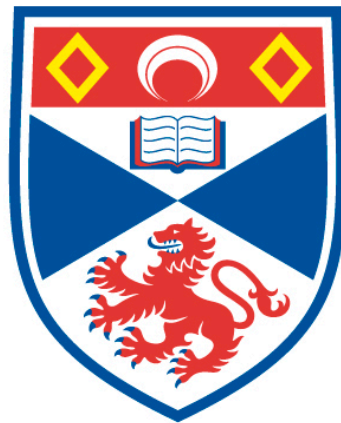


Patronage of the Knights Hospitaller in Britain and Ireland, 1291-1400

Rory MacLellan

A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD
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Abstract

This study examines what motivated donors to the Knights Hospitaller throughout the British Isles from 1291 to 1400. The Hospitallers, a military-religious order which fought in the crusades, came to Britain and Ireland in the twelfth century. It soon became, due to the generosity of donors from all levels of society, one of the archipelago's largest ecclesiastical institutions.

This thesis is the first study of donations to the Hospitallers in the British Isles, allowing conclusions to be drawn about the Order's patronage and relations with societies throughout Britain and Ireland. Chapter One discusses the role of the Hospitallers' crusading, knighthood, and hospitality in motivating donors, finding that these traditional explanations behind patronage, particularly crusading, played only a minor role. Chapter Two finds that their military support of England did influence patronage by alienating support, but only in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. The remaining chapters show what really motivated most patrons: personal and professional ties, particularly familial, religious benefactions, and localism. At each stage, the Hospitallers' patronage is compared with that of other religious orders, finding that there was little difference between what motivated donations to military and non-military orders.

Such a conclusion has important implications for the treatment of the military orders in studies of medieval religion, many of which relegate these orders to a subfield of crusade studies rather than treating them as a full part of mainstream religious life. It also suggests that we should reconsider the place of the military orders within the societies of late medieval Britain and Ireland. They were not valued by most donors primarily as outposts of the crusade movement, but rather were treated firstly as professed religious offering much the same

services as any other house: intercessory prayer, employment, trade, and acting as a source of prestige for those who patronised them.

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Abbreviations

- Buckland Cartulary* F. W. Weaver (ed.), *A Cartulary of Buckland Priory in the County of Somerset* (London, 1909).
- CChR* *Calendar of the Charter Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 6 vols (London, 1903-27).
- CCR* *Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office*, 47 vols (London, 1892-1963).
- CDI* H. S. Sweetman and G.F. Handcock (eds), *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 5 vols (London, 1875-86).
- CDS* Joseph Bain (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland*, 5 vols (Edinburgh, 1881-1986).
- CFR* *Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 22 vols (London, 1911-62).
- CIRCLE* Peter Crooks (ed.), *A Calendar of Irish Chancery Letters, c. 1244–1509* [<https://chancery.tcd.ie/>].
- CPR* *Calendar of the Patent Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 66 vols (London, 1901-).
- Godsfield Cartulary* Felicity Beard (ed.), *The Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Hampshire: A Calendar of the Godsfield and Baddesley Cartulary*, (Winchester, 2012).
- RK* Charles McNeill (ed.), *Registrum de Kilmainham* (Dublin, 1932).
- Scotland* Ian B. Cowan, P. H. R. Mackay, and Alan Macquarrie (eds), *The Knights of St John of Jerusalem in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1983).
- Wales* William Rees, *A History of the Order of St of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border* (Cardiff, 1947).

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Introduction

Historical overview of the Knights Hospitaller

The Hospitallers originated before the First Crusade (1096-99), beginning as a pilgrim hospice in Jerusalem established c. 1070 by merchants from Amalfi. At its foundation, the hospice was subordinate to the city's abbey of St Mary of the Latins. With the creation of the kingdom of Jerusalem in 1099, the Hospital quickly grew in fame as more pilgrims visited the city. The brethren received donations from Godfrey of Bouillon and Baldwin I, and in 1112 Patriarch Gibelin granted them independence from the abbey of St Mary.¹ The Hospital was first recognised by the Papacy in Paschal II's 1113 bull, *Pie postulatio voluntatis*, which gave the Jerusalem house control over its daughter houses in Europe, brought the Order under papal protection, freed it from tithes on lands cultivated by the brethren, exempted them from secular taxes, and allowed them to elect their own master.² By 1126, the Hospitallers had taken on a military role.³ From that time, the brethren regularly served in the armies of the Crusader States, were present at every major engagement of the Levantine Crusades, and garrisoned strongholds throughout the Latin East. After the loss of the Acre in 1291, the Order's headquarters, known as the Convent, was moved to Cyprus. In 1306 the Hospitallers began to seize Rhodes from the Byzantines, a conquest they completed after a papally-mandated crusade in 1310.⁴ There the

¹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights Hospitaller in the Levant, c.1070-1309* (Basingstoke, 2012), pp. 20-21.

² Rudolf Hiestand (ed.), *Papsturkunden für Templer und Johanniter* (Göttingen, 1984), pp. 194-97.

³ That year a charter was made to the Hospital by Barisan, constable of Jaffa, whilst serving with the Kingdom of Jerusalem's army. Among the witnesses was the Hospitaller Durand, who bore the military title of constable: Delaville le Roulx (ed.), *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers de S. Jean de Jérusalem 1100-1310*, four vols (Paris, 1894-1906), i, no. 74. He was probably commanding the Order's contribution to the army. A letter of Pope Alexander III sent to the Hospitaller master Roger de Moulins in 1178-80 also hints at a military role in the early twelfth century. The letter stated that a tradition had arisen under Master Raymond du Puy (1120-c.1160) that the brethren would only bear arms alongside the 'standard of the Holy Cross', in defence of the kingdom, or in besieging a Muslim city: le Roulx, *Cartulaire*, i, no. 527. The Order was given custody of its first castle, Bethgibelin, in 1136, which would have necessitated ongoing military duties for the brethren garrisoned there. Therefore, this custom likely dates to before that date: Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 29.

⁴ For the Hospital's conquest of Rhodes, see: Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, pp. 223-28.

Order established its own island state, which they held until the Ottomans expelled the brethren in 1522. After an interlude in Italy, the Hospitallers were given the island of Malta in 1530 by the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. The brethren remained on the island, conducting a naval war against the Ottomans and Barbary Corsairs, until Napoleon seized Malta in 1798.

The Order's campaigns in the East were supported by networks of farming estates across Europe, called preceptories.⁵ These were collected into regional divisions called priories. The Hospital's Irish holdings made up the Priory of Ireland and their English, Welsh, and Scottish preceptories comprised the Priory of England. Together, the two priories formed the English *Langue*. Since at least the late thirteenth century the Order had been divided into a system of *langues*, regional groupings based largely on linguistic lines. A statute from the Order's chapter general of 1293 is recorded as passing with the agreement of the brethren of 'all the *langues*'.⁶ A 1295 proposal to reform the Hospital declared that 'our religion is divided in seven tongues'.⁷ In order of precedence the *langues* were Provence, Auvergne, France, Spain, Italy, England, and Germany.⁸ Officially, the head of the English *Langue* was the Turcopolier, who resided at the Convent in the East. He was master of the Hospitallers' native cavalry, the turcoples, and of the Order's coastal defences on Rhodes and then on Malta. However, in practice the Prior of England was the more powerful position, with turcopoliers stepping down from their office to become prior.⁹

⁵ A common misconception holds that the terms preceptor and preceptory pertained only to the Templars and commander and commandery to the Hospitallers. This is incorrect as the term commandery is just an Anglicisation of the Old French translation of the Latin preceptory, and likewise for commander and preceptor. The terms are fully interchangeable and were used as such. One of the Order's chief officials was the grand *preceptor* in Latin documents and the grand *commandeur* in French ones: Helen Nicholson, *The Knights Hospitaller* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 73. To avoid suggesting a false distinction, this study will use just preceptory and preceptor when referring to the houses of any of the military orders or their officers.

⁶ '*fratrum omnium linguarum*': le Roulx, *Cartulaire général de l'Ordre des Hospitaliers*, iii, no. 4234.

⁷ '*Nostre religion est devisée VII langues*': *ibid.*, iii, no. 4267.

⁸ In 1461 this total was increased to seven by the division of the Spanish *Langue* into the *langues* of Aragon and Portugal-Castile: Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 73.

⁹ Simon Phillips, *The Prior of the Knights Hospitaller in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 3. Whilst the turcopolier held an important military role at the Convent, one ideal for attracting chivalric prestige, the office of prior was probably superior due to its greater assets, lesser oversight, and generally safer duties. A prior would not regularly be serving on the Mediterranean frontline, had control of one of the wealthiest ecclesiastical

The English Priory was the oldest component of the English *Langue*. The Order first arrived in England in the 1120s. In c. 1142-44, Jordan de Bricet gave the Hospitallers land in Clerkenwell, which eventually became the site of their headquarters, Clerkenwell Priory.¹⁰ This date also marks the first record of a prior of the English brothers, Prior Walter, though the brethren remained subordinate to the French Priory of St Gilles until c. 1185.¹¹ King David I introduced the Order to Scotland, giving them their house of Torphichen at an unknown date during his reign (1124-53).¹² The Hospital was settled in Wales by the 1130s.¹³ In Ireland the brethren arrived in the wake of Richard de Clare's invasion in 1170. They were present in the country by 1177 and were headquartered at Kilmainham, west of Dublin.¹⁴ By the early thirteenth century, these Irish holdings had been elevated to their own priory.

Three other military orders were also present in Britain and Ireland. The Knights Templar was the first military order, founded in 1120 as a group of knights guarding Palestine's pilgrimage routes.¹⁵ Like the Hospitallers, the brethren later grew in number and became a major military force in the Latin East. This Order had preceptories in all four nations, reaching England in the 1130s, Wales by the mid-1150s, Scotland in the reign of David I (1124-53), and Ireland by 1177.¹⁶ The Order of St Lazarus was originally a leper hospital in Jerusalem but had militarised by 1136. Its chief house in the British Isles was Burton Lazars, Leicestershire,

demesnes in the British Isles, and could no doubt act more freely in England, two-thousand miles away from Rhodes, than he could when based at the Convent.

¹⁰ Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 4.

¹¹ K. V. Sinclair (ed.), *The Hospitallers' Riwe (Miracula et Regula Hospitalis Sancti Johannis Jerosolymitani)* (Oxford, 1984), pp. xlvii-xlviii.

¹² John Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', in William Dugdale (ed.), *Monasticon Anglicanum*, edited and revised by John Caley, Henry Ellis, and Bulkeley Bandinel, six volumes in eight (London, 1846), 6:2, p. 838. For the Order in Scotland, see: *Scotland*.

¹³ For the Order in Wales, see: *Wales*.

¹⁴ Helen Nicholson, 'A long way from Jerusalem: the Templars and Hospitallers in Ireland, c.1172-1348', in Martin Browne OSB and Colmán Ó Clabaigh OSB (eds), *Soldiers of Christ: The Knights Templar and the Knights Hospitaller in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2015), p. 7.

¹⁵ Rudolf Hiestand, 'Kardinalbischof Matthäus von Albano, das Konzil von Troyes und die Entstehung des Templerordens', *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, 99 (1988), pp. 314-15.

¹⁶ For the Templars in England, Scotland, and Wales, see: Evelyn Lord, *Knights Templar in Britain* (Harlow, 2004). For their arrival in Ireland, see below, p. 91.

founded before 1146, which controlled several other estates in England and Scotland.¹⁷ The smallest order was the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre, the only English military order, founded as a hospital around the time of the Third Crusade and militarised by the late 1220s.¹⁸ The brethren had a house in London by that date, two in Ireland by the 1250s, and one in Scotland by the late thirteenth-century.¹⁹ Of these four orders, the Hospitallers appear to have been the largest by the early fourteenth-century, followed closely by the Templars.²⁰

Research questions and parameters of study

By 1338, the demesne of the English *Langue* in England and Wales alone encompassed fifty-three preceptories and generated a gross income of over £5,600 *per annum*.²¹ For comparison, an ecclesiastical tenth in fourteenth-century England, based on Pope Nicholas IV's 1291 valuation, was worth £20,000.²² The Order's estates were acquired through donations made to

¹⁷ David Marcombe, *Leper Knights: the Order of St Lazarus of Jerusalem in England, c.1150-1544* (Woodbridge, 2003). For the Lazarites in Scotland, see: Rory MacLellan, 'The Leper and the Lion: The Order of St Lazarus in Scotland', *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 96, No. 2 (Oct. 2017), pp. 218-32.

¹⁸ Another English military order may have existed at Acre in the late 1270s. Whilst in Acre on crusade, Edward I began construction of a tower to help strengthen the city's defences. The tower was completed by 1278 when the king granted custody of it to the Order of St Edward of Acre: *CPR*, Edward I 1272-81, p. 296. This is the only extant reference to such an order and whether it was a military-religious one or a lay confraternity is unknown. It is possible that the scribe actually meant the Order of St Thomas of Acre. If the Order of St Edward did indeed exist, it was probably a very small institution and, if still active in 1291, was most likely wiped out in the fall of Acre that year.

¹⁹ Alan Forey, 'The Military Order of St Thomas of Acre', *English Historical Review*, Vol. 92, No. 364 (Jul. 1977), pp. 481-503. For the Order of St Thomas in Ireland, see: Eric St. J. Brooks, 'Irish Possessions of St. Thomas of Acre', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 58 (1956/7), pp. 21-44. For the sole extant reference to the Order in Scotland, see: W. J. Dillon, 'Three Ayrshire Charters', *Ayrshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Collections*, 2nd. Series, Vol. VII (1961-66), pp. 32-34.

²⁰ By 1338, the Hospitallers calculated that the Templars' lands accounted for a little over £1700 of the Priory of England's gross income of £6389: Lambert B. Larking and John M. Kemble (eds), *The Knights Hospitallers in England: Being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338* (London, 1857), pp. 202, 213. The Templars had no preceptories in Wales itself, only in the March, whilst the Hospitallers had one preceptory at Slebech and a subsidiary estate at Ysbyty Ifan in north Wales. In Ireland the Hospitallers had sixteen preceptories before the dissolution of the Templars, whilst the Temple had fourteen: Nicholson, 'Templars and Hospitallers in Ireland', pp. 5, 8. The Templars were larger in Scotland, however, having two preceptories there to the Hospital's one.

²¹ The priory itself calculated a gross income of £6389, but £776 of this was from ex-Templar properties yet to fall into the hands of the brethren: Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 212-13.

²² May McKisack, *The Fourteenth Century, 1307-1399* (Oxford, 1959), p. 287.

the brethren by kings, ecclesiastics, and laymen throughout Britain and Ireland, as well as by purchases and exchanges. From 1291 to 1400, the Order received 160 donations in the British Isles, ranging from whole manors to small one-off payments given by patrons drawn from all levels of society.²³ However, the question of *what* motivated these donations has been largely neglected. This thesis is concerned with why patrons choose to support the Hospitallers instead of other orders. Particularly, how important was the crusading activity of the Hospitallers, as well as their knightly status and the hospitality they provided, in attracting donations? Considering that the first two of these traits were so distinctive to that order, were donations to the Hospital inspired by similar or different motives to those behind gifts to non-military orders like the Benedictines or Franciscans?

This study is focussed on the period 1291 to 1400. This chronological range has been chosen for a number of reasons. There were several events in this timeframe which affected the patronage of the Hospitallers in particular and were unlikely to have played much of a role in grants to the non-military orders. Firstly, the loss of the Holy Land in 1291 may have served to turn patrons away from the Hospital, who perhaps blamed the Order for the fall of the Latin East.²⁴ Admittedly, Sylvia Schein has argued that the 1270s, rather than 1291, should be seen as the watershed moment when the crusades took on their late medieval form in terms of strategy and organisation.²⁵ Nonetheless, for the Hospitallers the loss of Acre still marked an end of an era in their connection with crusading as they no longer had a foothold on the Levantine mainland. This loss also led to a diffusion in crusade activity, with the Scottish and English in particular favouring the Baltic, where the Teutonic Knights, and not the Hospitallers, were the dominant crusading force. In the 1290s the Hospital saw military service in Wales

²³ Each of these grants is featured in Appendix I below, pp. 211-266.

²⁴ Certainly the Hospitallers were the target of criticism by chroniclers and the clergy after the fall of Acre, including proposals to amalgamate all the military orders into a single new order: Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers in the Levant*, pp. 216-18.

²⁵ Sylvia Schein, *Fideles Crucis: The Papacy, the West, and the Recovery of the Holy Land 1274-1314* (Oxford, 1991).

and Scotland on behalf of the English Crown and continued to provide military service in Ireland throughout the fourteenth century, activity that risked alienating those Welsh, Scottish, and Gaelic Irish donors who opposed English rule. The trial of the Templars from 1307 to 1312, and the subsequent transfer of their estates to the Hospital, embroiled the brethren in an array of legal disputes and tied them to a suppressed order with a tainted reputation, again potentially turning away patrons. The Rhodes Crusade of 1309-10 had the Order at its centre, raising the profile of the brethren and their campaigns and potentially winning new patrons interested in the crusade. If, despite all these distinctive factors, the motives of most Hospitaller donors were still much the same to those of patrons of non-military orders, then the case for aligning these two strands of religious life together more closely will be much stronger. Also, this period provides a more manageable and tightly dated sourcebase than the twelfth or thirteenth centuries, when most donation charters were both undated and surviving in much greater number, allowing for deeper and more confident analysis and discussion.²⁶

Historiography

General studies of the Hospitallers, such as those by Helen Nicholson and Jonathan Riley-Smith, are understandably focused more upon the Order's foundation and development in the East, rather than the activities of its *langues* in the West, or the donations made to them.²⁷ Fortunately however, the English *Langue* has been the subject of dedicated research since the nineteenth century. The earliest studies of the *langue* were written in the wake of its Anglican revival, the Venerable Order of St John, founded in 1830 and brought under royal patronage in

²⁶ A study of Hospitaller scribes drawing only on the twelfth and thirteenth-century charters of the 1442 cartulary and the separated Cambridgeshire entries still encompassed a sourcebase of over 3000 documents: Michael Gervers and Nicole Hamonic, 'Scribes and Notaries in Twelfth- and Thirteenth-Century Hospitaller Charters from England', in Karl Borchardt, Nikolas Jaspert, and Helen J. Nicholson (eds), *The Hospitallers, the Mediterranean and Europe: Festschrift for Anthony Luttrell* (Aldershot, 2007), pp. 181-92.

²⁷ Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*; Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*.

1888.²⁸ This Victorian successor order still retained the knightly trappings of the medieval brethren, but had no military role. It instead focused on providing medical services, leading to the Order's creation of the St John Ambulance Association in 1878.²⁹ Many early works on the *langue* were written by members of the Venerable Order and so were often concerned with tying that modern institution to its medieval predecessor. Edwin King, a knight of the Venerable Order, wrote three volumes on the Hospitallers: one on the Order in the Levant, another on the brethren in England, and a final book relating their history in the British Empire, the latter two of which devoted substantial attention to the Venerable Order.³⁰ Other early studies were written by H. W. Fincham, a member of the Order, and W. K. R. Bedford together with Richard Holbeche, the Order's genealogist and librarian, respectively, both of which spend significant time discussing the Venerable Order.³¹ Another concern of these writers was to tie the medical care provided by this Victorian successor to that of the medieval Hospitallers.³² Whilst the main Convent of the brethren in the East did emphasise this role, it was not a major feature of the Hospitallers' estates in the West. There is little evidence of the

²⁸ For an overview of the Venerable Order's early history, see: Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Order of St John in England, 1827-1858', in Malcolm Barber (ed.), *The Military Orders: Fighting for the Faith and Caring for the Sick* (Aldershot, 1994), pp. 121-38.

²⁹ W. K. R. Bedford and Richard Holbeche, *The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem being a History of the English Hospitallers of St. John, their Rise and Progress* (London, 1902), p. 113.

³⁰ E. J. King, *The Knights Hospitallers in the Holy Land* (London, 1931); E. J. King, *The Grand Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England. A Short History* (London, 1924), pp. 108-51; E. J. King, *The knights of St. John in the British Empire: Being the Official History of the British Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem* (London, 1934), pp. 135-205.

³¹ Bedford and Holbeche, *The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*, pp. 104-80; H. W. Fincham and W. R. Edwards, *The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and its Grand Priory of England* (London, 1915), pp. 23-36.

³² 'But of all the work that was done by the Knights of St. John during the Great War, nothing appeals more closely to the sentiment and tradition of their Order than the direct relief that was given to the sick and wounded in their hospitals': King, *Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in England*, p. 147. '[T]he vast increase in the work and importance of the English Order since the spread of the Ambulance movement has excited a desire to know more about its rise and progress... for the doings of the last ten years are the legitimate sequel of a chain of events dating back to the era of the first crusade, and the home of the Ambulance work in England is still that edifice which was originally founded for similar purposes in the twelfth century': Bedford and Holbeche, *The Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem*, p. 2. '[The Venerable Order] has also a commission in the near East, and at Malta, the old home of the Order, special steps have been taken to promote the comfort and general welfare of the sick and wounded... An ample stock of Hospital material is kept and replenished as required from England, while an X-Ray apparatus has been installed and an ample supply of motors provided. In short, the best traditions of the Order are being acted up to by all concerned in the island': Fincham and Edwards, *Grand Priory of England*, pp. 34-35.

English *Langue* providing medical services to outsiders at more than a few sites.³³ Early research on the *langue* may have also been hampered by inaccurate claims that there was little relevant material preserved in the Hospitallers' main archive on Malta.³⁴

More recent studies of the entire *Langue* are often focused on the political or economic aspects of its history, rather than matters of patronage.³⁵ Instead, where this subject comes to the fore in the literature is in the many works that have been produced on the *langue*'s records, preceptories, and its history in particular countries or regions.³⁶ The most important of these are several studies made by Michael Gervers focusing largely on the Order in Essex and drawing upon the *langue*'s 1442 cartulary.³⁷ However, these works are limited by their regional

³³ See discussion below, pp. 64-65, and also: Christie Majoros, 'The Function of Hospitaller houses in England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales' (PhD dissertation, Cardiff University, 2016), pp. 103-109, 118-21.

³⁴ 'A very small portion of them [the Order's registers] relate to England': Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. vi. 'At Malta scarcely anything relating to the English members of the Order is preserved': Bedford and Holbeche, *Order of the Hospital of St. John*, p. 32.

³⁵ Gregory O'Malley, *The Knights Hospitaller of the English Langue, 1460-1565* (Oxford, 2005); Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*; Majoros, 'The Function of Hospitaller houses'. However, this last study does briefly discuss donor motives: *ibid.*, pp. 19-22.

³⁶ For England: Buckland *Cartulary*; Eric Puddy, *A Short History of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem in Norfolk* (Dereham, 1961); Eileen Gooder, *Temple Balsall: From Hospitallers to a Caring Community, 1322 to Modern Times* (Chichester, 1999); Helen Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury, Herefordshire', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 50, No. 4 (Oct., 1999), pp. 629-51; Barney Sloane and Gordon Malcolm, *Excavations at the Priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, London* (London, 2004); Audrey Tapper, *Knights Templar and Hospitaller in Herefordshire* (Almeley, 2005); Myra Struckmeyer, 'The Sisters of the Order of Saint John at Mynchin Buckland', in Anthony Luttrell and Helen J. Nicholson (eds), *Hospitaller Women in the Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2006), pp. 89-112; *Godsfield Cartulary*; Nicole Hamonic, 'The Order of St John of Jerusalem in London, Middlesex, and Surrey, c. 1128-c.1442: A Social and Economic Study Based on The Hospitaller Cartulary, British Library Cotton MS Nero E vi', (PhD dissertation, University of Toronto, 2012), though this last work is primarily a study of landholding rather than patronage. For the Order in Wales: *Wales*; Helen Nicholson, 'The Knights Hospitaller', in Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (eds), *Monastic Wales: New Approaches* (Cardiff, 2013), pp. 147-61; Kathryn Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades c. 1095-1291* (Cardiff, 2011), pp. 133-75. In Scotland: *Scotland*. In Ireland: G. Lennox Barrow, 'The Knights Hospitaller of St. John of Jerusalem at Kilmainham', *Dublin Historical Record*, Vol. 38, No. 3 (Jun. 1985), pp. 108-12; Browne and Ó Clabaigh, *Soldiers of Christ*.

³⁷ Michael Gervers, 'A history of the cartulary of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem in England (British Museum, Cotton MS. Nero E vi)', *Scriptorium*, Vol. 28, No. 2 (1974), pp. 262-73; Michael Gervers, 'An early cartulary fragment of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in England', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1974), pp. 8-24; Michael Gervers, 'The medieval cartulary tradition and the survival of archival material as reflected in the English Hospitaller Cartulary of 1442', *Medieval Studies*, Vol. 37 (1975), pp. 504-14; Michael Gervers (ed.), *The Hospitaller cartulary in the British Library (Cotton MS Nero E VI): A Study of the Manuscript and its Composition with a Critical Edition of Two Fragments of Earlier Cartularies for Essex* (Toronto, 1981); Michael Gervers, *The Cartulary of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem in England: Secunda Camera* (Oxford, 1982); Michael Gervers, 'Donations to the Hospitallers in England in the wake of the Second Crusade', in Michael Gervers (ed.), *The Second Crusade and the Cistercians* (New York, 1992), pp. 155-61; Michael Gervers, 'Pro defensione Terre Sancte: the development and exploitation of the Hospitallers' landed estate in Essex', in Barber, *The Military Orders*, pp. 3-20; Michael Gervers (ed.), *The Cartulary of the Knights of St John of Jerusalem in England, Part 2: Prima Camera Essex* (Oxford, 1996).

focus. Any conclusions that they reach about the patronage of the Order may be reflective only of local conditions. They are not necessarily applicable to the brethren across Britain and Ireland and beyond. For example, in his study of the Essex entries of the 1442 cartulary, Gervers found a complete cessation of land grants after 1285 and only three donations of rents and one of a right of way in the fourteenth century. Each rent was worth no more than 3d.³⁸ Yet this cessation of significant grants is not reflected elsewhere. The Welsh preceptory of Slebech continued to receive land and other donations after this date.³⁹ The Godsfield and Minchin Buckland cartularies also record valuable fourteenth-century grants.⁴⁰ Even other portions of the 1442 cartulary contradict the situation in Essex, with significant fourteenth-century donations being made in London, Middlesex and Surrey, such as a payment for two chantries made in 1381-95.⁴¹

Clearly, the English *Langue* continued to receive valuable donations after 1285, just not in Essex. The reason for Essex's anomalous fourteenth-century records may instead be due to the Order's archives being damaged during the Peasant's Revolt. In June 1381, the rebels attacked the preceptory of Temple Cressing in Essex, and burnt the Order's London headquarters at Clerkenwell, destroying much of the Hospital's archive. Such was the damage done by the rebels that it is mentioned in the cartulary itself.⁴² It is likely that many charters relating to that county were destroyed, as the Essex preceptory of Cressing was targeted by the rebels specifically in order to destroy records of services owed to the Hospital.⁴³

³⁸ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, p. xlvi.

³⁹ In c. 1300 the brethren received a curtilage in the parish of Marteltwy, Pembrokeshire: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, GB 0210 SLEBECH, No. 283. John Lecard gave the preceptory the advowson of Letterston and the chapel of Lanveyz in 1330: Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', p. 837.

⁴⁰ Richard de Longedon released the Order of 50s. rent in 1343 that they owed for a tenement in Baddesley: *Godsfield Cartulary*, no. 129. In 1330 the brethren were released of all rent they owed Hugh de Bendon in Milverton, Somerset, and given the rents and services of all his free tenants there: *Buckland Cartulary*, nos 72-73.

⁴¹ London, British Library [BL], Cotton MS Nero E vi, ff. 4v-5r.

⁴² Gervers, *The Hospitaller cartulary in the British Library*, p. 35, fn. 4.

⁴³ Helen Nicholson, 'The Hospitallers and the "Peasants' Revolt" of 1381, revisited', in Victor Mallia-Milanes (ed.), *The Military Orders Volume 3: History and Heritage* (Aldershot, 2008), p. 228.

The example of Essex illustrates a major flaw in prior research on the patronage of the English *Langue*. Because no previous study has examined the extant Hospitaller cartularies and other donation records together, regional variations have been overlooked and reliable conclusions about the patronage of the Order and attitudes towards it cannot be drawn. This thesis will be the first to analyse all of the *langue*'s surviving cartularies side by side, overcoming the limitations of these regional studies, allowing conclusions to be drawn about the Order's patronage and relations with wider society across Britain and Ireland.

Much of this regional literature on grants to the English *Langue* is focused more on the scope and management of the Order's estates, rather than why patrons chose to donate to the Hospitallers in the first place. A common feature of those studies that do speculate on the motivations of donors to the Hospitallers – and other military orders – is the contention that donors were motivated by an interest in crusading.⁴⁴ John Walker, in his study of donations to the Order of St Lazarus and the Templars in England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, showed that crusading actually played only a minimal role in donations to the brethren. A small amount of patrons to the Templar's Sandford Preceptory were crusaders, under forty (five per cent) of over eight-hundred donors in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, a proportion about equal to the estimated number of crusaders amongst the population of medieval Western

⁴⁴ '[I]t may be assumed that all the benefactors of the Temple had a general interest in supporting the cause of the crusade': Malcolm Barber, *The New Knighthood: a History of the Order of the Temple* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 25. 'The chronology of foundation and expansion indicates that the success of the knights had, as we might expect, some correlation with the crusading movement': Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 83. '[T]he crusading cause served as an advertisement for the orders in the West': Roberta Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action: The Other Monasticism* (London, 1995), p. 67. 'As in England, donation to the Templars and Hospitallers often occurred as an alternative to participation [in crusading]': Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 175. 'Even though explicit references to succouring the Holy Land are rare... it is fair to assume that this motive was normally implicit': Tom Licence, 'The Military Orders as Monastic Orders', *Crusades*, Vol. 5 (2006), p. 40. '[Robert II de Ferrers, earl of Derby... was a patron of the Templars, suggesting at the very least an interest in the defence of the Holy Land... William de Ferrers' involvement in the crusade was also reflected in his patronage of the Hospitallers': Michael R. Evans, 'The Ferrers Earls of Derby and the Crusades', *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, XLIV (2000), pp. 70-71, 72. John Walker has argued for a very minimal role for crusading in patronage of the English Lazarites, prompting the response from another study of the brethren that 'although *active* crusading may not have been a prime motive, *passive* crusading may well have figured much more prominently than Walker allows for': Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 47. For Walker, see next footnote.

Europe.⁴⁵ Also, few of these crusade grants correlated with crusading activity, often being made years before a patron took the cross, and only Lazarite two charters mentioned the Holy Land at all.⁴⁶

However, Walker's study has several limitations, making it unclear whether his conclusions can be applied to the Hospitallers, in the fourteenth century or otherwise. He made little attempt to put these donations into a wider crusading context by mapping them against the dates of crusade preaching and campaigns. As his sourcebase of twelfth and thirteenth century charters was largely undated or loosely dated, this is understandable, but his sourcebase was in itself very regionally narrow, comprising only the cartulary of the Templars' Oxfordshire house of Sandford and the cartulary of the Lazarites at Burton Lazars, Leicestershire. Again, this is understandable as they are the largest surviving collections of charters for these orders in England. However, this regional focus on the English south and Midlands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries does mean that Walker's conclusions may not necessarily reflect the experience of the Hospitallers throughout Britain and Ireland from 1291 to 1400. Though all three orders took part in the crusades, only the Hospitallers were still militarily active after 1307, by which time the Templars had been arrested and the Lazarites demilitarised.⁴⁷ It is possible that with only one crusading military order in Britain and Ireland to support from the early fourteenth century onwards, the Hospitallers did become a major

⁴⁵ John Walker, 'Alms for the Holy Land: the English Templars and their patrons', in Andrew Ayton and J. L. Price (eds), *The Medieval Military Revolution: State, Society and Military Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (London, 1995), pp. 68; John Walker, 'The Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries' (PhD dissertation, University of St Andrews, 1990), pp. 55-56. Elements of this study have been published: John Walker, 'The Motives of Patrons of the Order of St Lazarus in England in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in Judith Loades (ed.), *Monastic Studies I: The Continuity of Tradition* (Bangor, 1990), pp. 171-81; John Walker, 'Crusaders and patrons: the influence of the crusades on the patronage of the order of St Lazarus', in Barber, *The Military Orders*, pp. 327-32; Walker, 'Alms for the Holy Land', pp. 63-80.

⁴⁶ Walker, 'Crusaders and patrons', p. 331. Of course, not everyone supportive of the crusade embarked on an expedition themselves. However, this low level of crusader patrons, presumably the people most interested in crusading, does suggest that the number of armchair crusaders donating was even smaller.

⁴⁷ For the demilitarisation of the Lazarites after 1291, see Rafaël Hyacinthe, 'Crisis? What crisis? The "Waning" of the Order of St Lazarus after the Crusades', in Helen J. Nicholson (ed.), *On the Margins of Crusading: The Military Orders, the Papacy and the Christian World* (Aldershot, 2011), pp. 178-87.

outlet for donors interested in crusading. Finally, when discussing what did motivate patronage, Walker's study overlooked several potential influences, including the knightly status of the military orders, their charitable activities, professional relationships, and royal service. This study will consider these factors, examine a wider geographic area, and place its findings into a wider crusading context.

Michael Gervers has also examined the link between crusading and patronage, arguing that a rise in donations to the Hospitallers in Essex in the 1230s may have been due to the recapture of Jerusalem in 1229, but aside from this instance he did not place the 1442 cartulary's donations into a wider crusading context.⁴⁸ There has been little other work done to investigate the importance of this factor in donations to the Hospital. No attempt has been made to map donations against crusade events, such as campaigns or preaching. Did grants to the Hospitallers increase following a victory in the East, or even a defeat? Did Western affairs also affect donation levels? The lack of detailed study of this topic is probably because research like that of Gervers and Walker focussed on the twelfth to thirteenth centuries, when charters are often loosely dated or even undateable. The nature of such a sourcebase understandably made it difficult to correlate these donations with exact events like the crusades. By focusing on the period 1291-1400, when grants to the English *Langue* are much more tightly dated, this thesis will provide the first study to consider Hospitaller patronage fully within its crusading and political context and a greater geographical scale that goes beyond existing regional studies.

One area of historical scholarship that has deeply investigated donor motives is that of monastic studies.⁴⁹ This pre-existing scholarship has found that family and tenurial ties,

⁴⁸ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, p. xlv.

⁴⁹ The classic study is Barbara H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989). See also, Joel T. Rosenthal, *The Purchase of Paradise: Gift Giving and the Aristocracy, 1307-1485* (London, 1972); Emma Mason, 'Timeo barones et donas ferentes', in Derek Baker (ed.), *Religious Motivation: Biographical and Sociological Problems for the Church Historian* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 61-75; Richard Mortimer, 'Religious and secular motives for some English monastic foundations', in *ibid.*, pp. 77-85; Ilana F. Silber, 'Gift-giving in the great traditions: the case of donations to monasteries in the medieval West', *European Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 36, No. 2 (1995), pp. 209-43; Ilana F. Silber, 'Beyond Purity and Danger: Gift-Giving in the Monotheistic Religions', in Antoon Vandavelde (ed.), *Gifts and Interests* (Leuven, 2000), pp.

localism, and religious benefactions were all important factors in motivating patronage.⁵⁰ Nevertheless, it is uncertain if the findings of this field are applicable to the Hospitallers as many historians of non-military religious orders have often treated their military counterparts as an entirely distinct entity, sometimes even ignoring them entirely.⁵¹ Whilst these scholars may rarely mention the military orders, overlooking an important form of professed life, historians of the military orders instead suffer the reverse; often failing to situate their research

115-32; Marilyn Oliva, 'Patterns of Patronage to Female Monasteries in the Late Middle Ages', in James G. Clark (ed.), *The Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 155-62; Karen Stöber, 'Bequests and Burials: Changing Attitudes of the Laity as Patrons of English and Welsh Monasteries', in Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton (eds), *Religious and Laity in Western Europe 1000-1400* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 131-46; Karen Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons: England and Wales, c. 1300-1540* (Woodbridge, 2007). Several studies of particular religious houses also discuss patronage and donor motives: Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge, 1986); Joan Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey and its Benefactors, 1132-1300* (Kalamazoo, 1987); Marilyn Oliva, *The Convent and the Community in Late Medieval England: Female Monasteries in the Diocese of Norwich, 1350-1540* (Woodbridge, 1998); Emilia Jamroziak, *Reivaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132-1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks* (Turnhout, 2005); Allison D. Fizzard, *Plympton Priory: a House of Augustinian Canons in South-western England in the Late Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2008).

⁵⁰ For the role of family and lordship, see: Rosenthal, *Purchase of Paradise*, pp. 93-98; Jamroziak, *Reivaulx Abbey*, pp. 62-110; Fizzard, *Plympton Priory*, pp. 80-97. For localism, see: Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 206-208; Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter*, pp. 176-201; Oliva, *The Convent and the Community*, pp. 177-82; Fizzard, *Plympton Priory*, pp. 82-85. For religious benefactions, see: Rosenthal, *Purchase of Paradise*, pp. 11-52; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 184-92; Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp. 235-76.

⁵¹ For example, David Knowles, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940-1216* (London, 1972), omits the military orders. They were only featured in his and Neville Hadcock's *Medieval Religious Houses* at Hadcock's suggestion: David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London, new ed., 1971), p. xi. A study on monastic patronage acknowledges the military orders but excludes them from its survey, perhaps considering judging that they were not monastic: Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons*, p. 209. Admittedly, the monastic status of the military orders is contested and is discussed below, pp. 14-15. A work on abbots and priors in late medieval and Reformation England omits the Lazarites entirely and only occasionally refers to the Hospitaller priors of England for comparative purposes, reinforcing the impression that the military orders are somehow apart from the 'mainstream' orders: Martin Heale, *The Abbots and Priors of Late Medieval and Reformation England* (Oxford, 2016), pp. 47, 127 n. 137, 205 n. 91, 211 n. 129, 213 n. 139, 216 n. 152, 225. The Hospitallers arguably underwent greater secularisation in the late medieval period than many other religious orders in Britain and Ireland, yet discussions of this process often fail to mention the Hospitallers: Benjamin Thompson, 'Introduction: Monasteries and Medieval Society', in Benjamin Thompson (ed.), *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain* (Stamford, 1999), pp. 27-33. One account of the Dissolution of the Monasteries in Yorkshire states that monasticism in the county had ended by January 1540, despite the Hospital not being suppressed until May that year and the Lazarites surviving until 1544. The study's opening summary of Yorkshire's monastic houses lists the establishments of every other religious order yet fails to include any Hospitaller or Lazarite preceptories: Claire Cross, 'The Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Yorkshire Church in the Sixteenth Century', in A. J. Pollard (ed.), *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700* (Stroud, 1997), pp. 159-60. A study of the dissolution of the chantries in England omits the Lazarites' foundations when discussing hospitals and chantries in 1544: Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (London, 1979), pp. 160-64.

within the wider context of professed religious. Only a few studies treat the military orders as fully religious ones, or act as comparative studies of the military and non-military orders.⁵²

The reasons for this scholarly division of the military and non-military orders are uncertain. Jonathan Riley-Smith put it down partially to ‘distaste’ on the part of scholars of other religious orders and also to a failure by historians of the military orders to place them into an agreed-upon category.⁵³ Alan Forey emphasised the dominance of the lay brethren, in contrast to other religious orders.⁵⁴ James Brodman saw some of the military orders, such as the Templars and the Order of Calatrava, as military-monastics born out of Cistercian traditions but other orders, including the Hospitallers, Teutonic Order, and the Lazarites, as military-hospitallers that developed from non-military hospitaller orders like the Trinitarians and Mercedarians.⁵⁵ Giles Constable admitted that while many contemporaries described the orders as monastics, others treated them as fraternities. He concluded that they should be considered *sui generis*.⁵⁶ Riley-Smith argued that ‘The military orders can only be understood as orders of the church and their history should be treated in the context of that of other religious orders’.⁵⁷ This last position has met with some support. Tom Licence described the military orders as monastic and placed them alongside the canons regular, whilst Janet Burton considered them to be both ‘monastic and cenobitical’.⁵⁸ This divide of opinions has no doubt contributed to wider religious scholarship’s oversight of the military orders. Their more active role and the lack of a claustral structure does suggest that the military orders should be considered a form

⁵² The works of Jonathan Riley-Smith, particularly his *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious in the Holy Land* (Notre Dame, 2010), argue strongly for the military orders to be studied as religious orders first and foremost. See also: James W. Brodman, ‘Rule and Identity: The Case of the Military Orders’, *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 87, No. 3 (Jul., 2001), pp. 383-400; Giles Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading in the Twelfth Century* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 165-82; Licence, ‘Military Orders as Monastic Orders’; Majoros, ‘Function of Hospitaller houses’.

⁵³ Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, p. 1.

⁵⁴ Alan Forey, *The Military Orders from the Twelfth to the Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Basingstoke, 1992), pp. 2-3.

⁵⁵ Brodman, ‘The Case of the Military Orders’, p. 394.

⁵⁶ Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, pp. 172-82.

⁵⁷ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *What Were the Crusades?* (Basingstoke, 4th ed., 2009), p. xvi.

⁵⁸ Burton, *Religious Orders in Britain*, p. 82; Licence, ‘Military Orders as Monastic Orders’, p. 39.

of active religious closer to the mendicants than to monastics. However, as this thesis will show, regardless of whether the Hospitallers were monastics or another form of professed religious, their donors patronised them for much the same reasons as they supported any other order, mendicant or monastic.

The close ties of the orders and the Crusades has also played a role in further separating study of the military orders from that of non-military religious. Most surveys of the Hospitallers focus on events in the East, at most devoting a chapter to the Order's western provinces.⁵⁹ General studies of other orders are much the same.⁶⁰ This preoccupation with the Levant is understandable as the three greatest military orders, the Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights, were initially all based there and devoted most of their efforts to the East. In reverse, many surveys of the crusades also dedicate significant space to the military orders.⁶¹ Again, this is to be expected. The military order originated in the crusades and the brethren of these orders became the most steadfast participants of the crusade movement. After their foundation, the brethren of the Hospitallers and Templars fought in almost every major engagement in the Latin East. However, these strong associations with crusade studies can no doubt give the impression that the military orders fall more within that field than under religious life, further discouraging their study by monastic historians. Finally, the division may also exist because, superficially, these two branches of professed religious do seem quite distinct from one another. The military orders participated in warfare, were often more centralised, enjoyed especially

⁵⁹ Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St John in Jerusalem and Cyprus 1050-1310* (London, 1967), pp. 341-72; Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 98-115; Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, pp. 185-201.

⁶⁰ Forey, *Military Orders*, pp. 23-43; Barber, *New Knighthood*, pp. 244-68; Nicholas Morton, *The Medieval Military Orders: 1120-1314* (Abingdon, 2012), pp. 113-28.

⁶¹ Constable, *Crusaders and Crusading*, pp. 165-82; Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades: From Lyons to Alcazar 1274-1580* (Oxford, 1992), pp. 204-33; Alan Forey, 'The Military Orders, 1120-1312' in Jonathan Riley-Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Crusades* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 184-216; Anthony Luttrell, 'The Military Orders, 1312-1798', in *ibid.*, pp. 326-64; Eric Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades* (London, new ed., 1997), *passim*, but particularly 73-92, 227-58; Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades: A History* (London, 2nd ed., 2014), pp. 97-100, 277-88, 327-32.

generous papal privileges, and were intimately tied to crusading.⁶² It is unsurprising then that such differences have led many scholars to treat these two strands of professed religious as wholly separate.

It should be noted, however, that the military orders were not as starkly separated from their non-military counterparts as they may appear at first sight. Brethren of the military orders were still professed religious, have even been argued to have been monastic, and shared many traits with the non-military orders.⁶³ The military orders each followed a rule, sang the office, and lived in common, though they often lived in smaller communities than the brethren of other orders. They were also subject to the three monastic vows of chastity, poverty, and obedience.⁶⁴ Though the Hospitallers had papal privileges of exemption from tithes and episcopal control, so did the Cistercians and mendicants.⁶⁵ Preceptories of the military orders are sometimes likened to manorial estates as they were primarily farming estates that lacked a claustral structure, but these were characteristics they also shared with monastic granges.⁶⁶ The Hospital's Irish houses have been described as closer to castles and manors than religious

⁶² The Hospitallers were exempt from episcopal control and tithes. For a discussion of the Order's privileges and the clerical reaction to them, see: Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, pp. 155-70. Such was their degree of centralisation that Riley-Smith referred to the Templars and Hospitallers as 'the first true orders of the Church', as they were fully supranational organisations, unlike any other religious order of the twelfth century. Any Hospitaller brother would enjoy the same privileges of exemption from episcopal control, follow the same regular life, and be subordinate to the same central authority, namely, the grand-master and general chapter. In contrast, even relatively centralised orders like the Cistercians were still confederations of independent abbeys, whilst the Cluniacs accomplished their centralisation through the pretence that brethren overseas were living 'within the walls of a virtual abbey' of Cluny: Riley-Smith, *Templars and Hospitallers as Professed Religious*, pp. 4-5.

⁶³ For the military orders as monastic, see above, pp. 14-15.

⁶⁴ One of the few medieval exceptions to this was the Order of Santiago, who were bound only to poverty, obedience, and conjugal chastity: Enrique Gallego Blanco (ed.), *The Rule of the Spanish Military Order of St. James 1170-1493* (Leiden, 1971), pp. 108-109.

⁶⁵ Helen Nicholson, *Templars, Hospitallers and Teutonic Knights: Images of the Military Orders, 1128-1291* (Leicester, 1993), p. 19. Many individual monasteries were also given papal exemptions from tithes in the twelfth century: Giles Constable, *Monastic Tithes: From Their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 241-45. For a summary of the rights afforded by exempt status, see: David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England* (2nd ed., Cambridge, 1966), pp. 585-86.

⁶⁶ Eamonn Cotter, 'The archaeology of the Irish Hospitaller preceptories of Mourneabbey and Hospital in context', in Browne and Ó Clabaigh, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 103-104. For granges, see: Colin Platt, *The Monastic Grange in Medieval England: a reassessment* (London, 1969).

houses, something that could be expected of military orders rather than non-military ones.⁶⁷ Yet this too has been shown to apply to non-military religious as well, particularly in Ireland.⁶⁸ For example, the Cistercian abbey of Kilcooley in Ireland was fortified, as was the Augustinian house of Kells.⁶⁹ Not all of the ‘distinctive’ features of the military orders were unique to them. Also, there were often strong ties between the non-military and military orders, with the Cistercians in particular encouraging the development of the Templars and helping found the military Order of Calatrava in Spain and the Order of the Swordbrethren in Livonia.⁷⁰

Such similarities and connections support the view that these two branches of professed religious should be considered together. By doing so, their similarities and distinct qualities can be better understood and assessed. Hopefully, this will encourage the reintegration of the military orders – which constitute some of the most significant religious institutions of the medieval and early modern periods – into a range of fields, debates, and discussions within mainstream religious history, including ecclesiastical landholding, the political power of the church, lay-ecclesiastical relations, the role of women in religion, and the processes of the Reformation. Finally, as this thesis shall show, to consider the military and non-military orders together better reflects the medieval reality, as the patrons of both strands of religious life treated and interacted with them for much the same reasons and in much the same manner.

⁶⁷ Tadhg O’Keeffe and Pat Grogan, ‘Building a frontier? The architecture of the military orders in medieval Ireland’, in Browne and Ó Clabaigh, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. 89. Gilchrist also highlights the fortification of military order preceptories: Gilchrist, *Contemplation and Action*, pp. 74-75, 100.

⁶⁸ For fortified religious houses in Ireland, see: Peter Harrison, *Castles of God: Fortified Religious Buildings of the World* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 23-37.

⁶⁹ Bridget M. Lynch, ‘A monastic landscape: The Cistercians in medieval Leinster’ (PhD dissertation, National University of Ireland Maynooth, 2008), i, p. 216.

⁷⁰ The Cistercian Bernard of Clairvaux wrote a tract in support of the Templars: Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘Liber ad Milites Templi: de laude novae militiae’, in Bernard of Clairvaux, *S. Bernardi Opera*, ed. J. LeClercq and H. M. Rochais, 10 vols in 9 (Rome, 1957-98), iii, pp. 312-39. Bernard of Clairvaux, ‘In Praise of the New Knighthood’, trans. Conrad Greenia, in *Treatises III* (Kalamazoo, MI, 1977), pp. 127-45. For the Cistercians’ ties to the Order of Calatrava, see: Joseph F. O’Callaghan, *The Spanish Military Order of Calatrava and its Affiliates* (London, 1975), i; Theresa Vann, ‘A New Look at the Foundation of the Order of Calatrava’, in Donald Kagay (ed.), *On the Social Origins of Medieval Institutions: Essays in Honor of Joseph F. O’Callaghan* (Leiden, 1998), pp. 93-113. The Swordbrethren were founded in 1204 by Albert, bishop of Riga, but this was at the suggestion of the Cistercian Theodoric, abbot of Dünamünde: William Urban, *The Baltic Crusade* (Dekalb, 1975), pp. 43-44.

Methodology

It is necessary to establish what kind of donations this study is concerned with. Only those gifts made in ‘pure alms’ have been considered – grants made without payment or exchange from the Hospitallers or resulting in any rent owed by them.⁷¹ Of course, one might argue, as Mauss does, that all gifts are reciprocal, and thus there is essentially little to differentiate ‘pure alms’ gifts from other forms of exchange and sale, which are still to be considered as forms of gifts.⁷² However, discounting exchanges and sales can help remove potential factors that could confuse detecting a donor’s motives. A patron may have sold or exchanged land with the Hospitallers out of a need for money or a desire for a particular property, it does not necessarily reveal anything to us about why he chose the Hospitallers over another order. In contrast, when a donor freely gave to the Hospital, despite having other religious houses to choose from, then a clear choice was made that was presumably motivated by something other than merely financial interest or pragmatism – it was motivated by something particular about the Hospitallers. Furthermore, sales and exchanges can be detected in only a small proportion of the total extant grants to the Hospitallers from this period. For example, the Godsfield Cartulary contains nine pure alms donations from 1291 to 1400. If sales and exchanges are also considered, this figure would rise by just one.⁷³ In the Buckland Cartulary, there are no such grants dateable to this period. Discounting grants that can be identified as sales or exchanges does not narrow this study’s sourcebase to any real degree and helps maintain its focus on what specific traits of the Hospitallers motivated donors to patronise them compared to other orders.

⁷¹ There is one exception to this, an extremely generous gift by Elizabeth de Burgh in 1337 for which the Order received two messuages, 680 acres of land, and £4 6s 8d of rent in return for just 11 marks rent: *CPR*, Edward III 1334-38, p. 552. For discussion of this grant, see below, pp. 45-46.

⁷² Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies*, trans. Ian Cunnison (London, 1954), pp. 63-64.

⁷³ *Godsfield Cartulary*, no. 124.

The motives behind these donations have been determined by considering both the text and the context of each grant. Many charters indicate a direct motive, such as William Langford's 1336 gift of a messuage and eight shops in London's suburbs in order to found a chantry for his soul and those of his ancestors.⁷⁴ A desire for religious intercession appears to have been the crucial motive here. In 1328, John Blebury quitclaimed to the Hospitallers his right to twenty marks of rent granted to him by the Templars from the manor of Addington. The text refers to his good will and claims that the gift was made 'for the health of his soul', suggesting that, as with Langford's grant, religious belief played an important role.⁷⁵ However, this textual evidence cannot be the only evidence considered when determining donor motives. Firstly, it has been argued that most donation charters were composed by the scribe and any reasoning given within them could be the creation of the scribe, not the donor.⁷⁶ Also, the original text of many of these donations is now lost and with it any stated motive. Fifty-seven of the 160 grants from 1291-1400 survive only as confirmations, licences, or references from later sources. In such cases, contextual evidence, such as a donor's background and connections, the date of the donation, and the nature of the gift, is often all that is left to indicate the reasoning behind their choice to patronise the Hospitallers. An examination of this context can add to or even contradict the cause indicated in the textual evidence. Langford's grant was part of a longstanding reciprocal relationship with the Hospitallers, the donor making several grants to the Order but also working for the brethren and holding a pension from them.⁷⁷ His faith played a role in Langford's decision to request a chantry, but it was his close association with the Hospital that determined his choice to entrust the Hospitallers with this, rather than another order. Blebury's grant, despite his protestations, was actually a legal surrender to the Order compelled by the brethren pursuing their claim to the rent through litigation. As these

⁷⁴ *CPR*, Edward III 1334-38, p. 239.

⁷⁵ BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 100r.

⁷⁶ For more on this point, see the discussion below, p. 30.

⁷⁷ See below, pp. 114-16.

examples show, a donor's motives can only be really determined when combining the textual evidence with the contextual, as this thesis shall do.

Being focused on patronage, this study is concerned with a form of gift-giving. Donations to a church or religious order were gifts, whether they were intended as an act of charity or if the donor asked for masses for their soul in return. There is extensive research on the anthropology of gift-giving, some of which touches directly upon religious patronage.⁷⁸ However, as has been observed by John Sherry, much of the research on the anthropology of gifts uses a structural approach, focusing on the methods of gift-giving.⁷⁹ Models of gift-giving can be used to depict a process of exchange in great detail, as well as the feelings and motives of both the donor and the recipient.⁸⁰ Other research addresses the meaning of gift-giving as a whole, interpreting it as a reciprocal contract, and on the ways in which different contexts determine the gift and the method of giving.⁸¹ Though this thesis has great relevance to research into the motives of patronage of religious orders in general, illustrating the key motives behind donations to medieval religious orders, its main focus is to determine if the distinct differences in structure and purpose between military orders like the Hospitallers and non-military orders also led to differences in the motives of their respective patrons. Therefore, anthropological research on gift-giving does not serve as a theoretical framework for this thesis, though reference to relevant ideas and concepts such as the reciprocity of gift-giving has been made when appropriate.

As well as comparing the patronage of the Hospitallers to that of non-military orders, this thesis will also compare their experience to that of the other military orders in Britain and

⁷⁸ Mauss, *The Gift*; John F. Sherry, 'Gift Giving in Anthropological Perspective', *Journal of Consumer Research*, Vol. 10 (1983), pp. 157-68; Jonathan Parry, 'The Gift, the Indian Gift and the 'Indian Gift'', *Man*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (September 1986), pp. 453-73; Silber, 'Gift-giving in the great traditions', pp. 209-43; Silber, 'Beyond Purity and Danger', pp. 115-32. It should be noted that Mauss' *The Gift*, though still one of the key texts on gift giving, has been criticised for largely overlooking religious offerings: Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *The Culture of Giving: Informal Support and Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 6.

⁷⁹ Sherry, 'Gift Giving', p. 157.

⁸⁰ See Sherry, 'Gift Giving', p. 163 for an example of such a model.

⁸¹ Mauss, *The Gift*; Sherry, 'Gift Giving', pp. 160-62.

Ireland: the Templars, Lazarites, and the Hospital of St Thomas. It should be noted that the Templars in particular differed from the Hospitallers in terms of their organisation. The Hospitallers had begun as a solely charitable institution and their militarisation even triggered internal opposition in the late twelfth century, something which the Order's leadership only overcame by linking their military role to their charitable one and presenting it as an extension of the mercy they owed to the poor.⁸² The Templars, in contrast, had served a military role since their inception. Though both orders shared a tripartite structure of knights, chaplains, and sergeants, this last contingent was larger in the Temple than it was in the Hospital.⁸³ Their religious life also differed, with the Hospitallers following the liturgy of the Holy Sepulchre, the Templars following local liturgies.⁸⁴ In sum, 'although the two orders were superficially alike and were regarded by contemporaries, and by themselves, as sisterly competitors, they were in fact run somewhat differently'.⁸⁵ However, this external perception of the order would understandably play a greater role in determining a patron's motives than an internal organisation of which most donors would have had little knowledge. Whilst their innerworkings may have differed, comparisons in terms of patronage between the military orders are quite valid considering the similarities perceived by outsiders.

Sources

The majority of the sourcebase for the English *Langue* is scattered across multiple archives throughout the British Isles, largely as a consequence of the Reformation. In England and

⁸² Jonathan Riley-Smith, *The Crusades, Christianity, and Islam* (Chichester, 2008), pp. 22-23.

⁸³ Jonathan Riley-Smith, 'The Structures of the Orders of the Temple and the Hospital in c. 1291', in Susan Ridyard (ed.), *The Medieval Crusade* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 125.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 125. For a counterview, see: Alan Forey, 'Notes on Templar personnel and government at the turn of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries', *Journal of Medieval History*, 35:2 (2009), pp. 150-70. For a detailed comparison of the internal structures of the two orders, see: Jochen Burgdorf, *The Central Convent of Hospitallers and Templars: History, Organization and Personnel (1099/1120-1310)* (Leiden, 2008).

Wales, most of the Hospital's records appear to have passed to the purchasers of former Hospitaller estates after the *langue's* suppression in 1540. Some of the archive of Clerkenwell Priory is still extant, including the 1442 cartulary, three chapter-books, and a 1434 Latin 'chronicle' of Templar and Hospitaller patronage written by the Hospitaller John Stillingflete. The cartulary first surfaced in the possession of John Wiseman the younger in 1568, whose father, also called John, had purchased the Order's manor of Maplestead, Essex, in 1542.⁸⁶ This volume, along with its separated Cambridgeshire entries, a chapter-book of 1503-26, and Stillingflete's chronicle, were eventually acquired by Robert Cotton and now form part of the Cotton Collection in the British Library.⁸⁷ Fragments of two other cartularies probably held at Clerkenwell survive, a c. 1200 pastedown and a few c. 1300 folios, and have been published.⁸⁸

There are also a few significant survivals from the *langue's* preceptories. The cartulary of Hampshire's Godsfield and Baddesley Preceptory (compiled in 1397-98) is still extant.⁸⁹ Its post-Dissolution history is unknown until 1739, when it was owned by the dukes of Portland.⁹⁰ Buckland Preceptory, one of the Order's Somerset houses, also has a surviving cartulary (compiled after 1423).⁹¹ The history of the manuscript is largely unknown and is first recorded in the nineteenth or twentieth century, when it was given to the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society by the antiquarian Joshua Brooking Rowe (1837-1908). The exact date of this donation is unknown.⁹² Part of the archive for the Hospital's other Somerset house,

⁸⁶ Gervers, *The Hospitaller Cartulary in the British Library*, p. 27.

⁸⁷ BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi; BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, ff. 23r-148v; BL, Cotton MS Claudius E vi; BL, Cotton MS Tiberius E ix. It is unknown why the Cambridgeshire entries were separated from the 1442 cartulary, but this appears to have been done soon after its completion in 1447: Gervers, *The Hospitaller cartulary in the British Library*, pp. 9-10. The Cotton MS copy of Stillingflete was damaged in the Ashburnham House fire in 1731, but a second manuscript survives in the College of Arms and has been published: London, College of Arms, L17, ff. 141r-56v; Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6:2, pp. 831-39. Two other chapter-books are also extant, one for 1492-1500, the other for 1528-39: BL, Lansdowne MS 200; London, The National Archives [TNA], LR 2/62.

⁸⁸ Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Peterhouse MS 62 Pastedown; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Essex 11, ff. 1r-8v, both published as Gervers, *The Hospitaller cartulary in the British Library*, pp. 246-331.

⁸⁹ BL, Add. MS 70511, published as *Godsfield Cartulary*.

⁹⁰ *Godsfield Cartulary*, p. xviii.

⁹¹ Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD\SAS/C795/SX/133, published as *Buckland Cartulary*.

⁹² *Buckland Cartulary*, p. xvii.

Templecombe, is also extant. A 1396-97 inventory of charters, a 1505 rental, and a donation charter are now at Winchester College, transferred there when the College was granted Templecombe's former manor of Longload in 1551.⁹³ Some of the archive of Slebech Preceptory, the Order's Welsh house, survives amongst the records of the site's post-Reformation owners, the Barlows, Phillips', and de Rutzens of Slebech, now held at the National Library of Wales in Aberystwyth.⁹⁴ However, many of Slebech's manuscripts were reportedly burnt during the Civil War when a Colonel Horton occupied the site on behalf of parliament.⁹⁵ The central archive of the Priory of Ireland appears to have been almost entirely lost. Only their chapter book of 1326-49 is extant.⁹⁶ Part of the archive of the Scottish brethren survives, the bulk of which forms the Torphichen Writs, the records of the Lords Torphichen, descendants of James Sandilands, the last preceptor of Torphichen.⁹⁷ The rest of the Order's Scottish records are scattered across multiple collections.⁹⁸ Very little of this material dates to before the fifteenth century, suggesting that, as in Wales and Ireland, a great deal of the Order's archive must have been lost. There are also several accounts which survive for various Continental Hospitaller priories, yet not for the English or Irish priories, indicating even further archival losses.⁹⁹ There is no surviving account from either priory for the inquest of the Hospital

⁹³ Winchester, Winchester College Muniments [WC], MS 12843; WC, MS 12864; WC, MS 12842; *CPR*, Edward VI 1550-53, p. 160.

⁹⁴ Aberystwyth, NLW, GB 0210 SLEBECH.

⁹⁵ Richard Fenton, *Historical Tour Through Pembrokeshire* (London, 1811), p. 292. Fenton, one of the earliest researchers of Slebech's records, also damaged this archive, removing some of the manuscripts from the collection: B. G. Charles, 'The records of Slebech', *National Library of Wales Journal*, Vol. 5 (1948), pp. 179.

⁹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. B. 501, published as *RK*.

⁹⁷ Edinburgh, National Records of Scotland, GD 119.

⁹⁸ Small groups of Hospitaller and inherited Templar documents also survive in the episcopal register of Aberdeen: Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1845), ii, pp. 259-273. A mid-sixteenth-century rental of the Order's lands is also extant and published in *Scotland*, pp. 1-40. See *ibid.*, pp. lxxix-lxxxii for further discussion of the sourcebase for the Scottish Hospitallers.

⁹⁹ Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Western Accounts, 1373/4 and 1374/5', in Luttrell, ed., *The Hospitaller State on Rhodes and its Western Provinces, 1306-1462* (Aldershot, 1996), article XI. There even survives a set of weekly accounts for one Continental preceptory: Karl Borhardt, Damien Carraz and Alain Venturini (eds), *Comptes de la Commanderie de l'Hôpital de Manosque pour les années 1283 à 1290* (Paris, 2015).

ordered by Gregory XI in 1373, yet there are extant responses from the Continent, including the priory of Provence, and houses in the priory of Aquitaine and the priory of Venice.¹⁰⁰

As cartularies provide a significant proportion of this study's sourcebase, they are worthy of some further discussion. Cartularies were created primarily to preserve a record of a house's possessions, rights, and past transactions, providing a title deed in case of legal challenges. The Hospital's 1442 cartulary, for example, was presented in a court case in 1447 over the Order's rights to the church of Burnham in Kent.¹⁰¹ For many institutions, they also served an administrative role, acting as a search aid for their records.¹⁰² These volumes also acted as a form of memorialisation, preserving an institution's history and a record of its members and benefactors, and the charters within them could even be used as propaganda.¹⁰³ Cartularies were generally organised topographically according to how the properties were administered. The 1442 cartulary, for example, was divided into two portions, the *Prima camera* and *Secunda camera*, the latter of which contained almost all of the deeds relating to Essex. The only Essex deeds contained in the *Prima camera* were those for properties administered directly by Clerkenwell.¹⁰⁴

Rather than being copied from the original charters, as many cartularies were, the 1442 cartulary instead drew upon earlier cartularies.¹⁰⁵ It was probably for this reason that the

¹⁰⁰ Damien Carraz, 'Les enquêtes générales de la papauté sur l'ordre de l'Hôpital (1338 et 1373). Analyse compare dans le prieuré de Provence', in Thierry Pécout, *Quand gouverner c'est enquêter. Les pratiques politiques de l'enquête princière (Occident, XIIIe–XIVe siècles)*, actes du colloque international d'Aix-en-Provence et Marseille, 19–21 mars 2009 (Paris, 2010), pp. 508–31; Jean Glénisson, 'L'enquête pontificale de 1373 sur les possessions des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean-de-Jérusalem', *Bibliothèque de l'école des chartes*, 129:1 (1971), pp. 83–111; Francesco Tommasi and Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers of Rhodes and the papal inquest in the Diocese of Forli (1373)', *Mediterranea: Ricerche Storiche*, 9:26 (2012), pp. 559–76.

¹⁰¹ Gervers, *Hospitaller Cartulary*, p. 23, n. 33.

¹⁰² Gervers, 'The medieval cartulary tradition', p. 513.

¹⁰³ Damien Carraz, "'Segnoría', 'memoria', 'controversia': pragmatic literacy, archival memory, and conflicts in Provence (twelfth and thirteenth centuries)", in Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr (eds), *The Military Orders, vol. 6.2: Culture and Conflict in Western and Northern Europe* (Farnham, 2017), pp. 57–75; Karl Borchardt, 'Templar charters and charters for the Templars: self-promotion versus the image of the Order', in Karl Borchardt, Karoline Döring, Philippe Josserand, and Helen Nicholson (eds), *The Templars and their Sources* (London, 2017), pp. 49–63.

¹⁰⁴ Gervers, *Hospitaller Cartulary*, p. 11.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 34–35.

manuscript was used in court in 1447 rather than the original charters, which would have carried greater legal weight. The original documents no longer survived. This was also the case with the Godsfield cartulary, which contains many confirmations to the Order or leases by the brethren, but not the original title deed by which they first acquired these properties.¹⁰⁶ It is unclear whether the Buckland cartulary was copied from an earlier volume or directly from the original charters, but the Godsfield cartulary does appear to be based on a previous manuscript, as several charters were copied with a witness clause, but without witness names.¹⁰⁷ Without the originals, it is impossible to determine if any errors occurred in the copying of these volumes or if they were edited, as has been found with some of the charters from the Templars of Provence.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, the 1442 cartulary contains records from a great many of the Order's preceptories, but also includes major omissions, with no charters from Wales, northern England, or the south-west.

The next major source for the English *Langue* is the archive of the Hospitallers' Convent on Rhodes and Malta, now held in Valletta at the National Library of Malta. The archive's material relating to the Scottish brethren has been calendared, but otherwise the records of the English *Langue* held on Malta are largely unpublished.¹⁰⁹ The Order's archive is divided into seventeen classes, though only two contain much information for the period of this study. The first of these are the deliberations of the *langues*, a collection of 157 documents dating from 1253 to 1798. Six of these manuscripts are classified under the English *Langue*, but only one falls within the scope of this thesis: the 1338 survey of the Priory of England's properties, personnel, and finances.¹¹⁰ As the survey is a key source for the *langue* in this period, it deserves some further discussion. The document was compiled in response to

¹⁰⁶ *Godsfield*, pp. xv-xvi.

¹⁰⁷ For example: *ibid.*, nos. 98-101.

¹⁰⁸ Michael Peixoto, 'Copies and cartularies: modernizing Templar documents in mid-thirteenth-century Champagne', in Borchardt *et al.*, *The Templars and their Sources*, pp. 64-77.

¹⁰⁹ *Scotland*, pp. 158-191.

¹¹⁰ NLM, AOM 2191, published as Larking and Kemble, *1338*.

Benedict XII's order earlier that year that an investigation be made of the Hospital's properties, asking that a group of brethren in each priory record the property, finances, and staff of each house.¹¹¹ He had previously requested similar surveys of the Cistercians and Benedictines.¹¹² It is unclear how many priories took part, as only the surveys for England and Provence survive.¹¹³ It is unknown how exactly the report for England was compiled. It may have been the result of visits to each by assessors or the compilation of individual inventories sent by the houses. The Provence survey was compiled by visitation, but the visitors often spoke to only some of the brethren at each house.¹¹⁴

Though containing a great deal of information, the 1338 survey of the priory of England must be used with caution. Several of the figures have been argued to be estimates, such as the income from dovecotes, with several preceptories from Wiltshire to Norfolk all giving a value of 6 s. or 6 s. 8 d.¹¹⁵ Some property and income is even omitted, such as the Order's hospital in Hereford, perhaps because it provided no income. The Hospital's participation in the wool trade is almost entirely omitted, appearing only in the entry for their *camera* at Hampton, Middlesex.¹¹⁶ It is very unlikely that no other Hospitaller estates participated in the wool trade, particularly as several preceptories were in wool producing regions, with three complaining that Edward III's new custom on wool had caused a drop in local confraternity donations.¹¹⁷ Certainly, the preceptory of Baddesley and Godsfield, one of the complainants in 1338, had sheep by the fifteenth century. In the 1404 rental of Baddesley, the services owed by the Order's tenant John Tailor included shearing sheep.¹¹⁸ It is probable that the survey intentionally underplayed the priory's income and exaggerated its expenses in an attempt to avoid greater

¹¹¹ Carraz, 'Les enquêtes générales', p. 512.

¹¹² Ibid., p. 511.

¹¹³ Benoît Beaucage (ed.), *Visites générales des commanderies de l'ordre des Hospitaliers dépendantes du Grand Prieuré de Saint Gilles (1338)* (Aix-en-Provence, 1982).

¹¹⁴ Carraz, 'Les enquêtes générales', p. 515.

¹¹⁵ Majoros, 'The Function of Hospitaller Houses', p. 52; 1338, pp. 7, 81.

¹¹⁶ 1338, p. 127.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 4, 21, 118.

¹¹⁸ *Godsfield Cartulary*, no. 255.

financial demands from the papacy.¹¹⁹ However, it remains one of the most extensive sources for the priory's holdings, which can be used to map the relationship between a donor and their proximity to the Order's estates, and it also provides an extensive list of its members, revealing several family ties between the brethren and their patrons.

The remaining five manuscripts at Valleta assigned to the English *Langue* either deal with the early modern period or do not relate to the *langue* at all.¹²⁰ The second relevant class is that of the *Libri Bullarum*, collections of bulls issued by the grandmasters. These survive from the mid-fourteenth century onwards and contain some material relating to the *langue*, mostly records of appointments to preceptories or the payment of responsions.¹²¹ The rest of the archive is either too late for the period 1291 to 1400, like the *Libri Conciliorum* (1459-1798), or makes little reference to the English *Langue*.¹²²

The most important external sources for the Order in Britain and Ireland are English governmental records like the patent, charter, and close rolls, which record a wide range of interactions with the Hospitallers, including donations, safe-conducts, summons to parliament, and appointments to royal office.¹²³ The brethren can also be found in the Irish chancery rolls.¹²⁴ The Hospitallers rarely appeared in Scottish royal sources in this period, only taking

¹¹⁹ For further discussion of the limitations of the 1338 survey, see Majoros, 'The Function of Hospitaller Houses', pp. 52-55.

¹²⁰ Valletta, National Library of Malta [NLM], AOM 2192 is a sixteenth-century chapter-book of the *langue*'s brethren residing at the convent and has been published as Hannibal Scicluna (ed.), *The Book of Deliberations of the Venerable Tongue of England: 1523-1567* (Malta, 1949). A further manuscript is only eight folios long, the first two of which are responson accounts from the *langue*'s preceptories and the rest are indices to the *langue*'s appearances in other manuscripts in the archive: AOM 2193. AOM 2194 contains documents relating to John Dodsworth, British Consul to Malta in the Seven Years War. AOM 2195 is an eighteenth century manuscript with material for the Anglo-Bavarian *Langue* and the Priory of Poland and Lithuania. The last manuscript, AOM 2196, actually relates to the Priory of Russia.

¹²¹ Those fourteenth-century volumes with material for the English *Langue* are: NLM, AOM 316, ff. 198r-202r; AOM 317, ff. 142r-52r; AOM 318, ff. 131r, 141r; AOM 319, ff. 175r-80v; AOM 321, ff. 145r-47v; AOM 322, ff. 188r-89r; AOM 323, ff. 143r-47v; AOM 324, ff. 105r-108v; AOM 325, f. 122r; AOM 326, f. 108r; AOM 328, f. 120r; AOM 329, ff. 90r-91r; AOM 330, ff. 73-80r. The contents page for AOM 327 lists ff. 103-108 under the Priory of England, but the priory is entirely absent from this volume and those pages instead relate to the Order's German, Bohemian, and Hungarian branch.

¹²² The *Libri Conciliorum* are NLM, AOM 73-254. The proceedings for several pre-1400 chapter-generals survive but contain no evidence of donations to the English *Langue*: NLM, AOM 280; AOM 281.

¹²³ *CPR*; *CChR*; *CCR*; *CFR*.

¹²⁴ E. Tresham (ed.), *Rotulorum Patentium et Clausarum Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium, Vol. I. Pars. I. Henry II – Henry VII* (Dublin, 1828), p. 21b.

on a role as royal servants in the late fifteenth century.¹²⁵ Bishops' registers are also an important non-Hospitaller source. Despite being an exempt order, the Hospital still appears in these registers, usually when presenting to a benefice.

Amongst these various records, the greatest sources for donations are the *langue's* cartularies from which are drawn seventy-four of the grants discussed in this thesis. Others have been found in Templecombe's inventory of charters and John Stillingflete's chronicle, though the bulk of the donations recorded in each source relate to the period before 1291, only seven in the former and just one in the latter date from 1291 or later. The *Langue's* other main records do not contain any grants. The 1338 survey of the Priory of England's lands and finances does note payments of the *confraria*, the payment owed by the Order's associate members, but without the names of these *confratres* or the figures for *confraria* payments in other years from 1291 to 1400 to compare with, they can reveal little about the motives of the Order's patrons. Only three donations have been found amongst the records of the Order in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, probably due to archival losses.¹²⁶

Only one grant survives at the main Hospitaller archive at Valletta, an undated gift of money for a chantry, referenced in a magistral bull of 1400.¹²⁷ This scarcity of donations amongst the Convent's records is unsurprising. There was little reason for the record of grants to each priory to be held abroad. The convent was most concerned with the total responsions each priory would pay, it did not need to know every single land transaction undertaken by its brethren throughout Europe. There was therefore no need for donations to be held or copied at Rhodes and Malta. These documents were much more useful to their respective priory, which might have need of them as a title deed to prove their right to the property.

¹²⁵ For a discussion of the career of the brethren as Scottish royal servants, and their late arrival to the role, see: Rory MacLellan, "Lord Sanct Johnis": William Knollis and the Transformation of the Scottish Hospitallers', *Whispering Gallery*, Vol. 131 (Jun. 2016), pp. 22-27.

¹²⁶ NLW, GB 0210 SLEBECH, 283; NRS, GD 119/3, published in *Scotland*, no. 5; *RK*, p. 13.

¹²⁷ NLM, AOM 330, f. 75v.

A little over half of the donations to the *langue* from 1291-1400 can be found in non-Hospitaller sources. A few individual grants survive as single-sheet manuscripts in various archives, probably as copies retained by the donors.¹²⁸ Some wills also contain bequests to the Order, with the Court of Husting, the court of the City of London, providing most of these.¹²⁹ Bishop's registers mention five donations in this period.¹³⁰ The sixty-one remaining grants survive in English royal records. Most of these are mortmain licences in the patent rolls, but the charter, close, and fine rolls and Irish chancery sometimes record royal grants to the Order. A few further grants can be found in royal inquisitions and the Register of the Black Prince.¹³¹ There are some issues with using these records. The mortmain licences found in the patent rolls do not preserve the original text of the grant, the witnesses, or even the date. Because of this, these donations can only be dated to the *terminus ante quem* provided by the licence and it is also impossible to analyse the role that witness networks may have played in these grants. However, most of the 160 donations that this thesis is concerned with are dated within the text and many do have a surviving witness list. For those which are undated, the timeframe given in the relevant published edition has been used, except when there is evidence to suggest a different date.

¹²⁸ Berkeley, Berkeley Castle Muniments [BCM], A1/24/16; Bodleian, MS. ch. misc. a, f. 8; Maidstone, Kent History and Library Centre [KHLIC], U897/T4; Nottingham, University of Nottingham Special Collections [UONSC], Mi D 1287; SHT, D\B\AX/9/13/2.

¹²⁹ Reginald R. Sharpe (ed.), *Calendar of wills proved and enrolled in the Court of Husting, London, A.D. 1258-A.D. 1688, preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London, at the Guildhall.*, two vols (London, 1889-90).

¹³⁰ William Brown and A. Hamilton Thompson (eds), *The Register of William Greenfield Lord Archbishop of York 1306-1315*, 5 vols (London, 1931-40), iv, pp. 70-71; Cecil Deedes (ed.), *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara Episcopi Wyntoniensis A. D. MCCLXXXII-MCCCIV*, 2 vols (London, 1924), i, pp. 161-62, 170; R. C. Fowler (ed.), *Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Segrave, Richardi Newport, et Stephani Gravesend, Episcoporum Londoniensium, A.D. MCCCIV – MCCCXXXVIII* (London, 1911), pp. 108-109; M. J. McEnery and Raymond Refaüssé (eds), *Christ Church Deeds* (Dublin, 2001), p. 73.

¹³¹ J. E. E. S. Sharp and A. E. Stamp, 'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward II, File 29', in *Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem: Volume 5, Edward II* (London, 1908), pp. 213-22. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol5/pp213-222> [accessed 29 November 2017]; E. A. Fry (ed.), 'Addenda', in *Abstracts of Inquisitiones Post Mortem For the City of London: Part 3* (London, 1908), pp. 318-48. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/abstract/no3/pp318-348> [accessed 29 November 2017]; TNA, C 143/25/18; C 143/37/2; C 143/76/21; C 143/346/6; Michael Dawes (ed.), *Register of Edward, the Black Prince, Preserved in the Public Record Office*, 4 vols (London, 1930-33), iv, p. 446.

The majority of grants to the English *Langue* from 1291 to 1400 survive as charters, the wording of which was likely composed by scribes rather than the patrons themselves, many of whom would have lacked the necessary literacy to write a charter. This has been raised as an issue affecting the usefulness of charters in determining donor motives, with any motive stated in the charter possibly being the opinion of the scribe, not the grantor.¹³² Yet such an objection can be addressed. As noted above, this study does not rely solely on charter evidence because the original text of many donations no longer survives. Instead of only considering the text of a grant, the wider context of the donation and the donor will also be examined. If the reason given in the text was an invention of the scribe, then the contextual evidence should illuminate this.

Also, some grants are so specific that the stated motive is likely to have been genuine. Before 1333 Thomas West gave the Hospitallers a messuage and a virgate of land at Ansty in Wiltshire to support a chaplain to celebrate at Swalcliffe, Oxfordshire, for the souls of Thomas de Hannebere and Olive his wife.¹³³ It seems unlikely that such a precise request was invented by the scribe; it almost certainly came from Thomas himself. Even a charter's *pro anima* clause – often discounted as routine and formulaic – has been shown to have often been an intentional choice on the part of the donor.¹³⁴ If the motive given in some of these charters does indeed represent the scribe's interpretation of the gift, it is doubtful that a patron would agree to part with their valuable property if they did not accept the given reason.¹³⁵

It is clear that many charters and other sources that may have recorded donations, such as the accounts of 1373 and the 1338 of survey of the priory of Ireland, if one was made, have been lost. The Peasants' Revolt of 1381 appears to have destroyed much of the Order's charters

¹³² Nicholson, *Images of the Military Orders*, p. 8.

¹³³ *CPR*, Edward III 1330-34, p. 385.

¹³⁴ See discussion below, pp. 193-94.

¹³⁵ Jochen Schenk, *Templar Families: Landowning families and the Order of the Temple in France, c. 1120-1307* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 19.

for Cambridgeshire.¹³⁶ The Hospital's possessions in northern England are largely absent from the 1442 cartulary, and there are no separate cartularies surviving for them as they do for some of the other houses missing from 1442, such as the preceptory of Godsfield and Baddesley and the priory of Minchin Buckland. Many preceptory archives were probably lost or scattered when the houses passed to crown and then private ownership in the Dissolution, such as the transfer of part of Templecombe's archive to Winchester College when Edward VI granted the school the preceptory's former *membrum* of Longload. This thesis' conclusions rely upon the surviving sourcebase being a relatively representative sample of donors and donations to the Order in this period. It is possible that these archival losses may skew the findings, however, barring new discoveries, these are all the donations that can be traced for this period and are a much larger sourcebase of donations than those surviving for many other houses. For example, Christ Church, Dublin, received only three grants between 1291 and 1400, all from the family of the earl of Kildare.¹³⁷ St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, received only one, Dunbrody Abbey two, and God's House, Southampton, was given seven.¹³⁸

Furthermore, the damage of 1381 and the Reformation is not unique to Hospitaller archival survival, but affected most monastic sourcebases: 'In very many cases, little or no literary material has survived the inroads of time'.¹³⁹ Just one cartulary for a northern English nunnery survives, that of Nunkeeling, Yorkshire, and only in a manuscript damaged in the Cotton fire of 1731.¹⁴⁰ The archives of the abbey of Bury St Edmunds were sacked in 1327 and 1381. John of Lakenheath, who tried to reorganise the remaining records and repair the damage after this first attack, claimed that such were the losses 'there hardly remained a meagre grain

¹³⁶ See below, pp. 178-79.

¹³⁷ Hugh J. Lawlor, 'A Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus of Christ Church, Dublin', *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy: Archaeology, Culture, History, Literature*, Vol. 27 (1908/9), nos 26-28.

¹³⁸ Gilbert, *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, i, nos xiii, ii, nos xix, xxxii; J. M. Kaye (ed.), *The Cartulary of God's House, Southampton* (Southampton, 1976), i, nos 10, 25, 30-31, 155, 181, 191.

¹³⁹ Rodney M. Thomson (ed.), *The Archives of Bury St Edmunds* (Woodbridge, 1980), p. 1.

¹⁴⁰ Janet Burton, 'Looking for Medieval Nuns', in Janet Burton and Karen Stöber (eds), *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles in the Later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, 2008), p. 113.

or two from such an abundant harvest left behind by the reapers'.¹⁴¹ Though the cartulary of Chatteris Abbey survives, none of the original charters copied into it do. The rest of the abbey's archive was probably lost in the Dissolution.¹⁴²

Grants, 1291 to 1400

These 160 donations range from grants of entire manors and hundreds of acres of land to gifts of just a halfpenny of annual rent. The Hospitallers appealed to all levels of society across Britain and Ireland in this period. Of those patrons whose background is known, there were six royal donors, three nobles, one archbishop, three bishops, at least eighteen knights and gentry, a prior, four chaplains, one vicar, four clerks, a bailiff, eight burghers, and one shepherd. Of the 137 donors, seventeen (12.4 per cent) were women.¹⁴³ Those grants whose location can be determined and those donors whose origins or residence can be traced are mapped and discussed in Chapter Four. Most donations to the Order related to England, only twelve were in Ireland, three in Scotland, and six in Wales. This disparity can partly be explained as a result of England's greater wealth increasing the potential pool of donations; the loss of archival sources in Scotland and Ireland in particular, the negative reception the Order received from many Welsh and Irish, and the dramatic fall in grants from Scots, after the war with England broke out in 1296, are also important factors to consider.¹⁴⁴

Those donations which can be dated to a single year or *circa* a single year have been plotted in a timeline in Chapter One.¹⁴⁵ Seventy per cent of donations can be dated to the period 1291-1350 and sixty-one per cent of those came before 1315. Several factors played a role in

¹⁴¹ Thomson, *Archives of Bury St Edmunds*, p. 23.

¹⁴² Claire Breay (ed.), *The Cartulary of Chatteris Abbey* (Woodbridge, 1999), p. 131.

¹⁴³ For comparison, from 1350-1540, twenty per cent of the gentry and freemen who left bequests to nunneries in the diocese of Norwich were women: Oliva, *The Convent and the Community*, p. 176, Table 14.

¹⁴⁴ The Order's patronage and reception in these three countries is the focus of Chapter Two.

¹⁴⁵ See below, p. 49.

this drop in donations later in the fourteenth century. Firstly, England's wars with France from 1337 and recurring conflicts with Scotland, Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland in 1315-18, a cooling climate, the Great Famine of 1315-17, the Black Death from 1346-51, and unrest in the Scottish Highlands in the 1380s and 1390s all caused economic and population damage to Britain and Ireland, draining the pool of potential donations, particularly in the second half of the century.¹⁴⁶ Also, changing fashions of patronage in the late medieval period saw different forms of religious patronage, like chantry chapels and collegiate churches, supplant old orders like the Hospitallers.¹⁴⁷ Finally, since 1279, donations in England, Ireland, and Wales had been curtailed by the Statute of Mortmain. This statute, enacted in November 1279, prohibited the granting of land and property if it would pass into mortmain, referring to the tenure of corporations or religious institutions. A monastery's overlord could not claim the wardship of an underage heir, charge an escheat should there be no heirs, or claim a relief upon a tenant succeeding to the property. Such landlords were not individuals but corporations and so could

¹⁴⁶ For an overview of the effects of these events on the economy and population of Britain and Ireland, see Michael Brown, *Disunited Kingdoms: People and Politics in the British Isles 1280-1460* (Harlow, 2013), pp. 121-38. For Bruce's invasion of Ireland, see: James Lydon, 'The Impact of the Bruce Invasion, 1315-27', in Art Cosgrove (ed.), *A New History of Ireland: Volume II, Medieval Ireland 1169-1534* (Oxford, 2008), pp. 275-302. In Hampshire, Essex, and Halesowen, Worcestershire, there was ten to fifteen per cent drop in population from 1316-8, likely due to the famine: William Chester Jordan, *The Great Famine: Northern Europe in the Early Fourteenth Century* (Chichester, 1996), p. 118. The Black Death caused even greater economic damage. In just 1348-9, seventy-six per cent of the 768 known chief tenants in eleven Hampshire manors died: Paula Arthur, 'The Black Death and Mortality: A Reassessment', Chris Given-Wilson and Nigel Saul (eds), *Fourteenth Century England VI* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 61. Scotland also suffered major economic losses and a drop in population due to these two crises, as well as further famine in the 1330s and plague in 1362: Katie Stevenson, *Power and Propaganda: Scotland 1306-1488* (Edinburgh, 2014), pp. 165-71. The English colony in Ireland lost between twenty-five to thirty-five per cent of its population to the Black Death, damage that was exacerbated by further outbreaks of plague in 1357, 1361, 1370, 1373, 1382, and 1384: Kevin Down, 'Colonial Society and Economy', in Cosgrove, *Medieval Ireland*, pp. 449-50. In Wales the Great Famine, coupled with a rebellion in 1316, greatly affected the country's Cistercian abbeys, with Neath, Llantarnam, and Aberconwy losing tenants and suffering decreased production. In north Wales the crown's revenues fell by thirty per cent: Jordan, *The Great Famine*, pp. 84-85.

¹⁴⁷ The proportion of monastic houses in England and Wales whose patronage was held by laymen declined greatly in the late medieval period, dropping from more than a third from c. 1300 to the Dissolution: Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons*, p. 28, Figure 1.1. In the late medieval period, collegiate churches and chantries were particularly popular amongst Scottish and English knights: Katie Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland, 1424-1513* (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 119-30; David Crouch, *The Image of Aristocracy in Britain, 1000-1300* (Hoboken, 2005), pp. 240-44.

not die, hence mortmain, ‘dead hand’.¹⁴⁸ The statute did not end religious patronage. In May 1280 the first mortmain licence was granted, a charter giving the king’s permission for a religious house to acquire land, often made in return for a fee to the crown.¹⁴⁹ However, considering the cost and bureaucracy of securing such permission, the statute did serve to limit donations. Mortmain legislation has even been blamed for all but terminating the patronage of the Hospitallers, something that was clearly not the case, as these 160 grants show.¹⁵⁰ Admittedly grants did fall, but patronage of the Order did not cease entirely or even nearly.

It is likely that petitions and public displays were the main methods by which the *langue* secured these donations. The Order had the right, granted by Innocent II, to enter every parish church once a year to ask for alms.¹⁵¹ Two fifteenth-century scripts used for such visits survive, though these speeches are aimed at recruiting for the Order’s confraternity, whose members made smaller annual payments, often in cash.¹⁵² They do not call for the one-off donations of rights and property that this study focuses on. However, a few charters do claim that their donor made their grant at the instance of one of the brethren.¹⁵³ These may represent the results of such annual visits. Having a captive audience for the Order’s clerks to extoll the crusade or the privileges of confraternity, as these two surviving appeals do, would likely go a long way to raising awareness of the Hospitallers and eliciting donations.¹⁵⁴ Processions may have also played a role in encouraging patronage. There is no record of any prominent displays by the

¹⁴⁸ The standard study is Sandra Raban, *Mortmain Legislation and the English Church 1279-1500* (Cambridge, 1982). The Statute was introduced to Ireland later than England, but was enforced there by 1301: *ibid.*, p. 29, n. 1. The Scottish crown does not appear to have enacted any mortmain legislation.

¹⁴⁹ *CPR*, Edward I 1272-81, p. 372.

¹⁵⁰ Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 48.

¹⁵¹ Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus*, pp. 376-78.

¹⁵² ‘exhort ther parochians to be bredern and sustern of the frary of Saint John and to give ther subsidie therto ones in the yere as is accustomed’: BL, Sloane Ch. xxxii, 15, 27. For a discussion of the Order’s confraternity in Britain and Ireland, see: O’Malley, *English Langue*, pp. 94-98.

¹⁵³ See below, pp. 163-67.

¹⁵⁴ The captivity of the audience may have been sometimes more literal than figurative. A late fourteenth-century Wycliffite tract complained that the Order’s clerks would prevent services from starting until they had first proclaimed their privileges and called for alms: *Remonstrance against Romish corruptions in the Church*, ed. Josiah Forshall (London, 1851), pp. 59-60. This text was ascribed by its editor to John Purvey (d. 1414), a Lollard, but there is no evidence to support this attribution: Anne Hudson, ‘John Purvey: A Reconsideration of the Evidence for His Life and Writings’, *Viator*, vol. 12 (1981), pp. 373-75.

langue's brethren in the fourteenth century, but the chronicler Matthew Paris recorded the very public journey of a band of Hospitallers in 1237:

The Hospitallers' brother Prior Theodoric [de Nussa], a most refined knight of the German nation, was sent to the Holy Land along with the knights, a mercenary company (*familia stipendiaria*), and no small amount of treasure. After arranging all that they had to, they proceeded elegantly from their house of Clerkenwell, which is in London, through the middle of the city and towards the bridge, with about thirty shields displayed, spears lifted, and their banner before them, in order to offer a blessing to all those watching. The brothers, with heads bowed and hoods lowered, commended themselves to everyone's prayers.¹⁵⁵

The Prior had led his fully-armed men on an eye-catching procession through the centre of London *en route* to the crusade, an intentional choice that highlighted the Order and its work in the East. This may have been intended as a chivalric display, but Theodoric was surely well-aware of what an armed procession of crusaders passing through the city and asking for prayers would do for the Hospital's image. The Order may have conducted a similar, though unrecorded, procession in 1397 when Prior Walter Grendon took fifty knights with him to Rhodes.¹⁵⁶ Acts like these drew attention to the Order and directly tied it to the crusade. It can be expected that at least one of the intended outcomes was encouraging patronage.¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁵ Matthew Paris, *Chronica majora*, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series 57, 7 vols (London, 1872-84), iii, p. 406.

¹⁵⁶ Timothy Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade: The English Experience in the Fourteenth Century* (Woodbridge, 2013), p. 49.

¹⁵⁷ However, the role of crusading in motivating Hospitaller patronage was slight, at least in the period 1291-1400 and possibly earlier: see below, pp. 42-52.

Thesis structure

Each chapter of this thesis examines a particular factor or factors that may have played a role in motivating patrons of the Hospitallers. Chapter One discusses the impact of the Order's participation in crusading, the hospitality it provided, and the knightly status of the brethren. The influence of each of these three aspects is examined and compared to the patronage of other military orders and to that of non-military orders. This chapter argues that none of these factors, each a defining trait of the Hospitallers, played any significant part in motivating donations. Only a fraction of grants were given by crusaders, only five of the total 160 grants even reference the crusade or the Holy Land, and very little correlation was found between crusade campaigns or preaching and increases in donations to the Hospitallers. No grants to the Order in this period directly referred to the hospitality of the brethren, yet this was a common feature in the patronage of hospitals and many other religious houses. Finally, the knightly status of the brethren did not attract special patronage from knights and nobles: the Order enjoyed similar levels of support from elite donors as any non-military house did. In light of these findings, the remaining chapters address what did in fact motivate patrons of the Hospital.

Chapter Two examines the impact of the Order's administrative and military service for the English Crown, finding that this drove away almost all Gaelic Irish patronage and weakened Scottish and Welsh support for the brethren. This conclusion is reached through the first comparative analysis of depictions of the Hospitallers in Gaelic Irish, Scottish, and Welsh literary and narrative sources, their patronage in each country from the twelfth century up to 1400, the manner of their arrival, and their history of royal service. These experiences are then compared to those of both other military orders and to non-military orders. In this chapter it is argued that the Hospital's military service was the primary factor in determining the nature of

their reception in each of these three countries. Ireland, where the brethren were most militarily active, saw the lowest levels of non-Anglo-French patronage. In Scotland, the Order was welcomed until it sided with Edward I in the First War of Independence (1296-1328), after which Scottish grants all but ceased. The secondary factor was the *manner* of the Order's introduction to each country. The brethren were introduced to Scotland by the Scottish crown and benefitted from the prestige concomitant with a royal sponsor. In Wales they arrived years after the initial Anglo-Norman conquests of the late eleventh and early-twelfth centuries, giving the Hospitallers a chronological distance that no doubt eased their arrival amongst the Welsh. In contrast, from the outset of their arrival in Ireland, the Hospitallers were closely associated with the Anglo-Norman invaders of 1170, counting members of the invasion amongst their leadership and patrons, this did not endear them to potential Gaelic Irish donors. In Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, there were some differences between the experiences of the Hospitallers and those of non-military orders. However, these countries accounted for only less than ten per cent of the *langue's* donors from 1291 to 1400.

Chapter Three looks at the role that professional relationships played in patronage, finding that many donations came from the Order's employees and financiers or the English Crown and were linked to the royal military and administrative service of the brethren. This situation is then compared to the patronage of other military orders and non-military orders, finding a very similar case for both groups, except for the impact of royal service, which played a greater role in donations to the Hospitallers than it did for their non-military counterparts. Being military, the Hospital was a more versatile crown servant and, due to its centralisation, its prior could bring much greater resources to bear in support of a monarch than any individual religious house could.

Chapter Four examines the importance of localism by providing the first geographical survey of Hospitaller patronage throughout the British Isles. By mapping the location of

granted property and the origins or residences of donors against Hospitaller estates, it is shown that over three quarters of properties fell within a ten-mile radius of such an estate and almost eighty per cent of donors were born or lived within such a radius. Grants from 1291 to 1400 made to a range of non-military houses are also mapped and compared to these findings, providing the first geographical survey for these houses as well. Again, a similar situation is found to pertain to these orders and their donors as that found for the Hospitallers: that is, that localism played a major role in determining patronage, with most patrons living near to their chosen religious house. The maps featured in this chapter will be of particular use for scholars of the military orders, monasticism, and patronage.

The final chapter addresses the role that personal relationships and religious services played in motivating patronage, particularly the importance of family ties to the Hospitallers, shared witness networks, and soliciting by the Order's brethren. It argues that family ties were one of the major factors that led to donations, with a third of grants coming from a quarter of patrons who had a familial link to the Hospital. The chance of religious intercession was also important, accounting for a quarter of donations and just under a quarter of patrons. As in earlier chapters, these results are compared to the patronage of other orders, both military and non-military, finding that they mirror the experiences of both groups.

A further contribution made by this thesis is the calendar of grants made to the English *Langue* of the Hospitallers from 1291 to 1400.¹⁵⁸ As these donations are scattered across a wide range of published and unpublished sources, this calendar is an invaluable source for scholars of the military orders, late medieval religion, and late medieval Britain and Ireland.

Instead of distinctive factors like crusading, hospitality, and knightly status leading to patronage, this thesis will demonstrate that most donors were motivated by localism and family ties to the Order, mirroring the case of non-military orders. In respect of their patronage, the

¹⁵⁸ See Appendix I, pp. 191-246.

Hospitallers of late medieval Britain and Ireland were valued for the same reasons and treated in the same manner as their non-military counterparts, supporting the case for reintegrating the brethren into studies of medieval religious history.

Chapter One: Crusading, Chivalry, Hospitality, and Patronage

Crusading

‘Soverayne all holy church is being to mayntene all Religious men and to open ther herts of pittty unto them. Specially the noble ordoure and Religion of Saint John Jerusalem knyghts of throds [Rhodes] who not only spare labours nor spendynge of there temporall goods but also be redy to spende there blode and lyf ayenst turk sarazins and other Infidelis for the defence and augmentation of cristen faith and of the city castles and ilye of throdys and of gret neumbre of cristen people there inhabitt, under the protecton... of the said noble religion of saint John.’¹

So begins a late-fifteenth century appeal, written for a Hospitaller clerk to preach in church. This document places the Order at the forefront of the crusade, situating the brethren on a Rhodes lying on the frontier of Christendom and surrounded by heathen enemies. Crusading and patronage are directly linked in the text, with the writer claiming that the Order’s holy war is a ‘gret cause to move all cristen people to help the said noble religion and knyghts of throds and also to move and exorte all curats havynge care of mannes souls to exhort the parochians to be... of the frary of Saint John and to give ther subsidie therto ones in the yere’. This sermon uses the Order’s crusading as part of a call to pay the ‘frary’, or *confraria*, the voluntary yearly payment for membership of the Hospitallers’ confraternity.

¹ BL, Sloane Ch. xxxii, 15.

The military orders were indeed intimately tied to the crusade.² The three largest orders, the Hospitallers, Templars, and Teutonic Knights, were all founded in Jerusalem. Each fought to defend and expand the Crusader Kingdoms of the Latin East, though by the mid-thirteenth century the Teutonic Order had shifted its attention northward, establishing its own crusader state in the Baltic.³ By the early thirteenth century, four such military orders were established in Britain and Ireland: the Hospitallers, the Templars, the Lazarites, and the Hospital of St Thomas of Acre. Yet by 1312, the Hospitallers were the only ones of these still fighting in the East. The Templars had been arrested on charges of heresy five years earlier and, on 22 March 1312, were suppressed by Pope Clement V's bull *Vox in excelso*.⁴ The Hospital of St Thomas and the Lazarites had failed to recover their military capabilities after the loss of the Holy Land in 1291. By the late fourteenth century the Order of St Thomas had fully abandoned its military role and instead restricted itself to hospitaller work, as had the Order of St Lazarus.⁵ The Teutonic Knights, the third great military order after the Templars and Hospitallers, had no presence in Britain or Ireland.⁶ Donating to the English *Langue* of the Hospitallers would seem an obvious choice for a fourteenth-century patron residing in the British Isles who wished to support crusading. Making a donation was safer and cheaper than taking the cross oneself and, unlike other military orders, the Hospital was actively fighting in the East and doing so

² However, as their brethren did not take crusade vows they were not technically crusaders, despite their participation in Christian holy war.

³ For the Order in the Levant, see: Nicholas Morton, *The Teutonic Knights in the Holy Land* (Woodbridge, 2009). For the Baltic crusades and the Teutonic Order-state, see: Christiansen, *The Northern Crusades*.

⁴ For an account of the Templar trials, see: Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars* (Cambridge, 1978). For analysis of various aspects of the trials, see: Jochen Burgdorf, Paul F. Crawford, Helen J. Nicholson (eds), *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307-1314)* (Abingdon, 2010). For a discussion of *Vox in excelso*, see: Anne Gilmour-Bryson, "'Vox in excelso" Deconstructed. Exactly What Did Clement V Say?', in Nicholson, *On the Margins of Crusading*, pp. 75-88.

⁵ Forey, 'Order of St Thomas of Acre', pp. 499-500; Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 21.

⁶ However, there were a number of English and Scots nobles who joined the Teutonic Order's Baltic campaigns in the late medieval period, the future Henry IV of England among them: Alan Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades* (Edinburgh, 1985), pp. 84-88; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 72-97. With no outposts of the Teutonic Knights in Britain or Ireland, knowledge of the Order's activities was presumably conveyed via Scotland and England's trade links with the Teutonic Knights and other Baltic powers. From the late fourteenth century the Order had agents resident in Edinburgh and Linlithgow tasked with selling goods to the Scots: Ranald Nicholson, *Scotland: the Later Middle Ages* (Edinburgh, 1974), p. 266; Th. A. Fischer, *The Scots in Germany* (Edinburgh, 1902), p. 9.

successfully, achieving several victories.⁷ With crusading a major motivator of donations to the Hospitallers, as has been widely assumed, scholarship's division of the military and non-military orders, orders that did not militarily participate in the crusade, would appear justified.⁸ Yet closer examination shows that this was not the case at all, demonstrating that patronage of these orders was more alike than might be expected, considering their surface differences.

John Walker's study of Templar and Lazarite patronage in England found that crusading accounted for very few donations: only thirty-six of over 800 Templar donors and just ten to fourteen of Lazarite patrons out of 200 were known crusaders.⁹ About five per cent of the donors to each order went on crusade, a figure equal to the rough average of crusade participation across Western Europe.¹⁰ The case is little different for the late-medieval Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland. Of the 160 grants to the English *Langue* from 1291 and 1400, only six donations from five donors reference crusading, suggesting that this was a rare motive of patronage, despite how closely the Hospital was intertwined with holy war.

The first of these grants was a confirmation by Edward I of Thomas Beck, bishop of St David's 1290 grant to the Hospitallers of the Carmarthenshire churches of Llanarthney and Llansteffan. Edward I's confirmation is undated, surviving only in a 1328 confirmation by Edward III, but was stated to be made due to the Order's heavy losses of men at Acre.¹¹ It probably dates to c. 1291. Edward I's confirmation must have been given after the fall of the city on 18 May 1291. It cannot have occurred in 1290 when Beck made the original grant as at that time there was a truce between the Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Mamluks and therefore

⁷ The Hospitallers, often alongside other Christian forces, won at least three naval battles against the Turks from 1312-20. Further victories followed in 1334, 1344 and 1347. In 1344 the Hospital even helped capture the Anatolian city of Smyrna. The port remained in Christian hands until 1402, with the Order itself holding the city from 1374: Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 57-61, 215-16.

⁸ For the assumption that interest in crusading played an important role in the patronage of the military orders, see above, p. 10, n. 44.

⁹ Walker, 'Crusaders and Patrons', p. 331.

¹⁰ See above, pp. 10-11.

¹¹ *CPR*, Edward III 1327-30, p. 305.

no reason for the Hospital to lose men defending Acre.¹² In 1303 John de Pontoise, bishop of Winchester, granted the Hospitallers Woodcott church once the then rector died or resigned. The following year he also allowed the Order to appropriate Baddesley church. Both grants were stated to be made due to the Hospitallers' 'zeal against the enemies of the Christian faith'.¹³

Two grants were given in support of the Order's Rhodes Crusade. In 1309 Robert de Bedford was too old and infirm to make his vowed pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela, so he redeemed his vow by giving three gold rings worth five shillings to support the expedition.¹⁴ In 1310 Agnes de Chaworth, wife of Lord Lawrence of Chaworth, asked the archbishop of York if she could redeem her vow of fasting by giving 25s to the Hospitallers 'for the support of the Holy Land'.¹⁵ Though the expedition to Rhodes was not specified, this grant was contemporaneous with the campaign, which was marketed as a prelude to a general Holy Land campaign.¹⁶ In 1326, Robert Russell left an unspecified bequest of money in his will to the Irish Hospitallers for the support of the Holy Land, suggesting that the Order was still seen by some as a suitable outlet for crusade support by the start of the second quarter of the fourteenth century.¹⁷ In 1349 Edward III confirmed the Hospital's rights over the Welsh manor of Dolgenwall and Ellsmers church. This grant stated that it was made for, among other things, his devotion 'to the Order which was originally instituted for the defence and spread of the faith against the enemies of Christ, for supporting their hospitalities and pious works'.¹⁸ Though alluding to crusading, this charter suggests that, two decades after Russell's bequest, the crusade was no longer seen by some as the Hospitallers' prime purpose by describing them

¹² Christopher Tyerman, *England and the Crusades 1095-1588* (London, 1988), p. 237.

¹³ Deedes, *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara*, i, pp. 161-62, 170.

¹⁴ Fowler, *Registrum Radulphi Baldock*, pp. 108-109.

¹⁵ Brown and Thompson, *Register of William Greenfield*, iv, pp. 70-71.

¹⁶ Constantinos Georgiou, 'Propagating the Hospitallers' *Passagium*: Crusade Preaching and Liturgy in 1308-1309', in Buttigieg and Phillips, *Islands and Military Orders*, pp. 53-64.

¹⁷ *RK*, p. 13.

¹⁸ *CPR*, Edward III 1348-50, p. 428.

as ‘originally instituted’ for holy war but then discussing their charitable works, implying that this aspect was perceived to be more current. The bulk of these donations date to the early fourteenth century, with just one coming after 1326 and none after 1349. This is probably because of the Hospitallers’ prominent role in crusading events in the early part of this period, such as the defence of Acre, which prompted one donation, Edward I’s confirmation of c. 1291, and their own crusade to Rhodes in 1309-10, which led to Agnes de Chaworth’s and Robert de Bedford’s grants, whilst in the second half of the fourteenth century, crusaders from Britain and Ireland often favoured the Baltic and western Mediterranean theatres, where the Hospitallers were not a leading participant.

Few donors were crusaders either. Only one patron, Edward I, had been on crusade and one other, Edward II, had taken the cross but not crusaded. None of the *langue*’s other English royal donors in this period – Richard II, Edward III, and Edward the Black Prince – took the cross, although Richard did repeatedly draw on crusade imagery and displayed an interest in what became the Nicopolis Crusade.¹⁹ Robert I of Scotland also donated to the Hospitallers, and according to the chronicler Jean le Bel he had taken a crusade vow.²⁰ This king certainly demonstrated an enthusiasm for the East when he asked on his deathbed that his heart be taken to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem.²¹

Of the Hospital’s non-royal patrons, none are known to have taken crusade vows. It is possible that Agnes de Chaworth’s vow of fasting was promised as a show of support for the Hospitallers’ Rhodes crusade, preaching for which began two years before her letter, but her

¹⁹ Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 110-11, 199-203. There was also the Despenser Crusade in 1383, which Richard II appears to have initially opposed, until France passed sanctions against England’s trade in Flanders, spurring the king to throw his support behind the expedition: Tyerman *England and the Crusades*, pp. 334-35.

²⁰ In 1314 the king confirmed the Order’s lands and property as they had held them during Alexander III’s reign (1249-86): *Scotland*, no. 5. ‘*j’ay voé que... je iroye guerrier les anemis de Nostre Seigneur*’: Jean le Bel, *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, ed. Jules Viard and Eugène Déprez, two vols (Paris, 1904-5), i, p. 83.

²¹ For Robert’s interest in crusading and James Douglas’s failed attempt to take the king’s heart to Jerusalem, see: Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, pp. 71-79; Grant G. Simpson, ‘The Heart of King Robert I: Pious Crusade or Marketing Gambit?’, in Barbara E. Crawford (ed.), *Church, Chronicle and Learning in Medieval and Early Renaissance Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1999), pp. 173-86.

letter to the archbishop of York makes no mention of this.²² There may have been a few more crusaders amongst the Order's known patrons from 1291 to 1400 and any record of their participation is simply no longer extant. This is most likely for less wealthy donors as much of the evidence of crusade participation is found in the crusader's appointment of attorneys or requesting royal protection of their lands. Without valuable property to protect, there would be less need to seek royal aid or appoint representatives.

One of the English *Langue's* three comital donors, Elizabeth de Burgh, sister of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hertford, may have been motivated by the crusade. She was a major patron of religious houses, particularly the Minoreesses, and made a generous donation to the Hospital in 1337, granting two messuages, 680 acres of land, and £4 6s. 8d. of rent in West Peckham and Swanton, in return for eleven marks rent from the Hospital's mills in Standon.²³ Whilst this grant was an exchange, a transaction type that this thesis has chosen not to focus on, the sheer size of Elizabeth de Burgh's donation suggests that it was charitable. The eleven marks of rent, a little over £7, that she received was a pittance compared to the loss of two messuages, 680 acres and over £4 pounds rent. However, perhaps out of kindness, the Hospitallers in 1338 were overpaying Elizabeth, giving her thirteen marks from their mills at Standon.²⁴ Charles Tipton's judgement that Elizabeth's grant was a charitable donation, despite the eleven marks rent, seems an accurate interpretation.²⁵ It is possible that the now lost charter referenced the crusade, but the surviving mortmain licence does not, nor does Elizabeth appear to have made a crusade vow. However, her will of 1355, proved 3 December 1360, indicates an interest in the crusade. Elizabeth left 100 marks for five armed men to go to the East 'in the service of God and the destruction of his enemies' for her soul and those of her three

²² Brown and Thompson, *Register of William Greenfield*, iv, pp. 70-71.

²³ *CPR*, Edward III 1334-38, p. 552. For Elizabeth de Burgh's other religious patronage, see: Jennifer C. Ward, *English Noblewomen in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1992), pp. 153-59.

²⁴ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 89.

²⁵ Charles Tipton, 'The origins of the preceptory of West Peckham', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 80 (1965), p. 95.

husbands.²⁶ She also pledged one mark to help the Holy Land.²⁷ It is possible that her grant to the Hospitallers in 1338 was also intended to help the crusade. Neither John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, nor Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, the two other nobles that donated to the *langue* in this period, went on crusade, nor do they appear to have taken a crusade vow. This lack of crusader-nobles amongst the Order's patrons from 1291 to 1400 is surprising considering that twenty-one of England's fifty-two earls from 1337 to 1399 joined crusade expeditions.²⁸ There were many crusaders who could have chosen to support the Order, but did not do so, suggesting that the Hospital's crusade role alone was not enough alone to warrant patronage from such men over other religious orders. It is possible that some crusade veterans thought that they had 'done their bit' for the cause, and so did not feel the need to donate to the Hospitallers as well. Such reasoning could account for reduced support from former crusaders, but not such a low level as existed from 1291 to 1400. Surely those who actually did go on crusade were the most enthusiastic about crusading and therefore more likely to continue supporting holy war by donating to the Hospitallers? Of course, some crusade veterans could have returned disenchanted with crusading, perhaps due to the failure of their expedition. Nonetheless, the popularity of crusading in the fourteenth century, and the existence of repeat crusaders, shows that there were many potential crusader-donors, yet somehow the Order did not attract their donations.²⁹ The low level of patronage from former crusaders does suggest that this was not an important factor in motivating grants to the English *Langue*.

Could it be that, as a military order, patrons considered it too obvious to mention that their donation was for the crusade? This does not seem likely. Patrons frequently stated the

²⁶ 'en la service Dieu et destruction de ses enemys': John Nichols (ed.), *A collection of all the wills, now known to be extant, of the kings and queens of England, princes and princesses of Wales, and every branch of the blood royal, from the reign of William the Conqueror, to that of Henry the Seventh exclusive*. (London, 1780), p. 29.

²⁷ 'Je devise a la terre seinte en eide des crestiens pur la loy Dieu meigntein di marc': *ibid.*, p. 30.

²⁸ Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 2.

²⁹ John Beaufort, marquess of Dorset and marquess of Somerset, embarked on at least three expeditions in the 1390s, Humphrey de Bohun, earl of Hereford went on crusade at least four times between 1361 and 1367, and Sir Thomas Ufford went to Prussia four times from 1348 to 1365: Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 219-220, 239.

reason behind their gift, however obvious. In the Order's Godsfield cartulary, 95 out of 142 grants either declared their gift to be given for the donor's soul and those of their relatives or asked for them to be included in the prayers and benefits of the Hospital.³⁰ This latter motive refers partially to intercessory prayer; prayers to be given by the Hospitallers that were believed to help the donor's passage to heaven; this was one of the main spiritual services a religious order could offer in return for donations.³¹ The former motive, when a donor makes a grant 'for their soul', was not necessarily a request for prayers, but could refer to the general spiritual benefits of relinquishing worldly wealth.³² It is possible that common motives such as this intercessory prayer were still affected by crusading, with the Order's successes in the East prompting increases in such patronage, as was seen after the 1229 recovery of Jerusalem.³³ If the Hospitallers had recently defeated the infidel in the East, to contemporaries the Order's piety, and therefore the efficacy of their intercessory prayer, would increase. Such a link should be detectable by comparing the dates of donations to the Order with the dates of crusade expeditions and preaching campaigns.³⁴

The first major expedition in the period 1291-1400 was in 1309-10, when the Hospitallers led a crusade to conquer Rhodes. The Papal preaching campaign for this began in 1308 but it was not preached in England until January 1309.³⁵ There were further expeditions in the 1330s and 1340s comprising naval campaigns led by the Hospitallers, Italian city-states such as Venice and Genoa, and Cyprus.³⁶ Following this, there were the crusades of Alexandria

³⁰ *Godsfield Cartulary*, nos 1, 10-11, 13-4, 19-20, 25, 33-4, 39-40, 42, 44-5, 48, 50-1, 54-5, 57, 59-60, 65, 74-7, 79, 81-3, 85, 88, 90-4, 98-9, 102-4, 106, 123, 132-3, 136-140, 145, 147-9, 152, 154-5, 158-8, 162, 165, 167, 171-181, 184, 186-7, 189-191, 193-5, 197-8, 200, 202-7, 210.

³¹ For the role of intercession in motivating patronage, see below, pp. 192-99.

³² Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter*, p. 41.

³³ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, p. xlv.

³⁴ The definition of 'crusade' used here is a pluralist one. Pluralists consider any campaign preached as a holy war or involving crusade indulgences from the Church to be a crusade. Traditionalists, another school of crusade historiography, treat only expeditions directed at Jerusalem and the Holy Land as crusades.

³⁵ Constantinos Georgiou, 'Propagating the Hospitallers' *Passagium: Crusade Preaching and Liturgy in 1308-1309*', in Emanuel Buttigieg and Simon Phillips (eds), *Islands and Military Orders, c.1291-1798* (London, 2013), p. 56; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 23.

³⁶ Housley, *Later Crusades*, pp. 57-59.

and Nicopolis, in 1365 and 1396, respectively. It is difficult to correlate all of the 160 grants with these exact dates as many donations are loosely dated and can only be narrowed down to a range of years. Despite this, a sizeable 131 grants can be dated to or around a single year and are mapped in the figure below, a large enough source base to be correlated against crusade expeditions.

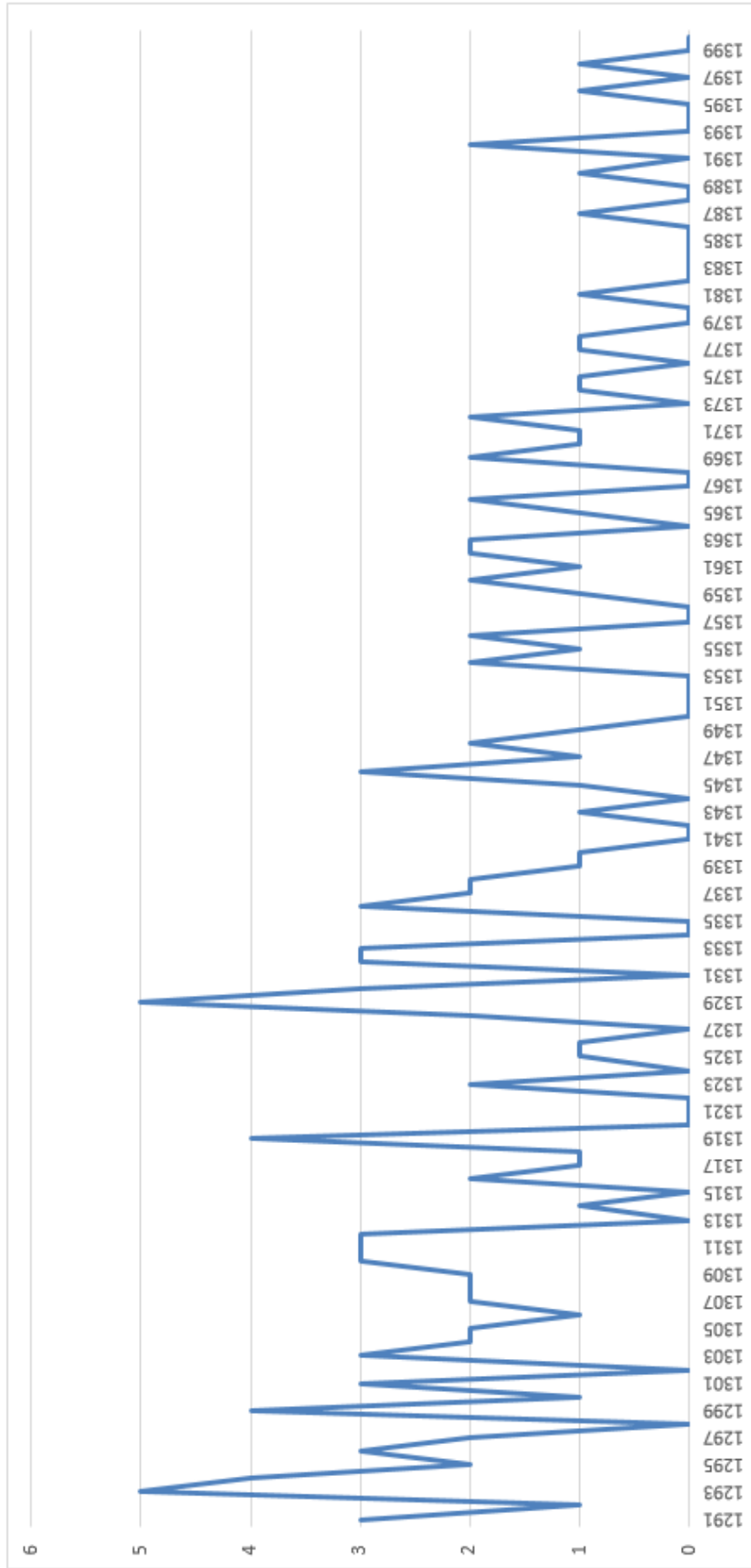


Figure 1.1: Donations to the English Langue dateable to a single year, 1291-1400.

It can be seen from this figure that there was little correlation between the dates of these grants and major crusade expeditions or the preaching campaigns that would precede them. Only the fall of Acre and the Order's Rhodes' Crusade led to a noticeable increase in donations. The typical rate of grants was one or two each year. In the decade following Acre this rose as high as five in 1293, four in 1291, 1294, and 1299, and three in 1296. The Templar Trials from 1307 to 1312 appear to have had little impact, with donations increasing slightly following the end of the Order's successful crusade for Rhodes in 1310. From 1310 to 1312, donations averaged three a year. The Smyrna Crusade of 1344 or the Holy League of 1345-7 may be behind the above-average three donations made in 1346. Though neither expedition was preached in England, some English knights still joined and fought alongside the Hospitallers there.³⁷

However, there was little correlation with the other major expeditions of the period. A spike of four donations in 1319 could have been linked to a Holy Land crusade that was planned to depart that year, but this was a French enterprise. There were above average donations of five in 1329 and three each in 1330, 1332, 1333 and 1336. It is unlikely that these were linked to the Holy League of 1334 as no grants were made that year or in the year following. There was no increase in grants prior to the Alexandria Crusade of 1365. Only two grants were made the following year and none in the two after that. The 1390s saw a protracted period of Anglo-French crusade planning which culminated in the Crusade of Nicopolis in 1396, yet only five donations were made in that decade, just one of which coincided with Nicopolis.³⁸ These findings suggest that, as was the case for the Templars and Lazarites, crusading had little role to play in patronage of the Hospitallers. Only the fall of Acre and the Order's conquest of Rhodes correlated with a protracted rise in donations. Neither is particularly surprising. The loss of Acre provoked a strong emotional reaction in the West and plans were quickly made

³⁷ Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 34-38.

³⁸ For the negotiations leading to the Nicopolis Crusade and the possible English involvement in the expedition, see: Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 110-13.

for its recapture, whilst the Rhodes *passagium* appears to have been a popular cause, at least in England.³⁹ However, the link between donations and crusading declined as the century went on, barely registering during later expeditions like those to Alexandria and Nicopolis. Either overtly stated in charters or implied by the donor's crusader-past or the timing of their grant, it is clear that crusading was not a major motivator of patronage, even when the Hospitallers were the only active crusading order in the British Isles.

This low level of crusade-associated grants was not unique to the period 1291 to 1400. Even for earlier years there are few grants associated with the crusade. Only one charter in the Order's Minchin Buckland cartulary mentions the East: a mid-thirteenth-century grant by Henry de Erleigh made 'for the subsidy of the Holy Land'.⁴⁰ None of the documents in the Hospital's Godsfield cartulary mention the crusade or the Holy Land, but one grant was made by Richard de Affeton, who later joined Lord Edward's Crusade in 1270, and another was given by Denise de Heno, probably a relative of the John de Heno who also joined Edward's expedition.⁴¹ The Order's 1442 cartulary records an increase in donations in Essex around the recovery of Jerusalem in 1229, but few charters that can be directly tied to crusading.⁴² Whilst the period 1291 to 1400 certainly had fewer crusade-linked grants, the situation before this was

³⁹ For popular reactions to the loss of the Holy Land in 1291, see: Schein, *Fideles Crucis*, pp. 112-39. Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 23-28, 24, fn. 8. From 1308-10 the Hospital received £491 14s. 5½d. from the dioceses of York in donations and £25 14s. 8d. in commuted vows. Over five years the Order also gained £91 16s. 8d. in donations from the diocese of Exeter and £377 16s 9¾d., 174 French pennies, and a selection of silver rings from the diocese of Salisbury: William E. Lunt (ed.), *Financial Relations of the Papacy with England to 1327* (Cambridge, 1939), pp. 459-60. The Hospitallers' crusade may have also seen significant recruitment in southern France. A lyric of 1309 features the narrator bemoaning the loss of her betrothed to the master of Rhodes: Linda M. Paterson (ed.), RS 1656b, *Troubadours, trouvères and the Crusades*, <https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/modernlanguages/research/french/crusades/texts/of/rs1656b/#page1> [accessed 15 March 2018].

⁴⁰ *Buckland Cartulary*, no. 37. Henry was a descendant of the founder of Buckland and so familial ties likely also played a role in his gift, rather than just an interest in the crusade. For the Erleighs and Minchin Buckland, see below, pp. 184-85.

⁴¹ *Godsfield Cartulary*, nos 174, 203.

⁴² Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, p. xlv. One of the few Essex grants that can be tied to the crusade is that of William Joy of Maplestead. In around 1245 he gave the Order 2d. rent for a candle at their church in Little Maplestead. This was from rent owed by his daughter for land William had given her before his 'peregrinacionem' to Jerusalem, a term that could refer to a pilgrimage or a crusade: *ibid.*, no. 70. Nicholson notes that the increase in Essex grants in the mid-thirteenth century may have been due to a Hospitaller fundraising campaign to compensate for the Order's loss of property in Sicily to Frederick II's confiscations: Nicholson, *Images of the Military Orders*, p. 59.

only a little better. This was probably due to geography. By the mid-thirteenth century, the Kingdom of Aragon had completed its 'reconquest' and stabilised its borders. The military orders in Aragon were now devoted to raiding and defending the frontier, rather than active expansion. At the same time, donations to the Templars in Aragon fell, as did the number of *confratres*.⁴³ The lack of an active crusade frontier seems to correlate with decreased support for the military orders. Therefore, donations to the orders in Britain and Ireland, a region without a crusade frontier of its own, would of course have been less influenced by crusading than elsewhere such as Iberia, the Baltic, or the eastern Mediterranean.

The absence of a strong link between the crusades and patronage of the Hospitallers is surprising. The Order was intimately associated with the Holy Land and the crusades. Knowledge of this connection should have been widespread. Donors with access to chivalric literature certainly should have been aware of the Hospitallers' crusading role as they and other military orders regularly appeared in such works. The earliest surviving romance depicting the Hospital as soldiers is the 1230s *Gille de Chyn* by Gautier de Tournai. The Hospitallers continued to be featured in a military capacity in fourteenth-century literature, such as the English romance *Richard Coeur de Lion* and Jean de Arras' *Roman de Mélusine* (written between 1382 and 1394).⁴⁴ Knowledge of the Order's military activities should have also been widespread beyond just those familiar with chivalric literature. Like the Templars and Lazarites, the Hospitallers had the right to visit parish churches annually to collect alms and encourage membership of the confraternity. The Order's confraternity clerks would report on their role holding back the Turkish advance in the East, giving sermons like that quoted at the

⁴³ Alan Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 57-58, 60-61.

⁴⁴ Gautier de Tournay, *L'Histoire de Gille de Chyn by Gautier de Tournay*, ed. Edwin B. Place (Evanston and Chicago, 1941), lines 2355-68, 2506-11, 2615-23. For the Hospitallers as warriors in *Richard Coeur de Lion*, see Karl Bruner (ed.), *Der mitttelenglische Versroman über Richard Löwenherz* (Leipzig, 1913), lines 3148-52, 3945-52, 4979-82, 5019-22, 6321-24. In the *Roman de Mélusine* the Hospitallers fight in a sea battle against the Saracens and then lead the vanguard of the Christian army fighting at Jaffa: Jean d'Arras, *A bilingual Edition of Jean d'Arras's Mélusine or L'Histoire de Lusignan*, ed. Matthew W. Morris, 2 vols (Lampeter, 2007), i, pp. 510-12, ii, p. 518, 524-38, 548-556.

beginning of this chapter. These annual visits may have been less effective than they may seem at first sight. As regular church attendance was not mandatory, visiting only once a year meant that the Order's clerks would not necessarily be seen by the majority of each church's congregation.⁴⁵ Yet awareness of frary clerks' sermons, and therefore the Order's promotion of its crusade activities, clearly became well-known by the early fifteenth century, when the Hospital was popularly referred to as the frary.⁴⁶ Three of the men who joined the Rhodes Crusade and one who joined the Smyrna Crusade, which the Hospitallers also fought in, lived near one of the Order's preceptories.⁴⁷ Their participation may have been inspired as a result of such a visit to their parish church by a frary clerk.

In addition to these yearly visits, preaching campaigns were also conducted for specific expeditions, such as the Order's Rhodes *passagium*. Pope Clement V even ordered that oral sermons be given in support of the Rhodes expedition in the vernacular, so as to maximise their reach.⁴⁸ Donations to the Order also display an understanding of their crusade-ties. A study of the forms of address used in charters to the English Hospitallers found that references to the Order's '*sancte domus hospitalis ierusalem*' disappeared after the loss of Jerusalem in 1187 and reappeared in the 1230s after Frederick II recovered the city in 1229.⁴⁹ That Robert Russell, or his executors, decided to give Russell's bequest to the Holy Land to the Irish Hospitallers in

⁴⁵ The Lateran Council of 1215 set down a minimum requirement for the laity's engagement with the church: taking the Eucharist at Easter and giving confession at least once a year. Attendance was also required at masses on Sundays and feast-days but non-attendance was quite common: Norman Tanner and Sethina Watson, 'Least of the laity: the minimum requirements for a medieval Christian', *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 32 (2006), p. 405, 408-10.

⁴⁶ 'le Ffrayry': BL, Royal MS 9 a v, f. 190v.

⁴⁷ John Beauchamp of Hatch, knight and John Pynnok of Sarum went to Rhodes in 1309: Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 218, 235. Adam Bakon, rector of Olton also went on crusade in 1309, probably to Rhodes: *ibid.*, p. 218. William Toli of Dunmowe, a priest, joined the Smyrna Crusade in 1345: *ibid.*, p. 238. Hatch, Bedfordshire, is eighteen miles from Melchbourne Preceptory, Old Sarum is fifteen miles from Ansty Preceptory, Olton is seven miles from Temple Balsall Preceptory, and Dunmowe is seventeen miles from Little Maplestead Preceptory and only six from Chaureth, where the Order held the church.

⁴⁸ Constantinos Georgiou, 'Propagating the Hospitallers' *Passagium*: Crusade Preaching and Liturgy in 1308-1309', in Buttigieg and Phillips, *Islands and Military Orders*, p. 58.

⁴⁹ Michael Gervers, 'Changing Forms of Hospitaller Address in English Private Charters of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in Zsolt Hunyadi and József Laszlovszky (eds), *The Crusades and the Military Orders: Expanding the Frontiers of Medieval Latin Christianity* (Budapest, 2001), pp. 397-98.

1326 also suggests that their crusade-links were common knowledge.⁵⁰ Awareness of the Hospital's crusading nature is even evinced in the cartularies of other religious houses. In 1274, Peter of Abingdon acknowledged that he was in arrears to the Hospital of St Bartholomew in London. If he did not pay by November the following year he was to give 60s. to the Hospitallers to support the Holy Land.⁵¹ From people with access to chivalric literature through to those who simply attended their parish church, there should have been, and there clearly was, a widespread awareness of the Hospital's role in the crusades.

Despite this common knowledge of the Hospitallers as crusaders, after 1291 there remains no notable link between crusading and donations, and only a slight correlation before this date. Could this have been because there was opposition to crusading itself? English literature of the late fourteenth century has often been cited as evidence of a late medieval backlash against crusading. This criticism ranged from complaints of political crusades conducted against other Christians to fundamental opposition to the concept of a holy war.

The writers often cited as critical of crusading are Geoffrey Chaucer, William Langland, John Gower, and John Wyclif. Wyclif in particular criticised crusades against Christians, such as Despenser's Crusade, writing a whole tract, *De cruciata*, condemning the expedition and the sale of indulgences.⁵² The Knight in Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales* has also been cited as an example of anti-crusade feeling. Initially this character, described as a veteran of crusades in the Baltic, Spain, and Africa, was interpreted as an epitome of chivalry, but his depiction has been reinterpreted, most famously by Terry Jones, as one critical of chivalric culture and crusading.⁵³ William Langland's *The Vision of Piers Plowman* highlights

⁵⁰ RK, p. 13.

⁵¹ Nellie J. M. Kerling (ed.), *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's Hospital founded 1123* (London, 1973), no. 1606.

⁵² John Wyclif, *John Wiclif's Polemical Works in Latin*, ed. Rudolf Buddensieg, 2 vols (London, 1883), ii, pp. 588-632.

⁵³ Terry Jones, *Chaucer's Knight: the Portrait of a Medieval Mercenary* (London, 1980), pp. 34-59. For the Knight in *The Canterbury Tales*, see: F. N. Robinson (ed.), *The Riverside Chaucer* (Oxford, 3rd ed., 2008), pp. 24-25, 37-65.

the similarities between Islam and Christianity, ‘*Al was hethynesse som tyme Engelond and Walis; Til Gregory garte clerkes to go here and preche.*’, and advocates for peaceful conversion of Muslims, rather than reliance on crusading.⁵⁴ However, the extent of this criticism has been challenged. Firstly, such criticisms can be found as far back as the Second Crusade and so are not unique to the late medieval period.⁵⁵ Also, Jones’ interpretation of Chaucer’s Knight as a critique of crusading has been rejected by crusade historians for being ‘fundamentally flawed’, and there is significant evidence that crusading retained widespread support in late fourteenth-century England.⁵⁶ Elizabeth Siberry claims that these works have been misinterpreted. While Wyclif and Gower did heavily criticise the misuse of crusades against Christians, they also voiced support for crusading against non-Christians. Also, Langland’s support for peaceful conversion did not necessarily preclude crusading as some crusade theorists saw crusading as a way to provoke conversion. Finally, Gower voiced support for crusading in his other works and the criticism of crusading knights in his *Confessio Amantis* was directed at their poor intentions, as opposed to their deeds.⁵⁷ However, it should be noted that it has been argued that Gower’s opinions of crusading hardened over time and, whilst Wyclif did initially and with reservation accept crusades targeted against non-Christians, after Despenser’s Crusade he rejected the movement entirely.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ William Langland, *Piers Plowman: the B Version*, ed. George Kane and E. Talbot Donaldson (London, 1975), pp. 560-61, 563. For the wider development of anti-crusade and pacifistic ideas in late medieval England, see: Ben Lowe, *Imagining Peace: A History of Early English Pacifist Ideas* (University Park, PA, 1997), pp. 43-146.

⁵⁵ Housley, *Later Crusades*, p. 377.

⁵⁶ Anthony Luttrell, ‘Chaucer’s Knight and the Mediterranean’, in Victor Mallia-Milanes (ed.), *Library of Mediterranean History* (Msida, 1994), p. 127, n. 1; Maurice Keen, ‘Chaucer’s Knight, the English Aristocracy and the Crusade’, V. J. Scattergood and J. W. Sherborne, *English Court Culture in the Later Middle Ages* (London, 1983), pp. 45-61.

⁵⁷ Elizabeth Siberry, ‘Criticism of Crusading in Fourteenth-Century England’, Peter W. Edbury (ed.), *Crusade and Settlement* (Cardiff, 1985), pp. 127-34.

⁵⁸ : R. F. Yeager, ‘*Pax Poetica* : On the Pacifism of Chaucer and Gower’, *Studies in the Age of Chaucer*, Vol. 9 (1987), pp. 97-121; Rory Cox, *John Wyclif on War and Peace* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 104-108.

Furthermore, this evidence of criticism relates only to England, with little or no examples cited for the view of crusading in Wales, Ireland, or Scotland during this period.⁵⁹ Finally, the writers normally cited as evidence of an anti-crusade backlash were all educated non-nobles: John Gower likely practised law whilst Geoffrey Chaucer was the son of a London vintner; William Langland was probably a clerk, and John Wyclif an academic and ecclesiastic. Their views may have conveyed a common feeling among their own social circles, but not necessarily one dominant in England as a whole, particularly for those of different backgrounds to their own. For example, a great many of the English nobility continued to crusade and there was continued support amongst the commons as well.⁶⁰ Crusaders could even be found amongst the Lollards, supposedly critics of crusading. John Clanvowe, despite writing a tract, *The two ways*, which condemned knightly violence, joined the Tunis crusade of 1390 and later died en route to Constantinople in 1391, probably on crusade again.⁶¹ Another Lollard knight, Lewis Clifford, pledged to join Philippe de Mézières' military order, the Order of the Passion, whilst the Lollard John Montague joined a crusade expedition to the Baltic in 1395.⁶² The claim that there was a significant backlash against crusading in fourteenth-century England has been largely rejected by historians of the crusades.⁶³

Regardless, even if the reservations conveyed by these writers were indeed criticisms of crusading as a whole and also represented a widespread anti-crusade feeling across late fourteenth-century England, this does not account for the lack of crusade-associated grants to

⁵⁹ The lack of evidence of attitudes to crusading after 1291 in Wales and Ireland in particular is unsurprising as these countries saw a much lower level of crusade participation than the English and Scots. For Welsh crusading, see: Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*. For Ireland and the crusades, see: Con Costello, 'Ireland and the Crusades', in Harman Murtagh (ed.), *Irishmen in War From the Crusades to 1798: Essays from the Irish Sword: Volume 1* (Dublin, 2006), i, pp. 1-18; Hurlock, *Britain, Ireland and the Crusades*. The history of Welsh and Irish crusading in the late medieval period has yet to be written.

⁶⁰ As well as the crusade expeditions of twenty-one of England's earls from 1337-99 mentioned above, guilds were established to raise funds for travel to the Holy Land and to pray for its recovery, and many people continued to leave money in their wills to fund pilgrims: Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 260-61.

⁶¹ Cox, *Wyclif on War and Peace*, p. 91; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 279.

⁶² Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 262, 275, n. 69.

⁶³ Siberry, 'Criticism of Crusading', p. 132; Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, pp. 259-66; Housley, *The Later Crusades*, pp. 377-78; Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 208.

the Hospitallers in the first half of that century. Figure 1.1 above shows that the link between Hospitaller patronage and crusade expeditions was broken long before possible critics like Gower or Chaucer were even born.⁶⁴ The last noticeable correlation between a crusade expedition and an increase in grants was in the years around the Order's conquest of Rhodes, decades before any possible crusading backlash in the late fourteenth century. Rather than being caused by a rise in criticism of crusading itself, this break between Hospitaller patronage and the crusade was due to a shift in crusading patterns after 1291 and the rising popularity of the Baltic as a crusade theatre, supplanting the eastern Mediterranean where the Hospitallers operated.

The First Crusade in the eleventh century and its successors in the twelfth and thirteenth were mass expeditions, often led by a king and launched with the support of a papal preaching campaign.⁶⁵ Yet after Edward I's Ninth Crusade in 1271-2 and before the Alexandrian Crusade of Peter I of Cyprus in 1365, there were no such royal expeditions to the eastern Mediterranean. But during this time there remained a steady crusade interest in Britain and Ireland. Without the Holy Land as a focus for crusading fervour, the crusade movement instead dispersed across multiple theatres referred to as the *hethenesse*, the non-Christian regions of the eastern Mediterranean, Baltic, and Iberia.⁶⁶ Instead of being attached to a large-scale and papally-mandated campaign, crusaders from the British Isles went abroad in small groups to temporarily fight alongside a specific institution, such as the Iberian kingdoms, the Hospitallers in Greece, or the Teutonic Knights in the Baltic. When there was a large-scale eastern campaign, such as the Order's Rhodes *passagium*, donations to the Hospital increased, but

⁶⁴ Above, p. 49.

⁶⁵ The First Crusade was papally mandated but not led by any monarchs, however, the Norwegian Crusade of 1107-10 that followed shortly after was led by Sigurd I of Norway. The Second through Ninth crusades were all papally mandated and all but the Fourth were led by kings, though it should be noted that papal support was swiftly withdrawn from Frederick II's Fifth Crusade.

⁶⁶ Crusading had been conducted in these regions for some time before 1291 but it is only after that date that some areas, such as the Baltic, become particularly popular for crusaders from the British Isles: Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 72-97; Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, pp. 69-88.

there were no other such expeditions until Alexandria in 1365, by which time the Baltic and western Mediterranean theatres had become popular with crusaders from Britain and Ireland.

The way that the crusade was supported on the 'home front' had also shifted towards a more individualist stance. Money for individuals to crusade, to go on pilgrimage to the East, or funds to otherwise support the Holy Land became a common bequest in English wills during the fourteenth century.⁶⁷ One knight, Roger de Beauchamp, left 200 marks for this purpose.⁶⁸ In London alone there were six such wills proved in the Court of Husting, the court of the City of London, during the fourteenth century, but only one surviving from the period 1258-1300.⁶⁹ Guilds were also established to provide support for travel to the East. In 1384 in Norfolk alone two of these guilds were founded.⁷⁰ This move from institutional to local and personal displays of crusading piety mirrors the development of religious patronage in the late medieval period, when chantries and parish churches supplanted monastic houses as the most popular benefactors of donations.⁷¹ Finally, the increasing popularity of the Baltic as a crusade theatre supplanted the work of the Hospitallers. The Hospital had no presence in the Baltic crusades, a series of campaigns directed by the Teutonic Knights. After the Alexandrian Crusade in 1365, there are no records of Scottish participation in the eastern Mediterranean, where the Hospitallers primarily operated, instead Scottish crusaders focused their efforts on the Baltic.⁷²

⁶⁷ The mention of pilgrimages in these wills does not necessarily preclude crusading activity. It is difficult to distinguish between a peaceful pilgrim and an armed crusader as the two were often one and the same: Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 242.

⁶⁸ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 260.

⁶⁹ In 1273-4 Geoffrey Godard left money to be raised from rents for sending a man on the next 'general pilgrimage', a crusade. Edmund of Suffolk left 10 shillings for the Holy Land in c.1308-9. Walter of Stockwell, painter, gave sixty gold *scudi* in 1350 for a pilgrim to the Holy Land. In 1351 William of Evesham left money to the Holy Land, alongside assorted monastic orders and churches. In 1351-2 John of Holegh, hosier, gave £20 for a pilgrim to the East. Thomas of Useflete left £10 for the Holy Land in 1358. Finally, in 1367 William of Brikesworth gave £20 for four men to join a crusade to the Holy Land: Sharpe, *Court of Husting*, i, pp. 17, 203, 640-1, 653, 656-7, ii, pp. 2, 104-105.

⁷⁰ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 261.

⁷¹ Stöber, 'Bequests and Burials', pp. 137-42. This changing fashion may have also been responsible for the decline in donations to the Hospitallers in general, not just in crusade-motivated patronage of the Order.

⁷² Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, pp. 84-88. Despite this enthusiasm for the Teutonic Knights, the Order were given no lands in Scotland, probably due to the same factors as those affecting the Hospitallers, namely a change in how support for crusading was expressed.

There was regular English participation in the Teutonic Order's *reisen*, raids into Lithuanian territory, from 1329, including by members of leading baronial families like the Bohuns, Beauchamps, Percies, and Despensers.⁷³ Campaigning in the Baltic was more convenient and cheaper for a prospective crusader from Britain or Ireland than going to fight in the Mediterranean. A knight joining a series of Teutonic *reisen* would be abroad for only half a year or less.⁷⁴ In contrast, the Hospitallers were based in Rhodes, a much greater distance away, and did not have as large or secure a state in the East as the Teutonic Order had in the Baltic. The lack of a strong link between crusading and patronage of the Hospitallers after 1291 was due to changing fashions both in how crusading was conducted and how support was expressed, as well as the overshadowing of the Hospital's campaigns by those of other combatants like the Teutonic Knights.

Hospitality and charity

In addition to crusading, the Hospitallers were also a charitable order, providing medical care, alms, and hospitality to travellers, paupers, and the ill. Hospitality in particular was an expected duty of a religious house, and involved providing food and shelter to visitors, outfitting guest chambers, and even making gifts of clothes, food, or supplies.⁷⁵ Such charity, as well as medical care and almsgiving, appears to have played a role in motivating patrons of other religious houses, particularly hospitals, many of whose patrons requested care for themselves, their tenants, or their family in return.⁷⁶ It has been suggested that the Hospitallers' provision of such

⁷³ Tyerman, *England and the Crusades*, p. 268.

⁷⁴ Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 78.

⁷⁵ Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c. 1070-c. 1250* (Woodbridge, 2007), pp. 179-81.

⁷⁶ Sheila Sweetinburgh, *The Role of the Hospital in Medieval England* (Dublin, 2004), pp. 37-39. It is important to note that the medieval hospital could encompass a much wider range of institutions than modern hospitals, including hostels for travellers, hospices for palliative care, almshouses for the poor, leper houses, or houses providing medical care.

services may have led to patronage.⁷⁷ The hospitality provided by the Order was well known. Donations to the Hospitallers were often made to the ‘blessed poor’ as well as the brethren themselves.⁷⁸ In 1335, Edward III wrote to his escheator in Lincolnshire, Northampton and Rutland affirming the Hospitallers’ rights, describing the work of the brethren as defending Christendom, performing divine service, and relieving the poor.⁷⁹ The 1338 survey of the Order’s English, Welsh, and Scottish possessions shows that every house set aside funds for providing hospitality, with several houses distributing alms to the local community.⁸⁰ Chivalric literature sometimes featured the Order providing hospitality, as well as engaging in warfare.⁸¹ Yet despite this awareness, just two grants from the period 1291 to 1400 directly mention the Hospital’s charitable works: Edward III’s 1349 confirmation of the Order’s rights over Dolgenwall and Ellsmers in Wales, in which the king states he wishes to support the hospitalities of the brethren, and Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin and justiciar of Ireland’s 1319 grant of Rathmore church for supporting pilgrims and the poor.⁸² Bicknor may have been motivated by personal ties to the Irish Hospitallers, whose prior he had no doubt encountered on the royal council there, or, as justiciar, a desire to support the Order following its losses in the Bruce invasion of Ireland, as Edward II’s 1317 grant of the right to acquire new

⁷⁷ ‘The hospitality that religious houses afforded travellers and those in need, may have also prompted many gifts to the Hospitallers in particular’: Majoros, ‘The Function of Hospitaller Houses’, p. 21. Such a hypothesis was once proposed as an explanation for the Teutonic Order’s expansion in the Rhineland, but hospitality and hospitals have since been shown to have played little role in this: Klaus van Eickels, ‘Knightly Hospitallers or Crusading Knights? Decisive Factors for the Spread of the Teutonic Knights in the Rhineland and the Low Countries, 1216-1300’, in Helen Nicholson (ed.), *The Military Orders Volume 2: Welfare and Warfare* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 75-80.

⁷⁸ ‘*et beatis pauperibus sancte domus Hospitalis Jerusalem et fratribus eiusdem domus in Anglia*’: BL, MS Cotton Nero E vi, f. 86v.

⁷⁹ CCR, Edward III 1333-37, p. 363.

⁸⁰ Clerkenwell and the preceptories of Carbrooke, Chippenham, Mount St John, and Skirbeck all recorded almsgiving: These were Slebech in Pembrokeshire, and Dinmore, Herefordshire: Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 48, 61, 79, 82, 100.

⁸¹ The depiction of the military orders as providers of hospitality in medieval romance is discussed in Helen J. Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail: Templars, Hospitallers, and Teutonic Knights in medieval epic and romance, 1150-1500* (Boston, 2004), pp. 64-66. The only English romance showing the Hospitallers in this role is *Richard Coeur de Lion*, in which Richard I rests at the Order’s house in Messina on his way to Palestine: Bruner, *Versroman über Richard Löwenherz*, ln. 1765-68.

⁸² CPR, 1348-50, p. 428; McEnery and Refaüssé, *Christ Church Deeds*, p. 73.

tenants was stated to be.⁸³ No donors in this period requested charity, such as a corrody, in exchange for their grant, nor did they ask for their gift to be used to fund the Order's hospitality specifically. However, this case may have been the norm for other religious orders. It is necessary to compare the Hospital's patronage with that of other houses to determine if this lack of hospitality-related patronage was abnormal.

Nine houses from three different regions have been chosen for this comparison. The Hospitallers' Godsfield cartulary will be assessed alongside the cartularies of two other Hampshire houses: the secular hospital of God's House in Southampton and the Cistercian Beaulieu Abbey. The Augustinian London houses of Holy Trinity Priory in Aldgate and St Bartholomew's Hospital will be compared with the London and Middlesex portions of the Hospitallers' 1442 cartulary. The cartulary of the Hospitallers at Minchin Buckland in Somerset shall be set alongside the West Country houses of the Cluniacs of Montacute Priory in Somerset and the secular St Mark's Hospital in Bristol. By examining both urbanised London alongside the more rural Hampshire and Somerset, regional influences on patronage should be highlighted. Grants have not been divided into separate pre and post-1291 categories, as many donations were undated and most of these cartularies have few grants from after 1291, which would skew any analysis of these documents.⁸⁴

⁸³ Tresham, *Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium*, p. 21b.

⁸⁴ The Beaulieu cartulary, for example, has only two donations from after 1291, whilst the Godsfield cartulary has nine: Stanley Frederick Hockey (ed.), *The Beaulieu Cartulary* (Southampton, 1974), nos 92-3; *Godsfield Cartulary*, nos 12, 15, 106, 129, 134, 184, 190, 200, 203. From before this date they have sixty and 133, respectively.

House	Total grants in free alms	Hospitality-motivated grants	Proportion of hospitality-motivated grants (%)
Godsfield	142	0	0
Beaulieu	62	0	0
God's House	53	8	15.094
London and Middlesex Hospitallers	73	0	0
Aldgate	78	3	3.846
St Bart's	273	11	4.029
Buckland	170	1	0.588
Montacute	119	5	4.201
St Mark's	58	5	8.62

Table 1.1: Grants to the Hospitallers and other religious houses in England, from their foundation to 1400.

The above table shows that there was not a strong overt correlation between provision of charity and donations. Aldgate received just three grants that were linked to the house's charitable work; custody of St Katherine's hospital, a confirmation of this, and a grant of quit rent to support the canons caring for the sick in the priory's infirmary.⁸⁵ Beaulieu Abbey received no such donations, whilst Montacute Priory was given five such grants.⁸⁶ All three houses had

⁸⁵ Gerald A. J. Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (London, 1971), nos 684, 975-76.

⁸⁶ This was apparently in spite of Beaulieu spending a significant amount on hospitality: £118 13s. 1d. in the year 1269-70: Stanley Frederick Hockey (ed.), *The Account-book of Beaulieu Abbey* (London, 1975), p. 281. *Two Cartularies of the Augustinian Priory of Bruton and the Cluniac Priory of Montacute in the County of Somerset* (London, 1894), nos 50 (given to the infirmary of Montacute), 53 (gift of the church of Odecumbe, three marks of which were for the infirmary, three marks to the kitchen for providing alms, and the remainder to the prior for maintaining charity), 90 (two parts of the tithes of Cilterne for maintaining and improving the almonry), 97 (for the sick monks in the infirmary), 99 (for the monks in the infirmary).

facilities dedicated to hospitality and care. Aldgate Priory operated a hospital, Montacute an infirmary, and Beaulieu a hospice. As they were not dedicated hospitals, it is unsurprising that these houses received fewer grants to support their charitable care than God's House in Southampton and that just one of the three, Montacute Priory, managed to surpass St Bartholomew's Hospital, where only about four per cent of donations were given to fund hospitality or requested care for the donor or their relatives.⁸⁷ St Mark's Hospital benefited from a higher proportion of such grants, and God's House experienced even more, yet still the majority of grants to both institutions made no mention of the houses' charitable works.⁸⁸ Donors to these three hospitals may have thought it too obvious to state that they wished to support their charitable care. Yet the table above does still demonstrate some correlation between provision of charitable care and grants mentioning or requesting this, with hospitals like God's House, St Mark's, and St Bartholomew's showing the greatest evidence of this link. Aldgate and Montacute, both operating facilities dedicated to hospitality, still received some donations motivated by their charitable care, though to a lesser extent than the patronage of dedicated hospitals. In contrast, the Hospitallers of Godsfield and Buckland, both sites that lacked a dedicated hospital, infirmary, or almonry, received no such grants. If hospitality or charitable care was the main concern of a house, it did show in their patronage. Other research into medieval hospitals has reached similar conclusions. Sheila Sweetinburgh found instances of donors to St Laurence's Hospital, Canterbury, asking that their grants be used to support the house's charitable care. For example, in a charter probably of the early thirteenth century, Adam son of Aelgar de Sturreye gave the hospital fifteen acres for his soul, those of his

⁸⁷ Kerling, *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's*, nos 107, 549, 583, 726, 772, 838, 1143, 1403, 1577, 1609, 1610.

⁸⁸ C. D. Ross (ed.), *Cartulary of St Mark's Hospital Bristol* (Bristol, 1959), nos 2 (mandating the hospital to support twenty-seven poor), 3 (donor requesting hospitality for himself and his heirs when visiting the hospital), 199 (grant made to support the house when it was so threatened by poverty it was unable to provide for the poor or distribute alms), 244 (grant made to support the house when it was so threatened by poverty it was unable to provide for the poor or distribute alms), 302 (the donor, once widowed, asked for the right to reside at the hospital and receive the victuals of a chaplain); Kaye, *Cartulary of God's House*, i, nos 51, 69, 70, 72, 81, 85, 190, 191.

ancestors and successors, and for the clothing the house's poor.⁸⁹ Concern for the poor has been identified as one of the key factors explaining religious patronage in the medieval period.⁹⁰ If a hospital was not trusted to give adequate provision to the needy, its patronage would decline.⁹¹ In contrast to these patterns of patronage, the complete absence of hospitality-related grants for the Hospitallers in Middlesex, London, and Hampshire, and just one such grant in Somerset, suggests that this was no more than a minor motivator of donations to the Order, if at all.⁹²

That charitable care and hospitality played such a small role in donations to the Hospitallers is unsurprising. Though the Order did provide hospitality and medical care in the Levant, this was not the main purpose of their houses in the West.⁹³ The English *Langue* did support a number of corrodies – eighty in 1338 – and set aside costs for hospitality at each of its houses.⁹⁴ However, in 1338, only two of the *langue*'s houses were recorded as operating an infirmary, Chippenham Preceptory in Cambridgeshire and Skirbeck in Lincolnshire.⁹⁵ This former site did not even serve the local community, appearing to care only for the Hospitallers

⁸⁹ Sheila Sweetingburgh, 'Supporting the Canterbury hospitals: benefaction and the language of charity in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries', *Archaeologia Cantiana*, Vol. 122 (2002), p. 253.

⁹⁰ 'While concern for personal salvation remained a constant component in pious donations, the real sufferings of the poor, the popularity of the mendicants, the *imitation Christi* of the Gospels, and influential saints like Francis of Assisi and Elisabeth of Thuringia all contributed to the subsequent outpouring of charity that appeared in the urban environment of the late twelfth century': Lynn T. Courtenay, 'The Hospital of Notre-Dame des Fontenilles at Tonerre: Medicine as *Misericordia*', in Barbara S. Bowers, *The Medieval Hospital and Medical Practice* (Aldershot, 2007), p. 87.

⁹¹ Sheila Sweetinburgh, 'The Hospitals of Medieval Kent', in Sheila Sweetinburgh (ed.), *Later Medieval Kent, 1220-1540* (Woodbridge, 2010), p. 129.

⁹² The Somerset donation was by Henry Bude, who made an undated grant to the Order of a house with a croft and two acres, requesting that the house be assigned to one of the poor: *Buckland Cartulary*, no. 160.

⁹³ The Order's Jerusalem hospital could house 1000 patients: Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, p. 88. From the 1180s the Hospitallers also provided field hospitals for crusading armies: Piers D. Mitchell, *Medicine in the Crusades: Warfare, Wounds and the Medieval Surgeon* (Cambridge, 2004), p. 84. For overviews of the Order's medical role in the medieval period, see: *ibid.*, pp. 61-85; Nicholson, *Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 88-92; Anthony Luttrell, 'The Hospitallers' Medical Tradition: 1291-1530', in Barber, *The Military Orders*, pp. 64-81.

⁹⁴ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 214. The sort of hospitality provided is unspecified. Its costs were listed alongside the general upkeep of the preceptory and its residents: '*Inde in expensis domus, pro preceptore... et aliis de familia, et etiam pluribus aliis supervenientibus, causa hospitalis*': *ibid.*, p. 43. This hospitality probably amounted to bed and board for visitors, their retainers, and horses, as well as the upkeep of guest chambers, such as bedding and candles.

⁹⁵ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 61.

themselves.⁹⁶ Beyond the 1338 survey, the Order was known to have hospitals at just three further sites: Wexford, Stidd in Lancashire, and Hereford.⁹⁷ In Ireland the Order had a network of hostels, but these appear to have been reserved for the use of the brethren and their guests, though the Order was also recorded as rector of four hospitals there in 1302-6 and had a hospice in Wexford.⁹⁸ Though the *langue* did provide hospitality and some charity, it was clearly not a prime concern, fundraising was instead the main purpose of the brethren, hence the lack of hospitality-associated grants to the Hospitallers' English *Langue*.⁹⁹

Chivalry

In the period 1291 to 1400, crusading was not a major motivator of donations to the Hospital, and neither was the Order's hospitality or charitable care. Yet there were other features of the Hospitallers that set them apart from other monastic orders. The Hospitallers were also knightly, but the extent to which this affected patronage is unclear.¹⁰⁰ Did members of the *chevalerie*, the nobility and knights which participated in chivalric culture, prefer the Hospitallers over non-military orders because of this shared knightly status? Chivalry has

⁹⁶ '*Inde in expensis domus [...] aliquando plures fratres secundum quod fuerint infirmi in prioratu*': Larking and Kemble, 1338, p. 78.

⁹⁷ Helen J. Nicholson, 'The Military Religious Orders in the Towns of the British Isles', in Damien Carraz (ed.), *Les Ordres Militaires dans la Ville Médiévale (1100-1350)* (Clermont-Ferrand, 2013), pp. 119-20, 122; William Farrer and J. Brownbill (eds), 'Townships: Dutton', in *A History of the County of Lancaster: Volume 7* (London, 1912), pp. 54-61. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/lancs/vol7/pp54-61> [accessed 18 January 2019].

⁹⁸ Majoros, 'Function of Hospitaller Houses', pp. 118-23.

⁹⁹ Between 1291 and 1400 the Hospitallers did have four donors that also held corrodies. However, this hospitality was not the prime motive of their donations. Three, William Langford, John de Horewode, and John de Oxenford also had business relationships with the Order. The fourth, Edward of St John, had longstanding personal ties to the Hospitallers. These four donors, and the influence of such relationships on patronage, are discussed in Chapters Three and Five.

¹⁰⁰ The Order's leadership was dominated by knight-brothers, and in 1338 thirty-four of the 119 brethren in the Priory of England were knights: Larking and Kemble, 1338, pp. lxi-lxii. There were probably many more knight-brethren in the West than in the East. From 1291-c.1310, when the convent was based on Cyprus, the number of resident knights was restricted and never rose to more than eighty. The 1292 chapter-general even passed a statute forbidding the reception of new knights without the permission of the Order's leaders as it was felt that there were too many knight-brethren in Europe. An exemption was made for Spain, but only because it shared a frontier with the Muslims: Riley-Smith, *Knights Hospitaller in the Levant*, pp. 82-83.

attracted a great deal of research and the personal piety of the knightly class has been well-studied; yet little investigation has been made into whether the *chevalerie* preferred the military orders to their non-military counterparts.¹⁰¹ There are several reasons to assume closer relations between the *chevalerie* and the military orders than with non-military monastics. Crusading was an important aspect of chivalric culture and, as shown above, the Hospitallers were well known as crusaders.¹⁰² Also, the chivalric knightly orders, such as England's Order of the Garter, were partly inspired by and modelled on the military religious orders that preceded them.¹⁰³ Did knights and nobles feel a greater affinity with the Hospitallers compared to non-knightly religious orders over this shared background and interest? Not only that, the Order even shared a membership with the *chevalerie*. After 1262, to become a knight-brother one had to be of knightly background before joining the Hospitallers.¹⁰⁴ These links did lead to some patronage. Four of the donors to the English *Langue* from 1291 to 1400 were relatives or possible relatives of knight-brethren, but this is only a small fraction of the *langue*'s total patronage in this period.¹⁰⁵ Study of knightly and noble attitudes to the military orders has

¹⁰¹ Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, pp. 237-254 discusses the motives behind knightly monastic patronage and gives a short account of patterns of patronage. Richard Kaeuper, *Holy Warriors* (Philadelphia, 2009) is the fullest account of chivalric piety, but deals only with personal expressions of this, rather than institutional ones like monastic patronage. Other studies of chivalry and religion can be found in: Maurice Keen, *Chivalry* (Yale, 1984), pp. 44-63, though this is largely focused on crusading, something that Keen is sure to stress developed alongside and influenced chivalric piety, rather than acting as a basis for it. See also, Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood in Scotland*, pp. 103-30; Richard Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence in Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 45-62. David Bachrach's work on religion in warfare provides the broad context of the links between war, religion, and chivalry. However, his study is not concerned solely with the *chevalerie* and it explicitly excludes the military orders from its scope: David S. Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War c. 300-1215* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 3.

¹⁰² Above, pp. 52-54. For the role of crusading in chivalry, see Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 44-50, 55-59; Richard Barber, *The Knight and Chivalry* (Woodbridge, revised ed., 1995), pp. 249-65. For chivalry and crusading in fourteenth-century England, see: Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 159-207; Keen, 'Chaucer's Knight', pp. 45-61. For Scottish chivalry and crusading, see Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, pp. 103-109. For the wider context of military religion and the crusade, see: Bachrach, *Religion and the Conduct of War*, pp. 108-50.

¹⁰³ For a discussion of the conceptual predecessors of the chivalric knightly order, see D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton, *The Knights of the Crown: The Monarchical Orders of Knighthood in Later Medieval Europe 1325-1520* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 16-26. Keen attributes greater inspiration from lay confraternities, but admits some links between the military orders and knightly orders: Keen, *Chivalry*, pp. 179-85. For the Order of the Garter, see: Hugh E. L. Collins, *The Order of the Garter 1348-1461: Chivalry and Politics in Late Medieval England* (Oxford, 2000); Jonathan Good, *The Cult of Saint George in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2009), pp. 63-71.

¹⁰⁴ O'Malley, *English Langue*, p. 26.

¹⁰⁵ See below, pp. 187-90.

demonstrated good relations, better than with other groups like ecclesiastics, who often struggled to reconcile the Order's religious and military aspects.¹⁰⁶ As shown above, the military orders appeared in chivalric literature, often positively.¹⁰⁷ Many knights and nobles had a clear affection for the military orders, but it is not yet clear whether this translated into acts of patronage, though such a link has been theorised.¹⁰⁸ There is little evidence in the texts of donation charters themselves as to any special relationship between the Hospitallers and the *chevalerie*. The Order is usually addressed in charters as the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, the brethren's status as knights is unmentioned.¹⁰⁹ In order to determine the influence of chivalry on patronage of the Hospitallers, it is instead necessary to compare the number of knightly and noble donors to the Hospital with those of other monastic houses. The same houses previously compared above have been chosen, namely, Beaulieu, God's House, Godsfield, Montacute, St Mark's Hospital, Buckland, Aldgate, St Bartholomew's Hospital, and the London and Middlesex entries of the Hospitallers 1442 cartulary. Noble donors have been classed as those of royal blood or those who had a title of baron or above, or were part of a family with such a title. Knights have been defined as those described as knights in their donation charter or other primary sources or those who were part of families of knights. For example, Thomas ap Adam, who donated to St Mark's Hospital around 1330, does not appear to have been a knight, but was the son of Sir John ap Adam, knight, and so has been classed as part of the *chevalerie* as he came from a knightly family.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ Nicholson, *Images of the Military Orders*, pp. 15-25, 57-64. There was also some lay criticism of the military orders, increasing in the thirteenth century: *ibid.*, pp. 25-33, 64-75. But this was less stringent than the complaints of ecclesiastics: *ibid.*, pp. 35-48. Churchmen were also often critical of secular knights: Kaeuper, *Chivalry and Violence*, pp. 63-88.

¹⁰⁷ Above, p. 52. The orders were also criticised in some of these works, such as the questioning of their spirituality: Nicholson, *Love, War and the Grail*, pp. 72-75.

¹⁰⁸ Nicholson, *Images of the Military Orders*, pp. 62-63.

¹⁰⁹ A common address was '*Deo et beate Marie et Sancto Johanni Baptiste et beatio pauperibus sancte domus hospitalis Jerusalem et fratribus eiusdem domus in Anglia*': BL, MS Cotton Nero C ix, f. 100r.

¹¹⁰ Ross, *Cartulary of St Mark's*, no. 11.

House	Total grants in free alms	Grants from the <i>chevalerie</i>	Proportion of grants from the <i>chevalerie</i> (%)
Godsfield	142	6	4.2
Beaulieu	62	23	37.1
God's House	53	4	7.5
London and Middlesex Hospitallers	73	5	6.8
Aldgate	78	15	19.2
St Bart's	273	6	2.2
Buckland	170	20	11.8
Montacute	119	50	42
St Mark's	58	12	20.7

Table 1.2: Grants from the *chevalerie* to the Hospitallers and other religious houses in England, from their foundation to 1400.

From the table above, it can be seen that the Hospitallers did not enjoy an abnormally high level of patronage from the *chevalerie* compared to non-military houses. The Cistercian Beaulieu Abbey had a much higher proportion of noble and knightly donors, perhaps because it was a royal foundation; a third of these grants were from England's kings.¹¹¹ Holy Trinity Priory in Aldgate was also founded by a royal patron, Henry I's wife Matilda, possibly explaining its high level of grants from the *chevalerie*, who wished to follow royal fashions

¹¹¹ Hockey, *Beaulieu Cartulary*, nos 1 (John), 2-5 (Henry III), 6 (John), 27 (Richard de Haveringe, knight), 36 (Ralph of Shilton, knight), 92-3 (Edward I), 107 (Robert de Punchardon, knight), 148 (Richard of Brockenhurst, knight), 167 (Robert de Punchardon, knight), 238 (Henry de Bohun, earl of Hereford), 249 (Richard, earl of Cornwall).

and gain prestige by association.¹¹² Montacute Priory, though not founded by a monarch, was established by a grandson of William the Conqueror, and therefore enjoyed a large amount of patronage from the *chevalerie*, half of which were royal donations.¹¹³ St Mark's Hospital, a noble foundation, received a high level of patronage from this group, accounting for over a fifth of its donations.¹¹⁴ The Middlesex Hospitallers received more noble and knightly grants than St Bartholomew's Hospital.¹¹⁵ However, the hospital of God's House in Southampton had a slightly greater proportion of *chevalerie* patronage than the Hospitallers both in Hampshire and in London and Middlesex.¹¹⁶ This house was not a royal or noble foundation. It was established in the 1190s by a burgess, Gervase, son of Turbert.¹¹⁷ Only the Hospitallers of Buckland received a particularly high proportion of grants from the *chevalerie*, though eleven

¹¹² Hodgett, *Holy Trinity Aldgate*, nos 1 (Queen Matilda and Henry I), 2 (Henry I), 701a (William de Mandeville, 6th earl of Essex), 875 (Henry I), 962 (Geoffrey de Mandeville, earl of Essex), 973 (Stephen), 975 (Stephen), 976 (Queen Matilda), 979 (Stephen), 998 (Henry), 1001 (Stephen), 1002 (Henry II), 1004 (Henry III), 1005 (Richard II).

¹¹³ *Cartularies of Bruton and Montacute*, nos 1 (William, count of Mortain), 2-4 (Henry I), 5-7 (Stephen), 8-12 (Henry II), 14-6 (John), 22-4 (Henry III), 28-9 (EI), 30 (Matilda de Braose, wife of Roger Mortimer, 1st Baron Mortimer, John de Hastings, 1st Baron Hastings, and William de la Zouche, 1st Baron Zouche), 35 (Richard de Say, described as brother of Gilbert, a knight), 36 (Lucy de Aderne, sister of Richard de Say), 37 (Baldwin, earl of Exeter), 39 (Robert de Mandeville), 40-2 (Geoffrey de Mandeville, son of Robert de Mandeville), 43 (Sir John de Mandeville, son of Sir John de Mandeville), 57 (Edmund Mortimer, 2nd Baron Mortimer), 95 (William de Geveltone, knight), 119 (Alfred de Lincoln, described in nos 126 and 131 as Sir Alfred de Lincoln), 129 (Richard, earl of Leicester), 134 (Alfred de Lincoln), 137 (John de Sancto Johanne, knight), 148 (Hugh Peverel of Sanford, knight), 157 (Jordan, son of Rogo, knight), 158 (Richard, son of Earl Baldwin), 165-6 (Robert, earl of Gloucester), 167-8 (Roger de Mandeville, son of Stephen de Mandeville), 177 (Sir John de Rivers), 179 (William Hakcome, knight), 192-3 (Henry I), 194 (Stephen), 195 (Henry III), 197 (King Edward, which Edward is unspecified).

¹¹⁴ Ross, *Cartulary of St Mark's*, nos 2-3 (Robert de Gournay), 11 (Thomas ap Adam, son of Sir John Adam, knight), 26 (Henry III), 27-8 (Edward II), 32 (episcopal confirmation of several grants, including one by Thomas de Doynton, knight), 264 (Edward I), 270 (Thomas de Clare, later lord of Thomond), 276 (Edward I), 355 (Thomas ap Adam), 441 (Sir Nicholas, son of Ralph, lord of Tykeham).

¹¹⁵ MS Cotton Nero E vi, ff. 62r-v (Edward I), 76v-77r (Edward III and Richard II), 86r (Geoffrey de Batchworth, lord of Harefield), 89v (Roger de Batchworth, knight); Kerling, *Cartulary of St Bartholomew's*, nos 16 (Henry I), 400 (John de Bassingburn, knight), 1428 (Robert de Brywes, lord of Little Wakering), 1451 (Marget le Brune de Hakewelle, daughter of Jordan le Brun, knight), 1452 (Gillian de Hakewelle, widow of Jordan le Brun, knight), 1494 (Robert V de Brus, lord of Annandale, or Robert VI de Brus, lord of Annandale). For Robert de Brywes, see: Richard Huscroft, "Briwes [Brywes], Sir Robert de (d. 1275/6), justice." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-94466> [accessed 14 February 2018].

¹¹⁶ Kaye, *Cartulary of God's House*, i, nos 85 (Richard I), 90 (Edward III), 86 (John), 87 (Henry III). *Godsfield Cartulary*, nos 10 (Roger de Mortimer, d. 1282), 134 (Richard de Botteley, son of Sir John de Botteley), 156 (John le Cormailles, lord of Thruyton), 174 (Richard de Afton, knight), 175 (Lady Margaret de Vernon, widow of Sir William Buzun).

¹¹⁷ Kaye, *Cartulary of God's House*, i, pp. xxv-xxvii.

of these donations were from the preceptory's founders, the Erleighs.¹¹⁸ If their patronage is discounted, the figure falls from over eleven per cent to over five per cent. There does not appear to be a clear pattern to the preferences of knightly, noble, and royal patrons, aside from royal foundations benefiting from further royal patronage, as shown by Beaulieu, Montacute, and Aldgate. In some instances hospitals were more popular, in others monastic houses. Historians of monasticism have found that the *chevalerie* appears to have followed the general trends in monastic patronage. In the twelfth century they favoured orders newly arrived in Britain and Ireland, like the Cistercians and Augustinians. In the thirteenth century they could be found patronising friars, and in the late medieval period many knights patronised chantries and collegiate churches.¹¹⁹ That the Hospitallers were knights themselves does not seem to have entered into the decision-making of donors choosing a house to patronise. Instead, as later chapters will show, what really motivated patronage of both military and non-military orders were factors like localism, personal and familial ties, or a desire for religious intercession.

This analysis focuses solely on England, but without a surviving Hospitaller cartulary for Ireland, Wales, or Scotland, it is difficult to reliably assess the Order's knightly and noble patronage elsewhere in the British Isles. With only a small source-base for the other three nations, any analysis of donor backgrounds would be unreliable. However, Chapter Three shows that the majority of Irish grants were from royal donors and stemmed from the Order's services there to the kings of England, rather than any appeal derived from shared knighthood.

¹¹⁸ *Buckland Cartulary*, nos 3 (episcopal confirmation of foundation by William de Erleigh), 7 (Henry II), 27-29 (Henry de Erleigh), 31 (John V de Erleigh), 34 (John de Erleigh), 37 (Henry de Erleigh), 38 (John VI de Erleigh), 39 (John VI de Erleigh and confirmation of grants by Henry de Erleigh and John V de Erleigh), 41 (Henry III), 174 (Payn de Walton, described in no. 175 as Sir Payn), 175 (Michael de Walton, son of Sir Payn), 188 (Payn de Walton), 198 (John of Brittany, earl of Richmond), 237 (John), 271 ('Robert, son of King Henry', probably Robert FitzEdith, son of Henry I), 299 (William, earl of Gloucester).

¹¹⁹ For an overview of changing trends in monastic patronage in England and Wales, see Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons*, pp. 9-18. Knights and nobles were instrumental in establishing the mendicant orders in London: Jens Röhrkasten, 'The Mendicant Orders in Urban Life and Society: The Case of London', Jamroziak and Burton, *Religious and Laity*, pp. 342-46. For knightly patronage of collegiate churches in late medieval Scotland, see Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, pp. 119-30. For the knightly patronage of chantries, see Crouch, *Image of Aristocracy*, pp. 240-44.

However, in Scotland there was some link between the Order and chivalry. For much of the fourteenth century the Hospital's Scottish preceptory of Torphichen and the rest of its estates were managed by lay guardians who were part of a chivalric and crusading network in the courts of Robert I, David II, and Robert II. Four of these seven guardians had direct links to crusading. David de Mar (c. 1357-86) joined the Alexandrian Crusade in 1365. Robert Erskine (1374-82) took a crusade vow, which he had commuted in 1359, but he did later crusade in Prussia in 1389. Erskine's son, Nicholas, also went to Alexandria.¹²⁰ Robert's son, Thomas Erskine, also managed Torphichen. Not only the son and brother of crusaders, Thomas also joined his father in Prussia in 1389.¹²¹ One of the earlier guardians, Reginald More (c. 1322-25), may have gone on crusade. In 1320, he and a certain James de Cunningham were given safe conducts by Edward II to pass through England as they travelled abroad on a 'pilgrimage'.¹²² A man described variously as Ranulph or Ranekyn More, perhaps the same man as Reginald More, was travelling 'overseas' again in 1340, with a retinue of forty men.¹²³ The destinations of these journeys are unknown, but both going on 'pilgrimage' and going 'overseas' were common euphemisms for crusading.¹²⁴ Forty men would be a sizeable contribution for a single captain to a fourteenth-century crusade expedition.¹²⁵ Reginald's son, William (c. 1335-45), also managed Torphichen and while there is no record of his participation in crusading, his father may have been a crusader and he himself was an associate of Robert Erskine. There was an indenture made between Erskine and William More, lord of

¹²⁰ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, pp. 104-105; Michael Penman, 'Christian days and knights: The religious devotions and court of David II of Scotland', *Historical Research*, Vol. 75, No. 189 (2002), p. 262.

¹²¹ Stevenson, *Chivalry and Knighthood*, p. 105.

¹²² 'ad partes transmarinas peregre': Thomas Rymer (ed.), *Foedera*, ed. John Caley and Frederic Holbrooke, 20 vols in 17 (London, 1816-69), 2:1, p. 423, iii, p. 131.

¹²³ *CDS*, iii, no. 1345. 'ad p[ar]tes t[r]ansmar[inas]': David Mcpherson, John Caley, and William Illingworth (eds), *Rotuli Scotiae in Turri Londinensi et in Domo Capitulari Westmonasteriensi asservati* (London, 1814-9), i, p. 599.

¹²⁴ For a discussion of the various medieval terms for crusading, see Christopher Tyerman, *The Invention of the Crusades* (Toronto, 1998), pp. 49-55.

¹²⁵ Thomas, Lord Despenser, led fifty horsemen in Thomas of Woodstock's failed expedition to Prussia in 1391. In 1366 Maurice le Bruyn brought fifteen men-at-arms with him to join the English contingent of Amadeus of Savoy's Crusade: Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, pp. 84, 103.

Abercorn, in 1363.¹²⁶ Robert Mercer, guardian from 1374-9, does not appear to have crusaded, but did participate in tournaments, another aspect of chivalric culture. A licence of 1381 gave permission for the Lord Lyon to take a suit of armour from London to Scotland in order to outfit Mercer for his fight in the lists against John Gille.¹²⁷ One of the last guardians of Torphichen, Robert Grant (1379-83), also took part in chivalric combats. In 1380 he was given safe conduct by Richard II to visit Lilliot Cross in Roxburghshire where he would fight a duel with Thomas de la Strother.¹²⁸ Three of the preceptors of Torphichen during this period may have been descended from crusaders. Alexander de Seton, preceptor from 1345 to 1346, may have counted the Alexander de Seton that served in the Ninth Crusade as an ancestor.¹²⁹ Similarly, Ralph de Lindsay, preceptor from c. 1304-18, and David de Lindsay, who controlled Torphichen from 1351 to 1357, could have been descendants of the David de Lindsay who joined the Eighth Crusade.¹³⁰ The ties of this chivalric network with the Hospitallers shows there was a link between involvement in Scottish crusading and chivalric culture and the Hospitallers. However, there is no evidence that these ties resulted in donations. These guardians appear to have operated similarly to those lay people who were leased Order properties elsewhere, maintaining their rented estates and sending some funds to the Hospitallers, but at Torphichen this lay control seems to have been backed by the crown, probably a consequence of the Order's support for Edward I in the 1290s and early fourteenth century.¹³¹

¹²⁶ Henry Paton (ed.), *Supplementary Report on the Manuscripts of the Earl of Mar and Kellie, preserved at Alloa House* (London, 1930), p. 8.

¹²⁷ *CDS*, iv, no. 303.

¹²⁸ Mcpherson *et al.*, *Rotuli Scotiae*, ii, p. 29. Grant also went 'overseas'. In February 1380 he was given a safe-conduct by Richard II to travel overseas with a companion and an attendant: *ibid.*, p. 20. However, this would have been a very small retinue for a crusade expedition and so the journey was probably related to Grant's merchant career. He was described as a merchant in December 1380 when his merchandise and that of a companion, William Fausyde, had been detained by Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland: *ibid.*, pp. 30-31.

¹²⁹ Macquarrie, *Scotland and the Crusades*, pp. 61-62.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

¹³¹ See below, pp. 108-110.

The lack of any significant tie between chivalry and patronage of the Hospitallers is likely due to the priorities of these donors when choosing an order to endow. As discussed above, patterns of knightly and noble patronage were not greatly distinct from those of other donors. They largely followed pre-existing trends in patronage, or introduced these themselves, which were then taken up by other social groups. To the majority of their donors, it did not matter that the Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem were knightly, crusaders, or a hospital. Instead, a donor's chief concern when patronising monastics was the religious services that could be offered in return.¹³² Other leading motives included the institution's geographic proximity to the donor and any family traditions of patronising that particular house.¹³³ As the three distinct aspects of the Order, their status as knights, role as crusaders, and provision of hospitality, were not major motivators of patronage, it appears that scholarship's division of the military and non-military orders does not reflect contemporary interactions with the military orders. With the three seemingly intuitive motivations behind Hospitaller patronage shown to have actually had little effect on donations, the following chapters will instead show what really influenced their patrons: cultural identity, professional relationships, localism, personal and familial ties, and religious intercession.

¹³² Christopher Holdsworth notes that prayer 'comes first in their charters and has to be taken seriously': Christopher Holdsworth, *The Piper and the Tune: Medieval Patrons and Monks* (Reading, 1991), p. 17. For the early medieval origins of the doctrine and liturgy of intercessory prayer, see Megan McLaughlin, *Consorting with Saints: Prayer for the Dead in Early Medieval France* (London, 1994), pp. 55-79. For the role of intercession in Hospitaller patronage, see below, pp. 192-99.

¹³³ An unpublished paper by Norah Carlin, 'Mapping the Templelands of Scotland' (November 2014), showed that the Scottish properties of the Templars and Hospitallers were most numerous in Lothian, near their preceptories of Balantrodoch and Torphichen. About twenty-five per cent of donors to the English *Langue* from 1291-1400 were related to earlier patrons or to the Hospital's own brethren. For the role of localism in Hospitaller patronage, see Chapter Four below. For family ties and patronage, see pp. 180-92.

Chapter Two: Identity and Patronage

Despite representing the Order across Britain and Ireland, most brethren of the English *Langue* of the Knights Hospitaller were English or Anglo-Norman. The chief offices of the prior of England and the prior of Ireland were almost always held by Anglo-Normans, Englishmen, Cymro-Normans, or Anglo-Irish brethren.¹ Until the fourteenth century, only one of the Hospitallers recorded in Scotland appears to have been from Scotland.² The *langue* also developed close ties to the English Crown. The prior of England became a leading royal councillor from the late thirteenth century, acting as a diplomat, administrator, and military commander.³ This secular service was not distinctive to the Hospitallers in Britain and Ireland. Brethren of the military orders throughout Europe were often employed as royal diplomats, administrators, or commanders.⁴ The English *Langue* was closely aligned with the English Crown despite being a pan-British institution, with brethren and holdings in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland – countries in which England’s armies were frequently fighting from 1291 to

¹ After the mid-thirteenth century there was only one non-English or Anglo-Norman Prior of England, the Italian Leonard de Tibertis (1331-5): Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 18, 23. For a list of the priors of England, see: J. S. Cockburn, H. P. F. King and K. G. T. McDonnell (eds), ‘Religious Houses: House of Knights Hospitallers’, in *A History of the County of Middlesex: Volume 1, Physique, Archaeology, Domesday, Ecclesiastical Organization, the Jews, Religious Houses, Education of Working Classes To 1870, Private Education From Sixteenth Century* (London, 1969), pp. 193-204. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/middx/vol1/pp193-204> [accessed 27 April 2016]. For a list of the priors of Ireland, see: Niall Byrne, *The Irish Crusade: A History of the Knights Hospitaller, the Knights Templar, and the Knights of Malta, in the South-East of Ireland* (Dublin, 2007), pp. 417-81.

² This one exception appears to have been Simon Scocie, who was witness to a grant in 1192: *Scotland*, pp. xxviii, 193.

³ For example, Prior Joseph Chauncey was Treasurer of England from 1273 to 1280 and Prior Robert Hales held the post in 1381. E. B. Pryde, D. E. Greenway, S. Porter, I. Roy (eds), *Handbook of British Chronology* (Cambridge, 3rd ed., 2003), pp. 104-105. Hales served on the second minority council of Richard II from 1378-9. He was also appointed an admiral of the southern fleet in 1377 as was his successor as John Raddington in 1385. Prior Philip de Thame was Keeper of Southampton in 1339. From 1330 until the Dissolution the prior was summoned to almost every parliament. The few exceptions to this were usually because he was abroad: Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 47-53, 99, 112.

⁴ Alan Forey, ‘The Careers of Templar and Hospitaller Office-Holders in Western Europe during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries’, in Philippe Josserand, Luis F. Oliveira and Damien Carraz (eds), *Élites et ordres militaires au moyen âge: reconte autour d’Alain Demurger* (Madrid, 2015), pp. 201-14; Helen J. Nicholson, ‘*Nolite Confidere in principibus*: The Military Orders’ Relations with the Rulers of Christendom’, in *ibid*, pp. 261-76; Kristjan Toomaspoeg, ‘Les ordres militaires au service des pouvoirs monarchiques occidentaux’, in *ibid*, pp. 321-32.

1400. In this period the kings of England invaded Scotland thirteen times, faced four Welsh rebellions, and were threatened by repeated Gaelic raids on the English colony in Ireland.⁵ How did the frequent conflict between England and its neighbours affect the Hospitallers and their patronage? This chapter will argue that potential Irish donors rejected the Order as an arm of a hostile English Crown. In Wales, the Hospitallers met some acceptance from the Welsh, whilst in Scotland the Order was patronised by both kings and commons, though the Scottish crown was still willing to pressure the Hospital during war with England. The main causes of this variation in attitudes to the Hospitallers was the manner of their introduction to each country and their activities thereafter. In Ireland they were colonists brought by an invading army, yet in Scotland the Hospitallers were invited by the king of Scots and in Wales they arrived after the initial Anglo-Norman conquests. In this interplay of identity and patronage, the Hospitallers differed greatly from non-military orders, even if their patronage was very similar in most other respects.

It is necessary to first discuss whether patrons in each of these countries were viewed – by themselves and others – as distinct from the Anglo-Norman and English Hospitallers and the kings of England that they served. Most scholarship places the development of nationalism (the idea that a set of ethnic traditions are valuable and a territorially-defined nation-state should exist to defend or expand them) in the early modern period; nonetheless, the middle ages did still have concepts of nations and peoples.⁶ Medieval ideas of race and ethnicity were

⁵ Edward I invaded Scotland in 1296, 1298, 1300, 1301, 1303, and was leading an army en route there when he died in 1307. As king, Edward II invaded in 1314 and 1322. Edward III attacked in 1333, 1334, 1335, 1341, and 1356. Richard II invaded in 1385. There were Welsh risings in 1294-5, 1316, 1345, and 1400. The last of which, Owain Glyn Dŵr's Rebellion, lasted until 1415.

⁶ The classic assertion of the modernist stance is Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London, rev. ed., 1991). See also E. J. Hobsbawm, *Nations and nationalism since 1780: programme, myth, reality* (Cambridge, 1990). Patrick Geary argues for the importance of the nineteenth century in the development of national myths and national histories, ones which drew heavily upon the early medieval period: Patrick J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe* (Woodstock, 2002). However, Anthony Smith argues that the pre-modern roots of nationalism should not be overlooked, whilst Adrian Hastings goes so far to claim an English nation-state existed by 1000: Anthony D. Smith, 'Gastronomy or geology? The role of nationalism in the reconstruction of nations', *Nations and Nationalism*, Vol. 1, No.1 (1995), p. 18; Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge, 1997),

usually based on religious, cultural, or linguistic differences. For example, John of Fordoun, writing in the late fourteenth century, highlights language and custom as the basis for distinguishing the residents of highland and lowland Scotland. He treats them as two separate peoples but part of a single Scottish nation: '*Mores autem Scotorum secundum diversitatem linguarum variantur; duabus enim utuntur linguis, Scotica, videlicet, et Theuthonica, cujus linguae gens...*'⁷ Skin tone sometimes played a role in ethnic categorisation, but it is culture that was given a 'common emphasis' by medieval writers.⁸

By the fourteenth century such groups had been distinguished across Britain and Ireland.⁹ It should be noted that there was a great variation in ethnicity, such identities were not perfectly defined, and movement or influence from one to the other was possible. For John of Fordoun, the Scots comprised one nation but two peoples. Several figures who might be identified as Gaelic Irish had close ties to the Anglo-Irish colony, such as Ralph Ó Ceallaigh, anglicised as O'Kelly, archbishop of Cashel (d. 1361). The archbishop clashed with the colonial authorities in 1347 by opposing a tax granted the previous year on the grounds that the bishops had not consented to it, yet in 1355 he was appointed by the administration to raise troops against Ó Ceinnéidigh and at a great council four years later he consented to a tax to

p. 5. More recent work by George Molyneux challenges Hastings' claims of an Anglo-Saxon nation-state, arguing that the kingdom was defined by administrative reforms, not ideas of English unity: George Molyneux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford, 2015). Dauvit Broun has argued that ideas of Scottish independence were fully formed by the mid-thirteenth century: Dauvit Broun, *Scottish Independence and the Idea of Britain: From the Picts to Alexander III* (Edinburgh, 2007).

⁷ John of Fordoun, *Chronica gentis Scottorum*, ed. W. F. Skene (Edinburgh, 1871-2), p. 42; Robert Bartlett, 'Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, Vol. 31, No. 1 (Winter 2001), pp. 47-54

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

⁹ A detailed exploration of this is R. R. Davies' four lectures given to the RHS: R. R. Davies, 'Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100-1400. I. Identities', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 4 (1994), pp. 1-20; R. R. Davies, 'Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100-1400. II. Names, Boundaries and Regnal Solidarities', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 5 (1995), pp. 1-20; R. R. Davies, 'Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100-1400. III. Laws and Customs', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 6 (1996), pp. 1-23; R. R. Davies, 'Presidential Address: The Peoples of Britain and Ireland 1100-1400. IV. Language and Historical Mythology', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 7 (1997), pp. 1-24.

fund the war with Art Mac Murchadha.¹⁰ It was possible for alien residents in England to be granted denisation, such as the German merchant John Swart in 1397, gaining the legal privileges and protections of English status, though it seems that they were still viewed as being fundamentally alien.¹¹ These identities' interactions with each other also differed from country to country. For example, attitudes towards and hostility to 'Englishness' were different in Scotland, where this remained a largely external label, to the situation in Wales and Ireland, which had large colonial populations from England.

However, people were clearly aware of these identities, either promoting these views themselves, as in Fordoun's division of the highland and lowland peoples of Scotland, or having them forced upon them, as in England's anti-Welsh legislation. For example, several English laws referred to those who were Welsh 'by blood'. In the fourteenth century, English women who married Welsh men stood to lose their English status and, by the fifteenth century, Englishmen were entitled to be tried only by people that were English 'by birth and by blood'.¹² Scottish identity was also often defined against the English in the late medieval period after war broke out between the two kingdoms in 1296. In 1302 Scottish ambassadors presented to the Pope their foundation legend of Scota and Geythelos, articulating an origin for the Scots and their kingdom completely separate from the English.¹³ Another version of this would be repeated in the Declaration of Arbroath in 1320.¹⁴ In Ireland the Gaelic Irish also saw themselves as a separate people. An Irish petition from the 1350s claimed that there were two peoples in Ireland, the English, that is, the Anglo-Irish or English of Ireland, and the Irish, or

¹⁰ B. H. Blacker, rev. Philomena Connolly, 'Ó Ceallaigh [O'Kelly, Kelly], Ralph (d. 1361), archbishop of Cashel', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15305> [accessed 31 Jan 2019].

¹¹ CPR, Richard II 1396-99, p. 84; Andrea Ruddick, "'Becoming English': Nationality, Terminology, and Changing Sides in the Late Middle Ages", *Medieval Worlds*, 5 (2017), pp. 57-69.

¹² R. R. Davies, *Lordship and Society in the March of Wales 1282-1400* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 306-307.

¹³ Bruce Webster, 'John of Fordun and the Independent Identity of the Scots', in Alfred P. Smyth (ed.), *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke, 1998), pp. 92-93.

¹⁴ A. A. M. Duncan, *The Nation of Scots and the Declaration of Arbroath* (London, 1970), pp. 34-35.

Gaelic Irish.¹⁵ The 1317 Remonstrance of the Irish Chiefs to John XXII presented Donald O'Neill as heir of Ireland, its lords, and people.¹⁶ Like the Scots, the Irish declared a mythical royal history completely separate to that of England. Donald claimed descent from the sons of the mythical Milesius 'and from these men without admixture of foreign blood one hundred and thirty-six kings have received royal power over the whole of Ireland down to King Legarius from whom I, the aforesaid Donald, have derived my descent in a direct line'.¹⁷ With such distinct identities having been established across the British Isles by the fourteenth century, sometimes in opposition to the English Crown's expansionism, at other times enforced by it, it can be expected that the Hospitallers' close ties with England's rulers would have affected the patronage of the Order in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.

The Order received grants in each of these countries, though only in small numbers. In Scotland, the Hospitallers were given just three donations from 1291 to 1400. Around 1296 Philip of Carriber, son of Adam Manclerc of Carriber, gave the Hospitallers a rent of 2s from his land in Carriber, less than two miles away from Torphichen Preceptory.¹⁸ This proximity probably played a role in his decision to patronise the Hospitallers rather than another, more distant house.¹⁹ In 1314 Robert I of Scotland granted a confirmation of all the Order's lands and property as they held them during Alexander III's reign, rehabilitating the Hospitallers after their support for Edward I in the 1290s and the early fourteenth century.²⁰ The final grant was from Edward I in 1296, when he gave the Order three oaks from the forest of Kiltyre, probably motivated by the preceptor of Torphichen's oath of fealty given a few days before

¹⁵ Davies, 'Identities', p. 17.

¹⁶ Davies, 'Identities', p. 19.

¹⁷ Walter Bower, *Scotichronicon*, ed. D. E. R. Watt (Aberdeen, 1989-98), vi, p. 387.

¹⁸ Bodleian, MS. ch. misc. a., f. 8. This dating is based on Philip of Carriber's appearance performing fealty to Edward I in the Ragman Roll of 1296.: Thomas Thomson (ed.), *Instrumenta publica sive processus super fidelitatibus et homagiis Scotorum domino regi Angliae factis A. D. MCCXCI-MCCXCVI* (Edinburgh, 1834), p. 146.

¹⁹ For the role of localism in patronage, see Chapter Four below.

²⁰ Cowan, *Knights of St John*, no. 5.

and perhaps intended to support the repair or fortification of Torphichen against any Scottish attacks that might follow the preceptor's declaration.²¹

In Wales, the brethren received six grants. In 1291 Edward I confirmed the Order's rights over two churches in Carmarthenshire, Llanarthney and Landestephan.²² Edward III confirmed their possession of the manor of Dolgenwal [Ysbyty Ifan] and Ellsmers Church in north Wales in 1349.²³ In 1323, Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, gave the Hospitallers privileges to sell their produce in Slebech, Minwear, Rudebard, and Rosemarch, as well as rights against assault, debt, theft, and trespass.²⁴ An English bishop, David Martin, bishop of St Davids, made a grant in 1301 allowing the Order to appropriate Marteltwy church.²⁵ The two remaining donations may have come from Welshmen. John Lecard gave the Order the advowsons of St Giles' church in Letardson and the chapel of Lanveyz, whilst around 1300 David Philip of Minwear, relative of a certain Maurice son of Caradoc, granted a curtilage of land in Marteltwy.²⁶ Letardson is probably now Letterston, Pembrokeshire. The Order also received *confraria* donations in Scotland and Wales. In 1338 this amounted to £20 in Pembrokeshire and 40 marks in north Wales, suggesting some local support.²⁷ There is no surviving record of confraternity payments in Scotland for this period, but charter evidence shows that the *confraria* was collected there by at least the mid-thirteenth century.²⁸ However,

²¹ *CCR*, Edward I 1288-96, p. 489; *CDS*, ii, no. 823, p. 202.

²² *CPR*, Edward III 1327-30, p. 305.

²³ *Ibid.*, Edward III 1348-50, p. 428.

²⁴ Fenton, *Historical Tour Through Pembrokeshire*, appendix, no. 2.

²⁵ *CPR*, Edward III 1327-30, p. 486.

²⁶ Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', p. 837; NLW, GB 0210 SLEBECH, 283.

²⁷ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 34, 38.

²⁸ In 1239-42, Richard, son of Elias of Prendergust, granted ten acres of land in Cotesflat, near Dunbar, to his brother Simon. Simon was to owe Richard 8d. for all service, including '1d. to the fraternity of St John [the Hospitallers] and 1d. to the fraternity of St Mary of Bethlehem [the Bethlehemites] and 1d. to the fraternity of St Lazarus [the Lazarites]': James Raine (ed.), *The History and Antiquities of North Durham* (London, 1852), appendix, no. 236. For the dating of this charter, see: *The People of Medieval Scotland, 1093-1314* (Glasgow and London, 2012) db.poms.ac.uk/record/factoid/55688/ [accessed 19 February 2018]. As all three of these orders originated in the Holy Land and cared for pilgrims there, Richard or one of his ancestors may have been a crusader or pilgrim who wanted to repay the care that he had received from them in the East. For the Bethlehemites in Scotland, see: Alan Macquarrie, 'The Bethlehemite hospital of St Germain, East Lothian', *Transactions of the East Lothian Antiquarian and Field Naturalists' Society*, 17 (1982), pp. 1-10. For the Order of St Lazarus in Scotland, see: MacLellan, 'The Leper and the Lion', pp. 218-32.

with no record of who made these payments, it is impossible to use this to draw conclusions about support for the Order.

There was *some* backing then for the Order from donors in Wales and Scotland, but in Ireland the brethren received just one grant from a Gaelic Irish patron, John MacCarwill, bishop of Meath, who granted them the church of Matri, Meath, sometime between 1321 and 1324.²⁹ Though acting in an English-controlled bishopric, it is unclear if he was a supporter of the English administration in Ireland. Serving as an English-appointed bishop did not necessarily make one a supporter of the English colony in Ireland. David Mac Cearbhaill (d. 1289), archbishop of Cashel, and a possible relative of MacCarwill, was also a bishop for the colony, yet his career shows him to have been neither overtly supportive nor antagonistic to the Anglo-Irish administration.³⁰ He was behind negotiations in 1277 to buy access to English law for the Gaelic Irish, suggesting some sympathy for them, but he also, as an archbishop, sat in the Anglo-Irish colony's parliament.³¹ The kings of England also made grants to the Order in Ireland. Edward II donated twice and Edward III five times, as did Anglo-Irish patrons. Primarily, these royal grants were tied to the Order's role as a crown servant in Ireland and are discussed in Chapter Three.³² Around 1301 John Wogan gave ten carucates of land in Kilpipe and Maurice de Carreu donated six carucates in Balybagh.³³ These were both members of prominent Anglo-Irish families. John may have been the John Wogan, lord of Picton and justiciar of Ireland, whilst Maurice was probably related to John Carew (d. 1362), deputy justiciar of Ireland and a household knight of Edward III.³⁴ In 1326, Robert Russell left an

²⁹ *CPR*, Edward III 1338-40, p. 90. MacCarwill is sometimes recorded as Seoán Mac Cearbaill.

³⁰ Margaret Murphy, 'Mac Cearbhaill, David (d. 1289)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17385> [accessed 13 Dec 2016].

³¹ Aubrey Gwynn, 'Edward I and the Proposed Purchase of English Law for the Irish, c. 1276-80', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 10 (1960), pp. 111-27.

³² See below, pp. 124-32.

³³ London, TNA, C 143/37/2.

³⁴ Geoffrey J. Hand, 'Wogan, Sir John (d. 1321/2)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/29823> [accessed 20 June 2017]; Robin Frame, 'Carew, Sir John (d. 1362), soldier and justiciar of Ireland.', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008,

unspecified bequest of money to the Irish Hospitallers for the support of the Holy Land.³⁵ By 1338 John de Horewode and Giles Lengleys, clerks with professional ties to the Order, had made a joint grant of the manor of Lestorman.³⁶ Finally, in 1319 Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, granted the Hospitallers the church of Rathmore and its chapels and tithes for the sustentation of pilgrims and the poor.³⁷

The Order's donors in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland from 1291 to 1400 are tabled below alongside those in England for comparison, measuring the proportion of donors with Anglo-French backgrounds. This term has been chosen over native or non-native as the complexity and diversity of peoples in fourteenth-century Britain and Ireland makes such a term reductive. Scotland's inhabitants included not only 'native' Scots. There were also Scoto-Norse, Gaelic Scots, and Scoto-Normans. Furthermore, some of the Anglo-Irish would have had family histories in Ireland stretching back to the invasion of 1170, whilst some of the Cymro-Normans could claim even longer ties to Wales, and so it may not be quite accurate to dub these groups 'non-native'. Instead, classifying donors as Anglo-French or not, that is, linked with the various peoples that entered Wales, Scotland, and Ireland in support of England's expansionism or entered Scotland peacefully from England or her possessions on the Continent, whether that means originally English, Anglo-Norman, Norman, Flemish, or Breton, places the emphasis on what has been termed 'allegiant identity'.³⁸ That is, these donors' ties to the kings of England, something which may have played a role in their patronage of the Hospitallers, regular servants of those same kings.

<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4629> [accessed 17 Jan. 2019].

³⁵ *RK*, p. 13.

³⁶ *CPR*, Edward III 1338-40, p. 88. For these donors' links to the Hospitallers, see below pp. 119-20.

³⁷ McEnery and Refaüssé, *Christ Church Deeds*, p. 73.

³⁸ Andrea Ruddick, *English Identity and Political Culture in the Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 217-56.

Country	Total donations	Total donors	Donors with Anglo-French backgrounds	Anglo-French backgrounds as proportion of total donors (%)
Ireland	13	9	8	88.8
Scotland	3	3	1	33.3
Wales	6	6	4	66.6
England	160	137	N/A	N/A

Table 2.1: Patrons of the Hospitallers in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, 1291-1400.

As this figure shows, the Order did have some appeal for Scottish donors, with just one grant there coming from an Anglo-French donor, and some support from the Welsh, who may have accounted for a third of donations in Wales. Yet there was very little support from the Gaelic Irish, with all but one of the Order's donors in Ireland having an Anglo-French background. In fact, when compared to the total of 160 grants made to the English *Langue* in the period 1291 to 1400, it can be seen that there was little backing for the Order outside of England at all, let alone from non-Anglo-French donors.

Could this apparent dearth of grants be due to a loss of sources? As mentioned above, very little of the *langue*'s Welsh, Irish, or Scottish archives survive, and even less for the period 1291-1400.³⁹ With such a small source-base for each of these countries from 1291 to 1400, it is difficult to draw solid conclusions about levels of patronage. This weakness can be mitigated a little by examining grants from the period before 1291 as well, but again, few donations survive and those that are extant show little support for the Order from the Welsh and almost none from the Gaelic Irish. A seventeenth-century abstract of mostly twelfth- and thirteenth-

³⁹ See above, p. 23.

century grants to the Hospitallers at Slebech lists 58 donors, but only ten can be identified as Welsh.⁴⁰ A 1230 confirmation of the preceptory's property by Anselm, bishop of St Davids lists a further 28 donors not included in this later abstract, five of whom can be identified as Welsh.⁴¹ Nine more patrons, including four Welshmen, survive in other sources.⁴² There are only a few extant grants to the Irish Hospitallers that date to before 1291, none of which are collections or abstracts of donations. The gifts of ten patrons survive, all of them with Anglo-French backgrounds.⁴³ Some historians have theorised as to the identity of the founders of the Hospital's sixteen Irish preceptories, but the original charters do not survive and such claims are often based on unreliable antiquarian accounts.⁴⁴ It is likely that these founders were Anglo-Norman, as each preceptory was established after the invasion of 1170 and were sited mostly in eastern and southern Ireland, where Anglo-Norman control was strongest. In Scotland there are only ten further surviving grants to the Order, coming from two Anglo-Norman and eight

⁴⁰ The grants are undated but most of the traceable donors date to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, such as Walter Marshal earl of Pembroke (d. 1245), Edmund Crouchback (1245-96), and Peter de Leia bishop of St Davids (d. 1198). The Welsh donors were Iwem son of Letard, Seysyll son of Caradoc, Mereduc son of Engius, William son of Engius, Rees son of Engius, Cadwgan son of Griffith, Owen son of Griffith, Katherine daughter of Howell, Maylgim Rumor son of Maylgim the elder, and Hanarana son of Ermaun: Charles, 'The records of Slebech', pp. 193-95. Owen son of Griffith has been identified as Owain ap Gruffudd (d. 1235), of the rulers of Deheubarth: Huw Pryce (ed.), *The Acts of Welsh Rulers, 1120-1283* (Cardiff, 2005), no. 59. 'Hanarana son of Ermaun' is described as 'prince and lord'. He was probably Anarawd ap Einon (d. 1198), grandson of Anarawd ap Gruffydd, one of the princes of Deheubarth: *ibid.*, no. 32.

⁴¹ These Welsh donors were Einon, Rees son of Griffith, Meurig son of Adam, William son of Elidur, and Robert son of Elidur: J. Rogers Rees, 'Slebech Commandery and the Knights of St. John.', *Archaeologia Cambrensis*, fifth series, Vol. xiv, No. liv (Apr. 1897), pp. 99-102. Rees son of Griffith has been identified as Rhys ap Gruffudd, prince of Deheubarth (d. 1197): Pryce, *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 23-24.

⁴² Henry II and Richard I both donated to Slebech, as did John d'Evereux, Philip the chaplain, and Hugh de Lacy the elder: *Wales*, pp. 120-22. Roger de Powis and Gruffyd Goch both made grants of lands in Wales to Halston preceptory: Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 140. Ifan ap Rhys of Trebys founded the preceptory of Ysbyty Ifan with the consent of Llywelyn the Great: *ibid.*, p. 138. Llywelyn later made a grant to the Order at Ysbyty Ifan: Pryce, *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 256.

⁴³ Thomas le Martre gave land to the Order in Dublin; Richard FitzGilbert earl of Pembroke founded Kilmainham; Hugh Tyrel gave land in Kilmehanok; Ouen Broun donated land near Kilmainham; Henry II confirmed FitzGilbert, Tyrel, and Broun's grants; Henry le Mareschal gave the Order a house in Dublin free from all taxes; King John granted a charter of liberties in 1200; Henry III gave the Order the advowson of Chapelizod in 1220; Henry II, Philip of Worcester, justiciar of Ireland in 1184, and Raymond de Carreu granted a church and lands in Ardfinnan: John T. Gilbert (ed.), *Register of the Abbey of St. Thomas, Dublin* (London, 1889), no. ccclxxxix; John T. Gilbert (ed.), *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, 19 vols (Dublin, 1889-1944), i, no. 139, pp. 163-64; *CDI*, i, nos 123, 1744.

⁴⁴ Aubrey Gwynn and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: Ireland* (London, 1970), pp. 334-39.

Scottish patrons.⁴⁵ The Order's donors in each country for the whole period c. 1130 to 1400 are compiled below.

Country	Total donations	Total donors	Donors with Anglo-French backgrounds	Anglo-French backgrounds as proportion of total donors (%)
Ireland	22	20	19	95
Scotland	13	13	3	23
Wales	101	101	21	79.2

Table 2.2: Patrons of the Hospitallers in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, c.1130-1400.

From the table above it seems that the initial conclusions drawn from the period 1291-1400 were correct, even considering the small source-base. It is clear that from their arrival in Britain and Ireland until 1400 the Order received repeated Scottish patronage and lukewarm Welsh backing, but hardly any Gaelic Irish support. It should be noted that, even by examining this

⁴⁵ The Scottish patrons were David I of Scotland, who gave Torphichen to the Order; Fergus of Galloway, who gave land in Galtway; Malcolm IV, who granted a toft in every burgh; Alexander III, who confirmed the Hospital's rights and possessions; Roland (Lochlann) of Galloway, who gave land in Galloway; Donald son of Duncan, who gave a toft and four acres of land; and Simon, son of Simon of Kinnear, who gave six acres in Wester Kinnear, Fife: Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', 6:2, p. 838; James Paul (ed.), *Registrum Magni Sigilli Regum Scottorum: The Register of the Great Seal of Scotland A.D. 1424-1513* (Edinburgh, 1882), no. 1791; Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Liber cartarum Sancte Crucis* (Edinburgh, 1840), p. 43; Joseph Robertson and George Grub (eds), *Illustrations of the Topography and Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, 4 vols (Aberdeen, 1847-69), iii, p. 125, fn; William B. Turnbull (ed.), *The Chartularies of Balmerino and Lindores* (Edinburgh, 1841), no. 16. In the late twelfth-century, Constantine of Lochore, son of the Burgundian Robert Burgonensis, gave the Hospitallers two oxgangs of arable land in Lochore, including a mill and common pasture as well as fuel and timber from his wood: G. W. S. Barrow, 'The Origins of the Family of Lochore', *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 77, No. 204, Part 2 (Oct., 1998), pp. 252-54. Though with a Burgundian father, Constantine appears to have been born in Scotland and was also likely the son of one of the earl of Fife's female relatives: Alexander Grant, 'At the Northern Edge: Alba and its Normans', in Keith J. Stringer and Andrew Jotischky (eds), *Norman Expansion: Connections, Continuities and Contrasts* (Aldershot, 2013), p. 65. Therefore, he has been treated here as Scottish. Geoffrey of Whitton, who granted an oxgang, was probably an Anglo-Norman with ties to Whitton, County Durham: Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1837), i, no. 161; Patrick of Ryedale, son of Ansketill, who confirmed Geoffrey's gift of an oxgang, was also likely of a English or Anglo-Norman background, his name referring to Ryedale in Yorkshire: *ibid.*, i, no. 162.

broader chronology, there are still few surviving grants to the Hospitallers in Ireland and Scotland, despite the Order's large estates in each country. The Hospitallers' lands in Scotland included six baronies and by 1540 the Order held 147 properties in Fife and Angus alone.⁴⁶ In Ireland the Hospital had sixteen preceptories, not including those they later inherited from the Templars. The extant grants account for just a small fraction of these holdings in each country, suggesting that a large number of Scottish and Irish donation charters have been lost.

It should be noted that using names to determine the ethnic origins of these donors is not a wholly reliable method. Norman immigration to Wales, Scotland, and Ireland was often followed by the adoption of Norman names amongst the local population. For example, Herbert, sheriff of Roxburgh (d. c. 1202) may sound like a Norman settler, but his father was Maccus son of Undewin, probably a Northumbrian Englishman.⁴⁷ However, a great many of the Norman-named patrons listed above are well-documented enough for the ethnic origins to be certain, such as the several earls, bishops, and kings. For example, of the thirteen donors to the Order in Scotland from c. 1130-1400, only two, Geoffrey of Whitton and Patrick of Ryedale, are so poorly documented that it is uncertain whether he was a Scot or a settler. However, in the absence of any other evidence to suggest the backgrounds of such obscure patrons, names are all that is available to indicate their cultural origins.⁴⁸

It is clear then that a lack of sources from 1291 to 1400 does not explain the poor support for the Hospitallers from Welsh and Gaelic Irish donors, as the period before this also saw few such patrons. The Hospitallers were almost wholly rejected by Gaelic Irish patrons, and received half-hearted backing from Welsh donors. Their membership was also bereft of the

⁴⁶ These baronies were Torphichen, Liston, Denny, Thankerton, and the former Templar preceptories of Maryculter and Balantrodoch: *Scotland*, p. lviii.

⁴⁷ Kenneth Veitch, 'A study of the extent to which existing native religious society helped to shape Scotland's reformed monastic community 1070-1286' (PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 1999), p. 148.

⁴⁸ For a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of name-evidence in determining cultural origins, see Veitch, 'A study of the extent to which existing native religious society helped to shape Scotland's reformed monastic community 1070-1286', pp. 145-49.

Gaelic Irish. The Irish priory's chapter book of 1326-49 records not one Gaelic Irish brother of the Order, but does feature several such servants and allies. The chapter book records the leasing of properties to Irishmen like Maurice Berunagh, William and John O'Corcran, and Richard McColaghtey.⁴⁹ In 1338 the Hospitallers employed an Irishman, Thomas O'Malawyll, as the custodian of their mill at Mourne Abbey.⁵⁰ The corrody of Nicholas O'Sheth was enlarged in 1333 for his services to the Hospital, suggesting that this Irish chaplain was also an Order agent.⁵¹ A John Cromyll held a corrody in 1348.⁵² The Priory even had Irish confratres. In 1333 Gilbert O'Shestenan and Thomas O'Hethe were paying two marks a year for the privilege of confraternity.⁵³ However, these Gaelic Irish supporters of the Order were very much in a minority. All the brethren, and most agents and corrodians, were Anglo-Norman, Cymro-Norman, English or Anglo-Irish. It is possible that the Gaelic Irish were intentionally excluded from membership of the Order.

The low proportion of Gaelic patrons and brethren is typical of the two other military orders operating in Ireland. The Templars and the Order of St Thomas also had few, if any, Gaelic Irish patrons or members. Like the Hospitallers, the central archive of the Irish Templars has been lost, and very few donations were recorded elsewhere. At least eight patrons are known, all of them Anglo-Norman or Anglo-Irish.⁵⁴ The names of thirty-four brethren active in Ireland survive, including twenty-two recorded in the Order's arrest and trial from 1308 to

⁴⁹ *RK*, pp. 49, 78, 94.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 42.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 127.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁵⁴ Henry II granted the Temple mills in Waterford, three vills, a marsh, a church, and a burgess: *CDI*, iii, no. 666. Both Henry III and Edward I confirmed the Order's lands and rights in Ireland: *ibid.* Fromund le Brun the elder gave the Order four marks annual rent from his land called Carrikdolgyn: Charles McNeill (ed.), *Calendar of Archbishop Alen's Register, c.1172-1534* (Dublin, 1950), p. 91. William the son and heir of John Lisbon de Clonmour gave all his land in Clonmour, Fermoffym, Maghreulyn, and Tirmagarran, as well as the vill of Carriklydan, six acres near Tirferagh, and four carucates near Shenkyll: *ibid.* Matilda de Lacy gave 40 acres and all her tenements in Coly, as well as advowson of Carlingford church: Dermot Mac Ivor, 'The Knights Templars in County Louth', *Seanchas Ardmhacha: Journal of the Armagh Diocesan Historical Society*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (1960/1), p. 74. Nicholas Taaffe gave all his land at Killergy: John Lodge and Mervyn Archdall, *The Peerage of Ireland*, 7 vols (Dublin, 1789), iv, p. 287. Between 1267 and 1280, Matilda Butler founded Cooley Preceptory in Co. Louth: Mac Ivor, 'Templars in County Louth', pp. 73-74.

1311, but none are identifiable as Gaelic Irish.⁵⁵ The Templars may have employed Gaelic servants. The names of several Gaelic Irishmen of the Order at Clonaul survive, but it is unknown if these were just tenant farmers or servants of the preceptory itself.⁵⁶ Both of the Irish hospitals belonging to the Order of St Thomas were founded by Anglo-Irish nobles and the other sixteen grants to the Order in Ireland came from such donors.⁵⁷ However, this Order did have at least one Gaelic Irish member. The names of five men associated with the Order of St Thomas in Ireland survive, those of a servant and four brethren, one of which, Philip Makilmer, was described as ‘of the Irish nation’.⁵⁸

In contrast to the weak links of the Hospital and Temple with the Gaelic Irish, non-military monastic orders did manage to attract Gaelic patrons and brethren. Even those orders that were introduced to Ireland by the Anglo-Normans, as the military orders had been, enjoyed Gaelic Irish support. The Dominicans’ first Irish houses were established in 1224 at Dublin, where St Mary’s Abbey granted them land, and at Drogheda, founded by Luke Netterville, the

⁵⁵ The masters of the Irish Templars included Hugh, Henry Foliot, Herbert de Manchester, Ralph de Southwark, Roger le Waleis, Maurice Fitz Gerald, Robert of Glastonbury, Thomas de Tulose, and Walter le Bachelor: John T. Gilbert (ed.), *Chartularies of St. Mary’s Abbey, Dublin: with the Register of its House at Dunbrody, and Annals of Ireland*, 2 vols (London, 1884), i, no. 4, ii, pp. 12, 28; *CDI*, i, no. 2264, ii, no. 891, iii, no. 57, iv, nos 260, 825. Other brethren included Walter, Templar of Clontarf, Ralph de Sevekeworth, preceptor of Ireland in 1234, and a brother W. de Treminham in 1301: Gilbert, *Chartularies of St. Mary’s Abbey*, i, no. 143; *CDI*, i, nos 2102, 2264, iv, no. 825. Those arrested in 1308 were Henry Danet, Thomas de Lyndeseye, William de Warenne, Stephen de Stapelbrugge, Thomas de Rathenny, Robert de Porbryg, Hugh de Brogton, John de Faucesham, Henry Mautravers, Richard de Bostelesham, Henry de Aslakeby, Ralph de Bradley, Richard de Oppledene, John le Romeyn, Walter le Lung, Henry de la Ford, Michael de Sutton, Walter de Jonesby, William de Balygaueran, Adam de Langeport, Peter de Malvern, and Thomas le Palmer, each of whom was paid an allowance by the exchequer that year: Philomena Connolly (ed.), *Irish Exchequer Payments 1270-1446* (Dublin, 1998), p. 204. One genealogical study claimed to have found Irish Templars by the names of Martin O’Bolán, Gill O’Mulreany, John Kenedy, and Arnulf O’Kynagh, but provided no source for this: William F. K. Marmion, *Irish Knighthoods and Related Subjects: an anthology of published works* (Kansas City, MO, 2001), p. 21. These names were probably drawn from an article by Herbert Wood, citing a plea roll of 1304-1306 recording these men and several others with Irish names as being men of the Templars at Clonaul. Wood does not bear out Marmion’s claim, as he identifies these as servants of the preceptory, not Templars themselves: Herbert Wood, ‘The Templars in Ireland’, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy. Section C: Archaeology, Celtic Studies, History, Linguistics, Literature*, Vol. 26 (1906/7), p. 339. It is also possible that they were Templar tenants. Certainly, as none of these men were described as ‘brother’, it is unlikely that they were Templars.

⁵⁶ Wood, ‘Templars in Ireland’, p. 339.

⁵⁷ The Order’s hospital of St John the Baptist at Kilkenny was given to the brethren in the mid-1230s by Gilbert Marshal, earl of Pembroke, whilst their house of St John the Evangelist at Carrickmagriffin was granted by William de Cantelo, c.1250: Brooks, ‘Irish Possessions of St. Thomas of Acre’, pp. 28-42.

⁵⁸ These were John de Dunmowe, preceptor of Carrickmagriffin, Richard, servant at Carrickmagriffin, Robert Porter, guardian of Carrickmagriffin, Brother Philip Makilmer ‘*hibernice nacionis*’, and John Porter, appointed preceptor of Carrickmagriffin in 1379: *ibid.*, pp. 36-37, 39-41, 41-42.

Anglo-Irish archbishop of Armagh.⁵⁹ Yet just three years later Donogh Carbreach O'Brien, king of Thomond, established a Dominican house at Limerick.⁶⁰ In 1253, another Irish ruler, Felim O'Connor, king of Connacht, founded the Dominican St Mary's Priory in Roscommon.⁶¹ The Franciscans were also introduced by the Anglo-Irish at Youghal around 1224, probably by Maurice II Fitzgerald.⁶² By c.1260 Gaelic lords had begun to patronise the Franciscans, when the O'Toole and O'Byrne families established a house at Wicklow.⁶³ These orders also had both Gaelic and Anglo-Irish brethren. Of the twenty-three Dominican friars that died at Dominican Athenry between 1394 and 1452, twelve are identifiable as Gaelic Irish.⁶⁴ Members of at least different five generations of the O'Daly family joined the Franciscans.⁶⁵ The fact that other 'colonial' religious orders were accepted by the Gaelic Irish yet the Hospitallers and Templars were not suggests that there was something particular to them that alienated such donors.

Medieval Irish chronicle and annalistic literature gives little hint as to why the Gaelic Irish rejected the Hospitallers, as the military orders rarely appear in such sources. When the orders are mentioned it is often matter-of-fact, such as the *Annales Hibernie's* noting the foundation of the Templar and Hospitaller orders (incorrectly dated to 1183): '*Ordo Templariorum et Hospitaliariorum confirmatur*'.⁶⁶ The annals of St Mary's Abbey, Dublin mentions the Hospitallers positively. In the annalist's account of the 1381 Peasants' Revolt he lists Robert Hales, prior of the Hospitallers, treasurer of England and an 'outstanding knight',

⁵⁹ Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious Houses: Ireland*, pp. 226-27.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 226-27.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 229.

⁶² An alternate first foundation in Dublin has been proposed, but this lacks contemporary evidence: Colmán Ó Clabaigh, *The Friars in Ireland 1224-1540* (Dublin, 2012), pp. 11-12.

⁶³ Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious Houses: Ireland*, p. 261.

⁶⁴ Clabaigh, *Friars in Ireland*, pp. 261-62.

⁶⁵ These were Tadhg Camchosach O'Daly in the fourteenth century, John O'Daly in the fifteenth, Flann O'Daly and Philip O'Daly in the sixteenth, and Dominic O'Daly in the seventeenth: *ibid.*, p. 262.

⁶⁶ Gilbert, *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, ii, p. 305.

as one of the many nobles executed by the rebels.⁶⁷ Another chronicler, the fourteenth-century John Clyn, describes Roger Outlaw, prior of Ireland, as a prudent and gracious man whose industry had brought the Order many possessions and the king's favour.⁶⁸ However, these chronicles are more indicative of Anglo-Irish opinion of the Hospitallers than Gaelic views. The St Mary's Annals were written in a daughter house of Buildwas Abbey, a colonial monastery, whilst John Clyn was of an Anglo-Irish family.⁶⁹ It should be noted though that while Clyn did attack the Gaelic Irish, he was also more than willing to condemn the Anglo-Irish when he thought them to have acted dishonourably.⁷⁰ Therefore, his positive words for Roger Outlaw may indicate wider goodwill towards the prior. A later Anglo-Irish text, the *Book of Howth*, contains verses critical of the Templars, describing them as 'Appelled in virtue, which brought in many vices' but the poem also condemns the Order's suppression as motivated 'of malice and hatred'.⁷¹ Problematically, there is no evidence to suggest that this poem was a medieval composition and as it survives only in the sixteenth-century *Book of Howth*, it may be representative only of early modern Anglo-Irish views of the Temple, not medieval ones.

In contrast to these sources, several Gaelic Irish chroniclers do not mention the military orders at all. The Templars and Hospitallers are absent from the *Annals of Tigernach*, *Annals of Roscrea*, and the *Chronicon Scotorum*. Each of these texts covers the period after the

⁶⁷ 'militem egregium': Gilbert, *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, ii, p. 285. Hales was also mentioned by English chroniclers. Adam of Usk wrote that marble crosses were erected on the site where the prior and Archbishop Sudbury were executed by the rebels as memorials: Adam of Usk, *Chronicon Adae de Usk, A.D. 1377-1421*, Edward Maunde Thompson (London, 1904), p. 1. Helen Nicholson has noted that Hales does not appear to have been popular either in England or with his superiors in the Order: Nicholson, 'The Hospitallers and the 'Peasants' Revolt' of 1381 Revisited', pp. 231-33.

⁶⁸ 'Vir prudens et graciosus, qui multas possessiones, ecclesias et redditus ordini suo adquisivit sua industria, et regis Anglie gratia speciali et licentia': John Clyn and Thady Dowling, *The Annals of Ireland. By Friar John Clyn and Thady Dowling: Together with the Annals of Ross*, ed. Richard Butler (Dublin, 1849), p. 29.

⁶⁹ Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious Houses: Ireland*, pp. 130-31.

⁷⁰ For the biases of Clyn's narrative, see: Bernadette Williams, 'The Annals of Friar John Clyn: Provenance and Bias', *Archivium Hibernicum*, Vol. 47 (1993), pp. 65-77.

⁷¹ J. S. Brewer and William Bullen (eds), *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth.*, 6 vols (London, 1867-73), vi, pp. 234-37.

foundation of the Templars and Hospitallers, though the *Chronicon Scotorum* ends in 1150, before their arrival in Ireland. Seven Irish chronicles do feature the military orders. The *Annals of Ulster* repeats the incorrect claim that the Templars and Hospitallers were founded in 1183, but makes no other mention of the orders.⁷² The *Annals of Inisfallen* also features this entry, though dated to 1173.⁷³ The text may in fact be intended to mark the arrival of the two orders in Ireland, rather than their foundation in Jerusalem. The Hospitallers and Templars were certainly present by 1177.⁷⁴ The *Annals of Multyfarnham* also places the foundation of the Templars and Hospitallers in 1183, perhaps indicating a common source, and records the defeat of the both orders as part of the crusading army at La Forbie in 1244.⁷⁵ The *Annals of Connacht* describes the destruction of the Templar preceptory of Temple House by Aed O’Conor in 1271, but does not indicate awareness of the site’s association with the Order: ‘The castle of Temple House was broken down, as well as those of Sligo and Athleague, by Aed O Conchobair this year’.⁷⁶ The *Annals of Loch Cé* also mentions this incident, but again without specific reference to the Templars, as do the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* and the *Annals of the Four Masters*.⁷⁷ With such cursory literary evidence to illuminate the Gaelic Irish view of the military orders, the activities of the Hospitallers and the manner of their introduction to Ireland should instead be looked to.

⁷² William M. Hennessy (ed.), *Annala Uladh. Annals of Ulster.*, 4 vols (Dublin, 1887-1901), ii, p. 201.

⁷³ Seán Mac Airt (ed.), *The Annals of Inisfallen (MS Rawlinson B.503)* (Dublin, 1951), p. 307.

⁷⁴ Nicholson, ‘Templars and Hospitallers in Ireland’, p. 7.

⁷⁵ Bernadette Williams (ed.), *The ‘Annals of Multyfarnham’: Roscommon and Connacht provenance* (Dublin, 2012), pp. 141, 157.

⁷⁶ A. Martin Freeman (ed.), *The Annála Connacht: the Annals of Connacht (A. D. 1224-1544)* (Dublin, 1944), p. 159. The chronicle also mentions the death of John son of Maelmartain, vicar of Temple House, in 1405, but by this date the site had long since passed from the Templars to the Fratres Cruciferi: *ibid.*, p. 395; Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious Houses: Ireland*, p. 331.

⁷⁷ ‘The castle of Tech-Templa, the castle of Sligeach, and the castle of Ath-Liag, were broken down by Aedh O’Conchobhair in hoc anno’: William M. Hennessy (ed.), *The Annals of Loch Cé* (Dublin, 1871), p. 471. ‘The Castle of Logh-temple, the castle of Sligagh and Athleag were broken Downe by Hugh o’Connor this yeare.’: Denis Murphy (ed.), *The Annals of Clonmacnoise* (Dublin, 1896), p. 249; ‘The castle of Teagh Templa, the castle of Sligo, and the castle of Athliag *Ballyleague*, were demolished by Hugh O’Conor.’: John O’Donovan (ed.), *Annala Rioghachta Eireann: Annals of the kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, 7 vols (Dublin, 1848-51), iii, p. 415.

The Order first arrived in Ireland in the aftermath of Richard de Clare's invasion of 1170. The exact date is unknown, but they were certainly established in the country by 1177, when a charter of the archbishop of Dublin counted Ralph the Hospitaller amongst its witnesses.⁷⁸ The first prior of Ireland was Hugh of Clahull, probably a relative of John of Clahull, Richard de Clare's marshal.⁷⁹ Another of the knights that landed with de Clare in 1170 was Maurice de Prendergast, who later joined the Hospitallers and became Prior of Ireland by 1203.⁸⁰ From the start, the Irish Hospitallers were closely associated with a colonising force hostile to the Gaelic Irish. These links were reinforced by the Hospital's subsequent role in administering the Anglo-Irish colony. The Prior of Ireland was regularly assigned to audit royal accounts.⁸¹ One Hospitaller, Stephen de Fulbourn, was made treasurer of Ireland in 1274, deputy justiciar in 1280, and justiciar from 1281 until 1288.⁸² This last appointment was by no means minor. The justiciar was the chief officer of the English colony in Ireland, charged with representing the king and hearing legal disputes.⁸³ The next prior, William fitz Roger, also served as deputy justiciar, as did Prior William de Ros in 1301-2. Prior Roger Outlaw was made chancellor of Ireland in 1322, and reappointed by Edward III in 1327. He sometimes served as a diplomat as well. In 1335 he was paid 100 marks for his efforts in treating with rebels in Ulster.⁸⁴ In 1324-5 he was entrusted with the custody of Irish hostages.⁸⁵ He also deputised for the justiciar in 1330 and that decade served a further three terms as chancellor.⁸⁶

⁷⁸ Nicholson, 'Templars and Hospitallers in Ireland', p. 7.

⁷⁹ J. C. Ward, 'Fashions in Monastic Endowment: the Foundations of the Clare Family, 1066-1314', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (Oct., 1981), p. 445.

⁸⁰ Nicholson, 'Templars and Hospitallers in Ireland', p. 7. Maurice's support for the Hospitallers may have predated his joining the Order, as an undated grant to the Hospitallers of Prendergast church by a man of the same name survives amongst the records of Slebech preceptory: Charles, 'The records of Slebech', p. 194.

⁸¹ Helen Nicholson, 'Serving king and crusade: the military orders in royal service in Ireland, 1220-1400', in Marcus Bull and Norman Housley (eds), *The Experience of Crusading: Volume One Western Approaches* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 237.

⁸² Nicholson, 'Serving king and crusade', p. 238.

⁸³ For an overview of the Irish justiciar's role in government, see: G. J. Hand, *English Law in Ireland 1290-1324* (Cambridge, 1967), pp. 21-37.

⁸⁴ *CIRCLE*, Close Roll 9 Edward III, §22.

⁸⁵ Connolly, *Irish Exchequer Payments*, p. 326.

⁸⁶ Nicholson, 'Serving king and crusade', p. 238.

Four other priors were also appointed chancellor; John Larcher in 1342, John de Frowyk in 1356, Thomas Burley by 1361, and William Tany by 1375. Prior Richard de Werkely was chief justice before 1356 and Prior Richard White was made treasurer of Ireland in 1388 and a keeper of the peace in 1392.⁸⁷ The Hospitallers were thus an important component of the Anglo-Irish colony in Ireland.⁸⁸

Yet non-military orders like the Dominicans and Franciscans, which were also introduced by Anglo-Norman invaders and colonists, and also occasionally served in the colonial administration, managed to attract Gaelic patronage. The Dominican John of Sandford, archbishop of Dublin, was a royal servant, escheator of Ireland from 1271 until 1285, and sat upon the king's council in Ireland. He raised funds and helped organise support for Edward I's Welsh campaign in 1282 and was appointed keeper of Ireland in 1288 following the death of the Hospitaller Stephen de Fulbourn, justiciar of Ireland. For the following two years Sandford undertook a military and diplomatic expeditions in the colony's borderzones. From 1289-91 he also served as chancellor.⁸⁹ Another Dominican, Philip of Slane, became a member of the royal council in Ireland in 1318 and went on embassies for Edward II in 1324 and 1325.⁹⁰ Yet these orders did not repeatedly serve at the high level that the Hospitallers did. The Dominicans were not regularly treasurer, justiciar, or chancellor of Ireland. Also, the manner of these orders' introduction to Ireland was very different to that of the Hospitallers. These two mendicant orders only arrived in Ireland in the 1220s, fifty years after the Anglo-Norman invasion, whilst other orders like the Cistercians had settled in Ireland long before

⁸⁷ Nicholson, 'Serving king and crusade', p. 239; *CIRCLE*, PR 16 Ric. II, §15. John Larcher was also deputy justiciar in 1346, whilst Prior Tany was justiciar in 1373-4 and served as a negotiator in 1376: Connolly, *Irish Exchequer Payments*, pp. 424, 528, 536.

⁸⁸ Though this is not to say that the Order's relations with the Anglo-Irish were always cordial. In the thirteenth century, the Hospitallers at Kilmainham were embroiled in a dispute with the burgesses of Dublin over their rights in the River Liffey: Paolo Virtuani, 'Unforgiveable trespasses: the Irish Hospitallers and the defence of their rights in the mid-thirteenth century', in Browne and Ó Clabaigh, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 195-205.

⁸⁹ Margaret Murphy, 'Sandford, John of (d. 1294)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/24638> [accessed 24 Feb 2017]. A detailed account of his movements in 1288-90 survives: *CDI*, iii, no. 599.

⁹⁰ Clabaigh, *Friars in Ireland*, pp. 38-39.

1170.⁹¹ Though Anglo-Irish Cistercian houses were established, the Gaelic Irish did not first encounter such orders in a colonial context, whilst the mendicants arrived after the initial conquests. The same could not be said for the introduction of the Hospitallers soon after 1170, hence the increased hostility to the Order. Finally, as the priors of Ireland served in the administration of the Anglo-Irish colony, the entirety of the Hospital's presence in Ireland was therefore associated with the colony. The same could not be said for non-military orders like the Franciscans, which were less centralised and so had houses that were seen as 'Irish' or 'English' in allegiance. Such were these divisions that two English annals claim that at a Franciscan provincial chapter held at Cork in 1291, the Gaelic Irish friars fought with their Anglo-Irish counterparts, resulting in the deaths of sixteen brethren. Though it has been questioned whether this event took place, there does seem to have been genuine tensions within the Franciscans in Ireland.⁹² The Gaelic Irish friars were seen as an internal threat by the English Crown. In 1315, during the Bruce Invasion, Edward II ordered the justiciar to trace any such friars or clerks, as they could pose a danger to the colony's towns.⁹³ Many of the brethren supported the Bruce Invasion and the Remonstrance of the Irish Chiefs may have even been written by the Franciscan bishop Michael Mac Lachlainn.⁹⁴ It was their looser organisation than the Hospitallers which allowed some friars to explicitly back one side or the other, without alienating donors to the order as a whole.

In addition to this service as administrators, the Hospitallers also played a military role in Ireland. It is worth noting that this does not mean the brethren themselves regularly served in combat, let alone made up a significant proportion of the forces fielded by the Order. Though some brethren clearly did fight personally, such as the preceptor of Torphichen killed at Falkirk

⁹¹ The Cistercians were first settled in Ireland at Mellifont in 1142 at the instance of the Irish saint, Malachy: Gwynn and Hadcock, *Religious Houses: Ireland*, p. 139.

⁹² Niav Gallagher, 'The Franciscans and the Scottish Wars of Independence: an Irish perspective', *Journal of Medieval History*, 32:1 (2006), pp. 7-8.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

in 1298, the prior of France who died at Crécy in 1346, and Brother John Walsh, killed in the defence of Waterford in 1367, most of the Hospitallers in the West were probably elderly, with the more active brethren being needed in the East.⁹⁵ However, by the time they became prior of England or Ireland, brethren would have acquired a good degree of military experience.⁹⁶ Even to be promoted to just a preceptory, a Hospitaller was supposed to have served at the convent for three years and performed military service there.⁹⁷ It was these high-ranking officers of the Order who appear to have served militarily, rather than the average brother. Prior William FitzRoger participated in at least two campaigns against the Irish. In 1274 he was captured after a battle at Glenmalure and in 1285 he was preparing to lead the royal army into Connacht.⁹⁸ Brother Stephen de Fulbourn led a campaign in 1284.⁹⁹ In 1302 Prior William de Ros was with a company of men-at-arms at Newcastle Mackinegan, maintaining the king's peace.¹⁰⁰ Prior Outlaw fought against Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland, a royal grant of 1318 noting the losses that he and the priory had suffered as a result.¹⁰¹ He also saw repeated military service in the 1330s.¹⁰² Prior Frowyk contributed to at least three expeditions in the 1350s.¹⁰³

⁹⁵ William Rishanger, *Willelmi Rishanger, quondam monachi S. Albani, et quorundam anonymorum, chronica et annals, regnantibus Henrico Tertio et Edwardo Primo, A.D. 1259-1307*, ed. Henry Thomas Riley (London, 1865), p. 415; Niall J. Byrne (ed.), *The Great Parchment Book of Waterford: Liber Antiquissimus Civitatis Waterfordiae* (Dublin, 2013), pp. 18-19.

⁹⁶ O'Malley, *English Languae*, p. 122.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁹⁸ Wood, 'Templars in Ireland', p. 340; *CDI*, iii, no. 841.

⁹⁹ In 1284 the justiciar was described as being with the army in Connacht: *CDI*, ii, no. 2310. Though de Fulbourn is not named specifically, he was justiciar at the time. There was another reference to de Fulbourn's military exploits in 1289 when a petition to the king by Robert de Callen mentioned his service under Fulbourn's command against an O'Brienn who had ravaged the lands of Theobald le Butiller: *ibid.*, iii, no. 558, p. 251. However, it is unclear whether de Callen was referring to the events of 1284 or a different campaign.

¹⁰⁰ *CDI*, v, no. 3.

¹⁰¹ *CPR*, Edward II 1317-21, p. 197.

¹⁰² According to the *Book of Howth*, the prior of Kilmainham went on campaign against Brien O'Brien in 1330: Brewer and Bullen, *Carew Manuscripts*, vi, pp. 234-37. Then, in June 1335, Outlaw led a force of men-at-arms and cavalry to Ulster to fight against Irish and Anglo-Irish rebels: *CIRCLE*, CR 9 Edw. III, §21. He may have campaigned again later in the decade, as in 1338 he asked the Crown to reimburse the wages of his men 'for the time when he was in the king's service': *CCR*, Edward III 1337-39, p. 437. In 1339-41, the prior was leading a force of men-at-arms, hobelars, and infantry to Leinster to fight against the Irish there: Connolly, *Irish Exchequer Payments*, p. 398.

¹⁰³ The prior fielded six men-at-arms and twelve hobelars on a campaign against the O'Nolans in 1357: Connolly, *Irish Exchequer Payments*, p. 480. Between 1356 to 1358 Frowyk spent seven weeks putting down Anglo-Irish rebels in Clonmel with a force of eight men-at-arms, eight barded horses, and twelve mounted archers: *ibid.*, p. 481. In 1358 to 1359 he led an expedition against the O'Byrnes: *ibid.*, p. 494.

Prior Thomas de Burley provided troops for royal armies and participated in putting down a rebellion in Clonmel.¹⁰⁴ Prior William Tany joined several campaigns in the 1370s and 1380s.¹⁰⁵ Hospitaller brethren also undertook military service, not just the priors. In 1367, a Brother John Walsh, then serving as keeper of the peace in County Waterford, was killed defending against Irish and Anglo-Irish rebels.¹⁰⁶ The Order's military contributions were even referenced in a grant by Edward III which describes the Hospitallers as holding a 'good position' at Kilmainham 'for the repulse of the king's enemies'.¹⁰⁷ The Hospital was also entrusted with the management of royal castles. In 1342 Prior John Larcher was entrusted with the castle of Raundon and in 1388, Thomas Mercamston, described as confrater of the Order, was given custody of Carrickfergus castle.¹⁰⁸

Non-military orders, particularly in Ireland, often had to fortify their monasteries and participate in military defence, just as the Hospitallers did. Any major landowner would be expected to do so, religious or no. Some non-military religious even participated in warfare personally.¹⁰⁹ William Melton, archbishop of York, had his own arms and armour, which he lost in 1319 in battle against the Scots.¹¹⁰ In 1306, Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow was

¹⁰⁴ In 1359 Burley provided ten men-at-arms, twenty hobelars, twenty-four mounted archers, and twenty-four infantry for the army of the justiciar then fighting in County Carlow: *ibid.*, p. 498. In 1361 he was reimbursed for retaining troops in Kildare following a campaign: *ibid.*, p. 505.

¹⁰⁵ From 1372-4, the prior fought with a retinue of 140 men 'defending various marches and treating with various enemies and rebels': *CIRCLE*, CR 48 Edw. III, §44. In March 1375 he was to be paid for his expenses leading troops into Munster: *ibid.*, CR 49 Edw. III, §13. When Tany was abroad in England in 1377, his deputy, Matthew son of Robert, led his master's troops in County Waterford, Tipperary, Cork, and Limerick: *ibid.*, CR 2 Ric. II, §11. In October 1382 the prior, then back in Ireland, requested payment for his part in an expedition to Kilkenny and Cashel: *ibid.*, CR 6 Ric. II, §33. In July the following year he was paid for his labours 'in various marches of Ire. with a large number of defensible men': *ibid.*, CR 7 Ric. II, §7.

¹⁰⁶ Byrne, *Great Parchment Book of Waterford*, pp. 18-19.

¹⁰⁷ *CCR*, Edward III 1360-64, p. 39.

¹⁰⁸ *CCR*, Edward III 1341-43, p. 438; *CPR*, Richard II 1385-89, p. 438. It is unclear whether Mercamston was a brother of the Order as Nicholson presents him or just a lay associate as the title confrater suggests: Nicholson, 'Serving king and crusade', p. 241. By this period, the term *confrater* could refer to a fellow-brother of a religious order or to a member of the order's lay confraternity. That his relationship to the Hospitallers was mentioned implies it was of some importance. If he were not himself a Hospitaller, perhaps Mercamston was to have brethren of the Hospital assisting him in his keepership of Carrickfergus

¹⁰⁹ For studies of clerical warfare, see: Lawrence G. Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy in the History and Canon Law of Western Christianity* (Woodbridge, UK and Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2013); Craig M. Nakashian, *Warrior Churchmen of Medieval England, 1000-1250: Theory and Reality* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2016).

¹¹⁰ James Raine (ed.), *Historical Papers and Letters from the Northern Registers* (London, 1873), no. CLXXXIV.

described as attacking Cupar Castle, Fife, 'like a man of war'.¹¹¹ In the 1193 siege of Windsor, Abbot Samson of Bury St Edmunds, along with several other abbots, bore arms and led knights, with Samson even having his own standard.¹¹² Such occurrences were not unique to Britain and Ireland. Two of the twelfth-century abbots of Monte Cassino, Girardus and Oderisius, participated in warfare, the latter even besieging and capturing a castle.¹¹³

However, the Hospitaller leadership in Ireland appears to have undertaken much more prominent military roles than their monastic counterparts. As well as providing troops, the Hospitaller priors frequently joined campaigns themselves, sometimes even holding the position of justiciar, which was, alongside the chancellorship, the most senior post responsible for the defence of the colony. Four of Edward III's fourteen chancellors of Ireland were Hospitallers.¹¹⁴ Between just 1372 and 1383, the Hospitaller priors of Ireland or their deputies personally took part in at least five military expeditions.¹¹⁵ In contrast, no abbots or priors of any other order served as justiciar, and only one in the fourteenth century, Robert de Askeaton, prior of Newtown, was chancellor.¹¹⁶ Instead, the other religious most frequently undertaking a military role were not abbots or priors, but bishops and archbishops, though some of them were themselves members of religious orders. In 1265, as the Anglo-Irish nobility descended into civil war, the archbishop of Dublin was ordered to assume command of the Irish Lordship and to take and munition castles there.¹¹⁷ In 1372-73, John Colton, archbishop of Armagh, fought in campaigns against the O'Mores and O'Byrnes.¹¹⁸ All seven of the archbishops of Dublin from 1317-1417 held office as treasurer or chancellor, this latter post was described in

¹¹¹ 'come hom de guerre': Palgrave, *Documents and Records*, p. 349.

¹¹² Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy*, p. 25.

¹¹³ Duggan, *Armsbearing and the Clergy*, p. 25.

¹¹⁴ J. A. Watt, 'The Anglo-Irish colony under strain, 1327-99', in Cosgrove, *A New History of Ireland*, ii, p. 362.

¹¹⁵ See above, p. 95, n. 105.

¹¹⁶ Pryde *et al.*, *Handbook of British Chronology*, pp. 161-64; Oliver Joseph Burke, *The History of the Lord Chancellors of Ireland from A.D. 1186 to A.D. 1874* (Dublin, 1879), p. xii.

¹¹⁷ James Lydon, 'The years of crisis, 1254-1315', in Cosgrove, *A New History of Ireland*, ii, pp. 183-84.

¹¹⁸ Watt, 'Anglo-Irish colony under strain', ii, p. 363.

1364 as having to ‘often ride at war’.¹¹⁹ The leadership of non-military orders do not appear to have participated in military expeditions as often or as prominently as the Hospitallers did, nor did they regularly hold high offices concerned with the colony’s defence, and so such orders were at a lesser risk of alienating some patrons through military activity against them.

The Templars were also introduced to Ireland soon after the invasion of 1170 and played an administrative role in the English colony. Like the Hospitallers, the Order was present in Ireland by 1177, when the same charter of the archbishop of Dublin was witnessed by Matthew the Templar.¹²⁰ The Irish master was a regular auditor of royal accounts in Ireland.¹²¹ The Templars also served as diplomats, leading negotiations between the rebel Richard Marshal and royal officials in 1234.¹²² While there is no certain evidence of military service in Ireland by the Templars, they had as few Gaelic Irish donors as the Hospitallers did.¹²³ It seems, then, that military activities were not solely responsible for poor relations with the Gaelic Irish – peaceful administrative royal service and early association with the invaders of 1170 were more than enough.

Nevertheless, it was possible for English military orders to be welcomed in Ireland. The Order of St Thomas had at least one Gaelic member, even though they were a military order introduced by the Anglo-Normans, founded by an Anglo-Norman, and dedicated to an Anglo-Norman saint.¹²⁴ Admittedly, this single Irish brother could be an anomaly and joining an order dedicated to Thomas Becket, a man murdered on behalf of a king of England, could be seen as an act of opposition to the English Crown rather than an endorsement. Dedications to the saint

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 362; *CPR*, Edward III 1364-67, p. 25.

¹²⁰ Nicholson, ‘Templars and Hospitallers in Ireland’, p. 7.

¹²¹ *CPR*, Henry III 1232-47, p. 67; *ibid.*, Henry III 1247-58, p. 212; *ibid.*, Edward I 1272-81, pp. 379, 451.

¹²² Nicholson, ‘Serving king and crusade’, p. 236.

¹²³ Hugh O’Conor’s capture of the Templar preceptory of Temple House in 1271 may suggest that the brethren participated in warfare against the Gaelic Irish, but no direct evidence for royal military service in Ireland survives as it does for the Hospitallers: Kieran O’Conor and Paul Naessens, ‘Temple House: from Templar castle to New English mansion’, in Browne and Ó Clabaigh, *Soldiers of Christ*, p. 128.

¹²⁴ The identity of the Order’s founder is disputed, but was likely either Richard I, Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, Ralph of Diceto’s chaplain, or a combination of the three: Forey, ‘Order of St Thomas of Acre’, pp. 481-86.

were certainly popular among England's neighbours.¹²⁵ There is no record of the Order of St Thomas fighting for the Anglo-Irish colony. With such a small presence in the country, they may have not been called on to do so. There is also no evidence that the Order of St Thomas served in the English administration of Ireland and their introduction to the country came around 1230, after the Dominicans and Franciscans. That this order does not appear as soldiers or administrators in English Ireland, arrived there long after the invasion of 1170, and were the only military order known to boast a Gaelic Irish brother before the fifteenth century, suggests that royal service, military campaigning, and the manner of introduction to the country were the key factors affecting the patronage of the Irish Hospitallers. These three factors can explain the contradictory Irish reception of orders like the mendicants compared to that of the Hospitallers and Templars.

The Hospital's interactions with the Welsh were more ambivalent. They were not snubbed as in Ireland, but neither were they well-received. One fifth of the 101 grants to the Order in Wales came from Welsh donors; a significant proportion but not a dominant one. Only a few medieval Welsh literary works mention the Hospitallers or the other military orders but they reflect this ambivalence. The *Brut y Tywysogion* lists the Hospitallers and Templars amongst the forces besieging Damietta in 1218 during the Fifth Crusade.¹²⁶ Gerald of Wales also discussed the military orders, though he referred only to the Templars, not Hospitallers, and portrays them negatively. His *Itinerarium Cambriae* recounts an anecdote in which Richard I joked that he had married off his three daughters, pride, lust, and greed, giving 'pride

¹²⁵ Arbroath Abbey was dedicated to St Thomas and there was a regular flow of Scottish pilgrims to Canterbury in the centuries after Becket's death. The saint's cult was also used by Robert I to solidify his rule in Scotland: Michael Penman, 'The Bruce dynasty, Becket and Scottish pilgrimage to Canterbury, c.1178-c.1404', *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 32, No. 4 (2006), pp. 354-59. However, the political overtones of venerating Becket were more complex than simple anti-Plantagenetism. Becket's cult was also used politically by England's rulers: *ibid.*, pp. 352-53. On the Continent, Becket's cult became popular in France, Germany, and Castille: Paul Webster and Marie-Pierre Gelin (eds), *The Cult of St Thomas Becket in the Plantagenet World, c. 1170-c. 1220* (Woodbridge, 2016).

¹²⁶ Thomas Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or the Chronicle of the Princes: Peniarth MS. 20 version* (Cardiff, 1952), pp. 96-97; Thomas Jones (ed.), *Brut y Tywysogyon or the Chronicle of the Princes: Red Book of Hergest version* (Cardiff, 1955), p. 219.

to the Templars, lust to the black monks [the Benedictines], greed to the white [the Cistercians].¹²⁷ However, none of these sources refer to the Hospital's role in Wales specifically. Two Welsh poets of the fifteenth century provide the only literary references to the Hospitallers within Wales itself. Lewys Glyn Cothi wrote a poem to Thomas ap Philip announcing that he was coming to see him at his castle of Picton in order to visit the nearby preceptory of Slebech, where pardons were offered to pilgrims.¹²⁸ Dafydd Nanmor's poem, *I Rys ap Meredith o'r Tywyn*, used Ysbyty Ifan's provision of food to the needy as an example of hospitality.¹²⁹

The Hospitaller's 1338 survey supports this impression of Slebech's popularity. The survey complains that multitudes of the Welsh made use of the preceptory's hospitality each day and that they were 'great devastators' and 'unweighable'.¹³⁰ The 1338 report indicates other issues that the Order had in Wales and the March. At Slebech the Order was paying 40s. each to two local lords, Richard Penres and Stephen Perot, for protection against the ferocious 'thieves and wrongdoers in parts of Wales'.¹³¹ This payment has been interpreted contrastingly as protection money extorted from the preceptory, or as these lords sincerely wishing to take on the mantle of protectors of a religious order.¹³² It is worth noting that one of them, Richard Penres, was the great-grandson of John de Penres, an earlier donor.¹³³ Richard may have been attempting to maintain his family's ties to the Order. Also, the survey stated that these men were protectors against threats, not threats themselves. However, if the preceptor compiling

¹²⁷ 'Templariis superbiam, nigris monachis luxuriam, albis vero cupiditatem': Gerald of Wales, *Giraldus Cambrensis Opera*, VI, ed. James F. Dimock (London, 1868), p. 44.

¹²⁸ Helen Nicholson, 'The Military Orders in Wales and the Welsh March in the Middle Ages', in Peter W. Edbury, *The Military Orders, Volume 5: Politics and Power* (Aldershot, 2012), p. 204; Lewys Glyn Cothi, *Gwaith Lewys Glyn Cothi*, ed. Dafydd Johnston (Cardiff, 1995), p. 208, lines 1-4.

¹²⁹ 'Megis ysbytau Ieuan, Yw i dai o fywd i wan': Dafydd Nanmor, *The poetical works of Dafydd Nanmor*, ed. Thomas Roberts and Ifor Williams (Cardiff, 1923), p. 1, lines 5-6.

¹³⁰ 'et pluribus aliis supervenientibus de Wallia, qui multum confluunt de die in diem, et sunt magni devastatores, et sunt inponderosi': Larking and Kemble, 1338, p. 35.

¹³¹ 'pro insidiatoribus et malefactoribus in partibus Wallie, qui sunt ibidem feroces': Larking and Kemble, 1338, p. 36.

¹³² Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 172-73; Nicholson, 'Military Orders in Wales', p. 201.

¹³³ *Wales*, p. 33.

this report for the survey were being extorted by local magnates, he would hardly want to admit this to his superiors. Either way, there clearly was a threat to the Hospitallers in Pembrokeshire, whether it came from these magnates or from others. The Hospitallers were not always welcome in north Wales either. In 1338 the brethren at Halston (in the Welsh March) and Ysbyty Ifan were paying local lords and their servants 100s. a year for their friendship and protection, suggesting local threats to the brethren.¹³⁴ The Order's property was even attacked by the Welsh. During Owain Glyn Dŵr's revolt their hospice at Ysbyty Ifan was burnt.¹³⁵ There were some Welshmen that joined the Hospitallers, but only a few. Of the six Hospitallers recorded in Wales and the March in 1338 only one, the sergeant James de Montgomery, may have been Welsh.¹³⁶ In England that year there were four other possible Welsh brethren.¹³⁷ Another Welsh Hospitaller, Odo de Neneth or Nevet, was preceptor of Halston in the 1290s.¹³⁸ This minor Welsh membership was probably more a cause of Wales' smaller population, estimated at around 200,000 to 300,000 at the beginning of the fourteenth century compared to England's approximately four million inhabitants, rather than due to any animosity towards the Order.¹³⁹ Certainly, it suggests greater support for the Hospitallers than there was in Gaelic Ireland, with no identifiably Gaelic Irish brethren appearing between 1170 and 1400. Mirroring their patronage, these sources and the Order's membership indicate a mixed reception for the Hospitallers in Wales. They had some Welsh donors and brethren and were relied on for hospitality, but the Hospitallers were also threatened and even attacked by settlers or the Welsh.

¹³⁴ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 39-40.

¹³⁵ Nicholson, 'Military Orders in Wales', p. 205.

¹³⁶ The other brethren resident in Wales and the March were John de Frouwick and Simon Launcelin at Slebech, Philip de Luda and Albinus de Neville in Halston, and the chaplain William Dalmaly at Garway: Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 37, 40, 198.

¹³⁷ These were Rhys the Welshman, preceptor of Ossington, Philip Ewyas, sergeant, the knight Simon Dyseny, and John Diluwe, preceptor of Buckland and chaplain: Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 51, 56, 181, 19. Nicholson identifies Dyseny as possibly of mid-Wales and Diluwe of the diocese of Herefordshire: Nicholson, 'The Knights Hospitaller', p. 154.

¹³⁸ *Calendar of Chancery Warrants Preserved in the Public Record Office. Prepared under the Superintendence of the Deputy Keeper of the Records. A.D. 1244-1326* (London, 1927), p. 45.

¹³⁹ Matthew Frank Stevens, *Urban Assimilation in Post-Conquest Wales: Ethnicity, Gender and Economy in Ruthin, 1282-1348* (Cardiff, 2010), p. 1.

As in Ireland, the reception of the Hospital in Wales was determined by the method of the Order's introduction, and its military and administrative service for the English Crown. Yet in each of these respects the Welsh Hospitallers differed to their brethren in Ireland. The Hospitallers first arrived in Wales in the early twelfth century, probably the 1130s.¹⁴⁰ As in Ireland, the brethren were introduced by settlers, not the local population. Their first preceptory of Slebech was founded 1148-76 by Walter, son of Wizo the Fleming.¹⁴¹ Other early donors included Alexander de Rudepac between 1115 and 1148, Philip Poer c.1130, and Earl Roger de Clare in 1158.¹⁴² The first dated Welsh grant was that of Mereduc, William, and Rhys, sons of a certain Eugene, in the mid-1140s.¹⁴³ However, the Order in Ireland arrived shortly after an invasion and counted one of the invaders as an early leader. Reaching Wales by the 1130s and only acquiring their first preceptory between 1148 and 1176, the Welsh Hospital missed the initial extensive conquests of the southern Wales. Norman lords began to make inroads into southern Wales soon after 1066. By 1075 they had reached Caerleon, and in the mid-1090s they reached the south-west coast, establishing castles at Cardigan and Pembroke.¹⁴⁴ By the time the Hospitallers arrived in Pembrokeshire at Slebech, the area had been under Anglo-Norman rule for at least sixty years. In the south the Order managed to avoid being immediately tarred as allies of fresh invaders as had happened in Ireland, whilst in north Wales the Hospitallers were not introduced by settlers at all, but by the Welsh. The earliest grant there to the brethren was the donation of their preceptory of Ysbyty Ifan, or Dongewal. This site was founded by Ifan ap Rhys of Trebys in c.1190-1210 and confirmed by Llewelyn the Great in 1225.¹⁴⁵ This Welsh introduction to the north differs greatly from the Order's settlement in

¹⁴⁰ The earliest possible grant dates to 1115-48, a gift from Alexander Rudepac, but the next and more tightly-dated donation was from Philip Poer c.1130: Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 137.

¹⁴¹ Charles, 'The records of Slebech', p. 193. For the date, see: Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 135.

¹⁴² Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 137; Nicholson, 'Military Orders in Wales', p. 198.

¹⁴³ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 164.

¹⁴⁴ R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales 1063-1415* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 28-34.

¹⁴⁵ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, pp. 138-39; Pryce, *Acts of Welsh Rulers*, no. 256.

Ireland. The Order did acquire holdings in Gaelic regions like Ulster, but there is no evidence that they were settled there by Gaelic Irish donors. The Hospitallers met less opposition in Wales than in Ireland because in southern Wales they arrived long after the initial Norman campaigns there, whilst in the north the brethren were settled by local magnates long before Edward I's conquests.

Unlike in Ireland, there is very little evidence of the Hospital supporting the Anglo-Norman administration of Wales or participating in military campaigns in the country. There is only one recorded instance of the Hospitallers fighting in Wales on behalf of the English Crown. From December 1294 to January 1295, Preceptor Odo de Neneth and a Madoc ap David of Hendor were paid £500 for Welsh infantry serving in Glamorgan, probably to suppress a Welsh rebellion.¹⁴⁶ Odo de Neneth later served Edward I again in his campaigns in Scotland.¹⁴⁷ It is hard to believe that the brethren only participated in this one expedition within Wales. They likely also joined Edward I's Welsh conquests from 1277-84. The Templars were fighting for Edward by 1282 and the Hospital did join royal campaigns in Ireland and Scotland during Edward's rule.¹⁴⁸ The Hospitallers undertook military duties in Wales off the battlefield. In 1288, during a Welsh rebellion, William Henley, prior of England, was assigned to inspect the royal castles in the Welsh March and their munitions.¹⁴⁹ There is little reason to suppose that the Hospitallers never fought in Wales before 1294. It is also possible that they participated in later conflicts in Wales. If the Hospitallers contributed troops to England's armies fighting Glyn Dŵr's revolt from 1400-15, this may explain his burning of the Order's hospice at Ysbyty Ifan. However, that records survive of just one occasion when the Hospitallers fought in Wales

¹⁴⁶ E. B. Fryde (ed.), *Book of Prests of the King's Wardrobe for 1294-5* (Oxford, 1962), pp. 58-59, 61.

¹⁴⁷ Helen J. Nicholson, 'The Hospitallers' and Templars' involvement in Warfare on the Frontiers of the British Isles in the Late Thirteenth and early Fourteenth Centuries', in *Ordines Militares: Colloquia Torunensia Historica: Yearbook for the Study of the Military Orders*, 17 (2012), pp. 110-11.

¹⁴⁸ In May 1282 the Templar Richard Poitevin, acting as lieutenant of the master of England, was given a writ of protection whilst with the army in Wales: *CPR*, Edward I 1281-92, p. 24.

¹⁴⁹ *Calendar of Various Chancery Rolls: Supplementary Close Rolls, Welsh Rolls, Scutage Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office, A. D. 1277-1326*. (London, 1912), pp. 319-20.

for a king of England does suggest this was a much rarer occurrence than it was in Ireland. This reduced level of military service may also be a cause of the less negative attitude to the Order in Wales than in Ireland. By not serving regularly in the armies or administration of a hostile and expansionist kingdom, the Hospitallers in Wales could be more easily accepted and patronised by the Welsh than their brethren in Ireland, though some animosity persisted.

Other religious orders introduced to Wales by the Anglo-Normans also received Welsh support. The Cistercians were first settled in Wales at Tintern in 1131 by Walter de Clare yet, by 1201, nine of Wales' thirteen Cistercian houses had been founded by Welsh donors or were in Welsh-controlled regions.¹⁵⁰ The Welsh princes relied particularly upon the Augustinians to reform native monasteries. The three *clasau*, unreformed Welsh monastic communities, of Aberdaron, Penmon, and Beddgelert, had been turned into Augustinian houses by the early thirteenth century.¹⁵¹ In contrast, the Templars, the only other military order operating in Wales besides the Hospitallers, enjoyed little Welsh patronage. As in Ireland, the main archive of the Welsh Templars has not survived, but what documents are extant suggest limited Welsh donations. Fifteen donors are known, one of whom can be identified as Welsh, Robert le Waleys.¹⁵² However, the Temple had little property and no preceptories in Wales itself, managing its Welsh estates from the Marcher preceptories of Garway and Upleadon in Herefordshire and Lydley in Shropshire. This low level of Welsh donations is more likely due to lesser contact with the Welsh than any animosity.¹⁵³ Like the Hospitallers, the brethren were

¹⁵⁰ These monasteries were Aberconwy, Cwm-hir, Cymer, Llanllyr, Llantarnam, Strata Florida, Strata Marcella, Valle Crucis, and Whitland: Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 196-97.

¹⁵¹ Davies, *Age of Conquest*, pp. 195-96.

¹⁵² The other donors were Herbert de Costello and his wife Emma, William Fitz Alan I, Walter Fitz Alan, Henry II, Roger de Brompton, Roger de Kinley, Peter the mason, Philip de Broseley, and Ralph de Baskerville who all made grants to the Temple's Lydley preceptory in the Welsh March. Richard I, a certain Godescallus, Margaret de Beaumont, countess of Warwick, and one of the de Bonville family were all patrons of the Templars' Garway preceptory: *Wales*, pp. 124-27.

¹⁵³ It is possible that the Templars did not want much land in Wales and declined some offers of donation. The pattern of their holdings in Britain and Ireland suggests that they favoured land suitable for wheat, a crop which accounted for thirty-five per cent of their arable land in England in 1308-9: Philip Slavin, 'Landed estates of the Knights Templar in England and Wales and their management in the early fourteenth century', *Journal of Geographical History*, 42 (2013), p. 41, Table 2. As much of Wales is better-suited to pastoral farming instead of

introduced to Wales by the Anglo-Normans and there is some evidence of a military role, but it is also slight, consisting of one campaign in 1282.¹⁵⁴ For both the Hospital and the Temple, there were fewer reasons for these military orders to be ostracised in Wales than there were in Ireland, where the Hospitallers engaged in warfare to a much greater extent and frequency.

If the Hospitallers were snubbed in Ireland and tolerated in Wales, in Scotland they were welcomed. Despite the Scots also being frequently in conflict with England, there was little opposition to the Order. Seven of the nine known donors to the Scottish Hospital before 1400 were Scots, including several Scottish kings. The Templars also had high-ranking patrons in Scotland. Their Aberdeenshire house, Maryculter, was founded by Walter Bisset, whilst their preceptory of Balantrodoch was probably established by David I.¹⁵⁵ The Lazarites' chief Scottish estate of St Giles' church, Edinburgh, was also likely a gift of David.¹⁵⁶

There are few mentions of the Hospitallers or any other military order in Scottish medieval chronicles, but when the orders are mentioned it is normally positively. The *Chronicle of Melrose's* entry for 1185 admonishes Henry II of England for not treating an embassy of the Hospitaller grandmaster and the patriarch of Jerusalem with the respect they deserved.¹⁵⁷ The *Chronicle* also praises Philip II of France's bequest of 50,000 French pounds to the Hospitallers and Templars as gifts worthy of a king.¹⁵⁸ John of Fordun's *Chronica Gentis Scotorum* claims that David I retained Templars at court as 'guardians of his morals', and mentions the deaths of the Hospitaller grandmaster and two hundred Templars fighting

arable, it is unsurprising that the Temple's major Welsh estate was at Llanmadoc on the Gower Peninsula, one of the few locations in the country suitable for farming grain: Helen J. Nicholson, 'The Templars in Britain: Garway and South Wales', in Arnaud Baudin, Ghislain Brunel, and Nicolas Dohrmann (eds), *L'économie templière en Occident: Patrimoines, commerce, finances - Actes du colloque international (Troyes-Abbaye de Clairvaux, 24-26 octobre 2012)* (Langres, 2013), p. 336.

¹⁵⁴ CPR, Edward I 1281-92, p. 24.

¹⁵⁵ Cosmo Innes (ed.), *Liber S. Marie de Calchou: Registrum Cartarum Abbatie Tironensis de Kelso 1113-1567*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1846), i, p. 191; *Scotland*, p. xviii.

¹⁵⁶ MacLellan, 'The Leper and the Lion', pp. 219-22.

¹⁵⁷ Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *The Church Historians of England.*, 5 vols in 8 (London, 1856), 4:2, p. 140.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 4:2, p. 175.

Saracens at the Horns of Hattin in 1187.¹⁵⁹ Walter Bower's *Scotichronicon* repeats Fordun's entry about Hattin.¹⁶⁰ He also lists both the Hospitallers and Templars as part of an embassy to Philip II of France in 1184 requesting aid for the East and both orders feature in Bower's account of the fall of Jerusalem in 1187. Saladin had 'overrun the territory of the Christians and slaughtered many of the brothers of the Hospital and of the Temple' and captured King Guy of Jerusalem and the master of the Temple, who were 'kept alive as a monument to [Saladin's] victory'.¹⁶¹ Further Hospitaller battles with the Saracens are described in 1266 and 1273.¹⁶² The campaigns of the Teutonic Knights are mentioned by the chronicler in his account of the death of William Douglas of Nithsdale in Prussia in 1391.¹⁶³ The spiritual side of the military orders is not forgotten by Bower. The chronicler records that in 1208 one of the Scottish Templars served as almoner to William the Lion.¹⁶⁴

Nonetheless, controversies about the military orders were alluded to as well. In Bower's record of the foundation of the Templars, an interpolation describes the Order's suppression in 1312 and the execution of their last grandmaster two years later, though with no comment on the charges of heresy that they faced.¹⁶⁵ A later entry in his *Scotichronicon* does mention the heresy accusations against the Templars, but says that the suppression of the Temple was unexpected, perhaps suggesting that Bower at least may not have believed the accusations.¹⁶⁶

From these brief mentions of the military orders, it seems that they were well regarded by some Scots, being depicted as pious advisors fit for kings and as crusaders worthy of respect and support, whilst the charges against the Templars were not wholly accepted. The Order of

¹⁵⁹ John of Fordoun, *Chronica gentis Scottorum*, pp. 234, 265-66.

¹⁶⁰ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, iv, p. 371.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*, iv, pp. 349, 377. This Templar master was Gerard de Ridefort, who was captured by Saladin at the Battle of Hattin. He was released in September 1187 in exchange for custody of the Templar castle of Gaza and was killed fighting in the army besieging Acre in August 1189: Barber, *New Knighthood*, p. 116-17.

¹⁶² Bower, *Scotichronicon*, v, pp. 357, 387.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, vii, p. 447.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, iv, p. 451.

¹⁶⁵ '*Ordo Templi annullatur et magister Templi comburitur Parisius et duravit annis clxxxiiii*': *ibid.*, iv, p. 158.

¹⁶⁶ '*et a tunc subito dampnati et extincti*': Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vi, p. 344.

St Thomas, though active in Scotland, are not attested in any literary source. The only evidence of their existence in the country is from a charter referring to their hospital in Ayrshire.¹⁶⁷ The remaining military order active in Scotland were the Lazarites, who were alluded to only in the *Scotichronicon*'s account of David II's expulsion of monastics believed to be loyal to England. The Order itself is unmentioned, instead its brethren are referred to as monks of Harehope, a reference to the Lazarite preceptory of Harehope.¹⁶⁸

Like in Wales and Ireland, the Hospitallers in Scotland were usually English or Anglo-Norman, at least until 1314. Yet the Order appears to have been accepted, counting most of the Scots kings from David I to Robert I among their patrons. It is interesting to note that there are no records of Scottish Hospitallers with Gaelic names and the name of just one donor from a Gaelic region survives, Fergus of Galloway.¹⁶⁹ However, Fergus was a major patron of the new religious orders of the twelfth century, founding the Cistercian house of Dundrennan and the Premonstratensian priory of Whithorn. His support of the Hospitallers should be seen in this context of patronage of reformed orders, rather than part of a native/colonial dichotomy.¹⁷⁰ Furthermore, the Order's holdings were centred in the south-east and north-east of Scotland, with their two preceptories in Lothian and Aberdeenshire. The Hospital had no presence in the Islands and only a small smattering of estates in Galloway and the foothills of the Highlands.¹⁷¹ With such a small Hospitaller presence in the Gaelic regions of Scotland, it is unsurprising that Gaelic Scots featured little among their membership and patrons. The cultural makeup of

¹⁶⁷ Dillon, 'Three Ayrshire Charters', pp. 32-34.

¹⁶⁸ Bower, *Scotichronicon*, vi, p. 62. For a discussion of the errors of Bower's account, see: MacLellan, 'The Leper and the Lion', pp. 219-21.

¹⁶⁹ Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', 6:2, p. 838.

¹⁷⁰ For reform monasticism in Gaelic Scotland, see: Keith J. Stringer, 'Reform Monasticism and Celtic Scotland: Galloway, c.1140-c.1240', in Edward J. Cowan and R. Andrew McDonald (eds.), *Alba: Celtic Scotland in the Middle Ages* (East Linton, 2000), pp. 127-65.

¹⁷¹ Compared to their 147 properties in Angus and Fife, the Hospitallers had just 47 in Galloway in 1540: *Scotland*, pp. lviii, 18.

Scottish monasteries, for example, was ‘primarily dictated by the ethnic constitution of the surrounding secular society’.¹⁷²

This generally positive reception for the Scottish Hospitallers was again determined by the manner of their introduction to the country and their activities there. As shown above, the Hospitallers were settled in Ireland soon after the Anglo-Norman invasion and even counted two of the invaders, Maurice de Prendergast and Hugh of Clahull, a relative of Richard de Clare’s marshal, amongst its early leaders. In Wales the Order missed the initial Norman conquests of the late eleventh century, but were still introduced to the country by a hostile colonising force and participated in campaigns against the Welsh. By contrast, the brethren were settled in Scotland by Scottish rulers like David I and Fergus of Galloway. There is also no evidence of Hospitallers fighting in Scotland before the 1290s. In Scotland there was no such association with military conquest as developed in Wales and Ireland, at least from the outset. Nonetheless, when the Hospitallers did eventually involve themselves in warfare between England and Scotland in the 1290s, there was clear hostility from the Scots and donations there largely ceased. William Wallace occupied Torphichen in 1298 and the preceptor died fighting for the Edward I at Falkirk that year.¹⁷³ In 1304/5 the brethren wrote to Edward I requesting shelter in Linlithgow Castle should Scottish troops attack Torphichen again.¹⁷⁴ Again, military activity and the manner of the Order’s introduction to the country were important factors in determining their acceptance or rejection by the local populace. In this particular respect then the Hospitallers’ patronage in Scotland was quite different from that

¹⁷² Kenneth Veitch, ‘A study of the extent to which existing native religious society helped to shape Scotland’s reformed monastic community 1070-1286’, p. 165.

¹⁷³ Wallace issued a charter at Torphichen to Alexander Scrimgeour in spring that year: Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *Documents illustrative of Sir William Wallace: his life and times*. (Glasgow, 1841), pp. 161-62. William Rishanger’s chronicle claimed that the master of the Hospital of Jerusalem died at Falkirk: Rishanger, *Willelmi Rishanger*, p. 415. This cannot have been William Tothale, elected prior of England the year before, as he remained in that office until 1315: Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 23. Most likely this was a reference to the preceptor of Torphichen, who was probably Alexander de Welles, last recorded as preceptor in 1296: *Scotland*, p. xxix.

¹⁷⁴ *CDS*, ii, no. 1733.

of non-military monastics. Some abbeys did side with the kings of England or tried to maintain relations with both sides, but donations to many of them continued after the outbreak of war.¹⁷⁵ Though the brethren of some houses were expelled because of their suspected loyalties, like the monks of Coldingham Priory in 1378, whose house was transferred to Dunfermline Abbey on account of their ties to England, such events did not equal the scale of opposition that could face the military orders.¹⁷⁶ The Lazarites and the Hospital of St Thomas were permanently driven out of Scotland during the Wars of Independence. The Hospitallers were temporarily expelled and only returned under a series of Scottish preceptors and lay guardians with royal ties. In this respect the patronage of military and non-military monastics did differ, though it should be noted that this was the exception, not the rule. Ireland, Scotland, and Wales accounted for less than ten per cent of donors to the Hospitallers from 1291-1400.¹⁷⁷ As later chapters will show, most grants were instead motivated by religious benefactions, family ties, and geographic proximity, all factors important to the patronage of both military and non-military orders.

Such hostility to the military orders could be reversed. After Robert I's confirmation of the Order's lands and rights in 1314, English Hospitallers rarely appeared in Scotland.¹⁷⁸ Instead, a series of Scots, both Hospitaller brethren and lay guardians, took custody of Torphichen.¹⁷⁹ This sudden and almost complete turn towards Scottish masters of Torphichen

¹⁷⁵ The abbey of Coupar Angus enjoyed English protection in the early fourteenth century and the abbot even informed on Scottish troop movements to the English: Victoria Hodgson, 'The Cistercian Abbey of Coupar Angus, c.1164-c.1560 (PhD dissertation, University of Stirling, 2016), p. 93. Yet the abbey still received at least nine grants from Scottish donors after 1300: *ibid.*, appendix ii, nos 24-25, 79-80, 82, 88-91. The Cumbrian abbey of Holm Cultram tried to appease both sides. It was used by Edward I as a residence while on campaign but also successfully petitioned Robert I for a remission of rents owed from their lands in Galloway: Emilia Jamroziak, *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders: Cistercian Houses in Medieval Scotland and Pomerania from the Twelfth to the Late Fourteenth Century* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 172-73.

¹⁷⁶ A. L. Brown, 'The Priory of Coldingham in the Late Fourteenth Century', *The Innes Review*, 23:2 (1972), pp. 91-101.

¹⁷⁷ This figure is excluding Edward I, Edward II, and Edward III, who each made donations in England and at least one other country.

¹⁷⁸ *Scotland*, no. 5.

¹⁷⁹ The preceptors in this period included Ralph Lindsay (c.1304-1309, c.1315-c.1318), Henry de Peremont (1310-c.1314), Alexander de Seton (1345-6), and David de Lindsay (1351-7): *ibid.*, p. 193-95. Denis Calnan, 'Some Notes on the Order in Scotland', *Annales de l'Ordre souverain militaire de Malte*, Vol. 18, No. 1 (Jan/March

was likely a condition of Robert I's pardon of the Hospitallers. Almost every one of the preceptors or guardians of Torphichen from 1314 to 1388 were Scots, many with ties to the king's court.¹⁸⁰ Also, the crown lobbied for the candidacy of at least one of the lay guardians, Robert Mercer. In 1373/4, Pope Gregory XI wrote to the grandmaster of the Hospital asking that Mercer take charge of the preceptory. The Pope said that this was on the petition of Charles V of France, himself acting on behalf of Robert II of Scotland.¹⁸¹ There were also three Hospitallers in this period who do not appear to have been preceptors, but were in Scotland representing the interests of the prior of England against these lay guardians.¹⁸² Two of them, Robert de Culter (c.1335-45) and Robert de Fordoun (c.1342-5), were described in documents as the subordinate of the lay guardian, further supporting the impression that the Scottish crown had taken control of the preceptory's management.¹⁸³ No documents survive of the third

1960), pp. 60-61. Another study has Ralph Lindsay serving until possibly as late as 1329, but he had died or resigned Torphichen by 1318: *Scotland*, p. 193. A charter of that year described him as the former master: '*Rodolphus de Lindsay dudum magister hospitalis Sancti Joannis Jerosolimitani de Torphechin*': Paul, *Register of the Great Seal of Scotland*, i, no. 49. Calnan also mentions a Preceptor John de Winkeleye in 1335 but provides no source: Calnan, 'Notes on the Order in Scotland', p. 62. The lay guardians were Reginald More (c.1322-25), his son William (c.1335-45), David de Mar (c.1357-86), Robert Erskine (1374-82), Robert Mercer (1374-9), Robert Grant (1379-83), and Thomas Erskine (1386-7): *Scotland*, pp. 193-96.

¹⁸⁰ The two Lindsays may have been related to the Lindsays of Barnwell and Crawford, a family of Bruce loyalists: Sonja Cameron, 'Lindsay family of Barnweill, Crawford, and Glenesk (*per. c. 1250–c. 1400*)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54260> [accessed 31 Jan 2017]. A possible relative, David de Lindsay, was a witness to Robert I's charter that rehabilitated the Order in 1314: *Scotland*, no. 5. Seton had fought on the Scottish side at Bannockburn, was steward to Robert I from 1317 and to David II from 1328, and was a signatory to the Declaration of Arbroath: C. A. McGladdery, 'Seton family (*per. c. 1300–c. 1510*)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54318> [accessed 31 Jan 2017]. Reginald More was justiciar of Lothian for Robert I and chamberlain for David II before 1341: Michael Brown, *The Wars of Scotland, 1214-1371* (Edinburgh, 2004), p. 225. Penman, 'Christian days and knights', p. 258, fn. 25. David de Mar and Robert Erskine were both close to David II, the former presided over his divorce in 1369 whilst the latter served as his chamberlain and an ambassador: *ibid.*, pp. 262, 268. Robert's son Thomas Erskine was a close royal servant as well. He was probably entrusted with the keepership of Edinburgh Castle by David II and he also received a pension from the earl of Carrick for his services to Carrick and his father, Robert II: S. I. Boardman, 'Erskine family (*per. c. 1350–c. 1450*)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/54181> [accessed 31 Jan 2017]. Robert Grant acted as an ambassador for Robert II and Robert III, serving in embassies to France in 1389 and 1391, for which he was awarded a pension from great customs of Edinburgh: Francis J. Grant, *The Grants of Corrimony* (Lerwick, 1895), p. 5.

¹⁸¹ *CPL*, iv, p. 135.

¹⁸² These were Robert de Culter, William de la Forde, and Robert de Fordoun: *Scotland*, pp. 194-96.

¹⁸³ A document of 1335-45 has the layman William More as the guardian of Torphichen, followed by Robert de Culter as its keeper or steward: '*Willelmus More, Custos hospitalis Sancti Johannis de Thorpheyn, et frater Robertus de Culter procurator eiusdem hospitalis*': James Maidment (ed.), *The Spottiswoode Miscellany: a collection of original papers and tracts, illustrative chiefly of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Scotland*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1844-5), ii, p. 4. Robert de Culter may have been from Culter in Aberdeenshire, the site of a Templar preceptory inherited by the Hospitallers. The medieval parish was divided in the late thirteenth century,

Hospitaller, William de la Forde (1338), interacting with the lay custodians. The repeated presence of Scottish preceptors and lay guardians with royal ties, and at least one incidence of the crown outright lobbying for its candidate, suggests that this shift from English to Scottish masters of Torphichen was intentional, a condition of the Order's reintroduction into Scotland. By so closely tying the Hospitallers to the Scottish crown, Robert I's actions prevented the utter rejection of the Order by the Scots, as the Gaelic Irish had done. Without this enforced Scottish membership, the Hospitallers may have been accused of being English agents and permanently expelled from Scotland as the Lazarites were in the 1340s.¹⁸⁴ Whilst donations to the Scottish Hospital seem to have ceased after 1314, the persistence of a crusade and chivalric network centred on Torphichen from 1322-88 shows that support for the Order and its mission survived despite their military support for Edward I.¹⁸⁵ This treatment is similar to that of Coldingham Priory. When Robert III negotiated to return control of Coldingham to its English motherhouse of Durham, the king demanded a cash payment, a guarantee that Coldingham would not be used to support future English hostilities against Scotland, and the right to approve the new prior.¹⁸⁶ Though there is no evidence that the Hospitallers paid Robert I for their restoration, that a series of royal allies after 1314 controlled Torphichen on behalf of the Order suggests a similar agreement to ensure that the Scottish Hospitallers were no longer a threat.

Clearly the most important factors affecting the Hospital's patronage in Wales, Scotland, and Ireland were the Order's military and administrative service for the English Crown and the manner of their introduction to the country. In Ireland the Hospitaller leadership were prominent figures in the defence of the colony, served in their government, and were introduced soon after the invasion of 1170. As a consequence of such early and close ties to a

and is now the two separate villages of Peterculter and Maryculter. Fordoun was described as lieutenant to the master and guardian, at that time William More: '*Frater Robertus de Fordoun locum tenens Magistri et custodis Elimosinarum domus de Torphic*': *Scotland*, no. 6.

¹⁸⁴ MacLellan, 'The Leper and the Lion', pp. 227-29.

¹⁸⁵ See above, pp. 70-72.

¹⁸⁶ Brown, 'Priory of Coldingham', p. 95.

hostile colonial administration, the brethren were snubbed by the Gaelic Irish. In Wales the Order arrived after the initial conquests of the late eleventh century but were still introduced by the Anglo-Normans and occasionally served in England's armies, hence their reception among Welsh donors was more mixed. As to Scotland, the Hospitallers were settled by Scottish rulers and only served in England's armies from the late thirteenth century. After this the Order was rejected by Scottish donors, with grants ceasing apart from Robert I's rehabilitation of the brethren in 1314. Looking across all three countries, it appears that if any one of these three factors were the most important in determining local responses to the Hospitallers, it would be their military service against the local population. The experience of the military orders elsewhere seems to support this. In Occitania neither the Templars nor Hospitallers suffered a noticeable decline in donations during the Albigensian Crusade. This was probably because the Templars, though they did offer shelter and care to the crusaders, do not appear to have been involved militarily, and neither were the Hospitallers, who were actually criticised by both sides for their inaction.¹⁸⁷ In 1346 the prior of France was killed fighting for the French at Crécy. On 29 October that year, John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, wrote to his bishops stating that the Hospitallers in England should not suffer for the actions of the French prior. He ordered that the clergy commend the Hospitallers to their parishioners and allow them to collect alms, suggesting that the brethren had been prevented from doing so in some districts.¹⁸⁸ Again, both of these instances show that military service by the Order against fellow Christians could play a major role in alienating patrons.

It is unlikely that the brethren could have declined to serve the English Crown in this fashion. Some priors managed to minimise their involvement whilst others prioritised their

¹⁸⁷ Dominic Selwood, *Knights of the Cloister: Templars and Hospitallers in Central-Southern Occitania c.1100-c.1300* (Woodbridge, 1999), pp. 43-47.

¹⁸⁸ Joseph Henry Parry (ed.), *Registrum Johannis de Trillek, Episcopi Herefordensis, A.D. MCCCXLIV-MCCCLXI*. (London, 1912), pp. 289-90.

service to England's monarch over their duties to the Hospitaller Order as a whole.¹⁸⁹ However, the English *Langue* would have found it difficult to refuse outright to serve militarily in Ireland, Scotland, or Wales. The priors were not only representatives of an international order but also feudal lords of their respective kingdoms and so 'needed the acceptance of the local king and were required to swear fealty to him'.¹⁹⁰ It follows that they would need to provide military service when called upon, at least within the borders of the kingdom. If the *langue* was aware that such service cost it support in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland, this does not seem to have dissuaded the priors from being largely enthusiastic agents of the English Crown. The Hospitallers' significant career as English royal servants has been praised for ensuring 'that Priors [of England] were better able to defend Hospitaller interests and decisions'.¹⁹¹ Yet, as this chapter has shown, such power in England came at a price elsewhere.

Whilst crusading, hospitality, and the Order's knightly status did not play a significant role in motivating patrons of the Hospitallers, their close ties to the kings of England did have an effect, most strongly beyond England's borders. At least in respect of the Hospital's presence in Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, their patronage did differ from that of non-military orders. However, these countries account for just twenty-three of the 160 surviving grants to

¹⁸⁹ Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 163-64. In 1393, Prior John Radington was part of an English embassy to Cyprus that tried to turn the Cypriot king James I towards the Roman obedience. The Hospitaller convent at this time instead backed the Avignon popes and the Order's grandmaster, Juan Fernandez de Heredia, was even based there from 1382-96. Radington's actions suggest that he was willing to put his duties as an English lord ahead of those as a Hospitaller prior: *ibid.*, p. 64.

¹⁹⁰ Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 3. Though this judgement is broadly accurate, it should be noted that only some of the priors of England did fealty to the king of England, and none of them before 1330. In September 1330 Leonard de Tibertis was presented to Edward III to be admitted as the new prior. The Hospitallers were told that the prior had to pledge fealty to the king for the lands that the Order held, as his predecessors had done. The brethren protested that this was unprecedented but de Tibertis eventually swore fealty to Edward on the condition that it not prejudice the Order in the future: *CCR*, Edward III 1330-33, pp. 154-55. This is the first record of a prior of England doing fealty and may have been prompted by the Italian de Tibertis' status as an alien. Despite the prior's protests, a precedent was set, and records survive of later priors also swearing fealty. Prior John Pavely did fealty to Edward III in 1354: *CCR*, Edward III 1354-60, p. 54. In 1382, Prior John de Radington swore fealty to Richard II: *CCR*, Richard II 1381-85, p. 208. Both times the prior complained that this was irregular and asked that it not set a precedent. In 1335, after Prior Philip de Thame refused to cooperate, royal officials examining the chancery rolls of Henry III, Edward I, and Edward II found that the priors of England, excepting Leonard de Tibertis, had never before been required to swear fealty and de Thame was accepted as prior without making such a pledge: *CCR*, Edward III 1333-37, pp. 501-502.

¹⁹¹ Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 166.

the English *Langue* from 1291-1400. As later chapters will show, the key factors motivating Hospitaller patrons were proximity to the Order's preceptories, family traditions of patronage, religious services, and personal and professional relationships with the brethren. In these respects, patrons of the Hospital were motivated by much the same factors as those of any non-military order, supporting the view that these orders should be studied together, rather than as wholly separate sides of professed religious.

Chapter Three: Professional Relationships, Royal Service, and Patronage

Whilst the Hospitallers' allegiance to the English Crown served to alienate many donors in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, it did win patronage from another quarter, England's monarchs. Ten grants from 1291 to 1400 stemmed from the Order's service to the English Crown. The Hospitallers also drew patronage from several patrons whom they employed or had business dealings with, accounting for eleven grants. Together, the Order's roles as both employer and employee were an important motivator of patronage. Though these factors did not account for as large a proportion of grants as religious intercession, family ties, or localism did, they often led to repeat patronage and many of the most valuable grants received by the Hospitallers in this period.

The most prolific of the patrons who had a business or employment relationship with the Order was William Langford, who made six donations to the Hospital. In 1329 he donated a messuage (a house with curtilage) in West Smithfield for a candle to be lit at the Order's priory church of Clerkenwell. He also gave a messuage and eight shops in 1336, asking that a chaplain be found at the priory to pray for his soul and those of his ancestors. The following year he donated another messuage and two marks rent in London to increase the lights at the church and to provide for a second chaplain. In 1339 he granted a further 20s rent. In 1345 he granted a last messuage in West Smithfield for a candle at the altar of St John in Clerkenwell. Finally, he left the Order unspecified bequests in his 1346 will.¹ Though religion clearly played a role in those grants which asked for a religious benefaction, such as his requests for a chantry, these donations can also be tied to Langford's work for the Hospitallers. Langford was a royal official. In 1328 he was serving as keeper of the manor of Bisham, a Templar property in the

¹ *CPR*, Edward III 1327-30, p. 401; *ibid.*, Edward III 1334-38, pp. 239, 467; BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 33r; *CPR*, Edward III 1343-45, p. 471; Sharpe, *Court of Husting*, i, pp. 489-90.

crown's custody.² A probable relative of William was Nicholas Langford, one of Edward III's household knights, and a fellow patron of the Hospital.³ It was probably these connections which led the Hospitallers to employ William. He is first recorded as working for the brethren in 1326, when he, alongside the prior, acknowledged a debt of over £150 owed by the Order.⁴ Langford also helped secure ex-Templar lands for the Hospitallers. One such property, New Temple in London, was held by the Despenser family. Prior Thame petitioned parliament in 1336 that Hugh Despenser the Younger had taken the manor by force and that the land should pass to the Hospital. Langford gave evidence in support of the prior and the property was taken from Hugh's son, also called Hugh, with Langford appointed as keeper in September that year. The Hospitallers eventually won control of New Temple in 1338 by contributing £100 towards Edward III's war with France. It was Langford who delivered this money to the treasury that year.⁵ The Hospitallers' were probably driven to acquire New Temple that year by the Despensers' progressive restoration to royal favour. Because of his father and grandfather's execution as traitors, many of their estates had not passed to Hugh Despenser, but in 1337 the king had begun restoring some of these lands to him.⁶ The longer the Hospitallers waited, the greater the chance there was that Hugh would be fully restored to his family's titles, solidifying his hold on the New Temple. In return for his services over this twelve year period, Langford received a number of grants from the Order, correlating with his custody and transfer of the New Temple. In December 1336, just three months after he was made warden of Temple, his

² Simon Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands in England', in Burgtorf, Crawford, and Nicholson, *Debate on the Trial of the Templars*, p. 243.

³ William Langford may have been a relative of Nicholas Langford, who gave land to the Order in Yaveley in 1333: *CPR*, Edward III 1330-34, p. 394. Nicholas was a household knight of Edward III. In 1333 the king gave him the manor of Thurvaston for life as a reward for good service: *CFR*, Edward III 1327-37, p. 344. In 1341 he was appointed sheriff of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire: *List of Sheriffs for England and Wales, from the Earliest Times to A.D. 1831, Compiled from Documents in the Public Record Office* (New York, 1963), p. 102. These royal connections may have played a part in his probable relative William Langford's success in securing the New Temple for the Hospitallers.

⁴ *CCR*, Edward II 1323-27, p. 571.

⁵ Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands', p. 244-45.

⁶ *CPR*, Edward III 1334-38, p. 461.

corrody at Clerkenwell was confirmed by the prior, who described Langford as the ‘chief servitor’ of the brethren.⁷ In 1339 he was granted land in London that the prior said was a reward for his acquisition of New Temple for just £100.⁸ There was a clear mutually beneficial relationship between Langford and the Hospitallers. The brethren employed him as an agent, gaining a valuable ally whose royal connections could help them to recover the Templars’ former lands. In return, Langford gained grants of land befitting a valuable servant and found an outlet for his religious devotion by founding chantries in the Hospital’s churches. It is unsurprising that Langford chose an order that he had already worked with to establish these chantries. He presumably held a trust and affection for the Order as a result of their business dealings, and, as an employee and a corrodian of Clerkenwell, he could easily monitor the status of his requested benefactions in order to ensure that they were being maintained.

The *langue* was also patronised by three London citizens in this period: John de Oxenford and John de Rothyng, vintners, and Richard Ruthin, skinner. Each left goods to the Order in their will. Oxenford’s was the smallest grant. His will of 1340 left the Hospitallers at Clerkenwell a cask of red wine. Ruthin also left a small bequest in his 1356 will: a portion of the proceeds from the sale of a tenement. Only Rothyng left a significant grant to the brethren in his 1375 bequest, a donation of £220 owed to him by the king’s butler and unspecified bonds due from the Bardi and Peruzzi banks.⁹ There is no record of any of these three donors selling their goods to the Order, and in any case, the brethren drank wine only occasionally at their London house of Clerkenwell.¹⁰ Instead, their main contact with the Order was as moneylenders.¹¹ The prior owed Rothyng £600 in 1346, Ruthin £400 the year after, and

⁷ Ibid., p. 226.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 303-304.

⁹ Sharpe, *Court of Husting*, i, pp. 460-461; *ibid.*, ii, pp. 34-35, 187-88.

¹⁰ ‘*quando conventus bibit vinum*’: Larking and Kemble, 1338, p. 99.

¹¹ The Hospital’s conquest of Rhodes in the first decade of the fourteenth century had left the Order deeply in debt. Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 28.

Rothyng a further £800 in 1348.¹² Oxenford was a more regular contact, lending £500 in 1324, £320 two years after, £500 in 1329, £1140 in 1330, and £1000 in 1337.¹³ None of the wills gave a specific religious motive or requested a religious benefaction such as a chantry, and none of these donors had a known family connection to the Hospitaller brethren. Their grants instead appear to have been motivated by their business relationships with the Order, with all three men rewarding a valuable repeat client.¹⁴ John de Rothying, Richard's father, worked with Oxenford, making some joint loans to other orders and knights.¹⁵ This family link may have reinforced the younger Rothying's business ties with the Hospital, prompting his donation and explaining why his grant was larger than those of Oxenford and Ruthin, who had no familial history with the Order. However, the primary motives of these three donors were their professional ties to the Hospital.

The role that employment and business relationships played in the patronage of the Hospitallers was little different from that of other military orders, who also used secular (i.e. non-professed) servants, some of whom donated to their employers. The Lazarites held a quarter-share in Kirkeby's mill from Nigel de Mowbray (d. 1191), other grants increasing this to three-quarters.¹⁶ Two undated grants by Philip the miller of Kirkeby, who presumably worked the Order's mill (the only one in the vill), gave the brethren three acres of land and half a selion, a strip of arable land, in Kirkeby.¹⁷ Non-military orders also dealt with businessmen or servants whom later became patrons. Thomas Fayreman (d. 1411) was both a major donor to and a bailiff of St Albans Abbey.¹⁸ Oxenford, Ruthin, and Rothying each lent money to other

¹² *CCR*, Edward III 1346-1349, p. 152, 406, 504.

¹³ *Ibid.*, Edward III 1323-27, p. 310, 656; *ibid.*, Edward III 1327-30, p. 562; *ibid.*, Edward III 1330-33, pp. 151-52; *ibid.*, Edward III 1337-39, p. 137.

¹⁴ Oxenford was also in possession of a corrody, the influence of this on his donation is discussed below, pp. 167-68.

¹⁵ *CCR*, Edward III 1327-30, p. 549.

¹⁶ BL, MS Cotton Nero C xii, ff. 93-94, 97.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 98.

¹⁸ Nicholas Rogers, 'Monuments to Monks and Monastic Servants', in Thompson, *Monasteries and Society*, p. 276.

houses and made bequests to them in their will. Oxenford appears particularly often as a lender, giving money to Waverley Abbey, Faversham Abbey, St Frideswide's Priory in Oxford, St Mary's Priory in Southwark, the Hospital of St Bartholomew in Smithfield, Lewes Priory, Castle Acre Priory, and Wallingford Priory.¹⁹ Of these, St Bartholomew's, St Mary's, and Faversham were also beneficiaries in his will.²⁰ This long career of lending may explain how, despite having the most contact with the Hospitallers out of these three lenders (four loans against one and two) Oxenford made the smallest grant to them. To him the Order was just one client among many. In the late thirteenth century, Dale Abbey employed William of Southwell, whose role in acquiring property for the monks resembles that of Langford's work for the Hospitallers. William was son of Nicholas Grantcort, possibly a relation of the abbot of Dale John Grauncorth. He acted as a purchasing agent for Dale, acquiring forty acres of land from various owners, which he then sold to the abbey for trivial services such as an annual gift of a rose.²¹ In addition to these 'grants' relating to his employment, one transfer was not a sale but a genuine donation: a gift of a ploughland and thirty selions for 'the soul of Hugh of Morton'.²² After building a close business relationship with Dale Abbey, William utilised their religious services as well, just as William Langford did with his requests for chantries. The employee-turned-patron was not unique to the military orders.

The only real difference between the involvement of the Hospitallers and non-military orders with officials and financiers was probably in scale, and even then only for a relatively short period. The assignation of the Temple's property to the Hospitallers in 1312 began decades of litigation by the brethren to recover their new property from the crown, the nobility, and even other orders. With the Templar lands worth about £3000 a year, there had been no

¹⁹ *CPR*, Edward II 1323-27, p. 491; *ibid.*, Edward III 1327-30, pp. 549, 575; *ibid.*, Edward III 1330-33, p. 541; *ibid.*, Edward III 1333-37, p. 669; *ibid.*, Edward III 1337-39, pp. 111, 140.

²⁰ Sharpe, *Court of Husting*, i, pp. 460-61.

²¹ Avrom Saltman (ed.), *The Cartulary of Dale Abbey* (London, 1967), p. 28.

²² *Ibid.*, no. 380.

other similarly large-scale transfer of an entire order's property to another order in Britain and Ireland before.²³ The Hospitallers employed many legal officials and agents to assist the transfer and by 1338 large funds were set aside each year for entertaining judges and other royal officials. £17 was given to various officials, judges and clerks that had assisted in acquiring Templar properties, and 200 marks for gifts in the royal courts and to win the favour of various magnates.²⁴ On top of this, a large amount of property was leased out to honour debts or in return for royal grants of Templar manors.²⁵ This litigation and bribery put a great strain on the Order's funds, hence their reliance on financiers during this period. For a few decades, the Hospital's interaction with legal and financial figures was likely greater than that of other religious orders. Outside of this period, their contact with such groups was little more than that of other orders. In fact, the Hospital probably had fewer patrons amongst burghers than many other houses, particularly the mendicant orders which so favoured urban environments. Most preceptories were in rural areas far from large urban settlements, yet cathedral priories like Winchester or Durham or many friaries were in the centre of major cities. Apart from at their London house of Clerkenwell, their Bristol *membrum*, hospice in Wexford, hospital in Hereford, and the Dublin preceptory of Kilmainham, it is unlikely that burghers like Langford, Oxenford, Rothyng, and Ruthin were particularly common participants in the patronage of the Hospitallers.²⁶ Most of the Order's houses were simply too rural to cultivate close relationships with urban communities.

The remaining two employee-patrons were John de Horewode and William de Panley, who were both direct servants of the Hospitallers, rather than independent businessmen like Oxenford and Ruthin or a royal official like Langford. In 1338, Horewode and a certain Giles

²³ Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands', p. 239.

²⁴ Larking and Kemble, 1338, pp. 203, 211.

²⁵ Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands', pp. 245-46.

²⁶ For the Hospitallers in the towns of Britain and Ireland, see: Nicholson, 'Military Religious Orders in the Towns', pp. 113-26.

Lengleys granted the Order the Irish manor of Lestornan, worth £18. There is no certain evidence of Lengleys' employment by the Hospital, however, Roger Outlaw, prior of Ireland, acted as witness to a grant by William de Bardelby to Giles le Engles in 1337, suggesting some sort of earlier relationship.²⁷ He may have been employed as a clerk for the Hospitallers. Horewode also appears to have been a clerk working for the brethren. In 1338 he received a corrody from the brethren for his part in supporting and enlarging the Order.²⁸ He also had a chamber at Kilmainham Priory, first mentioned in 1334, and the following year he was leased all of the Order's lands in Morton near Rathneaveen (Co. Tipperary) for a term of twenty years at £9 a year.²⁹ A probable relative, Robert Horewode, was given a corrody in 1334 for his services as the porter of Killergy Preceptory.³⁰ The final employee-patron was William de Panley, who granted a messuage and half a virgate of land in 1330 that was once held from the Hospitallers by the rector of Ravensthorpe, Northamptonshire.³¹ Like Horewode, William was directly in the Order's employ, he was vicar of Ravensthorpe, a church appropriated to the Hospitallers. In 1324, Prior Archer presented William as vicar and ordered the construction of a vicarage for him. At William's request, the prior had the vicarage built with two chambers, a kitchen, a stable for three horses, and a brewhouse.³² Panley and Horewode's donations were each made after the Order's own generous grants to the donors to acquire or reward their services. Both vicar and clerk were motivated to donate to the Hospitallers by the mutually beneficial relationships which they had developed with their employers.

Panley's case was certainly not unique to the Hospital. Appropriated churches were common sources of income for both military and non-military orders. By 1280, 501 of the

²⁷ Edmund Curtis (ed.), *Calendar of Ormond Deeds*, 6 vols (Dublin, 1932-43), i, no. 699.

²⁸ This corrody assigned him a squire, a horse, and two pageboys, and a large ration of bread, meat and beer each day: *RK*, pp. 91-92. The Order's provision of a horse suggests that Horewode may have even worked as one of the frary clerks.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 55, 65-66.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 52.

³¹ *BL*, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 118r.

³² *Ibid.*, f. 117v.

diocese of Lincoln's 1782 churches were held by about 150 different monastic houses.³³ The Templars had at least thirteen appropriated churches in Lincolnshire alone, as well as a moiety of a fourteenth church.³⁴ The Lazarites, a much smaller order, had twelve English churches at their height.³⁵ In just one year, the Cluniacs of Lewes Priory acquired three churches and a chapel.³⁶ Grants from the vicars of these churches to their masters were also common. In 1480 Stephen Mortimer, the vicar of Fordoun in Aberdeenshire, a church appropriated to the Augustinian cathedral priory of St Andrews, donated £7 5s. worth of rents to priory.³⁷ Henry Buckworth, the vicar of Chatteris, a church appropriated to the eponymous abbey, left a large bequest to the nuns there upon his death in 1456. He gave an antiphony, 6s. 8d. to the high altar of the convent's church, and 12*d.* to each nun and 40*d.* to the abbess.³⁸ The Hospitallers' contact with vicars, and therefore the chances of patronage from them, would have been no less than that of any other similarly-endowed religious house, military or otherwise.

However, Horewode's donation may illustrate the greater incidence amongst the military orders of hiring Latin-literate outsiders, thus increasing the potential of patronage from secular clerks like Horewode. Other religious generally had higher literacy rates than those of the military orders and so were less reliant on hiring outsiders to undertake roles such as scribes. None of the four military orders in Britain and Ireland produced any significant scholarship or required their members to be literate, and a study of 3,000 Hospitaller charters determined that 'few, if any' of the Order's scribes in England were brethren.³⁹ Such a situation extended to the

³³ Ulrich Rasche, 'The early phase of appropriation of parish churches in Medieval England', *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (2000), p. 235.

³⁴ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 144-45, 154, 158, 160-61.

³⁵ Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 197.

³⁶ R. A. R. Hartridge, *A History of Vicarages in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1930), p. 148.

³⁷ St Andrews, University of St Andrews Special Collections, B65/23/88c.

³⁸ Breay, *Cartulary of Chatteris Abbey*, p. 56.

³⁹ Gervers and Hamonic, 'Scribes and Notaries', p. 186. Aside from John Stillingflete's chronicle of patrons written in the 1430s, the only other writings to emerge from the English *Langue*, besides letters, charters, and accounts, were Roger de Stanegrave's recovery treatise, Li Charboclois *d'armes du conquest precious de la Terre Saint de promission*, and a miscellany produced for the Hospitallers of Kilbarry Preceptory in Ireland: Roger de Stanegrave, "L'Escarboucle d'armes de la conquête précieuse de la Terre saints de promission", in *Projets de croisade*, ed. Jacques Paviot (Paris, 2008), pp. 293-387; Colmán Ó Clabaigh, 'Prayer, politics and poetry:

Hospital's leadership also. According to statutes from the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, two secular scribes were to be seconded to the grandmaster.⁴⁰ Furthermore, all four orders had comparatively small memberships in Britain and Ireland, with most preceptories being staffed by just two or three brethren. The Hospitallers had fewer than 120 members in England, Wales and Scotland in 1338, the English Lazarites numbered about ten by 1380, and 108 Templars across the British Isles were put on trial from 1308-11.⁴¹ In contrast, the Benedictine abbey of Bury St Edmunds alone had forty-seven brethren in 1377.⁴² It was much more likely that a literate brother could be found among the monks of an eighty-strong Benedictine house like Durham Priory than from the two brothers of the Hospitaller preceptory of Battisford in Suffolk.⁴³

Despite being generally more literate than brethren of the military orders, other orders still used secular clerks and scribes. The mid-fifteenth-century cartulary of Chatteris Abbey, Cambridgeshire, was likely transcribed by a secular clerk, and a great many abbeys in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries played host to lawyers and notaries starting their careers.⁴⁴ It should also be noted that the brethren of non-military orders would often only have a pragmatic literacy of liturgical, literary, and administrative texts. Monks would not necessarily possess the knowledge to formulate the more complex legal documents of the late medieval period and so would also have to hire outsiders. Even by the thirteenth century, many monastics requested

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 405 and the Templars and Hospitallers at Kilbarry, Co. Waterford', in Browne and Ó Clabaigh, *Soldiers of Christ*, pp. 206-17.

⁴⁰ Alan Forey, 'Literacy and Learning in the Military Orders during the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in Nicholson, *The Military Orders Volume 2*, p. 198.

⁴¹ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 214; Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 75; Helen J. Nicholson (ed.), *The Proceedings Against the Templars in the British Isles*, two volumes (Aldershot, 2011), ii, p. xix.

⁴² Oliva, *The Convent and the Community*, p. 42, Table 8.

⁴³ Durham usually had sixty to eighty monks at any one time in the late medieval period: John Hatcher, A. J. Piper and David Stone, 'Monastic Mortality: Durham Priory, 1395-1529', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, Vol. 59, No. 4 (Nov., 2006), p. 669; Larking and Kemble, *Knights Hospitallers in England*, p. 86.

⁴⁴ Breay, *Cartulary of Chatteris Abbey*, p. 110; James G. Clark, 'Monasteries and Secular Education in Late Medieval England', in Burton and Stöber, *Monasteries and Society in the British Isles*, p. 162.

to be excused from legal duties on account of their ignorance.⁴⁵ However, with more everyday documents, such as accounts and administrative records, the average non-military religious would still be more proficient than the average Hospitaller. From the 1290s to the Dissolution, about one in nine monks of the Benedictine Worcester Abbey were university graduates.⁴⁶ In 1304, six of the seven auditors of Westminster Abbey's accounts were monks.⁴⁷ Yet even for these less specialised forms of writing, the Hospitallers often relied upon outsiders like John de Horewode. In the Hospital's 1338 survey of their accounts, twenty-five of their thirty-seven preceptories in England and Wales employed educated secular staff, including stewards tasked with holding courts, frary clerks, chapel clerks, and scribal clerks.⁴⁸ This greater contact with secular staff was necessary to supplement the brothers' poor literacy and few numbers increased the role employment played in the patronage of the military orders compared to that of their non-military counterparts, at least in regard to secular clerks.

Almost seven percent of the surviving 160 donations to the Hospital between 1291 and 1400 were from employees or business associates of the brethren, yet the case was little different for other military and religious orders. It was common for professed religious to employ secular staff, appropriate churches, and borrow money. Apart from the Hospitallers' increased reliance on literate secular staff, and outside of the legal turmoil of the Order's Templar inheritance, employee-patrons were just as common to any other orders as to the Hospitallers and other military orders, supporting the case for reintegrating the military orders back into the religious history of Britain and Ireland.

⁴⁵ Majorie Chibnall, 'Dating the Charters of the Smaller Religious Houses in Suffolk in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', in Michael Gervers (ed.), *Dating Undated Medieval Charters* (Woodbridge, 2000), p. 53.

⁴⁶ R. M. Thomson, 'Worcester Monks and Education, c.1300', in James G. Clark (ed.), *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Woodbridge, 2007), p. 104.

⁴⁷ Barbara F. Harvey, *The Obedientiaries of Westminster Abbey and Their Financial Records, c.1275-1540* (Woodbridge, 2002), p. xlii.

⁴⁸ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 8, 14, 18, 23, 25, 29, 32, 39, 46, 48, 51, 53, 55, 58, 61, 64, 67, 69, 71, 76, 79, 82, 88, 92, 97.

In the case of employment and patronage, scholarship's separation of these two strands of professed religious is a modern construction that does not accurately reflect the experience of the medieval patrons of the Hospitallers. However, when it came to the relationship between patronage and the Order's royal service, there were some significant differences from the experience of non-military religious. About fourteen per cent of surviving grants to the Order between 1291 and 1400 came from the English and Scottish royal families. Ten of these twenty-three donations were primarily motivated by the Order's services to the English Crown. The Scottish monarchs made only one grant during this period, a 1314 confirmation by Robert I of the Hospital's property and rights that they 'held in the time of Lord Alexander, king of Scotland of good memory, our predecessor, last deceased'.⁴⁹ This grant was not motivated by duties that the Order had performed for the Scottish crown as they did not take on a role as royal servants until the late fifteenth century.⁵⁰ Instead, the confirmation was part of Robert's attempts to restore the status quo of pre-1286 Scotland, ignoring the intervening kingship of John Balliol whose claim to the throne Robert's family had opposed.⁵¹ The ten English royal grants motivated by the Order's services include donations by all four monarchs from 1291 to 1399: six from Edward III, two of Edward II, and one each from Edward I and Richard II.

In 1318, Edward II gave licence for the Irish brethren to acquire each year lands, tenements, and advowsons worth £100 in return for the Hospital's service against Edward Bruce's invasion of Ireland and to help recover their losses from that campaign.⁵² This grant demonstrates the main motive behind the Order's royal patronage in Ireland: the crown funded the Hospitallers as they provided a military defence against Irish attacks. Considering the lack of an officially sanctioned military aspect in other religious orders, this was a royal tactic more

⁴⁹ '*tenuerunt tempore bone memorie domini Alexandri Regis Scocie predecessoris nostri ultimo defuncti*': Cowan, *et al.*, *Knights of St John*, no. 5.

⁵⁰ MacLellan, 'Lord Sanct Johnis', pp. 22-27.

⁵¹ Robert I repeatedly emphasised this continuity with Alexander in his charters: G. W. S. Barrow, *Robert Bruce and the Community of the Realm of Scotland* (Edinburgh, rev. ed., 2005), p. 214.

⁵² *CPR*, Edward II 1317-21, p. 197.

common to military orders like the Hospitallers and Templars.⁵³ Of course, the military orders were supposed to direct their violence against pagans, infidels, and heretics, rather than fellow Christians, but many of them participated in secular conflicts regardless.⁵⁴ Admittedly, other religious also undertook military duties, particularly in Ireland, where every major landowner, including religious houses, would be expected to contribute to the defence of the colony. However, as discussed above, the most prominent ecclesiastics to fight in Ireland, besides the Hospitallers, were bishops and archbishops, rather than abbots or priors of non-military houses, who, though they provided troops, did not regularly hold high offices with military responsibilities, such as justiciar or chancellor, as the Hospitallers did.⁵⁵

Another grant was also linked to the Bruce invasion of 1315-8, when in 1317 Edward II allowed the Order to acquire new tenants on account of the war's devastation of their lands in Dublin, Meath, and Kildare.⁵⁶ A February 1332 licence of Edward III also continued this theme of funding the Hospital. The king's grant allowed the Prior of Ireland to acquire £40 worth of property not held in chief each year, and to appropriate any churches whose advowson they acquired in this manner. This licence was stated to be for the sustenance of the Hospital's chief Irish house at Kilmainham.⁵⁷ Two further grants are less obviously tied to supporting the Order as a military force. They both date to July 1332; one excusing the Order from 20 marks rent it owed the crown for the manor Chapelizod and the other granting them the advowson of Baliogary and licence to appropriate the church. The Chapelizod grant states that this was for the Irish prior's service, whilst the second grant mentions no motive.⁵⁸ However, all three of

⁵³ Violence was sometimes committed by members of non-military orders, but was not an official or condoned part of their doctrine, except as punishment: Jane Sayers, 'Violence in the Medieval Cloister', *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. 41, No. 4 (Oct. 1990), p. 535.

⁵⁴ Alan J. Forey, 'The Military Orders and Holy War against Christians in the Thirteenth Century', *English Historical Review*, 104 (1989), pp. 1-24; Alan J. Forey, 'Military Orders and Secular Warfare in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries', *Viator*, 24 (1993), pp. 79-100.

⁵⁵ See above, pp. 95-97.

⁵⁶ Tresham, *Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium*, p. 21b.

⁵⁷ *CPR*, Edward III 1330-34, p. 246.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, Edward III 1330-34, pp. 314, 319.

these grants came two years after a royal army was raised in Tipperary, and in October that year another army was summoned in Limerick.⁵⁹ A donation in 1336 of rights in Kilmainham and a market at Stratheleyn was also given in the shadow of war, an army being summoned in Kilkenny that year.⁶⁰ As warfare was endemic in fourteenth-century Ireland, it is difficult to tie some of these donations to specific campaigns, aside from those like Edward II's 1317 grant which directly mentioned the Bruce Invasion. However, as some donors did cite particular conflicts or the Order's military role, and considering the other campaigns contemporary with the date of many of these grants, these donations appear to have been attempts by the English Crown to support a militarily useful servant in an unstable region, a role that non-military houses also undertook but less prominently. At least in this aspect of royal patronage, the patronage of military and non-military orders did differ to an extent.

These donations, some of which are directly stated to have been given on account of the Order's military service, could be interpreted as payments, a type of transaction that this study has chosen to discount by instead focusing on gifts made in 'pure alms'. As justified above, discounting grants that can be identified as sales or exchanges does very little to narrow the extant sourcebase of surviving grants from 1291 to 1400.⁶¹ It also helps remove transactions that may have only been made with the Hospitallers because of their ability to buy property or their possession of desirable land, rather than what was distinctive about them compared to other religious orders and the role this played in patronage, the prime research question of this thesis. However, if these royal donations are indeed an example of the Hospitallers 'selling' their services, then this is surely little different from when they, or a non-military order, 'sold' religious intercession. The link between military service and patronage instead points to the inseparability of the Order's dual military-religious character. Also, there are a few factors

⁵⁹ A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service in Ireland', in Peter Crooks (ed.), *Government, War and Society in Medieval Ireland* (Dublin, 2008), p. 175.

⁶⁰ *CChR*, 1327-41, p. 376; Otway-Ruthven, 'Royal Service', p. 175.

⁶¹ See above, p. 18.

which make these donations much more than merely payment for services rendered. Firstly, they go above and beyond what was due to a military servant of the crown. The Hospitaller priors were already reimbursed for the troops that they fielded in royal armies, just as any secular landowner would be paid for doing the same.⁶² To make a further grant on top of this carries the air more of religious patronage than payment. Furthermore, these grants were all made to the Order as a whole, rather than the relevant prior or preceptor, and they lack the regularity of payments. For example, there are no surviving grants commemorating the Hospitallers' service in Wales in 1294-95, at Falkirk in 1298, or many of the campaigns of the Irish priors, such as William de Ros in 1302 or William Tany's in the 1370s and 1380s. In light of this, these grants do appear to be acts of religious patronage, rather than payments, and instead reflect how the military nature of these orders expanded the range of factors which could motivate their donors.

The link between royal patronage and the Hospitallers' military service was not unique to Ireland. On 3 September 1296 Edward I allowed the Order's Scottish house of Torphichen three oak trees fit for timber from the forest of Kiltyre.⁶³ Only a few days before, on 28 August, the master of Torphichen, Alexander de Welles, appeared on the Ragman Roll of 1296 pledging fealty to Edward in his attempt to claim overlordship of Scotland.⁶⁴ The grant of timber may have been a contribution by the king to the repair or fortification of the preceptory against the attacks that would likely follow Welles' declaration. Gifts of timber were not an uncommon grant for non-military ecclesiastics.⁶⁵ Edward I gave Robert Wishart, bishop of Glasgow, timber to repair the bell-tower of Glasgow Cathedral, a decision he probably regretted when,

⁶² For example, Thomas de Burley, prior of Ireland, was paid £48 1s. for the wages of ten-men-arms, twenty hobilars, twenty-four mounted archers, and twenty-four infantry which he had contributed to the justiciar's army fighting in County Carlow in 1359: Connolly, *Irish Exchequer Payments*, p. 498.

⁶³ *CCR*, Edward I 1288-1296, p. 489.

⁶⁴ *CDS*, ii, no. 823, p. 202.

⁶⁵ Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, p. 119.

in 1306, Wishart instead used the timber to build siege engines to attack English-held castles.⁶⁶ The Hospitallers also took on military duties in Wales, though this was limited to the late thirteenth century and there are no royal grants directly linked to the Order's service there. There was also a link between patronage and the Order being used as a stabilising or defensive force. In 1346 Edward III gave the Order licence to build a chapel dedicated to the Trinity near Swinderby More, Lincolnshire. They were to build a town around it, to enclose plots of ground, and to demise these lands to tenants. The brethren were also given the right to hold a weekly market and two yearly fairs there. The grant stated that the king had heard of bandits plaguing the Fosse Way between Newark and Lincoln because there was no town nearby. The prior asked if he could, 'for the greater safety of travellers there and the repressing of ill-doing', construct a town at Swinderby More to be settled by his men, as this was where the bandits were centred.⁶⁷ Though not a royal foundation, Kilmainham Priory was likely founded for the same purpose of serving as a defensive or stabilising colony. It was situated on one of the main approaches to Dublin from the west and, with its fortified bridge over the nearby River Liffey, also controlled traffic from the north.⁶⁸

In contrast to this significant career of royal service, the other three military orders of Britain and Ireland performed few military roles for the English Crown and none of them took on military service for the Scottish kings at all. Though the Order of St Thomas had two hospitals in Ireland, there is no record of the brethren partaking in the defence of the English colony there. It is possible that the Order was too small a landowner to have played any significant role in Ireland. The Lazarites were only a little greater in number and lacked a strong

⁶⁶ Palgrave, *Documents and Records*, pp. 348-49.

⁶⁷ *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 40. The town was probably never constructed, perhaps due to the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348. The 1434 chronicle of the Hospitaller brother John Stillingflete mentions this grant, but does not indicate if it was acted upon: Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', p. 839. In 1449, Prior Robert Botyll asked the king to cancel the charter in return for a grant for holding the promised market and two fairs in Swinderby itself, the crenellation of Eagle Preceptory, the enclosure of 600 acres of wood and 4,000 acres of pasture, and the right of free warren in the preceptory's lands: *CChR*, 1427-1516, pp. 112-13.

⁶⁸ O'Malley, *English Languae*, p. 228.

foothold in any of the main theatres of Britain and Ireland in which the English Crown might require support. The brethren had some lands in Scotland but probably no preceptory and they completely lacked any Welsh and Irish properties.⁶⁹ Combined with their smaller membership and estates, the Lazarites were neither strategically-placed nor as militarily useful to the English Crown as the Hospitallers were, and hence the royal patronage which they enjoyed stemmed from different motives.⁷⁰ The Templars were much more numerous than both these orders, had property across Britain and Ireland, and had always been a military institution, unlike the three hospitaller orders which militarised some time after their foundations. Despite this, they also seem to have had a lesser military role than that of the Hospitallers, with the surviving evidence suggesting limited participation beyond Edward I's wars in Wales and Scotland. Most of the evidence for the Hospitallers' military service on behalf of the kings of England dates from the late thirteenth century onwards, increasing in frequency in the following century. As the English Templars were arrested in 1308 and the Order was suppressed in 1312, the Temple's chance to develop a fuller military career for the English Crown, as the Hospitallers did, was cut short. However, despite this lesser role as a military servant, the Templars were still used to help settle or defend unstable regions, as the Hospitallers were at Kilmainham and would have been at Swinderby More. The Templars' preceptory at Garway in the Welsh March was sited near a border river, the Monnow. This house was founded c. 1173-88 by Henry II.⁷¹ Garway was close to the royal lordship of the Three Castles (Skenfrith, Grosmont, and White Castle), which controlled the approach from the Marches to Hereford. Henry's installation of a house of military-religious strengthened an

⁶⁹ MacLellan, 'The Leper and the Lion', pp. 224-26; Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 101.

⁷⁰ Aside from royal confirmations of property and rights, the only major royal grants to the Lazarites were David I's donation of lands and St Giles' Church in Edinburgh, Henry II's 1157 probable grant of privileges, his 1176 donation of forty marks yearly to support the Order, and Edward I's 1299 gift of St Giles' Hospital in Holborn. None of these appear to be linked to any military service performed by the brethren: Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, pp. 34-35, 49, 51.

⁷¹ Beatrice A. Lees (ed.), *Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century: the Inquest of 1185, with Illustrative Charters and Documents* (London, 1935), pp. 142-43.

existing centre of royal power, helping to exercise control over the Marcher Lords and guard against Welsh incursion.⁷² This strategy by the crown of founding houses as colonising or stabilising outposts was not unique to the Hospitallers, at least amongst other military orders active in Britain and Ireland.

In contrast, military service understandably played a lesser role in motivating the patronage of non-military orders, as warfare was not an official part of their doctrine, though, as important landholders, the heads of non-military religious houses were expected to contribute to military defence, particularly in Ireland. The houses of these orders were also sometimes sited in unstable or frontier regions, much like those of the Hospitallers and Templars, and could even be tasked with reducing banditry, as the Hospital's town at Swinderby More had been intended for. In the late thirteenth century the Welsh abbeys of Basingwerk and Strata Florida Abbeys were ordered to clear the woodland around the major roads that passed through their lands.⁷³ The Cistercian monasteries of Leinster were all located in strategic areas, either alongside roads or rivers, and were given the right to tax travellers, allowing the monks to monitor and control traffic across their lands.⁷⁴

Whilst the military activities of the Hospitallers motivated a significant portion of their royal patronage during this period (seven out of nineteen grants), the brethren often undertook administrative and financial duties as well, some of which resulted in donations. In 1363 the Prior of Ireland, then serving as chancellor, was excused from £40 of the yearly rent that the Order owed for the manors of Chapelizod and Leixlip as long as he stayed in office. This grant was presented as a reward for the great labours and expenses incurred in his duties.⁷⁵ A later

⁷² At their arrest in 1308, no weapons were recovered from Garway's brethren, suggesting that they did not play a military role: TNA, E 358/18, roll 2. However, as this occurred over two decades after Edward I's final conquest of Wales, it is unsurprising that this area of the border between England and Wales was more stable and the Templars less at risk of attack than they had been at Garway's foundation in the late twelfth century.

⁷³ Jemma Bezant, 'Travel and Communication', in Burton and Stöber, *Monastic Wales*, p. 135.

⁷⁴ Lynch, 'The Cistercians in medieval Leinster', i, pp. 118-19.

⁷⁵ *CFR*, Edward III 1356-1368, p. 270. Edward III revoked this grant in 1364 after a delegation from Ireland presented evidence of corruption by the king's Irish officials, including the prior: *ibid.*, p. 293; Brendan Smith,

charter also demonstrates royal patronage of the Hospital whilst one of its members was employed by the crown. In April 1381 Richard II granted the brethren various liberties including the right to all fines of their men and tenants. The Hospitallers were also exempted from pavage (toll for maintaining roads), murage (a toll for town walls), and pontage (a toll for bridges) throughout the realm.⁷⁶ From February that year, the prior of England, Robert Hales, served as a chief royal councillor, holding the post of treasurer. He had also acted as the admiral of the southern fleet in 1377, undertook a diplomatic embassy in 1380, and from 1378 to 1380 sat on the minority council of Richard II. In addition to holding these offices, Hales had also lent money to the crown, giving 1,000 marks in June 1380 and 1,350 marks in January 1381.⁷⁷ This grant of privileges, made at Hales' petition, shows the crown rewarding a valuable servant, one that had served the king as a commander, administrator, and financier.

This final role of moneylender was particularly valuable to the crown, with the Order able to extract concessions in return for granting loans or funds already owed. In 1306, Edward I, who already owed the Hospitallers £200, excused the brethren of the twentieth and thirtieth owed for the knighting of the prince of Wales.⁷⁸ With the onset of the Hundred Years War and the collapse of the Italian banking companies, the Hospitallers' importance as moneylenders grew, and so did the concessions that they could exchange their financial support for. Prior Philip de Thame lent 2,000 florins in 1346, receiving an exemption from fifteenths for the following year.⁷⁹ For 300 marks in 1370, Prior Pavely was excused from providing caps to the officers of the exchequer.⁸⁰ Though these were direct exchanges rather than gifts in pure alms, the Order's frequent lending no doubt contributed towards royal goodwill towards and

Crisis and Survival in Late Medieval Ireland: The English of Louth and Their Neighbours, 1330-1450 (Oxford, 2013), p. 49.

⁷⁶ *CChR*, 1341-1417, pp. 272-73.

⁷⁷ Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 36-37.

⁷⁸ *CPR*, Edward I 1301-1307, p. 443.

⁷⁹ *CFR*, Edward III 1337-47, p. 489.

⁸⁰ *CPR*, Edward III 1367-70, p. 456.

therefore royal patronage of the brethren.⁸¹ It is possible that royal patronage was also influenced by the Hospitallers' links to England's rising gentry class, from which most of its brethren were drawn.⁸² This same group provided many royal judges and other officials and family links between the Hospitallers and these royal servants may have encouraged the crown to make use of the brethren. The English *Langue* of the sixteenth century included David Gonson, son of Henry VIII's naval administrator William Gonson, and John Rawson, son of Richard Rawson, sheriff of London.⁸³ However, there is little evidence of such connections in the fourteenth century. As poor religious, the brethren left no wills which could have recorded bequests to family members, and as celibates, they were often omitted from pedigrees.⁸⁴

Other military orders enjoyed very few royal duties compared to that of the Hospitallers. Again, the Order of St Thomas appears to have been too small to be called upon. Though the kings of England often involved themselves in the Order's affairs in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, this interest did not extend to employing the brethren as agents.⁸⁵ The Lazarites were also given no such duties, let alone entrusted with crown offices. The Templars, however, did take on a role as royal administrators and servants. In Scotland, Templars had featured in the royal household since the reign of David I (1124-53) and regularly held the position of royal almoner.⁸⁶ In Ireland, two of the brethren acted in negotiations between crown officials and the rebellious Richard Marshal in 1234. That year the master of the Temple in Ireland was also entrusted with monitoring the royal accounts, a role they maintained into the 1280s.⁸⁷ However, from c. 1250 the Order's duties reduced, both in Ireland and England, with the brethren receiving fewer royal donations and most of the Temple's roles in royal

⁸¹ For the Hospitaller priors as lenders, see: Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 27-29.

⁸² O'Malley, *English Langue*, pp. 40-41. For the development of the gentry in England, see: Peter Cross, *The Origins of the English Gentry* (Cambridge, 2003).

⁸³ O'Malley, *English Langue*, p. 40.

⁸⁴ O'Malley, *English Langue*, pp. 33-34.

⁸⁵ Forey, 'Order of St Thomas of Acre', pp. 494-96.

⁸⁶ Cowan, *Knights of St John*, pp. xviii, xxi.

⁸⁷ Nicholson, 'Serving king and crusade', pp. 236-37.

administration passing to the Hospitallers.⁸⁸ With the Temple's lesser career of royal service, and the lack of any record of one amongst the Lazarites and the Order of St Thomas, crown duties played only a slight role in motivating royal patronage of the other military orders in Britain and Ireland.

The brethren of non-military orders often acted as royal servants, a role which, as it did for the Hospitallers, could lead to royal patronage. After staying at St Michael's Abbey in Antwerp, Edward III granted the brethren the Northamptonshire church of Finedon in return for their hospitality.⁸⁹ Richard II used Dominicans as his confessors. Perhaps influenced by this service, Richard made some small grants to the London Dominicans in the 1380s and 90s.⁹⁰ The friars were also confessors to Edward II, a relationship that again led to patronage, with the king making several gifts to that order, including founding their house at King's Langley in 1307.⁹¹ However, few of the approximately one thousand religious houses operating in England and Wales at the end of the thirteenth century could expect the significant and repeat service as royal agents that the Hospitallers achieved.⁹² Only the great abbeys, such as Westminster in England or Arbroath in Scotland, enjoyed a similarly regular role as senior crown servants and could therefore benefit from greater royal patronage than lesser houses.⁹³

Royal service clearly played a significant role in motivating the crown's patronage of the Hospitallers, more so than it did for many of Britain and Ireland's other religious orders. This predominance of royal duties as a motive for donations is due to the Hospital's distinctive organisation and character compared to that of non-militarised religious. The military orders in

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 238.

⁸⁹ G. G. Coulton, *Church Life in England Under Edward III* (Cambridge, 1934), p. 138.

⁹⁰ Phillpotts, 'Monasteries of London', p. 198.

⁹¹ Seymour Phillips, *Edward II* (New Haven, CT, 2010), pp. 65, 67-68.

⁹² Stöber, *Late Medieval Monasteries and their Patrons*, p. 27.

⁹³ Richard of Barking, abbot of Westminster, served as a diplomat for Henry III and audited the royal accounts. Nicholas Vincent, 'Barking, Richard of (d. 1246)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2006, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/1422> [accessed 11 March 2016]. Other abbots of Westminster acted as treasurer under Edward I and Edward III. Bernard, abbot of Arbroath, served Robert I of Scotland as chancellor from 1308-28, with later abbots serving under James III and James IV as treasurer. Pryde *et al.*, *Handbook of British Chronology*, pp. 104-105, 181.

general were useful servants for royal administration, particularly in Ireland. The English administration there suffered from high levels of corruption. As the brethren of the military orders in Ireland were usually from England they had no independent Irish powerbase and were reliant on the crown for their position. Unlike the Anglo-Irish magnates, they were more likely to remain loyal. Also, being sworn to celibacy, the risk of nepotism was reduced.⁹⁴ However, these points could also be made for many of the non-military orders in Ireland.

A more important difference was the greater centralisation of the military orders compared to their non-military counterparts. The Hospitallers, Templars, Lazarites, and the Order of St Thomas in Britain each answered to a single provincial master in England. For the Templars and Hospitallers, a second master led the order in Ireland. Under such a system, donating to the English Hospitallers, a king could win the support of the master of over fifty houses in England, Wales, and Scotland. The same could not be so easily said for other religious orders. If the crown donated to Malmesbury Abbey, the monks' fellow Benedictines at Sherborne Abbey would not necessarily hear or care about this patronage. Of course, less centralised non-military orders like the Benedictines still communicated with each other. A monk from Malmesbury may move to Sherborne and become abbot there, spreading awareness of the donation. An abbot of the same order could also hear of the grant through his monastery's contacts with other houses, and therefore be better-inclined to act as an agent for the king.⁹⁵ However, in a centralised order like that of the Hospitallers, the prior could order a house's compliance in aiding a patron, rather than relying on the passive power of reputation and communication. Also, due to this heavy centralisation, the Templar master and the Hospitaller prior had greater resources to call upon than any individual abbot. In 1338 the Hospital had a

⁹⁴ Nicholson, 'Serving king and crusade', pp. 244-46.

⁹⁵ Monastic houses often communicated with each other, sometimes transferring personnel and even developing roads between different abbeys, such as the Monk's Trod between Strata Florida and Cwmhir: Bezant, 'Travel and Communication', p. 137. Visitors from other houses were so common that by 1250 many houses had assigned separate quarters and personnel to care for them: Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, p. 10.

gross income of over £5,600.⁹⁶ Westminster Abbey was worth only about £1,294 in 1291, and Glastonbury Abbey £1,406.⁹⁷ Even accounting for inflation between 1291 and 1338, the Hospitallers still commanded greater wealth than two of England's greatest abbeys. It was in a king's interests to win over such a wealthy servant that could lend to the crown. Finally, the masters of the military orders were more versatile than the heads of other religious houses. Even the great abbeys discussed above failed to attain certain royal offices that came easily to the Hospital, due to their different nature from that of the military orders.⁹⁸ Being part of an order with a headquarters in the eastern Mediterranean, at which brethren were expected to perform a term of military service before being promoted to higher office, Hospitaller priors were often better travelled than the heads of non-military houses and would have firsthand military experience.⁹⁹ As Robert Hales' career demonstrates, a Hospitaller prior could perform administrative, diplomatic, and military roles for the crown, as Hales did when he served first as admiral, then as part of John of Gaunt's embassy to Scotland in 1380, and then as treasurer, an appointment which cut short his career.¹⁰⁰ The heads of other religious orders, non-military and less international, were not as capable of performing such a diverse range of roles. For example, there were no non-Hospitaller religious serving as admiral before Hales' term in 1377, only knights, nobles, and burghers.¹⁰¹ As a royal agent, the Hospitaller priors and Templar masters were superior in almost every way to most leaders of religious houses: they

⁹⁶ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 212-13.

⁹⁷ T. S. Holmes, 'Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of Glastonbury', in William Page (ed.) *A History of the County of Somerset: Volume 2* (London, 1911), pp. 82-99. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/som/vol2/pp82-99> [accessed 3 September 2016]. These figures are drawn from the *Taxatio Ecclesiastica*. The statistics for which are not wholly reliable, as it includes some undervaluations and omissions, but it remains a good approximate record of monastic wealth: Burton, *Religious Orders in England*, pp. 234, 246.

⁹⁸ The office of justiciar in Ireland was usually held by secular magnates or bishops, rather than monastic leaders such as abbots and priors, yet the Hospitallers repeatedly served as justiciar or deputy justiciar: A. J. Otway-Ruthven, 'The Chief Governors of Medieval Ireland', in Crooks, *Government, War and Society*, p. 86. This may have been due to reluctance on the part of non-military orders to serve in an office which could require the passing of capital sentences. It again speaks to the superiority of the Hospitaller priors as a royal servant compared to that of their non-military counterparts.

⁹⁹ O'Malley, *English Langue*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁰ Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 61-62.

¹⁰¹ Pryde *et al.*, *Handbook of British Chronology*, pp. 135-39.

were richer, had greater resources of men and property, and were more versatile crown servants. Royal service, both military and administrative, was clearly a significant motivator of the crown's donations to the Hospitallers, more so than for other religious orders.

Professional relationships played an important role in the patronage of the Hospitallers from 1291-1400, accounting for twenty-one out of 160 surviving grants. Generally, the influence of these relationships was no different from the case for other military and non-military orders: employment by or business dealings with a religious order could build trust and relationships that led to patronage. The Hospitallers were more reliant on hiring literate outsiders than their often better educated non-military counterparts, and the effects of the Templar transfer led to greater employment of legal servants, but such differences were minor or temporary. The only significant difference in the role that professional relationships played in the patronage of the Hospitallers was in relation to royal donations. The Order's greater value as a royal servant, stemming from its resources and versatility, significantly affected the motives behind royal patronage of the Hospital. Instead of being made only for charitable reasons, royal grants to the Hospitallers often stemmed from a desire to support and reward a valuable administrative and military servant.

Chapter Four: Geography and Patronage

The Hospitallers' distinctive traits of crusading, hospitality, and knightly status did little to motivate patronage, whilst the Order's service on behalf of the English Crown in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales even managed to dissuade donations from the non-Anglo-French populations of these countries. Such service did, however, lead to patronage from England's monarchs. The Hospitallers' other professional networks also lead to some donations, though in total, such patrons accounted for just thirteen per cent of the grants made to the English *Langue* in the period 1291-1400. If the previous chapters were more concerned with what failed to motivate donors, this and the following chapter shall begin to answer what did. The three most important factors in prompting donations to medieval religious houses were geographic proximity to the house, family traditions of patronage, and the desire for intercessory prayer. As this chapter argues, the first of these factors applied just as much to patronage of the Hospitallers and other military orders as it did to that of non-military religious. Whilst the exact status of the military orders, whether they were religious or secular, may still be disputed, those that interacted with them and patronised them treated the orders little differently from their non-military counterparts.

The role of localism has seen some study both in relation to the non-military and the military orders, but this research has often only dealt with a single county, diocese, city, or house.¹ Walker's study of the influence of localism in patronage of the English Lazarites and Templars suggests that geography did play a role in military order patronage. However, as this

¹ Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 219-23; Oliva, *The Convent and the Community*, pp. 177-82; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 206-208; Norman P. Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich 1370-1532* (Toronto, 1984), pp. 119-21. One of the more detailed discussions of the role of localism in patronage is: Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter*, pp. 176-201. However, this is specific to just one monastery, one with a particularly high profile and long history, and so its conclusions may not necessarily apply to other, smaller, or newer houses. For localism and donations to the military orders, see Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, pp. xl-xliv, lxviii-lxix; Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', pp. 229-40.

examined different orders, an earlier time period of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and relied on donations made to houses in the English Midlands and the south, its conclusions are not necessarily applicable to the Hospitallers a century later and across the entirety of Britain and Ireland. Furthermore, his study did not systematically compare these findings to the patronage of non-military orders, briefly comparing the Lazarites to a single house, Croxton Kerrial.² It is uncertain how far these findings can be applied elsewhere. The experience of a rural house in Leicestershire was likely very different to that of one on the edge of London. Therefore, this chapter shall be a comparative one, examining the relationship between geographic proximity and donations to both the Hospitallers and several non-military religious houses in the British Isles in the period 1291 to 1400. By studying a range of orders across Britain and Ireland, this chapter's findings will be readily applicable to other contexts.

There are several reasons why simple proximity to a religious house could motivate donations. Firstly, many medieval patrons, particularly the less wealthy ones, would only be aware of the religious houses in or near to their home. A shepherd living in fourteenth-century rural Norfolk is unlikely to have known about Tintern Abbey, 200 miles away. If such a donor became aware of this house, how would he make his donation? He could try to give a record of his grant to someone travelling to the abbey, or hope that a representative of this Welsh house happened to visit the local area, or he could even make the journey himself. None of these options are particularly easy or straightforward. Also, by donating to such a distant house the patron would also miss out on the potential advantages of supporting their local religious. Patronising a closer house could increase his standing in the local community. If he were a tenant of this abbey he could build a better relationship with his landlord. Finally, if his aim were to secure a candle or other commemoration in the abbey's church, then he would be able to visit the house to ensure that the conditions of his grant were adhered to. For most donors, it

² Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', p. 238.

was more advantageous to favour a local house than a distant one, even if patrons were aware of faraway alternatives.

Hospitaller clerks could visit every parish church once a year to ask for donations. Each new campaign of crusade preaching could see the Order's work in the East mentioned in churches across Britain and Ireland. Yet both of these events were infrequent. Though the Hospitallers had the right to do so, it is very unlikely that its clerks actually visited every parish church every year. Crusade preaching was not a regular event and many years could pass between campaigns.³ Instead, the main source of local awareness of the Hospitallers, something that increased the likelihood of donations, was the presence of an actual estate. The existence of a Hospitaller preceptory would not only mean that the Order's clerks could more easily visit the local churches to petition for donations. The brethren would also assume a public role in the locality as a landholder, operating manor courts, administering justice, and conducting trade. The Order's houses distributed alms to the local community and played a role in the wool trade.⁴ The brethren would have been part of the fabric of the local community. Their presence would have been more constant, more noticeable, and impacting on daily life in the locality to a greater degree than the annual visit of a frary clerk. Increased awareness of the Order via close proximity to one of its estates should have led to increased levels of patronage.

No attempt has yet been made to prove this hypothesis on as large a scale as the entire English *Langue*, not to mention the five non-military houses that this chapter also considers. Mapping the Order's estates and the locations of donors will help make the link between localism and patronage readily visible, and provide several useful case studies for future

³ For example, the main crusade preaching campaigns in England in the fourteenth century were for the Hospitallers' Rhodes Crusade from 1308-13, an Anglo-French campaign to the Levant from 1335-6 that never materialised, Clement VI's Smyrna Crusade of 1344-6, Despenser's Crusade in 1383, John of Gaunt's Spanish campaign in 1386, and Boniface IX's call for aid for Constantinople in 1398: Timothy Guard, 'Pulpit and Cross: Preaching the Crusade in Fourteenth-Century England', *English Historical Review*, Vol. CXXIX, No. 541 (Dec. 2014), pp. 1319-20.

⁴ Majoros, 'The function of Hospitaller houses', pp. 109-11. The Order acted as a major producer of wool and exported cloth in large quantities by the fifteenth century: *ibid.*, pp. 134-35.

research into religious patronage, both of military and non-military orders. To determine the importance of geographic proximity in motivating patronage, the *langue*'s houses in the British Isles and donations made to the Order from 1291-1400 have been mapped below (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). In mapping these donations, the location of the granted property has been used, rather than a location related to the donor, as many of these patrons are too poorly documented to locate their main residence. Those whose residence or origin can be traced are mapped separately below (Figure 4.4). As well as the Order's preceptories, their *membra* and *camerae* have also been mapped. *Membra* were the subsidiary estates of a preceptory, whilst *camerae* were independent. They were held *in absentia* by a high Hospitaller official, usually the relevant prior, who might grant them to favourites or farm them out to laymen.⁵ If not put to farm, then they were usually staffed by a secular bailiff or sometimes by a professed brother.⁶ As such, *camerae* likely had a smaller and less regular Hospitaller presence than that of a preceptory and its *membra*. The list of the *langue*'s preceptories changed over the period 1291-1400, as new houses were acquired from the Templars whilst others were merged, becoming *membra* under the jurisdiction of another preceptory.⁷ Therefore the maps below include the Templar estates acquired by 1338 and the Order's *camerae* and *membra* recorded in that year, each labelled separately. The ex-Templar holdings have been marked according to their status under the Hospitallers, rather than under their former owners. For example, Balantrodoch was a Templar preceptory in Lothian, but under the Hospital was operated as a *membrum* and so has been marked as an 'Ex-Templar *membrum*'. Some *camerae*, such as Chiltcomb, also had *membra*, but these have been mapped as *camerae* as they would have lacked the more frequent Hospitaller presence of a preceptory's *membra*. In addition to this, the Order's Herefordshire

⁵ Riley-Smith, *Hospitallers in the Levant*, p. 192.

⁶ O'Malley, *English Langue*, p. 60.

⁷ For example, Shalford originally formed its own preceptory but by 1338 was a *membrum* of Greenham: P. H. Ditchfield and William Page (eds), 'House of Knights Hospitallers: The preceptory of Greenham', in *A History of the County of Berkshire: Volume 2* (London, 1907), pp. 88-89. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/berks/vol2/pp88-89> [accessed 12 June 2017].

hospital has also been mapped. It is absent from the 1338 report, probably because it attracted no income, but represents a noteworthy Hospitaller presence in an urban centre. It has been marked as a *membrum*, as the Order's other Hereford property, 300 acres of land which perhaps included the hospital, was listed under Dinmore's entry in the 1338 survey and the hospital appears again in a rental of Garway and Dinmore Preceptory in 1505.⁸ By marking preceptories, *membra*, and *camerae* separately, it will be possible to examine if the presence of actual Hospitaller brethren influenced donations, or whether the mere existence of nearby Order estates was enough to motivate patrons.

Unfortunately, the survey does not name any of the Order's Scottish lands.⁹ Instead, the 1540-41 rental of Torphichen has been used for mapping these properties. The only Hospitaller preceptory in Scotland was Torphichen, though the Order held five other baronies, two of which, Maryculter and Balantrodoch, were once Templar preceptories. Of the remaining three baronies, Liston was also a Templar property, but it is unknown whether Thankerton and Denny were originally Hospitaller or Templar estates.¹⁰ Therefore, these last two baronies have been marked as 'unknown *membra*'. The lands of Maryculter, Balantrodoch, and Liston all appear to have served as Torphichen's *membra*.¹¹ Admittedly, neither the term *membrum* nor *camera* was used in relation to these lands. However, as they appear to have been subordinate

⁸ 1338, p. 30; Nicholson, 'Military Religious Orders in the Towns', p. 119.

⁹ The survey states that the Order held lands, rents, tenements, churches, and other properties in Scotland, but that these had all been ravaged by war and no detailed extent of them could be made. No specific estates are named: Larking and Kemble, 1338, pp. 129, 201.

¹⁰ It has been claimed that these two baronies were acquired 'by the early fourteenth century' but when they had come 'into the possession of the [Templars or Hospitallers] is unknown': *Scotland*, lvi-lvii.

¹¹ The preceptors and lay guardians of Torphichen managed these properties directly, holding manor courts at Balantrodoch in 1353/4 and 1374: *Scotland*, nos 9, 11. Preceptor Henry Livingston held a manor court at Liston in 1459/60 and in 1461 leased out land in the barony: *ibid.*, nos 18, 20. There is no evidence of the preceptors managing Denny, Thankerton, or Maryculter, though in 1345/6 Preceptor Alexander de Seton was administering the Order's lands in Ellon, about 25 miles from Maryculter, suggesting that he was responsible for this estate as well: *ibid.*, no. 7. The Order's tenure of Denny and Thankerton is almost undocumented outside the 1539-40 rental but, considering Torphichen's direct administration of their other estates, it is likely that both sites were also managed as *membra*.

to Torphichen and not the priory or the grandmaster, as most *camerae* were, *membra* remains an adequate description, though not a contemporary one.¹²

For the Hospital's Irish preceptories and their Wexford hospice, the 1540-41 survey of the Order's Irish property has served as the main source.¹³ Those donations which did not relate to a specific location have not been mapped.¹⁴ When a single donation involved property in multiple locations, all the granted property has been marked.¹⁵ Some grants are not featured as the location they refer to is untraceable.¹⁶ Only grants involving rights, property, or land have been mapped. Ten donations that consisted solely of cash or goods have been omitted, but their donors' origins/residence, when known, are mapped below in Figure 4.4.¹⁷

¹² These sites were all far from Torphichen yet Majoros has argued that *membra* were normally those estates in close proximity to a preceptory whilst *camerae* were those more distant: Majoros, 'The function of Hospitaller houses', p. 26. Such a conclusion does not seem to apply in Scotland where even distant outposts were administered by Torphichen, perhaps because the English priors and the grandmaster had less direct influence there than in England and Wales.

¹³ Newport B. White (ed.), *Extents of Irish Monastic Possessions, 1540-1541 from Manuscripts in the Public Record Office, London* (Dublin, 1943), pp. 80-120.

¹⁴ For example, Edward III's licence in 1332 for Prior Outlaw to acquire £40 of property each year: *CPR*, Edward III 1330-34, p. 246.

¹⁵ Such as Edward III's 1363 excusal of rent owed for both Chapelizod and Leixlip: *CFR*, Edward III 1356-68, p. 270.

¹⁶ These include Edward III's 1332 grant of the advowson of Baliogary, diocese of Dublin: *CPR*, Edward III 1330-34, p. 319. Edward III's 1336 gift of the right to a weekly market at the 'New Castle of Stratheleyn' has also been omitted: *CChR*, 1327-46, p. 376. There were 35 settlements called Newcastle or a variant in the 1851 Irish census, none of which were in a parish or barony that corresponds to 'Stratheleyn': *Census of Ireland. General alphabetical index to the townlands and towns, parishes, and baronies of Ireland* (Dublin, 1861), pp. 736-37. Aymer de Valence's 1323 grant of rights and privileges in Slebech, Minwear, Rudebard, and Rosemarch has been mapped, except for Rosemarch, which does not correspond to a known location: Fenton, *Tour Through Pembrokeshire*, appendix, no. 2. The final omitted grant is John son of James de Hertwylle's 1377 quitclaim of lands in Hertwylle, as the corresponding modern location could not be found: *Buckland Cartulary*, no. 218.

¹⁷ These are: John de Oxenford's 1340 gift of a cask of red wine and money to Clerkenwell priory church; William Langford and Roger Mayel's pecuniary bequests in 1346 and 1361; John de Rothyng's 1375 bequest of money and unpaid bonds; Agnes de Chaworth's 1310 gift of 25s.; Edward, the Black Prince's grant of three tuns of vermeil wine to Clerkenwell in 1362; Richard of Bedford's 1309 grant of three gold rings worth 5s.; Guy de Burdeux's bequest in 1371 of 40d. to Carbrooke Preceptory; Adam French's 1396 pecuniary bequest; Robert Russell's pecuniary bequest of 1326; Edward I's 1296 gift of three oaks from the forest of Kiltyre: Husting, i, pp. 460-61, 489-90, ii, pp. 28-29, 187-8; Brown and Thompson, *Register of William Greenfield*, iv, pp. 70-71; Dawes, *Register of Edward, the Black Prince*, iv, p. 446; Fowler, *Registrum Radulphi Baldock*, pp. 108-109; Tanner, *The Church in Late Medieval Norwich*, pp. 227-28; A. D. Weld French, *County Records of the Surnames Francus, Franceis, French, in England A.D. 1100-1350* (Boston, 1896), p. 147; *RK*, p. 13; *CCR*, Edward I 1288-96, p. 489.

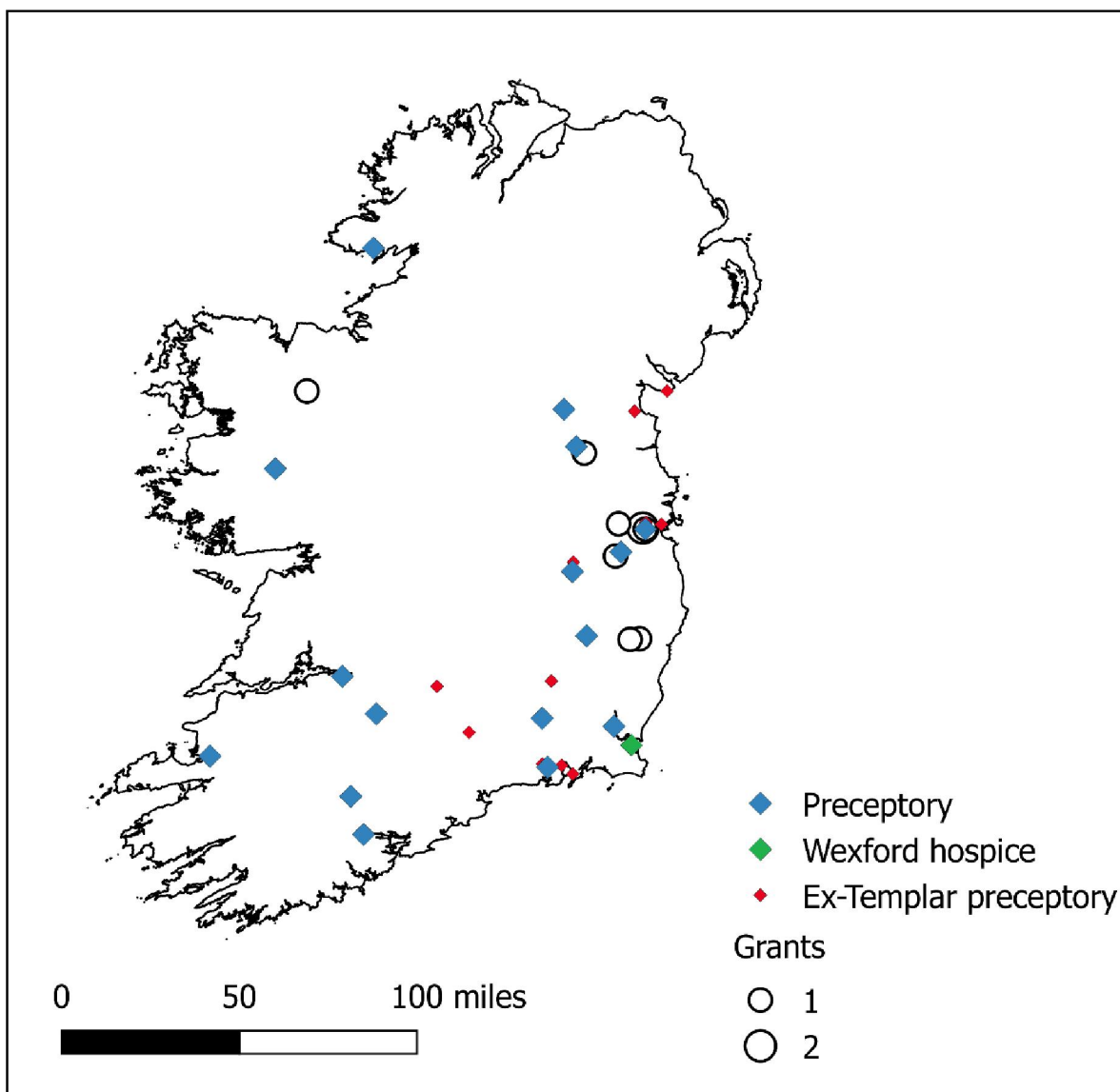


Figure 4.1: Preceptories of the Priory of Ireland and donated properties, 1291-1400.

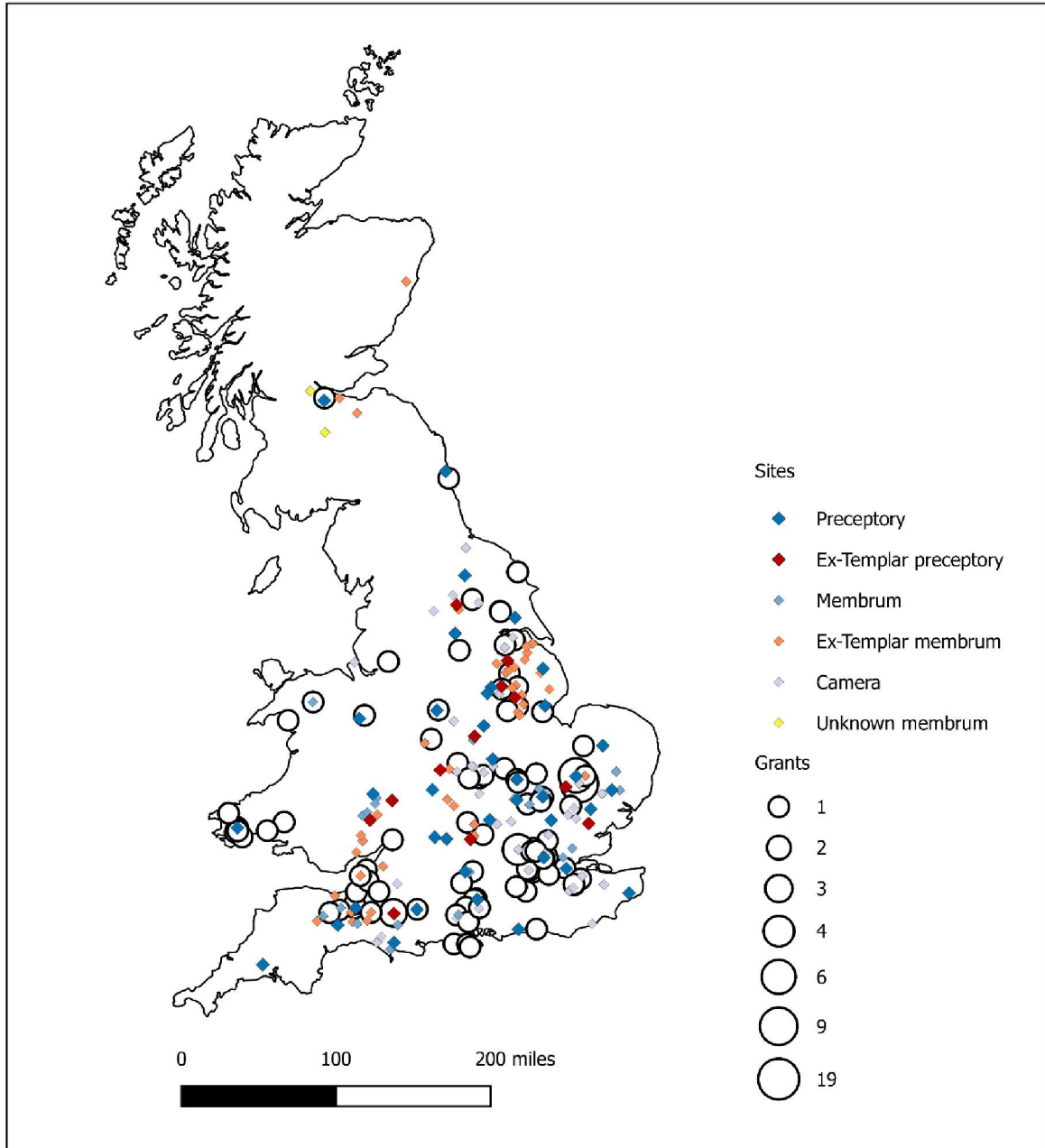


Figure 4.2: Estates of the Priory of England and donated properties, 1291-1400.

Of 147 mapped grants, seventy-eight per cent were of properties within a ten-mile radius of a Hospitaller estate.¹⁸ If this radius is extended to twenty miles, still a day's travel and readily accessible, particularly to people of means, this figure increases to just under ninety-two per cent. The largest concentrations of donations were in Harefield (six grants), Chippenham

¹⁸ These grants are listed in the appendix below, pp. 211-266.

(nine), and Ashley cum Silverley (nineteen). The manor of Moor Hall in Harefield was a *camera* sometimes managed by a Hospitaller brother, rather than a bailiff, and at Chippenham there was a preceptory.¹⁹ Ashley cum Silverley did not have an Order estate, but the Hospital held the manor and the nearest religious house was its Chippenham Preceptory six miles away. The regular presence of Hospitallers, or the size afforded by a preceptory, seems to be an important factor in motivating donations. If only the Order's *camerae* are mapped, then very little correlation with donations is apparent. Each of the fourteen grants in Somerset, Devon, and Dorset is at least twenty miles away from a Hospitaller *camera*. In Wales there are no known *camerae* at all, yet the Order still received eleven grants in that country. There is a stronger correlation between the presence of *membra* and donations, with just one of those fourteen grants in southwest England lying more than fifteen miles away from one of these estates. *Membra* would have had a more regular Hospitaller presence than *camerae*, being administered directly by their local preceptory. Coupled with the high donation levels at Harefield, Chippenham, and Ashley cum Silverley, it appears that the actual presence of Hospitaller brethren was an important aid towards donation levels. This could suggest that Hospitallers petitioning for donations in the locality was an important motivator of patronage, something which is discussed further in the following chapter.²⁰

It will be noted that there are also a few instances of granted property lying far from any Hospitaller estate. In Ireland, more than half of the donations were of property close to a preceptory, five of the total nine grants being within a six-mile radius, but there were four grants at a much greater distance. One was fourteen miles away, a grant by Edward III in 1363 excusing the Order from rent owed for the manor of Leixlip whilst the prior of Ireland served

¹⁹ From c.1260 to 1294 Moor Hall was managed by a Brother Simon de Askeby and Brother Peter de Stanley, described as wardens, and Nicholas de Accombe, referred to as preceptor: BL, Cotton Nero E vi, ff. 88r-v, 89v. Sometime between 1294 and 1315 William de Sauston was preceptor: *ibid.*, ff. 87r-v.

²⁰ See below, pp. 146-49.

as chancellor.²¹ However, this site was still amongst a nexus of Hospitaller estates around Dublin. Fifteen miles to the south was Killeel Preceptory. Thirteen miles to the east-southeast was the royal manor of Chapelizod, which the Order rented, and a mile beyond that was Kilmainham. Finally, fifteen miles directly to the east was Ballyman Preceptory. There is also the grant of Listornan manor by John de Horewode and Giles Lengleys in 1338.²² This estate was forty-five miles distant from the closest preceptory at Ballinrobe but, like Edward III's gift, Hordewode and Lengleys' grant may not be as anomalous as it appears. As discussed in Chapter Three, by 1338 John de Horewode held a corrody with the Hospitallers at Kilmainham and he appears to have worked for them as a clerk.²³ Whilst he may not have granted property close to a Hospitaller estate, he did have ties to the Order and sometimes resided with the brethren at Kilmainham. Finally, and more difficult to explain, are the 1301 donations of John Wogan of ten carucates of land in Kilpipe and by Maurice de Carreu of six carucates in Balybagh in Kilcommon, which lay between twenty and thirty miles from the nearest preceptory at Killerig.²⁴ There were no Hospitaller estates close to these properties, though Wogan, if he is the John Wogan, lord of Picton and justiciar of Ireland (d. 1321/2), would have encountered the Hospitaller prior of Ireland as a fellow member of the royal council in Ireland. He at least knew some of the brethren, which may have played a part in his donation, rather than geographic proximity. However, without a record of the Order's *camerae* and *membra* in Ireland, it is possible that some Hospitaller estates did exist close to these lands.²⁵

This importance of geographic proximity in motivating donations matches Walker's findings in his study of donations to the Lazarites and Templars. These figures demonstrate

²¹ *CFR*, Edward III 1356-68, p. 270.

²² *CPR*, Edward III, 1338-40, p. 88.

²³ See above, pp. 119-120; *RK*, pp. 91-92.

²⁴ TNA, C 143/37/2.

²⁵ The 1540-41 extent of the Order's Irish holdings distinguishes each preceptory but describes all other estates as messuages or manors. Without more detail, it is difficult to determine if any of these functioned as *camerae* or *membra*: White, *Irish Monastic Possessions*, pp. 80-120.

that the correlation between geography and patronage applied not only to the Templars and Lazarites orders in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries in southern England and the Midlands, but also to Hospitaller houses across Britain and Ireland in the late thirteenth and fourteenth century. For the Templars, Walker found that many of the donors were from within ten miles of the Order's Sandford preceptory in Oxfordshire. However, donations also came from Hampshire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, and the Isle of Wight.²⁶ Of the 286 grants to the Lazarite house of Burton Lazars, 204 involved property within five miles of the hospital, 86 of which were in Burton Lazars itself.²⁷ Only thirty of the 286 grants were of property more than ten miles away from the hospital.²⁸ Interestingly, those grants made outside the ten mile radius of Burton Lazars were often the most valuable, including eight of the nine churches recorded in the cartulary.²⁹ This could be because the military orders were often the largest landowner in the immediate vicinity of their preceptories, usually holding the manor and church of the village in which they were based. Donations from close by the preceptory would therefore not come from the richest landowner. Another explanation is that more distant patrons had stronger motivations for donating, such as a family tradition of patronage, than those that donated just because the site was their local religious house. It is unsurprising that such a personal motive would prompt more valuable grants than localism alone. Finally, a landholder may have wished to avoid giving an order land within their own locality as this would strengthen the local house, helping to build them into a potential rival for property and status in the region. Donating more distant properties could therefore avoid local complications, whilst still winning the favour of a local house.

It is possible that this strong correlation between geographic proximity and donations could be distinct to the military orders. Therefore, it is necessary to compare these findings

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 238-39.

²⁷ Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', p. 230.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 231.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 232.

with donations to non-military religious houses. The figure below shows grants made to a range of such institutions in the period 1291-1400: the Cistercian abbey of Coupar Angus, the hospital of God's House, Southampton, Cistercian Warden Abbey, Augustinian St Leonard's Hospital, York, and the Augustinian priory of Holy Trinity, Aldgate.³⁰ These have been chosen as they represent a broad range of geographic locations, a mixture of religious orders and secular houses, both urban and rural sites, and each has a good sourcebase of donations for 1291-1400. Together, these houses serve as a representative sample of medieval Britain's broad range of religious institutions, allowing the conclusions of these maps to be confidently applied to non-military religious houses in general.

³⁰ No Irish houses have been mapped in this instance as very few grants were made to them in 1291 to 1400 and so such a sample would not be wholly representative. For example, Christ Church, Dublin, received only three grants, all from the family of the earl of Kildare: Lawlor, 'Calendar of the Liber Niger and Liber Albus', nos 26-28. St Mary's Abbey, Dublin, had one in this period and Dunbrody Abbey had two: Gilbert, *Chartularies of St. Mary's Abbey*, i, nos xiii, ii, nos xix, xxxii.

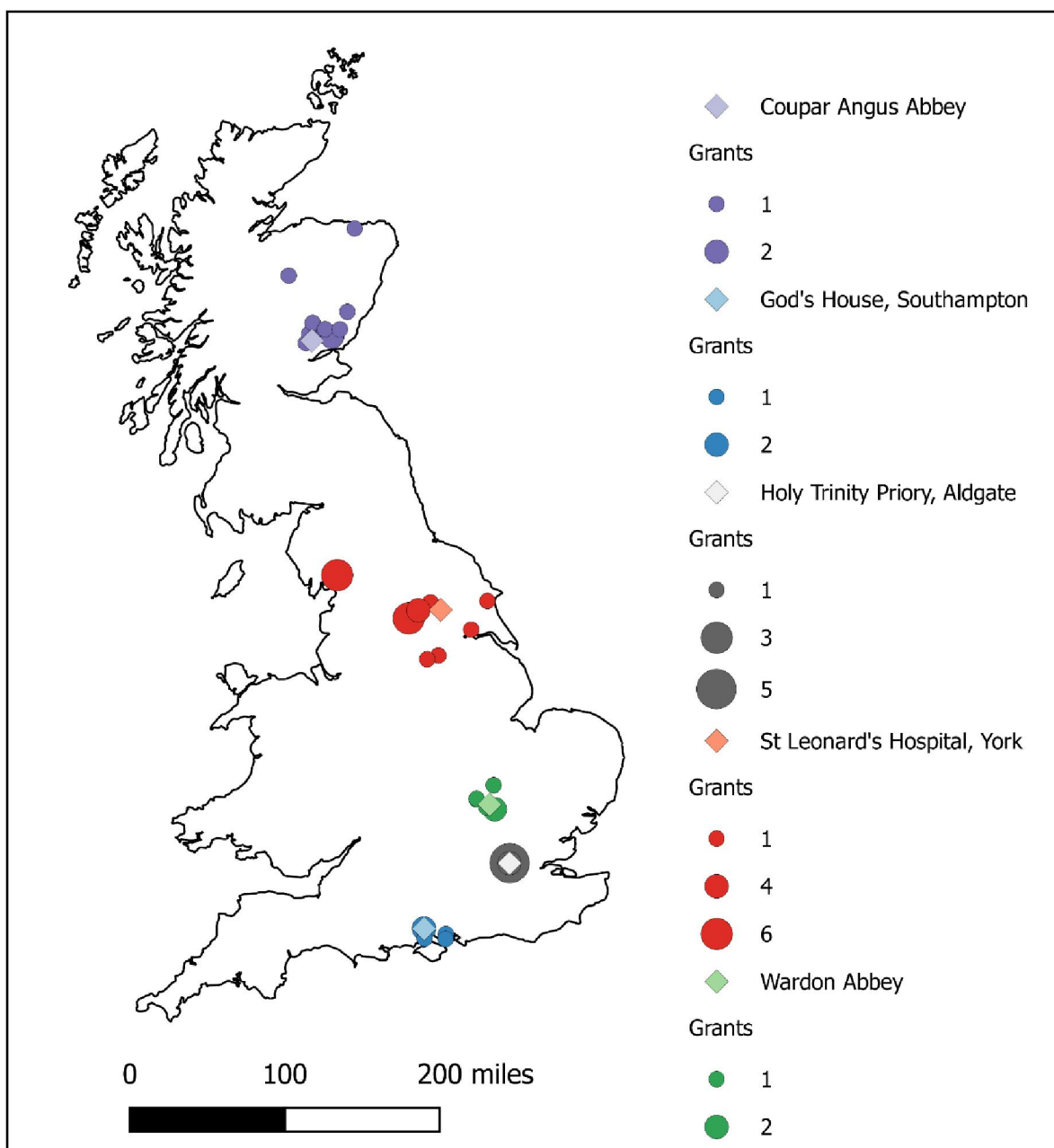


Figure 4.3: Donations to selected religious houses in England and Scotland, 1291-1400.

As Figure 4.3 shows, a similar correlation is apparent in donations to other religious houses, both monasteries and hospitals, though to a lesser degree and excepting St Leonard's Hospital in York. Only two houses, St Leonard's and Coupar Angus, received grants from outside their county. All of the sixteen properties given to Aldgate were within London, all less than one

and a half miles away from the priory.³¹ At Wardon, three gifts were within a five-mile radius of the abbey, two within a five to ten-mile radius, and three within ten to fifteen miles.³² Most of the grants made to God's House, Southampton were also close by. Four were in Southampton itself, one six miles away in Exbury, and the remaining two were twenty-three miles away in Portsmouth and Cosham.³³ Gifts to St Leonard's Hospital in York and Coupar Angus in Scotland seemed to follow the reverse of this trend. At Coupar Angus just three of the eleven grants were within ten miles of the abbey. In York, no donations were made to the hospital in the city itself yet St Leonard's received very distant grants from as far as 120 miles away.³⁴ This may be because donors in York felt that the city was oversaturated with properties held by St Leonard's and turned towards other institutions instead. By 1370 the hospital held rents of £84 within the city.³⁵ The area around York may have also begun to be exhausted of potential gifts, as seems to have occurred at the monastery of Cluny in the eleventh century. In the tenth century, churches given to the abbey were largely in the same locality, seventy-seven per cent in the period 909-53 were within the monastery's region of Mâconnais, or nearby Autonois and Lyonnais. By 994-1049 this figure had dropped to thirty-eight per cent.³⁶

In total, forty-six per cent of properties given to these houses between 1291 and 1400 were within ten miles of the receiver. This presents a weaker correlation than that between Hospitaller estates and donations in this period, but the results returned by St Leonard's Hospital, and to a lesser extent Coupar Angus Abbey, may be anomalous. St Leonard's was a very prestigious institution with powerful connections and a long history, and, having little

³¹ Hodgett, *Holy Trinity Aldgate*, nos 276, 913, 1031, 1032, 1033, 1034, 1035.

³² G. Herbert Fowler (ed.), *The Cartulary of the Cistercian Abbey of Old Wardon, Bedfordshire: from the manuscript (Latin 223) in the John Rylands Library, Manchester* (Manchester, 1931), nos 137, 199, 205, 242, 268.

³³ Kaye, *Cartulary of God's House*, i, nos 10, 25, 30-31, 155, 181, 191.

³⁴ David X. Carpenter (ed.), *The Cartulary of St Leonard's Hospital, York*, two vols (Leeds, 2015), i, nos R10, R30, R39, R42, R50, R52, R104, R120, R410, R424-R425, ii, nos RR515, R520, R530-R531, R538, R552, R577, R674, R753-R754.

³⁵ Patricia Helena Cullum, 'Hospitals and Charitable Provision in Medieval Yorkshire, 936-1547' (PhD dissertation, University of York, 1989), p. 132.

³⁶ Rosenwein, *Neighbour of Saint Peter*, p. 197.

local competition, was well-placed to attract patrons. Until 1315 York had only one other hospital, that of St Nicholas outside Walmgate Bar.³⁷ Also, St Leonard's was the largest hospital in northern England and from 1294 to 1314 the mastership was held successively by two bishops, one of whom was later elevated to Canterbury.³⁸ Finally, the hospital also had royal connections. From 1280 the patronage of the mastership lay with the crown.³⁹ Until the fifteenth century most of the masters were royal clerks. The master from 1290-3, James de Hispania was also an illegitimate nephew of Edward I's queen Eleanor of Castile. In the later years of Edward I's reign and for the entirety of Edward II's, the mastership was held by either the chancellor or treasurer of England.⁴⁰ Master Richard de Ravenser (1363-86) was a nephew of John of Thoresby, archbishop of York, and had served as receiver for Queen Isabella and for Queen Philippa, keeper of the hanaper from 1357-79, and as a clerk in Princess Isabel's household.⁴¹ Richard II appointed his chaplain, Nicholas Slacke as master in 1386 and in 1399 appointed William de Ferriby, probably the same man that served as his chief notary.⁴² Such strong royal ties would have raised the profile and awareness of St Leonard's, leading to more widespread donations than a less prominent house. Donors may have also been more motivated to favour St Leonard's over their local houses as these connections presented a chance to win royal favour, in addition to the usual benefits of patronage. Finally, the hospital would have been widely known throughout Yorkshire and neighbouring counties because of its right to collect the Petercorn. Since the Saxon period, St Leonard's had been entitled to a thrave of corn

³⁷ The 1315 foundation was the hospital of St Mary Bootham. Another hospital, St Thomas the Martyr's, was in existence by 1391 but the date of foundation is unknown: 'Hospitals: York', in *A History of the County of York: Volume 3* (London, 1974), pp. 336-52. *British History Online* <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/vol3/pp336-352> [accessed 16 June 2017].

³⁸ These were Walter de Langton, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and Walter Reynolds, bishop of Worcester: *ibid.*

³⁹ However, the royal patronage of St Leonard's was actually based upon a misremembered dispute over the patronage between the archbishop of York and the dean and chapter of the Minster in 1203: Cullum, 'Hospitals and Charitable Provision in Medieval Yorkshire', pp. 139-40.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 146-47.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 147-48.

each year from every plough ploughing in Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Yorkshire.⁴³ It is unsurprising that this house, one with royal connections, wide-ranging and famous rights, and little immediate competition, would have a much more geographically disparate appeal than the Augustinian Canons at Aldgate. The rest of London had several other Augustinian houses, not to mention those of other orders.⁴⁴ Competition for donations may have been just too fierce to attract donors from outside the city as well. Grants to Coupar Angus were also widespread, much like those to St Leonard's. In this case a more dispersed spread of religious houses than in England is the likely cause. With houses more widely distributed, donors 'local' house may be further away than was the case for patrons in England. The nearest houses to Coupar Angus were Scone Abbey twelve miles to the southwest, Restenneth Priory nineteen miles to the northeast, and Arbroath Abbey thirty miles to the east. In contrast, the Hospitallers' Chippenham Preceptory was within eight and a half miles of one religious house, Fordham Abbey, thirteen from Ely Cathedral Priory, and fourteen from Swaffham Bulbeck Priory.

If St Leonard's Hospital is removed from this analysis on account of its greater status and connections, then the results show that sixty-nine per cent of granted properties fell within a ten-mile radius of their beneficiary. If Coupar Angus is also excluded due to its lack of local competition, then the figure rises to almost eighty-four per cent. If both houses are retained, but the radius is increased to twenty miles, then the figure rises to over seventy-four per cent. Clearly, the strong correlation between geographic proximity and donations applies to most non-military orders as well, though some houses were able to attract more distant grants due to their status or location.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 111.

⁴⁴ The Augustinian Regulars alone included the Priory of St Mary's in Clerkenwell, the Priory of St Mary Spital, the Priory of St Bartholomew, the Priory of Haliwell, the Priory of Kilburn, and the cathedral priory of Southwark.

It is difficult to be sure that just because a donor owned land near to a Hospitaller house that they actually visited the area or knew it well. Royal donors, for example, were certainly aware of the Order, the prior of England was a regular royal councillor. However, with so many estates across England, Edward III may not have been aware when granting the Order land in Swinderby Moor in 1346 that this was less than two miles from their preceptory of Eagle.⁴⁵ Such close proximity could have been coincidental. Therefore, it is necessary to map those donors whose origins or residence can be traced to see if there is still a correlation between proximity and donations. A further figure below depicts the Hospitallers' estates and the locations of those patrons whose origins or residence can be traced. This mapping is based firstly on textual evidence within the relevant donation charter, such as the location where the charter was given; the donor's appearances in other records; and finally, their loconym, if they have one. Thomas West has been mapped to Swallowcliffe, Wiltshire, because he made a donation of land in nearby Ansty in 1333, suggesting that he was the same Thomas West (d. 1343) who inherited the Swallowcliffe estate.⁴⁶ The donor Philip de Carriber has been traced to Carriber, West Lothian, based upon his loconym and that he granted rent in Carriber. Admittedly, mapping according to loconyms is not a wholly reliable method as some donors may have since left the birthplace or earlier residence to which their name referred. For example, John de Oxenford's loconym suggests that he came from Oxford, yet he served as mayor of London from 1341-2 and his will demonstrates a greater attachment to this city than to his hometown.⁴⁷ In cases such as this, the location that the donor had the strongest ties to

⁴⁵ *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 40.

⁴⁶ Jane Freeman and Janet H. Stevenson, 'Parishes: Swallowcliffe', in D. A. Crowley (ed.), *A History of the County of Wiltshire: Volume 13, South-West Wiltshire: Chalke and Dunworth Hundreds* (London, 1987), pp. 177-85. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/wilts/vol13/pp177-185> [accessed 22 May 2018].

⁴⁷ John de Oxenford made several bequests relating to London, including £100 to the city's poor, money to St Paul's, St Thomas of Acon in Islington, Clerkenwell Priory, Westminster Abbey, the 'various orders of friars in London', St Mary's in Southwark, Bermondsey Abbey, Holywell Priory, St Bartholomew in Smithfield, the Clerkenwell nunnery, the Franciscan nuns in Aldgate, and funds for the repair of London Bridge. In contrast, only three bequests were made for Oxford, a grant for repairs to the great and little bridges of Oxford, for maintaining a causeway outside St Bartholomew's Hospital, Oxford, and for the hospital itself: Sharpe, *Court of Husting*, i, pp. 460-61.

has been mapped, not necessarily their birthplace. Despite these problems, loconyms are often the only surviving evidence for tracing more poorly-documented patrons and so these have been used in the absence of other evidence.

Several donors have proven untraceable as they either lacked a loconym, their loconym did not correspond to a single known location, or there is no other evidence to indicate their origins.⁴⁸ Kings and donors of comital rank or above have not been mapped. As Walker notes, because of these donors' status and widespread estates, 'any assignment to a particular area is inappropriate'.⁴⁹ Ireland has not been mapped as only two donors could be located in Ireland with any certainty or precision.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ These are the grants of John son of James de Hertwylle, John and Agnes le Trumpur, Denise de Heno, Robert Leuerik, William Wortele, William Wirkele, William Dinnsley, Hugh Bannebury, Richard Frere, Henry Pycot, Geoffrey le Bret, Richard de Cardevill, Walter del Wyk, Richard Almond, Jordan son of Richard de Saweye, Robert de Kent, Simon de Tesamhill, John de Burton, John de Moleyns, Agnes de Chaworth, Gilbert Bernard, Robert Nowell, Hugh Rous son of Gilbert Rous of Hokiton. In Ireland, it was impossible to locate Giles Lengleys: *CPR*, Edward III 1338-40, p. 88. The origins or residence of his co-grantor, John de Horewode, could also not be traced with any certainty. He may have originated from Horwood, Devon, Little Horwood, Buckinghamshire, or Great Horwood in the same county, but he appears to have resided in Ireland, and likely visited the Hospitallers at Kilmainham as he held corrody there: *RK*, pp. 91-92. Thomas de Tankardeston gave land in England but could have been born in Tankardeston, Meath or Tankardston, Dublin: *CPR*, Edward II 1317-21, p. 352.

⁴⁹ Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', p. 234.

⁵⁰ These were John MacCarwill, bishop of Meath, and Alexander Bicknor, bishop of Dublin: *CPR*, Edward III 1338-40, p. 90; McEnery and Refaussé, *Christ Church Deeds*, p. 73. As royal donors, Edward II and Edward III have been omitted. One patron in Ireland had origins in Wales, John Wogan, justiciar of Ireland and lord of Picton in Pembrokeshire, and so is featured on Figure 4.4 below: TNA, C 143/37/2; Hand, 'Wogan, Sir John (*d.* 1321/2)'.

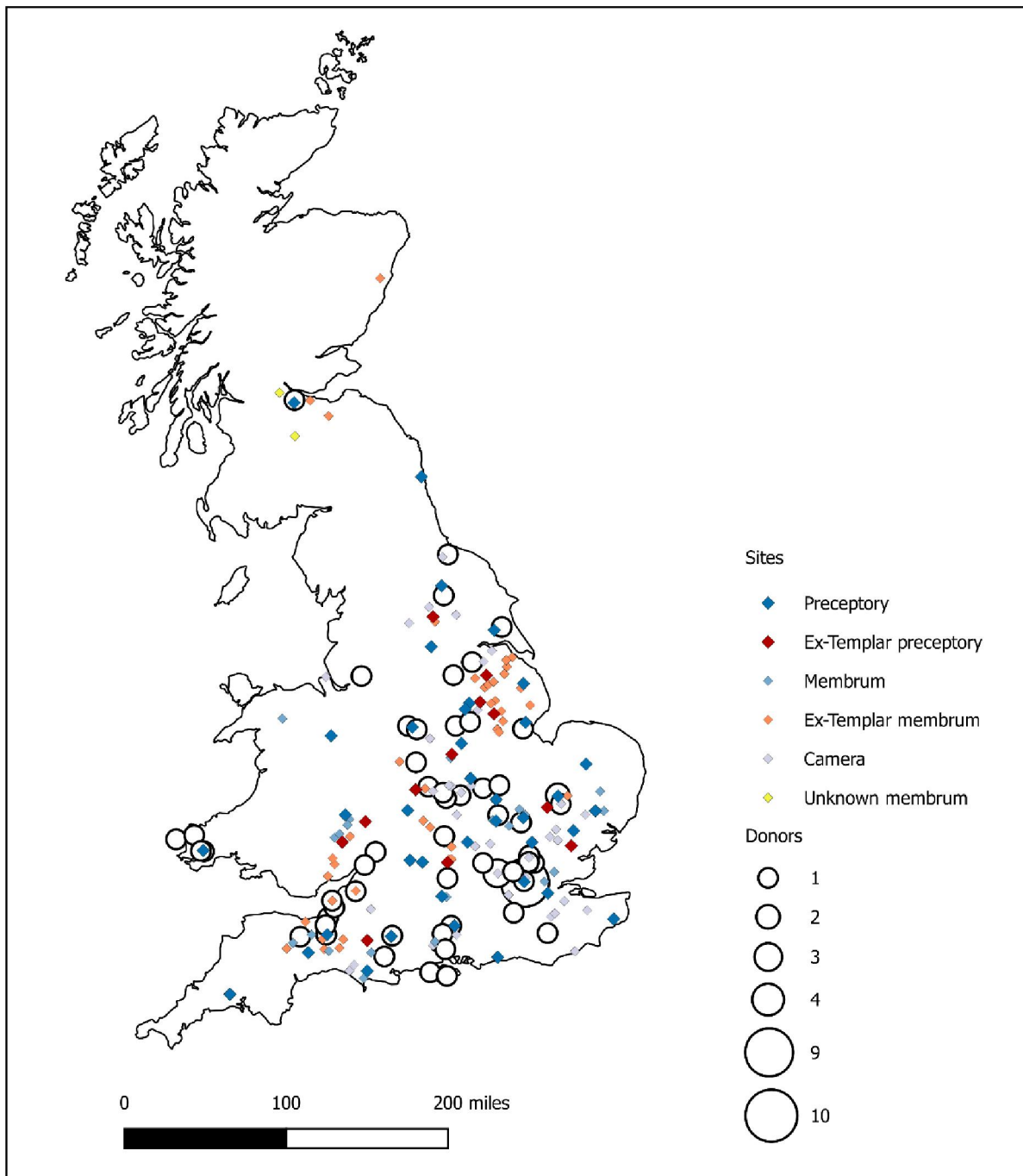


Figure 4.4: The residence or birthplace of donors to the Priory of England, 1291-1400.

Figure 4.4 supports the conclusions of Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3: a strong correlation existed between geographic proximity and donations. Of the eighty-eight donors mapped in Figure 4.4, eighty per cent were born or lived within a ten-mile radius of a Hospitaller estate. Just seventeen patrons were outside this radius. If those within twenty miles of an estate are included, then the

figure increases to over ninety-three per cent. Again, there is a weaker correlation between *camerae* and donors than that between preceptories and donors. None of the donors in Wales or southwest England were within ten miles of a *camera*. This supports Figure 4.2 in showing that the more regular Hospitaller presence afforded by a preceptory or *membrum* was an important factor in motivating donors. Again, this suggests that Hospitaller brethren, or their frary clerks, directly petitioned for donations.

As before, these findings match those of Walker, demonstrating that the strong link between localism and patronage applied not only to the Lazarites in northern England and the Midlands in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but also to a wider geographic area encompassing the whole of Britain, a different military order, and a later time period. Of the 133 Lazarite patrons that he traced, seventy-eight appear to have been born or lived within five miles of the hospital, twenty three within Burton Lazars itself. Just twelve patrons came from more than ten miles away.⁵¹ In total, seventy nine per cent of traceable donors originated or were based within ten miles of the hospital. Similarly, however, the most valuable grants came from donors outside this radius.⁵² Again, this is likely because more distant donors had to go out of their way to patronise the Order, and so were probably driven by more personal motives than localism, prompting them to make more valuable donations. Also, donating property distant from their main residence helped donors avoid creating potential rival landholders in their own locality. It is clear then that there was a strong correlation between donations to military orders and proximity to an order's estate, whether considering the location of the granted property or the donor themselves. However, this could be distinctive to the military orders. To investigate this, the origins or residence of donors to the non-military houses recorded in Figure 4.3 above have been mapped below.

⁵¹ Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', p. 234.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 235.

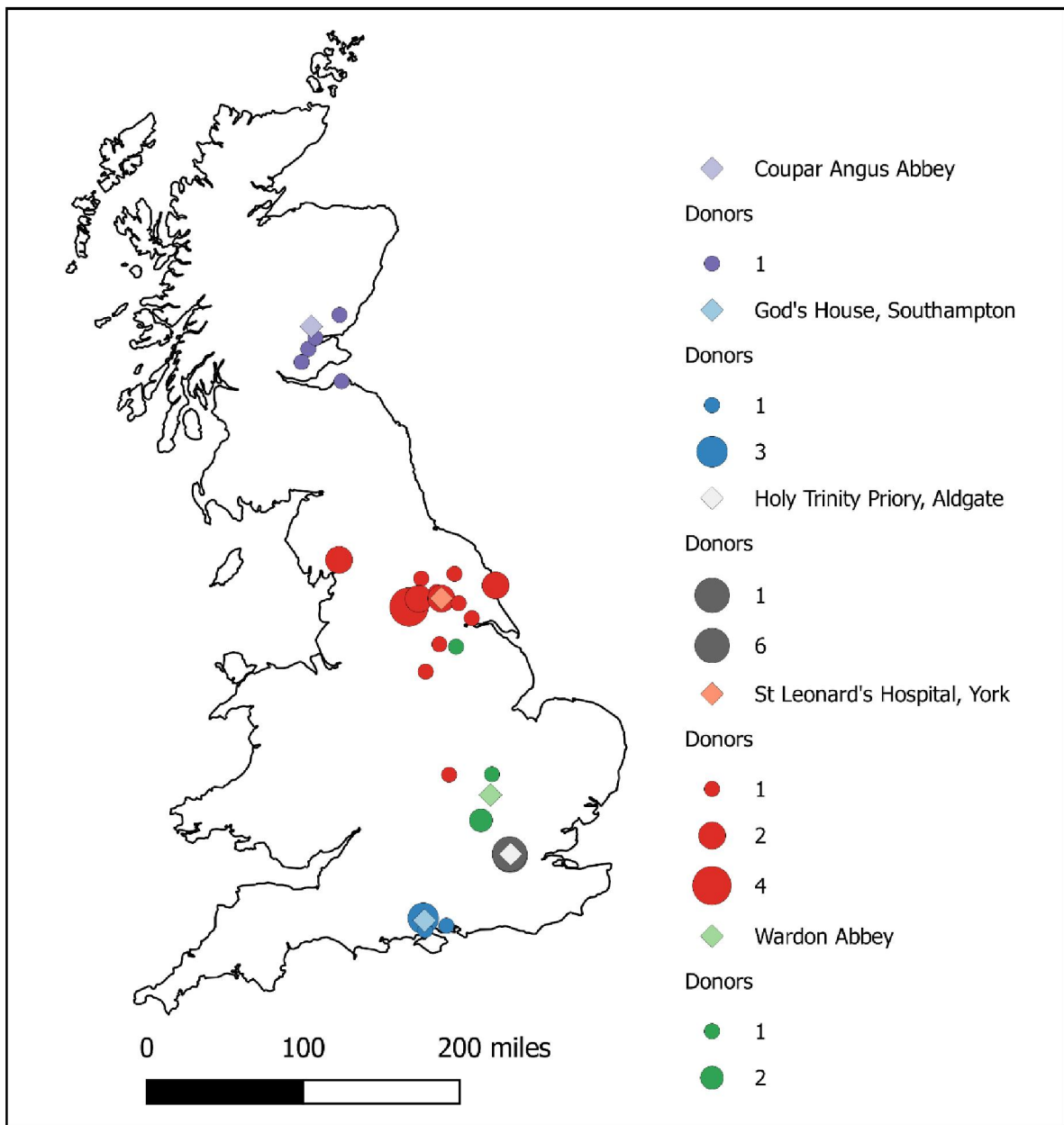


Figure 4.5: The residence or birthplace of donors to selected religious houses in England and Scotland, 1291-1400.

Unlike previous figures, this map shows a very weak correlation between donors and religious houses. All seven of Aldgate's traceable donors and four of God's House's five patrons were within a ten-mile radius of each house. However, none of Wardon Abbey's four donors, and just one of Coupar Angus' five patrons and only three of St Leonard's twenty donors fell within

this radius, giving a total across all five houses of about forty-four per cent within ten miles and forty-eight within twenty miles, much lower than the correlations above. If St Leonard's and Coupar Angus are again treated as anomalous results, for the same reasons given above, then the figure increases to about sixty-nine per cent within a ten-mile radius and seventy-six per cent within a twenty-mile one, still showing a strong correlation, though a little weaker than that between the locations of granted property and the receiving house. This slightly weaker correlation could be due to the smaller sample size and the greater difficulty in determining a donor's residence or birthplace compared to mapping the location of a granted property.

It is of course possible that these donations are so closely clumped around the religious house they were granted to because the brethren actively sought local properties. A series of estates close to a monastery would be easier to manage than several distant ones. Many cartularies, including those of the Hospitallers, have evidence of purchasing-agents securing land for the house or of brethren directly soliciting local donations.⁵³ However, it is very unlikely that every grant was petitioned for by the Order, nor did every gift involve lands so close to their estates. Many were still several miles distant. Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show that thirty-one out of 147 traceable donations were more than ten miles away, some as much as fifty miles. Finally, the Hospital's preceptory was often the nearest religious house for these donors. The reason for donating in these instances may not have been solicitation by the Hospitallers but that the Order was the nearest and therefore most obvious to donate to. Walker's analysis of donations to the Lazarites and the Templars concluded that geographic proximity was a greater motivator for donors to the Lazarites as their hospital of Burton Lazars was more isolated.

⁵³ William of Southwell appears to have acted as a purchasing agent for Dale Abbey in the late thirteenth century, buying several parcels of lands and granting these to the abbey for trivial services: Saltman, *Cartulary of Dale Abbey*, p. 28. Alvington Priory retained Rabod, vicar of the priory's appropriated church of Keddington, in a similar role. From the late twelfth to early thirteenth centuries he bought lands in Keddington and granted them to his employers: Jill Elizabeth Redford, 'An Edition of the Cartulary of Alvingham Priory (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 642)', 2 vols (PhD dissertation, University of York, 2010), ii, nos 861, 956-62. For examples of grants petitioned for by the Hospitallers, see: BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, ff. 21r, 87r-v, 88r-v, 89v. The Order also had their own purchasing-agents, with John son of Peter of Little Sampford and Simon of Odewell acting as such for the brethren in Essex in the thirteenth century: Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, pp. xl-xliv.

Sandford, in contrast, had more nearby religious houses, and so the pool of potential donations was more widely dispersed.⁵⁴ This hypothesis appears to have been borne out by the very large number of donations that the Cambridgeshire Hospitallers received in Ashley cum Silverley, nineteen across the period of study. This village was the site of many donations in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries as well. In the Cambridgeshire portion of the 1442 cartulary, the entries for this village alone encompass ninety-five folios.⁵⁵ The Hospitallers' Chippenham Preceptory was the nearest religious house to these villages, lying six miles away. The next nearest houses were the Gilbertines at Fordham, eight and a half miles away, and the Benedictine nunnery of Swaffham Bulbeck, fourteen miles. By donating to their local religious house, patrons could curry favour with their most immediate local institution, easily check the status of any requested religious benefactions like chantries, and, if the donor was a tenant, build a positive relationship with their landlord.

Even if it could be argued that these maps show an intentional policy by religious houses of acquiring nearby properties, this still supports the view that geographic proximity was an important factor in motivating donors. It was necessary to be aware of a religious house in order to patronise it and here the Hospitallers had a distinct advantage over other orders; the frary clerks of the Hospital, who had the right to visit every parish church each year and solicit donations. It is unsurprising that the Hospitallers had few donations in regions distant from their preceptories and other estates, north-west England, for instance. Without a presence in the region, awareness of the Order would have been low, leading to fewer grants. Also, the Hospitallers probably made fewer attempts to encourage patronage in this regions. With no central base from which to operate and administer the *confraria*, the frary clerks would be

⁵⁴ Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', pp. 239-40.

⁵⁵ BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, ff. 51r-146r.

better deployed elsewhere, where there already was a preceptory or *camera*. The lack of donations in such regions can therefore still be tied to the lack of a major Hospitaller estate.

A prime factor in motivating donations to the Hospitallers was geographic proximity to an estate. The weaker correlation with *camerae* indicates that it was the more regular presence of Hospitallers provided by a preceptory or *membrum* played a role, suggesting that soliciting by the brethren was an important part in motivating these local donors. As suggested above, the role of the frary clerk was not nearly as important as the day-to-day presence of a Hospitaller-operated estate. This importance of geography extended to the patronage of other military orders like the Templars and Lazarites and also to that of non-military religious houses. What motivated patrons of the military and non-military orders appears increasingly similar. This conclusion about the role of localism in patronage matches those of much of the previous research focused on specific houses or regions, showing that their findings can be replicated on a greater scale.⁵⁶ However, localism did not necessarily dissuade more distant patrons and donations. Prestigious houses like St Leonard's Hospital in York or those like Coupar Angus that had little nearby competition could easily attract donations from further away. In the immediate vicinity of a well-established house, donations could drop off entirely, as occurred at St Leonard's in the fourteenth century. Localism was clearly a very important factor in motivating donations, but the role of soliciting, as indicated by the greater correlation between donations and estates with a regular Hospitaller presence, hints at the importance of personal relationships in patronage, something which is the focus of the next chapter.

⁵⁶ Patrons in the diocese of Norwich tended to favour their local nunnery over those elsewhere in or beyond the county: Oliva, *The Convent and the Community*, p. 177. From 1200 to 1300 fifty per cent of donors to the Hospital of St John, Cambridge, lived in or were from Cambridge itself. A further eighteen per cent were from the fields adjoining the city: Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 207. In the period 909 to 1048, over seventy per cent of lands given to Cluny Abbey were within the abbey's local district of Mâcon: Rosenwein, *Neighbour of Saint Peter*, p. 199.

Chapter Five: Personal Relationships, Spiritual Intercession, and Patronage

In 1318 an aged Hospitaller brother named Roger de Stanegrave was given safe conduct to return to England, accompanied by an Egyptian Jew named Isaac. The knight had been stationed in the Holy Land, but by the early 1280s had been captured by the Mamluks and was then held prisoner for over thirty years. Stanegrave later wrote a recovery treatise which presents a probably idealised first meeting with Isaac. Supposedly, the Jew asked his employer Segurano Salvaigo, a Genoese merchant based in Egypt, for permission to leave his service and travel with Stanegrave. The Italian retorted “You are mad, for when the brother is in Christendom, he will not lay eyes on you”. To which Isaac replied “My lord, thank God, I do not ask for any other grace”.¹ Isaac paid the knight’s ransom and accompanied him back to England to be reimbursed by Stanegrave’s relatives in Yorkshire. Stanegrave gained an audience with Edward II at York, telling him of his time in prison and the ten thousand florin ransom that his companion had supposedly paid. The knight so enchanted Edward II with his tale that the king soon dispatched letters to the Pope and the master of the Order requesting indulgences for any who would help repay the knight’s ransom.² It was probably at this audience that Isaac first met the king. By 1322 Isaac reappears in the records under a new name: Edward of St John, ‘whom the king lifted from the holy font causing his name to be given to him’.³ He had converted to Christianity, with Edward II himself taking part in the baptism and declaring the convert his godson.⁴ Edward soon settled into English society. He rented the

¹ ‘*Vous estes fous, qar quant le frer sera en Cristienté, ne vous doignera regarder. Dist li Jeu: Sire, por Dieu merci, Altre mercie ne voille*’: Stanegrave, “L’Escarboucle d’armes”, pp. 311-12.

² Guard, *Chivalry, Kingship and Crusade*, p. 32.

³ *CPR*, Edward II 1321-1324, p. 189.

⁴ He was described as the king’s godson in 1337, when his sons John and William were admitted to the *Domus Conversorum*, a house for converts from Judaism: *ibid.*, Edward III 1334-1338, p. 494. For the *Domus* and London’s community of Jewish converts, see: Lauren Fogle, “Jewish Converts to Christianity in Medieval London” (PhD dissertation, University of London, 2005). Edward of St John’s connection to Isaac is provided in a petition from Prior Philip de Thame to Edward III in 1346. The Hospitaller recounted that Edward of St John, a *conversus*, had been given a corrody by the Order at Edward II’s request in return for the convert’s great expense in rescuing Roger Stanegrave from the prison of the ‘sultan of Babylon’. The prior asked that this grant would not

manor of Broxbourne in Hertfordshire from the Order in 1331 and either started a family or brought an existing one from the East sometime before 1337.⁵ He was cared for by the Hospitallers until his death in 1348.⁶ Edward left the Order a remainder of his property and asked that his body be buried in the priory church.⁷ Motivated by his friendship with a Hospitaller knight, devotion to a new faith, and wanting to repay the care that the Order had given him, Edward of St John's donation was prompted by a range of personal relationships and his own faith.⁸ The crusading aspect of his story could suggest that patrons of the Hospitallers acted for significantly different reasons than those of non-military orders. However, the discussions above and this chapter's examination of the role of personal relationships and spiritual intercession in patronage shall show this assumption to be false. Chapter Three demonstrated that the influence of professional relationships on patronage was little different from that of non-military orders, except in regard to royal donations. The role of personal relationships and spiritual intercession mirror these findings.

For this chapter, personal relationships refer to a range of ties donors had to the Hospital, including being petitioned by the brethren, holding corrodies from the Hospitallers, being a tenant of the Order, being part of a network of Hospitaller donors, and having a family history of patronising the Order. One important personal relationship is largely absent from this discussion, the role of the Hospitallers' confraternity. This voluntary annual payment entitled donors to various privileges such as burial in the Order's churches, entitlement to religious services during an interdict, or more everyday concerns like exemption from certain

act as a precedent leading to more expensive corrodies: *CPR*, Edward III 1345-1348, p. 205. The shared attribution of Stanegrave's rescue and the evidence of Edward of St John's conversion from Christianity show him and Isaac to have been one and the same.

⁵ *CPR*, Edward III 1330-1334, p. 101; *ibid.*, Edward III 1334-1338, p. 494.

⁶ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 93.

⁷ Sharpe, *Court of Husting*, ii, p. 503.

⁸ Edward of St John's rescue of Stanegrave and his conversion are discussed further in Rory MacLellan, 'An Egyptian Jew in King Edward's Court: Jewish Conversion, Edward II, and Roger de Stanegrave', *Crusades* (forthcoming, 2019).

taxes.⁹ Confraternities were a common feature of religious institutions in the late medieval period, including other military orders like the Lazarites.¹⁰ A few thirteenth-century charters referring to the Hospital's confraternity survive, as do the accounts for a sixteenth-century collection of the Essex confraternity, and the *Libri Bullarum* in the Order's archives on Malta recorded the admittance of *confratres* to the English *Langue* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹¹ However, for the period 1291 to 1400, there are few records of who exactly became *confratres* in the *langue*. The *Libri Bullarum* only survive from the mid-fourteenth century and, though most have a *titulus* marked out for recording the reception of *confratres*, none of the fourteenth-century volumes feature any *confratres* from the British Isles.¹² The 1338 survey does record the total value of confraternity payments to each preceptory but does not specify who made these payments.¹³ It is difficult to analyse the motives of such nameless donors other than assuming that the privileges which accompanied membership, the social status and potential networking opportunities, and perhaps an interest in the crusade were what motivated these people to join the confraternity. Certainly, the crusade and privileges angles were the focus of the surviving recruitment scripts used by the frary clerks.¹⁴

A better-evidenced personal relationship between patrons and the Hospital was the Order's solicitation of donations. Eight grants from 1291-1400 appear to have been motivated

⁹ O'Malley, *English Langue*, p. 96.

¹⁰ Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, pp. 186-94. For monastic confraternities, see: James G. Clark, 'Monastic Confraternity in Medieval England: The Evidence from the St Albans Abbey *Liber Benefactorum*', in Jamroziak and Burton, *Religious and Laity*, pp. 315-31; Robert N. Swanson, 'Mendicants and confraternity in late medieval England', in Clark, *Religious Orders in Pre-Reformation England*, pp. 121-41; Robert N. Swanson, 'Books of brotherhood: registering fraternity and confraternity in late medieval England', in David Rollason, A. J. Piper, Margaret Harvey, and Lynda Rollason (eds), *The Durham Liber Vitae and its Context* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 233-46.

¹¹ *Buckland Cartulary*, nos 94, 96-98; Raine, *Antiquities of North Durham*, appendix, no. 236; Bodleian, Rawlinson Essex 11, ff. 9r-15r; O'Malley, *English Langue*, p. 97.

¹² For example, the volume for 1381-82 records the admittance of an Adam de Imulla, whilst that for 1395-96 has the reception of Louis Andrea, described as a familiar of then grandmaster Juan Fernandez de Heredia. Neither of these men are likely to have come from Britain or Ireland: NLM, AOM 321, f. 248r; NLM, AOM 329, f. 142r.

¹³ A typical entry records only the total value of the contribution and includes a complaint about falling revenues, usually attributed to war and taxation: Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 4.

¹⁴ BL, Sloane Ch. xxxii, 15, 27; TNA, E 135/6/70. These three texts are discussed further in: Rory MacLellan, '“*redy to spende there blode and lyf ayenst turk sarazins and other Infidelis*”: Hospitaller confraternity scripts, crusading, and the English Reformation, c.1440-1537', *Historical Research* (forthcoming, 2019).

by petitions from the Hospitallers. Two of those donations were part of a drive by the Order to expand its Middlesex holdings: seven undated grants from c.1260-1294 were made to the Hospitallers at Harefield in Middlesex, two of which were stated to have been made at the instance of the warden or preceptor of Moorhall.¹⁵ A further two grants probably stemmed from Hospitaller expansion in Hampshire. John le French of Swarraton and Robert de Tykehulle both made grants to the Hospitallers quitclaiming their right of common in the exact same part of the wood of Bugmore and its surrounding pasture.¹⁶ John's grant is undated whilst Robert's is dated the 5 October 1312. The identical witness lists and gifts of these two charters suggest that a link existed between the two men.¹⁷ Robert de Tykehulle's ancestor, also called Robert, held land in Swarraton which he gave to the Hospitallers between 1230 and 1235.¹⁸ His descendant may have had ties there also, bringing him into contact with John le French of Swarraton. It is possible that being part of the same community network prompted both men to make a joint donation to the Order, granting the brethren complete control over the wood and pasture. However, neither donor is referenced in the other's charter or acts as a witness. It is likely that these grants are not evidence of a small patronage network but instead show petitioning of donors by the Hospital. The Order wanted to secure its hold on Bugmore and approached the two men holding right of common there to ask for a donation. The brethren also petitioned for grants to support their religious services. Between 1280 and 1295, Jordan, son and heir of Richard de Saweye, gave the Order 8s. 4d. from various London tenements

¹⁵ BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, ff. 88r-89v. This campaign of expansion at Harefield also involved land purchases and exchanges by the Order: Hamonic, 'The Order of St John of Jerusalem in London', pp. 193-202.

¹⁶ Both quitclaimed their rights in Bugmore wood and the pasture up to *le Holeweye* to the west and up to *le Lhinche* in the north, and all the land called *la Doune* to the east including the furlong next to the land of the rector of Swarraton. John's charter differs only by retaining his right to pasture three animals in *la Doune* from Michaelmas to St Andrew's Day: *Godsfield Cartulary*, nos. 12, 15.

¹⁷ Both grants were witnessed by Sir John de Popham, Sir Richard de Stratton, John de Basyngge, Robert de Toteford, and William le Botiller of Candover. The order of names is identical: *ibid.*

¹⁸ *Godsfield Cartulary*, no. 15.

towards maintaining the lights in the church of Clerkenwell Priory. This was made at the request of Brother William de Hampton, prior of the church.¹⁹

One of these eight grants, a 1347 gift by William Glenton, may have been requested not by the Hospitallers but at the instance by Glenton's tenant, Roger Scott of Belton. Glenton transferred Roger, Roger's family, and all lands that he held of him to the Hospitallers.²⁰ It was not uncommon for tenants to ask that their lords transfer their service to the military orders. The Hospital was the beneficiary of at least ten such grants in Essex alone from c.1160 to c.1260.²¹ For two of these grants, the tenants even paid their landlords in return for transfer to the Hospitallers.²² This preference for the military orders was due to the privileges and tax exemptions that the Hospitallers, Templars, and Lazarites enjoyed, many of which could be passed on to their tenants. The benefits of serving as a Hospitaller tenant could range from exemption from tolls, pontage, and pavage to the right of burial even if a suicide or felon.²³ In 1284, tenants of the Hospital in Wales were exempt from half the payments owed by men of other lords.²⁴ Tenants of the Lazarites at St Giles' in London were freed from all secular taxes by Henry II.²⁵ In the thirteenth century the Templars' papal privileges gave them great control over land that they reclaimed from waste. These rights were used to exempt themselves and their tenants in Maryculter, Aberdeenshire, from paying tithes to the parish church, then held by Kelso Abbey.²⁶

These benefits of tenancy under the military orders were not unique. Other orders also held generous papal privileges, particularly the Cistercians and mendicants, and their tenants

¹⁹ BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 21r. For the dating of this charter, see: Hamonic, 'Order of St John of Jerusalem in London', appendix, no. 65.

²⁰ Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 274v.

²¹ Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, p. xli, nos 266, 293, 357, 547, 555, 568, 588, 617, 906, 924.

²² Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, nos 293, 547, 568.

²³ Ralph B. Pugh, 'The Knights Hospitallers of England as Undertakers', *Speculum*, Vol. 56 (1981), pp. 566–74; Gervers, *Secunda Camera*, pp. lxxvi-lxxvii; O'Malley, *English Language*, p. 95.

²⁴ O'Malley, *English Language*, p. 95.

²⁵ Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 58.

²⁶ Innes, *Registrum Episcopatus Aberdonensis*, ii, p. 289. The Templars used these same privileges to justify constructing their own chapel, splitting the parish and its tithes in two.

could benefit from these rights. Franciscan tenants in Norwich were exempt from taxes and tallages owed to the city, whilst, like the Templars, the Cistercians won exemption from tithes for land that they cultivated, though by the fourteenth century many houses began to collect tithes from their tenants anyway.²⁷ However, these privileges and exemptions were still less than those brought by service under the Templars or Hospitallers, whilst the exemptions enjoyed by men in Cistercian service were eroded over time. The Hospital even claimed that their tenants had the right of Christian burial if they had died a felon or had committed suicide, a remarkable privilege that contravened canon law and became the subject of some complaint from ecclesiastics and other religious orders.²⁸ Patronage motivated by requests of transfers of lordship was not unique to the Hospital, but clearly the military orders were more attractive in this respect than other orders, having more extensive and permanent privileges for their tenants. This soliciting for grants may explain Chapter Four's findings that areas with preceptories and *membra* enjoyed more donations than ones with only *camerae*. As *camerae* were not regularly staffed by Hospitaller brethren there would be fewer opportunities to petition for donations compared to a locality with a preceptory or *membra*.

Two of the royal grants to the Order were also motivated by personal petitions by the Hospitallers. Both Edward III's 1346 grant for a Hospitaller town at Swinderby More and Richard II's April 1381 grant of privileges to the Order state that they were given at the request of the prior.²⁹ In both cases the then prior was a leading royal councillor with regular access to the king and a long career of royal service with which to win his favour. In 1339, Prior de Thame was appointed keeper of Southampton and tasked with raising troops for England's

²⁷ Roberta Gilchrist, *Norwich Cathedral Close: The Evolution of the English Cathedral Landscape* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 29; Adam Lucas, *Ecclesiastical Lordship, Seigneurial Power and the Commercialization of Milling in Medieval England* (Aldershot, 2014), p. 294.

²⁸ O'Malley, *English Language*, p. 98; Alexander Murray, *Suicide in the Middle Ages: Volume II: The Curse on Self-Murder* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 456-58.

²⁹ *CChR*, 1341-1417, pp. 40, 272-73.

defence and in 1346 he loaned 2000 florins to the crown.³⁰ He was summoned to nine of the ten parliaments and three of the five great councils held in the 1340s.³¹ In 1376 and 1377, Prior Hales served as admiral of the southern fleet and in 1378 to 1379 he was on the second minority council for Richard II. In 1380 he joined John of Gaunt's embassy to Scotland and in 1381 he was appointed treasurer of England.³²

Petitions to the crown from other orders could also result in patronage. For example, in 1307, Melrose Abbey asked Edward I for timber and confirmation of charters to compensate for damage suffered during his war in Scotland. The king promised royal protection and gave the monks forty oaks.³³ In 1267, Henry de Lacy, patron of Spalding Priory, petitioned Henry III on the priory's behalf to take the house under royal protection. Henry offered protection for two years and acquitted the insolvent brethren of all pleas and complaints, except the four crown pleas of rape, arson, treasure trove, and forestall.³⁴ However, most religious houses could not rely on frequent access to the royal court, and so could not compete with the Hospital, whose brethren regularly served as royal councillors.³⁵

Receipt of a corrody, like that held by Edward of St John, was also a strong personal motivator of patronage. Whilst his personal friendship with Roger Stanegrave was likely a factor in his donation, the Order's corrody supported him for over two decades at a rate of £16 a year. Such generous long-term care must have been a major motivator in his 1348 donation. Three other donors were also supported by the Order at the time of their grants, John de Oxenford, William Langford, and John de Horewode. Each of these men donated to the Order whilst holding a corrody.³⁶ Horewode and Langford both made major grants to the Hospitallers

³⁰ Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 28, 45, 47-48.

³¹ De Thame is known to have attended at least three each of these parliaments and councils, but it is probable that he was present at many more. It should be remembered that regular attendance records for these events do not survive before the 1360s. Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 125.

³² Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, pp. 36, 49-50, 112, 167.

³³ Emilia Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*, p. 193.

³⁴ *CPR*, Henry III 1266-72, pp. 109-10.

³⁵ See above, pp. 132-33.

³⁶ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 96, 99, 205, 207; *RK*, pp. 91-92.

with the latter making five of his six donations after acquiring his corrody in 1336. Corrodies were clearly a significant motivator of grants, with just one of Langford's donations predating his corrody, a gift of a messuage in 1329, whilst Horewode gave the Order a manor worth £18 after becoming a corrodian, a very valuable donation. Another generous grant came from a patron who did not hold a corrody, but whose son did. Nicholas de Herdewyk gave the Order a messuage, 100 acres of land, four acres of meadow, two acres of pasture, 4s. and 6d. of rent, and the rent of eight capons in Herdewyk by Shefford in 1323. By 1338, his son John held a corrody at Clerkenwell by a grant of Thomas Archer, prior of England at the time of Nicholas' donation.³⁷ It is possible that Nicholas requested a corrody to support his son as a condition of his grant. The grants of five donors, including William Langford, one of the Hospital's most prolific fourteenth-century patrons, can be tied to corrodies. Holding these pensions was a strong motivator of patronage for some individuals, but it was not a factor unique to the Hospitallers.

Both other military and non-military orders often granted corrodies and this could also result in donations. In some cases a corrody was even demanded by a patron in return for their grant. In an undated charter to the Lazarites by William son of Roger Wisman of Kirkeby, the donor stated that his gift of a virgate of land entitled him to maintenance from the brethren.³⁸ In 1253, Felicity Constantine gave land and rent from her dowry to Wombridge Priory. The gift was later confirmed by her husband, William, who asked that the monks maintain the couple for the rest of their lives.³⁹ A 1270 grant by Hugh of Boningale also secured a corrody

³⁷ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 206. Thomas Archer was prior from 1319-30: Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 23.

³⁸ Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, p. 153.

³⁹ Andrew Abram, 'The Augustinian Priory of Wombridge and its Benefactors in the Later Middle Ages', in Burton and Stöber, *Monasteries and Society*, p. 89. Such an arrangement mirrors the maintenances contracts made by the elderly with private individuals, often their relatives: Elaine Clark, 'Some aspects of social security in medieval England', *Journal of Family History*, Vol. 7, No. 4 (Winter, 1982), pp. 307-20.

in exchange for a donation, giving the Augustinians of Lilleshall the manor of Longdon-upon-Tern in return for maintenance at the abbey.⁴⁰

Two donors were motivated by other personal circumstances more distinct to the Hospitallers, their possession of former Templar properties. In 1323, Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, granted the Hospital privileges for selling produce in his Welsh towns, as well as rights against theft, trespass, debt, and assault.⁴¹ Aymer's grant appears pious at first sight, mentioning his love of religion. The earl was also a descendant of William Marshal and the Clare family, major patrons of the military orders.⁴² This family history may have also played a role. However, de Valence also held a number of Templar manors and the previous year a papal bull had deplored the fact that so much of the Temple's property had yet to pass to the Hospitallers.⁴³ Furthermore, at the time of his donation the Hospital had begun lobbying the crown for assistance in acquiring these lands. The following year an act of parliament was passed enforcing the transfer.⁴⁴ Rather than his family connections and purported religious devotion, the context of the earl's grant suggests he was primarily motivated by his possession of former Templar lands. His donation was an attempt to placate the Hospitallers and ensure his continued possession of the former Templar manors of New Temple, Denney, and Strood.⁴⁵

Another Templar-linked case occurred in 1328, when John Blebury gave the Order twenty marks of rent for the Temple's manor of Addington, property that the Templars had

⁴⁰ Abram, 'Wombridge and its Benefactors', pp. 89-90.

⁴¹ Fenton, *Tour Through Pembrokeshire*, appendix, no. 2.

⁴² Below, p. 181, n. 108.

⁴³ Philip Slavin, 'The Fate of the Former Templar Estates in England, 1308-1338', *Crusades*, Vol. 14 (2015), pp. 226-27; Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands', p. 243; Barber, *Trial of the Templars*, p. 236.

⁴⁴ The roll for this parliament is lost, but the act, *Statum de terris Templariorum*, survives in a fifteenth-century copy and has been published: BL, Lansdowne MS 464/92; *The Statutes at Large, Volume the Tenth. Containing a copious index from Magna Charta to the Twenty-fifth Year of the Reign of King George the Third* (London, 1786), appendix, pp. 23-24.

⁴⁵ The New Temple was eventually acquired by the Hospitallers in 1338 with the assistance of William Langford: see above, pp. 115-16. The countess of Pembroke established a house of Franciscan nuns at Denny and gave them the manor of Strood: L. F. Salzman (ed.), 'Houses of minoresses: Abbey of Denney', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 2* (London, 1948), pp. 295-302. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol2/pp295-302> [accessed 27 June 2018].

leased to him before their suppression.⁴⁶ The charter quitclaiming the rent presents this as a gift, referring to Blebury's 'good will' and stating that he gave the rent 'for the health of his soul... to God and the blessed Mary and St John the Baptist' and the Hospitallers, recognising the Order's right to the rent in 'reverance of the constitution of the most holy Roman church'.⁴⁷ The language of the charter disguises the real context of Blebury's grant, a quitclaim that was legally compelled. Rather than being a bribe to secure his hold on other Templar holdings, as Aymer de Valence's grant appears to have been (Blebury does not appear to have held anything else from the Order), Blebury's charter was his final defeat in an attempt to retain Templar properties. Before 1312, the Templars had leased him their manor of Addington in Surrey for his lifeterm. Edward II gave the Hospitallers the Temple's lands there, minus the manor, in 1324. The Hospital pursued their claim on the manor, which Blebury initially fought, before admitting in 1328 that his right to it would expire at his death, hence his charter.⁴⁸ Blebury's grant was really his bowing to pressure from the Hospital, but the language used presents this as a gift in an attempt to save face or to sound contrite. The pressure exerted by the Hospitallers can also be seen in the witness and locative clauses of the charter. The document has just one witness, Prior Thomas Archer of the Hospitallers, and was given at Clerkenwell. The language of the charter disguises the real context of Blebury's 'gift', which was in fact one of legal compulsion, given in the presence of the Hospitallers and at their English motherhouse.

As the sole legitimate inheritors of the Temple's property, the link between the Templar transfer and patronage of the Hospitallers was unique to that order, but the transfer was not a major influence on donations to the Hospital. Only Aymer de Valence's and Hugh Blebury's grants can be tied to a donor's possession of ex-Templar lands. Bribes, compensation, and legal

⁴⁶ BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 100r.

⁴⁷ '*voluntatis... salute anime mee... dedisse concessisse deo et beate Marie et sancto Johanni Baptiste ac priori et ffratribus hospitalis sancti Johannis Jerusalem in Anglia... ob reverenciam constitutionis sacrosancte Romane ecclesie*': *ibid.*, f. 100r.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, ff. 100r-v; Helen J. Nicholson, *The Knights Templar on Trial: The Trial of the Templars in the British Isles 1308-1311* (Stroud, 2009), p. 70.

defeats all disguised as patronage were also granted to other orders. In 1274-75, Richard de Ewelle granted the Order of St Thomas of Acre a charter giving them a tenement in Wapping to support the costs of a chantry as well as several tenements and mills which Richard and the brethren had been in dispute over, combining both a request for spiritual intercession with a legal concession.⁴⁹ Sometime between 1300 and 1307, John, lord of Westerkirk and his father had captured Melrose Abbey's property at Eskdale and expelled the monks there. Around 1321 John granted the abbey his rights over Westerkirk church, an attempt to heal relations with a powerful neighbour and royal abbey.⁵⁰ During Stephen's reign, Albreda, daughter of Robert de Aurivalles made a grant of land to Plympton Priory in Devon to secure the absolution of her deceased husband Robert de Lestre, who had burnt and plundered the priory, resulting in his excommunication.⁵¹ In the twelfth century, Reginald, earl of Cornwall, made grants to Launceston Priory, whose priory tower he had destroyed.⁵² However, no other order had been assigned the whole property of such a large group as the Templars before. If the extensive litigation that followed the assignation of the Templelands to the Hospital led to only a little patronage, then these motivations will have played even less of a role in the patronage of other religious orders, whose property disputes were slight in comparison to those resulting from the contested inheritance of an order's entire property across the British Isles.

Ties of lordship also appear to have led to patronage. No grants in the period 1291 to 1400 specify that the donor was a Hospitaller tenant, however, it is surely no coincidence that the three largest concentrations of donations were in manors held by the Hospitallers, namely Chippenham, nine grants, Ashley cum Silverley, nineteen, and Harefield, the site of seven donations, where the Hospitallers held the manor of Moor Hall. This link can be found in the

⁴⁹ R. R. Sharpe (ed.), 'Extracts from Cartulary of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, preserved at Mercers' Hall', in John Watney, *Some Account of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon, in the Cheap, London, and of the Plate of the Mercers' Company* (London, 1892), p. 259.

⁵⁰ Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*, p. 182.

⁵¹ Fizzard, *Plympton Priory*, pp. 66-67.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

patronage of other houses as well. From 1291 to 1400 St Leonard's Hospital, York, received six grants in its manor of Bramhope and six in its manor of Heslington.⁵³

These donations in Chippenham, Ashley cum Silverley, and Harefield provide strong evidence for the role of social ties in motivating donations. It was common for donors in the same community to patronise the same institution, forming a network of donors connected geographically or socially in support of the same religious house.⁵⁴ Such a network could be created because patrons did not want to be outdone by their neighbours (and so emulated them in donating) or because the grants of others in the network promoted the house and raised awareness of it amongst a donor's affinity. Such connections are often found in the witness lists of donation charters. It should be noted that finding the same witness in multiple grants is not uncommon when the donors are in a similar geographic area.⁵⁵ This witness overlap can even occur in charters stemming from different regions.⁵⁶ What does serve as evidence of a patronage network, and therefore sheds light on the motives of Hospitaller donors, is when witnesses appear as donors themselves.

There are several grants witnessed by people that themselves donated to the Order. John and Agnes le Trumpur granted 6d. rent from a house in Newport to the Hospitallers c. 1330-40.⁵⁷ One of the witnesses to this gift was John le French, who had donated in 1312.⁵⁸

⁵³ For Bramhope, see Carpenter, *St Leonard's Hospital*, i, nos R10, R30, R39, R42, R50, R52. The hospital had acquired the manor by 1285: *ibid.*, i, p. 10. For Heslington, see *ibid.*, ii, nos R515, R520, R530-R531, R538, R552. St Leonard's held the manor of Heslington by 1287: *ibid.*, ii, p. 920.

⁵⁴ See below, pp. 170-180.

⁵⁵ For example, four donors to the Order in Chippenham had their grants witnessed by a Thomas the clerk: BL, Cotton Nero C ix, ff. 31v, 32v, 45r-46r. As he does not appear to have himself donated, his presence here may not be out of any affection for the Hospitallers but because he was an important figure in Chippenham's community. As a clerk, he may have even written some of these charters.

⁵⁶ There may be evidence of this in the Buckland and Godsfield cartularies: *Godsfield Cartulary*, nos 12, 15. *Buckland Cartulary*, no. 31. In 1312 a John de Popham, knight, witnessed John le French of Swarraton's grant to the Hospitallers. A man of the same name, though not described as a knight, was a witness to a donation by John de Erleigh V, lord of Durston, in 1329. As John de Popham does not appear to have donated to the Order himself or have any recorded ties to them, it is difficult to draw a link between his presence and these three men donating to the Hospitallers. Such repetition probably says more about the interconnectedness of the Somerset lordship of John de Erleigh with John le French's community in Hampshire than it does about the Hospitallers.

⁵⁷ *Godsfield Cartulary*, no. 190.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

The Godsfield cartulary that these grants are drawn from does not evince any further patronage network in this period, probably due to the omission of witness lists from half of the cartulary's eight donations from 1291-1400.⁵⁹ However, a larger network is apparent in the seven grants given to the Order at Harefield c. 1260-94 and recorded in the 1442 cartulary. One of these, a gift of ten acres of marshland, was by Roger de Batchworth, knight.⁶⁰ Each of the other six donations was witnessed by Roger.⁶¹ It seems that Roger played a role in these other grants, maybe encouraging the donors to support the Hospitallers. Or perhaps they wished to emulate their local lord in order to improve their standing with him and so requested that he act as witness to their own donation. As a member of Harefield's gentry, it is also possible that some of these six other donors were Roger's tenants, which would have increased the pressure to donate, either from Roger himself or in the desire to mimic their lord's choice of order to patronise.

Such imitation of noble or gentry donations was not uncommon in the patronage of other religious houses. A study of grants to Fountains Abbey concluded that 'it was the magnates who set the example' by patronising the house, with the local knightly families later emulating this support.⁶² Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon, made four grants to Plympton Priory between 1121 and 1155, and at least eleven of his tenants followed in their lord's footsteps by also donating to the priory.⁶³ The Norfolk nunneries of Bruisyard, Bungay, and Campsey Ash all received noble patronage in the fourteenth century, including from Robert, earl of Suffolk, his brother Edmund, and Maud, countess of Oxford and this support for these

⁵⁹ Ibid., pp. 45, 52-53, 68, 74.

⁶⁰ BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 89v.

⁶¹ Ibid., ff. 88r-89r.

⁶² Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, p. 169.

⁶³ These were Robert Fitz Martin and Matilda Peverel, his wife, Richard de Holeweia, Nigel de Plympton, Pagan Fitz Serlo, Walter Giffard, Walter's wife, Hugh of Alfemestona, Eustace of Alfemestona, Geoffrey de Furnells, and Alan de Furnells: Fizzard, *Plympton Priory*, pp. 86-91.

houses was then emulated by the local upper gentry.⁶⁴ This effect also filtered down to the lower gentry.⁶⁵

Another patronage network existed in this period in the Cambridgeshire village of Chippenham, site of the Hospitallers' preceptory. Adam le Waleys made three grants to the Order sometime before 1310, giving three portions and two half-acres of land and a halfpenny of rent.⁶⁶ All three were witnessed by a John Cook, who himself made two undated donations to the Order.⁶⁷ A witness to two of Adam's gifts was John son of Richard Cook, who made four undated grants to the Hospitallers.⁶⁸ Finally, a Richard Chaum[bre?] witnessed Adam's gift of half an acre of land in Chippenham. This may have been the same man as Richard de la Chaumbre who made six undated grants of rent and land to the Order.⁶⁹ The grants of each witness are undated but the presence of Adam le Waleys as a witness to one and Geoffrey Arsik to another suggests a late thirteenth or possibly early fourteenth century date.⁷⁰ Another donor in Chippenham, Simon de Tesamhill, gave the Hospitallers 12d. rent in 1297.⁷¹ His grant was also witnessed by John Cook, connecting his donation to those of Adam le Waleys, and through him the gifts of John son of Richard Cook and Richard de la Chaumbre. In total, five patrons in Chippenham over a span of up to thirteen years were linked by this network, which is depicted in the figure below.

⁶⁴ Oliva, *Convent and Community*, p. 172-73.

⁶⁵ From 1350 to 1400 and out of eleven houses, Bungay was the joint-second most popular nunnery in Norfolk for testamentary bequests by the parish gentry and Campsey Ash was the fourth most popular, though Bruisyard only came joint-sixth: Oliva, *Convent and Community*, p. 180, Table 17.

⁶⁶ BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, ff. 31v-32v. All three grants are undated, but in 1310 Petronilla made a grant to the Hospitallers. The charter describes her as formerly the wife of Adam le Waleys, showing that Adam had died by that date: *ibid.*, f. 45r-v.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 34v-35r.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, ff. 35r-36v.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, ff. 40r-43r.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, ff. 34v-35r-36v. Geoffrey made several donations to the Order but his one dated grant is of 1287: *ibid.*, ff. 59v-60r.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 45v-46r.

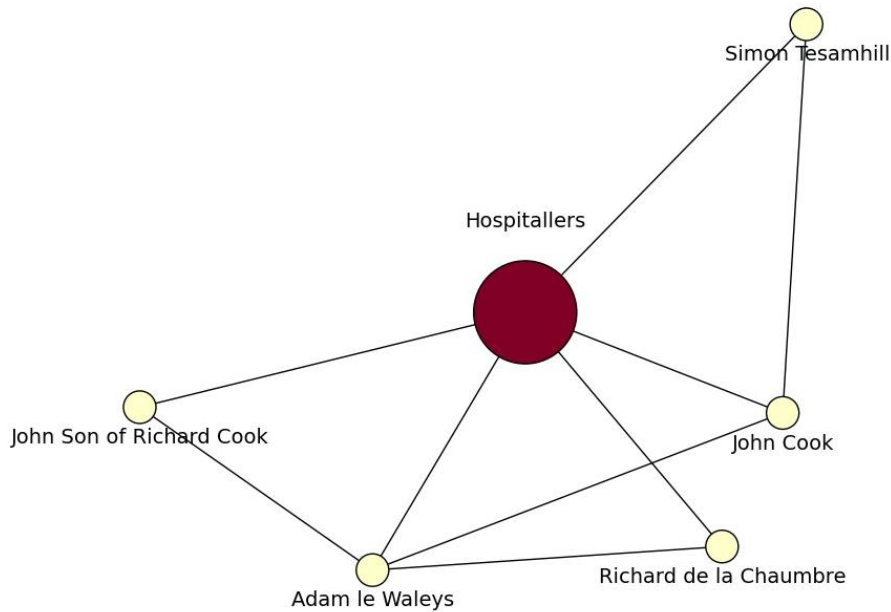


Figure 5.1: Hospitaller donors in Chippenham and their witness network.

The nearby village of Ashley cum Silverley had an even greater network of donors. Of the eighteen grants there from 1291-1400, thirteen were part of a patronage network.⁷² The central figure in this was John de Gynes, who gave the Hospitallers 100 acres of land in Ashley sometime before 1294.⁷³ John was also a witness to ten other grants to the Order there.⁷⁴ The

⁷² Three grants came from royal donors, one each from Edward I, Edward III, and Richard II: *CCR*, Edward I 1296-1302, p. 270; *CPR*, Edward III 1358-61, p. 167; BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, ff. 76v-77r. It is unsurprising that these monarchs were not part of the same patronage network as a group of Cambridgeshire villagers. Two donations survive without witness lists as grants of mortmain licences, a gift of 220 acres of land in Ashley from Geoffrey Arsik and 100 acres of land there from John de Gynes: *CPR*, Edward I 1292-1301, p. 256. These figures might not represent two single grants but instead the total number of the undated donations of land each patron made to the Order which are recorded in the Cambridgeshire 1442 cartulary. For examples of these men's patronage, see BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, ff. 95r-v, 57r-59v. As these grants are undated the date of the mortmain licence, 1294, has been used as their *terminus ante quem*. William Randolph of Ashley's grant of a messuage was recorded in the same mortmain licence: *CPR*, Edward I 1292-1301, p. 256. However, the nature of this gift has made it easier to trace in the cartulary than Arsik and Gynes' unspecified grants of land: BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, f. 70r.

⁷³ *CPR*, Edward I 1292-1301, p. 256. See discussion in previous note.

⁷⁴ These were Walter of Clopton's 1295 gift of one and a half roods of land; William Smith's *ante* 1296 donation of an acre of land; Roysia, formerly wife of William Smith's quitclaim of lands and tenements in Ashley in 1296; Thomas Randolph, son of Geoffrey Randolph's 1299 gift of a pasture called Eldappelton; the quitclaim of 76 acres by Hugh Rous in 1299; Alice, formerly wife of Thomas Randolph's quitclaim of tenements and rents in 1305; Nicholas Randolph's 1309-10 grant of a messuage in Ashley and another in Silverley; the 1d. rent given by Richard le Merneylous in 1310; and Reginald, son of Geoffrey Arsik's quitclaim of lands and tenements in 1316: BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, ff. 119r, 117r-v, 79r, 99v, 80r-v, 97v-98r, 66v.

other connecting donor was Geoffrey Arsik, who witnessed five grants, three alongside John de Gynes and two without.⁷⁵ Two further grants can be connected to this network. William Randolph gave the Order a messuage in 1297.⁷⁶ This donation was not witnessed by Geoffrey Arsik or John de Gynes, but William witnessed Walter of Clopton's 1295 donation alongside both John and Geoffrey and John son of Gervase of Silverley's grant alongside Geoffrey.⁷⁷ William and John also witnessed the 1296 charter of Roysia, wife of William Smith.⁷⁸ The final grant, a quitclaim of tenements by Alice, daughter of Robert of Sinelesho, was also linked to this network via the Arsik family.⁷⁹ Alice's grant was witnessed by John Arsik of Silverley, who also witnessed three other grants to the Hospitallers by Reginald Arsik, Richard le Merneylous, and Nicholas Randolph alongside Geoffrey Arsik and John de Gynes.⁸⁰ Two other donors appear multiple times in this network. Walter Clopton donated in 1295 but also witnessed grants in 1299 and 1309-10.⁸¹ Reginald Arsik donated in 1316 and witnessed William Randolph's 1297 grant.⁸² There were also six witnesses in this network who had themselves donated before 1291 or had made undated grants.⁸³ Clearly Ashley cum Silverley

⁷⁵ The three gifts witnessed alongside John de Gynes were those of Walter of Clopton, William Smith, and Nicholas Randolph listed in the preceding note. The two donations that Arsik witnessed without John were a gift of half an acre of land by John son of Gervase of Silverley in 1291, William Smith's *ante* 1296 grant of an acre and a rood of land, and William Randolph's *ante* 1297 grant of a messuage: *ibid.*, ff. 135v-6r, 116v-117r, 70r.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, f. 70r.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, ff. 119r, 135v-6r.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 117r-v.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, f. 73v.

⁸⁰ These were the gifts of Reginald Arsik, Richard le Merneylous, and Nicholas Randolph: *ibid.*, ff. 66v, 97v-98r, 80r-v.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 119r, 99v, 80r-v.

⁸² *Ibid.*, ff. 66v, 70r.

⁸³ William Goyston witnessed two *ante* 1296 grants and further donations in 1296, 1299, 1309-10, and 1310 and made an undated donation of his own, giving the Hospitallers a rood of land in Ashley: *ibid.*, ff. 116v-117r, 117r-v, 79r, 80r-v, 97v-98r (as witness), 105v-106r (as grantor). Robert Fabian witnessed a 1291 donation to the Hospitallers and made three grants of his own: *ibid.*, ff. 135v-136r (witness), 115v-116r (grantor). Walter Coleman witnessed two *ante* 1296 grants and gave the Order land in Ashley church field: *ibid.*, ff. 116v-117r, 118r. Robert le Arblast witnessed William Randolph's 1297 grant and made two donations to the Hospitallers: *ibid.*, ff. 70r, 107r-108r. Roger son of Brian witnessed the same grant and made three donations himself: *ibid.*, ff. 70r, 109r-110r. Geoffrey son of Randolph of Silverley witnessed two *ante* 1296 grants, another in 1310 and made two grants to the Order: ff. 116v-117r, 97v-98r, 67v, 74r. Finally, in addition to his *ante* 1294 grant (or grants) of land and his witnessing of several charters, Geoffrey Arsik made a confirmation of a grant by his father Reginald Arsik (I), a gift of a villein and his family, a messuage, and the homage of several tenants: *ibid.*, ff. 60r-v, 55r-v, 56r-v, 56v-57r.

was the site of a major network of donors, linking twenty-one patrons in a period of over twenty-five years. Support of the Hospitallers was widespread and closely tied into the community of Ashley cum Silverley.

The extent of this patronage network seems abnormally large compared to the smaller connections evident in Chippenham, Harefield, and Hampshire. The large size and duration of this network is probably due to the Hospitallers' possession of the manor of Ashley cum Silverley which raised the Order's profile amongst the villagers and established tenurial links with many of them. As discussed in Chapter Four, the poor local competition for patronage likely also played a role, as the Hospital's Chippenham Preceptory was the nearest religious house.⁸⁴ Ashley and Chippenham's location in the Cambridgeshire Fens may have also served to further isolate the villagers from rival religious houses, leaving the Hospitallers as the main outlet for religious donations and showing that, in the case of personal relationships, geography was still a factor. Even so, the Cambridgeshire 1442 cartulary seems unusually concentrated, spanning 126 folios, 85 of which relate to Ashley cum Silverley.⁸⁵ In comparison, the Godsfield and Baddesley cartulary's section for Winchester, a much larger settlement, is just seven folios long.⁸⁶ The paucity of Winchester documents may be due to the large number of religious institutions in the city, including the cathedral, the Hospital of St Cross, Hyde Abbey, St Mary's Abbey, four friaries, and the leper hospital of St Mary Magdalen which lay outside the city.⁸⁷ A greater range of houses for patrons to choose between would understandably spread donations more thinly. However, even the cartulary's section for the lands around Godsfield Preceptory, a more isolated location with less competition, spans just twelve folios, brief in comparison to the records for Ashley cum Silverley.⁸⁸ It is possible that there was a better

⁸⁴ See above, pp. 152.

⁸⁵ BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, ff. 51r-135v.

⁸⁶ BL, Add. MS 70511, ff. 23v-29r.

⁸⁷ For an account of medieval Winchester's religious establishments, see Derek Keene, *Survey of Medieval Winchester*, two vols (Oxford, 1985), i, pp. 106-36.

⁸⁸ BL, Add. MS 70511, ff. 6r-17r.

survival rate for donation charters relating to Ashley cum Silverley, hence the seemingly large number of donations for one village. Nonetheless, the 1442 cartulary's Cambridgeshire entries do not appear to be intact. They does not begin with a calendar of grants as the Godsfield and Baddesley cartulary does or with a list of *tituli* like the main 1442 cartulary.⁸⁹ The Order's Cambridgeshire estates included Shingay Preceptory and the *membra* of Wendy, Arrington, and Crandon, yet neither the original donations of these estates or any later grants pertaining to them feature in the Cambridgeshire cartulary.⁹⁰ There is a gap of five in the numbering of *tituli* in the *secunda camera* of the main 1442 cartulary, suggesting that the five extant Cambridgeshire *tituli* of Wilbraham, Carleton, Chippenham, Togrind, and Ashley cum Silverley were originally intended to be part of this document and also were the only surviving records for the county by that date.⁹¹ Clearly Shingay's charters and those for much of the rest of the Order's Cambridgeshire holdings were lost, probably when the preceptory was burnt in the 1381 Peasants' Revolt.⁹² Without these extra records, it is difficult to be sure if the Hospitallers enjoyed an abnormal level of support in Ashley cum Silverley or if this was the case for Cambridgeshire as a whole.⁹³ It is unlikely that the Hospitallers never acquired new copies of these lost charters after 1381 as this could threaten their hold on their Cambridgeshire properties. Stillingflete's 1434 chronicle cites two grants to Shingay, proving that Shingay did

⁸⁹ Ibid., ff. 1r-5v; BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 2r-v.

⁹⁰ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 75-77.

⁹¹ Cressing-Witham is marked as *titulus* I-II and is followed by Maplestead, *titulus* VIII: BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, ff. 289r, 305r; Gervers, *The Hospitaller cartulary in the British Library*, p. 9. An incomplete list of *tituli* for the *secunda camera* is attached to that of the *prima camera*. Of the Cambridgeshire *tituli*, only Togrind is listed: BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 2v.

⁹² L. F. Salzman, 'Houses of Knights Hospitallers: Preceptory of Shingay', in *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 2* (London, 1948), pp. 266-269. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol2/pp266-269> [accessed 14 September 2017].

⁹³ The 1338 survey might suggest that by that date the Order actually enjoyed less support in Cambridgeshire than elsewhere, with Chippenham collecting no *confraria* payments at all that year. In contrast, Godsfield managed to raise forty marks and Carbrooke 130: Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 21, 78, 81. Even the Northumberland preceptory of Chibburn, though complaining of Scottish raids, still managed to raise seven marks: *ibid.*, p. 52. However, Chippenham's entry does not record a nil payment for the *confraria* but rather makes no mention of it at all. Its absence may be an error rather than an indication that no payments were made. It is possible that the preceptory did not attract *confraria* as it was a house of old and sick brethren, but it could be expected that sickly and infirm religious could attract even more charitable support from the laity than healthy brethren would.

have at least some old records after 1381, though whether these were survivals or new copies is unclear.⁹⁴ It is probable that the brethren did create new charters, but that these were simply never incorporated into the 1442 cartulary, much like the surviving charters of Buckland, Godsfield, and Templecombe. The Cambridgeshire entries may have been removed from the 1442 cartulary so soon after its completion because it was intended that the remaining Cambridgeshire charters would be added, but such a plan was obviously never followed through.

Patronage networks were common to other religious orders as well. There was one such network centred on Roger de Mowbray I, whose charters to the Templars were often witnessed by Robert de Bussey, Thomas de Coleville, Roger de Cundy, and Hugh II de Malebisse, themselves all patrons of the Order.⁹⁵ At least sixteen men who witnessed Roger's charters to the Lazarites were also patrons.⁹⁶ In the thirteenth century there was a network of six patrons to the brethren at Burton Lazars.⁹⁷ The foundation charter of Rievaulx Abbey lay at the centre of a patronage network encompassing nine donors. Two of the witnesses to Walter Espec's 1132 foundation charter went on to become donors themselves and seven descendants or relatives of the witnesses in 1132 also donated.⁹⁸ One donor to Cluny Abbey at the turn of the eleventh century, Deodatus, was the focal point of a patronage network of seven donors, including his ancestors, descendants, and neighbours.⁹⁹ A family patronage network existed at

⁹⁴ These are the foundation of Shingay by Sybil de Raynes in 1140 and a gift of the manor of Wendy by Sir Robert Engaine: Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', p. 834.

⁹⁵ Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', pp. 223-24.

⁹⁶ Walker, 'The motives of patrons', p. 177.

⁹⁷ These were William de Aumary, John Burdet, John Fegge, William Freman, William Hasard, and William Ivette: *ibid.*, pp. 225-29.

⁹⁸ The witnesses that turned patron were Jordan de Bussey and Robert Sproxton: J. C. Atkinson (ed.), *Cartularium Abbatiae de Rievaille Ordinis Cisterciensis Fundatae Anno MCXXXII* (London, 1889), nos ciii, cxxvii. The later donors linked to one of Espec's witnesses were Stephen de Meuil II, grandson of Stephen de Meuil I, Henry de Meuil, Stephen II's son, Walter Engelram, his mother, and his son William, probable relatives of John Engelram, Oliver de Bussey, perhaps a descendant of William, Jordan, or Roger de Bussey, Robert Surdeval, probably a descendant of William or Peter Surdeval: *ibid.*, nos lxxxv, cxxii, cxxv, clxiv, cclii, ccxcix, cccxxviii, cccxxxi, cclxxii. For the foundation charter's witnesses, see *ibid.*, xlii.

⁹⁹ These were Deodatus' father, also called Deodatus, Guntard, who donated at the younger Deodatus' request, Odolfus, who witnessed Guntard's donation alongside Deodatus and had received a vineyard from him, Malguin, Deodatus the younger's brother, who did not donate but witnessed and wrote grants to Cluny, Anselmus, another

Fountains Abbey in the twelfth century. Ernald, son of Bence, granted, across successive charters, a total of twenty-six acres of land, a stream, and pasture rights. His sons Thomas, William, Adam, Peter, and Ralph, also all donated, as did his sister Josiana.¹⁰⁰

These examples also demonstrate the role that family ties played in the patronage of other orders as well as that of the Hospitallers. Whilst patronage networks were an important motive of donations, these familial links were perhaps the single most important personal relationships in motivating patronage. Sixty grants to the Hospitallers in this period came from forty donors who were related to earlier patrons or people with close ties to the Order. Every king of England from 1291 to 1399 made at least one donation. Edward I gave three times, Edward II twice, Edward III eleven, and Richard II five.¹⁰¹ Edward III's son, Edward of Woodstock also donated, giving three tuns of wine 'to the convent of the house of St John of Jerusalem in England', that is, Clerkenwell, in 1362.¹⁰² Therefore, a direct line of royal Hospitaller patrons can be traced through the fourteenth century and across five generations. Edward I's father Henry III also patronised the Hospital, as did his father King John, his great-uncle Richard I, and his great-grandfather Henry II, extending this line of patronage to encompass three and a half centuries and eight generations.¹⁰³ This royal patronage was not

brother who did donate, and Heldricus, at whose donation Deodatus and Anselmus were present. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter*, pp. 96-98.

¹⁰⁰ Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp. 227-28.

¹⁰¹ For Edward I, see: *CPR*, Edward I 1288-96, p. 489; *CCR*, Edward I 1296-1302, p. 270. For Edward II: Tresham, *Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium*, p. 21b; *CPR*, Edward II 1317-21, p. 197. Edward III: WC, MS 12843; *CPR*, Edward III 1330-34, pp. 246, 314, 319; *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 376; *CPR*, Edward III 1338-1340, p. 63; *CPR*, Edward III 1345-48, p. 210; *CChR*, 1341-1417, p. 40; *CPR*, Edward III 1348-50, p. 428; BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, ff. 76v-77r; *CFR*, Edward III 1356-68, p. 270. For Richard II, see: WC, MS 12843; BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 12r; *CChR*, 1341-1417, pp. 272-73; BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, ff. 76v-77r. Henry IV also donated, but this was after 1400. His first donation to the Hospital appears to have been in November 1408, when he renewed Henry III's grant of three cartloads of brushwood a week from Pederton and removed textual ambiguities from the original charter: *CPR*, Henry IV 1408-13, p. 32.

¹⁰² 'au covent de la maison de seint Johan de Jerusalem en Engleterre': TNA, E 36/278, f. 239r; Dawes, *Register of Edward, the Black Prince*, iv, p. 446. This was unlikely to have been a gift to Minchin Buckland as 'convent' only took on the connotations of referring solely to female houses after the medieval period. In the Black Prince's grant, the word was most likely used instead to refer to the motherhouse of the Hospitallers in England, in the same way that the brethren on Rhodes formed the 'convent' of the whole Order.

¹⁰³ John Stillingflete's chronicle lists many of the grants these kings made to both the Templars and Hospitallers: Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', pp. 838-39.

unusual. The Templars received such grants from six generations across a century and a half.¹⁰⁴ However, it should be noted that royal patronage was influenced by so many factors that ascribing these grants solely to family tradition is artificially reductive. The kings of England had close contacts with the Hospitallers, using them as administrators and commanders. Coupled with the Order's status as a papally-endorsed religious order spanning most of Europe and conducting holy war, it would be odd if the kings of England donated only as a result of family tradition.

The Order's three donors of comital rank from 1291-1400 were also descended from earlier patrons of the military orders. The first was Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, whose grant in 1323 was probably motivated in part by his possession of ex-Templar properties.¹⁰⁵ It is also worth noting his descent from several leading patrons of the Hospitallers and other military orders, which may have played also played a role in his donation. His maternal great-grandfather was William Marshal, earl of Pembroke, who had a great affection for the military orders, making grants to the Hospitallers at Slebech and joined the Templars upon his deathbed.¹⁰⁶ Aymer's maternal great-grandmother was Isabel Clare. The Clares were major patrons of the military orders in the twelfth century. Such were their close ties to the Hospitallers that excavations at Clerkenwell Priory unearthed floor tiles bearing the Clare family crest.¹⁰⁷ Their largest gifts to the Hospital were Kilmainham Priory, Carbrooke Preceptory, Melchbourne Preceptory, and the lands that would later become Standon Preceptory.¹⁰⁸ No other family from England's nobility was responsible for so many Hospitaller foundations.

¹⁰⁴ Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', pp. 94-98.

¹⁰⁵ See above, p. 169.

¹⁰⁶ Hurlock, *Wales and the Crusades*, p. 157.

¹⁰⁷ Barney Sloane and Gordon Malcolm, *Excavations at the priory of the Order of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem, Clerkenwell, London* (London, 2004), p. 68.

¹⁰⁸ Kilmainham was granted by Richard de Clare, Aymer's maternal great great grandfather, sometime after his invasion of Ireland in 1170: Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', p. 443. Carbrooke was founded by Matilda, wife of Roger de Clare, earl of Hertford, in 1173: William Page (ed.), 'House of Knights Hospitallers: The preceptory of Carbrooke', in *A History of the County of Norfolk: Volume 2* (London, 1906), pp. 423-25. *British*

The second comital donor was Elizabeth de Burgh, lady of Clare, who gave the Order two messuages, 680 acres of land, and £4 6s. 8d. rent in West Peckham and Swanton in 1337.¹⁰⁹ Elizabeth was also descended from multiple lines of Hospitaller patrons.¹¹⁰ Her maternal grandfather was Edward I, a relationship tying her to England's tradition of royal patronage of the Order and, as the daughter of Gilbert de Clare, earl of Gloucester and Hereford, she was descended from the same patrons as Aymer de Valence, namely, William Marshal, her great grandfather, and the Clares. On her mother's side, Elizabeth was the granddaughter of John de Lacy, earl of Lincoln. The Lacys were another family that favoured the military orders, founding one Templar and three Hospitaller and preceptories.¹¹¹ The final comital donor was John of Brittany, earl of Richmond, who granted and quitclaimed to the Hospitallers his right to the church of Kirkton in Holland near Boston in 1319.¹¹² He was not descended from

History Online, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/norf/vol2/pp423-425> [accessed 25 August 2017]. It may be her tomb that still lies before the chancel of Carbrooke's church, inscribed with '*Mater Clarensis*'. Gilbert de Clare, earl of Hertford (d. 1152), gave the Hospitallers land and a church in Standon, which was the site of a preceptory by 1300: Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', pp. 443-44. Gilbert de Tonbridge's widow, Adeliza of Clermont, gave the Order their preceptory of Melchbourne during Henry II's reign: *ibid.*, p. 444. Other grants came from Walter Fitz Robert (d. 1198), who gave two churches, his charger, and his weapons and Roger de Clare, earl of Hertford (d. 1173), who gave several gifts including Tonbridge church: *ibid.*, pp. 443-44. Roger de Clare also made Welsh donations, including houses and lands in Cardigan and the churches of Stradmeric, Lansaferi, and Trefdreyr: Charles 'The records of Slebech', p. 194. Walter Marshal, earl of Pembroke (d. 1245), confirmed gifts to the Order there and granted right of free chase and warren and the wood of Minwear: *ibid.* William Marshal, earl of Pembroke gave the church of Castleham, though it is unspecified if this was William Marshal I (d. 1219) or his son William (d. 1230): *ibid.* In all, at least eight members of this family donated to the Hospitallers before 1291 and Gilbert de Clare, earl of Pembroke (d. 1148), and Walter Fitz Robert both made grants to the Templars: Ward, 'Foundations of the Clare Family', p. 443.

¹⁰⁹ *CPR*, Edward III 1334-38, p. 552.

¹¹⁰ Jennifer C. Ward, 'Clare, Elizabeth de (1294/5–1360)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/5435> [accessed 25 Aug 2017].

¹¹¹ These were Quenington Preceptory in Gloucestershire, founded by Agnes de Lacy in the late twelfth century, and the Irish preceptories of Castleboy and Kilmainhambeg founded by Hugh de Lacy (d. 1186) and his son Walter de Lacy (d. 1241), respectively: Nicholson, 'Margaret de Lacy and the Hospital of St John at Aconbury', p. 635. Gilbert de Lacy (d. c. 1163) founded the Templar preceptory of Temple Guiting and eventually joined the Order and served in the Holy Land. Henry de Lacy (d. 1177), of the family's Yorkshire branch, confirmed grants to the brethren in that county: *ibid.*, p. 634. One study of the Lacy family claims that they were not 'great patrons of the order of the Hospital' but, as this family's foundation of three preceptories was only surpassed by those of the Clares (four foundations), this judgement underplays their importance as patrons: Colin Veach, *Lordship in Four Realms: The Lacy Family, 1166-1241* (Manchester, 2014), p. 221.

¹¹² *Buckland Cartulary*, no. 198. John of Brittany's grant may have also been a way to extricate himself from future legal conflicts over Kirkton Church. In 1310 the Hospitallers had won a court case against Thomas de Moleton over their rights of presentation, something that was reconfirmed in 1318, the year before John's charter: *ibid.*, nos 193-194, 201.

baronial patrons like the Clares and Lacys, but his paternal grandfather was Henry III, giving him a connection to the English Crown's traditions of Hospitaller patronage.

It is possible that in addition to the other factors motivating each of these donors, such as Aymer de Valence and John of Brittany's possession of contested property and Elizabeth de Burgh's interest in crusading, these family connections also played a role in motivating their grants to the Hospitallers. Having a family tradition of patronage would raise a potential donor's awareness of the Order and could instil a feeling of personal connection to the Hospital, making a grant more likely. However, it is worth noting that baronial families were often interrelated and so being descended from multiple lines of earlier patrons was not unusual and clearly did not always lead to patronage. William Marshal's descendants were many and the Clares and Lacys were also widespread, yet only two patrons from 1291-1400 were descended from any of these lines. It is possible that the possession of titles closely associated with a crusading ancestor may have also had an impact. Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, would no doubt have been well aware of his ancestor William Marshal, earl of Pembroke's crusading and patronage of the military orders. His successor as earl, Aymer may have felt a greater obligation to continue these traditions of patronage.

This rarity of multi-generational patronage amongst the nobility was not unusual, indeed, it was in keeping with the experience of other religious orders that were popular in the twelfth century. Some families continued to support their chosen foundations of many generations, such as the Aspet family in France, who first patronised the Templars of Montsaunès in 1156 and was still in contact with the preceptory in 1306.¹¹³ However, this was very much the exception. The Mowbray and Burdet families initially made large donations to the Lazarites in England, donations that their descendants failed to equal. The size of grants

¹¹³ Schenk, *Templar Families*, p. 187.

from the Port and Caux families to the English Templars also declined with each generation.¹¹⁴ A study of grants to Fountains Abbey found that first-generation donors made generous gifts to their favoured house, the second-generation donor typically only confirmed their ancestor's gifts, witnessed the house's charters, or acted as a protector, and by the third or fourth generation the family's patronage would diminish entirely as the arrival of new religious orders offered other opportunities for patronage.¹¹⁵ A similar case can be found in benefactions to Plympton Priory, founded by William Warelwast, bishop of Exeter, in 1121. Later bishops of Exeter ceased making significant grants to the priory after 1155. Baldwin de Redvers, earl of Devon (d. 1155), and his son Richard (d. 1162) both favoured Plympton, but a c. 1193 to 1208 confirmation of William, earl of Devon (d. 1217), shows that by the late twelfth century this family's patronage had died out.¹¹⁶ In the twelfth century members of the Mowbray family made several grants to Rievaulx Abbey but under Roger de Mowbray (d. 1266) the family only made confirmations of earlier grants, not new gifts of land or property.¹¹⁷

At least one knightly family maintained a patron relationship with the Order well into the fourteenth century: the Erleighs, lords of Durston in Somerset. In 1329, John V de Erleigh gave the Order a right of way in a field called Windshill and in 1336 he confirmed his and his ancestors' gifts to the Hospitallers at their house of Minchin Buckland and released the order of suit of court.¹¹⁸ In 1369 his son, John VI de Erleigh, also granted a confirmation and the following year he released the Order of 2s. rent that they owed him for a cottage in Pereton.¹¹⁹ These grants are not particularly large and so fit into the pattern of declining patronage from the later generations of a house's founding family. The Erleighs were the original founders of

¹¹⁴ There were exceptions to this trend, with the Sandford and Belers families making significant grants to these orders in later generations: Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', p. 151.

¹¹⁵ Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, pp. 146, 169-70, 211-12.

¹¹⁶ Fizzard, *Plympton Priory*, pp. 81-82.

¹¹⁷ Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Environment, 1132-1300* (PhD dissertation, University of Leeds, 2001), p. 81.

¹¹⁸ *Buckland Cartulary*, nos 31, 39.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, nos 37-39.

Buckland in the twelfth century when William de Erleigh, lord of Durston, established a house of canons there in 1166.¹²⁰ After some years the canons murdered William de Erleigh's steward, a relative of his, causing the crown to seize the house.¹²¹ The canons remained there until the 1180s when William granted Buckland to the Hospitallers to house the Order's nuns and secured the removal of the canons, a grant confirmed by Henry II and then Reginald, bishop of Bath, in 1186.¹²² Before 1189, William's son, John II de Erleigh, gave and confirmed to the Order at Buckland the church of Pereton, all his land in Buckland, lands elsewhere in Somerset, and exemptions from secular taxes and services.¹²³ John's son, Henry de Erleigh I confirmed his, his father's, and his grandfather's grants to Minchin Buckland.¹²⁴ An unspecified Henry de Erleigh made four undated grants to the Order, a gift of 12d. rent in Pereton, thirty wagonloads of brushwood a year, a gift of 1d. rent in Durston, and a piece of land in North Pereton.¹²⁵ In total, at least five Erleighs across two centuries donated to the Hospitallers. This family's support even extended as far as joining the Order itself. In 1337 the prioress of the sisters at Buckland was a Katherine de Erleigh, probably a close relative of the two Erleigh donors of the fourteenth-century, John V and his son John VI de Erleigh.¹²⁶

Three other knightly donors to the Order were also related to earlier patrons. Roger de Batchworth, lord of Harefield, who gave the Hospitallers marshland in c.1260x1294 was probably a relative of the Geoffrey de Batchworth, lord of Harefield, who gave a right of way to the Order in 1233.¹²⁷ Nicholas Langford, who gave eighty acres of land and three acres of

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, nos 1-2.

¹²¹ Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', p. 837.

¹²² *Buckland Cartulary*, nos 7, 11.

¹²³ This dating is based on the charter claiming to be made for the health of Henry II, implying it was given before his death in 1189: *ibid.*, no. 33. John was the same John de Erleigh or Earley who was a supporter and former ward of William Marshal I, tying him to a prominent line of fellow Hospitaller patrons: David Crouch, 'Earley, John (II) of (c.1173–1229)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/47210> [accessed 15 Sept 2017].

¹²⁴ *Buckland Cartulary*, no. 39.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, nos 27-29, 37.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. xxvii.

¹²⁷ BL, Cotton Nero E vi, f. 86r, 89v.

meadow in Yeaveley in 1333, may have been related to the William Langford who donated five times from 1329-45.¹²⁸ John de Grey of Rotherfield gave the Order the advowson of Oxborough Church and rent there in 1362, paying a 100 marks for a mortmain licence.¹²⁹ In 1362-63 he donated a moiety of the advowson of Darfield Church.¹³⁰ He was probably related to two other patrons of the Order. In 1299 Joan de Grey donated the manor of Schobyngton and a tenement in Kyrtlyngton. Prior Tothale rented the property to Joan for life, after which the Hospital would take possession.¹³¹ The inquisition taken at her death in 1312 gives her heir as John de Grey of Rotherfield, later Lord Grey of Rotherfield, father of the John de Grey who made grants in 1362 and 1362-63. Joan was not John's mother, the inquisition describes her as being married to a Robert de Grey but the couple apparently had no surviving children, making John her heir. Joan was probably the senior John's aunt and therefore the younger John's great-aunt. The inquisition also gives her father as Thomas de Valoignes.¹³² A Sybil de Valloines founded the Hospital's Beverley Preceptory in c. 1201 and may have been a paternal relative of Joan.¹³³

Another familial link between patrons was marriage, with four women donating after their spouse had already done so.¹³⁴ As each of these women were widows making the same

¹²⁸ *CPR*, Edward III 1330-34, p. 394. Langford's patronage of, and ties with, the Hospital are discussed above, see, pp. 114-116.

¹²⁹ TNA, C 143/341/1. For the mortmain licence, see *CPR*, Edward III 1361-64, p. 139.

¹³⁰ TNA, C 143/346/6.

¹³¹ Sharp and Stamp, 'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward II, File 29', <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol5/pp213-222> [accessed 30 August 2017].

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ William Page (ed.), 'Houses of Knights Hospitaller', in *A History of the County of York: Volume 3* (London, 1974), pp. 260-62. *British History Online*, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/yorks/vol3/pp260-262> [accessed 30 August 2017].

¹³⁴ These donors were Agnes, widow of John le Kewe of Chippenham, who quitclaimed her right to a third of six acres in Chippenham in 1308. Her husband, John son of Richard le Kewe had donated 6¼ d. of rent in Chippenham in 1291: BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix. f. 45r-v. Roysia, widow of William Smith of Ashley, quitclaimed her right to her husband's lands in 1296, who himself had made two grants of land sometime before 1296: *ibid.*, ff. 116v-17v. In 1305, Alice, widow of Thomas Randolph, quitclaimed her and her husband's right to tenements and rents in Ashley cum Silverley, except for nine acres and a rood of arable land. Thomas had donated a pasture in 1299: *ibid.*, ff. 80r, 97v-98r. Finally, in 1310 Petronilla, widow of Adam le Waleys, quitclaimed her right to all the lands and tenements her husband held in Chippenham. Adam had made three grants to the Order sometime before 1310: *ibid.*, ff. 31v-32v.

gift, quitclaiming their right to a third of their husbands' lands, these grants may have been made at the petition of the Hospitallers, an attempt by the Order to secure the property gained from these men against future legal challenges. This practice was by no means distinct to the Hospitallers. Of the 63 quitclaims made to the Hospital of St John in Cambridge, twelve were quitclaims of widow's shares, nine of which were paid for by the hospital, suggesting petitioning by the brethren.¹³⁵ A further thirteen Hospitaller donors were also related to previous patrons.¹³⁶

Family membership of the Order also led to patronage, with eleven patrons appearing to have had at least one Hospitaller brother or servant in their family.¹³⁷ This personal connection likely played a role in their choosing to support the Order. Gilbert Bernard, who in 1354 donated a toft with meadow in Chippenham, may have been related to Brother Richard Bernard, knight at Friar Mayne Preceptory in 1338.¹³⁸ Nicholas de Herdewyk, who made his extensive grant to the Order in 1323 may have been related to Vincent de Herdwyck, sergeant and preceptor of Trebigh in 1338.¹³⁹ Thomas West donated a messuage and a virgate of land

¹³⁵ Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 209.

¹³⁶ In addition to Alice, wife of Thomas Randolph, the Randolph family of Ashley cum Silverley provided four different donors in this period, William in 1297, Thomas in 1299, and Nicholas in 1309-10. BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, ff. 70r, 79r, 80r-v. Several other donors in Cambridgeshire were also related to earlier patrons. Richard le Merneylous, who gave 1d. rent in Chippenham in 1310, was probably related to Thomas le Merneylous, who made an undated grant to the Order: *ibid.*, ff. 97v-98r, 99v-100r. Reginald Arsik quitclaimed his right to land and tenements in 1316 and three earlier Arsiks, Nicholas, Alexander, and William, had already made undated grants to the Order, probably in the thirteenth century: *ibid.*, f. 63-65r, 66v. Reginald's father, Geoffrey Arsik, had already given the Order 220 acres of land in Ashley c.1294: *CPR*, Edward I 1291-1301, p. 101. Outside of Cambridgeshire, at Harefield in Middlesex there were three related patrons. Between c. 1260-94, Brian de Burna granted the Hospitallers a messuage, Nicholas de Bleis, son of Avice de Burna, gave the homage of Gilbert de Burna and 2s. rent, and John de la Burna granted ½d. rent from a messuage: BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 89r. Beatrice, daughter of Nicholas son of John de Kirkton quitclaimed all her right to the advowson of Kirkton Church in 1360. She was presumably a descendant of the Alexander de Kirkton who granted the then chapel in 1264-72: *Buckland Cartulary*, no. 200. Finally, in 1330 Hugh de Wendon released the Order of all rent and suit of court owed in Milverton: *ibid.*, no. 71. He may have been a relative of the Hugh, son of Hugh de Wendon who made an undated, but apparently earlier, grant of 2s. 6d. rent to the Order: *ibid.* These two men could have been the same person but the entirely different witness lists of the two charters suggests a chronological distance that makes this unlikely.

¹³⁷ It is possible but unlikely that Elizabeth de Burgh also had a relative amongst the Hospitallers. In 1338 there was a Brother Reginald de Burgh, sergeant, in the infirmary at Chippenham Preceptory: Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 80. However, a member of her family would surely have been admitted as a knight rather than a sergeant, a rank reserved for those of non-knightly backgrounds.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

in Ansty, Wiltshire in 1333.¹⁴⁰ He was probably related to the William West recorded five years later residing at Ansty Preceptory.¹⁴¹ William was not a Hospitaller himself, but he was a *confratre* and corrodian of the Order. His residence at the preceptory, status as a *confratre*, and designation as being in ‘the place of a brother knight’ suggests actual engagement with the Order’s affairs and so he may have encouraged his relative Thomas’ donation.¹⁴² John de Horewode may have been related to a contemporary and fellow servant of the Irish Priory, Robert Horewode, who in 1334 was the porter of Killergy Preceptory.¹⁴³ The Roger de Batchworth who donated sometime between 1260 and 1294 may have been an ancestor of Richard de Bachesworth, knight and preceptor of Battsford in 1338.¹⁴⁴ In this case, Roger’s donation may not have been motivated by a relative’s membership of the Hospitallers, but instead his patronage influenced a descendant to join the Order. Another donor, William Wirkele, could have been related to two Hospitallers. In 1392 William donated a messuage, a carucate of land, and eight acres of meadow in Templecombe, Somerset to the Order.¹⁴⁵ The 1338 survey records a John de Wyrkelee, knight, as preceptor of Newland and a Richard de Werkelee, sergeant, at Temple Bruer Preceptory.¹⁴⁶ The two Erleigh patrons, John V de Erleigh and John VI de Erleigh, were probably related to Katherine de Erleigh, prioress of the Hospitaller sisters at Buckland in 1337.¹⁴⁷ Thomas de Berkeley, who gave two shops in Wells in 1306 and £4 of rent from lands in Hamme in 1311, was also related to a sister at Buckland.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁰ *CPR*, Edward III 1330-34, p. 385.

¹⁴¹ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 9.

¹⁴² William West is included amongst the preceptory’s professed brethren but is not described as brother, instead being called a corrodian and as ‘*loco fratris militis, per cartam*’: *ibid.*, pp. 8-9. Only three other corrodians, Lord Robert of Norfolk, John of Barrow, vicar of Dalby, and Thomas Fitz Neil, are described as holding the place of a brother: *ibid.*, pp. 11, 64, 69. The phrase probably means that they were entitled to the same food, clothing, and support at the preceptory as that due to a member of the Order.

¹⁴³ *RK*, p. 52.

¹⁴⁴ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 86.

¹⁴⁵ *CPR*, Richard II 1391-96, p. 169. He may also have been the same man as William Wortele, who gave a toft and 65 acres of land in Mere and 3s rent from lands and tenements in Scampton that same year: *ibid.*, Richard II 1391-96, p. 152.

¹⁴⁶ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, pp. 46, 156.

¹⁴⁷ *Buckland Cartulary*, p. xxvii.

¹⁴⁸ *CPR*, Edward I 1301-1307, p. 466; *ibid.*, Edward II 1307-13, p. 385.

His daughter, Isabella, was prioress there from 1301 to 1307.¹⁴⁹ Finally, John le Archer, who gave three stalls in the suburb of London in 1325 to create a chantry for himself and his brother Thomas, had ties to the upper levels of the *langue*.¹⁵⁰ He was a relative of Prior Thomas Archer (1319-30), perhaps his nephew.¹⁵¹ John appears to have later joined the Order himself; a John Larcher senior was preceptor of Dalby in 1338.¹⁵² It may have been his son, also called John, who was the John Larcher junior, preceptor of Friar Mayne in 1338.¹⁵³ John le Archer's personal connection to the Order through his uncle likely played a role in his 1325 donation and even led to this patron becoming a Hospitaller himself. One donor, Reginald Templar, son of John son of Thomas de Parlour of Worle, had ties not to the Hospitallers but to the Templars. Reginald made one donation of eight acres in Templecombe and another of all his lands and tenements in Worle, both granted between 1354 and 1371.¹⁵⁴ In 1338, his grandfather, Thomas de Parlour, was recorded as holding Worle from the Hospitallers under a lifelong lease granted by the manor's previous owners, the Templars.¹⁵⁵ Reginald's epithet of Templar suggests that he valued the connection to this Order that his grandfather's lease had brought. His decision to then donate to Worle's new lords, the Hospitallers, has interesting implications for perceptions of continuity between the two orders. In total, from 1291-1400 over a third of donations and

¹⁴⁹ Thomas Hugo, *The Medieval Nunneries of the County of Somerset and the Diocese of Bath and Wells* (Taunton, 1867, pp. 39, 44, 49, 50.

¹⁵⁰ *CPR*, Edward II 1324-27, p. 199.

¹⁵¹ A 1321 demise by John Larcher of Tanworth to Brother Thomas Archer, prior of the Hospital, and his kinsman Nicholas Larcher of Tanworth manor, Warwickshire, supports the existence of some sort of family tie: Stratford upon Avon, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, DR37/1/416. Further evidence of a link is found in 1322 when Prior Archer secured a pardon for Thomas le Archer of Tamworth, who had joined Thomas of Lancaster's rebellion: *CPR*, Edward II 1321-24, p. 227. Peter Cross identifies John as the brother of Prior Archer: Peter Cross, 'Knights, Esquires and the Origins of Social Gradation in England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 5 (1995), p. 175. However, this brother was apparently long dead by 1321, instead John Larcher was probably Prior Archer's nephew: J. H. L. Archer, *Memorials of families of the surname of Archer* (London, 1861), p. 8. It should be noted though that this source's family tree of the Archers is not without errors, placing Prior Archer's death in 1320-21 rather than the correct date of August 1330: Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 99, n. 11.

¹⁵² Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 65.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁴ WC, MS 12843.

¹⁵⁵ Larking and Kemble, *1338*, p. 185.

more than a quarter of patrons were tied to the Order through a family history of patronage or service.

The main source for this family membership of the Hospitallers is the Order's 1338 survey, the only document in this period to list every professed brother in England, Scotland, and Wales in a single year. However, it does not name any of the Order's nuns at Buckland Preceptory and the *langue*'s brethren in Ireland and those serving in the East are omitted entirely.¹⁵⁶ It is possible that more of the Order's donors were related to Hospitaller brethren then residing abroad but due to these deficiencies in the source it is difficult to establish any more familial connections than these six patrons. Only John le Archer's relationship to other Hospitallers is supported by strong documentary evidence. The other five donors' connections are based on shared names, not the most certain proof. It is possible that the presence of two Wests in 1330s Ansty is a coincidence and there is little more to connect the Gilbert Bernard of 1354 Cambridgeshire with the Richard Bernard of 1338 Dorset than a relatively common name. However, closer study of the 1338 survey suggests that the Hospitallers often recruited from otherwise obscure villages with Order property. At least twelve brethren of the 119 recorded in that year came from such areas.¹⁵⁷ As Chapter Four has shown, there was a correlation between the origins of patrons and the presence of Hospitaller estates and it appears that there was a similar link between the origins of Hospitaller recruits and the Order's estates.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., pp. 19-20.

¹⁵⁷ The Order held rents and a mill in Multon and in 1338 a Brother William de Multon was preceptor of Godsfield: *ibid.*, pp. 23, 30. Brother John de Hampton may have been from the Hospital's manor of Hampton, Middlesex: *ibid.*, pp. 31, 127. There was a preceptory at Herdwyck and Vincent de Herdwyck was preceptor of Trebigh: *ibid.*, pp. 16-73. The Order had a *camera* at Huntingdon in Yorkshire and Brother William de Huntingdon was preceptor of Bodmiscombe: *ibid.*, pp. 14, 112. There was also a *camera* at Barrow upon Trent and a Brother Roger de Baruwe was at Hogshaw Preceptory: *ibid.*, pp. 69, 109. Beverley Preceptory had lands and a mill at Burton and Geoffrey de Birton was preceptor of Sandford: *ibid.*, pp. 49, 192. Robert de Bokeland was probably from the Buckland Preceptory: *ibid.*, pp. 19, 80. There was a *camera* at Coppegrave, Yorkshire, and Brother John de Coppegrave resided at Mount St John Preceptory in Yorkshire: *ibid.*, pp. 48, 112. The Hospital had lands in Sutton, Essex, Sutton, Herefordshire, Sutton, Oxfordshire, and a preceptory at Sutton Atte Hone, Kent, and a Brother John de Sutton was at Skirbeck Preceptory: *ibid.*, pp. 26, 31, 62, 93, 170. Ossington Preceptory had a messuage and lands at Thurmeton and a Brother John de Thurmeston and Brother Thomas de Thursmeston were at Clerkenwell Priory and Willoughton Preceptory respectively: *ibid.*, pp. 54, 101, 151. There was a *camera* at Hetherington and Brother Alan de Hetherington was preceptor of Chippenham: *ibid.*, pp. 80, 118.

With the Hospital drawing on similar communities for both recruitment and patronage, a crossover between the Order's membership and their patrons is unsurprising. The evidence linking Gilbert and Richard Bernard may not be strong, but a familial relationship between some patrons and brethren should not be surprising.

Patronage from the relatives of an order's brethren can also be found in other religious orders. However, lacking a comparably extensive record of their membership as the Hospitallers' 1338 survey, such links are often more difficult to detect. The Lazarites in England received a grant from Elias de Amundeville in the thirteenth century on condition that his leprous daughter be cared for by the brethren. Elias continued to donate after this gift. The Order in the Holy Land also received such patronage. In 1160, Hugh, lord of Caesarea, gave the Lazarites two houses in Caesarea on account of his brother Eustace, who was a member of the Order and in 1248 Stephen of Salerno gave 10s. rent to have his son admitted as a brother.¹⁵⁸ The Lacy's patronage of the Temple may have been influenced by Gilbert de Lacy's joining of the Order by 1160.¹⁵⁹ Ranulf de Hastings, who founded the Templar preceptory of Temple Hurst, and William de Hastings, who gave the Order land in Hackney, may have been related to Richard de Hastings, master of the Temple in England c. 1155-85.¹⁶⁰ The Sandford family, of whom ten members donated to the Templars across four generations and around fifty years, may have been relatives of Robert de Sandford, master from c. 1229-50.¹⁶¹ In France, many donors to the Templars were related to brethren, such as Andrew of Baudement, who gave his properties in Baudement to the Temple in 1133, dedicating the grant to the soul of himself, his ancestors, and his son William, a knight of the Order.¹⁶² Ralph Haget was abbot of Fountains

¹⁵⁸ Walker, 'The motives of patrons', pp. 174-75.

¹⁵⁹ Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', p. 62.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 63-64.

¹⁶¹ Though this family link is unproven: Walker, 'Patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St. Lazarus', pp. 64, 105-109, 105, n. 93.

¹⁶² Schenk, *Templar Families*, pp. 32-35.

Abbey from 1190-1203.¹⁶³ His family had patronised the abbey soon after its founding in 1132, including a grant by Ralph's father Betram that endowed the abbey's Dacre grange. Later generations also donated, with Ralph's nephews confirming grants to Fountains and his niece, Alice, giving a toft, a croft, and land.¹⁶⁴ In c.1200 Agnes de Karun granted Wardon Abbey a charter confirming her parents' gift of a virgate of land. The same charter describes her brother John as a monk at Wardon.¹⁶⁵

Generally, the influence of these personal relationships was no different from the case for other military and non-military orders. Holding a corrody from the Hospitallers, being a tenant of the Order, associating with other donors, having a family history with the brethren, all could motivate patrons. Greater rights and privileges for tenants and the effects of the Templar transfer led to some special patronage, but generally such differences were either temporary or not unique to the military orders. This point is even more evident in the role of spiritual intercession in patronage. Spiritual motives were intimately tied to donations to the Hospitallers. The brethren were a religious order of the church. The typical opening of a donation offered the grant to 'God and the blessed Mary' before mentioning the Hospitallers themselves.¹⁶⁶ In his will of 1340 John of Oxenford left the brethren at Clerkenwell a cask of red wine and a sum of money.¹⁶⁷ This bequest could have been the gift of a man nearing the end of his life and wanting to ensure God's favour by patronising a religious order, but it could also have been motivated by his and his family's possession of Hospitaller corrodies, an attempt to repay this support that the Order had given him and his family over the years.¹⁶⁸ The two motives were not mutually exclusive. Those few grants made for the crusade were also

¹⁶³ Wardrop, *Fountains Abbey*, p. 206.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 207-208.

¹⁶⁵ Fowler, *Old Wardon*, no. 53.

¹⁶⁶ '*Deo et beate Marie et Sancto Johanni Baptiste et beatio pauperibus sancte domus hospitalis Jerusalem et fratribus eiusdem domus in Anglia*': BL, MS Cotton Nero C ix, f. 100r. However, this formulation could be convention or could even originate with the scribe, not the donor.

¹⁶⁷ Sharpe, *Court of Husting*, i, pp. 460-61.

¹⁶⁸ John, his wife Alice, and their daughter Rose were all corrodians: Larking and Kemble, 1338, p. 207.

influenced by the donor's faith. The Order's war against the infidel was, after all, a holy war. On such grounds any donation to the Hospitallers could be stated to be religiously motivated, at least in part. Edward III's confirmation of the Order's rights over the manor of Dolgenwall and Ellesmeres Church in 1349 may have been religiously-influenced as the grant declared the king's devotion to St John and his wish to support the Order's pious works.¹⁶⁹ Edward I's gift in 1299 of eight oak trees for Chippenham Preceptory appears to have been born out of stronger religious motives as the king ordered that the timber be used to build a chapel, among other works.¹⁷⁰ However, beyond the implied motives demonstrated in such donations there was a more overt and direct way in which faith led to patronage of the Hospitallers, a factor that is directly evidenced in these grants: the chance of securing intercessory prayers, which appears to have accounted for about a quarter of donations to the English *Langue* from 1291-1400 and just under a quarter of patrons.

Like those to any medieval religious institution, grants to the Hospitallers were often made '*pro anima*' or '*pro salute anime*', for the soul of the donor or others. Ninety-seven of the 142 grants in the Order's Godsfield cartulary were made with such a clause.¹⁷¹ It could be argued that this is merely convention, something so common that 'to some extent it seems a stock phrase used simply because ecclesiastical property is at stake'.¹⁷² However, this request is indicative of the reciprocity of gift-giving and ecclesiastical patronage in particular, with patrons endowing or protecting the church and in return being commemorated by ecclesiastics after death.¹⁷³ It has also been shown that the formulation was not automatic and could vary

¹⁶⁹ *CPR*, Edward III 1348-50, p. 428.

¹⁷⁰ *CCR*, Edward I 1296-1302, p. 270.

¹⁷¹ *Godsfield Cartulary*, nos 1, 10-11, 13-14, 19-20, 25, 33-34, 39-40, 42, 44-45, 48, 50-51, 54-55, 57, 59-60, 65, 74-77, 79, 81-83, 85, 88, 90-94, 98-99, 102-104, 106, 123, 132-33, 136-140, 145, 147-49, 152, 154-55, 158-58, 162, 165, 167, 171-181, 184, 186-87, 189-191, 193-95, 197-98, 200, 202-207, 210.

¹⁷² Helen Brown, 'Lay Piety in Later Medieval Lothian, c.1306-c.1513' (PhD dissertation, University of Edinburgh, 2006), p. 175.

¹⁷³ Ludo J. R. Mills, *Angelic Monks and Earthly Men: Monasticism and its Meaning to Medieval Society* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 87-91. For a discussion of research on gift-giving and its relation to this thesis' methodology, see above, p. 20.

greatly. A study of 185 *pro anima* charters from eleventh and twelfth-century England and Wales found that only 141 were made for the donor's soul, the remaining 44 were instead dedicated to other relatives and individuals. Twenty-six grants were dedicated to the monarch or their family, 67 to fathers, 54 to mothers, 22 to sons, and six to friends.¹⁷⁴ A patron's preferences could also change from one charter to the next. Bernard de Balliol (d. 1154-62) made three surviving grants to Rievaulx Abbey. In one charter he made a dedication to his parents and brothers, the second was made for his uncle and Henry I, and the third was made for the souls of all these people and his kin, his own soul, and that of his wife.¹⁷⁵ The *pro anima* clause was not merely a routine formula with no real thought behind it; it could just as easily represent a meaningful dedication for the donor. The remembrance requested by such grants was very important to medieval spirituality. One of the main duties of monks and other religious was to pray for the souls of others and it was believed that this intercessory prayer could reduce a soul's time in purgatory. Making a donation would be a sure way to be remembered by a house and secure such intercession. Particularly generous donors or those who established a long-term relationship with a house could even find their names added to a *liber vitae*, a record of brethren, patrons, and friends who were to be the subject of daily prayers, such as those of Durham Cathedral Priory, Thorney Abbey, or the New Minster, Winchester.¹⁷⁶ The main purpose of the Hospitallers in the West was not prayer; instead, the running of their estates and payment of responsions likely took precedence for most brethren. However, as this thesis has shown, patronage of the military and non-military orders was so similar in motivation and expression that the laity of fourteenth-century England probably made little distinction

¹⁷⁴ Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 153-55.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

¹⁷⁶ Joseph Stevenson (ed.), *Liber Vitae Ecclesiae Dunelmensis; nec non obituaria duo ejusdem ecclesiae* (London, 1841); Lynda Rollason (ed.), *The Thorney Liber Vitae* (London, British Library, Additional MS 40,000, fols 1-12r. (Woodbridge, 2015); Walter de Gray Birch (ed.), *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester* (London, 1892).

between the intercessory services offered by the Hospitallers and those offered by non-military religious.

The importance of this chance of intercession can be seen in donations to the *langue* from 1291-1400, sixteen of which included *pro anima* clauses or alluded to intercession.¹⁷⁷ One particular group of these charters is worth noting. Between c. 1260-94, Roger de Batchworth, Robert de Kent, Brian de Burna, and John de la Burna all made *pro anima* grants to the Order in Harefield. As shown above, each of these donors was part of the same patronage network, coupling this with the shared timeframe and location, it is plausible that these grants were all composed by the same local scribe.¹⁷⁸ However, the *pro anima* clause is identical in only Robert and Brian's charters and a fifth donation in the same period and network by Nicholas de Bleis, son of Avice de Burna, has no such clause at all, supporting the case that it is incorrect to assume that a *pro anima* clause was a standardised model originating with the charter's scribe.¹⁷⁹ That fourteen donors to the Order in this period made grants featuring *pro anima* clauses, with varying dedications and formats, suggests that the formulation was not rote

¹⁷⁷ Between 1285 and 1300, Peter de Muntorie made a grant for the souls of himself and his successors: Gervers, *The Hospitaller cartulary in the British Library*, p. 319. In c. 1291 Geoffrey, son of Robert de Willoughby, gave a charter for the health of his soul and those of his ancestors and successors: UONSC, Mi D 1287. Simon Draper donated in c. 1264-96 for his soul and those of his wife, ancestors, and successors: *Godsfield Cartulary*, no. 106. In 1365 Jordan le Bourt dedicated his grant to the souls of himself, his wife, his ancestors, and his successors: *ibid.*, no. 184. John le Trumpur gave in c.1330-40 for the souls of himself, his wife, their fathers, mothers, and sons: *ibid.*, no. 190. In 1355 Richard le Cartere and his wife Agnes donated for the salvation of their and their ancestors' souls: *ibid.*, no. 200. In c.1270-95, Denise de Heno gave a charter for her own soul, her father's, and those of Cecilia, Matilda, Samelord, Roger, Peter, William, Luke, Nicholas, Alice, Petronilla, and Gilbert, whose relationships to her are unspecified: *ibid.*, no. 203. In c. 1260-94, Robert de Kent donated for the souls of himself, his wife, his parents, and ancestors: BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 88r. In the same period, Brian de Burna gave a charter with the same dedication and John de la Burna made one for the souls of his mother and father: *ibid.*, f. 89r. Roger de Batchworth's grant, also made in c. 1260-94, was for his soul, his wife's, and those of his father, mother, ancestors, and successors: *ibid.*, f. 89v. Before 1310 Adam le Waleys made three grants each dedicated to the health of his soul and those of his ancestors and successors: BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, ff. 31v-32v. Maud, widow of Robert le Coppere of Berkeley gave a charter for the souls of her husband, herself, and her ancestors: BCM, A1/24/16. In 1348 John de Moleyns gave a confirmation dedicated to his soul and those of his wife and children: CCR, Edward III 1346-49, p. 595. Finally, Adam French's will of 1396 left legacies to several institutions, including the rector and chaplains celebrating in the church of St John and the Hospitallers: French, *Records of the Surnames Francus, Franceis, French*, p. 147. Though this was not a *pro anima* grant, the specific mention of priests celebrating in St John's Church suggests that intercession may have also been on Adam's mind when making his bequest to the Hospitallers.

¹⁷⁸ See above, p. 173. The original charters are lost and only survive as copies in the Order's 1442 cartulary, making it impossible to determine via the hand if they were written by the same scribe.

¹⁷⁹ BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 89r.

and could instead be a genuine reflection of the donor's wishes. The absence of such clauses from the grants of the remaining 118 donors from 1291-1400, many of whose charters survive in full, clearly demonstrates that it was not a rote formulation, one always to be included. The inclusion of a *pro anima* clause could be, and often was, a conscious choice that carried real meaning for the grantor.

These *pro anima* requests for remembrance normally only asked for prayer in an unspecified manner. When a donor wanted more precise or personalised intercession, they could secure a candle in a chapel or found a chantry, a priest or group of priests specifically tasked to perform a daily mass at a specific altar in memory of those souls designated by the founder.¹⁸⁰ From 1291-1400 seventeen grants to the *langue* from sixteen patrons requested such a service from the Order.¹⁸¹ It is probably no coincidence that six of these donors had

¹⁸⁰ K. L. Wood-Legh, *Perpetual chantries in Britain* (Cambridge, 1965) is the standard work. Though chantries were usually comprised of secular chaplains, sometimes a monk would be tasked to pray or celebrate mass for a particular soul, even at a particular altar, in effect creating a chantry: Howard Colvin, 'The origin of chantries', *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 26:2 (2000), pp. 170-71.

¹⁸¹ In 1280-95, Jordan, son of Richard de Saweye, donated to support the lights in Clerkenwell Priory's church: BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, f. 21r. In 1323 Nicholas de Herdewyk made a grant in order to pay for a chaplain to celebrate at Hardwick Preceptory for his soul, those of his ancestors, and all the faithful departed: *CPR*, Edward II 1321-24, p. 357. John le Archer, a relative of Prior Thomas Archer, donated to pay for a chaplain to pray at Clerkenwell Priory Church for himself and his brother, Thomas: *ibid.*, Edward II 1324-27, p. 199. In 1329 Walter le Chapeleyn made a grant to support a chaplain at Melchbourne Preceptory to pray for the souls of all the Order's donors: *ibid.*, Edward III 1327-30, p. 465. In 1333 Thomas West donated to provide for a chaplain to celebrate at Swalcliffe for the souls of Thomas de Hannebere and his wife Olive: *ibid.*, Edward III 1330-34, p. 385. That same year Nicholas Langford gave a charter to support a chaplain to celebrate at the preceptory there for himself and the souls of his ancestors and a John de Ecton: *ibid.*, Edward III 1330-34, p. 394. Nicholas' probable relative, William Langford, was alone responsible for four grants requesting commemoration. In 1329 he donated in return for a candle at Clerkenwell Priory's church and in 1336 he donated to establish a chantry at the priory. The following year he gave to expand the chantry from one to two chaplains and to increase the number of lights in the priory church. Finally, in 1345, William donated to provide a candle to burn each day at the altar of St John during mass in the priory church: *ibid.*, Edward III 1327-30, p. 401; *ibid.*, Edward III 1334-38, p. 239, 467; *ibid.*, Edward III 1343-45, p. 471. In 1392, William Wortele gave to find a light to burn in the chapel of Willoughton Preceptory: *ibid.*, Richard II 1391-96, p. 152. That same year William Wirkele, possibly the same man, made a grant to provide a candle to burn in honour of Corpus Christi in the Hospitallers' church in Templecombe: *ibid.*, Richard II 1391-96, p. 169. In 1381-95, Robert Nowell gave to support two chantries at Clerkenwell, a grant that survives in a magistral bull of 1400, incorrectly copied into the *langue*'s 1442 Cartulary as 1404: NLM, AOM 330, f. 75v; BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, ff. 4v-5r. Grandmaster Philibert de Naillac chastised Prior Grendon for not establishing these chantries, paid for during the priorate of John Raddington (1381-95). Royal donors also sought these services from the Hospitallers. In 1346 Edward III gave the Order licence to acquire £20 a year of lands, tenements and rents not held in chief for the purpose of supporting chantries for the souls of the kings of England, the king's ancestors, and all benefactors of the Order, which was confirmed in 1390 by Richard II: *CPR*, Edward III 1345-48, p. 210; BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi, ff. 76v-77r. In 1369, a mortmain licence was secured for Robert de Ellerton of Stepelmorden and Robert de Thormondby to donate in satisfaction of 60s of the £20 of this royal licence for establishing chantries: *CPR*, Edward III 1367-70, p. 248. The following year, a mortmain licence was

close ties to the Order, demonstrating the interplay of religious services, localism, and family ties in determining a patron's choice of religious house. William Langford had a long career as a servant and corrodian of the Hospitallers, his fellow chantry-founder Nicholas Langford was a possible relative, and Nicholas de Herdewyk presumably came from Hardwick, the site of Hardwick Preceptory.¹⁸² John le Archer was a relative of Prior Thomas Archer, Thomas West was probably a relative of the *confratre* residing at his local preceptory of Ansty, and William Wirkele may have been related to two Hospitallers recorded in 1338. Five of these six men founded a chantry, a much more expensive form of commemoration than the candles requested by William Wirkele and several other donors.¹⁸³ The trust engendered by these familial, local, or personal ties to the Order likely played an important part in motivating a donor to make as substantial a grant as the creation of a chantry. Of these eight chantries, four were each to be founded at the preceptories of Hardwick, Melchbourne, Swalcliffe, and Yeaveley and the remaining four were all to be at Clerkenwell. This focus on the priory is unsurprising as three of the four Clerkenwell donors had some connection with London. William Langford was based there when he established his relationship with the Order and he even held a corrody at the priory, whilst John le Archer and Jordan, son of Richard de Saweye both had property in London. Robert Nowell's tie to the city is unclear as the only record of him is in the grandmaster's bull of 1400, which does not specify his background or links with the Order.

issued for William and Edward Goscelyn's 1366 donation, which satisfied 20s of the £20 allowed by the same licence: *ibid.*, Edward III 1367-70, p. 446.

¹⁸² Larking and Kemble, 1338, p. 73.

¹⁸³ Chantry maintenance became a common concern in the late fourteenth century. Many grants were not enough to support a chantry 'in perpetuity' as the donors usually requested and the increasing wages for chantry priests soon outstripped the original endowment. In the fifteenth century, some chantries were dissolved and it became common for institutions to merge several chantries into one: Michael Hicks, 'The Rising Price of Piety in the Later Middle Ages', in Burton and Stöber, *Monasteries and Society*, pp. 95-109. In the fourteenth century the Hospitallers appear to have underpaid their chantry chaplains and to have even diverted funds meant for chantries to other expenses: Nicole Hamonic, 'Ad celebrandum divina: Founding and financing perpetual chantries at Clerkenwell Priory, 1242-1404', in Jochen Schenk and Mike Carr (eds), *The Military Orders Volume 6:2: culture and conflict in Western and Northern Europe* (London, 2017), pp. 100-10.

The greater prestige of founding a chantry in the Priory Church of the *langue*, rather than a mere preceptory chapel, likely also played a role in these donors choosing Clerkenwell.

Donations to secure intercession through a candle or chantry were by no means distinct to the patronage of the Hospitallers. Chantries and other commemorative services were very popular in the fourteenth century. For example, in England from 1300 to 1349 royal licence was given for 934 chantries and a further 666 were founded in 1349-99.¹⁸⁴ Most of these were in chapels, parish churches, and cathedrals, but religious orders also received a substantial share. Thirty-seven per cent of the chantries founded by England's nobility in the fourteenth century were managed by religious orders.¹⁸⁵ The Templars, Lazarites, and Hospital of St Thomas of Acre also founded chantries on behalf of their patrons. The Lazarites were endowed with a chantry at Chaddesden in 1354 and held part of a chantry at Kirby Belers by 1319.¹⁸⁶ In 1274-75, Richard de Ewelle made a grant to the Order of St Thomas of tenements and mills, including a tenement in Wapping that was to be held by the brethren in return for maintaining two chantry priests to pray for the souls of Richard, his father, mother, ancestors, descendants, and his wife Matilda.¹⁸⁷ Chantries became highly fashionable from the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁸⁸ This meant that the Templars saw out only part of this trend before their suppression in 1312, but the Order was still endowed with a few chantries. The unknown founder of Sandford Preceptory established one at that site and Henry III instituted a chantry of three priests at New Temple.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ Colvin, 'origin of chantries', p. 165.

¹⁸⁵ Rosenthal, *Purchase of Paradise*, pp. 32, 36.

¹⁸⁶ The Chaddesden chantry was a bequest by Henry de Chaddesden, uncle of the Lazarite master Geoffrey de Chaddesden. In 1535 the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* valued the Chaddesden chantry at £12. The chantry certificate of 1546, two years after the suppression of the Lazarites, valued it at £36 13s 4d: Marcombe, *Leper Knights*, pp. 78, 205. The Order had been endowed with a rent for their part in the Kirby Belers chantry, to which the Lazarite master was entitled to present one of the twelve chaplains. The founder, Roger Beler, also gave the Order a loan of £250. However, in 1359 Roger's widow and his son converted the chantry into an Augustinian house: *ibid.*, p. 63.

¹⁸⁷ Sharpe, 'Extracts from Cartulary of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon', p. 259.

¹⁸⁸ Colvin, 'origin of chantries', p. 164.

¹⁸⁹ Agnes M. Leys (ed.), *The Sandford Cartulary* (Oxford, 1937), no. 1; Stillingflete, 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', p. 839.

Collectively, intercession accounted for thirty-three donations to the *langue* from 1291-1400, almost a fifth of the total 160 surviving grants. Whilst religious faith undoubtedly played a role in many more donations, the specific desire for spiritual intercession is clearly evinced by *pro anima* clauses and requests for chantries and candles. After several years of the Order failing to found the two chantries Robert Nowell had paid for, his relatives granted a further unspecified quittance so that they could be established as soon as possible, such was the importance of intercession.¹⁹⁰ Intercession accounted for many more grants than the interest in crusading that is so often held up as the key motive behind donations to the military orders.¹⁹¹ Instead, as with the patronage of non-military religious orders, intercession and other elements like family ties, localism, and personal relationships were the real causes of patronage. Family ties were particularly important, accounting for thirty-seven per cent of donations to the Order in 1291-1400 and almost thirty per cent of patrons. The only significant difference in the role personal relationships played in Hospitaller patronage compared to that of other orders was in royal donations. The Order's close and regular contact with the crown gave the Hospitallers greater opportunities to solicit royal patronage than most other orders, orders whose leaders were not necessarily close royal councillors. However, it should be remembered that kings represented only a small portion of the Order's patronage and an even smaller portion of its patrons. Except for the crown, donors with personal ties to the Hospital, and who in many cases interacted with the Order on a regular basis, were moved by the same motives as those donating to any other religious order, such as family ties, lordship, or community networks. Again, it seems that the military orders ought to be reintegrated into discussions of medieval religious rather than presented as a wholly separate branch of religious life, for their medieval patrons do not appear to have treated them as such.

¹⁹⁰ NLM, AOM 330, f. 75v.

¹⁹¹ See above, p. 10, n. 44.

Conclusion

Chapter One began by quoting a mid-fifteenth century script written for Hospitaller clerks to read in public to solicit alms and membership of the confraternity. It emphasised the Order's war against the Turks, calling this 'a gret cause to move all cristen people' to donate and join the confraternity.¹ This script represents the traditional view of the Order's patronage, one in which crusading was a major motivator of donations. However, as this study has argued, crusading in fact played a minimal role in driving donations to the Hospitallers. Only six out of 160 surviving grants to the English *Langue* from 1291 to 1400 reference crusading and just three out of 137 donors had taken the cross. There was little correlation between donations to the Order and periods of crusade preaching or campaigning, apart from the eight years following the fall of Acre in 1291 and the Hospital's Rhodes crusade of 1309 to 1310. Despite the widespread assumption of a strong link between crusade interest and patronage of the military orders, this is not borne out by the evidence. The Order's hospitality and knightly status also did little to motivate patrons. While as much as fifteen per cent of grants to the hospital of God's House in Southampton were motivated by the house's charitable activities, this appears to be atypical. The Hospitallers in Hampshire and London received no grants that can be tied to their provision of hospitality and charitable care, whilst the brethren in Somerset received just one. The Hospitallers also received unexceptional levels of patronage from nobles and fellow knights. Instead, the *chevalerie* favoured houses with royal associations, like Beaulieu, Aldgate, and Montacute. Rather than being driven by the Order's three defining traits of crusading, hospitality, and knighthood, most donors to the Hospital were instead motivated by much the same factors as those who patronised any other religious order.

¹ See above, p. 40.

Such a conclusion has important implications for the treatment of the military orders by scholars of medieval religion, many of who relegate these orders to a subfield of crusade studies rather than treating them as a full part of mainstream religious life. It also suggests that we should reconsider the place of the military orders within the societies of late medieval Britain and Ireland. They were not valued by most donors primarily as outposts of the crusade movement, but rather were treated firstly as professed religious offering much the same services as any other house, namely, intercessory prayer, employment, and trade, and acting as a source of prestige for those who patronised them.

Instead of looking at the mid-fifteenth century crusading confraternity script as an indicator of what motivated supporters of the Order, an earlier script from the first half of the fifteenth century offers us a better guide. This document can be dated to c. 1432 to 1467, the floruit of the script's notary, Robert Kent.² This was also written to be read out by Hospitaller clerks but, omitting any mention of the crusade or Rhodes, the text launches immediately into extolling the spiritual privileges associated with membership of the confraternity:

‘Worshippfull sirs maisters and ffrendes I proctour and messenger of þe hospital of saynt John of þe hous of ye Re-[illegible] upon þis day declare unto youre reverences þe indulgences privileges and fredomes þa^t of olde time have be graunted by oure holy fadres ye popes...’³

Spiritual benefactions were indeed an important factor in motivating donations to the English *Langue*, just as they were for non-military orders. Almost a fifth of the 160 grants from 1291 to 1400 requested intercessory prayers and services, including candles and chantries. The situation was little different for non-military religious orders. Thirty-seven per cent of chantries

² A. B. Emden, *A Biographical Register of the University of Oxford to A.D. 1500*, 3 vols (Oxford, 1957-9), ii, p. 1037.

³ BL, Sloane Ch. xxxii, 27.

founded by the English nobility in the fourteenth century belonged to a religious order.⁴ Grants made *pro anima* are so commonplace in the patronage of non-military orders that they have come to be seen as cliché. Professional relationships also played a role, accounting for twenty-one grants to the English *Langue* and coming from a range of employees and business contacts, something common to the patronage of non-military orders as well. Localism and personal relationships were major motivators of patronage, both for the Hospitallers and their non-military counterparts. Over three quarters of properties given to the *langue* lay within ten miles of a Hospitaller estate and seventy-nine per cent of patrons were born or were based within the same radius. After eliminating anomalous results, sixty-nine per cent of properties granted to a sample of non-military houses lay within ten miles of the relevant house, as were sixty-nine per cent of donors. Thirty-seven per cent of grants to the English *Langue* from 1291 to 1400 came from donors with familial links to the Order. The three largest concentrations of grants, those of Harefield, Chippenham, and Ashley cum Silverley, were all the site of Hospitaller manors, as well as patronage networks or petitioning by the brethren, demonstrating the role of personal appeals, lordship, and social ties in prompting donations. Similar patronage networks can be found at non-military houses such as Rievaulx and Fountains abbeys, as can evidence of family relationships motivating donors.

The only major differences between the patronage of the Hospitallers and that of any other non-military order lay in the brethren's reception in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales and in the motives behind royal patronage of the Hospital. It has been argued here that the Order's military and administrative service for the English Crown alienated many donors in these countries, all but ending patronage in Scotland, preventing it in Ireland, and dampening it in Wales. In contrast, non-military orders, who also participated in warfare but less prominently than the Hospitallers, were able to win local patronage in all three of these countries, even if

⁴ Rosenthal, *Purchase of Paradise*, p. 36.

they were settled there by the English or Anglo-Normans. In turn, the Hospitallers' repeated and extensive role as royal servants brought them greater access to England's monarchs, increasing chances of patronage either as reward for their services or through personal petitions by the brethren. Few non-military houses could claim as close and regular access to the king. However, these differences should not be overstated. These two factors accounted for only a fraction of the Hospital's patronage. Just nineteen of 160 grants were from royal donors and only twenty-three grants were given to the *langue* in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales from 1291 to 1400. For most of the 137 donors that gave to the English *Langue* in this period, issues of localism, family ties, and a desire for religious intercession were all much more significant motivators than the crusading activities that scholars have traditionally emphasised. In light of this, there is a strong case for bringing the military orders further within the study of medieval professed religious life, rather than relegating them solely to an offshoot of crusade scholarship.

This investigation has argued that the Hospitallers should be reintegrated into the mainstream religious history of medieval Britain and Ireland. It has attempted to fill the gaps in scholarship highlighted in the introductory chapter above, addressing the limitations stemming from the regional focus of earlier research by analysing the *langue's* patronage across Britain and Ireland.⁵ Its conclusions can be applied to a much a wider geographic area than those of previous studies of military order patronage which have generally focused only on a single county or region. The findings of such studies have not always been representative of the *langue's* patronage as a whole, such as the cessation of land grants in Essex after 1285, a situation not reflected elsewhere. This thesis has also examined this patronage fully within a crusading context by mapping the dates of donations against crusade expeditions, finding little correlation between the two. It has demonstrated that the findings of research on the patronage of the non-military orders are largely reflective of the circumstances of their military-religious

⁵ See above, pp. 8-12.

counterparts. By reincorporating the military orders – some of the most powerful religious institutions of the medieval period – into mainstream religious history, discussion will be furthered in a range of fields and debates, such as ecclesiastical landholding, lay-church relations, the role of women in religion, and the processes of the Reformation. Scholarship on each of these topics and more would be furthered by bringing the military orders back into discussion, as these debates would then consider the full spectrum of medieval professed religious life, rather than an artificial selection of only the non-military orders. What is more, this thesis has shown that to consider the military and non-military orders together better reflects the medieval reality, as the patrons of both strands of professed religious treated and interacted with them for much the same reasons and in much the same manner.

This study's core sourcebase of 160 charters may seem slight compared to the 3,000 charters examined by Gervers and Hamonic in their work on English Hospitaller scribes. However, their sourcebase encompassed the full spectrum of documents produced by the Hospitallers' scribes, including internal missives, extents, inquisitions, records of sales, agreements, and exchanges. A much smaller proportion of these 3,000 charters would have been the donations in pure alms which this thesis has concerned itself with. The Godsfield Cartulary contained 211 charters at its creation in 1397-98, but only 142 of these were such donations. Of these, 211 charters, only one is a sale or exchange dating to between 1291 and 1400.⁶ Even if still small in number when compared to these collections, the 160 grants from 1291 to 1400 remain a sizeable sourcebase from which to analyse the *langue's* patronage in this period. Barring new discoveries, this is all the sourcebase that survives for donations to the *langue* during this important period in the Order's history, one that is certainly worthy of study, witnessing the Hospital's transformation from key actor in the Kingdom of Jerusalem to independent naval power on Rhodes and the fallout resulting from the Templar trials and the

⁶ *Godsfield Cartulary*, no. 124.

Hospitallers' inheritance of their estates – the largest transfer of ecclesiastical land in medieval history. In the West, the Order faced an intensification of demands of service by the English Crown, as well as recurrent warfare in the British Isles and France, factors which did impact their patronage to an extent, particularly in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales. Despite these tumultuous events, most donors to the English *Langue* were still driven by the same factors as those to any non-military religious order, particularly localism and family ties.

Nicholas Morton has highlighted the importance of public opinion in determining whether a military order grew to an international scale or remained a provincial organisation.⁷ Considering the similarities between the patronage of military and non-military orders, this can probably be used to explain the development of non-military orders as well. However, these deciding factors of localism and of familial, professional, or personal ties all point towards a further influence on patronage, one that overhangs all of these: public awareness. This was a crucial factor in motivating religious patronage. The population of medieval Britain and Ireland was already well-primed to donate to orders of poor religious. Medieval Christianity held charity to be the greatest virtue and the rich had a duty to support the needy.⁸ Public preaching by the mendicant orders emphasised the value of charity, as did both religious and secular literature and song.⁹ The market for donations was already there, but it was the level of public awareness of a house that decided which institution would be patronised. A donor could not support a house of which they had never heard. Donations for both military and non-military houses were more likely to come locally because their brethren and sisters were highly visible in the local community as landlords, traders, and farmers. Ties of lordship, family, and employment increased these links, bringing potential donors into direct and personal contact

⁷ Nicholas Morton, 'Why did some military orders become great international institutions while others remained small scale? (1120-1314), in Janusz Hochleitner and Karol Polejowski (eds), *W służbie zabytków* (Malbork, 2017), pp. 119-28.

⁸ Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 58-74.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-94.

with religious orders. It is no coincidence that St Leonard's Hospital in York enjoyed such geographically disparate patronage. Its right to collect a thrave of corn from every plough in Cumberland, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Yorkshire ensured widespread awareness of the hospital. Nor is it surprising that almost a third of the English *Langue's* patrons from 1291 to 1400 had a family link to the Order, or that six of the sixteen patrons who requested the expensive commemoration of a chantry had close familial, local, or business relationships with the Hospitallers.

This thesis' findings have been quite similar to those of John Walker's study of English Templar and Lazarite patronage. However, it has considered a much wider geographic area, taking in the entirety of Britain and Ireland rather than focusing on the Templars in Oxfordshire and the Lazarites in the Midlands. It has also placed the key discussion of the crusade and patronage within a broader crusading context by mapping donations against crusade preaching and campaigns, providing stronger evidence of their being little link between crusading and patronage than that offered by Walker's study. Even in the fourteenth century, when the Hospitallers were the only actively crusading military order in Britain and Ireland after 1307, the crusade played only a minimal role in motivating donors. The discussion of localism here, unlike that in Walker's thesis, was a fully comparative one, bringing in several non-military religious houses into the discussion, demonstrating that localism was an important factor in the patronage of any religious order. The present study has also considered several factors that Walker's did not, such as the influence of chivalry, identity, and hospitality in patronage. In particular, Walker did not examine the role that professional relationships and royal service played in patronage, factors which this thesis have demonstrated accounted for some of the Hospitallers' most consistent and generous donors, such as William Langford. This thesis has overcome the limitations of more regional studies like those of Walker and Gervers, and considered a broader range of factors in patronage, whilst its emphasis on comparison with the

experience of non-military orders has helped place these findings in a wider context beyond that of just the Hospitallers.

In addition to demonstrating the place of the Hospitallers in the society and religious life of late medieval Britain and Ireland, this thesis offers up several conclusions relevant to broader issues. The thesis will aid future studies of elite culture. A fifth of known donors to the *langue* in this period were knightly, noble, or royal. As religious patronage was a key expression of elite status, this study's investigation of the motives behind such donors' support of the Hospitallers and other religious orders can help reveal more of the priorities and values of this group. Chapter One's discussion of hospitality and charitable care in patronage provides a useful survey of donations to several non-military houses and hospitals. The important role that hospitality played in donations to hospitals in particular builds upon similar findings from previous research. The lack of a link between the Order's knightly status and grants from the *chevalerie* suggests that knightly piety was motivated more by other factors, such as fashion, religious benefactions, and family ties, rather than an order's specific traits, a conclusion relevant to historians both of monasticism and chivalry. The chapter's discussion of the minor role that crusading played in motivating donations to the English *Langue* provides a useful source for comparison with military order patronage elsewhere. It is possible that crusading was a more important factor in regions closer to the crusade theatres of the *hethenese*. In Spain, the military orders had more patrons amongst noble families centred in the south, and therefore nearer the Christian-Moorish border, than from nobles whose powerbase was in the north.¹⁰ After the kingdom of Aragon had stabilised its borders by the mid-thirteenth century, leaving the military orders there to serve as guards and raiders rather than conquerors, both donations to the Aragonese Templars – and the number of their *confratres* – fell.¹¹ Further research would

¹⁰ Forey, *Military Orders*, p. 108.

¹¹ Alan Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón* (Oxford, 1973), pp. 57-58, 60-61.

help establish whether the English *Langue*'s experience with crusade-patronage was due to the distance of Britain and Ireland from the *hethenesse* or if it was common to military orders in any region that other factors like family ties and localism exerted greater influence.

Chapter Two will be of relevance to discussions of 'colonial' religious orders in frontier regions both in Britain and Ireland and elsewhere in Europe. By examining how military service, administrative service, and method of introduction to a country determined an order's reception, this chapter provides a useful model for studying the reception of religious orders in frontier and contested regions. Royal interference in the control of the Hospitallers' Scottish properties, with Scotland's kings seemingly enforcing a series of royal servants as lay administrators, serves as an example of how this process of alienation could be reversed by amenable rulers. The Hospital's poor reception in much of the British Isles also brings discussions of the royal service of the military orders into a new light. Outside England, at least, the Hospitallers' role as English royal agents was not as beneficial for the Order as has been previously thought as it may have cost them support in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales.¹² Further research is needed to determine how far this situation was replicated elsewhere. The Teutonic Order barred Prussians from joining.¹³ Coupled with memories of the Order's conquest of Prussia, it is probable that this led to a similar rejection of the Teutonic Order by Prussian donors as there was of the Hospitallers by the Gaelic Irish. Non-military orders in Prussia largely recruited locally, in contrast to the Teutonic Knights, a further parallel with the Hospitallers' experience in Ireland.¹⁴ The Teutonic Knights were initially brought to Prussia by the Polish Duke Konrad of Mazovia in 1226, and so enjoyed some early patronage from

¹² This career ensured that the 'Priors [of England] were better able to defend Hospitaller interests and decisions': Phillips, *Prior of the Knights Hospitaller*, p. 16.

¹³ Roman Czaja and Zenon Hubert Nowak, 'An Attempt to Characterise the State of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia', in Roman Czaja and Andrzej Radzimiński (eds), *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia: The Political and Ecclesiastical Structures 13th-16th C.* (Toruń, 2015), p. 23.

¹⁴ Andrzej Radzimiński, 'Church Divisions in Prussia', in Czaja and Radzimiński, *The Teutonic Order in Prussia and Livonia*, p. 140.

Polish donors, including Władysław Odonic, duke of Kalisz.¹⁵ However, when relations between the knights and the Polish dukes began to break down in the 1230s due to the former's expansionism, such support appears to have begun to dry up, mirroring the experience of the Hospitallers in Scotland after 1296.¹⁶

Chapter Three's examination of the role of professional relationships in patronage highlights the importance of this factor in donations to both the military and non-military orders. Hitherto, one or two such figures may be mentioned in the commentary accompanying a cartulary or discussed in an article, but there is no study dedicated to the role which employee-donors played in the patronage of religious orders.¹⁷ Though not as widespread as the influence of family ties or localism, professional relationships accounted for many of the more valuable donations to the English *Langue* in this period, such as John de Horewode's gift of a manor worth £18 a year, and for some of the most frequent donors, such as William Langford. This chapter serves to highlight to other researchers the importance of this often-overlooked motive of patronage, one common to both the military and non-military orders.

Chapter Four's mapping of patrons and donations to the Hospitallers and a sample of other religious orders provides valuable material for the future study of these orders' property and patronage in the fourteenth century. These maps also provide clear evidence for the link between localism and patronage, demonstrating this over a larger area and more houses than previous studies, which have generally focused on donations to just a single house or region.¹⁸

Chapter Five's discussion of personal relationships and patronage will be of use to religious and social historians, adding to our knowledge both of the family connections which

¹⁵ Mikołaj Gładysz, *The Forgotten Crusaders: Poland and the Crusader Movement in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Leiden, 2012), pp. 210, 219, 270.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 270-72.

¹⁷ For examples, see: Saltman, *Cartulary of Dale Abbey*, p. 28; Rogers, 'Monuments to Monks and Monastic Servants', p. 276; Phillips, 'The Hospitallers' Acquisition of the Templar Lands', pp. 243-46.

¹⁸ For examples, see: Burton, *Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, pp. 219-23; Oliva, *The Convent and the Community*, pp. 177-82; Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbour of Saint Peter*, pp. 176-201.

appear to have influenced both patronage of and recruitment to the military orders and to the social networks which developed between donors to the same religious house.

Whilst this study has revealed in detail the patronage of the English *Langue* and its similarity to that of non-military religious orders, further research is needed on the patronage of the Hospitallers in other regions and time periods. Examining donations to the entire *langue* in the period before 1291 would demonstrate how much continuity there was between the Order's patronage and relations with donors in the late medieval period, on the one hand, and its patronage and donations at the height of the crusade movement in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, on the other. A comparative study of donations to the Order in other regions would also be valuable, as it is possible that the Hospital's crusading played a greater role in driving patronage in regions that were great centres of crusade fervour, such as France and Flanders, or in areas that were on the crusade frontier, like Spain, the Baltic, and the Levant. Comparative research into other geographical and chronological areas could help answer why Hospitaller and Templar patronage in high-medieval Germany and Poland can be linked to 'times of crusade agitation', yet in fourteenth-century Britain and Ireland, such a link, if it ever existed in such a strong form, had been broken.¹⁹ Instead, the factors of localism, intercessory prayer, and family ties were the main motivations of donors to the Knights Hospitaller in Britain and Ireland, something they shared with the patrons of non-military orders.

¹⁹ Paul Smith, 'The Hospital and the Temple in Poland and Pomerania' (PhD dissertation, University of London, 1994), p. 376.

Appendix I: Donations to the English *Langue*, 1291-1400

Appendix Ia: 1442 Cartulary

London, BL, Cotton MS Nero E vi. Published in: Charles Cotton (ed.), *A Kentish Cartulary of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem* (Ashford, 1930); Gervers, *Secunda Camera*; Gervers, *Prima Camera Essex*; Hamonic, 'Order of St John of Jerusalem in London', pp. 349-793.

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
c.1260-94	Roger de Batchworth	10 acres of marshland in Harefield	Philip Durdant, knight, Adam de la Doune, Thomas de Saunford	f. 89v	<p><i>Pro anima</i> clause.</p> <p>At the instance of Nicholas d'Accombe, preceptor of Moorhall Manor.</p> <p>For dating, see: Hamonic, 'Order of St John of Jerusalem in</p>

					London', no. 301, n. 1
c.1260- 94	Nicholas de Bleis, son of Avice de Burna	Homage of Gilbert de Burna and 2s rent from his tenement	Roger de Batchworth, Roger de la Dune, Gerard de Guynton, Walter de Sanford, Roger de Suthcote, Hugh the chamberlain, Hugh his son, Maurice son of Hamund, William son of Hamund, Richard Papa, Robert Haket	f. 89r	For dating, see: ibid.
c.1260- 94	Brian de Burna	A messuage in Harefield	Lord Roger de Batchworth, knight, Roger de Suthcote, Hugh the chamberlain, John Haket, John Papa	f. 89r	<i>Pro anima</i> clause. For dating, see: ibid.

c.1260-94	John de la Burna	Half a penny rent from a messuage in Harefield	Roger de Batchworth, Walter de Sanford then sheriff, Roger de Suthcote, Hugh the chamberlain, Robert Haket, John Papa	f. 89r	<i>Pro anima</i> clause. For dating, see: <i>ibid.</i>
c.1260-94	Hugh Chamberlain of Harefield	12d rent from four acres of land in Harefield	Lord Roger de Batchworth, knight, Walter de Sanford, Roger de Suthcote, Robert Haket, John le Pope, Richard the chaplain	ff. 88r-v	At the instance of Simon d'Askby, warden of Moorhall. For dating, see: <i>ibid.</i>
c.1260-94	Robert de Kent	Four acres of land in Harefield	Lord Roger de Batchworth, knight, Lord Phillip Durdant, Walter de Sanford, Roger de Suthcote, Hugh the chamberlain, John Papa, Stephen le milche, Robert	ff. 88r	<i>Pro anima</i> clause. For dating, see: <i>ibid.</i>

			Gomine, clerk, then bailiff, Thomas de la Loge		
c.1260-94	Richard, son of Ralph Osbert	Half a pound of pepper and 1d annual rent	Lord Geoffrey, Lord Roger de Batchworth, knight, Walter de Sanford, Hugh the chamberlain, John Papa, Robert Haket	f. 88v	For dating, see: ibid.
1280-95	Jordan, son and heir of Richard de Saweys	Quit-rent worth 8s 4d from various tenements in London for the maintenance of lights in the priory church	Reginald Canon, William le Pavor, John le Barbour, John de Harewe, William de Meldeburn, Richard ate Grene, Richard ate Hole, William Mellewarde, Robert le Cordwainer	f. 21r	At the request of Brother William de Hampton, prior of Clerkenwell Priory Church. For dating, see: For the date, see: ibid.

1319	Hugh Springold, bailiff of Waltham Holy Cross	3d rent from a messuage in Waltham	Bartholomew Trill', then bailiff of Waltham, Robert de Ankebrich, Simon de Dantreve, Walter de Frowellelane	Gervers, <i>Secunda</i> <i>Camera</i> , no. 391	
1328	John Blebury	20 marks of rent granted to him by the Templars	Brother Thomas Archer, then Prior of the Hospital	f. 100r	
1330	William de Panley, vicar of Ravensthorpe	A messuage and a virgate of land in Ravensthorpe	William Breton of Tekne, William de Sancto Mauro of Henington, Thomas Vale of Esthaddon, Roger de Stanerne of Sutton, Richard de Thorp of Gildesburgh	f. 118r	Ravensthorpe was a Hospitaller appropriated church
1333	John of Upshire, shepherd	2d annual rent from a messuage in Waltham Holy Cross	John Storemyn, knight, John Anesty, John Brodoze, John Coclonde', William de	Gervers, <i>Secunda</i>	<i>Pro anima</i> clause

			Tweyngge, William Brodeze, William Bryzthnoth'	<i>Camera</i> , no. 205	
1339	William Langford	A further 20s rent from a tenement in West Smithfield	Reginald de Thorpe, William de Toppesfeld, John Elys	f. 33r	
1347	William Glenton of Belton in the Isle of Axholme	Grant of Roger Scott of Belton, his villein, and Roger's family and all the lands that Roger held of William	William de Clyne, rector of the church of Epword, Thomas Levelaunce of Scotton, Thomas de Brumham of Haxhay	f. 274v	
1356	Joan, widow of Richard of Wynesbury	26s 8d annual rent from a tenement in London	Missing	f. 33r	
1359	Edward III	Licence to acquire up to £20 worth of property in Kingsbury and Hendon, except for land held in chief,	Missing	ff. 76v-77r	See also: <i>CPR</i> , Edward III 1358-61, p. 167

		to found and maintain chantries for the king, his ancestors, and the Order's benefactors			
1366	John and Cecily Baterell, citizen of London	Quitclaim of all Hospitaller lands and tenements in Fleet Street	Thoma Grinyne, Simon atte Nax, Adam Gremesby, William Willeford, William Nafferton	f. 33v	
1372	William Dynnesle, chaplain, and Hugh Bannebury, clerk	13 acres in Aylesford	Robert Lucy, vicar of Burgham, Geoffrey Belle of Burgham, William Randulf, William Cugge, John Cosynton, Robert atte Seler	Cotton, <i>Kentish Cartulary</i> , p. 139	
1372	William Dynnesle, chaplain, and Richard Frere	2 acres in Aylesford	Robert Lucy, vicar of Burgham, Geoffrey Belle of Burgham, William Randulf,	Cotton, <i>Kentish</i>	

			William Cugge, John Cosynton, Robert atte Seler	<i>Cartulary</i> , p. 139	
1374	Sayer of Stychenach	Bequest of a house with a garden, dovecote and meadow	Missing	ff. 81r-v	
1378	Richard II	Licence to appropriate Melchbourne church	Missing	f. 12r	
1381-95	Robert Nowell	Unspecified grant of money to support two chantries at Clerkenwell	Missing	ff. 4v-5r	Referenced in a magistral bull of 1400 (incorrectly dated 1404 in Cotton MS Nero E vi) from Philibert de Naillac chastising the prior for not setting up

					the chantries yet. See Valletta, NLM, AOM 330, f. 75v.
1387	Thomas, son of Guy de Hodeson	Quitclaim of all lands and tenements that brethren had in Kingsbury and Hendon and were sometime of Gilbert of Brauncester	John Calkyll, John Pynbert, Richard de Breynte, Richard Lorchon, William Chapman, John Sauny	f. 77r	
1390	Richard II	Confirms Edward III's licence to acquire £20 of property a	Missing	ff. 76v- 77r	

		year to found chantries for the king's ancestors and for the Hospital's patrons			
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Appendix Ib: 1442 Cartulary – Cambridgeshire

London, BL, Cotton MS Nero C ix, ff. 23r-148v.

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
1291	John, son of Gervase of Silverley	Half an acre of land	Geoffrey Arsik, Richard his brother, Thomas le Merneylous, Henry Matefrey, William son of Ranulph, Henry Honeman, John Coleman, Robert Ffavian	ff. 135v-36r	
1291	John, son of Richard le Kewe	6 and a quarter d. of rent in Chippenham owed by Roger Payn, chaplain, and from a messuage there	Thomas the clerk, William de Bereford, John le Kecs atteherliegate, John Fraunkeleyn, Alan Thorett	f. 45r	

1295	Walter of Clopton	One and a half roods of land	Alan le Fraunceys, John de Scalaiys, knights, Geoffrey Arsik, Willam le Graunt of Moleton, William Randolph, Nicholas Arsik, John de Gynes, William Bereford of Chippenham	f. 119r	
<i>Ante</i> 1296	William Smith of Ashley	One acre and one rood of land in the field called Hethefelde in Ashley and Silverley	Geoffrey Arsik, William Randolph, Richard Arsik, Walter Coleman, Thomas Randolph, Geoffrey son of Ranulph, William le Graunt of Multon, lord John vicar of Chippenham, William Bereford of the same, William Goyston, Henry Honeman	ff. 116v- 17r	William was dead by 1296, when his wife Roysia's grant described her as a widow (see below)

<i>Ante</i> 1296	William Smith of Ashley	One acre of land in Hethefelde	Geoffrey Arsik, Richard his brother, John de Gynes, William Randolph, Geoffrey Randolph, William Goyston, Walter Coleman, Henry Honeman	ff. 117r	William was dead by 1296, when his wife Roysia's grant described her as a widow (see below)
1296	Roysia, widow of William Smith of Ashley	Quitclaim of all William's lands and tenements in Ashley	John de Scalaiys knight, William Randolph, Henry Honeman, John de Gynes, Richard Olebern, Richard Arsik, John Coleman, William Goyston	ff. 117r-v	
1297	Simon de Tesamhill	12d annual rent	Alan Fraunceys de Badlingham, Alan Thorett of the same, John, vicar of Chippenham, William de Bereford of the same, Thomas the clerk of the same, Henry	ff. 45v- 46r	

			Smith of the same, John Cook of the same		
1297	William Randolph of Ashley	A message in Ashley	Reginald Arsik, Nicholas le Merneylous, Richard le Merneylous, John le Peytenin, Ralph de Resenigg, Robert le Arblast, Roger Brian, Roger Bigge, Robert the clerk	f. 70r	Date based on mortmain licence of 1297: <i>CPR</i> , Edward I 1292-1301, p. 256
1299	Thomas Randolph, son of Geoffrey Randolph of Ashley	A pasture in Silverley called Eldappelton	Richard Olesn, Richard de Jkelingham, Gilbert Sumnan, Richard Arsik, John de Gynes, William Goyston, Henry Honeman, John Coleman, Henry le clerk of Chauele	f. 79r	
1299	Hugh Rous	Quitclaim of 76 acres of land	Alan Fraunceys de Badelingham, Robert Hastings of Langwath	f. 99v	

			<p>knight, Lord William de Mortimer, Alfred de Capeles, Robert le Roreys, Walter de Clapton, John de Caldecote, John Secwatt, Nicholas Arsik, John de Gynes, Walter Randolph of Sueyleswelle</p>		
1305	<p>Alice, widow of Thomas Randolph</p>	<p>Quitclaim of her and Thomas' right to tenements and rents in Ashley and Silverley, except for nine acres and one rood of arable land</p>	<p>John de Gynes, William Goston, Geoffrey Mawesone, Thomas le Tanner, John Sewale, William Alston, William Meward, clerk</p>	f. 80r	
1308	<p>Agnes, widow of John le Kewe of Chippenham</p>	<p>A third part of six acres of land in Chippenham</p>	Missing	ff. 45r-v	

1309-10	Nicholas Randolph	A messuage in Ashley and another in Silverley that his father Thomas held	Walter de Clopton, John de Gynes, William Goyston, John Arsik, Geoffrey Arsik, Thomas Honeman, Robert le Fraunceys, William Alston	ff. 80r-v	
<i>Ante</i> 1310	Adam le Waleys	Three pieces of land	John, vicar of Chippenham, William de Bereford of Chippenham, William le Graunt of Multon, John Cook de Chippenham, Thomas the clerk	f. 31v	<i>Pro anima</i> clause. Adam was dead by 1310, when his wife Petronilla's grant described her as a widow (see below)
<i>Ante</i> 1310	Adam le Waleys	Half an acre of land and a halfpenny of rent	John, vicar of Chippenham, William of Tesamhill, William, son of Ranulph of Silverley, William le Graunt of Multon, William de Beresford, John	f. 32r	<i>Pro anima</i> clause. Adam was dead by 1310, when his wife Petronilla's grant

			Cook, Thomas, son of Richard the clerk, John, son of Richard Cook		described her as a widow (see below)
<i>Ante</i> 1310	Adam le Waleys	Half an acre of land in Chippenham	Lord Alan Francis, Lord John, vicar of Chippenham, William le Graunt de Multon, Thomas son of Richard the clerk, William de Bereford, John Cook, John son of Richard Cook, Richard Chaum[bre]	ff. 32r- v	<i>Pro anima</i> clause. Adam was dead by 1310, when his wife Petronilla's grant described her as a widow (see below)
1310	Petronilla, widow of Adam le Waleys	Quitclaim of all lands and tenements Adam once held in Chippenham	Henry, servant of the abbot of Waleden, John le Tailleur, clerk, Richard le Porter, Thomas le Clerk, Benedict <i>ad portem ecclesie</i> , Henry Smith, John le Conpe	f. 32v	

1310	Richard Merneylous	1d annual rent	John Gyne, William Goyston, Thomas Honeman, John Arsik, John Randolph the clerk, Geoffrey son of Mabilie, Geoffrey Randolph	ff. 97v- 98r	
1312	John de Burton	Quitclaim of all demands and services	Missing	f. 47r	
1316	Reginald, son of Geoffrey Arsik	Quitclaim of lands and tenements	William Bernard de Yselhm, Martin his brother, William Alston of Hexingge, John Arsik of Ashley, Thomas Honeman of the same, porter, John Gynes of the same, Walkelin Randolph of Sueylewelle, Thomas Suecesone of the same	f. 66v	

1316	Alice, daughter of Robert of Sinelesho	Quitclaim of the tenements Robert held in Silverley and Asshele	John Arsik of Silverley, Thomas Honeman of the same, William Bernard of Ysethin, Martin Bernard of the same, William Alstan of Exuing, Walkelin Randolph of Sueylewelle, Thomas Suetesone of the same, Benedict atte Churchegate of Chippenham, Richard le Porter of the same	f. 73v	
1328-29	H. de Audley	Quitclaim of the manor of Togrind	Missing	f. 145r	Perhaps Henry de Audley, earl of Gloucester from 1337
1354	Gilbert Bernard	A toft with a meadow in Chippenham	Missing	f. 143r	

Appendix Ic: Godsfield Cartulary

BL, Add. MS 70511. Published as *Godsfield Cartulary*.

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
c.1264-96	Simon Draper	Release of 12d. annual rent in Winchester	Missing	No. 106	<i>Pro anima</i> clause. Draper was a prominent citizen of Winchester. He was mayor 1266-73 and warden of the city's Jewry in 1264 and 1270: <i>Godsfield Cartulary</i> , no. 106, n. 1.
1270-95	Denise de Heno	A messuage in Arreton and Godshill with appurtenances	Missing	No. 203	<i>Pro anima</i> clause

1295	Richard de Botteley	15d. annual rent from a burgage in Botley	Philip de Hoyeville	No. 134	
1312	John le French of Swarraton	Quitclaim of right of common and pasture in Bugmore	John de Popham, Richard de Stratton, knights, John de Basyngge, Robert de Toteford, William le Botiller of Candover	No. 12	
1312	Robert de Tykenhulle	Quitclaim of right of common and pasture in Bugmore	John de Popham, Richard de Stratton, knights, John de Basyngge, Robert de Toteford, William le Botiller of Candover	No. 15	
c.1330-40	John and Agnes le Trumpur	6d. annual rent from a house in Newport	John le Frensche, Robert de Cumton, Robert Andreu, John Caus, John de la Mare, Thomas de Shirborne clerk of Godsfield	No. 190	<i>Pro anima</i> clause

1343	Richard Longedon, rector of Steeplemorden	Release and quitclaim of 50s annual rent in Baddesley	Missing	No. 129	
1355	Richard and Agnes le Cartere	12d. annual rent from a house in Arreton	Robert le Whyte, Richard Tauton, John Othyn, Thomas Martre, William Tauton	No. 200	<i>Pro anima</i> clause
1365	Jordan le Bourt	6d annual rent from a tenement in Yarmouth	Missing	No. 184	<i>Pro anima</i> clause

Appendix Id: Buckland Cartulary

Taunton, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD\SAS/C795/SX/133. Published as *Buckland Cartulary*.

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
1319	John of Brittany, earl of Richmond	Grant and quitclaim of Kirkton Church in Holland, Lincolnshire	Thomas of Brotherton, earl of Norfolk and Suffolk; Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke; Edmund FitzAlan, earl of	No. 198	To the prior

			Arundel; John Hastings, Lord Hastings; Bartholomew de Badlesmere, Baron Badlesmere		
1329	John V de Erleigh	Right of way in a field called Wyndeshulle	Hugh de Poynz, John Regny, knights, John de Popham, John de Fosse, John de Cary	No. 31	To the brothers of Buckland
1330	Hugh de Wendon	All rent owed by the Order in Milverton, release of court there, and the rents and services of his free tenants in Milverton	John de Reygny, John de Sinclair, Henry Gernevil, John de Virga, Phillip de Bampton, John de Chippelegh, Robert de Harpford, Ralph de Bosco, Thomas de Bosco	No. 72	To the brothers of Buckland
1336	John V de Erleigh	Confirmation of grants and release of court	John de Beauchamp, John de Clevedon de Aulre, John de Reyny, John de Horsy, John de Popham, Simon de Bradewere,	No. 39	<i>Pro anima</i> clause. To the brothers and sisters of Buckland;

			Hugo de Rayny, Robert de Somerton, Richard Coker		
1360	Beatrice, daughter of Nicholas son of John of Kirkton	Quitclaim of the advowson of Kirkton Church	John Claymond de Frampton, Roger de Mers, John de Mers, Lambert atte Brig, John son of Warin, John de Longland, Roger Coke of Kirkton	No. 200	To the prior
1369	John VI de Erleigh	Confirmation of grants and release of all churches, lands, tenements, services, rights and liberties in the Hundred of Northpederton	John de Clevedon, Richard de Acton, Walter Bulnet, Thomas Trivet, Matthew de Clevedon, Matthew Mitchell, Richard Mareys, Robert Trewe, John Payne	No. 39	To the brothers and sisters of Buckland
1370	John VI de Erleigh	Release of 2s. rent from a cottage and release of court in Northpederton	Matthew de Clevedon, John Payne, John Popham, Richard Mareis, Richard Halswille	No. 38	To the sisters at Buckland

1377	John, son of James de Hertwylle	Quitclaim of all lands which belonged to his father in Hertwylle	Missing	No. 218	To the prior and preceptor of Buckland
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Appendix Ie: Templecombe Roll

Winchester, Winchester College, MS 12843. Published in: *Somerset & Dorset Notes & Queries*, xxi (1935), pp. 86-92.

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
c.1329	Robert de Radyngton	Release and quitclaim of the manor of Clayhanger	Missing	No. 102	A Robert de Radyngton was sub- escheator of Devon and Somerset in 1329: <i>Cartularies of Bruton and Montacute</i> , no. 380.

1327-77	Edward III	Confirmation of the Hospitallers' right to Templar properties	Missing	No. 9	
1354-71	Geoffrey Missingden	One virgate of land	Missing	No. 90	Given to Prior John Pavely (1354-71). Geoffrey may have been related to John de Messingham, preceptor of Buckland c. 1308-c. 1317
1354-71	Reginald the Templar of Worle, son and heir of John son of Thomas de Parlour of Worle	All his lands and tenements in Worle with appurtenances	Missing	No. 79	Given to Prior John Pavely (1354-71)

1377-97	Richard II	Confirmation of Edward III's confirmation of the Hospital's rights to Templar properties	Missing	No. 9	Cannot be later than 1397, as the Templecombe Roll was completed in 1396-7
1377-97	Richard II	Confirmation of Walter Frie's gift of a messuage, one ploughland and eight acres of meadow in Templecombe	Missing	No. 10	Cannot be later than 1397, as the Templecombe Roll was completed in 1396-7
1377-97	Walter Frie	A messuage, one ploughland and eight acres of meadow in Templecombe	Missing	No. 10	Cannot be later than 1397, as the Templecombe Roll was completed in 1396-7

Appendix If: Miscellaneous Hospitaller records

Fragment of c. 1300 cartulary: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson Essex 11, ff. 1r-8v. Published in Gervers, *The Hospitaller cartulary in the British Library*, pp. 246-331.

Register of Kilmainham: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Rawl. B. 501. Published as *RK*.

John Stillingflete's Book: London, College of Arms, L17, ff. 141r-56v. Published as 'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', in Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6:2, pp. 831-39.

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
1285-1300	Peter de Muntorie	Peter son of Henry de Radwynt with all the land that he held of Peter de Muntorie in Radwynt and all homages and services	Missing	Gervers, <i>Hospitaller cartulary in the British Library</i> , p. 319	<i>Pro anima</i> clause

c. 1300	David Philip of Minwear	Release of a curtilage of land in Patrickshill in the parish of Marteltwy	William de Canuile, seneschal of Pembroke, Walter Malenfant, William le Gras, Phillip Dymet, John Alexander, William Robelot, Gilbert the forester, Robert the forester, Walter de Hokelinge	NLW, GB 0210 SLEBECH, 283	William de Camville was born c. 1268 and died before 1338: Douglas Richardson, <i>Magna Carta Ancestry: A Study in Colonial and Medieval Families</i> (Salt Lake City, 2011), i, p. 16. Walter Malefant also witnessed the 1323 grant by Aymer de Valence below. The presence of these witnesses suggests that the NLW's date of c. 1300 is reasonable: 'Finding Aid – Slebech Estate Records, (GB 0210 SLEBECH)', p. 11 https://archives.library.wales/downloads/ slebech-estate-records.pdf
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1314	Robert I	Confirmation of all the Order's lands and property at the time of Alexander III	Thomas Randolph, earl of Moray, Bernard, abbot of Arbroath and chancellor of Scotland, James Douglas, David de Lindsay, Robert Keith, marshal of Scotland	<i>Scotland</i> , no. 5	
1323	Aymer de Valence, earl of Pembroke	Privileges for selling produce in Slebech, Minwear, Rudebard and	John de Neville, John Joce, Richard Wyriot, Richard Symond, Robert, William	Fenton, <i>Historical Tour Through Pembrokeshire</i> , appendix, no. 2	

		Rosemarch, and rights against theft, trespass, debt, and assault	de Sleydon, Thomas West, Percy Simon, William Harold, Walter Malefant, master of Redesbell		
1326	Robert Russell	Unspecified pecuniary bequest in support of the Holy Land	Missing	<i>RK</i> , p. 13	
1330	John Lecard	Advowson of St Giles in Letterston and	Missing	'Liber Johannis Stillingflete', p. 837	

		the chapel of Lanveyz			
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Appendix Ig: Charter rolls

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
1336	Edward III	Right to hold a weekly market on Thursday at the New Castle of Stratheleyn, and free warren in all their demesne lands of Kilmainham	Missing	<i>CChR</i> , 1327- 41, p. 376	
1346	Edward III	Licence to found anew a chapel dedicated to the Trinity near Swynderby More, Lincolnshire, to build a town and houses about it, to enclose plots of ground, and to demise them, the	Missing	<i>Ibid.</i> , 1341- 1417, p. 40	

		right to have a weekly market there on Saturday, and two yearly fairs, one on St Barnabas the Apostle and the 6 days after, and one on the vigil and the feast of St Catherine the Virgin and the six days after			
1381	Richard II	Grant of liberties, including right to all fines of their men and tenants, and quittance of pavage, murage and pontage throughout the realm	Missing	Ibid., pp. 272-73	At the petition of Robert Hales, prior of England

Appendix Ih: Close rolls

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
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1296	Edward I	Three oaks fit for timber in the forest of Kiltyre	Missing	CCR, Edward I 1288-96, p. 489	
1299	Edward I	Eight oak trees fit for timber from the forest of Ashley	Missing	Ibid., Edward I 1296-1302, p. 270	
1348	Thomas de Sibethorp	Lands in Miggeham	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1346-49, p. 595	
1348	John de Moleyns	Confirmed Thomas' grant	Missing	Ibid.	<i>Pro anima</i> clause
1360	Nicholas de Charnels	Quitclaim and warrandice of Merrow manor	Missing	Ibid., Edward III	

				1360-64, p. 129	
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Appendix Ii: Patent rolls

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
1291	Edward I	Confirmation of appropriation of Lannarcheney and Landestephan churches	Missing	<i>CPR</i> , Edward III 1327-30, p. 305	In a charter of Edward III. Dated Ascension 1290, but that must be mistake for 1291, as EI approves grant due to the Order's losses at Acre
1293	Gilbert de Ormesby	A mill and a moeity of a bovate of land in Bondeby	Missing	<i>Ibid.</i> , Edward I 1292-1301, p. 42	
1293	Robert Leuerik	32s. rent in Rouceby	Missing	<i>Ibid.</i>	

1293	Prior of Coventry	Fifteen acres of land in Anesty	Missing	Ibid., p. 101	Mortmain licence dated 1294, but the Order had acquired these properties by 1293: <i>CFR</i> , Edward I 1272-1307, p. 326
1293	Henry Pycot	Eight acres of land in Taleworthe	Missing	Ibid.	As above
1293	John, son of Peter de la Chaumbre, and Alice, lately wife of Thomas le Gaunter	Two tofts in Kingston	Missing	Ibid.	
1293	William de Barton	A messuage and a virgate of land in Barton	Missing	Ibid.	As above. Described as William le

					Chapeleyn in the fine rolls entry
1293	Geoffrey de Arsik	220 acres of land in Ashley	Missing	Ibid.	As above.
1293	John de Gynes	100 acres of land in Ashley	Missing	Ibid.	As above.
1293	Simon de Thorp	100s rent in Buckby	Missing	Ibid.	As above. The fine rolls describe this gift as comprising a messuage and three and a half virgates of land in Buckby. The royal escheator may have been mistaken about the nature of Thorp's grant, hence the discrepancy

1300	Geoffrey le Bret	Two bovates of land in Huntingdon	Missing	Ibid., p. 559	
1301	David Martin, Bishop of St Davids	Appropriation of Martiltwy Church	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1327-30, p. 486	
1303	Richard de Cardevill	Wodecote manor and the advowson of Wodecote and Lydeshelf churches	Missing	Ibid., Edward I 1301-7, p. 150	
1303	Walter and Matilda del Wyk	A messuage, 100 acres of land, one acre of meadow, and 20s of rent in Hampton	Missing	Ibid., p. 157	
1304	Richard Almond	Seven acres of land in Brunneby and Clevyng	Missing	Ibid., p. 259	Described as a clerk in his 1305 grant
1305	Richard Almond	2 messuages and a bovat of land in Shupton	Missing	Ibid., p. 386	

1306	Thomas de Berkeley	Two shops in Wells	Missing	Ibid., p. 466	
1307	Adam de Roston	3s. rent in Skardeburgh	Missing	Ibid., p. 535	
1311	Robert de Kelseie	8s. rent in Friday Street	Missing	Ibid., Edward II 1307-13, p. 339	
1311	Thomas de Berkeley	£4 rent from lands in Hamme held from Thomas de Berkeley by Thomas de Stane	Missing	Ibid., p. 385	To the prioress and sisters of Buckland
1318	Edward II	Licence for the Prior of Ireland to acquire lands, tenements, rents and advowsons worth £100 a year	Missing	Ibid., Edward II 1317-21, p. 197	
1319	Thomas de Tankardeston	A messuage and three bovates of land in Clevyng by Brunneby	Missing	Ibid., p. 352	

1321-4	John MacCarwill, Bishop of Meath	The church of Martri in the diocese of Meath	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1338-40, p. 90	Grant undated but inspected by Edward II in 1324. MacCarwill became bishop in 1321
1323	Nicholas de Herdewyk	A messuage, 100 acres of land, four acres of meadow, two acres of pasture, 4s and 6d of rent, and the rent of eight capons in Herdewyk by Shefford	Missing	Ibid., Edward II 1321-24, p. 357	
1325	John le Archer	Three stalls in the suburb of London	Missing	Ibid., Edward II 1324-27, p. 199	
1329	William Langford	A messuage in West Smithfield	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1327-30, p. 401	

1329	Henry de la Leigh of Carleton	30 acres in Risley to support a chaplain at Melchbourne	Missing	Ibid., 465	
1329	Walter le Chapeleyn	26s 1d rent to support a chaplain at Melchbourne	Missing	Ibid.	
1332	Edward III	Licence for Roger Outlaw to acquire lands, rents and advowsons not held in chief to the value of £40 yearly, and to appropriate any churches that they acquire the advowson by this licence	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1330-34, p. 246	
1332	Edward III	Release to Roger Outlaw and the brethren of twenty marks yearly from the annual fee farm of forty marks of the manor of Chapelizod	Missing	Ibid., p. 314	

1332	Edward III	The advowson of Baliogary church in the diocese of Dublin, and licence to appropriate	Missing	Ibid., p. 319	
1333	Thomas West	Messuage and a virgate of land in Ansty	Missing	Ibid., p. 385	For a chaplain to celebrate at Swalcliff
1333	Nicholas Langford	Eighty acres of land and three acres of meadow in Yeveley	Missing	Ibid., p. 394	For a chaplain to celebrate at Yeveley
1336	William Langford	A messuage and 8 shops in the suburb of London	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1334-38, p. 239	For a chaplain to celebrate at Clerkenwell Priory
1337	William Langford	A messuage in West Smithfield and two marks rent	Missing	Ibid., p. 467	The messuage to increase the lights at Clerkenwell Priory

		from a messuage in St Agnes by Aldrichegate			church, the rent for two chaplains to celebrate there
1337	Elizabeth de Burgh	Two messuages, 680 acres of land, and £4 6s. 8d. rent in West Peckham and Swanton	Missing	Ibid., p. 552	In exchange for eleven marks from the Order's mills in Standon. Though an exchange, the scale of Elizabeth's grant compared to the Order's concession shows that this was primarily a charitable transaction

1338	Edward III	Licence to appropriate Suthwyk church in the Diocese of Chichester, of their own advowson	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1338-40, p. 63	
1338	John de Horewode and Giles Lengleys	The manor of Lestornan, worth £18	Missing	Ibid., p. 88	
1345	William Langford	A messuage in West Smithfield adjoining the Order's dwelling there	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1343-45, p. 471	For a candle at the altar of St John in Clerkenwell Priory church
1346	Edward III	Licence to acquire lands, tenements and rents, not held in chief, up to £20 yearly	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1345-48, p. 210	For supporting chantries for the souls of the king's ancestors, the kings of England, and all

					benefactors of the Order
1349	Edward III	Confirms the Order's rights over the manor of Dolgenwal and Ellesmers church	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1348-50, p. 428	
1362	John de Grey of Rotherfeld	Advowson of Oxborough church and rent there	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1361-64, p. 139	
1369	Robert de Ellerton of Stepelmordon and Robert de Thormondby	A messuage, thirty-four acres of land, two acres of meadow, and 8s 2d rent in Shingay and Stepelmordon, which are worth in total 33s 10d	Missing	Ibid., Edward III 1367-70, p. 248	In satisfaction of 60s of £20 that the Order may acquire yearly for chantries
1392	William Wortele	One toft and sixty-five acres of land in Mere and 3s rent from lands and tenements late of	Missing	Ibid., Richard II 1391-6, p. 152	For a light in the chapel of St John, Willoughton

		Thomas de Asthorpe in Scampton			
1392	William Wirkele	A messuage, a carucate of land and eight acres of meadow in Templecombe	Missing	Ibid., p. 169	For a candle before the high altar in St Edmund's church, Templecombe, in honour of Corpus Christi

Appendix Ij: Miscellaneous English royal records

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
1295-6	Walter de Risley	5 acres of land and 40 acres of wood in Risley	Missing	TNA, C 143/25/18	For 1304 mortmain licence, see: <i>CPR</i> , Edward I

					1301-1307, p. 267
1299	Joan de Grey	The manor of Schobyngton, including a tenement in Kyrtlyngton	Missing	Sharp and Stamp, 'Inquisitions Post Mortem, Edward II, File 29', http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol5/pp213-222	
1301	John Wogan	Ten carucates of land in Kilpipe	Missing	TNA, C 143/37/2	
1301	Maurice de Carreu	Six carucates of land in Ballybeg in Kilcommon	Missing	TNA, C 143/37/2	
1307	Ralph Radisperan	From the messuage and garden called le Bell, 11s. yearly at the feast of St Michael	Missing	Fry, 'Addenda', http://www.british-history.ac.uk/inquis-post-mortem/vol5/pp213-222	Citizen of London. The rent was still being paid in 1537,

				mortem/abstract/no3/pp318-348	when the inquisition was taken
1308-9	Robert de Ruda	Land in Woodhorn	Missing	TNA, C 143/76/21	Damage to MS has obscured details of the land granted
1317	Edward II	The right to acquire new tenants	Missing	Tresham, <i>Cancellariae Hiberniae Calendarium</i> , p. 21b	On account of the destruction of their lands in Dublin, Meath, and Kildare during the Bruce Invasion
1362	Edward of Woodstock	Three tuns of vermail wine	Missing	Dawes, <i>Register of Edward, the Black Prince</i> , iv, p. 446	To the convent of the house of the

					Order in England, i.e. Clerkenwell
1363	John de Grey of Rotherfeld	Advowson of half the church of Darfield	Missing	TNA, C 143/346/6	
1363	Edward III	Excused from £40 yearly of the rent owed for the manors of Chapelizod and Leixlip during the prior's term as chancellor	Missing	<i>CFR</i> , Edward III 1356-68, p. 270	Revoked in 1364, due to testimony that the king was deceived by the prior when he made the grant: <i>CFR</i> , Edward III 1356-68, p. 293

Appendix Ik: Episcopal records

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
1303	John of Pontoise, bishop of Winchester	Appropriation of Woodcott Church	Missing	Deedes, <i>Registrum Johannis de Pontissara</i> , i, pp. 161- 62	
1304	John of Pontoise, bishop of Winchester	Appropriation of Baddesley Church	Missing	Ibid., i, p. 170	
1309	Richard of Bedford, citizen of London	3 gold rings worth 5 shillings, in support of the Rhodes crusade	Missing	Fowler, <i>Registrum Radulphi Baldock,</i>	

				pp. 108-109	
1310	Agnes de Chaworth, wife of Lord Lawrence of Chaworth	25s to the Hospitallers for the support of the Holy Land	Missing	Brown and Thompson, <i>Register of William Greenfield</i> , iv, pp. 70-71	
1319	Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin	Grants the church of Rathmore, its chapels, tithes and obventions, for the sustentation of pilgrims and the poor	Missing	McEnery and Refaussé, <i>Christ Church</i>	

				<i>Deeds</i> , p. 73	
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Appendix II: Single-sheet charters

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
c.1292	Geoffrey, son of Robert de Willoughby	1 selione with all its appurtenances in the field of Willoughby	William, son of William, John, son of Geoffrey, Henry, son of Hugh, Robert, son of Matilda, John, son of Adam	UONSC, Mi D 1287	<i>Pro anima</i> clause. Robert, son of Matilda witnessed two charters dated 1292: Nottingham, UoN MSC, Mi D 1357 and Mi D 1358
c.1296	Philip de Carriber, son and heir of	2s. from his land in Carriber	John de Dygestoun, Alexander de Dalmethay, Archibald de Levyinston,	Bodleian, MS. ch. misc. a., 8	Date based on Philip's appearance in the

	Adam Manclerc of Carriber		John of Stirling, knights, David de Dyum, William de Matevile, Thomas de Bosco, Michael Scott, Dykeman Kay		1296 Ragman Roll: Thomson, <i>Instrumenta publica</i> , p. 146
<i>Ante</i> 1311	Maud, widow of Robert le Coppare of Berkeley	A halfpenny yearly rent from her holdings in Hamme	Missing	BCM, A1/24/16	<i>Pro anima</i> clause
1354	Geoffrey de Missyngdon	Quitclaim of all right to a messuage and half virgate of land in La Lode	Missing	WC, MS 12842	
1366	William Goscelyn, rector of St Mary's Church, Blandford	All William's lands and tenements in Sutton-at-Hone.	Ralph de Hilles, Robert Pyvendean, John Vale, John Eccehall and Richard his successor	KHLC, U897/T4	This gift consisted of a messuage, a toft, and forty acres of land in Sutton at Hone, worth 10s

	Martel, and Edward, his son				yearly: <i>CPR</i> , Edward III 1367- 70, p. 446.
1398	John Lokston	Quitclaim of all right to a messuage and appurtenances in the hamlet of Wyntrede in Shipham	John Hunte, chaplain, John Bathe, Roger Illewyke, Richard Shanke	SWC, D\B\AX/9/13/2	

Appendix Im: Wills

Date	Donor	Grant	Witnesses	Source	Notes
1340	John de Oxenford, vinter	Cask of red wine to the priory church of Clerkenwell and an unspecified pecuniary bequest for their work	Missing	Sharpe, <i>Court of Husting</i> , i, pp. 460-61	

1346	William Langford	Unspecified bequests to Order officials	Missing	Ibid., i, pp. 489-90	
1348	Edward of St John	All his tenements in S. Sepulchre without Newgate to his wife, remainder to her son and daughter, remainder to the prior and house of Clerkenwell.	Missing	Ibid., i, p. 503	
1356	Richard Ruthin	A portion of the proceeds from the sale of a tenement to go to the Order at Clerkenwell	Missing	Ibid., ii, pp. 34-35	
1361	Roger Mayel, chaplain	Unspecified bequests to Clerkenwell Priory	Missing	Ibid., ii, pp. 28-29	
1371	Guy de Burdeux	40d. to the Hospitallers at Carbrooke	Missing	Tanner, <i>Church</i>	

				<i>in Late Medieval Norwich,</i> pp. 227-28	
1375	John de Rothyng, vinter	£220 owed to him by William Strete, the king's butler, and money due to him from the Bardi and Peruzzi, the bonds for which are to be given to the prior	Missing	Sharpe, <i>Court of Husting,</i> ii, pp. 187-88	
1396	Adam Frensch	Unspecified pecuniary bequest to the Hospitallers	Missing	French, <i>Records of the Surnames Francus,</i>	

				<i>Franceis,</i> <i>French,</i> p. 147	
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