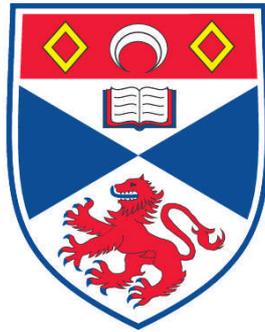


**THE PATRONAGE OF THE TEMPLARS AND OF THE ORDER OF
ST. LAZARUS IN ENGLAND IN THE TWELFTH AND
THIRTEENTH CENTURIES**

John Walker

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



1991

**Full metadata for this item is available in
Research@StAndrews:FullText
at:
<http://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/>**

**Please use this identifier to cite or link to this item:
<http://hdl.handle.net/10023/2980>**

This item is protected by original copyright

THE PATRONAGE OF THE TEMPLARS AND OF THE ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS IN
ENGLAND IN THE TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH CENTURIES.

A thesis presented for the degree of Ph.D.
at the University of St.Andrews.

by

John Walker.
(M.A. St.Andrews).

1990.



DECLARATION.

i) I, John Walker, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 80,000 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date 30/8/90..... signature of candidate

ii) I was admitted as a research student under Ordinance No.12 in October, 1986 and as a candidate for the degree of Ph.D. in April, 1987; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St.Andrews between 1986 and 1990.

date 30/8/90..... signature of candidate..... ..

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

date 30/8/90..... signature of supervisor

In submitting this thesis to the University of St.Andrews I understand that I am giving permission for it to be made available for use in accordance with the regulations of the University Library for the time being in force, subject to any copyright vested in the work not being affected thereby. I also understand that the title and abstract will be published, and that a copy of the work may be made and supplied to any bona fide library or research worker.

date 30/8/90..... signature of candidate ...

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Acknowledgements.		p. iv.
Abstract.		p. v.
Abbreviations.		p. vii.
Introduction:		
A) The Templars and the Order of St. Lazarus: Origins and Development.		p. 1.
B) The Sources.		p. 12.
Chapter One.	Patronage and the Crusades.	p. 39.
Chapter Two.	Full Membership and Lay Association.	p. 60.
Chapter Three.	The Family and Patronage.	p. 90.
Chapter Four.	Lordship and Patronage.	p. 153.
Chapter Five.	Social and Geographical Association.	p. 221.
Conclusion.		p. 241.
Appendices.		p. 252.
Appendix I.	The Possessions of the Templars and the Order of St. Lazarus in England.	p. 253.
Appendix II.	The Templars during the Reign of King Stephen (1135-54).	p. 278.
Appendix III.	Genealogical Tables.	p. 288.
Appendix IV.	Maps.	p. 293.
Bibliography.		p. 301.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.

I would like to thank the British Academy for the award of a Major State Studentship in 1986, without which this research project could not have been undertaken. I am additionally indebted to Professor Sir J.C.Holt and Dr.D.Crouch for allowing me to make use of their collections of royal and noble charters, and to Dr.R.D.H.Custance, the archivist of Winchester College, who gave me permission to examine the manuscript of the Temple Combe Roll. Furthermore, I should also like to take this opportunity to thank all the members of the Medieval History Department at the University of St.Andrews for the collective help and encouragement given to me during the past eight years as both an undergraduate and postgraduate.

Grateful thanks are expressed to all my friends among the postgraduate community of St.John's House and of the University of St.Andrews as a whole, who have provided invaluable support over the past four years, and who have helped to keep research in perspective. I would also like to thank Jill Tate for her proof reading and cartographic skills. In addition, a huge debt of gratitude is owed to my supervisor, Dr.Simone C.MacDougall, who has been a source of strength and inspiration. Undoubtedly without her skill and guidance this thesis would not have seen the light of day. My thanks and apologies for the stress of the past four years are directed particularly towards her. Finally, I would like to express special thanks to my parents, whose constant, varied and unquestioning support has meant a great deal, especially during the production of this thesis.

ABSTRACT.

The main focus of this study is the patronage of the Templars and of the Order of St.Lazarus, two of the Holy Land orders who came to England in the twelfth century. They were thought to be connected, and afford interesting comparisons in terms of their size, function, importance and geographical distribution. Although this thesis considers the nature of the patronage and the patrons of both orders, the main aim is to assess the motivations behind the benefactions that they received during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

It is generally accepted that there was a basic spiritual motive behind the patronage of religious orders in the Middle Ages. Nevertheless, the motivations behind donations made to specific orders are not always clear. It is true that changing fashions in patronage towards particular types of order are of some importance. However, in order to explain the reasons why the Templars and Order of St.Lazarus specifically benefitted, it is necessary to consider factors relating to their own particular nature, as well as factors relating to the backgrounds of their patrons.

The introductory part of the thesis considers the background of the two orders, their origins and development in the Holy Land, and their establishment in Europe and England. The rest of the thesis examines in detail the specific motivations of patrons. In this respect, the importance of the crusading background of the two orders is evaluated, and attention is paid to the numbers of patrons who went on crusade or who referred to the Holy Land in their charters of donation. In addition, the membership of both orders is considered in relation to the patronage of such members and their families. In particular, an

assessment is made of the role of leper members of the Order of St.Lazarus, and lay associates of the Templars.

In the final three chapters, the main concern is with the backgrounds of the orders' patrons. In this section a study is made of the patronage of large family groupings for both orders. In addition, an examination of the significance of royal and baronial lordship on their patronage is carried out. Finally, the social and geographical associations of the patrons of both orders are considered, and particular note is made of the value of such ties for the Order of St.Lazarus in eastern Leicestershire. In conclusion, the various motivations to patronage for both the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus are contrasted and evaluated.

ABBREVIATIONS.

- B.L. British Library.
- Cal.Chart.R. Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (1226-1516), 6 vols. (London, 1903-27).
- Cal.Close R. Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (Edward I-Henry VII), 22 vols. (London, 1911-62). Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office 1227-1272, 14 vols. (London, 1902-38).
- Complete Peerage. G.E.Cockayne, The Complete Peerage, new edition, eds., V.C.Gibbs, H.A.Doubleday, Lord Howard de Walden, and G.H.White, 13 vols. in 14 (London, 1910-59).
- Cal.Pat.R. Calendar of the Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office (1232-1509), 52 vols. (London, 1891-1916). Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216-1232, 2 vols. (London, 1901-3).
- Dugdale, Monasticon. W.Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum, revised edition, J.Caley, H.Ellis and B.Bandinell, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817-30).
- E.H.R. English Historical Review.
- E.Y.C. Early Yorkshire Charters, i-iii, ed., W.Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914-6); iv-xii, ed., Sir C.T.Clay (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Records Series, extra series), i-iii, v-x (Wakefield, 1935-65).
- Farrer, Honors. W.Farrer, Honors and Knights' Fees, 3 vols. (London, 1923-5).
- Fees. The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, 2 vols. in 3 (London, 1920-31).
- Greenway, Mowbray Charters. D.E.Greenway, Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191 (London, 1972).
- Inquest. B.A.Lees, Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century. The Inquest of 1185 (London, 1935).
- Knowles and Hadcock. D.Knowles and R.N.Hadcock, Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales, (2nd edition, London, 1971).

- Nichols, History Leics. J.Nichols, The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, 4 vols. in 9 (Leicester, 1795-1815).
- P.R. Pipe Rolls, 31 Henry I, ed., J.Hunter (Record Commission, 1833); 2-4 Henry II, ed., J.Hunter (Record Commission, 1844); 5-34 Henry II (Pipe Roll Society), various vols. between i and xxxviii (1884-1925); I Richard I, ed., J.Hunter (Record Commission, 1844); 2-10 Richard I (Chancellor's Roll for 8 Richard I) and 14 Henry III (Pipe Roll Society, new series), i-ix (1925-32); 1-14, 16-17 John (Pipe Roll Society, new series), various vols. between x and xxxvii (1933-64); 2-5 Henry III (Pipe Roll Society, new series), various vols. between xxxix-xlvi, in progress (1972-).
- P.R.O. Public Record Office.
- Red Book. The Red Book of the Exchequer, ed., H.Hall, 3 vols. (Rolls Series, 1896).
- Regesta. Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154: III Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis, eds., H.A.Cronne and R.H.C.Davis (Oxford, 1968).
- Registrum Antiquissimum. Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, eds., C.W.Foster and K.Major (Lincoln Record Society), 10 vols. (1931-68).
- Rot.Hund. Rotuli Hundredorum temp. Hen. III and Edw. I in Turr. Lond' et in Curia Receptae Scaccarii Westm. asservati, ed., W.Illingworth, 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1812-8).
- Sandford. "The Sandford Cartulary", ed., A.M.Leys (Oxfordshire Record Society), xix, xxii (1937, 1940).
- T.R.H.S. Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.
- V.C.H. Victoria History of the Counties of England, ed., H.A.Doubleday et al, in progress (London, 1900-).

INTRODUCTION:

A) THE TEMPLARS AND THE ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS: ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT.

B) THE SOURCES.

INTRODUCTION.

A) THE TEMPLARS AND THE ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS: ORIGINS AND DEVELOPMENT.

The religious revival of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries saw the rise of a host of new orders ranging from the Cistercians and Carthusians to the Augustinian and Premonstratensian canons. In addition, it also saw the development of the Military Orders which originated in the Holy Land after the capture of Jerusalem in 1099, and fulfilled a mixture of military, hospitaller, religious and political functions. They varied in size and influence from the larger organisations of the Hospitallers, Templars and Teutonic Knights, to smaller groups including the Orders of the Holy Sepulcre, St.Lazarus, Mountjoy and St.Thomas of Acre. Having become established in the Holy Land, they began to develop bases throughout Europe with the help of a variety of benefactors, who provided them with lands, buildings, money and a miscellany of other grants. One of the most complex aspects of their history, as with the history of any other religious order, is the study of the reasons why they were provided with such grants by people from the outside world.

Although the means of support can be readily identified from the available source material, the motivations behind donations are not usually so obvious. Nowadays, it is generally accepted that despite the formulaic nature of most charter grants, at the heart of the vast majority of donations to ecclesiastical establishments, there lay a basic spiritual motive. Whether this came from genuine piety, guilt for past misdeeds, or a simple concern for the soul, religious feeling was clearly of paramount importance. And yet, if spiritual motivations go a long way to explaining ecclesiastical patronage in general, it is not always clear what factors led to a particular religious order receiving benefactions. To some extent, changing fashions in patronage help to explain why

particular types of orders were popular in different periods of the Middle Ages. For instance, those of the Military Orders that were concerned with the care of the sick, such as the Hospitallers and the Order of St.Lazarus, benefitted from the increased interest of twelfth century patrons in hospital and charity care.¹ However, although changes in fashion help to explain the patronage of the orders in general, such notions still do not suggest why a specific order was favoured by a particular individual. To find answers to this problem it is necessary to evaluate the relative importance of factors relating to the nature of a particular order, as opposed to factors relating to the background of an individual patron. The purpose of this thesis is to analyse this very problem, considering both these types of factors, with specific reference to two of the Holy Land orders which came to England in the first half of the twelfth century, the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus.

To examine the processes of patronage, the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus have been chosen partly because they were connected in certain ways,² but also because they afford interesting comparisons in terms of their size, function, importance, geographical distribution and the nature and form of patronage they attracted. Before looking at the question of patronage in detail, something will be said on the origins and early development of both the orders in the Holy Land and Europe, including a review of the primary and secondary source material. This will show that while there is a range of relevant source material for both orders, this evidence has never been properly exploited in the

¹ For the rapid development of hospitals in England see for instance, E.J.Kealey, Medieval Medicus (Baltimore, 1981), pp.82-106. For an example of a lay patron's interest in charity see S.C.Mesmin, "Waleran, Count of Meulan, and the Leper Hospital of St.Gilles de Pont-Audemer", Annales du Normandie, xxxii (1982), 7-8. For a detailed consideration of the importance of charity in Cambridge see M.Rubin, Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge (Cambridge, 1987).

² See below pp.6, 7.

direction of patronage. Following this introductory section, the main bulk of the study will look at the different forms of motivation which patrons had. Thus on the one hand, the importance of the military, crusading nature of the orders will be considered, along with the importance of personal links, including lay association with the orders. Thereafter, factors relating to the patrons themselves will be considered, including such ties as kinship, lordship, and social and geographical associations. Finally, conclusions will be provided, largely concerning the importance of each of these different motivating factors, but also evaluating what the evidence of patronage suggests about the nature of the orders' possessions and patrons.

In conducting this survey, certain dating restrictions will be observed. Thus for the most part, the scope of the study will be restricted to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the period when the vast majority of benefactions were made to the two orders.³ More specifically, the Templars will be considered from about 1128, when they first came to England, until the suppression of the English order between 1308-12. To coincide roughly with this period, the Order of St.Lazarus will be considered from the middle of the twelfth century, when it first appeared in England, until about 1299. This latter date has been chosen because it marks the end of the first stage in the history of the English order, after which the possession of the Hospital of St.Giles at Holborn affected its history in general, and its patronage in particular.⁴

The origin of the Templars in the Holy Land is relatively easy to establish. Thus the order seems to have developed from about 1119 onwards, when a group of men, including Hugh de Payens and Godfrey of S.Omer, decided to band together to protect pilgrims travelling to the

³ See below pp.242-3.

⁴ See below pp.9-11 for details of the orders' arrival in England.

Holy Places in Jerusalem.⁵ In 1128, at the Council of Troyes, the order received papal recognition, and a Rule was drawn up to govern the numerous people who were becoming members.⁶ The order was under a Grand Master, and included knights and sergeants, and later priests.⁷ The Templars were particularly noted for their military functions, and the order appears to have taken part in almost all the major military campaigns from the 1130s until the loss of Acre in 1291. These included not only participation in the various crusading expeditions, but also such decisive battles as the disaster at Hattin in 1187.⁸ Furthermore, their leaders, including men like Gerard de Ridefort were important political figures, who had a key role to play in the government of the Latin States, and whose importance increased, particularly in the thirteenth century, with the decline in the power of the monarchy in the kingdom of Jerusalem, due to weak or absentee kings.⁹

From very early on in its history, the order was the recipient of large numbers of ecclesiastical and secular benefactions. Their generous ecclesiastical privileges, which eventually caused resentment among the secular clergy, included papal protection, the right to grant indulgences

⁵ E.A.Babcock and A.C.Krey eds., A History of Deeds done beyond the sea by William Archbishop of Tyre (New York, 1976), pp.524-7 (hereafter cited as Babcock, William Archbishop of Tyre). See also S.S.Rovik, The Templars in the Holy Land during the Twelfth Century, unpublished D.Phil (Oxford, 1986), pp.9-11 (hereafter cited as Rovik, Templars in the Holy Land).

⁶ For an introduction to the Rule, and its French translation see, H. de Curzon ed., La Règle du Temple (Paris, 1886), pp.i-xli (hereafter cited as Curzon, Règle). See also Rovik, Templars in the Holy Land, pp.83-111.

⁷ Curzon, Règle, nos.77-223. For more details and discussion of the members of the order see, Rovik, Templars in the Holy Land, pp.113-64.

⁸ See for instance, J.Prawer, Crusader Institutions (Oxford, 1980), pp.484-500.

⁹ M.C.Barber, The Trial of the Templars (Cambridge, 1978), p.9 (hereafter cited as Barber, Trial of the Templars).

to benefactors and the right to bury the dead in their own cemeteries.¹⁰ As regards their secular possessions, the Templars enjoyed the benefactions of the whole range of society in the Latin States. Indeed, by 1187, they had established houses in the kingdom at Jerusalem, Acre, Jaffa, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut and Amman, as well as at Antioch and Lattakieh in the principality of Antioch, and at Tripoli in the county of Tripoli. Furthermore they also received a wide variety of other possessions ranging from lands and money to the possession of a series of fortifications including Gaza, Saffran, Baghras, Safita and Tortosa.¹¹

In contrast to the power, wealth and prestige of the Templars, the Order of St.Lazarus was comparatively weak and insignificant. Despite the claims of early historians, the Order of St.Lazarus was most probably founded in the Holy Land in the second or third decade of the twelfth century. The order seems to have developed out of a situation whereby knights who contracted the disease of leprosy entered a hospital in Jerusalem, which was originally run by Armenian monks following the Rule of St.Basil.¹² These knights seem to have included members of the Templars, as the Rule of the Temple specifically states that if a Templar contracted the disease, "...et la chose est provée, li prodome frere de la maison le doivent amonester et prier que il demande congie de la maison et que il se rende a saint Ladre, et que il preigne l'abit de frere de Saint Ladre."¹³ This fact has led some historians to suggest that the Order of St.Lazarus was in fact an annexe of the larger Templar order.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.8. See also Rovik, Templars in the Holy Land, pp.76-9.

¹¹ Rovik, The Templars in the Holy Land, appendix 4, pp.21-2.

¹² S.Shahar, "Des Lepreux pas comme les autres", Revue Historique, cclxvii (1982), 25 (hereafter cited as Shahar "Des Lepreux"); P.B. de la Grassière, L'ordre militaire et hospitalier de Saint Lazare de Jérusalem (Paris, 1932), p.17 (hereafter cited as La Grassière, L'ordre militaire et hospitalier). For the views of earlier historians see below p.31, n.113.

¹³ Curzon, Règle, no.443.

However, although this view is an attractive one, there is no firm evidence, either in the Holy Land or in Europe (especially England) to confirm it, and it is probably the case that despite the connections that did exist between the two orders, the Order of St.Lazarus was an independent institution.

Although the origins of the Order of St.Lazarus are therefore difficult to ascertain with any certainty, its organisation and functions are reasonably clear. Thus, membership of the order consisted of a master, leprous (and healthy) knights, clerics and brethren to look after the sick.¹⁴ From an early date, these members seem to have replaced the Rule of St.Basil with the Rule of St.Augustine, which was being adopted at this time in the west by most hospitaller organisations.¹⁵ At first, the order's principal function was clearly in the realm of hospital care, and especially in the care of lepers, a function which distinguished it from the other Military Orders.¹⁶ However, it is probable that with the increasing need for manpower in the Holy Land, by the thirteenth century members of the order were becoming involved in military functions. Nevertheless, it would be a gross exaggeration to claim that the order's military role was of any significance. Indeed, Shahar has traced only four occasions in which members of the order were involved in military action, and their military function never outweighed their hospitaller function, until perhaps the final days at Acre in 1291.¹⁷

As far as privileges and possessions are concerned, the order received papal protection and some of the same exemptions from episcopal control that had been granted to the Templars, and other Military Orders,

¹⁴ Shahar, "Des Lepreux", 28-9.

¹⁵ Ibid., 28.

¹⁶ Ibid., 28-9, 31.

¹⁷ Ibid., 29, 34-5.

although at what stage these were granted is not clear.¹⁸ In terms of physical possessions the order held two hospitals at Jerusalem and Acre, where the order's headquarters moved after the Fall of Jerusalem in 1187.¹⁹ It is possible that other hospitals were established at Ascalon, Caesarea and Tiberius, and the order's possessions seem to have been generally concentrated around the Jerusalem, Bethlehem and Hebron area in the south of the kingdom of Jerusalem, and included lands, rents, people and buildings.²⁰ Patrons of the order ranged from members of the royal family such as Fulk of Anjou and his wife Queen Melisende, members of the higher nobility, including Raymond III Count of Tripoli and members of the powerful Ibelin clan, to less important individuals, including Stephen of Salerno and an Armenian monk called William.²¹

Having become established in the Holy Land, the Templars also began to settle in Europe from about the third decade of the twelfth century. By 1200 they had developed preceptories in Castille-Leon, Aragon and Portugal, France, Sicily, Germany, England, Scotland and Ireland.²² Of these, the most important was that in France, where they owed their early development to the missions of people like Hugh de Payens, who campaigned for new recruits and benefactions throughout Champagne, Anjou, Normandy and Flanders in 1128.²³ The Order of St.Lazarus was probably rather

¹⁸ Pétiet discusses the papal connection with the order, although not all the privileges that he refers to can be confirmed. See R.Pétiet, Contribution à l'histoire de l'ordre de Saint Lazare de Jérusalem en France (Paris, 1914), pp.148-58 (hereafter cited as Pétiet, Contribution à l'histoire).

¹⁹ Shahar, "Des Lepreux", 26.

²⁰ A.de Marsy, "Fragment d'un Cartulaire de l'ordre de Saint Lazare, en Terre-Sainte", Archives de L'Orient Latin, ii (1884), 121-57 (hereafter cited as Marsy, "Cart.S.Lazare").

²¹ See ibid., for the names of the patrons of the order in the Holy Land.

²² D.Seward, The Monks of War (London, 1972), p.25.

²³ Barber, Trial of the Templars, p.7.

later in coming to Europe than the Templars. Like the larger order, they seem to have become relatively well developed in France, although on a much smaller scale. They owed their early settlement there to a gift made by King Louis VII, which consisted of lands at Boigny near Orléans in the mid twelfth century.²⁴ In addition it is clear that the order also developed its possessions in Italy, the Empire, Spain, parts of eastern Europe and England.²⁵

As was the case in the Holy Land, the establishment of the Templars in England is rather easier to trace than that of St.Lazarus. The first mission to England came after the Council of Troyes in 1128, when Hugh de Payens visited England and received men and money for the new order. It is highly probable, although difficult to prove, that a house at Holborn was established soon afterwards, known as the Old Temple. This became the chief centre of the Templars in England, until the establishment of the New Temple, also at Holborn, in 1161.²⁶ From the reign of Stephen (1135-54), the order began to receive a large number of possessions and develop preceptories, which were particularly important in counties such as Essex, Sussex, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Warwickshire and Oxfordshire.²⁷

In England, the order was under the authority of a master, who was subject to the Grand Master in the Holy Land. The English master had charge of the various members of the Templars, including knights, sergeants, clerics and a variety of manual workers and servants. In addition, the English order, like its counterparts in the Holy Land and

²⁴ A.Luchaire ed., Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII (Paris, 1885), no.338.

²⁵ Pétiet, Contribution à l'histoire, pp.99-148.

²⁶ Inquest, pp.xxxviii-ix.

²⁷ For the order's preceptories see below pp.253-68.

Europe also included a number of lay associates (confraters) who were connected with the order, receiving a variety of spiritual and material benefits, without actually becoming full members.²⁸ The Templar functions in England (as also in the rest of Europe apart from Spain) were rather different from those performed in the Holy Land. Thus the military function, which was of primary importance in the Holy Land, was no longer important, and instead the English order functioned to collect alms for its fellow brethren in the east. However, while this function was always carried out during the twelfth century and throughout the thirteenth century, the order began to take on a variety of administrative functions, and became particularly involved in this respect with the English kings. This was especially the case in financial matters, and the Templar house at Holborn became a treasury for the English monarchy, where taxes were stored, and from where credit payments could be made. In addition, the order was involved in the provision of loans, and the administration of trusts.²⁹ The order was particularly highly regarded by Henry II and Henry III, and although it began to lose its influence under Edward I, due to the rise of foreign financial competitors, it was still a rich and powerful organisation by the time of the suppression of the order in England in 1308-12.³⁰

As far as England is concerned, the establishment of the Order of St.Lazarus probably took place in the middle of the twelfth century. The chief house of the order was founded at Burton Lazars (Leicestershire) by Roger I de Mowbray in c.1150,³¹ and from around this time, the order added to its possessions in a limited way, with the main bulk of its

²⁸ Inquest, pp.lx-viii, and see below pp.67-89.

²⁹ For works dealing with these subjects see below pp.26.

³⁰ For the patronage of these kings see below pp.94-6, 97-8.

³¹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.3, and see below especially pp.119-21.

properties being concentrated in eastern Leicestershire. The order also developed houses in several other counties including, Lincolnshire, Norfolk and Derbyshire, although its wealth was easily overshadowed by that of the Templars.³²

As in the Holy Land, the order's English members were subject to the rule of a master, who in turn was subject to the Grand Master of the order in the Holy Land, and after the loss of the Christian possessions there, to the master of Boigny in France.³³ The other members of the order included lepers, brethren who cared for the sick, and clerics, although it is unlikely that any knights were members of the English order. In England, the order's functions were clearly limited to the care of lepers and the collection of alms for the Holy Land.³⁴ However, the order's houses clearly did not have a monopoly on care of lepers, as is evidenced by the large number of independent leper hospitals scattered throughout England.³⁵ Furthermore, it is probably also the case that the number of lepers in the order's hospitals was never very great, and as was the case with other leper hospitals, the inmates of the order's houses may well have included non leprous sufferers as well as the poor and destitute.³⁶

³² See below pp.269-77.

³³ Cal.Pat.R., 1350-1354, 502.

³⁴ See for example, ibid., 1354-1358, 284.

³⁵ Knowles and Hadcock, pp.313-410.

³⁶ V.C.H. Leicestershire, ii, 38.

B) THE SOURCES.

A survey and analysis of the source material available for both the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus is an essential starting point for the study of the patronage of the two orders. The nature of the primary sources will indicate how far the study can progress, and in what ways it will be limited or distorted by the survival of evidence, while a survey of the secondary literature will show the degree to which historians have covered the patronage of the orders, as well as the history of the orders in general.

PRIMARY SOURCES.

1) The Templars.

There exists an abundance of primary source material for the Templars in the Holy Land. Thus, information is readily available concerning the activities, possessions and patrons of the order from charter material. Furthermore, there are also large numbers of references to the order and its members in a variety of chronicle sources, including that written by William of Tyre, which tells of the foundation of the order.³⁷ This wealth of information naturally reflects the important position which the order held in the Holy Land, and is continued to some degree when one looks at the evidence for the order's activities in Europe. The continental evidence, especially in France and Spain, is quite considerable,³⁸ and in England too, there is a great

³⁷ For collections of charters referring to the Templars in the Holy Land and Europe see, Marquis d'Albon, Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150 (Paris, 1913); J.M.A.Delaville le Roulx, Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de Jérusalem, 4 vols. (Paris 1894-1906). For the collection of rules and practices of the order see Curzon, Règle. For the chronicle of William of Tyre see Babcock, William of Tyre.

³⁸ For France see various examples in d'Albon, Cartulaire. For documents relating to the order in Spain see, A.J.Forey, The Templars in the Corona de Aragón (London, 1973), pp.455-8 (hereafter cited as Forey, Corona de Aragón).

amount of information relating to the order, and more importantly for the purposes of this study, its patrons and patronage.

In terms of patronage in England there are three major pieces of source material that can be used to gain knowledge of patrons and possessions. In chronological order, the first of these is the Inquest of 1185.³⁹ This was a survey of the Templars' possessions in England, set in motion on the appointment of Geoffrey fitz Stephen to the Mastership of the order in England, and has been edited by Beatrice Lees.⁴⁰ Its sixty-five folios contain an abundance of information relating to the Templars' possessions, patrons and the management of their estates, county by county. Thus it begins with the order's possessions in Essex, followed by a survey of London and Middlesex, Kent, Warwickshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire, Berkshire, Wiltshire, Herefordshire, Bedfordshire, Sussex, Lincolnshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire. In the degree of detail which it presents, the Inquest is an invaluable piece of source material, particularly for a study of the patronage of the order. The information contained in the Inquest can be supplemented by that contained in the only cartulary of a Templar house to have survived, that of Sandford in Oxfordshire.⁴¹ This cartulary, which has been edited by Agnes Leys,⁴² contains 113 folios and deals with the order's possessions in Oxfordshire, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Hampshire, and contains a mixture of straightforward grants, confirmatory charters and agreements.

³⁹ P.R.O. Exchequer, King's Remembrancer, Misc.Books, series I. (E.164), number 16.

⁴⁰ Inquest. For comments on the nature and purpose of the document see ibid., pp.xvi-xxxvii.

⁴¹ Bodl. ms. Wood, empt.10.

⁴² Sandford.

In addition to the Sandford Cartulary, the third major piece of source material for the Templars in England is the Hospitaller Cartulary. This work was begun in 1442 and deals with the possessions of the Templars that had passed into the hands of the Hospitallers after the suppression of the order in the early fourteenth century.⁴³ The cartulary contains 467 folios, and has been divided into two parts. The first part concerns the prima camera of the order, while the second part, which has been edited by Michael Gervers, contains the secunda camera, and largely deals with Essex.⁴⁴ It seems that documents concerning the order's lands in Cambridgeshire, contained in 126 folios, were removed from this second part, and were kept in a separate manuscript.⁴⁵ As far as the Templars are concerned, the various parts of the cartulary deal with the order's possessions in London, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Oxfordshire, Sussex, Staffordshire, Kent, Leicestershire and Cambridgeshire. The cartulary also includes surveys of Templar properties taken in the early fourteenth century, which are particularly useful in providing valuations of their possessions.⁴⁶ Valuations can also be found in the Hospitaller survey of 1338, edited by Larking and Kemble, which includes a section on former Templar preceptories.⁴⁷

⁴³ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi.

⁴⁴ M.Gervers ed., The Cartulary of the Knights of St.John of Jerusalem in England (Oxford, 1982) (hereafter cited as Gervers, Cartulary of the Knights of St.John). For a discussion of the organisation of the cartulary see ibid., pp.xxv-xxxiv, and also M.Gervers, The Hospitaller Cartulary in the British Library Cotton ms. Nero Evi (Toronto, 1981) (hereafter cited as Gervers, Hospitaller Cartulary in the British Library).

⁴⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cix. See Gervers, Cartulary of the Knights of St.John, p.xxvi; Gervers Hospitaller Cartulary in the British Library, p.7.

⁴⁶ See for instance B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, fols.56v, 59v, 66, 100, 105, 142, 146v, 152v, 167v, 271v.

⁴⁷ L.B.Larking and J.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 (Camden Society, old series) lxx (1857), pp.133-214 (hereafter cited as Larking, Hospitallers in England).

These major pieces of source material can be augmented by three lesser pieces of evidence also useful in connection with the English Templars. The first is the inventory which survives from the Templar house of Temple Combe (Somerset), dated about 1396-7.⁴⁸ This manuscript which has been edited, consists of 106 deeds relating to the order's possessions in Somerset, and provides not only information on possessions, but the names of patrons as well.⁴⁹ A second work is the Liber Johannis Stillingflete, which is a list of patrons and their grants to the order.⁵⁰ It is possible that some of the information contained therein was derived from the Hospitaller cartulary. However, the document contains information on some patrons which is not known from any other source. Finally, one other collection of works specific to the Templars is the documents which were edited by R.V.Taylor in the 1880s, relating to the Templar preceptory at Ribston in Yorkshire.⁵¹ These provide information on the foundation of the preceptory and its most important patrons. The information contained in these pieces of source material can be augmented from a miscellany of documents contained in a variety of holdings.⁵² Of this miscellany, the most important are the Hundred Rolls, the Book of Fees, and the survey of knights' fees in

⁴⁸ Winchester College, Muniments (Longload Drawer. Kirby's No.2. 12843).

⁴⁹ R.A.Bartelot ed., "Calendar of the Muniments of Temple Combe", Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, xxi (1935), 86-92 (hereafter cited as Bartelot, "Temple Combe").

⁵⁰ Bodl. ms. Dugdale 39, fols.41-5. This has been printed in Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 831-9.

⁵¹ R.V.Taylor, "Ribston and the Knights Templars", Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal, vii (1881-2), 429-52; viii (1883-4), 259-99; ix (1884-5), 71-98 (hereafter cited as Taylor, "Ribston").

⁵² Lees' edition of the Inquest contains a large number of charters from a variety of sources including, Bodl. ms. Dodsworth 8; B.L. ms. Cotton Vespasian Exviii; B.L. ms. Sloane 4937. See Inquest, pp.137-276.

Yorkshire conducted in c.1284-5 by Edward I's treasurer, John de Kirkeby.⁵³

There is therefore a great deal of evidence concerning the Templars, and much of this provides information connected with the patronage of the order. There are, however, some limitations with the evidence, despite the abundance of information available. In particular, there is a bias towards a specific area of the country, because of the chance survival of the Sandford Cartulary and the Temple Combe Roll. As a result, the south midlands and west country are particularly well represented, and a more balanced picture would have been provided had another full cartulary survived from one of the northern or midland houses. The position is improved to some extent by the evidence produced in the Hospitaller Cartulary, and the more general survey of 1185. It must be noted however, that the former of these two documents deals mainly with the south and east of the country, while the latter only presents evidence of patronage prior to 1185.

2) The Order of St.Lazarus.

Any historian who has attempted a study of the Order of St.Lazarus immediately becomes aware of the lack of primary source materials. This is most striking for the history of the order in the Holy Land where there are only a few scattered references in the chronicles to the activities of the order and its members, and the only major piece of evidence is the fragmentary remains of the cartulary of the order's house in Jerusalem. The forty largely royal and noble charters contained therein, which have been edited by Marsy, provide only a glimpse of the

⁵³ Fees; Rot.Hund.; R.H.Skaife ed., The Survey of the County of York, taken by John de Kirkeby, commonly called Kirkby's Inquest, (Surtees Society, old series) xlix (1866). For the dating of the survey see ibid., p.viii.

possessions and patrons of the order in the east, and provides very little information about the internal organisation of the order.⁵⁴

This is a feature common to the extant source material for the order found in the west, both on the continental mainland and in England itself. In the past some historians of the order referred to their study of a variety of different types of source material, including not only cartularies, but also statutes concerning the organisation of the order. However, as a study of the secondary literature shows, much of what has been written about the order has to be treated with caution, and the absence of extant material has to be accepted with regret.⁵⁵

Yet despite the small amount of extant primary source material, the evidence that does exist is very useful for a study of the patronage of the order. This is particularly the case in England, where the major survival is the Cartulary of Burton Lazars.⁵⁶ This is the record of the lands and other possessions of the chief house of the order in England, drawn up in 1404 by order of the then master, Walter de Lynton.⁵⁷ The cartulary, which is unedited, contains 119 folios, and consists of straightforward grants of land, confirmations and agreements concerning land and other possessions of the hospital. Arranged topographically, it

⁵⁴ Marsy, "Cart.S.Lazare".

⁵⁵ For references to, and use of doubtful material by a variety of historians, see below p.31, n.113.

⁵⁶ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii. A transcript of part of the document, including charters of the Amundeville family, is contained in B.L. ms. Lansdowne 207e, fols.69-74. Some of the charters have been printed by J.Nichols, Nichols, History Leics. II.i, 128-32. Also see Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 632-4; and Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.23-31. For a brief discussion of the importance of the cartulary, see T.Bourne and D.Marcombe eds. The Burton Lazars Cartulary: A Medieval Leicestershire Estate (Nottingham, 1987), especially pp.11-21 (hereafter cited as Marcombe, Burton Lazars). Their volume also contains synopses of all the cartularies' charters. See below pp.36-8.

⁵⁷ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.3.

starts with Melton Mowbray, and continues through the various villages in Leicestershire where the order held property. It thus contains a large section on Burton Lazars itself, before considering Great Dalby, Leesthorp, Pickwell, Kirby Bellars, Stapleford, Billesdon, Thorp',⁵⁸ Twiford, Cold Newton, Sysonby, Brentingby, Burrough on the Hill, Eye Kettleby, Leicester, Kimcote, and Carlton le Moorland (Lincolnshire). This last section, concerning the development of a hospital at Carlton, is the only part of the cartulary which deals significantly with the property of the order outside Leicestershire.

Apart from the Cartulary of Burton Lazars, there is one other cartulary relating to the English order. This is the Cartulary of the Hospital of St.Giles at Holborn, which became a possession of the order in 1299.⁵⁹ Unfortunately for the purposes of this study, the document, also drawn up by the order of Walter de Lynton in 1402, concerns the property acquired by the hospital before its annexation to St.Lazarus, and does not provide any additional evidence on the patronage of the order, although it does divulge information concerning the patrons and possessions of the Hospital of St.Giles prior to 1296.

Another important document relating to the English order is the so-called Register of Lichfield Cathedral contained in the British Library. This includes a series of charters relating to the grant of the advowson of Spondon church (Derbyshire) to the order by William I de Ferrers, Earl of Derby.⁶⁰ It deals with the original grant of the advowson of Spondon church and the subsequent confirmations and agreements by the earl's successors, and the Bishop of Coventry and Lichfield and Pope Innocent IV. Another small collection of documents is contained in the cartulary

⁵⁸ For the identity of this village see below p.230, n.48.

⁵⁹ B.L. ms. Harley 4015; see below p.171.

⁶⁰ B.L. ms. Harleian 3868, fols.15-8, and see below p.52.

of the house of Dureford (Sussex). In this document there are a variety of grants referring to the house of the Order of St.Lazarus at Harting (Sussex), which became the property of the Premonstratensian house at Dureford in 1248.⁶¹ In addition, the Cartulary of Malton priory in Yorkshire includes references to the order's possessions in South Croxton (Leicestershire), which are not known from any other source.⁶²

Other evidence for the order includes the Taxatio Ecclesiasticus of 1291 and the Valor Ecclesiasticus of 1535, which are particularly useful in providing the values of the possessions of the order in the late thirteenth and early sixteenth century respectively.⁶³ Further information can be found on the order in general from a variety of governmental records, particularly the Patent, Close and Hundred Rolls, plus a miscellaneous collection of charters to be found in the British Library, the Bodleian Library and local record offices, such as those for Leicestershire and Lincolnshire.⁶⁴

⁶¹ B.L. ms. Cotton Vespasian Exxiii, fols.106, 107, 109, 113, 114, 115, 138, 145. See below pp.275-6.

⁶² B.L. ms. Cotton Claudia Dxi, f.217v.

⁶³ J.Caley ed., Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P.Nicholai IV (Record Commission, 1802) (hereafter cited as Caley Tax.Ecc); J.Caley ed., Valor Ecclesiasticus (or Liber Regis) temp. Hen VIII, auctoritate regia institutus, 6 vols. (Record Commission, 1810-34).

⁶⁴ Of those charters relating to the period in question that are contained in the British Library see for example, B.L. add.ch.33635, which was a lease made to a certain Joanne of Sok' in Offord Darcy (Huntingdonshire). The Bodleian Library contains an interesting charter relating to the order's hospital at Wymondham, [^]Bodl. ms.31346, f.37. The Public Record Office also contains a variety of documents which shed some light on the patronage of the order, including, P.R.O. Petitions to Chancery and Exchequer SC8.110.15081, which refers to the foundation of the Hospital of Burton Lazars, see below pp.120-1. For a miscellany of leases granted by the order see Leicester Record Office DE 2242/6/7 and DG 2242/5. For a late twelfth century (cancelled) grant to the order by Walter de Coleville see ibid., DG 40/226. Lincolnshire Record Office similarly contains a number of miscellaneous pieces of information, including two deeds relating to the order's possession of land in Newark. See Lincolnshire Record Office Dii 90/2/9 and Dii 90/2/10. These have been edited,

The above list of documentation does therefore provide ample material for a study of the patronage of the order in England. There are, however, certain limitations which prevent a fully comprehensive investigation into the order and its patronage. The most important problem is that the evidence which survives is heavily weighted in the favour of the Hospital of Burton Lazars. The reason for this is obviously because the only surviving cartulary dealing with the order's possessions comes from that house, and information on possessions elsewhere is severely restricted. It may well be the case that it was in that particular area of the country that the order's possessions were most heavily concentrated. Nevertheless, it would be helpful to achieve a greater balance to this study if there was rather more information on the patronage of the smaller houses in Yorkshire, Derbyshire and Norfolk.

A second problem is even more frustrating. The introductory statement made by Walter de Lynton in the Cartulary of Burton Lazars refers to the fact that the document contains papal charters. However, apart from the fragment of one such charter made probably by Pope Innocent IV, the cartulary is notable for the absence of any other similar documents.⁶⁵ Indeed, although there are references in the Calendar of Papal Records to papal involvement with the order, little in general is known of patronage from this particular source.⁶⁶ The situation is the same for royal charters. Although several of Henry II's charters and those of his successors are in existence, there is no significant extant royal material connected with the order.⁶⁷ The

see C.W.Foster ed., Registrum Antiquissimum III (Lincolnshire Record Society), xxix (1935), nos.917-8.

⁶⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.99. For a discussion of this charter, see below p.130, n.242.

⁶⁶ W.H.Bliss et al eds., Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain and Ireland, 1198-1492, 14 vols. in 15 (London, 1893-1960), XIII.i, 3, 263; XIII.ii, 7, 836.

⁶⁷ For the royal patronage of the order see below pp.171-2.

explanation for the dearth of royal charters is probably connected with the fact that royal patronage was limited in comparison with other orders, including the Templars. Nonetheless, it seems strange that the cartulary should include only two royal charters, when there is evidence of other royal patrons and patronage from different sources.⁶⁸ The situation can be compared with the lack of grants from the higher nobility. Although grants from this class of patron may not have been made in such great numbers, royal confirmations do refer to the grants of nobles including Earl Simon III of Senlis and Henry de Lacy, which are not mentioned in any other source.⁶⁹

SECONDARY SOURCES.

1) The Templars.

A glance at the two bibliographies of works on the Templars produced by Dessubré and Neu immediately shows the range and extent of secondary writings up to 1965, and a great deal more has been published in the last twenty five years.⁷⁰ Nevertheless, despite the large amount of secondary literature, there is no comprehensive modern study of the order in English. Furthermore, Rovik has suggested that the events leading up to the dissolution of the order have adversely affected the range and quality of the writings of Templar historians. She noted that instead of

⁶⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols. 98v, 99.

⁶⁹ E.Y.C., iii, no.1460. See below pp.196-7, 202.

⁷⁰ M.Dessubré, Bibliographie de l'ordre des Templiers (Paris, 1928); H.Neu, Bibliographie des Templer-Ordens 1927-1965 (Bonn, 1965). For post 1965 work on the Templars see for example, Forey, Corona de Aragón; M.C.Barber, "The Origins of the Templars", Studia Monastica, xii (1970), 219-40; Barber, Trial of the Templars; E.Lourie, "The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribat and the Temple", Viator, xiii (1982) 159-76; M.C.Barber, "The Social Context of the Templars", T.R.H.S., xxxiv, (1984) 27-46 (hereafter cited as Barber, "Social Context"); Rovik, Templars in the Holy Land.

looking in detail at the early history of the order, "...too often the vast body of Templar literature has read like counsels for the prosecution or defence."⁷¹ Indeed, while the early history of the order has been dealt with briefly in numerous works on the crusades, it was not until Rovik's thesis in 1986 that a full study of the order in the Holy Land was produced.⁷²

For England, too, there have been few studies of the order as a whole, and no complete studies of its patronage.⁷³ Of the antiquarian historians, Tanner made only brief remarks on the origin and development of the order in his short account of the Temple at London.⁷⁴ Dugdale's work is more useful because, although like Tanner he made only brief comments on the English order, he printed early translations of parts of the Inquest of 1185, and the Liber Johannis Stillingflete, which has already been noted as containing essential information relating to the order's patronage.⁷⁵ In terms of a general history of the English order, however, C.G.Addison's history, published in 1842, was for many years the only work on the subject, and even this concentrated on the London Templars rather than the order in England as a whole.⁷⁶

⁷¹ Rovik, Templars in the Holy Land, pp.2-3.

⁷² For works on the Templars in crusading literature see for example, J.Prawer, The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (London, 1972), 252-79; J.Richard, The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (London, 1979), 111-20.

⁷³ The untraceable thesis by A.M.Sandys, The Templars in England, unpublished M.A. (Manchester, 1917), may have been a general history of the English order. However, in view of her articles published at a later date, it is quite possible that her work was more concerned with the financial and administrative concerns of the Templars, see below p.26.

⁷⁴ T.Tanner, Notitia Monastica (Cambridge, 1787), Middlesex VIII (hereafter cited as Tanner, Notitia).

⁷⁵ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 814-50.

⁷⁶ C.G.Addison, The History of the Knights Templars, the Temple Church and the Temple (London, 1842). G.A.Campbell does refer to the order in England, although largely in the context of their suppression. See G.A.Campbell, The Knights Templars. Their Rise and Fall (London, 1937), pp.268-90.

The twentieth century has seen two main studies of the English Templars. The first of these was produced ^{by} _A Lees, in the extensive introduction to her edition of the Inquest of 1185 published in 1935.⁷⁷ The first part of her introduction includes a description of the manuscript, plus details of why and how the document was drawn up. She also discussed the early history of the order in England, with reference to some of its most important patrons, including King Stephen and Queen Matilda. Finally, there is also a brief discussion of the social and administrative organisation of the order, concerned particularly with the personnel of the order and the organisation of its preceptories.⁷⁸ The second part of the introduction considers each of the different parts of the Inquest county by county, dealing with the order's wealth, possessions, patrons, tenants and services.⁷⁹

Although there are errors in identification of certain families,⁸⁰ this should not detract from the importance of the work, which provides a very useful starting point for any consideration of the Templars in England. Moreover, it is the only general work on the English Templars which has anything to say on patronage, outlining who the major patrons were in each of the counties dealt with by the Inquest. Lees' work is not a study of patronage, however, and the subject was only dealt with as part of her larger task of explaining the contents and importance of the Inquest. Furthermore, because of the nature of the document, Lees only studied the twelfth century patrons of the order, and her comments were

⁷⁷ Inquest, pp.xv-ccvii.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp.xv-lxxi.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp.lxxii-ccxvii.

⁸⁰ See for example ibid., pp.cci-iii, where Lees confuses the family connections of Rannulf fitz Stephen the Chamberlain. Also see below pp.104, n.82.

restricted to describing who the patrons were, rather than the motivation behind their patronage.

Following Lees' study of the Templars in the twelfth century, T.W.Parker produced a history of the English order which covered the whole period of its existence in that country.⁸¹ Unfortunately, while the book is useful in being the only modern survey of the English order, it suffers from a number of problems, including the fact that the author wasted a great deal of space considering the origins and development of the order in the Holy Land and Europe, and the downfall of the order in the early fourteenth century. As Rowe notes, had Parker shortened the chapters on these particular subjects, he might have felt able to expand the two chapters specifically relating to England.⁸² Instead, the result is a rather condensed history of the order. The first section consists of a brief survey of the organisation of the order, in terms of personnel, preceptories, tenants, land holding and services, before an evaluation of the privileges and holdings of the English order.⁸³ Again, the second section, dealing with the political and economic activities of the order, including their financial role and connection with the English kings, while being useful in some ways, would have benefitted from expansion.⁸⁴

Parker's work is therefore disappointing in many ways, and this is especially the case in terms of patronage. In this part of his work he provided a survey of the holdings of the order in England which owed much to Lees, and a consideration of the papal and royal privileges, which

⁸¹ T.W.Parker, The Templars in England (Tucson, 1963) (hereafter cited as Parker, Templars in England).

⁸² J.G.Rowe, "T.W.Parker, The Knights Templars in England", Speculum, xxxix (1964) 738-9.

⁸³ Parker, Templars in England, pp.17-41.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp.43-84.

owed a great deal to Perkins.⁸⁵ Unfortunately the treatment, particularly of land holdings is frustratingly brief, and little is said on the patrons of the order beyond members of royal families. A more worrying defect is that his consideration of the source material is haphazard, and he made no reference to the importance of the Hospitaller Cartulary, and mistakenly stated that the Sandford Cartulary dealt with Templar holdings in Cambridgeshire.⁸⁶

Although the studies of Addison, Lees and Parker are the only general histories of the English order, a great deal of work has been published on a variety of themes connected with the Templars in that country. Rovik's criticism of the secondary literature on the Templars is particularly justified in this respect, as a major theme to be treated by English historians has been the question of the suppression of the English order in the early fourteenth century.⁸⁷ Carl Perkins' thesis on the history of the English Templars is a prime example. His study was basically a history of the downfall of the order in England, including the reasons for the hostility that was felt towards the order, the arrest and trial of its members, and the disposition of the Templar lands after the order was suppressed. Perkins did spend a little time on the origins and development of the order, and its royal privileges and relationship with the English crown, but apart from this brief treatment, his study does not deal with patronage in any detail.⁸⁸ Perkins followed his thesis up with several articles on subjects also relating to the downfall

⁸⁵ See above p.23-4, and below, this page.

⁸⁶ Parker, Templars in England, p.32.

⁸⁷ See above pp.21-2.

⁸⁸ C.Perkins, The History of the Knights Templars in England, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard, 1908). See also E.J.Martin, The Trial of the Templars (London, 1928).

of the order and the distribution of its wealth after the suppression.⁸⁹ The latter theme was also considered in an article by Agnes Leys (née Sandys), which related the disposition of the Templars' lands with the development of the chamber in the reign of Edward II.⁹⁰

Another theme which has attracted some attention is the financial and administrative importance of the order, and its connections with the English royal family. Both Eleanor Ferris and Agnes Sandys considered the various financial operations that the order carried out, particularly for the English crown.⁹¹ In this section the work of Elizabeth Hallam can also be noted. She discussed the connections of the Templars and the Hospitallers with King Stephen and the Angevins in her thesis on monastic patronage. In this work she specifically considered Stephen's interest with the order, before discussing in detail their connection with Henry II and Richard I. In doing so, she outlined the kinds of benefactions which the order received from these monarchs. She also considered the motivation of both men in patronising the orders, including the importance of the crusading motive, and Henry's desire to build up their support, so that he could make use of their administrative functions in England and on the continent.⁹²

⁸⁹ C.Perkins, "The Knights Templars in the British Isles", E.H.R., xxv (1910), 209-30; C.Perkins, "The trial of the Knights Templars in England", E.H.R., xxiv (1909), 432-47; C.Perkins, "The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England and the disposition of it after their dissolution", American Historical Review, xv (1905), 252-63.

⁹⁰ A.M.Leys, "The Forfeiture of the lands of the Templars in England", in F.M.Powicke ed., Oxford Essays in Medieval History presented to H.E.Salter (Oxford, 1934), 155-63.

⁹¹ E.Ferris, "The Financial Relations of the Knights Templars to the English Crown", American Historical Review, viii (1902), 1-17, A.M.Sandys, "The Financial and Administrative Importance of the London Temple in the Thirteenth century", in A.G.Little and F.M.Powicke eds., Essays in Medieval History presented to T.F.Tout (Manchester, 1925), 147-62.

⁹² E.M.Hallam, Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses c.1130-1270, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London, 1976), pp.75-7, 124-33 (hereafter cited as Hallam, Aspects of Monastic Patronage). See also, E.M.Hallam, "Henry II as a Founder

The art and architecture of several Templar preceptories has also received a good deal of attention from historians. In particular, the chapel and related buildings of the preceptory of Garway have been the subject of study by J.Webb, P.J.O.Minos and G.Marshall, while W.H.St.John Hope made a study of the Round church at Temple Bruer (Lincolnshire).⁹³ Finally, the art and architecture of the Temple church in London has been studied in great detail by a variety of authors, whose work has ranged from the more general account of Charles Addison, to the more specific work on ornamentation by P.W.Kerr.⁹⁴

The material contained in the afore-mentioned works has, apart from the work of Hallam, little connection with the patronage of the Templars in England. Several studies of preceptories have however, been produced which do consider the subject in a little more detail. One of the earliest of these was W.H.Blaauw's article on the Sussex Templars published in 1858.⁹⁵ In this, after making some introductory remarks on the Templars, their privileges and exemptions, he considered the grants made to the order at Saddlescombe, Shipley and Sumpting. In this survey he included details on the founders and benefactors of the two

of Monasteries", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, xxvii (1977), 128-9 (hereafter cited as Hallam, "Henry II as a Founder"). Also see below pp.94-5.

- ⁹³ J.Webb, "Notes upon the Preceptory of the Templars at Garway in the County of Hereford", Archaeologia, xxxi (1846), 182-97; P.J.O.Minos, "Knights Templars Chapel (also consistory court) at Garway", The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist, v (1899), 193-6; G.Marshall, "The Church of the Knights Templars at Garway", Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, xxvi (1927-9), 86-101; W.H.St.John Hope "The Round Church of the Knights Templars at Temple Bruer, Lincolnshire", Archaeologia, lxi (1908), 177-98.
- ⁹⁴ C.G.Addison, The Temple Church (London, 1843); P.W.Kerr, "The Brasses in the Temple Church, London", Monumental Brass Society Transactions, vii (1934-42), 113-4.
- ⁹⁵ W.H.Blaauw, "Saddlescombe and Shipley, the preceptories of the Knights Templars in Sussex", Sussex Archaeological Collections, ix (1858), 227-74 (hereafter cited as Blaauw, "Saddlescombe and Shipley").

preceptories of Saddlescombe and Shipley, and the chief benefactors to the order in Sumpting. Unfortunately, Blaauw's article is not free from errors, which as Lees noted were also repeated in the article on the preceptories contained in the Victoria County History of Sussex.⁹⁶ One of the chief inaccuracies is his confusion over the identity of the grantor of a papal concession, which he attributed to Honorius II, instead of Honorius III. This led him to suggest that the order appeared in Sussex as early as 1125-30,⁹⁷ which is highly unlikely in view of the fact that the order's first mission to England was only made in 1128.⁹⁸

Another article which includes information on patronage was that written on the Templars in Yorkshire by E.J. Martin, published in 1930 and 1931.⁹⁹ Martin's study of the Templars in Yorkshire includes remarks on the methods of attracting men into the order, the arrest and examination of the Yorkshire Templars and the fate of their property. It does however, also include a description of the extent of their property, including the kinds of holdings they owned, how the land was held and an examination of the estates of the various Yorkshire preceptories. He also dealt with the major patrons of the order in that county, and included a list of possessions and patrons in tabulated form.¹⁰⁰ Much of the information on possessions and patrons was taken from the Inquest of 1185, but Martin did make use of other sources of evidence including Inquisitions Post Mortem, and lands found in Kirby's Inquest of c.1284-5. Most of the information he produced can be confirmed from the original

⁹⁶ Inquest, pp.cxlvi-vii; V.C.H.Sussex, ii, 92-3.

⁹⁷ Blaauw, "Saddlescombe and Shipley", 247.

⁹⁸ Inquest, p.cxlvii, and see above p.9.

⁹⁹ E.J.Martin, "The Templars in Yorkshire", Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, xxix (1930), 366-85; xxx (1930), 135-56 (hereafter cited as Martin, "Templars in Yorkshire").

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., xxix, 368-70, 377-85.

sources, although grounds for concern as to the reliability of his work are produced by such errors as his confusion of Roger I de Mowbray with Nigel d'Aubigny, Roger I's father.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, his identification of places where the Templars held property was not always accurate.¹⁰²

Aside from these articles, several Yorkshire preceptories have also been the subject of study. Thus R.V.Taylor's work on Ribston not only includes printed documents relating to the preceptory, but also investigates the circumstances of the foundation made by Robert de Ros between 1217-24.¹⁰³ Moreover, he also considered the introduction of the order into Yorkshire, and surveyed its major patrons and possessions in the county,¹⁰⁴ before examining the fall of the order in the early fourteenth century.¹⁰⁵ One other Yorkshire preceptory to be considered was Temple Hirst, which was the subject of two articles by H.E.Chetwynd-Stapylton. Although the second article is largely concerned with the dissolution of the order,¹⁰⁶ in the first article he did consider the foundation of the preceptory by Rannulf de Hastings, as well as making several references to the patronage of the order by other benefactors.¹⁰⁷

Outside Yorkshire, the patronage of the preceptory of Rothley in Leicestershire has also been considered briefly by T.H.Fosbrooke.¹⁰⁸ In

¹⁰¹ Ibid., xxix, 369.

¹⁰² See for example, ibid., xxix, 385.

¹⁰³ Taylor, "Ribston", vii, 431, and see below pp.81, 267.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., viii, 259-67.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., ix, 94-8.

¹⁰⁶ H.E.Chetwynd-Stapylton, "The Templars at Temple hurst", Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal., x (1887-9), 431-43.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., x, 276-86.

¹⁰⁸ T.H.Fosbrooke, "Rothley. The Preceptory", Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, xii (1921), 1-5. See also G.F.Farnham, "Rothley. The Descent of the Manor", ibid., xii, 41-7.

addition, G.T.Clark edited the customary of Rothley, which gives details of the tenants, holdings and rents and services due to the preceptory.¹⁰⁹ The Welsh border houses of Lydley Heys (Shropshire), Llanmadoc and Garway, have also been the subject of study by Rees, in his work on the Knights Hospitallers (and Templars) in Wales and the borders. In this work Rees considered the establishment of both properties, including an identification of the patrons, and included, in tabular form, a list of the properties and patrons of the preceptories of Garway and Lydley Heys.¹¹⁰ In addition, he also produced a short article on Llanmadoc with reference to the preceptory's financial account of 1308.¹¹¹

Apart from these articles, the only other sources of secondary material which deal with patronage are those entries on the various preceptories of the order contained in the Victoria County Histories of England. These vary in length depending on the amount of information known about particular preceptories. The information that is provided generally consists of details of the foundation of the house, its major benefactors, and the history of the house and its possessions after the dissolution of the order. Only the entry on the Temple in London goes into detail on the establishment of the order in England.¹¹²

¹⁰⁹ G.T.Clark, "The Customary of the manor and soke of Rothley in the County of Leicester", *Archaeologia*, XLVII.i (1882), 89-130.

¹¹⁰ W.Rees, A History of the Order of St.John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border. Including an Account of the Templars (Cardiff, 1947), 46-55, 124-7 (hereafter cited, Rees, Order of St.John in Wales).

¹¹¹ W.Rees, "The Templar manor of Llanmadoc", Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, xiii (1950), 144-5.

¹¹² For entries on thirty eight of the Templar preceptories see, V.C.H. Berkshire, ii, 82 (Bisham); V.C.H. Buckinghamshire, i, 391 (Bulstrode); V.C.H. Cambridgeshire, ii, 259-63 (Denney, Duxford, Great Wilbraham); V.C.H. Essex, ii, 177-8 (Cressing, Witham); V.C.H. Gloucestershire, ii, 113 (Temple Guiting); V.C.H. Hertfordshire, iv, 445-6 (Temple Dinsley); V.C.H. Kent, ii, 175 (Temple Ewell); V.C.H. Leicestershire, ii, 31-2 (Rothley); V.C.H. Lincolnshire, ii, 210-2 (Willoughton, Eagle, Aslackby, South Witham, Temple Bruer); V.C.H. London, i, 485-91 (London Temple); V.C.H. Oxfordshire, ii, 106-7 (Sandford); V.C.H. Shropshire, ii,

2) The Order of St.Lazarus.

Over the past four centuries, the Order of St.Lazarus has attracted the attention of a number of historians, and a great deal has been written about the origins and development of the order in the Holy Land and in Europe. However, the vast majority of the writings produced before the twentieth century are misleading and inaccurate, either through genuine misunderstanding of the available sources, or deliberate distortion caused by the connections of the writers with the order of their day. Such factors have led historians including de Belloy, Maimbourg, Hélyot and Sibert, to exaggerate the extent to which the order had an ancient origin, the role it played in military affairs in the Holy Land, and the power, wealth and influence it commanded in that area, as well as in western Europe.¹¹³ Fortunately for a more accurate

85-6 (Lydney Heys); V.C.H. Somerset, ii, 146-7 (Temple Combe); V.C.H. Staffordshire, iii, 267-8 (Keele); V.C.H. Suffolk, ii, 120 (Dunwich); V.C.H. Sussex, ii, 92-3 (Saddlescombe, Shipley); V.C.H. Wiltshire, iii, 327-8 (Temple Rockley); V.C.H. Warwickshire, ii, 99 (Balshall); V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii, 256-60 (Yorkshire, Copmanthorpe, Faxfleet, Foulbridge, Penhill, Ribston, Wetherby, Temple Cowton, Temple Hirst, Temple Newsham, Westerdale, Whitley). The following houses are not dealt with in separate articles in the V.C.H., Bosbury/Upleadon (Herefordshire), Cavenham/Togrynd (Cambridgeshire), Dover (Kent), Garway (Herefordshire), Gislingham (Suffolk), Haddiscoe (Norfolk), Halston (Shropshire), Lannock (Hertfordshire), Llanmadog (Glamorgan), Merton (Oxfordshire), Stanton Long (Shropshire), Temple (Cornwall), Temple Cowley (Oxfordshire), Temple Southington (Hampshire), Templeton (Pembroke), Trebeigh (Cornwall), Warwick (Warwickshire).

- ¹¹³ For more details on the origins of the order see above pp.6, 7. For pre-twentieth century work on the order which is readily available in England see, P.de Belloy, De l'origin et institution de divers ordres de chevalerie tant ecclesiastique que prophanes (Montauban, 1604); P.L.Maimbourg, Histoire des Croisades, 4 vols. (Paris, 1682) i, 279-97 (hereafter cited as Maimbourg, Histoire de Croisades); P.Hélyot et M.Bullol, Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaire et des congregations seculiers de l'un et de l'autre sex qui ont esté establies jusqu'à present, 8 vols. (Paris, 1714-9) i, 257-71; G.de Sibert, Histoire des ordres Royaux, Hospitaliers-militaires de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel et de Saint-Lazare de Jerusalem (Paris, 1772). L.Cibrario does moderate some of the more exaggerated views of the early origin of the order, but does over estimate the importance the order played in military affairs. See L.Cibrario (trans. M.Ferrand), Précis Historique des ordres de Saint-Lazare et Saint Maurice (Lyons, 1860). However, ideas on the earlier origins, and great power of

understanding of the order, the twentieth century has seen several rather more realistic accounts by people like Pétiet, la Grassière and most recently Shulamith Shahar. Shahar's article, which dealt with the different position that the leprous members of the order enjoyed in the Holy Land, as opposed to their western counterparts, finally confirmed the largely insignificant military role of the order in the east.¹¹⁴

Despite the many and varied writings on the order in the Holy Land and in continental Europe, the English order has been largely ignored by historians from England and abroad. Although writers like Pétiet touched on developments in that country, it is only in very recent years that the order has attracted the limited attention of English historians.¹¹⁵ Indeed writings on the order were limited to occasional references in the works of antiquarian historians, several articles by similar writers on houses related to the order, and the various entries on particular houses contained in the volumes of the Victoria County Histories of England.

the order persisted, see E.Vignat, Les Lepreux et les chevaliers de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem et de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel (Orléans, 1884). Even as late as 1942, the modern day American order claimed that the order's origins could be traced back to St.Basil, and even to a leper hospital built outside Jerusalem, between 135 and 105 B.C. For this and other fantastic views of the order's history see, The Sovereign Military and Hospitaller Order of St.Lazarus of Jerusalem. A short history of the most ancient order of chivalry, past and present (Los Angeles, 1942).

¹¹⁴ For a large volume on the history of the order in France, which also takes account of the origins and development of the order in the Holy Land and the rest of Europe see Pétiet, Contribution à l'histoire. See ibid., pp.1-16, for a discussion of the pre-twentieth century literature on the order, many of which volumes are now unobtainable. For a shorter study, which does tend to exaggerate the political power of the order in the east see, la Grassière, L'Ordre militaire. This book was re-published in 1960, although this version of the work has not proved to be obtainable from English and French sources. For the most recent article see, Shahar, "Des Lepreux".

¹¹⁵ Pétiet, Contribution à l'histoire, pp.118-25. For a discussion of David Marcombe's work on Burton Lazars see below pp.36-8.

Of the English antiquarian historians, the most full, but by no means complete, treatment of the order was provided by Nichols in his history of Leicestershire. In the section devoted to the village of Burton Lazars, he concentrated on listing in great detail, the names of patrons of the order, some details on their family history, including that of the Mowbrays, and references to the types of grants made to the hospital and order in general. Nichols also added a list of the masters of the hospital, and in an appendix, printed thirty six charters relating to the English order.¹¹⁶ He had however, little to say on the motivation behind the various grants, and his survey is in many ways frustrating for the historian, because of the lack of complete references for some of his claims. A good example of this lack is his statement that the Hospital at Burton Lazars ".was so rich, that all the inferior Lazar-houses in England were in some measure subject to its master,..".¹¹⁷

Little was added to his work by other antiquarians such as Dugdale, who in his brief account of the Hospital of Burton Lazars, printed ten charters and a list of the masters of the hospital.¹¹⁸ Even briefer was the account given by Tanner, whose entry on the hospital took up only half a page of his index of religious houses in England.¹¹⁹ Other writers' works have to be treated with some caution, because of the lack of provision of source references. Taylor's discussion of the foundation at Chosely (Norfolk) is a good example in this respect, as it includes the unsubstantiated claim that the foundation was made in the time of Henry I by Walter Giffard.¹²⁰ In other cases, works by English ~~authors~~

¹¹⁶ Nichols, History Leics., II.i, 272-6, appendix pp.128-32.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., II.i, 272.

¹¹⁸ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 632-4.

¹¹⁹ Tanner, Notitia, Leicestershire III. He also included brief notices on the hospitals of Chosely and Wymondam in Norfolk, ibid., Norfolk XVI, LXXVI.

¹²⁰ R.Taylor, Index Monasticus (London, 1821), p.36.

are rendered useless by the use of mistaken information possibly copied from foreign works. This appears to have been the case with J.Y.Simpson's reference to the Hospital at Linlithgow, and its connection with the Order of St.Lazarus. The author thus asserted that the order originated out of a separation from the Hospitallers around the time of the First Crusade in 1096. This theory is untrue, but was propounded by several historians including Maimbourg, whose work might have been the one that Simpson was following.¹²¹ Even some twentieth century English writers followed the earlier distortions of some of their European predecessors. Thus Clay, writing in 1909, suggested that the order had an ancient origin, and developed hospitaller and military functions together in the twelfth century.¹²²

Several historians have made studies of particular houses of the order. Thus, Richard Holmes in an article on the Hospital of Foulsnape near Pontefract, argued that this hospital like those at Burton Lazars, St.Giles, Holy Innocents, St.James's Westminster, St.Julian's at Eywood, St.Leonard's at Sheffield, and houses at Ripon and Ilford were all connected with the order. However, once again lack of clear references, particularly for the houses at Westminster, Sheffield, Ripon and Ilford, mean that his work has to be used carefully. Furthermore, his reference to the Order of St.Lazarus being an order of regular friars casts some doubt on his understanding of the true nature of the order.¹²³

¹²¹ J.Y.Simpson, "Antiquarian Notices of Leprosy and Leper Houses in Scotland and England" The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, lvi (1841), 317; Maimbourg, Histoire des Croisades, iii, 284.

¹²² R.M.Clay, The Medieval Hospitals of England (London, 1909), p.251.

¹²³ R.Holmes, "The Hospital of Foulsnape in the West Riding", Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal, x (1888-9), 545 (hereafter cited as Holmes, Hospital of Foulsnape").

The hospital belonging to the order at Harting in Sussex has also been considered in an article by Blaauw, in relation to the sale of that property to the abbey of Dureford. Although not dealing in detail with the English order, Blaauw did consider the foundation and early patrons of the order, as they are known from the Cartulary of Dureford.¹²⁴ Similarly, the Hospital of Harehope in Northumberland has been discussed by J.C.Hodgson, who made several brief comments on the origins of the order, and its early development in England. His study which also dealt with the manor of Harehope, realistically admitted to the difficulties presented in connecting the foundation of Harehope with the Order of St.Lazarus, although Hodgson remained convinced of that connection.¹²⁵ Finally, the two houses of St.Giles of Holborn and Holy Innocents at Lincoln have also been the subject of a number of studies by historians, including Parton on St.Giles, and Cookson and Brooks on Holy Innocents.¹²⁶ While these studies, particularly that of Parton do refer to the Order of St.Lazarus, especially in connection with its acquisition of the two hospitals, it is clear that their works were more concerned with the origins and development of the particular establishments themselves. In the case of Holy Innocents, this development took place without any connection with the order until its sale to St.Lazarus in 1456, and even St.Giles had an independent development until 1299, which

¹²⁴ W.H.Blaauw, "Dureford Abbey - Its Fortunes and Misfortunes", Sussex Archaeological Collections, viii (1856), 58-9.

¹²⁵ J.G.Hodgson, "The Hospital of St.Lazarus and the manor of Harehope", Archaeologia Aeliana, third series, xix (1922), 77 (hereafter cited as Hodgson, "manor of Harehope"). See also Hodgson's references to the hospital in the section on Harehope contained in, E.Bateson et al, eds., A History of Northumberland, 15 vols. (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 1893-1940), xiv, 419-20.

¹²⁶ J.Parton, Some account of the Hospital and Parish of St.Giles in the Field, Middlesex (London, 1822); F.W.Brooks, "The Hospital of Holy Innocents without Lincoln", Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, xlii (1937), 157-88; W.D.Cookson, "On the Hospital of Holy Innocents, called Le Malardri, at Lincoln; with some account of ancient customs and usages touching leprosy", Lincolnshire Topographical Society (1843), 29-42.

like the date of the sale of Holy Innocents fall outside the period under the consideration of this study.¹²⁷

Other secondary material relating to the English foundations can be found in the volumes of the Victoria County Histories of England. In general, these are brief articles consisting of descriptions of the foundation and patronage of the hospitals of Wymondham, Harting, Pontefract, Sheffield and Locko near Derby.¹²⁸ The articles are reasonably accurate, although that on the Hospital at Locko is an exception, with some misleading references to the origins of the order.¹²⁹ That on Burton Lazars does however, include more information on the history of the English order, but again forms no more than a basic starting point for a study of the order and its patronage in that country.¹³⁰

Until very recently the Burton Lazars entry in the Victoria County History of Leicestershire was the only sensible account of the history of the order in England. More recently, since 1983, David Marcombe and members of the Department of Adult Education at Nottingham University have been involved in a study of the Hospital of Burton Lazars, and the English Order of St.Lazarus. Their initial findings are to be found in a study of the Hospital and the Cartulary of Burton Lazars which was published in 1987.¹³¹ The report produced on the order consists of an

¹²⁷ For the acquisition of Holy Innocents see Cal.Pat.R., 1452-61, 359. For St.Giles see below p.171.

¹²⁸ See the respective volumes in, V.C.H. Norfolk, ii, 453; V.C.H. Sussex ii, 103; V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii, 321, 330-1; V.C.H. Derbyshire, ii, 77-8. For St.Giles and Holy Innocents see, V.C.H. Middlesex, i, 206-10, V.C.H. Lincoln, ii, 230-2. The volumes do not contain references to the Hospitals of Tilton, Carlton, Threkingham, Choseley and Harehope.

¹²⁹ V.C.H. Derbyshire, ii, 77.

¹³⁰ V.C.H. Leicestershire, ii, 36-8.

¹³¹ See Marcombe, Burton Lazars. I understand from private correspondence with Dr.Marcombe that the research group is going

introduction, which considers the history of the order in brief, with an attempt to explain how the hospitals were run.¹³² Unfortunately this shows the limitations of present knowledge about Burton Lazars, as Marcombe had to make use of evidence from the much larger hospital of Sherborne (County Durham), to suggest what life was like in the hospital.¹³³ The rest of the introduction follows the Victoria County History article, expanding the information provided therein, particularly in the case of disputes over the mastership of Burton Lazars, and the control of the Hospital of St.Giles, which took place in the later fourteenth century, and at the beginning of the fifteenth century.¹³⁴

The second part of the introduction consists of a description and analysis of the cartulary itself, with reference to some, but by no means all the important documentation relating to the order. This includes discussion of charter dedications, the types of grants given, and a brief section on patronage, and the motivation behind this practice.¹³⁵ Finally, Marcombe discussed the importance of the cartulary for the local historian, considering such topics as the nature of local agriculture, topography and local families.¹³⁶ The rest of the work is in the form of English synopses of the cartularies' charters, which, although they are helpful in providing a framework for understanding the cartulary, are not

to produce a study of the English order, incorporating the use not only of written evidence, but also archaeological evidence. For additional views on the order by the same author see, D.Marcombe, "Burton Lazars and the Knights of St.Lazarus", St.John Historical Society Newsletter (N6) (1986) (hereafter cited as Marcombe, "Knights of St.Lazarus").

¹³² Marcombe, Burton Lazars, pp.1-3.

¹³³ Ibid., pp.4-6.

¹³⁴ Ibid., pp.7-9.

¹³⁵ Ibid., pp.11-5. See also Marcombe "Knights of St.Lazarus".

¹³⁶ Ibid., pp.15-20.

always accurate, and should in some cases, be treated with caution.¹³⁷ Marcombe's work is therefore, useful in developing the picture produced in the article in the Victoria County History of Leicestershire, but as a guide to the English order and particularly its patronage, there are obvious limitations.

The above survey of the primary and secondary literature for the two orders suggests two important points. The first of these is that despite several limitations, the extant primary source material does provide a great deal of information on the patronage of the orders. The second point to note is that this evidence has clearly not been utilised to full effect. Thus while studies of both orders have been carried out for England, what has been produced might be said to be of questionable quality and has little relevance to the study of patronage. This is not to say that patronage has not been considered, as the studies of Lees, Parker, Hallam and Marcombe show. Nevertheless, this theme was not the main concern of any of these authors, with the exception of Hallam, whose study was restricted to royal patronage. Therefore, in concentrating firmly on the nature of, and motivation behind, the patronage of the two orders by all social groups, this thesis seeks to fill the gap which clearly exists in the secondary literature.

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp.27-63. An example of inaccuracy is the failure to acknowledge the existence of the only papal charter contained in the cartulary, ibid., p.56, and see above p.20 and below p.130, n.242.

CHAPTER ONE:

PATRONAGE AND THE CRUSADES.

CHAPTER ONE.

PATRONAGE AND THE CRUSADES.

The aim of this first chapter on patronage is to establish how important the nature of the two orders as crusading institutions was in influencing the benefactions of their patrons. In his recent book, "England and the Crusades", Christopher Tyerman noted that, "..the spread of pious and charitable grants to the new, specifically crusading orders and others associated with the Holy Land confirms a general interest in the crusade and Outremer..".¹ Indeed, it seems reasonable to assume that with the growth in England of interest in the crusades, that specifically crusading orders such as the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus might expect to receive patronage from people who either physically participated in expeditions to the Holy land, or who were simply influenced by events in that area.²

In order to assess the importance of this crusading influence the first task is obviously to ascertain the numbers of English people who went on crusades in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This is made possible by the use of a number of lists produced by historians this century including Mumford, Siedschlag, Beebe and Lloyd.³ It is a

¹ C.Tyerman, England and the Crusades 1095-1588 (Chicago, 1988), p.31 (hereafter cited as Tyerman, Crusades).

² Simon Lloyd notes that the church as a whole benefitted from the benefactions of crusaders who were concerned for their spiritual welfare while on crusade, S.D.Lloyd, English Society and the Crusade 1216-1307 (Oxford, 1988), pp.159-62 (hereafter cited as Lloyd, English Society).

³ W.F.Mumford, England and the Crusades During the Reign of Henry III, unpublished M.A. thesis (Manchester, 1924) (hereafter cited as Mumford, England and the Crusades); B.Siedschlag, English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220 (Bryn Mawr 1939) (hereafter cited as Siedschlag, English Participation); B.Beebe, Edward I and the Crusades, unpublished Ph.D thesis (St.Andrews, 1970); B.Beebe, "The English Baronage and the Crusade of 1270," Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xlvi (1975),

commonplace among historians that English participation in the crusades began to grow only after the First Crusade of 1096-9. A. Grabois notes that the lack of enthusiasm from both William Rufus and Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, discouraged would-be crusaders on this occasion.⁴ However, despite the lack of English participants on the First Crusade, interest in the movement as a whole did increase during the first half of the twelfth century. One reason for this may have been the activities of the Military Orders themselves, who began to develop their possessions in England in this period.⁵ By the time of the Second Crusade in 1147 this interest was realised in practice when relatively large numbers of English participants joined the expedition. The Third Crusade in 1189 with Richard the Lionheart at the head was naturally well supported,⁶ and many of the expeditions throughout the thirteenth century attracted large numbers from England, most notably the Fifth Crusade between 1217 and 1221, and the expedition of the Lord Edward between 1270 and 1272.⁷

Before considering the number of crusaders who were patrons, it is worth pointing out several problems which arise when using the information contained in the lists that have been drawn up. In the first place it is not always possible to equate certain crusaders with patrons of the same name, and it is possible to eliminate certain people in this

127-148 (hereafter cited as Beebe, "English Baronage"); Lloyd, English Society, appendix 4.

⁴ A. Grabois, "Anglo-Norman England and the Holy Land", Anglo-Norman Studies, vii (1984), 132.

⁵ For the development of the Templars and Order of St. Lazarus in England see above pp. 9-11. The Hospitallers also came to England in this period, probably becoming established in Essex in the 1130's. See Gervers, Cartulary of the Knights of St. John, pp. xxxv-vi.

⁶ Siedschlag, English Participation, pp. 112-31.

⁷ For the Fifth Crusade see ibid., pp. 137-44; Mumford, England and the Crusades, 136-42. For the Crusade of 1270-2 see Beebe, "English Baronage", 143-8; Lloyd, English Society, appendix 4.

respect. These include such patrons as Brian de Brampton and Henry de Hay who made their grants before 1185 as shown in the Inquest of that year,⁸ and who are therefore unlikely to have been the crusaders of those particular names who travelled with the crusade of the Lord Edward in 1270.⁹ Similarly, a patron such as William fitz Peter can be excluded, who went on the Third Crusade,¹⁰ but who appears to have given land to the Templars in the form of one messuage and twenty six and a half acres in Royston (Cambridgeshire) as late as 1292.¹¹

A second problem, noted by Beebe, is the fact that simply because people were given protection for their lands as a result of a commitment to go on crusade, this did not mean that everyone fulfilled their vows in this respect.¹² A number of patrons who took the crusading vow did not actually go on crusade, including such important a figure as Henry II.¹³ Finally, the extant information on crusaders is generally concerned with men who held enough property and goods to desire protection. There is little information on men from the lower social ranks who may have had no reason to ask for protection or to appoint an attorney to act for them in their absence.¹⁴

⁸ Inquest, pp.40, 105.

⁹ Mumford, England and the Crusades, pp.161, 171; Lloyd, English Society, appendix 4; Beebe, "English Baronage", 144, 145.

¹⁰ Siedschlag, English Participation, p.129.

¹¹ Cal.Pat.R., 1281-1292, 486. He is referred to as a bondman of the Templars.

¹² Beebe, "English Baronage", 131.

¹³ H.E.Mayer, "Henry II of England and the Holy Land", E.H.R., xcvi (1982), pp.721-2.

¹⁴ Mumford, England and the Crusades, p.130.

THE TEMPLARS.

Having taken these problems into account, it is possible to draw up a list of Templar patrons who went on crusades from the Second Crusade to the expedition of the Lord Edward. At least five patrons of the order participated on the Second Crusade, during which an English force achieved distinction for its part in the successful siege of Lisbon in 1147.¹⁵ These patrons included Waleran, the Count of Meulan who gave the order one virgate in Tarenteford (Dorset) before 1166, the year of his death;¹⁶ Saher de Arceles (one of the leaders of the English contingent at Lisbon) who gave forty acres of land, six hens and one sheep in Temple Ewell (Kent), as well as a mill at Lusby (Lincolnshire);¹⁷ and William Peverel of Dover who, along with William, the brother of the future Henry II, gave the order seven messuages, nine virgates, one hundred and thirty nine acres and one pasture in Ewell.¹⁸ William III de Warenne, the Earl of Surrey also departed for the Holy land on this expedition,¹⁹ having made a grant of 40s. per annum rent in Lewes to the Templars between 1138-47.²⁰ Finally, Roger I de Mowbray, who may well have been on three other expeditions to the Holy Land in the twelfth century, began his crusading activity on the Second Crusade.²¹ Aside from his participation on that expedition, he was in the Holy Land in 1164, where he witnessed a

¹⁵ See for instance, H.E.Mayer, The Crusades (2nd edition, Oxford, 1988), pp.104-5.

¹⁶ Inquest, p.62. For his crusading activity see Tyerman, Crusades, p.32.

¹⁷ Inquest, p.21; Tyerman, Crusades, p.32.

¹⁸ Inquest, p.21. For his crusading activity see Tyerman, Crusades, p.32.

¹⁹ Complete Peerage, XII.i, 497; Tyerman, Crusades, p.32.

²⁰ E.Y.C., viii, 94.

²¹ Tyerman, Crusades, p.32; Greenway, Mowbray Charters, p.xxxi.

charter of King Amaury I to the order,²² and he may have joined the expedition of the Count of Flanders in 1177.²³ He was certainly at Hattin, where he was captured, later to be ransomed by the Templars and Hospitallers, only to die soon afterwards and be buried in the Holy Land.²⁴ His patronage of the order was extensive in the three counties of Warwickshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.²⁵

During the period between the Second and Third crusades eight patrons were involved in expeditions to the Holy Land. Apart from Roger I de Mowbray, these included William I Marshal who set off for the Holy Land shortly after the death of the young King Henry in 1183.²⁶ His patronage of the order included the gift of four hides of land in Upleadon (Herefordshire).²⁷ Gilbert de Lacy was certainly in the Holy Land in this period, and actually joined the Templars at some date after 1157-8.²⁸ His patronage was especially generous in Gloucestershire, where he was responsible for large-scale donations at Guiting which formed the basis of the Templar preceptory there.²⁹ Henry de Lacy seems to have made two journeys to the Holy Land in this period. The first was before 1159, and the second, on which he died, was as part of the crusade of the Count of Flanders in 1177.³⁰ He made several grants to the order

²² Marsy, "Cart.S.Lazare", 140.

²³ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, p.xxxi.

²⁴ Ibid., p.xxxii.

²⁵ See below pp.205-6.

²⁶ Complete Peerage, x, 359; S.Painter, William the Marshal, Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England (Baltimore, 1933), 55-6 (hereafter cited as Painter, William the Marshal).

²⁷ Fees, p.808, and see below pp.190-1.

²⁸ W.E.Wightman, The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194 (Oxford, 1966), p.189 (hereafter cited as Wightman, Lacy Family), and see below p.62.

²⁹ Inquest, p.47, and see below p.62.

³⁰ Wightman, Lacy Family, 82-5.

in Yorkshire, and confirmed the donation of William de Villiers between 1154-65, which was at the basis of the foundation of Temple Newsham.³¹ Robert de Traci also went to the Holy Land in this period.³² He made a single grant to the order of one bovate in Carlton (Yorkshire).³³ Another patron who went to the Holy Land before the Third Crusade was Reginald of St.Valéry.³⁴ His grants to the Templars included land in Rugge (Gloucestershire), the church of Beckley (Oxfordshire) in c.1146, and four pounds of rent in Tarenteford between 1150-66.³⁵ Hugh de Beauchamp, one of the Beauchamps of Eaton, was part of the Latin force destroyed at Hattin in 1187, where he lost his life.³⁶ He gave the Templars one virgate in Sandy (Bedfordshire).³⁷ Finally, Hugh II de Malebisse may have been on the crusade of 1187-8.³⁸ He gave the order two carucates in Great Broughton (Yorkshire) and five bovates in Scawton (Yorkshire).³⁹

The Third Crusade was the most popular for patrons of the Templars. Richard I, one of the leaders of the crusade, made a series of grants and confirmations to the order between 1189 and 1191, and again in 1196.⁴⁰

³¹ Inquest, p.263, and see below p.202.

³² Siedschlag, English Participation, p.111.

³³ Inquest, p.128.

³⁴ Siedschlag, English Participation, pp.110-1.

³⁵ Inquest, p.49; Sandford, nos.89, 295.

³⁶ G.H.Fowler, "The Beauchamps, Barons of Eaton" Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, ii (1914), 70; Siedschlag, English Participation, p.110 (hereafter cited as Fowler, "Beauchamps of Eaton").

³⁷ Inquest, p.70; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.136v.

³⁸ E.Y.C., iii, 457.

³⁹ Inquest, pp.128, 131.

⁴⁰ See below pp.96-7. For his crusading activity see J.Gillingham, Richard the Lionheart (2nd edition., London, 1989), pp.125-216.

Robert III "Blanchemains", the Earl of Leicester went on this crusade, and died at Durazzo on his way home from the Holy Land in 1190.⁴¹ There is some confusion concerning the patronage of the order by Robert III and his father Robert II, who died in 1168. Although Robert III may have given the Templars rents in Wellesbourne (Warwickshire), it is possible that the mill of Netheravon (Wiltshire) was given by Robert II.⁴² Hubert Walter, the Bishop of Salisbury was another participant on the Second Crusade.⁴³ As Archbishop of Canterbury (1193-1205), he confirmed to the Templars an indulgence of twenty days.⁴⁴ Additional patrons who went on the Third Crusade included Rannulf de Aubigny, son of William I "Brito" d'Aubigny, who died at Acre in 1191,⁴⁵ having given the Templars two bovates of land in Aubourn (Lincolnshire);⁴⁶ John fitz Eustace de Lacy, the Constable of Chester who died at Tyre on 11 October 1190,⁴⁷ having given the church of Marnham in Nottinghamshire;⁴⁸ Gilbert Malet who gave one mark from his fraternity (ex fraternitate Gilberti Malet);⁴⁹ and

⁴¹ Complete Peerage, vii, 533; Siedschlag, English Participation, p.123.

⁴² Inquest, pp.32, 52, and see below p.164.

⁴³ Siedschlag, English Participation, p.117; C.R.Cheney, Hubert Walter (London, 1967), pp.33-7 (hereafter cited as Cheney, Hubert Walter).

⁴⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.74v.

⁴⁵ E.Y.C., i, 462; Siedschlag, English Participation, p.120.

⁴⁶ Inquest, p.92.

⁴⁷ Siedschlag, English Participation, p.118. L.Landon suggests that his death was at Acre, but the Gesta written by Roger de Howden (and stated by Landon as his source), and the Chronicle of Roger de Howden both clearly state that Tyre was the place of his death. See L.Landon, The Itinerary of King Richard I (Pipe Roll Society, new series), xiii (1935), 44; W.Stubbs ed., Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. The Chronicle of the Reign of Henry II and Richard I, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, 1867), ii, 148; W.Stubbs ed., Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, 4 vols. (Rolls Series, 1870), iii, 88.

⁴⁸ Inquest, p.80.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.61. For a suggestion that Gilbert was a lay associate see below p.77.

Robert III of Stafford, who gave half a hide of land and sixteen virgates in Tysse (Warwickshire), and four carucates in Skinnand and a tenement in Rauceby (Lincolnshire).⁵⁰

William de Mowbray, the son of Roger I may also have been on this crusade. The reason for suggesting this is that he appeared as a hostage for Richard I's ransom in Germany, and it is possible that he travelled back with the king from the Holy Land.⁵¹ His patronage of the order consisted of two confirmatory charters. In the first of these he confirmed the carucates in Thorp, in the parish of Kirkby Malzeard, given to the order by Roger of Fountains. In the second, he confirmed one carucate and five bovates in Thorp given by William Blaston, and a further two bovates.⁵² Two final patrons who may be the men of the same names who also went on this crusade were William Martel and Hugh de Nevill. William Martel made several grants to the order including five messuages in London, and 2s. in alms in Maulden (Bedfordshire) plus the manor of Temple Combe (Somerset).⁵³ If William the crusader was the same man as the patron, he was probably nearing the end of his life as he had been King Stephen's steward throughout that king's reign.⁵⁴ Hugh de Neville gave the manor of Lokeswood (Lockwood, Cambridgeshire?), plus woods.⁵⁵ It is quite possible that this patron was the same man who went

⁵⁰ Ibid., pp.28, 86, 92. For his crusading activity see Siedschlag, English Participation, p.124.

⁵¹ Complete Peerage, ix, 373.

⁵² Taylor, "Ribston", 281-3.

⁵³ Inquest, pp.15, 75; Bartelot, "Temple Combe", 86.

⁵⁴ See below p.162. For his crusading activity see Siedschlag, English Participation, p.129. Compare with Round, who suggests that William the crusader was in fact a different person, J.H.Round, "Some English Crusaders of Richard I", E.H.R., xviii (1903), 481, n.24.

⁵⁵ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 833.

on the Third Crusade.⁵⁶ Unfortunately, another Hugh de Neville is recorded as being in the Holy Land in 1267, when he drew up a will in which he left small gifts to the two orders plus a variety of other institutions in the Holy Land.⁵⁷ It is impossible to be certain which of the two men was the patron, as the only reference for the grant does not provide a date. While the Lokewood grant does not appear in the Inquest of 1185, the grant may well have been given after this date possibly as part of Hugh's preparations for the Third Crusade.

Following the Third Crusade, the Fourth Crusade of 1198-1204, only attracted two patrons of the order. These were Robert de Ros and William de Say. Robert de Ros was responsible for the foundation of the preceptory of Ribston in Yorkshire, and his grant referred to the fact that it was made ad sustentationem Sanctae Terrea.⁵⁸ William de Say's patronage of the order consisted of the confirmation that the manor of Saddlescombe, given by Geoffrey II de Say, did belong to the Templars.⁵⁹ The Fifth Crusade was rather more popular, and attracted the highest number of patrons of the Templars after the Third Crusade. One of these patrons was Rannulf III of Chester, who stayed in the east for at least two years.⁶⁰ He made a number of grants to the order, including one and

⁵⁶ Siedschlag, English Participation, p.117.

⁵⁷ M.S.Giuseppi, "On the Testament of Sir Hugh de Nevill, written at Acre, 1267", Archaeologia, LVI.ii (1899), 351-70. He left the Temple at Acre a standing goblet, and the hospital of St.Lazarus three besants, ibid., 352, 354. As Lloyd notes, this is regrettably one of the few wills of an English crusader to survive, Lloyd, English Society, p.162.

⁵⁸ For Robert's patronage at Ribston, see Taylor, "Ribston", 432-7, and below p.81, where reference is made to his association with the Templars. For his crusading activity see Siedschlag, English Participation, p.135.

⁵⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.269. The relationship between the two men is not clear. For his crusading activity see Siedschlag, English Participation, p.136.

⁶⁰ Siedschlag, English Participation, p.141; Mumford, England and the Crusades, p.138; A.W.Alexander, Rannulf III: A Relic of the

a half carucates in Cawkwell (Lincolnshire).⁶¹ Other patrons who went on the Fifth Crusade included Eustace de Grenville who gave two virgates of land in Fieldham (Buckinghamshire) ⁶² and confirmed a grant in c.1190 made by his uncle, Gerard de Grenvill, of half a hide in Wotton Underwood (Buckinghamshire) plus twelve acres of land.⁶³ Eustace the patron was probably Eustace the crusader despite the time lag between his grant and the Fifth Crusade. Although another Eustace de Grenvill is referred to in the sources in the middle decades of the thirteenth century, it is less likely that he was the crusader.⁶⁴ John Harcourt also went on this expedition. He gave ten pounds of land in Rockley (Leicestershire).⁶⁵ This grant is particularly interesting as it seems to have actually been made while John was on crusade. The Close Rolls refer to the fact that he had received the land from King John, and that he had given it to the Templars, in extremis agens in exercitu Damete, where he died.⁶⁶ Emery de Sacy's grant of half a carucate of land and a mill in Southampton seems to have been made in similar circumstances.⁶⁷ A reference, also

Conquest (Athens, Georgia, 1983), pp.77-80 (hereafter cited as Alexander, Rannulf III).

⁶¹ Fees, p.169, and see below p.185 for his other grants.

⁶² Inquest, p.46. For his crusading activity see Mumford, England and the Crusades, p.139.

⁶³ Sandford, no.478.

⁶⁴ V.C.H. Buckinghamshire, iv, 131; Rot.Hund., i, 24; Inquisitions and Assessments relating to Feudal Aids; with other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office. A.D.1284-1431, 6 vols. (London, 1899-1920), i, 75.

⁶⁵ Cal.Chart.R., i, 51.

⁶⁶ T.D.Hardy ed., Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1204-27, 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1833-44), i, 402 (hereafter cited as Rot.Lit.Claus). For his crusading activity see Siedschlag, English Participation, p.140.

⁶⁷ Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous documents preserved in the Public Record Office, (Henry III-), in progress (London, 1904-) i, 272 (hereafter cited as Cal.Inq.P.M.). For his crusading activity see Siedschlag, English Participation, p.138.

from the Close Rolls, states that the Knights Templar had full seisin of land qua Emericus de Sacy in extremis agens eis legavit in obsidione Damietta.⁶⁸ Several other patrons were also participants on the Fifth Crusade. These included Hugh of Sandford who gave the Templars part of a meadow near Sandford in c.1219;⁶⁹ Geoffrey de Say II who gave the order all the manor of Saddlescombe plus the services of Matthew de Cumba, and later confirmed his own grant;⁷⁰ and finally, Robert de Vaux who granted rights in Clayhanger and Donstewe (Devon), and lands at Rockley and Wycomb (Leicestershire).⁷¹

Additional thirteenth century crusades to attract patrons of the order were the crusades of Richard of Cornwall and the Lord Edward. Richard of Cornwall's expedition in 1239 included three patrons of the order. Richard himself confirmed a charter on 20 May 1233 or 1234, originally granted by Matilda, daughter of Rannulf, of land at Stoke Talmage (Oxfordshire);⁷² Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, gave eight acres of land plus the lands called Rockley Woods;⁷³ while William Peverel who confirmed the grant of the manor of Sandford given by his uncle, Thomas II of Sandford may also have been on this crusade.⁷⁴ The

⁶⁸ Rot.Lit.Claus., i, 401.

⁶⁹ Sandford, no.10, and see below p.107-8. For his crusading activity see Siedschlag, English Participation, p.139; Mumford England and the Crusades, p.141.

⁷⁰ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.265. For his crusading activity see Siedschlag, English Participation, p.138.

⁷¹ Bartelot, "Temple Combe", 92; Cal.Chart.R., i, 77; Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 834. For his crusading activity see Mumford, England and the Crusades, p.142. See below p.83 for his association with the Templars.

⁷² Sandford, no.216. For his crusading activity see N.Denholm-Young, Richard of Cornwall (Oxford, 1947), pp.38-43.

⁷³ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 836. For his crusading activity see Mumford, England and the Crusades, pp.53-4, 58-60; F.M.Powicke, King Henry III and the Lord Edward (Oxford, 1947), p.205 (hereafter cited as Powicke, Henry III).

⁷⁴ Sandford, no.4, and see below pp.57, 109.

grant is dated 3 May 1241, and Lloyd suggests that it was fear of the return sea passage home that lay behind William's confirmatory charter, as it is very likely that he travelled home with Richard of Cornwall the next day.⁷⁵ However, some doubt is cast on whether William was on this crusade, because although Lloyd assumes that this was the case, Mumford does not include him in her list of patrons, and neither does his name appear in the major chronicle sources for the expedition.⁷⁶

Finally, the Lord Edward's Crusade of 1270-2 had three patrons in attendance. These included the leader of the crusade, the Lord Edward, whose charters to the order included a re-affirmation of the various benefactions of his predecessors.⁷⁷ Luke de Tany was also on this crusade, and gave land, meadows and messuages in Reyndon and Nasing (Essex):⁷⁸ Finally, David of Strathbogie, the Earl of Atholl, gave the order his manor of Chingford (Essex). He made this grant in April, shortly before departing on the expedition. He died at Tunis in August of the same year.⁷⁹

THE ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS.

In terms of the available evidence only a small number of patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus are recorded as having gone on crusade during the

-
- ⁷⁵ Lloyd, English Society, p.161.
- ⁷⁶ Mumford, England and the Crusades, pp.144-9; H.R.Luard ed., Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, 7 vols. (Rolls Series, 1872-83), iv, 138-44.
- ⁷⁷ See below p.98. For his crusading activity see M.Prestwich, Edward I (London, 1988), pp.66-85.
- ⁷⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.101v. For his crusading activity see Mumford, England and the Crusades, p.181; Lloyd, English Society, appendix 4; Beebe, "English Baronage", 147.
- ⁷⁹ Cal.Pat.R., 1266-72, 423. For details of David's career see Sir J.Balfour Paul, ed., The Scots Peerage, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904-14), i, 425; A.A.M.Duncan, "The earldom of Atholl in the thirteenth century", Scottish Genealogist, vii (1961), 2-10.

twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In the twelfth century a total of only six patrons can definitely be identified. Two of these, Roger I de Mowbray and Henry de Lacy (both Templar patrons) went on the Second Crusade, and also took part on several other expeditions before the Third Crusade.⁸⁰ Roger's patronage of the order, particularly in Burton Lazars was especially important,⁸¹ while that of Henry de Lacy provided them with the advowson of the church of Castleford (Yorkshire).⁸² Four other twelfth century patrons of the order went on the Third Crusade. Thus Richard I confirmed the grant of forty marks rent per annum originally granted by Henry II,⁸³ and Robert III the Earl of Leicester gave the order 10s. of rent in Leicester.⁸⁴ William I, the Earl of Derby took the cross in 1188 and died at Acre in 1190.⁸⁵ He gave the order the advowson of the church of Spondon (Derbyshire).⁸⁶ Roger de Mowbray's son Nigel went on this crusade and also died at Acre in 1191.⁸⁷ He made several grants to the order including that which gave the total tithe from meat and drink in his house wherever it happened to be.⁸⁸

⁸⁰ See above pp.43-4.

⁸¹ See below pp.118-21.

⁸² Cal.Chart.R., iv, 77, and see below p.202.

⁸³ T.Rymer ed., Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiusunque generis acta publica inter regis Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges, pontifices, principes vel communitates, 1101-1654, new edition, ed., A.Clarke et al, 4 vols. in 7 parts (London, 1816-69), i, 49. For his crusading activity see above p.45, n.40.

⁸⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.110. For his crusading activity see above p.46, n.41.

⁸⁵ Siedschlag, English Participation, p.128.

⁸⁶ B.L. ms. Harleian 3868, f.15v, and see above p.18, and below p.272.

⁸⁷ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, p.xxxii; Siedschlag, English Participation, p.119.

⁸⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.3. For his other grants see below p.122.

A further four benefactors of the order may also have crusaded in the twelfth century. Nichols suggests that, "...In the latter end of the reign of King Henry II, Sir William Burdet undertook a voyage to the Holy Land; whither the king and the king of France intended to have gone with an army royal to the assistance of Guy de Lusignania king of Jerusalem, who was then taken prisoner by Salaine souldan of Aegypt, who had taken Jerusalem and all the Holy Land in 1187;..". ⁸⁹ In fact Nichols' references to William I can be immediately discounted, as the theory that he was on crusade at the end of the 1180's is contradicted by Pipe Roll evidence showing that he was dead by 1184.⁹⁰ The reference given by Dugdale appears to have more foundation to it. He describes William as "...both a valiant and devout man...who made a journey to the Holy Land, for subduing of the infidels in those parts..".⁹¹ The indication is that he was on crusade (quite possibly the Second Crusade) in the 1140's. Although several influences on William's patronage may be noted,⁹² his crusading activities might help to explain his patronage of the order in Leicestershire which consisted of Tilton hospital, a carucate of land in Newton, and the two churches of Galby and Lowesby and the Northamptonshire church of Haselbeech.⁹³ Two additional patrons may be identified with men of the same names who went on the Third Crusade. Geoffrey de Hay, one of Henry II's administrators,⁹⁴ may be the same man who gave the order three acres of land in Thorpe' (Leicestershire),⁹⁵

⁸⁹ Nichols, History Leics., III.i, 337.

⁹⁰ P.R., 31 Henry II, 104, and see below pp.127, n.222.

⁹¹ Dugdale, Monasticon, iii, 455.

⁹² See below p.198.

⁹³ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.98. See below p.127 for more details.

⁹⁴ Siedschlag, English Participation, p.115.

⁹⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.84.

while Warin fitz Simon who was a knight of the Earl of Clare,⁹⁶ may be the same man who gave the order one bovate, and meadow and pasture land in Burton Lazars.⁹⁷ Finally, Roger I de Mowbray's grandson, William de Mowbray, may also have gone on the Third Crusade with his father Nigel.⁹⁸ His patronage of the order consisted of a quit-claim of the services due from five bovates of land in Leesthorpe (Leicestershire).⁹⁹

The participation of only three known patrons can be traced exactly for thirteenth century crusades. Thus William II de Ferrers, the Earl of Derby went on the Fifth Crusade, setting out in 1218.¹⁰⁰ His patronage of the order consisted of the confirmation of his father's Spondon grant.¹⁰¹ Simon de Montfort, the Earl of Leicester also confirmed a predecessor's charter, in this case Robert III of Leicester's grant of 10s. rent in Leicester.¹⁰² Finally, Edward I who led his own crusade before he became king, gave the order the Hospital of St.Giles of Holborn in exchange for his predecessors' grants of 40 marks per annum in rent.¹⁰³ One other probable thirteenth century crusader was Nigel de Amundeville who certainly seems to have been to the Holy land at some point. In a charter addressed to his son Robert, he ordered him to allow the order to have full possession of half a bovate of land in Carlton le Moorland. The reason for this command is stated by Nigel to be, quod

⁹⁶ Siedschlag, English Participation, p.127.

⁹⁷ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.28.

⁹⁸ See above p.47.

⁹⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.3v, 44, and see below p.124.

¹⁰⁰ Siedschlag, English Participation, p.143.

¹⁰¹ B.L. ms. Harleian 3868, f.15v. For the date see P.E.Golob, The Ferrers Earls of Derby: A Study of the Honour of Tutbury (1066-1279), unpublished Ph.D thesis (Cambridge, 1984), p.522.

¹⁰² B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.110. For his crusading activity see above p.50, n.73.

¹⁰³ See ~~below p.71~~. For his crusading activity see above p.51, n.77.

fratres predicti in partibus transmarinis tantos mihi fecerunt.¹⁰⁴

Unfortunately, because the date of Nigel's grant is unclear it is not possible to tell whether this visit to the Holy Land was as part of one of the major expeditions or on a private pilgrimage. However, judging from the fact that his brother Elias II died in c.1231,¹⁰⁵ it is probable that if Nigel had been on a crusade, it would have been either the Fourth or Fifth Crusade, or possibly the expedition of Frederick II between 1227-9.

Having outlined the nature of the patronage of the crusading-patrons of the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus, several points can be made by way of conclusion. In terms of actual numbers of patrons who went on crusade, it can be argued that the influence of the crusading movement was rather insignificant. This is made apparent when one considers the numbers of crusading patrons with the numbers of known patrons of the orders in England overall. A total of thirty six patrons of the Templars who went on crusade have been traced, yet there were over 800 different patrons of the order throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. This means that less than four and a half percent of Templar patrons were crusaders. In the case of St.Lazarus only ten patrons who definitely went on crusade have been traced. This figure may rise to fourteen, if Geoffrey de Hay, Warin fitz Simon, William de Mowbray and William I Burdet are included. However, as there were over 200 patrons of the English order this means that only between about five and seven percent of the order's patrons were crusaders. In fact these small figures reflect the percentage figures (about five percent) for members of the

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., f.118v. The half bovate of land was granted to the order in the preceding charter in the cartulary, ibid., f.118. Also see below pp.140-1.

¹⁰⁵ See below p.138.

western European population as a whole, who seem to have participated on crusades, as Jonathan Riley-Smith has recently pointed out.¹⁰⁶

Furthermore, if one looks at the timing of the grants made by these crusading patrons there is actually some doubt cast as to whether it was the crusade which was actually behind their motivation to patronage. It is very difficult often to be sure of the exact dating of benefactions, particularly with the Order of St.Lazarus, but where the dates of the various grants are known, only in a few cases do they seem to correspond with the crusading activity of the patron. Thus Richard of Cornwall's confirmatory charter to the Templars was issued about five or six years before he went on crusade, and at least two years before he took the cross in 1236.¹⁰⁷ Similarly, the grants of Robert III of Leicester, Rannulf de Aubigny, John fitz Eustace de Lacy, William Martel and Robert III de Stafford's grant were all made at least four years before the Third Crusade.¹⁰⁸ Similarly for St.Lazarus, Simon de Montfort's confirmatory charter was issued in 1233, at least six years before he went on crusade, while the confirmatory charter of William II Earl of Derby was issued between 1230-42, whereas he was on crusade in the early 1220's.¹⁰⁹ Finally there were sometimes greater gaps between patronage and crusading as in the case of Eustace de Grenville, a crusader in 1217-21, who made two gifts to the Templars, one before 1185 and the other in c.1190.¹¹⁰ It is also worth stressing that even in cases where benefactions were made while the patron was on crusade, other factors may

¹⁰⁶ Information given in a recent lecture, to the History Society of the University of St.Andrews. "Motivations of the earliest crusaders". March 1989.

¹⁰⁷ Mumford, England and the Crusades, p.45, and see above p.50.

¹⁰⁸ See above pp.46, 47. As they are recorded in the Inquest, they cannot have been granted after 1185.

¹⁰⁹ See above p.54.

¹¹⁰ See above p.49.

have been behind the motivation to patronage. As Lloyd suggested, William Peverel's grant of 2 May 1241 may have had more to do with the fear of sea travel than any crusading fervour,¹¹¹ while the grants of John of Harcourt and Emery de Sacy seem to have been made in extremis agens, suggests an alternative to the crusade behind their motivation.¹¹²

Moreover, if physical participation was not generally important in influencing patronage, neither does it seem that events in the Holy Land were of great influence on benefactors who stayed at home. There are only a very few instances whereby grants to the two orders were accompanied by references to the Holy Land. Thus, in about 1146, Reginald de St.Valèry's grant of the church of Beckley to the Templars was made partly pro omnibus illis qui mecum Iherosolimam contendere cupiunt,¹¹³ while the charter of Thomas II de Sandford in c.1240, which gave the Templars the manor of Sandford, refers to the fact that the grant was made in part, ad subsidium terre sancte.¹¹⁴ As far as the Order of St.Lazarus is concerned, only one charter in the Cartulary of Burton Lazars contains a similar reference. This comes in a grant made by William fitz William fitz Hugh de Burton of one headland and one ploughland in Burton Lazars. The charter, which was probably made in the first half of the thirteenth century, refers to the grant being made in subsidium terre sancte.¹¹⁵ In the other fourteen charters, in which he gave the order a total of thirty seven ploughlands, one meadow, one and a half roods of meadows, two headlands, three butts and a confirmation of

¹¹¹ Lloyd, English Society, p.161. But see above pp.50-1 for a comment on William's crusading activity.

¹¹² See above pp.49-50.

¹¹³ See above p.45. See also above p.48 for a reference to the Holy Land in a charter of Robert de Ros.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., no.1, and see above p.107.

¹¹⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.19.

all his grants and those of his heirs, there are no similar references¹¹⁶ The meaning of these references is not particularly clear, although it is possible that the grants could have been made as a form of compensation by the grantor for not going on crusade. Another explanation is that they could have been part of a crusading subsidy levied at the time of a crusade. It is possible that the first explanation could be correct for both Reginald de St.Valéry and Thomas II of Sandford, as the former's grant was made just before the Second Crusade, and the latter's just before the Crusade of Richard of Cornwall.¹¹⁷ However, the idea that the grants were connected with a crusading subsidy could only apply to Thomas II's grant, as such subsidies were not in use when Reginald made his grant.

However, despite this negative evidence, several points can be made in conclusion in support of the importance of crusading influences on patronage. It must be firmly stated that while the crusade may not have been a major influence on the patronage of the majority of benefactors to the two orders, there are several examples where crusading activity does seem to have been of some significance. A number of important patrons of both orders, including Roger I de Mowbray, William I of Derby, John de Harcourt and Gilbert de Lacy were crusaders, and indeed some like Nigel de Amundeville appear to have had direct contact with one or other of the orders while in the Holy Land. Furthermore, while some grants were made years before or after the crusading activity of certain patrons, there are also examples of close time links between crusading and patronage. For the Templars, both John de Harcourt and Emery de Sacy made their grants at Damietta, while William Peverel and David, the Earl of Atholl

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, fols.14v, 15, 15v, 18v, 19v, 20, 21, 21v(2), 22(2), 22v, 23, 37v.

¹¹⁷ Whether William fitz William fitz Hugh of Burton's grant was made in a similar situation is not known because no exact date can be given for his charter.

made their grants shortly before leaving the Holy Land. It is also true that Richard I did make his series of grants shortly before leaving on crusade, and that Hugh de Sandford's grant was made during the period of the Fifth Crusade on which he participated. In the case of St.Lazarus, Roger I de Mowbray's foundation at Burton Lazars appears to have occurred soon after his return from the Second Crusade in c.1150, while Nigel de Amundeville's grant appears to recognise a debt to the order whilst in the Holy Land. Finally, the dating of the grants made by Reginald of St.Valéry and Thomas II of Sandford is particularly interesting, as they both made their grants shortly before a crusade took place. Whatever the reasoning behind their grants, the linkage between crusading activity and patronage is evident, and overall in a few cases crusading influences clearly did matter a great deal. Nevertheless, it must be firmly stated that as far as the majority of patrons were concerned this aspect of the nature of the two orders was not especially significant.

CHAPTER TWO:

FULL MEMBERSHIP AND LAY ASSOCIATION.

CHAPTER TWO.

FULL MEMBERSHIP AND LAY ASSOCIATION.

Having assessed the importance of the crusading nature of the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus on their patronage, it is now possible to consider another motive for patronage which is also linked to the orders themselves, and particularly their membership. In this chapter, the aim will be to assess whether people who joined the orders, either as full members or lay associates, were also patrons of the particular order, and also whether prospective benefactors were motivated to patronise orders which contained members of their families.¹ This will involve a consideration of the patronage of full members of the Templars and their relatives. In addition, the importance of full members of the Order of St.Lazarus will also be assessed, and this will involve a consideration of the importance of the leper members of the order on patronage. Finally, the nature of lay association and its link with the patronage of both orders (but particularly the Templars) can be analysed in detail.

FULL MEMBERSHIP OF THE TEMPLARS.

Full members of the Templars can be defined as those knights, sergeants and chaplains who were subject to the rules and customs of the order and to the ultimate authority of the Grand Master of the Templars in the Holy Land. Although it is not always easy to find the names of full members of the Templars, among those names of members and masters of the English order that have been traced, it is clear that a limited number had connections with the patronage of the order.

¹ For definitions of full membership and lay association see below, this page and p.67.

The most important of these was Gilbert de Lacy, the son of Roger de Lacy. Having spent much of his career trying to restore his father's inheritance, he appears to have joined the Templars after 1157-8 (when he was still in the possession of his father's lands).² By 1160 as frater Gilbert de Lacy he was among a number of Templars who witnessed the peace treaty between Henry II and Louis VII of France.³ He went to the Holy Land some time after this, where he became the preceptor of the Templar house at Tripoli,⁴ and his last appearance (but not necessarily his death) was in 1163, when William of Tyre refers to him as being one of the leaders of a crusader force which defeated Nur-ad-Din.⁵

Gilbert's patronage of the Templars consisted of a large grant to the Templars in Guiting (Gloucestershire), probably between c.1154-9, which included twelve assised hides, one virgate, a mill and the advowson of the church of that place.⁶ He also granted one and a half virgates in Holeford and five burgage properties in Winchcombe, both in Gloucestershire.⁷ Together, these made him one of the most important patrons of the Templars in England. Unfortunately, it is impossible to date his grants with any accuracy, and therefore it is not possible to suggest at which point Gilbert's benefactions were made, although in all probability he made his grants before, or at the time when he joined the order, and certainly before he left England for the Holy Land. Indeed, his own motivation for patronage may have had more to do with his

² Wightman, Lacy Family, pp.184-90, for more details of Gilbert's career.

³ L.Delisle and E.Berger eds., Recueil des actes de Henri II, 4 vols. (Paris, 1909-27), i, no.cxli (hereafter cited as Delisle, Henri II).

⁴ Inquest, p.cxxiv. For his crusading activity see above p.44.

⁵ Babcock, William Archbishop of Tyre, ii, 306.

⁶ Inquest, p.47.

⁷ Ibid., pp.48, 50.

crusading activities and military background, which may indeed have been behind his becoming a full member of the order. If Gilbert's intimate connection does not necessarily explain his patronage, according to Wightman it could help explain the patronage of the Templars by Agnes de Lacy, whom Wightman suggests was Gilbert's wife.⁸ Using a reference given by Dugdale, she suggests that Agnes gave the order a preceptory and land at Quenington (Gloucestershire). Unfortunately, while Dugdale's transcription of the Liber Johannis Stillingflete does refer to this gift by Agnes, it states that the grant was made to the Hospitallers and not the Templars.⁹ Aside from Gilbert de Lacy the only other reference to a Templar patronising the order, comes in the Inquest of 1185, which records that the order received five acres of land in Rushden (Hertfordshire) ex dono Ricardis templarii.¹⁰

In addition to Gilbert de Lacy and Richard the Templar, it is possible that the patronage of several benefactors was partly influenced by their relationship with several masters of the English order. Richard de Hastings, who was Master of the order between c.1155-85 ¹¹ appears to have come from the Hastings family which included two patrons of the order, Rannulf and William de Hastings. Rannulf de Hastings was the steward of Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine,¹² and was responsible for the establishment of the Templars at Temple Hirst.¹³ William de Hastings was Henry II's dispenser,¹⁴ and early in his reign he gave the order meadow

⁸ Wightman, Lacy Family, p.259,

⁹ Ibid., pp.207, 259, and see Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 836.

¹⁰ Inquest, p.70.

¹¹ Ibid., pp.xlix-lvii, 225, 241.

¹² Ibid., p.1.

¹³ Ibid., p.270, and see below p.174.

¹⁴ Ibid., p.1, and see below p.173-4.

and marshland in Hackney marshes.¹⁵ Apart from members of the Hastings family, it is also possible that the patronage of a number of members of the Sandford family was influenced by the fact that Robert de Sandford was the Master of the English order from c.1229-50.¹⁶ The connection between Robert the master and Jordan de Sandford and his sons, whose patronage in Sandford is discussed in detail below, cannot however, be established with any certainty.¹⁷ Aside from these examples there do not seem to be any other connections between full members of the order and its patronage, and this particular connection with the orders does not seem to have played a significant role in their patronage.

LEPERS AND THE ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS.

From the outset it has to be stated that as far as actual members of the Order of St.Lazarus are concerned, there is no evidence for their patronage. Admittedly the number of names of members that are known is not great, but even among the list of masters of Burton Lazars there do not appear to have been any benefactors to the order. Neither are there any patrons who appear to have been related to such figures. Nevertheless, it has been suggested that if one looks at the lesser members of the order, and especially the leper inmates of its hospitals, such connections can be found. Thus David Marcombe, one of the most recent commentators on the English order has argued that Burton Lazars essentially cared for those members of the property owning class who were themselves afflicted with leprosy, or who had relatives who were so afflicted. He argues that, "...there is growing evidence to suggest that a pattern of land donation can be related to placements in the

¹⁵ Ibid., pp.xc, 16.

¹⁶ Cal.Close R., 1227-31, 227; 1247-51, 283:

¹⁷ See below p.105, n.93.

hospital."¹⁸ In this section the aim will be to assess the validity of this claim, that patronage of the hospital, and one could assume the order as a whole, was closely linked to the connections of its leprous members.

During the Quo Warranto enquiries of 1274-5, the jurors of the wapentake of Grafhoe in Lincolnshire recorded that the brethren of Burton Lazars had held one carucate of land in Carlton le Moorland for eighty years, and that, "...they have that carucate of land from the gift of Elias de Amundaville along with a leprous daughter."¹⁹ This evidence appears to confirm Marcombe's statement that, "...a sick or elderly relative would be taken in on condition that a portion of land was conveyed to the hospital to help pay for their upkeep."²⁰ It was quite a common practice for new entrants to leper hospitals to bring support for themselves in the nature of land or money, either from themselves or from their relatives, as is made clear from the statutes of the leper hospital of St. Julian near St. Albans.²¹ It is probable that in the case of Elias' daughter the revenues that could be drawn from the carucate were meant to perform a similar function. Furthermore, it is possible that the practice occurred in the Holy Land from the evidence of the order's Jerusalem Cartulary. This states that in 1248, Stephen of Salerno gave the order a rent of 10s. so that his son Austorge should be admitted as a brother.²²

¹⁸ Marcombe, "Knights of St. Lazarus".

¹⁹ Rot. Hund., i, 284, et habuerunt illam carucatam terre de dono Elye de Mundevile cum quadam filia sua leprosa.

²⁰ Marcombe, Burton Lazars, p.5.

²¹ P. Richards, The Medieval Leper and his Northern Heirs (Cambridge, 1977), p.132.

²² Marsy, "Cart. S. Lazare", 157, Stephanus de Salerno, dono et imperpetuum concedo, amore Dei...et, quod filium meum Austorgium benignissime atque karitative in fratrem recipere (dignentur). It should be noted that the reference to brother does not necessarily

If gifts of land or money were given at the time a leprous relative joined the order, it also seems to have been the case that benefactions to the same establishment would be made at a later date. This theory helps to explain Elias' later grants of lands and rights in Carlton,²³ and evidence again from the Jerusalem house of the order provides support for this view. The cartulary refers to the fact that in 1160, Hugh the Lord of Caesarea gave the order two houses in Caesarea, "...for the love of my brother Eustace, who is a brother in that house.."24

It must be admitted that there is a strong temptation to believe that a number of donations to the order were motivated by the entry into, or existence of leprous relatives in one of its hospitals. Examples can be found of connections between the patronage of other leper hospitals and the relatives of lepers, as in the case of the Hospital of Pont Audemer in Normandy.²⁵ In England too, the example of Robert III, the Earl of Leicester, who gave rents in Leicester to the Order of St.Lazarus and who also had a leprous son called William is suggestive of the same motivation.²⁶ However, aside from this one other example, the evidence of Elias de Amundeville and his daughter has proved to be an isolated case in terms of the Order of St.Lazarus. There are no similar examples either in the Burton Lazars Cartulary or in any of the other

mean that Austorge was a leper. He could have been one of the brethren who cared for the sick.

²³ See below p.139.

²⁴ Marsy, "Cart.S.Lazare", 137, et pro amore fratris mei Eustachii, qui eiusdem domus frater est. See above p.65, n.22 for the question of his exact status.

²⁵ S.C.Mesmin, The Cartulary of the Leper Hospital of St.Gilles de Pont-Audemer, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols. (Reading, 1978), 103-9.

²⁶ For Robert's grant see above p.52. For his leprous son, who founded the leper hospital of St.Leonard's at Leicester before 1189-90 see Knowles and Hadcock, p.369. Dugdale suggests that Robert III was a leper, although there is no evidence for this statement. See Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 868.

miscellaneous pieces of evidence, relating to the English order. The "growing evidence", of such patronage referred to by Marcombe does not materialise on close inspection of the sources, and his views on this aspect of the motivations behind the patronage of the order appear to have been misjudged.

LAY ASSOCIATION WITH THE TEMPLARS AND ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS.

Having considered the rather limited importance which full membership of the two orders seems to have had on their patronage, it is now possible to consider the significance of lay association in this respect. Lay association with a religious order can be taken to mean the situation whereby a person from the secular world was connected with a religious order, in such a way as to receive either spiritual or temporal benefits (or both), in return for some kind of commitment to the order. This might involve a material grant of land or similar benefit. In his study of the relationship between lay society and the Templars, Barber noted that this relationship was made easier from a very early stage in the order's history, "...by arrangements of considerable flexibility which enabled knights to share in the benefits of association with the Templars.."²⁷ There is however, some degree of uncertainty about the actual nature of Templar associates. In his recent study of the Templars in the Holy Land, Rovik suggested that unlike other religious orders, the Templars did not make great distinctions between their lay associates. He argued that the only distinction that could be made was between active and passive confraters. Active confraters were those people who joined the order in the Holy Land and Spain in order to fulfill military functions, in return for spiritual benefits. In contrast to these men, passive confraters were those people who allied themselves to the order

²⁷ Barber, "Social Context", 41.

by providing property and money, and were given spiritual benefits and protection.²⁸

Despite Rovik's claims, it is clear that the Rule of the Temple does, in theory at least, make provision for several distinct categories of lay associates. It thus distinguishes between milites ad terminum, lay knights who joined the order for a limited period of time;²⁹ fratres coniugati, married couples who would have been closely involved in the community while remaining a distinct group;³⁰ men who joined the order on their death-bed;³¹ and a mixture of squires, servants and poor who lived close by Templar communities.³²

The theories outlined in the Rule of the Temple have been studied by Elisabeth Magnou, who assessed the practical evidence of association using material relating to the South of France. This is mostly contained in the Cartulary of Douzens, which contains evidence relating to the preceptories of Douzens, Albi and Rouerque.³³ She has distinguished between three groups of people who handed themselves over to the Templars. In the first place traditio animae et corporis represented a situation where, in return for spiritual benefits and burial in a Templar cemetery, lay people made gifts to the order, agreed to defend and be obedient to its rules, and agreed not to join any other religious

²⁸ Rovik, Templars in the Holy Land, p.129.

²⁹ Curzon, Règle, no.66.

³⁰ Ibid., no.69.

³¹ Ibid., no.632.

³² Ibid., no.68. These could have included the squires of the milites ad terminum, whose role is discussed ibid., no.66.

³³ E.Magnou, "Oblature, classe chevaleresque et servage dans les maisons méridionales du Temple au XII^{me} siècle", Annales du Midi, lxxiii (1961), 381 (hereafter cited as Magnou, "Oblature"), P.Gérard and E.Magnou, Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens (Paris, 1965), particularly pp.xxxii-vi. Also see Barber, "Social Context", 41-3.

house.³⁴ A second form of association was that known as la traditio remunerée, whereby similar arrangements as in the first were employed with the addition that the Templar house would concede a material advantage in money or service.³⁵ A third category, which Magnou argues was unique to the Cartulary of Douzens, was that referred to as traditio per hominem. With this form of association the donor gave himself fully to the order, and additionally gave them a small annual payment, and all his wealth rather than just a part of it. He would renounce the right of choosing another lord, and unlike traditio animae et corporis, he did not promise to defend the order, rather he himself would be offered security by the Templars.³⁶

The picture described by Magnou appears to show a very clear distinction between the various ways in which people could become associated with the Temple. Such a distinction has been made for the Hospitallers by Riley-Smith, who noted that there were two types of Hospitaller associates, confratres and donats. The former promised to defend the order against malefactors, made initial gifts to the order, and took a vow that their reason for joining the confraternity was only for the profit of their souls. The latter category were distinguished by their noble birth, by their specific intention of entering the order, and by a slightly different ceremony of reception. Riley-Smith also notes that a variety of other people joined the order, in one way or the other, such as married couples and those who wished to be buried in the order's cemeteries (including crusaders and pilgrims).³⁷

³⁴ Magnou, "Oblature", 382-6.

³⁵ Ibid., 386-91.

³⁶ Ibid., 391-5.

³⁷ J.Riley-Smith, The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050-1310 (London, 1967), pp.242-6 (hereafter cited as Riley-Smith, Knights of St. John).

However, in the case of the Templars, as Magnou herself points out, the terminology is very difficult to interpret.³⁸ She suggests that there are, within her own categories, different sorts of association. With the traditio animae et corporis there could be those who joined for a term or those who joined on their death-bed (both referred to in the Rule).³⁹ Part of the problem is that although the rule and Magnou use different phrases to describe the various kinds of lay associates, often in practice, the term frater appears to have been used to describe both kinds of members of the order. This is certainly the case in England where a number of fraters were patrons of the order.

The Inquest of 1185 records the grants ex dono fratris Salemari and de elemosina fratris Ailbrith, who gave the order lands in Hackney and two messuages in London respectively.⁴⁰ It cannot however be assumed that Ailbrith and Salemarus were either full members or lay associates. Uncertainty as to status surrounds other patrons like Serlo fitz Odo, the grantor of the town of Temple Combe;⁴¹ Henry Fleming, who gave a rent of 2s. in Sutton (Bedfordshire);⁴² and Eustace Picot, who made a grant of 4s. in Ewell.⁴³ Another frater was William Coleville, probably the man of that name who died in 1186.⁴⁴ He gave four and a half bovates to the

³⁸ Magnou, "Oblature", 391.

³⁹ Ibid., 385, and see Curzon, Règle, nos.65, 632.

⁴⁰ Inquest, pp.15, 17.

⁴¹ Ibid., p.61. Serlo is not however, referred to in the muniments of Temple Combe. See Bartelot, "Temple Combe", 86-92.

⁴² Inquest, p.71. Although Lees does not make any connection, this man may have been the patron who granted twenty acres of land to the order in Skipton in Craven (Yorkshire), ibid., p.127.

⁴³ Farrer, Honors, iii, 33.

⁴⁴ E.Y.C. vi, 168-70. It seems unlikely that the Templar patrons, Henry, Richard and Thomas de Coleville were related to this William.

order in Little Bytham (Lincolnshire),⁴⁵ and held lands from the order in Baldock (Hertfordshire).⁴⁶ In the actual grant of lands he is not styled as a frater, however fratre Willelmo de Coleville does witness a charter of Frater Richard de Hastings (Master of the English order) to Richard fitz Calward de Dinsley between c.1155 and 1185.⁴⁷ Finally, the status of another frater, is also difficult to ascertain. Faramus de Boulogne gave the Templars thirty six acres of land in Rivenhall (Essex),⁴⁸ and land and rents in Devon possibly at Yarcombe, including an annual rent of 100s. at St'celade.⁴⁹ He is also recorded as making a grant of ten librates of land and one virgate in Martock (Somerset).⁵⁰ Faramus, who may have been related to King Stephen's wife Matilda,⁵¹ may have taken the habit of the Templars shortly before his death, around 1183-4. If the action was taken near to his death, it is quite possible that he joined the order as a confrater in a way outlined in the Rule.⁵² Although Lees suggests that people like Ailbrith, Salemarus, and Eustace Picot were people who entered the order fully, whether this means that they were "full members" or not is highly debateable.⁵³

⁴⁵ Inquest, p.114.

⁴⁶ Ibid., p.67.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.217, and see B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.127.

⁴⁸ Inquest, p.9.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.60, n.15, where Lees suggests that St'celade was near Yarcombe.

⁵⁰ Bartelot, "Temple Combe", 91.

⁵¹ For a short account of his life see J.H.Round, "Faramus of Boulogne", The Genealogist, new series, xii (1895-6), 145-51 (hereafter cited as Round, "Faramus").

⁵² Curzon, Règle, no.632. See Inquest, p.cxxxiv, n.8, where Lees suggests that he may have joined as a confrater. Lees suggests that his fear of the sins he had committed may have been behind his taking the habit of the Templars, ibid. Evidence for this is suggested by his grant to the abbey of St.Josse in 1171, timens pro peccatis meis. See Round, "Faramus", 149.

⁵³ Inquest, p.lxii n.4.

The problem is made more difficult because of the nature of the English order in practice. When other orders like that of St.Lazarus came to England, their functions did not drastically change. The main task of the order's members was still to care for lepers and it would presumably have been possible to distinguish between those full members of the order who carried out such tasks, from lay associates who did not play such an active part in the order's work. However, when the Templars came to England, the main functions of the order were restricted to alms collecting and other administrative tasks including the running of estates, and serving as governmental officials.⁵⁴ Aside from chaplains conducting religious services in Templar houses, it was probably difficult to distinguish many "full members" from their secular counterparts, administering lay estates. Furthermore, if it was difficult to distinguish many full members from people unconnected with the Templars, it would also have been difficult to make distinctions between those members of lay society who wished to be associated with the order, without necessarily being involved in the minutiae of its workings.

Distinctions between the different categories of Templars may therefore have been rather ill-defined in comparison with other orders, and this may account for the lack of distinguishing terms used for its members. Nevertheless, having made this point, it is still the case that, however indistinguishable they may have been, there were certain members of lay society who wished to be associated with the Templars (and some with the Order of St.Lazarus). Unfortunately, and in contrast to France and particularly Spain, where long lists of Templar confratres exist, the English evidence is not as great. Indeed, the historian has to rely on occasional references to lay association which appear in the

⁵⁴ See above pp.10, 11.

Burton Lazars, Sandford and Hospitaller Cartularies, as well as pieces of information contained in the Inquest of 1185, and miscellaneous charter references. In the rest of this section a survey of the available evidence will be made considering the nature of association with the orders in England, and especially how association affected the patronage, not only of the associates themselves, but also of their relatives.

1) Association in Life.

The first category of people that can be considered, are those who seem to have made some commitment to the Templars, which would affect them during their lives.⁵⁵ These associates were distinguished by a reference to the fraternitatem of the Templars. A number of examples of this form of associates have been discovered, including William de Bosco, Richard fitz John and John del Esse, who will be dealt with in more detail below in the section on family patronage.⁵⁶ William de Bosco and Richard fitz John are both referred to as entering the fraternity of the order in c.1195 when William de Bosco gave a portion of his land consisting of four acres and pasturage for twenty animals, one hundred sheep and sixty pigs in free alms. In his charter William stated that fratres receperunt dominum et fratrem meum Ricardum filium Johannes et me in fraternitate et in beneficiis domus Templi.⁵⁷ John del Esse who was related to William de Bosco also made several grants to the order, of which all but one refer to his connections with the Templars.⁵⁸ In a

⁵⁵ There are no twelfth and thirteenth century examples for the Order of St.Lazarus. However, some later examples suggest that the practice to be described below for the Templars did exist for the smaller order in the period of consideration. See B.L. add. chs.19864, 53710; M.Bateson ed., Records of the Borough of Leicester 1103-1603, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1899-1905), ii, 386-7 (hereafter cited as Bateson, Records of Leicester).

⁵⁶ See below pp.110-5.

⁵⁷ Sandford, no.454. For William's other grants, and the patronage of Richard fitz John see below pp.110-1, 112.

⁵⁸ See below pp.113-4.

grant of four virgates, one acre, one butt and one part of a meadow, John stated that fratres dederunt michi caritative VI solidos argenti et me et heredes meos in orationibus suis et in beneficiis domus receperunt.⁵⁹ Finally, Walter fitz Terry del Esse who was probably John's brother,⁶⁰ gave one virgate of land in Esse plus a croft in the late twelfth century, and arranged that after his death corpus meum ab ipsis fratribus predicti Templi in cimiterio suo apud Cowley collocetur nam per istam elemosinam me eisdam reddo et fraternitatem et fidelium orationem munus ab eis peto.⁶¹

Other patrons who can be considered here included William of Ashby de la Launde, who at some point before 1169 conceded waste land at Bruer in Lincolnshire (the basis of the preceptory of Temple Bruer), and four bovates of land in Ashby itself. William's charter specifies that the Templars me in fraternitatem receperunt...et in curam et custodiam suam.⁶² In addition, Nicholas de Bernehus gave one virgate of land and the chapel of Cocham (which he had unjustly taken from the Templars). His admission into the fraternity was carried out with the prayers of William Heroc,⁶³ and furthermore his heir, Nicholas, agreed to provide the Templars with 10s. for clothing.⁶⁴ Philip fitz Bernard gave one acre

⁵⁹ Sandford, no.442.

⁶⁰ See below p.114, n.157.

⁶¹ Sandford, no.440.

⁶² Inquest, p.250.

⁶³ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.160, precibus celebris que pertitionibus Willelmi de Heroc' et eiusdem Nicholi ut eum fratres Templi reciperent in domo et fraternitate sua.

⁶⁴ Ibid., f.160. This provision of clothing is similar to a case contained in Cal.Inq.P.M., iv, 138, where there is a reference to Henry de Brok having agreed to give sustenance in the form of 28s. annually for the upkeep of his father-in-law, Brunus, who seems to have joined the Templars in the time of Richard I.

of land, and the Templars received him in fraternitatem et domum suam.⁶⁵ Nicholas fitz Osmund had a brother called Stephen who susceptus est in ordine et religione predicte domus templi, which suggests he was a full member of the order. Nicholas gave the order one message ut ego et mei recipiamur in orationibus et beneficiis domus.⁶⁶ Guy de Merton fitz William gave one acre of land in Merton and one acre of meadows, for which donation they received himself, his wife, his sons and his predecessors into the benefits of the house. Furthermore he conceded that the order would receive ad obitum meum meliorem equum quem habuero The Templars had to pay him 15s., his wife two bails of corn and his son Simon 11d.⁶⁷

Henry of Neyre Pel is another associate who can be included in this category. He made a contract with the Templars in about 1200, whereby he promised to give them 6d. every year and one third of his chattels at his death, ut sim in orationibus et beneficiis similiter et in fraternitate Templi particeps. His charter further stipulates that his heirs would continue to pay 6d. annually after his death, and one third of their chattels at their deaths in blado quam in aliis catallis...ut sint in omnibus orationibus et beneficiis et fraternitate Templi particeps.⁶⁸ The contractual nature of Henry's grant is repeated with Robert fitz Roger of Sibford, who also promised in c.1200 to give 6d. annually and one third of his chattels at his death. Moreover, like Henry he stipulated that the payments should be continued by his heirs, and that he and his heirs should all benefit from the fraternity of the Temple.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.157v.

⁶⁶ Ibid., f.131v.

⁶⁷ Sandford, no.429.

⁶⁸ Ibid., no.407.

⁶⁹ Ibid., no.399.

The charters of Henry and Robert are especially interesting in that they were made at about the same time, with almost the same wording and the same witnesses. The suggestion is that they may have been involved in some ceremony of reception, as Riley-Smith notes for the Hospitaller lay associates, and as appears to have been the case for the Order of St.Lazarus in the later Middle Ages.⁷⁰

William fitz Swetin of Oxford made two grants to the order. In c.1190-1 he gave the land where Rannulf Gibbosus lived in Oxford and in c.1190 he promised this land and lands which formed the chief messuage of Lambert fitz Thomas in the parish of Saint Frideswide's, Oxford.⁷¹ In both cases he promised one third of his chattels at his death. In the second charter he also promised one third of his heirs' chattels and he also stated that he would hold the land from the Templars for a rent of 16d. per annum. Despite the fact that there is no mention of fraternity, the grant does have some similarities with those of Henry of Neyre Pel and Robert fitz Roger of Sibford, and it therefore seems reasonable to include him in this section. The grant also shares some similarities to those outlined in a charter granted by the Templars to William Bisshop of Stanninges and his wife Dionisius. They were given lands in Shoreham by the Templars in 1253, and in return William promised to give up one third of his chattels at his death. If Dionisius oulived him, she was also responsible for the same gift at her death. When they had both passed away, the land was to revert back to the Templars.⁷²

⁷⁰ Riley-Smith, Knights of St.John, pp.243-5; Bateson, Records of Leicester, ii, 386-7.

⁷¹ Sandford, nos.141, 144.

⁷² B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.266v. This also bears some resemblance to the process outlined in the Rule of the Temple known as fratres coniugati. See above p.68. Also note the case of William the parson of Barkington who was given land by the Templars which had formerly belonged to Henry de Clinton in exchange for land in Stivekele for an annual rent of 22s., with the additional commitment that the Templars would receive one third of his chattels when he died. See Sandford, no. 467.

The Inquest of 1185 also includes several people who appear to have made similar sorts of yearly payments as the previous three patrons pro fraternitate. These included Arnolf the parson who gave 12d., William Caingun, William fitz Winari, Matilda a widow, and Inardus the Parlour, who all gave 6d. each; Matilda the wife of Inardus who gave 4d.; William de Legee and Odo the reeve, who gave 3d. each; and Edith the widow who gave 1d.⁷³ Of these the only patron of the Templars was Inardus the Parlour who gave 6d. from his fee.⁷⁴ In addition, the patronage of the Templars by Gilbert Malet may have been along the same lines. The reason for believing this is that the Inquest records that his gift was of one mark, and was made ex fraternitate Gilberti Malet.⁷⁵

The above evidence of association in life with the Templars shows that even within this broad category, lay association was characterised by a variety of forms. In the majority of examples it is clear that the people concerned were asking for the fraternitatem of the Templars and its accompanying benefits. In some cases, such as with William de Bosco and John del Esse, the term fraternitatem is used.⁷⁶ In other instances, reference is made only to the orationibus et beneficiis which the associates, like Nicholas fitz Osmund hoped to receive.⁷⁷ Walter fitz Terry del Esse specified that he wanted to be buried in a Templar cemetery,⁷⁸ Henry of Neyre Pel, Robert fitz Roger of Sibford, William fitz Swetin of Oxford and the various people noted from the Inquest of 1185, appear to have made contracts with the Templars in terms of payment

⁷³ Inquest, pp.4, 38(6), 39, 40.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.32.

⁷⁵ See above p.46, n.49.

⁷⁶ See above pp.73-4.

⁷⁷ See above p.75.

⁷⁸ See above p.74.

of chattels or money.⁷⁹ In all these examples the implication is that the associates continued in their secular lives. Exceptions to this rule seem to have included Nicholas de Bernehus who was to be provided with clothing by a grant of his heir to the Templars;⁸⁰ William de Ashby de la Launde, who refers to being received in curam et custodiam suam;⁸¹ and Philip fitz Bernard, whose charter refers to the fact that he was received in ...domum suam.⁸² These examples seem to suggest a closer connection with the order, possibly involving the people in question living in one of the Templars' houses.⁸³

It is by no means clear exactly what benefits these associates received, although the assumption is that prayers for the soul were accompanied by unspecified beneficiis, which may have included such things as benefitting from the good works which the Templar houses performed.⁸⁴ Evidence from the Order of St.Lazarus in the fifteenth century suggests such privileges could have comprised relaxation in the processes of absolution and the right to ecclesiastical burial if their own church had been placed under interdict.⁸⁵ In addition, and applicable to all groups of associates, it is likely that these people may have received privileges of exemption because of their connection

⁷⁹ See above pp.75-6.

⁸⁰ See above p.74.

⁸¹ See above p.74.

⁸² See above.75.

⁸³ These people bear similarities with those included in the second category of associate. For a discussion of this point see below p.87.

⁸⁴ Forey, Corona de Aragón, p.42. The receipt of spiritual benefits in return for a material grant by the associate does bear some resemblance to Magnou's category of association, traditio animae et corpore, see above p.68-9. In this group however, there are no real connections with her other categories, nor with the theories of association outlined in the Rule of the Temple.

⁸⁵ Bateson, Records of Leicester, ii, 386-7.

with the Templars. Riley-Smith notes that the Hospitallers failed in their attempts to extend such privileges to their confraters.⁸⁶ It is clear however, from the complaints of the clergy at the Third Lateran Council of 1179, that the Templars had for instance, been using their privileges to exempt their associates from episcopal jurisdiction.⁸⁷ Furthermore, and as stated in the charters of people like John del Esse, Henry de Neyre Pel, Robert fitz Roger of Sibford and William fitz Swetin of Oxford, privileges of this nature could be extended to the families of the associates.⁸⁸

As far as patronage is concerned, it is clear that this form of association had a very close connection with benefactions to the order. In almost all the cases that have been considered, the establishment of association was directly linked to a particular grant or grants. Again these seem to have varied from the lands which established Temple Bruer, given by William of Ashby de la Launde,⁸⁹ to the monetary and chattel contracts of Henry de Neyre Pel and Robert fitz Roger of Sibford.⁹⁰ In some instances associates made more than one grant, as in the case of John del Esse.⁹¹ It can be assumed that grants coming after the first mention of association may have been caused specifically by the fact of association. Grants that were made before hand, as with two of those given by William de Bosco in c.1190 and c.1191 may have been motivated by other reasons.⁹²

⁸⁶ Riley-Smith, Knights of St.John, p.243.

⁸⁷ Forey, Corona de Aragón, p.167.

⁸⁸ See above p.74, 75-6.

⁸⁹ See above p.74.

⁹⁰ See above pp.75-6.

⁹¹ See above p.73 and below pp.113-4.

⁹² See below p.110 for details of these grants.

Moreover, it is possible that a number of relatives of associates were motivated into the patronage of the Templars, because of their connections with such associates. This may have been the case with Jordan of Ashby's grants in Ashby, including the church of that place (granted with Simon Tuschet), and six bovates of land.⁹³ Lees suggests that he was either a brother or a son of William the associate.⁹⁴ Another William of Ashby was also a patron quit-claiming his rights in Ashby church in July 1195.⁹⁵ He may have been a son of Jordan although this is not clear. Similarly Roger fitz Bernard may have been related to Philip fitz Bernard the associate. He gave the order three virgates in Edworth (Bedfordshire).⁹⁶ In addition, there appear to have been connections between William de Bosco, Richard fitz John and John del Esse, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, along with the family connections of John del Esse.⁹⁷

2) Association in death.

In this second category of association, the connection between the lay associate and the orders, seems to have centred around the agreement to allow the associate to be buried in one of the order's cemeteries. This followed a grant being made to the particular order which included the body of the associate. Only two examples of this form of association with the Order of St.Lazarus have been traced. These were William the Villein (possibly of Melton Mowbray), and William fitz John of Newton. William the Villein made two grants to the order, probably in the second half of the twelfth century, or the early part of the thirteenth century.

⁹³ Inquest, pp.79, 95.

⁹⁴ Ibid., p.clxxxiv.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p.252.

⁹⁶ Ibid., p.69-70.

⁹⁷ See below pp.110-5.

In the first grant he gave a rent of 10s. from the markets of Melton Mowbray, cum corpore meo,⁹⁸ and in the second he gave a toft and croft, plus half a carucate also in Melton Mowbray.⁹⁹ William fitz John of Newton, made several grants to the order, probably in the early part of the thirteenth century. In only one charter though, does he refer to his association. In this he gave all his pasturage for one hundred sheep in Cold Newton, cum corpore meo.¹⁰⁰ Elsewhere in the cartulary he gave one carucate, two virgates, plus several acres and smaller parcels of land all in the same area.¹⁰¹

There is rather more evidence for this kind of association with the Templars. Thus Robert de Ros gave the order the manor of Ribston, with the advowson of the church of the same place, and the vill of Walshford cum corpore meo for the sustenance of the Holy Land between 1217-24.¹⁰² In another charter he also gave the vill of Hunsingore and woods, a mill and lands in Cathall.¹⁰³ Robert's connection with the Templars is not very clear. In 1212 it was recorded that he took the habit of religion, although by the following year he is referred to as the sheriff of Cumberland, and he was particularly active in political affairs at the end of John's reign.¹⁰⁴ By 23 December 1226 however his son did homage

⁹⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.6v.

⁹⁹ Ibid., f.8v. The dating for his charters is particularly difficult, especially as the witnesses are so obscure. One of them, William Burdet of Burton, may have been the father of Peter Burdet, who was alive in the early thirteenth century. See below pp.131-2.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., f.95. This grant is repeated, without the phrase referring to association, ibid., f.95v.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., fols.91v, 92(2), 95v, 96.

¹⁰² Taylor, "Ribston", 432-5. See also Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 842. See above p.48 for details of his crusading activity.

¹⁰³ Taylor, "Ribston", 436-7.

¹⁰⁴ J.C.Holt, The Northerners (Oxford, 1961), pp. 24-6, 207 (hereafter cited as Holt, The Northerners).

for his lands and it is possible that he had joined the Templars in a more permanent way than in 1212. The proposal here is that Robert may have joined the fraternity of the Templars in 1212, and made a different kind of commitment to the order nearer his death, when he made the Ribston grants and gave his body to the order.¹⁰⁵

Thomas I de Sandford, a son of Jordan de Sandford,¹⁰⁶ gave the order a mill in Sandford before 1219 cum corpore meo, along with a messuage, meadow and tenement of Aylward the Miller.¹⁰⁷ Thomas' original grant appears to have been tied up with his association and it is known that he joined the Templars in 1218.¹⁰⁸ Richard Foliot, whose identity is rather uncertain, but who was probably the youngest son of Rannulf Foliot a nephew of Bishop Gilbert Foliot of London, also became associated in this way with the Templars.¹⁰⁹ In one of two grants made in c.1225, he gave the order his grange in Warpsgrove (Oxfordshire), plus six ploughlands, 105 acres of arable land, and a miscellany of smaller grants cum corpore meo.¹¹⁰ His second charter consisted of all the land which had been given to him by Robert fitz Ascelin de Pyriton, consisting of one virgate and the service of Simon fitz Richard de Clare.¹¹¹ Rannulf of Raleigh was another associate who gave land in Churton (Oxfordshire) before c.1230, "...by way of charity together with his body..".¹¹² This

¹⁰⁵ In this double form of association, Robert can be compared with Walter fitz Terry del Esse, who joined the fraternity of the order and also asked for his body to be buried in a Templar cemetery. See above p.74.

¹⁰⁶ P.R. 23 Henry III, 97, and see below pp.105-9 for more details on the Sandford family and its patronage of the Templars.

¹⁰⁷ Sandford, no.6. See below p.106 for his other grants.

¹⁰⁸ Rot.Lit.Claus., i, 349.

¹⁰⁹ Farrer, Honors, iii, 235.

¹¹⁰ Sandford, no.162.

¹¹¹ Ibid., no.221.

¹¹² Cal.Chart.R., i, 125.

grant was made before c.1215-20, as the Sandford Cartulary records letters saying that the Templars had possession of the land in Churton by this date.¹¹³

Peter de Stoke Talmage gave half a hide of land from his desmesne in Stoke Talmage, as well as one messuage and four acres of meadows and a pasturage called la More before 1211. The charter stated that he gave the land, cum corpore meo ad sepeliendum cimiterio eorundem fratrum. In January 1211 he gave thirty one acres in the same village, in exchange for one virgate that he had given in Tetsworth (Oxfordshire). At some point in 1211 he added a further five acres of land in Stoke Talmage.¹¹⁴ Robert de Vaux, the son of William, was an important member of King John's administration, acting as a sheriff of several counties, itinerant justice and custodian of castles and bishoprics.¹¹⁵ In 1227, the year before he died, he granted all his land in Wycomb "...with his body..",¹¹⁶ William fitz Roger of Sibford made two grants to the order. Before 1153 he gave nine hides of land in Sibford in free alms, and although there is no reference to cum corpore meo, his grant does contain the phrase, dedi et concessi me, which suggests the same sort of "contract".¹¹⁷ A later charter shows him renewing this first grant and making certain conditions as to the holding of part of the land by himself and his heirs. These arrangements made, allowed heirs to

¹¹³ Sandford, no.255.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., nos.208, 209, 239. In this charter he also gave half a hide of land. This virgate is probably that which the Templars had lost to Peter's mother Alice in an assise held in January 1211, ibid., p.151, n.2.

¹¹⁵ Holt, The Northerners, pp.220-1.

¹¹⁶ Cal.Chart.R., i, 77, and see above p.50 for his other grants.

¹¹⁷ Sandford, no.368, The Inquest records that the Templars held twelve hides of land in Sibford from William fitz Roger, Inquest, p.55.

keep hold of two and a half hides of land, and not the two hides referred to in the first charter.¹¹⁸ Lees has traced the process whereby William managed to get the confirmations of his immediate feudal overlord, Jeralmus de Corzun,¹¹⁹ as well as the confirmation of his actions by the Earl of Derby, Robert II de Ferrers.¹²⁰ Indeed, Jeralmus de Corzun appears to have been replaced in the feudal structure by the Templars.¹²¹ In addition, Stephen fitz Stephen of Walcote granted two virgates of land in Walcote (Oxfordshire) cum corpore meo, in c.1250 for an annual rent of 8s. payable to Alice the daughter of Roger Anglicus;¹²² William of Ibstone gave all his fee and the services due from that fee held by Rannulf Brito on the Parish of St.Martin's, Oxford cum corpore meo;¹²³ while Walter de Wheatfield gave two hides of land in Sibford in c.1210 in free alms cum corpore meo:¹²⁴

Finally, in this section two rather more important patrons can be included who specifically requested burial in Templar graveyards. Thus King Henry III, who was responsible for the foundation at Rockley in Leicestershire, declared his wish to be buried in the Temple at London on at least two occasions. This decision was made before 1231, as a reference to the grant of part of the king's manor at Rockley and the advowson of the church there refers to the fact that "...the king has entrusted his body for burial after his mortal end..".¹²⁵ Similarly a

¹¹⁸ Sandford, no.369. In the original grant it was two hides.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., no.370.

¹²⁰ Ibid., no.371. William's charters were also confirmed by his two sons William (ibid., no.372.) and Roger (ibid., nos.373, 374).

¹²¹ Inquest, p.cxxii.

¹²² Sandford, no.150.

¹²³ Ibid., no.140.

¹²⁴ Ibid., no.377. In c.1220 he gave all the land he had in Sibford, ibid., no.378.

¹²⁵ Cal.Chart.R., i, 210. See below pp.97-8 for his other grants.

reference in 1235 stated that King Henry "... of his free will from his especial love towards the order and brethren of the Temple has given his body after his death to the Temple of London there to be buried..", with the further proviso that "...no other religious house even if founded by the king (was) to oppose it."¹²⁶ Unfortunately for the prestige of the Templars, this decision was never carried out, and Henry was in fact buried in Westminster Abbey.¹²⁷

Although Henry III was never buried in the Temple at London, several members of the family of William I Marshal, the Earl of Pembroke, do appear to have been buried there.¹²⁸ In 1219, when William I, the Regent of England was on his death-bed, he told his son, "...Lorsque je fus outre mer, dès ce moment je donnai mon corps au Temple pour y avoir ma sépulture..¹²⁹ In the presence of the Master of the English Templars, Aimary de St.Maur, he is also recorded as saying, "...Longtemps que je me suis donné au Temple..¹³⁰ Following William's example, his two sons William II who died in 1231, and Gilbert who died in 1241, were also buried in the Temple of London.¹³¹

This second category of association appears at first to be rather more standardised than the first category that was considered. Certainly

¹²⁶ Ibid., i, 135.

¹²⁷ Powicke, Henry III, p.589.

¹²⁸ For the patronage of William I Marshal see below pp.190-1. For his crusading activity see above p.44.

¹²⁹ P.Meyer, L'histoire de Guillaume le Marechal, Comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, régent d'Angleterre (c.1140-1219), 3 vols. (Paris, 1901), iii, 257.

¹³⁰ Ibid., iii, 258.

¹³¹ For William II see H.E.Luard ed., Annales Monastica, 5 vols. (Rolls Series, 1865), ii, 309. For Gilbert see ibid., ii, 328. See also the case of Geoffrey de Mandeville who died in September 1144 as an excommunicate, but on being absolved was also buried in the New Temple, Complete Peerage, v, 116.

the majority of cases, are all of the same kind, specifying the granting of the patrons body, presumably for burial, in return for a material gift. The example of Peter of Stoke Talmage shows burial being specifically requested.¹³² Nevertheless, it is clear from evidence from the previous category, that burial was not confined to this particular group of associates.¹³³ Furthermore, it is not clear how closely attached the patrons were to the orders, whether their association was to start from the granting of their charter, or whether it would only come about with their death and burial.

There is a suggestion however, that with this form of association, the associate may have become involved with the order immediately following the charter grant. In fact what may have happened is that the associate entered one of the order's houses. The reason for suspecting this type of commitment, is because it seems that people like Thomas I of Sandford and Robert de Vaux were reaching the end of their lives.¹³⁴ By making a commitment to the Templars, these and others like them would receive not only burial but also temporal security in terms of food, clothing and shelter.¹³⁵ By entering the order's house (and it seems to have been the same case for the Order of St.Lazarus in the later Middle Ages), they would also have received a guarantee of spiritual security in the next life.¹³⁶ Here the similarities with the corrody system, whereby a layman might be given food and clothing by a religious order are

¹³² See above p.83.

¹³³ See above p.74.

¹³⁴ The taking of the habit on one's death-bed, as appears to have been the case with William I Marshal see above p.85, bears some resemblance to the process outlined in the Rule of the Temple, see above p.70.

¹³⁵ Barber, "Social Context", 42-3.

¹³⁶ See Bateson, Records of Leicester, ii, 386-7. The comparison, although not perfect can be noted with Magnou's traditio animae et corporis, see above p.68.

apparent, and these suggestions explain why it may be more accurate to categorise people like Nicholas de Bernehus, William of Ashby de la Launde and Philip fitz Bernard among this second category of associates.¹³⁷

If this is a correct assessment of this second form of association, it seems appropriate to include one other patron in this section who seems to have entered the order late in life. This was Peter de Rossa who gave the order a manor in Rivenhall, Essex for six years for an annual rent of £22. When the manor was returned, in fact three years later he gave them about 100 acres of land within that said manor in free alms. It is known that his connection with the order was made near his death from the following statement, "...Peter was of good memory always until his death, and a little before his death he assumed the habit and dress of the Templars..¹³⁸ It is possible that Peter had become a full member of the order, however, the circumstances of his entry suggest similarities with other examples that have been considered, including Thomas I de Sandford and William I Marshal.¹³⁹

With this category of associates, once again the connection between association and patronage is very obvious. In all the cum corpore meo cases, a grant always accompanied the reference to the donor's body, and it seems reasonable to assume that other grants made by associates may have been made because of their association with the order in question. It is not always possible to be sure of this, because the St.Lazarus associates' grants cannot be dated with any accuracy.¹⁴⁰ Similarly, of those associates who made more than one grant to the Templars, like

¹³⁷ See above pp.74-5.

¹³⁸ Cal.Inq.P.M., i, no.367.

¹³⁹ See above pp.82, 85.

¹⁴⁰ See above pp.80-1.

Thomas I de Sandford and Richard Foliot, the dating of their second grants cannot be distinguished from that of the grants where they gave their bodies to the order.¹⁴¹

More importantly with this category of association, it appears clear that the patronage of various other patrons may have been caused by their connections with members of this second form of associates. It is thus possible to trace the patronage of William the Villein's brother Arnold, who quit-claimed the forensic service due from a carucate of land in Melton Mowbray,¹⁴² and the confirmatory charters of the sons of William fitz Roger of Sibford.¹⁴³ Unlike with the first category however, the fact of association is mentioned in several charters of people related to associates. This suggests the strong possibility that the patronage of these people was caused by the activities of the particular associates. In the case of St.Lazarus, William the Villein's lord, Simon fitz Richard, made direct reference to his tenant's association with St.Lazarus, in the confirmation of William's donation of 10s. from the Melton Mowbray markets, specifically stating that the grant was made cum corpore suo.¹⁴⁴ Similarly, a number of members from the family of Thomas I de Sandford note the association of Thomas I. These included Richard his son, who confirmed his father's grant of Sandford mill, referring to the fact that the grant was accompanied cum corpore domini et patris mei Thome de Sandford.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴¹ See above p.82.

¹⁴² B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.8v.

¹⁴³ Sandford, nos. 372-4.

¹⁴⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.6v. Simon also confirmed William's grant of half a carucate, ibid., f.9, and himself gave two mills, one bovate and a meadow in and around Melton Mowbray, ibid., f.6.

¹⁴⁵ Sandford, no.7. See below p.109 for a similar reference in a charter of Rannulf of Sandford.

The connections that certain patrons had with the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus clearly had a significant effect on the patronage of these orders. Although this appears to have been more the case with the Templars, it should not be ignored in the case of Elias de Amundeville, whose patronage of St.Lazarus, appears to have been directly linked to the entry of his leprous daughter into one of the order's houses. Nevertheless, it is worth reiterating that this is the only example, apart from that of Robert III of Leicester, of such an influence on patronage for the English order. It is true that lack of evidence does hinder the study, and it is impossible to tell for instance whether people like William the Villein and William fitz John of Newton had any connections with leprous persons, or were leprous themselves. Nonetheless, with this order other motives for its patronage have to be sought. With the Templars too, there does not seem to be a vast amount of evidence linking full members of the order to patronage, although the example of Gilbert de Lacy is an important exception to the rule. In the case of the Templars however, the importance of lay association and patronage is clear. It has been shown that in England this form of commitment to the Templars may not have been so easily distinguishable from full membership. There do however, appear to have been certain ways in which lay people could make a commitment to the order, even if these did not always correspond to the theory of association outlined by the Rule of the Temple, and the evidence of association in practice as proposed by Magnou. What is most obvious from the available evidence is that there were direct links to the patronage of the order, especially in the case of the associates themselves, but also with certain people connected with the associates. Although lay association cannot be used to explain all, or even the majority of patrons' reasons for giving to the Templars, its importance as a kind of final stage of patronage cannot be discounted.

CHAPTER THREE:

THE FAMILY AND PATRONAGE.

CHAPTER THREE.

THE FAMILY AND PATRONAGE.

In the first two chapters concerning the motivations behind patronage the main emphasis has been placed on influences connected with the orders themselves. Thus, it is clear that in some cases the crusading nature of the two orders, and the nature of the orders' membership was of some significance. However, in general it seems that these connections are not sufficient to explain the benefactions of the majority of patrons. In the following sections further influences will be put forward to explain these benefactions which were connected with the backgrounds of the patrons rather than the orders. The problem here is that patrons were affected by several influences which affected them in different ways, such as ties of kinship, lordship, social and geographical association, and it seems rather artificial to study them each in isolation.¹ However, this particular method of investigation is the clearest way of showing the possible influences of each tie, and the artificial nature of the study can be mitigated in some senses by suggesting the interrelationship that existed between the ties for particular patrons. Thus, in this first section the main emphasis will be placed on the importance of family connections on the patronage of the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus. The main aim will be to assess whether prospective patrons took into account the patronage of their relations, living or dead, when deciding to which particular religious order they should make benefactions.

The importance of family connections in this period on many activities has been noted by a number of historians.² In terms of the

¹ J.C.Holt, "Feudal Society and the Family in early medieval England: III. Patronage and Politics", *T.R.H.S.*, xxxv (1984), 11-2 (hereafter cited as Holt, "Patronage and Politics").

² Thus the importance of kinship ties in rebellion has been noted by S.Painter, *The Reign of King John* (Baltimore, 1949), p.290. See

motivation behind the patronage of Angevin royal officials, Ralph Turner noted that, "family feeling may have had as much importance as religious devotion".³ Similarly, Richard Mortimer's study of the Premonstratensians has shown how the family connections of Rannulf de Glanville led to the foundation of four Premonstratensian houses following that of Rannulf himself at Leiston (Suffolk).⁴ Mortimer's evidence for the Premonstratensians is borne out in the case of the Templars and St.Lazarus, from a study of the names of their patrons.⁵ In some cases large family groupings can be distinguished, as with the Sandford patrons of the Templars, or the Burdet patrons of St.Lazarus.⁶ On other occasions the groups were rather more restricted, as in the case of the three de la Launde patrons of the Templars,⁷ or the patronage of the Order of St.Lazarus by the Rampaine family.⁸

In studying the influence of family relationships on patronage, there is one obvious problem. It is not always possible to be certain that benefactions were made because a particular patron was influenced by his father or grandfather's patronage of the same order. As Holt has noted, if family connections are traced, they are accepted as conclusive

also S.Painter, "The Family and the feudal System in Twelfth Century England", Speculum, xxxv (1960), 1-16.

- ³ R.V.Turner, "Religious Patronage of Angevin Royal Administrators c.1170-1239", Albion, xviii (1986), 8 (hereafter cited as Turner, "Angevin Royal Administrators"). Turner does though seem a little uncertain, as he earlier notes that "later generations often took little interest in houses their families had founded", ibid., 7.
- ⁴ R.Mortimer, "Religious and secular motives for some English Monastic foundations", in D.Baker ed., Studies in Church History, xv (1978), 77, 81.
- ⁵ For some comments on the patronage of St.Lazarus see Marcombe, Burton Lazars, p.14, where he notes that there was, "...a recognisable tradition of family loyalty..".
- ⁶ See below pp.105-9, 125-34.
- ⁷ See above pp.74, 80.
- ⁸ See below pp.146-9.

proof of the importance of family connections. However, if they cannot be traced very clearly the evidence can be disregarded or treated as an aberration.⁹ There are of course ways in which the strength of family connections can be tested. Thus, Holt notes the importance of enfeoffments and fines being made for relatives,¹⁰ while the witnessing of charters by relatives, or references to family patronage in charters may also suggest some connections between family members. However, even this sort of evidence does not always prove that family influences were behind a particular patrons' benefactions, and furthermore, it is not always useful in proving the strength of family ties over several generations. Thus very often the influence of "family", as well as the influences on patronage of lordship, social association and geography have to be inferred rather than conclusively proven.

Bearing this problem in mind, in the following pages an attempt will be made to show that family connections can be traced in the patronage of the two orders in question. In order to do this the Templars and Order of St.Lazarus will be considered separately, starting with the Templars, and will look at five family groups in each case. In doing so it will be necessary, in some cases, to consider particular family genealogies, where there is some difficulty over the establishment of family connections. The fact that some of the patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus, tended to come from relatively more obscure families than the Templars, means that more attention has to be paid to the patrons of the smaller order.¹¹ The ten families have been chosen in order to ensure that a cross section of social groups have been considered. Furthermore,

⁹ Holt, "Patronage and Politics", 4.

¹⁰ Ibid., 9-11.

¹¹ Some reference to family connections and the patronage of the Templars, will also be made in a later section on lordship, which will deal with the patronage of a number of important noble families who were patrons. See below chapter four.

the aim has been to consider families where relatively large grants were made to the orders, or where large family groupings can be discerned. In both cases, conclusions on the importance of family connections on patronage will be made at the end of the chapter.

THE TEMPLARS.

1) The English Royal Family 1154-1307.

An obvious starting point for a discussion of family influences on the Templars is with the House of Anjou which came to the throne with the succession of Henry II in 1154.¹² Henry II was not the first member of his family to patronise the order. His mother, the Empress Matilda had already given the order pasturage in Shotover forest (Oxfordshire) between April and May 1141.¹³ Moreover, her illegitimate half-brother, Robert, the Earl of Gloucester had also given the order lands in Bristol before 1147.¹⁴

However, Henry's patronage of the Templars was on a much greater scale.¹⁵ The ecclesiastical patronage of Henry II, including that of the Templars, has been discussed in detail by Hallam, and it is clear that Henry like most English monarchs was patron of a number of religious orders, including the Cistercians, the Gilbertines and the Order of Grandmont.¹⁶ Nevertheless, it is also clear that Henry was particularly

¹² The house of Blois which was also of great importance in the patronage of the order will be considered in detail in the next chapter pp.156-71.

¹³ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.289.

¹⁴ Inquest, p.58.

¹⁵ For his patronage of the Order of St.Lazarus see below pp.171-2.

¹⁶ See Hallam, "Henry II as a Founder", 113-32; Hallam, Aspects of Monastic Patronage, pp.91-124.

favourable to the Templars.¹⁷ Lees noted that Henry's patronage was less connected with large grants of land than with grants of privileges and immunities, and he developed the English order to help him in the processes of administration in England and on the continent.¹⁸

In fact, while he did make a number of grants of privileges and rights, including his confirmation of all their possessions, probably at the beginning of his reign,¹⁹ some of these grants were quite extensive. Thus between c.1173 and 22 December 1188, he granted the right to assart in a number of counties. These included 2000 acres in Garway (Herefordshire), forty acres in Botewd (Shropshire), ten acres at Merton (Oxfordshire), seven acres at Bradend (Northamptonshire), one hundred acres at Sharnbrook (Bedfordshire) and seven acres at Oggerstan (Huntingdonshire).²⁰ Furthermore, he did make some relatively large grants of lands and other possessions.²¹ In London he gave the site of a mill at Fleet between July and September 1159; the church of St.Clement Danes' in c. February 1173, and a rent of 16d. at the Old Temple at Holborn.²² Elsewhere he gave one carucate of land in Finchingfield (Essex),²³ and in Lincolnshire he gave the three churches of Eagle,

¹⁷ Henry II was also a patron of the Hospitallers, see Hallam, Aspects of Monastic Patronage, pp.124-33. For the influence of his lordship on patronage see below pp.171-9.

¹⁸ Inquest, p.lv; Hallam, Aspects of Monastic patronage, pp.124-5.

¹⁹ Inquest, p.138. He also confirmed a number of grants made by other patrons, including the manor of Bisham in c.January 1155, given by Robert II de Ferrers, the Earl of Derby, B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.92.

²⁰ Inquest, p.142.

²¹ Hallam, Aspects of Monastic Patronage, pp.128-9. It was in his reign that the grant of the "Templars' Mark", the levy of money for the order from the shires, became systematised.

²² B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, fols.52, 52v(2).

²³ Inquest, p.10.

Swinderby and Scarle.²⁴ In Kent he gave one carucate of land in Dartford between 1154 and April 1161;²⁵ plus the manors of Kingswood in c.1156 and Deal in c.1158;²⁶ and the manor of Strood and the Hundred of Shamel before 1185.²⁷ He may also have been responsible for the development of the preceptory at Garway, where in addition to the grant of assarts, he also seems to have given a manor, chapel and house in c.1185-7.²⁸ It is true that the majority of Henry's grants of lands were made in the earlier part of his reign and that they constituted only a small percentage of crown lands, but it would be wrong to diminish the importance of Henry's patronage of the Templars in terms of the lands and rights that they received from him. In comparison with other members of his family and with other patrons of the order as a whole, he stands out as one of the more important patrons in England.

It is clear that several members of his family were also patrons of the order, although none matched Henry's generosity. Those patrons who were from Henry's own generation included his wife, Eleanor of Aquitaine, who gave the Templars 12d. in London,²⁹ and his brother William, who gave the manor of Ewell before 1164.³⁰ Henry's son Richard I's charters to the order tended to be confirmations of the grants of his father. Like his father, he began his reign by confirming all their privileges and

²⁴ Ibid., p.80.

²⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.254.

²⁶ P.R., 3/4 Henry II, 65, 179-180.

²⁷ Inquest, p.174; Rot.Hund., i, 222.

²⁸ A confirmatory charter of Richard I describes the grant of a house and chapel at Garway, Hallam, Aspects of Monastic Patronage, p.131. Hallam compares the situation with Henry's foundation at St.Vaubourg, Rouen. She also compares it with the Irish foundations of Crooke, Kilbarry and Clantarf, Hallam, "Henry II as a Founder", 128.

²⁹ Inquest, p.16.

³⁰ See above p.43.

lands, including the grants of assarts made by Henry II, in a series of four charters made between 6 October and 31 December 1189.³¹ Such confirmations were no doubt made as a part of Richard's preparations for his embarkation on the Third Crusade, and it is probably true that his enthusiasm for the crusade partly led him to patronise this crusading order.³² Whether Richard made any new grants to the order is not clear, although, Hallam suggests that he may have been responsible for a number of grants in Fletchamstead (Warwickshire), Dunwich (Suffolk), Lundy Island, and Pembroke.³³ Richard's brother John did make several small grants to the order. These included ten pounds in Radnage (Buckinghamshire), a mill in Baldock, and a market and yearly fair at Newland in Witham in 1212.³⁴ In addition, in 1199 he confirmed lands in Bergholt (Essex) and the manor and half hundred of Witham.³⁵ Finally in 1213 he restored to the order lands in Newland.³⁶

The patronage of the Templars by the house of Anjou did not stop with Richard and John. Henry III also appears to have been a relatively important patron, although, despite the fact that his patronage was rather more extensive than that of his father and uncle, he did not match the benefactions of his grandfather. His grants included the manor of Rockley, and the advowson of the church there, land in Manton, and £8 of annual rent to sustain three chaplains at the New Temple in London.³⁷ In

³¹ Inquest, pp.139-44.

³² See above p.45.

³³ Ibid., pp.140-2, and see Hallam, Aspects of Monastic Patronage, pp.128-9. As Hallam notes, some of these grants may have been made by Henry II.

³⁴ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 834; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.189v.

³⁵ Ibid., fols.289v, 297.

³⁶ Ibid., f.289v.

³⁷ See above p.84-5; Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 835; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.26.

addition, he also confirmed all the Templars' liberties in 1230, conceded that they had rights of hospitality in every town and city in England and Ireland in 1234, and gave them free warren in the king's lands of Dinsley, Preston, Cherlton and Walden between 1252-3.³⁸ Furthermore, he also confirmed a market at Temple Bruer, the manor of Lilleston between 1234-5, and two forges in Fleet Street in 1246.³⁹ Henry's younger brother, Richard of Cornwall, was also a patron of the order in a small way. On 20 May 1233 or 1234, he confirmed land in Stoke Talmage granted to the order by a Matilda, the daughter of Rannulf.⁴⁰ Richard's son, Edmund of Cornwall also gave the order his pastures and heaths in the bounds of the Hundred of Istelworth ⁴¹ where he quit-claimed to them a rent of 2s. that they had hitherto paid to him.⁴² Finally, while not being as generous as any of his predecessors, Edward I did confirm and maintain their grants including that of Edmund of Cornwall in Istelworth, and lands in Stableswood and Cressing, as well as resuming the annual payment of fifty marks at the Exchequer made in November 1280.⁴³

2) The Port Family.

Four members of the Port family from Basing (Hampshire) made a series of grants to the Templars in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, consisting of at least five charters. These grants were made by four generations of the family and were concentrated in Fawley and Great Shefford (Berkshire) and Warnford (Hampshire). Together with other

³⁸ Cal. Close R., 1227-1231, 391; ibid., 1231-1234, 404; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.133.

³⁹ Inquest, p.252; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, fols.73(2),

⁴⁰ See above p.50.

⁴¹ Cal.Pat.R., 1292-1301, 608.

⁴² Ibid., 1292-1301, 504.

⁴³ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, fols.78v, 289; Cal.Close R., 1279-88, 70.

scattered estates in Hampshire and Wiltshire, they may have formed part of the possessions administered by a Templar house at Inglewood (Berkshire).⁴⁴

The Port family, which has been the subject of study by several historians ⁴⁵ was descended from Hugh de Port who held six and a half hides in Basing according to Domesday Book and this formed the chief holding of his fifty five lordships which stretched over the county of Hampshire.⁴⁶ Hugh de Port became a monk of the Abbey of Winchester ⁴⁷ and was succeeded by his son Henry who acted as an itinerant justice in the county in 1130.⁴⁸ He founded the alien priory of Monk Sherborne (Hampshire), which was also patronised by several generations of the family including Henry, Hawise, John, Adam and William de St.John.⁴⁹ Henry was married to Hawise, who became the first family patron of the Templars.⁵⁰ Her charter to the order does not survive, but we know of her grant through two confirmatory charters given by her son John. These

⁴⁴ Inquest, p.cxxvii.

⁴⁵ See for instance, a rather inaccurate study by W.H.Gunner, "An account of the alien priory of Andwell, or Enedewell, in Hampshire, a cell of Tyrone; with some remarks on the family of de Port of Basing, its founders", The Archaeological Journal, ix (1852), 246-61 (hereafter cited as Gunner, "family of Port of Basing"). In fact it was the Port family of Maplederwell that were responsible for the foundation at Andwell, V.C.H. Hampshire, ii, 223. For most of what follows on the family history see J.H.Round, "The Families of St.John and Port", The Genealogist, new series, xvi (1899-1900), 1-13 (hereafter cited as Round, "Families of St.John and Port"), and J.H.Round, "The Ports of Basing and their Priory", ibid., new series, xviii (1901-2), 137-9; and V.C.H. Hampshire, ii, 226; iv, 115-6.

⁴⁶ J.Morris, gen.ed., Domesday Book, 34 vols. (Phillimore, 1975-86), iv, no.23 (44d-46) (hereafter cited as Domesday Book).

⁴⁷ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 1014.

⁴⁸ P.R., 31 Henry I, 65, and Round, "Families of St.John and Port", p.6.

⁴⁹ V.C.H. Hampshire, ii, 226.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

were made before 1170, and referred to Hawise's grant of the land of Ahemund of Fawley.⁵¹ This land may be the same as her grant of three virgates in Fawley referred to in the Inquest.⁵²

Hawise's son, John de Port who was living until 1167,⁵³ had probably succeeded his father by the early years of Henry II's reign. The first reference in the Pipe Rolls to John de Port was in 1164-5. However, it is likely that John had succeeded his father by the beginning of Henry II's reign as Henry de Port does not occur in any of the early Pipe Rolls of that king, while he does appear in the only surviving Pipe Roll for Henry I's reign ⁵⁴ and he was living until 1167. The Red Book of the Exchequer records that he held fifty five fees of the old enfeoffment and two fees of the new enfeoffment by 1166.⁵⁵ As well as confirming, and adding to his mother's grant in Fawley,⁵⁶ John was also responsible for the gift of Warnford mill before c.1170.⁵⁷

John married Maud and was succeeded by his son Adam, who should not be confused with the Adam II de Port of Maplederwell who gave a virgate of land in Berwick Basset (Wiltshire) before 1172.⁵⁸ Adam de Port of

⁵¹ Sandford, nos.329, 330. In addition, both charters referred to John's own grant of Rannulf and Ingulf the sons of Ahemund de Fawley.

⁵² Inquest, p.52.

⁵³ V.C.H. Hampshire, ii, 226. His last reference in the Pipe Rolls, is for the year 1166-7, P.R., 13 Henry II, 189.

⁵⁴ P.R., 11 Henry II, 42. and see above p.99, n.48.

⁵⁵ Red Book, pp.207-9.

⁵⁶ See above p.99.

⁵⁷ Inquest, p.52. At some point before 1177, the Templars were involved in an agreement with Robert de Warnford over the tenure of Warnford mill, Sandford, no.273.

⁵⁸ Inquest, p.53. This may have been the man responsible for the grant of 5s. worth of land in Berwick Basset to the Templars, Sandford, no.310, as well as the foundation at Andwell, see above p.99, n.45. However, the charter to the Templars is dated c.1200 by Leys, and this suggests that the Roger de Port in question was

Basing married Mabel de Orval, a granddaughter of Robert de St.John.⁵⁹ After his death in c.1213,⁶⁰ his successor William took the family name of his mother and was known as William de St.John.⁶¹ Adam de Port made two grants after 1170, in which he granted to the order Robert fitz William Blund of Fawley and his heirs, and Robert fitz Sewlfi of Great Shefford and his heirs.⁶² Adam's son William de St.John was the fourth member of the Port family to patronise the Templars. In 1235-6 he was recorded as holding his ancestors fifty five fees ⁶³ and he was probably living until c.1242-3, when his wife Godeude was referred to as the wife of Richard de Lucy.⁶⁴ William's patronage of the Templars consisted of one charter, granted on 10 October 1235, in which he gave pasture rights at Great Shefford and Fawley.⁶⁵

3) The Caux Family.

The Lincolnshire family of Caux were a relatively generous group of patrons of the Templars. In a series of grants mostly dated before 1185, a total of five family members made benefactions to the order. In

either a son of Adam II (who was outlawed in 1172, V.C.H. Hampshire, iv, 150) or another relative of the Port family of Maplederwell. See also Round, "Families of St.John and Port", 8-13, V.C.H. Hampshire, iv, 150.

⁵⁹ V.C.H. Hampshire iv, 116. Compare with Gunner, "family of de Port of Basing", 256-261.

⁶⁰ T.D.Hardy ed., Rotuli de oblatiis et finibus in Turri Londonensi asservati (London, 1835), p.477.

⁶¹ Dugdale, Monasticon, iv, 646.

⁶² Sandford, nos.331, 332. These charters were clearly granted by Adam de Port of Basing, as in the first he refers to himself as Adam de Portu filius Johannis de Portu, and in both he refers to his mother Matilda.

⁶³ Fees, p.417.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p.863. For William's wife and three sons, Robert, Adam and William, see Farrer, Honors, iii, 58.

⁶⁵ Sandford, no.333.

addition, the family was linked by marriage to at least three other patrons including the Earls of Derby. They therefore constitute a small but nonetheless significant example of family patronage.

The first patrons of the order were the two brothers Robert III and Geoffrey de Caux.⁶⁶ They were descended from Robert I de Caux who held four carucates, five bovates plus a third part of one bovate in Wragby (Lincolnshire) with Geoffrey Alselin in 1115-8.⁶⁷ Robert I died before 1129-30, having married twice.⁶⁸ He was succeeded by another son called Robert II, who was a benefactor of Haverholme priory.⁶⁹ He married Isabel the daughter of Robert, the Earl of Derby.⁷⁰ Robert II de Caux' two sons were the Geoffrey and Robert III, who were the patrons of the Templars.⁷¹ From their mother Isabella, they were related to the Earls of Derby, being the nephews of Robert I of Derby's son Robert II, who was also a patron of the Templars, making two confirmations to the Templars

⁶⁶ The genealogy of the family has been confused by Lees, Inquest, p.cci, ns.9, 10. She seems to suggest that there were only two Robert de Caux in the twelfth century. See genealogical table 1, appendix III, p.289.

⁶⁷ C.W.Foster and T.Longley eds., The Lincolnshire Domesday and Lindsey Survey (Lincoln Record Society) xix (1924), p.250 (hereafter cited as Foster, Lincolnshire and Lindsey). The same survey notes that a Gilbert de Caux held twenty two bovates in Lindsey, ibid., pp.239, 250. He may have been a brother or father of Robert de Caux.

⁶⁸ He probably married firstly a daughter of Geoffrey de Alselin, and secondly a daughter of Nigel de Luvetot. See K.Major ed., Registrum Antiquissimum VII (Lincoln Record Society) xlvi (1953), pp.210-1 (hereafter cited as Major, Registrum Antiquissimum VII).

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.212. In this he was followed by his two sons Robert II and Geoffrey, and his granddaughter Matilda, ibid., pp.213, 217.

⁷⁰ Kathleen Major argues that this was probably Robert I de Ferrers, ibid., p.211.

⁷¹ For his son called Geoffrey (a brother of Robert III), see Inquest, p.271. There was probably another Geoffrey de Caux, a son of Bruntat, son of Osbert, see Major, Registrum Antiquissimum VII, p.213. Robert II may have had another son called Walter, and he probably had a daughter called Alice, ibid., pp.211, 212.

in c.1145 and c.1153,⁷² and founded the preceptory of Bisham. The order also received a rent of 3s. in Tutbury (Staffordshire) and a total of 31s. 8d. in Cooknoe (Northamptonshire) from his alms.⁷³

Robert III held fifteen knight's fees in Northamptonshire and Derbyshire in 1160-1,⁷⁴ and in 1166 is recorded as holding one fee each from Gerbert de Percy and William de Aubigny Brito.⁷⁵ In 1166 both his brother Geoffrey and his sister Alice held half a fee each from him.⁷⁶ Both Robert and his brother Geoffrey were probably dead by c.1177.⁷⁷ Robert's patronage of the Templars was quite generous. His Lincolnshire grants included the grant of the church of Rowston, nine bovates of land in Brauncewell, a total of seven bovates, five acres and six tofts in Rauceby, two bovates and one toft in Toynton St.Peter, one toft in Dorrington, and one bovate, one toft and a fourth part of one bovate in Stubton. In addition, the Templars also held one toft and one acre from his fee in Shelford (Nottinghamshire).⁷⁸ Geoffrey de Caux' patronage consisted of the grant of half a carucate in Grantham (Lincolnshire).⁷⁹

Robert III was married to Sybil, a daughter of Richard Basset, and had one daughter called Matilda.⁸⁰ Matilda was living until c.1224,⁸¹

⁷² See below p.163-4.

⁷³ Inquest, p.31.

⁷⁴ Red Book, p.25.

⁷⁵ Ibid., pp.216, 328.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p.343.

⁷⁷ See below p.104. Compare with Major who refers to Robert's last appearance as being in P.R., 13 Henry II, 136. See Major, Registrum Antiquissimum VII, p.214 n.3. The correct reference for Robert III's last appearance should be P.R., 14 Henry II, 98.

⁷⁸ Inquest, pp.79, 87, 91, 93, 98, 109.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p.90.

⁸⁰ E.Y.C., iii, 358; Major, Registrum Antiquissimum VII, p.209. Compare with Lees, Inquest, p.cci, n.10.

and married twice. There has been some confusion over the order of her marriages to Adam fitz Peter of Birkin and Rannulf fitz Stephen the king's chamberlain. However, Kathleen Major has shown that Matilda married Adam in the first place and that after his death in c.1184 she married *Rannulf*.⁸² Matilda's patronage of the order consisted of the town of Rowston and the advowson of the church.⁸³ Both her husbands were also patrons of the order. Adam fitz Peter, the son of Peter fitz Assolf and Emma de Lascelles gave the order four acres of land in Fairburn (Yorkshire).⁸⁴ The identity of Rannulf fitz Stephen has also been the subject of some confusion, and he has been linked with members of the Chamberlain family descended from Herbert the Chamberlain.⁸⁵ His patronage consisted of the quit-claim of the advowson of Rowston church made in a Final Concord in November 1177. This was granted in return for lands in Rowston which had belonged to Robert III and Geoffrey de Caux, suggesting that they were dead by this time.⁸⁶

Finally, two other patrons of the family can be noted, namely Osbert and Hugh de Caux. Osbert was one of four brothers, who may have been descended from the Gilbert de Caux who was recorded as holding land in the Lindsey Survey in 1115-8.⁸⁷ He gave the order one toft and one bovate

⁸¹ Major, Registrum Antiquissimum VII, p.217.

⁸² Ibid., pp.215-6. Compare with Round's statement that Matilda married *Rannulf* first, J.H.Round ed. Rotuli de Dominabus (Pipe Roll Society), xxxv (1913), 14, n.1. Matilda had five children by Adam, and none that survived by *Rannulf*, E.Y.C., iii, 359; Major, Registrum Antiquissimum VII, pp.215-6.

⁸³ E.Y.C., iii, p.358, and see Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 835.

⁸⁴ Inquest, p.134.

⁸⁵ Major, Registrum Antiquissimum VII, pp.219-25. For the older view on his origins, see Inquest, pp.cci-iii; E.Y.C., ii, 167-70.

⁸⁶ Inquest, pp.261-2.

⁸⁷ Foster and Langley, Lincolnshire and Lindsey, pp.239, 250. The other brothers were Herbert, Roger and Thomas, Inquest, p.cci.

in Tunstall (Lincolnshire).⁸⁸ Lees suggests that Hugh de Caux was from a younger generation than the four brothers,⁸⁹ and he was probably the man who held a total of three and a half fees in Lincolnshire from the Earl of Chester in 1212.⁹⁰ He gave the Templars one toft in Blyborough.⁹¹

4) The Sandford Family.

The Sandford family provide a good example of the importance of family connections on the patronage of the Templars. At least ten members of the family gave a total of sixteen charters to the order.⁹² Indeed it was from this family that the order gained possessions in Sandford, near Oxford, forming the basis of the preceptory of that name, which developed in the mid-thirteenth century.

The earliest family member who is known from the sources was Robert de Sandford, a knight of Abingdon abbey, who founded the Benedictine priory of Sandford (later referred to as Littlemore) near Oxford between c.1150-60.⁹³ He appears to have been dead by the early years of Henry II's reign, when his son Jordan had succeeded him.⁹⁴ Robert was the first member of the Sandford family to patronise the order, giving four

⁸⁸ Inquest, p.101.

⁸⁹ Ibid., p.cci.

⁹⁰ Fees, pp.190, 191(2). Also see below p.186.

⁹¹ Ibid., p.101.

⁹² See genealogical table 2, appendix III, p.290.

⁹³ Sandford, p.16, n.6. His daughter, Christine became a nun in this priory, which was patronised by several members of the family including Hugh de Sandford in the thirteenth century, see V.C.H. Oxfordshire, ii, 76. Another Robert de Sandford appears in the thirteenth century. This Robert was Master of the Templars in England between c.1229-50. See for instance, Sandford, nos.17, 45, 46, 47, and above p.64. However, there is no reference in the records to him being related to the Sandford family being considered here.

⁹⁴ P.R., 3/4 Henry II, 5, 18, 57, 78, 114, 116, 133.

acres of land in Sandford in c.1150.95 Although Robert clearly held land in Sandford, it is not known as to where else he held possessions. His son Jordan is recorded as holding at least three knight's fees in Cambridgeshire and Wiltshire between c.1155-66.96 He was living until about 1175, when his son Thomas I succeeded him.97 As well as being associated in the grant of his father Robert, he also gave the order the homage of Walter Druet between 1154-9.98 It is possible that this Jordan was a different man, as he was referred to as the son of Roger de Langley, with whom he made the grant. However, as Lees notes, filius in this case may have meant son-in-law or stepson.99

Jordan probably had at least two sons Richard and Thomas I.100 The latter, who had succeeded his father by about 1175, was recorded as holding at least four fees of land from the Honour of Gloucester, and from the Bishop of Ely, in Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, Buckinghamshire and Gloucestershire. In about 1219 he had become a lay associate of the Templars, probably retiring from secular life.101 His patronage of the order, consisted of the grant of Sandford mill before 1219, plus the tenement of Aylward the miller, and a fishery.102

95 Sandford, no.16.

96 Red Book, pp.23, 364, 664, 694.

97 P.R., 21 Henry II, 99.

98 Sandford, no.30.

99 Ibid., p.29, n.1.

100 For Richard de Sandford see Curia Regis Rolls...preserved in the Public Record Office, Richard I-Henry III, in progress (London, 1922-), i, p.79 (hereafter cited as Cur.Reg.R).

101 See above p.82. The V.C.H. entry on Sandford and the Sandford family, incorrectly states that Thomas the younger (that is Thomas II) became a Templar. V.C.H. Oxfordshire, v, 269.

102 Sandford, nos.6, 8, 13, and see above p.82.

Thomas I had at least three sons, although it is not known who his wife was. His eldest son was Thomas II, who presumably succeeded to his father's lands when he entered the order. He is also recorded as holding half a fee in Buckinghamshire.¹⁰³ Thomas II was the keeper of Braydon forest (Wiltshire) in 1234,¹⁰⁴ and he was probably living until about 1241, when his heir Adam de Perrington was given seisin of Braydon forest.¹⁰⁵ His patronage of the order consisted of a grant of the manor of Sandford and the advowson of the church of Blewbury (Berkshire), ad subsidium terre sancte.¹⁰⁶ This grant was not only the most important grant made to the order by a member of the Sandford family, but also constituted one of the most important grants to the order in England as a whole, as it provided the basis for the important preceptory established by the Templars at Sandford.¹⁰⁷

Thomas had two brothers, Hugh and Richard who were both patrons of the order. Hugh de Sandford who participated on the fifth crusade ¹⁰⁸ and was probably dead by 1234,¹⁰⁹ held at least three knight's fees in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire and Kent.¹¹⁰ He was married to Joan de Nowers,¹¹¹ and his daughter Christine married John de Plessis, the Earl of Warwick.¹¹² His patronage of the order consisted of the grant of his

¹⁰³ Cal.Inq.P.M., i, no.530.

¹⁰⁴ Cal.Close R., 1231-1234, 496.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., 1237-1242, 340.

¹⁰⁶ Sandford, no.1. For more details on his crusading motivation see above p.57.

¹⁰⁷ See above p.50.

¹⁰⁸ See above p.50, n.69.

¹⁰⁹ Cal.Close R., 1231-1234, 399, 507.

¹¹⁰ Red Book, pp.144, 308, 469, 537, 724; Fees, pp.21, 105, 957.

¹¹¹ Cal.Close R., 1231-1234, 339.

¹¹² Cal.Inq.P.M., i, no.558. Another daughter Agnes, married Robert de Lupe, Cal.Close R., 1231-1234, 338.

part of a meadow in Sandford in c.1219. This was given for the soul of his father fratris Thome de Saunford'.¹¹³ A Richard de Sandford, is referred to as being dead by 1290, being succeeded by his son Thomas.¹¹⁴ However, Richard de Sandford, the patron of the Templars, and son of Thomas I, was more likely to be the man who died in 1249, leaving a widow Eleanor,¹¹⁵ and a son Rannulf.¹¹⁶ In the early years of the thirteenth century, he is referred to as holding lands in Shropshire and Lincolnshire, including sixteen and a half fees from the Earl of Lincoln.¹¹⁷ He gave three charters to the order, which included a confirmation before 1216, of his father's grant of Sandford mill, in which he referred to the fact of Thomas I's association with the order.¹¹⁸ His own grants, made before 1219, gave the order part of his meadows in Sandford to augment the lands of the mill of Sandford.¹¹⁹

One other possible member of the immediate Sandford family can be considered. That is Rannulf de Sandford, who held one fee from the abbot of Abingdon in 1242-3,¹²⁰ and was dead by 1255.¹²¹ His patronage of the Templars consisted of the grant of a fulling mill in c.1219.¹²² His

¹¹³ See above p.50.

¹¹⁴ C.Roberts ed., Calendarium Genealogicum, Henry II and Edward I, 2 vols. (London 1865), p.563.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p.192.

¹¹⁶ Cal.Inq.P.M., i, no.170.

¹¹⁷ Red Book, pp.158, 517-20; Fees, pp.158, 166, 169, 176, 181, 183, 186-8.

¹¹⁸ See above p.88.

¹¹⁹ Sandford, nos.12, 13. No.12 also refers to his father's association.

¹²⁰ Fees, pp.826, 839.

¹²¹ Sandford, p.146, n.1.

¹²² Ibid., no. 14.

connection with Thomas I is not known, although in his charter he refers to the grant being given for the soul domini mei fratris Thome de Saunford', and although there is no specific reference, it is possible that he was another of Thomas I's sons. Certainly he was a contemporary of Thomas II, Hugh and Richard, and he is referred to as making an agreement concerning some pasture lands with Thomas II in c.1240.123

Further family connections with the order can be traced with the heirs of Thomas II de Sandford. It is not known whether Thomas II had any children, and the possibility seems unlikely in view of the fact that one Adam de Perington, the son of Thomas de Perington was recognised as his eldest heir, being a nephew in 1240. Adam's patronage of the Templars consisted of a confirmation of Thomas II's grant of the manor of Sandford and the advowson of Blewbury church made in c.1240, .124 In c.1269 Adam's daughter Katherine Paynel repeated this confirmation, adding the forensic service due from three hides of land.125

Finally, two other patrons were related to the Sandford family. These were William and Thomas Peverel. Thomas the son of Hugh Peverel confirmed the grant of Thomas II in 1240, referring to himself as the alter heredum domini Thome de Saunford', a phrase used by Adam de Perington in the same year.126 On 2 May 1241, William Peverel, who may have been a brother of Thomas Peverel, also confirmed the grants made by Thomas II, whom he referred to as avunculus meus.127

123 Ibid., no.17.

124 Ibid., no.2.

125 Ibid., no.3.

126 Ibid., no.5.

127 Ibid., no.4. See above p.50-1 for William's crusading activity.

5) The Bosco and Esse Families.

Ten members of the related families of Bosco and Esse gave the Templars a total of twenty four charters in the Oxfordshire hamlet of Esse (near Beckley) and the villages of Warpsgrove and Horspath. At least four members of the families became lay associates of the order,¹²⁸ and although their grants were not as significant as those of other patrons, like the Sandford family, once again they do show important family linkages between a relatively large number of patrons.

The Bosco family provided at least four patrons of the order, William de Bosco, his son Robert, his brother Richard fitz John, and Richard de Bosco. William de Bosco made a series of grants to the Templars between c.1190 and 1225. His grants between c.1190-1200 were given in Esse. In c.1190 he gave the order a headland (forarium),¹²⁹ his share of a meadow, (which they had from a grant of William del Esse),¹³⁰ and also nine acres.¹³¹ In c.1191, William gave three acres of desmesne meadow, plus two and a half acres of land, a meadow and four butts.¹³² In c.1195, he gave a portion of his land consisting of four acres and pasturage for twenty animals, one hundred sheep and sixty pigs.¹³³ It was this charter which referred to the association of William and his brother Richard with the order.¹³⁴ After his commitment to the Templars,

¹²⁸ For the links between the two families see below p.113. For the lay association of William de Bosco, Richard fitz John, John del Esse, Walter fitz Terry del Esse see above pp.73-4.

¹²⁹ Sandford, no.453.

¹³⁰ Ibid., no.457. This meadow was referred to in another charter, ibid., no.452, but does not appear in any of William del Esse's known charters to the order.

¹³¹ Sandford, no.458. The grant appears alongside a series of grants made in the hamlet of Ashende, where the family of Esse came from.

¹³² Ibid., no.452.

¹³³ Ibid., no.454.

¹³⁴ See above p.73.

in c.1200 he gave part of a virgate and half an acre.¹³⁵ Finally, in c.1225, he gave his court, houses and land in Warpsgrove (Oxfordshire).¹³⁶

It is possible that this last grant was given by another William de Bosco. There were two men of that name in the early thirteenth century, as is made clear by a reference in the Curia Regis Rolls to a William Bosco senior.¹³⁷ Moreover, the gap between the grants of the period c.1190-1200 in Esse, and the grant of c.1225 in Warpsgrove is suggestive of two different patrons. Therefore, references to a man who acted as a juror in Essex in 1208, and who was involved in a dispute with the abbot of Leicester over a case of advowson in 1212,¹³⁸ probably referred to William the elder. In contrast, those that mention a William de Bosco serving as a king's sergeant and an attorney in Norfolk in 1223 and 1231 respectively probably referred to William the younger.¹³⁹

As to the identity of this second William, he may have been a son of William the elder's son Robert, who was also a patron of the order, confirming in c.1200, two grants made by Hiwys the son of Geoffrey del Esse.¹⁴⁰ Whether the Richard de Bosco who gave the order his land in Stoke Talmage (Oxfordshire) in c.1225 was another son of William de Bosco

¹³⁵ Sandford, no.459.

¹³⁶ Ibid., no.163.

¹³⁷ Cur.Reg.R., vi, p.382.

¹³⁸ Ibid., v, 277; vi, 253.

¹³⁹ Ibid., x, no.495; xiv, no.1691.

¹⁴⁰ Sandford, nos.455, 456. See below p.115 for these grants. William the elder also had another son called Hugh, Farrer, Honors, ii, 202. If this reasoning is correct, then it was William the younger who had a wife called Alice and a daughter called Joanna, Cur.Reg.R., xiv, no.1067.

is not known.¹⁴¹ He may have been the man who was the constable of Corfe Castle in Dorset.¹⁴²

William de Bosco's brother Richard fitz John was also a patron of the order.¹⁴³ Richard fitz John gave the Templars all his land in Horspath (near Oxford) in c.1247-9.¹⁴⁴ References in the Hundred Rolls suggests that this amounted to one hide and one virgate of land.¹⁴⁵ That this Richard fitz John was the same man who joined the fraternity of the Templars in c.1195 with his brother William is proved (despite the long gap) by a reference, dated 1254-5, in the Calendar of Inquisitions which recorded that Richard fitz John held no land in Horspath "...on the day when he received the garb of religion, because long before he entered the order of Knights of the Temple of Jerusalem.." he enfeoffed the master and brethren of his land there. However, although this suggests that the men referred to in c.1195 and 1247-9 were the same, the statement conflicts with the idea that Richard made his grant in Horspath as late as c.1247-9. The evidence from William de Bosco's charter suggests that he gave his land in Horspath after, not before he joined the Templars. The probable explanation is that in 1195 he may have entered the fraternity of the Templars on the basis of his brother's grant, and that by 1247-9, possibly near the end of his life, he may have entered the order more fully, and given the order full control of his lands.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ Sandford, no.214.

¹⁴² Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1219-1349, 2 vols. (London, 1916), i, no.1801.

¹⁴³ Their relationship is proved by a reference in "Sandford", no.454. Also see above p.73. If Richard was the brother of William, this suggests that William's father was called John.

¹⁴⁴ Sandford, no.106.

¹⁴⁵ Rot.Hund., ii, 39, 41.

¹⁴⁶ Cal.Inq.P.M., i, no.886.

Although it is clear that Richard fitz John was the brother of William de Bosco, it is not clear which of the references to that name in the sources actually refer to him. The Hundred Rolls suggest that a man of the same name, from Sandford, held six acres of land in Oxfordshire,¹⁴⁷ and this could well be the same man who held one knight's fee in Horspath from Robert Musard in 1235-6.¹⁴⁸ If Richard the patron was nearing the end of his life in c.1245, it is unlikely that he was the same man as the frater of that name who was an attorney for the Master of the Templars in 1256, 1259, 1266 and 1269.¹⁴⁹

The exact connection between the families of Bosco and Esse is as unclear as the identity of some of the patrons who have just been considered. The fact that the two families were connected is suggested by several references in the Sandford Cartulary. Thus a grant of William de Bosco refers to Willelmus del Esse cognatus meus,¹⁵⁰ while a charter of William del Esse was witnessed by Willelmo de Bosco cognato meo.¹⁵¹ The family of Esse provided at least six patrons of the Templars. John del Esse was the most important patron in terms of the number of grants given. He gave a series of five charters to the order concerning possessions in Esse towards the end of the twelfth century. Thus between 1185-9 he gave four and a half acres of land and one acre of meadows.¹⁵² In c.1190 he made a perpetual lease of one croft,¹⁵³ and in c.1200 he made a further grant of one and a half acres of meadows and a grant of

¹⁴⁷ Rot.Hund., ii, 875.

¹⁴⁸ Fees, p.449.

¹⁴⁹ Cal.Close R., 1254-1257, 423; 1259-1261, 137; 1264-1268, 256; 1268-1272, 127.

¹⁵⁰ Sandford, no.452.

¹⁵¹ Ibid., no.448.

¹⁵² Ibid., no.443.

¹⁵³ Ibid., no.445.

half a virgate.¹⁵⁴ Finally, in a charter given in the late twelfth century, he gave one acre and four virgates.¹⁵⁵ Apart from the grant of one and a half acres of meadows, the other charters all refer to John's connection with the fraternity of the Templars.

Information pertaining to John (as with the other members of his family) is lacking. However, the information contained in his charters and those of several other family members does partially explain the connections between several family members. Thus two of his charters refer to both his wife Antigane, and his son and heir Fulk,¹⁵⁶ while it is reasonably certain that John was one of five brothers. This is suggested by a late twelfth century charter given to the order by a Walter fitz Terry del Esse granting one virgate of land in return for membership of the fraternity of the Templars. The charter refers specifically to his four brothers Walter, William, John and Henry.¹⁵⁷

William de Esse gave the order four charters. His first charter was made between 19 December 1188 and 6 July 1189, and confirmed to the order seven and a half acres of land in Esse, which his brother Walter had given to them, plus a virgate and three acres of meadows and one and a half acres of land next to the croft which his brother John held.¹⁵⁸ This grant was repeated with some smaller additions between May 1209 and May 1213,¹⁵⁹ and was also confirmed between 1209 and 1213 by William's

¹⁵⁴ Ibid., nos.444, 446.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., no.442.

¹⁵⁶ Sandford, nos.442, 446. Fulk fitz John de Esse witnesses a charter of William del Esse, ibid., no.448.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid., no.440. Also see William and John del Esse witnessing as brothers, Sandford, nos.453, 454, and to William, Walter and John del Esse witnessing in the same way, ibid., no.452.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., no.448. Which Walter de Esse is referred to here is not clear.

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., no.449.

son Alexander, who referred to his uncles John and Walter.¹⁶⁰ William's second charter was given in c.1200, and gave one acre of land and a meadow, while another charter confirmed an unknown agreement made between John del Esse and the Templars. As well as supporting the view that there were several Esse brothers alive in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, William's charters are also important in that they refer to the agreement made with the Templars by John del Esse, and to grants made by Walter del Esse, which are not known from any other source.

As to the parents of the brothers, the suggestion from Walter fitz Terry del Esse's charter is that their father was called Terry, although none of the other brothers refer to this fact. The brother's mother was probably the Alice, daughter of Fulk del Esse, who in the late twelfth century confirmed the grant of one virgate by her son William, adding her own gift of one acre.¹⁶¹ The connection of this family grouping with Hiwys the son of Geoffrey del Esse, who gave two charters in c.1190, granting a total of three and a half acres in Esse to the order, is not known.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ Ibid., no.451.

¹⁶¹ Ibid., no.441. The virgate given by William may have been that which he refers to in his confirmation of his brother Walter's grants, ibid., nos.448, 449.

¹⁶² Ibid., nos.438, 439.

THE ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS.

1) The Mowbray Family.

Of all the families who patronised the Order of St.Lazarus in England, the Mowbray family was probably the most important. This was not only in terms of its own power and influence, but also because one of their number, Roger I de Mowbray, was responsible for the foundation of the Hospital of Burton Lazars, the chief hospital of the order in England. A total of fourteen charters from family members are contained in the Burton Lazars Cartulary, given by at least five different people. A study of this family will therefore help to explain not only the nature of the order's foundation in this country, but also provides a reasonable starting point for showing how succeeding generations of a family continued to patronise the order.

The family of Mowbray which patronised the order, was the second of two Mowbray families. The first Mowbray family came to an end with the disgrace of Robert de Mowbray, Earl of Northumberland in a rebellion against William Rufus in 1095.¹⁶³ His wife Maud de Laigle was married to one of Henry I's "new men", Nigel d'Aubigny. Although in the later Middle Ages, Mowbray family members were to achieve prominence, being rewarded with such titles as Earl Marshal, Earl of Nottingham, and Duke of Norfolk,¹⁶⁴ it was with Nigel that the family received the basis for its landed power. Henry I granted Nigel lands both in Normandy and northern and midland England. As far as the Order of St.Lazarus was concerned the most important were those held in Melton Mowbray and the Wreak valley in Leicestershire, and the lordship around Kirby Malzeard in Yorkshire.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶³ F.Barlow, William Rufus (London, 1983), pp.346-59.

¹⁶⁴ Complete Peerage, ix, 385

¹⁶⁵ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, pp.xvii-xxxii.

Nigel's son, Roger I, by his second marriage to Gundreda de Gournay, was the first person to assume the title of Mowbray.¹⁶⁶ He died in c.1188, leaving three children by his wife Alice de Gant. Of these both Nigel I and Robert were patrons of the order. Nigel I died in c.1191, leaving five children by his wife Mabel, the eldest of which was William, also a patron of the order. William was succeeded in turn by his two sons, as the elder, Nigel II had no heirs. Roger II was succeeded by his son Roger III, who is the only other member of the family who patronised the order. From Roger III's son John I, the family continued in the direct male line until the death of John VII de Mowbray in 1476.

The most important of the five Mowbray patrons was Roger I.¹⁶⁷ He appears to have been born in c.1120, coming of age in the late 1130's. Despite losing all his Norman lands to Geoffrey of Anjou in the troubles of Stephen's reign, he was able to regain all the lands that had belonged to his father, by the end of his reign. He has been described as a ".turbulent vassal and keen crusader..", and Greenway suggests that the one led to the other. Thus, the troubles he faced in Stephen's reign, were augmented owing to his rebellion against Henry II in 1173-4. It has already been noted that Roger made three and probably four journeys to the Holy Land. These began with his efforts on the Second Crusade in 1147, and ended with his death shortly after being ransomed from the Moslems, following his capture at the Battle of Hattin in 1187.¹⁶⁸ As far as Roger's personal motivation to patronage of the order (and of the Templars), this crusading activity was probably of paramount importance.

¹⁶⁶ For what follows on the family history see Complete Peerage, ix, 366-80.

¹⁶⁷ For what follows see Greenway, Mowbray Charters, pp.xxvi-ix.

¹⁶⁸ See above pp.43-4.

Roger was a prolific patron by any standards. Dugdale refers to Roger I as being the founder of at least thirty five monasteries and nunneries,¹⁶⁹ and although this is something of a wild exaggeration, it is clear that Roger was the patron of at least forty five establishments, including the Cistercian houses of Fountains, Rievaulx and Pipewell,¹⁷⁰ the Augustinian houses of Bridlington and Kenilworth,¹⁷¹ several hospitals, including St.Leonard's at York,¹⁷² as well as the Hospitallers and Templars. ¹⁷³ Finally, in addition to founding Burton Lazars, it is clear that he founded the Cistercian house of Byland and the Augustinian house of Newburgh.¹⁷⁴

Roger's patronage of the Order of St.Lazarus consisted of a total of seven charters, all contained in the Burton Lazars Cartulary. Two of these were basically the same grant of 2s. rent from the mill of Masham (Yorkshire), between c.1166-86.¹⁷⁵ He also gave three marks rent from his mills in the castle of Thirsk (Yorkshire), between c.1154-65.¹⁷⁶ These grants were the only Mowbray grants to the order which came from their holdings in Yorkshire. The remainder came from the family lands in

¹⁶⁹ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 320.

¹⁷⁰ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.94-6, 98-9, 102-3, 105, 108-12, 114-20, 122, 125-30, 132-7, 139-43, 145, 147-9 (Fountains); 233-4, 236-49 (Rievaulx); 225-8 (Pipewell): Roger's sons Nigel and Robert were also patrons of Fountains and Rievaulx, see ibid., nos.113, 121, 123-4, 138, 146 (Fountains); 250-2 (Rievaulx).

¹⁷¹ Ibid., nos.21-2 (Bridlington); 176-7, 179-80 (Kenilworth).

¹⁷² Ibid., nos.294-9, 301-8, 311-3, 315.

¹⁷³ Ibid., nos.170-1. For the Templars, see below pp.205-6.

¹⁷⁴ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.32-46, 48-56, 58-69 (Byland); 194-5, 197-206, 208-11 (Newburgh).

¹⁷⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.4v.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., f.3v. This grant also contained references to two other grants made by the brothers Herbert and Rannulf de Queniborough (Leicestershire). Thus Herbert granted half a mark of silver per annum from his mill of Coxwold (Yorkshire), while Rannulf gave them half a mark from an unknown source.

the Wreak valley. In a fourth charter, Roger gave the brethren twelve acres of land, plus a meadow called Alvetescroft, from his desmesne lands between Melton Mowbray and Thorpe (Arnold) (Leicestershire), between c.1166-86.¹⁷⁷ Roger additionally confirmed two charters given by his son Nigel I, in charters dated between c.1166-86 and c.1170-84.¹⁷⁸

It is true that there is nothing exceptional about any of the above grants, however, the seventh charter which Roger I gave the order has rather more significance attached to it than any other charter in the cartulary. This was the grant of two carucates of land in Burton Lazars, plus a messuage and the site of a mill, and constituted one of the largest single grants known to the order in England.¹⁷⁹ Greenway dates the charter c.1154-September 1162,¹⁸⁰ however, it may well have been granted as early as c.1150, after Roger I's return from the Holy Land by at least May 1149.¹⁸¹ The importance of the charter is heightened by the fact that it is generally assumed to be the foundation charter of the Hospital of Burton Lazars.¹⁸²

These views have, however, never been conclusively proven, and the author of the article on Burton Lazars in the Victoria County History of Leicestershire, notes that the cartulary contains no statement to the effect that this grant was the foundation charter.¹⁸³ A second doubt is

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., f.4. In the thirteenth century, seven of these acres were granted to a William fitz Richard de Thorpe, by Walter de Novocastro, the then Master of Burton Lazars, ibid., f.5.

¹⁷⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.3, 45.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., f.3.

¹⁸⁰ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, no.23.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p.xxvi.

¹⁸² See V.C.H. Leicestershire, ii, 36 n.1; Greenway, Mowbray Charters, p.23; Marcombe, Burton Lazars, p.2.

¹⁸³ V.C.H. Leicestershire, ii, 36 n.1.

cast by the fact that the charter makes no reference to a hospital either in existence and being taken over by the order, as at Tilton, or of a hospital to be built, as at Carlton.¹⁸⁴ A final doubt is that Nichols refers to a grant made to Burton Lazars by William de Aubigny of lands at Choseley (Norfolk), before 1146.¹⁸⁵ That is, before any of the dates suggested for Roger I's charter.

However, although the charter neither refers to itself as the foundation charter of the hospital nor makes any reference to a hospital this should not be seen as conclusive evidence in the matter. Roger I's grant may simply be referring to the lands on which the order, presumably shortly afterwards, decided to build their hospital.¹⁸⁶ Furthermore, William de Aubigny's grant does not present any problems to the argument for the foundation charter, as his grant could well have been to the Order of St.Lazarus, rather than to specifically the Hospital at Burton Lazars, in line with the other early grants made to the order such as those made by Roger I de Mowbray himself. Finally, and most conclusively, it seems that the order itself considered that Roger was the founder of the order in England. This is proved by a document contained among the Ancient Petitions to the Chancery and Exchequer. This document, dated c.1383-9, speaks of the foundation of the Hospital of Burton Lazars thus:

frere Nicholo mestre de Burton Seint Lazar qui come le dit hospital estoit fondu devant temps de memore de l'ordre de Seynt Lazar de

¹⁸⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.98, 116v.

¹⁸⁵ Nichols History Leics., II.i, 273. See below p.275, n.180, 276 for a comment on this reference.

¹⁸⁶ Galbraith suggests that the usual practice was for the original grant to be made by the "founder", and often years later conventual life may have begun. See V.H.Galbraith, "Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries", Cambridge Historical Journal, iv (1934), 214.

Jerusalem per un Roger de Moubray auncestr' Thom' de Moubray ore comi'
de Not' et maresthall d'anglais qi heir il a puis.¹⁸⁷

Admittedly the petition by the order to the king might simply have used Roger's name, because of his connection with Thomas de Mowbray, an important man in the kingdom at the time, in order to gain favour in the royal court.¹⁸⁸ However, given the evidence that has already been considered, it seems that the petitioners were reflecting not only contemporary feelings, but also historical fact.

Compared with the grants of Roger I, particularly the foundation charter, the patronage of the other Mowbray's was considerably less significant. It is essential to note this patronage however, as it reflects the continuing associations of the family with the order after (and indeed before) Roger's death in 1188. The second patron to consider is Nigel I de Mowbray, the eldest son of Roger I. Nigel appears to have been born in c.1164,¹⁸⁹ and he began to attest, and give his consent to charters at an early age, often alongside his brother Robert.¹⁹⁰ He followed his father in the rebellion of 1173-4, and also in his father's crusading activities. Thus after attending the coronation of Richard I on 12 December 1189, he participated on the Third Crusade, dying at Acre in 1191.¹⁹¹ As with his father, motivation to patronage may have had a lot to do with his crusading venture. Although his grants were made

¹⁸⁷ P.R.O. Petitions to Chancery and Exchequer SC8.110.15081. The petition refers to Thomas de Mowbray, and a dispute between Nicholas of Dover and Richard Clifford for the mastership. Thomas' brother John died in 1382-3, Complete Peerage, ix, 384-5, and Richard Clifford was appointed as master in 1389, Cal.Pat.R., 1388-1392, 117.

¹⁸⁸ For Thomas I de Mowbray see Complete Peerage, ix, 601-604.

¹⁸⁹ For Nigel's career see, Greenway, Mowbray Charters, pp.xxix, xxxii.

¹⁹⁰ See below p.215 n.493.

¹⁹¹ See above p.52.

before the crusade set off, he may have been influenced by plans for a future journey to the Holy Land. However, it is still quite possible to argue that in turning to the Order of St.Lazarus, the fact that his father had founded one of that order's houses may also have been of some importance.

Greenway notes that Nigel was not "...a lavish benefactor..",¹⁹² and certainly in comparison with his father's grants this statement is borne out. In total, he granted three charters to the order, two of which were confirmed by his father.¹⁹³ These latter two charters consisted of his gift of Peter fitz Geoffrey and all his tenement in Kirby Bellars, between c.1166-86, and the tenement of Richard of Thorp, including half a carucate of land and a quarter part of one mill, between c.1166-86.¹⁹⁴ In a third charter he gave the tithe of meat and drink from his house wherever it might be.¹⁹⁵ The possibility that the grantor may have been Nigel II, because none of the witnesses to this charter attests either of Nigel I's other two charters, can be discounted. The reason for this is that two witnesses of the third charter attested charters of Nigel I and his father at dates which correspond closely to Nigel I's other two charters. Thus, Richard of Richmond witnessed two other charters granted by Nigel I, one between c.1170-90, and the other between c.1170-81.¹⁹⁶ In addition, Rannulf Chinun attested three charters of Roger I, none later than c.1186,¹⁹⁷ and these dates correspond closely enough with

¹⁹² Greenway, Mowbray Charters, p.xli.

¹⁹³ See above p.119.

¹⁹⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.3, 45.

¹⁹⁵ See above p.52.

¹⁹⁶ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.165, 367.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., nos.147, 246, 366.

those of Nigel's other two charters, to make it highly likely that he was the grantor of this third charter.

The three remaining patrons of the order granted one charter each. Robert de Mowbray confirmed all the donations which Roger fitz Henry de Arderne gave to them, including one virgate of land in Leesthorpe (Leicestershire), and six and a half acres of meadows and one toft and five roods in Litelbo.¹⁹⁸ The suggestion is that the grantor was Robert, the son of Roger I, who attested charters of his father and brother, and also became involved in the 1173-4 rebellion.¹⁹⁹ There are however, several reasons for believing that the grantor was actually Robert, the son of Nigel I.²⁰⁰ Although the last reference to Robert (I) in the documents is in 1199,²⁰¹ the charter to the order was granted specifically to the house at Burton Lazars, an unusual feature for the dedications of twelfth and early thirteenth century charters.²⁰² Furthermore, three of the witnesses to the charter, Peter de Burdet, William Beler and William de Aumary are all known to have been alive in the mid thirteenth century.²⁰³ Yet, unfortunately this evidence is not conclusive. Robert (I) may well have lived on into the thirteenth century, as his brother's early death did, after all, occur on crusade. Moreover, Peter Burdet does appear as early as 1220,²⁰⁴ while William Beler witnessed the charter of William de Mowbray to the order before

¹⁹⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.41v.

¹⁹⁹ For his attestations see below p.^{215, A.493.} For his careers see for example Greenway, Mowbray Charters, p.xxix.

²⁰⁰ Cal.Chart.R. ii, 442.

²⁰¹ P.R., 1 John, 9, 141.

²⁰² Most of the early charters refer to the order in general.

²⁰³ See below pp.131-2, 143, 225.

²⁰⁴ P.R., 4 Henry III, 32, and see G.F.Farnham Leicestershire Village Notes, 6 vols. (Leicester 1929-33), i, 253 (Hereafter cited as Farnham, Village Notes).

1223, the year in which William de Mowbray died.²⁰⁵ In addition, although William de Aumary is a mid to late thirteenth century figure, in one of his charters there is a reference to his father, who may have been alive in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, being called William.²⁰⁶ Clearly, the issue depends on how long Robert (I) lived on into the thirteenth century, and as this is unknown, no firm statement on the identity of the patron can be made.

The next patron is rather more easy to identify. This was William de Mowbray, the eldest son of Nigel I, who was in Richard I's entourage in Germany in 1193, and may even have been on the Third Crusade.²⁰⁷ Despite his close cooperation with Richard I, William fell foul of King John, and was an opponent of the king in 1215. Despite this, he managed to hold on to his lands until his death in 1223. His patronage of the order, at some point before 1223, consisted of a quit-claim of forensic service pertaining to him from five bovates of land in Leesthorpe.²⁰⁸

The final patron of the order was Roger III, William's grandson, and the first Baron Mowbray.²⁰⁹ He presumably made his confirmatory grant to the order between 1278, the year he came of age, and 1297, the year of his death. In his charter he confirmed all the order's donations which had come from "... the donation and concession of my ancestors and their

²⁰⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii fols.3v. See below this page for more discussion of this charter.

²⁰⁶ Ibid., f.38. It may be his name that appears in 1206, P.R., 7 John, 30.

²⁰⁷ See above p.47. For William's career see Complete Peerage, ix, 373-4, and Holt, The Northerners, pp.22-3.

²⁰⁸ See above p.54, n.99. The charter is virtually identical to another contained in the cartulary, B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.44. The land may be that granted to the order by Louis de Pickwell, whose grant of five bovates is the only such known grant for Leesthorpe, see ibid., f.43.

²⁰⁹ Complete Peerage, ix, 376-7.

tenants.."210. Unfortunately he does not elaborate on the nature of his grants, but his charter is important in the reference to the Mowbray tenants, whose patronage was also relatively extensive,211 and also in the fact that it shows how the connection between the Mowbrays and the order was continued into the later thirteenth century.

2) The Burdet Family.

Of the various branches of the Burdet family that existed in this period, the most important for the purposes of this study were the Burdets of Cold Newton and Lowesby, and a cadet branch from Burton Lazars.212 In total, ten Burdets appear to have been patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus, and their grants, and references to their grants, are contained in seventeen charters in the Burton Lazars Cartulary. Their importance derives largely from the fact that they were responsible for a series of relatively significant grants in southern Leicestershire, including the grant of a hospital at Tilton.

The earliest Burdet to come to England was Robert I Burdet, who died before 1086.213 His elder son, or more probably his grandson of the same name, may have been the man who joined a crusade to Spain, where he became the Prince of Tarragona, dying in 1155.214 It was Robert's

210 B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.4, ex donatione et concessione antecessorum meorum et suorum tenentium.

211 See below pp.206-11 for the patronage of Mowbray tenants.

212 For the Burdets of Rand see E.Y.C., x, 74-6, 82-3. For the Burdets of Allington and Potton see ibid. x, 76; K.J.Stringer, Earl David of Huntingdon (Edinburgh, 1985) pp.159-60 (hereafter cited as Stringer, David of Huntingdon). For the Burdets of Shepey see Farrer, Honors, ii, 333.

213 D.Crouch, The Beaumont Twins (Cambridge, 1986), p.127 (hereafter cited as Crouch, Beaumont Twins).

214 Ibid., p.127, n.95. Also see L.J.McCrank, "Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest: Robert Burdet and the principality of Tarragona 1129-1155", Journal of Medieval History, vii (1981), 67-82.

younger son Hugh I who seems to have gained possession of a number of holdings in Leicestershire. From Domesday Book we learn that a son of Robert Burdet held six carucates, less five bovates in Braunstone, and thirteen carucates plus two bovates in Galby from the Grandmesnil family, who were counts of Leicester.²¹⁵ This son need not have been Hugh, but he is mentioned by name as holding two and a half carucates of land in Rearsby, six and a half carucates in Welby, half a carucate in Sysonby, plus nine carucates in Lowesby from a Countess Judith, whose lands later became the Honour of Huntingdon and Northampton.²¹⁶

The Burdet genealogy is a particularly difficult one to understand, and in this section it will be necessary to deal with some of these genealogical problems, as they impinge on the identification of the patrons of the order.²¹⁷ The link between Hugh I and William I, the first patron of the order, is particularly unclear. Nichols places two generations between the two men, and while this may be one too many, it is unlikely that they were father and son, given that Hugh held land in 1086, and William I died almost a century later.²¹⁸ William I married Avice, and had at least three, and probably four sons.²¹⁹ He was probably born in the 1120's, and his first appearance in the records may have been as early as 1137-9.²²⁰ He appears to have been a crusader, probably taking part on the Second Crusade in 1147,²²¹ and was probably

²¹⁵ Domesday Book, xxiii, fols.232c, 232d.

²¹⁶ Ibid., fols.236b, 236c.

²¹⁷ See genealogical table 3, appendix III, p.291.

²¹⁸ Nichols, History Leics., III.i, 337.

²¹⁹ Ibid., III.i, 338, 351.

²²⁰ Crouch, Beaumont Twins, p.128.

²²¹ See above p.53. On his return from this he founded Alvecote priory (Warwickshire), a house also patronised by his grandson William II, Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 455. For a discussion of the strange circumstances of this foundation, and his crusading activities, see ibid.

dead by c.1184, when his son Hugh II was accounting for a relief for two knight's fees in Leicestershire.²²² William presumably held lands inherited from Hugh I, in Lowesby, Rearsby, Sysonby and Welby from Robert II de Beaumont, the Earl of Leicester, and lands in Braunstone and Galby from the Honour of Huntingdon, which at that time was a possession of the Scottish kings. He also held lands in Brooksby, Haselbeech and Cold Newton, the latter being part of the Mowbray fee.²²³ The divisions in William's territorial allegiances were matched by divisions in his political allegiance, as he acted on the one hand as a steward between c.1157-62 to Malcolm IV, the King of Scotland, and as a member of the court of Robert II de Beaumont, Earl of Leicester from as early as 1137-9.²²⁴

William's patronage of the order consisted of one charter, given before 1184, which granted the Hospital at Tilton, and one carucate of land in Cold Newton, and the churches of Lowesby, Galby, and after the death of his son Robert, the church of Haselbeech (Northamptonshire).²²⁵ In total this forms one of the largest known grants to the English order, including as it did, a total of one third of the churches of which the order is known to have possessed the advowson.

In the next generation of Burdet's another relatively important patron was Richard I Burdet, a younger son of William I. Richard's identity can be established, as his charter was confirmed by William III Burdet, the son of Hugh II, who referred to the grants Ricardi Burdet

²²² P.R., 31 Henry II, 104.

²²³ Fees, pp.519, 940. Also see Crouch, Beaumont Twins, pp.127-8.

²²⁴ See particularly, ibid., pp.128-9. Also see G.W.S.Barrow ed. Regesta Regum Scottorum I, The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153-1165 (Edinburgh, 1960), 100.

²²⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.98.

avunculi mei.²²⁶ According to Nichols, Richard was married to Matilda de Somery, and had four sons.²²⁷ While it is difficult to dispute this last point, it is clear that Matilda de Somery was married not to Richard, but to his elder brother Hugh. This is because, between 1236-41, William the son of Hugh II made a grant to Trentham priory (Staffordshire), partly for the soul of his mother Matilda of Somery.²²⁸ His first appearance in the records may have been as early as c.1138-54 when he witnessed several Mowbray family charters,²²⁹ but as Richard I died as late as 1223, Richard the witness was probably someone else, possibly a brother of William I.²³⁰ His patronage to the order consisted of one carucate of land in Great Dalby, stating that the grant was given pro salute domini regis Henrici filii Matild', et pro patris mei Willelmi Burded, which suggests a date of c.1154-89.²³¹

Richard's nephew, William III, who died without heirs was also a relatively generous patron of the order. He was under age in 1202.²³² There is no reference to his death, and because of the number of William Burdets who appear to have been living in the early thirteenth century, it is not always possible to be sure whether record evidence relates to William III or not. It is clear from the above evidence of his grant to Trentham Priory that he was still alive in the 1230's.²³³ It is

²²⁶ Ibid., f.40.

²²⁷ Nichols, History Leics., III.i, 351.

²²⁸ Bodleian Library ms. Dugdale 15 p.193. I am grateful to Dr.David Crouch for this reference.

²²⁹ Greenway, Mowbray Family, nos.48, 98, 230, 363, 370.

²³⁰ Nichols, History Leics., III.i, 338-51.

²³¹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f. 40.

²³² D.M.Stenton ed., The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls 1202-1209 (Lincoln Record Society) xxii (1926), no.360.

²³³ See above this page.

therefore probable, that a reference in the Book of Fees for 1235-6, which recorded a William Burdet holding one and a half fees in Lowesby, Rearsby, Sysonby, Brooksby, Welby from the Honour of Huntingdon, and one fee in Cold Newton from the Mowbray fee, was referring to William III. The same source records that he held two thirds of a fee in Haselbeech in 1242-3.²³⁴

William III's patronage consisted of two confirmations and one grant. As well as confirming his uncle Richard's grant in Great Dalby,²³⁵ he also confirmed his grandfather William I's grants of Tilton Hospital, land in Cold Newton, and the churches of Lowesby and Galby. He saved for himself and his family the right of patronage of the church of Haselbeech.²³⁶ It was this grant that was confirmed by a Matilda of Menn, who seems to have been the same person as Matilda of Somery.²³⁷

His own grant is rather more noteworthy. This consisted of all the land that William owned in Cold Newton, which included his caput mansum, four virgates of land, plus woods and four of his customary tenants, with their goods and chattels. These comprised another four virgates, and the grant was augmented by rights of wardship, relief, marriage and escheats, from his free tenants in Cold Newton.²³⁸ It appears from the scale of the grant that William III was giving everything he owned in Cold Newton.

²³⁴ Fees, pp.519, 940.

²³⁵ B.L.ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.40.

²³⁶ Ibid., f.98v.

²³⁷ Ibid., f.98. There is a possibility that this woman was the mother of William I Burdet, as her charter does deal with two of the churches which he granted to the order. Furthermore it does specifically refer to the charter Willelmi Burdet filii mei. However, the fact that she only refers to two churches, and ignores the church at Haselbeech, which William II reserved to himself suggests that she was confirming his charter, and that she was his mother.

²³⁸ Ibid., f.98.

This may have been handed over to the order in William III's old age, when it was obvious that he would have no heir to succeed him.

William III's grant has an additional significance in that its appearance in the cartulary has caused some degree of confusion. The actual terms of the grant are confirmed in a charter of another William Burdet in 1298, where William III, is clearly referred to as Willelmus Burdet miles filius Hugonis Burdet.²³⁹ However, the Burton Lazars Cartulary contains the last part of a grant by a man called William, which comes immediately after the first part of the only papal charter to be found in the cartulary.²⁴⁰ The suggestion is that the William referred to in the last part of the charter is William III, and the charter, is the last part of the charter confirmed in 1298. This can be proved because the last part of the grant contained in the confirmatory charter, and the first part of the remainder of the grant coming after the papal charter are exactly the same.²⁴¹ Further proof is given by the references in the latter part of the charter to Cold Newton and customary and free tenants.²⁴²

The final patron on this side of the family, was another William Burdet, who according to Nichols, may have been descended from Richard I. He suggests that Richard I had a son William IV, who married Isabella. Their son, Richard II, was the father of William V who was the patron of

²³⁹ Ibid.

²⁴⁰ For William's charter see ibid., f.100. For the papal charter see ibid., f.99.

²⁴¹ Ibid., f.100, maritagiis, escaetis, pratis, pascuis, pasturis, viis, semitis, aquis, ripis, et omnibus aliis libertatibus et asiamentis infra dictam villam et extra cum omnibus aliis pertinentiis mihi et heredibus meis pertinentibus vel aliqui vel aliquo modo decetero pertinere poterunt.

²⁴² Marcombe, Burton Lazars p.56, ignores this evidence, and does not make the connection between the two charters. For the papal charter see W.Holtzmann, Papstürkunden in England, 3 vols. (Berlin and Göttingen, 1930-52), iii, 89.

the order.²⁴³ William the patron died at Dundee in 1309,²⁴⁴ having made one confirmatory charter to the order in 1298. In this he confirmed not only William III's grants in Cold Newton, but also William III's confirmation of William I's grant, and William I's grant itself.²⁴⁵

With the Burdet's of Cold Newton, there are no major problems with identification of patrons. However the final group of Burdet patrons, Emma Burdet, her husband Aunger, Peter and John Burdet are less easy to identify. A family connection is proved between these people, as a charter of Peter Burdet refers to Emme Burdet matris mee,²⁴⁶ while Johanne Burdet filio et heredes meo, witnessed another of Peter's charters.²⁴⁷ This particular genealogy does not fit into that given by Nichols, who does though refer to several John Burdets.²⁴⁸ Furthermore, it is clear that Aunger must have been Emma's second husband, as in another charter contained in the Burton Lazars Cartulary, Peter Burdet is referred to as the son of William Burdet of Burton Lazars.²⁴⁹ This much is clear, but it is still difficult to fit this genealogy into the main Burdet family tree. The key to this is obviously Emma Burdet the wife of William Burdet of Burton Lazars (and afterwards Aunger). There is no proof of their connection to the main genealogy, but as they were both

²⁴³ Nichols, History Leics., III.i, 351. For William IV's father being called Richard, see Calendar of Chancery Warrants preserved in the Public Record Office 1244-1326 (London, 1927), p.211.

²⁴⁴ Calendar of the Fine Rolls Preserved in the Public Record Office, 1272-1509, 22 vols. (London, 1911-1962), 1307-19, p.38.

²⁴⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.98.

²⁴⁶ Ibid., f.12.

²⁴⁷ Ibid., f.25.

²⁴⁸ Nichols, History Leics., III.i, 351.

²⁴⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.36. Furthermore, a law suit of 1220-1 between Aunger and Emma against Peter, refers specifically to Emma's former husband being William Burdet, and concerns the dower which William endowed her with. See Farnham, Village Notes, i, 253.

alive in the early part of the thirteenth century, a reasonable suggestion could be that the William Burdet in this case, was William, who is identified by Nichols as the third son of William I.²⁵⁰ If this was the case, and it clearly contradicts Nichols' genealogy, then the Burdets of Burton Lazars can be directly linked to the Burdets of Cold Newton, and hence further family connections with patronage are established.

Having established the family connections of this branch of the Burdet family, it is now possible to turn to its patronage. The one charter given by Emma and Aunger is in the form of a quit-claim of all the rights they had in the land of Ivette, who was the wife of William fitz Hugh of Burton.²⁵¹ Turning to Peter Burdet, his involvement in the lawsuit of 1220-1 has already been noted. Reference is also made to him in 1220, owing five marks for a fine,²⁵² and in the Book of Fees for c.1242, he is recorded as holding one fee in Burton Lazars.²⁵³ Peter's patronage consisted of three charters to the order. In the first place there was a confirmation of the grants of his father (William) and his ancestors in Burton Lazars.²⁵⁴ In addition he gave the order the site of a windmill in Burton Lazars,²⁵⁵ and also eight ploughlands in Burton Lazars, in exchange for five ploughlands in the same area.²⁵⁶

²⁵⁰ Nichols, History Leics., III.i, 351.

²⁵¹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.36.

²⁵² P.R., 4 Henry III, 32.

²⁵³ Fees, p.632.

²⁵⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.25. This charter shows that William (II) was also a patron, although there are no extant details of his grants.

²⁵⁵ Ibid., f.12.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., f.24v.

Peter's son John is a difficult figure to distinguish from the various John Burdets in the records. It is possible that the John Burdet referred to, for example, as a witness to a charter of the Lord Edward in 1281, was not the same man, as the patron of the order.²⁵⁷ However, a number of references in the Burton Lazars Cartulary, were clearly referring to the patron, including a large number of witness attestations.²⁵⁸ John Burdet gave five charters to the order. Like Peter he issued a general confirmation of the grants of his father, and his ancestors.²⁵⁹ In two charters he gave the order six ploughlands and a total of five meadows in Burton Lazars.²⁶⁰ In an agreement with the order, they agreed to pay him 40s. on the day of Pentecost 1271, on penalty of one virgate of land which the brethren held by one of his charters (not included in the cartulary).²⁶¹ Lastly, in 1273, John promised to pay one woolpack to the order, in default of which he would give them one virgate of land.²⁶²

William Burdet of Billesdon (Leicestershire) is the final Burdet patron to be noted. His connection with the other Burdet family branches is not clear, although as Billesdon was very close to Cold Newton, it is possible that there was some connection. A William Burdet of Billesdon appears on several occasions as a witness in the Burton Lazars Cartulary,²⁶³ but aside from this little is known of him. His patronage

²⁵⁷ Cal.Pat.R. 1272-1281, 435.

²⁵⁸ See below p.226, n.19.

²⁵⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.25.

²⁶⁰ Ibid., fols.13, 25v.

²⁶¹ Ibid., f.39.

²⁶² Ibid., f.25v.

²⁶³ For example see, ibid., fols.75v, 77v.

to the order consisted of the grant of Robert fitz William Baldsveni and his chattels.²⁶⁴

3) The Amundeville Family.

The branch of the Amundeville family that will be considered in this section is that descended from Rannulf I the son of Jocelin, a steward of the Bishop of Lincoln, who held lands primarily in Carlton le Moorland (Lincolnshire) and Long Preston (Yorkshire). Rannulf and three of his descendants are referred to as patrons of the order, in ten charters in the Burton Lazars Cartulary, and the patronage of the family is particularly important because of its connection with the foundation of the Hospital of Carlton le Moorland.²⁶⁵

The family genealogy is relatively clear, and has been the subject of several articles by C.T.Clay.²⁶⁶ Jocelin de Amundeville was very probably the son of a certain Goislan, a Domesday tenant of the Bishop of Lincoln.²⁶⁷ Jocelin married Beatrice, and his eldest son was called Walter, who acted as steward of the Bishop of Lincoln and sheriff of Lincolnshire. Neither William nor his brother Walter appear to have had issue, and the eldest branch of the family was descended from Elias I. Rannulf I was the fourth son of Jocelin. He died in c.1190-1, and was succeeded by his son Rannulf II, who had two sons Elias II and Nigel.

²⁶⁴ Ibid., f.81.

²⁶⁵ The family was also responsible for the foundation and patronage of another hospital at Elmsham (Lincolnshire), Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 559-61.

²⁶⁶ For studies of the family as a whole see C.T.Clay, "The Family of Amundeville", Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports, III.ii (1945-47), 109-36 (hereafter cited as Clay, "Family of Amundeville"; C.T.Clay "Notes on the Family of Amundeville", Archaeologica Aeliana, 4th series, xxix (1948), 60-70; E.Y.C., xi, 172-80, which is a description of the Amundeville fee by Clay.

²⁶⁷ For what follows see Clay, "Family of Amundeville", 110-9.

These last four named people were the only Amundevilles to patronise the order.

The patronage of the order was begun by Rannulf I and Rannulf II. Rannulf I appears on several witness lists before 1150, including a grant by William the Earl of Aumale to the Hospital of St. Peter's in York.²⁶⁸ He was dead by Michaelmas 1192,²⁶⁹ and his son Ralph II probably outlived him by about ten years, as in 1201, his widow, Avice claimed her dower in Haydor (Lincolnshire).²⁷⁰ This branch of the family's major holdings were in Long Preston and Carlton le Moorland. In 1166, in the former, Rannulf I was a tenant of William de Percy.²⁷¹ In Carlton he was a tenant of the Earl of Aumale.²⁷² Clay believes that these lands, which had formerly belonged to Rannulf's elder brother William, were given to Rannulf in 1166 as a portion for a younger brother.²⁷³

It was in Carlton that the majority of the Amundeville grants to the order were made. We know that both Rannulf I and II were patrons of the order from a charter of Elias II, which confirmed "...all the donations that Rannulf de Amundaville my grandfather and Rannulf de Amundaville my father made to them (the order)..".²⁷⁴ The first charter was granted to the lepers of Carlton, and consisted of half a carucate of land in Carlton, plus two messuages and a gift of the tithes of the donation, plus the tithes of the mills of Carlton, Thorpe (le Street?) and (Long)

²⁶⁸ E.Y.C., iii, no.1313.

²⁶⁹ P.R., 3/4 Richard I, 17.

²⁷⁰ Cur.Reg.R., ii, p.77.

²⁷¹ Red Book, p.424.

²⁷² Clay, "Family of Amundeville", 124, 125.

²⁷³ Ibid., 124.

²⁷⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.117, omnes donationes quas Radulfus de Amundavill' avus meus et Radulfus de Amundavill' patrus meus eis caritative fecerunt.

Preston. For the half carucate and one messuage there was an annual rent of 6d. The donor of this grant was clearly Ralph I, as he refers to his son Rannulf (II), and another son called Roger.²⁷⁵

The second and third charters were basically confirmations of the above carucate and messuage, with certain additions, including a rent of half a mark of silver from the mill of Carlton.²⁷⁶ These two charters were the work of Rannulf II. This is suggested by the reference in a charter of Elias II de Amundaville, which refers to the grant "...of half a mark of silver which they have in the mill of Carlton from the gift and alms of Rannulf de Amundeville my father..".²⁷⁷ Further proof is provided by the fact that this rent was not included in the original grant.²⁷⁸

It is with the fourth charter in the series that the identity of the patron is less certain. This charter was in the form of an agreement between a Rannulf de Amundeville and the brethren of St.Lazarus of Jerusalem, and was dated "...at the next feast of John the Baptist after the young king of France was married..".²⁷⁹ In the agreement it was stipulated that Rannulf and the brethren were to undertake to build a

²⁷⁵ Ibid., f.116. A William Count of Aumale confirmed gifts made by a Ralph de Amundeville, ibid., f.116v. The confirmation charter includes the grant of half a carucate by Rannulf I, and one meadow from Rannulf II's charters. It was probably meant as a general confirmation of the Carlton grants as a whole. The identity of the Count is not certain, but was probably William II, who was acting as count from 1214, Complete Peerage, i, 355. William I died in 1179, ibid., 353, which was before the charters had been granted, see below p.138.

²⁷⁶ Ibid., f.116(2).

²⁷⁷ Ibid., f.117, de dimidia marca argenti quam habuerunt in molendino meo de Carltona ex dono et elemosina Radulfi de Amundevilla patris meus.

²⁷⁸ See above p.135 and this page.

²⁷⁹ Ibid., f.116v, ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste proximum postquam juvenis rex Gallie suam uxorem sponsavit.

hospital at Carlton for four lepers, in which the brethren were to give sustenance and clothing to the said lepers until their deaths. This sustenance would be provided by alms already furnished by Rannulf, and would return to the brethren after the death of the lepers. The dating of the charter refers either to 1180, when Philip II of France married Isabella of Hainault, or to 1193, when he married Ingeborg of Denmark. In all probability the date of the agreement was 1180, as although Philip II was only twenty eight in 1193, the reference to iuvenis rex Gallie, seems to suggest not only youth, but also recent accession to the throne. This would most obviously apply to 1180, as that was the year Philip succeeded Louis VII.^e280

However, even if it is accepted that the dating of the agreement was 1180, this does not help ascertain the identity of the Rannulf of the agreement, as both Rannulf I and II were alive at this date, and charters of Rannulf II can be traced to this period.²⁸¹ The case for Rannulf II rests not only on this evidence of early charters, but also on the fact that the witness list of the agreement, is identical to the witness lists of the two confirmatory charters also identified as being given by Rannulf II. Nevertheless, it must be noted that both Rannulf I and II granted a number of charters which were witnessed by all or nearly all the same people.²⁸² Clay suggests that the donor was in fact Rannulf I, and he is probably right, although, following Nichols he confuses the terms of the agreement with the terms of the other three charters. He thus argues that the half carucate, and the half mark's rent from Carlton mill were all granted by Rannulf I, and that they were all meant to be

²⁸⁰ See for instance, E.M.Hallam, Capetian France (London, 1980), p.126.

²⁸¹ See for example his confirmatory charter of 1180-1190 to the church of Lincoln, Major, Registrum Antiquissimum VII, no.2009.

²⁸² Ibid., nos.2005-6, 2008-9.

the source from which the Order of St.Lazarus was to provide for the four lepers.283

In fact, as has been shown, the grant of the half carucate, the half a mark of rent, and the establishment of the hospital were all separate grants. The problem with them remains as to what order they were granted. In all probability, the agreement was made before the grant of the half carucate. The reason for suggesting this is that while the agreement was made with "..the brethren of St.Lazarus of Jerusalem..", the grant was made "..to the lepers of Carlton."284 The suggestion is therefore, that the agreement was made in 1180, and was followed soon afterwards by the grant of the half carucate. This grant was then followed by Rannulf II's two confirmations and additions, and all the grants were confirmed by the Earl of Aumale.

There is rather more certainty concerning the identity and patronage of the other patrons of this branch of the Amundeville family. Elias II inherited his father's interests in Carlton and Long Preston, and in addition from his mother's side, he inherited a third part of the Honour of Southoe-Lovetot, which had belonged to his maternal uncle Nigel of Luvetot. It is not clear when Elias was born, or at what point he appears in the records, as it is possible to confuse him with his great uncle of the same name. He is known to have been dead by Michaelmas 1231, when Eschina his widow, and her new husband Peter of St.Edward were plaintiffs in a case against Nigel of Amundeville, Elias's successor.286

283 Clay, "Family of Amundeville", 128.

284 B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.117(2), fratres de Sancto Lazaro Ierusalem, and leprosis de Carlton.

285 For Elias II see Clay, "Family of Amundeville", 127-9.

286 Ibid., 129.

The Burton Lazars Cartulary records four charters which Elias gave to the order.²⁸⁷ These included a confirmation of all the donations made by his father and grandfather, and also comprised a grant of a toft and one and a half acres of meadows, in exchange for the half a mark of silver held in Carlton mill.²⁸⁸ Another charter repeated these details (excluding the confirmation of his predecessor's grants), and specifically stated that the half a mark was granted by Elias' father.²⁸⁹ Elias' two other donations consisted of grants of land in the area. In one charter, he granted a bovate of arable land, an acre of meadows and pasturage for thirty sheep, two horses and four cattle.²⁹⁰ In a second charter he gave another bovate of land plus pasturage for thirty sheep, five draught animals and ten pigs.²⁹¹ Finally, there is a clear indication that in c.1194-5 Elias made another grant to the order not recorded in the cartulary. This is suggested by evidence from the Quo Warranto of 1274-5, which note that he made a grant of a carucate of land in Carlton (along with his leprous daughter).²⁹²

Elias' brother Nigel succeeded to his brother's estates in c.1231, and was probably dead by 1262.²⁹³ His patronage of the order was concerned with the grant of half a bovate of land in Carlton with rights

²⁸⁷ He also gave the Templars three bovates in Carlton, Rot.Hund., i, 284.

²⁸⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.117.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., f.117.

²⁹⁰ Ibid., f.117v. The dedication of this charter is interesting, because it is the only charter in the cartulary to be granted to the order established at Acre, fratribus leprosis Sancti Lazari manentibus extra civitatis de Akrees.

²⁹¹ Ibid., f.117v.

²⁹² See above p.65.

²⁹³ For Nigel see, Clay, "The Amundeville Family" 129-31. For his death see ibid., 131, n.1.

for the brethren of entry and exit.²⁹⁴ In the second of two charters dealing with the subject, he specifically asked his son Robert to give the order full seisin of the half bovate because of the help the order had given him in the Holy Land.²⁹⁵

4) The Beler Family.

The Beler family, which from the thirteenth century onwards, developed into two branches in the Leicestershire villages of Eye Kettleby and Kirby Bellars, also provides an important example of the continuation of family patronage over several generations. In total at least seven members of the family granting a total of eight charters, gave lands and rights to the order.

Before considering the family patronage of the order, it is necessary to briefly outline the family genealogy, which has been discussed by Nichols and Farnham.²⁹⁶ The first Belers that appear in the records were two brothers called Hamon and Rannulf.²⁹⁷ Rannulf I was dead by 1157, and appears to have been succeeded by his son Robert.²⁹⁸ When Hamon I died is not clear, although a man of that name was dead by 1196, when he appears to have been succeeded by his nephew Samson.²⁹⁹ It is quite possible that this Hamon was Rannulf I's brother, as a Hamon Beler witnessed a number of Mowbray family charters from c.1142-90.³⁰⁰

²⁹⁴ See above p.55, n.104.

²⁹⁵ For this and details of his expedition to the Holy Land see above p.54-5.

²⁹⁶ Nichols, History Leics., II.i, 222-32; G.F.Farnham, Leicestershire Medieval Pedigrees (Leicester, 1925), pp.26, 27, 42 (hereafter cited as Farnham, Medieval Pedigrees). See genealogical table 4, appendix III, p.292.

²⁹⁷ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.162, 359.

²⁹⁸ E.Y.C., ix, 212, 214.

²⁹⁹ P.R., 7 Richard I, 91.

³⁰⁰ See below p.216, notes 496-7.

If this is the case then Samson's father may well have been Rannulf I. This would make Robert Beler, Samson's elder brother, and the suggestion is therefore, that Robert died before 1196, as it was Samson, and not Robert who succeeded his uncle Hamon I.

After these initial complications the genealogy is reasonably clear. Samson was succeeded by his son Rannulf III, presumably in the early thirteenth century, and it is with his descendants that the family split into two branches.³⁰¹ Rannulf III, had at least three sons William I, Roger I and Hamon II, and it is with William I that the Eye Kettleby branch developed. William I was succeeded in turn by his son Hamon III, who died in 1303, and by his grandson Rannulf IV, and this line of the family continued into the fifteenth century. The Kirby Bellars branch of the family was descended from Roger I, who died in or before 1260. His inheritance passed to his eldest son Roger II, and then to a younger son William II who was dead by 1308. William II had two sons, Roger III, who was murdered in 1326, and William III of Ingvarsby. The Kirby Bellars branch also continued into the fifteenth century from the descendants of Roger III.

The first patron of the family was probably Hamon I, the brother of Rannulf I, who died before 1196.³⁰² Hamon held lands from the gift of both Roger I and Nigel I de Mowbray, including seven and a half carucates in Eye Kettleby, three carucates in Burton Lazars, a mill at Norby (Yorkshire), and pannage on the Isle of Axholme.³⁰³ In 1166 he was recorded as holding one fee of the new enfeoffment in 1166.³⁰⁴ As

³⁰¹ For what follows see Farnham, Medieval Pedigrees, pp.26, 42.

³⁰² See above p.140.

³⁰³ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.341,342.

³⁰⁴ Red Book, p.420.

regards his patronage of the order, although the Burton Lazars Cartulary contains two charters granted by men called Hamon Beler,³⁰⁵ it is highly likely that Hamon I was the patron who granted 16d. from the moiety of his mill in Kirby Bellars, and also confirmed a bovate of land given to the order by Mathew of Rampaine.³⁰⁶ That this charter was given by Hamon I is suggested by the fact that the charter dedication leprosis extra muros civitatis Jerusalem et eorum fratribus in Angl', points to a late twelfth or early thirteenth century dating.³⁰⁷ In addition, the witness list includes the name of Gilbert de Rampiane, who gave his own charter to the order before 1188.³⁰⁸

If this identification of Hamon I as the first patron of the order is correct, then another early patron of the order can be suggested, namely Hamon's son Rannulf II, who is not mentioned by either Nichols or Farnham. It is known that Hamon I's son was a patron of the order, because in the only known charter of Rannulf Beler, which gave the order 80d. of annual rent from Kirby Bellars, the grantor also confirmed the gift of 16d. in the mill of Kirby Bellars, de dono Hamonis Beler patri mei.³⁰⁹ This charter must have been granted before 1196, as Rannulf must have died before Hamon I, as Hamon I was succeeded by his nephew Samson, and not by his son.³¹⁰

The next patrons of the order were William I and Thomas I. Thomas Beler gave the order two bovates of land in Burton Lazars, and William

³⁰⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.54, 109. For the charter granted by Hamon III see below pp.143-4.

³⁰⁶ Ibid., f.54.

³⁰⁷ See above p.123, n.202.

³⁰⁸ See below p.147.

³⁰⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.54.

³¹⁰ See above p.140.

confirmed the grant in two charters.³¹¹ Their place in the Beler genealogy is not immediately clear, as neither Nichols nor Farnham actually refer to a Thomas Beler, except as the son of Roger III, who died as late as 1343.³¹² He can be discounted because from the charters of William and Thomas it is clear that not only were the two men brothers, but that their father was called Rannulf. The most likely place for them to fit into the Beler genealogy is as sons of Rannulf III, the son of Samson Beler. Farnham noted that Rannulf III had a son called William, and we know that this man had dealings with the order from a charter of his son Hamon III.³¹³ Of the two men, nothing is known of Thomas I. William I was married to Mabel de Aungervill',³¹⁴ and held five carucates of land in Eye Kettleby from Nigel II de Mowbray, as well as one carucate in Thirsk.³¹⁵ It is this man, who may well have been the feudal lord of Peter Burdet of Burton Lazars, who witnesses one of his charters.³¹⁶

The final patron from the Eye Kettleby Beler family was Hamon III, William I's son. Hamon married Maud Maunsell, and had at least one son,

³¹¹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.51, 51v(2).

³¹² Farnham, Medieval Pedigrees, p.42.

³¹³ Ibid., B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.109. That they were not the sons of Rannulf I Beler, the brother of Hamon I Beler, is suggested by the fact that Rannulf I died as early as 1157, and there are no references to a William Beler before the thirteenth century. Furthermore, it is highly unlikely that they were sons of Rannulf IV, Hamon III's son, as this would place their grants in the fourteenth century, for which the witness list evidence is inconsistent. See below, this page n.316.

³¹⁴ Farnham, Medieval Pedigrees, p.26.

³¹⁵ Fees, pp.632, 1461.

³¹⁶ See below pp.209-11 for the feudal connections of the Belers and Burdets. For Peter Burdet's attestation see B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.51v. The attestation of Peter Burdet places this charter, and consequently that of Thomas I Beler in the middle part of the thirteenth century.

Rannulf IV.³¹⁷ According to the inquisition taken on his death in 1303, he held lands in Eye Kettleby, including one messuage, and eighty acres of arable land, held from John I de Mowbray.³¹⁸ His patronage of the order consisted of one charter in which he agreed to acquit and defend the order from any demands and exactions made on them by William Beler his father.³¹⁹ This is clearly a charter of Hamon III, rather than Hamon I, as it was granted in the thirteenth century, and probably in the mid to later part of the century. The reason for suggesting this is threefold. In the first place, the charter refers to the grantor as coming from Parva Ketttilby, which indicates that the division of the family into two branches with William I had already been made. In addition, the charter dedication to the master and brethren domus Sancti Lazari de Burton et omnes fratres, is consistent with a thirteenth century grant. Finally, the attestation of John Burdet suggests a mid to late thirteenth century date for the charter.³²⁰

The other Beler patrons were from the Kirby Bellars side of the family. These were Roger III and William III Beler, the sons of William II. William III was married to Joan,³²¹ and appears as a witness to a charter of Geoffrey fitz Geoffrey de Langton in the Burton Lazars Cartulary.³²² He does not appear very frequently in the records, but it is clear that he was dead by 1315.³²³ His patronage of the order consisted of a charter granted in June 1285, which gave the order all the

³¹⁷ Farnham, Medieval Pedigrees, p.26.

³¹⁸ Cal.Inq.P.M. iv, no.132.

³¹⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.109.

³²⁰ For John Burdet see above p.133.

³²¹ Farnham, Medieval Pedigrees, p.42.

³²² B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.91v.

³²³ Farnham, Medieval Pedigrees, p.42.

goods and chattels which had formerly belonged to his father William (II).³²⁴

Roger III, William III's elder brother, was a rather more important figure. Roger had been an adherent of Thomas of Lancaster, but had managed to come to terms with Edward II, and was appointed a Baron of the Exchequer in 1322.³²⁵ He was one of the most trusted servants of the Despensers,³²⁶ and was involved in the reforms of the Exchequer which took place after 1322, and which led him to become the Chief Baron of the Exchequer.³²⁷ Roger was married to Alice Wakebrugge, and was succeeded by Roger IV, after his murder as a result of a private quarrel in 1326.³²⁸ His patronage shows him to have been one of the more generous benefactors of the order, and is particularly significant because it came later than the order's other important grants. His charter comprised the grant of one carucate of land and a messuage in Kirby Bellars was given in June 1316.³²⁹ Roger must have had other connections with the order, as in 1331, his widow was at the chancery, acknowledging the payment of £250 by William Daumenyl, the Master of Burton Lazars, which had been owed to her husband. Whether this payment had any connection with Roger III's grant is not certain.³³⁰

³²⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.54.

³²⁵ M.Buck, Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II (Cambridge, 1983), pp.146-8 (hereafter cited as Buck, Politics, Finance and the Church); N.Fryde, The Tyranny and Downfall of Edward II 1321-1326 (Cambridge, 1979), p.101 (hereafter cited as Fryde, Tyranny of Edward II).

³²⁶ Fryde, Tyranny of Edward II, p.152.

³²⁷ Buck, Politics, Finance and the Church, pp.146-8.

³²⁸ Farnham, Medieval Pedigrees, p.42. For more details on his murder see, G.L.G.Stones, "The Folvilles of Ashby-Folville, Leicestershire and their associates in crime", T.R.H.S., vii (1957), 117-36.

³²⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.50v.

³³⁰ Cal.Close R., 1330-1333, 327.

Roger was also connected with the order via his foundation in 1316, of a chantry for two chaplains in Kirby Bellars.³³¹ By 1319 he had extended his foundation into a college for a warden and twelve chaplains, with grants which included five messuages in Kirby Bellars, the manor of Buckminster (Leicestershire), and the advowson of the parish church of Kirby Bellars.³³² By this process the parish church became subsumed to the college, and Roger drew up a complex plan for the disposal of its patronage, which included the master of Burton Lazars. This master presented one chaplain to the college for a short time, until he let the right drop.³³³ It is also clear that the Hospital of Burton Lazars patronised Roger III's foundation, by granting the messuage and carucate, which they had recieved from Roger for an annual rent of 26s. 8d.³³⁴ This must have been made quite soon after the original grant to Burton Lazars, as it was confirmed in October 1319 by Edward II.³³⁵

5) The Rampaine Family.

The final family to be considered in this section is the Rampaines, who were one of a number of relatively obscure families to patronise the order in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From their lands in Kirby Bellars, four members of the family, gave ten charters to the order, consisting of relatively small grants in the area.

The Rampainè genealogy is particularly difficult to establish with any degree of certainty, largely because of the limited references to the

³³¹ A.Hamilton Thomson, "The Chapel of St.Peter at Kirby upon Wreak", Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological Society, xvi (1929-31), 141.

³³² Ibid., xvi, 143.

³³³ Ibid., xvi, 144, 150.

³³⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.52v.

³³⁵ Cal.Close R., 1318-1323, 498.

family in local and national records. One of the first Rampaines to appear in the records was Hugh I de Rampaine, who held one knight's fee in Leicestershire by 1114.³³⁶ He was given two carucates of land in Kirby Bellars, in exchange for his other unspecified lands between c.1109-14, by Nigel d'Aubigny.³³⁷

After Hugh I, the genealogy immediately becomes rather unclear, and it is impossible to ascertain the connection between the first two patrons of the order Gilbert and Matthew de Rampaine, and Hugh I. Matthew de Rampaine gave the order one bovate of land and one toft in Kirby Bellars, and also made several grants to his son Hugh.³³⁸ Gilbert de Rampaine gave the order Peter fitz Geoffrey of Kirby Bellars, with all his tenement consisting of half a carucate of land and a quarter part of a mill in Kirby Bellars with three tofts.³³⁹ This charter was confirmed by Roger I de Mowbray between c.1170-84, in a charter which stated that the grant had been made with Nigel de Mowbray, Roger I's son.³⁴⁰ There is no reference to Nigel in Gilbert's charter, but a separate charter given by Nigel is the next charter to appear in the cartulary ³⁴¹ and it may be the case that Gilbert was a tenant of Nigel, who was reinforcing the grant of a vassal.³⁴²

As far as the identification of the two patrons is concerned, it is clear that they were brothers. This is because a charter of Hugh II de

³³⁶ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, p.xxxiv, n.1.

³³⁷ Ibid., no.3.

³³⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.45.

³³⁹ Ibid., f.47.

³⁴⁰ Ibid., f.45v.

³⁴¹ Ibid., f.45.

³⁴² If Gilbert was a direct descendant of Hugh I then this is very likely.

Rampaine confirmed the grant made by Matthew, as being donationem patris mei, and in addition, it confirmed the grant made by Gilebertus de Rampan' avunculus meus. Greenway refers to both a Gilbert (I) and a Matthew de Rampaine, suggesting that Matthew may have been a steward of Roger I de Mowbray.³⁴³ However, she goes on to suggest that neither man occurs in the records after c.1150. As this is the earliest date that has been suggested for the foundation of Burton Lazars, and as Gilbert's charter was specifically granted fratribus leprosis de Sancto Lazaro de Jerusalem et fratribus suis in Burtona,³⁴⁴ this would appear to suggest that Gilbert and Matthew the patrons, were not the same as the Gilbert I and Matthew who were living in the first half of the twelfth century.³⁴⁵ If this is the case then the patrons of the order were probably Gilbert II, who occurs as a witness to a charter of Roger I de Mowbray in c.1170-March 1173, and his brother Matthew, who is not referred to in the records or by Greenway.

A third patron of the order was Hugh II de Rampaine. His identity is reasonably easy to establish. He was presumably the man who held one knight's fee in 1166 in Kirby Bellars from Roger I de Mowbray.³⁴⁶ The possibility that there was a third Hugh de Rampaine, is suggested by the attestations of a man of that name with John Burdet, who occurs in the mid to late thirteenth century.³⁴⁷ Hugh II's patronage consisted of the confirmation of his father, Matthew's grant of a bovate of land and one

³⁴³ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, no.403.

³⁴⁴ This use of the term Burtona is a rare example of a reference to the Hospital of Burton Lazars in a twelfth century charter.

³⁴⁵ Even if Gilbert I and Matthew did survive into the second half of the century, it is possible that the Hospital of Burton Lazars was not constructed immediately after the foundation made by Roger I de Mowbray, and therefore charters dedicated to it would not have appeared until some time after c.1150. See above p.120.

³⁴⁶ Red Book, p.419.

³⁴⁷ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.55. For John Burdet see above p.133.

toft in Kirby Bellars. In addition, it includes a reference to another bovate of land in Kirby Bellars which he himself had granted. Moreover, he confirmed a Hamon I Beler's grant of one bovate in Kirby Bellars and the grant of his uncle Gilbert.³⁴⁸ His other grants were straightforward grants of land in Kirby Bellars and the surrounding area, and consisted of a total of three bovates and five virgates.³⁴⁹

The final Rampaine patron was Richard de Rampaine who gave the order one rood of meadows in Paddecroft, plus one pound of cumin in rent.³⁵⁰ He was alive in the early thirteenth century as one of the charters that he witnessed was dated 1226. He attested charters in the cartulary with his brother Robert, his son, genere Rannulf, plus Hugh de Rampaine,³⁵¹ but whether he was a son, nephew or other relation of Hugh II or III is unknown.³⁵² The patronage of Richard de Rampaine may also have been influential in the patronage of another family member, his son-in-law William fitz William Orger de Melton. Richard gave his daughter Matilda along with a bovate of land in Kirby Bellars to William as her dowry, and William subsequently granted the bovate to the order, in exchange for two furlongs of land in Melton Mowbray.³⁵³

³⁴⁸ Ibid., f.45v. For the grants of Hamon I Beler and Gilbert de Rampaine see above pp.141-2, 147.

³⁴⁹ Ibid., fols.46(4), 46v, 47. Two of these charters are repeated ibid., fols 46v, 69v.

³⁵⁰ Ibid., f.47.

³⁵¹ Ibid., fols.60, 62v, 63(2), 64v, 67, 68.

³⁵² A connection between Hugh II and Rannulf de Rampaine, possibly the son of Richard, occurs ibid., f.46. Thus one of Hugh's charters to the order granted two virgates which Richard had held from him.

³⁵³ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.67v. Another Orger, John fitz William Orger quit-claimed to the order one toft in Melton Mowbray, ibid., f.6. Whether this was William the patron's son, or his brother is not clear.

THE FAMILY AND PATRONAGE: CONCLUSIONS.

While the provisos noted in the introduction should be borne in mind, the above evidence suggests that family influences on the patronage of both orders was of significance. In the case of the Templars, the patronage of the royal house of Anjou shows family connections at work at the highest level of society, providing the order with a continuation of patronage over at least six generations and about 150 years. At the baronial level, the Port family's patronage based in Hampshire and Wiltshire, shows a continuation of patronage over four generations and about seventy years. Their patronage was largely confined to the twelfth century, as was that of the Caux family, who over two or possibly three generations made most of their grants in the period before 1185. The Templars did however, receive important grants in the thirteenth century. A notable example is the patronage of four generations of the Sandford family, who made important grants in Sandford itself over a period of about fifty years. Finally, the patronage of the related families of Bosco and Esse, covering three or four generations and at least thirty five years, shows (particularly in the case of the family of Esse) family links playing an important part at a lower social level.

In the case of the Order of St.Lazarus, family links can also be traced quite clearly. The significance of the Mowbray patronage of the order spread over about 150 years and five generations cannot be denied. Their patronage would still be deemed important even if Roger I's grant at Burton Lazars had been the only gift made by a member of the family. The patronage of the Burdet family was also very important, covering at least five generations and about 150 years and providing the order with important grants in the south of Leicestershire. The Amundeville patronage in Carlton le Moorland was equally important, spread over three generations and consequently a shorter time period of about fifty years.

In the same way that these three families established the order in different areas, so the Beler family patronage was also noteworthy. This family's benefactions were spread over seven generations and about 150 years, and helped the order gain possessions in two other villages, Eye Kettleby and Kirby Bellars. Although the Rampaine patronage was not as generous as that of the other families that have been considered, it also shows the continuation, at a lower social level, of family patronage over at least three generations and a time span of fifty years.

With both orders it is very difficult to make generalisations about family patronage. However, with several families clear patterns of benefactions do emerge. One characteristic was the fact that the large-scale donations of Henry II to the Templars and Roger I de Mowbray to the Order of St.Lazarus, were both clearly followed by less generous family patronage. Indeed this patterning of large early grants followed by smaller benefactions or confirmations can also be traced with the Port and Caux families for the Templars, and the Burdet family for the Order of St.Lazarus. Thus the early grants of Hawise and John de Port overshadowed those of Adam de Port and William de St.John, while Robert III de Caux' patronage was far more significant than that of any of his relations. With the Burdets, although the large-scale initial donation of William I was backed up by the gifts of his son Richard and grandson William III, many of the later family grants were not comparable in importance. Not all family patronage however, followed the same pattern. Notable exceptions to the rule outlined above were the Sandford and Beler patrons. Thus Thomas II de Sandford's grant of the manor of Sandford, and Roger III de Beler's grants in Kirby Bellars, both overshadowed the relatively small earlier donations made by their families. Indeed the patronage of Roger III de Beler as late as 1316, provides an important exception to the rule that all the important grants to the Order of

St.Lazarus were made before the end of the first half of the thirteenth century.

Whatever patterning of family benefactions can be traced among the patrons of both orders, it thus seems highly likely that family influences were of some importance in their patronage. Even though it is impossible to be certain of the exact significance of family connections over several generations, or even between contemporaries, the number of family groupings that can be traced in the patronage of both orders cannot surely be explained by mere coincidence. Indeed some of the families that have been considered here can be traced as patronising other religious houses over several generations, as in the case of Monk Sherborne by the Ports, Littlemore Priory by the Sandfords, Elmsham Hospital by the Amundevilles, and Fountains and Rievaulx by the Mowbrays.³⁵⁴ Furthermore, although individual patrons may have been influenced by a wide variety of factors which will be considered in other sections, the evidence at hand for both orders, of a continuation of family patronage over many years and several generations, shows that family influences on patronage cannot be ignored.

³⁵⁴ See above pp.99, 105, 118, 134, n.266.

CHAPTER FOUR:

LORDSHIP AND PATRONAGE.

CHAPTER FOUR.

LORDSHIP AND PATRONAGE.

Having stressed the importance of family ties, it is now possible to consider another factor which influenced the patronage of the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus, namely the tie of lordship. Lordship was of course one of the chief bonds of society in this period, and at the outset it seems reasonable to assume that feudal tenants, who had to follow the direction of their lords in so many ways, might follow their lead when it came to making benefactions to religious institutions. Although Ralph Turner, in his study of Angevin royal administrators, has suggested that patrons took little note of the patronage of their feudal lords, Emma Mason has noted the prolific patronage of the Templars by the Earls of Warwick was followed by tenants including Robert de Harcourt.¹ While evidence of feudal ties, as shown in documents such as the Red Book of the Exchequer and the Book of Fees is important, there is however, no guarantee that the formal feudal link expressed therein necessarily meant a closer relationship in practice. The fact that a lord was a patron of a particular order, did not necessarily mean that his vassals would be so closely associated with him as to be influenced by his actions, and patronise the same order themselves.

Therefore the main concern of this section will largely be to establish how many tenants of a variety of lords patronised the two orders, and whether or not feudal ties can be traced beyond the first link in the feudal chain, to sub-tenants of the lord in question.

¹ Turner, "Angevin Royal Administrators", 9; E.Mason, "Fact and Fiction in the English Crusading Tradition: The Earls of Warwick in the Twelfth Century", Journal of Medieval History, xiv (1988), 83, 84 (hereafter cited as Mason, "Fact and Fiction"). For more details on the Earls of Warwick and the effects of their lordship see below pp.180-4.

However, another important, although more difficult, part will involve an attempt to establish whether there was any practical association between lord and tenant, beyond the basic feudal bond. In order to do this it is necessary to consider whether tenants had other feudal lords, and whether or not certain individuals played leading roles in their lords' household. More importantly, the evidence provided by the witness lists of particular lords' charters is especially useful, showing who was most frequently in attendance with their lord,² although it should be noted at this stage that sometimes the available evidence in terms of lords' charters varies a great deal.³

To assess the effects of lordship on patronage a number of examples from different levels of society can be considered, concentrating on those lords whose patronage of either or both of the orders was particularly significant. In the first place the effects of royal lordship can be analysed through the patronage of King Stephen and Henry II, with some reference to the crisis in royal lordship which was apparent during the former king's reign. In considering this form of lordship, the emphasis will firmly be placed on the association of patrons with the king through the royal court, rather than with formal feudal links. This is because in theory all men held directly or indirectly from the king. The ranks of the higher baronage can also be investigated, starting with Roger I, Earl of Warwick, and including Rannulf III, Earl of Chester, William I Marshal, Earl of Pembroke, and Simon II and III, Earls of Northampton. Continuing on from this, the

² There are certain, invalid, arguments against the use of witness lists as evidence of attendance at a lord's court. These will be dealt with fully in the next chapter, which will consider the importance of witness attestations in a different context.

³ I am particularly grateful to Dr. David Crouch for allowing me to consult his collections of earls' charters, particularly those of the earldoms of Derby, Leicester, Lincoln, Pembroke, and Warwick.

influence of Henry de Lacy and Roger I de Mowbray, two members of the lesser baronage can be assessed.

ROYAL LORDSHIP: KING STEPHEN.

Despite the violence and unrest that characterised the reign of Stephen (1135-54), historians recognise that the period also saw a great increase in the number and patronage of religious houses throughout the country.⁴ This increase can be particularly seen with the new orders such as the Cistercians and the Augustinian Canons, but is also in evidence with the Military Orders, including the Templars. Before 1135 the order possessed few large holdings in England, although a foundation may have been made at Holborn following the visit of Hugh de Payens to England in 1128.⁵ By 1154 this situation had changed completely. Not only did the order possess houses at Cowley (Oxfordshire), Cressing and Witham (Essex), and Balsall and Warwick (Warwickshire) but it also held properties in many areas of the country, including Lincolnshire, Warwickshire and Yorkshire.⁶ In terms of the people responsible for this growth, it is clear that the order owed a great deal to both King Stephen and his wife Queen Matilda, who were two of the most important patrons of the order in England as a whole. The aim of this section will be not only to consider this patronage, but to assess the effects of Stephen's lordship on influencing his followers in the household and court to patronise the Templars. This study has an added significance because of the crisis of royal lordship at this time owing to the counter claims of the Empress Matilda from c.1139 onwards.

⁴ See for instance, D.Knowles, The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1940), pp.296-8.

⁵ See above p.9.

⁶ See above pp.9-10 for more details on the early years of the Templars in England.

The patronage of King Stephen and Queen Matilda can be easily seen from a survey of the charters which they both made in favour of the order. From the sixty seven known charters made in the reign, a total of nineteen (by far the largest number by any one patron) were given by the king himself, and a further four were added by his wife.⁷ His patronage included the gift of 40s. worth of land, and liberties in Dinsley (Hertfordshire), between 26 September and December 1142;⁸ possessions in Shotover (Oxfordshire), given between September and December 1142;⁹ a half hundred and manor, donated between 1147-8 and a market in Witham (Essex), given between c.1153-4; and lands in Cressing (Essex) granted probably in January 1154.¹⁰ Finally, it is also probable that Stephen was responsible for the foundation of the preceptory at Eagle in Lincolnshire, although it is not clear as to the exact nature and the timing of his grant.¹¹

Stephen also made a number of confirmations including that of the lands given by William de Marci, made between 1139-48;¹² lands in Cowley (Oxfordshire), given by Queen Matilda, which he confirmed along with some forest rights in January 1139;¹³ the land also given by Queen Matilda in Uphall (Essex) between 1141-5; one acre in Dinsley, which John the

⁷ For the sixty seven charters of Stephen's reign see, Bodl. ms. Wood empt.10, fols.5v, 14(5), 17v, 25v, 34, 65v, 74v, 78(5), 83(2), 91(3), 91v(2), 93v(3), 97, 99, 101v(2), 102(2), 102v, 109v, 111, 112; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, fols.24, 52, 92, 125, 130, 133v(4), 134(2), 135v, 137(2), 148(2), 149, 154(3), 154v, 265v, 289(2), 289v(4), 290; B.L.ms. Sloane 4937, f.68; and B.L.ms. Harley 1708, f.20v.

⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, fols.133v, 134.

⁹ Sandford, no.42.

¹⁰ B.L. MS. Cotton Nero Evi, fols.289, 289v, 290.

¹¹ Rot.Hund., i, 284.

¹² B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.52.

¹³ Sandford, no.40. Another confirmation of the Cowley lands is contained ibid., no.41.

Chamberlain made in 1142; the mills of Langford and Sharnbrook (Bedfordshire), and the church of Langford, all in 1142;¹⁴ the grant of £10 of wasteland in Hensington (Oxfordshire) by Turgis de Avranches in c.1142; the grant of lands in Sparsholt (Berkshire) made by Henry of Hose in c.1145;¹⁵ wasteland in Dinsley, donated by Bernard de Balliol between April 1147-8; fifteen librates of land in Hitchin (Hertfordshire) supplied by the same person, between May 1147 and September 1148;¹⁶ the manor of Bisham (Berkshire), given by Robert de Ferrers, the Earl of Derby, between 1152-4 (probably in January 1154);¹⁷ and a general confirmation of Templar liberties given after 4 April 1154.¹⁸

Augmenting the grants of the King, Queen Matilda gave the manor and church of Cressing, between 22 March and 10 April 1137,¹⁹ and the manor of Cowley, given in January 1139.²⁰ She also confirmed Stephen's grant of the half hundred and manor of Witham between 1147-8.²¹ Finally, it should also be noted that Stephen and Matilda's son, Eustace of Boulogne was also a patron, adding his own confirmation to Stephen's Witham grants.²²

The patronage of the house of Blois is noteworthy in two respects. In the first place it is obviously of some importance from its extensive nature, particularly as between them, Stephen and Queen Matilda were

¹⁴ B.L. Cotton Nero Evi, fols.133v(2), 137(2).

¹⁵ Sandford, nos.315, 423.

¹⁶ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.133v, 134.

¹⁷ Ibid., f.92. For the dating see Inquest, pp.147 n.13, 203.

¹⁸ B.L. Cotton Nero Evi, f.289v.

¹⁹ Ibid., f.289.

²⁰ Sandford, no.39.

²¹ B.L. Ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.289.

²² Ibid., f.289v.

responsible for the establishment of at least four preceptories, including the large foundations of Cressing and Witham. Besides helping in the establishment of the order in Essex, it is also clear that their patronage was equally important in the development of Templar possessions in Oxfordshire and Hertfordshire.

In the second place, the patronage of the Templars by Stephen and his wife had an added dimension in the realm of politics. Hallam has noted that monastic patronage in general in this period had an increased political importance. She suggested that both sides in the wars of succession recognised the important role that religious houses could play if they happened to have powerful abbots and had been built on strategic sites. This led both sides to become involved in politically motivated patronage, each granting successive charters and confirmations to abbeys including Bordesley (Worcestershire), Gloucester and Le Bec, in an effort to gain their support. Furthermore, it is also clear that certain orders like Cluny, and the Cistercians also became involved in political quarrels at a higher level during this period, including the dispute over the election to the archbishopric of York in the 1140's.²³ It is true that the Templars were not as involved in such high level political intrigues, probably because, as yet they were not the political force that they later came to be. However, the patronage of the order did have a political dimension, in the granting and confirming of charters in politically sensitive areas. In particular, Stephen does seem to have been concerned to make grants, and to confirm grants, in areas which were either strongholds of the house of Blois, such as Essex, or areas where there was some uncertainty as to who held power, as in Berkshire,

²³ Hallam, Aspects of Monastic Patronage, pp.61-6. For some comments on the political motives of the Empress Matilda's patronage of the religious orders see M.Chibnall, "The Empress Matilda and Church Reform", T.R.H.S., xxxvii (1987), 108-13.

Oxfordshire and other parts of the Thames Valley.²⁴ In both cases these actions would have aided Stephen in the assertion of his rights in particular areas, while in the second case alone it would have been to the advantage of the Templars to have Stephen's confirmation of their charters in case he was ultimately successful in the wars of succession. This fact appeared to be more likely after 1141, when the majority of Stephen's confirmations were made.

This study of the patronage of King Stephen and his immediate family, can now be expanded by looking at the effects of his patronage on the members of his household and court. In the first place, a number of patrons from among Stephen's governmental officials and household can be identified. Stephen's chancellor Philip de Harcourt was an important benefactor.²⁵ He succeeded Roger le Poer as Stephen's second chancellor, from June 1139 until he resigned the office in March 1140, on being nominated for the bishopric of Salisbury,²⁶ having attested twelve charters.²⁷ In fact he never received this office, although he did become Bishop of Bayeux in 1142, following his defection, along with his patron Waleran of Meulan, to the Angevins.²⁸ Although Philip did change sides however, his most notable gift consisted of the town and church of Shipley, which was made while he was still Stephen's chancellor in 1139.²⁹

²⁴ Similarly, the only recorded grant to the Templars by the Empress Matilda was in Shotover near Oxford, see above p.94.

²⁵ Stephen's third chancellor, Robert de Gant may have been the same man who gave the mill of Saltby (Leicestershire) to the order, see Inquest, p.82, although Lees suggests that there were two men of the same name, and that Robert de Gant the patron, was not Robert de Gant the chancellor, ibid., 319.

²⁶ Regesta, iii, p.x.

²⁷ Ibid., iii, nos.189, 261, 262, 410, 452-3, 526, 543, 640, 787-9.

²⁸ Ibid., iii, p.x.

²⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.148.

Aside from Stephen's chancellors, all but one of his constables were patrons of the order, the only exception being Brian fitz Count. Of these five however, Miles of Gloucester, who was a sheriff in Gloucestershire and Herefordshire, as well as a justice in Staffordshire,³⁰ made his grant of two hides in Lockeridge between 1141-3, after he had gone over to the Angevin side in 1139.³¹ Of those who made their grants while still supporters of Stephen, Robert de Vere had inherited his position from Robert de Montfort,³² and was in attendance with King Stephen on 144 occasions.³³ He gave the order five acres of land in Kent and the chapel of Burnham in Haxey (Lincolnshire).³⁴ On Robert's death in 1151, he was succeeded by Henry of Essex who was a regular attestor of Stephen's charters, witnessing a total of thirty five.³⁵ He granted a mill and four acres of land at Ewell in Kent to the order.³⁶ Another of the constables was Robert II d'Oilli, who was a justice in Oxfordshire,³⁷ and who attested eighteen of Stephen's charters

³⁰ Regesta, iii, pp.xxiv, xxv.

³¹ Sandford, no.249. For Miles' defection see, R.H.C.Davis, King Stephen (3rd edition, London, 1990), p.40 (hereafter cited as Davis, King Stephen).

³² Regesta iii, p.xix.

³³ Ibid. iii, nos.4, 14, 23, 31, 41, 46-8, 74, 82, 99, 100, 103, 105, 125, 142-3, 145-8, 152-6, 158, 164, 166, 169, 172, 179, 189, 197, 204, 217, 235, 240-1, 260, 266, 268, 271, 276, 278, 284-5, 290-2, 300, 307a, 319, 336, 337, 340-2, 373a, 402, 405, 412, 427, 433, 468, 476-7, 485, 511-2, 526, 535, 547, 549-50, 552, 579, 590-2, 614, 616, 619, 625, 649, 654, 657, 662, 669, 679, 685-6, 693, 695, 717, 737-8, 741, 743-4, 760, 765, 771-2, 787-9, 803, 816, 818, 822, 856-8, 863, 873, 888, 905, 907, 913, 919, 929, 931, 942, 944-9, 952.

³⁴ Inquest, pp.24, 78.

³⁵ Regesta, iii, nos.33, 103, 118, 129, 151, 230, 232, 235, 237, 251, 258, 272-3, 300, 302, 402, 412, 460, 485, 504, 511, 565, 583, 658-60, 662, 670, 696, 744, 763, 866, 896, 934, 994. See also Davis, King Stephen, pp.167, 168. In addition, he also attested three charters of Queen Matilda, Regesta, iii, nos.301, 503, 512.

³⁶ Inquest, p.24.

³⁷ Regesta iii, p.xxv.

before going over to Matilda in 1141.³⁸ His patronage was however, made before this year, and consisted of a rent of 6s.4d. from his tenements in December 1139, and land in Oxford given before June of the same year.³⁹ Finally, it is possible that Turgis d'Avranches, who attested twenty four of Stephen's charters, before his desertion in 1145, may have been one of Stephen's constables, if only briefly.⁴⁰ This is because he was described as regis constabularius in a charter dated c.1142, which gave the order £10 of waste land in Hensington.⁴¹ Once again, it is clear that this particular patron made his benefaction to the Templars while still on Stephen's side.

Although none of Stephen's butlers or chamberlains appear to have been patrons of the order, his steward William Martel, who was also a sheriff in Surrey and royal justice,⁴² witnessed the king's charters on 176 occasions,⁴³ did make several grants to the order in London, Bedfordshire and Somerset.⁴⁴ Finally, Robert de Boulogne, who appears to

³⁸ Ibid., iii, p.xx, nos.16, 264, 284, 293, 347, 452, 473, 585, 626, 627, 638, 788, 827, 906, 945, 947-8, 990. For his defection see, Davis, King Stephen, p.51.

³⁹ Sandford, nos.62, 127.

⁴⁰ Regesta, iii, nos.25, 76, 109, 162, 194, 263, 265-6, 273, 276, 285, 293, 322, 406, 437, 588, 655-6, 690, 788, 844, 858, 861, 961.

⁴¹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.101v.

⁴² Regesta, p.xxv, no.934.

⁴³ Ibid., iii, nos.9, 11-2, 15, 23, 32-8, 70, 83, 89, 99, 103, 106, 108, 118, 131, 137-8, 150, 163, 166, 177, 183, 185-6, 192, 194, 197, 199, 208-9, 213, 215, 217-9, 231-5, 239c, 244, 246, 257-8, 261-2, 267, 269-72, 276, 278, 285, 288, 294, 300, 307-8, 312, 336, 337, 349-50, 373a, 389, 398, 401, 402, 414, 437, 446, 451-3, 457, 469, 473, 476-7, 479, 481, 483-4, 494, 501, 508, 511, 514, 520, 525, 542, 579, 586, 589, 609, 613, 617-8, 620, 625, 655, 657, 660, 667-9, 676-9, 685-7, 694-5, 712-3, 722, 724, 740, 750, 770, 773, 777, 785, 787-8, 801, 802, 819, 827-8, 835, 844, 846, 851-2, 855-6, 859, 860, 866, 874, 876, 913, 919, 921-2, 924, 927, 929, 932-3, 935, 937, 943-5, 948-9, 952, 960, 966, 971, 972, 979. In addition, he also attested six charters of Queen Matilda, ibid., nos.198, 221, 239d, 512, 541, 550.

⁴⁴ See above p.47, where William's crusading activity is discussed.

have been a clerk to the king may have been the same man who gave the order a third part of a mill on his own, and twelve and a half bovates and four tofts in Halton Hologate (Lincolnshire) with his brother Gilbert.⁴⁵

Aside from Stephen's immediate household officials, it is clear that a number of Templar patrons were frequent attenders at court, showing their support for the king. Among the higher nobility these included men like Simon II de Senlis Earl of Northampton and William III de Warenne Earl of Surrey. Simon II gave seven hides of land in Merton between September 1152 and August 1153,⁴⁶ and this grant was confirmed by his son Simon III between 1153-7.⁴⁷ William III gave 40s. in Lewes between 11 May 1138 and July 1147.⁴⁸ These two men were some of Stephen's most consistent, and important supporters. Simon II attested thirty eight times with the king,⁴⁹ while William III may have attested on seventeen occasions, although it is not always possible to distinguish between him and William II and IV.⁵⁰

A less frequent attestor, although equally consistent supporter of the king was Robert II de Ferrers, the Earl of Derby who confirmed the grants of Henry de Hose, of lands in Sparsholt, in c.1145, and the confirmation of Jeralmus of Corzun, of nine hides of land given by

⁴⁵ Inquest, pp.80, 99, 109.

⁴⁶ Sandford, no.424; Inquest, p.44, and see below p.196.

⁴⁷ Sandford, no.425.

⁴⁸ See above p.43.

⁴⁹ Regesta, iii, nos.16, 30, 132, 192, 246, 249, 271, 276, 367, 399, 402, 410, 427, 437, 473, 482, 494, 611, 613, 638, 650, 667, 736-8, 745, 750, 814, 861, 862, 889, 890, 895, 914, 920, 944, 945, 947. In addition, he attested two of Queen Matilda's charters, ibid., iii, nos.207, 243.

⁵⁰ Ibid., iii, nos.16, 46, 176, 262, 267, 271, 276, 284, 287, 337, 399, 406, 437, 449-50, 460, 479. In addition, he attested two of Queen Matilda's charters, ibid., iii, nos.207, 221.

William fitz Roger de Sibford in Sibford (Oxfordshire), made in c.1153.⁵¹ He also appears to have given the order the manor of Bisham possibly in January 1154.⁵² Despite the fact that he only witnessed three charters of the king, he never witnessed any of the Empress Matilda or her party.⁵³

Unfortunately for Stephen not all the members of the greater baronage were as consistently loyal as those just mentioned. Among his less reliable supporters were Robert II, the Earl of Leicester. His patronage of the order is not clear, although he may have given the mill of Netheravon in Wiltshire.⁵⁴ He was theoretically on Stephen's side until 1153, and witnessed nineteen royal charters,⁵⁵ yet Davis suggests that his support^{was} in doubt for some time beforehand.⁵⁶ Roger I, the Earl of Warwick was rather more inconsistent. He was loyal to Stephen until 1139,⁵⁷ attesting ten charters,⁵⁸ and again at least from early 1146, when he attested one charter of the king.⁵⁹ Unfortunately lack of knowledge of the timing of Roger's grants makes it difficult to assess the importance of Stephen's lordship. Certainly his foundation of the preceptory of Warwick came before Stephen's reign, however as for his other grants in Warwickshire and Rutland, no exact dating is possible.⁶⁰

⁵¹ Sandford, nos.314, 371.

⁵² See above p.158.

⁵³ Regesta, iii, nos.276, 494 (as Earl of Derby), 679 (as Earl of Nottingham). Although compare with Davis, King Stephen, p.132.

⁵⁴ See above p.46.

⁵⁵ Regesta, iii, nos.16, 103, 132-3, 272, 280, 282, 284, 327, 473, 579, 598, 612, 667, 945, 947-8, 964-5.

⁵⁶ Davis, King Stephen, p.131.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Regesta, iii, nos.46, 204, 271, 284, 473, 667, 818, 944, 949, 964.

⁵⁹ Ibid., iii, no.494.

⁶⁰ For Roger's patronage of the order see below p.180.

There are similar problems with Gilbert Clare, the Earl of Pembroke who gave the order four carucates in Weston (Oxfordshire), the churches of Weston and Baldock (Bedfordshire), 150 acres in Baldock, and the mill of Radwell (Bedfordshire).⁶¹ He also confirmed the grant of Roger fitz Humphrey in Inglewood (Berkshire) between 14 September 1147 and 1148.⁶² Gilbert almost exclusively supported Stephen except for two lapses in 1141 and 1147.⁶³ Nevertheless he is known to have attested only four of his charters for certain,⁶⁴ although he may have been the Count Gilbert who witnessed a further eleven charters before 1148, the year of Gilbert de Clare's death.⁶⁵ The timing of his defections does however cause problems for assessing the effects of Stephen's lordship on Gilbert's grants. It might be fair to dismiss the first defection, because of the short span of time which it took up, however the 1147 defection is rather more important, because of the more specific dating of the Inglewood confirmation. It is known that Gilbert was reconciled to Stephen before his death in 1148, because of his attestation to a charter of Eustace, Stephen's son, dated 1147-48.⁶⁶ However, neither the charter evidence, nor the evidence from the Gesta Stephani can pinpoint exactly when he went back to Stephen's side,⁶⁷ and therefore it is not possible to be certain about the state of his allegiance at the time when he made his

⁶¹ Inquest, pp.63-5, 65-9, 77, 78. The church of Weston was probably given between 1138-48, see B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.135v.

⁶² Sandford, no.336.

⁶³ Davis, King Stephen, p.133, H.A.Cronne, The Reign of Stephen 1135-1154 (London, 1970), p.142 (hereafter cited as Cronne, Reign of Stephen).

⁶⁴ Regesta, iii, nos.276, 406, 494, 929.

⁶⁵ Ibid., iii, nos.42, 266, 411, 477, 483, 639, 679, 846, 855, 861, 862. He may have been the count Gilbert who attested one of Queen Matilda's charters, ibid., iii, no.845.

⁶⁶ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.289v.

⁶⁷ K.Potter ed. and trans., Gesta Stephani (Oxford, 1976), pp.201-5.

grants. Given the amount of time that he supported Stephen however, the probability is that his allegiance was with the King when he made the Weston grant, if not the Inglewood confirmation.

William II de Braiose was another inconsistent supporter who together with Philip de Harcourt, the Bishop of Bayeux, and his brother William, gave the order the church of Sumpting in the presence of Duke Henry in 1154.⁶⁸ In c.1139 he gave two other charters to the Templars. One of these was a confirmation of Philip de Harcourt's grant of the town and church of Shipley, and the other was a confirmation of his mother's grant of five acres in Bramber (Sussex).⁶⁹ Although William married a daughter of Miles of Gloucester, and by virtue of this marriage became an important marcher lord, and as such a probable member of the Empress Matilda's party,⁷⁰ when his two confirmatory charters were issued, it is more likely that he was still a supporter of King Stephen. The main reason for supposing this is that it was only after Matilda came to England at the end of September of that year that many barons like Miles of Gloucester went over to her side,⁷¹ and in any case Lees suggests that his ratification of Philip de Harcourt's grant was probably made at the same time as the grant itself,⁷² when Philip (a probable relation of William) was still supporting King Stephen.⁷³ Additionally, Lees also suggests that his Bramber confirmation probably belongs to an earlier

⁶⁸ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.154. Philip de Harcourt confirmed the grant in 1154, ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., fols.148, 149.

⁷⁰ L.H.Nelson, The Normans in South Wales, 1070-1171 (Austin, 1966), p.126, where she suggests most of the marcher lords followed Robert, the Earl of Gloucester in supporting the Empress Matilda.

⁷¹ See above p.161.

⁷² Inquest, p.228 n.8.

⁷³ See above p.160.

date.⁷⁴ In any case William witnessed three of Stephen's charters between 1148-53,⁷⁵ which suggests his support, even at this later date, when his kinsman Philip de Harcourt had gone over to the Empress Matilda's party, was by no means so obvious.

Problems also arise with several other noble patrons of the order who supported Stephen at first, before going over to the Empress. Thus Waleran of Meulan, who gave the order land in Tarentford,⁷⁶ supported Stephen until 1141, attesting thirty of his charters.⁷⁷ Similarly, Rannulf II, the Earl of Chester made several benefactions in the midlands,⁷⁸ and attested nine of Stephen's charters in 1136,⁷⁹ and one of his charters in 1146.⁸⁰ Unfortunately, because no firm dates can be fixed for any of the grants, it is impossible to assess whether Stephen's own patronage had any significance.

Despite the problems that Stephen had with the Church, he did have some ecclesiastical supporters. The adherence and patronage of Philip de Harcourt has already been mentioned.⁸¹ Furthermore, it is clear that Stephen was supported by Hilary, the Bishop of Chichester, who in c.1154 confirmed to the order, Sumpting church, which had been given to them by Philip and William de Harcourt and William de Braiose.⁸² He was

⁷⁴ Inquest, p.229 n.1.

⁷⁵ Regesta, iii, nos.448-50.

⁷⁶ See above p.43.

⁷⁷ Regesta, iii, nos.16, 46, 69, 70, 75, 189, 280-2, 288, 312, 327, 375, 579, 594, 598, 608, 640, 679, 718, 749, 787-90, 827, 929, 944, 964, 965. In addition, he also attested one of Queen Matilda's charters, ibid., iii, no.207.

⁷⁸ See above p.48-9 and below p.185.

⁷⁹ Regesta, iii, nos.271, 679, 818-9, 944-8.

⁸⁰ Ibid., iii, no.494.

⁸¹ See above p.160.

⁸² B.L. Ms.Cotton Nero Evi, f.154v.

Stephen's candidate for the Archbishopric of York, and was among the small delegation of Bishops which the King allowed to attend the general council of the church in Rheims in March 1148.⁸³ He also attested eight of Stephen's charters,⁸⁴ and although he did witness two of Duke Henry's charters, these may all have been after the Treaty of Winchester in 1153, which ended the wars of succession.⁸⁵ Another ecclesiastical supporter was Robert de Chesney, the Bishop of Lincoln, who was made sheriff of Lincoln in 1154.⁸⁶ He granted to the order freedom of tolls in Banbury market between 1151-60,⁸⁷ and was from a family who supported Stephen.⁸⁸ He is known to have witnessed seven of the king's charters.⁸⁹

A third churchmen to be considered is Theobald of Bec, the Archbishop of Canterbury. Theobald can be considered as a supporter of the Angevin cause in some respects. Thus his opposition to Stephen's church policy, and more particularly his role in persuading the pope not to recognise Eustace as Stephen's heir, suggest that he was of more help to the Empress and Duke Henry.⁹⁰ Nevertheless, it is also clear that Theobald was a member of Stephen's court at different points throughout

⁸³ Cronne, Reign of Stephen, pp.59, 60.

⁸⁴ Regesta, iii, nos.169-71, 272, 402, 511, 633, 760. In addition, he also attested three of Queen Matilda's charters, ibid., iii, nos.221, 511, 513.

⁸⁵ Ibid., iii, nos.769, 867.

⁸⁶ Ibid., iii, no.490.

⁸⁷ Sandford, no.404.

⁸⁸ William de Chesney was a sheriff and Stephen's commander in Oxford. See Cronne, Reign of Stephen, pp.150-1.

⁸⁹ Regesta, iii, nos.360, 633, 664, 750, 817, 866, 940. In addition, he also attested one of Queen Matilda's charters, ibid., iii, no.221.

⁹⁰ Cronne, Reign of Stephen, p.63. He attested six of the Empress Matilda's charters, Regesta, iii, nos.393, 581, 644, 646, 648, 791, and four of Duke Henry's charters, ibid., iii, nos.206, 417, 491, 796.

the reign, attesting thirteen of the king's charters.⁹¹ He would therefore, have been well aware of the King's patronage of the Templars, which he added to with his own benefactions. These consisted of a 500 acre estate at Waltham in Kent between 1139-61;⁹² a grant of twenty days indulgence, given between, 1151-61;⁹³ a confirmation of Simon II de Senlis' grant in Merton, probably made in 1154;⁹⁴ and a confirmation of the church of Sumpting.⁹⁵

The above-mentioned patrons were all relatively frequent witnesses to Stephen's charters. In addition to these men, several other patrons can be noted, whose connection with the court was less strong, but who did make appearances on occasion, and are to be found exclusively in the witness lists of the house of Blois. Robert Arsic, who gave the order a mill at Cowley,⁹⁶ and Walter Espec who gave thirty acres of land at Helmsley (Yorkshire),⁹⁷ both attested four charters of the king.⁹⁸ Gervase of Cornhill, who gave two messuages in Fleet Street in London,⁹⁹ and Elias Giffard who gave one hide of land at Oldbury on Severn (Gloucestershire),¹⁰⁰ both attested three charters.¹⁰¹ Finally, five

⁹¹ Ibid., iii, nos.169, 182-3, 272, 302, 366, 511, 760, 866, 928, 929, 938, 993.

⁹² Inquest, p.25.

⁹³ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.24.

⁹⁴ Sandford, f.102v.

⁹⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.154v.

⁹⁶ Inquest, p.43.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p.131.

⁹⁸ Regesta, iii, nos.23, 219, 626, 649; (Robert Arsic), 255-6, 919, 944 (Walter Espec).

⁹⁹ Inquest, p.15.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p.48.

¹⁰¹ Regesta, iii, nos.151, 519, 938 (Gervase of Cornhill); 388, 850-1 (Elias Giffard).

patrons each attested two charters of the king. These were Hugh de Bolebec who confirmed to the Templars 40s. rent in Calverton in between c.1142-64 given by his father Walter;¹⁰² Roger de Bussy who gave eleven bovates and five tofts in Willoughton (Lincolnshire);¹⁰³ Robert de Brus who gave the church of Stretton (Rutland);¹⁰⁴ Rannulf de Bayeux who gave mills in Welbourn (Lincolnshire);¹⁰⁵ and Gilbert II de Gant who made several grants in Lincolnshire including five bovates in Winkhill, nine bovates in Scampton and one toft in Barton on Humber.¹⁰⁶

As far as royal lordship is concerned, the Templars clearly benefitted a great deal not only from the generous patronage of King Stephen and Queen Matilda, but also from a significant number of the members of King Stephen's household and court. Admittedly, some patrons were not as generous as the king and queen, but several, including Simon II de Senlis rank among some of the most important of all the English Templar patrons. Even though several patrons, like Robert II d'Oilli and Turgis d'Avranches, later defected to the side of the Empress Matilda, it is also apparent that their patronage of the order was made while they were still supporting Stephen. Indeed, a survey of the patrons of the order during Stephen's reign as a whole suggests that the majority were supporting the king at the time they made their benefactions, and that in general the Angevin party were less generous patrons of the order in this period.¹⁰⁷ Furthermore, it is quite conceivable that even where patrons,

¹⁰² Sandford, no.468, Regesta, iii, nos.4, 874.

¹⁰³ Inquest, p.100; Regesta, iii, nos.455, 987.

¹⁰⁴ Inquest, 79; Regesta, iii, nos.337, 985.

¹⁰⁵ Inquest, 81; Regesta, iii, nos.279, 920.

¹⁰⁶ Inquest, 88, 103-4; Regesta, iii, nos.861-2. Although, Gilbert may have attested other charters, if he was the Count Gilbert referred to in several other charters. See above p.165, n.65.

¹⁰⁷ For some contrasting views on the matter see, Inquest, p.xl; Parker, Templars in England, p.15. The question of the relative

like Miles of Gloucester, made their grants to the order after deserting Stephen, they may still have borne the patronage of their former lord in mind, when making their own benefactions. Stephen's royal lordship does therefore seem to have been of significant effect on the patronage of the royal court despite the crisis of royal lordship which he faced. In the next section the aim will be to consider whether the royal lordship of King Stephen's successor was equally influential on the patronage of his royal court.

KING HENRY II.

Unlike King Stephen, Henry II was a patron of both the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus. Henry's benefactions to the Templars have already been considered in the previous chapter on family influences and patronage. Although he was not as generous as King Stephen and Queen Matilda, stress has been placed on the importance of his grants to the order in London, Kent, Essex and Lincolnshire, as well as the miscellaneous collection of privileges and confirmations which he also gave to them.¹⁰⁸

Henry was not as benevolent to the Order of St.Lazarus. Nevertheless, he did grant to them a total of six charters. His patronage of the order consisted of a grant of forty marks between July 1181 and March 1182.¹⁰⁹ This was confirmed by both Richard I and King John, and the benefit was enjoyed until Edward I replaced it with the grant of the Hospital of St.Giles at Holborn in 1199.¹¹⁰ In addition,

importance of the generosity of the house of Blois and the house of Anjou to the Templars is discussed in Appendix II.

¹⁰⁸ See above pp.94-6.

¹⁰⁹ Delisle, Henri II, no.dcxii.

¹¹⁰ For Richard I's confirmation see above p.52. For the confirmation of King John see Nichols, History Leics., II.i, appendix, 129. For references to the grant being enjoyed throughout the thirteenth century see Calendar of Liberate Rolls preserved in the Public

Henry exempted the order from a miscellaneous collection of tolls and tallages in two charters granted between c.1172-82 and 1175.¹¹¹ These were confirmed by King John in 1200.¹¹² Henry also issued several of his own confirmation charters to the order. Thus, he issued general confirmations of their possessions between May 1175-6 and 1179, and again between 1178 and 1179.¹¹³ Lastly, between 1178-84, he confirmed the grants of William I Burdet in south eastern Leicestershire; William I, the Earl of Derby in Spondon; Henry de Lacy in Castleford; and Simon III de Senlis in Lincolnshire.¹¹⁴ This action was repeated by King John in 1200.¹¹⁵

Having considered the nature of Henry's patronage, the aim of the rest of this section will be to assess whether he was followed in the patronage of the two orders by members of his court. Considering the Templars first, it is clear that although a large number of court officials were not patrons, a significant body did make benefactions to the order. One of the most important was Robert II, the Earl of Leicester and Henry's justiciar until his death in 1168, and the seneschal of Normandy from 1153.¹¹⁶ In total he witnessed ninety charters and possibly a further twenty two charters, although these could

Record Office, 1226-1272, 6 vols. (London, 1917-64), 1226-1240, 144; 1240-1245, 182; 1245-1251, 44; 1251-1260, 124; Cal.Close R., 1279-1288, 100. For Edward I's grant at Holborn see Cal.Pat.R., 1292-1301, 404.

¹¹¹ Ibid., nos.cdxciiii, dlxxxv.

¹¹² Nichols, History Leics., II.i, appendix, 129.

¹¹³ Ibid., no.dxluiii; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.98v; Cal.Chart.R., iv, 77.

¹¹⁴ E.Y.C., iii, no.1460; Cal.Chart.R., iv, 77.

¹¹⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.99.

¹¹⁶ J.Boussard, Le Gouvernement D'Henri II Plantegenêt (Paris, 1957), pp.349, 364 (hereafter cited as Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II).

have been made by Robert III.¹¹⁷ As it is difficult to differentiate between the two Roberts in the witness lists, so it is not easy to distinguish between their grants, as has been noted above.¹¹⁸ In addition, Gilbert Malet, Henry's seneschal between c.1166-70, who attested sixteen of Henry's charters,¹¹⁹ gave one mark from his fraternity to the order before 1185.¹²⁰ Henry's chancellor and later Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Becket witnessed a total of 464 charters before his murder in 1170,¹²¹ and made a grant to the order of twenty days indulgence.¹²² Of Henry's constables, the only patron was Henry de Essex, who had been Stephen's constable from 1151, and who continued in the office until at least until c.1158 ¹²³ witnessing 105 of Henry's charters. His patronage of the order consisted of the grant of a mill and lands in Ewell.¹²⁴ Similarly, only one of Henry's chamberlains was a patron. This was Rannulf fitz Stephen,¹²⁵ who was chamberlain from 1184-5 and who witnessed sixty eight of Henry's charters. He quit-claimed the church of Rowston to the order in 1177.¹²⁶ John fitz Gilbert, Henry's marshal until c.1164 ¹²⁷ was also a patron, giving lands in Rockley

¹¹⁷ For all the following references to witness attestations I am very grateful to Professor Sir J.C.Holt, University of Cambridge, for allowing me to consult his index of witnesses to the charters of Henry II.

¹¹⁸ See above p.46.

¹¹⁹ Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II, p.341.

¹²⁰ See above pp.46, 77 for his crusading activity and association with the order.

¹²¹ Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II, p.345.

¹²² B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.24.

¹²³ See above p.161; Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II, p.344, n.6.

¹²⁴ See above p.161.

¹²⁵ Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II, p.346.

¹²⁶ See above p.104.

¹²⁷ Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II, p.347.

between 1155-6.¹²⁸ Finally, Henry's dispenser William Hastings witnessed nineteen charters of the king and gave the order a meadow in Hackney marshes.¹²⁹ Indeed, William's brother Rannulf was Queen Eleanor's steward, and witnessed five charters of the king. Nevertheless, his establishment of the Templars at Temple Hirst came before Henry's reign in 1152.¹³⁰

The patronage of the great officers of state and members of Henry's household, was augmented by that of a large number of other patrons who were in frequent attendance at Henry II's court.¹³¹ These included several members of the higher nobility and great churchmen. Among the ranks of the nobility, Robert III, the Earl of Leicester witnessed thirteen and possibly thirty five of Henry's charters.¹³² He seems to have given the order rents in Wellesbourne.¹³³ Hugh II, the Earl of Chester was another attender of the royal court. Witnessing at least sixteen times, and possibly on as many as twenty one occasions, he gave the order a rent of 7s. in Oneley (Staffordshire).¹³⁴ Geoffrey de Mandeville, the Earl of Essex witnessed ten of Henry's charters and confirmed the grant of Sawallus de Osevilla of a stream in Merton between 1156-66.¹³⁵ Finally, Patrick, the Earl of Salisbury, sheriff of

¹²⁸ Sandford, no.247. The Inquest of 1185 records his grant there as consisting of one hide of land, Inquest, p.53.

¹²⁹ See above pp.63-4.

¹³⁰ See above p.63.

¹³¹ The use of the word frequent is taken to mean at least five attestations.

¹³² See above p.46. for the confusion between Robert II and Robert III.

¹³³ See above p.46.

¹³⁴ Inquest, p.32.

¹³⁵ Sandford, no.433.

Wiltshire and governor of Aquitaine 136 witnessed on seven occasions, and gave the order one mill in Laycock (Wiltshire).137

Among the churchmen at court who were also patrons the most frequent attestor was Thomas Becket, who has been considered already in his role as the king's chancellor.138 Several other churchmen who had supported King Stephen at some point, were also frequent attenders at Henry II's court, although their grants were not necessarily made during Henry's reign. Philip de Harcourt, the Bishop of Bayeux witnessed ninety five charters, and made grants to the order in Sumpting and Shipley. Although, his Shipley grant was made in 1139, the grant at Sumpting was made in 1154 in the presence of the then Duke Henry.139 Robert de Chesney, the Bishop of Lincoln was another frequent attestor witnessing eighty six charters of the king. His grant to the order of freedom from tolls in Banbury was made between 1151-61, and thus may have been made in Stephen's reign.140 Hilary, the Bishop of Chichester witnessed forty five charters, and confirmed the Sumpting grant of Philip de Harcourt, although it should be noted that the grant was made in c.1154 before Henry became king.141 Theobald of Bec, the Archbishop of Canterbury, witnessed thirty six charters of the king. As his grants were made between 1139-61 and 1151-61 however, they again were not necessarily made in Henry's reign, and furthermore, his confirmation of Simon II de Senlis' Merton grant was probably made while Stephen was on the throne in 1154.142 One other churchman to be noted is Hubert Walter who witnessed

136 Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II, pp. 356, 413, n.3.

137 Inquest, p.63.

138 See above p.173.

139 See above p.166.

140 See above p.168.

141 See above p.167.

142 See above p.169.

seven of Henry's charters, and whose great career began during Henry II's reign as a clerk to Rannulf de Glanville, and as a royal justice from 1184.¹⁴³ However, his grant of an indulgence of twenty days came while he was Archbishop of Canterbury between 1193-1205.¹⁴⁴

Besides members from the ranks of the highest nobility and church, a number of other patrons were also attenders at court. Of these, the most frequent attestor was Saher de Quency who was the constable of Nonancourt castle and a frequent attendant on the king in Normandy, witnessing a total of sixty one charters.¹⁴⁵ The Templars received two virgates from his fee in Buckby (Northamptonshire).¹⁴⁶ William de Stuteville who acted as a king's justice, witnessed thirty four times ¹⁴⁷ and gave the order one toft in North Cave.¹⁴⁸ Robert II Marmion witnessed twenty nine times, and made large grants to the order in Barston (Warwickshire).¹⁴⁹ Reginald of St.Valéry, who was Henry's seneschal in Normandy from at least 1149-53,¹⁵⁰ witnessed seventeen times and made several grants to the order in Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire and Dorset. However, it should be noted that his grant of Beckley church was made in c.1146, and the rents that he granted in Tarentford were also possibly given during Stephen's reign.¹⁵¹ Like Hubert Walter, William Marshal began his great career during Henry II's reign. He was made Henry the Younger's tutor,

¹⁴³ Cheney, Hubert Walter, pp.19, 21.

¹⁴⁴ See above p.46.

¹⁴⁵ Complete Peerage, XII.ii, 746.

¹⁴⁶ Inquest, p.31.

¹⁴⁷ E.Y.C., ix, 10.

¹⁴⁸ Inquest, p.131.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., pp.26, 35, and see below p.182.

¹⁵⁰ Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II, p.364.

¹⁵¹ See above p.45.

and was also put in charge of his household knights.¹⁵² He witnessed thirteen of Henry II's charters and made a number of grants to the Templars including the establishment of the preceptory of Upleadon, although this and his grant connected with Speen church were made during the thirteenth century.¹⁵³ William de Beauchamp, who was constable, hereditary dispenser and hereditary sheriff in Worcestershire, as well as being sheriff in Herefordshire and Gloucestershire between 1155-69,¹⁵⁴ witnessed eleven charters and gave the order two hides of land in Lockeridge (Wiltshire).¹⁵⁵ William Paynel of Hooton Paynel witnessed on six occasions, and gave the order half a knight's fee in Great Houghton between 1185-96, and half a carucate in Hooton Paynel between 1185-1202,¹⁵⁶ although as the dates suggest both grants could have been made after Henry's death. Finally, four patrons each witnessed five charters of the king. These were Hugh de Beauchamp, who was the constable of Rhuddlan castle in Wales in 1157 and of the castle of Verneuil in Normandy in 1173,¹⁵⁷ gave the order land in Bedfordshire;¹⁵⁸ William de Vescy, one of the sheriffs who was replaced after the Inquest of 1170, gave the churches of Normanton and Caythorpe in Lincolnshire;¹⁵⁹ William de Coleville who gave land in Lincolnshire;¹⁶⁰ and Hugh II de Moreville,¹⁵² Painter, William the Marshal, p.31;

¹⁵³ Rees, Order of St. John in Wales, p.55; Sandford, nos.261, 262, and see below pp.190-1.

¹⁵⁴ Inquest, p.160, n.1.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p.53; Sandford, no.247.

¹⁵⁶ E.Y.C., vi, nos.108, 145. The second grant is later referred to as consisting of five bovates, Rot.Hund., i, 109.

¹⁵⁷ Fowler, "Beauchamps of Eaton", 69-70; Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II, pp.412, 479.

¹⁵⁸ See above p.45.

¹⁵⁹ Inquest, p.79.

¹⁶⁰ See above p.71.

the constable of Scotland and an itinerant justice in Carlisle and Northumberland in 1169-70 161 gave the vill of Somerby near Thirsk (Yorkshire).162

Turning to the Order of St.Lazarus, there is less evidence to suggest that the members of the king's court followed Henry's more limited patronage of this particular order. Having said that, it is true that several patrons did witness a small number of his charters. Robert III, the Earl of Leicester who gave the order rents in Leicester, thus witnessed at least thirteen times and possibly as many as thirty five times.163 Nevertheless, the only other relatively frequent attestor was Roger I de Mowbray, the founder of Burton Lazars, who witnessed six charters. This foundation was however, made before Henry's reign and was more probably influenced by Roger's crusading activity.164 This crusading influence may also have been important in the case of William I, the Earl of Derby who witnessed three of Henry's charters, and gave the order the church of Spondon in Derbyshire;165 Geoffrey de Hay who witnessed one charter, and gave lands in Thorpe';166 and Nigel I de Mowbray who also witnessed one charter, and made grants to the order in Kirby Bellars and Thorpe'.167

As was the case with King Stephen, it is clear that a number of patrons of the Templars were members of Henry II's court. It is true that not all were great officers of state or members of the household,

161 Inquest, p.128, n.18; Boussard, Gouvernement D'Henri II, p.499.

162 Inquest, p.128.

163 See above p.52.

164 See above pp.52, 118-21.

165 See above pp.18, 52, 273.

166 See above p.53.

167 See above p.52.

yet it is evident that many of them were royal officials in other respects. In particular, people like William de Beauchamp and Patrick, the Earl of Salisbury were sheriffs, while Saher de Quenci and Reginald de St.Valéry were custodians of castles, and others like William de Stuteville and Hubert Walter were royal justices. Even though certain patrons like Reginald de St.Valéry and Philip de Harcourt made grants before Henry's reign, a number of patrons probably made their grants between 1154-89 to suggest that the influence of Henry II's lordship was of some importance. Furthermore, of those patrons like William the Marshal, who made their grants after Henry's reign, it is still possible that they could have taken his patronage into account when making their own benefactions. However, it should be noted that overall, the scale of grants made by members of Henry's court was less significant than those made by members of Stephen's court, reflecting the greater importance of the benefactions made by King Stephen and Queen Matilda. Similarly, the patronage of the Order of St.Lazarus was only undertaken by a small number of relatively infrequent attenders at Henry's royal court, reflecting the difference in the scale of Henry's patronage of the order compared with the Templars. The Order of St.Lazarus clearly did not benefit greatly from the patronage of Henry II, and not at all from King Stephen, and neither can its patronage be explained by reference to the royal court. In contrast, it is clear that the Templars owed a great deal to both monarchs, and also to the influence of their royal lordship which saw a large number of court attenders making benefactions to the order between 1135-89. In the next sections the main consideration will be to evaluate the importance of baronial lordship on the patronage of both orders, in order to discover whether this form of lordship played a similar role.

BARONIAL LORDSHIP: ROGER I DE BEAUMONT AND THE EARLS OF WARWICK.

A study of the Earls of Warwick is a particularly good starting point for this discussion of non-royal lordship and patronage. At least four members of the family were patrons of the Templars. The most important patron was Roger I de Beaumont (1123-53). He was the eldest son of Henry, Earl of Warwick (1088-1119), who probably obtained his earldom in about 1123, when he came of age.¹⁶⁸ His patronage of the Templars consisted of the foundation of the preceptory of Warwick before 1135, thus making him one of the earliest patrons of the order in England.¹⁶⁹ He also gave them 11s. in Greetham (Rutland), and half a bovate in Stretton (Rutland).¹⁷⁰ Other family patrons included Margaret, who was the wife of Earl Henry, (1088-1119), and the mother of Roger. She gave the manor of Llanmadoc in Wales in 1156.¹⁷¹ William I, (1153-84), gave the order lands in two Warwickshire villages,¹⁷² and Waleran I, (1185-1204) may have been the donor of one mark from the church of Sherborne (Warwickshire).¹⁷³ The Inquest of 1185 also records a number of other gifts made by the Earls of Warwick before 1185, including four bovates in Greetham (Rutland); 26s. from the mill of Alfstanesford (Warwickshire); half a hide, twelve and a half virgates, twenty six acres, three meadows, two acres of meadows, one part of a field plus 7s.

¹⁶⁸ Complete Peerage, XII.ii, 361.

¹⁶⁹ W.Dugdale, The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated (Coventry, 1765), p.338 (hereafter cited as Dugdale, Warwickshire); Mason, "Fact and Fiction", 83. See above p.164 for some suggestions on the motivation behind his patronage.

¹⁷⁰ Inquest, p.81, 114.

¹⁷¹ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 841.

¹⁷² Dugdale, Warwickshire, p.380.

¹⁷³ Inquest, p.26, n.9, where Lees seems to suggest that he could have been the donor because he was the Earl of Warwick in 1185, and the gift was from his fee. This does not necessarily follow, of course.

from a mill, all in Sherborne (Warwickshire);174 and one messuage and rents of £2 13s.6d. in Warwick itself.175

Of the tenants of the Earls of Warwick, contained in the carta of William I in 1166, five were patrons of the Templars.176 These were Peter de Studeley or Peter de Corbezun, whose father was William fitz Corbezun,177 and who held ten knights fees,178 and gave one and a half virgates in Salperton (Gloucestershire) before 1185,179 and confirmed the hide of land given by Agnes de Sibford in Sibford in 1153.180 As Peter de Corbezun, he gave the order a mill at Studley (Warwickshire) plus rents from his fee.181 Other tenants included Robert of Harcourt who held one fee,182 and gave a mill in Market Bosworth (Leicestershire);183 Hamon fitz Meinfelin who held one fee 184 and gave 12d. in Stony Stratford (Buckinghamshire) 185 and one acre of land and a messuage, probably in the same place, before 1184-5;186 William Giffard who held

174 Inquest, pp.26, 27, 113.

175 Ibid., p.32-3. The Inquest actually has the total as £2 17s.

176 Red Book, pp.324-7.

177 Crouch, Beaumont Twins, pp.26, n.120, 235.

178 Red Book, p.325.

179 Inquest, p.49.

180 Sandford, no.382.

181 Inquest, pp.27, 30.

182 Mason seems to suggest that Ivo de Harcourt was a patron of the Templars, although there seems no evidence for this view. Mason, "Fact and Fiction", 83. However, in 1166, Ivo did hold seven fees from the Earls of Warwick, Red Book, p.325.

183 Inquest, p.26.

184 Red Book, p.326.

185 Inquest, p.46.

186 Sandford, no.408. See also, Inquest, p.198.

two fees 187 and gave 2s. in Avon Dasset (Warwickshire);188 and Robert Marmion II who held one fee 189 and gave a mill, twenty and a half virgates, five messuages, three meadows and eight acres of land in Barston (Warwickshire) before 1181.190 He also gave half a bovate in Escrivelb' (Lincolnshire) before 1181.191

It is possible to trace connections further down the feudal ladder with two of these tenants. The first of these, Hamon fitz Meinfelin had one tenant called Stephen de Beauchamp, who held one fee,192 and gave the Templars two acres in Fairsted (Essex),193 while the second, Robert Marmion, had four tenants who were patrons of the Templars. These were Pigot of Lascelles who held one fee,194 and gave one toft in Aylesby (Lincolnshire) and two bovates and one toft in Scruton (Yorkshire);195 Reginald fitz Urse, who may have been the man who held one fee 196 and gave the town of Williton (Somerset);197 William de Hastings, Henry II's dispenser, who held one fee 198 and gave land in Hackney marshes (Middlesex),199 and Geoffrey Marmion who held one fee 200 and who gave

187 Red Book, p.326.

188 Inquest, p.30.

189 Red Book, p.326.

190 Inquest, pp.26, 35.

191 Fees, p.165. Robert died before October 1181, see Complete Peerage, viii, 508-9.

192 Red Book, 314.

193 Inquest, p.10.

194 Red Book, p.327.

195 Inquest, pp.104, 122.

196 Red Book, p.327.

197 Inquest, p.62.

198 See above pp.63, 173 and Red Book, p.327.

199 Ibid., p.327; See above pp.63-4, 174.

two virgates in Middleton (Warwickshire) and 2s. in Stafford before 1185.²⁰¹

Of the original five patrons that have been identified as tenants, all held from Roger I.²⁰² In assessing the significance of the connections between Roger I and his tenants it must be noted that several held from other lords. These included Hamon fitz Meinfelin who held fifteen fees from the king;²⁰³ William Giffard who held from William I, the Earl of Derby, Robert III of Stafford, the Abbot of Abingdon and the Bishop of Winchester;²⁰⁴ and Robert de Marmion who held land in chief from the king, and several fees from the Bishops of Winchester and London.²⁰⁵

Despite the other feudal connections of these patrons, it is also evident that at least one of them did associate relatively closely with Roger I himself. This was William Giffard who was Roger's steward,²⁰⁶ and who attested his charters on thirteen occasions.²⁰⁷ Although none of the other patrons were in the earl's company quite so regularly, Peter de

²⁰⁰ Ibid., p.327.

²⁰¹ Inquest, p.31,

²⁰² They all appear as holding from the old enfeoffment. Red Book, pp.324-5.

²⁰³ Ibid., pp.314-5.

²⁰⁴ Ibid., pp.207, 268, 306, 339.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp.187, 300, 327.

²⁰⁶ Worcester D and C Reg.1 (A.4) f.3. I am very grateful to Dr.D.Crouch for this reference and the references contained in notes 207-9, 211, 213, 295, 300, 301, 305, 307, 309-15.

²⁰⁷ He witnesses charters contained in the following manuscripts. B.L. ms. Cotton Julius Cvii, f.218; B.L. Add.ms.28024, f.58; B.L. Add. ch.21493; B.L. ms. Harley 3650, f.11v; P.R.O. E164/22 fols.8v, f.9, 10v(2); Bodl. ms. Dugdale 12, p.267; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust ms. ER 1/61, f.129; ibid., DR/98/1; Worcester D and C Reg. 1 (A.4), f.3; Archives départementales de l'Eure H711, f.48v.

Studeley witnessed four and possibly five of his charters.²⁰⁸ Aside from Roger's feudal tenants, it is clear that two other witnesses to his charters were also patrons of the Templars.²⁰⁹ Thus, John de Studeley may have been the John fitz Harold who was related to Waleran of Meulan ²¹⁰ and witnessed one of the earl's charters,²¹¹ and gave the Templars one mill in Greetham;²¹² while William Clinton also witnessed one charter and gave the order land in Oxford plus 3d. of rent.²¹³

RANNULF III AND THE EARLS OF CHESTER.

Three Earls of Chester were patrons of the Templars. Rannulf II, who was earl from 1129-53, and who played an important part in the troubles of Stephen's reign,²¹⁴ gave the order a number of rents and possessions. These included 4s. in Oneley (Staffordshire); 30s. and three bovates in Goulceby (Lincolnshire); a total of one carucate, one bovat and a mansion in Bracebridge (Lincolnshire); and one bovat and one toft in Stenigot (Leicestershire).²¹⁵ Hugh II his son, was earl from 1153-81, and temporarily lost his earldom after the rebellions of 1173-4.²¹⁶ He gave the order 7s. in Oneley.²¹⁷ The third patron was Hugh's

²⁰⁸ B.L. Add. ch.21493; B.L. ms. Harley 3650, f.11v; P.R.O. E. 164/22, f.10v; Bodl. ms. Dugdale.12, p.267; Shakespeare Birthplace Trust Ms. ER 1/61, f.129.

²⁰⁹ Here we note the appearance on one occasion of William the earl's son, B.L. ms. Cotton Vitellius A, f.43. His patronage is discussed above p.180.

²¹⁰ Crouch, Beaumont Twins, p.47.

²¹¹ B.L. ms. Harley 3650, f.11v.

²¹² Inquest, p.50.

²¹³ Sandford, no.129. He witnessed in B.L. Add.28024, f.58.

²¹⁴ Complete Peerage, iii, 166-7.

²¹⁵ Inquest, pp.31, 79, 83, 107, 108.

²¹⁶ Complete Peerage, iii, 167.

²¹⁷ See above p.174.

son Rannulf III, who was earl from 1181-1232. Rannulf was a supporter of King John, who made him Earl of Lincoln in 1217.²¹⁸ He made a number of grants in Lincolnshire, including one and a half carucates in Cawkwell, and one fifth of a fee and eight bovates in Wadington.²¹⁹ The Templars also held nine bovates from him, probably in Cawkwell.²²⁰ Although no carta for 1166 exists, it is possible to gather information on the tenants of the individual Earls,²²¹ and the charters of all three have been collected and edited by Geoffrey Barraclough.²²² Unfortunately, the most reliable information about tenants and their associations is only available for Rannulf III, and as he was the most generous of the Chester patrons it is mainly on him and his tenants that this section will concentrate.

Of Rannulf III's tenants, at least six were patrons of the Templars. Of these, Philip of Kyme who gave half a carucate in Metheringham (Lincolnshire),²²³ appears to have been in possession of a number of holdings given by the Earl of Chester.²²⁴ Philip was the son of Simon of Kyme who died in c.1162.²²⁵ Although his exact holdings are not known, the Book of Fees recorded the Lincolnshire holdings of his grandson, also called Philip, and it is highly probable that many of these were

²¹⁸ Alexander, Rannulf of Chester, p.93.

²¹⁹ Fees, pp.169, 1044.

²²⁰ Ibid., p.170.

²²¹ See Farrer, Honors, ii, 1-293; Fees, particularly pp.160, 161, 164, 166-9, 178, 181, 190, 191.

²²² G.Barraclough, The Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c.1071-1237 (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire), cxxvi (1988) (hereafter cited as Barraclough, Charters of Chester).

²²³ Inquest, p.84.

²²⁴ B.Golding, "Simon of Kyme: The Making of a Rebel", Nottingham Medieval Studies, xxvii (1983), 25-6 (hereafter cited as Golding, "Simon of Kyme").

²²⁵ Ibid., 24.

originally given to Philip (I) by either Hugh II or Rannulf III. Together they included one fee in Swaby, half a fee in Clactorp, one fee in Calesbi, and a third of a fee in Metheringham.²²⁶ Furthermore, holdings are also recorded in Wainfleet, Frekenn, Schekenessa and Braitoft,²²⁷ and one bovate in Escrivell, and six bovates in Thorp and Doddington.²²⁸

Other tenants of Rannulf III included Baldwin of Wake, who in 1212 held two carucates in Stenigot, and one fee in Wilsford (Lincolnshire).²²⁹ His grant to the order consisted of the church of Kirby Fleetham (Yorkshire).²³⁰ Hugh of Caux held three and a half Lincolnshire fees in 1212, consisting of one fee in Blyborough, two fees in Tunstall and half a fee in Wadincham.²³¹ He gave one toft in Blyborough.²³² Cecilia of Crevequer who was dead by 1212, had held one fee in Hibaldstow (Lincolnshire).²³³ Her patronage consisted of half a bovate and one toft in Haketorn (Lincolnshire).²³⁴ Roger of St.Martin held half a fee in Gamelsthorp,²³⁵ and gave one toft in Blyborough.²³⁶ Finally, Simon Tuschet held three fees in 1187, including two fees in Mackeaton and half a fee in Ashwell (Rutland).²³⁷ His patronage was

²²⁶ Fees, pp.160, 161(2), 169.

²²⁷ Ibid., p.164.

²²⁸ Ibid., p.166, 186.

²²⁹ Ibid., pp.169, 181.

²³⁰ Martin, "Templars in Yorkshire", xxix, 385.

²³¹ Fees, pp.190, 191(2).

²³² See above p.105.

²³³ Fees, p.191.

²³⁴ Ibid., p.189.

²³⁵ Ibid., p.191.

²³⁶ Inquest, p.101.

²³⁷ Farrer, Honors ii, 29. The other half fee is not recorded.

quite extensive in Lincolnshire, and consisted of the mill of Scawby cum Sturton, and a total of forty four and one third bovates, two tofts and the church of Ashby de la Launde.²³⁸ The church of Ashby was jointly granted with Jordan de Ashby.²³⁹

Further down the feudal chain, one of Baldwin Wake's own tenants, William de Pointon was also a patron of the Templars. He held an eighth of a fee from Baldwin in the hundred of Brunne and Morton (Lincolnshire), and gave the order a third part of a fee in Duseby hundred (Lincolnshire).²⁴⁰ In addition, one of Cecilia de Crevequer's tenants, Geoffrey de Neville, who held half a fee from her in Harpeswell (Lincolnshire) ²⁴¹ gave the order two bovates and two tofts in Lesenby (Lincolnshire).²⁴² As with the tenants of Roger I of Warwick however, several of Rannulf III's tenants held from other lords. These included Philip de Kyme who held fees from Bishops of Durham and Lincoln,²⁴³ the Earl of Lincoln,²⁴⁴ Simon II de Senlis,²⁴⁵ William de Curci,²⁴⁶ Richard de Hay,²⁴⁷ and William Peverel.²⁴⁸ Philip had divided loyalties in practice, being a member not only of the household of the Earls of

²³⁸ Inquest, pp.79, 80, 95, 96, 99.

²³⁹ Ibid., p.79.

²⁴⁰ Fees, pp.1026, 1028.

²⁴¹ Ibid., p.189.

²⁴² Ibid., p.361.

²⁴³ Red Book, pp.375, 416.

²⁴⁴ Ibid., p.377.

²⁴⁵ See below p.198.

²⁴⁶ Golding, "Simon of Kyme", 26.

²⁴⁷ Red Book, p.390.

²⁴⁸ Golding, "Simon of Kyme", 25.

Chester, but also of Gilbert de Gant.²⁴⁹ Baldwin Wake held a number of lands in Lincolnshire and Hertfordshire from the king,²⁵⁰ and he also held two fees from Richard de Tany in Hertfordshire.²⁵¹ Cecilia de Crevequer held her barony in Ashby, Somerby, Enderby and Willoughton (Lincolnshire) from the king,²⁵² as well as lands from the Aumale family.²⁵³ Finally Roger de St.Martin held two fees from Roger I de Mowbray.²⁵⁴

The varied feudal connections of Rannulf III's tenants mean that it is necessary to trace whether there is any evidence of association between the Earl and his vassals. Although there does not seem to be any evidence that any of the above tenants and patrons were important members of Earl Rannulf's household, in three of the cases that have been considered, patrons who were tenants witnessed his charters. Philip de Kyme witnessed eight charters,²⁵⁵ Simon Tuschet witnessed four charters,²⁵⁶ and Baldwin Wake witnessed three charters.²⁵⁷ In addition, a large number of other Templar patrons, some of whom may have been tenants, also witnessed the earl's charters. Of these, Robert de Boulogne witnessed three charters,²⁵⁸ and gave a third of a mill in Halton. He also gave twelve and a half bovates, four tofts and a third

²⁴⁹ Ibid.

²⁵⁰ For his Lincolnshire fees see Fees, pp.177, 178, 180, 181, 182, 184, 187. For his Hertfordshire fees see ibid., pp.15, 124.

²⁵¹ Ibid., p.123.

²⁵² Ibid., p.167.

²⁵³ Ibid., p.192.

²⁵⁴ Red Book, p.419; Fees, p.192.

²⁵⁵ Barraclough, Charters of Chester, nos.262, 298, 330, 417-21.

²⁵⁶ Ibid., nos.262, 272, 288, 294.

²⁵⁷ Ibid., nos.221, 259, 289.

²⁵⁸ Ibid., nos.302, 325, 326.

of a mill in Halton jointly with his brother Gilbert.²⁵⁹ A number of patrons witnessed on two occasions including William I de Marshal who gave lands in Upleadon;²⁶⁰ Simon de Montfort who gave land at Rockley;²⁶¹ John fitz Eustace of Chester who gave the church of Marnham;²⁶² and Hugh II Malebisse,²⁶³ who gave two carucates of land in Great Broughton, and five bovates in Scawton.²⁶⁴ Finally, five patrons witnessed one charter each. These were Hugh de Neville who gave the manor of Lockwood;²⁶⁵ Rannulf de Aubigny who gave land in Aubourn;²⁶⁶ Emery de Sacy who gave land in Southampton;²⁶⁷ Geoffrey de Stanton who gave one carucate in Swinhope (Lincolnshire),²⁶⁸ and Rannulf de Careville who gave one virgate of land in Lockington (Yorkshire?).²⁶⁹

WILLIAM I MARSHAL AND THE EARLS OF PEMBROKE.

William I Marshal was the fourth son of John fitz Gilbert the Marshal who died in 1165. He became Marshal of England after the death of his elder brother John in 1194, and was recognised as the Earl of

²⁵⁹ See above pp.162-3.

²⁶⁰ Barraclough, Charters of Chester, nos.294, 295. His patronage is discussed below pp.190-1.

²⁶¹ Ibid., nos.310, 435. His patronage is discussed above p.50.

²⁶² Barraclough, Charters of Chester, nos.206, 208. His patronage is discussed above p.46.

²⁶³ Ibid., nos.82, 337. His patronage is discussed above p.45.

²⁶⁴ See above p.45.

²⁶⁵ Barraclough, Charters of Chester, no.262. See above pp.47-8, for a discussion of the identity of this man and his patronage.

²⁶⁶ Ibid., no.279. His patronage is discussed above p.46.

²⁶⁷ Ibid., no.416. His patronage is discussed above pp.49-50.

²⁶⁸ Fees, p.1046. He witnessed Barraclough, Charters of Chester, no.274.

²⁶⁹ Bartelot, "Temple Combe", 88. He witnessed Barraclough, Charters of Chester, no.416.

Pembroke in 1199 by King John. William owed his right to the title from his marriage in 1189 to Isabel de Clare the heir of her brother, Gilbert de Strigoil, who died while still being under age. They were both the children of Richard fitz Gilbert "Strongbow", the Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1176.²⁷⁰

In patronising the Templars, William was following two precedents. The first was the patronage of the order by his father John Marshal, who gave the Templars lands in Rockley between 1155-6.²⁷¹ The second precedent was the patronage of an earlier Earl of Pembroke, Gilbert de Clare (died 1148), the grandfather of Isabel. Gilbert made extensive grants to the order in Weston (Hertfordshire), and smaller grants in Radwell, and two confirmatory charters.²⁷² William's patronage was not as extensive as that of his predecessor as earl, but important nonetheless.²⁷³ His most noteworthy grant gave the order four hides of land in Upleadon (Herefordshire),²⁷⁴ and this probably formed the basis for the hospice which the Templars held in that place.²⁷⁵ Another grant consisted of the liberties of the church of Speen (Berkshire), and the advowson of the said church, both granted in 1206.²⁷⁶ Finally William confirmed the charter of Gilbert de Clare of the church of Weston, ten

²⁷⁰ For the history of the Earls of Pembroke, including William I Marshal, see Complete Peerage, x, 348-364. Also see Painter, William the Marshal.

²⁷¹ See above p.173.

²⁷² See above p.165.

²⁷³ The motives for his patronage may be bound up with his family ties, although they may have something to do with William's knightly career, and his upholding of the chivalrous ideal. He joined the Templars on his death-bed, see above p.85.

²⁷⁴ Fees, p.808. William's fee in Upleadon is referred to as one knight's fee, ibid., p.100.

²⁷⁵ Rees, Order of St. John in Wales, p.55.

²⁷⁶ Sandford, nos. 261, 262. His son William II confirmed this grant between c.1224-31, ibid., no.263.

librates of land in Weston, the vill of Baldock, the mill and miller of Radwell, two rustici and the services of William fitz Baldwin of Weston and his heirs.277

A study of the effects of the lordship of William I suffers from problems not encountered with the Earls of Warwick and Chester. This is because there is very little direct evidence for who the tenants of William I actually were. William held extensive lands, largely due to his marriage to Isabel de Clare. He gained the Pembrokeshire lands which made up part of the Honour of Striguil, (about sixty knights) and included lands in Hertfordshire, Essex, and Gloucestershire, as well as the southern part of the lordship of Leinster in Ireland.278 This therefore made him one of the most important marcher lords in Wales and Ireland, and it is probable that it was due to the special status of the marcher lordships, and their "independence" from royal control, that they tended not to appear frequently in the records of government.279 In 1189 William also obtained from his marriage, half of the Honour of the Giffard Earls, (about eighty three to ninety three knights depending on the Norman holding) acquiring desmesne manors in Buckinghamshire, Oxfordshire and also half of the barony of Longueville in Normandy.280 On the death of his elder brother John in 1194, he also inherited the

277 B.L. ms Cotton Nero Evi, f.135v.

278 Painter, William the Marshal, p.77.

279 Ibid., p.78 n.63.

280 Ibid., p.78. Half of the Giffard lands went to Isabel's cousin Richard de Clare, the Earl of Hertford, and these included the Buckinghamshire manor of Crendon. However, this seems to have been given or sold to William Marshal soon afterwards. It was certainly in the hands of his heirs in 1231. M.Altschul, A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314 (Baltimore, 1965), p.24. Altschul suggests the date was 1229, but the Charter Roll reference is for 1231, Cal.Chart.R., i, 142.

family lands, which consisted of manors in Wiltshire, Sussex, Berkshire, Worcestershire, Herefordshire (including the manor of Upleadon).²⁸¹

Unfortunately, neither the Red Book of the Exchequer, nor the Book of Fees are particularly expansive on the subject of William's tenants. The only way that any tenants can be traced is to look at the lands that William held, and the tenants of these lands at a later date under William's descendants. In this way, it is possible to trace tenants of the Marshal family as they were recorded in an inquisition of 1242-3. The people named were tenants of Walter Marshal, the fourth son of William I, and therefore it is not certain that they were tenants of William by the time of his death in 1219, although it is conceivable that the lands which they held in 1242-3 had been in the possession of their families for several generations.

Looking at the tenants of 1242-3, four were patrons of the Templars. However, the Eustace de Greynvill who held two fees in Wotton (Underwood),²⁸² was probably a descendant of the Eustace de Greynvill who confirmed the grant of Gerard de Grenvill his uncle of a hide in Wotton Underwood (Buckinghamshire) plus twelve acres of land in c.1190.²⁸³ Of the other tenants, William de Englefeud whose earliest appearance seems to be in 1235-6,²⁸⁴ held one fee in Hackekot (Buckinghamshire),²⁸⁵ two fees in Lechebrok', and one fee in Shiplake (Oxfordshire),²⁸⁶ and gave

²⁸¹ Painter, William the Marshal, pp.102, 104.

²⁸² Fees, p.881.

²⁸³ See above p.49.

²⁸⁴ Fees, p.457.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., p.881.

²⁸⁶ Ibid., p.833. It is stated that he held two and a half fees in Shiplake, ibid., p.829. The two fees in Lechebrok' were held with Peter fitz Oggeri.

one fee in Cranford (Middlesex).²⁸⁷ William de Beachampton who also appears in 1235-6,²⁸⁸ held one fee in Beachampton (Buckinghamshire),²⁸⁹ and gave half a virgate in Beachampton in c.1240.²⁹⁰ Lastly, Hugh de Poer who appears as an attorney in 1210,²⁹¹ held one fee in Wolfhall (Wiltshire)²⁹² and gave a croft in Worcester.²⁹³ None of these possible tenants had any tenants themselves who were patrons of the order, although William de Englefeud did hold from other lords, including several fees from Roger de Sumery and Peter de Sabaudia.²⁹⁴

The uncertainty surrounding the question of who the tenants of William I were, causes problems in assessing how closely associated these tenants were with their feudal lord. Fortunately, the lack of evidence relating to feudal ties is balanced by the large number of William I's charters which survive, making it possible to identify several ties of association. From the witness lists of these charters a possible twelve people were patrons of the Templars. Thus John Marshal, the nephew of William I, witnessed seven charters;²⁹⁵ He gave the order lands in

²⁸⁷ Ibid., p.897.

²⁸⁸ Ibid., p.462.

²⁸⁹ Ibid., p.881.

²⁹⁰ Sandford, no.472.

²⁹¹ Cur.Reg.R., vi, p.108.

²⁹² Fees, p.711.

²⁹³ Inquest, p.32.

²⁹⁴ Red Book, pp.476, 691, 850, 955, 968.

²⁹⁵ J.T.Gilbert ed., Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland part 2 (London, 1878), plate lxix; E.Curtis ed., Calendar of Ormond Deeds, 6 vols. (Dublin, 1932), i, no.37 (hereafter cited as Curtis, Cal.Ormond Deeds); J.H.Round ed., Calendar of Documents preserved in France, illustrative of the history of Great Britain and Ireland 918-1206 (London, 1899), p.65 (hereafter cited as Round, Cal.Doc.France); Salisbury Chapter Muniments Press IV Box OE1; Chartae Privelegia et Immunitates (Irish Record Commission, 1829), 33-34; Wiltshire Record Office 9/15/1; J.T.Gilbert ed., Register of the Abbey of St.Thomas Dublin (Rolls Series, 1889), no.ccclxxxiii.

Cowley in c.1219,²⁹⁶ and confirmed a grant by Rannulf de Raleigh in c.1215-20.²⁹⁷ The Hundred Rolls record that a John Marshal also granted the church of Aslacksby, plus a chief messuage, one carucate of land, twenty acres of wood and 100s. of yearly rent. The church was in fact given by Hubert de Ria, and John the Marshal was his heir, which could account for the reference in the Hundred Rolls.²⁹⁸ In addition, Hugh de Sandford who gave the order part of a meadow in Sandford,²⁹⁹ also witnessed seven charters,³⁰⁰ as did Henry de Hose,³⁰¹ who gave one and a half hides in Westcot (Berkshire),³⁰² plus 30s. rent from the land of Finch of Sparsholt.³⁰³ William de Harcourt, with his brother Philip and William de Braiose, gave the church of Sumpting in 1154,³⁰⁴ and witnessed five charters;³⁰⁵ Thomas de Coleville gave one bovate in Coxwold,³⁰⁶ and

²⁹⁶ Sandford, no.44.

²⁹⁷ Ibid., no.256.

²⁹⁸ Rot.Hund., i, 256; Inquest, p.80.

²⁹⁹ See above pp.50, 107-8.

³⁰⁰ A.W.Crawley-Baevey ed., The Cartulary and Historical Notes of the Cistercian Abbey of Flaxley otherwise called Dene Abbey, in the County of Gloucester (Exeter, 1887), pp.174-175; Curtis, Cal.Ormond Deeds, i, no.37; Oxford New College. Newington Longville ch.27 (Steer no.11945); P. le Cacheux ed., Chartes du Prieuré de Longueville de l'ordre Cluny (Société Histoire de Normandie, 1934) 104-5, 105 (hereafter cited as Cacheux, Chartes de Longueville); Round, Cal.Doc.France, p.79; Christchurch Oxford Muniments DY 13 (a) m.3.

³⁰¹ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 455; P.R.O. C115/K2/6683, f.287; ibid., f.287v; Birmingham Central Library Archives ch.486019; J.T.Gilbert ed., "The Register of St.Mary's Abbey Dunbrothy", in Chartularies of St.Mary's Abbey Dublin, 2 Vols. (Rolls Series, 1884) ii, 159 (hereafter cited as Gilbert, "Register of St.Mary's Abbey Dunbrothy"); Bodl ms. Dugdale 39, f.72v; Wiltshire Record Office 9/15/6.

³⁰² Inquest, p.53.

³⁰³ Sandford, no.311.

³⁰⁴ See above p.166.

³⁰⁵ Cacheux, Chartes de Longueville, 103-4; ibid., 105; Round, Cal.Doc.France, 65(2); ibid., 79.

witnessed four charters;307 William Martel made grants in London, Bedfordshire and Somerset,308 and witnessed two charters;309 while several patrons witnessed one charter each. These included Thomas I de Sandford who gave a mill in Sandford;310 Richard de Sandford who confirmed his father's grant;311 John Harcourt who gave land in Rockley;312 Rannulf de Normanville, who gave one bovate in Brinsworth;313 Henry de Montfort from whose fee the order held the mill of Edstone (Warwickshire);314 and John Belet,315 who gave four charters to the order. In c.1195 he confirmed the donation of his father, Alfred Belet, of nine acres in Inglewood, and added one extra acre. In c.1200 he gave two acres, and at some point before 1204 he gave the homage and service of Robert de Herpenham, and in c.1220 he confirmed the grant of ten acres of land from Roger de Chaldefield in Belets Inglewood (Berkshire).316

306 Inquest, p:129.

307 B.L. Add.ch.21164; Cal.Chart.R., ii, 72; B.L. ms. Harley 391, f.87; Christchurch Oxford Muniments, DY 13 (a) m.3.

308 See above p.47.

309 Cal.Chart.R., ii, 72; Round, Cal.Doc.France, p.65:

310 Curtis, Cal.Ormond Deeds, i, no.37. His patronage is discussed above pp.82, 106.

311 Ibid., i, no.37. His patronage is discussed above pp.88, 108.

312 Cacheux, Chartes de Longueville, 103-4. His patronage is discussed above p.49.

313 Birmingham Central Library Archives ch.486019; Inquest, p.127.

314 Berkeley Castle Muniments, Select Charter 85; Inquest, p.26.

315 Gilbert, "Register of St.Mary's Abbey Dunbrothy", ii, p.159.

316 Sandford, nos. 345, 349-51.

SIMON II AND SIMON III DE SENLIS.

The two members of the Senlis family that will be considered in this section are Simon II and Simon III de Senlis.³¹⁷ Simon II was the son of Simon I, who succeeded to the Earldom of Huntingdon before 1146, having been recognised by King Stephen as the Earl of Northampton before 1141. He did not have undisputed possession of either earldom, because his father's wife had married David I, the King of Scotland, who had thus claimed both earldoms. The possession of the earldoms was disputed between the two families throughout the twelfth century. Simon II died in 1153, and was a generous patron of the Templars. He gave the order seven hides of land at Merton (Oxfordshire) between September 1152 and August 1153.³¹⁸

Simon's son, Simon III, was recognised as the Earl of Huntingdon in 1174, after the forfeiture of the Honour by William the Lion, King of Scotland, who had wanted Henry II to grant him the Earldom of Northampton as well. Simon III died in 1184, having been a patron to both the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus.³¹⁹ He confirmed to the Templars, his father's grant in Merton between c.1153-63,³²⁰ and to St.Lazarus, he made two grants. The first of these is contained in the Cartulary of Burton Lazars, and consisted of a mill in Whissendine (Rutland); William the Miller, one bovate and chattels; Herbert fitz Jocelin the Smith, one virgate and chattels; the tenement of William the Chaplain in Haringwurd

³¹⁷ For information on the Senlis family, and the problems of the Honour of Huntingdon see Complete Peerage, vi, 640-7. Also see Stringer, David of Huntingdon, pp.107-8, 126.

³¹⁸ See above p.163.

³¹⁹ His successor in the Earldom was David, the Earl of Huntingdon, who was a patron of the Order of St.Lazarus. He granted the order 20s. worth of meadow grass from his lands in Whissendine (Rutland), B.L. Ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.4v.

³²⁰ Inquest, p.185.

(which consisted of ten acres of land and one acre of meadows); and five acres of land in Avinton (possibly Evington near Leicester), plus one acre of meadows:³²¹ His second grant, referred to only in a confirmation charter of Henry II, gave the order the three Lincolnshire churches of Great Hale, Heckington and Threekingham.³²²

The two men were therefore both significant patrons of one of the two orders, and it would be useful to trace the effects of their lordship on the patronage of them both. The only problem with this is that in 1166, Simon II was dead, and Simon III was not yet in possession of his Honour. There is a Carta Comitum Simonis but this is for Lincolnshire,³²³ and although it is presumably the carta of Simon III, it only refers to a limited number of his tenants. In order to supplement this evidence it is necessary to look at the tenants of the Honour of Huntingdon under the Scottish Kings, although again, these are not recorded in the 1166 survey.³²⁴

The carta of 1166 for Lincolnshire does provide some useful information on the tenants of both Simon II and Simon III who were patrons of the Templars. As far as Simon III and the Order of St.Lazarus are concerned, the lists do not produce any patrons at all. However, evidence from the Honour of Huntingdon suggests that the Burdet family were probably tenants of Simon III, during his tenure of the Honour between 1174-84. Hugh Burdet I, a predecessor of William I, held in Rearsby, Welby, Lowesby and Sysonby (Leicestershire) according to

³²¹ B.L. Ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.4v.

³²² E.Y.C., iii, no.1460, and see above p.172.

³²³ Red Book, pp.381-4.

³²⁴ See Stringer, David of Huntingdon, pp.127-41, and Farrer, Honors, ii, 294-416. A survey of the evidence provided by these two works however, does not produce much evidence of patrons of either order.

Domesday Book, and these had all become a part of the Honour of Huntingdon by the time of William I Burdet.³²⁵ Although William probably had closer ties with the Scottish royal house, acting as steward to Malcolm IV, the King of Scotland from 1162,³²⁶ it seems that he may have had some ties with Simon III after 1174. Certainly his grant to the order of the three churches of Galby and Lowseby in Leicestershire, and Haselbeech in Northamptonshire does seem to echo that mentioned already of Simon III.³²⁷

Nevertheless, despite this example there are more instances of Senlis tenants who patronised the Templars, than St.Lazarus, and eight of these can be found in the 1166 carta. Of these eight tenants, the first five considered here, whose patronage was based in Lincolnshire, were enfeoffed after the death of Henry I, which means that they were tenants not only of Simon III, whose carta it was, but also of Simon II. Of these five, Philip of Kyme held a total of four and a half fees by 1166,³²⁸ gave the order land in Metheringham;³²⁹ Elias Foliot held a half fee,³³⁰ gave a mill in Beckingham;³³¹ Elias I de Amundeville held one fee,³³² and gave two bovates in Pickworth;³³³ William Grim held a quarter of a fee,³³⁴ and gave half a bovate in Laythorpe;³³⁵ Robert Marin held

³²⁵ See above p.127.

³²⁶ Crouch, Beaumont Twins, p.128.

³²⁷ See above p.127.

³²⁸ Red Book, pp.381-3.

³²⁹ See above p.185.

³³⁰ Red Book, p.382.

³³¹ Inquest, p.80.

³³² Red Book, p.382.

³³³ Inquest, p.89.

³³⁴ Red Book, p.382.

³³⁵ Inquest, p.88.

six fees,³³⁶ and confirmed all the gifts which the Templars had from the gift of Adam fitz William in Offell (these being Richard de Godeley and his family and chattels);³³⁷ Reginald Crevequer held half a fee,³³⁸ and gave one carucate and two bovates in Normanby le Wold,³³⁹ plus a further two carucates in Normanby and Torelesbia;³⁴⁰ David Armenteres, held ten fees,³⁴¹ and gave six carucates in Cranwell;³⁴² and William de Vescy held a third of a fee,³⁴³ and gave the churches of Caythorpe and Normanton.³⁴⁴ Only in this last case can further feudal links be traced. Thus one of William's tenants, Richard de Roc,³⁴⁵ may have been the Richard de la Roche who was a patron of the Templars, confirming the donation of his father Reginald's grant of land in Luministre.³⁴⁶

Finally, Farrer states that Hugh de Moreville, who was the Constable of Scotland, was enfeoffed of lands in Huntingdonshire, Northamptonshire and Rutland by either Simon I de Senlis or King David I.³⁴⁷ Either way, he was a tenant of the Huntingdon fee, and therefore of Simon II. Richard his son, who succeeded his father in 1162, would not though, have been a tenant of Simon III, who did not come into possession of the

³³⁶ Red Book, p.383.

³³⁷ B.L. Ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.133v.

³³⁸ Red Book, p.383.

³³⁹ Inquest, p.106.

³⁴⁰ Fees, p.158.

³⁴¹ Red Book, p.383. Referred to as David de Armere.

³⁴² Inquest, p.87.

³⁴³ Red Book, p.382.

³⁴⁴ See above p.177.

³⁴⁵ Red Book, p.427.

³⁴⁶ Fees, p.808.

³⁴⁷ Farrer, Honors, ii, 356-7.

Honour until 1174, a year after Richard had forfeited his lands. Hugh was a patron of the Templars, giving them the town of Sowerby (Yorkshire).³⁴⁸

A number of the Senlis tenants therefore seem to have been quite generous in their patronage of the Templars (and St.Lazarus in the case of William I Burdet). Nevertheless, it is clear from the study of the Burdet family, that William I, and other family members had a number of connections with other important lords, including Robert de Beaumont, the Earl of Warwick, and he certainly held fees off other lords, such as the Mowbrays.³⁴⁹ As far as the other tenants who patronised the Templars are concerned, aside from Robert Marin, who held two fees from the Archbishop of York,³⁵⁰ only two other tenants appear to have had divided feudal loyalties. These were Philip of Kyme, who has been mentioned already,³⁵¹ and William de Vescy who held twenty six fees in chief from the crown, and two fees from Roger I de Mowbray.³⁵²

Despite the fact that not all of the Senlis tenants had divided loyalties, it is difficult to be certain that any of the Senlis tenants actually had practical associations with their lords, and there is no evidence to suggest that any of the people that have been considered played a part in the household of the earls. Only a small number of patrons, for instance, are to be found in the witness lists of the earls' charters. As far as those people who have been identified as

³⁴⁸ See above p.178. Richard, who as was stated in the text, was not a tenant of Simon III, gave the order six carucates of land in Allerthorpe (Yorkshire) and one toft in Hayton (Yorkshire), Inquest, pp.123-5.

³⁴⁹ See above pp.126-7.

³⁵⁰ Red Book, p.413.

³⁵¹ See above p.198.

³⁵² Red Book, pp.420, 427-8.

tenants are concerned two patrons witnessed two charters each. Thus, a patron of the Templars, Elias de Foliot, witnessed one charter of Simon II,³⁵³ and one charter of Simon III,³⁵⁴ while, a patron of the Order of St.Lazarus, William I Burdet, witnessed two of Simon III's charters.³⁵⁵ Of those patrons who were not tenants, Turgis d'Avranches witnessed two charters of Simon II.³⁵⁶ Of the rest, Rannulf de Normanville who gave one bovate of land in Brinsworth (Yorkshire), witnessed one charter of Simon II;³⁵⁷ Saher de Quency who gave land in Bushby attested one charter of Simon II, also attested by Elias Foliot;³⁵⁸ Philip de Kyme who gave land in Metheringham attested one charter of Simon III;³⁵⁹ Geoffrey de Neville who gave two bovates and two tofts in Lesenby ³⁶⁰ attested one charter of Simon III;³⁶¹ and William de Coleville who gave land in Little Bytham, and Roger de Benningworth who gave one bovate and one toft in West Keel (Lincolnshire) attested the charter of Simon III that was also witnessed by Elias Foliot.³⁶²

³⁵³ C.W.Foster ed., Registrum Antiquissimum II (Lincoln Record Society), xxviii (1933), no.309 (hereafter cited as Foster, Registrum Antiquissimum II).

³⁵⁴ E.Y.C., ii, no.1187.

³⁵⁵ See above p.¹²⁷; F.M.Stenton ed., Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw (London, 1920), nos.334, 335. For this and notes 356-9, I am grateful to Dr.K.J.Stringer of the University of Lancaster.

³⁵⁶ Dugdale, Monasticon, v, 522; Farrer, Honors, ii, 298.

³⁵⁷ Dugdale, Monasticon, v, 522. See above p.195 for his patronage.

³⁵⁸ Foster, Registrum Antiquissimum II, no.309, see above p.176 for his patronage.

³⁵⁹ C.W.Foster ed., Registrum Antiquissimum III, no.812. Another charter given by Simon III was probably witnessed by Philip's son, referred to as juvene. See J.H.Round, "Mauduits of Hartley Mauduit", The Ancestor, v (1903), 210.

³⁶⁰ See above p.187.

³⁶¹ E.Y.C., ii, no.1226.

³⁶² Ibid., ii, no.1187. For the patronage of William de Coleville see above pp.70-1 For the patronage of Roger de Benningworth see Inquest, p.108.

HENRY DE LACY.

Wightman notes that Henry de Lacy was not the most generous of patrons to religious houses. She suggests that, "...his gifts can only be regarded as formal tokens of good will," and that he was more concerned to build up the family Honour (of Pontefract), after the problems that it had undergone during Stephen's reign.³⁶³ He gave the Templars the church of Kellington in Yorkshire and two mills.³⁶⁴ He was also involved in the gift or sale of lands in Kinoulton (Nottinghamshire), by William de Villiers to the Templars.³⁶⁵ Henry was the overlord of these lands, and wished to hand them over to Wido de Laval. Between 1154-65, he therefore exchanged them for lands in Newsham, Skelton, Colton and Whitkirk, which became the basis for the Templar preceptory of Temple Newsham.³⁶⁶ In 1177 he also confirmed the grant of Henry de Vernoil of all his lands in Egborough.³⁶⁷ His patronage of the Order of St.Lazarus consisted of the single grant of the advowson of the church of Castleford.³⁶⁸ As far as the patronage of Henry's tenants is concerned, a study of his carta of 1166 shows that while none of his vassals were patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus, at least seven patronised the Templars.³⁶⁹

Of these seven, Jordan Foliot held two knights fees,³⁷⁰ and gave the Templars the Church of East Firsby (Lincolnshire), forty acres of land in

³⁶³ Wightman, Lacy Family in England, p.112. For more details on Henry de Lacy and his crusading connections see above p.44.

³⁶⁴ Inquest, p.133.

³⁶⁵ Ibid., p.117.

³⁶⁶ Ibid., pp.ccx, 263.

³⁶⁷ Ibid., p.276.

³⁶⁸ E.Y.C., iii, no.1460.

³⁶⁹ Red Book, pp.421-4.

³⁷⁰ Ibid., 422.

Fenwick (Yorkshire), plus one acre and toft with meadows in Norton Pontefract (Yorkshire).³⁷¹ Otto of Tilly held one fee in Wamersley, Campsall or Ackerne (Yorkshire),³⁷² and he gave fifty two acres of land in these places.³⁷³ Robert of Stapelton held two knights fees,³⁷⁴ and gave the towns of Halton (Lincolnshire), and Osmondthorpe and Colton (Yorkshire).³⁷⁵ Walter of Somerville held one fee,³⁷⁶ and gave the Templars 3s. in Syerscote (Staffordshire).³⁷⁷ Finally William Scotus who held half a fee,³⁷⁸ gave one carrucate in Newton (Yorkshire), to be held for twenty four years, and one bovate called Okeles Oxegange;³⁷⁹ Robert de Gant held one and a half fees,³⁸⁰ and gave a mill at Saltby (Leicestershire);³⁸¹ and Adam fitz Peter of Preston held two fees,³⁸² and gave ten acres in Fairburn (Yorkshire):³⁸³

It is also possible to trace a feudal chain of patronage beyond the immediate tenants of Henry de Lacy, albeit only in the case of one patron, Robert de Gant. Robert's own carta of 1166 records that Robert

³⁷¹ Inquest, pp.80, 133, 134, 271.

³⁷² Red Book, p.422.

³⁷³ Inquest, p.134. The Inquest suggests that the lands were possibly in Fenwick, although Farrer believed that they were in the places stated in the text, E.Y.C., iii, no.1552.

³⁷⁴ Red Book, p.423.

³⁷⁵ Rot.Hund., i, 105. Dugdale states that he granted the town of Osmondthorpe in Halton, Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 838.

³⁷⁶ Red Book, p.423.

³⁷⁷ Inquest, p.30.

³⁷⁸ Red Book, p.423.

³⁷⁹ Rot.Hund., i, 105.

³⁸⁰ Red Book, p.424.

³⁸¹ See above p.160, n.25.

³⁸² Red Book, p.423.

³⁸³ Inquest, p.134.

de Chambard, who gave six carucates in Cowton;³⁸⁴ William de Coleville, who gave land in Little Bytham;³⁸⁵ and William de Vescy, were all his tenants for a total of three fees between them. Of these sub-tenants of Henry de Lacy, William de Vescy's own tenant, Richard de Roc may also have been a patron of the Templars.³⁸⁶

However, whether the feudal connections between Henry and his tenants actually represented close association is not clear. There is no evidence that any of the Lacy tenants that have been considered actually held positions in Henry's household, unless either Robert the butler or Robert the dispenser, who both witness a charter of Adam fitz Peter de Birkin c.1165-77 was Robert de Stapleton, the tenant.³⁸⁷ The use of witness lists as evidence of association is hindered by the smaller number of Henry's charters that are extant, as in the case of the Senlis earls. Nonetheless, from the available evidence it is clear that while no patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus witnessed his charters, at least seven patrons of the Templars were associated with him in this way. Of Henry's tenants, Jordan Foliot witnessed eight charters;³⁸⁸ Otto of Tilly witnessed five charters;³⁸⁹ Adam fitz Peter witnessed three charters;³⁹⁰ and Robert of Stapleton and William de Villiers witnessed one charter each.³⁹¹ In addition, Roger of Tilliol who gave one toft in Hundleby

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p.119.

³⁸⁵ See above pp.70-1.

³⁸⁶ See above p.199.

³⁸⁷ *E.Y.C.*, iii, no.1731.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, i, no.641; iii, nos.1499-1501, 1504-5, 1770, 1773.

³⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, i, no.641; iii, no.1500, 1505, 1770, 1773.

³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, iii, nos.1499, 1505, 1772.

³⁹¹ For Robert of Stapleton see *ibid.*, iii, no.1499. For William de Villiers see *ibid.*, no. 1769.

(Lincolnshire),³⁹² witnessed two charters,³⁹³ and William de Vescy witnessed one charter.³⁹⁴

ROGER I AND THE MOWBRAY FAMILY.

The Mowbray family were generous patrons of both the Templars and the Order of St.Lazarus.³⁹⁵ Roger I de Mowbray made widescale grants to the Templars in Warwickshire, Lincolnshire and Yorkshire. In Warwickshire these included the church of Hampton in Arden, given between c.April 1161 and March 1163,³⁹⁶ and, before 1185, a total of fourteen and a half virgates and 320 acres in Balsall, which formed the basis of the preceptory established there.³⁹⁷ In Lincolnshire, he gave the church of Althorpe, the chapel of Brunham, two carucates in Axholme and all his lands, including eleven bovates in Keadby, all before 1185.³⁹⁸ In Yorkshire his gifts included four carucates in Weedley, one carucate in South Cave, the mill under the king's castle at York, before 1185, plus timber in the forests of Nidderdale, Malzeard and Masham, which was to provide for the construction of the three houses of Penhill, East Cowton and Stanghow, given between c.1170-84,³⁹⁹ including provision for the establishment of several new preceptories at Balsall, East Cowton, Penhill and Stanghow. In the case of the Order of St.Lazarus, a number of members of the family made grants, with the most important coming from

³⁹² Inquest, p.110.

³⁹³ E.Y.C., iii, no.1495, 1769.

³⁹⁴ Ibid., iii, no.1770. See above p.177 for his patronage.

³⁹⁵ For their patronage of the Order of St.Lazarus see above pp.116-25.

³⁹⁶ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, no.271.

³⁹⁷ Inquest, pp.33-5.

³⁹⁸ Ibid., pp.78, 79, 111, 254-8.

³⁹⁹ Ibid., pp.125, 132, 269-70.

Roger I, who provided for the establishment of the chief house of the order at Burton Lazars with the grant of two carucates of land there in c.1150.⁴⁰⁰ The influence of the Mowbrays and particularly Roger I was therefore of great importance for the development of both orders in England, and it is the aim of this section to assess the importance of his lordship on the patronage of the two orders by Mowbray tenants and associates.

A study of Roger I's carta of 1166 reveals that seven of his tenants were patrons of the Templars. Thus Roger of St.Martin held two fees in Blyborough, Somerby, and Yawthorpe (Lincolnshire),⁴⁰¹ and granted one toft in Blyborough;⁴⁰² William of Ramesham held one fee in Stathern (Leicestershire),⁴⁰³ and gave half a bovate in Sawston (Leicestershire);⁴⁰⁴ Elias de Aubigny held one fee also in Stathern,⁴⁰⁵ and gave one toft and one bovate in Brant Broughton (Lincolnshire);⁴⁰⁶ Hugh Malebisse held one fee in Arden, Broughton, Carlton, Dale Town, Hawaby, Kepwick, Murton, Scawton, Silton, Snilesworth and Stainton (Yorkshire),⁴⁰⁷ and gave two carucates in Great Broughton and three bovates in Scawton;⁴⁰⁸ Roger de Cundy held half a fee in Burton Lazars and Axholme (Lincolnshire),⁴⁰⁹ and donated one virgate in Great Milton

⁴⁰⁰ See above pp.119-21 for the foundation of Burton Lazars by Roger I de Mowbray.

⁴⁰¹ Red Book, p.419.

⁴⁰² See above p.186.

⁴⁰³ Red Book, p.419.

⁴⁰⁴ Inquest, p.113.

⁴⁰⁵ Red Book, p.419.

⁴⁰⁶ Inquest, p.91.

⁴⁰⁷ Red Book, p.419.

⁴⁰⁸ See above p.45.

⁴⁰⁹ Red Book, p.420.

(Oxfordshire);⁴¹⁰ William de Vescy held two new fees in Gainsborough (Lincolnshire) and gave two churches in the same county;⁴¹¹ Thomas of Coleville held one new fee in Coxwold, Oulston and Yearsley (Yorkshire),⁴¹² and gave one bovate in Coxwold;⁴¹³ and lastly, Richard de Wyvill held five fees in Cold Ashby, Elkington, Sulby and Welford (Northamptonshire),⁴¹⁴ and supplied the order with 3s. from his alms in Welford.⁴¹⁵

In addition, there are several examples of patrons who were tenants of Roger I de Mowbray at a date other than 1166. Herbert of Queniborough held lands in Queniborough and Burton on the Wolds (Leicestershire), before being succeeded by his brother Rannulf, the 1166 tenant.⁴¹⁶ He gave the order one virgate of land in Ashby Folville (Leicestershire).⁴¹⁷ Similarly, William of Wyville was a Mowbray tenant before his death, and was succeeded, by at least 1166, by his son Richard who held (presumably the same) five fees in Cold Ashby, Elkington, Sulby and Welford (Northamptonshire).⁴¹⁸ William confirmed to the Templars all the lands in Milford (Hampshire), which his father Hugh de Wyville had granted.⁴¹⁹ Another possible tenant was Henry de Montfort, from whose fee the order

⁴¹⁰ Sandford, no.474.

⁴¹¹ Red Book, p.420. See above p.177 for his patronage.

⁴¹² Ibid., p.420.

⁴¹³ See above pp.194-5.

⁴¹⁴ Red Book, p.419.

⁴¹⁵ Inquest, p.31.

⁴¹⁶ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, no.24, n.

⁴¹⁷ Inquest, p.31.

⁴¹⁸ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, p.lxii.

⁴¹⁹ Sandford, no.277. In another confirmation, ibid., no.278, he confirmed all the lands that he and his ancestors had held in Milford.

held the mill of Edstone (Warwickshire).⁴²⁰ This Henry, was probably Henry II de Montfort, who succeeded his brother, **Robert** of Montfort in c.1185.⁴²¹ Robert and Henry's father, Thurstan was thus the 1166 tenant, holding three and three quarter fees in Chadwick and Hampton in Arden (Warwickshire).⁴²²

Roger de Daiville may also have been a tenant. His brother Robert had held five fees in Freeby, Kirby Bellars and Welby (Leicestershire); Egmonton, Tuxford and Weston (Nottinghamshire); Baxby, Butterwick, Kilburn, Nawton, Thornton Bridge, Thornton on the Hill, Adlingfleet and York (Yorkshire).⁴²³ Roger himself, was given lands in South Cave in c.1170-84,⁴²⁴ and there is a reference to him being a tenant between 1182-6.⁴²⁵ He gave the Templars the market and fair of South Cave.⁴²⁶ Finally, William de Stuteville who gave one toft in North Cave,⁴²⁷ may have been the eldest son of Robert III de Stuteville,⁴²⁸ who was also an 1166 tenant, having been given ten fees by Roger I.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁰ See above p.195.

⁴²¹ Complete Peerage, ix, 121-2.

⁴²² Red Book, p.420.

⁴²³ Ibid., p.419.

⁴²⁴ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, no.360.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., no.315.

⁴²⁶ A Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office, 6 vols. (London, 1890-1915), iii, no.D141.

⁴²⁷ See above p.176.

⁴²⁸ E.Y.C., ix, p.9. It is possible that the grantor was William, brother of Robert III, ibid., ix, p.3.

⁴²⁹ Red Book, p.419, and see E.Y.C. ix, p.75. This records his holding as eight fees. Greenway notes that it was actually ten fees, Mowbray Charters, p.262.

From the list of tenants as contained in the carta of 1166,⁴³⁰ at least four people were patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus. To these can be added members of the families of the tenants of 1166, who held land either before or after this date. Several members of the Beler family held from the Mowbrays over a period of time from at least 1166.⁴³¹ Hamon I Beler held one new fee in Burton Lazars and Eye Kettleby (Leicestershire) and Norby (Yorkshire),⁴³² and gave 16d. in the moiety of his mill in Kirby Bellars.⁴³³ William Beler, the son of Rannulf Beler III, was a tenant of the Mowbrays in 1224-30, when he held one fee from Nigel II in Warwickshire and Leicestershire.⁴³⁴ In 1235-6 the Book of Fees records that he held one fee in Eye Kettleby, which was of five carrucates,⁴³⁵ and one fee in Thirsk,⁴³⁶ while in 1242-3 he held land in Eye Kettleby and Burton (Lazars) from Roger II.⁴³⁷ Neither Nigel II nor Roger II were patrons of St.Lazarus, but it is quite likely that William Beler was a tenant of William I de Mowbray who was a patron. This is because he appears to have held the same land as Hamon Beler, in Eye Kettleby and Burton Lazars. William's son Hamon III, also held lands and rents in the same place on his death in 1303, from John I de Mowbray who was not a patron of St.Lazarus. Hamon's charter to the order is a confirmation of his father's grants in Eye Kettleby, but unfortunately it does not enumerate them.⁴³⁸ William's two known charters to the order

⁴³⁰ Red Book, pp.418-21.

⁴³¹ For further details on the patronage of the Beler family see above pp.140-6.

⁴³² Red Book, p.420.

⁴³³ See above pp.141-2.

⁴³⁴ Fees, p.1462.

⁴³⁵ Ibid., pp.519, 632.

⁴³⁶ Ibid., p.1461.

⁴³⁷ Ibid., p.952.

⁴³⁸ See above p.144.

consist of confirmations of his brother Thomas' grant of two bovates in Kirby Bellars.439

Some members of the Burdet family who were patrons of the order may also have been tenants of the Mowbrays.440 No member of the family appears in the carta of 1166, but a William Burdet appears in 1235-6, as holding one fee in Cold Newton.441 William I Burdet, one of the more important patrons of the order, died in c.1184, and the identity of this particular William, lies probably with either his grandson by Hugh II Burdet, his grandson by Richard Burdet, or his own son.442 It is very difficult to be certain exactly who the person was, although as William the son of Hugh Burdet came of age between 1202 and 1215, he could easily have been living in 1235. His grants to the order consisted of a confirmation of William I's grants of the hospital of Tilton plus lands in Cold Newton and several churches; a confirmation of his uncle Richard's charter of land in Great Dalby; and his own grants of lands in Cold Newton.443 This suggests that he could well have been the William referred to in the Book of Fees. Furthermore, the fact that William I gave land in Cold Newton, suggests the possibility that he too was a tenant of the Mowbrays, the first Burdet to be granted the Cold Newton fee, at some point after 1166.

439 See above pp.142-3.

440 For the Burdet family, its genealogy and holdings see above pp.125-34.

441 Fees, p.519. In 1242-3 a William Burdet held land in Cold Newton indirectly from the Mowbray family through a William de Esseby, ibid., p.952.

442 Nichols, History Leics., III.i, 351. See above p.132 for a suggestion of how this William fits into the correct Burdet genealogy.

443 See above pp.129-30.

An additional tenant of the Mowbrays was Hugh II of Rampaine who held one fee in Kirby Bellars,⁴⁴⁴ and made a total of nine grants to the order in Kirby Bellars totalling three bovates and eight virgates.⁴⁴⁵ It is conceivable that both Gilbert and Matthew de Rampaine, who were Hugh II's uncle and father respectively, were also tenants of the Mowbrays, before Hugh II, especially as their predecessor, Hugh I was given lands by Nigel d'Aubigny as early as c.1109-14. Their patronage of the order consisted of lands and part of a mill in Kirby Bellars.⁴⁴⁶ In addition, other tenants included Warin fitz Simon, who held two-thirds of one new fee in Burton Lazars, Melton Mowbray, Azerley and Kirby Malzeard (Yorkshire)⁴⁴⁷ and gave one bovate of land in Burton Lazars plus a meadow and pasture;⁴⁴⁸ and Rannulf of Queniborough who held two fees in Burton on the Wolds and Queniborough (Leicestershire)⁴⁴⁹ and gave them half a mark.⁴⁵⁰ Rannulf had succeeded his brother Herbert by 1166. Herbert who had thus held from the Mowbrays before this date, gave the order rents from his mill of Coxwold.⁴⁵¹

Although a relatively large number of Mowbray tenants were also patrons of the two orders, in only two cases were any of the Mowbray sub-tenants patrons. Apart from William de Vescy's tenant Richard de Roc,⁴⁵² the only other example was in the case of William Beler, who appears to

⁴⁴⁴ Red Book, p.419.

⁴⁴⁵ See above pp.148-9.

⁴⁴⁶ See above p.147.

⁴⁴⁷ Red Book, p.421.

⁴⁴⁸ See above p.54.

⁴⁴⁹ Red Book, p.419.

⁴⁵⁰ B.L. Ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.3v.

⁴⁵¹ See above p.207; ibid., f.3v.

⁴⁵² See above p.199.

have been the lord of John Burdet of Burton Lazars, who made a number of small grants to the Order of St.Lazarus in Burton Lazars itself.⁴⁵³ The feudal connection between the two men is only known because William attests two of John's charters, being referred to as John's lord.⁴⁵⁴

It is evident that some of the Mowbray tenants had other feudal allegiances, including William de Vescy,⁴⁵⁵ Elias de Aubigny, who held one fee from d'Aubigny Brito, ⁴⁵⁶ and Roger de Cundy who held eight fees from the Bishop of Lincoln. It is equally clear however, that a large number of tenants, and a number of other patrons of the two orders, were frequently associated with Roger I de Mowbray and his family. In the case of Templar patrons the most frequent attestor was Hugh II de Malebisse.⁴⁵⁷ He definitely attested forty one charters of Roger I,⁴⁵⁸ and either he or his father Hugh I attested a further twenty one of his charters.⁴⁵⁹ In both groups one charter was made to the Templars.⁴⁶⁰ Following Hugh, another tenant who was a frequent attestor was Roger de Cundy, who also appears to have been Roger I's steward in 1174-5.⁴⁶¹ He witnessed charters of Roger I a total of forty seven times.⁴⁶² Of these,

⁴⁵³ See above p.133.

⁴⁵⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.13v, 25v, Willelmo Beler de Kettelby domino meo.

⁴⁵⁵ See above pp.199, 204.

⁴⁵⁶ Red Book, p.328.

⁴⁵⁷ For his patronage see above p.45.

⁴⁵⁸ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.23, 28, 55, 59, 65, 81-2, 110-2, 115, 119-21, 125, 127-30, 179-80, 191, 193, 201, 276, 304, 306-8, 313, 327, 331, 335, 345-6, 360, 364, 382, 387.

⁴⁵⁹ Ibid., nos.22-3, 53, 55, 236, 242-3, 245-9, 270, 281, 304, 311, 322, 335, 352-3, 397.

⁴⁶⁰ Ibid., nos. 276, 270.

⁴⁶¹ Ibid., p.lxiii.

⁴⁶² Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos. 22, 32, 34, 38, 40, 50, 55, 99, 105, 108, 110-2, 159, 197, 202, 205, 234, 237, 240, 243-4, 253,

he was referred to as Roger's steward on four occasions,⁴⁶³ and as his clerk and as a canon of York once each.⁴⁶⁴ Thomas of Coleville was another frequent attestor, witnessing thirty one charters of Roger I.⁴⁶⁵ William of Wyvill witnessed a total of twenty one of Roger's charters,⁴⁶⁶ while Herbert of Queniborough witnessed nine charters,⁴⁶⁷ and William de Vescy and Roger of Dayvill witnessed three charters each.⁴⁶⁸

A number of other people who were not tenants also attested charters of Roger I. Robert de Bussy, who gave the Templars eleven bovates and five tofts in Willoughton,⁴⁶⁹ plus twenty one bovates and fourteen tofts in the same place,⁴⁷⁰ attested Roger I's charters fifty five times.⁴⁷¹ In addition, Peter of Billingham who gave a toft in Billingham (Lincolnshire) witnessed nine of Roger's charters,⁴⁷² including one charter given to the Templars.⁴⁷³ Rannulf of Wyvill, who gave the

257, 285, 290, 296-7, 301, 303-6, 321-2, 324, 332, 353, 355, 359, 363, 371, 381, 383, 396, 399.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*, nos.110-2, 381.

⁴⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, no.322(clerk), 324(canon of York).

⁴⁶⁵ Greenway, *Mowbray Charters*, nos.22-3, 27, 49, 53, 55-6, 65, 91, 119, 130, 137, 139, 202, 204, 210, 236, 247, 249, 302, 311, 313, 319, 326, 345-6, 353, 360, 364, 388, 397.

⁴⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, nos.33-5, 43, 44, 49, 195, 198-9, 202-3, 236-7, 242-3, 301, 303, 356, 359, 371, 390.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, nos.24, 41, 289, 321, 355, 374, 380, 383, 400.

⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, nos.132-4 (William de Vescy); 56, 349, 364 (Roger de Daivill).

⁴⁶⁹ See above p.170.

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.100, 101. This grant was made with Simon de Cancy.

⁴⁷¹ Greenway, *Mowbray Charters*, nos.22-3, 26, 65, 68, 91, 103, 110-2, 115, 117, 119-21, 128, 129, 157, 162, 166, 179-80, 191, 193, 201, 236, 241, 247, 249, 258-9, 274, 293, 298, 307-8, 312-3, 326, 330, 333, 335, 348-9, 356, 359-60, 364, 368, 371, 373-74, 384, 396.

⁴⁷² *Ibid.*, nos. 82, 118, 179, 180, 272, 282, 307, 360, 373.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*, no.282.

Templars one virgate in Welford (Northamptonshire),474 witnessed six charters;475 Alan of Limesia whose grants in Oxfordshire included five hides of land and the church of Broadwell, plus meadows in Cotesmere,476 witnessed seven charters;477 William of Staingrave gave three bovates in Nunnington (Yorkshire),478 and witnessed four charters;479 Geoffrey of Brunham gave the meadow of Dudingthorp (Lincolnshire),480 and witnessed four charters;481 Robert of Trehamtone gave a total of eighteen and a half bovates, one toft, twenty acres of wood, ten acres of meadows in Upton (Lincolnshire),482 and witnessed four charters;483 Walter of Bolebec gave 40s. of land in Calverton (Buckinghamshire),484 and witnessed three charters;485 William of Coleville gave land in Little Bytham 486 and witnessed two charters;487 while three patrons witnessed one charter each. These were Gilbert de Gant II who made several grants in Lincolnshire including five bovates in Winkhill,488 nine bovates and a

474 Sandford, no.291.

475 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.21, 42, 195, 200, 298, 379.

476 Inquest, pp.54, 55.

477 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.66, 145, 262, 272, 276, 307, 336.

478 Inquest, p.131.

479 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.50, 236, 270, 291.

480 B.L. Ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.273v.

481 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.223-4, 275, 284.

482 Inquest, pp.103-4. The Book of Fees refers to his grant of half a carucate in Upton under the year 1212, Fees, p.191.

483 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.125-7, 347.

484 See above p.169.

485 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.132-4.

486 See above pp.70-1.

487 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.356, 383.

488 Ibid., p.88.

toft in Scampton and a tenement in Thorpe in the Fallows,489 and one toft in Barton on Humber;490 Philip of Kyme who gave land in Metheringham;491 and Walter of Scoteni who gave two and a half bovates in Swinstead (Lincolnshire).492

In the case of the Order of St.Lazarus, sixteen men who witnessed Mowbray charters were also patrons of the order. Of these sixteen, three were from Roger I's own family. These were Nigel and Robert his two sons, who witnessed over fifty charters each, frequently together,493 and William the son of Nigel, who witnessed five of his father's charters and two of Roger I.494 Their patronage to the order was not particularly large, in comparison with the grants of Roger I, and it is certain that it was family connections rather than lordship which were at work.495

Besides these family members, a number of Mowbray tenants were also frequent witnesses of Mowbray charters. Thus Hamon Beler who was a tenant of the Mowbrays, witnessed sixty five charters, of which thirteen were charters of Nigel I, son of Roger I,496 and forty eight were Roger

489 Ibid., p.103.

490 Ibid., p.104. He witnessed, Greenway, Mowbray Charters, no.202.

491 See above p.185. He witnessed, ibid., no.224.

492 Inquest, p.114. He witnessed Greenway, Mowbray Charters, no.332.

493 Nigel witnessed fifty times, ibid., nos.23, 28, 49, 56, 60-1, 67, 69, 79, 91, 103, 108-12, 117, 119-20, 137, 145, 157, 162, 198, 209, 223, 245, 247, 258-9, 272, 281, 289-90, 302, 304-6, 311-2, 330, 345, 351, 356, 360, 371, 373, 390, 396. Robert witnessed forty five times, ibid., nos.23, 25, 49, 56, 59, 612, 64, 69, 92, 109-10, 115, 117, 119-20, 125-7, 141, 143, 145, 202, 208, 210, 223, 244-45, 247, 274, 282, 284, 305-6, 308, 311-, 347-8, 364, 366, 368, 371, 384.

494 Ibid., nos.71-5 (Nigel's charters), nos.210, 368 (Roger I's charters).

495 See above pp.121-4.

496 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.25, 29, 57, 70, 72-3, 80, 138, 310, 340, 343, 354, 365.

I's charters.⁴⁹⁷ Hamon was the most frequent attestor of the Mowbray tenants. However, there were several others who did witness a number of other charters. Thus Warin fitz Simon was an attestor of twenty one charters, of which four were of Nigel I,⁴⁹⁸ and seventeen were of Roger I,⁴⁹⁹ ^{while} Herbert of Queniborough and Matthew of Rampaine witnessed nine charters. All of Herbert's attestations were to Roger I's charters,⁵⁰⁰ Matthew of Rampaine witnessed charters of Roger I only.⁵⁰¹ Although the number of charters he witnessed was less than those of other patrons we have considered, it is possible that Matthew was a part of Roger I's household, acting as his steward, and would thus have been in even closer contact with his lord.⁵⁰² In addition, Rannulf of Queniborough witnessed three charters, one of which was granted by Nigel I and two by Roger I,⁵⁰³ and Hugh II and Gilbert de Rampaine attested one charter each.⁵⁰⁴

Additional patrons who witnessed charters were Geoffrey of Hay, who gave the order three acres of land in Thorp,⁵⁰⁵ and witnessed four

⁴⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, nos.20, 22, 26, 30-1, 38, 53, 56, 65, 84-5, 109, 115, 119, 128-9, 139, 141, 162, 179-80, 191, 205, 210, 236, 243-4, 249, 276, 303-6, 312, 322, 332, 335, 345-7, 348, 353, 359-60, 364, 371, 388, 396.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, nos.29, 310, 343, 387.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, nos.30-1, 68, 110-2, 135-6, 139, 276, 282, 305-6, 336, 346, 349, 366.

⁵⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, nos.24, 41, 289, 321, 355, 374, 380, 383, 400.

⁵⁰¹ Greenway, *Mowbray Charters*, nos.21, 33, 35-6, 94-5, 177, 321, 370.

⁵⁰² *Ibid.*, no.403. A Matthew *dapifer* witnesses this charter to St.Andrew's, Northampton, and as Matthew Rampaine is the only other Matthew to appear as a witness to any of the other Mowbray charters of this period (1138-c.1150), and as Matthew's brother Gilbert also attests this charter, Greenway suggests the possibility that the two are one and the same man.

⁵⁰³ Greenway, *Mowbray charters*, nos.387 (Nigel I), 24, 161 (Roger I).

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, nos.227, 307.

⁵⁰⁵ See above p.53.

charters of Nigel I,506 and five charters of Roger I;507 Richard Burdet who gave one carucate in Great Dalby,508 and attested five charters of Roger I;509 David, Earl of Huntingdon, who gave 20s. of meadow grass in Whissendine,510 and witnessed three of Roger I's charters;511 and Simon III de Senlis who gave three churches in Lincolnshire, plus lands in Haringwurd, Avinton and Whissendine,512 and who witnessed two charters of Roger I.513

LORDSHIP AND PATRONAGE: CONCLUSIONS.

A large amount of evidence relating to the effects of baronial lordship on patronage has now been considered, and certain conclusions can be put forward. In the first place, it is clear that in all cases baronial patrons had some tenants, and on occasion several sub-tenants, who patronised the same orders as they did. The most frequent example of this situation was with Roger I de Mowbray, who had at least eleven tenants who were patrons of the Templars, and a possible eight tenants who made benefactions to the Order of St.Lazarus. Other lords had less numbers of tenant-patrons, but the existence of such people is still clear. Eight tenants of the Senlis Earls were patrons of the Templars, while it is quite possible that one patron of the Order of St.Lazarus was also a Senlis tenant. Seven of Henry de Lacy's tenants gave lands and rights to the Templars, while seven tenants of Rannulf III, Earl of

506 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.86, 328, 343, 357.

507 Ibid., nos.82, 276, 312, 332, 346.

508 See above p.128.

509 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos. 48, 98, 230, 363, 370.

510 B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.4v.

511 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.29 (Nigel I), 30, 31 (Roger I).

512 See below pp.196-7.

513 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.25 (Nigel I), 26 (Roger I).

Chester and six tenants of Roger I, Earl of Warwick made similar benefactions. Finally, although there are difficulties with the evidence, it seems that a possible three tenants of William I, the Earl of Pembroke gave to the Templars.

As has been suggested, such feudal linkages did not necessarily mean that tenants were particularly associated with their feudal lords, and it is clear that a number of tenants that have been considered did have more than one feudal allegiance. However, the study of witness lists has shown that a number of tenants were in fact closely associated with their lords, and in addition, that a number of patrons who were not tenants of particular lords, but who were in frequent association with them, did patronise the same orders. Again this is most noticeable with the Mowbray family, where such tenants as Hugh I de Malebisse, Robert de Buscy, Thomas de Coleville, William de Wyville, Hamon and Rannulf Beler, and Warin fitz Simon were in frequent attendance with Roger I and his family. In addition, non-tenants who were patrons and frequent attestors of Mowbray charters included people like Roger de Cundy, Peter de Billingham and Geoffrey de Hay. Although the Mowbray evidence provides the best examples of such activity however, associations can also be traced with other barons and tenants and patrons. This is the case with Roger I, the Earl of Warwick and his steward, William Giffard; with Rannulf III, the Earl of Chester and Philip of Kyme; with William I, the Earl of Pembroke and Hugh de Sandford; and with Henry de Lacy and Jordan Foliot.

Overall, it is clear that there are very obvious differences between the findings for each of the different lords, including King Stephen and Henry II. One of the reasons for these discrepancies is connected with the rather haphazard nature of the evidence. In particular, while knowledge of the tenants of most of the baronial lords is quite

satisfactory, this is clearly not the case with William I, the Earl of Pembroke, thus explaining why only a limited number of his tenants have been traced as patrons of the Templars. In terms of witness lists, the problem is heightened because of the different number of charters that survive for different lords. Although large numbers of royal charters and charters of the Mowbray family are in existence, the numbers are less great for the Earls of Chester, Warwick and Pembroke, the Senlis Earls and Henry de Lacy. This could easily help to account for the fact that it is with King Stephen, Henry II and Roger I de Mowbray that the highest number of witness associations has been discovered. This argument should not be stressed in all cases however, as a relatively large number of Rannulf III, Earl of Chester's charters survive, and yet the number of his associates who were patrons is not correspondingly large.

The survival of evidence is no doubt of some use in explaining the differences that have been described, although it is only part of the explanation. One other possible explanation can be found in the relative generosity of the various lords. The enthusiastic patronage of King Stephen and Henry II for the Templars, and of Roger I de Mowbray for both orders, could help to explain why particularly large numbers of their associates patronised the same orders. Furthermore, the less generous patronage of the Order of St.Lazarus by Henry II, and the less significant patronage of the Templars by Henry de Lacy and Rannulf III, the Earl of Chester could explain the lower number of their associates who gave to these orders. Here again, the example of Roger I, Earl of Warwick, who made a large number of grants to the Templars, which do not seem to have been significantly repeated among his associates should be borne in mind.

It is obviously unwise to make sweeping generalisations about the influence of lordship on patronage, and yet it does seem reasonable to

assume that lordship, particularly that of King Stephen, Henry II and Roger I de Mowbray did play a significant part in leading certain patrons to make benefactions to the two orders. As with family ties, lordship can only be suggested as an influence, rather than proved with any real certainty, and it is probably the case that other factors combined to lead people to make benefactions to the two orders. Clearly certain patrons that have been considered could have been influenced by their crusading or family connections. However, it is also likely that other factors were of significance in this respect, including association between patrons, and the geographical association of patrons with particular religious establishments. It is the purpose of the final chapter to consider such influences of association and locality in detail.

CHAPTER FIVE:

SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION.

CHAPTER FIVE.

SOCIAL AND GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION.

The preceding discussion of lordship has stressed the importance on the influence of patronage of association between patrons of different social levels. It has been suggested that people who were frequently associated with a particular lord, may well have followed that lord in their religious patronage. In this final chapter the main aim will be to develop the theme of association in two rather different ways. In the first place, the notion will be considered that people who can be seen in charter witness lists to have associated together, may well have followed each other in patronising the same orders. In the second place, the association of potential benefactors with a particular locality will be assessed, to try and discover if patrons were concerned to make benefactions to religious houses that were situated in the area in which they lived.

SOCIAL ASSOCIATION.

In considering the importance of association between patrons, several potential problems with the use of witness lists as evidence should be pointed out. In the first place, it has been argued that because a particular name appears on a witness list, this need not mean that the person named was actually present at the granting of the charter, and therefore that they would not be in association with the other witnesses.¹ However, J.C.Russell has argued that in fact witnesses to charters were expected to be present at the time the charter was actually granted, and therefore that groups of witnesses to a particular charter were associated together on such occasions. Furthermore,

¹ G.L.Haskins, "Charter Witness Lists in the Reign of King John", Speculum, xiii (1938), 321-2.

although he admits there may have been occasions when people witnessed a charter at some point removed from the occasion of the grant, such cases were probably the exception rather than the rule.² A second objection to the use of witness list evidence is that it is also possible that the witnessing of many of the charters to a particular establishment could have been carried out on a rotational basis, and that there was no serious importance attached to the signing of charters. It is conceivable that a person present at the granting of a charter, might not always have felt obliged to formally witness it. However, even if this was the case, if the number of occasions when a person present at the granting of a charter but not witnessing it could be determined, this would only serve to increase the total number of times that patrons associated together. Despite these objections, witness lists do seem to be a valid piece of source material in trying to establish social association between patrons, and it is now possible to consider some practical examples of witness association, using evidence from both orders.

In the case of the Templars, witness association can be traced by using the evidence of the Mowbray charters. In the previous chapter, stress was placed on the number of Templar patrons that witnessed these charters, and using this evidence it is clear that a number of patrons were witnessing together on several occasions. This can be shown using as examples the four patrons of the order who most frequently witnessed Roger I de Mowbray's charters, Hugh II de Malebisse, Roger de Cundy, Robert de Bussy, and Thomas de Coleville. Starting with Hugh Malebisse, who witnessed a possible total of sixty three charters,³ it is clear that he witnessed most frequently with Robert Bussy, in total twenty

² J.C.Russell, "Attestations of charters in the Reign of King John", *Speculum*, xv (1940), 480-98.

³ See above p.212, notes 458-9.

eight times 4 (about half the number of times that Robert attested in total); alongside Roger of Cundy eleven times (just less than a quarter of the times Roger attested charters);5 and with Thomas de Coleville on twenty one occasions (about two thirds of the total of charters that Thomas witnessed).6

In addition to Hugh Malebisse, Robert of Bussy who witnessed a total of fifty five charters,7 most frequently attested alongside Thomas of Coleville, twelve times out of Thomas' thirty two attestations,8 with Roger of Cundy on six occasions,9 and with Peter of Billinghamay on five occasions,10 Roger of Cundy who witnessed a total of forty six charters,11 witnessed alongside William of Wyville most frequently, a total of six times,12 (excluding Hugh Malebisse and Robert de Bussy). Thomas of Coleville who attested thirty two charters,13 was most frequently in attendance with William of Wyville (on three occasions),14 (excluding the three main witnesses already considered).

4 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos. 22-3, 25, 65, 110-2, 115, 119-21, 128-9, 179-80, 191, 193, 201, 236, 247, 249, 307-8, 313, 335-6, 360, 364. On ten occasions they witnessed together with Thomas de Coleville, ibid., nos.22-3, 65, 119, 236, 247, 249, 313, 360, 364, and on four occasions with Roger de Cundy, ibid., nos.22, 110-2.

5 Ibid., nos.22, 55, 110-2, 243, 304, 306, 322, 353.

6 Ibid., nos.22-3, 49, 53, 55-6, 65, 119, 130, 236, 247, 249, 311, 313, 345-6, 353, 360, 364, 388, 397.

7 See above p.213, n.471.

8 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.22-3, 65, 91, 119, 236, 247, 249, 313, 326, 360, 364.

9 Ibid., nos.22, 110-2, 359, 396.

10 Ibid., nos.179-80, 307, 360, 373.

11 See above p.212, n.462.

12 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.34, 197, 202, 243, 301, 359.

13 See above p.213, n.465.

14 Greenway, Mowbray Charters, nos.49, 202, 236.

From this evidence it is clear that there are significant examples of witness association among Templar patrons, and these can be backed up with evidence from the charters of other lords such as Henry de Lacy, where patrons such as Jordan Foliot and Otto de Tilly are to be seen witnessing together on five occasions.¹⁵ Moreover, the study of lordship, particularly royal lordship, has shown the importance of association at a higher social level between patrons who were members of the royal courts of King Stephen and Henry II. Nevertheless, as far as association between patrons is concerned, the most significant examples are to be found among those patrons from the lower ranks of society who were patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus, and particularly from the witness lists of charters contained in the Cartulary of Burton Lazars. In this document it is possible not only to trace large numbers of patrons of the order who were frequent witnesses, but also groups of patrons who seem to have been associated together on a relatively large number of occasions. In order to illustrate this point a detailed study of attestations of some of the witnesses who were grantors in Burton Lazars itself can be made.

It is possible to distinguish a particular group of six patrons who seem to have witnessed frequently in each other's company. The six patrons that can be considered were William de Aumary, John Burdet, John Fegge, William Ivette, William Hasard and William Freman. These were local people about whom little is known, other than the fact that they owned land in Burton Lazars and were living in the thirteenth century. William Aumary gave a total of nine charters to the order, in which he gave a total of one bovate, eight and a half meadows, twelve ploughlands and a lamp to burn in the chapel of the hospital.¹⁶ He witnessed ninety

¹⁵ E.Y.C., i, no.641; iii, nos.1500, 1505, 1770, 1773.

¹⁶ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.13v, 16, 16v(2), 17(2), 17v(2), 27v.

three charters, which was the largest number of any of the patrons of the order in the cartulary.¹⁷ John Burdet made a number of small grants to the order in Burton Lazars, including six ploughlands and five meadows,¹⁸ and witnessed forty nine charters.¹⁹ John Fegge made one grant to the order, consisting of twenty two and a half ploughlands,²⁰ and witnessed forty two charters.²¹ William Hasard gave thirteen ploughlands and half a fallow meadow, plus one rood of meadows,²² and witnessed twenty nine charters.²³ William Ivette gave five ploughlands and one meadow,²⁴ and witnessed twenty nine charters.²⁵ Finally, William Freman gave the order a total of ten ploughlands, one rood of arable land and a rood of meadows, plus a number of meadows in the area,²⁶ and witnessed twenty three charters.²⁷

¹⁷ Ibid., fols.5v(2), 6v, 7v, 9v, 11v(2), 12(2), 12v(2), 13(2), 13v(2), 14, 14v(2), 15(2), 15v(2), 19(2), 19v(2), 20(2), 20v(2), 21(3), 21v(2), 22, 22v(2), 23(2), 23v(2), 24(2), 24v, 25(2), 25v, 26(2), 26v(2), 27(2), 27v(2), 28v, 29, 30v, 31, 31v(2), 32, 35, 35v, 36(2), 37, 38, 39v, 41, 42, 44, 48(2), 49v, 51, 54, 59, 62, 64, 64v, 65, 65v, 66, 66v, 92v, 93(2), 94, 95, 104, 107v.

¹⁸ See above p.133.

¹⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.6, 11v, 12v(2), 14, 14v, 15(2), 15v, 16, 16v, 17(2), 17v(2), 18, 18v, 19, 19v(2), 20v, 21(3), 21v, 22, 22v, 23, 24, 24v, 25, 28, 29, 30v, 31, 31v(2), 35, 38, 39v, 55, 58, 91, 94, 96v, 97(2), 97v, 109.

²⁰ Ibid., f.16.

²¹ Ibid., fols.12v(2), 13v, 14v, 15(2), 15v(2), 16v, 17(2), 17v(2), 18, 18v, 19, 19v(2), 20, 20v, 21(3), 21v, 22, 22v, 23, 24, 24v, 25, 25v(2), 26, 28, 30v, 31, 31v(2), 35, 38v, 39v, 97v.

²³ Ibid., fols.12, 13, 13v, 14v, 15(2), 15v, 16v, 17, 17v, 18, 19v, 20, 20v, 21(3), 22v, 23(2), 25(2), 25v, 26, 28, 29, 31v(2), 39v.

²⁴ Ibid., fols.15v, 22v, 30v.

²⁵ Ibid., fols.12, 12v(2), 13v, 14v, 16v, 17(2), 17v, 18, 19, 19v, 20v, 21(2), 24, 24v, 25(2), 25v, 26, 27v, 28, 29, 31v(2), 35, 35v, 66.

²⁶ Ibid., fols.12v, 14, 19v, 20v, 21(2), 31v(2).

²⁷ Ibid., fols.12v, 13v, 15(2), 15v, 16v, 17, 17v(2), 18, 19, 20, 21, 22v, 23, 24v, 25(2), 25v(2), 26, 28, 41.

Clearly these six men were very regular attestors of charters in the cartulary. However, the significant point to stress is that they were also in regular attendance with each other. Although all six men only attested one charter together,²⁸ it is obvious that they must have been all together on more occasions as groups of five of the patrons can be seen witnessing together the charter or charters of the "absent" sixth member. In this context, five of the nine charters of William Aumary are witnessed by the other five patrons,²⁹ while three of the five charters of John Burdet are similarly attested by the other five patrons.³⁰ In addition, one of William Ivette's three charters,³¹ three of William Hasard's six charters,³² and six of William Freman's eight charters are all attested by the five other patrons.³³ Therefore, including the one charter where all six patrons witness together, this group appears together on at least twenty occasions.³⁴

Furthermore, it is clear that five of the patrons attested the charters of other grantors together on twenty five occasions.³⁵ The most common grouping is of William Aumary, John Burdet, John Fegge, William Ivette and William Hasard, who appear together on nine occasions,³⁶ while the same group minus William Ivette and plus William Freman attest on

²⁸ Ibid., f.25.

²⁹ Ibid., fols.16v, 17, 17v, 18, 28.

³⁰ Ibid., fols.13v, 25v, 26.

³¹ Ibid., fols.15v.

³² Ibid., fols.12v, 19, 24v.

³³ Ibid., fols.14v, 19v, 20v, 21, 31v(2).

³⁴ Although the provisos made above pp.222-3 concerning the use of witness lists as evidence of association should be borne in mind.

³⁵ Ibid., fols.12v, 13v, 14v, 15(2), 15v, 16v, 17, 17v, 18, 19, 19v, 20v, 21(3), 22v, 23, 24v, 25v, 26, 28, 31v(2), 39v.

³⁶ Ibid., fols.14v, 19v, 20v, 21(2), 25, 31v(2), 39v.

seven occasions.³⁷ Turning to groupings of four, of the thirty occasions when four or more of these six people are attesting, the most common groupings were those of William Aumary, John Burdet, John Fegge and William Ivette,³⁸ and John Burdet, John Fegge, William Ivette and William Hasard, who witnessed together on fourteen occasions.³⁹ John Burdet, John Fegge, William Hasard and William Freman attest together on thirteen occasions,⁴⁰ while William Aumary, John Fegge, William Ivette and William Hasard witness together on twelve occasions.⁴¹

The above evidence of association suggests strongly that a number of patrons of both orders were associated with each other quite frequently. In addition, in the case of the six Burton Lazars patrons, it is clear that each man was aware of the patronage of the Order of St.Lazarus by his fellow associates, as evidenced by the witness lists of a number of their grants. However, while social association can be traced to a certain extent with some Templar patrons from both the higher and lower ranks of society, it appears to have had a much greater significance for the smaller order. Indeed, the information provided by the Burton Lazars Cartulary shows that the evidence that has been considered is really only the tip of the ice-berg. The reason why social association appears to have been so significant among the patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus has a lot to do with the fact that a large number of the order's patrons lived in close proximity to the Hospital at Burton

³⁷ Ibid., fols.15(2), 15v, 76, 80, 83, 90.

³⁸ Ibid., fols.12v(2), 14v, 19, 19v, 20v, 21(2), 24v, 25, 31v(2), 35, 39v.

³⁹ Ibid., fols.14v, 16v, 17, 17v, 18, 19v, 20v, 21(2), 25, 28, 31v(2), 39v.

⁴⁰ Ibid., fols.12v, 15(2), 15v, 16v, 17, 17v, 18, 21, 22v, 23, 25, 28.

⁴¹ Ibid., fols.13v, 14v, 19v, 20v, 21(2), 25, 25v, 26, 31v(2), 39v.

Lazars. It is the purpose of the next section to consider in detail such geographical associations.

GEOGRAPHICAL ASSOCIATION.

By geographical association is meant the theory that religious houses were patronised by benefactors who lived in the same locality. Such houses formed the most obvious outlet particularly for those patrons whose sphere of influence and possessions were geographically limited.⁴² In order to test this theory two different studies can be made. The first one involves assessing where the location of grants to a particular religious house actually were in relation to that house. The second rather more difficult study involves trying to find out the places where patrons came from, and the proximity of these places to the houses they patronised. In carrying out these two studies, the main concentration will be on the hospital of the Order of St.Lazarus at Burton Lazars. This is because the evidence for the possessions and patrons of that house is excellent compared with other houses of the order, and in many ways with the houses of the Templars. Although there is far more evidence for the larger order, it is not always very clear which houses of the order particular possessions were being granted to, and thus the types of study which have just been outlined are more difficult to conduct.

Looking specifically at Burton Lazars, it is possible to calculate exactly where lands granted to the order (and administered by Burton Lazars) were situated.⁴³ There are 286 charters recording original grants to the order in the Cartulary of Burton Lazars. These include straight grants of land or money, as well as agreements between the order

⁴² For a supporting view see Turner, "Angevin Royal Administrators", 8.

⁴³ See map 3, appendix IV, p.298.

and various patrons, and several confirmations of grants not otherwise recorded in the cartulary. Beginning with the grants which were made closest to Burton Lazars, and taking an area which stretched only five miles in radius around the hospital, a total of 204 charters were made concerning properties in the area. The two most important places in terms of charter grants were Burton Lazars itself, where gifts are recorded in eighty six charters,⁴⁴ and Kirby Bellars, where gifts are recorded in sixty one charters.⁴⁵ Although 147 charters were concerned with grants in these two villages, there were a further fifty eight grants in other places within this five mile area. Eighteen charters recorded gifts in Melton Mowbray,⁴⁶ while eight charters dealt with Brentingby,⁴⁷ six charters each with Leesthorpe, Pickwell, Twiford and Thorp',⁴⁸ two charters each from Whissendine, Stapleford and Sysonby,⁴⁹ and one each with Great Dalby, Little Dalby and Burrough on the Hill.⁵⁰

Extending the area around the hospital to a radius of ten miles, a further sixty three grants were made in four villages. Of these the most

⁴⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.3, 11v-39v(85).

⁴⁵ Ibid., fols.45-69.

⁴⁶ Ibid., fols.3-10.

⁴⁷ Ibid., fols.105v-106v.

⁴⁸ Ibid., fols.3v, 41(2), 42(2), 42v (Leesthorpe); fols.42, 43-43v(5) (Pickwell). The charter on f.42 is the same as one of the charters containing a grant in Leesthorpe; fols.85(2), 85v, 86v, 87(2) (Twiford); fols.83(3), 84(2), 85 (Thorp'). It is difficult to distinguish grants between the different villages which bore Thorpe as part of their name. Thorpe Arnold, near Melton Mowbray lay two and a half miles from the Hospital, Thorpe Satchville, to the south lay four miles away, and Edmondthorpe to the east, lay about six miles away.

⁴⁹ Ibid., f.4(2) (Whissendine); f.72(2) (Stapleford); f.104(2) (Sysonby).

⁵⁰ Ibid., f.40 (Great Dalby), f.26 (Little Dalby), f.108 (Burrough on the Hill). The Little Dalby grant is contained in a charter which deals with one of the grants in Burton Lazars.

important were the thirty charters dealing with Cold Newton,⁵¹ and the twenty nine charters concerning Billesdon.⁵² There were also three charters dealing with Tilton, and one with Lowesby.⁵³ Beyond the ten mile area there are only thirty charters dealing with grants made to the order. In Leicestershire itself, eight charters deal with grants made in the city of Leicester,⁵⁴ while Galby, Evington, Kimcote and Walton are dealt with in a total of three charters.⁵⁵ Further afield, three charters deal with grants of churches in Edinburgh,⁵⁶ Spondon, Castleford, Great Hale, Heckington, Threekingham ⁵⁷ and Haselbeeche;⁵⁸ two charters deal with grants of lands and rents in Masham, Thirsk and Coxwold;⁵⁹ and eight charters deal with a variety of grants, including the Hospital of Carlton le Moorland.⁶⁰

It is obvious that there was a very significant concentration of lands in the locality of Burton Lazars hospital. Not only were grants in Burton Lazars contained within thirty percent of the charters, but sixty six percent of the charters were concerned with grants within three miles of the Hospital; seventy one percent within five miles, and ninety two

⁵¹ Ibid., fols.90-100.

⁵² Ibid., fols.74-82v(28), 104. The grant contained on f.104, also includes a grant in Sysonby.

⁵³ Ibid., fols.90, 96, 98. The Lowesby grant on f.98, is part of a grant including land in Cold Newton and a hospital in Tilton.

⁵⁴ Ibid., fols.110-112v.

⁵⁵ Ibid., f.98 (Galby). This is the same charter as that referred to above p. n.12 granting, amongst other things, the church at Lowesby; f.4 (Avinton). This is the same charter granting lands in Whissendine; f.114 (Kimcote and Walton):

⁵⁶ Ibid., f.99.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., f.98.

⁵⁹ Ibid., fols.3, 4.

⁶⁰ Ibid., fols.116-118v.

percent within ten miles. Therefore only eight percent of the charters came from outside this ten mile area. It could be argued that although only a few grants were given to the order outside the ten mile area, in fact these grants were of greater significance in terms of size, than the grants made in the closer proximity to the hospital. Certainly the grants in Carlton were of some importance, including as they did the hospital of that place, plus a total of one carucate and several bovates of land. Moreover, the grants of churches in Edinburgh, Spondon, Castleford, Galby, Haselbeech, Great Hale, Heckington and Threekingham constitute eight out of the nine churches which the order is known to have possessed.

Nevertheless, despite these important grants, the cartulary evidence does show that the order held a number of grants of some significance in the vicinity of Burton Lazars. In Burton Lazars itself there was one grant of two carucates of land,⁶¹ plus eleven grants of at least one bovat (including one of five bovates).⁶² In Kirby Bellars there were grants of one, and one half carucates, plus a grant of over seven bovates.⁶³ A further nine charters gave at least one bovat.⁶⁴ Other important grants included the two half carucates held in Melton Mowbray,⁶⁵ the single carucates held in Great Dalby and Pickwell,⁶⁶ the total of four carucates in Cold Newton,⁶⁷ and the hospital of Tilton and

⁶¹ Ibid., f.3.

⁶² Ibid., fols.13(2), 13v, 16, 18v, 26, 28, 28v(five bovates), 31, 36v, 39v.

⁶³ Ibid., 50v, 47, 61v.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 45, 46(2), 48, 51, 58v, 61, 62, 67v.

⁶⁵ Ibid., f.9.

⁶⁶ Ibid., fols.40, 43.

⁶⁷ Ibid., fols.90v, 92, 93, 96, 97, 98, 100.

the church of Lowesby.⁶⁸ Although the cartulary does therefore include a large number of small grants (ploughlands, roods and acres), the evidence is not being distorted by the suggestion that its possessions were largely concentrated in eastern Leicestershire.

If the majority of lands were held in geographical proximity of the hospital, the same can be said of the origins of the patrons of the order. In distinguishing the origins of patrons however, there is a problem not as noticeable when considering the lands of the order. That is the difficulty in ascribing a patron to a specific place. With people like William Aumary of Burton Lazars or William fitz John of Cold Newton, it is possible to be reasonably confident that the people concerned lived in, or were connected with the place names they were known by. In some cases though the patron is not referred to as coming from any particular place. Such is the case with people like Warin fitz Simon,⁶⁹ and the problem is heightened by the fact that the information about these particular people is so limited, as to prevent an educated guess as to their likely place of origin. In some situations it is possible to make such judgements when it is known that other family members came from a particular area, or when grants were concentrated in one area alone, as with the Rampaine family of Kirby Bellars.⁷⁰ Another problem is that where a place is given, it is not possible to ascribe the name to an identifiable place, as is the case with Dineliston, Bringkelonhe and Dribirratam.⁷¹ From the total of 180 patrons identified in the cartulary, eleven patrons cannot be assigned to any place, while sixteen patrons come from places that cannot be identified. Of the remaining 153

⁶⁸ Ibid., f.98.

⁶⁹ Ibid., f.28.

⁷⁰ See above pp.146-9.

⁷¹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.69, 7, 36v.

patrons, twenty patrons can be described as important, in terms of status and landholding, which makes any assignment to a particular area rather inappropriate. These include patrons like King Henry II, King John, the Earls of Leicester, Huntingdon, Derby, Northampton, Roger I de Mowbray and Henry de Lacy.⁷²

This leaves 133 patrons, the origins of whom can be safely ascribed to the area in the vicinity of Burton Lazars. Adopting the same approach as with the grants to the hospital, within an area of five miles of the hospital seventy eight patrons can be found. Once again the most important places were Burton Lazars, which provided twenty three patrons, and Kirby Bellars, providing twenty seven patrons. Seven patrons came from Melton Mowbray, six from Thorpe', five ^{each} from Eye Kettleby, ^{and Twyford} three each from Brentingby and Wyfordeby, two from Sysonby, and one each from Affordeby, Pickwell, Frisby, and Cold Overton. Extending the area of survey to a radius of ten miles around the hospital, there were a further forty one patrons. Sixteen patrons came from Cold Newton, eleven from Billesdon, two from Queniborough, and one each from Wymondham, Lowesby, Rotherby, Digby, Launde, Ingvarsby and Skeffington. A further twelve patrons came from further afield, including six from Leicester, and one each from Evington, Bushby, Rolleston (Bolveston?), Thurmaston, Sadington and Carlton.

As was the case with the grants of land, a significant number of patrons of the order lived in close proximity to the hospital. Indeed forty two percent of the patrons came from, or lived within three miles of Burton Lazars. Forty seven percent came from within five miles of the hospital, and sixty six percent from within ten miles. The totals are even more significant if those patrons who cannot be assigned to a particular area and those whose place-name is unidentifiable are left out

⁷² See above pp.52, 54, 118-21, 171-2, 196-7, 217.

of the calculations. Such an alteration leaves fifty six percent of patrons coming from within five miles of the hospital (fifty from within three), and seventy nine percent from within ten miles (seventy one within eight).

Once again however, it can be argued that the most important patrons in terms of grants given, came from outside the immediate vicinity of Burton Lazars. Thus the Mowbrays, the Amundevilles, Henry de Lacy and several members of the greater baronage made substantial grants of land, churches and hospitals.⁷³ Nevertheless it is clear, as with actual grants, that a number of patrons who lived near the hospital made significant grants in a variety of forms. Thus at least five patrons from Burton Lazars donated one or more bovates, including Robert Torel who gave five bovates.⁷⁴ Several patrons from Kirby Bellars made important grants. Roger III de Beler gave one carucate,⁷⁵ while Peter fitz Geoffrey gave half a carucate.⁷⁶ Hugh de Rampaine benefactions totalling more than one carucate,⁷⁷ and four other patrons gave at least one bovaté in that village.⁷⁸ Louis of Pickwell made several grants to the order, totalling over one carucate in both Leesthorp and Pickwell,⁷⁹ while members of the Burdet family from Cold Newton made grants totalling at least three carucates in Cold Newton and Great Dalby.⁸⁰

⁷³ See for instance above pp.52, 118-25, 135-40.

⁷⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.29 (Robert Torel), 13(2), 13v, 16, 31.

⁷⁵ See above p.145.

⁷⁶ Ibid., f.47.

⁷⁷ See above pp.148-9.

⁷⁸ Ibid., fols.45 (contains references to the grants of two patrons, Matthew de Rampaine and Hamon Beler), 48, 58v.

⁷⁹ Ibid., fols.42(2), 42v (Leesthorpe), 43 (Pickwell).

⁸⁰ See above pp.127-9.

The evidence that has now been considered clearly suggests that the possessions and patrons of the hospital of Burton Lazars were concentrated in an area close to the hospital itself. There are two explanations which could account for this particular phenomenon. In the first place, and particularly concerning the possessions of the house, an obvious explanation for the concentration of lands and rights in the near vicinity can be seen in the desire of houses to possess lands which were not only in the same locality, but if possible geographically linked together. The advantages of holding lands which were grouped in compact estates, rather than small plots of land scattered around the countryside, is obvious in terms of the need for efficient administration, and profitable exploitation of resources. The evidence for religious houses making efforts to group their possessions together can be seen in most cartularies of religious houses, and is certainly in evidence to some extent in the various exchanges that are recorded throughout the Cartulary of Burton Lazars.⁸¹

If this explanation is accurate, the large number of local possessions and patrons may be accounted for simply because the hospital was pursuing a deliberate policy of buying up lands in the locality from the local landowners. However, a second explanation which particularly helps to explain the large number of local patrons may be found in terms of the geographical distribution of religious houses in eastern Leicestershire. Quite simply, there was not a great deal of choice for prospective patrons in the immediate locality. As has already been explained, about forty seven percent of the patrons of the order appear to have lived within five miles of the Hospital of Burton Lazars. Significantly, within this area there was no other religious foundation until the fourteenth century, when in 1315 a chantry was founded by Roger

⁸¹ See for instance, B.L. Ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.11v, 17v, 24v, 67v.

III de Bellars. This became in turn a college, and in 1359, an Augustinian Priory.⁸² Indeed eastern Leicestershire, and the bordering lands of Rutland and Lincolnshire were only sparsely endowed with religious houses. In the twelfth century in an area that stretched ten miles in radius around Burton Lazars, there were only five, and possibly six such institutions, and one of these was the order's own hospital at Tilton, founded before 1184.⁸³ The other houses included the Augustinian houses of Launde (Leicestershire), founded before 1125,⁸⁴ Owston (Leicestershire) founded before 1161,⁸⁵ and Brooke (Rutland), founded before 1153.⁸⁶ There was also a Premonstratensian house at Croxton Kerrial (Leicestershire), founded about 1162,⁸⁷ and the Hospitaller house of (Old) Dalby may have been founded early in Henry II's reign.⁸⁸ The only other houses to have been founded in this area, were the Hospital of St. John and St. Anne at Oakham (Rutland) as late as 1398,⁸⁹ and that at Melton Mowbray before 1365.⁹⁰ Therefore there were only five houses (not including Tilton) before the fourteenth century that could have seriously drawn the patronage of local patrons away from Burton Lazars. Of these, Owston was the closest to the hospital, lying six miles away, followed by (Old) Dalby, over seven miles away. Launde, Brooke and Croxton Kerrial

⁸² Knowles and Hadcock, p.162.

⁸³ See above p.127.

⁸⁴ Knowles and Hadcock, p.163.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p.169.

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.150.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p.187.

⁸⁸ Ibid., p.303. The order held lands in Dalby by 1206, which is the earliest reference to a master of the house, V.C.H. Leicestershire, ii, 32.

⁸⁹ Knowles and Hadcock, p.382.

⁹⁰ Ibid., p.372.

were all approximately nine miles away.⁹¹ Thus, while Burton Lazars was not the only available religious house for patronage in eastern Leicestershire, it is clear that the number of its local competitors was not very great.

Although, the above evidence has stressed the significance of geographical association on the patronage of the Order of St.Lazarus, it should be noted that the Hospital of Burton Lazars was not unique in possessing properties in the locality, and neither was it unique in being patronised by local families. Evidence drawn from a variety of other religious houses, produces similar results to those outlined for the leper hospital. For example, the Premonstratensian abbey of Croxton Kerrial near Grantham, held lands scattered over several counties, but a concentration of lands can be seen in the more immediate locality. Within five miles of Croxton, the house held lands in nineteen villages, and in a further twenty one villages within ten miles of the house. In addition, a number of patrons from local villages including, Belvoir, Eastwood, Westby and Sysonby can be found among the patrons of the house.⁹²

Similarly, although the Sandford Cartulary is not the easiest document to make use of in this kind of study,⁹³ the evidence it provides of possessions granted to the Templar houses in Oxfordshire does show

⁹¹ Croxton Kerrial was also in a relatively isolated area. Within ten miles of the house aside from Burton Lazars, the only other twelfth century foundations were the Benedictine house at Belvoir founded between 1076-88, the Premonstratensian house at Newbo, founded in 1198, and the Templar preceptory at South Witham founded before 1164. See Knowles and Hadcock, pp.59, 190, 297.

⁹² J.H.Round, H.Maxwell Lyte and W.H.Stevenson calendared, The Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland, K.G. preserved at Belvoir Castle, Rutland IV, Historical Manuscripts Commission, (London, 1905), 174-82. See also map 5, appendix IV, p.300.

⁹³ See above p.229.

some concentration within the Cowley-Sandford area.⁹⁴ In the area within five miles the order held and received possessions from benefactors who came from, towns and villages including Sandford, Cowley, Littlemore, Horspath, Garsington and Oxford.⁹⁵ Within ten miles, they held and received possessions from benefactors in places which included Warpsgrove, Easington, Stoke Talmage and Merton.⁹⁶ Nevertheless, although geographical associations can be traced in these cases, it is also clear that the order was also patronised by people living and making grants in places further afield than the immediate vicinity of Oxford, including such places as Sibford (Oxfordshire), Warnford and Milford (Hampshire), the Isle of Wight, Sparsholt, Wick and Westcott (Berkshire) and Lockeridge (Wiltshire).⁹⁷ Furthermore, the fact that there were a large number of religious foundations near to the Oxfordshire Templar houses, including, Abingdon, Eynsham, Wallingford, Oseney, Dorchester, Godstow and Littlemore, suggests that Templar patrons did not patronise the order simply because their houses were the only religious establishments in the vicinity of their homes.⁹⁸ This being the case, the Templars could not have benefitted in the same way as Burton Lazars did from the relative "isolation" of their houses.

While geographical associations can be traced for both orders, and indeed for many religious houses, it is thus clear that they were of special influence for the Order of St.Lazarus and particularly the

⁹⁴ See map 4, appendix IV, p.299.

⁹⁵ Sandford, nos.1-27 (Sandford); 39-88 (Cowley); 90-100 (Littlemore); 101-9 (Horspath); 110-26 (Garsington); 127-48 (Oxford).

⁹⁶ Ibid., nos.162-72 (Warpsgrove); 173-207 (Easington); 208-17 (Stoke Talmage); 424-37 (Merton).

⁹⁷ Ibid., nos. 368-410 (Sibford); 271-81 (Warnford and Milford); 268-70, 282, 294, 297-99, 307-8 (Isle of Wight); 311-28 (Sparsholt, Wick and Westcott); 248-54 (Lockeridge).

⁹⁸ For these houses see Knowles and Hadcock, pp.58, 65, 79, 156, 169, 259, 260.

hospital at Burton Lazars. This order seems to have benefitted from the patronage of a very large number of local people of limited social standing, who had few alternatives in the locality, in terms of religious houses to which they could make benefactions. Furthermore, the fact that so many grants to the order were made by local people in the vicinity of Burton Lazars, explains why the charter witness lists contained in the Burton Lazars Cartulary were also full of local people. The fact that very often, the same people were associating together as witnesses, combined with the fact that many were patrons themselves, helps to explain why social association was so important for the smaller order. It may well be necessary to consider different factors in explaining the patronage of the order by the higher ranks of society. Yet, for the local people living in Burton Lazars, Kirby Bellars, Melton Mowbray and their environs, the most obvious target for their patronage throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, was very probably the establishment closest to their homes and patronised by their neighbours, the leper hospital of Burton Lazars.

CONCLUSION.

CONCLUSION.

This study has now considered a number of aspects relating to the patronage of the Templars and Order of St.Lazarus in England. It is now possible to assess the evidence that has been produced as a whole, regarding the nature of the patronage and the patrons of the two orders, as well as the more difficult subject of the motivations of their patrons.

In the first place, the evidence that has been produced relating to the orders' holdings has shown that they both received a wide variety of possessions. The most common form of holding was landed property, including arable land, but it also included meadows and pasturage for sheep and cattle, as well as a miscellaneous amount of messuages, tofts and crofts. Apart from landed property, other important possessions comprised the ownership of mills, and the advowson of churches and chapels. Both orders also received monetary gifts, and these possessions were augmented by a miscellany of other benefactions including the ownership of people and their chattels.¹ On the whole, most of these grants were made in free alms, and although there were exceptions, those that were conditional tended to have been made during the thirteenth century.

Despite the problems relating to the survival of evidence, and the dating of charters, it is possible to estimate the most important periods for the receipt of benefactions by both orders. In the case of the Templars, the order continued to receive a steady trickle of small donations ^{until} its dissolution. However, the most important period seems to have been the great expansion made during the reign of King Stephen,

¹ For further details on the nature and extent of the orders' possessions see below appendix I.

which continued throughout the reign of Henry II into the early decades of the thirteenth century. More than two thirds of its preceptories had been founded by c.1225, and by the time of Thomas II of Sandford's grant of Sandford manor in c.1240, the number of large grants of land, churches and mills had already been made. Indeed, the majority of such large grants were clearly made during the twelfth century. Similarly, although the Order of St.Lazarus did receive the possession of the Hospital of St.Giles at Holborn in 1299, and that of Holy Innocent's at Lincoln as late as 1461, it is clear that most of their grants were received in the period between the foundation of Burton Lazars in c.1150, and the early decades of the thirteenth century. Certainly, by c.1230 the order possessed at least five hospitals, and in addition, the more important of its landed grants had been made during this period. Moreover, the order received all its churches before c.1184, while the few mills it held were also all twelfth century donations.

These findings are not particularly surprising, and indeed could be applied to the patronage of other orders. However, while there are certain similarities between the possessions of the two orders, there are also some rather more obvious differences. Although the orders held the same sorts of possessions, they quite clearly held them in very different amounts. Whereas Templar holdings can be traced in at least thirty English counties, those of the Order of St.Lazarus can only be traced in eleven. Furthermore, while the Templars had concentrations of possessions in the northern counties of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire, in the west Midlands in Warwickshire, in the south Midlands in Oxfordshire, Wiltshire and Berkshire, as well as the south east in Essex, Kent and Sussex, the Order of St.Lazarus only had such a concentration in the eastern Midlands, particularly Leicestershire. Looking at the amounts of particular types of possessions that the orders held, the difference in scale becomes all the more obvious. Not only did the Templars possess at

least four times as many houses as the Order of St.Lazarus, but the size of the grants made to the order were much larger for the Templars. This is particularly noticeable when comparing the grants made to both orders by people like King Henry II, Roger I de Mowbray, Henry de Lacy, and Elias II de Amundeville.

Looking secondly at the types of patrons that this study has identified, it is obvious that, as one would expect, the numbers of Templar patrons greatly overshadowed those for the Order of St.Lazarus. Despite the difference in numbers of patrons, it is clear that both orders benefitted largely from the patronage of male members of secular society, and from benefactors from the same social groupings. These included members of the royal family and the higher nobility, as well as members from the ranks of the lesser baronage, local county families and knightly classes. Nevertheless, it is equally clear that different social groupings were more important to each order in terms of their patronage. The English royal families clearly favoured the Templars far more than the Order of St.Lazarus. Indeed the grants made by King Stephen and Queen Matilda were of some considerable importance in helping to build up the power and wealth of the Templars in counties like Essex and Oxfordshire. In addition, the grants of the house of Blois were augmented particularly by Henry II in London and Kent and Henry III, who helped develop the preceptory of Rothley in Leicestershire. In contrast, although the Order of St.Lazarus did receive limited royal patronage from Henry II, whose gifts were confirmed, but not really augmented by his two sons Richard I and John, and by his grandson Henry III, the only important royal grant was that of the Hospital of St.Giles at Holborn, given by Edward I.

Both the orders were also recipients of benefactions from the ranks of the greater nobility. In this respect, the Templars were more

generously favoured. They received the patronage of over thirty earls. Of these, the most important were Rannulf III, the Earl of Chester, Simon II de Senlis the Earl of Northampton, Gilbert de Clare and William I the Marshal both Earls of Pembroke and Roger I de Beaumont, the Earl of Warwick. However, other grants particularly from the Earls of Derby, Hereford and Leicester should not be discounted. In contrast, the Order of St.Lazarus received important grants from only a small number of earls. These included William I, the Earl of Derby in Spondon, and Simon III de Senlis, the Earl of Northampton in Lincolnshire. Other earls who patronised the order included David the Earl of Huntingdon and Robert III de Beaumont, the Earl of Leicester, although their grants were of only limited significance.

Below the ranks of the higher nobility, the Templars benefitted from the lesser baronial ranks, receiving benefactions from Roger I de Mowbray who made significant donations to the order in Warwickshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire; Henry de Lacy who made grants in Yorkshire; and Gilbert de Lacy who was particularly generous to the order in Gloucestershire. As well as these patrons, others who belonged to the baronial class included Reginald of St.Valéry, the lord of Tutbury, Elias Giffard; the lord of Brimsfield, and a number of people from important county families such as the Caux family in Lincolnshire, the Port family in Hampshire, the Corbezun family in Warwickshire and the Colevilles and Foliots in Yorkshire. Important as they were for the Templars, the Order of St.Lazarus also received some of its most important grants from men of this rank including Henry de Lacy and Roger I de Mowbray. Of these, grants made by Roger in eastern Leicestershire and parts of Yorkshire were the most important. Indeed, as the founder of the Hospital of Burton Lazars, he deserves to rank as one of the most important patrons of the order in England.

Beneath these social ranks, the Templars received grants from members of lesser county families including the Lincolnshire donor William of Ashby de la Launde, Peter de Studley in Gloucestershire, and Peter of Stoke Talmage and William fitz Roger of Sibford in Oxfordshire. This particular type of social grouping also particularly favoured the Order of St.Lazarus. Thus, the order received benefactions from families like the Burdets in southern Leicestershire, the Amundeville family, who helped establish the hospital of Carlton le Moorland, and also some members of the Beler family, whose grants were especially important in the fourteenth century.

Below this level of social ranking lay a miscellany of patrons, who roughly speaking belonged to what may be termed the knightly classes. From this group of people the Templars benefitted from the patronage of people like Thomas de Coleville, Herbert de Queniborough, Hugh II de Malebisse and members of the Esse family in Oxfordshire, although their grants were of little overall significance for the order. However, while some of the more significant grants may have been given to the Order of St.Lazarus by the higher ranks of society, it was among these lesser ranks that the majority of grants actually came. Some of their benefactors like the Rampaines and Aumarys appear occasionally in the sources, whereas others, presumably of limited social significance are very difficult to trace. Among this latter group can be included the Fegges, Hasards and Fremans who had small holdings in eastern Leicestershire.

The identification of the types of possessions and patrons that were connected to the two orders is a relatively easy task. However, the study of motivation which has formed the main part of this thesis, is rather more difficult. In concentrating on the motives for the patronage of the two orders, it has been suggested that spiritual motivations were

behind the original impulse to patronise ecclesiastical establishments. Furthermore, influences such as changing fashions in patronage may have led to different types of orders being patronised more heavily in different periods. The original spiritually motivated impulses were however, channelled towards specific orders such as the Templars and Order of St.Lazarus, by a number of other factors. In the first place, the study of the influence of the crusading movement on patronage has shown that while for certain individuals, such as Roger I de Mowbray, Gilbert de Lacy and possibly William I Burdet, the crusades did play a significant part in the patronage of the orders, the vast majority of patrons appear to have had little connection with the crusades. Certainly, the evidence for the physical participation of patrons was not very high for the Templars, and even lower for the Order of St.Lazarus. Moreover, references to the crusades among charter grants appear to have been few and far between. In chapter two, it was further shown that while some benefactions were motivated by the full membership of patrons with the orders or at least connections with such members, again such influences were of little overall significance in persuading people to make benefactions. Specifically, it was noted that evidence for the connections of patrons with leprosy was not in abundance, although the theory that patrons might have been tempted to patronise leper hospitals which contained leprous relatives is borne out for other establishments. However, one area where membership with the orders was of rather more significance was in connection with lay association. This form of membership, which usually involved an associate making benefactions to the particular order, was of limited importance for the Order of St.Lazarus, but of rather more value for the Templars. This importance was heightened by the fact that a number of relatives of associates made grants to the Templars, quite possibly as a direct result of the association of family members with the order.

Nevertheless the study of the influence of the crusades and the connections of patrons with the orders has shown that overall such factors were only of limited significance in leading people to patronise them. Chapters three to five showed that it was not so much the nature and membership of the orders that were important to prospective patrons, but their own personal backgrounds. In this area it is clear that family influences of patrons were of some significance. The family connections and patronage of the House of Anjou, and the families of Port, Caux, Sandford and Bosco/Esse for the Templars; and the Mowbray, Burdet, Amundeville, Beler and Rampaine families for the Order of St.Lazarus, have shown that close family ties between patrons existed at different levels of society, and between several generations of particular families. The only problem with tracing such family ties is that it is not always possible to be certain that the family connections were the important motivating factor behind patronage. However, as has been suggested the number of family connections that can be traced does make such influences highly probable.

Following on from family connections, the importance of lordship on patronage has also been demonstrated. The significance of the royal lordship of King Stephen and Henry II can be seen in the number of important nobles and royal officials who were not only patrons of the Templars, but also frequent attenders at the royal court. Indeed this influence helps to explain why this order benefitted from the patronage of the highest ranks of society far more than the Order of St.Lazarus, for whom the influence of royal lordship was minimal. The importance of baronial lordship can also be seen in two ways. In the first place, feudal relationships be traced between a large number of Templar patrons and the Earls of Warwick, Chester, Pembroke, Senlis, Henry de Lacy and Roger I de Mowbray; and between patrons of the Order of St.Lazarus and the Mowbray family. In the second place, the evidence of witness lists

shows that in many cases the feudal connections were backed up by physical associations between lord and tenant. In addition, associations can also be traced between lords and non-tenants who were patrons.

Finally, leading on from the study of lordship, the value of the inter-relationship between social and geographical associations has also been stressed. It is clear that social association between patrons of the Templars occurred at different levels of society, and can be traced among members of the royal court as well as the knightly classes. However, the significance of such association has been especially noted for the Order of St.Lazarus. Thus the evidence of witness lists has been used to show that a large number of patrons of the order were associated together on many occasions. The fact that so many patrons were associated in this way is largely explained by the geographical associations of its patronage. The significant concentration of possessions and patrons within five miles of Burton Lazars, meant that the witness lists of charters contained in the Burton Lazars Cartulary were frequently made up of the same people. The fact that most of these local people were from the lower social ranks helps to explain the make up of the majority of patrons of the order. The importance of geographical associations was also heightened because of the absence of other religious houses in the area, a factor which cannot be traced for Templar houses, for which geographical associations, although in evidence were of less significance.

However, although the various types of influence on patronage have been treated in isolation, this as has already been suggested, was largely for ease of understanding. In the case of the Templars, the patronage of William I Marshal could have been influenced by his crusading activities, his family ties with other patrons, or because he was the member of a royal court whose head was a keen patron of the

order. Similarly, Hugh de Sandford's patronage of the order may have been influenced by his crusading activity, or by knowledge that his father Thomas I had become an associate of the order. Finally, the patronage of Roger de Cundy, Thomas de Coleville and Robert de Buscy could have been influenced by the fact that their lord, Roger I de Mowbray was also a patron of the Templars, or because they were frequently associated together. In the case of the Order of St.Lazarus, while men like Nigel and William de Mowbray may have been concerned to patronise a crusading order before they left England for the Holy Land, it is highly probable that in patronising the Order of St.Lazarus, they took into account the fact that Nigel's father, Roger I de Mowbray, was the founder of the chief house of the same order. Similarly when Elias II de Amundeville came to send his leprous daughter to a leper hospital, he chose to send her to, and patronise an establishment which belonged to an order patronised by his predecessors. Furthermore, while William de Aumary, John Burdet and William Freman may have been influenced in their patronage by the fact that they associated together socially, an equally significant factor may have been that they all lived in close proximity to the hospital of Burton Lazars.

The motivation behind the patronage of the two orders is therefore a complicated subject, affected as it was by a complex combination of influences. For the Templars, it seems that the most important of these influences were those of lordship (particularly royal lordship) and family ties. With the Order of St.Lazarus, the influences of baronial lordship (particularly in the case of Roger I de Mowbray) and the family, as well as the social and geographical associations of its patrons were of particular significance. This is not to totally dismiss the influence of the crusades or membership of the orders. However, although the patronage of such individuals as Roger I de Mowbray may have been motivated by his own crusading activity, it was varying combinations of

family, feudal, social and geographical ties, that led to the continuation of such patronage in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

APPENDICES:

- 1) THE POSSESSIONS OF THE TEMPLARS AND THE ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS
IN ENGLAND.
- 2) THE TEMPLARS DURING THE REIGN OF KING STEPHEN (1135-54).
- 3) GENEALOGICAL TABLES.
- 4) MAPS.

APPENDIX I.THE POSSESSIONS OF THE TEMPLARS AND THE ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS IN ENGLAND.

The aim of this appendix is to provide an outline of the major holdings of both orders in England. In doing so, the main emphasis will be placed on the preceptories and hospitals of the orders. In addition, their major landed holdings, and other significant possessions, including churches and mills will be described. For the sake of clarity, a county by county approach will be adopted.

1) THE TEMPLARS.

Beginning with the Templar's lands around their London base, it seems quite probable that their first preceptory was established in about 1128 at the Old Temple at Holborn, at the insistance of Hugh de Payens. This existed as the administrative centre for the English order until it was replaced by the New Temple also at Holborn, established in 1161.¹ Although the Inquest of 1185 does not mention their property and appurtenances connected with the Holborn foundations, it does refer to a number of other holdings in Middlesex and Surrey. It is clear for instance that the Templars held large amounts of property in the area to the north of the Thames, including lands in the Hackney marshes, where William de Hastings gave them lands before 1185,² and where Rannulf de Burgham gave them half a hide of land before 1232-3.³ In 1308 the Hackney properties were worth £66.⁴ Henry II was particularly generous

¹ See above p.9.

² See above pp.63-4.

³ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.65.

⁴ Ibid., f.66. Except for several miscellaneous valuations, the values of Templar properties are given wherever possible for 1308. If no figures have been found for this year, values for 1338, the year of the Hospitaller survey are given.

to the Templars in London, granting one carucate of land at Finchingham, plus the site of a mill and two forges at Fleet, and the advowson of the church of St. Clement Danes and the Chapel of Holy Innocents in the Strand.⁵ In the thirteenth century the order received property including the manor of Lilleston from Otto of Lilleston, granted before 1234-5.⁶ They were also given a number of possessions in Surrey, including one hide of land from Robert Marmion in Widfleet by Southwick in Surrey,⁷ and they had £6 9s. 8d. worth of buildings and properties there in 1308.⁸ Their possessions in Surrey additionally included a number of rents in Dorking, plus the advowson of the churches of Southwick and Woodmancote.⁹

The order received some of its earliest English properties in Essex, where Queen Matilda gave the manor and church of Cressing in 1136, and the manor and half hundred of Witham between 1146-9, both of which were confirmed by King Stephen.¹⁰ These two manors and appurtenances formed the two Essex preceptories of the order, with Cressing being established first in c.1136, and Witham at some point before 1164.¹¹ By 1309, the manor of Witham was valued at £36 3s. 6d., while the manor of Cressing was valued at £29 12s. 9d.¹² In the thirteenth century, these possessions were augmented by Peter de Rossa's grant in 1252 of his manor of Rivenhall, which he exchanged three years later for 100 acres from the

⁵ See above p.95.

⁶ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.73.

⁷ Ibid., f.55.

⁸ Ibid., f.59v.

⁹ Ibid., fols.152v, 265v, 266.

¹⁰ See above pp.157-8.

¹¹ Knowles and Hadcock, p.292-3.

¹² B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, fols, 302v-304.

same manor.¹³ Furthermore, as late as 1270, David the Earl of Atholl added the manor of Chingford given for a period of eighteen years.¹⁴ The order also held lands in Reyndon, including the church,¹⁵ and possessions worth £41 8s. 4d. in Little Sutton in 1308.¹⁶

In East Anglia, the order had one preceptory in Norfolk, at Haddiscoe, which was certainly established in 1218, when Henry III was a benefactor there.¹⁷ In Suffolk there may have been three preceptories although that at Cavenham/Togrynd was probably only a late foundation, and was valued at £6 0s. 2d. in 1338.¹⁸ Dunwich was confirmed as a preceptory by King John in 1199, after Richard I had given the order one carucate of land there between 1189-99.¹⁹ This house was worth only 11s. per annum in 1252, and £4 in 1338.²⁰ Finally, Gislingham was certainly in existence by 1222-6, although little is known about it.²¹ In 1338 it was valued at only 5s.²²

In Cambridgeshire, the order held three preceptories at Denney, Great Wilbraham and Duxford. Denney and Great Wilbraham were founded in c.1170, after having passed from the Benedictine Order.²³ Denney became

¹³ See above p.87.

¹⁴ See above p.51.

¹⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.101.

¹⁶ Ibid., f.105.

¹⁷ Dugdale, Mónasticon, vi, 817.

¹⁸ Knowles and Hadcock, p.292; Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.166.

¹⁹ See above p.97; Knowles and Hadcock, p.293.

²⁰ V.C.H. Suffolk, ii, 120; Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.167.

²¹ Knowles and Hadcock, p.294.

²² Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.167.

²³ V.C.H. Cambridgeshire, ii, 259, 263.

a hospital preceptory, which was endowed with lands and the church of Great Wilbraham. When a separate house was established at Great Wilbraham, the preceptor was responsible for payments to Denney.²⁴ In the twelfth century the order was in possession of the churches of Denney, Great Wilbraham, Kirby and Wendy,²⁵ and its holdings were augmented by a number of grants made in the thirteenth century. These included the wood known as Kingswood in Carlton from Henry III,²⁶ and all the possessions belonging to Peter Malauney in Great Wilbraham, given in 1226.²⁷ By 1338, the preceptory of Great Wilbraham was valued at £60 10s. 8d.²⁸ Finally, the preceptory of Dunwich is a rather obscure foundation, although it appears to have been developed from a grant by Roger de Coleville, who gave the order four hides of land at Dunwich before 1265.²⁹ In 1338, it was valued at £8 5s. 4d.³⁰

In the south and south west of England, the order held varying amounts of property in Kent, Sussex, Hampshire, the Isle of Wight, Dorset, Devon and Cornwall. In Kent, Lees has estimated that the order held a total of about 1000 acres in Kent before 1185,³¹ which included the manor of Strood and the Hundred of Shamel, given by Henry II, who also gave one carucate of land in Dartford.³² Other important Kentish holdings included the manor of Ewell, comprising just under 250 acres,

²⁴ Ibid., ii, 263.

²⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cix, f.23v.

²⁶ Ibid., f.28.

²⁷ Cal.Pat.R., 1225-32, 30.

²⁸ Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.164.

²⁹ Rot.Hund., ii, 580.

³⁰ Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.165.

³¹ Inquest, p.xlvii.

³² See above p.96.

given by William the brother of Henry II and William Peverel,³³ and the 500 acre manor of Waltham which Theobald, the Archbishop of Canterbury gave between 1139-61.³⁴ It was probably only at Ewell that the order established a preceptory before 1185.³⁵

In Sussex, the order's property was concentrated around the preceptories of Saddlescombe and Shipley.³⁶ The Shipley possessions of the order included the grant of the town and church given by Philip de Harcourt in about 1139. These were augmented by the grant of the church of Sumpting, given in 1154 by Philip de Harcourt, William de Braiose and William de Harcourt.³⁷ Roger fitz Bernard also added a hide of land in the town, and William de Warenne increased the Sussex holdings, by granting an annual rent of 40s. in Lewes.³⁸ By 1308 the Shipley holdings were valued at £154 9s. 9 (3/4)d.³⁹ In the thirteenth century, the order's Sussex lands were increased further when Geoffrey II de Say exchanged the grant of the manor and church of Westgreenwich made by his father Geoffrey I, for the manor of Saddlescombe, which may have become a camera of Shipley by 1308, when it was valued at £20 5s. 3d.⁴⁰

In Hampshire and Dorset, the order held only small amounts of property, including land in Warnford and Milford (Hampshire), and in

³³ See above p.43.

³⁴ See above p.169.

³⁵ An earlier preceptory at Dover may have been established, although this probably moved to Temple Ewell. Evidence for a preceptory at Strood is not very strong. See Knowles and Hadcock, pp.293, 295.

³⁶ The order also possessed a camera or manor at Shoreham, Knowles and Hadcock, p.297.

³⁷ See above p.166.

³⁸ See above p.43.

³⁹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.152v.

⁴⁰ Ibid., f.265; V.C.H. Sussex, ii, 92.

Pilsdon and Charlborough (Dorset).⁴¹ The Hampshire preceptory of Temple Southington may have been in existence in 1240, although in that year it is only referred to as a manorial estate.⁴² On the Isle of Wight they received lands at Carisbrooke and a water mill at Newport, from a grant by John de Argenten in c.1250.⁴³ In addition they also held lands in Uggaton, and received the gift of the hospital of Yarmouth from William Maskerel before 1194, which included the chapel of Brook.⁴⁴

In the south west, in Cornwall, the order may have had two preceptories, including Temple, founded on moorland granted in the twelfth century, and Trebeigh which was originally founded for the Hospitallers.⁴⁵ In addition, their Cornwall possessions also included mill rents in Launceston,⁴⁶ although their most important possessions in the south west were in Devon. In this county Lees suggests that the order's property was based around the two centres of Templeton and Clayhanger,⁴⁷ which were both connected with the Somerset preceptory of Temple Combe. At Clayhanger, Hugh de Perepunt gave the order the town,⁴⁸ and the order also held possessions in Yarcombe given by Faramus de Boulogne, and the mill of Broad Clyst from Roger de Nonant.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Inquest, p.52; Sandford, nos.271-5 (Warnford); ibid., nos.276-81 (Milford); Inquest, p.59.

⁴² Cal.Chart.R., 1226-57, 251. Compare with Knowles and Hadcock, p.295, who suggest that it was a preceptory in 1240.

⁴³ Sandford, no.268.

⁴⁴ Ibid., no.286.

⁴⁵ Knowles and Hadcock, pp.295, 296.

⁴⁶ Inquest, p.60.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p.cxxxiii.

⁴⁸ Inquest, p.59.

⁴⁹ See above p.71; Inquest, p.62.

In Somerset, the order held one preceptory at Temple Combe which was established in about 1185,⁵⁰ and was in possession of lands in Somerset, Gloucestershire and Devon. Of the Somerset holdings, the grant of the manor of Temple Combe by William Martel was the most important.⁵¹ This was augmented by other grants in Temple Combe, Babington, Lockington, Worle and Mendip, where the order received the pasturage of 1000 sheep.⁵² In 1338, Temple Combe and its appurtenances were valued at £106 13s.⁵³

In Gloucestershire, the large grant given by Gilbert de Lacy formed the basis of the preceptory of Temple Guiting, established in the middle of the twelfth century. Gilbert's grant consisted of twelve hides of land, one mill, and a church in Guiting. He also gave the order possessions in Winchcombe and Barton, including two mills and burgage properties,⁵⁴ and Robert the Earl of Gloucester helped to establish the order in Bristol.⁵⁵ The Templars even received lands in Guiting, including one carucate and six virgates as late as 1304, from the abbey of St. Peter's in Gloucester.⁵⁶

In Berkshire, the manor of Bisham, which was established as a preceptory, was given by Robert II de Ferrers before 1152.⁵⁷ Other lands in the county were established at Inglewood where Roger fitz Humphrey gave the order three hides of land, and in Westcote near Sparsholt, where Henry de Hose gave one and a half hides of land, and where the order

⁵⁰ Knowles and Hadcock, p.292.

⁵¹ See above p.47.

⁵² Bartelot, "Temple Combe", 91.

⁵³ Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.183.

⁵⁴ See above p.62.

⁵⁵ See above p.94.

⁵⁶ Cal.Pat.R., 1301-7, 291.

⁵⁷ See above p.164.

established a camera.⁵⁸ The order's lands in that county were augmented in the thirteenth century by a variety of small scale grants in Inglewood, Blagrave, Inkpen and Great Shefford.⁵⁹ The order also received the advowson of the church of Speen from William I Marshal in 1206,⁶⁰ and the church of Blewbury from Thomas II de Sandford in c.1240.⁶¹

In Wiltshire, the preceptory of Temple Rockley was established in about 1155-6, and was based around the grants of John the Marshal and Robert of Ewyas Harold, who both gave one hide each to the order.⁶² In Lockeridge both William de Beauchamp, between 1155-9, and Miles the Earl of Hereford, between 1141-3, gave two hides of land.⁶³ In 1338, Rockley was valued at £20.⁶⁴ The Templar possessions in the county were augmented by a mill and the two churches of Netheravon and Laycock.⁶⁵

In Oxfordshire in the twelfth century, the order held two important preceptories at Cowley and Merton. Queen Matilda had given her manor of Cowley in 1139, while seven hides were given in Merton by Simon II de Senlis, and in 1308 the Merton properties were valued at £12 10s. 8d.⁶⁶ In addition, Turgis d'Avranches gave £10 of waste land in Hensington in c.1142; Odo de Tolent gave two and a half hides of land in Hensington

⁵⁸ Sandford, nos.311, 336. They also established another camera in the county at Templeton, see Knowles and Hadcock, p.297.

⁵⁹ Sandford, nos.339-47, 350-7 (Inglewood); 334 (Blagrave); 363-6 (Inkpen); 333 (Great Shefford).

⁶⁰ See above p.190.

⁶¹ See above p.107.

⁶² See above p.173; Inquest, p.53.

⁶³ See above p.161.

⁶⁴ Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.187.

⁶⁵ Inquest, pp.52, 63.

⁶⁶ See above pp.158, 163; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.146v.

between c.1142-50; William fitz Roger of Sibford gave twelve hides of land in Sibford before 1153; while Agnes de Sibford gave one and a half hides and the chapel of Sibford in c.1153.⁶⁷ The order's twelfth century lands were augmented by Alan de Limesia's grant of five and a half hides at Broadwell, and the two churches of Cotesmore and Filkins, near Broadwell.⁶⁸ They also held eleven mills in the county in the twelfth century.⁶⁹ Its possessions were augmented greatly in the thirteenth century, particularly with the foundation of the preceptory of Sandford in c.1240, after the grant of the manor of Sandford by Thomas II de Sandford. The order's Sandford holdings originated in earlier grants by members of Thomas II's family, including a mill and fishing rights, and by 1338, they were valued at £170.⁷⁰ Elsewhere in Oxfordshire, the order's possessions were augmented in the thirteenth century by a number of smaller grants in a variety of places, including Cowley, Littlemore, Horspath, Warpsgrove, Easington and Esse.⁷¹ Larger grants were also given including that of half a hide in Stoke Talmage by Peter of Stoke Talmage before 1211,⁷² and that of three hides of land given by Walter de Wheatfield in c.1210.⁷³

⁶⁷ See above p.162; Sandford, nos.368-9, 382, 411. The order established a camera at Sibford. See Knowles and Hadcock, p.297.

⁶⁸ Inquest, p.54.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp.43, 45, 54, 56.

⁷⁰ See above pp.105-6; Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.189.

⁷¹ Sandford, nos.44-8, 50-7, 59-61, 69-88, (Cowley); 90-100, (Littlemore); 101-9, (Horspath); 169-72, (Warpsgrove); 173-207, (Easington); 438-59, (Esse): The order established a camera at Warpsgrove, see Knowles and Hadcock, p.297.

⁷² See above p.83.

⁷³ Sandford, no.377. The confirmatory charters of his brother and Countess Margaret of Winchester refer to his grant as being of three hides of land. See ibid., nos.378, 380.

In Hertfordshire, the order established Temple Dinsley in the 1140's. The preceptory probably owes its origin to King Stephen, who gave the order certain liberties and free customs in 1142.⁷⁴ Their possessions in the area were certainly enlarged by Bernard de Balliol's grants of eight carucates of land in Preston, and fifteen librates of land in Hitchin.⁷⁵ Gilbert the Earl of Pembroke gave four carucates of land in Weston, and 150 acres in Baldock,⁷⁶ in which two places he also added the altar dues of the churches, and King John gave a mill in the town.⁷⁷ The order was given two mills at Dinsley from King Stephen in c.1142.⁷⁸ In the thirteenth century, Henry III added to these earlier grants in the county, by giving the right of free warren to the order in Chelsyn, Dinsley, Preston and Charlton.⁷⁹

In Bedfordshire, the order held lands in Sharnbrook, and the church and mill of Langford from the donation of Simon de Wahull⁸⁰. In addition, they received mills in Millbrook, where they had a camera, and Radwell and Toddington.⁸¹ Several properties were also donated to the Templars at Folksworth and Ogerston, where they had a camera, in Huntingdonshire.⁸² In Buckinghamshire they held lands at Radnock from King John,⁸³ and also lands at Chalfont St.Peter, Calverton, Beachampton

⁷⁴ See above p.157.

⁷⁵ Inquest, pp.71-4.

⁷⁶ See above p.165.

⁷⁷ See above p.97.

⁷⁸ See above p.157.

⁷⁹ See above p.98.

⁸⁰ Inquest, pp.75-76, 77, 78.

⁸¹ Ibid., p.78, Knowles and Hadcock, p.297.

⁸² Inquest, p.117, Knowles and Hadcock, p.297.

⁸³ Dugdale, Monasticon, vi, 834.

and Wotton Underwood.⁸⁴ The order's preceptory at Bulstrode was probably a late development, being referred to in 1276.⁸⁵

In the west midlands and the areas bordering Wales, the order established several preceptories. In Herefordshire, they developed holdings based around the preceptories at Garway and Upleadon, and the camerae of Harewood, Rowstone and St.Wolfstan's.⁸⁶ Garway was probably established on the basis of the grant of right to assarts in 2000 acres near Garway, given by Henry II, and was worth £40 6s. 8d. in 1338,⁸⁷ while Upleadon appears to have been a foundation of William I Marshal, and was worth £28 12s. in 1338.⁸⁸ In Shropshire they established a preceptory at Lydley Heys between about 1155-60, where they were given one carucate of land by Herbert de Castello, and where they also held the mill of Lydley.⁸⁹ This property was valued at about £44 in 1308.⁹⁰ In addition, the order held a large estate at Cardington, where they were in the possession of the town, from the gift of William fitz Alan, who also provided them with the half vill of Chatwell.⁹¹ The order may also have had smaller preceptories at Halston, originally founded for the Hospitallers, and at Stanton Long, founded in c.1225, as well as a camera at Holtpreen.⁹² In Staffordshire, the order had one preceptory at Keele,

⁸⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.96 (Chalfont St.Peter); Inquest, p.46 (Calverton); Sandford, nos.471-3 (Beachampton); ibid., nos.476-8 (Wotton Underwood).

⁸⁵ Rot.Hund., i, 43.

⁸⁶ Knowles and Hadcock, p.292.

⁸⁷ See above p.95; Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.198.

⁸⁸ See above p.190; ibid., p.195.

⁸⁹ Knowles and Hadcock, 292; Inquest, pp.37, 40.

⁹⁰ V.C.H. Shropshire, ii, 86.

⁹¹ Inquest, pp.37-8.

⁹² Knowles and Hadcock, pp.292, 297.

founded before 1255.⁹³ In Keele their possessions included burgage properties from William fitz Robert Minch,⁹⁴ and these and other lands were worth £25 8s. 11d. in 1332.⁹⁵

In Warwickshire the order established two preceptories at Balsall in 1142 and Warwick in about 1135, and had two camerae at Arbury and Fletchamstead.⁹⁶ They held three large manorial estates at Sherborne from the Earls of Warwick, at Balsall from Roger I de Mowbray and in Barston from Robert de Marmion.⁹⁷ In 1338 the Balsall estates were worth £52 3s. 6d., while those at Warwick were worth £59 0s. 1d.⁹⁸ In addition they had lands and rents in the city of Warwick itself,⁹⁹ and were also in possession of two churches at Sherborne and Cardington, and eight mills, plus mill land at Balsall.¹⁰⁰ In Leicestershire, although the order had a camera at Melton Mowbray,¹⁰¹ the only preceptory to be founded was at Rothley. This was founded in about 1231, by Henry III who granted his manor, augmenting the earlier grant of John de Harcourt, and by 1338 it was worth £7 2s. 4d.¹⁰² In the twelfth century the order had already received the mill of Market Bosworth from Robert de Harcourt, as well as several estates at Wymondham, Stapleford and Sawstern, attached

⁹³ Ibid., p.292.

⁹⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.167.

⁹⁵ Ibid., f.167v.

⁹⁶ Knowles and Hadcock, p.292, 297.

⁹⁷ See above pp.180-1, 182, 205.

⁹⁸ Larking, Hospitallers in England, pp.181, 182.

⁹⁹ Inquest, p.32.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., pp.26-7. They also held on mill in Worcestershire at Imeney, ibid., p.26.

¹⁰¹ Knowles and Hadcock, p.297.

¹⁰² See above pp.84-5; Larking, Hospitallers in England, p.177.

to the small Lincolnshire preceptory of South Witham.¹⁰³ Most of their possessions in Rutland were also attached to this preceptory, and included estates at Greetham, Tickencote and Emingham, where they received twelve bovates of land from Alice de Cundi.¹⁰⁴ In this county they also received the advowson of Stretton church.¹⁰⁵ The order's possessions in Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Northamptonshire were also relatively limited. No preceptories were established in any of these counties, although they did hold a number of estates such as at Marnham and Shelford in Nottinghamshire; Chesterfield in Derbyshire; and Bucton, Polebrook and Grendon and Yardley Hastings in Northamptonshire.¹⁰⁶

In Lincolnshire the order held a large number of possessions and established five preceptories and two camerae at Mere and Upton.¹⁰⁷ The first preceptory was probably that founded by Roger de Builli, who gave eleven bovates after 1135 at Willoughton,¹⁰⁸ and it was soon followed at some point in Stephen's reign by the foundation by the king of Eagle, one of the few Templar hospitals.¹⁰⁹ Aslacksby was founded in 1164 by Hubert de Ria who gave ten carucates of land in the village.¹¹⁰ South Witham was founded before 1164,¹¹¹ while Temple Bruer was established before 1185 by William de Ashby de la Launde, and was worth £177 7s. 7d. in 1308.¹¹² In 1338 Willoughton was the most valuable preceptory, worth

¹⁰³ See above p.181; Inquest, p.113.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp.112-3.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p.79.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., pp.80, 98, 116.

¹⁰⁷ Knowles and Hadcock, p.292, 297.

¹⁰⁸ Inquest, p.100.

¹⁰⁹ See above p.157.

¹¹⁰ Inquest, p.96.

¹¹¹ Knowles and Hadcock, p.297.

¹¹² See above p.74; V.C.H. Lincolnshire, ii, 213.

£202 2s. 8d.; followed by Temple Bruer, which was worth £94 4s. 4d.; Eagle, worth £66 13s.4d.; and Aslackby and South Witham worth £26 13s. 4d. each.¹¹³ Other large grants in the county included the six carucates given by David de Armenteres at Cranwell, thirty eight and one third bovates given by Simon Tuschet in Ashby de la Launde, and the nine bovates given by Robert de Caux in Braucewell.¹¹⁴ In total Lees has calculated that they held fifty three carucates in Kesteven and Holland, thirty five and a half in Lindsey and the Isle of Axholme, and seven in Witham and Ogerstan.¹¹⁵ Furthermore they also owned a total of twenty five mills or parts of mills, and twenty three churches or half churches.¹¹⁶

In the north of England, the order did not have any significant holdings in either Lancashire or Cumbria. In Northumberland too, although they held what was probably a manor rather than a preceptory at Temple Thornton from about 1205, their possessions were strictly limited.¹¹⁷ However, in Yorkshire the picture was very different. In that county the order established ten preceptories, and also had a chief preceptor for the whole county.¹¹⁸ The earliest preceptories to be established were probably those of Penhill and East Cowton in about 1142.¹¹⁹ They were developed from a gift which Roger I de Mowbray made to the order of timber from his forests in Nidderdale, Malzeard and

¹¹³ Larking, Hospitallers in England, pp.151, 156, 159, 160.

¹¹⁴ See above p.103.

¹¹⁵ Inquest, p.clxv.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., pp.78-80, 99-100, 112.

¹¹⁷ Knowles and Hadcock, p.292.

¹¹⁸ V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii, 256.

¹¹⁹ Knowles and Hadcock, p.292. Although compare with Parker, Templars in England, p.34, who suggests that Temple Hirst was the first Yorkshire foundation.

Masham.¹²⁰ In about 1152, Rannulf de Hastings gave the manor of Temple Hirst, which became the second Yorkshire preceptory.¹²¹ At some point before 1181, William de Villiers had given the order a series of grants in Skelton, Charlton and Whitkirk, and these formed the basis for the preceptory of Temple Newsham, which was involved in the purchase of sixteen carucates of land from William before his death in 1181.¹²²

All the other preceptories were thirteenth century establishments. The preceptory of Ribston was based on the grant of the manor and church of Ribston between 1217-24. At the same time he also added the vill and mills of Walshford and the vill of Hunsingore.¹²³ Ribston was jointly a preceptory with Wetherby (probably established in c.1240), where Robert fitz William of Derby gave the order the vill.¹²⁴ The Templars also held chapels at Ribston, Wetherby and Walshford.¹²⁵ Little is known about the two preceptories of Faxfleet (founded before 1220), and Foulbridge (founded before 1226), although Faxfleet appears to have been a chief recruiting centre for the order.¹²⁶ The last three preceptories to be developed in the county were Westerdale, based on the grant of a manor there by Guy de Bonincourt after 1240;¹²⁷ Whitley founded before 1248;¹²⁸ and Copmanthorpe based on the grant of the manor there by William

¹²⁰ See above pp.205-6. The original grant specified that the timber was for the establishment of three houses, although whether that at Stanghow was ever developed is not known.

¹²¹ See above p.63.

¹²² See above p.202.

¹²³ See above p.81.

¹²⁴ V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii, 258.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Ibid., iii, 257, 258, Knowles and Hadcock, p.294.

¹²⁷ Cal.Chart.R., 1226-57, 331.

¹²⁸ Ibid.

Malbys.¹²⁹ In 1308 the most valuable preceptory was that at Ribston and Wetherby, valued at £388 0s. 8d. Faxfleet was worth £290 4s. 10d.; Foulbridge was worth £254 3s. 2d.; Temple Newsham was worth £174 3s. 3d.; Whitley was worth £130 15s. 10d.; East Cowton was worth about £100; Copmanthorpe was worth £80 16s. 2d.; and Temple Hirst was worth £65 15s. 2 (1/2)d.¹³⁰

Although most of the Yorkshire preceptories were thirteenth century foundations, the Templars received the majority of their major landed grants in the twelfth century. In order of size, some of the largest grants they received included six carucates in Allerthorpe from Richard de Morville;¹³¹ six carucates in Cowton from Robert de Chambard;¹³² six carucates in Cold Kirby from Richard de Croer;¹³³ four carucates in Cliff from the Bishop of Durham;¹³⁴ and four carucates in Weedley from Roger I de Mowbray.¹³⁵ Lees has estimated that the order held about seventy carucates in the period before 1185,¹³⁶ and furthermore they also received at least two churches and six mills.¹³⁷

¹²⁹ V.C.H. Yorkshire, iii, 257.

¹³⁰ Ibid., iii, 257-60.

¹³¹ See above p.200, n.347.

¹³² Inquest, p.119.

¹³³ Ibid., p.129.

¹³⁴ Ibid., p.126.

¹³⁵ See above p.205.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p.ccxii.

¹³⁷ Ibid., pp.127, 131-4.

2) THE ORDER OF ST.LAZARUS.

The Order of St.Lazarus appears to have held most of its possessions in eastern Leicestershire. The most important centre was at Burton Lazars. In addition to the hospital there, the order was in possession of a relatively large amount of landed wealth. Thus apart from the two carucates of land granted by Roger I de Mowbray as part of his foundation charter,¹³⁸ the order held a further twenty bovates, plus a miscellaneous collection of ploughlands, meadows, messuages and tofts and crofts.¹³⁹ Given that the Leicestershire carucate amounted to about 120 acres and eight bovates,¹⁴⁰ it seems that the order's landed holdings in Burton Lazars itself totalled at least 540 acres, and in addition to this they were also given a small amount of rent, one windmill and the site of a mill.¹⁴¹

In Melton Mowbray, to the north, although the order owned two mills,¹⁴² their landed possessions were not so extensive as in Burton Lazars. The grant there of half a carucate, six bovates and meadowland, probably never amounted to more than about 150 acres, depending on the size of their meadow holdings.¹⁴³ In the near vicinity of Melton Mowbray, the order also held a small amount of land in Brentingby and Sysonby, and in the latter village they were also given a small amount of rented property.¹⁴⁴ In Kirby Bellars, to the west, their holdings were rather larger, although they did include some later thirteenth and early

¹³⁸ See above p.119.

¹³⁹ For the Burton Lazars charters see above p.230, n.44.

¹⁴⁰ V.C.H. Leicestershire, ii, 276.

¹⁴¹ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.3, 12.

¹⁴² Ibid., f.6.

¹⁴³ For the grants at Melton see above p.230, n.46.

¹⁴⁴ See above p.230, notes 47, 49.

fourteenth century grants by members of the Beler family, which included one carucate given by Roger III in 1316.¹⁴⁵ In total they held at least 720 acres, and a little meadowland, several tofts and crofts, part of a mill and a number of small rents.¹⁴⁶

To the south of Burton Lazars, the order had smaller holdings in Pickwell, where they held at least 150 acres, including the grant of one carucate made by Louis of Pickwell in the later twelfth century.¹⁴⁷ They held about the same amount of land in Leesthorpe,¹⁴⁸ and a little less in Great Dalby, where they were given one carucate of land by Richard Burdet, in the later twelfth or early thirteenth centuries.¹⁴⁹ They also held small properties in Little Dalby, Burrough on the Hill, Thorpe Arnold or Thorpe Satchville and Twiford.¹⁵⁰

Other relatively large possessions that the order held in Leicestershire were those to the south, in the vicinity of Cold Newton. In this village they held a little over 750 acres of land, including two carucates from William III Burdet, and one carucate from William fitz John of Cold Newton, both probably given in the early thirteenth century.¹⁵¹ Near by the order was given the advowson of the two churches of Galby and Lowesby from William I Burdet before 1184, the only two churches that the order had possession of in the county.¹⁵² In the same grant, William gave the order its second Leicestershire hospital at Tilton at the same

¹⁴⁵ See above p.145.

¹⁴⁶ See above p.230, n.45.

¹⁴⁷ See above p.230, n.48; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii f.43.

¹⁴⁸ See above p.230, n.48.

¹⁴⁹ See above pp.128, 230, n.50,

¹⁵⁰ See above p.230, notes 48, 50.

¹⁵¹ See above pp.81, 129.

¹⁵² See above p.127.

time, where they had a limited amount of landed property.¹⁵³ At Billesdon they were given a small amount of land, which probably never totalled more than about 180 acres, although they were given pasturage for thirty sheep, and were the recipients of a rent of three shillings from Endo de Launde.¹⁵⁴

Apart from these grants, the only other recorded gifts were those to the west of the county, including those in the parish of St.Nicholas', and a rent of ten shillings in Leicester, given by Robert III the Earl of Leicester before 1190.¹⁵⁵ The most substantial grant in this part of Leicestershire though was the large scale holding of three and a half carucates, which appears to have been given to the order at some point before 1214 in South Croxton, and which land eventually passed to the canons of Malton priory.¹⁵⁶ Other smaller grants in western Leicestershire included those in Barrow-upon-Soar, Evington, Kimcote and Walton.¹⁵⁷ By 1291 the order's lands in Leicestershire were valued at £32 0s. 4d, and were described as being distributed among the deaneries of Leicester, Gartree, Goscote, Framland and Guthlaxton, with the most valuable properties being in Goscote and Framland, which included within their boundaries, Cold Newton and Burton Lazars respectively.¹⁵⁸

Despite the problems of the survival of evidence, it seems clear that it was only in Leicestershire, that the order held relatively largescale possessions. However, the order did own a number of

¹⁵³ See above p.231, n.53.

¹⁵⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, f.82.

¹⁵⁵ See above p.52.

¹⁵⁶ B.L. ms. Cotton Claudia Dxi, f.217v.

¹⁵⁷ Leicestershire Record Office, DG40/226; B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Cxii, fols.4, 114.

¹⁵⁸ Caley, Tax.Ecc., p.71.

possessions in several other English counties in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Of the counties bordering Leicestershire, the order seems to have held some property in Northamptonshire in the deanery of Haddon, valued in 1291 at 6s. 8d.¹⁵⁹ In this county they also seem to have possessed the advowson of the church of Haselbeeche. This was promised to the order before 1184, by William I Burdet after the death of his son Robert.¹⁶⁰ However, for how long, if at all, the order actually enjoyed possession of this church is somewhat debateable, because a charter of William III Burdet clearly reserved the advowson of the church to himself.¹⁶¹ In Rutland, the order held limited possessions in Whissendine, including a mill granted by Count Simon III de Senlis before 1184, and a rent of twenty shillings from meadow grass given by David Earl of Huntingdon before 1185.¹⁶² By 1291, their land in this county was valued at only 3s. 7d.¹⁶³

In Derbyshire the order held manors at Spondon and Locko as well as lands at Borrowash.¹⁶⁴ The lands at Spondon and Locko were valued in 1291 at £5 6s. 10d.¹⁶⁵ William I de Ferrers the Earl of Derby had given the order the advowson of the church of Spondon in about 1180,¹⁶⁶ and the ten pounds worth of land that the order was recorded as holding in 1274, were probably connected with the church.¹⁶⁷ The early fourteenth century

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p.54.

¹⁶⁰ See above p.127.

¹⁶¹ See above p.129.

¹⁶² See above pp.196-7, 217.

¹⁶³ Caley, Tax.Ecc., p.71.

¹⁶⁴ Rot.Hund., i, 58.

¹⁶⁵ Caley, Tax.Ecc., p.264.

¹⁶⁶ See above p.52.

¹⁶⁷ Rot.Hund., i, 58.

saw further gifts in the town totalling over 160 acres including meadows and a rent of nine shillings.¹⁶⁸ In Locko the order had established a preceptory at some point, probably in the thirteenth century, and this presumably formed the basis of the order's manor in that village, which included at least forty acres of land by 1274.¹⁶⁹ This preceptory was rather different to the other houses of the order, in that until at least 1347, it was subject not to the Master of Burton Lazars, but to the Master at Boigny in France.¹⁷⁰

In Lincolnshire, the order held three hospitals, although Holy Innocents at Lincoln was only given to them in 1461 by Edward IV.¹⁷¹ The most important of the two earlier houses was that established at Carlton le Moorland with the help of the Amundeville family, who also provided the order with lands, rents, and pasturage for a total of sixty sheep, two horses, four cattle, five drought animals and ten pigs. It is difficult to be certain as to the total extent of the Carlton lands, although the total acreage must have reached almost 200 acres, including grants of half a carucate from Rannulf I de Amundeville and one carucate from his grandson Elias II before 1231.¹⁷²

The other Lincolnshire hospital was that established at Threekingham. Evidence for such a house is rather limited, although a brother James, Master of the hospital of St.Lazarus at Threekingham is recorded in 1319.¹⁷³ The order certainly held the possession of the

¹⁶⁸ Cal.Pat.R., 1307-13, 513.

¹⁶⁹ Knowles and Hadcock, p.325; Rot.Hund., i, 58.

¹⁷⁰ Cal.Close R., 1346-1349, 338, 382.

¹⁷¹ See above p.36, n.127.

¹⁷² For the Amundeville connection with the Hospital of Carlton see above pp.134-40.

¹⁷³ Cal.Pat.R., 1317-21, 378.

advowson of the church of that village, worth £20 in 1291,¹⁷⁴ along with the neighbouring churches of Heckington and Great Hale, all three given by Earl Simon III de Senlis before 1184.¹⁷⁵ In the valuation of 1291, the order's landed property in Lincolnshire was worth £13 1s. 9(3/4)d, and was distributed among the deaconries of Lincoln, Grimsby, Grantham, Avalund, Bolingbrooke and Lafford.¹⁷⁶ As far as specific lands are concerned, the order held some small properties in Little Hale given between 1284 and 1291, and also in Stowe, granted in the early years of Edward I's reign.¹⁷⁷

In this period, the order held lands in Norfolk, Sussex, Northumberland and Yorkshire. The order's lands in Norfolk were distributed among the deaneries of Holt, Hitcham and Burnham, which were valued in 1291 at £12 8s. 2d.¹⁷⁸ Both Clay and Knowles and Hadcock suggest that the Norfolk possessions of the order included two hospitals at Chosely and Wymondam.¹⁷⁹ However, there seems to be some confusion concerning the existence of these two establishments. Thus Knowles and Hadcock and the author of the entry on Wymondham hospital in the Victoria County History of Norfolk, both suggest that the hospital was inaugurated with the gift in 1146 of land at Chosely in Wymondham parish.¹⁸⁰ However, Chosely was in north western Norfolk in the deanery of Hitcham, while Wymondham was at some distance from that place, lying near Norwich

¹⁷⁴ Caley, Tax.Ecc., p.61.

¹⁷⁵ See above p.197.

¹⁷⁶ Caley, Tax.Ecc., p.71.

¹⁷⁷ Cal.Fine R., i, 293; Rot.Hund., i, 256.

¹⁷⁸ Caley, Tax.Ecc., p.111.

¹⁷⁹ Clay, Medieval Hospitals, pp.306, 308, Knowles and Hadcock, pp.352, 406.

¹⁸⁰ Knowles and Hadcock, p.406; V.C.H. Norfolk, ii, 453. The reference in the V.C.H. is that given by John Nichols, see Nichols, History Leics., II.i, 273.

in the deanery of Hingham. It seems reasonable to assume that the 1146 grant was therefore used to found the hospital at Chosely which was certainly in existence in 1291.¹⁸¹ As far as the Hospital of Wymondam is concerned, Nichols appears to have confused the grant of William d'Aubigny of lands in Chosely, with another grant of c.1152. This gave the order twenty six acres of land in Wymondham itself, and probably provided the basis for a hospital there.¹⁸²

Rather less confusion is to be found with the order's possessions in Sussex, which were related to the leper Hospital at Harting. This leper hospital was actually founded by Henry de Hose in 1162, although when it came into the possession of the Order of St.Lazarus is not clear.¹⁸³ It must have been at some point after 1162 and before 1248, when the Master of the order, Terricus Alemannus sold the Hospital and acquired lands at Upton and East Harting in Sussex, including the four acres in Upton and East Harting given by Alice the wife of Hugh de Gimdeville.¹⁸⁴

In Northumberland, the order also apparently had control of one hospital at Harehope. Hodgson noted that there was no record connecting the grant of the Hospital of Harehope founded before 1230, to the Order of St.Lazarus.¹⁸⁵ In 1292, the Master of Burton Lazars claimed that he and his men at Harehope held a variety of lands and possessions in Northumberland, including Ditchburn, Mitford, Bewick and Eglington. However, as Hodgson notes, it is very likely that the claims made were

¹⁸¹ Caley, Tax.Ecc., p.94.

¹⁸² Bodl. add.ms.31346.

¹⁸³ V.C.H. Sussex, ii, 103.

¹⁸⁴ B.L. ms. Cotton Vespasian Exxiii, f.106.

¹⁸⁵ Hodgson, "Manor of Harehope", 77-8.

somewhat exaggerated, and there is no supporting evidence to substantiate any of them.¹⁸⁶

There are similar problems regarding the possessions of the order in Yorkshire. Richard Holmes has claimed that the order had possession of the two hospitals of St. Michael's at Foulsnape near Pontefract and St. Leonard's at Sheffield.¹⁸⁷ In the former case his claim appears to be substantiated by two charters. One refers to the lands of the Lazarites at Foulsnape, while another is in the form of an agreement between Terricus Alemannum and the Cluniac convent of St. John's regarding the non payment of tithes by the hospital to the Cluniacs.¹⁸⁸ However, as for the Hospital at Sheffield, there is no evidence for any connection between the order and the hospital, and Holmes does not provide the evidence to substantiate his statement linking the order with the hospital, as he fails to do for his references for hospitals of the order in Westminster, Ilford and Ripon.¹⁸⁹

There is however, some clearer evidence regarding the order's other possessions in Yorkshire. At some point before 1177, Henry de Lacy gave the order the advowson of the church of Castleford, near Pontefract.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore the order was the recipient of grants from Roger I de Mowbray, the founder of Burton Lazars. Thus he gave them three marks of rent from his mill at Thirsk between c.1154-65, and 2s. rent from another mill at Masham between 1166-86.¹⁹¹ Finally, two of Roger's tenants,

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., 78.

¹⁸⁷ Holmes, "Hospital of Foulsnape", 545.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., 549-50.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., 545.

¹⁹⁰ See above p.52.

¹⁹¹ See above p.118.

Herbert and Rannulf de Queniborough gave rents of half a mark in Coxwold.¹⁹²

There are also a number of miscellaneous references to possessions of the order, scattered over several other English counties. These include reference to the fact that the order held some land at Offord Davey in Huntingdonshire, which it leased out late in Henry III's reign. In addition, it seems that the order also held some land in the first half of the thirteenth century in Winchester (Wiltshire); in Kingston upon Thames in 1250; and in Newark (Nottinghamshire) before c.1210.¹⁹³ Finally, although outside the period of our consideration, the order was given the Hospital of St.Giles at Holborn in 1299 by Edward I.¹⁹⁴ This had been founded in the early twelfth century by Matilda, the wife of Henry I, and proved to be of some value to the order, including as it did the advowson of the church of Feltham (Middlesex).¹⁹⁵ However, it also brought some degree of trouble to the Masters of Burton Lazars in the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries, and its possession by the order was not always secure.¹⁹⁶

¹⁹² See above p.118, n.176.

¹⁹³ B.L. add.ch.33635 (Offord Davey); B.L. ms. Cotton Vespasian Exxiii, f.106 (Winchester); Fees, 1236 (Kingston upon Thames); C.W.Foster ed., Registrum Antiquissimum III (Lincoln Record Society) xxix (1935) nos.917-8 (Newark).

¹⁹⁴ See above p.171.

¹⁹⁵ V.C.H. Middlesex, i, 206.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., i, 207-8.

APPENDIX II.THE TEMPLARS DURING THE REIGN OF KING STEPHEN (1135-54).

Commenting on the troubles of the reign of King Stephen, Lees suggested that although, "it would be unjust to say that they (the Templars) profitted by the disorder of the kingdom, ...they assuredly served both parties, and won rewards from the king and Empress alike."¹ Similarly, Parker, repeating almost verbatim the words of Lees, added that while the king was a great patron of the Templars, "...generous too were the rivals of Stephen in the context for the control of England..". Furthermore he stated that the evidence for this conclusion could be found in the sixty or so surviving charters making grants to the order.²

However, in an earlier section on the royal lordship of King Stephen, it was suggested that despite these comments, the majority of known patrons of the Templars during the reign were supporters of King Stephen and the house of Blois, rather than of the Empress Matilda and the Angevin party.³ The aim of this appendix is to present the evidence for this view, showing who the known patrons were in this period, and how many charters they gave to the order. In the following tables, each patron is listed under the side they were on during the civil war when they gave their charters, together with the number of charters they granted to the order. Those patrons with an asterisk are referred to in the following pages. Details on the allegiance and patronage of those not asterisked can be found in the section on Stephen's lordship.⁴

¹ Inquest, p.xl.

² Parker, Templars in England, pp.15, 16. The total is sixty seven charters, see above p.157, n.7.

³ See above p.170.

⁴ For the Empress Matilda see above p.94. For Roger de Cundy see above p.207. For Robert de Sandford see above pp.105-6.

King Stephen.

1) King Stephen	19.	15) Hilary, Bishop of Chichester	1.
2) Queen Matilda	3.	16) Robert de Chesney, Bishop	
3) Eustace of Boulogne	1.	of Lincoln	1.
4) Robert II, Earl of Derby	2.	<u>Total.</u>	40.
5) Gilbert, Earl of Pembroke	2.		
6) Simon II de Senlis	1.		
7) Simon III de Senlis	1.		
8) William III de Warenne	2.		
9) William II de Braiose	2.		
10) Adelizia de Louvain *	1.		
11) Philip de Harcourt	1.		
12) Turgis d'Avranches	1.		
13) Robert II d'Oilli	2.		

The Empress Matilda.

1) Empress Matilda			1.
2) Miles of Gloucester			1.
3) Reginald de St.Valéry *			2.
4) Henry de Hose *			1.
5) Philip de Harcourt, William de Harcourt and William II de Braiose			1.
6) Philip de Harcourt, Bishop of Bayeux			1.
<u>Total.</u>			7.

The allegiance of the following patrons is uncertain.

1) Bernard de Balliol *	1.
2) Theobald of Bec Archbishop of Canterbury	3.
3) Thomas de Buckland *	1.
4) Jeralmus de Corzun *	1.
5) Roger de Cundy	1.
6) Simon fitz Gilbert *	1.
7) Roger fitz Humphrey *	1.
8) Richard fitz Nigel *	1.
9) William fitz Roger de Sibford *	2.
10) Robert fitz William *	1.
11) William fitz William fitz Roger de Sibford *	1.
12) Robert de Sandford	1.
13) Agnes de Sibford *	1.
14) Peter de Studeley *	1.
15) Odo de Tolent *	1.
16) Simon Tuschet *	1.
17) Nigel de Vale Royal *	1.
<u>Total.</u>	20.

Total number of Charters	67.
Total number granted by King Stephen's party	40.
Total number granted by the Empress Matilda's party	7.
Total number granted by patrons whose allegiance is unknown	20.

Supporters of King Stephen.

Adelizia de Louvain. She gave the Templars part of her manor of Stanton (Oxfordshire) between December 1139-44.⁵ As she was the step-mother of the Empress Matilda, it might have been expected that she would have automatically been on her side. However, Adelizia had been re-married in 1138 to William d'Aubigny II, whose father had been Stephen's butler.⁶ Apart from one deviation, William II was consistently on Stephen's side, being created Earl of Lincoln, and then Earl of Arundel or Sussex, and witnessing a number of the king's charters.⁷ In view of this support, it can be reasonably assumed that Adelizia too was part of Stephen's party. The problem is that the one lapse in William's support came on 30 September 1139, that is during the time period given for the dating of the charter. On that date William II and his wife allowed the Empress Matilda to land at Arundel. Stephen forced them to hand her over to his charge, thereafter allowing her free passage to Bristol.⁸ In fact because the charter can be dated no earlier than December 1139, and was probably given between 1139-41, the likelihood is that it was given after the period of support, and thus when William II and his wife were part of Stephen's party.

⁵ B.L. ms. Harley 1708, f.20v. For the dating of the charter see B.R.Kemp, ed., Reading Abbey Cartularies I, (Camden Society, 4th series) (London, 1986), no.536.

⁶ Regesta iii, p.xviii.

⁷ Ibid., iii, nos.34, 46, 89, 117, 132, 134-5, 169-70, 192, 203, 271-2, 276, 399, 437, 469, 474, 521, 679, 736, 749, 827, 895-6, 944, 968.

⁸ Davis, King Stephen, pp.37-8.

Supporters of the Empress Matilda.

Reginald de St.Valéry. His grants to the Templars including the church of Beckley are referred to elsewhere.⁹ He was both the steward of the Empress and Geoffrey Duke of Anjou.¹⁰ Although he witnessed one charter of King Stephen between January 1139 and April 1147, the other charters he witnessed were those of members of the Angevin party.¹¹ Thus he witnessed seven charters of Geoffrey and two each of the Empress and Duke Henry.¹²

Henry de Hose.

He gave the Templars lands in Sparsholt.¹³ The reason for suggesting that he was in the Empress Matilda's party is that he witnessed four charters of Duke Henry.¹⁴

Patrons whose allegiance is unknown.

Bernard de Balliol. He gave the order fifteen librates of land in Hitchin on 27 April 1147.¹⁵ His grant of wasteland in Dinsley was confirmed by King Stephen.¹⁶

⁹ See above p.45.

¹⁰ Regesta, iii, pp.xxxi, xxxv-vi.

¹¹ Ibid., iii, no.853.

¹² Ibid., iii, nos.17, 53, 57, 303-4, 381, 665 (Geoffrey); 71-2 (Empress Matilda); 600-1 (Duke Henry).

¹³ See above p.259.

¹⁴ Regesta, iii, nos.306, 795, 875, 1000.

¹⁵ B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.125.

¹⁶ See above p.158.

Thomas of Buckland. He gave four and a half acres of land between c.1153-85.17

Jeralmus de Corzun. See William fitz Roger de Sibford.

Simon fitz Gilbert. See Agnes de Sibford.

Roger fitz Humphrey. He gave land in Inglewood before 14 September 1148.18

Richard fitz Nigel. He gave half a hide in Bletchingdon before 1151.19

William fitz Roger de Sibford. William fitz Roger de Sibford gave two charters to the order in which he gave, and then extended, a grant of nine hides of land in Sibford before 1153.20 These grants were confirmed in the same period by his son William fitz William fitz Roger de Sibford and his feudal overlord Jeralmus de Corzun.21 It is conceivable that they could be placed on King Stephen's side as they were all connected with Robert II, Earl of Derby who was a consistent supporter of King Stephen, and the overall feudal lord of the Sibford lands.22

Robert fitz William. He confirmed the grant of Henry de Hose in Sparsholt.23 It is possible that he could be placed on the side of King Stephen as his feudal lord was Robert II Earl of Derby, the overall feudal lord of the fee in which Henry de Hose made his grant.24 However,

17 B.L. ms. Cotton Nero Evi, f.130.

18 See above p.259.

19 Sandford, no.463.

20 See above p.261.

21 Sandford, nos.372 (William fitz William fitz Roger de Sibford); 370 (Jeralmus de Corzun).

22 Inquest, pp.cxxi-ii.

23 Sandford, no.313.

24 Ibid.

this would contradict the placing of Henry de Hose on the Empress Matilda's side because of his association with Duke Henry.25

William fitz William fitz Roger de Sibford. See William fitz Roger de Sibford.

Agnes de Sibford. She gave the chapel of Sibford and one and a half hides of land in 1153.26 This grant was confirmed by her son Simon fitz Gilbert confirmed at some point after 1153,27 and an earlier version by Peter de Studeley in c.1150.28

Peter de Studeley. See Agnes de Sibford.

Odo de Tolent. He gave land in Hensington between c.1145-50.29

Simon Tuschet. Simon's patronage of the order in Ashby de la Launde is discussed above.30

Nigel de Vale Royal. He confirmed the grant of Henry de Hose in Sparsholt.31

25 See above p.282.

26 See above p.261.

27 Sandford, no.384.

28 Ibid., no.383, p.256, n.1.

29 See above p.260-1.

30 See above pp.186-7.

31 Ibid., no.312.

A rather obvious argument against the findings of this survey is that it takes account only of those charters that have survived from the reign, and ignores many possible patrons who were living in this period, and whose grants were recorded in pieces of evidence including the Inquest of 1185. In answer to this criticism two things can be made clear. In the first place, it is very difficult to prove that the hundreds of patrons referred to in the Inquest did actually make their grants between 1135-54. In the second place, the arguments of historians like Parker have been based on the existing charter evidence, and his views have clearly been disproved here.

Moreover, of those other grants to the Templars that can be proved to have been made in this period, once again the balance favours King Stephen's party. Thus King Stephen's foundation at Eagle was obviously made in this period.³² In addition, Gilbert de Clare's extensive patronage in Weston, Baldock and Radnock was also made between 1138-48, the period between his becoming earl and his death.³³ Furthermore, although Roger I de Mowbray appears to have been alienated from Stephen in c.1149,³⁴ before this date in c.1142, he was responsible for the foundation at Balsall.³⁵ Indeed the only patron of the order whose charter does not survive, but who seems to have supported the Angevins was Rannulf de Hastings, the brother of Richard Hastings the Master of the English Templars. He was responsible for the foundation of Temple Hirst, with his grant of a manor there in 1152.³⁶ His connection with the Empress Matilda's party is that he witnessed a charter of Robert Earl

³² See above p.157.

³³ See above p.165, and Davis, King Stephen, p.133.

³⁴ Greenway, Mowbray Charters, pp.xxvi-xxvii.

³⁵ See above p.205.

³⁶ See above p.63.

of Gloucester in 1146.³⁷ One further grant made in this period can be mentioned. This was the foundation of the preceptory of Willoughton after 1135, by Roger de Builli.³⁸ Unfortunately, he cannot be assigned to either side in the civil war.

Overall in terms of numbers of charters and known grants it was clearly Stephen and his supporters, rather than the Empress Matilda and her supporters from whom the Templars benefitted the most. Although the charters assigned to Stephen's party include far more confirmations than those assigned to the party of the Empress (twenty two to one), in total they also comprise a higher number of important grants.³⁹ These charters and the other known grants of the period include Stephen and Queen Matilda's grants in Cressing, Witham, Cowley, Dinsley and Eagle. Furthermore, they also include the very large donation made by Simon II de Senlis; Philip de Harcourt's important grant at Shipley; Gilbert de Clare's grants at Weston and Baldock; William III de Warenne's Lewes grant; and Roger I de Mowbray's foundation at Balsall.⁴⁰ On the side of the Empress the largest grant was that of Miles of Gloucester at Lockeridge, although the grant of Reginald de St.Valéry at Beckley; that of Philip and William de Harcourt and William II de Braiose at Sumpting; and that of Rannulf de Hastings at Temple Hirst were also relatively large.⁴¹ Yet, although the patronage of the Empress Matilda's party was by no means insignificant, it is obvious that it did not match that of the party of King Stephen. Therefore, the statements of Lees and Parker are in themselves correct, by reason of the fact that both sides in the wars of succession did patronise the Templars. As regards the degree of

³⁷ Regesta, iii, no.58.

³⁸ See above p.265.

³⁹ For the significance of these confirmations see above pp.159-60.

⁴⁰ See above pp.43, 157-8, 160, 163, 165, 205-6.

⁴¹ See above pp.45, 63, 161, 166.

patronage, which they imply was made in equal measure by both sides, their views should however be treated with caution.

APPENDIX III.GENEALOGICAL TABLES.

- 1) The Caux Family.
- 2) The Sandford Family.
- 3) The Burdet Family.
- 4) The Beler Family.

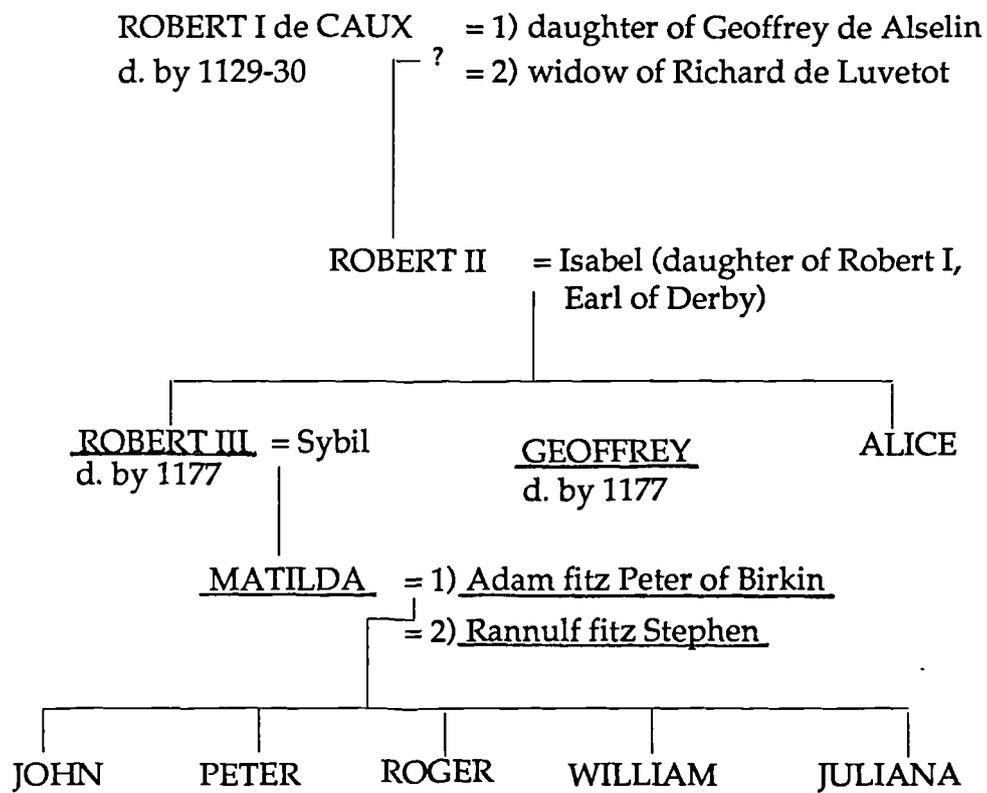
Notes:

i) The following genealogical tables have been chosen from the ten families that were considered in chapter three. The reason for choosing these particular families is that either their genealogies have not been published, or that they have been confused by their respective editors.

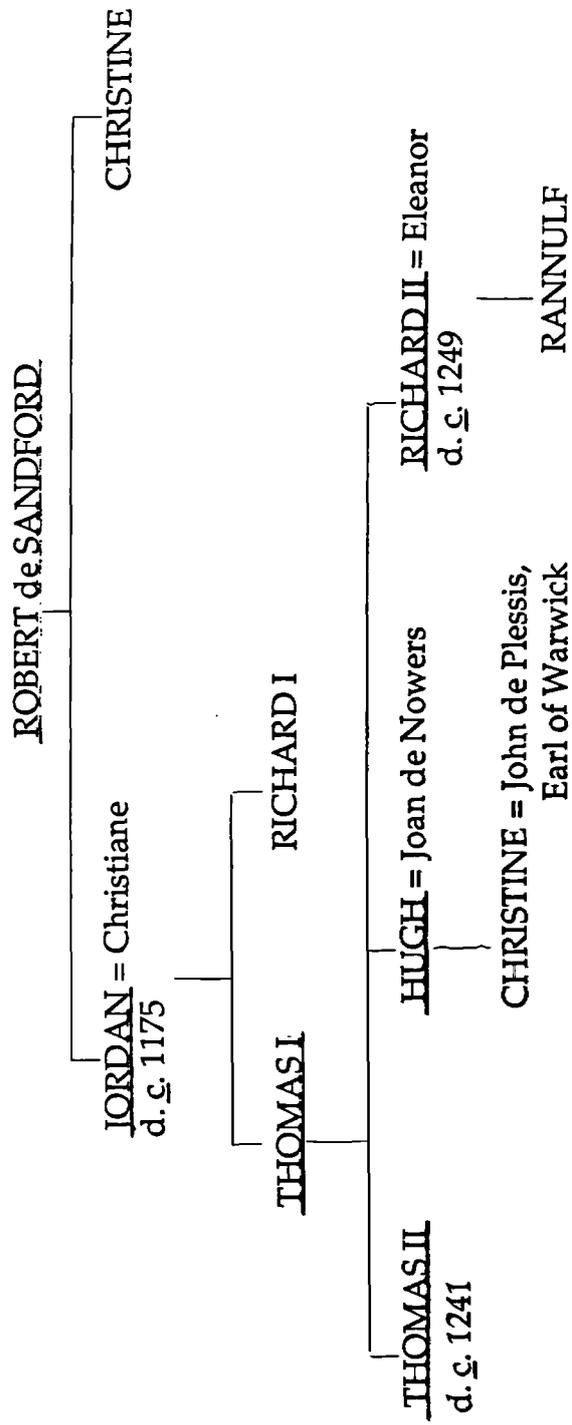
ii) Those individuals that have been underlined were patrons of one of the two orders.

iii) Individuals or groups of people have been placed in italics where the genealogy is not certain.

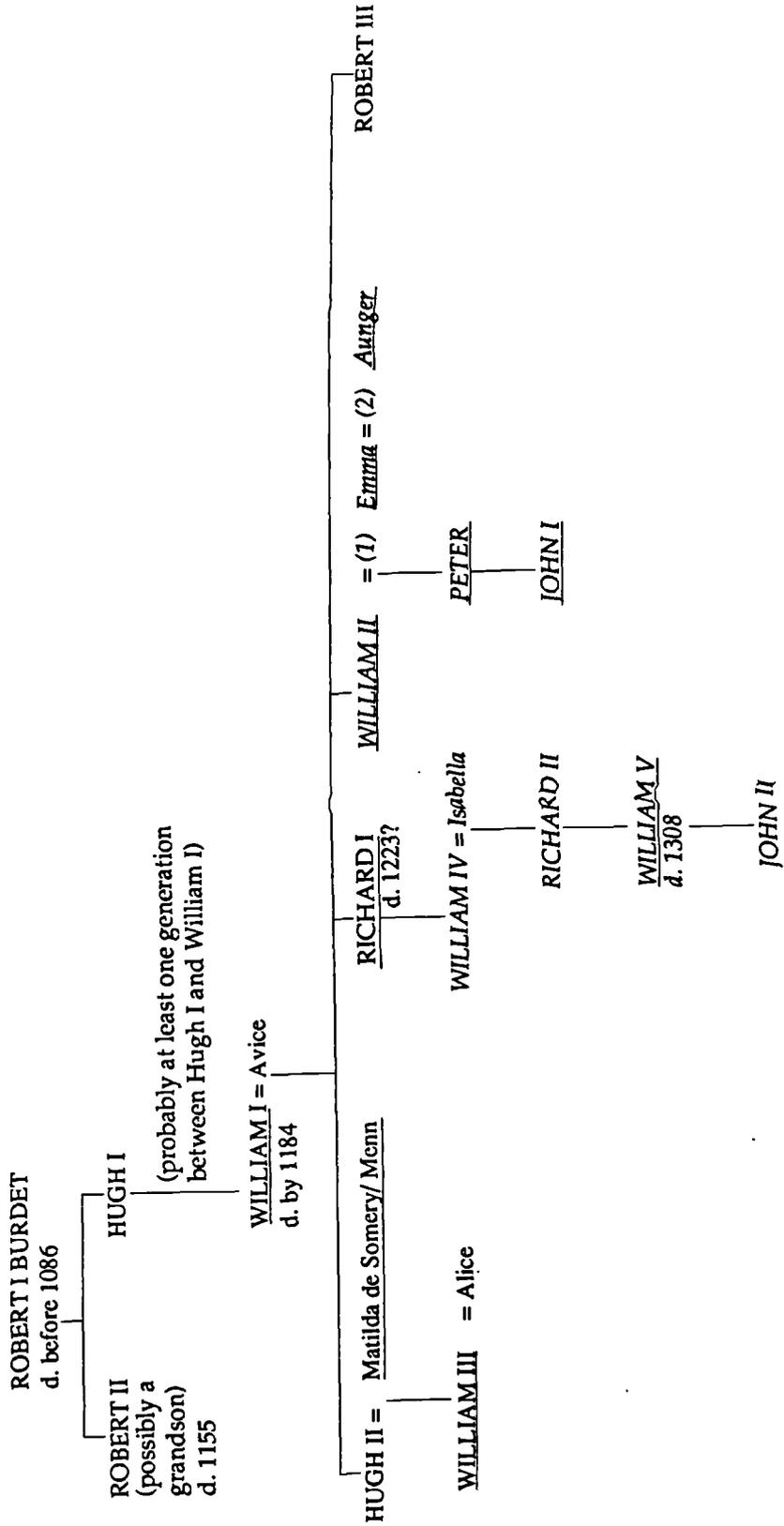
i) THE CAUX FAMILY



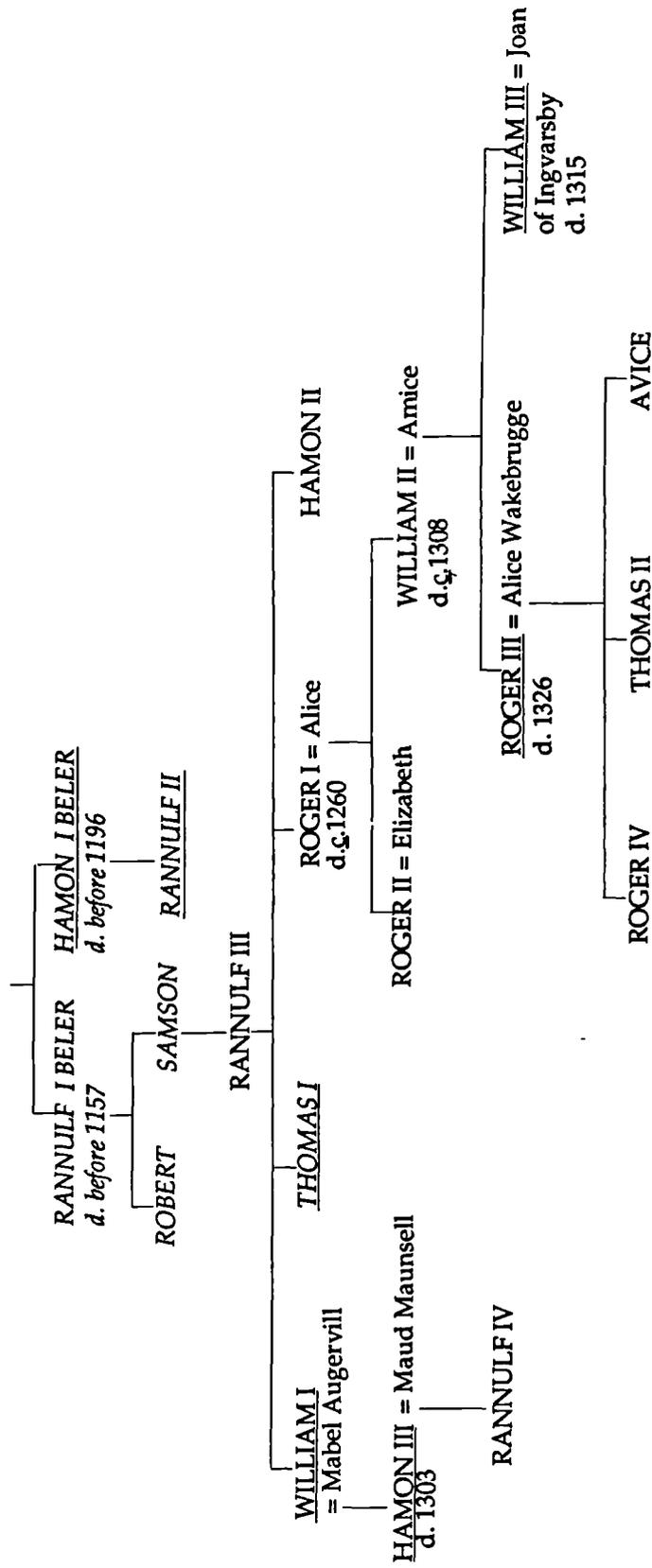
2) THE SANDFORD FAMILY



3) THE BURDET FAMILY.



4) THE BELER FAMILY.



APPENDIX IV.

MAPS.

- 1) The Preceptories of the Templars in England.
- 2) The Hospitals of the Order of St.Lazarus in England.
- 3) Burton Lazars and its environs.
- 4) The possessions of the Templars in Oxfordshire.
- 5) Croxton Kerrial and its environs.

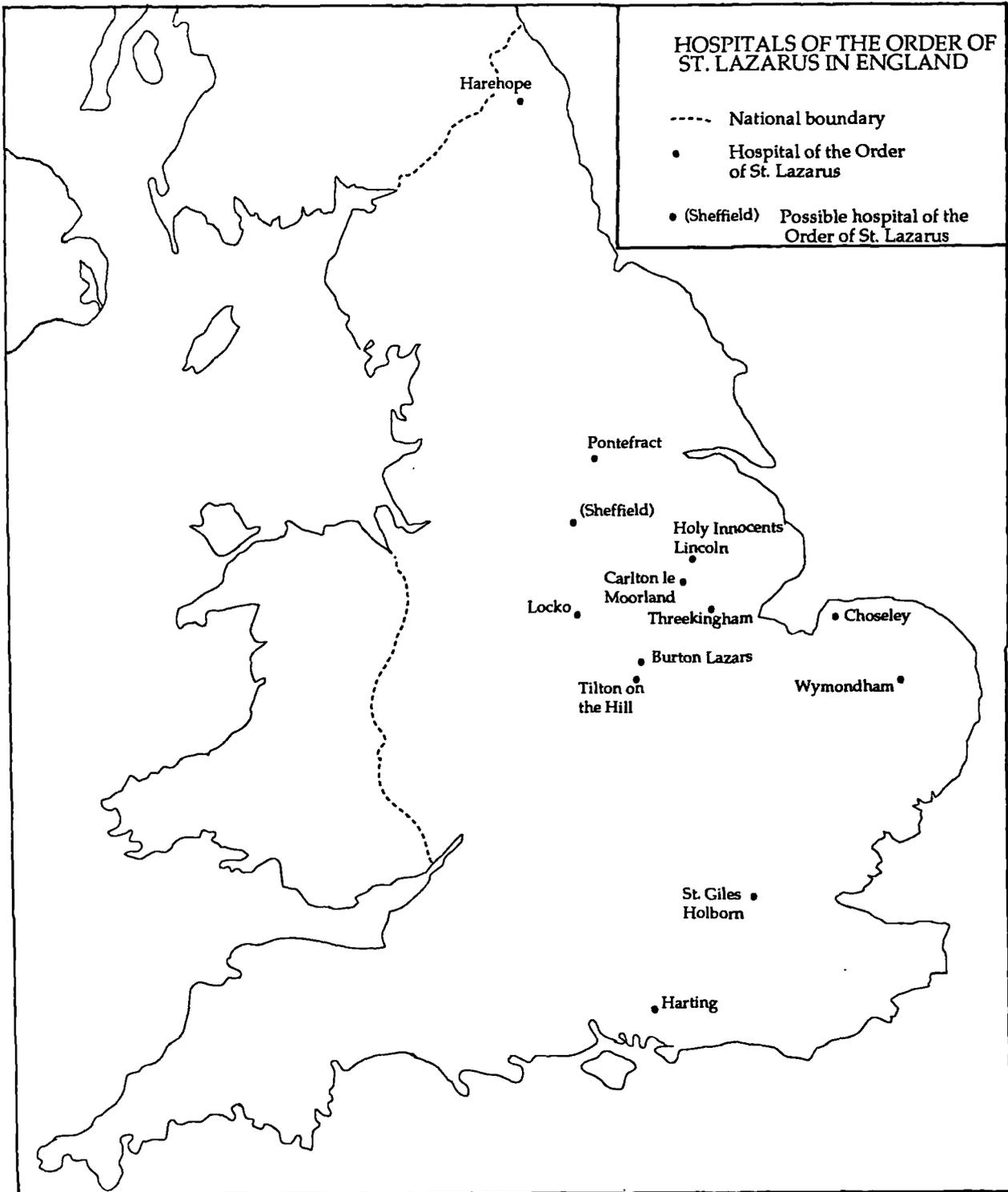
General notes:

- i) Maps 1 and 2 show the distribution of houses of the Templars and Order of St.Lazarus in England.
- ii) Map 3 shows the concentration of possessions (and patrons) in the vicinity of Burton Lazars, and should be consulted in reference to the section on geographical association in chapter five.
- iii) Maps 4 and 5 are provided to show the concentration of possessions of the Templars and the Abbey of Croxton Kerrial, also referred to in the same section in chapter five. They are provided here as a means of comparison with map 3. A key and notes to maps 3-5 are provided on pp.296-7.

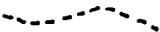
MAP 1.



MAP 2.



Key to maps 3-5:

- i)  county boundary.
- ii) † Owston
A (-1161) religious house, with the order and date of foundation.¹
- iii) Religious houses:
- | | |
|----|---------------------------|
| A | Augustinian canons. |
| B | Benedictine monks. |
| BA | Benedictine alien cells. |
| BN | Benedictine nuns. |
| C | Cistercian monks. |
| H | Hospital. |
| KH | Knights Hospitallers. |
| P | Premonstratensian canons. |
| S | Secular College. |
| SL | Order of St.Lazarus. |
| T | Knights Templars. |

Notes to maps 3-5:

i) Religious houses have been indicated to show their proximity to Burton Lazars, the houses of the Templars in Oxfordshire and Croxton Kerrial.

ii) On map 3 the fourteen religious houses in Leicester that had been founded before the suppression of the Order of St.Lazarus were:

- 1) Augustinian monks (c.1137).
- 2) Austin Friars (1254).
- 3) Dominican Friars (-1284).
- 4) Fransiscan Friars (-1230).
- 5) Friars of the Sack (-1274).
- 6) Hospital (-1189).
- 7) Hospital (1200).
- 8) Hospital (early 13th century).
- 9) Hospital (-1250).
- 10) Hospital (-1322).
- 11) Hospital (1331).
- 12) Hospital (1513).
- 13) Secular College (c.1107).
- 14) Secular College (1353-4).

¹ Foundation dates are those given in Knowles and Hadcock, with the exception of Burton Lazars. For the foundation of this house see above p.119.

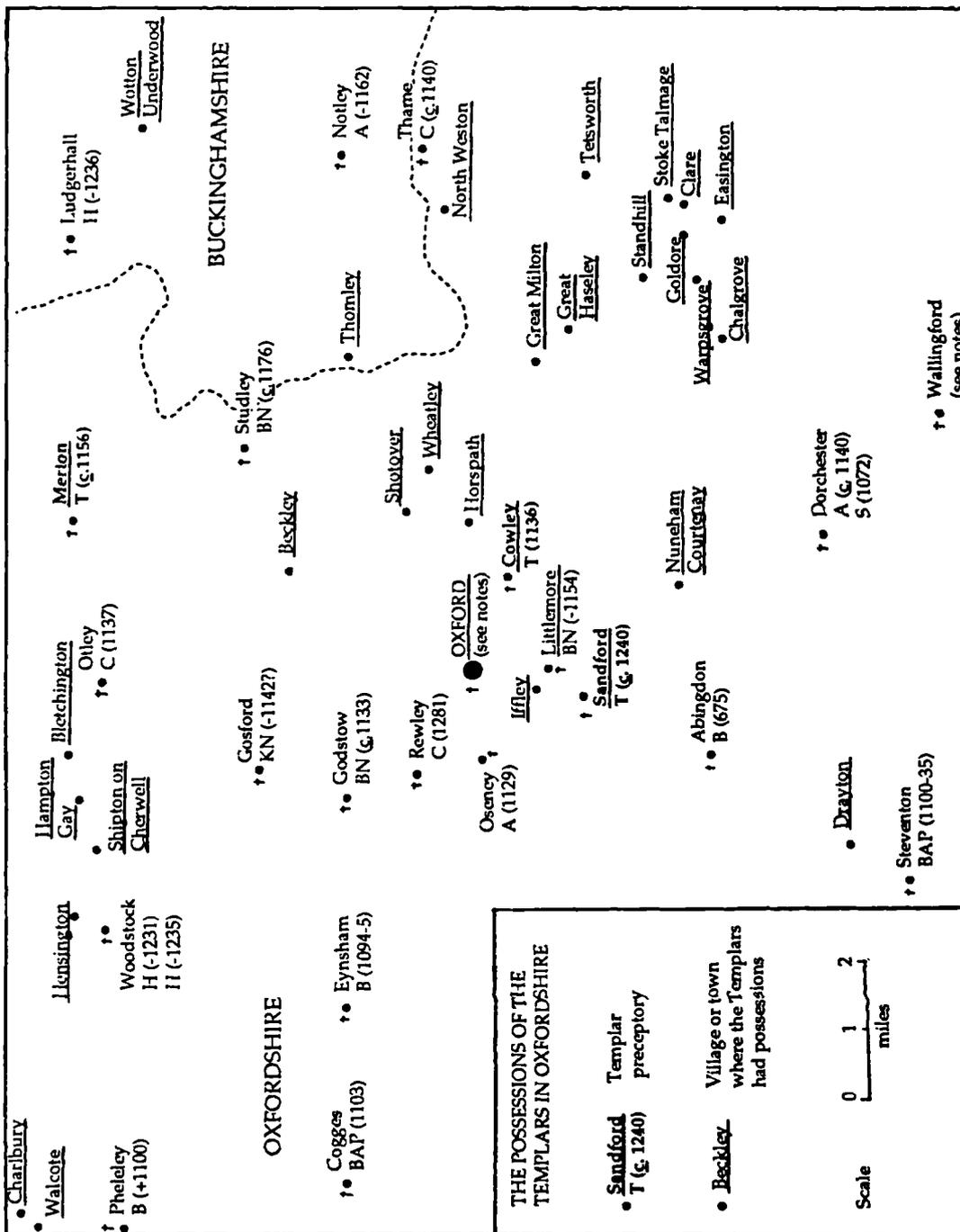
iii) On map 4, the nineteen religious houses that had been founded in Oxford before the dissolution of the Templars were:

- 1) Academic Secular College (1249-53).
- 2) Academic Secular College (1260).
- 3) Academic Secular College (1260-6).
- 4) Academic Secular College (1264).
- 5) Academic Secular College (1283-1301).
- 6) Academic Secular College (~1291).
- 7) Augustinian canons (1122).
- 8) Austin Friars (1266-7).
- 9) Benedictine monks (1283).
- 10) Benedictine monks (1286-91).
- 11) Carmelite Friars (1256).
- 12) Dominican Friars (1221).
- 13) Fransiscan Friars (1224).
- 14) Friars of the Sack (1261-2).
- 15) Hospital (-1129).
- 16) Hospital (c.1180).
- 17) Hospital (c.1234).
- 18) Secular College (1074).
- 19) Trinitarian Friars (1293).

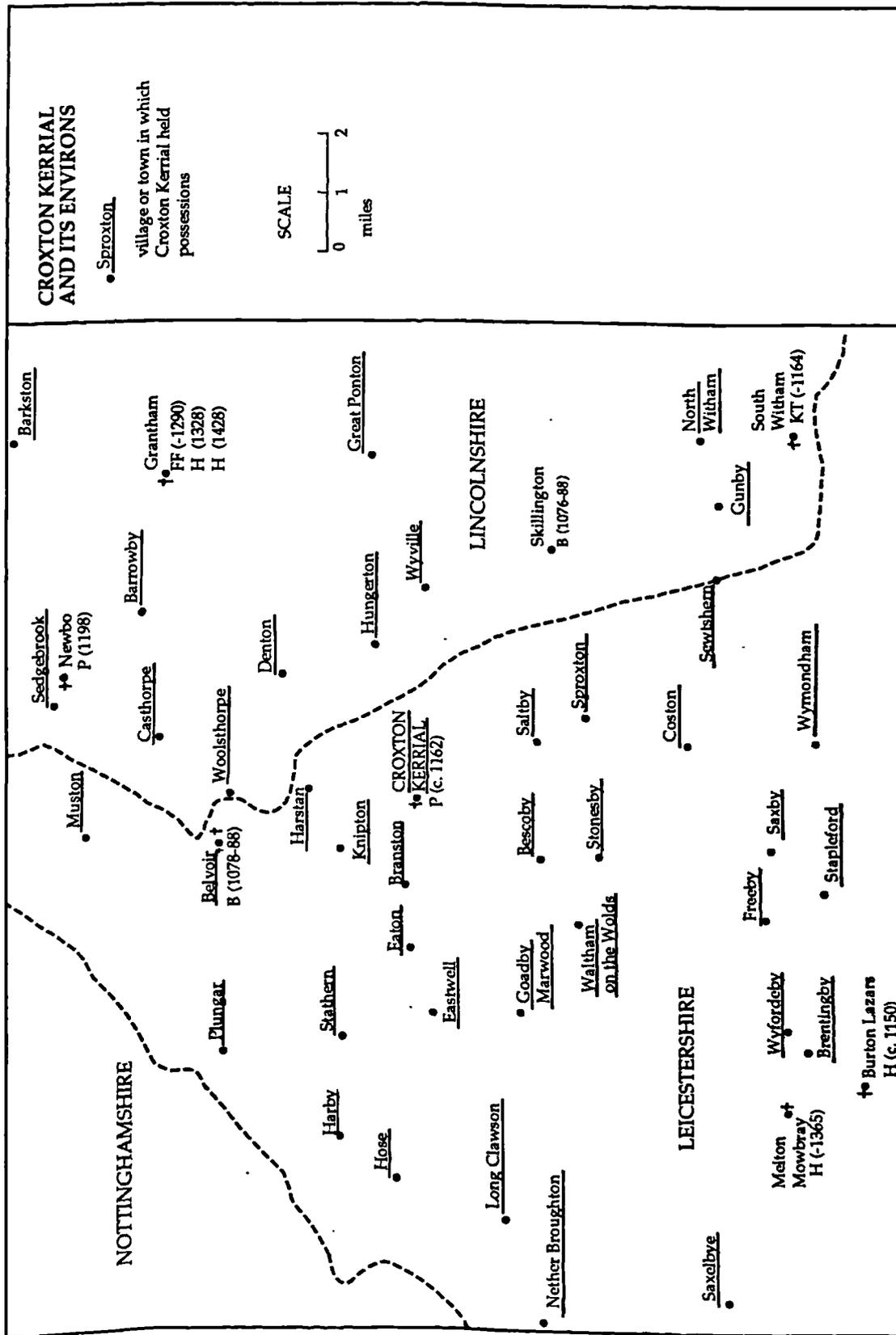
iv) On map 4 the four religious houses in Wallingford that had been founded before the dissolution of the Templars were:

- 1) Benedictine Monks (c.1087-9).
- 2) Hospital (-1224).
- 3) Hospital (-1226).
- 4) Secular College (+1087).

MAP 4.



Map 5.



BIBLIOGRAPHY.

BIBLIOGRAPHY.A) Manuscript Sources.Leicester. Leicestershire Record Office.

DE 2242/5.
 DE 2242/6/7.
 DG 40/226.

Lincoln. Lincolnshire Record Office.

Dii 90/2/9.
 Dii 90/2/10.

London. British Library.

ms. add. ch. 19864.
 ms. add. ch. 33635.
 ms. add. ch. 53710.
 ms. Cotton Claudia Dxi (Cartulary of Malton Priory).
 ms. Cotton Nero Cix (Cartulary of the Hospitallers in Cambridgeshire).
 ms. Cotton Nero Cxii (Cartulary of Burton Lazars).
 ms. Cotton Nero Evi (Cartulary of the Hospitallers in England).
 ms. Cotton Vespasian Exxiii (Cartulary of Dureford Abbey).
 ms. Harleian 3868 (Register of Lichfield Cathedral).
 ms. Harleian 4015 (Cartulary of St.Giles, Holborn).
 ms. Lansdowne 207E.

London. Public Record Office.

P.R.O.Petitions to Chancery and Exchequer SC8.110.15081.

Oxford. Bodleian Library.

ms. add. 31346.
 ms. Dugdale 39 (Liber Johannis Stillingflete).
 ms. Wood empt.10 (Cartulary of the Preceptory of Sandford).

Winchester. Winchester College.

Winchester College Muniments (Longload Drawer. Kirby's No.2. 12843).
 (Muniments of the Preceptory of Temple Combe).

B) Printed Sources.

i) Primary Sources.

Annales Monastica, ed., H.E.Luard, 5 vols. (Rolls Series, 1864-9).

"Calendar of the Muniments of Temple Combe", ed., R.A.Bartelot,
Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset, xxi (1935), 86-92.

Calendar of Chancery Warrants preserved in the Public Record Office
1244-1326, (London, 1927).

Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office
1226-1516, 6 vols. (London, 1903-27).

Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office
Edward I-Henry VII, 22 vols. (London, 1911-62).

Calendar of Documents preserved in France, illustrative of the History
of Great Britain and Ireland 918-1206, ed., J.H.Round, 2 vols.
(London, 1899).

Calendar of the Fine Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office,
1272-1509, 22 vols. (London, 1911-62).

Calendarium Genealogicum, Henry II and Edward I, ed., C.Roberts, 2 vols.
(London, 1865).

Calendar of Inquisitions Miscellaneous (Chancery) preserved in the
Public Record Office, 1219-1349, 2 vols. (London, 1916).

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and other analogous documents
preserved in the Public Record Office (Henry III-), in progress
(London, 1904-).

Calendar of Liberate Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office,
1226-1272, 6 vols. (London, 1917-64).

Calendar of Ormond Deeds, ed., E.Curtis, 6 vols. (Dublin, 1932-43).

Calendar of entries in the Papal Registers relating to Great Britain
and Ireland, 1198-1492, ed., W.H.Bliss et al., 14 vols. in 15
(London, 1893-1960).

Calendar of Patent Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office,
1232-1509, 52 vols. (London, 1891-1916).

Cartae Antiquae, eds., L.Landon and J.Conway Davies
(Pipe Roll Society, new series), xvii, xxxii (1939, 1960).

Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de Saint-Jean de
Jérusalem, ed., J.M.A.Delaville le Roulx, 4 vols. (Paris, 1894-1906).

Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple 1119?-1150, ed., Marquis d'Albon
(Paris, 1913).

Cartulaires des Templiers de Douzens, eds., P.Gérard and E.Magnou
(Paris, 1965).

- Cartulary of Daventry Priory, ed., M.J.Franklin (Northamptonshire Record Society), xxxv (1988).
- Cartulary and Historical Notes of the Cistercian Abbey of Flaxley, and otherwise called Dene Abbey, in the County of Gloucester, ed., A.W.Crawley-Baevey (Exeter, 1887).
- Cartulary of Oseney Abbey, ed., H.E.Salter, 6 vols. (Oxfordshire Historical Society), lxxxix-xci, xcvi, xcvi, ci (1929-36).
- Cartulary of the Knights of St.John of Jerusalem in England, ed., M.Gervers (Oxford, 1982).
- Catalogue of the Manuscripts preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge, 5 vols. (Cambridge, 1856-67).
- Charters of the Anglo-Norman Earls of Chester, c.1071-1237, ed., G.Barraclough (Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire), cxxvi (1988).
- Charters of the Honour of Mowbray 1107-1191, ed., D.E.Greenway (London, 1972).
- Chartularies of St.Mary's Abbey Dublin ed., J.T.Gilbert, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, 1884).
- Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office 1227-1272, 14 vols. (London, 1902-38).
- Curia Regis Rolls...preserved in the Public Record Office (Richard I-Henry III), in progress (London, 1922-).
- Descriptive Catalogue of Ancient Deeds in the Public Record Office, 6 vols. (London, 1890-1915).
- Documents Illustrative of the Social and Economic History of the Danelaw, ed., F.M.Stenton (London, 1920).
- Domesday Book, gen. ed., J.Morris, 34 vols. (Phillimore, 1975-86).
- The Earliest Lincolnshire Assize Rolls 1202-1209, ed., D.M.Stenton (Lincoln Record Society), xxii (1926).
- Early Yorkshire Charters, i-iii, ed., W.Farrer (Edinburgh, 1914-16); iv-xii, ed., C.T.Clay (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Records Series, extra series), i-iii, v-x (Wakefield, 1935-65).
- Etudes sur les actes de Louis VII, ed., A.Luchaire (Paris, 1885).
- Eynsham Cartulary, ed., H.E.Salter, 2 vols. (Oxfordshire Record Society), xlix, li (1907, 1908).
- Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland, ed., J.T.Gilbert, 4 vols. in 5 (London, 1874-84).
- Feudal Aids: Inquisitions and Assessments Relating to Feudal Aids, with Other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office, 1284-1431, 6 vols. (London, 1899-1920).

- Foedera, conventiones, litterae et cuiusunque generis acta publica inter regis Angliae et alios quosvis imperatores, reges pontifices, principes vel communitates, 1101-1654, ed., T.Rymer; new edition, ed., A.Clarke et al., 4 vols. in 7 parts (London, 1816-69).
- "Fragment d'un Cartulaire de l'Ordre de Saint Lazare de Jérusalem", ed., A.de Marsy, Archives de L'Orient Latin, ii (1884), 121-57.
- Gesta Stephani, ed. and trans., K.Potter (Oxford, 1976).
- L'histoire de Guillaume le Marechal, comte de Striguil et de Pembroke, régent d'Angleterre (c.1140-1219), ed., P.Meyer, 3 vols. (Paris, 1891-1901).
- "Itinerarium Peregrinorum et Gesta Regis Ricardi", in Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I, ed., W.Stubbs, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, 1864-5), i.
- Knights Hospitallers in England: being the Report of Prior Philip de Thame to the Grand Master Elyan de Villanova for A.D. 1338, eds., L.B.Larking and J.M.Kemble (Camden Society, old series), lxx (1857).
- Leicestershire Village Notes, ed. and trans., G.F.Farnham, 6 vols. (Leicester, 1929-33).
- Liber Feodorum. The Book of Fees commonly called Testa de Nevill, 2 vols. in 3 (London, 1920-31).
- Lincolnshire Domesday and Lindsey Survey, eds., C.W.Foster and T.Longley (Lincoln Record Society), xix (1924).
- Manuscripts of the Duke of Rutland, K.G. preserved at Belvoir castle, vol.4, calendared, J.H.Round, H.Maxwell Lyte and W.H.Stevenson (Historical Manuscripts Commission), xxiv (1888).
- Matthew Paris, Chronica Majora, ed., H.R.Luard, 7 vols. (Rolls Series, 1872-83).
- Papstürkunden in England, ed., W.Holtzmann, 3 vols. (Berlin and Göttingen, 1930-1952).
- Patent Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office, 1216-1232, 2 vols. (London, 1901-3).
- Pipe Rolls, 31 Henry I, ed., J.Hunter (Record Commission, 1833); 2-4 Henry II, ed., J.Hunter (Record Commission, 1844); 5-34 Henry II (Pipe Roll Society), various vols. between i and xxxviii (1884-1925); I Richard I, ed., J.Hunter (Record Commission, 1844); 2-10 Richard I (Chancellor's Roll for 8 Richard I) and 14 Henry III (Pipe Roll Society, new series), i-ix (1925-32); 1-14, 16-17 John (Pipe Roll Society, new series), various vols. between x and xxxvii (1933-64); 2-5 Henry III (Pipe Roll Society, new series), various vols. between xxxix-xlvi, in progress (1972-).
- Reading Abbey Cartularies, ed., B.R.Kemp, 2 vols. (Camden Society, 4th series), xxxi, xxxiii (1986, 1987).

- Records of the Borough of Leicester 1103-1603, ed.M.Bateson, 3 vols.
(Cambridge, 1899-1905).
- Recueil des actes de Henri II eds., L.Delisle and E.Berger, 4 vols.
(Paris, 1909-27).
- Records of the Templars in England in the Twelfth Century. The Inquest of 1185, B.A.Lees (London, 1935).
- The Red Book of the Exchequer, ed., H.Hall, 3 vols. (Rolls Series, 1896).
- Regesta Pontificum Romanorum, inde ab anno post christum natum MCXCVIII ad annum MCCCIV, ed., A.Potthast, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1874-5).
- Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1135-1154: III Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis, eds., H.A.Cronne and R.H.C.Davis (Oxford, 1968).
- Regesta Regum Scottorum I, The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153-1165, ed., G.W.S.Barrow (Edinburgh, 1960).
- Register of the Abbey of St.Thomas Dublin, ed., J.T.Gilbert (Rolls Series, 1889).
- Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln, eds., C.W.Foster and K.Major (Lincoln Record Society), 10 vols. (1931-68).
- Règle du Temple, ed., H.de Curzon (Paris, 1886).
- Roger of Howden, Chronica Rogeri de Houedene, ed., W.Stubbs, 4 vols. (Rolls Series, 1868-71).
- Roger of Howden (commonly attributed to Benedict of Peterborough), Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi Benedicti Abbatis. The Chronicle of the Reign of Henry II and Richard I, ed., W.Stubbs, 2 vols. (Rolls Series, 1867).
- Rotuli de Dominabus, ed., J.H.Round (Pipe Roll Society), xxxv (1913).
- Rotuli de oblatis et finibus in Turri Londonensi asservati, ed., T.D.Hardy (London, 1835).
- Rotuli Hundredorum temp. Hen.III and Edw.I in Turr.Lond' et in Curia Receptae Scaccarii Westm. asservati, ed., W.Illingworth, 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1812-8).
- Rotuli Litterarum Clausarum in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1204-27, ed., T.D.Hardy, 2 vols. (Record Commission, 1833-44).
- Rotuli Litterarum Patentium in Turri Londinensi asservati, 1206-16, ed., T.D.Hardy (Record Commission, 1835).
- Sandford Cartulary, ed., A.M.Leys, (Oxfordshire Record Society), xix, xxii (1937, 1940).
- Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae auctoritate P.Nicholai IV, ed., J.Caley (Record Commission, 1802).

Valor Ecclesiasticus (or Liber Regis) temp. Hen VIII, auctoritate regia institutus, ed., J.Caley (Record Commission, 1810-34).

William Archbishop of Tyre, A History of Deeds done beyond the Sea by William Archbishop of Tyre, eds., E.A.Babcock and A.C.Krey (New York, 1976).

ii) Secondary Sources.

Addison, C.G., The History of the Knights Templars, the Temple Church and the Temple (London, 1842).

Addison, C.G., The Temple Church (London, 1843).

Alexander, A.W., Ranulf of Chester: A Relic of the Conquest (Athens, Georgia, 1983).

Altschul, M., A Baronial Family in Medieval England: The Clares, 1217-1314 (Baltimore, 1965).

Barber, M.C., "The Origins of the Templars", Studia Monastica, xii (1970), 219-40.

Barber, M.C., The Trial of the Templars (Cambridge, 1978).

Barber, M.C., "The Social Context of the Templars", T.R.H.S. xxxiv (1984), 27-46.

Barlow, F., William Rufus (London, 1983).

Beebe, B., Edward I and the Crusades, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (St.Andrews, 1970).

Beebe, B., "The English Baronage and the Crusade of 1270", Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xlvi (1975), 127-48.

Belloy, P.de, De l'origine et institution de divers ordres de chevalerie tant ecclesiastique que prophanes (Montauban, 1604).

Blaauw, W.H., "Dureford Abbey - Its Fortunes and Misfortunes", Sussex Archaeological Collections, viii (1856), 41-96.

Blaauw, W.H., "Saddlescombe and Shipley, the Preceptories of the Knights Templars in Sussex", Sussex Archaeological Collections, ix (1858), 227-74.

Boussard, J., Le Gouvernement d'Henri II Plantaganêt (Paris, 1956).

Brooks, F.W., "The Hospital of Holy Innocents without Lincoln", Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, xlii (1937), 157-88.

Brundage, J.A., Medieval Canon Law and the Crusader (Madison, Milwaukee, London, 1969).

Buck, M., Politics, Finance and the Church in the Reign of Edward II (Cambridge, 1983).

- Bur, M., La Formation du comté de Champagne v.950-1150 (Nancy, 1977).
- Campbell, G.A., The Knights Templars. Their Rise and Fall (London, 1937).
- Cheney, C.R., Hubert Walter (London, 1967).
- Chetwynd-Stapylton, H.E., "The Templars at Templehurst", Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal, x (1889), 276-86, 431-43.
- Chibnall, M., "The Empress Matilda and Church Reform", T.R.H.S., xxxviii (1988), 107-30.
- Cibrario, L., trans.M.Ferrand, Précis Historique des Ordres de Saint-Lazare et Saint Maurice (Lyons, 1860).
- Clay, C.T., "The Family of Amundeville", Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society Reports, III.ii (1945-7), 109-36.
- Clay, C.T., "Notes on the Family of Amundeville", Archaeologica Aeliana, 4th series, xxix (1948), 60-70.
- Clay, C.T. ed., Early Yorkshire Families (Yorkshire Archaeological Society, Record Series), cxxxv (1973).
- Clay, R.M., The Medieval Hospitals of England (London, 1909).
- Clerk, G.T., "The Custumary of the manor and soke of Rothley in the County of Leicester", Archaeologia, XLVII.i (1882), 89-130.
- Complete Peerage by G.E.C.Cockayne, eds., V.C.Gibbs, H.A.Doubleday, Lord Howard de Walden and G.H.White, 13 vols. in 14 (2nd edition, London, 1910-59).
- Cookson, W.D., "On the Hospital of Holy Innocents, called Le Malardri, at Lincoln; with some account of ancient customs and usages touching leprosy", Lincolnshire Topographical Society (1843), 29-42.
- Cronne, H.A., The Reign of Stephen 1135-54 (London, 1970).
- Crouch, D., The Beaumont Twins (Cambridge, 1986).
- Davis, G.R.C., Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: a short catalogue (London, 1958).
- Davis, R.H.C., King Stephen, (3rd edition, London, 1990).
- Denholm-Young, N., Richard of Cornwall (Oxford, 1947).
- Dessubré, M., Bibliographie de L'Ordre des Templiers (Paris, 1928).
- Dictionary of National Biography, eds., L.Stephen and S.Lee, 63 vols., with supplements (London, 1885-1900).
- Dugdale, W., The Antiquities of Warwickshire Illustrated (Coventry, 1765).

- Dugdale, W., Monasticon Anglicanum, revised edition, J.Caley, H.Ellis and B.Bandinell, 6 vols. in 8 (London, 1817-30).
- Duncan, A.A.M., "The Earldom of Atholl in the Thirteenth Century", Scottish Genealogist, vii (1961), 2-10.
- Farnham, G.F., Leicestershire Medieval Pedigrees (Leicester, 1925).
- Farrer, W., Honors and Knights' Fees, 3 vols. (London, 1923-5).
- Ferris, E., "The Financial Relations of the Knights Templars to the English Crown", American Historical Review, viii (1902), 1-17.
- Forey, A.J., The Templars in the Corona de Aragón (London, 1973).
- Fowler, G.H., "The Beauchamps, Barons of Eaton", Bedfordshire Historical Record Society, ii (1914), 61-90.
- Fryde, N., The Tyranny and Downfall of Edward II 1321-1326 (Cambridge, 1979).
- Galbraith, V.H., "Monastic Foundation Charters of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries", Cambridge Historical Journal, iv (1934), 205-22.
- Gervers, M., The Hospitaller Cartulary in the British Library Cotton ms.Nero EVI (Toronto, 1981).
- Gillingham, J., Richard the Lionheart (2nd edition, London, 1989).
- Golding, B., "Simon of Kyme: The Making of a Rebel", Nottingham Medieval Studies, xxvii (1983), 23-36.
- Golob, P.E., The Ferrers Earls of Derby: A Study of the Honour of Tutbury (1066-1279), unpublished Ph.D. thesis (Cambridge, 1984).
- Grabois, A., "Anglo-Norman England and the Holy Land", Anglo-Norman Studies, vii (1984), 132-41.
- Grassi re, P.B.de la, L'ordre Militaire et Hospitalier de Saint Lazare de J rusalem (Paris, 1932).
- Giuseppi, M.S., "On the Testament of Sir Hugh de Nevill, written at Acre, 1267", Archaeologia, LVI.ii (1899), 351-70.
- Gunner, W.H., "An account of the alien priory of Andwell, or Enedwell, in Hampshire, a cell of Tyrone; with some remarks on the Family of de Port of Basing, its founders", The Archaeological Journal, ix (1852), 246-61.
- Hallam, E.M., Aspects of the Monastic Patronage of the English and French Royal Houses c.1130-1270, unpublished Ph.D. thesis (London, 1976).
- Hallam, E.M., "Henry II as a Founder of Monasteries", Journal of Ecclesiastical History, xxvii (1977), 113-32.
- Hallam, E.M., Capetian France (London, 1980).

- Hamilton-Thomson, A., "The Chapel of St.Peter at Kirby upon Wreak", Transactions of the Leicestershire Architectural and Historical Society, xvi (1929-31), 130-212.
- Haskins, G.L., "Charter Witness Lists in the Reign of King John", Speculum, xiii (1938), 319-25.
- Hélyot, P. and Bullol, M., Histoire des ordres monastiques, religieux et militaires et des congregations seculiers de l'un et de l'autre sex qui ont esté establies jusqu' a present, 8 vols. (Paris, 1714-19).
- History of Northumberland, ed., E.Bateson et al, 15 vols. (Newcastle-Upon-Tyne, 1893-1940).
- Hodgson, J.G., "The Hospital of St.Lazarus and the Manor of Harehope", Archaeologia Aeliana, 3rd series, xix (1922), 76-82.
- Holmes, R., "The Hospital of Foulsnape in the West Riding", The Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal, x (1888-9), 543-53.
- Holt, J.C., The Northerners (Oxford, 1961).
- Holt, J.C., "Feudal Society and the Family in early Medieval England: III: Patronage and Politics", T.R.H.S., xxxvi (1984).
- Hope, W.H.St.John, "The Round Church of the Knights Templars at Temple Bruer, Lincolnshire", Archaeologia, lxi (1908), 177-98.
- Kealey, E.J., Medieval Medicus (Baltimore, 1981).
- Kerr, P.W., "The Brasses in the Temple Church, London", Monumental Brass Society Transactions, lvii (1936), 113-4.
- Knowles, D., The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge, 1940).
- Knowles, D. and Hadcock, R.N., Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales, (2nd edition, London, 1971).
- L.Landon, ed., Itinerary of King Richard I, (Pipe Roll Society, new series), xii (1935).
- Leys, A.M., "The Forfeiture of the lands of the Templars in England", in F.M.Powicke, ed., Oxford Essays in Medieval History presented to H.E.Salter (Oxford, 1934), 155-63.
- Lloyd, S.D., English Society and the Crusade 1216-1307 (Oxford, 1988).
- Lourie, E., "The Confraternity of Belchite, the Ribat and the Temple", Viator, xiii (1982), 159-76.
- Loyd, L.C., The Origins of some Anglo-Norman Families (Leeds, 1951).
- Magnou, E., "Oblature, classe chevaleresque et servage dans les maisons méridionales du Temple au XII^{me} siècle", Annales du Midi, lxxiii (1961), 377-97.
- Maimbourg, P.L., Histoire de Croisades, 4 vols. (Paris, 1682).

- Marcombe, D., "Burton Lazars and the Knights of St.Lazarus", St.John Historical Society Newsletter N6 (1986).
- Marcombe, D. and Bourne, T., The Burton Lazars Cartulary: A Medieval Leicestershire Estate (Nottingham, 1987).
- Marshall, G., "The Church of the Knights Templars at Garway", Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club, xxvi (1927-29), 86-101.
- Martin, E.J., The Trial of the Templars (London, 1928).
- Martin, E.J., "The Templars in Yorkshire", Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, xxix (1930), 366-85; xxx (1930), 135-56.
- Mason, E., "Fact and Fiction in the English Crusading Tradition: The Earls of Warwick in the Twelfth Century", Journal of Medieval History, xiv (1988), 81-95.
- Mayer, H.E., "Henry II of England and the Holy Land", E.H.R., xcvi (1982), 721-39.
- Mayer, H.E., The Crusades, (2nd edition, Oxford, 1988).
- McCrack, L.J., "Norman Crusaders in the Catalan Reconquest: Robert Burdet and the Principality of Tarragona 1129-1155", Journal of Medieval History, vii (1981), 67-82.
- Mesmin, S.C., The Cartulary of the Leper Hospital of S.Gilles de Pont-Audemer, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, 2 vols. (Reading, 1978).
- Mesmin S.C., "Waleran, Count of Meulan, and the Leper Hospital of S.Gilles de Pont-Audemer", Annales du Normandie, xxxii (1982), 3-19.
- Minos, P.J.O., Knights Templars Chapel (also consistory court) at Garway", The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist, v (1899), 193-6.
- Mortimer, R., "Religious and Secular Motives for some English Monastic Foundations", in D.Baker ed., Studies in Church History, xv (1978), 77-85.
- Mumford, W.F., England and the Crusades During the Reign of Henry III, unpublished M.A. thesis (Manchester, 1924).
- Nelson, L.H., The Normans in South Wales, 1070-1171 (Austin, 1966).
- Neu, H., Bibliographie des Templer-Ordens 1927-1965 (Bonn, 1965).
- Nichols, J., The History and Antiquities of the County of Leicester, 4 vols. in 9 (Leicester, 1795-1815).
- Painter, S., William Marshal, Knight-Errant, Baron, and Regent of England (Baltimore, 1933).
- Painter, S., The Reign of King John (Baltimore, (1949).
- Painter, S., "The Family and the Feudal System in Twelfth Century England", Speculum, xxxv (1960), 1-16.

- Parker, T.W., The Templars in England (Tucson, 1963).
- Parton, J., Some account of the Hospital and Parish of St.Giles in the Field, Middlesex (London, 1822).
- Perkins, C., "The Wealth of the Knights Templars in England and the Disposition of it after their Dissolution", American Historical Review, xv (1905), 252-63.
- Perkins, C., The History of the Knights Templars in England, unpublished Ph.D. dissertation (Harvard, 1908).
- Perkins, C., "The Trial of the Knights Templars in England", E.H.R., xxiv (1909), 432-47.
- Perkins C., "The Knights Templars in the British Isles", E.H.R., xxv (1910), 209-30.
- Pétiet R., Contribution à l'histoire de l'Ordre de Saint Lazare de Jérusalem en France (Paris, 1914).
- Powicke, F.M., King Henry III and the Lord Edward, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1947).
- Prawer, J., The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (London, 1972).
- Prawer, J., Crusader Institutions (Oxford, 1980).
- Prestwich, M., Edward I (London, 1988).
- Rees, W., A History of the Order of St.John of Jerusalem in Wales and on the Welsh Border. Including an Account of the Templars (Cardiff, 1947).
- Rees, W., "The Templar manor of Llanmadoc", Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, xiii (1950), 144-5.
- Richard, J., The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem (London, 1979).
- Richards, P., The Medieval Leper and His Northern Heirs (Cambridge, 1977).
- Riley-Smith J., The Knights of St.John in Jerusalem and Cyprus c.1050-1310 (London, 1967).
- Round, J.H., "Faramus of Boulogne", The Genealogist, new series, xii (1895-6), 145-51.
- Round, J.H., "The Families of St.John and Port", The Genealogist, new series, xvi (1899-1900), 1-13.
- Round, J.H., "The Ports of Basing and their Priory", The Genealogist, new series, xviii (1901-2), 137-9.
- Round, J.H., "Some English Crusaders of Richard I", E.H.R., xviii (1903), 475-83.
- Round, J.H., "Mauduits of Hartley Mauduit", The Ancestor, v (1903), 207-10.

- Rovik, S.S., The Templars in the Holy Land during the Twelfth Century, unpublished D.Phil (Oxford, 1986).
- Rowe, J.G., "T.W.Parker, the Knights Templars in England", Speculum, xxxix (1964), 738-9.
- Rubin M., Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge (Cambridge, 1987).
- Runciman, S., A History of the Crusades, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1951-4).
- Russell, J.C., "Attestations of Charters in the Reign of King John", Speculum, xv (1940), 480-98.
- Sandys, A.M., "The Financial and Administrative Importance of the London Temple in the Thirteenth Century", in A.G.Little and F.M.Powicke eds., Essays in Medieval History presented to T.F.Tout (Manchester, 1925), 147-62.
- Scots Peerage, ed., J.Balfour-Paul, 8 vols. (Edinburgh, 1904-14).
- Seward, D., The Monks of War (London, 1972).
- Shahar, S., "Des Lepreux pas comme les autres", Revue Historique, cclxvii (1982), 19-41.
- Sibert, G.de, Histoire des Ordres Royaux, Hospitaliers-militaires de Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel et de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem (Paris, 1772).
- Siedschlag, B., English Participation in the Crusades, 1150-1220 (Bryn Mawr, 1939).
- Simpson, J.Y., "Antiquarian Notices of Leprosy and Leper Houses in Scotland and England", The Edinburgh Medical and Surgical Journal, lvi (1841), 301-30; lvii (1842), 121-56, 394-429.
- Stones, G.L.G., "The Folvilles of Ashby-Folville, Leicestershire and their associates in crime", T.R.H.S., vii (1957), 117-36.
- Stringer, K.J., Earl David of Huntingdon (Edinburgh, 1985).
- Tanner, T., Notitia Monastica (Cambridge, 1787).
- Taylor, R., Index Monasticus (London, 1821).
- Taylor, R.V., "Ribston and the Knights Templars", Yorkshire Archaeological and Topographical Journal, vii, 429-52; viii, 259-99; ix, 71-98.
- Turner, R.V., "Religious Patronage of Angevin Royal Administrators c.1170-1239", Albion, xviii (1986), 1-21.
- Tyerman, C., "Some English Evidence of Attitudes to Crusading in the Thirteenth Century", in P.R.Coss and S.D.Lloyd eds., Thirteenth Century England I (Bury St.Edmunds, 1986).
- Tyerman, C., England and the Crusades 1095-1588 (Chicago, 1988).

- Victoria History of the Counties of England, ed., H.A.Doubleday et al.,
in progress (London, 1900-).
- Vignat, E., Les Lepreux et les Chevaliers de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem
et de Notre-Dame du Mont Carmel (Orléans, 1884).
- Walker, D., "The Organisation of Material in Medieval Cartularies",
in D.A.Bullough and R.L.Storey eds., The Study of Medieval Records:
Essays in Honour of Kathleen Major (Oxford, 1971).
- Warren, W.L., Henry II (London, 1973).
- Warren, W.L., King John, (2nd edition, London, 1978).
- Webb, J., "Notes upon the Preceptory of the Templars at Garway in the
County of Hereford", Archaeologia, xxxi (1846), 182-97.
- Wightman, W.E., The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194
(Oxford, 1966).