data that the Benedictine order dominated Henry's patronage. It is important to stress that the majority of the monasteries in England were Benedictine, including several royal favourites. However, as Henry's reign progressed, it is clear that the Augustinians and to a lesser extent the Cistercians began to receive more attention from the king. Notably, Henry's re-foundation of Waltham Abbey was established as an Augustinian house. Many of the Pipe Roll entries, as well as the charters, demonstrate that Henry was a supporter of these two orders. However, Henry was not exceptional for throughout Europe there was a growing interest in ascetic orders, including the Cistercians, Grandmontines, Carthusians and Premonstratensians. These new orders sought to return to the austere monasticism of the desert fathers or what was seen as the true meaning of the Rule of St Benedict. They benefited from the personalities and insights of many holy men, such as Hugh of Avalon, prior of the Carthusian house at Witham. The rulers of medieval Europe, Henry II included, showed great respect for these holy men.⁷ Moreover, the appeal to Henry II and any other monarch was great for they required little for foundation and indeed some limited the type and number of holdings. The Knights Templar and the hospitals were similarly gaining in popularity and Henry was clearly patronizing them to a greater extent at the end of his reign than at the beginning. While Henry supported other orders, as seen previously, it is clear

⁶ Chibnall, *Matilda*, p. 189.

⁷ See K. Leyser, 'Angevin Kings and the Holy Man', in T. Reuter (ed.), *Communications and Power in Medieval Europe: The Gregorian Revolution and Beyond* (London, 1994), 157-75.

from the data that the majority of his patronage was directed towards the Benedictines, Augustinians, Cistercians, Knights Templar and the hospitals.⁸

This study of Henry II's monastic patronage was based on the English Pipe Rolls and charters. Surprisingly, these two sources did not correlate as much as it was anticipated. The information contained in the charters is rarely found in the Pipe Rolls and the details recorded in the Pipe Rolls do not often appear elsewhere either in the charters or in the chronicles. While the data indicates that gifts of land and money were still very important in the twelfth century, the Pipe Rolls reveal that pardons and outstanding debt, two kinds of patronage that are often overlooked, were now of equal significance. These two types of patronage were beneficial to the monastery in the short term and, as has been shown, were often for large amounts. Moreover, this was not a privilege granted to a few houses but one granted to a range of monasteries and orders.

Different patterns governed each type of patronage - gifts, confirmations, and intervention in disputes. Yet, there are similarities. Henry's grants of land indicate that he did not especially favour any of the newer, smaller religious orders and the houses that received great values of land grants were often royal favourites. However, in general, Henry II did not give out large parcels of land. Henry's grants of money, fairs and other privileges are similar to the land grants. The Benedictines are again at the forefront and are followed by either the Cistercians or the Augustinians. It is difficult to compare the values of land and money. According to the charter evidence, Henry granted more charters for

⁸ Henry II was also a supporter of Gilbert of Sempringham and his order of double monasteries. The king gave the Master pardons and *terrae datae* in the Pipe Rolls. Again, this was an order that took from the more austere followings of Cîteaux, Grandmont and Fontevrault.

land than any other type of donation. However, when the Pipe Roll data is considered, it is clear that he gave more monetary gifts in the forms of alms, liveries and tithes. Both sources indicate that Henry patronised the monasteries throughout his life but the charters in particular suggest that much of his patronage was concentrated in the first half of his reign. Analysis of the confirmations yields similar conclusions. While there were more confirmation charters issued than any other type of patronage examined, they were also utilized throughout Henry's reign. Again the prevalence of the Benedictines, Augustinians and Cistercians is striking. Two kinds of patronage which offer slightly different conclusions are the pardons and debts and Henry's intervention in disputes. The pardons and outstanding debts took place throughout Henry's reign but there are distinct periods when a higher number of pardons were issued. Many of these periods were influenced by events of Henry's reign such as military campaigns and political crises. Significantly, there is still a preponderance of patronage to the Benedictines although less favour is shown to the Augustinians and Cistercians. Henry's intervention in disputes, however, shows less susceptibility to the events of his reign. This type of patronage occurs throughout Henry's reign but there are more charters for the early years, perhaps a legacy of the anarchy of Stephen's reign. There is a marked bias towards the Benedictine disputes and from the surviving evidence it appears that Henry was more involved in protecting them than any of the other religious orders but this is misleading for inevitably there were many more Benedictine houses in England than of any other order. What remains fairly consistent across all of these types of patronage is that the majority of Henry's patronage took place in the south east and central regions of England. There were exceptions, particularly Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, but there was a

marked bias towards Kent, Berkshire and Wiltshire. Many of the monasteries Henry patronized were in these counties but they were also areas that contained a significant portion of royal demesne from which gifts could be made.⁹ It is clear that there is little political motivation to Henry's patronage as the geography and chronology do not regularly follow the events of Henry's reign.¹⁰ The evidence suggests that Henry II did not patronize the monasteries based on feelings of religious piety and guilt but out of a sense of duty and obligation; he sought to continue the tradition set down by his predecessors.

Analysis has shown that patronage can take many forms. It can include gifts of property, rights, money, and moveable possessions. Patronage also extends to protection and the promise of intervention. In the case of the monasteries, patronage was often linked to monastic founders and their descendants who held special positions and were entitled to certain privileges. They might assume custody during vacancies, influence elections, receive or demand dues, expect hospitality on visits, secure a burial spot within the precinct and receive prayers and masses for their soul or the souls of their families.¹¹ In addition to founders, monasteries cultivated other patrons who received many but not all of the same benefits as founders. These patrons could be local families or others who felt a connection to a particular monastery.

While kings could be patrons, as anointed rulers they had a duty to support and protect all the ecclesiastical institutions of their realm. Accordingly, it is difficult for us to distinguish between royal patronage

⁹ Again, Benedictines dominated the South East and Central areas of England while Yorkshire and Lincolnshire had more communities of Cistercians and Gilbertines.

¹⁰ Brief analysis of the continental material suggests a similar pattern.

¹¹ S. Wood, *English Monasteries and their Patrons in the Thirteenth Century* (London, 1955), p. 3.

bestowed by a king as a ruler and that given as an individual. For the monastic recipient, royal patronage brought special benefits. A king had potentially greater financial resources and a wider variety of reserves to call upon. With the king as patron, he might bring greater access to the court and other high ranking potential patrons and access to quick justice. If a monastery was harassed, it could be seen as an attack on the king and defiance of the king's will. The king's protection and patronage would therefore act as a good deterrent and provide valuable protection for the house.

Royal patronage was not always convenient.¹² Monasteries with local patrons could easily enter into a dialogue with their patrons when problems arose but that ability was severely diminished with royal patrons who had many demands on their time and were seldom in the same place. As such, it was often a lengthy process to appeal to the king. Once a monastery received the attention of its patron, the community could find that payment for charters or even access to its patron was required. Patrons of all sorts would also have to contend with the potential risk of conflict of interest. The king had many people and duties to balance and it was inevitable that at some point these would clash. For example, in many of the cases recorded in the *Battle Chronicle* Henry is shown balancing the needs of the monastery versus those of others. Henry sided with Battle in its dispute with the Bishop of Chichester but when faced with the dispute between Godfrey de Lucy and Battle Abbey, he distanced himself from the matter.¹³ On occasion the king would be confronted with the decision to support or protect either a monastery or one of his barons. According to his

¹² Ibid. p. 24.

¹³ *Battle Chronicle*.

sacred duty he should protect the Church above all else but it is unlikely that this was always the case.

Henry II was not a great or prolific founder of monasteries in England. He was responsible for the re-foundations of Amesbury and Waltham after the death of Becket.¹⁴ Henry was also responsible for founding the Gilbertine priory in Newstead-on-Ancholme, Lincs.,¹⁵ the Augustinian priory of Newstead, Notts.,¹⁶ and the Hospital of Hornchurch in Essex.¹⁷ Perhaps his most innovative contribution to the monastic landscape of England was his introduction of the Carthusian order with the foundation of Witham, Somerset in 1178-9. This is striking given that Henry's knowledge of the Carthusians came from his continental lands. The order, based at Grande Chartreuse in the French Alps, was an extremely ascetic order that focused on solitude and retreat.¹⁸ It followed the ideals of the Cistercians but pared their possessions and rituals down to a bare minimum. Contemplation was the key and lay

¹⁴ As noted in Chapter 2.1, Henry II did not go beyond the prescribed penance laid down for his involvement in the Becket murder.

¹⁵ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 199.

¹⁶ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 167.

¹⁷ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 355. Henry contributed to the re-foundation of Moxby Priory, providing the land which enabled them to move from Marton to Moxby; *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 262. He also may have re-founded the Augustinian Ivychurch Priory in Wiltshire; *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 161. There are several sites which are said to have been founded by Henry II. They include: Augustinian Hough-on-the-Hill Priory in Lincolnshire, Augustinian Torksey Priory in Lincolnshire and hospitals at Maldon in Essex and at Derby (St. Leonard's); *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 181 (Hough-on-the-Hill), 177 (Torksey), 376 (Maldon), 355 (Derby). E. M. Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 28 (1977), 113-32. See also As well as Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries'.

¹⁸ C. H. Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism* (3rd ed., London, 2001), p. 157-8.

brothers took care of much of the day to day tasks.¹⁹ Relatively little was required to found a Carthusian cell and their continued needs were comparatively small yet their reputation for holiness was high, making them an attractive option for donors. The Carthusians were an ideal choice for founders who did not want to make a large endowment or be financially responsible for the lifetime of a community yet wished to be assured of high quality prayers – a surer way to secure salvation. The Carthusians' introduction to England by Henry II was ideal since the monks' requirements would not be a huge demand on the depleted royal demesne. It is clear Henry II did not do much as a patron for Witham after his initial endowment. Witham was chronically under funded and suffered from Henry's lack of enthusiasm. The foundation was most likely saved by the arrival of Hugh of Avalon from Grande Chartreuse. Henry II, c. 1180, had invited Hugh to come to problematic Witham in hopes that the foundation could be salvaged.²⁰ Upon his arrival Hugh found that the monks were living in wooden huts, the conversi were not separated from the brothers and the peasants were still occupying the monastery's lands.²¹ For the six years that Hugh was prior, he managed to begin the permanent monastic buildings and resolve the issues with the peasants and their lands. Hugh, known as the 'Hammer of kings', was not afraid to confront Henry, reminding him of his duties as patron but Henry came to revere the prior.²² It was probably due to Hugh's tenacity that Witham survived and his confrontations with Henry certainly helped to keep the monastery alive. Henry's patronage of the

¹⁹ Lawrence, *Medieval Monasticism*

²⁰ *Monastic Order*, p. 381.

²¹ *Monastic Order*, p. 382.

²² *Monastic Order*, p. 382. See also Leyser, 'The Angevin Kings and the Holy Man'.

monastery seems small especially when considering it was his foundation. However, this may have been due more to the extremely ascetic nature of the order and their few monetary requirements.²³ If all they required was enough to keep them surviving and maintain their cloistered life, then Henry II provided the means for them to do so with their original endowment and their small allowances.

This was not the case at Amesbury and Waltham, two houses which had existed before Henry's re-foundation. In both cases it was the depraved conduct of the community members that led to their re-foundation as Fontevraudine and Augustinian houses respectively. As these were re-foundations rather than foundations, the communities already had an endowment and resources; hence Henry's 'endowment' as the re-founder was really more an offer of royal support. Indeed, Henry did contribute to both houses' rebuilding after he implemented the changes.²⁴ Again these foundations seemed to require very little on Henry's part. This pattern appears with his other foundations. Of the nine other English foundations Henry was said to have made, five were Augustinian foundations, one was a Gilbertine house and three were hospitals. None of these orders required large endowments. Perhaps this was one of

²³ There may have been other factors at work including the issues Henry was having with his sons in France.

²⁴ For example, the Pipe Rolls indicate that Henry II gave Amesbury 100s to buy wine for the rebuilding works, and two hundred timbers, posts and planks from Southampton. *PR* 33 Henry II, p. 203; *PR* 23 Henry II, p. 64; *PR* 26 Henry II, p. 108. There are other Pipe Roll entries which show Henry's contribution to the abbey's rebuilding; see the Pipe Roll Database. For Waltham, the Pipe Rolls record the king sending 75 carts of lead for the church as well as assisting the canons in paying off the debt of the foundation. *PR* 27 Henry II, p. 46; *PR* 30 Henry II, p. 10, 53, 129.

Henry II's motives, although it is also possible that he liked the principles of these orders and chose to support them.

In addition to the foundations or re-foundations that Henry was involved with, there are several monasteries that he patronised that are worthy of note. These include Reading Abbey, Godstow Abbey, Bordesley Abbey, St Augustine's Abbey at Bristol, Battle Abbey and Abingdon Abbey.²⁵ Reading Abbey, which was founded in 1121 as a Cluniac house by Henry's grandfather,²⁶ became a royal favourite during Henry II's reign and even before – the young Henry began to patronize the monastery during his late childhood. Moreover, Henry and Eleanor's first son, William, who died young, was buried at the feet of Henry I.²⁷ During his reign Henry II confirmed lands and grants the monks had been given by his predecessors, but also granted them new concessions and gifts, notably allowances for the monks during the rebuilding of their church, including the privilege to travel through his forest.²⁸ Henry also gave the abbey 40 silver marks upon the consecration of their new church in 1164.²⁹ While Henry II would not consider Reading as his family's mausoleum, it is clear this house had a place in his patronage.

²⁵ These monasteries stand out due to the number of total charters that have survived for them as well as Pipe Rolls entries.

²⁶ B.R. Kemp, *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, (2 vols., Camden Society, 4th Series, 31, 33, 1986-7), i. p. 13-14.

²⁷ E. M. Hallam, 'Royal burial and the cult of kingship in France and England, 1060-1330', *Journal of Medieval History*, 8 (1982), 359-79 at 361.

²⁸ Kemp, *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, i. p. 54 no. 23.

²⁹ Kemp, *Reading Abbey Cartularies*, i. p. 321 no. 396.

Godstow Abbey, founded by Dame Ediva, the widow of Sir William Launcelene, was founded c. 1133 with the assistance of Henry I.³⁰ The abbey was situated on the land of John de St John and his successors, the St Valery family, assumed the patronage upon his death.³¹ Both King Stephen and Matilda issued charters for land grants and confirmations. Henry II continued in this vein and c. 1180 he became the patron of Godstow through an arrangement with Bernard de St Valery by which Henry presided as official patron and was responsible for protecting and enriching the abbey while Bernard continued to receive the spiritual benefits³² Henry's patronage to Godstow included confirmations of their possessions, a grant of a fair³³ and the gifts of the churches of High Wycombe³⁴ and Bloxham.³⁵ Godstow also received patronage of *terrae datae* through the Pipe Rolls. Godstow was of personal importance to Henry for it was here that he buried his mistress, Rosamund Clifford, and erected a magnificent tomb for her. However, after Henry II's death, Bishop Hugh of Lincoln came to visit Godstow and had the tomb torn down after seeing how it was being treated as a shrine.³⁶ It is clear that Henry II had visible links to Godstow through his grandfather's and mother's patronage, and was also drawn to the abbey because of its role as the burial site of his mistress. Most important, however, was his role as the physical patron of the abbey.

³⁰ A. Clark (ed.), *The English Register of Godstow Nunnery, near Oxford, written about 1450*, (3 vols., Early English Text Society, 129, 130, 142, 1911), p. 27-8.

³¹ *V. C. H. Oxford*, ii. p. 71.

³² Clark, *English Register of Godstow*, i. p 30-1 no. 5

³³ Clark, *English Register of Godstow*, ii. p. 659 no. 880.

³⁴ *CChR*, iv. P. 186-7.

³⁵ *Acta of Henry II*, no. 1191 (4070H).

³⁶ *V. C. H. Oxford*, xii. p. 311.

Bordesley Abbey, as mentioned in Chapter 2.1, was founded in 1138 by Walern de Beaumont, Count of Meulan and Earl of Worcester on land that was granted to him by Empress Matilda in 1136.³⁷ Matilda patronized the Cistercian abbey throughout the anarchy and Henry II continued this patronage when he became king, often referring to the abbey as his mother's foundation.³⁸ Henry issued various charters for Bordesley which included confirmation of their possessions and orders of protection. The monks also received terrae datae income in the Pipe Rolls along with several pardons.³⁹ Given Henry's and his mother's role in the foundation of Bordesley, the king's links to the abbey should have been stronger and may have been for it is certainly possible that he did grant the abbey more but that these charters have been lost. The Pipe Rolls do indicate that Bordesley was receiving at least £37 9s yearly from the Exchequer. However, it may well have been that with Bordesley and elsewhere Henry's enthusiasm was as a founder; thereafter his interest dwindled.

St Augustine's Abbey in Bristol was founded in the 1140s, possibly by Robert fitz Harding, a supporter of the Empress Matilda and a wealthy citizen of Bristol.⁴⁰ In 1142-3, Henry, living at Bristol with his uncle Earl Robert of Gloucester, visited the abbey during its early building stages.⁴¹ It is likely this early exposure to the abbey brought Henry's attention to the foundation and as duke of Normandy he began issuing charters to the abbey, continuing once he

³⁷ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 116.

³⁸ *Recueil Henry II*, i. p. 221-3 no. 117.

³⁹ See the Pipe Roll database.

⁴⁰ D. Walker (ed.), *The Cartulary of St Augustine's Abbey, Bristol*, (Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 10, 1998), p. xii-xv.

⁴¹ Walker, *Cartulary of St Augustine's*, p. xv.

became king.⁴² His patronage as king included confirmation of their possessions, ordering their protection, and granting them the permission to build a mill in Bedminster.⁴³

Both Battle and Abingdon Abbey have been discussed in this thesis and Henry's relationship with these two abbeys is fairly clear. Battle, being the foundation of his great-grandfather was a natural choice for Henry II. Much of his patronage came from the granting of privileges and his participation in the dispute the abbey had with the Bishop of Chichester. Abingdon, while a foundation with Anglo-Saxon links, also appears to have benefited from Henry's interest. Henry issued many charters concerning the abbey's well being as well as assisting with disputes over their market and other possessions.

The Knights Templars are very prominent among the recipients of Henry's patronage. The Order was founded after the First Crusade with the intent of protecting pilgrims on the route to the Holy Land.⁴⁴ The Templars gradually grew, spreading from the Holy Land to the rest of Europe. The knights received vast estates in France and England and by Henry II's reign they were used for routine financial administration and as trusted advisors.⁴⁵ Henry II's relationship with the Templars can be traced through his personal family history. Henry's paternal grandfather, Count Fulk of Anjou, married Melissande, the daughter of King Baldwin II of Jerusalem, and became King of

⁴² *Recueil Henry II*, i. p. 55-6 no. 49*.

⁴³ Walker, *Cartulary of St Augustine's*, p. 6 no. 9 (Bedminster Mill). For other charters, see database.

⁴⁴ C. H. Laurence, *Medieval Monasticism*, (Third ed., London, 2001), p. 209.

⁴⁵ C. Perkins, 'The Knights Templars in the British Isles', *The English Historical Review* 25 (1910), 209-30 at 213. See also E. Ferris, 'The Financial Relations of the Knights Templars to the English Crown', *The American Historical Review* 8 (1902), 1-17.

Jerusalem.⁴⁶ Fulk was a very generous patron of the Templars⁴⁷ and while his physical interactions with Henry II were non-existent, there was certainly knowledge on Henry's part of his paternal connections.⁴⁸

What can be said of Henry's patronage of the monasteries that were normally highly visible amongst his royal predecessors and successors? The cases of St. Albans Abbey, Bury St. Edmunds, Glastonbury Abbey, Westminster Abbey and Christ Church Canterbury are all interesting. To the modern historian these monasteries were considered the most important to the English kings. Henry II, however, did not patronize any of them to a large degree. St. Albans Abbey, said to have been founded by King Offa of Mercia,⁴⁹ was re-established by Bishop Oswald of Worcester and King Edgar c. 970.⁵⁰ By the twelfth century, the reputation of St Albans as one of the wealthiest pre-Conquest houses, in terms of money and intellect, was well established.⁵¹ Henry II issued nineteen charters for St. Albans which included confirmations and intervention in a dispute between St. Albans and the Bishop of Lincoln but did not include any gifts.⁵² Only three charters in the English charter database were issued at St. Albans, which implies Henry did not make the abbey or town a routine stop. His grandfather, Henry I, was not an overwhelmingly generous

⁴⁶ H. E. Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans: The New Men of King Fulk of Jerusalem', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 133 (1989), 1-25 at 2.

⁴⁷ Mayer, 'Angevins versus Normans', at 7.

⁴⁸ Henry II was also a cousin of Baldwin IV, the Leper King, of Jerusalem. This link might explain Henry's patronage and foundation of many leper hospitals.

⁴⁹ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 74-5.

⁵⁰ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 75.

⁵¹ *Monastic Order*, p. 310-1.

⁵² See database for more information on these charters.

patron of St. Albans either but he did attend the consecration of the abbey church in 1115.⁵³

Bury St Edmunds, home to the shrine of King Edmund, was another ancient pre-Conquest house. Its foundation history is hazy at best but the monks seem to have adopted Canute as one of their founders.⁵⁴ Like many of the Anglo-Saxon foundations, the abbey had to fight for its lands and other rights under the new Anglo-Norman lords. The history of Bury St Edmunds during Henry II's reign is enriched by Jocelin of Brakelond's chronicle. Based on the chronicle, it is clear that Henry II's relationship with Bury St Edmunds was rather superficial. His charters generally support this conclusion but there is at least one charter recording a gift to the abbey, which exceeds any gifts to the other pre-Conquest houses in this group of monasteries so far. Henry gave Bury his possessions at the manor of Beccles, Suffolk.⁵⁵ Henry's interactions with the abbey, according to the chronicle, included sending his almoner to investigate the financial dealings of the abbey and his involvement in the election of Abbot Samson.⁵⁶ There are many charters issued at Bury St Edmunds, which implies that Henry was a fairly frequent visitor to the town. He also housed the Archbishop of Norway in the abbot's quarters during the abbey's vacancy, paying the archbishop 10s a day from the abbot's revenues.⁵⁷

⁵³ J. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy*, (Cambridge, 2006), p. 302.

⁵⁴ A. Gransden, 'The Legends and Traditions concerning the Origins of the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds', *The English Historical Review*, 100 (1985), 1-24 at 11-12.

⁵⁵ D. C. Douglas, *Feudal Documents from the Abbey of Bury St Edmunds*, (London, 1932), p. 96 no. 85.

⁵⁶ Jocelin of Brakelond, *The Chronicle of Bury St Edmunds*, trans. D. Greenway and J. Sayers (Oxford, 1998), p. 4-5, 15-22.

⁵⁷ Jocelin of Brakelond, *Chronicle of Bury St. Edmunds*, p. 15.

Beyond these events, Henry II does not appear to have been a generous patron to Bury St Edmunds.

Glastonbury Abbey was another pre-Conquest foundation. In the more recent reign of King Stephen, Henry of Blois, the king's brother, was made abbot of Glastonbury, a position he kept even after he was made bishop of Winchester.⁵⁸ After Abbot Henry's death, Henry II kept the abbey vacant for many years, enjoying the revenues. There are only five surviving charters issued for Glastonbury Abbey, all of which are for confirmation of possessions or liberties. Henry's involvement with Glastonbury Abbey is more famously noted by Gerald of Wales, who claimed Henry was responsible for telling the monks where to find the tomb of King Arthur and Queen Guinevere.⁵⁹ Henry II conveniently died before the exhumation took place but the link between Henry and Arthur's discovery had been established. There are many interpretations of Henry's motives in this particular case, including the rehabilitation of his reputation. Yet the lack of patronage to this abbey indicates that it did not merit a place among Henry's favourite monasteries. This may have been due to the abbey's ties to the Blois family.

Westminster Abbey was famously endowed and re-built by Edward the Confessor⁶⁰ and has become very closely associated with royalty. Henry II played a diverse role in the abbey's history but not a large one. When Henry became king in 1154, the current abbot of Westminster was Gervase, an

⁵⁸ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 51.

⁵⁹ Gerald of Wales, *Speculum Ecclesiae*, ed. J. S. Brewer (Rolls Series 21, vol. iv, London, 1873), p. 47.

⁶⁰ *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 80.

illegitimate son of King Stephen.⁶¹ Abbot Gervase was deposed and replaced by Laurence in 1158.⁶² There are fifteen surviving charters from Henry to Westminster; none of them record gifts. In addition to the charters Henry issued, there is evidence in the Pipe Rolls of the abbey being awarded pardons and carrying debt. Much of Westminster's history during Henry II's reign was concerned with the canonization of Edward the Confessor. Abbot Laurence was vital in this process. Henry II also contributed, writing a letter to the Pope in favour of the petition and attending the service of celebration.⁶³ Henry II did not, however, adopt St Edward as his personal saint and the canonization did not change his relationship with the abbey. As Scholz has pointed out, Henry had little interest in his Anglo-Saxon predecessors.⁶⁴ In addition, Henry may have been influenced initially by the relationship Westminster had with the Blois family but this connection would have been broken with the arrival of a new abbot. Still, compared to the other ancient houses discussed here, Westminster probably received the greatest attention from Henry II, or at least comparable to Bury St. Edmunds, but it was not on the same level as the houses favoured by the king.

Christ Church Canterbury, being the seat of the archbishop in England, had a long and sometimes tumultuous history with the English kings. Henry's reign proved no different. Henry issued over fifty charters to Christ Church but the majority concerned confirmations or the dispute with Archbishop Baldwin, which has already been discussed. Henry II's largest amount of patronage to

⁶¹ *Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 77.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ B. W. Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor', *Speculum* 36 (Jan. 1961), 38-60 at 53.

⁶⁴ Scholz, 'The Canonization of Edward the Confessor', at 55.

Christ Church occurred in the immediate aftermath of Becket's death.⁶⁵ Henry II gave little in the form of monetary support to the monastery's rebuilding after the fire in 1174 but he did apparently offer architectural advice.⁶⁶ Henry's patronage to Christ Church was certainly tied to the difficulties the community underwent rather than the king's personal preference.

Each of these monasteries has been recognized in recent times for its royal links but significantly these ties were not particularly strong in Henry's reign. It is clear that Henry acknowledged these foundations but gave them the bare minimum of attention and he was never a generous patron of any of them. Still this pattern does not hold with all the pre-Conquest houses for, as the analysis has shown, Henry's involvement with Abingdon was on a level not seen with these foundations. The data offers no explanation for Henry's actions but indicates that he did not develop patronage links with these specific houses.

Henry was a steady patron of the English monasteries throughout his life. He was not a great reformer or founder and followed the examples of his family. Henry, however, was involved in founding monasteries in France including Le Liget (Carthusian),⁶⁷ Bercey and Bois-Rahier (Grandmont),⁶⁸ and the leper

⁶⁵ This patronage included a £40 money rent and quittance on the wine given by Louis VII in memory of Thomas Becket. *Cartae Antiquae I*, p. 93 no. 185; L. Delisle (ed.), 'Recueil de 109 Chartes Originales de Henri II Roi d'Angleterre et duc de Normandie Rassemblees et photographiées par Le Rev. H. Salter', *Bibliothèque de L'École des Chartes: Revue d'érudition consacrée spécialement à l'étude du moyen âge*, 69 (1908), 541-80 at 569 no 97.

⁶⁶ P. Draper, 'Interpretations of the Rebuilding of Canterbury Cathedral, 1174-1186: Archaeological and Historical Evidence', *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56 (June 1997), 184-203 at 196.

⁶⁷ Hallam, 'Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries', at 118.

⁶⁸ Ibid. at 121.

hospitals at Quévilli, Rouen, Angers and Le Mans.⁶⁹ A brief analysis of the French material indicates that many of the patterns found in England are evident also in Henry's French possessions. There are charters for both grants of land⁷⁰ and money rents⁷¹ as well as confirmations⁷² and signs of his involvement in disputes.⁷³ There are also entries in the English Pipe Rolls for French monasteries.

Henry's patronage of the French monasteries was similar to that of the king of France, Louis VII, who founded just one monastery, Barbeaux, with the intent of making the Cistercian monastery his mausoleum.⁷⁴ Louis was also responsible for the rebuilding of several foundations and churches but, like Henry, did not alienate large amounts of royal demesne for grants to the monasteries.⁷⁵ Moreover, both kings shared an interest in providing charity to the poor and sick. While Louis VII patronized many hospitals including leper houses at Etampes, Paris, Lorris, and Grand Beaulieu les Chartres,⁷⁶ Henry II, as we have seen, supported a number of English hospitals and there is evidence of him patronizing and founding hospitals in France as well. Both kings were also regular supporters of the Benedictines.

⁶⁹ Ibid. at 127-8. There are additional foundations that can be attributed to Henry II or to which he gave significant donations.

⁷⁰ *Recueil Henry II*, ii. 86-7 no. 523.

⁷¹ *Recueil Henry II*, ii. 108-9 no. 534.

⁷² *Recueil Henry II*, i. 531 no. 401.

⁷³ *Recueil Henry II*, ii. 130-1 no. 551.

⁷⁴ Hallam, 'Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses c. 1130-1270', p. 185.

⁷⁵ Hallam, 'Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses c. 1130-1270', p. 181.

⁷⁶ Hallam, 'Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses c. 1130-1270', p. 185.

Modern Interpretation of Henry II

'It wants light. What we do in dungeons needs the shades of day. I stole the candles from the chapel. Jesus won't begrudge them and the chaplain works for me.'⁷⁷

Despite its many inaccuracies, Peter O'Toole perhaps best expresses modern popular opinion of Henry II's piety in his 1968 film 'The Lion in Winter'. Towards the end of the film, when Henry is at Chinon for the Christmas court of 1183, the king goes to the dungeon where he has imprisoned three of his rebellious children - Richard, John and Geoffrey. Upon his arrival the king declares that the room needs light – 'what we do in dungeons needs the shades of day'. He confesses that he stole the candles from the chapel but that Jesus will not begrudge him these and, of course, the chaplain works for him. While these words were not, of course, actually uttered by the king, they are nonetheless in keeping with his character. Henry II's piety was not a matter that contemporary writers discussed and has scarcely been considered since. Books and films have tended to focus on Henry's fiery and determined temperament, rather than his monastic patronage, portraying him as a ruler who was intent on exercising his authority over Church and State, and on his family. Hence, he is remembered as a dominant man, whose children married into the leading families of Europe. While Henry's piety or views on religion will never be known, analysis of the surviving evidence reveals that the king was a regular, if cautious, patron of the religious orders in England and little different from his predecessors or contemporaries. Henry may not have been known as a saint, and indeed many thought he was the devil's spawn, but he fulfilled his duty as both king and patron, protecting the religious houses of England and

⁷⁷ Film, 'The Lion in Winter', 1968.

contributing to the survival of many. The sources do not permit us to determine Henry's motives for patronizing the monasteries but analysis is nevertheless revealing and sheds further light on the enigma surrounding this complex king.

Appendix i

I. Pipe Roll Tables

A. *Terre Date*

2 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£36 17s 8d
Benedictine	£203 4s 8d
Cistercian	£93 7s
Hospitals	13s 4d
Knights Templar	£17
Total	£351 2s 8d

3 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£36 17s 8d
Benedictine	£201 8s
Cistercian	£126 4d
Hospital	£1 13s 4d
Knights Templar	£17
Total	£382 19s 4d

4 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£73 12s 8d
Benedictine	£204 16s
Cistercian	£194 4s 4d
Hospitals	£4 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£21 10s
Total	£498 8s 4d

5 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£101 14s 8d
Benedictine	£203 16s
Cistercian	£172 3s 10d
Hospitals	£28 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£50 5s
Total	£556 4s 10d

6 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£102 14s 8d
Benedictine	£205 16s
Cistercian	£205 19s 4d
Hospitals	£37 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£36
Total	£587 15s 4d

7 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£103 4s 1d
Benedictine	£183 1s
Cistercian	£185 9s 4d
Hospitals	£38 10s
Knights Templar	£36
Total	£546 4s 5d

8 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£103 5s 8d
Benedictine	£205 16s
Cistercian	£209 19s 4d
Hospitals	£37 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£36 10s
Total	£592 16s 4d

9 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£103 5s 8d
Benedictine	£204 16s
Cistercian	£219 19s 4d
Hospitals	£37 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£34
Total	£599 6s 4d

10 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£113 5s 8d
Benedictine	£207 6s
Cistercian	£212 19s 4d
Gilbertine	£8 10s
Hospitals	£40 7s 10d
Knights Templar	£34
Total	£616 8s 10d

11 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£74 7s 3.5d
Benedictine	£206 8s 10d
Cistercian	£242 12s 7d
Gilbertine	£8 10s
Hospitals	£36 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£34
Total	£602 4s .5d

12 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£75 1.5d
Benedictine	£220 12s 8d
Cistercian	£214 5s 10d
Gilbertine	£8 10s
Hospital	£42 10s 4d
Knights Templar	£31
Total	£591 18s 11.5d

13 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£76 5s 1.5d
Benedictine	£220 12s 8d
Cistercian	£181 8s 6d
Gilbertine	£8 10s
Hospitals	£36 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£31
Total	£554 1s 7.5d

14 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£76 16s .5d
Benedictine	£217 4s
Cistercian	£191 11s 10d
Hospital	£32 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£21 7s
Total	£539 4s 2.5d

15 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£77 5s 1.5d
Benedictine	£269 8d
Cistercian	£219 1s 10d
Hospitals	£25 1s 8d
Knights Templar	£43 3s 7d
Premonstratensians	£2
Total	£535 7s 7.5d

16 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£64 17s 3d
Benedictine	£185 7s
Cistercian	£154 6s 5d
Hospitals	£26 7s 8d
Knights Templar	£28 7d
Total	£458 18s 11d

17 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£77 5s 1.5d
Benedictine	£234 15s 2d
Cistercian	£215 1s 10d
Gilbertine	£8 10s
Hospitals	£42 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£33 10s 7d
Unknown	2s
Total	£611 10s .5d

18 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£77 5s 1.5d
Benedictine	£235 9s 1.5d
Churches (Local)	£5
Cistercian	£217 1s 10d
Gilbertine	£8 10s
Hospitals	£36 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£33 10s 7d
Unknown	2s
Total	£613 4s 9.5d

19 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£78 5s 1d
Benedictine	£240 9s 11d
Cistercian	£216 6s 10d
Fontevrault	£5
Hospitals	£41 10s 4d
Knights Templar	£33 3s 7d
Total	£614 15s 9d

20 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£71 2s 3.5d
Benedictine	£108 7s 4d
Churches (Local)	£5
Cistercian	£132 1s 10d
Gilbertine	£7 10s
Hospitals	£28 5s 4d
Knights Templar	£13 16s 11d
Total	£366 3s 8.5d

21 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£77 12s 3.5d
Benedictine	£412 8s 2d
Churches (Local)	£5
Cistercian	£252 1s 10d
Gilbertine	£8 19s
Hospitals	£73 10s 4d
Knights Templar	£53 3s 7d
Total	£882 15s 2.5d

22 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£74 12s 3.5d
Benedictine	£273 5s 11d
Cistercian	£188 9s
Gilbertine	£8 10s
Hospitals	£61 2d
Knights Templar	£33 3s 7d
Total	£639 11.5d

23 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£88 12s 3.5d
Benedictine	£275 7s 11d
Cistercian	£187 19s
Fontevrault	£25 3s 4d
Gilbertine	£8 5s
Hospitals	£61 15s 2d
Knights Templar	£27 13s 7d
Total	£674 16s 3.5

24 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£119 12s 4.5d
Benedictine	£296 5s 11d
Cistercian	£188 6s 8d
Fontevrault	£43 13s 4d
Gilbertine	£12 16s 8d
Hospitals	£61 17s 3d
Knights Templar	£43 3s 7d
Total	£765 15s 9.5d

25 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£566 9s 4.5d
Benedictine	£284 18s 11d
Cistercian	£188 6s 8d
Fontevrault	£151 11s 6d
Gilbertine	£12 16s 8d
Hospital	£78 15s 2d
Knights Templar	£43 3s 7d
Total	£1326 1s 10.5d

26 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£134 19s 9.5d
Benedictine	£287 8s 11d
Carthusian	£10
Cistercian	£192 6s 8d
Fontevrault	£43 13s 4d
Gilbertine	£12 10s
Hospitals	£61 18s 2d
Knights Templar	£33 3s 7d
Total	£776 5.5d

27 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£134 17s 4d
Benedictine	£293 8s 11d
Carthusian	£10
Cistercian	£182 6s 8d
Fontevrault	£43 13s 4d
Gilbertine	£12 10s
Hospitals	£61 18s 2d
Knights Templar	£33 4s 7d
Total	£771 19s

28 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£138 14s 3.5d
Benedictine	£287 18s 8d
Carthusian	£10
Cistercian	£182 6s 8d
Fontevrault	£43 13s 4d
Gilbertine	£12 10s
Hospitals	£105 15s 11d
Knights Templar	£33 3s 7d
Total	£814 2s 5.5d

29 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£134 17s 4.5d
Benedictine	£294 8s 11d
Carthusian	£10
Cistercians	£165 9s 11d
Fontevrault	£40 6s 8d
Gilbertine	£12 10s
Hospitals	£61 10s 2d
Knights Templar	£33 3s 7d
Total	£752 6s 7.5d

30 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£196 10s 8.5d
Benedictine	£294 8s 8d
Carthusian	£10
Cistercian	£182 6s 6d
Fontevrault	£37
Gilbertine	£12 10s
Hospitals	£62 5s 2d
Knights Templar	£33 3s 7d
Total	£828 4s 7.5d

31 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£134 1s 5.5d
Benedictine	£287 17s 2d
Carthusian	£12
Cistercian	£157 17s 5d
Fontevrault	£37
Gilbertine	£8 5s
Hospitals	£61 1s 8d
Knights Templar	£27 13s 7d
Total	£725 16s 3.5d

32 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£133 12s 3.5d
Benedictine	£290 18s 11d
Carthusian	£12
Cistercian	£182 6s 8d
Fontevrault	£37
Gilbertine	£12 10s
Hermit	3s 10d
Hospitals	£56 5s 2d
Knights Templar	£33 3s 7d
Total	£758 5.5d

33 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£126 1s 5d
Benedictine	£285 15s 3d
Carthusian	£12 9s
Cistercian	£181 3s
Fontevrault	£37
Gilbertine	£12 10s
Hospitals	£62 2s 2d
Knights Templar	£33 3s 7d
Total	£750 4s 5d

34 Henry II

Religious Order	Amount
Augustinian	£136 1s 4.5d
Benedictine	£337 16s 7d
Carthusian	£12
Cistercian	£187 7s 6d
Fontevrault	£37
Gilbertine	£12 10s
Hospitals	£62 5s 2d
Knights Templar	£33 3s 7d
Total	£818 4s 2.5d

Totals for Each Religious Order

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£3720 1s 8d
Benedictine	£8192 3s 8d
Carthusian	£98 9s
Cistercian	£6180 15s 8d
Fontevrault	£581 14s 10d
Gilbertine	£218 2s 4d
Hermit	3s 10d
Hospitals	£1514 13s
Knights Templar	£1078 9s
Premonstratensians	£2
Unknown	4s

35. Religious Institutions

Amesbury Abbey
Sick of Barnstaple
Basingwerk Abbey
Beckford Priory
Recluse of Bedford
Bermondsey Priory
Blackwose Priory
Blean Hospital
Bordesley Abbey
Boxley Abbey
Bristol Abbey (St. Augustine)
Brother's Hospital
Bruern Abbey
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey
Archbishop of Canterbury
Christ Church Cathedral Priory, Canterbury
Cirencester Abbey
Sick of Dudston
Dunstable Priory
Bishop of Ely
Faversham Abbey

Flaxley Abbey
Ford Abbey
Garendon Abbey
Godstow Abbey
Gravesend Hospital
Greencroft Priory (?)
Sick of Harbledown
Haughmond Abbey
Haverholme Priory
Sick of Higham Ferrers
Hornchurch Hospital
Horton Priory
Ivychurch Priory
Kilburn Priory
Knights Templar
Lenton Priory
Lillechurch Priory
Llanthony Priory
Marton Priory
Merton Priory
Monkton Farleigh Priory
Moxby Priory
Much Wenlock Priory
Sick of Newport
Newstead Priory
Northampton Priory (St. Andrew)
Norton Priory
Bishop of Norwich
Notley Abbey
Oseney Abbey
Polsloe Priory
Reading Abbey
Red Moor Abbey
St. Albans Abbey
St. Denys Priory, Southampton
Sick of Saltwood
Canons of Sempringham
Gilbert of Sempringham
Sheppey (Minster) Priory
Shrewsbury Abbey
Lepers of Southampton
Stanley Abbey
Thetford Priory
<i>Tonge</i> Leper Hospital
Sick of Wallingford
Waltham Abbey
Watton Priory
Waverley Abbey
Westwood Priory
Bishop of Winchester
Witham Priory
Woburn Abbey

B. Alms

2 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£31 8s 1d
Benedictine	£3 10d
Cistercian	£1 12s
Hospitals	£2 8s 8d
Knights Templar	£25 6s 8d
Total	£63 16s 3d

3 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£29 1s 5d
Benedictine	£9 12s 10d
Hospitals	£13 3s 3.5d
Knights Templar	£26 13s 4d
Total	£78 10s 10.5d

4 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 8s 1d
Benedictine	£14 19s 10d
Cistercian	£1 12s
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£17 8s 9d
Knights Templar	£31 6s 8d
Total	£102 5s 9d

5 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£31 8s 1d
Benedictine	£5 2s 10d
Cistercian	£1 12s
Hospitals	£9 18s 4d
Knights Templar	£32
Total	£80 1s 3d

6 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£30 8s 1d
Benedictine	£22 17s 10d
Hospitals	£11 19s 9d
Knights Templar	£29 6s 8d
Unknown	£1 6s 8d
Total	£95 19s

7 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£32 11.5d
Benedictine	£15 11s 2d
Hospitals	£12 18s 4d
Knights Templar	£32 13s 4d
Total	£93 3s 9.5d

8 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£30 10s 10d
Benedictine	£15 16s 6d
Hermit	6d
Hospitals	£12 19s 8d
Knights Templar	£29 6s 8d
Total	£88 14s 2d

9 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£30 8s 1d
Benedictine	£14 4s 6d
Hermit	£2 9s 7d
Hospitals	£11 8s 9d
Knights Templar	£32 13s 4d
Total	£91 4s 3d

10 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£48 18s 1d
Benedictine	£12 17s 10d
Hermit	£1 6s .5d
Hospitals	£10 13s 6.5d
Knights Templar	£31 6s 8d
Total	£105 2s 2d

11 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£29 9s 2d
Hermit	£4 19s 7.5d
Hospitals	£200 6s 3d
Knights Templar	£35 3s 4d
Total	£305 11s 5.5d

12 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 13s 1d
Benedictine	£13 2s 10d
Hermit	£5 17s 3d
Hospitals	£235 18s 9d
Knights Templar	£34 13s 4d
Total	£324 5s 3d

13 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£17 14s 6d
Cistercian	£38 12s 4d
Hermit	£4 8s 8.5d
Hospitals	£142 8s 11.5d
Knights Templar	£35 4d
Premonstratensian	£3
Unknown	£1 6s 8d
Total	£278 4s 7d

14 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£33 13s 1d
Benedictine	£20 12s 10d
Cistercian	19s
Hermit	£4 8s 8.5d
Hospitals	£212 5s 3d
Knights Templar	£34 13s 4d
Total	£306 12s 2.5d

15 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£15 2s 10d
Hermit	£3 13s 6d
Hospitals	£192 13s 11.5d
Knights Templar	£34 13s 4d
Total	£281 16s 8.5d

16 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£30 15s 7d
Benedictine	£15 7s 10d
Hermit	£3 15s 10d
Hospitals	£171 12s 10d
Knights Templar	£34
Total	£255 12s 1d

17 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£15 2s 10d
Hermit	£7 9s 4.5d
Hospitals	£186 12s 2d
Knights Templar	£34
Unknown	8s 2.5d
Total	£279 5s 8d

18 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£55 6s 10d
Hermit	£8 19s 9.5d
Hospitals	£196 7s
Knights Templar	£34 13s 4d
Unknown	£10
Total	£341 .5d

19 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£14 5s 9d
Hermit	£4 8s 8.5d
Hospitals	£34 8s 9d
Knights Templar	£35
Total	£123 16s 3.5d

20 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£17 1.5d
Hermit	£5 19s 1.5d
Hospitals	£46 14s 2d
Knights Templar	£29 13s 4d
Total	£134 19s 10d

21 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£72 3s 1d
Benedictine	£14 18s 6d
Hermit	£5 19s 1.5d
Hospitals	£13 8s 4d
Knights Templar	£35 6s 8d
Total	£141 15s 8.5d

22 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£12 9s 9d
Cistercian	£5
Hermit	£9 5.5d
Hospitals	£35 18s 9d
Knights Templar	£32
Total	£130 2s .5d

23 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£27 6s 10d
Benedictine	£15 4.5d
Cistercian	£5
Hermit	£13 4s 7.5d
Hospitals	£39 15s 6d
Knights Templar	£35 6s 8d
Total	£135 14s

24 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£18 16s 5d
Cistercian	£5
Hermit	£7 18s 8.5d
Hospitals	£36 8s 9d
Knights Templar	£34 13s 4d
Total	£138 10s 3.5d

25 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£15 15s 7d
Cistercian	£5
Hermit	£13 5s 5.5d
Hospitals	£39 8s 9d
Knights Templar	£33 6s 8d
Total	£142 9s 6.5d

26 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£35 13s 1d
Benedictine	£29 9d
Cistercian	£5
Hermit	£6 9s .5d
Hospitals	£39 8s 9d
Knights Templar	£34 13s 4d
Total	£150 4s 11.5d

27 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£38 3s 6d
Benedictine	£21 16s 5d
Cistercian	£5
Hermit	£8 11s 1.5d
Hospitals	£41 18s 9d
Knights Templar	£35 6s 8d
Total	£150 16s 5.5d

28 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£38 16s 10d
Benedictine	£34 11s 10d
Cistercian	£14 11s
Hermit	£5 6s .5d
Hospitals	£67 1s 2.5d
Knights Templar	£35 6s 8d
Unknown	£1 15s 7d
Total	£197 9s 2d

29 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£38 3s 6d
Benedictine	£32 5s 2d
Cistercian	£12
Hermit	£2 18s 11.5d
Hospitals	£49 15s 9d
Knights Templar	£34 13s 4d
Unknown	£1 10s 5d
Total	£171 8s 1.5d

30 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£33 13s 6d
Benedictine	£31 13s 2d
Cistercian	£12
Hermit	£22 3s 6.5d
Hospitals	£146 6s 9d
Knights Templar	£34 13s 4d
Unknown	18s 1.5d
Total	£281 8s 5d

31 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£38 16s 10d
Benedictine	£30 15s 5.5d
Cistercian	£9 12s
Hermit	£4 1s 3.5d
Hospitals	£35 6s 11.5d
Knights Templar	£38 8s 2d
Unknown	£8 12s .5d
Total	£165 12s 9d

32 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£40 13s 6d
Benedictine	£60 18s 1d
Cistercian	£12 3s
Hermit	£14 12s 5.5d
Hospitals	£144 9s 10d
Knights Templar	£42 13s 4d
Unknown	£2 15s 6d
Total	£318 5s 8.5d

33 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 2s 2d
Benedictine	£30 18s 1.5d
Cistercian	£2 10s
Hermit	£12 10s 9.5d
Hospitals	£32 3s
Knights Templar	£38 13s 4d
Unknown	£1 12s 8d
Total	£152 10s 1d

34 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£41 16s 2d
Benedictine	£49 11s 2d
Cistercian	£5
Hermit	£9 14s 5d
Hospitals	£47 14s 1d
Knights Templar	£38
Total	£191 15s 10d

Totals for Religious Orders

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£1194 13s 3.5d
Benedictine	£726 6d
Cistercian	£142 3s 4d
Hermit	£195 3s 2.5d
Hospitals	£2499 11s 5d
Knights Templar	£1115 5s 2d
Premonstratensians	£3
Unknown	£30 6s 10.5d

C. Liveries

2 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Hospitals	£3
Total	£3

3 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Benedictine	£1 2s
Hospitals	£21 5s 10d
Total	£22 7s 10d

4 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Benedictine	5
Total	5s

5 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Hospitals	£28 10s 10d
Total	£28 10s 10d

6 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Hospitals	£25 6s 3d
Total	£25 6s 3d

7 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Hospitals	£21 1s 6.5d
Total	£21 1s 6.5d

8 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Benedictine	£2
Total	£2 6s 8d

9 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Hospitals	£22 5d
Total	£22 7s 1d

10 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Hospitals	£3 10s 5d
Total	£3 10s 5d

11 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Hermit	15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£26 10s 10d
Total	£27 12s 8.5d

12 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	3s 4d
Benedictine	£2 5s 7.5d
Hospitals	£7 11s 3d
Total	£10 2.5d

13 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Hospitals	£3
Total	£3 6s 8d

14 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£2 6s 8d
Hospitals	£6 10d
Total	£8 7s 6d

15 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Hospitals	£3 5d
Unknown	15s 2.5d
Total	£3 2s 3.5d

16 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£1 6s 8d
Hospitals	£4 17s 5d
Unknown	8s 2.5d
Total	£6 12s 3.5d

17 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Hospitals	£5 2s 5d
Total	£5 9s 1d

18 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Benedictine	£1 10s
Hermit	15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£7 .5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£9 19s 11d

19 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Hermit	£3 15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£5 10s 7.5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£10 s 6d

20 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Hermit	£3 15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£3 8s .5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£7 17s 11d

21 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Hermit	£3 15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£7 19s 5.5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£12 9s 4d

22 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Hermit	15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£5 13s 5.5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£7 3s 4d

23 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Fontevrault	£37 8s 6d
Hermit	15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£7 18s 5.5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£46 10s 2d

24 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£40 6s 8d
Hermit	£3 15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£5 13s 5.5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£49 8s 4d

25 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£1 17s 1d
Hermit	15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£4 18s 5.5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£7 18s 9d

26 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Fontevrault	£1
Hermit	£3 19s 6.5d
Hospitals	£4 18s 5.5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£10 12s 8d

27 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£5 11s 8d
Benedictine	£42
Hermit	£3 17s 4.5d
Hospitals	£6 2s 4.5d
Knights Templar	17s
Unknown	8s
Total	£58 16s 5d

28 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Benedictine	£42 5d
Hermit	£3 15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£3 8s .5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£49 18s 4d

29 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Benedictine	£135 2s 1d
Hermit	£3 15s 2.5d
Hospitals	£4 18s 5.5d
Unknown	£1 10s 9d
Total	£145 6s 6d

30 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Benedictine	£52 4s 4d
Hermit	£4 11s 2.5d
Hospitals	£17 3s 5.5d
Unknown	£3 2s 7.5d
Total	£77 8s 3.5d

31 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	10s 8d
Benedictine	£49 9s 5.5d
Cistercian	15s 2.5d
Hermit	£6 15s 7.5d
Hospitals	£11 16s. 5.5d
Unknown	8s
Total	£69 15s 5d

32 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Benedictine	£52 10d
Cistercian	£1 10s 5d
Hermit	£5 5s 7.5d
Hospitals	£4 18s 5.5d
Premonstratensian	15s 2.5d
Unknown	£1 18s 5d
Total	£66 15s 7.5d

33 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Benedictine	£41 11s 11.5d
Cistercian	15s 2.5d
Fontevrault	£5
Hermit	£6 16s .5d
Hospitals	£8 14s 6d
Unknown	£1 3s 2.5d
Total	£64 11d

34 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	6s 8d
Benedictine	£7 18s 9d
Hermit	£3 7s 3.5d
Hospitals	£4 18s 5.5d
Knights Templar	14s
Unknown	£2 13s 7.5d
Total	£20 18s 9.5d

Religious Order Totals

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£57 9s 5d
Benedictine	£427 10s 5.5d
Cistercian	£3 10d
Fontevrault	£43 8s 6d
Hermit	£62
Hospitals	£295 4s 1.5d
Knights Templar	£3 11s
Premonstratensian	15s 2.5d
Unknown	£16 8s .5d

D. Tithes

2 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£23 5s
Benedictine	£21 19s
Total	£45 4s

3 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£18 5s
Benedictine	£22 9s
Hospitals	£2 1s 5d
Total	£42 15s 5d

4 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£33 16s 6d
Benedictine	£20 9s
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£56 7s 11d

5 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£23 5s
Benedictine	£21 11s
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£46 18s 5d

6 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£23 5s
Benedictine	£10 11s
Hospitals	1s
Total	£33 17s

7 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£26 14s 7d
Benedictine	£23 3s
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£52

8 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£21 7s
Hospitals	£3 12s 10d
Unknown	£1
Total	£60 4s 10d

9 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£20 11s
Hospitals	£3 12s 10d
Total	£58 8s 10d

10 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£16 6s 8d
Benedictine	£34 13s
Hospitals	£26 3s 3d
Total	£77 2s 11d

11 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£35 10s
Hospitals	£5 3s 3d
Total	£74 18s 3d

12 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£33 16s 2d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£70 3s 7d

13 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£33 16s 2d
Hospitals	£17 2s 3d
Total	£85 3s 5d

14 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£33 16s 2d
Hospitals	£2 2s 4d
Total	£70 3s 6d

15 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£31 15s
Benedictine	£33 16s 2d
Hospitals	£4 8s .5d
Total	£69 19s 2.5d

16 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£17 2s 6d
Benedictine	£27 3s 7d
Hospitals	£3 12s 10d
Knights Templar	13s 4d
Total	£48 12s 3d

17 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£33 16s 2d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£70 3s 7d

18 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£35 7s 6d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	1s
Total	£71 2s 11d

19 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£33 16s 2d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£5 2s 9d
Total	£74 14s 4d

20 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£16
Benedictine	£29 14s 8d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	1s
Total	£47 6s 1d

21 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£16
Benedictine	£66 12s 8d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£4 3s 10d
Total	£88 6s 11d

22 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£42 18s 2d
Hermit	£4 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 1s 11d
Total	£83 15s 6d

23 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£23 11s 8d
Benedictine	£45 7s 2d
Hermit	£4 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£75 11s 8d

24 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£44 3s 2d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£82 1s

25 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£52 13s 2d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£90 11s

26 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£29 8s
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£67 5s 10d

27 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£42 13s 2d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£80 11s

28 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 12s 2d
Benedictine	£43 3s 2d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£28 18s 5d
Total	£108 4s 2d

29 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£34 5s
Benedictine	£43 2s 2d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 1s 11d
Unknown	£3 1s
Total	£84 6d

30 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£23 9s
Benedictine	£33 18s 2d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Unknown	£3 1s
Total	£64 1s

31 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£28 19s
Benedictine	£40 18s 10.5d
Hermit	19s 6.5d
Hospitals	£2 1s 11d
Unknown	£3 1s
Total	£76 4d

32 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£36 15s
Benedictine	£45 11s 10d
Hermit	£1 14s 9d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Unknown	£3 1s
Total	£89 5s

33 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£37 18s 4d
Benedictine	£47 11s 1d
Cistercian	£7
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£97 5s 3d

34 Henry II

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£36 15s
Benedictine	£24 4s 8d
Cistercian	2s 5d
Hermit	£1 10s 5d
Hospitals	£2 2s 5d
Total	£63 14s 11d

Religious Order Totals

Religious Order	Total Amount
Augustinian	£85 10s 5d
Benedictine	£1129 11s 2.5d
Cistercian	£7 2s 5d
Hermit	£31 10s 6.5d
Hospitals	£143 9s 7.5d
Knights Templar	13s 4d
Unknown	£13 4s

Appendix ii

Pardons and Outstanding Debts in the Pipe Rolls

A. Pardons I. All Pardons

Table 1. Yearly Totals of Pardons

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
2 Henry II	£361 4s 11.5d
3 Henry II	£45 16s 6d
4 Henry II	£309 8s 8d
5 Henry II	£51 13s 6d
6 Henry II	£142 8s 9d
7 Henry II	£73 8s 7.5d
8 Henry II	£468 11s 10d
9 Henry II	£49 15s 5d
10 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
11 Henry II	£10 10s 8d
12 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
13 Henry II	£53 3s 8.5d
14 Henry II	£58 10s 2.5d
15 Henry II	£54 14s 8d
16 Henry II	£41 13s 4d
17 Henry II	£25 10s 11d
18 Henry II	£29 2s 2d
19 Henry II	£13 17s 9d
20 Henry II	£4 13s 4d
21 Henry II	£79 5d
22 Henry II	£119 15s 9d
23 Henry II	£53 17s 8d
24 Henry II	£107 6s 8d
25 Henry II	£112 4s 1d
26 Henry II	£3 19s 7d
27 Henry II	£26 11s 9d
28 Henry II	£18 19s 10d
29 Henry II	£15 7s 3.5d
30 Henry II	£17 2s 9d
31 Henry II	£45 13s 6.5d
32 Henry II	£29 7.5d
33 Henry II	£30 1s 1d
34 Henry II	£39 8s 4d

Table 2. Pardons of Augustinian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
2 Henry II	£2 7s
3 Henry II	£2 13s
4 Henry II	£6 16s 10d
5 Henry II	£2 10s 3d
6 Henry II	£4 5d
7 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
8 Henry II	£16 17s 6d
9 Henry II	£28 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
11 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
12 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
13 Henry II	14s 5d
14 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
15 Henry II	£0
16 Henry II	£5 2s 4d
17 Henry II	£2 12s 4d
18 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
19 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£0
22 Henry II	16s 8d
23 Henry II	£24 17s 2d
24 Henry II	£4 8d
25 Henry II	£2 9s 4d
26 Henry II	£1 19s 10d
27 Henry II	£2 1s 4d
28 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
29 Henry II	£2 5s
30 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
31 Henry II	£2 15s 2.5d
32 Henry II	£8 12s 2d
33 Henry II	£3 17s 4d
34 Henry II	£6 5s 11d

Table 3. Pardons of Benedictine Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals
2 Henry II	£324 10s 1d
3 Henry II	£29 2s 2d
4 Henry II	£272 14s 10d
5 Henry II	£34 16s 9d
6 Henry II	£114 9s 11d
7 Henry II	£36 7s 11d
8 Henry II	£384 6s 9d
9 Henry II	£12
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£4 13s 4d
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£48 2d

14 Henry II	£37 18s 3.5d
15 Henry II	£44 10d
16 Henry II	£6 14s 9d
17 Henry II	£13 17s 2d
18 Henry II	£1 7s 7d
19 Henry II	£11 16s 8d
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£72 12s 11d
22 Henry II	£116 3s 2d
23 Henry II	£16 2s 1d
24 Henry II	£74 13s 8d
25 Henry II	£81 13s
26 Henry II	19s 11d
27 Henry II	£12 12s 3d
28 Henry II	£5 3s 10d
29 Henry II	£8 18s 11d
30 Henry II	£8 13s
31 Henry II	£14 11s 9.5d
32 Henry II	£13 15s 1d
33 Henry II	£10 5s 10d
34 Henry II	£15 12s 1.5d

Table 4. Pardons of Cistercian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals
2 Henry II	£4 5s 7d
3 Henry II	£13 13s 2d
4 Henry II	£14 2s 6.5d
5 Henry II	£5 11s 6d
6 Henry II	£14 18s
7 Henry II	£6 18s 1d
8 Henry II	£25 4s 11d
9 Henry II	£4 13s 4d
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£1 15s 7d
14 Henry II	£1 18s 9d
15 Henry II	2s 10d
16 Henry II	£23 10s 4d
17 Henry II	£7 10s 6d
18 Henry II	£22 13s 1d
19 Henry II	3s 9d
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£2 8s 4d
22 Henry II	£0
23 Henry II	£4 2s 4d
24 Henry II	£12 12s 8d
25 Henry II	£5 6s
26 Henry II	6s 8d
27 Henry II	£8 2s 4d
28 Henry II	£10 5s 3d
29 Henry II	19s 4d

30 Henry II	£1 17s 9d
31 Henry II	£10 11s 5.5d
32 Henry II	£3 1s
33 Henry II	£12 18s 8d
34 Henry II	£5 4s .5d

Table 5. Pardons of Fontevrault (English Houses)

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
23 Henry II	£2 8s 4d
30 Henry II	6s 6d
32 Henry II	£1 9s 8d
33 Henry II	15s
34 Henry II	10s

Table 6. Pardons of Gilbertine Order

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
2 Henry II	9s 8d
3 Henry II	£0
4 Henry II	£2 1s 4d
5 Henry II	£0
6 Henry II	3d
7 Henry II	£2 10s 8d
8 Henry II	£1 3s 11d
9 Henry II	£0
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£0
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£0
14 Henry II	£1 5s 11d
15 Henry II	£0
16 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
17 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
18 Henry II	£0
19 Henry II	£0
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£1 16s 8d
22 Henry II	£0
23 Henry II	£0
24 Henry II	£0
25 Henry II	3s
26 Henry II	£0
27 Henry II	£0
28 Henry II	8s 10d
29 Henry II	£1 7s
30 Henry II	17s 10d
31 Henry II	£2 1s 5.5d
32 Henry II	18s

33 Henry II	£0
34 Henry II	£1 17s 8d

Table 7. Pardons for Hospitals, sick and the lepers

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
2 Henry II	£1 14s 2d
3 Henry II	3s 10d
4 Henry II	£5 2s 3.5d
5 Henry II	£2 17s 2d
6 Henry II	£5 9s 6d
7 Henry II	£11 15s 9d
8 Henry II	£14 9s 2d
9 Henry II	£2
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	13s 4d
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	9s 1d
14 Henry II	£5 4s 6d
15 Henry II	£5 12s 6d
16 Henry II	£0
17 Henry II	£0
18 Henry II	£0
19 Henry II	£0
20 Henry II	£2
21 Henry II	£2 2s 6d
22 Henry II	£2 15s 11d
23 Henry II	9d
24 Henry II	£9 6s 4d
25 Henry II	£2 3s 5d
26 Henry II	8s 2d
27 Henry II	£3 9s 10d
28 Henry II	9s 3d
29 Henry II	11s 1d
30 Henry II	£2 9s 2d
31 Henry II	£11 11s 1.5d
32 Henry II	£1 1s 4.5d
33 Henry II	16s
34 Henry II	£5 3s 10d

Table 8. Pardons for Knights Templar

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
2 Henry II	£26 16s 7.5d
3 Henry II	4s 4d
4 Henry II	£8 2s 4d
5 Henry II	£5 17s 10d
6 Henry II	£3 2s
7 Henry II	£12 1s 6.5d
8 Henry II	£24 9s 4d
9 Henry II	£2 15s 5d

10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£0
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£2 4s 5.5d
14 Henry II	£10 5s 5d
15 Henry II	£4 18s 6d
16 Henry II	£2 19s 3d
17 Henry II	4s 3d
18 Henry II	£3 4s 2d
19 Henry II	£0
20 Henry II	£2 13s 4d
21 Henry II	£0
22 Henry II	£0
23 Henry II	£6 7s
24 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
25 Henry II	£17 9s 4d
26 Henry II	5s
27 Henry II	6s
28 Henry II	15s 4d
29 Henry II	£1 6s 3.5d
30 Henry II	£1 1s 2d
31 Henry II	£3 14s 6d
32 Henry II	3s 4d
33 Henry II	6s 8d
34 Henry II	£4 9s 9d

Table 9. Pardons for Premonstratensians

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
4 Henry II	2s
8 Henry II	5s
25 Henry II	£3
33 Henry II	£1 1s 6d

Table 10. Pardons for Unknown associations

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
2 Henry II	£1 1s 10d
4 Henry II	6s 6d
6 Henry II	8s 8d
8 Henry II	£1 15s 3d
34 Henry II	5s

Table 11. Individual Ecclesiastical Institutions

Ecclesiastical Institution	Number of Occurrences
Hospitals	233
Ely	143
Canterbury (Archbishop)	91

Battle Abbey	77
Reading Abbey	57
Winchester (Bishop and Cathedral of)	53
Westminster Abbey	49
Sempringham Priory	37
Merton Priory	31
Norwich (Bishop and Cathedral of)	31
Colchester Abbey	27
Christ Church Canterbury	26
Carlisle Priory	25
Warden Abbey	24
Vaudey Abbey	20
Garendon Abbey	19
Pipewell Abbey	19
Gilbert of Sempringham	19
Waltham Abbey	18
Combermere Abbey	18
Thame Abbey	17
Waverley Abbey	16
Godstow Abbey	14
Merevale Abbey	13
Sawtry Abbey	13
Chicksands Priory	12
Kirkstall Abbey	12
Rufford Abbey	11
Buckfast Abbey	10
Buildwas Abbey	10
Cherstey Abbey	10
Elstow Abbey	10
Shaftesbury Abbey	10
Biddlesden Abbey	9
Forde Abbey	9
Hospital of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem	9
Revesby Abbey	9
Woburn Abbey	9
Amesbury Abbey	8
Bermondsey Abbey	8
Kingswood Abbey	8
Stratford Langthorne Abbey	8
St. Albans Abbey	8
Worcester (Bishop and Cathedral)	8
Combe Abbey	7
Kirkstead Abbey	7
London (Holy Trinity Priory)	7
Swineshead Abbey	7
Unknown Houses	7
Wroxall Priory	7
Bruern Abbey	6
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey	6
Bordesley Abbey	6
Cirencester Abbey	6
Cookhill Priory	6
Rievaulx Abbey	6

Sick (General)	6
Stixwoud Priory	6
Abingdon Abbey	5
Louth Park Abbey	5
St. Neot Priory	5
Byland Abbey	4
Boxley Abbey	4
Coventry (Bishop and Cathedral of)	4
Coggeshall Abbey	4
Fountains Abbey	4
Lewes Priory	4
Stoneleigh Abbey	4
Thetford Priory	4
Beckford Priory	3
Basingwerk Abbey	3
Bristol (Saint James) Abbey	3
Evesham Abbey	3
Gloucester Abbey	3
Malmesbury Abbey	3
Monkton Farleigh Abbey	3
Northampton (St. James) Priory	3
Quarr Abbey	3
Tortington Priory	3
Westminster (Prebend)	3
York (St. Mary's) Abbey	3
Bardsey Abbey	2
Barking Abbey	2
Bicknacre Priory	2
Clerkenwell Priory	2
Cotgrave Priory	2
Croxden Priory	2
Drax Priory	2
Exeter (St. Nicholas) Priory	2
Glastonbury Abbey	2
Hospital (Lincoln)	2
Huntingdon Priory	2
Lewisham Priory	2
Loxwell Abbey	2
Meaux Abbey	2
Malling Abbey	2
Newton Longville Abbey	2
Nun Cotham Priory	2
Nuneaton Priory	2
Plympton Priory	2
Polsloe Priory	2
Red Moor Abbey	2
Sewardsley Priory	2
Spalding Priory	2
Stansted Priory	2
Sulby Priory	2
Thronton Priory	2
Tilty Abbey	2
Wilton Abbey	2

Ankerwyke Priory	1
Bath Cathedral Priory	1
Bardney Abbey	1
Bristol (St. Augustine's) Abbey	1
Belvoir Priory	1
Butley Priory	1
Beeleigh Priory	1
Castle Acre Priory	1
Canterbury (St. Augustine's) Abbey	1
Derby (Darley) Priory	1
Durham Cathedral Priory	1
Dunstable Priory	1
Easby Abbey	1
Eynsham Abbey	1
Faversham Abbey	1
Flaxley Abbey	1
Furness Abbey	1
Grimsby Abbey	1
Greenfield Priory	1
Hurley Priory	1
Hulme Abbey	1
Hornchurch Hospital	1
Harrold Priory	1
Haughmond Abbey	1
Haverholme Priory	1
Holmcultram Abbey	1
Ivychurch Priory	1
Jervaulx Abbey	1
Kington St. Michael Priory	1
Kenilworth Priory	1
Lilleshall Abbey	1
London (Haliwell) Priory	1
Leicester Abbey	1
Legbourne Priory	1
Montacute Priory	1
Muchelney Abbey	1
Margam Abbey	1
Malton Priory	1
Sick of Maldon	1
Norwich (Hospital)	1
Notley Abbey	1
Nunappleton Priory	1
Owston Priory	1
Ramsey Abbey	1
Rochester Cathedral Priory	1
Robertsbridge Abbey	1
Stafford Priory	1
Spettisbury Priory	1
Sandford Priory	1
Sawley Abbey	1
Stone Priory	1
Stanley Abbey	1
Sibton Abbey	1

St. Osyth Abbey	1
Tintern Abbey	1
Wallingford Priory	1
Ware Priory	1
Wareham Priory	1

II. TABLES FOR PARDONS WITHOUT DANEGELD

Table 1. Totals for Pardons without Danegeld

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total without Danegeld
2 Henry II	£213 11s 4.5d
3 Henry II	£31 17s 10d
4 Henry II	£309 8s 8d
5 Henry II	£51 13s 6d
6 Henry II	£142 8s 9d
7 Henry II	£73 8s 7.5d
8 Henry II	£11 17s 10d
Totals without Danegeld	£834 6s 7d

Table 2. Augustinian Houses without Danegeld

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Danegeld
2 Henry II	£1 16s
3 Henry II	£1 7s 8d
4 Henry II	£6 16s 10d
5 Henry II	£2 10s 3d
6 Henry II	£4 5d
7 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
8 Henry II	£4 9s 2d
Total Pardons without Danegeld	£24 15s

Table 3. Benedictine Houses without Danegeld

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Danegeld
2 Henry II	£197 6s 8d
3 Henry II	£23 5s 9d
4 Henry II	£272 14s 10d
5 Henry II	£34 16s 9d
6 Henry II	£114 9s 11d
7 Henry II	£36 7s 11d
8 Henry II	£1 18s
Total Pardons without Danegeld	£680 19s 10d

Table 4. Cistercian Houses without Danegeld

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Danegeld
2 Henry II	£2 18s 9d
3 Henry II	£6 16s 5d
4 Henry II	£14 12s 6.5d
5 Henry II	£5 11s 6d
6 Henry II	£14 18s

7 Henry II	£6 18s 1d
8 Henry II	£1 18s 2d
Total Pardons without Danegeld	£53 13s 5.5d

Table 5. Gilbertine Houses without Danegeld

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Danegeld
2 Henry II	9s 8d
3 Henry II	£0
4 Henry II	£2 1s 4d
5 Henry II	£0
6 Henry II	3d
7 Henry II	£2 10s 8d
8 Henry II	2d
Total Pardons without Danegeld	£5 2s 1d

Table 6. Hospitals, sick and the lepers without Danegeld

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Danegeld
2 Henry II	£1 2d
3 Henry II	3s 10d
4 Henry II	£5 2s 3.5d
5 Henry II	£2 17s 2d
6 Henry II	£5 9s 6d
7 Henry II	£11 15s 9d
8 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
Total Pardons without Danegeld	£27 15s 4.5d

Table 7. Knights Templar without Danegeld

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Danegeld
2 Henry II	£10 1.5d
3 Henry II	4s 4d
4 Henry II	£8 2s 4d
5 Henry II	£5 17s 10d
6 Henry II	£3 2s
7 Henry II	£12 1s 6.5d
8 Henry II	£2 5s 8d
Total Pardons without Danegeld	£41 13s 10d

Table 8. Premonstratensians without Danegeld

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Danegeld
2 Henry II	£0
3 Henry II	£0
4 Henry II	2s
5 Henry II	£0
6 Henry II	£0
7 Henry II	£0
8 Henry II	£0
Total Pardons without Danegeld	2s

Table 9. Unknown Houses without Danegeld

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Danegeld
2 Henry II	£0
3 Henry II	£0
4 Henry II	6s 6d
5 Henry II	£0
6 Henry II	8s 8d
7 Henry II	£0
8 Henry II	£0
Total Pardons without Danegeld	15s 2d

C. Pardons without Danegeld or Scutage**Table 1. Pardons without Danegeld or Scutage Totals**

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
2 Henry II	£211 1s 4.5d
3 Henry II	£31 17s 10d
4 Henry II	£309 8s 8d
5 Henry II	£31 13s 6d
6 Henry II	£102 8s 9d
7 Henry II	£53 1s 11.5d
8 Henry II	£11 17s 10d
9 Henry II	£41 2s 1d
10 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
11 Henry II	£10 10s 8d
12 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
13 Henry II	£53 3s 8.5d
14 Henry II	£43 3s 6.5d
15 Henry II	£54 14s 8d
16 Henry II	£41 13s 4d
17 Henry II	£25 10s 11d
18 Henry II	£28 10s 6d
19 Henry II	£13 17s 9d
20 Henry II	£4 13s 4d
21 Henry II	£79 5d
22 Henry II	£119 15s 9d
23 Henry II	£53 17s 8d
24 Henry II	£104 16s 8d
25 Henry II	£112 4s 1d
26 Henry II	£3 19s 7d
27 Henry II	£26 11s 9d
28 Henry II	£18 19s 10d
29 Henry II	£15 7s 3.5d
30 Henry II	£16 17s 4d
31 Henry II	£45 13s 6.5d
32 Henry II	£29 7.5d
33 Henry II	£19 4s 4d
34 Henry II	£38 18s 4d
Total	£2156 10s 6.5d

Table 2. Augustinian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
2 Henry II	£1 16s
3 Henry II	£1 7s 8d
4 Henry II	£6 16s 10d
5 Henry II	£2 10s 3d
6 Henry II	£4 5d
7 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
8 Henry II	£4 9s 2d
9 Henry II	£28 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
11 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
12 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
13 Henry II	14s 5d
14 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
15 Henry II	£0
16 Henry II	£5 2s 4d
17 Henry II	£2 12s 4d
18 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
19 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£0
22 Henry II	16s 8d
23 Henry II	£24 17s 2d
24 Henry II	£4 8d
25 Henry II	£2 9s 4d
26 Henry II	£1 19s 10d
27 Henry II	£2 1s 4d
28 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
29 Henry II	£2 5s
30 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
31 Henry II	£2 15s 2.5d
32 Henry II	£8 12s 2d
33 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
34 Henry II	£6 5s 11d

Table 3. Benedictine Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
2 Henry II	£194 16s 8d
3 Henry II	£23 5s 9d
4 Henry II	£272 14s 10d
5 Henry II	£14 16s 9d
6 Henry II	£74 9s 11d
7 Henry II	£16 7s 11d
8 Henry II	£1 18s
9 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£4 13s 4d
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£48 2d
14 Henry II	£23 4s 11.5d

15 Henry II	£44 10d
16 Henry II	£5 2s 4d
17 Henry II	£13 17s 2d
18 Henry II	£1 3s
19 Henry II	£11 16s 8d
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£72 12s 11d
22 Henry II	£116 3s 2d
23 Henry II	£16 2s 1d
24 Henry II	£74 13s 8d
25 Henry II	£81 13s
26 Henry II	19s 11d
27 Henry II	£12 12s 3d
28 Henry II	£5 3s 10d
29 Henry II	£8 18s 11d
30 Henry II	£8 8s 5d
31 Henry II	£14 11s 9.5d
32 Henry II	£13 15s 1d
33 Henry II	£2 19s 2d
34 Henry II	£15 12s 1.5d

Table 4. Cistercian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
2 Henry II	£2 18s 9d
3 Henry II	£ 6 16s 5d
4 Henry II	£14 2s 6.5d
5 Henry II	£5 11s 6d
6 Henry II	£14 18s
7 Henry II	£6 11s 5d
8 Henry II	£1 18s 2d
9 Henry II	£4 13s 4d
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£1 15s 7d
14 Henry II	£1 18s 9d
15 Henry II	2s 10d
16 Henry II	£23 10s 4d
17 Henry II	£7 10s 6d
18 Henry II	£22 6s
19 Henry II	3s 9d
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£2 8s 4d
22 Henry II	£0
23 Henry II	£4 2s 4d
24 Henry II	£11 6s 8d
25 Henry II	£5 6s
26 Henry II	6s 8d
27 Henry II	£8 2s 4d
28 Henry II	£10 5s 3d
29 Henry II	19s 4d
30 Henry II	£1 17s 9d

31 Henry II	£10 11s 5.5d
32 Henry II	£3 1s
33 Henry II	£12 8s 8d
34 Henry II	£4 14s .5d

Table 5. Fontevrault (English Houses)

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
23 Henry II	£2 8s 4d
30 Henry II	6s 6d
32 Henry II	£1 9s 8d
33 Henry II	15s
34 Henry II	10s

Table 6. Gilbertine Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
2 Henry II	9s 8d
4 Henry II	£2 1s 4d
6 Henry II	3d
7 Henry II	£2 10s 8d
8 Henry II	2d
14 Henry II	£1 5s 11d
16 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
17 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
21 Henry II	£1 16s 8d
25 Henry II	3s
28 Henry II	8s 10d
29 Henry II	£1 7s
30 Henry II	17s 10d
31 Henry II	£2 1s 5.5d
32 Henry II	18s
34 Henry II	£1 17s 8d

Table 7. Hospitals, Sick and Lepers

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
2 Henry II	£1 2d
3 Henry II	3s 10d
4 Henry II	£5 2s 3.5d
5 Henry II	£2 17s 2d
6 Henry II	£5 9s 6d
7 Henry II	£11 15s 9d
8 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
9 Henry II	£2
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	13s 4d
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	9s 1d
14 Henry II	£5 4s 6d
15 Henry II	£5 12s 6d
16 Henry II	£0
17 Henry II	£0

18 Henry II	£0
19 Henry II	£0
20 Henry II	£2
21 Henry II	£2 2s 6d
22 Henry II	£2 15s 11d
23 Henry II	9d
24 Henry II	£9 4s 4d
25 Henry II	£2 3s 5d
26 Henry II	8s 2d
27 Henry II	£3 9s 10d
28 Henry II	9s 3d
29 Henry II	11s 1d
30 Henry II	£2 8s 4d
31 Henry II	£11 11s 1.5d
32 Henry II	£1 1s 4.5d
33 Henry II	16s
34 Henry II	£5 3s 10d

Table 8. Knights Templar

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
2 Henry II	£10 1.5d
3 Henry II	4s 4d
4 Henry II	£8 2s 4d
5 Henry II	£5 17s 10d
6 Henry II	£3 2s
7 Henry II	£12 1s 6.5d
8 Henry II	£2 5s 8d
9 Henry II	£2 15s 5d
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£0
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£2 4s 5.5d
14 Henry II	£9 12s 1d
15 Henry II	£4 18s 6d
16 Henry II	£2 19s 3d
17 Henry II	4s 3d
18 Henry II	£3 4s 2d
19 Henry II	£0
20 Henry II	£2 13s 4d
21 Henry II	£0
22 Henry II	£0
23 Henry II	£6 7s
24 Henry II	£5 11s 4d
25 Henry II	£17 9s 4d
26 Henry II	5s
27 Henry II	6s
28 Henry II	15s 4d
29 Henry II	£1 6s 3.5d
30 Henry II	£1 1s 2d
31 Henry II	£3 14s 6d
32 Henry II	3s 4d
33 Henry II	6s 8d

34 Henry II	£4 9s 9d
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Table 9. Premonstratensians

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
4 Henry II	2s
25 Henry II	£3
33 Henry II	1s 6d

Table 10. Unknown Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
4 Henry II	6s 6d
6 Henry II	8s 8d
34 Henry II	5s

D. Pardons without Danegeld, Scutage or *Donum*

Table 1. Total Pardons without Danegeld, Scutage or *Donum*

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
2 Henry II	£127 1s 5.5d
3 Henry II	£23 15s 11d
4 Henry II	£97 2s 2.5d
5 Henry II	£23 12s
6 Henry II	£96 1s 7d
7 Henry II	£38 1s 11.5d
8 Henry II	£10 14s 6d
9 Henry II	£41 2s 1d
10 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
11 Henry II	£10 10s 8d
12 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
13 Henry II	£53 3s 8.5d
14 Henry II	£43 3s 6.5d
15 Henry II	£54 14s 8d
16 Henry II	£41 13s 4d
17 Henry II	£25 10s 11d
18 Henry II	£28 10s 6d
19 Henry II	£13 17s 9d
20 Henry II	£4 13s 4d
21 Henry II	£79 5d
22 Henry II	£119 15s 9d
23 Henry II	£53 17s 8d
24 Henry II	£104 16s 8d
25 Henry II	£112 4s 1d
26 Henry II	£3 19s 7d
27 Henry II	£26 11s 9d
28 Henry II	£18 19s 10d
29 Henry II	£15 7s 3.5d
30 Henry II	£16 17s 4d
31 Henry II	£44 12s 4.5d
32 Henry II	£28 8s 3.5d

33 Henry II	£19 4s 4d
34 Henry II	£39 18s 4d

Table 2. Augustinian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
2 Henry II	£1 10s
3 Henry II	£0
4 Henry II	£3 19s 2d
5 Henry II	£2 5s 3d
6 Henry II	£3 19s 4d
7 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
8 Henry II	£4 9s 2d
9 Henry II	£28 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
11 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
12 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
13 Henry II	14s 5d
14 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
15 Henry II	£0
16 Henry II	£5 2s 4d
17 Henry II	£2 12s 4d
18 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
19 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£0
22 Henry II	16s 8d
23 Henry II	£24 17s 2d
24 Henry II	£4 8d
25 Henry II	£2 9s 4d
26 Henry II	£1 19s 10d
27 Henry II	£2 1s 4d
28 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
29 Henry II	£2 5s
30 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
31 Henry II	£2 15s 2.5d
32 Henry II	£8 12s 2d
33 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
34 Henry II	£6 5s 11d

Table 3. Benedictine Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
2 Henry II	£121 14s 2d
3 Henry II	£2 4s 6d
4 Henry II	£87 18s 7.5d
5 Henry II	£12 18s 11d
6 Henry II	£69 6s
7 Henry II	£15 7s 11d
8 Henry II	£1 8s
9 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£4 13s 4d

12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£48 2d
14 Henry II	£23 4s 11.5d
15 Henry II	£44 10d
16 Henry II	£6 14s 9d
17 Henry II	£13 17s 2d
18 Henry II	£1 3s
19 Henry II	£11 16s 8d
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£72 12s 11d
22 Henry II	£116 3s 2d
23 Henry II	£16 2s 1d
24 Henry II	£74 13s 8d
25 Henry II	£81 13s
26 Henry II	19s 11d
27 Henry II	£12 12s 3d
28 Henry II	£5 3s 10d
29 Henry II	£8 18s 11d
30 Henry II	£8 8s 5d
31 Henry II	£14 8s 5.5d
32 Henry II	£13 15s 1d
33 Henry II	£2 19s 2d
34 Henry II	£15 12s 1.5d

Table 4. Cistercians

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
2 Henry II	£2 14s 6d
3 Henry II	£1 3s 3d
4 Henry II	14s 1.5d
5 Henry II	£4 12s 7d
6 Henry II	£14 7s 6d
7 Henry II	£6 11s 5d
8 Henry II	£1 18s 2d
9 Henry II	£4 13s 4d
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£1 15s 7d
14 Henry II	£1 18s 9d
15 Henry II	2s 10d
16 Henry II	£23 10s 4d
17 Henry II	£7 10s 6d
18 Henry II	£22 6s
19 Henry II	3s 9d
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£2 8s 4d
22 Henry II	£0
23 Henry II	£4 2s 4d
24 Henry II	£11 6s 8d
25 Henry II	£5 6s
26 Henry II	6s 8d
27 Henry II	£8 2s 4d

28 Henry II	£10 5s 3d
29 Henry II	19s 4d
30 Henry II	£1 17s 9d
31 Henry II	£10 5s 9.5d
32 Henry II	£2 8s 8d
33 Henry II	£12 8s 8d
34 Henry II	£4 14s .5d

Table 5. Fontevrault (English Houses)

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
23 Henry II	£2 8s 4d
30 Henry II	6s 6d
32 Henry II	£1 9s 8d
33 Henry II	15s
34 Henry II	10s

Table 6. Gilbertine Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
2 Henry II	9s 8d
6 Henry II	3d
7 Henry II	£2 10s 8d
8 Henry II	2d
14 Henry II	£1 5s 11d
16 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
17 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
21 Henry II	£1 16s 8d
25 Henry II	3s
28 Henry II	8s 10d
29 Henry II	£1 7s
30 Henry II	17s 10d
31 Henry II	£2 1s 5.5d
32 Henry II	18s
34 Henry II	£1 17s 8d

Table 7. Hospitals, Sick and the Lepers

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
3 Henry II	3s 10d
4 Henry II	£1 1s 10.5
5 Henry II	3s 8d
6 Henry II	£5 9s 6d
7 Henry II	£5 2s 5d
8 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
9 Henry II	£2
11 Henry II	13s 4d
13 Henry II	9s 1d
14 Henry II	£5 4s 6d
15 Henry II	£5 12s 6d
20 Henry II	£2
21 Henry II	£2 2s 6d
22 Henry II	£2 15s 11d

23 Henry II	9d
24 Henry II	£9 4s 4d
25 Henry II	£2 3s 5d
26 Henry II	8s 2d
27 Henry II	£3 9s 10d
28 Henry II	9s 3d
29 Henry II	11s 1d
30 Henry II	£2 8s 4d
31 Henry II	£11 3s 8.5d
32 Henry II	£1 1s 4.5d
33 Henry II	16s
34 Henry II	£5 3s 10d

Table 8. Knights Templar

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
2 Henry II	£2 3s 1.5d
3 Henry II	4s 4d
4 Henry II	£3 8s 5d
5 Henry II	£3 11s 7d
6 Henry II	£2 10s 4d
7 Henry II	£4 14s 10.5d
8 Henry II	£1 12s 4d
9 Henry II	£2 15s 5d
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£0
12 Henry II	£0
13 Henry II	£2 4s 5.5d
14 Henry II	£9 12s 1d
15 Henry II	£4 18s 6d
16 Henry II	£2 19s 3d
17 Henry II	4s 3d
18 Henry II	£3 4s 2d
19 Henry II	£0
20 Henry II	£2 13s 4d
21 Henry II	£0
22 Henry II	£0
23 Henry II	£6 7s
24 Henry II	£5 11s 4d
25 Henry II	£17 9s 4d
26 Henry II	5s
27 Henry II	6s
28 Henry II	15s 4d
29 Henry II	£1 6s 3.5d
30 Henry II	£1 1s 2d
31 Henry II	£2 9s 9d
32 Henry II	3s 4d
33 Henry II	6s 8d
34 Henry II	£4 9s 9d

Table 9. Premonstratensians

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
25 Henry II	£3
33 Henry II	1s 6d

Table 10. Unknown Associations

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
6 Henry II	8s 8d
34 Henry II	5s

E. Tables without Danegeld, scutage, *dona* or aid
Table I. Totals

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
2 Henry II	£116 2s 7d
3 Henry II	£20 3s 11d
4 Henry II	£97 2s 2.5d
5 Henry II	£23 12s
6 Henry II	£96 1s 7d
7 Henry II	£38 1s 11.5d
8 Henry II	£9 6s 9d
9 Henry II	£41 2s 1d
10 Henry II	£3 14s 8d
11 Henry II	£10 10s 8d
12 Henry II	£1 17s 4d
13 Henry II	£53 3s 8.5d
14 Henry II	£42 7.5d
15 Henry II	£54 14s 8d
16 Henry II	£41 13s 4d
17 Henry II	£25 10s 11d
18 Henry II	£28 10s 6d
19 Henry II	£13 17s 9d
20 Henry II	£4 13s 4d
21 Henry II	£79 5d
22 Henry II	£119 15s 9d
23 Henry II	£53 17s 8d
24 Henry II	£104 16s 8d
25 Henry II	£112 4s 1d
26 Henry II	£3 19s 7d
27 Henry II	£26 11s 9d
28 Henry II	£18 19s 10d
29 Henry II	£15 7s 3.5d
30 Henry II	£16 17s 4d
31 Henry II	£44 12s 4.5d
32 Henry II	£28 8s 3.5d
33 Henry II	£19 4s 4d
34 Henry II	£38 18s 4d

B. Outstanding Debts
I. Cumulative Outstanding Debts

Table 1. Outstanding Debts

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
2 Henry II	£3 12s
3 Henry II	£43 6s 8d
4 Henry II	£60
5 Henry II	£60
6 Henry II	£74 13s 4d
7 Henry II	£131 13s 4d
8 Henry II	£92 19s 8d
9 Henry II	£88
10 Henry II	£111 6s 8d
11 Henry II	£602 15s 10d
12 Henry II	£510 6s 8d
13 Henry II	£234 9s 2d
14 Henry II	£412 16s 1d
15 Henry II	£378 1s 1d
16 Henry II	£154 5s 9d
17 Henry II	£271 19s 1d
18 Henry II	£544 2s 5d
19 Henry II	£555 13s 6d
20 Henry II	£395 18s
21 Henry II	£812 19s 3d
22 Henry II	£502 18s 3d
23 Henry II	£282 17s 2d
24 Henry II	£352 6s
25 Henry II	£169 1s
26 Henry II	£213 12s 8d
27 Henry II	£270 14s 4d
28 Henry II	£234 7s 8d
29 Henry II	£207 7s 8d
30 Henry II	£191 6s
31 Henry II	£253 11s
32 Henry II	£235 11s 10d
33 Henry II	£592 9s 6d
34 Henry II	£748 19s 9d

Table 2. Outstanding Debts of Augustinian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals
16 Henry II	£2
26 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
31 Henry II	£1 17s 6d
33 Henry II	£1 17s 6d

Table 3. Benedictine Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals
2 Henry II	£3 12s
3 Henry II	£43 6s 8d
4 Henry II	£60
5 Henry II	£60
6 Henry II	£74 13s 4d
7 Henry II	£131 13s 4d
8 Henry II	£92 19s 8d
9 Henry II	£88
10 Henry II	£111 6s 8d
11 Henry II	£602 15s 10d
12 Henry II	£503 13s 4d
13 Henry II	£229 2s 6d
14 Henry II	£406 2s 11d
15 Henry II	£378 1s 1d
16 Henry II	£150 19s 1d
17 Henry II	£271 19s 1d
18 Henry II	£544 2s 5d
19 Henry II	£555 13s 6d
20 Henry II	£394 18
21 Henry II	£812 19s 3d
22 Henry II	£501 18s 3d
23 Henry II	£281 17s 2d
24 Henry II	£352 6s
25 Henry II	£169 1s
26 Henry II	£206 19s 4d
27 Henry II	£270 14s 4d
28 Henry II	£234 7s 8d
29 Henry II	£207 7s 8d
30 Henry II	£191 6s
31 Henry II	£250 6s 10d
32 Henry II	£235 11s 10d
33 Henry II	£585 4d
34 Henry II	£742 11s 1d

Table 4. Cistercian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals
13 Henry II	£1 13s 4d
16 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
20 Henry II	£1
22 Henry II	£1
23 Henry II	£1
31 Henry II	13s 4d
33 Henry II	13s 4d

Table 5. Fontevrault (English Houses of)

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
31 Henry II	6s 8d
33 Henry II	3s

Table 6. Gilbertine Order

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
14 Henry II	£6 13s 4d

Table 7. Hospitals, sick and lepers

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
12 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
33 Henry II	£4 15s 4d
34 Henry II	£5 2s

Table 8. Knights Templar

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
13 Henry II	13s 4d
31 Henry II	6s 8d
34 Henry II	£1 6s 8d

Table 9. Premonstratensians

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total
13 Henry II	£3

Table 10. Ecclesiastical Institutions

Religious House	Number of Occurrences
Westminster Abbey	93
Bishopric of Norwich	40
Bishopric of Durham	39
Bury St. Edmunds	36
Shaftesbury Abbey	36
Chertsey Abbey	36
Bishopric of Winchester	30

Glastonbury Abbey	28
Peterborough Abbey	26
Abingdon Abbey	26
Bishopric of Worcester	24
Cerne Abbey	20
Bishopric of Exeter	20
Bishopric of Bath	11
Hyde Abbey	14
Reading Abbey	13
Tavistock Abbey	13
Bishopric of Ely	12
Archbishopric & Priory of Canterbury	12
Battle Abbey	10
Bishopric and Priory of Coventry	5
Sawtry Abbey	4
Knights Templar	4
Brother's Hospital of Jerusalem	4
Sherborne Abbey	3
Winchburn Hospital	3
Gloucester Abbey	2
St. Benet of Hulme	2
Marton Priory	2
Abbey of St. Albans	2
Amesbury Abbey	2
Barking Abbey	2
Brother's Hospital	2
Ramsey Abbey	1
Norwich Hospital	1
Bordesley Abbey	1
Croxton Priory	1
Gilbert of Sempringham	1
Notley (Crendon Park) Abbey	1
Newburgh Priory	1
Furness Abbey	1
Plympton Priory	1
Monkton Farleigh Priory	1
Basingwerk Abbey	1
'Grestene'	1
Pershore Abbey	1
Hurley Priory	1
Rufford Abbey	1

II. CUMULATIVE OUTSTANDING DEBTS WITHOUT SCUTAGE

Table 1. Yearly Totals for Outstanding Debts without Scutage

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total without scutage
2 Henry II	£3 12s
3 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
4 Henry II	£0
5 Henry II	£0
6 Henry II	£0
7 Henry II	£50
8 Henry II	£50

9 Henry II	£13 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£36 13s 4d
11 Henry II	£528 2s 6d
12 Henry II	£455 13s 4d
13 Henry II	£159 15s 10d
14 Henry II	£352 16s 1d
15 Henry II	£318 1s 4d
16 Henry II	£94 5s 9d
17 Henry II	£211 19s 1d
18 Henry II	£484 2s 5d
19 Henry II	£493 3s 6d
20 Henry II	£327 18s
21 Henry II	£370 19s 3d
22 Henry II	£441 18s 3d
23 Henry II	£241 17s 2d
24 Henry II	£311 6s
25 Henry II	£148 1s
26 Henry II	£173 12s 8d
27 Henry II	£230 14s 4d
28 Henry II	£192 7s 8d
29 Henry II	£167 7s 8d
30 Henry II	£151 6s
31 Henry II	£213 11s
32 Henry II	£195 11s 10d
33 Henry II	£520 16s 2d
34 Henry II	£631 18s 5d

Table 2. Augustinian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage
16 Henry II	£2
26 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
31 Henry II	£1 17s 6d
33 Henry II	£1 17s 6d

Table 3. Benedictine Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage
2 Henry II	£3 12s
3 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
4 Henry II	£0
5 Henry II	£0
6 Henry II	£0
7 Henry II	£50
8 Henry II	£50
9 Henry II	£13 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£36 13s 4d
11 Henry II	£528 2s 6d
12 Henry II	£449
13 Henry II	£154 9s 2d
14 Henry II	£346 2s 9d
15 Henry II	£318 1s 4d
16 Henry II	£90 19s 1d

17 Henry II	£211 19s 1d
18 Henry II	£484 2s 5d
19 Henry II	£493 3s 6d
20 Henry II	£326 18s
21 Henry II	£370 19s 3d
22 Henry II	£440 18s 3d
23 Henry II	£240 17s 2d
24 Henry II	£311 6s
25 Henry II	£148 1s
26 Henry II	£166 19s 4d
27 Henry II	£230 14s 4d
28 Henry II	£192 7s 8d
29 Henry II	£167 7s 8d
30 Henry II	£151 6s
31 Henry II	£210 6s 10d
32 Henry II	£195 11s 10d
33 Henry II	£513 7s
34 Henry II	£625 9s 9d

Table 4. Cistercian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total without Scutage
13 Henry II	£1 13s 4d
16 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
20 Henry II	£1
22 Henry II	£1
23 Henry II	£1
31 Henry II	13s 4d
33 Henry II	13s 4d

Table 5. Order of Fontevrault (English Houses)

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total without Scutage
31 Henry II	6s 8d
33 Henry II	3s

Table 6. Gilbertine Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total without Scutage
14 Henry II	£6 13s 4d

Table 7. Hospitals, Sick and Lepers

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total without Scutage
12 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
33 Henry II	£4 15s 4d
34 Henry II	£5 2s

Table 8. Knights Templar

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total without Scutage
13 Henry II	13s 4d
31 Henry II	6s 8d
34 Henry II	£1 6s 8d

Table 9. Premonstratensians

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Total without Scutage
13 Henry II	£3

III. Cumulative Outstanding Debts without Scutage or unrecognized knights

Table 1. Totals of Outstanding Debts without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights
2 Henry II	£3 12s
3 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
4 Henry II	£0
5 Henry II	£0
6 Henry II	£0
7 Henry II	£50
8 Henry II	£50
9 Henry II	£13 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£36 13s 4d
11 Henry II	£528 2s 6d
12 Henry II	£413 10s 10d
13 Henry II	£155 10s 10d
14 Henry II	£265 10s 10d
15 Henry II	£232 19s 9d
16 Henry II	£21 19s 9d
17 Henry II	£139 13s 1d
18 Henry II	£343 13s 1d
19 Henry II	£348 4s 2d
20 Henry II	£344 4s 2d
21 Henry II	£201 7d
22 Henry II	£271 7s 3d
23 Henry II	£135
24 Henry II	£148 6s 8d
25 Henry II	13s 4d
26 Henry II	£9 13s 4d
27 Henry II	£63 6s 8d
28 Henry II	£46 13s 4d
29 Henry II	£0
30 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
31 Henry II	£49 18s 4d
32 Henry II	£49 16s 2d
33 Henry II	£355 1s 10d

34 Henry II	£563 11s 3d
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Table 2. Augustinian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights
16 Henry II	£2
26 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
31 Henry II	£1 17s 6d
33 Henry II	£1 17s 6d

Table 3. Benedictine Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights
2 Henry II	£3 12s
3 Henry II	£3 6s 8d
7 Henry II	£50
8 Henry II	£50
9 Henry II	£13 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£36 13s 4d
11 Henry II	£528 2s 6d
12 Henry II	£406 17s 6d
13 Henry II	£150 4s 2d
14 Henry II	£258 10s 10d
15 Henry II	£232 19s 9d
16 Henry II	£18 3s 1d
17 Henry II	£139 13s 1d
18 Henry II	£343 13s 1d
19 Henry II	£348 4s 2d
20 Henry II	£343 4s 2d
21 Henry II	£201 7d
22 Henry II	£270 7s 3d
23 Henry II	£134
24 Henry II	£148 6s 8d
25 Henry II	13s 4d
26 Henry II	£3
27 Henry II	£63 6s 8d
28 Henry II	£46 13s 4d
30 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
31 Henry II	£46 14s 2d
32 Henry II	£49 16s 2d
33 Henry II	£347 12s 8d
34 Henry II	£557 2s 7d

Table 4. Cistercian Houses

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights
13 Henry II	£1 13s 4d
16 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
20 Henry II	£1
22 Henry II	£1

23 Henry II	£1
31 Henry II	13s 4d
33 Henry II	13s 4d

Table 5. Order of Fontevrault (English Houses)

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights
31 Henry II	6s 8d
33 Henry II	3s

Table 6. Gilbertine Order

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights
14 Henry II	£6 13s 4d

Table 7. Hospitals, Sick and Lepers

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights
12 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
33 Henry II	£4 15s 4d
34 Henry II	£5 2s

Table 8. Knights Templar

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights
13 Henry II	13s 4d
31 Henry II	6s 8d
34 Henry II	£1 6s 8d

Table 9. Premonstratensians

Pipe Roll Year	Yearly Totals without Scutage or Unrecognized Knights
13 Henry II	£3

IV. Non-Cumulative Totals

Table 1. Outstanding Debts

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
2 Henry II	£3 12s
3 Henry II	£43 6s 8d
4 Henry II	£20
5 Henry II	£0
6 Henry II	£14 13s 4d
7 Henry II	£57
8 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
9 Henry II	£13 6s 8d

10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£528 2s 6d
12 Henry II	£60 17s 6d
13 Henry II	£105 6s 8d
14 Henry II	£198 6s 11d
15 Henry II	£42 11d
16 Henry II	£22 10s
17 Henry II	£25 13s 4d
18 Henry II	£268 3s 4d
19 Henry II	£157 5s
20 Henry II	£1
21 Henry II	£224 8s 11d
22 Henry II	£0
23 Henry II	£0
24 Henry II	£0
25 Henry II	£0
26 Henry II	£9
27 Henry II	£0
28 Henry II	£0
29 Henry II	£0
30 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
31 Henry II	£49 18s 4d
32 Henry II	£19 16s 2d
33 Henry II	£388 18s 4d
34 Henry II	£240 12s 9d

Table 2. Augustinian Non-Cumulative Totals

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Totals
16 Henry II	£2
26 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
31 Henry II	£1 17s 6d

Table 3. Benedictine Non-Cumulative Totals

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
2 Henry II	£3 12s
3 Henry II	£43 6s 8d
4 Henry II	£20
5 Henry II	£0
6 Henry II	£14 13s 4d
7 Henry II	£57
8 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
9 Henry II	£13 6s 8d
10 Henry II	£0
11 Henry II	£528 2s 6d
12 Henry II	£54 4s 2d
13 Henry II	£100
14 Henry II	£191 13s 7d
15 Henry II	£42 11d
16 Henry II	£19 3s 4d
17 Henry II	£25 13s 4d
18 Henry II	£268 3s 4d

19 Henry II	£157 5s
20 Henry II	£0
21 Henry II	£224 8s 11d
22 Henry II	£0
23 Henry II	£0
24 Henry II	£0
25 Henry II	£0
26 Henry II	£2 6s 8d
27 Henry II	£0
28 Henry II	£0
29 Henry II	£0
30 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
31 Henry II	£46 14s 2d
32 Henry II	£19 16s 2d
33 Henry II	£383 6s 8d
34 Henry II	£238 19s 5d

Table 4. Cistercian Non-Cumulative Totals

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
13 Henry II	£1 13s 4d
16 Henry II	£1 6s 8d
20 Henry II	£1
31 Henry II	13s 4d
33 Henry II	13s 4d

Table 5. Fontevrault (English Houses of) Non-Cumulative Totals

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
31 Henry II	6s 8d
33 Henry II	3s

Table 6. Gilbertine Non-Cumulative Totals

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
14 Henry II	£6 13s 4d

Table 7. Hospitals, Sick and Lepers Non-Cumulative Totals

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
12 Henry II	£6 13s 4d
33 Henry II	£4 15s 4d
34 Henry II	6s 8d

Table 8. Knights Templar Non-Cumulative Totals

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
13 Henry II	13s 4d
31 Henry II	6s 8d
34 Henry II	£1 6s 8d

Table 9. Premonstratensians Non-Cumulative Totals

Pipe Roll Year	Annual Total
13 Henry II	£3

C. Knight Service Table¹

Religious Institution	Knight Service Owed Crown²
Bishopric of Bath	20
Archbishopric of Canterbury	60
Bishopric of Chichester	2
Bishopric of Coventry	15
Bishopric of Durham	10
Bishopric of Ely	40
Bishopric of Exeter	17.5
Bishopric of Hereford	15
Bishopric of Lincoln	60
Bishopric of London	20
Bishopric of Norwich	40
Bishopric of Salisbury	32
Bishopric of Winchester	60
Bishopric of Worcester	50
Archbishopric of York	7
Abbotsbury Abbey	1
Abingdon Abbey	30
St. Albans Abbey	6
St. Augustine's, Canterbury	15
St. Benet's of Hulme	3
Bury St. Edmund's	40
Cerne Abbey	2
Chertsey Abbey	3
Coventry Priory	10
Evesham Abbey	5
Glastonbury Abbey	40
Hyde Abbey	20
Malmesbury Abbey	3
Middleton (Milton) Abbey	2
Muchelney Abbey	1
Pershore Abbey	2
Peterborough Abbey	60
Ramsey Abbey	4

¹ Keefe, *Assessments*, p. 157-60. The table data is taken from Keefe's tables in Appendix II: The 'cartae baronum' and the assessment of Knight Service 1166-1210.

² These numbers reflect knights' fees from c. 1166 and are only for those owed the Crown. They do not include the total enfeoffment of knights.

Shaftesbury Abbey	7
Sherborne Abbey	2
Tavistock Abbey	15
Westminster Abbey	15
Wilton Abbey	5
Winchcombe Abbey	2

D. Years of Danegeld, Scutage and *Donum*³

Year of Assessment	Methods of Assessment
1156	Danegeld and Scutage
1159	Scutage and <i>donum</i>
1161	Scutage and <i>donum</i>
1162	Danegeld, scutage and <i>donum</i>
1165	Scutage and <i>donum</i>
1168	Scutage and <i>donum</i>
1172	Scutage and <i>donum</i>
1187	Scutage and <i>donum</i>

³ Keefe, *Assessments*, p. 30, 133. The following data replicates Keefe's tables.

Appendix iii

I. General Confirmations

A. General Confirmations

1. Pre 1154

Religious Institution	Year
Biddlesden Abbey	1153 x April 1154
Gloucester Abbey (St. Peter)	1153 x April 1154

2. 1154 x 1172

Religious Institution	Year
Abingdon Abbey	1159
Alcester Abbey	1154 x 1158
Basingwerk Abbey	c. 1157
Biddlesden Abbey	1157
Blanchland Abbey	1157
Bodmin Priory	1154 x 1158
Bordesley Abbey	1156 x 1159
Breamore Priory	1155 x 1165 (1163 x 1165)
Bridlington Priory	December 1154 x July 1157
Bristol Abbey (St. Augustine's)	1154 x 1172
Bromfield Priory	1154 x March 1166
Bruern Abbey	1154 x 1170
Buckfast Abbey	1155 x August 1158
Canterbury (Archbishop and Priory)	1155 x 1156
Canterbury Cathedral Priory	?1155
Canterbury Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1156
Canterbury Cathedral Priory	1155 x August 1158
Carlisle Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1162
Carlisle Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1162
Chichester Hospital	1156 x 1161
Chicksands Priory	March 1170 x May 1172
Cirencester Abbey	1155
Coggeshall Abbey	1156 x 1161
Colchester Abbey	1154 x 1173
Colchester Abbey	1156 x 1172
Colchester Abbey	1156 x 1172
Combe Abbey	1155 x 1157
Combe Abbey	1155 x 1158
Coventry Priory	1154 x August 1158
Crowland Abbey	c. 1155
Crowland Abbey	1155 x 1172
Dunstable Priory	1155 x 1158
Durham Priory	1157 x 1158
Elstow Abbey	1155 x 1158
Eye Priory	1159 x 1162
Eye Priory	1156 x 1162
Eynsham Abbey	1159 x 1161
Farewell Abbey	1155 x 1158
Farewell Abbey	1155 x 1158

Faversham Abbey	1155 x 1158
Flaxley Abbey	c. 1158
Fountains Abbey	June/July 1155
Gloucester Abbey	1154 x 1163
Godstow Abbey	1156 x 1157
Grimsby Abbey (Wellow)	1155 x 1158
Guisborough Priory	1154 x 1158
Haughmond Abbey	1155 x 1162
Hurly Priory	1157 or 1158
Hurly Priory	1158
Ipswich Priory	1156 x 1161
Kenilworth Priory	1163 x 1164
Kirkstall Abbey	1170 x 1173
Kirkstall Abbey	1154 x 1162
Kirkstall Abbey	1170 x 1173
Knights Hospitaller	1155
Launceston Priory	1155 x 1158
Launde Priory	1155 x 1158
Leicester Abbey	1154 x 1162
Leonard Stanley Priory	1155 x 1170
Lewes Priory	1158?
Lewes Priory	August/September 1171
Lilleshall Abbey	June x August 1155
Llanthony Priory	1155?
London Clerkenwell Priory	1163 x 1173
London Holy Trinity Priory	1155 x 1160
Louth Park Abbey	1154 x 1162
Maiden Bradley Priory	1155 x June 1170
Malmesbury Abbey	1158
Meaux Abbey	1158 x 1162
Merevale Abbey	June/July 1155
Merton Priory	June/July 1155
Missenden Abbey	1154 x 1158
Monkton Farleigh Priory	1163 x 1170
Montacute Priory	1154 x 1158
Montacute Priory	1155 x 1158
Montacute Priory	1156 x 1157
Montacute Priory	1154 x 1158
Montacute Priory	1154 x 1158
Neasham Priory	1157 x 1166
Newburgh Priory	1154 x 1164
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Priory	1166 x 1173
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Priory	1157 x 1166
Newsham Abbey (Newhouse)	1156 x 1159
Newsham Abbey (Newhouse)	1156 x 1159
Newstead Abbey	1163 x 1166
Newstead Abbey	1165 x 1172
Northampton Abbey	1155
Northampton Abbey	1155 x 1158
Northampton Hospital	1155 x 1157
Norton Priory	1154 x 1160
Norwich Priory	April x May 1157
Nostell Priory	1154 x 1157

Notley Abbey (Nutley)	1154 x 1172 (1166 x 1188?)
Nottingham Hospital	1162 x 1174
Nun Cotham Abbey	1165 x 1170
Nuneaton Priory	July 1163
Nuneaton Priory	January x August 1158
Oseney Abbey	1155 x 1158
Oxford Hospital	1155 x 1158
Pipewell Abbey	1155 x 1158
Pontefract Priory	1154 x 1172
Pontefract Priory	1154 x 1158
Quarr Abbey	1155 x 1158
Ramsey Abbey	1155 x 1158
Ramsey Abbey	1155 x 1158
Reading Abbey	1156 x 1157
Reading Abbey	1156 x 1157
Revesby Abbey	1154 x 1172
Rievaulx Abbey	1154 x 1157
Rievaulx Abbey	1154 x 1158
Rufford Abbey	1155 x 1156
St Albans Hospital	1158 x 1172
St Denys Priory	1154 x 1172
St Denys Priory	1156 x 1162
Selby Abbey	1155
Shrewsbury Abbey	July 1155
Shrewsbury Abbey	July 1155
Sibton abbey	1163 x 1164
Southwick Priory	1154 x 1158
Spalding Priory	1154 x 1158
Swine Abbey	1163 x 1172
Taunton Priory	1155 x 1158
Thame Abbey	1155
Thame Abbey	1154 x 1158
Thetford Priory	1155 x 1158
Thoby the Hermit and Ginges Priory	1154 x 1162
Thorney Abbey	January x August 1158
Thorney Abbey	1155 x 1166
Thorney Abbey	1154 x 1170
Thorney Abbey	1154 x 1162
Thornton Abbey	1155 x 1158
Tilty Abbey	1156 x 1175
Totnes Priory	1154 x 1158
Trentham Priory	c. 1155
Trentham Priory	1155 x 1172
Trentham Priory	1155
Tynemouth Priory	1157 x 1166
Walden Priory	1160
Wardon Abbey	1154 x 1158
Wardon Abbey	1154 x 1158
Westminster Abbey	1155 x 1158
Westminster Abbey	1156 or 1157
Westwood Priory	1155 x 1158
Winchester Hyde Abbey	1155 x 1158
Wix Priory	1157

Woburn Abbey	1156 x 1159
Worksop Priory	1158 x 1166
Wroxhall Priory	1155
Wymondham Priory	1155 x 1158
York Hospital	1154 x 1162
York Abbey (St Mary's)	1155
York Hospital	1155 x June 1170
York Hospital	1155 x 1158

3. 1173 x 1189

Religious Institution	Year
Bardney Abbey	January x August 1177
Barking Abbey	1173 x 1174
Barking Abbey	1177 x 1179
Barlings Abbey	1173 x 1185
Bath Priory	1180 x 1185
Battle Abbey	? 1175
Bicknacre Priory	July 1174 x April 1179
Bradenstoke Priory	1177 x 1179
Brinkburn Priory	July 1186
Bristol Abbey	1172 x 1189
Bristol Priory	May 1175 x April 1179
Butley Priory	1184 x 1185
Byland Abbey	1175 x 1179
Canonsleigh Priory	1173 x 1175
Canterbury Priory	October x November 1175
Canterbury Priory	? 1175
Canterbury Priory	1174 x 1175
Carlisle Priory	July/August 1175
Carmarthen Priory	1176 x 1182
Cerne Abbey	1175
Croxden Abbey	1184
Darley Abbey	1179 x 1188
Dodford Priory	1186 x 1188
Dublin Priory	1181 x 1189
Dublin Abbey	1172 x 1176
Dublin Abbey	1172 x 1175
Dunstable Priory	1175 x 1188
Durford Abbey	January x March 1182
Easby Abbey	1172 x 1181
Exeter Priory	1175 x 1176
Exeter Hospital	1184 x 1185
Fountains Abbey	1175 x 1188
Glendalough Abbey	1173 x 1182
Gloucester Abbey	1173
Gloucester Abbey	c. 18 May 1175
Godstow Abbey	January x March 1182
Godstow Abbey	1174 x 1179
Gokewell Priory	August 1175
Goring Priory	1179 x 1188
Greenfield Priory	May x October 1175
Guisborough Priory	1177 x 1189
Haughmond Abbey	1175 x 1179

Haverholme Priory	1174 x 1181
Hornchurch Hospital	1185 x 1189
Lazarites of Jerusalem	1178x 1184
Lazarites of Jerusalem	1173 x 1179
Lazarites of Jerusalem	1175 x 1176
Kenilworth Priory	1172 x 1180
Kenilworth Priory	1179 x 1188
Kirkham Priory	1175 x 1180
Lanercost Priory	1172 x 1182
Lanercost Priory	1172 x 1182
Launceston Priory	1174 x 1175
Lesnes abbey	1178 x 1189
London Clerkenwell	1175 x 1179
London Clerkenwell	1175 x 1179
London Clerkenwell	1182
London St Bartholomew's Priory	1175 x 1188
London St Bartholomew's Priory	1175 x 1179
Margam Abbey	1179
Marrick Priory	1175 x 1188
Merton Priory	1172 x 1183
Monks Horton Priory	1175 x 1179
Montacute Priory	1175 x 1180
Notley Abbey	1179?
Nun Appleton Priory	1179 x 1188
Pinley Priory	1186 x 1188
Pipewell Abbey	1172 x 1180
Repton Priory	1175 x 1182
St Albans Abbey	1175 x 1182
St Osyth Abbey (Chich)	1177 x 1182
Sibton Abbey	1175 x 1188
Stixwould Priory	1177 x 1181
Stratford Langthorne Abbey	1182
Stratford-at-Bow Priory	1180 x 1184
Swineshead Abbey	1172 x 1179
Thurgarton Priory	1173 x 1185
Warter Priory	1175 x 1189
Welbeck abbey	? 1179
Whitby Abbey	1177 x 1181
Wilbefoss Priory	1175
Winchester Hyde Abbey	1180 x 1188
Winteny Priory	1162 x 1174
Woburn Abbey	1172 x 1188
Wombridge Priory	1175 x 1188
Wormegay Priory	1175
York Priory (Clementhorpe)	1174 x 1179
York Priory	1186 x 1188
York Abbey (St Mary's)	1186 x 1188
York Hospitals	1186 x 1188

4. Spurious

Religious Institution	Year
Glastonbury Abbey	Spurious
Milton Abbey	Spurious
Rochester Cathedral	Spurious
Wix Priory	Spurious
Wix Priory	Spurious

10. Religious Institutions

Religious Institution	Number of General Confirmation Charters
Abingdon Abbey	1
Alcester Abbey	1
Bardney Abbey	1
Barking Abbey	2
Barlings Abbey	1
Basingwerk Abbey	1
Bath Abbey	1
Battle Abbey	1
Bicknacre Priory	1
Biddlesden Abbey	2
Blanchland Abbey	1
Bodmin Priory	1
Bordesley Abbey	1
Bradenstoke Priory	1
Breamore Priory	1
Bridlington Priory	1
Brinkburn Priory	1
Bristol Abbey (St. Augustine)	2
Bristol Priory (St. James)	1
Bromfield Priory	1
Bruern Abbey	1
Buckfast Abbey	1
Butley Priory	1
Byland Abbey	1
Canonsleigh Priory	1
Canterbury (Christ Church)	7
Carlisle Cathedral Priory	3
Carmarthen Priory	1
Cerne Abbey	1
Chichester Hospital	1
Chicksands Priory	1
Cirencester Abbey	1
Coggeshall Abbey	1
Colchester Abbey	3
Combe Abbey	2
Coventry Cathedral Priory	1
Crowland Abbey	2
Croxden Abbey	1
Darley Abbey	1
Dodford Priory	1
Dublin (Holy Trinity)	1

Dublin (St. Mary's)	2
Dunstable Priory	2
Durford Abbey	1
Durham Cathedral Priory	1
Easby Abbey	1
Elstow Abbey	1
Exeter Priory (St. James)	1
Exeter Hospital (St. John)	1
Eye Priory	2
Eynsham Abbey	1
Farewell Abbey	2
Faversham Abbey	1
Flaxley Abbey	1
Fountains Abbey	2
Glastonbury Abbey	1
Glendalough Abbey	1
Gloucester Abbey	4
Godstow Abbey	3
Gokewell Priory	1
Goring Priory	1
Greenfield Priory	1
Grimsby Abbey (Wellow)	1
Guisborough Priory	2
Haughmond Abbey	2
Haverholme Priory	1
Hornchurch	1
Hurley Priory	2
Ipswich Priory	1
Jerusalem, Lazarites of	3
Kenilworth Priory	3
Kirkham Priory	1
Kirkstall Abbey	3
Knights Hospitaller	1
Lanercost Priory	2
Launceston Priory	2
Launde Priory	1
Leicester Abbey (St Mary de Pre)	1
Leonard Stanley Priory	1
Lesnes Abbey	1
Lewes Priory	2
Lilleshall Abbey	1
Llanthony Priory	1
London (Clerkenwell Priory)	4
London (Holy Trinity Priory)	1
London (St. Bartholomew's Priory)	2
Louth Park Abbey	1
Maiden Bradley Priory	1
Malmesbury Abbey	1
Margam Abbey	1
Marrick Priory	1
Meaux Abbey	1
Merevale Abbey	1
Merton Priory	2

Milton Abbey	1
Missenden Abbey	1
Monks Horton Priory	1
Monkton Farleigh Priory	1
Montacute Priory	6
Neasham Priory	1
Newburgh Priory	1
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Priory (St. Bartholomew)	1
Newcastle-upon-Tyne Hospital (St Mary)	1
Newsham (Newhouse) Abbey	2
Newstead Abbey	2
Northampton Abbey (St. James)	1
Northampton Priory (St. Andrew)	1
Northampton Hospital (St. John)	1
Norton Priory	1
Norwich Cathedral Priory	1
Nostell Priory	1
Notley Abbey	2
Nottingham Hospital	1
Nun Appleton Priory	1
Nun Cotham Abbey	1
Nuneaton Priory	2
Oseney Abbey	1
Oxford Hospital (St. Bartholomew)	1
Pinley Priory	1
Pipewell Abbey	2
Pontefract Priory	2
Quarr Abbey	1
Ramsey Abbey	2
Reading Abbey	2
Repton Priory	1
Revesby Abbey	1
Rievaulx Abbey	2
Rochester Cathedral Priory	1
Rufford Abbey	1
St. Albans Abbey	1
St. Albans Hospital (St. Julian)	1
St. Denys Priory	2
St. Osyth Abbey	1
Selby Abbey	1
Shrewsbury Abbey	2
Sibton Abbey	2
Southwick Priory	1
Spalding Priory	1
Stixwold Priory	1
Stratford Langthorne Abbey	1
Stratford-at-Bow Priory	1
Swine Abbey	1
Swineshead Abbey	1
Taunton Priory	1
Thame Abbey	2
Thetford Priory (St. Mary)	1

Thoby the Hermit and Ginges Priory	1
Thorney Abbey	4
Thornton Abbey	1
Thurgarton Priory	1
Tilty Abbey	1
Totnes Priory	1
Trentham Priory	3
Tynemouth Priory	1
Walden Priory	1
Wardon Abbey	2
Warter Priory	1
Welbeck Abbey	1
Westminster Abbey	2
Westwood Priory	1
Whitby Abbey	1
Wilbefoss Priory	1
Winchester (Hyde Abbey)	2
Winteny Priory	1
Wix Priory	3
Woburn Abbey	2
Wombridge Priory	1
Worksop Priory	1
Wormegay Priory	1
Wroxhall Priory	1
Wymondham Priory	1
York Hospital (St. Peter)	4
York Priory (Clementhorpe)	1
York Priory (Holy Trinity)	1
York Abbey (St. Mary)	2

II. Specific Confirmations

1. Pre 1154

Religious Institution	Year
Bristol Abbey (St. Augustine)	May 1153 x December 1154
Bristol Abbey (St. Augustine)	May 1153 x December 1154
Bristol Abbey (St. Augustine)	January x August 1153
Bristol Abbey (St. Augustine)	January x May 1153
Bristol Abbey (St. Augustine)	September 1151 x May 1153
Flaxley Abbey	January x August 1153
Gloucester Abbey (St. Peter)	1153 x beginning of April 1154
Gloucester Abbey (St. Peter)	1153 x beginning of April 1154
Gloucester Abbey (St. Peter)	January x August 1153
Gloucester Abbey (St. Peter)	January x August 1153
Godstow Abbey	c. 1142
Goldcliff Priory	January x August 1153
Meaux Abbey	January 1154
Reading Abbey	1147 or 1149
Red Moor Abbey (Stoneleigh)	1153 x beginning of April 1154

2. 1154 x 1172

Religious Institution	Year
Abbotsbury Abbey	1154 x 1158
Abingdon Abbey	1155 x 1172 ?1165 x 1172
Abingdon Abbey	1159 ?May 1159
Abingdon Abbey	1159 ?May 1159
Abingdon Abbey	1159 ?May 1159
Abingdon Abbey	1159? May 1159
Abingdon Abbey	1159 ?May 1159
Abingdon Abbey	1158 x 1164
Abingdon Abbey	1164 x 1172
Athelney Abbey	1154 x 1158
Athelney Abbey	1154 x 1158
Barking Abbey	1166 x 1175
Barnstaple Priory	Before May 1172
Bath Abbey	1155 x 1158
Bermondsey Abbey	1154 x 1158
Bermondsey Abbey	1155 x 1166
Bermondsey Abbey	1155 x 1166? 1163 x March 1166
Bermondsey Abbey	1154 x 1158
Bermondsey Abbey	c. 1158
Bermondsey Abbey	1154 x 1162
Bicknacre Priory	1157 x 1158
Blanchland Abbey	1156 x 1159
Blanchland Abbey	1165 x 1173
Blanchland Abbey	1168
Blyth Priory	1155 x 1158
Bolton Priory	1155 x 1166
Bordesley Abbey	c. 1170
Breamore Priory	1155 x 1158
Bridlington Priory	1155 x 1162
Bridlington Priory	1155 x 1162
Bristol Abbey	1155 x 1171
Bristol Abbey	1154 x 1171
Bristol Abbey	1154 x 1172
Bristol Abbey	1154 x 1172
Bromfield Priory	1154 x 1172
Bruton Priory	1163 x 1172
Bruton Priory	1165
Bruton Priory	1154 x 1172
Buckfast Abbey	1154 x 1162
Bullington Priory	1155
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey	1163
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey	c. 1155
Bury St. Edmunds Abbey	1155 x 1158
Byland abbey	1155 x 1172
Byland Abbey	1160 x 1166
Canterbury Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1172
Canterbury Cathedral Priory	1163 x 1166
Canterbury Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1172
Canterbury Cathedral Priory	1162 x 1172
Canterbury Cathedral Priory	1154
Canterbury Abbey (St. Augustine)	1154 x 1158

Canterbury Abbey (St. Augustine)	1154 x 1158
Canterbury Abbey (St. Augustine)	February x July 1156
Canterbury Priory (St Gregory)	1155 x 1166
Canterbury Priory (St. Gregory)	1155 x 1166
Castle Acre Priory	1154 x 1158
Castle Acre Priory	1156 x 1162
Castle Acre Priory	1154 x 1173
Castle Acre Priory	1155 x 1158
Chertsey Abbey	1156
Chertsey Abbey	1154 x 1162
Chertsey Abbey	1154 x 1158
Chester Abbey	1154 x 1162
Christchurch Twineham Priory	1163 x 1172
Colchester Abbey	1158 x 1172
Colchester Abbey	1158 x 1172
Colchester Priory	1155 x 1158
Coventry Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1162
Crowland Abbey	1154 x 1158
Crowland Abbey	1155 x 1172
Crowland abbey	1156 x 1172
Darley Abbey	1155 x 1158
Derby Hospital	1155 x 1158
Dover Priory	1155 x 1158
Dover Priory	1155 x 1164
Dunstable Priory	1154 x 1179
Durford Abbey	1156 x 1161
Durham Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1172
Durham Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1172
Durham Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1172
Durham Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1172
Elsham Hospital	1164 x 1166
Elstow Abbey	1155 x 1172
Ely Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1158
Exeter Priory	1163 x 1172
Eye Priory	1154 x 1158
Eynsham Abbey	1158
Eynsham Abbey	1155 x 1158
Eynsham Abbey	1155 x 1158
Forde Abbey	1160 x 1162
Fountains Abbey	1163 x 1173
Fountains Abbey	1155 x 1173
Furness Abbey	1154 x 1172
Furness Abbey	1154 x 1172
Garendon Abbey	1154 x 1162
Gloucester Abbey	1155 x 1158
Gloucester Abbey	1155 x 1158
Gloucester Abbey	1154 x 1166
Gloucester Abbey	1154 x 1173
Gloucester Abbey	1154 x 1173
Gloucester Abbey	1155 x 1170
Gloucester Abbey	1155 x 1172
Gloucester Abbey	1164 x 1166
Gloucester Abbey	1155 x 1172

Gloucester Abbey	1154 x 1158
Godstow Abbey	c. 1154
Godstow Abbey	c. 1170
Godstow Abbey	1155 x 1158
Godstow Abbey	1154 x 1158
Hartland Priory	1163 x 1166
Haughmond Abbey	1155 x 1158
Haughmond Abbey	1155 x 1158
Haughmond Abbey	1155 x 1177 ?1155
Haughmond Abbey	1156 x 1162
Hereford Priory	1155 x 1158
Hereford Priory	1155 x 1172
Hereford Priory	1163 x 1166
Holyrood Priory	1157 x 1162
Hurley Priory	1155 x 1158
Hurley Priory	1155 x 1158
Hurley Priory	1165 x 1189 (?1155 x 1158)
Jersey Abbey	1154 x 1172
Jersey Abbey	1172 x 1175 (?1155 x 1166)
Kington Saint Michael Priory	1155 x 1172
Kirkstall Abbey	1154 x 1172
Kirkstead Abbey	1166 x 1173
Kirkstead Abbey	1154 x 1158
Knights Hospitaller	?1155
Knights Templar	1154 x 1189 ?1154 x 1173
Lenton Priory	1163 x 1166
Lenton Priory	1155 x 1166
Leonard Stanley Priory	January 1156
Lewes Priory	1163 x 1170
Lincoln Priory (St. Catherine)	1154 x 1169
Llanthony Priory	1155 x 1158
Llanthony Priory	1156 x 1159
London Holy Trinity Priory	1155 x 1160
London Holy Trinity Priory	c. 1155
London Holy Trinity Priory	1154 x 1158
Louth Park Abbey	1154 x 1172
Louth Park Abbey	1154 x 1172
Maiden Bradley Priory	1155 x 1158
Malling Abbey	1154 x 1174
Malling Abbey	1154 x 1158
Malling Abbey	1154 x 1158
Malling Abbey	1154 x 1170
Malling Abbey	c. 1164
Malling Abbey	1155 x 1158
Malling Abbey	1154 x 1175
Malmesbury Abbey	1157
Malmesbury Abbey	1155 x 1172
Margam Abbey	1161
Meaux Abbey	1158 x 1162
Merton Priory	c. 1158
Milton Abbey	1154 x 1158
Missenden Abbey	1162 x 1172
Monks Horton Priory	1156 x 1172

Monkton Farleigh Priory	1166 x 1169
Monkton Farleigh Priory	c. 1167
Montacute Priory	1163 x 1172
Moxby Priory	1154 x 1172
Newminster Abbey	1157 x 1158
Newnham Priory	1163 x 1173
Norwich Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1166
Norwich Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1162
Norwich Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1158
Norwich Hospital	1163 x 1166
Nostell Priory	1163 x 1172
Oseney Abbey	1154 x 1158
Oseney Abbey	1154 x 1158
Oseney Abbey	1154 x 1158
Oseney Abbey	1154 x 1162
Oseney Abbey	1155 x 1158
Oseney Abbey	1155 x 1158
Oseney Abbey	1170 x 1172
Owston Priory	1154 x 1166
Oxford Priory	1154 x 1161
Oxford Priory	1154 x 1158
Oxford Priory	1154 x 1158
Oxford Priory	1157 x 1173
Peterborough Abbey	1154 x 1158
Plympton Priory	1155 x 1158
Ramsey abbey	1155 x 1158
Ramsey Abbey	1155 x 1158
Ramsey Abbey	1155 x 1158
Ramsey Abbey	1155 x 1158
Ramsey Abbey	1155 x 1158
Ramsey Abbey	1155 x 1158
Reading Abbey	1156 x 1159
Reading Abbey	1154 x 1173
Reading Abbey	1156 x 1157
Redlingfield Priory	1154 x 1172
Rievaulx Abbey	1163 x 1166
Rievaulx Abbey	1163 x 1166
Rochester Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1172
Romsey Abbey	1156 x 1172
Romsey Abbey	1154 x 1162
Romsey Abbey	1154 x 1172
Romsey Abbey	1154 x 1172
Romsey Abbey	1154 x 1172
Romsey Abbey	1154 x 1172
Romsey Abbey	1154 x 1172
Romsey Abbey	1154 x 1172
Romsey Abbey	1154 x 1172
Romsey Abbey	1154 x 1172
St. Albans Abbey	1154 x 1162
St. Albans Abbey	1154 x 1162
St. Albans Abbey	1155 x 1158
St. Albans Abbey	1154 x 1166

St. Albans Abbey	1155 x 1158
St Benet of Holme	1163 x 1166
St Denys Priory	1154 x 1158
St Denys Priory	1154 x 1162
St Denys Priory	1154 x 1172
St Denys Priory	1154 x 1158
St Denys Priory	1155 x 1158
St Neots Priory	1154 x 1173
St Neots Priory	1154 x 1161
St Osyth's Priory	1163 x 1170
St Radegund's Priory	1155 x 1158
Sawtry Abbey	1157 x 1158
Selby Abbey	1154 x 1162
Selby Abbey	1155 x 1158
Shaftesbury Abbey	1155 x 1158
Shelford Priory	1154 x 1172
Shrewsbury Abbey	c. 1155
Shrewsbury Abbey	1155
Sibton Abbey	1163 x 1164
Sinningthwaite Priory	1155 x 1158
Sopwell Priory	1154 x 1166
Southwick Priory	1163 x 1166
Spalding Priory	1154 x 1158
Spalding Priory	1155 x 1158
Stratford Langthorne Abbey	1163 x 1166
Sudbury Priory	1154 x 1158
Swineshead Abbey	1154 x 1172
Thorney Abbey	1155 x 1158
Thorney Abbey	1155 x 1158
Tintern Abbey	1154 x 1162
Trentham Priory	1155
Tynemouth Priory	1154 x 1172
Tynemouth Priory	1154 x 1172
Warter Priory	1155 x 1165
Westminster Abbey	1155 x 1172
Westminster Abbey	1156 x 1162
Westminster abbey	1155 x 1158
Whitby Abbey	1155 x 1166
Whitby Abbey	1155 x 1166
Winchester Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1162
Winchester Cathedral priory	1154 x 1162
Winchester Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1162
Winchester Hyde Abbey	1155 x 1158
Winchester Hyde abbey	1154 x 1158
Winchester Priory	1155 x 1162
Winchester Priory	1155 x 1172
Wix Priory	1154 x 1158
Wix Priory	1163 x 1166
Worcester Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1166
Worcester Cathedral Priory	c. 1155
Worcester Catha Priory	1168 x 1179
Worcester Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1166
Worcester Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1172

Worcester Cathedral Priory	1154 x 1157
Worcester Cathedral Priory	1155 x 1166
Wroxall Priory	1155 x 1164
York Abbey (St Mary)	1154 x 1172
York Abbey (St Mary)	1154 x 1172

3. 1173 x 1189

Religious Institution	Year
Allerton Mauleverer Priory	1172 x 1189
Barking Abbey	1178 x 1180
Bedford Priory	1172 x 1182
Beeleigh Abbey	1175 x 1181
Bicknacre Priory	1174 x 1179
Bristol Priory	1177 x 1183
Bristol Priory	1172 x 1179
Bruton Priory	1172 x 1189
Buckland Priory	July x November 1186
Bungay Priory	1176
Bury St Edmunds	c. 1180
Byland Abbey	1175 x 1179
Caldwell Priory	1175 x 1182
Canterbury Priory	1173 x 1174
Catley Priory	1175 x 1188
Christchurch Twineham Priory	1175
Cirencester Abbey	1186
Coventry Priory	1185 x 1188
Croxton Abbey	1175 x 1177
Dublin Priory	1172 x 1189
Dublin Abbey	1172 x 1189
Fountains Abbey	1175 x 1188
Fountains Abbey	1172 x 1181
Fountains Abbey	1175
Fountains Abbey	1175 x 1181
Furness Abbey	1172 x 1180
Furness Abbey	1175 x 1184
Haughmond Abbey	1177 x 1188
Hereford Priory	1179 x 1182
Hereford Priory	1175 x 1184
Hereford Priory	1175 x 1184
Hereford Priory	1175 x 1182
Jersey Abbey	1185
Kirkstead Abbey	1175 x 1189
Kirkstead Abbey	1175 x 1189
Kirkstead Abbey	1175 x 1179
Knights Hospitaller	1163 x 1187
Knights Templar	1171 x 1185
Knights Templar	1172 x 1178
Launceston Priory	1175
Launceston Priory	1174 x 1175
Leiston Abbey	1183 x 1189
Leiston Abbey	1184 x 1185
Lincoln Hospital	1175 x 1177

Littlemore Priory	1175 x 1179
Llanthony Priory	1188
Llanthony Priory	1182 x 1185
Llanthony Priory	1181 x 1184
London Hospital	1176 x 1188
Margam Abbey	1175 x 1177
Meaux Abbey	1174 x 1179
Meaux Abbey	1175 x 1182
Merton Priory	1172 x 1189
Milton Abbey	1172 x 1185
Monkton Farleigh Abbey	1185 x 1189
Muchwenlock Priory	1175 x 1179
Newhouse Abbey	1175 x 1179
Newminster Abbey	1173 x 1179
Newnham Priory	1172 x 1189
Northampton Priory	1175 x 1179
Notley Abbey	1174 x 1188
Nunkeeling Priory	1175 x 1179
Plympton Priory	1179
Polesworth Priory	1175 x 1188
Polsloe Priory	1175
Reading Abbey	1181 x 1189
Reading Abbey	1175 x 1177
Revesby Abbey	1154 x 1177? 1163 x 1177
Rievaulx Abbey	1175 x 1181
Rievaulx Abbey	1172 x 1177
Robertsbridge Abbey	1176 x 1189
St. Albans Abbey	1175 x 1182
Sawley abbey	1172 x 1189
Sawley Abbey	1184 x 1189
Sewardsley Priory	1175 x 1179
Shaftesbury Abbey	1175 x 1188
Shrewsbury Abbey	1176
Southwark Priory	1174 x 1180
Southwark Priory	1175 x 1180
Southwark Priory	1174 x 1185
Stamford Priory	1175 x 1182
Stixwoud Priory	1183 x 1185
Stoke-by-Clare Priory	1174 x 1188
Strata Florida Abbey	1182
Studley Priory	1186 x 1188
Swainby Priory	1180
Tynemouth Priory	1176 x 1177
Walsingham Priory	1172 x 1189
Wardon abbey	1172 x 1189
Wardon Abbey	1172 x 1177
West Somerton Hospital	1172 x 1186
West Dereham Abbey	1188 x 1189
Whitby Abbey	1175 x 1179
Whitby Abbey	1175 x 1180
Whitby Abbey	1175 x 1179
Whitby Abbey	1174 x 1179
Whitby Abbey	1175 x 1180

Wilton Hospital	1172 x 1181
Winchester Cathedral Priory	1172 x 1189
Winchester Cathedral Priory	1172 x 1189
Winchester Cathedral Priory	1174 x 1179
Winchester Cathedral Priory	1174 x 1179
Winchester Cathedral Priory	1174 x 1179
Winchester cathedral Priory	1174 x 1179
Winchester Cathedral Priory	1172 x 1182
Wix Priory	1174 x 1184
Wombridge Priory	1172 x 1189
Worcester Priory	1175 x 1178
York Hospital	1186
York Priory (Holy Trinity)	1172 x 1189
York Hospital	1186 x 1188
Westminster Abbey	1186 x 1188

3. Spurious

Religious Institution	Year
Combermere Abbey	Spurious
Gloucester Abbey (St. Peter)	Spurious
Kingswood Abbey	Spurious
Southwick Priory	Spurious

4. Charters whose dates cannot be further refined

Religious Institution	Year
Thoby the Hermit and Ginges Priory	1154 x 1189
Reading Abbey	1154 x 1189

5. Religious Institutions

Religious Institution	Number of Charters
Abbotsbury Abbey	1
Abingdon Abbey	8
Allerton Mauleverer Priory	1
Athelney Abbey	2
Barking Abbey	2
Barnstaple Priory	1
Bath Abbey (St. Peter)	1
Bedford Priory	1
Beeleigh Abbey	1
Bermondsey Abbey	6
Bicknacre Priory	2
Blanchland Abbey	3
Blyth Priory	1
Bolton Priory	1
Bordesley Abbey	1
Breamore Priory	1
Bridlington Priory	2
Bristol Abbey (St. Augustine)	9
Bristol Priory (St. James)	2

Bromfield Priory	1
Bruton Priory	4
Buckfast Abbey	1
Buckland Priory	1
Bullington Priory	1
Bungay Priory	1
Bury St. Edmund's Abbey	4
Byland Abbey	3
Caldwell Priory	1
Canterbury, Christ Church Cathedral Priory	6
Canterbury, St. Augustine's Abbey	3
Canterbury, St. Gregory's Priory	2
Castle Acre Priory	4
Catley Priory	1
Chertsey Abbey	3
Chester Abbey (St. Werburgh)	1
Christchurch Twineham Priory	2
Cirencester Abbey	1
Colchester Abbey	2
Colchester Priory	1
Combermere Abbey	1
Coventry, Bishop Elect of	2
Crowland Abbey	3
Croxton Abbey	1
Darley Abbey	1
Derby Hospital	1
Dover Priory (St. Martin)	2
Dublin Priory (All Saints)	1
Dublin Abbey (St. Thomas)	1
Dunstable Priory	1
Durford Abbey	1
Durham, Bishop of	4
Elsham Hospital	1
Elstow Abbey	1
Ely Priory	1
Exeter Priory	1
Eye Priory	1
Eynsham Abbey	3
Flaxley Abbey	1
Forde Abbey	1
Fountains Abbey	6
Furness Abbey	4
Garendon Abbey	
Gloucester Abbey	15
Godstow Abbey	5
Goldcliff Priory	1
Hartland Priory	1
Haughmond Abbey	5
Hereford Priory (St. Guthlac)	7
Holyrood Priory	1
Hurley Priory	3
Jersey Abbey (St. Hélier)	3

Kingswood Abbey	1
Kington St. Michael Priory	1
Kirkstall Abbey	1
Kirkstead Abbey	5
Knights Hospitaller	2
Knights Templar	3
Launceston Priory	2
Leiston Abbey	2
Lenton Priory	2
Leonard Stanley Priory	1
Lewes Priory	1
Lincoln Hospital (Holy Innocents)	1
Lincoln Priory (St. Catherine)	1
Littlemore Priory	1
Llanthony Priory	5
London Priory (Holy Trinity)	3
London Hospital (St. Giles)	1
Louth Park Abbey	2
Maiden Bradley Priory	1
Malling Abbey	7
Malmesbury Abbey	2
Margam Abbey	2
Meaux Abbey	4
Merton Priory	2
Missenden Abbey	1
Monks Horton Priory	1
Monkton Farleigh Priory	3
Montacute Priory	1
Moxby Priory	1
Muchwenlock Priory	1
Newhouse Abbey	1
Newminster Abbey	2
Newnham Priory	2
Northampton Priory (St. Andrew)	1
Norwich Cathedral Priory	3
Norwich Hospital	1
Nostell Priory	1
Notley Abbey	1
Nunkeeling Priory	1
Oseney Abbey	7
Owston Priory	1
Oxford Priory (St. Frideswide)	4
Peterborough Abbey	1
Plympton Priory	2
Polesworth Priory	1
Polsloe Priory	1
Ramsey Abbey	6
Reading Abbey	7
Red Moor Abbey (Stoneleigh)	1
Redlingfield Priory	1
Revesby Abbey	1
Rievaulx Abbey	4
Robertsbridge Abbey	1

Rochester Priory	1
Romsey Abbey	11
St. Albans Abbey	6
St Benet of Hulme	1
St. Denys Priory	5
St. Neots Priory	2
St. Osyth's Priory	1
St Radegund's Priory	1
Sawley Abbey	2
Sawtry Abbey	1
Selby abbey	2
Sewardsley Priory	1
Shaftesbury Abbey	2
Shelford Priory	1
Shrewsbury Abbey	3
Sibton Abbey	1
Sinningthwaite Priory	1
Sopwell Priory	1
Southwark Priory	3
Southwick Priory	2
Spalding Priory	2
Stamford Priory	1
Stixwold Priory	1
Stoke-by-Clare Priory	1
Strata Florida Abbey	1
Stratford Langthorne Abbey	1
Studley Priory	1
Sudbury Priory	1
Swainby Priory	1
Swineshead Abbey	1
Thoby the Hermit and Ginges Priory	1
Thorney Abbey	2
Tintern Abbey	1
Trentham Priory	1
Tynemouth Priory	3
Walsingham Priory	1
Wardon Abbey	2
Warter Priory	1
West Somerton Hospital	1
(West) Dereham Abbey	1
Westminster Abbey	4
Whitby Abbey	7
Wilton Hospital (St. Giles)	1
Winchester, Bishop and Cathedral Priory	12
Winchester (Hyde Abbey)	2
Wix Priory	3
Wombridge Priory	1
Worcester Cathedral Priory	8
Wroxall Priory	1
York Hospital (St. Peter)	2
York Priory (Holy Trinity)	1
York Abbey (St. Mary)	2

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